

# The evidence of finds for the circulation and use of coins in medieval Scotland\*

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## ABSTRACT

*Single finds of coins minted between the 12th century and 1603 are analysed, and the evidence compared with that provided by hoards and documents, in an attempt to determine which coins were being used for which purposes at various times. Lists of coin finds are appended for a number of important sites not included in the regular surveys published in this journal, and the possible significance of these larger accumulations is discussed.*

## INTRODUCTION

For those seeking to establish the nature of the money in use at a given period there are three categories of evidence available. The first of these comprises documentary records, and the majority of those which are known to survive in Scotland were collected together and published by Cochran-Patrick (1876). The limitations of this body of material lie first in the fact that there is not much of it before the 16th century, and also in the nature of the material itself. Since most of the documents are proclamations of the Parliament or the Privy Council or records from the Mint, they reflect the supply side of the coinage, rather than the demand side. Some contain instructions which seem never to have been carried out, while others list the reasons advanced on behalf of the Crown for withdrawing and striking coins, which may be at variance with the actual situation.

The second body of evidence comprises hoards. Large numbers of these have been recovered over the last 200 years or so, but many were recorded inadequately and/or inaccurately. Even those for which complete and reliable catalogues exist must be treated with some

caution, since it may be impossible to tell why a particular group of coins was assembled and over how long a period, and why it was deposited at a particular time and place. A savings hoard might have been assembled over a period of decades, with the owner selecting particular coins to accumulate – perhaps those known to have the greatest precious metal content. The composition of a hoard may not therefore reflect the types of coins which were the most numerous in circulation at the time immediately prior to deposition.

This leaves stray finds as the third source of information. These have the greatest potential to answer questions about general coin use, since most are likely to represent casual losses in the course of everyday life, but until relatively recently few had been recorded. Rigold (1977), in attempting to prepare a similar survey to that which he had carried out for England and Wales, found that there was very little basic evidence available to him. He found few finds recorded in excavation reports or in the pages of this journal, and was obliged to rely on information about material from monuments in state care, which was held at that time by the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments.

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At around this time came two developments which have made it possible for this paper to be assembled today, a quarter of a century after Rigold's. Dr Donal Bateson, of the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow, inherited from Professor Anne Robertson the task of compiling the survey of Roman coin finds from Scotland, the results of which appeared at intervals in the *Proceedings* throughout most of the 20th century. He decided to enlarge the survey to include medieval coins as well as Roman, and his first report covered the years 1978–87 (Bateson 1989). Since then, two further reports have been prepared by Dr Bateson and the present writer (Bateson & Holmes 1997; 2003).

From the later 1970s onwards the hobby of metal-detecting seemed to become much more widespread in Scotland. Whatever arguments may still exist over the positive and negative effects of detecting on the archaeological record, there is no doubt that numismatic study has benefited enormously from the evidence of coin finds which have been submitted for recording by numerous detectorists. Although an unknown proportion of the finds which are made are not declared, it is probable in most cases that this does not invalidate the overall picture. The coins which have been recovered comprise in any case a random sample, since they come only from those areas where searches have been made.

The intention of this paper, therefore, is to show what can be learned from all the single coin finds, those from excavated sites as well as those without apparent association, which have been recorded over the period from 1978 to 2000. Where appropriate this evidence will be compared with that from hoards and documents, in the hope of showing when all the evidence points to the same conclusions and when there are contradictions. The period under consideration runs from the 1130s, when Scottish native coinage was first struck, until 1603. From the early years of the 16th century onwards, the proliferation of low-denomination, base metal, issues brought substantial numbers of coins into the hands of much of the population, and

those struck during the 17th century are found so frequently and in such numbers today that their inclusion in the survey would be both extremely time-consuming and of little or no value.

The overall study period may be divided conveniently into a number of phases, the first three of which are clearly defined to the extent that each ends with a major recoinage in both Scotland and England. It was normal practice during such recoinages for old coins to be demonetized, recalled to the mint, melted down and converted into new issues, and although it is clear that this did not happen in every case, it is probable that most coins of the previous issue had disappeared from circulation by soon after the date of the recoinage. We can be fairly certain, therefore, that stray coins which are unearthed today were mislaid during the period when they were still in official circulation, and this is confirmed by the evidence of hoards, which very rarely contain coins from issues no longer legal tender at the time of their deposition.

## THE EARLY COINAGE

The earliest Scottish coinage is considered to have been struck soon after David I's capture of Stephen's mint at Carlisle in 1136. Over the following 30 years silver pennies, or sterlings, were minted in the names of David, of his son, Henry, Earl of Huntingdon and Northumberland, and of Malcolm IV, at mints located in Berwick, Roxburgh and Edinburgh as well as at Carlisle, and possibly at Corbridge and Bamborough for Earl Henry. Since a penny represented a substantial sum of money, and since no smaller denominations were struck, it was common practice for these sterlings, and many later issues, to be cut into halves and quarters in order to create smaller sums of money. We do not know who actually carried out the cutting, but it can probably be assumed that the practice was at least accepted at official levels. In the so-called 'Laws of the Four Burghs', dating from David I's reign, it was decreed that a merchant who

had a covered booth in a market-place should pay a halfpenny to the town; if the booth was uncovered, the fee was to be a farthing.

Finds of coins of this period in Scotland are very rare. Only one penny, three cut halfpennies and two cut farthings have been recorded since 1978. Hoards are equally rare, the only adequately recorded example being that found on the Isle of Bute in 1863. This comprised 24 Scottish sterlings, together with three English coins of Stephen (Pollexfen 1865).

It is notable that English coins of the Norman kings are almost completely absent from Scotland. A single penny of William the Conqueror was recovered recently during excavations on the Isle of May, this being the first example of that reign recorded, but no early 12th-century coins have been reported during the period of this survey. Pennies and fractions of Henry II's 'cross-and-crosslets' or 'Tealby' coinage, struck from 1158 to 1180, are found occasionally, and in recent years four pennies, two halfpennies and one farthing have been recorded. A comparable, and almost as poorly produced, Scottish coinage is the so-called 'crescent and pellet' issue of William the Lion, dating from the period c 1174–95. Six pennies, three halfpennies and one farthing of this coinage have been recorded over the same period.

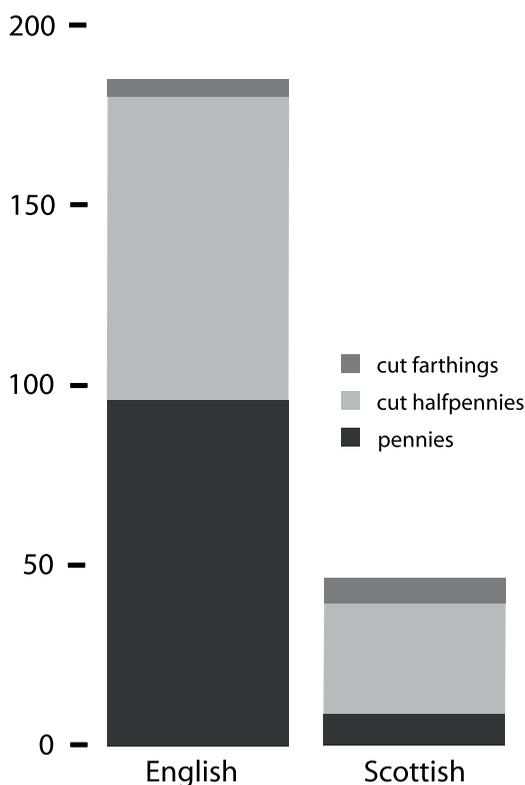
These figures do not suggest that the use of coinage had become established to any great extent in Scotland during this period, although the geographical spread of find-spots does indicate that it had reached many areas. Scottish and English sterlings and fractions were found at several locations in the Borders, as might have been expected, but also along the east coast at Haddington and Aberlady in East Lothian, Lundin Tower and St Andrews in Fife, and at Perth and Aberdeen. A single cut halfpenny came from Holywood, in Dumfriesshire.

The scarcity of finds seems at odds with the extensive documentary evidence suggesting the widespread use of coinage for a number of purposes from the 1140s onwards. Royal grants of money to religious houses were frequently

financed by revenue from the burghs, and some religious institutions also received money rents from those who farmed on their estates. Landowners appear to have received cash income from mills, fisheries, salt-pans and other activities on their estates (Scott 1979). Although some of this money must have resulted from the sale of produce at burgh markets, the use of coins in such transactions is manifestly not reflected in the finds record, and we are forced to conclude that the scale of such activity must have been relatively small, and that few coins were lost in the course of it. Perhaps the actual exchange of money was undertaken away from the bustle of the market-place itself, thus limiting the danger of coins being dropped and mislaid.

The end of the first period of coinage has to be somewhat staggered. In 1180 the so-called 'short cross' coinage was introduced in England. Coins of this issue are distinguished by the presence of a double, or voided, cross on the reverse, extending outwards only as far as the inner circle of the design. (It is believed that the purpose of this feature may have been to facilitate more accurate division of the coins into halves and quarters.) For about 15 years after this, William the Lion's 'crescent and pellet' coins continued to be struck in Scotland, but since there is at present no reliable way of distinguishing earlier from later examples of this coinage, we must start the second period north of the border when William also introduced a version of the short cross coinage in around 1195. The English short cross coinage continued until Henry III's recoinage of 1247, which was followed in 1250 by the first of the two major Scottish recoinages which occurred during the reign of Alexander III.

It has been calculated that there was a substantial growth in the money supply in England in the late 12th and earlier 13th centuries, but that this did not happen in Scotland until some 50 years later. Stewart (now Lord Stewartby) has estimated, on the basis of die studies, that the total output of the Scottish short cross coinage was no more than about £20,000



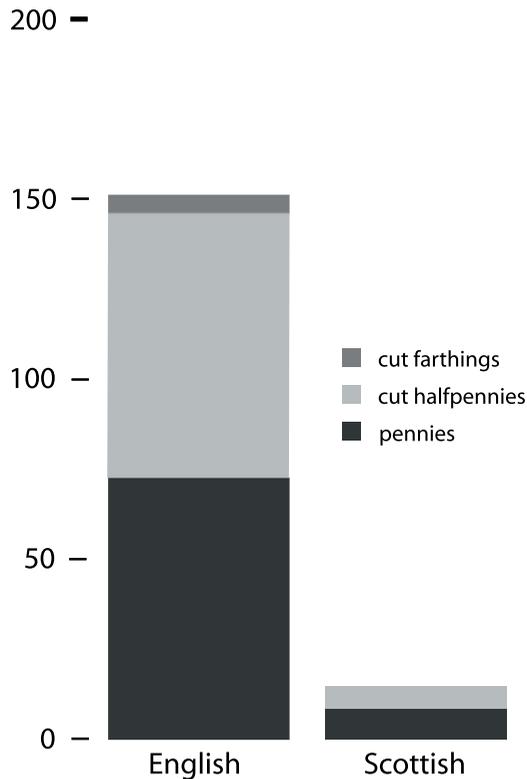
ILLUS 1 Short cross finds

(Stewart 1977, 68–9). It is certain that only four mints were involved – at Roxburgh, Berwick, Edinburgh and Perth – whereas 20 were employed to produce the English equivalent. This does not necessarily imply that the Scots were not *using* coins to the same extent, but it does suggest that the majority of the coins circulating in Scotland throughout most of the period are likely to have been English (except perhaps in the immediate aftermath of the 1195 recoinage, during which all previously circulating coins, including English short cross types, are likely to have been melted down to produce new Scottish coins). At this time the two coinages were of the same weight and fineness and thus of equal intrinsic value.

The figures for individual coin finds are consistent with this theory. Since 1978 96 English short cross pennies have been recorded, along

with 84 cut halfpennies and four cut farthings. The equivalent figures for Scottish issues are eight, 30 and eight respectively, with a single Irish penny. These figures are shown in histogram form in illus 1. The most unexpected aspect of these figures is the very high proportion of cut fractions among the Scottish coins – over 80%, compared with less than 50% for the English coins. This might be taken to suggest that the cutting was done at the mint, and that more Scottish coins were being put into circulation as cut fractions than as whole pennies. If the cutting was being done by individuals, one might have expected the process to have been applied equally frequently to English coins. One also has to question whether the overall figures genuinely reflect the state of the circulating coinage or whether they result simply from the accident of discovery, but since cut fractions are smaller and less easy to find, even with a metal-detector, it is arguable that they are more likely to be under-represented in a sample such as ours than the reverse. Since they would also have been less easy to find by those who had dropped them in the first place, however, it would be unwise to draw too many conclusions.

Few hoards deposited during the short cross period are known from Scotland. Eight in all have been recorded, and most of these were discovered many years ago and were not adequately published. The most recent, and best recorded, is that found at Dun Lagaidh, Lochbroom, Ross and Cromarty, in 1968 (Barlow & Robertson 1974). This comprised 14 English pennies and eight halfpennies, with just one of each of William the Lion. The hoard found at Coldhome Farm, Keith, in 1881 was mostly dispersed without examination, but of the coins which were recovered 30 were English and only two Scottish (Gordon 1882). This pattern seems likely to have been repeated in several other hoards, with only that found at Baddingsgill, Peeblesshire, in 1834 breaking the trend. This seems to have comprised nine pennies of William the Lion and only one English equivalent (Thompson 1956, 114, hoard



ILLUS 2 Long cross finds

304). In addition, a group of six pennies found at Bush Moor, Dumfriesshire, in 2002 seems likely to represent a small purse hoard, although the coins were slightly scattered (Holmes 2004). Five of the coins were English, the other being of Alexander II.

It makes sense to look now at the finds from the next chronological period, before considering the implications of the distribution of finds from the century between 1180 and 1280. In 1247 Henry III introduced a new coinage for England, distinguished by the extension of the voided cross on the reverse to the edge of the coin, cutting across the inscription. This feature was copied on the coinage of Alexander III in 1250. On this occasion a total of 16 separate mints, spread throughout most of the Scottish mainland, was employed for a short while, in order to assist in the recall of old coins and the issue of new ones.

This was reduced to just a few after the initial burst of activity had been completed. Minting of long cross coins continued until 1278 in England and until 1279–80 in Scotland.

It is clear from recent finds that the bulk of the coinage circulating in Scotland during this period continued to be English. Seventy-two long cross pennies, 73 cut halfpennies and five cut farthings of Henry III have been noted, alongside just eight pennies and six halfpennies of the comparable issue of Alexander III (illus 2). Again there is a marginal Irish presence, comprising one penny and one halfpenny.

It is worth noting at this juncture the clues to the practice of cutting English pennies which have recently been revealed by the study of the hoard of over 14,000 coins found at Colchester, in Essex, in 1969 (Archibald & Cook 2001, 90). All but eight of the coins were of the long voided cross type, and although the hoard contained no halfpennies at all, a number of the pennies displayed a surface incision across the reverse which appeared to be a guideline for cutting them with a chisel. On almost all these coins the incision was incorrectly placed, and if the coins had been cut, the halfpennies would have been of unequal size. This has been taken to indicate that whoever was responsible for cutting coins in this particular case took trouble to ensure that it was done accurately and fairly, and that pennies deemed unsuitable were returned to circulation intact. The authors of the report believe that the incisions were not made at the mint, but all at the same time on a group of coins which represent a fairly representative cross-section of English currency at the time. Whoever was responsible must have been someone who required for himself or his customers a supply of accurately cut fractions. It is notable that many cut halfpennies which are found on market place sites and as unassociated finds comprise less than half of a disc, and it is probable that private individuals frequently cut pennies inaccurately to their own benefit.

Hoards of this period in Scotland are decidedly scarce, but those that have been

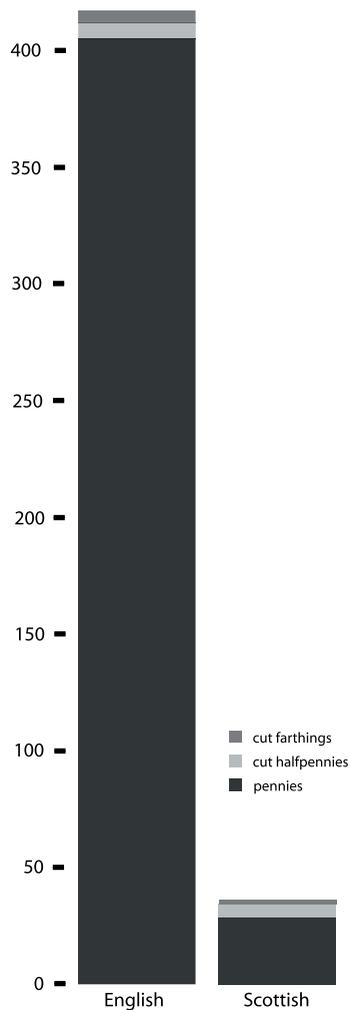
recorded display a similar pattern. The largest is that found at Balmaclellan, Dumfriesshire, in 1924 (Davidson 1948, 109–12); the exact number of coins is not known, but 64 English and four Scottish pennies were recorded, along with one continental sterling of John I of Brabant. Fourteen English pennies were found at Newcastleton, in Roxburghshire, in 1937 (Thompson 1956, 107–8, hoard 283). The other hoards are too small and/or too poorly recorded to be of any assistance.

What, then, do these hoards and stray finds tell us about the circulation of coinage in Scotland during the period of almost exactly a hundred years during which short cross and long cross coins were being minted? The distribution is wide enough to counter any suggestion that the use of money at this time was confined either geographically or culturally. Whereas it might previously have been reasonable to believe that coins were used only within the burghs, with a system of credit and barter persisting in rural areas, this theory can no longer be sustained. Short cross and long cross coins have been found right across Scotland, and in areas where searching has been sufficiently thorough, numbers of finds have been large enough to demonstrate that they do not represent simply an occasional stray loss.

Fields outside Crail, in Fife – an early burgh and maritime trading centre – have so far yielded 12 short cross and 11 long cross coins, but metal-detector searches in Roxburghshire have also led to the recovery of 12 short cross and 20 long cross coins at Ancrum and 12 short cross and eight long cross at Maxton, neither of which may be regarded as major centres of trade. At Aberlady, in East Lothian, ten short cross but only two long cross have been found, and at Dornoch, in Sutherland – which did not attain burgh status until the 16th century – an astonishing 17 short cross and 26 long cross. Metal-detector searches around Finlaggan Loch, on Islay, as part of an excavation project directed by Dr David Caldwell, have produced four short cross and six long cross coins. If we bring in

the hoard sites, which include Tom A’ Bhuraich, Aberdeenshire (Dolley 1962), and Dun Hiadin, Tiree (Thompson 1956, 136, hoard 358), as well as Coldhome Farm, Keith and Dun Lagaidh, we can see that the ownership of coins must have extended to some of the remotest areas of the country. The small number of recorded hoards from this period need not be taken as evidence that the ownership of coins was limited, but rather indicates that most of the 13th century was a time in which people generally felt a sufficient degree of security not to believe it necessary to bury their worldly goods.

There is some doubt over the exact function of the cut fractions. When old money was taken to a mint at the time of a recoinage to be exchanged for new issues, the rate of exchange would have been based on bullion value. It must frequently have been the case, therefore, that the amount the mint was prepared to pay out did not equate to a whole number of pence. This could explain why pennies may sometimes have been cut at the mint, and if so it may well be that cut coins were regarded as no less desirable than pennies. The fact that 40% of the coins in the Dun Lagaidh hoard were cut halfpennies would suggest that there was no prejudice against them when monetary wealth was being accumulated, and it is unfortunate that this sort of information is not available for so many of the other hoards of the period. It is nonetheless probable that the presence of cut fractions as *isolated finds* in far-flung parts of Scotland demonstrates that coins were being used as money, rather than simply as quantifiable units of wealth, even in these areas. Although it is impossible to calculate the purchasing power of coins in the 13th century in terms of today’s currency, given the vast differences in standards of living, it is certainly the case that a penny can be equated to a day’s pay for a skilled labourer at the time. Even a cut farthing must therefore have represented much more than small change, and it is probably reasonable to assume that systems of credit and barter must have persisted for most everyday



ILLUS 3 Single cross finds

transactions, with a coin being presented from time to time to clear a slate.

So far we have looked at three periods with well-defined beginnings and endings, but the situation now becomes rather less clear-cut. In 1279 a major recoinage began in England, with the reverse design of Edward I's new pennies being changed to include a single long cross. This no doubt resulted from a decision that round halfpennies and farthings should be minted for the first time, thus removing the necessity for pennies to be cut into fractions

and therefore for the guidelines provided by a voided cross. The change was copied much more rapidly than previously in Scotland, with Alexander III's second recoinage commencing in 1280 and also involving round fractional coins for the first time. Another innovation in Scotland was the removal of the mint name from the reverse inscription; mint attribution was probably manifested to those 'in the know' by the total number of points on the four stars and/or mullets in the angles of the reverse cross. By a series of combinations this varied between 20 and 28.

Production of coins of this type in England continued in an unbroken sequence through the reigns of Edward I and II, until the early 1320s, and intermittently during the early years of that of Edward III. In Scotland the minting of Alexander III's single cross coins is considered to have come to an end around 1286. Further issues took place under John Baliol in the 1290s and Robert Bruce around 1320, but in comparatively small numbers. The main problem involved in any attempt to use finds evidence to throw light on circulation patterns is that these coins were not demonetized as previous coinages had been, but appear to have continued to circulate in Scotland until quite late in the 14th century. Stray finds are usually impossible to date, therefore, with degree of wear the only, and usually unreliable, guide to length of circulation before loss.

Two points do emerge clearly from a study of the figures, however. Predictably the number of English coins dwarfs that of Scottish, and the proportion of fractions in the sample shows a substantial decline from that of cut coins in earlier periods. The list of stray finds recorded since 1978 of coins struck between 1279/80 and around 1330 includes 404 English pennies, eight halfpennies and five farthings, as compared with 29 Scottish pennies, five halfpennies and one farthing (illus 3). In addition there were ten Irish pennies of Edward I and 28 continental sterling imitations – coins struck by various European rulers in deliberate imitation of the universally-respected English pennies.

The massive imbalance in favour of English coins demonstrates that, even at times of war between the two countries, coins continued to be interchangeable between England and Scotland and to cross the border in large numbers. Continental sterlings, which were usually of inadequate weight and/or of debased silver, were first devalued and then outlawed in England at the end of the 13th century, but they appear to have continued to circulate in both England and Scotland, and a small number occur in most hoards of the early 14th century.

The very small number of halfpennies and farthings recovered reflects the fact, demonstrated by surviving English mint records, that very few were struck in comparison with the number of pennies. The reason for this is not difficult to assess. Each halfpenny or farthing would have taken the same time to strike as a penny and therefore would have cost the same in terms of moneyer's wages. The cutting of dies for small coins would also have cost the same amount as for pennies. It was therefore far more profitable for the Crown to issue pennies than smaller denominations. Despite this, the practice of cutting pennies into halves and quarters seems to have been almost entirely eliminated after 1280, and examples of single cross pennies which can be shown to have been deliberately cut, rather than simply broken along the line of a cross arm, are extremely rare.

The body of evidence derived from hoards deposited during this period is substantial. Clearly the circumstances associated with the Wars of Independence created feelings of insecurity among the population, particularly in those areas where military activity was taking place, leading many people to conceal their wealth. No doubt many of the unfortunate owners of buried coins did not live to reclaim them. Well over a hundred Scottish hoards have been recorded which contained coins of 1280–1330 but no listed examples of later issues. Again many are very poorly described, but enough have been fully published in relatively recent times to allow some reliable general statements to be

made about their contents. These have varied in size from just a handful of coins to several thousand, the largest found in the 20th century being that from St Nicholas Street, Aberdeen (1983), with 4493.

An analysis of that hoard and another, comprising 2538 coins, which was also found at St Nicholas Street during the following year, led to an assessment that both were probably deposited in the mid-1340s (Mayhew 1988). Mayhew selected for comparison 16 Scottish and English hoards, and one from Scandinavia, which appeared to have been deposited in the 1330s or later, and demonstrated that in none of these did the proportion of Scottish issues rise even as high as 5%. By contrast, slightly more than 10% of the 1472 coins found at Ednam, Roxburghshire, in 1995 were Scottish (Holmes 1996a), as were over 8.5% of the 243 coins from Whitburn, West Lothian, in 1988 (Holmes 1994, 58–65). The probable dates of deposition for these two hoards were 1321–2 and 1317–22 respectively, and it is possible, although by no means proven, that the proportion of Scottish coins in circulation may have been a little larger at this time and may have declined thereafter. It is probable that, at the end of the 13th century, soon after the issue of Alexander III's new coinage, the proportion would have been considerably higher still, but there are very few hoards which appear to date from so early.

Most of those which do contained substantial number of continental sterlings. A hoard found near Kirkcudbright in 1850 contained 92 coins, all but seven of which were foreign (Thompson 1956, 80–1, hoard 221), and another from Cleuchhead Farm, near Jedburgh, found in 1897, comprised 138 continental sterlings (Thompson 1956, 32–3, hoard 90). The hoard from Galston, Ayrshire, found in 1922 contained 221 foreign sterlings and just seven pennies of Edward I, together with a small but uncertain number of other coins which were not recovered (Thompson 1956, 61–2, hoard 168). It is possible that all these foreign sterlings were exported to Scotland from England after their proscription

there at the end of 1299. No doubt they were soon proscribed in Scotland as well, although no documentary evidence for this survives, but there may have been a short ‘window of opportunity’ for anyone in England who wished to divest themselves of these issues. The hoard found at Mellendean, near Kelso, in 1911 contained 103 continental sterlings out of a total of some 890 coins (Thompson 1956, 102–3, hoard 266), but in most hoards of the early 14th century the proportion is no more than 1 or 2%.

The Ednam hoard contained important evidence, in the form of groups of die-linked pennies, of how coins may have got into circulation in the Scottish Borders (Holmes 1996a, 38). The latest English pennies in the hoard were of Edward II’s class 15b, minted in 1321–2, and included a group from the mint at Durham, the most northerly in England at that time. Five of these had been struck from a single obverse die, of which three were also from the same reverse die. Another two coins were from a different pair of dies. There was also a series of die-linked specimens among the 19 pennies of Robert Bruce, also considered to have been minted in the very early 1320s. The number of dies represented amongst coins of this period is such that it would be most unusual to find groups of die-linked coins together unless they had been received either directly from the mint or in payment from another person who had received them directly from the mint. The implication, therefore, is that the owner of the Ednam hoard is likely to have been someone who had cross-border commercial interests and who was receiving newly-minted coins from both England and Scotland.

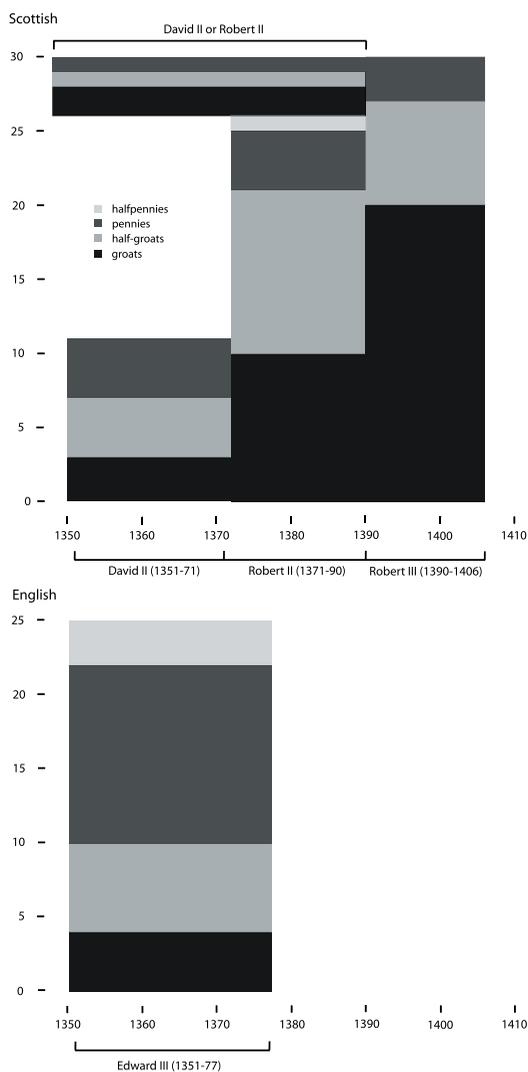
#### THE MID-14TH CENTURY

The 1330s and 1340s were a transitional and rather ‘low-key’ period in terms of coinage output on both sides of the border. The long Edwardian penny series in England came to an end about 1333, and in fact very few coins had

been struck during the decade prior to that date, owing to a shortage of silver available to the mint. Between 1335 and 1343 only halfpennies and farthings were struck, at a reduced weight and fineness in comparison with earlier issues. Between 1344 and 1351 the so-called ‘Florin coinage’ was struck, comprising pennies, half-pennies and farthings. In Scotland the paucity of new coinage was considerably more marked. The shortage of silver which began to affect England in the early 1320s is likely to have pertained in Scotland as well, and it is probable that the striking of Robert Bruce’s coins ceased at around this time. Between then and 1351 the only Scottish issues comprised a small number of halfpennies and farthings in David II’s name, but it has not proved possible to assign a definite date range to these (Holmes & Stewartby 2001).

Few stray finds of coins of this period have been recorded from Scotland. Halfpennies and farthings of Edward III’s ‘star-marked’ coinage are totally absent, and just one (or possibly two) pennies and one halfpenny of the ‘Florin’ coinage are known. ‘Florin’ coinage pennies occur rather more frequently in hoards deposited in the 1350s and 1360s, however. Of the early David II fractions, there are two halfpennies and one farthing. (Curiously, several have also been reported from England in recent years.) Hoards are also very few, and again mostly poorly recorded. A bronze jug found at Dunfermline in 1896 contained 264 English pennies and one foreign sterling; among these coins was a single penny of the ‘Florin’ coinage (Thompson 1956, 54, hoard 142).

The next significant date in British numismatic history is 1351, and although there was no general recoinage in the sense that occurred earlier, with previous types being demonetized and recalled, this date must be accepted as marking the start of a new phase. The reason for this is that Edward III’s fourth coinage, striking of which commenced in that year, included for the first time an extensive issue of silver coins of greater value than a penny. Groats, tariffed at



ILLUS 4 Late 14th-century finds

four pence, and half-groats entered circulation in large numbers. (It is true that some groats had been struck for Edward I, but these are extremely rare and do not appear to have formed part of the regular coinage.) In Scotland, only pennies and a few fractions were minted for David II between 1351 and 1357. The king was still a prisoner in England at the time, following his capture at Neville's Cross in 1346. Shortly after his release, however, in early 1358, David

instituted a new coinage based on that of Edward III and including groats and halves. Between this date and the death of Robert III in 1406 groats, half-groats and pennies were minted, most of the issues being fairly substantial. Halfpennies were also struck on occasions.

These Scottish coins are all encountered relatively frequently as stray finds. The totals since 1978 are: of David II – one penny of the 1351–7 issue, and three groats, four half-groats and three pennies of the later coinage; of Robert II – ten groats, 11 half-groats, four pennies and one halfpenny; of David II or Robert II, two groats, one half-groat and one penny; of Robert III – 20 groats, seven half-groats and three pennies. It is clear that, during the reign of David II, English coins of Edward III continued to cross the border. Four groats, six half-groats, 12 pennies and three halfpennies of the fourth (post-1351) coinage have been recorded, almost all from the so-called 'pre-Treaty' series, struck until 1361. Not a single coin of Richard II has been recorded, and there is only one which *may* be of Henry IV – a halfpenny from beside the English-occupied site of Roxburgh Castle (illus 4).

Hoard evidence from this period is, as usual, of limited use, with many of the finds again very poorly recorded. A fairly early hoard, found in about 1818 at Dalquharran Castle in Ayrshire, contained an unspecified number of Edwardian pennies and foreign sterlings, and one penny of David II, presumably pre-1358 (Thompson 1956, 42, hoard 114). The only recently-discovered hoard from the 1350s is that from the grounds of Dykebar Hospital, in Paisley, unearthed during garden cultivation in 1987 (Holmes 1994, 53–8). This comprised 220 pennies and one halfpenny, of which the latest were one penny of Edward III, minted in 1351–2, and two of David II's pre-1358 coinage. The absence of any groats or post-1358 pennies indicates a date of deposition in the mid to late 1350s, but only 11 of the 221 coins dated from after the early 1320s.

The best-known hoard from the reign of David II is that found at Montrave, in Fife, in 1877 (Thompson 1956, 104–5, hoard 272).

This comprised 9441 coins, hidden in a metal vessel, ending with groats, half-groats and pennies of David II and Edward III. The vast majority – 8722 coins – were English, almost all Edwardian pennies struck before 1323, and it has been suggested that the hoard may have been assembled in two separate stages, the first and larger group dating from the 1330s. Evidence from elsewhere indicates that there is no particular need to postulate this theory, however. There were 431 Scottish coins, including one of William the Lion, 142 Irish and 294 foreign and Anglo-Gallic.

Another very large hoard was that discovered in 1844 at Closeburn, in Dumfriesshire (Thompson 1956, 33, hoards 92 & 93). This is said to have numbered in excess of 10,000 coins, most of which were carried off and dispersed and were probably melted down. In 1996, however, a local metal-detectorist managed to identify the find-spot from old records, and his persistence resulted in the discovery of 220 further coins. This evidence supported the supposed date of deposition of some time after 1357, the latest coins in the 1996 parcel being a groat of David II, minted between 1358 and 1367. All but 16 of the 220 coins were English, the latest being a groat and two pennies of Edward III's 'pre-Treaty' series (Holmes 1998a, 83–8).

If the evidence of stray finds suggests that the influx of English coins into Scotland declined rapidly at some point during the reign of Edward III, this theory is supported in fairly dramatic fashion by the evidence of hoards dating from the reigns of Robert II and III. These are not numerous, and fewer were adequately described, but the story they tell is consistent. From the reign of Robert II the best recorded are the hoards found at Drumnadrochit, Inverness-shire, in 1931 (Metcalf 1977, 43, hoard 148), which contained 11 groats and a half-groat of David II and 21 groats and a half-groat of Robert II, and from Craigie, Ayrshire, in 1893 (Thompson 1956, 37, hoard 104), which comprised 21 groats and four half-groats of David II, as well as one pre-1358 penny, and 46 groats, six half-groats and a penny

of Robert II, together with an odd Irish penny of Edward I. A reconstruction by Lord Stewartby of the 1868 hoard from Dipple, near Elgin, shows it to have contained three groats of David II and seven of Robert II (Stewart 1972). The finds from Lumphanan, Aberdeenshire (Metcalf 1977, 43, hoard 149), at some time before 1750, and from Branxholm, Roxburghshire (Thompson 1956, 19, hoard 53), in 1860 were never properly listed, but only coins of David II and Robert II are mentioned.

From the reign of Robert III is the hoard of 1100 groats found at Fortrose, Cromarty, in 1880 (Geddie 1880; Burns 1880). All were of Robert III, including a few clearly overstruck on coins of Robert II. The Balgony, Perthshire, hoard of 1822 contained a large, but unspecified, number of groats and half-groats, and also a few gold coins; again, all were of Robert III (Stewart 1972). More recently, a small group found by metal-detectorists at Culdoich, near Inverness, in 1996 comprised 15 groats and one half-groat, again all of Robert III (Holmes 1998a, 88–90). The fact that coins of David II and Robert II do not appear in hoards concealed during the reign of Robert III is notable.

The picture which emerges is of a gradual change in the nature of the coinage in circulation in the course of the second half of the 14th century. In the 1350s and 1360s Scotland's currency was still dominated by English Edwardian pennies, with a certain number of pennies, half-groats and groats of Edward III and David II feeding into circulation. This is indicated by the composition of hoards such as Paisley, Montrave and Closeburn, and we must therefore accept that many of the Edwardian pennies which occur as stray finds must have been lost during this period as well. These coins seem to disappear fairly suddenly thereafter, if the evidence of hoards is to be believed, with coins of larger denomination, particularly groats, becoming the choice of those who could afford to accumulate money.

The record of stray finds also shows a preponderance of higher-value coins among the

issues of Robert II and III, and we must assume that many of the pennies in circulation in the 1370s, 1380s and 1390s must still have been earlier issues from both England and Scotland. (It is notable that the number of pennies and halfpennies of Edward III in the survey exceeds the number of groats and half-groats.) It is not plausible to believe that there were actually more higher-value coins in circulation than pennies; at any given time, lower-denomination coins will always be the most numerous, as these are the ones which change hands most frequently in day-to-day transactions.

#### THE LATER 14TH CENTURY

The later 14th century was the period when the Scottish coinage began to be subject to weight reductions and debasements, leading in the 15th century to the use of first billon – base silver alloy – and then pure copper for low-denomination coins. The result, not surprisingly, was that Scottish coins were progressively devalued against their English equivalents. In addition, the rising price of silver caused upward revaluations in the circulating tariff of older issues, with the result that, by the reign of James III, groats of different types circulated at several different values.

The process commenced in the reign of David II, whose last silver coinage, struck between 1367 and 1371, was of reduced weight. The Act of Parliament which ordered the striking stipulated that 352 pennies should be minted from each pound of silver, instead of 300 (Cochran-Patrick 1876, vol I, 1–2, document IV). The theoretical weight of the groat was thus reduced from 72 grains to  $61\frac{7}{11}$  grains, and this weight was maintained under Robert II. In 1374 the Scottish groat was ordered to pass for threepence instead of fourpence in England, a devaluation somewhat greater than the reduction in weight justified. The fact that English sterling pennies were now officially more valuable than their Scottish

equivalents may well have contributed to the disappearance of the former from circulation at around this time.

In October 1393, early in the reign of Robert III, an Act of Parliament called for the minting of coins at the rate of 21 shillings from six ounces Troy of pure silver, giving a theoretical weight for the groat of  $46\frac{1}{14}$  grains (Cochran-Patrick 1876, vol I, 12–13, document I). The value of the Scottish groat in England had already been reduced to twopence in 1390, however, and this has been taken to suggest that the 1393 Act must have represented the renewal of an earlier one, now lost, and that it was the appearance of the lighter coins which had provoked this action by the English. However, there is also documentary evidence which indicates otherwise, in that terms such as ‘the usual money of our kingdom’ start to be used consistently instead of ‘sterling’ in official documents from 1393 onwards (Scott 1985, 10–11). The inference which has been drawn from this is that the minting of much lighter coins immediately obliged the government of Scotland to abandon any further pretence that Scottish and English coins were of equal value.

The Act of 1393 also called for one-fifth of the bullion to be used for the minting of pennies and halfpennies, but with their weight increased by the addition of alloy as one-third of the total. Four pennies thus weighed the same as one and a half groats. During the last few years of Robert III’s reign a new and even lighter coinage was introduced. These coins are rare, but the average weight of the groats seems to be between 28 and 30 grains. The absence of earlier coins from the recorded hoards concealed during the reign of Robert III may be due to the action of Gresham’s Law, with heavier coins of David II and Robert II being driven out of circulation fairly rapidly by the large quantity of lighter coins which were issued in the early 1390s, but against this must be set the evidence for the continuing circulation of earlier 14th-century coins well into the 15th century (see below).

## JAMES I TO JAMES VI

After Robert's death in 1406, no further coinage was minted in Scotland until after James I's return from captivity in England in 1424. This had been achieved at the cost of a ransom payment of £40,000, and the realization of James's conviction that the wealth of a country depended on the availability of substantial quantities of coins within its borders was clearly hindered by the draining away of so much bullion from Scotland. His new groats, the so-called 'fleur-de-lis' type, actually weigh on average around 36 grains, substantially more than the last issues of Robert III, but they were put into circulation at sixpence instead of fourpence. No half-groats are known of this issue, and the pennies, which are relatively rare, are of a more debased alloy than those of his father.

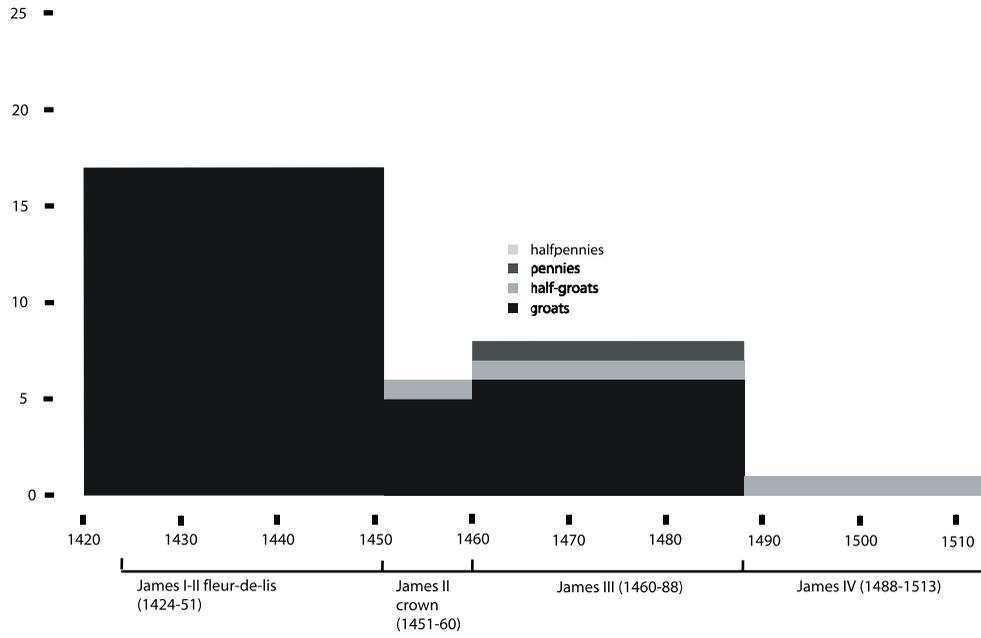
The earliest silver coins of James II, struck between 1437 and 1451, are a continuation of the fleur-de-lis issue, but a new coinage, which included the so-called 'crown groats', was introduced in 1451. These groats, which have a crown in two angles of the reverse cross, were to be struck at a theoretical weight of 58.89 grains, only slightly below the 60 grains of the English groats of Henry VI, but were tariffed at 12 pence, with the fleur-de-lis groats devalued to fourpence. In practice the Scottish coins were lighter than specified, and although it appears from documents that it may have been the intention to reduce their value to eight pence, in the event this did not happen. The Scottish silver coinage was thus circulating at a value three times that of the equivalent denominations in England. Very few half-groats were minted, and the pennies are of very base metal and smaller in general than those of James I.

The coinage of James III is somewhat complicated, but it will be summarized only very briefly here. There were five separate issues of silver – groats, half-groats and some 'pennies', confusingly valued at threepence, and including one issue of debased groats and halves. As a guide to what was in circulation at the time,

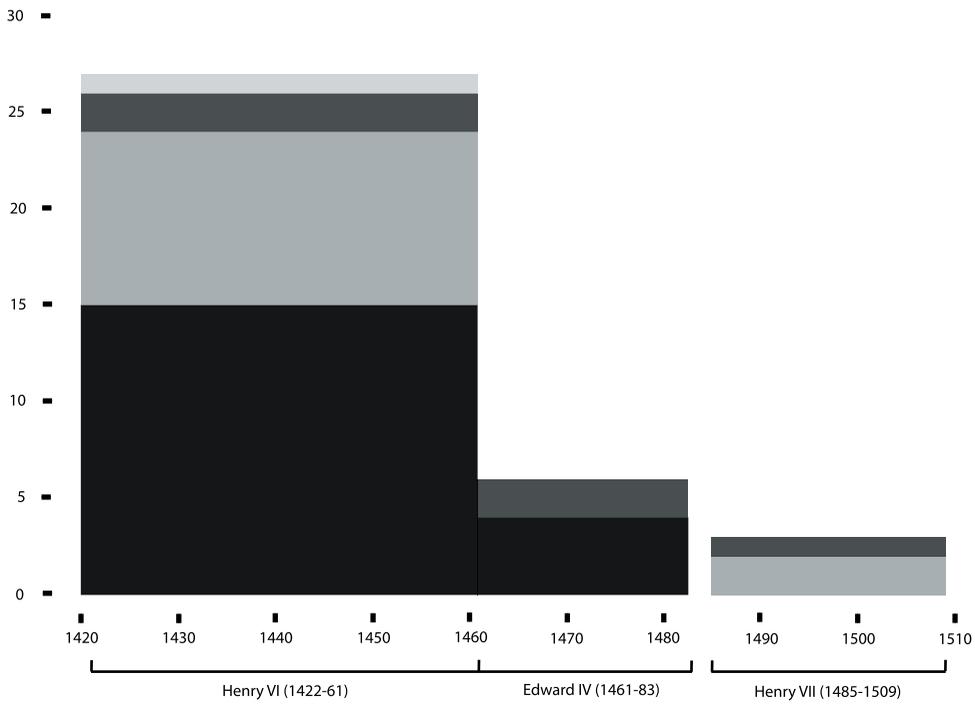
there is much value in the wording of an Act of Parliament of 12 October 1467, which specified new values for coins of different issues (Cochran-Patrick 1876, vol I, 32–3, document III). The 'spurrit grot' – that is, coins of David II and Robert II with spur rowels or mullets on the reverse – was to pass for 16 pence; the 'aulde Inglis grot' – those struck before Edward IV's weight reduction in 1464, also for 16 pence; the 'borage grot' – which must be a garbled reference to those struck for Robert III under the mint-master Bonagius of Florence – as well as the new English groat of Edward IV, for 12 pence; the 'grot of the croune' – James II's post-1451 coins – for 14 pence; and the 'grot of the flour delyce' – those of James I and early issues of James II – for eight pence. This must presumably indicate that all these coins – no doubt in widely varying quantities – were still to be found in circulation. James III's early groats were tariffed at 12 pence, the base groats of around 1471 at seven pence, later reduced to six, and the latest groats – those with the well-known 'Renaissance-style' portrait – at 14 pence.

During James III's reign, base metal was used for the first time for the minting of coins valued at more than a penny. Placks, tariffed at fourpence, and their halves were struck in billon, as were various further issues of pennies. There were also several issues in pure copper. These were mostly of farthings, including some which have traditionally been referred to as 'ecclesiastical' issues. This stemmed from the fact that large numbers were found at Crossraguel Abbey, Ayrshire, in 1919, and that some bear the reverse inscription MO PAVPER or MONE PAVP (money of the poor), which led to a belief that they had been issued by the church as a form of charity token. It now appears that all these formed part of the regal coinage, as did the still poorly-understood coins referred to in the past as 'Crossraguel pennies' or 'Bishop Kennedy pennies', but now more usually as 'Crux Pellit' coppers, after the reverse inscription CRUX PELLIT OMNE CRIMEN. These are now believed to be the 'threepenny pennies' or

Scottish



English



ILLUS 5 15th-century finds

‘Cochrane’s placks’ mentioned in contemporary documents (Murray 1977).

After all the innovations of the previous reign, James IV’s coinage was much less eventful. There were several issues of groats, all at a value of 12 pence, and a substantial coinage of placks and pennies in billon. The latest pennies often appear to be very coppery. The minting of placks continued into the first part of the reign of James V, ending in 1526, but no silver coins or billon pennies were struck at this time. There is a clear break between the coin types issued before and after this date, and we may therefore regard the period between 1424 and 1526 as constituting another phase. Examination of finds of 15th-century coins should provide clues to which types were most common in everyday circulation and which were chosen for the accumulation of wealth in the form of hoards. We can deduce from the Act of Parliament of 1467 that 14th-century groats still formed part of the circulating currency at this time, however, and some of the finds of these coins which were discussed earlier may well have been 15th-century losses.

Fleur-de-lis groats minted between 1424 and 1451 are fairly well represented among the stray finds, with 17 specimens recorded, between 13 and 15 of these being of James I (illus 5). Only two are definitely of James II, and there are five examples of his crown groats. Since no fleur-de-lis half-groats appear to have been struck at all, and since those of the crown coinage are very rare, the presence of only one example of this denomination from this period is of no significance. English issues of Henry VI provided the survey with 15 groats, nine half-groats, two pennies and one halfpenny. Almost all of these are of the earliest, ‘annulet’, issue, minted between 1422 and 1427, but these are in any case the most common coins of Henry’s reign. It is not impossible, however, that the hiatus in Scottish minting prior to 1424 created a vacuum which was filled by these English coins.

Later 15th-century silver issues are much less frequently recovered. The survey includes

six groats, one half-groat and one silver ‘penny’ of James III and just a single half-groat of James IV. Even these figures are distorted by the fact that the latter coin and three of the James III groats (all of the latest issue) were found at Finlaggan, Islay. Contemporary issues of English kings are no more common, with four groats (one of them Irish) of Edward IV, and two half-groats of Henry VII. The only pennies of the period, two of Edward and one of Henry, were all found near Roxburgh Castle, which by that time was back in Scottish hands (or what was left of it after the siege of 1460).

If the picture seems to indicate a decline in the use of silver coins in everyday situations as the 15th century progressed, we can see the mirror image of this in the occurrence among stray finds of base metal denominations.

Many of the lowest-value coins have long been considered to be of considerable rarity, but the numbers of specimens recovered from the ground tell a different story. The 1978–2000 survey includes 21 definite billon pennies of James I, and one probable, as well as two of the still very rare halfpennies. There are seven pennies of James II, as well as one probable contemporary counterfeit, and two which may come from either of the two reigns. Although the plack was introduced by James III, it has left little mark on the distribution pattern for his reign, with just one being recorded, and no half-placks. There are, however, 19 of his billon pennies and one probable contemporary counterfeit.

It is for the copper coins that the figures are most surprising. No fewer than 68 of the somewhat mysterious ‘Crux Pellit’ coins have been recorded, along with 47 farthings, almost exactly evenly divided between the so-called ‘ecclesiastical’ types and those which have always been accepted as regal issues. The farthings, although still insufficiently studied, can be dated to the period between 1465 and 1482, but the ‘Crux Pellit’ coppers, of which there are several distinct varieties, have rather lost their anchor since the supposed attribution

TABLE 1  
 Finds of base metal coins (1424–1526)

	Placks	Half-placks	pennies	halfpennies	Crux Pellits	Farthings
James I			21 + 1?	2		
James I-II			1 + 1?			
James II			7 + 1 c/feit ?			
James II-III					68	47 + 1?
James III	1		19 + 1 c/feit?			
James III-IV	1		1 c/feit			
James IV	34		85 + 2?			
James IV-V	2					
James V	13					

to Bishop Kennedy of St Andrews was deemed unacceptable. They certainly belong to the second half of the 15th century, however, and it is unlikely that they were issued after 1482, when the copper coinage, the so-called ‘black money’ (to distinguish it from the billon or ‘white’ money, which retained a fairly silvery appearance), was ‘cried down’ by the Lords of Council assembled at Lauder. This ‘crying down’ was probably a devaluation of all copper coins to the value of a farthing, including the Crux Pellits as well as some of those coins now called farthings which may previously have been halfpennies (Murray 1977, 118). (So little of the contemporary documentary evidence now survives that the picture of these issues is very difficult to interpret, but in a chronicle appended to Wyntoun’s history and ending in the autumn of 1482 it is recorded that, ‘thir was blak cunye in the realme strikkin and ordinyit be king James the thrid, halfpennys and three penny pennys innumerabill of coppir’.)

What *is* clear, however, is that there was considerable distrust of and resentment towards the black money. Lindsay of Pitcottie records that, ‘the wyffis wald refuse the said cunye quhilk wes callit ane Couchrinis plak’, and there are court records of prosecutions against those who refused to accept payment in black money. We therefore have to ask whether the large numbers of these coins which are found today are a genuine indication that they were by far

the most numerous coins in everyday circulation at the time, or whether their unpopularity and eventual devaluation have contributed to the number of them which may have been discarded, or at least not sought as diligently as other coins when lost. (How many people today would bother to hunt for a penny dropped in mud or long grass?)

Archaeological and hoard evidence suggests that the copper coins must have retained some function after 1482, and some may still have been in circulation at the beginning of the 16th century, but it is the billon coins of James IV which form the bulk of the finds from this period. Thirty-four placks of James IV feature in our survey, with another which could also be of James III and two which could also be of James V. There are also 13 definite James V placks, but interestingly no half-placks at all. Eighty-five billon pennies of James IV have been recorded, along with one counterfeit of the James III–IV period and two worn specimens which could, in theory, equally be from the early part of Mary’s reign. All but a handful of these pennies belong to the second issue, minted around the first decade of the 16th century. These very base coins were clearly issued in very large numbers, and the absence of any similar issue under James V suggests that they continued to supply the demand for small change for some time.

If low-value, base metal coins appear to have played an increasing role in everyday currency

throughout the 15th century, one would not expect to find this pattern reflected in hoards, since it would have been natural for people to wish to store their wealth in the form of precious metal. Unfortunately there are no adequately described hoards dating from James I's reign, and few from that of James II. A hoard found at Cadder Castle, in Lanarkshire, in 1815 contained 141 gold coins, apparently of James I and II (Thompson 1956, 21, hoard 65). (Gold coinage has been deliberately omitted from this paper, since stray finds are, unsurprisingly, extremely rare. Regular gold issues commenced during the reign of Robert III, but it is clear that these coins can have been available to very few people and played no part in everyday commerce.) The hoard found at Forgandenny, in Perthshire, in 1876 contained an unknown number of silver coins, most of which were dispersed unrecorded (Thompson 1956, 60, hoard 163). Thirty-seven acquired by the Procurator Fiscal for the Scottish Exchequer comprised 16 Scottish – issues of David II, James I and James II – and 21 English – of Edward III and various Henrys, some unidentified, but ten being Henry VI issues from the Calais mint.

The three best-recorded hoards from the reign of James III are remarkably dissimilar in character. The one which most conforms to expectations is that found in 1882 at New Cumnock, in Ayrshire (Thompson 1956, 108, hoard 284). This contained 41 Scottish gold coins of James I, II and III, along with four silver groats of Robert III, and 138 English groats and half-groats of Edward III, Henry V, Henry VI and Edward IV. The presence of a single coin of Edward IV's heavy coinage gives a terminus post quem for deposition of around 1461. Here is an example of a person accumulating wealth in the most advantageous forms available. Gold would have been first choice, and where silver had to be substituted, those coins known to contain the highest weight of precious metal were selected.

An almost contemporary hoard, that found at Bridge of Don, near Aberdeen, in 1937 lacks

any gold, but otherwise displays a similar policy of deliberate selection (Thompson 1956, 2, hoard 5, *recte* 197 coins). It contains a single groat of Edward IV's light coinage, minted from 1468, as well as two from the heavy coinage, but most of the remainder of the coins are much older. The only Scottish coins are three groats of David II, one of Robert II and one of James I. The remaining 189 coins are all groats of Edward III, Henry V and Henry VI. (Fortunately this hoard was acquired by the then National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland and is therefore still available for study. At the time of writing it is on display in its entirety in the Museum of Scotland.) The condition of the older coins, particularly those of Edward III, is quite remarkable and gives a dramatic insight into the state of the currency at the time. Many of the coins have been severely clipped, and this, combined with the degree of wear displayed, has obviously resulted in a considerable reduction in weight. The owner of the hoard nevertheless selected these sorry-looking pieces, some of them over a hundred years old, rather than newly-minted Scottish coins, to form the bulk of his or her savings.

In complete contrast, the hoard which was discovered during an excavation in Leith in 1980 contained few precious metal coins (Holmes 1983). Ten English silver pieces – of Edward III, Henry V, Henry VI and Edward IV – and 16 Scottish – of Robert III, James I and James II – were accompanied by 332 billon pennies – a few of James I, but the vast majority of James II and the early part of James III's reign. The date of deposition could be placed within the period 1470–5, and the owner is therefore likely to have had access to the same types of coin as were contained in the New Cumnock and Bridge of Don hoards, but clearly the function of this hoard was entirely different. It constituted by far the largest assemblage yet discovered of these unprepossessing little coins, which formed the 'small change' of their day. A certain number of them have been recorded as individual finds, but no-one would have chosen to accumulate

their life savings in the form of these highly debased issues. The most logical explanation seemed to be that the hoard was made up largely of the recent takings of a shopkeeper who dealt in cheap everyday goods, perhaps temporarily stored in the pot where his few treasured silver coins were hidden.

Hoards ending with coins struck during the reign of James IV are rather more numerous, and again there are major variations in their content. The largest is that found at Perth in 1920, which included 17 gold coins, all Scottish apart from one Burgundian issue (Thompson 1956, 115, hoard 309). There were 257 English silver coins, including 99 of Edward III, and 355 Scottish silver coins, mostly of James I–III, and an astonishing 499 billon placks and half-placks. The fact that almost half the coins in the hoard are of base metal suggests that this accumulation may represent a reasonable reflection of the circulating currency at the time of deposition (probably in 1496 or shortly after). Clearly some selection has taken place, however, since billon pennies have been entirely excluded. Just one year after the discovery of the Perth hoard, in 1921, an exactly contemporary hoard was unearthed at Whitburn, in West Lothian (Macdonald 1922). This was much smaller, containing 244 coins and four fragments, and contained only one gold coin (of James II) and five billon placks, along with the four fragments. The silver coins comprised 71 English, 29 of them of Edward III, and 167 Scottish, again mostly of James I–III.

At first sight, these two hoards must lead us to the conclusion that the silver coinage in circulation in Scotland at the end of the 15th century comprised a motley collection of Scottish and English issues, many of them well over a hundred years old. Since the wording of the Act of Parliament implied that this was the case in 1467, it is certainly possible that nothing much had changed in the succeeding 30 years. We must, however, bear in mind the possibility that both the Perth and Whitburn hoards represent accumulations of wealth

over a substantial period, and that some of the coins contained in them had been taken out of circulation many years before the final date of deposition.

As with the Leith hoard from the reign of James III, there are also later hoards made up largely of base metal coins. That found at Rhoneston, Dumfriesshire, in 1961 comprised 13 silver coins, four placks and 66 billon pennies of James II and III (Stewart & Stevenson 1965). The date of deposition has been estimated as around 1490, about five years earlier than that of a similar hoard from Glenluce Sands, Wigtownshire, found in 1956 (Stewart 1959). This contained 12 silver coins, two placks, 97 billon pennies and a single copper farthing. The inclusion of the latter is unexpected at so late a date, but it may have been retained simply as a curiosity. (For both hoards, see also Stewart 1960.)

It is clear from the contents of these hoards that billon pennies of James II and III and early issues of James IV were circulating together in the 1490s, but there is a suggestion from later assemblages that the introduction around 1500 of the extremely common second issue pennies, with the distinctive reverse type of crowns and fleurs-de-lis in the angles of the cross, may have been accompanied by a demonetization of all earlier issues, from which this design would have distinguished them very easily. A hoard found at Creggan, in Argyll, in 1876 contained 223 coins, mainly placks of James IV and V, but also 36 pennies, all of the second issue (Burns 1887, vol II, 196–8). A larger group, found contained in a ‘pirlie piggie’ at Barr, also in Ayrshire, in 1955, comprised 578 base metal coins, of which 488 were pennies of James IV, almost entirely of the second issue (Kerr & Stevenson 1956, 107–9). Only three residual James III pennies were included.

The later coinages of James V included silver groats and one-third groats, struck between 1526 and 1538. The 1978–2000 record includes finds of four groats and one one-third groat, together with six groats, five half-groats and two silver

pennies from the roughly contemporary English issues of Henry VIII. These figures are not particularly informative, and no silver hoards at all have been recorded from this period. There is so far little evidence, therefore, for the relationship in circulation between James's silver coins and either earlier issues or contemporary English issues.

Single finds of silver coins minted during the mid to late 16th century are much more numerous, but at the same time the figures are almost certainly misleading. Scottish coins of Mary are poorly represented (two testoons predating her first marriage, a single half-testoon of Mary and Francis, two ryals of Mary and Darnley and another from the second widowhood), but those of James VI have been found far more frequently. The record includes three nobles/half-merks and four half-nobles/quarter-merks of the debased silver second coinage (1572–80), a 30-shilling piece of 1583, a 30 pence (1594) and a 12 pence (1595) of the seventh coinage, and from the eighth and final coinage ten quarter thistle merks and six eighth thistle merks. English coins include ten groats of Mary Tudor and three groats and a half-groat of Philip and Mary. It is for the silver of Elizabeth I, however, that the figures are highest – nine shillings, 47 sixpences, 14 groats (+ one possible), 20 threepences, 15 half-groats, one three-halfpence and five pennies (+ two possible).

These figures would, on the face of it, seem to indicate a period of extensive silver coin loss in Scotland in the later 16th century, but to accept this would be to ignore the evidence from hoards of the quantity of 16th-century silver, particularly that of Elizabeth I, which was still in circulation in the middle of the succeeding century. Civil War period hoards from Scotland invariably contain a high proportion of much earlier coins. The hoard of 1375 coins found at Wooden Farm, Kelso, in 1991, for instance, included 16 groats of Mary Tudor, nine coins of Philip and Mary, and of Elizabeth I 153 shillings, 519 sixpences and 12 groats (Bateson 1992). The date of deposition of the hoard was around

1643. Although coins of lower denomination than groats are seldom found in such hoards, the degree of wear displayed by many of the stray finds suggests that they, equally, continued to circulate in Scotland well into the 17th century. Of the silver coins of James VI, those of the eighth coinage are also those most frequently found in 17th-century hoards, although it is normally those of the largest denomination – the thistle merks – which are included. Hoard evidence for silver coin circulation in the later 16th century is again unsatisfactory, for although a fair number of hoards have been discovered, most of them were found in the 19th century or earlier and very few were adequately recorded.

If we are short of reliable evidence for silver coin circulation, this is certainly not the case for the prolific issues of billon coins of low denomination. Numerous different types and denominations of base metal 'small change' were issued under Mary and James VI (Holmes 1998b, 33–56), and very large numbers have been recovered in the form of both hoards and stray finds. Billon bawbees, valued at six pence, were first issued for James V between 1539 and 1542, along with their halves, and during the first part of Mary's reign they were struck in unprecedented numbers, possibly around four million. Only a relatively small number of pennies were struck for Mary, with those of James IV's final issue presumably continuing to circulate. The later 1550s saw the appearance of 12-penny groats/'nonsunts', lions/hardheads, tariffed at one-and-a-half pence, and placks, worth four pence as in previous reigns.

After the death of Francis in 1560 no further base metal coins were struck for Mary, and the earliest such issues for James VI were the placks, now valued at eight pence, and half-placks minted between 1583 and 1590. Hardheads, now valued at twopence, were struck between 1588 and 1590, along with a small number of halves, and in January 1594 the mint began striking saltire placks (fourpence). This issue was terminated after only 12 days, however, owing to a legal dispute over coinage rights.

TABLE 2  
Finds of base metal coins (1539–97)

<hr/>	
James V	
<i>bawbees</i>	5
<i>half-bawbees</i>	2
Mary (before marriage)	
<i>bawbees</i>	28 + 2 counterfeit
<i>half-bawbees</i>	5
<i>pennies</i>	11
<i>placks</i>	24 + 1 counterfeit
<i>lions/hardheads</i>	38
Mary or Mary & Francis	
<i>lions/hardheads</i>	26 + 1 counterfeit
Mary and Francis	
<i>nonsunt</i>	1
<i>lions/hardheads</i>	103
James VI	
<i>placks</i>	45
<i>half-placks</i>	2
<i>hardheads</i>	106 + 1 possible + 6 counterfeits
<i>half-hardheads</i>	5
<i>saltire plack</i>	1
<i>twopence (1597)</i>	1
<hr/>	

The last base metal issue of James VI before the Union comprised twopences and pennies in pure copper, struck on machine-cut blanks in 1597.

Table 2 lists the number of specimens of each of these issues recorded in the 1978–2000 survey.

There is a fairly high probability that these figures provide an accurate reflection of the small change in circulation during the second half of the 16th century. An Act of Parliament of 6 August 1591 ordered the demonetization and recall to the mint of all base metal coins except the hardheads and half-hardheads of 1588–90 (Cochran-Patrick 1876, vol I, 117–19, document XVII). Since the saltire placks and 1597 twopences were struck in relatively low numbers, we must assume that most of the low-value coins legally circulating in 1603 were hardheads.

Non-Scottish base metal coins included in the record comprised mainly French issues. Small billon coins of the late 15th and earlier 16th centuries circulated officially as a result

of the presence of French troops in Scotland during Mary's reign (Holmes 1998b, 35–40), and a total of 18 such coins have been recorded since 1978, all but three of them being issues of Francis I (1515–47). In addition there have been five coins of Henri III (1574–89), four of them copper *doubles tournois* of the type on which the design of James VI's 1597 twopences was closely based. (Coins of this type, mostly those of Louis XIII and contemporary provincial issues, were to form a substantial proportion of Scotland's base metal coinage in the 17th century.) Other foreign finds included Irish copper pennies of Elizabeth I and a few stray coins from Spain and Sweden.

The significant number of 16th-century hoards comprising mostly or entirely base metal coins suggest that it was becoming more acceptable to store wealth in this form, although we can not be certain whether attitudes were genuinely changing or whether the phenomenon simply reflects the unavailability of gold and silver to much of the population. An example from the reign of James V is the hoard found at Linlithgow in 1963, which contained 368 billon coins, mostly placks, and just ten silver (Brown & Dolley 1971, 44, hoard SM6).

A comparable hoard from the earlier part of Mary's reign is that found at Rigghead, Collin, Dumfriesshire, in 1963 (Stevenson 1989, with summary of contents on p142). This contained a mixture of Scottish and English silver and billon, with one Scottish and nine French gold coins, but by far the largest section was made up of bawbees of James V (132) and Mary (214). The fact that the owner of this hoard was clearly sufficiently wealthy to possess gold and silver coins, but still hoarded so much billon, tends to support a theory that precious metal coins were hard to obtain. A similar hoard was found at Hawick in 1876 (Brown & Dolley 1971, 45, hoard SN2). This contained 533 billon coins, mostly Mary bawbees, along with three gold and 24 silver.

The hoard found at Ayr in 1914 must have been deposited early in the reign of James VI,

as demonstrated by the presence of one of his silver ryals, dated 1567 (Macdonald 1914, 401–2). Of the 692 coins, all but seven were of billon, including placks of James IV and V and of Mary, bawbees and halves of James V and Mary, and nonsunts of Mary and Francis. This hoard is of particular interest, since it indicates not only that placks of James IV and V were still in circulation in the 1560s, but also that the larger billon coins were considered acceptable for hoarding, whereas the extremely common lions/hardheads struck for Mary before and after her marriage to Francis were clearly not.

The reason for this policy of selection and rejection appears to have been simply prejudice against the smallest coins, rather than revealing perceptions about the relative proliferation of counterfeits of particular coin issues. The two denominations which were most frequently the subject of forgery in the mid-16th century were the 1557 placks and the lions/hardheads, and this is reflected in the temporary withdrawal from circulation of the placks in 1572 and the recall of both denominations in 1575, with genuine pieces subsequently being reissued with a heart and star countermark. Despite frequent complaints about forged placks, however, the Ayr hoard contained 108 specimens, whereas the lions/hardheads were completely excluded. Since the date of burial of the hoard must have been in or very shortly after 1567, it is worth noting that an Act of Parliament of 26 December in that year reduced the value of almost all the base metal coin denominations by half, in order to deprive forgers of their profits (Cochran-Patrick 1876, vol I, 108, document IV). The lions/hardheads, however, saw their value reduced from one-and-a-half pence to a halfpenny, and this may well have led to their exclusion from the Ayr hoard.

Three groups of coins offered for sale at auction in Perth between 2001 and 2003 seem likely to represent the contents of a hoard found in Aberdeenshire at an unknown date (Hall & Holmes 2002). The date of deposition was probably within the last few years of the 16th century, and the coins comprised both silver and

billon, almost all Scottish issues of the reigns of Mary and James VI. By far the most numerous group comprised 97 debased silver nobles and half nobles of James's second coinage, and of the 223 coins recorded, 75 were of billon. Although there were 43 silver coins of James's sixth and seventh coinages, minted during the 1590s, the owner of the hoard seems not to have been able to accumulate much of his/her savings in this form. The billon coins selected were again the least debased – bawbees and nonsunts of Mary and placks of James VI.

Counterfeiting of base metal coins clearly continued during the reign of James VI, and one of the most intriguing hoards discovered in recent years comprised 121 forgeries of placks of the 1583–90 issue, found in fields at Culross in Fife (Holmes 1998a, 90–4). The hoard had been spread by ploughing, and further specimens have since been unearthed. Clearly there had been a counterfeiting workshop in the vicinity of the find-spot. There are no surviving documentary references to forgeries of this issue, but the collections of the National Museums of Scotland contain a number of examples, and it is probable that the number of them being put into circulation contributed to the withdrawal of the entire issue shortly after minting had been completed. The hardheads of 1588–90 were not withdrawn in 1591, and it is notable that counterfeits of this issue are the most numerous of all among recently recorded finds, with six examples noted.

## CONCLUSIONS

It seems fair to say that, as the Middle Ages progressed, the role of coinage in society became ever larger and more complicated, and that the caution which we must exercise in interpreting finds must increase in proportion. It is not uncommon for archaeologists to rely on coin finds as their best source of site dating, and to the extent that the earliest date of minting of a particular issue will provide a terminus post

quem for a context in which a coin is found, this is certainly true. Beyond this, however, lie many pitfalls.

In the early period, up to 1279/80, successive recoinages and demonetizations provide a fairly reliable framework within which coin losses are likely to fall, and since the silver sterling and its cut fractions were the only denominations available, the picture is relatively straightforward. It has become clear, however, that although these coins must have had relatively high purchasing power, their circulation and use was not as restricted as was once believed. The presence of coins on a site at this period does not, in other words, mark it out as one which need be particularly associated with trade or commercial activity.

With the introduction of the English Edwardian penny and its Scottish equivalent, the picture becomes less clear. These coins continued to circulate in large numbers for around a hundred years, and their value as dating evidence is therefore correspondingly reduced. Nor can any apparent degree of wear be relied upon as a guide to how long a coin may have circulated. What may look like a worn coin may simply have been weakly struck or deliberately rubbed or abraded during circulation.

From the later 14th century onwards, the coinage expands upwards into gold and large silver denominations, then downwards into base metal, giving people a much greater choice of what to use in day-to-day commerce and what to put aside for the future. Lower value coins come to predominate amongst finds from archaeological sites and stray losses recovered by detectorists or others. This is no different from today, as Royal Mint figures continually show that more low-value than higher-value coins need to be minted and put into circulation. They change hands more frequently and are lost more frequently. The advantage of this for us is that the constant loss of small change from circulation makes the distribution and concentration of finds a more reliable guide to human activity over relatively short periods. If a

site or field yields a concentration of billon and copper coins of James III, for instance, there is a fairly high probability that they were being used in that area during James III's reign.

The evidence of late medieval silver coins is less reliable. Fewer would have been in everyday use, and if one was dropped, the owner would have looked carefully for it. We have seen that hoards consistently contain a fairly high proportion of very old silver coins, and although it can be argued that, on occasions, this may be the result of progressive hoarding over a long period, the very worn and clipped condition of many of these pieces does demonstrate that they must have been in circulation for a long while before being set aside. The dating evidence provided by a single find of a groat, for instance, must therefore be regarded as largely unreliable. (The exception to this pattern is to be found in the few recorded hoards from the reign of Robert III, from which earlier coins were excluded. It has been suggested above that this may have been a result of the rapid disappearance from circulation of earlier, heavier coins after the introduction of Robert III's lighter weight coins, but since some at least of the earlier groats must still have been available as late as the middle of the 15th century, this phenomenon has not yet been satisfactorily explained.)

There is evidence of a change in the nature of some hoards by the late 15th and early 16th centuries. Whereas those hoards of this period which comprise precious metal issues can be accepted as fulfilling the traditionally accepted function – that is, storing the worldly wealth of a person who, whether at a time of emergency or simply for safe-keeping, decided to conceal it – hoards which contain a high proportion of base metal coins must be regarded as a more recognizably modern phenomenon. Since precious metal prices were continually rising, putting aside a small number of gold or silver coins would have represented a much more reliable investment than a potful of billon. Hoards of this sort are more probably to be compared with the modern jam-jar full of ten pence or 20

pence pieces which many people keep on the mantle-shelf to meet a myriad of unexpected requirements.

If this is an acceptable hypothesis in the later Middle Ages, it is necessary to think again about some earlier hoards. Not the massive assemblages of thousands of silver pennies, of course, but what of the large number of Edwardian hoards which contain only a small group of coins – three or four up to a few dozen? We have seen that, in the absence of any small change at this time, silver coins are likely to have been used intermittently alongside a system of credit and barter across much of Scotland, and if this was the case, a small purse of these coins might be the equivalent of a wallet full of £10 or £20 notes rather than a building society account.

By the middle of the 16th century most everyday transactions must have been carried out using coins of base metal, with billon denominations of increasingly high value. The number of silver coins minted after 1550 that have been recovered as stray finds may seem fairly high, but hoard evidence demonstrates that many of these coins may have circulated until the middle of the 17th century, and in the case of the English issues of Elizabeth I many may not have reached Scotland at all until around that time. Hoards buried in Scotland in the middle decades of the 16th century frequently contain much more billon than gold and silver, suggesting that precious metal coins were difficult to obtain at that time.

Professor Anne Robertson once gave an entertaining and perceptive paper, entitled ‘The SC Factor in Roman Coinage’. In this context SC stood not for ‘Senatus Consulto’, but for ‘sheer cussedness’, and Professor Robertson’s theme was a warning not to underestimate the unpredictability of human behaviour when one is studying coin finds. This is just as valid for the medieval period as for the Roman, and it is a reminder that we should rule out very few possibilities when considering how coins came to be where they were found. A single find, or

even a single hoard, rarely tells a definite story, and it is only by continuing to accumulate evidence and by re-analysing it that we may come to discern patterns of human behaviour.

## APPENDIX: MAJOR FINDS ASSEMBLAGES

Coin finds reported by metal-detectorists are normally listed in the regular series of articles published in this journal (Bateson 1989; Bateson & Holmes 1997; 2003). However, a number of sites have yielded so many coins over the years that they clearly require more detailed discussion than is possible in the context of such publications. The coins from these assemblages have been included in the totals which form the basis of the preceding section of this paper, and it therefore seems appropriate to list and discuss them here.

The following points should be noted: first, the lists and discussion cover only the period up to 1603. Coins minted in the 17th century and later, of which a great many have been found on some sites, have been omitted. They comprise mostly Scottish, British and foreign copper pieces, of types which are found in large numbers all over the country and the presence of which is normally of no significance. Second, only groups of coins found by detectorists are included here. A number of excavation assemblages have been mentioned but not listed in the regular finds reports, and these will be published and discussed in the relevant archaeological reports.

Details of individual coins in the lists include the following information, where available: condition (C=much corroded, c=slightly corroded; SW=slight wear, MW=moderate wear, FW=fairly worn, W=worn, VW=very worn, EW=extremely worn)/weight in grams/die axis in degrees.

### ABERLADY, EAST LOTHIAN (THE GLEBE) (144 COINS)

This field, to the north of the church and manse and surrounding the ruins of Kilspindie Castle, was the site of extensive detecting in the 1980s and 1990s by Mr Roger McWee, whose finds from elsewhere in Aberlady – Butcher’s Field, Kirk Field (both adjacent to The Glebe) and Luffness – have already been published (Bateson & Holmes 1997, 535–6; 548; Bateson & Holmes 2003, 251). A small number

of coins were also found by another detectorist, now deceased.

The coin series has demonstrated that the site is likely to be of some importance, not least in the light of the discovery of 12 Northumbrian stycas and a sceat. These are strictly outside the chronological scope of this paper, but they have been included in the list for the sake of completeness, with identifications by Elizabeth Pirie. Examples of Anglian period metalwork were also found, four of which are illustrated by Lowe (1999, 55). Unfortunately no excavation has taken place, and there is consequently no evidence for the function of this part of Aberlady in the Middle Ages.

The medieval coin series is consistent with some form of continuous activity in the area from the early 13th century onwards. The previously published groups of finds from Butcher's Field and Kirk Field span the same chronological period, and should probably be regarded as part of the same assemblage, since the present field boundaries may not have existed in the Middle Ages. Glebe fields were often used as market places, and the presence of so many coins would be consistent with such activity, but they certainly do not prove it.

The only apparent anomaly is the inclusion of only two coins from the Long Cross period (1247–80), compared with 18 Short Cross and 20 Edwardian issues. It is tempting to see this as an indicator of reduced activity in the third quarter of the 13th century, but it would be unwise to place too much reliance on this evidence alone.

A particular feature of the Aberlady finds is the large number of French coins minted between the late 15th and mid-16th century. These must be assumed to be connected with the presence of a French fort guarding the port of Haddington from 1548 to 1560 or slightly later.

Most of the coins listed below have been acquired by the National Museums of Scotland, and registration numbers for these are appended. The remainder were returned to the finder.

#### NORTHUMBRIA

**sceat:** Eadberht (737–58), rev quadruped to left, SW-MW/0.99g/90°, X.1995.4.

**stycas:** *Phase I* – Eanred, moneyer Eaduini (c 820–30), SW/1.16g/30°, X.1995.5; Eanred, moneyer Daegberct (c 830–35), MW/1.05g/165°, X.1995.9; *Phase II*, GROUP A – irregular issue (c 850–55), MW/0.98g/

270°, X.1995.13; GROUP B – Eanred, moneyer Aldates (c 837–41), MW/0.81g/160°, X.1995.14; Aethelred II, second reign, moneyer Eanred (c 844–49), FW/1.07g/60°, X.1995.10; GROUP Ci – Eanred, moneyer Brodr (c 837–41), cMW/1.16g/0°, X.1995.6; Aethelred II, second reign, moneyer Earduulf (c 844–49), MW/1.29g/0°, X.1995.17; GROUP Cii – Eanred, moneyer Brodr (c 837–41), MW/1.16g/270°, X.1995.20; Aethelred II, first reign, moneyer Eanred (c 841–44), mis-struck, ?MW/1.14g, 270°, X.1995.7; Archbishop Uigmund, moneyer Edelhelm (c 837–54, ?c 844–49), SW-MW/0.98g/90°, X.1995.15; GROUP Ciii – Aethelred II, second reign, moneyer Monne (c 844–49), MW/0.97g/90°, X.1995.18; GROUP D – irregular issue (c 837–55), MW/0.88g/?, X.1995.16.

#### SCOTLAND

##### *William the Lion*

**cut halfpennies:** 3rd coinage, Roxburgh, uncertain moneyer, cMW/0.55g/180°, H.1992.304; another, Hue Walter, C?MW/0.62g/?, K.2002.653; another, Henri le Rus?, rev double-struck, CFW/0.50g/?, K.2002.654; another, uncertain mint and moneyer, MW/0.63g/?, another, uncertain mint and moneyer, FW/0.51g/180°, K.2002.655.

##### *David II*

**farthing:** 1st coinage, 6-point mullet issue, MW/0.33g/30°, H.1992.305 (the first recorded specimen (Holmes 1996b)).

##### *Robert II*

**half-groat:** Perth, broken, FW/1.85g/270°.

##### *James I*

**groat:** 1st variety, Edinburgh, chipped, FW/1.97g/210°; **pennies:** group A, Edinburgh, edge ragged, FW/0.79g/75°, K.2002.657; group A, Inverness, edge ragged, FW/0.73g/300°, K.2002.658; group B, Edinburgh, FW/1.02g/180°, H.1992.306.

##### *James I or II ?*

**penny:** CEW/0.43g/?, K.2002.659.

##### *James II–III*

**'Crux Pellit' coppers:** type Ia, FW/2.75g/105°, K.2002.660; type Ia, cMW/1.71g/330°, K.2002.661; type Ia, edge ragged, cMW/1.47g/255°, K.2002.662; type IIa, edge ragged, MW/1.90g/345°, K.2002.664;

type IIa, edge damaged, cFW/1.13g/0°, K.2002.665; type IIa, edge damaged, cMW/0.93g/180°, K.2002.666; type IIc (IIa variant – orb tilted upwards and to left), cFW/1.69g/340°, H.1995.636; type IIc, edge ragged, CVW/1.38g/150°, K.2002.667; type IIIa, edge ragged, MW/1.54g/195°, K.2002.668; type IIIa or IIIb, C?MW/0.99g/45°, K.2002.670; type IIIa or IIIb, edge ragged, obv C, rev cFW/0.86g/?

#### *James III*

**pennies:** class Cii, FW/0.36g/150°, K.2002.671; class Cva, bent, chipped, cFW/0.45g/225°, K.2002.672; **penny, counterfeit:** probably James III period, FW/0.41g/?, K.2002.673; **farthings:** 1st issue, cMW/0.68g/270°, K.2002.674; 1st issue, SW/0.55g/45°, H.1993.638; 1st issue, FW/0.53g/150°, K.2002.675; 1st issue, FW/0.40g/180°, K.2002.676; 2nd/1st issue mule, obv W, rev FW/0.46g/0°, H.1992.307; 2nd issue or ‘ecclesiastical’ type I, C/0.45 g/?, K.2002.678; ‘ecclesiastical’ type II or III, CW/0.28g/c 180°, K.2002.680; ‘ecclesiastical’ type III, FW/0.86g/?, ‘ecclesiastical’ type III, MW/0.52g/150°, K.2002.682; ‘ecclesiastical’ type III, pierced, FW/0.50g/?, K.2002.684.

#### *James IV*

**plack:** uncertain type, W/1.63g/?, K.2002.685; **pennies:** 1st issue, type 1, edge ragged, FW/0.56g/?, K.2002.687; 2nd issue – type III, MW/0.58g/150°, K.2002.688; type III, MW/0.57g/285°, K.2002.689; type IVd, MW/0.71g/75°; type IVd, FW/0.57g/60°, K.2002.690; type IVd, edge ragged, mostly MW/0.52g/90°, K.2002.691; type IVd, FW/0.46g/0°, K.2002.692; type IVd, chipped, cMW/0.43g/240°, K.2002.693; type IV, uncertain sub-class, undersized flan, MW/0.52g/225°, K.2002.694; type IV, uncertain sub-class, cracked, cFW/0.50g/330°, K.2002.695; probably type IV, W/0.85g/330°, K.2002.696; probably type IV, cVW/0.60g/?, K.2002.697; **penny, counterfeit,** as 2nd issue, W/0.69g/105°, K.2002.699.

#### *Mary*

**pennies:** 1st issue, type 1a, MW/0.78g/285°, K.2002.701; 1st issue, type 3, cMW/0.71g/135°, K.2002.702; 2nd issue (1556), MW/0.46g/165°, K.2002.703; **lions/hardheads:** 2nd issue (1558), FW/0.78g/100°, K.2002.704; 2nd issue, countermarked, VW/0.88g/300°, K.2002.705; uncertain issue, countermarked, VW/0.59g/c 120°, K.2002.707; **lion/hardhead, counterfeit:** cFW/0.98g/?, K.2002.710; **placks:** countermarked, FW/2.33g/180°, K.2002.711; not countermarked, cFW/1.15g/?180°, K.2002.712.

#### *Mary and Francis*

**lions/hardheads:** type 1 (1559, countermarked), FW/0.87g/240°, K.2002.713; type 2 (1559), MW/0.86g/190°, K.2002.715; type 2 (1559), FW/0.81g/45°; type 2 (1560), MW/0.87g/165°, K.2002.716; type 2 (date uncertain), CFW/1.18g/30°; type 2 (date uncertain), cW/0.89g/300°, K.2002.717; type 2 (date uncertain), cMW/0.87g/350°, K.2002.718; type 2 (date uncertain, countermarked), FW/0.98g/40°, K.2002.719; type 2 (date uncertain, countermarked), FW/0.88g/0°, K.2002.720; type 2 (date uncertain, countermarked), ?/0.89g/?

#### *James VI*

**quarter thistle merk:** (1602), cMW/1.62g/60°, K.2002.723; **eighth thistle merk:** (1603), clipped or undersized flan, SW-MW/0.94g/180°, K.2002.724; **placks:** type 2, FW/1.14g/165°; type 2, some edge damage, VW/0.97g/210°, K.2002.725; type 3, EW/1.04g/15°, K.2002.726; type 3, edge ragged, W/0.89g/210°, K.2002.727; **hardheads:** 1st issue, edge ragged, W/1.36g/315° K.2002.728; 2nd issue, FW/1.37g/195°, K.2002.729; 2nd issue, FW/1.34g/0°, K.2002.730; 2nd issue, W/1.19g/180°, K.2002.731; 2nd issue, cFW/1.13g/0°, K.2002.732; 2nd issue, cracked, MW/1.01g/120°, K.2002.733; 2nd issue, chipped and creased, VW/0.95g/80°, K.2002.734; 2nd issue, slightly buckled, cMW/0.88g/265°, K.2002.735; 2nd issue, edge ragged, cFW/0.86g/c 90°; 2nd issue, clipped or angular flan, SW-MW/0.80g/0°, K.2002.736; 2nd issue, ?/?/?; uncertain type, edge damaged, CFW/0.75g/?, K.2002.737; **hardhead, counterfeit:** as 2nd issue, poorly struck, W/0.64g/?, H.1993.639; **half-hardheads:** slight edge damage, SW/0.71g/280°, K.2002.738; another, SW-MW/0.69g/0°, K.2002.739; another, edge ragged, cFW/0.67g/180°, K.2002.740.

#### ENGLAND

##### *Henry II – Henry III*

**cut halfpenny (short cross):** uncertain type, mint and moneyer, broken, VW/0.50g/?, K.2002.752.

##### *John*

**cut halfpennies (short cross):** class 5b(i), Pieres, Chichester or Durham, MW/0.61g/0°, K.2002.742; class 5b, Tomas, Carlisle, Lincoln or York, c?MW/0.50g/c 240°, K.2002.743.

*John – Henry III*

**cut halfpenny (short cross):** uncertain type (class 5 or later), mint and moneyer, clipped, FW/0.39g/?, K.2002.751.

*Henry III*

**penny (short cross):** class 7, Ioan F R, Canterbury, very uneven striking, ?MW/1.34g/90°, K.2002.749; **cut halfpennies (long cross):** class 3c, Nicole, London, cMW/0.52g/275°, K.2002.754; class 5 (uncertain sub-class), Willem, Canterbury, FW/0.64g/180°, K.2002.755.

*Edward I–II*

**pennies:** class 3 (uncertain sub-class), York, uneven striking, W/0.89g/90°, K.2002.756; class 3g3, Lincoln, uneven striking, FW/1.33g/255°, K.2002.757; class 9b1, Newcastle, double-struck, FW/1.33g/120°, K.2002.761; class 9b2, London, cMW/1.26g/195°, K.2002.762; class 10ab5, Bury St Edmunds, MW/1.39g/45°, K.2002.763; class 10cf1, London, uneven striking, FW/1.33g/345°, K.2002.765; class 10cf2a, Canterbury, FW/1.31g/180°, K.2002.766; probably class 10 or 11a, Canterbury, buckled, C, obv VW, rev FW/1.27g/180°; class 11a, Bury St Edmunds, buckled, edge damaged, FW/1.17g/195°; class 11b, Durham, C?FW/1.22g/75°, K.2002.769; class 4c, Berwick, bent, cMW/1.42g/195°, K.2002.771; **farthing:** class 3d, London, edge ragged, FW/0.23g/150°, K.2002.773.

*Edward III*

**penny:** 4th coinage, pre-Treaty class F, Durham, uneven striking, FW/1.18g/0°, K.2002.774.

*Uncertain ruler*

**pennies:** York, broken and incomplete, obv featureless, rev FW . ?/?; York, half of coin, obv C (burned?), rev FW/0.36g/?

*Elizabeth I*

**sixpence:** 1572, initial mark ermine, abraded, VW/2.42g/?, K.2002.775; **half-groat:** 3rd issue (initial mark hand), VW/0.93g/60°, K.2002.776.

## IRELAND

*Elizabeth I*

**pennies:** 1601, initial mark star, FW/2.19g/300°, K.2002.778; another similar, FW/1.73g/30°,

K.2002.779; 1602, initial mark martlet, mis-shapen flan, VW/1.30g/150°, K.2002.780.

## FRANCE

*Charles VII*

**obole tournois (or imitation):** uneven striking, FW/0.76g/105°, H.1993.642.

*Charles VII or Charles VIII*

**obole tournois (or imitation):** FW/0.42g/?, H.1993.643.

*Charles VIII*

**hardi:** dented, edge ragged, W/0.75g/105°, H.1992.310; **liards au dauphin:** cFW/0.68g/120°, H.1993.644; another, cracked, edge ragged, FW/0.58g/240°, H.1992.309.

*Charles VIII?*

**uncertain billon denomination:** VW/0.75g/?, K.2002.784.

*Charles VIII or Louis XII*

**liard:** half, apparently cut, FW/0.39g/?, H.1993.645.

*François I*

**liards à l'F:** clipped, MW/0.79g/150°, H.1992.311; another, some edge damage, cFW/0.60g/255°, H.1993.646; **liard au dauphin:** FW/0.87g/255°, H.1993.647; **double tournois:** edge damaged, W/0.70g/?, K.2002.785; **double tournois du dauphiné:** uneven striking, W/0.88g/?

*Henri III*

**double tournois:** 1588, cFW/2.57g/225°, H.1993.648.

## DORNOCH, SUTHERLAND (274 COINS)

Apart from a small group of finds from a spoil heap resulting from the construction of The Meadows Business Park, in the southern part of the town, all these coins were recovered during metal-detecting by Mr Michael Gallon in fields to the north. They were divided by the finder into groups according to the location of the find-spot (Achinchanter, Balloan,

Burghfield, Sunny Bank), but as with the Aberlady finds, these divisions probably have little significance in terms of medieval land use. There is no evidence to suggest that these areas were utilized for markets or fairs, and indeed the distance at which some of them lie from the present town makes this seem very unlikely. It seems safer to conclude that the coins and other artefacts which have been found there were redeposited with night soil or other material taken from the town.

The coin series is important both for its size and for its early date of commencement. Dornoch did not attain the status of a Royal Burgh until 1628, although the cathedral has its origins in the first half of the 13th century, and it is not perhaps a place where extensive evidence of coin circulation might have been anticipated before the 15th or 16th century, but the number of short cross and long cross coins, particularly cut halfpennies, which have been recovered, indicates that coinage as a means of exchange must have been common there in the 13th century.

In the following catalogue, coins from the Meadows Business Park site spoil heap are indicated by an asterisk (\*). All others are from the fields to the north of the town. Apart from seven Business Park finds which Mr Gallon handed to employees of SUAT Ltd during their watching brief on the site in 1997, all the coins have been acquired by the National Museums of Scotland, and registration numbers are included in the catalogue entries.

## SCOTLAND

### *William the Lion*

**cut halfpennies:** 3rd coinage – 1st phase, Peris Adam, Roxburgh, MW/0.72g/0°, K.1998.1425; 2nd phase, Hue Walter, uneven striking, FW/0.70g/?, K.1998.1427; another similar, SW-MW/0.68g/0°, K.1998.1426.

### *Alexander III*

**First coinage – pennies:** Baldwin type III, Robert, Berwick, slightly buckled, FW/1.47g/150°, K.1998.1428; type III, Gefrai, Inverness, SW/1.34g/120°, K.1999.270; **cut halfpenny:** uncertain type, mint and moneyer, bent, mostly W/0.49g/?, K.1999.286; **Second coinage – pennies:** class E1/M, 25 point reverse, MW/1.36g/10°, K.1998.1429; class E2/D, 26 point reverse, FW/1.44g/270°, K.1998.1430; **halfpenny:** 10 point reverse, slight edge damage, SW-MW/0.59g/0°, K.1998.1431.

### *David II*

**Second coinage – groat:** type A6, Edinburgh, MW/4.55g/270°, K.2001.920; **penny:** type A, Edinburgh, MW/1.02g/30°, K.1998.1432; **Third coinage – penny:** type 2; SW-MW/0.88g/315°, K.1998.1433.

### *Robert II*

**halfpenny:** Edinburgh, SW/0.46g/45°, K.1999.271.

### *Robert III*

**Heavy coinage, first issue – \*groat:** MW/2.73g/315°, K.2001.913; **half-groat:** badly chipped, cMW/0.90g/300°, K.1998.1435; **Light coinage – groat:** fragment, c30% of coin, FW/0.70g/c 50°, K.1998.1434.

### *James I*

**half-demy (gold):** SW/1.68g/150°, K.1999.269; **groats:** fleur-de-lys issue, 1st variety, Edinburgh, clipped, W/1.90g/165°, K.1998.1436; three fused together – fleur-de-lys issue, one with Edinburgh reverse, edges damaged, cFW; K.1998.1437; **pennies:** Group A, Edinburgh, FW/0.72g/180°, K.1998.1438; another similar, badly chipped, W/0.37g/45°, K.1998.1485; Group A, Inverness, cMW/0.63g/340°, K.1998.1439; Group A/B mule, Inverness, slightly chipped, MW/0.52g/285°, K.1997.1.

### *James II*

**groat, counterfeit:** copper counterfeit with traces of silver wash, as 2nd coinage, 2nd issue, much edge damage, cMW/2.51g/0°, K.2001.928; **pennies:** 2nd coinage, 2nd issue, class Bi (?), obv W, rev mostly FW/0.44g/225°, K.1998.1440; another, class Cii, cFW/0.57g/180°, K.1998.1441; **penny, counterfeit:** as 2nd coinage, 2nd issue, class Bi, edge damaged, cFW/0.48g/190°, K.1998.1442.

### *James III*

**pennies:** class Cva, cFW/0.44g/0°, K.1998.1443; class Cvb, under-sized flan, FW/0.36g/130°, K.1998.1444; uncertain class, irregular flan, cFW/0.37g/120°, K.1998.1486; **farthing:** ‘ecclesiastical’ type 1, much edge damage, FW/0.64g/?, K.1998.1445.

### *James IV*

**placks:** \* type I-II, accretion on obv, W/1.99g/195°, K.1998.1489; type IIa, bent, MW/1.84g/270°, K.1998.1447; type IIa, cracked, MW/1.59g/150°, K.1998.1446; \* type IIa, much edge damage, MW/1.16g/?: type IVb, FW/2.25g/225°, K.1998.1448;

fragment, type IV–V, c half of coin, buckled, VW/0.90g/30°, K.1998.1491; uncertain type, chipped, buckled, CFW/1.53g/?, K.1998.1487; **pennies** – **1st issue**: type 1, chipped, bent, FW/0.37g/330°, K.1998.1449; type 1, badly chipped, MW/0.26g/90°, K.1998.1492; **2nd issue**: type II, MW/0.66g/330°, K.1998.1450; type III, cW/0.69g/30°, K.2001.921; type III?, much verdigris, FW/0.73g/315°, K.1998.1493; \* type IVd, SW/0.79g/210°, K.1998.1452; \* type IVd, under-sized flan, SW/0.68g/45°, K.1998.1453; type IVd, slightly chipped, MW/0.67g/15°, K.1998.1454; type IVd, cMW/0.62g/135°, K.2001.915; \* type IVd, MW/0.52g/120°, K.1999.296; type IVd, FW/0.44g/270°, K.2001.922; type IV(d?), some accretion, MW/0.87g/270°, K.1998.1498; type IV(d?), some accretion, MW/0.51g/60°, K.1998.1497; type IV (uncertain sub-class), irregular flan, FW/0.60g/210°, K.1998.1455; type IV (uncertain sub-class), FW/0.56g/0°, K.1998.1632; type IV?, some accretion, MW/0.57g/?, K.1998.1499; type IV variant, with broken star stops on obv, MW/0.73g/180°, K.1998.1451; uncertain type, C/0.61g/210°, K.1998.1494; uncertain type, obv EW, rev W/0.63g/225°, K.1998.1495; uncertain type, obv VW, rev W/0.44g/?, K.1998.1496; **penny, counterfeit**: as 2nd issue, chipped, FW/0.68g/?, K.1998.1456.

#### *James IV–V*

**plack**: C/1.43g/?, K.1998.1488.

#### *James IV or Mary*

**penny**: C/1.00g/?, K.1998.1500.

#### *James V*

**groat**: fragment, type IV, c40% of coin, SW/1.01g/195°, K.1999.287; **placks**: fragment, type IIa?, c25% of coin, FW/1.05g/15°, K.1998.1490; type II (uncertain sub-class), FW/1.10g/240°, K.2001.916; another similar, W/0.96g/150°, K.2001.917; another similar, chipped, W/0.87g/150°, K.2001.918; **plack, counterfeit?**: buckled, cFW/1.29g/?, K.1999.299; **bawbee**: type 1a, chipped, FW/1.12g/285°, K.1999.272.

#### *Mary*

**bawbees**: type Ibiii?, chipped, MW/1.48g/270°, K.1999.1514; type IVb?, W/1.08g/300°, K.1998.1459; type Vlb(ii–iii), chipped, MW/1.55g/240°, K.1998.1513; type VIc(i)?, slightly chipped, FW/1.41g/75°, K.1998.1458; type VIIb(iv), some verdigris, SW/1.76g/270°, K.1998.1511; type VIIb(iv), MW/1.74g/30°, K.1998.1512; uncertain type (fluted saltire), chipped, surface accretion, MW/1.41g/60°,

K.1998.1515; uncertain type, chipped, some weak striking, MW/1.41g/90°, K.1998.1457; fragment, uncertain type, c65% of coin, FW/0.69g/330°, K.1999.273; \* **penny**: 2nd issue (1556), SW/0.54g/285°, K.1998.1460; **lions/hardheads**: (1558), badly chipped, FW/0.45g/240°, K.1998.1501; (1558?, countermarked), W/0.67g/300°, K.1998.1503; (1558?, countermarked), badly chipped, FW/0.29g/330°, K.1998.1502; (date uncertain, countermarked), FW/1.10g/345°, K.1998.1461; (date uncertain, countermarked), FW/0.78g/90°, K.1998.1505; (date uncertain, countermarked), cVW/0.75g/?, K.1998.1504; (date uncertain, countermarked), irregular flan, FW/0.74g/240°, K.1998.1506; \* (date uncertain, countermarked), cFW/0.55g/?, (date uncertain, countermarked), C/0.54g/210°, K.1998.1628; **placks**: SW/1.70g/180°, K.2001.929; another, edge damaged, VW/1.53g/?, K.1999.1508; another, countermarked, some edge damage, MW/1.44g/165°, K.1998.1509; another, chipped, MW/1.37g/270°, K.1998.1462; another, countermarked, some edge damage, mostly FW/1.33g/285°, K.1998.1464; another, countermarked, mostly FW/1.32g/225°, K.1998.1510; another, chipped, MW/1.22g/120°, K.1998.1463; \* another, countermarked, W/1.08g/0°, K.1999.297; another, countermarked, cracked, chipped, VW/0.88g/165°, K.1998.1507.

#### *Mary or Mary and Francis*

**lions/hardheads**: C/0.97g/?, K.1998.1520; another, chipped, C/0.58g/45°, K.1999.300.

#### *Mary and Francis*

**lions/hardheads**: type 1 (1559), undersized flan, very SW/0.89g/120°, K.1999.274; another similar, some edge damage, SW/0.83g/210°, K.1998.1530; another similar, mostly MW/0.65g/210°, K.1998.1465; \* another similar, FW/0.62g/?, another, countermarked, W/0.57g/30°, K.1998.1522; type 2 (1559, countermarked), W/0.86g/315°, K.1998.1531; another similar, MW/0.78g/45°, K.1999.288; another similar, edge damaged, SW/0.61g/45°, K.2001.923; another similar, cFW/0.52g/45°, K.1999.301; type 2 (1560), mostly MW/0.75g/300°, K.1998.1532; another similar, CFW/0.70g/300°, K.1999.275; type 2 (date uncertain), some accretion, MW/1.14g/210°, K.1998.1466; another similar, chipped, CFW/0.87g/?, K.1998.1526; another similar, countermarked, irregular flan, MW/0.86g/0°, K.1998.1518; another similar, countermarked, C/0.80g/?, K.1998.1523; \* another similar, FW/0.75g/?, another similar, irregular flan,

some accretion, FW/0.73g/270°, K.1998.1517; another similar, edge damaged, MW/0.72g/105°, K.1998.1519; another similar, FW/0.61g/330°, K.1998.1516; another similar, much edge damage, W/0.59g/90°, K.1998.1524; another similar, edge damaged, FW/0.57g/240°, K.1998.1527; another similar, irregular flan, W/0.53g/40°, K.1998.1533; another similar, countermarked, C/0.50g/240°, K.1999.276; another similar, countermarked, badly chipped, C/0.46g/?, K.1998.1529; another similar, countermarked, cFW/0.45g/345°, K.1998.1525; another similar, chipped, C/0.43g/?, K.1998.1521; another, uncertain type and date, C/0.54g/?, K.1998.1528.

#### *James VI*

**half nobles/quarter merks:** (1572), FW/3.04g/270°, K.1998.1467; (1577), FW/2.91g/150°, K.1998.1468; **one-eighth thistle merks:** (1602), MW/0.83g/180°, K.1998.1469; (1601–3), clipped, VW/0.75g/60°, K.1998.1470; **placks:** type 1, MW/2.08g/315°, K.1998.1471; type 2/1 mule, chipped, FW/1.02g/150°, K.1999.277; type 1 or 2, obv FW with accretion, rev rubbed flat/1.11g/?, K.1998.1560; type 2, FW/1.42g/315°, K.1998.1565; type 2, FW/1.31g/270°, K.1999.278; type 2, clipped and chipped, FW/1.27g/210°, K.1998.1561; type 2, much edge damage, FW/1.23g/105°, K.1998.1563; type 2, accretion on obv, W/0.96g/75°, K.1998.1556; type 2, chipped, obv W, rev EW/0.85g/90°, K.1998.1559; type 3, much accretion on obv, FW/1.73g/180°, K.1999.302; type 3, small flan, W/1.56g/15°, K.1998.1558; type 3, FW/1.37g/330°, K.1998.1566; type 3, FW/1.31g/345°, K.1999.279; type 3, FW/1.20g/210°, K.1998.1472; type 3, much edge damage, W/0.93g/135°, K.1998.1564; type 3, badly chipped, FW/0.82g/60°, K.1998.1557; **plack, counterfeit?:** much edge damage, W/1.51g/150°, K.1998.1562; **half plack:** irregular flan, FW/1.07g/285°, K.1998.1473; **hardheads:** 1st issue, SW-MW/1.48g/150°, K.1998.1474; another, SW/0.99g/330°, K.1998.1534; 2nd issue, FW/1.53g/240°, K.1999.291; \* another, FW/1.35g/?, another, FW/1.28g/345°, K.1998.1549; another, slightly chipped, some accretion, MW/1.27g/270°, K.1998.1538; another, MW/1.25g/45°, K.1998.1540; another, MW/1.17g/30°, K.1998.1548; another, FW/1.16g/330°, K.1998.1539; another, edge damaged, FW/1.15g/225°, K.1998.1546; \* another, FW/1.13g/?, another, chipped, FW/1.04g/60°, K.1998.1544; \* another, FW/1.03g/?, another, slight edge damage, MW/1.02g/60°, K.1999.303; another, MW/1.00g/180°, K.1998.1550; another, FW/0.97g/0°, K.1999.290; another, some accretion, FW/0.97g/225°, K.1998.1475; another, FW/0.96g/240°, K.1998.1545;

another, FW/0.90g/330°, K.1998.1536; another, cFW/0.86g/240°, K.1998.1552; another, some edge damage, FW/0.85g/210°, K.1998.1535; another, much edge damage, some accretion, W/0.85g/150°, K.1998.1541; another, chipped, MW/0.83g/255°, K.1998.1551; another, CFW/0.83g/150°, K.1999.304; another, much edge damage, cFW/0.82g/30°, K.1999.280; another, c, probably FW/0.81g/30°, K.1998.1554; another, much edge damage, cW/0.80g/150°, K.1998.1543; another, C/0.75g/180°, K.1999.289; another, cFW/0.74g/330°, K.1999.1537; another, much edge damage, obv W, rev VW/0.73g/195°, K.1998.1547; another, C/0.63g/300°, K.1998.1553; uncertain issue, CW/0.70g/?, K.1998.1542; **hardheads, counterfeits:** as 2nd issue, clipped, obv MW, rev VW/0.87g/270°, K.1999.298; another, chipped, MW/0.77g/30°, K.1998.1555; **twopence (1597):** cFW/3.30g/150°, K.1998.1567.

#### ENGLAND

##### *Henry II–III*

**cut halfpenny:** short cross, uncertain type, mint and moneyer, chipped, W/0.41g/?, K.1998.1579

##### *John*

**pennies (short cross):** class 5b(i), Hue, Lincoln, cMW/1.01g/345°, K.1998.1379; class 6b(2), Hiun, Canterbury, buckled, FW/1.14g/75°, K.1998.1380; **cut halfpennies (short cross):** fragment, class 5b, Chichester, uncertain moneyer, c75% of halfpenny, cSW/0.36g/?, K.1998.1624; class 5b, Ilger, London, slightly buckled, SW/0.58g/90°, K.1998.1636; \* class 5b(ii)–5c, Goldwine, Canterbury, SW-MW/0.57g/60°, K.1998.1580; class 5b–5c, Rauf, Lincoln or Winchester, W/0.63g/0°, K.2001.930; class 5c–6 (?6b), Abel, London, cW/0.58g/330°, K.2001.931.

##### *John?*

**cut halfpenny (short cross):** class 6?, Canterbury, uncertain moneyer C?FW/0.60g/?, K.1998.1622.

##### *John – Henry III*

**cut halfpenny (short cross):** class 6b(2)–6c(1), Abel, London, FW/0.61g/150°, K.1998.1581.

##### *Henry III*

**Pennies (short cross):** \* class 7b(B), Ilger, London, SW-MW/1.46g/0°, K.1998.1381; class 7c(A), Nichole, Canterbury, MW/1.00g/350°, K.1998.1382; class 7c?, Canterbury, uncertain moneyer, uneven

striking, FW/1.02g/90°, K.1998.1383; class 8b(2), Nichole, London, FW/1.06g/60°, K.1998.1384; **cut halfpennies (short cross)**: class 7b(A)?, Rauf, London, MW/0.64g/10°, K.1998.1620; class 7c(A)?, Nichole, Canterbury or London, cracked, FW/0.81g/180°, K.1998.1619; **pennies (long cross)**: class 1b, London, SW/1.24g/280°, K.1998.1385; class 3b, Henri, London, cSW/1.31g/30°, K.2001.924; class 3b, Nicole, London, MW/1.20g/270°, K.2001.932; another similar, MW/1.08g/150°, K.1998.1387; class 3 (uncertain sub-class), Lucas, Gloucester, much weak striking, MW/1.19g/240°, K.1998.1386; class 5b(2)–5c, Willem, Canterbury, accretion on rev, MW/1.31g/220°, K.1998.1388; class 5c, Ricard, London, angular flan, MW/1.38g/285°, K.1998.1389; **cut halfpennies (long cross)**: class 3a–3c?, London, uncertain moneyer, bent, FW/0.50g/0°, K.1998.1625; class 3(c?), Nicole, Canterbury, slightly bent, mostly MW/0.69g/195°, K.1999.284; \* class 3 (uncertain sub-class), Lincoln, uncertain moneyer, SW-MW/0.74g/45°, K.1998.1591; class 3 (uncertain sub-class), Henri, London, cSW-MW/0.60g/30°, K.1998.1586; class 3 (uncertain sub-class), Henri, uncertain mint, MW/0.69g/15°, K.1998.1583; class 3?, Canterbury?, uncertain moneyer, slightly buckled, much weak striking, MW/0.46g/?, K.1998.1584; class 5a–5b(1), Nicole, London, FW/0.63g/120°, K.1998.1588; \* class 5a(2)–5c, Nicole, Canterbury or London, SW-MW/0.54g/345°, K.1998.1585; class 5a–5c?, Nicole, Canterbury or London, slightly clipped, FW/0.63g/330°, K.1998.1590; class 5b(2), Willem, Canterbury, MW/0.71g/180°, K.1998.1589; class 5b(2?), Nicole, London, FW/0.77g/120°, K.1998.1592; class 5b(2)–5c, Henri, London, SW/0.71g/30°, K.1998.1582; class 5b–5c, Nicole, Canterbury, MW/0.60g/120°, K.1998.1593; class 5b–5c, Henri, London, FW/0.75g/45°, K.1998.1594; class 5c, Ricard, London, SW/0.58g/90°, K.2001.933; class 5(c?), Gilbert, Canterbury, FW/0.64g/270°, K.1998.1587; class 5(g?), Canterbury, uncertain moneyer, clipped, FW/0.47g/180°, K.1998.1621; uncertain class, mint and moneyer, bent, C/0.57g/?, K.1998.1578; fragment, counterfeit?, c half of halfpenny, SW/0.31g/?, K.1998.1623.

#### *Edward I–II*

**pennies**: class 3c–3d, Lincoln, C/1.34g/300°, K.1998.1391; class 3g1, London, cMW/1.19g/150°, K.2001.934; class 3g2, London, clipped, FW/0.99g/105°, K.2001.935; class 4a3, Canterbury, FW/1.38g/0°, K.1998.1392; class 4a4, London, MW/1.31g/150°, K.1998.1393; class 4b, Canterbury, FW/1.30g/60°, K.1998.1395; another similar, buckled, chipped, mostly

MW/1.01g/190°, K.1998.1394; class 10ab5, London, MW/1.25g/0°, K.1998.1396; class 10cf1, Canterbury, clipped, FW/1.18g/135°, K.1998.1595; class 10cf1, London, FW/1.39g/285°, K.1998.1397; class 10cf2a, Durham, FW/1.12g/255°, K.1998.1400; class 10cf2a, London, buckled, MW/1.39g/225°, K.1998.1398; another similar, mostly MW/1.33g/170°, K.1998.1399; class 10cf2b, London, MW/1.37g/260°, K.1998.1401; class 10cf3b1, London, MW/1.20g/50°, K.1998.1402; class 10cf3b2?, Canterbury, some double-striking, FW/1.31g/20°, K.1998.1403; class 11b2, London, MW/1.32g/120°, K.2001.936; class 11 (uncertain sub-class), Durham, badly buckled, cFW/1.03g/330°, K.1998.1407; class 12a, Canterbury, surface accretion, SW/1.62g/180°, K.1998.1404; class 13, London, clipped, FW/1.00g/315°, K.1998.1405; class 14, Bury St Edmunds, FW/1.25g/150°, K.2001.937; class 15a, London, chipped, FW/1.22g/160°, K.1998.1406; class 4c, Berwick, slightly buckled, some edge damage, MW/1.24g/200°, K.1998.1408; **halfpenny**: class 3c–e, London, SW-MW/0.63g/150°, K.1998.1409.

#### *Edward I–III*

**halfpenny**: class 10–11, London, much weak striking, W/0.52g/15°, K.1998.1410.

#### *Edward III*

**groat**: 4th coinage, pre-Treaty series E–G (?), London, severely clipped, buckled, VW/2.96g/165°, K.1998.1633; **pennies**: 4th coinage, pre-Treaty series F, London, MW/0.96g/270°, K.1998.1626; another, series G(c), Durham, FW/1.03g/10°, K.1998.1411.

#### *Henry VI*

**groat**: annulet issue, Calais, MW/3.64g/30°, K.2001.914; **half-groat**: rosette-mascle issue, Calais, edge nicks, MW/1.35g/135°, K.1998.1415.

#### *Philip and Mary*

**groats**: badly bent, mostly VW/1.42g/120°, K.2001.938; another, cracked, some edge damage, VW/1.24g/285°, K.1998.1416.

#### *Elizabeth I*

**sixpences**: 2nd issue (1566, initial mark lion), some accretion, FW/2.59g/105°, K.1998.1417; (1570, castle), cFW/2.74g/255°, K.2001.926; 3rd issue (1594, woolpack), clipped and chipped, W/2.13g/135°, K.1998.1634; **groat**: 1st issue (martlet), VW/1.59g/90°, K.2001.925; **threepences**: 2nd issue (1578, plain

cross), FW/1.31g/70°, K.1998.1418; another similar, EW/0.82g/30°, K.1998.1597; another (uncertain date and initial mark), pierced, EW/0.96g/?, K.1998.1596; **half-groats**: 3rd issue (1583, bell), VW/0.77g/330°, K.1998.1419; another (uncertain date and initial mark), pierced and cracked, poorly struck, W/0.74g/60°, K.1998.1420; another, uncertain issue, EW/0.44g/30°, K.2001.919.

## IRELAND

*Henry III*

**penny**: class 1a, Ricard, Dublin, SW/1.30g/210°, K.1998.1390.

## BRABANT

*John I*

**penny/brabantinus**: Mayhew type 1c, slightly bent, SW/1.15g/285°, K.1998.1414.

## LUXEMBOURG

*John the Blind*

\* **sterling**: Mayhew type 265 (a–l), MW/1.08g/105°, K.1998.1412.

## CONTINENTAL

**sterling imitation**: type cf Mayhew 375, FW/1.00g/45°, K.1998.1413.

## FRANCE

*François I*

**double tournois à la croisette**: Duplessy type 935, most of legends missing, VW/0.60g/45°, K.1998.1600; **denier tournois à la croisette**: Duplessy type 936 variant, much edge damage, MW/0.39g/195°, K.1998.1601.

## SWEDEN

*Sigismund*

**half öre** (?): pierced, C, mostly VW/1.61g/?, K.1999.282.

## CRAIL, FIFE (46 COINS)

This list comprises coins found by Mr Alistair McCabe and another detectorist (whom the author has not been able to contact) in fields to the north and west of Crail. The finds are spread fairly consistently over the areas searched, with no obvious concentrations and, as in the case of Dornoch, the distribution suggests that the coins are likely to have been redeposited in the fields along with rubbish from the town. Quantities of medieval pottery and other artefacts were also found spread out across the fields.

The assemblage is remarkable for its high proportion of early coins and the almost total absence of late medieval small change. Forty of the 46 coins are pennies or fractions of the Short Cross, Long Cross or Edwardian period, i.e. coins minted between c 1180 and c 1322. There are no groats or half-groats of the 14th or 15th century, no billon pennies, and just one copper farthing of James III. The 16th century is represented by just five coins. Since there can be no doubt that low-value coins, at least, would have circulated freely in and around Crail in the later Middle Ages and beyond, we must conclude that, for reasons as yet unclear, the process by which lost coins were deposited in this particular area in earlier times had ceased by the later period.

All the coins were returned to the finders.

## SCOTLAND

*William the Lion*

**cut halfpenny**: 3rd coinage, Hue Walter, MW/0.65g/150°.

*Alexander III*

**cut halfpenny**: 1st coinage, uncertain type, Robert, Berwick, obv VW, rev W/0.59g/300°.

*Robert Bruce*

**halfpenny**: slightly buckled, obv MW, rev FW/0.58g/105°.

*James III*

**farthing**: 2nd issue, small angular flan, cFW/0.19g/?.

*Mary or Mary and Francis*

**lion/hardhead**: countermarked, bent, chipped, C/0.48g/?.

*Mary and Francis*

**lion/hardhead:** type 2, countermarked, buckled, VW/0.65g/135°.

## ENGLAND

*Henry II – John*

**cut halfpenny or fragment of a penny (short cross):** uncertain class and moneyer, London, uneven striking, W/0.52g/30°.

*Richard I*

**pennies, short cross:** class 4a, Stivene, London, clipped, slightly buckled, some accretion, MW/0.91g/90°; class 4(a?), Stivene, London, surface accretion, MW/0.75g/270°.

*John*

**pennies (short cross):** class 5b\*(i), Roberd, Canterbury, surface accretion, SW/1.31g/120°; class 6b2, Rau(I)f, London, slightly buckled, slight accretion, MW/1.40g/105°; **cut halfpennies (short cross):** class 5b2, Hue, Canterbury or Lincoln, FW/0.73g/105°; fragment, class 5, Andreu, Lincoln or Winchester, just over half of a cut halfpenny, slightly buckled, FW/0.28g/c 270°; class 6a1, Ilger, London, FW/0.65g/0°.

*Henry III*

**penny (short cross):** class 7c(B?), Nichole, Canterbury or London, struck off-centre on irregular flan, FW/1.28g/270°; **cut halfpennies (short cross):** class 7a(A?), uncertain moneyer (Norman ?), Bury St Edmunds, SW/0.65g/285°; class 7b, Osmunde, Canterbury, MW/0.64g/345°; **pennies (long cross):** class 3(c?), Ion, Bury St Edmunds, buckled, some accretion, FW/1.02g/30°; possibly a contemporary counterfeit, as class 3c, Willem, Lincoln, SW/1.01g/0°; class 5a2–5a3, Ricard, London, slightly buckled, cSW/1.35g/45°; class 5b–5c, Henri, London, buckled, FW/1.35g/60°; class 5d, Renaud, London, slightly buckled, abraded, MW/1.16g/30°; class 5g, Ion, Canterbury or London, uneven striking, slightly buckled, cMW/1.04g/300°; **cut halfpennies (long cross):** class 3a–3c, uncertain mint and moneyer, surface accretion, FW/0.60g/?; class 3b, uncertain moneyer, Lincoln, MW/0.72g/?; class 5d–5g, uncertain moneyer, Canterbury, MW/0.67g/?.

*Edward I–II*

**pennies:** class 2a, London, buckled, surface accretion, FW/1.27g/0°; class 3b, London, chipped, FW/1.21g/165°; class 3g2, London, slightly buckled, cFW/1.30g/210°; class 3e, Newcastle, slightly buckled, FW/1.27g/30°; class 4d or 4d/4c mule, Canterbury, slight accretion, MW/1.39g/135°; class 4e, London, MW/1.36g/150°; class 9b, Canterbury, bent, chipped, cW/1.22g/315°; class 10cf1, London, MW/1.40g/220°; another similar, surface accretion, FW/1.23g/80°; class 10cf2a, London, FW/1.34g/255°; class 10cf2 (uncertain sub-class), London, abraded, FW/1.23g/150°; class 10cf3b1, Durham, FW/1.46g/150°; class 15c, London, chipped, surface accretion, SW/1.12g/30°; class 4(c?), Berwick, buckled, surface accretion, FW/1.32g/150°; **halfpenny:** uncertain class, London, chipped, slightly buckled, mostly VW/0.59g/210°.

*Mary*

**groat:** buckled, badly chipped, EW/0.90g/?

*Elizabeth I*

**threepence:** 2nd issue (1573, mint-mark illegible), creased, much edge damage, VW/0.79g/?

## IRELAND

*Henry III*

**penny:** class IIc, Ricard, Dublin, MW/1.32g/300°.

## FRANCE

*Henri III*

**double tournois:** date illegible, C, probably MW/2.62g/225°.

## CONTINENTAL

**sterling imitation** of Jean d'Avesnes, Maubeuge, Mayhew type 37 or 39, chipped, cFW/1.07g/210°.

## ANCRUM, ROXBURGHSHIRE (71 COINS)

These coins are all metal-detector finds made by Mr Billy Butler in fields in the Ale Bridge area to the east of the village. The series is consistent with continuous

activity from the late 12th century onwards, but there are fewer examples of 15th- and early 16th-century base metal denominations than might have been expected if the area had been the site of a market or fair at that time.

All the coins were returned to the finder.

## SCOTLAND

### *William the Lion*

**cut halfpenny:** 3rd coinage, Hue Walter, slightly buckled, FW/0.53g/?

### *Alexander III*

**First coinage – cut halfpenny:** uncertain type and moneyer, ? Roxburgh, ?/0.48g/?; **Second coinage – penny:** type E1, 24-point reverse, chipped, buckled, SW-MW/1.15g/30°.

### *James I*

**penny:** group B, Edinburgh; W/0.83g/90°.

### *James II–III*

**‘Crux Pellit’ coppers:** type Ia, irregular flan, MW/1.41g/0°; type Ia, irregular flan, FW/1.40g/15°.

### *Mary*

**penny:** 2nd issue (1556), cSW/0.79g/240°.

### *James VI*

**placks:** type 2, W/1.33g/225°; type 2, W/1.18g/225°; type 3, W/1.20g/0°; type 3, W/1.04g/45°; **saltire plack:** chipped, VW/1.09g/45°.

## ENGLAND

### *Henry II – Henry III*

**cut halfpennies (short cross):** uncertain class, Willelm, uncertain mint, slightly buckled, W/0.56g/210°; uncertain class and moneyer, London, bent, W/0.53g/150°.

### *Richard I – John (?)*

**cut halfpenny (short cross):** class ii (?), Tomas, Rhuddlan (?), slightly buckled, MW/0.52g/45°.

### *John*

**pennies (short cross):** class 5b2, Pieres, Durham, FW/1.35g/30°; class 6 (uncertain sub-class), Samuel, Canterbury, C/1.34g/0°; class iii, Simond, Rhuddlan, cFW/1.25g/90°; **cut halfpenny (short cross):** class 6a1, uncertain moneyer, London, MW/0.58g/210°.

### *John (?)*

**penny (short cross):** uncertain class, Willelm, uncertain mint, VW/1.21g/150°.

### *Henry III*

**pennies (short cross):** class 7a(B), Roger of R, Canterbury, MW/1.40g/30°; class 7b(D), Ioan F R, Canterbury, mostly W/1.11g/30°; **cut halfpenny (short cross):** class 7(?), uncertain moneyer, Canterbury, slightly buckled, W/0.58g/?; **pennies (long cross):** class 3b, Gilbert, Canterbury, slightly buckled, FW/1.26g/30°; class 3b, Nicole, Canterbury, FW/1.27g/330°; class 3b, Nicole, London, cMW/1.16g/250°; class 3c, Willem, Canterbury, MW/1.25g/0°; class 3c, Nicole, London, MW/1.36g/255°; class 5a2, Nicole, London, slightly buckled, MW/1.30g/105°; class 5a3, ‘Ricole’, London, cMW/1.38g/330°; class 5b2, Willem, Canterbury, slightly buckled, cW/1.26g/30°; class 5g, Robert, Canterbury, mostly FW/1.42g/330°; class 5g, Ricard, London, bent, MW/1.34g/150°; **cut halfpennies (long cross):** class 3a, Nicole, London, mostly MW/0.78g/30°; class 3b, Nicole, uncertain mint, FW/0.63g/0°; class 3 (uncertain sub-class), Philip, Exeter or Northampton, MW/0.72g/300°; class 3, uncertain sub-class and moneyer, Lincoln, cMW/0.61g/120°; class 5, uncertain sub-class and moneyer, Canterbury, FW/0.62g/180°; class 5, uncertain sub-class and moneyer, Canterbury (?), uneven striking, MW/0.62g/?; class 5, uncertain sub-class and moneyer, London, cW/0.62g/120°; uncertain class, Nicole, uncertain mint, clipped, FW/0.48g/225°; uncertain class, mint and moneyer, obv EW, rev VW/0.42g/?

### *Edward I–II*

**pennies:** class 2b, London, FW/1.25g/325°; fragment, class 3c–3d, Canterbury, less than half of coin, FW/?/?; class 3g3, Bristol, mostly FW/1.29g/240°; fragment, class 3g (?), London, less than half of coin, buckled, MW/0.56g/60°; class 4a1, Canterbury, FW/1.30g/225°; class 10ab5 (late), London, obv abraded, W/1.21g/270°; class 10cf1, London, incomplete, FW/1.08g/105°; class 10cf2a, Durham, MW/1.51g/335°; class 10cf5b, Canterbury, clipped, bent, W/1.09g/0°; class 4a, Berwick, mostly MW/1.26g/60°.

*Henry VIII*

**half-groat:** 2nd coinage, Canterbury, Archbishop Warham, initial mark cross patonce, FW/1.14g/90°.

*Mary*

**groats:** W/1.60g/0°; another, cracked, W/1.34g/225°.

*Philip and Mary*

**groat:** mostly VW/1.66g/195°.

*Elizabeth I*

**sixpences:** (1567, initial mark coronet), W/2.99g/75°; (1582, sword), W, especially portrait/2.66g/345°; (1588, crescent), FW/2.91g/150°; (1592, tun), MW/2.73g/330°; (1602, 2), FW/2.79g/240°; **groats:** 1st issue, lis, buckled, FW/1.86g/90°; another, uncertain initial mark, buckled, cracked, VW/1.36g/0°; **threepences:** (1573, acorn), VW/1.22g/150°; (1578, plain cross), W/1.25g/195°; (1579, plain cross), W/1.06g/240°; **half-groats:** 3rd issue, bell, VW/0.79g/165°; another, hand, pierced, W/0.80g/240°; another, woolpack, slightly buckled, mostly W/0.82g/210°; another, 2, cracked, MW/0.96g/270°; **penny:** uncertain issue, clipped, slightly buckled, MW/0.52g/165°.

## MAXTON, ROXBURGHSHIRE (51 COINS)

All these coins, again found by Mr Billy Butler, came from fields to the east and south-east of the village, with the exception of a single penny (marked \*), from an area to the west. All were returned to the finder.

This assemblage is remarkable for the number of pre-1180 issues. A farthing cut from a sterling of David I, and two pennies and a cut halfpenny of William the Lion's 'crescent and pellet' coinage, as well as an English 'Tealby' halfpenny of Henry II, all point to the circulation of coinage at Maxton in the third quarter of the 12th century. By contrast, there is very little indicative of activity after the 1350s and, as in the case of Crail, it must be assumed that whatever process had led to the deposition of coins in this particular area in the earlier period had been superseded before the general availability of low value base metal coins.

## SCOTLAND

*David I*

**cut farthing:** type IVb, Erebald, Carlisle, c, FW/0.35g/?

*William the Lion*

**pennies:** 2nd coinage, class 2, Raul, Roxburgh, uneven striking, MW/1.29g/c 210°; another similar, buckled, MW/1.09g/0°; **cut halfpennies:** 2nd coinage, class 2, Raul, Roxburgh, slightly buckled, MW/0.62g/0°; 3rd coinage, Hue Walter; VW/0.55g/?; another, uncertain mint and moneyer, slightly buckled, c, W/0.63g/?

*Alexander II*

**cut halfpenny:** class b, Pieres, Roxburgh, FW/0.60g/45°.

*Alexander III*

**pennies (1st coinage):** type III, Robert (?), Berwick, uneven striking, FW/1.36g/315°; yype VIIa, uncertain moneyer, Berwick, slightly buckled, uneven striking, FW/1.07g/150°.

*David II*

**penny:** 2nd coinage, class B, Edinburgh, FW/0.88g/240°.

*James IV*

**penny:** 2nd issue, type IVc, MW/0.57g/0°.

*James VI*

**12 pence:** 7th coinage (1595), clipped (?), MW/0.75g/270°.

## ENGLAND

*Henry II*

**cut halfpenny:** cross-and-crosslets/Tealby type C2, uncertain mint, clipped, MW/0.63g/?

*Henry II – Henry III*

**cut halfpennies (short cross):** uncertain class, mint and moneyer, broken, cW/0.55g/?; another similar, EW/0.32g/?

*Richard I – John*

**penny (short cross):** class 3–5, probably 5, Goldwine, Canterbury; has been folded in half, mostly EW/0.81g/210°.

*John*

**pennies (short cross):** class 5c, Roberd, Canterbury, chipped and buckled, cVW/1.13g/90°; class 5c, Pieres,

Durham, bent, MW/0.64g/270°; class 7a(A?), Henri, Canterbury, chipped and slightly buckled, FW/1.00g/60°; class 7b–7c, Ledulf, London, irregular flan, FW/1.14g/90°; **cut halfpenny (short cross)**: class 7c (?), Nichole (?), Canterbury or London (?), clipped, W/0.40g/?

*Henry III (?)*

**cut halfpenny (short cross)**: class 7 (?), uncertain moneyer, London, c, W/0.64g/?

*Henry III*

**pennies (long cross)**: class 3b, Elis, Bristol, FW/1.23g/90°; class 3b, Willem, Winchester, broken, FW/1.28g/0°; **cut halfpennies (long cross)**: class 3, uncertain sub-class, Nicole, uncertain mint, uneven striking, FW/0.59g/15°; class 5b, Ricard, Durham or London, cMW/0.69g/105°; class 5c, Henri, London, bent, SW-MW/0.62g/60°; class 5, uncertain sub-class, Nicole, Canterbury or London, uneven striking, MW/0.73g/0°.

*Edward I–II*

**pennies**: class 1a/1c mule, London, FW/1.25g/90°; class 2a, London, cFW/1.04g/345°; class 2a, London (fragment), part of outer circle missing, buckled, FW/0.91g/150°; class 2b, London, cMW/1.31g/330°; class 2b, York, chipped, FW/1.10g/90°; class 3b, London, SW/1.44g/345°; \* class 3c–3g, Lincoln, buckled, VW/0.78g/240°; class 4d/4c mule, Canterbury, slight edge damage, mostly MW/1.28g/180°; class 5b, London (fragment), part of outer circle missing, slightly buckled, FW/0.99g/60°; class 9b1, London, chipped and buckled, FW/1.13g/240°; class 9b2, London, cFW/1.19g/330°; class 10cf3b1, London, cFW/1.13g/105°; class 10cf3b1 (?), London, buckled, W/0.91g/120°; class 11a2, Durham (Bishop Bek), slightly buckled, MW/1.21g/210°; class 11b3/11b2 mule, London, bent and cracked, FW/1.20g/60°; class 11b3, Canterbury, cFW/1.15g/180°; class 14, Canterbury, buckled, some edge damage, FW/1.17g/0°; class 15c, London, buckled, FW, 1.20g/270°; class 5/4 mule, Berwick, buckled, mostly FW/1.41g/60°.

*Edward III*

**halfpenny**: class 8a, Berwick, bent, MW/0.57g/150°.

*Elizabeth I*

**sixpence**: (1575, eglantine), clipped and slightly buckled, portrait worn flat, otherwise FW/2.38g/105°.

FRANCE

*Henri III*

**double tournois**: (date illegible), some edge damage, W/1.52g/0°.

BRABANT

*Jean II (?)*

**sterling au châtél brabançon**: slightly buckled, MW/1.06g/180°.

SPRINGWOOD, ROXBURGHSHIRE (CHAPEL FIELD) (62 COINS)

These coins are all metal-detector finds recovered by Mr Roger Elliot. All were returned to him with the exception of a penny of Edward IV which he kindly donated to the collections of the National Museums of Scotland.

Chapel Field lies a short distance to the south of the site of Roxburgh Castle, from which it must be assumed that many of the coins had been redeposited. The very high proportion of English coins, especially of the late 14th and 15th centuries, must reflect the occupation of the castle by English troops until the great siege of 1460. By contrast, there are no examples of Scottish base metal issues of the 15th century at all – a graphic indicator that ordinary Scots are likely to have avoided this locality.

The assemblage included an unusually large number of cut farthings of the Short and Long Cross coinages, and even a very rare cut halfpenny of Edward I. Since cut farthings do not appear to have circulated elsewhere in Scotland to any extent, it may be that this group is also to be associated with an English military presence.

SCOTLAND

*William the Lion or Alexander II*

**cut farthing**: cW/0.22g/?

*Alexander III*

**penny**: 2nd coinage, class Mc2/D, 26-point reverse, MW/1.39g/270°.

*James IV–V*

**plack**: fragment (Roman lettering), c20% of coin, MW/0.27g/300°.

*James V*

**groat:** Stevenson type IIIb(iii), MW/2.24g/45°; **one-third groat:** uncertain type, broken, W/0.70g/165°; **bawbees:** fragment, uncertain type, c30% of coin, FW/0.50g/180°; another, c20% of coin, MW/0.23g/225°; another, c10% of coin, MW/0.23g/?; another; c15% of coin, MW/0.17g/240°.

*Mary*

**bawbee:** fragment, uncertain type, c15% of coin, FW/0.24g/?

*Mary and Francis*

**lion/hardhead:** type 1 (1559, countermarked), MW/0.95g/330°.

*James VI*

**one-eighth thistle merk:** (1602?), clipped, FW/0.82g/270°; **hardhead:** 2nd issue; cVW/1.01g/?

## ENGLAND

*Henry II*

**penny (cross-and-crosslets/Tealby type):** fragment, uncertain class, mint and moneyer, c25% of coin, obv VW, rev W/0.38g/?; **cut halfpenny (short cross):** class 1a, Henri or Henri Pi, London, very SW/0.64g/c 270°.

*Henry II – Henry III*

**cut halfpenny or broken penny (short cross):** uncertain class, Willem or Willelm, uncertain mint, jagged break, not exactly along cross arms, VW/0.64g/?; **cut halfpenny (short cross):** uncertain class and moneyer, London (?), slightly buckled, much accretion, W/0.52g/?; **cut farthing (short cross):** uncertain class, mint and moneyer, FW/0.35g/? (possibly not found at this location).

*John*

**penny (short cross):** class 5c(?), Rau(l)f, London, cW/1.09g/105°; **cut halfpennies (short cross):** class 5b1, Iohan, Exeter, cFW/0.69g/c 330°; class 6a1, Walter, London, W/0.55g/30°; class 6(b?), Abel, London, W/0.61g/270°; **cut farthing (short cross):** uncertain class, Ricard (?), uncertain mint, MW/0.38g/?

*John (?)*

**cut farthing (short cross):** class 5 (?), uncertain moneyer, London, slightly buckled, MW/0.32g/?

*Henry III*

**penny (short cross):** class 7a(B?), Rau(l)f, London, FW/1.28g /? 30°; **cut halfpennies (long cross):** class 1b, uncertain mint, SW/0.65g/285°; class 3c, Nicole, uncertain mint, surface accretion, MW/0.68g/210°; class 3, uncertain sub-class, Henri, uncertain mint, clipped, MW/0.47g/330°; class 5b2–5c, Nicole, Canterbury or London, cMW/0.74g/210°; class 5, uncertain sub-class, Nicole, Canterbury or London, cMW/0.66g/30°; **cut farthings (long cross):** class 3, uncertain sub-class and moneyer, Hereford, FW/0.27g/?; class 3–4a, Nicole, uncertain mint, MW/0.33g/300°; uncertain class, Ion, uncertain mint, slight accretion, FW/0.32g/?; uncertain class, mint and moneyer, slightly chipped, FW/0.22g/?

*Edward I–II*

**pennies:** class 3g–4c, Bury St Edmunds, C/1.13g/180°; class 9b1, Canterbury, MW/1.36g/120°; class 10cf1, Durham, FW/1.03g/165°; class 10cf3b1, Canterbury, cFW/1.36g/315°; class 10cf3b1 (?), London, bent and broken, FW/1.22g/165°; class 11a2, London, MW/1.26g/270°; class 14 (?), Durham, slightly buckled, obv weakly struck, FW/1.24g/90°; **cut halfpenny:** class 3c–3d, London, MW/0.80g/150°; **farthing:** class ‘13 and later’, double-struck and off-centre, SW/0.28g/270°.

*Edward III*

**3rd (‘Florin’) coinage, penny:** London, type 4, rev 1, part of outer circle missing, slightly buckled, mostly W/0.72g/120°; **halfpenny:** type 6–7 (?), chipped, very uneven striking, MW/0.38g/45°; **4th coinage, half-groats:** pre-Treaty series C, London, clipped, slightly bent, FW/1.92g/240°; another similar, severely clipped, slightly buckled, VW/1.17g/150°; **penny:** Treaty series, York, slightly buckled, W/0.80g/30°.

*Edward III (?)*

**half-groat:** probably 4th coinage, pre-Treaty series D–E, York, clipped down to inner circle, slightly buckled, VW/0.88g/270°.

*Henry IV (?)*

**halfpenny:** fragment, probably heavy coinage, early style, much of legendary circle missing or flattened, FW/0.35g/315°.

*Henry VI*

**halfpenny:** pinecone-mascle issue, London, chipped, slightly buckled, very SW/0.43g/240°.

*Edward IV*

**pennies:** uncertain type, York, rev double-struck, severely clipped, VW/0.44g/?; second reign, Durham (Bishop Dudley), probably from a local die with unrecorded cross initial mark, clipped and chipped, FW/0.52g/45°, NMS K.1999.708.

*Henry VII*

**penny:** York (Archbishop Rotherham), T and trefoil by neck, clipped, slightly buckled, W/0.64g/315°.

*Henry VIII*

**half-groat:** Canterbury, uncertain type, buckled, c, obv EW, rev VW/0.77g/?

*Mary*

**groats:** dented and buckled, W/1.79g/210°; another; VW/1.31g/135°.

*Elizabeth I*

**sixpence:** 2nd issue, date and initial mark illegible, buckled, VW/2.50g/240°; **threepence:** (1572, [ermine]), slightly bent, obv worn flat, rev VW/1.04g/?; **penny:** 3rd issue, initial mark tun, some accretion, cVW/0.66g/285°.

## IRELAND

*Edward I*

**pennies:** Dolley type 2, Dublin, MW/1.37g/300°; type 2, Waterford, FW/1.22g/120°.

## EAST HAVEN, ANGUS (106 COINS)

East Haven lies in the parish of Panbride, east of Carnoustie on the northern shore of the Firth of Tay. It acquired the status of a burgh of barony in 1541, but the origins of the community seem to go back at least as far as 1214 (Adams & Falconer 1990, 10). Mr Alistair McCabe, who has been detecting in the area for a number of years, has identified one particular area, on the basis of concentrations of coin finds, as the possible site of the weekly market and annual fair which were permitted at the time of the granting of burgh status. Coins from this particular area are identified in the catalogue by an asterisk (\*). The remaining coins come from various locations in the

East Haven/East Scryne area, and were recovered by Mr McCabe, Mr R Heron, and two other detectorists whom the writer has been unable to contact. All the coins were returned to the finders.

The assemblage contains very few coins minted before the middle of the 15th century. Given the evidence from other sites for the widespread distribution and use of hammered silver coins in Scotland from the 13th century, this must be taken as a fairly clear indication that any settlement at East Haven before around 1450 must have been small and comparatively impoverished. The presence of 12 billon and copper coins from the second half of the 15th century suggests a certain amount of small-scale commercial activity at this time. Seven of the 12 were found on the site suggested as that of the 16th-century market, but this is not yet sufficient evidence to postulate the use of this area for any sort of trading activity.

The granting of burgh of barony status and the sanctioning of a market and fair would presumably have led to a substantial increase in commerce, and the coin series demonstrates this graphically in the form of large numbers of base metal coins of the reigns of Mary and James VI. It is notable that comparatively few of these finds have come from the area suggested as that of the market, but Mr McCabe's work has nonetheless identified this as the area with the greatest *concentration* of finds, while the other coins, although more numerous, were found scattered across a very wide area. The presence of four French billon coins amongst the 16th-century finds is worthy of note, and may indicate the presence of French troops in the area.

## SCOTLAND

*Robert III*

**groat:** heavy coinage, 2nd issue (?), unattributed type (= Burns 41g, fig. 398J), chipped, surface accretion, c, ?MW/2.76g/270°.

*James I*

**penny:** group B, uncertain mint, rev double-struck, chipped, FW/0.52g/?

*James II*

**groat:** fleur-de-lis 3rd variety, Edinburgh, slightly buckled, MW/2.33g/150°.

*James II–III*

**‘Cruix Pellit’ coppers:** \* type Ia, SW/2.00g/120°; \* type Ia, FW/1.23g/330°; type IIa, MW/1.76g/270°; uncertain type, CW/1.63g/?

*James III*

**groat:** fragment, type VI (c?, or possibly g), large piece missing, edge damaged, MW/2.13g/45°; **pennies:** \* class Ci (or counterfeit?), some weak striking, MW/0.51g/0°; \* class Cva (?), irregular flan, some weak striking, FW/0.56g/15°; **penny, counterfeit (?):** ragged flan, uneven striking, SW-MW/0.75g/45°; **farthings:** \* 2nd issue, SW/0.45g/240°; \* ‘ecclesiastical’ type I, c, SW/0.37g/330°; ‘ecclesiastical’ type II or III, heavy patination, ?MW/0.54g/?; \* another similar, FW/0.29g/?; ‘ecclesiastical’ type III, SW-MW/0.38g/270°.

*James IV*

**pennies, 2nd issue:** type IVa, MW/0.76g/345°; type IVd; ?/0.84g/195°; \* type IVd, under-sized flan, SW/0.61g/210°; type IVd, SW-MW/0.56g/345°; type IVd, clipped/0.53g/30°; \* type IV (uncertain sub-class), bent, much edge damage, VW/0.41g/?; another similar, double-struck/0.60g/195°; type IV (?), ?/0.78g/315°; uncertain type, obv worn flat, rev FW/0.46g/?

*Mary*

**bawbees:** uncertain type (fluted saltire), MW/1.73g/120°; \* another similar, uneven striking, FW/1.43g/?; another similar, incomplete and in two fragments/?/?; \* fragment, plain saltire, outer circle missing, W/0.45g/0°; **penny:** 2nd issue (1556), ?/0.68g/345°; **lions/hardheads:** \* 2nd issue (1558), MW/0.90g/?; another similar, countermarked, ?/1.15g/?; \* uncertain issue, undersized flan, SW-MW/0.92g/315°; another; ?/0.80g/?; another, C/0.54g/?; another, ?/0.50g/?; another, countermarked, ?/1.14g/?; another, countermarked, ?/0.69g/?; \* another, countermarked; FW/0.44g/?; **placks:** ?/1.17g/?; another, countermarked, ?/1.78g/270°; another, countermarked, ?/1.65g/120°; another, countermarked, ?/1.63g/120°; another, countermarked, ?/1.45g/75°.

*Mary or Mary and Francis*

**lion/hardhead:** C/0.42g/?

*Mary and Francis*

**lions/hardheads:** type 1 (1559, countermarked), ?/0.63g/?; \* another similar, MW/0.62g/?; another similar; ?/0.59g/?; type 2 (1559); ?/0.85g/?; another

similar, ?/0.27g/?; type 2 (1559, countermarked); ?/0.89g/?; another similar, ?/0.62g/?; type 2 (1560, countermarked), ?/0.90g/?; another similar, ?/0.46g/?; \* type 2 (uncertain date), MW/0.82g/?; another similar, ?/0.66g/?; \* another similar, MW/0.53g/?; \* another similar, chipped, FW/0.51g/?; another similar, ?/0.49g/?; type 2 (uncertain date, countermarked), ?/0.88g/?; another similar, ?/0.84g/?; another similar ?/0.82g/?; \* another similar, MW/0.75g/?; another similar, ?/0.71g/?; another similar, ?/0.66g/?; \* another similar, MW/0.64g/?; another similar, ?/0.64g/?; another similar, ?/0.63g/?; another, uncertain type and date, C/0.45g/?; \* another, uncertain type and date (countermarked), C/0.63g/?; another similar, ?/0.52g/?; another similar, ?/0.33g/?.

*James VI*

**placks:** \* type 2, SW-MW/1.69g/240°; \* type 2, FW/1.16g/120°, FW; \* type 3, MW/1.60g/?; **hardheads:** 1st issue, ?/1.51g/?; 2nd issue; ?/1.64g/?; another, ?/1.41g/?; another, ?/1.35g/?; another, ?/1.28g/?; another, cFW/1.18g/?; another, slightly chipped, FW/1.17g/60°; another, ?/1.12g/?; another, ?/1.08g/?; another, MW/1.00g/300°; another, cFW/0.95g/?; another, ?/0.87g/?; another, fragment, half of coin, FW/0.55g/?; **hardhead, counterfeit:** as 1st issue, cW/1.53g/90°; **twopence (1597):** \* W/3.04g/?

## ENGLAND

*Henry III*

**penny (short cross):** class 7c(A), Giffrei, London, cFW/1.33g/195°.

*Henry VI*

**half-groats:** \* annulet issue, Calais, cMW/1.56g/315°; another similar; clipped, slightly buckled, VW/1.08g/120°.

*Henry VIII – Mary (?)*

**groat:** fragment, ?/0.34g/?

*Elizabeth I*

**shilling:** uncertain issue, slightly buckled, abraded, mostly worn flat/3.10g/?; **threepences:** \* 2nd issue (initial mark pheon, 1561–5), VW/1.10g/240°; another (initial mark eglantine, 1573–7), cracked, W/1.14g/210°; **half-groat:** 3rd issue (initial mark A, 1583–5), obv VW, rev W/0.72g/90°.

## IRELAND

*Henry III*

**cut halfpenny (long cross):** class Ib, Ricard, Dublin, SW-MW/0.65g/30°.

*Edward I*

**penny:** Dolley class 3, Dublin, badly chipped, slightly buckled, FW/1.12g/90°.

*Elizabeth I*

**penny:** (1601, initial mark trefoil), MW/1.90g/90°.

## FRANCE

*François I*

\* *double tournois du dauphiné*: 1st period, slightly buckled, FW/0.70g/15°; *doubles tournois à la croisette*: 2nd period, irregular flan, heavy patina, MW/0.68g/?; another similar, some edge damage, obv double-struck, MW/0.61g/150°; \* another similar, irregular angular flan, MW/0.59g/90°.

*Henri III*

\* *double tournois*: (1588), MW/2.88g/180°.

## WEST HAVEN, ANGUS (14 COINS)

West Haven lies, unsurprisingly, along the coast to the west of East Haven, and is today effectively part of Carnoustie. This small group of coins, again found by Mr Alistair McCabe, can not be regarded as part of the above assemblage, but it seems appropriate to list them here, since they can provide additional information about the use of coinage in this part of Angus. The profile of the series is very similar to that at East Haven, and there are two further examples of 16th-century French billon.

## SCOTLAND

*James I*

**groat:** fleur-de-lis first issue, Edinburgh, MW/2.05g/90°.

*James II–III*

**‘Crux Pellit’ copper:** uncertain type, ragged flan, C?FW/1.02g/?

*James IV*

**pennies – 2nd issue:** type II, MW/0.90g/60°; type IVd, almost rectangular flan, SW/0.45g/210°; uncertain type, C, W/0.63g/?

*Mary*

**lion/hardhead:** uncertain issue, CFW/0.95g/210°.

*Mary and Francis*

**lions/hardheads:** type 2 (1559), oval flan, SW/0.61g/285°; another similar, countermarked, MW/0.96g/45°; another (date uncertain, countermarked); CFW/0.56g/285°.

*James VI*

**plack:** type 1, FW/1.28g/180°; **half-plack:** type 3, badly chipped, FW/0.63g/45°; **hardhead:** 2nd issue, CMW/0.88g/210°.

## FRANCE

*François I*

*double tournois à la croisette*: 2nd period, some edge damage, c, mostly W/0.58g/150°;

*double tournois, counterfeit?*, CW/0.71g/15°.

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