

# ODILO, A NORTHUMBRIAN MONEYSER OF THE NINTH CENTURY, AND HIS ISSUES.

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## I.—NORTHUMBRIAN COINS WHICH BEAR THE NAME OF ODILO.

**T**HE chronology of the archbishops of York and the kings of Northumbria in the first half of the ninth century is confused and uncertain.<sup>1</sup> Numismatists have not yet been able to throw much light upon the obscurities of this period. From 796 to 806 a king named Eardwulf was reigning, but no coins bearing his name were known before 1833.<sup>2</sup> In that year a few were dug up at Hexham in Northumberland. They formed part of a hoard of about 8000 pieces in all, and it is believed that they were buried in the graveyard at Hexham in about A.D. 850. But not one of them, it has been objected, gives Eardwulf the title of king, and as this name also occurs as that of a moneyer on coins of the kings Eanred and Ethelred II, doubt has been expressed as to whether the coins in question really belong to the king who bore the same name as the moneyer.

The title REX and the official designation MON[ETARIUS] are generally omitted from the stycas of Eardwulf, however. Mr. H. Alexander Parsons informs me that he does not know of

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, by the Rev. Charles Plummer, vol. i, *Text*, 1892; vol. ii, *Notes*, 1899, p. 84. There is a gap of sixty years in the history of Northumbria—viz., from the expulsion of Eardwulf to the slaughter of Ælle and Osberht. Simeon of Durham's narrative presents a lacuna of about half a century; cp. Plummer, *u.s.*, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> In *Archæologia*, vol. xxv, article No. xvi (1833), there is an interesting "Account of the Discovery at Hexham . . . of a brass vessel containing a number of Anglo-Saxon coins called Stycas." This article was contributed by John Adamson, F.S.S.A. Lond. et Edinb.

any coins bearing the name of Eardwulf on both sides ; but he is acquainted with stycas which bear the names of two moneyers and which are unquestionably Northumbrian. The rank of King Eardwulf is given on a few of his stycas. The name of the moneyer Eardwulf on the coins of Ælfwold II is believed to be purposely obscured, and issues bearing the letterings RDSWOF and FHDWOL are extant.

The few coins of Eardwulf found at Hexham are genuine stycas. They contain about sixty or seventy per cent. of copper with admixture of tin or zinc and a dash of silver. The special features of the type of the Hexham coins are a small cross on each face of the coin, with the king's name on one side and the moneyer's on the other. They are without indication of rank or office.

Mr. Nathan Heywood spoke of seven others which are now preserved at Stonyhurst College.<sup>1</sup> These formed part of the great hoard found at York in 1842. But not one of these seven coins of Eardwulf bears the name of Odilo. Possibly some of those preserved at York do bear his name.

Mr. Heywood enumerates forty-seven stycas of King Eardwulf's son King Eanred and gives "Odilo" among the names of those who filled the office of moneyer in Eanred's day. There are also 229 coins of Ethelred II at Stonyhurst College, and 9 of Redwulf. But Odilo's name is not found on one of these. In Mr. Heywood's Table on p. 334 a few statistics of 6086 coins are given. These are distributed as follows :—Eanred, 1456 ; Ethelred II, 3406 ; and Redwulf, 175. King Osbercht, and Archbishops Eanbald, Wigmund, and Wulfhere have 1049 among them.

Only two of the moneyers of the 2000 coins of King Eanred which formed part of the great find of A.D. 1833 added their official title to their names. These were Folcnoth and Odilo himself. On all his issues Folcnoth appended M to his name. On one of Odilo's we get MON, and on another MO. Under Ethelred II Odilo added

<sup>1</sup> "A Parcel of Stycas from the York Find, 1842," in the *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vii, pp. 331-334.

MO. The coins of Odilo found in 1833 are engraved in *Archæologia*, vol. xxv, in plate XL and plate L. Two of them lack official designation; one has MON; and four have MO.

In Mr. Keary's Catalogue<sup>1</sup> the name of Odilo is indicated as occurring on six coins and under three kings of Northumbria—namely, Eardwulf (one), Eanred (three), Ethelred II (two). Of these one has MON, three have MO, and two yield no official title. These coins present but slight variations. All six are perfectly clear and it is worth noting that Ethelred the Second's name occurs on his coins as EDELRED.

Major Creeke, also, dealt with the Northumbrian stycas.<sup>2</sup> And Mr. H. Alexander Parsons gave us a helpful paper in 1916 on the coins of Archbishop Eanbald II.<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to the last-named member of our Society for particulars kindly given to me of five coins of Odilo that Mr. Parsons has in his own collection.

One of these is of Eanred, and two are of Ethelred II. These all yield reverted inscriptions. The two others are of singular importance. On one of these the royal (?) name is confused and reverted; and the name of Odilo is reverted on both and spelt in an unusual and curious way. The two forms are—+JHÐO+, and +OJHGO+, i.e., OÐHL and OÐHLO. The royal (?) names are—+JOVDHJ+, and +RDSMOF. When the former reading is set right about they become severally—

FHDLVOL or FHDWOL  
+RDSMOF

It is difficult to make anything else but ERDWOLF out of these blunders, and Mr. Parsons does not hesitate to attribute these two coins to that king's times.

It must now be recognized that our outlook is seriously obscured by confusion in the presentation of the king's name, as well as the

<sup>1</sup> *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum: Anglo-Saxon Series*, vol. i, 1887.

<sup>2</sup> "The Regal Sceatta and Styca Series of Northumbria," in the *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. i, pp. 65-97.

<sup>3</sup> "The Coins of Archbishop Eanbald II of York," in the *Second Series of the British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ii, pp. 1-14.

moneyer's, and the meaning of the curious divergence ODH[1]LO is still to seek.

## II.—THE NAME AND NATIONALITY OF ODILO.

Odilo is a very strange name to find in England at all, and particularly so in the ninth century. It cannot be English.

In Kenyon-Hawkins<sup>1</sup> three lists of moneyers' names of the period we are concerned with are given. In each of these the name Odilo appears. Taking the forms of names and the lists just as we find them, six moneyers' names occur under Eardwulf (p. 70), 90 under Eanred (pp. 72, 73), and 86 under Ethelred II (p. 76). Of these 258 forms of eighth- and ninth-century names only three—to wit, Folcno, Eanredo and Odilo, appear with a final o. The first of these is just Folcnoth with the barred D dropped for want of space or some other artificer's reason. The second name—that of Eanred, appears with five different spellings—viz., Eanred, Ean-rede, Ean-redi, Ean-redo, Ean-redr. These variations have been noticed in Kenyon-Hawkins, *vide* footnote, p. 75. What this series signifies I cannot tell, but it certainly appears to be systematic. Consequently "Odilo" is the only name normally ending in o out of the 258 forms listed.

The primary reason for the statement made just now that "Odilo" is not English is that the name does not appear in any historical or diplomatic document in this country of earlier date than 796, when King Eardwulf was crowned. It does not, of course, appear then, but that king's coronation is the *terminus à quo*. The secondary reasons are—(1) the absence of vocalic infection where the long initial o is concerned; and (2) the ending in short o, which is not Anglo-Saxon at all.

In Old English the vowel *ō*, when followed by an *i* in the next syllable, became *oi* in the earliest period, and *oe* and *œ* in later times. The infection of vowels by *i* in the following syllable began to occur in O.E. in the latter part of the fifth century, it is believed.

<sup>1</sup> *The Silver Coins of England*, by Edward Hawkins, F.R.S., F.S.A., 3rd edition, by R. L. Kenyon, 1887.

The Venerable Bede was learning to write and spell in A.D. 685, and in his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (III, xiv), which was finished in A.D. 731, we get the name of Oidilualdus. This was the last king of Deira and he died in 655. Bede also mentions two others who bore this name. One of these was a priest at Ripon, c. 680 (V, i). The other was a hermit of Farne (*Vita Sci. Cuthberti*, cap. xvi). Bede, we must remember, was constrained to use the letter d, in his latinization of O.E. proper names, to represent three different sounds, viz., d, ith and thee (d, þ, ð). Hence we have to determine what was the true value of d in the headword in Oidilualdus. Now Sweet, in his *Oldest English Texts*,<sup>1</sup> gives this headword as Oithel- and thus clears away all doubt as to whether the dental was aspirated or not. He also sets down the newer Northumbrian form Oethil- beside it (No. 648, and *cp.* Searle, p. 365). In the A.-S. translation of Bede's *Historia*, which is attributed to King Alfred,<sup>2</sup> "Oidilualdus" appears as *Æthelwald*. But the tied letter Æ for Oi is erroneous. Bede names an Ædilfridus, king of the Northumbrians in 616, and an Ædilthryda, daughter of Edwin, king of Deira, a little later. As Bede wrote Oidil- and Ædil- in names that we know are distinct, we are forbidden to regard Ædil- and Oidil- as the same headword. Ædil- presents the i-infection of ððil-. Oidil- is the i-infection of ððil-.

We will now turn to Searle's *Onomasticon*, and we learn at once that "Odilo" is given as the name of several Teutons by Ernst Förstemann,<sup>3</sup> and also that August Potthast records an Odilo who was abbot of Cluny from 994 to 1049.<sup>4</sup> The name also occurs in Paul Piper's great work.<sup>5</sup> It is to be found twice in the Book of the Brotherhood of Augsburg, col. 235, l. 26, and col. 271, l. 11. It appears very frequently in combination in the names of men

<sup>1</sup> *Early English Texts Society* (1885), Nos. 548, 648.

<sup>2</sup> *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, ed. Rev. Charles Plummer, 1896. Introd., p. cxxviii, § 37 and note.

<sup>3</sup> *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, 1856-72 (1900), col. 973.

<sup>4</sup> *Bibliotheca Historica Medii Aevi*, 1896.

<sup>5</sup> *Libri Confraternitatum Sancti Galli Augiensis Fabariensis*, ed. Paulus Piper, 1884; *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.



of the Rhineland in the eighth century and no fewer than twenty-four endwords such as *bald*, *bert*, *ulf*, *olf*, *hard*, etc., yield composite names such as Odilbald, Odilbert, Odilulf, Odilolf, Odilhard, and the like.

The use of "Odilo" as a man's name in the Rhineland is very ancient, and we get a Duke of Bavaria named Odila in Latin in the eighth century. The name also occurs in Champagne, where the latinization "Odilus" is found in the *Polyptique de l'Abbé Irminon* and in the *Polyptique de l'Abbaye de S. Rémi de Rheims*, which were edited by Guérard in 1844 and 1853 respectively.

The name Odilo, then, is Old High Dutch. In that Teutonic dialect, in the eighth century, the only vowel that underwent i-infection was the vowel *ä*.<sup>1</sup> Hence the vowel *o* was not affected by a following *i* in O.H.D. in A.D. 800, and had maintained its position and value.

That the initial *O* of "Odilo" was long there can be no doubt. In O.E. Germanic long *o* when i-infected became *oi* before the seventh century. Of all the O.H.D. dialects Bavarian retained Old Germanic *ō* latest and longest. In Bavarian *ō* became *uo*, through the intermediate stage *ua*, by about the year 900.<sup>2</sup> For these reasons we may safely assume that considerations of dialectal changes in O.H.D. from *ō* to *ua*, *uo*, cannot affect our conclusions respecting the form of the name of a man who was a moneyer in Northumbria about the year 800.

As regards the end-vowel *ō* it may be pointed out that in O.E. either the end-vowel of the headword of a proper name fell off altogether; or, if originally *i*, it became *e*, and if originally *o* it became *a*. The form *Odila* occurs in the Catalogue of the Abbey of Corbie.<sup>3</sup> Förstemann gives that form as Anglo-Saxon, and mistakenly equates it with "Oettle," having assumed, apparently, that its initial *o* was short. But I regard both the equation and the assumption as erroneous. Förstemann says that *Odil-* occurs

<sup>1</sup> Vide Professor Joseph Wright's *Old High German Primer*, 1906, §§ 1, 6 and 41.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Professor Wright's *Historical German Grammar*, 1907, § 73.

<sup>3</sup> Cited by Förstemann, *u.s.*, from *Bibliotheca Corbeiensis*, i, 68, 69.

very frequently—"sehr häufig." It appears in combination as Odal-, Odil- and Odol-.

We are now able to assert with confidence that Odilo, the Northumbrian moneyer we are concerned with, bore an Alamannic, or Suevic, or Rhinefrankish personal name, and we will now return to Mr. H. A. Parsons' two obscure coins already referred to. My reading of the obverse of these coins is based upon the assumption that the name the moneyer attempted to strike was ERDWOLF and not EARDWVLF. The following arrangement will make this clear:—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
E	R	D	W	O	L	F
3	1	2	4	5		6
S	R	D	M	O	—	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	
F	H	D	W	O	L	

The student of Old-English dialects will rightly raise two objections to this hypothetical accommodation: neither the headword ERD nor the endword WOLF is Northumbrian English—nor for that matter English at all. We never spelt "wolf" in England with an "o" until the Normans came; and "a" before r + consonant in all Old-English dialects was regularly broken to ea.<sup>1</sup>

The spelling of "Odilo" on Mr. Parsons' coins also presents a difficulty. I say "of Odilo" because there can be no doubt but that OÐH[ ]LO was intended to represent that name. This digraphic spelling DH, again, is neither Northumbrian nor English.

The oldest monuments of High Dutch belong to about the middle of the eighth century. In so far as breaking of vowels is concerned O.H.D. steadfastly refused to adopt it. On the other hand, of all the Germanic dialects contemporary with O.H.D. the O.E. dialect has developed and applied the system of vocalic breaking most

<sup>1</sup> Vide Professor Wright's *Old English Grammar*, 1908, §§ 63, 66. In the earlier section it is pointed out that "a" before r + consonant was frequently not broken in Anglian. But the existence of the broken form "eard-" puts the moneyer's form "erdwolf" out of court.

perfectly.<sup>1</sup> With respect to *th* (O.E. *þ*), this became *d* first in Alamannic in about the middle of the eighth century. In other dialects the adoption of *d* for *þ* through *ð* was later and it did not really become universal in Germany till the end of the eleventh century.<sup>2</sup>

The problems presented by the inscriptions on the handful of Northumbrian coins we are considering are five in number :

1. The quite irregular absence of vocalic infection in initial *ō* of "Odilo."
2. The use of the digraph *dh* in "Odh[i]lo."
3. The retention of the un-English final *ð* in "Odilo."
4. The unbroken *e* before *r* + consonant in "Erdwolf," misrepresenting *Eardwulf*; and—
5. The un-English spelling *wolf* in "Erdwolf."

Now, it is quite easy to pick up Mr. Parsons' coins one by one and assert that the several errors are merely examples of ordinary monetarial blundering and of no more moment or importance than many other similar blunders. On the other hand, what if the five difficulties I have enumerated and classed collectively as Anglo-Saxon numismatic problems should turn out to be five phonological criteria which are known to be peculiar to and, therefore, indicative of another Germanic folk-speech, namely, the Old High Dutch dialect? That, as I shall show, is really the case, and when this is recognized the problem necessarily takes on a new aspect. The five characteristics which are difficulties from the point of view of students of Old English are actually normal criteria of Old High Dutch of the times of Charles the Great, the contemporary of King Eardwulf. Compare the following statements of fact :—

<sup>1</sup> Vide *A Comparative Grammar of the Teutonic Languages*, by James Helfenstein, 1870, pp. 34, 35.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Professor Wright's *Historical German Grammar*, § 274. "Germanic *þ* became *d* in Upper Germany about the middle of the eighth century, in Upper Franconia during the ninth, in Middle Franconia and the North Middle German dialects in the tenth and eleventh centuries."



1. O.H.D. did not admit i-infection of  $\bar{o}$  at any time.
2. The eighth-century Upper German translator of Isidor's tract, *De fide catholica contra Iudæos*,<sup>1</sup> used *dh* for Gothic and Old-English  $\mathfrak{p}$ ; e.g., *dhazs*, *dhëra*, *dhëse*, *dhann*, *dhîn*, etc., for "that," "there," "these," "than," "thine." The *h* was dropped in course of time and at the close of the reign of Charles the Great (A.D. 814) only old-fashioned people from one district of Upper Germany would be likely to retain it.
3. Final  $\bar{o}$  in names of men where O.E. has  $\bar{a}$  is a characteristic feature of O.H.D.
4. *e* before *r* + consonant, as in "erda," does not suffer breaking in O.H.D. In Einhard's Annals<sup>2</sup> we get both Eardulfus and Ardulfus. Such forms as the O.E. breakings "eorpe," "earpe," "iorpe" are as foreign to O.H.D. as *erd*, for unbroken *hard-*, *ard-*, is to O.E. "Ardulfus" also occurs in Pope Leo III's<sup>3</sup> letter to Charles the Great.
5. O.H.D. spelt Gothic "wulfs," O.E. and O.S. "wulf," with an *o*; but the older *-ulf* for *-wulf* maintained its place as an endword in the names of men in several O.H.D. dialects. In others we get *-olf*.<sup>4</sup>

### III.—KING EARDULF'S CONNEXION WITH CHARLES THE GREAT.

We are now assured of the substantive correctness, the outlandishness, and the land of origin of the Rhinefrankish name "Odilo." We are therefore faced by the question—How came it that a Northumbrian moneyer of the year 808, or earlier, bore a Teutonic name, and displayed Teutonic peculiarities of orthography and dialect on some of the coins that bear his name and that of

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Lesebuch des Althochdeutschen und Altsächsischen*, von Dr. Paul Piper, 1880, Zweiter Theil der *Sprach und Litteratur Deutschlands*, cap. v, p. 34, article viii: Aus Isidor. Cp. *A History of German Literature*, by John G. Robertson, 1902, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Einhardi Fuldensis Annales*, ed. Pertz, "Scriptores," i, 195, 196.

<sup>3</sup> *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, edd. A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, iii, 1871, pp. 565-6.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Piper's Index to the *Libri Confraternitatum*, under Odil-.

King (?) Eardwulf of Northumbria? The *Annales Lindisfarnenses*, a twelfth-century MS., enable us to provide a plausible answer to this question. In those Annals, at A.D. 797, we read "Eardulf regnavit decem annis. Iste duxit uxorem filiam regis Karoli."<sup>1</sup> It is possible that Odhilo accompanied Charles the Great's daughter to Northumbria, and that the Odilo, who was still serving as a moneyer in A.D. 844, and perhaps later, was his son. In any case the coins showing the Rhinefrankish spelling *Odhilo* must be regarded as the earliest of the *Odilo* group.

There are two objections to the statement made in the *Annales Lindisfarnenses*: first, the statement is uncorroborated; secondly, it is, from one point of view, distinctly at variance with the *Vita Caroli*, cap. xix,<sup>2</sup> where we may read of Charles the Great's treatment of his daughters, and are told that he "Nullam earum cuiquam aut suorum aut exterorum nuptum dare voluit, sed omnes secum usque ad obitum suum in domo sua retinuit."

It is not necessary to assume that the *Annales* and the *Vita* are opposed to each other. As Charles had natural daughters we might suppose that they would not have been brought up along with his legitimate offspring. Charles married a daughter of Desiderius, king of the Lombards, in 770. He repudiated her next year and took another princess to wife. That his treatment of his daughters may have been unparental we gather from his quarrel with King Offa of Mercia in 788. Charles sought the hand of Offa's daughter for his son Carl the Younger.<sup>3</sup> Offa was willing, but he desired that his son Ecgfrith should marry Charles's daughter Bertha. This did not suit Charles, and the negotiations were broken off. The two kings were inimical for some time; but Alcwin acted as mediator and the friendship of Charles and Offa was renewed. This

<sup>1</sup> Vide Pertz, *Scriptores*, tom. xix, p. 506. For additional information respecting King Eardwulf, King Eanred his son, and King Ethelred the Second, his grandson, in whose times the moneyers Odhilo and Odilo officiated, see the references in Plummer's *Saxon Chronicles*, ii, pp. 65-84, and also the several articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Leslie Stephen.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Pertz, *SS.*, tom. ii, pp. 454, 460.

<sup>3</sup> Vide *Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensem*, c. xvi.

certainly tends to confirm the curious statement made in the *Vita Caroli*.

There was much intercourse in Charles's time between Germany and England. On Charles's accession in 768 King Alchred sent an embassy to him from Northumbria. It was to Alchred that St. Willehad applied for leave to go and evangelize the Saxons and Frisians. Charles was indebted to a great and famous Englishman of Northumbria for much of the intellectual and spiritual advancement of his court and subjects. With the aid of Alcwin, who was born at York shortly before the death of the Venerable Bede, and who departed this life on May 19, 804, Charles established a kind of university at his court and brought the best English learning of the time within the reach of his high-born subjects. Alcwin had been high master of the Cloister School at York from 766 to 780. In 781 he visited Rome by command of Archbishop Eanbald and went thence to the court of Charles the Great in 782. He spent eight years there and then came back to England for two years, after which Offa of Mercia, in 793, sent him again to Charles. Alcwin kept touch with Northumbria, and a copy of a letter of his reproving certain misdeeds of King Eardwulf is still extant. When Eardwulf was driven out of Northumbria in 806 or 807 he went forthwith to the court of Charles the Great at Nimèguen. The emperor and his court are known to have been at that city at Easter, 808.<sup>1</sup> Eardwulf then visited Pope Leo III at Rome, and the whole of the business of enlisting the sympathy of Charles and Leo, and securing his own reinstatement on the throne of Northumbria, appears to have been concluded before the end of this year 808.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, even those students of history who are unable to accept the authority of the Annals of Lindisfarne will not be unwilling to admit the closeness of the relationship between the Northumbrian kingdom and the Frankish empire from 796 to 808. Pippin was crowned in 750 by the Englishman Boniface, Archbishop of Mainz. A constant stream of teachers from England passed into Germany

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Haddan and Stubbs, *u.s.*, p. 561, note *a*.

<sup>2</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, *u.s.*, note *b*.

in the early part of the eighth century. Lull of Mainz, Willibald of Eichstadt, and Burchard of Wurzburg were all of them Englishmen. There is abundant evidence that Alcwin and Boniface and Lull and the others kept up their relations with their motherland. Of the hundred and fifty letters of Boniface and Lull printed by Dümmler in his *Epistolæ Carolini Ævi*, thirty-five at least are addressed to English monasteries or individuals.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See "Relations of Francia and England in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries," chap. ii, in *Local Government in Francia and England*, by Helen M. Cam, M.A., 1912, pp. 6-17.