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THE COINAGE OF JOHN BALIOL

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IN or about the year 1280 a major change was made in the design and inscriptions of the Scottish coinage of Alexander III (1249–86), following the example of Edward I's recoinage in England in 1279. Since 1180 in England and 1195 in Scotland the reverse type had been based on a voided cross, with ornaments in the angles, but in 1279/80 this was replaced by a single cross; and at the same time the names of moneyer and mint, traditional on Scottish coins from the beginning, were dropped from the reverse in favour of the completion of the king's title, REX SCOTORVM. This formula then continued in use until mint names were restored in 1358. A general discussion of the *Rex Scotorum* sterlings, their mint attributions and the historical background, was published by Stewart in 1971.¹ The *Rex Scotorum* single cross coinage in the name of Alexander III was subsequently examined by Stewart and North in 1990,² and that in the name of Robert I (1306–29), with the earliest coins of David II (1329–71), by Holmes and Stewartby in 2000.³ Between the untimely death of Alexander III and the middle years of Robert Bruce the reign of John Baliol, acknowledged as king from November 1292 until July 1296, constitutes the only period in which coins were struck in Scotland in the name of a current Scottish king. John's coinage merits more detailed consideration than it has hitherto received in print, although we are happy to acknowledge the unpublished work of earlier students. In particular we wish to thank Mr Walter Elliot and Mr Peter Stott, who collated evidence for dies and die-links and who have made their material available to us; and Mr Jeffrey North, who brought his taxonomic skills to bear on the difficult task of devising a structure and sequence for the series based on typological and stylistic features.

From the 1290s onwards England and Scotland were for many years more or less actively at war. The large numbers of resultant hoards have yielded an abundance of Scottish coins from the last two decades of the thirteenth century. Edward I's recoinage of 1279 began with very heavy minting in the 1280s, but this tailed off in the 1290s as continental imitations began to enter the country without being converted into English coin. To a certain extent the same happened with foreign coin reaching Scotland, but Baliol's own coinage is relatively large: the number of obverse penny dies in the sample here studied is fifty-eight. After allowing for the much larger English economy and currency, that die total looks quite high when set against dwindling output from the English mints in the mid 1290s.⁴

Burns divided the Baliol coinage into two issues, which he termed 'rough' and 'smooth'.⁵ The second issue is from dies with a finely engraved portrait and a bolder letter font (including A with a chevron bar) and deserves its appellation. Although coins of the first issue are generally coarser than those of the second, and many of them are indeed rough in style and execution, the term is a little harsh in respect of some of them (notably those of our groups A and C). Pence of the rough issue are considerably more plentiful than those of the smooth issue. With halfpence the position is reversed: all rough issue halfpence are extremely rare, while smooth issue halfpence from the main mint are comparatively common.

¹ Stewart 1971, 214–25.

² Stewart and North 1990.

³ Holmes and Stewartby 2000.

⁴ We have deliberately not included in this paper any attempt to calculate the overall size of the Baliol coinage, but for a brief discussion of this see Stewart 1977, 70. We have provided the number of coins of each recorded die combination in our sample, which includes a very large proportion of the dies which are known to have been used. Others are free to use this data to carry out their own calculations.

⁵ Burns 1887, vol. 1, 222 ff.

The most interesting numismatic innovation of John's reign was the naming of St Andrews as a second mint, the only occurrence of a mint name during the *Rex Scotorum* era. As the see of a bishop St Andrews qualified to be called a *civitas* (city) and was the sole mint-town so designated in the whole of the Scottish coinage. The first issue sterlings of St Andrews have two six-pointed mullets and two with five points, this being one of the rarer of the nine varieties of reverse type found in Alexander III's second coinage. In the smooth issue the six-pointed mullets have been replaced by stars.

The only royal mint of the Baliol coinage is presumed to have been Berwick. In the first issue its pennies had four six-pointed mullets on the reverse. This was the same type as for the main mint of Alexander III's second coinage which, in turn, is taken to have been Berwick because that had been the dominant Scottish mint in Alexander's first coinage. It was also the only mint in Scotland where Edward I had his own coinage struck after John had been deposed in 1296, implying that mint premises were available there to the English when they took control of the town.

Although the smooth issue *Rex Scotorum* pence have mullets with twenty points in total (4×5), against twenty-four points (4×6) in the rough issue, there is no case for thinking that the rough and smooth *Rex Scotorum* pence represent the products of two different mints rather than sequential issues. Mules (both pence and halfpence) with reverses from old dies of Alexander III place their rough issue obverses securely in the opening phase of Baliol's coinage, while the die-chain at St Andrews includes rough/smooth mules that demonstrate the sequence. The change from rough reverses with twenty-four points to smooth reverses with twenty points seems to indicate no more than that the Alexandrian system of varied points for different mints had by this stage been forgotten or ignored, now that only one royal mint was in operation. Although it cannot at this stage be definitely proven that a second mint was not opened after the fall of Berwick to the English, we feel that the weight of evidence is firmly against this, given the very unsettled situation which must have pertained in Scotland during the period of William Wallace's campaigns.⁶

We have listed and described the rough issue coins of Berwick in three groups – A, B and C – with sub-divisions of B and C. All dies except one have the inscription IOHANNES DEI GRA (or GR, GRI or GRAC), with the king's title continued on the reverse. The reading is awkwardly disposed, with REX split between two quarters: +RE/XSC/OTO/RVM. During the course of Group B one obverse die was put into use with the reading ALEXANDER DEI GR. This die shares four reverse dies with normal coins of Group B, and except in the king's name is identical in type and style with them. If there was any significance in the production of a die in the name of the late king, it is difficult to see what that could have been; there was no obvious occasion during the early part of John's reign when the legitimacy of his position was seriously in question. Perhaps there was an old die in Alexander's name for the rough issue die-sinker to copy – that a few old Alexandrian reverses remained available in 1292 is shown by the John/Alexander mules – but why the engraver might suddenly have departed from his usual commission is a mystery. An oddity in Group Ba is a die (*am*) with the last quarter reading RAN. This die appears to have been put aside for a while because of the error, since it reappears later in conjunction with two obverse dies (25 and 26) of group Ca.

The mint at St Andrews began operations during the course of what we term Group Bd at Berwick. The first obverse die (S1) used at St Andrews is from the same punches as Bd obverses, and it is found combined with a normal Bd reverse (die *ay*) as well as with a new St Andrews die, still reading REX SCOTORVM, but now with twenty-two points to the mullets (*Sa*). One other reverse die (*Sb*) has this arrangement, but soon REX SCOTORVM was dropped in favour of a St Andrews signature (die *Sc* and thereafter). The relatively large number of rough/smooth issue mules suggests that the supply of smooth issue dies to St Andrews began with reverses. The earliest smooth issue obverse die has the experimental reading I

⁶ This matter was discussed by Stewart (1971), 222–3, and we are not aware that any evidence has been put forward since then.

DI GRA SCOTORVM RX, presumably so as to accommodate the king's full title without displacing the mint name from the reverse. This format was, however, soon replaced by the normal obverse reading IOHANNES DEI GRA, which resulted, as had been the case in most of the first issue, in the absence of the word REX from either side of most of the coins minted at St Andrews. All St Andrews coins of the second issue (apart from the mules) are rare.

Apart from a few minor errors, and on some early dies the use of a reversed N, inscriptions on pence of Berwick exhibit little variation except in the word GRA(CIA). However, because of differences in the arrangement of the legend and in the disposition of the mullets, there are nine main varieties of reverse among the coins of St Andrews, as hereunder:

First issue

- (i) +RE/XSC/OTO/RVM; six-pointed mullets in first and third angles (*Sa*)
- (ii) As (i), but six-pointed mullets in second and fourth angles (*Sb*)
- (iii) CIV/ITA/SSA/NDR; six-pointed mullets in first and third angles (*Sc*)
- (iv) As (iii), but six-pointed mullets in second and fourth angles (*Sg*)
- (v) CIVI/TAS/SAN/DRE; six-pointed mullets in first and third angles (*Sd, Se*)
- (vi) As (v), but six-pointed mullets in second and fourth angles (*Sf, Sh, Si, Sj, Sl, Sm*)
- (vii) As (v), but error die with twenty-three points – six-pointed mullets in first, third and fourth angles, five-pointed mullet in second (*Sk*)

Second issue

- (viii) CIVI/TAS/SAN/DREE; six-pointed stars in first and third angles, and five-pointed mullets in second and fourth (*Sn, So, Sq*)
- (ix) As (viii), but six-pointed stars in second and fourth angles (*Sp*)

Three features of the *Rex Scotorum* coins of the second issue are worthy of particular note. First, whereas reverse die-links between sub-groups of the first issue are extensive, none has been noted between any of the five sub-groups of the second issue. This implies some new system of control for the issue and withdrawal of dies. Second, within Group Ec, the last group of the series, two obverse dies and one reverse die have a trefoil of pellets within the inscription, also a possible indicator of new controls on the use of dies.

The third feature of note relates to the coins of Group Da. In this group all seven of the reverse dies have two five-pointed mullets and two five-pointed stars in alternate angles of the cross. The stars have been made by overpunching on what were originally normal mullets. All but one of the twenty-two coins listed under Da are from a single obverse die. Since there are no die-links with any other coins of the smooth issue, the Da coins stand on their own. There was clearly some purpose in the overmarking of the mullets. Conceivably the Da coins could have been struck at a different mint (or workshop) from the rest of the series, but some less dramatic administrative cause seems more probable.

Die analysis

In the following pages the issues without mint name, generally believed to have been struck at Berwick, will be considered first. The first ('rough') and second ('smooth') issues are analysed separately, as there is no known overlap between the two. The issues from the St Andrews mint, including those without mint name but attributed to this mint, are then treated as a continuous series, since there are mules between the two issues.

Table 1 presents the numbers of pennies and obverse dies attributable to each of the groups and sub-groups in our classification.

The vast majority of the recorded dies are represented in Lord Stewartby's collection, which has been the major source of material for this survey. Other coins which have been included are those in the collections of the National Museum of Scotland, the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, the Fitzwilliam Museum and the Hunterian Museum, as well as some illustrated in a series of photographs kindly supplied by Mr Ronald Kirton from his research archive.

TABLE 1. Numbers of pennies and obverse dies attributable to groups and sub-groups

	No. of coins		No. of obverse dies	
	(group)	(subgroup)	(group)	(subgroup)
<i>Rex Scotorum</i> , first issue				
Group A	13		3	
Group B	104		18	
<i>Ba</i>		43		7
<i>Alex III J</i>		9		1
<i>Bb</i>		25		4
<i>Bc</i>		14		4
<i>Bd</i>		13		2
Group C	31		8	
<i>Ca</i>		25		6
<i>Cb</i>		6		2
<i>Rex Scotorum</i> , second issue				
Group D	52		6	
<i>Da</i>		21		2
<i>Db</i>		31		4
Group E	31		7	
<i>Ea</i>		3		2
<i>Eb</i>		7		2
<i>Ec</i>		21		3
St Andrews, first and second issues				
Group SA	4		2	
<i>SAa</i>		3		1
<i>SAb</i>		1		1
Group SB	15		5	
<i>SBa</i>		7		2
<i>SBb</i>		4		1
<i>SBc</i>		4		2
Group SC	32		5	
Mules	12		1	
Group SD	15		3	
<i>SDa</i>		7		1
<i>SDb</i>		8		2

First issue: *Rex Scotorum* pennies

This is the largest issue in terms of the number of coins studied (136 + 9 of the related Alexander III Class J) and the number of dies represented (28 obverse + one Alexander III Class J, and 32 reverse). It has been divided into a number of groups on the basis of the style of the bust and lettering on the obverse. The reverse dies, designated *aa* to *bf*, bear the legend $\text{+R}\mathcal{E} / \text{XSC} / \text{OTO} / \text{RVM}$. The form of the final **M** varies considerably and in some cases is unclear, especially where it is known on only one coin. It may take the form of a Roman **M**, a Roman **N**, a reversed Roman **I** or an unbarred **II**. Some **N**s and **I**s are double-barred, and some letters appear to be blundered or from broken punches. All dies bear a six-pointed mullet in each of the four angles of the cross, but in some cases there is evidence of damaged punches, and on some dies one or more of the mullets may appear to have more than six points as a result of faulty die-sinking.

Group A

This small group is quite distinct stylistically, and there are no known die links with any of the others. The coins are comparatively well struck, with small neat inner circles, large letters and a fairly neat portrait. The face has a pointed nose and chin, with an oval eye. Three obverse dies are known (dies 1–3), all of which have reversed **I**s in the legend, but each of which includes a different abbreviation of **GRACIA**.

- 1 +IOhΛIINÆSDÆIGRI
- 2 +IOhΛIINÆSDÆIGRΛ
- 3 +IOhΛIINÆSDÆIGR

The first two of these are paired with a single die of Alexander III Class E (24 points), and it therefore seems reasonable to suggest that these were the earliest coins struck in John Baliol's name. Five Baliol reverse dies (*aa–ae*) are also found in combination with obverses of Group A, as indicated in Table 2. These five dies are all characterised by large, fairly neat letters and large, sharply-pointed mullets. Die *ae* has **Æ** instead of **Ɔ** in the legend.

TABLE 2. Die-links in first issue *Rex Scotorum* pennies, Group A

Group	Rev die Obv die	Alex III E	<i>aa</i>	<i>ab</i>	<i>ac</i>	<i>ad</i>	<i>ae</i>
A	1	3					
	2	1	2	2	2	1	
	3						2

The remainder of the first issue *Rex Scotorum* pennies make up Groups B and C. Table 3 shows a progression of die links which may give clues to the order of striking, but this should not be interpreted as providing a definite and precise sequence. Obverse die 4 has been placed at the beginning of the series, on the grounds that it is combined on one coin with a reverse of Alexander III, Class E (26 points), but this reverse die appears to have been rusty at the time of striking, so the coin could equally represent an accidental later re-use. Nonetheless a credible sequence of die use can be constructed using this coin as a starting point.

Group Ba

Forty-two of the coins examined belong to this group, with seven obverse dies (4–10) being utilised. These include the same three abbreviated forms of GRACIA as appeared in Group A. Die 4 uses double-barred Ns, and die 6 one reversed **И** and one with apparently horizontal cross-bar. The lettering is smaller and less tidy than on Group A coins, and the bust is noticeably cruder, with a wedge-shaped nose and a large pellet eye. The crown has intermediate ornaments which incline to the rear, and that on die 10 is badly struck and may be from a different punch.

- 4 +IOhΛNNÆSDÆIGRΛ (double-barred Ns)
- 5 +IOhΛNNÆSDÆIGRΛ
- 6 +IOhΛHINÆSDÆIGR
- 7 +IOhΛNNÆSDÆIGRΛ
- 8 +IOh[]SDÆIGRΛ
- 9 +IOhΛNNÆSDÆIGRI
- 10 +IOhΛNNÆSDÆIGRΛ

Twelve reverse dies (*af–aq*) appear, in addition to the re-used Alexander III. Most of these have fairly well formed and sharply pointed mullets, but on a few of them (*ak, an, aq*) the mullets appear a little smaller with blunter points and some evidence of damage to the punches. Die *ae* reads **XSE** in the second quarter, as noted under *Group A*, and die *am* has **RΛN** in the fourth quarter. The largest number of coins in the sample examined were struck from dies *af, ag* and *ah*, which might be regarded as consistent with these being among the earliest, as the die sequence would also suggest. Two of the coins were struck from a combination of obverse die 9 and reverse die *ap*, neither of which is known in any other combination, and their place in the series is therefore not evident.

Alexander III Class J

This small group of unusual coins (nine have been examined) is placed here in the sequence on grounds of both style and die links. There is just a single obverse die, reading $\text{+}\Lambda\text{LEX}\Lambda\text{NDERDEIGR}$, with the crown, hair and face punches apparently being those also used for Baliol's Group Bb (see below). It is combined with four reverse dies also used for Baliol's coinage: *aj*, which is known only for Group Ba; *an* and *aq*, which occur in both Ba and Bb; and *ar*, which is known only for Bb.

Group Bb

This group, of which twenty-five examples were studied, contains coins of similar style to those of Ba, but with a new crown and a face punch displaying an aquiline nose and a large solid oval eye with a thick crescent above. Four obverse dies are known (11–14), all with slightly different readings. This is the last group in which reversed Vs occur (13 and 14), and the abbreviations $\text{GR}\Lambda\text{C}$ and $\text{GR}\Lambda$: occur for the first time.

- 11 $\text{+}\text{I}\text{O}\text{H}\Lambda\text{NN}\text{E}\text{S}\text{D}\text{E}\text{I}\text{G}\text{R}\Lambda\text{C}$
- 12 $\text{+}\text{I}\text{O}\text{H}\Lambda\text{NN}\text{E}\text{S}\text{D}\text{E}\text{I}\text{G}\text{R}\Lambda$
- 13 $\text{+}\text{I}\text{O}\text{H}\Lambda\text{N}\text{N}\text{E}\text{S}\text{D}\text{E}\text{I}\text{G}\text{R}\Lambda$
- 14 $\text{+}\text{I}\text{O}\text{H}\Lambda\text{N}\text{N}\text{E}\text{S}\text{D}\text{E}\text{I}\text{G}\text{R}\Lambda$:

Seven reverse dies are used (*an* and *aq*, which also occur in Group Ba; and *ar-av*). Die *ar* was also used for the Alexander III Class J coins, whereas the remainder seem to have been employed for the first time in association with Bb obverses. Twelve of the twenty-five coins are from die *at*, with the next highest contributor in the sample being *as*, with four. This die, despite appearing to be early in the die sequence for this Group, was re-used for another four coins in the subsequent Group Bc. The smaller and less well defined mullets which first appeared on dies *ak*, *an* and *aq* are found on all the other dies used for this group as well, again with evidence of damage to some punches.

Group Bc

This group is characterised by a series of poorly made dies on which the face is in such low relief that it often appears as no more than a silhouette, with the eye sometimes just visible. It may be from the same punch as used in Group Bb, since the same crown, hair and neck punches are also used. Four of these dies are known (15–18), with the first of these bearing a colon stop at the end of the legend, as on die 14.

- 15 $\text{+}\text{I}\text{O}\text{H}\Lambda\text{NN}\text{E}\text{S}\text{D}\text{E}\text{I}\text{G}\text{R}\Lambda$:
- 16 $\text{+}\text{I}\text{O}\text{H}\Lambda\text{NN}\text{E}\text{S}\text{D}\text{E}\text{I}\text{G}\text{R}\Lambda$
- 17 $\text{+}\text{I}\text{O}\text{H}\Lambda\text{NN}\text{E}\text{S}\text{D}\text{E}\text{I}\text{G}\text{R}\Lambda$
- 18 $\text{+}\text{I}\text{O}\text{H}\Lambda\text{NN}\text{E}\text{S}\text{D}\text{E}\text{I}\text{G}\text{R}\Lambda$

Fourteen coins from these obverse dies have been examined, and all but one are from reverse dies shared with previous groups. Dies *as*, *au* and *av* all appeared first in Group Bb, whilst *an*, which occurs on a single coin, was also used for Ba, Bb and Alexander III Class J. Dies *aw* and *ax* appear for the first time on Bc coins in combination with obverse die 18, which may be assumed to be the latest. Die *ax* is not used with any other obverse.

Group Bd

Just two obverse dies (19–20) have been recorded of this type, but with thirteen coins in the sample analysed. The dies feature a new crown, with a tall irregular central fleur. The face

appears to be from a new punch, but again it is lightly inserted and may be from either a new punch or a re-used old one. One legend ends with **GR** and the other with **GR**⚔:

- 19 **†IOHANNESDEIGR**
 20 **†IOHANNESDEIGR**⚔:

Three reverse dies are used: *aw*, which first appeared in Group Bc, but appears to have been used more frequently in Bd if the evidence of this small sample can be believed; and *ay* and *az*, which occur for the first time and are found only in combination with Bd obverses. The mullets continue to be comparatively small and rounded, with some of the punches damaged.

Group Ca

A distinct break in the die chain occurs with the commencement of Group C. The larger section (Ca) embodies a rare case of more obverse than reverse dies. The six obverse dies all feature a rather better standard of workmanship than those of the previous group. The portrait is clear and has a notably protruding chin, and the distinctive crown has a 'battle-axe' central fleur. The legends end in **GR** (two dies), **GR**⚔ (three) and **GRAC** (one). The first **N** on die 22 has a horizontal cross-bar, making it look like an **H**.

- 21 **†IOHANNESDEIGR**⚔
 22 **†IOHANNESDEIGR**⚔
 23 **†IOHANNESDEIGR**⚔Ⓐ
 24 **†IOHANNESDEIGR**
 25 **†IOHANNESDEIGR**
 26 **†IOHANNESDEIGR**⚔

Four new reverse dies (*ba–bd*) were used in striking the twenty-three coins of Group Ca which have been studied. Dies *ba* and *bb* feature new, larger and very sharply pointed mullet punches, whereas those on *bc* and *bd* have slightly blunter points, although less rounded than those on dies of Group B. Curiously, one coin from each of obverse dies 25 and 26 features reverse die *am*, otherwise used only in Group Ba. The reason for the sudden late re-use of this error die is unclear, and obverse die 26 is not known from any other coin.

Group Cb

This little group, of which only five coins have been studied, features just two obverse dies (27–28), of which the latter is known from only one coin. Both have the same obverse legend, ending in **GR**, and bear a large portrait with a wide crown and a broad face.

- 27 **†IOHANNESDEIGR**
 28 **†I[OH]ANNES[D]EIGR**

Reverse dies *ba* and *bb* were also used for this group, as were two further dies (*be* and *bf*) which are not otherwise known. Both *be* and *bf* feature the same sharply pointed mullets as on *ba* and *bb*, and it is therefore possible that Group Cb predated Ca, with *be* and *bf* being the earliest dies struck from new punches, along with *ba* and *bb*. Both of these could then have continued into Group Ca, for which dies *bc* and *bd* were made using slightly degraded mullet punches. Obverse 28 and reverse *bf* are each known only from the single recorded coin on which they are combined.

First issue: *Rex Scotorum* halfpennies

In contrast to the relative abundance of first issue pennies with REX SCOTORVM reverse, the corresponding halfpennies are extremely rare, with just five specimens being included in this study. Two obverse dies have been recorded (H1, H2):

H1 +IOhANNESDEIGI
 H2 +IO[]ÆIGRÆ

Since H1 has reversed *N*s in the legend, it seems likely to belong with the earlier part of the penny coinage, and the style and workmanship are comparable to Group A. The front fleur of the crown has a neat rectangular rearward projection, but the equivalent foil appears to be missing from the rear fleur. The early placement of these coins is supported by the fact that two of the four recorded as struck from this die have it paired with a reverse die of Alexander III. The other two have the reverse from a die (*Ha*) reading +RÆ / XSC / OTO / RVM, with a six-pointed mullet in each angle of the cross. Obverse H2 is known from just one coin, on which it is paired with a reverse die (*Hb*), also known only on this coin, which has six-pointed mullets in the second and fourth quarters only. Only the first two sections of the legend are legible, and these also read +RÆ / XSC. This coin has been placed here for want of further evidence, but it may be noted that the St Andrews mint halfpenny reverse die *SHA* also has six-pointed mullets in the second and fourth quarters only. This coin could therefore be seen as a possible early anonymous St Andrews mint issue, by analogy with the *Rex Scotorum* pennies with 22 point reverse (see below).

Second issue: *Rex Scotorum* pennies

The pennies of the second issue are much less numerous than those of the first, with the total studied for the purposes of this paper being eighty-three. This issue has also been divided into groups on stylistic grounds, with the designation, commencing with Group Da, continuing that employed in the earlier issue (see Table 4). Once more it has been possible to put together a fairly convincing possible sequence of issues, but again this should not be regarded as necessarily correct in every detail. It is worth noting that all five groups are discrete in terms of die use, with no links between different groups revealed by this study. All obverses bear the legend +IOhANNESDEIGRÆ unless otherwise stated, the only common variant noted being the presence or absence of an abbreviation symbol in the form of a bar above the space between R and Æ. All reverses bear the legend RÆX / SCO / TOR / VM+ unless otherwise stated.

TABLE 4. Die-links in second issue *Rex Scotorum* pennies

Group	Rev die	----- mullets and stars -----										----- four mullets -----											
		bg	bh	bi	bj	bk	bl	bm	bn	bo	bp	bq	br	bs	bt	bu	bv	bw	bx	by	bz	ca	cb
	Obv die																						
Da	29	1																					
	30	6	5	3	2	2	1	1															
Db	31								1	13													
	32								1	4													
	33										4	5											
	34											3											
Ea	35												1										
	36												2										
Eb	37													1									
	38														1	4	2						
Ec	39																	1	2	1			
	40																	4			1	5	2
	41																			3			2

Group Da

The defining feature of this group is that the reverse has two five-pointed mullets and two five-pointed stars in alternate angles of the reverse cross, the stars resulting from overpunching on mullets. Twenty-two coins have been examined, but just two obverse dies are known (29–30), the first from a single coin only. Features of these dies include a crown with a foil missing, a face with a prominent chin and the eye in the form of a pellet within a thin oval. The hair has two thick strands, with a small inner curl and a thin horizontal strand at the top. The line of curls below is made up of strokes and pellets. The neck is lightly draped.

Seven reverse dies have been recorded (*bg–bm*), and they have been placed in that particular order on the basis of the number of coins recorded from each die, it not being unreasonable to suggest that the earliest dies might have seen the greatest use. Since the only coin from obverse 29 has reverse *bg*, it may be suggested that this obverse die belongs at the beginning of the series but soon fell out of use. Five of the dies have the mullets in the first and third quarters, but on dies *bj* and *bl* they are in the second and fourth. There does not appear to be any significance to this.

The remaining groups all comprise coins with four five-pointed mullets on the reverse, and there is no evidence of linking between Da and any subsequent group.

Group Db

This appears to be the largest group within the second coinage, thirty-one coins having been examined for this study, struck from four obverse dies (31–34) and five reverse dies (*bn–br*). The obverse bust is very similar to that of the previous group. Most of the punches appear to be the same, and although the crown looks more slender, this may be due solely to recutting of the punch or lighter striking into the dies. The combination of obverse 31 and reverse *bo* occurs on thirteen of the coins examined.

Group Ea

Just three coins of this type have been examined, from two separate pairs of dies (35/*bs* and 36/*bt*). The bust includes a new, taller crown, which characterises all Group E coins, and a new face with pellet eyes. The bushy hair is of similar style to previous groups. The neck is short and narrow, with a slight curve at the back and a space between the truncation and inner circle.

Group Eb

Another small group, with seven coins examined; this includes obverse die 37, paired on a single coin with reverse die *bu*, and obverse 38, paired on six coins with reverses *bv* and *bw*. The crown is similar to that of Group Ea, but the face has the nose and forehead in a straight line and the hair is more compact.

Group Ec

This appears to be the latest group, with what seem likely to be privy marks appearing for the first time on a small number of dies. Twenty-one coins were examined, with three obverse dies (39–41) and six reverse dies (*bx–cc*) being represented. The obverse dies are characterised by a wider face and neck with bushier hair, but frequently with little detail being visible. The crown is similar to that of Groups Ea and Eb. Die 40 has a trefoil of pellets in the legend between I and O, and on die 41 a similar mark appears between **Æ** and N. Reverse die *cb* has **RÆ+** in the last quarter of the legend, and *cc* has a trefoil of pellets after **SGO**. This reverse die appears in combination only with the two obverse dies on which the trefoil also appears, whereas these two obverses are also combined with reverse dies without the trefoil.

Second issue: *Rex Scotorum* halfpennies

In comparison with those of the first issue, second issue halfpennies are comparatively numerous, with twenty-five specimens being available for this study. Six obverse dies (H3–H8) were encountered, along with eleven reverse dies (*Hc–Hm*) (see Table 5). All the obverse dies read $\text{†IOh}\overline{\text{ANNE}}\text{SDEIGR}\overline{\text{A}}$, and the order in which they have been arranged is based solely on placing die H3, from which the largest number of coins in the survey (eight) were struck, at the beginning of the series and creating a chain of die links from there. Reverse dies *Hc* to *Hj* all read $\text{REX} / \text{SCO} / \text{TOR} / \text{VM}\text{†}$, but *Hk* and *Hl* have $\text{VR}\text{†}$ in the fourth quarter, and *Hm* has $\text{VII}\text{†}$. All the dies have six-pointed mullets in alternate angles of the cross, these being in the first and third quarters on dies *Hc–Hf*, *Hk* and *Hl*, and in the second and fourth quarters on *Hg–Hi* and *Hm*. There seems to be no significance to the placing of the mullets. The sequence suggested in Table 5 looks fairly convincing, except possibly for the re-use of reverse die *He* with obverse H6, but again it should not be taken as definite evidence of an order of striking.

TABLE 5. Die-links in second issue *Rex Scotorum* halfpennies

<i>Rev die</i>	<i>Hc</i>	<i>Hd</i>	<i>He</i>	<i>Hf</i>	<i>Hg</i>	<i>Hh</i>	<i>Hi</i>	<i>Hj</i>	<i>Hk</i>	<i>Hl</i>	<i>Hm</i>
<i>Obv die</i>											
H3	4	4									
H4		1	2	1	1						
H5						3	1	1	1		
H6			1							1	
H7										2	
H8											1

There is a suggestion that extra marks may have been added to reverse die *Hh*. One coin in the National Museum of Scotland collection, from an uncertain obverse die, seems to have a large pellet beside the mullet in the fourth quarter, and an oval mark beside the mullet in the second quarter. The pellet is also apparently present on a second coin, in the Stewartby collection, but on this coin the second quarter is unclear. These marks may result from damage to the die rather than from deliberate alteration, but their presence should be noted in case the discovery of a coin in better condition can shed more light on this.

Second issue: *Rex Scotorum* farthing

A single example of a farthing of this coinage is known to exist, found in Suffolk in 1997 and now in the Stewartby collection. The obverse reads $\text{†IOh}\overline{\text{ANNE}}\text{SDEIGR}\overline{\text{A}}$, and the reverse []/[] $\text{O} / \text{TOR} / \text{VM}\text{†}$, and there is a five-pointed mullet in each angle of the cross. Clearly there is little more that can be said about this issue at present, except to express the hope that other examples may come to light to aid further study.

St Andrews mint pennies: first and second issues

As stated above, the products of the St Andrews mint are here treated as a single series. Although the same clear stylistic differences between the first and second issues exist here as on the *Rex Scotorum* coins, there is no evidence of a break in production. There are numerous mules with obverses of the first issue combined with reverse dies of the second, and a continuous sequence of die links can be constructed for the entire coinage (see Table 6). Fifteen obverse dies have been recorded, of which twelve belong to the first issue. All of these twelve bear the legend $\text{†IOh}\overline{\text{ANNE}}\text{SDEIGR}\overline{\text{A}}$ unless otherwise stated below. Of the three second-issue dies, the earliest has the experimental reading $\text{†} : \text{I} : \text{DI} : \text{GR}\overline{\text{A}} : \text{SCOTORVM} : \text{RX}$, but the other two show a reversion to the normal reading, albeit with colon stops between the words – $\text{†IOh}\overline{\text{ANNE}}\text{S} : \text{DEI} : \text{GR}\overline{\text{A}}$. Of the seventeen reverse dies, thirteen belong to the first issue and four to the second. Again it must be emphasised that the sequence illustrated in Table 6 should not be taken as evidence of any definite order of striking, but it has been

constructed on the basis of two aspects of the coinage which may arguably be accepted as likely to constitute reliable evidence. At the head of the sequence have been placed the coins without mint name but with two five-pointed and two six-pointed mullets (22 points) on the reverse, as on all the named St Andrews issues. One of the obverses used for these coins is also paired with a reverse die (*ay*) which belongs to the normal first issue *Rex Scotorum* coinage, suggesting that this was used pending the production of first the 'anonymous' St Andrews reverse dies and then those with mint name. The obverse dies which are combined with second issue reverses have naturally been placed at the end of the first issue, and the sequence of die links illustrated in Table 6 forms a chain between these two fixed points. Observation of the details of the various punches used seems to allow the possibility that this sequence is broadly correct.

TABLE 6. Die-links in first and second issue St Andrews pennies

		----- First issue -----														--- Second issue ---					
		Rev die	<i>ay</i>	<i>Sa</i>	<i>Sb</i>	<i>Sc</i>	<i>Sd</i>	<i>Se</i>	<i>Sf</i>	<i>Sg</i>	<i>Sh</i>	<i>Si</i>	<i>Sj</i>	<i>Sk</i>	<i>Sl</i>	<i>Sm</i>	<i>Sn</i>	<i>So</i>	<i>Sp</i>	<i>Sq</i>	
Group	Obv die																				
First issue	SAA	S1	1	2																	
	SAB	S2		1																	
	SBA	S3			3																
		S4		1	2	1															
	SBB	S5			1		3														
		SBC	S6			1		2													
	SC	S7																			
		S8					1		2		2										
		S9								4											
		S10										3	4	1	2						
		S11															7				
		S12															3	4	7	5	
Second issue	SDA	S13															7				
	SDB	S14																	2	2	
		S15																		1	3

Group SAa

This group includes just a single obverse die (S1), the punches used for which are the same as those for Group Bd, now apparently in a worn condition. It is paired with two reverse dies, one of which is *ay*, also used for coins of Group Bd. This would appear to constitute some evidence for the relative chronology of the commencement of the St Andrews coinage. The other reverse die (*Sa*) is one of the two known with 22 points and *Rex Scotorum* legend. The legend reads $\text{+R}\mathcal{E} / \text{XSC} / \text{OTO} / \text{RVH}$, and the six-point mullets are in the first and third quarters. There are flaws beside the mullets in the second and fourth quarters.

Group SAb

Within the confines of this study this group comprises just a single coin, the reverse of which is from die *Sa*, also used for Group SAa coins. The obverse die (S2) has stylistic affinities with some of those in the 24-point series, but no firm association has been noted. The crown is neat, with shapely petals to the fleurs. The face, on which the nose is breaking away, may be from the same punch as S1, but the hair is from a new punch and the neck is unclear.

Group SBA

The seven coins in this group are struck from two obverse dies (S3, S4), which feature new face and hair punches which seem to be used for all subsequent dies of the St Andrews first issue coinage. The face may be described as more compact and chubbier than that appearing

previously. The crown is also compact, with a plain band without ornaments. Obverse S3 has been found only in combination with reverse *Sb*, which is the second of the 22-point *Rex Scotorum* dies. The legend reads as that of *Sa*, but the last letter appears to have a broken crossbar, and the six-point mullets are now in the second and fourth quarters. Obverse S4 is paired with both *Sa* and *Sb*, as well as with the first of the dies bearing the St Andrews name, here designated *Sc*. The legend reads **CIV / ITΛ / SSΛ / NDR**, and the six-point mullets are in the first and third quarters. This die has not so far been found in combination with any other obverse die.

Group SBb

The four coins in this group were struck from a single obverse die (S5), featuring a tall, slender crown and probably a new neck punch. This is used in combination with reverse die *Sb*, as well as with a new St Andrews die, *Sd*, which reads **CIVI / TΛS / SΛN / DRϷ** and has the six-point mullets in the first and third quarters.

Group SBc

The two obverse dies belonging to this group (S6, S7) are similar to S5 and may feature the same crown, rather more strongly impressed, as well as face and hair punches. The neck punch is not very clear but is not the same as that used for S5. Obverse S6 is found combined with the same two reverses as S5 (*Sb* and *Sd*), but S7 has so far been identified only on a single coin where it is paired with a new St Andrews die (*Se*). This has the same legend and mullet positions as *Sd*.

Group SC

This is a comparatively large group, from which thirty-three coins have been examined, struck from five obverse dies (S8–S12). These all feature the same crown, which may be a worn version of that used in the previous group and which appears to have become more damaged with continued use. The same face and hair punches continued in use, with the hair punch possibly having been recut prior to the manufacture of die S12. The legends on dies S10–S12 end with **GR**, and S11 has reversed **IS**.

The only die link between Group SC and previous groups is provided by a single coin on which obverse S8 is paired with reverse *Sd*. A further eight reverse dies (*Sf–Sm*) appear for the first time in this group. Dies *Sf*, *Sh*, *Si* and *Sj* all read **CIVI / TΛS / SΛN / DRϷ** and have the six-point mullets in the second and fourth quarters. Die *Sm* is similar, but the N is unbarred (II), whereas *Sg* reads **CIV / ITΛ / SSΛ / NDR**. Die *Sl* has the six-point mullets in the first and third quarters and reads as *Sf* etc. but with reversed **IS**. It is notable that obverse S11 and reverse *Sl*, both with reversed **IS**, are paired on seven of the coins examined in this study, suggesting short-lived errors by one particular die-sinker. Reverse die *Sk* is unique in having six-point mullets in three of the quarters, with a five-point mullet in the second only. The reading is as *Sf* etc.

First/second issue mules

Twelve of the coins which have been studied – a fairly surprising fifteen per cent of the total for the St Andrews mint – are mules between the two issues, all being struck from obverse die S12 in combination with two reverse dies (*Sn* and *So*), details of which are given below. The fact that these coins are so numerous would certainly seem to suggest that minting at St Andrews must have continued more or less without interruption. The new die-sinkers who were presumably responsible for the second issue appear to have concentrated initially on the production of new reverse dies, which were immediately put into use in combination with an older obverse die until it in turn could be replaced. This obverse must certainly have been

subject to fairly prolonged use, to judge by the number of coins (nineteen) on which it occurs in the sample studied.

A study of the second issue pennies of St Andrews, including the mules discussed above, was published by the late W.B. Ferguson in 2000.⁷ Our study of this coinage has confirmed the accuracy and comprehensiveness of Ferguson's work, with just two coins unknown to him having been added to the corpus in the intervening period. Cross-references to Ferguson's die terminology are included below.

Group SDa

This group contains seven coins struck from a single abnormal obverse die (S13 = Ferguson A) in combination with a single reverse die (*Sn* = Ferguson A). The obverse die reads $\text{†:I:DI:GRÆ:SCOTORVM:RX}$, and the bust includes a tall crown, long face and wire-line hair of three strands. The reverse reads $\text{CIVI / TÆS / SÆN / DRÆ}$, and has six-pointed stars in the first and third quarters and five-pointed mullets in the second and fourth.

Group SDb

This comprises eight coins struck from two obverse dies (S14, S15) and three reverse dies (*So–Sq*). Both obverse dies read †IOhÆNNES:DEI:GRÆ . The bust is similar in style to that on die S13, but from different punches. The three reverse dies all read as die *Sn*, except for the fact that *So* has H instead of N. Dies *So* and *Sq* have the six-pointed stars in the first and third quarters, whereas *Sp* has the five-pointed mullets in these positions. Obverse S14 (= Ferguson B) is found paired with reverses *So* and *Sp* (= Ferguson B and C respectively), with S15 (= Ferguson C) paired with *Sp* and *Sq* (= Ferguson D).

St Andrews mint halfpennies: first and second issues

Halfpennies of this mint appear to be very rare, with just eight specimens in all having been located for study. Of these, six belong to the first issue, with two obverse and two reverse dies being represented. Obverse SH1, reading †IOhÆNNESDEI:GRÆ , is found paired on four coins with reverse die *SHa*. This reads $\text{CIV / ITÆ / SÆN / DRÆ}$, and has six-pointed mullets in the second and fourth angles of the cross, the others being blank. The same reverse is paired on one coin with obverse die SH2, which appears to have the legend in the same form as SH1, but the **SD** is not legible. A further coin sees obverse SH1 combined with another reverse die (*SHb*), otherwise unrecorded, which reads $\text{CIVI / TÆS / SÆN / DRÆ}$ and has *five*-pointed stars or mullets in the third and presumably also first angles of the cross. Unfortunately this coin is known only from images posted on a dealer's website in 2007 and kindly forwarded by Ronald Kirton. It is clearly an important coin, but its present location is unknown.

Just two St Andrews halfpennies of the second issue are known, both from the same die combination. Obverse SH3, reading †IOhÆNNES:[]:GRÆ , is combined with reverse *SHc*, which reads $\text{CIVI / TÆS / SÆN / DRÆ}$ and has six-pointed stars in the first and third angles of the cross. Both readings are slightly uncertain, with the first stop on the obverse being only partially visible and the last letter on the reverse possibly being a stop instead.

CORPUS OF COINS

In the Corpus the numbers, from 1 to 349, refer to individual specimens, and the coins are listed in order of group and die combination. Main groups (for pennies only) are denoted by capital letters in italics, thus *Group A*, *Group B*, etc. for the *Rex Scotorum* coins, *Group SA*, *Group SB*, etc. for St Andrews coins. Sub-groups are distinguished by added small italic letters, thus *Group Aa* (*Rex Scotorum*) or *Group SAa* (St Andrews). Otherwise the use of italics is confined to reverses. Individual obverse dies are denoted by plain numbers (1, 2, etc) for *Rex Scotorum* pence, and by S numbers for St Andrews (S1, S2, etc.). Similarly, obverse dies for halfpence are given plain numbers

⁷ Ferguson 2000.

prefixed by H, thus H1, H2, etc. for *Rex Scotorum*, and SH, e.g. SH1, SH2, etc. for St Andrews. *Rex Scotorum* reverse penny dies are given two-letter labels, from *aa*, *ab*, etc. to *be*, *bf* for the first issue, and *bg* to *cb*, *cc* for the second. For halfpenny *Rex Scotorum* dies the sequence is from *Ha* to *Hm*. St Andrews reverse dies for pence run from *Sa* to *Sq*, and for halfpence from *SHa* to *SHc*.

The following abbreviations have been used to designate the location of each coin or, where this is not known, the source of the images which have been studied: AM = Ashmolean Museum; BM = British Museum; FM = Fitzwilliam Museum; HM = Hunterian Museum; NMS = National Museum of Scotland; RK = Ronald Kirton research archive; S = Stewartby collection. Museum registration numbers are included where these are known, as are details of original source and/or previous ownership and previous publication. Burns = Burns 1887; Richardson = Richardson 1901; *SCBI* 35 = Bateson and Mayhew 1987. Where the source of a coin is a named collector and/or auction, details are available in Manville and Robertson 1986.

Weights of individual coins have not been given. The standards of weight (and fineness) of the Baliol coinage were unchanged from those which pertained under Alexander III. This can be verified from the catalogues of numerous published hoards containing pennies of both monarchs (e.g. Renfrew 1963,⁸ Loch Doon, Ayrshire, 1966⁹ or Ednam, Roxburghshire, 1995¹⁰).

First issue, *Rex Scotorum* pennies

Group A

No.	Dies	
1	1/ <i>Alex III E</i>	NMS, H.C1489; ex Montrave hoard, 1877; Burns 2a, fig. 211A; Richardson 4, fig. 23
2		S; ex F. Baldwin
3		AM; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 298
4	2/ <i>Alex III E</i>	S
5	2/ <i>aa</i>	NMS, H.C16725; Burns 2, fig. 211
6		S
7	2/ <i>lab</i>	NMS, H.C1487; ex Montrave hoard, 1877; Richardson 3
8		HM; ex Dr William Hunter collection; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 304
9	2/ <i>ac</i>	NMS, H.C4199; ex Mellendean hoard, 1911
10		S; ex Davidson
11	2/ <i>ad</i>	BM, 1989.12.1.5; ex Amble hoard
12	3/ <i>ae</i>	BM, 1911.2.1; ex Mellendean hoard, 1911
13		BM, 1989.12.1.6; ex Amble hoard

Group Ba

14	4/ <i>Alex III E</i>	S; ex P. Thorburn; ex Cochran-Patrick, lot 174; Stewart 1971, p. 280 and Pl. XVII, no. 23b
15	4/ <i>af</i>	NMS, H.C16729; Burns 6, not illus.
16		NMS, H.C1499; ex Craigengillan (Carsphairn) hoard, 1913
17		number not used
18		S
19		BM, 1936.1.9; ex Boyton hoard, 1935, 152
20		FM
21	4? <i>/af</i>	RK
22	4/ <i>ah</i>	NMS, H.C1494
23		S; ex Ednam hoard 1995; Holmes 1996, 58, no. 1412
24		RK
25		RK
26	4/ <i>ai</i>	S; ex W. Elliott
27	4/ <i>aj</i>	S
28	4/ <i>ak</i>	S; ex Parsons 710
29	4/ <i>al</i>	S; ex Parsons 710
30	4/ <i>am</i>	NMS, H.C1495; ex Loch Doon hoard, 1966; Woodhead <i>et al.</i> 1969, 48, no. 1841 and Pl. I, no. 24
31	5/ <i>ag</i>	NMS, H.C1483; Richardson 1
32		S; ex Dakers 330 (Daniels 1928)
33		S; ex Wills 172
34		S
35		BM, 1976.1.3.80; ex Middridge hoard
36		RK

⁸ Woodhead and Stewart 1966.

⁹ Woodhead, Stewart and Tatler 1969.

¹⁰ Holmes 1996.

37	5/ag?	S
38	5/ai	NMS, H.C9802
39		S
40	5/ak	S; ex Ednam hoard 1995; Holmes 1996, 58, no. 1419
41	5/am	HM; found near Cambuskenneth Abbey; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 303
42	6/ah	NMS, H.C16726; Burns 3, fig. 212
43		S; ex J.K.R. Murray 117; ex Oman 391
44	6/aj	S; ex Davidson
45		RK
46	6/al	S; ex Ednam hoard 1995; Holmes 1996, 58, no. 1418
47	6/ao	S; ex W. Elliott
48	7/lak	S; ex F. Baldwin
49		FM
50	8/an	NMS, H.C1493; Richardson 7
51	9/lap	NMS, H.C4140
52		BM, 1906.11.3.4481
53	10/an	NMS, H.C16728; Burns 5, not illus.
54		NMS, H.C4200; ex Loch Doon hoard, 1966; Woodhead <i>et al</i> 1969, 49, no. 1845 and Pl. I, no. 28
55		S; ex Drabble 1184
56	10/aq	AM; ex Browne Willis; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 301

Alexander III class J (one obverse die)

57	rev. aj	S
58		Bowers and Ruddy sale, 19 February 1976 ('Dundee collection'), lot 20; present whereabouts unknown
59	rev. an	NMS, H.C1367; Richardson Add. 106
60		NMS, H.C1368; ex Kinghornie hoard, 1893
61		RK; metal-detector find, Suffolk, 2008
62	rev. aq	S; ex F. Baldwin
63		S
64	rev. ar	NMS, H.C16714; Burns 79, fig. 209
65		S

Group Bb

66	11/an	S
67	11/aq	S
68	11/ar	S; ex W.C. Boyd 1197 (Baldwin sale 26 September 2005); bt. W.S. Lincoln 1899
69	11/as	NMS, H.C16724; Burns 1b, fig. 210B
70		NMS, H.C1485; ex Montrave hoard, 1877; Richardson 2
71		NMS, K.1997.322; ex Ednam hoard, 1995; Holmes 1996, 58, no. 1410
72		S
73	12/at	BM, 1926.1.13.119; ex Newminster hoard, 1925
74	13/at	NMS, K.1997.324; ex Ednam hoard, 1995; Holmes 1996, 58, no. 1422
75		S; ex Dakers 330 (Sotheby sale 1935, lot 124)
76		S; ex Davidson
77		AM; ex Hird; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 300
78		BM, 1915.5.7.2084; ex Tutbury hoard, 1831
79		BM, E2425
80		RK
81	13/au	NMS, H.C16723; Burns 1a, fig. 210A
82		S; ex Davidson
83		BM, 1926.1.13.117; ex Newminster hoard, 1925
84	14/at	NMS, H.C16722; Burns 1, fig. 210
85		NMS, A.1925.432
86		S; ex Ednam hoard, 1995; Holmes 1996, 58, no. 1421
87		RK
88	14/au	S; ex Davidson
89	14/av	S; ex J.K.R. Murray 117; ex Oman 391
90		RK

Group Bc

91	15/as	S; ex F. Baldwin
92	16/las	S; ex Davidson
93		BM, 1926.1.13.116; ex Newminster hoard, 1925

94	16/av	NMS, H.C1497; Richardson 8
95	17/an	S; ex Winstanley
96	17/as	S
97	17/au	NMS, H.C1501; ex Loch Doon hoard, 1966; Woodhead <i>et al.</i> 1969, 49, no. 1844 and Pl. I. no. 27
98		S
99	17/av	NMS, H.C1498; ? ex Montrave hoard, 1877
100		S; ex Dakers; from Clark 1926
101	18/aw	S
102	18/ax	NMS, H.C1484
103		NMS, H.C1500; ex Loch Doon hoard, 1966; Woodhead <i>et al.</i> 1969, 48, no. 1843 and Pl. I, no. 26
104		RK
<i>Group Bd</i>		
105	19/aw	S; ex Dakers 330 (Sotheby December 1929)
106		S
107		AM; ex Hird; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 299
108		RK
109	19/ay	NMS, H.C1491; Richardson 6
110		NMS, H.C1492; ex Craigengillan (Carsphairn) hoard, 1913
111		S; ex Ednam hoard 1995; Holmes 1996, 58, no. 1416
112		RK
113	20/ay	NMS, H.C1496; ex Loch Doon hoard, 1966; Woodhead <i>et al.</i> 1969, 48, no. 1842 and Pl. I, no. 25
114		S; ex Dakers 330
115		BM, 1936.1.9; ex Boyton hoard, 1935, 151
116		RK
117	20/az	S; ex Alex Hannah sale, CNG/Seaby 11 June 1994, lot 557
<i>Group Ca</i>		
118	21/ba	S
119		BM, 1936.1.9; ex Boyton hoard, 1935, 150
120	21/bb	NMS, H.C1488
121		NMS, H.C4138
122		S
123		S
124		AM; ex Stewart; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 302
125		BM, 1926.1.13.118; ex Newminster hoard, 1925
126		RK
127		RK
128	22/bb	BM, 1936.1.9; ex Boyton hoard, 1935, 149
129	23/bc	NMS, H.C1486; ex Craigengillan (Carsphairn) hoard, 1913
130		S
131	24/bc	NMS, H.C1490; Richardson 5
132		S
133		RK
134	24/bd	NMS, H.C16727; Burns 4, not illus.
135		NMS, K.1997.323; ex Ednam hoard, 1995; Holmes 1996, 58 and Pl. 6, no. 1411
136		S; ex J.J. North
137	25/am	S; ex W. Elliott; ex Lockett; ex Murdoch
138	25/bc	S; ex W. Elliott
139		RK
140		RK
141	25/bd	S; ex Weber de Vore
142	26/am	NMS, H.C16730; Burns 7, not illus.
<i>Group Cb</i>		
143	27/ba	S; ex Drabble 1184
144	27/bb	S
145	27/be	NMS, H.C16731; Burns 8, fig. 213
146		NMS, H.C4139
147		S
148	28/bf	S; ex Ednam hoard 1995; Holmes 1996, 58, no. 1415

First issue: *Rex Scotorum* halfpennies

149	H1/ <i>Alex III</i>	S; ex Dolphin Coins list 2 (1992), no. 1312; ex Lockett 117
150		BM, Grueber 521
151	H1/ <i>Ha</i>	NMS, H.C1512; Burns 12a, fig. 212A
152		NMS, H.C4201; Richardson 13
153	H2/ <i>Hb</i>	S; ex F. Baldwin

Second issue: *Rex Scotorum* pennies*Group Da*

154	29/ <i>bg</i>	NMS, H.C10027
155	30/ <i>bg</i>	NMS, H.C1522; Richardson 18
156		NMS, H.C10014; found at Urquhart Castle
157		S; ex Parsons 710
158		S; ex Roth 339
159		FM
160		RK
161	30/ <i>bh</i>	S; ex Davidson
162		S
163		AM; Christ Church collection loan; <i>SCBI</i> 35, 306
164		BM, 1959.12.11.52; from Whittonstall hoard
165		RK
166	30/ <i>bi</i>	NMS, H.C16743; Burns 18, fig. 221
167		S
168		RK
169	30/ <i>bj</i>	S
170		RK
171	30/ <i>bk</i>	NMS, H.C1523
172		S; ex W. Elliott; ex Lockett; ex Murdoch
173	30/ <i>bl</i>	NMS, H.C1524; Richardson 19
174	30/ <i>bm</i>	S; ex Ednam hoard 1995; Holmes 1996, 58 and Pl. 6, no. 1426

Group Db

175	31/ <i>bn</i>	S; ex Davidson
176	31/ <i>bo</i>	NMS, H.C16740; Burns 16, fig. 219
177		NMS, H.C16741; Burns 16 (not illus.)
178		NMS, H.C4144; ex Aberdour hoard, 1978; Woodhead <i>et al.</i> 1988, 81, no. 241
179		S
180		S
181		AM; ex Hird; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 307
182		AM; ex Bodleian Library; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 308
183		BM, E2423
184		BM, 1989.12.1.7; ex Amble hoard
185		FM
186		HM; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 309; ex Loch Doon hoard, 1966; Woodhead <i>et al.</i> 1966, 49, no. 1847, and Pl. I, no. 30
187		RK
188		RK
189	32/ <i>bo</i>	S; ex F. Baldwin
190	32/ <i>bp</i>	NMS, H.C1521; ex Montrave hoard, 1877
191		S; ex Middridge hoard 1977, 828
192		RK
193		RK
194	33/ <i>bq</i>	NMS, H.C1520; Richardson 17
195		S; ex Dakers 330
196		BM; Grueber 519; ex Tutbury hoard 1831, 88
197		RK
198	33/ <i>br</i>	NMS, H.C16742; Burns 17, fig. 220
199		S
200		FM
201		RK
202		RK
203	34/ <i>br</i>	S

204		AM; ex Parkes Weber; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 314
205		BM, 1915.5.7.2088; ex Tutbury hoard 1831, 172
<i>Group Ea</i>		
206	35/bs	S; ex Braemore hoard, before 1900; Stewart 1973, 139, no. 6
207	36/bt	S; ex Drabble 1184, Bearman, Murdoch 39
208		RK
<i>Group Eb</i>		
209	37/bu	S; ex Weber de Vore, Grantley
210	38/bv	S; ex E.J. Harris
211		S; ex Drabble 1184
212		RK
213		RK
214	38/bw	S; ex Dakers 330
215		AM; ex Hird; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 313
<i>Group Ec</i>		
216	39/bx	S; ex J.K.R. Murray 122, Oman 392
217	39/by	NMS, H.C1518
218		S; ex W. Elliott, P. Thorburn
219	39/bz	FM
220	40/bx	S
221		HM; ex Dr William Hunter; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 310
222		BM, E2424
223		RK
224	40/ca	S; ex Drabble 1184
225	40/cb	NMS, K.1998.403
226		S; ex Drabble 1184
227		AM; ex Hird; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 311
228		AM; ex Browne Willis; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 312
229		RK
230	40/cc	NMS, H.C1517; Richardson 16
231		FM
232	41/by	NMS, H.C1519; ex Renfrew hoard, 1963; Woodhead and Stewart 1966, 146, no. 657 and Pl. XIII, no. 24
233		S; ex Davidson
234		RK
235	41/cc	S
236		S

Second issue: *Rex Scotorum* halfpennies

237	H3/Hc	S; ex W.W. Woodside
238		AM; ex Dakers 331; <i>SCBI</i> 35, 315
239		HM; ex Dr William Hunter; <i>SCBI</i> 35, 316
240		FM
241	H3/Hd	NMS, H.C16744; Burns 1, fig. 222
242		NMS, A.1925.434
243		S
244		S
245	H4/Hd	S; ex F. Baldwin
246	H4/He	NMS, H.C16745; Burns 1, fig. 223
247		BM, E2429
248	H4/Hf	NMS, H.C1525; Richardson 20
249	H4/Hg	S; ex Wills 172
250	H4/Hh	S; ex Drabble 1185, Bearman, Holton 218
251	H5/Hh	NMS, H.C16746; Burns 2, fig. 224
252		NMS, H.C1527; Richardson 21
253		AM; ex Browne Willis; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 317
254	H5/Hi	S; ex Dakers 331
255	H5/Hj	Dix Noonan Webb sale 62 (30 June 2004), lot 631
256	H5/Hk	BM, E2427
257	??/Hh	NMS, K.2002.77; ex D.J.deS. Rogers; apparently with added pellets on reverse
258	H6/He	BM, E2428

259	H6/Hl	S; ex F. Baldwin
260	H7/Hl	NMS, H.C1526; ex Renfrew hoard, 1963; Woodhead and Stewart 1966, 146, no. 658 and Pl. XIII, no. 32
261		S; ex Marshall 169, Grantley 1709, Cochran-Patrick 174
262	H8/Hm	S

Second issue: *Rex Scotorum* farthing

263		S; found 1997, Suffolk
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First issue: St Andrews pennies*Group SAa*

264	S1/ay	Mule with 24-point reverse; NMS, H.C1502
265	S1/Sa	S
266		AM; ex Stewart; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 297

Group SAb

267	S2/Sa	S
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Group SBa

268	S3/Sb	S
269		BM, 1956.10.1.1
270		RK
271	S4/Sa	S; ex Parsons
272	S4/Sb	S
273		RK
274	S4/Sc	S; ex F. Baldwin

Group SBb

275	S5/Sb	S
276	S5/Sd	NMS, H.C1505; ex Craigengillan (Carsphairn) hoard, 1913
277		NMS, H.C4141; ex J.K.R. Murray 118
278		S

Group SBc

279	S6/Sb	S; ex F. Baldwin
280	S6/Sd	S
281		RK
282	S7/Se	BM, 1936.1.9; ex Boyton hoard, 1935, 153

Group SC

283	S8/Sd	S; ex W. Elliott
284	S8/Sf	NMS, H.C16733; Burns 10, fig. 214
285		S; ex Lockett 115, Bearman, Murdoch 1020
286	S8/Sh	S; ex Davidson
287	S9/Sg	NMS, H.C16732; Burns 9 (not illus.)
288		NMS, H.C1504; ex Montrave hoard, 1877; Richardson 9
289		NMS, K.1997.325; ex Ednam hoard, 1995; Holmes 1996, 58 and Pl. 6, no. 1424
290		S; ex Wills 172
291	S10/Sh	NMS, H.C16734; Burns 11 (not illus.)
292		NMS, H.C1508; ex Montrave hoard, 1877; Richardson 12
293		NMS, H.C 1509; ex Loch Doon hoard, 1965; Woodhead <i>et al</i> 1966, 49, no. 1846, and Pl. I, no. 29
294	S10/Si	NMS, H.C1506; ? ex Montrave hoard, 1877; Richardson 10
295		S
296		BM, E2426
297		FM
298	S10/Sj	S; ex Lockett 115
299	S10/Sk	NMS, H.C16735; Burns 12, fig. 215
300		S
301	S11/Sl	NMS, H.C1510; Richardson 11
302		NMS, H.C1511

303		NMS, H.C4143; ex J.K.R. Murray 118, Oman
304		S
305		AM; ex Stewart; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 296
306		BM, 1959.12.11.50; ex Whittonstall hoard
307		BM, 1959.12.11.51; ex Whittonstall hoard
308	S12/SI	NMS, H.C1507; ex Montrave hoard, 1877
309		NMS, A.1925.433
310		S
311	S12/Sm	NMS, H.C4142; ex J.K.R. Murray 118
312		AM; ex Hird; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 294
313		BM, 1915.5.7.2089; ex Tutbury hoard, 1831, 73
314		RK; metal-detector find from Warwickshire

First/second issue mule pennies: St Andrews mint

315	S12/Sn	NMS, H.C1515; Richardson 15
316		NMS, H.C1516; ex Montrave hoard, 1877
317		S; ex Braemore hoard, before 1900; Stewart 1973, 139, no. 5
318		AM; ex Stewart; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 295
319		BM, 1903.6.7.3; ex Murdoch 42
320		BM, 1926.1.13.120; ex Newminster hoard, 1925
321		P. Finn list 7 (1996), no. 398
322	S12/So	NMS, H.C16739; Burns 15, fig. 218
323		NMS, K.1997.326; ex Ednam hoard, 1995; Holmes 1996, 58 and Pl. 6, no. 1425
324		S; ex P. Thorburn
325		P. Finn list, Summer 1994, no. 361
326		Dolphin Coins list 2 (1992), no. 1311

Second issue: St Andrews pennies*Group SDA*

327	S13/Sn	NMS, H.C16738; Burns 14, fig. 217
328		S; ex F. Baldwin, R. Carlyon-Britton
329		<i>NCirc</i> July 1993, no. 4358
330		P. Finn list 9 (1997), no. 361
331		P. Finn list 14 (1998), no. 360
332		Dolphin Coins list 2 (1992), no. 1314
333		RK

Group SDb

334	S14/So	NMS, H.C16736; Burns 13, fig. 216
335		J.K.R. Murray sale (Spink, April 1987), lot 119
336	S14/Sp	NMS, H.C1514; Richardson 14, fig. 25
337		S; ex Parsons 710
338	S15/Sp	NMS, H.C16737; Burns p. 226 and note
339	S15/Sq	S; ex W. Wylie
340		AM; ex Shand; <i>SCBI</i> 35, no. 305
341		BM, Grueber 520

St Andrews halfpennies*First issue*

342	SH1/SHa	NMS, H.C1513; ex P. Thorburn, R. Carlyon-Britton
343		S
344		Dix Noonan Webb sale 59 (7 October 2003), lot 982
345		Dix Noonan Webb sale 79 (24 September 2008), lot 4062
346	SH1/SHb	RK; advertised for sale by Lloyd Bennett, www.coinsofbritain.com , October 2007
347	SH2/SHa	NMS, K.2004.225; metal-detector find from Lincolnshire

Second issue

348 SH3/SHc NMS, H.C9680
349 S; ex Blunt, Shirley Fox

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KEY TO PLATES

All illustrated coins are in either the National Museum of Scotland collection or the Stewartby collection unless otherwise acknowledged.

PLATE 9: <i>Rex Scotorum</i> pennies, first issue, obverse	27	144		
dies	28	148		
<i>Obverse die</i>	<i>Coin no. in Corpus</i>		PLATE 10: <i>Rex Scotorum</i> pennies, first issue, reverse	
1	2		dies	
2	5		<i>Reverse die</i>	<i>Coin no. in Corpus</i>
3	13		<i>Alex III E (i)</i>	2
4	15		<i>aa</i>	6
5	31		<i>ab</i>	7
6	42		<i>ac</i>	9
7	48		<i>ad</i>	11 (by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)
8	50		<i>ae</i>	12 (by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)
9	51			
10	55		<i>Alex III E (ii)</i>	14
Alex III J	64		<i>af</i>	15
11	72		<i>ag</i>	34
12	73 (by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)		<i>ah</i>	42
13	81		<i>ai</i>	38
14	85		<i>aj</i>	44
15	91		<i>ak</i>	28
16	94		<i>al</i>	29
17	98		<i>am</i>	142
18	102		<i>an</i>	55
19	105		<i>ao</i>	47
20	114		<i>ap</i>	51
21	123		<i>aq</i>	67
22	128 (by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)		<i>ar</i>	64
23	129		<i>as</i>	71
24	135		<i>at</i>	76
25	141		<i>au</i>	82
26	142		<i>av</i>	94

Reverse die *Coin no. in Corpus*

<i>aw</i>	101
<i>ax</i>	102
<i>ay</i>	119
<i>az</i>	117
<i>ba</i>	118
<i>bb</i>	123
<i>bc</i>	138
<i>bd</i>	25
<i>be</i>	147
<i>bf</i>	148

PLATE 11: *Rex Scotorum* halfpennies, first issue*Obverse die* *Coin no. in Corpus*

H1	151
H2	153

Reverse die *Coin no. in Corpus*

<i>Alex III</i>	149
<i>Ha</i>	151
<i>Hb</i>	153

PLATE 12: *Rex Scotorum* pennies, second issue*Obverse die* *Coin no. in Corpus*

29	154
30	171
31	176
32	190
33	198
34	205 (by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)
35	206
36	207
37	209
38	211
39	217
40	225
41	235

Reverse die *Coin no. in Corpus*

<i>bg</i>	155
<i>bh</i>	161
<i>bi</i>	166
<i>bj</i>	169
<i>bk</i>	171
<i>bl</i>	173
<i>bm</i>	174
<i>bn</i>	175
<i>bo</i>	176
<i>bp</i>	190
<i>bq</i>	194
<i>br</i>	198
<i>bs</i>	206
<i>bt</i>	207
<i>bu</i>	209
<i>bv</i>	211
<i>bw</i>	214
<i>bx</i>	216
<i>by</i>	217
<i>bz</i>	219 (by courtesy of the trustees of the Fitzwilliam Museum)
<i>ca</i>	224
<i>cb</i>	225
<i>cc</i>	230

PLATE 13: *Rex Scotorum* halfpennies, second issue*Obverse die* *Coin no. in Corpus*

H3	237
H4	249
H5	254
H6	259
H7	261
H8	262

Reverse die *Coin no. in Corpus*

<i>Hc</i>	237
<i>Hd</i>	241
<i>He</i>	246
<i>Hf</i>	248

PLATE 14: *Rex Scotorum* halfpennies, second issue*Reverse die* *Coin no. in Corpus*

<i>Hg</i>	249
<i>Hh</i>	252
<i>Hi</i>	254
<i>Hj</i>	255 (by courtesy of Dix Noonan Webb)
<i>Hk</i>	256 (by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)
<i>Hl</i>	261
<i>Hm</i>	262

Rex Scotorum farthing, second issue*Coin no. in Corpus*

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PLATE 15: St Andrews pennies, first and second issues

Obverse die *Coin no. in Corpus*

S1	264
S2	267
S3	268
S4	274
S5	276
S6	280
S7	282 (by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)
S8	285
S9	289
S10	293
S11	304
S12	311
S13	328
S14	337
S15	338

Reverse die *Coin no. in Corpus*

<i>Sa</i>	265
<i>Sb</i>	268
<i>Sc</i>	274
<i>Sd</i>	276
<i>Se</i>	282 (by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)
<i>Sf</i>	285
<i>Sg</i>	289
<i>Sh</i>	286
<i>Si</i>	294
<i>Sj</i>	298
<i>Sk</i>	300
<i>Sl</i>	310
<i>Sm</i>	311

<i>Reverse die</i>	<i>Coin no. in Corpus</i>	<i>Reverse die</i>	<i>Coin no. in Corpus</i>
<i>Sn</i>	317	SHa	342
<i>So</i>	322	SHb	346 (from www.coinsofbritain.com (Lloyd Bennett))
<i>Sp</i>	336		
<i>Sq</i>	341 (by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)		
		St Andrews halfpennies, second issue	
		<i>Obverse die</i>	<i>Coin no. in Corpus</i>
PLATE 16: St Andrews halfpennies, first issue		SH3	348
<i>Obverse die</i>	<i>Coin no. in Corpus</i>	<i>Reverse die</i>	<i>Coin no. in Corpus</i>
SH1	342	SHc	348
SH2	347		