amounts to 276. Some writers have even supposed that no more than one coin was ever struck from one die. This was not the case, and yet perfect correspondence is very rare. If their dies were of brass, as there is some reason to suppose, this would account for frequent change. The Romans, though deficient in poetical genius, were very fertile in allegory, and hence the variety of symbolical types which we find on their coins.

It is not probable that any of the coins of this period were struck in Britain. Those of Valerian, Gallienus, and Claudius Gothicus would naturally be struck at Rome; those of the Gallic Tyrants at one of the three mints of Gaul—Arles, Lyons, and Treves. Carausius may have coined money in Britain, and Constantine is thought to have established a mint in London, but even this is not certain.

These few remarks may serve to justify what I have before said, that the coins of the Nunburnholme find, though neither “rich nor rare,” are yet capable of affording instruction, and reflecting some light on the history of the times.

ON THE FRAGMENTS OF CROSSES DISCOVERED AT LEEDS IN 1838. BY THE REV. DANIEL HENRY HAIGH, OF ERDINGTON.

There can be no doubt as to the age and use of the fragments of crosses which were discovered, in the year 1838, in the walls of the belfry and clerestory of the old Parish Church of Leeds. They were sepulchral memorials, erected, perhaps, at different periods from the seventh to the tenth century. Of such memorials we find occasional notices in our early chronicles. Simeon of Durham, for instance, who wrote early in the twelfth century, tells us that Ethelwold, Bishop of Lindisfarne, caused a cross to be erected in the cemetery of Lindisfarne, and his own name to be engraved upon it;
and that it was designed as a memorial of his predecessor, St. Cuthbert, is evident, for afterwards, when the monks of Lindisfarne were compelled, by the invasion of the Danes, to leave their monastery, and carried the body of St. Cuthbert with them, this cross accompanied them in all their wanderings; and when they finally settled at Durham, it was set up in the cemetery there, where it continued until the sixteenth century, (the time of Leland,) who tells us that it was venerated by the Northumbrians as associated with the memory, not only of the saint who caused it to be made, but of St. Cuthbert also.

Again, after mentioning the death of St. Acca, Bishop of Hexham, in the year 740, and his interment in the cemetery there, Simeon says, "two crosses of stone, decorated with wonderful carving, were placed, one at his head the other at his feet; on one of which, to wit, that which is at his head, there is an inscription to the effect that he is buried there." These crosses, I believe, are still in existence, though both imperfect, and one in fragments.

Again, William of Malmesbury describes two magnificent monuments which existed in his day in the cemetery of Glastonbury Abbey, which he calls pyramids,* because, like all others of this class, they taper from the base to the summit, and had lost the crosses which once terminated them. He says, "Willingly would I explain, could I but ascertain the truth, what is a mystery to almost every one, what those pyramids mean, which, placed a few feet from the church, stand on the border of the monks' cemetery. The loftier of the two, and the nearer to the church, has five panels, and is twenty-eight feet high; this, threatening ruin from its great age, has yet some features of antiquity which can be plainly read, though not fully understood. In the highest panel is an image in the habit of a bishop; in the second a

* In another account they are styled "obelisks."
"figure vested like a king, and the letters HER SEXI and BLISPERH; in the third also are names, PENCREST, BANTOMP, PINEPEGN; in the fourth, BATE, PVLFRED, and EANFLED; in the fifth, which is also the lowest, there is an image and this inscription, LOGOR, PEAS LICAS, and BREGDEN, SPELPES, HIPIN GENDES BEARN. The other pyramid is twenty-six feet high, and has four panels, in which are read these words:—CENTWINE, HEDDE EPISCOPVS and BREGORED and BEORWARD. What these mean I do not rashly decide, but I suspect that their bones are contained within, in stone coffins, whose names are read without."

In the Antiquities of the Church of Glastonbury, by the same author, we have another description of these monuments, with some variations in the reading of the inscriptions, as follows. On the first:

HERSEXI BLISYER
WEMEREEST BANTOMF PINEPEGN
HATS PVLFRED EANFLED
LOGPORPESLICAS
BREGDEN SPELPES
HYINGENDES DERN

On the second:

HEDDE EPISCOPVS
BREGORED BEORWARD

It is to be observed, that this author describes but one side of each monument, that on which there were images; from which it is probable that, like the cross at Bewcastle, they had images on one side only, and on the others, knots and scrolls, which he did not think it necessary to mention.* From the readings he gives it is impossible to make out the whole of the inscriptions satisfactorily, though it is clear that

* This is the case, also, with one of the crosses at Hexham, already alluded to. It has scrolls on three sides, and on the fourth the Crucifixion, with traces of an inscription beneath.
the inscription on the larger monument was in Anglo-Saxon, and contained Anglo-Saxon names, Wulfred and Eanfled and others; and that on the other were four names, of which two are of historical interest, and enable us to determine the period at which these obelisks were erected, that is, the beginning of the eighth century; for Centwine was king of the West Saxons from A.D. 676 to 685, when he became a monk,* and lived for some years afterwards; and Hedde was Bishop of Dorchester from A.D. 676 to 705. The alteration of one letter in the name Beorward would give us the name of the contemporary abbot of Glastonbury, Beornwald; Bregored appears to have been one of his predecessors in the abbacy; but I have no means of identifying Wulfred, or Eanfled. Here, then, were two of this class of monuments, recognized as sepulchral by William of Malmsbury, and probably erected early in the eighth century to the memory of king Centwine and Bishop Hedde. They are now utterly destroyed, for a friend, who, at my request, searched for them lately amongst the ruins of Glastonbury, was unable to find even a fragment of them.

* This fact, unnoticed by the chroniclers, who supposed him to have died A.D. 686, appears from a poem of St. Aldhelm:—"De basilica edificata a Bngge filia regis Anglia."

Further on, St. Aldhelm intimates that he died in the same year as Ceddwalla, A.D. 688; and that he was living in that year appears from a charter, (Codex Diplomaticus XXVIII,) of Baldred to Aldhelm, given by his advice and with his sanction, and attested by his successor Ceddwalla. The genuineness of this charter is proved by a letter of St. Aldhelm to Winberht, Abbot of Nutheall, in which he speaks of the grant made by Baldred, and requests him to confirm it. Accordingly the name of Winberht appears as one of the witnesses to the charter.
As a witness to the use of monuments of this kind, at a period, much later indeed, but one at which matters of this kind were better understood than they have been until lately in our days, we may cite the antiquarian traveller, Leland, who in the sixteenth century informs us that he saw, standing in the churchyard at Ripon, three crosses of most ancient work, and that he believed them to be memorials of some great and notable persons who were buried there. Nothing now remains of these, save the head of one, which is to be seen placed in a recess above the door of the Minster crypt, and its interlaced ornaments are sufficient to show that their character was very much the same as that of the fragments discovered at Leeds.

Other notices of the same kind might be quoted, but these will suffice to prove that crosses of this kind were sepulchral memorials. Those of which Simeon of Durham, and William of Malmsbury, make mention, belong to the eighth century, whilst others still in existence must be referred to the seventh, and some of the Leeds fragments, as will appear in the sequel, to the tenth century.

These monuments are generally four-sided columns of stone, tapering gradually from the base to the summit, and when perfect, which is very seldom the case, terminated by a cross, which is generally a separate stone mortised into the shaft. In size they vary from about three feet, (the probable height when complete of an example at Lastingham,) to eighteen or twenty feet high. They were in most instances erected in pairs, one at the head, the other at the foot of the grave. Thus at the head and foot of what is called the Giant's Grave, in the churchyard at Pencraig, Cumberland, two crosses, which have suffered very much from time and violence, stand opposite to each other, and the space between them is enclosed by four semicircular stones, two on each side. This monument is a christianized
form of that which was in use amongst our forefathers before their conversion, the rude pillars of stone of the earlier times being represented in later times by the cross. Thus two pillar stones on the coast, four miles north of Whitby, are said to mark the grave of a chieftain of pagan times named Wada; and their distance apart, twelve feet, has given rise to a tradition, like that at Penrith, that he was a giant.

The description which Snorro gives of the tomb of King Harold, in his "Chronicles of the Kings of Norway," is that of a monument resembling that at Penrith in every respect, except that simple pillars, instead of crosses, stood at the head and foot of the grave. "King Harold was "buried in the middle of the mound, a stone being placed at "his head and another at his feet, and the sepulchral stone "placed over him; lesser stones being also added at the "sides."

At Sandbach, in Cheshire, a more curious arrangement is to be seen, where two crosses, each on a separate plinth, stand together on an irregular four sided basement, at the corners of which are smaller pillars, and the whole on another basement.

Their ornamentation consists of statuary, either single figures of Our Blessed Lord and His saints, or the person to whose memory they were raised, or of groups of figures representing events in Sacred History; of convoluted scrolls with foliage and fruit, and sometimes animals introduced; of interlaced ribbon patterns, of great variety, and sometimes of great intricacy of design; of frets; and of animal and human figures monstrously distorted, and interwoven with one another. Sometimes the opposite sides of a cross are occupied with continuous scrolls, and the others by a succession of panels, in which are either subjects in arched or oblong compartments, or interlaced patterns. The style of these ornaments, and the character of their work-
manship, varies very much; and we have not as yet sufficient
evidence to warrant us in assigning to each period its peculiar
style; but this much may be said, that most of those which
are the earliest, and which must probably be referred to the
seventh century, are superior in the treatment of the human
figures upon them, whilst they are, perhaps, inferior in the
designs of their scrollwork and interlacing to others which
are certainly of later date, and to some of the same period;
and the reason for this is to be assigned to the fact that
there were two distinct schools of art in Northumbria, the
Roman, introduced by St. Paulinus and his brethren, and
again by St. Wilfrid, nearly forty years later; and the Irish,
introduced by St. Aidan and the missionaries from Hü.
This conjecture is confirmed by comparison of the MSS.,
written by these two schools. Of the Roman School
there is a fine example in the psalter of St. Augustin,
among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum. The
writing is either that of an Italian, or of one who had
been trained by an Italian master; the figure of the
Psalmist at the head of the book is almost classical in
design, and so are some of the ornaments, whilst others,
particularly in the borders and the initial letters, ap­
proach more nearly to those of the Northumbrian Irish
School.* In the Irish MSS., on the contrary, and
in those written in England by the Irish school of
Lindisfarne, in the seventh and eighth centuries, nothing
can exceed the perfection of the scrolls, frets, and inter­
lacings, and scarcely anything the barbarity of the attempts
to delineate animal and human forms. So on the earliest

* The Irish and the Anglo-Saxon Schools of Ornament had, of course, a common
origin, for St. Patrick was trained, for the work of his apostleship in Ireland, at
Tours under St. Martin, at Rome, in the islands of the Mediterranean, and then
at Auxerre under St. German. So if we find in the Kentish MSS. ornaments
similar to those which were employed in the illumination of MSS. at the same
time in Ireland, we can only regard both as developments of the same original
style.
crosses to which we can assign a date, the fragments at Dewsbury and the crosses at Bewcastle and Ruthwell, the representations of human figures are very respectable. The former probably belong to the school of art established by the first missionaries, St. Paulinus and his brethren; the latter belong to the time when St. Wilfrid’s influence prevailed in Northumbria. On the fragments of a later cross, found at Alnmouth, in Northumberland, on which the Irish artist, Myredeh, has inscribed his name, the human figures are very rude.

The inscriptions which remain upon some of these crosses are our only certain guide in determining the period at which they were erected, and a comparison of the workmanship of these, will assist us in forming conclusions as to the age of others.

I have already alluded to the fragments at Dewsbury. These, however, seem to have belonged rather to a memorial cross, than to a sepulchral monument; but of course it is impossible to speak with certainty on this point, since an inscription commemorative of an event in the history of the place, might have been placed on a monument to the memory of some person departed. However, Leland tells us that he saw at Dewsbury a very ancient cross, on which was an inscription—“Paulinus hic celebravit et prædicavit;” and an old ballad, in which a former Vicar of Dewsbury records the ancient glories of his parish, mentions this cross, with the additional information that it was carved with figures of the Apostles.

“In the churchyard once a cross did stand,
    Of Apostles sculptured there;
    And had engraven thereupon,
    ‘Paulinus preached here.’”

These notices seem to have been confirmed by the discovery some years ago, in the course of repairs of the
church, of several sculptured fragments, which there is reason to conclude are remains of this famous cross. For the subjects of the carving seem to be, on one fragment, our Blessed Lord; and on another, His Apostles; and above the head of Our Blessed Lord, on the former, are the words IHS XRVS, "Jesus Christus;" and on the other are two lines of an inscription, which, though imperfect, is, like that recorded by Leland, in Latin, and in the narrative form. The upper line is inscribed —VMFECITEPA, and the lower—BETDVOPIS. It is, of course, very difficult to interpret inscriptions so fragmentary as these are; yet VM is evidently the termination of the accusative case of a word, governed by "FECIT," and "EPA" is a proper name, still preserved in the names of villages in the West Riding, Hepworth and Heptonstall; BET can only be the ending of some such word as "habet;" and "DUOWIS," (the fourth letter being the Anglo-Saxon W,) is the beginning of the name of Dewsbury. Supposing then these stones to be fragments of the celebrated cross of St. Paulinus, I would suggest that this inscription may be a continuation of that which Leland mentions, and that it may be a record of the conversion by St. Paulinus of the lord of Dewsbury; and I would supply five letters at the beginning of each line of the inscription as we have it, which is about the number that the loss of a figure at the left hand of each group of carving indicates are wanting, and taking the inscription mentioned by Leland in connection with it, would suppose that the whole may originally have stood thus, in six lines:

IHS XRVS
SCSPAHLINVS
HICPRAEDICAVIT
ETCELEBRATET
XRANVMFECITEPA
QVIHABETDVOWIS
and read the whole inscription thus:—"Jesus Christus. Paulinus hic prædicavit et celebravit et Christianum fecit Epa qui habet Duowis." "Paulinus preached and celebrated (i.e., the Holy Eucharist) here, and made Epa, who possesses Dewsbury, a Christian." Now there was, about this time, and probably in Northumbria, a prince named EPA. We have a rather extensive series of coins on which this name appears. In Rüding, on several coins, Plate 2, figs. 9, 10, 13, 16, 17, we read distinctly, in Runic characters, EPA. A coin in the collection of the Leeds Philosophical Society, and several others in other collections, have ÆPA. So remarkable a series of coins agreeing in giving the name Epa or Æpa, leaves no doubt that there was a prince of this name; and their great resemblance to one in the collection of Mr. Lindsay, of Cork, which there is every reason to believe is of Oswiu, king of Northumbria from A.D. 642 to 670, helps us to determine the period at which he lived. About this time there was a prince, brother of Penda, king of the Mercians, who, in the Saxon chronicle, is called Eawa, and in the genealogies at the end of the chronicle of Florence of Worcester, Eoua, and Eowa; but in Florence's chronicle itself, Eoppa, in that of Henry of Huntingdon, Epa, and in the Annals of Cambria, Eoba. The reason of this difference is of course the resemblance between the Anglo-Saxon W and the letter P. He fell in the same battle as St. Oswald, A.D. 642, and if he be the same as Epa of the Dewsbury inscription, would, no doubt, as being a Christian, be on the side of St. Oswald, opposed to his brother. Most of the coins above mentioned are marked with the symbol of Christianity.

There can be little doubt, however, in assigning this inscription at Dewsbury to the earliest period of Northumbrian Christianity, whether this be his memorial or not.
At Collingham, there are fragments of three or four crosses, and of these, one about five feet high, is in a style of art very much resembling that of the Dewsbury fragments, and probably of equal antiquity. It presents on each side three figures of saints, in arches, one above another. The lowest series is separated from the two upper by a band of scrollwork, which follows the line of the arch. The attitude of the figures is varied, some being full faced, others turned a little to one side; and there is this difference between the broad and narrow faces of the stone, that on the former the figures are of larger proportions and only half-length, on the latter they are full-length and smaller. This very interesting and early example shows no marks of the Irish School of Art.

The second fragment is one limb of the head of a cross, with knotwork on each side of it. It has been fitted to the stone beneath it, but the patterns are not continuous, nor is it so broad.

The third fragment has a simple fret on the two narrow sides, an interlacing ornament on the back, and on the front an ornament not unlike one of those on the Bewcastle cross, formed of two branches interlacing with fruit and foliage.

The fourth fragment has on the back a knot, and traces of an inscription in two lines:

\[ \text{† CEDILBLÆD} \]
\[ \text{TÆ} \]
on the second side a spiral scroll with flowers and two lines of an inscription, of which the first line is quite distinct, the second presents only faint traces of letters

\[ \text{ÆFTÆRG} \]
\[ \text{N—F—B}; \]
on the front a knot and a device formed by two monsters intertwined, and beneath an inscription of which the first
line is distinct as before, and the second faint; it seems to be

\[\text{AUSWINIC} \quad \text{YNINGGIC;}\]

on the fourth side a simple interlacing pattern, and an inscription almost defaced, of which the most distinct letter is an S at the beginning of the second line. Fortunately the traces of the inscription, even where it is most defaced, are sufficient to show that it was in the same form as those which will be noticed in the sequel, and by comparison with them it is not difficult to restore the whole thus:—

```plaintext
+\text{ÆDILBLÆD} \quad \text{ÆFTÆRGI} \quad \text{AUSWINIC} \quad \text{ÆGÆDDE}
\text{THIS SETTÆ} \quad \text{NIFÆYMÆ} \quad \text{YNINGGIC} \quad \text{RSAULE}
```

that is, two couplets of alliterative verse:—

```plaintext
+\text{Ædilblæd this settæ} \quad \text{Ædilblæd this set}
\text{æftær ginifæ} \quad \text{after her nephew}
\text{ymb Auswini cyning} \quad \text{after Auswini the king}
\text{gicægæd der saule} \quad \text{pray for the soul.}
```

The name \(\text{Ædilblæd}\) which I have supplied at the commencement, and which seems to agree with the traces of letters that remain in the first line, is not mentioned in history as connected with Oswini, nor is any person who stood in that relation to him. The spelling of both names is singular, and indicative of early date. Indeed there can be no doubt, I think, as to the identity of the person whom this monument was designed to commemorate. It is Oswini who reigned in Yorkshire from A.D. 642 to 650. During the later years of his reign he had been at enmity with Oswiu, the son of St. Oswald, king of Bernicia; and at last their forces met at a place which Venerable Æða calls Wilfaræsdun, and which he says is ten miles north-west of Cataracta. Here Oswini, seeing that Oswiu's forces were far superior to his own, determined to avoid an engagement which could only result in the slaughter of his people, and accordingly dismissed them to their homes, himself retiring in company with a trusty soldier to the abode of Earl
Hunwald, in Gaetlingum, to whom he had given not only that place but other lands besides, and from whom, on account of these past favours he now claimed hospitality; but the Earl forgot the duty of gratitude to his benefactor, and abused the confidence reposed in him. He repaired to Oswiu, and made him acquainted with the retreat of Oswini, and Oswiu immediately sent Ethilwini, his steward, with a band of soldiers to the place, with orders to put him to death. Thus perished, on the 20th of August, A.D. 651, the holy king Oswini, in the ninth year of his reign. Eanflaed, the wife of Oswiu, a relative of Oswini, obtained from her husband a grant of land in the neighbourhood, and gave it to Trumheri, their kinsman, that he might found thereon a monastery, in which prayers might be continually offered for the souls of Oswiu and Oswini. He had been educated amongst the Scots, became the first abbot of this monastery, and was afterwards the third bishop of the Mercians. The body of St. Oswini rested here for a time, and was afterwards translated to Tynemouth, and interred in the cemetery there.

The scene of this murder has generally been supposed to be Gilling, near Richmond, and indeed is identified with it in Capgrave's life of St. Oswini, but there is nothing in earlier writers to warrant this, and I suppose that the writer of this life was misled by the fact of the proximity of Gilling to Catterick. There is, however, no need to fancy such a proximity to the place where Oswini disbanded his forces and fled; nay, it seems more probable, that, reserving himself, as Venerable Bæda says, for better times, he would place as great a distance as possible between himself and the army of Oswiu. Moreover, I feel quite convinced that the meeting of the rival kings did not take place near Catterick, for the name is given quite distinctly Wilfaræsdun, and there is no such place at the required distance from Catterick, nor I believe in Yorkshire.
at all. There is Diderston, but the dissimilarity of the
names is so great, that it is impossible to identify it
with Wilfaræsdun; and on the borders of Yorkshire and Cheshire
is Wilber Clough, but no place resembling Catterick in
name near it. In Northamptonshire, however, there is
Wilbarston, about eight miles north-west of Kettering, and
this I feel satisfied is the place, and believe that Venerable
Bæda must have confounded Kettering with Catterick in the
information that was given to him relative to the scene of this
meeting. It may be objected that Wilbarston and Kettering
are not within the limits of the ancient kingdom of Northumbria. To this I would reply, that at the period
when these events took place, the kingdoms of Northumbria
and Mercia were not defined by the limits which they after­
wards had. Mercia, originally a small state, was rising at
the time into greater consequence under the first of its kings
who plays any part in history; for of his predecessors, except
the first Offa,* we know nothing more than the names. In
the genealogies appended to some copies of Nennius, we read
"Penda reigned ten years; he first separated the kingdom
"of the Mercians from the kingdom of the Northumbrians."  
This indicates that Penda's declaration of independence was
A.D. 645, ten years before his death, but his kingdom must
have been very limited in extent at first. The dominions
of Ædwin had extended even to the frontiers of the West
Saxon Kingdom, as is evident from the story of Cwichelm's
attempt upon his life, and his subsequent invasion of
Wessex, which could scarcely have taken place at a later
time, when the powerful kingdom of Mercia intervened
between it and Northumbria: and what we read of the
missions of St. Paulinus in Lincolnshire and Nottingham-

* That Offa did reign in part of what was afterwards the kingdom of Mercia,
about the beginning of the sixth century, though it is doubted by some persons, I
hope to have an opportunity of proving at some future time. I feel perfectly
satisfied that such was the fact.
shire, shews that these districts were subject to Eadwine's authority.

To his territorial empire St. Oswald succeeded, and as his character will not allow us to suppose that he was the aggressor in the conflict in which he lost his life, the place of his death, (generally and most probably supposed to be,) Oswestry, in Shropshire, must have been within his dominions. Later, when Oswiu, by the murder of St. Oswini, had added to his kingdom of Bernicia the rest of the dominions of St. Oswald, we find him exercising authority over great part of what was afterwards the kingdom of Mercia, and committing the government of the provinces south of the Humber to Peada, the son of Penda; and when, in 658, the Mercians chose Wulffhere for their king, it is said to have been an act of rebellion against his authority. A.D. 660, we read of Alcfrid, the son of Oswiu, and king of Deira under him, granting lands at Stamford, in Lincolnshire. A.D. 679, this province was severed from the Northumbrian kingdom; and from this time forward under Ethelred, Ethelbald, and Offa, Mercia gradually advanced until it became, for a time, the most important of all the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

These facts are sufficient to prove that, in the time of St. Oswini, the kingdom of Northumbria did comprehend the district in which Wilbarston and Kettering are situated. In Wilbarston, then, I believe I have found the Wilfarasdun of Venerable Beda. It is but natural to suppose that St. Oswini would retreat in the direction of his own residence, which was most probably near Leeds; but as this would be the immediate object of the army of Oswiu pursuing him, he sought shelter in the house of Earl Hunwald, until the danger should have passed away; and the discovery of his monument proves, what independently we might have regarded as probable, that the abode of the Earl was not
far from his own residence. For it seems to prove that Collingham is Gætlingum, the place where St. Oswini was murdered, where his body rested for a time, and where a monastery was erected in expiation of the crime of Oswiu. The name, certainly, bears as great a resemblance to that of Gætlingum as Gilling, and, indeed, a greater, as the analogy of Cuneningum, also mentioned by Venerable Bæda, which is now Cuningham, shows; but, indeed, the claim of Gilling to be regarded as the scene of these events seems to be quite set aside by the discovery of the true situation of Wilfaræsdun.

During the reign of St. Oswini, the influence of the Scottish missionaries was predominant in Northumbria. Of the friendship between him and St. Aidan, Venerable Bæda gives us a beautiful story; and Trumheri, the first Abbot of Gætlingum, was educated amongst the Scots. So on this cross we observe only the ornaments, which I have supposed characteristic of the Irish School of Art; scrolls and knots and monstrous animals, without any attempt to delineate the human figure.

The next monument to which I shall direct attention, is one which I believe to have been executed not many years later, but under the influence of a different school. It is at Bewcastle in Cumberland, and has been already more than once referred to. It is of larger dimensions than that at Collingham can have been when perfect, being 14 feet 6 inches high, and still stands in its original position, fixed in an irregular octagonal plinth. It presents on the western face, beneath an imperfect inscription, an effigy of St. John the Baptist, pointing with his right hand to the Lamb of God, whose symbol rests on his left arm; then an inscription in Runes, in two lines, the names of Our Blessed Lord,
a majestic figure of whom is beneath, in an arched recess, holding a scroll in His left hand, giving His blessing with His right, and trampling on demons personified by swine. Then follows an inscription of nine lines:—

\[\text{+THIS SIGBEC}
\text{UNSETTÆH}
\text{WÆTREDIM}
\text{GÆRFÆBOLD}
\text{UÆFTÆRBARÆ}
\text{YMB CYNING}
\text{ALCFRIDÆG}
\text{ICEGÆDDE}
\text{OSUM SAULUM}\]

commemorative of the king for whom this monument was erected, and of whom the effigy in profile is beneath in an arched recess, holding a hawk in his left hand above a perch. The eastern face presents a continuous scroll with foliage and fruit, and monsters, quadrupeds and birds introduced, feeding upon it.

On the northern side, we have in Runic letters, nearly six inches long, the Holy Name +GESSU, then a scroll, then an inscription, OSLAAC CYNING; then a knot, then a second inscription, WILFRID PREASTER; then an oblong space filled with chequers, then a third inscription, CYNISWID; then another knot, then a fourth inscription, CYNIBURUG, and lastly a double scroll.

On the southern side, at the top, we have first, the beginning of the name CRISTUS corresponding to GESSU on the north. Below this is a knot, an inscription, EANFLÆD CYNGN, then a scroll, in the midst of which a dial is introduced; a second inscription, ECGFRIÐ CYNING; another knot, a third inscription, CYNIBURUG CYNGN, another scroll, a fourth inscription, OSWU CYNING ELT, and a third knot.
Now these inscriptions enable us to ascertain exactly the age of this monument. The long inscription contains three couplets of alliterative verse:

+This sigbecun
setæ Hwætred
im gæræ boldu
ætær baræ
ymb cyning Alcfridæ
gecegæd deosum saulum
and commemorates Alcfrid, the eldest son of king Oswiu, who reigned in Deira from about A.D. 655 to 664; and the other inscriptions give us the names of his father, “Oswu cyning elt,” i.e. Oswiu King the elder; of his brother, “Ecgfrid cyning,” of his uncle, “Oslaac cyning,” of his stepmother, “Eanfæd cyningin,” of his wife, the daughter of Penda, “Cyniburug cyningin,” of her sister, “Cyniswid,” and of his friend St. Wilfrid, “Wilfrid preaster,” elected, through his influence, Bishop of York, A.D. 664. This election was probably one of the last acts of Alcfrid’s life, and his name never appears again in history. The date of this monument, then is clearly fixed in the year 664.

Mr. Hemingway, of Dewsbury, has in his possession a fragment which evidently formed part of the head of a small memorial cross, on which is the following inscription, perfectly legible:

\[
\text{RHTAE BECUNAEFTER BEORNAE GIBIDDADER SAULE, i.e.}
\]

\[
(N. this set rht)
becun ætær beornæ
a beacon after his son
gibiddadar der saule
pray for the soul.
\]

In the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne, there is a fragment on which is an inscription quite perfect, and written in Roman minuscules, as well as in Runes, the only example that has yet been found of such
a double inscription. Correcting, by means of each copy, the errors which occur in the other, the reading is—

\[ +EOMÆRTHESSÆTTÆÆFÆRÆRHROETHBERHTÆBECUNÆFÆRÆRE \\
OMÆGEBIDÆEDDERSAULE, i. e.,— \\
+Eomær thæ sētτææ æftær Hroethberhtæ \\
becun æftær eomæ æftær Hroethberht \\
egebidæd der sauleæftær eomæ æftær Hroethberht \\
pray for the soul.

A fragment of a cross was found in 1774, between Wycliffe and Greta-bridge, inscribed in Roman uncial:

\[ BAEDA \\
— T— \\
ÆFTE \\
ÆRÆRC \\
HTVINI \\
BECUN \\
ÆFTERF \\
\]

Bæda (the set) t (æ) Bæda this set
æfter Berchtuini after Berchtuini
becun æfter f(adoræ a beacon after his father
gibiddad der saule) pray for the soul.

These three examples are apparently all later than the Bewcastle monument, but not much later than the beginning of the eighth century.

At Hackness, near Scarborough, there are three fragments of crosses, on which are Latin inscriptions to the memory of abbesses who presided during the first half of the eighth century over the monastery founded there by St. Hilda, A.D. 679; and in the Museum at Manchester, a complete cross which formerly stood in the churchyard at Lancaster, on which is the following simple inscription in Runes:—

\[ GIBIDÆTH FORÆ \\
CYNIBALTH CUDBEREHT, “Pray for Cynibalth and Cuthberht.”
\]

We have, thus, in the names of historical interest which some of these monuments supply, in their inscriptions, in the
early forms of the language in which these inscriptions are written, as well as in their peculiar style of art as compared with that of illuminated MSS., abundant evidence to prove that most of these monuments belong to the seventh and eighth centuries; and there can be no doubt that it is to such monuments as these, that the notices cited above from our early historians apply. We may now proceed to notice, in detail, the fragments of similar monuments discovered at Leeds. These were:—

1. A curious fragment, with an interlaced pattern on the side, and a cross in a circle on the top. This, of course, has not formed part of a cross, but I have no doubt that it is the corner of an altar, the sides of which were ornamented with similar work, and which, perhaps, had five crosses on the top. At San Ambrogio, Milan, I remember having seen a stone similarly ornamented, and which at the time I believed to be an altar of the sixth or seventh century.

2. A fragment of a small cross, with scrolls and interlacing ornaments on its adjoining sides.

3. Fragments of the heads of two small crosses, one of which may have belonged to the last mentioned. These are of very different workmanship from, and I believe of earlier date than, the following.

4. Fragments, nearly completing a large cross, which, when perfect, must have been nearly 13 feet high. These present on what we may call the eastern face, a saintly personage, distinguished as such by the glory (of a form common in illuminated MSS. of the Irish School, and found also on some early Saxon coins,) around his head, then a figure with a book, and then a curious device of a winged figure, a demon in the act of devouring a human being whom he holds by the hair and the skirt, and who seems to hold up his hands in supplication to the figure above. Below are three symbols—a spear head, a hammer, and forceps. On
the opposite side, we have first an interlaced pattern, then a half human figure across which, apparently, are the paws of a lion; another interlaced pattern, and a figure with a sword in his right hand and a hawk on his left shoulder. Scrolls and knots of different designs occupy the remaining sides.

5. Fragments of another very similar cross, on one of which is an imperfect inscription:

CUNI—
ONLAF

6. Fragments of another, distinguished from the last by having a cabled border within the frame.

7. Fragments of a sixth.

The resemblance between the fragments 4 and 5, is so great, that I think it extremely probable that the latter belonged to a second cross, which with the former marked one sepulchre; and that, the sepulchre of the king whose name and title are inscribed upon one of the fragments. There can be little doubt that the last letter of the first line of this inscription is part of the Runic U, and that the word complete would be CUNUNC, the form which occurs upon the coins of Anlaf, Sitric, and Regnald. CUNUNC ONLAF then, is "King Onlaf." As there were two kings of this name who reigned in Northumbria in the tenth century, a brief examination of their history will be necessary in order to ascertain to which of them this monument belongs.

A.D. 927, immediately after the death of Sitric, Æthelstan expelled his sons Anlaf and Guthfrith, and the former fled to Ireland.

A.D. 937, Constantine, King of Scotland, persuaded Anlaf, his son-in-law, who had conquered Dublin and established his kingdom there, to assist him in invading England. Accordingly he entered the Humber with a
large fleet, and landed in Lincolnshire; but was soon afterwards attacked by Æthelstan and his brother Eadmund, and utterly routed at Brunanburh, (now Burnham.) Five kings and seven princes were killed in the battle, and Anlaf and Constantine compelled to take to their ships.

A.D. 940, the same Anlaf returned with a large fleet, landed in Yorkshire and took possession of York. Thence he marched southward, intending to subdue the whole kingdom. At Leicester he was met by King Eadmund, and after a battle in which both sides suffered great loss, a treaty of peace was concluded between them, in which it was agreed that Anlaf and Eadmund should divide the kingdom, Anlaf retaining the north and Eadmund the south, that the Watling Street should be the boundary of their respective dominions, and that the survivor should have the whole of England.

A.D. 941, Anlaf, who had recently obtained the royal dignity, wasted Tiningham and burned the church of St. Bahthare there; but, visited immediately by the judgment of Almighty God, came to a miserable end. This was a different person from the subject of the foregoing notices, for Simeon, of Durham, after mentioning the peace between Eadmund and Anlaf, (which he dates A.D. 939,) says Olilaf wasted Tiningham and perished, and then adds "but Onlaf, the son of Sitric, reigned over the Northumbrians."

A.D. 941, Eadmund invaded Northumbria, and expelled Anlaf, the son of Sitric, and his nephew Regnald, the son of Guthfrith, and took upon himself the government of the whole kingdom. Yet he seems to have been soon after reconciled to them, for A.D. 943, he stood as godfather to both, to Anlaf at his baptism, presenting him at the same time with royal gifts; and to Regnald at his confirmation, adopting him as his son.
So far I have followed the Flores Historiarum of Roger of Wendover, because he gives fuller details respecting these kings; and appears to have been better informed as to their history than other chroniclers, who differ from him with regard to the date of the expulsion of Anlaf and Regnald, placing it in A.D. 944. This however, may have been a second expulsion, for Henry of Huntingdon, says that in the first year of Eadred, A.D. 946, Anlaf, who had been expelled from the kingdom of Northumbria, returned with a great fleet, and was received with great joy by his people and restored to his kingdom, which he held with great power for four years; that, however, in the fourth year the Northumbrians rebelled against him, and chose for their king, Eric, the son of Harold. The Saxon Chronicle corroborates these circumstances, but places the dates somewhat later; for after stating that, A.D. 947, the Northumbrians swore fealty to Eadred, but shortly after broke their oaths, and chose Eric for their king; and that, A.D. 948, Eadred ravaged Northumbria, and forced the people to abandon Eric; it says that, A.D. 949, Anlaf Cwiran came to Northumbria, and that, A.D. 952, the Northumbrians expelled king Anlaf, and received Eric, Harold’s son. The surname Cwiran, here given to Anlaf, does not indicate a different person; it is one which was given to him in allusion to his constantly returning after every defeat and expulsion. After mentioning his deposition by the Northumbrians to make way for Eric, Henry of Huntingdon adds, "he again for a short time held the kingdom," and this statement the inscription on the cross at Leeds confirms: for all the notices in the Chronicles appear to relate to Anlaf, the son of Sitric, except that of the year 941, which mentions an Anlaf destroying Tinningham, and dying soon after; and as his death probably occurred in that neighbourhood, and there is no ground for supposing that he was a Christian, I feel satisfied that this fragment
preserves the name of Anlaf, the son of Sitric, who certainly
was a Christian in his later years, and indicates the place
of his death and burial.

Eric was killed A.D. 952, (or 954 according to the
Saxon Chronicle,) by Maco, son of Onlaf, therefore, very
probably, the son of this king. The death of Eric paved
the way for his resuming the kingdom; but his reign must
have been of very short duration, for in the same year
Eadred obtained the kingdom of the Northumbrians, and
all England was thenceforward united under one sovereign.
That year, then, we may safely regard as the period of his
death, and the erection of this monument.

So remarkable a collection of fragments of sepulchral
monuments of different dates, (and it is believed that the
number actually found was even greater still,) indicates the
existence, in early times, of a considerable religious estab­
lishment on the site of the Parish Church of Leeds; and
of such an establishment we seem to have two notices, which,
owing to some blundering in the spelling of the names, have
been hitherto overlooked. In the life of St. Gildas, who lived
in the fifth century, it is said that his brother Mailoc, after
being instructed in sacred learning, came to Luihes, in the
district of Elmail, and there built a monastery, in which,
continually serving God with prayer, praise, and fasting, he
rested at length in peace. I believe that a mistake of one
letter has been made in each of these names, and that for
Luihes and Elmail, we should read Luides and Elmad,
i.e., Leeds and Elmet. The extent of the district of Elmet
in ancient times may be learned from an ancient Anglo-
Saxon MS., published by Gale, in which it is said,
"Elmedsætna continet sexcentas hidas," and as the hide
signified land under cultivation, and most of this district was
forest, this computation indicates an extent which will warrant
us in believing that Leeds, which is about twelve miles from
Sherburn-in-Elnet, and seven from Barwick, may very well have been comprehended within its limits; and as there does not appear to be any other place which will agree with the terms of this notice in the life of St. Gildas, we may safely conclude that the monastery which St. Mailoc-founded in the fifth century, was here. Again, Simeon of Durham, tells us that Eanbald, Archbishop of York, died in the monastery which is called Etle, August 10, A.D. 796. Roger of Hoveden, gives the name Æt Læte, showing that in this, as in many other instances, (such as Æt Corabrige for Corbridge, Æt Stanforda for Stamford,) Æt is merely the preposition prefixed, and that the name is Læte; and there is no place but Leeds which will answer to this name. Here, then, Eanbald died, and from this monastery his body was conveyed in solemn procession to York for interment.

The probability being admitted that Leeds is indicated in both these notices, we seem to gain a clue to the situation of "the monastery of the Venerable Abbot Thrydwulf, in Elmete Wood," of which Venerable Ælæa speaks, and where, he says, that to his day the altar was preserved, which, because it was of stone, had escaped the fire which destroyed the palace of Ædwini "in Campo Dono," and the church which St. Paulinus had erected within its precincts. Indeed the context makes this probability greater. The altar, and whatever could be saved from the fire, was, of course, royal property; and as it may be regarded as certain that the royal family of Northumbria, after the destruction of their first residence, established themselves in this neighbourhood, we may conclude that the monastery in which they placed the altar was not far from their new abode.

That Leeds was the place to which the royal family retreated, after the death of Ædwini and destruction of his
palace, we learn from Venerable Bæda, who tells us that the succeeding kings, that is, Osric and Oswald, built for themselves a palace "in regione quæ vocatur Loidis." The names Coneyshaw and Coneygarth, (the king's wood and enclosure,) and the remains of trenches, existing until the last century, led Thoresby to fix upon Osmundthorpe as the site of this palace; and I think there can be no doubt that it was there.

Here then, most probably, resided Osric, St. Oswald, and St. Oswini, and here was residing Oswiu at the time when Penda invaded his dominions, and was overthrown and slain at the decisive battle of Winwædfield. The site of this battle, which has been the subject of many conjectures, may, I think, be accurately ascertained by comparing Venerable Bæda's account of it with what is stated in the Early British Chronicle, appended to some MSS. of Nennius.

The former may be briefly summed up as follows:—Penda, king of the Mercians, had invaded the dominions of Oswiu, and Oswiu, unable to contend with him, offered him an exceedingly great ransom, on condition of his returning home. Penda, bent on the entire subjugation of Northumbria, rejected his offers; and Oswiu, relying on the help of God, determined on resistance; and though his force was but small, and the army of Penda consisted of thirty legions, led by as many princes renowned for their bravery, he gave him battle near the river Winwæd. At the beginning of the engagement the pagan army was routed, Æthelhere, King of the East Angles, and most of the princes who were on Penda's side were slain; and more perished in the river, which had over-flowed its banks at the time, than perished by the sword. It is afterwards said King Oswiu concluded the aforesaid war in the region of Loidis, that he cut off the head of Penda, and converted the Mercians to the Christian faith.
Let us now examine the British account. It is contained in a short but valuable chronicle, principally consisting of genealogies, appended to four MSS. of Nennius.

The first of these MSS., of the tenth century, 3859 in the Harleian Collection, contains Nennius, these genealogies, the Annals of Cambria, and the Genealogy of Hoel Dha. The other three, in the Cottonian collection: Vespasian D. XXI. 1, and B. XXV. 7, both of the twelfth century, and Vitellius XIII. 11, of the thirteenth, contain Nennius and the genealogies only. These three agree very closely with the first, but as they omit the Annals of Cambria and the Genealogy of Hoel Dha, they would seem to be copies of some common original in which these were not. Where, then, they agree in differing from the earlier MSS., we may place more confidence in the reading they supply than in that given therein, and, generally, the spelling of the names is more correct in the two twelfth century MSS. than in the earlier one. Now, all these MSS. agree in the following account of Penda's war with Oswiu. (In the original the paragraphs are transposed, the first being placed second. This obvious error I take the liberty of correcting):

"Osguid sent all the wealth which was with him in the city to Manu, to Penda, and Penda distributed it to the kings of the Britons, that is, 'Atbret Iudeu,' (the ransom of Iudeu). "Osguid killed Pantha in the field of Giti, and the kings of the Britons were slain who went out with King Pantha in his expedition to the town which is called Iudeu."

The Annals of Cambria, in the first of these MSS. contain the two following notices:

CCXII. year (A.D. 656).—The slaughter of the field of Gaii.

CCXIII. year (A.D. 657).—The execution of Pantha.

The account given in the two paragraphs above differs from that in Venerable Bæda, in saying that Oswiu actually
gave the treasures, and that Penda divided them amongst his allies; whereas he says that Oswiu offered and Penda refused them. I prefer the former, and believe that Penda accepted the ransom, but refused to make peace; and that Oswiu, driven to desperation, collected his forces, and by the suddenness and impetuosity of his assault gained the victory. Of the identity of Iudeu with Loidis there can be no doubt. The error in the first letter of the name has arisen from the great similarity of the letters I and i in the MSS. of the period to which the original of the British story belongs, i.e., the eighth century.* The place where Penda's forces were encamped is called in the earliest MSS. Manau, in the others Manu; this difference is of slight importance. The scene of the battle is called in the first Gai; but in the others Giti. The annals of Cambria give Gaii, but as they are part of the same volume with the first, they can scarcely be considered a separate authority, and I think we are justified in preferring the reading Giti, in which three distinct transcripts of an ancient original agree. This may be for Witi, since not only Gu, but G also, is constantly written for W; and if it be so, then in Manu and Witi, we have a clear indication of the locality of this battle. Manu, where Penda was encamped, is Meanwood, and Witi is Weetwood, a little farther from Leeds, where, perhaps, his forces, thrown into confusion by the unexpected attack of Oswiu, attempted to make a stand and were defeated. The river which arrested them in their flight is undoubtedly the Aire, and the nearest point to Weetwood on this river is the neighbourhood of Kirkstall,† where, as it

* The latest notice in these genealogies being that of Eadberht, who became King of Northumbria, A.D. 738. Of the similarity of these two letters a better illustration cannot be given than the single word "ignobilia," copied from the earliest MS. of Venerable Beda's Ecclesiastical History. See Plate III.

† I had fixed upon the neighbourhood of Kirkstall as the probable locality of Winwiod, before I was informed of the letter of Gale to Thoresby suggesting Winnet, and mentioning Speed's conjecture as to the scene of the battle.
appears from a charter in the Monasticon, there was at the west end of the bridge a piece of land called Winnet, corresponding to "Wynnet" and "Wynnod," of two Welsh versions of the "Brut," and to the "Winwæd" of Venerable Bæda. The etymology of the name Winwæd, "the ford of the battle," seems to show that it was not the name of the river, but rather of the spot where the fugitives attempted to cross, and were drowned in the flood. It is remarkable that Speed, in his maps, places the battle-field in the neighbourhood of Kirkstall Abbey. It does not appear what his authority was for doing so, but he was undoubtedly right.

The notice in the Annals of Cambria, of the execution of Penda in the year following the battle is valuable, for it explains the statement in Venerable Bæda, who does not say that he was killed in the battle, but mentions his execution as a circumstance subsequent to the date of the conclusion of the war, November 16th, A.D. 665. It would appear that he fell into Oswiu's power, and was beheaded by his orders some months afterwards. The British story is valuable in another respect, inasmuch as it shows clearly, what might, indeed, have been inferred from the other account, that Oswiu was resident in Leeds at the time, and that it was against Leeds, as Oswiu's royal city, that Penda's attack was directed.

The discovery of these fragments having established the fact that Leeds, which had become a royal city in the seventh century, continued to be so until the extinction of the Northumbrian monarchy, and was the burial place of its last king, it may be interesting to mention the existence of a coin, which, taken in connection with the probability that Leeds is the British Cair Luid (or Loit) Coit, and Ludeu of Nennius and Geoffrey of Monmouth, seems to prove that it had, also, what might be expected from its being a royal
city, the privilege of a mint. It is one of Sitric, the father of Anlaf. On the obverse it bears a sword, the name SITRC, and LVDO, which can only be the name of a mint. On the reverse we have ERIC MOTI the moneyer's name and title. (See Lindsay's "Coinage of the Anglo-Saxons.")

A notice of two or three monuments, similar to those which have occupied our attention in the foregoing pages, existing in the neighbourhood of Leeds, shall conclude this memoir.

In Raistrick churchyard, there is the base or shaft of a cross two feet four inches high, tapering from about two feet eight inches to two feet one inch, and from two feet four inches to one foot ten inches, with the socket in which the cross was fixed at the top thirteen inches by ten, and nine inches deep. The northern, southern, and eastern sides are each divided by a vertical line into two panels; the first has simple fretwork, the two others have spiral scrolls with foliage. The western side has probably an inscription, but I have not had an opportunity of visiting it, nor have I yet been able to procure a cast which would enable me to decipher it.

On Hartshead Moor, not far from the church, there is the shaft of a cross, called Walton Cross. It stands upon a plinth, is four feet nine inches high, and tapers from three feet six inches to two feet four inches on its broad sides; and from two feet ten inches to one foot eleven inches on its narrow sides. The latter are covered with fretwork; of the former, one has a cruciform device in a circle, and below it a scroll with two birds; the latter has a scroll with four birds, a frame of fretwork enclosing the device on each side. A fragment of the head which had been broken off, and lay by its side for many years, is now at Halifax. The devices on this monument are peculiar, but their character so strongly resembles that of the crosses at Ilkley, that I could fancy them the work of the same hand.
Cross at Collingham
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The third cross has on the eastern side a scroll, and then a figure; and similar designs on the other sides. This is much more worn than the others, and appears to be of different workmanship.

And now in taking leave of a subject which has recalled to memory many pleasant associations of bygone days, I must gratefully acknowledge the courtesy I have experienced, and the assistance I have received during the preparation of this memoir, from R. D. Chantrell, Esq., of London, who kindly supplied me with an accurate drawing of the cross; from Henry Denny, Esq., whose zeal in furnishing information, and taking casts of inscriptions has been indefatigable; and whose interest secured the aid of T. W. Stansfeld, Esq., in procuring photographs of some of these monuments; from the Rev. Thomas Allbutt, Vicar of Dewsbury, who politely afforded every facility for examining and taking rubbings from the remains in his garden; from the Rev. John Snowden, Vicar of Ilkley, who kindly permitted me to remove the masonry which concealed a large portion of an interesting cross in his churchyard; from the Rev. B. Eamonson, Vicar of Collingham, and his niece, Miss Metcalfe, who have also shewn friendly co-operation in the examination of the monuments in their garden; and from F. A. Leyland, Esq., of Halifax, who has furnished valuable information relative to similar monuments in his neighbourhood.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE I.—Views of the Cross found in the Old Parish Church, at Leeds. The lighter portions shew the parts wanting, the dark lines mark the fractures.

PLATE II.—View of one of the Crosses at Collingham.