

## DURHAM AND SADBERGE.



## PAGAN PERIOD.

THE present essay is founded upon direct lettered evidences, and in the margin is a sort of chronological table of names of Roman emperors, and, as soon as we can procure them, Bernician chiefs and kings.

“After ages of depredation,” says Surtees, “Lanchester still exhibits perhaps the boldest and proudest monument of Roman arms in the North.” It “arose probably during the early ages of the Roman dominion in Britain. A large proportion of the coins found here are of the higher empire, and the station had at least had time to decline from its first meridian, when Gordian, according to two notable inscriptions discovered here, *restored* the Arsenal, and founded the Baths and Basilica.” “The principal coins in Mr. Greenwell’s possession” enumerated by Surtees, commence with some of Augustus, and include specimens struck during the reigns of his immediate successors, Tiberius and Caligula. The 20th Legion, *Valens Victrix*, which came into Britain under Claudius, and had its head quarters at Diva, and which is not mentioned in the Notitia, occurs in the Lanchester inscriptions.

- JULIUS CÆSAR. A gold coin of Nero was found on Gilligate moor, near Durham. (Newcastle Congress, vol. i. 67.) A first-brass coin of him turned up in a brickyard near Sunderland in 1861. (Cotemporary newspaper.) A silver coin of Vitellius was taken out of the heart of walls at Jarrow in 1812. (Ibid. 53.) In 1822 a brass coin of Domitian, during whose reign Agricola was continuing his exploits, was picked up between Seaton and Hartlepool. (Arch. Æl. ii. 110.) A gold coin of Trajan, discovered at Piercebridge, was secured by Mr. Denham of that station. The coins found at Chester-le-Street range from Hadrian. (Personal inspection.) A slab to the honour of that emperor’s adopted sons, from Jarrow, is in the New Castle.
- 1-14. AUGUSTUS.  
 14-37. TIBERIUS.  
 37-41. CALIGULA.  
 41-54. CLAUDIUS.  
 54-68. NERO.  
 68-69. GALBA.  
     69. OTHO.  
     69. VITELLIUS.  
 69-79. VESPASIAN.  
 79-81. TITUS.  
 81-96. DOMITIAN.  
 96-98. NERVA.  
 98-117. TRAJAN.  
 117-138. HADRIAN.

Ptolemy lived and wrote under Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius. (Horsley, 356.) In his tables (Mon. Hist. xiii. xiv.), between the river Alaunus, which is admitted to be north of the Tyne, and the bay of the Gabrantuici, admitted to be south of it, we have along the Germanic ocean :

Outlets of the river <i>Ouedra</i> . . . . .	29° 10'	58° 30'.
<i>Dounon bay</i> . . . . .	20° 15'	57° 30'.

and south of the Elgovæ, and of the Otadeni, whose town Bremenium is admitted to be north of the Tyne, we have "the Brigantes, among whom the towns are :

<i>Epeiakon</i> . . . . .	18° 30'	58° 30'
<i>Ouinnoowion</i> . . . . .	17° 30'	58° "

138-161. ANTONINUS PIUS. These precede Katourraktonion and other towns

161-180. AURELIUS. admitted to be south of the Tees. Vinnovium

180-192. COMMODUS. being obviously Binchester, it is clear that the

193. PERTINAX. subsequent boundary of the Tees between Ber-

193. DIDIUS JULIAN. nicia and Deira was then unknown, and that the Tyne divided the Brigantes from the Otadeni.

193-211. SEVERUS. A coin of Severus was found at Newton Ketton (J. Ord), and some Greek and Latin inscriptions at Lanchester, which mention Titianus and the Vardulian cavalry, are considered to belong to the age of Severus or his sons.

211-217. ANTONINUS (CARACALLA). This is the proper place to notice the Antonine Itinerary, although its present appearance must have been assumed long after the last of the Antonines. (Horsley, 379.) Iter I., leaving Corstopitum, admitted to be Corbridge, has (Mon. Hist. xx.)

217-218. MACRINUS. *Vindomora* . . . . m. p. viiii.

218-222. HELIOGABALUS. *Vinovia* . . . . m. p. xviii.

222-235. ALEXANDER. Cataractoni . . . . m. p. xxii.

235-238. MAXIMINUS.

Vindomora is clearly the crossing of the Derwent near Ebchester.

238-244. GORDIAN. Two Lanchester inscriptions are identified with Gordian, who "balneum cum basilica a solo instruxit," and "principia et armamentaria conlapsa restituit." "Cohors prima legionis

244-249. PHILIP.

249-251. DECIUS.

251-254. GALLUS.

- 254-268. GALLIENUS. Gordianæ" performed these works. (Horsley, Durham, xi. xii.)
- 268-270. CLAUDIUS  
GOTHICUS. It is not intended here to chronicle the occurrence of intermediate coins. The earliest and the latest reigns only have their interest.
- 270-275. AURELIAN.
- 275-276. TACITUS.
- 276-282. PROBUS. In the margin, for facility of carrying on the chronology, the emperors who reigned longest and most certainly are named. But, as to
- 282-283. CARUS. Britain, the coins of Victorinus, Tetricus, Tetricus Junior, Carausius, and Allectus, during
- 283-285. CARINUS.
- 285-305. DIOCLETIAN. the period between 265 and 296, will always
- 305-306. CONSTANTIUS I.
- 306-337. CONSTANTINE. have, for the British collector, a higher interest
- 337-350. CONSTANS. than those of the more generally recognized
- 350-353. MAGNENTIUS. owners of the purple.
- 353-361. CONSTANTIUS II.
- 361-363. JULIAN. The death of Julian the Apostate in 363
- 363?-364? BEORNEC. forms an epoch in the history of England. For we know from Ammianus Marcellinus, a contemporary and unexceptionable witness, who flourished in 380, that, in 364, the next year to that of Julian's death, not only the native enemies, Picts, and Scots alias Irish, and Attacotti, but also Saxons were vexing the Britons with constant calamities. The conjunction of words *Picts and Saxons*, and *Scots and Attacotti*, should not be overlooked.
- There is a useful summary of the various statements concerning the pedigrees of our heptarchic kings in Haigh's Conquest of Britain, p. 132. But the principles respected in the present essay demand *implicit* deference to the authorities of 737, they being a *century* older than the Genealogies next in date, which are contained in Textus Roffensis. One thought as to the chasm between the accession of George III. and that of Victoria, albeit only one of *sixty-seven* years, will enable the realization of a centennial difference of time, sentiment, and ideas of what constitutes *truth*. Yet, be it remembered, absolute verity may be approximated more in *one* cycle of time than in *another*.
- Taking the Genealogies of 737 which are appended to the History of the Britons usually quoted as Nennius, and which have a leaning to, or origin in, Bernicia, we find the kings of Bernicia and Deira traced to Woden. The Bernician pedigree commences thus: "Woden genuit Beldeg, genuit Beornec." The Deiran one begins: "Woden genuit Beldeyg, Brond genuit Siggarr." There is no early genealogy of the West Saxons, but in later times it also was made to commence with Baeldeag and Brand. We need not inquire whether Beldeyg and Brond in the Deiran genealogy are intended to be successive or identical. When we reach them we reach the period when the actual pedigree

fails, and supposititious ancestors, human or divine, treated as common to the race, are tacked on according to the taste of the compiler. Brond or Brand, fire, is merely another name of Woden's son Bældæg or Balder, the god of splendour, and we must regard descent from him as only meaning an idea of community of origin. The real homines propositi are BEORNEC and *Siggær*.

Now, to gain an idea of the chronology of them and their descendants, we must pursue the course we should take in testing probabilities in more modern pedigrees. We must take deaths on which our earliest historians are agreed; and count back the generations, "so that," as Sir Isaac Newton hath it; "three of them may be reckoned at about 75 or 80 years." Starting from the death of Ida the Bernician in 559, we find that the process, allowing 25 years to each generation, makes his ancestor Beornec die about 384. A similar calculation from the death of Edwin in 633 gives 407 as the approximate date of the death of Siggær the Deiran, about a generation lower than Beornec's. The premature date of Edwin's death in battle is neutralized by his being much younger than his sisters.

It is not said when Bernicia began; but as to Deira, we read that Siggær's grandson, Soemil, who would die about 482, "first severed Deir from Birneich."

Skene has come to the conclusion that "the tradition given by Nennius, that Oeta and Æbussa, the son and nephew of Hengist, led a body of Saxons past the Orkneys, and took possession of a part of Scotland, 'usque ad confinia Pictorum,' indicated a real settlement of Saxons on the east coast of Scotland as early as 374. (See his *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i. 107.) There is no reason why Beornec might not be vexing the province of Valentia, lying between the Vallum and the Picts, at the same early period. He might well be one of the vexatious Saxons of 364. The province was temporarily recovered in 369 by Theodosius, and named Valentia after his master, but no towns in it are mentioned in the *Notitia* of 395-408.

There is no necessary connection between these presumptions and the name of Bernicia. One is indeed led to the idea that its origin, after the time of Ptolemy, had probably some connection with Bearnoch or the early Beornicas proceeding from his loins. But it is fair to state that our Scottish friends of the present day prefer a British origin for Bernicia and Deira, and that the Arthurian Triads, in a MS. of 1300 or so, give three sons of bards with British names, as princes of "Deiuyr a Brynych." Phryder mab Dolor of Deiuyr a Brynych occurs in the same Triads as one of the three strong-crutched ones of the island of Prydein. (Skene, ii. 457, 458, 463.) Harrison in 1577 has a curious

notion about the river Breamish (the Bromiç of the *Historia de S. Cuthberto*). "As touching the Twede (he says), this I have to note, that the old and ancient name of the Till that falleth into the same is not Bromis, from the head, as some do now call it (and I, following their assertions, have set down), but rather Brenniche. And, beside that Lelande is of the same opinion, I find how the kingdom of Brenicia took denomination of this water, and that only thereof it was called Brenicia, or Brennich, and upon none other occasion."

384?-409? GECHEBROND. The Durham stations of the Romans appear to have been used until near the final flight of the Eagles. Coins of Valentinian, who died in 375, have occurred at Shields Law and Lanchester, and the coins from Chester-le-Street include those of Gratian (375-383). In the *Notitia Imperii*, which appears (Hinde's *Northumberland*, 16,) to have been compiled during the joint reign of Arcadius and Honorius (395-408), divers stations *per lineam valli*, and in Yorkshire, Durham, Cumberland, and part of Lancashire, appear "sub dispositione viri spectabilis Ducis Britanniarum." No towns in Valentia appear. As to the rest of the kingdom, the only other fortresses mentioned are those on the Kentish coasts, which were "sub dispositione viri spectabilis comitis limitis Saxonici per Britanniam." Probably, in these concentrations of forces, we see the defences of Roman Britain, in its dying agonies, against the Scots from the west, the Saxons from the east, and the Picts from the north. The spade on the Wall, when liberally handled by some antiquary of the Greenwell steel, will, doubtless, tell our sons the true story of those troublous times.

The following entries in the *Notitia* are presumed to refer to Piercebridge, Lanchester, and Ebchester:

*Praefectus numeri Pacensium, Magis.*  
*Praefectus numeri Longovicariorum, Longovico.*  
*Praefectus numeri Derventionensis, Derventione.*

The Ravenna geographer, supposed to have flourished in the 7th century, in his barbarous enumeration of the cities in Britain of which he had read, seems to mention Lanchester and Binchester as

*Lineojugla.*  
*Vinonia.*

A glimpse of the fate of Longovicum presents itself. "Its destruction was probably owing to some hidden and violent catastrophe. The red ashes of the Basilica and the Bath, the vitrified flooring, and the metallic

substances, evidently run by fire, which occur amongst the ruins, form a strong indication that the structure perished in flames." And then, unless we except the questionable appearance of Hart (Hcort) in the romance of Beowulf, and of Kaer Weir in some Welsh poems, the curtain falls on the land between the waters of Tyne and Tees for the remainder of the period under present consideration.

GECHBROND, son of Beornec, dying about 409, might just, by a judicious unblocking of a northern gateway of some station or castle *per lineam valli*, somewhere near the sea-coast, mayhap at Pons Ælii, have had the honour of taking seisin of Durhamshire. For, in 409, during the time of Constantine's usurpation, the people of Britain and other Celtic nations were compelled, themselves, in consequence of the usurper's neglect of the government, to revolt from the empire, take up arms, and free their cities from the invading barbarians. We have this on the testimony of Zosimus at the period, and the same date is confusedly found in a passage of the *Historia Britonum*: "Hucusque regnaverunt Romani apud Brittones quadragentis et novem annis." Among the "invading barbarians" we may not unreasonably class *Siggar*, the ancestor of the princes of Deira.

409?-434? ALUSON. ALUSON, son of Gechbrond, occurs next in the Bernician series, *Sebald*, son of *Siggar*, being his cotemporary. The Roman power was at an end with the defection in 409. Honorius, having written letters to the cities of Britain, urging them to look to their own safety, indulged in indolence. His rival Constantine was slain in 411, but as Procopius, writing in the time of *Ida* or his sons, observes, "the Romans had it no longer in their power to recover Britain; so that from this time it remained subject to usurpers." In *Aluson's* time, as here estimated, two great events seem to have occurred. One was an emigration, from the north, of *Cunedag* or *Cunedda*, the British *Guledig*, or Leader of the Hosts, with his sons, which, before the time of *Ida*, resulted in the exiles permanently driving some Scots or Gael from Ireland out of their Welsh settlements. There is a laudatory poem ascribed to *Taliessin* the British bard, which says: "There is trembling from fear of *Cunedaf* the burner, in *Kaer Weir* and *Kaer Livelyd*.—A door-hurdle the men of *Bryneich* carried in the battle. They became pale from fear of him and his chilling terror." It has been supposed that this *Cunedaf* is *Cunedda*, and that the places mentioned are Durham and Carlisle. That *Caer Weir* was some Roman station on the Wear is not improbable. "The contention of men even to *Gaer Weir*" occurs in another poem, subsequent to *Taliessin*. (*Skene*, i. 436, ii. 399.)

484?-459?. **INGUEC:** **INGUEC**, son of Aluson, has the Deiran *Zegulf*, son of Sebald, for his cotemporary. And, for his time, we have the very conclusive statement of Prosper, an author of the period, that in 441, the Britains, hitherto harassed with various slaughters and misfortunes, were reduced under the rule of the Saxons. The reduction, as to the coasts which faced the German Ocean, and which had received the close attention of the inhabitants of the continent, was, doubtless, complete. But, westward, and northward, combats, for many a century more, had to be faced by the invaders.

459?-484? **ÆDIBRITH.** The next person in the Bernician genealogy, **ÆDIBRITH**, son of Ingucc, would be living alongside of *Soemil*,<sup>1</sup> son of *Zegulf*, whose name, in the ancient Genealogies, has the weighty addition: "*Ipse primus separavit Deur o Birneich.*" The various reading *superavit*, making Soemil the first governor of all Northumbria, cannot be supported. *O* clearly means *from*. And the phrase resembles a later one in the Genealogies, where of Penda it is said: "*Ipse primus separavit regnum Merciorum a regno Nordorum.*" As Edwin had married a daughter of Cearl, a previous king of the Mercians (B. H. E. ii. 14), it is plain that we are not safe in assuming that such phrases mean more than severances or ascertaining of boundaries between districts, the result of the reduction of former rulers. Trespassers from the north and trespassers from the south might readily find themselves face to face upon the Tees.

484?-516? **OSSA.** **OSSA**, son of **Ædibrith**, in Bernicia, and *Squerthing*, son of *Soemil*, in Deira, would be flourishing during the twelve battles of Arthur. The probabilities appear to be with the writers who locate these fights in the north. The concluding battle of Badon Hill is supposed by Skene to have been at Bouden Hill, in Linlithgowshire, which is of considerable size and strongly fortified, and past which a river Avon flows. Its date, according to Gildas, was 516. According to Skene, one Eossa or Ossa Cyllelaur (the knife-man) is mentioned as one of Arthur's opponents by Welsh traditions. If there is anything in these, Ossa of Bernicia suggests himself as the man intended, and as he would live until 509, even according to our average computation, his years might well continue until 516.

<sup>1</sup> "I have always viewed Soemil's claim to be founder of Deira with great suspicion, but, if we look upon Beolwlf as historical, the localities seem to be indisputably Deiran, and the period earlier than Ella. Beolwlf, however, appears to me to be a fiction of the same nature as Haveloc's, the places real, but the personages fictitious, and the chronology false. With all this, I can scarcely defend my views with regard to Soemil from the charge of prejudice."—I. H. H.

516?-534? EOBBA. EOBBA, son of Ossa, and *Giulglis*, son of Squerthing, follow for the period between Arthur's successes and the battle of Camlan, in which he and Medraut perished, and which by the Welsh chronicler of 977 is placed in 537.

534?-559. IDA. We now come to IDA of Bernicia, son of Eobba, and *Usfrea*, son of Guilglis, in Deira.

Up to this time Arthur has been represented as all-successful. Whatever truth be contained in the Bruts when they make him dividing the districts which he had wrested from the Saxons and Jutes, clear it is that the British territory is found split up into petty chieftainships. History proceeds to the amalgamation of these into the kingdoms of Strathelyde, Dalriada, and Wales; and of Bernicia and Deira into a powerful Northumbria.

The Saxons "sought aid from Germany, and increased manifold without intermission, and brought kings from Germany that they might reign over them in Britain, up to the time in which Ida reigned, who was son of Eobba; he was the first king in Beornicia, that is, in Berniech." Such, without any special mention of Camlan, or of any other national reverse of fortune after Arthur's last victory, is the concluding language of the *Historia Britonum* in its original shape. The Genealogies of 737 tell us that "Ida son of Eobba held the regions on the north of Britain, that is of the Umbrian Sea." Bede's *Epitome* says that in 547 "Ida began to reign, from whom the royal family of the Northumbrians derives its origin." The Short Northumbrian Chronology of 737 copies that language. The chronicler of 891 translates it into Anglo-Saxon. The Vatican MS. of the *Historia Britonum*, written in the 10th century, or thereabouts, enlarges the original language, and says that Ida was first king "in Beornicia, that is in Bernech, and in Cair Affrauc, of the race of the Saxons." Cair Affrauc is doubtless Cair Ebrauc, York, and some such version had been before Gaimer when he confusedly states that Ida merely restored Bamborough, which had become decayed since Ebrauc built it. *Æthelwerd*, representing a lost text of the Chronicle, says that "Ida began his reign over the province which is called Northanhymbra." Subsequent writers are of little moment, but possibly some local tradition is preserved by the *Libellus* of Henry I.'s days when it says that Ida, with his father Eoppa, came with 60 ships to Flemaburch, and thence occupying the northern parts, reigned there 12 years. Whither he came is not stated. Malmsbury seems to have known nothing of the relation. "Whether," he says, "he himself seized the chief authority or received it by the consent of others, I by no means venture to determine, because the truth is unrevealed."



It seems to have been conceded at all periods that the capital of Ida was the modern Bamborough, which, under the name of Dinguoaroy, is stated to have been given by Ida's grandson to Queen Bebba, and to have taken from her the name of Bebbanburch. The Genealogies of 737, which mention this, also say that Ida *unxit, unexit, junxit, struxit* or *vinxit Dinguayrði Guurth-Berneich*. *Fixit* or *rexit* have also been suggested. The fact is unnoticed in the original codex of the Chronicle of 891, and in those of 977 and 1046. But it occurs in that of 1056, and the copy of the Genealogies before the compiler was evidently one in which a word occurred, *junxit* or *struxit* apparently, which, to his mind, alluded to joiners' work or other mode of construction to which the vernacular *getimbrade* might be safely applied, for such is his translation.<sup>2</sup> He calls the place Bebenburh. The codex of 1122 and the additions to that of 891 add that it was first enclosed by a hedge, and afterwards by a wall.

The nature of Ida's sovereignty, whatever its extent, must be estimated by the history of its origin. The Saxons brought kings from Germany that they might reign over them, until Ida reigned. He took their place in the north. Where he had been chieftain before, he would be king as we understand the term. Elsewhere, he would be *dux bellorum*, or *Guledig*, or leader of the hosts. This was a dignity in no way ending the original position of the princes of Deira. It was one to which they, or any others of their peers, might well aspire on the death of the first king. Sooner, or later, the aspirations were confined to the two royal races. The "hero sank into the king." The leadership of the hosts of Bernicia and Deira became the kingdom of Northumbria. The idea of it was never absent after the accession of Ida, but a struggle for its inheritance was inevitable. The Genealogies and Short Chronology utterly ignore the royalty of the Deiran kinglets, while the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, as coolly, treats Ælla of Deira as successor to Ida over Northumbria. Between the parties, we are left in entire ignorance of the ancestry of some of the kings whose names and regnal years are preserved by the Bernician writers.

1	IDA	=	547-548	For the real dates during the reigns of the
2	..	=	548-549	early sovereigns we are generally left to a con-
3	..	=	549-550	sideration of their regnal years by such writers
4	..	=	550-551	as we can trust. The accession of Ida is an
5	..	=	551-552	exception. On whatever grounds it was come
6	..	=	552-553	to, Bede's date of 547 must be accepted. The

<sup>2</sup> "The analogy of the Saxon word *getimbrade* pleads very strongly in favour of *struxit*."—I. H. H.

7	IDA	=	553-554	regnal years after it enable us to arrive at the
8	..	=	554-555	next Christian date of authority with preci-
9	..	=	555-556	sion. Coronations, as for such times might be
10	..	=	556-557	expected, must have followed accessions with
11	..	=	557-558	expedition.

12 IDA = 558-559 Bede's Epitome, the Short Northumbrian Chronology of 737, and the Nennian Genealogies of the same date, all agree in allowing 12 years for Ida's rule. Thus we arrive at 559 for the end of it. Immediately before passing from Ida to his successors, the Genealogies say: "Mailcun, a great king, reigned over the Britons, that is, in the region of Guenedota." They proceed to mention the emigration of his ancestors from the north, and their expulsion of the Scots from Wales. Gildas, writing in 560, the very year after Ida's death, also mentions Maglocunus as a king of the Britons. Such coincidences enable us to proceed with confidence.

The Genealogies precede their mention of Mailcun with other most interesting words, though few. "Then Dutigirn, in that time, valiantly fought against the race of the Angles. Then Talhaern Tataguen flourished in poesy, and Neirin, and Taliessin, and Bluchbard, and Cian, who is called Gueinthgaut, together, at one time, flourished in British poesy."

Here the Four Ancient Books of Wales, edited by Skene, must be noticed. They consist of: 1. The Black Book of the Black Canons of Caermarthen, written t. Hen. ii., 1154-1189; 2. The Book of Ancurin, a MS. of cent. xiii.; 3. The Book of Taliessin, a MS. of cent. xiv.; and 4. The Red Book of Hergest, compiled in cents. xiv. and xv. for the Vaughans of Hergest Court, as it is said. The dates of the MSS., if the writings are our earliest specimens of reducing Welsh poetry to letters, do not militate against the genuineness of their contents. And the later MSS., if independent of the earlier, *as to the character of their contents*, may not be spurious *altogether*, but may preserve authentic records not within the scope of the earlier scribes. The contents of MSS. posterior to the new sort of Arthurian literature must depend on their own inherent probability and resemblance to other earlier productions for acceptance. That the Genealogist had genuine works by the bards he is careful to mention cannot be doubted, and Skene remarks very justly that the reason of their notice by the Genealogist is that he afterwards proceeds to note the precise period in which some of their heroes flourished. These will be remarked upon in the sequel.

The family of Ida is thus stated by the Genealogist of 737: "Ida had twelve sons, of whom the names are: [1] Aïda, [2] Æaldldric (Skene,

Stevenson has *Æddric* from the same MS. Harl, 3859: *var. EALDRIC*), [3] *Deodric* (*var. Deodric*), [4] *Edric*, [5] *Deothere*, [6] *Osmer*, 'et unam reginam Bearnoch', [7] *Ealric*." *EALDRIC* begat *Aelfret* (*var. Eadfreth*), he is *Ædfred* (*var. Eadfreth*) *Flesaur*. He [i. e. *Ædfred*] also had [nam et ipse habuit] *seven* sons, of whom the names are *Anfrid*, *Osguald*, *Osbiu*, *Osguid*, *Osgudu*, *Oslapf*, *Offa*."

It may be suspected that, in the case of *Ida*, *vii* has been copied *xii*. Whether his first six sons were by *Bearnoch* (*ex una regina* as Stevenson suggests), whether *Bearnoch* was his daughter and a queen, whether she was named *Bearnoch* or was the wife of a king of *Bernicia*, that word *Bearnoch* seems to distinguish the seventh son, *Ealric*, from his brethren.

For the obscure period between the death of *Ida* and that of *Æthelfrid*, our historians differ. The authorities of 737, which have a leaning to, or origin in, *Bernicia*, and are followed by most of the northern writers subsequently, give us this series of kings: *Ida*, *Glappa*, *Adda*, *Æthelric*, *Theodoric*, *Frithwald*, *Hussa*, *Æthelfrid*. We learn further that *Æthelric* who succeeded *Adda* was *Adda*'s son, and that *Æthelfrid*, who closes the series, reigned 12 years in *Bernicia*, and 12 in *Deira*, together 24 years. The previous kings of *Deira* are not named as such. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* of 891, on the contrary, excludes the series of 737, and in its original state is content with the mention of the accession to the throne of *Northumbria* of *Ida* in 547, and the *Deiran* *Ælla* in 560; of the death of *Ælla* and the accession of *Æthelric* "after him" in 588; of the reign of *Æthelric* for 5 years; and of the accession of *Æthelfrid* to some kingdom or other in 593. It does not say who its *Æthelric* was. The father of *Æthelfrid*, son of *Ida*, as well as the son of *Adda*, grandson of *Ida*, was named *Æthelric*, but we do not know that he ever ascended the royal chair.

In the reign of *Henry I.*, three or four centuries after the times of the writers already quoted, a new school of history arose. The heirship of *Adda*'s son, *Æthelric*, was ignored, and the whole series of *Bernician* kings was transposed in order to identify the *Bernician* *Æthelric*, of the writers of 737, with the person of the same name, apparently reigning in *Deira*, who is presented by the scribe of 891: *Æthelfrid*, his son, being represented as reigning over *Northumbria* generally during the whole of his reign of 24 years. There are some differences among the authors who flourished in the period of *Beauclerc*. The statement most in favour is that of the *Libellus de Regibus Saxonie* which was afterwards adopted by *Wallingford*. In that tract the order of kings runs: *Ida*, *Adda*, *Glappa*, *Hussa*, *Frithwulf*, *Theodoric*, *Æthelric*, *Æthelfrid*. Here the *Bernician* evidences are acknowledged. *Ælla*, however, is represented as reigning in *Deira* from the death of *Ida*, and

Edwin, his son, as expelled by Æthelfrid, not by Æthelric, which is noteworthy. William of Malmesbury, and the Peterborough Codex of the Saxon Chronicle, in common with the former editions of that chronicle, merely give the Deiran succession, treating Ida, Ælla, Æthelric, and Æthelfrid as kings of all Northumbria during the whole of their reigns. Probably the writers of both schools considered that Æthelric the predecessor of Æthelfrid was his father, and was son of Ida, but only Malmesbury and Florence of Worcester say so expressly. The latter makes Æthelric to reign 2 years in Bernicia before Ælla's death, and to eject Edwin and reign 5 years in Deira. Roger of Wendover, who preserves for us many details from sources with which we are now unacquainted, has this sequence :

- 548. Ida, 12 years.
- 560. Death of Ida. Ella in Deira for 30 years. Adda, son of Ida, in Bernicia for 7 years.
- 567. Death of Adda. Glappa succeeds for 5 [read 2] years.
- 569. Death of Glappa. Theodwald succeeds for 1 year.
- 570. Frethwulf succeeds for 7 years.
- 575. Benedict fills the Roman chair 4 years, 6 months, and 14 days. He gives permission to Pope Gregory to go and preach to the Angles, but the people tumultuously detain him.
- 577. Death of Frethwulf. Theodoric succeeds for 7 years.
- 585. The 8 kingdoms of the Angles or Saxons completed by the commencement of that of Mercia under Credda.
- 586. At this time were reigning Ælla in Deira, and Afferid in Bernicia.
- 588. Æthelfrid, king of the Bernicians, marries Acca, daughter of Ælla, king of Deira.
- 593. On the death of Ælla, Æthelfrid expels his son Edwin from Deira, and reigns over both kingdoms. Edwin takes refuge with Redwald king of the East Angles.
- 617. Æthelfrid slain. Edwin had found refuge with Reodwald for 17 years.

There are confusions, omissions, and inconsistencies here, but the last statement, taken as the sum of Edwin's banishment generally, together with the making Ælla and Æthelfrid, cotemporaries, and Gregory's mission in the reign of Erethewulf coincide with what we find in the oldest authorities, and prove that Wendover, however mistaken and puzzled, did not belong to the new school.

Independently of the impropriety, on general principles, of preferring late authorities to early evidences, there are grave difficulties in the way of adopting the theory of the Libellist. Of the four British kings who are mentioned by the Nennian Genealogist of 737 as warring with Ida's successors, *Riderch-Hen* is the only one who occurs in any other grave

prose, and he occurs in Adomnan's Life of S. Columba and Josceline's less trustworthy Life of S. Kentigern. He may fairly be considered as living until 600 or so. He was king of Strathclyde, and reigned at Alelyde or Dumbarton. His kingdom, apparently on good grounds, is considered, in Scotland, to have been consolidated, by the Battle of Arderydd in 573, and by the ruin of the petty states of which Urien's Reged was one. Urien was assassinated in the reign of Theodoric of Bernicia. The transposing theory places Theodoric's reign as late as 580-587, some years after the conclusive conflict. To the objection that Urien is made to fight with Hussa, the immediate predecessor of Æthelfrid, it is enough to reply that this notion merely depends on a fancy that *illos* of the MSS. of the Nennian Genealogies had better be *illum*. Petrie, in the Monumenta Historica, judged otherwise.

By the transposition Æthelric is postponed in succession not only to his younger brother Theoderic, but also to Frithwald and Hussa, who, with Glappa, have been called sons of Ida, but of whose descent we really know nothing at all. This succession is possible, not probable; and the statement of 737 that Æthelric the Bernician king was son of Adda is not lightly to be set aside. The language as to Æthelfrid's reign in Bernicia for 12 years, and in Deira for other 12, might perhaps be satisfied by change of capital, but it looks more like an allusion to enlarged sovereignty.

Yet it is not safe to conclude that the chronicler of 891 was romancing. Rather may we gather (especially as the name of Æthelfrid's kingdom, Northumbria, is an insertion) that he only knew that Æthelfrid reigned 24 years somewhere or other, that Æthelric preceded him, and that Ælla preceded Æthelric. Having nothing but the regnal years of those paynim times for his guidance (if he had them at all, for Æthelric's five years are the only regnal ones which are not insertions for the period), he dated back the Deiran princes from Æthelfrid's accession to Bernicia instead of his acquisition of Deira. The correction of his pardonable error explains Bede's mention in one breath of Ælla, and Æthelfrid and Wendover's statement that Edwin was 17 years in exile.

1 GLAPPA = 559-560      GLAPPA occurs after Ida in the Short Northumbrian Chronology of 737 supported by the Chronicle ascribed to Symeon. According to a common rule of succession he might be a brother of Ida, but the omission of him in the Genealogies, and his short reign of one year, point to other blood and to violence. Nothing was more probable than a struggle for Ida's post after his death.

- 1 ADDA = 560-561 ADDA, son of Ida, comes next to Glappa,  
 2 .. = 561-562 and all the early and northern writers give  
 3 .. = 562-563 him a reign of 8 years.  
 4 .. = 563-564 In the Deiran chronology, *Iff*, son of Usfrea,  
 5 .. = 564-565 would be cotemporary of the sons of Ida. It  
 6 .. = 565-566 has already been noticed that later writers,  
 7 .. = 566-567 owing to an erroneous computation, make *Ælla*  
 8 .. = 567-568 commence his reign in 560. *Æthelwerd's*  
 mode of mentioning it is this: "Aelle quippe

*Iffing ad Northanhymbre seriem mittitur, quorum genus usque ad generalissimum ascendit, id est. ad Wothen."*

- 1 *Æthelric* = 568-569 "ÆALDLDRIC," son of Adda,<sup>3</sup> succeeded his  
 2 .. = 569-570 father for 4 years, according to the Genealogies.  
 3 .. = 570-571 The Short Chronicle, calling him *Aedibric*,  
 4 .. = 571-572 agrees.

This *Æthelric* and his successors *Theoderic*, *Frithwald*, and *Hussa*, are understood by *Petric* to be the four kings mentioned in the following passage of the Genealogies which immediately succeeds the record of *Hussa*: "Contra illos *quatuor reges Urbgen, et Riderch Hen, et Guallauc et Morcant dimicaverunt."* There is now a tendency to apply the words *quatuor reges* to the four British kings, leaving *illos* applicable to *Hussa's* predecessors generally. The suggestion of *illum* has already been noticed with disapprobation.

We have ascertained the existence of *Mailcun* in 560, the year after *Ida's* death. The latest date assigned by any writer for the termination of his reign is stated to be 585, and *Riderch Hen* or *Hael* is said to have died in the same year as *S. Kentigern*, 603. A third king, *Ædan*, invaded *Bernicia* in that year. These three men are understood to have become kings of *Wales*, *Strathelyde*, and *Dalriada* in the general. To this the clearing away of such famous men as *Urien of Rheged*, *Guallauc*, and *Morcant*, seems to be a condition precedent, and the earliest writings must be taken in their integrity. The names must be marshalled, as lawyers say, and not necessarily taken in the lump as antagonists together of any one king of *Bernicia* in particular.

For reasons already hinted at, it is believed that the commencement of *Ælla's* rule in *Deira* took place during the troubles of this *Æthelric's* time, and not in 560 on *Ida's* death. There may, however, have

<sup>3</sup> "I still think that 'Aedric son of Adda' should be son of *Ida*. There is no question that one copy of the genealogies is very corrupt, and this seems to have been the view of all succeeding writers."—I. H. H.

been a tendency to severance of Deira, or rather a claim by Ælla's family to the whole rule of Northumbria from an earlier date. The first codex of the Chronicle, that of 891, in its original state, gives no regnal years for Ælla, and the later ones give 30 in words, but 28 in chronology.

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|---|--------------------|--|
| 1 | THEODRIC = 572-573 | The succession of THEODRIC, son of Ida, for      |
| 2 | .. = 573-574       | 7 years, indicates that Adda's posterity was ex- |
| 3 | .. = 574-575       | tinget or unfit to occupy the throne, and that   |
| 4 | .. = 575-576       | an uncle of Æthelfrid had to take preference     |
| 5 | .. = 576-577       | of him also. The times were troublous. So        |
| 6 | .. = 577-578       | long as we hold to the old authorities, we can   |
| 7 | .. = 578-579       | understand that the effect of the great battle   |

of Arderydd in 578 was to amalgamate the British kingdoms. It is clear that Urien was murdered in Theodric's reign, and the date of Theodric's accession, 572, synchronizes and places the murder at its commencement. "Deddric contra illum Urbgen cum filiis dimicabat fortiter." "In that time, one while the foes, at another the citizens, were vanquished. And he [Urbgen] shut them up for three days and three nights in the isle *Medcaut*, and while he was in the expedition he had his throat cut (*jugulatus est*) at the instigation of *Morcant*, out of envy, because in him, above all the kings, was the greatest valour in the prosecution of the war." As to the locality of all this, the Genealogist afterwards states that S. Cuthbert died "in the isle of *Medcaut*." Strictly, S. Cuthbert died at *Farne Island*, but it is obvious that the stronghold of *Holy Island* is alluded to by the Genealogist in his narrative of Theodric's extremity and the assassination of the British king. Any doubt is removed by the annals of *Tighernac* when in mentioning the foundation of the see of *Lindisfarne* they say "*Inis Metgoit* (*Insola Megoet, Ann. Ulst.*) fundata est."

Now our old Genealogist is remarkably borne out by the song upon the death of Urien, which is preserved in the *Red Book of Hergest*, xii. (Skene, i. 355.) As in the *Cymric Genealogies* of 977, Urien is stated to have been the son of *Cynvarch*. The poet represents himself as a messenger bearing with him the head of Urien, while a sable raven is put forward as preying on his white bosom. "A head I bear on my arm, he that overcame the land of *Bryneich*—the head, the most powerful pillar of *Prydain*.—A head I bear from the *Riw*, with his lips foaming with blood.—Woe to *Reged*.—Woe my hand that the father of *Owain* is slain.—In *Aber Lleu* has Urien been slain.—*Dunawd*, the leading horseman, would drive onward, intent upon making a corpse, against the onset of *Owain*. *Dunawd*, the chief of the age, would

drive onward, intent upon making battle, against the conflict of Pasgen. *Gwallawg*, the horseman of tumult, would drive onward, intent upon trying the sharpest edge against the conflict of Elphin. Bran, the son of Mellyrn, would drive onward, collecting men to burn my ovens: a wolf that looked grimly by the banks of Abers. *Morgant* and his men would drive onward, collecting a host to burn my lands: he was a mouse that scratched against a rock. I pushed onward when Elgno was slain; the blade which Pyll brandished would gleam terribly, if tents were pitched in his country. A second time I saw, after a conflict, a golden shield on the shoulders of Urien; a second to him was Elgno Hen. Upon the resolution there came a failing from the dread of a furious horseman: will there be another compared with Urien? Decapitated is my lord, his opponents are powerful: warriors will not love his enemies: many sovereigns has he consumed. The ardent spirit of Urien! it is sadness to me: there is commotion in every region, in pursuit of Llovan Llawdivro.—This hearth, will it not be covered by the greensward? In the lifetime of Owain and Elphin, its cauldron boiled the prey.—This hearth, will not the slender brambles cover it? Burning wood used to be on it, which Reged was accustomed to give.—This hearth, will it not be scratched up by the fowl? Want would not approach it in the lifetime of Owain and Urien. This buttress and that one there. More congenial around them would have been the joy of a host, and the tread of a minstrel.”

Here it plainly appears that *jugulatus*, the word used by the Genealogist, was in accordance with the wild minstrelsy which mourned over the death of Urien with two or three of his sons, Owen, Elfn, and Pasgen, and the destruction of the hospitable home of the chiefs of Rheged. *Gwallawg* and *Morgant*, both mentioned by the Genealogist, also occur. The name of the river, *Lleu*, is also correct. The Northern Low (the ancient Lindis), and the Southern Low, which gives name to Lowick and Lowlinn, meet just before they creep into the ocean opposite to Holy Island. Llovan Llawdivro or Llawdino, after whom the song says there was pursuit, is recorded in the Triads, as the author of one of the three detested assassinations of the island of Britain, in killing Urien.

The poems relating to Urien Reged, in the Book of Taliessin, generally end with “May I not be smiling, if I praise not Urien,” or with some similar expression. He is represented as having been elected Guledig or Leader in the Wars at Cattræth, having most valiant children, and possessing “the most wide-spreading sword” among the thirteen kings of the north. One of his Anglian enemies is termed Ulph. A great battle at Argoed Llwyfain is stated to have been between



Urien (and his son Owain (and Flamdwyn, and by the latter, who may or may not have been one of the kings of Bernicia, Owain was on some occasion slain. "The soul of Owain son of Urien. May its Lord consider its need. The chief of Reged, the heavy sward conceals him. When Flamdwyn killed Owain, there was not one greater than he sleeping. A wide number of Lloegyr went to sleep with light in their eyes. And those that fled not instantly were beyond necessity. Owain valiantly chastised them, like a pack (of wolves) pursuing sheep. A worthy man, upon his many-coloured trappings, he would give horses to those that asked. While he hoarded hard money, it was not shared for his soul. The soul of Owain, son of Urien."

In the Verses of the Graves, in the Black Book of Caermarthen, we have a number of sepulchral localities, many of them probably on the hills. Stanza xiii. reads: "The Grave of Owain ab Urien in a secluded part of the world, under the sod of Llan Morvael; in Abererch, that Rhydderch Hael." There are also poems in praise of Gwallawg ap Llleenawg, who seems also to be called Guledig; though cotemporary with Urien. That some poems of this kind were in the mind of the Nennian Genealogist cannot well be doubted, and the Four Books may well convey much of the older matter in the altered garb of the period of transcription. In the poems relative to Urien, Guallauc, and Morcant (the three being, according to Genealogies of 977, third cousins, Morcant being once removed), Rydderch does not seem to occur, but he is prominent in the verses relative to the battle of Arderydd. The present writer does not wish to enlarge upon the localities mentioned in the poems or the boundaries of the kingdoms of their heroes, or the dates of the events alluded to. The famous battle of Cattræth, wherever fought, is only alluded to in this place for the purpose of noting that Caeawaug, beloved friend of Owain, is related to have slain five battalions of the men of Deivyr and Brenneich, and that this sentence occurs: "If I had judged you to be on the side of the tribe of Brenneich, not the phantom of a man would I have left alive."

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|---|---------------------|--|
| 1 | FRITHWALD = 579-580 | The ancestry of the next king, Fridolguald |
| 2 | .. = 580-581        | or FRIDUWALD, is unknown. The Geneal-      |
| 3 | .. = 581-582        | ogies and Short Chronology agree in giving |
| 4 | .. = 582-583        | him six years. The Genealogies add to the  |
| 5 | .. = 583-584        | notice of him this passage: "In whose time |
| 6 | .. = 584-585        | the realm of the Kentishmen, of Gregory's  |

mission, received baptism." So also the Chronicle printed by Gale and by him ascribed to Asser, but which was written after his time (see Mon. Hist., 79), states that Pope Gregory

sent Augustine to Britain with monks in the year 580 of our Lord's incarnation. Wendover, making Fréthwulf reign in Bernicia from 570 to 577, asserts that "in 575, Benedict filled the Roman chair 4 years, 6 months, and 14 days. He gave permission to Pope Gregory to go and preach to the Angles, but the people tumultuously detained him."

Thus there seems to have been a notion that something connected with Christianity in Britain took place in Frithwald's time. Our first authority for the famous meeting at Rome between some Deiran boys and S. Gregory is Bede. According to him, Gregory was told that they came from the province of the Deiri, and that the name of the king of that province was *Ælla* (*var.* *Aelli*, *Ælle*, *Elle*). There is some difference of opinion (says Stevenson) as to whether the event took place during the pontificate of Benedict I., 573-577, or in that of Pelagius II., 578-590, Gregory's own years reaching from 590 to 604. The current of the events: "*mox ut ipse pontificatus officio functus est, perfecit opus diu desideratum*": seems to point to the pontificate of his immediate predecessor Pelagius. Bede only gives the story "*traditione majorum ad nos perlata*," but we may venture to consider *Ælla*, irrespectively of other evidence, as already reigning in Deira in the time of Frithwald. Edwin, *Ælla*'s son, was born sometime about the close of Frithwald's reign, Bede calling him 47 or 48 years old at the time of his death in 633.

There is an attractive scheme by which Frithwald is made one of the successors of *Ælla* in Deira from 592 to 598, comprising the period when Augustine came, but it must, on principle, be withstood. Rather let it be considered that the Genealogist classes the whole circumstances of conversion under the approximate date of the first of them.

That we have any very exact account of this first circumstance may, however, be reasonably doubted. Bede was not a Kentishman, and he hardly seems to have depended upon the details of the story as his countrymen had it. He introduces it with peculiar caution. "*Nec silentio prætereunda opinio quæ de B. Gregorio traditione majorum ad nos usque perlata est.—Dicunt &c.—Hæc juxta opinionem, quam ab antiquis accepimus, Historiæ nostræ Ecclesiasticæ inserere opportunum duximus.*" (H. E., ii. 2.) The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, as we have it, makes no mention of any south country version of the story, but *Æthelwerd*, of the Wessex blood royal, writing in the 10th century, preserves for us the substance of a lost text which differed even from ours of 891, and gives us an account of the slave incident materially differing from Bede's tradition. The young men are not represented as slaves; the answers are given by themselves, not by the bystanders; they call

themselves Angles, but there is no punning by Gregory; there is no mention of Ælla or Deira: the men say that they are not Christians, for no one has opened their ears: and after another differing remark or two, they are led home by Gregory and baptised, and he is much disposed to return with them to their native country. But the most remarkable variation is that no lapse of time takes place between the interview and Augustine's mission. Gregory is represented as Pope at the time, and the objection of the Romans to his departure is founded upon that fact, and not on that of Gregory being a famous citizen, as Bede has it. There is no reason to prefer Æthelwerd's chronology, and, if it were correct, we should only have an additional evidence that Ælla was reigning in Deira as late as the time of Æthelfrid.

1	HUSSA =	585-586	The Genealogies and Short Chronology agree
2	.. =	586-587	in stating that HUSSA, the next king, reigned
3	.. =	587-588	seven years. He was the last of the kings
4	.. =	588-589	against whom "Urbgen, and Riderch Hen, and
5	.. =	589-590	Guallauc, and Morcant fought." As in the
6	.. =	590-591	case of his predecessor, we know nothing of
7	.. =	591-592	his ancestry. The Saxon Chronicle of 1122

has a curious addition to the entry about the defeat of the Scots in 603 by Æthelfrid, the next king. He says that Hering the son of Hussa led them there.

1	ÆTHELFRID =	592-593	We now come to the great king ÆTHELFRID,
2	.. =	593-594	son of Æthelric, son of Ida. "Eadfered
3	.. =	594-595	Flesaur ( <i>var.</i> Eadlfered Flesaur, Ealdfret

Flegaur) reigned xii years in Berneich, and other xii in Deur. One rule with another he reigned xxiv years. And he gave Dinguaroy to his wife, who is called Bebbab, and from the name of his wife it received its name, i. e. Bebbanburch." The short Chronology agrees in giving "Aedilfrid, xxiii." Bede seems to agree in placing his beginnings in Bernicia (H. E., iii. 1), and he twice says that the royal city is named from a former queen called Bebba (H. E., iii. 6 and 16). It is observable that in 1560, the castle of Holy Island, the locality of Theodric's defence, is surveyed as one "fort builded upon an hill called Beblawe." (Raine, 26.)

The Saxon Chronicle places the date of Æthelfrid's accession in 593 and his death in battle in 617. There is no earlier authority for these dates, and as there is no reason to deduct from the regnal years of him and Edwin or add to those of their predecessors, we may fairly read 592 and 616 as the true Christian years.

4 **ÆTHELFRIÐ** = 595-596 In July of 596, Augustine and his company  
 5 .. = 596-597 were proceeding to Britain (H. E., i. 23,24),  
 and it appears that previous to the Christmas  
 of 597 more than 10,000 of the English had been baptized, and that  
 Augustine had returned to Kent from Arles, whither he had gone for  
 consecration. (See Stevenson's notes to H. E., i. 26, 27.) The baptism  
 of Æthelbert, king in Kent, who had extended the bounds of his empire  
 to the Humber, by which the Northern and Southern English were di-  
 vided, is believed to have taken place the same year. (H. E., i. 25, and  
 Stevenson, referring to Pagi.) The following important passage occurs  
 in Beda's *Chronicon de Sex Ætatibus*: "Et quidem Ædilberctus mox  
 ad Christi gratiam conversus cum gente Cantuariorum cui præerat,  
 proximisque provinciis, etiam episcopum doctoremque suum Augustinum,  
 sed et cæteros sacros antistites episcopali sede donabat. Porro gentes  
 Anglorum ab Aquilone Umbri fluminis *sub regibus Ælle et Ædilfrido* sitæ,  
 necdum verbum vitæ audierant."<sup>4</sup> This, by our chronology, corrected  
 by dating back that of the chronicle from Æthelfrid's accession to Deira,  
 and so finding that Ælla and he were cotem-  
 6 **ÆTHELFRIÐ** = 597-598 porary kings from 592 to 599, is perfectly  
 7 .. = 598-599 accurate language.

8 **ÆTHELFRIÐ** = 599-600 The 8th year of Æthelfrid was thus the  
 1st year of *Æthelric's* succession in Deira,  
 and of Edwin's exile of 17 years. He was only aged 13, but old enough  
 to be dangerous. For some time he wandered through divers king-  
 doms, and at last settled with Redwald of East Anglia. His flight does  
 not show that Æthelric was not of his own family. Edwin's son and  
 brother had in 633 to flee, and Osric his cousin, son of his uncle Ælfric  
 brother of Ælla, on that later occasion reigned in Deira.

9 **ÆTHELFRIÐ** = 600-601 In 601, Gregory sent the pall to Augustine,  
 10 .. = 601-602 and many ministers, among whom was Paul-  
 inus, who afterwards played so important a  
 part in Northumbria. Of more interest to  
 11 **ÆTHELFRIÐ** = 602-603 the pagans at the time was the incursion of  
 Ædan, king of those Scots who inhabited  
 Britain. He came against Æthelfrid in 603 with a large force which

<sup>4</sup> "The passage quoted from Beda de Sex Ætatibus certainly raises the *presump-  
 tion* that Æthelfrith was the contemporary or immediate successor of Ella. I should  
 say rather successor than contemporary. But I do not think that either one or  
 the other is a necessary inference. All that we can positively assume is, what we  
 knew before, that both reigned north of the Humber, and both before the intro-  
 duction of Christianity into that district."—I. H. H.

was almost cut to pieces "in loco celeberrimo qui dicitur Degsastan, id est Degsa lapis. In qua etiam pugna Theodbaldus frater Æthelfridi, cum omni illo quem ipse ducebat exercitu peremptus est." This battle was fought in "603, in the 11th year of Æthelfrid, who reigned 24 years, and in the 1st year of Phocas who then held the Roman rule." Bede elsewhere makes 605 the 2nd year of Phocas, supposing that Gregory died in 605. But Stevenson notes that he really died in Mar. 604. The dates are therefore consistent.

The Chronicle of 891, before erasure, and those of 977 and 1066 agree in the simple entry under 603 of "Her was gefeoht æt *Egesan stane*." If this really was the name of the place in those days, it seems so closely allied to the Eggascliff of 1084, now Eggescliffe on the Tees, that Eggleston on the same river naturally suggests itself rather than Dalston (anciently Dalaston, as in Testa de Nevill) in Cumberland, or Dawston in Liddesdale; particularly as Eggleston had a notable circle of stones (engraved by Hutchinson) and another big archaic monolith (mentioned to the writer by the clergyman of Laithkirk, W. R. Bell, who has every facility of obtaining local knowledge.<sup>5</sup>) One of the boundaries of Eggleston in the time of James I. is recorded in the great survey of the royal manors as "King's Cragg." This was the route said to have been taken by Malcolm in 1070, and to a Dalriadan prince, coming from Argyleshire against a Bernician enemy, may well have been preferred to the pass through the Cheviots up Dawston Burn. Ædan was concerned at Æthelfrid's successes against the Britons, who were on the west of the English, and would not be likely to part from the friendly coasts of Cumberland till it was absolutely necessary or advisable.

There was evidently a crisis at the period. But we cannot pretend to understand its details. Was Theobald for or against his brother Æthelfrid? Was there an unnatural alliance between the kings of Deira and Dalriada as between Penda and Cadwalla in later days? What grounds had the interpolator of 1122 for adding to the Saxon Chronicle what looks very like truth, that Hering the son of Hussa led the Scots hither? Whence did the Tighernac annalist derive his information for this entry: "600 k. v. (599) Cath Saxanum la h. Aedan ubi cecidit Eanfraich frater Etalfraich la Macluma mac Baedain in quo victus erat."?

12 ÆTHELFRID = 603-604      Another interesting event must be noticed under the year 603. S. Oswald, son of

<sup>5</sup> He remarked to me that an invader from Scotland, wishing to avoid the east coast, would come down Teesdale by High-cup-nick or Eagles-chair, the rock on the left hand in coming from Westmerland.

Æthelfrid, was born in the next one, 604. We have seen how the Nennian Genealogist states that he gave Bambrough to his wife Bebbab. Bede, in mentioning how the arm and hand of S. Oswald were preserved in S. Peter's church "in urbe regia quæ a regina quondam vocabulo *Bebba* cognominatur," says, almost in the same breath (H. E., iii. 6), that Oswald was nephew of king Edwin by his sister *Acha*, and that it was fitting that such a predecessor should have of his own kindred such an heir of his religion and realm.

It is impossible, in face of such language, to identify Bebbab and Acha with each other. Was Bebbab first or second queen? Under what circumstances did Æthelfrid give Bambrough to her?

The Genealogist says that Æthelfrid had seven sons, Anfrid, Osguald, Osbiu, Osguid, Osgudu, Oslaph, Offa. The Libellus, t. Hen. I., says that "he had seven sons, Eanfrid; and; by the sister of king Edwin, the daughter of Ella, Acca; Oswald, Oswi, Oslac, Oswudu, Osa, Offa." Florence gives all the sons to Acha, and ranges them thus, Eanfrid, Oslaf, Oslac, S. Oswald the king, king Oswi, Offa, and Oswudu. As Oswald certainly succeeded Eanfrid, and the language of Bede leads to the impression that Eanfrid was no relation of the christian Edwin, it seems probable that Florence is less trustworthy than the Libellus, and that Eanfrid was by a former wife. Considering that the other six sons with S. Ebba, a daughter of Acha, would occupy the rest of Æthelfrid's reign pretty well, we may conclude that the first wife was Bebbab. Oswald being born in 604, the last year of Æthelfrid in Bernicia, or his first in Deira, the marriage with Acha cannot have been later than 603 or the beginning of 604. It is not a usual thing for a monarch to present his capital to his queen. But a divorce, and a marriage with a Deiran princess, and seizure of her father's throne on the termination of the reign of an interloper, will explain all.

13 ÆTHELFRID = 604-605      The 13th year of the reign of Æthelfrid in Bernicia was his first in Deira. We are ignorant of the circumstances of Æthelric's end. Under any, Æthelfrid would probably have been his successor. Edwin was only aged 18, and in exile. Æthelfrid, flushed with English victory, would, if only an infant when his uncle Theodric succeeded, be now at least 33; and his wife was probably the eldest member of the Deiran house. Another sister, we know, was very much older than her brother. Edwin, for Hereric, the nephew of Edwin, father of S. Hilda in 614, and earlier still, as it seems, of her sister Heresuid queen of the East Angles, could scarcely be born later than 595, when his uncle Edwin would be hardly 10 years old.

14 **ÆTHELFRID** = 605-606 While Edwin was in exile, two sons,  
 15 .. = 606-607 Osfrid and Eadfrid, were borne to him by  
 16 .. = 607-608 Quoenburga, daughter of Cearl, king of  
 17 .. = 608-609 Mercia. (H. E., ii. 14.) At the court of  
 18 .. = 609-610 Redwald, he is said by Bede to have received  
 19 .. = 610-611 a sign from a stranger that he should be a  
 20 .. = 611-612 king more powerful, not only than *all his*  
 21 .. = 612-613 *progenitors*, but all previous kings of the  
 22 .. = 613-614 English. In 616, as it appears from the reg-  
 23 .. = 614-615 nal years, Redwald, refusing to surrender  
 24 .. = 615-616 Edwin, slew Æthelfrid in battle.

1 **EDWIN** = 616-617 Redwald succeeded Æthelbert of Kent as  
 2 .. = 617-618 supreme ruler in England in 616. Edwin  
 3 .. = 618-619 became king of all Northumbria, as Æthel-  
 4 .. = 619-620 frid had been before him. He occurs thus  
 5 .. = 620-621 in the Genealogies: Eoguin (*var.* Eaguin).  
 6 .. = 621-622 filius Alli, reigned 17 years, and he occupied  
 7 .. = 622-623 Elmet, and expelled Certic king of that  
 8 .. = 623-624 region." The Short Chronology agrees in  
 9 .. = 624-625 giving "Aeduini, xvii."

10 .. = 625-626 On 12 cal. Aug., 21 July, 625, Paulinus  
 was ordained bishop: and then he came with  
 Æthelberga, alias Tate, daughter of Æthelbert the late king of Kent,  
 "ad regem Edwinum quasi comes copulæ carnalis." (H. E., ii. 9.) On  
 20 April, 626, primo die paschæ, Edwin was preserved from assassina-  
 tion, and that night, eadem nocte Dominici paschæ, his queen bore a  
 daughter Eanfled or Elfled, mayhap rather prematurely. She was bap-  
 tized die sancto (in sabbato) pentecostes, 8 June (H. E., ii. 9, and  
 Epit.), or on the twelfth day after Pentecost.

11 **EDWIN.** = 626-627 (H. Brit., c. 66, and Geneal.) Within a  
 twelvemonth afterwards, Edwin was bap-  
 tized in a hastily built church of wood at York, at Easter, 2 id. April,  
 12 April, 627, D., in his 11th year. (H. E., ii. 14.) S. Hilda was bap-  
 tized at the same time. (H. E., ii. 23.) Paulinus, who officiated, is  
 call Rum or Run map Urbgen in the Nennian Genealogies, and Edwin's  
 subjects who were baptized with him are termed Angli Trans-Umbranæ  
 gentis by Bede (Chron.), genus Ambronum by the Nennian Genealog-  
 ist, id est Ald Saxonum according to the work ascribed to Nennius  
 himself.

12 EDWIN = 627-628 During the next "six years" Paulinus  
 13 .. = 628-629 continued in Edwin's province, "that is, to  
 14 .. = 629-630 the end of his reign." Osfrid and Eanfrid,  
 15 .. = 630-631 his sons by Quoenburga were baptized. After-  
 16 .. = 631-632 wards his children by Æthelburga, viz.  
 17 .. = 632-633 Æthelhun and Æthelthryd; a daughter,  
 and Vuscfrea, another son, were also bap-  
 tized. Æthelhun and Æthelthryd died infants, and were buried in the  
 church of York. Yffi son of Osfrid, and other nobles, were also bap-  
 tized. (H. E., ii. 14.)

After Edwin "had ruled for 17 years over the race of the English as well as that of the Britons, during 6 of which he had fought for Christ's kingdom," he was slain by Cædwalla, the rebellious king of the Britons, and Penda, who for 22 years was king of the Mercians, at Hæthfelth (H. E., ii. 20) or Meican (Gen. Nenn.) Edwin was aged 47 or 48. His head was brought to York and afterwards placed in S. Peter's church there, which he had begun by enclosing the wooden baptistry with quadrilateral walls of stone. Oswald his successor completed it. The head was deposited in the porch of pope Gregory, from whose disciples he had received the Word of Life. (H. E., ii. 20.)

On the death of Edwin, Paulinus returned to Kent, taking with him queen Ethelberge, Bassus, a valiant soldier of the king, Eanfled the daughter, and Vuscfrea the son of Edwin, and Yffi son of Osfrid his son. Osfrid himself had fallen in the war before his father. Eadfrid his brother fled to Penda and was put to death during the reign of Oswald. The Nennian Genealogies agree with this statement of Bede in substance, but they make Osfrid and Eadfrid to perish with their father in bello Meican. Vuscfrea and Yffi were sent to France for protection from Oswald. They died infants, and were buried in a church there. (H. E., ii. 20.) And thus ended Edwin's issue in the male line.

The date of the fatal battle was 12 Oct., 4 id. Oct. 633. (H. E., ii. 20.) And from it the years of Oswald were reckoned, although he did not actually succeed until a year afterwards. In 635 the see of Lindisfarne was founded, and the episcopal years commence. With the death of Edwin, the introducer of Christianity into Northumberland, this essay appropriately concludes.

Not only in war was his standards (*vexilla*) bore before him, but even in time of peace, when he rode with his officers among his cities, or vills or provinces, the standard-bearer (*signifer*) was always wont to go before him. Also, whenever he walked along the streets, that kind of standard (*vexilli*) which the Romans call *Tufa*, and the Angles *Thurf* (var. *Thurf*), was borne before him. (H. E., ii. 17.) The *Tufa*,



mentioned by Vegetius, quoted by Smith, was a tuft of feathers affixed to a spear. (Stevenson's note.)

In later days, when it was thought proper to allot armorial bearings to Saxon saints and kings, we read in Leigh's *Accidence* that "*Azure, a cross fūrte Or*, were the arms of Edwine the first christian king of Northumberland." The coat in the central tower of York Minster, *Three crowns, two and one*, which, according to the tinctures, might be for either S. Oswin or S. Edmund, has been ascribed to S. Edwin, and that next to it, with *Three crowns in pale*, like the Irish device on the coins of Edward IV., has been attributed to king Oswald. Speed gives for Ælla and Edwin of the Deiran house *A lion rampant*, and for Ida, Æthelfrid, and Oswald of the Bernician house *Paly of six*. With Oswi he commences the coat of *A plain cross between four lions*, the discussion of which belongs to the subject of the arms of Oswald and Cuthbert in connection with Durham. From Camden's *Remains* it would appear that the paly coat ascribed to the early kings of Bernician blood is derived from the notion that "King Oswald had a banneroll of *Gold and purple, interwoven paly or bendy*, set over his tomb at Bardney Abbey in Lincolnshire." That his *vexillum* was set over his tomb, is indeed stated by Bede (H. E., iii. 11), but he merely says that it was made of *Gold and purple* (auro et purpura compositum), leaving the design an open question.

As Bede in his account of Oswald says expressly that before his time there was not a church in Bernicia (H. E., iii. 2), and no early authority mentions Edwin's erection of a wooden sacellum at Tynemouth or his daughter Rosella who is said to have been baptized in it, the statements of such events by a chronicle of S. Alban's, the enemy of Durham, may be set down to a wish to glorify Tynemouth. His other statements, to the effect that Oswald converted the wooden monasterium into a stone one, that in Coquet island there was a cœniobiolum of the monks of Tynemouth, that in the region of Tynemouth there was a city called Urfa, where Oswin was born, and which was afterwards wasted by the Danes, and that the site of Tynemouth monastery was by the Saxons called Benebalcrag or Penbalcrag, must be taken cautiously.

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