

## THE SAXON CROSS AT BEWCASTLE.

BEFORE we proceed to notice this monument, another of somewhat earlier date claims a brief notice. It is the broken cross in the churchyard of Beckermont, in Cumberland, of which Lysons, in his *Magna Britannia*, has given a representation, very good as far as the general character is concerned, but not so as regards the inscription. Impressions of this have been kindly forwarded to me by the Rev. Dr. Parkinson, of St. Bees, who says that in the neighbourhood of the church, which shews no traces of antiquity, "there are evidently marks of old foundations." He continues, "Its situation is striking. It stands far from the population, in a corner of the parish, on a knoll surrounded on all sides by an amphitheatre of higher knolls. It is just such a spot where we generally find Druidical circles in this country; and some religious associations may have determined its site."<sup>1</sup> In the centre of the churchyard there are two broken crosses, exactly alike in character, cylindrical columns, bevelled to a square near the top, and fixed in separate sockets, contiguous, but not joined. The smaller of the two is of inferior workmanship to the other, which stands within two feet of it, to the south. On one of the sides of the latter is an inscription of six lines (*Fig. 1*), probably but a portion of what was originally engraved upon it. It is

HIRTÆGÆD  
TUDASCÆAR  
QUÆLMTER  
FORANFÆLSE  
RXNAUUNG  
GASÆFTÆR

and it is evidently two couplets of alliterative verse.

Hir tægæd  
Tuda scæar  
Quælm-ter foran  
Fæls erxnawangas æftær

Here enclosed  
Tuda bishop  
the plague destruction before  
the reward of Paradise after

<sup>1</sup> It is a fact established by abundant evidence, that the places which had been sanctuaries of superstition in the days of Paganism, were chosen for that very reason for the sites of monasteries in the early age of Christianity in this country; so that Dr. Parkinson's conjecture is far from improbable.

*Taged* seems to be the participle of a verb, which is represented by the more modern *tigian*. *Quælm* for *cwealm* is "pestilence, "slaughter," "death," and *ter* is the root of *teran*, "to tear, destroy." The Northumbrian Ritual gives *sceawar* as the equivalent of "pontifex." It really means "overseer," and therefore is the literal translation of "episcopus." For this word I suppose *scear* is intended. *Fæls* is a word which has not hitherto occurred, but we have *felsan*, "to reward." *Erexnawong* occurs in the Rushworth Gospels, as the translation of "Paradisus," and *neirxnawangas* (in the genitive case) for the same word in the Durham Ritual.

Of Tuda, whom this inscription commemorates, Venerable Bede gives us the following particulars:—"When Colman was returned to his native land, Tuda the servant of Christ undertook the bishopric of the Northumbrians in his place. He had been instructed and ordained bishop amongst the southern Scots, had the crown of the ecclesiastical tonsure according to the custom of that province, and observed the catholic rule of Easter-tide, and was a good and religious man, but ruled the church a very short sime. He had come out of Scotland whilst Colman still held the pontificate, and diligently both by word and work instructed all in the things that pertained to faith and truth." Again, "In the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 664, a sudden plague of pestilence, having first depopulated the southern coasts of Britain, attacking also the provinces of the Northumbrians, and raging far and wide for a long time with bitter slaughter, destroyed a great multitude of men. By which plague the aforesaid priest of the Lord, Tuda, was taken from the world, and honorably buried in the monastery which is called Pægnalæch."<sup>2</sup>

Tuda, then, undertook the charge of the see of York, A.D. 664, and died of the pestilence the same year. The date of this monument, therefore, is clearly ascertained; and Beckermont determined to be the site of the lost monastery of Pægnalæch. The celebrated pillar of Eliseg, at Vale Crucis, a work of the seventh century also, is of the same type as this; and in the churchyard of Gosforth, a few miles distant from Beckermont, there is another of the same type, but more perfect, and terminating in a cross, which may safely be pronounced to be of nearly equal antiquity.

This monument having received the attention which its earlier date claimed for it, we proceed to notice that at Bewcastle.

It is a foursided column, about 14 feet 6 inches high, tapering gently from the bottom to the top, fixed with lead in an irregular octagonal

<sup>2</sup> Waghele (*Sax. Chron.*)—Wemalet (*Hen. Hunt.*)

plinth. The cross which once crowned it has disappeared; but, saving the injury done to it on the eastern and southern sides by wrenching it from its socket, the shaft remains entire, and owing to the goodness of the material, a hard white freestone, it has suffered less from exposure to the storms of well nigh twelve hundred winters, than from wanton violence. The tradition of the country points out the place from which the stone was taken, a ridge of rocks called the Langbar, on White Lyne Common, five miles to the north of Bewcastle, and this tradition is verified by the fact that in the same place there is still lying a stone the very counterpart of this, which shows distinctly on its western side, (which is much fresher than the others), the marks of the chisels which were used in splitting the block when the monument was taken from it which now stands in Bewcastle churchyard. Only at the Langbar, and in the neighbouring rocks on the south side of the White Lyne river, and in no other part of the country, is the same kind of stone found.<sup>3</sup> The monument now stands alone, but once, in all probability, there were two, one at the head, the other at the foot of the grave, as in the example which still remains at Penrith. If so, the other has disappeared, yet it may be still in existence, if the conjecture which will be hazarded in the sequel be considered under all the circumstances probable.

The cross, as we have already observed, is gone, but all record of it has not perished. It appears from a note in the handwriting of Mr. Camden in his own copy of his *Britannia* (now in the Bodleian Library), that Lord William Howard sent it to Lord Arundel, and he to Mr. Camden. It had an inscription on the transverse limb, which Mr. Camden gives from an impression he had taken (*Fig. 2*), and the reading is clearly RICÆS DRIHTNÆ. Another copy supplies an 's' at the end of the second word. Lord William Howard had previously sent to Olaus Wormius a copy of an inscription on this monument, which the latter published in his *Monumenta Danica*. In this copy the word RICÆS is plain, DRIHTNÆS very much blundered, and after these, quite plain, the word STICÆTH, of which traces still remain on the top of the western face of the monument. These, taken in connection with the former, give us a meaning which undoubtedly alludes to the cross, RICÆS DRIHTNÆS STICÆTH. "The Staff of the Mighty Lord." Beneath, in an oblong compartment, is the effigy of St. John the Baptist, pointing with his right hand to the Holy Lamb, which rests on his left arm. This figure had been supposed to be the Blessed Virgin with the Infant Jesus. Mr. Lysons, however, corrected this error in part, representing as a lamb what had been supposed to be the Holy Child, but the figure

<sup>3</sup> For this information I am indebted to the Rev. J. Maughan.

which holds it, has in his engraving the appearance of a female. It is, though in flowing robes, decidedly a male figure, and the face is bearded. Below it is an inscription in two lines of Runes (*Fig. 3*)

✠ GESSVS  
CRISTTVS

written above an arched recess in which is a majestic figure of our Blessed Lord, who holds in His left hand a scroll, and gives His blessing with His right, and stands upon the heads of swine. Then follows the long inscription of nine lines of Runes, commemorating the personage to whom this monument was erected. (*Fig. 4*)

✠ THISSIGBEC  
UNSETTÆH  
WÆTREDEOM  
GÆRFLWOLD  
UÆFTÆRBARÆ  
YMB CYNING  
ALCFRIDÆG  
ICEGÆDHE  
OSVMSAWLV

Lastly, in another arched recess is a fine figure in profile, holding a hawk in his left hand, above a perch. This doubtless represents the king whose name is mentioned in the inscription above it.

The eastern side of this monument presents a continuous scroll with foliage and fruit, amidst which are a lion, two monsters, two birds and two squirrels feeding on the fruit. Above these doubtless there was an inscription, but the stone is too much broken on this side to show the trace of even a single letter.

On the northern side we read distinctly, in Runic letters nearly six inches long (*Fig. 5*), the Holy Name ✠ GESSU. Below this we have a scroll, then an inscription (*Fig. 6*), OSLAAC CYNING; then a knot, another inscription (*Fig. 7*), WILFRID PREASTER; an oblong space filled with chequers, a third inscription, read by the Rev. J. Maughan CYNWISI or CYNISWID; a second knot, a fourth inscription (*Fig. 8*), CYNIBURUG; and lastly, a double scroll.

On the southern side, at the top, are the remains of the name CRISTVS (*Fig. 9*), corresponding to GESSU on the north. Below this is a knot, an inscription (*Fig. 10*), EANFLÆD CYNGN; a scroll, in the midst of which a dial is introduced, a second inscription (*Fig. 11*), ECGFRID CYNING; another knot, a third inscription (*Fig. 12*), CYNIBURUG CYNGN; another scroll, a fourth inscription (*Fig. 13*), OSWU CYNINGELT, and a third knot.

Such is the Bewcastle monument; a monument interesting in many

respects; as one to which we can assign a certain date, and which, therefore, is a material help to us in ascertaining the age of others of the same class, that at Ruthwell in particular; as an evidence of the state of the art of sculpture in the seventh century, the three figures on the west side being equal to any thing we have until the thirteenth; as a monument of our language almost the earliest we have; as belonging to a class of monuments, the memorials of the kings of England before the Conquest, which have almost entirely disappeared; and as such, especially interesting, because the king to whose memory it was raised, played a most important part in the history of his times.

The inscriptions claim our first attention. They are written in the early Saxon dialect of Northumbria, except the names of our Blessed Lord, which have a Latin form, since it was only from missionaries to whom the Latin language was as their mother tongue that our forefathers learned His name; and down to the latest period of their history they followed the same rule, as the Germans do still of adopting, without alteration, into their language, Latin proper names. The spelling of the name *æssus* is particularly interesting, for I believe this is the only monument on which it occurs. Throughout the Durham Ritual and the Northumbrian Gospels, we find instead of it, the word *Hælend* "Saviour." The initial *æ* has the power of *ɣ*, and the double *s* is probably not a false spelling since it occurs twice.

The long inscription resolves itself into three couplets of alliterative verse; thus,

This sigbecun  
Settæ Hwætred  
Eom gær f[e]lwoldu  
Æfter baræ  
Ymb cyning Alcfridæ  
Gicegæd heosum sawlum

This beacon of honour<sup>4</sup>  
set Hwætred  
in the year of the great pestilence  
after the ruler  
after King Alcfrid  
pray for their souls

I have supposed the omission of a letter, *e*, between *f* and *l*. *Fel*, as a prefix, has the sense of "much" or "many." *Woldu* I take to be an adjective, derived, as well as *wól*, a pestilence, from the same root as *weallan* "to burn or boil," and *wyllan* "to make to burn or boil," (just as *fold*, a flat surface, is derived from *feallan* "to fall," and *fyllan* to make to fall), and therefore to have the sense of "pestilential." It does not, however, occur in the glossaries, having probably fallen into disuse. The termination in *u* would not have occurred at a later period, but the Durham Ritual shows us that the declension of nouns and adjectives, and the conjugation of verbs, in the early Northumbrian dialect, dif-

<sup>4</sup> *Sig* implies triumph. In composition it seems to imply special honour. *Beg* is a bracelet, which any one might bear, but *Sigbeg* is a crown.

ferred in many respects from the later forms of the language on which our modern grammars are founded. This Ritual supplies us with many instances of adjectives ending in *o* (which, as will be seen later, is the equivalent of *u* on these monuments) in the oblique cases; as, for instance, in *ceastre gihalgado*, "in civitate sanctificatâ," in *eco woldur* "in æternâ gloriâ." That there may, however, have been a noun *woldu*,<sup>5</sup> and that this may have been the ancient form of *wól* is not impossible, since from the verb *swelan* "to burn" we have not only *swol* but also *swoluth* and *swoleth*, heat, fever, or pestilence, and from *stælan*, to place, we have *steald* as well as *steal*, a station, place or abode. If it were so, I should read, without any alteration of the sense, "in the year of the great pestilence." I have read the letters *l* and *w* as they are in the rubbing with which I was furnished by the Rev. J. Maughan. If I could suppose that marks had been obliterated which would change these letters into *æ*<sup>6</sup> and *þ*, I should propose another reading, *eom gærfe boldu* "also carved this building," supposing *gærfe* the ancient form of *cearf*, from *ceorfan* to carve, and *boldu*, a building, the ancient form of *bold*. Verbs of the strong or complex order, to which *ceorfan* belongs, did not in later times add a syllable in the third person singular of the past tense, but the Durham Ritual gives us an example in the word *ahofe* "erexit," which shows that in early times they did; and we have other examples of nouns ending in *u*, which dropped this syllable in later times. The rules of alliteration rendered necessary the use of *gicegæd* (a word which under a slightly different form, *gicegath*, occurs in the Durham Ritual) instead of the more usual *gibidded*. *Heosum* is another obsolete word, the dative plural regularly formed from the possessive pronoun "*heora*," their. I can find no trace of this word elsewhere, the indeclinable *hiora* invariably occurring in the Durham Ritual; but as in modern German the possessive pronouns of the third person are declinable, equally with those of the first and second, I think it not improbable that the same might be the case with the early Saxon language, and that the disuse of the oblique cases might be the effect of Latin influence.

It seems to have been the custom with our forefathers to compose the inscriptions of their monuments in alliterative verse: nor is it surprising that it should have been so: for it was by means of verses, committed to memory and sung at their feasts, that the records of past events were

<sup>5</sup> Still I feel inclined to regard it as originally a participle, even if it did become a noun, just as *fold* and *bold* and other similar words, now nouns, seem to have been, past participles.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Howard's representation of this letter in the *Archæologia* (Vol. XIV) seems to give this letter *æ*.

preserved amongst them, and several of these historical ballads are still preserved incorporated in the Saxon Chronicle. Not only are the Beckermont inscription already noticed, and this at Bewcastle, composed in verse, but all the others that have yet been discovered are constructed in the same way. In illustration of this curious fact, a brief notice of these, in passing, may be desirable here.

The first is on a stone, which has evidently formed part of a small memorial cross, found some years ago at Dewsbury,<sup>7</sup> in Yorkshire. It reads as follows. (*Fig. 14.*)

RHTAEBECUNAEFTERBEORNAEGIBIDDADDERSAULE

i. e.	. . . . . rhtæ	. . . . . rht
	Becun æfter beornæ	a beacon after his son
	Gibiddad der saule	pray for the soul

The second is on a stone, now in the Museum of the Society, found at Falstone in 1813. It is remarkable for the double inscription it presents, the same words being written, first in Roman minuscules and then in Anglo-Saxon Runes. In this respect I believe it is unique. They read as follows. (*Fig. 15.*)

✕ EONAERTHE	SE	✕ EOMÆRTHÆSÆTT
TAEAEFTÆR		ÆFTÆRROETBERH
HROETHBERHTÆ		TÆBECUNÆFTÆREOMÆ
BECUNAEFTÆR		GEBIDÆDDERSAULE
EOMAEGBIDAEDDERSAULE		

and as they are identical we are enabled by means of each to correct the trifling mistakes which occur in the other. With these corrections the double inscription resolves itself into the following couplets.

✕ Eomær the settæ	Eomær this set
Æftær Hroethberhtæ	after Hroethberht
Becun æftær eomæ	a beacon after his uncle
Gebidæd der saule	pray for the soul

The Dewsbury inscription I take to be of the seventh century, the Falstone about the close of that century or early in the eighth; for

<sup>7</sup> A place where several interesting remains of Anglo-Saxon antiquity have been found, and are now preserved in the Vicarage garden. They are, part of a coped tomb, and some fragments carved with figures of Our Blessed Lord and his Apostles, relics, probably, of the famous cross which Leland saw there, with the inscription PAULINUS HIC PRÆDICAUIT ET CELEBRAUIT, and of which an old ballad, preserving a more ancient tradition, makes mention in the following words:—

In the churchyard once a cross did stand  
Of Apostles sculptured there;  
And had engraven thereupon,  
“ Paulinus preached here.”

the use of the uncials N R and S warrant us in supposing the Dewsbury inscription to be the earlier of the two, as in this respect it agrees with the writing of the Gospels of St. Chad. In those of St. Cuthbert whilst the uncial forms of these letters prevail, the minuscules frequently occur.

The third inscription is on a fragment of a cross found in the year 1778 between Wycliffe and Greta Bridge, (figured in Gough's Camden, vol. III. pl. v.)

BAEDA  
 . . . T . . .  
 AEFTE  
 RBERC  
 HTVINI  
 BECVN  
 AEFTERF

The last two letters of the first line seem in the engraving to be indistinct, owing to an injury done to the stone, but from the traces which remain I think there can be no doubt that the name is *Bæda*.

The second line, which is defaced, seems to have been in smaller characters, and therefore probably contained more than the others; the last of the whole seems to be *ƿ*; and the whole inscription may have been like the above.

Bæda [the settæ]  
 Aefter Berchtuini  
 Becun aefter f[athoræ  
 Gebidæd der saule]

Bæda [this set]  
 after Berchtuini  
 a beacon after [his father  
 pray for the soul]

This monument is very remarkable as presenting the same name as that of the venerable father of our history, and as it seems to be of his time, it may possibly have been erected by him. In his life of St. Cuthbert another of the same name is mentioned but he was a monk of Lindisfarne, much farther of course from Greta Bridge than Jarrow. The expression "cura propinquorum" in his history of his own life has been made the ground of a conjecture that his parents were dead before he went to Jarrow; but parents as well as other relatives might be included in the word "propinqui."

It is necessary to enter at some length into the history of the illustrious prince to whose memory the Bewcastle monument was raised, because, from want of attention to the spelling of Saxon names, many of which very much resemble each other, he has been confounded with another, an illegitimate brother of his, Aldfrid.<sup>8</sup> Alcfrid was the eldest

<sup>8</sup> How necessary it is to attend to the spelling of these names will appear from the following circumstances. In Dr. Giles' translation of Venerable Bede's History we are told (in Book III. Chapter xxi.) that Peada, King of Middle Angles, came to



son of Oswiu King of Northumbria, by his first wife, whom the Cumbric genealogist (in Nennius' *History of the Britons*), calls Riemmelth, the daughter of Royth, son of Rum. He first appears in history along with Eihilwald, the son of Oswald, in alliance with Penda King of Mercia, engaged in hostilities against his father Oswiu. Geoffrey of Monmouth tells us, what Venerable Bede does not, that these two princes acted in concert, and says that the reason of their rebellion was, that Oswiu submitted to Cædwalla King of the Britons; that, not being able to prevail against him, they fled to the court of Penda, and endeavoured to excite him against Oswiu. This circumstance will account for what follows, the affinity which Alcfred contracted with the royal family of Mercia.<sup>9</sup> All that we are told of his subsequent history shews that he was a prince of sincere piety, and he was the means, in the infancy of the Northumbrian Church, of establishing it, and bringing it into conformity with the rest of the Church throughout Christendom. He married Cyniburga, the daughter of his ally Penda, and was probably the instrument of her conversion. Nor was this the only good resulting from his connection with the royal family of Mercia. It led to the conversion of the whole nation through his instrumentality. For, as Venerable Bede relates, in the year 653; "the Middle Angles, under their prince, Peada, received the faith and the sacraments of Christ. He being an excellent youth, and most worthy of the title and dignity of a king, had been raised by his father to the kingdom of that nation, and came to Oswiu King of the Northumbrians, requesting to have his daughter Alcfæd given him to wife, but could not obtain his request, unless, with the nation which he governed, he would receive the faith of Christ and baptism. When he heard the preaching of

the court of Oswiu, requesting to have his daughter Elfreda given him in marriage, A.D. 653. Two years later, A.D. 655, we read (chapter xxiii.) that Oswiu committed his daughter Elfreda, then scarcely a year old, to the care of St. Hilda, with whom she remained, until on her death she succeeded her as Abbess of Whitby. This inconsistency at once disappears on referring to Mr. Stevenson's valuable and accurate edition of Venerable Bede's historical works. The lady whom Peada sought in marriage was Alcfæd, and the saintly Abbess of Whitby, born in the year following, was Ælbfæd. Through a similar inaccuracy, Alcfred and Aldfrid have been confounded together under one name, Alfrid: and this has misled almost every writer who has treated of the events of the seventh century in which these princes took part.

<sup>9</sup> I should never, of course, think of appealing to Geoffrey of Monmouth as an authority in matter of history. Still I think that the latter part of his Chronicle may contain some facts which are not noticed elsewhere, and may be made use of to a certain extent where, as in the present instance, he is consistent with authentic histories, and supplies details which they have not recorded. Several passages in his history convince me that he is not to be altogether set aside. One of these I will mention here. Venerable Bede calls the place, where the battle was fought in which St. Oswald fell, Maserfelth, and this has generally been supposed to be Oswestry in Shropshire. This conjecture is confirmed by Geoffrey, who says it occurred at Burne, and close to Oswestry there is a place called Broom.

truth, the promise of the heavenly kingdom, and the hope of resurrection and future immortality, he declared that he would willingly become a Christian, even though he should be refused the virgin, being chiefly persuaded to receive the faith by King Oswiu's son Alcfrid, who was his relation, and had married his sister Cyniburga. Accordingly, he was baptised by Bishop Finan, with all his earls and soldiers, at a noted village belonging to the King, called "At the Wall,"<sup>10</sup> and having received four priests, who, from their learning and holy life, were deemed proper to instruct and baptize his nation, he returned home with great joy. These priests were Cedd, Adda, Betti, and Diuma, of whom the last was a Scot, the others English; and arriving in the province with the prince, they preached the word, and were willingly listened to, and many, as well of the nobility as of the common sort, renouncing the filth of idolatry, were baptized daily."

Two years later, he appears assisting his father in the great battle of Winwædfield,<sup>11</sup> in which Penda was defeated and slain, and by which peace was restored to Northumbria: and not long afterwards he became king of Deira,<sup>12</sup> the government of which was, probably, committed to him by his father, in whose counsels he seems to have had great influence. His residence was mostly in the neighbourhood of Ripon,<sup>13</sup> to which place he invited a colony of monks from Melrose to assist him in the conversion of his people, and it was in the monastery there founded that the disputes began which resulted in the most important event of his life. That we may understand the nature of these disputes, and of the service Alcfrid rendered to his country in bringing them to a satisfactory settlement, it will be necessary briefly to consider the position and circumstances of the Northumbrian church at this period.

Pagan Northumbria was twice evangelized. First, on the marriage of the Kentish princess Ethilburga to king Edwin, a Roman missionary, St. Paulinus, came with her as her chaplain, and laboured for the conver-

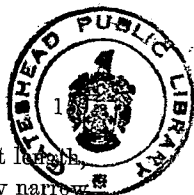
<sup>10</sup> This, doubtless was Wallbottle, the name of which signifies "the palace (*botel*) by the wall."

<sup>11</sup> The exact scene of this conflict has never been determined. It was in the district called *Lædis*, a name which is still preserved in that of Leeds, as well as in those of Ledsham, and Ledstone, two villages about eight miles to the west of it: and it was by the river *Winwæd*, which is unquestionably the Aire. But this river retains its Celtic name, and the etymology of the name Winwæd, shows that it must have belonged rather to the scene of the battle, than to the river itself; *win*, battle; *wæd* ford. Within this district, six miles below Leeds, on the Aire, is Woodlesford the name of which may be supposed to indicate one consequence of such a battle, the corruption of the unburied bodies of the slain (*widl*, pollution, ford).

<sup>12</sup> Florence of Worcester says that he succeeded Æthelwald, the son of Oswald, in that kingdom.

<sup>13</sup> Eddi says that Alcfrid asked Agilbert to ordain St. Wilfrid, in order that he might be with him as his chaplain, and then he gave him the monastery at Ripon.

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sion of the people for some months with little or no success. At length, on Easter-day, A.D. 626, the king had in the morning a very narrow escape from assassination, attempted by an emissary of the West Saxon King, Cwichelm, and in the evening the Queen was delivered of a daughter. The King, in the presence of St. Paulinus, was giving thanks to his gods for her birth, when the latter, returning thanks to Christ, told the King that he had obtained of God by his prayers that the Queen should bring forth her child in safety, and without pain. His words made an impression on the heart of the King, and he promised, that if the same God would give him victory over the King by whom his life had been attempted, he would renounce his idols, and embrace the Christian faith; and as a pledge that he meant to perform his promise, he gave his newborn child to the bishop, to be consecrated to God. This child, Eanflæd, was the first baptized of the Northumbrian nation, and, along with her, twelve others of her family received the same holy sacrament on Whitsunday in that year; and this auspicious event was followed in the succeeding year by the baptism of her father, his court, and many of his people, and the Christian church thus planted in Northumbria flourished until the battle of Hæthfeld, where Edwin fell, A.D. 633. A cruel persecution was then begun by Cædwalla and Penda, and St. Paulinus regarding himself as the guardian of queen Ethilburga, fled with her and her daughter Eanflæd, and some others of the royal family, into Kent. Thus was nearly rooted out the first plantation of the Christian faith in Northumbria, but not entirely; for in spite of the persecution, James, the deacon of St. Paulinus, continued to preach and baptize, confirmed many in the faith, and made many converts. After a year of anarchy, St. Oswald, son of Ethilfrid, who had been living an exile in Scotland during the reign of Edwin, planted his famous cross on the spot which still bears his name,<sup>14</sup> near Hexham; and marching thence, attacked and defeated the forces of Cædwalla, and recovered the kingdom. He had become a Christian during his exile, and, once established on the throne of his fathers, it was his first care to extend to his subjects the blessing of the faith. He turned to the land of his exile, and requested that a bishop might be sent to him to labour for their conversion, and St. Aidan came. With his aid he succeeded in evangelizing the whole of his dominions, he himself, in the ardour of his zeal, becoming a missionary, sitting by the holy bishop whilst he preached, and translating what he delivered in the Scottish language into the English tongue. This, then, the second conversion of Northumbria was from Scotland, as the first had been from Kent. But,

<sup>14</sup> St. Oswald's chapel, by the Wall.

whilst they agreed in all the articles of the faith with their brethren in the rest of the world, the northern Scots, as well as the Picts, had inherited from their apostle, St. Columba, a peculiar custom in the time of keeping the great feast of Easter, on which all the moveable feasts which precede and follow it depend: their brethren in the south of Ireland, as well as all the nations of Christendom, keeping it from the fifteenth to the twenty-first day of the equinoctial moon, as we now do, they and the Britons from the fourteenth to the twentieth. Consequently, there would be in Northumbria at this time, the disciples of the Kentish missionaries following one rule, and those of the monks of Hii following another. This would not be so much felt in the years in which the Scottish and the Catholic Easter fell on the same day, but in those in which they fell on different days, it would doubtless occasion great scandal; because the converts to the Christian faith, whether instructed by the clergy who had come in the train of St. Paulinus, or by the monks of Hii, had learned from their teachers that it was a rule laid down by St. Paul, that they were to speak the same thing, that there were to be no divisions amongst them, and that as members of one body they were to mourn and to rejoice together. Yet in certain years the Scots would begin Lent a week earlier than the Catholics, and would be rejoicing in the celebration of Easter, whilst they were keeping the most solemn week of Lent. So long, however, as this affected the lower classes only, whilst the King and the nobility, as knowing nothing better, held to the traditions of Hii, nothing was done; but soon after St. Oswald fell in battle, and his brother Oswiu succeeded him, A.D. 642, the court itself was divided on this question. Oswiu, soon after his accession, sent into Kent to ask in marriage the hand of the princess Eanflæd,<sup>15</sup> who had been brought up under the care of St. Paulinus, and, of course, followed the Catholic rule. Her coming was the first step towards unity, as, in her person, the leaven of St. Paulinus' teaching was once more infused into the Northumbrian court. It was from her, no doubt, and from her chaplain, Romanus, that Alcfred learned to suspect that the customs were wrong in which the Scottish church differed from the rest of Christendom. He conceived the desire of visiting Rome in person, with the object of thoroughly investigating the matter for himself, and making himself acquainted with the customs and discipline of the church there. A favourable opportunity of accomplishing his wishes seemed to present itself. St. Benedict Biscop had returned from

<sup>15</sup> It is worthy of remark that Queen Eanflæd who began this great work was born on Easter day, A.D. 626, and St. Eggerht to whom the task of completing it, by bringing the Monks of Hii to conformity, was reserved, died on the same great festival, A.D. 729.

his first journey to Rome, and Alcefrid fixed upon him as the companion of his intended pilgrimage, and was upon the point of setting out, when his father, Oswiu, feeling the need of his assistance in the government of his extensive dominions, interposed his parental authority to retain him at home. Alcefrid yielded prompt obedience to his wishes, and St. Benedict proceeded on his journey alone. His mind, however, was unsettled, and he longed for an opportunity of satisfying himself as to the grounds of the difference between the two observances. At this juncture he formed the acquaintance of St. Wilfrid, who had formerly been brought up at his father's court, thence had entered the monastery of Lindisfarne, and thence had gone to Rome, with the very same object as Alcefrid himself had desired to go thither, in consequence of the disputes which had arisen on the question of Easter, even in that monastery, the head-quarters of the Scottish mission. Hearing of his arrival in England, and of his zeal in preaching the duty of conformity on this and other points of discipline with the Roman church, from his friend Cœnwulf, King of the West Saxons, he sent to invite him to his court; and was so much delighted with his conversation, that he requested him to remain with him, and preach the word of God to his people. This St. Wilfrid consented to do, and he and Alcefrid were thenceforward united in the bonds of the closest friendship. Perfectly convinced by his arguments that the Roman calculation of Easter was the true one, and the Scottish false, Alcefrid gave to his monks at Ripon the option of following the Roman custom, or giving up their establishment there. They chose the latter alternative, and returned to Melrose. Alcefrid had previously given to St. Wilfrid an estate of ten families for the foundation of a monastery at Stamford, in Lincolnshire,<sup>16</sup> and now invited him to take charge of the deserted monastery of Ripon. Soon afterwards, he took advantage of an opportunity which a visit paid to him by Agilbert, Bishop of the West Saxons afforded him, to recommend him to his notice as one every way worthy of the priesthood, and to request that he might receive ordination, so that he might be constantly with him as his chaplain and counsellor. Agilbert, remarking that such a man was worthy even of the more exalted rank of the episcopate, ordained him at once, in accordance with the King's request. The time had now arrived for the settlement of the long agitated question, and the visit of Agilbert to the north was made the occasion of it. It was agreed that the matter should be discussed in a synod of the Northumbrian Church, and the

<sup>16</sup> Probably the dowry of Alcefrid's wife, who afterwards established a monastery at Caistor, eight miles distance.

monastery of the venerable Abbess Hilda was chosen as the place of meeting. Thither accordingly repaired King Oswiu, who favoured the Scottish party, Bishop Colman and his party, and St. Cedd, Bishop of the East Saxons, who was at the time on a visit to his monastery of Læstingæu; whilst on the other side, appeared King Alcfred, Bishop Agilbert, Romanus the chaplain of Queen Eanfled, Agatho, and the Venerable James, the deacon of St. Paulinus, now a priest: and, as St. Hilda and her disciples were on the Scottish side, that party in the synod far outnumbered the other. Bishop Colman spoke first, and, at Agilbert's request, St. Wilfrid replied, and his arguments were so convincing to Oswiu, that he decided on following for the future the Catholic rule. Bishop Colman, seeing that the decision was against him, withdrew from his see,<sup>17</sup> and returned to Scotland, whilst the rest of the Scottish party who were present agreed to renounce their traditions. Thus was decided for England for ever the question of Easter, and that it was so decided, was owing primarily to the influence of Eanfled over Alcfred, and then to that of Alcfred over his father.

Tuda was elected to fill the place of Colman, but he governed the Church of Northumbria for a few months only. On his death, in 664, Oswiu and Alcfred called their Witenagemote together<sup>18</sup>, to deliberate on the choice of a successor, and St. Wilfrid, who had played so important a part in the late synod, was unanimously chosen: and as he declined receiving episcopal consecration from any of the Bishops who were then in England, he was sent to France to be consecrated by Agilbert, who now filled the see of Paris. This is the last recorded act of Alcfred, his last appearance in history. When, in the year following, the prolonged absence of St. Wilfrid made Oswiu impatient, St. Ceadda was chosen to fill the see which had been given to him: but in this transaction Alcfred does not appear; it was the act of Oswiu alone. How is the absence of Alcfred from his father's council on this occasion—of Alcfred, whom he had found so necessary to him, that he interposed his parental authority but a few years before to prevent his going to Rome—to be accounted for? Only, it seems to me, by the supposition that he died during the interval which elapsed between the nominations of St. Wilfrid and St. Ceadda. Had it been otherwise, certainly we should have heard of his protesting against the injustice that was done his friend, or at any rate expressing his sympathy with him during his exile from his see. It is most probable that he died in the

<sup>17</sup> Colman restored the see to York, for Eddi in his account of the synod of Whitby calls him "*Eboracæ civitatis episcopus metropolitānus*." The first Scotch bishops resided at Lindisfarne.

<sup>18</sup> Eddi, chap. xi.

year 664; and in the pestilence of that year, to which so many persons of historical celebrity fell victims, we have the possible cause of his death. This monument marks the place of his burial, and its epitaph confirms the conclusion I had arrived at before I had an opportunity of reading it, and tells us the year of his death. Whilst yet this inscription remained a mystery, the tradition of the country declared that a king was buried at Bewcastle, and the confirmation of this tradition by the inscription (now, it is hoped, correctly read), is a proof, in addition to the many we have from other sources, that the traditions of the people, in remote districts where, without thought of change, the same families continue to occupy the homesteads their fathers did before them, are founded in truth. Alcfrid is the king of whose burial this tradition has preserved the recollection, and he died in the year of the great pestilence, A.D. 664.

A brief notice will suffice of the other illustrious personages whose names occur upon this monument.

*CYNIBURUG*.—This name occurs upon the north and south sides; in the latter instance with the addition of some letters which we have read *CYNGN*; but, as the character which stands for *NG* is very like that for *œ*, it is possible that these letters may express *CUOEN* or *CWOEN*, “queen.” If, however, they be really as we have read them, we must suppose them an abbreviation of *CYNIGIN*, i. e. *cýning* with the usual female termination *in*, equivalent to the modern German word *Königin*. The signification is the same. This illustrious lady, the wife of Alcfrid, has been already mentioned. She was one of the daughters of King Penda, and was united to Alcfrid before the year 653, yet soon after her marriage persuaded him to live in continence with her, as a brother with a sister, being filled with the desire of devoting herself exclusively to a religious life. Whilst her husband lived, her court more resembled a monastery than a palace, for she had collected around her many young females of noble as well as of plebeian rank, who regarded her as their spiritual mother. In the year 664 she and her younger sister Cyniswid appear as witnesses to the foundation charter of Peterborough Minster, along with St. Wilfrid, then on his journey to France for consecration: so that it is probable her husband was already dead. Soon after this she obtained from her brother Wulfhere a grant of land at the place which is now called Caistor, and there she founded a monastery of which she was the first abbess, and her sisters Cyniswid and Cynithryth her successors. The year of her death is not recorded, but the youngest of her sisters, Cynithryth, was abbess in the year of St. Wilfrid’s death, A.D. 709. Her character is thus briefly summed up by her biographer: “She was compassionate to the poor, a tender mother to the afflicted,

and was constantly exciting to works of mercy the Kings her brothers," (*i. e.* Peada, Wulfhere, and Ethelred). I am informed that the Rev. J. Maughan has traced letters on the third slip of the north side, which he thinks may express the name of *Cyniwisi* or *Cyniswid*. I certainly did not observe any letters myself in the place, though I examined it carefully; but if there be really any traces of such an inscription there, I should think the latter name the more probable reading.

**OSWU CYNING ELT.**—"Oswiu King the Elder." This prince succeeded St. Oswald. A.D. 642, in the thirtieth year of his age. One dark crime stains his memory, the murder of St. Oswin, who had governed for some years the kingdom of Deira, A.D. 650. In other respects he seems to have been a good king, and to have fostered the infant church in his dominions. The conversion by his arguments of Sigebert, King of the East Saxons, who was baptized at Wallbottle, A.D. 654, and, through him, of his subjects, and the foundation of many monasteries, are proofs of his zeal for religion. By his victory over Penda, A.D. 655, he became paramount sovereign of all the other kingdoms except Kent; and his own dominions, which he held in peace until the end of his reign, extended from the Forth to the Humber. After the death of Alcfrid he allowed himself to be influenced by those who still adhered to the Scottish views, nominated St. Ceadda to the see of York, and maintained him therein to the prejudice of St. Wilfrid, until the coming of St. Theodore: but when, by the authority of that illustrious prelate, St. Wilfrid was restored, he became sincerely reconciled to him, and was guided by his counsels until the end of his life, which was not long afterwards. He died on the 15th of February, A.D. 670, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and was buried in the monastery of Whitby. "At that time" says Venerable Bede, "he was filled with so great a love of the Roman and Apostolical institution, that if he had recovered of his sickness, he had arranged to go to Rome, and end his life at the holy places, and requested bishop Wilfrid, by the promise of a large gift of money, to be the guide of his journey."

**EANFLÆD CYNGN;** or, perhaps, **CWOEN.**—Such seems to be the reading on the highest slip on the south side. Of this princess, to what has been said in our account of the Easter controversy, we may add, that she was the early patroness of St. Wilfrid when, a boy of twelve years old, he repaired to the court of Oswiu, that she encouraged him to go to Lindisfarne, and afterwards, when he desired to visit Rome, she furnished him with letters of recommendation to her relative Earcconberht King of Kent. When Oswiu died she retired to the monastery of Whitby, and, after the death of St. Hilda, she assisted her daughter Ælfæd in the government of it until her own death, and there was buried with her husband.



*ECGFRID CYNING*.—During the lifetime of his father, Ecgfrid is mentioned but once, and that in the year 655, when it is said that the reason why he was not present at the battle of Winwædfield, (at which time, however, he was but ten years of age), was, that he was then detained as a hostage at the court of Queen Cyniwise, in the province of the Mercians. The victory then gained was probably the occasion of his liberation; and the occurrence of his name on this monument shews that he was permitted to assume the title of king during his father's lifetime, perhaps as successor to his brother. On this point history is silent. On the death of his father, A.D. 670, he succeeded to the largest and most powerful of the Saxon kingdoms, and for a time he ruled it well and prosperously: but from the year 678, when he began to persecute St. Wilfrid, his fortunes were observed to wane. As St. Wilfrid left the court when the sentence had been passed upon him, depriving him of his bishopric, his last words addressed to the courtiers who were mocking at his fall were, "On the very anniversary of this day on which you are jeering at my invidious condemnation, you will weep bitterly in your own confusion." In the following year a battle was fought between Ecgfrid and Ethelred King of the Mercians, on the banks of the Trent, which resulted in the defeat of the former, and his loss of the province of Lindsey; and the body of Ælfwin his brother, a youth of eighteen years, the darling of both nations, slain in the battle, was brought into the city of York amid the lamentations of the whole people, on the very anniversary of St. Wilfrid's condemnation: and Eddi, who relates this, says, that Ecgfrid reigned without victory from that time forward until the day of his death. He did, indeed, in opposition to the remonstrances of St. Egbert, in the year 684, send an army into Ireland and miserably wasted that harmless nation, which had always shown itself most friendly to the English, but this unprovoked cruelty was generally believed to be the occasion of his downfall, for it was not long before the vengeance of Almighty God overtook him. In the following year, against the advice of his friends, and especially of St. Cuthbert, he no less rashly and cruelly invaded the province of the Picts, and was by them defeated and slain, A.D. 685, at Drumnechtan,<sup>19</sup> and left to his brother and successor Aldfrid a kingdom far inferior to that which he had inherited from his father: for the Picts recovered their own lands which had been held by the English, and the Scots that were in Britain and many of the Britons became independent; and the kingdom of Northumbria never recovered the predominance it had enjoyed in the days of Oswiu.

<sup>19</sup> "Nechtanesmere quod est Stagnum Nectani."—*Simeon*.

*OSLAAC CYNING*.—Of the prince whose name seems to be written here, we have but one notice in history. Under the year 617, the Saxon Chronicle says that Edwin, after his victory over Æthelfrid, by which he recovered his kingdom, drove out the Æthelings, Eanfrid, Oswald, Oswiu, Oslac, Oswudu, Oslaf, and Offa. Of these, Eanfrid became King of Bernicia, A.D. 633, and reigned scarcely a year; Oswald, A.D. 634, and Oswiu, A.D. 642, were successively kings of Northumbria (the province of Deira, which had kings of its own, being subject to them). There are scattered notices here and there of an Offa, whom further research may prove to be the same as the last mentioned of these princes; but of Oslac, Oswudu, and Oslaf, there is no further notice in history. Oslac, whose name occurs here with the title of king, may have reigned, subject to his brother Oswiu, in some part of his dominions.

*WILFRID PREASTER*, "Wilfrid Priest."—This is a name of exceeding interest, as found on the monument of his friend and patron, and its occurrence indicates that the death of the latter took place before his departure for France.

The long inscription, that of two lines above it, the single line on the south side, and another on the north, were all that had hitherto been noticed. A suspicion crossed my mind, whilst engaged in deciphering these, that there must be some letters in the space above the head of St. John the Baptist, and further, that the reason why the the northern and southern sides are broken up into compartments, instead of being filled with a continuous ornament as the eastern side is, must be, that spaces might be left for inscriptions. On this account, and because I felt the great need of scrupulous accuracy in publishing a reading of so important a monument of our language as the long inscription is, I took advantage of an opportunity which a journey into the north afforded me, and extended it to Bewcastle, and the discovery of these inscriptions was the result—a result far exceeding anything I had anticipated.

Thus, as in a Saxon charter after the act of donation we have the names of the witnesses thereto in the order of their rank, so here in the funeral monument of king Alcfred, after his epitaph, we have the names of those who we may believe assisted at his obsequies, his father Oswiu, his mother-in-law Eanflæd, his widow Cyniburug, and her sister Cyniswid, his uncle Oslaac, his brother Ecgfrid, and his chaplain Wilfrid, bishop elect of York; and above them all the Holy Name of Jesus, reminding us of that beautiful prayer which is found in some ancient liturgies, "Almighty and everlasting God, who hast created and redeemed us, mercifully regard our prayers: that, Thy Grace being poured into our

hearts, we may rejoice that our names are written in heaven beneath the glorious Name of Jesus, the head of the book of eternal predestination. Through the same Jesus Christ our Lord."

I reserve the remarks I have to make on the ornaments of this monument, until having described the very similar monument at Ruthwell, I can speak of them both together. They are indeed so much alike, that a notice of the latter forms an appropriate sequel to what has been said: and, although it has been already described, much remains to be said in illustration of it, and in correction of the mistakes into which those who have described it have inadvertently fallen; and the ascertained date of the Bewcastle monument enables us to fix its age with certainty. It is formed of two blocks of reddish sandstone, apparently from different quarries, the upper stone being distinctly of a different kind from the other.

The tradition of the country says that it was cast by shipwreck on the shore, and first set up at Priestwoodside, and that it was afterwards removed, a distance of six miles, to Ruthwell, where a church was built to receive it. There it remained until the seventeenth century, when it was broken by a decree of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. The fragments still remained in the church until late in the last century, when they were cast into the churchyard. Dr. Duncan, the minister of Ruthwell, rescued them from destruction, and set them up in the garden of the manse, where they are yet to be seen. Owing to its having been sheltered from the weather for so many centuries within the walls of the church, the inscriptions upon it were for the most part so legible, that even persons unacquainted with the Runic character were able to make copies of them, of the general accuracy of which there can be no doubt; and it is fortunate that copies were made, for the Runic inscriptions are now quite illegible, except that upon the upper stone.

Its form and general character are the same as those of the Bewcastle monument, and as the upper and lower limbs of the cross which terminated it, have been preserved, it serves to shew what was probably the appearance of that monument when complete.

Its two fronts, originally its eastern and western faces, are covered with sacred imagery in oblong compartments, surrounded by inscriptions referring to the subjects they contain. These are as follow:—

1. In the upper limb of the cross two half-figures, and the same in the lower.

2. St. John the Baptist, with the Holy Lamb; to which he points

with his right hand, resting on his left arm. Around it are the remains of an inscription—*ADORAMUS*.

3. Our Blessed Lord, holding a scroll in His left hand, giving His blessing with His right, and trampling on demons personified by swine. The inscription, a little disarranged, is ✕ *IHS XPS IVDEX AEQVITATIS . BESTIAE ET DRACONES COGNOVERVNT IN DESERTO SALVATOREM MYNDI*.

4. St. Paul and St. Antony breaking a loaf of bread between them. ✕ *SCS PAVLVS ET AN[TONIVS EREMITAE] FREGERVNT PANEM IN DESERTO*. The incident represented in this panel is thus related by St. Jerome in his life of St. Antony.

“St. Antony having attained the age of ninety years, was one day thinking that no one among the religious of Egypt had penetrated farther into the wilderness than himself. Whereupon he was admonished in a dream that there was one still farther on in the desert, much better than himself, and that he should make haste to visit him. In compliance with this divine admonition he set out at break of day in quest of the servant of God, and after travelling for two days at length found him, when falling each upon the other’s neck, and mutually embracing one another, and each calling the other by his proper name, they united in giving thanks to God. Whilst they were conversing, St. Antony perceived a raven alighting upon one of the branches of a neighbouring palm tree, which, descending gently, dropped a loaf of bread before them, and then flew away. “Behold” said Paul, “how our loving and merciful Lord has sent us a dinner. Sixty years have now elapsed since I have daily received from Him a loaf, but upon thy coming Christ hath been pleased to send His soldier a double portion.” Then, after praying and giving thanks, they sat down by the edge of a spring to take the food that God had sent them, but not without an humble contention who should break the loaf, which they at last decided by breaking it conjointly. After taking a moderate refreshment, they lay down to sip at the spring, and then returned to prayer and the praises of God, and in this holy exercise they spent the evening and the whole of the following night.”

5. The Blessed Virgin and the child Jesus in her arms, riding upon an ass: the head of St. Joseph, who conducts them, appears in the corner. The inscription is almost entirely gone. What remains is ✕ *MARIA ET IO[SEF . . . .]*

6. There has been another subject, but it is impossible to make out the design.

On the opposite face we have—

1. In the lower limb of the cross an archer taking aim, and in the upper an eagle grasping a branch.

2. Two figures embracing each other. This may be intended to represent the Visitation.

3. St. Mary Magdalene washing the feet of Jesus. ✕ *ATTVLIT*

ALABASTRVM VNGVENTI ET STANS RETROSECVS PEDES EIVS LACRIMIS COEPIT  
RIGARE PEDES EIVS ET CAPILLIS CAPITIS SVI TERGEBAT.

4. Jesus restoring sight to the blind man. ✠ ET PRAETERIENS VIDIT  
COECVM A NATIBITATE ET SANAVIT EVM AB INFIRMITATE.

5. The Angel Gabriel announcing to the Blessed Virgin the mystery  
of the Incarnation. Both figures are standing. ✠ INGRESSVS ANGELVS  
AD MARIAM DIXIT AD EAM AVE GRATIA PLENA DOMINVS TECVM BENEDICTA TV  
IN MVLLIERIBVS.

6. The outlines, nearly obliterated, of the crucifixion: the sun and  
moon appear above the arms of the cross and other figures below.

The design of the sides of this cross is the same as that of the eastern  
face of that at Bewcastle, a scroll, with fruit and foliage, interspersed  
with animals, viz.; a quadruped, two birds, and two monsters appear-  
ing upon each. Much of the lower part of each side is defaced. On  
the lower stone, which is about three fourths of the entire length, the  
composition is complete, and bounded by the inscribed border. What  
is above is on a stone of a different kind, but the pattern is of the same  
character. It is evident that the monument was intended to be com-  
plete, when much less than at present, but that the artist whose task  
was to carve the imagery, finding it not long enough for all the subjects  
he wished to introduce, had it lengthened by the addition of the upper  
stone, and then an ornament was carved, resembling that on the lower  
part. That this was a different artist from the person who worked the  
scroll is very probable; for Dr. Duncan says that the upper scroll is of  
inferior workmanship to the lower; and the inscription on the upper  
stone is written along the descending line of the border in the same way  
as the latin inscriptions on the two fronts, whereas that of the lower is  
so written as to be read at one view, all the letters being upright. This  
inscription on each side begins at the top in the left hand corner, is  
continued down the right side, begins again at the top of the left side,  
and probably was continued along the bottom to the right hand corner.  
It is evident that what remains is not much more than half what was  
originally engraved upon the monument, nearly as much being obliterated  
in the middle and at the end of each as can still be read. They  
are written in Anglo-Saxon Runes of the same forms as those on the  
Bewcastle cross, and after they had exercised the ingenuity of the anti-  
quaries of England, Scotland, and Denmark for two hundred years,  
the key to their correct interpretation was found by that learned Anglo-  
Saxon scholar, and judicious antiquary, J. M. Kemble, Esq.. He dis-  
covered them to be fragments of a poem in the early Saxon dialect of  
Northumbria. Through the kindness of James Scott, Esq., of Clarence-  
field, I have been furnished with a copy of these inscriptions made many

years ago, more complete and accurate than those which guided Mr. Kemble in his interpretation. On the upper stone, the margin adjoining that on which the word ADORAMUS is found gives clearly the letters **INÆGISÆ**. The lower stone, on the two opposite sides, gives the following reading :—

I.		II.	
UNGERE		✕ CRIST WÆS AN	
AHOF	DÆ	MI	RO
ICR	HI	THS	DI
IICN	NÆ	TRE	HW
ÆCY	GO	LU	ETH
NING	DÆ	MG	RÆ
CHI	LM	IW	THE
FUN	EEO	UN	RF
ÆSH	TTI	DÆD	USÆ
LAF	GTH	ALE	FEAR
ARD	AH	GDU	RAN
HÆL	EW	NHIE	CWO
DAIC	AL	HINÆ	MUN
NIDA	DE	LIMW	ÆTHIL
RSTÆ	AN	ÖERIG	ÆTIL
BISM	GA	NÆGI	ÆNU
ÆRÆD	LG	STO	MIC
EUNG	UG	DDU	THÆTÆ
CET	IST	NHIM	LBH
MEN	IGA	...LI	EOL
BÆÆT	MOD	...ÆS	DSÆR
GÆD	IGF	...ÆF	ICW
REIC	ORE	...M	ÆSM
MITHB	MEN	...IT	..AL
LODI	...	...GW	GUÆ
BIST	NYG	...	GID
EMI		...E	RÖE
D			FID
			...Æ

Beginning at the left-hand corner of the first inscription, and proceeding down the right side, we read as follows :—

ungeredæ hinæ God ælmeecottig  
tha he walde an galgu gistiga  
modig fore men  
[an ma]nyg[ra....]

prepared Himself God Almighty  
when he would to the cross ascend  
courageously before men  
[in sight of] many.

then returning to the left side—

ahof ic riicnæ cyninge  
hifunæs hlafard

I raised the mighty King  
heaven's Lord.

hælda ic ni darstæ  
bismæræde ungeet men  
bæ ætgædre  
ic mith blodi bistemid

fall down I durst not  
They reviled us two  
both together  
I with blood stained

These fragments relate to the crucifixion of Jesus; those which follow to the taking of His Sacred Body down from the cross. Beginning as before at the left-hand corner of the second inscription, and reading down the right side—

✕ Crist wæs an rodi  
hwethræ ther fusæ  
fearran cwomun  
æthilæ ti lænum  
ic thæt æl biheold  
sær ic wæs m[ith] dalgwæ  
gidrœfid

✕ Christ was on the rood  
Lo! thither hastening  
from afar came  
nobles to him in misery  
I that all beheld  
I was with the wound of sorrow  
vexed

then returning to the left side

mith strelum giwundæd  
alegdun hiæ hinæ limwœrignæ  
gistoddun him [æt] li[c]æs  
[h]æf[du]m

with shafts wounded  
they laid Him down limb-weary  
they stood by him at his corpse's  
head

And as Mr. Kemble was the first to interpret these inscriptions, which had baffled every one who before him had undertaken the task, so for him also was reserved the satisfaction of discovering also the verification of his reading. This he found in a poem entitled *The Dream of the Holy Rood*, one of a collection discovered by Dr. Blum at Vercelli, and since published by the Record Commission. In this poem the following passages occur, supposed to be spoken by the Cross of our Lord, narrating to the Christian who is favoured with the vision the events of the Crucifixion, and its own feelings upon being made the instrument of torture to the Son of God.

Ongyrede hine thâ geong hæleth

thæt wæs God Ælmihtig  
strang and stîthmôd  
gestâh he on gealgan heânne  
môdig on manigra gesihthe  
thâ he wolde mancyn lȳsan  
Bifode ic thâ me se beorn ymb-  
clypte  
ne dorste ic hwæthre bûgan tō  
eorthan  
feallan to foldan sceatum

Then the young hero prepared  
himself,

that was God Almighty.  
Strong and firm of mood,  
He mounted the lofty cross,  
courageously in the sight of many;  
when He would mankind redeem.  
I trembled when the hero em-  
braced me,  
yet dared I not bow down to  
earth,  
fall to the bosom of the ground,

ac ic sceôlde fæste standan  
 Rôd wæs ic âræred  
 âhôf ic ricne cyning  
 heofona hlâford;  
 hylðan me ne dorste.  
 Bysmeredon hie unc butu æt gæ-  
     dere  
 Eal ic wæs mid blôde bestêmed  
 begoten of thæs guman sîdan

but I was compelled to stand fast.  
 A cross was I reared,  
 I raised the powerful King,  
 heaven's lord.  
 I durst not fall down.  
 They reviled us both together.  
 I was all stained with blood  
 poured from the man's side.

Crist wæs on rôde  
 hwæðre thær fusæ  
 feorran cwomon  
 to tham æthelinge  
 Ic thæt eal beheôld  
 sære ic wæs mid gedrêfed

Christ was on the cross,  
 yet, thither hastening  
 men came from far  
 to the noble one.  
 I beheld that all,  
 with sorrow I was afflicted.

Forleton me thâ hilderincas  
 standan steâme bedrifenne  
 eal ic wæs mid strælum forwund-  
     od  
 Aledon hie thær limwêrigne;  
 gestôdon him æt his licæs heaf-  
     dum.  
 beheôldon hie thær heofenes  
     dryhten,  
 and he hine thær hwile reste  
 mêthe æfter thām miclan gewinne

The warriors left me there,  
 standing defiled with gore.  
 I was all wounded with shafts.

They laid Him down limb-weary.  
 They stood at the corpse's head.

They beheld the Lord of heaven.

And He rested Himself there awhile,  
 weary after His mighty contest.

Thus in this poem Mr. Kemble found the very same passages as he had previously found upon the cross; and, rightly read, they prove to be in precisely the same order, two passages, one referring to the crucifixion, the other to the taking down from the cross, extracted from a longer poem, embracing the whole subject. The discovery of the poem, whilst it established the general correctness of his interpretation, enabled Mr. Kemble to correct the trifling mistakes into which he had fallen, and, with the imperfect copies he had to guide him, the wonder is they that were so few. It is beyond all doubt the most interesting discovery that has ever been made in the field of Anglo-Saxon antiquities; for these lines inscribed upon the cross prove the existence in the middle of the seventh century of a poem, of which they form a part, written in the Northumbrian dialect, and of which that in the Vercelli MS. (which Mr. Kemble considers a poem of very high character), is a



later version in the West Saxon dialect, with some additions and alterations. Fortunately, the history of the period enables us, almost with certainty, to determine the author of this poem, for there was but one person then living to whom it can be ascribed. For reasons which will appear in the sequel, I believe this monument, and that at Bewcastle, to be of the same age, and the work of the same hand, and the latter must have been erected A.D. 664 or 5. Now this was precisely the period at which Cædmon, first of all the English nation, began to compose religious poems, in the monastery of the Abbess Hilda.

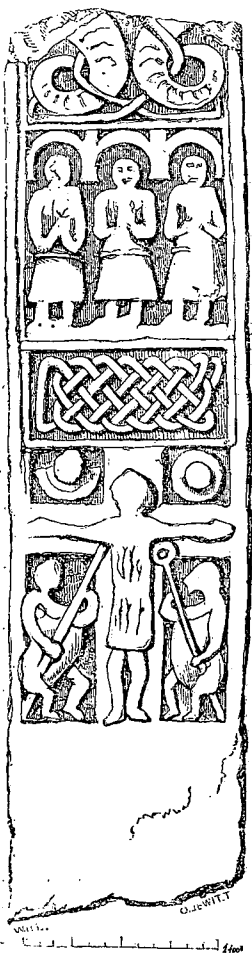
Of him Venerable Bede records that he was the first to compose sacred poems in the English language; that their subjects were the Incarnation, Passion, and other mysteries of the life of Our Lord; and that, although others after him attempted to do the same, no one could be compared to him. As then what is related of his inspiration<sup>20</sup> must have taken place about this time, for the monastery of St. Hilda was founded in the year 655, are we not justified in regarding the lines upon the Ruthwell cross as fragments of a lost poem of his, a poem, however, which a later poet in the tenth century undertook to modernize and adapt to the taste of his own times, as Dryden did with some of the poems of Chaucer? I submit to the judgment of others this conjecture, based upon these grounds, viz. that on this monument, erected about A.D. 665, we have fragments of a religious poem of very high character, and that there was but one man living in England at the time worthy to be named as a religious poet, and that was Cædmon.

In proceeding to notice the sculptured decorations of these two monuments, our attention is first arrested by the mutilated delineation of the crucifixion on that at Ruthwell, and this because M. Didron and others are of opinion that representations of this subject do not, or very rarely, occur before the tenth century. Here, however, we find it on a monument to which we can certainly assign an earlier date, (the seventh century), and there are several other examples on monuments which we have good reason to suppose belong to the seventh or eighth centuries. In the walls of the church of Kirkdale, in Yorkshire, built out of the ruins of St. Gregory's monastery (which I conceive to have been that of Læstingæu) are three crosses, one of which is entirely filled by a very rude crucifixion. On another found at Rothbury, and now in the Museum of the Society, the image of Our Saviour crucified fills the head of the cross, as on the ruder example at Kirkdale. The curious fragments of the cross at Alnwick, (from Woden's Church, Alnmouth), deserve special notice here, because they and the Ruthwell cross mutually illustrate each other. The position of the crucifixion on the cross

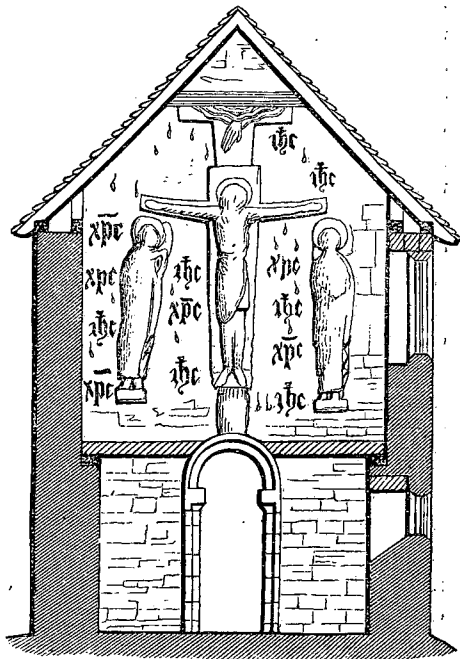
<sup>20</sup> Bede's Eccl. Hist., book iv., cap 24.

at Ruthwell shews what was probably the relation of the fragments at Alnwick to the cross of which they formed a part; and the carving on the latter, being in better preservation than that on the former, shews what was its general design; viz. Our Saviour extended on the cross, (not depending), the sun and moon above, below apparently the two thieves, and lower still two executioners. Very similar in design to these is the crucifixion represented on one of the crosses at Aycliffe, (of which by the kindness of W. H. D. Longstaffe, Esq., I am enabled to give a representation), where we have the two executioners only, without the thieves.

Not to mention other examples on crosses, the west front of the little church of Headbourne Worthy, near Winchester, is nearly filled by a very large crucifix, with the hand of the Eternal Father issuing from clouds above the head of our Lord, and on either side the figures of the Blessed Virgin and St. John: and so sacred was this deemed in early times, that in the fifteenth century a porch, with a little chapel over it, was attached to



Cross at Aycliffe.



Crucifix at Headbourne Worthy

this front, in which was an altar in front of the Holy Rood, thus enclosing it for particular veneration. All this care bestowed on it, and reverence shown towards it, seems only to have provoked the violence of the sixteenth century, when it was chiselled away level with the surface of the wall, leaving only the outlines to shew what it had once been. At Romsey, however, there still remains, quite perfect, a similar crucifix on the exterior wall of the south transept. It seems to be of equal antiquity, and has been saved out of the ruins of an earlier church: and a piscina near it shews that there must have been a little chapel, as at Headbourne Worthy, built to enclose it.

The three figures on the cross at Bewcastle are very superior in dignity and grace to any thing I have ever observed, even of Norman art, and the same may be said of those on the Ruthwell monument. Two of them, St. John the Baptist holding the Holy Lamb, and Our Blessed Saviour trampling on the heads of demons personified by swine, are nearly the same on each monument, the differences of treatment being very slight. For the choice of the other subjects at Ruthwell it is difficult to account; we have the Annunciation, the Visitation (probably), and the Flight into Egypt, but not in order; and I may remark that these three subjects, with a fourth—an angel appearing in a vision to St. Joseph—are represented on a curious tablet in the wall of the tower of Hovingham church in Yorkshire.<sup>21</sup> Then we have a miracle of Our Blessed Lord—His restoring sight to the blind man—and St. Mary Magdalene washing His feet, and lastly, an incident from the lives of St. Paul and St. Anthony. Certainly this collection of subjects seems very incongruous; but some good reasons probably dictated the choice, and were we better acquainted with the history of the person whose monument it is, the incongruity would doubtless disappear. The period, however, to which this monument must be ascribed, makes it probable that the person to whose memory it was erected was a con-

<sup>21</sup> A representation of this tablet appears in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. VI., p. 189; but not a very accurate one. Under eight arches are as many figures, forming four distinct subjects, as follows:—

1. The Angel; 2. The Blessed Virgin, seated.

3 and 4. Two female figures, standing, each facing the other. This I take to be the Visitation.

5. A male figure walking and following 6, a female figure with a swathed infant in her arms. This seems to be the Flight into Egypt, or, perhaps, the journey to Jerusalem for the Presentation.

7. A figure reclining, apparently asleep, and 8, an angel, appearing to him. This is probably the dream of St. Joseph. The whole work is decidedly Saxon, and it is built into the walls of a tower which is as decided a specimen of Saxon architecture as any that I am acquainted with. Over the west door is a cross of a type peculiar to early Saxon and Irish monuments, and the double splayed windows of the lower stage, and rude baluster windows of the belfry stage, are all indications of its early date.

vert from paganism to the faith, and whilst on the monument of any Christian the mysteries of the Incarnation and Passion of Our Blessed Lord would be appropriate, the restoration of sight to the blind as typical of the greater miracle of opening the eyes of the soul to the light of faith, and the forgiveness of St. Mary Magdalene and her loving penitence, on the monument of a convert, would be peculiarly so. The choice of St. John the Baptist, and of the scene from the history of St. Paul and St. Anthony might be the result of a special veneration on his part to those saints.

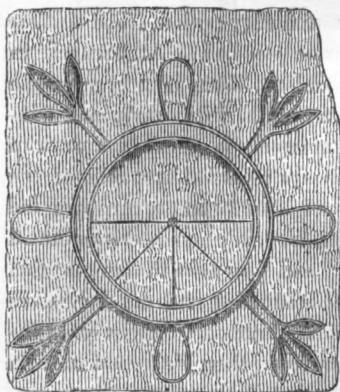
The scroll-work on the eastern side of the Bewcastle monument, and on the two sides of that at Ruthwell, is identical in design, and differs very much from that which is found on other Saxon crosses. In fact I know of nothing like it except small portions on a fragment of a cross in the York Museum, on another fragment preserved in Jarrow church, and on a cross at Hexham. This resemblance, and that already noticed, in the style of the carving of the imagery, convince me that the two crosses are the work of the same artist or artists, (if we suppose that then, as is the case now-a-days, one who was competent to execute statuary left the carving of flowers and mere ornaments to less skilful hands), and, therefore, that the date of the one cannot be much later than that of the other; nay, I feel inclined to go farther than this, and to hazard the conjecture that the two once formed the same monument, one at the head and the other at the foot of the grave. Believing, as I do, that all these ancient crosses are sepulchral monuments, the absence of an epitaph at Ruthwell, on the lower stone at least, convinces me that something is wanting to make the monument complete. The inscriptions on its fronts are Latin antiphons, allusive to the subjects portrayed thereon, and those on its sides English verses descriptive of the Passion. In such company a memorial inscription would have seemed incongruous. Something seems wanting to the completeness of the monument, and that is supplied by the cross at Bewcastle, where we find an inscription to the memory of king Alcfrid, and the names of other persons of his family. The verification of the Bewcastle traditions disposes me the more readily to credit that which tells us that the Ruthwell cross came thither by sea, and was cast on the shore by shipwreck. If this be really true, whence did it come? Most probably from Cumberland; carried off, perhaps, on account of its beauty, by an army of Danes or Scots, and cast upon the shore of the Solway by a sudden storm.

Before I thought of the connection between these two crosses, it occurred to me that the reason why St. John the Baptist was introduced upon that at Bewcastle might be, that he was the patron saint of King

Alefrid, and this seemed to clear up a difficulty which I had felt for some years on another point of antiquarian research. At Barnack, in Northamptonshire, three miles from Stamford, there is a church the tower of which, presenting on three sides scrolls with birds, and windows filled with tracery of interlacing knotwork, is certainly a work of the seventh century, and one which I always regarded as a relic of the monastery built by St. Wilfrid in this neighbourhood on land granted to him by Alefrid. But we know that St. Wilfrid's monasteries were all dedicated to St. Peter and St. Andrew;<sup>22</sup> and how was the supposition that Barnack is St. Wilfrid's work to be reconciled with its dedication to St. John the Baptist? Very easily, if St. John the Baptist were indeed the patron of Alefrid. And if this were so, then his appearance on the Ruthwell cross adds to the probability that it belonged to the monument erected in his honour at Bewcastle: and that monument, we may suppose, consisted of two crosses, one at the head, the other at the foot of the grave, both presenting the image of our Blessed Lord, and of Alefrid's patron saint; one devoted to sacred imagery and inscriptions calculated for the edification of the beholder, the other presenting his portraiture and an inscription to his memory. It is even possible that the inscription upon the upper stone at Ruthwell may have contained his name. The letters which remain are *IDÆ GISCÆ*. Of these *GISCÆ* is evidently the beginning of a word such as *gesceapan*, to form or shape, *gesceadan*, to divide or separate, or *gescea*, sobbing, and the rest may be the ending of the word *Alefrida*. If any other letters could be traced confirming this conjecture, I should regard this inscription as a sort of postscript to that on the other cross. Nor would such a supposition militate against what I have said above of the incongruity of a memorial inscription with such as the rest of those upon this monument: for the lower stone on which they occur is evidently complete in itself, and as evidently the addition of the upper stone was an afterthought, for which the wish to add such an inscription as this might easily account, and which I cannot but think detracts from the beauty of the monument by destroying its unity.

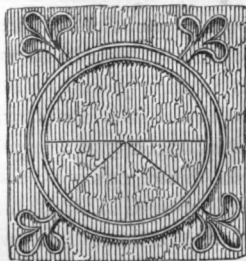
I must now call the attention of the reader to the dial which is introduced in the midst of a scroll in the southern face of the monument at Bewcastle. Such dials, though by no means common, are more so than is generally supposed; and for this reason I will mention all that have come under my notice. At Corhampton, in Hampshire, there is

<sup>22</sup> Eddi, chap. liv., records a vision (A.D. 705), in which St. Wilfrid is reproached for having done this, and having neglected to build one in honour of the Blessed Virgin, and four years of life are granted him to supply this omission.

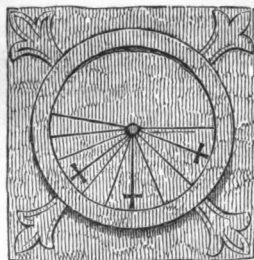


Dial at Corhampton.

one in its original position in the south wall of the very interesting Saxon church there, which I believe to be one of St. Wilfrid's works, because its architecture corresponds with that of churches in other parts of the country which on other grounds I believe to be his, and it is situated in one of the scenes of St. Wilfrid's labours, the ancient district of the Meanwara. My conjecture with regard to this church is strengthened by the occurrence of a similar, though smaller and less ornamented dial, in the neighbouring church at Warnford. This church is Norman, erected in the twelfth century by Adam de Portu, but an inscription of that period testifies that it stands on the site of an earlier church founded by St. Wilfrid, and the dial is probably a relic of that earlier church inserted in the walls of the Norman building. Again, a dial closely resembling the last appears in the walls of St. Michael's church, Winchester. These three have been figured in the Proceedings



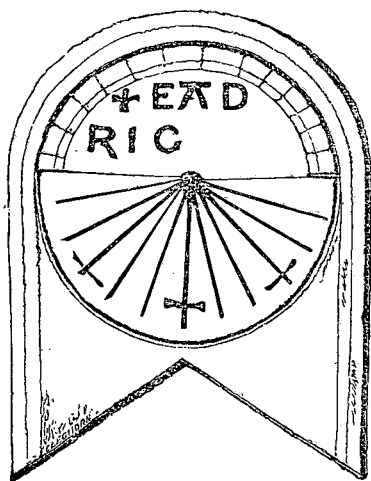
Dial at Warnford.



Dial at Winchester.

of the Archæological Association at Winchester, in 1845. Probably of equal antiquity with these, is a small and very plain one at Headbourne Worthy, near Winchester. It is not in its original position, but there are parts of the church, including the west front with the rood already mentioned, of equal antiquity with Corhampton. At Barnack, in Northamptonshire, there is another in the south wall of the Saxon tower. Like the four already mentioned it is enclosed in a circle, but it differs from the three first in the omission of the flowered ornaments attached to the outer circumference, and in the introduction of one which fills the upper half of the circle above the dial. At Swillington, in

Yorkshire, there is another, which I mention in this place, because, as in all the above instances, the circle is complete, the lower half being marked for the dial. It is evidently a relic of an earlier building built into the south wall of a church of the fourteenth century. At Bishop-



Dial at Bishopstone.

stone, in Sussex, there is a very curious one, figured in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xi., p. 40, and in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov., 1840, of an entirely different design. It is introduced in a semi-circular arch, has an ornament above it, not unlike what appears in some Anglo-Saxon MSS., and the name ✠ EADRIC, which may be that of the prince of the South-Saxons, son of Egberht King of Kent, who killed his uncle Hlothari, A.D. 685, and reigned in his stead for a year and a half afterwards. All the above I take to be of the seventh century. Of later date I have seen one at Old Byland, in

Yorkshire. It is semicircular, and has an inscription of which I could only read the words . . . .TIDEMAN . . . .ME FECIT. The latest is the well-known dial over the south door of the church at Kirkdale, executed in the reign of St. Edward the Confessor. It has been remarked that this dial differs from that at Bishopstone in having a single dividing line between each of the crossed lines. In this respect the Bewcastle, Bishopstone, and Winchester dials agree. These nine, which I have seen, and that at Bishopstone, which I have not seen, are all that I know of, but it is probable there may be many more, since so many have fallen under the notice of a single individual.

The value of these monuments, as illustrating the state of civilization of our forefathers in the seventh century, can scarcely be overrated. First, they afford incontestible evidence that the Angles of Northumbria were in possession of a system of writing of their own before the introduction of Roman characters by the Latin missionaries: and that their alphabet was more complete than the Roman, containing more letters, expressive of sounds peculiar to their language. From the series of Runic alphabets which Mr. Kemble has published,<sup>23</sup> taken from MSS. of the ninth and tenth centuries, (a period when this kind of writing

<sup>23</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii.

had fallen into disuse in England) it appears that the Anglo-Saxon Runic alphabet consisted of thirty characters; and of these, twenty-six are found on the Bewcastle and Ruthwell monuments, a nearly complete alphabet of the letters which were in use in the seventh century. Whence these were derived there can be no doubt, for they are nearly the same as those which were in use amongst the Teutonic tribes who inhabited those districts of the Continent whence the Angles came, and we may regard it as certain that they brought these letters with them at their first coming to England, and used them constantly during the century and a half previous to their conversion to Christianity. It is true that these monuments present the earliest examples that have yet been noticed of this kind of writing in England, but it is very possible that others may be discovered, since records much earlier than these once existed. The venerable father of English history had undoubtedly access to chronological tables, in which, under each successive year of the reigning king, events were recorded as they occurred, and from the minuteness with which he details the transactions of the reign of King Edwin, it is evident that these annals must have extended beyond the date of the conversion of the Northumbrian kingdom to Christianity. Future research may yet discover some of these, buried perhaps in such places as Goodmanham, the site of the famous temple of Northumbria, or Wallbottle, the palace of King Oswiu. Here, however, we have undoubted examples of the writing which was in use amongst the Angles of the seventh century, and had been for centuries previous to the introduction of the Roman alphabet by Christian missionaries. I do not lose sight of the fact, that that alphabet was known to and used by the Britons, nor do I doubt that they could read the inscriptions on the many monuments which the Romans left behind them; but so great was their hatred of the Anglo-Saxon race, and so little, in consequence, their intercourse with them, that the latter were quite ignorant of any letters but their own; and those which the Roman missionaries introduced were as strange to them as the language they were used to express. Many years, in all probability, would pass away after the introduction of Christianity, and the foreign influence which we know accompanied it, before the old system of writing would be abandoned, and the new take its place: and Runes would continue to be used for English records, and Roman letters for Latin. This we find to be the case. The Latin inscriptions at Ruthwell are written in Roman characters; the English inscriptions there, at Bewcastle, and at Kirkdale, in Runes. After the conversion of the northern nations to Christianity, the clergy laboured to do away with the ancient system of writing, and to substitute the Roman in its stead, and their efforts were everywhere



successful. The Anglo-Saxon Runes were probably the first to be dis-used; whilst those of the Scandinavian nations maintained their ground for several centuries. Thus the inscription to the memory of Bishop Tuda, though in English, is in Roman characters, because it was written in a monastery under ecclesiastical influence. In the Falstone inscription we have an early example of the endeavours that were made to familiarize the eyes of our forefathers with the Roman letters by writing the same words first in Runes and then in Roman minuscules; and had the Dewsbury inscription been perfect we should perhaps have had another earlier still. Hence arises the probability that the inscription on the cross at Halton, and any others that may exist, or may hereafter be found, written in pure Anglo-Saxon Runes, must be referred to the same age as these.

The earliest Anglo-Saxon coins that can be appropriated with any degree of probability, have the names of the kings by whose authority they were struck written in Runes. These are coins which seem to bear the name of Peada, and his brother Ethelred, Kings of Mercia. A coin in Ruding, pl. 26, Appendix, fig. 4, has the letters PADA in Runes; quite distinct; and as the upper stroke of the A is joined to the D, it may be read PEADA. In this instance the letters are large, occupying nearly the whole field. Another coin which I have seen in an English collection, and which is figured in Combrouse's *Monnaies de France*, Vol. III., pl. 28, fig. 1, presents the letters PÆDA on one side of a square on the reverse; its obverse being of the same type as the last. The same work, Vol. IIII., pl. 154, figure 4, gives another variety, with the same letters in the field. The coin figured by Ruding, pl. 3, as one of Ethilberht, reads distinctly ÆTHILIRÆD. I know of no Anglo-Saxon kings to whom these pieces can be assigned with more probability than to Peada and Ethelred. This attribution is new, but would have been published long ago, had I been enabled to complete the work I once projected on the Anglo-Saxon coinage. The earliest with Roman legends are those of Ecgfrid and his successors, Kings of Northumbria; but still, even to a comparatively late period, in the occasional use of Runes, we discern a lingering affection for the old characters. Thus a coin has been cited of Offa, King of Mercia, with the moneyer's name, BOTRED, in Runes, and on others of his coins Runes are occasionally found introduced amongst Roman letters, and on a coin of his contemporary, Ethilberht of East Anglia, after the King's name in Roman letters, we have that of the moneyer, LVL in Runes. So, also, we have Runes and Roman letters on the supposed East Anglian coins of Beonna. The stycas of Eanred, King of Northumbria, of the moneyers BROTHER and WINTRED, present the latest examples of the use of these characters.

All the examples above cited belong to the three Anglian kingdoms, Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia. The Jutish kingdom of Kent supplies one monument of this class, the tombstone discovered some years ago at Dover, with the name *GISLHEARD*; and possibly two others in the terminal (?) stone discovered near Canterbury, and the sword-hilt in Mr. Rolfe's possession, but I do not know whether the Runes on these are Anglo-Saxon or not. In the three kingdoms founded by the Saxon race there has not been found as yet a single Runic monument, that which was discovered in London a few years ago being purely Danish.

Thus have we traced the occasional use of Anglo-Saxon Runes in Northumbria almost to the time when it became a Danish kingdom. At that time probably the invaders introduced their own letters, which differ very much from those of which we have been speaking; and although no early examples of the use of Norse Runes have yet occurred in Northumbria, there are two inscriptions in this character, later than the Conquest—that lately discovered at Carlisle, and the famous one on the font at Bridekirk. The former written in Norse Runes, and in the Norse language, has lately been brought under the notice of the Society at one of the monthly meetings. The latter is written in characters which bear a considerable resemblance to Norse Runes, but are yet not entirely the same. It is in two rhyming verses. (*Fig. 16.*)

✕ RICARD HE ME IWROCTE

‡ TO DIS MERTH GERNR ME BROCTE

which, on comparing it with the same words in Anglo-Saxon and in modern English—

Ricard he me gewrohte

And to this mæ̃rthe geornor me  
bróhte

Richard he me wrought

And to this beauty carefully me  
brought

appears to be intermediate between the two versions, and may be regarded as a specimen of the English of the eleventh or twelfth century.

The following couplet from the *Life of St. Godric*,<sup>24</sup> by Reginald (a work of the twelfth century), affords an apt illustration of this inscription, and a confirmation of the date assigned to it.

Seinte Marie sio on scamel me iledde

Thæt ic on this hi-herthe ne sculde wit mine bare fot itreide.

Saint Marie she on footstool me led,

That I on this earth should not with my bare foot tread.

The forms *iledde* and *itreide* corresponding to *iwrocte*; the exact simi-

<sup>24</sup> St. Godric died A.D. 1170, and this life was compiled whilst he was yet living.

larity of construction, *Seinte Marie sio me iledde* and *Richard he me iworote*; and of the style of versification, are I think sufficient to convince any one that they are of the same age, *i. e.* the twelfth century, a date which the character of the carving on the font perfectly warrants.

From this reading, taken from impressions kindly forwarded to me by the Rev. James Carter, Vicar of Bridekirk, it will be seen that Mr. Hamper's reading (published in the *Archæologia*, vol xix) was very near the truth. He erred in two letters only, and into these errors he was led by faults in Mr. Howard's copy.

Not less valuable are these monuments as presenting the very earliest examples of our language, and almost the only examples of the language as it was written in the seventh century. The forms of the words in these inscriptions differ materially from those which were in use in those centuries, and in those districts, to which most of the existing monuments of the Anglo-Saxon language belong. The Vercelli poem, as we have seen, affords us the means of comparing the early forms of the Northumbrian with the late forms of the West Saxon dialect; and the information thus derived has been of material assistance in explaining the Bewcastle inscription, and will be equally valuable to any one who may undertake the reading of any others that may hereafter be discovered. For this reason, we give here a table of the contrast between the early and late forms of the language, the letters B, D, F, R, denoting that the words are found respectively in the Bewcastle, Dews-bury, Falstone, and Ruthwell inscriptions.

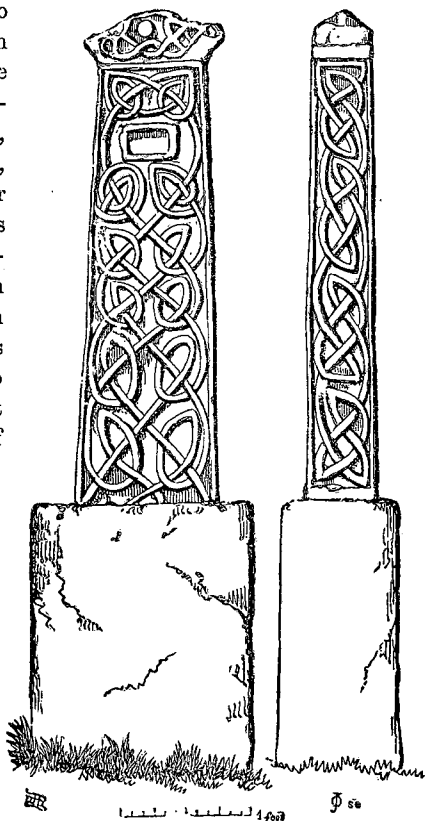
a for o	R	an	on	e for æ	„	hwethræ	hwæthre
	„	dalgwæ	dolge		„	strelum	strælum
	„	darstæ	dorste		„	thér	thær
	„	hlafard	hlaford	ea for eo	„	fearran	feorian
æ for á	„	walde	wolde		B	preaster	preost
	„	bæ	bâ		D	beornæ	bearne
	„	sær	sâr		F	eomæ	eáme
æ for e	R	bismæræde	bysmeredon	eo for i	R	ælmeottig	ealmihtig
	„	darstæ	dorste		„	biheold	beheöld
	„	fusæ	fuse		„	bistemid	bestemed
	„	hiæ, hinæ	hie, hine		„	blodi	blode
	„	riicnæ	ricne		D	gibiddad	gebidath
	B	settæ	sette	i for e	B	gicegæd	gecigath
æ for ea	R	ungeredæ	ongyrede		R	gidræfid	gedrêfed
	„	„	„		„	gistiga	gestigan
	B	gær	gear		„	gistoddun	gestôdon
	R	hælda	healdan		„	giwundæd	gewundod
	„	„	„		„	rodi	rode

i for eo R    hifunæs    heofenes  
 u for o { „    alegdun    aledon  
           { „    cwomun    cwomon  
           { „    ungeredæ    ongyrede

d for d { B    Alcfrid    Ealhfrith  
           { „    Ecgfrid    Ecgfrith  
           { D    gibiddad    gebidath  
           { B    gicegæd    gecigath

Besides the above, which differ from later forms in the vowels only, we have *dalgu* and *galgu* for *dolg* and *gealga*; infinitives in *a*, *gistiga* and *hælda*, for *gestigan* and *healdan*; and participles past in *æd*, *giwundæd* and *tægæd* (the latter at Beckermont), for *gewundod* and *tigod*. In the absence of any other monument of early date, we may derive some information on this point from Venerable Bede. His history, it is true, is written in Latin, but it contains many names of persons and places; and as these had always a meaning, they generally represent forms of words in use when he wrote; and of that history fortunately one MS. is in existence, written two years after his death, in which these words are found just as he would write them. I have therefore thought it desirable to give, as an Appendix to this memoir, a list of the names which occur therein, with their meanings as far as I have been able to ascertain them; for many of them seem to have afterwards fallen into disuse, and no glossary gives their meaning. On reference to this list it will be found that nearly all the early modes of spelling noted above occur therein, and several others besides.

Having given to these monuments the attention which they justly claim, let us proceed to notice one or two others. In the churchyard of the village of Hauxwell, near Richmond, in Yorkshire, there is a small cross (*See annexed cut*), of which the head is broken away. It is fixed



in a square plinth. Its ornaments are simply interlacing patterns, but in the midst of them, on the front, there is a small panel, and in this is an inscription, almost obliterated, which (by means of impressions kindly forwarded to me by Miss Pattison) I read (*Fig. 17*)

HAEC EST  
CRVX SC  
GACOB I

Short as this inscription is, it is very valuable, inasmuch as it assists us in settling another point in the geography of Venerable Bede, for there can be no doubt as to the identity of the person who is commemorated here. It is James, whom Venerable Bede mentions as assisting St. Paulinus when he was baptizing the people of Lindsey, A.D. 628. He says of him, "He had with him in the ministry, James the deacon, a man truly zealous, and noble, in Christ and in the church, who lived even to our days;" and again, "He left in the church of York (A.D. 633) James the deacon, a truly ecclesiastical and holy man, who for a long time afterwards continuing in that church, rescued much prey from the old enemy by teaching and baptizing, from whose name the village near Catterick, where he mostly resided, is named to this day; and as he was most skilful in singing in the church, when peace was afterwards restored in the province, and the number of the faithful increased, he began to be master of singing, according to the custom of the Romans, or people of Kent, to many persons; and he being old and full of days, according to the words of Scripture, followed the way of his fathers," He is mentioned again as present at the synod of Whitby, when he had the satisfaction of seeing the return of the Northumbrian church to unity, according to the rule of the church in which he had been brought up; and as Venerable Bede says that he lived to his own days, he probably died about the year 690, when he would be upwards of eighty years of age, if we suppose him to have been nineteen (the age at which the office of deacon was then occasionally conferred) in 628. This cross probably marks the place of his burial, and the epithet *Sancti* in its short inscription bears out the character given him by our venerable historian. If Hauxwell be "the village where he mostly resided," it may have been called after him originally<sup>25</sup> "Jacobus-wælla," and afterwards abbreviated to its present form.

The fragments of the Alnwick cross present inscriptions—on each broad face a single line (*Fig. 18*), MYREDEH . MEH . WO' [RHTE], "Myredeh

<sup>25</sup> The memory of this venerable man is also preserved in Lindsey, another field of his labours, where, not far from Barton-on-Humber, there is a cross which bears his name, St. James' Cross.

me wrought," and [HL]VDWYG. MEH. FEG [DE], "Hludwyg me fixed;" (*Fig. 19*); and on the sides an inscription of which two lines remain, on one EADVLFES. TH (*Fig. 20*), and a single line on the other containing the word SAVL. Though a single letter only occurs after the word "Eadulfes," it is evidently the termination of the inscription on that side; and, therefore, must either stand for a word, or be the commencement of a word which was continued on the other side, where there was evidently a prayer for the soul of the person commemorated. The whole inscription, probably, was something like this—

✠ THIS IS	GEBI
CYNING	DDAD
EADV	THÆRE
LFES. TH[RUH]	SAVLE

This is King Eadulf's grave. Pray for his soul.

Most of the letters on these fragments agree in their forms with those of the Latin inscriptions at Ruthwell, but the *e* more resembles those on the cross at Hackness, which is of the eighth century, and I think the beginning of this century is the date of these fragments. At this period we have an Eadulf figuring for a short time in history, and although we know but little about him, that little tells us that his reign and life ended in the neighbourhood of Alnmouth, where this cross was found. He usurped the crown on the death of Aldfrid, A.D. 705, and at the head of his partisans besieged Berchtfrid, the guardian of the young King Osred, in the fortress of Bamborough, but was repulsed, put to flight, and slain. Bamborough is not many miles to the north of Alnmouth, and still nearer to it on the south-west is a place which may possibly bear his name, and mark the direction of his flight, Edlingham (formerly Eadulfingham). If the probability be admitted that the cross at Alnmouth marked the grave of this Eadulf, its date must be referred to the year 705.

I may remark that of the two names inscribed on the broad faces of this monument, the former, "Myredeh," is undoubtedly Irish.

The task I imposed upon myself of drawing the attention of the Society to the few remaining monuments of Anglo-Saxon antiquity, and pointing out their value, is now accomplished, however imperfectly; and if what I have said shall serve to excite a deeper interest in these remains in the minds of any of the members, and stimulate them to farther research, my object will be gained. I have spared no pains to attain to accuracy in all that I have advanced, especially in the readings of the several inscriptions. Still I cannot expect that I have altogether escaped falling into errors, and whilst I hope that these may be cor-

rected for the sake of truth, by those who may detect them, I may be excused expressing the desire that this may be done in the spirit of forbearance, which is due from one to another by all who are liable to error. The assistance I have received in the course of my researches I have been careful to acknowledge, and I take this opportunity, in conclusion, to express my warmest thanks to all who have so assisted me for their courtesy and kindness.

D. H. HAIGH.

*Erdington, Birmingham.*

#### APPENDIX.

*Proper names, or words entering into the composition of names, occurring in the earliest MS. of the Ecclesiastical History of Venerable Bede (Cambridge Public Library, K.k. 5. 16.), with their meaning as far as can be ascertained, shewing the variation of the latter from the earlier forms of the same words.*

It may be necessary to remark that as Venerable Bede wrote in Latin, the pronounciation of that language obliged him to make some variation from the true spelling of some of these names. We find, for instance, in several words the use of the diphthong *oi*, viz. in *Oidilwald*, *Oiddi*, *Oiscing*, *Loidis*. There can be no doubt that the reason of this is, that the Latin *i*, being pronounced like the English *e*, he used the diphthong *oi* to express the sound of *oe*.<sup>1</sup> *Oidil*, then, is intended for *Oedil*, and this form occurs in the name of *Oedilburga* on the fragments of the cross at Hackness. *Oiscing*, also, is for *Oescing*, and *Loidis* for *Loedis*, which is very near the modern name Leeds. In the following table, then, I have no hesitation in substituting *oe* for *oi* wherever it occurs.

Again, as the Latin language had no *w*, Bede was obliged to use *u* instead of it. I therefore take the same liberty in substituting *w* for *u*, wherever the latter, coming before a vowel, is used as a consonant.

In the names of females, also, I have changed the Latin termination *a* into *e*, believing that no Saxon female name could end in *a*.

My object being simply to illustrate the language of Northumbria in the eighth century, I take no notice of the foreign names which occur in this history.

<sup>1</sup> Properly speaking, neither *oe*, nor *ae*, *ea*, *eo*, were diphthongs in the Anglo-Saxon language, but vowels, each expressed by a single character in the Runic alphabet. The substitution of the Roman for the Runic alphabet rendered the introduction of diphthongs necessary to express these sounds.

I have thought it better, in order to avoid the frequent repetition which a complete catalogue of the names, many of them very similar, would have occasioned, to give merely the elements of compound names, distinguishing the simple names from them by capitals. The following list then forms a little glossary of the language spoken in the seventh century, giving in parallel columns, 1. the ancient, 2. the more recent, forms, 3. the meaning, 4. names into the composition of which these words enter. I have added a few words from contemporary sources.

Acca	ác	<i>an oak</i>	
Ache	ace	<i>ache or pain</i>	
Adda	ád	<i>a pile</i>	
Addi	<i>an adjective formed from the last</i>		
Æbbe	ebbe	<i>ebb, reflux</i>	
Æcci	eacig	<i>advantageous</i>	
æd and œd	ead	<i>happy</i>	Ædwini
Æddi and Æddi	eadig	"	Ædilberet
ædil and cecil	æthel	<i>noble</i>	Ælflæd, Ælf-
ælb and ælf	ælf	<i>an elf</i>	wini
Ælla and Ælli <sup>2</sup>			
Æsica	æsc	<i>an ash</i>	
æu and eu	ea	<i>water</i>	Læstingæu, Her-
			uteu
al	eal	<i>all</i>	Alric
alch	ealh	<i>a hall</i>	Alchfrid
ald	eald	<i>old</i>	Aldfrid
Anna			
ar	ár	<i>glory</i>	Arwald
bad	bad	<i>a pledge</i>	Canebad
badu	beado	<i>war</i>	Badudegn
Bæda	beada	<i>a counsellor</i>	
bald	báld	<i>bold</i>	Baldhelm
Baru	bearo	<i>a grove</i>	Æt Baruæ
Bass	basu	<i>a scarlet cloak</i>	
Bebbe	beáf	<i>a gadfly</i>	
Begu	bæh, beag, beáh, beh	<i>a bracelet</i>	
Berct	berht, bearht, beorht, briht	<i>bright</i>	Bercthun
berge	beorh	<i>a hill</i>	Ædilberge
bern	beorn	<i>a prince</i>	Bernwini
Betti	beotig	<i>threatening</i>	
bil	bil	<i>an axe or sword</i>	Cynibil
Bisi	bisig	<i>busy</i>	
Blecca	blæc	<i>black</i>	
Bosa	bós	<i>a stable</i>	
Bosel	bosel	<i>a stable man</i>	
bot	bót	<i>a ransom</i>	Bothelm
bregu	brego	<i>a prince</i>	Breguswid
brord	brord	<i>a sword</i>	Wilbrord
burg	burh	<i>a city</i>	Cyniburg
cæd	ced	<i>a boat</i>	Cædmon
Cælin <sup>3</sup>	ceawl	<i>a basket</i>	

<sup>2</sup> Ælla and Ælli. Probably these names are the same, and the latter the correct form, of which the former is a Latinized version, since it occurs in an account of St. Gregory's conversation relative to the slaves in the market at Rome.

<sup>3</sup> The West-Saxon form of this name is Ceaulin.



cæstir	ceaster	<i>a city</i>	Cælcacæstir
Cane	cæn	<i>a pine</i>	Canebad
Ceadda	ceod	<i>a purse</i>	
Cearl	ceorl	<i>a freeman</i>	
Cedd	ced	<i>a boat</i>	
ceol, Ceola	ceol	<i>a ship</i>	Ceolfrid
Cœfi	cáf	<i>quick</i>	
cœn, Cœna	céne	<i>bold</i>	Cœnwalch
cud, Cudda	cuth	<i>a friend</i>	Cudberct
cwic	cwic	<i>quick</i>	Cwichelm
cwœn	cwen	<i>a queen</i>	Cwœnburg
cyni	cyne	<i>noble or royal</i>	Cyniberct
Deda	dæd	<i>an action</i>	
degn	thegn	<i>a servant</i>	Badudegn
driect	driht	<i>noble</i>	Dricthelm
dun	dún	<i>a hill</i>	Wilfaræsdun
Eabe, Eafa <sup>4</sup>	eaf	<i>strong</i>	
ean	ean	<i>one</i>	Eanfled
Eappa	geap	<i>wide</i>	
earcon	eorcen	<i>precious</i>	Earconwald
earp	eorp	<i>a troop</i>	Earpwald
easter	eoster		Easterwini
Eata	gát, geát, iát	<i>a gate</i> <sup>5</sup>	
ecg	ecg	<i>a sword</i>	Ecgerct
ei	ig	<i>an island</i>	Carotesei
Elge	æl or él	<i>an eel</i>	
Eni	enge	<i>narrow</i>	
Eolla	geól	<i>merry</i>	
eu	eoh	<i>a horse</i>	Eumer <sup>6</sup>
fel	fela	<i>much</i>	Felgeld
felth	feld	<i>a field</i>	Hæthfelth
flæd <sup>7</sup>	fléde	<i>a flood</i>	Ælbfled
for	fór	<i>a journey</i>	Oftfor
ford	ford	<i>a ford</i>	Hreutford
forth	forth	<i>forward</i>	Fortheri
frea	freó	<i>free</i>	Wusefrea
fri	another form of the last		Frigyd
frid	frith	<i>peace</i>	Herefrid
frod	fród	<i>wise</i>	Frodheri
fyrði	ford	<i>a ford</i>	Twifyrði
gar	gár	<i>a spear</i>	Eadgar
geb	geaf	<i>a gift</i>	Gebmund
geld	geld	<i>money</i>	Felgeld
gils	gisel	<i>a pledge</i>	Ædgils
gneub	geneofe	<i>a niece</i>	Canegneub
gote	gote	<i>one who pours</i>	Earcongote
gud	gúth	<i>war</i>	Gudfrid
gyd	gyd	<i>a song</i>	Eadgyd
hadu	heatho	<i>war</i>	Hadulac
hæd, Hæde	hád <sup>8</sup>	<i>condition</i>	Eadhæd
hæni	hean	<i>poor</i>	Hænigils

<sup>4</sup> Eabe and Eafa I take to be the same word, of which the later form is *Eoba*, and the root of which I suppose to be an adjective *eaf*, strong or brave. This adjective does not appear in our glossaries, but the substantive derived from it does—*eafoth*, strength.

<sup>5</sup> Yate (pr. yät) for gate is a provincialism in use in Yorkshire.

<sup>6</sup> Later names which seem to have the same element are Eomær and Eohric.

<sup>7</sup> *Fléde*, *flód*, *flúd*, are all derived from the past participle of *fleowan* to flow.

<sup>8</sup> In later times we have Willihad, Wulfhad.

halch	heal	a corner, a bay	Strenæshalch
ham	ham	a dwelling	Hruringaham
hard	heard, heord	power	Sighard
he	heá	high	Hewald
Heiu	heg	an enclosure	
helm	helm	a helmet	Swidhelra
heri	here	an army	Heriburg
herut	heorot	a hart	Heruteu
Hiddila	hyd	caution	
Hild, hildí	hild	affection	Hildimær
hloth	hloth	one who casts lots	Hlotheri
hoch	hoh	a heel	Clofeshoch
hreut	hreóð	a reed	Hreutford
hun	hun	a staff	Hunwald
hwæt	hwæt	quick	Hwætberet
hyg	hyge	mind	Hygbald
iaru	earh	an arrow	Iarumar
Imma			
Immin			
Ini			
irmin	eormen	great	Irminburg
lac	laac	a song	Hadulac
læch	læg	a district or territory	Pægnalæch
lid <sup>9</sup>	leoth, lioth	a song	Hildilid
Lilla	lél	a scar	
lyccid	licit	a corpse	Lyccidfelth
mær	mæra	great	Hildimær
mon	mon	a man	Cædmon
mund	mund	a hand	Gebmund
noth	nóth	bold	Nothhelm
Octa	{ oht, or uht	fear or reproach	
Offa	uf	dawn	
oft	oft	a vulture	Offfor
os	ós	often	Oswald
Padda	{ páda or pad	a hero	
Peada	pæth	a kite	
Penda <sup>10</sup>		a tunic	
pect <sup>11</sup>	pecht	a path	
Puch	pocca, pochcha	a Pict	Pecthelm
Putta <sup>12</sup>		a poke, pouch	
rac <sup>13</sup>	reoc	savage	Racwulf
ræd	réd	counsel	Rædfrid
regen	regen	a prince	Regenheri
ric	ric	dominion	Ricberet
Ricule	regol	a law (? lawgiver)	

<sup>9</sup> Modern German *lied*.

<sup>10</sup> This word seems to be identical with the root of *pending* and *pening*, a penny, and *pund*, a pound, and probably signifies "weight" or "weighed."

<sup>11</sup> This word occurs under the form *peht* in the name *Pehtat* in a Mercian charter of the seventh century; and in the ninth century, under different forms, in such names as *Peoththun* and *Piahtred*. The Picts are called, in different MSS., *Pehtas*, *Peahtas*, *Peoktas*, *Pihtas*, *Pyhtas*, names apparently identical with this word; yet I think it may possibly mean "craft" or "guile," equivalent to *pæt*. *Pæca* is a deceiver, and *pæcan* to deceive. These generic names had a meaning.

<sup>12</sup> We have the word "pot;" can this be the meaning of *Putta*?

<sup>13</sup> We have the word "rach" for a hound.

sæ	sea	<i>the sea</i>	Sæthryd
Sebbi	sibig	<i>peaceful</i>	
sex	seax	<i>a knife</i>	Sexburg
sig	sig	<i>victory</i>	Sigberct
stod	stod, studu	<i>a staff</i>	Walchstod
stren, strenæs	streone	<i>a watch-tower</i>	Strenæshalch
swef <sup>14</sup>	sweb or swef	<i>sleep</i>	Swefred
swid	swith	<i>strong</i>	Swidhelm
tat, Tate	tat	<i>tender</i>	Tatfrid
Tidi	tidig	<i>timely</i>	
til	til	<i>a husbandman</i>	Tilmon
tond	tond	<i>thunder</i>	Tondberct
torct	torht	<i>bright</i>	Toretgyd
trum	trum	<i>strong</i>	Trumwini
Tunna	tun	<i>a town</i>	Tunberct
twi	twf	<i>two</i>	Æt Twifyrð
Uta	uta	<i>without</i>	
walch	wealh	<i>a stranger</i>	Walchstod
wald	wealda	<i>a ruler</i>	Waldheri
Werce	weorc	<i>work</i>	
wict	Wiht	<i>a wight, creature</i>	Wictberct
wig	wig	<i>war</i>	Wighard
wil	wil	<i>good</i>	Wilbrord
Wini	wine	<i>a friend</i>	Trumwini
wise	wise	<i>a princess</i>	Cynwise
wit, Witta	wit	<i>wise</i>	Witmær
wiu	wig	<i>war</i>	Oswiu
Wuffa	woff	<i>a brawler</i>	
wulf	wulf	<i>a wolf</i>	Sexwulf
wusc	wosc	<i>washed</i>	Wuscfrea
wyn	wyn	<i>joy</i>	Wynfrid
thruid and thryd	thryth	<i>strength</i>	Thruired, Thryd-wulf

Besides the variations above mentioned in the later from the earlier forms, the most remarkable which this list supplies is that we have noticed in the words *berct*, *driect*, *pect*, and *wict*. In later times the *c* was changed into *h*. Intermediate between these was the change of *c* into *ch*, of which we have an example on the Hartlepool tombstone *Berchtgyd*. This *ch*, afterwards changed into *h*, we have in the words *alch*, *halch*, and *walch*. Of one of these the Bewcastle monument gives us the earlier form in the name *Alefrida*. In addition to the words above named, ending in *u*, afterwards changed into *g* or *h*, we have *begu*, *heiu*, *iaru*, and *wiu*. Then we have a number of adjectives in *i*, *addi*, *æcci*, *æddi*, *betti*, *bisi*, *cæfi*, *eni*, *hæni*, *ini* (?), *sebbi*, and *tidi*, which in later times would end in *ig*.

## POSTSCRIPT.

Whilst these sheets were in the printer's hands, I have had an opportunity of perusing Mr. Kemble's very interesting essay on Anglo-Saxon names, nicknames, and surnames (*Winchester Volume of the Archæologi-*

<sup>14</sup> *Swef*, like *Pect*, may be a national name, that of the *Swefas* or *Suevi*.

*cal Institute*, p. 81). He gives a list of the terminations of proper names, which may be rendered more complete by the addition of three or four to those of each gender, thus—

## EXCLUSIVELY MASCULINE.

*Adjectives.* Beald, Beorht, Fûs, Hát, Heah, Heard, Nôth, Ríc.

*Substantives.* Bearn, Beorn, Gâr, Geld, Hád, Helm, Here, Hun, Lác, Laf, Man, Môd, Mund, Ræd, Sige, Stán, Weald, Wealh, Weard, Wig, Wine, Thegn.

## EXCLUSIVELY FEMININE.

*Adjective.* Swith.

*Substantives.* Bad, Beorh, Burh, Flæd, Gyfu, Gyth, Hild, Rûn, Waru, Wên, Thryth.

The frequent occurrence of the same prefix, in the names of members of the same family had often struck me, and I think his conjecture, accounting for it, a very satisfactory one.

The word *Tat*, which I have ventured to translate “tender,” should, according to Mr. Kemble, be replaced by a lost adjective (the correspondent of which, however, exists in Old German and Norse), *tát*, “pleasant.”

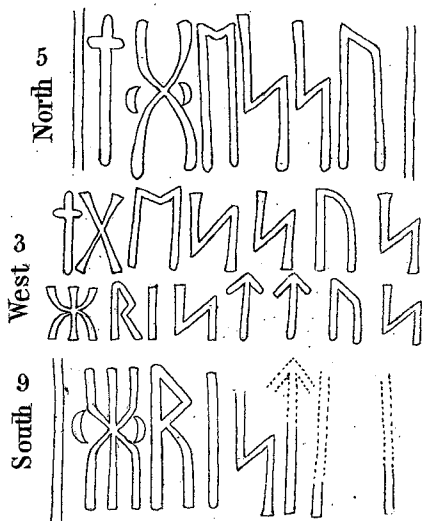
With respect to the names which Mr. Kemble regards as abbreviated, I cannot altogether agree with him. He has cited the following five instances in which a simple and a compound name, very much resembling each other, belonged to the same person, viz., *Saba, Sæberet; Totta, Torthelm; Eða, Eadwine; Æti, Eadsige; and Ælle, Ælfwine*; and a sixth, which is doubtful, *Siega*. The number of instances given does not seem to me sufficient to establish a general rule, and when we consider the fondness of our ancestors for alliteration, it seems to me at least equally probable, that this influenced the giving of the second name to those who already bore the first. But the instances are far more numerous of those who had simple names entirely different from their compound names. If it be difficult in most instances, and impossible in some, to find out the meaning of these simple names, we must remember, that many words in use in early times probably became obsolete; that our glossary of Anglo-Saxon words is far from complete (for if we had only as many books in modern English as we have in Anglo-Saxon, it is not likely they would contain all the words that we know); that we have many words, in universal as well as in provincial use, of which the Anglo-Saxon forms are lost. Mr. Kemble's discovery of the word *ungcet* in the Ruthwell inscriptions is but a sample of what might have been expected, had not the monuments of our early history been destroyed, as they have been.

I believe that these simple names are the most ancient, that they belong originally to periods beyond the reach of history. They prevail in the dawn of our annals, as the compounds do in their noon; and it seems to me quite as probable that many of them were given from motives of association with the memory of persons who had gone before, (as Mr. Kemble supposes that the prefixes above alluded to, and the name Biscop, to him who was afterwards called Benedict, were), as that they were given on account of personal peculiarities. Thus in the eighth century, when almost all of the sovereigns of the Heptarchy bore compounded names, one of these simple names appears almost alone, and

Beckermont.



Bewcastle.



North Side.



Bewcastle.

2. Camden's Copy of inscription on the Cross.



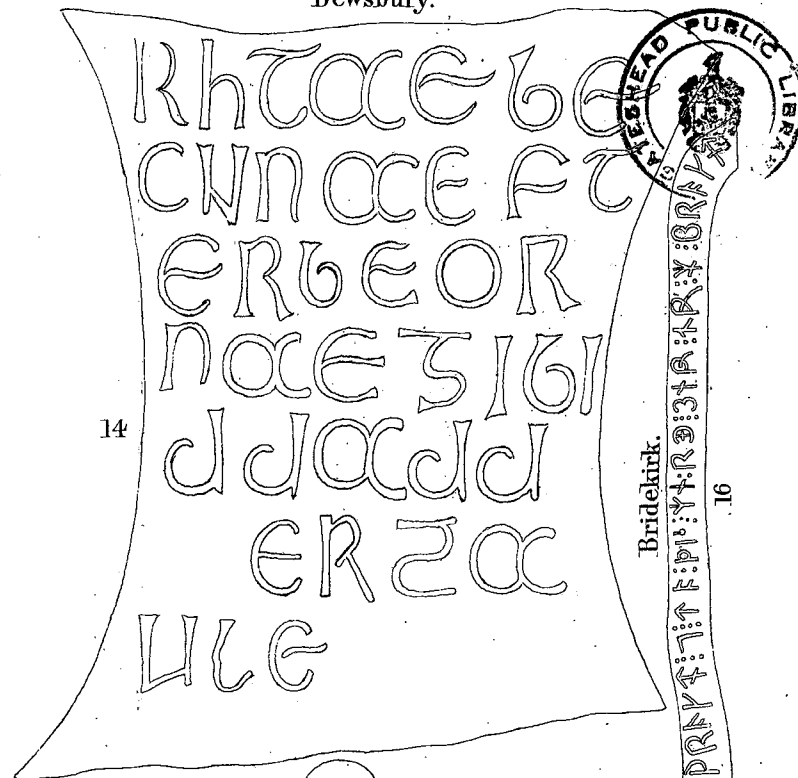
4. West Side.



South Side.



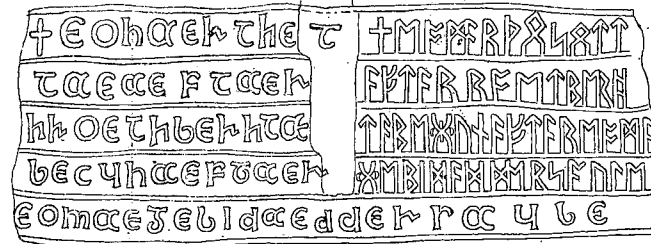
Dewsbury.



14

15

Falstone.



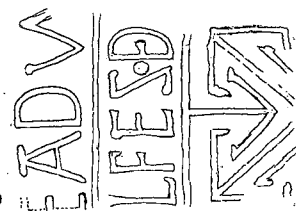
Hauxwell.



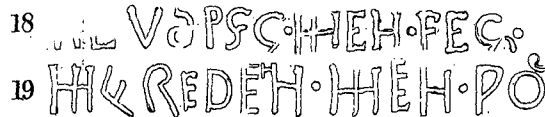
17

Alnmouth.

20

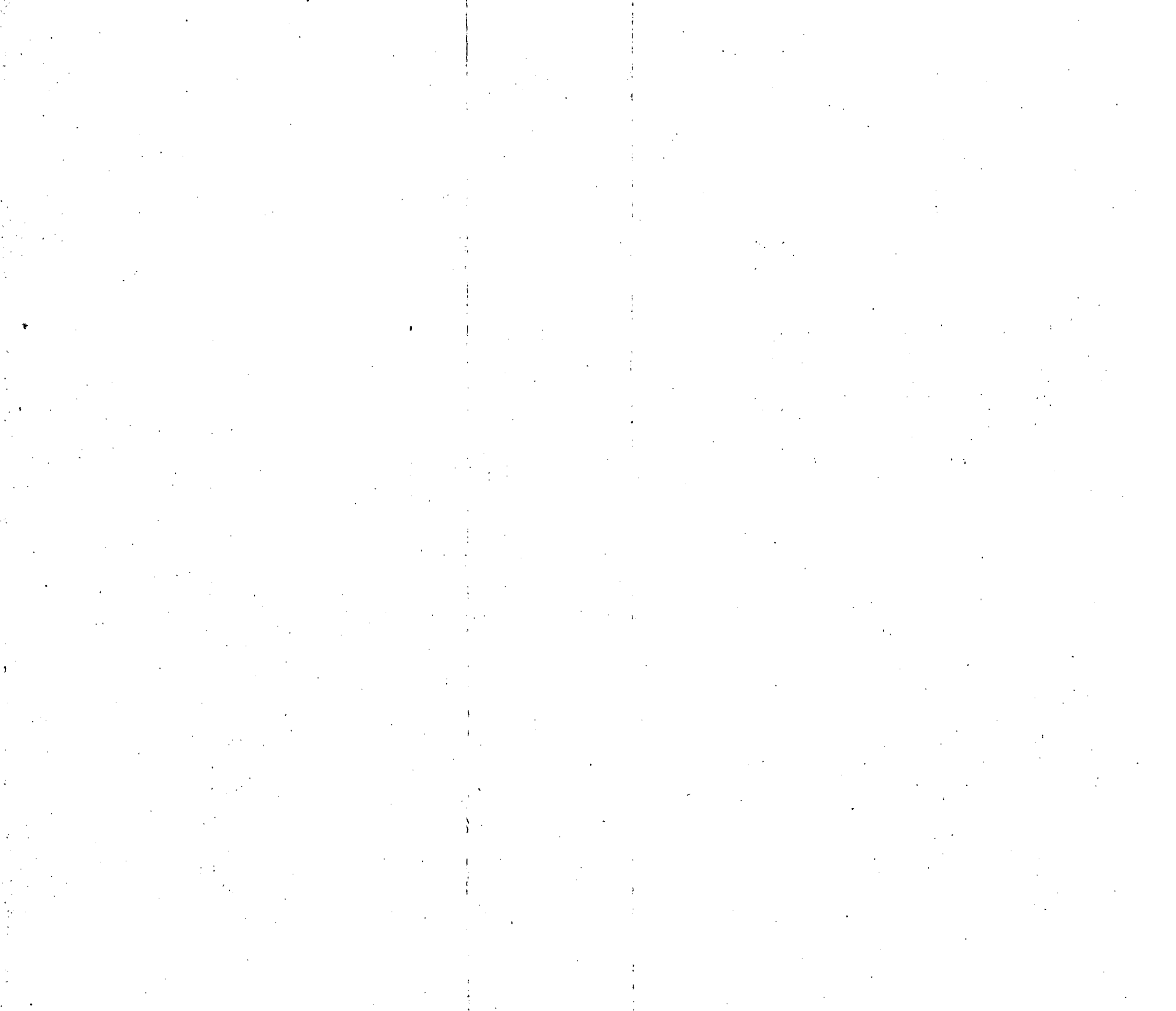


Alnmouth.



Bridelark.

16



that belonging to the most illustrious prince of his time, Offa. His name had been originally Winifrid, but he received that of Offa, in memory of one who had ruled over the Angles, his ancestors, before their coming into Britain; a name which had been already borne by a King of the East Saxons, and perhaps for a similar reason, for he also counted an Offa among his ancestors.

The example, above referred to, of the name of Biscop adopted from motives of association with the memory of one who is named in the genealogy of the princes of Lindsey, is confirmed by a well known fact. After he had founded his monastery of Wearmouth, a child of seven years old, destined to hand down his memory to all succeeding ages, was placed under his care. Whether that child were related to him or not, can it be considered a fanciful conjecture that the name of Bæda was given to him by way of compliment to the holy abbot, when we know that that was the name of the first Biscop's father?

Again, in the genealogy of the Kings of Deira, Wyscfrea appears as the father of the first King Yffi, who was the grandfather of Ædwine. Ædwine, by his first wife Cwēnburgh, had a son Osfrith, who again had a son Iffi, and by his second wife, Æthelbeorh, he had a son Wuscfrea. The etymology of the last name suggests a reference to baptism, yet it is evident that both Wuscfrea and Iffi, born about the same time, were named after their ancestors; and this example teaches us, I think, not to be too hasty in supposing that names were given on account of personal peculiarities.

Again, four holy brothers are conspicuous in the church history of the seventh century, Ceadda, Cēdd, Cynibil, and Cælin. Referring to the genealogy of the West Saxon Kings, we find Ceadda, son of Cutha, son of Ceaulin, son of Cynric. Thus, of the four brothers, one has a name of which the prefix Cyne occurs in that of Cynric, and in those of two of his great-grandsons, Cynebald and Cynegils; two, Ceadda and Cælin, have names identical with others in this line; Cēdd, the name of the fourth, is the first element in that of Cædwealha, the grandson of Ceadda. Do not these names seem to suggest a probability that this family claimed kindred with the royal line of Wessex; or, at any rate, that they were chosen with reference to those of the posterity of Cerdic? Referring to this genealogy again, we read, that Cynric had three sons, Ceaulin, Cutha, and Cuthwulf; Ceaulin had two, Cutha and Cuthwine; and Cuthwine again two, Cutha and Cynebald. Cutha (son of Cynric) had two, Ceol and Ceolwulf; of whom the former was the father of Cynegils, and the latter of Cuthgils. Cuthwulf (son of Cynric) had a son, Ceol. Thus, in three generations we have Cutha thrice, names compounded with it twice, Ceol twice and one name derived from it, and two names which have the prefix Cyne in common with that of the common ancestor, Cynric. Amongst the descendants of Eoppa, we find this succession, Ceolwulf, son of Cutha, son of Cuthwine, King of Bernicia. When, then, and amongst the princes of Oswiu's court (*"ex sodalibus regis," Eddi.*), we find another Cudda, which is the Northumbrian form of Cutha, afterwards Abbot of Lindisfarne, I cannot look upon Cutha or Cudda as an abbreviated name, but feel sure that they who bore it were called after some common ancestor.

I will content myself with one example more. We have in the eighth century a curious coincidence. We have a King of Northumbria, Eadberht, and his brother Egberht, Archbishop of York, the sons of Eata; and contemporary with them we have a King of Kent, who, in an undoubted charter dated A.D. 741, called himself Eadbriht, surnamed Eating. Now as the latter was the son of Wihtræd, it seems to follow that Eata was an additional name of Wihtræd, and his father was Egberht; and I cannot help thinking that the occurrence of this name in two families, which were in no way connected, points to some hero of very remote antiquity, even to that Geata, who stands sixth above Wodin, the common ancestor of both. Its occurrence, too, in connection with Eadberht illustrates that fondness for alliteration which influenced our forefathers in the choice of names. *Eata* and *Ead*, though similar, are not the same word; and so I think there is no necessity to suppose that *Æti* is an abbreviation of the name of Eadsige, who may also have been of this race, and have been called Eata. So also *Ælwine*, Bishop of Lichfield, may have been called *Ælle* from association with the memory of the father of King *Ædwine*, who had a brother *Ælfrie*. Something of the same kind may have influenced the choice of the names *Totta* and *Torhthelm*, *Saba* and *Sæberet*.

All names of this class I regard as of ancestral origin. I allude only to that peculiar class of names which Mr. Kemble is disposed to consider as abbreviations, *Acca*, *Bæda*, *Becca*, *Beonna*, *Bugga*, *Bubba*, *Dudda*, *Dunna*, *Hecca*, *Lulla*, *Odda*, *Podda* and *Tudda*; of which some appear in the genealogies of the Anglo-Saxon kings; others were in use at all periods of Anglo-Saxon history, and some, (in surnames such as *Bubb*, *Dodd*, and *Todd*), have come down even to our times. Of some of these Mr. Kemble has given the meaning; others in the above table, I have ventured to interpret, (perhaps not always correctly); and of the rest there are two or three which seem susceptible of interpretation. *Decca*, for instance, means "a mattock"; *Beonna*, (spelt also *Benna*), seems derived from *bén* "a prayer"; *Budda* (or *Dud*) is from *duth* "a sound"; and *Bubba* and *Ubbā*, (like *Utta* in the above table) seem derived from prepositions *bufa* and *ufa* "above"; and if the rest be unintelligible, I think a reason for it is to be found in the imperfection of our glossaries. One name, *Buege*, which Mr. Kemble has translated, I should prefer to put back into the untranslatable class, (believing that it had once a meaning which is now lost), than to give it the meaning which Mr. Kemble, not without some repugnance, has given to it; for it was no uncommon name in the seventh and eighth centuries, borne, besides those whom he has instanced, by the princess Bugge, daughter of Centwine, King of the West-Saxons; by the celebrated abbess Bugge, the correspondent of St. Boniface; as a surname by another lady, Heaburg (*Ep. Bonif. xxx*); and of course with the masculine termination *a*, by a priest (*Ibid. xx*). *Lulla* or *Lul*, another common name, is certainly not a nickname in the case of the illustrious successor of St. Boniface, for a letter to him by the abbot Hereca, (*Ep. Bonif. cxii*), calls to his remembrance how when he was a youth in the abbey of Malmesbury, the abbot Eaba gave him the name of *Irtel*, (which I suppose means "farmer" or "husbandman," though our glossaries do not give it).



*Siega* and *Sigefrith* are not identical, for two charters (*Cod. Dip.* MI & MX) shew that the latter was Bishop of Selsey after Osa, about A.D. 774, about thirty years after *Siega*, and his name must be added to the list of bishops of that see.

Cœna is certainly a name of this class. It occurs in the list which Florence of Worcester gives of the Archbishops of York, yet the person who bore it was undoubtedly named Æthelberht, who, in Florence's history, the *Saxon Chronicle*, &c., is mentioned as the successor of Egberht, A.D. 766 to 781. It was, however, the name he used, and by which he was addressed, for we have two letters, one from him to Lul, the other from Lul to him, (*Ep. Bonif.* cxviii., and cxxi.), and it is hardly likely that he would have used, or have been addressed by, a nickname, in such a correspondence as this, especially one which can have no other meaning than "the bold one." I have no doubt it was his original name, conferred upon him with reference to that of some person whose memory was preserved in the traditions of that age, perpetuated in simple names, such as his and that of another, a female and probably a nun, Cene, who corresponded with St. Boniface (*Ep. Bonif.* xxxiv.), and in compound names such as Cœnwalch and Cœnræd.

Surnames or nicknames derived from personal peculiarities, our forefathers undoubtedly had, but I cannot consider these (if one or two be excepted) as belonging to that class. On the contrary, as I have said, I believe them to be very ancient names, more ancient than those which are compounded, which in some instances (as in that of *Eadsige* or *Æelferne*) might give way to more dignified compound ones, but which in other instances (as in that of Offa) were assumed in their place on account of particular associations.

D. H. H.

\*\*\* I have alluded (p. 178) to churches which I believe to contain remains of the very buildings erected by St. Wilfrid. It may be well to mention briefly the grounds of my belief. In a memoir which I communicated to the Archæological Association at Winchester, in 1845, (printed in their Winchester volume), I proved that the tower of the church at Monk-Wearmouth must be a part of the building of St. Benedict Biscop. In the valley of the Tyne there are three churches, St. Andrew's, Ovingham, St. Peter's and St. Andrew's, Bywell, two of which have towers of the same type as that at Monk-Wearmouth. When we take into account the facts, that St. Wilfrid and St. Benedict were intimately acquainted, that both brought masons from abroad to build their churches, that St. Wilfrid's churches were dedicated to St. Peter and St. Andrew; and that these churches are in a district where we know St. Wilfrid's influence prevailed; the resemblance between them, and that at Monk-Wearmouth, surely warrants the conjecture that they are St. Wilfrid's work, or at least of his time. Again, in the city of York there is a church, St. Mary, Bishophill Junior, with a tower of the same character as this at Monk-Wearmouth. This also I regard as St. Wilfrid's work, and as probably the very building for the erection of which, according to Eddi, four years of life were granted to him, A.D. 705.