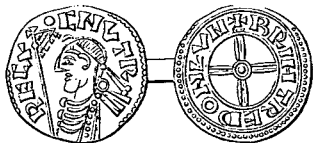


holding a standard such as this, marked with parallel bars, instead of a sceptre; and I think that sceptres were sometimes made of this form;



for amongst the treasure of silver ornaments, found at Cuerdale, there was a piece of silver which must have formed part of such a sceptre. The fringe of this is more elaborate than could be re-

presented on these coins, consisting of corded loops crossing each other, and supporting sheep's heads for tassels.

POSTSCRIPT BY THE EDITOR.

The coins enumerated and described by Lindsay, Rashleigh, and Pollexfen, have been most serviceable in preparing the following remarks. Some previous observations by the writer are repeated for clearness' sake.

No coins have occurred for the official or palatine earls of Northumberland or the owners of franchises comprised within their earldom previous to the conquest.

The scarcity of metal may have been one reason for a hiatus in the Bernician coinage generally. In the reign of Henry I. matters improved. In the celebrated pipe-roll of his 31st year, really from Sep. 1129 to Sept. 1130, the Burgesses of Carlisle accounted for 100s. the ancient farm of the Silver Mine. They had paid it into the Treasury and were acquitted. William and Hildret accounted for 40*l.*, the rent of the Silver Mine for the current year. A wonderful increase of value, not overrated, for Hildret was sheriff. In 1133, Robert de Monte chronicles that "veins of silver ore were discovered at Carlisle, and the miners, who dug for it in the bowels of the earth, paid 500*l.* yearly to King Henry." The King died two years afterwards, in Dec. 1135. And the numismatic evidence is that the only Northumbrian coin (excluding Durham) which can with safety be attributed to Henry I. is of the coinage which the Watford find proved to be his last, Hawkins's No. 262, according to the Murchison Catalogue, but, if that number be scrupulously engraved and the catalogue be correct in its description, rather Ruding, Supp. pt. ii, pl. ii, fig. 7., or, more strictly, Rashleigh, No. 1 or 2. The coin was formerly in the Martin collection, and reads DVRANT . ON . CARLI.

At the very outset of Stephen's reign, at the commencement of the year 1136, the honor or earldom of Carlisle was given to Henry, son of David I. of Scotland. The first coinage of Stephen is fixed by the Watford find. In that find were coins of the type in question (Hawkins 270) struck with the name of Stephen by ERE . . L . (O)N CARD : , PILLE . O(N) CARDI : , and WILEAL(M)E ON CA(R)D : ³⁷ "There are (says Mr. Rashleigh in Num. Chron. XII.)

³⁷ Rud. I. 16, seems to be the same coin (W)IL(EAL)ME ON CA(R)D :

of the Cardiff? [Mr. R. now admits that this should be read Carlisle] mint two coins which, in the workmanship both of the head and legend, are very different from every other coin in the collection. Their peculiarities, as they extremely rare, have been hitherto unnoticed. The letters are of the character of those on the early Saxon coins, having no serifs, and the portrait considerably more rude than usual." The figure (No. 10 on Mr. R.'s plate) of Wilealme's coin gives unmistakably the general character of David I.'s head and crown. The lettering of the reverse shows a dot in the centre of O in ON, a peculiarity which we shall presently meet with again.

In the first of these names we seem to have Erkembald the father of the well known William Fitz Erkembald of the Tealby type; and the coins, though bearing Stephen's name, must surely be Prince Henry's. In 1139, after a hard fight for it, he obtained the Earldom of Northumberland, and, with it, doubtless, a vast increase of silver. We find, on Bp. Pudsey's elevation to the same earldom, that the Silver Mine, though called that of Carlisle, was in fact partly in Cumberland and partly in Northumberland, that, in plain words, it was contained in the lead of the frontier manor of Alston Moor, and that the Northumberland share was by far the richest. We need feel no surprise if the coinage followed the supply of bullion; and we gain some clue to the chronology of Stephen's types in observing that Henry's first Northumbrian coinage is of the same pattern as that at Carlisle. He chose the demesne manor of his new earldom which was nearest to the mine—a place full of old remembrances—where King John was to search for hid treasure—a decayed Roman station—an ancient borough—Corbridge. The modern name links its history with Corstopitum, the Roman station which it unquestionably represents. Yet there is ample proof that, for euphony's sake, the *r* was *l* when it had a coinage. Thus we have the expression "Colebrigia civitate," temp. Stephen,³⁸ and the L is retained in the pipe-rolls down to Edward I.'s days.

Amongst the earlier ones, those of 1169 and 1175 read Colebrige. In the Bute find, ably described by the Rev. J. H. Pollexfen in Num. Chron., N.S., v., were two most interesting coins. One, reading (ST)IEFHE REX—(E)R(CEMBA)LD : ON CARD. The other HENRICVS : — ERCBOLD.O(N) COLEB :³⁹ It is impossible to doubt that the latter coin was struck at Corbridge, and it is satisfactory to find that the O has a dot in its centre like Wilealme's Carlisle money. It will be observed that the style has changed, and I am not sure whether Prince Henry did not even strike at Corbridge with the name of David his father. At least, a coin of the same first type of Stephen in the Bute find, Pollexfen's fig. 8, seems to read DAVID . R—[ER?]CBOLD . ON C..... with something like a monogram near the end of the name of the locality. Mr. P. gives several other coins of David of that English type, the legends on the reverse being illegible, one suggests Durant or Erkembald . RIN . : Q . . . ON : . The letter here treated as a reversed D is

³⁸ Vita Oswini.

³⁹ The excellent plate gave the clue. That given, a squeeze adds an extra detail or two. I thank Mr. McCulloch, the curator of the Edinburgh Museum, for the impression.

in the form of a rude 6, but is hardly a G. The concluding D of the moneyer's name in the preceding coin resembles it, but the twist is thrown the contrary way.

The treaty of Durham, 1139, by which Prince Henry secured Northumberland, provided "that no interference should be attempted with the rights of the Bishop of Durham within the territory of St. Cuthbert, or of the Archbishop of York in Hexhamshire." Accordingly we have no coins of Henry struck at any of their places. "In the grant of the earldom, as recorded by Richard of Hexham an exception is made of the towns of Bamburgh and Newcastle, in lieu of which towns of equal value had to be assigned to Henry in the south of England. It is uncertain whether this stipulation was ever carried into effect as regarded the cession of towns in the south, nor do we know how long Bamburgh and Newcastle were retained by King Stephen. That they were at a later period enjoyed by the Scotch prince with the rest of the earldom is abundantly proved, although we have no direct evidence of the fact of an earlier date than A.D. 1147.—John of Hexham, who wrote somewhat later than Richard, is silent as to the exclusion of the towns of Newcastle and Bamburgh from the grant.—It may be doubted indeed whether the object of the treaty was not carried out in a different form, by allowing Henry to enjoy those towns with the remainder of the earldom, the fortifications having first been destroyed." So writes Mr. Hinde, and his evidences and reasons may be seen in the *History of Northumberland*, p. 216. As far as the coins go, they would support the conclusion that there was some lapse of time before the two towns were surrendered, the coins of Prince Henry which were not struck at Corbridge being of an entirely different type to the Corbridge and piece by a different moneyer.

They constitute the bulk of his money, and read, with little variation beyond occasional transpositions, : — + N? : EN : CON— + WILEL : M : ONCI : B. The head on the obverse resembles that of David, though it is better finished than his. The reverse has a large cross crosslet between four crosses patee, which are connected by loops or crescents to the inner circle. Altogether they are well struck and handsome coins, very different in design and workmanship to any of the period. Mr. Lindsay engraves several, and among them one reading +STIFENE RE — + : WILEL : M : ON : ON(?)CI. Beyond proving that when it was struck Henry and Stephen were at peace, this coin probably has no actual connection with the latter. It is evidently the work of Henry's moneyer, and it is not to be supposed that Stephen, before his cession of Newcastle and Bamburgh to the owner of the rest of the earldom, would have a type in Northumberland different from that of any of his other mints. Some may regard it as struck in Stephen's last year, when Henry was dead and his younger son William, who was invested with Northumberland, was a minor. Nearly the whole of Prince Henry's coins occurred, I believe, in one find near Berwick.

The contraction at the beginning of Henry's legend is formed by a reversed N with a bar across the right-hand stroke. The want of H in foreign coins of our Henries, and the use in our chronicles of Consul for Comes, are well known. The whole legend on the obverse probably presents a formula similar to that of the commencement of a sheriff's

pipe-roll, and should be read as:—NORHUMBERLAND—ENRICUS CONSUL (or CONES, *n* or *m* being very convertible, thus Baenburc, Baemburc, &c.) On the reverse the letter M is so treated as to suggest that it has to answer a double purpose; and that the legend should be read WILELMUS MONETARIUS CIVITATIS BAEMBURC (or CIVITATIS BEBBÆ), rather than in the formula WILELM ON CITEE BAEMBURC. Both readings may be objected to, but the objector must state where in the earldom but at Bamburgh can Henry's mint have been. It was not at Newcastle, for Bishop Pudsey's Boldon Buke of 1183 is express on the fact that dies were "first placed" there by the reigning monarch Henry II. And surely there is nothing wonderful in finding *civitas* applied to what early writers called the *urbs regia* *quæ a regina quadam vocabulo Bebbæ cognominatur; regia civitas; Bebbæ urbs munitissima*; Bebbanburg. These examples taken from Leland's Collectanea may suffice. The word *civitas* was largely applied and the grand old seat of the Kings and Earls of Northumberland had a good claim to it. I am aware that the final letter has been read H. I can only say that in good specimens that I have seen, the final letter is B, and poorer ones have appeared to present it also. Inchaffray, supposed to have been indicated, is not in the earldom.

As these coins were probably struck late in Stephen's reign, there does not appear any good reason to doubt that this William was William fitz Erkembald, who was lessee of the Silver Mine of Carlisle when the pipe rolls recommence in 4 Hen. II., and whose coins as moneyer of that king at Carlisle and Newcastle occur in the Tealby type, which commenced about the same time, the same roll, according to Ruding, containing an account by the Sheriff of London *pro commutatione moneta*. This circumstance leaves it an open question whether some curious tenures at Corbridge connected with the king's moneys at Newcastle, arose with Henry II.'s establishment of a mint there, or had originally been associated with Prince Henry's mint at Corbridge. No doubt, assuming the latter to have been their true history, their holders would be glad enough to continue their service, notwithstanding the addition of a journey, rather than give up the results of their husbandry to others. The distance from Corbridge to Newcastle (17 miles) does not seem favourable to the supposition that the tenures were originally so remote from the locality of service, especially as arrangements might have been made at the nearer manor of Newburne, or even at Newcastle itself.

However this may be, we find in 4 Hen. II. an account of 5 marks by Archil de Corebrigge, and of 40 marks by Joel de Colebr'. In 6 Hen. II. Archil de Corebr' accounts for 10 marks. In 9 Hen. II. Archil de Corebrugge accounted for 40 marks, and Johel de Corebrugge for 10 pounds. In 16 Hen. II. and 17 Hen. II. we also have mention of Johel de Corebrigge and Johel de Cholebrigge. (By the way, Erchenbald or Erkenbald occurs in these years, but not as moneyer.)

The Testa de Nevill shows how these early Corbridge people held their serjantries there.

3 Hen. fil. Joh. (1218-9) Serjantia Joh'is fil' Joelis valet p'annu' xxxij' & vj den' p' servic' eligendi den' Reg'. Offert d'no Regi xx sol'.

De Serjantiis arentatis p' Rob'tum Passelewe temp'e H. Reg' filii Reg' J.—Serjantia de Cornebrig' ad tricandu' and nu'andu' denar' d'ni Reg' ap'd Novu' Castrum subtus Tynam alienata est in p'te.—Rog'us fil' Joh'nis tenet inde xxx solid' terre fecit inde fine' p' annu' videlicet x sol'.

Serjantia de Corbrigg' que feodata fuit ad t'dend' den' d'ni R. ap'd Novu' Castru' s'r Tynam.—D' Rog'o fil' Joh'is p' xxx solidat' redd' de eadem s'jantia p' ann' x' unam videl't med' ad pasch' et aliam med' ad festu' S'c'i Mich'.—Sexaginta acre t're in Corbrigg' quas Will'us de Tindal tenet p' serjantiam ad recipiend' & narrand' & ad tricandu' denar' d'ni Reg' p' xv dies ante pasch' & p' xv dies ante festu' S'c'i Mich'is & quolibet die cap' de bursa d'ni Reg' p' p'd'c'm tempus xii den' capiat' in manu d'ni Reg' quia servic' ill'd no' fuit factu' a temp'e Reg' J. & valet p' annu' xxx sol'.

The chronology would tend to identify the William who coined at Carlisle much at the same time as Erkembald with William the colessee of the Carlisle mine in 1130, rather than with William fitz Erkembald, who was Hen. II.'s moneyer until 1180. This would allow Erkembald to have been his successor, who, if there were two moneyers at a time, may just as well have succeeded Durant, who, be it remembered, intervenes between 1130 and Prince Henry's accession. There can be no certainty in any deductions on this point, which of course, affects the question, whether the mint at Corbridge continued under Erkembald during the issue at Bambrough by William who was probably his son. It does not indeed follow that William of 1130 was a moneyer at all, any more than his partner Hildret the Sheriff. Considering that for some time afterwards only one moneyer occurs, the most probable supposition is that there we only have the succession of one before:—Durant at Carlisle, temp. Hen. I.; William at Carlisle, Erkembald at Carlisle and Corbridge, and William at Bamborough, temp. Stephen; and William fitz Erkembald, probably the same man, at Carlisle and Newcastle, temp. Hen. II, until the Short Cross Period.

In the foregoing remarks, no attempt has been made to bring in the coins of David's Scotch type, (a cross patonce between four pellets) which appear to bear Henry's name. They seem to have been struck out of the earldom at Berwick, and belong to the Scotch series.

There are some other coins, mostly of barbarous character and of English types, which, though bearing the name of Henry, are believed to have been struck in Stephen's reign. Some barbarous imitations of the types of Henry I. or preceding monarchs, where Rex occurs, need not be mentioned, but other coins, which want it, may have been struck by Henry Earl of Northumberland, or Henry Fitz-Empress. Rud. Sup. II, ii. 10, Hks. 259 with Stephen's reverse was found at Wallsop, with the Rex coins, and the moneyer's locality is not clear. But Rud. Sup. II. ii. 8 strongly resembles the Corbridge coin. It reads +HENRICVS —+PIRIC ON HER: The reverse is Stephen's, with the cross in saltire, instead of the usual direction. No such coins were in the Watford find which settled the last coinages of Henry I. and the first of Stephen. If the last example is Prince Henry's, it was perhaps struck at Hertelopol, at which there seems to have been some demesne

although Brus had the fee. Or a Brus may have struck it, placing the Earl's head upon it, as other barons placed Stephen's on their coins. The name, so likely in the honor of a Pieres de Brus, rather countenances the hint. Then there is another and very peculiar class of coins "badly executed, badly struck, legends very imperfect, the only instances of a double legend upon an English penny." They constitute No. 9 of Hawkin's types of Henry I. (his fig. 258) and occur for moneyers at LINCOLN, LVND, HASTI, and SVTPVR. They read HENRE without title. Can these be *the Duke's money* issued by Henry Fitz-Empress? "Anno gratiæ 1149, qui est 13 an. regni Regis Stephani, Henricus Dux Normannorum venit in Angliam cum magno exercitu, et reddita sunt ei castella multa, et munitiones quam plures, et fecit *monetam novam*, quam vocabant *Monetam Ducis*; et non tantum ipse sed omnes potentes, tam Episcopi, quam Comites et Barones, suam faciebant monetam, sed et quo Dux ille venit, plurimorum monetam cassavit." So Houeden the northern chronicler. Ruding remarks that "this is so obscurely expressed by Houeden, that it is difficult to discover whether he intends the Duke's coming in 1149, his second coming in 1153, when a treaty was concluded between him and Stephen, or indeed whether the expression may not with greater propriety be referred to the following year, when he came to England to claim the sovereignty." The reader will form his own conclusions whether any such obscurity exists, at least as to the former part of the passage, relating to the issue of the Duke's money. We well know from other instances that a *nova moneta* was distinguished by a unmistakable change of type. What type have we to fulfil Houeden's statement? The popular name points to something quite different from the regular issues. Can we have it in that of the pieces which have the place of coinage in an inner circle as in the groats of after days? The outer legend is broken by four circles or crescents. In Hawkins's figure that at the commencement of the legend differs from the others, containing a sort of pierced cinquefoil, reminding one of the estoile and crescent of the Plantagenets.

The foregoing remarks, added at Mr. Haigh's request, complete the survey of the coinage as distinguished from the issues of Kings of England and Bishops of Durham within the limits of Bernicia until the establishment of Henry II.'s mints of Carlisle and Newcastle, for the history of which in the time of him and his sons the reader is referred to recent papers on the "Short Cross" question in the Numismatic Chronicle.
