The coins of the Viking invaders do not form a regular series in the same way as the coins of their English contemporaries. This, combined with our ignorance of the history of the period, has made it impossible to attribute the coins to reigns with any degree of certainty. The earlier Danish coins are fairly well known from the Cuerdale hoard, \(^1\) even if they are often still unexplained. The later coins are, however, of great rarity, and though many types have been discussed individually, \(^2\) there exists no complete collection of the known varieties. In this paper I have brought together all the types and moneyers I could find, including a number which are not mentioned in Hawkins or Brooke. In the process I have suggested a number of new dates and attributions which, though far from certain, seem to me more probable than those at present in vogue.

The names which lead to most confusion are those of Sihtric and Regnald. Each name was borne by more than one ruler and is also known on coins of the period. There are, for instance, seven varieties of coin on record which bear the name Sihtric.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1.</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>SITRIC</strong></td>
<td><strong>SITRIC</strong></td>
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<td><strong>EVIIID</strong></td>
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<td><strong>EELDFOR</strong></td>
<td><strong>HEONETR</strong></td>
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<td><strong>BERTV</strong></td>
<td><strong>X</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(British Museum and Rashleigh Sale, 1909, lot 169.)

Pl. fig. 1.

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Northumbrian Pennies of the Tenth Century

Obverse

3. STITR + AREMO
   ICORE * -C- cexitre
   Sword pointing right with zig-zag decoration in centre.
   (British Museum = Num. Chron., 1869, pl. II, 17.)
   Pl. fig. 3.

4. SITR + IBRANT.
   ICOREX T in centre.
   Plain sword pointing right in centre.
   (Stockholm Museum — Hildebrand, p. 4.)
   Pl. fig. 4.

5. SITR ICOREX
   Sword as above.
   (Rashleigh Sale, 1909, lot 170.)
   Pl. fig. 4.

5a. SITR ICOREX
   The same die as No. 5.
   (Montagu Sale, 1895, lot 423.)

6. LVDO + ERIC M · OTI
   SI α TRC
   Sword as above with three pellets at point.
   (British Museum.)
   Pl. fig. 5.

7. + ITR + IIEIAION
   Sword as above with one pellet on blade.
   (Num. Chron., 1869, pl. II, 19.)
Northumbrian Pennies of the Tenth Century

Obverse Reverse

7a. +ITR
RRM
Sword as on No. 7.
(Montagu Sale, 1895, lot 424.)

1. It is well known that the coin No. 1 (Pl. fig. 1) cannot be ascribed to any known historical figure. The coin is a derivative of the Oxford type of Alfred, which began not earlier than A.D. 890. Its moneyer Gundibertus struck St. Edmund pennies, which also began after about A.D. 890. The only two specimens recorded were found in the Cuerdale hoard and must therefore be earlier than about A.D. 910. The forms of the letters, which resemble coins of Edward the Elder, suggest that it belongs to the early years of the tenth century. It cannot possibly have been struck for the Sihtric who was subsequently king. He was at this time probably in Ireland, and certainly not in a position to call himself earl or “comes” at Shelford. It must therefore be attributed to some otherwise unknown Dane.

2. The coin No. 2 of the Triquetra-Standard type (Pl. fig. 2) was made by the moneyer Ascolu and resembles precisely the coins made by the moneyers Ascolu and Farman for Anlaf, King of Northumbria from A.D. 926. There can be no doubt that this coin was struck by Anlaf’s predecessor Sihtric, who reigned in York from 921 or 924 to 926. There are also two fragments of coins of this type which bear the name of King Regnald, and a moneyer’s name beginning with the letters BA. These coins are discussed below.

3–7. The remaining five coins with the name of Sihtric form a single class (Pl. fig. 3–5). They all have a sword on the obverse dividing the king’s name and are of a characteristic fabric. Three bear the names of intelligible moneyers (Nos. 3, 4, and 6); the remaining two are blundered (Nos. 5 and 7). Instead of the Danish title Cununc, they all use the title Rex, except one which substitutes the unexplained word Ludo, presumably also some title. Of the three intelligible moneyers, one probably and two certainly are known on coins of the Southern Kingdom. Sibrand may be identifiable with the Sigebrand known on coins of Edward

¹ Possibly LVDO is equivalent to LEODA, used, for example in Beowulf, as a title. V is often exchanged for VO in moneyers’ names.
the Elder and Æthelstan. Eric’s name occurs on coins of Æthelstan and also on a coin of Regnalld discussed later. Are’s name occurs on coins of Æthelstan, Eadmund, and Eadred. Both Are and Eric appear to use forms of letters on the southern coins, notably A and M, which are not common there and which recur on the Sihtric coins. Coins of both moneyers were included in a hoard of Anglo-Saxon pennies found in County Dublin in 1883, which contained only nine moneyers of Æthelstan. Dublin at this time was a Danish possession. It is probable, then, that these three moneyers worked at different times for the Northern and Southern Kingdoms. The only point of time at which the careers of these three moneyers appear to overlap is at the end of Edward the Elder’s reign or the beginning of Æthelstan’s, about A.D. 925. This coincides precisely with the reign of Sihtric in Northumbria, A.D. 921/4 to 926. It is therefore fairly certain that these coins were all struck for the same Sihtric for whom the Triquetra-Standard coins were struck.

There is so little in common between these two types of coin in fabric, in legend, and in style, that they can hardly be the product of the same mint within the period of a few years. A mint for the series is, I think, suggested by the St. Martin pence of Lincoln (Pl. fig. 6 and 7). The style and the lettering are identical on both. The peculiar A and M both recur, and on one of the Sihtric coins, No. 3, the sword has the same blunted end as on the St. Martin pence. There are at least three different dies for St. Martin pence.

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<tr>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
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<tr>
<td>Sœim</td>
<td>+LINCÔI.A.CIVIT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARTI</td>
<td>☿ in centre.</td>
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(British Museum.) Pl. fig. 6.

<table>
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<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sœim</td>
<td>+LINCÔI.LACIVIT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARTI</td>
<td>☿ in centre.</td>
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(R. C. Lockett Collection.) Pl. fig. 7.

Northumbrian Pennies of the Tenth Century

3. A similar coin with reverse legend +INCOIACIVIT
   (Rashleigh Sale, 1909, lot 124; not illustrated.)

Though the St. Peter pence of York also have a sword type, the resemblance to the Sihtric pence is not so close, especially in the lettering. Of the two places Lincoln seems a far more probable mint for the Sihtric pence. Lincoln was one of the five Danish towns; at another of them, Derby, we know of a moneyer, Sigwold, who struck at one time for Æthelstan and at another for Anlaf. Lincoln is an equally probable site for moneyers who changed their allegiance from one kingdom to the other.

There is no general agreement as to the date of either the St. Martin or the St. Peter pence. Hitherto the tendency has been to link them with the sword-type coins of Eric, King of Northumbria in A.D. 948, and from A.D. 952 to 954, that is to say, some twenty-five years after Sihtric. There is no doubt that the ecclesiastical pence are more closely allied to those of Sihtric than to those of Eric. If I am right in attributing the Sihtric coins to the king of that name, the date of the earliest ecclesiastical pence will have to be brought backwards to the period about A.D. 925. The issue of the St. Martin pence must have been very brief. One specimen only (No. 3) is known with a slightly defective legend, unlike the St. Peter pence which are commoner with blundered than with perfect legends. There are also blundered versions of the Sihtric pence (Nos. 5 and 7). The St. Martin pence were therefore probably amongst the earliest of the sword-type coins, and may have preceded the Sihtric coins at Lincoln.

This new date for the St. Martin pence involves a similar change in date for the St. Peter pence of York. On the Ludo-Sitrc coin (No. 6, Pl. fig. 5), there is a curious object dividing the legend. This also occurs on a number of St. Peter pence (Pl. fig. 8), both as a major and as a minor object in the design. It seems improbable that it made its first appearance on the Sihtric coin, where it occurs as a minor object; it is far more probable that it first occurred on the St. Peter pence, where it may be taken to represent a pall or some other ecclesiastical vestment. In this case the

St. Peter pence must have been in existence before about A.D. 920. An earlier limit for them is given by the Cuerdale hoard; no specimen was found there, as it would certainly have been, had they been in existence in A.D. 910. They must therefore have started in the period immediately following the defeat of the Danes in A.D. 911, when the north apparently enjoyed a relative peace. Until then there had been no ecclesiastical coinage in York since the Danish invasions.

Degraded versions of the coins were struck for a long time. The earlier coins imitated the original sword type but with the legend misspelt (Pl. fig. 9). Later coins dropped the sword type and the weight was also reduced (Pl. fig. 16). On some of these the Carolus monogram was adopted for the reverse (Pl. fig. 17). The coins of the Northumbrian king Eric (A.D. 948 and 952-4) which also have the same sword type (Pl. fig. 10) appear to be copied from St. Peter pence in the first stage of degradation. This may be seen from the size of the sword hilt and from the three pellets which are placed on both at the point of the sword. It therefore seems probable that the St. Peter pence with the sword type were current some thirty years in York between their first appearance and the time when they were copied by Eric. The number of varieties is so large that this is by no means improbable. Eric was the last Northumbrian king; the later and baser versions of the St. Peter pence must have survived the Northumbrian kingdom and lasted into the latter part of the century. They were then, no doubt, unofficial issues; one cannot believe that even the most dishonest of archbishops could have perpetrated them.

The second of the names which has caused confusion is Regnald. There were two kings of this name. The first, whose dates are uncertain,¹ was the predecessor of Sihtric. He probably reigned from A.D. 919 to 921 or 924. The second Regnald was a nominee of Eadmund and reigned from 942 to 944, sharing or disputing the leadership with Anlaf. I shall describe these as Regnald I and Regnald II instead of distinguishing them, as is more usual, by their patronymics. There are six classes of coins which bear or have been supposed to bear the name of Regnald.

¹ The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is apparently confused in the years 921–4.
Northumbrian Pennies of the Tenth Century

**Obverse**

1. +REEN [ ] CVNVNC
   Triquetra.
   (Reconstructed from fragments of two coins, one in the British Museum, and the other in the Montagu Sale, 1895, lot 426. See Hawkins, No. 126.)

2. +REEN·Æ·L·D CVNVNC
   Cross Moline in centre.
   (British Museum and Hunterian Collection.) Pl. fig. 11.
   2a. +R·ADVLF HOHETA
      + in centre.
      (Lead trial-piece in British Museum, presented by Sir A. W. Franks.) Pl. fig. 12.

3. Three classes of coins which bear the name Raienalt, invariably blundered, and have on the reverse some abbreviation of Eboraci Civitas, also blundered.
   a. Obverse, Head; Reverse, Carolus Monogram.
   b. Obverse, Hand; Reverse, Carolus Monogram.
   c. Obverse, Hammer; Reverse, Bow and Arrow.
   (British Museum and elsewhere.)

4. +REYN+INC+Γ
   + in centre.
   (British Museum, from the T. G. Barnett Bequest.)
   4a. Same obverse die as No. 4.

**Reverse**

1. +B·A [ ] CNOTR·A·Γ
   Danish Standard.

2. + AVRA HON·IT REG
   + in centre.
   (Lead trial-piece in British Museum, presented by Sir A. W. Franks.) Pl. fig. 12.

3. Three classes of coins which bear the name Raienalt, invariably blundered, and have on the reverse some abbreviation of Eboraci Civitas, also blundered.
   a. Obverse, Head; Reverse, Carolus Monogram.
   b. Obverse, Hand; Reverse, Carolus Monogram.
   c. Obverse, Hammer; Reverse, Bow and Arrow.
   (British Museum and elsewhere.)

4. +REYN+INC+Γ
   + in centre.
   (British Museum, from the T. G. Barnett Bequest.)
   4a. Same obverse die as No. 4.
Northumbrian Pennies of the Tenth Century

Obverse

5. +REGNÆLOR: WO EFR. + in centre.
   Retrograde in two lines with crosses between.

   (Montagu Sale, 1895, lot 427.)

6. HT+ER·Á.NÆR + in centre.

   (British Museum, from the Montagu Sale, 1895, lot 439A) Pl. fig. 13.

6a. HT+ER·Á.NÆR Same reverse die as No. 6.

   (Montagu Sale, 1895, lot 439B.)

1. These two fragments are tantalizing; they only permit one to guess at the name of the moneyer. This may be Baciager, though Baldríć has also been suggested. Baciager struck coins for Anlaf on which the name is spelt Onlaf (about A.D. 948–52), and for Eadmund (A.D. 939–46). The fragments have hitherto been ascribed to Regnald I (A.D. 919–921/4); it has been thought that he introduced the Triquetra-Standard type, copied later by Sihtric and Anlaf, and was responsible for the resumption of regular Northumbrian coinage. If the moneyer’s name is Baciager, this attribution would imply too long a gap in the moneyer’s career. He could hardly have struck coins in reigns twenty years apart and disappeared in the meanwhile; nor is the repetition of so rare a name likely. The name Baldríć is not otherwise known as a moneyer of the period. It is therefore more probable that the coin should be attributed to Regnald II, whose coins were struck during the intermittent reign of Anlaf (A.D. 942–4). This argument must remain undecided until a complete coin is found.

2. The coin No. 2 (Pl. fig. 11) has also been ascribed to Regnald I, and this again is dubious. The only coin of similar type occurs, not as one would expect in the reign of Sihtric, but in that of Anlaf and in the earlier group of his coins which use the title Cununc. It was made by

1 Num. Chron., 1869, p. 88; Hawkins, p. 94.
the moneyer Rathulf. The moneyer Aura is not otherwise known, except on a lead trial-piece in the British Museum (2a, Pl. fig. 12) which combines a very similar reverse die with a reverse die also of the moneyer Rathulf, identical with those used on coins of Anlaf, type vi. It seems more natural, then, to place the coin of Regnald in the reign of Regnald II, which, as we have seen, interrupted the reign of Anlaf.

3. The class of coins reading Raienalt (Pl. fig. 18–20) is traditionally ascribed to Regnald II. These coins are relatively common. They are of small size and exceedingly light weight; their workmanship is bad and the spelling unintelligible. They could hardly have circulated alongside the excellent pennies current between A.D. 940 and 950. The use of the Carolus monogram and Eboraci legend connects them closely with the later versions of the St. Peter pence (Pl. fig. 16 and 17). If the late date suggested for these is right, the Raienalt pennies must also come towards the end of the century, after the end of the regular Northumbrian series. The hand on some of them may well be copied from the hand type on coins of Æthelred II; it is certain that it has nothing to do with the hand on coins of Edward the Elder. Coins of this smaller module are more probable towards the end of the century than in the middle, since they might then have passed with coins of Æthelred II. They are probably the work of some otherwise unrecorded Danish or Norman marauder.

4–4a. The coins reading REGN followed by a series of unintelligible letters have been attributed by collectors and the compilers of sale catalogues to either Regnald at random. Since both coins were found in the Cuerdale hoard, it is hard to suppose that they belonged to either Regnald, one of whom reigned ten, the other thirty years after the hoard was buried. The letters REGN are no doubt the blundered relics of the title REX copied from some other coin.

5–6. Nos. 5 and 6 are both semi-blundered coins and are linked by the fact that one legend of each is retrograde. Neither probably is an official coin, and both presumably refer back to a lost original of this type on which the name of Regnald occurred. No. 6 (Pl. fig. 13) has usually been

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1 The coin is identical with B.M.C. Anglo-Saxon Coins, ii, Alfred 412. See also Montagu Sale, 1895, lot 428; Bruun Sale, 1925, lot 49.
read as Ectangbert, an otherwise unknown name. Dr. Brooke made a manuscript note that the legend is Regnald copied backwards. The moneyer clearly could not read and he filled the remaining space at the end of the legend with the letters HT, borrowed, no doubt, from the end of some moneyer's name. In the same way on No. 5 WO EFR has apparently strayed here from the reverse of some other York coin. The type of these coins, though common in the south from the reign of Edward the Elder, is not known to appear in the north until the restoration of Anlaf in 948. Nos. 5 and 6 seem, therefore, to be copies of an original which is not likely to have been struck long before 948, and which must also be attributed, if it exists, to Regnald II. No. 5 was struck by the moneyer Eric whom we have already met as a moneyer of Sihtric and Æthelstan, unless this name, too, was copied from that of the king. Nos. 6 and 6a were struck by the moneyer Bernard, whose name occurs as a moneyer of Æthelstan at Derby and of Eadmund and Eadred without mint name. Derby was one of the five Danish towns. This tends to confirm the attribution to Regnald II.

There are, then, no coins which can with certainty be attributed to Regnald I, and only one (No. 1) which could possibly be his. The regular coinage of Northumbria is more likely to have begun in the reign of Sihtric than in that of his predecessor. His types were specifically Danish; English types do not seem to predominate in Northumberland till after the Battle of Brunanburh (A.D. 937).

This new view of the coinage of Regnald II confirms the opinions held by Dr. Brooke on the coins of the reign of Anlaf.1 The coins of this king fall into three classes:

1. Coins reading Anlaf Cununc with Danish types.
   ii. The Raven type: moneyer Athelferth.

2. Coins reading Anlaf Cununc with English types.
   iii. The Cross Moline type: moneyer Rathulf.
   iv. The Small Cross type: moneyer Sigares of Derby.
   v. The Flower type: moneyers Ingelgar and Rathulf.

3. Coins reading Onlaf Rex with English types.
   vi. The Small Cross type: moneyers Farman, Ingelgar, and Rathulf.

1 G. C. Brooke, English Coins, p. 36.
vii. The type with moneyer’s name in two lines divided by crosses: moneyers Ingelgar and Baciager.

Pl. fig. 15.

Anlaf himself had an irregular reign. He was in power in A.D. 926–7, 937, 941–4, and 948–52. Dr. Brooke has shown reason for attributing types i and ii, perhaps with type iii, to the period before A.D. 937, types iv and v to A.D. 941–4, types vi and vii to the period after his restoration, A.D. 948–52.¹ It is between these two latter groups that the coins of Regnald II fall (A.D. 942–4). The three types which I have attributed to Regnald II (Nos. 1, 2, and 5–6) form an easy transition between the earlier and later coins of Dr. Brooke’s classification. They illustrate the change from the Danish to the English types.

The earlier part of the reign of Eric also fell within the limits of the reign of Anlaf. He appears to have succeeded Regnald II in A.D. 948 for a brief period. Of his two types one is identical but for the name with type vii of Anlaf, and was struck by two of Anlaf’s moneyers with one new one (Hunred, Ingelgar, and Rathulf). Whether these coins were struck in this year or in the earlier part of his main reign (A.D. 952–4) is uncertain; nevertheless, the coins of this type are undoubtedly the earlier of his two issues. The second type, struck by the moneyers Ingelgar and Aculf, reverts, as we have already seen, to the sword type (Pl. fig. 10). Since the restoration of Eric in A.D. 942 represents the last effort by the Danes at independence, this reversion to an early and exclusively Danish type may well have been intended as propaganda.

In A.D. 954 the Northumbrian kingdom fell. The Northumbrian mints now passed for good into the hands of the Southern Kingdom which had already held them intermittently. This paper has dealt in a somewhat confused order with all the surviving Northumbrian coins struck between the reigns of Regnald I or Sihtric and the final expulsion of Eric. It has suggested various new interpretations, which, it is hoped, will be of interest to the fortunate collectors who possess any of the later Viking coins. The conclusions reached, however, must remain unproved until the discovery of more coins puts this study on a surer basis.

COINS ILLUSTRATED:

1. Sihtric Comes: moneyer Gundibertus.
7. St. Martin of Lincoln.
12. Regnald II or Anlaf: lead trial piece: moneyers Aura and Rathulf.
17. St. Peter of York: late type with Carolus monogram.
20. Raienalt: Bow and Arrow type.

All the above coins are in the British Museum with the exception of Nos. 4 and 7, which are in the possession of Mr. R. C. Lockett.