

XVI.—THE HILDITHRYTH STONE AND THE OTHER HARTLEPOOL NAME-STONES.¹

By FORREST S. SCOTT.

The stone under consideration, now in St. Hilda's church, Hartlepool, was among a number discovered during house-building in 1833. It was discussed and illustrated in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in September of that year² and in *Archæologia* in 1836.³ All these stones and further finds made in 1838 and 1843 were treated in three papers by the Rev. D. H. Haigh.⁴ Although Haigh lamented that, of the many stones discovered, "a few only, with some fragments, became available to antiquarian research", he does not state where the stones were when he was writing.⁵ The stone here discussed was probably missing when George Stephens, who was a friend of Haigh's, published the first volume of his *Runic Monuments* in 1866-67, since he used a cast of it from the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Copenhagen.⁶ Baldwin Brown also reports it as missing.⁷

It was, in fact, recovered some years ago, as noted in the *Antiquaries Journal*,⁸ and has now returned to St. Hilda's church, Hartlepool. It had been given, by the builder who found it, to a timber merchant, whose daughter, Mrs. Ensor, had presented it to Ipswich Museum. There it was seen by a former Hartlepool clergyman and this led to consent being given by Ipswich Corporation to its return to Hartlepool. It may now be discussed with its fellows (pl. VI, fig. 1).

The stone is local magnesian limestone. It bears an incised cross, with a runic inscription corresponding to HILDITHRYÞ across its lower half, and the letters *A* and *w* in the upper quarters. None of the other stones carries quite

this shape of cross, which has a rectangular termination to its limbs, instead of the more common semicircular form, and, at the intersection, a square, instead of the more common circle as on stones 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7. The Hildithryth stone resembles no. 2 in having its inscription in runes and no. 6 in having the *A* and *w* and also in its excellent preservation.

Considerable doubt exists as to the function of these stones, for which, following the late Sir Charles Peers,⁹ I prefer the uncontroversial term "name-stones". Were they placed beneath the heads of the interred, as some of the early antiquaries seemed to think? Were they placed at ground-level? Or were they buried with the body, either immediately above it or alongside it? Certainly stones were on occasion used as pillows at Hartlepool, but these may have belonged to a different class, neither inscribed nor ornamented, but plain. Such a plain stone was found during excavations¹⁰ in 1921 underneath the head of one of the five skeletons discovered. The bodies were laid north-and-south, inclined slightly to the left. A skeleton laid bare in 1932, when a gas-pipe was relaid, lay head to north and feet to south, but no stone was found on this occasion.¹¹

The fact that some of the stones contain a request for prayers might suggest that they were visible, but this cannot be assumed with certainty. The almost perfect state of preservation of some—for example, no. 6, on which the marks of dividers are clear—might suggest that the stones were always covered and protected from the weather. I am inclined to favour the idea that the stones are, in fact, buried prayers—the Christian substitute for tomb-furniture. Certainty can hardly be expected in view of the confusion in the early accounts of the discoveries, quoted by Baldwin Brown.

Some uncertainty exists about the date of the Hartlepool stones and for this reason I venture to reopen the matter. This has provided an opportunity for checking, and in some cases probably correcting, the readings of the inscriptions.

The double monastery and nunnery of Heruteu was founded about 640 under the abbess Hieu.¹² She was succeeded by Hild, a member of the royal family of Deira, who later left Hartlepool to become abbess of the new foundation at Whitby. In 655, while Hild was still at Hartlepool, the community received the infant daughter of King Oswiu, together with grants of land from him, as a thank-offering for his victory over Penda and Æthelhere at the battle of the Winwaed.¹³ In 800, according to Matthew Paris,¹⁴ the primary authority on this point, the monastery was severely raided, and it is presumed that it did not recover. Baldwin Brown¹⁵ assumed that the stones under consideration marked the graves of this monastic community. W. G. Collingwood, however, considered that the stones might commemorate secular persons after the destruction of the monastery, and that in the intercourse between Ireland and the north of England under the tenth-century Scandinavian kings of York "we find the reason for the 'Celtic' crosses of the slabs better explained than as work of the Columbans before the Synod of Whitby".¹⁶ This conclusion was based on the Clonmacnois grave-slabs dealt with by R. A. S. Macalister,¹⁷ of which some that most closely resemble the Hartlepool stones are datable.

The chronological evidence these Irish stones provide is not entirely clear, but certain points may be mentioned. First, the designs on the majority of the Hartlepool stones are matched by a number of slabs, mostly ornamented, such as that of Suibhne, son of Mael-Umha, whom the writer of the A version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* calls "the best teacher among the Scots" (i.e. Irish), when recording his death in 891. Macalister suggests that crosses of this class may be considered as ranging in date from about Suibhne's death onward throughout the tenth century,¹⁸ and derived their shape from the incised wheel-head type of cross, the wheel having shrunk to a central semicircle. Secondly, the cross on the Hildithryth stone is matched by an unornamented series, which Macalister, on the basis of a few but

very possible identifications, cautiously places in the second half of the eighth century.¹⁹ Thirdly, Macalister considered that slabs were probably not engraved at all for persons buried in the sixth and seventh centuries.²⁰ Finally, most of the stones have an irregular outline, but on a few slabs "unquestionably of later date a rectangular outline has been given to the stone".²¹ Now at Hartlepool all the stones have regular rectangular outlines.

If the Hartlepool series was influenced by Irish work of the Clonmacnois type, then all the slabs with semicircular ends to the cross will have to be no earlier than the tenth century, while the Hildithryth stone may go either to the ninth century or be regarded as a survival of an earlier style. Hence Collingwood's opinion that the style of these Hartlepool incised crosses is probably due to the admitted intercourse between Ireland and the north of England in the first half of the tenth century. The suggestion that burials could have continued on the site of a deserted monastery is possible enough: but in the absence of strong evidence to the contrary it is more likely that named memorials found at a site where there is a known monastery belong to the period of monastic habitation. Again, even if Hartlepool, situated to the north of the Tees, came under the influence of the Kings of York during the occasional extension northward of their power, as, for example, after the battles of Corbridge (c. 913-918), it is extremely doubtful whether Lindisfarne, which has produced a group of similar stones, ever came under such influence. In any case, there are other ways of explaining the relationship of the two groups of stones than by the assumption that Hartlepool follows on Clonmacnois. Other types of evidence for dating may be examined first.

LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE: THE READINGS.

Too much reliance should not be placed on readings by antiquaries of the last century. Haigh, whose readings are followed by Baldwin Brown, was, I feel, sometimes tempted

to read what would suit the theory he held at the time. Again, the readings in Hübner's *Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae* are actually by Haigh,²² as appears from his note on an inscribed stone at Wensley, stating that he had supplied copies of the Northumbrian inscriptions. Fortunately, the forms which provide distinctive linguistic evidence are all quite clear. The dimensions given are average ones.²³

The lost stone.

Stone 0. Four fragments: QV ESC T CO (pl. VI, fig. 2). This stone is missing; the text is based upon engravings, which appeared in *Archæologia*, from tracings made by Sir Cuthbert Sharp.²⁴ The first three fragments were then read by John Gage as REQUIESCAT, but the A is far from certain. Haigh in 1846 suggested REQUIESCAT IN PACE, but later amended this to HOC LOCO . . . REQUIESCIT, realizing, correctly, that the second letter of the fourth fragment could not be an E.²⁵ Baldwin Brown gives only Haigh's earlier reading. Haigh's later reading is reminiscent of that of the Monkwearmouth stone, HIC IN SEPULCHRO REQUIESCIT CORPORE (H)EREBERECHT PRB,²⁶ and of the probable reading of one of the Whitby stones, HIC RE(QUIESCIT IN HOC SE)PU(LCHRO).²⁷ Neither of these stones was known to Haigh. In the Hartlepool fragment the letters CO cannot be read as part of CORPORE because they come at the end of a word.

So far as I am aware, it has always been thought that Stone 0 must have been circular, but alternatively it could have had a rectangular base and semicircular head. Stones of both shapes were found at Lindisfarne.

Surviving stones.

Stone 1, St. Hilda's Church, Hartlepool. $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 11'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. HILD|ÞRYÞ in runes; A and w in the upper quadrants (pl. VI, fig. 1).

Stone 2, Black Gate Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne.

$8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2\frac{7}{8}''$. HILDDIGYþ in runes. The G is inserted above the line of writing.

Stone 3, British Museum. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{5}{8}'' \times 1\frac{5}{8}''$. EDILUINI. There is a worn patch over the first I, but it has clearly been I, not E.

Stone 4, Black Gate Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{5}{8}'' \times 1\frac{1}{4}''$. ORA PRO UERMUND 7 TORHTSUID. The U and N are ligatured.

Stone 5, British Museum. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{7}{8}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$ I feel dubious about the complete reading given by Haigh and frequently repeated: ORA PRO EDILUINI ORATE PRO UERMUND ET PORHTSUID. It is, of course, a surprising coincidence to have the three names of Stones 3 and 4 repeated. The first two, however, can be reasonably made out; but in the third, the letters DIL seem quite clear where Haig has TORHT, and I read for the third name (E)DILSUID. The first word is probably ORATE rather than ORA and the whole thus reads: ORATE PRO EDILUINI ORATE PRO UERMUND ET EDILSUID.

Stone 6, Durham Cathedral Library. $11\frac{3}{4}'' \times 10'' \times 3''$. BERCHTYD. A and w in the upper quadrants.

Stone 7, British Museum. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 7\frac{7}{8}'' \times 2''$. Here Haigh at first read (and was followed by Baldwin Brown) HANEGNEVB (N and E ligatured twice), which he admittedly did not understand, and later KAGEGNEVB. But the first letter is probably H after all; for there is a close parallel in, for example, the H in *Iohannes* on fol. 209v. of the *Lindisfarne Gospels*. The next letter, A, is certain; the G, V and B reasonably so. Again, whatever the letters that Haigh read as NE, it is almost certain that the same combination occurs twice. I suggest that the first half of Haigh's ligatured NE is really the runic form of L: if so, the name reads HALEGLEVB, equivalent to West Saxon HALIGLEOF but showing the Northumbrian spelling and phonological forms one would expect. The form *haleg*, 'holy', occurs in Caedmon's hymn; and the use of B for (voiced) F is common enough in Northumbrian. *Leof* is a common name element: *Halig* is

much more rare, but some half-dozen examples are recorded, one of them from *fol. 26r* of the Durham *Liber Vitæ* in the form HALEGBERCT. As regards the use of a runic form of L amongst Roman letters this is matched on Northumbrian coins, e.g. in ALCHRED (765-774) and also EDILRED (c. 841-c. 850).²⁸

Stone 8, British Museum. $11'' \times 8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4\frac{3}{8}''$. The only clear letters are UGUID in the lower sinister quadrant, and Haigh read no more in 1846. Later, in the belief that the stone designated Bregusuid, mother of St. Hilda, he read TE BREGVSV on the upper half and concluded that UGUID in the lower half was a later reinscribing, with a blundered G for S. However, in view of Haigh's persistent attempts to identify almost every inscribed name he came across with some known person, and in the absence now of any indication of TE BREGVSV, I feel that his later reading must be ignored and attention confined to the visible UGUID. What survives of the preceding letter suggests, however, a possible D; if so, the name may have begun with one of the common name elements, *Badu-*, *Hadu-*, or *Fridu-*. Variants of Baduguid, Haduguid, Friduguid all occur in the Durham *Liber Vitæ*, some more than once.

Orthography.

Hilddigyþ (Stone 2).

(a) The runic letter used for each *d* in this name is typologically earlier than that used on Stone 1. This early form appears also, for example, on the coins of Peada (mid-seventh century), on the Monkwearmouth stone with the inscription *Tidfirþ*, and on the Franks Casket. It is perhaps hardly safe to use this distinction of form for dating purposes.

(b) The inorganic doubling of the *d* represents a not uncommon feature of runic inscriptions, for example, the Ruthwell Cross *gistoddun*. It has no bearing on the question of date. The feature also occurs, much less frequently, in MSS., e.g. Leningrad Bede *godmunddingaham*.²⁹

Stephens made the interesting suggestion³⁰ that the insertion of the *g*-rune above the line indicates that the carver no longer pronounced the *g*; but that his superior (he suggests the abbot) asked for its insertion, to accord with conventional spelling. The idea is not impossible, despite Stephens' occasional philological vagaries; but it can hardly be used for dating.

It would be natural to suppose that the stones with runic inscriptions are older than the others, but this is not necessarily so. At Lindisfarne several names were rendered in both alphabets.

Phonology.

(a) *Unstressed i not changed to e.*

i is preserved in *Ediluini*, *Hildipryþ* and *Hilddigyð*. *i* was at first the prevailing form in all dialects; in the Moore³¹ and Leningrad³² MSS. of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (of A.D. 737 and probably 746 respectively) the number of such *i*-forms is very high. South of Northumbria the change to *e* is recorded with regularity from about 740; it becomes the rule in the second half of the eighth century, the change apparently being completed by about 800.³³ But in this respect Northumbrian was slightly more conservative than the other dialects, particularly in the spelling of personal names. Such *i* forms are certainly very frequent in the *Liber Vitæ* (c. 840), though in a compilation of this sort, which would probably be made from older lists, archaic forms might be expected. In the tenth-century gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* such *i* forms³⁴ are rare enough to have been described as obvious archaisms.³⁵

In the circumstances certainty as to dating is not to be expected, but it seems reasonable to suggest that the evidence here points to a date between the foundation of the monastery and, say, the end of the ninth century. Moreover, the fact, that the short unstressed *i* occurs four times and *e* not at all, may be held to point to an earlier rather than a later date within this period.

(b) *Edil-* rather than *Ædil-*.

In the Moore MS. of Bede *Ædil-* occurs eighty-two times, *Edil-* only eight times, whereas in the *Liber Vitæ Edil-* forms predominate.³⁶ These proportions have suggested that *Edil-* forms are not readily to be expected in the early eighth century and might be presumed not to have existed before c. 700.³⁷ However, the statistics probably reflect not a phonological change, but a variation in preference between two parallel forms;³⁸ the form *Edil-* could have cropped up at any time after the *i*-mutation of *æpil-* which produced it. This form is therefore inconclusive for dating purposes.

(c) *-uguid* (Stone 8).

The last four letters of the inscription on Stone 8 almost certainly denote the second element of a name. *Guid* is not a familiar second element, whereas *suid*, *swið*, is indeed common, and Haigh suggested that the form here was a blunder for it. This explanation is, however, best not adopted unless no other is forthcoming. One can feel sure about the reading *g*; apart from the fact that its present appearance is that of an insular *g*, if there had been any possibility of reading it as *s*, Haigh would have said so.

It seems to me that this *guid* is a form of *gyd*, the familiar second element in personal names, with the spelling *ui* for *y*. This *ui* appears to have been an early attempt at representing the *i*-mutation of *u*, which was comparatively soon ousted by the introduction of the letter *y* for this sound.³⁹ The Moore MS. (737) has *Thruidred* for the *Thrydred* of later MSS., and the Corpus Gloss (dated variously⁴⁰ in the first half of the eighth century and c. 800) twice has a similar *ui*, in *buiris* and *gruiit*. In both these MSS. *y* is the regular spelling and the *ui* is probably a survival from an early exemplar.⁴¹

I would therefore suggest that the form under consideration, if my interpretation of it is correct, points to a probable date not later than the eighth century. The possibility of archaic spelling is not to be ruled out, but on a gravestone such an archaic form would be less likely than in a manu-

script, in which it could occur by having been already copied several times. It should also be observed that, in transliterating runic letters such as the one which is represented by the *y* in *Hildiþryþ* or *Hilddigyþ*, we cannot, strictly speaking, be certain whether we ought to write *y* or *ui*; for the rune usually designated by *y* clearly had its origin in an *i*-rune superimposed on a *u*-rune, to represent the *i*-mutation of *u*. In the case of *Berchtgyd*, written in insular minuscules, there is of course no doubt about the *y*.

Summarizing now the linguistic evidence, I would say that, while it would be indeed rash to attempt to extract a very close date from the few forms here available, it can reasonably be claimed that the indications favour the seventh and eighth centuries, are not so favourable towards the ninth, and still less so towards the tenth.

OTHER EVIDENCE.

There are one or two minor pieces of evidence. The orientation of the graves was usually, though not always, north-south, a fact which, though doubtful in the 1833-43 excavations, comes out clearly in the 1921 and 1932 finds. This matter of orientation is not conclusive, but it would suggest that the Christian practice of east-west burial had not yet thoroughly asserted itself, and that the pagan period, when north-south burial appears to have been common, though not universal, was not remote. Pagan custom is also matched in the use of plain, flat stones beneath the heads, which recalls the pagan practice of leaving a block of earth unexcavated beneath the head. Moreover, if these name-stones were in fact the equivalent of buried prayers, this would also seem to suggest nearness to the pagan period.⁴² I am reminded of the idea behind the figures on St. Cuthbert's coffin, which, as Dr. E. Kitzinger has suggested,⁴³ was that the saint was provided, through the representation of apostles and archangels, with a veritable litany in his grave. The Hartlepool instances are simpler, but the idea is there

behind the (probably) buried *Ora pro Uermund et Torhtsuid*. At a later date the custom would arise of leaving the exhortation above ground, so that a passer-by could utter a prayer for the named one.

The argument given in Collingwood's *Northumbrian Crosses*, that the use of the crossed *d* (δ) on Stone 5 indicates a ninth-century or later date, is based on a reading which is not clear. Moreover, the crossed *d* was used in manuscripts in the eighth century. Admittedly, the practice in inscriptions might be different, but there is no clear evidence for it. Collingwood's argument was based on coins.

Finally, there is the question of the apparent burial of a man and woman (Uermund and Torhtsuid) in the same grave. It has been argued that they were man and wife and so not members of a religious order and that consequently they were not buried there until after the destruction of the monastery. Here one can only suggest that in a double monastery such an arrangement was perhaps not unthinkable. St. Boniface requested to share one grave with his beloved kinswoman Liobgyth; although the monks of Fulda did not carry out his wish.⁴⁴

I now return to the relationship with the Irish stones. The hypothesis that the Hartlepool series follows such Clonmacnois stones as that of Suibhne has found little support in the points just considered. If Baldwin Brown's conclusion, that the development of the cross in Irish art arises from Teutonic forms,⁴⁵ can be accepted, then there is no difficulty in the type of incised cross found in north-east England being of an earlier date than the Irish. This theory, however, does not appear to have won universal acceptance and I propose to leave it aside. I am merely concerned to show that the pre-Danish period date can be maintained without necessarily having recourse to it. Sir Charles Peers, discussing the similar stones from Lindisfarne, allowed the influence of Irish incised crosses, but maintained the seventh- or eighth-century date for the Lindisfarne stones by the assumption of lost Irish prototypes. This seems unsatisfactory. It is,

indeed, very likely that many early stones have been lost; but the assumption that they were of the type which could have led to the production of the Hartlepool or Lindisfarne examples seems unwarrantable, when considered in connection with Macalister's very careful conclusions from the Clonmacnois series.

Miss Françoise Henry attempts to provide some of these postulated prototypes, but the examples given seem to be far from proving her case that: "the Irish slabs, most of them large enough to cover a grave, appear very obviously to be the prototype from which the diminutive monuments of Lindisfarne and Hartlepool were copied".⁴⁶ The steps in development are too far apart, the dating of the Irish examples is not clear, and the neatness and dressed surfaces of the Hartlepool stones contrast with the admitted "coarse and little-dressed surface"⁴⁷ of the early Irish slabs. The difference in size Miss Henry herself has noted. Most of the early Irish slabs depicted by her are unlike anything at Hartlepool. The only Irish stones cited, outside Clonmacnois, which are really anything like the Northumbrian examples are two from St. Breacan's church, on Aran, and this similarity, which was observed by Haigh, does not extend to the commonest Hartlepool shape.⁴⁸

N. Åberg shows⁴⁹ *Stones 0* and *1* together with various stones from Clonmacnois (including one, without observation, from Aran), without mention of their date. This is rather misleading, as is the accompanying commentary.

I suggest we have here a case of parallel development, with the possibility of considerable influence from manuscript production. Admittedly, care is needed in arguing from one art to another, but in this case the transition may have been easier, since the men who designed the crosses could have had the opportunity, in a monastery, of looking at manuscripts. There is no need to wait for a sepulchral cross like that of Suibhne, when almost the same shape of cross is found in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, fol. 26v (pl. VII), and a Lindisfarne fragment, as Peers notes,⁵⁰ had exactly

this form. This is the commonest Hartlepool shape, occurring on *Stones* 2, 3, 4, 6, and 7, but a manuscript parallel to the rectangular cross on the Hildithryth stone is found in the *Lichfield Gospels*, p. 220.⁵¹ Again, the Durham Cathedral manuscript, A II, 17,⁵² exhibits a page (*fol.* 38/3*b*) showing the Crucifixion, on a cross with expanded ends to the arms and with *A* and *w* in the upper quadrants of the cross.⁵³ There is also a palæographical parallel between the epigraphy of the stones and this group of manuscripts. The lost *Stone 0* displayed an alphabet found on ornamental pages of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* and in related manuscripts, a fact noted when tracings of the stone were first exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, in 1836. Particularly significant is the form of the *0*, which occurs, for example, in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, *fols.* 134*v* and 209*v*,⁵⁴ and in the Paris manuscript, *Nov. Acq. Lat.* 1587, *fol.* 32*v*.⁵⁵ The peculiarity is not merely the diamond shape of the *0*, for this occurs not infrequently, as on coins of the Anglo-Merovingian moneyer Abbo,⁵⁶ on Offa's pennies,⁵⁷ and on the Kirkdale sundial,⁵⁸ but the addition of long horizontal serifs at the top and bottom of the letter.

Into the thorny question of the origin of the ornamentation of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* and related manuscripts, I do not propose to enter here. My concern is to show, first, that the Hartlepool and similar stones are not to be dated later than those of Clonmacnois and, secondly, that the forms on the Northumbrian stones are not clearly to be derived from Irish forms and that they therefore do not provide a clear example of Irish influence.

As a final comment on the dating problem I would note that excavations of the Anglo-Saxon monastery at Whitby, founded by St. Hilda when she left Hartlepool, produced a homogeneous group of coins covering the period 700-850.⁵⁹ On that site at any rate evidence seems to show that the material from the cemetery belongs to the period before the destruction of the monastery by the Vikings. That this conclusion applies also to Hartlepool, which would mean that

the name-stones here considered date from before 800, seems very likely indeed.

I conclude with a few additional comments concerning form and identification. The stepped outline on the cross of Stone 5 may possibly have been suggested by coins which depict a cross on steps. Such types appeared in the Byzantine Empire in the second half of the sixth century and became very common under Tiberius Constantine and Heraclius.⁶⁰ They were imitated in Merovingian Gaul,⁶¹ and examples of such imitations are among the Merovingian coins found in the Sutton Hoo purse.⁶² But a Byzantine example from England is the coin of Heraclius (610-641) made into the brooch found at Wilton, Norfolk.⁶³ This suggested origin of the stepped cross is, however, merely a surmise, which has not been taken into account for the dating.⁶⁴ To others the word *step* might suggest the step pattern frequently employed in such *cloisonné* garnet jewellery as the cross from Ixworth, Suffolk.⁶⁵

Only when the question of dating has been considered, is it possible to introduce the question of the identification of any of the names on the stones with persons known to history. In most cases the fact that the names are common ones induces scepticism, and Haigh's adventures in this field might make anyone chary of even admitting possibilities. We can no longer, as he did, believe that Hildithryth is the full name of St. Hilda: nor does it seem at all likely that the name on Stone 8 was that of her mother, Bregusuid. There remain, however, two possibilities. One is that Ediluini was the officer of Oswiu who killed at his master's command Oswini, sub-king of Deira, later venerated as a saint at Tyne-mouth. The other possibility—and there is nothing, as far as I am aware, positively against it—is the identification of Berchtgyd with the nun so named, who wrote three letters preserved in the correspondence of St. Boniface.⁶⁶ It would certainly be pleasant if one could think that it was our Berchtgyd who wrote from Hartlepool to her brother, in the mission field in Germany, this pathetic appeal: "I am left

alone, deprived of the help of all my kindred. For my father and mother have left me, but the Lord hath taken me up. Many gatherings together of water are between me and thee, yet let us be united in love. . . . I ask thee, my best beloved brother, either to come to me, or to arrange that I may come and see thee, before I die."

FOOTNOTES.

¹ In addition to persons elsewhere named, I wish to thank the Rector of Hartlepool for permission to take and publish a photograph of the Hildithryth stone; also Miss W. Sivewright, Mr. J. Ingram, Mr. H. R. Carter and my cousin, Mr. D. S. Graham. Above all I should like to say what I owe to my grandfather, the late Mr. C. I. Smyth. It was he who instigated the return of the Hildithryth stone, and it was through studying his papers that my attention was directed to the problems of the Hartlepool stones.

² *Gentleman's Magazine*, ciii, 218-220.

³ *Archæologia*, xxvi, 479-482.

⁴ *JBAA*, i (1846), 185-196; *Notes on the History of S. Begu and S. Hild*, Hartlepool, 1858; *YAJ*, iii (1875), 349-391.

⁵ *JBAA*, i, 186.

⁶ *Runic Monuments*, i, 392.

⁷ *The Arts in Early England*, v, 64; cf. *PSAS*, liii, 201.

⁸ *Ant. J.*, viii, 524.

⁹ *Archæologia*, lxxiv, 266: the numbering of the stones as hereinafter quoted follows that of Haigh (1846) and Baldwin Brown.

¹⁰ *Ant. J.*, ii, 142.

¹¹ I owe these details to Mr. H. Wilson, then employed by the Hartlepool Gas and Water Company. Other discoveries may have taken place. A workman engaged in making the adjacent bathing-pool told Mr. H. R. Carter, verger of St. Hilda's, that stones with markings were then found, but, despite instructions, "went into the concrete-mixings".

¹² Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, iv, 23. On the form of the name Heruteu, translated by Bede *insula cervi*, but probably to be more closely rendered as "the island (i.e. peninsula) near Hart", see K. R. Brooks, *English and Germanic Studies*, v, 29ff.

¹³ Bede, *op. cit.*, iii, 24.

¹⁴ *Chronica maiora* (Rolls Series 57), I, 367.

¹⁵ *op. cit.*, v, 75.

¹⁶ *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age*, 11.

¹⁷ *The memorial slabs of Clonmacnois, King's County*.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, 100.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, 105.

²⁰ *ibid.*, 102.

²¹ *ibid.*, 53.

²² *YAJ*, vi, 45.

²³ Photographs of all seven stones not illustrated here are given in Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, v, pl. vi, or alternatively in *PSAS*, liii, facing p. 201. *The Arts in Early England*, v, pl. viii, shows the comparable stones from Billingham, Wensley, Monkwearmouth, and Birtley. The Billingham fragment, which bears an *A*, and presumably once had an *w*, came to



FIG. 1. Stone 1, *Hildithryth*, St. Hilda's Church, Hartlepool.

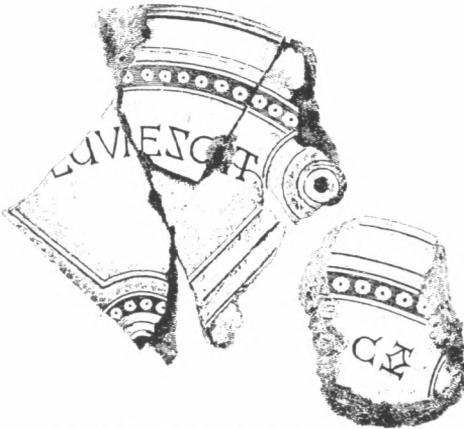
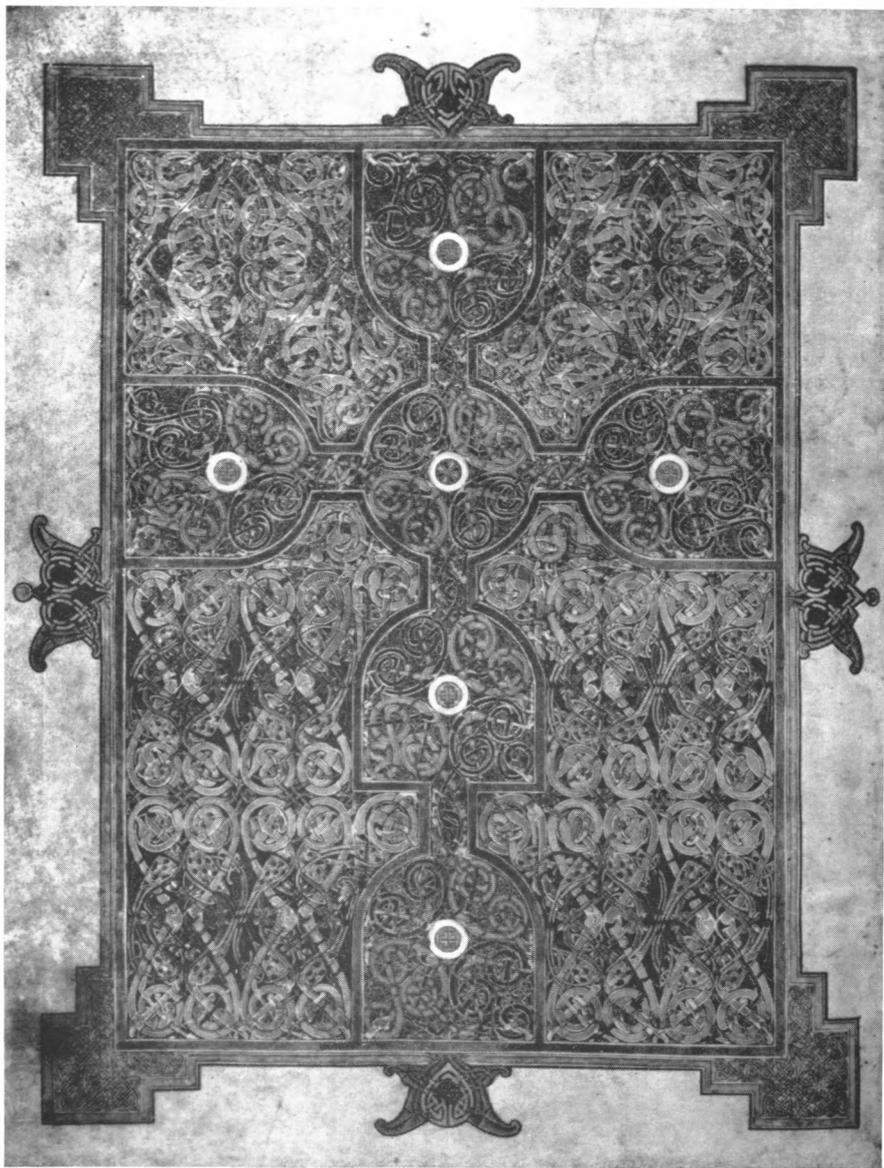


FIG. 2. The four fragments of Stone O.

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Archæologia, xxvi, pl. lii.



LINDISFARNE GOSPELS, f. 26v.

Reproduced by permission of the Keeper
of Manuscripts, British Museum.

the British Museum with the four Hartlepool stones as part of the Franks bequest and had formerly been part of the Greenwell collection. For the Lindisfarne and Whitby stones see *Archæologia*, lxxiv, 266-270, and lxxxix, 27-88. I am indebted to Mr. D. M. Wilson, Assistant Keeper, Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, for assistance when reading the inscriptions in the British Museum.

²⁴ These tracings are in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Dr. P. Corder tells me the radius is $6\frac{1}{2}$ ".

²⁵ He appears to have had this suggested to him by J. O. Westwood, *JBAA*, i, 342ff.

²⁶ Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.*, 69, pl. viii, 4.

²⁷ *Archæologia*, lxxxix, 37.

²⁸ C. F. Keary, *B.M. Catalogue of English Coins, Anglo-Saxon Series*, I, pls. xx, 10, and xxi, 19. There are many other examples.

²⁹ O. S. Arngart, *The Leningrad Bede (Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, ii)*, fol. 43r.

³⁰ *Runic Monuments*, i, 396ff.

³¹ H. Ström: *Old English Personal Names in Bede's History*, 119, 126f.

³² O. S. Anderson, *The Old English Material in the Leningrad MS. of Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, 107ff.

³³ E. Sievers, *Anglia*, xiii, 13; K. Luick, *Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache*, § 325.

³⁴ With certain exceptions which do not apply to the Hartlepool forms, see A. S. C. Ross, *Studies in the Accidence of the Lindisfarne Gospels*, 38, 42. Similarly, the *i* forms appearing in the Rushworth Gospels and Durham Ritual Glosses seem for the greater part to be confined to special cases; U. Lindelöf, *Die Südnorthumbrische Mundart*, § 101.

³⁵ Ross, *op. cit.*, 33; cf. 38, 43.

³⁶ Ström, *op. cit.*, 109f.

³⁷ L. Dahl, *Substantival Inflexion in Early English*, 10.

³⁸ Anderson, *op. cit.*, 93ff.

³⁹ Compare the parallel and more frequent representation of the *i*-mutation of \bar{o} by *oi* (otherwise *oe*, α); see R. Girvan, *Angelsaksisch Handboek*, §§ 10, 78 n.3, and E. Sievers—K. Brunner, *Altenglische Grammatik*, § 94n.

⁴⁰ See Dahl, *op. cit.*, 28.

⁴¹ It is true that *ui* spellings for *y* crop up a few times in the Lindisfarne gloss and therefore do appear at a later date. However, in view of the much clearer parallel case of early *oi*, I think it can be taken that *ui* is an old form and that these few Lindisfarne examples are archaisms due to copying, cf. *Englische Studien*, lix, 222f.

⁴² It is true that Irish peasants as late as the nineteenth century were in the habit of burying the holy Clonmacnois stones in their graves, Macalister, *Memorial Slabs*, p. vii. However, the cases are not quite parallel.

⁴³ *The Coffin of St. Cuthbert*, Introduction, 4.

⁴⁴ Rudolfus, *Vita Leobæ (Monumenta Germaniæ Historica Scriptorum*, xv, pt. 1), 129.

⁴⁵ *op. cit.*, v, 95-101.

⁴⁶ *Irish Art in the Early Christian period*, 75.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, 33.

⁴⁸ The sketch of the lost Hartlepool Stone O, in *Irish Art in the Early Christian period*, fig. 27a, suggests that this stone was once known in its entirety, and bore the legend *Requiescat in pace*. But this sketch was presumably taken from Baldwin Brown, who, indicating that only four small fragments of the stone were known, took sketch and reading from Haigh's 1846 version, with its uncorrected legend. Haigh made his sketch from the engravings of 1836, based upon Sir Cuthbert Sharp's tracings sent to the

Society of Antiquaries of London. Thus, nobody who has written about this stone has ever seen it.

⁴⁹ *The Occident and the Orient in the Seventh century*, fig. 77, also p. 105.

⁵⁰ *Archæologia*, lxxiv, pl. L, fig. 2, and p. 263, n. 1.

⁵¹ Reproduced in E. H. Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, iii, pl. 246b; cf. W. Oakeshott, *The Sequence of English Medieval Art*, pl. 13.

⁵² Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, iii, pl. 222a, a late seventh-century manuscript, in the view of Dr. J. Conway Davies, who kindly allows me to quote his opinion.

⁵³ The association of Alpha and Omega with funerary inscriptions is very old; see E. Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinæ Christianæ veteres passim*. I am not aware of any pre-Conquest appearances of these symbols on stone in England (excluding Cornwall) other than at Hartlepool and Billingham. They occur in Scotland on two of the stones (late seventh century, or earlier) from Kirkmadrine in Wigtownshire, R. A. S. Macalister, *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum*, i, 493ff.; also on stones from Cornwall, Macalister, *op. cit.*, 460, and Wales, V. E. Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments of Wales*, nos. 380, 382, 392, 393. The Welsh examples are mostly datable to the eleventh century. The particular feature which the Durham MS. and the stones from Co. Durham have in common is that the *A* and *w* are placed in each of the upper quarters of the cross, rather than in the lower quarters or quite separate. So far as I am aware only the later Welsh examples share this arrangement. Among later Anglo-Saxon uses of *A* and *w* on material other than stone, are the *manus Dei* coin of Æthelred II (G. C. Brooke, *English Coins*, pl. xvi, 7) and a late-Saxon finger-ring in the British Museum (O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of Finger-Rings*, no. 183).

⁵⁴ Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, iii, pls. 225 and 226; Oakeshott, *op. cit.*, pl. 15.

⁵⁵ Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, iii, pl. 218a.

⁵⁶ C. H. V. Sutherland, *Anglo-Saxon Gold Coinage in the light of the Crondall Hoard*, 33.

⁵⁷ G. C. Brooke, *English Coins*, pl. v.

⁵⁸ P. Hunter Blair, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England*, pl. xii.

⁵⁹ *Archæologia*, lxxxix, 85.

⁶⁰ W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine coins in the British Museum*, I, p. lxxxvi and pls. xiii, 17-20, xvi, 16, xxiii, etc.

⁶¹ Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.*, iii, 65, pl. ii, nos. 2, 3, 14.

⁶² R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, *Antiquity*, xxvi, 77.

⁶³ Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.*, v, pl. x, no. 2.

⁶⁴ In this connection one is reminded of the type of grave slab, usually associated with the later Middle Ages, which bears, either incised or in low relief, a cross, usually floriate, standing on steps. There are a number of these in St. Hilda's church, Hartlepool, found during the 1930 restoration. One would suppose they antedate the building (c. 1190) of the present church.

⁶⁵ N. Åberg, *The Anglo-Saxons in England*, fig. 259.

⁶⁶ M. Tangl, *Die Briefe des Heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus (Monumenta Germaniæ Historica, Epistolæ Selectæ, I)*, nos. 143, 147 and 148.