



THE COINAGE OF SCOTLAND

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## THE

# COINAGE OF SCOTLAND 

## ILLUSTRATED <br> from the cabinet of

THOMAS COATS, EsQ., OF FERGUSLIE<br>AND OTHER COLLECTIONS

By EDWARD BURNS, F.S.A. Scot.

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. I.
DAVID I. A.D. II 24 TO ROBERT III. A.D. I 406


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## Dedicated

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Widely and deeply regretted; he, at whose instance this work was undertaken, and whose coins it was primarily intended to illustrate, has passed away while yet it was in process of publication. No one can more regret than the author of these pages that they now can never meet the eye of him for whom they would have had the greatest interest.

In educational matters, particularly in relation to those connected with what, in his first interview with the author, he affectionately called his "quaint old town," Mr. Coats was most honourably distinguished. From the first establishment of the Paisley School Board in 1873 , till his death on the 15 th of October 1883, he acted as Chairman. During this period he subscribed $£ 1000$ to each of the four new Board Schools, on condition that extra accommodation for the scholars should be provided; by means of which they now enjoy the most airy and well ventilated schoolrooms in Great Britain. For the erection of a new school at Ferguslie he also granted a free site, together with a donation of $£ 1000$. The beautiful Fountain Gardens were presented by him to the community of Paisley. His last great gift to his native town was the liberally furnished and amply endowed Observatory. To every good cause Mr. Coats was ready to extend a helping hand. He was emphatically a man, the mellowed richness of whose nature nothing could change.

> E. B.

VOL. I.

## boreface.

THE opportunity for the formation of such a large collection in any branch of the numismatic series as that in the Scottish coinage made by the patriotic feeling and liberal tastes of the late Mr. Thomas Coats of Ferguslie is necessarily confined to few.

Impressed with the educational importance of a knowledge of the coinage of his native country, Mr. Coats endeavoured to make his collection as complete as the opportunities of acquiring specimens would permit, with the view of providing the materials for a more exhaustive investigation of the subject than had hitherto been possible.

In the meantime invaluable assistance had been afforded for this purpose in the publication by Mr. Cochran-Patrick of the Records of the Coinage of Scotland, from which most of the numerous quotations from official documents in the following pages have been taken. It was the disadvantage of previous writers on Scottish coins that their knowledge of the contemporary records connected with the coinage was scanty, and in some cases incorrect. They had none of the moneyers' accounts before them. And, above all, they had little opportunity of comparing coins of the same series one with another.

The present work contains a detailed description of almost every Scottish coin in the Ferguslie cabinet-the most extensive collection of Scottish coins in all the metals that has ever yet been formed, and to which a most important accession was made while this work was in progress, by the acquisition of the carefully chosen and extensive series of Scottish gold coins in the Carfrae collection, comprising some of the rarest pieces in the coinage.

Liberal advantage has been also taken of the examples in other cabinets, public and private, wherever they could illustrate the subject.

Every Scottish coin in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland has been carefully examined, and all the rare varieties, in which that cabinet richly abounds, have been figured and described. The British and Hunterian Museums have afforded many important specimens. Among private collections, a most valuable contribution has been made by the Pollexfen cabinet, which has been freely placed at the service of the author for this work. To the Cochran-Patrick, Kermack-Ford, Richardson, Guthrie-Lornie, Wakeford, and Sheriff Mackenzie collections he has also been largely indebted.

Every coin described has been examined by the author, with the exception of those in the British Museum and Hunterian collections, of which casts were kindly forwarded to him.

The Scottish coinage has thus been dealt with in the same manner as if the several examples of the different reigns had all been brought together in one great collection. Owing to the exceptional advantages thus enjoyed, it has been possible for the first time to treat the coinage of Scotland as a whole, and, while giving a more comprehensive view of this great national subject than has ever hitherto been attempted, to enter with greater minuteness into the details.

The plates have been executed by M. P. Dujardin of Paris, by the helio-gravure process, and their arrangement has been generally to place together the several pieces related to and illustrative of each other. This has necessarily been done irrespective of the positions of the coins as described in the body of the work. In each case the number of the coin, as it appears in the descriptive list and in the plates, has been given.

The numbers in the plates, where letters are not added, generally refer to the coins in the Ferguslie cabinet ; those with letters added relate to the coins in other collections, the particular collection being in every case specified in the description of the coin itself.

In the interleaved descriptions of the plates the names of the gold pieces are printed in capitals, those of the silver pieces in ordinary type, and those of the billon and copper pieces in italics.

EDWARD BURNS.

## postmeript.

Edward Burns, F.S.A. Scot., the Author of this work, died suddenly, from heart disease, 27 th March 1886, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. Intended for the ministry, but prevented by loss of hearing, he engaged for a time in business, and after his retirement devoted himself to numismatic pursuits, in which he found an occupation congenial to his tastes. From his studious habits and retentive memory he soon became a recognised authority in many branches of numismatics. Though in a great measure cut off from social intercourse through his defect of hearing, he possessed a cheerful, self-reliant, and eminently genial nature, and was never happier than when among friends or coins.

Naturally attracted to the coinage of his native country by the scope which it afforded for original investigation, and perceiving the importance of a systematic comparison of the various types from a scientific point of view, he set himself to the task of demonstrating their order of development and establishing a system of attributions on a scientific basis. In this purpose he had from the first the cordial support and encouragement of the late Mr. Thomas Coats, by whom he was requested to prepare the present description of the Coinage of Scotland as represented in the Ferguslie collection. To this work he devoted, almost uninterruptedly, the last seven years of his life.

By his lamented decease a large portion of the work as now issued has been deprived of the advantage of his careful revision. At the time of his death the sheets of the first volume, with their relative plates, had passed through the press, and the remainder of the work was in such a state of preparation as to indicate the form and order of its several parts. These materials, partly in proofs and partly in manuscript, were subsequently placed in my hands by the publishers, with a request, on behalf
of Mr. James Coats Junior, that I would undertake the completion of the work from them.

Having in view the extent and minuteness of Mr. Burns's researches, and the laborious assiduity with which they had been prosecuted for so many years, I was unwilling to encounter the difficulties inseparable from an undertaking for which I felt myself very incompetent. But the painful alternative of the possible loss to science of the results of these researches induced me to disregard personal inclination; and the assurance that I might rely on the valued aid of Dr. Joseph Anderson and the Rev. J. H. Pollexfen encouraged me to make the attempt. To the assistance so cordially given in comparing, verifying, and revising the descriptions of the coins, the work owes more than I can possibly express. To Dr. Anderson my thanks are especially due, since without his help the work might never have been completed. Mr. Pollexfen's intimate knowledge of the subject, and his untiring supervision of the work during its progress, have also been of the greatest importance. Yet, even with all the care that has been taken to ensure accuracy, mistakes will doubtless have occurred, especially as it was found impossible in every case to recover and verify the particular coin described. If any such errors are to be found, it is hoped that they may be ascribed to the disadvantages of the case, and not to any want of effort to reproduce the author's materials in the most complete and faithful manner.

GEORGE SIM.

[^0][Mr. George Sim, F.S.A. Scot., died 8th October 1887, in the 73d year of his age, while the last sheets of this work were passing through the press.]

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## Jintroduction.

Among the Antiquities of Scotland none are better represented or possess a greater interest than its Coinage, specimens of which exist of every reign from David 1. to Queen Anne, when the union with England took place, and Scotland ceased to have a separate currency, notwithstanding that the continuance of its coinage had been guaranteed by the Fourth Article of the Treaty of Union.

That interesting series with which the Scottish coinage commences, -the David I. pennies or sterlings-is now for the first time systematised, and mistakes which previously resulted from dealing with isolated examples have been corrected.

Additional light has been thrown upon the mintages of Earl Henry of Northumberland, son of David I., for which I have principally been indebted to Mr. W. H. D. Longstaffe. None of the coins of the Scottish type formerly attributed to that prince belong to him, as will clearly appear from the greater fulness with which the inscriptions on the coins so attributed are here rendered from comparison of the several examples.

A new and unique variety of the coinage of Malcolm IV. has recently occurred, and is figured in its proper place.

Descriptions have been given of the mintages of William the Lion, issued previously to the crescent and pellet type hitherto represented as the first coinage of that king. The numerous double cross sterlings bearing the name of William have also for the first time been classified. Certain of these pieces, corresponding to the later Henry short double cross money, distinguished by their smaller module and lettering, are shown with much probability to have been struck by Alexander II. in continuation of his father's coinage, in the same manner as Richard I. and John struck their

English money in continuation of that of their father Henry II. both in name and type.

In connection with the coins of Alexanders II. and III., the double cross controversy has been discussed in all its bearings, and new evidence has been adduced, derived chiefly from the coins themselves, and leading to the conclusion that the whole of the long double cross pieces must be assigned to Alexander III.

A new mint, that of Berwick, has been added to the short double cross series; and, with relation to the long double cross series, rectifications have been made both in the names of the moneyers and the mints; while new names of moneyers and mints have been for the first time published.

The long single cross money, or latest coinage of Alexander III., has been arranged on a new and more natural system, based upon the order of sequence of the corresponding Edward I. sterlings.

This arrangement is the result of the examination of a very large find of coins of this period-the Montrave hoard, consisting of upwards of 9000 sterlings or pennies of Edwards I., 1I., III., together with 242 long single cross sterlings or pennies of Alexander III., and coins of John Baliol, Robert Bruce, and David II., besides a number of the pieces called foreign sterlings. This hoard was delivered to the Exchequer intact as it was found, affording an opportunity for the definite arrangement of the coins of the period to which it relates such as very rarely occurs.

For the better illustration of the Alexander long single cross coinages, some Addenda have been inserted, with an accompanying plate, showing the order of sequence of the sterlings of the Edwardian series, deduced from an examination of the Montrave hoard. It can thus be seen exactly where and to what extent the long single cross Alexander sterlings correspond to those of the Edwards.

Looking below such obvious differences of type as are presented by the sterlings of the one series having on the obverse a full-face head without sceptre, and on the reverse three pellets in each of the quarters of the cross, while those of the other series have on the obverse a profile head with sceptre, and on the reverse a mullet or a star in each of the quarters
of the cross, it is noticeable that certain marked peculiarities of lettering, and to some extent also of the contractive signs, that occur on certain varieties of the Edward sterlings, have their counterparts on the Alexander long single cross sterlings. This, as met with not in one instance only, but in consecutive instances, clearly shows that the coins thus mutually distinguished are of closely corresponding issue.

The Edward sterlings thus fix both the period of issue and the order of sequence of the Alexander single cross sterlings. This comparative survey of these two series has a decided bearing on the Alexander double cross controversy, for it shows incontestably that the Alexander single cross coinage did not begin till after that of Edward I.

The Edward sterlings in the Montrave hoard, on account of the number of the specimens, were comparatively easy of classification, naturally forming themselves into a series of distinct groups, severally distinguished by similarity in the style of the head, or of the lettering, or of the contractive signs; and these groups were connected, the one with the other, in regular sequence, just as the several coins in each group were connected the one with the other.

It was observed that the different styles of head, that is, of obverse, whether connected with one mint only or with a number of mints, that is, of reverses, had always their distinctive styles of lettering and of contractive signs; representing, in short, distinct mintages. The same was remarked of the Alexander single cross sterlings, whether connected with one type of reverse only or with a variety of reverses, as indicated by the number of the points on the mullets or the stars in the quarters of the cross.

Thus the obverses came to take the principal place in the arrangement both of the Edward sterlings and of the Alexander single cross sterlings, while the reverses, which hitherto, in the arrangement of the Scottish series, at least, have been the sole consideration, were shown to be only the subsidiary varieties severally connected with these different obverses.

This is the new and more natural arrangement pursued in connection with the Alexander single cross sterlings, and, indeed, throughout this work.

The Addenda here given in relation to the Edwardian series of ster-
lings furnish a complete view of these coinages, showing where the respective mints come into operation, and where they severally fall out of issue. Hitherto it has been too much the habit, alike in respect of the Scottish and of the English coinage, to confine attention solely to the coins of the one series-a very great mistake, particularly as regards the Scottish coinage, which cannot be intelligently studied without reference to the corresponding English issues.

The coins of John Baliol have been described on the same principle as that adopted with the Alexander single cross money.

The limited coinage of Robert the Bruce does not call for special remark.
The RGX SđOTTORVm pennies of Daviḍ II. have been arranged in their order of series, as indicated by the style of the lettering.

Valuable assistance has also been obtained from the Montrave hoard in the classification of the coinages of David II. with the names of the mints. This hoard stops short just where the groat coinages of David I I. with the Small Head terminate, and those with the Intermediate Head commence, leaving no doubt as to which form the earlier issues. The arrangement in consecutive order of the several varieties of the Small Head groats was further facilitated from the whole of these pieces in the Montrave hoard having been in almost uncirculated condition, so that reliance could be placed upon their weights. Some important facts are thus brought out of certain undeclared reductions having taken place in the weights of the Scottish coins under David II. previous to the declared reduction of the weights at the 7 th of October 1367 . The coins with the star on the sceptre handle are here identified as the coinages issued after the declared reduction of the weights took place.

The relations of the gold nobles of David II. to the silver coinages are discussed, showing that these pieces are to be regarded as coins that have been in actual currency, and not merely as patterns or medals.

The silver coinages of Robert II. are simply a continuation of the later silver issues of David II., and do not call for particular remark; but two Dundee halfpennies are here for the first time published, and the supposed unique halfpenny of Roxburgh is shown to be probably only a
mis-struck halfpenny of Edinburgh. The inscriptions of that piece are, however, in some respects uncertain.

All the gold coins formerly attributed to Robert II. are here shown to belong to Robert III., subject to any of the front-face silver money being assigned to Robert II. This rectification is now fully accepted.

The Robert III. silver coinages have been exhaustively treated, and the series extended, the author having had the advantage of examining the Robert III. silver money in the Fortrose find, so far as recovered by the Exchequer. The gold mintages of Robert III. have also been dealt with, and their relations to the silver coinages pointed out. These are shown also on the plates, by the silver and the gold pieces of the same series being uniformly placed together.
E. B.

## The Coinage of scotland.

It need scarcely be remarked that until the reign of David I. Scotland, as Introductory. we now know it, did not exist. This "mighty innovator," as that truly enlightened monarch is well called by the late E. W. Robertson, was the creator alike of commercial, agricultural, and feudal Scotland.

The Scottish Coinage, so far as there is yet reason to believe, does not commence earlier than with David I.

Until Scotland had a coinage of its own, we may reasonably infer that the currency of other countries formed a principal medium of commercial exchange. Barter also must have entered largely in these early times into all matters of buying and selling.

Finds of ancient coins in Scotland of the period prior to David I. have consisted largely of Roman coins. During the long occupation of

Finds of coins in Scotland. Britain by the Romans these, no doubt, constituted for the northern portion of the island, as they did mainly for the southern portion, the generally received circulating medium. The coinage known as Ancient British, commencing about I5O b.c. and continuing for some two hundred years in Southern Britain, does not seem to have established itself north of the Tweed. ${ }^{1}$ The fact, however, that an ancient British coin, inscribed BODVOC (regarded by Evans as having been "struck in the western part of England at a rather late period of the British coinage"), was found in 186I at Birkhill, near Dumfries, ${ }^{2}$ indicates that ancient British coins had penetrated to what is now known as South-western Scotland. Dumfriesshire was well within the territories of the Cumbrian Britons, whose lands extended from the Derwent as far north as the Clyde.

1 Mr. Longstaffe writes: "Tees would have been also correct."
2 Numismatic Chronicle, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 153.

Finds of coins in Scotland.

Finds of Anglo-Saxon coins, chiefly of the later reigns, sometimes mixed with Cufic money, have frequently occurred in the western and north-western isles and the adjoining mainland, brought thither by the Vikings when they held possession of the district.

In October 1782 a considerable number of Stycas-small copper coins struck by the kings of Northumbria-were found at Paisley. These were principally of the Ethelreds, A.D. 774 to 844 . This fact suggests that, had the famous battle of Nechtensmere in Forfarshire-when Ecgfrith, King of Northumbria, A.D. 685 , lost his life, and all that the victories of thirty years had wrested from the Picts-turned the other way, Scotland, under Northumbrian kings, might even at that early period have begun the history of her coinage.
Erroneous attri- Lindsay begins the Coinage of Scotland with three pieces, butions. executed in imitation of the Crux coins of Ethelred II., supposed by him to have been struck by certain kings of the Hebrides. The attribution of these three coins to the several Hebridean princes named by Lindsay is entirely imaginary. ${ }^{1}$ A fourth coin, tentatively ascribed by him to Scotland, having on obverse a full face of rude execution, with crosier to left, and on reverse a cross potent with a large pellet in each quarter, figured L. Pl. I. 4, appears rather to belong to the Rhenish provinces, and was probably struck by one of the Bishops of Metz. I have been indebted to the Rev. John H. Pollexfen for the opportunity of inspecting this piece, which is now in his collection. The coin attributed by Lindsay to Malcolm III., L. Pl. I. 5, belongs to Malcolm IV. Three pieces which he has ascribed to Alexander I., L. PI. I. 6, 7, 8, with cross fleurie and single pellet in each quarter on reverse, are merely blundered or imitated coins of David I., with the initial letter of DAVIT omitted, as on other coins of the same class. These will be more particularly referred to here afterward. By the earlier writers on Scottish numismatics certain other coins, now recognised as having been issued under Alexander II. and III., with stars in the quarters of a short double, or long double
${ }^{1}$ See my paper on the subject in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. xi. ( 1876 ), pp. $225-233$.
cross, were assigned to Alexander I. No coins are now attributed to Alexander I. by any experienced Scottish numismatist.

In its more important characteristics the ancient money of Scotland approximated closely to that of England. Both were of the same weight and alloy, as stated in a proclamation of Edward III., A.D. I $355 .{ }^{1}$ The corresponding mintages of France and of other countries were of lighter weight and inferior quality ; and instead of a crowned bust on the obverses of the coins, as on the English and Scottish sterlings, we find simply an inscription, a monogram, or a device. The crown on the royal bust on the better executed coins of David I. is the exact counterpart of the crown on certain well-known coins of Stephen of England, presumably of the same period. The sceptre before the bust on the early Scottish pennies is evidently borrowed from the sceptre on the English sterlings. Some points of difference, to distinguish the money of the one country from that of the other, there were of course; but keeping in view the contiguity of the two countries, and the fact that no earlier Scottish coins are known than those of David I., the points of resemblance between the money of England and of Scotland at this period are so striking and important as naturally to lead to the conclusion that the Scottish Coinage originated with David I., and was founded upon that of England. David I. was an English baron long before he was a Scottish king. "An intimate connection with the Court of England for upwards of a quarter of a century," remarks E. W. Robertson, ${ }^{2}$ "had effectually 'rubbed off the Scottish rust' from David,to use the words of the contemporary Malmesbury,-converting him into a feudal baron; and many years before he was called upon to fill the throne, he had gathered around him in his Cumbrian principality a body of knights and barons, from whom sprang the older Norman chivalry of Scotland." In whatever way Scotland, in its half savage state, may have made shift without a currency of its own before the time of David I., the want of one would have been a strange anomaly in the changed condition of the kingdom under his civilising sway.

[^1]The pound of weight introduced at the Scottish mint in the time of David I., and long known as "King David's Pound," contained fifteen ounces. According to E. W. Robertson it was simply the old merchant's pound of London. In his Historical Essays, "Early English Currency and Standards," p. 66, this author remarks: "The Merchant's pound appears in the Scottish Statutes of the Guild under the name of 'King David's pound,' and may have been introduced by the King as the standard of Southern Scotland, destined to supersede 'Caithness weight,' probably the Veitzslo lb., or silver weight, of the Northmen, which was apparently the standard of the North." There seems to have been no difference between this pound and what was called the London Tower pound, except that the one contained fifteen and the other only twelve ounces- 300 sterlings, or pennies, being coined out of the one and 240 sterlings out of the other. Indeed, when we come to consider the coins of the reign of David II., we shall find that the use of this fifteen-ounce pound was quietly discontinued at the Scottish mint, and the twelve-ounce pound employed in its place.

What concerns us here more immediately to note is, that since the weight of the ounce was 480 grains, and as 20 pennies originally were coined out of the ounce, the weight of the penny or sterling, whether by the fifteen-ounce pound or the twelve-ounce pound-whether as struck in the ratio of 300 pennies or sterlings to the heavier pound, or of 240 pennies or sterlings to the lighter pound-was exactly 24 grains, or one pennyweight; hence the name pennyweight. In modern Troy-weight the pennyweight Tower was equivalent to $22 \frac{1}{2}$ grains. ${ }^{1}$ Frequently the weight of the penny or sterling, exceeded the proper standard, and not unfrequently it fell short of it ; but in the aggregate it was incumbent on the respective moneyers that the stipulated number of pennies or sterlings, neither more nor less, should be coined out of each pound weight of silver. The standard of quality was II ounces 2 pennyweights of fine silver to 18 pennyweights of alloy. This standard continued until the deterioration of the coinage under David II.
${ }^{1}$ Ruding, vol. i. p. 7.

In the following descriptive notice of the coins of David I. and of his David I. period. period, I have distributed the sterlings relating to him into four classes. The first, second, and fourth classes, for type of reverse, present the usual type of David I.-a large cross fleurie occupying the whole of the field within the legendary circle, with a large pellet in each quarter. Sometimes the pellets in the quarters are united by stalks, forming a saltire pommée in the centre of the larger cross; sometimes an annulet, or a rosette, or a star, takes the place of one of the pellets. The third class comprises those sterlings of David I., with English types of reverse.

Class I. contains coins with the King's name and title intelligibly rendered on obverse, and with the names of moneyers and mints legibly expressed on reverse.

Class II. contains coins usually with the King's name rendered in a more or less mutilated or blundered form, and with unsatisfactory inscriptions on reverse. These pieces seem chiefly to be imitations of imitations, the earlier varieties bearing on their reverses tolerably close representations of the inscriptions on the reverses of the sterlings of Hugo of Roxburgh. For the greater part these coins are of rude execution, the style of workmanship being on an equality with the uncouth character of the legends. All the sterlings ascribed by Lindsay to Alexander I. belong to this class.

Class III. embraces the coins bearing the name of David with English types on the reverses, and is represented by only a very few examples. The several specimens here described in the Ferguslie Cabinet are believed to be unique.

Class IV. contains coins of very fair execution, of similar appearance to the coins in the first class, but without any pretence upon them to the name or style of David, and with wholly unintelligible and, probably, purposely blundered legends. One of the pieces in this class has been attributed erroneously by Lindsay to Henry, Earl of Northumberland, representing what is called the Scottish type of Earl Henry, but for this there is no more warrant than for the coinages attributed to Alexander I.

The only mints, of which as yet we have knowledge, on coins of David I. in Class I., as above, are Berwick and Roxburgh. It is cer-

Early Scottish mints.

Fig. 68.

Fig. 6c.

Berwick.

Roxburgh.
tain, however, that these do not exhaust the list of mints. On a sterling in the collection of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, from the Bute find, the letters $n \mathbb{A}$ are distinctly legible as the first two letters of the name of the mint; the remaining letters are unfortunately illegible from not being sufficiently struck up. This coin is further peculiar in having an annulet instead of a pellet in one of the quarters of the cross on reverse. It is figured here $6^{\mathrm{B}}$, and No. 6 in the plate accompanying Pollexfen's paper on the Bute find. ${ }^{1}$ Another sterling belonging to the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, also from the Bute find, figured here 6 c , and No. 5 of Pollexfen's plate, has an A as the second letter of the mint, the other letters being indistinct. Probably some other find may some day enable us confidently to pronounce upon the true attribution of these two pieces. They are further referred to at page 14, under "Uncertain Mints," at the end of Class I.

It is noteworthy that both Berwick and Roxburgh, the earliest Scottish mints of which we have knowledge, should have been situated far to the southward of the old southern frontier of Scotland-viz. the Frith of Forth, anciently called "the Scots-Water." In A.D. 1020 the Lothians and Teviotdale had been brought under Scottish sway by Malcolm II.; but until the reign of David I. these districts were dependencies only, not portions of Scotia proper.

Under the fostering care of David I. Berwick rose into great importance as a place of commerce, and was peopled by merchants and traders from England and the Continent. The Flemings alone in that town were so numerous as to form a separate and influential guild. Roxburgh again, under David, became the centre of an Anglo-Norman population, military and agricultural. The old town of Roxburgh,-now no more,-or rather its castle, which was also named Marchmont, was frequently the residence of the king. Old Roxburgh, the burgh town, occupied a site over against Kelso. The present village of Roxburgh stands on what was called New Roxburgh, a town which owed its origin

[^2]chiefly to the overflow of the population of Old Roxburgh, attracted David 1. period. thither by the liberal policy of the Scottish monarch. When David I. constituted that important association the Hanse, or community of four burghs, for the regulation of trade, the four original members of the Court were Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling-all southern burghs. And thus, under King David, Southern Scotland, which formerly had been a mere dependency, became, as it ever since has been, the most important part of the kingdom. In connection with the question of the origin of the Scottish coinage these facts possess a powerful significance. Viewed in the complete absence of any Scottish coins of a date prior to David I., long as these have been sought for, they point to this great prince-the creator of commercial and civilised Scotland-as the creator also of her coinage.

The coins of David I., owing to the very imperfect manner in which they have been struck, seldom or never display entire inscriptions. Lindsay has not in any one instance been able to give complete legends, obverse and reverse, of any of the pieces published by him. When that author, to whom Scottish numismatists are so much indebted, published his Viere of the Coinage of Scotland, comparatively few coins of David I. were known, and the registered post had not yet come into existence for safely transmitting specimens for inspection. Lindsay was thus obliged to depend for much of his information upon the descriptive notices furnished to him by collectors of Scottish coins, accompanied occasionally by impressions of the pieces described. He had little or no opportunity of comparing the several specimens of the same coin one with another. In one case, indeed, to be shown presently, he has published and figured in his plates, as three different coins, three several specimens of a sterling of David I. struck from identical dies. My better fortune in the scope for study afforded by the coins in the great Ferguslie collection, and by the valuable examples sent to me, for inspection and comparison, by the kind liberality of collectors of Scottish coins,-as also from the opportunity of inspecting the sterlings of the David I. period in the collection of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, supplemented

David I. period. by beautiful electrotypes, executed by the Messrs. Ready, of the David I. sterlings in the British Museum,-has enabled me in most cases to give, letter for letter, the complete legends of the coins here described, all of which, unless otherwise stated, are in the Ferguslie collection.

## Davio

Acceded A.d. II 24 ; DIEd 24TH May 1153.
CLASS I.
Coins of good workmanship, with bold, full lettering. Types.Obverse : Crowned bust, in armour,' ${ }^{1}$ to right, a sceptre in front (the crown ornamented with three fleurs-de-lis of three leaves each, exactly as on contemporary coins of Stephen of England, Hks. 270). Reverse: Cross fleurie contained within inner circle, a single pellet in each quarter.

## BERWICK.

Fig. 1.
I. O. ADA(VIT •)REX • R. wFO(LP)ALT • O(N) BERVI $23 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

From the Wingate collection, figured in Wingate's Illustrations of the Coinage of Scotland, Pl. I. 7. Four specimens of this coin are known, all from identical dies. I have had the opportunity of comparing these four pieces one with another, and thus am enabled to give the legends entire, as above. Three of the said specimens are figured in Lindsay as three different coins-PI. I. I3 and 14, and ist Sup. Pl. I. 2. ${ }^{2}$ The coin, Pl. I. I, of ist Sup., is evidently from the same die as these, but I have not seen this piece. Notwithstanding the remarkable difference in appearance of the sterlings figured Nos. 13 and 14 , as shown on Lindsay's firṣt plate, there can be no doubt that they are examples of one and the same coin. A large pellet at the point of the nose of the specimen No. 13

1 That is, to the spectator's right. L. Pl. I. I4, and Pl. I. 2, ist Sup., belonged to
2 The coin, Lindsay Pl. I. I3, is now in the collection of Mr. Cochran-Patrick; the coins,

Mr. Kermack Ford.
has been united in striking with the nose itself; hence the somewhat David I. unusual breadth and length of that organ. Compare also the specimen ${ }_{\text {Class } \mathrm{I} \text {. Berwick. }}^{(1125 \mathrm{~S} \text {. }}$ here figured. On the coin, figured No. 14 of Lindsay, the pellet at the point of the nose, partly through defect of striking, partly through obliteration in course of currency, is scarcely observable. The several examples, however, when compared together, are not nearly so different in appearance from one another as they look in Lindsay's plates.

Fig. 2.
2. O. \&DAVIT : R(E)X
B. ( (FOLP)AL : $*^{1}$ ON BER
22 grs.
3. O . $(\mathrm{D}) \mathrm{AV}(\mathrm{IT}: \operatorname{REX})$
B. WFOLPAL (: * ON B)ER
$18 \frac{3}{4}$ grs.

Two coins from the same dies, mutually supplementing one another's legends. The second of these sterlings is the identical piece figured in Lindsay, ist Sup. Pl. I. 4. The heavier specimen, No. 2, a magnificent coin, is probably the finest known example of a David I. sterling in any collection, public or private.

Fig. 3.

## 4. O. 出 DAVID : REX <br> 1k. (* FO)LPAL : * ON (BER) <br> 34 grs.

This is a forgery, struck in imitation of the coin Fig. 2. About the Forgeries. year 1860 a watchmaker named Jons, residing in Dunfermline, contrived to obtain impressions of early Scottish coins, both in silver and gold, and executed dies in imitation of these pieces. Some of the forgeries thus fabricated, more particularly those of the portrait testoons and half testoons of Mary, are of clumsy execution, and are readily detected by any one familiar with the genuine coins. One of the most successful fabrications by this person is probably the piece here published, specimens of which have deceived numismatists of great experience. The coin No. B of Pollexfen's

[^3]one coin of Stephen with mullets in the quarters, but it may not have been actually struck by him. Coins with his name are most eccentric imitations of Edward the Confessor, the Williams, and Henry I. The mullets of Rufus are merely differential, not persistent."

David 1.
(1124-53). Class 1. Forgeries.
plate, inscribed DAVID instead of DAVIT, figured to illustrate his paper on the Bute find, ${ }^{1}$ has proved on closer examination to be no other than a Dunfermline forgery, from the same die as the specimen above described, but with a greater appearance of having been in actual circulation, and with the weight more approaching to that of the genuine sterlings of David I. The coin, in imitation of which the false die was executed, is in the collection of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries. On that piece only the letters DKVI of the King's name are legible. Evidently never doubting but that the missing letter was a D , the forger supplied that letter from his own imagination. Fortunately, like most other fabricators of old coins, Mr. Jons was not greatly distinguished by his numismatic knowledge. These forgeries of his passed at first with many, with the less suspicion, from the circumstance that they were struck, instead of cast coins; thus differing from the older and better known fabrications of early Scottish money. The only respect in which the supposititious pieces of Mr. Jons are valuable is, that they are struck upon genuine British silver and gold coins of modern issue, well beat out. Letters or numerals of the genuine coins thus struck over may sometimes be observed peeping out from below the fictitious superposed impressions. The Dunfermline forgeries, even by those unacquainted with the authentic coins, may be detected by their peculiar hardness and newness of surface, by their stiffness of execution, and by the absence on them of those natural indentations observable on early hammered coins, more particularly on the long lines of the cross upon the reverses.

## Fig. 4.

5. O. (DAVI) $: ~ R(E X)$

1k. ( FFOLPA)LT • ON (B)ER * $23 \frac{3}{8}$ grs. This coin, a unique piece, so far as I have been able to trace, has its obverse struck from the same die as the obverses of the two sterlings, Fig. 2. From the inscription on the obverses of these coins I have supplemented, or rather reproduced, the inscription on the obverse of this piece. The reverse is struck from the same die as the reverse of the
${ }^{1}$ Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scottand, vol. v.; and Numismatic Chronicle, Second Series, vol. v.
very rare Berwick sterling reading on obverse DAVIT • REX • LSOLIE, ${ }^{1}$ David $\mathbf{I}$. figured here 4A, and Lindsay, 2 d Sup. Pl. I. I ${ }^{*}$, examples of which are in $\begin{gathered}(1124-53) \text {. } \\ \text { Class. Berwick. }\end{gathered}$ the collections of Mr. Cochran-Patrick and of Mr. Pollexfen ; the specimen Fig. 4A. in the cabinet of the latter gentleman is in each instance the figured coin. From the inscription on the reverse of this last piece, the inscription on the reverse of the sterling Fig. 4 has been supplemented.

The sterling Fig. 4 is the coin figured Lindsay, Pl. I. I 7, and Wingate, Pl. I. 9. In both cases it is described as a sterling of Earl Henry, and it was sold as such at the Lindsay and Wingate sales. Wingate, who simply followed Lindsay's attribution of the coin, remarks :-" This piece was bought at Mr. Lindsay's sale, and although the neck of the bust is ornamented in a different way from David's coins, I cannot see why it is ascribed with greater probability to Prince Henry than to his father." In Lindsay's descriptive notice of this sterling, p. 70, No. 18, as also on the illustration, Pl. I. 17 , the legend on the obverse is represented as commencing with a capital H. But what Lindsay regarded as the first limb of this supposed H is merely the adjoining part of the initial cross; while the second limb is simply the stalk or front of the D in DAVIT, all that is visible of that letter. I may further remark that on no Scottish coin of this period, nor for long after,-not till 1539, on the bonnet pieces of James V.,- does the capital H occur. Wingate has fallen into an error in stating that the neck of the bust on this piece is ornamented in a different way from that on David's coins. Any slight difference observable between the obverse of this sterling and the obverse of the sterling from the same die, Fig. 2, results solely from the difference in striking the respective coins.

To Berwick also may possibly belong the remarkable sterling, with a rosette of seven annulets in the first quarter of cross, and a large star in the opposite quarter, of which only two specimens are known; one being in the S.S.A. collection, figured here 21 B , and the other in the Fig. 21 B . Pollexfen collection, figured C of Bute Plate, and Lindsay, 2d Sup. P1. I. I. The moneyer's name on these pieces is evidently FOLPART, but all

[^4]David 1. that can be made out of the name of the mint, and that only doubtfully, is what seems to be an $R$, the last letter on reverse on the S.S.A. specimen, suggesting that the reading of the inscription may have been FOLPART (O)N (BE)R. What further countenances the attribution to Berwick is that the ornamentation of the armour round the neck is rendered by annulets, instead of by pellets, exactly as on the Berwick sterlings by Folpalt, Figs. 2 and 4, and that the king's eye is also put in by an annulet. The letters $R$ and $L$ were at that time interchangeable, so that Folpart may be regarded as the same name as Folpalt.

## ROXBURGH.

Fig. 5 .

## 6. O. DAV $^{\circ}(\mathrm{IT} \cdot \mathrm{R}) \mathrm{EX}$ <br> R. (出h)VGO • ON ROCA(SBVRG) $22 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

Three other specimens of this sterling exist ; of which two are in the collection of the Rev. Mr. Pollexfen, one being the example figured in Lindsay, PI. I. I5 ; the third is in the collection of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, from the Bute find, and is figured in the Proceedings of the Society, vol. v. Pl. VII. 7, as also in the Numismatic Chronicle, 2d S. vol. v. Pl. V. 7. From these pieces, which have been personally inspected by me, I have completed the inscriptions on this sterling, which was formerly in the Wingate Cabinet, and is represented Wingate, Sup. Pl. I. I.

Fig. 6.
7. O. (出D)AV(IT) REX B. (whV)GO ON (RO)CA(S)BV $22 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

Owing to the very great rarity of the Roxburgh sterlings of David I., the two above are the only specimens which as yet there has been the opportunity of acquiring for the Ferguslie collection. A sterling attributed to Roxburgh, with annulets enclosing pellets in the quarters of the cross on reverse, was purchased for this collection at the Wingate sale. As figured in Wingate, Sup. Pl. I. 2, that piece is made to appear as if having the words ON ROC on reverse-but this is an entirely imaginary rendering,
as will appear from the description of the coin given at page 29 , under Class III. No. 24, Fig. 27, of the David I. sterlings.

David I.
(1124-53).
Class I. Rox-

The earliest sterling correctly attributed to David I. was a penny of burgh. Roxburgh, in the possession of the Rev. Dr. John Jamieson, the author of the Scottish Dictionary, and which was published by him in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature for 1834 . That piece, there is every reason to believe, is the identical coin now in the collection of the Rev. John H. Pollexfen, here figured 6A, and figure A in the plate illustrative Fig. 6 A . of the coins of the Bute find. The letters DA are legibly rendered at the commencement of the legend on the obverse, and h (VGO) : OK. ROCAS on the reverse.

The sterlings of Hugo of Roxburgh, with the name of the mint rendered ROCAS, ROCASBV, or ROCASBVRG, are distinguished by their good workmanship generally, and specially by the elegant form of the crown, the centre lis of which rests upon an arch. These evidently are all executed by one hand, not necessarily by Hugo himself, who may not have been an engraver of dies or a striker of coins at all. ${ }^{1}$ Of very different work is the coin here figured 8E, and Lindsay, Pl. I. 9, formerly in the Hay Newton Fig. 8e. cabinet, now in the S.S.A. collection, reading on reverse hVGO $\cdot \mathrm{ON} \cdot \mathrm{ROCh}$, or, as it is rendered, rather ON • KOCh. On this coin the belt of the crown is expressed by a single straight line, from which immediately spring the three fleurs-de-lis, which are of very rude construction. The execution of the head is barbarous. There is no mouth, only what has the appearance of a long, sweeping moustache. Lindsay's plate does not sufficiently bring out the feeble, uncertain handling, more especially of the reverse. Another sterling, in the British Museum, Fig. 8F, apparently by the same hand Fig. 8 F . as the above, with the same inscription on the reverse, $h(V G) O: O N$ : ROCH : has the legend on the obverse retrograde, $(X) \in R$ : TIVAD. From the same obverse die as this piece a sterling in the collection of Mr. John

[^5]incompatibill with the maister of Mynt, and that never in Scotland a Mr. of Mynt wes sinkar, or one that could sink."-Cochran-Patrick's Records of the Coinage of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 108.

David 1. Guthrie Lornie, Fig. 8G, has for legend on reverse what seems intended for
(1124-53). Class I. Roxburgh. Fig. 8c.

## UNCERTAIN MINTS.

At p. 6 reference has been made to a unique sterling in the S.S.A. nVGO : ON : ORVO, or ON : ORNO, in very rude letters. These pieces may be regarded as the earlier issues of that extensive series of anomalous sterlings of the David I. period, represented here under Class II., having types of a degraded character, with the King's name usually rendered AVIT, instead of DAVIT, and with the inscriptions on the reverse more or less blundered or unintelligible. Many of these coins are so rude as to give rise to grave doubts whether they were genuine currency of David I. There can be no doubt, however, that they are of the same period, and circulated in common with the sterlings of David I., of good work and unquestionable authenticity, for they occur along with these in the Bute and other finds. ${ }^{\text { }}$

At p. 6 reference has been made to a unique sterling in the S.S.A. collection from the Bute find, here figured 6B, and No. 6 of Pollexfen's plate, having an annulet, in place of a pellet, in the first quarter of cross, with $h \mathbb{A}$ as the first two letters of the name of mint, the other letters of the name of the mint being insufficiently struck up. Haddington has been suggested by Mr. Pollexfen as the most probable place of mintage for this piece. This attribution naturally carries with it much weight, on account of the importance of Haddington at this period. Haddington was a royal burgh, and was bestowed by David I. in II 39 on Ada de Warenne as a marriage gift, on her union with Prince Henry. Unfortunately, however, for the attribution of this coin to Haddington, such slight traces of lettering as appear after $h \neq$ have very little resemblance to the letter $D$, having more the appearance of $M$ or IM, suggesting the reading $h \mathbb{A M}$ or $\mathrm{h} \mathbb{A} M$, either of which would represent Hamer, now Whitekirk, where the monks of Holyrood possessed an establishment, connected with which was a famous shrine, the source to these ecclesiastics of much wealth. This was not an

[^6]unlikely place where a mint might have been established for a short season, to convert into money of the realm some of the coined or uncoined silver there accumulated. There is no reason to suppose that, wherever it may have been situated, the mint represented by the letters $h \mathbb{A}$ could have been a very long time in operation; as the only instance in which the name of the mint on any Scottish coin unmistakeably commences with the letters $n$ A occurs on this piece, rendering it the less probable that the place of mintage could have been in itself of any great importance. Hamilton need not be mentioned in connection with this coin as a place of mintage ; that town, formerly Cadzow, having received its present name by charter from James II. in 1445 .

The other sterling to which reference was made, No. 5 of the Bute plate, here figured 6 c , has an A as the second letter of the name of the mint. What remains of the first letter of the name is suggestive rather of a square L, as shown on some Roxburgh sterlings of David I., than an h , although possibly it may belong to the same mint as the preceding, the name of the moneyer being apparently the same on both coins. This piece shows a neat saltire pommée on the centre of the cross fleurie formed by the pellets in the quarters being connected by stalks with the angles of the cross. The style of head on the obverse is similar to that on the Earl Henry sterling, Fig. 23, at page 36.

## CLASS II.

Class 11. Degraded.

Coins with the King's Name more or less mutilated or blundered, and with unsatisfactory Inscriptions on the Reverse; Types as Class I.

Fig. 9.

## 8. O. AVITット <br> 

The execution of this piece as regards both types and lettering is extremely rude. Indeed, but for the existence of two other specimens, in the collection of Mr. Cochran-Patrick, I should not have been able to have given the legends entire, as they are here rendered. The G in hVGO can

$\qquad$ -
$\qquad$ f


$\qquad$

$\square$Fig. 60
$\qquad$
$\qquad$





Deg
 $+$
scarcely be called a veritable representation of that letter, resembling rather two pothooks placed over against one another. The RV in RVR is in monogram with the V. A very similar coin is figured in Lindsay, Pl. I. 8, and erroneously ascribed to Alexander I. Lindsay's illustration of that piece does not give the inscription on the obverse correctly. The letter above the sceptre, treated as an $\bar{A}$, is simply the $R$ in $R X$ rudely rendered.

Fig. 10.
9. O. As Fig. 9.


This coin was formerly in the Wingate collection, and is figured Wingate, Pl. I. 4, as an Alexander I. The only other sterling that I have seen with the obverse struck from the same die as this piece is in the collection of the Rev. Mr. Pollexfen, and is the very coin figured in Lindsay, Pl. I. 8, as an Alexander I.

Fig. II.
10. Smaller head than the preceding, but with more bust. The legend on the obverse is evidently intended for AVIT REX; the inscription on the reverse is absolutely unintelligible. From the Wingate collection, figured Wingate, Pl. I. 6-weight, $18 \frac{3}{4}$ grs.

Fig. 12.
II. Bold, coarse workmanship. The legend on the obverse, as supplemented from a specimen from the same dies in the collection of Mr. CochranPatrick, reads $\mathbf{V} / \boldsymbol{N} \boldsymbol{N} \mathbf{N} \boldsymbol{K}$; the legend on the reverse exhibits an uncouth resemblance to $\boldsymbol{K}$ *RVNIORVKRVI.-weight, $18 \frac{1}{4}$ grs. The first two letters on the obverse are probably intended for $\overline{A V}$, but placed upside down. To attempt to make any meaning of the inscription on the reverse, the lettering on which itself is scarcely intelligible, would be a waste of ingenuity.

Fig. 13.
12. The head, crown, and sceptre on this coin are rendered in better style than on the preceding. No letters are visible on the obverse. The
only letters legible on the reverse are RO—weight, $16 \frac{1}{8}$ grs. On two other David I.
 collections, a rude travestie is presented of the name hVGO.

## Figs. 14, 14A.

13. Two coins from the same obverse die as Fig. 13, but from a different reverse die. Fig. 14 shows no lettering on obverse, with a fragmentary and unintelligible legend on reverse-weight, $19 \frac{3}{4}$ grs. From the Wingate collection, and figured, W. Pl. I. 3, as Alexander I. Fig. 14A reads legibly on obverse $\forall \Lambda I D: \operatorname{RE}(X)$, for $\pi V I D ~ R E X$, with $h V$ at the commencement of the legend on the reverse-weight 2I grs. In the Hendry collection. ${ }^{1}$

Fig. 15.

## 

Two specimens of this sterling are in the Ferguslie collection, weighing respectively $2 \mathrm{I} \frac{1}{8}$ and 19 grs.; three are in the British Museum; one is in the Museum of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, and one in the collection of Mr. Pollexfen-all from identical dies, both as regards the obverse and the reverse. The above is a literal transcription of the legends on the coins; what is defective in the inscription on one piece being supplied by the others. The legend on the reverse is wholly unintelligible; that on the obverse begins as usual with AVIT, but with what looks like a very small Mercian $M$, probably intended for a $D$, at the foot of the $\bar{A}$. This sterling is figured twice in Lindsay, Pl. I. II, and Ist Sup. Pl. I. 6in the first instance apparently from one of the British Museum specimens, and stated in Descriptive Catalogue, p. 70, No. 12, as reading on the reverse HVE WA : : : : : - a reading which will be vainly sought for in Lindsay's illustration of the coin itself. A sterling in the collection of the Rev. Mr. Pollexfen has its obverse struck from the same die as the obverse of the coin Fig. I5, with its reverse from the same die as the reverse of the sterling Fig. r6. Another instance of interchange of

[^7]David I.
(1124-53).
Class 11. Degrader.
dies is afforded by the sterling Fig. I7, which has its obverse from the same die as the sterling Fig. 16.

Fig. 16.

## 16. O. A MITMIKIF


Two other specimens of this sterling are respectively in the Cochran-Patrick and Guthrie Lornie collections. From the inscriptions on these two pieces the inscriptions on this coin have been supplemented, as also from that on the obverse of Fig. I7. This is the identical piece figured in Lindsay, ist Sup. Pl. I. 5. Compare also the similar coin figured, Lindsay, Pl. I. 6, as "Alexander I.," and the sterling, L. Pl. II. 22, described, p. 273, as "Uncertain; like the coins of Alexander I."

Fig. 17.
17. O. As above.

I have met with no other specimen of this piece. It was formerly in the possession of Mr. Thomas Gray, Glasgow, whose extensive collection of rare Scottish and other coins has been incorporated in the Ferguslie collection.

Fig. 18.


Two coins from identical dies. The one supplies what is defective in the inscriptions on the other. A short stalk radiates from each angle of the cross on the reverse, forming a rude saltire connected with the pellets. Two other specimens, from the same dies as the above, are respectively in the Cochran-Patrick and Pollexfen collections, the specimen in the latter collection being the coin figured in Lindsay, Pl. I. 7, as a sterling of Alexander I. The coin described below, No. 20, Fig. 19, has its obverse from the same die as the sterlings Nos. 18, 19, and is the identical specimen figured Lindsay, P1. I. 12, and Wingate, Pl. I. 8.

Fig. 19.
20. O. As Fig. 18, from same die. B. $+\overline{\boldsymbol{h}}$ (NRNHFMAV: $22 \frac{3}{8}$ grs.

This coin was formerly in the Lindsay and Wingate collections. Mr. Lindsay states, p. 270, that it was purchased at Berwick in 1844, at the time the small find of David 1. coins occurred at Bamborough Castle, and, along with two sterlings, figured Nos. II and 14 of his first plate, obtained at the same time and place, is supposed by him to have formed part of that hoard. As figured both in Lindsay, Pl. I. I 2, and Wingate, Pl. I. 8, the reverse of this piece seems to have a fleur-delis instead of a pellet in one of the quarters of the cross. This appearance is simply occasioned by three slight indentations from the obverse, showing themselves on a dark ground upon the reverse. I have compared the coin with two other specimens, from apparently identical dies, respectively in the collections of Mr. Kermack Ford and of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, the latter from the Bute find, figured No. 4 of the plate accompanying Pollexfen's paper, on neither of which is there any appearance of a fleur-de-lis upon reverse. I observe, moreover, that the supposed fleur-de-lis comes out very indistinctly on the impression taken of the coin itself. I am indebted to Mr. Kermack Ford's specimen for supplying what of the inscription does not come out clearly on the reverse of this piece.

The sterling Fig. 4, Bute find, is of special interest, as it was from the extremely legible inscription on the obverse of that coin that Mr. Pollexfen was enabled to restore to David I. the sterling, Lindsay, Pl. I. 7, erroneously attributed by Lindsay to Alexander I. Respecting this piece Pollexfen remarks: "Figure 4, though of rude workmanship, reads very legibly - $\overline{\text { VVIT }}: \mathrm{R}-$ - retrograde, and is evidently similar in type to Lindsay, Pl. I. Fig. I2. But it seems to me to resemble even more closely his Fig. 7, which he attributes to Alexander I.; and, after careful consideration, I am disposed to assign to David two out of the three coins attributed by him to Alexander, viz. his Nos. 7 and 8. With regard to his No. 7 I have no doubt; on comparing it with our Fig. 4 its identity will be apparent.

David I. (1124-53). Class 11. Degraded.

About his No. 8 I am less certain; but to me it appears to read - -VIT retrograde, the T being more blundered than the other letters, and made to resemble an $\mathbb{A}$." Curiously enough, as will be seen from what I have said respecting the coins Figs. 9 and ro of the Ferguslie collection, the identical sterling figured Lindsay, Pl. I. 8, is now in Mr. Pollexfen's own cabinet ; ${ }^{1}$ the inscription on the obverse of that piece is not retrograde. The coin to which I have referred was kindly sent to me for inspection, along with other sterlings of David I. by Mr. Pollexfen, when I was collecting materials for a more exhaustive study of the coins of that period than had hitherto been attempted; the results of which are here for the first time published. The sterling No. 16, Fig. 16, is very similar to the coin figured in Lindsay, Pl. I. 6, erroneously attributed to Alexander I.

Fig. 20.

## 21. O. - FAV/T・ムt <br> 

This piece has its obverse in the same style as the sterlings Figs. I8 and I9, but the inscription, AVIT RX, is not retrograde. As this is the only specimen of the coin I have met with, I am unable to complete the legend on reverse. Possibly this coin may have been of earlier issue than the sterlings figured I8 and 19. A short stalk, scarcely observable, shoots out saltire-wise from each angle of the cross. The style of head on these sterlings is not so uncouth as on most of the other nondescript pieces of Class II.

Fig. 21.

This coin is what is called a mule, a union of an obverse with a reverse that does not belong to it. The obverse is of very fair workmanship, showing good lettering with the King's name unmutilated; the reverse is of rude execution with bad lettering, and with the inscription in the anomalous

[^8][^9]unintelligible style usually met with on the coins in Class II. The letters David I. RE on the obverse have been supplemented from a sterling in the British ${ }_{\text {Class II. }}^{(1124.5) .}$ De. Museum, from the same obverse die, but with what appears to be its own graded. proper reverse, having a large annulet, surrounded with small pellets, in each of two opposite quarters of the cross, with a large pellet in each of the two other quarters; good lettering, as on the obverse. This coin is here figured, for illustration, Fig. 21A. It is a re-struck piece, and unfortunately, Fig. 21A. as regards the obverse, the re-striking has been in opposite directions; the reverse seems to read FVLPOLD - ON • RO. The same names of moneyer and mint appear on the reverse of a very early sterling of William the Lion, also in the British Museum, figured here, for illustration, 25 B , reading Fig. 25 B . FOLPOLD • ON • ROC.

In all likelihood the FVLPOLD, or FOLPOLD, ${ }^{1}$ whose name appears on these two sterlings of Roxburgh, with names of David and of William on the obverse, was the same person. The coins themselves have all the appearance of having been executed by the same hand, not necessarily by Fulpold himself. The lettering on both is of a square formal character, readily distinguishable from that usual to the Berwick sterlings of Folpalt and to the Roxburgh sterlings of Hugo. The fact, therefore, that the reverse of a coin belonging to Class II. should have been connected with an obverse of a coin, as Fig. 21A, evidently belonging to Class I., but of obviously late Fig. 2ra. issue, as shown by the more recent style of crown, is strongly suggestive of the probability that many of the coins in Class II. were also of late issue ; possibly, for the greater part, struck after the death of David I.; that is, in the earlier years of the reign of Malcolm IV., who was only in his twelfth year when, by the death of his grandfather, he acceded to the Scottish throne. The degraded character of the coins in that class points signifi-

[^10]the spelling of the name, and in the style of work on the several coins, would naturally result from different workmen having been employed by this person upon his money. See note at page 13. That the same moneyer issued coins at different mints is clearly established, more particularly by the practice under Alexander III.

David I.
(1124-53). Class II. Degraded.
cantly to the same conclusion. It is, moreover, a very extensive class, evidently extending over a considerable period, and marked by many degrees of degradation. Somewhere above sixty specimens of this anomalous series have come under my own observation, as against little more than a third of that number of the better-executed coins of David I., as here described under Class I., with the King's name correctly rendered, and with the names of the moneyers and mints intelligibly expressed. - I need scarcely advert to the well-understood maxim of archæological research, that the further the process of degradation has been carried upon any object, the more certain is it that that object is of recent issue for its period. ${ }^{1}$ Reversing this rule, Scottish numismatic writers have mistakenly regarded rudeness of execution as a sure sign of priority of issue, assigning, for example, to Alexander I. those sterlings of the cross fleurie and pellet type of David I. on which the process of degradation, in respect to types and inscriptions, has been carried the furthest.

# Coins bearing the Name of David, but with English Types on the Reverse. 

Fig. 24.
Plain-looking style of head and bust, with sceptre to right ; the crown without ornaments. Reverse : cross moline, the ends meeting and forming a tressure of four compartments, each compartment enclosing a fleur-de-lis, as on the sterling of Stephen, Hawkins, 270, but with the ends of the cross not pierced.
${ }^{1}$ Hawkins and Evans have given explicit enunciation to this principle in connection with the Ancient British Coinage, of which the prototype is now recognised as the Macedonian Philippus. By Dr. Arthur Mitchell its gencral application in archroological matters was cogently brought
out in a paper "On rude stone implements found in Shetland" (Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. vii. [1870], p. 131). Long doubted, Dr. Mitchell's conclusions are now universally accepted.

## 

This piece, in fabric, style of head, lettering, type of reverse, and name $\underset{\text { English types. }}{\substack{\text { Clas } \\ \text { III. }}}$ of moneyer, is exactly as the coin Fig. I of the plate accompanying Pollexfen's paper on the Bute find, and represented here Fig. 24A, reading on obverse hENRIEVS, and on reverse EREBALD O(N L)OLEB, now recognised as belonging to Henry, Earl of Northumberland, and struck at Corbridge near Carlisle, where Earl Henry had a mint. Unfortunately, while the inscription on the obverse of this sterling of David I., by Erebald, is very legibly rendered, that on the reverse giving the name of the mint, partly from the edge being defective and partly from the obliteration of some of the letters, does not come out very clearly. I was at first inclined to regard the proper reading on the reverse as EREBALD ON LOLEBVR; but on closer inspection, and from a comparison of what remains of the letters of the name of the mint with the letters in Erebald's name, I am satisfied that the first letter of the name of the mint is an $E$, and that the second is probably a D, with BVR as the three last letters-the whole apparently reading EREBALD ON EDENEBVR. I have given as above an exact transcript of what is visible of the legend on the reverse, supplementing such of the letters as are defective with dotted lines. At the Cuff sale, lot 763 , what seems to have been a similar coin is described as "Un-certain-having a reverse similar to Hks. 270, FREBALD ON ED." This so far confirms the attribution here given of this coin. I have little doubt that the moneyer's name on the reverse of Cuff's sterling was EREBALD, not FREbALD, and that possibly the inscription on the obverse may have been DAVID REX, as on the sterling Fig. 24. Under what circumstances Erebald came to strike money at Edinburgh I am unable to state. I may here remark, however, that all or nearly all the David I. coins of the Bute find, with the same type of reverse as on this piece, appear to have been struck at Edinburgh, although, perhaps, at a rather later date. These are of smaller module and of ruder fabric and workmanship than this sterling, and the legends on all are more or less barbarously rendered; see Figs. 24C, 24D. Figs. 24C, 24D. Two of these coins, with the more intelligible inscriptions, on collation, give

THE COINAGE OF SCOTLAND.

David I.
(1124.53). Class IIt. English types.
on the obverse + DNTID:DG+ and on the reverse $\triangle A E R I N(6): O N \in D O N:$ respectively, for DAVID REX and DERIND: ON EDON-readings to which generally the inscriptions on the other pieces approximate. One coin, with the name of the mint unfortunately illegible, has the moneyer's

Fig. 24D.

Fig. 24A. name FVLBOLD or PVLBOLD, Fig. 24D. This last sterling has its obverse struck from the same die as the obverse of one of the coins with DERIND as moneyer. Presumably, therefore, Fulbold ${ }^{1}$ or Pulbold was moneyer at the same mint as Derind. ${ }^{2}$

The sterling of David I. in the Ferguslie collection, Fig. 24, by Erebald, is the more interesting as it is the first coin of the type published as belonging to David I. It formed lot 412 of the Martin Sale Catalogue (Sotheby, May 1859), and is described as follows :-"412. Penny,出DAVID REX, Profile to right, with sceptre; rev. Plain cross within a tressure of eight curves, a fleur-de-lis in each angle; of great rarityunpublished." The Bute find, to which we owe the discovery of other coins of the same type, with the name of David, but not by the same moneyer, did not take place till June 1863. Mr. Pollexfen has inadvertently described the Bute pieces as the first of the type known as belonging to David I.

Apart from its intrinsic importance the sterling of Erebald, Fig. 24, is of great numismatic value in confirming the attribution to Earl Henry of the sterling in the Bute find, here figured 24A, with the same type of reverse and name of moneyer. The inscription on the reverse of that piece is so much off the coin, that, for the greater part, only the lower portions of the letters are visible. It has the name of Henry, without Rex, on the obverse. Two similar pieces, figured Ruding, Sup. Part II. Pl. II. Figs. 8 and io, the latter corresponding to Hawkins, Fig. 259, have been attributed by Ruding and Hawkins to Henry I. of England. Pollexfen, however, questioned whether the Bute coin ought not rather to be given to Prince Henry, son of David I. An important clue was supplied subsequently by Mr. Longstaffe in his valuable paper, entitled a "Postscript, by the editor of Archaologia

[^11]I. was struck by a Durand or Durant." Durham, as we shall see under David II., was a most likely place for moneyers to come from to Scotland.

Eliana, to the Rev. D. H. Haigh's paper on the Coins of the Danish David I. Kings of Northumberland." The place of mintage of the Bute sterling
(1124-53).
Class III. of Henry, by Erebald, of which only the letters OLE and the lower English types. portion of the B were visible, was there determined as COLEB $=$ COLEbrigia, and identified with Corbridge-the demesne manor nearest to a valuable silver mine in the Earldom of Northumberland. This Earldom had been bestowed upon Prince Henry in II39. "The modern name,"-Corbridge,-observes Mr. Longstaffe, "links its Corbridge. history with Corstopitum, the Roman station, which it undoubtedly represents. Yet there is ample proof that for euphony's sake the $r$ was $l$ when it had a coinage. Thus we have the expression 'Colebrigia Civitate,' temp. Stephen, and the $L$ is retained in the pipe-rolls down to Edward I.'s days." To a portion of this silver mine Henry had become entitled, when at the commencement of 1136 the fief of Carlisle had been conferred upon him by Stephen. "The silver mine," as Longstaffe further remarks, "though called that of Carlisle, was in fact partly in Cumberland and partly in Northumberland; in plain words, it was contained in the lead of the frontier manor of Alston Moor, and the Northumberland share was by far the richest."

At Carlisle certain coins, with the same peculiarities of lettering as on the Corbridge sterling of Henry by Erebald, and with the same type of reverse, were struck with the name of Stephen by two moneyers, Erebald and William. Of these sterlings, one by Erebald and two by William were discovered, with many other sterlings of the period, in a find of coins at Watford in Hertfordshire in 1818, described by Rashleigh in the Numismatic Chronicle, First Series, vol. xii. Two similar sterlings with the name of Stephen, by Erebald, were among the Bute coins, represented here Fig. 24B. ${ }^{1}$ The name of the mint, which on the Watford specimens Fig. 248. appears as CARD and CARDI, Rashleigh, in his descriptive notice, has rendered as Cardiff, although now fully concurring in Carlisle as the correct attribution. Referring to the peculiarities of the lettering and the bust on

[^12]David I.
( 1124 -53).
Class III.
English types.

Fig. 24B.
Fig. 24A.
these pieces, which occur also on the sterling of David I. by Erebald, Rashleigh remarks: "Their peculiarities, as they are extremely rare, have been hitherto unnoticed. The letters are of the character of those on the early Saxon coins, having no serifs, and the portrait considerably more rude than usual." By their having no serifs, Rashleigh means that the stems of the letters have not the cross lines common to the more modern characters.

These sterlings of the Carlisle mint by Erebald and William, with the name of Stephen, Fig. 24B, thus curiously connected with the Corbridge sterling of Earl Henry, Fig. 24A, by Erebald, are regarded by Mr. Longstaffe, the highest authority on North of England coins, as having really been struck by Earl Henry. The Watford hoard determines the period of issue of these pieces. This hoard was composed almost exclusively of pennies of Henry I. and of Stephen. But of above 600 sterlings of Stephen, representing more than thirty different mints, the only type of reverse found was that on these Carlisle sterlings of Erebald and William (Hawkins, 270), showing clearly that that type must have been the very earliest of the types of Stephen's reign, introduced probably about the time that Earl Henry came into possession of Carlisle. Keeping in view the remarkable peculiarities of the bust and of the lettering common to these Carlisle sterlings with the name of Stephen, and to the Henry sterling of the Bute find, minted at Corbridge, we cannot avoid the conclusion that these Carlisle pieces in the Bute find, although bearing Stephen's name, were also struck by Earl Henry.

But it is not so clear, as assumed by Longstaffe, that the Erebaldor Herebald with the aspirate-whose name appears on these coins, is to be identified with Erchenbald, or Erkenbald, of whom there is some mention, but not as moneyer, in the Corbridge serjeantries of 16 Henry II. and iy Henry II., referred to by Longstaffe. Between the issue of these Carlisle and Corbridge sterlings struck by Erebald, and the mention made of this Erchenbald or Erkenbald in the Corbridge serjeantries, an interval of probably more than thirty years must have elapsed. In the absence of any closer proof to connect the one
with the other, and in the difference in the manner of rendering their David I . names, we are scarcely warranted in regarding the Erebald of the coins ${ }_{\text {Class III. }}^{(1124.53) .}$ as one and the same person with the Erchenbald of the serjeantries. English types. Unfortunately, from the imperfect state of the inscriptions on the reverses of the Erebald sterlings in the Bute find and in the absence of any opportunity of personally examining the coins, Mr. Longstaffe, whose numismatic sagacity is so rarely at fault, has misread the name of the moneyer, both as it is given on the Carlisle sterling of Stephen and on the Corbridge sterling of Henry - this in both cases being EREBALD ; but, as rendered by Longstaffe, appearing respectively as (E)R(CEMBA)LD : ON CARD on the Carlisle sterling of Stephen, Fig. 24B, and ERCBOLD Fig. 24B. $\mathrm{O}(\mathrm{N})$ COLEB on the Corbridge sterling of Henry, Fig. 24A. To take Fig. 24A. the last of these readings first, the third letter of the moneyer's name, which on the plate looks like a square L , can on the coin itself be plainly recognised as an $E$, part of the middle cross-bar being still observable on the coin, although the upper half of the letter is away; while the character treated by Longstaffe as an $O$, of which very little is visible on the coin, is undoubtedly an A, very well represented on Erebald's sterling of David I., Fig. 24; and even on this piece the straddling lower extremities of the $\mathbb{A}$ are quite distinctly defined and far enough apart to satisfy any one of the true character of the letter. With regard to the Carlisle sterling of Erebald, Mr. Pollexfen must to some extent be credited with the misreading. Neither of the two specimens of this coin in the Bute find is engraved, but in Pollexfen's descriptive list the moneyer's name appears with five gaps between the $R$ and the $\mathrm{LD}:-\mathrm{R}-----\mathrm{LD}$. No warrant for these five gaps between the second letter and the last two letters of the moneyer's name will be found on the coins. ${ }^{1}$ Finding, however, these duly set forth in Pollexfen's description, Mr. Longstaffe naturally enough filled them up according to his own preconceived ideas of the name of Earl Henry's first moneyer, assumed by him to be Erkembald - this Erkembald being further assumed to

[^13]David I.
(1124-53). Class III. English types.
be the Erchenbald or Erkenbald of the Corbridge silver mine accounts ; whom, again, Longstaffe assumed to be the father of the well-known William Fitz Erkembald, ${ }^{1}$ whose name is met with as moneyer on Carlisle and Newcastle coins of Henry II.'s first coinage, and "who was lessee of the silver mine of Carlisle when the Pipe-Rolls recommence in 4 Henry II.;" probably also for some time previous.

It would have been gratifying could we have obtained satisfactory information about this Erebald from contemporary documents. Still, there is every reason to believe that the Erebald who struck sterlings bearing on their obverses the names of Stephen, Henry, and David, at apparently three different mints, Carlisle, Corbridge, and Edinburgh, all with the same remarkable peculiarities of bust and lettering, and with the same type of reverse, was one and the same person. The head on the David I. sterling by Erebald, Fig. 24 in the Ferguslie collection, is identical with that on the

Fig. 24A. Henry sterling of Corbridge by Erebald, Fig. 24A, in the S.S.A. collection from the Bute find; rendering it the more probable that the Henry for whom Erebald struck coins was Earl Henry, son of David I. of Scotland.

The two following coins of David I., Class III., in the Ferguslie collection, very much resemble in the type of reverse that on the Pax pennies of Williams I. II. of England-having a plain cross, the ends slightly potent, with a large annulet in each quarter but enclosing a round pellet instead of a letter. A similar type, except that the cross is rather more ornamented, will be found on the reverses of two sterlings, attributed to Henry I., figured in Hawkins Nos. 256, 264, as also on a coin with uncertain legend on the obverse, Hawkins, No. 275. Compare also Fig. 5 in Snelling's View of the Coins struck in the Isle of Man, and No. 9 of Rashleigh's plate, -Num. Chron. ist S. vol. xiii. p. 181; the inscription on the reverse of the latter piece, $\operatorname{RICAR}(\mathrm{D} 0) \mathrm{N} C A R,{ }^{2}$ being the same legend, apparently, as on the reverse of the first of the two sterlings here described.

[^14]ing RICAR * ON CAN, but in his illustration of the piece the legend is undoubtedly RICAR * * N CAR-the R being identical in form with the R on the obverse of Fig. 24 in the Ferguslie collection.

Fig. 27.
David I.
(1124-53).
Class III. English types. Carlisle. closing a pellet.

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24. 0. ロ\piVIT•RE*
R. +*-aAND:**:GFR: 20 grs.
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The obverse of this piece is of excellent workmanship, bearing a remarkable resemblance to the obverse of the sterling attributed to the Earl of Warwick, figured Num. Chron. ist S. vol. xii. p. I38. The treatment of the reverse is good, except as regards the lettering, which is of a somewhat barbarous character. As stated in connection with the Roxburgh sterling, Class I. No. 7, Fig. 6, this coin has been figured in Wingate, Sup. Pl. I. 2, as reading • . . - ON ROC. Had Wingate, who himself was the delineator of the coins in his plates, contented himself with representing the legend exactly as it appears on this piece, he would not have committed himself to any such reading. Unfortunately, in delineating the coins in his collection, Wingate has allowed himself occasionally to take considerable liberties with the inscriptions. In the present case he has been at fault respecting the commencement of the inscription on the reverse, not having observed the position of the cross before the legend, which is of a rather shady character. What is treated by him as the second limb of the cross is really the first, at which the inscription properly commences. It is strange that the letters $C A R$, much the most legibly expressed letters on the reverse of this coin, should so entirely have escaped Wingate's observation, while no warrant whatever exists for the letters ON ROC, so confidently given by him. That David I. should have struck money at Carlisle, the place where this sterling has evidently been minted, cannot surprise us. At Carlisle ${ }^{1}$ David I. died on the Carlisle. 24th May 1153 ; and its fortress had virtually for some time previously been in his possession. The late character of the lettering on this sterling-the rounded $\epsilon$ and $\propto$ particularly-renders it very probable that
${ }^{1}$ History of Scotland, by Dr. John Hill Burton, vol. i. p. 44 I.

David I. (1124-53). Class I1I. English types.
if struck during the lifetime of David it was minted at the close of his reign; possibly in his last year, after 12th June 1152, when his son Earl Henry died. Carlisle had been held as a fief by Prince Henry, in right of his mother, from II 36. The sterling No. 9 of Rashleigh's plate, Num. Chron., ist S. vol. xiii. p. 181, with the same type of reverse as on this coin, and apparently of the same moneyer and mint, also gives the rounded C on reverse, only represented as open. The legend on the obverse of the coin, Rashleigh No. 9, is very defective, but enough remains to suggest that it may have been of retrograde character, and possibly intended to represent DAVID REX, as on the example below.

Fig. 28.
25. O. + BA: 11> UAC. C.
R. ФDEPIMO:ON: ROGDH: $23 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

Same types as the preceding, but with small stalks in the angles of the cross. The obverse legend is retrograde and partly transposed, evidently designed to represent DAVID : REX. The reverse legend appears to have been intended for DERIND ON ROMDN or ROXDN. This coin may possibly have been struck under Malcolm IV., at Roxburgh, after the surrender of Northumberland and Cumberland to the English Crown, an event which took place in the fourth year of the reign of that prince. The Derind whose name occurs as moneyer was probably the same person as the Derind On Edon of the Bute coins, Fig. 24C, with the tressure fleurie type of reverse. This is the more likely, as the last D in the name of Derind on these coins, as on this piece, is almost invariably formed like an $O$. The manner in which the head, crown, bust, and sceptre are rendered on these coins is also very similar to what appears on this sterling.

This coin, unique so far as known, was purchased at the sale of numismatic property of the late Mr. James J. Lamb of Paisley. In the sale catalogue of the Lamb collection it is represented as "from the Hoare sale, 1861, lot 117 , previously in the Cuff collection," and it is so described in the Hoare catalogue ; but the only coin in the Cuff sale catalogue corresponding
to this piece, and likewise believed to be unique, is represented as having David I . for type of reverse a "crescent and pellet in each quarter" of cross, figured "Lindsay, Pl. I. No. 16." Unless, therefore, there are two specimens pre- English types. cisely alike, even to the manner of striking, that coin is the piece here figured 28A, now in the British Museum. It affords a fairly intelligible Fig. 28A. although retrograde rendering of the name and title of David on the obverse, with an utterly unintelligible and barbarously rendered form of legend on the reverse. The type of the reverse is identical with that on some of the crescent and pellet sterlings of William the Lion-a crescent enclosing a pellet (without stalk) in each quarter of the cross, with a pellet behind the crescent in each of the angles.

A curious sterling, Fig. 26A, in the S.S.A. collection, has the head and Fig. 26A. bust as on the Stephen, Hks. 278, with a similar cross fleurie on the reverse, but without the plain cross in saltire with the cross fleurie as on that piece. The only letters visible of the inscription on the obverse are $D$ at the commencement and OrJ at the end, with WL * * M • ON • CAR retrograde on reverse. The Mercian $\Upsilon$, as on the obverse of this piece, occurs also on a sterling, Hks. 284, ascribed to William, son of Stephen. In connection with the sterling Fig. 26A, Mr. Longstaffe, to whom I had sent an impression of it, has contributed some very interesting information. He writes: "It reminds me of a broken coin found in 1865 by Mr. Fred Woodmass in some old lead work flooring, over which one foot deep of moss had grown, at Blagill mine (Alston district). The reverse probably read backwards like yours. The finding of it in the disused workings of the silver mine of Carlisle was interesting." And it may be added that the finding of this broken coin in Earl Henry's old mine (of which Mr. Longstaffe favoured me with a drawing, corresponding exactly with the sterling Fig. 26A) closely connects both pieces with Earl Henry, or with his father, in whose name they may have been struck.

David I.
(1124-53).
Class IV.
Anomalous.

## CLASS IV.

Coins of good workmanship and of the same types as Classes I. II., but with wholly unintelligible and apparently purposely blundered inscriptions.

Fig. 7.

This is the very roin, figured in Lindsay, Pl. I. 18, and erroneously ascribed to Prince Henry. Another sterling, Lindsay, Pl. I. r 7, also erroneously attributed to this prince, now forms No. 5, Fig. 4, of the Ferguslie collection, and has been already (pp. ro, r r) brought under consideration. In reference to these two coins, Lindsay, p. 7, remarks: "The obverse legend of the first (L. Pl. I. 17) commences $4 \mathrm{H}----$, and seems to be the name of the prince in question; that of the second (L. Pl. I. r8) is also imperfect, but sufficient remains to prove that it was HENRI"! In point of fact all that remains of the inscription on the obverse of this second coin (Fig. 7) are the letters RV at the commencement and NR at the end; out of these letters it required very peculiar powers of vision "to prove that the name of the prince was HENRI." A specimen of this coin in the British Museum, Fig. 7A, from precisely the same dies, puts the true reading of the legend on the obverse beyond doubt. There is still another specimen in the collection of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries from the Bute find, figured No. 3 of the plate accompanying Pollexfen's paper. From these two coins the inscriptions on this piece, as above rendered, have been supplemented.

Another sterling in the collection of Mr. Cochran-Patrick, figured here 7 B , corresponds exactly with these coins with respect to the obverse, but has its reverse struck from a die of the rude anomalous character, belonging to the coins described under Class II. As nearly as I can give it, what remains of the inscription on the reverse of Mr. Cochran-Patrick's sterling is as follows :
——aruiarill reverse of Class II. with an obverse of Class IV., proves that there must have been some connection between the sterlings of these two classes.

In the same way the sterling Fig. 21 , p. 20, and the similar piece figured in David $\mathbf{I}$. Lindsay, Pl. I. Io, both with correctly rendered legends on the obverse, but ${ }_{C l}^{(1124-53 \text { IV). }}$ with barbarous, unintelligible inscriptions on the reverse, show that a con- Anomalous. nection existed between the coins in Classes I. and II. Apparently, therefore, in common with the coins in these two classes, the sterlings in Class IV. are to be regarded as of Scottish origin. The coins in all three classes were in actual circulation together, and are all represented in the Bute find.

## Fig. 8.

## 

Two other specimens of this sterling, from dies identical with the above, are figured as two different coins, Lindsay, Pl. 11. 23 and 24. Both pieces are now in the collection of the Rev. Mr. Pollexfen, through whose kindness I have had the opportunity of comparing them with this coin. Two other specimens, from the same dies as the preceding, have also been examined by me-in the Cochran-Patrick and Guthrie Lornie cabinets respectively. I have thus been enabled to give the inscriptions of the coin Fig. 8 entire, as above rendered. Another sterling of this class, in the S.S.A. collection, Fig. 8A, has the legend on the obverse reading NRVOIL : . Fig. 8A. The first three letters of this inscription, it will be observed, are the same as on the sterlings Figs. 7, 8, only in each case the arrangement is different. In each case also the letter $S$ on the reverse is of the inverted or reversed form. The concurrence of the same three letters at the beginning of the inscriptions on the obverses of these three coins, in connection with the same peculiar form of the $S$ repeated on the reverses, as also the similarity of the treatment of the busts and of the general execution, may be regarded as indicating that the selfsame hand had been engaged in the production of these several pieces.

A sterling belonging to this class is figured No. 8 of the plate illustrative of Rashleigh's interesting paper, entitled "An account of some baronial and other coins of King Stephen's reign," published in the Numismatic Chronicle, First Series, vol. xiii. p. 18r. The inscriptions on that

David I. (1124-53). Class IV. Anomalous.

Fig. 813.

Fig. 25D.

Fig. $25^{3}$. coin, as figured in Rashleigh's plate, are entirely gone ; but from two other specimens exactly similar, with the same parrot-nosed portrait, and apparently from identical dies with that piece, respectively in the collections of the Rev. Mr. Pollexfen and 'Mr. Kermack Ford, of which the latter is here figured $8 \mathrm{~B},{ }^{1}$ I am enabled to supply the inscription on the obverse, viz. \#VDIIOVI. This inscription, it will be observed, gives much the same letters as on the obverses of the two sterlings, Figs. 7, 8. I am unable to give the inscription on the reverse. Another sterling, also with the Scottish type of reverse, belonging to our Class II., forms No. 7 of Rashleigh's plate. This coin seems to have been from the same dies as a sterling from the Bute find, in the S.S.A. collection, No. 6 of Pollexfen's descriptive list of sterlings in the Bute find, inscribed on the obverse $\$ \rightarrow 1$ :IKAG:-DAVI(T)-RE. Mr. Rashleigh states that the two coins Nos. 7 and 8 of his plate "were lately found in company with a few coins of Stephen (type, No. 14),"-same as Hawkins, 276 -" and with several hundreds of Henry II. (type, Hawk. 285)." ${ }^{2}$ I may observe that precisely the same type of reverse as on the sterlings of Stephen, Hawkins, 276 , is found on the reverse of an early sterling of William the Lion, in the collection of the Rev. Mr. Pollexfen, Fig. 25D, reading on reverse WFOLPOL - - OC, struck apparently by the same moneyer, and at the same mint, as the penny of William, in the British Museum, here figured 2518. It is supposed that the sterlings of Henry II. (type, Hawkins, 285) were commenced to be struck about A.D. 1158 . As Malcolm IV. died in II65, it was probably at the end of his reign, or at the commencement of that of William the Lion, that the small hoard, containing Rashleigh's Scottish pennies, "Nos. 7 and 8," represented by the sterlings Classes II. and IV., was deposited. This tallies with what has been here stated in connection with the mule No. 22, Fig. 2I, that many of the sterlings in Classes II. and IV. may have been struck after the death of David I.

So far as weight goes, the sterlings in Classes II. and IV. compare not unfavourably with the unquestionably authentic pennies of David I. in Class I. The quality of the coins in all these several classes seems to be

[^15]the same, so far as may be judged from their outward appearance. They also circulated in common. Some connection certainly existed between them, as shown by reverses of sterlings in Class II. being united to obverses of sterlings in Classes I. and IV. On the other hand-unless, for some time after the death of David I., the coinage had fallen into a very disorganised state-it is difficult to conceive how the sterlings in Class II., with their blundered and frequently unintelligible inscriptions and degraded types, could have emanated from any recognised mint master or mint. As for the sterlings in Class IV., although they are of good execution in respect of the types and the lettering, they exhibit no pretence to any intelligible rendering of the name of any known prince on obverse or of any known moneyer or mint on reverse. Possibly with Rashleigh some may be disposed to regard the sterlings in Class IV. as baronial coins. As coins, bearing Scottish types, I have here described them, and now pass from them without further remark.

## Denry, $\mathbb{E}$ arl of Jorthumbetiand.

Henry, Earl of Northumberland.

Born about A.d. 1114 ; died i2th June A.d. II 52.
The only coins that can be attributed to Prince Henry, son of David I. of Scotland, are certain sterlings with so-called English ${ }^{1}$ types on the reverse, struck within the Earldom of Northumberland in its then extended sense. Two coins with Scottish types on the reverse, both now in the Ferguslie collection, which are ascribed by Lindsay to Prince Henry, have been shown, respectively, to be a Berwick penny of David I., Fig. 4, No. 5, and a sterling of uncertain attribution, Fig. 7, No. 26. These are the only two coins of Scottish type that have been assigned to this prince; so that, unless better authenticated examples can be produced, the attribution of coins of Scottish type to Henry, Earl of Northumberland, must be

[^16]David I.
(1124-53).
Class IV.
Anomalous.

Henry, Earl of Northumberland.
abandoned. With respect to the sterlings of Earl Henry with the socalled English types, struck in Northumberland, no hesitation need be entertained in including these in a work on Scottish coins; because, for some years before and after the death of Henry, the northern counties of England were virtually a part of Scotland.

Much light has been thrown by Mr. Longstaffe upon the cross crosslet coins of Earl Henry, figured by Lindsay, Pl. I. Nos. 19, 20, 2 I, respecting which considerable misapprehension had previously existed, some numismatists having even assigned them to Malcolm IV. The great difficulty with these coins has been the obscure character of the legends on the obverse and the more or less incomplete condition of the inscriptions on both sides. The following piece is the only specimen of the type as yet in the Ferguslie collection. I have completed the inscriptions, as given below, from similar coins in other cabinets, which have been kindly sent to me for inspection.

Fig. 23.
Obverse: crowned head to right, with sceptre; the crown as on the sterlings of David I., Class I. Reverse: cross patée in each quarter of a cross crosslet, connected by a loop with the inner circle.

1. 0 . M:(E) MCI:COM Bx. H(W)ILER:M:OMCI:H及 20 grs .

The inscription on the reverse is completed chiefly from Mr. Longstaffe's specimen, Fig. 23A, giving the final letter B, the initial of the name of the mint, which is also distinctly shown on a specimen belonging to Mr. Robert Blair, South Shields. Mr. Longstaffe's coin is inscribed on the obverse, 4 I: ECI:COLI, displaying a transom, indicative of contraction, on the lower part of the second limb of the first $N$. In reference to this contraction, Longstaffe, in his "Postscript to the Rev. D. H. Haigh's Paper on the Coins of the Danish Kings of Northumberland," remarks : "The contraction at the beginning of Henry's legend is formed by a reversed N with a bar across the right-hand stroke. The want of H in foreign coins of our Henries, and the use in our Chronicles of Consul
for Comes are well known. The whole legend on obverse probably presents a formula similar to that of the commencement of a Sheriff's Pipe-

Henry, Earl of Northumberland. Roll, and should read as:-NORHUMBERLAND-ENRICUS ${ }^{1}$ CONSUL (or CONES-N or M being very convertible, thus Baenburc, Baemburc, etc.)" "This same Baemburc, noble old Bamborough," is regarded by Longstaffe as the place of mintage of these sterlings of Earl Henry. The letter M on the reverse, in his opinion, was designed to serve a double purpose, giving the whole legend on the reverse as "WILELMUS MONETARIUS CIVITATIS BAEMBURC (or CIVITATIS BEBBÆ), rather than in the formula WILELM ON CITEE BAEMBURC." It would have been desirable that Mr. Longstaffe had adduced instances on contemporary coins of letters being intended to serve double purposes. ${ }^{2}$ The latter rendering is more in consonance with the inscriptions on coins of the period. Longstaffe further remarks: "There is nothing wonderful in finding CIVITAS applied to what early writers call the Urbs regia qua a regina quadam vocabulo Bebba cognominatur; regia civitas Bebba, urbs munitissima; Bebbanburg. The word civitas was largely applied, and the grand old seat of the Kings and Earls of Northumberland had a good claim to it." As aptly observed by Longstaffe in connection with the letter $B$ on the reverse of this piece: "Where in the Earldom but at Bamburgh can Henry's mint Bamborough. have been ?" and further: "That Bamborough was in possession of Earl Henry we know, for charters were dated by him in II47, both at Bamborough and Newcastle." These places had been retained by Stephen in his own possession when he invested Prince Henry with the earldom of Northumberland in II39, assigning; in their stead, towns of equal value in the south of England. Possibly, therefore, it may not have been till about

[^17]2 Any such occasional lapses from a well-

[^18]Henry, Lanl of Northumberland.

1147 that these cross crosslet sterlings of Henry were minted. The William whose name appears as moneyer upon their reverses is supposed by Longstaffe to have been the same person as the William Fitz Erkembold who coined at Carlisle and Newcastle under Henry II.

None of these coins, so far as known, have been found elsewhere than in the north of England. The specimen in Mr. Blair's collection was obtained in the vicinity of Morpeth. The great bulk of Prince Henry's coins of this type came from what is known as the Outchester find. The sterling with the same reverse, but with Stephen's name on obverse, figured Lindsay, Pl. 18, No. 2I, was struck, in Longstaffe's opinion, by Earl Henry's moneyer, and probably had no actual connection with Stephen. It is quite an exceptional piece, the type not being found on any of Stephen's known mints. For one thing, this sterling with the name of Stephen may be regarded as disposing of any idea of attributing the coins of Earl Henry of the cross crosslet type to the Berwick mint, for, although Henry might possibly have been allowed to strike money with his own name at a mint in his father's possession, it is not likely that coins with Stephen's name would have been struck there.

Lindsay's reading of the inscription on the reverse of one of these pieces, L. Des. Cat. 20, as WILEM ON ICH, with the attribution to Inchaffray, as suggested in the Murchison sale catalogue, cannot be entertained. Earl Henry could not possibly have had a mint there. What is given by Lindsay, Pl. I. 19, at the end of the legend on the reverse of that piece, as a capital H , can be no other than a $\mathrm{B},{ }^{1}$ as on the sterlings previously mentioned. The sterling, Fig. 23, in the Ferguslie collection, purchased at the Wingate sale, was incorrectly described in the Wingate sale catalogue as struck at Carlisle. The same style of head appears on the Earl Henry sterling, figured Lindsay, Pl. I. 20, very similar to that on the David I. sterling by Lindsay, Pl. I. Io, or to that on the David I. penny of Fig. 6c. the Bute find, Fig. 6c, and No. 5 of the plate illustrative of Pollexfen's paper on that hoard, and is rather the head of David I. than of Earl
${ }^{1}$ This is confirmed by Mr. Pollexfen, on whose account the above-mentioned coin was purchased at the Murchison sale by the late Mr. Eastwood.

Henry. Another, and much the more common style of head on Earl Henry sterlings, with rather wooden-like features, is that figured 23A, and

Henry, Earl of Northumberland. Fig. 23A. represented by Lindsay, Pl. I. 19, 21.

In connection with the David I. sterling, No. 23, Fig. 24, with tressure fleurie on the reverse, struck apparently at Edinburgh, reference has been made to an Earl Henry sterling of the same type, Fig. 24A, from the Bute Fig. 24A. find, minted at Corbridge, corresponding in fabric, module, style of head and lettering, with that piece, and evidently by the same moneyer.

Reference was also made to certain other sterlings of the Bute hoard, Fig. 24C, with the same type of reverse as these last, but of smaller module Fig. 24c. and ruder execution, reading on the obverse DAVID REX, and purporting to have been minted by one DERIND ON EDON-the name of the mint curiously resembling that of Edinburgh, and apparently intended for that mint. Corresponding with these last in fabric, module, style of head and lettering, and type of reverse, exactly as the David I. sterling, No. 23, Fig. 24, corresponds with the Earl Henry, Fig. 24A, minted at Corbridge, Fig. 24A. the two following sterlings in the Ferguslie collection-now published for the first time-inscribed on the obverse NENLEN—evidently for $N \cdot$ GNL LN •, an abbreviated rendering of $\mathrm{N} \cdot$ ЄNLI $\cdot$ EON-can scarcely be assigned to any other than Earl Henry.

Fig. 25.
Obverse : crowned head to right, with sceptre. Reverse : tressure fleurie, as on the David I. sterling, Fig. 24.
2. O. :NGNEEN Ik. WAEE1t_ME. 20 and $17 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$.

Two coins from the same dies, the inscriptions on the one piece supplementing those on the other. On the reverse of both there are indications that the second letter of the inscription may be an R - with the back part insufficiently struck up; there is apparently also an $O$ before the second of the last two letters, so that possibly-following the analogy of the Corbridge sterling of Henry - the whole inscription on the reverse may have been $\bar{A} R E B A L D$, or ARLBALD, ON $工$.

The close resemblance of these two sterlings, Fig. 25, to the David I.

Henry, Earl of Northumberland. Figs. 24C, 24D.
pennies of the same type in the Bute find, Figs. 24C, 24D, leaves no doubt that both belong to the same period. It is strange, therefore, that none of the coins, Fig. 25, should have been met with in the Bute hoard, while of the corresponding David I. pennies there were probably at least a dozen, of which some nine or ten are in the S.S.A. collection. As the other Scottish and English sterlings in that hoard were represented by only a very few examples, it may be assumed that the tressure fleurie pennies of David I. were the latest of his issues at the time the Bute hoard was deposited. The tressure fleurie type of reverse, introduced, as we have seen, on English sterlings early in the reign of Stephen, held its ground for a considerable number of years. It embraces nearly all the known mints of Stephen, as shown by the valuable list, published in Kenyon's edition of Hawkins's Silver Coins of England. It occurs also on the very rare coins attributed to the Empress Matilda, which, like the similar pieces of David I., Figs. 24C, 24D, found in Bute, and of Earl Henry, Fig. 25, as here first published, are of rather lighter weight than the proper standard. The David I. sterlings of this type in the Bute hoard give an average weight of scarcely 18 grains, ranging individually from 17 to 21 grains; the coins assigned to the Empress Matilda give a still lower average weight. Notwithstanding their light weight, the quality of these pieces appears to be very good. As tested by Dr. Stevenson Macadam, a fragmentary specimen of one of the David I. pennies of the tressure fleurie type in the Bute hoard gave the following results :-
"Coin-total weight, II.09 grains, consisting of
Silver, $\quad 9.59$ grs. $=86.47$ p.c.
Copper, 0.86 ," 7.75 ,,
Gold, 0.62 " $=5.59$ "
II.07 grs. $=99.8$ I p.c."

Unfortunately, I am unable to afford any information as to what were the circumstances under which the two pennies of Earl Henry, Fig. 25, corresponding to the Bute coins of same type of David I., were found. They must, however, be extremely rare, for they are the only specimens as yet on record.

Mr. Longstaffe is of opinion that the sterlings, Ruding, Sup. II. ii. 8 and 10, the former of which is figured here 25A, may have been struck by

Henry, Earl of Northumberland. Fig. 25A. Henry, Earl of Northumberland, or by Henry Fitz-Empress. He remarks that "the moneyer's locality on the second of these is not clear, but Rud. Sup. II. ii. 8 strongly resembles the Corbridge coin. It reads whenRICVS—看 PIRIC ON hER." He adds, if this "example is Prince Henry's, it was perhaps struck at Hertelpol, at which there seems to have been some demesne, although Brus had the fee. Or a Brus may have struck it, placing the earl's name upon it, as other barons placed Stephen's on their coins. The name, so likely in the honour of a Pieres de Brus, rather countenances the hint." It may here be remarked that, as the tressure fleurie type of reverse does not occur on any of the undoubted coins of Henry I. of England, it is not likely that either of these two sterlings was struck in his reign. It is Stephen's type. The sterling of Henry, Ruding, Sup. II. ii. 8 , is in the British Museum. The inscription on the reverse seems to be f PIGERIC, for WIGERIC, not PIRIC ON hER.
fatalcolm $\mathfrak{E Y}$.
Acceded in ili53, when scarcely 12 years old ;
died 9th December il65.
Fig. 22.
Obverse : full-faced bust crowned; the crown similar to that on the first coinage of Henry II.; a sceptre at each side of the bust-the sceptre to the King's right surmounted by a cross potent, as on the sterlings of the first coinage of Henry II., that to the King's left surmounted by a fleur-de-lis. Reverse : cross fleurie within inner circle; a pellet in the first and third quarters, and a rosette of seven annulets in the second and fourth quarters.

## 1. O. MHE (COLM) REM <br> R. WhVGO (ON RO)GASBORN 23 grs. Roxburgh.

This is the piece attributed by Lindsay to Malcolm III. But the correspondence of the crown and sceptre to the King's right, with the

Malcolm IV. ( 1153.65 ). Fig. 218.
crown and sceptre on the sterlings of the first coinage of Henry II., and the similarity of the type of reverse to that on the sterling of David I., Fig. 2 I B -figured Lindsay, 2d Sup. Pl. I. r, and Bute find, Fig. C-as also the resemblance of the lettering to that on Hugo of Roxburgh's coins of David I., sufficiently show that this sterling is to be attributed, not to Malcolm III., as erroneously supposed by Lindsay, but to Malcolm IV. The coin of David I. figured by Lindsay, 2d Sup. Pl. I. I, and represented here Fig. 21 b, belonging to the Rev. Mr. Pollexfen, differs in the type of reverse from this sterling of Malcolm only by having a rosette in one quarter and a star in the opposite quarter, instead of a rosette in each of two opposite quarters. In comparing the reverse of that piece with the reverse of the sterling of Malcolm here figured—represented also Lindsay, Pl. I. Fig. 5-Mr. Pollexfen, in his paper on the Bute find, remarks: "It will be seen that they bear a close resemblance to each other, and the presence of the rose of pellets in both" (rose of annulets rather) "induces me to think that they must have been struck nearly about the same time. The style of work also leads to the conclusion that the type was probably adopted at a late period in David's reign, and I am therefore inclined to attribute the coin figured by Mr. Lindsay to Malcolm IV." The absence of all coins of the four kings who intervened between Malcolm III. and David I., as further remarked by Mr. Pollexfen, strongly tends to the same conclusion.

To these observations I may add that the head on the front-faced Malcolm sterling, Fig. 22, wants the moustache usually met with on the coin portraits of this period, an important circumstance, for this is exactly the manner in which Malcolm IV. is represented in the fine vignette on the Great Charter of Kelso, figured on the title-page of the National Manuscripts of Scotland,-while the companion portrait of David I. shows both a moustache and a beard. For what purpose the bust on this piece is represented as holding two sceptres I am unable to say, unless, perhaps, the coin may have been issued while Malcolm IV. was still actively prosecuting his claims to the great territories in the north of England, which the policy of his grandfather,' David I., for a time seemed to have attached to the Scottish throne. In this case, as these
claims were surrendered by Malcolm in the fourth year of his reign, we Malcolm Iv. might regard this coin as having been struck between II 53 and II58. The (1153-65). two sceptres are held in a most awkward manner, one over each shoulder, as if the King in holding them had his arms crossed behind his back.

In attributing this sterling to Malcolm III. rather than to Malcolm IV., Lindsay laid much stress on the two sceptres at each side of the King's head, which he looked upon as "in imitation of the contemporary coins of the Conqueror," referring specially to the penny of William I., Hawkins, 237. But the difference in the execution of the coins all through is very great. The lettering is dissimilar. The sceptre-heads on the sterlings of William I., Hks. 237, are respectively a plain cross and a cross of four pearls; the sceptre-heads on the sterling of Malcolm are respectively a cross potent and a fleur-de-lis. The crown on the William I. pennies is ornamented with three pearls; on the penny of Malcolm the crown is ornamented with three fleurs-de-lis. I am not sure that the crown fleurie appears on English coins at all till the time of Stephen. The sterlings, with crown fleurie on obverse and tressure fleurie on reverse, given by Ruding and Hawkins to Henry I., as previously mentioned seem rather to belong to Henry, Earl of Northumberland, or to Henry Fitz-Empress.

This remarkable coin, Fig. 22, was first published by Lindsay in his View of the Coinage of Scotland (1845). It was at that time in the collection of the Rev. Mr. Martin, and still remains unique. Another front-face penny of Malcolm, Fig. 22A, has recently turned up, with the same type of Fig. 22A. obverse, a sceptre at each side of bust, but of a different type of reversea lozenge fleurie superposed upon a cross fleurie. This piece on obverse reads legibly m MALCOLM•REX•; and on reverse $屮$ hVGO:ON: ROCABVRG. These are the only two known examples that can confidently be regarded as sterlings of Malcolm IV., and they are the only front-face coins in the Scottish coinage till we come to the mintages of Robert III. The sterling, Fig. 22, was purchased at Lord Hastings' sale, 1880.

Several other sterlings of the period have from time to time been ascribed to Malcolm IV. The two latest attributions are those made by Lindsay in his 2d Sup. (1868), figured Pl. I., Nos. 2 and 2*. The two

Malcolm IV. (1153-65).

Figs. 8r, 8c.
pieces there figured were kindly sent to me for inspection by their respective owners, Mr. Kermack Ford and the Rev. Mr. Pollexfen, and are here represented in Figs. 8b, 8c. ${ }^{1}$ They present on the obverse the royal bust turned to the spectator's left instead of to the spectator's right. On the reverse the type is the same as on the sterlings of David I., Class I.-a cross fleurie with a pellet in each quarter. As rendered on Lindsay's plate these coins certainly exhibit very little resemblance to each other. My surprise was therefore the more considerable to find, on comparing the two together, that the obverses of both were struck from precisely the same die. A most extraordinary circumstance connected with these pieces is, that, while the bust in all its adjuncts is remarkably well executed, the inscriptions around it are simply confused scrawls without the slightest pretence to legibility. I am the more particular in stating this, because on Lindsay's representation of Mr. Pollexfen's coin, No. 2*, the letters MAIC are faintly traced above the head ; the M and C being, indeed, distinctly enough represented, as if these letters were actually to be found upon the coin itself. That the real character of this inscription may be made evident, I have been at some pains to take a literal transcription of it-supplementing from the one piece what was defective of the legend on the other; the result is as follows :-
 transcending even second sight to trace the slightest resemblance to the name of Malcolm. The inscription on the reverse of Mr. Pollexfen's specimen is identical in character with that on the obverse; but that on the reverse of Mr. Kermack Ford's sterling seems to belong to a different coinage, with the more legibly rendered lettering; for, although very little of the legend on the reverse is visible, we can make out distinctly the letters VN: DV. The crown on these two sterlings is very neatly formed, but with the arch above of the sharply-defined cocked-hat shape of the crown on the earlier William the Lion coinages, rendering it probable that these two pieces belong to very late issues of the cross fleurie and pellet type of reverse. The crown on these coins further displays the peculiarity of having a large pellet in the centre of the arch, a speciality which I

1 Now in the Ferguslie collection.
have observed on only one other sterling -a remarkable penny in the Malcolm IV. collection of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries.
(1153-65).
This last-mentioned piece, which is figured here 28b, has on the ob- Fig. 28b. verse a crowned bust with sceptre to right, and the inscription seems to read hNERTIVLO, or DNERTIVEO, rendered in very intelligible characters, with the exception of the first and the last letters, which are not sufficiently well struck up. The type of reverse is the same as on the curious sterling, Fig. 28A, and Lindsay, Pl. I. I6-namely, a plain cross with the Fig. 28A. ends slightly potent, and a crescent enclosing a pellet in each quarter, with another pellet in each of the angles of the cross-save that on this sterling there are three pellets in the second angle of the cross, and that the general execution of the piece is much better. The inscription on the reverse is*FO * * ALT:O:NI: CVT. The small character before VT has rather the appearance of a comma or crescent than a letter, and is evidently employed as a contractive. The moneyer's name seems to be FOLPALT, possibly the same person who was subsequently William the Lion's Perth moneyer. For O:NI: cVT we ought perhaps rather to read ON: ICVT, ${ }^{1}$ contracted probably for ON IEDVRT or IEDWVRT, that is for Jedburgh, the favourite Jedburgh. residence of Malcolm IV., and within the walls of which he died. I am unable to suggest any other explanation. The type of reverse is manifestly a late one, corresponding, as it does, so closely with the crescent and pellet type of reverse of William the Lion, and being apparently the original of that type. The similarity of the style of crown on the two sterlings, with the head to left, Figs. 8c, 8D, and Lindsay's 2d Sup. P1. I. 2 and 2*, with the style of crown on this piece, considerably strengthens the probability that these may have been among the very latest issues of the cross fleurie and pellet type, and struck very probably under Malcolm IV. This in turn gives support to the suggestion already thrown out that some of the anomalous pieces described under David I. may also have been issued under Malcolm IV. That Hugo of Roxburgh should have struck money with Malcolm's own name, at possibly an early period of Malcolm's reign,

[^19]Malcolm IV. (1153-65).

Fig. 20A.
as appears from the front-face sterling in the Ferguslie collection, does not militate against this suggestion. Some of these anomalous coins, Class II., are so very rude that it is evident they must have been executed by mere copyists, who imitated whatever coins were then current.

Another class of sterlings, possibly minted under Malcolm IV., are those curious and rare pieces of the cross fleurie and pellet type, having the pellets in two quarters of the cross attached by a stalk to the inner circle. Unfortunately none of the known specimens of these coins, which are extremely rare, show more than a few letters of the inscriptions on either side; but, in so far as any of them do show lettering, the inscription on the obverse seems to present traces of the name of MALCOLM. A sterling with this type of reverse (Lindsay, ist Sup. Pl. I. 9), now in the collection of the Rev. Mr. Pollexfen, for the two last letters of the inscription on the obverse has OM, the only two letters visible on that side. Another sterling with the same type of reverse, in the British Museum, Fig. 20A, at the end of the legend on the obverse shows the letters OLM, the only letters visible on the obverse of that piece. In Snelling's representation of coins found in the Isle of Man another sterling with this type of reverse is figured No. 3 of the plate. Snelling states that the head on that piece was "worn away." He has restored the head, but incorrectly, as he makes it to appear as regarding the left, when it is quite evident, from the position of the initial cross and the three letters which follow it, that the head must have faced to the right. This cross, as employed on the obverses of coins with the cross fleurie and pellet reverse, is always placed behind the head, except when the inscription is retrograde, in which case it is placed in front. On this coin, as the inscription is not retrograde, we may be certain that the proper position of the head was facing the right. As rendered by Snelling, the three letters immediately following the initial cross-all that is visible of the inscription on the obverse —are MMI. The second letter, however, as shown by the bar across the top, ought rather to be regarded as a broad $\mathbb{A}$, as will be admitted by any one who compares that letter as exhibited on Snelling's plate with the broad $\mathbb{A}$ as represented on Pollexfen's sterling, figured No. C of the Bute plate. And this makes it very probable that the third letter, regarded by Snelling
as an I, was rather an $L$ with the lower part effaced. If so, we have for the Maloolm Iv. first three letters on this piece MAL. And with OM and OLM respectively ( $1153-65$ ). at the end of the inscriptions on the obverses of the two other sterlings with the same type of reverse, it seems extremely probable that if another specimen should turn up with a complete legend on the obverse, or even showing the middle part only, we should have some such reading as MALCOLM.

## CUflliam the zion.

Succeeded his Brother, Malcolm IV., 9th December i165, in his 25 th Year; died 4th December 1214.

In connection with the sterling of David I. (Fig. 21), reference has been made to a very early penny of William the Lion (Lindsay, P1. II. 33 ; figured here ${ }^{25} \mathrm{~B}$ ), having for type of reverse a cross slightly potent with a fleur-de-lis in each quarter, and inscribed on the reverse-FOLPOLD ON ROC. The style of crown on this piece is of the more relieved and early form, as on the David I. pennies of Berwick and Roxburgh. So far as I am aware, this style of crown occurs on no other sterling of William the Lion.

Another sterling of the same moneyer and mint, in the S.S.A. collection, Fig. 25c, presents the same type of reverse as the above, except that Fig. 25c. the ends of the cross resemble crutch-heads, and that the crown is of the small, cocked-hat shape, as on the David I. mule, Fig. 21.

A third specimen, in the collection of the Rev. Mr. Pollexfen, Fig. 25D Fig. 25D. (figured, Lindsay, 2d Sup. Pl. I. 3), has the fleurs-de-lis on the reverse, severally attached by two stalks to the inner circle, as on the reverse of the sterling of Stephen, Hawkins 276. This piece has already been adverted to, page 34.

Each of these coins, viewed as a variety, appears to be unique. The lettering on all three is of the Roman character, as on the sterlings of David I. and Malcolm IV. These pieces must certainly be regarded as the earliest issues of William the Lion.

William the Lion
(1165-1214).

Coinages prior to the crescent and pellet type.

William the Lion ( $1165 \cdot 1214$ ). Early coinages.

Intermediate between these pieces and the sterlings with crescents and pellets on the reverse (incorrectly described by Lindsay as the first coinage of William) may be placed the following unique coin in the Ferguslie collection, representing what may be called the second coinage of William the Lion:

Fig. 26.
Type of obverse : crowned bust with sceptre to left; the crown as on the crescent and pellet coinages, but showing two sharp arches instead of one; a crescent behind the neck. Type of reverse : a cross slightly potent, with a cross of five pellets in each quarter, respectively attached to the four sides of a lozenge. ${ }^{\mathrm{I}}$ Roman lettering on both sides.

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I. O. ※* * * * I WILL * ME
lk. 出WIL * * * * * N * * 23 grs.
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The inscription on the obverse seems to be LE REI WILLAME. On reverse the letter after N resembles a P , but may possibly be a B , thie whole legend reading probably WILLAME ON PE or ON BE ; the latter rendering receives the more countenance, as Willame's name appears as moneyer on the crescent and pellet sterlings of Berwick but not on those of Perth. The crescent behind the neck, the narrow whiskers extending from below the crown to the chin, and the circular rendering of the armour round the gorge, connect the bust as represented on this piece with that shown on the obverses of the crescent and pellet sterlings; only that on these last pieces the armour round the gorge is so incorporated with the face as to assume rather the appearance of a huge padlock closely fastened to the jaws.

## Sterlings-Crescent and Pellet Type.

Until the discovery of the Dyke hoard in 1780, described by Cardonnel in his preface to the Numismata Scotice, the sterlings of William the Lion of the crescent and pellet type were almost unknown. Snelling,

[^20]pommées on reverse are termed "flowers," but unless to a highly horticultural mind, the resemblance is not very obvious.
in his View of the Silver Coin and Coinage of Scotland, published in 1774, after his death, makes no reference to these pieces, although, strange to say, in his View of the Coins struck in the Isle of Man, published in 1769, a sterling of William of the crescent and pellet type is figured No. 2 of the plate accompanying that paper, but regarded by Snelling as having been struck by some of the Norwegian kings of Man, as having been "found in that island" and "the reverse quite singular." The inscriptions on that piece, as shown by the plate, appear to have been almost entirely obliterated, and the head must have been very indistinct, as it is made to look as if nearly full face.

By the liberality of Brodie of Brodie ninety-eight specimens of the crescent and pellet sterlings from the Dyke find were presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 5th April 1785. As published by Cardonnel in ${ }_{17} 786$, in his Numismata Scotio, these presented no less than fifteen different varieties, with such readings as ADAM ON $C_{D G N G B V}$, hVG on edenebv, folpolt de pert, ravl de roaesbv, WILLAM Beretwia, adam berawia-inscriptions so plainly referring to Scottish mints that no further doubt could be entertained respecting the attribution of the coins.

Previous to this, however, even after sundry specimens of these sterlings, apparently from the Dyke find, had found their way into the hands of collectors, and by some of these had been presented to the Society, their Scottish origin seems scarcely to have been suspected. Among the donations to the Society, under 1782, February 19, occurs an entry of a presentation, by Mr. George Paton, of "an old silver coin, distinguished by a rude head on one side, and a cross on the other, with four crescents in the angles." No legends on either side are mentioned, but some such inscription on the obverse as La ReI willam must have been legible enough, as the piece was supposed to have been "an Anglo-Gallic coin of William the Conqueror," but not described in Dr. Ducarel's "ingenious work." Again, in an entry under 1782, November 14, it is stated that another specimen was presented to the Society by Mr. William Dunbar, W.S., described as from the Dyke find, and as reading la ReI Willam on the

Willian the Lion obverse, and RAVL ON RO on the reverse. Notwithstanding the minute and
accurate description that was given of this coin, no suspicion seems to have been entertained of its having been struck under William the Lion and at Roxburgh. Still later, in an entry under 1783 , June 12, another "old silver penny," described as similar to this last, is recorded as having been presented, with other coins, to the Society by the Rev. Dr. Jamieson, then the Rev. Mr. John Jamieson of Forfar. But, while these other coins are each severally ascribed to the respective sovereigns by whom they were supposed to have been issued, no attempt is made to attribute this piece to any particular nation, king, or mint. And yet, at this very time, Jamieson himself and Cardonnel were prominent members of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, and the most noted Scottish numismatists of their day.

The crescent and pellet sterlings of William the Lion present several varieties of reverse, but it is by their obverses, according as the sceptrehead is a cross potent or a cross of four pellets or pearls, that they are principally to be distinguished. Those with the cross potent on the sceptrehead may be said to correspond with the sterlings of the first coinage of Henry II., on which the sceptre-head is a cross potent-a coinage supposed to have terminated in 1180 . Those with a cross of four pearls on the sceptre-head correspond rather with the sterlings of the second coinage of Henry II.-a coinage continued, still with the name of Henry, under Richard I. and John-on which the sceptre-head is a cross of four pearls. The style of cross on the reverse of the second coinage of Henry II. is the short double or voided cross; while the cross on the reverse of the crescent and pellet sterlings of William the Lion is invariably the short single cross, as on the sterlings of the first coinage of Henry II. William the Lion does not appear to have changed the type of his reverse from the short single to the short double or voided cross till $1195 .{ }^{1}$ At least, in an entry under that year in the Chronica de Mailros, it is stated that "Willelmus Rex Scottorum innovavit monetam suam" -an innovation that we can

[^21]the "Short Cross Question" (Num. Chron., 2d Series, vol. v. p. 255) appears conclusively to show that the short double cross was introduced on the coinages of Henry II. in 1180 .
scarcely regard as any other than that from the short single to the William the Lion short double cross. And, indeed, the very fact that these two varieties of ${ }_{\text {Crescent }}^{(1165-1214) \text {. }}$ sceptre-head should both have been employed on the crescent and pellet, or pellet coinage. single cross coinages of William the Lion-notwithstanding that the second and by far the most copiously represented variety of sceptre-head, the cross of four pellets, does not make its appearance on English contemporary sterlings till the introduction of the short double cross, or second coinage of Henry II.-is of itself the best proof that the innovation in the Scottish money, from the short single to the short double cross, could not have taken place till some considerable time after the corresponding change in the coinage of England.

The Perth sterlings, of the crescent and pellet type of reverse, so far as they have come under my observation, invariably have the cross potent for the sceptre-head on the obverse. On the other hand, I have never met with any pennies of the crescent and pellet type of reverse of the Edinburgh mint with the sceptre-head, other than the cross of four pellets or pearls. With few exceptions, this also is the style of the sceptre-head on the Berwick and the Roxburgh sterlings and on those pennies with the RAVL DERLIG inscriptions.

Without the names of the mints, and with the cross potent sceptre-head on the obverse, there are certain rare pieces on which the several letters of the moneyer's name, disposed between double points, occupy the whole legendary circle on the reverse. So far as I have had an opportunity of observing, the names of the moneyers on these coins without the names of the mints are AILBODE, FOLPOLT and WILLAME-names, none of which appear on the short double cross sterlings of William the Lion; and of these only the two last are represented on the sterlings with the names of the mints. Folpolt was the Perth moneyer of the crescent and pellet coinage. Willame was one of two moneyers of the same coinage, whose names occur on the Berwick sterlings, the name of the other Berwick moneyer being Adam. This latter moneyer seems to have struck only coins with the cross of four pellets sceptre-head. William struck Berwick money with both varieties of the sceptre-head. But, while the name of Willame is not again met with
william the Lion after the great change from the short single to the short double cross, it (1165-1214). Crescent and pellet coinage. is noteworthy that Adam's name-chiefly in connection with the names of other moneyers, but sometimes alone-appears also on the short double cross money of William the Lion. This Adam was possibly the same Adam who struck sterlings at Edinburgh of the crescent and pellet type. Hue struck money at Edinburgh both of the single cross and the double cross coinages. Raul is the only moneyer of Roxburgh connected with the crescent and pellet coinage. His coins of this series show both the cross potent and the cross of four pellets varieties of sceptre-head; and, of all the moneyers of William the Lion who struck single cross sterlings with the cross potent sceptre-head, this Raul, unless he had a successor at Roxburgh of the same name, seems to have been the only one who struck money of the short double cross issues. The double cross sterlings of Raul present such a remarkable variety of bust that it is very probable that Raul, or a successor of the name, may have been moneyer at Roxburgh for a considerable time after the adoption of the short double cross type.
Capture and ran- Let us now see what light history throws upon the Scottish coinage som of William. of the period. On the I3th July in 74 William the Lion was taken prisoner before Alnwick. By the treaty of Falaise, in December of the same year, he was ransomed-the price exacted for his liberation being the solemn acknowledgment by William himself, and by the Scottish nobility and clergy, of the complete feudal superiority of the English crown; and, that this might be the better enforced, the castles of Berwick, Edinburgh, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, and Stirling, were to be given up to Henry II. and garrisoned by English troops. Although these five castles were named in the Convention, the demand for the castles of Jedburgh and Stirling was not insisted upon. Edinburgh Castle remained in English hands till September II86, when it was given back to William by Henry II., as the marriage dower of Ermengarde de Bellemont-the bride selected for the Scottish king by his politic feudal superior, to prevent a marriage of more importance to Scotland. Henry II. of England died in July ir89. On the 5th December following, Richard I., by charter, annulled all the concessions extorted from William on his capture, and restored to him the castles of Berwick and

Roxburgh. The price to be paid by William for the independence of his william the Lion kingdom was "ten thousand marks of gold and silver" -a large sum, ${ }_{C}^{(11265-1214) .}$. but it does not seem to have overtaxed the resources of Scotland at that pellet coinage. time, although, no doubt, it must have swept much of the money then current out of the country-a sufficient reason for the very great scarcity of the sterlings of the earlier coinages of William the Lion as struck previous to the introduction of the crescent and pellet type.

The expression "ten thousand marks of gold and silver" is somewhat obscure, but it is generally understood to have meant 10,000 marks of silver money, payable either in gold or silver. The value of the mark was 13 s. 4 d ., or two-thirds of a pound sterling. Ten thousand marks therefore represented $£ 6666: 13: 4$. The equivalent in silver weight of money of our period to this sum is $£ 20,625: 3: 8 ;^{2}$ the actual equivalent in purchasing power was immensely greater. The Chronicon Preciosum states that a fowl at this period could be bought for one halfpenny, and a ram for eightpence-and $£ 6666: 13: 4$ of this money represented 1,600,000 pence or sterlings.

Lindsay, following Cardonnel, has fallen into several mistakes in connection with this ransom. In the first place, he supposes it to have been contracted for in 1 174, when William the Lion was a prisoner in France. In the second place, he assumes that it was liquidated in money struck for the purpose-an enormous and unnecessary expense, for large sums of money were paid not by tale but by weight, a provision which was certain to have been exacted in this case. Besides, current English silver coins, or

[^22]as any one may ascertain by weighing the coins themselves. The standard weight of the shilling is $87.27^{2}$ grains, not 80.7272 grains-a mistake evidently occasioned by a cipher having slipped in after the first figure of Ruding's calculations. Take away the cipher and you have 87.272 grains. Ruding has carried his mistake throughout. He gives the weight of the crown as 403.636 grains-that is, 80.7272 grains $\times 5$ instead of 436.36 grains. Hawkins and Henfrey have taken Ruding's erroneous valuations as they stand, without examination.

William the Lion (1165-1214). Crescent and pellet coinage. time), or uncoined bullion, or even gold and silver ornaments, which had an understood value at the period, would have been quite as acceptable as Scottish money. And, further, there is considerable reason to doubt whether William the Lion would have placed his mints in strongholds given up to the English - the castles of Berwick, Edinburgh, and Roxburgh.

In this connection the fact that now for the first time Perth appears as a Scottish mint has a strong significance, which ought not to be overlooked. Folpoit. Folpolt, the first moneyer of Perth, and the only moneyer of that mint whose name appears on the sterlings of the crescent and pellet type, of which all for the sceptre-head have a cross potent, was in all probability the same person as the Folpold who struck sterlings of William's first coinage at Roxburgh with the fleur-de-lis type of reverse. When Roxburgh was no longer in Scottish hands, it would have been a most natural circumstance for the moneyer of that mint to have removed to some other locality, where he could more securely exercise his important calling. Of the three moneyers, whose names appear on sterlings of the crescent and pellet type, without the name of the mint, and with the cross potent sceptre-head, Folpolt was one. Possibly Folpolt's sterlings without the name of the mint may have represented the earliest of his Perth issues.

Another name mentioned on these pieces was that of Willame, probably the same person whose name appears on the unique sterling Fig. 26, with the saltire crosses pommées on the reverse, presumed here to be the second coinage of William the Lion. Willame's name, it was stated, appears also on Berwick sterlings of the crescent and pellet type, both with the sceptre-head cross potent and with the sceptre-head cross pommée.

The only other moneyer who struck sterlings of the crescent and pellet type without the name of the mint, and with the sceptre-head cross potent, so far as I have had occasion to observe, was Ailbode. This moneyer's name does not seem to occur on any sterlings of William the Lion with the name of the mint.

Assuming that William the Lion had no mint at Berwick, Edinburgh, and Roxburgh, during the time that the fortresses of these places were in
the hands of the English-that of Edinburgh from 1174 to II86, and those william the Lion of Berwick and Roxburgh from II74 to II89-the question arises, Were ${ }_{\text {Crescent and }}^{(1165-1214)}$ the sterlings of the crescent and pellet type, on which the names of these pellet coinage. mints appear, in process of issue before II74, or were they not, in the one case till after 1 I86, and in the others till after i 189 ?

In the case of Edinburgh, as none of the sterlings of this mint of the crescent and pellet type have the cross potent sceptre-head, it may reasonably be concluded that the crescent and pellet coinage was not commenced there till after the restoration of the castle to the Scotch in ir86. Had any sterlings of the crescent and pellet series been minted at Edinburgh previous to the surrender of the castle to Henry II. in II74, these would unquestionably have had the cross potent sceptre-head, as it was not till I I80 that the cross of four pellets sceptre-head superseded the sceptre-head cross potent on the English sterlings, consequent on the change of type on the reverse of English sterlings from the short single to the short double cross.

Up to this time there is every reason to believe that in the style of the sceptre-head the Scottish sterlings took after the English : in regard, firstly, to the sceptre-head fleurie on the sterlings of David I., of Earl Henry, and of Malcolm IV., and on the earlier issues of William the Lion, as imitated from the sceptre-head fleurie on the coins of Stephen ; and secondly, in regard to the sceptre-head cross potent and the sceptre-head cross of four pellets, taken respectively from the sceptre-head cross potent on the sterlings of the first coinage of Henry II. and the sceptre-head cross of four pellets on the sterlings of the second coinage of Henry II.

Willame of Berwick and Raul of Roxburgh, as stated, struck crescent and pellet sterlings both with the sceptre-head cross potent and with the sceptre-head cross of four pellets. But it cannot be supposed that between the sceptre-head cross potent and the sceptre-head cross of four pellets issues of these moneyers an interval of fifteen years could have taken place-as must have been the case had their sterlings of these types with the cross potent sceptre-head been struck before the surrender of the castles of Berwick and Roxburgh to the English in 1174, and their crescent and

William the Lion (1165-1214). Crescent and pellet coinage.
pellet sterlings with the cross of four pellets sceptre-head not been struck till after the restoration of these two castles to Scotland in ir89. Consequently, as the sceptre-head cross potent cannot be regarded as having been employed on Scottish sterlings in or previous to II74, or six years earlier than its introduction on the English coinage, the whole of the crescent and pellet sterlings of Willame of Berwick and Raul of Roxburgh must be regarded as having been issued subsequently to the restoration to Scotland of the castles of Berwick and Roxburgh in in 89.

When the crescent and pellet sterlings with the cross potent sceptrehead were first commenced to be struck, it is natural to suppose that the sceptre-head cross potent was still the style of the sceptre-head that was being placed upon the English coinage. This indicates their first issue to have been prior to I 180, although probably commencing not earlier than II74, for the only crescent and pellet sterlings that we can regard as of earlier issue than those of Edinburgh, Berwick, and Roxburgh, are the sterlings of Ailbode, Folpolt, and Willame, without the names of the mints, and the Perth sterlings of Folpolt, all of which for the sceptre-head have the cross potent. These, as taking the place of the mintages of Edinburgh, Berwick, and Roxburgh, when the castles of Edinburgh, Berwick, and Roxburgh were occupied by the English, cannot be considered as having been coined before 1174. Assuming then that these probably continued in issue up to 1189 , and that the Willame of the crescent and pellet sterlings, without the name of the mint, was the same Willame whose name appears on certain of the crescent and pellet Berwick mintages, it would naturally happen that this Willame, when the Berwick mint resumed operations in 1189 , would take with him his old dies-with which he had been striking his coins without the name of the mint-and that such sterlings of Berwick as had their obverses struck from these would have the cross potent sceptre-head. This serves to explain how some sterlings of Berwick by Willame should have the cross potent sceptre-head, while it does not appear on the crescent and pellet sterlings of Edinburgh by Adam and Hue, neither of whom appear as moneyers on the sterlings of this type without the name of the mint.

And further, if the surmise be correct that the Folpold of the Rox-
burgh sterlings of the William the Lion early coinages with the fleur-de-lis william the Lion type of reverse is the Folpolt of the crescent and pellet sterlings without the name of the mint, and subsequently of the Perth crescent and pellet mintages -none of which for sceptre-head have the cross of four pellets or pearls, the later and much the more common variety of sceptre-head on the crescent and pellet sterlings-and it being very probable that a suspension of the Perth mint may have taken place concurrent with the issue of the crescent and pellet sterlings with the sceptre-head cross of four pellets, possibly on the death or resignation of Folpolt, it would naturally happen that the Perth dies of Folpolt would be transferred to Roxburgh when that mint was resumed in 1189, which would account for the cross potent sceptre-head being represented on Roxburgh sterlings of the crescent and pellet type. Raul, the moneyer of the Roxburgh crescent and pellet sterlings, was probably the same person whose name, in connection with the name of Derlig, appears upon certain pieces, chiefly bearing no indications of the name of the mint, but of which one variety has RAVL DERLIG RO. Very few of these have the cross potent sceptre-head, of which the only example that I have seen is the sterling No. 17, Fig. 34. The Raul Derlig sterlings are evidently of later issue than the other crescent and pellet sterlings without the name of the mint by Ailbode, Folpolt, and Willame, of which all have the cross potent sceptre-head. Stirling, there is reason to believe, was also represented on the crescent and pellet coinage of William the Lion. See remarks in connection with the penny, Fig. 40A, at page 62.

There is necessarily much that is hypothetical in the foregoing observations. It may have happened, though I think it highly improbable, that the mints of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Edinburgh had been in operation under William the Lion when the castles of these towns were in the hands of the English ; there would thus be no reason to suppose that the crescent and pellet coinages of Berwick and Roxburgh, with the sceptre-head cross potent, had not been in issue previous to 1180 . Possibly, also, the cross of four pellets sceptre-head may have been in use at the Scottish mints before its introduction on the English coinage, and the Edinburgh crescent and pellet sterlings may thus have been in issue previous to 1180 .

William the Lion (1165-1214). Crescent and pellet coinage.

## CRESCENT AND PELLET COINAGE.

Obverse: crowned head to left, with sceptre; straight profile, with moustache and long narrow whiskers; armour round the neck; the crown ornamented with three fleurs-de-lis of three leaves each, a small sharp arch in the centre; usually two crescents behind the head, the first enclosing a pellet. Reverse : a plain cross potent, a crescent in each angle, enclosing a pellet commonly attached to the inner circle by one or by two stalks; a small pellet frequently in each angle of the cross behind the crescents.

Without mint.
WITHOUT MINT.
Sceptre-head cross potent-Fig. 29.

## 

Two specimens, each supplementing the inscriptions on the other.
The pellets on the reverse are attached by two stalks to the inner circle ; no pellets in the angles of the cross. Square Roman M on the obverse.

On all the crescent and pellet coinages, the letters $\alpha$ and $\in$ have the backs well rounded, and usually have closed fronts.

Examples of the above sterling are also in the S.S.A. and CochranFigs. 29A, 298. Patrick collections. Two other sterlings of this class, Figs. 29A, 29B, with the names of WILLAMEC and of FOLPOLT arranged on the reverse in the same manner as above, without the name of the mint, are represented respectively in the collections of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries and of Mr. Cochran-Patrick-a cross potent sceptre-head in each case.

Perth.
PERTH.
Sceptre-head cross potent-Fig. 30.
2. O. 4 Le ReI WILLAOO: Bk. w FOLPOLT DE PGR: 24 grs.
3. As the last, two pellets (:) after PER, 23 grs .

These two pieces have a pellet behind the crescents in each angle of the cross on the reverse.

Fig．3r．

William the Lion （1165－1214）．

4．O．出LA R（eI WI）LLATO：$\because:$
18．电 FOLP（OLT）D氏 PERT ：
5．o． $\mathcal{X}$ Le rei willaon：
Mr．出 FOLPOLT DG PGRT $\because 24 \frac{5}{8}$ grs．
pellet coinage． Perth．

The cross pommée ${ }^{1}$ mint mark on the obverse of No．5，the figured coin，is extremely remarkable，and appears to be unpublished．

So far as has come under my notice，the pellets within the crescents on the reverses of the Perth sterlings are invariably attached to the inner circle by two stalks．This peculiarity is displayed also on the sterlings of Ailbode without mint，but not on those of Folpolt and Willame without mint ； I have not observed this on any sterlings of the Berwick，Edinburgh，and Roxburgh mints of the crescent and pellet coinage of William the Lion．

## BERWICK．

Sceptre－head cross potent－Fig． 32.
6．O．W：W（：I：L：A：M：G：）R：X：R．w WILLAOO（B）氏RGWIO 23 grs．
The inscription on the obverse of this piece is unfortunately very defective，but I have been able to complete it from a corresponding specimen，Fig．32A，in the S．S．A．collection．Square M on the obverse，Fig．32A． round $O$ on the reverse．The pellets within the crescents are attached to the inner circle by a single stalk，as also on the following；pellets in the angles of the cross behind the crescents．

Sceptre－head cross of four pellets－Fig． 35 ．

8．O．※ LA RGI（WILL）AOO氏 Ik．※ WILAOO D氏 BEREW（IC） $22 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$ ．
9．Legends as No．8；but with the stalks to the pellets very short， 17 grs．
A sterling of this moneyer in the S．S．A．collection has the Roman M on the reverse．
${ }^{1}$ The cross pommée is so called from the pommes（apple－shaped knobs）at the ends．

William the Lion （1165－1214）． Crescent and pellet coinage． Perth，

Sceptre－head cross of four pellets－Fig． 36 ．
10．O．※ LE RE（I WI）LAOD：B．※ ADAOO（B） 1 ．
The same type of reverse as No． 2.

## ROXBURGH．

Sceptre－head cross potent－Fig． 33.

The pellets within the crescents are without stalks；a small pellet in each angle of the cross ；square $M$ on the obverse．
12．O．出 LE REI WIL－
B．$\nrightarrow$ RAVL D氏 ROC（O）BV： 2 I $\frac{1}{4}$ grs．

Very short stalks to the pellets．

Sceptre－head cross of four pellets－Fig． 37.
1 3．O．出 LE REI WILLAOO氏 R．出 RAVL（ON）ROOAS： $22 \frac{1}{8}$ grs．
14．O．\＆LU RGI WILLAOD：：
R．ARAVL：ON RO
$2 \mathrm{I} \frac{7}{8} \mathrm{grs}$ ．
The reverses of Nos．I3，14，are the same as No．II．
15．O．LE REI W— B．RAV（LD）
The same type of reverse as Berwick No． 6.
16．O．（出L）R REI WILA—— R．\＆RAVL＊＊ROCABV $23 \frac{3}{4}$ grs．
The same type of reverse as Berwick No． 9.
With RAVL ON ROX there are sterlings in the S．S．A．collection，both with sceptre－head cross potent and with sceptre－head cross of four pellets．

RAUL DERLIG．
Sceptre－head cross potent－Fig． 34 ．
I7．O．（出 LE）REI WIL•LA＊B． $\mathrm{F}_{\mathrm{F}} \mathrm{R} \cdot \mathrm{A}(\mathrm{V}) \mathrm{L}$（DG）R•LIG N $2 \mathrm{I} \frac{3}{4} \mathrm{grs}$ ．
The same type of reverse as Roxburgh No．II．The sceptre－head cross potent on the sterlings of Raul Derlig is of exceptionally rare occurrence．

Sceptre－head cross of four pellets－Fig． 38.
William the Lion
（1165－1214）．
18．O．\＆LG REI WILÃOO
R．＊RAVL（DG）RLIG FL
19．O．（ $屮$ L）$氏$ RGI WIL＊＊＊
R．出 RAVL（DE）RLIG $\because$

The same types of reverse as on Berwick No．9．Some of these coins have RAVL DGRLIG RO，see Fig．38A，formerly in the Kermack Ford，Fig． $3^{88}$ ． now in the Richardson collection．One specimen in the collection of Mr． Cochran－Patrick appears to read RAVL DêRLIG Ber．By Lindsay the letters after DetRLIG are regarded as referring to the name of the mint， and this seems to be the probable explanation．

## EDINBURGH．

Sceptre－head cross of four pellets－Fig． 39.

The same type of reverse as Berwick No．6，but the pellets in the angles of the cross are large and pear－shaped，with the sharp ends dovetailing into the crescents，forming，in connection with the stalked pellets within the crescents，what resembles an elongated fleur－de－lis in each angle of the cross． 21．O．w Lé（RGI WI）L AOO $\bar{\epsilon}$ R．（ ${ }^{*}$ AD）AM ON ED＊＊（clipped） $16 \frac{1}{4}$ grs．

The same type of reverse as Roxburgh No．ir．Round OO on the obverse ；square M on the reverse．

Sceptre－head cross of four pellets－Fig． 40.

23．O． w $^{2}$ WILAOO：－
1k．出 h GDENEBV $\in N \in B V$
23 grs．
This last coin is mis－struck．The same type of reverse on both pieces， as on Berwick No．6．Possibly，as previously suggested，the Adam whose name appears on Nos． 20 and 2I，as one of the moneyers of Edinburgh， may have been the same person who struck coins at Berwick．There were so very few moneyers in Scotland at this time that it is not probable that two Adams were employed together at William＇s mints．

William the Lion （1165－1214）． Crescent and pellet coinage． Stirling．

## STIRLING．

Sceptre－head cross of four pellets－Fig．40A．
23a．O．出 Le ReI WIL（AOO）1k．w WAL（TAR O）N GTAR 22 grs．
In the Guthrie Lornie collection．The same style of reverse as the Berwick sterling No．6．This coin seems to be the identical piece figured in Cardonnel，Pl．I．I2，described as reading WAL ．．－氏日GT氏R．Appar－ ently it had come undeı the observation of the Rev．Dr．John Jamieson，for， in challenging Cardonnel＇s rendering of the inscription on the reverse，he writes－＂There must，I suspect，be an error here ；for，from the identity of imperfection in the legend of one in the possession of an antiquarian friend in this city，which might be the very coin from which Cardonnel engraved， it appears，in consequence of the strictest examination，that the last four letters are not बTGR but STER．＂Had Dr．Jamieson been at the pains to compare the last letter but three on the reverse with the letter $A$ as it appears on the other parts of the inscriptions，he would have seen that it was undoubtedly an $\mathbb{E}$ ，as correctly rendered by Cardonnel．It is the more noteworthy，however，that Dr．Jamieson should have regarded this character as an S，as，from the greater resemblance of the $f$ to the $S$ than to any of the other letters found on the crescent and pellet sterlings， there is great reason to believe that the letter $\in$ was employed for the letter $S$ on this piece．Where the moneyer was short of letters，frequent examples occur on the Scottish coinage of one letter being used for another，and it may be remarked that the letter S does not appear at all on the crescent and pellet sterlings，whether with or without the name of the mint，so that probably no punches for that letter had been made． The character before GTGR，which by Cardonnel is treated as an $\mathbb{A}$ ，and of which Jamieson was uncertain，as now better brought out by a simple process，is undoubtedly an N ．

The circumstance that Walter＇s name does not occur on any of the sterlings of the Perth，Berwick，Roxburgh，or Edinburgh mints of the crescent and pellet issues，renders it the less likely that this piece could
have been connected with any of these, and strengthens the probability that william the Lion it belonged to Stirling. Mr. Cochran-Patrick states that "it is a tradition that Alexander I. was the first who established a mint at Stirling, and struck sterlings there with silver found in the Ochils at Alva." The reference to the source whence the silver for the coins minted at Stirling was obtained is interesting, and shows that a mint was probably placed there at an early period; but the tradition, as connected with Alexander I., had its rise no doubt from certain of the coins of Alexander III., struck at Stirling and other places, having formerly been attributed to Alexander I.

## SHORT DOUBLE CROSS COINAGE.

The important change of type from the short single to the short double or voided cross-with stars, instead of crescents and pellets, in the quarters -appears, as already mentioned, to have taken place in 1195. A considerable change occurred also in the style of the crown. Instead of the crown of three fleurs-de-lis, as on the English short double cross coinage, we now find a crown composed of a row of pearls surmounted by a cross of pearls, the arrangement of the pellets, or pearls, not being always so regular as on the corresponding crown on English coins. On that very extensive series of the short double cross sterlings of William without the names of the mints considerable irregularity prevails in the rendering of the crown. It is seldom surmounted with a cross, but is usually represented by two or by three rows of pellets ; sometimes these rows of pellets extend down the cheeks to the chin.

## COINS WITH NAMES OF MINTS.

Only three names of mints occur on the short double cross coinage of William the Lion-Perth, Edinburgh, and Roxburgh. Of Perth, there are coins chiefly by Walter; but in two instances with the name of Henri le Rus, Figs. 568, 56c. Of Edinburgh, there are coins of Hue only. Of Roxburgh, there are coins with the names of Raul, Peris Adam, Adam, and Aimer Adam.

William the Lion （1165－1214）． Short double cross coinage．

There are no sterlings of Roxburgh by Hue，as represented by Snelling． Those published of this moneyer are palpable mis－attributions．PI．I． 8 of Snelling is a coin of Raul，and P1．I．I2 is a sterling of the Hue Walter series．I mention these instances because Lindsay not only refers to them as authentic examples，but professes to give others of Hue purporting to be in the British Museum－hVG ON RO，：h ：：：：ON ROđG，and even $\mathrm{W}:$ ：L ：：：ON ROC氏—all equally erroneous readings．

All the sterlings of the short double cross coinages with the names of the mints have stars of six points on the reverse．

## Perth．

PERTH．
Coins of good module．Those with the regularly formed crown and of the better execution，are here placed first in order，as being probably the earliest in respect of issue．The head is usually with whiskers and moustache．

Fig． 4 ов．
Head to left，with sceptre；six pellets in the crown，a cross of four pellets above．
ェ．О．※ WILELOOVS RX
1，F WATGR OV P • GT
22 grs．

This piece is in the S．S．A．collection．
Fig．40c．
As above；but with five pellets in the crown．
rb．O．※ WILGLOOVS RX
R．W WTAR•ON PGRT
$23 \frac{3}{10}$ grs．

In the Hunterian collection，as is also the following piece．
Fig．42B．
As above；but with the whiskers and moustache rendered by a plain line；five pellets in the crown；three pellets on a stalk above the crown， forming with the centre pellet of the crown a neat cross pommée．
1c．O．出 WILELOOVS：：
B．W WALTER•OK PR $21 \frac{7}{10}$ grs．

Fig. 43.
Head to left, with sceptre ; five pellets in the crown, a cross of four pellets above, with a pellet at each side ; a pellet in each fork of the cross on the reverse.
r. O. 出 WILALOOVS RX
R. W WALTER : OV PRT
18 grs.

Fig. 44A.
As above; no pellets in the forks of the cross on the reverse.
Id. O. WILGLMVS RX Ik. WWATGR OV PGRT 2 I grs.
From the Kermack Ford collection.

Fig. 45E.
Head to left, with sceptre, the neck well shown; five pellets in the crown, a plain band below and a cross of four pellets above; three pellets before the face; a star of six points for the sceptre-head; a crescent in each of the forks of the cross on the reverse.
re. O. w WLLel. MV REX
17. W WTTER OK PGR
$21 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

This remarkable piece is in the S.S.A. collection.
On none of the Perth sterlings with Walter's name as moneyer, of the short double cross series, have I observed the Le氏 REI form of inscription on the obverse.

So far as has come under my observation, the two following pieces by Henri le Rus are the sole exceptions in respect of the Perth mint of any other moneyer's name but that of Walter on the reverses of the short double cross sterlings. The sterling Fig. 56b is the curious piece, figured Lindsay, Pl. II. 40, and Wingate, Pl. III. 2, now in the collection of Mr. CochranPatrick. The other sterling, Fig. 56c, was in the Hendry collection. ${ }^{1}$ The barbarous rendering of the inscriptions on the obverses is quite in keeping with the rude unfinished style of the coins themselves, occurring only on the more degraded class of the double cross sterlings of William the Lion

[^23]william the Lion without the names of the mints. Stars of six points on the reverses, as on Perth. the other sterlings with the names of the mints.

Fig. 56B.
Rude head to left, with sceptre ; a row of pellets before the profile; from the same obverse die as the Henri le Rus sterling without the name of the mint, No. 33, Fig. 57, page 88.
if. O. w Le ReI WIlt lk. wefri let RVS Def PT 22 grs.
Fig. 56c.
The same style of head as the preceding, but differently executed; several crescents, promiscuously arranged, in front of the mouth and chin ; from the same reverse die as the preceding.
Ig. O. w Le ha (WIL) तMe: R. ( hêhr)I Le RVS De PT $22 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.
The sterlings of Henri le Rus without the name of the mint are described after those of Hue Walter.

## EDINBURGH.

Coins of good module.
Fig. 40D.
Head to left, with sceptre; five pellets in the crown, a cross of four pellets above; a pellet in each fork of the cross on the reverse.
th. O. 田 WILeLOJVS RX
R. 世 hVG Ои ЄDGИbVR

22 grs.
In the S.S.A. collection.
Fig. 4I.

R. ※ hVE: OK GDKGBVR 22 grs.

The reverse as above. Several slight varieties of head on the double cross sterlings of Edinburgh by Hue exist, but all are very similar to the above described. The inscriptions on the reverses present also some slight varieties of reading. I have not met with any short double cross sterlings of Edinburgh by Hue with the Let Ret inscription on the obverse.

The sterling，Lindsay＇s Des．Cat．No．74，and Wingate，Pl．III．1，william the Lion incorrectly attributed to Edinburgh，belongs to the WALTGR ©hV pieces， and will be found described in connection with the hVE WALTER series， Class Vi．No．30，Fig． 65 ．So far as yet appears，hVe is the only moneyer＇s name found on the short double cross sterlings of Edinburgh of William．

ROXBURGH．
That the sterlings by Raul are the earliest of the short double cross Roxburgh issues of William the Lion there can be little doubt．In their modules and in the sizes of the inner circles they exceed the sterlings of the other moneyers of Roxburgh．It is well known that the later short double cross coins with the name of Henry of the English series were of smaller modules，and had the inner circles smaller than the earlier varieties as first struck under Henry II．${ }^{1}$ That the Scottish coinage followed the coinage of England in these respects admits of easy proof，for we find on the short double cross sterlings of William the Lion，by the moneyers Adam，Aimer Adam，and Peris Adam，the modules and the inner circles of the same reduced sizes as on those of Alexander II．by Pieres and others．

Fig． 41 A.
Head to left，with sceptre；five pellets in the crown，a cross of four pellets above；a pellet in each fork of the cross on the reverse．
$2 a$ ．
0．WILGLOJVS RX
R．$\neq$ RAVL：OV：ROđ氏 ：
23 grs．

In the Pollexfen collection．
Fig． 42.
Head to right，without sceptre；five pellets in the crown，four pellets above，forming a cross in connection with the centre pellet of the crown； a pellet in each fork of the cross on the reverse．

```
3.0. 出 LG RGI : WILLAOO R. 出 RAVL:OK ROCGBV - }22\mathrm{ grs.
```

Lindsay describes the sterlings of William the Lion with the head to the right as a distinct coinage－evidently under the impression that these were

[^24]William the Lion of later issue than the sterlings with the head to the left．It does not appear， however，that there was any fixed rule in the disposition of the head at this time．The moneyers of Roxburgh，both under William the Lion and under Alexander II．，give the head sometimes to the right sometimes to the left．

Fig．42A．
Head to right，with sceptre；five pellets in the crown，four pellets above，forming a cross in connection with the centre pellet of the crown．
3a．O．w Le ReI：WILL＊＊K．＊RAVL：OV：ROđGBV $19 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$ ． In the Pollexfen collection．

Fig．42C．
From the same obverse die as the Perth sterling by Walter，No．ic， Fig．42B，page 64 ．
3b．О．※ WILGLOJVS ：：
B．※ RAVL：OK ROC氏： 23 grs．

In the S．S．A．collection．
Fig． 44.
Head to left，with sceptre ；the crown formed of five pellets，surmounted with a cross of four pellets；a pellet in front of the head；the neck sunk in a collar．
4．0．w WILelonvs RX
B． F RAVL ：OK ：ROđ氏：$^{\text {R }}$
19 grs．

Fig．44B．
Head similar to the preceding，but with a pellet at each side of the cross above the crown．
4a．O．※ WIL氏LMVS RX
B． 4 RAVL：OK ROO $\because \quad 21$ grs．

In the Pollexfen collection．

## Fig． 45.

Head to left，with sceptre ；rude workmanship；the whisker and the round of the cheek expressed by a single line；no indication of bust ；five pellets in the crown；three pellets above the crown，forming a cross with the centre pellet；three pellets only in the sceptre－head which is confined within the inner circle．
5．O．※ LA REI WILAOO
B．出 RAVL•OK ROGOBV $17 \frac{1}{4}$ grs．

## Fig．45A．

William the Lion （1165－1214）． Short double cross coinage． Roxburgh．

Head to left，with sceptre ；the workmanship still ruder than the pre－ ceding，resembling that on some of the hVE WALTER series；same style of crown as last ；a small pellet in each fork of the cross on the reverse．
5a．O．出 Le ReI WILATO


From the Kermack Ford collection．

## Fig．45B．

Head to left，with sceptre ；different portrait from any of the preceding； six pellets in the crown；a cross of four pellets above the crown；a pellet on each side of the cross．
5b．O．WileloJvS Rex
18． $\mathrm{m}^{2}$ RAVL（OK）ROđ氏： $21 \frac{7}{8}$ grs．

In the Pollexfen collection，as are also the two following．

Fig．45C．
The same style of head；five pellets in the crown；a cross of four pellets above the crown；a pellet behind the cross and one in front of the sceptre．
5c．O．w WILeloovs RX
B．平 BAVL ：OK BOA $\because \because 1$
$22 \frac{3}{8}$ grs．

Fig．45D．
As the last，but with a shorter neck；two pellets in front of the sceptre． 5d．O．WILELOOVS RX B．（ R RA）VL：OK ROđ氏 $\because \quad 22 \frac{1}{2}$ grs．

The sterlings of Raul，of the short double cross type，appear to have been numerous，as they present considerable variety of head．

The following of Roxburgh are of smaller module，with the inner circles smaller than on the preceding．
${ }^{1}$ A piece from closely corresponding dies，formerly in the Ford cabinet，is now in the Fergus－ lie collection．

William the Lion （1165－1214）． Short double cross coinage． Roxburgh．

Fig．66b．
Head to left，with sceptre ；two rows of pellets on the crown－six in the upper，seven in the lower row；large flaky ${ }^{1}$ whiskers．
5e．O．出 WILLeloJvS Rex
B．＋PGRIS • ADAOO DG ROOI ：
［20 grs．
In the S．S．A：collection．The obverse of this piece，although slightly altered in its appearance from double striking，is evidently from the same die as the obverse of the Hue Walter sterling（WAVT＠R ©hV），Class VI．， No．29，Fig．64，and properly belongs to that series．The reverse is from the same die as the following sterling of Roxburgh，Fig．66c．

Fig．66c．
Head to left，with sceptre，three pellets in front；five pellets in the crown，a cross of pellets above；the curls formed by annulets as on the short double cross sterling attributed to Henry III．，Numismatic Chronicle， 2d S．vol．v．Pl．XI．Fig． 9.
 ［2I grs．

In the Pollexfen collection．The legend on the obverse is retrograde ； the $\alpha$ after REX represents $\propto O T O R V O$ ．

Fig． 67.
From the same obverse die as the last．
6．0．：WILLéLODVS ReX ：$\alpha \cdots *$ k．+ P氏RIS ADAM ON RO氏
［193 $\frac{3}{4}$ grs．
6a．O．From the same die．$\quad$ R．+ PGRIS $\cdot$ ADAOS $\cdot$ ON R $-\quad 23 \frac{1}{4}$ grs．
No． $6 a$ is in the Pollexfen collection．

[^25]Fig. 67A.

William the Lion (1165-1214).

Head to right, with sceptre, the sceptre within the inner circle; a pellet behind the head; five pellets in the crown, with three pellets above, Short double cross coinage. forming a cross with the second pellet of the crown.

## 66. O. \& WILELMVS REX $\because \quad$ R. $~+~ P G R I S ~ A D A O O ~ O N ~ R O ~ 25 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.

In the Kermack Ford collection. ${ }^{1}$ Other specimens are figured Snelling, Pl. I. 15 ; Lindsay, ist Sup. Pl. I. 13 ; Cochran-Patrick, Pl. I. 6. This is the most neatly executed coin of Peris Adam.

The following piece, in the S.S.A. collection, is of good workmanship, and is executed probably by the same hand as the preceding; it has the name of Adam only on the reverse.

Fig. 67B.
Head to right, with sceptre; seven pellets in the crown; the pellets above arranged so as to resemble fleurs-de-lis-two on a stalk in front, three on a stalk in the centre and one behind; two pellets between the head and the sceptre.


Erroneously rendered in Lindsay's Des. Cat. ist Sup. No. 17, as reading on the reverse ADAM • . . . . . . VRG.

What is chiefly remarkable on the crown in this last piece is, that it is the earliest instance in the Scottish coinage of the bifoil crown-or the crown with two leaves only on the side fleurs-de-lis, as opposed to the trefoil crown-or the crown with three leaves on the side fleurs-de-lis, which is the crown represented on the crescent and pellet and the preceding coinages of William the Lion, and on the sterlings of David I., Earl Henry, and Malcolm IV.

The bifoil form is unquestionably the proper method of representing the crown. As actually worn on the head, only two leaves of the fleurs-de-lis at the sides of the crown are presented to the spectator.

It is the more creditable to the Scottish moneyers that they should thus early have corrected the mistake into which they had been betrayed in copy-

[^26]William the Lion ing the crown as on the coins of Stephen, when David I. commenced his
coinage, as the trefoil form of the crown was continued on the English sterlings down to the star on breast coins of Edward I., A.D. I300. On all the subsequent English issues, and on all the coinages of Great Britain, the bifoil form of crown has been used.

A sterling with ADAM : OD•ROCA on the reverse, in the Hunterian and Cochran-Patrick collections, has its obverse from the same die as the following piece in the Pollexfen collection, with AIM@R ADAM on the reverse, Fig. 67c.

Fig. 67 c .
Head to right, with sceptre; the sceptre confined within the inner circle; seven pellets in the crown; three pellets above, forming a cross in connection with the centre pellet of the crown.

This coin is represented in Snelling, Pl. I. I6.
Fig. 68.
Head to left, with sceptre ; four pellets in the sceptre-head.
7. O. 出 L(氏 RE)I WILAOO R. ※ AIODER • ADAM ON ROh • $20 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

The names AIMER ADAM have not hitherto been published in connection with William the Lion. Nevertheless, this sterling was successively in the cabinets of Messrs. Lindsay and Wingate, and is figured Lindsay, Pl. II. 42, and Wingate, Pl. III. 4. In Lindsay's Des. Cat. No. 97, the legend on the reverse is given as : : : DerR ADAM ON ROR-the last half of the round $O$ in Aimer having been mistaken for a $D$. Wingate gives only the last two letters of Aimer's name. It is proper, however, to state that a slight encrustment that had gathered over the first three letters has been partially removed by me, rendering the inscription more legible. A sterling in the S.S.A. collection, Fig. 68A, with the reverse from the same die as Fig. 68, and the obverse from the same die as Fig. 69, shows this round OD very fully. The head has been described by Lindsay and Wingate as "bare." I cannot regard the head as being really so, for there
seems to be a row of pellets on the top, of which the first two are distinctly visible. Below the sceptre, but within the legendary circle, there is a round object, treated by Lindsay as an L. This, however, is not a letter, but is the king's hand represented as grasping the sceptre ; better shown on the sterling of Alexander II., by Pieres of Roxburgh, described at page 114, Fig. 71 of the Ferguslie collection.

Fig. 68A.
Head to right, with sceptre ; ten pellets in the crown, three pellets above, forming a cross pommée in connection with the centre pellet of the crown. The reverse is from the same die as Fig. 68.
7a. O. w willellmvs Recx Ik. w AIOAR. ADAM ON ROh $21 \frac{3}{4}$ grs.
Figs. 69, 69A.
The obverses are from the same die as Fig. 68A.

Fig. 69a, No. 8a, is in the collection of the Rev. Mr. Pollexfen. The style of head on these pieces bears a remarkable resemblance to that on the sterling of Alexander II. by Pieres of Roxburgh, Fig. 70.

The several varieties of head on the sterlings of Peris Adam are distinguished by long flaky whiskers as on the English short double cross sterlings, attributed to Henry III., Num. Chron. 2d S. vol. v. Pl. XI. Fig. 4. In the reduced modules of the coins and of the inner circles, these pieces, and those with the names of Adam and Aimer Adam, correspond with the later Henry short double cross sterlings, in the same way as the short double cross sterlings of Roxburgh by Raul, in their larger modules, correspond with the earlier issues of the Henry short double cross sterlings. The lettering on the sterlings of Adam, Aimer Adam, and Peris Adam, is in general of a smaller character than on the sterlings of Raul.

None of the short double cross sterlings of Edinburgh or of Perth, so far as I have observed, correspond with the Roxburgh money of Adam, Aimer Adam, or Peris Adam.

William the Lion (1165-1214). Short double cross coinage. HVE WALTER.

STERLINGS WITHOUT NAME OF MINT.

HVE WALTER.

The short double cross sterlings of William the Lion with hVa WALTER on the reverses form an extensive series. Some are of good execution; others, and these the most numerously represented, are of wretched workmanship, and frequently with blundered inscriptions.

These coins seem naturally to arrange themselves into classes, each class having its own characteristics. They are here arranged into six classes. In some of these the sterlings are of a uniform character. In others the several examples present a considerably diversified appearance.

Great diversity exists in some of the classes in respect of the number of the points on the stars in the quarters of the cross. In this respect some of the sterlings of the classes display almost as great a variety as the Rex Sootorvm sterlings of Alexander III.

The following pieces, described by me under Class l., appear to have been among the earlier issues of the Hue Walter series. The first coin in the list is of very good workmanship; comparing favourably with the better executed pieces with the names of the mints.

## Class I.

## CLASS I.

Usually with a pellet on the chin ; some pieces have a good style of head, with well-marked whiskers, and with the back hair put in by two or three rows of crescents, as on the sterlings of Roxburgh by Raul, and on the sterlings of Edinburgh and Perth. On what may be regarded as the later issues of this class, the style of head and the lettering becomes more barbarous; and the inscriptions, particularly on the obverses, partake of a more or less blundered character. The crown is usually composed of two rows of pellets, with a single pellet above, forming a cross in connection with the lower pellets. The head seems always to regard the left.

Four Stars of Six Points．
Fig． 46.
Good style of head，with sceptre．

William the Lion （1165－1214）． Short double cross coinage． HVE WALTER． Class I．

9．O．w WILLeLMVS R•
B．※ hVe WALTER：OK
$21 \frac{3}{4}$ grs．
The five following coins are in the Pollexfen collection．
Fig．46A．
Good portrait，in the same style as the preceding．
9a．O．※ Le ReI WILAOO
R．必 hVE：WALTGR：
20 grs ．
9b．O．From the same die．
18．※ hVG•WALTER：
23 grs．
9c．O．From the same die．
B．※ hVE • WALTEh • O
$22 \frac{3}{4}$ grs．

Fig．46B．
A large round head；ruder workmanship．

Fig．46c．
A similar head，but differently treated．

The $O$ on the reverse of this piece is divided by a line in the centre as if to represent an $O$ ．

Fig． 47.
A smaller head；rude workmanship，but of good module．
10．O．\＆LE R $\pi$ WILLAME：B．出 hVE：WALTER：O 23 grs．
Two Stars of Seven and Two of Six Points．
Fig． 46 D．
The same head as on Fig．46c．
ıoa．O．\＆Le ReI WILAO氏：R．f hVe WALTET：O 2 I grs．
In the Pollexfen collection．

William the Lion (1165-1214). Short double cross coinage. HVE WALTER.

Three Stars of Six and One of Five Points.
Fig. 48.
Rude workmanship; smaller module than the preceding.

Four Stars of Five Points.
Fig. 48A.
Similar head to Fig. 48A.
iIa. O. w La ReI WILTM R. whVe WA: LR O: $23 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.
In the Pollexfen collection. The $O$ on the reverse is divided by a line through the centre as if to represent an $O$.

Besides the above varieties of reverse I have also seen sterlings of this class with three stars of seven and one of six points. The better executed pieces of this class, like the sterlings with the names of the mints, usually have four stars of six points on the reverse.

## CLASS II.

The sterlings in this class are of very different workmanship from those in Class I. The crown is sometimes represented by three pellets united by two curved lines, which may be said to form part of the head; sometimes by a row of six pellets without the connecting lines. The chin is usually large and protuberant, as if the engraver of the obverse die had had in view the peculiar profile displayed by the head on the crescent and pellet sterlings, and had mistaken the armour encircling the jaw on these pieces for a part of the face. The straight lines of the whiskers, which are pointed with pellets, present much the appearance of a standing shirt-collar. The hair is usually put in by three or four rows of vertically disposed crescents, as on the Hue Walter sterling, Class I. No. I., but it is sometimes represented by pellets. The lettering is large-very similar to that on the crescent and pellet coinages, having usually a Roman M , and peculiar-looking camel-backed R.

## Four Stars of Six Points．

Fig． 49.

William the Lion （1165－1214）． Short double cross coinage． HVE WALTER．

Head to left，with sceptre ；three connected pellets in the crown ；the Class II． hair put in by crescents．
12．O．出 LG ReI WILAME
B．※ hVE WALTER • $22 \frac{1}{2}$ grs．
13．As the last，with $\because$ at the end of the legend on the reverse，
$20 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$ ．

Three Stars of Six and One of Five Points．
Fig．49A．
The crown as the last．
13a．O．\＆Le REI WILAM• Є R．※ hVE WALTER 21 grs．
In the Pollexfen collection，as also are the four following pieces．

## Four Stars of Five Points．

Fig．49B．
The crown as the last．
136．O．生 Le ReI WILAMe
R．生 hVe WALTER
21 grs．

## Four Stars of Six Points．

Fig．49C．
Six unconnected pellets in the crown；the hair put in by crescents as above．
13c．O．出 LE REI WILA 13d．Do．：two points after hVE：
B．出 hVE WALTER－ $22 \frac{1}{4}$ grs． $22 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$ ．

William the Lion （1165－1214）． Short double cross coinage． HVE WALTER． Class II．

Four Stars of Five Points．

Fig．49D．
The crown as the last．

1зе．O．LE RGI WILAOO

B．出 hVE：WALTER
191 $\frac{1}{4}$ grs．

The following coin has the crown in the same style as on Fig．49， but the face is more aquiline，the general execution bolder，and the hair is expressed by pellets instead of by crescents．

## Three Stars of Six and One of Five Points．

Fig． 50.
14．O．出 LE REI WILAOO
R．出 hVE WALTEh： $23 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$ ．

Mr．Pollexfen has the half of a penny of this variety，which was brought to him some years ago，when residing in the south of England，by a labourer，in the state in which it was found．It had been cut in two between the lines of the double cross，to pass for two half－pennies．The sharpness of the cut edge was worn quite round and smooth by circulation， and exhibited a slightly oxidised appearance，exactly as on the cut edges of four halves of Henry III．long cross pennies found in the sands at Glenluce，in Wigtonshire，and presented to the Museum of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries by Rev．George Wilson，Glenluce．

A rude head，with a straight profile，remarkable for the triple row of pellets extending from the forehead round the back till almost opposite the chin，like a hood of chain mail，and probably intended to represent both the crown and the hair．The whiskers are expressed by sharp－pointed lines， disposed horizontally between the chin and the triple row of pellets．No
pellets on the points of the whiskers，and the chin not so full as on the william the Lion sterlings of the preceding class．The lettering much the same as on ${ }_{\text {（1165－1214）．}}^{\text {Short double }}$ Class II．；but with the R of a sprawling character，and the M on the obverse cross coinage． formed generally like an $O$ ，that is，as a round $O$ ，without the turn－over $\begin{gathered}\text { HVE WA } \\ \text { Class III．}\end{gathered}$ curve to the right．The head is usually to the left，but sometimes to the right．

Four Stars of Five Points．
Fig． 52.
The head to left，with sceptre．
15．O．出 LE REI WILAOO
B．※ hVE WALTER $\because$ $23 \frac{1}{4}$ grs．
16． 0.
Do．
 $24 \frac{3}{4}$ grs．
17．O．LE REI WILAO
B．※ hVE WALTER•，retrograde， 23 grs． Some pieces of the above variety have no inner circle on the obverse．

Fig． 53.
18．O．As No． 17.
Rk hVE WALTER $\because$ ，retrograde， $23 \frac{1}{2}$ grs．
Fig． 54.
The head to right，with sceptre．
19．O．LE REI WILAO，retrograde．R．出 hVE（WAL）TER • $22 \frac{3}{4}$ grs．
Fig． 55.
20．O．As No． 19.
R．果 hV：$\in W A L T E: R \because$ ，retrograde， 19 grs．
20a．O．Do．
1k．田 hVE WALTER，retrograde，
22 grs．

The second of these pieces is in the Richardson，formerly in the Kermack Ford collection ；very large stars on the reverse．

One Star of Five and Three of Six Points．
Fig．55 ${ }^{\text {B．}}$
The head to left，with sceptre．
20b．O．世 LE REI WILAO R．A hVE WALTER $2 \mathrm{I} \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$ ．
In the Pollexfen collection．

William the Lion (1165-1214). Short double cross coinage. IVE WALTER. Class III.

Four Stars of Six Points.
Fig. 56.
The head to left, with sceptre.
21. O. \& LE REI WILAO
R. hVE WALTER
24, $23 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.

Fig. 56A.
21 a. O. As No. 2 I.
1x. * WAV •TER• ЄhV
$21 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.
Formerly in the Hyman Montagu, now in the Ferguslie collection. The reverse is from a die of the hVE WALTER sterlings, Class VI. A similar piece in the Pollexfen collection has WAV • TER • ©h -

The sterlings of this class, Nos. I5, 16, with the turn-over stroke to the On on the obverse, are evidently of earlier issue than those of the same type on which the turn-over stroke is omitted. While those on which the $O$ is formed like an $O$ are very common, these are somewhat rare. The sterlings, with the head to right, Nos. 19, 20, 20A, are extremely rare. Those with the head to left and with stars of six points on the reverse are also of considerable rarity.

In a small parcel of Hue Walter sterlings of Class III. which came under my inspection-belonging, if I mistake not to the Eccles findsome had the inner circles of very small size, rendering it probable that these were of later issue than the others. Very few coins in that parcel were from the same dies.

## CLASS IV.

The sterlings in this class are the rudest of the Hue Walter series. They present a mere outline of profile, yet contrive to combine some of the characteristics of the sterlings in Class I. with those of Classes II. and III.the head displaying, in general, the full round chin of the sterlings of the latter classes, with the pellet, the representative of the chin in the former class.

On some pieces of this class the inner circles are of good size, on
others very small. The inscriptions, particularly on the obverse, are usually william the Lion more or less blundered or abbreviated. As these coins exhibit an almost ${ }_{\text {Short double }}^{(11651214)}$. endless variety of head, it is probable that their issue extended over a cross coinage. considerable period. The head apparently always regards the left.

## Four Stars of Six Points.

Fig. 57A.
Rude head to left, with sceptre; the crown represented by three stems springing from the line of eyebrow, each stem pointed with a pellet.
21b. O. Le TAI WLAN $^{2}$
lk. ※ hV WTL: $T \in(R) O$
22 grs.

In the Pollexfen collection ; as are also the four following pieces.

## Two Stars of Six and Two of Five Points.

Fig. 57B.
The head similar to the preceding, but with a double row of pellets on the stalks; two pellets parallel with these behind.
21c. O. w L
B. ※ hVE WALTE: O
$23 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.

## Four Stars of Five Points.

Fig. 57c.
Similar profile to the preceding; three pellets on a stalk in fleur-de-lis form springing from the centre of the eyebrow, a plain stalk behind; the back part of the head put in by a single curved line; six pellets, two and two, in front of the chin.

2Id. O. 出 Le氏 RGI WILT O B. ※ hVG WALTER O 23 grs.

THE COINAGE OF SCOTLAND．

William the Lion （1165－1214）． Short double cross coinage． HVE WALTER． Class IV．

Four Stars of Seven Points．

## Fig．57D．

The obverse is from the same die as the last．
21e．O．we ReI WILT O R．A hVG WALTER O 23 grs．
Another sterling in the Pollexfen collection，with four stars of six points on the reverse，has its obverse from the same dic as these pieces．

Fig．57E．
The obverse is from the same die as Fig． 57 b．
21f． 0 ．w Le ReI WILT Pr．出hVa WスLTero $23 \frac{1}{4}$ grs．

Three Stars of Five and One of Six Points．
Fig． 57 F ．
Similar style of head，but the crown formed by two rows of pellets without the stalks．


In the S．S．A．collection ；represented also in the Pollexfen cabinet．

Four Stars of Five Points．
Fig． 58.
Similar head ；a single fringed line for the whisker and the round of the cheek．
22．O．\＆hVG WALRT
R． A $^{\text {hVG }} \mathrm{W}$ ：LRO：
$22 \frac{3}{4}$ grs．
23．O．出 L＊W＊L ：GLT ：
R．． hVG WTTRI：O
$24 \frac{3}{4}$ grs．

The sterlings with Hue Walter＇s name on both sides are very rare．

Fig．58A．

William the Lion （1165－1214）． Short double cross coinage． HVE WALTER．

A similar head，but with both round chin and pellet；a narrow fringed line，pointed with small pellets，for the whisker and the round of the cheek；three pellets before the chin；the crown represented by two loosely－ disposed rows of pellets．
23a．O．\＆LI WIe氏R：ELT ：
18．※ hVE WTTRT•O
$21 \frac{1}{4}$ grs．

In the Pollexfen collection．
Fig．58b．
The obverse as above，without the small pellets on the points of the whiskers．
23b．O． wI WIGR ：$^{2}$ ：LT：
B．※ hVG：WALTGR
20 grs.
From the Kermack Ford cabinet．

Four Stars of Six Points．
Fig． 59.
The head with round chin and pellet；a narrow fringed line for the whisker，and a plain curved line behind it to indicate the round of the cheek；the crown represented by two loosely－disposed rows of pellets．
24.
O．出 Le氏 ReI WILT
B．出 hV氏：WALTGR：O I9 $\frac{1}{4}$ grs．
24a． 0 ．
Do．


The second of these pieces is in the Hunterian collection．
Fig． 60.
The obverse from the same die as Fig．58A．
25．O．※LI WIER：GLT：
R． mVe W $^{2}$ ：ALR：O $18 \frac{3}{4}$ grs．
25a．O．From the same die．
B．※ hVG WALTO 22 grs．

No． $25 \alpha$ ，the figured specimen，formerly in the Kermack Ford，is now in the Ferguslie collection．

CLASS V.
Coins of good workmanship; the several specimens are remarkable chiefly for the extreme length of the lines representing the mouth and for the absence of the chin. Two rows, or three rows, of pellets represent the crown ; the hair is indicated by small crescents, and the whiskers are usually massed upon the cheek as on the later Roxburgh sterlings. The small module of the inner circles on these pieces suggests a late period of issue.

## Four Stars of Six Points.

Fig. 62.
Two rows of pellets for the crown, five in the lower and four in the upper row. A small cross between the sceptre and the inner circle ; a small cross below the mouth and a pellet in front.
26. O. ※ LEX REI WILT
R. 田 hVE WTLA: O
22 grs.
27. O. From the same die.
R. ※ hVG W KLTR:
$22 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

On the second of these two pieces a deep incision has been made between the transverse lines of the cross on the reverse, as if done with the intention of cutting the coin in two halves to pass for half-pennies. See remarks in connection with the penny, No. 14, Fig. 50, Class II. p. 78.

Figs. 63, 63A.
Three rows of pellets for the crown ; no cross between the sceptre and the inner circle, nor below the mouth. Neat stars of six points on the reverse.
28. O. $L(\in I$ WIRTT): O

28a. O. ※ LE WIRTT (: O)

$23 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

A pellet is within the letter $O$ on the obverse ; possibly a sign of contraction. Fig. 63A, No. 28a, is in the Pollexfen collection. I have not
noticed any other type of reverse on the coins of this class than that of the william the Lion stars of six points.

The two following sterlings in the Pollexfen collection, while showing the same style of head as on the pieces above described, have the round these two classes; the crown is expressed by a single row of pellets.

Fig. 63B.
286. O. WVG WITTRL
B. 世 HVE WTL: RTO $23 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.
28c. O. From the same die.
B. ※ $h V G$ WTLR: O
$23 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

## CLASS VI.

This is a peculiar class, presenting a rather singular style of head, with a full and somewhat gross appearance and no neck. Usually with two rows of pellets for the crown and a pellet for the chin. The side hair commonly expressed by crescents. Stars of six points on the reverse; apparently the only combination on the sterlings of this class.

## Four Stars of Six Points.

Fig. 63c.
Head to right, with sceptre ; large whiskers.
28d. 0. * Le ReI : WILL * *
R. $+h \mathrm{VG} \cdot$ - WATGR :
20 grs.

Formerly in the Lindsay collection, published L., Pl. XVIII. No. 2; subsequently in the Kermack Ford collection. ${ }^{1}$ Unique.

Fig. 64.
Head to left, with sceptre ; large flaky whiskers.
29. 0. \# WILLelosvs rax Pr. + WAVTAR • $\cdot \mathrm{hV} \quad 19$ grs.

The letter L on the obverse of this piece is regularly formed, but on

[^27]William the Lion (1165-1214). Short double cross coinage. 11VE WALTER. Class VI.
the reverse in WALTER it is formed like a V , a common occurrence on coins of this class. The last two letters in ReXX are partially obliterated, but to a practised eye are quite recognisable. Some of the sterlings of this class, as brought under my notice by collectors, had *WAV : T • GR • GhV ; others *WAVTeR $\because \theta h V$. The letters $\Theta h V$ are evidently a transposition of the name of $h V E$.

Fig. 65.
The head as the above.
30. O. * WIVVeVV(OD)VS

1x. + VVAV • TER eGh
$21 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.
The letter L on both sides of this coin formed like a V. This is the piece, Lindsay, Des. Cat. No. 74, and Wingate, Pl. III. I, represented as reading on the reverse WALTGR GD, and attributed to Edinburgh. The last letter on the reverse may readily be mistaken for a $D$, which it resembles the rather that the back of the letter comes in contact with the second half of what seems to be a suppressed or overstruck $V$, and that the top is shorter than usual.

Figs. 65A, 66.
Head to left, with sceptre. A small pellet above the two rows of pellets on the crown, forming a cross with the pellets below. Pellets instead of crescents for the back hair and beard.
30a. O. + WI(LL) ELOOVS :
R. $+\mathrm{W} \pi V T \in R$ $氏 \cdot \mathrm{hV} \quad 22$ grs.
31. O. From a similar die.
B. $~+~ W A V(T E) R$ eV
21 grs.

No. 30a, Fig. 65A, is in the Pollexfen collection. The sterlings of this class appear to have had curious connections with some of the other varieties of the short double cross sterlings of William the Lion; the Roxburgh penny, No. 5e, Fig. 668, page 70, supra, in the S.S.A. collection, having its obverse struck from an obverse die as Fig. 64 of this class; and the hVé WALTGR sterling, No. 2I $a$, Fig. 56A, Class III., having its reverse from a die also evidently belonging to this class. The following sterling of WALTER $\operatorname{ADA} O$ ) has its obverse from the same die as Fig. 66.

THE COINAGE OF SCOTLAND．

WALTER ADAM．
Four Stars of Six Points．
Fig．66A．

## 3Ib．O．+ WILLGLOJVS ：

William the Lion （ 1165 －1214）． Short double cross coinage． WALTER ADAM．

In the Pollexfen collection，a specimen formerly in the Kermack Ford collection is now in the Ferguslie cabinet．

## HENRI LE RVS（Le Roux）．

All the coins of this moneyer are rare；but they display，notwithstanding， considerable variety both of obverse and reverse．Indeed，all the combina－ tions of points remarked by me on the sterlings of the Hue Walter series have also been noted by me on those of Henri le Rus．So far as I have observed，the head always regards the left，with a sceptre in front．

## Four Stars of Six Points．

Fig．${ }^{1}$ ．
Head to left，with sceptre．The head and crown in the same style as on the Hue Walter sterlings，No．14，Fig．50，Class I！．
32．O．（出）L氏 REI WILAO
R．＊henki Lé（RVS） 23 grs．

The $h$ on the reverse of this piece resembles a $D$ quite as much as the $h$ on the reverse of any of the Hue Walter or Walter Hue sterlings， Class VI．

Two Stars of Six and Two of Five Points．
Fig．5IA．
Head to left，with sceptre ；a single row of pellets in the crown；a large pellet for the chin．
32a．О．w Le KMLE R
R．出 henri Let RV：
$22 \frac{1}{4}$ grs．

In the Pollexfen collection．

William the Lion （1165－1214）．
Short double cross coinage．
HENRY LE RVS．

Four Stars of Five Points．
Fig．${ }^{\text {IIB．}}$
Rude head to left，with sceptre ；broad whiskers ；neatly formed crown， ornamented with three triple pellets on stalks．
326．O．出 Le氏（R）氏I WILT
B．电 h $\in \mathrm{N}(\mathrm{RI}$ L） $\mathfrak{l}$ RWS
22 grs．

In the Cochran－Patrick collection．A similar piece from the Ford sale is now in the Ferguslie collection．

Four Stars of Seven Points．
Fig．51c．
The obverse is．from the same die as Fig．51b．
32c．O．As 32 ．
R．壬 heИRI L（ब RWS） $22 \frac{3}{4}$ grs．
In the Pollexfen collection．

## Four Stars of Seven Points．

Fig． 57.
The obverse is from the same die as the obverse of the Henri le Rus de Pt sterling，Fig．56b，page 66.
33．O．（出 L） $\mathbb{C}$ ReI WILT
R．出 hechri Le（RVS）
23 grs．

## Four Stars of Six Points．

Fig．60A．
Head to left，with sceptre，similar to that on the nVE WALTER sterlings，Nos． $25,25 a$ ；crescents instead of pellets for the hair and crown， six crescents before the brow and three pellets before the chin．
33a．O．午 Le ReI WILA
R．世 h henri La RVS
22 grs．

In the Cochran－Patrick collection，as is also the following piece．

# Three Stars of Six and One of Five Points. 

Fig. 6ов.
33b. O. From the same die as 60 A. B. WeNRI Le R(V)
Two Stars of Seven and Two of Six Points.
Figs. 6I, 6IA.
34. O. From the same die as 60 A .

34a. O. Do. R. héNI Le RVS retrograde, 23 grs.

No. $34 a$ is in the Cochran-Patrick collection. With this head I have also seen the following reverses:-four stars of six points; four stars of five points; two stars of five and two of six points. From the same reverse die as No. 34a, another hennri Le RVS sterling in the Cochran-Patrick collection, figured here 6ib, has its obverse like that of the Hue Walter Fig. 6ib. sterling, Fig. 58b.

In what I have stated respecting the several combinations of points observed by me on the reverses of the short double cross sterlings of William the Lion, with the names of Hue Walter and Henri le Rus, and without the names of the mints, I have been careful to include only wellmarked varieties, avoiding such combinations of points as might be merely accidental, as on some of the pieces of ruder execution.

The following are the several combinations of points that have been noted by me on the coins with the names of these moneyers :-

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { Four stars of five points } & =20 \text { points. } \\
\text { Two stars of five and two of six points } & =22 \text { points. } \\
\text { One star of five and three of six points } & =23 \text { points. } \\
\text { Four stars of six points } & =24 \text { points. } \\
\text { Two stars of six and two of seven points } & =26 \text { points. } \\
\text { Four stars of seven points } & =28 \text { points. }
\end{array}
$$

It is curious and suggestive that we should find the very same combinations of points on the reverses of the REX SđOTORVM long single VOL. I.

William the Lion cross sterlings of Alexander II I., and this just when the names of the moneyers and mints had ceased to be placed upon the coins. In addition to the above combinations the single cross sterlings of Alexander III. present the two following combinations of points on the reverse:-Three mullets of five and one of six points, equal to 2 I points; and one mullet of six and three stars of seven points, equal to 27 points-both extremely rare combinations, and of which satisfactory examples may possibly yet be met with on the short double cross sterlings of William the Lion without the names of the mints.

In view of the fact that the double cross sterlings with the names of the mints of William the Lion, and, it may be added, also of Alexanders II. and III., seem invariably to have for the type of the reverse four stars of six points, any divergences from this type being evidently purely accidental, these several combinations of points on the sterlings without the names of the mint can scarcely be regarded as having been employed for any other purpose than to indicate at what particular mints the sterlings thus severally distinguished were issued. This will approve itself the more to us when we take into consideration that the sterlings without the names of the mints, more particularly those of Hue Walter, very much outnumber the sterlings with the names of the mints, even when taken altogether.

I shall not attempt to connect any individual mint with any particular combination of points as displayed on the reverses of these pieces. Berwick, however, which was one of the mints of the William the Lion short single cross coinages, but of which the name does not occur on the short cross sterlings, we may confidently assume, must have been one of the mints thus represented. The mint of Berwick was in active operation under David I. It is represented on the short double cross sterlings of Alexander II., and most copiously on the long double cross sterlings of Alexander III. There is no reason, therefore, to suppose that it had ceased operations during the William the Lion short double cross period.

If the statement in the Book of Bon-Accord be correct, that a mint was established at Aberdeen by William the Lion, this ancient and renowned city may also put in a claim to have been represented on the sterlings of William the Lion without the names of the mint.

In connection with the short double cross sterlings of William the william the Lion Lion of the Edinburgh and Perth mints, it has been here remarked that $\begin{aligned} & (1165-1214) \text {. } \\ & \text { Short double }\end{aligned}$ none of the sterlings of these mints seem to have been of corresponding cross coinage. issue with the sterlings of the later moneyers of Roxburgh. Not improbably, therefore, the later issues of the Edinburgh and Perth mints may have formed portions of the Hue Walter and Henri le Rus coinages; and this is the more likely, as two sterlings of Henri le Rus actually have the name of Perth on the reverse.

The Hue Walter sterlings, Class VI., from their interchange of obverses with the later Roxburgh sterlings, Fig. 67, must necessarily be regarded as also of correspondingly late issue with these pieces.

Wingate has assigned three Hue Walter pennies to Roxburgh, figured by him Pl. III. 7, and Sup. P1. I. 5, 6, described as reading respectively hVE WTLA: RO; hVG WA: LRO; hV: WALTER RO. The two R's on the last piece, as figured in Wingate's plate, are suspiciously close together, suggesting that the legend may have been partly double struck. It has further to be observed that the inscriptions an these sterlings are all of a somewhat blundered character. As shown by other specimens where the legend is given at greater length, the letter $O$ is not connected with WALTGR, but is rather to be regarded as the first letter of ON, or, probably, seeing that it has sometimes the appearance of a round OD, may represent monetarius, or monetariz. In any case there is no reason, on the strength of such readings as the above, to assign all the Hue Walter sterlings to Roxburgh.

It is usual to regard the names Hue Walter as applying only to one individual, but there appears to be more than a mere coincidence in these names being found together on so many of the sterlings without names of mints, and in connection with Hue and Walter having been respectively moneyers at Edinburgh and Perth of this same short double cross series.

The suggestion has been made that Hue Walter may probably represent Hue, son of Walter. This view seems to receive some countenance from the circumstance that on some Roxburgh double cross sterlings of William the Lion the names occur of Adam, Aimer Adam, Peris Adam, which, on

William the Lion (1165-1214). Short double cross coinage.

Alexander II. (1214-1249).

## 

Succeeded his Father, William the Lion, 4 th December 12 i4, when in his 17 th Year; died, 8th July 1249.

The sterlings bearing the name of Alexander on the obverse are divided into three classes-(1) those with a short double cross on the reverse, (2) those with a long double cross, and (3) those with a long single cross. The more modern appearance of these last leaves no doubt that they are the latest of the series. Without a single exception, Scottish numismatists have agreed in ascribing the long single cross variety to Alexander III.

It has been very different with respect to the appropriation of the double cross sterlings. Anderson, in his Numismatum Scotice Thesaurus
(I739), ascribes those with the head to the right, whether with the short or the long double cross, to Alexander I. ; and those with the head to the left to Alexander II. Of the sterlings with the head to the right three specimens are figured by Anderson, Pl. CLVII., representing (i) a Berwick long cross sterling with crowned head, taken from the Pembroke plates, to which he appears to have had access, although these were not published till 1746 ; (2) a short cross sterling, with a curious head-dress, now in the collection of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, formerly in the Advocates' collection, reading WALE ROB ON BER, here figured $76 \mathrm{~B} ;^{1}$ (3) a long cross sterling, with filleted head, also in the S.S.A. collection, inscribed ION ( $\alpha O R$ )IN ON P. The double cross sterlings with the head to the left, figured by Anderson, are all of the crowned head and long cross variety. These are (1) a sterling from the Pembroke plates, reading TOMAS ON AN-incorrectly rendered IONAS ON $\mathbb{A N}$; (2) and (3) two sterlings, now in the S.S.A. collection, reading respectively TOMAS ON $\mathbb{A N}$ and IOHAN ON BGR.

In the Pembroke plates the same attribution is followed. The long double cross sterling with the head to the right (copied by Anderson) is given to Alexander I. ; and the long double cross sterling with the head to the left (also copied by Anderson) to Alexander II.

Wise, in his Nummi Bodleiani (1750), while following the same course in deference to Scottish antiquaries, expressed his doubts whether any Scottish coins, so far as hitherto published, could correctly be attributed to an earlier period than the reign of William the Lion. He thought it more probable that the sterlings assigned to Alexander I. belonged to Alexander II., and that certain pieces ascribed to David I. were struck under David II. It is now well known that the sterling attributed by Anderson to David I. (copied from the Pembroke plates), and reproduced by Wise and Snelling in their plates as a penny of David I., is simply a Hue Walter sterling of William the Lion, with the head to the right. Snelling, with his usual sagacity, although he had not seen the coin itself,

[^28]Alexanders II. and III.
Double cross controversy.
detected its true character ; and yet, at the Pembroke sale in 1848, this very piece-tentatively ascribed in the catalogue to David I.-was sold along with a William the Lion short double cross sterling by Hue of Edinburgh, for $£ 6: 12: 6$-a very high price at that time for Scottish silver coins.

In his View of the Silver Coin of Scotland (1774), Snelling (PI. I. I, 2) has copied Anderson's sterlings with the head to the right, Nos. 2 and 3 , ascribed to Alexander I., and acquiesces in that attribution-with the saving clause that, if Alexander II. struck any short cross coins, the first of these pieces might probably belong to that prince. With respect to Anderson's No. I of Alexander I. (copied from the Pembroke plates)-a Berwick sterling, with the crowned head to the right and the long double cross, Snelling's opinion was that it belonged to Alexander II.

In commenting, however, on the great improvement in the workmanship on the long single cross coinages attributed to Alexander III., which improvement, he conjectured, might have followed the great improvement in the English monies under Edward I. in 1279, ${ }^{1}$ Snelling is prompted to ask, "If this be the case, what coins have we of him (Alexander III.) before this period?" The question, he remarks, "can be no otherwise got clear of than by supposing that many of those given by us to his father were struck by this king before this era; and, at this time, it is not possible to distinguish one from the other." We shall have occasion subsequently to see how well these surmises of Snelling have been justified by facts in relation to this subject that have come to light since Snelling's work on Scottish silver coins was published.

The three long double cross sterlings with the crowned head to the left, figured in Anderson's Numismatum Scotia Thesaurus, Pl. I. I, 2, 3, under Alexander II., are reproduced with the same attributions by Cardonnel ( 1786 ) in his Numismata Scotic, Pl. I. 19, 20, 2 I. It is strange that Cardonnel

[^29]should have ignored all mention of the double cross sterlings with the head Alexanders II. to the right, assigned by Anderson to Alexander I., although Nos. 2 and 3 of and III. Anderson of this variety were in the collection of the Faculty of Advocates controversy. at the time that Cardonnel's work was issued, and ought to have been easily accessible for the purposes of such a publication. What makes this omission the more remarkable is, that in a letter addressed to the Earl of Buchan, President of the Antiquarian Society of Edinburgh, dated 5th July 1784 , Cardonnel states, "I beg leave to enclose a proof of my first plate, which, though quite unfinished, will show the plan-the first row is to contain two of Alexander I. and one of David I." ${ }^{1}$ There can be no doubt that the "two of Alexander I." which Cardonnel thus intended to have published, but which do not appear in his work, were respectively the short and the long double cross Alexander sterlings, with the heads to the right, Anderson's Nos. 2 and 3; and that the "one of David I.," which he also intended to have published but did not publish, was the Pembroke Hue Walter sterling of William the Lion, with the head to the right-figured as a David I. penny in the Pembroke plates, and copied as such by Anderson, Wise, and Snelling. Although Cardonnel may be excused for having lost faith in the attributions assigned to these pieces, that was no reason why he should so completely have ignored the existence of the coins themselves. In copying Anderson's three long double cross Alexander sterlings, with the crowned head to the left, ascribed to Alexander II., Cardonnel repeats the misrendering of the moneyer's name, IONAS for TOMAS, on No. $\mathrm{I}^{2}$ and with respect to No. 2, he represents the M on the reverse as of the round old English form, which, though so frequently seen, with some slight variations, on the sterlings of William the Lion, is never found on the pennies of the Alexanders.

Thus far there has not been much of certainty, whatever there may have been of method, in these attributions. With Anderson, in his arrangement of the Alexander double cross sterlings, it seems chiefly to have been an affair of heads. Those pieces with the head to the right, whether

[^30]Alexanders II. with the short or the long double cross, having been assigned by him to and III. plate, are all of the long double cross variety-to Alexander II. Snelling, while hesitating to depart from this arrangement, remarks, in connection with Alexander II., that he was inclined to believe that this king, at the commencement of his reign, did coin money with the short double cross on the reverse, like his father William ; and that probably the short double cross Alexander sterling with the head to the right, Fig. I of Snelling's own plate, belonged to Alexander II. rather than to Alexander I. Snelling describes this piece as having the head to the left; but it is to be remembered that what is now described as with the head to the right, Snelling-in common with all the earlier writers on Scottish numismatics, inclusive also of Lindsay -regarded as being to the left ; and, vice versa, what is now described as with the head to the left, was described by Snelling and those others as to the right.

Cardonnel does not mention what led him to delete from Plate I. of his Numismata Scotice, previous to publication, the sterlings "two of Alexander I. and one of David I.," as copied from Anderson and Snelling's plates. But from what is further stated in his letter to Lord Buchan, above referred to, we learn that when Cardonnel proposed inserting these pieces he had not yet received from the Laird of Brodie the sterlings of William the Lion from the Dyke find; these, undoubtedly, considerably modified his views respecting the appropriations of the earlier Scottish sterlings. Notwithstanding Cardonnel's silence on the matter, or rather on account of it, the Alexander sterlings with the head to the right, both of the short and the long double cross varieties, continued still to be regarded as belonging to Alexander I., and are described as such in coin sale catalogues, even after the publication of Lindsay's work on Scottish coins (1845), where the error was corrected, and a new but still erroneous attribution of coins made to Alexander I.

The first who attempted to bring historic evidence to bear upon the attribution of the Alexander sterlings appears to have been the Rev. Dr. John Jamieson, in a paper published in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. ii. (A.D. 1832). At the end of that paper he quotes from

Lord Hailes's Annals of Scotland as follows :-" 1250 . In this year the Alexanders II. form of the Scottish coin was changed, and the cross, which formerly went $\begin{aligned} & \text { and } \mathrm{IIIL} \\ & \text { Double cross }\end{aligned}$ no further than the inner circle, was extended to the circumference;" or, as controversy. it is otherwise stated in the Scotichronicon, by Bower, the continuator of Fordoun's history, to which Lord Hailes makes reference as the source of his information :-" Hoc anno ( 1250 )-moneta etiam Scoticana renovatur : ita $u t$ crux quæ priùs non transivit circulum in denarium modò ad extremos fines denarii attingat." As it thus appears, we see that the second clause of the sentence was intended to explain the first-namely, that the extending of the cross, which formerly was confined to the inner circle, to the extreme edge of the coin, was the change which had been made in 1250 ; that is, that the long double cross had now superseded the short double cross on Scottish money. As given by Lord Hailes, who employs the indefinite copulative term "and" for the explanatory term "so that," the changing of the form of the Scottish coin in 1250 has been supposed to have had some other meaning than the extending of the cross for the first time to the circumference of the coin.

Evidently Dr. Jamieson has understood Lord Hailes in some such sense, for he quotes his statement as affording "direct and unquestionable proof" that the change in the form of the Scottish coin made in 1250 was the introduction of the long single cross on the money of Alexander III., as against Snelling's conjecture that, from the great improvement displayed in the workmanship of this single cross money-" the head, the cross, the letters" being "all better done, and the disposition of the whole more regular and uniform than before,"-it was probable that "these improvements came from England, and followed that great one made there in the monies of Edward I. anno 1270 " (misprint for 1279). "On the contrary," states Dr. Jamieson, quoting Lord Hailes, as above, "this change in our money took place twenty-two years before Edward I. came to the throne!" It would almost appear as if Dr. Jamieson had regarded the distinction between the long double and the long single cross as of no consequence.

- There can be no question that the change of type on the reverses of English coins as made in 1247 or 1248 was the substitution of the long double vol. I.

Alexanders II. for the short double cross. Matthew Paris, under 1248, in speaking of the
and 111 . Double cross controversy. great recoinage which had taken place, says, "Cujus inquam monetæ forma a veteri diversicabatur in tantum, quod crux duplicata limbum literatum pertransibat. In reliquis autem, pondere, capitali impressione, cum literato titulo, permanente ut prius." Bower, in referring to the corresponding change on Scottish coins in 1250, has not defined the form of the cross in the same explicit terms, but in his case it was scarcely necessary. And when this writer said that the cross, which formerly did not extend beyond the inner circle, was now carried to the edge of the coin, he must have thought that he had made his meaning sufficiently plain for the comprehension of all ordinary understandings ; and no one denies that the long double cross was the immediate successor of the short double cross on Scottish as on English sterlings.

The greater portion of Dr. Jamieson's paper on the coins of Alexanders II. and III. consists of a refutation, or what he looked upon as such, of Snelling's suggestion that the great improvement in workmanship, as displayed on the long single cross money of Alexander III., had come from England, and had followed that made in the monies of Edward I. in 1279. If in this surmise Snelling was correct, the conclusion could not be resisted that all or nearly all of the double cross money was to be regarded as having been struck under Alexander III. Dr. Jamieson, after representing that this hypothesis rested on the error in chronology supposed to have been committed by Snelling, where I270 instead of 1279 appears as the year on which the notable improvement on English money took place under Edward I., ventures on the assertion that "there is not a shadow of evidence that the mint-masters of Alexander III. imitated those of England." "Had they done so," he remarks, "they would most probably have adhered to the plan of giving at least the names of the mints, as on the coins of Edward I.;" and also, that instead of the stars and mullets in the four angles of the cross, it was to have been expected "that the pellets invariably found on Edward's" sterlings would have been adopted ; and that, instead of the profile head, with the sceptre in front, a full face, as on the English sterlings, would have been presented.

With all respect for Dr. Jamieson, whose name will ever be regarded
with honour in Scotland, I cannot but employ towards these state- Alexanders II. ments his own words, as applied by him to Snelling's conjecture and subsequent induction, "that the whole of this reasoning is obviously very
and III. Double cross controversy. flimsy," and, indeed, quite away from the point. Dr. Jamieson could not but have been aware that Snelling must have been fully cognisant of all these points of difference between the single cross sterlings of Alexander II I. and the sterlings of Edward I. What led Snelling to regard these two monies as resembling one another was the "great improvement in regard to the workmanship" on both-"the head, the cross, the letters," which were "all better done, and the disposition of the whole more regular and uniform than before." The more particular consideration of the singularly close correspondence between the English and Scottish long single cross sterlings, as struck respectively under Edward I. and Alexander III., will be entered into when we examine in detail the long single cross money of Alexander III. We shall then find that while the similarity in the style of work between the long double cross sterlings of Henry III. and the long double cross sterlings of Alexander is sufficiently striking, the concord in this case extends to more minute details, and is of a far more varied and consecutive character, leading almost to the inference that some of the workmen whom Edward I. had brought from over the sea for the execution of the new English money had found their way to the Scottish mints, and had been employed upon this new money of Alexander III. This is certainly a very natural explanation of a concord more close and more consecutive than has ever been witnessed between English and Scottish money at any period before or since, and abundantly justifies Snelling in his conjecture that the introduction into the Scottish coinage of the long single cross sterlings, with their improved workmanship, had followed their introduction into the English coinage.

The Rev. Dr. Daniel H. Haigh, one of the most eminent of British numismatists, in a paper on early Scottish coins in the Numismatic Chronicle, ist Series, vol. iv., remarks that he regards "all the pennies with the long cross, whether double or single," as belonging to Alexander III. And he founds this opinion upon the very statement referred to by Jamie-

Alexanders II. and III. Double cross controversy.
son in the Annals of Scotland, under Alexander III., in 1250 (quoting from Sir James Balfour's version), that "This zeire, K. Alexander renewed the stampe of his coyne, making the crosse to tuoche the wtermost poynte of the circkell, wich in his predicessors rainges it did not."

Lindsay's attention had been given to this subject many years before the publication, in 1845, of his View of the Coinage of Scotland. In particular, it was discussed by him in a series of letters with the Rev. J. W. Martin of Keston. ${ }^{1}$ Taking the statement under 1250 in Fordoun, Balfour, and Hailes, in what may be called an esoteric sense, Martin had maintained, with Jamieson, that the long cross introduced in 1250 on Scottish coins was the long single, not the long double, cross. Lindsay, adhering to the plain meaning of the words, remarks in his Scottis/L Coinage, under Alexander II.-" The evidence of history cannot be got over: it appears from the Scottish writers that in I 250 it was ordered that the cross should pass through the legendary circle, which was not the case before in the Scottish series." Lindsay's professional training and experience as a Barrister-at-Law may be accepted as rendering him all the more fit for pronouncing an opinion upon a question of evidence. So little favour did the long single cross theory find with Lindsay that he does not even mention that there had been any correspondence between the Rev. Mr. Martin and himself on the subject.

Cochran-Patrick, in his Records of the Coinage of Scotland, 1876, impugns Lindsay's conclusion, for which, he says, "the only authority is the Abbot Bower, who, alluding to the great coinage at the commencement of the reign of Alexander III., falls into the mistake (?) of supposing that it was the first in which the long cross was used." This Walter Bower, who was elected Abbot of St. Colm in 1418, at the age of thirty-three, was the continuator of Fordoun's Annals, of which he wrote by far the larger portion, for Fordoun died before he had carried his history beyond the reign of David I. Besides having command of all the materials collected by Fordoun, Bower must have had access to other sources of information, as, in transcribing the part written by Fordoun, he has inserted large inter-

[^31]polations of his own. He must have had peculiar qualifications for the Alexanders 11. work, as it was by special request of Sir David Stewart of Rossyth that it it $\begin{aligned} & \text { and ill. } \\ & \text { Double cross }\end{aligned}$ was undertaken by him.

What authority, then, does Cochran-Patrick adduce for his assertion that Bower had fallen into a mistake in supposing that the coinage of Alexander III., as placed by Bower under 1250, was the first in which the long cross had been used? None whatever : simply his own version of a very brief reference in the Chronica de Mailros to a change of money under 1247. At the end of a detailed notice of the deaths of sundry persons in that year, who, the Melrose chronicler finds space enough to inform us, were also buried, occurs the words "mutatio monete,"- nothing more. It is not even stated that the change mentioned was made in Scottish money. For all that appears to the contrary, the reference might have been to the change in English money that took place in that year ; of which
"mutatio monete" the Melrose chronicler, residing on the borders as he did, must very soon have become cognisant. The Chronica de Mailros, while affording us much valuable information respecting the contemporary history of Scotland, is by no means merely, or even principally, a Scottish chronicle, but concerns itself largely with current events in England; and, indeed, takes a general interest in whatever of note happened to be passing in the world at the time. From the statement, however, in Sir James Balfour's Annales of Scotland, A.D. 1247, under Alexander II., that "This zeire, K. Alexander, with adwisse of hes 3 estaits, altered the standard of hes coyne, in a Parliament holdin at St. Andrews," it may be presumed that the "mutatio monete" in 1247, mentioned in the Chronica de Mailros, refers to a change in Scottish money.
"The only 'mutatio monete," asserts Cochran-Patrick, "which was possible (in Scotland) in 1247 was the substitution of the long double cross for the short double cross." This author would thus crush the whole of the long double cross Alexander coinage into a space of about three years, and this in face of the fact that the corresponding long double cross coinage of Henry III. occupied a space of apparently rather more than thirty years, that is, from 1247 , when the long double cross superseded

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the short double cross on English sterlings, till the introduction of the long single cross coinage in 1279 under Edward I.

According to Cochran-Patrick's arrangement we should have the following results, it being understood that any coins struck in England previous to 1279 by Edward I. were coined under his father's name and with his father's type:-(I) That from the introduction of the short double cross on Scottish money under William the Lion in I 195 down to 1247 , when the change of type from the short double cross to the long double cross was made on English coins, and, as asserted by Cochran-Patrick, also on Scottish coins, the Scottish short double cross sterlings would have been of contemporary issue with the English short double cross sterlings; (2) That the long double cross Alexander sterlings, from 1247 to 1250 , would have been of contemporary issue with the long double cross Henry sterlings; and (3) That the long single cross sterlings of Alexander III., from 1250 to 1279, would have been of corresponding issue with the long double cross sterlings of Henry III.

Let us see what the evidence of finds of coins, to which Mr. CochranPatrick appeals, has to say to this, premising that such coins as may have been found together are, for the greater part, to be regarded as having been in course of issue together.

Thus, to take the Bute find (7th June 1863 ), referred to in this work in connection with the coins of David I.: this hoard, besides a number of sterlings of David I. of the Scottish and of the English types, contained four sterlings of Stephen of England, but none of Henry I.-the sterling in that find previously ascribed to Henry I. being now recognised as belonging to Henry, Earl of Northumberland, son of David I. ${ }^{1}$

Then, as regards the Dyke find ( 1780 ), referred to here in connection with the short single cross, or crescent and pellet sterlings of William the Lion, Cardonnel states that this find contained, besides a large number of these short single cross sterlings, "a very considerable number of the (short

[^32]single cross) coinage of Henry II. of England, who was contemporary with Alexanders II. William of Scotland." ${ }^{1}$
and III.
Double cross

With respect to the short double cross sterlings of William the Lion, controversy. the Eccles find (irth August 1864), along with nearly 6000 short double cross Henry sterlings, and 105 Irish coins of John, of the triangle type, struck after he had become king of England, contained 196 pennies of William. It is not stated of what type the William sterlings in that find consisted, and, unfortunately, the names of the mints are given separately from those of the moneyers; still we can easily satisfy ourselves that these pieces must have been chiefly, if not exclusively, of the short double cross type. Berwick, for instance, a mint of the short single cross, or crescent and pellet coinage, but not of the short double cross coinage of William the Lion with the names of the mints, is not mentioned. Nor do we find the name of Folpolt, the only Perth moneyer of the crescent and pellet type; nor of Adam, one of the Edinburgh moneyers of that coinage, and whose name does not occur on the short double cross coins; nor of Ailbode, nor of Willame, nor of Raul Derlig, all short single cross moneyers. Hue and Raul's names are met with; but these, as also all the other names stated -Walter, Hue Walter, Henri le Rus, and Peris Adam - are names found on the short double cross sterlings. ${ }^{2}$

In the County Clare, a few years previous to 1839 , writes Mr. Lindsay, a large parcel of Scotch coins was found, comprising from to to 55 pennies of William the Lion-evidently, from Mr. Lindsay's description, of the short double cross type, as they were mostly of the Hue Walter variety and from 40 to 50 long double cross sterlings of Alexander, of which 10 had the head to the right, the remainder the head to the left. No English coins are mentioned as having been found along with these ; but, from the

[^33]the crescent and pellet type in the Dyke hoard. When Cardonnel wrote, the Henry short double cross sterlings were all attributed to Henry III. There may, however, have been some of these pieces in the Dyke find, although no mention is made of them by Cardonnel, who only saw a small portion of the coins.
${ }^{2}$ Numismatic Chronicle, 2d S. vol. v. p. 219.
locality where the find took place, English money, there can be little doubt, would be well represented. What is here most important to be observed in a hoard containing William short double cross and Alexander long double cross sterlings, is the entire absence of short double cross Alexander sterlings, showing that this coinage could not have been of great extent or of long duration. ${ }^{1}$

At Bantry, in the autumn of 1834 , along with a large number of long double cross sterlings of Henry III., several Scottish coins were found. Sainthill procured as many of the pennies of this hoard as he could, and believed that the most of them came into his hands. Of these there were 607 long double cross English sterlings of Henry III.—embracing all the varieties; 83 Irish pennies of Henry III.; I double cross penny of William the Lion, as figured in Snelling, No. I6-with the head to the right, apparently by Peris Adam of Roxburgh; io sterlings of Alexander-all with the long double cross, of which 2 had the filleted head to the right, and the remainder the crowned head to the left. Sainthill states that he subsequently obtained another specimen with the head to the right, apparently of the crowned head variety, as being of the Edinburgh mint, of which no coins with the filleted head have hitherto been published. ${ }^{2}$

On Tower Hill, London, in March 1869, in sinking a shaft for the new subway under the Thames, there were found 2 long double cross pennies of Alexander III. with the crowned head to the left, 213 long double cross pennies of Henry III., and 72 halves and ig quarters of pennies; these last, states Mr. Evans, being "literally half and quarter pennies, formed by cutting up the larger coins." ${ }^{3}$

We shall now see that such English coins as have been found along with the long single cross sterlings of Alexander III. are almost exclusively single cross sterlings of the Edwards.

At Newport, in the Isle of Wight, August 1849, 3 I long single cross sterlings of Alexander III. and 6 pennies of Baliol were found, in connection with I Henry III. sterling-hVGe ON WINahed, evidently of the long
${ }^{1}$ Lindsay's View of the Coinage of Scotlana, p. 271.
${ }^{2}$ Sainthill's Olla Podrida, vol. i. p. $124 . \quad 3$ Num. Chron. 2d Series, vol. ix. p. 247.
double cross variety, as this moneyer's name does not occur on the short Alexanders il. double cross coins of Winchester, and 2243 long single cross sterlings of the Edwards. ${ }^{1}$

About 1874, there was discovered at Ayr a small hoard of English and Scottish sterlings, of which Mr. Cochran-Patrick has given a brief account, so far as the coins passed through his hands. These comprised I82 sterlings, English and Irish, of the Edwards, 35 long single cross sterlings of Alexander III., 2 pennies of John Baliol, and 7 pennies of Robert Bruce. "It is curious," remarks Mr. Cochran-Patrick, "that all the Alexander pennies were of the long cross type and none of the double cross." Seeing that, from Mr. Cochran-Patrick's point of view, the long single cross coinage of Alexander III. had preceded the long single cross coinage of Edward I. by nearly thirty years, and that, consequently, during all this long period, the long double cross sterlings of Henry III. must be presumed to have been of concurrent issue with the long single cross sterlings of Alexander III., the wonder of Mr. Cochran-Patrick ought rather to have been that not one single English double cross sterling should have occurred in that find. ${ }^{2}$

Take, again, the Montrave hoard, ioth May 1877. That hoard, inclusive of 197 forgeries, contained 8827 sterlings of Edwards I., II., III.; 39 groats and 4 half-groats of Edward III.; 292 foreign sterlings; 242 long single cross sterlings of Alexander III.; 29 pennies of John Baliol; I2 pennies of Robert Bruce; 127 groats, 8 half-groats, and 35 pennies of David II.; but not one single long double cross sterling of Henry III. or of Alexander III., although, strange to say, in a much worn condition, there were 2 short double cross sterlings bearing the name of Henry, of the varieties ascribed by Evans respectively to John and Henry III., and I short single cross or crescent and pellet sterling of William the Lion.

This is the evidence of finds; and it effectually disposes of the assumption that from 1250 till about 1279 the long single cross sterlings of Alexander III. could have been of concurrent issue with the long double cross sterlings of Henry III.
${ }^{1}$ Num. Chron. 1st S. vol. xiii. p. 141.
${ }^{2}$ Num. Chron. 2d S. vol. xiv. p. 351.
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Alexanders II. and 1II.
Double cross controversy.

To summarise: the sterlings of David I. are found with those of Stephen ; the short single cross or crescent and pellet sterlings of William the Lion, with the short single cross sterlings of Henry II.; the short double cross sterlings of William the Lion, with the short double cross sterlings bearing the name of Henry-struck respectively, as we shall see, under Henry II., Richard I., John, and Henry III. ; the long double cross sterlings of Alexander III. with the long double cross sterlings of Henry III.; the long single cross sterlings of Alexander III. with the long single cross sterlings of Edward I.

But what are we to say of the complete absence of the short cross Alexander sterlings from these finds? In the County Clare find, more particularly, where short double cross sterlings of William the Lion and long double cross Alexander sterlings were mixed together, it might reasonably have been expected that a fair proportion of short double cross Alexander sterlings should also have been met with. From 12I4, when Alexander II. succeeded his father, to 1247, when, according to Jamieson and the others, the long double cross was introduced on Scottish coins, occupies a space of thirty-three years, during which, by general admission, the only money that could have been coined under Alexander II. was the short double cross sterlings. If, therefore, all the money struck under Alexander II. from the commencement of his reign was issued in his own name, there ought to have been considerably more of the short double cross Alexander sterlings than of the short double cross sterlings of William in the County Clare find, as being struck considerably nearer the time of its deposit. Why, then, were none of these found ? The only answer that can be given, as already suggested in connection with their absence from this hoard, is, that the short cross Alexander sterlings must have been a comparatively limited coinage, extending over a brief portion of the reign of Alexander II.; and that, consequently, such money, if any, that may have been issued during the previous and much the larger portion of his reign, must have been simply a continuation of his father's coinage, and struck with his father's name.

One important fact, bearing upon the termination of the period of issue
of these pieces, is contributed by an Alexander sterling of the long double cross variety in the Ferguslie collection, struck at Berwick-ROBQR ON BA, Fig. 77. The obverse of this coin is from the same die as the obverse controversy of a short double cross sterling of Berwick in the S.S.A. collection, Fig. 76B, showing conclusively that, whenever it may have been commenced, the Alexander short double cross sterlings had been in course of issue up to or about the time that the long double cross sterlings were introduced.

There is no reason to suppose that any long interval could have elapsed between the striking of the later short double cross sterlings with the name of William and the issue of those bearing the name of Alexander. Indeed, the later Roxburgh sterlings with the name of William, by Adam, Aimer Adam, and Peris Adam, bear a much greater resemblance, in their reduced modules, small lettering, and small inner circles, to the Roxburgh short double cross sterlings of similar modules with the name of Alexander, by Pieres, Alain Andrew, Andrew Ricard Adam, than they do to the Roxburgh short double cross sterlings of the larger modules, larger lettering, and larger inner circles, with the name of William, by Raul.

This shows that the Scottish short double cross coinage, like that of England, was a continuous coinage, commencing with the coins of larger modules and larger lettering, and terminating with those of smaller modules and smaller lettering. In the case of the English short double cross sterlings, one name only, that of Henry, occurs all through on the obverse ; in the case of the Scottish short double cross sterlings, first the name of William, and subsequently that of Alexander, appears on the obverse.

In the Eccles find, as we have seen, there were nearly 200 Scottish sterlings with the name of William on the obverse, apparently all of the short double cross type. Exclusive of such coins as, from their imperfect condition, could not be properly classified, that hoard contained 5450 short double cross Henry sterlings. These pieces, as shown by Mr. Evans in his analysis of the Eccles find, ${ }^{1}$ founding chiefly upon Mr. Longstaffe's arrangement, ${ }^{2}$ although bearing the name of Henry only, and with no change of type,

[^34]2 "Northern Evidence on the Short-Cross Question," Num. Chron. 2d S. vol. iii, pp. 162-188.

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were struck under four several reigns-under Henry II., from about 1180 to 1189 ; under Richard I., from 1189 to 1199 ; under John, from II99 to 1216; and under Henry III., from 1216 to 1247.

Of the 5450 classified Henry short double cross sterlings in the Eccles find only about 100 could be assigned respectively to the Henry II. and Richard I. periods-these were "large, well spread coins." About 2520 corresponded to the John period-"smaller coins, of neat workmanship." About 2730 were of the Henry III. period, struck chiefly after 1222, described by Evans as "smaller coins still; workmanship neat, bust placed low down in inner circle, so as hardly to show any neck"-a description answering remarkably to that portion of the short double cross sterlings with the name of William on the obverse struck at Roxburgh by Peris Adam, Adam, and Aimer Adam.

The great proportion of the English money, as contained in this find, related, it will be observed, to the reigns of John and Henry III.; showing, as remarked by Evans, "how completely the latter issues had, at the time when the hoard was deposited" (supposed by Evans to have been about 1240), "supplanted the coins struck under Henry II. and Richard 1."

The Eccles, or Manchester district, was a locality where Scottish sterlings were likely easily to penetrate. Had the Scottish short double cross sterlings, with the name of Alexander, been in issue from 1214 to 1240 they ought to have outnumbered the short double cross sterlings with the name of William, in a similar proportion to what the later varieties of the Henry short double cross sterlings in the Eccles find outnumbered the earlier Henry short double cross varieties.

How is it, then, that in all the Eccles find we do not meet with one short cross Scottish sterling with the name of Alexander, while those with the name of William are so numerously represented? Is it not evident that, just as Richard I., John, and Henry III., had continued striking their money after the latest money of Henry II.-the first two without change of name, and all three without change of type-so the moneyers of Alexander II., who was but a lad when he came to the throne, had continued striking
the money of Scotland with the name and after the latest type of William, Alexanders il. the father and the immediate predecessor of Alexander II. ?1
and III.
Double cross

In this way we can understand how it is that so much of the short controversy. double cross money with the name of William on the obverse-notably the Roxburgh sterlings of Adam, Aimer Adam, and Peris Adam, and a considerable proportion of the Hue Walter and Henri le Rus money-should so closely have corresponded in its general characteristics, and specially in its reduced modules, with the later issues of the sterlings of the Henry short double cross series.

What further strongly countenances the probability that the Alexander II. short cross coinage was not introduced until long after Alexander had succeeded his father on the throne, is the extreme rarity of the several varieties of the Alexander short cross sterlings.

To all appearance the Alexander short cross coinage was a mere stopgap, filling up the brief interval, say of some three years or so, between the termination of the short double cross money with the name of William and the commencement of the long double cross Alexander money. It is probable, at the same time, from the variety of the dies and the number of the moneyers employed upon the Alexander short cross pieces, that a considerable coinage, such as the Alexander long double cross series of sterlings afterwards became, had at first been contemplated.

With reference to the "mutatio monete" that took place in Scotland in 1247, Balfour writes-"This zeire K. Alexander, with adwisse of hes 3 estaits, altered the standard of hes coyne, in a Parliament holdin at St. Andrews." By an alteration in the standard of the money a change in the quality or the quantity of the metal contained in the coins is usually under-

[^35][^36]Alexanders II. and III.
Double cross controversy.
stood. In neither of these respects, however, has it ever been alleged that Alexander II. altered his money.

Those who hold that the "mutatio monete" of 1247, in Scotland, was the substitution of the long double for the short double cross are confronted by the clear evidence of finds, and by the passage in the Scotichronicon, under 1250, already referred to-" Hoc anno moneta Scoticana renovatur : ita ut, etc.," or as rendered by Balfour, under 1250-"This zeire, K. Alexander renewed the stampe of his coyne, making the cross to tuoche the wtermost poynte of the circkell, wich in his predicessors rainges it did not-" words plainly stating that not until I250, and under Alexander III., was the long cross substituted for the short cross on Scottish coins. Consequently, the "mutatio monete" of 1247 must have referred to some other change in the money than the prolongation of the cross to the outer circle. But the only other change in Scottish money that could have occurred under Alexander II., in 1247 or during his reign, was the placing of his own name, instead of that of his father, upon his coins. A "mutatio monete" noteworthy enough, after the many years during which the money of Alexander II. had been struck with his father's name, to have obtained some brief contemporary record.

When Henry III., in 1247, made his "mutatio monete" by extending the cross on the reverse to the extreme edge of the coin, he further, to distinguish his new money from that of his predecessors, placed the Roman numerals III., or Teroar, after his name and title. For Alexander II., the substitution of his own name, for that of his father, sufficiently distinguished his new money from that by which it had been preceded. Possibly a change in the style of the cross on the reverse, when the change of the name was made, may also have been contemplated, but had not immediately been carried out.

It is of no use quoting the earlier writers on Scottish numismatics, as Cochran-Patrick has done, as authorities on the proper attribution of the coins of the Alexanders. With little opportunity for personal observation of the coins they described, they borrowed from one another the same few pieces, on which they made their little show of learning -
pieces which are figured and described by them over and over again, and, in some important instances, by no means correctly. So far as appears and III. Double cross from their writings they were literally groping in the dark, and they do controversy. not seem to have been acquainted even with the scanty references in the early Scottish Chronicles to the changes in the coinage.

At a later period, when the Dyke find had made collectors of Scottish coins tolerably familiar with the crescent and pellet or short single cross sterlings of William the Lion, and when the brief references in the early Scottish Chronicles to the changes in the coinage began to be quoted, it came to be hinted, rather than distinctly asserted, that the extension of the cross to the edge of the coin, mentioned in the Chronicles under 1250, was simply an extension of the old short single cross, as shown on the crescent and pellet coinages.
"In confirmation of this view," observes Cochran-Patrick, by whom, after having been buried for some thirty years, it has been resuscitated, "it may be noted that the author" (rather the continuator) "of the Scotichronicon uses the word crux to express the long single cross on the reverse of the coinage of 1250 , whilst Matthew of Paris, describing the change from the short to the long double cross type, uses the words crux duplicata." ${ }^{1}$

It is indeed fortunate, although only natural, that Matthew of Parisa contemporary writer, who died in 1259 -in chronicling the change from the short to the long cross on the English coinage, should have been so precise in his phraseology as to have employed the term crux duplicata. The double cross was the only style of cross on the reverse of English money in his day, and it was in ordinary course that he should use the expression crux duplicata. But the Abbot Bower, the continuator of the Scotichronicon, writing in the reign of James I., when the crux duplicata had long passed away from the Scottish coinage, sufficiently defined his meaning when he stated simply that the cross which formerly extended only to the inner circle was now extended to the extreme edge of the coin. It is very doubtful indeed if the short single cross sterlings of William the

[^37]Alexanders II. Lion were known to Bower any more than they were to Nicolson, Anderand III. Double cross controversy.
son, Wise, and Snelling.

This is by the way; for, after all, such play upon words has very little to do with the matter.

Less fortunate than English numismatists, who possess much, comparatively, of contemporary record to guide them in the study of the early coinage of their country, we in Scotland have had little to assist us but such information as can be drawn from the coins themselves, and from such scanty notices of finds of early Scottish and English coins as have been published.

The conclusions, from what has been here stated in connection with the coinage of the Alexanders II. and III. period, appear to me to be (r), That Alexander II., like his English contemporaries, struck his money with his father's name and type up to 1247 ; (2) That, without change of type, but with change of name only from William to Alexander, this money was continued up to 1250 ; (3) That, from 1250 till about 1279 , the long double cross coins of Alexander were struck ; (4) That the long single cross money of Alexander was introduced about $\mathbf{1 2 7 9}$, or shortly after the corresponding change on the English coinage. ${ }^{1}$

[^38]that of Alexander III. began. Even, therefore, if the type had been promptly imitated in Scotland, Alexander II. would have had but little more than a year in which to strike such coins, while Alexander III. would have had thirty. The Chronicle of Melrose records an alteration of the coinage in 1247, while the continuator of Fordoun records one in 1250 . It appears to me that both these records may refer to one and the same innovation of type, the introduction of the long double cross. This is, however, hardly the place for discussing the subject in any detail."

For the passing reference to the Alexander double cross question by Mr. Evans, in his presidential address, we are indebted to the paper by Sheriff Mackenzie (Num. Chron. 3d Series, vol. i. pp. 158-161), on an Alexander penny, with the crowned head to left on the ob-

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# All with Short Double Cross-Stars of Six Points. 

## ROXBURGH

Fig. 70.
Crowned head to right, with sceptre ; ten pellets in the crown, three pellets on a stalk above, and two at each side, forming a neat crown fleurie ; large whiskers. Small lettering and small inner circles. Compare this piece with the Roxburgh sterlings with the name of William on the obverse, Figs. 69, 69A.

## I. O. ALeXSAMDER ReX <br> lk. + PIARGS ON ROGRG $19 \frac{5}{8}$ grs.

Another specimen from the same dies, obverse and reverse, in the collection of the Rev. Mr. Pollexfen, shows the M on the obverse more fully than on this sterling.
verse and the long double cross on the reverse (Lindsay's 3d coinage), attributed to Forres, which the Sheriff assigned to Alexander II., having, as he states, "long held the opinion that these long double cross pennies of the Scottish series were begun to be struck in 1247, during his reign, and that the mature portrait upon them represented the appearance of the king as he then was, a man well advanced in life." From this appearance of an old face on the coins of Lindsay's 3d long double cross coinage, the Sheriff further states: " $I$ am inclined to think that that type was the type of the original coinage in Alexander II.'s days, and being struck then and during his successor's minority, it naturally formed the great bulk of the long double cross coinage which has come down to us. Mr. Lindsay's first and second classes of the long
double cross coinage (which are comparatively so scarce) I would attribute to Alexander III., and account for them as perhaps having been but the attempts of the moneyers to strike a new and distinctive coinage for Alexander III., when he arrived at years when he might be expected to have such a new and distinctive coinage of his own ; and these attempts mav have been of short duration, and not persisted in, in consequence of the introduction of the long single cross coinage, which undoubtedly (?) forms the bulk of the third Alexander's coinage, and which presents us with the likeness of a youthful King, as Alexander III. then was."

These views accord with those of Mr. Coch-ran-Patrick, except in the inversion of the order of arrangement in which Lindsay has distributed his three classes of the long double cross coinage.

[^39]Alexander IL． （1214－1249）． Short double cross coinage． Roxburgh．

Fig． 70 A.
Crowned head to left，with sceptre ；the crown and the whiskers as the preceding ；ruder workmanship．
ェa．O．（AL） $\mathfrak{A} X S A N D \in R$ ReX
18．※ PIGR（GS）OK RO氏
20 grs ．

The legend is retrograde on the obverse．In the S．S．A．collection．

Fig． 7 I．
Crowned head to left，with sceptre；nine pellets in the fillet or belt of the crown ；a cross of four pellets above ；full whiskers；the sceptre entirely within the legendary circle；the round object before RGX is not a letter， but represents the royal hand holding the sceptre；compare with the William the Lion sterling，Fig．68．Armour upon the shoulders．

## 2．O．ALEXSANDER REXX <br> B．出 PIGRES ON ROG <br> 18 grs．

The pellets on the fillet or belt of the crown and on the cross above do not come out so clearly on this piece as on some other specimens，owing to the obverse being slightly oxidised．
and in the attributing of the first two classes and of part of the third class to Alexander III． Sheriff Mackenzie＇s ingenious speculations are， however，to be regarded as put forward rather as a theoretical attempt to reconcile difficulties than as professing to possess scientific value．

In my own observations I have been chiefly solicitous to bring together such facts as bear upon the subject，with the view of assisting others to form an opinion upon it for themselves．All are agreed that the long double cross was not introduced into the Scottish coinage carlier than 1247 or later than 1250 ．The remarkable proof afforded by the two Alexander Berwick pennies， Figs．76B and 77，struck from one common ob－ verse die，but the one with the short and the other with the long double cross on the reverse，
conclusively shows that the Alexander short double cross money had been in process of issue up to the introduction of the Alexander long double cross coinage．On the other hand，the Alexander short double cross coinage could scarcely have been of long duration．While，therefore，it is quite possible，as suggested by Mr．Evans，that the records of 1247 and 1250 may both have related to one and the same innovation of type （the introduction of the long double cross coinage）， it seems more in consonance with the facts to regard the record of 1247 as referring to the superseding of the William by the Alexander short double cross money，and the record of 1250 as referring to the superseding of the Alexander short double cross by the Alexander long double cross money．

Fig. 72.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre; the same style of crown as on Figs. 70, 70a ; the same full whiskers, but the face larger.
3. O. ( $\operatorname{AL}$ ) $\operatorname{CXSAM}(D \in R$ ReCX)
18. $x^{\text {f PIGRGS }} \mathrm{O}$ (N ROC) $21 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

The inscriptions, as above given, have been supplemented from those of two other specimens, respectively in the collections of the Rev. Mr. Pollexfen and the British Museum. The B.M. specimen is autotyped, Pl. I. 7, of Cochran-Patrick's Records of the Coinage of Scotland. A similar piece is figured, Lindsay, Pl. III. 50, No. Iog of the Descriptive Catalogue, but represented by mistake as reading on the reverse PIGReGS ON RX.

Fig. ${ }^{2 \mathrm{AA}}$.
Crowned head to right, with sceptre ; eight pellets in the crown ; three pellets above in fleur-de-lis form on the centre, and one at each end.
3a. O. ALAXSANDER REX
R. 出 ANDRV•RIOAR • ADAM OK RO [24 grs.

In the Cochran-Patrick, and, from the same dies, in the B.M. collection. ${ }^{1}$
Fig. 73.
Crowned head to right, with sceptre, as Fig. 72A, but with a lis to the front of the crown and not on the centre.

I have met with no other specimen of this piece.
Fig. 74.
Crowned head to right, with sceptre ; seven pellets in the fillet or belt of the crown, none above ; full whiskers; drapery encircling the neck.
5. O. AL(A)X(S)ANDGR ReX 1k. w ALAIN ANDReV ON R $20 \frac{1}{8}$ grs.

The R at the end of the legend on the reverse is in monogram with the N in ON . I have seen only one other specimen of this piece.
${ }_{1}$ The B.M. specimen is figured, L., PI. III. 49, and in Cochran-Patrick's Records of the Coinage of Scotland, PI. I. 8.

Alexander II.
(1214-1249). Short double cross coinage. Roxburgh.

Fig. 75.
Head to left, uncrowned; no sceptre; large whiskers. 6. O. ALEXSANDEREX B. A ALAIN: ANDRV ON RO $21 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

The R in RO, as on the last piece, is in monogram with the N. Two other specimens-of which one has ONR on reverse-are in the S.S.A. collection; all three are from the same obverse die. The lettering on the obverse of these coins is of a sharper and more angular character than on the reverses.

All the Roxburgh short double cross Alexander sterlings that I have seen have an $S$ in ALEXSANDER ; this is a peculiarity, confined apparently to the Roxburgh sterlings.

## BERWICK.

Figs. 76, 76A.
Head to right, with sceptre; a close cap or crown, with scroll ornaments ; large whiskers covering the whole cheek. Small lettering; small inner circles as on the later Roxburgh sterlings with the name of William on the obverse, but probably struck under Alexander II. Roman M as on all the Alexander pennies, whether of the short or of the long cross type.
7. O. $\mathbb{A}(L G) X N D G R$ RGX $l_{k}$. + WALE RO(B ON) $B \in(R)$ i $8 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

7a. O. (ALAX)ANDGR ReX Ik. $+\mathrm{W}(\mathbb{A L} R) \mathrm{OB}$ ON Betr $17 \frac{3}{5}$ grs.
The coin No. 7, Fig. 76, is from the Martin and the Marquis of Hastings cabinets. It is figured in Lindsay, Pl. III. 48, but without any letters given of the name of the mint, of which only the lower portions of BE are recognisable on the coin. Fortunately the other specimen, No. $7 a$, Fig. 76A, in the S.S.A. collection, shows the letters ON BGR very distinctly, so that no doubt can exist respecting the correct attribution of these pieces.

The short double cross Alexander sterling described below, Fig. 76b, figured in Anderson, P1. CLVII. 2, and copied by Wise and Snelling, formerly in the Advocates' and now in the S.S.A. collection, also belongs
to Berwick. It is the piece previously referred to as having its obverse Alexander II. from the same die as the long double cross Alexander sterling of Berwick in the Ferguslie collection, reading on the reverse ROBGR ON BG, No. I, cross coinage Fig. 77. Possibly the coin, Fig. 76 B, may represent the earliest coinage of Berwick. Alexander III.

Fig. 76в.
Head to right, with sceptre ; a close cap or crown, with scroll ornaments ; no whiskers; small lettering.

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7b. O. & ILEXANDER REX
Rk. + WALG ROB ON BGR 2I grs.
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As on the short cross sterling, Fig. 76, only the lower portions of the letters of the name of the mint are visible on this piece. It has thus happened that, while two short double cross Alexander II. sterlings of Berwick have previously been figured in numismatic works, no short cross coins of Alexander have hitherto been recognised as belonging to Berwick.

WALE ROB we need have no difficulty in accepting as representing WALTER ROBGRT, more especially as the name of ROBGRT appears singly as a moneyer on the Berwick long double cross sterling No. r, Fig. 77 , struck from the same obverse die as the short double cross sterlings, Fig. 76b, with WALE ROB. The name of WALTER also appears singly on the reverses of some of the long double cross sterlings of Berwick.

The short double cross sterlings of Berwick are extremely rare. Save the three coins above described, I have not met with any that can be attributed with certainty to Berwick.

## UNDETERMINED MINTS.

Among the sterlings with undetermined mints, the most notable is a unique piece in the B.M. collection, figured in Lindsay, Pl. III. 47, and Cochran-Patrick, Pl. I. 9. I have not had the opportunity of personally inspecting the coin ; but the autotype, Fig. 75A, gives a very good representation of it. The type of the obverse may be described as a filleted beardless head, with sceptre, to left.

Alexander II. (1214-1249).
Short double cross coinage. Undetermined mints.

Fig. 75A.
7c. O. A ALAXANDER REX
Ik. W WLL氏(MVS ?) hAWLS, RAWLS, or KAWLS $\} \quad 21 \frac{1}{5}$ grs.
The two letters before $\hbar A, R A$, or $K A$ on the reverse seem rather to be VS than $O N$; the letter L in $h \neq W L S, R A W L S$, or KAWLS, is stamped over an $h$. In connection with this piece I have again very carefully examined the inscription on the reverse of the David I. sterling in the S.S.A. collection, Fig. 6B, on which the first two letters of the name of the mint are $n \pi$; but I do not think that the third letter of the name of the mint on that coin can be a W. I can make nothing of nAWLS, or of RAWLS ; but KAWLS might possibly represent Kelso, a very likely place for a mint.

With a beardless head, partly filleted, with sceptre, to right, a short double cross Alexander sterling, apparently without the name of the mint, in the S.S.A. collection, Fig. 75 B , is inscribed on the reverse WILAM : IOhAN • ON. The L in WIL on this piece has the foot stroke at such an acute angle as to be with difficulty recognised as an $L$, but it is the same $L$, as in ALAXANDER on the obverse. Another short double cross Alexander sterling, in the Kermack Ford collection, Fig. 75 C , ${ }^{\text {I }}$ of very neat execution -with beardless (?) head, crown of pearls, and sceptre to right-shows on the reverse IOHAN ON, but unfortunately the remainder of the inscription is completely obliterated. It is more likely that these two pieces belong to Berwick than to Roxburgh, as we have long double cross coins of Berwick with WILAM and IOhAN respectively as moneyers.

Glexander Exy.
Succeeded his Father, Alexander il., 8th July 1249, in the 8th Year of his Age; killed, 16th March i285-6.

Long Double Cross Series-Stars of Six Points.
My reasons for placing all the long double cross pieces under Alexander III. have been already stated. It is a singular circumstance, not ${ }^{1}$ This unique piece is now in the Ferguslie cabinet.
hitherto noticed, I believe, that on none of the sterlings with the long double Alexander III. cross has the face whiskers.
(1249-1285-6).
Long double

In the only instance known to me of a long double cross sterling having cross coinage. its obverse struck from the same die as a short double cross sterling (as already referred to in connection with the Berwick sterling of Alexander II., Fig. 768), the head is without whiskers, suggesting that the short double cross Alexander sterlings, with the whiskerless head, may probably have been issued under Alexander III. It is not mentioned in the Scotichronicon at what time in 1250 the cross on the Scottish money was extended to the edge of the coin. The year then extended to the 24 th March of what we would now call 125 I , allowing ample time for short cross sterlings to have been struck under Alexander III. previous to the introduction of the long double cross money.

On the other hand, on that portion of the Henry short cross coinage assigned to Henry III. (Evans, Class V.), the head is always bearded, just as on the coins ascribed to John, his father (Evans, Classes III. and IV.), notwithstanding that Henry III. on his accession in I2 16 was only in his tenth year.

The Scotch, however, may have been more particular than the English in some matters of detail. They certainly were so, as we have already seen, in the manner of representing the crown fleurie, having adopted the bifoil form of displaying the fleurs-de-lis at the sides of the crown as early as on the short double cross sterlings with the name of William. Possibly, therefore, on the coming to the Scottish throne of a young king in his eighth year, it may well have been thought that the heavy whiskers, which formed so striking a feature on the portrait of the father's coins, were out of place on those of the son. If ever there was a real portrait on early Scottish coins, it was surely that of the heavy-whiskered, most masculine head on the Roxburgh short double cross sterlings of Alexander II. The Berwick short double cross sterlings, which show a more conventional style of head, appear to have been of later issue than those of Roxburgh.

The long double cross sterlings of Alexander III. are distributed by Lindsay into three coinages, according to the style of head; (I) Those

Alexander III (1249-1285-6). Long double cross coinage.
with bare, or rather filleted, head to right, regarded by Lindsay as the first coinage; (2) Those with crowned head to right, regarded as the second coinage ; and (3) Those with crowned head to left, regarded as the third coinage.

This arrangement has generally been accepted by collectors. It is simple enough, affording an easy system of classification. It is not so very certain, however, that the long double cross sterlings of Alexander III. were actually struck in this way, so far as the three several varieties of head can be considered as constituting distinctly consecutive coinages.

Certain of the long double cross sterlings with the crowned head to left, more particularly those of Berwick with the lettering the same as on the short double cross coinages, must, it is evident, have been of very early issue. Indeed, were there no sterlings with the head to right of the long double cross series, the sterlings with the crowned head to left of the several mints would amply suffice to fill up the whole gap between the short double cross and the long single cross coinages. All the varieties of lettering, as represented on the sterlings with the filleted head to right, and with the crowned head to right, are met with on those with the crowned head to left.

In the following arrangement of the long double cross coinages of Alexander III., my object has been to show the correspondence of the several varieties with each other in regard to lettering and other respects.

Taking the letter X as the crucial or key letter, with which the other letters, notably the $\mathbb{A}$, more or less correspond, it will be found that certain of the long double cross sterlings with the filleted head to right, and also certain of those with the crowned head to left, present a plain style of $X$, with a plain A with equal sides as on the Alexander short double cross sterlings.

Subsequently to the issue of these pieces with the plain X and the plain A with equal sides, it would appear that certain sterlings were struck with the crowned head to right, having a plain X and a plain A , with the left side oblique and frequently coming to a rather sharp point at the top. This seems to have been a general coinage, as one particular style of head and lettering is common to several mints; but it may not have been of long continuance, for individual specimens are very rare.

The same lettering as occurs on these last pieces with the crowned head to right is met with on some of the sterlings with the filleted head to right, and also on some of those with the crowned head to left.
(1249-1285-6).
Long double
cross coinage.
On certain other of the sterlings with the filleted head to right, apparently the latest issues of this variety, and on certain of the sterlings with the crowned head to left, we find a highly florid style of X , with twisted ends, presenting very much the appearance of the cross-bones on the pirate's flag. This X is usually accompanied by a highly florid and very broad style of A.

Some of the sterlings with the crowned head to left, probably of later issue than the preceding, have an X with rounded ends, accompanied by a broad oblique style of A. This seems to have been an intermediate kind of lettering.

On certain other of the sterlings with the crowned head to left we have an X with square ends, with the limbs slightly curved, having a general resemblance to a curule chair. This X is accompanied by a plain oblique A , not so broad as the preceding. As this style of X is very much the same as the X on the long single cross sterlings of Alexander III., it is probable that it may have been the latest style of X on the long double cross issues.

For the convenience of description I have classified these several varieties of lettering as follows :-
I. Plain X and plain A .
II. Plain X and sharp oblique A .
III. Florid X and florid A .
IV. Rounded X and broad oblique A .
V. Curule chair-shaped X and medium oblique A .

The sceptre-head on the long double cross sterlings is a cross pommée; sometimes very neatly arranged, and with the character unmistakeable; but in other instances, where the two side pellets are placed close to the shaft and the distance of the under pellet from the upper is not properly preserved, the sceptre-head assumes rather the appearance of a fleur-de-lis. Considerable minute variety is displayed in the ornamentation of the crown vol. r.
and in the arrangement of the hair, but not requiring particular mention unless in special instances.

Four stars of six points are in each quarter of the cross on the reverse.

## BERWICK.

## I. Plain X and A.

Fig. 77.
Head to right, with sceptre ; a close cap or crown, with scroll ornaments : the obverse is from the same die as the short cross Alexander sterling, Fig. 76 в.
I. O. $\pm$ ALGXANDer RexX
B. ROBGR ON BG 22 grs.

The lettering on the reverse of this coin is larger than on the obverse, and the stems are slightly more pointed. The proper reverse for this obverse is that of Fig. 76 B , with the small straight lettering exactly as on the obverse. The cross pommée of the sceptre-head, which as usual is entirely within the legendary circle, is here placed slightly awry, a circumstance to be particularly noticed in connection with the two following sterlings, also with the head to right.

A peculiar interest attaches to this piece: the cap, or crown, with its curious row of scroll ornaments along the top, better exhibited on Fig. 76b, corresponds with that on the head of the principal figure on a large sculptured stone in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

This stone-apparently the upper portion of a rounded arch-was found many years ago in the bed of the Water of May, immediately under the Holy Hill of Forteviot, on which hill, within a hundred years ago, existed remains of an ancient palace, popularly supposed to have been erected by Malcolm Canmore, or by some of his more immediate successors. In a paper entitled "Observations on Forteviot, the Site of the Ancient Capital of Scotland," Dr. W. F. Skene, referring to this stone, remarks that "it has every appearance of having formed a part of the ancient palace, probably the top of the gateway. The sculpture is very
rudely executed in bas-relief, and has apparently been done in the eleventh or twelfth century." ${ }^{1}$ About the middle of the thirteenth century would probably have been nearer the period; the correspondence of the headdress with that on this coin pointing to the conclusion that the royal per-

Alexander III. (1249-1285-6). Long double cross coinage. Berwick. sonage represented on the stone was Alexander II. or III.

Figs. 78, 79.
Filleted head to right, with sceptre ; the fillet or crown rendered by two lines.

| LEXAMDER REXX | I. WAL ROB OK Ber : |
| :---: | :---: |
| 3. 0. + ALGXAMDGR RGXX | R. ROBGRT ON BG |

The obverses of these two pieces, although very similar in appearance, are not from the same die ; but both have evidently been copied, with modifications, from the obverse of the sterling No. r. The cross pommée sceptrehead which on No. 1, besides being placed awry or saltirewise, is separated from the body of the sceptre by the inner circle, has been replaced on Nos. 2, 3, by a plain cross, disposed before the inscription saltirewise, immediately above the sceptre, but quite detached from it; while what was the initial cross before the legend on No. I has been retained, but converted into a second X in ReX. Except on the pieces above described, and on the two following, I am not aware of a single instance where a cross occurs before the inscription on the obverse of a long double cross sterling. It is rarely met with before the inscription on the obverse even on the short double cross sterlings of Alexander II. This renders it all the more probable that the obverse of the sterling No. I, although not copied servilely, served as a model for the obverses of the sterlings Nos. 2, 3 .

The double name-WAL ROB-on the reverse of No. 2, further connects the two long double cross sterlings Nos. 2, 3, with the Berwick short double cross sterlings. The two pieces Nos. $\mathrm{I}, 2$ have never before been published. They formed part of the very valuable collection of Mr. Thomas

[^40]Alexander III. Gray of Glasgow, which, as previously mentioned, was incorporated in the (1249-1285-6). Long double cross coinage. Berwick. Ferguslie collection. The sterling No. 3 was purchased at the Wingate sale, and is figured in Wingate, ist Sup. Pl. I. 8. Each of these three pieces appears to be unique. Lindsay was unacquainted with any of them, or with any similar coins connected with Berwick. The sterlings Nos. 2, 3 are the only Alexander pennies with the filleted head, so far as has come under my notice, where the fillet is expressed by two lines.

Figs. 80, 81.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre ; low flat crown.
4. $0 . \times \pi L E X \pi N D E R: R E X \because \cdot$
Mr. IOnAN ON Betr: $\quad$ i $9 \frac{3}{4}$ grs.
5. O. $\times$ TLEXTNDGR RGX
R. IOh $\pi$ K OK Ber
$22 \frac{3}{4}$ grs.

On these two pieces the saltire cross above the sceptre-handle, although still quite detached from the sceptre, may be regarded as serving the twofold purpose of an initial cross before the inscription and of a sceptre-head. No. 4 exhibits a cross of five pellets at the end of the inscription on the obverse, apparently as a substitute for the second X in ReAX, as exhibited on Nos. 2, 3. The fact of the saltire cross occurring above the sceptre on the sterlings with the filleted head to right, Nos. 2, 3, and on the sterlings with the crowned head to left, Nos. 4, 5, closely connects these two varieties of head. It would seem as if, while Walter Robert, and Robert singly, were striking money with the filleted head to right, John was striking coins with the crowned head to left. Possibly John's name may yet be met with on some of the Berwick long double cross sterlings with the filleted head to right, just as Walter's name is found singly on some of the long double cross sterlings with the crowned head to left.

Figs. 82, 83 .
The same type as the above.
6. O. ALEXANDGR RX

1. IOnAN ON BGR:
$24 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.
2. 0. ALeXXANDGR ReX:
R. IOhAN ON BGR $\quad 25 \frac{1}{8}$ grs.

Here the saltire cross above the sceptre is replaced by a very neat Alexander III. cross pommée forming properly the sceptre-head.
(1249-1285-6). Long double cross coinage. Berwick.

The same type as the last.
8. O. ALUXANDGR ReX
B. WALTER ON BER
$22 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.
9. Do.: a pellet on the centre of the N ; the inscription on the reverse differently distributed,
$22 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

## Fig. 84A.

Obverse: as the above, but with a peculiarly formed sceptre-head. Reverse : mullets, instead of stars, in the quarters of the cross.

9a. O. ALEXANDER REX

1. WALTER ON BERV $18 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.

In the Pollexfen collection.
Fig. 84b.
As the last, but with a different style of head, the crown not so flat, and the sceptre-head of the regular form.
9b. O. TLEXAンDE REX
1k. ADE ON BER
19 grs.

In the Cochran-Patrick collection; figured Num. Chron. N.S. vol. xii. Pl. XI. 5, but incorrectly, the hair being represented as plaited, instead of as formed by rows of pellets, and with the fleurs-de-lis of the crown omitted.

The head as represented on the sterlings in this group, Nos. 4 to $9 a$, appears to be peculiar to Berwick, and to be confined apparently to the moneyers Walter and John. On certain pieces this head presents a remarkably old-looking appearance, which has led some to regard it as that of Alexander II. But this king was only fifty-two years old when he died, an age when most men are in their prime; while, on some of these coins, the head has such a very venerable look that it might well have served for the effigy of the grandfather of Alexander II., had he then been alive. It does not seem that those who engraved the dies for these early coins were always very particular as to the comparative appearance of youth or age that they gave to the heads.

Alexander 111. (1249-1285-6). Long double cross coinage. Berwick.

The following two pieces, while closely allied to the above, and evidently of corresponding issue-having the same lettering, the same low flat crown and long flowing locks-display a much more youthful style of head. The moneyer's name on both is the same as on the two sterlings, Nos. 8, 9.

Fig. 86.
1 0. O. ALEXAND(ER R) $A X$
R. WAL(TGR) ON BGR

24 grs.
The inscriptions on this piece, which are somewhat defective, have been here supplemented from similar specimens in other collections.

Fig. 87.

1. O. ALEXANDER (REX)
B. WALTGR ON BGR 22 grs.

The inscription on the reverse of this coin is retrograde-a very rare occurrence on the long double cross sterlings, and which I have not observed except on a few sterlings of Berwick by this same moneyer.

The following coins, also by Walter, correspond in their general characteristics with the two sterlings last described, but the crown, while in the same flat style, is differently ornamented.

Figs. 88, 88A.
12. O. ALGXANDER REX
1k. WALTER ON BER
$27 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.
12a. 0
Do.
1k. Do.
2 I grs.

On No. 12 the whole of the inscription on the obverse and the name of the mint on the reverse are retrograde; on No. i $2 a$ (in the B.M. collection) the inscriptions are entirely retrograde.

Fig. 89.
13. O. ALAXANDER REXX
R. WA(LTER) BERWIn
I 3 a. O. Do.: the same head.
B. WILL - ON BER
23 grs.

The second of these pieces, which is in the Pollexfen collection, has its reverse from the same die as the reverse of the sterling with the crowned head to right, No. 18a, Fig. 95A.

Some of the letters in the inscription on the reverse of No. 13 are off Alexander III. the coin, but, as shown by other specimens with which I have compared this piece, the correct reading is as given above. The stars on the reverses on both Nos. 13 and $13 a$ have a pellet on the centre.

From the same obverse die as the Berwick sterling, Fig. 89, a Perth sterling in the Hunterian collection, Fig. 89a, has on the reverse (RAI)NALD DE PGR ; affording the only instance that has come under my observation of the same obverse die being employed upon long double cross sterlings of different mints, other than on the coins in that remarkable group, to be afterward described, which, with one common name of moneyer, are attributed severally to Glasgow, Forres, Dunbar, and Montrose. No other Perth sterling that I have seen has this head.

The following very peculiar sterling of Berwick, in the Hunterian collection, of which I have seen no other specimen, has the fillet or belt of the crown formed by a row of six pellets, with three pellets above in fleur-de-lis form on the centre, and a pellet at each end. The head has long flowing locks.

Fig. 89в.

## 13b. O. ALEXANDER REX <br> R. WALTER BGRWIh $21 \frac{9}{10}$ grs.

The style of head on the following curious group of sterlings, as on the preceding, is peculiar to Berwick. The curls are put in entirely by rows of pellets. The stars on the reverses are very neatly formed; although on No. 16, apparently through inadvertence, the stars in the first and second quarters have seven instead of six points as usually met with.

Fig. 90.
14. O. ALEXANDER REX
15. O. ALeXXANDer Rex -
1.. IOnAN ON BGR $22 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

Fig. 91.
R. IOhAN ON BGR 20 grs.

Figs. 92, 92A.
16. O. ALGXANDer ReX
R. IOhAR • ON BGR
20 grs.
16a. 0.
Do.
R. IOHAN ON BeRR
$22 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

Alexander III. (1249-1285-6). Long double cross coinage. Berwick.

An ornamental $\mathbb{A}$ appears on the obverse of No. 14; a sharp-pointed $\AA$, with unequal sides, on the obverse of No. 15 ; and a plain $\mathbb{A}$, with equal sides, on the obverses of Nos. 16 and I6A. The sterling No. 16 is remarkable as showing the round $\Omega$ in IOh $\bar{A} \Omega$, the only instance, so far as has come under my notice, of the round $\Omega$ on sterlings of Alexander III., and probably the earliest example of this $\Omega$ on Scottish coins. ${ }^{1}$ There is a pellet on the centre of the square N in ON on No. 16, and on the centre of the N in ALEXANDER on the obverse of No. i4. The sceptre-head on the three coins Nos. I4, I5, I6, owing to the manner in which the pellets are disposed, has the appearance of being fleurie; on No. i $6 a$ (in the Pollexfen collection) the sceptre-head is a cross pommée.

The name of John does not seem to occur on any of the long double cross sterlings of Berwick on which the head is common to the sterlings of other mints. These pieces are apparently of later issue than those on which the style of head is confined to Berwick. The manner of rendering the moneyer's name—IOn $\mathbb{N}$-is also peculiar to Berwick. The only instance in which I have met with it in this form on a coin other than of Berwick, is on the Perth sterling, with crowned head to right, No. 34, Fig. 97 -figured Lindsay, Pl. III. 57, and Wingate, Pl. IV. 13, previously in the Lindsay and Wingate cabinets. ${ }^{2}$ Very possibly the John who minted at Berwick may have removed to Perth.

The following piece, with crowned head to right, has not the zigzag style of profile commonly met with on the sterlings of that type, and was probably a very early issue. The hair is arranged in long flowing locks instead of in crisp curls; and the letter $\mathbb{A}$ has the sides equal, instead of being of the sharp oblique character usual to the sterlings with crowned head to right. The sceptre-head is of the same peculiar form as on the sterling No. 9a, Fig. 84 A , with the crowned head to left.
${ }^{1}$ Since the above was in type I have received from Professor Young a tinfoil impression of a Berwick sterling in the Hunterian collection, with a similar style of head on the obverse to Fig. 89, reading on the reverse IOŋAN On BGR.

[^41]Fig. 85.

Alexander III. (1249-1285-6). Long double cross coinage. Berwick. previous readings WALE $R O B$ and WAL ROB, and seems more correct than WALTGR OON. There is, however, in the Cochran-Patrick collection, a sterling of Berwick which, with the obverse as on this piece, has WALTER ON BGR on the reverse.

## II. Plain X, Sharp Oblique A.

Figs. 95, 95A.
Crowned head to right, with sceptre; the usual zigzag profile.

| INDER REX |  | $22 \frac{1}{8} \mathrm{grs}$. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 18a. O. From the same die. | 1k. WILL - ON Berk | $22 \frac{1}{4}$ grs. |

The sterling, No. 18a, WILL•ON BerR (in the Pollexfen collection), has its reverse from the same die as the sterling No. $1_{3} a$ with the crowned head to left. The letter L in ARNALD, on No. i8, is in monogram with the $\mathcal{A}$. This piece is unique as a coin, and unique also as regards the name of the moneyer; the name of Arnald not being known to occur on any other sterling of Alexander III.

Fig. 95B.
The same type as the last.
186. O. Tle氏XANDGR ReX
Ik. ROBERT ON BER $19 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

This piece was in the Kermack Ford collection.
With the same head as the preceding, a coin is described by Lindsay, Des. Cat. 118, as reading ANDREV ON BGR, and is figured in Wingate, Sup. Pl. I. Io, with that reading, but is in fact a sterling of Roxburgh. It is the piece here figured, Fig. 96, No. 22, and has passed successively through the Dean of St. Patrick's, the Lindsay, and the Wingate collections. The first letter of the name of the mint is illegible, but the second is dis-

Alexander III. (1249-1285-6). Long double cross coinage. Berwick.
tinctly an O. A coin of Roxburgh, exactly similar with $\mathbb{A N D R E V}$ ON RO, is in Mr. Cochran-Patrick's cabinet, and is published as unique, Num. Chron. N.S. vol. xi. p. 285. ${ }^{1}$ As on no other sterling attributed to Berwick does Andrew's name appear, this name must be removed from the list of Berwick moneyers.

## III. Florid X, and florid $\mathbb{A}$.

Figs. 107, 107A.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre ; the features rendered in a rather pronounced style, in keeping with the pronounced style of the lettering.
19. O. ALUXANDER REX
R. ROBR ON BeGWIh: 23 grs.

19a. O. From the same die.
1k. ROBERT ON BEG - $22 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.
The first letter of the moneyer's name on No. 19 is in monogram with the adjoining limb of the cross, and the last letter is in monogram with the B. No. $19 a$ is in the Pollexfen collection. Some of the Berwick coins with the head as on these pieces have the sceptre-handle ornamented with saltires.
IV. Rounded X, Broad Oblique $\mathbb{A}$.

Fig. II4B.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre.
196. O. ALXANDER REX
B. (RO)BART ON B
$22 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

In the Pollexfen collection ; apparently a restruck piece.

## V. Curule Chair-shaped X, Medium Oblique A.

Figs. I 39, I 39A.
Crowned head to left with, sceptre.
20. O. ALeXXANDer Rex
18. WILL' ON BeRR

25 grs.
20a. Do.: from entirely different dies-in the B.M. collection, $26 \frac{1}{5}$ grs.
${ }^{1}$ Figured Num. Chron. N.S. vol. xii. Pl. XI. I.
2 An example of this piece, from the Kermack Ford cabinet, is now in the Ferguslie collection.

Fig. 140.
21. O. ALGXANDER REX
B. WAL ON BGRWIh

Alexander III. (1249-1285-6).
$17 \frac{1}{4}$ grs. Long double cross coinage. Berwick.

Figs. I40A, I40B.
21a. O. ALAXANDER ReX
1k. ROBGR ON BeR
20 grs.
2Ib. 0 .
Do.
1.. ROBAR'T ON BER
25 grs.

The first of these two pieces is in the B.M., the second is in the Pollexfen collection; the latter shows a plain $X$ in ALEX, but has a curule chair-shaped X in RGX.

The great importance of Berwick under Alexander III. may be estimated sufficiently from the number of its moneyers and the variety of its mintages. In addition to the names of the moneyers mentioned as above in connection with Berwick, a sterling, with crowned head to left, gives the name of NIanell ON B, figured Wingate, Pl. V. 8, now in the collection of Mr. Cochran-Patrick.

From the considerable number of early mintages peculiar to itself, it is probable that Berwick may have supplied to a large extent the monetary requirements of the whole kingdom previous to the introduction of the more general coinages on which the names of so many mints appear.

## ROXBURGH.

Among the mints of the long double cross series, that of Roxburgh may be regarded as holding an early place. No sterlings with the filleted head to right appear to be known of this mint, although possibly coins of this variety may have been struck.

Reference has been made under Berwick to certain sterlings with the crowned head to left, with mullets instead of stars in the quarters of the cross on the reverse - Nos. $9 a, 9 b$, Figs. 84A, 84B. The following two coins of Roxburgh are of this type of reverse, a type which seems to have been confined to the sterlings of the Berwick and Roxburgh mints.

THE COINAGE OF SCOTLAND.

1. Plain X and Plain $\mathbb{A}$.

Fig. 84c.
Ik. ADEC OK ROX $21 \frac{3}{4}$ grs.

In the Pollexfen collection ; represented also in the S.S.A. collection.

Fig. 84D.
2Id. O. TLEXANDER RGX
I. ADAM ON RO

20 grs.
In the B.M. collection ; the lettering on the above pieces is in the same style as on the Alexander short double cross sterlings. There can be little doubt that these coins were among the very earliest long double cross issues of Roxburgh, struck most probably by the same ADEL or ADAM whose name appears on the corresponding Berwick sterling, Fig. 84B.

The sterlings of the Roxburgh long double cross series, as represented in the Ferguslie collection, commence with the piece with the crowned head to right, Fig. 96, erroneously ascribed by Lindsay (L. Des. Cat. No. II8), and by Wingate (W. Sup. Pl. I. Io) to Berwick.

## II. Plain X, Shiarp Oblique A.

Fig. 96.
22. O. : ALEXANDER REX

1k. INDREV ON (R)O: $21 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.
This coin has the same zigzag style of profile as on the Berwick sterling, Fig. 95, No. 18. Besides the similar penny of Roxburgh in the collection of Mr. Cochran-Patrick, previously mentioned in connection with the Berwick sterling No. 18b, another sterling in the same collection, also with crowned head to right; has on the reverse $\mathbb{A D}|\mathbb{A M}| \mathrm{O} *|* \mathrm{O}|$ (ADAM ON RO), figured Num. Chron. N. S., vol. xii. Pl. XI. 2. Roxburgh is the only mint to which this coin and the sterling No. 22 can be attributed.

III. Florid X and Florid $A$.

Fig. го7в.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre.

Alexander III.
(1249-1285-6). Long double cross coinage. Roxburgh.

22a. O. ALEXANDGR RGX
In the Pollexfen collection.
R. $\overline{\text { RND }}$ REV ON RO $21 \frac{3}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.

## IV. Rounded X, Broad Oblique A.

Fig. 121.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre : peculiar head.
23. O. Alexander rex -
R. ADAM ON RO

22 grs.
24. O. From the same die.
R. RDAM : ON RO 18 grs.

The reverses of these two pieces, as also the reverse of $22 a$, belong to quite a different coinage from the obverses. The sharp oblique $\mathbb{A}$ and the other letters on the reverses correspond in character with the lettering on the reverses of the sterlings with the crowned head to right-Class II. of lettering.

Fig. 122.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre.
25. o. alexander rex

1k. ANDREV ON R $\quad 22 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.
26. O. From the same die.
R. ANDREV • ON R
$20 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.
V. Curule Chair-shaped X, Medium Oblique $\overline{\text { A. }}$

Fig. 124.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre.
27. O. Alexandear rex
R. ADAM ON RO
$20 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$.

The reverse of this piece is from the same die as the reverse of No. 23, Fig. 121.

Alexander III. (1249-1285-6). Long double cross coinage. Roxburgh.

Fig. 125.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre.
28. o. alexander rex
1k. ANDRGV ON R
$19 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.
29. O. From the same die.
B. ANDREV • ON R
$22 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.

No. 28 has its reverse from the same die as No. 25; No. 29 from the same die as No. 26.

Fig. 126.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre; from the same obverse die as Fig. 125.
30. O. Alexander rex
B. $\operatorname{ADF}\left(\mathrm{M}\right.$ ON) ROhaSb $21 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.
3I. O. From the same die.
R. Do. : differently arranged. $22 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

Considering the important position that Roxburgh occupied under Alexander II., among the short double cross sterlings, and the manner in which this mint is represented on the coins of the preceding reigns, it might have been expected that it would have held a better position than it does, in respect of the number and the variety of its coinages, on the long double cross series. Only two names of moneyers are met with on the long double cross sterlings of Roxburgh, as against seven at least on those of Berwick.

It appears highly probable, however, that the following coins, on which apparently the first letters of the name of the mint are invariably in monogram, may relate to Roxburgh. I have carefully examined all the specimens known to me, and, according to my rendering, the first two letters of the name of the mint as represented on these pieces are $M \pi$, giving, in connection with the $R$, the third letter-MAR; and, on some examples, with the addition of an $G$-MARE, possibly for Marchmont. The moneyer's name on all these coins is SIMON. Certain passages in Fordoun show that both before and after the reign of Alexander III. Marchmont was another name for Roxburgh. Of this I was not aware when, for want of a more likely attribution, I formerly expressed the opinion that Markinch, which is of considerable antiquity although of no great note, might possibly have been the place
of mintage of these pieces. Marchmont, however, is a much more probable attribution.

On the first of the following two sterlings, as shown by the illustration in the plate, Fig. 105, the letter $\mathbb{A}$ on the reverse is connected with the

Alexander III.
( $1249-1285-6$ ).
Long double
$\qquad$
cross coinage, adjoining limb of the cross, forming therewith a monogram exactly as given independently on the second coin, Fig. IO6, -m, which can scarcely be rendered otherwise than as MA. Compare with the monogrammatic M in Thomas, on the St. Andrews sterlings, No. 69, Figs. I33, I33A.

## III. Florid $X$ and Florid $A$.

Fig. 105.
Filleted head to right, with sceptre ; the fillet expressed by a single line.
32. O. ALGXANDER RGX
R. SIMON ON MAR
$19 \frac{3}{4}$ grs.

The sharp oblique $\mathcal{A}$ occurs on the reverse of this coin, as also on the reverse of Fig. 106.

Fig. 106.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre ; apparently a row of small saltires on the sceptre-handle, better shown on some other pieces with this head.
33. O. Alexander rex
B. SIMON ON MAR $20 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

On the following two sterlings, Figs. 96A, 126A, the first letter of the name of the mint is in the third quarter of the cross, apparently in monogram with the adjoining limb, forming therewith what seems to be an M ; but by some, who have not seen the sterlings Figs. 105, 106, this letter is regarded as simply an $h$. There is little reason to doubt that the coins Figs. 105, 106, 96A, 126A, all belong to the same mint, so that, if the first letter of the name of the mint is an M in the one instance it must be so in the others ; besides, the back part of the first letter of the name of the mint, as distinctly shown on Fig. 126A, is too angular to be regarded as the back of an h ; on Fig. 96A, owing to some of the letters being partly off the coin, the character of this letter does not come out distinctly.

Alexander III.
(1249-1285-6).
Long double
cross coinage.
Marchmont?

## II. Plain X, Sharp Oblique A.

Fig. 96A.
Crowned head to right, with sceptre.
33a. O. ALGXANDER RGX
R. SIMON ON MARE $19 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

In the Pollexfen collection.

## V. Curule Chair-shaped X, Medium Oblique $\mathbb{A}$.

Fig. 126A.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre.
33b. O. ALEXANDER REX Ik. SIMON ON MARE $19 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.
In the Cochran-Patrick collection; and also in the S.S.A. collection, from the same dies:

If Marchmont be accepted as a probable attribution for the coins above described, we shall then have Roxburgh represented on the coinages with the filleted head to right, and this in connection with a new name of moneyer, as also with some additions to the mintages of the other varieties of head.

Those who adopt the reading $n \mathbb{A R E}$ as the name of the mint, have Ayr. attributed the coins, Figs. 96A, I26A, to Ayr, which was constituted a royal burgh under William the Lion, and which, in old official records, I am informed, has sometimes the aspirate prefixed to its name.

## PERTH.

All three styles of head are represented on the Perth mintages.

## I. Plain X and Plain A.

Fig. 89A.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre.
33c. O. ALEXANDGR RGX Br. (RAI)NALD DE PGR $20 \frac{4}{5}$ grs.
In the Hunterian collection; from the same obverse die as the Berwick
sterling by Walter, No. 13, Fig. 89. See remarks at page 127. The style Alexander II1.
of head is peculiar to Berwick.
(1249-1285-6).
Long double
Two sterlings in the collection of Mr. Cochran-Patrick also have cross coinage. RAINALD DG PGR on the reverse, respectively with the crowned head to right, Fig. ioib, and with the crowned head to left, Fig. 103A. Both have Figs. romb, ro3a. the plain X and sharp oblique $\mathbb{\pi}$. None of the Perth sterlings seem to have the curule chair-shaped X ; at least I have not met with any.

## II. Plain X, Sharp Oblique A.

Fig. 97.
Crowned head to right, with sceptre.
34.
O. ALeXANDER REX:

1. IOhAN ON PGR
22 grs.

Fig. 98.
O. ALeXANDelr Rex :

Ik. ION ON $P(A) R T$
20 grs.

Figs. 99, 99A.
36. O. ALeXANDER REX •
B. ION CO ON PERR $17 \frac{3}{4}$ grs.

36a. O. From the same die.
R. ION $C O:$ ON PerR $20 \frac{3}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.

No. $36 a$ is from the Kermack Ford collection. The lettering on the obverse of No. 34 very much resembles the lettering on the last described of the Berwick pieces with IOn $\mathbb{N N}$ on the reverse. As IOhAN'S name does not occur on any Berwick sterlings of a later mintage than Figs. 91, $92,92 \mathrm{~A}$, it is the more probable that IOhAN, as previously suggested, may have removed from Berwick to Perth. The IOhAN whose name appears alone on the Perth sterlings, Nos. 34,35 , was presumably the same person whose name occurs in connection with that of CORIN on Nos. $36,36 a$, and the following sterlings of Perth.

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THE COINAGE OF SCOTLAND.
1il. Florid $X$ and Florid $\pi$.

Alexander III. (1249-1285-6). Long double cross coinage. Perth.

Filleted head to right, with sceptre ; the fillet expressed by a single line.
O. ALGXAMDefr Rex
1k. ION $\alpha O R I N$ ON P
$22 \frac{1}{8} \mathrm{grs}$.

37a. 0. ALXAMDGR Re氏X
B. Do.

21 grs.
The second of these pieces is from the Kermack Ford collection, and has a plain $X$ in connection with the florid $\mathbb{A}$, a very unusual circumstance.

Fig. III.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre.
38.
o. ALEXANDER REXX
P. ION OORIN ON P 19 grs.

Figs. II2, II2A.
39. O. ALEXANDER REX

Ik. ION OORIN ON P $22 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.
39a. O. Do. : from a different die.
R. ION ORIN (ON PG)R
$21 \frac{1}{5}$ grs.
The second of these pieces is in the B.M. collection ; the X in ReXX on the first piece partakes very much of the rounded character.

## IV. Rounded X, Broad Oblique A.

Fig. II3.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre.
40. O. TLAXANDER REX

4I. O. ALGXANDGR ReX
Fig. 114.

$$
\text { R. ION CORIN ON P } 22 \frac{1}{2} \text { grs. }
$$

ABERDEEN.
All three styles of head occur on the long double cross mintages of Aberdeen.

## I. Plain X and Plain $\mathbb{A}$.

Fig. 92в.
Filleted head to right, with sceptre; a single line in the fillet.
4Ia. O. ALGXANDGR RGX
R. ION ON ABG
$24 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

In the Guthrie Lornie collection.
This is a unique and hitherto unpublished sterling; it has the same style of head and lettering as on the Glasgow sterlings of the same coinage by Walter, Figs. 92C, 92D, 92E.

## II. Plain X, Sharp Oblique A.

Figs. 93, 93A.
Filleted head to right, with sceptre; the fillet expressed by a single line.
42. O. ALGXANDGR REX
K. ANDREGV BS ON AB 22 grs.
42a. From the same dies.

The coin Fig. 93A is in the S.S.A. collection, and is figured here for illustration, as showing the type of obverse better than the specimen Fig. 93, in the Ferguslie collection. Each supplements what is defective of the inscription on the reverse of the other. The letter $D$ in the first quarter on the reverses encroaches upon the open space between the two lines of the cross, and this occurs also with the B in BS in the next segment. The letters $Q V$ are in monogram, better shown on the specimen Fig. 93. The R in ANDRGV resembles a B, but there can be little doubt that it is an R , formed as the letter R not unfrequently is on long double cross sterlings. The limb of the cross adjoining the $S$ is perhaps to be regarded as representing an $I$, in which case the reading would be ANDREVV BIS ON AB. Why the word BIS, if used in the numeral sense, should be here employed is not very evident, for Andrew's name has not hitherto been known as a moneyer of Aberdeen. A nother specimen of this sterling is in the collection

Alexander III. (1249-1285-6) Long double cross coinage. Aberdeen.
of Mr. Cochran-Patrick. The coin in the Ferguslie cabinet, although the poorest of the three examples, is the only one that gives the name of the mint. The S.S.A. specimen was purchased along with three sterlings of Aberdeen, with the crowned head to left, believed to have been found with it.

Fig. 100.
Crowned head to right, with sceptre.
43. O. ALEXANDER REX : :

1k. RAINALD ON ABE
$22 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.

Fig. 101.
44. O. Alexander rex

1k. RAINALD ON ABG
23 grs.
III. Florid X and Florid $\mathbb{A}$.

Fig. rog.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre.
45.

1k. ALISAND' ON AB 22 grs.
A sharp oblique $\mathbb{A}$ occurs on the reverse of this and of the following piece.

The same obverse die as the above.-Fig. iro.
46.
0. ALeXXANDER REXX
B. ALISAND • ON A
22 grs.

## IV. Rounded X, Broad Oblique $A$.

Fig. II5A.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre.
46a. O. ALeXANDER RGX -
R. $\operatorname{ALISAND}$ ' ON $\overline{A B}$ - $\quad 19 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

In the Pollexfen collection ; this piece has the narrow oblique $\bar{A}$ on the reverse.

# V. Curule Chair-shaped X, Medium Oblique A. 

Fig. 135.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre.
47.
o. alexander rex
B. ALEX ON ABIRD

Alexander I1I.
(1249-1285-6).
Long double cross coinage. Aberdeen.

The same obverse die as the last.-Fig. r 36 .
48. O. ALGXANDER REX
R. ION ON • $\overline{\text { RBGRD }}$

23 grs.
Owing to its being more sharply struck, the obverse of No. 47 presents a slightly different appearance from that of No. 48, but the same die has unquestionably been used for both coins.

The same reverse die as Fig. I35.-Fig. 137.
49.
0. aleaxander rex -

Br. ALGX ON ABIRD
23 grs.
Fig. I38.
50. O. ALEXANDER RGX • Ik. ION ON • ABGRD 23 grs.

The obverse of this piece is from the same die as the last, and the reverse is from the same die as Fig. I 36. A sterling with ALISAND • ON $\mathbb{A}$, in the S.S.A. and Pollexfen collections, has its obverse from the same die as Nos. 49, 50.

Aberdeen, Berwick, Roxburgh, and Edinburgh, afford instances of two different moneyers of the same mint using the same obverse dies.

In connection with Aberdeen it is proper to state that Lindsay's attributions to this mint are, for the greater part, entirely erroneous.

Of the four coins with the filleted head to right ("Bare head to its left," according to Lindsay), attributed by Lindsay to Aberdeen, the first piece, L. Des. Cat. irio, which is represented as reading on the reverse SIMON ON $\overline{A B}$, is the sterling in the Ferguslie collection described under Roxburgh (Marchmont), Fig. 105, page I35, belonging to that remarkable monogrammatic group with the first letter of the name of the mint in monogram either with the next letter, or with the adjoining limb of the cross, or with both. In connection with the remarks made by me on page I 35 , I may here call

Alexander III. (I249-1285-6). Long double cross coinage. Aberdeen.
attention to the manner in which the top line of the $\mathbb{K}$, as shown on Fig. 105, is extended to the cross, forming with it a monogram of precisely the same character as that on the sterling of the same mint, by the same moneyer, Fig. io6. The third letter of the name of the mint on both coins is undoubtedly an $R$, and is rendered as such on Lindsay's own illustration of the former piece, L. Pl. III. 5 I ; but unfortunately the extension of the line above the $\mathbb{A}$ to the cross as shown on that coin has been wholly ignored, having apparently been regarded as simply a flaw. The same coin is figured also in Wingate, Pl. IV. 8, where the letter R is made to resemble a B , according to Wingate's practice of accommodating the inscriptions on the coins delineated by him to his own ideas of what they were meant to be, or ought to have been.

The next piece attributed by Lindsay to Aberdeen, L. Des. Cat. No. III, is represented as reading on the reverse WALTGR ON $\mathbb{A}$, but by a reference to his own illustration of the coin, L. Pl. III. 52, it will be seen that Lindsay himself was by no means certain that the final letter of the inscription on the reverse was an $\mathbb{A}$. His illustration has been taken from a sterling in the British Museum, here figured 92C, showing the reading WALTER ON G, with the letter G of a peculiarly doubled-up character, not unlike an $\mathbb{A}$ or an $G$, but precisely as on the sterling from the same obverse die, Fig. 92D, in the collection of the Rev. Mr. Pollexfen, reading on the reverse WALTGR ON GL.

Neither of the two remaining coins, with the filleted head to right, ascribed by Lindsay to Aberdeen, L. Des. Cat. Nos. II2, II3-represented respectively as reading ROBERT ON $A B E$ and ROBERT ON $\mathbb{A B}$-are known to be contained in any collection, public or private. Nor are any long double cross sterlings with the crowned head to left, bearing the inscriptions WALTER ON $\mathbb{A} B \in$ and WILAM ON $A B$, as described in L. Des. Cat. Nos. 126, 127, to be found in any collections of Scottish coins. The references given by Lindsay for his Nos. I12, I26, and 127, are to the "late Dean of St. Patrick's" collection, and for his No. II3 to a sterling in his own cabinet. This last piece, it may be mentioned, does not appear in the sale catalogue of the Lindsay collection. The Dean of St. Patrick's
coins were sold at Sotheby's, in June and July 1842 ; unfortunately no Alexander III. names of mints were stated in connection with any of the Scottish coins in the sale catalogue.

Robert, Walter, and William, the names of the moneyers on these alleged sterlings of Aberdeen, are all names of moneyers connected with the Berwick mint ; Robert's name being found on Berwick sterlings with the filleted head to right, and the names of Walter and William on Berwick sterlings with the crowned head to left. In the absence of any known coins of Aberdeen bearing these names, and in view of the circumstance that the references to the coins in the late Dean of St. Patrick's cabinet had been made some years previously to the publication of Lindsay's View of the Coinage of Scotland in 1845 , it is natural to suppose that some mistake may have occurred in the rendering or in the transcription of the legends on these pieces, and that for ROBGRT ON $\mathbb{\pi} B \in$, WALTER ON $A B E$, and WILAM ON AB, we ought to read respectively ROBGRT ON BE, WALTER ON BK, and WILAM ON B.

For the present, at least, the names of Simon, Robert, Walter, and William, cannot be accepted as moneyers of Aberdeen in connection with the Alexander III. long double cross mintages.

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STERLINGS ATTRIBUTED TO GLASGOW, FORRES, DUNBAR, AND MONTROSE.
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## I. Plain $X$ and Plain $A$.

Figs. 92C, 92D, 92E.
Filleted head to right, with sceptre; a single line in the fillet.
50a. O. ALEXANDER •REX B. WALTER ON G $22 \frac{1}{10}$ grs.
50b. O. From the same die.
1k. WALTER ON GL $22 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.
50c. O. Do.
B. WALTER ON GLA $20 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

The greater fulness with which the name of the mint is given on the third of these pieces leaves no doubt respecting the correct reading of the

Sterlings attributed to Glasgow, Forres, Dunbar, Montrose.

Alexander I11. ( $\mathbf{1 2 4 9 - 1} 285-6$ ). Long double cross coinage. Sterlings attributed to Glasgow, Forres, Dunbar, Montrose.
name on the two other sterlings. No. $50 a$ is in the B.M. collection, Nos. $50 b^{1}$ and $50 c$ are in the Pollexfen collection; the obverse of No. $50 c$ is unfortunately very much rubbed. The letter $\mathbb{A}$ on the reverses is chiefly of the sharp oblique character.

We now come to the consideration of a very remarkable group of sterlings, relating to at least four different mints, all worked by one and the same moneyer, and with the same obverse die in some instances used for all four mints.

## II. Plain X, Sharp Oblique A.

Fig. 102.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre; the same zigzag profile and the same style of lettering as are usually met with on the long double cross sterlings with the crowned head to right.
51. O. ALEXANDER REX
B. WALTER ON GLA

21 grs.
Fig. 103.
52. O. ALAXANDER: RGX • $\alpha$ : B. WALTER ON FRE 20 grs.

The letter $\propto$ after ReX on this last piece, as on the short double cross sterlings, Figs. 66c, 67, previously described at page 70 in connection with William the Lion, represents SOOTORVM, and probably had the power of Sa .

III. Rounded X, Broad Oblique A.

Fig. 118.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre.

## R. WALTGR ON GLA <br> 19 grs.

The T in WALTER on this piece is of the same form as the G in GLA.

[^42]opposition to Mr. Pollexfen's attribution to Glasgow. See Proceedings of the Numismatic Society, vol. iii. Third Series, pp. 24, 25.

Figs. in8A, II8B.

53a. o. Alexander rex
53b. O. From the same die.
B. WALTER ON • G

1k. WALTER ON

Alexander III.
(1249-1285-6).
$\begin{aligned} & 23 \frac{1}{2} \text { grs. } \text { Long double } \\ & 27 \text { grs. cross coinage. }\end{aligned}$ Sterlings attri-
No. $53 a$ is in the B.M., No. $53 b$ in the Kermack Ford collection. ${ }^{1}$ buted to GlasThe former has the sharp oblique $\mathbb{A}$ on the reverse, the latter is remarkable as being without the name of the mint.

The same obverse die all through.-Figs. II9, II9A, I20.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre.
54. 0. Alexander rex

1. WALTER DVN
$22 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.
54a. O. From the same die.
$\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{k}}$. WALTER ON DVN
25 grs.
2. 0 .
Do.
k. WALTER ON MVN
20 grs .

No. $54 a$ is in the Pollexfen collection. From the same obverse die as these pieces a sterling in the collection of Mr. Cochran-Patrick, formerly in the Sheriff Mackenzie collection, has WALTGR ON FRGS. ${ }^{2}$

## V. Curule Chair-shaped X, Medium Oblique A.

The same obverse die all through.-Figs. I27, 128, 129, 130, I31.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre.

| 56. 0. | NDER RGX. | B. WALTER ON G | 23 grs. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 57. 0. | he same dic. | R. WALTER ON GLA | 20 grs . |
| 58. 0. | Do. | B. WALTER ON FRES | $22 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$. |
| 59. 0. | Do. | lk. WALTER ON DVN | $23 \frac{1}{2}$ grs. |
| 60. 0. | Do. | 1k. WALTER ON MVN | $22 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$. |

The sterling No. 57 has the T in WALTER of the same form as the G in GLA ; No. 60 has its reverse from the same die as No. 55.

[^43]Alexander III. ( 1249 -1285-6). Long double cross coinage. Sterlings attributed to Glasgow, Forres, Dunbar, Montrose.

60a. n ALEXANDER RGX
In the B.M. collection.

Fig. 13 IA.
M. WALTGR ON DVN I9홓 grs.

Fig. 132.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre.
6i. O. ALEXANDGR REX B. ALEGTGR ON DVN 20 grs.
This coin is from the Lindsay and Wingate collections. It forms No. 144 of Lindsay's Des. Cat., where the inscription on the reverse is rendered ALE : : : : GR ON DVN, as if for ALEXANDER ON DVN. As figured in Wingate, Pl. V. I5, it is converted into ALeXXGR ON DVN. The proper reading, however, is undoubtedly ILGTGR ON DVN, which is evidently a mis-rendering of WALTAR ON DVN. Wingate, Pl. V. 12, figures a coin with ALEXADENR RGX on the obverse and WILA ON DVN on the reverse. This piece is now in Mr. Cochran-Patrick's cabinet. It is the only sterling with DVN-unless the above forms an exception-on which the name of the moneyer is other than WALTER; so far, at least, as has come under my notice. The obverse is from a different die to any of the sterlings with Walter's name that I have seen, showing the rounded $X$ and broad oblique $\mathbb{A}$, with the narrow oblique $\bar{A}$ on the reverse, see Fig. I 14c.

It is an altogether exceptional occurrence to find the same obverse die employed upon sterlings of different mints. After much careful comparison, I have not in any instance, other than on the sterlings of this remarkable group with the name of Walter for the moneyer, met with coins of different mints struck from the same obverse dies, save the two pieces of which mention has previously been made-the Berwick sterling by Walter, Fig. 89, and the Perth sterling by Rainald, Fig. 89A. It had appeared to me that the obverses of one or more of the coins, Figs. 106 to ini-which, in the style of the head, crown, and lettering, bear a very strong resemblance to one another-might have been struck from the same dies, but a close inspection proved that they all differed from each other in some respect. I found this also to be the case with the sterlings with the
crowned head to right of the different mints with the curious zigzag profile. Alexander inf. The natural inference therefore, is, that the four mints, as above, respectively ${ }^{(1249-1285-6)}$. rendered as GLA, FRES, DVN, MVN, must all have been worked by one cross coinage. and the same moneyer, and probably to some extent contemporaneously.

No sterlings with the filleted head to right, of any of the mints for which Walter was moneyer, other than that with GLA, have as yet come to light. Sterlings attributed to Glasgow, Forres, Dunbar, Montrose. Recently, however, I had the opportunity of inspecting a sterling of the crowned head to right variety in the collection of Mr. Adam Black Richardson, formerly in the Montagu collection, reading on the reverse WALTGR ON RIN or ON RUN, ${ }^{1}$-the letter $R$ in the name of the mint being most distinctly rendered. The coin is here figured 93B. Unless the sinker of the Fig. 93 B. dies had run short of letters, as sometimes happened, and employed an $R$ for a D or an M , we must regard this piece as representing quite a new mint, possibly Renfrew, which is mentioned in Scottish records as early as the Renfrew. reign of David I.

It is the usual practice to attribute the coins inscribed ON GLA to Glasgow, which is undoubtedly the most likely place of mintage ; but it would have been more satisfactory had a fourth letter of the name of the mint been given on these pieces. As it is, we cannot be certain whether these sterlings were struck at Glasgow or Glamis, the latter place possessing a castle of great strength and antiquity, in or near which Malcolm II. is said to have been slain.

Forres is regarded as the most probable attribution for the sterlings reading ON FRES on the reverse. This was a place of considerable note at a very early period. Anciently the name was frequently written without the duplication of the R-Fores, or Foras. In the absence of any Scottish town, whose name commences with FRES, I can only repeat my remark,

[^44].as I have observed, only on one or two of the earlier sterlings of the Berwick mint. Possibly what seems the front of the letter in question may only be an accidental effect produced in the striking of the coin. This piece is referred to in the Proceedings of the Numismatic Society, vol. iii. Third Series, p. 24.

Alexander III: (1249-1285-6). Long double cross coinage. Sterlings attributed to Glas. gow, Forres, Dunbar, Montrose.

Dumfries, Dundee, Dunfermline, Dumbarton.
made on a former occasion, that "If, in pronouncing FRES, we take a very firm grip of the initial letter F , we shall find ourselves giving an excellent pronunciation of Forres." ${ }^{1}$

Little hesitation need be felt in ascribing the sterlings reading ON MVN to Montrose. This ancient town, formerly called Munross, received its first charter as a royal burgh from David I. It possessed a castle of high antiquity, which stood on the summit of the Fort-hill. There is no other Scottish town to which we can with probability attribute these pieces.

It is different with the coins inscribed ON DVN. These by Lindsay have been assigned to Dunbar, on no other authority than a blundered rendering of the inscription on the reverse of one of those sterlings by Simon-here figured 96A, 126A, and described at page 136 -given, L., Des. Cat. 143, as S : : : : ON DNBARE——the ON being obviously part of the name of SIMON, the DN as obviously mistaken for ON, and the BARG a misreading for MARG, or, as some will have it, for nARG. In keeping with this rendering, Sainthill describes a similar sterling in the Bantry find as reading SI ON DIBARG. ${ }^{2}$ There can be little doubt, however, that these two pieces are identical with the coins which are here rendered as SIMON ON MARE, and that they have no connection with Dunbar.

Dumfries (anciently Dunfres), Dundee, Dunfermline, and Dumbarton, are all places at which the sterlings with WALTER ON DVN, and WILA ON DVN, might possibly have been minted, even although one Simon had been moneyer at Dunbar. Dun is simply a Celtic component prefix, meaning a fortified hill or castle ${ }^{3}$-Dunfres, or Dumfries, signifying the town of the Frisians ; Dunbreaton, or Dumbarton, the town of the Britons. ${ }^{4}$

It may have been no more than a coincidence, but it is certainly remarkable that the two syllables composing the name Dunfres should both have been represented on Walter's coinages-WALTER ON DVN, WALTER ON FRES. As Fres is really the distinctive part of the name

[^45]Dunfres, the town may possibly have been designated by that name, in Alexander III. popular parlance, in those times. Wingate collections, and forms No. 145 of Lindsay's Des. Cat., where it appears as a sterling of Dunbar with the reading EORSIN ON DVN, and is so represented, Wingate, Pl. V. I4. The second piece, from the Wingate collection, is figured in Wingate, Sup. PI. I. I I, but with only what professes to be the name of the mint given, . . ....... ON DON. On the strength of this supposed reading it was attributed by Wingate to Dundee. A careful comparison of these two pieces satisfies me that the inscriptions on the reverses of both coins are precisely alike, if, indeed, both have not been struck from the same reverse die. On both coins the stars in the quarters of the cross occupy the same positions, and are formed, line for line, in the same manner; on both coins the lines of the cross, it will also be seen, have the same particular bend. Some of the letters on the one piece have been harder struck than on the other, with the result that these letters are thicker and stand closer together on the one coin than on the other, but this is a difference in appearance only.

## IV. Rounded X, Broad Oblique A.

Figs. in6, II7.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre.
62. O. ALEXANDER REX
1k. SIMOND ON FOR
$19 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.
63. O. ALEXANDER RGX
R. SIMOND ON FOR
21 grs.

Had the third last letter in the inscription SIMOND ON FOR been really an E as treated by Lindsay and Wingate in their rendering EORSIN ON DVN, we should have had on these pieces (what never occurs on the Alexander long double cross coinages) an E of the square Roman character.

Alexander III. (1249-1285-6). Long double cross coinage. Sterlings with "For" as the name of the mint.

As if to do away with this anomaly, Wingate, on his plate, has converted this supposed E into a round $\Theta$ with closed front. The M in SIMOND looks like an N owing to the middle converging stroke to the right having become almost blended with the right limb in striking; but the substitution of an N for an M would have made no difference, the N and $M$ having been so frequently interchangeable, as ALEXAMDGR for ALCXANDER, and SINON for SIMON. The inscription on the reverse of No. I, where the word ON occurs, is very much blurred, and the O might excusably have been mistaken for a V, as by Lindsay and Wingate, in the rendering EORSIN ON DVN. Until I had become aware how closely the whole treatment of the reverse of No. I corresponded with that of No. 2, it was my own impression that this letter was a V, and I was disposed to regard the two coins as reading on the reverse respectively SIM ON DVNFOR and SIM ON DONFOR. The reading SIMOND ON FOR, as now adopted, was suggested by Mr. Pollexfen. A moneyer of the name of Simond is mentioned by Ruding in connection with the long double cross coinage of Henry III. ; and a short double cross Henry penny in my own possession has SIMOND ON RVLA. In my opinion there is no doubt that Mr. Pollexfen's version is the correct one.

The question remains, What mint does FOR represent? Had the moneyer's name on these two pieces been Walter, as on those with FRGS, while the attribution to Forres of the latter would have been strengthened we might with considerable confidence have assigned these also to Forres. As it is, with Simond's name for moneyer on the sterlings with FOR, and with Walter's name as moneyer on those with FRES, we cannot be certain where either was struck.

Forfar.
Forfar, an important town in the thirteenth century, alike in itself and in its surroundings, both as representing a centre of considerable population and as frequently the residence of Scottish royalty, might put in a better claim than Forres for the sterlings with FOR. The ancient castle of Forfar, of which no vestiges now remain, was "a specially favoured resort of Alexander III., as it had been of his grandfather and his father ;" ${ }^{1}$ and, according

[^46]to a mythical report, was the scene of a parliament held by Malcolm Canmore, where surnames and titles were first conferred on the Scottish aristocracy.

Forteviot, also, as a royal residence, and as the ancient capital of the
Alexander III.
(1249-1285-6).
Long double cross coinage. Sterlings with "For" as the kingdom, might perhaps put in a claim as the place of mintage for the nameof the mint. sterlings with FOR.

It is remarkable how seldom the names of the long cross Scottish mints begin with the same letters. Consequently, when these mints were in operation, and generally well known, all that was required for the identification of each was to give the initial letter, or at most the first syllable of the name; and, as a rule, this is all that appears on the coins. It was different with the moneyers. These, as responsible for the several coinages issued by them, seem to have been required to place their names upon the coins either at full length or in some manner not to be mistaken. This, at least, is invariably done.

## EDINBURGH.

Edinburgh.

## II. Plain X, Sharp Oblique $\mathbb{A}$.

Fig. 94.
Crowned head to right, with sceptre ; pellets intermixed in the curls.
64. O. alaxander rex
l̉. NI - $\alpha O L$ : ON $\mathrm{CD}_{2} 23$ grs.

Unfortunately the two letters giving the name of the mint on this piece are in greater part off the coin. From what remains of them, however, and taken in connection, they can scarcely be other than $\Theta D$. The profile also is in the style peculiar to some of the sterlings of Edinburgh with crowned head to left, as 94A, 94 B .

This piece, formerly in the Martin collection, is published by Lindsay, Des. Cat. No. I25, but with simply a row of double points in the place of the name of the mint. It appears also in the same way at the end of a list of names of moneyers and mints, given by him at page 14, where the row of double points, from their position, might lead one at a cursory

Alexander III. (1249-1285-6). Long double cross coinage. Edinburgh.
glance to think that the piece was of the same mint as the coin in the line immediately above, a sterling reading ION $\cdot \mathrm{CO} \cdot \mathrm{ON} \cdot \mathrm{PGR}$. Apparently Mr. Cochran-Patrick has understood Lindsay's arrangement in this sense, as he incorrectly gives Nicol's name as that of a Perth moneyer. ${ }^{1}$

On the first two of the following pieces the head, except that it regards the left, is identical with the head regarding the right on the sterling Fig. 94.

Fig. 94A.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre.
64a. O. ALEXANDER REX
13. ALEX' $\cdot$ ON $Q D E N$ 21 grs.

This piece has the curule chair-shaped X in ALefX' on the reverse.

Fig. 94B.
64b. O. ALexander rex
B. WILAM ON GD $19 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

Fig. 94c.
64c. O. ALUXANDGR RGX
R. WILAM ON $\in D^{\prime}$

20 grs.

Fig. Iora.
Crowned head to right, with sceptre ; the usual zigzag style of profile. 64d. O. ALEXANDER • REX • R. ALAX' ON GDGN 2 I grs.

The four preceding pieces are in the Pollexfen collection.

## V. Curule Chair-shaped X, Medium Oblique $\bar{A}$.

Fig. 134.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre.
65. O. ALEXANDER RGX Ik. ALEX'. ON GDGN $21 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

The head, crown, and lettering, in the same style as on the Aberdeen sterling, also by Alex., Fig. 135. The reverse is from the same die as Fig. 94A.

1 Records of the Coinage of Scotland, vol. i. Int. p. xx.

Fig. 134A.

65a. O. ALeXANDER ReXX<br>1k. $\operatorname{ALAX}$ ON GDGN

In the B.M. collection ; the plain X in R $\in \mathrm{X}$.

Fig. ${ }^{134 \mathrm{~B}}$.
65b. O. ALGXANDGR RGX
In the Kermack Ford collection. ${ }^{1}$
No sterlings of Edinburgh with the filleted head to right have as yet been published.

KINGHORN.
Kinghorn.

## III. Florid $X$ and Florid $\pi$.

Fig. 108.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre.
66. O. ALUXANDUR REX
1k. WILAM • ON • KING $22 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

This unique piece, which is here published for the first time, has been carefully examined by the Rev. Mr. Pollexfen, who fully concurs in the reading and attribution above given. In a letter to the author he writes:"On opening your envelope I was satisfied that your reading is the correct one, and I congratulate you heartily on adding a new mint to the Scotch coinage, and in a place where one might have anticipated it." The style of head on this piece is not unlike that on some of the coins peculiar to Edin-burgh-compare Fig. 94c. Possibly the Wilam who minted at Edinburgh may also have minted at Kinghorn. ${ }^{2}$ In riding from Inverkeithing to his castle at Kinghorn, where his young queen was residing, on the night of the 16th March 1285-6, Alexander III. was killed by his horse falling over the rocks. Kinghorn, anciently called Kingorn and Kingorn-regis, was

[^47]Nuik; Cunyie-Nuik, as defined by Jamieson, however, signifies simply " a very snug situation; literally, the corner of a corner."

Alexander III. (1249-1285-6). Long double cross coinage.
made a royal burgh in the twelfth century; what was called Wester Kingorn became afterward known as Brint-iland-Burntisland. ${ }^{1}$

LANARK.
III. Florid $X$ and Florid A.

Fig. 104B.
Filleted head tn right, with sceptre.
66a. O. AL@XANDêR ReXX
R. WILAM ON LAN

25 grs.
In the Pollexfen collection. There is a similar coin in the CochranPatrick collection with WILAM ON LA, figured by Lindsay, P1. III. 53, and Wingate, Pl. IV. 9.

IV. Rounded X, Broad Oblique A.

Fig. 115.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre.
67. O. ALEXANDER REX Ik. WI(L)AM ON • LA $19 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

This piece was found some years ago at Crooksbury Hill, near Farnham in Surrey. A similar coin is in the collection of Mr. CochranPatrick. A very curious sterling, belonging apparently to Lanark, with crowned head to left, florid X and $\mathbb{A}$, is published by Mr. Cochran-Patrick,
Fig. iroc. Num. Chron. N.S. vol. xii. PI. XI. 6, figured here iloc, reading, as Mr. Cochran-Patrick has given it, TeR WI LANer. Mr. Pollexfen suggests, "WI LAN日R TeR, the Ter being equivalent to Tertius, and properly the concluding portion of the obverse legend." "What makes this more probably correct," remarks Mr. Pollexfen, "is, that we have a similar legend in the coins of his contemporary, Henry III. of England, where we find Terar, tertius." Mr. Pollexfen omits, however, to take into account that TeßR@I, or its equivalent III., as distinguishing this Henry

[^48]as the third of his name, occurs all through after its adoption upon his long Alexander In. double cross sterlings-chiefly on the obverses, its proper place. Even $\underset{\text { Long double }}{(\text { Ir99-128-6). }}$ where it does occur on the reverses it is never mixed up with the name cross coinage. of a moneyer. Had such a distinguishing characteristic been placed on Lanark. Scottish coins, it might naturally have been expected that the same rule would have been observed-at least in connection with the mints common to one particular division of the coinage. In this case the word TGR is confined to the reverse of a single variety of sterling of a single mint, certainly not of the first importance. Fortunately it is not necessary that we should go so far afield to find a meaning for the word TGR as here exhibited. The inscription on the reverse of this piece is evidently of a class of which we have had similar instances on the long double cross coinage of Alexander III., as WAL ROB ON BER, ION do ON PER ; here we have TGR WI, probably for TGRRI and WILAM, or simply for TERRI WILAM, according as these names are to be regarded as representing two moneyers, or as a double name for one moneyer only.

A remarkable sterling, Fig. 93c, in the Pollexfen collection, with Fig. 93c. crowned head to right, and with the sceptre-handle ornamented with saltires, is attributed by Mr. Pollexfen to Berwick, but appears to me rather to belong to Lanark, and to show the reading WILAM ON L. The coin seems to be of early issue, having the plain X and the sharp oblique $\pi$.

In 1348 Lanark, along with Linlithgow, was made a member of the court of four burghs, in lieu of Berwick and Roxburgh, which had fallen into the hands of the English. Its erection into a royal burgh took place in the reign of Alexander I.

## INVERNESS.

IV. Rounded X, Broad Oblique A.

Fig. 122A.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre.
67a. O. Anlexander rex
B. IGFRAI ON IN

18 grs.
This unique piece, now in the Cochran-Patrick collection, is published

Alexander III. by Lindsay, Des. Cat. No. 153, but with the inscription on the reverse ren-
dered ION IHIX FRA, and hypothetically attributed to Inchaffray. It is from the Kermack Ford and Addison collections, and is described in the sale catalogue of the latter as reading IGFRAI ON IF.

Fig. 122B.
67b. O. ALEXANDER REX
Ik. Geffrai on inverr
23 grs.
In the Pollexfen collection, from the Hay Newton sale, in the sale catalogue of which it was represented as reading on the reverse GeARRAI ON INVGR ; figured in Lindsay, 2 d Sup. Pl. I. 5.

## V. Curule Chair-shaped X, Medium Oblique A.

Fig. 123.
68. O. ALEANDER REX B. GEFRAI ON INVER $23 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

A magnificent coin, struck from the same reverse die as Fig. I22B. It will be seen that the first letter of this moneyer's name is indifferently rendered either as G or J-G soft having the same power as J.

Inverkeithing, although not of the importance of Inverness, is quite a probable attribution for these coins. At Inverkeithing Alexander III. had his saltworks, where he halted on the night of his fatal ride to Kinghorn, and obtained the attendance of two guides. As a royal burgh Inverkeithing obtained its charter from before the accession of William the Lion. Its situation was eminently convenient for a mint.

On the other hand, if we except Forres, which as yet is of hypothetical attribution, the most northern mint of which we can be certain as having been in operation at this period was Aberdeen. Later on, under James I., when the northern portion of the kingdom was in a more settled state, a mint was established at Inverness, but, so far as known, only for small billon money. As we shall subsequently see, the billon coins of Inverness attributed to Robert III. belong to James I.

The sterling GeGFRII ON INVER in the Ferguslie collection affords an Alexander int. example of the rapid rise in value of Scottish coins in recent years. In the summer of 1869 this piece was sold at a continental sale for three shillings and sixpence. In December of the same year it was bought at Sotheby's
( 1249 -1285-6).
Long double cross coinage. Invernes. for Mr. Wingate for one pound ten shillings. At the Wingate sale at Sotheby's, in November 1875, it was obtained for the Ferguslie collection, after an eager competition, for twenty-one pounds-a very moderate price after all, compared with the sums realised at the same sale for other Scottish coins of inferior quality and of less rarity.

## V. Curule Chair-shaped X, Medium Oblique $\mathbb{A}$.

Figs. r33, I 33A.
Crowned head to left, with sceptre ; this is the only type of head known of this mint.
69. O. ALEXANDGR REX B. THOMAS ON ANDER $22 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

The coins figured i33 and I33A are from identical dies, obverse and reverse. The latter is the piece figured in Lindsay, Pl. III. 58, and Wingate, Pl. V. 2; in both cases erroneously described as reading on the reverse ThOMAS ON $\mathbb{A N H} G N$, and attributed to Annan, a very unlikely place for a mint at that period, as being then only a small belonging of the Bruce family. The coin Fig. I33A was purchased at the Wingate sale for the Ferguslie collection, but was subsequently exchanged for the sterling, Fig. 133, on which the name of the mint is given much more distinctly. Respecting the coin Fig. I33A, I had previously expressed the opinion in the Coats Exhibition Catalogue, Glasgow, 1876, that a closer examination of the legend on the reverse had satisfied me that the proper reading was ThOMAS ON ANDER. This opinion is fully confirmed by the more perfect specimen now obtained, Fig. I 33.

The sterling, Fig. I33A, is now in the Cochran-Patrick collection.

Alexander III. (1249-1285-6). Long double cross coinage. St. Andrews.

Fig. 133 ${ }^{\text {B. }}$
R. ThOMAS ON $\operatorname{ANDER} \quad 21 \frac{1}{5} \mathrm{grs}$.

In the B.M. collection. This is the piece described by Lindsay, Des. Cat. No. 155, as reading on the reverse IASAN PGRTh! It is from the same obverse die as Figs. I33, I33A, but is from a different reverse die. Another specimen, also from the same obverse die, but from a still different reverse die, is in the S.S.A. collection.

IV. Rounded X, Broad Oblique A.

Fig. ${ }^{1}{ }^{5}$ b.
696. O. ALEXANDER REXX B. ThOMAS ON ANDER 14 grs.

This singularly light piece is in the Pollexfen collection. The two following pennies, from the same obverse die as this sterling, show a different rendering of the name of the mint.

Figs. 115C, II5D.

| 69c. 0. ALGXANDGR RGX | B. TOMAS : ON AN | $45 \frac{3}{8}$ grs. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 69d. O. From the same die. | R. TOMAS : ON $\cdot$ AN | $19 \frac{2}{5}$ grs. |

Respectively in the S.S.A. and B.M. collections; both with the sharp oblique $\mathbb{A}$ on the reverses. From its peculiar edge and great weight the S.S.A. specimen, Fig. Ir5c, seems to have been struck upon a Roman denarius, and possibly passed for a double penny. It is the coin, formerly in the Advocates' collection, figured in Anderson, Pl. CLVII. 2, and in Cardonnel, Pl. I. 20. In the latter work the M on the reverse is represented as of the round form-a serious mistake, as the round $\mathfrak{m}$ never occurs on the sterlings of the Alexander series. Another sterling of the same mint is published in the Pembroke plates with IONAS ON AN, by error for TOMAS ON AN, and has been copied-Anderson, Pl. CLVII. r; Wise, Tab. XXII.; Cardonnel, Pl. I. 19-in each case with the same blundered reading.

Macpherson mentions Andirstoun and Andristown as names by which

St. Andrews was designated, but he does not say at what particular period. ${ }^{1}$ I find, however, in a map of Scotland, "from the Border to the Water of Tay," executed in the reign of James II. by Hardyng, an Englishman who had come to Scotland in the employment of Henry VI., that Andirstoun is the name there given to St. Andrews. Cosmo Innes, while questioning if the city of St. Andrews had ever been popularly known as "Andirstoun," admits that Hardyng was well acquainted with "all that ground." ${ }^{2}$ The name Andirstoun has certainly a homely Scottish ring, and could scarcely have been invented by Hardyng. Whatever attribution may be given to these coins, no doubt can be entertained that the proper reading is ANDER, not ANhen. ${ }^{3}$

If the D in ANDeAR could be construed as Th , of which the Scotish coinage affords no example, we should have ANTher, a passable rendering for Anstruther. Curiously enough, a locality in this ancient town still goes by the name of the Cunzie Wynd, a piece of information for which I am indebted to Mr. William Taap. ${ }^{4}$

It is much in favour of the attribution to St. Andrews of these coins that a mint was in operation in that city under Baliol, the immediate successor of Alexander III. And this again greatly countenances the statement in Fordoun, under 1283 :-"Eodem anno, quarto idus Januarii, rex Alexander apud Sanctum Andream existens ante magnum altare, coram suis satrapis et magnatibus, dedit et concessit Deo et beato Andreæ percussuram monetæ adeo liberè et quietè sicut aliquis episcopus Sancti Andreæ tempore patris sui Alexander II. vel alicujus predecessorum suorum, liberiùs et quietiùs habere consuevit, salvâ sibi declaratione inquisitionis ejusdem super infeodatione habendâ." Or, as Wyntown has it in his Chronicle, under 1283 : -

[^49]since the above was in type has on the reverse GILEBERT ON EDM.

4 While correcting the proof-sheets, a letter from Mr. Taap informs me of a notice in the newspapers of the death of an Ex-Bailic Brown, at the Cunsic House, Anstruther! See, however, the note under Kinghorn, p. 153.

Alexander III. (1249-1285-6). Long double cross coinage. St. Andrews.

Alexander III.
(1249-1285-6).
Long double cross coinage. St. Andrews.
" Alysandre, owre Kyng, That Scotland had in governyng, Come intil his Ryawté, Til of Sanct Andrewys the cité, And in the Kirk standand there, Devotly befor the hey Awtare In wytness of all that there wes by Gaddryde and standard, all frely Til God and til Saynct Andrewe he Granted the strykyn of monè Als frely, qwtly, and fullyly, As ony tyme befor gane by Ony Byschope had sic thyng Quhen that his Fadyre before wes Kyng Or of his Eldrys ony before As mycht be herd or had memore, Sawfand the declaratyoun Of the Inquisityown, Of the feftment of that thyng To remain ay with the Kyng."

There is good reason to suppose that Wyntown would have been well informed respecting such an event as this. He was a canon regular of the priory of St. Andrews from at least 1395 till 1413, and some record, written or oral, of an incident so notable must have been preserved. The particularity also with which Fordoun-or rather Bower, the continuator of Fordoun and a contemporary of Wyntown-gives the date, and the precision of the details in both accounts, render it very probable that it was to some common written record of the transaction that both writers were indebted for their information.

The fact of the right of coinage having belonged to the Bishops of St. Andrews under Alexander II., and even before that reign, brings us back to that extensive series of sterlings without the names of the mints, described here under William the Lion, bearing the name of William on the obverse, but partly struck, evidently, under Alexander II. There was seen considerable reason to believe that these pieces, although bearing one common name on the reverses, had been struck at several different mints,
and that the respective mints were indicated by the number of the points Alexander III. on the stars in the quarters of the cross on the reverses. In this connec- ${ }^{(1249-1285-6)}$. tion it is remarkable that the St. Andrews sterlings of Baliol should usually have two mullets of six and two of five points occupying the quarters of the cross. While, therefore, there can be no certainty in such a matter, this at least suggests the probability that those sterlings with the name of William on the obverse, and without the name of the mint on the reverse, with two stars of six and two of five points may have been coined at St . Andrews.

The long double cross coinages of Alexander III. were certainly over before 1283 , when the event at St . Andrews recorded by Wyntown and the continuator of Fordoun took place, seeing that the long single cross had been introduced in 1279 on English sterlings, and that the long single cross sterlings of Alexander III. show to these such a marked correspondence in the style of the workmanship and lettering as to leave no doubt that they closely corresponded with them also in respect of issue.

In the confirmation of the grant to the bishops of St. Andrews to strike money, made by Alexander III. in 1283 , there is no hint given that their privileges had been suspended during the previous portion of this reign. Nor is there any reason to suppose that they were so. We know that the charters of the several Scottish burghs were confirmed from time to time, but this does not imply that previously to these confirmations the charters had been in abeyance. These confirmations were made from various motives. In the present case there was a very significant reminder that the privilege of the bishops of St. Andrews to strike money was to be exercised subject to the royal rights of inquisition to ensure that the money held the due fineness and weight.

[^50]
## STIRLING.

All the pennies of Stirling, so far as known, have the head crowned to left. There are several minor varieties of this rare mint.

## II. Plain X, Sharp Oblique A.

Figs. 94D, 94E.
R. hénri On $\cdot$ STR 21 grs .

1k. heUNRI ON STR I9 $\frac{1}{4}$ grs.

The first of these pieces is in the Cochran-Patrick collection; the second, formerly in the Kermack Ford, is now in the Ferguslie collection. The reverse of the sterling, Fig. 94E, belongs to a later issue than the obverse, as shown by the later style of lettering.
III. Florid X and Florid $\bar{A}$.

Fig. IIOA.
69g. O. ALEXXANDER REX
k. heanki' ON STRIVG
$21 \frac{1}{8}$ grs.
In the Pollexfen collection.

Fig. IIOB.
69h. O. ALEXANDER REX B. henki ON STRIV $20 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.
In the Cochran-Patrick collection.
IV. Rounded X, Broad Oblique A.

Fig. II4A.
69i. O. ALEXANDER REX
R. hénri On STR
$22 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.
In the Pollexfen collection.

## LONG SINGLE CROSS SERIES.

Hitherto the long single cross sterlings of Alexander III. have been arranged chiefly according to their types of reverse, without regard to distinguishing differences in the style of head, lettering, and other particulars. This, as putting the accidents in the place of the essentials, is, to say the least of it , a very unscientific arrangement. The several styles of head on the long single cross series, which are each accompanied by their own particular style of lettering, indicate distinct coinages ; connected sometimes with one type of reverse only, sometimes with several ; just as the English contemporary sterlings, which are each distinguished by their own style of head and lettering, are connected sometimes with one sometimes with several mints.

As arranged according to their respective varieties of head and lettering, it will be found that the Alexander long single cross sterlings naturally form themselves into two well-defined Groups, each Group comprising several distinct Classes. The several Classes in the one Group, it will also be found, interchange reverses among themselves, but not with the Classes in the other Group, save, perhaps, in one exceptional instance. In the Group which seems to have been the first in order of issue the several Classes exhibit only one type of reverse, that of the mullet of six points in each quarter of the cross. In the second Group all the varieties of type of reverse are represented, but not on all the Classes.

There is little variation in the style of the crown and of the sceptre on the Alexander long single cross coinages. The crown is very straight, and is ornamented with three fleurs-de-lis, those at the sides presenting two leaves only to the spectator; small pyramidal projections occur between the lis, sometimes surmounted with round pellets. The sceptre head is a fleur-de-lis, with two small pellets, like pendant jewels, disposed immediately below, and with a larger pellet upon the handle a short way farther down. The head always regards the left; the letters ND in TLEXANDER are always in monogram.

## GROUP I.-CLASS I.

In the style of the lettering and in the crescent contractive signs, the coins in this Group correspond with the English large-letter sterlings, figured here Pl. A, I3. They have the same style of cross before the legend on the obverse and after the legend on the reverse as on these English sterlings-having the ends prolonged, much in the manner of a cross potent, but partaking somewhat of the character of a cross patée. The letters are straight in the stems. The $\mathbb{A}$ is usually barred across the centre, as on the earlier English single cross sterlings. The C and the $€$ have open fronts. The G generally has an elongated neck as on the English sterlings, figured Pl. A, 12. The L has the foot well turned up, a characteristic of the English sterlings Pl. A, I3, and distinguishing these coins from the other English sterlings of contemporary issue in the same Group. The M has a single straight stroke down the centre (III), as on the reverse of the Durham sterling, Pl. A, I3, differing from the M on all the other Alexander long single cross sterlings, which is fashioned in the usual way, that is, with two converging lines, forming a $V$, between the limbs. The $R$ is wedge-tailed, and the $S$ wasp-waisted-corresponding respectively with the R and the S on the English sterlings, Pl. A, 13. The head has straight curls, with the innermost lock or curl enclosing a small incipient curl in the form of a crescent or a pellet; the neck is usually long and thin.

Four mullets of six points.-Fig. 141.

## r. O. 出 ALEXANDER DEI GR'A

lk. REX SCOTORVII
[21 $\frac{3}{4}, 21 \frac{1}{4}, 19 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.
Three specimens; the heads slightly varied. Sunk spaces are below the crown, giving this style of head a peculiar appearance. With the same variety of head and lettering, a sterling in the Montrave hoard had the ESCOS : SIE : : REX inscription on the reverse. This is exceptional, as the Escossie Rex pieces are more usually connected with Class II. On the following sterlings of this Class, on which a broader style of head is
exhibited, the sunk spaces below the crown disappear and are succeeded by a narrow fringe of curls.

Four mullets of six points.-Fig. 142.

Alexander III.
(1249-1285-6). Long single cross coinage. Group I.Class I.
2. 0 . 出 ALEXANDER DEI GR'A
B. REX SCOTORVII
22 grs.
3. Do.: without the crescent after GR,

GROUP I.-CLASS II.

Group I.Class II.

The coins in this class have the same lettering and sharp commashaped contractive signs as on the English rose-on-breast sterlings, Pl. A, 31. Small lettering with straight stems. The $\mathbb{A}$ seldom barred across the centre $(\pi)$. The $\alpha$ and $\Theta$ with closed fronts. The $M$ of regular form. The R with the back presenting a more continuous appearance than on the sterlings Class $I$. The $S$ in the form of the figure 8, but more open. Pellets between some of the words, and a pellet usually on each of the sharp pyramidal spaces of the crown between the fleurs-de-lis. A small head with a neat fringe of curls below the crown; the long side curls slightly more curved than on Class I.

Four mullets of six points. Pellets on the crown.-Fig. 147.
4. O. : $\pi L E X S \pi N D E R$ - DEI G'OIT 1k. REX : SOOT : TORVM $20 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$.
5. O. Do.: from the same die.
B. RGX $\cdot$ SOOT : TORVM 21 grs.
6. O. Do.: from a different die.

1x. Do. 22 grs.
The three pellets before the legend on the obverse on these pieces suppress a very slender cross.

Four mullets of six points. Pellets on the crown.-Fig. 147A.
6a. O. 出 $\pi$ LEXSTNDER DEI: G'GIT $\cdot$
B. RGX • SGOT • TO RVM
[193 $\frac{3}{4}$ grs.
In the Richardson collection.

Alexander III (1249-1285-6). Long single cross coinage. Group I.Class II.

Four mullets of six points. Pellets on the crown.-Fig. 148.
7. 0
※ $\pi$ LeXXSTNDER DEI: G'SIT

8. O. From the same die.
R. Do. : without a pellet after RGX $16 \frac{1}{4}$ grs,

On these two coins the neck presents the appearance of being slightly clothed; No. 8 has sustained loss of weight by clipping.

Four mullets of six points. Pellets on the crown.-Fig. 148A.
8a. From the same die as Fig. 148. Ik. R氏X • SCOT : TORVM 22 grs.
This piece, with the following, is in the Hunterian collection.

Four mullets of six points. Pellets on the crown.-Fig. 148b.
86. O. ALGXSADER • DEI : G'RA Rk. REX •SCOT : TORVM $20 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$.

GROUP I.-CLASS III.
The sterlings Class III. in this Group, from the style of lettering, are evidently of the same general coinage as the sterlings Class III. in Group II. Possibly to some extent they may have been of earlier issue, as the head on the sterlings Class III. in Group II., although larger, appears to be a development of the head on the sterlings Class III. of this Group. A larger variety of this head (Fig. 157) is almost identical with the first variety of head on the sterlings Class III. Group II.

A plain cross occurs before the inscription on the obverse and after the inscription on the reverse, corresponding with the plain cross before the legend on the obverse on the English sterlings, Pl. A, 32 to 36 -these representing the English coinages immediately following the rose-on-breast issues.

The lettering on the sterlings of this class has not its exact counterpart on any of the sterlings of the Edward I. series, but appears rather to be a modification or "outcome" of the lettering on the sterlings in the preceding Class, and more boldly rendered. The C and $\in$ are usually open ;
this, for the greater part, being the form of these letters on the sterlings of Alexander III. Baliol, it is evident that, while the English moneyers, after the adoption of ${ }_{\text {Long single }}^{(1249-85-6)}$ the close-fronted $\alpha$ and $\Theta$ on the rose-on-breast sterlings, had continued cross coinage. the closed style of lettering throughout, the Scottish moneyers had fallen back again upon the open C and E . Although the reign of Alexander III. was brought to an abrupt termination by the melancholy event of the 16 th March 1285-6, there can be no doubt that whatever money was struck in Scotland, till at least the accession of Baliol, or till about the end of 1292 , was struck under the name of Alexander III. Some of what appear to be the very latest issues of the Alexander III. sterlings in the two following Groups, in the style of head, and in some cases even in the lettering, approximate to the head and the lettering on the earlier pennies of Baliol.

The usual mark of contraction on the sterlings in this Class is a horizontal bar above the R in GRA-occasionally omitted, and frequently shorn off the coin. On a few exceptional pieces, chiefly with ALUXSANDGR for ALEXANDER, an elongated semi-crescent or comma, as on the sterlings Class II., is employed as a contractive sign after the G in GRA. These coins may be regarded as intermediate issues.

The same style of head as on the sterlings in the preceding Class.
Four mullets of six points. Pellets on the crown.-Fig. 150.
9. $0 .+\pi L \in X \pi N D E R$ DEI GRT. R. REX SCOTORVM $\ddagger 18 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

Four mullets of six points.-Fig. 15 I .
10. $0 .+\pi L \in X \pi N D \in R$ DEI : G $\bar{R} \pi$
R. REX SCOTORVM $+2 \mathrm{I} \frac{1}{2}$ grs.
II. O. $+\pi L E X \pi N D E R \cdot D \in I$ GR $\pi$.
R. REX SEOTORVM $+16 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.
12. $0 .+\pi L E X \pi I D \in R$ DEI GR $\pi$ 1k. Do. $21 \frac{3}{4}$ grs.
13. O. + TLEXTNDER DEI GRA
R. REX SCOTORVM +
$\left[22 \frac{1}{4}, 21 \frac{3}{4}, 21 \frac{1}{2}\right.$ grs.
The three coins in No. 13 are from different dies, and show slight differences in the style of the head.

Alexander III. (1249-1285-6). Long single cross coinage. Group I.Class III.

Group I.Interchanges.

Four mullets of six points.-Fig. I 52.
A wedge-shaped cross patée on the reverse, at the end of the legend.
14. $0.4 \pi L \in X \pi N D E R$ DGI GRT B. REX SEOTORVM +18 grs.

No. 14 has a very peculiar $\epsilon$ in SCOTORVM, and is without the pellet on the sceptre-handle below the head.

Four mullets of six points. Pellets on the crown.-Fig. 157.
A larger head, very similar to the first variety of head of Class III. Group II.
15. $0 . \pm \pi L \in X \pi N D \in R$ DEI G $\bar{R} \pi$ B. REX SCOTORVM $\pm 20 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.

INTERCHANGES-GROUP I.
Obverses as Class I. Reverses as Class II.
Four mullets of six points.-Fig. 143.
16. O. 出 ALEXANDER DEI GR'A
B. * $\because$.

Some pieces with the obverses as Class II. have their reverses as Class I.

## Obverses as Class I. Reverses as Class III.

Four mullets of six points.-Fig. I 44.
17. O. ALEXANDER DEI GR'A Ik. REX SCOTORVM +22 grs.

Four mullets of six points.-Fig. 145 .

Four mullets of six points.-Fig. 146.
19. O. 出 ALEXANDER DEI GR'A Bk. REX SCOTORVM + 20 grs .
20. O. Do. : without a crescent after GR in GRA, 19 grs.

# Obverses as Class II. Reverses as Class III. 

Four mullets of six points. Pellets on the crown.-Fig. 149.
21. O. 田 ALUXSADGR • DGI: G'RA
22. O. $\not$ B ALUXSANDER DEI: GRA
R.
.
Do.
$19 \frac{1}{2}$ grs. $17 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

Alexander III. (1249-1285-6). Long single cross coinage. Group I.-Interchanges.

Obverses as Class III. Reverses as Class I. Four mullets of six points.-Fig. 153.
23. 0. * $\pi$ Lexinder Dei GR $\pi$
1k. REX SCOTORVII ${ }^{\text {a }} 23$ grs.

Four mullets of six points.-Fig. ${ }^{5} 54$.
24. O. $~$ TLEXTNDER DEI GRA
R. REX SCOTORVM ${ }^{\text {w }} 2 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

The M on No. 24 differs from that on the other sterlings with the reverses as Class I., in being formed in the ordinary manner-that is, as on Classes II. III.

Four mullets of six points. Pellets on the crown.-Fig. 158.
A larger head, nearly similar to the first variety of head of Group II. Class III.
25. O. * KLGXTNDGR DEI GR̄ $\pi$
R. REX SCOTORVII ${ }^{\text {m }}$
22 grs.

Obverses as Class III. Reverses as Class II.
Four mullets of six points. Pellets on the crown.-Fig. 155.
$260 . * \pi L \in X \pi N D \in R$ DEI GR̄ $\pi \quad$ R. REX SOOT : TORVM $21 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.
A variety of No. 26 has G'R $\pi$, without the pellets on the crown.
Four mullets of six points.-Fig. 156 .
27. O. $+\pi L \in X \pi n d \in R$ Dei GR̄̃.

1.     * $\operatorname{*}$ escaissid : ReX $\quad 21 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.
vol. I.

Alexander III.
(1249-1285-6). Long single cross coinage. Group II.Class 1.

## GROUP II.-CLASS I.

It is on the sterlings of this Group that the remarkable variety of types of reverse occur. The sterlings Class I. display three types of reverse-( 1 ) Four mullets of six points, extremely rare (the only specimen that I have seen is in the S.S.A. collection, Fig. 158A, from the Montrave hoard); (2) Three mullets of six and one star of seven points ; (3) Two mullets of six and two stars of seven points. The cross before the legend on the obverse and after the legend on the reverse is usually a cross potent ; sometimes, but rarely, a plain cross is used. The letters have straight stems, in this respect differing from the letters on the sterlings in Class II. of the same Group, on which the stems are slightly curved. The letter $\bar{A}$ is barred across the centre, which is not the case on the sterlings of the other Classes in Group II. A specialty of the C on this Class is the peaked body and fish-tail ends. A similar $\dot{C}$ occurs on some of the reverses of the English sterlings, Pl. A, 18. The R frequently displays the same ornamental finish as exhibited on these English sterlings. The S has an egg-shaped swelling on the centre, a characteristic also of the S on the English sterlings, Pl. A, 18. The contractive sign, where employed, on this Class and on the other Classes in Group II. is a horizontal bar above the $R$ in GRA, as on the sterlings Class III. Group I. The head presents the curls with a bolder backward sweep than on any of the heads in the preceding Group. This is a characteristic of the heads in the several Classes in Group II.

Four mullets of six points.-Fig. 158 A .
27a. O. 出 ALEXANDER DEI GR̄A Ix. REX SCOTORVM $21 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.
In the S.S.A. collection.

Three mullets of six and one star of seven points. Pellets on the crown.

Fig. 159.
28. O. 出 ALEXANDER DEI G $\bar{R} \bar{A}$
1k. REX SCOTORVM 4
23 grs.
29. As No. 28: without the pellets on the crown, and with a plain cross at the end of the legend on the reverse,

The star of seven points on these pieces occupies the fourth quarter.

Alexander III.
(1249-1285-6). cross coinages. Group II.Class I.

Two stars of seven and two mullets of six points.
Fig. 160.

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30. O. & ALEXANDER DEI GR̄A Mk. REX SCOTORVM \Psi }21\frac{1}{2}\textrm{grs}
3I. O. Do.: without a bar above R in GRA,
17 grs.
The stars of seven points are in the first and third quarters.
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## GROUP II.-CLASS II.

Considerable variety of type is presented on the reverses of the sterlings in this Class, as shown in the following descriptive list. The letters have the stems slightly curved. A plain cross generally placed before the legend on the obverse, and after the legend on the reverse. The $\pi$ is without the bar across the centre, but frequently exhibits a slightly barred appearance, the result of a curious indentation on the limb to the right, made possibly with a view to this effect. A similar $\pi$ is observable on some of the English sterlings, figured Pl. A, 23, 24. The C and $\in$ frequently appear as if the fronts were entirely closed, owing to the wedges in front having coalesced in striking. The R is always wedge-tailed. The $S$ is well proportioned, the ends closing in upon the body and presenting the appearance of the figure 8. Two styles of head occur-the one larger than the other, but both of the same character.

Four mullets of five points. A pellet after ALEXTND •.
Fig. 165.
32. $0 . \pm \pi L \in X \pi N D \cdot \in R$ DEI Gर̄ $\pi$
R. REX SCOTORVM +

Alexander III. (1249-1285-6). Long single cross coinage. Group II.Class II.

Four mullets of five points. A crescent after $\pi L \in X \pi N D .-F i g . ~ 166$.
One pellet in the second and two in the fourth quarter.
33. O. $\pm \pi L \in X \pi N D \in R$ DEI GRK

1k. REX SCOTORVM $+22 \frac{1}{4}$, $19 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.
34. O. Do.: a pellet instead of a crescent after $\pi L \in X \pi N D$, 22, 22, $21 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$.

The larger head, without a privy mark after KLEXTND.-Fig. 168A.
34a. 0. * KLEXTNDER DEI GRT
B. REX SCOTORVM $20_{10}^{3}$ grs.

No. 33, with the crescents instead of the pellets after TLEXTND, is an unpublished variety ; the two examples in the Ferguslie collection have the crescents differently disposed. The three coins in No. 34 are slightly varied from each other ; two have G $\bar{R} \pi$. No. $34 a$ is in the Hunterian collection.

Two mullets of six and two of five points.-Fig. I67.
35. O. $\pm \pi L \in X T N D \in R$ DEI GR̄ $\pi$ B. REX SCOTORVM $~+22,20 \frac{1}{4}$ grs. The mullets of six points are in the first and third quarters.

Three mullets of six and one of five points.-Fig. 168.
36. $0 . \pm \pi L \in X \pi N D \in R$ DEI GRT B. REX SCOTORVM $+\quad$ I $6 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

The mullet of five points is in the fourth quarter. Some of these pieces have a pellet after TLEXTND.

Four mullets of six points. The larger head.-Fig. 169.
37. O. $~=\pi L \in X \pi N D \in R$ DEI Gर̄ $\pi$ B. REX SCOTORVM + 22, 2 I grs.

Two stars of seven and two mullets of six points. The larger head.
Fig. 1 \%o.
38. O. $\pm \pi L E X \pi N D \in R$ DEI GRT
1x. REX SCOTORVM $+22,21 \frac{3}{4}$ grs.
39. 0 . Do. : with $\mathrm{G} \overline{\mathrm{R}} \pi$,
$21 \frac{3}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.

The stars of seven points are in the second and third quarters.

Three stars of seven and one mullet of six points. The larger head. Fig. 17 I .

40. $0 . \pm \pi L \in X \pi N D \in R$ DEI G $\bar{R} \Lambda$<br>R. REX SCOTORVM +

Excessively rare ; the mullet of six points is in the fourth quarter.

Alexander III
(1249-1285-6). Long single cross coinage. Group II. Class II.

Four stars of seven points. The larger head.-Fig. 172.
41. O. $+\pi L \in X \pi N D E R$ DEI GR $\pi$ lk. REX SCOTORVM $+\quad 20$ grs.
42. 0 . Do.: with $G \overline{\mathrm{R}} \pi$,
$18 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.
43. O. Do.: with a curious crossbar on the sceptre-head above the pellet, $21 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

By Lindsay and Wingate the variety with four stars of seven points is described as unique, but may now be rated rather as $\mathrm{R}^{6}$, taking $\mathrm{R}^{8}$ as representing the highest degree of rarity short of unique.

## GROUP II.—CLASS III.

Three slight varieties of head. First head: the same as the larger head in Class III. Group I. (Fig. 157), except that it does not show the very small curl, represented by a pellet or a crescent, in front of the larger curls. While this head is associated with two types of reverse-(I) Four mullets of six points, and (2) Three mullets of six and one star of seven points-the corresponding head of Class III. Group I., in common with the other styles of head in Group I., is associated with only one type of reverse, that of the Four mullets of six points. Second head: this head is distinguished from the first by a slight difference in the sweep of the curls, and by having the profile usually rather more aquiline. It is associated with four types of reverse- (1) Three mullets of six and one of five points ; (2) Four mullets of six points; (3) Three mullets of six and one star of seven points ; (4) Two stars of seven and two mullets of six points. Third head : the curls crisper and differently arranged from what they are on the other two heads; a slightly aquiline profile. On some of the sterlings with this head the lettering has a defective appearance, notably the $R$ and $S$, as if the

Alexander III. (1249-1285-6). Long single cross coinage. Group II.Class III.
punches for these letters had partially given way. The same varieties of reverse probably occur in connection with this head as in relation to the second head, but I have observed only the three following-(r) Three mullets of six and one of five points; (2) Four mullets of six points; (3) Two stars of seven and two mullets of six points. The same style of lettering as on the sterlings Class III. of Group I. Plain crosses in the legendary circles.

## jficst 置ead.

Four mullets of six points.-Fig. 178.
44. O. $+\pi L \in X \pi N D \in R$ DEI Gर̄R $\pi$
1k. REX SCOTORVM +
$2 \mathrm{I} \frac{\mathrm{I}}{4}$ grs.

Three mullets of six and one star of seven points.-Figs. 179, 180.
45. O. $+\pi L \in X \pi N D \in R$ DEI GR̄ $\pi \quad$ R. REX SCOTORVM + $22 \frac{1}{4}, 19 \frac{3}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.

The star is in the fourth quarter; two coins. I have figured both, because Fig. 180 is the piece described by Wingate, W. Pl. VII. i, as having on the reverse " 1 star of 6 , and 1 of 7 points, and 2 mullets of 6 points." From a comparison of this piece, as here figured, with the betterstruck coin (Fig. 179), from corresponding dies, it will be seen, however, that what has been regarded by Wingate as a star of six points in the first quarter of the reverse is merely an imperfectly struck mullet, probably from a much-worn punch. An instance of what may be done in changing the appearance of a coin by imperfect striking is afforded by the obverse of the companion piece, Fig. 179, where the upper portion of the face presents quite a smooth appearance, with the fringe of curls below the crown nearly obliterated and with the eye partially closed. Compare also the halfpenny Fig. 193, where the pierced space in the centre of the mullet ${ }^{1}$ in the third quarter is almost completely closed up.

[^51]
## Second 青ead.

Four mullets of six points.-Fig. 184.
46. $0 . \pm \pi L \in X \pi N D \in R$ DEI GR̄ $\pi$

The closed $\alpha$ on the reverse.

Three mullets of six and one of five points.-Fig. 185.
47. O. $\pm \pi L E X \pi N D E R$ DEI GRT
B. REX SCOTORVM $~+21 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.
48. O. Do.: the closed $\propto$ on the reverse,

Alexander III.
( $\mathbf{1 2 4 9 - 1 2 8 5 - 6 ) .}$ Long single cross coinage. $17 \frac{1}{2}$ grs. Group II.Class III.

The mullet of five points is in the fourth quarter. The bust on these two pieces, as also on some of the other long single cross sterlings of Alexander III, in the Ferguslie collection, presents the appearance of being slightly clothed.

Three mullets of six and one star of seven points.-Fig. 185A.
48a. O. $\pm$ ALEXANDER DEI GRT Ik. REX SCOTORVM $+\quad \mathrm{I} 3 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.
The star of seven points is in the fourth quarter. In the S.S.A. collection, from the Montrave hoard. Very much clipped. See also the two sterlings, Nos. 68, 72, where, with reverses respectively from dies of Classes I. and II., the type of three mullets of six and one star of seven points occurs in connection with this head.

Two mullets of six and two stars of seven points.-Fig. 186.
49. $0 .+\pi L E X \pi N D E R$ DEI GRT R. REX SCOTORVM $~+~ 22 ~ g r s . ~$

The mullets of six points are in the first and third quarters.

## Cbíto 覞ead.

Four mullets of six points.-Fig. 198.
50. $0 . \pm \pi L E X \pi N D E R$ DEI GRT $\quad$ R. REX SCOTORVM $\pm 21 \frac{1}{2}, 2 I \mathrm{grs}$.

A peculiar ornament on the neck.

Alexander 111. (1249-1285-6). Long single cross coinage. Group II.Class III.

Three mullets of six points and one of five points.-Fig. 199.
51. O. \& TLEXTNDER DEI GR $\pi$
B. REX SCOTORVM + 22 grs.

The mullet of five points is in the fourth quarter.

Three mullets of six points and one of five points.-Fig. 200.
52. O. $~+\pi L E X \pi N D E R$ DEI GRT
B. REX SCOTORVM $\pm \quad 19$ grs.

The mullet of five points is in the first quarter.
The pierced space in the centre of the mullet in the second quarter of this piece is almost wholly obliterated. Had the effacing process proceeded a very little further this coin possibly would have been regarded as presenting an example of a new and unpublished type-one mullet of five points, one star of six points, and two mullets of six points! See the second coin in No. 45.

Two mullets of six and two stars of seven points.-Fig. 201.
53. O. $\pm \pi L \in X \pi N D \in R$ DEI GRT B. REX SGOTORVM $+22 \frac{1}{2}$ grs. The mullets of six points are in the first and third quarters.

Group 1I.Interchanges.

## INTERCHANGES.-GROUP II.

## Obverses as Class I. Reverses as Class II.

Four mullets of six points.-Fig. 16I.
54. O. 出 ALEXANDER DEI GRA Ik. REX SCOTORVM $+18 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$.

Two stars of seven and two mullets of six points.-Fig. 162.
55. O. 出 ALEXANDER DEI GĒA Ik. REX SCOTORVM +22 grs. The stars of seven points are in the first and third quarters.

Two mullets of six and two stars of seven points.-Fig. 163.
56. O. A ALEXANDER DEI Gर̄A R. REX SCOTORVM $\pm 20$ grs.

Here the mullets occupy the first and third quarters. This variety is much scarcer than that with the stars in the first and third quarters.

Alexander III. (1249-1285-6). Long single cross coinage. Group II.Interchanges.

Four stars of seven points.-Fig. 163B.


#### Abstract

56a. O. 出 ALEXANDER DEI GRA R. REX SCOTORVM $\pm \quad 20 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.


In the S.S.A. collection, from the Montrave hoard.

## Obverses as Class I. Reverses as Class III.

Three mullets of six and one star of seven points.-Fig. I63A.
566. 0. $\pm$ ALEXANDER DEI GRA 1k. REX SCOTORVM $+17 \frac{1}{4}, 17 \frac{3}{4}$ grs.

The star of seven points is in the fourth quarter. Two coins, both in the S.S.A. collection, from the Montrave hoard.

Three mullets of six and one star of seven points.-Fig. 164.
57. O. 世 ALEXANDER DEI G $\bar{R} \bar{A}$
R. REX SCOTORVM $\pm 21 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.
58. O. Do.: with the neck slightly clothed,
$17 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.
The star of seven points is in the fourth quarter.
The head on No. 56a, Fig. 163b, and on Nos. 57, 58, Fig. 164, presents a different profile to that usual to the sterlings Class I. of this Group. Strange to say, while the lettering unmistakeably associates this head with Class I., it never occurs, so far as I have had occasion to observe, except in connection with reverses of Classes II. and III. With reverse as Class II. it is associated with the four stars of seven points type, Fig. 163B. With reverse as Class III. it does not seem to be associated with any other type than that of the three mullets of six and one star of seven points, Fig. 164. Sterlings of Class I. with the more usual variety of head, occur also in connection with reverses of Class III. of the three mullets of six and one star of seven points type, Fig. 163A.

## Obverses as Class II. Reverses as Class I.

Four mullets of six points.-Fig. I72A.
58a. $0 .+\pi L E X \pi N D \in R$ DEI GR $\pi$ R. REX SCOTORVM $+21 \frac{1}{4}$, $19 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.
Two coins, both in the S.S.A. collection, from the Montrave hoard.

Three mullets of six and one star of seven points.-Fig. I 73.
59. $0 .+\pi L E X T N D \in R$ DEI Gर̄R $\pi$ R. REX SCOTORVM $+21 \frac{1}{4}$ grs. The star of seven points is in the fourth quarter.

Two stars of seven and two mullets of six points.-Fig. I 74.
60. $0 .+\pi L \in X \pi N D \in R$ DEI GR̄ス
B. REX SCOTORVM $\quad 20 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

6I. Do.: the head slightly varied, 21 grs.

The stars of seven points are in the first and third quarters.

## Obverses as Class II. Reverses as Class III.

Three mullets of five and one of six points.-Fig. 175.
62. O. $+\pi L \in X \pi N D E R$ DEI GRT
Ik. REX SCOTORVM $+2 \mathrm{I}_{\frac{1}{4}}$ grs

This is an excessively rare and hitherto unpublished type of reverse. The only other example known to me is in the S.S.A. collection. The mullet of six points occupies the second quarter of the cross.

Four mullets of six points.-Fig. 176.
63. $0 . \pm \pi L E X T N D \in R$ DEI GR̄ $\pi \quad$ R. REX SCOTORVM $\pm 21 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

Three mullets of six and one star of seven points.-Fig. 177.
64. O. + TLEXANDER DEI Gर̄R
R. REX SCOTORVM $+22 \frac{3}{4}$ grs.

The star of seven points occupies the fourth quarter.

Two mullets of six and two stars of seven points.-Fig. 177A. 64a. $0 .+\pi L \in X \pi N D \in R$ DEI GR $\pi$
P. REX SCOTORVM $+20 \frac{1}{4}, 17 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

The mullets of six points occupy the first and third quarters. Two coins, both in the S.S.A. collection, from the Montrave hoard.

Alexander III.
(1249-1285-6).
Long single cross coinage. Group II.Interchanges.

## Obverses as Class III. Group II. Reverses as Class I. Group I.

## 

Four mullets of six points.-Fig. 18 r .

## 65. $0 . \pm \pi L E X \pi N D E R$ DEI GRT Ik. REX SCOTORVM 418 grs.

Properly, this piece ought perhaps to have been described under Group I. It is a rare coin. There were only three specimens in the Montrave hoard out of $24^{2}$ Alexander II I. long single cross sterlings. In no other instance have I met with any other apparent interchange of obverse or reverse between the sterlings of Groups I. and II. This head may be regarded as common to Classes III. of both Groups. As associated with Class III. Group I. it has the small curl in front of the larger curls, as on the other sterlings in Group I., and is connected with only one type of reverse, the four mullets of six points. As here associated with Class III. Group II., it wants the small curl in front of the larger curls, and is connected with two types of reverse, the four mullets of six points and the three mullets of six and one star of seven points.

Obverses as Class III. Group II. Reverses as Class I. Group II.

## fifyt 思ead.

Four mullets of six points.-Fig. 182.
56. $0 . \pm \pi L \in X \pi N D E R$ DEI GR̄ $\pi \quad$ R. REX SCOTORVM $\Psi ~ 2 I, 2 I \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

Two specimens; from different dies.

## Эerond lazad．

Four mullets of six points．－Fig．187．
67． $0 .+\pi L \in X \pi N D \in R$ DEI G $\bar{R} \pi$
B．REX SCOTORVM＋
21 grs．

Three mullets of six and one star of seven points．－Fig． 188.
68．O．$+\pi L E X \pi N D \in R$ DEI GR̄ $\pi \quad$ R．REX SCOTORVM $\boldsymbol{T}^{20 \frac{1}{2}}$ grs．
The star of seven points is in the fourth quarter．
Two stars of seven and two mullets of six points．－Fig．188A．
68a． $0 . \pm \pi L \in X \pi N D \in R$ DEI GR $\pi$ k．REX SCOTORVM ${ }^{17} \frac{3}{4}$ grs．
The stars of seven points are in the first and third quarters．In the S．S．A．collection，from the Montrave hoard．

## Chitd 青zad．

Four mullets of six points．－Fig．201A．
686．O．＋KLEXTNDER DEI GR $\pi$ Ik．REX SCOTORVM 422 grs．
In the S．S．A．collection，from the Montrave hoard，in which were four specimens．

Two stars of seven and two mullets of six points．－Fig． 202.
69．O．$+\pi L \in X \pi n D \in R$ DEI GR $\pi$
lk．REX SCOTORVM ${ }^{2} \quad 2 \frac{1}{2}$ grs．

The stars of seven points are in the first and third quarters．

Obverses as Class III．Group II．Reverses as Class II．Group II．

## Fityt 貥zad．

Four mullets of six points．－Fig．183．
70． $0 . \neq \pi \mathrm{LGX} \pi N D \in \mathrm{R}$ DEI GR̄オ

B．REX SCOTORVM +21 grs．
B．REX SCOTORVM $\pm \quad 21$ grs．

## Second fexat.

Four mullets of six points.-Fig. 189.

71. $0 . \pm \pi L \in X \pi N D \in R$ DEI GR̄ $\pi$. IX. REX SCOTORVM * $20 \frac{1}{4}$ grs. | Group II.- |
| :---: |
| Interchanges. |

Three mullets of six and one star of seven points.-Fig. 190.
72. $0 . \pm \pi L \in X T N D \in R$ DEI GK̄ $\pi \quad$ R. REX SCOTORVM $~+~ 20 ~ g r s . ~$ The star of seven points is in the fourth quarter.

Two stars of seven and two mullets of six points.-Fig. IgI.
73. O. $~+~ T L E X T N D E R ~ D \in I ~ G R ̄ \pi ~$
R. REX SCOTORVM + $21 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

The stars of seven points are in the first and third quarters.

## Thito lead.

Four mullets of six points.-Fig. 203.
74. O. $+\pi L \in X \pi N D \in R$ DEI G $\bar{R} \pi \quad$ IR. REX SCOTORVM * $22 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

Two stars of seven and two mullets of six points.-Fig. 204.

Two specimens; one with the neck partially clothed. The stars of seven points are in the first and third quarters.

ANOMALOUS COINS OF LATE ISSUE.
The first three of the following pieces have their reverses from dies of the regular coinages of Alexander III., but they present considerable differences from these in the style of head, crown, and lettering on the obverses which resemble rather what we find on certain of the Baliol sterlings.

Reverses as Class II. Group II.
Two stars of seven and two mullets of six points.-Fig. 205.
76. $0 . \pm \pi L \in X \pi N D \in R$ DEI GR Rk. RGX SOOTORVM $+21 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

On this and on the following piece the stars of seven points occupy the first and third quarters of the cross.

Two stars of seven and two mullets of six points.-Fig. 206.
77. $0 .+\pi L \in X \pi N D \in R$ DEI GRTC
R. REX SOOTORVM +20 grs.

Reverse as Class III. Group II.
Four mullets of six points.-Fig. $20 \%$.
78. $0 . \pm \pi L \in X \pi N D E R$ DEI GRK Br. REX SCOTORVM $\pm 2 I \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

Baliol Types and Lettering, Obverse and Reverse.
Four mullets of six points.-Fig. 209.
79. $0 . \pm \pi L \in X \pi N D \in R$ DEI GR R. $~+~ R E X ~ S C O T O R V M ~ 22$ grs.

In all but the name this piece corresponds with the Baliol sterlings, Figs. 210, 210A, 210 B . A pellet on the sceptre-handle. The C and the $\epsilon$, owing to the wedges in front being in too close proximity, have a closed appearance.

## Contemporary Forgery.

Two mullets of six and two stars of six points.-Fig. 208.
8o. $0 . \pm \pi L \in X \pi N D \in R$ DGI GRT B. RGX $2 C O T O R V M ~+~ 15 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.
This piece seems to have been executed in imitation of the sterlings of the four mullets of six points type of Class II. Group I I., but the mullets in the first and third quarters have been mistaken for stars, and the $S$ has been rendered of the reversed form. I regard it as a contemporary forgery,
and apparently, from its peculiar work and hard glassy surface, of foreign make. None of the genuine single cross sterlings of Alexander III. have two mullets of six and two stars of six points, nor is the $S$ on these ever of the reversed character. This is the coin figured in Wingate, Pl. VI. 12,

Alexander III. of late issue. and described as unique. As represented by Wingate the $S$ on the reverse is made to appear as of the regular form.

## HALFPENNIES AND FARTHINGS.

For the first time in Scotland money of smaller denominations than the penny, or sterling, was struck in this reign. All the specimens of the halfpennies and farthings of Alexander III. that I have seen correspond in the style of head and lettering with the pennies Group II. of the later issues. The halfpennies have a cross patée before the legend on the obverse and after the legend on the reverse; the farthings generally have a cross patée before the legendary circle on the obverse only. The type of reverse usually met with on the halfpenny is a mullet of six points in each of two opposite quarters of the cross, with the other two quarters plain. Sometimes a star of six points takes the place of one of the mullets, as on the specimen Fig. 195. A very rare variety, Fig. 192, has mullets of five instead of six points. The farthings have mullets of six points in all the quarters of the cross.

## HALFPENNIES.

Halfpennies.
A mullet of five points in the second and the fourth quarters.-Fig. 192.

$$
\text { I. } 0 . \pm \pi L \in X \pi N D \in R \text { DGI GR } \pi \quad \text { R. REX SCOTORVM }+\quad \text { Io grs. }
$$

The lettering on the obverse is the same as on the pennies Class III. Group I I.; on the reverse it agrees with that on the pennies Class II. Group II. On all the following the lettering on both sides is the same as on the pennies Class III. Group II.

Alexander III. (1249-1285-6). Long single cross coinage. Halfpennies.

A mullet of six points in the first and third quarters.-Fig. 193.
2. $0 .+\pi L \in X \pi N D \in R$ DEI GR $\pi$
B. REX SCOTORVM +
$\frac{1}{4}$ grs.

A mullet of six points in the first and third quarters.-Fig. I94.
3. 0. $~+~ \pi L E X T I D E R$ DEI GRT

Ik. REX SCOTORVM $~+~ 9$ grs.

A star of six points in the first, a mullet of six points in the third quarter.
Fig. 195.
4. $0 . \pm \pi L E X \pi N D \in R$ DEI GR $\pi \quad$ R. $R \in X$ SCOTORVM $\pm 9 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

FARTHINGS.
The lettering is the same as on the pennies Class III. Group II.
Four mullets of six points.-Fig. 196.
I. $0 . \pm \pi L E X \pi N D \in R$ REX Ik. SCOTORVM 5 grs.

Four mullets of six points.-Fig. 197.
2. $0 . \pm \pi L E X \pi N D \in R \cdot R \in X \quad$ R. + SCOTORVM 6 grs.

With the same obverse as No. 2, a farthing in the S.S.A. collection has: SEOOTORVM on the reverse.

It has been already remarked that the several combinations of points, as exhibited on the stars on the reverses of the William the Lion short double cross sterlings, having the names of the moneyers but without the names of the mints, probably indicated the different mints at which the sterlings thus distinguished were issued. That the moneyers whose names appear on the reverses of these pieces should have carried on their operations at several mints cannot be regarded as an unwarrantable assumption, in view of what
took place in the English coinage of the period, where certain of the Alexander III. moneyers occasionally struck coins at more than one mint; and we have ${ }_{\text {Lons }}^{(1249-1285-6) .}$ already had an example of the practice in connection with the long double cross coinage of Alexander III., in the case of the moneyer Walter, who struck money at four, if not at five, different mints.

On the other hand, it is to be kept in view that the same combinations of points that appear on the reverses of the short double cross sterlings of William the Lion, without the names of the mints, by Hue Walter, occur also on those of Henri le Rus. This may seem to militate against the supposition that these several combinations of points were intended to indicate particular mints. Against this, however, we must place the fact that in four several instances, at four different mints in connection with the long double cross coinage of Alexander III.-Berwick, Roxburgh, Aberdeen, and Edin-burgh-it has been seen that at each of these places the same obverse dies were used by two different moneyers, showing that these moneyers must have been engaged at the respective mints either at the same time or in very close succession to each other. This also may have been the case with Hue Walter and Henri le Rus on the William the Lion short double cross coinages.

However this may have been, it is certain that, whether by accident or by design, the aggregate number of points as exhibited on the mullets and stars on the long single cross sterlings of Alexander III., Group II., constitute a regular and progressive series, ascending from 20, the lowest, to 28, the highest aggregate number of points. Thus :-
I. Four mullets of five points, giving an aggregate of 20 points.
2. Three mullets of five and one of six points
3. Two mullets of six and two of five points
4. Three mullets of six and one of five points
5. Four mullets of six points
6. Three mullets of six and one star of seven points
" 2 I ",
7. Two stars of seven and two mullets of six points
" 26 ",
8. Three stars of seven and one mullet of six points
9. Four stars of seven points

Alexander III. (1249-1285-6). Long single cross coinage.

Addenda-Ed-
wards I., II., III. (1279-1377).

The employment of stars, in the case of seven points, as against mullets, where the number of points was six or five, would greatly facilitate the identification of the different reverses. I have not met with any properly authenticated instance of a star of six points on the sterlings of the long single cross series of Alexander III. ; although, on the halfpenny No. 3, there is much reason to believe that the object in the first quarter is a star of six points and not a mullet. Wingate's sterling, " 2 stars of 6 and 2 mullets of 6 points," now in the Ferguslie collection, No. 80, is too palpable a forgery to deserve further mention. His other abnormal variety, "I star of 6 , 1 of 7 , and 2 mullets of 6 points," also now in the Ferguslie collection, No. 45, Fig. 179 , appears, as already stated, to be only a blundered specimen of the companion coin in No. 45, Fig. 180, with three mullets of six and one star of seven points.

> Addenda-Edwards I., II., III.-Plate A.

As the arrangement here made of the long single cross coins of Alexander III. is entirely based upon the order of issue of the corresponding English coinages of Edward I., it will be necessary that some reference should now be made to these in connection with Plate A, here introduced in illustration of this important series.

For a period of some seventy to eighty years at least, the coinages of the first three Edwards may be said to have constituted the main currency of Scotland. In all the more extensive finds of coins, belonging to the latter part of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth centuries, that have occurred in Scotland, the English coins have outnumbered the contemporary Scottish coins-Alexanders, Baliols, Robert Bruces, and Davids -in the proportion of about thirty to one.

Hitherto, even by English numismatists, the Edwardian sterlings, although certainly the most familiar section of the English coinage, from the great abundance of most of the examples, have been but indifferently studied and understood. The extensive large-letter series of sterlings of Edward I. reading EDW, with which the Alexander III. sterlings are so
intimately associated, has been treated as one single class, without regard to Addenda-Edimportant differences in the form of the letters and in the manner of ward I. , II., ini. rendering the contractive signs. Scarcely any attempt has been made to show where this large-letter series begins and where it ends.

On the roth May 1877, at Montrave, Fifeshire, the property of Mr. Allan Gilmour of Lundin and Montrave, a very large find occurred of English, Scottish, and Foreign sterlings, of which the English portion comprised nearly nine thousand coins of Edwards I. II. III. The whole hoard was put into my hands for examination by my friend Mr. George Sim, Curator of Coins of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. In proceeding to classify the English portion I began by placing together those coins which had a common style of head and lettering, and this irrespective of the particular mints to which the several varieties belonged. In this way the several pieces naturally disposed themselves into distinct groups and classes, each group and class being distinguished by its own special characteristics.

The remarkable coin here figured A 30 was the key of the whole. The obverse of this piece belongs to that class of the large-letter series which have a single pellet on the breast ; the reverse in its lettering, which is of a smaller and rounder character than on the obverse, corresponds exactly with the lettering on the rose-on-breast class. The fact that two styles of lettering representing different mintages should thus meet on the same coin affords satisfactory proof that these two mintages could not have been very far removed the one from the other in their period of issue. And the further I carried my researches the more convinced was I that the two different styles of lettering on the obverse and the reverse of this sterling of Durham represented respectively the latest mintage of the large-letter series of sterlings of Edward I. and the earliest mintage of his small-letter coinages.

The front of the letter $\epsilon$ on the obverse of the sterling A 30 has a closed appearance, but is really open, the particular effect produced being occasioned by the wedges with which the front is pointed having coalesced in striking. Compare with the $\epsilon$ on the sterlings A $30-34$ and with the $\epsilon$ on the other large-letter coins of the same plate. The $\epsilon$ on the reverse, like the $\alpha$ on the same piece, although formed in the same manner, is to be

Addenda-Edwards I., II., III. (1279-1377).
regarded rather as a closed $\Theta$, the wedges in front having evidently been brought together by design. As a rule, it will be found that on all the subsequent coinages of the Edwardian series the $\propto$ and $\Theta$ have the fronts closed, and that on all the preceding coinages the $C$ and $\epsilon$, although sometimes presenting a closed appearance from the cause described, are of the open variety. Save in this difference, and that the smaller lettering on the reverse is of neater execution than the larger lettering on the obverse, it will be found that the larger lettering and the smaller lettering, as represented respectively on the obverse and the reverse of the sterling A 30 , approximate in style more closely than do the larger and the smaller lettering on any of the other coinages.

Groping my way backwards, from the standpoint afforded by the largeletter coinage as represented on the obverse of the sterlings A 30 , with the single pellet on the breast, I observed that the large-letter coinage most closely associated with this issue was the coinage with the three pellets on the breast ; this again was connected with the coinage with a single pellet before the inscriptions. Many sterlings, identical in the style of head, crown, and lettering, with this last class, were without the pellet before the legends. These were probably the earlier issues of the same coinage. Progressing in this retrograde fashion, I at last came to that remarkable group A $1-5$, on which the letter $N$ is more frequently of the reversed ( $V$ ) than of the regular form.

The sterlings A $1-5$ constituted the greater portion of the small hoard of Edward I. pennies, discovered at Northampton in the spring of 1873, described by Mr. Neck, Num. Chron., Third Series, vol. ii. It is important to observe that the only mints there represented, with the exception of Durham and Lincoln, and St. Edmundsbury of Robert de Hadelie, were London, Bristol, Canterbury, and York-the last mentioned four mints being those to which the first great coinage of Edward I., as proposed in the indenture with William de Turnemire of Marseilles, 8th December 1279, was to be confined. None of the Durham sterlings in the Northampton find had the mint mark of Bishop Beck, appointed Bishop of Durham in 1283-a significant circumstance, as implying that up to the time the hoard
was deposited none of these had been struck, which is further countenanced by the absence of the large-letter coinages with the pellet before the inscriptions, and of those with the single pellet and the triple pellets on the king's breast. All the coins, about two hundred in number, including two Alexander III. long single cross sterlings with mullets of six points on the reverse, were "as fresh as when issued from the mint." Mr. Neck confines himself to the remark that "it may safely be assumed that this hoard of freshly struck money was deposited in the earth during the reign of the first Edward." With the further light now brought to bear upon the Edwardian series by the Montrave hoard, Mr. Neck would have been fully warranted in stating that these "freshly struck" pieces of the Northampton hoard constituted the very earliest mintages of the first Edward.

The English sterlings with the reversed $K_{\text {, }}$, represented $\mathrm{A}_{1-5}$, form a $\mathrm{A}_{I-\text { London. }}$ group by themselves. Of those figured A I, with a rather broad style of head, reading GDW REX, having smaller lettering than the others in the same group, there were in the Montrave hoard 59 specimens. Eight of these had the letter $N$ of the regular form throughout; 22 had the $V$ of the reversed form throughout ; the remainder had the N indifferently of the reversed and of the regular form, but with the reversed form greatly preponderating. Two pieces with a somewhat peculiar head, but in the same broad style as A I, had the round Lombardic $\Omega$ on the obverse. Other characteristic letters besides the reversed K are the $\mathbb{A}$ and $\mathrm{S},{ }^{1}$ the former with the cross line above very long, the latter with a very slender waist. A wedge-shaped contractive sign is placed after $\pi N G L$. The crown on the EDW REX sterlings has the belt very straight, with round pellets on the spaces between the lis. No other mint but London.

The sterlings A 2 are of larger module in every respect, but have the a 2 -London. same style of head, crown, and lettering as on the sterlings A i. REX is expressed in the contracted form, either by a sharp wedge-shaped contractive sign passing through the tail of the R or by a shorter and thicker

[^52][^53]Addenda-Edwards I., II., III.
(1279-1377).

Addenda-Edwards I., II., III. (1279-1377). Group A I-5.

A 3-London.

A 4-London, Canterbury.

A 5-London, Bristol, Canterbury, Durham, York,
wedge-shaped contractive sign disposed immediately behind the $R$, and placed also after ANGL, as on the sterlings A I. There were 18 of these pieces in the Montrave hoard, of which 2 had an annulet on the breast. All were of the London mint.

Of sterlings as A 3, with arrow-head shaped ornaments on the spaces of the crown between the lis, but in other respects the same as the sterlings A 2, except that the wedge-shaped contractive sign behind the $R$ seldom passes through the letter, the Montrave hoard contained 25 specimens -all of London.

With the same lettering and contractive signs as on the preceding, but with a longer and a more sombre style of countenance, represented A 4 , the Montrave hoard contained 62 sterlings. Five of these had round pellets, the remainder had arrow-head shaped ornaments on the spaces of the crown. With the exception of one coin of Canterbury-which appears to have belonged to the class represented A 5, although with its obverse struck from a die of A 4 -all were of the London mint.

The sterlings A 5 may be regarded as constituting the first general coinage. These have a shorter style of head and a longer neck than the sterlings A 4, but are the same in all other respects-in the shape of the crown, lettering, and contractive signs. It is a significant circumstance that, with the addition of Durham, the mints represented on these pieces are the identical mints mentioned in the indenture of 8th December 1279-London, Bristol, Canterbury, York. Of sterlings as A 5 the Montrave hoard contained-of London 106 specimens, of Bristol 42 specimens, of Canterbury I2 specimens, of York 25 specimens, of Durham I4 specimens; of the Durham coins none had episcopal mint marks.

It may be remarked that on none of the Edwardian sterlings, in the long series represented in Plate A, do we find the same approximation to the head and crown on the Henry long double cross sterlings as occurs on the EDW RGX and EDW lk pieces.

The word RGX in full, moreover, as invariably employed upon the Henry long cross sterlings, may naturally be supposed to have preceded the abbreviated forms $\mathbf{R}^{\boldsymbol{r}}$ and $\boldsymbol{\Gamma}$ on the Edward I. sterlings. The circum-
stance that none of the first four pieces in Group A represent general mint- Addenda-Edages would seem to imply that, although the puncheons and dies for these may possibly have been prepared prior to or in connection with those for A 5, this may have been simply as competing designs for the proposed general coinage of 1279 ; but that, as the variety approved of, the puncheons and dies for A 5 would be employed for general service, while those for the other varieties would be utilised for the extensive requirements of the London mint.

Closely connected with the sterlings in Group A I-5 are the coins Group A 6-rofigured A 6-10, forming another distinct group, remarkable for having a plain band or collar round the king's neck, instead of the usual drapery divided in front. The style of the crown, in having round pellets instead of arrow-head shaped ornaments on the spaces, corresponds with that on the sterlings A I, 2, but the belt is considerably more curved. The lettering has the stems slightly curved. The letter A on these pieces is not so open as on the sterlings of the preceding group, and the cross line at the top is much shorter. The N is of the regular form, but on the reverses of a few coins it is of the reversed character; in these cases, however, as shown from the broad $\mathbb{A}$ with the long top line in CIVITAS, the reverses are really from reverse dies of the preceding group, with which, to some extent, the coins of this group have interchanged dies, three of the London sterlings A 5 in the Montrave hoard having their reverses from dies of this group. The S is slender-waisted but fuller than before. Instead of the broad wedge-shaped contractive signs after $R$ and ANGL, we now find crescents, sometimes with the lower end drawn out. The cross before the legend on the obverse is larger than on the coins of the preceding group, and partakes more of the cross potent than of the cross patée.

Of sterlings as A 6 there were in the Montrave hoard II specimens, A 6 -London. all of London. The lettering on the reverses of these pieces was homogeneous with that on the obverses. But in a small find of Edward sterlings at Dumfries, examined by me, I observed a sterling with the obverse as A 6 and with the reverse from a die of A 5 .

Of sterlings as A 7 the Montrave hoard contained-of London 8 A 7 -London, specimens, of Bristol 2 specimens-one of which had its reverse from a die ${ }^{\text {Bristol, York. }}$

Aldenda-Ed- of A 5-of York 7 specimens. Of sterlings as A 8 there were in the wards I., II., III. (1279-1377). Group A 6-10. A 8-Durham, York. A 9-London. A ro-London, Bristol, Canterbury. Montrave hoard-of Durham (royal mint) I specimen, and of York 26 specimens. The head on A 8 is only a variety of that on $A 7$.

Of sterlings as A 9 only two specimens were in the Montrave hoard, both of London, one having its reverse from a die of A 5 , with the broad A and reversed V. Of sterlings as A io the Montrave hoard containedof London 2 specimens, of Bristol I specimen, of Canterbury 3 specimens.

Coins of this group were among the small find of early pennies of Edward I. at Northampton. They are particularly described by Mr. Neck, who states-" A plain well-defined band, varied in size, and without being as usual folded in front, encircles the neck of the king."

Another group, whose issue must have been partly contemporaneous with, and partly in immediate sequence to that of the above group, is represented by the sterlings A II-I5. On these pieces the bust has the usual drapery, divided in front, but of the slightest description. The crown, except on the sterlings A II, has arrow-head shaped ornaments on the spaces: on the sterlings A i i the crown has round pellets, as on the coins of the preceding group.

Except in the drapery not being divided in front there is no difference between the sterlings A Io of the preceding group and the sterlings A II of this group, the head and lettering on both being identical. Of sterlings as A I I there were in the Montrave hoard 5 specimens, all of London;

A 12-London, Bristol, Canterbury. and in the Dumfries find I noticed a Canterbury penny of this variety. With the same head, crown, and lettering as A ir, a sterling of London in the S.S.A. collection, not from the Montrave hoard, has the neck encircled with a collar of the pronounced character as on the sterlings A 6 .

The sterlings A 12 are simply a variety of A 11 , but with a shorter neck. Of these pieces, with some slight differences of head, the Montrave hoard contained-of London 23 specimens, of Bristol 5 specimens, of Canterbury 2 specimens.

The sterlings A 13 have been particularly referred to in connection with the Alexander III. long single cross sterlings Group I. Class I., as corresponding closely with these in lettering. The face is longer and the
crown smaller than on the other English sterlings of the same group. The Addenda-Edonly mints represented in the Montrave hoard of the sterlings A 13 were Durham, Newcastle, and York, all northern mints. Of Durham (royal Group a in-5. mint) there were 26 specimens, of Newcastle 25 specimens, of York 72 specimens, of which 2 had a quatrefoil on the reverse, and 3 had a quatrefoil both on the obverse and on the reverse-the first appearance of the quatrefoil on the York sterlings as represented in the Montrave hoard.

It is important to note that the mint of Newcastle, now met with for the first time in connection with the large-letter sterlings of Edward I., apparently does not again appear till, along with other mints new and revived, we find it employed on the extensive small-letter coinage of 1300 -A 37.

Keeping in view the proximity of Newcastle to Berwick, the great mint of Alexander III., as also that the work of the coinage in England and Scotland alike was carried on largely by foreign workmen at this period, and how remarkably the sterlings $\mathrm{A}_{\mathrm{I}}$, in the lettering and in the crescentshaped contractive signs, correspond with the Scottish long single cross sterlings Group I. Class I., it appears by no means improbable that when the Newcastle mint was closed-as, for some reason or other, it seems to have been on the completion of the $\mathrm{A}_{13}$ coinage-the moneyers there engaged may have transferred their services to Scotland, and thus have initiated the long single cross money of Alexander III. Or moncyers may have come from Durham or York. It was still very early times with the long single cross coinage of England. Robert de Hadelie, who was appointed moneyer at St. Edmundsbury in 1280, commences operations apparently only with the sterlings A 14 , the companion issue to the sterlings A 13 .

The great number and variety of dies observable upon the long single cross money of Edward I. up to this time is satisfactorily accounted for by the pressing necessity of replacing the long double cross coinages of Henry III.

The sterlings A 14 and A 15 cannot well be separated. They repre- A 14 , 15-Lonsent a very extensive class, of which some have the head approximating to
don, Bristol, Canterbury, Durham, Lincoln, York, Robert de Hadelie.

Addenda-Edwards I., II., III. (1279-1377).
Group A 11-15.

A 14, others to A 15 . On a few pieces, with the head as A 15 , the letter $S$ is of the same full-bodied character as on the sterlings of the following groups ; but in general it is slender-waisted as on the preceding coinages, and is usually rendered as sloping backwards. The $L$ on the sterlings $A$ ${ }^{14}, I_{5}$, is of the regular form, having the foot put in by a small wedge, instead of exhibiting a tall up-turn, as on the sterlings A 13 , and as on the Alexander III. pennies, Group I. Class I. The crescents after R and ANGL on the sterlings A 14, 15, frequently present a solid appearance, like bullets split in halves.

Of the above class, A 14, 15, the Montrave hoard contained-of London 222 specimens, of which 4 had the full-bodied $S$ on the obverse, and I had the full-bodied $S$ on both sides; of Bristol 64 specimens; of Canterbury 52 specimens; of Durham (royal mint) 4 specimens, of which 2 had their reverses from dies of A 5 ; of Lincoln 42 specimens; of York 5 specimens. The name of Robert de Hadelie, although it does not appear among the Montrave coins of this class, occurs on the reverse of a sterling in the S.S.A. collection with the obverse as A 14. nected, however, with the coins of the immediately preceding series.

The first two varieties, A 16,17 , are of a transitional character, marking the change from the slender-bodied to the full-bodied S . These coins are chiefly remarkable, however, for the variety of contractive signs displayed upon them-r. Small solid crescents of the split-bullet character, as on the sterlings A 14, I5, of the preceding group. 2. Short thick semi-crescents of a kind almost peculiar to the coins of this class. 3. Elongated semicrescents, resembling birds' claws. 4. Slim sharp wedges.

A 16, 17-London, Bristol, Canterbury, Chester, Durham, Lincoln, Robert de Hadelie.

As A 16, 17, there were 352 sterlings in the Montrave hoard, distributed as follows:-London, 175 coins ; of which 78 had the slender $S$ on both sides, 2 had the slender S on the obverse and the full-bodied S on the reverse, 58 had the full-bodied S on both sides, 37 had the full-bodied S on the obverse and the slender $S$ on the reverse. Bristol, 38 coins, showing the two styles of $S$ in equal proportions. Canterbury, 66 coins, chiefly with the full-bodied S. Chester, 5 coins, all with the slender S. Durham (royal
mint), 20 coins, all with the full-bodied S. Lincoln, 44 coins, chiefly with Addenda-Edthe slender S. St. Edmundsbury of Robert de Hadelie, 4 coins, of which 3 wardsi., II.,III. had the slender S .
(1279-1377).
Group A 16-21.

The sterlings A 18 have a rather large style of head with an unusual A 18 -London, development of nose. On these the $S$ is of the remarkably full variety so Bristol, Canterfrequently met with on the Alexander single cross sterlings, Group II. Class York.

1. The correspondence in other respects of the lettering on these pieces with the lettering on these Scottish sterlings has been already referred to, and sufficiently shows that they are of the same period.

Of the class A 18, five mints were represented in the Montrave hoard -London, by 20 coins; Bristol, by 9 coins; Canterbury, by 3 coins; Lincoln, by 7 coins; York, with round $n$, by 2 coins. Apparently this is the last occasion on which the names of Bristol, Lincoln, and York appear on the large-letter coinages of Edward I. Lincoln is met with no more on the Edwards I., II., III. series. Bristol and York are revived on the small-letter coinage of 1300.

The sterlings A i9 exhibit two varieties of the letter $A$; of these one has the body barred across the centre as on all the preceding issues, the other having the body open $(\pi)$, a form which eventually supersedes the

Canterbury, Durham, Robert de Hadelie. barred $A$. The letter $S$ usually shows the egg-shaped swelling on the centre, as on the sterlings A 18 . The stems of the $\mathrm{D}, \mathrm{R}$, and other upright characters are slightly curved. Elongated semi-crescents, or commas, are placed after $R$ and $\mathbb{A N G L}$.

The mints represented in the Montrave hoard of this class wereLondon, 15 coins, of which io had the open $\pi$; Canterbury, io coins, of which 9 were with the open $\pi$; Durham (royal mint), 2 coins, both with the open $\pi$; St. Edmundsbury of Robert de Hadelie, with the open $\pi$, I coin.

From the introduction of this coinage, and till the appearance of the small-letter sterlings of A.D. I 300, A 37, the only mints in operation seem to have been London, Canterbury, Durham, and St. Edmundsbury.

The next two mintages represented on the plate A $20,2 \mathrm{I}$, display only the larger and the smaller varieties of one style of head, and constitute only one class, remarkable for the manner in which the long semi-crescent.

Addenda-Ed- or comma, after R connects itself with the tail of that letter, forming with it (1279-1377).
Group A $16-2$. . is barred across, but very slightly, with the bar placed very low down.
The $S$ is full-bodied, and of a larger and freer character than before.
The mints represented in the Montrave hoard of the class A 20, 2 I , were-London, 86 coins; Canterbury, 48 coins; Durham (royal mint), 8 coins; St. Edmundsbury of Robert de Hadelie-all with ROBERTVS, the only instance of this reading in the Montrave hoard- 10 coins.

Group A 22-30.
The sterlings A 22-30 comprise the latest group of the large-letter series of Edward I. The lettering on these pieces is rather larger than before, particularly the G, except on A 22, where it corresponds with the G on the coins of the preceding groups. Large well-curved commas occur as contractives, usually cutting into the R .

On the class represented by A 22, both the G and S are smaller than

A 22-London, Canterbury, Durham, Robert de Hadelie.
on the coins of the other classes in the same group. The Montrave hoard contained-of London 114 specimens, of Canterbury 55 specimens, of Durham 5 specimens, of St. Edmundsbury of Robert de Hadelie 3 specimens.

The five Durham coins, A 22, were specially interesting: consisting of two sterlings of the royal mint-or of what is usually called such, as being without episcopal marks-and three sterlings with the cross moline, the mint mark of Bishop Beck, of which one (the figured coin) had a plain cross before the legend on the obverse, and a cross moline instead of three pellets in the first quarter of the reverse ; the other two pieces had the cross moline placed before EDW and before CIVITAS, as on all the following of Beck struck previously to A 37, the coinage of 1300 , on which, and on all Beck's subsequent issues, the cross moline is placed before the inscription on the obverse only.

Bishop Beck was appointed to the see of Durham in 1283 . It was probably in that year that the sterlings of the class A 22 were minted. The cross moline, ${ }^{1}$ Beck's well-known family bearing, which is now for the first time employed on the Edwardian sterlings, does not appear in the first

[^54]quarter of the cross on the reverse of any of the other Durham pieces in the Montrave hoard, but is always confined to the legendary circles ; presumably, therefore, the placing of it in the first quarter of the cross on the reverse was the manner in which the cross moline was first represented on Beck's mintages.

The sterlings A ${ }_{23}, 24$, are varieties of one and the same coinage. The heads on these coins are identical, but for some reason a pellet is placed

Addenda-Ed-
wards I., IL., III.
(1279-1377).
Group A 22-30. before the inscriptions on the one and not on the other variety. And it is a curious circumstance that while, on the sterlings without the pellet (A ${ }^{23}$ ), the letter $\mathbb{A}$ has usually a slightly barred appearance, on those with the pellet before the inscriptions (A 24 ), the letter $\pi$, for the greater part, is quite open. As shown on both the figured specimens, the $\mathbb{A}$ has this slightly barred appearance. These pieces have been selected, however, chiefly with a view for the illustration of the Alexander III. single cross sterlings, Group II. Class II., on which the $\mathbb{A}$ has a similar slightly barred appearance.

The Montrave hoard contained of these pieces as follows:-of London as A 23 (without pellets before the inscriptions), 23 specimens; as A 24 (with pellets before the inscriptions), 68 specimens; of Canterbury as A 23 , 19 specimens; as A 24, 45 specimens. Durham and St. Edmundsbury were not represented of either variety.

The next two sterlings on the plate ( $\mathrm{A}_{25}, 26$ ) correspond in the same $\mathrm{A}_{25}$-London, way as the sterlings A 23,24 ; the same head appears on both, but, while Canterbury, Durthe sterlings A 25 are without, the sterlings A 26 are with the pellets before the inscriptions; and while on the former the letter $\mathbb{A}$ is almost invariably Hadelie.
26-London, Canterbury. barred across the centre, on the latter the letter $\pi$ is almost invariably unbarred.

These pieces were represented in the Montrave hoard in the following proportions:-London, A 25,107 coins ; A 26, 54 coins. Canterbury, A 25, 34 coins; A 26, 53 coins. Durham of Bishop Beck, A 25 (a cross moline before the inscriptions, obverse and reverse), 4 coins. St. Edmundsbury of Robert de Hadelie, A 25, I coin.

It may have been that the pellets were placed before the inscriptions

Addenda-Edwards I., II., III. (1279-1377). Group A 22-30.

A 27 -London, Canterbury.

A 28-Durham, St. Edmundsbury.

A 25 -London. A 29 -London, Canterbury. A 30-London, Canterbury, Durham, St. Edmundsbury.
on A 24 and A 26 to indicate that these pieces were of subsequent coinage to A 23 and A 25. In this case A 23 may have been of contemporaneous issue with A 25 , and A 24 with A 26 .

On the coins A 27 three pellets are placed on a row on the royal breast at the fastening of the robe. Only sterlings of London and Canterbury occur of this variety. But there are Durham and St. Edmundsbury coins (A 28), which, with the breast plain, have the same head and lettering as on these, and are evidently of the same coinage. The style of head differs from that on A 25,26 , only in the hair being more loose and ropy.

With three pellets on the breast, as A 27, there were in the Montrave hoard-of London 60 sterlings, of Canterbury 17 sterlings. With the same head, but without the pellets on the breast, as A 28, there were of Durham 4 sterlings-all of Beck's mintage, having the ends of the cross moline before the legends curiously formed of annulets, except on the reverse of one specimen where the cross moline was of the ordinary variety. Of St. Edmundsbury as A 28, without the three pellets on the breast, and with the usual plain cross before the legend on the obverse, the Montrave hoard contained 3 specimens, all with the name of the mint, now represented for the first time, instead of the name of Robert de Hadelie, which does not again occur.

The sterlings A 29, 30, have a single pellet, and occasionally two pellets, at the junction of the robe on the breast. One variety has the head corresponding to A 25,26 . Some with the heads as A 29,30 , have the eyes put in with almond-shaped pellets, as on the rose-on-breast sterlings, A ${ }_{31}$. The fleurs-de-lis of the crown on the pellet-on-breast coins are remarkably well spread, a characteristic also of the rose-on-breast pieces.

Of these coins the Montrave hoard contained as follows : of London一with the heads as A $25,29,30-37$ specimens; of Canterbury-with the heads as A 29, 30-14 specimens; of Durham, episcopal of Beck-with the heads as A $29,30-2$ specimens, of which one (A 30 ), the figured coin, is the remarkable piece of which mention has been made as having the small lettering on the reverse, from a die of the rose-on-breast coinage. A pied-
fort of Durham, in the S.S.A. collection, with the obverse as A 30, has the Addendn-Edsame large lettering on the reverse as on the obverse, and has the cross wards I , IIL, iIIL. moline before CIVITAS of the same extraordinarily large character as Group $\mathrm{A} 22 \cdot 30$. before GDW. Of St. Edmundsbury, with the head as A 30, the Montrave hoard contained 1 specimen. Here ends the large-letter series of Edward I.

The sterlings A $3^{1-37}$ constitute the first group of the small-letter Group $A_{3}{ }^{1} \cdot 37$. series of Edward I. These have the king's name rendered GDW as on the preceding groups of the large-letter series, but they differ from the largeletter sterlings in several respects. 1. They are of smaller module, while giving the same average weight. 2. They have a plain cross instead of a cross patée with the ends inclining to potent before the inscription on the obverse, except on the sterlings with the rose on the breast, A $3_{1}$, which have the cross of the same character as on the sterlings of the large-letter series. 3. As opposed to the barred $\mathbb{A}$ and open C and $€$ of the large-letter coins, the $\pi$ on these pieces is usually open, or without the bar across the centre, and the $\alpha$ and $\Theta$ have the fronts closed.

Reference has been made, in connection with the Alexander III. single cross sterlings, Group I. Class II., to the remarkable manner in which the lettering on these Scottish pieces corresponds with that on the English rose-on-breast sterlings. The same lettering and neat execution occur also on a sterling of Dublin with the rose on the breast and the bust in a triangle in the S.S.A. collection, from the Montrave hoard. We can scarcely doubt that these were all of a period. Were it to be assumed, however, that the coinage of Alexander III. had terminated with his death ( I 286 ), this would prevent us fixing a later date to the English rose-onbreast sterlings than 1286, and this in face of the fact that the latest of the small-letter sterlings of the group A 3 1-37 represent the coinage of 1300. But the close correspondence of certain of the later sterlings of Alexander III, with certain of the sterlings of Baliol renders it very improbable that the coinage of Alexander III. should have terminated with his death.

The sterlings A 31 have the bust very well draped, and this is a characteristic of the other sterlings in the same group, as also are the neat

Addenda-Edwards I., II., III. 1279-1377).
Group A 3r-37.

A 31-London, Canterbury. A 31, without the rose on the breast-London, Canterbury, Durham, St. Edmundsbury.
small commas after R and $\pi N G L$, which are also found on the Scottish sterlings Group I. Class II. in G'đIT and G'SIT. The letter $S$ has the points barbed like the S on the large-letter sterlings $\mathrm{A} 29,30$. Some sterlings, as A 31, have a slender-bodied S. The G has the front barbed. The other letters have the stems erect. The eyes are put in with almond-shaped pellets, and the fleurs-de-lis of the crown are very well spread.

There were of London, in the Montrave hoard, as A 31, 8 sterlings, of which 17 had the rose, and 1 was without the rose on the breast. There were also 4 sterlings of Canterbury, of which 3 had the rose, and I was without the rose on the breast. Durham was represented by a reverse only, that on the mule A 30 , but it is very probable that none of the Durham sterlings have the rose on the breast, following in this respect the Durham and St. Edmundsbury sterlings A 28, which, with the bust and the lettering the same as on the London and Canterbury sterlings A 27 , have not, as on these pieces, the three pellets on the breast. St. Edmundsbury was represented by I sterling, without the rose.

The sterlings A $3^{2}$ correspond very closely in the style of crown and lettering with the sterlings A 3I, except that the stems of the upright letters are slightly curved. These have a comma after $h y B$, as well as after R and $\pi N G L$. There were 10 sterlings as $\mathrm{A}_{32}$ in the Montrave hoard, all of London. None had a rose or other ornament on the breast.

The sterlings A 33, 34, have the stems of the letters straighter than on the sterlings A 32. The $h$ has a slight notch in the tail. The $S$ is sometimes of the same 8 -shaped form as on the sterlings A $3 \mathrm{I}, 32$, but a new style of S is more frequently introduced having a thick body with long sharp twisted ends. The contractive signs are rendered either by small crescents or by sharp commas, and are employed after R, ANGL, and $\hbar y B$, sometimes also after $h$. The crown is smaller than on the preceding varieties.

Of London in the Montrave hoard there were 67 sterlings as A 33, and 30 as A 34 ; of Canterbury I sterling as A 34 ; of St. Edmundsbury I sterling as A 33 .

We now come to the star-on-breast issues. These are treated by Hawkins as constituting one coinage only. There are, however, three
several and entirely distinct varieties of these pieces, represented by A 35 , 36,37 ; each having its companion coinage without the star on the breast, but corresponding exactly in all other respects.

Nos. 35,36 , vary very slightly from A 34 . There is less drapery on the bust ; the letter h has not the notch in the tail ; the S is always of the twisted variety, having the thick body and the long sharp ends as represented on A 34. Commas occur as marks of contraction after R, ANGL, and $h y B$, never after $h$; and frequently there are no contractive signs.

Of London, as A 35 , there were in the Montrave hoard 13 specimens, of which 6 were without and 7 were with the star on the breast; as A 36 , 105 specimens, of which 26 were without and 79 were with the star on the breast. Of Canterbury, as A 35 , there were 7 specimens, of which I was without and 6 were with the star on the breast ; as A 36,16 specimens, of which 2 were without and I4 were with the star on the breast. Of Durham, as A 35 , there were no specimens; and as A 36 only one piece with the star on the breast, episcopal of Beck, with the cross moline before the inscriptions on both sides, as on all the sterlings of Beck in the preceding issues. There were also, however, 8 Durham sterlings of rude execution, with the breast plain and the cross moline before the legends on the obverse and the reverse, evidently imitated from the Beck sterlings A 36 , and possibly of authentic issue. Of St. Edmundsbury, as A 35, the Montrave hoard contained I specimen without the star on the breast; as A 36,2 specimens, both with the star on the breast.

On the sterlings A 35,36 , but chiefly on the latter variety, the letter N is sometimes without the transverse connecting bar. On the sterlings A 37 this is the rule, not the exception.

In the style of the bust and lettering the sterlings A 37 are a reproduction of the sterlings A 36 , only on a smaller scale, as shown more particularly in the size of the lettering, thus clearly marking these out as a distinctly different coinage. That they belong to quite a different issue is further shown by the circumstance that, while the sterlings A 36-as in the case of all the preceding issues, from the sterlings A 19, 20-are confined to the four staple mints, London, Canterbury, Durham, and St. Edmundsbury, vol. I.

Addenda-EdwardsI., II., III. (1279-1377). Group A 31-37.

A 37 -London, Bristol, Canterbury, Chester, Durham, Exeter, Kingston-uponHull, Newcastle, St. Edmundsbury, York.
A 37, star on breast-All the mints as above. A 37, pellet on breast-London.
the sterlings A 37 embrace not only these four mints, but also Bristol, Chester, Newcastle, and York, here once more brought into operation, and Exeter, and Kingston-upon-Hull, now introduced for the first time. And in further distinction it may be remarked that, besides the much more general occurrence of the $N$ without the connecting transverse bar on the sterlings $A$ 37, the letter $氏$ on these is formed differently from what it is on the sterlings A 36 , having the front line curved instead of straight, and not so boldly rendered as on $A$ 36. The $S$ also has the sharp ends somewhat curtailed; and the double V in W is frequently disjoined. Commas, and similar contractive signs, are very rarely introduced on the sterlings A 37.

Of sterlings as A 37 the Montrave hoard contained in all 803 specimens, distributed as follows :-

London : the breast plain, 129 coins; with the star on the breast, 274 coins; with a pellet on the breast, 9 coins. Bristol: the breast plain, II coins ; with the star on the breast, 43 coins. Canterbury : the breast plain, 54 coins ; with the star on the breast, 50 coins. Chester: the breast plain, 2 coins; with the star on the breast, 3 coins. Durham, non-episcopal : the breast plain, 30 coins; with the star on the breast, 18 coins. Durham, episcopal of Beck (the cross moline now on the obverse only, as on all the following of Beck, thus further and still more notably distinguishing the sterlings A 37 from those of A 36) : the breast plain, 10 coins; with the star on the breast, Io coins. Exeter : the breast plain, I coin ; with the star on the breast, 14 coins. Kingston-upon-Hull : the breast plain, I coin; with the star on the breast, 16 coins. Newcastle: the breast plain, 39 coins; with the star on the breast, 21 coins. St. Edmundsbury: the breast plain, 4 coins; with the star on the breast, 9 coins. York: the breast plain, 13 coins, of which 3 had a quatrefoil on the reverse; with the star on the breast, $4^{2}$ coins, of which I had a quatrefoil on the reverse.

As A 37, of the Durham sterlings, 4 non-episcopal, with the breast plain, had their reverses from dies of A 36 ; I non-episcopal, with the breast plain, had its reverse from a die of the immediately following coinage, A 38 ; 2 episcopal of Beck, with the star on the breast, had their reverses from dies of A 36. Of the Canterbury sterlings, 3 with the breast plain had their
reverses from dies of A 38 . Of Newcastle, no less than 38 of the sterlings Addenda-Edwith the breast plain, and 2 with the star on the breast, had their reverses ${ }^{\text {wardsI., II., III. }}$ from dies of $A 38$.

The only instance in which the names of Kingston-upon-Hull and Exeter appear upon the reverses of the Edwardian coinages is in connection with the sterlings A 37. It is certain, therefore, that these constitute the great coinage of A.D. I 300. Under A.D. I 300 Ruding remarks:-"There seems to have been at this time a coinage of considerable extent, for, according to the Red Book of the Exchequer, it was ordained, upon the 29th of March, that there should be in London thirty furnaces, in Canterbury eight, in Kingston-upon-Hull four, in Newcastle-upon-Tyne two, in Bristol four, and in Exeter two. The mints at Bristol, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Kingston-upon-Hull, and Exeter, were now either worked for the first time, or considerably enlarged, for a writ was issued in this year which ordered houses to be built for the workmen, and made provision for bringing expert artificers in that line from beyond the seas." This statement as to the mints of Bristol and Newcastle satisfactorily confirms what the coins themselves have shown us, namely, that these mints must have been discontinued for some considerable time.

The coinage A 37 , A.D. 1300 , is the last on which the trefoil style of crown, or the crown with three leaves on the fleurs-de-lis at the sides, is placed on English coins; with the sterlings A 38 the bifoil form of crown, or the crown with two leaves on the fleurs-de-lis at the sides, first makes its appearance. It is proper to state, however, that certain forgeries of English sterlings in the Montrave hoard, with the obverses inscribed GDWK and GDWAR, and, therefore, presumably struck subsequently to the GDW coinages A 37 , had the trefoil form of crown. The busts and the lettering on these pieces showed their true character, as in many cases these were close counterparts of the busts and the lettering on certain of the foreign sterlings in the same hoard, and differing notably from the normal types presented by the ODWA and GDWAR sterlings of the genuine English mintages.

Contrary to what has hitherto been supposed, the sterlings with the Group A 38-42. king's name reading GDWARD in full, A 38, come next in order of issue

Addenda-Edwards I., I1., III. (1279-1377). Group A 38-42.

A 39-London, Canterbury, Durham, Newcastle, St. Edmundsbury.
to the GDW sterlings, A 37, as shown by their numerous interchanges of dies, both of obverse and reverse, with these pieces, and by their relations to the other sterlings of the series, notably to A 39,40 . With the corresponding coinages, A 39-42, the sterlings A 38 constitute another wellmarked group, but distinguished from the other coinages in the same group by the bust coming down flush with the inner circle, as on all the preceding issues. On the remaining coins of this group, and on the coins of the following group, the lower portion of the bust is peaked, and does not come down flush with the inner circle. The head on the sterlings A 38 is longer and thinner than on the sterlings A 37 , but it is really much of the same character, exhibiting the same style of curls. The lettering at a first glance presents a considerable contrast to that on the sterlings A 37, owing to the stems being curved, while on these others the stems are straight. But individually, except in the case of one or two letters such as the N and W , the several letters on the one are almost the counterparts of those on the other.

On the GDWTRD sterlings A 38 the narrow curved $N$ has much the appearance of the letter $Z$; the W almost invariably has the double V interlinked; and the letter $S$ is more convoluted than formerly. The comma contractive signs are promiscuously introduced; sometimes after R, $\mathbb{N} N G L$, and $h y B$; sometimes after $\mathbb{K N G L}$ and $h y B$; sometimes after KNGL only ; sometimes after $h y B$ only ; and frequently they do not appear at all.

The GDWARD sterlings, A 38 , in the Montrave hoard, were distributed as follows:-London, I3I specimens, all with one exception with the interlinked W ; Canterbury, 48 specimens, all save one with the interlinked W ; Durham (non-episcopal), 23 specimens-of which one was inscribed GDWTRD RGX—all with the interlinked W ; Newcastle, I7 specimens, all with the interlinked W ; St. Edmundsbury, 3 specimens, all with the interlinked W.

Out of the 131 London sterlings, as A 38, no less than 74 had their reverses from dies of A 37; the straight lettering on the reverses, and the unbarred II in LOIIDOII contrasting curiously with the curved lettering on the obverses and the barred twisted N in $\mathbb{A N G L}$. Out of 15 London sterlings, as A 38 -in another find examined by me, the Dumfries hoard-I 3
had their reverses from dies of A 37. Taken in connection with the circum- Addenda-Edstance previously mentioned, that, with the obverses as A 37,3 Canter- ${ }_{(1279-1377) \text {. }}^{\text {ward I.II. }}$. bury sterlings, I Durham sterling, and 38 Newcastle sterlings, had their Group A $38-42$. reverses from dies of A 38 , this leaves no doubt that the one issue must have been in immediate sequence to the other.

With the same head and lettering as on the GDWTRD sterlings, A 38 , A 38 , EDWr' certain coins in the Montrave hoard were inscribed GDWR'. The bust on these pieces was not so well spread as on the GDWKRD sterlings, and the neck was thicker. They were confined solely to the two principal mints, London and Canterbury. Of London as GDWR' the Montrave hoard contained I3 specimens, of which io had the interlinked W ; of Canterbury 5 specimens, none of which had the interlinked W.

The sterlings next in order of issue to the above are the coins figured A 39, inscribed GDWKR. These have the same head as on A 38, but the lower part of the bust is usually peaked. The lettering is the same as on

A ${ }^{88}$-London, Canterbury, Durham, Newcastle, A 38. The comma contractives are generally placed after hyB only, but are for the greater part omitted.

Of London, as A 39, the Montrave hoard contained rgo specimens, of which only I had the interlinked W. Of Canterbury there were 122 specimens, of which 2 had the interlinked W. Of Durham there were 25 specimens, comprising I non-episcopal with the interlinked W, and 24 episcopal of Beck, with the cross moline before the legend on the obverse, of which none had the interlinked W. Of Newcastle, now represented for the last time, there were 4 specimens; none with the interlinked W. Of St. Edmundsbury there were 6 specimens; none with the interlinked W.

Of the 190 London sterlings, as A 39,27 had their reverses from dies of A 37. Of 20 specimens in the Dumfries hoard one piece only had its reverse from a die of A 37. The much greater proportion of the sterlings as A 38 than as A 39, which had their reverses from dies of A 37 , shows that the $日 D W \pi R D$ sterlings A 38 were of more immediately proximate issue to the UDW sterlings A 37 than the GDW

It is singular that, while all the Durham coins as A 38 were nonepiscopal, the money of Beck should have been so largely represented on

Addenda-Ed- the two classes immediately preceding and following A 38 -viz., A 37 and ward I., II.,III. A 39. Partly owing to this circumstance, partly from the misleading (1279-1377).

A 40-London, Canterbury, Dur ham, St. Edmundsbury. character of Bartlet's arrangement, ${ }^{1}$ and still more from there not having been any great finds of Edward sterlings in England since the more critical study of English coins has been introduced and carried on, chiefly in the pages of the Numismatic Chronicle, by so many distinguished English numismatists, the proper place of these sterlings inscribed UDWTRD, A 38 , and the order of sequence, generally, of the coins of the first three Edwards, have hitherto been entirely misunderstood.

The sterlings A 40, inscribed UDWT, have the same head as on those A 38, 39. The bust, in general, presents a still more peaked appearance than on the sterlings A 39. The lettering, as before, has curved stems. The $G$ is more open, with a sharp angular back. The $R$ has the back entirely closed in at the centre. The S is more convoluted. The W is never interlinked. Commas as contractive signs are now rarely introduced, and only after hyB ; a contractive sign more frequently employed, although also of very rare occurrence, is the placing of two, and sometimes of three pellets after hy B.

Although confined to the four staple mints, London, Canterbury, Durham, and St. Edmundsbury, the sterlings A 40 are by far the most numerously represented class in all the Edwardian series. Of London, as A 40, there were in the Montrave hoard 757 sterlings; of these 2 had a comma after hyb, 8 had two pellets after hyB, 2 had three pellets after hyb, and

[^55][^56]I had one pellet after R. Of Canterbury there were 416 specimens, of which none showed commas or pellets as contractive signs. Of Durham there were 74 specimens, of which 25 were non-episcopal, and 49 were Group A $38-42$. episcopal of Beck with the cross moline before the legend on the obverse ; of these last 4 had a comma after hyB. Of St. Edmundsbury there were 32 specimens, of which 4 had a comma after hyB.

Only one London sterling, as A 40 , out of the 757 coins with $\Theta D W \pi$, as above, had its reverse from a die of A 37 , the GDW coinage of A.D. I 300.

Of all the mints revived, or brought into operation for the first time, on the coinage A 37 , of A.D. 1300, it will have been observed that-with the exception of the four staple mints, London, Canterbury, Durham, and St. Edmundsbury-Newcastle is the only mint whose name appears on the two following issues, A 38, 39.

A circumstance of some significance in connection with the four Newcastle sterlings with GDWAR, A 39, in the Montrave hoard, was, that on three of these the crown was put in by punches of the coinage of A.D. I 300, A 37, as shown by its being of the trefoil instead of the bifoil form, as on all the other sterlings A 38,39 . From this, and from the interchanges of dies with A 37, of which notice has been taken, it may be inferred that the coinages A 38, 39, and probably also some portion of A 40, as being the coinage the more closely resembling these in the style of head, could not have been struck very long subsequently to the coinage A 37 , of A.D. 1300. Edward I. did not die till 7 th July A.D. I 307. Consequently these coins, which by Bartlet's arrangement have been assigned to Edward II., must with greater probability be regarded as having been struck under Edward I. ; as also the two following issues, A $4 \mathrm{r}, 4^{2}$, which are merely varieties of A 40.

The sterlings A 41 are for the greater part inscribed GDW ; occasionally, but very rarely, GDWAR. On these the face is shorter, and the belt of the crown more curved than on the sterlings A 40 , displaying the brow

A 41 -London, Canterbury, Durham, St. Edmundsbury. more prominently. No difference appears in the lettering, except that the $\in$ is more rounded. Commas and pellets, sometimes in conjunction, are the contractive signs employed; but are very rarely introduced, and almost invariably only after hyb.

Addenda-Ed-
wards I., II., III. (1279-1377). Group A 38-42.

Of London as A 4I the Montrave hoard contained 555 specimens, of which only 3 were inscribed GDWAR, and these had DN for DNS. Of Canterbury there were 267 specimens, all reading GDWT. Durham was represented by I 39 specimens, of which 45 were non-episcopal, and 94 were episcopal of Beck with the cross moline before the legend on the obverse ; all, with the exception of one sterling of Beck, were inscribed ЄDWT. Of St. Edmundsbury there were 3I specimens, all with $\Theta D W \pi$, of which 3 had two pellets at the end of the legend on the reverse.

All the sterlings A 42 , so far as represented in the Montrave hoard, were inscribed GDW $\pi$. These have a broader style of head than the other coins in the same group. The lettering is the same as on the sterlings A 4I, except that the back of the $G$ is rounded, not angular, and that the letter $I$ is generally quite straight ; in these two respects corresponding with the lettering on the sterlings of the following group. The contractive signs are the same as on the sterlings A 4 I .

The Montrave hoard as A 42 contained as follows:-Of London, 85 coins ; of Canterbury, 89 coins ; of Durham, 9 coins, of which 5 were nonepiscopal, and 4 episcopal of Beck with the cross moline before the legend on the obverse ; of St. Edmundsbury, 32 coins.

The sterlings in the following group, A 43-50, represent the last of the heavy coinages. Ruding states that up to the twenty-eighth year of Edward I., A.D. I 300 , the weight of the English sterling was 24 grs. Tower, or $22 \frac{1}{2}$ grs. Troy; and that from A.D. I 300 up to the eighteenth year of Edward II., A.D. I 344, the weight was 23.7073 (by error for 23.7037 ) grs. Tower, or 22.2222 grs. Troy: ${ }^{1}$ a difference so slight that it cannot practically be distinguished. Ruding, however, is somewhat obscure and apparently selfcontradictory on this point. He remarks under 1279, on Stow's authority, ${ }^{2}$ that "the pound of money ought to weigh 20 shillings 3 pence by account; so that no pound ought to be over 20 shillings 4 pence, nor less than 20 shillings 2 pence by account." ${ }^{3}$ But this gives the weight of the sterling in

[^57]A.D. 1279 , not at $22 \frac{1}{2}$ grs. Troy, as mentioned by Ruding, but at 22.2222 grs. Troy, exactly as at A.D. I 300 . As a practical commentary on this, it may be stated that of the 195 early Edward sterlings in the Northampton

Addenda-Ed-
wards I., II. , III. (1279-1377). Group A 43-50. find, described by Mr. Neck as being all "as fresh as when issued from the mint," and most of them weighing "fully 22 grs.," not one specimen exceeded the weight of $22 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$. ; which also is the highest weight stated of the GDW sterlings in the Oxford hoard, as examined by Mr. A. J. Evans; although an GDWKR penny in that find weighed $22 \frac{1}{2}$ grs. Very few of the early pennies in the Montrave hoard exceeded the weight of $22 \frac{1}{4}$ grs. ; the two heaviest being a Newcastle penny as A I3, weighing $22 \frac{3}{4}$ grs., and a Bristol penny as A 18 , weighing 23 grs.; these weights, however, were exceeded by many of the later sterlings in the Montrave hoard.

The coinage of Edward II. probably commences with the sterlings A 43. The cross moline of Bishop Beck is still represented on these, as also on the larger portion of A 44. Mr. Neck remarks that "Edward II. coined

A 43-London, Canterbury, Durham, St. Edmundsbury. little money in comparison with the enormous quantity coined by his predecessor." The last few years of the reign of Edward I. were those of the wars of the Scottish independence, when a very heavy expenditure must have been entailed, which probably accounts for the coinages A 40, 41, more particularly, having been on such a profuse scale.

The lettering on the sterlings A 43 is the same as on A 42, only rather more open, with the S not so convoluted. On some few pieces the lettering on the obverse is quite as straight as on the sterlings of the following issues, A 44, etc. Pellets are employed as contractive signs, sometimes two, sometimes three, but they are very sparingly introduced, and only after hyb.

All the sterlings as A 43 , in the Montrave hoard, were inscribed GDWT. These were distributed as follows :-London, 99 specimens ; Canterbury, 39 specimens; Durham, all episcopal of Beck with the cross moline before the legend on the obverse, 17 specimens; St. Edmundsbury, 8 specimens.

[^58]A 43-London, Canterbury, St. Edmundsbury.

Addenda-Edwards I., II., III (1279-1377). Group A 43-50. A 44-London, Canterbury, Durham, St. Edmundsbury, Berwick.

On the Durham sterlings A 44, Bishop Beck and Bishop Kellow are both represented. Previous, however, to the close of the Beck period a large finely-formed $R$ supersedes on the sterlings A 44 the short hook-waisted $R$ of the preceding issues from A 40. After the accession of Bishop Kellow in A.D. I3II, an $\in$ with a sharp angular back takes the place of the full round-backed $\in$ of the immediately preceding issues. We may therefore infer that such of the London, Canterbury, St. Edmundsbury, and Berwick sterlings in this class as show this sharp $\in$ were not struck till A.D. I3II. On some of the later sterlings a plain band takes the place of the row of three or four pellets on the king's brow, as exhibited immediately below the belt of the crown on the preceding coinages. The features are more carefully rendered on the pieces thus distinguished than on the other sterlings of the same class. Pellets are the contractive signs; but, as before, are sparingly introduced, and only after hyB. The letters have straight stems.

Of sterlings as A 44 the Montrave hoard contained as follows:-London, 260 sterlings, of which 27 were inscribed GDWTR, the remainder GDWT; Canterbury, $\Theta D W \pi 142$ sterlings, $\Theta D W \pi R$ 9; Durham, non-episcopal, GDWK 12 sterlings; episcopal of Beck ${ }^{1}$ with the cross moline before the legend on the obverse, GDWK 15 sterlings, GDWKR 6; episcopal of Kellow with the upper limb of the cross on the reverse bent to the left like the head of a crosier, all with $\Theta D W \pi 54$ sterlings; St. Edmundsbury, ЄDWK 32 sterlings, $\Theta W \pi$ 2, GDWTR 3 ; Berwick, all with the sharp $\mathbb{Q}$ and GDWT 8 sterlings.

This is the first and the only occasion on which the sterlings of Berwick are found to exhibit the same head and lettering as on the Edward sterlings of the ordinary English mints. Berwick fell into the hands of Edward I. in 1296. No time apparently seems to have been lost by him in establishing a mint at Berwick, as there are well-executed sterlings with EDW and the trefoil form of crown-presumably struck before I 300 - of which 32 specimens were in the Montrave hoard. With EDWT and the trefoil crown there were 31 specimens, of which 16 had the hook-
${ }^{1}$ The name of the mint on Beck's sterlings all through the series is inscribed DVRGMG; on Kellow's money DVNELM.
waisted R, first introduced on English sterlings of the ordinary mints on the QDWK money, A 40. And with $\Theta D W \pi$ and the bifoil form of crown, and a peculiar style of head remarkable for the thick rings like spectacles round Group $\mathrm{A} 43-50$. the eyes, there were 88 specimens. Of the 8 Berwick coins, as A 44, one Berwick. had its reverse from a die of these last pieces. There were also in the Montrave hoard if pennies of more or less rude execution, evidently imitations of the previous coinages. None of the Berwick coins had GDWIR. The lettering on the Berwick sterlings was different in general from that on the contemporary English money, and more mixed, the square E and round n occurring in connection with the round $\propto$ and square N .

In A.D. I3I7 Berwick was captured by Robert Bruce, and the Edwardian coinage as issued at Berwick was discontinued-for sixteen years at least. There does not seem to have been any English coinage at Berwick after its recapture in A.D. I333 by Edward III. In connection with its recapture, which followed Edward's victory at Halidon Hill, Dr. John Hill Burton, in his History of Scotland, makes some remarks which suggest the probability that under Edwards I. and II. Berwick may have been regarded as a semiScottish rather than as an English mint. He writes: "The place was long burdened with an official staff, which, in its nomenclature at least, was pompous as that of a sovereign state. The English government, after Scotland was lost, retained the official staff, which Edward I. had designed for the administration of the country. It was huddled together within Berwick as a centre, and was in readiness to expand over such districts of southern Scotland as England acquired from time to time-was ready to spread over the whole country when the proper time should come. Soon after the recapture of Berwick there was a prospect of such expansion. The active field for this body, however, was contracted by degrees, and at last it was confined to the town and liberties of Berwick, which were thus honoured by the possession of a Lord Chancellor, a Lord Chamberlain, and other high officers; while the district had its own Doomsday Book and other records adapted to a sovereignty on the model of the kingdom of England." ${ }^{1}$ To these other high officials there would no doubt be added a Chief Officer of

[^59]Addenda-Ed. wardsI., II., III (1279-1377). Group A 43.50.

A 45-London, Canterbury, Durham, St. Edmundsbury.

A 46-London, Canterbury, Durham, St. Edmundsbury.
the mint, holding himself of equal authority, in his own district, with the Chief Officer of the mint at London, and having the dies for the money issued by him executed at his own instance. In this way we can understand how the coins struck at Berwick under Edwards I. and II. should have differed so much from those of English mints in general. It serves also to explain what has frequently been matter of surprise, that no money for Scotland should have been struck by Edward I.

The sterlings A 45 have the sharp-backed G , and the other lettering as on the later issues of A 44, struck after A.D. I3II, but more uniform in size. Pellets are occasionally introduced on the obverse as contractive signs, but only after hyß. GDWA is the only reading on these coins, so far as represented in the Montrave hoard.

There were of London, as A 45,45 specimens; of Canterbury, 42 specimens ; of Durham, episcopal of Kellow with the upper limb of the cross on the reverse bent to the left like the head of a crosier, 8 specimens; of St. Edmundsbury, 6 specimens.

With the coins A 46 the Durham series of Bishop Kellow terminates and that of Bishop Beaumont begins. The sterlings A 46 have a small head with broad bushy curls and heavy eyebrows. Several varieties of crown are peculiar to this class, some being of a rather ornamental character. The lettering is in the same style as before, but more irregular, occasionally with a peculiar lop-topped $\lambda$. Apparently these pieces are without any contractive signs on the obverse.

Of London as A 46, the Montrave hoard contained 86 coins, I reading GDW , the remainder $\operatorname{GDW}$, GDWT, and 109 GDWTR ; of Durham, episcopal of Kellow with the upper limb of the cross on the reverse bent to the left like a crosier-head, 32 coins, 7 reading GDW $\pi$, and 25 GDWTR ; episcopal of Beaumont, with a lion rampant regarding the left and a lis before the legend on the obverse, io coins, all with $\epsilon D W \pi R$; of St. Edmundsbury, i8 coins, io reading GDWT, and 8 GDWKR.

A 47 -London, Canterbury, Durham, St. Edmundsbury.

The sterlings A 47 have a similar head to that on A 46 , but do not show the thick eyebrows, and the curls are not so broad. The lettering
corresponds to that on A 46, but is more uniform, with the stems on Addenda-Edthe reverse showing a decided curve; the lop-topped $\lambda$ does not appear. GDWAR is now the only reading on the heavy sterlings.
wards I., II., III. (1279-1377).
Group A 43-50.

The Montrave hoard as A 47 contained: of London, 46 specimens; of Canterbury, 87 specimens, 2 having two pellets after hyB; of Durham, episcopal of Beaumont, with a lion rampant to left before the legend on the obverse, accompanied sometimes with one sometimes with two fleurs-de-lis, 18 specimens; of St. Edmundsbury, 38 specimens.

The sterlings A 48 are the latest of the GDWTR and GDWA coinages on which the peaked bust appears. These have the head larger than on the sterlings A 47 , but otherwise in a similar style, with the letter- Edmundsbury. ing of the same character.

There were in the Montrave hoard of these pieces-of London, 103 specimens; of Canterbury, i80 specimens; of Durham, non-episcopal, I specimen ; episcopal of Beaumont, 30 specimens; of St. Edmundsbury, 66 specimens.

The coins A 49 also have the large head, but in a rather different style from A 48 , with the bust coming down flush to the inner circle. A peculiar $\Theta$ of large module is introduced on the sterlings of this class, quite different from the $\mathbb{Q}$ on any of the preceding coinages; the lettering otherwise, except that the stems are less curved, is much the same as on the sterlings A 48 .

Of this class the Montrave hoard contained:-of London, 33 specimens, 4 having their obverses from Durham dies of Bishop Beaumont with the lion rampant and two fleurs-de-lis before the legend ; of Canterbury, 37 specimens, 2 having the round n on the reverse; of Durham, non-episcopal, I specimen; episcopal of Beaumont, 27 specimens; of St. Edmundsbury, 24 specimens; of York, with a quatrefoil on the reverse, I specimen.

The head on the sterlings A 50 is the same as on A 49, and the bust A ${ }_{50-L}$ London, as on these comes down flush to the inner circle. The letter $\Omega$ is here of the round form, as is also the $\Omega$ in some instances. The other letters correspond with those on A 49, except that the stems are straight. This is a very limited class. The Montrave hoard contained-of London, the round $\Omega$ on both sides, only 3 specimens; of Canterbury, the round $\Omega$ on the

Canterbury, Durham, St. Edmundsbury, York.

Addenda-Edwards I., II., III. (1279-1377).
Group A 43-50.
obverse, the square N on the reverse, only i specimen; of Durham, none ; of St. Edmundsbury, the round $n$ on the obverse, the round $\Omega$ and $n$ on the reverse, i specimen ; of York, the round n on both sides and a quatrefoil on the reverse, I specimen.

A Durham sterling of this class in the British Museum, figured in Hawkins 302, has the round $\Omega$ in तnGL on the obverse, and the square $N$ and M in DVNeLLMI on the reverse, with a lozenge on the centre of the cross enclosing what seems to be a small open crown, or heraldic label, but placed upright.

With these terminate the sterlings of the heavy coinages.

Intermediate lighter coinages, A $51,52$.

The intermediate lighter coinages, as represented by the sterlings A 5 I, 52, were struck at first in the proportion of 266 pence to the pound Tower, giving their standard weight, as directed by the indenture of 1344 , at 20.3 grs. Troy. ${ }^{1} \quad$ By a subsequent indenture, in 1346 , the pound of silver
${ }^{1}$ It is generally assumed that the lighter coinage of Edward III., as in the ratio of 20.3 grs. Troy to the sterling, did not commence till I 344 ; but this rests solely on the negative evidence that the earliest mention of this lighter standard occurs in the indenture of that year. If it did not commence till 1344 , there would be a considerable gap between the heavier and the lighter coinages, for there can be no doubt that the great proportion of the later heavy money-represented by A 46-50-was struck during the Beaumont period, A.D. 1316-1333. Possibly the Durham sterling as A 50 in the British Museum referred to above, Hks. 302, with a crown or heraldic label on the centre of the reverse, may have been struck under Bishop Bury, who succeeded Beaumont in 1333 , the seventh year of Edward 111. On the other hand, a good deal of the money as A 48 must have been in issue under Edward II., or previous to 1327, many of the Alost sterlings of Robert I1I., Count of Flanders, who died in 1322, having cvidently been imitated from the English sterlings A 48.

The heavy money was certainly in issue for some time under Edward III., in whose first year,

1327, the inhabitants of Bury broke into the abbey and carried away the assay of the coins, the stamps, and other things relating to the mint, for which they were amcreed $£ 140,000$, commuted to a payment of 2000 marks in twenty years following. The king ordered a new die and assay to be made, to replace those taken away. At this time the heavy money must have been in issue, as it is only on the heavy money that the St. Edmundsbury mint is represented.

Writs were sent out in the fourth and fifth years of Edward III. (I330-1331), authorising the Archbishop of York to have two dies to his mint. The York mint, after a long interval, resumed operations, as we have seen, on the coinages A 49, 50 ; these were probably the coinages in issue when the writs in question were sent out. The York sterlings as A 49, 50, have an open quatrefoil on the centre of the reverse, which is regarded by Mr. Longstaffe, ${ }^{2}$ with much show of probability, as the mark of the archiepiscopal mint.

In 1335,1336 , the pound of halfpennies, ten

[^60]was shorn into 270 sterlings, reducing the standard weight to 20 grs. Troy. The difference of $\frac{3}{10}$ ths of a grain is too slight for practical distinction.

In the Montrave hoard as A ${ }_{51}, 52$, with $\Theta D W$ and $\in D W \pi$, some with the round n , some with the square N -the latter occasionally reversedthere were of London, 80 sterlings: of which 2 had pellets between the words on the obverse, 53 had annulets, and 25 were without ornaments between the words. These collectively gave an average weight of $19 \frac{1}{4}$ grs., the heaviest weighing $21 \frac{1}{4}$ grs. Of Canterbury, there were with GDW $\pi$, and the round n , and with annulets between the words on the obverse, 2 sterlings, weighing $19 \frac{1}{4}, 20 \frac{1}{2}$ grs. ; and with GDW, with the square N on the obverse and the round $\Omega$ on the reverse, and with no objects between the words except the commas after R, ANGL, and hyB, 2 sterlings, weighing $20 \frac{1}{4}, 21 \frac{1}{4}$ grs. Of Durham, non-episcopal, all with GDW and the square N on the obverse, with no objects between the words except the commas ounces fine, was ordered to be made into twentyone shillings. Any sterlings struck at this time must have been of the heavy standard, or shorn at twenty shillings and threepence in the pound, for the pound of halfpennies at twenty-one shillings, of ten ounces fine, as reduced to sterling standard, was worth intrinsically only nineteen shillings. When, in 1346 , the halfpennies were made of sterling standard, these were issued at twenty-three shillings to the pound, as against the pennies now shorn at twenty-two shillings and sixpence in the pound. The increase of alloy in the smaller money in 1335 , 1336, necessarily made the expense of working greater, and hence the difference of fifteen pence in the pound between the halfpennies and the sterlings in 1335, 1336, and of ninepence per pound in 1346 .

This carries the heavy coinage up to 1335 , 1336.

But in 1338 dies were made for Reading. In that year John de Flete, warden of the king's mint in London, was commanded "to make without delay, at the expense of the abbot, three dies of hard and sufficient metal, viz. one for
sterlings, another for halfpennies, and the third for farthings." 1 Apparently the dies for the farthings were not made, but the sterlings and halfpennies of Reading are well known to have been all of the lighter coinages, corresponding with the sterlings figured here A 52. Apparently, therefore, the lighter coinages A 51,52 , must have been in issue in 1338 , when the dies for the Reading sterlings were made, or fully six years previous to the indenture of 1344 .

It will have been remarked that from the commencement of the heavy series under Edward I. in 1279 down to its termination, as represented by the sterlings A $48,49,50$, little or no interruption seems to have taken place in its course of issue. This renders it the more improbable that a long interval should have elapsed between the heavy sterlings A 50 and the light sterlings A 51 , corresponding as these pieces do so closely both in their style of lettering and in the words on the obverses of cach being divided by pellets-a most exceptional occurrence, alike on the heavy and on the lighter coinages.

[^61]Addenda-Ed. as above, reading respectively DVRELM, DVRGLN, and DVNELM, there
wards I., II., III, (1279-1377). Intermediate Lighter coinages, A $5 \mathrm{I}, 52$. were 5 sterlings, giving an average weight of $19 \frac{3}{4}$ grs., the heaviest weighing $21 \frac{1}{4}$ grs. Of York, with a quatrefoil on the reverse, and the square $N$ on the obverse, with no objects between the words except pellets after $R$, $\pi N G L$, hyB, there were 5 coins, giving an average weight of $18 \frac{1}{7}$ grs., the heaviest weighing $19 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

As against the weights afforded by A 51, 52, the 139 latest heavy London sterlings in the Montrave hoard, A 48, 49, 50, gave an average weight of $20 \frac{126}{13} 9 \mathrm{grs}$., the heaviest weighing $22 \frac{3}{8}$ grs. The 218 Canterbury sterlings of the same coinages gave an average weight of $20 \frac{99}{109}$ grs., the heaviest weighing $23 \frac{1}{2}$ grs. The 59 Durham sterlings gave an average weight of $20 \frac{51}{59} \mathrm{grs}$., the heaviest weighing $26 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$. The 9I St. Edmundsbury sterlings gave an average weight of $20 \frac{68}{3} \frac{1}{1}$ grs. The 2 York sterlings each weighed 22 grs.

This leaves no doubt of the correctness of the attribution by Sainthill and by Arthur John Evans-made by each from independent observations —of the sterlings A 5 I , 52, to Edward III., as the intermediate lighter coinages, corresponding to the indentures I 344 , I 346.

Of these lighter coinages with GDW $\pi$ R RGX—as A. J. Evans, Num. Chron. 2d S. vol. xi. Pl. IX. 14-all of the London mint, the Montrave hoard contained 4 specimens : of which I had the square N on the obverse and the round $\Omega$ on the reverse, weighing $19 \frac{3}{4}$ grs; and 3 had the square $N$ on both the obverse and the reverse, weighing respectively $16,20 \frac{1}{4}, 20 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$. None had the interlinked W, as described by A. J. Evans in connection with the Oxford hoard.

The GDWTR RGX sterlings, as corresponding in the form of the obverse legend with the $\Theta D W \pi R D V S$ RGX pennies A 53, may be regarded as the latest issues of the coinage of 1346 .

There has never been any doubt respecting the correct attribution of the GDWARDVS REX sterlings. Their light weights and their correspond- ence in the style of bust and of the inscriptions on the obverse with the half-groats of Edward III. point them out as belonging to the coinages ordered in 1351, in the proportion of 18 grs. to the sterling.

Of London as A 53 the Montrave hoard contained 13 sterlings, for the greater part with annulets between the words on the obverse, and between the pellets in the quarters of the cross on the reverse. These gave an average weight of $17{ }_{I J}^{6} \mathrm{~g}$ grs., the heaviest weighing $\mathrm{I} 8 \frac{1}{2}$ grs. Of Durham there were 61 specimens, all of Bishop Hatfield, having the upper limb of the cross bent to the right like the head of a crosier, save in one case where the head of the crosier was connected with the second limb of the cross. These gave such readings as dVuelmie, dVnelmia, dviialmia, dVrenea, DVRGiIG, DVRama, DVRelmia, comprising 29 distinct varieties. Some had the words on the obverse divided by annulets, some by pellets, some by single saltires, some by double saltires. Some had three pellets on the breast, some had trefoils on the breast ; some had annulets at the sides of the bust ; for the mint mark on the obverse some had a cross potent, some had a cross patée, some had a crown. These several varieties of mint marks, as occurring also on the London sterlings, and on the half-groats and groats, indicate distinct coinages. The 61 Durham sterlings gave an average weight of $17 \frac{38}{81}$ grs., the heaviest weighing 20 grs . There were also 8 York sterlings, all with a cross patée béfore the legend on the obverse- 7 having a quatrefoil on the centre of the reverse, and I , which was without a quatrefoil on the reverse, having a quatrefoil at the end of the legend on the obverse. The N on all these pieces was without the connecting cross-bar. They gave an average weight of $18 \frac{1}{8}$ grs., the heaviest weighing $19 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

In the Montrave hoard there were also 4 London half-groats, 35 London groats, and 4 York groats of Edward III. There were no smaller coins in that hoard than the sterling. ${ }^{1}$

[^62]They correspond in lettering-except in the round I so common on continental coins at the beginning of the fourteenth century-with the latest sterlings of Edward I. with ©CDW and the threeleaved lis crown, A 37; while they have the king's name rendered GDWTKRD, and have the crown with the two-leaved lis at the sides, as on the sterlings A 38, the earliest issue of Edward I.

VOL. I.

Addenda-Ed-
wards I., II., III. (1279-1377).

In this descriptive analysis of the Edwardian sterlings in the Montrave hoard, undertaken primarily and specially for the illustration of the Alexandrian long single cross money, I might have stopped short just where the one series ceases to be in touch with the other. But, having proceeded so far with my arrangement of the cognate English coinage, it seemed to me to be better on every account to carry the classification to the end. As viewed on the grand scale presented to us in such a hoard as the Montrave, the several styles of head, lettering, and contractive signs on the Edwardian sterlings are seen to indicate distinct but connected coinages, linked together class by class and group by group, from beginning to end of this magnificent series.

The determining the order of issue of the Edward I. sterlings, while supplying the clue for forming a new and more natural arrangement of the
with the two-leaved lis crown. In all probability, therefore, they were contemporary with these English sterlings A 38, and are to be attributed to Edward I. The 8 examples in the Montrave hoard gave an average weight of $20 \frac{1}{2}$ grs., the heaviest weighing $22 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{~g}$ rs.

There were also 133 Irish sterlings with the bust in a triangle. The earliest group of these pieces, as distinguished by the slim-bodied S , comprised 47 sterlings of Dublin and 32 of Waterford. Closely related to the coins in this group from the interchange of obverse and reverse dies, another group had the round $\Omega$ and the full-bodicd $S$ on the reverse, with, for the greater part, the Roman E, and a small cross instead of a pellet before the inscription on the obverse. This group contained 21 sterlings, all of Dublin; to selected specimens gave an average weight of about 21 grs.

The Irish sterlings in the preceding two groups had three pellets at the apex of the triangle. Some of these pieces, however, at a superficial glance appeared to have only two pellets, owing to the upper pellet, from its exposed position on the drapery of the bust, having been worn nearly smooth. It did not seem as if the original in-
tention in any case was to have had only two pellets, except on one or two coins of foreign appearance, apparently forgeries.

A small group, represented by one sterling of Dublin and one of Waterford, had the rose on the breast.

The fourth and last group had a single pellet on the breast. This group was represented by 31 sterlings, all of Dublin. To this group belong the Cork sterlings, of which there were none in the Montrave hoard.

All the Irish sterlings had the three-leaved lis at the sides of the crown, and none seemed to be of later issue than Edward I.

There were also 292 foreign sterlings, and 198 forgeries of English and Irish sterlings, executed apparently at the same mints as certain of these foreign sterlings, the busts in many cases being identical. Among these forgeries in the Montrave hoard was a "Waterford" sterling with the "English" obverse. The Dumfries hoard contained a "London" sterling with the "Irish" obverse. The busts on these two coins had severally their counterparts on sterlings in the Montrave hoard of Gaulcher II. de Chatillon, Count of Porcien, struck at Yve.

Alexander III. single cross sterlings, of which there were 242 examples in the Montrave hoard, fixes also at what particular period the several classes of these were struck.

Even apart from their obvious correspondence with the earlier and with none of the later Edward sterlings, the Alexander single cross pennies of themselves show conclusively that their issue could not have extended over a prolonged period. The two groups under which, as naturally arranging themselves, they have been here described, to some extent overlap one another-Class 1. Group II. being evidently of earlier issue than Class II. Group I., as appears from its correspondence with an earlier class of the Edward I. series. Also, the several classes in each group interchange reverses in an extraordinary manner, totally unaccountable on the supposition that the earlier mintages had belonged to the beginning and the later to the end of a reign extending over thirty-six years.

In the English coinage it will have been observed that one mint, that of London, appears all through the series; in the same way, one particular combination of points, the four mullets of six points, occurs all through the Alexander III. single cross series.

In the Scottish series the four mullets of six points type occupies a position even more prominent than the mint of London occupies in the English series-monopolising one of the two groups into which the Alexander single cross sterlings naturally divide themselves, while being more or less represented on the other group ; just as on the long double cross money of Alexander 111. the mint of Berwick, besides its several coinages peculiar to itself, was to a greater or less extent represented on the coinages common to the other mints.

Berwick which, under Alexander III., bore the proud title of the Alexandria of the north, while rivalling London itself as a place of commerce, held a far more important position in relation to other Scottish towns than was held by London with regard to other English towns.

If therefore, as appears probable, the several combinations of points on the reverses of the single cross sterlings of Alexander III. are to be regarded as indicating the several mints at which these pieces were executed,
we can thus understand how that particular combination, the four mullets of six points type, should so largely have predominated, occupying just that position on Scottish single cross sterlings that Berwick might have been expected to have held, had the names of the mints, instead of the different combinations of points, been placed on the Alexander long single cross series.

Apparently the mistake has been committed of supposing that the different combinations of points on the reverses of the Alexander single cross sterlings represent so many distinct mintages, instead of being portions only of certain particular issues-corresponding severally to the names of the mints on the contemporary English coinages. And hence, to some extent, probably, the impression that the long single cross Alexander series was one spreading over many years.

The much greater frequency of finds of Alexander single cross than of Alexander double cross money, and the consequently greater abundance of specimens of the former than of the latter, is only what might be expected from the unsettled condition of Scotland after the death of Alexander III. from the prosperous times when the double cross coinages were in circulation. "Amidst the miseries of the subsequent protracted struggle," remarks E. W. Robertson, "the Scots fondly looked back upon the reign of their latest sovereign of native origin as an era of peace and prosperity' of wyne and wax, of gamyn and glee.'"

## 3ohn 2batiol.

Adjudicated the Scottish Throne by Edivard I., November 1292; deposed by Edward I., July 1296; died 13 I4.

It is not very easy to understand how the Scottish coinage was distributed during that long period from the accession of Baliol in 1292 till 1351. On the 12th March 1355-6 Edward III., by proclamation, ordered that the Scottish money then recently issued should not be current in England, as being of less weight and coarser alloy than the ancient Scottish
money. The particular coinage against which the proclamation in question John Baliol was directed, there can be no doubt, was the REX SCOTTORUM money (1292-1296). of David II., his earliest coinage, which, as shown by existing specimens, was of the same nominal weight, 18 grs. to the sterling, as the standard ordered by Edward III. for the English coinage in I 35 I.

That these pieces were of comparatively recent origin-" de novo est cussa, ${ }^{1}{ }^{1}$ as described in the proclamation-is evident, as they would have been still more promptly prohibited had they been in circulation before I 35 I , when the English sterling was of a higher standard weight than 18 grs.

But, as David II. acceded in I329, and as he did not strike any money of a heavier standard weight than 18 grs. to the sterling, the question arises, What money was struck under him or in Scotland from I 329 to say I351? If any heavy money, it might presumably be regarded as having been coined in the name of Robert Bruce, his father. But the money of Robert Bruce himself, considering the length of his reign, is of a surprisingly limited character. And, to add to the perplexity, the money of Baliol, whose nominal reign was so short, is comparatively numerous, and presents a very considerable variety of dies, as if struck during a lengthened period.

In particular, those well-known varieties of the Baliol sterlings, Figs. $219,220,22 \mathrm{I}$, coincide so remarkably in lettering with one of the two latest English issues of the Beaumont period, Plate A, Fig. 49, as strongly to suggest correspondence of date-as if Robert the Bruce had been striking his money in the name of his predecessor, not at first merely, as might well have happened in the earlier portion of his reign, but even after he had been for years securely seated on the Scottish throne.

There is, however, another explanation, and perhaps in some respects Edward Baliol. a more likely one. When Edward Baliol, eldest son of John, in 1332 possessed himself of the Scottish throne, and was recognised by Edward III. as the rightful king of Scotland, he may possibly have had money struck under his father's name in the first instance, with the intention of afterwards employing his own name. At this very time the English sterlings A 49, as representing all but the very latest issue of the heavy Edwardian coinages,

[^63]John Maliol (1292-1296).
were probably still in course of issue. The moneyers by whom these were executed may have been engaged upon this money of Baliol. In this way we can understand how the Baliol sterlings, Figs. 219, 220, 221 , in their lettering and their style of finish, should so remarkably coincide with the English sterlings A 49, while presenting such a marked contrast in respect of lettering and finish to the ordinary REX SCOTORUM money of Baliol. What strongly countenances the probability that these sterlings of Baliol may thus have overlapped the Robert Bruce coinages is, that one variety of the David II. REX SCOTTORUM pennies, evidently the earliest, has the single $T$, the Roman $M$, and the cross after SCOTORUM, with the same large peculiar lettering as on those pieces, almost as if the same punches had been employed upon both.

There were 29 Baliol sterlings in the Montrave hoard as against I2 sterlings of Robert Bruce, and as against 19 REX SCOTTORUM pennies of David II.

Money, if struck by Wallace, and by those who subsequently acted as governors of Scotland, would be issued under Baliol's name. ${ }^{1}$

The sterlings of Baliol may be broadly distinguished as coins of rough and coins of smooth surface. The former are directly connected, by interchanges of dies, with the Alexander III. single cross coinages. Thus, while the Alexander III. sterling, Fig. 209, has its reverse from a Baliol die corresponding to the reverse of the Baliol sterlings, Figs. $210,210 \mathrm{~A}$, 2IOB, the Montrave hoard affords an example of a Baliol sterling, Fig. 2 IIA, having its reverse from a die of an Alexander III. sterling, as Class II. Group II.

## CLASS 1.

## STERLINGS OF ROUGH SURFACE.

Obverse : crowned head, with sceptre, to left; the fleurs-de-lis of the crown of rude, peculiar formation, having the side leaves pointing upwards

[^64]rather than downwards. Reverse: the cross within the legendary circle placed before, not after the inscription, differing in this respect from that on the Alexander III. single cross sterlings. The lettering in greater part rough surface. is loosely put together. The $\bar{A}$ generally open, the $C$ and $\in$ also usually open, but sometimes with a closed appearance. Roman M and N, the latter frequently with the cross-stroke reversed. The letter S occasionally of an acute angular character like an inverted $Z$. Rude workmanship in general.

REX SCOTORUM. Four Mullets of Six Points.

Figs. 210, 2 IOA.

1. O. + IOh $\pi$ VKES DEI GRT
R. + REX SCOTORVM 22 grs.
I $a$. As the above,
22 grs.

A pellet on the sceptre-handle. No. 1a, Fig. 210A, is from the Kermack Ford collection.

Fig. 2 Iob.
1b. $0 .+$ IOh
1k. + REX SCOTORVM 23 grs.

With the same head as on the preceding, but without the pellet on the sceptre-handle. The same lettering is on these pieces as on the Alexander II I. sterling, Fig. 209. From the Kermack Ford collection.

Fig. 21 I .
2. 0. + IOh
R. + REX SCOTORVM $22 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

Fig. 211A.
2a. O. + IOnTИИЄS DEI GRI
B. + REX SCOTORVM 23 grs.

In the S.S.A. collection, from the Montrave hoard. The reverse is from a die of Alexander III., as Class II. Group III.

THE COINAGE OF SCOTLAND．

John Baliol （1292－1296）． Sterlings of rough surface． Rex Scotorum．

3．O．$\pm$ IOhォルイES DEI GR
4．Do．：with IORオИイЄS，
5．Do．：IOh
6．Do．do．：the closed $\propto$ on the reverse，
7．O．+ IOhォииES DEI GR $\pi$

Fig． 212.
Ix．＋REX SCOTORVM 22 grs．
$19 \frac{5}{8}$ grs．
$21 \frac{3}{8}$ grs．
$22 \frac{3}{8}, 18 \mathrm{grs}$.
$\mathrm{R}_{\mathrm{k}} .+\mathrm{REX} \operatorname{SCOTOR} \pi M \quad 21 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$.
The last piece has the appearance of having a rude pellet beside the mullets in the third and fourth quarters；probably the effect is accidental．

Four Stars of Six Points．
Fig． 213.

## 8．o．＊IOñNNES DEI GR

A pellet on the sceptre－handle．Mr．Cochran－Patrick，in his private MS．catalogue，describes a sterling in his collection as having two mullets of six points，one of seven points，and one star of seven points．

ST．ANDREWS．
Two Mullets of Five and two of Six Points． （The mullets of five points in the first and third quarters．）

Fig． 214.


The preceding three pieces have a pellet on the sceptre－handle． A very rare REX SCOTORUM sterling of Baliol，with a youthful head in the Alexander III．style，has a pellet on the sceptre－handle，and two mullets of five and two of six points on the reverse．Possibly this may have been

# an early issue of St. Andrews before the name of the mint was placed on John Baliol 

 the reverses of the Baliol sterlings of St. Andrews.> Three Mullets of Six And one of Five Points. (The mullet of five points in the second:quarter.)
(1292-1 296). Sterlings of rough surface. St. Andrews.

Fig. 215.


#### Abstract

12. O. $\pm$ IONTNNES DEI GR B. OIVITKS STNDRE $\quad 2 \frac{7}{8}$ grs.

A pellet on the sceptre-handle. This is an extremely rare variety of reverse of St. Andrews. I have not met with another specimen.


## HALFPENNY.

Halfpenny of rough surface.

Fig. 212A.
The same types as the sterlings; mullets of six points in all the quarters of the cross on the reverse.
12a. 0. ※ IOЋスKKЄS DEI GI
R. 出 REX SCOTORVM $10 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

In the Cochran-Patrick collection; extremely rare. This is the only example hitherto known, so far as I am aware, of a halfpenny of this class.

## CLASS II.

Sterlings of smooth surface.

## STERLINGS OF SMOOTH SURFACE.

Had these pieces been struck when John was on the throne of Scotland, or even up to I304, when the national party, who still acknowledged him as their king, were obliged to lay down their arms, the lettering, so far as it corresponded with that on English sterlings, might have been expected to have had its counterparts on some of the sterlings of the Beck period. But with the lettering on none of these coins does it agree. Bishop Beck occupied the see of Durham from about three years before Alexander III.
was killed until about four years after Bruce had taken the title of king,that is, from 1283 to 1310.

The Baliol sterlings of St. Andrews, with the smooth surface, have a small sharp-backed $\in$ corresponding with the $G$ on the Edward sterlings of the later Kellow and earlier Beaumont series. The REX SCOTORUM sterlings of Baliol, with the smooth surface, have a large peculiar $\mathbb{C}$ exactly as on the English sterlings A 49 of the Beaumont period, remarkable as being met with on these alone of all the sterlings of the English heavy series. Except that the $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ on the Baliol smooth-faced money is barred and of the East Anglian character, and that the $D$ is simply a reversed $\alpha$, the letters on these Baliol and Beaumont pieces generally correspond.

## ST. ANDREWS.

Two Stars of Six and two Mullets of Five Points.
Fig. 216.

On this and on the two following pieces the stars occupy the first and third quarters of the cross. This is the usual arrangement ; but on a sterling in the Taap collection ${ }^{1}$ with the same obverse as on this coin the mullets occupy the first and third quarters.

Fig. 217.

Extremely rare.
Fig. 218.
15. O. + IOnANNES DEI GR 1k. aIVITAS SANDREG 20 grs .

This piece is a mule, having a rough surface on the obverse, and the same lettering as on the sterlings of rough surface, with a smooth surface on the reverse, and corresponding lettering. A pellet on the sceptre-handle.

[^65]
## REX SCOTORUM.

John Baliol
(1292-1296).
Sterlings of smooth surface. Rex Scotorum.

Fig. 219.
16. $0 . \pm$ IOnANNES DEI GRA B. REX SOOTORVM $+22 \frac{1}{2}, 23 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

Two coins; slight varieties of head. The neck slightly draped, as also on the following piece, which has a plain cross for the sceptre-head. The cross in the legendary circle on the reverse is now always placed after the inscription.

Fig. 220.
17. O. + IOhANNGS DeI GR:A R. RGX SOOTORVM +2 . $2 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

Two Mullets of Five and two Stars of Five Points.
(The mullets in the first and third quarters.)
${ }_{2}$ Fig. 22 I.
18. O. + IOhÃNNGS DEI GRA R. REX SGOTORVM $~+~ 20 ~ g r s$.

A pellet on the sceptre-handle. Only one specimen of this variety was in the Montrave hoard. Extremely rare.

## HALFPENNIES.

Halfpennies of smooth surface.

The halfpennies of Baliol of this class are of neat execution. The neck is slightly clothed, and the cross in the legendary circle on the reverse is placed after the inscription. A mullet of six points occupies each of two opposite quarters of the cross, the other quarters plain. There are two varieties: I. With the mullets in the first and third quarters; 2. With the mullets in the second and fourth quarters.

John Baliol (1292-I 296). Halfpennies of smooth surface.
I. The Mullets in the First and Third Quarters.

Figs. 222, 223.
I. $0 . \pm$ IOnANNES DEI GR•A
R. REX SOOTORVM $+10 \frac{1}{2}, 9 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.
Two coins, different heads.
II. The Mullets in the Second and Fourth Quarters.

Fig. 224.
2. $0 .+$ IOhANNGS DEI GR-
R. REX SCOTORVM +

9 grs:
This is much the rarer variety.

## Robert Libuce.

Crowned at Scone 2yth March izo6; Battle of Bannockburn 24TH June I314; died 7 Th June 1329 .

A diminution in the standard weight of the coins is recorded in this reign. In a contemporary document, entitled The Assize of King David of Mesuris and Wechtis,, it is stated that " on account of the mynoration of the penny that is in the tym now, the pund aw to wey in siluer xxvi shillingis and iii sterling penijs; whereas in King Davidis dayis the pund weyit xxv schillingis."

In the reign of Robert Bruce the Scottish pound, as established by David I., contained I5 ounces, each of these, like the ounce of the English mint pound of 12 ounces, being of the value of 450 grs. Troy,-giving a total of 6750 grs. Troy to the Scottish pound,-so that the coining of 26 shillings and 3 pence out of this pound would reduce the standard weight of the penny to $21 \frac{3}{7}$ grs. Troy, as against $22 \frac{1}{2}$ grs. Troy when only 25 shillings were coined.

The 12 Robert Bruce sterlings in the Montrave hoard were all in the ${ }^{1}$ Act. Parl. Scot. i. p. 309-u. p. 674.
same condition as struck, having apparently sustained no diminution of Robert Bruce weight by clipping. These 12 pieces gave an average weight of $2 \mathrm{I} \frac{1}{12}{ }^{(1306-1329)}$. grs., the lightest weighing $19 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.; the heaviest $22 \frac{3}{8}$ grs. Accepting $21 \frac{3}{7}$ grs. as their standard weight, keeping also in view, that. Io of the betterpreserved Baliol pennies in the same hoard afforded an average weight of 22 grs., notwithstanding the greater amount of wear to which these had been. subjected, we may regard the reduction of the standard weight of the Scottish sterling to $21 \frac{3}{7}$ grs. as having taken place just when Robert Bruce initiated his own coinage. ${ }^{1}$ The standard quality still remained as under David I.

The coins of Robert Bruce consist of sterlings or pennies, halfpennies, and farthings.

## STERLINGS.

Neat, well-executed coins. Lettering : the R and X are of a somewhat peculiar character; the $\mathbb{A}$ is seldom barred across the centre; the $C$ is usually open ; the $\Theta$ generally closed. Type of obverse : a crowned head to left, with sceptre. Type of reverse: a mullet of five points in each quarter of the cross. A neat cross patée before the legend on the obverse and after the legend on the reverse.

Fig. 225.

## I. O. 出: ROBGRTVS: DGI: GRT: <br> R. SCOTORVM R氏X <br> 2 I grs.

A certain interest attaches to this piece as being the coin from which was modelled the head of Robert Bruce for the statue at Stirling by the sculptor Mr. Currie. It is from the Ayr find.
2. As above, but with the barred $\bar{A}$,
21 grs.
${ }^{1}$ It is very probable that when the weight of the English sterling was reduced to 22.222 grs., as it must have been in 1279, when Edward 1. caused 20 shillings and 3 pence to be coined out of the pound of silver, the weight
of the Scottish sterling was correspondingly reduced. The long single cross sterlings of Alexander III. unquestionably do not give the same average weight as the long double cross sterlings.

Robert Bruce (1306-1329). Sterlings.

Fig. 226A.

Fig. 226B.

Fig. 226.

## 3. O. 4 : ROBERTVS: DeI : GRT: B. SCOTORVM REX \& $20 \frac{3}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.

The head on this piece is slightly different from that usually met with, the brow projecting more, and the curls being indicated by four instead of by three curves. Another peculiarity of this coin consists in its having three pellets after ROBERTVS and DGI. The great majority of the sterlings of Robert Bruce have the words divided by two pellets only. A sterling of Robert Bruce, with the words divided by three pellets, in the collection of Mr. Cochran-Patrick, Fig. 226A, has a remarkable portrait, very similar to that on an Alost sterling with the name of Robert III., Count of Flanders, in the S.S.A. collection, Fig. 226b, except that on this latter piece the curls correspond rather with those on the ordinary pennies of Robert the Bruce. The one may have been imitated from the other, or both may have been executed by the same hand.

## HALFPENNIES.

A sharper style of profile than on the pennies with the usual head. Two mullets of five points in each of two opposite quarters of the cross on the reverse, the other quarters plain. The lettering similar to that on the sterlings, but the $\epsilon$ with an open front, and the R with a plain wedge tail.

Fig. 227.
I. O. \& : ROBGRTVS: DEI: GRT: 1k. SCOTORVM REX I $\frac{1}{4}$, II $\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

Two coins; both from the same obverse die, but from different reverse dies. The mullets are in the second and fourth quarters.

## FARTHING.

A neater style of head than on the halfpennies. A mullet of five points in each quarter of the cross on the reverse. The lettering is the same as on the halfpennies.

Fig. 228.
I. $0 .+:$ ROBERTVS $\cdot \mathrm{DEI} \cdot \mathrm{GR} \pi$ -

1k. SCOTORVM REX +
Robert Bruce
( 306 -1 329).

The farthing of Robert Bruce is of the highest rarity. The halfpennies are also very rare.

## David 2 正.

David II. (1329-1370-1).

Acceeded 7thi June i329; died 22d February I 370 - i. ${ }^{1}$
Born at Dunfermline, 5th March 1323-4. Sent to France, after the success of Edward Baliol, about ${ }^{1} 333$. Returned to Scotland in May 1341. Made a prisoner at Durham in October 1346. Finally released in the autumn of 1357 . The ransom adjusted at 100,000 merks-equal to £66,666:13:4.

At the time of the ransom of David II. the standard weight of the sterling or penny in Scotland, as in England, was 18 grs., as against $7^{\prime 2727}$ grs., its present weight- $12 \times 7^{\prime} 27^{27}=87^{\prime} 27^{2}$.grs., being the standard weight of the modern shilling ${ }^{2}$-so that, in actual silver weight, at that period, $£ 66,666: 13: 4$ would represent $£ 165,001: 9: 4$ of modern money, but with a purchasing power many times greater. In I 349, a plentiful year, wheat was sold in England at two shillings the quarter, and a fat ox for six shillings and eightpence. In 1359 , a very scarce year, wheat rose to $£_{\mathrm{I}}: 6: 8$ the quarter; but in I 36 I , another year of great plenty, it came down once more to two shillings, while two hens were valued at one penny. ${ }^{3}$

Scotland, greatly impoverished by so many years of warfare, found payment of the ransom of its king a matter of the utmost difficulty. Indeed, this ransom was not finally disposed of till some years after the death of David II. In I 360, for the ransom of John I. King of France, taken prisoner by the Black Prince at Poictiers, a sum equivalent in

[^66]David II. (1329-1370-1).
bullion value to $£ 1,584,668: 2: 11$ of our present gold currency ${ }^{1}$ was arranged to be paid, and was paid by France apparently with comparative ease, notwithistanding the énormous losses the English invasion occasioned her.

## PENNIES-REX SCOTTORUM.

These are the only coins to which the proclamation of Edward III., in his letter to the sheriff of Northumberland, 1 th March I $_{355}$-6, could have referred; the date of the proclamation proves that they were struck when David II. was in captivity. They are of defective weight, although not, in all cases at least, of defective quality, as shown by the assay made for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland of a specimen from the Montrave find, the quality of which was represented as II oz. 2 dwt. fine-exactly the English standard. As previously stated, there were 19 of these coins in the Montrave hoard, and although all were much in the condition in which they must have been issued from the mint, they gave the very low average weight of $16 \frac{1}{1 g}$ grs. On the other hand, 82 sterlings of Edward III. with adWardvs, in the Montrave hoard, afforded the very satisfactory average weight of $17 \frac{99}{164}$ grs., or only $\frac{65}{164}$ grs. below the standard weight of 18 grs.

When David II. resumed the practice of placing the names of their respective mints upon his coins, after the REX SCOTTORUM money had been superseded, a great effort was made to keep the weights up to the English standard. For the first few years, as shown by the Montrave hoard, this standard was maintained. There were in the Montrave hoard with the names of the mints, 17 pennies of David II. of the aggregate weight of $291 \frac{1}{2}$ grs., giving to each an average weight of $17 \frac{5}{34}$ grs. ; thus showing satisfactorily that it could not have been against these that the proclamation of Edward III. was directed. This second coinage does not seem to have been issued till after the return of David II. from his captivity in England.

[^67]grs. Troy, and of the fineness of 23 carats $3 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.; while our present sovereign is of the standard weight of $123^{\circ} 137$ grs., and of only 22 carats fine.

The REX SCOTTORUM money of David II. consists of pennies and halfpennies, the latter being extremely rare. To this coinage evidently belongs the unique MONGTK REGGIS farthing in the Ferguslie cabinet,

David II. (1329-1370-1). Pennies-Rex Scottorum. formerly in the Martin and the Marquis of Hastings' collections.

There are several varieties of the REX SCOTTORUM pennies, of which the earliest in respect of issue seem to be those rare pieces with the large lettering on both the obverse and the reverse, and with the single T and Roman M in SøOTORVM. The lettering on these coins bears a very considerable resemblance to that on the Baliol sterlings with the mullets of five points on the reverse. They have a cross after the legend on the reverse, as on these Baliol sterlings, and as on the Robert Bruce coins. This is seldom the case on the David II. pennies with the double $T$ and the old English $\mathfrak{m}$ in SđOTTORV $\mathfrak{m}$; on which the lettering is also smaller and not so well executed. Types: obverse, crowned head with sceptre to left; reverse, four mullets of six points in each quarter of the cross.

## Large Lettering on Boti Sides.

Fig. 229.

1. O. 4 D $\pi V I D ~ D E I ~ G R \pi \propto I \pi ~$
1k. ReX S SOTORVM $\quad$ i $8 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

This penny has a large peculiar head. The following two pennies, Nos. 2, 3, have their obverses from the same die as this piece.

Large Lettering on the Obverse; Small Lettering on the Reverse.
Fig. 230.
2. O. 出 DKVID DeI GRTCIT
3. 0.

Do.
B. REX S@TTORVM
R. ReXX SđOTTORVM

17 grs.
ג. RAX SCOTMORVs 18 grs.

David II. (1329-1370-1). Pennies-Rex Scottorum.

Small Lettering on the Obverse; Large Lettering on the Reverse. Fig. 231.
4. $0 . \pm \mathrm{D} \pi V I D$ DGI $\cdot \mathrm{GR} \pi \propto I \pi I$
B. Rex S SOOTORVM
$16 \frac{3}{4}$ grs.
5. O. Do. : from the same die.

$16 \frac{3}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.

The reverses of these two pieces belong to the same coinage as the reverse of the sterling No. I. An old wizened head on the obverse. This head, from the same die, but with its own proper reverse, occurs on the sterling below.

## Small Lettering on Both Sides.

Fig. ${ }^{2} 32$.
6. 0.4 DKVID DGI GRTOITI
R. ReXX S@OTTORVM
14 grs.

Fig. 233.
7. O. $~+~ D \pi V I D \cdot D E I *$ GRTOIK
B. RGX SOOTTORVM
17 grs.

This piece also shows an old wizened head, but in a different style from the preceding.

Fig. 234.
8. $0 . \pm$ D $\pi V I D \cdot D \in I ~ G R \pi O I \pi$
1k. ROX SOOTTORVM
$16 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.
9. 0.
Do.
B. ReX S@TTORVm
17 grs.

The reverse of No. 9 is from the same die as No. 2. Youthful style of head.

Fig. 235.
1o. $0 .+$ DTVID DGI GRTOII
1k. RGX SUOTTORVM $15,15 \frac{3}{4}$ grs.
Two coins from the same dies. Youthful head, rather different from the preceding ; two pellets below the sceptre-head, as on most of the following.

Fig. 236.
Ir. $0 .+$ D $\pi V I D$ D $G I ~ G R \pi G I \pi I$

1. ReXX SOOTTORVM $16 \frac{3}{4}$ grs.

All the preceding have a large G in GRTaĨ. All the following have David II. a small G ; and the lettering generally is perceptibly smaller than before. $\begin{aligned} & \left(\begin{array}{l}(1329-1370-1) \text {. } \\ \text { Pennies-Rex }\end{array} . . . ~\right.\end{aligned}$ Youthful head, larger than on the preceding varieties.

Scottorum.

Fig. 237.
12. $\mathrm{O} . \pm \mathrm{D} \pi V I D$ DGI: GRTCITI

1. REX SUOTTORVM $16 \frac{3}{8}$ grs.
2. O. Do.: the same dic.
R. ROX SđOTTORVM $16 \frac{1}{8}, 17$ grs.

A bar across the sceptre-handle below the head. Youthful head of the larger variety, as on Fig. 236. All the following, down to Fig. 243, have this head.

Fig. 238.
14. O. $\pm$ DTVID • D氏I •GRTOIT
B. REX SOOTTORVM
17 grs.

With the sceptre-head only.
Fig. 239.
15. O. + DKVID : : DGI \& GRTヘIT R. ROX S OOTTORVM $16 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

A bar below the sceptre-head. All the following have a peculiar dentated style of $x$ in SđOTTORVM.

Fig. 240.
16. $\mathrm{O} . \pm \mathrm{D} \pi V I D \cdot D \in I \cdot G R \pi \alpha I \pi$
R. REX S@OTTORVM $16 \frac{1}{4}, 17$ grs.
17. O. $+\mathrm{D} \pi V I D \cdot D \in I: G R \pi \propto I \pi I$
R. ReXX SUOTTORVM $\quad 15 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

A large pellet on the sceptre.

Fig. 241.
18. $0 .+$ DTVID DEI GRTOIA
B. RGX SOOTTORVM $15 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

A bar below the sceptre-head.

David II.
(1329-1370-1). Pennies-Rex Scottorum.

Fig. 242.
19. $0 .+: D \pi V I D: D E I: G R \pi O I \pi \because$
B. RaX SOOTTORVM
$17 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.
20. O. $~+~ D \pi V I D ~ \cdot ~ D E I ~ \because G R T C I T ~$
R. ReX SCOTTORVM
$16 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

A bar below the sceptre-head.
Fig. 243.
21. O. + DTVID DGI • GRTOIIT B. ReXX SCOTTORVM $15 \frac{1}{2}, 16 \frac{3}{4}$ grs.

A peculiar triangular ornament on the sceptre-head. Some of the letters on the obverse are pointed with pellets.

Fig. 244.


Youthful head of the smaller variety, different from any of the preceding. All the following have this head.

Fig. 245.
24. $0 . \pm$ D $\pi V I D: D G I: G R \pi C I$
B. ReXX SđOTTORVM $16 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.
25. O. + D $\pi V I D \cdot D E I \cdot G R \pi C I \pi$
R. ReXX S $\alpha$ OTTORVM 16 grs.

A large pellet on the sceptre.
Fig. 246.
26. $0 .+$ DTVID DEI GRTOIT
B. ReXX SOOTTORVM is grs. A bar across the sceptre.

Fig. 247.
27. $0 .+$ DTVID DeII GRTaIT
28. $0 .+$ DTVID $\cdot$ DEI GR $\pi C I \pi$
29. O. + DTVID : DEI • GRTOII
B. ReXX SOOTTORVM
$\left[13,16 \frac{1}{2}, 17 \frac{1}{4}\right.$ grs.
R. RaX SOOTTORVM $14 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.
B. RGX SOOTTORVM $16 \frac{1}{4}$ grs. Two rows of pellets below the sceptre-head. The three coins in No.

27 are from different dies; one of these pieces has a pellet on the centre of David II. the cross on the reverse.
(1329-1370-1).
Pennies-Rex
Scottorum.

## HALFPENNY.

Halfpenny-Rex Scotorum.
Types-obverse: crowned head to left, with sceptre; reverse: a mullet of five points in the first and third quarters of the cross, the other quarters plain.

Fig. 248.
I. $0 .+$ DIVVID : DEI GRI : REX lk. + RGX SOOTORVM 10 grs.

The crown and the sceptre-head correspond with the crown and the sceptre-head on the penny No. r; only one $T$ in SCOTORVm, as on the penny No. I, but with the old English round $\mathfrak{m}$. All the pennies of the above series, so far as specimens have come under my inspection, have the $\pi$ uniformly open, but on this halfpenny the $\mathbb{\Pi}$ is barred across the centre. I have not observed the open $\epsilon$ on any of the pennies, but this halfpenny has the open $€$ on the obverse, and the closed $\alpha$ and $\Theta$ on the reverse.

On a halfpenny similar to that above described, as figured in Lindsay, Pl. XVIII. 8 (Martin collection), the $\epsilon$, both on the obverse and the reverse, as also the $C$, is represented as of the open character, and the $M$ appears of the square Roman form. Another halfpenny, No. 7 of the same plate (Ferguson cabinet), with DHVID : DGI : GRJOIJ on the obverse, has the closed $\alpha$ and $\Theta$ all through, with the Roman M. Mr. Cochran-Patrick, PI. II. 2 of his Records of the Coinage of Scotland, and Num. Chron. N.S., vol. xii. Pl. XI. 9, figures a halfpenny from his own collection, with the obverse from the same die as the specimen in the Ferguslie cabinet, but inscribed on the reverse HVID: SOOTTOR, the inscription being the same as on the unique MONETH RGGIS farthing. This halfpenny (here figured 248A) has mullets of five points in the second and fourth quarters of the Fig. 248A. cross, with the other quarters plain. A halfpenny is figured by Snelling, Pl. I. 3I, similar to Lindsay, Pl. XVIII. 7, but showing mullets of five points in the second and fourth quarters, with three pellets in the first and third

David 11. ( $1329-1370-1$ ). Halfpenny-Rex Scotorum.
quarters. No such coin is known. Snelling gives also a representation of a halfpenny with VILLA $\Theta D I n B V R G h$ on the reverse, apparently from an actual specimen (P1. I. 32) ; mullets of five points in the second and fourth quarters, the other quarters plain. I have never met with any halfpennies of David II. having the name of Edinburgh or of any other mint; nor am I aware of any cabinets in which Edinburgh halfpennies are to be found, although Lindsay, in his Appendix No. 2, p. 207, refers to the Martin cabinet for a specimen with the name of Edinburgh on the reverse, and estimates it as $\mathrm{R}^{6}$ only! or of the sixth degree of rarity - not extremely rare, taking $\mathrm{R}^{8}$ as the highest degree of rarity next to unique. Only one halfpenny of David II. appeared in the Martin sale catalogue, but without mention of any name of mint, although the names of the mints in connection with two groats, one half-groat, and two pennies of David II. in the same lot were distinctly stated, and also those of three Robert II. halfpennies in a following lot. Cardonnel's representations of Edinburgh and Rex Scotorum halfpennies of David II., Pl. II. 14, I5, are copied from those of Snelling, P1. I. 31, 32.

Fig. 249A.

## FARTHING.

Types-obverse: crowned head to left, with sceptre ; reverse : mullets of five points in each quarter of the cross.

Fig. 249.
I. O. $\ddagger$ MONETM : REGGIS: D: R. $\ddagger$ KVID SOOTTOR $4 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

The inscription on the obverse, as will be seen, is continued on the reverse. Lettering : Roman $M$ and $N$, barred $\mathbb{M}$, closed $\alpha$, the first $\in$ open the second $\in$ closed. A farthing in the collection of Mr . Cochran-Patrick, the obverse DMVID DGI GRMOIM, with the head in a younger style than on the MONETM RGGIS farthing. Another farthing of David II., in the British Museum, Lindsay, Pl. IV. 92, and Cochran-Patrick, Pl. II. 3, has on
the obverse DMVID : DЄI GRMণIß, and on the reverse RЄX S@OTORVM. David II. Clumsy forgeries exist of the MONЄTת RGGIS farthing, by Jons of Dun- (1329-1370-1). fermline, struck upon silver three-halfpenny pieces of William IV. and Fargeries. Victoria. On the centre of the reverse of one of these forgeries in the Ferguslie collection the numerals $1 \frac{1}{2}$ can still be distinctly traced; this piece weighs $10 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

## COINAGES WITH THE NAMES OF THE MINTS. Coinages with

On the 5th February, in the twenty-eighth year of David's reign, 1356-7, the mints. a charter was conferred upon Adam Tor (or Torrie, as he is called in the Ratification Charter of $166 I^{1}$ ), burgess of Edinburgh, by whom, as Mint Master of Scotland, the great new coinage was carried out. An Exchequer Roll, ${ }^{2}$ still extant, gives Tor's account for the profits and expenses of the coinage from I9th February I 357-8 to 19 th March 1358 -9.

The new Scottish coinage was to be of the same quality and weight as that of England, viz. II oz. 2 dwt . fine, the penny weighing 18 grs , and the groat 72 grs.

At the commencement of this coinage the chief moneyer of Scotland James Mulekyn. was James Mulekyn of Florence, referred to in the foregoing account as "Magister Jacobus monetarius." In a subsequent account for profits and expenses from 2d June I 361 to $2 d$ December $1364^{3}$ the name of Bonage, or Bonagius, of Florence now first appears, in connection with a payment of Bonagius. 6I merks, or $£ 40:$ I $3: 4$, for designs and dies furnished by the said Bonage for the coinage.

Bonagius, previously to his having been engaged at the Scottish mint, had been employed as moneyer at the episcopal mint at Durham ; but having got into debt in Durham, he left his employment there, apparently in a surreptitious manner, about A.D. 1363 or $1364 .{ }^{4}$

[^68]${ }^{3}$ Cochran-Patrick's Records of the Coinage of Scotland, vol. i. p. 5 .
${ }^{4}$ Respecting the connection of Bonagius with the mint at Durham, Mr. W. H. D. Longstaffe has kindly communicated to me the fol-

David II. (1329-1370-1). Coinages with the names of the mints.

The 12 -ounce pound.

There need be no difficulty in assigning to Bonagius those later coins of David II. which have the Robert II. Head. Bonagius was the moneyer throughout during the reign of Robert II. In the style of the head, crown, and lettering, and in the slender form of the crosses dividing the words, as also in the having a star on the sceptre-handle, the groats of Robert II. correspond with the David II. groats of the reduced standard weight of $6 I_{1}^{4} \mathrm{I}$ grs., as struck under the Act 7 th October $1367,{ }^{1}$ when $35^{2}$ pennies were
lowing information. "It may not be amiss to let you know that in 1358 'Bonageus Moneour' was admitted by the Convent of Durham to two messuages and lands not far off that city, which had previously belonged to other folks; and that, in 1364 , the Lord Prior resumed one of the messuages and lands 'quæ fuerunt in tenura Bonagii Moneour eo quod elongatus est extra patrium et tabernavit prædictum messuagium et tenam [?] sine licenciam [?] Domini.' We have not the rolls for $I_{3} 6_{3}$, and I don't know the fate of Bonage's other farm. Bonage left in debt to the Lord Prior, who seized his crop and also held his sureties liable."

I This Act renders it perfectly clear that the pound then in use at the Scottish mint was the 12 -ounce, not the 15 -ounce pound. Setting out with the statement that at that time there was great scarcity of silver in the kingdom, the Act ordains that for this reason money should be made in the manner following:-_" Videlicet, quod libra argenti minuatur in pondere decem denariis ponderis, sic scilicet quod de libra ponderis iam fiant viginti novem solidi et quatuor denarii numerales." Or, as rendered by Sir John Skene in our own vernacular in the Regiam Majestatem, "that the pund of silver sall be made lesse in wecht ten pennie wecht, swa that of the pund wecht at this tyme sall be made twentie nyne shillings and four penneis numerall."

The pound of silver, it is evident, was lessened just in proportion as the weight of the penny was lessened. When, under David I., 300 pennies were coined out of the pound weight
of 15 ounces, i.e. of 300 pennyweights, the pound of silver exactly corresponded with the pound of weight. But when Robert 1. coined 315 pennies out of this same pound of weight, i.e. of 300 pennyweights, the pound of silver then stood to the pound of weight as 21 to 20 --in other words, the pound of silver was lessened by $\frac{1}{21}$ part. Under David II., when the weight of the penny was further reduced to 18 grs., that is, by $\frac{1}{5}$ th, the pound of silver was correspondingly reduced by $\frac{1}{5}$ th, or by 3 ounces, so that now the pound of silver, consisting of 300 pennies of 18 grs. each, weighed exactly 12 ounces.

This must have been the time when the 12ounce pound was substituted for the 15 -ounce pound at the Scottish mint. Had the pound of 15 ounces been the pound then in use, it would have given 375 pennies of 18 grs. each ; but, as we have seen, the Act 7 th October 1367, in the face of a declared reduction of the weights of the coins, ordered that 352 pennies ( 29 shillings and 4 pence) should be coined out of the pound of weight, exactly the number ordered by the Act 17 th June 1385 of Robert Il., thus giving a penny of $15 \frac{15}{44} \mathrm{grs}$, and a groat of $6 \frac{4}{11} \mathrm{grs}$. The 15 -ounce pound, had it been in operation at the 7 th of October 1367 , would have resulted in a penny of $19 \frac{31}{170}$ grs. ! and a groat of $76 \frac{31}{14}$ grs. !!

It is also evident that the 12 -ounce pound was in use under Robert III. ; for when, by the Act 24th October 1393, it was ordered that 21 shillings, or 252 pennies, should be coined out of 6 ounces of pure silver, what were these 6 ounces but the half of the 12 -ounce pound?
ordered to be coined out of the pound of weight. Certain other groats David II. of David II. with the Robert II. Head, which are distinguished from these last only by their superior weight and by having the sceptre-handle plain, unless where sometimes ornamented with a pellet, are evidently the coinages executed by Bonagius prior to 7 th October 1367 . Probably the dies for some of the coinages, with an Intermediate Head, were also made by him.

The coins of David II. with the Small Head have the words divided sometimes by rosettes, sometimes by crosses-disposed saltire-wise more frequently than cross-wise, and of a fuller character than the crosses dividing the words on the coins with the Robert II. Head. The dies for these pieces were presumably the work of James Mulekyn.

The coinages of David II. with the names of the mints consist of Groats, Half Groats and Pennies. The only mints known of David II. are Edinburgh and Aberdeen.

## GROATS.

Groats.
Types-obverse : crowned bust, with sceptre, to left, within a tressure; reverse: a mullet of five points, having a cinquefoil in the centre, in each quarter of the cross.

Three principal varieties of Head-the Small Head, the Intermediate Head, and the Robert II. style of Head.

勺utall fead.

Small Head.

Edinburgh.
Trefoils in the Arcs of the Tressure; Rosettes between the Words on the Obverse.

Tressure of six arcs and segment.-Fig. 250.
I. O. \&DTUID DEI GRT•REX SCOTORVM


[^69]David II. (1329-1370-1). Groats. Small Head. Edinburgh.
2. As No. I: but with LIB' and RGh * ; no saltires at the sides of 7 , 69 grs.

Tressure of six arcs.-Fig. 25 I.
3. O. ※DTUID • DGI •GRT•RGX SUOTORVM

Of the preceding varieties there were in the Montrave hoard 12 groats; of which 9 , as Nos. 1, 2, gave an average weight of $7 \mathrm{I} \frac{2}{3}$ grs., while 3 as No. 3 weighed respectively $73 \frac{3}{8}, 71 \frac{1}{4}, 71$ grs.

Corresponding in every respect with the coins last described, except in having crosses disposed saltirewise, instead of rosettes, between the words on the obverse, four groats in the Montrave hoard weighed respectively 75, $72 \frac{1}{4}, 70 \frac{3}{4}, 67 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

The groats of David II. in the Montrave hoard, being all in the same state as when struck, afford valuable assistance in determining the standard weights of the several varieties of the period to which they relate. They do not extend further than the earlier issues with the Intermediate Head.

Rosettes in the Arcs of the Tressure; Saltires between the Words.
Tressure of six arcs.-Fig. 252.

5. As No. 4 : no saltire before 氏D,
$67 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.
6. As No. 4, the obverse legend ending SOOTORVM $\times \frac{\times}{x}$ (the figured coin), $69 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.
$6 a$. As No. 4 ; with DTUID, a saltire on each side of $\ddagger$, 64 grs.
No. 6a, formerly in the Wakeford, is now in the Ferguslie collection.
The Montrave hoard contained only two specimens of the groats with rosettes in the tressure; these weighed 72 and $71 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

Pellets in the Arcs of the Tressure; Saltires between the Words. David if.
(1329-1370-1).

Groats.
Small Head.
Edinburgh. $63 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.


There were four coins of this rare variety in the Montrave hoard, weighing severally $7 \mathrm{I} \frac{3}{8}, 7 \mathrm{I} \frac{1}{4}, 71 \frac{1}{8}, 70 \frac{1}{4}$ grs. The specimen above described is clipped and worn.

Plain Tressure; Saltires between the Words.
Tressure of seven arcs.-Fig. 254.
8. O. कDTUID DEI $\times G R \pi \times R G X * S O O T O R V M$
 \} $71 \frac{1}{2}$ yrs.

Tressure of six arcs.-Fig. 256.
9. O. \&DTVID $\times$ DUI $\times G R \pi \times R G X \times S O O T O R V M$
 \} 61 grs.

As Fig. 256 there were two specimens in the Montrave hoard, weighing respectively $69 \frac{1}{2}$ and $68 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

Plain Tressure; Crosses between the Words.
Tressure of six arcs. -Fig. $25 \%$.
10. 0 . $4 \mathrm{D} \pi V I D+\mathrm{DGI}+\mathrm{GR} \pi+\mathrm{ReX}+\mathrm{SCOTORVM}$ *

\} $68 \frac{1}{4}$ prs.

David II. (1329-1370-1). Groats. Small Head. Edinburgh.

Tressure of six arcs.-Fig. 258.


k. | BDRS $\pm \mathrm{P}$ | TGQTOR | $\mathrm{MS}+7+\mathrm{LIB}$ | $\pi \mathrm{TORMS}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VILL | $\pi \in D$ | InBV | RGh |

55 grs.

From the same dies as the above, three specimens in the Montrave hoard weighed severally $74 \frac{1}{4}, 70 \frac{7}{8}$, and 67 grs. The piece here described is rubbed and considerably clipped.

The following four Edinburgh groats of David II., with the Small Head, have a privy mark at the end of the legend on the obverse, represented in the first three instances by a mullet of five points, in the fourth instance by a lis. With these coins an ornamental style of now makes its appearance on the groats of David II. On all the preceding pieces the $\pi$ is of the plain open variety.

Tressure of six arcs.-Fig. 259.
12. 0 . $4 D \pi V I D+D \in I+G R \pi+R G X+S \propto O T O R V M *$

69 grs.

Tressure of six arcs.-Fig. 260.
1 3. 0 . $\nrightarrow D \pi V I D+D \in I+G R \pi+R \Theta X+S \propto O T O R V M \star$

R. | BD $\overline{n S} ~$ | P | TGOTOR | $\overline{\mathrm{MS}} \times \mathrm{F} \times \mathrm{LIB}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VILL | HOD | IRBV | RGh |

65 grs.

Tressure of six arcs.-Fig. 261.
14. O. * DHVID $\times$ DGI $\times$ GRM $\times R G X \times S O O T O R V ~ M \ddagger$

The heads on the above three coins are all different. The groat No. 14, instead of the ordinary cross patée, with the ends inclining to potent, before the legend on the obverse, has a cross patée, with the ends
fourchy. The Montrave hoard contained only one groat as No. 12, weigh- David II. ing 70 grs., and four groats as No. 13, weighing $67 \frac{1}{4}, 65 \frac{3}{8}, 64$, and $63 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

Tressure of six arcs.-Fig. 262.
15. O. 出DJVID $\ddagger \mathrm{D} O I \ddagger G R J \ddagger R \in X \ddagger \alpha O T O R O M \ddagger$
B. $\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { 玉DRS } \pm P & \text { TGOTOR } & \overline{M S}+\neq \mathrm{LIB} & \text { JTORMS } \\ \hline \mathrm{VILL} & \text { HCD } & \text { InBV } & \text { RGh }\end{array}\right\} \quad 67 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

There were six groats in the Montrave hoard as No. 15, giving an average weight of $66 \frac{5}{6} \mathrm{grs}$.

Tressure of six arcs.-Fig. 262B.


68 grs.

This piece, which is in the S.S.A. collection, was from the Montrave hoard. In that hoard with this obverse there were eighteen groats, of which two had the barred ornamental $\mathbb{I}$ in $\operatorname{ITOR}$ and in VILLII, fourteen had the open ornamental $\pi$ in $\pi T O R$ and the barred ornamental $\mathbb{J}$ in VILLH, and two had the open ornamental II in ITOR and in VILLJ. These eighteen coins seemed to be the latest issues of the Small Head Groats, and gave an average weight of $66 \frac{4}{9}$ grs.

## ABERDEEN

Plain Tressure; Crosses between the Words.
Tressure of six arcs.-Fig. 254A.
15b. 0 . $4 D \pi V I D+\mathrm{DGI}+\mathrm{GR} \pi+\mathrm{RGX}+\mathrm{S} O$ OTORVM $\times$

R. | FDIS $\mathbf{p}$ | TeaTOR | MS $\ddagger$ LIB | $\pi$ TORs |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VILL | $\pi \ddagger \pi$ | BER | DOR |

Formerly in the Wakeford, now in the Ferguslie collection.

Tressure of seven arcs.-Fig. 255.


$67 \frac{1}{8}$ grs.

An Aberdeen groat in the Montrave hoard, with the obverse from the same die as the above, weighed 67 grs . Two Edinburgh groats in that hoard had also their obverses from the same dies as Fig. 255, and weighed respectively $70 \frac{3}{4}$ and 67 grs. The only other Aberdeen groat of David II. with the Small Head in the Montrave hoard had a tressure of six arcs, and weighed 73 grs .

It is to be observed that nearly the same two varieties of head present themselves all through upon this Small Head coinage. With very slight variations the head on Fig. 250 is repeated on Figs. 252, 253, 254A, 257, 258, as that on Fig. 25 I is repeated on Figs. 254, 255, 256, 259, 260, 261, 262. Fig. 262B, however, shows a distinctly different head. The lettering on all the Small Head coins is of an open regular character, corresponding well with the full rounded crosses between the words, which, from their flower-like appearance, may be described as quatrefoils rather than crosses.

INTERMEDIATE HEAD.
On what may be regarded as the first of the groats of David II. with the Intermediate Head we find the same open regular lettering and the same full quatrefoil-like crosses dividing the words as on the Small Head groats. This earlier variety of the Intermediate Head, except in being larger and more massive, is of much the same character as the Small Head, showing the same straight lines of profile.

The groats of David II. with what may be called the second variety of the Intermediate Head, display a slightly aquiline profile. The lettering on these pieces is much the same as before, but occasionally with the $\alpha$ and the $\mathbb{G}$ of a more pointed character, and the base of the $T$ more prolonged ; while the crosses between the words are usually more slender and of a less
quatrefoil-like appearance than on the Small Head groats or than on those David II. of the first variety of the groats with the Intermediate Head.
(1329-1370-1). Groats.
The third variety of the groats of David II. with the Intermediate Head has a highly aquiline profile. The bust differs from that on all the preceding issues in having the fore shoulder longer than the hind shoulder, corresponding in this respect with the bust on the groats of David II. with the Robert II. Head. For the first time a curved line now extends below the bust, running parallel with it, as if in completion of the tressure ; this curved line is met with also on certain groats of David II. with the Robert II. Head. ${ }^{1}$ The lettering and the crosses between the words are of the same sharp character as on the groats of Robert II.

It is only on certain of the groats with the Intermediate Heads that the letter D occurs in one of the quarters of the reverse, and this letter is found in connection with the reverses of all the three varieties.

None of the Montrave groats had the letter D on the reverse. The coins in that hoard stopped short with the groats here described as the second variety of the Intermediate Head, of which the number in the find was greatly in excess of that of any of the other groats of David II., rendering it very probable that the hoard had been deposited just when those pieces were being in course of issue.

[^70]None of the groats of Edinburgh,

For a most instructive and interesting paper, by the Ven. Archdeacon Pownall, entitled "The Royal Bust on Early Groats," showing why the shoulders, as represented on the early groats, were left bare, see Numismatic Chronicle, 2 d S. vol. ix. p. 203. See also Dr. John Hill Burton's History of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 309, 310, for a description of the coronation of David II. On this occasion the coronation ceremony having been conducted under papal auspices, for the first time in Scotland, by a special Bull from Rome, the king was anointed by the Bishop of St. Andrews on the shoulders and other places, which were exposed for the purpose. The nude bust on the early groats was placed there in testimony of this anointing-King, by the grace of God.

David II. (1329-1370-I). Groats. Intermediate Head.
which are here described as the first variety of the Intermediate Head from their greater affinities to the Small Head groats, were there represented; but an Aberdeen groat with the Intermediate Head approximated to this type, having its obverse from the same die as the Aberdeen groat, Fig. 276 , in the Ferguslie collection.

It may possibly have happened that the groats of David II. with the letter D on the reverse were a second issue of the Intermediate Head varieties -struck while the dies for those with the Robert II. Head were in preparation. In this case, possibly, the letter D may stand for duplicata, or some such word. One Donatus, or Donate, Mulekyn was employed at the Scottish mint about the time that these pieces were being issued. His name appears in the same account of Adam Tor where the name of Bonagius is first mentioned. But it is scarcely likely that the initial of this person's Christian name would have been placed upon the coins.

The groats of David II. with the Robert II. Head differ from those with the Small Head and from those with the Intermediate Head in one remarkable respect. They have the eyeballs filled in with unpierced pellets, giving the face a blank blind-like appearance. On all the groats of David II. of the preceding issues the pellets representing the eyeballs are pierced, imparting to the countenance a highly animated expression. The spandrels of the crown between the lis on the groats of David II. with the Robert II. Head are perceptibly lower than the spandrels of the crown on the groats with the Small and with the Intermediate Head.

## 3ntermedíate lazad.

EDINBURGH.
Plain Tressure, usually of Six Arcs; the Words divided by Crosses.

First Variety.
Fig. 268.
17. O. wDHVID $+\mathrm{DEI}+\mathrm{GRM}+\mathrm{REX}+\mathrm{SCOTORVM}+(\boldsymbol{*})$


The letter D in the first quarter of the reverse.-Fig. 271.
18. O. From the same die as the above.
R.

| *DIS 12 | TGOTOR | mS $\ddagger$ LIB | TTORMs |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VILL | $\pi \in D$ | InBV | RGh |

David II.
(1329-1370-1).
Groats.
Intermediate
61 grs. Head.
Edinburgh.
First variety.

The letter D in the fourth quarter of the reverse.-Fig. 27IA.
18a. O. DHVID $\ddagger \mathrm{DEI} \ddagger \mathrm{GRH} \ddagger \mathrm{REX} \ddagger \mathrm{S} X O T O R V M$
Bk. $\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { RDS } \pm \mathrm{P} & \text { TGđTOR } & \text { MS } \ddagger \text { LIB } & \text { MTORms } \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \text { MAD } & \text { IRBV } & \text { RGh }\end{array}\right\}$
64 grs.

Formerly in the Kermack Ford, now in the Ferguslie collection.

Second Variety.
Fig. 279.
19. O. ※DHVID $\ddagger \mathrm{D} \Theta I \ddagger$ GRJ $\ddagger \mathrm{R} \in \mathrm{X} \ddagger \mathrm{S} \mathcal{O} O T O R V M$


The letter D in the first quarter of the reverse.-Fig. 279A.

1k. $\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { m } \overline{M S}+\boldsymbol{p} & \text { TGOTOR } & \overline{m s}+\boldsymbol{\text { I }}+\mathrm{LIB} & \text { MTORMS } \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \text { HeD } & \text { InBV } & \text { RGh }\end{array}\right\}$
$66 \frac{1}{3}$ grs.

Formerly in the Kermack Ford, now in the Ferguslie collection.

The letter $D$ in the fourth quarter of the reverse.-Fig. 280.
20. O. ※DHVID $\ddagger \mathrm{D} G I \ddagger \mathrm{GRJ} \ddagger \mathrm{R} \in \mathrm{X} \ddagger \mathrm{S} \propto \mathrm{OTORVM}$

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David 11.
（1329－1370－1）．
Groats． Intermediate Head Edinburgh． Second variety．

21．O．$\ddagger$ DJVID＋DOI $\ddagger$ GRI＋RGX $\ddagger$ SOOTORVM
R． $\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { 出DRS }+\mathrm{P} & \text { TधATOR } & \mathrm{mS} \text { ¥ LIB } & \text { HTORMS } \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \text { IUD } & \text { InBV } & \text { RGn }\end{array}\right\} \quad 66 \frac{1}{4}$ grs．

The letter $D$ in the fourth quarter of the reverse．－Fig． 28 I ．
22．O．$\Psi$ DJVID $\ddagger \mathrm{DOI}+\mathrm{GR} \ddagger+\mathrm{REX} \ddagger \mathrm{SOOTORVM}$
B． $\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { \＃DITS }+\mathrm{P} & \text { TGUTOR } & \overline{\mathrm{MS}} \text { モ LIB } & \text { HTORMS } \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \text { HGD } & \text { InBV } & \text { RGh }\end{array}\right\}$ $59 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$.

The letter $\mathbf{D}$ reversed in the second quarter of the reverse．－Fig． 282.
23．O．弫DHVID＋DGI $\ddagger$ GRJI REX S氏OTORVM $\ddagger$

$64 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.

A cross in the fourth quarter of the reverse．－Fig．282A．
23a．O．$屮 \mathrm{D}$ ．

$62 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$.

Now in the Ferguslie，formerly in the Richardson collection．Ex－ tremely rare．The cross in the fourth quarter of the reverse on this piece is of the same slender form as the crosses in the legendary circles．

A cross in the third quarter of the reverse．－Fig．2828．
236． 0 ． DHVID $\ddagger \mathrm{D} \not \mathrm{DI} \ddagger \mathrm{GRJ} \ddagger \mathrm{REX} \ddagger \mathrm{SOOTORVM}$

66 grs．

In the Cochran－Patrick collection ；apparently from the same obverse die as the preceding．

Third Variety.
Fig. 286.
24. O. ※DMVID $\ddagger \mathrm{D} O I \ddagger \mathrm{GR} \pi \ddagger \mathrm{R} G X \ddagger$ SđOTORVM


David I1.
(1329-1370-1).
Groats.
Intermediate Head.
Edinburgh.
$65 \frac{1}{8}$ grs. Third variety.

Six arcs and segment.-Fig. 287.
25. O. ※DHVID $\ddagger$ DGI $\ddagger$ GRI $\ddagger R \in X \ddagger$ SCOTORVM

The letter D in the first quarter of the reverse.-Fig. 288.
26. O. \&DHVID $\ddagger \mathrm{DGI} \ddagger$ GRM $\ddagger \mathrm{RGX} \ddagger$ SđOTORVM
R. $\left.\begin{array}{l|c|c|c}\text { FDRS } \pm \mathrm{P} & \text { TGOTOR } & \mathrm{MS}+7+\mathrm{LIB} & \text { MTORMS } \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \text { KGD } & \text { InBV } & \text { RGh }\end{array}\right\} \quad 58 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$.

The letter $D$ in the first quarter of the reverse.-Fig. 289.
27. 0 . ※DKVID $\ddagger \mathrm{DGI} \ddagger \mathrm{GRM} \ddagger \mathrm{RGX} \ddagger \propto O T O R V M$

The plain open $\pi$, where it occurs on the groats with the third Intermediate Head, is usually of the large limp-looking character common to the groats with the Robert II. Head-吸.

## ABERDEEN.

Aberdeen.
Plain Tressure of Six Arcs and Crosses between the Words.
First Variety.
Fig. 275.


64 grs.

David II. (1329-1370-1). Groats. Intermediate Head. Aberdeen. First variety.

The reverse of this piece is very similar to that of the groat, Fig. 255, and is evidently struck from a die of the same coinage. This is the coin figured in Wingate, Sup., Pl. II. I4. It is very rare, as are also the following of Aberdeen with the Intermediate Head.

The crosses between the words on the reverses of the following groats of Aberdeen with the ornamental $\mathbb{H}$, are of the same plump quatrefoil-like form as on the preceding, showing that, although the $\alpha$ and $\Theta$ on these coins are of the more pointed and later character, their period of issue must have closely corresponded with that of the above.

Fig. 276.
29. O. From the same die as the preceding.
 29a. As No. 28, but with a single cross on each side of the lis after SđOTORVM, [62 $\frac{1}{4}$ grs.
From the Kermack Ford and Wakeford collections.

Second Variety.
Fig. 284.
30. O. 出)HVID + DEI + GRI + RGX $\ddagger$ SOOTORVM

These coins seem to be the latest groats of Aberdeen. I have not met with any Aberdeen groats with the letter D on the reverse, nor with the Robert II. Head.

It has already been stated that the David II. groats in the Montrave hoard do not extend further than the second variety of the Intermediate Head, Fig. 279 of the Ferguslie collection. Out of the total of 124 Edinburgh groats of David II. in the Montrave hoard, 55 were of this variety. These gave an average weight of only $66 \frac{38}{5} \frac{8}{5}$ grs., as against $70 \frac{8}{9}$ grs., the
average weight afforded by the 39 Edinburgh groats in the same hoard, with the Small Head and the plain open $\pi$ on both sides, corresponding to the first 12 groats as here described in the Ferguslie collection. The 30 Edinburgh groats in the Montrave hoard with the Small Head, and with the ornamental $\mathbb{I}$ either on one side or on both, gave an average weight of $66 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

Thé Montrave hoard contained 35 London groats of Edward III., of which the average weight was $71 \frac{1}{9}$ grs., or only $\frac{2}{9}$ grs. above the average weight of the 39 Edinburgh groats of David II. with the plain open $\pi$ on both sides in the same hoard. Indeed-but for a falling off in the weights of 4 pieces, apparently the later issues-the average weight of these 39 Edinburgh groats of David II. with the plain open $\pi$ on both sides would have been slightly higher than was afforded by the 35 groats of Edward III.; the first 35 of the Scottish groats averaging $71 \frac{1}{7}$ grs., as against $71 \frac{1}{9}$ grs., the average shown by the 35 English groats.

The remarkable difference between the average weight given by the groats of David II. with the plain open $\pi$ on both sides, and that given by Reduction of the weights of the coins. the groats in the same hoard with the ornamental $\mathbb{I}_{1}$ on one or on both sides, strongly indicates that the attempt of David II. to maintain the standard weight of his money on an equality with that of the English coinage must have broken down just when the ornamental II was in process of supplanting the plain open $\pi$ on Scottish coins.

There appears, therefore, to have been an undeclared reduction-probably more than one-before the declared reduction of the standard weights took place on the 7 th of October 1367.

And indeed it is only by taking this into account that we can reconcile the reduction ordered by the Act of the 7 th of October 1367 with the facts as exhibited by the coins themselves. By that Act 29 shillings and 4 pence, or 352 sterlings, were to be made out of the pound of silver (exactly as ordered by the Act 17 th June 1385 of Robert II.), thus reducing the weight of the groat to $6 \mathrm{I}_{11}^{4} \mathrm{~g}$ grs., and of the penny to ${ }^{5} 5 \frac{15}{\frac{15}{4}}$ grs. Troy. But when 300 pennies, as at the commencement of the groat coinages of David II., were coined out of this same pound of silver, the standard weight of the
penny was 18 grs. Troy-a difference of $2 \frac{29}{44}$ grs. on the penny, or of $797 \frac{8}{1 I}$ grs. on the pound of silver; ${ }^{1}$ while the reduction as ordered by the Act was only 10 dwt., equivalent in Troy weight to 225 grs ., leaving $572 \frac{8}{11}$ grs. of reduction still to be accounted for.

Assuming the average weight of the groat, as issued from the mint at the time that the first undeclared reduction of the weights of the coins seems to have taken place (when the ornamental $\mathbb{H}$ was in the process of supplanting the plain open $\pi$ ), to have been $67 \frac{1}{2}$ grs., this accounts for only $337 \frac{1}{2}$ grs. of the deficiency. So that a still further undeclared reduction of the pound of silver to the extent of about 235 grs. would appear to have occurred previously to the declared reduction of the standard weights as ordered by the Act 7 th October 1367.

I am not aware of any of the groat coinages of David II. of which the standard weight can be considered as being intermediate between $67 \frac{1}{2}$ and $6 I_{1}^{4}$ grs.; but probably some of the smaller money, particularly of the half-groats and pennies with the Robert II. head, may have been of some such standard, and have represented an independent issue from the groats.

The circumstance which complicates matters in the Scottish coinage of this period is, that, while a certain average weight was maintained by the several issues, the individual weights of the coins varied considerably: the heaviest three groats of Edinburgh of David II. with the Small Head and the plain open $\pi$ on both sides, in the Montrave hoard, weighed respectively $73 \frac{3}{8}, 74 \frac{1}{4}, 75$ grs., the lightest three $66,67,67 \frac{1}{4}$ grs. ; the heaviest two groats with the Large Intermediate Head, as Fig. 279, with the ornamental HI, weighed respectively $70 \frac{5}{8}$ and $72 \frac{1}{4}$ grs., the lightest two $59 \frac{1}{4}$ and $62 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

$$
{ }^{1} 2 \frac{29}{44} \times 300=797 \frac{8}{11}
$$

THE COINAGE OF SCOTLAND.


HEAVIER ISSUES: PREVIOUS TO OCTOBER $7,1367$.

David II.
(1329-1370-1).
Groats.
Robert II. Head.
Heavier issues.

Edinburgh.

Plain Tressure; the Words divided by Crosses; a curved Line below the Bust.

Six arcs.-Fig. 291.
31. O. ※DIVID $\ddagger \mathrm{D} \in I \ddagger \mathrm{GRI} \ddagger \mathrm{R} 氏 \mathrm{X} \ddagger \mathrm{SGOTORVM}$

32. Do.: with SGOTORVM,
$66 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.
Six arcs and segment.-Fig. 292.
33. O. ※DHVID $\ddagger \mathrm{D} \in I \ddagger \mathrm{GR} \ddagger \mathrm{R} \not \mathrm{XX} \ddagger \mathrm{SGOTORVM}$


Six arcs; a pellet on the sceptre-handle.-Fig. 296.

R. $\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { FDRS } \mathrm{P} & \text { TबđTOR } & \mathrm{MS}+\mp+\mathrm{LIB} & \text { HTORms } \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \pi \in D & \text { IRBV } & \text { RGh }\end{array}\right\} \quad 69 \frac{1}{8}$ grs.
35. Do.: from different dies,

67 grs.
No. 35 was formerly in the Kermack Ford and Wakeford collections. The groats of David II. with the pellet on the sceptre-handle have not hitherto been published in any work on Scottish coins. Their heavier weight shows that they are of earlier issue than the groats with the star on the sceptre-handle. I have not observed the pellet on the sceptre-handle on any of the coins of the two smaller denominations.

David II. (1329-1370-1). Groats. Robert II. Head. Lighter issues.

## LIGHTER ISSUES: SUBSEQUENT TO OCTOBER 7, 1367.

By the Act of Parliament 8th May 1366 it was ordered that new money should be coined of the same weight and quality as that made by James Mulekyn-"Magister Jacobus"-"so that in these respects it might be equal to the money current in England." To distinguish this new money from what had previously been fabricated, it was further provided that a notable sign should be placed upon it ; evidently implying that the more recent issues, subsequent to those of Magister Jacobus, had not proved satisfactory in weight or in quality.

As finally ordered by the Act 7th October 1367, the material of this new money was to be good and pure, such as that "now made in England;" but the standard of the weight of the coins, as we have seen, was reduced considerably below that of England, it being provided that 352 instead of 300 sterlings as formerly in Scotland under Magister Jacobus, and as still in England, were to be coined out of the pound of weight, thus reducing the standard weight of the groat to $6 \mathrm{I}_{1}^{4} \mathrm{f}$ grs.

The groats of David II. with the Robert II. Head and the star on the sceptre-handle correspond, it will be observed, with this reduced standard ; indeed they scarcely ever exceed it by even a fraction of a grain.

To all appearance, therefore, this star on the handle of the sceptre of these pieces was the "notable sign" finally adopted.

It can easily be understood, notwithstanding that no immediate action for the issue of the proposed new coinage was taken by the Parliament of 8th May I 366-matters having been left over for more mature consideration till next Parliament, that the dies for this coinage might meanwhile have been in preparation at the mint, and specially with reference to the employment of the notable sign. As a distinguishing mark indicative of a reduction of the weights, the star on the sceptre-handle would be quite as serviceable as it would have been in denoting that, in weight as well as in quality, the coins had been restored, as at first proposed, to their original standard under Magister Jacobus. Possibly the dies for the following two coins with the pellet behind the head and in the first quarter of the reverse may have been executed in anticipation of this new coinage.

## A Pellet behind the Head and in the First Quarter of the Reverse.

Six arcs ; a curved line below the bust.-Fig. 297.

R. $\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { ADINS }+\mathrm{P} & \text { TGGTOR } & \overline{\mathrm{MS}}+\ddagger+\text { LIB } & \text { MTORMS } \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \pi G D & \text { IRBV } & \text { RGh }\end{array}\right\}$

Seven arcs ; a curved line below the bust.-Fig. 298.
37. Inscriptions as above, 59 grs.

These two pieces exhibit a clipped appearance, and have evidently lost a portion of their weight. Lindsay (Des. Cat., No. 199) gives the weight of a specimen of this variety in his collection as 61 grs. The very rare groat with the star behind the neck and between the letters GD on the reverse, formerly in the Mockler collection (Lindsay, Pl. IV. No. 94, 6I grs.), appears to belong to the same coinage as these pieces.

A Star on the Sceptre-Handle-Plain Tressure, usually of six Arcs, Trefoils in the Angles-The Words divided by Crosses.

A curved line below the bust.-Fig. 30 I.


39. Do: with SGOTORVm,
$61 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.
40. As the last, but with the head as on No. 37,

As previously remarked, the plain open $\pi$, where it occurs on the coins of David II. with the Robert II. Head, is larger and of a more limp-looking character than the plain open $\pi$ on the coins of David II. with the Small Head.

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David II. (1329-1370-1).
Groats.
Robert II. Head. Lighter issues. Edinburgh.

Without the curved line below the bust.-Fig. 302.
41. O. $4 \mathrm{D} \pi V I D \ddagger \mathrm{DEI} \ddagger \mathrm{GR} \pi \ddagger \mathrm{RGX} \ddagger \mathrm{SaOTORVM}$
 Two specimens; the heads slightly different.

Without the curved line below the bust ; two stars of five points after DnS.
Fig. 305.
42. O. wDTVID $\ddagger \mathrm{D} G I \ddagger \mathrm{GR} \pi \ddagger \mathrm{R} \in \mathrm{X} \ddagger \mathrm{S} \propto \mathrm{OTORVM}$
$\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { 18. } \\ \text { aDRS } * \mathrm{P} & \text { TGOTOR } & \mathrm{MS} \times \mp \times \text { LIB } & \pi \text { TORMS } \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \pi \in D & \text { InBV } & \text { RGh }\end{array}\right\}$
$58 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

Without the curved line below the bust; two stars of five points after DRS ; the words divided by saltires.

Fig. 306.


Without the curved line below the bust; two stars of five points after DRS ; the words divided by saltires; no trefoils in the tressure.

Fig. 307.
44. 0 . $4 D \pi V I D \times D G I \times G R \pi \times R G X \times S \propto O T O R V M$

R. | 出DRS $\star \mathrm{P}$ | TGGTOR | $\mathrm{MS} \times{ }^{\circ} \times \mathrm{LIB}$ | $\pi \mathrm{TORMS}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VILL | $\pi \in D$ | $\mathrm{I} R \mathrm{BV}$ | RGh |

$57 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$.

This is an extremely rare variety.

## HALF-GROATS.

The issues of the half-groats of David II. appear to have been more limited than those of the groats. The Montrave hoard contained only 6
half-groats of Edinburgh and I half-groat of Aberdeen, as against 124 David II. groats of Edinburgh, 3 groats of Aberdeen, 14 pennies of Edinburgh, and 3 (1329-1370-1). pennies of Aberdeen. When the groats were first made there was the less occasion for the half-groats, as the smaller currency was provided for by the sterlings of the first coinage of David II. and by the other small money then in circulation. None of the earlier half-groats appear to have any ornaments within the arcs of the tressure, such as occur on some of the earlier groats. Possibly, therefore, no half-groats may have been coined till subsequent to the issue of those early groats with the ornaments in the arcs of the tressure. The half-groats display three styles of Head-the Small, the Intermediate, and the Robert II. Head. The Intermediate Head as exhibited on the half-groats is not so large in proportion to the Small Head as is the Intermediate Head to the Small Head on the groats. The words are usually divided by saltires or by crosses. The different styles of lettering on the half-groats correspond with the several styles of lettering on the groats. The mullets in the quarters of the cross on the reverse present a difference to those on the groats, the centres being usually quite plain. In one or two instances, however, the mullets, like those on the groats, have cinquefoils in the centres.

## Plain Tressure, usually of six Arcs.

|  | Small Head. |
| :---: | :---: |
| EDINBURGH. | Edinburgh. |

Tressure of six arcs.-Fig. 263.
I. 0 . ADTVID $\times \mathrm{DEI} \times$ RGX $\times$ SGOTORUM

2. O. 出DTVID DEI GRT RGX SCOTORVM


David II． （1329－1370－1）． Half－groats． Small 1Iead． Edinburgh．

 8． | fDIS | PROT | GOTOR | maVS |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VILL | HeD | IRBV | RGn |

32 grs．

4．Do：with $\pi$ GOD，
$33 \frac{1}{8}$ grs．
Five arcs．－Fig． 264.
5． 0 ．$屮 \mathrm{DTVID}+\mathrm{D} A I+\mathrm{GR} \pi+\mathrm{REX}+\mathrm{SOOTORVM}$


ABERDEEN．
Five arcs．－Fig． 265.
6．O．$\Psi \mathrm{D} \pi \mathrm{VID}+\mathrm{D} \in \mathrm{I}+\mathrm{GR} \pi+\mathrm{ReX}+\mathrm{S} \not \subset O T O R V$

8． | 世D $\overline{R S}$ | PROT | GOTOR | maVS |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VIL | $\pi \times \pi$ | BGR | DOR |

$32 \frac{1}{8}$ grs．

A half－groat of Aberdeen with six arcs，in the Richardson collection， has SđOTORVM，and a cross after VILLT ；it weighs 36.8 grs ．

3ntermedate 解eat．
EDINBURGH．
Six arcs．－Fig． 269.
7． 0 ．DTVID $\times$ DEI $\times G R \pi \times R E X \times S \propto O T O \bar{R}$

8．O．\＆DHVID＋DGI＋GRM＋RGX＋SđOTORV

9．O．\＆DMVID $+\mathrm{DEI}+\mathrm{GRI}+\mathrm{REX}+\mathrm{S} O O T O R V M$

1．． | \＆DIS | PROS | बOTOR | MeVS $\ddagger$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VILL | HED | IRBV | RGh |

Six arcs ; the letter D reversed in the first quarter.-Fig. 272.
10. O. ※DIVVID + DGI + GRH + RGX + SOOTORVM
R. $\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { \&DIS } & \text { PROT } & \text { EOTOR } & \text { MaVS } \ddagger \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \text { MGD } & \text { InBV } & \text { RGh }\end{array}\right\}$

I I. Do.: the letter $D$ in the first quarter not reversed,

David II. (1329-1370-1) Half-groats Intermediate Head. Edinburgh.

Seven arcs; the letter $D$ in the fourth quarter.-Fig. 273.
12. 0 . $A D \pi V I D+D \in I+G R \pi+R \Theta X+S \propto O T O R V M$

A half-groat in the Taap collection, with six arcs in the tressure, had this reverse.

Lindsay (ist Sup. Des. Cat., No. 35) describes a half-groat in the Carruthers collection as having a small cross in one quarter.

## ABERDEEN.

Six arcs.-Fig. 277.
13. O. \&DMVID $+\mathrm{D}(G I+G R J)+\mathrm{ReX}+\mathrm{SQOTORVM}$

The edge is broken. The $V$ or $थ$ in mevS is an $\Omega$ reversed.

## 

The Head on the later half-groats of David II. has its counterpart on the groats of the third Intermediate Head rather than on the groats with the Robert II. Head. It presents a profile having the same high cast of features as on the groats with the third Intermediate Head, with the eyeballs, as on these, filled in by pierced pellets, instead of by blank or unpierced pellets as occurs on all the groats with the Robert II. Head.

David II. (1329-1370-1) Half-groats. Robert II. Head.

And it is a very curious circumstance that this style of head is carried out all through, not only on these later half-groats of David II., but also on the half-groats of Robert II., and this continuously with the head with the blank eyeballs, as presented on the later groats and the pennies of David II., and on all the groats and the pennies of Robert II.

From the fact that the first of the following half-groats, No. 14, has the letter $D$ in one of the quarters on the reverse, it is clear that this style of head must have been introduced on the half-groats of David II. while the groats with the Intermediate Head were still in course of issue.

The half-groat No. 14 differs from all the following, as also from all those previously described, in having large mullets with cinquefoils in the centres in the quarters of the cross on the reverse, as on the groats and the pennies, instead of the small plain mullets specially distinctive of the half-groats.

All the half-groats of the later coinages, so far as I have observed, have a curved line below the bust; and the tressure consists usually of six arcs.

## EDINBURGH.

Six arcs and a small segment ; the letter D in the first quarter.-Fig. 290.
14. O. HHVID $^{\text {D }} \mathrm{DEI}+\mathrm{GR} \pi+\mathrm{RGX}+\mathrm{SOOTORVM}$
B. $\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { wDRS } & \text { PROS } & \text { Gator } & \text { mevV } \ddagger \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \text { TGD } & \text { InBV } & \text { RGh }\end{array}\right\}$

Six arcs, without the letter D on the reverse.-Fig. 293.
15. O. ※DHVID + DGI + GRH + RGX + SOOTORVM
R. $\left.\begin{array}{l|l|l|l}\text { aDRS } & \text { PROT } & \text { GOTOR } & \text { MGVS } \ddagger \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \text { HeD } & \text { InBV } & \text { RGh }\end{array}\right\}$

34 grs.
16. Do.: with SđOTORM (the figured coin), $31 \frac{1}{8}$ grs.
17. As No. 15, with S@OTORVM and PROS@OTOR, $33 \frac{1}{8}$ grs.
17a. As No. 15, with S@OTORVM and a tressure of seven arcs, $31 \frac{1}{8}$ grs.
The very rare piece, No. ifa, formerly in the Wakeford, is now in the Ferguslie collection.

Six arcs；a pellet behind the crown and in the first quarter of the reverse．
Fig． 299.
18．O．生DMVID $+\mathrm{DEI}+\mathrm{GRJ}+\mathrm{REX}+\mathrm{SGOTORVM}$

David II．
（1329－1370－1）．
Half－groats．
Robert II．＇Head．
Edinburgh．

19．Do．：the head as Fig．290，
Six arcs ；a star behind the neck and between $G$ and $D$ on the reverse．
Fig． 300.
20．O．出DHVID＋DGI＋GRI＋RGX＋S＠OTORVM

30 grs.

Six arcs；trefoils in the angles；a star on the sceptre－handle．
Fig． 303.
21．O．wDMVID＋D氏I＋GRM＋RGX＋SđOTORVM
1k． $\left.\begin{array}{l|c|c|c}\text { EDRS } & \text { PROT } & \text { EQTOR } & \text { MeVV } \ddagger \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \text { HeD } & \text { IRBV } & \text { RGh }\end{array}\right\}$
22．O．$屮 \mathrm{D} \pi V I D+\mathrm{DeI}+\mathrm{GR} \pi+\mathrm{ReX}+\mathrm{SqOTORVM}$

1k． | FDIS | PROT | GaTOR | maVS $\ddagger$ |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| VILL | $\pi \in D$ | IRBV | RGh |

23．Do．：with PROSeGOTOR，the edge broken，
$32 \frac{1}{2}$ grs．

The following extraordinary piece，with a late style of head and with five arcs in the tressure，has the legend in the outer circle on the reverse the same as on the groats．No trefoils in the angles of the tressure，nor star on the sceptre－handle．

Five arcs．－Fig． 308.
24．O．出 $\pi V I D+D G I+G R \pi+R G X+S G O T O R V$
R． $\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { mDRS }+\mathrm{P} & \text { TGOTO } & \mathrm{R} \times \mathrm{MS} \times \text { 王 } & \text { LIB } \mathrm{LIT} \\ \text { VILL } & \pi \in D & \text { IRB } & \text { VRG }\end{array}\right\} \quad 25 \frac{1}{2}$ grs．
The edge is considerably clipped；from the Sheriff Mackenzie collection．

David II．
（1329－1370－1）．
Pennies．

PENNIES．
Three styles of Head occur on the pennies－the Small，the Inter－ mediate，and the Robert II．Head．The Small and the Intermediate Heads correspond with the similar heads on the half－groats ；the Robert II．Head corresponds with the similar head on the groats．Cinquefoils are in the centres of the mullets on the reverses，as on the groats．

Small Head．

Edinburgh．

Small head．
EDINBURGH．
Fig． 266.
1． 0 ． $4 \mathrm{D} \pi$ VID $\times R \in \mathrm{R} \times$ SOOTORVM
R．VILL $|\pi \times G D| \operatorname{InBV} \mid$ RGh
2．Do．：but the bust with a shorter neck，
3．As No．I，with a saltire before VILL，
$17 \frac{1}{4}$ grs．
$17 \frac{5}{8} \mathrm{grs}$ ．

ABERDEEN．
Fig． 267.
4．O． $4 D \pi V I D \times R E X \times S U O T O R V M$
R．VILL $\mid \pi$ 出 $\pi \mid$ BGR $\mid$ DOR
$17 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$.

3ntermediate 裚をad．
EDINBURGH．
Fig． 270.
5．O．※DHVID $\ddagger$ RGX＋SđOTORVM
B．VILL \｜$\pi \in D$｜IRBV \｜RGh
$15 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.
A penny in the S．S．A．collection from the Montrave hoard as the above，had Retr for ReX．

The letter D in one quarter of the reverse．－Fig． 274.
6．O．\＆DתVID＋RЄX＋SđOTORVM $\ddagger$
1k．※VILL｜MGD \｜IRBV \｜RGh

David II． （1329－1370－1）．
Pennies．
14 grs．Intermediate
Head．
Edinburgh．
I $5 \frac{1}{4}$ grs．
On No． 6 the letter D is in the second quarter；on No． 7 the letter D reversed is in the fourth quarter．

A cross in the third quarter of the reverse．－Fig． 283.
8． O ． $4 \mathrm{DHVID}+\mathrm{RGX}+\mathrm{SOOTORVM}$
R．$\times$ VILI． $\mid$ KGD｜IRBV \｜RGh
$17 \frac{3}{8} \mathrm{grs}$.

## ABERDEEN．

Fig． 278.
9．O．\＆DIVID $\ddagger$ REX $\ddagger$ SOOTORVM
B．VILL $\mid \pi$ 出 $\pi \mid$ BGR \｜DOR
$17 \frac{1}{4}$ grs．
A penny of Aberdeen with the Intermediate Head in the Taap col－ lection had DIVID＋RGR＋SOOTORVm．

## Kohert 扯．裚ead．

EDINBURGH．

Robert II．Head．

Edinburgh．

Fig． 294.
10． 0 ．$w \mathrm{DKVID}+\mathrm{R} \alpha X+$ SGOTORVM
k．VILL \｜TGD｜IRBV｜RGn
$\} \quad 16 \frac{1}{4}$ grs．
This is a very peculiar piece，as having the same style of head and crown as on the later half－groats of David II．On the ordinary pennies of David II．with the Robert II．Head the pointed spaces of the crown vol．I．

David II． （1329－1370－1） Pennies． Robert II．Head． Edinburgh．
between the fleurs－de－lis are low and flat，corresponding with those of the crown on the later groats；on this piece they are high and sharp；and the pellets for the eyeballs，instead of being blank，as on all the following pennies with the Robert II．Head，are pierced．

Fig． 295.
i．O．※DHVID＋RGX＋SOOTORVM
B．VILL \｜HGD \｜InBV \｜RGh
$16 \frac{1}{2}$ grs．

A pellet behind the crown，and in the first quarter of the reverse．
Fig．299A．
I $a$ ．O．田DHVID＋ReX＋SOOTORVM
B．VILL \｜MGD \｜IRBV \｜RGh
$16 \frac{1}{5}$ grs．
In the S．S．A．collection．

A star behind the neck．－Fig．300A．
íb．O．（＊D）MVID＋REX＋SđOTORVM
R．※VI（LL）｜MGD \｜IRBV \｜RGh
$11 \frac{1}{2}$ grs．
In the Cochran－Patrick collection．

A star on the sceptre－handle．－Fig． 304.
12．O．WDHVID + RGX＋SOOTORVM
B．VILL｜MGD｜InBV \｜RGh
13．O．出 $\mathrm{DVID}+\mathrm{RGX}+\mathrm{S} \propto O T O R V \Omega$ R．VILL｜$\pi \in D$｜InBV｜RGh

14．O．出DTVID＋DGI＋ROX＋SOOTORV
R．VILL｜$\pi$ OD｜InBV｜RGh
15．O．wDTVID＋DGI＋GRT＋RGX＋S $\alpha$
B．VILL｜TGD｜InBV｜RGh

## GOLD COINAGE.

## NOBLES.

Cavid II.
(1329-1370-1).
Gold coinage. Nobles.

Gold coins for Scotland were first struck in the reign of David II. These consisted of nobles, executed in close imitation of the nobles of Edward III. of England. On the obverse the king is represented, crowned and in armour, standing in a ship, holding a sword in his right hand, and bearing on his left arm a shield charged with the Scottish lion within a double tressure fleurie-the first appearance of the Scottish lion on the national coinage. The type of the reverse corresponds in every respect with that of the contemporary noble of Edward III., except in having a cinquefoil instead of an $\Theta$ in the centre of the cross. The legend on the reverse is the same as on the English nobles. There are two varieties.

## First Variety.

The words on the obverse divided by two crosses ; on the reverse by pellets.

> Fig. 262A.

lk. *Iha • $\pi V$ TGm • TRKIIqIGIIS • P • Madivm •
119.6 grs. $\left[I L L O R V \Omega \cdot I B \pi T^{1}\right.$ )

In the British Museum. This piece differs from the following in having the ship ornamented with six lions.

## Second Variety.

The words on the obverse divided by two saltires, on the reverse by annulets and crosses.

$$
\text { Fig. } 285
$$



[ILLORVM + IBK

[^71]David II. ( I 329 -1370-1). Gold coinage. Nobles.

Formerly in the Carfrae collection. The ship on this piece is ornamented with five lions. Two other specimens of this noble exist, apparently from the same dies as the above-one is in the Hunterian collection, weighing 119.96 grs., and one, which was formerly in the Martin and Addington cabinets, is in the collection of Mr. Adam Black Richardson, weighing 119 grs. With the exception of the coin, Fig. 262A, these are the only known examples of the noble of David II.

The noble, Fig. 262A, is evidently the earlier of the two varieties; having the lettering on both sides, and the crosses between the words on obverse of that full plump character observable on the early groats. In the style of execution it seems more particularly to correspond with the Small Head groats, Figs. 257-262, having the same style of lis at the end of the legend on the obverse, as after $\mathcal{C O T O R V M}$ on the groat, Fig. 262. The noble, Fig. 285, has the lettering and the saltires between the words on the obverse as the lettering and the crosses on the noble, Fig. 262A; but, on the reverse, in the more acute style of the lettering and of the crosses after MeDDIVM and ILLORVM, it corresponds rather with the lettering and with the crosses dividing the words on the groats with the Intermediate Head of the later variety. There thus appear to have been at least two distinct coinages of the nobles of David II.

It is not only in the types and in the inscription on the reverse that the nobles of David II. directly imitate the nobles of Edward III. The ornamentation, and to some extent the lettering, are also borrowed from these pieces. The annulets dividing the words on the noble, Fig. 285, which are of very frequent occurrence on the English nobles and their parts, and on the corresponding English silver money, are not found on any of the silver money of David II. The Roman II, without the connecting bar, in TRTIICIEIIS, as on the two varieties of the David II. nobles, is not met with on any of the silver coins of David II. ; nor does the Roman N appear to have been employed at all except on the rare farthings.

No half or quarter nobles of David II. are known ; but possibly these may have been struck; being, indeed, more suitable for the circumstances of the country than the larger pieces. It is, moreover, to be noted that,
when a gold currency was resumed in Scotland, the larger of the two David II. denominations, in module and weight, was equal only to the English halfnobles, and the smaller to the English quarter-nobles.

The occurrence respectively of the earlier and of the later variety of the lettering and of the ornamentation between the words on the two nobles of David II. above described, as indicating that there were distinct issues of these pieces, renders it very improbable that they were patterns only and not actual currency.

The standard weight of the nobles of David II. appears to have been the same as the nobles of Edward III., viz., 120 grs. Troy ; to which standard the weights of the four existing specimens closely approximate. Their quality was probably the same as that of the English nobles-2 $3 \frac{7}{8}$ carats of pure gold to $\frac{\pi}{8}$ carat of alloy.

## Robert 1 王.

Robert II.
(1370-1-1390).

Acceded 22d February 1370-i ; died igth April i 390.
Born 2d March 1316; the first king of the line of Stewart; only child of Walter the Steward of Scotland and of Marjory Bruce, the daughter of King Robert Bruce.

## SILVER COINAGE.

The silver coins of Robert II. consist of groats, half-groats, pennies, and halfpennies, closely corresponding in all respects with the later coinages of David II. as struck in the proportion of $6 \mathrm{I}_{1 \mathrm{I}}$ grs. to the groat.

That this is so is shown by the Act 17th June 1385, which ordered that, "The moneyer should fabricate silver money, viz. sterlings, ${ }^{1}$ whether of the coinage of the present King, or of the same material and weight as

[^72]Robert II. (1370-1-1390). Silver coinage.
that now current, and should make of every billon (de quocunque billon) brought to him, as well foreign money as vases and other silver, and render for every pound of. weight twenty-nine shillings and fourpence, our money (or 252 sterlings, the same as ordered by the Act of David II. of 7 th October 1367 ), to those who brought to him new French blancs, weight for weight of our money, except an allowance of six blancs for waste in the coinage of each pound."

It does not seem that any change took place in the weights of the coins in this reign, at least, so far as relates to the side-face silver money. In I 374 Scottish silver coins were ordered to have currency in England at the rate of four pennies Scottish to three pennies English. From this arrangement no change, apparently, was made till I 390, the year in which Robert II I. acceded, in which year the groat, half-groat, penny, and halfpenny of the coinage of Scotland were ordered to pass in England for no more than half their nominal value. That this must refer to the front-face silver money with the name of Robert is obvious, for the side-face silver money of Robert II., as we shall see, maintains all through a very fair average weight. The better preserved and unclipped specimens of these pieces approximate very closely to the standard weight of $6 \mathrm{I}_{\mathrm{II}}^{4}$ grs. to the groat.

The change of type in the silver coinage of Scotland, from the side to the front face, was concurrent with a considerable reduction in the weights of the coins.

As no Acts relating to this change in the type and the weights are extant, we cannot determine whether it took place at the close of the reign of Robert II. or at the beginning of that of Robert III. But, from the practice in similar cases, it may be inferred that the change in the type had a direct relation to the change in the standard of the weight, rather than that it was employed, as seems generally to be assumed, to indicate a change of reign. It has to be kept in view that changes such as these must have been the subject of serious deliberation, occupying possibly a considerable space of time ; and that, when finally determined upon, some further time must be allowed for the preparation of the dies for the new
money, as also for its fabrication, and for its currency in England previous to its being reduced to one-half the values of the money of the corresponding denominations of that kingdom. While, therefore, it is convenient to

Robert II.
(1370-1-1390).
Silver coinage. place all this lighter money with the front face under Robert III., it is possible, and indeed highly probable, that it may have originated under Robert II.

The Act 24th October I 393, under Robert III., in relation to the coinage of gold and of silver money as then ordered, does not preclude the conjecture that a similar Act had not been passed in the previous reign. Under James III., as we shall see, a coinage of gold and of silver money was ordered by an Act passed on the 24th February 1483. On the 26 th May 1485 a coinage of gold and of silver money was again ordered, and in the very terms of the preceding Act. Under James IV., on the 17th October 1488, another Act was passed, ordering a coinage of gold and silver money, and in the identical terms. There is reason to believe that the gold coinage ordered by these several Acts never took place, but the silver coinages certainly did.

The mints of Robert II. were Edinburgh, Perth, and Dundee. The mints. supposed halfpenny of Roxburgh in the British Museum, figured here 316A, is apparently a blundered halfpenny of Edinburgh, of which part of the inscription and a portion of the type of the reverse appears on the obverse, while the word RGX of the obverse inscription has been transferred to the reverse, and has been mistaken for ROX. ${ }^{1}$

GROATS.
The groats of Robert II. differ in name only from the later groats of David II. The tressure enclosing the bust commonly consists of six arcs, with trefoils in the angles; a curved line extends below the bust ; a star is usually placed on the sceptre-handle ; and the words are divided by crosses, sometimes disposed saltirewise.

## EDINBURGH.

Tressure of six arcs.-Fig. 309.

1. O. $4 R O B \in R T V S ~ \ddagger D \in I ~ \ddagger G R \pi \ddagger R \in X \ddagger$ SOOTORVM


2. Do. : apparently with a barred $\mathbb{A}$ in VILLA,

57 grs.
3. Do.: with SGOTTORVM,

Three coins; slightly different heads.

Six arcs.-Fig. 310.
4. O. \&ROBERTVS $+\mathrm{DGI}+\mathrm{GR} \pi+\mathrm{R} 日 \mathrm{X}+\mathrm{S}$ SOTTORVM


Seven arcs.-Fig. 3 1I.
5. O. ※ROBGRTVS $\ddagger \mathrm{D} \in I \ddagger \mathrm{GR} \pi \ddagger \mathrm{RGX} \ddagger$ SđOTTORVM
 $\} \quad 60 \mathrm{grs}$.

Six arcs; a saltire behind the head.-Fig. 324A.
5a. O. 出RORGRTVS $\times$ DGI $\times$ GR $\pi \times$ REXX $\times$ SUOTORV'
 $\} \quad 50 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

No star on the sceptre-handle; extremely rare; formerly in the Taap, now in the Ferguslie collection.

Six arcs; a large $B^{1}$ behind the head.-Fig. 327.


Robert II.
(1370-1-1390). Groats.
Edinburgh.

Six arcs; a small B behind the head.-Fig. 328.
7. O. 出ROBERTVS $\ddagger \mathrm{D} \in I \ddagger \mathrm{GR} \pi \ddagger$ ReX $\ddagger$ S $\propto O T T O R V m$
B. $\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { mDNS } n \mathrm{P} & \text { Teator } & \text { MS ¥ LIB } & \pi \text { TORms } \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \pi \times \text { GD } & \text { InBV } & \text { RGh }\end{array}\right\}$ $57 \frac{1}{8}$ grs.
8. Do.: with SGOTTORV,
$55 \frac{1}{8}$ grs.
A specimen as the last, in the British Museum, is without the saltire after VILLK.

Six arcs ; saltires in the angles.-Fig. 334.
9. O. $\nleftarrow R O B \in R T V S ~ \ddagger D \in I ~ \ddagger G R \pi \ddagger R \in X \ddagger S O O T T O R V M$
R. $\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { 出DRS }+\mathrm{P} & \text { TGOTOR } & \mathrm{MS} \text { £ LIB } & \text { TTORMS } \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \pi+\text { GD } & \text { InBV } & \text { RGh }\end{array}\right\}$

59 grs.
This very peculiar piece, which is from the Sheriff Mackenzie collection, has no star on the sceptre-handle. In the absence of the contractive signs above DIS and MS , and in the having a cross after VILLT, it corresponds on the reverse with the above described groats with the letter $B$ behind the head.

PERTH.
Perth.
Six arcs.-Fig. 317.
10. O. ※ROBERTVS $\ddagger$ DeII $\ddagger \operatorname{GR} \pi \ddagger R \in X \ddagger$ SCOTTORVM

${ }^{1}$ Lindsay, in his View of the Coinage of Scotland, p. 22, says: "The letter B behind the King's head has afforded matter for much discussion, and has, as I mentioned before, induced many to suppose that it was intended to denote Bruce; but this error has been exposed by other evidence ; its actual signification on the coins of

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Robert II. is explained by the discovery, among the Parliamentary records, that Bonachius or Bonagio of Florence was moneyer of this King in 1364 and of Robert III. in I393, and there can be no doubt but the letter in question was the initial of that moneyer, used as a mint mark."

Robert II,
(1370-I-I 390). Groats. Perth.

B. $\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { 男RS }+\mathrm{P} & \text { TeOTOR } & \text { MS + } 7+\text { LIB } & \pi \text { TOR } m S \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \pi \in D & \text { Per } & \text { Th }\end{array}\right\}$
$60 \frac{3}{8}$ grs.

Seven arcs.-Fig. 3 Ig.

R. $\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { ADRS }+\mathrm{P} & \text { TGOTOR } & \mathfrak{m} \mathrm{S}+\mathrm{z}+\mathrm{LIB} & \text { TTOR } m S \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \pi \in D & \text { PGR } & \text { Th }\end{array}\right\}$

60 grs .

Six arcs; a small B behind the head.-Fig. 330.


53童 grs.

Six arcs; no trefoils in the angles of the tressure, nor star on the sceptre-handle.

Fig. 335.
14. O. \&ROBGRTVS + DEI +GRT + REX + SOOTORVM

41 grs.

Formerly in the Sheriff Mackenzie collection. This coin is much clipped. A similar piece, in the S.S.A. collection, but with a full edge, weighs 60 grs . The type of obverse is apparently imitated from the David II. groats with the earlier Intermediate Head. The spandrels of the crown as on these are high and open; the eyeballs are filled in with pierced pellets; and the hind shoulder is longer than the fore shoulder. The lettering is the same as on the other groats of Robert II.

## DUNDEE.

Six arcs; a small B behind the head.-Fig. 332.
15. O. ※ROBGRTVS $\ddagger$ DeII $\ddagger$ GRT $\ddagger R \in X \ddagger$ S $\propto O T T O R V M$

16. O. From the same die as No. I5.


Robert II.
$45 \frac{1}{4}$ grs. $\begin{aligned} & \text { (1370-I } \\ & \text { Groats. }\end{aligned}$
Dundee.

The edge of No. 16 is much broken. A Dundee groat in the Pollexfen cabinet, from the same reverse die as No. I5, has on the obverse
 roreartvs, as here rendered, I have little doubt, as the lall through on the obverse is of that peculiar character which, on the coins of Robert II. and Robert III., usually takes the place of the B.

## HALF-GROATS.

These have the same types on the obverse and on the reverse as on the later groats of David II., and are sometimes without a star or other ornament on the sceptre-handle, or trefoils in the angles of the tressure. The plain mullets on the reverse frequently present the appearance of stars, apparently either from having been put in from imperfect or worn punches, or from having been rubbed smooth in the course of currency.

## EDINBURGH.

Edinburgh.
Tressure of six arcs, with trefoils in the angles; a star on the sceptre-handle.
Fig. 312.
I. O. \&ROBERTVS + DEI +GRT + RGX + SđOTORVM

2. As No. I ; with SOOTOR'; no cross after MerVS (the figured coin), $28 \frac{3}{8} \mathrm{grs}$.
3. Do.: with SđOTTORVM,
$27 \frac{3}{8} \mathrm{grs}$.
4. As the last, without the cross after MelVS, $29 \frac{1}{2}, 29 \mathrm{grs}$.

The two coins in No. 4, which are from the same reverse die, have a peculiar $T$ in $G \mathcal{O} \Psi O R$; on one of these pieces the mullets in two of the quarters of the cross are entirely closed, and in the other two quarters are nearly closed; on the other piece the mullets in all the quarters are closed.

Robert II. (1370-1-1390). Half-groats. Edinburgh.
5. As No. 2 ; with SOOTTOR,
$28 \frac{3}{8}$ grs.

Six arcs, with trefoils in the fourth and fifth angles; a saltire behind the head ; no star on the sceptre-handle.

Fig. 325.
6. 0 . $4 R O B G R T V S \times D G I \times G R \pi \times R G X \times S O O$

B. | eDRS | PROT | eator |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VILL $\mid \pi \in D ~$ | melvS |  |
| IRBV | RGh |  |



The saltire behind the head is more plainly visible on a specimen from the same dies in the British Museum.

Seven arcs, no trefoils; a saltire behind the head; no star on the sceptre-handle.

Fig. 326.
7. 0 . ARORGRTVS $\times R G X \times S O O T O R V M \times$

щ. | \& DILS | PROT | GOTOR | meVS $\ddagger$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VILL | $\pi \in D$ | InBV | RGh | $\} \quad 27 \frac{1}{8} \mathrm{grs}$

Seven arcs, no trefoils; a square object behind the head; no star on the sceptre-handle.

Fig. 336.
8. O. \&ROBERTVS + DEI + GR + REX + SUOTTOR

1k. | qDIS | PROT | EatOR | mevVS |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VILL $\|\pi \Theta D ~\| ~ I R B V ~$ | RGh |  |  |

27 grs.

The head on this piece is peculiar, resembling that on the Perth groat Fig. 335.

PERTH.
Six arcs, trefoils ; a star on the sceptre-handle.-Fig. 320.
9. O. $4 R O B G R T V S+D \in I+G R \pi+$ RGX + SđOTTORVM

26 grs.
10. Do.: with SđOTTOR,

Six arcs, trefoils; a star on the sceptre-handle.-Fig. 321.
I. O. \&ROBGRTVS + D氏I + GRT + ReXX + SđOTTOR


Robert 11.
(1370-I-1390). Half-groats. $27 \frac{1}{2}$ grs. Perth.

Six arcs, no trefoils; a small B behind the head; a cross on the sceptre-handle.

Fig. 330A.
ıa. O. \&ROBARTVS + DeI GRT R(@X S) COTTORVM

$33 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

In the S.S.A. collection.

## DUNDEE.

Dundee.
Six arcs, trefoils; the letter $B$ behind the head; a saltire on the sceptre-handle.

Fig. 333.
12. 0 . \&ROBARTVS $\times$ DEI GRTAIT $\times R G X \times S \alpha^{0}$
 $\} \quad 31 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.

Tressure of seven arcs without trefoils; a saltire behind the head; no star on the sceptre-handle.

$$
\text { Fig. } 326 \mathrm{~A} .
$$

12a. O. FROBERTVS $_{\times}^{\times} \mathrm{REX} \times$ SCOTORVM $\times$

1.. | ADRS $\pm$ | PROTG | $\alpha$ TOR $\times$ | MeVV $\times$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VIL | LT | DVI | DG + | $\} \quad 26 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$.

In the S.S.A. collection, with its obverse from the same die as the Edinburgh half-groat, Fig. 326. Another specimen, apparently from the same dies as this coin, but much clipped and in a very poor state, is in the collection of Dr. W. Frazer, F.R.C.S.I., Dublin.

Robert II. (1370-1-1390). Half-groats. Dundee.

A Dundee half-groat in the Pollexfen collection, from the same obverse die as Fig. 326A, has on the reverse-
$\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { ※DIS P } & \text { ROTGO } & \text { TORMS } & 7 \times \text { LIR } \\ \hline \text { VIL } & \text { L } \pi & \text { DVR } & \text { DG }\end{array}\right\} \quad 28 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$.

## PENNIES.

These have cinquefoils in the centres of the mullets on the reverse, as on the groats, and are sometimes with, sometimes without the star on the sceptre-handle ; occasionally a cross or a saltire takes the place of the star.

## EDINBURGH.

A star on the sceptre-handle.-Fig. 313.

1. 0. $\nrightarrow R O B G R(T V S+) R \in X+S đ O T T O R V M$
R. VILL \| $\pi \in D \mid$ IRBV \| RGh
$14 \frac{5}{8} \mathrm{grs}$.
1. Do.: with S@OTTOR (the figured coin),
2. As No. 2 ; two crosses after ROBeRTVS,
$14 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$.
3. Do.: two crosses after RGX,
$13 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.
$14 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$.

A trefoil behind the head.-Fig. 313 A .
4a. O. BROBERTVS + REX + SOOTTOR
B. VILL $\mid \pi \in D$ | InBV \| RGn
$15 \% \mathrm{grs}$.
In the S.S.A. collection.

No star on the sceptre-handle.-Fig. 314.
5. O. \&ROBIRTVS + RGX + SOOTTOR

Ik. VILL | TED | InBV | RGh
$14 \frac{1}{8} \mathrm{grs}$.
6. O. HRORGRTVS D G REX SO (Fig. 314),
R. VILL | $\pi \in D \mid$ IRBV | RGh +
$13 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

6a. O. wrorelrtvs redx suoto
R. ※VIL | LTA | DIn | RVIF

I $3 \frac{1}{2}$ grs. $\stackrel{\text { Robert II. }}{(1370-1-1390)}$.
Pennies.
In the B.M. collection.

The letter B behind the head; a cross on the sceptre-handle.-Fig. 329.
7. O. ※ROBERTVS ReX SOOTT(ORVM)

Mk. VILL \| $\pi \in D$ | IRBV | RGh

## PERTH.

Perth.

A star on the sceptre-handle.-Fig. 322.
8. O. \&ROBERTVS + REX + SCOTTOR

9. Do.: SCOTTORV, $15 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

A saltire on the sceptre-handle.-Fig. 323 .
10. O. R ROBERTVS $^{\text {R REX }}+\mathrm{SCOOTOR}$
R. VILL \| $\pi D \in \mid$ PGR \| Th* $\} \quad 13 \frac{1}{4}$ grs

Without ornament on the sceptre-handle.-Fig. 324.
I 1. O. FRORGRTVS + RGX + SCOOTOR
Ik. VILL \| TDG \| PGR \| Th
13 grs.
The $R$ on this piece, although taking the place of the $B$ in ROBQRTVS, is of the usual character throughout.
12. As No. I I : ROBGRTVS + RGX + SCOTTOR,

13 grs.
I 3. Do.: ROBertvs D G Rex Sa,
14 grs.
The obverse of the Perth penny No. I 3 is from the same die as the Edinburgh penny No. 6.

Robert II. (1370-1-1390). Pennies.
Perth.

The letter B behind the head; a saltire on the sceptre-handle.

## Fig. 33 r.

1 3a. O. 世 ROBERTV(S $\times \times$ ) RGX $\times$ SOOTT

17 grs.
Formerly in the Kermack Ford, now in the Ferguslie cabinet.

The letter B behind the head; without ornament on the sceptre-handle.
Fig. 333A.
i 3 b. O. m ROBeRTVS Rex SCOTTOR

In the British Museum collection; very badly struck. This very rare piece is not as yet represented in the Ferguslie cabinet. The specimen figured in Lindsay (Pl. V. i Io) was in the collection of the late Mr. William Ferguson of Edinburgh, at whose sale in London, 1851, two Dundee pennies seem to have been sold-lots 155,156 . At the Christmas sale, London, 1864, lot 119, a Dundee penny, false, although not described as such, was sold along with a groat and half-groat of the same mint.

The mints known in connection with the halfpennies of Robert II. are Edinburgh and Dundee. The halfpennies of the Edinburgh mint cannot be called very scarce; but Dundee is represented by two specimens only, respectively in the collections of Mr. Cochran-Patrick and Mr. Guthrie Lornie. I have not observed the star on the sceptre-handle on any of the halfpennies. Cardonnel figures specimens with this mark, but the illustrations given in his work on Scottish coins cannot be relied upon. The mullets on the reverses of the halfpennies, like those on the half-groats, are plain.

## EDINBURGH.

Fig. 315 .

Robert II. (1370-1-1390). Halfpenniss. ${ }^{\text {i }}$ Edinburgh. ${ }^{\text {d }}$

1. O. \& ROBGRTVS ReX S
B. VIL $|\pi \in I| \operatorname{DIR} \mid$ BVR 8, $6 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

Two coins from the same obverse die, but from different reverse dies.
2. O. \& ROBGRTVS REX
B. VIL $|\pi \in I|$ DIR | BVR
$8 \frac{7}{8}$ grs.
3. O. w RORGRTVS RGX
B. VIL $\mid$ LTE $\mid$ DIn $\mid$ RVR
7 grs.

Fig. 316.
4. O. ※ ROBGRTVS REX
R. VIL | $\pi \in I \mid$ DIn | BVG
$6 \frac{1}{8}, 6 \mathrm{grs}$.

Two coins from the same reverse die, but from different obverse dies.
4a. O. From the same die as No. I. R. From the same die as No. 4. $6 \frac{3}{4}$ grs. Formerly in the Wakeford, now in the Ferguslie collection.

DUNDEE.
Dundec.
Fig. 333B.
4b. O. 出 ROBGRTVS REX
The Cochran-Patrick specimen.
B. VIL $|L \pi|$ DVR | DG $\quad 7$ grs.

The following is the so-called Roxburgh halfpenny of Robert II., now The so-called in the British Museum.

Roxburgh
halfpenny.

Fig. 3I6A.
4c. O. $4 * V R V I * T V S ~ R G X ~$
R. VIL $|\pi D E| R E X \left\lvert\, B V R \quad 6 \frac{3}{4}\right.$ grs.

As already stated, ${ }^{1}$ this piece appears to be simply a blundered halfpenny of Edinburgh, mistruck in a similar manner to the Robert III. Perth halfpenny, Fig. 369 in the Ferguslie collection, showing a part of the type and of the inscription of the reverse on the obverse, while a part of

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Robert II. (1370-1-1 390). The so-called Roxburgh halfpenny.
the inscription of the obverse ( RGX ) has been transferred to the reverse. The first three letters on the obverse seem to be BVR, the next two appear to be VI, these being respectively the three letters of the inscription in the fourth, and the first two letters of the inscription in the first quarter of the reverse. Below the letters VI, as these appear on the obverse, and immediately under the cheek, may be observed one of the mullets and a small portion of the cross as transferred from the reverse. It will require more satisfactory evidence than is afforded by this coin to establish the belief that there was a mint at Roxburgh under Robert II. This coin is figured, Lindsay, Pl. XVIII. No. Io, but considerable liberty has been taken with the inscriptions.

## PUTATIVE GOLD COINAGE.

It has been the habit to attribute to Robert II. a certain portion of the gold money bearing the name of Robert.

The gold coins with the name of Robert consist of two denominations : of larger pieces now usually called "St. Andrews," and of smaller pieces now usually called " lions."

There are two principal varieties of the "St. Andrews": those with the DOMINUS PROTECTOR and those with the CHRISTUS REGNAT inscriptions on the reverses.

The DOMINUS PROTECTOR "St. Andrews," which are of small module and light weight, have hitherto been given to Robert II.; the CHRISTUS REGNAT "St. Andrews," which are of larger module and heavier weight, have been assigned to Robert III.

The so-called "lions," without exception, have been attributed to Robert II. These are of two kinds, bearing on the reverses inscriptions corresponding respectively to those on the reverses of the two varieties of the "St. Andrews."

In point of fact, the DOMINUS PROTECTOR so-called "lions" are the halves of the DOMINUS PROTECTOR "St. Andrews," and the CHRISTUS REGNAT so-called "lions" are the halves of the CHRISTUS

REGNAT "St. Andrews," the several varieties of each corresponding, one Robert II. with the other, in respect of fabric, and in the style of lettering and of (1370-1-1390). ornamentation, while having their counterparts among the silver coins of conage. Robert III.

Strange to say, this fact has not hitherto been recognised by Scottish numismatic writers; otherwise they would not have assigned the CHRISTUS REGNAT "St. Andrews," with the name of Robert, to Robert III., and the CHRISTUS REGNAT so-called "lions" to Robert II.

Had the earlier nomenclature, as applied to these pieces when they were in actual currency, been adhered to, this could scarcely have happened. What are now called "St. Andrews" were known, when in circulation, as lions, while the halves, now called "lions," were denominated demi-lions, or, briefly, demies.

Considerable misapprehension has also hitherto been entertained respecting the proper place of the so-called "St. Andrew" pieces with the DOMINUS PROTECTOR inscriptions. These, so far from being the earliest, are the very latest of the Robert gold coins of the larger denomination, corresponding as they do in their fabric, style of lettering, and of ornamentation, and in their reduced weight and module, with the latest silver coinage of Robert III., as struck when the weight and the module of the groat were of the reduced scale as continued under James I.

It has been supposed that the proclamation in England in I 372 against receiving Scottish gold or silver money had reference to the gold coins with the name of Robert. This view cannot be entertained, because the original of the so-called "St. Andrew," or Scottish Crown, was the Écu à la Couronne of France, a coin which was not issued till March $1384-5$. Those pieces were called crowns, from the crown placed above the écu or shield ; and the name passed into general acceptation. It is not only in the crowned escutcheon on the obverse, and in the CHRISTUS REGNAT inscription on the reverse, that the lions or Scottish crowns with the name of Robert correspond with these French pieces. In their earlier issues they closely correspond with them also in weight.

What has further to be stated regarding the gold coins with the name

Robert II. (1370-1-1390). Putative gold coinage.
of Robert will be given under Robert III., under whom they are here necessarily placed, as being the counterparts of the silver coins of Robert III. in fabric, style of lettering, and ornamentation.

If any of the front-faced silver money attributed to Robert III. can be assigned to Robert II., then the corresponding gold issues will go with them; but not otherwise can any of the gold money with the name of Robert be attributed to Robert II.

I have treated this subject at considerable length in a paper published in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, entitled, " Descriptive notice of the Coins in the Fortrose Hoard, with Notes on the corresponding Gold Coinage of Scotland." ${ }^{1}$

Robert III.
(1390-1406).

## Robert 班.

Succeeded igth April i390; died 4th April 1406.
Eldest son of Robert II.; named John originally, but took the name of Robert on ascending the throne.

During the whole reign of Robert III. the real ruler of the kingdom was

Robert, Duke of Albany.

Robert, Earl of Fife, afterwards Duke of Albany, the younger brother of the king. In 1389 , the last year of Robert II., this energetic prince, in consequence of the advanced age of his father and of the bodily infirmity and incapacity of his elder brother, had been solemnly recognised by the Three Estates of Scotland as governor of the realm. This position he virtually maintained throughout the reign of Robert III. and during the first fourteen years of the following reign, till his death in 1420 .

That the elder brother should have taken the name of the younger brother seems singular, even although the name of Robert was popular in Scotland, and John was a name associated to some extent with national disaster. In such a change, which could scarcely have taken place without his sanction, and possibly even at his instigation, we may be certain that

[^74]Robert, Earl of Fife, had a potential voice. In effect, it served to seclude Robert III. the elder brother, who was of retiring habits, still more from public obser- ( ${ }^{(3900-1406)}$. vation, and to make the ambitious younger brother in name, as well as in fact, king of Scotland.

## SILVER COINAGE.

Silver coinage.
The silver coinages of this, as of the previous reign, consist of groats, half-groats, pennies, and halfpennies.

The earliest Act of Robert III. relating to the coinage is that of 24th October I 393, in which it is ordered that "our money of gold and silver shall be fabricated by Bonagius of Florence our moneyer, as follows, namely, that of six ounces Troy of pure silver ('puri argenti') twenty-one shillings shall be made, of which there shall be groats of four pennies, and half-groats of two pennies, of good silver ('bono argento') as of King David's. And there shall be pennies made, in four of which there shall be as much silver as in one groat, but shall weigh six pennies, on account of the alloy that shall be introduced. Also, there shall be halfpennies made of the same material and weight, proportionably, as the penny. And the fifth part of this money shall be made in pennies and halfpennies." By "pure silver," as mentioned in the above Act, we are evidently to understand silver wholly pure, or 12 oz. fine ; consequently, as the groats and half-groats were to be made out of "good silver," which is defined as the same as King David's, that is, of the English standard, or II oz. 2 dwts. fine, we must add the requisite proportion of the alloy to determine the proper standard weight of the groats and half- Standard. groats as prescribed by this Act. Silver of the quality of II oz. 2 dwts. fine gives $\frac{37}{40}$ parts pure silver to $\frac{3}{40}$ parts alloy. By adding, therefore, $\frac{3}{40}$ parts alloy, or 18 dwts., to the 2700 grs . Troy of pure silver contained in the 6 ounces, we have $2902 \frac{1}{2}$ grs. ; dividing which by 63 (the number of groats to be made out of every 6 ounces of pure silver), we find that the standard weight of the groat, as ordained by the Act of 24 th October I 393, was $46 \frac{1}{14}$ grs. Troy, and that of the half-groat $23 \frac{1}{28}$ grs. Troy.

The best proof that the terms "pure silver" and "good silver as of.

Robert III. (1390-1406). Silver coinage. Standard.

King David's," were not intended to be understood as synonymous, is afforded by the fact that very many groats of Robert III. exceed by several grains the standard weight that would have been afforded had the 2 I shillings, or 63 groats, been made out of silver already alloyed to the extent of $\frac{3}{40}$ parts, or 11 oz. 2 dwts. fine, thus giving a groat of the standard weight of $42 \frac{6}{7}$ grs. Troy only, while of one particular variety in the Fortrose hoardcomprising i 76 specimens- 45 of the heavier pieces gave an average weight of $44 \frac{8}{9} \mathrm{grs}$. Troy.

Earliest debased money-pennies and halfpennies.

From the quantity of alloy they contained, the pennies and halfpennies of Robert III. must have been particularly objectionable to the English people. At the best, these smaller pieces were of a quality little better than billon-a term which may be regarded as comprising all coins containing silver of 6 pennyweights fine and downwards. Four of the pennies were to contain the same amount of silver as one groat, but were to weigh six pennies, which would give their standard weight at $\frac{1}{7 \frac{31}{112}}$ grs. Troy, while the quantity of pure silver to be contained in each was only $10 \frac{5}{7} \mathrm{grs}$.-or somewhat less than $7 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{~d}$. fine. Some of the pennies of Robert III. have so debased an appearance that they are regarded as simply billon coins, and really are such. The great evil attending a reduction of the standard of the quality of the coins in Scotland as in other countries was, that in actual practice this reduced standard was apt to be still further reduced, so that from time to time it was found necessary to call in the debased money at prices greatly below the nominal values at which it had been issued-a source of great hardship and loss to the people.

The silver coinages of Robert III., as also of the following reign, may be broadly distinguished as consisting of coins of rough and coins of smooth finish, each having their own styles of bust, lettering, and ornamentation. The gold coinages correspond in these respects with the silver coinages.

In having the points of the arcs of the tressure surrounding the bust ornamented, the larger silver coinages of Robert III. differ notably from those of the preceding two reigns, on which the points of the tressure are always plain. The silver coins of Robert III., of the rougher surface, have three pellets, disposed in pyramidical fashion at the points of the tressure ;
those of the smoother finish have neatly-shaped trefoils. It may be safely conjectured that the groats of the three-pellet-pointed series, from their greater correspondence in the style of workmanship and lettering with the groats of Robert II., were probably, to some extent, of earlier issue than the smoother finished groats of the trefoil-pointed tressure series, which are evidently the work of a different hand.

The groats of Robert III., instead of a mullet as previously in each Types. quarter of the cross on the reverse, have three pellets in each quarter, in imitation of the corresponding English coinages, which they also resemble in having a full-faced bust on the obverse.

The mints of Robert III. are Edinburgh, Perth, Aberdeen, and Mints. Dumbarton. The so-called Roxburgh groat (figured here 398 H , and described $4 \mathrm{I} /$ ) is simply a blundered piece, of probably late issue and of no specified mint. The penny of Inverness attributed to Robert III. by Lindsay and Wingate belongs to James I.

## GROATS.

EDINBURGH.
Without Ornaments on the Points of the Tressure.

```
                                    Robert Ill.
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Robert III. (1390-1406). Groats. Plain tressure. Edinburgh.

The peculiar $l_{k}$ with the sharp angular back that appears on these coins and on the following two pieces, is identical with the ls on the obverse of the Robert II. Edinburgh groat, No. 5a, Fig. 324A, and on the outer circle of the reverse on the Dundee groat of Robert II., No. 15, Fig. 332. Where used, whether on the coins of Robert II. or of Robert III., this sharp angular-backed $\quad$ usually supersedes the $B$; so that we have mORELRTVS for ROBERTVS, LIRKTOF for LIBTTOR, and GDIRRVRGh for GDIRBVRGh.

This same $\sqrt{ }$ occurs on the long cross lions, or "St. Andrews," Nos. i, 2,3 , thus associating these gold pieces with this coinage, which seems to have been the earliest issue of the front-face silver money, as these appear to have been the first of the Robert gold money.

A variety of the preceding groat, with SCOTORVM, has a detached heart-shaped bust, Fig. 337A, in the S.S.A. collection, from the Fortrose find.

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\underline{L}
$$

?

Three Pellets on the Points of the Tressure.
Tressure of seven arcs surrounding the bust; the words on the obverse divided by three pellets, on the reverse by saltires.

Fig. 340.
2. O. wrorerrtvs : Dei : GRT : ReXX: SCOTORVM

33 grs.
3. Do.: but with $\pi T V R M S$,

45 grs.
These two coins are from the same obverse die. Some of these pieces have SOOTORVM:, others SOOTORVM $\times$.

Fig. 344.
4. 0. FROBGRTVS: DEI: GRT: REX: SOOTORVM:

42 grs.
The style of $R$ employed on this piece does not supersede the B. It
is the R usually met with on the three-pellet-pointed tressure groats of Robert III., on which the lettering generally is the same as on the groats of Robert II., except in the module being more uniform. On the groats of Robert II., and on those of David II., the lettering on the inner circle of the reverse is perceptibly larger than that on the outer circle, or than on the legendary circle on the obverse ; but on the groats of Robert III. of the three-pellet-pointed series, the lettering is of the same size all through. The bust on the groat Fig. 344 is of the same plump formation as on the groats Figs. 337, 340, but the style of head is different, having the curls better spread out. The following have the same head as on the groat Fig. 344, but owing to the greater slope of the shoulders what is seen of the bust has a more attenuated appearance.

Fig. 348.

6. Do. : with SCOTORVM :, 43 grs.
7. As last, but without the saltires after RGh, and before and after $\mathfrak{F}, 43$ grs.

Two saltires after SuOTORVM.-Fig. 349A.
7a. O. $\nsim$ ROBARTVS: DGI: GRT: RGX: SđOTORVM $\times$


This piece is in the S.S.A. collection, from the Fortrose hoard. The gold lion, No. 3a, Fig. 349B, in the B.M. collection, has the words on the obverse similarly divided, and has also the two saltires after SđOTORVm.

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Robert III ( 1390 -1406). Groats. Three-pelletpointed tressure. Edinburgh.

The words on the obverse divided partly by two saltires, partly by three pellets; on the reverse by two saltires.

Fig. 349c.
76. $O$. $\mathrm{FOBGRTVS} \times \mathrm{DEI} \times \mathrm{GR} \pi \times \mathrm{RGX}: \mathrm{S} \propto O T O R V \Omega$


The words on the obverse divided by three pellets; on the reverse by fleurs-de-lis and crescents.

Fig. 349D.
7c. O. 千ROBGRTVS : DEI : GRT: REX: SđOTORVM

$40 \frac{3}{8}$ grs.

Nos. $7 b, 7 c$, are in the S.S.A. collection, from the Fortrose hoard.

The words on the obverse divided partly by three pellets, partly by fleurs-de-lis and crescents ; on the reverse by fleurs-de-lis and crescents.

Fig. 350.
8. O. ※ROBARTV: DAI $\pm G R T: R E X \pm S \propto O T O R V M \pm$
B. $\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { *DRS } \mathrm{P} & \text { Tealib } & \text { MS ¥ LIB } & \text { } \text { TORMS } \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \pi \pm \text { RD } & \text { InBV } & \text { RGh } \pm\end{array}\right\}$ 42 grs.

R. As No. 8,

On the groats which have the words on the obverse divided partly by three pellets, partly by fleurs-de-lis and crescents, the crown and the bust are perceptibly smaller than on the groats having the words on the obverse divided by three pellets only. It is also to be observed that as the crown becomes smaller the pointed spaces between the lis become taller and sharper. A small top-heavy n , frequently in two halves, is met with on the reverses of some of these pieces, but not on the obverses. This now for the first time occurs on the three-pellet-pointed coinages.

The words on both sides divided by fleurs-de-lis and crescents.
Fig. 353.
10. 0 . $4 R O B G R T V S ~ \pm D G I \pm G R \pi \pm R E X \pm S \propto O T O R V M$


Robert III.
(1390-1406).
Groats.
Three-pelletpointed tressure.
51 grs. Edinburgh.
$42 \frac{3}{8}$ grs.
$40 \frac{5}{8} \mathrm{grs}$.

The small top-heavy n is now of very frequent occurrence, both on the obverses and the reverses.

A very curious variety of Fig. 353, in the SSA. collection, from the Fortrose hoard, has the pellets on the points of the tressure disposed as trefoils. An illustration of this piece is given, Fig. 353A.

Fig. 353A.
Tressure of nine arcs ; the words divided by fleurs-de-lis and crescents.
Fig. 355 .
13. O. $\nleftarrow R O B G R T V S ~ \pm D G I \pm G R \pi \pm R E X \pm S \alpha O T O R V$

In the Fortrose hoard, as examined by me, there were 37 groats of this variety, of which 30 had SaOTORVM, 3 had Scotorv, and 4 had SOOTORVM $\ddagger$ on the obverse ; the heaviest three of these pieces weighed respectively $47 \frac{1}{8}, 45$, and $44 \frac{1}{2}$ grs. All these nine-arc tressure groats had the small top-heavy In. One groat, having a tressure of apparently eight arcs, was probably only a mis-struck coin with nine arcs. In the same hoard, with the seven-arc tressure, there were 176 groats having the words divided by fleurs-de-lis and crescents.

Tressure of nine arcs; the words on both sides divided by large fleurs-de-lis; a large fleur-de-lis as mint mark on the obverse.

Fig. 357.
14. O. *ROBGRTVS * DEI *GRT*RGX*SOOTORVM
R. $\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { wDISS } \mathrm{P} & \text { TeATOR } & \text { MS } \mathrm{Z} \text { LIB } & \pi \text { TORmS } \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \pi * Q D & \text { InBV } & \text { RGh* }\end{array}\right\}$

Robert III. (1390-1406). Groats. Three-pelletpointed tressure. Edinburgh.

This is a very rare variety. The Fortrose hoard, out of the 878 groats of Robert III. examined by me, afforded only one specimen, which weighed 44 grs. With this obverse, another coin in that hoard had its reverse from a die of the fleur-de-lis and crescent coinage.

Tressure of nine arcs ; the words on both sides divided by saltires.
Fig. 358.
15. O. FROBERTVS $\times \mathrm{DEI} \times \mathrm{GR} \pi \times \mathrm{RX} \times \mathrm{SOOTORVM} \times$
B.. $\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { mDRS } \times \mathrm{P} & \text { TGOTOR } & \mathrm{MS} \times \not \times \times \mathrm{x} \times \mathrm{LIB} & \pi \mathrm{TORMS} \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \pi \times \in D & \text { InBV } & R G h\end{array}\right\}$

42 grs.

This is evidently the latest variety of the three-pellet-pointed tressure groats. The aquiline features as exhibited on this piece present a pleasing change from the coarsely-rendered countenance usually met with on the groats of the three-pellet-pointed tressure series. The same style of head and crown, but with a broader bust, occurs on some of the later groats of the trefoil-pointed tressure series, and on some of the very light groats of Robert III. having the points of the tressure ornamented with single pellets.

In the Act 24th October 1393, it is stated that the money of gold and silver, as there ordered, should be fabricated by "Bonagius of Florence our moneyer." The three-pellet-pointed tressure coinages, as shown by their close similarity of execution to the coinages of Robert II., are evidently the work of Bonagius, who was moneyer during all the reign of Robert Il. And from the circumstance, as formerly mentioned, that the Scottish silver money was reduced in England to one-half the value of English money in I 390-a valuation at which it continued to be received in England up to ${ }^{1} 398$ at least-it may be regarded as certain that no change in the intrinsic value of Scottish silver money had taken place during the years between I 390 and I 398 ; consequently Bonagius, or whoever executed these three-pellet-pointed tressure groats of Edinburgh, must have been at work upon them at least three years previously to 1393 .

While these pieces were still in process of issue, however-and probably some little time after I 393-a new moneyer seems to have been employed
upon the coinage, by whom the trefoil-pointed tressure groats, distinguished from the three-pellet-pointed tressure groats by their smoother surface and different style of workmanship, were executed. With a certain homogeneity of character, the coinages of this moneyer display a remarkable variety of

Robert III. (I390-1406). Groats. Trefoil-pointed tressure. Fdinburgh. style, as will be seen from the figured specimens.

## Trefoils on the Points of the Tressure.

The earlier issues of the trefoil-pointed tressure groats, which are of considerable extent and variety, appear to have been confined exclusively to the Perth mint. This important mint does not seem to have been Perth. represented at all on the coinages of the three-pellet-pointed tressure series. It is therefore highly probable that these trefoil-pointed tressure mintages, peculiar to Perth itself, may have been to some extent concurrent in respect of issue with the Edinburgh groats of the three-pellet-pointed tressure series.

I have placed first in order of description a groat of Perth, Fig. 360, on which the lettering on both sides is larger and of a somewhat different character than is usually met with on groats of the trefoil-pointed tressure series. This larger lettering, however, is very similar to what we find on some coins of Robert II. No divisions occur between the words on the obverse of this groat, but on the reverse the words are divided by saltires and pellets, and the tressure, which does not surround the bust, is of seven arcs.

Next in order to this piece I have placed certain groats of Perth, Fig. 36 I , also having the large lettering on both sides, but with the words on the obverse divided by trefoils, and on the reverse divided, as above, by saltires and pellets. These have a tressure of eight arcs extending across the bust.

Then follow certain groats of Perth, Fig. 362, with the larger lettering on the obverse, and the smaller lettering on the reverse, and with the words on both sides divided by saltires and pellets. These have a tressure of seven arcs, which does not surround the bust.

Robert III. (1390-1406). Groats. Trefoil-pointed tressure. Perth.

After these come groats of Perth having the smaller lettering on both sides, and with the words on both sides divided by saltires and pellets. Of this latter variety, among the 878 groats of the Fortrose hoard examined by me, there was only one Edinburgh groat, while of Perth there were no less than 57 groats, and these were distinguished by considerable differences of detail.

Of the groats with the larger lettering not one specimen belonged to the Edinburgh mint, nor to any other mint save Perth.

It would seem, then, that down till about the close of the saltire and pellet trefoil-pointed tressure series the Perth moneyer had carried on operations independently of the Edinburgh mint.

While there was only one homogeneous Edinburgh saltire and pellet groat in the Fortrose hoard, that is, with the obverse and the reverse belonging to the same coinage, there were in that hoard with the saltire and pellet

Non-homogeneous coinages. Edinburgh.
obverse 24 Edinburgh groats which had their reverses from dies of other coinages, partly in connection with the reverses of the groats of the three-pellet-pointed tressure series, and partly in connection with the reverses of other and later varieties of the groats of the trefoil-pointed tressure series itself.

None of these Edinburgh non-homogeneous groats with the trefoilpointed tressure and the saltire and pellet obverses had the larger lettering, and none of the reverses from the three-pellet-pointed tressure series, with which they were united, seemed to belong to the earlier varieties of that series, as all had the small top-heavy nf, which was first introduced in connection with the groats, with the words divided by fleurs-de-lis and crescents, and subsequently superseded the larger $\pi$.

It would appear, therefore, that when this union of the obverses of the trefoil-pointed tressure series with the reverses of the three-pellet-pointed tressure series took place, the coinages of the latter series had come nearly to a close-coincident, probably, with the termination of the long connection of Bonagius with the Scottish mint. The name of the successor of Bonagius as the master moneyer is not recorded, but we can trace his work, displayed plainly enough in these smooth-faced coins with the trefoil-pointed tressure.

# Trefoil-pointed Tressure. <br> PERTH. <br> The Round Face Groats. 

Robert 111.
(1390-1406). Groats. Trefoil-pointed tressure. Perth. Round face.

Tressure of seven arcs, not extending below the bust ; the words on the obverse not divided, on the reverse divided by saltires and pellets promiscuously arranged ; the larger lettering on both sides.

Fig. 360.
16. O. \& ROBGRTVS DEI GRA REX SOOTTORVM

The object resembling an ornament of four compartments at the end of the legend on the inner circle of the reverse is simply a cross potent disposed saltirewise, having the ends slightly fourchée. Compare the similar cross, but of an upright character, before the legend on the obverse, and before the legend on the outer circle of the reverse. Some of the letters, particularly the letter T on the reverse, have the ends similarly prolonged. The letter $\mathbb{\pi}$ is of a lanky character, as on the other coins of the trefoil-pointed tressure series, and is occasionally barred across the centre-T. The "\&" on the reverse between MS and LIB is now formed like the letter I with a transverse stroke across the centre- .

Tressure of eight arcs, the lower arc extending across the bust ; the words on the obverse divided by trefoils, on the reverse by saltires and pellets; the larger lettering on both sides.

Fig. 36 I .
17. 0 . $\&$ ROBGRTVS \& $D \Theta I \& G R \pi \& R \Theta X \& S O O T T O R V$


Robert III. (1390-1406). Groats. Trefoil-pointed tressure. Perth. Round face.
18. O. From the same die.

19. O. From the same die.

41 grs.

Tressure of seven arcs not extending across the bust ; the words on both sides divided by saltires and pellets; the larger lettering on both sides.

Fig. 361 A.


$4 \mathrm{I} \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

This piece is in the S.S.A. collection, from the Fortrose hoard.

The larger lettering on the obverse; the smaller lettering on the reverse.

Fig. 362.


42 grs.

Tressure of eight arcs, the lower arc extending across the bust; the smaller lettering on both sides.

Fig. 363 A .


42 grs.

In the S.S.A. collection, from the Fortrose hoard. All the following have the smaller lettering on both sides.

Tressure of nine arcs, the two lower arcs extending across the bust.
Fig. 364.
21. O. ※ROBGRTVS $\times$ DGI $\times G R \pi \times$ RGX $: ~ S \propto O T T O R V M ~$


Robert III.
(1390-1406).
Groats.
Trefoil-pointed
tressure.
Perth.
Round face.
$41 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

The substitution of the letter $B$ with a pellet behind for the $R(B)$ is a frequent characteristic of the coins of the trefoil-pointed tressure series. On the above piece the substitution is carried all through. The letter $\pi$ has now a very slim appearance- $\pi$.

Tressure of nine arcs; a trefoil on the breast.-Fig. 365.



On the reverse of No. 22 the lettering in the last two compartments of the inner legendary circle has a double-struck appearance; but this is a peculiarity in the die itself; there were several coins with a precisely similar appearance in the Fortrose hoard.

Tressure of ten arcs ; a trefoil on the breast.-Fig. 366.
24. O. FROBGRTVS $ะ$ DGI $\pm G R \pi \pm R G X \div S O O T T O R V M$

$42 \frac{1}{2}$ grs. vol. I.

2 Q

Robert III (1390-1406). Groats. Trefoil-pointed tressure. Perth. Round face.

Tressure of nine arcs extending below the bust, the lower two arcs expressed by single lines; the words on the obverse variously divided: by a saltire and a cross, by two saltires, and by saltires and pellets; on the reverse divided by two crosses; a trefoil on the breast.

Fig. 373D.

In the S.S.A. collection, from the Fortrose hoard. This piece is from the same obverse die as the Edinburgh groat, Fig. 373c, described 39c; the lower arcs of the tressure to the left are double struck.

Tressure of eight arcs ; the lower arc disjoined and placed immediately below the chin ; the words on both sides divided by two crosses; a trefoil on the breast.

Fig. 374.


45 grs.

With the words divided by two crosses, and with a tressure of seven arcs, some of the groats in the Fortrose hoard had GRTđIIT and SOTORVn ; there were also a number of minute varieties.

Tressure of seven arcs not extending across the bust, annulets in the angles; the words divided by two crosses.

Fig. 389.
26. O. $屮 R O B \in R T V S+D \in I \ddagger G R \pi \ddagger R \in X \ddagger$ SGOTTORVM

$36 \frac{3}{8} \mathrm{grs}$.

All the coins with this style of head, as previously described, have the same uniform lettering on the reverse as on the obverse; but on the groats

Fig. 389 , while the lettering on the obverse is of a uniform character, that Robert ir. on the reverse is usually of a mixed description. The small heavy-topped If on the reverses is obviously appropriated from the later Edinburgh groats Trefoilpointed of the three-pellet-pointed series; the " $\&$ " as on these pieces is shaped thus - $\mp$-instead of $x$ as on the other round-face groats; the $\mathbf{z}$ and some of face. the other letters are smaller than before, and in general have the stems more curved. For LIBTTOR we now more frequently find LIDATOR or LDTTOR. The groats as Fig. 389, are evidently the latest of the Perth groats with the round-faced portrait.

## The Long Face Groats.

Long face.
Tressure of seven arcs not extending across the bust ; annulets in the angles ; the words divided by two crosses ; a trefoil on the breast.

Fig. 390.

This variety of head occurs only on certain of the groats with annulets in the arcs of the tressure. The same style of and $I$ appear on the reverse as on No. 26. Some pieces with this head have the small curved $\mathbf{x}$.

## The Aquiline Face Groats.

Aquiline face.
Tressure of seven arcs not extending across the bust ; annulets in the angles ; the words divided by two crosses ; a trefoil on the breast.

Fig. 392.


This head, except in the broader style of the crown and of the bust, and in the different arrangement of the curls, is identical with that on the

Robert III. (1390-1406). Groats. Trefoil-pointed tressure. Perth. Aquiline face.
latest figured groats of the three-pellet-pointed series, Fig. 358. The lettering on the reverse of Fig. 392, and on the following coins with this head, is homogeneous with that on the obverse; and, instead of P after DRS, the character ${ }^{*}$ or is now generally employed.

Tressure of seven arcs not extending across the bust ; crosses in the angles.

Fig. 394.
29. O. 出ROBGRTVS $\ddagger$ DeI GR $\pi \ddagger$ RGX $\ddagger$ S $\propto O T T O R V M$
B.. $\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\nleftarrow D R S \ddagger \ddagger \ddagger & \text { TCTOB } \ddagger & \text { MS } \ddagger \ddagger L I D & \pi T O R M S \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \pi \ddagger D G & \text { PGR } & \text { Th }\end{array}\right\} \quad 40 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

Tressure of six arcs and segment not extending across the bust; crosses in the angles.

Fig. 395 .
30. O. 出ROBERTVS $\ddagger$ DEI GRT $\ddagger$ ReX $\ddagger$ SđOTORM

$42 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

Tressure of six arcs not extending across the bust, the angles plain, the points chiefly unornamented; a trefoil on the breast.

Fig. 396.

$44 \frac{3}{4}$ grs.

Some coins in the Fortrose hoard with this obverse, but with the lettering on the reverses of a mixed character, had the small heavy-topped an of the three-pellet-pointed series. Three of these pieces, with the breast plain, had SœOTORVM, as the following.

Tressure of seven arcs, the lower are to the left carried half-way across the bust, the points chiefly unornamented.

Fig. 397.
32. O. ¥ROBGRTVS $\ddagger \mathrm{D} G I$ GRT $\ddagger \mathrm{RGX} \ddagger$ SđOTORVM

k. | mDIS $\ddagger \mathrm{E}$ | TaTOR $\ddagger$ | MS $\ddagger \mathrm{ELD}$ | $\pi$ TOR $M S$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VILL | $\pi \ddagger \mathrm{DG}$ | PGR | $\pi h *$ |

The following Perth groats from the Fortrose hoard, in the S.S.A. collection, are apparently of still later issue than any of those last described. They have the same aquiline head as on these pieces, but not so well executed ; the lettering is of a more mixed description, and the points of the tressure are in some cases entirely plain.

Tressure of nine arcs all round the bust, the points plain; the words on the obverse divided by saltires, on the reverse by crosses.

Fig. 398c.
32a. 0 . $\operatorname{ROBGRTVS} \times \mathrm{DGI} \times \mathrm{GR} \times \times \mathrm{R} \in \mathrm{X} \times \mathrm{S} \subset O T O R V$


The same tressure ; the words on the obverse divided by two points, two crosses after GRTaIT; on the reverse divided by crosses and fleurs-de-lis.

> Fig. 398E.

32b. O. WROBERTVS: DEI: GRTAIT $\ddagger$ ReXX Sa

$\mathbf{B}_{\mathrm{k} .}$| mDRS $\ddagger \mathrm{F}$ | TDTOR + | $\mathrm{MS} \ddagger \mathrm{L} \ddagger$ | $\mathrm{LO} \pi \mathrm{TO}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VILL | $\pi P G \ddagger$ | $\mathrm{PGB}+$ | $\mathrm{Th} \ddagger+4$ |

Another specimen from the same dies, also in the S.S.A. collection, weighs 37 grs .

Robert III. (1390-1406). Groats. Perth. Later issues. Aquiline face.

Tressure of seven arcs not extending below the bust, trefoils on the points, a large pellet in each angle; crosses after some of the words; a trefoil on the breast.

Fig. 398f.
32c. O. *ROBERTV× $\times$ D


Tressure of nine arcs extending below the bust, trefoils on the points; the words divided by crosses ; a trefoil on the breast.

Fig. 398G.
32d. O. ROBERTVS $\ddagger \mathrm{D} 日 I+\mathrm{GR} \pi \propto I \pi+\mathrm{REX}$ SOOTOM

The obverse of this piece seems to read SOOTOM rather than SOOTOR. A specimen from the same dies, in the collection of Sheriff Mackenzie, weighs 38 grs.

A different style of head with flat features, apparently imitated from the head upon the Edinburgh three-pellet-pointed tressure groats; tressure of seven arcs, not extending below the bust, the points unornamented; crosses after some of the words.

Fig. 400A.
32e. O. *ROBGRTVS DUI GRT REX $\ddagger$ SOOTORVM

$43^{\frac{1}{4}}$ grs.
The same head as on this piece, and also with DOMInvS PROTGaTOR melv on the reverse, occurs on the Aberdeen groat, No. 45, Fig. 400, in the Ferguslie collection. Two other Perth groats with this obverse in the S.S.A. collection, from the Fortrose hoard, had wDnS $\times z \times$ TOTOR $\mid$ MS $\times \neq \mathrm{L} \mid$ ID $\mathrm{ITO} \ddagger$ on the reverse.

The groat 400A appears to have been struck over another coin, as Robert III. shown by some of the letters on the piece thus struck over being visible on the bust on this coin, with a portion of the cross from the reverse of the earlier impression still remaining to the right of the head on the new impression, as if the obverse of the one coin had been struck over the reverse of the other.

Several Perth groats of Robert III. in the Fortrose hoard were struck upon groats of Robert II., and this occurred in connection with all the styles of head met with on the Perth groats of Robert III. An excellent illustra- II. tion of one coin thus struck over another coin is afforded by the Perth roundfaced groat Fig. 376A, formerly in the Taap cabinet, now in the S.S.A. Fig. 376 A . collection. On this piece the superimposed impression on the reverse has not been struck with such sufficient force as wholly to obliterate the earlier impression ; the five-pointed mullets, with the cinquefoils in the centres, of the earlier die, are still distinctly visible in three of the quarters of the cross on this piece, and also LLK $\Theta D$, in large letters, a portion of the legend of the inner circle on the reverse of the Robert II. Edinburgh groat over which this Perth groat of Robert III. has been struck. An example of a Perth half-groat of Robert III. struck over a half-groat of the preceding reign is furnished by the coin, Fig. 376, in the Ferguslie collection, where the Robert II. profile with the sceptre to the left stands out unmistakeably, with little appearance of the superimposed type. Further details relating to these re-strikes will be found in my " Notice of the Coins of the Fortrose Hoard," pp. 203-4-5, vol. ii. New Sevies (1880), Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

## EDINBURGH.

Considerable interchanges of dies in connection with the Edinburgh mint occur between the groats of the three-pellet-pointed tressure series and the groats of the trefoil-pointed tressure series.

In this union of the obverses and reverses of two totally different series, the obverses, with very few exceptions, appear to be confined to the

Robert III. ( $1390-1406$ ). Groats. Edinburgh. Interchanges.

Trefoil-pointed tressure.
Homogeneous coinages. Round face.
trefoil-pointed tressure series, and the reverses to the three-pellet-pointed tressure series.

It is further to be observed that it is only in relation to the obverses of the trefoil-pointed tressure groats with the round face that these interchanges with the reverses of the three-pellet-pointed tressure groats seem to occur ; and that in no case, apparently, are these interchanges connected with the earlier issues of the round-face groats as distinguished by the larger style of lettering and by the words on the obverse either being not divided at all or divided by trefoils.

In the same way the reverses of the groats of the three-pelletpointed tressure series, on which these interchanges occur, appear to be wholly confined to the later varieties, as shown by the small top-heavy n, which entirely supplants-as we have seen-on these later issues of the three-pellet-pointed tressure series the large Robert II. $\pi$, with the plain top of the earlier issues.

The groats of the trefoil-pointed tressure series of the Edinburgh mint also interchange obverses and reverses among themselves. This occurs, apparently, only in connection with the groats with the round-face style of head.

## Trefoil-Pointed Tressure. <br> HOMOGENEOUS COINAGES. <br> The Round Face Groats.

Tressure of nine arcs all round the bust ; the words divided by saltires and pellets ; a trefoil on the breast.

Fig. 370B.
32f. O. AROBGRTVS $\times$ DGI $\times \operatorname{GR} \pi \times R G X \times S O O T T O R V M$

This is the only specimen which I have seen of an Edinburgh groat with the words on both sides divided by saltires and pellets. It is in the S.S.A. collection, from the Fortrose find.

Tressure of seven arcs not all round the bust; the words divided by Robert III. two pellets; a trefoil on the breast.

Fig. 379.


( $1390-1406$ ). Groats. Trefoil-pointed tressure. Edinburgh. Homogeneous coinages.

There is a similar piece in the British Museum, but without the trefoil on the breast, reading GRT : RGX SOOTTORVM.

Tressure of eight arcs, the lower arc to the left carried half-way across the bust ; a trefoil on the breast.

Fig. 380.
34. O. wROBeRTVS : DeI : GRA : REX : SUOTTORVM $^{\text {ROM }}$
 $\} \quad 42 \frac{1}{8} \mathrm{grs}$.

Tressure of seven arcs not all round the bust ; the words divided by two annulets.

Fig. 385.
35. O. $R R O B G R T V S ~ \& ~ D G I ~ \& ~ G R \pi ~ 8 ~ R G X ~ 8 ~ S U O T T O R V M ~$
R. $\left.\begin{array}{l|c|c|c}\text { ADR } 8 \mathrm{~S} \circ \mathrm{P} \circ & \mathrm{TG} \alpha \mathrm{TOR} \mid \mathrm{MS} 8 \pm 8 \mathrm{LD} & \pi \mathrm{TORmS} \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \pi \in D & \text { InBV } & \text { RGh }\end{array}\right\} \quad 37 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$.

The lettering on the reverse of this last piece is of a mixed character : small top-heavy and diminutive curved $\mathbf{n}$. Several groats, however, of this variety, in the Fortrose hoard had the lettering on the reverse homogeneous with that on the obverse-that is, with the slim, straight, slender $\mathbb{T}$ and the straight $\mathbf{y}$

Robert III．
（1390－1406）．
Groats．
Edinburgh．
Non－homo－ geneous． Three－pellet－ pointed tressure． Aquiline face．

## NON－HOMOGENEOUS COINAGES．

The Obverse from the Three－Pellet－Pointed Tressure Series； the Reverse from the Trefoll－Pointed Tressure Series．

Tressure of nine arcs extending round the bust ；the words on the obverse divided by two saltires，on the reverse by saltires and pellets．

Fig．358A．
35a． 0 ．$⿴ 囗 十$ ROBERTVS $\times \mathrm{DEI} \times \mathrm{GR} \pi \times \mathrm{RX} \times \mathrm{SOOTORVM} \times$
R． $\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { DRS } \times p \times & \text { TGOTOR } & \text { MS } \times \pm \times \text { LIB } & \pi T O R m S \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \pi \times G D & \text { InBV } & \text { RGh } \ddagger\end{array}\right\}$
44 grs．

In the collection of Sheriff Mackenzie．The obverse of this piece is from the same die as the last described of the three－pellet－pointed tressure groats，No．I5，Fig．358；the reverse is from the same die as the non－ homogeneous groat，No．39d，Fig．382A．I have not met with any other instance of an obverse of the three－pellet－pointed tressure series united to a reverse of the trefoil－pointed tressure series．

Trefoil－pointed tressure obverse．

The Obverses from the Trefoil－Pointed Tressure Series； the Reverses from the Three－Pellet－Pointed Tressure Series． The Round Face Groats．

Tressure of nine arcs extending across the bust ；the words on the obverse divided by saltires and pellets，on the reverse by fleurs－de－lis and crescents．

Fig．370c．
356．O．出BOBARTVS $\div$ DGI $\div$ GR $\pi \times$ BGX $\div$ SOOTTORVM

This and the following piece are in the S．S．A．collection，from the Fortrose hoard．

Tressure of nine arcs extending across the bust ; the words on the Robert III. obverse divided by saltires and pellets, on the reverse by large fleurs-de-
( $1390 \cdot 1406$ ). Groats Trefoil-pointed tressure. Edinburgh. Non-homogeneous. Round face.



Tressure of nine arcs extending across the bust; the words on the obverse divided by saltires and pellets, on the reverse by two saltires; a trefoil on the breast.

Fig. 37 I.
36. O. *ROBGRTVS $\times$ DGI $\times G R \pi \times R \in X:$ SOOTTORVM
 $\} \quad 39 \frac{1}{8} \mathrm{grs}$.

The reverses of this and of the following piece are from dies of the latest described of the three-pellet-pointed tressure coinages, No. I5, Fig. 358.

Tressure of seven arcs not extending across the bust ; the words on the obverse divided by two pellets, on the reverse by two saltires.

Fig. 38 r.
37. O. 出ROBGRTVS: DGI: GRT: RGX: SOOTTORVM

36 grs.

Robert III, ( 390 - 1406 ). Groats. Trefoil-pointed tressure. Edinburgh. Non-homogeneous. Round face.

## The Obverses and the Reverses from Different Varieties of the Trefoll-Pointed Tressure Series. <br> The Round Face Groats.

Tressure of nine arcs extending across the bust; the words on the obverse divided by saltires and pellets, on the reverse by saltires, pellets, and crescents variously combined; a trefoil on the breast.

## Fig. 37 IA .



In the S.S.A. collection, from the Fortrose hoard.

Tressure of nine arcs extending across the bust; the words on the obverse divided by saltires and pellets, on the reverse by two pellets; a trefoil on the breast.

Fig. 372.



Tressure of nine arcs extending across the bust ; the words on the obverse divided by saltires and pellets, on the reverse by three pellets; a trefoil on the breast.

Fig. 373.



Tressure of nine arcs extending across the bust ; the words on the obverse divided by saltires and pellets, on the reverse divided partly by two, partly by three pellets ; a trefoil on the breast.

Fig. 373A.

Robert III.
(1390-1406).
Groats.
Trefoil-pointed
tressure.
Edinburgh.
Non-homo-
geneous.
Round face.


45 grs.

This and the following seven coins are in the S.S.A. collection, all from the Fortrose hoard.

Tressure of nine arcs extending across the bust ; the words on the obverse divided by saltires and pellets, on the reverse partly by one, partly by two annulets; a trefoil on the breast.

Fig. 373B.
396.


Tressure of nine arcs extending round the bust, the lower two arcs expressed by single lines; the words on the obverse divided by a saltire above a cross, by two saltires, and by a saltire above a pellet; on the reverse divided partly by a cross and a saltire, partly by a saltire above a pellet, and partly by two pellets ; a trefoil on the breast.

Fig. 373c.
39c. 0 . 4 ROBARTVS $¥$ D

This piece is from the same obverse die as the Perth groat Fig. 373D, described $24 a$.

Robert III．
（ $\mathbf{1 3 9 0}$－1406）． Groats．
Trefoil－pointed tressure．
Edinburgh．
Non－homo－ geneous． Round face．

Tressure of seven arcs not extending across the bust ；the words on the obverse divided by two pellets，on the reverse by saltires and pellets； a trefoil on the breast．

Fig．382A．
39d．O．※ROBGRTVS：DGI：GRA ：REX ：S
 44 grs．

Tressure of seven arcs not extending across the bust；the words on the obverse divided by two pellets，on the reverse by saltires，crescents，and pellets variously combined ；a trefoil on the breast．From the same reverse die as the non－homogeneous groat with the three－pellet－pointed tressure obverse，No．35a，Fig．358A．

Fig． 382 B ．
39e．O．出ROBERTVS：DGI：GRA：REX：SCOTTORVME

$45 \frac{1}{4}$ grs．

Tressure of seven arcs not extending across the bust；the words on the obverse divided by two pellets，on the reverse partly by three，partly by two pellets ；a trefoil on the breast．

Fig． 382 c ．
39f．O．FROBGRTVS：DGI ：GRA ：RGX：SCOTTORVM氏


The preceding three coins are from the same obverse die．

Tressure of seven arcs not extending across the bust ；the words on the obverse divided by two pellets，on the reverse by two annulets；a tre－ foil on the breast．

Fig．384A．
39g．O．出ROBARTVS ：DEI ：GRTCIT：REX：SGOTORV

R． | FDNS 8 P 8 | TGOTOR | MS 8 ¥LD | $\pi$ TORS |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VILL | $\pi \in 8 \mathrm{D}$ | IRBV | RGh $:$ |

Tressure of seven arcs not extending across the bust; the words on the obverse divided by two annulets, on the reverse by two pellets.

Fig. 388в.



Robert III. (1390-1406). Groats. Trefoil-pointed tressure. Edinburgh. Non-homogeneous. $44 \frac{1}{8}$ grs. Round face.

Very few interchanges of the obverses and reverses of different coinages, as we have seen, occur in connection with the Perth mint, and these are all of a minor character. Those in relation to the mint of Edinburgh are considerable, and they assist us materially in determining the order of the several silver issues of Robert III., coming in as they do just about the close of that remarkable series of groats on which the points of the tressure are ornamented with three pellets.

The round-face Edinburgh groats with the words divided by saltires and pellets of the trefoil-pointed tressure series had their reverses, as shown by the preceding list, chiefly from three several varieties of the groats of the three-pellet-pointed series-rst, From those with the words divided by fleurs-de-lis and crescents; 2d, From those with the words divided by large fleurs-de-lis; 3d, From those with the words divided by two saltires. All the reverses had the small top-heavy n .

The round-face Edinburgh groats with the words divided by two pellets of the trefoil-pointed tressure series had their reverses from the last described groats of the three-pellet-pointed tressure series with the words divided by two saltires and with the small top-heavy n .

The round-face Edinburgh groats with the words divided by two annulets of the trefoil-pointed tressure series took their reverses, where these were different from their obverses, from other varieties of the trefoil-pointed tressure series.

Of these unions of the reverses of one series with the obverses of Fortrose hoard. another series, the Fortrose hoard, so far as examined by me, contained as follows :-

Robert III. (1390-1406). Groats.
Fortrose hoard. Trefoil-pointed tressure. Edinburgh. Non-homogeneous.
I. Obverse: trefoil-pointed tressure series, round face, the words divided by saltires and pellets. Reverse: three-pellet-pointed tressure series, the words divided by fleurs-de-lis and pellets- 3 coins.
II. Obverse as above. Reverse: three-pellet-pointed tressure series, the words divided by large fleurs-de-lis, without crescents- 5 coins.
III. Obverse as above. Reverse : three-pellet-pointed tressure series, the words divided by two saltires- 4 coins.
IV. Obverse as above, but the words divided by two pellets. Reverse : three-pellet-pointed tressure series, the words divided by two saltires-I6 coins.

Of the interchanges, as among themselves, of obverses and reverses of the round-face groats of Edinburgh of the trefoil-pointed tressure coinages, the Fortrose hoard contained as follows :-

## I. Obverses : the words divided by saltires and pellets.

## Reverses.

I. The words divided by saltires, pellets, and crescents variously com-bined-2 coins.
2. The words divided by two pellets- 3 coins.
3. The words divided by three pellets- 2 coins.
4. The words divided partly by two, partly by three pellets- 2 coins.
5. The words divided by two annulets- 3 coins.
II. Obverses : the words divided by two pellets.

## Reverses.

1. The words divided by saltires and pellets-I coin.
2. The words divided by saltires, pellets, and crescents- 3 coins.
3. The words divided by three and by two pellets- 3 coins.
4. The words divided by two annulets- 2 coins.
III. Obverse : the words divided by two annulets.

Reverse.

1. The words divided by two pellets- 2 coins.

The Edinburgh trefoil-pointed tressure groats with the words divided by saltires and pellets correspond in the style of the head and lettering with the Perth groats with the words divided by saltires and pellets.

The Edinburgh trefoil-pointed tressure groats with the words divided by two pellets correspond in the style of the head and lettering with the Perth groats with the words divided by two crosses.

The Edinburgh trefoil-pointed tressure groats with the words divided by two annulets correspond in the style of the head and lettering with the Perth groats with the words divided by two crosses, and with annulets in the angles of the tressure.

None of the round-face Edinburgh groats of the trefoil-pointed tressure series in the Fortrose hoard, so far as examined by me, had annulets in the angles of the tressure ; but the groats of the following issue, with the long face, having the words divided by two annulets, all had annulets in the angles of the tressure. These Edinburgh long-face groats with the words divided by two annulets, and with annulets in the angles of the tressure, correspond with the Perth long-face groats having the words divided by two crosses, with annulets in the angles of the tressure. Homogeneous lettering.

## The Long Face Groats.

Long face.

Tressure of seven arcs not extending across the bust, annulets in the angles; the words divided by two annulets.

Fig. 391.
40. O. wROBGRTVS \& DGI \& GRT ReX \& S $\propto O T T O R V M$
 VOL. I. 2 S

Robert III. (1390-1406). Groats. Trefoil-pointed tressure. Edinburgh. Long face.
41. O. From the same die.
B. $\left.\begin{array}{l|c|c|c}\text { FDRS } 8 \mathrm{E}: & \text { TGOTOR } & \text { MS } 8 \pm \circ \mathrm{LD} & \text { TTORMS } \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \pi 8 G D & \text { IRBV } & \text { RGh } 8\end{array}\right\} \quad 43 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$.

On some of these groats, in the Fortrose hoard, the lower arc of the tressure to the left was carried half-way across the bust; on others the pointed spaces of the crown were ornamented with pellets. A specimen in the collection of Sheriff Mackenzie, with the reverse from the same die as the first of the following groats with the aquiline face, No. 4 ra, Fig. 391a, had DMS for DRS; another piece, double struck, in the same collection, had ROBBGRTVS and $\alpha O T T O R V M$.

The Edinburgh groats with the aquiline face of the trefoil-pointed tressure series are not as yet represented in the Ferguslie cabinet; but in the S.S.A. collection, from the Fortrose hoard, are the following, having the words divided by two annulets and with annulets in the angles of the tressure.

## The Aquiline Face Groats.

Tressure of seven arcs not extending across the bust, annulets in the angles ; the words divided by two annulets ; a trefoil on the breast.

Fig. 39IA.
4Ia. O. \&ROBERTVS \& DGI \& GRT \& RGX 8 SCOTTRVM

$36 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.
This piece has a pellet on each of the pointed spaces of the crown between the fleurs-de-lis. Another specimen from the Fortrose hoard, with the same obverse, but with a slightly different reverse, weighed 43 grs.

Tressure of seven arcs not extending across the bust, annulets in the angles ; the words divided by two annulets ; the breast plain.

Fig. 391b.
41b. O. \&ROBERTVS 8 DGI GR $\pi$ : RGX: S $\alpha O T T O R V M$


Tressure of seven arcs not extending across the bust, annulets in the Robert in. angles ; the words divided by two annulets; a cross or lis on the breast. (1330-4406).

Fig. 391 c .
41c. O. FROBERT 8 DEI GRT 8 REX 8 SOOTTORVM 8 8

VILL $\mid \pi 8$ GD | InBV $\left.\left\lvert\, \begin{array}{ll}\text { BGh }\end{array}\right.\right\}$ $43 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.
Tressure of seven arcs not extending across the bust, the angles plain; the words on the obverse divided by two annulets, two crosses after some of the words on the reverse ; the breast plain.

Fig. 398b.
4Id. O. ROBGRTVS 8 DE(I 8 GRT 8 )RGX 8 SUOTTOR

R. | 日 DRS $\ddagger z$ | OTORI | MS $z$ LI | ITOR $\ddagger \ddagger$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VILL | $\pi \in D$ | IRBV | BGh | \} $33 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

In the collection of Sheriff Mackenzie ; small uniform lettering on the obverse ; rude irregular lettering, of a larger character, on the reverse ; the edge broken.

The following two pieces, from the Fortrose hoard, in the S.S.A. collection, correspond with the later Perth groats with the aquiline face, Nos. $32 c, 32 d$, Figs. 398F, 398G, having the execution of the same coarse character.

Tressure of seven arcs not extending across the bust, trefoils on the points, the angles plain ; no divisions between the words on the obverse, two crosses between some of the words on the reverse ; a trefoil on the breast.

Fig. 3984.
4Ie. O. FROBGRTVS DGI GRTCIT RGX SCOTORVM

1k. | \&DILS $\mathrm{P} \ddagger$ | TGOTOR | MS $\ddagger \mathrm{LI}$ | R $\pi$ TOR $m$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VILL | $\pi \in D \ddagger$ | InRV | RGh |

Robert III. (1390-1406). (iroats. Edinburgh. Later issues. Aquiline face.

Tressure of nine arcs not extending across the bust; no divisions between the words on either side; a trefoil on the breast.

Fig. 398i.
4If. O. \&ROBGRTVS DEI GET DIT REG SDO

1k. | FDRS | PIG氏T | ORMS | £IRTT |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VIL | LTG | DIn | RVI |

A specimen from the same dies is in the collection of Sheriff Mackenzie.

The following grossly blundered coin, of uncertain attribution, corresponding in the style of the work to the Perth groats Figs. 398F, 398G, and to the Edinburgh groats Figs. 398H, 3981, has been improperly attri-

The so-called Roxburgh groat. buted to Roxburgh by Lindsay and Wingate, and is figured as such L., Pl. V. irg, and W., Pl. XIV. 4. It is now in the collection of Mr. Adam Black Richardson.

Tressure of nine arcs nearly all round the bust, the points unornamented; no divisions between the words on the obverse, two saltires after some of the words on the reverse ; a trefoil on the breast.

Fig. 398j.
41g. O. \&ROBGRTVS RI GRTant Rex SGO

1.. | ESMRVI | TRILXS | MI $\times$ ROT | DI $\times \mathrm{E}$ SI |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VILL | nad | MLX | SeI |

$45 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$.

- Lindsay and Wingate, in their descriptive catalogues, describe the first three letters after VILL as ROC, and they are made to appear as such in Wingate's plate, but in Lindsay's plate these characters are represented exactly as on the coin itself.

4 I . 0 . From the same die.
$\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { Ik. } & \text { 男RS } \ddagger(£ \ddagger & \text { TOTORI } & \text { MSRLI } \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \text { ATORM } & \text { IRBV } & \text { BGn }\end{array}\right\}$
45 grs.

In the collection of Sheriff Mackenzie.

The following two Edinburgh groats of late issue, with a different head from the preceding, have their obverse from the same die as the Aberdeen groat, No. 46, Fig. 401.

Robert III. ( 1390 -1406). Groats. Edinburgh. Later issues.

Tressure of seven arcs not extending across the bust ; the words on the obverse divided by two crescents, on the reverse by two and by three points.

Fig. 401b.


In the collection of Sheriff Mackenzie.
41j. O. From the same die.

1k. | $* \operatorname{DILS}(: P)$ | TGOTOR: | $\Omega$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\operatorname{VILL}$ | $\pi: ब D$ | InBV | RGh | $48 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.

In the S.S.A. collection, from the Fortrose hoard.
These two pieces afford the only instances in which I have met with Edinburgh groats of Robert III. with crescents between the words.

Tressure of seven arcs not extending across the bust; the words divided partly by three, partly by two points.

Fig. 401 D.


In the S.S.A. collection, from the Fortrose hoard. The obverse die of this piece has been used for the Aberdeen groat, Fig. 40IE; see remarks under No. $47 d$.

ABERDEEN.
The series of the Aberdeen groats of Robert III. begins apparently with those pieces with the aquiline face having annulets in the angles of the

Robert III. (1390-1406). Groats. Trefoil-pointed tressure. Aberdeen. Aquiline face.
tressure, corresponding to the Edinburgh groats Figs. 39IA, 391b, 391C, pp. 314-15, and the Perth groat, Fig. 392, p. 299.

## The Aquiline Face Groats.

Tressure of seven arcs not extending across the bust, annulets in the angles ; the words divided by two crescents ; a trefoil on the breast.

Fig. 393.



Fig. 393A.


41 grs.

In the Sheriff Mackenzie collection. Notwithstanding the difference of appearance as presented on the heads of Figs. 393, 393A, a close examination convinces me that the obverses of both pieces are from the same die.

Tressure of seven arcs not extending across the bust, the angles plain; the words divided by single crescents; the pointed spaces of the crown ornamented with pellets.

Fig. 398.
43. O. ※ROBGRTVS $\cup D E I ~ G R T \cup R G X \cup S \propto O T T O R V M$
B.. $\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { ADRS } \cup \mathrm{E} \cup & \text { TaTOR } & \text { MS } \cup \neq \mathrm{LID} & \text { TTORMS } \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \pi B G & \text { RDQ } & \text { RG }\end{array}\right\}$

42 grs.


8. | ADIS 7 | TOTOR | MS $\cup$ ILD | $\pi T O R m$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VILL | $\pi B Q$ | RDG | RG* |

The same as the preceding，but the words on the obverse divided by two crescents，on the reverse by single crescents；a trefoil on the breast．

Fig．398A．



Robert III．
（ $1390-1406$ ）． Groats． Trefoil－pointed tressure． Aberdeen． Aquiline face． $41 \frac{1}{2}$ grs．

In the collection of Sheriff Mackenzie．A similar piece in the same collection has SOOTTORVM and LDTTORM．

The following piece shows a different style of head，the face being Later issues． apparently put in from an old puncheon of the Edinburgh three－pellet－pointed tressure groats，but with the curls，crown，and bust after the manner of the groats of the trefoil－pointed tressure coinages．Compare with the Perth groat No．32e，Fig．400A．

Tressure of eight arcs not extending below the bust，the points un－ ornamented；no divisions between the words．

Fig． 400.
45．O．出ROBGRTVS D氏I GRTđIT ReXX Sđ（O）

A specimen from the same obverse die as the above，kindly sent to me for inspection by Sheriff Mackenzie，has on the reverse DOMIn｜VS PRO｜TEđTO｜RmeGVS and VILL $\mid \pi$ De $|\pi B I R|$ De日r．This last piece is struck over a groat of Robert II．

A still different head；tressure of seven arcs，trefoiled，not extending below the bust ；the words divided by two crescents．

Fig． 401.


$39 \frac{1}{4}$ grs．

Robert III. (I390-1406). Groats. Aberdeen. Later issues.
47. O. From the same die.

47a. O. From the same die.
R. $\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { \&DNS y } & \text { TGOTOR } & \text { mS y } \operatorname{LIB} & \text { TORmS } \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \pi \succeq D 氏 & \pi B \in R & \text { Den* }\end{array}\right\}$

39 grs.

No. 47 is unfortunately much double struck on the reverse; but a groat, from the same dies, in the S.S.A. collection, from the Fortrose hoard, gives the inscriptions on the reverse very legibly. No. $47 a$ is in the Guthrie Lornie collection. Two Edinburgh groats, Fig. 40IB, with the obverses from the same die as Fig. 40I, are noticed, Nos. $41 i, 41 j$.

The following piece with the same obverse as the above has the words on the reverse divided by three pellets.

Fig. 40IA.


49 grs.

In the S.S.A. collection, from the Fortrose hoard.

A peculiar head, apparently imitated from that on the round face groats of Perth and Edinburgh ; tressure of seven arcs and two segments meeting the bust, trefoils on the points ; the lettering as on the groats last described; the words divided by two crescents.

Fig. 401 c.

B. $\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { gDNS } \mathrm{P} \cdot & \text { TGOTOR } & \mathrm{mS} \text { LIB } & \text { TTORmS } \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \pi \succeq \pi B & \text { GRD } & \text { GR* }\end{array}\right\}$

41 grs.

In the collection of Sheriff Mackenzie. I have not seen any other specimen of this very rare variety.

A rounder style of head; tressure of seven arcs, trefoiled, not extending below the bust; the words on the obverse divided partly by two crescents, partly by three pellets; on the reverse divided by two crescents.

Fig. 40IE.


In the S.S.A. collection. The rendering of the inscriptions on the reverse of this piece, as here given, has been supplemented from two other specimens in the S.S.A. collection, from the Fortrose hoard. The obverse die, originally identical with that of the Edinburgh groat, 401 D , No. $4 \mathrm{I} k$, has been altered by stamping two crescents before ROBERTVS and over the three pellets that are placed after the several words on the Edinburgh groat, and also by adding an R to SoOTTO, stamped over the initial cross. These three pellets can still be distinctly recognised on the Aberdeen groat below the superimposed crescents.

A similar head to the preceding; tressure of seven arcs, trefoiled, not extending below the bust.

Fig. 402.


$45 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

 \} $35 \frac{5}{8} \mathrm{grs}$

There are slight varieties of these pieces.

Robert III. ( $1390-1406$ ). Groats. Aberdeen. Later issues.

The same style of head as the above; tressure of eight arcs, trefoiled, not extending below the bust ; the words not divided.

Fig. 402A.
49a. O. HROBGRTVS DEI GRT REX SCOTOR'

R. | mDOMI | IVSPR | OTGOT | ORmelv |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VILL | $\pi D G$ | $\pi B I$ | RD |

44 grs.

In the collection of Sheriff Mackenzie. The reverse is from the same die as No. 45, Fig. 400.

The same style of head as the above; tressure of seven arcs, the lower arc to the right extending partly across the bust, the points plain ; the words divided chiefly by three pellets, two crescents after VILL $\pi$.

Fig. 402 B .
496. O. 凶ROBERTVS : DEI : GR $\quad$ : REX : SCOTORV

R. | $\star$ DRS $p$ | TGATOR | LIBK | TORMS |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VILL | $\pi 匕 D G$ | $\pi B G R$ | DGII $\ddagger$ |

$39 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

49c. O. From the same die.

The first of these two pieces is in the Pollexfen collection; the second is in the collection of Mr. Guthrie Lornie, and is represented also in that of Sheriff Mackenzie.

The same head; tressure of eight arcs, trefoiled, not extending below the bust ; the words divided by crescents disposed above two pellets.

Fig. 402 C.
49d. O. $\ddagger$ ROBGRTVS $\vdots$ DGI ! GR $\AA$ : RGX $\vdots$ SOOTTORVM

In the collection of Sheriff Mackenzie.

The same head; tressure of eight arcs, trefoiled, the lower arc to the Robert III. left extending partly below the bust ; the words on the obverse divided by three pellets, on the reverse by crescents disposed above two pellets.
( $1390-14 \subset \epsilon$ ). Groats. Aberdeen. Later issues.

Fig. 402D.
49e. O. $\triangle R O B G R T V S: D \in I: G R \pi: R G X: S \propto O T T O R V M$

$39 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

This and the following piece are in the S.S.A. collection, from the Fortrose hoard.

The same head, but smaller; a tressure of seven arcs, partially trefoiled, not extending below the bust ; the words on the obverse not divided, on the reverse divided by two pellets.

Fig. 402E.
49f. O. FROBGRTVS DAI GRT9 RAX SOOTORVM

B. | $\notin D R S: ~$ | TRGOTO | mS LIB $:$ | $\pi \mathrm{TORm}$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VILL | $\pi D G:$ | $\Theta \pi B$ | $D G$ |$\quad 37 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.

The last described two coins were probably the latest groats of Aberdeen in the Fortrose hoard; having the lettering similar to that on the two light groats of Aberdcen, Figs. 407, 408, in the Ferguslie collection.

## LIGHT GROATS.

At some time not recorded a considerable diminution was made in the weights both of the silver and of the gold coins of Robert III., and a corresponding diminution took place in the modules, or sizes, of the several pieces. This occurred probably some short time after the Fortrose hoard was deposited. It could scarcely have happened before, as among all the coins of Robert III. in that hoard examined by me I did not meet with a single light groat. These light groats are not to be confounded with the occasionally light specimens of the heavy coinages. These present special characteristics, by which they may readily be distinguished from the heavy coinages even without the test of the scales.

Robert III. ( $1390-1406$ ). Light groats.

From the circumstance that no light groats of Perth are known, while now for the first time the Dumbarton mint comes into operation under Robert III. in connection with these light coinages, it would appear that the Perth mint had for a time stopped working, and that the Dumbarton mint had taken its place.

After the reign of Alexander III., it was not the practice in Scotland to employ many mints, so that the opening of one mint sometimes meant the closing of another. In England under Edward I., as we have seen, the mint of St. Edmundsbury, shortly after it began working, seems to have superseded the mints of Bristol and York; and, in turn, at the end of the reign of Edward II. or at the beginning of that of Edward III., when the mint of York resumed operations, the St. Edmundsbury mint was closed.

Groats of the light coinages of Robert III. were struck at Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Dumbarton. All the light groats are very rare.

## EDINBURGH.

The few specimens of the light groats of Edinburgh that I have seen have the aquiline head. Even where the lettering on these pieces is very sharp, the face usually presents a much blurred appearance, as if from having been put in from worn-out punches of the heavy coinages. The points of the tressure are ornamented with a single pellet, instead of by triple pellets or by trefoils, the tressure in this respect differing in a marked manner from the tressure round the bust on the heavier groats. The number of the arcs, so far as I have had the opportunity of observing, is sometimes eight, sometimes twelve.

Tressure of twelve arcs surrounding the bust, pointed with single pellets; the words not divided, but with three pellets after DIS.

Fig. 417.
50. O. \&ROBERTVS DGI GRT RGX SCOTOR


50a. O. From the same die.

B. |  | mS LIBG | RTTOR: | maSD |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VILL | $\pi \in D$ | InB | RGh |

Robert III.
$26 \frac{1}{4}$ grs. (1390-1406). Light groats. Edinburgh.

The same accentuated style of $\mathbf{n}$ and $\boldsymbol{\xi}$, with the same peculiar $\boldsymbol{x}, \boldsymbol{x}$, and other letters, occurs on these pieces as on the DRS PTGQTOR lion, No. I3c, Fig. 418A, page 352. The light groat No. $50 a$ is in the Guthrie Lornie collection.

Tressure of eight arcs surrounding the bust, pointed with single pellets; the words divided by two saltires, or rather by two rude fleurs-de-lis.

Fig. 418.

B. $\left.\begin{array}{l|c|c|c|c}\text { BDIS } \times \mathrm{P} \times & \text { TGUTOR } & \mathrm{MS} \ddagger \ddagger \mathrm{LI} & \text { BGRKTO } \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \pi \in D & \text { InBV } & \text { RGh }\end{array}\right\} \quad \begin{gathered}29 \frac{1}{8} \mathrm{grs} .\end{gathered}$

5Ia. O. wROBERTVS DEI $\times$ GRTCIK $\times R \in X$ SOOTOR

These two coins have the same curtailed style of $\mathbf{n}$, and other letters as on the DRS PTGUTOR lions, No. 14, Fig. 419, page 353. The second of these pieces is in the Pollexfen collection.

## ABERDEEN.

The Aberdeen light groats, as represented in the Ferguslie collection, and, so far as I have met with specimens, exhibit in the style of the head a considerable resemblance to that on some of the groats of James I.; and the crown, although smaller than on these groats of James I., is formed in the same manner. Some of the billon pennies of James I., minted at Aberdeen, have the head identical with that on the light Aberdeen groats of Robert III., having also the same lettering, with the words divided in the same manner. On both, the letter (T) is remarkable for its short shank and broad top.

Robert III.
(1390-1406). Light groats. Aberdeen.

Tressure of nine arcs surrounding the bust, pointed with single pellets; the words on the obverse divided by trefoil-like ornaments, but which may be fleurs-de-lis, with a pellet below; on the reverse divided by the trefoil-like ornaments only.

Fig. 407.
52. $0 . \pm R O B G R T V S \pm D E I \pm G \pm R G X \pm S O T O R V M$


Tressure of nine arcs surrounding the bust, the points plain; the words on the obverse divided by large trefoils, but which may be fleurs-de-lis; on the reverse not divided.

Fig. 408.
53. O. + ROBeRRTVS + DGI + GRT + RGX + SQOTORV

R. | $\pm$ DRS $P$ | TGOTOR | mS $\pm$ LIB | $\pi$ TORMS |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VILL | $\pi D G$ | $\pi B R$ | Den • | $\} \quad 29 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.

53a. O. ROBGRTVS + DeI + GRT + ReX + SOOTORV
R. $\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|} \pm \text { DRS } P & \text { Teator } & \text { MS: LIB } & \pi \text { TORM } \\ \hline \pi D Q & \pi B R & \text { Dell } & \text { VILL }\end{array}\right\}$
$28 \frac{3}{8}$ grs.

The coin $53 a$ is in the Pollexfen collection.

## DUMBARTON.

As possessing a royal fortress from a very early period, and as having been erected into a royal burgh under Alexander II., Dumbarton may put in a strong claim to have been the place where the long double cross Alexander sterlings reading WALTER ON DVN, WALTER DVN, ALETGR ON DVN, and WILA ON DVN, were minted. The only coins, however, that can positively be attributed to Dumbarton are the light front-face groats with the name of Robert. These, in the style of the obverse, show a considerably greater variety than the light groats of Edinburgh or of Aberdeen.

Tressure of five arcs not extending below the bust, pointed with single pellets ; the words on the obverse divided by two pellets.

Robert III. (1390-1406). Light groats. Dumbarton.

Fig. 412.
54. O. 出ROBGRTVS: DGI: GRX: RGX: SOOTORV:
B. $\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { \# }: \text { DRS } P & \text { TGaTOR } & m S: \text { LIB } & \pi T O R: m: \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \pi: D V & \text { RBG } & \text { RT } \pi n\end{array}\right\}$ 30 grs.

54a. O. ※ROBGRTVS: DGI: GR $\pi$ : RGX: S

The second of these pieces, which is in the Pollexfen collection, has three pellets at the end of the tressure to the left of the head, and the same apparently to the right of the head, but not so well brought out.

Tressure of seven arcs surrounding the bust, pointed with single pellets ; the words divided by two pellets.

Fig. 412A.
546. O. ※ROBGRTVS: DEI: GRT: REX: SCOTR:

R. | 玉DRS P | TGđTOR | MSXLIB | $\pi$ TORMS |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VIL. | LKD: | VRBE | RTK |

This piece is in the British Museum.

Tressure of seven arcs surrounding the bust, the points unornamented; the words divided by two pellets.

Fig. 413.
55. O. $\operatorname{B}$ : ROBGRTVS: DGI: GRTAIT: REX SOO:


Robert III. (1390-1406) Light groats Dumbarton.

Tressure of seven arcs surrounding the bust, pointed with three pellets; the words divided by large fleurs-de-lis formed like slipped trefoils.

Fig. 414.



Tressure of seven arcs surrounding the bust, pointed with single pellets ; the words divided by large fleurs-de-lis formed like slipped trefoils.

Fig. 415.
57. O. $\Psi \times R O B E R T V S \times D G I \times G R \pi \times R G X \times S O O T O R V \times$

$27 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

Tressure of seven arcs surrounding the bust, pointed with three pellets; the words on the obverse divided by one and by two pellets, on the reverse divided by fleurs-de-lis formed like slipped trefoils.

Fig. 416D.
57a. 0. 出ROBERTVS•DEI•GRT: REX: SCOTOVM
8. $\left.\begin{array}{l|l|l}\text { a DRS } \mathrm{P} \times & \text { TQQTOR } & \mathrm{mS} \text { LIB } \\ \hline \pi D V R O R & \text { TGR } \times & \text { TKR } \times \\ \hline \text { VILL }\end{array}\right\} \quad 29 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

In the Pollexfen collection. The style of the head and of the crown on this piece resembles the style of the head and of the crown on the James I. groats of the smoother surface. The letter R is formed in the same way as the letter B on the following piece.

Tressure of twelve arcs surrounding the bust, pointed with single Robert III. pellets; the words divided by two pellets.

Fig. 4I6E.

B. $\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { mDRS }: ~ P \cdot & \text { TGOTOR } & : m S: \pm: L & I B G R \pi T \\ \hline V I L L & \pi D V & I B G R & T \pi R\end{array}\right\} \quad 29 \frac{3}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.

In the S.S.A. collection. The style of the head, crown, tressure and lettering, is the same as on the Edinburgh light groat, Fig. 417 , No. 50.

## HALF-GROATS.

The half-groats of Robert III. seem to have been of intermittent

Half-groats. Edinburgh. Perth. issue. In style of bust, lettering and ornamentation, they correspond, so far as their coinage extends, with the pieces of the larger denomination; but many varieties represented on the groats do not appear on the halfgroats. The later heavy groats and the light groats have no counterparts among the half-groats. The only mints are Edinburgh and Perth.

## EDINBURGH.

Edinburgh.

## Without Ornaments on the Points of the Tressure.

Tressure of eight arcs surrounding the bust ; the words not divided, two saltires after DRS on the reverse.

Fig. 337в.
a. O. AlkORERT Del Gra redx SđOTOR

B. | \&DRS $\times$ | Prot | GOTOR | maVS |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VILL | $\pi \in D$ | IRRV | RGh |



In the collection of Sheriff Mackenzie; this piece is of corresponding issue to the early groats, Figs. 337, 337A. In his "Notice of a Collection of Groats of Robert III. of Scotland," Num. Chron. 3d Series, vol. I.

Robert III. (1390-1406). Half-groats. Edinburgh.
vol. iv. p. 200, No. 63, Sheriff Mackenzie describes this coin as having a tressure of "six arcs meeting the bust." Undoubtedly, however, the raised curvature on the lower part of the bust is a continuation of the tressure, and consists of two additional arcs, although, from the manner in which the coin is struck, these have much the appearance of one long single arc.

Three Pellets on the Points of the Tressure.
Tressure of seven arcs surrounding the bust, as on all the following with the three pellets on the points of the tressure.

The words on the obverse divided by three pellets, on the reverse by saltires.

Fig. 345 .

 $\} \quad 23 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$
2. O. AROBARTVS: DEI: GRK: REX: SGOTO
 \} $17 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$.

On the obverse of the first of these two pieces the final O in SoOTO and the three pellets which follow it have completely suppressed the initiatory cross. The same peculiar $\mathrm{l}_{3}$ superseding occurs on the reverses of these coins as on the obverse and the reverse of the groat Fig. 337.

Fig. 346.
3. O. \& ROBERTVS: DEI:G:REX:SđOTOR
 $\} \quad 22 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.

1k. The same as No. 3.
5. O. The same as No 4 .

R. | wDIS $\times \mathrm{P}$ | TGOTO | $\mathrm{RmS} \times \mp \times \mathrm{L}$ | IBKTO |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VILL | $\pi ब D$ | InBV | RGh |

6. O. The same as No. 4.


Robert III.
(1390-1406).
Half-groats. Three-pellet pointed tressure Edinburgh.

There are other minor varieties of these pieces with the words divided as above; a half-groat in the British Museum has SđOT.

The words divided by fleurs-de-lis and crescents.-Fig. 354 .
7. O. *ROBGRTVS $\pm D E I \pm G \pm R G X \pm S \propto O T O$
 $\} \quad 19 \frac{1}{8} \mathrm{grs}$.
8. O. As No. 7 , with SGOTOR.

21 grs.

No. 7 is the coin figured in Wingate, Pl. XIV. 6, where it is made to appear as if reading GR and LIIRVO. No. 8 is the half-groat figured in Wingate, Pl. XIV. 5, and erroneously represented as having the words on the obverse divided by crosses.

The words divided by large fleurs-de-lis.-Fig. 357A.
8a. O. \&ROBGRTVS*DGI*GRT*RGX*SđOTOR
 $\} \quad 19 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$

In the Pollexfen collection. Very rare ; I have not met with any other specimen of this variety.

The face and the crown on the half-groats with the words divided by fleurs-de-lis and crescents, and on the half-groats with the words divided by fleurs-de-lis, are perceptibly smaller than on those having the words on the obverse divided by three pellets-in this respect following the groats of the corresponding coinages.

Robert III.
( 1390 -1406).
Half-groats. Trefoil-pointed tressure.

## Treforls on the Points of the Tressure; sometimes with the Points Plain.

In the style of the head and of the lettering, the half-groats of this series agree with the trefoil-pointed tressure groats with the round face; but the points of the tressure on the half-groats are quite as frequently plain as ornamented with trefoils.

PERTH.

Tressure of seven arcs, the points plain, the lower arc to the right extending partially across the bust; the words divided by saltires and pellets.

Fig. 363.


The larger lettering on the reverse.

Tressure of eight arcs, trefoiled, extending across the bust ; the words divided by saltires and pellets.

Fig. 367.
10. O. $屮 R O B \in R T V S * D * G * R G X ะ S O O T O R V M$

1k. | wDIS | PROT | GOTOR | meUVS |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| VILL | $\pi D G \mid$ | PGR | Th* | $\} 21 \frac{3}{8}, 19 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$.

Small strokes between the pellets on the reverse.

Tressure of nine arcs, trefoiled, extending below the bust; the words divided by saltires and pellets.

Fig. 368.


With the words divided by saltires and pellets, a half-groat in the British Museum has a tressure of seven arcs all round the bust, and reads SOOTI.

Tressure of six arcs not extending across the bust, the points plain; the words on the obverse divided by two crosses, on the reverse by single crosses.

Fig. 375 .
12. 0 . ※ROBGRTVS $\ddagger$ DGI GRス $\ddagger R G X$ S $O O$
 $\} \quad 19 \frac{3}{8} \mathrm{grs}$.

Figured in Wingate, Pl. XIV. 8, but represented incorrectly as having the words on the obverse divided by "a crescent and a cross."

Tressure of eight arcs, trefoiled, and surrounding the bust ; the words divided by two crosses.

Fig. 376.
13. O. ※ROBGRTVS $\ddagger \mathrm{D} \ddagger \mathrm{G} \ddagger \mathrm{R} \in \mathrm{X} \ddagger \mathrm{S} O$ OTORV
R. $\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { 出DRS } \ddagger \mathrm{P} & \text { TGOTOR } & \mathrm{MS} \ddagger \ddagger \ddagger \mathrm{LD} & \pi \mathrm{TORMS} \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \pi \ddagger \mathrm{DE} & \mathrm{PGR} & \text { Th }\end{array}\right\}$ $\} \quad 18 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$

Struck over a Robert II. half-groat ; the Robert II. profile head to the left and the sceptre in front are still visible.

Robert III.
(1390-1406). Half-groats. Trefoil-pointed tressure. Edinburgh.

## EDINBURGH.

Tressure of seven arcs surrounding the bust, the points plain; the words divided by two annulets; an annulet on the breast.

Fig. 386.
14. O. m ROBeRTVS $^{2} \mathrm{D} \& \mathrm{G} \& \mathrm{REX}$ \& SUOTRVM
B. $\left.\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}\text { 出DRS }: \mathrm{P} & \text { TGUTOR } & \mathrm{MS} 8: 8 \mathrm{LI} & \mathrm{B} \pi \mathrm{TORm} \\ \hline \text { VILL } & \pi 8 G D & \mathrm{InBV} & \text { RGh }\end{array}\right\}$
$18 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

Tressure of seven arcs surrounding the bust, the points plain; the words on the obverse divided by two annulets, on the reverse by two pellets; an annulet on the breast.

Fig. 387
15. O. 出ROBGRTVS 8 D 8 G 8 REXX 8 SCORVM

B. | mDRS: $\mathbf{y}$ | TGOTOR | mS | -TOR |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\operatorname{VILL}$ | $\pi: G D$ | InBV | RGh |

$18 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$.

Double struck, and the inscriptions incomplete.
With these round face pieces the half-groat series of Robert III. seems to have terminated. This may explain how it is that Aberdeen is not represented on the half-groats; that mint, apparently, not having come into operation under Robert III. till the introduction of the aquiline face on the groats of the trefoil-pointed tressure series.

## PENNIES.

In my introductory observations to the silver coinages of this reign, pages $285-6$, I have stated the standard weight and quality of the pennies. The mints at which these pieces were struck are Edinburgh, Perth, and Aberdeen. The penny of Inverness attributed to Robert III. by Lindsay and Wingate belongs to James I. This identical piece is now in the Ferguslie collection, and is here described in connection with the billon
coins of that reign. Certain pennies of Robert III. without the name of Robert IIr. the mint on the reverse, from their style of bust, lettering and ornamenta- ${ }_{\text {Pennies. }}^{\text {(1390-1 } 406 \text { ). }}$. tion, appear to me to have been minted at Aberdeen.

EDINBURGH.
Edinburgh.
No divisions between the words.-Fig. 338 .
r. O. 出 RORERTVS re氏X SCOT
B. VILL | Ted | IRRV | RGh

Fig. 339.
2. O. w moremtvi rex Solotor
B. VILL | Ted | InRV | RGh

16 grs.
These two pieces are of the same coinage as the Edinburgh groat No. I, Fig. 337, having the same peculiar If superseding the B. The penny No. r was formerly in the Wingate collection, and is figured in Wingate, Pl. XIV. 10 ; the penny No. 2 was formerly in the Martin and Hastings collections, and is figured in Lindsay, Pl. VI. No. 125. A specimen from the same dies as No. 2 is in the S.S.A. collection.

The words on the obverse divided by two annulets, on the reverse by two pellets.

Fig. 388.
3. 0. ROBERTVS \& DGI \& GRT REX \& Sa

Ik. VILL | $\pi: G D|\operatorname{InBV}|$ RGh
$15 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

An annulet after ROBGRTVS only; the words on the reverse not divided.

Fig. 388A.
3a. O. w ROBERTVS • DEI GRT REX Sa
1k. VILL \| KGD \| InBV \| RGh

$11 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$.
This piece, which is in the Pollexfen collection, has the lettering on the reverse of a mixed description, as on the corresponding Edinburgh

Robert ili. groat, No. 35 Fig. 385-small top-heavy If and diminutive curved th. On the obverse it has an $\pi$ of the straight slender character proper to the later trefoil-pointed tressure groat issues. This is precisely the reverse of what occurs on the immediately preceding piece, which has the small top-heavy In on the obverse and the straight slender $\mathbb{T}$ on the reverse.

No divisions between the words.-Fig. 399.
4. O. * ROBGRTVS DI GBT $\propto$
B. VILL \| TAD \| IRRV | BGI
$14 \frac{1}{9}$ grs.
From the style of the lettering this coin has evidently been struck about the same time as the late Edinburgh groats, Figs. 398G, 398r, pages 302 and 315 .

## PERTH.

The words divided by two crosses.-Fig. 376b.
4a. O. $\not$ ROBGRTVS $\ddagger$ RGX $\ddagger$ SGOTORVM
B. VILL | $\pi \ddagger D \in \ddagger \mid \ddagger$ PGR | Th *
$15 \frac{1}{8} \mathrm{grs}$.
This piece is in the S.S.A. collection. It is figured in Lindsay's ist Sup. Pl. I. No. 20. The only other known Perth penny of Robert III. is in the Cochran-Patrick collection.

## ABERDEEN.

The words on the obverse divided by two pellets, on the reverse not divided.

Fig. 403.
5. O. 出 ROBGRTVS: DGI : GRX: R氏
B. VILL $|\pi D \in| \pi B R \mid D \in I *$

I $1 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.
This piece, which was purchased at the Wingate sale for the Ferguslie collection, is figured in Lindsay, ist Sup. Pl. III. No. 2, and in Wingate, Pl. XIV. No. 12, in both cases as a penny of Edinburgh. Neither Lindsay nor Wingate had observed the cross at the end of the legend in
the last quarter of the reverse, otherwise they would scarcely have attributed Robert III. this coin to Edinburgh. The letters $\mathrm{D} \in$ before the name of the mint with ${ }^{(1330-1406)}$. the cross at the end of the legend occur only in connection with the pennies Aberdeen. of Aberdeen and Perth. The inscription on the last two compartments of the reverse is partly off the coin, but from what remains of it I am satisfied that it is the same as on the following penny of Aberdeen in the S.S.A. collection.

Two crescents back to back after ReXX and VILLK.-Fig. 403A.
5a. 0. ※ ROBGRTVS DeI GR $\pi$ ReX

$17 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.
A broken penny of Aberdeen, in the British Museum, having the words on the obverse divided by three pellets, reads $\pi B \in R D \in n$, with a cross before VILLT, but not after Dern.

## Without the Name of the Mint.

The words on name of the
The words on the obverse divided by two demi-fleurs-de-lis opposed, ${ }_{\text {mint. }}$ on the reverse by two pellets after SđO.

Fig. 403 B.
5b. 0. \& ROBGRTVS : DGI : GRTAIT:
R. RGX | SOO: | TOR | VM *
$\} \quad 21 \frac{7}{8}$ grs.
A broken penny, in the S.S.A. collection, figured in Lindsay, ist Sup. Pl. II. No. 22*, is from dies closely corresponding to this piece, which, with the following penny, is in the Pollexfen collection.

The words on the obverse divided by two pellets, on the reverse not divided.

Fig. 403C.
5c. O. A ROBARTVS: DeI : GRTAIA
1k. RGX | SOO | TOR \| VM ※ VOL. I. 2 X 13 grs.

Robert III. (1390-1406). Pennies. Without the name of the mint.

The words on the obverse divided by two crescents, on the reverse not divided.

$$
\text { Fig. } 404
$$


R. REX | SOO | TOR \| VM

12 grs.
This is the penny, formerly in the Martin and Hastings collections, figured in Lindsay, Pl. VI. No. 123. There is not a " T and star at the right side of the neck," as described in the Martin and Hastings sale catalogues. The obverse is simply mis-struck.

The words divided by three pellets.-Figs. 405, 405A.
7 and $7 a$. O. ※ ROBeBBTVS DeII: ReXX: SaO
B. ROB |: DGI: | GRT |: REX
$10 \frac{1}{4}, 14 \frac{1}{8}$ grs.
The penny No. 7 (Fig. 405) was purchased for the Ferguslie collection at the Wingate sale, and is figured in Lindsay, ist Sup. Pl. I. 19, and in Wingate, Pl. XIV. 9 ; in both cases it is represented as a penny of Aberdeen. It is much double-struck on the reverse, but the penny from the same dies in the S.S.A. collection, No. 7a (Fig. 405A), shows satisfactorily the correct reading.

## HALFPENNIES.

The halfpennies of Robert III. are of the same quality as the pennies; their weights should therefore hold the same proportion, giving $8 \frac{1}{2} \frac{43}{24} \mathrm{grs}$. as the standard. The only mints known are Edinburgh and Perth. A halfpenny having on the reverse Rex SaOTORVM is mentioned in Lindsay's Descriptive Catalogze, No. 308, with reference to Cardonnel, Pl. IV. No. 2, a piece borrowed from Snelling, Pl. II. I, where a drawing is given of a coin with what purports to be RGX in one compartment, the next two compartments blank, and the letters VM faintly traced in the remaining compartment. From the evidently very poor condition of the coin there represented, it is open to question whether the few remaining letters of the
inscription on the reverse have been correctly rendered. No halfpenny of Robert III. Robert III. with REXX S@OTORVM appears now to be known.

EDINBURGH.
(1390-1406).
Halfpennies.

Edinburgh.
The words on the obverse not divided; two saltires after VILLK on the reverse.

Fig. 347.
I. O. \& ROBetVS Rex SaOTO

This piece from the style of the bust and the lettering evidently belongs to the earlier issues of the three-pellet-pointed tressure series.

The words on the obverse divided by two pellets, on the reverse not divided.

Fig. 382.
2. O. \& ROBGRTVS: RGX: SCOT
R. (VIL) $\mid$ L $\pi \in \mid$ DIN $\mid$ (BVR ?)

From a peculiarity in the striking, the head on this halfpenny presents the appearance of looking slightly towards the left. The lettering on the reverse, like that on the Edinburgh trefoil-pointed tressure groat, No. 37, Fig. 38r, is of a different character from that on the obverse; both pieces apparently relate to the same coinage.

The words not divided.-Fig. 399A.
2a. O. ROBERTVS DAI GRTORT
k. VILL | Tad | IRB | VBG
$\}$
$6 \frac{1}{8} \mathrm{grs}$.
In the Pollexfen collection. From the style of the lettering this halfpenny appears to be of very late issue.

Robert III. (1390-1406). Halfpennies. Perth.

PERTH.
The words divided by saltires and pellets.-Fig. 369 .

Bk. ROBGRTVS L * D氏 PGB
7 grs.
Double struck; the inscriptions intermixed. This piece is of corresponding issue with the Perth groats having the words divided by saltires and pellets.

Two crosses after ROBGRTEVS.-Fig. 376c.
3a. O. \& ROBERTEVVS $\ddagger$ DEI GR $\pi$
R. VILL \| $\pi D \in$ | PGR \| Th
$6 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$.
In the Richardson collection, formerly in the Wingate and Addington cabinets; of corresponding issue with the Perth round-face groats with the words divided by two crosses.

The words divided by saltires.-Fig. 398D.
36. 0 . $\mathrm{ROBERTVS} \times \mathrm{DEI} \times \mathrm{GR} \pi$
R. VILL $|\pi \times D \in|$ (PGR) $\mid$ TK
$7 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.

In the Pollexfen collection; this halfpenny appears to correspond in issue with the Perth groat, Fig. 398c, No. $32 \alpha$.

## GOLD COINAGE.

Reference has been made to the Ecu à la Couronne of France, as having been the original of the Scottish Crown, or Lion, now usually called the St. Andrew. The Écus à la Couronne, states Le Blanc, were so called because of the crown that was above the Écu, or shield-in Latin Scutum. The Ecus of gold were not new in France ; having had great course in the reigns of Philip of Valois and of his son, but these earlier coinages were made in a different manner from the Ecus à la Couronne.

This money, writes Le Blanc, "fut ordonnée par Lettres expediées à Robert III. Paris, le xi. Mars 1384 " (or, in new style, March I 385), "afin de chasser (1390-1406). les Monnoyes d'or étrangères." These Écus à la Couronne were of fine gold, and were issued originally in the proportion of 60 to the "marc," giving a standard weight equal to 63 grains Troy. Some three years after their introduction they were struck in the greater ratio of $61 \frac{1}{2}$ to the marc, reducing their standard weight to 61.45 grs. Troy ; subsequently, frequent changes both in their weight and quality occurred.

Sometimes these pieces were called Crowns simply, sometimes, as by Froissart, Crowns of France; in Scotland they were known as French Crowens.

The earliest reference to the Lion or Scottish Crown is in the Act Lion or Scottish of Robert III., 24th October 1393, where it is ordered that there shall be made "de bono auro una pecia vocata leo, et habebit cursum pro quinque solidis monete, ita quod duo leones valebunt decem solidos eiusdem monete et erunt meliores nobili ad valorem trium denariorum." The same expression, "de bono auro," here employed in defining the quality of the Scottish Lion, is also applied in designating the fineness of the English Noble: "Et nobile de bono auro et ponderacione bona habebit cursum pro novem solidis et sex denariis videlicit nobile de Anglia." From the connection in which the expression "of good gold" is used in either case, it is evident that the fineness of the Scottish lion was to be quite equal to the standard quality of the English noble, or 23 carats $3 \frac{1}{2}$ grs., that is, $23 \frac{7}{8}$ carats fine.

If this were not meant to be so understood, it is strange that while, in their aggregate intrinsic value two Scottish lions were to exceed by three Scottish pennies the intrinsic value of one English noble, their aggregate current value, as in Scotland, was to exceed by six pennies the current value of the English noble.

On the other hand, had the Scottish lion, as ordered by the Act 24 th October 1393 of Robert II I., been proposed to be of lower quality than the English noble, its weight, in common fairness, ought to have been proportionably increased. At the respective values of the Scottish lion and the English half-noble, as stated in this Act, the weight of the former, had it

Robert III. (1390-1406). Lions, or Scottish crowns.
been only 22 carats fine, which is to 23 carats $3 \frac{1}{2}$ grs. as 176 is to 191 , ought to have been within a fraction of 67 grs.

As the standard weight of the English noble was 120 grs. Troy, and its value in Scottish pennies was nine shillings and sixpence, or 114 Scottish pennies, it follows that each of these pennies was estimated as worth $\mathrm{I}_{\frac{1}{19}}$ grains of gold of the fineness of the English noble, so that the aggregate weight of two Scottish lions of this quality, intrinsically worth II7 Scottish pennies, would be $123 \frac{3}{19}$ grs. Troy, giving to each a standard weight of $6 \mathrm{I}_{11}^{11}$ or $6 \mathrm{I} \cdot 58$ grs. Troy, a remarkably close approximation to the standard weight of the French crown, which at this period was of fine gold.

The "syde coat" lions, as these pieces were called from the long gown of the saint on the reverse, continued, with some intermission, to be struck till some time in the reign of James IV. Among other gold coins they are mentioned in the "Contract anent the Cunyie" at August 1596, as having been received at the mint as bullion, but their quality then was rated at only 22 carats fine. ${ }^{1}$

It is not at all likely, however, that the "syde coit lyonnes" referred to in that "Contract" could have constituted any portion of the gold coinages of Robert III., which do not appear to have remained long in circulation after the introduction of the Jacobus gold mintages. There is no reference to the Robert III. gold money in any of the proclamations issued in the subsequent reigns, specifying the rates at which the coins then current were to be received. In these regulations we find the heavier English noble of 120 grs. Troy carefully distinguished from the lighter English noble of 108 grs . ; but no mention is made of any difference of value in the "syde coat" lions, notwithstanding that, apart from what seems to have been their lower quality under the Jameses, their standard weight was reduced to 54 grs. Troy, or half the weight of the lighter English noble, and their actual average weight was only about $5^{1}$ grs. ; while under Robert III. their average weight, for some considerable time at least, fully corresponded with that usually given by the heavier English half-nobles of the standard weight of 60 grs . Troy, to which coins their quality should also have corre-

[^75]sponded. Another consideration to be kept in view is the disorganised condition into which the gold coinages bearing the name of Robert subsequently fell, naturally necessitating their withdrawal from circulation.

LIONS, SCOTTISH CROWNS or "ST. ANDREWS."
These pieces, on the obverse, have a crowned escutcheon of the same shape as on the French crown, but charged with the Scottish lion, while on the French crown the shield bears the arms of France, three fleurs-de-lis. On the reverse, the French Eucs à la Couronne, for principal type, with considerable variations of detail, had a cross fleurie; on the Scottish lions or crowns under Robert III., and under James II. III. IV., the type of the reverse was the national saint upon his cross.

With the exception of an interval under Robert III., in connection with the marked reduction of the weights of the gold coinages, following that of the silver coinages, the inscription on the reverse of the Scottish crown was the same as on the French crown, XPO •VInđIT • XPQ • REGRNT • $\mathrm{XPO} \cdot \mathrm{ImPGR} \mathrm{T}$, Christ conquers, Christ reigns, Christ commands; save that on the Scottish crowns the RGGInT was improperly put before the VIn@IT. This was a favourite inscription on French coins, having been, states Le Blanc, quoting from Foulcher, the "mot de l'armée" of the Christians in a battle with the Saracens in the reign of Philip I.

So far as the Scottish Records show, the name commonly given to these pieces when they were current coins was lions or Scottish crowns. I am not aware that the name of St. Andrews, now generally applied to them, occurs in contemporary documents. In the old Scottish Acts what are now incorrectly called lions are described as half-lions, as in the Act 22d April I 398 of Robert III., where it is ordered that "no gold shall have course in our Kingdom except Lions, Half Lions (leonibus, dimidiis leonibus), Nobles of Flanders and of England, and Crowns of France."

The only gold pieces with the name of Robert that can possibly represent the demi-lions described in this Act of April 1398 are the small gold coins

Robert III ( $1390-1406$ ). Lions, or Scot tish crowns.

Robert III. (1390-1406). Lions, Scottish crowns or " St . Andrews."
with the uncrowned Scottish escutcheon on the obverse and the St. Andrew's cross without the figure of the saint on the reverse. The several coinages of these pieces answer to the several coinages of the lions-or the larger gold coins with the name of Robert, having the crowned escutcheon on the obverse and the figure of the saint upon his cross on the reverse-in the same way as the several half-groat and groat coinages of Robert II I. answer to each other, or as the quarter-nobles of the Edwards and the Henries correspond to the nobles and the half-nobles.

This fact appears to have been always recognised by the Scottish numismatic writers, until Cardonnel, without assigning any reasons, attributed the halves of the ©HRISTVS RGGNTT lions, with the name of Robert, to Robert II., and the lions themselves to Robert III. The lions with the DOMInVS PROTGOTOR legend, in common with his predecessors, he assigned to Robert II., although these pieces, as corresponding in lettering and ornamentation with the very light front face groats, are really the latest gold issues of Robert III. Cardonnel was not aware of the existence of the half-lion with the DOMIRVS PROTEOTOR inscription.

The several gold coinages of Robert III., both of the lions and the half-lions, will be found, in respect of the lettering and the ornamentation between the words, to correspond to the several groat coinages. The lions have a fleur-de-lis at each side of the figure of St. Andrew on the reverse.

## THE LONG CROSS LIONS.

The Lettering as on the Three-Pellet-Pointed Tressure Groats.

The words divided by three pellets ; a sharp angular li.--Fig. 34I.

1. O. ※ rorketvs : DaI: Gra : rex : Sottorvm:

1k. XPORG| GחスTXPO: | VInণI | TXPOImPK
55 grs.
2. O. A RORERTVS: DGI:GRT: REX: SđOTORVM:

1k. From the same die as No. 1.
6ogrs.

Fig. 342.


Arrow-head shaped ornaments on the spaces of the crown between the lis; the shield with a plain border. The style of the saint's head on these lions presents a marked contrast to that on all the other lions of Robert III. : having a close nimbus like a cowl ; long thin locks; a moustache and pointed beard. The lions, Nos. I and 2, have well-defined hair-line circles within the beaded inner circles on both sides; No. 3 is without the hair-line inner circles. The lettering is the same as on the Edinburgh groats Nos. I-3, with the same peculiar Ir superseding the B, except that on the reverse of the lion No. 3 the $R$ is the ordinary lanky style of $R$, as more usually met with on the other groats of the three-pellet-pointed tressure series.

The words divided by three pellets, with two saltires after S@OTORVm; the ordinary R on both sides.

Fig. 349B.
3a. O. ※ ROBERTVS: DGI: GRA: RGX: SOOTORVM $\times$

In the B.M. collection. This piece represents the gold coinage corresponding to the groat issues Fig. 349A. The same style of crowned escutcheon appears on the obverse as on the lions Nos. 1, 2, 3. The saint's head on the reverse has long curly locks, with a broad beardless face, without the nimbus. No hair-line inner circles.

The words on the obverse divided partly by three pellets, partly by fleurs-de-lis and crescents; three pellets on the reverse after GRTT XPO; the ordinary $R$ on the obverse, the angular r on the reverse.

> Fig. 350A.
 VOL. I.

Robert III. ( $\mathbf{3} 30$-1406). Long cross lions.

3c. 0 . 出 ROBGRTVS $\pm$ DGI $\pm G R \pi: R \in X \pm S \propto O T O R V M$
1k. From the same die as the preceding.
59.8 grs.

These two pieces are in the British Museum collection. The reverse of both are from the same die as the reverse of the lion, No. 1, Fig. 341. The crowned escutcheons on the obverses are in the same style as on the lions Nos. I, 2, 3 .

The words on the obverse divided partly by three pellets, partly by fleurs-de-lis and crescents; on the reverse divided by fleurs-de-lis and crescents.

Fig. 35 I .
4. O. \& ROBERTVS: DEI GRK RGX $\ddagger$ SđOTORVM: $\ddagger$

60 grs .
5. O. \& ROBGRTVS: DGI $\pm G R \pi: R G X \pm S \propto O T O R V M \pm$

Ik. $\mathrm{XPQ} \pm \mathrm{RG}|\mathrm{GRTT} \pm \mathrm{XPQV}|$ InaI | $\mathrm{T} \pm \mathrm{XPOImP} \pm\} \quad 58 \frac{1}{8} \mathrm{grs}$.
These have the same style of crowned escutcheon as on the lions Nos. 1, 2, 3, and the saint has the same broad, beardless face, without the nimbus, as on the lion No. 3a, Fig. 349b. No hair-line inner circles. The lettering corresponds with that on the Edinburgh groats, Nos. 8, 9, Fig. 350, on which pieces the words are similarly divided. A small top-heavy occurs on the reverse of the lion No. 4. With the same obverse die as the preceding, a lion in the British Museum has the inscription on the reverse differently distributed: XPO $\pm \mathrm{R} \mid$ QGIKT $\pm \mathrm{XPO}|\mathrm{VInQ}| \mathrm{IT} \pm \mid X P O I M \pm$

The words divided by fleurs-de-lis and crescents.-Fig. 356 .

R. $\mathrm{XPO} \pm \mathrm{R}|\in G \cap \pi T \pm X P \alpha| V I n \alpha \mid I T \pm X P O I m \pm$
$59 \frac{3}{8}$ grs.
7. O. From the same die.

1k. XPG $\pm$ R | GGRATXPQ | VIn | OITXPCIM
$59 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.
These have the same types of obverse and of reverse as the lions Nos. 4, 5. No inner circles. The lettering is the same as on the Edinburgh groats, on which the words are similarly divided, No. 10, Fig. 353, and No. 13, Fig. 355. 'A small top-heavy on both sides.

The words on the obverse divided by two saltires, on the reverse not Robert III. divided.

Fig. 359.
8. O. ROBGRTS $\times$ DEI $\times G R \pi \times R E X \times$ S $\times O T O R V M$
R. XPOR | UGחTTXPO | VInQ | ITXPOIMP $\} \quad 57 \frac{3}{8} \mathrm{grs}$.

The same types as on the last pieces. A hair-line inner circle on the obverse, but not on the reverse. The lettering is the same as on the Edinburgh groats, with the words divided by two saltires, No. 15, Fig. 358. A small top-heavy II on both sides.

The following singular piece, in the S.S.A. collection, although it has the words on the obverse divided by saltires and pellets as on some of the groats of the trefoil-pointed tressure series, has the lettering on both sides, and also the crowned escutcheon on the obverse and the figure of the saint on the reverse, in the style peculiar to the lions corresponding with the groats of the three-pellet-pointed tressure series, Figs. 351, 356, 359. No divisions between the words on the reverse. A hair-line inner circle on the obverse. The small top-heavy II on both sides.

> Fig. 359A.

R. XPGR | $\alpha G n \pi T X P \alpha$ | VIna | ITXPCImP
$59 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

THE SHORT CROSS LIONS.

## The Lettering as on the Trefoil-Pointed Tressure Groats.

The words divided by two crosses.-Fig. 377 .

R. 出 $\mathrm{XPO} \ddagger$ RGGRAT $\ddagger \mathrm{XP} \not \mathrm{P} \ddagger \mathrm{VIn} \propto I T ~ \ddagger \mathrm{XPQ} \ddagger$ IMPGRAT $\} \quad 59 \frac{3}{8} \mathrm{grs}$.

Trefoils between the fleurs-de-lis of the crown. The shield smaller than on the preceding lions, and with a beaded border. The head of the

Rolert III． （1350－1406）． Short cross lions．
saint is small，with a forked beard，loose curls，and nimbus．The outer lines of the cross are beaded．Hair－line inner circles，which are well within the beaded inner circles．The same lettering as on the Perth groats with the words divided by two crosses．

The Lettering on tife Obverse as on the Three－Pellet－Pointed Tressure Groats，on the Reverse as on the Trefoll－Pointed Tressure Groats．

The words divided by three pellets．－Fig． 383 ．
Io．O．出 ROBGRTVS：DEI：GRACIA：RGX：SdOTTORV：
1及．出 XPQ：RGGחAT ：XPO ：VInCIT ：XPQ：ImPGRAT：$\} \quad 56 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{grs}$ ．
The same types as on the preceding lion，but with a slight difference in the treatment of the saint＇s head，which is without the nimbus．A cord round the saint＇s waist，with a long end hanging down in front．The lines of the cross not beaded．Hair－line inner circles as on the last．Except that the $\pi$ is barred across the middle，the lettering on the obverse corre－ sponds with that on the obverse of the lion No． 5 ；and on the reverse corresponds with that on the obverse and the reverse of the preceding short cross lion，being the same as on the Edinburgh trefoil－pointed tressure groats with the words divided by two pellets．

Fig． 384.

## II．O．$\neq \mathrm{ROBGRTVS}: D \in I: G R \pi \propto I \pi: ~ R G X: ~ S \propto O T T O R V: ~$

1x．XPQ ：RGGRTT ：XPQ：VInaIT ：XPQ：ImPGRTT
The obverse is from the same die as No．Io．The reverse has the saint represented with the nimbus as on No．9，but with the lines of the cross not beaded．All the other short cross lions having the words divided by three pellets that I have met with are without the nimbus．Formerly in the Carfrae collection．

## THE LIGHT LIONS.

Robert 111.
(1390-1406).

These pieces, in their reduced weight and module, and in the style of Light tions lettering and of the ornamentation between the words, correspond with the light groats of Robert III. On what appear to be the later varieties, the XPO RGGRTT legend is superseded by the DRS PTGOTOR inscription. Lindsay has made the singular mistake of treating the light lions, or light St. Andrews, with the XPO ReGGRTt legends as the halves of the heavier lions, or heavier St. Andrews, with the same readings. That he should have done so is the more extraordinary, as he admits that these lighter lions with the XPO ReGGRTT inscriptions are "considerably more than half the weight" of the heavier lions; and he even describes them as apparently a distinct coinage, chiefly, however, on the mistaken assumption that they were all without the cross. As we shall see, even the DRS PTGOTOR light lions sometimes have the cross.

The DRS PTEaTOR light lions are generally of the same weights as the XPG RGGnTt light lions; having the same module, and with the lettering and the ornamentation between the words of a similar character. They must, moreover, have corresponded very closely with each other in their period of issue, which probably was not of very long duration, as both varieties, together with the corresponding light groats, are very rare.

The words divided by two fleurs-de-lis or two trefoils opposed.
Fig. 409.
12. $\mathrm{O} . \mathrm{XROBGRTVS} \ddagger \mathrm{DAI} \ddagger \mathrm{G} \ddagger \mathrm{RGX} \ddagger \mathrm{SaOTOR}$
R. $\mathrm{XDO} \ddagger|\operatorname{RIGR\pi T} \ddagger \mathrm{X}| \mathrm{D} \alpha * \mathrm{~V} \mid$ IndT $\ddagger \mathrm{XIn}\}$
$36 \frac{1}{8}$ grs. Christus Regnat.
The lettering on this and on the following piece, 409^, is identical with that on the Aberdeen light groats, Figs. 407, 408; the peculiar w, with the broad top and the short shank, is a specially notable feature. The ornaments dividing the words, which resemble crosses rather than fleurs-de-lis or trefoils, are also formed in the same manner as on these light Aberdeen groats. Compare further the form of the crown on both, with the remarkably large fleur-de-lis in the centre.

Robert 111. （1390－1406）． Light lions． Christus Regna

It will be observed that the light lion，Fig．409，has undoubtedly the cross supporting the saint on the reverse，but it is confined within the inner circle，while the saint＇s hands and feet extend into the legendary circle． The saint＇s head is large and beardless，with long flowing curls．A hair－line inner circle is on the reverse，but not on the obverse．From the circum－ stance that the fleurs－de－lis ornamenting the tressure of the escutcheon on this piece so closely resemble trefoils，it is probable that the similar orna－ ments dividing the words may also have been intended for fleurs－de－lis． The saltire cross before the legend on the obverse is of the same form as the letter $\mathbf{x}$ in the body of the inscriptions．

The words divided by pellets．－Fig．409A．
12a．O．＊ROBGRTVS：DEI ：GRT • RGX • S $\propto O T O R$＇
1k． $\mathrm{XPO} \cdot \mathrm{R} \mid$ GGR $\pi \mathrm{T} \cdot \mathrm{XPQ}|\mathrm{VIn}| \propto I T \cdot \mathrm{XPO} \cdot \mathrm{In} \cdot\}$
$32 \frac{1}{8}$ grs．
This piece is in the Richardson collection．The saint has a beardless head，and is without the cross．The form of the crown above the escutcheon is the same as on the preceding piece．Inner circles on both sides．

The very peculiar on the two light lions above described does not occur，so far as I have observed，on any of the groats except on the light groats of Aberdeen．It is met with also，however，on the James I．billon pennies of Aberdeen，apparently struck at the same period as these light Aberdeen groats of Robert III．，and seems to be peculiar to Aberdeen．In all probability，therefore，these two light lions，and some of the light demi－ lions with the same peculiarities of lettering，were also struck at Aberdeen．

Fleurs－de－lis in the legend on the obverse；pellets in the legend on the reverse．

Fig． 115 $^{15}$ ．
12b． 0 ．$\times$ ROBERTVS DEI GRTOIT $\times$ REX SOO $\times$
B．$⿴ 囗 十$ XP $|\propto R G G R \pi T X \cdot| P \alpha \mid I M \cdot P G R \pi T$
In the S．S．A．collection．In my reference to this piece in the＂Notice of the Coins in the Fortrose Hoard＂（Proceedings of the Society of Anti－
quaries of Scotland, vol. ii., New Series, No. 2I, page 209), it was inadvert- Robert III. ently stated that the figure of the St. Andrew was without the cross. The ${ }^{(1330-1406) .}$ upper limbs of the cross, to which the saint's arms are attached, are dis tinctly marked, and extend to the edge of the coin ; the lower limbs of the cross extend only to the inner circle, and are indicated by two narrow lines quite outside the body of the saint. The saint has a small head and forked beard, with short curly hair close to the head. The escutcheon has a beaded border, surmounted by a crown of a very rude character. The lettering is the same as on the Dumbarton groat No. 57, Fig. 415 : curvedtopped $\mathbb{\pi}$, slender $\mathbb{\pi}$, twisted $\boldsymbol{\approx}$, and curule-chair-shaped $\mathbb{X}$. This $\boldsymbol{\pi}$ and this $\mathbf{X}$ seem to be peculiar to the Dumbarton groats. The fleurs-de-lis before ROBGRTVS and after GRTのIT and SCO are also identical with those on the Dumbarton groat No. 57, Fig. 415. No hair-line inner circles.

Fleurs-de-lis in the legend on the obverse; pellets in the legend on the reverse.

Fig. 416.
13. O. From the same die as No. 12b, Fig. 415 A.
B. XPORG | GחTTXPOV | • In • | OITXPO : •

The saint with a small head and forked beard, exactly as on the coin last described, but without the cross; the same lettering as on the last. No hair-line inner circles.

Fleurs-de-lis between the words on the obverse; a pellet and a lis in the legend on the reverse.

Fig. 4x6A.
13a. 0 . R ROBGRTVS $\times$ DGI $\times$ GRTđIT $\times R E X \times S O O T M V$

In the British Museum. The saint has a small head and forked beard as on No. 13, Fig. 416, but without the cross. The lettering as on the Dumbarton groat, No. 54b, Fig. 412A, having the \& of a broader and more

Robert III. (1390-1406). Light lions.
ornate character than on the two lions last described. Hair-line inner circles. The escutcheon with a beaded border; having a neatly executed crown with trefoils between the fleurs-de-li.s. This is the coin figured in Cochran-Patrick's Records of the Coinage of Scotland, Pl. II. No. i8, and by mistake represented as having been in the Wingate collection.

The words on the obverse divided by two fleurs-de-lis or trefoils opposed ; two pellets after DR on the reverse.

Fig. 118b. $^{168}$
13b. O. BROBGTVS * DGI * GRT ReX SCOTORVM $\times$
Ix. $\operatorname{DR}:|S P T \alpha T O R| M S \left\lvert\, X L I B \pi T O R \quad 32 \frac{1}{6}\right.$ grs.

Dominus Protector.

In the S.S.A. collection. The saint with a small head and forked beard, exactly as on the preceding two lions with the XPO ReGGITT inscription and without the cross. The same style of $\mathbb{R}$ and other lettering as on the lion last described; the same form of crown above the escutcheon, but the border of the escutcheon is not beaded. Hair-line inner circles. The fleurs-de-lis within the tressure of the escutcheon are of the same form as the opposed fleurs-de-lis, or trefoils, between the words on the obverse. This piece is of remarkably beautiful execution, and is probably the earliest of the DRS PTGOTOR lions.

The words on the obverse divided by three pellets, on the reverse by two pellets.

Fig. 418A.
I 3c. O. $\mathbb{B}$ ROBGRTVS: D氏I: GRTđIT: RGX: SđTO

In the B.M. collection. The saint with a large beardless face. This piece has the cross, which is expressed by beaded lines. A plain escutcheon. The same accentuated style of $\mathbb{X}, \boldsymbol{r}, \boldsymbol{\infty}, \boldsymbol{K}$, and other lettering as on the Dumbarton groat No. 57b, Fig. 416e, and as on the light Edinburgh groat No. 50, Fig. 4I7. No hair-line inner circles.

The words divided by two saltires, or rather by two rude fleurs-de-lis. Robert III.
Fig. 419.
14. 0 . * ROBGRTVS $\times$ D $\times I \times \operatorname{GR} \pi \propto I \pi \times R \in X \times S C O$

15. O. The same as the preceding.

Mk. $\ddagger \mathrm{DRS}|\ddagger \mathrm{P} \times \mathrm{TGOTOR}| \mathrm{MS} \mid \ddagger \pm \times \operatorname{LIBGR\pi }$
Without the cross. The saint with a large beardless head as on the lion No. Inc, Fig. 4I8A. This head, which is too big for the body, is apparently put in from an old punch of the XPO RGGIRXT heavy lions, caresponding to the groats of the three-pellet-pointed tressure series. A plain escutcheon, with arrow-head-shaped ornaments on the spaces of the crown between the lis. The lettering and the ornaments dividing the words are exactly as on the Edinburgh light groat No. 51, Fig. 4I8. Hair-line inner circles. A cross slightly fourchée before the legend on the obverse.

The words divided as above.-Fig. 420.
16. O. *ROBGRTVS $\ddagger \mathrm{DGI}$ GRaIN $\ddagger \mathrm{R} \in \mathrm{X}$ ShOT $\ddagger$

17. 0 . From the same die as the preceding.

\} $33 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{grs}$.
18. 0 . From the same die as the preceding.
R. * $\mathrm{DR}|\mathrm{S} \ddagger \mathrm{P} \ddagger \mathrm{TG} \alpha \mathrm{T} *| \mathrm{MS} \ddagger \mid \pm \neq \mathrm{LIBGR} \mathrm{\pi T}\} \quad 36$ yrs.

The same style of lettering as on the lion Fig. 419, except that the tail of the $R$ is more free, and that the is small, with a peculiar top. The same style of ornamentation between the words. The same figure of the saint. The same type of the escutcheon, except that the crown above has pellets instead of arrow-head-shaped ornaments on the spaces. Hairline inner circles. A cross slightly fourchée before the inscriptions on the obverse and the reverse.
vol. I.

Robert III. (1390-1406). Light lions. Dominus Protector.

The words divided as above.-Fig. 421.
19. O. *ROBGRTVS $\ddagger$ DeI GRTOIT $\ddagger$ ReX S SOOT $\ddagger$

This piece corresponds in all respects with the lions Fig. 420, except that the head of the saint presents a slightly bearded appearance, and is somewhat differently treated. The obverse is from the same die as the obverses of the lions Fig. 420.

The words divided as above.-Fig. 42 IA.
19a. O. *ROBERTVS $\ddagger \mathrm{D} \Theta \mathrm{I} \ddagger \mathrm{GR} \pi \propto I \pi \ddagger \mathrm{RGX}$ SOOTO
B. 获 DRS | PTGのTORm \| V $\ddagger \mathrm{L} \mid$ IBGRTTV $\ddagger$

Two specimens from the same dies, in the S.S.A. and B.M. collections respectively. The head of the saint is very similar to that on the lion last described, but without the bearded appearance. The escutcheon is in the same style as on that piece, but with the pellets on the spaces of the crown larger. The same style of lettering, but the R with a lopped tail. The same ornaments between the words, but those on the obverse resembling regularly formed crosses rather than rude fleurs-de-lis. Hair-line inner circles. A cross fourchée before the inscriptions on both sides.

## THE DEMI-LIONS or DEMIES.

These pieces, since the publication by Lindsay of his View of the Coinage of Scotland, are incorrectly named lions. For the type of the obverse they have an escutcheon of the same form as on the lions properly so called, but without the crown above. For the type of the reverse they have a St . Andrew's cross, without the figure of the saint, with a lis in each of the side compartments and a trefoil in the upper and lower divisions.

In the following arrangement of the demi-lions, or demies, of Robert III., the same method has been pursued as in describing the lions. The several varieties of these pieces, so far as known to me, have been associated so far as possible with the corresponding silver issues, as distinguished
by the same lettering and by the same style of ornamentation between the words. While in some cases the connection between these half-lions and their respective wholes is very apparent, in other cases the half-lions show

Robert III. ( 1390 -1406). Demi-lions or demies. styles of lettering and ornamentation not met with on any of the hitherto known varieties of the larger denominations, but having their counterparts on the silver coinages. Probably there may have been occasional issues of the half-lions, while no corresponding coinage of pieces of the larger denomination took place.

THE HEAVY DEMI-LIONS or DEMIES.
The lion series has here been commenced with certain pieces on which a peculiar ly superseding the B occurs in ROBertvs and other words, Figs. $340,34 \mathrm{I}$. I am not aware of any demi-lions of this particular variety. The nearest approach to it, so far as has come under my notice, is the demilion with the tressure, No. 1a, Fig. 342A, which has on the obverse a similar style of $R$, but without superseding the $B$. This piece is of larger module than any of the other demi-lions, and has on the obverse the large $\pi$ of the earlier three-pellet-pointed tressure groat coinages. It may consequently be regarded as one of the very earliest issues of the demi-lion series. Its reverse connects it also with the earlier groats of the trefoil-pointed tressure coinages, having the lettering and the ornamentation between the words the same as on these pieces, thus rendering it the more probable that the three-pellet-pointed tressure groat issues and the trefoil-pointed tressure groat issues were to some extent concurrent coinages.

Obverse : the lettering as on the three-pellet-pointed tressure groats; the words divided by two saltires. Reverse : the lettering as on the trefoilpointed tressure groats ; the words divided by saltires and pellets.

Fig. 342A.

B. $4 \mathrm{X}|\mathrm{Pa} \times \mathrm{RGG}| n \pi \mathrm{~T} \mid \mathrm{XPO} \times \mathrm{VIn}$

A tressure of eight arcs surrounds the escutcheon on the obverse of Fig. 342A. None of the other demies have a tressure round the escutcheon. The trefoils in the upper and lower compartments of the saltire cross on the reverse are very small, with the leaves sharply cut and meeting at a point in the centre- $\boldsymbol{\alpha}$. This almost unique coin is in the S.S.A. collection; the only other specimen known is in the Cochran-Patrick cabinet.

Obverse: the lettering as on the three-pellet-pointed tressure groats; the words divided by two saltires. Reverse : the lettering as on the trefoilpointed tressure groats ; the words divided by saltires and pellets.

Fig. 343.

## I. O. ROBARTVS $\times R \in X \times S O O T O R V M$


27 grs.

The cross before the legend on the obverse is suppressed by the $\Omega$ in SOOTORVM. This piece is from the same reverse die as the reverse of the demi-lion with the tressure, Fig. 342A. The lettering on the obverse however, is of a later character than the lettering on the obverse of that coin, although the words are divided in the same manner, that is, by two saltires.

The lettering on both sides as on the three-pellet-pointed tressure groats ; the words divided by three pellets.

Fig. 349.
2. O. ※ ROBERTVS: DEI: G: REX: SCOTO :
r. XPa : | VInat : X | Pa: R \| बGñt : X

30 grs.
Large trefoils in the upper and lower compartments of the saltire cross on the reverse, with hollow spaces in the centres- These large open
trefoils are distinctive of the demi-lions associated with the three-pellet-Robert III. pointed tressure silver coinages; while the small close trefoils with the sharply ${ }_{\text {Ifeavy demies. }}^{\text {(I390-1406). }}$ cut leaves meeting at a point in the centre- $\boldsymbol{d}$, distinguish the demi-lions associated with the trefoil-pointed tressure silver issues. The small heavytopped on this piece and on the following two coins seems to connect these demi-lions with the later rather than with the earlier three-pelletpointed tressure silver coinages.

The lettering on both sides the same as on the three-pellet-pointed tressure groats; the words divided partly by fleurs-de-lis and crescents, partly by three pellets.

Fig. 352.
3. O. ※ ROBERTVS $\pm \mathrm{DGI} \pm \mathrm{G}: \mathrm{RGX} \pm$ SOOTO $\pm$
R. $\mathrm{XPO}:|\mathrm{VInCT} \pm \mathrm{X}| \mathrm{PC}: \mathrm{R} \mid$ QGRTT $\pm \mathrm{X}$

## 4. O. The same as No. 3.

M. XPQ $\vdots \mid$ VInat $\pm \mathrm{X}|\mathrm{PQ}: \mathrm{R}|$ GGחIT $\pm\} \quad 28 \mathrm{grs}$.
5. O. The same as No. 3.
1.. XPO | VInOIT $\pm$ | XPO | ReGGnTT
$29 \frac{1}{4}$ grs.
$28 \frac{1}{4}, 29 \frac{1}{8}$ grs.

The same types as on the demi-lion No. 2, Fig. 349. The two coins in No. 5 are from different dies. Several other slight varieties of the arrangement of the legend on the reverse occur with this obverse.

The same lettering as on the trefoil-pointed tressure groats; the words divided by saltires and pellets.

Fig. 370.
6. O. 出 ROBERTVS $¥ \mathrm{D} \div \mathrm{G} \div \mathrm{REX} \times$ SUOTORV
R. 出 $\mathrm{X} \mid \mathrm{PQ} \times$ ReGG $|\mathrm{nT} \mathrm{T}| \mathrm{XPO} \times$ VIR
$28 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

Robert III. (1390-1406). Heavy demies.

The escutcheon has a beaded border. This is the coin of which the reverse die has been used in striking the reverses of the demi-lions Figs. 342 A and 343 , and of the following piece, a very rare and hitherto unpublished demi-lion in the Richardson collection.

The same lettering as on the trefoil-pointed tressure groats ; the words on the obverse divided by three pellets, on the reverse by saltires and pellets.

Fig. 370A.

The escutcheon has a plain border.

The same lettering as on the trefoil-pointed tressure groats ; the words on the obverse divided by two crosses, three pellets after D ; the words on the reverse divided by three pellets, a single pellet after the XPC, none after the second.

$$
\text { Fig. } 378
$$

7. O. ※ ROBGRTVS $\ddagger \mathrm{D}: \mathrm{G} \ddagger \mathrm{RGX} \ddagger \mathrm{SOOTOR}$
lk. XPO - | VIn@IT: | XPO | RGGRIT :
27 grs.
The escutcheon with a beaded border. Small close trefoils on the reverse as on the demi-lions with the words divided by saltires and pellets. The small beaded escutcheons on these pieces so closely resemble, in size and other respects, the escutcheons on the short cross lions as to suggest that the same puncheons may probably in some instances have been employed for both.

Light demies. Christus Regnat.

## THE LIGHT DEMI-LIONS or DEMIES.

In the style of the lettering and of the ornamentation between the words these pieces differ from the heavy demi-lions. Their weights show
that they are a late coinage, but in several instances they give too heavy Robert inl. a weight to be regarded as the halves of any of the known specimens of the light lions. Some, apparently, must have been struck prior to the Christus Regnat. introduction of the light lions. These heavier pieces seem to fit in with the period when the heavier groat coinages were coming to a close, and just before the lighter groat coinages were commenced. In the lettering and the ornamentation between the words they bear an affinity partly to those which appear to be the latest of the heavy groats of Aberdeen and partly to the light groats of Aberdeen. Their period of issue probably coincided with that at which the pennies without the names of the mints were being struck.

A lis after ROBGRTVS on the obverse, and after D in DeI on the reverse.

Fig. 406.

## 8. O. m ROBertvs * DGI GRX ReX SCOTT <br> R. : sR | OBERTV | SD * \| GIGRK

The escutcheon with a beaded border. Small close trefoils $(\boldsymbol{d})$ in the upper and lower compartments of the saltire cross on the reverse. A cross patée before the inscription on the obverse, and a cross slightly fourchée before that on the reverse. This is the only example hitherto published with ROBGRTVS on both sides. Compare with the corresponding pennies Nos. $7,7 a$, Figs. 405, 405A, page 338 .

The words on the obverse divided by two pellets; a lis, or trefoil above a pellet after the last two words on the reverse.

Fig. 406A.
8a. O. ROBERTVS:D:G: ReX : SCO


Robert III. (1390-1406). Light demies. Christus Regnat
on the reverse. The manner of dividing the words by fleurs-de-lis, or trefoils, with the pellets below, as on the reverse of this piece, seems peculiar to Aberdeen. The lettering and the ornamentation on the reverse, except in the different style of the T, are the same as on the Aberdeen light groat No. 52, Fig. 407. From its weight-which is considerably more than half the weight of the heaviest of the light lions-it is probable that this coin was of a somewhat earlier issue than the light groats, or than the light lions in general with the XPO REGGRTT inscription.

The words on both sides divided by fleurs-de-lis, or trefoils, with pellets below.

Fig. 406в.
8b. O. $\operatorname{AOBCBTVS} \pm \mathrm{D} \pm \mathrm{G} \pm \mathrm{B} \pm$ SOOTOB
1.. XPQ | ReGGñT | TX \| PO : VIn $\ddagger$
$\} \quad 22 \frac{1}{4}, 19 \frac{1}{8}$ grs.
Two coins from the same dies; the heavier specimen is in the S.S.A., the lighter is in the Richardson collection. A plain escutcheon. The reverses of these pieces are struck from the same die as the reverse of the coin Fig. 406A. The letter $R$ on the obverse, which has a peculiar appearance, is simply a $B$ with a pellet behind to make it pass for an $R$, a practice of which there are frequent examples on the Perth silver coinages of Robert III., and resorted to apparently when the Perth moneyers fell short of the letter $R$.

A lis, or trefoil, and a pellet after ROBerRTVS ; a lis, or trefoil, after DeI.
Fig. 409B.
8c. O. © ROBGRTVS $\pm$ DGI + GR SDORV
R. XD | ReGGn $/$ XD | VInait

23 grs.

A plain escutcheon; small open trefoils $(\mathcal{A})$ on the reverse. In the S.S.A. collection.

The words on the obverse divided by fleurs-de-lis, or trefoils, with a pellet below each.

Fig. 410.
(1390-140
Light demies.
Christus Regnat.
9. O. ROBGRTVS $\div D \in I \div G \pm R G X \div C O$
B. $B X|\operatorname{DCVIn}| \mathrm{XDO} \mid \mathrm{RnGIn}$

A plain escutcheon ; small open trefoils on the reverse.
Single pellets between the words on the obverse.-Fig. 4 I r.
10. O. + ROBERT • DGI • G • RGX •SCOTOR
B. XPO | RIGnT | XPQ | VInのT

The escutcheon with a beaded border; small open trefoils ( $\boldsymbol{A}$ ) on the reverse. The same style of and peculiar with the broad top and short shank as on the Aberdeen light groats and on the lions 409, 409A.

There are wretchedly executed contemporary forgeries of the light XPO RGGR $\pi$ t demies. Of these, a specimen in the Guthrie Lornie collection has on the obverse a plain escutcheon, with + RORe $\pi V S$ ReX Sooto ; and on the reverse broken-looking open trefoils in the upper and lower compartments of the saltire cross, with XPa | VIndit | PP | RGGRAT. No divisions between the words on either side. Weight, barely 17 grs.

The words on the obverse not divided ; pellets after some of the words on the reverse.

Fig. $4^{16 \mathrm{c}}$.
roa. O. © ROBGRTVS DeI G Rex $\pi$ SOO
R. : 田| DRS: P•|TA| $\alpha$ TORm \} $\quad 17 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

Dominus Protector.
$14 \frac{1}{2}$ grs.

1ob. O. The same as No. Ioa.
B. . DR | SPTE \| aTO \| RMS: LI

A plain escutcheon, ornamented with fleurs-de-lis of the same trefoil-like form as on the escutcheon of the lion No. 13b, Fig. 416b; the same lettering as on that piece. Close trefoils $(\boldsymbol{\delta})$ in the upper and lower compartments VOL. I.

Robert III. ( $1390-1406$ ). Demies.
of the saltire cross on the reverse. The coin No. 10a, Fig. 416 c , now in the S.S.A. collection, was published by Nicolson in his Scottish Historical Library when it was in the collection of Mr. James Sutherland. Its weight is given by Nicolson as 20 grs., goldsmiths' weight of Edinburgh, or 17.77 grs. Troy. ${ }^{1}$ The only other known specimen of the DOMInVS PROTAOTOR demi-lion, rob, is in the Cochran-Patrick collection, and is published, Num. Chron., New Series, vol. xv. pp. 157-8, figured Pl. III. No. i. It belongs apparently to a different issue from the coin in the S.S.A. collection. The small module of these pieces, which would render them liable to be easily lost, may possibly have led to the striking of them having been discontinued shortly after their introduction. And, indeed, after the lions themselves had been so greatly reduced in weight there was the less need for coins of the smaller denomination.

In the Tyssen sale catalogue, lot 227, a Robertus demi-lion with XPQ ReGGnat is described as "weighing $3^{8}$ grains." This statement has evidently been Lindsay's authority for the assertion made by him that these pieces are "of almost every weight between nineteen and thirty-eight grains," from which he has inferred that "they may be divided into three classes, originally weighing about forty, thirty, and twenty grains." Lindsay himself, in his Descriptive Catalogue, quotes no specimen as weighing more than 30 grains. Wingate's heaviest example is stated at $30 \frac{1}{2}$ grains. In the absence of any authentic instance of any of these coins turning the scale at even 3 I grains, I have little doubt that the statement in Tyssen's sale catalogue has been by misprint of 38 for 28 or 30 grains. An obvious misprint in the same catalogue occurs at lot 230, where a half-unicorn of James III. is described as weighing 20 instead of 30 grains. Both of the coins in

[^76][^77]question were purchased at the Tyssen sale by Colonel Durrant, at the sale Robert III. of whose collection no mention was made in the catalogue of there having ${ }_{(1300-1406) .}^{\text {Gold coinages. }}$ been anything extraordinary in their weights.

The Act of Robert III., 24th October I 393, refers to certain gold coins called "scuta" and "mailes," which were ordered to have currency in Scotland at certain prescribed rates. These coins were evidently foreign money. They are again mentioned in the Act of 22d April I 398, when their values were considerably reduced, much more so than would have been the case had they been native gold issues, and their currency was thenceforth entirely prohibited.

It is unfortunate, after the graphic description given of it by Nicolson in his Scottish Historical Library, in I702, that the DRS PTGOTOR demilion should have been so entirely lost sight of by Scottish numismatists. Sutherland's coins passed into the Advocates' collection, where this piece ought to have been easily accessible to Cardonnel, but no notice is taken of it in his Numismata Scotia. It was not known to Snelling. Lindsay evidently doubted its existence. ${ }^{1}$ It was not again brought to the front till the publication by Mr. Cochran-Patrick in the Numismatic Chronicle, New Series, vol. xv. pp. 157-166, of some "Unpublished and rare Varieties of Scottish Coins," and again in his Records of the Coinage of Scotland, published in 1876 .

The position of this piece in the Scottish numismatic series was so far appreciated by Nicolson that he does not disconnect it from the larger coin with the same inscription, in the extraordinary manner that Cardonnel and others have disassociated the demi-lion with the XPO REGGRTT inscription from the corresponding lion; he gives the DNS PTAOTOR pieces of the larger and smaller denominations to Robert II., and the XP@ ReGGחKT lion and demi-lion to Robert III. In making these attributions Nicolson had no certain grounds for his opinion in either case, as is tacitly admitted by himself by his prefacing the first of these attributions with an "I suppose," and the second with an "I guess;" still, his guess-work had at least the merit of consistency.

Robert III. (1390-1406). Relation of the gold to the silver coinages.

Without making a careful comparison of the silver with the gold Robertus coinages, any attributions of these latter must be mere guesswork. Suçh an examination and comparison has been here attempted for the first time, to the best of my ability and opportunities. For further illustration, the several varieties of the silver and the gold Robertus coinages have also been placed side by side in the plates, according as they stand related to each other by similarity of the lettering and of the ornamentation between the words, and by correspondence of weight and module.

The result is to show that none of the gold coinages with the name of Robert can be regarded as of earlier issue than the front-face groats with that name ; and that, consequently, if none of these front-face groats can be assigned to Robert II., then neither can any of the gold coinage be assigned to that king.

No further question need be entertained that the smaller gold 'pieces with the name of Robert, here described as demi-lions, are the halves of the larger pieces named lions, and that they correspond with these in the inscriptions, lettering, and ornamentation.

Granting that there is a probability that the front-face groats and their parts may first have been introduced at the end of the reign of Robert II., it is clear that the gold coinages associated with the earlier issues of these pieces are not the DIS PTAOTOR lions and demi-lions, but are to be sought in connection with the XPO RGGIITT lions and demi-lions as related to these earlier issues of the silver coinages by their similar style of lettering and of ornamentation between the words, and by their correspondingly good weight and module.

It must also be evident that, as the weights and the modules of the silver coinages, particularly of the groat issues, were reduced, a corresponding reduction took place in the weights and the modules of the gold coinages. This was only what might have been expected, unless a change had taken place in their relative values, of which we find no mention.

The DIS PTGOTOR lions and demi-lions, it is further evident, cannot be disassociated from the light groats of Robert III. They have no connection with the Robert II. groat coinages.

The proper place for these DRS PTEOTOR pieces is after the light Robert inf.
 the figure of the saint on the DRS PTGOTOR lion, Fig. 416b, being ident- gold tp the silver ical with that on the XPO ReGRIT light lions, Figs. 416 and 416A, and coinages. the modules of the coins being the same.

I have only to add that the fact of a gold coinage having been initiated in Scotland under David II. is no proof that a gold coinage also took place under Robert II., any more than the circumstance of a gold coinage having been introduced in England under Henry III. renders it necessary to admit that gold coins were also struck under Edwards I. and II.





[^0]:    July 30th, 1887.

[^1]:    ${ }^{1}$ Ruding's Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 229.
    ${ }^{2}$ Scotland under her Early Kings, vol. i. p. 187.

[^2]:    ${ }^{1}$ Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. v. (1865), pp. 215 and 372 ; and Numismatic Chronicle, Second Series, vol. v. p. 57.

[^3]:    ${ }_{1}$ In connection with the star before the words ON BER, Mr. Longstaffe has favoured me with the following interesting note:-"Query the origin of this, which, judging from coins and the multifarious Scotch coats bearing stars and moons, looks like a national badge. There is

[^4]:    ${ }^{1}$ ESOLIE, as suggested by Mr. Pollexfen, "Csocie is curious. In England Anglorunn does is evidently a transposition for SEOLIE. Mr. not give way to Anglie until Henry II., and then Longstaffe, in connection with this word, writes: only partially."

[^5]:    ${ }^{1}$ One of the principal objections urged against the appointment of Briot as Master of the Mint, by "the general and officers of the Cunyehous," was "that the sinking of Irnes was

[^6]:    ${ }^{1}$ Mr. Longstaffe writes: "Query if the unintelligible coins are authoritative, or contemporary forgeries. Fig. 21 (p. 20) is, however, against such a doubt."

[^7]:    ${ }^{1}$ Now in the Ferguslie cabinet.

[^8]:    ${ }^{1}$ The sterlings L., PI. I. 7, 8, were purchased by Mr. Pollexfen at the Lindsay sale, Iong after his paper on the Bute hoard was published; previously to their coming into his own possession

[^9]:    Mr. Pollexfen had no opportunity of judging of the coins except by the illustrations given of them in Lindsay's plates.

[^10]:    ${ }^{1}$ It is quite probable that this may be the same individual as the Fulbold mentioned at page 24 in connection with what seems to have been a coin of the Edinburgh mint-Fig. 24D; he may also have been the Folpalt of the sterlings of Berwick under David I., and the Folpolt of the crescent and pellet Perth mintages of William the Lion. The differences in

[^11]:    ${ }^{1}$ See note, page 21.
    ${ }^{2} \mathrm{Mr}$. Longstaffe remarks :-_" If I remember rightly, the only known Durham penny of Henry

[^12]:    ${ }^{1}$ A specimen of this rare piece is now in the Ferguslie collection, showing on reverse the letters $(+* * * *)$ ALD ON EA * *

[^13]:    ${ }^{1}$ Mr. Rashleigh's rendering of the legend on the reverse of the Watford specimen shows the correct reading-ERE . . L . - C . RD :

[^14]:    ${ }^{1}$ In a letter to me on the subject Mr. Longstaffe now states: "It may be that none of the coins were struck by William's father, Erkembald, who might not be a moneyer at all."
    ${ }^{2}$ Mr. Rashleigh describes this coin as read-

[^15]:    ${ }^{1}$ Now in the Ferguslie collection.
    ${ }^{2}$ Num. Chron. 1 st S. vol. xiii. p. 185.

[^16]:    ${ }^{1}$ Mr. Longstaffe remarks :-" They have all the appearance of being of foreign work, wholly
    specimen bearing the name of Stephen (Lindsay, PI. XVIII. No. 2I) is hardly evidence."

[^17]:    ${ }^{1}$ In a letter to the author Mr. Longstaffe states: "It was inexcusable in me to suggest the reading ENRIC $V S$ in 1866, when in 1865 I had (Archaologia Eliana) suggested ENRICI." NORHUMBERLAND is a more usual formula than NORTHUMBERLAND on the Pipe-Rolls of the period.

[^18]:    established practice as ALEXXANDEREXX, for ALEXANDEGR RGX, on the Alexander short cross sterling of Roxburgh, Fig. 75, cannot be adduced as cases in point. These are rather to be regarded as belonging to the category of blundered inscriptions, like the RGXX for R $\in X$ on the two Alexander long double cross sterlings of Berwick, Figs. 78, 79.

[^19]:    1 On early Scottish coins the points and other objects between the letters frequently cut up the sense, having been employed as ornaments rather than with the view of properly dividing the words.

[^20]:    ${ }_{1}$ This coin, successively in the Lindsay and Wingate collections, is figured, Lindsay, ist Sup. Pl. I. It, and Wingate, Pl. I. 10.

[^21]:    ${ }^{1}$ Whatever doubt may be entertained of the double cross type not having been introduced on the William the Lion coinage till 1195 , the evidence adduced in the able paper by Evans on

[^22]:    1 "x millia marcas auri et argenti" (Chronica de Mailros, p. 98).
    ${ }^{2}$ From the year 1816 sixty-six shillings have been coined out of the pound of silver, weighing 5760 grains Troy, thus giving a penny of 7.272 grains Troy, or 1163.626 grains Troy to the mark $=13 \mathrm{~s}$. $4 \mathrm{~d} .=160$ pence, as against 3600 grains Troy to the mark, when the pound was of $x_{5}$ ounces and the standard weight of the penny was $22 \frac{1}{2}$ grains Troy. Ruding's estimates of the weights of the silver coins of Great Britain from A.D. 1816 are quite erroneous,

[^23]:    ${ }^{1}$ Now in the Ferguslie collection.

[^24]:    ${ }^{1}$ Numismatic Chronicle，2d S．vol．v．Pl．XI．Nos． 4 and 9.

[^25]:    ${ }^{1}$ Flaky－＂Loosely hanging together ；lying presses the manner in which the whiskers are in layers or strata，broken into laminæ＂－ Walker＇s English Dictionary．This exactly ex－

[^26]:    ${ }^{1}$ Now in the Ferguslie collection.

[^27]:    ${ }^{1}$ Now in the Ferguslie collection.

[^28]:    1 This is probably the sterling referred to land, while ascribing it to Alexander I., thought by Nicolson (1702) as being then in Mr. might possibly belong to Alexander II. or Sutherland's collection, and which Suther- III.

[^29]:    ${ }^{1}$ In Snelling's Viezw of the Silver Coin of Scotland, the date appears as 1270-an obvious misprint, as any one who refers to Snelling's Silver Coins of England (1762) may see that Snelling was perfectly aware that Edward 1. did not begin his reign till 1272 . It is to
    be kept in view that Snelling died before the printing was completed of his valuable work on the Scottish silver coinage, which wanted, therefore, the benefit of his personal supervision. See the "Advertisement to the Reader."

[^30]:    ${ }_{1}$ Numismatic Chronicle, 1st Series, vol. iv. p. $179 . \quad{ }_{2}$ This, too, notwithstanding that Ruddiman, in a note to Anderson's description, had indicated the proper reading.

[^31]:    ${ }_{1}$ Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. xii. p. 283.

[^32]:    ${ }^{1}$ Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. v. p. 372; Numismatic Chronicle, 2d Series, vol. v. p. 57.

[^33]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cardonnel's Numismata Scotia, preface, p. 3. There can be no doubt that it is to the Henry II. short single cross sterlings (Snelling, I. 32, Hks., 285) that Cardonnel refers, when he states that a "very considerable number of the coinage of Henry II. of England," the contemporary of William the Lion, were found along with the William short single cross sterlings of

[^34]:    1 "The Short-Cross Question," Num. Chron. 2d S. vol. v. pp. 255, 295.

[^35]:    1 In a footnote, page 172 of his paper, "Northern Evidence on the Short-Cross Question," Mr. Longstaffe writes:-"It is to Mr. Boyne that I am indebted for the information that in the French series of coins there are abundant analogous cases of several kings of different names all placing one common name on their coins, as if the type was the only thing desired. Mr. Pownall gives me a very apt

[^36]:    illustration in respect to Richard I. himself. The French numismatists unhesitatingly ascribe some of the conventional CARLVS REX R type to Richard I.; M. Poey D'Avant says, ' Il est à mes yeux incontestable que Richard a commencé par faire frapper des monnaies au type ordinaire de Melle. C'est aussi l'opinion de M. Lecointre Dupont.' "- $\mathrm{N}^{\prime}$ 'um. Chron. 2d S. vol. iii.

[^37]:    ${ }^{1}$ Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol, xii. p. 284.

[^38]:    I The following pertinent remarks on the Alexander double cross question are made by John Evans, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., the President of the Numismatic Society, in his anniversary address, June $16,188 \mathrm{I}$ - "Whether these pennies with the long double cross are to be assigned to the second or third Alexander of Scotland is a subject which has been much under discussion by Scottish antiquaries. Looking at it from the English point of view, which regards Scotland as indebted to England for some of its early types, and not England as borrowing devices from Scotland, it would seem as if few, if any, of their coins were struck under Alexander II. The long cross type was first introduced in England in 1247 or 1248, and continued in use until about 1279. The reign of Alexander II. closed on July 8, 1249, when

[^39]:    VOL. I.

[^40]:    ${ }^{1}$ Archaologica Scotica, vol. iv. p. 278.

[^41]:    ${ }^{2}$ At General Moore's sale (Sotheby's, April 1879) an Alexander III. sterling with the crowned head to left, was incorrectly described in the sale catalogue as reading IOh AN ON PGR instead of IOhAN ON BGR.

[^42]:    ${ }^{1}$ The coin No. $50 b$ is the piece referred to by Mr. Evans as having been attributed by him at different times to Stirling and Renfrew, in

[^43]:    ${ }^{1}$ Now in the Ferguslie collection.
    ${ }^{2}$ For "Notes," by Sheriff Mackenzie upon this piece, giving his views in connection with the

    Long Double Cross question, see Num. Chron. Third Series, vol. i. pp. 158-16r. This paper is referred to here at pp. 112-13, foot-note.

[^44]:    I By two high authorities, Mr. Evans and the Rev. Mr. Pollexfen, the second letter of the name of the mint on this sterling is regarded as an $\bar{A}$; in no other instance, however, on the Alexander sterlings, have I found the letter $\mathbb{A}$ as here formed ; and it is altogether exceptional for this letter on the long double cross pieces to be without the bar across the centre, occurring so far

[^45]:    ${ }^{1}$ Catalogue of Scottish coins from the cabipet of. Thomas Coats, Esq. of Ferguslie, exhibited at the Meeting of the British Association at Glasgow, 1876.
    ${ }^{2}$ Olla Podrida, vol. i. p. 125.
    ${ }^{3}$ Macpherson's Geographical Illustrations of Scottish History.
    ${ }^{4}$ Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. iii. p. 25.

[^46]:    ${ }^{1}$ Burnett's preface to Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, vol. i. p. li.

[^47]:    ${ }^{1}$ Now in the Ferguslie collection.
    ${ }^{2}$ I am informed by Dr. Arthur Mitchell that there is a place in Kinghorn called the Cunyie-

[^48]:    I Macpherson's Geographical Illustrations of Scottish History.

[^49]:    ${ }^{1}$ Macpherson's Geographical Illustrations of Scottish History.
    ${ }^{2}$ Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Scotland, Part II., Introduction, p. xvi.
    ${ }^{3}$ A sterling of St. Edmunsbury, of Stephen, as Hks. 270, that has come under my inspection

[^50]:    "Sawfand (saving) the declaratyoun Of the Inquisityown, Of the feftment of that thyng To remain ay with the Kyng."

[^51]:    1 The mullet is always open, or pierced, in the centre, and represents the spur rowel of a knight. The star is simply a closed mullet.

[^52]:    ${ }^{1}$ The ends of the letter $S$ on the sterlings Group A $1-5$, and also on the sterlings A 6 to A $I_{7}$, are pointed with triangular-shaped wedges ;

[^53]:    but from A 18 onwards the ends of the $S$ are continuous with the body of the letter rather than wedge-pointed.

[^54]:    1 The ends of the cross moline terminate like a mill-rind; hence the name.

[^55]:    I According to Bartlet's arrangement, only the sterlings with GDW are assigned to Edward I.; those with $\Theta D W \pi, ~ G D W \pi R, ~ \Theta D W \pi R D$ to Edward II. ; those with GDWTRRDVS to Edward III. The Tutbury find, as described by Hawkins, Archcologia, vol. uxiv., is arranged on this principle, comprising, -such as was recovered of it by the Duchy of Lancaster1462 Edward sterlings, inclusive of 14 Irish pennies; together with 18 long single cross pennies of Alexander III., 2 pennies of Baliol, and 7 foreign sterlings. The Wyke find, de-

[^56]:    scribed by Francis Sharpe and Daniel Henry Haigh, Archcoologia, vol. xxviii., is also arranged in the same manner, save that the lighter Edward coinages, struck in the proportion of $20 \frac{1}{4}$ and 20 grs. Troy, are now restored to Edward 1I1. The theory worked out by Bartlet was first started by Archbishop Sharpe considerably above a hundred years ago, and is the arrangement that, for want of some more definite system, has hitherto been adopted. For remarks by Ruding on this subject see vol. i. pp. 204-5.

[^57]:    1 Vol. i, p. 201.
    2 Vol. i. p. 193.
    ${ }^{3}$ It is difficult to see how this statement
    consists with the remainder of the passage-
    "the ounce to weigh 20 pence, the penny 24 grains, which 24 , by weight then appointed

[^58]:    (Tower weight), were as much as the former 32 grains of wheat. A penny force, 25 grains and a half; the penny deble or feble, 22 grains and a half." But to have given 243 pennies, taken
    one with another, weighing each one pennyweight, would have required a pound weighing 243 pennyweights, or 3 pennyweights more than the 12 ounces.

[^59]:    ${ }^{1}$ Hill Burton's History of Scotland, 2d ed, vol. ii. p. 318.

[^60]:    2 Num. Chron. N.S. vol. xi. p. 196.

[^61]:    ${ }^{1}$ Ruding, vol. ii. p. 156.

[^62]:    I Besides English and Scottish coins, the Montrave hoard contained 8 three-quarter face sterlings of Aquitaine, as Ruding, 2d Sup. Pl. X. 20, usually attributed to Edward III. ; but certainly of earlier issue, as occurring in the Dumfries and other finds, without intermixture of any of the recognised coinages of Edward 1II., whether of the standards of 1344,1346 , or 135 I.

[^63]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cochran-Patrick's Records of the Coinage of Scotland, vol. i. p. 6, xiii.

[^64]:    ${ }_{1}$ A banner embroidered with the arms of John Baliol was presented by the Archbishop of Glasgow to Robert Bruce at his coronation, under which he received the homage of those present.

[^65]:    ${ }^{1}$ Now in the Ferguslie cabinet.

[^66]:    ${ }^{1}$ Fordun's Scotichronicon, vol. ii. p. 380 ; and see footnote, pp. 380-1.
    2 See note, p. 53.
    ${ }^{3}$ Chronicon Preciosum, p. 96.

[^67]:    ${ }^{1}$ The ransom money was three million French crowns of gold, of which two were equal in value to the English noble, at that time weighing 120

[^68]:    1 Act Parl. Scot., vol. vii. p. 227. CochranPatrick's Records of the Coinage of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 135.
    ${ }^{2}$ Cochran-Patrick's Records of the Coinage of Scolland, vol. i. p. 3.

[^69]:    ${ }_{1}$ DOMINVS • PROTECTOR • MEVS • ET • LIBERATOR • MEVS-The Lord is my Protector and my Deliverer. The crescent before P is a contractive for PRO.

[^70]:    1 This curved line below the bust is apparently only a conventionalised mode of representing the upper fold of the king's under-garment, as better exhibited by the thickish irregular line, extending from shoulder to shoulder, on the Small Head groats, Figs. 259, 260, of which sometimes the commencement only is indicated, as on the groats, Fig. 262, and other pieces. Compare with the groat of Edward IlI., here figured for illustration, 258 A , which, as presenting a front face bust, shows the king's underrobe with still greater distinctness. On this piece a plain band will be observed stretching across the lower part of the bust, lurching down at each shoulder, displaying the same curves as on the David II. groats, Figs. 259, 260.

[^71]:    ${ }^{1}$ From Luke iv. 30. "But Jesus passing through the midst of them went his way."

[^72]:    ${ }^{1}$ Inclusive of groats and of half-groats, the groat being simply the great sterling, grossus sterlingus; hence the name of groat.

[^73]:    ${ }^{1}$ See page 271.
    20

[^74]:    1 Vol. xiv. 1879-1880.

[^75]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cochran-Patrick's Records of the Coinage of Scotland, vol. i. p. 267.

[^76]:    1 Nicolson, p. 293-"Another thing whereof I am to admonish the Reader is, that he will find the Weight of the Gold and Silver (in the following Account of the Coins of both Metals) computed by different Standards. In the former is observed that of the Goldsmiths of Edinburgh; who divide their Ounce into Sixteen Drops, and their Drop into 36 Grains, 27 of their Grains

[^77]:    making our Penny weight. In weighing of the Silver Coins, I have kept to our common English Weights; by Ounces, Penny-weights, and Grains. The reason of this difference is, because all the Golden Coins are now in the possession of Mr. James Sutherland, who was pleased nicely to examine their several Weights by the Standard of his own Country."

