

No. XI.—*An Account of the Discovery, at Hexham, in Northumberland, of a Brass Vessel, containing a number of the Anglo-Saxon Coins called Stycas. Communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, by JOHN ADAMSON, Esq., M. R. S. L., F. SS. A., Lond and Edinb., F. L. S., &c.* Reprinted from the *Archaeologia*, Vol. 25.

THE accidental discovery of a number of these Coins, greater than any hitherto made, having been communicated to me by the Reverend William Airey, the Perpetual Curate of Hexham, I am enabled to lay the following account before the Society of Antiquaries.

On Monday the fifteenth day of October 1832, the sexton and his assistant were employed in preparing a grave, at the west side of the north transept of the present church of Hexham, about three yards from the wall. It was in that part of the church-yard now used, which is called the Campey Hill; and which many years ago was an eminence, but has since been levelled; and though not originally any portion of the burial ground, has been of late years appropriated for that purpose. Why this place received its name of the Campey Hill we have not at the present day the means of ascertaining; but the hill would appear to have been principally formed by the ruins of part of the church, and the consequent accumulations of soil and rubbish since the time at which the Coins were concealed, which was prior to the erection of the present building.

From some local cause it was desirable that the grave should be made about seven feet deep; yet, although it was so dug, there is no reason to believe that the person who hid the money went to any such depth.

During the operation of making the grave, the vessel containing the Coins was struck. From the appearance of several of them, the persons employed imagined that the treasure contained gold and silver, and their first idea was to secure as much as possible before the event should become known.

Mr. Airey, actuated solely by a desire that the best advantage should be taken of so important a discovery, by his prompt interference secured the great bulk of the Coins. Thus much spoliation was prevented. A very considerable number, however, was dispersed; a circumstance much to be regretted, as had the whole been preserved the means of investigation would have necessarily been more complete.

Supposing there came into the hands of Mr. Airey a few Coins of HEARDULF, 2000 of EANRED, 2000 of ETHELRED, 100 of REDULF, 60 of Archbishop EANBALD, and about 800 of VIGMUND, to which adding about 2000 dispersed on the first discovery, and several which probably remain amongst the rubbish, we may estimate the total number at nearly eight thousand.\*

It was at first contemplated that a perfect series should be deposited in the Cabinet of the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. That idea, however, was abandoned in consequence of an application on behalf of the British Museum; to which Institution, as the National Depository, it was properly urged that the primary consideration should be given. To this Mr. Airey, who had reason to suppose that by virtue of his office he was entitled to the Coins, readily consented; and proceeded to make arrangements accordingly. Subsequently Mr. Beaumont, one of the members of Parliament for the Southern Division of the County of Northumberland, claimed the articles found, as Lord of the Regality and Manor of Hexham, and substantiated his right to the satisfaction of Mr. Airey. Mr. Beaumont, however, fully appreciating that gentleman's views, immediately signified his desire that no deviation in the intended distribution of the Coins should be made. The country therefore is indebted to those gentlemen jointly, for the great addition which has thus been made to the national collection of Coins at the British Museum, amounting to about three hundred specimens.

\* Five hundred and forty-two were in 1808 turned up by a plough in the parish of Kirk Oswald, in Cumberland, viz. 99 of EANRED, 350 of ETHELRED, 14 of REDULF, 15 of OSBERCHT, 1 of EANBALD with the title, 58 of VIGMUND, and 5 of Archbishop WULFHHERE. The next discovery of any moment was of the Coins of ECGFRID in the year 1813, in the Chapel-yard at Heworth, in the County of Durham. See Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage of Britain*, vol. i. p. 223. *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. i. p. 124.

The Drawings which have been kindly and liberally contributed by Mr. Gibsone, and which are as faithful as they are beautiful, greatly increase in number the Coins sent to the Museum. The originals of those which differ are in the hands of private individuals.

In offering an account of this discovery to the Society, I do not pretend to do more than to furnish materials, from whence perhaps very interesting deductions and facts may be drawn; and it will be a source of gratification to me if these materials shall call forth the attention of persons, to whom the subject may be more familiar. I shall continue to have drawings made of any varieties, which the advantage of my local situation may enable me to inspect, and, if successful, make a further communication to the Society.

The Vessel, in which the Coins were contained, was seriously injured by the blows it received. It does not seem ever to have had a cover, nor were there found near it any remains, which could have had any connection with the concealment.

Perhaps not the least curious fact relating to these Coins, is the variety of dies which have been used in their fabrication. The dots, which so frequently occur upon them, render it not improbable that they have some meaning beyond being merely ornamental.

The dispersion of so considerable a number of the Coins on the discovery being made, the destruction of the legends of many others by the operation of time, the false striking and blunders of the moneyers, altogether prevent any very accurate account being furnished, either as to the number of each king or prelate, or of their respective moneyers. I propose following the plan of Mr. Ruding, taking the monarchs and archbishops, and noticing in each reign or prelacy any thing which may appear curious or interesting; previously giving a description of the vessel in which the Coins were concealed.

Plate XXXIII. fig. 1, shows the size of the vessel ten inches and three quarters high, exclusive of the handle, which rises from the rim four inches. Fig. 2, is the section of the vessel showing its construction. The width at the bottom is nine inches and three quarters, and at the top seven inches and a quarter. It is made of brass plate, and at those places where it is

least corroded, is from one-sixteenth to one-twentieth of an inch in thickness. The upper part is ornamented with twelve frames rivetted on the body of the vessel (see Pl. XXXIV. fig. 1), each formerly holding a piece of latten brass, stamped with the impression of a plait, only two of which now remain. The body is divided below by three rows of double beads stamped in the brass. The bottom (Plate XXXIV. fig. 2) has a circular bead in the centre, of similar description, but broader. It is not soldered in, but is fixed with rivets, as are also the handle and its ornaments. The upper edge and bottom of the vessel are bound with brass, as shown in fig. 2. The handle is fixed by two heads with pendant draperies (see Pl. XXXIV. figs. 3 and 4), and two brass plates. (See Pl. XXXIV. figs. 3 and 5.)

The ornament round the top is given of the full size, Plate XXXIV. fig. 1; part of the bottom, fig. 2, to half the scale, the bottom being complete in the original. The front view of the handle, fig. 3, full size; a profile view of the same, fig. 4; the plait on the inside of the handle is exhibited, fig. 5; and as in the profile, fig. 4.

The Coins were found very dry and covered with dust, which, when removed by washing, left them generally of a blackish colour. Some, however, varied from this appearance, which led the discoverers to imagine they were gold and silver; and so much do some of them assume the appearance of silver, that they would without an examination be decidedly supposed to be composed of that metal. It is worthy of remark also that this distinction applies to the coins of different moneyers; in some cases the coins of one moneyer having the silvery appearance, whilst those of another give the brighter or golden colour.

I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Johnston, the newly appointed Reader of Chemistry and Mineralogy at the University of Durham, for the following analysis of some of the Coins, which he says appear all to be varieties of the Corinthian brass of the ancients, though it can scarcely be supposed that the Saxons made these mixtures from any previous knowledge of the effect, either as regarded the beauty or the durability of the Coin, which would result from the respective quantities of the metals employed. It is supposed that those metals which exist in small quantities

were often derived from the impurities in the copper. The large proportion of silver which they contain, in Mr. Johnston's opinion, forms one of the most interesting circumstances connected with the composition, and it is his intention to analyse a larger number of them in the hope of throwing light upon some other points connected with their history.

From the analysis Mr. Johnston finds that the vessel itself is a true bronze, consisting of tin 10·91, copper 89·09.

A Coin of EANRED of the moneyer MONNE, weighing 16·58 grs. much crusted and of a brass colour gave—

Tin coloured by gold	4·34
Silver . . .	6·11
Copper . . .	70·14
Zinc . . .	19·24
	<hr/>
	99·83
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Another coin of the same king of the moneyer EADVINI, weighing 20·35 grs., and of a dull white colour, but in remarkable preservation, gave—

Gold . . .	0·34
Tin . . .	1·47
Lead . . .	0·77
Silver . . .	11·46
Copper . . .	60·14
Zinc . . .	25·82
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The Zinc, owing to an accident, was determined in this case from the loss.

Another Coin of EANRED of the moneyer FORDRED, weighing 18·58 grs. gave, of gold 0·48, of tin 3·24 per cent.

Towards the bottom of the vessel, where the principal weight had pressed, some of the Coins had become cemented together, and the round figures of some of them are marked by this pressure upon it, but they have

not become masses, as was the case in some discoveries before made, and particularly at Heworth when the coins of ECGFRID were found. The present show merely two coins adhering to each other, and, on detaching them, beautiful minute crystals of copper of a ruby colour are disclosed. These are red oxide of copper, in modified regular octahedrons. In these cases also the Coins are nearly covered with a green coat of carbonate and muriate of copper, and in many instances the legends are entirely defaced. An interesting account may be seen as to the changes which take place in ancient alloys of copper by consulting the paper of Dr. Davy, published in the Philosophical Transactions for 1826, pt. 2, p. 55.

It was most probably about the year 867 that the concealment of these coins took place, for the reason assigned at the end of the account of the supposed Coin of King AELLA.

There not being any complete chronological list of the Kings of Northumberland, I have thought it not unappropriate to give the present, which my researches on this occasion have enabled me to compile, and which may serve as a general table of reference to any one pursuing the Northumbrian Anglo-Saxon History. In this and in other respects I have been materially assisted by the kind co-operation of Mr. John Trotter Brockett, junior.

#### CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE KINGS OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

- 547—559. IDA, 1st King of Bernicia.
- 560—588. ÆLLA, 1st King of Deira, and, on the death of THEODORIC, King of Bernicia, A. D. 587. ÆLLA united the two provinces of Deira and Bernicia with the kingdom of Northumberland.
- 560—567. ADDA (1st son of IDA by his Queen) 2d King of Bernicia.
- 567—572. GLAPPA, 3d King of Bernicia.
- 572—573. THEODWALD. 4th King of Bernicia, brother to GLAPPA.
- 573—580. FRETHULF, 5th King of Bernicia, brother to GLAPPA.
- 580—587. THEODORIC (3d son of IDA by his Queen), 6th King of Bernicia.
- 587—588. ÆLLA, 1st King of Northumberland.
- 588—593. ÆTHELRIC, 2d King of Northumberland.

593—617. ETHELFRITH, 3d King of Northumberland. *Sax. Chron.*

ETHELFERTH. *Matt. West.* ETHELFRID. He was slain by REODWALD.

617—633. EDWINE (son of ÆLLA) 4th King of Northumberland. *Sax.*

*Chron.* EADWIN. He was converted to Christianity by Augustin's vicar, Paulinus, in 627, and was the 4th Anglo-Saxon who held universal sway over the whole island; "majore potentia cunctis," as Florence of Worcester has it. Slain in battle against the Britons in 633.

After EDWINE the provinces were again divided.

634. *Sax. Chron.* EANFRID, 7th King of Bernicia (son of ETHELFRITH).

634. OSRIC, 2d King of Deira, son of ÆLFRIC, the brother of King EDWINE's father.

After whom the provinces were united.

634—642. OSWALD, 5th King of Northumberland. He was the 6th King who preponderated in the Anglo-Saxon octarchy.

In the following reign Northumberland was again divided.

642—670. OSWEO, 8th King of Bernicia, brother of OSWALD. He is ranked by Bede and other Chroniclers as the 7th of the preponderating Saxon monarchs.

642—651. OSWIN, 3d King of Deira (son of OSRIC the 2d King of Deira).

On the death of OSWINO in 651, OSWEO, King of Bernicia, seized the throne of Deira, and ruled over the Northumbrian kingdom for two years. In 653, ETHELWALD, the son of OSWALD, became a competitor with OSWEO for the crown of Deira; but it is not known how long he continued in his disputed possession.

670—685. ECGFRID (son of OSWY), 6th King of Northumberland. *Sax.*

*Chron.* ECVERTH. He was slain in battle against the Picts at Drumnechtan, and his body was taken and buried at Icolmkill.

685—705. ALCRED, ALEFRID. *Sax. Chron.* ALDFRITH, EALDFRITH (eldest, but natural son of OSWY), 7th King of Northumberland. He died at Driffelda, in Yorkshire. He is distinguished by Eddius with the epithet of the "most wise."

705. EADWULF was a fleeting monarch of two months. He seized the sceptre on the death of ALFRED, but was driven out by OSRED.

705—716. OSRED, the son of ALCFRED by Kenburg, the daughter of

- Penda the Mercian. He was assassinated near the Southern Borders in 716, by his two kinsmen, CENRED and OSRIC.
- 716—718. COENRED or CENRED, the son of CUTHWIN. He was a descendant of IDA.
- 718—731. OSRIC, son of ALFRED.
- 731—737. CEOLWULF, the friend and patron of the venerable Bede, disgusted with the perils of monarchy, took the cowl.
- 738—759. EADBERT, EADBRYGHT, EADBERHT (the son of EATA), followed the example of his predecessor, and retired to a cloister.
759. OSULF or OSWULF, was slain at Methelwongtune on the ix kal. August.
- 759—765. MOLL ETHELWALD or EDELWOLD.
- 765—774. ALDRED, ALURED, ALCHRED, ALHRED, “suis destitutus mutavit regnum exilio.”
- 774—778. ETHELRED, ÆDELRED, son of MOLL EDELWOLD. He was banished in 778; or, according to the *Chron. Mailros*, in 779.
- 778—789. ALFWOLD, ELFWOLD. He is called “Rex innocentium,” by the Chronicle of Mailros. He was slain by his patrician Sigan, and his body was buried at Hexham.
- 789—790. OSRED, “nepos ALFWOLDI,” expelled in 790.
- 790—794. ETHELRED, son of MOLL EDELWOLD, was again restored in 790; but his subjects, disgusted at his deeds of blood, assassinated him in 794.
794. OSBALD. He was deposed at the end of 27 days.
- 794—806. EÁRDULF or HEARDULF, ARDULF, ALDULF (*Brompton*), the son of EANULF.
- 806—808. ALFWOLD or ÆLFWOLD, “per biennium regnum tenuit.” *Sim. Dun.*
- 808—840. EANRED succeeded on the death of ALFWOLD, and held the sceptre for 32 years.
- 840—844. ETHELRED, EDILRED, EDELRED, AEILRED, ÆDELRED, ELRED, son of EANRED. He was expelled in 844, and restored in the same year.
844. READWLF, REDULF, who “confestim diademati insignatus,” was slain



in battle against the Pagans at Aluethelleie. *Matt. West. sub anno* 844.

844—848. **ETHELRED** was again restored in 844, but slain in 848.

848—862. **OSBERCHT** banished in 862, but restored in 867 to share the throne with **AELLA**.

862—867. **AELLA**, “non de regali prosapia.”

867. **OSBERCHT** and **AELLA**. They joined their forces against the Danes, and were both cruelly slain at York on the 12th April 867. After the death of **OSBERCHT** and **AELLA**, Northumbria was again divided into two provinces. The Danes took possession of the ancient Deira, while the Saxons ruled in Bernicia.

867— .... **INGUAR** the Dane reigned a long while in Deira, and died without issue.

867—873. **EGBERT**. “Quidam genere Anglicus, sub Danorum potestate regnum adeptus,” was banished in 872, and died in 873. He was sovereign only of the tract of country between the rivers of Tyne and Tweed.

873—876. **RICSIG** (of Bernicia). “He died with grief at the distresses of his country.” *Turner*.

**HALFDEN**, a Dane. In 875 he invaded the whole of Northumberland. “Nec multo post (accessionem **RICSIG**) Halfdene rex Danorum, assumpta de Reoppandune ubi tunc sederat plurima parte prædicti exercitus, multa cum classe Tinam ingrediens, circa Tomemuthe hyematurus applicuit totam ad aquilonalem plagam prædicti fluminis provinciam, quæ pacem eatenus habuerat per acta hyeme depopulaturus.” *Sim. de Dun. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 6.* Will. Malmsbury makes this in 876. It would be prior to the death of **RICSIG** at all events. **HALFDEN** died in 876.

876— .... **EGBERT** ruled “super Northumbros ultra amnem Tynam.” He was reigning in 883.

883—894. **GUTHRED**, son of **HARDECNUT**, “regnavit super Eboracum.” See a curious legend in the Chronicle of Mailros, sub anno 883. The same is repeated in both the histories of Simeon. “Ex servo factus est rex.

GUTHRED died in 894, in which year the Danes, who inhabited Northumbria, made a treaty of peace with King ELFRED. *Will. Malmesbury. Sax. Chron.*

901—904. ATHELWOLD, brother of EDWARD the Elder was chosen *chief* monarch of all Northumberland in 901. The Chronicle of Mailros, sub anno 901, has “recessit Northumbriam, et ibi Rex et Princeps Regum eorum factus est.” A number of petty kings, whose names have not come down to us, reigned during this period in Northumbria which accounts for the expression, “Princeps Regum.” The language of Henry of Huntingdon (lib. v. ad finem), is “confuse autem regnaverunt Daci, ita quod ibi rex unus erat, modo duo, modo reguli multi,” Athelwold relinquished the throne in 904.

...—914. NIELL. I do not find when he commenced his reign. He was slain by his brother SIHTRIC in 914.

914—926. SIHTRIC, the son of INGUAR, and grandson of RADNAR LOGBROK, slew his brother NIELL in 914. He married ORGIVA, the illegitimate daughter of EDWARD the Elder, by EGWINA, a shepherd's daughter of great beauty, in 925. SIHTRIC afterwards repudiated her, and returned to Paganism, from which he had been converted. He died in 926, meditating a hostile expedition against ETHELSTAN.

919—944. REIGNWALD or REGINALD. From Simeon we learn that “quidam Rex Paganus vocabulo REIGNWALD” came with a great fleet into Northumberland, gained possession of York, and occupied “totam mox terram Sancti Cuthberti.” He made peace with Edward in 921, and was banished by EDMUND in 944.

926—927. GUTFERTH or GODOFRID, the son of SIHTRIC, succeeded his father, but was expelled in 927 by ETHELSTAN, who annexed Northumberland to his own kingdom. The Saxon Chronicle has “927. þær Eðelſtan cýning forðraſ Guðfríð cýnġ.”

In the reign of ETHELSTAN's successor the Northumbrians again swore fealty, but soon broke their oath.

Circa 927— .... ERIC, EYRIC, YRIC. Mr. Turner (vol. ii. p. 201 of his Anglo-Saxons) states from the Norwegian Annals, that “ATHELSTAN placed him in Northumbria, to reign in feudal subordination to him-

self. ERIC was baptized, and fixed his habitation at York." "In the reign of EDMUND, perceiving that this King, or his unquiet subjects, desired a new Regent, he hastened to his beloved ocean and its splendour." Ibid p. 229. He was again chosen in 949, and banished 950.

939—941. ANLAF. "Anno DCCCCXLI. Northumbri fidelitatem, quam EDMUNDO juraverant, postponentes, Noreganorum Regem ANLAFUM sibi elegerunt in Regem, qui Hamtonam veniens eam obsedit, nihilque proficiens, vertit exercitum ad Tamewrtham, et, vastatis omnibus, cum rediret, occurrit ei Rex Edmundus, et mox committeretur prælium, nisi sedassant eos duo Archiepiscopi Odo et Westan. Pace igitur facta, utriusque Regni terminus erat Wathlingestræte. Anlafus, incensa et vastata ecclesia sancti Baldredi in Tiningham, mox periit. Filius vero SIHTRICI nomine ANLAF regnavit in loco patris sui." *Chron. Mailros.*

The division between EDMUND and ANLAF was made in 939 [*Simeon de Gest. Reg. Ang.*]; the latter died in 941.

941?—944. ANLAF, the son of SIHTRIC, "regnavit in loco patris." There is much confusion in the authorities with respect to this and the preceding King. In the place where the passage quoted above occurs it is uncertain whether the "in loco patris" means immediately *subsequent to his father's decease*, or merely "in loco," i. e. "in regno," dating his accession from the decease of the Norwegian ANLAF. I should prefer the latter explanation. He made an attempt to gain the kingdom in 937, but was defeated by ATHELSTAN at Brunnanburgh. He was expelled along with REGINALD in 944 by EDMUND. "An. DCCCCXLIV. þær Eadmund cýning gecode eal Norð hýmbra land him to gepealde. ⁊ aþlýmde ut tpegen cýningar. Anlaf Syhtpecer runu. ⁊ Regenalb Iuðrepðer runu." *Sax. Chron.*

"944. Rex EDMUNDUS, ANLAFUM, et REINOLDUM de Northumbria expulit, quia pacem cum eo factam infregerunt." *Chron. Mailros.* Simeon [*de Gestis Reg. Ang.*] makes this event happen in 945. He says, "945. EDMUNDUS Rex expulsis duobus regibus regnum obtinuit Northanhymbrorum." EDRED succeeded to his brother EDMUND on

the throne of England in 946, and “Northumbriam sibi rebellantem conquisivit.” *Mailros*.

947—948. ANLAF, who had been expelled in 944, returned with a fleet, and was restored 947. He was again banished in the following year, and the Northumbrians swore fealty to King EDRED; but they speedily broke their oath, for in 949 (the Saxon Chronicle says 952) they again set up

(949\*—950.) EYRIC, HERIC, HUTH, “de stirpe Danorum,” the son of HAROLD. Him, however, they expelled in 950 (Saxon Chronicle 954) through fear of EDRED, who had devastated their territories, and burnt the famous monastery built by St. Wilfrid at Ripon. EYRIC made a fruitless resistance. Being betrayed by OSULF, he was slain, and was the last of the royal line of Northumbria, “nam ei successerunt comites.”

“948, moxque (this must refer to a following year) Northumbriam (EDREDUS) circuiens totam possedit, sed post juratum ei fidelitatem Northymbrenses quendam Danum EIRICUM præfaciunt regem.” *Sim. de Gestis Reg. Angl.* In the year 952, Simeon has, “defecerunt hic reges Northanhymbrorum; et deinceps ipsa provincia administrata est per comites.” In the following year (953) he adds “comes OSULF suscepit comitatum Northanhymbrorum.”

Subjoined is an epitome of the subsequent history as to the government of Northumberland, taken from the Chronicle of Mailros.

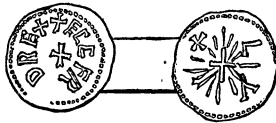
950.—Anno DCCCCL. Rex *Anglorum* EDREDUS *Northumbriam* devastat, in qua vastatione combustum est Monasterium quod sanctus Wilfridus construxerat in *Ripun*. *Northumbrenses* timore coacti regem, quem sibi fecerant, abjecerunt EYRICUM, filium HAROLDI, qui fuit ultimus rex illorum; nam ei successerunt comites, primus OSULFUS qui postea socium habuit OSLACUM, quibus successit WALLEVUS senior, post quem UHTREDUS filius ejus, post Uhtredum EDOLF CUDES frater ejus, post hunc frater ejus ALDREDUS: Illi successit EADULFUS filius Cospatrici filii Uhtredi predicti. Eadulfo successit SIWARDUS; post eum Tos-

\* Chron. Mail. Sim. de Gestis Reg. Angl.

TIUS frater Haraldī regis ; Tosto MORKARUS, qui comitatum commisit OSULFO filio Edulfi Comitī, cui expulso successit COSPI ; post eum COSPATRICUS filius Maldredi, quem Cospatricum Maldredus habuit ex Aldgitha filia Uhtredi Comitī et Elfgivæ filiæ Ethelredi regis. Iste Cospatricus erat pater Dolfini, Wallevi, Cospatrici. Post eum datus est comitatus WALTHEVO Siwardi Comitī filio. Capto Waltheuo, commissa est comitatus cura WALTHEVO Episcopo. Quo interfecto Rex dedit comitatum ALBIO ; cui reverso patriam, successit RODBERTUS DE MULBREIO : sed eo capto, ipsi Reges deinceps tenuerunt comitatum in manu sua, Primus WILLIELMUS junior, deinde HENRICUS, postea STEPHANUS, et post eum HENRICUS Secundus.

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Before describing the Coins found at Hexham, it may not be irrelevant to notice the discovery of some stycas appropriated to a king who reigned long antecedent to the first of the present series. I allude to the small number of the Coins of ECGFRID, which were found at Heworth.

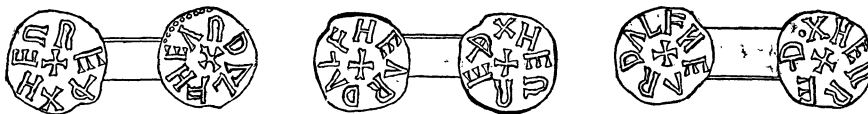


The Rev. John Hodgson, the author of the History of Northumberland, and then the Perpetual Curate of Jarrow and Heworth, in a paper printed in the first volume of the Transactions of the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, after stating the probable connection between this King and the church of Jarrow, proceeds to give an ingenious explanation of the reverse of the Coins, which he observes are all from the same die. The legend on the reverse, however, instead of LUX, as was supposed at the time, appears to be rather LVN, at least on the Coin in my possession, which may either be the name of the moneyer or the place of mintage. The v is formed like x, and the n is very indistinct. The ornamented cross has

probably its meaning, and none more likely than that assigned to it by the reverend and learned gentleman himself.

ECGFRID ascended the throne in 670 in preference to his elder, though illegitimate brother, ALFRED. He invaded Mercia in 679, and in 684 made a similar inroad into Ireland. His invasion of the Picts in the same year was fatal to him, for his enemies, by stratagem entangled him in a defile, near Drumnechtan, where he was slain.

Our series commences with HEARDVLF.



On the flight of King OSBALD, the Patrician HEARDULF\* was called from exile,† and invested with the regal dignity. He was consecrated at the altar of St. Paul, in the church of St. Peter, at York, “ubi,” adds Simeon, “illa gens primum perceperat gratiam baptismi,” by the northern Archbishop EANBALD, assisted by Bishops ETHELBERHT, HIGBALD and BADEWULF, on the vii kal. Jun. 796.

ETHELRED, the predecessor of OSBALD on the Northumbrian throne, among innumerable other enormities, was the chief party in the intended assassination‡ of HEARDULF, who in the year 792 was dragged to the gates

\* “Ex semine regio.” *Johannis Wallingford Chron.* 530.

† The year of his accession is stated variously by the Chroniclers. The Saxon Chronicle has the 2 id Maii 795, and adds that he was consecrated and “to hyr cne-ƿtole ahopen,” vii kal. Junii. The Chronicle of Mailros makes it 794. Simeon of Durham “de Gestis Regum Anglorum,” has the following, “Anno dcccxcvi (796) EARDULF filius EARDULFI de exilio vocatus, regni infulis est sublimatus, et in Eboraca in ecclesia Sancti Petri ad altare beati Apostoli Pauli, ubi illa gens primum perceperat gratiam baptismi, consecratus est vii. kal. Junii.” *Matt. Westmin.* says 797.

‡ Both the Chronicle of Mailros and the Monk Simeon make particular mention of this act of ETHELRED’s cruelty. From the letter we learn that it happened in the second year of ETHELRED’s reign, that is in 792. I subjoin their respective accounts: “Qui (ETHELREDUS) Eardulfum ducem capiens, et ad Ripum producens ibi eum occidit extra portam monasterii: Dilato autem corpore ipsius, in ecclesiam, et psallentibus circa eum et pro eo fratribus, post mediam noctem vivus inventus est.” *Chron. Mailros sub anno 790*; under the year 794 it adds, “Eardulfus vero filius EARNULFI, qui ut supra diximus post occisionem revixit, de exilio revocatus, Rex est constitutus.” In the “*Historia Simeonis de Gestis Regum Anglorum* iii.” we find, “cujus (Ethelredi) anno secundo (the same authority makes his reign commence in 790) Eardulf dux captus est et ad Ripum perductus, ibique occidi jussus extra portam monasterii à rege præfato. Cujus corpus fratres cum *Gregorianis* concentibus ad ecclesiam portantes, et in tentorio foris ponentes, post mediam noctem vivus est in ecclesia inventus.”

of the monastery of Ripon, and there left for dead. The charitable monks however, finding the body so near their precincts, carried it into the church, and were the means of his safe recovery before the morning. HEARDULF escaped, visited Rome, and sought the protection of Charlemagne, "who in conjunction with the papal Legate, assisted him in his efforts."\* to gain the throne.

In 798† the murderers of ETHELRED conspired against their former idol HEARDULF. The King met the rebels, and, after a severe contest, and much slaughter on both sides, the royal army was victorious, and the insurgent leader WADA was obliged to fly.‡

Two events stain the government of HEARDULF, but they were only in accordance with the character of the times. One, the death of MOLL, is thus recorded by Simeon: "MOLL quoque dux paulo post (799) *jussione urgente* EARDULFI regis occisus est."|| The other is the massacre of ALCMUND. The same authority says, "Eodem anno (800) ALCHMUND§ filius ALCREDI regis, ut dicunt quidam, à tutoribus EARDWLFII regis est apprehensus, ejusque jussione cum suis profugis occisus est."

After these transactions, the Northumbrian King turned, in 801, his arms against KENWLF of Mercia; who meeting his hostilities with equal alacrity, soon raised an army, and was quickly in the field. The Clergy and "Principes Anglorum," however, interfered, and with their advice a reconciliation was effected, and peace agreed upon by both parties;¶ the

\* Turner, Ang. Sax. vol. i. p. 400, who quotes Ann. Franc. ap. Duchesne, vol. ii. p. 45.

† In this year the great Synod was held by Eanbald at Finchale. See after, in the account of the Archbishop.

‡ Anno DCCXCVIII. Conjuratiōe facta ab interfectoribus ETHELDREDI regis, WADA dux in illa conjuratione cum eis bellum inierunt contra EARDWLFUM regem in loco qui appellatur ab Anglis BILLINGAHOOTH juxta WALALEGE, et ex utraque parte plurimus interfectis WADA dux cum suis in fugam versus est, et EARDWLFUS rex victoriam regaliter sumpsit ex inimicis." *Sim. Dun. de Gestis Regum Anglorum.* "Anno DCCXCVIII Interfectores ETHELDREDI Regis cum duce WADA bellum inierunt contra EARDWLFUM successorum apud BILLINGAHOOTH juxta WALELEIE, in quo multi ceciderunt, sed, duce WADA in fugam verso victoriam habuit EARDWLFUS." *Chron. de Mailros sub anno.* "Peridem tempus rex Northanhumbrorum EARDWLFUS, in loco qui BILINGEHO dicitur, prelium commisit contra WADUM ducem, et alios quosdam conspiratores suos. Sed demum multis hinc inde interfectis, rex regaliter victoriam obtinuit ex hostibus supradictis." *Matt. Westm. sub anno 798.*

|| De Gestis Reg. Anglor. 115—sic etiam Chron. de Mailros sub anno 799.

§ Sic Matt. West. et Chron. de Mailros sub anno 800.

¶ Anno DCCCL. EARDWLFUS Northumbrorum Rex et KENWLFUS Merciorum ad bellandum convenerunt,

two kings swearing "in evangelio Christi ut in diebus eorum quamdiu vita potirentur præsenti, et regni essent infulis suffulti, pax firma veraque inter eos amicitia inconcussa et inviolata persisteret."

In 806\* HEARDULF was deserted by his subjects and banished the kingdom; "et deinceps," adds the Chronicle of Mailros, "Rege *diu* carebat." The limits of the *diu* was two years; for in 808 ALFWOLD was chosen his successor.† Of ALFWOLD not any coins have been found, and the only historical memorial of him is, that he held the reins of government for the short space of two years.

The Stycas of HEARDULF,‡ which are unnoticed by Mr. Ruding, and a very limited number of which were found amongst the Hexham Coins, are, in point of execution, similar to those of his successors EANRED, ETHELRED, and REDULF. The legends differ from the majority of them in the omission of the title Rex, which omission however is not unusual in the Coins of the subsequent reigns. The only moneyer which as yet has been found amongst the Hexham Coins, is HERRETH.

#### EANRED.

After the expulsion of ALFWOLD, the crown was worn by EANRED for the long space of thirty-two years.|| During the reign of this latter prince, the superiority of Wessex under its King EGBERT was fully established. After

sed Episcoporum ac Principum consilio pacem inter se jurejurando confirmaverunt, quamdiu viverent tenendam. *Chron. de Mailros sub anno.* In Simeon (*de Gestis Reg. Angl.* 117) we find, "801. His temporibus EARDULF Rex Northanhymbrorum duxit exercitum contra KENWLFUM regem Merciorum propter susceptionem inimicorum ejus. Qui et ipse congregans exercitum secum aliarum promovit auxilia Provinciarum plurima, longa inter eos expeditione facta. Tandem cum consilio episcoporum ac principum Anglorum ex utraque parte pacem inierunt per gratiam regis Anglorum Factaque firmissimæ pacis concordia inter eos, quam sub jurejurando in evangelio Christi ambo reges confirmaverunt, Deum testem et fidejussorem interponentes, ut in diebus eorum quamdiu vita potirentur præsenti, et regni essent infulis suffulti, pax firma veraque inter eos amicitia inconcussa et inviolata persisteret."

\* An. dcccvi. "þer re mona aþirtroðe on kl'sept. 7 Ɔarþulp. Nonþanhýmþa cuning . pær of hȳ rice Ɔurpen." *Chron. Sad., sub anno.*

† Matt. Westm.

‡ Sir Andrew Fountaine in Tab. x. at the end of his Dissertation on Saxon Coins in Hickes's Thesaurus, gives five Stycas of a king Heardulf, all of different moneyers, amongst which are Odilo and Broder.

|| "Post ALFWODUM EANREDUS (successit) qui regnavit xxxix. annis." *Chron. Joan. Wallingford.* This is a mistake which a little further down the same Chronicler corrects; his words are, "qui xxxii. annis regnavit in Northimbria."



conquering Mercia, whose military strength had been completely exhausted by the imprudence of the usurpers BEORNWULF and LUDECAN, EGBERT moved his army beyond the Humber, and assumed a hostile position towards Northumberland, at this time in a state of internal weakness, the fruits of many years of anarchy and misrule. EANRED knew full well his inability to compete, in his present situation, with the successful EGBERT, and aware that none but peaceful measures could safely be adopted, he met his opponent at a place called Dore; and there, to use the words of the Worcester Chronicle, whose account of this transaction I have given in a note, "occurrens pacifice, ei concordiam humilemque subjectionem obtulit;" and, as we find in Matthew of Westminster, "regem Eandredum statuit sub tributo."\*

Although Northumbria was, on this, as on many other, occasions, reduced to a temporal submission, yet she still preserved her position as a separate kingdom. It was not until the victory of EDRED over ERIC in 946, and his subsequent partition of it into counties under the government of an Earl, that she lost her independence, and was inseparably annexed to the realm of England.

EANRED, unlike many of his near cotemporaries, finished a long reign without being banished, and died in 840 in possession of his throne.†

The moneys of EANRED, as given by Mr. Ruding, exclusive of the silver penny, are :

ALDATES	DAEGBERCT	EARRDVVLf
BRODER	EADVINI	FORDRED
BRODR	EANRED	FVLCNOD

\* "Ænð ƿe Ecgbryht læwde ƿýrðe to Dore ƿið Northanhýmbre 7 hý him ƿær eaþmeo buoan 7 ƿær ƿærnerre 7 hý on þam to-hƿunƿan." *Saxon Chron. sub anno. dcccxxvii.*

"827. Eodem anno Rex Occidentalium Saxonum Egbertus, expulso regno Wiglafo, regnum Merciorum suo abjecit imperio. Deinde suam movit expeditionem ultra Humbri flumen. Cui Northimbrenses (in loco qui Dore vocatur) occurrentes pacifice, ei concordiam humilemque subjectionem obtulere; absic ab invicem divisi sunt magna mentis alacritate." *Flor. Wigorn, 238.* "Anno gratiæ 829. Cum Egbertus rex Occidentalium Saxonum omnia australia Angliæ regna obtinisset, exercitum grandem in Northanhumbria ducens, provinciam illam gravi depopulatione contrivit, regemque Eandredum statuit sub tributo." *Matt. West. sub anno.*

† "Anno gratiæ 840, defuncto rege Northanhumbroꝝ EANDREDO, ÆTHELBEDUS filius ejus septem annis successit. *Matt. West.*

GADVTEŠ	HERRED	MONNE
GADVTEIS	HRRED	VVLFHEARD
HEARDLF	HVAËTRED	VVLFRED.
HEARDVLF		

The following have been found amongst that portion of the Coins discovered at Hexham, which have undergone a careful examination.

ALDATES	EANRED	HEARETHI
ALFHEARD	EANRETH	HERRD
BRODER	EARAINI	HERRED
BRÖDR	EARDVLF	HERREDA
BROER	EARRDVVLF	HERRETH
BRƿMR	EADILVARD	HRRED
CVDHARD	EADILVEAD	HVAETRED
CVNVVLF	EORDRED	IEADVINE
CNAALF	ERDRED	MONNE
C↓AALF	} pro CVNVVLF	ODILO
C↓AANLF		TEVEH
CVAVLF		THADIGILS
CVVN↓EF		TIDVINI
C↓VVNF		TIDVNI
C↓VV-LF		VILHEAH
DAEGBERCT	GADTEIS	VVLFHEARD
DAEXBERC	GADVTEIS	VVLFRED
ƿAEXBERC	GADVTELS	WINTRD
DAEXBERCT	GADVTEŠ	WINTRED
EADVNI	HEARDVLF	ƿINTRMƿ
EADVNI	HEARDVVLF	WINTRR.

Being, with the exception of one of the readings of HEARDULF in Ruding, all that were known to that author; and shewing as new moneyers of this King, or readings of their names—

ALFHEARD	CVNVVLF	ƿAEXBERC
BROER	(with all its various readings.)	DAEXBERCT
BRƿMR		EADVNI
CVDHARD	DAEXBERC	EANRETH

EARAINI	GADVTELS	THADIGILS
EARDVLF	HEARDVVLF	TIDVINI
EDILVARD	HEARETHI	TIDVNI
EDILVEAD	HERREDA	VILHEAH
EORDRED	HERRD	WINTRD
ERDRED	HERRETH	WINTRED
FOLCNOD	IEADVINE	ÞINTRM✕
FVLNOD	ODILO	WINTRR.
GADTEIS.	TEVEH	

Of EDILVARD, EDILVEAD, ERDRED, HEARETHI, IEADVINE, TEVEH, TIDVINI, and TIDUNI, single specimens have only hitherto been found, which may be considered as most probably unique. Several of the other moneyers, as CVNVVLF, EADVINI, FORDRED, and MONNE, afford numerous specimens.

The drawings render any particular explanations of the Coins unnecessary. The peculiarity as to the dots may be seen in several of them. On a coin of the moneyer VVLFHEARD, we find a very singular distribution of the legend; the D, instead of being with the other letters in the usual manner, usurps the place which is usually occupied by a cross in the centre. FOLCNOD and ODILO are the only moneyers in this reign, who have added their designation of office. Thus, in all the Coins of FOLCNOD we find the letter M after the name. In one Coin of ODILO we have the letters MON, and in another the letters MO., abbreviations of the officer MONETARIVS.

The moneyers BRODER, HEARDULF, HERRED, and WINTRED, according to a practice not uncommon at the time, have in some instances abbreviated their names by leaving out the final vowel; thus BRODR, HEARDLF, HERRD, and WINTRD.

The Runic letters on a Coin of the moneyer BROTHER, and also on one of WINTRED, are worthy of attention. In the inscription BRÞMR, the letters BR and Þ are common to both the Saxon and Runic alphabets, but the ʀ and M are peculiar to the latter only; the one being an o and the other an e. In the other inscription ÞINTRM✕, the first five letters are also common to the two alphabets; the latter letters E and D, however, are

peculiarly Runic; see the "Litterarum Runicarum varietas universa collecta," given in the first volume of Hickes's Thesaurus. On the knowledge which the Anglo-Saxons possessed of the Runic characters, Mr. Turner gives a very interesting account in the fourth chapter of the Appendix to his work, vol. i. p. 232.

#### ETHELRED.

ETHELRED, or as his name is variously spelled AEDELRED, AIDELRED, AEILRED, ÆTHELRED, ATHELRED, ETHELRED, EDELRED, EDILRED, ELRED, and ETHERED,\* the son of King EANRED, mounted the throne at his father's death, in 840.† Of the transactions of this reign no satisfactory information can be gleaned from our early Chroniclers and Historians. The comparative beauty of various Stycas of Ethelred's coinage, are however so many evidences of improving taste and execution, if not in the kingdom at large, at least in individuals; and shews that the arts were not totally neglected. The long reign of EANRED, and the undisturbed state of the country after EGBERT's hostile visit, had perhaps tended in some degree to soften down the ruggedness of the Northumbrian character; and to produce a few shoots of that intellect, which had flourished so healthily during the reigns of their Kings ALFRED and CEOLWULF.

In the year 844 ETHELRED gave offence to his people, and was expelled to make room for REDULF; on whose death he was recalled, "et tunc iterum regnavit."‡ He was slain in 848.||

\* The present is only one amongst the many instances of variations in the orthography of Anglo-Saxon names. In a note in vol. i. p. 472, of Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, that gentleman, speaking of the different modes of writing the name of ETHELWULF the successor of EGBERT, says, "The name of this king has been disfigured by that variety of orthography which prevailed at this time, and often confuses history. ETHELWLFUS, ETHULFUS, ATHULFUS, ADULFUS, AITHULFUS, ADHEHOLFUS, ATHELWLFUS, ATWULFUS." The cause of this fluctuation was no doubt owing in a great measure to the writers of subsequent ages, having, in the absence of contemporary originals, to depend so much upon oral tradition, received perhaps through the medium of a vitiated or provincial pronunciation.

† Matthew of Westminster makes him reign *seven* years. In the Chron. Joannis Wallingford, 531 we find ATHELREDUS qui regnavit ix annis.

‡ Matt. West.

|| "Anno gratiæ 848 ATHELREDO rege Northanhumbroꝝ interfecto, OSBERTUS successit pro eo annis 18." *Matt. West. sub anno*. Simeon the Monk, in his History of the Church of Durham, lib. ii. cap. v. makes this event happen in 849. His words are, "anno ab incarnatione Domini dccclij. imperii autem OSBERTI, qui occiso ETHELREDO in regnum successerat anno quinto."

Mr. Ruding gives as moneyers of ETHELRED :

ALDHERE	EDILREED	MONNE
ALGHERE	EORDRED, pro	ODILO
ANRED	FORDRED ?	OLDVN
BROTHER	HNIFVLA	TIDVLF
CEOLBALD	IEVVBE	VBRODER
CVDHEARD	INRED	VENDELBEHRT
EADMVND	LEOFDEG	VVLFRED
EANBALD	LEOFDEGN	WINTRD
EANRED	LEOGDEGN	WINTRED
EARDVVLF		

In the Hexham collection have been found :

ALDHERE	ELEHOJH	LEOFDEXN
ALGHERE	EORDRED	MONNE
ANRED	ERWINNE	ODILO
BRODER	EVDRTEDA	VBRODER*
BROTHER	FORDRED	VVLFRED
CEOLBALD	GADVTE	VVLFSC
COENRED	HNIFVLA	VENDELBERHT
CVNEMUND	HVNLA	VINTRD
EADVIN	LEODEGN	WINTNRD
EAFDVLF	LEOFDEG	WINTNRE
EANRED	LEOFDGN	WINTRD
EANREDE	LEOFDEGN	WINTRED.
EARDVVLF	LEOFDEGNX	

Therefore we do not find amongst them,

CVDHEARD	EDILREED	LEOGDEGN
EADMVND	IEVBBE	OLDVN
EANBALD	INRED	TIDVLF.

But we have as new,

BRODER	CVNEMVVND	EAFDVLF
COENRED	EADVIN	EANREDE

\* A single specimen of this moneyer's coin was found by Mr. Airey, and has been unfortunately mislaid or lost.

ELEHOJH	LEODEGN	VVLFSIC
ERWINNE	LEOFDGN	VINTRED
EVDRTEDA	LEOFDEGNX	WINTNRD
GADVTEŠ	LEOFDEXN	WINTNRE.
HVNLAŁ		

Single Coins only have occurred of CEOLBALD and HNIFVLA, differing in each case from those figured by Mr. Ruding. Those of COENRED, EADVİN, EAFDVLF, EANREDE, EVDRTEDA, GADVTEŠ, HVVLAŁ, LEODEGN, are unique, so far as the examination has proceeded.

The same peculiarity of dotting runs through the money of this reign. Some of the Coins of ALGHERE shew curious instances of it.

The moneyer LEOFDEGN appears to have been a man of infinitely more taste than any either of his predecessors or contemporaries. The beautiful devices upon several of the pieces of his minting, particularly those whereon we see the figure of a horse, probably the first deviation from the usual marks of crosses, circles, and pellets, will not fail to obtain for him the admiration he deserves.

At the beginning of the money of this King we have placed three Coins, and in the supplemental Plate will be found two others, having on the reverse the name and title of his father EANRED. We might have been induced to give them this situation, under the idea that they might be the first Coins struck in his reign. At the end are two Coins, both of which have EDILRED REX on the obverse; the one has very distinctly AIELREDA on the reverse, the other is not so distinct, but the legend appears the same.

We have again, in the coinage of this King, some of the moneyers adding their designation of office. ODILO, as in the former reign, having the letters MO on his Coins, and LEOFDEGN, on some of his, MONET. This latter moneyer has also gone through all the various ways of spelling the name of ETHELRED.

In the centre of the obverse of some of the Coins we have the Saxon M, and, in numbers 193, 194, we also find an A in a similar situation. Had the M occurred on the reverse, it might have been supposed an abbreviation of the word MONETARIUS; but, placed as it is, we are at a loss to conjecture

either the meaning of it or of the A. It may be proper to observe, however, that these letters do not unfrequently occur upon other Coins of the Saxons. Had this not been the case, we might have hazarded the conjecture, that they designated the places of mintage, and that the M might stand for MUNELEASTER, MONKCHESTER, the present NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE; and the A for AGUSTALD, one of the Saxon names for Hexham.

# REDULF.

REDULF\* or READWLF, on the banishment of King ETHELRED, succeeded in 844. The only chronicler who notices his possession of the sceptre is Matthew of Westminster†, all the other historians assigning it to OSBERCHT, and passing by unnoticed ETHELRED's expulsion and subsequent elevation. Here the value of the Northumbrian Stycas, as historical monuments, is strikingly apparent; for, had no money with this monarch's name and title been discovered, the Monk of Westminster's testimony might have been destroyed by a host of other authorities, in point of authenticity and fidelity equal to his own.

REDULF was scarcely seated on the throne when he turned his arms against the Danes, then making one of their frequent inroads. At Aluethleie, his enemies were victorious, and the King, with his general ALFRED, and a great part of his soldiers, were left dead in the field. ETHELRED reigned again in the same year.

The moneyers of REDULF, according to Mr. Ruding, are

ALGHERE	COENED	FORDRED
ALDHERE?	CVDBEREHT	MONNE
BROTHER	EANRED	VENDELBERHT.

The Hexham Coins afford of this King,

ALGHERE	COENED	EANRED
BROTHER	CVDBEREHT	EORDRED

\* Mr. Ruding writes that he had not been able to discover the date of the accession of this king. Vol. i. p. 243.

† "Anno gratiæ 844.... Eodem anno rex Northanhumbroꝝum Æthelredus a regno fugatus est, cui READWLFUS successit in regnum, qui confestim diademate insignitus, cum Paganis commisso prælio apud ALUETHLEIE, ipse et consul ÆLFREDUS ceciderunt cum parte maxima subditorum, et tunc iterum ÆTHELREDUS regnavit." *Matt. West. sub anno.*

FORDRED

HVNLAUF

VENDELBERHT.

HVAETNDD

MONNE

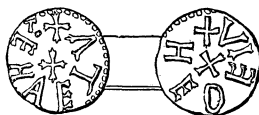
Of which are new, HVAETNDD, HVNLAUF, and EORDRED.

Very few Coins of this reign were found, in comparison with those of the others. The shortness of the time which REDULF held the sceptre, sufficiently accounts for this circumstance; and it is only remarkable that the variations should have been so numerous. Of the moneyer HUNLAUF only one Coin has as yet occurred. Of the others there are more than single specimens.

On the death of ETHELRED, OSBERCHT was invested with the regal dignity in 848; banished in 862, and again restored in 867 to share the throne with AELLA.

Of the Coins of OSBERCHT not any specimens were discovered among the Stycas found at Hexham; but Mr. Ruding gives several in his work on the British Coinage, and enumerates the following moneyers, EANULF, EANVULF, MONNE, VINEBEGHT, and VINEBERT.\*

#### AELLA.



AELLA, or as we have his name on the Styca, AELA, whom a chronicler styles "non de regali prosapia," usurped the throne in 862, on the banishment of OSBERCHT. This reign witnessed an event which was chiefly instrumental in provoking the great Danish invasion. The celebrated northern Viking RAGNAR LODBROK,† on one of his roving expedition, was wrecked on the coast of Northumbria, and immediately on landing began to put his favourite plans of plunder into execution. On this, AELLA, the then King, marched against him. The native army was victorious, and RAGNAR remained in the hands of the conqueror, who, in accordance with the bar-

\* Ruding, Plate XI. Nos. 1 to 10. Plate XXVII. Nos. 1 to 3.

† For a detailed history of RAGNAR LODBROK see Mr. Turner's very learned History of the Ang. Sax. vol. i. p. 445.



barity of the age, tormented his prisoner with a lingering death. RAG-NAR's sons, burning with revenge, collected an immense host of neighbouring chiefs, and sailed for Northumbria. A storm, however, changed their destination to East Anglia, where they landed. The spring succeeding their arrival, saw them at the gates of York.\* The civil discord which, says Asser, "diabolico instinctu orta fuerat, sicut semper populo qui odium incurrerit Dei evenire solet," was still raging in Northumberland, and it was not until the Pagans had gained possession of their capital that the contending parties were appeased. They joined in one cause against their common enemy, and marched "in die Palmarum" against York, near which place they met the Danes, who immediately retreated within the walls of the city. They were closely pursued by the Saxons, who found no difficulty in breaking the fortification and entering the town. "Non enim tunc adhuc illa civitas firmos et stabilitos muros illis temporibus habebat." A general conflict ensued, and the Danes, driven by despair, redoubled all their efforts against the now broken ranks of the Northumbrians. Of this juncture I transcribe Matthew of Westminster's account: "Tandem ingressi civitatem pugnam contra paganos, sibi nimis damnosam, commiserunt. Nam in illa pugna ceciderunt reges OSBERTUS et ELLA† et cum eis 8 consules, in die palmarum, cum turbarum multitudine copiosa. Deinde nefandi dissimiles victores Dani, totam Northanhumbriorum provinciam usque ad ostium Tynæ fluminis depopulantes patriam sibi, victis hostis, subdiderunt."‡

\* "AN. DCCCLXVII. Ðer for ge hepe of Gart-Englum oþen þumbne muðan to Eorþnþic-cearene on Norð-humbne." *Sax. Chron.*

867. "Paganorum exercitus de Orientalibus Anglis ad Eboracum civitatem migravit, quæ in aquiloni ripa Humber fluminis sita est." *Flor. Wigorn.*

"Anno gratiæ 867. Eodem anno Danorum nefandus exercitus, in die Omnium Sanctorum, ab Orientalibus Anglis ad Ebor. civitatem migravit. *Matt. West.*

† Sic Chron. de Mailros sub anno 867.

‡ [AN. DCCCXLVII.] And þær pærmicel un-geþpærner þære þeowe betpeox him jelfum. 7 hý hæfðon huora cýning aþorpenne Orbnýht. 7 un-gecýnð e cýning unþer-fengon Ællan. And hý late on gearne to þam gecýnðon. [The passage in connection with this is given in the preceding note.] 7 hý [Orbnýht 7 Ælla] rið þone hepe pinnenwe þærun. And 1 ý þeah micle fýrwe gegæberodon. 7 þone hepe rohton æt Eorþnþic-ceartne. 7 on þa ceartne bnecon. 7 hýrume inne purðon. And þa pær un-gemetlic þel gerlezen Norðan-hýmbra. fume binnan fume butan. 7 þa cýmngar bezen of-rylegen þær purðan. 7 ri 1 f rið þone hepe fno namon. *Sax. Chron.*

The respective accounts of Asser and Florence of Worcester being so verbally alike, I refrain from giving both. I have added that of Asser as being the older historian. There is a balance of authorities in favour of the date 867, which Asser has 866.

Mr. Turner, quoting from northern authorities, says : "The sons of RAGNAR inflicted a cruel and inhuman retaliation on ELLA, for their father's sufferings. They divided his back, spread his ribs into the figure of an eagle, and agonised his lacerated flesh by the addition of the saline stimulant." This is a refinement of cruelty scarcely to be expected from a people in the vilest stage of barbarity.

Of the money of AELLA, which was, I consider, entirely unknown to former writers,\* and is therefore unnoticed by Mr. Ruding, one styca only has been discovered, and which I think may be with safety assigned to him. It has on the obverse the King's name spelled AELA, and his title Rex. The reverse bears the name of the moneyer HEDEIV. The Coin of EANRED No. 95, has the name and title similarly placed. The workmanship is rude, and approaches nearest in execution to some of the worst struck pieces of Archbishop Vigmund's mint.

We may fix the date 867 to the concealment of the Hexham treasure ; and the reader need only glance over the account given by our Chroniclers of the Danish ravages, subsequent to the battle of York, to assign a very cogent reason for the caution of the owner. There can be little doubt that he perished in the general massacre.

#### EANBALD.

EANBALD II. was the tenth Archbishop of York. He was Presbyter of

866. Anno DCCCXLVI. ... Eo tempore maxima inter *Nordanhymbros* discordia diabolico instinctu orta fuerat, sicut semper populo, qui odium incurrerit Dei, evenire solet. Nam *Nordanhymbri* eo tempore, ut diximus, legitimum Regum suum, OSBRICHTUM nomine, Regno expulerant, et tyrannum quendam AELLA nomine, non de regali prosapia progenitum, super Regni apicem constituerant. Sed, advenientibus Paganis, consilio divino & optimatum amminiculo, pro communi utilitate discordia illa aliquantulum sedata, OSBRICHTUS & AELLA, adunatis viribus, congregato exercitu, Eboracum oppidum adeunt. Quibus advenientibus Pagani confestim fugam arripiunt, et intra urbis mœnia se defendere procurant. Quorum fugam & pavorem Christiani cernentes, etiam intra Urbis mœnia eos persequi et murum frangere instituunt quod & fecerunt. Non enim tunc adhuc illa civitas firmos & stabilitos muros illis temporibus habebat. Cumque Christiani murum ut proposuerant fregissent, & eorum magna pars in civitatem simul cum Paganis intrasset, Pagani dolore & necessitate compulsi super eos atrociter irrumpunt, cædunt, fugant, prosternunt intus & extra, illic maxima ex parte omnes Nordanhymbrensium capti, occisis duobus Regibus cum multis Nobilibus ibi occubuerunt, reliqui vero, qui evaserunt, pacem cum Paganis pepigerunt. *Annales Asserii*, p. 159.

\* The Stycas called ALLA's given in Sir Andrew Fountaine's work at the end of Hickes's Thesaurus, cannot be appropriated to this king, and the legends have probably been mistaken by that author.

the church of St. Peter there, and was elected immediately on the death EANBALD I. in 796, and the second year of King Heardulf. He was ordained on Sunday the 15th day of August, at Socburn, in Durham, in the presence of ADELBERT, Bishop of Hexham, HIGBALD, Bishop of Lindisfarne, and Bishop BADWLF; and in the following year (797), having accepted the pallium from the Pope, was solemnly confirmed in the Archbishopric by the Northumbrian nation, on the Nativity of the Virgin (8th September).\*

In 798 EANBALD presided at a Synod† of the clergy and great men, held at Finchale, in the county of Durham. It was convened for the purpose of settling the disputes about the observation of the Easter feast, and for other ecclesiastical matters which needed regulation. I have subjoined a very full account of this meeting in the notes.‡

\* "An. dccxcvi. Ðer forð-ferðe Eanbalð Anceb on iv. iorþ Aug. 7 hƿr hƿ lƿð on ƿofeðþic. Anð þer ilcan gearer forð-ferðe ðeolpulf byrcop. 7 man gehal gove oþer Eanbalð on þær oþner ƿtal on xix. kal. Sept." *Sax. Chron.*

"An. dccxcvii. Anð Eanbalð on-ƿeng Pallium on vi. iorþ Sept." *Ibid.*

"Accepto ab Apostolica sede pallio, in Archiepiscopatum confirmatus est Sept. 8, 797." *Hoveden*, 233.

"Anno gratiæ 797 ... hoc quoque anno EANBALDUS Ebor. Archiepiscopus decessit, et alter EANBALDUS successit, quo utique anno EANBALDUS Ebor. Archiepiscopus, accepto pallio, per antistitem ordinavit EADREDUM, adjuncto sibi HIGBALDO Episcopo, ad pontificatus honorem." *Matt. Westm.*

"Anno dccxcvi. EANBALDUS Archiepiscopus Eboracensis obiit, cui successit alter EAPBALDUS ordinantibus eum Episcopis ETHELBERTO, HIGBALDO, et BADULFO." *Chron. de Mailros*

"746. Et paulo post, id est iiii. Ides Augusti EANBALDUS Archiepiscopus obiit in monasterio quod dicitur Etlete, corpusque ejus magno comitante agmine ad Eboracam civitatem portantes, in Ecclesia beati Petri Apostoli sepultum est honorifice. Statim vero alter EANBALDUS ejusdem Ecclesiæ Presbyter in episcopatum est electus. convenientibus ad ordinationem ejus ETHELBERTO et HYGBALDO atque BADULFO episcopis, in Monasterio quod dicitur Sochasburg xviii. kal. Septemb. die dominica. Anno dccxcvii. EANBALDUS, ille posterior accepto ab apostolica sede pallio in Archiepiscopatum genti Northanhymbrorum. Confirmatus est vi Idus Septembris, qua die celebratur, id est, nativitas Sanctæ Mariæ de qua poeta ait :

Splendet honore dies est in quo virgo Mariæ  
Stripe David regis procedens edita mundo."

*Sim. Dun. de Gestis Reg. Angl.*

† Stubbs, in his Chronicle of the Archbishops of York, writes, "congregata est Synodus non parva, in loco qui vocatur *Pinchamhalch*, cui ipsi præsidens cum magnis et sapientibus personis quamplurimis quorum prudentia et justitia status regni Northumbrorum illis temporibus incredibiliter redolebat."

‡ The Chronicle of Mailros barely mentions this convention, "Anno dccxcviii. Congregata est Synodus apud *Pinkenhalhe* præsidente EANBALDO Archiepiscopo;" a similar entry occurs in Matthew of Westminster's History, "Eodem anno (798) EANBALDUS, Ebor Archiepiscopus apud *FINCHALE* Synodum congregavit."

The following is an extract from Simeon de Gestis Regum Anglorum 798. "Eodem quoque anno qui est annus iiii CENWLF prædicti Regis (Merciorum) Synodus congregata in loco qui appellatur

The exact year of EANBALD's death is not mentioned by the Chroniclers ; but from Simeon of Durham's letter, *de Archiepiscopis Eboraci*, we learn that it happened "EANREDO regnante," that is sometime between the years 808 and 840.

It was during this prelacy that the Coins bearing the name, and frequently the titles, of EANBALD, were fabricated.

Mr. Ruding has engravings with the following moneyers.

EADVLF

EDILVEARD.

The Coin of EADVLF having the name only ; and that of EDILVEARD having his title AREP.

Amongst the few Coins of this Prelate found at Hexham, are

C↓NVLF?

EANVLF

EODVLFI

C↓ANVLF?

EANVVLF

EDILVARD

EADVOLF

EODVLF

EDILVEARD.

EADVOLF

Of which are new,

C↓NVLF?

EADVOLF

EODVLF

C↓ANVLF?

EANVLF

EODVLFI

EADVOLF

EANVVLF

EDILVARD

of all which more than single specimens occur, except C↓NVLF, C↓ANVLF, and EODVLFI.

Respecting the two first I entertain some doubts whether they may not be corrupt readings of EANVVLF ; the second is in the supplemental plate.

The first gives the title AREP, the second APER.

We find amongst the Coins of the moneyer EADVOLF, some with and

Pincanhalth, præsidente EANBALDO Archiepiscopo, aliisque quamplurimis principalibus et ecclesiasticis viris, multa de utilitate Sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ gentisque *Northanhymbrorum* omniumque provinciarum consiliati sunt, & de observatione Paschalis festi, & judiciorum divinatorum atque secularium quæ in diebus justorum regum et ducum bonorum atque sanctorum episcoporum aliorumque sapientum, monachorum scilicet atque clericorum, quoque prudentia, et justitia, atque divinis artibus status regni *Northanhymbrorum* suaviter & inedicibiliter redolebat his temporibus. Rationabili vero consilio providebant, ut de honore ecclesiarum Dei servorumque ejus necessitatibus disputarent et servitium Domini augerent, ut pro his mercedem æternæ retributionis bonam perciperent. Præcepit dominus antistes EANBALDUS recitari quinque Synodorum fidem."

For a copy of what was commanded recitari by EANBALD, I would refer the reader to Simeon of Durham *de Gestis Reg. Angl. sub anno*, and also to Stubbs's account of this occurrence.

others without the title ; where the title does occur it varies, in some being AREP, in others APE.

The moneyer EANVLF gives the title AREP, and the name ENBALD.

The moneyer EANVVLFF gives AER and AREP.

EODVVLF's Coins are principally without the title ; where it occurs we have AR.

In EODVVLF's Coin it is AB.

EDILVARD gives it v and AR, the v being an A reversed.

The Coin of EDILVEARD is without the title.

#### VIGMVND.

EANBALD was followed in the Archiepiscopate by WULSIUS, who died in 831. Of this Prelate no stycas have been discovered, and we therefore pass to his successor.

VIGMUND, WYMUND, or WIMOND, accepted the Pallium on the death of Wulsius. Nothing occurred during his prelacy of importance sufficient to warrant its being recorded in the pages of history, and the Chroniclers are therefore uniformly barren of all information. He died in 854.\*

Mr. Ruding gives the following moneyers ;

COENRED	EDILVEARD	FROINNE
EDILHARD	EULPHELM	HVNLAFF.

Amongst those at Hexham, are

COENRED	EDILHELM	EDILVHARD
CONERED, pro COENRED?	EDILVEARD	HVNLAFF

not having EDILHARD, EVLPHELM, or FROINNE.

With respect to EDILHARD we have probably the same in EDILVHARD, both being corruptions of EDILVEARD ; and I am strongly inclined to think that EULPHELM has been misread for EDELHELM. Of all the moneyers there are numerous specimens. Where the title occurs it varies : thus we have on the Coins of COENRED, IREP. AREP. and some are without any title, as are all those of EDELHELM. On the Coins of EDILVEARD we have AREP. APEP, IPEP. IREP. IRER. and EREP. and find none without. HUNLAF

\* Anno gratiæ 854, defuncto Wymondo Ebor. Archiepiscopo Wlferus successit. *Matt. West.*

gives the title IR, and in some instances the Coins have only VIGMUND. One of the Coins of the moneyer EDELHELM is curiously struck, having part of the Archbishop's and his own name on each side, and two Coins of VIGMUND shew the curious circumstance of the Prelate's name and title on the obverse and reverse. We also find a Coin having the moneyer's name EDILVEARD on both sides, which may belong to this Prelate.

#### WULFHERE.

Although the series of Coins found at Hexham closes with VIGMUND, yet, as money was coined during this prelacy, the following short notice respecting WULFHERE may not be uninteresting, more particularly as he was the last Archbishop of whom any Stycas are known.

WLFHERE, VULFHERE "pallium suscepit,"\* on the death of VIGMUND in 854. In his prelacy the great battle between the Northumbrians and the Northmen was fought at York, during which, as we find in Simeon's Letter on the Archbishops, "Remotius se agebat episcopus Vulferius apud Addingham in occidentali parte Eboraci in valle quæ vocatur Hiververdale, super ripam fluminis Hwert, inter Oteleiam et castellum de Scipetum."

In 872 the Northumbrians conspired against EGBERT, whom they had elected King on the slaughter of their sovereigns OSBERCHT and AELLA, and drove him, with the Archbishop, from the country.† On the death of EGBERT, however, in the following year, WULFHERE was again restored to his church,‡ which he governed until his decease in 892.||

Mr. Ruding gives engravings of three Stycas of WULFHERE, with VULFRED as moneyer.

Amongst the Coins are some which I have not been able to appropriate.

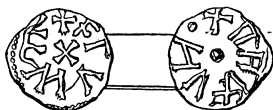
\* "Anno Dominicæ incarnationis dcccliv WLFERE Archiepiscopus pallium suscepit." *Simeon de Gestis Reg. Angl.*

† "Anno dccclxiij. Northumbri suum regem EGBERTUM et suum Archiepiscopum WLFERE expulerunt." *Ibid.*

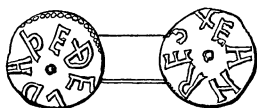
‡ "Anno dccclxiij. EGBERTUS rex Northanhymbrorum moriens successorem habuit Ricsig qui regnavit tribus annis; et WLFERE in suum Archiepiscopatum receptus est." *Ibid.*

|| "Anno dcccxcij. WLFERE Archiepiscopus Eboracensis obiit anno sui Archiepiscopatus xxxix." *Ibid.* "Anno 892. WLFERE Archiepiscopus Eboracensis obiit anno præsulatus sui xxxix. *Chron. Mailros.*

These have, therefore, been placed at the end under the head of uncertain. There are two, however, which may claim more particular notice, and about which some doubt exists. On one, the legend on the obverse reads ATVVVLF, and, unless we consider it as an orthographical variation of EARDVVLF, we cannot assign it to any Northumbrian King.



The confused manner in which the letters on the reverse are placed, renders it impossible to decypher the name of the moneyer. Should it belong to a King, *ETHELWULF*,\* who succeeded on the death of his father, the great *EGBERT*, in 836, is probably the only one who could claim it. He was, however, entirely unconnected with the Northern Kingdom; and if this really is a coin of his, the discovery at Hexham will be of much greater importance than hitherto imagined; inasmuch as it would show that this description of money, heretofore considered as confined to Northumberland, was coined in other parts of the heptarchy. *ETHELWULF* was deprived of his dominions in 856, and died in 857. On the obverse of the other, we read *EDELBA*, evidently the name of an Archbishop, with his title. The moneyer's name is *EANRED*.



If the name could be considered as a contraction for *ETHELBALD*, the coin might with much plausibility be given to *ETHELBALD*, who succeeded *WULFHERR* in the Archbishopric of York. From the state of the coin, and the relative positions of the letter *L* and its immediate successor, we may safely conclude that the last letter is the remaining half of a *B*, and not a *D*, as would at first sight appear; such being the fact, any difficulty which might have attended the abbreviation *EDEL* is overcome. Our

\* See remark in a former note upon the modes of spelling *ETHELRED*.

former conjecture as to the date of the concealment of the coins would, on the establishment of this appropriation, be of course overturned, and the period fixed twenty years later.

Amongst the uncertain Coins three are found with the legend EVDI REX on the obverse. From the remainder, nothing in the least satisfactory can be made out. It is not improbable that the practice of counterfeiting the Coinage might exist, and that these may be the work of forgers.