THE GLENLUCE HOARD, 1956

By B. H. I. H. STEWART

(SEE PLS. XXII-XXIV)

Scottish coin hoards buried in the fifteenth century are of sufficient rarity to command attention regardless of their precise contents. On examination, it became clear very quickly that over a hundred coins discovered by Mr. and Mrs. E. M. Jope on the Glenluce Sands, Wigtownshire, in July 1956, were of the utmost importance as a hoard in every sense. Mr. and Mrs. Jope, both experienced archaeologists, while passing through Wigtownshire were walking on the sands at Glenluce when they noticed something green lying on the surface. They found it to be a group of heavily oxidized coins stuck together. Realizing the significance of their find, they investigated the site, eventually collecting 112 coins, some broken pottery, pieces of leading for window panes, metal fragments, and one piece of glass. There was no sign of a container, but one group of three coins had a piece of cloth adhering to it, which appears to be part of a linen bag or purse in which the coins were originally deposited. After a close study of the archaeological material and fauna collected from the Glenluce site, Mr. Jope has come to the conclusion that the hoard was probably deposited under the floor of a wooden house, which in course of time became buried in the sand and heather. Unfortunately the area is subject to changes in surface contours, and the condition of the site did not suggest that further investigation there would be profitable.

On returning south, the finders took the coins to Mr. J. D. A. Thompson of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The Queen’s and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer was notified through Mr. R. B. K. Stevenson, Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, and allowed the coins to remain at Oxford for cleaning and identification. Mr. Thompson applied considerable skill to the cleaning, which was a long and delicate process, for many of the coins proved to be very fragile. One or two small and very corroded fragments did not survive treatment with ammonia, but the plates show how successful Mr. Thompson has been with most of the coins. After making a preliminary sorting, he invited me to undertake a more detailed analysis.

**Contents of the Hoard**

Except for two very old English silver coins, all the coins are Scottish, ten being of the James III groat series, one a black farthing, two placks of James III, and the remainder billon pence from 1451 to 1490. Summary of reigns and types:

**English (2)**
- Edward III, London half-groat, 1351–60 coinage
- Henry IV, London groat, light coinage

**Scottish (110). All of the Edinburgh mint except one penny of Perth Silver**
- James III, S. group II groats
- "half-groats
- " S. group VIe groat

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reigns and Types</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Edward III</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry IV</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James III</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Billon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin Type</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>James III, first-issue placks</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James II, pennies, second coinage (after 1451):</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First issue (new type)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second issue, Edinburgh</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perth</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James III, pennies:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Class A (including one with reverse of James II)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Class B</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Class C</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Class D</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James IV, first-issue pennies:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Class I</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Class II (including one with reverse of Class I)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertain pennies (including forgeries)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Copper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin Type</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>James III, black farthing, first issue</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A detailed list of individual coins is appended at the end of the paper.

---

**The Context of Contemporary Hoards and Currency**

The discovery of the Glenluce hoard gives an opportunity for an assessment of collective hoard evidence for the state of coinage and currency in fifteenth-century Scotland.

Mr. J. D. A. Thompson’s *Inventory of British Coin Hoards, A.D. 600–1500* shows that only a few hoards buried in Scotland in the fifteenth century have been unearthed: those that have been are widely different in composition, but some general tendencies can be established, which are followed, more or less, from hoard to hoard. By the fifteenth century, the enormous preponderance of English money in Scotland, outnumbering Scots coins by more than 20:1 in the reign of Edward I, had been reduced, but English coin was struck at a better standard and was constantly acceptable. In gold, however, the international currency of trade, the Scots showed a definite preference for their own native issues: at Wick in 1881, a gold hoard (with also two Scots groats) contained 6 Continental écus, 8 English nobles, and 16 Scottish crowns and demies. New Cumnock, 1882, contained 138 English to 4 Scottish silver coins, but all the gold (41 coins) were Scottish. The same tendency is noticeable in the huge Perth hoard, all the 18 gold coins in which were Scottish, except for one Burgundian half-noble.

Money held by traders tended to be of gold, unless specifically connected with the market end of commerce. Throughout England and Scotland hoards primarily, or only, of gold must thus have been frequently buried, and the Wick hoard, with only two groats, is an example. The proportion of gold coins to silver at New Cumnock, 41:142, is perhaps the sort of money which

---

1 This and the following section have been included in Mr. Jope’s report on his discovery in *Medieval Archaeology*.

2 References for the several hoards discussed in the following paragraphs are not given individually; they can be found in Mr. Thompson’s *Inventory*, in which the hoards are listed alphabetically.
might be expected in a merchant’s hoard, but, in fact, such combinations of
the two metals are, in practice, only rarely found, even in England. The rule
is much more for hoards of gold coins exclusively, or of silver with the acci-
dental addition of a few gold coins (e.g. Perth).

Gold was riches, and base metal, or billon, was small change; so the buried
savings of the ordinary fifteenth-century Scot were likely to be in silver.
Hoard in this metal alone come from Ayr (1863), Forgandenny (1876), and
Aberdeen (1937). The ratio of English to Scottish silver coins was: at Ayr
29:106; at Forgandenny (only 37 coins listed) 21:16; at Aberdeen 178:5. The
last is certainly a distortion, and may represent an English merchant’s money:
it is interesting to note that a parallel hoard in England (Dover—buried
1296) emphasizes how this sort of distortion could arise in trading centres
by providing a much less probable ratio—a large predominance of Scots coins
in England. Perhaps the ratio at Ayr, one English to three Scottish, was
somewhere near the average in Scotland: though in towns the English coins
would be more, and in the country less.

In connexion with silver hoards, it is interesting to consider the status of
the billon plack, half silver and half alloy, current at 4d. The Kilkerran hoard,
1892, contained 36 English silver coins, 30 Scottish silver coins, and 1 James
III plack—with no other billon. Perth, besides its 18 gold coins, had 257
English silver coins, 341 Scottish silver, and 499 placks and half-placks.
Billon pennies, much baser than the placks, appear to have been deliberately
excluded from both hoards.

The notable rarities of the later fifteenth-century Scottish series are the
half-groats. Various other expedients sufficed to fill in the gap between the
billon penny and the silver groat, which was of variable weight and value—
from 1451 to 1484, 12d.; after 1484, 14d. To some extent the old groats of
James I and James II before 1451, struck at 6d., still circulated, and, although
clipping and wear had reduced their weight, the price of silver had risen and
probably until near the end of the century the old groats still held their
original value of 6d., conveniently half the denomination of the new groats.
Apart from three earlier coins, the James I—III silver content of the Perth
hoard was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>James I and II light (6d.) groats</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James II and III 12d. groats</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James II and III half-groats</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>338</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The proportion of half-groats is tiny—but if the earlier coins are looked upon
as half-groats in the new monetary scheme, the proportion 214:124 is much
more natural.

The shortage of smaller silver is also reflected in the English content of
Scottish hoards: for some unexplained reason, earlier rather than con-
temporary English coins held vogue in Scotland, and the great rarity of Scot-
tish half-groats created a remarkable demand for English half-groats, par-
ticularly old, clipped Edward III coins. Of the 257 English silver coins from
the Perth hoard, buried towards 1500, no less than 83 were half-groats of
Edward III, all well over a century old. From Kilkerran, a hoard buried about
the same time, only 7 out of 36 English coins were of Edward IV or later, whilst 7 were worn half-groats of Edward III. Even in the Forgandenny hoard (burial 1440's), out of 21 English silver coins there were 4 groats and 5 half-groats of Edward III, but of the 16 Scots silver coins not one was of Edward III's contemporary, David II. Of the 138 English silver coins from New Cumnock, 20 were of Edward III, but of the 45 Scots only 4 were of the fourteenth century, and these all of Robert III.

The role of the Scottish half-groat—virtually non-existent as such—was thus largely assumed by half-groats of Edward III and old 6d. groats of James I and II. About 1470, however, two deliberate measures seem to have been aimed at the shortage of smaller silver. An alloyed groat—the thistle-head and mullet type, group II of James III's groats—was issued, originally at 7d. but reduced in 1473 to 6d. It appears to have continued to be struck until nearly 1484 alongside the regular issue of silver groats: in order to avoid confusion, the alloyed groat had a distinctive type, including a β-face portrait, as opposed to the conventional facing bust on the fine silver groats.

The other measure was the institution of a new denomination, the plack, 4d., with its half. There were certainly two main issues, one about 1470-3, the other about 1482; and, like the alloyed groats, they may have been in more or less continuous issue between 1470 and 1484. Again like the alloyed groats, they are of distinctive type, and the correspondence between many features of the designs of the placks and alloyed groats is notable.

Naturally hoards of billon coins are rare since it was easier to keep or hide a dozen groats than a hundred billon pennies; and it has been noted that if billon is present at all with silver, it is usually in the form of placks. Later, of course, when silver coinage had almost completely ceased after 1500, even billon was sought after and buried—cf. the Creggan and Balligmorrie hoards. But in the fifteenth century, men put aside silver for saving, and everyday small transactions were made in billon. Today, but for the Perth hoard, placks and half-placks of James III would be of the highest rarity; how many escaped, if any, from the Perth hoard before it was claimed as treasure trove will never be known—probably they were very few, since even now half-placks are very rarely on the market. Billon pence, before the second issue of James IV, are quite uncommon: the high proportion of new varieties produced by Glenluce demonstrates this. So that billon coinage, the mainstay of Scottish currency towards the end of the Middle Ages, is much scarcer today than the silver coins of the time, although the original proportion in circulation in, say, 1475, must have been in favour of billon by tens to one. This can be proved by the number of dies known: those listed for the silver groat coinage of James III, c. 1467-84, by Burns as long ago as 1887, may have contained two-thirds of all the original dies of the coinage, for new hoards rarely produce an unrecorded variety of these coins. But the large number of similar dies used for billon pence can be seen from the class C pennies found at Glenluce, where die-identities are almost impossible to find,¹ but coins very similar are numerous.

Still rarer today than the billon coins of the time are the 'black', or copper,

¹ Even allowing for the fact that large numbers of coins hastily struck from the same pair of dies often bear little resemblance to each other at first sight.
farthings of which there were two official regal issues by James III. Contemporary records show that there was a considerable amount of copper money in circulation at the time. Some of this was certainly foreign, but Scottish copper pennies were struck at St. Andrews, and besides the two types of regal black farthings there were others of uncertain origin. A large hoard of billon and copper coins—the only one of its kind—was found at Crossraguel Abbey, Ayrshire, in 1919. There were a few billon pence of James III and IV; 18 regal farthings in copper and 20 apparently in brass; 51 copper pence of the St. Andrews type which may have originated under Bishop Kennedy; and 88 copper farthings of previously unknown types, with the inscription Moneta Pauperum on the reverse.

The St. Andrews pence have occasionally turned up elsewhere in Scotland, but before 1919 the few known specimens were not even recognized as Scottish. The normal types of regal black farthing are known by perhaps less than twenty specimens apart from Crossraguel, which is their only hoard provenance; and the Moneta Pauperum coins do not appear to be known from any other source.\(^1\) The lesson of Crossraguel is that our knowledge of the copper currency of Scotland in the later fifteenth century, before almost negligible, is still far from complete. If a solitary hoard can produce so much new material, it is likely that there is a great deal more to be learnt. The same can be said of Glenluce with relation to the billon coinage, especially—from a purely numismatic point of view—in the number of new varieties. Crossraguel, perhaps a bagful of collected alms, is unique in its composition of copper and billon: Glenluce, perhaps the purse money of someone fleeing westwards from Scotland, is unique in its composition of billon and silver. The large proportion of pennies, with a few groats and placks, suggests a normal parcel of ready cash, and its site position postulates hasty burial beneath a wooden floor. It is not, thus, a hoard, in the sense of money specially set aside for saving. Rather it is of a kind which is naturally very rare, an accidental, spontaneous collection of money at hand; the sort of group which would only be buried in emergency, and of which, apparently, no other examples have survived from this period.

Their numismatic importance will be described below, but the individual elements of the hoard are equally interesting in connexion with the remarks already put forward about the state of currency at the time. Firstly, the large range of billon pence gives an idea of the extent of this coinage as much larger than suggested by the scarcity of surviving specimens. The one black farthing is in very bad condition, chipped and worn, but its very survival (perhaps thirty years) is significant; the implication is that black farthings were in considerably longer and more general circulation than their great rarity today would suggest. No doubt they were more often lost than buried, like English farthings of the fifteenth century, being unsuitable material for hoarding.

\(^1\) Two specimens (The Scottish Coinage, pl. vii, nos. 100 and 101—now in my collection) may be strays from Crossraguel or come from another, unknown, source. They are far better preserved than, and do not share the corroded and discoloured surface of, the Crossraguel coins in N.M.A. However, S. fig. 100 is certainly the coin figured by Macdonald in Num. Chron., 1919, p. 299; but there is no means of knowing whether these line-drawings were made from actual Crossraguel specimens, especially since Macdonald's figs. 10 and 11 on pp. 300 and 301 are clearly the same coin with two different inscriptions!
Of the silver, the two English coins are, as might be expected from the tendency noted above in other Scottish hoards, very old: an Edward III half-groat, a century older than the earliest Scottish coin, and a Henry IV groat forty years older. The half-groat, at 18½ grains, and the groat at 39 grains, have been clipped down to correspond with the weights of the Scottish coins of the time. The Scottish groats are much newer, and, notably, are all of the three-quarter face types—S. groups II and VI. Group II are the alloyed groats of 1470, and group VI the first large issue of the heavy coinage (groat of 14d.) after 1484. Today these are the commonest types of James III's groats, and the number of dies known suggests that they were of larger issue than the other types. And although the Perth hoard might suggest otherwise, it is not surprising to find none of the groat types with the conventional facing bust present in the Glenluce hoard. The complete contrast of this with the Perth hoard, which had no three-quarter face groats, either of group II or group VI, merits attention numismatically, although, in the context of hoards and currency, it is worth considering that groats with an unfamiliar appearance, such as these portrait coins, might have found especial popularity or the reverse with individual owners.

**Numismatic Significance of the Hoard as a Whole**

The latest coins contained in the hoard are a run of James IV billon pence of the first issue: equal numbers of classes I and II of this issue argue for a date of burial about 1492 or a little later. Class II cannot be dated earlier than 1490; and, since the bad condition of some James IV pence appears to be in some measure due to wear as well as poor striking, the allowance of five years' circulation might be made to c. 1495. The exact date is immaterial, but the important point is that there are no billon coins later than those corresponding with the heavy silver coinage of James IV, which ended c. 1492.

In this light, Sir George Macdonald's interpretation¹ of the Perth hoard must be revised. That curious hoard contained none of the group II or group VI groats (the two three-quarter face portrait types); but in view of the size of the hoard, Macdonald understandably—but, on numismatic grounds, dangerously—looked upon the Perth groats as 'a really representative series'. The absence of the portrait coins is certainly remarkable, but it must be attributed either to the personal whim of the depositor, or to the hasty dispersal of many of the coins after finding. Glenluce, buried possibly within a year or two of Perth, contained both these types of groats (and only these types), and in the circumstances positive evidence must outweigh negative. Hoard evidence thus supports other indications that these groats were both issues of James III. Conversely, the Glenluce hoard casts real doubts as to the authenticity of the surviving portion of the Perth hoard as a cross-section of the silver coinage current in Scotland at the time, in that it does not contain either of the two most common types of groat of the previous twenty years.

As far as sequence and attribution are concerned, two mule coins found at Glenluce throw light upon disputed points:

No. 24, a James III penny, struck from an obverse die of James III, class A,

and a reverse die of James II, second coinage, second issue, indicates that the latter issue was probably continued well into the reign of James III, an hypothesis hitherto presumed but not substantiated.

No. 97, a James IV first-issue penny, struck from an obverse die of class I (annulet issue) and a reverse die of class II (saltire issue), suggests that these two issues of pence were consecutive. Upon this rests the groat sequence of the period, as types I and II of James IV have only been connected previously on negative evidence. The four types of heavy groats (Groups V and VI of James III, and types I and II of James IV) are thus all now linked consecutively by mule coins: type 1 to type 2 by mules in the companion gold coinage (unicorns, B. fig. 632, nos. 10 and 11); type 2 to type 3 by a mule groat (B. fig. 651); and type 3 to type 4 by the new mule penny, no. 97, from Glenluce, which links the companion billon coinages of these two types of groat—a pattern which proclaims warning against any numismatic study which confines itself to one metal or one denomination.

**Scheme of Classification**

As broad divisions, the arrangement of types and classes in *The Scottish Coinage* has been used (references as S.). Where relevant, B. indicates numbers of coins listed or illustrated by Burns in *The Coinage of Scotland*.

The opportunity, provided by this hoard for the first time, of studying a quantity of James II, III, and IV billon pence in fair condition has suggested that some further subdivision can legitimately be made of the scheme evolved in *The Scottish Coinage*.

*James II's Second Coinage* billon pence follow the various issues of the groats. The earliest billon penny in the hoard is of a new reverse type, but belongs to the first issue and is struck from the same obverse die as the regular first-issure pence. The second-issue pennies are of three varieties, which will here be called the ‘annulet’, ‘plain’, and ‘saltire’ types. The ‘annulet’ type was unknown before Glenluce, but the ‘plain’ and ‘saltire’ types are not rare. The ‘annulet’ penny has annulets between the groups of pellets on the reverse, corresponding with the early second-issue groats (B. figs. 522–4, &c.). The ‘plain’ type coins have no extra marks on obverse or reverse (cf. the groats B. fig. 540); on ‘saltire’ pennies there are saltires within the groups of pellets on the reverse, and saltires or fleurs-de-lis beside the bust (cf. groats B. figs. 541–5, &c.). Mules exist both ways between the ‘plain’ and ‘saltire’ issues (see Burns, ii. 103).

*James III, Class A.* This is the companion billon coinage of the group I groats: three varieties are distinguished, not strictly chronological: class Ai, represented by Glenluce no. 25, is an unpublished type, with saltires by the bust; classes Aii and Aiii are subdivisions of the remaining coins of class A, for convenience, according to whether they have or have not saltires between the pellets on the reverse. There is not necessarily any significance in this distinction: the presence or omission of saltires does not appear to be de-

---

1 'The Heavy Silver Coinage of James III and IV', *B.N.J.* xxvii, 182–94.
liberate in the same way as it is on James II’s pence. The groats have either saltires or annulets between the pellets on the reverse; no pence of class A are known with annulets on the reverse. The crown on the Ai coin is neat and small, whilst normal coins of class A (varieties Aii and Aiii) have a double-banded crown with a tall central fleur. The mint-mark cross is slightly fourchee (very clear on the mule coin no. 24), and the shoulders often appear hollowed. The lettering is slightly hollow-sided, and the ‘B’ for ‘R’, a characteristic of the group I groats, is a distinct feature: in the lists, ‘B’ for ‘R’ is only written where the letter is clear as such on the coin.

A halfpenny of this class, not found in the Glenluce hoard, but which has recently appeared, is noted below, p. 376.

Class B. A rare class, connected by its reverse type with the group II groats, with thistle-heads and mullets on the reverse. The bust is low and squat, with wide shoulders as on the later coins of class C. Since it now appears that the group II groats were in extended issue throughout the 1470’s, and perhaps even after 1480, the dating of the class B pence is problematical: the group II alloyed groats were probably of concurrent issue with the fine silver groats, groups III and IV. It is difficult therefore to know when or why a special type of billon penny should have been struck with affinities to the group II groat reverse. These pennies are very scarce, and probably of limited issue: the single example in Glenluce is indicative of their scarcity.

Class C is a very large group, and heavily represented in the Glenluce hoard. It is subdivided into five main varieties: Ci, ii, and iii correspond to the groat issue group III, and Civ and v to the groat issue group IV.

The earliest variety, Ci, has a large bust with narrow shoulders, prominent facial features, and a crown of five fleurs (B. fig. 595): it is a rare variety, probably parallel to the groats of S. group IIa (cf. B. fig. 588). The obverse inscription is regular and neat, with double-saltire stops. Class Ci is distinguished by a smaller bust, with a crown of three fleurs and two spikes, and a neck which only extends into two small flanges to represent the shoulders. There are innumerable similar dies of this type, which represent the main companion billon coinage to the group III groats in the later 1470’s. Most obverse inscriptions are without stops and D6I 6R7J RGX S is often represented by D6I B7 B6 S, the old ‘B’ for ‘R’ continuing from class A. A degenerate variety of class Cii, here called Ciii, has no spikes in the crown, which is of three fleurs only: the variety is hitherto unrecorded.

Classes Civ and Cv accompany the group IV groats, and are the billon coins immediately preceding the reform of 1484. The earlier and scarcer variety, Civ, has a larger head (cf. B. fig. 612): Cv, like Civ, has broad, flat shoulders, but is distinguished by a much smaller head. The bust of Cv is exactly like that of class B, and the two may be contemporary. The inscriptions are neat and regular, unlike those of Cii and Ciii: double-saltire stops abound on both sides of the coins. Mr. Stevenson has suggested further subdivision of Cv into Cv a and Cv b according to whether there are, or are not, pellets upon the interstitial spikes of the crown. The bust of classes Civ and Cv is set low down, and exactly copies that of the silver pennies of group IV; no die-link between the two has yet been discovered.
Class D represents the billon pence of James III after 1484. Hitherto the class was only known by four specimens altogether:

1. B. fig. 650A = Richardson 87
2. S. fig. 118 = Richardson 86
3. Richardson 88
4. Stewart collection (formerly H. A. Parsons)

These are all of a variety which it is here proposed to label class Dii. The features are: facing bust, with low, flat crown, bushy hair, no neck; annulets between pellets on reverse, as stops on both sides, and in obverse field; mm. apparently a cinquefoil; cross fleurée on reverse. Two specimens were found at Glenluce of this variety, which corresponds, in the style of bust and annulet ornamentation, to the group VI portrait groats.

Class Di is altogether new. Glenluce produced two specimens from the same pair of dies: another specimen is in my collection, illustrated as fig. B on PL. XXIV. These three coins have certain features in common which differentiate them from all other billon pence. The mint-mark is not a cross (unless it is a cross fourchee disposed saltirewise)—perhaps a thistle. The bust is facing with wide, bold hair, a flat crown, and a definite neck. Lettering is the most peculiar feature: it has uprights with hollowed sides and fishtail ends, and some letters are unusually large. The nearest correspondence in the groat series seems to be group V (to which issue no billon pence have otherwise been ascribed), in which case the mint-mark might be the cross fourchee. The attribution will be further discussed below.

Classes I and II of the billon pence of James IV are the latest coins in the hoard. An hitherto unknown variety of class I, here called class Ia, has an annulet between the groups of pellets in two quarters of the reverse, a link with the James III pence of class Dii. The normal variety of James IV annulet penny is thus styled class Ib. Of class II, a variety which should perhaps be labelled class IIb, has a small neat bust with a squat crown, and a different, small fount of lettering. The initial cross is slightly fourchee on coins of both class I and class II. Certain problems, raised by individual specimens of these classes, are discussed in more detail below.

The Individual Coins

Many of the coins in the hoard require individual comment apart from the remarks above and the description in the lists.

English

The Edward III half-groat calls for no comment, but the Henry IV groat provides a reverse type hitherto unrecorded. It reads LON DON and so corresponds with certain rare halfpence which have this reading, e.g. one in the British Museum from the Highbury find which, like the groat, has a true Henry IV obverse, and another in Mr. Blunt’s collection which has an obverse of Henry V.

1 Not, as previously thought (Burns, Coinage of Scotland, vol. ii, p. 167; The Scottish Coinage, p. 143), facing slightly three-quarters left, as on the group VI groats.
Both are very worn and clipped, and probably continuously circulated for over 100 and 50 years respectively. They have been clipped down to the weights of the earlier groats and half-groats of James III.

**Scottish—Groat Series**

James III, group II: these are in exceptional condition, all having a conspicuous, fresh silver appearance, though coins of this type more usually reveal traces of their alloy. Perhaps they were given a silver wash before issue. The six groats provide no new varieties of significance, but correct one or two of Burns’s readings. The three half-groats are also in outstanding condition; no. 9 has a new reverse reading. The group VI groat is from dies recorded by Burns.

**Placks**

Both billon placks, fine for the issue, are variants of any others known.¹ No. 14² is interesting for the colon stops after REGX, VIII, and IIX; it appears probable that placks were being struck until nearly 1485, and, like the thistle-head and mullet groats, of which late examples are now known,³ were perhaps in continuous issue from 1470 or so. Colon stops, as on no. 14, are a late feature (cf. group IV groats—c. 1482). Another plack⁴ from the same obverse die as no. 14 is known with a different reverse: *VII:II REGDI: NBV: REX*. This suggests that colon stops may eventually have replaced saltires completely on the placks.

**James II Pence**

No. 15 is from the same obverse die as the extremely rare first-issue billon penny (cf. S. fig. 93) and as the first/second-issue mule.⁵ The reverse is completely new: a crown in the first legendary quarter, and pellets enclosing an annulet in the other quarters. The crown recalls the reverse design of the concurrent heavy-groat issue, and the annulets between the groups of pellets can be paralleled on several groats of the period, e.g. S. fig. 92, to which issue this penny no doubt belongs. The reverse die has lettering more akin to the first- than to the second-issue groats, and is probably an early experimental type of that series. No. 16 also has an unpublished reverse type—three pellets enclosing an annulet in all quarters of the reverse. As no other pennies of this type are known, it seems to be an early type which soon gave way to the plain groups of pellets normal to all other pence of the second issue.

Nos. 17–21 are the normal second-issue type without saltires between the pellets on the reverse.

No. 22 is the first discovered fifteenth-century penny of Perth. Burns knew only of Edinburgh and Aberdeen⁶ (B. fig. 556a) pence of this coinage, but a single example each is now known of Perth (this coin) and of Roxburgh.⁷ It

---

¹ See B.N.J. xxviii., pp. 317–29, for discussion and lists.
² No. 14 = no. 20, loc. cit., p. 328.
⁴ My collection, ex Napier (lot 220) and McFarlan collections.
⁶ Accidentally omitted from The Scottish Coinage.
⁷ In the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, ex Cochran-Patrick (lot 207a) and Lockett (V, lot 219) sales.
is thus not improbable that pence were also struck at Stirling, the other mint for the groats of this coinage. The Perth groats share the same obverse die as those of Roxburgh, and were probably struck soon after 1460, the date of the siege and capture of Roxburgh. Possibly the Perth mint too was only opened while the army was there, for its issues were very small and the obverse die of the new Perth penny was also used at Edinburgh (B. fig. 556). No. 23 is perhaps of the later James II issue, with saltires between the pellets of the reverse: however, the inscriptions are quite illegible, and the piece may in fact be of James III class A.

*James III Pence*

These form the bulk of the hoard and, as indicated above, offer the basis for a fuller classification than has hitherto been possible.

No. 24 is a mule; the reverse is of the second issue of James II's second coinage, with crown mint-mark—a rare enough feature on the reverse of such coins (cf. B. fig. 554b) and a most fortunate criterion in this instance for identifying the mule. The obverse has the smaller bust, hollow-sided lettering, and cross mint-mark of James III class A. The coin is important in that it combines a James II die with an obverse of the 1467 issue, suggesting that the second coinage of James II probably continued until that date.

Nos. 25 to 33 represent the companion billon pence to the group I groat issue. No. 25, the unrecorded variety with saltires by the bust, though of small module, weighs as much as most of the other pence of the reign. It closely resembles in style of portrait the early groat and half-groat with saltires by the bust, B. figs. 561 and 561a.

No. 34, an unusually good example of the rare class B, has a bust much like that on later class C coins, e.g. no. 79.

Nos. 35 to 79, class C, include few individually important coins, although there are some much finer than usual specimens which clearly show the varieties of bust, e.g. Ci—no. 35; Cii—nos. 37, 42, and 59; Ciii—no. 60; Civ—no. 64; Cva—no. 69; Cvb—no. 73.

No. 59 is of unusual style, with large lettering and an extra small point between the groups of pellets on the reverse: the last feature is unpublished.

No. 63, of class Civ, also has the extra points, and is otherwise remarkable in having no stops and the mint spelling **EDINBOVRGE**; group III groats and billon pence of all classes normally read **EDINBURGH**, but group IV groats read **EDINBOVRGE**, to which the reading on no. 63 has more affinity.

Nos. 33 and 81 are two of the three coins which may, with caution, be attributed to the same issue as the groats of group V; they are from the same pair of dies and the inscriptions can be mutually completed. For a discussion of the new class, Dii, see below p. 375. (No. 80 is an uncertain coin; the obverse is very indistinct through wear and surface corrosion, and in any case the piece may be a contemporary forgery. The obverse inscription is something like —SIGTD— which might be for —SCOTO: but if the obverse is placed so that the S-shaped mark might be an initial mark, and IGTD might

---

1 *The Scottish Coinage*, pp. 49–50.
be for 1700, it is possible to reconcile the traces of design with a crude crowned facing head, as on a forgery. The coin was originally placed here because the bust was thought to correspond to that of class Dii.) For comparison with nos. 33 and 81, the third suggested specimen\(^1\) of class Di, hitherto unpublished, is illustrated as fig. B. on Pl. XXIV. It shares with nos. 33 and 81 the thin, loose-knit, slightly irregular dotted inner circles, and the large lettering with fishtail-ended uprights. The obverse, though double-struck, shows clearly a high bust with a small, flat crown (rather as on class Dii). None of the obverse inscription is legible: the reverse reads \((\cdots)(\cdots)\) \textit{INR VRG}.

Nos. 82 and 83 are of the later variety of class D: they are from the same obverse die. No. 82 shows double annulet stops on the obverse, not clearly discernible on any other known specimen of the type; its reverse also has new features—the three annulets before \textit{VII}, and the extra point with the three-pellets-and-annulet in each quarter of the reverse.

\textit{James IV Pence}

Nos. 84 and 85 are apparently from the same reverse die, with an annulet between the pellets in two quarters. This new type, in view of the annulets on James III class D, may well be the earliest and has been labelled class Ia.

Nos. 86 to 96, with no annulets on the reverse between the pellets, are the normal earlier type, with annulets by the bust (class Ib), and nos. 98 to 108, of class II, with saltire stops, are in many cases on irregular flans, or double-struck, so that it is difficult to determine die-identities, which perhaps exist. Quite a number, however, of the dies have minor but definite differences, in the spacing of the inscriptions or position of the bust, which suggests coinage on a largish scale from several dies.

No. 86 is exceptionally fine and heavy (16·1 grains): the crown should be noted in particular, since it has nine points (cf. groats of type II, S. fig. 124). Perhaps other specimens (e.g. no. 87) have a similar crown, but bad striking makes it difficult to ascertain.

No. 96 is of a new but probably insignificant variety with a point between the groups of pellets on the reverse.

No. 97 is the important mule coin, class I/class II, mentioned above: it is almost illegible, but the vital annulet to sinister of the bust and the saltire in the reverse legend are clear.

No. 102 reads D6(?) instead of the usual D16 of class II.

Nos. 103 and 104, apparently from the same obverse die, have inscriptions from unusual, neat letter punches, a much smaller fount than on the other coins of this type. Another specimen of this variety (ex Dakers) is in my collection.

No. 109, of coarse (and not necessarily authentic) workmanship, has colon stops and an extra point between the groups of pellets on the reverse: it weighs only 5·7 grains. Unrecorded variety, perhaps a contemporary forgery.

No. 111, a doubtful coin, is evidently struck in copper, with a silver wash, also probably a forgery.

\(^1\) In my collection, pedigree unknown.
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GROATS AND PENNIES

In the discussion of the fuller classification of the billon penny series suggested in this paper, and in connexion with the individual coins, general or specific correspondence between the groups of pennies and types of groats, and between individual coins, has been noted. However, some further comment is necessary and also a warning that the present arrangement, though comparatively sure in outline, still offers many unsolved problems of detail.

Firstly, we have by no means a full knowledge of the pennies, as demonstrated by the multitude of new varieties contained in this hoard; whilst our knowledge of the groat series has advanced little since Burns. Secondly, the coins which we do possess are often indecisive, because little care was taken in cutting the flans for, and in the striking of, billon money: as a result, important parts of the inscription are often missing from the coin altogether, blurred through weak or double striking, or indistinct from wear or corrosion. Thirdly, the relationship between billon and silver issues is not clear, so far as mint practice is concerned, for several anomalies occur whereby billon pence combine characteristic features of different groat issues.

Lettering is often a useful clue, but a different and smaller fount was used for the pennies, and correspondence with the groats is often inexact. Idiosyncracies of spelling are worth noting, but, again, they are not consistent and may be confusing (e.g. the Dig problem). The bust on pence is naturally on a small scale, but usually reproduces the general appearance and some of the salient features of that on one or another group of groats. Most sure of the criteria seems to be the method of ornamentation, and the use of stops. While whole classes of pence have affinities to whole groups of groats, specific correspondence is rare and should be noted, not assumed (e.g. Glenluce no. 25 with B. figs. 561 and 561a).

Although the three varieties of billon pence of the second issue of James II are ornamented in the same way as the ‘annulet’, ‘plain’, and ‘saltire’ issues of the groats, the ‘annulet’ penny (Glenluce no. 16) is disproportionately rare compared with the groats of that type, whilst the ‘plain’ pennies are disproportionately common. It must always be borne in mind that there is no reason why the number of silver and base coins minted should be proportional; in fact there is documentary evidence for the contrary, where the second-issue placks of James III were deliberately withdrawn from circulation to be recoined into heavy silver groats.

The happiest parallel is between the class A pennies and group I groats of James III. The pennies have a similar bust, saltire stops, and the same sort of lettering, including ‘B’ for ‘R’. The correspondence of class C with groups III and IV has been described above and the various styles of groat bust are to be found on the pennies. But exact correspondence is most unusual, and the reverse reading EDINBOVRG on no. 63 has been noted as having no direct equivalent on the groats.

Class B, with its distinctive reverse, has, apparently, some connexion with

---

1 Except in the case of group II, most specimens of James III groats will be found to be from dies known to Burns: this suggests a limited groat issue in accordance with the modest quantities of silver known from the Mint Accounts to have been struck.

the group II groats. But since group II now appears to have been an alloyed issue concurrent with the fine silver groats of groups III and IV, the use of a separate design for the pence is enigmatical, especially when the class B bust closely resembles that of late class C (cf. Glenluce nos. 34 and 79). Class B is very rare and might have been supposed to have been discontinued as an over-complicated design on a small scale: however, the affinities of the bust with that on such late pence as class Cv suggests a small isolated issue as late as c. 1480—why, it is impossible to say.

After 1484 the discrepancies are even harder to explain. One problem is that the commonest groats, James III group VI, correspond with the outstandingly rare class Dii pence, whilst the commonest pence, James IV’s first issue, appear to be the companion billon issues to the extremely rare type I and II groats. This, of course, may be due to deliberate mint policy, which concentrated first on groats while silver was abundantly available, and later turned to billon pence, in each case largely to the exclusion of the other.

The safest starting-point is class Dii, the pence with annulet stops and ornaments which show a miniature front-faced bust modelled on the three-quarter face portrait of the group VI groats. The rarity of these pence today is apparently not accidental, for there is strong obverse die-linking between the six known specimens—Glenluce nos. 82 and 83 and B. fig. 650A are all from the same obverse die, and another link between Richardson no. 87 and my specimen seems probable.

Class Di has been proposed above for the first time as a billon issue related to the group V groats. The reasons for this need to be examined in detail, since the attribution is by no means certain. The three coins in question could well be earlier, that is James III class A, contemporary with the group I groats. The hollow-sided lettering, however, allows them to be attributed only to the same issue as one of these two groups, I or V. It must be admitted that the ‘Di’ bust is similar to that of class A, and Glenluce no. 33 is so numbered out of place because it was originally grouped with class A by both Mr. Stevenson and myself. Yet there are differences which may justify the postulation of a new class. One is the mint-mark on nos. 33 and 81, which is almost certainly not any sort of cross, and definitely not a cross fourchée as on class A; then there are the loose inner circles mentioned above; and the lettering is larger than any I have seen on a true class A coin. Further, the obverse inscription on nos. 33 and 81, IΣOΒVS DGI ΣΡΑC, is quite unlike anything on any other billon penny of the period, both in the fuller form ΣΡΑC, and in the omission of Ξ altogether. These features, in sum, suggest that the coins should be excluded from class A. More positively, they do have some links with the post-1484 silver coinage. The mint-mark on class Dii is a cinquefoil, and that of Di may also be floral. The lettering, as has been noted, has some features in common with the group V groats, especially with the reverse of the group Va groat, B. fig. 623. Also, an unusual form of R on the reverse is remarkably similar to the R used for B on IΣOΒVS on the obverse of the group Vb groat, B. fig. 625. The evidence is not decisive, but I believe that the three coins which I have classified as class Di do not fit in with any other issue of billon pence, and have certain features which can connect them only with the group V groats: the fact that the new type of
millon penny has affinities with the only groat issue of the period, to which no companion millon issues have hitherto been ascribed, may be thought to be in favour of the attribution.

We have noted the inverse rarity of the later millon pence in relation to the groats of James III group VI and James IV types I and II. Class Dii is firmly tied to the group VI groats, and the two front-face types of James IV's early groats, with respectively annulet and saltire stops, seem to fit in conveniently with the two groups of pence with these same marks. Yet there are embarrassing anomalies. On groats, the spelling Die for DOI occurs on some examples of James III group VI; whereas on pence it is found normally on class II of James IV (almost invariably on these), and occasionally on coins of class Ib, e.g. Glenluce no. 95 (and ? 96). Further, a nine-point crown is a notable feature of the James IV type II (saltire issue) groats, whilst the only penny (Glenluce no. 86) to show this significant feature is of class I (annulet issue). Finally, what is to be made of the rare type of pence, here labelled class IIb of James IV, with neat, small inscriptions (including Die for DOI) and a small bust? Perhaps they are the latest in the series, and foreshadow the small, tidy type of the earliest pennies of the second issue, with crowns and fleurs-de-lis on the reverse.

One of the surest ways to solve these problems should be the study of hoards: but even when such evidence appears, as in the case of Glenluce, the groats are so rare that even in a mixed silver and millon hoard the more important types are likely to be missing. Though the general outlines of the classification of the pennies are fairly certain, the above remarks show that many fundamental problems remain. It is doubtful whether they can be solved without further evidence.

James III Halfpenny

Although this coin was not found at Glenluce, it is illustrated as fig. A on Pl. XXIII for comparison with the pennies. It was exhibited and discussed at the November meeting of the Royal Numismatic Society in 1959, and will be published more fully in the Numismatic Chronicle.

Illustrations, Disposal, and Acknowledgements

A complete photographic record of the hoard was provided by the Keeper of Coins, British Museum; publication in this form would not otherwise have been possible. As it is, every coin from the hoard has been illustrated on Pls. XXII–XXIV.

Through the generosity of the finder, Mr. Jope, the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland have been enabled to acquire the bulk of the hoard for their collection. I am most grateful to Mr. Stevenson, who checked my classification and lists in detail, and made many useful comments on the text of this report. The reason for the inconsistencies of numbering in the lists and on the plates is that I have made certain revisions of arrangement and attribution since Mr. Stevenson numbered the coins for entry in his Museum’s ledger of acquisitions. The accession numbers in the ledger (all 1957) are:
Small representative selections of the residue have been distributed to the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, the Fitzwilliam Museum, the Stranraer Museum, Mr. J. D. A. Thompson, and myself. I would like to thank Mr. Thompson for facilities to study the coins in the first place at Oxford, after he had done the cleaning and preliminary sorting.

LIST OF COINS FROM GLENLUCE, WIGTOWNSHIRE

The classification in the lists is by classes, types, and groups based on The Scottish Coinage, to which reference is made as ‘S’. ‘B’ refers to Burns, Coinage of Scotland, ‘R’ to Richardson, Catalogue of Scottish Coins in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

ENGLISH

SCOTTISH

JAMES III

Groats, group II
3. B.13, fig. 583, SCOTORV small mullets in 1st and 3rd legendary quarters (B. should read REX: and VIIIITI::) .... 33.0 gr.
4. Similar inscriptions and mullets, but SCOTORVΩ (= R. 5 and 8) .... 32.9 gr.
5. Same dies as no. 4 ......... 35.5 gr.
6. B.8. SCOTOR (B. should read 6R7T:) large mullets in 2nd and 4th quarters ....... 33.8 gr.
7. Same dies as no. 6 ......... 27.5 gr.
8. Same obverse die; large mullets in 1st and 3rd legendary quarters (= R. 15, cf. note to B. 11) ......... 35.5 gr.

Half-groats, group II
9. Obv. B. fig. 585
Rev. +VII|IN:ID | 6ED1 | NBVR ......... 17.2 gr.
10. B. fig. 585, but much finer ......... 18.5 gr.
11. As B. fig. 584, but different dies ......... 16.2 gr.

Groat, group Vle
12. B. fig. 641, no. 45 ......... 42.9 gr.

Placks, first issue
13. +INCOBVS:DEI:GRANEX:SCOTTORVM:
THE GLENLUCE HOARD, 1956

33-0 gr.

Billon pennies: all Edinburgh (ex. no. 22, Perth)

JAMES II

Second coinage—New Type (early)

15. Obv. S. fig. 93, normal first issue
Rev. +VII | ( ) | DIN | BVRG
Crown in 1st legendary quarter; three pellets enclosing an annulet in 2nd, 3rd, and 4th quarters. The reverse die is probably an early experimental type of the second issue.

12-6 gr.

Second Coinage—Second Issue

16. Annulet within each group of pellets on the reverse (unpublished variety)
+I7GOBVS: D: G(S( XGSCOTO
+VII | LAGD | INB | ( )
7-5 gr.

17–22. Normal type: nothing between pellets

17. Obv. illegible
Rev. ( ) | LAG | DIN | VRG
9-0 gr.

18. Obv. ( )BVS6GRN ( )
Rev. VII | ( ) | ( ) | BVRG
9-6 gr.

19. Obv. I7G0( )
Rev. like B.2a.
8-5 gr.

20. Double-struck, illegible
7-0 gr.

21. Obv. —, Rev. like B.4a
9-8 gr.

22. Perth; +I7GOBVS5GIR( )XS. Obv. = B. fig. 556 (Edinburgh). Rev. (?) VII | LAGD | GPE | R(TH).
10-2 gr.

23. Normal type with saltires by bust and between pellets on reverse

23. Illegible, broken. (Perhaps James III, class A)
5-6 gr.

MULE COIN, JAMES III/JAMES II

Rev. James II, second coinage, second issue, mm. crown; +VII | LAG | DIN | BVR*
8-7 gr.

JAMES III

Class A1, with saltires by bust

25. Obv. +I7GOBVS-D6E1:GRAT>RGX
Rev. ( ) | LAT: E | DIN: | BV( )
Unpublished variety: cf. groat B. fig. 561, and half-groat, B. fig. 561A.
7-7 gr.

Class A11, saltires in reverse quarters

Rev. +VII | LAT | DIN | BVRG
7-5 gr.

27. Obv. +I7GOBVS( ); rev. VII | LAT | ( ) | ( ) | BVRG
Rev. same die as B.1a?
9-1 gr.

28. Obv. ( )GOBVS ( ) +GRN( )
Rev. ( ) | LAT | DIN | ( )
5-7 gr.

29. Obv. —
Rev. +VII | ( ) | DIN | BVRG
6-3 gr.

30. Obv. —
Rev. ( ) VII | ( ) | ( ) | BVR( )
3-4 gr.
31. Obv. +Iη( )D:GBT:BGX  
Rev. +VI | UIV | EDIN | BVR( )  . . . . . . 5-3 gr.

32. Obv. +IΔCOB( )SΔO:  
Rev. VII | ITN | DIN | BVR6G  . . . . . . 7-5 gr.

33. See under James III, class Dii

Billon penny, class B, wide shoulders

34. As B. fig. 587A, but rev. ( ) | λTGD | INB | VR6  . . . . . . 6-1 gr.

Billon pence, class C

35. Obv. +IΔCOBVS : DΓ : GΔ : GΔX  
Rev. +VII | ( ) | ( ) | VR( )  . . . . . . 5-7 gr.

36. Illegible  . . . . . . 5-7 gr.

Class Ci: crown of five fleurs, cf. B. fig. 595

37. B. fig. 596, but much finer

Obv. +IΔCOB( )RΔRGS  
Rev. +VI | UIV | ΤΔD | NBV  . . . . . . 9-3 gr.

38. Another from very similar dies  . . . . . . 6-7 gr.

39. Another, similar  . . . . . . 6-9 gr.

40. Similar, but RΔ* (?)  . . . . . . 6-5 gr.

41. Same type, illegible  . . . . . . 4-5 gr.

42. Obv. +IΔCOBVD6IB7T( )SΔO  
Rev. +VII | ( ) | ( ) | VR  . . . . . . 9-8 gr.

43. Obv. +IΔCOBVD6I( )  
Rev. +VI | UIV | ΤΔD | NBV  . . . . . . 10-2 gr.

44. Cf. B. fig. 596, no. 9, RΔ* (?) flaw or saltire after RΔ  . . . . . . 8-7 gr.

45. Obv. ( )BVD6IB7TΔBES (cf. B. no. 8)  
Rev. ( )BV  . . . . . . 5-9 gr.

46. Another. Rev. +VII | ( ) | ( ) | NBV  . . . . . . 5-3 gr.

47. +VII | ITN | DIN | BVB cf. B. no. 8  . . . . . . 6-6 gr.

48. +Iη( )ΔIB7ΤΔBES  . . . . . . 6-9 gr.

49. ( )ΔD6IB7TΔBE(?)  . . . . . . 6-8 gr.

50-52. Similar, not in good condition  . . . . . . 6-9, 8-8, 8-2 gr.

53-58. All similar to nos. 36-49, but many worn and ill struck  
10-1, 5-2, 9-1, 6-3, 7-8, 8-8 gr.

59. As B. fig. 597, with extra point between pellets of reverse. Larger lettering

Obv. +IΔCOBV( )R  
Rev. +VII | ITN | ( ) | ( )  . . . . . . 4-2 gr.

Class Cii: crown of three fleurs only, B.—

60. Obv. ( )ΔCOBV( )  
Rev. ( ) | ITN | DIN | ( )  . . . . . . 7-6 gr.

61. Obv. ( )ΔBES  
Rev. ( ) | ( ) | EDI | NBV  . . . . . . 6-7 gr.

62. Obv. +IΔCOB( )  
Rev. —; broken  . . . . . . 5-2 gr.
63. With extra small points between the groups of pellets on reverse: note mint spelling:

{\texttt{+VII | ( ) | DINB OVRG}} \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots 6\text{.}3 \text{ gr.}

64. No extra points

\textit{Obv.} \{\texttt{+ I\{G\}OBUVS : DIG : GR\{A\} : RX\{X\}S\}}

\textit{Rev.} \{\texttt{+ VII | ( ) | N : BV | RG\{h\}}\} \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots 7\text{.}0 \text{ gr.}

65. Similar; \{\texttt{+ I\{G\}OBUV( )}\}

\textit{Rev.} \{\texttt{+ ( ) | L\{A\} : DINB | VR\{G\}h}\} \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots 6\text{.}8 \text{ gr.}

66. \textit{Obv.} \{\texttt{(D)\{G\}R\{A\} : RX\{X\}S\{S\}\{C\}\}C\}

\textit{Rev.} \{\texttt{+ VII | T\{A\} ? | ( ) | VR\{G\}h}\} \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots 7\text{.}6 \text{ gr.}

Class Cva: similar, but the smaller head, cf. B. figs. 613–5

67. \textit{Obv.} \{\texttt{+I( )\{G\}OBUVS : DIG} \}

\textit{Rev.} \{\texttt{+ VII | L\{A\} | DINB | V( )}\} \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots 8\text{.}7 \text{ gr.}

68. \textit{Obv.} \{\texttt{+ I\{G\}OBUVS : DIG : GR\{A\} : RX\{X\}}\}

\textit{Rev.} \{\texttt{+ VII | L\{A\} : DINB | VR\{G\}h}\} \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots 6\text{.}5 \text{ gr.}

69–70. Similar \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots 6\text{.}0, 7\text{.}5 \text{ gr.}

71. Similar, but VR\{G\}h\}

72. \textit{Rev.} \{\texttt{+ VII | T\{A\}\{D\} | INBV | RG\{h\}}\} \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots 6\text{.}5 \text{ gr.}

Class Cvb: like Cva, but crown without pellets on spikes, as B. fig. 616–17

72. \textit{Obv.} \{\texttt{+ I\{G\}OBUVS : DIG\{C\})\}XS\}

\textit{Rev.} \{\texttt{+ VII | T( ) | ( ) | RG\{h\}}\} \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots 5\text{.}9 \text{ gr.}

73. \textit{Obv.} ends in \{\texttt{S}\}

\ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots 4\text{.}7 \text{ gr.}

74. \textit{Obv.} \{\texttt{+ I\{G\}OBUVS : DIG : GR\{A\} : RX}\}

\textit{Rev.} \{\texttt{+ VII | T\{A\}D | INBV | RG\{h\}}\} \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots 6\text{.}3 \text{ gr.}

75. \textit{Rev.} \{\texttt{+ ( ) | ( ) | INBV | ( )}\} \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots 9\text{.}0 \text{ gr.}

76. \textit{Obv.} \{\texttt{+ I\{G\}OBUVS : D \{G\}R\{A\}D \{R\}X}\}

\textit{Rev.} \{\texttt{+ VII | L\{A\} | DINB | BVR\{G\}}\} \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots 6\text{.}3 \text{ gr.}

77. \textit{Rev.} \{\texttt{+ VII | L\{A\} : DIN\{\} | BVR\{G\}}\} \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots 4\text{.}7 \text{ gr.}

79. \textit{Rev.} \{\texttt{+ VII | L\{A\} | ( ) | ( )\} \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots 6\text{.}5 \text{ gr.}

\textbf{Billon Pence, S. class D: corresponding with heavy groats, after 1484}

\textit{Class Di (new), ? accompanying V groats}

33. Mm. rose or thistle? \texttt{I\{G\}OBUVS DEI GR\{A\}C\}

\textit{Rev.} VIII | T( ) | D \{G\} | INB | ( ) \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots 8\text{.}5 \text{ gr.}

81. Same dies as 33. \textit{Rev.} reads T\{A\}\{D\} and VR\{G\}h\} \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots 7\text{.}6 \text{ gr.}

\textbf{Class Di (new): bushy haired bust as on group VI groats; annulets in obv. field, and between pellets on rev.; cf. S. fig. 118}

82. \textit{Obv.} \{\texttt{+ ( )\{G\}RX\{X\}SC()}\}

\textit{Rev.} \{\texttt{+ VII | ( ) | ( ) | B | V\{G\}h}\} \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots 6\text{.}9 \text{ gr.}

83. Nearly illegible: same obv. as 82. No extra points on reverse \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots 12\text{.}2 \text{ gr.}

\textbf{James IV Billon Pence, First Issue}

\textit{S. class I, annulets by neck and as stops, cf. S. fig. 127}

\textit{Class Ia (new)—annulets between pellets in 1st and 3rd legendary quarters of reverse}

84. \textit{Obv.} \{\texttt{+ I\{G\}OBUVS \{G\}R\{A\} \{R\}X}\}

\textit{Rev.} \{\texttt{+ VII | L\{A\} | DINB | B\{G\}R}\} \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots 8\text{.}4 \text{ gr.}
THE GLENLUCE HOARD, 1956

85. Similar. Same reverse die as 84, reading *LiN* . . . . 8·1 gr.

Class Ib—no annulets between pellets

86. Obv. +I7OBVSBVS•DIG•GRY•RDX. Nine-pointed crown, cf. groats of S. type II, S. fig. 124
Rev. +VII | *LiN* | *DI( ) | *( )R . . . . . 16·1 gr.

87–94. Other examples, with crown of five points or not clear 6·9, 11·1, 6·5, 5·8, 9·3, 9·0, 5·6, 3·0 gr.

95. Reads DIG*GRY* . . . . . 9·9 gr.

96. Obv. +I7OBVSBVS-D(I? ...)
Rev. +VIII | I(id? ) | *( ) | BVR
Extra points between the groups of pellets on the reverse: unrecorded variety . . . . . 8·3 gr.

Mule penny, S. class I/class II

97. Obv. Annulets by neck; illegible
Rev. +VI | ( ) | ( ) | BVR . . . . . 6·4 gr.

S. class II: saltire stops, normally DIG for DHI, cf. S. fig. 129

Class Ia—normal variety

98. Obv. ( )BVS•DIG( )RNY•R( )
Rev. +VI | ( ) | *DI( ) | *( )BVR . . . . . 9·5 gr.

99. Obv. ( )•DIG•GRY•RNY( )
Rev. +VI* | *NY | *( ) | BVR . . . . . 11·3 gr.

100. Obv. reads RDX
Rev. +VI* | *NY( ) . . . . . 8·7 gr.

101. Obv. ( )GRY•RDX
Rev. +VI | *LoN | *DI( ) | ( ) . . . . . 7·2 gr.

102. Obv. reads DNY
Rev. ( )VI* | *NY | *( ) | BVR . . . . . 6·9 gr.

105–8. Similar coins, with slight varieties of inscription; more or less legible but poorly struck . . . . . 7·7, 8·8, 6·8, 7·2 gr.

Class Ib—small, neat bust and lettering

103. Obv. ( )BVS DIG GR( )
Rev. +VII | I(i? ) | *( ) | BVR . . . . . 6·7 gr.

104. Obv. ( )DI( ?)+, same die as 103
Rev. Similar to 103, not same die . . . . . 9·4 gr.

Uncertain billon pennies

109. Coarse work, perhaps contemporary forgery James IV. An extra point between the groups of pellets on the reverse. Colon stops. (Unrecorded variety)
Obv. +I( )DIG*GRY*RDX:SCOT
Rev. ( )NY | *LNYD: IGRN:B( ) . . . . . 5·7 gr.

110. Reverse brockage, apparently James IV first-issue penny. Fragile, chipped 3·6 gr.

111. Copper, with silver wash: forgery . . . . . 7·2 gr.

80. Forgery?; ?SIGTD?; rev. illegible . . . . . 8·1 gr.

Copper farthing

112. James III, black farthing, first issue, cf. S. fig. 113. Badly chipped and corroded, very small . . . . . 2·6 gr.
ENLARGEMENT OF FIG. B

GLENLUCE HOARD ETC. 3