THE SCOTTISH COINAGE OF 1553

By J. K. R. MURRAY

When still only a few days old, Mary became Queen of Scots on the death of her father, James V, on 14 December 1542. From that time, until 1553, no silver coins were issued. In the early part of the reign the only coins struck were the gold abbey crowns (undated) and twenty-shilling pieces (1543) and a great mass of billon bawbees and half-bawbees.

The coinage of 1553 comprises gold forty-four and twenty-two shilling pieces, silver testoons and billon bawbees and half-bawbees. No Act of Parliament or of Privy Council has survived concerning the gold and silver issues. There are, however, two Acts of Privy Council, dated January 1553/4, which explain the circumstances why a coinage of bawbees was needed at that time. There are also brief references to this coinage in one of the Hopetoun MSS entitled _Anent Cunye an ample discours._ The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland for the year 1553 contain the following reference: 'Ultimo Maii Item, to ane boy send to my Lorde of Sanctandrois being in Paslay with letterris to proclame new cunze in Air and other borrowes of the west cuntre, and his wage, xs'.

At the beginning of Mary's reign James, Earl of Arran, was appointed Governor and he so remained until his resignation in April 1554. During the regency the cinquefoil, one of Arran's family emblems, appeared on all coins struck, except the Stirling bawbees. Alone among Mary's coins the forty-four and twenty-two shilling pieces have the letters I G (for Iacobus Gubernator) on the obverse, in addition to cinquefoils on the reverse. Such additions to coins struck during the minority of a Scottish sovereign were not without precedent. When the Duke of Albany was regent during the minority of James V a gold coin known as an eagle crown was struck with the reverse legend IOHANNIS ALBANIE DVCS GVBERNA.

In the _Coinage of Scotland_ Burns does as much justice to the coinage of 1553 as can be expected, but he was certainly hampered by a lack of material on which to base a fuller study. The difficulty facing anyone studying this coinage is the great rarity of some of the coin types. The present survey has been attempted, not only after examining all the specimens I have been able to find in museums, but also after a laborious search through a vast number of old sale catalogues. These latter yielded a very meagre crop. Although there are probably a number of important pieces in private collections which are not available to the student, the following gives a much more complete picture than has hitherto been available. It must be stressed that as some of the dies and varieties described in this note are represented by a single specimen only, it is most probable that there are (or were) others which are not represented at all amongst the recorded specimens.

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1 It has become the custom in modern times to call these coins 'lions' and 'half-lions'. These names are quite incorrect, since the coins were never so called in the records. In Mary's reign the lion was the name (derived from its obverse type) for a small billon coin, also called a hardhead. (See E. Burns, _The Coinage of Scotland_ ii, 285-6.)

2 Cochran-Patrick 1, 75-6.

3 Ibid., 97.

4 Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland x, 182.


Acknowledgments.

My grateful thanks are due to Mr. Ian Stewart for his many helpful comments on the text. Dr. J. P. C. Kent of the British Museum for his advice on coining methods, particularly as regards the pattern coin and the medalets or jettons of Mary that were struck in Paris in 1553. The Keepers of the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Royal Scottish Museum and the Hunter Coin Cabinet for supplying plaster casts, photographs or impressions of numerous coins. Mr. E. J. P. Raven of Aberdeen University for permission to illustrate the testoon in the university collection. Dr. James Davidson for permission to illustrate the obverse of his testoon. My thanks are also due to an American collector who kindly sent photographs of several coins in his collection.

The following abbreviations are used in the text:

BM—British Museum.
Burns—E. Burns, The Coinage of Scotland.
Bute—Marquess of Bute sale catalogue, 11 June 1951.
Murdoch—sale catalogue, 11-13 May 1903.
Ryan—sale catalogue, 28 June 1950.

The coins illustrated on Plate XII are from the following collections:

BM—3, 5, 9, 11, 12, 21, 22, 25, 26, 29, 30.
NMAS—2, 4, 7, 8, 10, 15, 18, 19, 23, 24, 27, 28, 31, 32.
RSM—1, 6, 13.
Dr. James Davidson—14.
Aberdeen University—17.

1. Forty-four shilling pieces.

According to the Hopetoun MS, the standard weight of the forty-four shilling pieces was 4 deniers (78.52 gr.) and the fineness 22 carats.\(^1\) There are two types of obverse and one type of reverse:

**Type I**

\begin{align*}
\text{Obv.} & \quad + \quad \text{MARIA D O SCOTORVM REGINA} \\
& \quad \text{A crowned shield between 1 and 6 (except one die which has small cinquefoils).}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{Rev.} & \quad + \quad \text{DILIGITE IVSTICIAN 1553} \\
& \quad \text{A crowned monogram of MARIA REGINA between two pierced cinquefoils (except one die which has 1 6).}
\end{align*}

\(^1\) Cochran-Patrick i, 97.
TYPE II

Obv. + MARIA DEI GRA R SCOTORVM

Otherwise like Type I. A variety has GRAC for GRA.

The main varieties may be grouped as follows:

Ia—with a monogram measuring approximately 9 × 8½ mm.
Ib—with a larger monogram approximately 10 × 9½ mm.
IIa—with cinquefoils measuring about 4 mm across.
IIb—with smaller cinquefoils of about 3 mm.

All the dies noticed and their main characteristics are set out in Table 1. The dies are linked as follows, the number of specimens known to me of each variety being given in brackets. Examples of each variety are also given.

Obverse ending
in REGINA
Ia. A1 (3) RSM 1130.
   A2 (1) Richardson 35 (Burns fig. 810 B).
   B2 (1) Richardson 36.
Ib. B3 (1) Burns 1 (fig. 811).
   C4 (2) Murdoch 205 (Lockett 891, now NMAS).
   C5 (2) Murdoch 207 (now NMAS),
      Hunterian 115.
   D4 (1) Murdoch 204 and
      Burns fig. 810 A.

Obverse ending
in SCOTORVM
IIa. B6 Burns 4 (fig. 813), Ashmolean.
    E7 BM.
    F6 BM, Burns 5, RSM 1128.
    F7 Burns 6, RSM 1129.
IIb. G8 (3) Burns 3, Hunterian 113,
      Fitzwilliam.
    H8 (1) Burns 2 (fig. 812).
    I8 (4) BM, Richardson 37, Hunterian
      112, Bibliothèque Nationale.

Forty-four shillings of the IIa variety are the least rare and I have not attempted to count them. All II reverses have the same large monogram found in Ib and have truncated 5's. On the 'REGINA' variety the 5's are not broken. The table shows that certain REGINA dies exhibit remarkable variations from the normal. On rev. 5 (Plate XII, No. 8) the letters I and G replace the cinquefoils, so that the two coins with this reverse have I G on both sides; on obv. D (Fig. 1) small cinquefoils replace the I and G; and on obv. A (Plate XII, No. 1) the I and G have been punched over large cinquefoils. Mr. Stewart has suggested that these variations give an indication of die sequence but, as I shall attempt to show, surer means exist for determining the sequence in which the dies were made.

On all forty-four shilling pieces the same punch was used for both obverse and reverse crown. This is confirmed by the presence of a tiny flaw, like a point, situated in the band

1 I. H. Stewart, NC 1955, 17-8. Mr. Stewart as argued in this paper, tells me that he would now support the sequence.
of the crown on the dexter side of the central lozenge. The crowns are ornamented with five leaves joined at the base by a series of four curved lines or loops. On obverses A–C and reverses 1–4 these curved lines are complete and unbroken. On obv. D and rev. 5, however, the punch begins to show signs of wear, for parts of the curved lines are missing. In the case of rev. 5, part of the second loop is defective (Fig. 2a) and on obv. D, in addition to the break in the second loop, most of the fourth has also broken away (Fig. 2b). Since dies having broken loops must be later than those with unbroken ones, it follows that the highly irregular dies D and 5 must be among the last Type I dies to be made. Type II dies all show almost the identical crown damage to that on obv. D (Fig. 2b).

Type IIb is thought to be later than IIa for the following reasons:

1. IIa has large cinquefoils which follow on logically from the large cinquefoils of Ia and Ib. The smaller cinquefoils are likely to be a later introduction, perhaps after the original punch had been lost or broken.
2. Obverse dies H and I and the common reverse die of IIb have small pieces of the letters M and D broken away (Fig. 3) and a small ‘c’ in SCOTORVM and IVSTICIAM.¹

These minor defects are recorded in Table I, the dies G, H and I being placed in the order in which they were probably made. None of these defects are found on any IIa dies. This would almost certainly have been the case had IIb preceded IIa, since partly broken punches often continued to be used for long periods.
3. The break in the second loop appears to be slightly more complete in IIb.

If we accept that IIb with its small cinquefoils follows IIa, what are we to make of obv. D which also has the same small cinquefoils? It has already been pointed out that the loops on this reverse are broken to the same extent as those on all the ‘a SCOTORVM’ dies. A further remarkable fact is that the o’s and c of SCOTORVM are small (as on most IIb dies) and the M (but not the D) has the small break shown in Fig. 3. In other words, this die has these characteristics in common with obv. H.

Mr. Stewart has suggested to me that it may have been intended to use dies D and 5 together (C5 and D4 being mules) and that no specimen with the combination D5 has survived. A difficulty here is that dies D and 5 were made at widely differing times, as shown by the extent of damage to the crown punch and the difference in size of the letters ‘c’ and ‘o’. It does seem likely that both dies were the result of error. Carelessness at the Scottish

¹ It should be noted that in Type I (except on obv. D) the O’s in SCOTORVM are full-sized, but in Type II they are always small. The punches for the ‘o’ and ‘c’ appear to have been borrowed from the twenty-two shilling pieces, probably as replacements for lost or broken ones.
mint in die-making was of common occurrence and dies showing uncorrected, as well as corrected, punching errors are extremely numerous. On the forty-four shillings alone can be found LVSTICIAM, DILGITE and grao (for the normal gra). Major variations from the normal, such as those on dies D and 5, are most unusual, but the addition of the I and G was so much out of the ordinary that it could have been a cause of confusion to the die-sinkers. An error of comparable magnitude on a Scottish coin of this period was the omission of the date on a silver 2/3 ryal of 1565.1

Of obv. A (I G punched over cinquefoils), Burns says it shows 'that the variety with the cinquefoils at the sides of the arms [that is, obv. D] was the earlier of the forty-four shilling issues'.2 Unfortunately, it shows nothing of the sort, since obv. D has demonstrably the latest ‘REGINA’ type of obverse die. The earliest obverse die appears to be A and it is probably safe to assume that what we have is simply the correction of an error by the die-sinker. A similar type of correction can be found on one of the dies for the twenty-two shilling pieces, where the ‘a’ of I G has been punched over an ‘I’.

2. Testoons.

For reasons which will appear presently, it seems best to consider next the testoons instead of the gold twenty-two shilling pieces.

In discussing the testoons Burns states that the dies for them were executed by John Achesoun and exhibited by him to the French court, as shown by an entry in a register preserved in the French archives, dated 21 October 1553. He goes on to say:

A special interest is attached to the testoons of 1553, and to the jettons of Mary bearing the same date, as being among the very earliest pieces made by the new process of the mill and screw; for the working of this process a new mint had been established by Henry II, in July 1553, at the ‘Jardin des Estuves’, where these pieces were made.3

Burns does not make it clear that the court to which the pieces were to be exhibited was the Cour des Monnaies and not, as one might infer, the French royal court. The new French mint was actually set up in 1551 and had been in regular use for striking both gold and silver coins from 1552.4 The assumptions by Burns that the dies made by Achesoun in Paris were those for the Scottish testoons dated 1553 and that the French obligingly struck the coins on their newly set up screw press are remarkable and it is surprising that his line of reasoning has not already been challenged. There is no evidence at all that the testoons or indeed any Scottish coins were ever made in France. That the jettons or medalets of Mary, struck in Paris in 1553, were made on the screw press is also unacceptable, since the type of double striking sometimes found on them corresponds exactly with that so often found on hammered coins.

The Scottish testoons of 1553 have a notable feature not observed by Burns: the crown over the shield on the reverse is identical to that on the forty-four shilling pieces, that is, there are similar defects in the curved lines joining the leaves and there is the same tiny flaw in the band. Among other features in common are the letter O and figure 5 which are discussed below, and the distinctive letter A which has a nick near the apex. This type of A is normal for the whole 1553 coinage. We are justified in assuming, therefore, that the silver coins, like the gold, were struck at the Scottish mint, and with the hammer.

It is apparent that Burns could not have seen a *teston du moulin*, for had he done so he would not have failed to notice the very great difference in workmanship and execution between the French milled coins and the Scottish testoons. The dies of the French coins are beautifully made (Plate XII, Nos. 11, 12). The letters of the legends are exactly spaced round the coin, both in relation to one another and in their distance from the edge of the coin, while the portrait, reverse design and lettering are well struck up. There is also a noticeable freedom from double striking—something only to be expected in a milled coin. All this is in marked contrast to the Scottish testoons, on which the lettering is irregular, the relief low and double striking so frequently in evidence. It has been suggested, and it seems very likely, that the unique piece now in the British Museum is Achesoun's work and was struck from dies made by him in Paris. It has the following obverse and reverse:

*Obv.* MARIA DEI GRA SCOTOR REGINA

An uncrowned bust of the queen, with necklace, to left.

*Rev.* IN IUSTICIA TVA LIBERA NOS DNE 1553

A crowned shield between M and R.

This piece does have some of the attributes of the French milled coins of that period and the lack of cinquefoils gives added reason for thinking that it was not designed in Scotland. There are signs of double striking on the obverse and reverse, as well as a very slight blurring of the portrait—features which suggest a hammered rather than a milled coin. The portrait is closely similar to that on the Scottish three-pound and thirty-shilling pieces dated 1555-8.

The Scottish testoons of 1553 are of one type only.

*Obv.* MARIA DEI GRA R SCOTORVM

A crowned bust of the queen to the right. i.m. small pierced cinquefoil.

*Rev.* + DA PACEM DOMINE 1553

A crowned shield between two small pierced cinquefoils.

The obverse legend is exactly as on the Type II forty-four shilling pieces. The fineness was 11 deniers.

The testoons had the same standard weight (78.52 gr.) as the forty-four shilling pieces, giving a ratio between the price of 22 carat gold and 11 denier silver of 11 : 1. The testoons were worth four shillings and were the largest Scottish silver coins to be minted up to that time. On both sides of the coin there are two inner circles—the inner one plain and the outer beaded. The relief is low and most surviving specimens are considerably rubbed and worn.

The 18 testoons which I have examined or of which I have seen photographs or reproductions in sale catalogues are from five obverse and five reverse dies. These are set out in Table 2. The dies are linked as follows, the number of specimens of each variety being given in brackets:

- **A1** (1) Aberdeen University.
- **B2** (1) RSM 1140.
- **C3** (4) Parson's sale (lot 731), 11 May 1954.

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3. Dr. Kent has kindly drawn my attention to the fact that the upper die was very slightly oblique when the piece was struck, a feature of a hammered coin. In the screw press the upper die would be exactly vertical.
4. Double inner circles and low relief are also found on the fine silver coins of Edward VI.
D3 (2) Burns 1.  
E4 (7) Richardson 1, Hunterian 120, 121.  
E5 (3) BM, Ashmolean.

Obverses A and B and rev. 1 have normal-sized o's in SCOTORVM and DOMINE. The remaining obverses and reverses have small o's as on Type II forty-four shilling pieces. No obverse or reverse has a small 'c' in SCOTORVM or PACEM, nor is there a broken D or M (Fig. 3). On rev. 5 there are truncated 5's similar to those on the Type II forty-four shillings. The various stages in the deterioration of the crown punch are shown in Fig. 4.

Since forty-four shillings with small o's are later than those with large O's, it may be inferred that the same is true of the testoons. Hence, testoons with small o's must be later than the REGINA type of forty-four shillings which have large O's. Similarly, testoon reverses with unbroken 5's must be earlier than Type II forty-four shillings. From this we may deduce that the order of manufacture of dies of forty-four shillings and testoons was:

1. Type I (REGINA) forty-four shillings.  
2. Testoons.  
3. Type II (R: SCOTORVM) forty-four shillings.

This line of argument is confirmed by the extent of damage to the crown punch. The crown on forty-four shillings rev. 5 closely approximates that on testoon rev. 1, each having only part of the second loop missing and so showing that the one is exactly contemporary with the other. In the same manner, the crown on testoon rev. 5 is identical to that on Type II forty-four shillings.

Dr. James Davidson has drawn attention to the fact that more than one punch was used for the head.¹ There are also differences in the ornamentation of the dress, suggesting the possibility that the ornamentation may have been engraved on the die, since it seems unlikely that two or more punches for the dress were needed for such a limited number of dies. The crown worn by the queen appears to be the same on all dies.

3. Twenty-two shilling pieces.

The standard weight is 39.26 gr. and the fineness 22 carats.

Obv. MARIA D G R SCOTORVM²  
A crowned shield between I and g.

Rev. + DILIGITE IVSTICIAM 1553  
A crowned monogram of MARIA between two pierced cinquefoils.

The obverse legend ends in SCOTORVM as on Type II forty-four shilling pieces and the testoons. This suggests that the dies were made later than those of the 'REGINA' forty-four shillings.

Twenty-two shilling pieces are of two types:

I—with large crowns on each side and very small pierced cinquefoils on the reverse.  
II—with small crowns and larger cinquefoils.

¹ James Davidson, ENJ 1941, 100–1.  
² One variety has DEI G R as on the bawbees (q.v.).
The first type has three distinct varieties of obverse and reverse, of which the characteristics are given in Table 3. These varieties are linked as follows, the number of specimens noted (34 all told) being given in brackets:

I  A1 (6)
   A2 (8)
   B2 (4)
   B3 (8)
   C3 (3)

II D4 (5)

The absence of a link between I and II might be due to there being a clear interval of time between the issues. The very small cinquefoils on reverses 1–3 seem identical to those on the testoons. The cinquefoils on rev. 4 are of two sizes, of which the larger is the same size as those on IIb forty-four shillings. On the slender evidence of the cinquefoils, one might tentatively consider that twenty-two shillings of the first type were struck at the same time as the testoons and of the second type with IIb forty-four shillings. This would fit in with the interval of time postulated above since, of course, the IIa forty-four shillings were issued in between.

The Type I varieties link in a very satisfactory manner and were probably produced in the order given in the table for the following reasons:

1. The evidence of the cinquefoils given above.
2. The small monogram on rev. 1 was likely to have been replaced by the larger one. A small monogram on the earliest type of twenty-two shillings would correspond with the small monogram on the early forty-four shillings even though, as already suggested, the dies for the first twenty-two shillings may have been made later than those of the 'REGINA' issue.¹
3. The lion in the shield of twenty-two shillings obv. A is identical to that on early forty-four shilling pieces (obv. B and C) and on the testoons. The lions on all other twenty-two shilling obverses are different.

On all these counts twenty-two shillings rev. 1 is most likely to be the earliest, the other reverses and the obverses following in sequence.

In the first type it will be noted that two obverses and reverses have crowns with plain spaces and one obverse and reverse have crowns with trefoils on the spaces. One might expect the mint authorities, when planning the precise designs for the various types, to have paired obverse with reverse so that plain was paired with plain and trefoil with trefoil. This does not seem to have been the case, however, since the combination C2 (trefoil and trefoil) is not represented in the sample. On this evidence it must be assumed that there was no special intention to pair the varieties according to the type of crown.

4. Bawbees and half-bawbees.

In January 1553/4 two Acts of Privy Council were passed ordering a coinage of bawbees, of which the profits were to defray the expenses of the Bishop of Ross who was going to France on affairs of state.² The wording of the Acts makes it clear that at some time in

¹ Note, however, that the three pellets after and rev. 4, both Type I varieties, DILIGITE on rev. 2 correspond with the three pellets in the legends of forty-four shilling pieces obv. C
² Cochran-Patrick i, 75–6.
the past any further issue of bawbees had been prohibited and that this prohibition was now being removed as a special case. This issue of bawbees and half-bawbees was the last one to be made during Mary's reign and it can be equated with Burns Class VIII because of certain features the coins have in common with the gold and silver issues of 1553; these features are discussed below. Bawbees of all varieties were only 25% fine and at the time of issue were worth sixpence. They were coined at 16 to the ounce, giving a standard weight of 29.44 gr., but the weights of surviving specimens show very wide variations.

The types are:

Bawbee (Plate XII, Nos. 29, 30).

Obv. + MARIA DEI G K SCOTORVM
     A crowned thistle between M and R.

Rev. OPPIDVM EDINBVRGI
     A saltire through a crown between two large pierced cinquefoils. i.m. pierced cinquefoils.

The cinquefoil initial mark may be of three different sizes, but it is always pierced and never closed, as stated by Burns. The saltire may be either fluted or slender without fluting. The cinquefoils on either side of the saltire may have somewhat rounded leaves or sharply-pointed angular leaves.

Half-bawbee (Plate XII, Nos. 31, 32).

Obv. + MARIA D G R SCOTORVM
     A crowned thistle between M and R.

Rev. OPPIDVM EDINBVRGI
     A fluted saltire through a crown; below, a single pierced cinquefoil. i.m. pierced cinquefoil.

The same crown above the thistle is also found on some earlier half-bawbees. Another variety of half-bawbee has an i.m. cinquefoil on the reverse, but the somewhat indistinct obverse initial mark could be a cross or a lis. Half-bawbees corresponding to Class VIII bawbees were not known to Burns and are extremely rare.

Class VIII bawbees may be distinguished from bawbees of the preceding classes by:

1. The obverse has DEI G R. Earlier varieties have D G REGINA or D G R. Class VIII bawbees can have D G R, but this appears to be very rare.

2. The double-arched crown above the thistle has trefoils on the spaces and is identical to the one on the second type of twenty-two shilling piece. This was noted by Burns.

3. The cinquefoils on either side of the saltire are larger than those on the earlier varieties.

4. The initial marks. Obverse—a cross potent instead of a plain cross. (An i.m. cross potent is also sometimes found on Class VII bawbees). Reverse—a small cinquefoil instead of a lis.

5. The slender saltire occurs only on Class VIII bawbees.

6. The letter A has the characteristic nick at the apex as on the gold and silver issues. This variety of A also frequently occurs on Class VII bawbees.

1 Burns ii, 305.
2 Examples of all these varieties are in the NMAS. I am indebted to Mr. R. B. K. Stevenson for supplying me with details. The coin illustrated (BM) has the smallest initial mark, a slender saltire and rounded leaves.
3 Both varieties are in the NMAS. The one illustrated is Richardson 161.
4 Richardson 149.
5 Burns ii, 307.
The corresponding half-bawbees are distinguishable by their initial marks, as in subparagraph 4 above.

Apart from the double-arched crown and the i.m. cross potent, the bawbees have certain other features in common with the gold issues of 1553.

1. Some of the large cinquefoils with rounded leaves have part of one leaf broken away, as on 11a forty-four shilling pieces (reverses 6 and 7), and are evidently from the same punch.

2. The letter D often has the upper serif broken off—a feature of the D on Type II twenty-two shilling pieces.

3. The letter T is the same as that on the twenty-two shillings obv, B, C and D and rev. 3 and 4.

Other points of similarity will be noted by the careful observer.

| TABLE 1 |
| FORTY-FOUR SHILLING PIECES |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obverses Type I</th>
<th>Ornaments</th>
<th>Letter O</th>
<th>Letter C</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. + “MARIA-D:G:SCOTORVM-REGINA”</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>large</td>
<td>large</td>
<td>ro punched over partly-erased large cinquefoils. Lion in shield has a very long tongue and bent left foreleg. Plate XII, 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. + “MARIA-D:G:SCOTORVM REGINA”</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>large</td>
<td>large</td>
<td>The lion has a short tongue and an almost straight left foreleg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. + “MARIA-D:G:SCOTORVM REGINA”</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>large</td>
<td>large</td>
<td>The lion as on B. Plate XII, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. + “MARIA D O SCOTORVM REGINA”</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>The lion as on B? Parts of 2nd and 4th loops broken away. Broken M (fig. 3). Figure 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Type II | | |
| E. + “MARIA-DEI-GRA-R-SCOTORVM” | 10 | small | large | A new short-tongued lion. Parts of 2nd and 4th loops missing as on all Type II obverses. Plate XII, 3 |
| F. + “MARIA-DEI-GRA-R-SCOTORVM” | 10 | small | large | The lion as on E. A point between e and i of DEI. |
| G. + “MARIA-DEI-GRA-R-SCOTORVM” | 10 | small | large | The lion as on A. Plate XII, 4 |
| H. + “MARIA-DEI-GRA-R-SCOTORVM” | 10 | small | small | The lion as on E. Broken M (fig. 3). |
| I. + “MARIA-DEI-GRA-R-SCOTORVM” | 10 | small | small | The lion as on E. Broken M and D (fig. 3). Plate XII, 5 |
### TABLE 1 (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reverses</th>
<th>Ornaments</th>
<th>Monogram</th>
<th>Letter C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. + DILIGITE-IUSTICIAM-1553-</td>
<td>large cinquefoils</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. + DILIGITE-IUSTICIAM-1553-</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. + DILIGITE-IUSTICIAM-1553-</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>large</td>
<td>large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. + DILIGITE-IUSTICIAM-1553-</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>large</td>
<td>large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. + DILIGITE-IUSTICIAM-1553-</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>large</td>
<td>large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. + DILIGITE-IUSTICIAM-1553-</td>
<td>large cinquefoils</td>
<td>large</td>
<td>large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. + DILIGITE-IUSTICIAM-1553-</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>large</td>
<td>large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. + DILIGITE-IUSTICIAM-1553-</td>
<td>small cinquefoils</td>
<td>large</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Part of 2nd loop missing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 in date are very close together; 5's are truncated and 2nd and 4th loops broken as on all the following.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Several raised marks in field below sinister cinquefoil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An attempt had been made to improve the 4th loop by punching a line on the die. Broken M and D (fig. 3).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plate XII, 6**

**Plate XII, 7**

**Plate XII, 8**

**Plate XII, 9**

**Plate XII, 10**

### TABLE 2

**TESTOONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obverses</th>
<th>Letter O</th>
<th>Above crown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. MARIA-DEI-GRA-R-SCOTORVM</td>
<td>large</td>
<td>cross &amp; pellet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. MARIA-DEI-GRA-R-SCOTORVM</td>
<td>large</td>
<td>cross &amp; pellet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. MARIA-DEI-GRA-R-SCOTORVM</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>cross &amp; pellet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. MARIA-DEI-GRA-R-SCOTORVM</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>pellet only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. MARIA-DEI-GRA-R-SCOTORVM</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>no cross or pellet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The plain inner circle is very faint.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The cross is directly below the initial mark.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plate XII, 12**

**Plate XII, 13**

**Plate XII, 14**

**Plate XII, 15**

**Plate XII, 16**
TABLE 2 (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reverses</th>
<th>Letter O Above crown</th>
<th>The crown as</th>
<th>Plate XII,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. + 'DA-PACEM-DOMINE-1553-</td>
<td>large pellet</td>
<td>fig. 4a.</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. + 'DA-PACEM-DOMINE-1553-</td>
<td>small no pellet</td>
<td>fig. 4b.</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. + 'DA-PACEM-DOMINE-1553-</td>
<td>small no pellet</td>
<td>fig. 4b. The plain inner circle is indistinct.</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. + 'DA-PACEM-DOMINE-1553-</td>
<td>small no pellet</td>
<td>fig. 4c. Note the curious extra line above the second loop.</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. + <em>DA</em>PA CEM'DOMXNE* 1553*</td>
<td>small no pellet</td>
<td>fig. 4d. The 5's are truncated.</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 3

TWENTY-TWO SHILLING PIECES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obverses</th>
<th>Dies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Plain spaces in crown; a pellet above. MARIA •D-G-R-SCOTORVM (3 dies)</td>
<td>1. BM, Burns 5, Richardson 39. 2. Burns 3 and 4, RSM. 1132 3. Ashmolean, Hunterian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Plain spaces in crown; no pellet above. 1. MARIA D G R SCOTORVM (3 dies) 2. MARIA D G R SCOTORVM (3 dies) 3. MARI D G R SCOTORVM (1 die)</td>
<td>1a RSM 1131, 1b RSM 1133, 1c Ashmolean. 2a. BM, 2b Ashmolean, 2c Lockett 308. 3. BM, Burns 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Trefoils on the spaces in crown; no pellet above. MARIA D G R SCOTORVM (1 die)</td>
<td>Burns 2, Lockett 307.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reverses</th>
<th>Dies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Plain spaces in crown; no pellet above. + DILIGITE IVSTICIAM 1553 (1 die)</td>
<td>BM, Burns 3, RSM 1132.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Plain spaces in crown; no pellet above. + DILIGITE IVSTICIAM 1553 (2 dies)</td>
<td>1. BM, Burns 1, RSM 1131. 2. Burns 2, Richardson 38.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Die 1 | Die 2