I.

THE MINT OF CROSRAGUEL ABBEY. By GEORGE MACDONALD, C.B., F.B.A., LL.D., F.S.A. Scot.

The ruins of the Abbey of Crosraguel—the name should be pronounced as if it were spelt 'Cross-regal'—lie in a hollow about two miles south of the little Ayrshire town of Maybole. The monastic establishment to whose former existence they testify was never a large one. Yet it played a not inconspicuous part in the religious and social economy of south-western Scotland during the Middle Ages. Although its chartulary, which is known to have been extant as recently as 1729, is now irretrievably lost, a considerable body of other documents has been preserved, chiefly in the muniment-room of the Marquis of Ailsa. In 1886 these were published in two stately quartos by the Ayrshire and Galloway Archæological Association,[1] under the editorship of Mr F. C. Hunter Blair, who contributed a luminous introduction, tracing the fortunes of the Abbey from its first beginnings until its final annexation to the Crown. A few salient points in the narrative may be noted; they will help to throw light on what follows.

An offshoot of the Cluniac Abbey of Paisley, Crosraguel was founded in 1244, through the munificence of Duncan, Earl of Carrick, the great-grandfather of King Robert the Bruce. Duncan's royal descendants nobly maintained the tradition of patronage which they had inherited. Thus, a Crown Charter of 1324—one of three for which Robert I. was responsible—erected all the Abbey lands into a free barony, implying (in Mr Hunter Blair's words) "not only the highest and most privileged tenure of land, but a vast jurisdiction over the inhabitants."[2] Nor did the transfer of the throne to the House of Stewart bring with it any slackening in the stream of generosity. In 1404 Robert III. signed a document which is rightly regarded as the culmination of the long sequence of benefactions. This was a charter "granting and confirming to the abbot and convent of Crosraguel, and the monks there serving God, in perpetuity, all their lands. . . . To be holden, had, and possessed, all and sundry the aforenamed lands, by the said abbot and convent for ever, in free regality, in fee and heritage, and in pure and perpetual alms, with gallows and pit, sok, sak, tholl, theme, infangthief, outfangthief, and with the four points pertaining to the crown."[3] The last few words

[1] *Charters of the Abbey of Crosraguel.* Appended is a series of plans and sketches of the buildings, with notes, by Mr James A. Morris, A.R.S.A.

[2] *Charters*, i. p. xxviii.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 37–40. For an explanation of the technical terms see *ibid.*, p. xxviii.

are specially noteworthy. In contemporary grants of regality the *quattuor puncta ad coronam spectantia* were not, as a rule, included. What the giving of them involved was jurisdiction in crimes of murder, fire-raising, rape, and robbery. Mr Hunter Blair goes so far as to claim that their mention here means that "the Abbot of Crosraguel was created absolute sovereign over his whole territory."[1] It may be doubted whether the majority of charter-scholars would endorse so glowing a comment. All, however, would agree that the treatment accorded to the Abbey was a mark of very high favour indeed.

Whatever the precise nature of the Abbot's sway, the territory over which it extended comprised the major portion of Carrick—that is, of Ayrshire south of the river Doon. The eight parishes concerned were prosperous and, as a whole, well populated, their natural resources providing the material for a variety of mediæval industries. References in the charters show that among the tenantry and dependants were farmers, cottars, coal-miners, fishermen, and foresters. The passing of commodities from hand to hand would, no doubt, be to some extent facilitated by a survival of the primitive system of barter. But the community of which Crosraguel was the centre had left behind it the stage when payment in kind could suffice for the needs of everyday intercourse. The free circulation of a conventional medium of exchange was essential, and South Ayrshire must accordingly have shared to the full in the suffering and inconvenience which Scotland had to endure, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, as an outcome of the deplorable condition into which the coinage had been allowed to fall.

Although the details are still obscure, the broad facts of the depreciation are familiar enough to historians. As early as the reign of Robert III. pennies and halfpennies of billon, or base silver, made their appearance, while the placks and bawbees of later reigns are equally significant as signals of distress. At the same time the groats and half-groats of 'fine silver' steadily deteriorated in quality as compared with the contemporary English issues. Over and over again the Acts of the Scots Parliament bear pathetic witness to the futility of endeavouring to cure the malady by laws that were no better than pious resolutions. A grim commentary on such attempts is furnished by the succession of English proclamations raising the rate of exchange against Scottish money or crying it down entirely.[2] The effect of all this was as wide-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. xxxi.

[2] See Cochran-Patrick, *Records of the Coinage of Scotland*, i. pp. 6 f., 9 ff., etc. An opportunity for retaliation came in the sixteenth century, when Henry VIII. began to tamper with the English silver currency; in 1545, and again in 1547, the Privy Council of Scotland took energetic action (*ibid.*, p. 70) against the "grotes with the braid face" or "bagcheik grotes," as they were appropriately nicknamed from the realistic portrait of Henry on the obverse.

spread as it was disastrous. As Burns puts it: "The great evil attending a reduction of the standard of the coins in Scotland as in other countries was, that in actual practice this reduced standard was apt to be still further reduced, so that from time to time it was found necessary to call in the debased money at prices greatly below the nominal values at which it had been issued—a source of great hardship and loss to the people."[1]

The climax was reached in the reign of James III. The currency trouble was unquestionably one of the immediate causes of the tragic happenings at Lauder in 1482, when, on the eve of a war with England, a number of the leading nobles fell upon the king with superior forces as he was marching south at the head of his army, seized and hanged certain of the Court favourites whom they considered responsible for their master's policy, laid violent hands upon James's own person, and interned him in Edinburgh Castle. A cardinal feature of the ultimatum they had presented was that the debased pennies and halfpennies then in circulation should be redeemed at their face value. And in an anonymous prose chronicle, appended to one of the manuscripts of Wyntoun's metrical history of Scotland,[2] the condition of the coinage is made responsible for much of the distress and misery that led to the rebellion. In that document the state of the country in and about 1482 is thus described:—

> "Thar was ane gret hungyr and deid in Scotland, for the boll of meill was for four punds; for thar was blak cunye in the realm, strikkin and ordinyt be King James the Thred, half-pennys and three-penny pennys, innumerabill, of coppir. And thai yeid[3] twa yer and mair. And als was gret wer betwix Scotland and Ingland, and gret distructioun throw the weris was of corne and catell. And thai twa things causyt baith hungar and derth, and mony pur folk deit of hungar."

The words "blak cunye" in this passage have generally been interpreted as equivalent simply to "debased coinage." Mr Cochran-Patrick, for instance, was disposed to identify the chronicler's "half-pennys" with billon pennies, and his "three-penny pennys" with billon placks.[4] But there are difficulties. It is quite possible that debased silver may sometimes have been spoken of loosely as 'black money': the question is left open by the *New English Dictionary*.[5] It is plain, however, that, like the French *monnaie noire*, the term is properly applied only to coins of copper or of 'black' billon—that is, billon so heavily alloyed with the baser metal as to be practically indistinguishable there-

[1] *Coinage of Scotland*, i. p. 286.

[2] The manuscript is in the British Museum (Royal MSS. 17 D. xx). The chronicle is reprinted in Pinkerton's *History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 503.

[3] yeid=gaed, went, *i.e.* passed current.

[4] *Records, etc.*, p. cxxiii, foot-note.

[5] Vol. vi. p. 603, *s.v.* MONEY, BLACK.

from. Again, a firm line between white and black is drawn in an Act of the Scots Parliament of October 12, 1467: "The quhyt Scottis penny and half penny to haif cours as thai war wont to haue And the striking of the black pennyis to be cessyt that thar be nane strikyn in time to cum wnder the payne of dede." Moreover, almost exactly a year before (October 9, 1466) the Legislature had given explicit instructions for the issue of copper farthings: "Item it is statute for the eise and sustentation of the kingis liegis and almous deide to be done to pure folk, that thare be cunyeit coppir money four to the penny, having in prente on the ta parte the crois of Saint Androu and the crovne on the tother parte, with superscripcione of Edinburgh on the ta parte and ane R with James on the tother parte." It should be added that these pieces, though "cunyeit four to the penny," circulated originally as halfpennies.[1]

They were the earliest copper coins to be minted in Great Britain; nearly a century and a half were to elapse before England followed suit in 1613. And so rare and inconspicuous were the specimens which had survived that, in spite of the detailed description embodied in the Act providing for their issue, they remained wholly unrecognised until Edward Burns's *Coinage of Scotland* was published in 1887. Even Burns knew of only seven examples. In the circumstances it is scarcely surprising that his predecessors should have inclined to the view that the statute of 1466 had remained a dead letter,[2] and that allusions in official documents to black money—such as that in the Act of November 20, 1469, to "Oure Souerane lordis awne blak mone strikkin and prentit be his cunyouris"—were to be interpreted as referring merely to the debased placks and pennies of 'white' billon.[3] This explanation, already severely shaken by Burns's identification of the 'black farthings,' has now been swept aside by the sudden emergence of a mass of new and unexpected testimony. The situation is still far from being completely clear. But it can at least be positively asserted that during the fifteenth century copper coins were current in Scotland to a much larger extent than any of those who have touched on the subject had suspected. As will be seen from the account that follows, some of the points incidentally raised by an examination of the fresh evidence are as curious as they are novel.

When the Ancient Monuments Act of 1913 became law, the guardianship of the ruins of Crosraguel was entrusted to H.M. Office of Works by the Deans of the Chapel Royal, in whom the ownership of the Abbey

[1] Burns, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 168.
[2] J. D. Robertson, *Handbook to the Coinage of Scotland* (1878), p. 125.
[3] *Cf. e.g.* Cochran-Patrick, *Records, etc.*, i. p. cxxviii.

is vested under deed of gift from the Crown. During the past five years operations necessary to prevent further decay have been in progress. A minor feature of these was the clearing out, in the spring of 1919, of a choked-up drain which ran in an easterly direction on the south of the cellars. Originally it had been the bed of a small stream whose current had been utilised to flush the latrines, which were situated at the outer end of a long range of buildings on the line of the south transept. In removing the rubbish the workmen came upon a few fragments of glass, and a large number of objects of metal, including many coins. From the written reports of Mr W. S. Menzies, who was in immediate charge, as well as from additional information which he has been good enough to give me orally, I learn that the bulk of the finds came either from that portion of the drain which had formed the actual trench of the latrines, or from a stretch of ten yards lying immediately to the east of it. They were imbedded at irregular intervals in the 12 inches of silt composing the lowest stratum of the 4½ feet of debris with which the drain was filled. It will be evident from this account that it was through the latrines that the various articles had found their way into their odd resting-place, each travelling just as far as the strength of the current would carry it at the moment. In view of the tiny size of many of them, their salving by a process of washing and riddling reflects the greatest credit on the care and patience of the staff of the Office of Works. On the conclusion of the search they were all forwarded to headquarters at Westminster, when the coins were in the first instance submitted to Mr G. F. Hill of the British Museum for an opinion. A casual examination was sufficient to show Mr Hill that they were of quite exceptional interest, and he recommended that, as the discovery was a Scottish one, I should be asked to follow it up. The whole of the material was accordingly put at my disposal by Mr C. R. Peers, Inspector of Ancient Monuments, to whom, as well as to Mr Hill, I am further indebted for generous help on special points.

As soon as the collection had been sorted out and looked at critically, a division into two groups became apparent, and was therefore adopted as the natural basis of arrangement. The first group contains merely a few miscellaneous objects which must have dropped, or been thrown, into the trench at intervals extending over a long period of time. The second group is not only much larger but also much more homogeneous, so homogeneous indeed as to leave no room for doubt that the articles of which it consists were jettisoned simultaneously and of deliberate purpose, probably because an emergency had arisen which made it desirable to have them thrust out of sight as speedily and completely as might be. While the general principle of classification just stated was

plain, its application presented occasional difficulties. In other words, every now and again it was impossible to be absolutely confident as to the category in which a particular object ought to be placed. Fortunately in such cases the relative importance of the objects concerned was virtually negligible. The fact of the ambiguity will nevertheless be noted in the description.

We shall begin with Group I.:—

GLASS. (*a*) A rectangular fragment of dark-green stained glass, having a diaper pattern on one side; it has originally measured about 2″×0·9″, but one of the corners has been broken away. (*b*) Four small fragments of a vessel, probably a vase, of fine Venetian glass, decorated with opaque lines and internal gilding; two apparently belong to the sides of the vase, the third is a portion of the lip, and the fourth is a 'prunt' or bramble-like ornament, which may have been attached to the stem.

COINS. (*a*) *Scottish*—A silver groat of James I.; a billon penny of James II.; two billon placks of James V.; a copper turner or bodle of Charles I., the only one of the five Scottish pieces that is even in fair condition. (*b*) *English*—Two silver pennies of one of the earlier Edwards, probably Edward II. or Edward III., in good preservation. (*c*) *French*—A double tournois of Francis I. (1515-47) of black billon; struck at La Rochelle.[1]

JETTONS. Two 'abbey-counters' of brass. The larger, a 'Nuremberg jetton,' has a diameter of 1·1″, and has on the one side a conventionalised representation of a ship, while on the other side are four fleurs-de-lis within a lozenge-shaped framework; the legends are meaningless. (*Cf.* Barnard, *The Casting-Counter, etc.*, p. 210, No. 9, pl. xxix. 9.) The smaller, which is so much clipped as to leave a diameter of only 0·7″, has on the obverse a shield charged with fleurs-de-lis, and on the reverse a cross—types imitated from French fifteenth-century gold. Both are of the same period. The clipping of a brass piece is difficult to account for, and suggests that the jettons may possibly belong to Group II.

OTHER OBJECTS OF METAL. (*a*) A ring of soft white metal, perhaps silver, decorated with a cable-pattern and having a heart-shaped ornament in place of a stone; it has a diameter of 0·85″, and was probably intended for the forefinger. (*b*) Two fragments of a very small iron sheath of quadrangular section, with pieces of wood adhering to the inside. (*c*) The brass matrix of a seal (fig. 1), leaf-shaped and measuring 1·3″×0·8″. The back is smooth, with a midrib which runs from end to end, gradually broadening and thickening as it ascends, until it terminates at the top in a projecting loop. The loop may conceivably have been used for suspension, although it seems more likely that its real purpose was to serve as a handle when the seal was being impressed. The device, which recalls that of the general seal of the Abbey,[2] is divided into two equal parts. Above, within a shrine surmounted by a cross, is a half-length figure of the Virgin, offering her breast to the Holy Child; beneath, under a canopy, is a half-length figure

Fig. 1.

[1] *Obv.* [FRAN · D · G ·] FRAN[COR · REX] Three fleurs-de-lis. *Rev.* SIT · NOME[N · DEI · BENEDI]CTVM Cross, within a tressure of four arcs; beneath cross, H.

[2] See *Charters*, ii, Frontispiece.

of a monk l. with hands upraised in adoration. Around is the legend S'·II·MOИΛCHI·DЄ CΛRREC, where S' is, of course, a contraction for *Sigillum*, while II may perhaps denote *H* [*enrici*?].

It is worthy of remark, as confirming the principle of division adopted, that the period within which the constituent elements of Group I. must be supposed to have accumulated corresponds roughly to the length of time during which the buildings were inhabited. The limits are given by the coins, which cover all the centuries from the fourteenth to the seventeenth. The jettons may safely be dated to *circa* 1500. The Venetian glass, on the other hand, as Mr A. O. Curle informs me, is considerably later. For the seal-matrix, again, a fourteenth-century or even a thirteenth-century origin is most probable. The spelling of the local name points to an early date; in the Crosraguel documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the common forms are 'Carric,' 'Carrik,' 'Carryk,' and 'Carryc,' whereas we have to go back to the thirteenth for 'Karrec' (1244), 'Carrek' (1236), and 'Carreik' (1225).[1] And the suggestion of the spelling is borne out by the style, which is, after all, the only trustworthy criterion. It should be added that we have no means of identifying the "monk" who chose a territorial designation so wide as "of Carrick," and yet deemed it enough to indicate his own name by a mere initial.

Before dealing in detail with Group II., it will be well to explain generally that it is made up partly of coins, and partly of an *omnium gatherum* of brass, copper, and lead. The coins number 197 in all, 20 being of billon, 156 of bronze or copper, and 21 of brass. The billon pieces are sadly discoloured. But those of copper and of brass, though sometimes presenting a wholly or partially blackened surface, are frequently not far from being as fresh and bright as if they had been recently minted.[2] The striking is almost invariably bad. Thanks to this, rather than to the wear and tear of circulation, the task of decipherment was extremely hard. Eventually, however, it proved possible to distinguish five separate classes, some of them containing several different varieties. One of these classes is entirely unknown elsewhere, while another has hitherto been regarded as native to the Continent. The weights, it may be observed, are anything but uniform, even when the types are identical, and the shapes are in many instances irregular, sometimes approximating to the square. Finally, the presence of an unmistakable 'waster,' struck only on one side, has a peculiar significance. Taking everything together, we are forced to the conclusion that the coins of Group II. were minted

[1] See *Charters*, i, *passim*.

[2] Mr Wilson Paterson of the Office of Works assures me that, beyond washing the mud away, no effort was made to clean them.

close to the spot where they were found. That opinion is confirmed by the occurrence in the *omnium gatherum* of two copper blanks that have never been struck at all.[1] It is further borne out by the character of the remaining oddments of metal, of which there are as many as 385, chiefly of brass; they give the impression of being raw material out of which blanks were intended to be fashioned. In short, coins and oddments combined go to form a medley which cannot be explained satisfactorily except on the hypothesis that we are face to face with the sweepings of a moneyer's workshop which had to be hurriedly abandoned. The coins will require a somewhat full discussion. Much more summary treatment will suffice for the oddments, and it will help to clear the ground if we get rid of them first.

The list is as follows:—

BRASS. (*a*) *Tags*—213 small pieces of brass, not unlike tags for bootlaces. They range in length from 1·5″ to 0·5″, with an average of about 0·75″. The diameter seldom exceeds 0·05″, and the average weight is 3½ grains or less. Mr Menzies has suggested to me that their original purpose was to be used as tapestry ends. (*b*) *Buckles*—six brass buckles, two of which are broken, and portions of four others. The tongue remains in only two cases. (*c*) *Pins*—forty-three brass pins, complete with heads, and portions of fifteen others. They vary greatly in thickness, some being extraordinarily fine, and range in length from 2·4″ to 0·8″. The heads are generally rolled, but occasionally round. That of the longest of all, however, is peculiar: the metal divides at the top and then bends round on either side till it joins the stem again, thus forming a 'crutch,' with two complete loops. (*d*) *Needles*—six brass needles or portions of needles. The only one which is perfect has a length of 2·45″. Another, which wants the eye, must originally have measured 3″. (*e*) *Mountings and clasps of books, caskets, etc.*—twenty-two fragments, some of them decorated with hatched markings. (*f*) *Miscellaneous*—sixty-two articles or portions of articles, including a weight (97 grains), an ear-pick, two fragments of chain-armour, a small section of 'Trichinopoly' chain, part of a mounting that has perhaps belonged to a knife, two small staples, part of a hinge, an 'eye,' hooks, detached links of chains, and one or two portions of thin sheets, suitable for cutting into blanks and showing marks of the scissors.

COPPER. (*a*) *Buckles*—two copper buckles, one of which is complete with its tongue, and portions of two others. (*b*) *Miscellaneous*—a portion of thick copper wire, a hook, and a round-headed stud; two small indeterminate fragments; two unstamped blanks, weighing respectively 3 and 2·5 grains; a small piece of melted copper, and a very small fragment which is obviously a 'splash' from the melting-pot.

LEAD. (*a*) *Bullæ*—six fairly complete, four of them bearing more or less recognisable devices. One has what seems to be a mitre, with indecipherable markings to l. above; another has a small fleur-de-lis, with  beneath it; a third has a gateway, with triangular pediment and portcullis, flanked

[1] On re-examining these, I am inclined to think that an attempt has been made to strike one of them. If so, the attempt has been a failure, and the blank must have been thrown aside as a 'waster,' for it has never borne any intelligible design, being for the most part entirely smooth, though unworn.

by two tall pillars; and the last has the remains of a wreath, which may have enclosed some emblem. (*b*) *Miscellaneous*—a small oblong (0·65″ × 0·5″ × 0·04″), having on it the mark of the Incorporation of Hammermen (a hammer surmounted by a crown), and fifteen nondescript leaden fragments of various shapes.

The total weight of the oddments just enumerated is 3400·5 grains, 2527 being of brass, 347 of copper, and 526·5 of lead. They would thus have been sufficient for the production of a large number of blanks of the size required for the coins that were found along with them; the brass alone might easily have been good for as many as 400. The suggestion that this is the purpose for which they were intended is supported by their general character. The evidence of the copper—the two unstamped blanks, the lump from the melting-pot—is specially important. That of the brass, however, is hardly less convincing. It is true that isolated objects, like the ear-pick, may conceivably belong to Group I. But the appearance of whole sets, such as the tags or the pins, is not to be accounted for on any theory of casual loss. Moreover, some of the pieces would appear to have been deliberately broken up for convenience of handling. The testimony of the lead is more uncertain. Had the *bullæ* stood by themselves, one might have hesitated to place them in Group II. It is the presence of so many other fragments of the same metal that has determined their place. If it be objected that there are no leaden coins, the reply is that the lead may have been used in the manufacture of 'white' billon.

Leaving the *omnium gatherum*, we come to the coins. In describing these it will be best to begin with the classes that are already familiar to numismatists:—

PENNIES OF JAMES III.

Obv.—✠IꟾCOBVS×D×GRꟾ×REX. Bust of the king, crowned, facing.
Rev.—✠VILLA ꟾ×E DE IRBV RG×. Cross pattée; in each quarter, three pellets.

Fig. 2.

Billon. Eleven specimens. Weights in grains—7¾, 7, 7, 6¼, 5¾, 5, 4½, 4½, 3½, 3, 2¼. All are in such poor condition that the description and illustration have had to be eked out by reference to Burns, *Coinage of Scotland*, ii. pp. 161 f., and iii. pl. xliii. fig. 562. The lettering is usually illegible. *Variations*: One specimen seems to have read VI LLAꟾ EDI BVR, and another VIL LAꟾ× EDIR BVRG.[1]

As has already been stated, the poor condition of the coins is in all probability due to indifferent striking, combined with the miserable

[1] On the other hand, I cannot see for certain upon any specimen the final h, which the draughtsman has shown in fig. 2.

quality of the metal. Their average weight is much below that of the examples catalogued by Burns (*loc. cit.*), which range from 11 grains to 4. Even without the evidence of the company in which they were found, one would have been disposed to set them down as 'contemporary imitations' rather than as genuine issues of the official mint.

PENNIES OF JAMES IV.

Obv.—✠IACOBVSDEIGRATREXSCOT. Bust of the king, crowned, facing.
Rev.—✠VIL LATDE EDIN BVRG. Cross pattée; in the first and third quarters, a fleur-de-lis; in the second and fourth quarters, a crown.

Billon. Nine specimens. Weights in grains—14½, 10¾, 6¾, 6, 5¾, 5¾, 5½, 4¼. On no specimen, except perhaps the heaviest (fig. 3), are the letters completely legible. *Variations*: VIL LATE DIN BVRG and VIL LATE DINB VRG.


Fig. 3.

Though here described as being of billon, these pieces seem to be almost of pure copper; they show little or no trace of whiteness. The heaviest, which is also the best executed, may possibly be genuine. The others are certainly 'contemporary imitations.' Apart from their bad style, their weights are significant in this connexion. The corresponding examples in Burns are much heavier, ranging from a maximum of 18 grains to a minimum of 8½.[1]

FARTHINGS OF JAMES III.

First Variety (fig. 4):—

Obv.—I×REX×SCOTORVM. Crown.
Rev.—VILLATEDINBV×RG. St Andrew's cross; on either side, a small saltire.

Copper. Nine specimens. Weights in grains—7, 4¾, 4¾, 4, 2¾, 2½, 2½, 2¼, 2¼. The shapes are irregular, one being almost square. The striking is again very bad. Only on two examples is the lettering at all legible, and only on one of these are the mint-marks distinguishable, while the stops are everywhere uncertain. Fig. 4 has been completed with the help of Burns, *Coinage of Scotland*, iii, pl. xliii, fig. 560A.

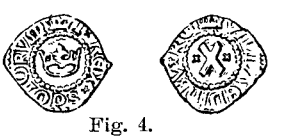
Fig. 4.

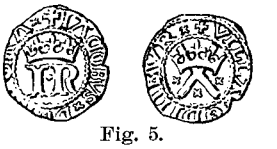
Fig. 5.

Second Variety (fig. 5):—

Obv.—+IACOBVS×DEI×GRA×. The letters I·R, surmounted by a crown.
Rev.—+VILLA×EDINBVR×. St Andrew's cross, with a crown on the upper portion; on each side and beneath, a small saltire.

[1] *Coinage of Scotland*, ii. pp. 226 f.

Copper. Nine specimens. Weights in grains—6½, 5½, 4¼, 4, 3¾, 3¾, 3¼, 3, 2¾. The shapes here are less irregular than was the case with the First Variety. The lettering is also, as a rule, more legible. On one or two examples the saltire between the lower arms of the cross is not visible.

If we recall the detailed description given in the Act of October 9, 1466, of the copper money that was to be minted four to the penny—"having in prente on the ta parte the crois of Saint Androu and the crovne on the tother parte, with superscripsione of Edinburgh on the ta parte and ane R with James on the tother parte"—it will at once be clear that the eighteen copper coins recorded above are 'black farthings' of James III. Burns, as we saw, published seven similar pieces and identified them correctly, drawing attention at the same time to certain features which suggested that the Second Variety, to which four of his seven specimens belong, was of later issue than the First.[1] As there is documentary evidence to prove that, in 1466, at least 1,440,000 were ordered to be struck,[2] the excessive rarity of the surviving examples may seem to be surprising. Yet, when one has handled those from Crosraguel, and has come to appreciate their small size and their general flimsiness, the wonder grows that any at all should have been preserved.

According to Burns (*loc. cit.*), the standard weight for the issue of 1466 was 7·36 grains. Two of his specimens of the First Variety are more than up to this level (7¾ and 7½ grains), and the third is considerably above it (9 grains). His inventory of the Second Variety is not quite so satisfactory. Of one of the four he had only an indirect knowledge. The others weighed 8, 6¼, and 5¾ grains respectively. So slight a falling off may well be accidental. It is otherwise with the new examples from Crosraguel. In no single one of the eighteen cases is the standard weight attained. In as many as eleven there is a deficit of 50 per cent. as compared with the norm. The average for the nine farthings of the First Variety is 3¾ grains, while for the nine of the Second it stands at 4¼. It will be remembered that the billon pennies already dealt with were characterised by an exactly analogous weakness. Had our list stopped short here, therefore, it would have been fair to infer that the products of the workshop at Crosraguel were merely 'contemporary imitations,' such as must have been abundant in these lawless and unsettled times. But there is yet another variety, whose existence would have sufficed to prove, even without the support that will be forthcoming presently, that the monks were not mere copyists. They were innovators.

Third Variety :—
Obv.—Similar to *Obv.* of First Variety.
Rev.—Similar to *Rev.* of First Variety.

[1] *Op. cit.*, ii. pp. 169 f.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 168.

Brass. Twenty specimens. Weights in grains—10½, 10, 9, 9, 6¾, 6½, 6½, 6¼, 6¼, 5¾, 5½, 5½, 5, 4¾, 4¼, 4, 3¾, 2¾, 2½, 2. The irregularity of the shapes is very marked, the majority being more nearly square than round, as if the blanks had been cut from sheets with a scissors. As on the copper, the legends are very imperfectly legible. On one specimen, however, a well-marked saltire is visible between the third and fourth letters of VILLT.

When these pieces are placed alongside of the examples of the First and Second Varieties, their bright yellow sheen is remarkable. So far as I am aware, no other British coins of brass have come down to us from any period, although a few forgeries of Plantagenet times exist.[1] On the other hand, the Continent provides an instructive analogy. Just as the farthings of copper are 'black' money, corresponding to the continental *monnaies noires*, so the farthings of brass must be 'yellow' money —a counterpart of the *monnaies jaunes* occasionally mentioned in mediæval documents, as, for instance, at Cambrai.[2] Incidentally it may be noted that the *monnaies jaunes* of Cambrai were also an ecclesiastical issue. But in strictness they were tokens, struck for a definite and limited purpose, although they found their way into circulation as an ordinary currency;[3] whereas there is nothing to indicate that the yellow farthings from Crosraguel were designed to serve any other end than that of coins. Nor was the use of a new metal the sole innovation for which the Abbey was responsible. There is every reason to believe that it went further, and employed types and legends of its own. The evidence for this has next to be considered.

Crosraguel Pennies.

First Variety:—

Obv.—+IT⊖OBVS×D⊖I×⊖RT×R⊖X. A regal orb or mound, the globe of which is tilted slightly downwards, as is shown by the curve of the central band, while the cross on the top of the arched band projects beyond the dotted border so as to serve as a mint-mark.

Rev.—+⊖RVX⁘P⊖LLIT⁘OI⊖⁘⊖RII·I⁘. Double (or triple)[4] tressure of four arcs, decorated with a dot at each of the four points of intersection, and enclosing a Latin cross; the whole within a plain circle, between which and the inscr. is a border of dots.

Fig. 6.

[1] See *Brit. Num. Journ.* iv. (1908) pp. 311 ff. Three similar pieces were recently presented to the National Museum by Mr Norman E. Mackenzie, Tain. They are said to have come from the hoard of Robert III. groats discovered at Fortrose in 1880, and described in *Proc.* xiv. pp. 182 ff.

[2] *Mem. de la Soc. d'Émulation de Cambrai* (1823), pp. 236 ff., and p. 311.

[3] J. Rouyer, "Notes pour servir à l'étude des méreaux," in *Rev. Numismatique*, 1849, p. 368. I take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to Rouyer's admirable essay.

[4] I doubt whether it is ever really intended to be triple.

Copper. Twenty-one specimens. Weights in grains—34, 32½, 25, 24, 24, 21½, 21, 20, 20, 19½, 18½, 18, 17½, 17½, 16½, 16½, 15½, 14½, 13½, 12½, 10. *Variations in Obv.*: The C is occasionally open. Sometimes X is followed by ⁘, and on six examples all the stops are ⁘. In four cases, as is shown by the inclination of the arched band, the orb is turned slightly to r., instead of to l. *Variations in Rev.*: CRII·IEII, CRIIII, CRISM, CRIII, and CRI·I all occur, while two specimens read simply PELLIT×OIE×CRISME×, the type (or the mint-mark) doing duty as the subject of the sentence. Here and there the C is open. The stops are usually × or ⁘, but one specimen has ×× and another has ∘. In a few instances the final stop is omitted as on the obverse. The type is rarely modified, but in one case there are three small dots at each of the points of intersection of the arcs, with a larger dot (or an annulet) in the space outside.

Second Variety (fig. 7):—

Obv.—+⁘IICOBVS⁘ DEI⁘ GRT⁘REX⁘. Similar type, but with the globe tilted slightly upwards, as is shown by the curve of the central band.

Rev.—+CRVX⁘PELLIT⁘OIE⁘CRSM⁘. Similar type, but at each of the four points of intersection of the arcs a dot, with an annulet in the space outside.

Copper. Twenty-one specimens. Weights in grains—35½, 26¼, 25¼, 24¼, 23½, 21, 20½, 19, 18½, 18½, 18¼, 16¼, 16, 16, 15½, 14, 14, 14, 12½, 10½, 9½. *Variations in Obv.*: The C is sometimes open, and ∘, ×, and ⁘ also occur as stops. In every case, however, the globe is turned slightly towards the r., as is shown by the inclination of the arched band. *Variations in Rev.*: CRISM and CRII. The open C is very rare. Though the mint-mark is usually present, it is omitted for lack of room in at least four cases, while in three it appears as ∘⁘∘. There is considerable variation in the stops; in one instance ∘ and ⁘ are used alternately. At the intersections of the arcs, at least five forms of ornament are used besides the dot and annulet of fig. 7,—a single dot, a single annulet, a saltire, a saltire and an annulet, a trefoil.[1]

Fig. 7.

Fig. 8.[2]

Third Variety (fig. 8):—

Obv.—+IICOBVS·DEI·GRT·REX·. Similar type, but with a rosette at the point of junction of the two bands.

[1] The foregoing list of variations cannot be regarded as complete either for *Obv.* or *Rev.* Many of the coins are so badly struck that the details are uncertain.

[2] The draughtsman has not shown the stops in the *Obv.* legend. They are very obscure, but I think they are present in the form of small five-pointed stars. Further he has rendered the last letter of the *Rev.* legend as I·I not I. I believe he has been misled by the edge of the fracture. Finally, in placing an annulet on the *Rev.* beyond the trefoil, he has followed the illustration in *Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de France*, 1855, p. 180, which he had before him; but see *infra*, p. 37.

Rev.—+CRVX⁘PALLIT⁘OIC⁘CRI. Similar type, but at each of the four points of intersection of the arcs a trefoil.

Copper. Eight specimens. Weights in grains—36, 19, 17, 17, 16½, 14½, 13½, 13. *Variations in Obv.*: the C is closed in four cases, doubtful in two others. In three instances the stops are ⁘; in two they are uncertain. On four examples the globe is shown by the inclination of the arched band to be turned to the r., instead of the l., as in fig. 8. *Variations in Rev.*: Three examples read CRM. Five have the open C, one has C, and two are uncertain. In three cases the stops are ⁖, instead of ⁘, and in one they are ×, while the remaining piece is doubtful. The ornament at the points of intersection of the arcs is in three cases a saltire with an annulet outside, in one a dot with an annulet outside, and in one a small five-pointed star.

Uncertain Variety:—

Obv.—Unstamped.

Rev.—Similar to the preceding varieties, but details quite obscure.

Copper. One specimen. Weight in grains—5. This is obviously a 'waster,' and attention has already been drawn to the significance of its presence.

That the fifty-one pieces just described are pennies will be clear from a consideration of their weight, as compared with that of the black farthings. Although they have never before been catalogued as Scottish, they are by no means unfamiliar to students of mediæval numismatics. As long ago as 1835 a specimen was figured in Lelewel's *Numismatique du moyen âge*,[1] where it was assigned to James II. of Aragon, ruler of Sicily from 1285 to 1296,[2] whom Dante twice over singles out for censure for his lack of kingly virtues.[3] In 1846 two examples were described in a German periodical,[4] and a few years later two others, both in the Bibliothèque Nationale, formed the subject of a paper read before the French Society of Antiquaries by M. Duchalais. In this paper sound reasons, stylistic and other, were advanced for rejecting Lelewel's attribution, and it was argued that the coins ought to be transferred to the consort of Joanna II. of Naples, Jacques de Bourbon, who for nearly two years (1414–16) enjoyed the title and prerogatives of royalty.[5] In 1861 as many as nine specimens were catalogued by Neumann in his *Beschreibung der bekanntesten Kupfermünzen*.[6] There they are still placed under James II. of Aragon, but the suggested correction of Duchalais is mentioned with evident approval. Finally, in vol. ix. of the *Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*[7] there is an account of two which were found about 1879 on the line of the old Edwardian wall

[1] Pl. xv. 31.
[2] *Op. cit.*, iii. p. 42.
[3] *Purgatorio*, vii. 119 f., and *Paradiso*, xix. 137 ff.
[4] *Num. Zeitung*, 1846, p. 144.
[5] *Mém. de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, 1855, pp. 180 ff.
[6] Bd. ii. pp. 379 f., Nos. 17570–17578.
[7] Pp. 7 f. I am indebted to Mr J. H. Craw for this reference.

at Berwick-on-Tweed. Curiously enough, the writer, while apparently knowing nothing of what Lelewel and Duchalais had said, harks back independently to Aragon. His view is that the coins are Spanish, not Sicilian, and that they were minted by James I., who was king from 1213 to 1276,—an idea that is stylistically even more impossible than that of Lelewel. He adds the fantastic surmise that they may have been brought to Berwick by some of the Gascon horsemen who are known to have accompanied Edward I. in 1298, when he was marching north to victory at Falkirk.

In all these disquisitions the true character of the obverse type succeeded in escaping recognition, sometimes by the narrowest of margins. Thus in the case of the Berwick coins, which clearly belonged to the Third Variety, the representation of the orb is described as follows: "Within a triple circle, a hand grasps, as if to hold together, three bands stretched archwise across the disc; the middle one of which is strongest." And that is characteristic. Duchalais, indeed, realised that the object was a globe, and argued that it must be the emblem of sovereignty. But he failed to observe that the mint-mark was an integral part of the main design, and he was accordingly constrained to seek excuses for the absence of the conventional cross upon the top![1] Neumann[2] came even nearer to hitting the nail on the head. Unfortunately, however, it was only on one particular specimen that he brought the hammer down, obviously thinking that the resemblance he had detected was purely accidental. The source of the motto on the reverse has likewise been generally overlooked. Duchalais contents himself with remarking that it is "*tout à fait dans le goût italien.*"[3] The others do not comment upon it at all, while twice it is so mangled in transcription as to be absolutely meaningless.[4] In point of fact, as Mr Peers indicated to me when handing over the find, it is the first line of a verse of the hymn of Prudentius, *Ante Somnum*:[5] the devout are urged to make the sign of the cross before retiring to rest, for—

Crux pellit omne crimen:
Fugiunt crucem tenebræ:
Tali dicata signo
Mens fluctuare nescit.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 189.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 380, where he remarks of the last of the nine specimens he describes: "Das ganze mit dem bis an den äusseren Rand reichenden Kreuze in der Umschrift einem Reichsapfel ähnlich sieht."

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 190.

[4] CRVX · DEI · ET · VIDERI in *Num. Zeitung*, 1846, p. 144; and CRVX · PELLIT · OE̅ · CRVC̅ in *Berw. Nat. Club Proc.*, ix. p. 7.

[5] l. 133.

The current theory that the coins were struck on the Continent—probably in Sicily or in Southern Italy—has not so far been overtly challenged by anyone. At the same time it has always been regarded with a certain amount of scepticism by those who knew the persistent fashion in which isolated examples are wont to emerge in Scotland. Every specimen whose history I have been able to trace has been found to the north of the Tweed. The two from Berwick have already been mentioned. Here are a few others that have been brought to my notice since the present investigation began:—

Berwickshire. A few years ago Mr John Ovens dug up an unusually well-preserved specimen in the garden of Foulden House, four miles from Berwick-on-Tweed.

Haddingtonshire. In May 1919 a specimen was picked up on Traprain Law by the workmen engaged on the excavations; it was lying on or near the surface. Mr J. E. Cree has one from North Berwick.

Edinburgh. The Ancient Monuments Department of H.M. Office of Works have a specimen which was found by their workmen at Holyrood in January 1917.

Fifeshire. Dr Hay Fleming has shown me four specimens belonging to the Cathedral Museum at St Andrews. The label states that they were discovered at the Kirkheugh (now Kirkhill) in 1860.

Morayshire. There are six specimens from the Culbin Sands in the National Museum. In July 1919 Mr Calder, Forres, brought me for identification a seventh specimen which he had himself picked up in the same neighbourhood, while there is an eighth from this locality in Mr Graham Callander's private collection.

Wigtownshire. The National Museum possesses two examples from the Glenluce Sands. Mr Ludovic M'Lellan Mann, who has been responsible for a good deal of excavation in and about the shores of Luce Bay, tells me that his harvest of relics includes no fewer than ten of these pieces. In sending for my inspection the only one of them at the moment accessible—it was found in Stoneykirk Sands in May 1903—he mentioned that the stratum from which they all come yields fragments of mediæval glass and pottery.

Ayrshire. Mr Callander informs me that he saw a specimen being picked up on Stevenston Sands, near Irvine, and Mr Mann writes that he knows of several others from the same locality.

The foregoing list is, of course, anything but exhaustive. Yet it is long enough to prove that the pennies with the orb and cross had a wide circulation in Scotland, particularly in the south-west. On the other hand, none seem to have been reported from England, except the two from Berwick-on-Tweed, while inquiries instituted some years ago by Mr Hill elicted the information that they are not met with on the shores of the Mediterranean, although it is just there that we should expect them to be common if either Lelewel or Duchalais were right. Even on grounds of *provenance*, therefore, the case for a Scottish origin was already overwhelming. Now, by way of final proof, comes the evidence that specimens were actually minted at Crosraguel. But, it may be

argued, Is it not possible that these may be merely 'contemporary imitations,' just as were the billon pennies and black farthings with which they were associated? That objection might be answered *more Scotico* by asking what was the prototype on which they were modelled, and where it is proposed to find room for it in the ordinary official series. Furthermore, when the examples from Crosraguel are compared with those from other parts of Scotland, one can detect no sign of the former being copied from the latter. Neither in execution nor in weight is there anything to choose between them.

But the strongest justification for calling them all Crosraguel pennies is writ large upon the coins themselves. In the documents the name of the Abbey is spelt in no fewer than forty-one different ways, some of them as seemingly eccentric as "Crosragmer" and "Crosragin."[1] Nevertheless, the pronunciation of four or five centuries ago must have been substantially identical with the pronunciation of to-day. This is plain from the fact that wherever "de Crosraguel" is Latinised, it is rendered by "Crucis Regalis." Although the Latin form does not occur until 1547–48,[2] it must reflect a popular etymology that had long been current. In a charter of 1415–16, for instance, the spelling is "Corsreguale."[3] The name, then, would sound to mediæval ears much as it does to modern ones. If we bear this in mind, we shall find it hard to resist the conviction that the two types are intended to be taken together as a 'canting badge.' On the one side, prominent alike in type and in inscription, is a *Cross*, and on the other is the orb of sovereignty, which was above all the *regal* emblem. The conceit may seem childish; but, if it be so, the same is true of devices like "the pomegranate at Granada, the gate (*ianua*) at Genoa, the sheep issuing from a house at Schaffhausen, the monk at Munich, the ladder (*scala*) of the Scaligers at Verona, and many more."[4]

Thus much for the mint. The date is more difficult. Even here, however, a little search reveals a clue. The earliest Scottish coins on which the king wears an arched crown—that is, a crown surmounted by an orb—are the three-quarter-face groats, formerly attributed either to James II. or to James IV., but shown conclusively by Burns to have been first minted by James III. about 1485.[5] On these pieces the plain cross on the top of the orb projects into the line of the inscription and is made to serve as a mint-mark, precisely as on the Crosraguel pennies. No doubt it was from them that the monkish designer borrowed the idea.

[1] *Charters*, i. p. lxvi.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 42. In this form it is the second part, and more especially the second syllable, that is significant. As regards the first syllable, "Cors" is a not uncommon variant for the more usual "Cros" or "Cross."

[4] See my *Evolution of Coinage*, p. 98, and for similar conceits in ancient times, *ibid.*, p. 76.

[5] *Coinage of Scotland*, ii. pp. 128 ff.

We cannot, therefore, be far wrong if we assign our pennies to the last ten or twelve years of the fifteenth century, a conclusion that harmonises perfectly with their general stylistic character. In all probability their issue extended over a considerable period. That inference may safely be drawn from the large number of dies that were employed. From this point of view the inventory of variations that was included under each of the detailed descriptions given above tells its own story plainly. And the lists would be lengthened considerably were there added to them the further variations observed on the specimens from elsewhere that have passed through my hands. One of those from St Andrews, for instance, just like the example figured by Duchalais,[1] has a trefoil *and* an annulet at each of the four points of intersection of the arcs on the reverse. That from Foulden House, again, reads ꝺ𝔊, instead of the usual ꝺI𝔊, a modification which appears also on the two examples from Berwick-on-Tweed. If the published description of the latter can be trusted, they show the further variation of 𝔊R𝔗C𝔏𝔗 in place of 𝔊R𝔗.[2] Lastly, it is perhaps worth noting that a large proportion of the specimens found elsewhere than at Crosraguel belong to the Third Variety.

Crosraguel Farthings.

First Variety:—

Obv.—+I𝔗C𝔒BVS××D×𝔊×R×. The letters I•R surmounted by a crown.

Rev.—𝔐O 𝔑Ꝺ P𝔗 V𝔓. Long cross pattée; in alternate quarters, a crown and a mullet of six points.

Copper. Forty specimens. Weights in grains—9, $7\frac{3}{4}$, $7\frac{1}{4}$, $6\frac{3}{4}$, $6\frac{3}{4}$, $6\frac{1}{2}$, $6\frac{1}{4}$, $6\frac{1}{4}$, 6, 6, $5\frac{3}{4}$, $5\frac{1}{2}$, $5\frac{1}{4}$, $5\frac{1}{4}$, $5\frac{1}{4}$, $5\frac{1}{4}$, $5\frac{1}{4}$, 5, $4\frac{3}{4}$, $4\frac{1}{2}$, $4\frac{1}{2}$, $4\frac{1}{2}$, $4\frac{1}{4}$, $4\frac{1}{4}$, $4\frac{1}{4}$, 4, 4, 4, 4, $3\frac{3}{4}$, $3\frac{3}{4}$, $3\frac{1}{2}$, $3\frac{1}{2}$, $3\frac{1}{2}$, $3\frac{1}{2}$, 3, $2\frac{1}{2}$, $1\frac{3}{4}$, $1\frac{1}{4}$, $1\frac{1}{4}$. The shapes are irregular, two or three being rectangular, and one octagonal. The striking is bad. *Variations in Obv.*: The stops are often doubtful, but in at least four cases the saltire after the first word is single, not double. *Variations in Rev.*: In ten cases the crowns are in the first and third quarters, and in five they are in the second and fourth, while in the remaining twenty-five no certainty is possible. One specimen reads P𝔗V, in a single compartment, with nothing else legible. On it, therefore, the inscr. may have had the fuller form 𝔐O𝔑 ꝺT𝔗 P𝔗V P𝔇R.[3]

Fig. 9.

[1] See *supra*, p. 32, foot-note [1].

[2] *Proc. Berw. Nat. Club*, ix. p. 7. It is not easy to see how space could be found for anything save the contraction. But it is equally difficult to believe that the writer has made a mistake, because, oddly enough, he puts the spelling *gracia* in the forefront of his arguments for a Spanish origin. This is, of course, absurd, for *gracia* is the form ordinarily used on Scottish (and English) coins of the period, whenever the word is written in full.

[3] See the inscription on the Third Variety, *infra*.

Second Variety :—

Obv.—Similar to First Variety.

Rev.—Similar to First Variety.

Brass. One specimen. Weight in grains—$6\frac{3}{4}$. Octagonal in shape. The striking is bad, and the types and legends consequently obscure.

Third Variety (fig. 10) :—

Obv.—Trefoil with short stalk; in the centre, a mullet of five points; within each of the leaves, a fleur-de-lis pointing outwards; to l. and r. outside, in the spaces between the central leaf and the lower ones, a crown.

Rev.—ꝎO PT VP ꝖR. Long cross, with floriated ends; in each quarter, a mullet of five points.

Copper. Forty-two specimens. Weights in grains—$8\frac{3}{4}$, $8\frac{1}{4}$, $7\frac{1}{2}$, $7\frac{1}{2}$, $7\frac{1}{4}$, 7, 7, $6\frac{1}{4}$, 6, 6, 6, $5\frac{3}{4}$, $5\frac{3}{4}$, $5\frac{3}{4}$, $5\frac{1}{2}$, $5\frac{1}{2}$, $5\frac{1}{2}$, $5\frac{1}{2}$, 5, $4\frac{3}{4}$, $4\frac{1}{2}$, $4\frac{1}{2}$, $4\frac{1}{2}$, $4\frac{1}{2}$, $4\frac{1}{2}$, $4\frac{1}{2}$, $4\frac{1}{4}$, $4\frac{1}{4}$, 4, 4, 4, $3\frac{1}{2}$, $3\frac{1}{2}$, $3\frac{1}{2}$, $3\frac{1}{4}$, 3, $2\frac{1}{2}$, 2, $1\frac{3}{4}$, $1\frac{3}{4}$, $1\frac{1}{2}$, $1\frac{1}{2}$. The shapes are irregular, occasionally rectangular, and the striking is once more bad. In fifteen cases the inscr. is so much obscured that one cannot be certain that some of the pieces are not really of the Fourth Variety. *Variation in Rev.*: The form Є occurs on two or three examples.

Fig. 10.

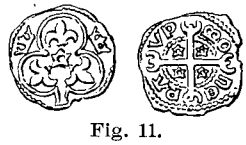

Fig. 11.

Fourth Variety (fig. 11) :—

Obv.—Similar to the Third Variety.

Rev.—Similar to the Third Variety, but with ꝎO ꝊA PT VP.

Copper. Five specimens. Weights in grains—$10\frac{1}{4}$, 7, $6\frac{1}{2}$, $6\frac{1}{2}$, $6\frac{1}{4}$. On no example is the inscr. completely visible. *Variations in Rev.*: On one the fourth letter has the form Ɒ. The mullets on another have six points.

There can be no doubt as to these eighty-eight coins being farthings: it will be noted that they correspond in weight to the black farthings of James III., from the Second Variety of which the obverse type of the First and Second Varieties of the Crosraguel pieces has evidently been copied. The obverse type of the Third and Fourth Varieties, on the other hand, appears to be entirely novel. Moreover, on the latter, the royal name does not find a place at all, a clear indication that they cannot be 'contemporary imitations' of any regular issue, but must represent an independent Abbey mintage. Such a mintage would, of course, be designed primarily for use within the limits of the territory over which the Abbot's authority extended. Whether the farthings ever obtained the wide circulation that the pennies enjoyed, it is impossible to say. They are so small and inconspicuous that the absence of evidence is not

necessarily decisive; what happened in the case of the black farthings of James III. should serve as a warning.[1] Hitherto there was no reason to suspect that the Crosraguel issue existed. Henceforward examples will be looked for, and may quite conceivably be discovered in unexpected places. Indeed, since this inquiry began, I have had two previously unidentified specimens of the Third Variety brought to my notice by Mr John Allan. They had been presented to the British Museum ten years ago, when they were classified as 'uncertain.' Nothing was known as to their *provenance*, but the donor, Mr W. H. Valentine, had expressed the opinion that they might be Scottish.

Great interest attaches to the inscription, for help in deciphering which I am indebted to Mr Hill. Its obvious expansion is MONETA PAVPERVM or "Money for the Poor." The legend has no counterpart on contemporary English or Scottish coins, but it occurred to me that it might have been borrowed from France, particularly as Crosraguel was a Cluniac foundation. I accordingly communicated with M. Adrien Blanchet of Paris, on whose guidance I knew I could rely. In spite of his familiarity with the mediæval numismatics of his native country, M. Blanchet was unable to provide me with a French analogy. On the other hand, he drew my attention to a curious parallel from the Low Countries, which is figured and described by Engel and Serrure.[2] It is a fifteenth-century *denier* struck at the Church of St Martin in Utrecht, and having on the reverse DIT · IS · DER · ARMEN · PEN(*ning*) or "This is Money for the Poor." The coincidence is remarkable. But it would be rash to interpret it as implying any direct connection between Utrecht and Crosraguel. In all likelihood it is purely fortuitous, explicable as the result of the working of similar causes in Scotland and in Holland. If we can determine what these causes were, we shall be in a position to appreciate the full significance of the inscriptions.

Engel and Serrure regard the Utrecht legend as meaning that the coins were destined to be distributed as alms. That interpretation is too narrow; it conveys but a part of the truth. Indeed, to impress a special stamp upon pieces intended for almsgiving would to some extent defeat the purpose of the dole, by rendering it less easy for them to be absorbed in the ordinary currency. Other alleged instances will hardly bear investigation. Two of the most colourable may be briefly mentioned. Engel and Serrure[3] register and describe as a "special issue for royal almsgiving" a unique silver penny of Pepin which has on the obverse DOM · PIPI and on the reverse ELIMOSINA. Their view is, however, rejected by Blanchet,[4] who suggests that the penny "has been struck

[1] See *supra*, p. 23.
[2] *Numismatique du moyen âge*, iii. pp. 1146 f.
[3] *Op. cit.*, i. pp. 199 f.
[4] *Manuel de Num. française*, i., 1912, p. 357.

by some church which used the legend to signalise the monetary concession that the king had granted it for its maintenance and support." Again, many years ago, M. Dancoisne published, in the *Revue de la Numismatique belge*,[1] tokens from Arras which he considered to be maundy money on the ground that they were inscribed MERELLVS MANDATI PAVPERVM. The appearance of the word *mandatum* links them at once with the feet-washing; it was the usual name of the ritual, whence the English 'maundy.'[2] But the fact that they were *merelli* is inconsistent with the idea that they were distributed among the poor persons whose feet had been washed. Rather, they were handed to the ecclesiastics who were present, as a means by which participation in the ceremony could afterwards be attested.[3]

For a really illuminating parallel we have to leave the Continent and the Middle Ages, and pass to the England of the late seventeenth century. Over and over again the copper tokens that were then so common strike a note which is almost startling in the closeness of its resemblance to that sounded at Crosraguel. There is abundant justification for the remark that "the main idea and reason for their issue was, in very many cases, kept well in view—namely, that of being of essential service to the poorer residents."[4] Here are a few instances culled at random—REMEMBER THE POORE (Andover, 1658), FOR THE POORE (Andover, 1666), FOR Y^{E} POORES BENEFIT (Andover, 1666), THE POORE'S HALFEPENY OF CROYLAND (Crowland, 1670), FOR THE POORES ADVANTAGE (Southwold, 1667), TO SUPPLY THE POORES NEED IS CHARITY INDEED (Lichfield, 1670). But it must not be supposed that such expressions as "the poor's benefit," "the poor's advantage," and "the poor's need" refer solely to alms-giving. The provision of an adequate supply of small money was at least equally important. This is clearly brought out by the FOR CHANGE AND CHARITIE of Tamworth, and it is set forth at length in a State Paper of August 10, 1651,[5] which contains "Reasons submitted by Thomas Voilet to the Mint Committee to prove the necessity of making farthing tokens, and half-farthings either of copper or tin." The essential points deserve quotation :—

> 1. "Money is the public means to set a price upon all things between man and man, and experience has sufficiently proved in all ages that

[1] ii. 1843, pp. 8 and 12 f.

[2] The words of the first antiphon sung at the celebration were taken from those addressed by Christ to His disciples after He had washed their feet: "A new commandment (*Mandatum novum*) I give unto you, That ye love one another."

[3] For the use of *méreaux*, in general, see the already cited article of Rouyer in *Rev. Num.*, 1849, pp. 356 ff., *passim*.

[4] Williamson's ed. of Boyne's *Trade Tokens*, i. p. xxiv.

[5] See *op. cit.*, i. pp. xxxviii f.

small money is so needful to the poorer sorts that all nations have endeavoured to have it." 2. [It is also indispensable] "for the accommodation of all sorts of people who buy or sell small wares." 3. "A plentiful supply of small pieces ministers means of frugality, whereupon men can have a farthing's worth, and are not constrained to buy more of anything than they stand in need of, their feeding being from hand to mouth." 4. "Many aged and impotent poor, and others that would work and cannot get employment, are deprived of many alms for want of farthings and half-farthings; for many would give a farthing or half-farthing who are not disposed to give a penny or twopence, or to lose time in staying to change money, whereby they may contract a noisome smell or the disease of the poor."

The evils which Voilet proposed to remedy, and to meet which the token coins were struck, must have been felt in England long before his day. In point of fact Rouyer,[1] writing of the reign of Elizabeth, uses very similar language to describe the inconvenience that resulted from the lack of any coin of less value than the silver penny, and quotes from a contemporary author[2] a statement to the effect that, as there was nothing smaller than a penny to give to a poor person, many people were prevented from bestowing alms at all. If, in the light of this, we turn back now to the Act of the Scots Parliament of October 9, 1466, we shall understand, much better than we did before, the motives which prompted James III.—or rather his advisers, for he was himself but a boy at the time—to arrange for an issue of copper. It was "statute for the eise and sustentation of the kingis liegis and almous deide to be done to pure folk." That is merely a variant, in Parliamentary language, of the FOR CHANGE AND CHARITIE of Tamworth. The idea was expressed more briefly still in the MONETA PAVPERVM of Crosraguel. It follows that in Scotland the 'blak cunye' of the fifteenth century had exactly the same economic justification as our copper coinage of to-day. What happened was that it became confused in the popular mind with the depreciated silver, shared the obloquy which rightly fell upon the latter, and was in the end involved in a common condemnation. Possibly it deserved its fate, for it is by no means certain that its authors would have been content to regard it as a token issue pure and simple.[3]

There remains a difficult and important question, which it is at least desirable to state, even although the materials for answering it appear

[1] *Rev. Num.*, 1849, p. 369.

[2] Bodin, *Réponse aux paradoxes du seigneur de Malestroict* (1566).

[3] In this connection it is significant that the Act of the Privy Council (February 23, 1554–55) which ordered the striking of lions or hardheads in the name of Mary, sets forth, as the main reason for the issue, that "the commone pepil ar gretumly hurt and endommagit, and that the vitallis sik as breid, drinke, flesche, fische, beant sauld in small ar set to higher prices and gretar derth nor they wald be in caiss thair wer sufficient quantite off small money." A judicious silence is maintained as to the enormous profit that would accrue to the Mint. (See Burns, *Coinage of Scotland*, ii. pp. 310 f.)

to be inadequate. In virtue of what right did the Abbey of Crosraguel strike money of its own? No such privilege is known to have been enjoyed by any other monastic establishment in Great Britain. During the ninth and tenth centuries Canterbury and York issued silver pennies bearing the names of the archbishops, but the practice had been discontinued some time before the advent of the Norman kings. Ecclesiastical mints, of course, survived much longer. Thus, it is a matter of common knowledge that under the earlier Edwards (1272–1351) five English prelates had an active interest in the striking of money—the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of Durham, and the Abbots of St Edmundsbury and Reading.[1] But the money of these prelates was royal money. It bore the king's image and superscription, and was distinguishable from his other issues only by the name or the mark of the mint or of the moneyer. The same was the case with the Scottish coins struck at St Andrews under the concession granted to the bishop there at some unknown date, and confirmed in 1283 by Alexander III.[2] The pennies and farthings of Crosraguel are entirely different. What they seem to point to is a special abbey coinage such as one frequently meets with on the Continent.

The subject of abbey coinages is very large. Here there is room for only the baldest summary. In Italy they are rarely heard of, doubtless because there the Papal mint was an Aaron's rod that swallowed up the rods of the other magicians. In France they are rather more common. In the eleventh century, for instance, Cluny, which was the ultimate mother-house of Crosraguel, struck pennies and halfpennies with the legend CLVNIACO CENOBIO PETRVS ET PAVLVS, and its monetary history as a whole was considerable enough to furnish M. de Barthélemy with matter for a monograph.[3] But it is mainly from Central Europe that the abbey coins come, many of them belonging to the age of the bracteates, although a few are a good deal later than the Reformation. Unlike the rulers of the Western Kingdoms, the Emperors were anything but chary of bestowing on religious houses the *potestatem percussuram monetæ ordinani* or *potestatem cudendi monetam.* Occasionally the written record survives, although no coins have been preserved to illustrate its testimony. Conversely, there are cases where the existence of the coins is the only evidence that the right was ever conferred. The latter is the type to which Crosraguel would conform.

[1] For a detailed discussion of each of those cases see H. B. Earle Fox and Shirley Fox in the *British Numismatic Journal*, vi. (1910), pp. 206 ff.

[2] See Burns, *op. cit.*, i. pp. 159 ff.

[3] *Rev. Num.*, 1842, pp. 33 ff. At Cluny the abbey coinage was struck under Papal authority. M. de Barthélemy quotes from a Bull of Gregory VII. addressed to Abbot Hugues: ". . . percussuram quoque proprii numismatis vel monetæ quandocumque vel quandiu vobis placuerit."

It may be that, if it had still been extant, the chartulary would have given us a clue, or it may be that some yet unpublished document will one day throw a gleam of light on this or other Scottish abbey coinages. In the meantime we are perforce driven to conjecture. We saw that our coins were minted in the latter part of the fifteenth century. We have good reason for believing that that was one of the great periods in the history of Crosraguel. Abbot Colin, who was head of the community from 1460 to 1491, enjoyed the special favour of James III. and was a regular attender at his Parliaments.[1] It is in the last degree unlikely that in such circumstances he would have set up a mint of his own without the express sanction of his sovereign. A far more probable explanation is that, in view of the remoteness of the district from the centre of administration, the King may have allowed his friend the Abbot to minister to the needs of the numerous dependants of the monastery by supplying them with a special currency. Even though the concession covered the employment of distinctive types, it would not involve any serious abridgment of the royal prerogative, so long as it was strictly limited to the issue of small change, as was the English token-coinage of two centuries later. And it will be remembered that the whole of the Crosraguel pieces concerned were either pennies or farthings. It may be convenient to give a summary:—

Billon.	
Pennies of James III.	11
Pennies of James IV.	9
Copper.	
Farthings of James III.:—	
First Variety	9
Second Variety	9
Crosraguel Pennies:—	
First Variety	21
Second Variety	21
Third Variety	8
Uncertain	1
Crosraguel Farthings:—	
First Variety	40
Third Variety	42
Fourth Variety	5
Brass.	
Farthings of James III.:—	
Third Variety	20
Crosraguel Farthing:—	
Second Variety	1
Total	197

The facts as to the inauguration of the mint of Crosraguel Abbey may be obscure, but there can be little doubt as to the manner of its end. It has already been pointed out that its activity must have been maintained for several years.[2] Presumably its suppression was one of the many steps that James IV. took to ensure that his authority should be respected throughout the length and breadth of the land. "Legislation, commerce, the administration of justice, intellectual

[1] *Charters*, i. p. xxxiii.

[2] See *supra*, p. 37.

development—in all these there was a forward movement that distinguishes this reign from those that preceded it."[1] The annals of the coinage of France present us with more than one picture of what we may suppose to have happened. At Mâcon, for example, in 1557, and again at Autun twenty years afterwards, the officials of the Cour des Monnaies made a sudden descent on the premises of the chapter, and seized the dies and other implements that were employed for the production of the tokens which were used in connection with ecclesiastical ceremonies. The protests of the monks and their appeal to Parliament were vain. They had infringed the jealously guarded privilege of the King by allowing the tokens to be diverted from their proper purpose and to pass current among the townsfolk as ordinary coins.[2] The pretext for the raid upon Crosraguel would be somewhat different; its upshot was very much the same. The dies and everything of value would be carried off, while the rubbish was thrown hurriedly into the latrine-trench. It was an ignominious close for an institution that seems to have been unique in Britain. Yet, if the rubbish had received more honourable burial, even the zeal of the Office of Works might have failed to unearth it. In that event we should have been left in ignorance of a singularly interesting episode. As it is, the long-standing puzzle of the *Crux pellit* pieces has been definitely solved, and a new footnote has been added to Scottish monastic history.

[1] Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, ed. 1911, vol. i. p. 273.
[2] See Rouyer in *Rev. Num.*, 1849, pp. 366 f.