

THE COINS OF THE DANISH KINGS OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

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THE accompanying plates were intended to form part of a work, which was commenced more than twenty years ago, but interrupted by circumstances which I need not detail, and never completed. I never thought of writing about coins again, and gave these plates to the Society, in the hope that they would be printed and distributed amongst its members, who would then be enabled to study at their leisure the very interesting series of the Coins of the Kings of Northumberland, during the last century of its existence as an independent kingdom. It seems, however, that an illustrative text is expected from me; so I must endeavour to accomplish this task to the best of my ability, and begin by entering into a careful examination of the history of Northumberland during the period to which they belong. It is true that this has been already done by several eminent writers, but I see reason to differ from them occasionally on points of considerable importance.

In an enquiry such as this, the first consideration must be the value of the authorities to which we are indebted for our knowledge of the history; and, amongst these, of our English Chronicle first. Of this precious record we have six MSS.

A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, cxxiiii. This alone is a strictly contemporary narrative of the events of the period with which we are concerned. It is written in one hand to A.D. 891, and continued by a second, whose work was interrupted in the midst of A.D. 894; a third scribe takes up the pen and records, from time to time, the events of the ensuing thirty years; then a fourth from A.D. 925 to 965; and a fifth to A.D. 977. After this date the entries are only occasional, and very brief, until A.D. 1070. Its notices of Northumbrian affairs are few, but on these, such as they are, I place the greatest reliance.

B. Cotton. Tiberius, A. vi.; written in one hand of the tenth century to A.D. 977.

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C. Cotton. Tiberius, B. I.; written in one hand to A.D. 1046, and continued by others.

D. Cotton. Tiberius, B. IV.; written in one hand to A.D. 1016, and continued by others. This contains the fullest notices of the events of Northumbrian history, and I regard it as second in value to MS. A.

E. Bodleian. Laud, 636; written in one hand to A.D. 1122, and continued by others.

F. Cotton. Domitian, A. VIII.; written in one hand of the twelfth century. It ends in A.D. 1056.

These two last have entries which are not in the others, and help to complete the history.

The Life of Ælfred, by Asser, cœval with the first scribe of MS. A, is also contemporary history, but contains very little that is not in the Chronicle.

Ethelwerd lived at the same time as the writer of MS. D; Simeon of Durham about a century later. Simeon ought to be an authority on Northumbrian affairs, and indeed has preserved to us much information which would otherwise have been lost; but he is frequently inaccurate. Of his contemporaries and successors I make very little use; there is nothing but confusion in their accounts of the Anlafs, and the source of this confusion will appear when we come to speak of them.

The Irish Annals afford invaluable aid in the study of this history. They enable us to trace the career of the Sitrics, Regnalds, and Anlafs, when they were not in Northumberland, and to identify the Anlafs clearly. Before I had an opportunity of consulting them, I was inclined to follow William of Malmesbury, in regarding the Anlaf of Brunanburh as the son of Sitric; in every other respect my conclusions, previously arrived at, are confirmed. Although not free from errors, (it would be too much to expect that they should), they appear to be generally very trustworthy. I shall quote them and the Chronicle at length, that my readers may have the opportunity of judging for themselves of the illustration they mutually afford, each to the other.

The chronology of the English Chronicle is generally a year too late, as appears from comparison with the French Annals from A.D. 879 to 891. That of the second and third scribes of MS. A was correct, but has been altered in every year.

The Annals of Ulster are generally two years earlier than our Chronicle; but the valuable criteria they afford in notices of eclipses, Easter, and days of the week coincident with days of the month, shew that they are one year earlier than the true chronology. Those of the Four Masters are sometimes one year earlier than these, sometimes more, and those of Clonmacnoise some years earlier still. In giving, therefore, the dates as they are in our Chronicle and these Annals, I shall add in

parenthesis what appears to be the true date. When I do not quote from these authorities, the dates which I give are those which I regard as the true dates.

None of our earlier authorities assigns any special motive for the Danish invasion of Northumberland, but we have four distinct traditions to account for it in later writings.

1. The Danish story, that Ragnar Lodbrog was shipwrecked on the Northumbrian coasts, taken captive by Ælle, and cruelly murdered.

2. Matthew of Westminster's, that Ragnar, driven by a storm to East Anglia, was murdered by Beorn, the huntsman of S. Eadmund, and that Beorn, sent out to sea in an open boat as a punishment for his crime, went to Denmark, and invited the sons of Ragnar to come and avenge the murder of their father, which he falsely imputed to his royal master.

3. Another, preserved by Gaimar, Douglas of Glastonbury, John of Bromton, and Hector Boece, that a certain ship master, named Buern, invited Codrinus (*i.e.* Godrum), King of the Danes, to invade Northumberland, in revenge for the dishonour of his wife by Osberht; and that his relatives deposed Osberht, and raised Ælle to the throne.

4. A similar story, in a MS. of the twelfth century, in which the names of Ærnulf and Ælle replace those of Buern and Osberht. Our Chronicle says, "there was much dissension among the people, and they had cast out their King Osbryht, and had taken to themselves an ignoble King Ælle."

It seems to me that each of these traditions may have preserved something of the truth. We observe that the first and second agree, as to the facts of Ragnar's shipwreck, and murder; the third and fourth, in imputing to a King of Northumberland the crime of adultery, and assigning it as the motive of the disaffection of his subjects; and the second and third, in the name of the person who invited the Danes. Thus, then, it may be true that Beorn instigated rebellion against Osberht for the crime alleged; that he assisted in raising Ælle to the throne, and entered his service; that Ragnar was put to death by Ælle's orders; and that Beorn afterwards quarrelled with Ælle, and invited the Danes to avenge his death. Or it may be true that Ælle outraged Beorn's wife, and that this was the cause of the quarrel. However this may be, it is certain that the Danes came to East-Anglia in A.D. 866. There was no personal hostility to S. Eadmund; the East-Angles made peace with them, and allowed them to winter in their country. Having provided themselves with horses, in

A.D. 867, they proceeded to Northumberland, and occupied York. The parties of Osberht and Ælle made peace, and "late in the year they resolved that they would fight against the army, and therefore they gathered a large force, and sought the army at the town of York, and

stormed the town, and some of them got within, and there was excessive slaughter of the Northumbrians, some within, and some without, and the kings were both slain, and the remainder made peace with the army."

We have nothing more trustworthy than this statement, in our Chronicle, written within twenty-four years of the event, and by Asser (who supplies the fact that Osberht and Ælle made peace and attacked the Danes together¹), at the same time.

The Danes remained in Northumberland until the following year. Before their departure, they committed the government of the province north of the Tyne to Ecgerht, but nothing is said of the southern province. Certainly none of their leaders remained in Northumberland; and I believe they would adopt the same policy with regard to Deira, as they did with regard to Bernicia at this time, and to Mercia later; *i.e.* invest some thane or ealdorman with the title of king, to hold the kingdom as their tributary. The evidence of a coin, which I shall describe in the sequel, seems to confirm this, and to establish the probability, that their deputy in Deira during the following years was no other than the above named Beorn.

Florence of Worcester says, that the great Danish army which invaded England at this time was commanded by eight kings—Bagsecg, Halfdene, Ingwar, Ubba, Godrum, Oskitell, Amund, and Eowils; and all of these, except the last, appear occasionally in the story of their ravages in the Southumbrian provinces, during the following years. The Annals of Roskild say that Ingwar was accompanied by nine kings of the North, but this number must include Anlaf, who did not come with them into England, but joined them from Ireland, along with Eowils or Eowisl. Ingwar² and Ubba were sons of Ragnar, and Halfdene, according to our Chronicle, was Ingwar's brother.

¹ "Advenientibus Paganis, consilio divino et optimatum adminiculo pro communi utilitate, discordia illa aliquantulum sedata, Osbyrht et Ælla adunatis viribus, congregatoque exercitu, Eboracum oppidum adeunt."

² Ingwar had invaded France. His name does not occur in any extant Annals of the Franks, but Adam of Bremen read it in the "Gesta Francorum."

"Erant et alii reges Danorum vel Nortmannorum, qui piraticis excursionibus eo tempore Galliam vexabant. Quorum præcipui erant Horich, Orwig, Gotafred, Rodulf et Inguar tyranni. Crudelissimus omnium fuit Inguar, filius Lodparchi, qui Christianos ubique per supplicia necavit. Scriptum est in gestis Francorum." Gesta Pontif: Hammaburg: L. I., c. 30.

Although the Northern Chronicles seem to distinguish Ingwar from Ivar, it appears very clear from ours, that they were one and the same person. In the Chronicle, under A.D. 878, the different MSS. give his name with these variations, Inwær A, Ingwær B, Inwer C, Iwær D, Iwer E. Ethelwerd calls the commander of the invading host Igar, and the same person, in the account of S. Eadmund's death, Iuuar. One MS. of Gaimar calls him Inguar, Ingwar, or Yngvar, but all the others uniformly Iwar.

Of the chieftains whom Adam of Bremen names in the above-cited passage, Gozfrid, Roric, and Eriveus, (a Breton count), are named together, and for the first time, by Hincmar of Rheims, in 863; and Rodulf is noticed for the first time in 864. About that time, probably, Ingwar invaded France; he is mentioned in the Irish Annals in 863, and, three years later, he led the Danes to England.

A.D. 868, they left Northumberland, invaded Mercia, and occupied Nottingham. Burgred, King of Mercia, made peace with them, after an ineffectual attempt to dislodge them, in which he had the aid of the West-Saxon kings, Æthelred and Ælfred. Towards the end of the year they returned to Northumberland, and wintered at York.

A.D. 869, they crossed the Humber into Lindsey, destroyed the abbey of Bardney, were defeated by, and in turn defeated, the forces of the ealdorman Algar; destroyed the monasteries of Croyland and Peterborough, plundered Huntingdon, and destroyed Ely. Thence they proceeded to Thetford, and there took up their winter quarters. S. Eadmund, the King of the East-Angles, attacked them in November, but was defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death.³ We know from the evidence of S. Eadmund's own sword-bearer, detailed by him to S. Dunstan, and afterwards repeated by the latter to Abbo of Fleury, that his murderer was Ingwar. He and Godrum are named as the commanders of the Danish forces in the second battle with Algar; Oskytel was the murderer of the Abbot of Croyland, and Ubba of the monks of Peterborough.

A.D. 870. They proceeded to Reading in Wessex. Æthelred and Ælfred fought with them at Reading, Ashdown, Basing, and Merton; and, after Æthelred's death, Ælfred continued the contest at Wilton, and other places (not named,) but at last was compelled to make peace with them. In this year the best MSS. of the Chronicle, for the first time, name their leaders; Bagseeg, killed in the battle of Ashdown, and Halfdene. They were largely reinforced after the battle of Merton; "there came to Reading a great summer army"; and the Annals of Inisfallen inform us whence this reinforcement came.

"A.D. 870. Plundering of Leinster, from Ath Cliath to Gabhrain, by Aodh mac Neill, after Amhlaoimh and Iomhair had gone, with a fleet of 200 ships, to assist the Danes of Britain, with their Danish leaders, Hingar and Hubba."

Olaf,⁴ said to have been a son of a king of Denmark, came to Ireland, with his brothers, Sitric and Ivar, and was accepted as king by all the foreigners there in 853; and he is noticed in the years 859, 861, 862, 863, and 869. Ivar (Ingwær or Inwær), the ancestor of the Danish

³ The Chronicle dates these events, A.D. 870. The life of S. Eadmund, cited by Florence of Worcester, supplies a criterion which fixes them to 869.

⁴ Rex Eadmundus, ut in sua legitur passione, ab Inguaro rege paganissimo, Indictione II., XII. Cal: Decembris, die Dominico, martirizatus est."

⁴ For the sake of uniform orthography I adopt the Norse form of this name, except in quotations. Anlaf is the English form in the Chronicle and on coins; Amhlaoimh (with many variations), the Irish.

Kings of Dublin, is mentioned in 858, 859, and 863. In the last year Olaf, Ivar, and Uisli, are named together, as the three chieftains of the foreigners.

“A.D. 865, (866). Amlaiph and Auisle went to Fortren, together with the foreigners of Ireland and Scotland, and spoiled all the Picts, and brought all the hostages with them.” (Ann: Ulster.)

Ivar is not mentioned with them on this occasion; it is probable that he had gone to France, between 863 and this date; and at this time he was the leader of the Danes in England. Probably also Olaf and Uisli remained in England, for the Annals of the Four Masters, (which seldom mention events that occurred out of Ireland), omit the notice, which by those of Ulster, of the death of Uisli by the hands of his brethren, is supplied in 867, immediately before the notice of the defeat and death of Aillil (Ælle), at York. In 869, however, the Four Masters record Olaf's burning Armagh, so that he had by that time returned to Ireland; and in 870, the Annals of Ulster have,

“Siege of Aile Cluith by the Northmen. Aulav and Ivar, the two Kings of the Northmen, besieged that fortress, and destroyed and plundered it at the end of four months.”

I suppose that Ivar went to Ireland in 869 or 870, returned with Olaf to assist the Danes who were contending with Ælfred, and, after the conclusion of the war in Wessex, went into Scotland. Thence they returned to Ireland.

“A.D. 870 (871). Aulav and Ivar came again to Dublin out of Scotland, with great booty, and many captives of Angles, Britons, and Picts.” (Ulster.)

“A.D. 871. Amhlaioimh and Iomhar came again to Dublin out of Albania. A great booty of men, *i.e.* Saxons and Britons, brought by them to Eri.” (Inisfallen.)

Olaf is mentioned no more in the Irish Annals.

A.D. 871. The Danes retired to London.

A.D. 872. They wintered at Torksey, in Lincolnshire, and in

873, at Repton, in Mercia. In this year the Annals of Ulster and of the Four Masters record the death of “Iomar, King of the Northmen of Ireland and Britain.” Ethelwerd has disposed of him four years earlier, saying that he died in the same year as S. Eadmund. He probably died in England, for Gaimar says that he remained in London when Halfdene, Oskytel, and Godrum went northward.

I have followed their movements during these six years, in order to shew that none of their leaders could have remained in North-

umberland;⁵ and to establish the probability that Deira was under the government of an Angle, tributary to them, as Bernicia was. Simeon of Durham says that Egberht reigned beyond the Tyne for six years; but before these six years were completed, he records the expulsion of Egberht and of Archbishop Wulfhere, in A.D. 872; and then, without a word about his restoration in the following year, he says, "Egberht, the King of the Northumbrians, dying, had Ricsig for his successor, who reigned three years, and Wulfhere was restored to his archbishopric;" and again, "A.D. 876, Ricsig, King of the Northumbrians, dies, and a second Egberht reigns over the Northumbrians beyond the Tyne."

I suspect there was but one Egberht; that "moriens," under A.D. 873, is Simeon's conjecture;⁶ that Ricsig was raised to the throne by the Northumbrians, on Egberht's deposition; and that Egberht was restored by Halfdene on his return to Northumberland.

A.D. 874. The army, which had wintered at Repton, was divided; one division, under Godrum, Oskytel, and Anwynd, went to Cambridge; the other, under Halfdene, whom we may consider as having been the chief commander after Bagsecg's death, returned to Northumberland, and wintered on the Tyne.

A.D. 875. Halfdene divided the lands of Northumberland amongst his followers; and with this year the history of the Northumbrian Danish kingdom properly commences.

Our own chronicles afford no reliable information as to the length of Halfdene's reign, or the manner of his death.⁷ This, however, is supplied by the Irish Annals.

"A.D. 874 or 876 (877). Ruaidhri mac Mormind, King of the Britons, came into Ireland, to escape the Black Gentiles."

⁵ Turner supposes that Ivar remained in Northumberland, and thence invaded Scotland; overlooking the evidence of the Irish Annals that he and Olaf went from Ireland to England in 870, and returned to Ireland in 871.

⁶ Such conjectures the chroniclers of the Norman æra occasionally indulged in, and there would have been no harm in this, if they had given them as conjectures, but unfortunately they state them with all the gravity of history. Examples will occur in the sequel.

⁷ Simeon disposes of him at the battle of Cynwith in 878; but this is only one of his blunders, for all the MSS. of the Chronicle agree in saying that the chieftain who fell there was Ingwar's and Halfdene's brother (most probably Ubba). Florence says that Halfdene and Eowils reigned 26 years, meaning probably the sum of their reigns, but the cypher should be 36, for an Eowils was killed at the battle of Wednesfield, 36 years after Halfdene's return to Northumberland. With one exception, all the MSS. of the Chronicle say that Halfdene was killed in the same battle; but the exception is MS. A, the only one which can be regarded as contemporary. Ethelwerd says that Ingwar also fell in that battle, but no MS. of the Chronicle supports him, and I believe that he really died in 873.

"A battle between the White and Black Gentiles at Loch Cuan" (Strangford Lough), "wherein fell Albard King of the Black Gentiles." (F. M. & U.)

"A.D. 877 (878.) Roary son of Murmin, King of the Britons, killed by the Saxons." (Ulster).

Apparently Halfdene had invaded the territories of Rotri, pursued him to Ireland, and there met his fate. Rotri, returning to Wales, must have been slain by Saxons who were in league with the Danes; for the year of his fall was that in which fortune began to turn in Ælfred's favour, two years before he succeeded in delivering his dominions from the presence of the invaders; and the battle of Conwy, in which, according to the Annals of Cambria, Rotri's death was avenged, three years later, seems to correspond with Ælfred's engagement with a Danish squadron, recorded in our Chronicle under A.D. 882 (881).

Adam of Bremen says that the Northmen sent into England one of the companions of Halfdene, that he was killed by the Angles, that then the Danes raised Gudred to the throne in his place, and that he conquered Northumberland.⁸

Without any notice of Halfdene's immediate successor, Simeon of Durham says that, the army of Northumberland being deprived of a leader,⁹ the abbot Eadred, in obedience to a supernatural monition, persuaded them and the Angles to accept, as Halfdene's successor, Guthred the son of Hardecnut, who had been sold as a slave by the Danes to a widow at Whittingham; and that this Guthred reigned at York, and died A.D. 894. Ethelwerd calls him Guthfrid, and says that he died on the Feast of S. Bartholomew A.D. 896, four years before King Ælfred, and was buried in the Cathedral of York. I prefer his authority, not only as being earlier than Simeon, but as likely to have had precise information, since he is able to specify the day, as well as the year, and the place of sepulture. Adam of Bremen, who seems to mark A.D. 885 as the year of Guthred's accession, two years later than Simeon's date,

⁸ *Gesta Pont: Hammaburg: L. I., c. 33.* The passage must be quoted with its context, to shew the date of these events.

"Nordmanni plagam, quam in Frisiâ receperunt" (A.D. 884. cf: *Ann: Fuld:*) "in totum imperium ulturi, cum regibus Sigafrido et Gotafrido, per Rhenum et Mosam, et Scaldam fluvios Galliam invadentes, miserabili cæde Christianos obrunçarunt, ipsumque regem Karolum bello petentes, ludibrio nostros habuerunt." (A.D. 885. cf: *Ann: Fuld: et Vedast.*)

"In Angliam quoque miserunt unum ex sociis Halfdani, qui dum ab Anglis occideretur, Dani constituerunt in locum ejus Gudredum. Is autem Nordimbriam expugnavit. Atque ex illo tempore" (*i.e.* A.D. 885), "Frisia et Anglia in ditioe Danorum esse feruntur. Scriptum est in gestis Anglorum."

⁹ "Occiso, sicut supradictum est, ipso Halfdene et Inguar cum xxxiii navibus apud Domniam a ministris Elfridi regis." This of course is Simeon's conjectural addition to his original authority, for the reference is to the blunder noticed above.

indirectly supports Ethelwerd's date for his death; and, though he writes the name Gudred, Ethelwerd is supported, in this particular, by Henry of Huntingdon, who says, "after Osbrict and Ella were slain by the Danes, the Danes reigned for a long time in Northumberland, viz: King Haldene, and Gudfert, and Nigel, and Sidric, and Reginald, and Anlaf." Adam of Bremen says that his sons, who succeeded him, were Anlaf, Sihtric, and Regnald,¹⁰ and as the Irish Annals assert that these were grandsons of Ivar, it follows that Guthfrith was a son of Ivar, not of Hardecnut. As such he would be readily accepted by the Danes of Northumberland; and Adam of Bremen enables us to account for the fact that he had been sold to slavery, by informing us, that the sea-kings of the North frequently made war, one on another, and sold the captives whom they took in war, either to their own people or to foreigners.¹¹

Guthfrith seems to have manifested great zeal for the advancement of religion; he re-established the northern bishopric, and the community of monks, which had been driven from Lindisfarne eight years before, not indeed in their ancient home, but at Cuneca-ceastre (Chester-le-Street); and, in conjunction with Ælfred, he endowed the Church of S. Cuthbert with all the lands between the Tyne and the Tees, and conferred upon it the privilege of sanctuary.

There is no ancient authority for the statement, which is sometimes made, that Ælfred was Guthfrith's feudal superior, and that he exercised direct supremacy over Northumberland, after Guthfrith's death. An ally and adviser, in the important ecclesiastical regulations which Guthfrith effected, he certainly was, but no more. When the return of his old enemies from France, in 892, involved him in a fresh series of campaigns, the Northumbrians and East-Anglians pledged themselves to observe neutrality, so that he was no more sovereign of the former than he was of the latter; but that his relations with the Northumbrians were more intimate and friendly than they were with the East-Anglians appears from the fact that he exacted no hostages from them, but was satisfied with the security of their oaths alone.¹² The Chronicle claims for him no supremacy over Northumberland, but says "he was King over all the English nation, except that part which was under the dominion of the Danes," that is, East-Anglia, Northumberland, and a great part of Mercia.

¹⁰ L: II. c. 15. "Anglia, ut supra diximus, et in gestis Anglorum scribitur, post mortem Gudredi, a filiis ejus Analaph, Sigtrih, et Reginold, parmansit in ditione Danorum."

¹¹ L: IV: c: 6.

¹² Simeon contradicts the contemporary evidence of the Chronicle, saying that both nations gave hostages.

Their pledges were broken by the Danes of both kingdoms. "Contrary to their plighted troth, as often as the other armies went out with all their force, they also went out, either with them, or on their own part." Whilst Ælfred was pursuing the Danes whom he had defeated at Farnham in 893, their kindred "who dwelt with the Northumbrians and East-Angles, gathered some hundred ships, and went south about, and some forty ships north about, and besieged a fortress in Devonshire by the north sea, and they who went south about besieged Exeter. When the king heard that, he turned west towards Exeter with all the force, save a very powerful body of the people eastwards;—when he had arrived there they went to their ships. Whilst the king was thus busied with the army there in the west, and both the other armies had drawn together at Shoebury in Essex, then both together went up along the Thames, and a great addition came to them, as well from the East-Anglians as from the Northumbrians." Later in the year, when these armies returned to Essex, after their defeat at Buttington, "they gathered together a great army from amongst the East-Anglians and Northumbrians," and went to Chester. In the following year they escaped from Ælfred by going through Northumberland to East-Anglia; "and as the army, which had beset Exeter, again turned homewards, then spoiled they the South Saxons near Chichester, and the townsmen put them to flight, and slew many hundreds of them, and took some of their ships." After the unsuccessful campaign of A.D. 895, the following sentence concludes the history of this invasion.

"A.D. 897 (896). After this, in the summer of this year, the army broke up, some for East-Anglia, and some for Northumberland; and they who were feeless got themselves ships there, and went over sea southwards to the Seine.—That same year the armies from among the East-Anglians, and from among the Northumbrians, harassed the land of the West Saxons, by predatory bands, most of all by their long ships, which they had built many years before."

Thus, throughout this four years' struggle, the Northumbrian Danes were assisting the invaders. Whether Guthfrith himself took part in this war, we do not know; but Ethelwerd has preserved the name of the chieftain who commanded the fleet which invaded Devonshire in 893, 4;

"Sigferth, a pirate from the land of the Northumbrians, comes with a great fleet, ravages along the coasts twice in one season, afterwards sails to his own home;"

and this Sigferth appears to be mentioned in the Annals of Ulster, in the year preceding, as the rival of a son of Ivar, (therefore a brother of Guthfrith).

“A.D. 892 (893). A battle against the Black Gentiles by the Saxons, in which innumerable men were slain.” - (This was probably the battle of Farnham.) “Great dissension among the foreigners of Ath Cliath, so that they separated part of them with Mac Imhair,” (apparently Sihtric), “the other part with Sichfrait the earl.”

“A.D. 893 (894). Mac Imhair returns to Ireland.”

The Annals of the Four Masters, as well as those of Ulster, record the death of this son of Ivar.

“A.D. 891 or 895, (896). Sitriuc mac Iomair slain by other Norsemen.”

Sigferth himself has been represented as a son of Ivar and a brother of Guthfrith, but I can find no ancient authority for this.¹³ Although a leader of the Northumbrian Danes during the last year of Guthfrith's reign, he appears to have been the opponent of Sihtric, another son of Ivar, and probably succeeded in destroying him in the very year of Guthfrith's death. The evidence of coins, to be cited in the sequel, proves that he actually succeeded to the throne of Northumberland.

His reign, I think, must have lasted four years, for in 900, the year of Ælfred's death, Ethelwerd says there were great dissensions between the Angles and the Danes in Northumberland;¹⁴ and in the same year we learn from the Chronicle, that Æthelwald, the son of Ælfred's elder brother Æthelred, refusing to acknowledge the authority of his cousin Eadweard, fled to Northumberland and was elected king by the Danes. He reigned four years. In 903 he invaded Essex, and in the following year was killed in Cambridgeshire, in conflict with the Kentish contingent of Eadweard's army, along with Eohric, King of the East-Angles, whom he had seduced from his allegiance to Eadweard. Amongst the nobles who fell in the same battle, the Chronicle

¹³ This mistake, I think, has arisen from confounding him with a more celebrated namesake, whose fall is thus recorded in the Annals of Ulster, eight years earlier:—
“A.D. 887 (888). Sicfrith mac Imair, King of the Northmen, was treacherously slain by his brother (Sigtryg);”

But this happened in Friesland,

“A.D. 887. Sigifredus—circa Autumni tempora Fresiam petiit, ibique interfectus est.” (Ann; Vedast:)

This Sigifred was a leader of the army which went from England to France in 879. The Annals of S. Vedast, and of Fulda, relate his history, in 882, and the following years. (Some copies of the Annals of Ulster substitute the name of Godfred; who was slain in 885, for that of Sigifred.)

¹⁴ It is impossible to translate this passage as it stands, but I venture to correct it by inserting “et,” and writing “fætidas” for “fætibus.”

“Interea bis binis post annis, facta est discordia nimis et maxime, ex quo supradictus obierat rex, inter Anglos (et), quæ tum manebant, loca per Northymbriorum, fætidas turmas.”

names Byrhtsig son of Beornoth the Ætheling. This is of course the Brehtsig, whose death Simeon records in 902.

In 901, Simeon says Osbrith was driven from the kingdom. He was probably a usurper who took advantage of Æthelwald's absence in 903.

Æthelwald's successor was probably Eowils (or Eowisl).¹⁵ He fell in the battle of Wednesfield, in 910.

The Annals of Ulster notice the death of "Etulpp King of the North Saxons" in 912 (913). This must be Eadulf of Bamborough, whose son Aldred afterwards submitted to Eadweárd, and whose monument, in fragments, has been found at Alnmouth. Of our chroniclers, Ethelwerd alone records his death in this year.

In the same year, the Annals of Ulster, and those of the Four Masters, record a "a victory gained by the foreigners over a fleet of Ulstermen in the borders of England."

Guthfrith's sons did not succeed to the throne on the death of their father. His successor was almost certainly a usurper, and exile for them would be the natural consequence of such usurpation. Their exile was spent in France; and a collation of our Chronicle with the Irish Annals renders it probable, that they and their followers were the feeless band who went from Northumberland to the Seine in 896, at the very time of Guthfrith's death. The Annals of Ulster record,

"A.D. 913 (914). A sea-fight at Manainn" (Man), between Barid mac Octin, and Ragnall va Iwar" (grandson of Ivar), "when Barid was destroyed with almost all his army."

"A great new fleet of foreigners came to Loch Dacave" (Waterford), and "placed a fortress there;"

and they, and the Four Masters, notice successive arrivals of foreigners at Waterford, in this and the following year and in 917. These were the details of a general migration of these Danes, unwilling to submit to Rollo's rule, from Bretagne to Ireland. The adventures of one fleet are related in our Chronicle, MS. A.¹⁶

"A.D. 918 (917). Here, in this year, a great fleet came over hither from the south from the Lidwiceas, and with it two earls, Ohter and Hrvald; and they went west about, till they arrived within the mouth of the Severn, and they spoiled the North-Welsh everywhere by the sea coast, where they then pleased. And in Irengfield they took

¹⁵ Ethelwerd calls him Eyuuysl. It is apparently the same as Auisle or Uisli, the name of the Danish King who was killed in 867, and of a son of Sihtric who fell at Brunanburh.

¹⁶ MSS. C and D, followed by Florence of Worcester, date these events A.D. 915. I prefer of course the contemporary authority of MS. A.

Bishop Cameleac, and led him with them to their ships, and then King Eadweard ransomed him afterwards with forty pounds. Then, after that, the whole army landed, and would have gone once more to plunder about Ircingfield. Then the men of Hereford and Gloucester, and the nearest burghs, met them, and fought against them, and put them to flight, and slew the Earl Hroald, and the brother of Ohter, the other earl, and many of the army, and drove them into an enclosure, and there beset them about, until they gave hostages to them that they would depart from King Eadweard's realm. And the King had so ordered it that his forces sat down against them on the south side of Severn mouth, from the Welsh" (*i.e.* Cornish) "coast westward, to the mouth of the Avon eastward, so that on that side they durst not anywhere attempt to land. Then, nevertheless, they stole away by night, on some two occasions, one to the east of Watchet, and another time to Portlock. But they were beaten on either occasion, so that few of them got away, except those alone who there swam out to the ships. And then they sat down on the isle of Flatholm, until such time as they were quite destitute of food, and many men died of hunger, because they could not obtain any food. Then they went thence to South Wales, and then out to Ireland, and this was during harvest."

Florence of Westminster (A.D. 915) identifies these invaders with those who had left England nineteen years before.

In the very month in which they were compelled to abandon their enterprise in England, the Irish Annals detail circumstantially their proceedings in Ireland under the conduct of the grandsons of Ivar.

"A.D. 915 or 916 (917). Sitrioc ua Iomair, with his fleet, took up at Cind Fuait (Confey, co. Kildare), in the east of Leinster. Ragnall ua Iomair, with another fleet, went to the foreigners of Loch Dacacoc. The army of the Ui Neill, of the south and north, was led by Niall mac Aod, King of Ireland, to wage war with the foreigners. He pitched his camp at Tobar Gletrac, in Magh Femin, on the 22nd August. The foreigners went into the territory the same day. The Irish attacked them the third hour before noon, so that 1,100 men were slain between them, but more of the foreigners fell, and they were defeated. Reinforcements set out from the fortress of the foreigners, to relieve their people. The Irish returned to their camp before the last host, *i.e.* before Ragnall, King of the Black foreigners" (arrived), "who had an army of foreigners with him. Niall set out with a small force against the foreigners, so that God prevented their slaughter through him. Niall, after this, remained twenty nights, encamped against the foreigners. He requested of the Leinstermen to remain in siege against the foreigners" (this they did), "until Sitriucc ua Iomair, and the foreigners, gave the battle of Cinn Fuait to the Leinstermen, wherein 600 were slain about the lords of Leinster." (F.M. & U.)

* * * On the preceding page for Barid mac Octin and Ragnall va Iwar, read Barid mac Octir and Ragnall ua Iwair: for Dacave read Dacacoc: for Lidwiceas read Lidwiccas: and for Hrvald read Hroald.

“Sitric O’Hivar came to Dublin.” (U.)

“The plundering of Cille Dara by the foreigners of Chinn Fuait.” (F. M.)

“A.D. 916 (918). Oitir and the foreigners went from Loch Dacac to Alba” (Scotland), “and Constantine mac Aod gave them battle, and Oitir was slain, with a slaughter of foreigners along with them.” (F.M.)

The Ulster account of the expedition is very important; the Four Masters seldom notice events which occurred out of Ireland.

“The Gentiles of Lochdachaech left Ireland, and went to Scotland. The men of Scotland, with the assistance of the North-Saxons, prepared for them. The Gentiles divided themselves into four battles, viz., one by Godfrey O’Hivar; another by the two earls; the third by the young lords; and the fourth by Ranall mac Bicloch, which the Scots did not see. But the Scots overthrew the three that they saw, so that they had a great slaughter of them about Ottir and Gragava; but Ronall gave the onset behind the Scots, so that he had the killing of many of them, only that neither King nor Maormor was lost in the conflict. Night put an end to the battle.”

Simeon of Durham has a notice of this affair, six years too early.

“A.D. 912 (918). King Reingwald, and Earl Otir, and Osvul Cracaban, invaded and ravaged Dunblin.” (Dunblain on the Forth).

The Ulster account is valuable in giving Gragava as the name of one of the two earls, and so explaining Simeon’s Cracabam¹⁷ as a surname of Oswulf. Bicloch is perhaps the name of Reguald’s mother; the Irish Annals supply many instances of persons distinguished by the mention of their mother’s name.

In the same year the Ulster Annals continue,

“War between Nell mac Hugh, and Sitrik O’Hivar.”

This war was ended in the year following;

“A.D. 917 or 918 (919). The battle of At Cliat, *i.e.* of Cill Mosamoc (Kilmashoge), by the side of At Cliat, over the Irish, by Iomair and Sitriug Gale, on the 17 Kal: October, 4th day; in which were slain Niall Glundub, son of Aod Finnleit, after he had been three years in the sovereignty, &c.—Easter on the 25th April.” (F.M. & U.)

This notice is very important. The year is determined, A.D. 919, by Easter, 25th April, and Wednesday, 15th September. Niall was sovereign of Ireland, and it is elsewhere said that he fell by the hand

¹⁷ It should be “Cracaban,” a surname afterwards given to Olaf Tryggveson, meaning “soothsayer.” Lappenberg strangely translates it Clackmannan.

of Amhlaid, (*i.e.* Olaf, Sihtric's brother.) We must therefore correct the notice, in our Chronicle (in the three latest MSS. D.E.F), two years too late, and in Simeon, five years too early, as follows:—

“A.D., 919. King Sihtric's brother slew Niel;”¹⁸

and clear Sihtric's memory of the guilt of one crime at least.

“A.D. 918 or 919 (920). A battle was gained in Ciannacta Breg, that is at Tig-mic-n-Eathach, by Donnchad mac Flainn mic Macleachlainn,” (Niall's successor) “over the foreigners, wherein a countless number of foreigners was slain; indeed in this battle revenge was had of them for the battle of At Cliat, for there fell of the nobles of the Norsemen here, as many as had fallen of the nobles and plebeians of the Irish in the battle of At Cliat.” (F.M. & U.)

“Sitric mac Ivar” (*i.e.* “ua Ivar,” grandson of Ivar) “forsook Dublin by divine power.”

His destination was probably Northumberland, whither Regnald had already gone to recover the kingdom of his father. He was succeeded in Dublin by Guthfrith O'Ivar, who commanded the first division of the Danish army in 918, and whom the Irish Annals notice in almost every year until 927.

The year of Regnald's invasion of Northumberland cannot be determined. It was probably A.D. 919, the year after his expedition to Scotland. In the “*Historia S. Cuthberti*” we are told that he came with a great fleet and occupied the land of Aldred, son of Eadulf, (*i.e.* Bernicia), that Aldred sought aid from Constantine King of Scotland, and attacked Regnald at Corbridge, but was defeated with great loss, his brother Uhtred and himself, alone of all the Northumbrian nobility, escaping with their lives, and that Regnald then divided the land of S. Cuthbert, from the Wear to the Tees, between his followers Onlaf and Scula. Our Chronicle, A.D. 923, and Simeon, A.D. 919, record his subsequent conquest of York, and as this entry only occurs in those MSS. (D. E. F.), which notice the death of Niel, two years too late, I think that this must be dated A.D. 921. The Annals of Ulster say:—

“A.D. 920 (921). Ragnall O'Hiver King of the White and Black Gentiles died,”

¹⁸ Simeon says “*Niel rex occisus est a fratre Sihtrico.*” Perhaps the original record had “*Sihtrici,*” whence the corruption “*Sihtrico*” would be very easy. Henry of Huntingdon amplifies this statement, on his own authority, of course; “*nec multo ante*” (*mortem Eadwardi*), “*Sidric rex Nordhumbre occiderat fratrem suum Nigellum; quo scelere patrato, rex Reginaldus conquisiverat Eoverwic*”; presenting to us as history, what was nothing more than an erroneous conjecture, that Sihtric was King of Northumberland at the time, and that the murder of Niel was connected with the conquest of York.

but this must be a mistake, arising probably out of some rumour of his death in England; for a Regnald was certainly reigning in Northumberland two years later; and it is very improbable that another of the same name, but of a different race, reigned between the brothers Regnald and Sihtric. In 923, the last entry of the third scribe of MS. A, written probably in this very year, records his submission to Eadweard, and from this time his name appears no longer in the history of Northumberland, but in that of the country in which he spent his youth. Frodoard says,

“A.D. 923. Ragenold, the Prince of the Northmen on the Loire, instigated by frequent messages from Charles, in conjunction with a great number” (of his compatriots, subjects of Rollo), “from Rouen, plunders France beyond the Oise. The vassals of Heribert attacked his camp and took immense booty, and 1000 captives were set free. Ragenold, on hearing this, greatly exasperated, marches to the district of Arras to plunder; but Count Adelelm met him, killed 600 of his army and put the rest to flight; with whom Ragenold hastes to the shelter of his forts, and thence, to the utmost of his power, plunders without intermission.”

“A.D., 924. Ragenold with his Northmen wastes the land of Hugo between the Loire and the Seine, because he had not yet received a settlement in Gaul.” (It seems then that he had been invited by King Charles, under the promise of such a settlement.) “Willelm and Hugo son of Robert make terms with Ragenold about their land, and Ragenold goes to Burgundy with his Northmen.”

“A D. 925. In the beginning of the year Ragnold, with his Northmen wastes Burgundy. The Counts Warneri and Manasses, the Bishops Ansegis and Gotselm, encounter him at Mount Chalus” (4 leagues from Vezelay), “and kill more than 800 Northmen.”

He is mentioned no more, and the “*Historia S. Cuthberti*” says that he died in this year, the year of the death of Eadweard.

He was succeeded in Northumberland by his brother Sihtric, of whose career in England Simeon has preserved the earliest notice.

“A.D. 920. King Sitric broke into Devennport” (Davenport in Cheshire);

but as Simeon’s date for the death of Niel is five years too early, so also may this. I would refer this invasion of Mercia to A.D. 925, when our Chronicle (MS. D.) informs us that Sihtric met Æthelstan at Tamworth, and received his sister in marriage. The same authority dates his death A.D. 926; but the true date, determined by the following notice in the Irish Annals, was A.D. 927.

“A.D. 925 or 926 (927). Sitric ua Iomair, King of the Black and White foreigners, died.” (F. M. & U.)

After the departure of Regnald and Sihtric from Ireland,

“A.D. 919 or 920 (921). Gofrait ua Iomair took up his residence at At Cliat, and Ard-macha was afterwards plundered by him and his army.” (F. M. & U.)

“A.D. 923 (924). An army by Gofrith O’Hivar from Dublin to Limerick, where many of his men were killed by Mac Ailche.” (U.)

“A.D. 924 or 925 (926). A victory was gained by Muirceartac mac Neill—on the 28th December, being Thursday, when were slain 800 men with their chieftains, Albdann mac Gofrait, Aufer, and Roilt. The other half of them were besieged for a week at At Cruitne” (Ath Crathin near Newry), “until Gofrait, lord of the foreigners, came to their assistance from At Cliat.” (F. M. & U.)

On the death of Sihtric in Northumberland,

“A.D. 925 or 926 (927). Gofrait with his foreigners left At Cliat, but came back after six months.” (F. M. & U.)

The English Chronicle (MSS. E. & F.) very briefly notice his coming;

“A.D. 927. Here King Æthelstan expelled King Guthfrith;”

but William of Malmsbury has very interesting particulars of his history. He does not contradict the Irish Annals in calling him the son of Sihtric, for if Sihtric’s son he would still be O’Ivar, but it seems to me more probable that he and Olaf were Sihtric’s younger brothers. The following notice in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, in the same year;

“Mac Eilgi,¹⁹ with the sons of Sitrick, took Dublin, on Godfrey;”

seems to intimate that they were too young to take part in public affairs, and that Mac Eilgi governed the Danes of Dublin during Guthfrith’s absence. William of Malmsbury says,

“Anlaf—fled into Ireland, and his brother Guthferth into Scotland.”
“Messengers from the King immediately followed to Constantine King of the Scots, and to Eugenius King of the Cumbrians, claiming the fugitive under a threat of war. The barbarians had no thought of resistance, but came without delay to a place called Daere” (in Cumberland), “and surrendered themselves and their kingdoms to the sovereign of England. Out of regard for this treaty, the King himself received the son of Constantine, who was ordered to be baptized at the sacred font. Guthferth, however, amidst the preparations for the journey, escaped by flight with one Turfrid, a leader of the opposite party;

¹⁹ Lest this should be supposed the same as Mac Ailche, mentioned above, I add the sequel from the same Annals.

“Tomrair mac Alchi reported to go to hell with his pains as he deserved.”

and, afterwards, laying siege to York, where, neither by entreaties nor by threats could he succeed in bringing the citizens to surrender, he departed. Not long after, being both besieged in a fortress, they eluded the vigilance of their enemies, and escaped. Turfrid, losing his life soon after by shipwreck, became a prey to fishes. Guthferth, suffering extremely by sea and land, at last came a suppliant to court. Being amicably received by the King, and sumptuously entertained for four days, he returned to his ships; an incorrigible pirate, and accustomed to live in the water like a fish."

True in substance this story may be, but it has much of the author's own fancies mixed up with it. He did not know that Guthfrith had a kingdom in Ireland before he came to Northumberland, and that he returned to it in six months from his departure, after his unsuccessful attempt to establish himself in his father's kingdom at York. The rest of his history, not as a viking on the sea, but as a warrior on land, is written in the Irish Annals.

"A.D. 927 (929). The plundering of Cille Dara by Gotfrith on the feast of S. Brigit." (F. M.)

"A.D. 928 or 929 (930). Gofrait ua Iomair, with the foreigners of At Cliat, demolished and plundered Derce Fearna" (co. Kilkenny). (F. M. & U.)

"A.D. 929 (931). Gofrait went into Osraig" (Ossory) "to expel Ua Iomair from Moig Roigne" (Magh Raighne). (F. M.)

"A.D. 932 or 933 (934). Gothfrith, lord of the foreigners died." (F. M. & U.)

Before I proceed to the history of the Anlafs, I must notice an addition to Northumbrian history in the Annals of Clonmacnoise.

"A.D. 928 (933). Adulf mac Etulfe King of the North Saxons died."

This is a son of Eadulf, unknown to our historians except William of Malmsbury, who does not mention his parentage, calls him Aldulph, and says that he resisted Æthelstan, and was expelled by him after Sihtric's death.

Olaf, the son of Guthfrith I., and brother of Sihtric, seems to have established himself at Limerick, and to have had the surname Ceanncairech, "Scabbyhead."

"A.D. 929 or 931 (932). The victory of Duibthir" (near Athlone) "was gained by Amlaoib Ceanncairech of Luimneac." (F. M. & U.)

"A.D. 934 (935.) The island of Loch Gavar" (Wexford), "pulled down by Anlaiv O'Hivar. The cave of Cnova" (Knowth, co. Meath), "by him turmoiled the same week." (U.)

"A.D. 934 (936). Amlaoib Cendcairech with the foreigners came from Loch Eirne across Breifne to Loch Rib. On the night of Great Christmas they reached the Sinainn and remained seven months there." (F.M.)

I conclude that these notices relate to the same person, and that after marching northward from Wexford to Knowth, he proceeded to Lough Erne in 935, and thence to Lough Ree in the following year. Another notice of him, the last, will occur in the sequel.

There were two Olafs,²⁰ connected with the history of Northumberland in the tenth century, one of the son of Guthfrith II., the other his cousin, the son of Sihtric. I shall trace the history of each separately.

The former is first mentioned during the life of his father,

“A.D. 931 or 932 (933). Ardmacha was plundered, about the feast of S. Martin by the son of Gofraid, *i.e.* Amlaib, with the foreigners of Loch Cuan about him. Matadan mac Aed, with the province of Ulster, and Amlaib mac Gofrait spoiled and plundered the province—but they were overtaken by Muircertach mac Neill, and a battle was fought between them in which he defeated them.” (F.M. & U.)

“A.D. 935 (937). Amblaioib mac Gofradh, lord of the foreigners, came at Lammas from At Cliat, and carried off Amlaioib Cendcairech from Loch Rib, and the foreigners who were with him, after breaking their ships.”

“The foreigners of At Cliat left their fortress, and went to England.” (F.M.)

The Annals of Ulster simply record the terrible battle which ensued, and Æthelstan's victory over Olaf; but those of Clonmacnoise have a very interesting notice, supplying the names of several of the chieftains who fell on Olaf's side.

“Awley with all the Danes of Dublin, and the north part of Ireland, departed, and went over seas. The Danes that departed from Dublin arrived in England, and by the help of the Danes of that kingdom they gave battle to the Saxons in the plains of Othlyn, where there was a great slaughter of Normans and Danes, among which these ensuing captains were slain, viz. Sithfrey and Oisle, the two sons of Sittrick Galey, Awley Fivit; and Moylemorrey, the son of Cossewara, Moyle-Isa, Geleachan King of the Islands, Ceallach Prince of Scotland, with 30,000, together with 800 captains about Awley mac Godfrey, and about Arick mac Brith. Hoa, Deck, Imar, the King of Denmark's own son, with 4000 soldiers in his guard, were all slain.”

The English Chronicle says that five young kings, and seven earls of Olaf's army were slain, and if to those here named we add Adils and Hryngr of the Saga of Egil we have the whole number. Sittrick Galey, whose sons were slain, was the King of Northumberland; he is called Sitric Gale, in the narrative of the battle of Kilmashoge, A.D.

²⁰ Mr. Thorpe, in a note to his excellent edition of the English Chronicle, expresses surprise at the form of the name used therein. Anlaf is in fact an older form than Olaf, and has become Olaf by the process which converted the Gothic “tunthus” into the O.E. “tóth,” and the Gothic “ans” into O.L. and N. “ós.” So also in our Chronicle, in the oldest MS. the name Ivar is represented by Inwær.

919. The son of Constantine, whose death the Chronicle and Ingulf record, is here named Ceallach. As these Annals speak of Northumbrian Danes as assisting Olaf, and then associate with him as commander Arick mac Brith, it seems that he must have been the leader of their forces. The Saga of Egil speaks of Adils and Hryngr as British princes (that is reigning in Britain, for their names are Norse), who fought on Olaf's side. The latter must have been the same as Arick or Eric. Barith, his father, seems to have been left commander of the Danes of Dublin by Olaf and Ivar when they went to England, for after the record of his destroying the Oratory of Ceanan, A.D. 878 (881), he is called the fierce champion of the Norsemen, and chief of the persecutors, and his son, Colla mac Barith of Limerick, A.D. 922 (924), is called Ua Iomair in A.D. 929 (931). Eric mac Barith was therefore most probably a grandson of Ivar, and reigned in Northumberland, during the interval, A.D. 933 to 937, which is blank in our Annals. He fell in the battle.

William of Malmesbury says that the Danish leader on this occasion was Anlaf the son of Sihtric. Perhaps he was present in this battle, with his brothers, but the leader was certainly the son of Guthfrith.

"A.D. 936 or 937 (938). Amlaib mac Gofrad came to At Cliat again, and plundered Ceall Cuilinn," (Kilcullen), "and carried off 1000 prisoners," (F. M. & U.)

"A.D. 937 (939). The foreigners, *i.e.*, Amlaib mac Gotfrit, deserted At Cliat, by the help of God and Mac Tail."²¹ (F.M.)

The Annals of Ulster record the death of Æthelstan in the same year.

Neither the Annals of Ulster nor those of the Four Masters name this Olaf again, but in those of Clonmacnoise (generally seven years too early), we have

"A.D. 934 (941). Awley mac Godfrey, King of the Danes died."

Simeon has preserved a fuller notice of him.

"A.D. 941. Olilaf" ("Onlaf" R. Howden), "ravaged the Church of S. Balter, and burned Tiningham, and perished immediately."

MSS. E. and F. of our Chronicle notice his death A.D. 942.

This was the end of Olaf, the son of Guthfrith II. His last two years were probably spent in piracy. Henceforth all the notices of Olaf in our Chronicle belong to the son of Sihtric, who by this time had attained to years sufficient to enable him to take the kingdom of Dublin

²¹ Mac Tail was the patron of Kilcullen, lately ravaged by this Aulaf.

into his own hands. Of course his claim to the throne was prior to that of his cousin, but the latter reigned in Dublin during his minority.

After the death of Harald Haarfager, King of Norway, in 936, Æthelstan furnished Hakon, who had been educated at his court, with a fleet to enable him to contest the succession to the throne of Norway, with his elder brother Eric Blodoxe, then reigning by their father's will. Eric however, was so unpopular, that he found himself obliged to relinquish his rights to Hakon without a struggle; and he left Norway with all his followers in the following summer, recruited his forces in Orkney, plundered the coast of Scotland, and came to England. Æthelstan ceded to him the kingdom of Northumberland, on condition that he and his family should be baptized, and that he should defend the land against the Vikings; and he fixed his residence at York, but went to sea every summer, and plundered Shetland, the Hebrides, Iceland, and Bretland. After the accession of Eadmund, no friend to the Northmen nor to Eric, there was a rumour that he intended to set up another king over Northumberland, so Eric went again to Orkney for fresh forces, plundered Iceland and Bretland, returned to England, and advanced into the heart of the country. Eadmund had set up a king, whose name was Olaf, and he gathered an innumerable host with which he marched against Eric. A dreadful battle ensued, in which Eric was slain, and five other kings with him, and when the tidings of it reached Northumberland, his widow Gunhild, and her sons, retired to Orkney.

Such is the story, in the Sagá of Hakon the Good, of the reign, in Northumberland, of a king, of whom our historians say absolutely nothing. Indeed the period during which it is asserted that he reigned is a complete blank in our annals.

Láppenberg very much undervalues this story; for my part I must say that I regard it as substantially true, but I must reserve my comments upon it, until I have introduced Eric's adversary, Olaf the son of Sihtric.

The Annals of Clonmacnoise, and of the Four Masters, say,

“A.D. 933 or 938 (940). Amlaoib Cuaran” (*i.e.* “the Crooked”),
“went to Cair Abroc, and Blacaire mac Gofrad came to At Cliat;”

and the Four Masters continue,

“a victory was gained by the King of the Saxons over Constantine mac Aed, Anlaf or Amlaoib mac Sitric, and the Britons.”

Our Chronicle, MS. D., says,

“A.D. 941 (940). Here the Northumbrians belied their fealty oaths, and chose Anlaf of Ireland for their King.”

Simeon of Durham says,

“A.D. 939 (940). This year King Onlaf came first to York. Afterwards going southward, he besieged Hamton,” (Northampton), “but gaining no advantage there, he marched his army to Tamworth; and, having wasted the country round, when he reached Leicester on his return, King Eadmund met him with his army; but there was no great battle, for the two archbishops, Odo and Wulstan, appeasing the kings on either side, put an end to the conflict. Peace being therefore made, Watlingstreet was made the boundary of either kingdom, Edmund held the south, Onlaf the north.”

Roger of Wendover supports Simeon in saying that peace was made by the intervention of the two archbishops, but not until after a fierce battle had been fought, and adds that it was agreed between Olaf and Eadmund that the survivors should have all England, and that Olaf married the daughter of Earl Orm. MS. A. of the Chronicle says,

“A.D. 941 (940). Eadmund the King received King Anlaf at baptism, and the same year, a good while afterwards, he received King Ragenold at the Bishop’s hands.”

It is therefore decisive evidence that the reconciliation between Eadmund and Olaf took place in the year of Olaf’s coming, and therefore that the date of the following notice in MS. D. is wrong.

“A.D. 943 (940). Here Anlaf stormed Tamworth, and great carnage was on either hand, and the Danes had the victory and much booty they led away with them; there, during the pillage, was Wulfrun taken. Here King Eadmund besieged King Anlaf and Archbishop Wulfstan in Leicester, and he would have taken them, were it not that they broke out by night from the burh. And after that Anlaf acquired King Eadmund’s friendship,” &c., as in MS. A. quoted above.

Here I must first insist on the identity of Olaf the son of Sihtric, and “Anlaf Cuaran.” It is evident from our Chronicle that Olaf who was chosen by the Northumbrians is the same as he who afterwards encountered Eadmund, made peace with him, and had him for godfather at his baptism in the same year; and this Olaf is called by the Four Masters, first “Anlaf Cuaran,” in the notice of his departure for York, and then, in that of his encounter with Eadmund; “the son of Sihtric.” On the other hand the Olaf who burned Tiningham was a distinct person, according to Simeon, and the Annals of Clonmacnoise tell us that he was the son of Guthfrith; and his death is recorded only in two

MSS., E. and F., which do not contain the entries relative to the other Olaf.²²

Now, with regard to the story of Eric, I think it is possible to reconcile it with the above statements thus. After the death of Æthelstan, knowing that the Northumbrians were attached to the family of Sihtric, and that he could not rely on the support of Eadmund, Eric sought help from his friends in Orkney. On his return, he found that his subjects had invited Olaf, and marched to give him battle. Olaf was besieging Northampton, but raised the siege on hearing of Eric's approach, retraced his steps to Tamworth, and there defeated and slew him. The knowledge that Olaf's forces were much weakened by his hardly-won victory, might encourage Eadmund to attack him at Leicester, where the Chronicle, Simeon, and other annalists, agree that he and Olaf met for the first time.

The peace between Olaf and Eadmund was broken by the latter, after three years;

"A. D. 944 (943). King Eadmund subdued all Northumberland into his power, and expelled two kings, Anlaf the son of Syhtric, and Rægenald the son of Guthferth."

They must, however, have returned immediately; for after his notice of the expulsion;

"A. D. 943. The Northumbrians expelled their King Onlaf from his kingdom;"

Simeon records a second;

"A. D. 945. King Eadmund, having expelled two kings, obtained the kingdom of the Northumbrians."

In the interval between these dates, I believe that Regnald, Olaf's cousin, son of Guthfrith, fell in battle; for only to him can the following notice in the Annals of Clonmacnoise belong;

"A. D. 937 (944). The King of the Danes killed by the King of the Saxons at York."

²² The confusion, which has hitherto prevailed with regard to the Olafs, has arisen from a want of attention to the differences in the MSS. of the English Chronicle, and to the sources whence our later historians have derived the information.

Florence of Worcester copies the notices of A. D. 941 and 943, but is silent with regard to the Olaf of A. D. 942 (941). He therefore had not seen MSS. such as E. and F. Henry of Huntingdon knows nothing of the invitation of Olaf A. D. 941 (940), but notices the death of the other Olaf, and then Eadmund's sponsorship.

No weight can be attached to these annalists' identification of these princes, for each having noticed but one before, it was natural that, on a recurrence of the name, they should add such phrases as "cujus supra meminimus," (Flor: A. D. 943), "de quo prædiximus," (Henr: A. D. 942); and if, in these instances they happen to be right, there are others, in which this method has led to a false conclusion.

Olaf returned to Dublin, after his second expulsion, and took the kingdom out of the hands of Blacaire.

"A.D. 943 or 944 (945). Blacaire, one of the chiefs of the foreigners, was expelled from At Cliat, and Amlaib remained after him there." (F. M. & U.)

"Some of O'Canannan's people killed by Congalach and Anlaiv Cuarain in Tir Conell." (U.)

"A.D. 944 (946). The plundering of Cille Cuilinn by the foreigners, *i.e.* by Amlaob Cuaran. Atalstan the celebrated King of the Saxons died." (F.M.)

The name in the last entry, of course, is a mistake, which the Annals of Clonmacnoise correct, "Ettymon," *i.e.* Eadmund.

"A.D. 945 or 946 (947). An army was led by Ruaidri ua Canannain to Slaine, where the foreigners and the Irish met him, *viz.*, Congalach mac Maoilmithig and Amlaob Cuaran, and the foreigners of At Cliat were defeated, and numbers slain or drowned." (F. M. & U.)

"A.D. 946 or 947 (948). The battle of At Cliat by Congalach mac Maoilmithig over Blacaire ua Iomair, lord of the Norsemen, wherein Blacaire himself, and 1600 men were lost, both wounded and captives; along with him." (F. M. & U.)

Blacaire is come again, for Olaf is gone to Northumberland. Our Chronicle (MSS. E. and F.), records his arrival.

"A.D. 949 (948). Here Anlaf Cwiran came to Northumberland."

The events which occurred in Northumberland in the interval between his expulsion and his return are noticed in MS. D.

"A.D. 947 (946). Here King Eadred came to Taddenesscylf, and there Archbishop Wulfstan and all the Northumbrian witan swore fealty to the king, but in a little while they belied it all, the pledges and the oaths.

"A.D. 948 (947). Here King Eadred overran all Northumberland, because they had taken Yryc for their king; and in that harrying the great minster at Ripon, which S. Wilfrid had built, was burned. And when the King was homeward, the army within York overtook him, the King's rear was at Ceasterford" (Castleford), "and there made great slaughter. Then was the King so indignant, that he would again march in, and destroy the country utterly. When the Northumbrian witan understood that, they forsook Hyryc, and made compensation for the deed with King Eadred."

Simeon of Durham dates these events A.D. 948 and 950.

Olaf reigned three years in Northumberland after his return. MSS. E. and F. record his expulsion;

“A.D. 952 (951). Here the Northumbrians drove out King Anlaf, and received Yric Harold’s son.”

I suspect that Olaf did not go to Ireland during Eric’s second reign, but that he remained on the borders of the kingdom, and harassed Eric. The following notice must refer to him.

“A.D. 950 or 951 (952). A battle was gained by the foreigners over the men of Alba and the Saxons, in which many were slain.” (F. M. & U.);

and it was in conflict with his party that Eric fell. The Chronicle, MSS. D. E. F., merely says,

“A.D. 954 (953). Here the Northumbrians drove out Yric, and Eadred assumed the kingdom of the Northumbrians”;

but Roger of Wendover informs us that he was betrayed by the Earl Osulf, and slain by the Consul Macon²³ (whom Simeon calls Maccus, son of Onlaf), in the wastes of Stainmore, with his brother Reginald, and his son Henric.

The occurrence in this history of an Eric son of Harold, so near to the time of Eric son of Harald Haarfager, would have been a great puzzle to us, had not Adam of Bremen most fortunately preserved the following notice of him.

“Then” (*i.e.* at the end of the reign of Guthfrith’s dynasty) “Harald” (Blatand, King of Denmark) “sent his son Hiring with an army into England, and he subdued the island, but was at length *betrayed and slain by the Northumbrians.*”

Having thus, by the aid of the Irish Annals, endeavoured to trace the history of the dynasty founded in Northumberland by Guthfrith the son of Ivar, I will ask my readers to follow with me, to the end, the fortunes of its last king.

When he went to Northumberland in 948, Blacaire succeeded him again in Dublin, but fell in battle, as we have seen, in the same year, and was succeeded by Olaf’s brother, Guthfrith son of Sihtric, who is mentioned in 950 and 951. In 953, Eadred having established his dominion in Northumberland, Olaf seems to have returned to Ireland.

“A.D. 951 (953). The plundering of Inis Doimle, and Inis Ulad” (in co. Wicklow), “by Amlaib Cuaran, and Tuatal mac Ugaire.” (F. M.)

“A.D. 954 (956). Amlaob mac Gofrad” (this must be a mistake, unless in this instance his grandfather is meant), “lord of the foreigners,

²³ Magnus is the more usual form of this name.

with his foreigners, laid an ambush for Congalaig, by means of which he was taken with his chieftains at Tig Giogrann" (near Dublin.) (F.M.)

"A.D. 960 (962). A prey by Sitriuucc Cam from the sea to Uib Colgan, but he was overtaken by Amlaib with the foreigners of At Cliat, and the Leinstermen. Amlaib was wounded through the thigh with an arrow, and Sitriuucc Cam escaped to his ships, after the slaughter of his people." (F. M.)

"A.D. 962 (964). A victory was gained over Amlaib mac Sitriuucc, by the Ossory men, *i.e.* at Inis Teoc" (Ennistiogue, co. Kilkenny), "where many of the foreigners were slain." (F. M.)

"A.D. 965 (967). Muireadach mac Faolain, Abbot of Cille Dara, and royal heir of Leinster, was killed by Amlaioiph, lord of the foreigners, and by Cerball mac Lorcaín." (F. M.)

The two following notices appear to refer to one and the same event.

"A.D. 967 (969). Cenanusa" (Kells) "was plundered by Sitriuucc, son of Amlaib the lord of the foreigners, and by Murchad mac Finn, King of Leinster, but Domnall ua Neill, King of Ireland, overtook and defeated them." (F. M.)

"A.D. 968 (970). Ceanannus was plundered by Amlaib Cuaran, with the foreigners and Leinstermen, and he carried off a great prey of cows; but lost numbers of his people together with Breasal mac Eillel, and he gained a victory over the Ui Nell at Ard Maelchon," (Ard Mulchan co. Meath). (F. M.)

"A.D. 975 (977). Muirceartach mac Domnaill ui Neill, and Congalach mac Domnaill mic Congalaig, two heirs to the monarchy of Ireland, were slain by Amlaioibh mac Sitriuucc." (F.M.)

"A.D. 976 (978). The battle of Cillemona by Domnaill mac Congalaig and Amlaioib, over the King, Domnall ua Nell." (F. M.)

"A.D. 978 (980). The battle of Temar" (Tara) "by Maoilseclaind mac Domnaill, over the foreigners of At Cliat, and the islands, and over the sons of Amlaioib in particular, where many were slain, together with Ragnall mac Amlaioib, heir to the sovereignty of the foreigners, Chona-mail mac Gilliairri, and the Orator of At Cliat; and a dreadful slaughter of the foreigners with them." (F. M.)

"A.D. 979 (981). Amlaioib, son of Siotriucc, chief lord of the foreigners of At Cliat, went to I on his pilgrimage, and he died there, after penance and a good life."

The first plate contains seventeen varieties of the stycas of Osberht.

1. OSBERH ·· B	+ EDVLHV
2. OSBERH ·· B	+ EDELHELM
3. OSBERCHT R	+ E. ANVV.LF
4. OSBEBCHT F	BERH ·· T ·· VINI
5. OSBEBHT B	+ VVLFSEXIT
6. OSBERCHT I	BERHTVINI
7. OSBERCHT ·	+ VONNE

8. OSBEBCHT REX	+ EANVVLFX
9. OSBVFHT REX	+ EANVVLE
10. OSBREHT REX	+ HERRFR
11. OSBREHT	+ EDELHELM
12. OSBERCHE EX	+ BANV LF
13. OSBERCHT B	-BERHT VNI
14. OS BEBCHT RECX	+ EANVVL F
15. OSEBCH EX	BERHTVINI
16. OSBERCHT RE	BERH T VINI
17. OSBEBHT B	OSBEBHT B

These are chiefly from a hoard which was found about twenty years ago at York, and which I had the opportunity of examining in detail. It differed from the Hexham hoard, in that it contained a considerable proportion of the coins of this king and of his cotemporary Archbishop Wulfhern, but it did not contain a single piece which could be assigned to Ælle; and as the Hexham coins must have been hidden before Osbercht's accession to the throne, I must take from Ælle, and relegate to the uncertain class, the piece which Mr. Adamson assigned to him.

Ælle, however, is not altogether unrepresented in the series of Northumbrian coins. Some twenty years ago, one of the most distinguished numismatists of Scandinavia communicated to the Numismatic Society of London, a cast of a silver penny which he assigned to this King,—correctly, as I now believe, although I had great difficulty in admitting it at the time. I describe it from memory.

Obv. ELA MINORTI, a rude head, crowned, to the right.

Rev. ELRED ON VSILT, a cross with a small cross in three quarters, and a crescent in the fourth.

If this coin is English, and it seems impossible to connect it with the numismatic series of any country but our own, Ælle of Northumberland is the only king to whom it can belong; but it stands alone, without any cotemporary coins with which it can be compared. The series of Northumbrian coins is so defective, that we cannot say when the styca coinage ceased, and the penny coinage began. No money of Osberht has yet been found mixed with that of his successors, so that it is possible that he coined pennies before the end of his reign; but all that we can say at present is this, that of his money we have only stycas, which may have been coined as late as A.D. 863; that, after an interval of twelve years, we have a penny and a half-penny which undoubtedly belonged to Halfdene; and that we have this piece, and another, to be described immediately, to represent the Northumbrian currency of that interval.

The execution of this coin is peculiar; the devices and the legends

have been engraved in the dies, not produced by a series of punches, as on the cotemporary coins of the Mercian and West Saxon Kings; but we must remember, that even on coins of the same reign (that of Ælfred for instance), there are great differences of workmanship.

The legends, too, are strange. We should not have expected so early the formula *Cfred on Usilt*; but, after all, it is English, and possible under the reign of any English King. The moneyer's name seems intended for *Celred*; the mint I cannot identify.

But what shall we say to the obverse legend *Ela minoriti*! I can suggest nothing better than *minor tirannus*, "the inferior King"; supposing that Ælle had the royal title, and owned the supremacy of Osberht, before the revolution in which Osberht was deposed.

The following coin was found some years ago in the church at Corbridge, and is in the possession of Mr. Fairless of Hexham:—

Obv. BARNRED RE, a rude bust.

Rev. CERED MONETA, in three lines. (Plate I.)

The type and workmanship are the same as those of the cotemporary coins of Æthelred, Ælfred, and Burgred; the moneyer's name should be *Celred* or *Cenred*; if the former, it would be the same as on the coin of Ælle; if the latter it is the name of one who worked for Burgred. As we have instances of simple and compound names borne by the same person, and I have elsewhere suggested that our forefather's fondness for alliteration may account for the resemblance which frequently exists between them, I think it very probable that this *Barnred* is Biorn or Buern, who is said to have betrayed his country to the Danes; and that he was the person whom they left as King in Deira, when they went to the South.

The Cuerdale hoard furnished one piece, a half-penny, which undoubtedly belongs to Halfdene; it is now for the first time published.

Obv. +ALFDENE RX, a small cross.

Rev. RAINGALD MO, in two lines.

The type is the same as that of the most common coins of Ælfred. The moneyer's name, *Raingald* for *Raignald*, has not occurred on any other coins of the time.

There was also in the same hoard a penny of this King,

Obv. DEN ALE RX+ (the syllables of the name transposed); two emperors sitting together on a throne, overshadowed by victory.

Rev. The monogram of London. (Plate I.)

²⁴ I have published it, in my essay on the coins of Ælfred.



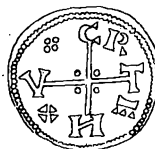
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CNVT



8



4



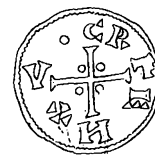
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8



9



10



11



12



13



14



The obverse type, copied from the coins of Arcadius and Honorius, appears also on the reverse of a penny of Ceolwulf II. of Mercia; the reverse, the same as that of some of the coins of Ælfred, seems to limit the time of mintage of this piece to A.D. 872, when Halfdene occupied London.

Many coins of the time offer examples of transpositions of the legend, as on this; a very remarkable one will be noticed in the sequel.

I now proceed to describe a series of coins, of which very few were known previous to the finding of the Cuerdale hoard, in May, 1840. They bear the names of two kings, Cnut and Siefred; and I am as firmly convinced as ever that they are Northumbrian, of the close of the ninth century. I had engraved one plate of the coins of Cnut, and had prepared for engraving drawings for two other plates, containing about thirty additional varieties, when I was compelled to abandon my scheme; but the series of the coins of Siefred is complete.

I shall describe the coins of Cnut in classes, each class in what I conceive to be the true order of the types; and then those of Siefred.

1. CNVT, each letter attached to one of the extremities of a cross, the whole so placed as to be read at one view, without turning the coin, in the order in which the cross is formed, first downwards, then from left to right;²³ in the intervals between them the letters REX, completing the legend CNVT REX; a pellet in each quarter of the cross.
+EBRAICE CIVITAS, a small cross. (Pl. II. 4).
- 2 & 3. Same type and same obverse legend.
+EIRAICE CIVI; and +EB :: IAI :: CEC :: IVI :: . . (Pl. II. 5 & 6).
4. Same arrangement of the legend CNVT REX, but the cross is paté and the letters detached.
+EB RAI CEC IV; same type. (Pl. II. 8 & 9).
5. Same legend; no pellets in the quarters of the cross.
+EB :: IAI :: CEC :: IV :: ; a small cross with a pellet in two opposite quarters. (Pl. II. 10).
6. Same legend and type.
+EB :: IAI :: CEC :: IVI :: ; a cross with a pellet in each angle. (Pl. II. 11).
7. Same legend; a bar across the lower limb of the cross, and a pellet in each quarter of the crosslet so formed.
+EBRAICE CIVITA; a small cross. (Hawkins 125).

²⁴ This is a common arrangement on the coins and seals of the Byzantine empire; and, about half a century later than the date of these coins, we have an example of it on the coins of the Emperor Otho I., struck at Verona.

VE
N x A
RO

8. Same legend; the left arm of the cross barred.
+E::B:ICI::C::EC:A::; a cross with a pellet in each quarter. (H. 128).
9. Same legend and type as 7.
+EBRAICE CIVITA; monogram KROLS. (H. 112).
10. Same legend and type.
+EB. IAI::CE:CIT; monogram EROLS. (H. 113).

The variations in the reverse legend of these coins are as follow:—

EBRAICE CIV . CIVI . CIVITA . CIVITS . CIVITAS .
BRAICE CIVIT.
EBARICE CIVI . EBIAICE C . CI . CIT . CIV . CIVI .
CIVITA.
EBIAICI CV . EBIVICE CIA . EBIIICE CIV . EBCE CV.
EBIARI CEI . ERAICE CIVIT . EIRAICE CIVI . IBRAICI
CITA.

The number of specimens of these varieties in the hoard was upwards of 500.

11. Same type and obverse legend as 1; reverse legend +CVN ::
NET::TI::.. (Pl. II. 7).
12. Same type and obverse legend as 5; reverse legend +CVN ::
NET::TI::.. (Pl. II. 12 & 13).
13. Same type and obverse legend as 6; reverse legend +CVN ::
NET::TI::.. (Pl. II. 14).
14. Same obverse legend and type as 7.
+CVN :: NET::TI::..; a cross with a pellet in two opposite quarters. (H. 118).
15. CNVT REIX; same as the above, but with a small cross in each upper quarter of the cross.
+CVN :: NETI::..; a small cross. (H. 117).
16. CNVT REX, the letter R attached to the upper limb of the cross.
+CVN :: NETI::.. as 14. (H. 119).
17. Same legend; the upper as well as the lower limb of the cross barred, and pellets in each quarter of each croset.
+CVN :: NET::TI::.., as 14. (H. 120).
18. Same legend and type as 7.
+CVN :: NET::TI::..; monogram EROLS. (H. 114).

The variations in the reverse legend of these coins are as follow:—

CIVINTI	CVNNETI	CVNNIETITI.	The most common
CIVNETI	CVNNETITI	CVNNITI	is CVNNETII
CVNETI	CVNNETT	CVNNTTE	
CVNNETCI	CVNNETTI	CVNNTTEI	

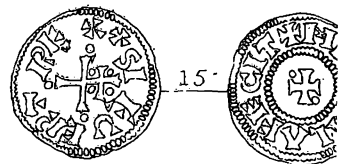
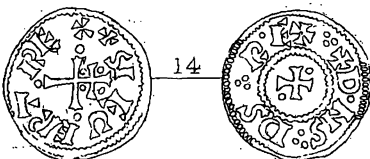
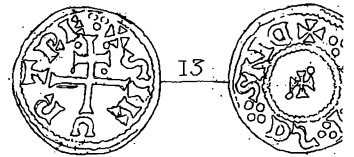
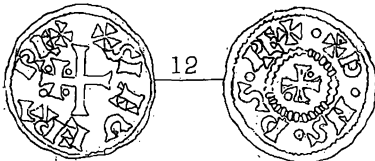
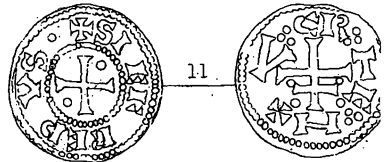
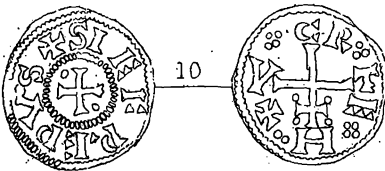
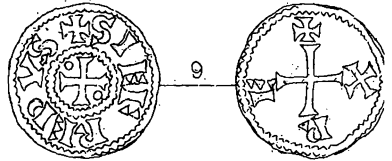
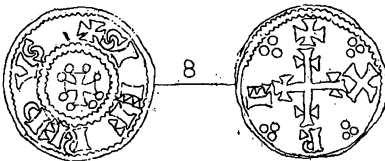
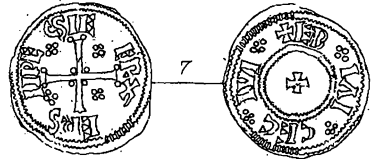
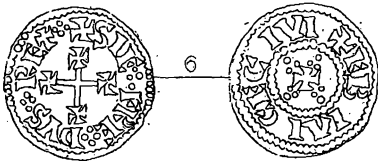
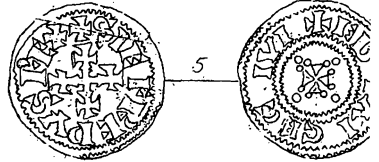
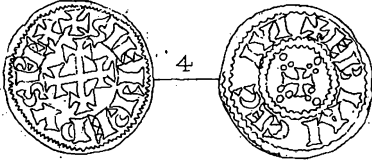
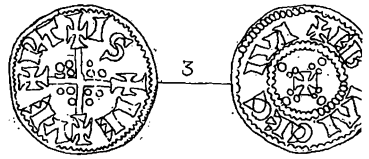
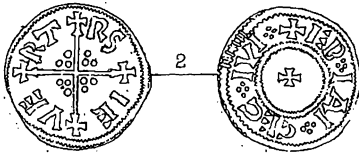
The number of specimens of these varieties was upwards of 1900,

The following varieties have the obverse legend blundered. They

SIEVERT

SIEFRED

P



seem to have been executed by moneyers, who did not understand the meaning of the arrangement of the legend on such coins as the foregoing.

19. CRETN; a cross croslet extending to the edge of the coin, a pellet in each quarter, and on each side of the extremity of each limb.
+EB :: IAI :: CEC . IV . a small cross. (Pl. II. 1). Of these the hoard contained 7 specimens.
20. CRTEN; a cross with a small cross attached to the extremity of each limb.
+EB . RAI . CEC . IV .; a small cross with a pellet in two opposite quarters. (Pl. II. 2). Unique.
21. CRTEN; as 19.
+CVN :: NET :: TI ::; as the last. (Pl. II. 3). 3 specimens.

As introductory to, and illustrating those which follow, I must mention what seem to be ecclesiastical coins, and which as such I intended to have engraved in a separate series of plates.

- a. DNS DS O REX; in two lines.
+MIRABILIA FECIT; a cross with pellets in opposite quarters. (H. 133). 66 specimens.
- b. + . EBR . AI CEC; cross as on 7.
+D . NS . DS . REX; same type as the last. (H. 110). 10 specimens.
- c. +EB :: RA :: EC :: EC; same type.
+MIRABILA FECIT; same type. (H. 131). 124 specimens.
22. CVT RIEB EB; (Cnut Rex Ebraice, N omitted); cross as on 7.
+D NS DS REX; a cross with pellets in opposite quarters. (H. 111). 10 specimens.
23. CNVT REX; same type.
+MIRABILA FECIT; same type. (H. 129). 121 specimens.
24. Same legend and type as 22.
Same legend and type as last. 4 specimens.
25. CNVT REX; cross as on 7.
+SI EF RED VS; same type. (Pl. III. 10 & 11). 57 specimens.
26. +SI EF RED VS; a small cross, two pellets opposite each quarter.
+ . R . E . X .; the letters at the extremities of a cross croslet. (Pl. III. 8). 26 specimens.
27. +SI EF RED VS; a cross with a pellet in two opposite quarters.
+REX; the letters at the extremities of a cross. (Pl. III. 9). 27 specimens.
28. +SI EU ERT REX; cross as on 7.
+D . NS . DS . REX .; as on 22. (Pl. III. 12, 13, 14). 43 specimens.
29. Same legend and type.
+MIRABILA FECIT; as on 23. (Pl. III. 15). 4 specimens.

30. †SI ∴ FCR ∴ TRE; same type.
 †NI ∴ RA ∴ BI ∴ LI ∴; same type. (Pl. III. 16). Unique.
31. RS IE VE RT; a cross with a small cross at the extremity of each limb, occupying the whole field and dividing the legend.
 †EB IAI CEC IVI; a small cross. (Pl. III. 1).
32. Same legend; similar type, with three pellets in each quarter of the cross.
 †EB ∴ IAI ∴ CEC ∴ IVI ∴; same type. (Pl. III. 2).
33. IS IE VE RT; same type.
 †EB IAI CEC IVI; a small cross with three pellets opposite each quarter. (Pl. III. 3). Of these three varieties there were 45 specimens.
34. †SIE FRE DVS REX; a cross crosslet, no inner circle.
 Same legend and type as last. (Pl. III. 4).
35. In every respect the same as the last, except that a cross, connecting four small crosses, takes the place of the cross crosslet on the obverse. (Pl. III. 5).
36. †SIE ∴ FRE ∴ DVS ∴ REX; same type, obverse and reverse, and same reverse legend as the last. (Pl. III. 6). Of these three varieties there were 62 specimens.
37. CSIE ERX ERS IIDE; a cross with a pellet in each quarter, two at the extremity of each limb, and four below each interval in the legend.
 †EB ∴ IAI ∴ CEC ∴ IVI ∴; a small cross. (Pl. III. 7). 6 specimens. The obverse legend of this piece illustrates the reading on the penny of Halfdene, noticed above. The first six letters are correctly placed, the remaining seven must be read backwards from the end. CSIEER EDIIS REX.
38. CSIEFRE DVS REX; in two lines.
 Same legend and type. (Pl. IV. 18).
39. Same legend and type.
 Legend and type as in 33. (Pl. IV. 19). Of these two varieties there were 11 specimens.
40. Same legend; a cross on steps between the lines.
 †EB RAI CEC IVI; same type as the last. (Pl. IV. 20).
41. Same legend and type.
 Legend and type as 32. (Pl. IV. 21). Of these two varieties there were 18 specimens.
42. SIEVE RT RX; same type.
 Same legend and type. (Pl. IV. 22). 6 specimens.
43. C SIE FRE; same type.
 †ED IVI CEC IVI; same type (Pl. IV. 23). 3 specimens.

For these interesting coins I claimed an English Northumbrian origin, from the moment of my first acquaintance with them, in the spring of 1841; and in advancing this claim,²⁵ after the publication of the first part of Mr. Hawkins' paper, I had the support of the leading numismatists of the Continent, amongst whom I may mention particularly Thomsen of Copenhagen, and De Longperier of Paris.

²⁵ In the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. v., p. 105.



SIEVÉRT or SIEFRED.



23



ALVVA LOVS.



24



My arguments are these :—

1. In any large find of mediæval coins the bulk is generally of the coinage of the country. If there be any admixture of the coinage of other kingdoms, it is also a general rule that the nearer any such kingdom is to that in which the treasure is found, the greater will be the proportion of the coinage of that kingdom; and, with regard to time, the coins which had been longest in circulation when the hoard was lost or hidden, and those which had been most recently minted, will be the fewest. Now, of the undoubtedly English coins, found at Cuerdale, the proportion of the coins of Ælfred to those of Eadweard, about 900 to 50, shows that this treasure was deposited very early in the reign of the latter, say about A.D. 901. At that time England was divided into three kingdoms, Wessex, East Anglia, and Northumberland; and as this hoard was within the limits of the last,²⁶ not only should the bulk be English, but of this again, the bulk should be Northumbrian. So it was, if the coins above described belong to Northumberland. Out of the number examined by Mr. Hawkins (by some hundreds less than the whole), there were; of

Cnut, Siefred, and ecclesiastical coins	3016
Ælfred and Eadweard	966
Æthelred and Ethelstan of East Anglia	27
Ceolwulf of Mercia, and Earl Sitric	4
Ceolnoth, Ethered, and Plegmund, Archbishops of Canterbury	67
The money of S. Eadmund	1815
French coins, including 23 blundered imitations of coins of Cnut, Ælfred, and Ethelstan	1047
	<hr/>
	6942

If these coins be English, the proportion of English to French money in this hoard is 5894 to 1047; if they be French, it is 2878 to 4063. *Primâ facie*, then, the abundance of them in this hoard is sufficient to establish a strong probability that they are English; and, if English, Northumbrian; since they outnumber all the other English coins put together.

2. The pennies of Cnut and Siefred weigh from 20 to 23 grains, and the halfpennies 9 to 10 grains; and in this respect correspond with the

²⁶ The authority of the third scribe of MS. A., who wrote whilst Northumberland was still a kingdom, seems to me decisive as to the fact, that Lancashire formed part thereof. He says that King Eadweard, A.D. 922, built, occupied, and garrisoned a burgh at Thelwall on the Mersey, and, whilst he was there, commanded the Mercians to take possession of Manchester in Northumberland.

English money of the time. The deniers of the cotemporary French kings average 26 grains.

3. Two coins appeared in this hoard with +ELFRED RE round a small cross on the obverse, and CNVT REX, as on No. 1, on the reverse. Now the dies of these coins were not engraved by the moneyers who executed the coins of Cnut, which they resemble; for the workmanship is not so neat, and the inner circle is plain, not beaded as it is on all the coins of this class. On the other hand their execution is so similar to that of many of Ælfred's coins, that there can be little doubt that they were minted by his authority and within his dominions; and it is difficult to account for the occurrence of the name and title of Ælfred on one side, and those of Cnut on the other, otherwise than by supposing that they were minted under the joint authority of the two kings. Cnut must have had friendly relations with Ælfred, as Ethelstan of East Anglia and Guthfrith of Northumberland had.

4. These coins do not at all resemble those of the cotemporary kings of France, but there are two remarkable points of correspondence between some of these and the coins of Ethelstan of East Anglia, and of Ælfred. The first is a peculiarity, observable on almost every coin of the series, the division of the legend on the obverse or reverse, or on both, generally into four groups, so as to give to the type a cruciform appearance; sometimes into three. Precisely the same device appears on the coins of Ethelstan and of Ælfred, but on no other, English or foreign. Again, the obverse type of Nos. 38 to 43 is precisely the same as the reverse of some of the Oxford money of Ælfred, and the obverse of a unique halfpenny, unquestionably English, which reads EVERAT on one side and ME FECIT on the other. The Carolingian monogram, on some of the *Ebraice* pennies and halfpennies, and *Cunnetti* halfpennies, appears also on some of the S. Peter money (coined at York), and on the rude pennies of Regnald, which I shall presently describe.

5. About one-fifth of the coins of Cnut, and one-third of those of Siefred, bear the name of the mint, *Ebraice* or *Ebraece*. This can only be York, the British name of which was Cair Ebrauc. On the S. Peter money, first minted in the 10th century, soon after the time of the deposit of this hoard, it is generally *Eborace*; but on one variety, which resembles the above-noticed coins of Cnut in presenting the Carolingian monogram, it is *Ebraicit*; and we shall have occasion to notice in the sequel a coin of Anlaf, in which *Ebr* undoubtedly designates the mint of York.

Slight resemblances in workmanship may be traced between some of these coins, and those of cotemporary French kings; but generally they are much neater and sharper, and the points of connexion between them

and the money of our own country are far more numerous and striking. Even these resemblances, such as they are, do not afford a valid ground for transferring them from our own numismatic series to that of France; for there can be no doubt that French moneyers were employed in England towards the close of the 9th century. I believe that Ælfred's moneyers *Ferlus*, *Stefanus*, and *Winigerus*, who write their names in the Latin form, came from France; and the S. Eadmund money, indisputably an English currency, appears to have been almost entirely the work of French artists. On these coins we have five names, at the most, which may be English,—*Eadret*, *Edulfus*, *Edwinus*, *Oswulf*, and *Wigbaldus*,—and some of these I suspect are French; two Irish,—*Aolbran* and *Ouran*; three Danish,—*Arus* (*Are* Latinized), *Asten*, and *Bascic*; but the rest are French names,—*Abbo*, *Abbonel*, *Adalbert*, *Adalar*, *Adalart*, *Adrardus*, *Albrt*, *Ansered*, *Ansicar*, *Bado*, *Berincari*, *Bealin*, *Bosccin*, *Dagmond*, *Deinolt*, *Ergemond*, *Erlefred*, *Erlefran*, *Fredemund*, *Gislefredo*, *Gundbert*, *Haiebert*, *Martinus*, *Oandbert*, *Odo*, *Odulbert*, *Osbert*, *Parus*, *Rather*, *Remigius*, *Robertus* & *Roidibert*, *Tedredo*, *Tedwinus*, *Walter*, *Wandefred*, *Widald*, *Widbold*, *Wiedulf*, *Wineger*, and many others; and one writes “Wulfold mi fiet” in French, for “me fecit.” Under these circumstances, it is not strange that the S. Eadmund coins should resemble, as they do, the cotemporary coins of France. I regard the idea of this coinage as French, and attribute its execution to French artists who accompanied the Danes on their return to England in A.D. 892. I believe it was begun in the dominions of the martyred king whose name it bears; and some specimens, which read HEMNCX REXE, seem to reveal the name, *Heming*, of the king who conducted the great fleet on that occasion, and who is said in the Chronicle, A.D. 894 (893), to have been disabled by his wounds from co-operating with Hæsten. But it was imitated by Ælfred at Canterbury and elsewhere, and by the Northumbrians also; for ERIACECIV, which is the legend on the reverse of some specimens, will be recognized at once as one of the blundered spellings of *Ebraice*.

As, then, French moneyers, in considerable number, were at work in England, we cannot be surprised that their influence should extend to Northumberland, and be the occasion of Siefred's name, on the greater part of his coinage, assuming the Latin form.

Thus the number of the coins of this class found at Cuedale; their weight; their types; the name of the city in which many of them were minted; and the occurrence, on two specimens, of the names of Cnut and Ælfred together; concur to establish their English Northumbrian origin; and the slight resemblance which may be traced, between some of them and the coins of France, is easily accounted for.

It is obvious that the time, during which they were issued, could have little exceeded the last decade of the 9th century. Very few indeed of the Cuerdale coins can be referred to an earlier date than A.D. 890. There were only 24 pennies of Æthelstan of East Anglia, who died in that year, but 1815 of the S. Eadmund coins; not one of the earliest type of Ælfred's money, but 14 of that which followed it, 40 of the London type, and 832 of his latest (the Canterbury, Oxford, and common) types; of 67 coins of Archbishops of Canterbury, we have one each of Ceolnoth and Ethered, and 65 of Plegmund, consecrated A.D. 891; and whilst we have only two coins of Halfdene, and but one of these Northumbrian, we have upwards of 3000 of those of Cnut and Siefred. These two kings therefore must have been reigning between A.D. 890 and 900.

I must now call attention to the most interesting feature of this series of coins, their thoroughly religious—I may even say—ecclesiastical character. It is evident, either that the kings whose names they bear were zealous christians, although undoubtedly of Danish race; or that the Church had great influence during their reigns: and I think that the coins which have the legend, *DOMINUS DEUS OMNIPOTENS REX MIRABILIA FECIT*, must have reference to some event, which was regarded as an extraordinary interposition of Divine Power.

Of the identity of Siefred there can be no doubt. He is the Sigferth who appears as the leader of the Northumbrian Danes in 893-4, two years before the death of Guthfrith, and who therefore was probably in some way or other associated with him. His coins are evidence that he reigned for some years. The Irish Annals have told us of a Sitric who was his rival in 893, and who perished in 896, the year of Guthfrith's death; and to him I believe we must assign the coin, of which two specimens occurred in the Cuerdale hoard, and which presents the only instance, before the Norman conquest, of a layman, inferior in rank to the king, coining money in his own name.

Obv: *SITRIC COMES*; in two lines.

Rev: *GVNDIBERTVS*; in two lines; *SCELDFOR* between them. (H. 56).

The type of this piece connects the Oxford type of Ælfred with those of Siefred, 38 to 43; the mint is probably Shelford, in Nottinghamshire, (Sceldford in Domesday); the moneyer's name, (the English form of which, of course, would be Guthberht), is that of one of the foreigners who coined the S. Eadmund money.

Who, then, is Cnut? He can be no other than Guthfrith. The number of his coins, and the variety of their types shew that he

must have reigned for some years; he could not therefore have intervened between Guthfrith and Siefred.

The coins which were issued in his name and Siefred's, but do not give to the latter the title of king, compared with others on which Siefred, using the same dies for an obverse, places his title on the reverse, and with others on which the obverse presents his name and title as usual, shew that he was associated with Cnut towards the end of his reign, and immediately succeeded him.

We have a right to expect the money of Guthfrith in this hoard, but we have it not, unless these coins be his. We have many of Siefred or Sigferth, and many more of a king who was his immediate predecessor, but none with the name of Guthfrith, although he reigned for eleven years in peace. The Cnut, whose name these coins bear, evidently occupied Guthfrith's place in history; he was in alliance with Ælfred as Guthfrith was; and like Guthfrith, he was a zealous Christian. Moreover, if we endeavour to realize the events of A.D. 884—"Guthred ex servo factus est rex, et sedes episcopalis in Cunkeestra restauratur;" the fugitives of Lindisfarne, after eight years' weary wandering, "ante faciem barbarorum de loco ad locum," find themselves once more established in community life, under the auspices of a divinely chosen king, and their church enriched by him with endowments such as it never had before; we must confess, that to no other events of Northumbrian history could the jubilant legend of some of these coin, "Dominus Deus Omnipotens rex mirabilia fecit," more fitly apply.

Under all these circumstances, I cannot hesitate in avowing my conviction, long since formed and matured by years, that Cnut is Guthfrith, and I have no difficulty in accounting for the difference of name. The historical name of Ælfred's godson, not only in the English Chronicle, but in the treaty which he made with Ælfred, is Godrum or Guthrum; but the Chronicle informs us, when recording his death, that he had received in baptism another name, Æthelstan, and this he adopted on his money. So I believe that Guthfrith, known only by this name to the Chroniclers, may also have taken the name of Cnut, when he became a Christian, and coined money under this name; and I think that Simeon's statement, that he was the son of Hardecnut, may have originated, either with him, or before his time, in the misapprehension of a scribe, translating, from dictation, some such words as these, "he súna hátte Cnut," "he was forthwith named Cnut."²⁷ He was really a son of Ivar.

²⁷ Similar mistakes occur elsewhere in Simeon. Under A.D. 749 he says, "Elfwald rex Orientalium Anglorum defunctus est, regnumque Hunbeanna et Alberht sibi dividerunt." The name of the king, as shewn by his coins, was Benna or Beonna, and there can be no doubt, as Mr. Thorpe has suggested, that the reading in the original was "after him Beanna and Æthelberht fengon tó rice," "after him" (Ælfwald) "Beanna and Æthelberht succeeded to the kingdom." The pronoun "him" has been joined to the name, making Himbeanna, and then a scribe has carelessly written Hunbeanna.

When I last wrote on this subject, (July 16, 1842), I supposed *Cunnetti* or *Cynnnetti*²⁸ to be the name of a mint, and suggested its identity with the *Cunnet* of Domesday, now Cound in Shropshire; but the fact that *Cunnetti* never occurs as a reverse to *Siefredus Rex* or its variations, has changed my views in this respect. Had it been the name of a mint, it seems to me that we ought to have found it on some of the coins of Siefred; since we have it on more than 1900 of those of his predecessor; and besides this, it would have been very strange that the quantity of the money issued in Cnut's reign, from an obscure mint, should have been four times greater than that from the mint of York. Under these circumstances I feel sure that it is the name of some prince who was associated with Guthfrith-Cnut in the government, as Siefred was, and who either died before Siefred's elevation, or was supplanted by him; for it will be observed that this name occurs as a reverse to all the types of Cnut, and *Siefredus* only to one.

Cunnetti, then, I take to be a personal name, and the occurrence of such a name on these coins is a most interesting fact, for it is not Teutonic, but undoubtedly Celtic. It is a name which occasionally occurs in history, under the Welsh forms *Cunedag* and *Cunedda*, and the Irish *Cinneittigh* (with many variations);²⁹ and is still a family name, Kennedy (O'Kennedy). If Guthfrith was, as we have reason to believe, a prince of the dynasty who reigned over the Danes of Dublin, taken captive and brought to Northumberland, the occurrence of such a name as this upon his coins, indicating the high rank of an Irish prince at his court, second only to himself, during the greater part of his reign, is easily accounted for. The Irish annals shew that many of the native kings and princes were, as suited their convenience, the allies or the enemies of the Danish invaders of their country;³⁰ the Danes had not a keener relish for a fight than they had; and when a Danish fleet sailed to England, their Irish neighbours gladly availed themselves of an opportunity so congenial to them.

²⁸ On Northumbrian coins V represents U and Y; thus CVNVVLF is *Cynwulf*, CVNEMVND *Cynemund*.

²⁹ Ceindeittich	Cindedid	Cindeittigh	Cinneidig
Ceinnedi	Cindeidig	Cinnedi	Cinneitich
Ceinneidigh	Cindeitig	Cinnedid	Cbeinneittig
Ceinneittig	Cindeittid	Cinnedig	Cuineda
Cenneitig	Cindeittig	Cinneidid	Cuinedha

Most of these variations are taken from the Annals of the Four Masters. None of them can be considered coeval with the coins.

³⁰ See, for instance, the quotation above, from the Annals of the Four Masters, under A.D. 947. Congalach is the ally of Anlaf and of the Danes of Dublin, and shares in their defeat; then he turns round upon them, and plunders Dublin.

Two Kennedys figure in these annals, in the latter half of the ninth century; and one of these, under circumstances which render the supposition of his identity with our Cunnetti by no means improbable.⁸¹

“A.D. 860 (863). Destruction of Longpuirt Rothlaib,” (Dunrally, Q. Co.) “by Cindeitid mac Gaithin, lord of Laigis,” (Leix, Q. Co.)

“A.D. 864 (866). A slaughter was made of the foreigners, by the people of the north of Osraige,” (Ossory), “and Cinneidig mac Gaithin, at Mindroichet,” (Monadrehid, Q. Co.)

“A.D. 865 (867). The burning of Duine Amlaib at Cluain Dolcain,” (Clondalkin), by Mac Gaitene.—A victory was gained by Mac Gaithin over the foreigners of At Cliat, wherein fell Odolb Micle.”

“A.D. 868 (870). The Leinstermen attacked the fort of Cearbail, and of Mac Gaiten, and many men were slain by them.”

“A.D. 875 (878). The plundering of Ua Ceinsealaig by Cindeidig mac Gaeithin, lord of Laoigis.”

Actively engaged in the wars of his time, up to this date, he appears no more for twenty-five years, when his death is recorded;

“A.D. 898 (903). Cinneidig mac Gaoithin, lord of Laighis and of the Comanns, died;”

but it is possible that he had taken part in the affair, A.D. 886 (889), in which

“Cionaed mac Cennedid, heir apparent of Laoigis, was slain.”

Thus there is time for his presence in Northumberland during the greater part of the reign of Cnut, who, in Ireland, was probably engaged in conflict with him in 867; and when we consider that our Cunnetti must have been an Irish prince, the supposition of his identity with Cinneidig mac Gaithin, almost the only one of the name who is mentioned in the annals of his time, does not seem very improbable. The battle in which his son was slain might be the occasion of his leaving Ireland.

I think I can trace the history of our Cunnetti still farther, and still within the absence of Cinneidig's name, from the annals of his country. Let us turn to the history of France for an account of the “feeless” band, who went from Northumberland to the Seine in 896. The Chronicle of S. Vedast's monastery, at Arras, says,

“A.D. 896. The Normans with their leader, Hunedeus by name, again entered the Seine with five barks, and whilst the King is occupied with other affairs, he occasions great evil to increase for himself and his kingdom.”—“The Normans being now multiplied, entering the Oise a few

⁸¹ The other is Cindeitig mac Cinacd, lord of Ui Briuin, slain in 892.

days before the Nativity of our Lord, fortify for themselves a settlement at Choisy, no one resisting."

"A. D. 897. Afterwards they went out to plunder as far as the Maas, no one resisting them; but, as they returned from plundering, the King's army met them, yet gained no advantage. The Normans, however, betook themselves to their ships, and returned to the Seine, fearing the multitude of the army, lest they should be besieged; and, abiding there the whole summer, made predatory excursions, no one resisting them. But Charles received Hunedeus who had been brought to him, from the sacred font in the monastery of Clunium."—"The Normans in great force ravage all the rest of the kingdom with fire and sword, wherefore the King sent to them wishing to redeem the kingdom, and, a treaty being made, they go to the Loire to winter."

This Chronicle ends in A. D. 900, and is therefore a strictly cotemporary and trustworthy authority for these events.

Here, then, at the very time when Cunnetti disappears from the Northumbrian coinage, to be replaced by Siefred, and the sons of Guthfrith-Cnut fly for safety to France, Hunedeus appears on the Seine, the leader of the band which fled from Northumberland, with a small fleet of but five ships. It can scarcely be said that the names are different (the aspirate merely replacing the guttural), and it seems to me exceedingly probable that Cunnetti and Hunedeus are one and the same person, notwithstanding the fact that this Hunedeus submitted to be baptized. The Northmen of those days had no objection to the repetition of baptism, provided that each repetition were accompanied with suitable gifts, and a chieftain, such as Cinneidig mac Gaithin was in his native land, and as this Hunedeus was in France, would scarcely be more scrupulous than they, whose mode of life he had adopted. This is the only difficulty; and, whatever may be thought of it, the probability that this Hunedeus is our Cunnetti, (resting on the fact, that he appears as the leader of a forlorn squadron from Northumberland immediately after the disappearance of our Cunnetti, the death of his lord and friend Guthfrith Cnut, the usurpation of Siefred, and the flight of Guthfrith's family to France), is entirely distinct from the probability that our Cunnetti is Cinneidig mac Gaithin, (suggested by the circumstances that Cinneidig and Guthfrith must have been cotemporaries in Ireland, and at one time probably in conflict with one another, that Cinneidig's name, not once mentioned during the previous ten years, disappears from the Irish annals' after the disastrous affair in which his son was slain, A. D. 889, until the year in which his death is recorded, A. D. 903, and that an Irish prince of the same name appears at this time, A. D. 890 to 896, associated with Guthfrith-Cnut in Northumberland).

Besides the coins described above, of Northumbrian mintage, the

Cuerdale hoard contained some barbarous imitations, with the name of the mint of Quantawic (now Etaples) on the reverse.

- a. +CIRTENA; a Calvary cross.
+QVENTOVVICI; a cross. (H. 136). 4 specimens.
- b. +CIRTENA; a small cross with a crenate line issuing from each limb, a pellet in each angle.
+QVIEITOVVICI; same type. (H. 137). 6 specimens.
- c. C+IRTEŃA; a cross with a pellet in each angle.
+QIVETOVVICI; same type. (H. 138). 8 specimens.
- d. +ITOEIINC; a cross.
+QVIIITOVVICI; same type. (H. 139). 1 specimen.

Besides four others, differing in the blundering of the obverse legend. There were also two others, which must be mentioned in connexion with these.

AELRF—REX; front of a temple.
+QVENTOVVICI; a cross with a pellet in each angle.
EDENAT REX; same type.
+QVVENTOVVICI; same type.

I have engraved both these in my memoir on the coins of Ælfred; they are of great importance, inasmuch as they make known to us the existence of types of Ælfred, and of Æthelstan³² of East Anglia (identical with those of Oswald and of Æthelred), of which they are blundered imitations, and of which English specimens have not yet been discovered. So also, whilst *c* and *d*, above, are blundered copies of the coins of Cnut, Nos. 4 and 5, *a* and *b* are copies of other types, earlier than any of those found at Cuerdale. It is evident that the Northmen,—either that force which was engaged with Ælfred in A. D. 884, off the East Anglian coasts, or some other, later,—carried English money with them to France, and during the winter of A. D. 890-1, when they occupied the neighbourhood of Quantawic, caused these barbarous imitations to be minted there. They are certainly imitations of English, not of French coins, for on all the French coins of the temple type, the temple is on the reverse. It is never on the obverse, accompanying the king's name and title as on these coins, and on those of Oswald and Æthelred.

I do not think that the coins of Cnut and Siefred with the reverses *Dns Ds Rex*, and *Mirabilia fecit* are (as I once supposed), the result of

³² Not one of the English coins of Æthelstan presents the name correctly. We have EDELIA, EDELTA, EDELTAŃ, EDELSAN, EDELSANV, and EDIAELMA, but not EDELSTAN. Here it is EDETAN (the latter half reversed, as on the coins of Halfdene and of Siefred, noticed above). On a London penny of Ælfred we have AELRFED.

a confusion of dies, for I observe that all the coins, on which we have *Dns Ds O Rex* combined with *Mirabilia fecit*, have the obverse legend in two lines, and the O is never omitted, however blundered they may be; whereas on these *Dns Ds Rex* is always written round a cross, and the O never appears. It seems, too, that the coins with this legend in two lines, are earlier than the others, and therefore that the coin which I formerly assigned to Æthelwald (when I regarded Cnut as Siefred's successor), must be earlier than the reign of Cnut.

+ALVVALDV; a cross with a pellet in two opposite quarters.
DNS DS REX; in two lines. (Pl. IV. 24.)

Here, then, most probably, we have the name of the king, whose reign intervened between Halfdene's and Guthfrith's. This coin has not the neatness and sharpness which distinguish the coins of Cnut, but more resembles, in execution, those of Oswald and Æthelred, and that on which the names of Ælfred and Cnut occur together.

In taking leave of these coins, I may remark, that some of their types were copied, in the 10th century, by the Dukes of Normandy. A denier of Richard I. or II. exhibits on its reverse the cross on steps of Siefred; and a cotemporary, apparently ecclesiastical, coin of Rouen, the cross with one limb crossed of Cnut.

Æthelwald, Osbrith, and Eowisl do not appear to have coined money in their own names, but during their time a series of coins were issued from the ecclesiastical mint of York, of which the idea was probably suggested by the S. Eadmund money. The general description is—

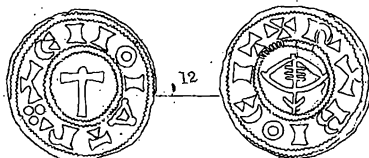
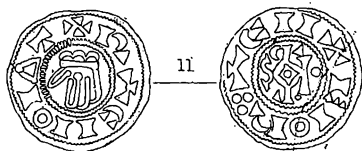
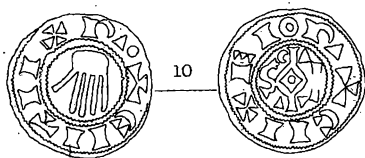
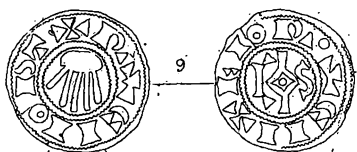
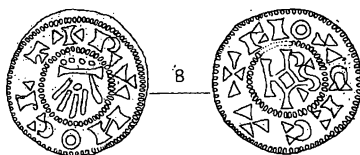
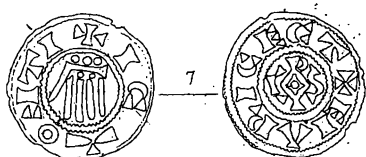
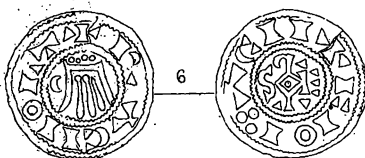
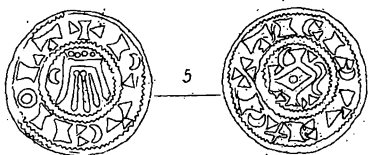
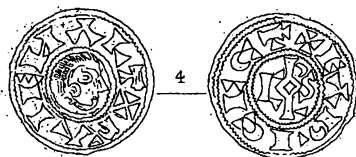
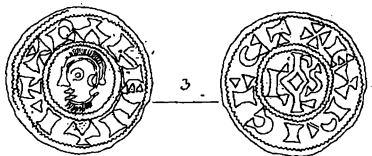
SCI PETRI MO; in two lines.
+EBORACE CIV; a small cross. (Ruding, Pl. XII, 6 to 13).

The time of their mintage is certain, for a number of them were found in the year 1611, at Harkirk, in the parish of Sefton, in Lancashire, along with others of the latest and Oxford type of Ælfred, of Eadward, of the S. Eadmund money, and of Cnut. The coin in Ruding, Pl. xxx. 3, with *Ebraicit* and the monogram KRLS on the reverse, is a connecting link between these, and the coins above described. I have seen a coin of this class, on which S. Peter's emblem, a key, is introduced as an accessory ornament on the obverse, and another (I think in the York Museum), on which a large key, between the two lines of the legend, forms a distinct type.

The following coins I assign to Regnald:—(Plate V.)

1 & 2. +RAHENALT; a face in profile turned to the right or left.
+EARIC FCT; the monogram ERLS.

RAGNOLT.



3. +RACNOLT; a hand.
+RXEACIOIT; same type.
4. Same legend and type.
+DIOIACII; a different monogram.
5. +ICAOJTI; same type.
+EIARIC FCT; the monogram IRLS.
6. +RANOCLT; same type.
+LIOACECA; same type.
7. +RACNOLT; same type.
+EIORACII; same type.
8. +RACNTII; same type.
+EIORACII; same type.
9. +RACNOLT; same type.
Same legend and type.
10. +RACNOLT; a Tau.
+RABIOCIT; a bow and arrow.

Of these ten coins, two read *Rahenalt*, five *Racnolt*, one *Ranoelt*, one *Raentii*, on the obverse; and, although the title *Rex* does not appear, it is not the name of a moneyer, for the moneyer's name, *Earic* or *Eiaric*, with *fecit*, appears on 1, 2, and 5, and in a blundered form on 3. It can only be the name of the prince by whose authority they were coined.

The reverse legend of 4, 6, 7, 8, and 9 is intended for *Eborace*. Nearly all have the monogram which we have already noticed on the coins of Cnut.

As a connecting link between these and the following, I must notice here a coin figured in Mr. Lindsay's "View of the Coinage of the Heptarchy," (Pl. 2, 52).

- +EIOIAIE AIE; a sword.
- +EIOICIACIA; a Tau.

The legend, retrograde, on both obverse and reverse, is intended for *Eborace civ*.

The following belong to Sihtric:—(Plate VI.)

1. [+S]ITR[I]C RE; in two lines, a sword between them.
∴ ARE MON; a Tau between two crescents.
Although this coin is broken, there can be no doubt of the reading.
2. Similar type; legend, intended for SITRIC RE, blundered.
Thor's hammer, between two billets; legend intended for INGELGAR MON.
3. LVDO SITRC; similar type; Thor's hammer introduced as an accessory ornament.
+ERIC MOTI; a cross with crescents and pellets in alternate quarters.

The word *Ludo*, on the obverse of this coin, indicates, I think, the mint, Leeds; the arrangement is similar to that of Ælfred's coins, *Ælfred Oksnaforda*.

The moneyer *Are* was employed by Æthelstan and Eadmund; *Erie* is the same as *Earic* and *Eiaric*, on the coins of Regnald.

After the death of Sihtric, a second series of the S. Peter money seems to have been issued from the mint of York, of which the general description is,

SCĪ PETRI MO in two lines; a sword between them; Thor's hammer introduced as an accessory ornament.
 +EBORACE CIV; a cross with a pellet in each quarter. (Ruding, Pl. XII., 1 to 4).

There are also blundered coins with the same obverse, and on the reverse Thor's hammer, with the legends +ERIVIITCI, +ERIVIITN, +ERIVITN, +ERIVIOI, &c. (Ruding, Pl. XII., 5); and others with a Tau and +IOBEYRIT, +LBIOEVITR, &c. It is impossible to make *Eborace* out of these legends.

In connection with these, also, I must mention the exceedingly rare coins of Lincoln :

SCI MARTI, in two lines; a sword between them; below them, a Tau.
 +LINCOIA CIVIT; a peculiar cross, of a form frequently found on the Runic monuments of Scandinavia, and also in the inscription over the door of Kirkdale Church, in Yorkshire (in which Hawarth, a Dane, records the rebuilding of the church under the auspices of Orm Gamalsuna, also a Dane), but nowhere else.

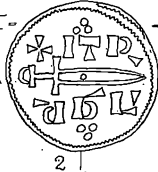
Lincoln at this time was a Danish burgh, and I believe that all these coins were minted under Danish influence, at a time when the succession of the Kings was interrupted.

Æthelstan himself coined money at York; some of it with a church on the reverse, and the legend EBORACĀCĀ REGNALD MON; but he did not adopt the Northumbrian types.

The evidence of the coins now to be described is decisive as to the fact that an Eric reigned in Northumberland before Olaf, for the supposition (on which alone they could be assigned to Eric, son of Harold Blátand), that the sword type was abandoned under the reign of Olaf, and then resumed, appears to me exceedingly improbable. I believe it commenced with Sihtric, and was continued by his subjects after his death, and then by Eric I., the son of Barith, who was slain at Brunanburh.



1



2



ERIC



3



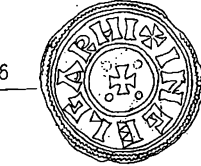
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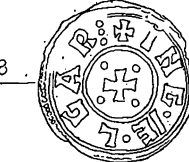
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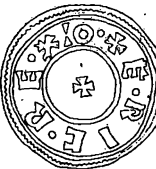
11



12



13



14



15



We have two distinct types bearing this name.

I. *Obv.* The King's name and title in two lines, a sword between them.

Rev. The moneyer's name round a small cross.

Of these I have engraved the following varieties (Pl. VI.) :—

1. ERIC REX	+ACVLF MON
2. ERIC REX AT	+RADVLF MEOI
3. ERIC REX	+INGELGAR MI
4. ,,	+LEOFIC MONE
5. ,,	+INGÆLGAR

At is the only mint.

Of his moneyers, *Ingelgar* and *Radulf* were employed by his successors, and the former by Eadmund and Eadred; *Leofie* by Eadmund.

II. *Obv.* The King's name and title round a small cross.

Rev. The moneyer's name in two lines.

Of these I give the following (Pl. VI.) :—

6. +ERIC REX A	INGELGAR MO
[6a. +ERIC REX AL	INGELGAR MO ³³]
7. +ERIC REX EF	INGELGAR M
8. _____ EFOR	RADVLF MO
9. _____ EN	INGELGAR MO
10. _____ NO	_____ M
11. _____ O	RADVLF MO
12. _____ TO	INGELGAR MO

On these we have the initials of six mints, in which two moneyers, *Ingelgar* and *Radulf*, were employed. I think there can be no doubt that the same two worked in all, accompanying the King in his progress. The former class I assign confidently to Eric I., the son of Barith; and the latter I assign to Eric II., the son of Harald Haarfager, rather than to Eric III., the son of Harald Blatand.

Simeon of Durham tells us that Olaf, the son of Guthfrith II., perished immediately after the devastation of Tiningham. In the course of the destruction of the parish church of Leeds, many fragments of memorial crosses were discovered, of ante-Norman times, but apparently of later and coarser work than those at Ruthwell, Bewcastle,

³³ This coin has been added to the British Museum collection since my plates were engraved.

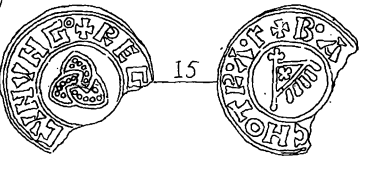
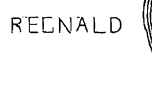
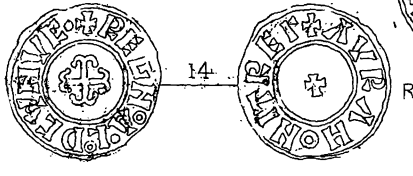
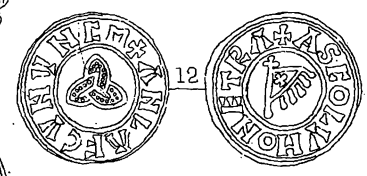
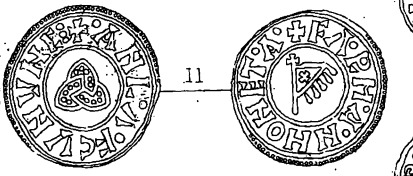
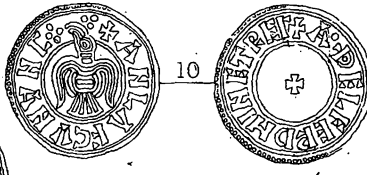
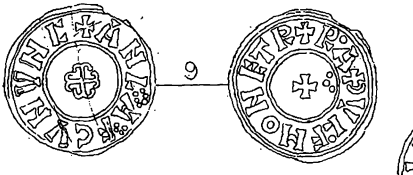
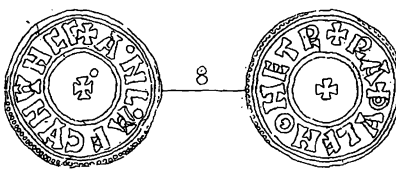
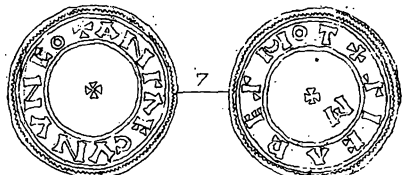
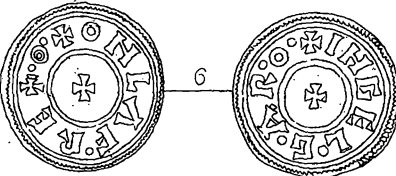
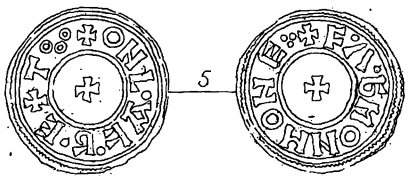
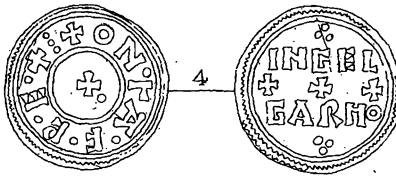
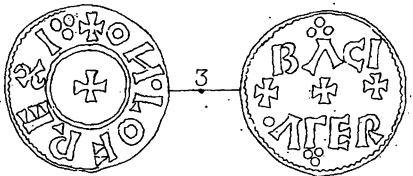
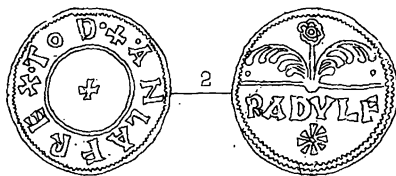
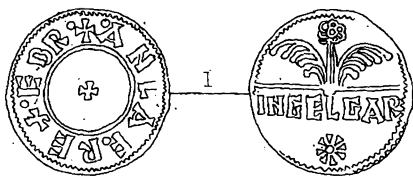
Collingham, Ilkley, &c.; and on one of these was part of an inscription in Runes.

CUNIng³⁴
ONLAE

Although Leeds is very distant from Tiningham, it is possible that this cross may be a memorial of this Olaf; but as he does not appear to have ever reigned in Northumberland, and was probably engaged in piracy, from the time of his leaving Dublin to that of his death, I think it more likely that this is part of an inscription, which recorded the erection of this monument, to the memory of some friend, by the son of Sihtric, the only Olaf who ever reigned in Northumberland, and the only one who embraced Christianity, to whom I assign the whole series of the coins which bear this name. (Pl. VII.)

1. +ANLAF REX EBR; a small cross.
INGELGAR; a flower.
2. +ANLAF REX TOD; same type.
RADVLF; same type.
- [2a. +Ruding has figured another of these with the moneyer
WADTER. The type is one which was used by Æthelstan
and Eadmund.]
3. +ONLOF REX I; a small cross.
BACIALER; in two lines.
4. +ONLAF REX; same type.
INGELGAR MO; same type.
5. +ONLAF REX T; same type.
+FARMON MONE; a small cross.
- [5a. A coin of this moneyer in the British Museum has +ONLAF
REX S on the obverse.]
6. +ONLAF REX O; same type.
+INGELGAR O; same type.
7. +ANLAF CVNVNC^o; same type.
+SICARES MOT; same type, M in the field.
8. +ANLAF CVNVNC I; same type.
+RADVLF MONETR; same type.
9. +ANLAF CVNVNC; a cross moline.
Same legend and type.
10. Same legend; a dove.
+ADELFERD MINETRET; same type.
All the coins of this type appear to have been struck by the same
moneyer.
11. Same legend; a triquetra.
+FARMAN MONETA; a standard.
- [11a. A variety, in the British Museum, reads +FANLAN MON-
ETA.]

³⁴ I think that the U should be Y, and that Mr. Chantrell in his drawing of the stone has overlooked the distinctive mark of the latter. I have called his attention to this point, but have not been favoured with a reply to my letters.



SITRIC

REGNALD

12. +ANLAF CVNVNC M; same type.
 +ASCOLV MONETRA; same type.

He appears to have coined in six mints. Of his eight moneyers—*Ascolv*, *Athelferd*, *Bacialer*, *Farmon* (of whose name I regard *Fanlan* as a blundered variety), *Ingelgar*, *Radulf*, *Sicar*, and *Wadter*,—the second was employed by Æthelstan; the third, fourth, and seventh by Eadmund; and the first by Eadwig; the fifth and sixth have been noticed above.

The coins with the title *Cununc* I refer to Olaf's second reign in Northumberland, and the following to the same time:—

- +SITRIC CVNVNCA; a triquetra.
 +ASCOLV MONETRA; a standard.
 +REGNALD CVNVNC; a cross moline.
 +AVRA MONETREL; a small cross.
 +REG(NALD) CVNVNC; a triquetra.
 +B(ALDRI)C MOTRAL; a standard.

Sitric, I believe, was Olaf's brother. He is mentioned in the Irish Annals, as having been taken as a hostage by Muircertach mac Neill, in 941; and the death of Muircertach by the hands of Blacaire, King of the Danes of Dublin, in 943, would of course set him at liberty. Their brother Guthferth succeeded Blacaire in 948, and reigned in Dublin during Olaf's absence in Northumberland.

Regnald must be the son of Olaf, whose fall in the battle of Tara, in 980, seems to have been the occasion of his father's retiring to Iona.

I have deferred the examination of the types of these coins, until I could speak of them together. They are very interesting, and illustrate remarkably the history of these Northumbrian kings.

1. *The hammer of Thor*. There can be no doubt that this is the object intended by the device on two of the coins of Sitric, and on the later types of the S. Peter money. Little hammers of this form seem to have been worn as amulets; there are three or four in the Old Northern Museum at Copenhagen, one attached to a ring, all intended to be so; and one was found with the Cuedale coins. This hammer, celebrated under the name of *Miölnar*, was one of the three masterpieces of the Dwarfs Brokkur and Sindri. Its virtues were said to have been such, that Thor might strike whatever he pleased, and as vigorously as he pleased, without danger of injuring it: he might throw it to whatever distance he pleased, and it would always come back to his hand; and he could make it so small, at will, that it would easily go into his pocket. It had only one defect; its handle was very short; and this feature seems to have been attended to in the representations on these coins.

Now Thor was the chief god of the old Teutonic race. His name stands first in the Saxon renunciation, "Ec forſaſcho Thunaer ende Woden ende Saxnote." Adam of Bremen tells us that his image occupied the place of honour between those of Wodan and Fricco, in the great temple at Upsala, because he was the mightiest of the three; and the story, which Simeon tells, of Onlaf "the hold," swearing enmity to the clergy of the church of S. Cuthbert, by his gods "Thor and Othan," shews that he stood first in the estimation of the Danish rulers of Northumberland. So this dynasty, the race of Ivar, whose seat of empire was alternately Dublin and York; who quitted Dublin when the Northumbrians invited them, and resumed their authority in Dublin when they were compelled to abandon Northumberland, are called, in verses quoted by the Four Masters, A.D. 942 (944), *muintir Thomair*, i.e. the "people," or "race," or "descendants of Thomair," and they cherished, as their greatest treasure, the "ring of Tomair," or Thor.³⁵

This was doubtless the very same "holy ring," on which they swore to keep their treaty with Ælfred, when they were in England in 876; for we read in the Eyrbyggja Saga, that, when Thorolf went to Iceland, in A.D. 883, (carrying with him, from the isle of Mostur, the framework and the columns of the temple of Thor,) and there rebuilt the temple, this temple contained an altar on which a silver ring was laid, two ounces in weight, to be worn by the priest in every public assembly, and to be used, after having been dipped in the blood of sacrifices, in the administration of solemn oaths.³⁶ This holy ring of Thor, therefore, was one of the instruments of his worship, and would be kept in the same way in all his temples, and so also in their own temple by the sons of Ivar.

These facts sufficiently explain the presence of Thor's chief symbol, the hammer, on the coins of Sihtric, and on those which, although they bear the name of S. Peter, were doubtless coined under Danish influence

³⁵ Dr. O'Donovan confounds this name, Thomair, with that of Tomrair, the Earl, tanist of the King of Lochlann, who was slain in 848; and supposes that the Kings of Dublin, who were certainly descended from Iomair or Ivar, were also descended from Tomrair. But Tomrair and Thomair are certainly distinct names. The former is the Irish orthography of the common Scandinavian name Thorer, and Thomair is the Irish form of Thor. The original name of the god was Thunaer, contracted in the Norse dialects to Thor, just as Anlaf is contracted to Olaf, by the absorption of *n*; and Thunaer, Thor, Thomair, is exactly parallel to Anlaf, Olaf, Amlaib, and Inwær, Ivar, Iomair.

³⁶ Arngrim Ionas tells us the same thing, *Rerum Islandicarum*, I., 7. "In ara præterea annulus asservabatur argenteus, vel ex orichalco, unciorum XX, quem forensi aliquo munere fungentes, jusjurandum jam præstituri, victimarum illinitum cruore religiose inter jurandum contrectabant."

after his death; and they suggest the explanation of another type, that of the coins of Ragnolt;

2. *The glove, also a symbol of Thor.* His iron gloves, also the gift of the Dwarfs, are often mentioned in the mythology of the North. He handled them whenever he grasped his lightning-flashing hammer.

3. *The tau.* From the way in which it is interchanged with the hammer on some of S. Peter money, and takes its place on the S. Martin coins, I regard it as a modification of the same symbol.

4. *The bow and arrow.* I cannot explain this otherwise than by supposing it to be the symbol of the hunting god; the archer, Uller; the son of Thor's wife Sif, by a former husband.

5. *The sword.* This has generally been thought to be a symbol of S. Peter, but it is to be observed that it occurs also on the coins of S. Martin, where the same explanation will not hold good. We see it first on a blundered coin resembling those of Ragnolt, then on the coins of Sihtric, then on those of S. Peter and S. Martin, and lastly on the first type of Eric. The Annals of the Four Masters furnish the clue to the true explanation of this interesting device, and at the same time of the monogram, KRLS, which first appears on the coins of Sicfred, then on some of the S. Peter money, and lastly on the coins of Ragnolt.

"A.D. 994 (995). *The Ring of Tomair, and the Sword of Charlus,* were carried away by force, by Mhaoilsechlainn, from the foreigners of At Cliat."

"A.D. 1029. Amlaoibh mac Sitrioco, lord of the foreigners, was taken prisoner by Matgomain ua Riagain, lord of Breg, who exacted 1200 cows as his ransom, together with 140 British horses, and 60 ounces of gold, and the *Sword of Carlus*, and the Irish hostages, both of Leinster and Let Cuind, and 60 ounces of white silver as his fetter ounce, and 80 cows for word and supplication, and four hostages to O Riagain as a security for peace, and the full value of the life of the third hostage."

"A.D. 1058. Gallbrat ua Cerbaill, royal heir of Temrach, was slain by Concobar ua Maoileachlainn, by treachery. *The Sword of Carlos*, and many other precious things were obtained for him by Mac Maol na mbo, for he was the security for him."

This "sword of Carlus" was evidently an heir-loom in the family of the Danish kings of Dublin, and, after the Ring of Tomair, their most cherished treasure; and the Latin termination of the name shews that it came originally from a king of France. There is recorded, it is true, in the Annals of the Four Masters, A.D. 866 (868), the fall of "Carlus, the son of Amlaib, *i.e.* the son of the lord of the foreigners," in the battle of Killaderry (near Dublin); but here again the Latin form of his name indicates a connexion with a king of France, and indeed that this young prince had been baptized in France, and received in baptism the

name of the King, Charles the Bald. We have therefore to seek for an occasion in the history of France and of the family of Ragnar, to which these princes belonged,—an occasion, such as is more than once recorded in that history and our own,—when Charles the Bald made peace with this family, persuaded some of them to embrace Christianity, and bestowed upon them costly gifts. The occasion presents itself at once. Prudentius of Troyes says—

“A.D. 845. 120 ships of the Northmen penetrate to Paris, by the Seine, in the month of March, without any resistance, laying waste every thing on every side, and when Charles purposed to meet them, but found that his people could offer no effectual opposition, he prevented them from advancing, and persuaded them to depart, by certain covenants, and a gift of 7000 pounds.”

The Chronicle of Fontanelle informs us who their leader was—

“A.D. 845. Ind. VIII. Ragneri, a leader of the Northmen, came with his fleet, and advanced to Paris, and entered the same city on the Vigil of Easter, that is the 28th March.”

Nothing is said of the nature of the covenants, but we know that the Christians on these occasions always endeavoured to persuade the Pagans to embrace Christianity, and that the Pagans were usually nothing loth to receive baptism for the sake of the substantial favours which accompanied it. The day, moreover, on which the Northmen entered Paris was the great day of baptism, throughout Christendom. This expedition to France must have been the sequel to the invasion of Flanders, mentioned in the *Lodbrokar Quida*. It was followed, according to that document, by others to England, Scotland, the Orkneys, England again, the Hebrides, and then Ireland; and the last appears to be noticed in the *Annals of the Four Masters* and of *Ulster*:—

“A.D. 847 or 848 (849). A fleet of 140 ships, of the people of the king of the foreigners, came to contend with the foreigners that were in Ireland before them, so that they disturbed Ireland between them.”

This attack was renewed two years later.

A.D. 849 or 850 (851). “The Dubgoill,” (Black foreigners or Danes), “arrived in At Cliat, and made a great slaughter of the Fionngoil,” (White foreigners or Norwegians), “and plundered the fortress, both people and property. Another depredation by the Dubgoill upon the Fionngoil at Linn Duachail, and they made a great slaughter of them.”

The Norwegians made an ineffectual attempt to recover their lost ground.

“A.D. 850 or 851 (852). A fleet of 160 ships of the Fiongoill arrived at Snam Eidneach,” (Carlingford Lough), “to give battle to the Dubgoill, and they fought with each other three days and three nights, and the Dubgoill gained the victory; the Fiongoill left their ships to them.”

In the following year Olaf arrived, and probably Ivar with him, and from this time forward the posterity of Ragnar were kings of the Danes of Dublin.

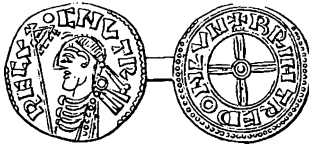
All these circumstances considered, it seems to me extremely probable, that the Sword of Carlus was originally given by Charles the Bald to one of these chieftains, and his name conferred on the son of Olaf, on the occasion of Ragnar's visit to Paris in A.D. 845; and that the sword became an heir-loom in the family of Ivar. Thus the head of the family, in Dublin or in York, would be its possessor, and the possession of it would be the symbol of sovereignty; and when we observe that the monogram KRLS ceases on the Northumbrian coins, when the sword takes its place, it will appear more probable that the monogram was copied from this sword, than from the French coins of the time; that it was in fact the symbol of the sword on which it was engraved. We have the monogram on the coins of Guthfrith-Cnut and Ragnald, and the sword on those of Sihtric I. and Eric I., and all these were of the family of Ivar.

6. *The bird.* Its curved beak would seem to mark it as an eagle or hawk; but, this notwithstanding, I take it to be a dove, the symbol of the Holy Spirit, a type afterwards adopted as the reverse of the coins of Æthelred II., which have on their obverse the “Agnus Dei.” It has been thought to be a raven, and connected with the famous standard of the sons of Ragnar, taken from them in the battle of Cynwith.

7. *The triquetra.* Whatever was the meaning of this device, it was one of old standing on the coins of Northumberland. It accompanies the dog on the sceattas of Eadberht, Alchred, Ælfwald, and the stycas of Æthelred I. (of the moneyer Leofdegn). It was also a favourite device on later coins of Danish kings.

8. *The standard.* On these coins of Olaf, Sitric, and Ragnald, it is distinctly marked with a cross; and Olaf, we know, was a Christian. In one of the plates (copied from a Visigothic MS.), in Shaw's “Dresses and Decorations,” a warrior appears holding a standard of this precise form. On a coin of Cnut the Great (moneyer BRIHTRED ON LVNden), in the Royal Cabinet at Copenhagen, the King appears

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 :