THE SCOTTISH COPPER CRUX PELLIT COINAGE:
A TYPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

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Introduction
The series of late medieval copper issues bearing an abbreviated form of the inscription CRUX PELLIT OMNE CRIMEN has long presented problems to students of Scottish numismatics, and although the place of this issue within the history of the coinage seems now to have been established to general satisfaction, there is still uncertainty over when and for how long the coins may have been struck and the possible significance of the large number of minor varieties represented on known specimens. Although this study will be concerned largely with these typological details, it may be useful initially to summarise the conclusions of previous studies.1

For many years there was disagreement as to whether the coins were of Scottish origin at all. They were not included in the major nineteenth-century collections of Scottish coins, and they were omitted by Edward Burns from The Coinage of Scotland (1887). Eminent nineteenth-century numismatists considered them to be foreign, although earlier writers had accepted them as Scottish. When fifty-one specimens were recovered, with other coins, from a drain at Crossraguel Abbey, Ayrshire, in 1919, the series was ascribed by G. Macdonald to an ecclesiastical mint at that location.2 In 1950 R.B.K. Stevenson published a paper in which he reattributed the coins to a mint striking for Bishop James Kennedy of St Andrews, who died in 1465.3 By 1977, however, Mrs J.E.L. Murray had concluded that, in view of the large number of different varieties represented among the relatively small number of extant specimens, the coins probably belonged to a regal issue, and she identified them with those referred to in contemporary documents as ‘three-penny pennies’ or ‘Cochrane’s placks’, which appear to have been greatly devalued, perhaps to a farthing, in 1482.4 Unfortunately Mrs Murray did not live to publish her studies of the coins themselves, although she had collected details of a great many specimens. It may, however, be useful at this point to summarise the contents of her paper, in order to provide a context for what follows.

The first part is concerned with identifying what exactly was meant by the term ‘black money’ in fifteenth-century documents. Mrs Murray concluded that neither the placks nor the pennies of billon were included in this description, which was intended to cover only the issues in pure copper. She then discussed briefly the various types of copper farthing minted during the reign of James III, suggesting that the two varieties which have always been regarded as part of the regal coinage may have been struck around 1466, one possibly before and the other after the Act of Parliament of that year in which their striking was officially commanded. The other types, once believed to be the products of an ecclesiastical mint at Crossraguel Abbey, may now be regarded as regal issues of a slightly later period. (It may be

Acknowledgements. The author wishes to thank the following institutions and individuals, all of whom have helped in this study by allowing access to their collections, lending coins for study and/or supplying images and details: A.H. Baldwin and Sons Ltd. (C. Riley); Angus Museums (W. Milne); AOC Scotland Ltd. (J. Franklin); British Museum (B.J. Cook); Edinburgh City Museums and Galleries (J.A. Lawson); Fitzwilliam Museum (M.R. Allen); HBOS (D. McBeath, R. Tschan); Historic Scotland (J. Flint, R. Welander); Hunterian Museum (J.D. Bateson); Perth Museum (M.A. Hall); SUAT Ltd. (D. Hall); M. Anderson; J. Eldridge; W. Elliott; C.R.S. Farthing; R. Kirton; A. McCabe; R.A. Macpherson; Rt Hon. Lord Stewartby; P. Withers.

1 Earlier theories about the origin of these coins were described and fully discussed by Mrs J.E.L. Murray (1977). Little would be gained by repeating this detailed account here, and a summary is provided simply in order to explain why so little attention was paid to this coinage for so long.
2 Macdonald 1919.
3 Stevenson 1950.
4 Murray 1977.
noted that, neither here nor in any other part of her paper, did Mrs Murray suggest that there was any detectable link in terms of date or place of striking between the farthings and the larger Crux Pellit coppers.)

The remainder of the paper is concerned with the Crux Pellit issues. Mrs Murray suggested that these coins may have been struck at a theoretical weight of sixteen to the ounce, and explained why she had identified them with the ‘threepenny pennies’ of contemporary documents, afterwards providing a history of previous opinions and attributions. In discussing the coins themselves, she drew attention to various details which might suggest a connection with the Scottish regal coinage of the 1470s and 1480s. Following this are some calculations relating to the possible profit to the king from the striking of the black money and to the size of the coinage, which are offered with a fair degree of caution. A figure of four million Crux Pellit coins is tentatively suggested. [This figure seems astonishing today, since the coins have always been regarded as relatively rare items by dealers and collectors, although the numbers which have been found in Scotland in recent years suggests that this is not in fact the case (see Catalogue).]

A general description of the Crux Pellit coins would state that they bear on the obverse an orb surmounted by a cross, normally accompanied by the royal title of a king by the name of James. On the reverse is a long cross within a four-arc tressure, accompanied by a legend comprising an abbreviated version of CRVX PELLIT OMNE CRIMEN (the cross drives away all sin). On occasions this inscription also appears on the obverse, to the exclusion of the royal title.

Macdonald divided the Crossraguel Abbey finds into three varieties, the first with orb portrayed as if tilted downwards, the second with it tilted upwards and the third similar but with a rosette in the middle.5 This was taken by I.H. Stewart (now Lord Stewartby) as the basis of his classification, which is the one still in general use today.6 Stewart divided Macdonald’s first variety into Ia, with orb tilted downwards and to left, and Ib, with orb tilted downwards and to right. His Type IIa bore the orb tilted upwards and to the right, with IIb (a rare variety) having a pellet or jewel on each of the three segments of the orb. Stewart Type III was as Macdonald’s third variety, with a rosette on the middle of the orb. This classification has since been refined a little further, although not in an accessible published form. Coins of Type I are known which appear to show the orb tilted vertically downwards, i.e. with no visible curve on the upper band, and these may be referred to in this context as Ic. There are also Type II coins on which the orb is shown tilted upwards and to the left (IIC). Type III, with rosette, has been divided into IIIa (orb upwards and to left) and IIIb (orb upwards and to right).

This classification, although useful in dividing the series into easily identifiable categories for those with a general interest in Scottish coinage, is dependent entirely on just one aspect of the appearance of the obverse of the coins. Both Stewart and Murray drew attention to the large number of varieties involving the form of the legends and of the stops between words, and also involving the ornaments placed on the cusps and in the spandrels of the tressure on the reverse. Murray also alluded briefly to differences in the form of the lettering. This new study has looked at all these aspects, individually and in combination, on as many specimens as it has realistically been possible to study, to see what pattern, if any, emerges. Letter forms have been compared with those on other Scottish coins of the second half of the fifteenth century, to see whether there is any re-use of punches which might help in dating the Crux Pellit issues.

Unfortunately any attempt at a die study would have no chance of success. The standard of workmanship evident in the die-sinking and striking is often poor, and many of the extant specimens are corroded to a greater or lesser degree. Although an occasional die-link between coins is discernible, many others may remain unidentifiable as a result of the poor condition of the coins, and any figures produced would therefore be misleading.

5 Macdonald 1919, 289–92.
In her 1977 paper Mrs Murray referred to the existence of a detailed list of 104 Crux Pellit coppers drawn up by Robert Kerr, a former curator at what was then the Royal Scottish Museum (now part of National Museums Scotland). This had been prepared in 1958, and comprised coins in the collections of what was then the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, of the British Museum and of I.H. Stewart. The present writer has located a list of addenda, fourteen in number, most of them at that time in the collections of the St Andrews Cathedral Museum and the Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow. Unfortunately the St Andrews coins were subsequently stolen during a robbery at the museum, and the Kelvingrove coins could no longer be located when an opportunity to view them was requested in 2006, but they were recorded in sufficient detail by Kerr to enable them to be included in this study. The number of specimens available for study has increased considerably, with the total included here being 304 (plus two further coins added to the corpus after the completion of the rest of the paper). All of these (except those on the list of addenda mentioned above) have at some stage and in some form been seen and recorded by the present writer. Many of the coins themselves have been examined in the course of compiling the corpus, and others had been recorded photographically or in the form of plaster casts. Also included are other coins published by Dr J.D. Bateson and the present writer in the Scottish Coin Finds Record since 1987, since although some of these were not recorded with the degree of detail required for this study, the amount of information which has been preserved is often sufficient to allow the coins to be allocated a place within the series. As a precaution, the small number of non-museum coins recorded in writing by other scholars, but of which no image now exists, have been excluded. This in no way casts aspersions on the recording skills of others, but stems from the possibility that some of them may in fact be the same coins as have been recorded elsewhere.

Framework for a new classification

Although the current classification fails to take account of some of the variable features on the coins, there is an argument for retaining its basic structure. The major types (I, II and III), as described by Macdonald, have been in common use for so long, and are so familiar to students of Scottish coinage, that it would seem perverse to abandon these without very good reason. On the other hand, the subdivisions which have been introduced more recently are not always used, and since they have developed as new types have been discovered, they do not form a logical system. Although Ia and Ib indicate obverse with orb tilted downwards and to left and right respectively, ILa has the orb shown as upwards and to right, IIb has ‘jewels’ on the orb, and coins with orb upwards and to left (IIc) are not included in the published system at all. Since the letters ‘a’ and ‘b’ cannot be reattributed within the major types without sowing the seeds of confusion, it has been decided to abandon these altogether and substitute ‘L’ and ‘R’ for coins on which the orb appears to be tilted to the left and right respectively. Coins of Type I on which the orb appears vertical (Ic) are very few in number, and the appearance is almost certainly an illusion brought about by their poor condition, so these will not be regarded as a separate category, but those coins which have the CR VX legend on the obverse have been given their own sub-type. The ‘jewels’ which occur on the obverse of a very few Type II coins, along with the annulets which are now known on a few specimens of Type III, seem to be merely minor additions on particular dies, but these two varieties should also, perhaps, be given their own classification, pending any possible future assessment of their significance. The basic framework now suggested is therefore as in Table 1.
On a primary level, therefore, this proposed new classification represents simply a reorganisation of what has gone before, and the nine types, based on obverse, which it includes may well provide enough distinctions for the general student or collector. However, within this framework there is scope to include all the many variants, both major and minor, which are important for any detailed study of this problematic coinage. These may be categorised as follows:

**Obverse**

(a) The exact form of the inscription  
(b) The type and position of stops between the words of the inscription  
(c) The shape of the letters  
(d) Any ornaments on the orb

**Reverse**

(a), (b) and (c) as for obverse  
(d) The form of the ornaments on the cusps and in the spandrels of the tressure

On any given coin it is most unlikely that all the details will be clear, and it is therefore impossible to guarantee that every variant within every category can ever be listed. New variants are almost bound to be discovered as further coins are brought to light, and for this reason, as well as on account of the very large number of recorded combinations of the variants already known, it would be unwise to attempt to create a complicated system of classification in which each typological variant is deemed to constitute a discrete and definable sub-type. In many cases a particular combination of variants may exist only on a single die. The currently recorded variants within each of the above categories will simply be listed below, and a study of which of these occur within each of the designated types will be used in an attempt to understand the place of each type within the overall coinage.

**Legends and stops**

Tables 2 and 3 contain all the obverse and reverse legends so far recorded, indicating the major types in which they are known to occur and the forms of stops recorded with them. Where legends are shown in full, only coins where the legend(s) can definitely be read or reconstructed in full are included. Incomplete legends are included where they differ from any which have been recorded in full. Stops may be of single or double type, or a combination of the two.
Obverse legend G needs to be confirmed. It occurs on one coin only, and may possibly be the result of faulty striking. Obverse legend J also occurs on one coin only, and the form of the stops is uncertain.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obverse legend</th>
<th>IL</th>
<th>IR</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IIR</th>
<th>IIII</th>
<th>IIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A + IACOBVS DEI GRACIA REX</td>
<td>annulets</td>
<td>saltires</td>
<td>stars</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B + IACOBVS DEI GRA REX</td>
<td>saltires</td>
<td>saltires</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>annulets</td>
<td>stars</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C + IACOBVS DEI GRA REX</td>
<td>saltires</td>
<td>saltires</td>
<td>annulets</td>
<td>annulets</td>
<td>stars</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D + IACOBVS DEI REX GRA</td>
<td>annulets</td>
<td>saltires</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E + IACOBVS DEI GRA RE</td>
<td>annulets</td>
<td>saltires</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>none</td>
<td>annulets</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>S D GRA REX</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>H + IACOBS DEI GRA REX</td>
<td>?annulets</td>
<td>stars</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I + IACOVS DEI GRA REX</td>
<td>annulets</td>
<td>stars</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>J + IACOVS DEI GRA REX</td>
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<tr>
<td>K + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRIM</td>
<td>saltires</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRM</td>
<td>saltires</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Obverse legend G needs to be confirmed. It occurs on one coin only, and may possibly be the result of faulty striking. Obverse legend J also occurs on one coin only, and the form of the stops is uncertain.

Reverse legend G needs to be confirmed. It occurs on one coin only, and may possibly be the result of faulty striking. Reverse legend J also occurs on one coin only, and the form of the stops is uncertain.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reverse legend</th>
<th>IL</th>
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<th>III</th>
<th>IIR</th>
<th>IIII</th>
<th>IIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRIME</td>
<td>saltires</td>
<td>saltires</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>annulets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRIME</td>
<td>saltires</td>
<td>saltires</td>
<td>annulets</td>
<td>annulets</td>
<td>stars</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRIM</td>
<td>saltires</td>
<td>saltires</td>
<td>annulets</td>
<td>annulets</td>
<td>stars</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRM</td>
<td>annulets</td>
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<tr>
<td>5 + CRVX PELLIT OIE CM</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 + CRVX . . . OIE CIRIII</td>
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<td>saltires</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 + CRVX PELLIT OIE CIRIII</td>
<td>saltires</td>
<td>saltires</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>saltires</td>
<td>saltires</td>
<td>annulets</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRI</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 + CRVX PELLIT OIE CR</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 + CRVX PEL . . . OIE CI</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 + CRVX PELLIT OI CRIM</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>14 + CRVX . . . IT OI CRII</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 + CRVX . . . IT OE CRIII</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 + CRVX PELLIT OE CRII</td>
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</table>
Reverse legend 31 was recorded on a coin found by a metal-detectorist some years ago and no longer available for study. The form of the stops was recorded as uncertain.

These tables demonstrate that Type III contains a substantially greater number of variants of the reverse legend than the other two, as well as a greater variety of stops in the legends on both sides. In fact, the stops on Type I coins are almost entirely saltires, and those on Type II coins almost entirely annulets. Only a very few coins do not conform to this pattern, and most of these may be regarded as anomalous in other ways as well, as will be outlined below.

**Lettering**

Detailed recording of letter forms was an integral part of the initial phase of this study, in the hope that this would both assist with the identification of groups of coins within the overall classification and allow comparisons with letter punches used on silver and billon coins of James II and III. In spite of the poor workmanship displayed in the die-sinking and striking of the coins, and the worn and corroded condition of many of the surviving specimens, it was possible to identify a great many letter forms, but because of these factors the isolating of individual punches proved in most cases to be unreliable at best. A small proportion of the letter forms observed were sufficiently distinctive to allow them to be used in pursuance of the first of the above-mentioned aims, and the significance of these will be discussed below, but in virtually no instance could any of these easily identifiable letter forms be associated with any other coinage issue. The very few exceptions to this include an unusual form of the letter C, described and illustrated below as C1, which is found only on Type I Crux Pellit coins and on gold and silver coins of James II’s second (crown groat) coinage. Two forms of the letter G seem to correspond to those on different types of gold coin of James III.

There follows a discussion of various forms of all the letters represented in Crux Pellit legends, but in the light of the above there would be little point in describing and illustrating every variety. Instead it is proposed to discuss in general terms the various recorded forms of each letter, and to single out some of each which are distinctive and/or which illustrate the range of variants present (see Fig. 1).
The letter A is almost invariably without a bar across the middle. The form most frequently found in Types IL, IIIL and IIIR has a peaked top and fish-tail ends to the legs and the top bar (A1). Mrs Murray noted that an A with a peaked top is not found on Scottish silver before 1475, but this may or may not be significant in this context. Many coins of IR, IIL, IIR, and some of IIIL, have a squatter letter, also peak-topped but without fish-tail ends to the top bar (A2). A squat and apparently unpeaked A occasionally appears on coins of IL, IIR and IIIL (A3). Some IIIR coins have an unpeaked A with straight legs (A4). There are very infrequent occurrences of barred As of varying form in IL (two die-linked obverses), IL/II transitional (one coin) and IIR (one coin), and there is occasional evidence of broken punches.

B (occurs on obverse only)
Coins of types IL and IR have a straight-backed letter with serifs and full and fairly rounded loops (B1): this punch is also found broken at the top. Common on coins of IIR is a letter with incomplete loops. It has a small projection from the inside of the upright, not extending...
to join with the junction of the loops at the front of the letter (B2). The upright is normally incurved, but appears to be straight on one coin of IIR and possibly on one of IIIL. A letter with incurved upright and full but fairly angular loops (B3) occurs on coins of IIIL, IIR and IIIL, and on IIIL and IIR after the punch breaks at the bottom. The most common form of B on IIIL has a straight upright and full angular loops (B4). It is found with or without serifs on the upright.

C (occurs on both obverse and reverse)
This letter appears in a number of very distinctive forms. A tall, upright letter with open front and large serifs appears on the obverse and reverse of a number of coins of Types IL and IR (C1). This letter closely resembles one which appears on some dies for James II’s gold and silver coins of the second (crown groat) coinage, second issue, and may be from a re-used punch. Other coins of Type I have a closed C – apparently from more than one punch, as some appear taller and some rounder, and the front may be straight or curved (C2 stands as an example). A similar letter appears on some coins of IIL and possibly one of IIIR. A closed C with peak on the interior of the curved back appears on a few coins of all three major types, but this may result from a damaged punch or flawed striking. A round, squat closed C with interior projections on the curved back and front upright occurs on a large number of coins of Types II and III (C3), and this letter is also found with either the front projection or both apparently broken off. Many coins of IIIL and a few of IIIR have an open C with a peak on the interior of the curved back and fish-tail ends at the front: again more than one similar punch seems to have been used (C4, C5). Also on some coins of IIL and IIIR are two forms of an open C with serifs. C6 has a wide open front with small serifs and an internal peak, and it is not impossible that this is a damaged form of the C4 punch. C7 has T-shaped terminals, almost closing the front of the letter. A distinctive closed C with internal peak and upper front serif broken off occurs on the reverse of one coin each of IIIL and IIR (C8 – see also E7).

D (occurs on obverse only)
The letter D is clear in its form on comparatively few of the coins examined. In class I the letter is usually fairly tall and slim, with small serifs to the upright, which may appear straight or slightly incurved (D1). A distinctive form which appears on Type II has small interior projections on the upright, and on the front loop. Again the upright may appear straight (D2) or incurved (D3), with the latter version resembling a reversed C3. This form of D also occurs with either the rear projection or both apparently broken off. On most IIIL coins where the D is clear, it has a fairly thick straight upright with horizontal serifs at top and bottom (D4), but the front loop may appear round or deformed in various ways. On IIIR coins the upright is incurved and the loop has either a complete or partial bar across the middle (D5, D6).

E (occurs on both obverse and reverse)
Most coins of Type I have a fairly standard closed E with peaked exterior to the back, but there is more than one punch and the letter may appear tall or more rounded (E1). On one coin it is broken at the bottom. Other coins of Type IL, particularly those with CRVX legend on the obverse, have an E with internal peak at the back but no crossbar (E2). Many coins of Type II and a few of IIIL have a round E with small internal projections at the back and front (E3); this is probably from the same punch as C3 and also occurs in a broken form. Just two recorded coins of IIR have a closed E with crossbar and very angular front (E4). Some coins of Type III have an E similar in form to E1, with a new smaller punch also coming into use, but many others have a distinctive letter with the top and bottom of the loop horizontal and continuing as serifs beyond a fairly thick straight upright. The back usually appears slightly peaked (E5). The letter often appears without one or both serifs and eventually it breaks at the bottom. A number of IIIR coins have a letter similar to E3, but with the back peaked on the exterior (E6). The two coins of Type III which display the distinctive broken C (C6) on the reverse also have the E from the same punch, also on the reverse only, as a third coin also appears to do (E7).
This is another letter which is not often seen clearly enough to determine its overall shape. Type I coins seem to have more than one punch of a letter comprising a figure 6 shape with incomplete loop, but with the top curling forwards beyond the front of the loop and ending in a fish-tail or simple expanded terminal (G1–3). A letter of very similar form to G2 is found on James III gold riders of Type I. In Type II there again appears to be more than one punch, but the shape is nearer to that of an O, but with the loop not quite closed and the left side continuing over the top of and slightly beyond the right side (G4). In Type III there is greater variety. One punch is similar to the Type II form, but with a fish-tail terminal to the projecting end (G5), and this is identical in form to a letter which occurs on gold riders of Type II and on unicorns of James III. The fish-tail terminal eventually breaks off. Several IIIL coins have a distinctive ‘bag-shaped’ letter, with the ends appearing to cross over at the top (G6). One IIIR coin has a 6–shaped letter like Type I, but with the loop this time complete and with a serif at the terminal (G7).

The letter I, since it has the simplest form of any, has correspondingly less scope for variation, but a large number of minor variants were noted, involving height, straight or incurved upright, thickness of upright and number and size of serifs, but many of these may be due to variations in striking and the condition of the coins. The most common forms were a simple upright with incurved sides and no serifs (I1), a simple straight-sided upright with small serifs (I2), a shorter straight letter with large thick serifs (I3) and a similar letter with incurved sides (I4), but there is much scope for confusion between the two latter forms on worn coins. There is no correlation between any one letter form and any one class of coin.

L is one of the letters with the largest number of observed variants (nineteen), and although a few of these were noted so infrequently that they may be only apparent, there are clearly a large number of different punches involved. Variable features include the height of the letter, the form of the rear upright (straight or incurved) and its associated serifs, and the form of the front part of the letter, which may be shorter than, of equal height to or even longer than the rear upright. This feature may comprise a single wedge, of varying form, or a dog-leg formed of two wedges or a wedge and a stroke. Many of the forms appear to have been used for more than one class of coin, so several similar punches were probably used. A selection of the forms is illustrated to indicate the variety. L1 is found only on Type I coins, and has a slightly incurred upright with a large forward-pointing serif at the top which appears to have become progressively broken. The front part of the letter comprises a fairly short wedge with a forward-leaning stroke at the top. L2 also belongs only in Type I and is fairly similar, but has a straight upright and a slightly longer wedge and shorter stroke. L3, which has larger serifs at the top and bottom of the upright, is found in all three types, so probably includes several punches. L4 and L5 occur mainly in Type II, but each appears also on two coins of IIIIL. They are squatter letters with incurred uprights, with the front of L4 consisting of a short wedge topped by a short stroke, whilst that of L5 comprises a single long wedge. L6, L7 and L8 are exclusive to Type III. L6 has a horizontal bar projecting mostly forwards from the top of a slightly incurred upright, with the long wedge front exceeding the height of the rest of the letter. L7 has a thick incurred upright with thin wedge front, and L8 has a long horizontal bar at the top of a slightly incurred upright and a front part made up of a squat wedge surmounted by a dog-leg stroke.

The letter M is frequently represented by either two or three unconnected vertical strokes, but in Type I two such strokes are sometimes joined together in various ways (M1–M4). Gothic forms of M also occur in Type I, usually with simple incurred sides without serifs at the bottom (M5), but occasionally with expansions in the interior of the sides and small serifs. Various similar punches are used exclusively for coins of Types II and III (M6, M7), the most
distinctive being one with thick, straight-sided middle upright, with prominent serifs at the bottom (M8), which appears on two coins of type III and which is very similar to a form found on various silver issues of James III. On most coins, however, the exact shape of the letter is unclear.

O (occurs on both obverse and reverse)
Three basic forms of the letter O appear – a simple oval, an oval with internal peaks on both sides, and an oval with a crossbar, but there are undoubtedly several different punches for each form, some taller, some rounder. The simple oval seems to occur almost exclusively in Type I (O1). The form with internal peaks occurs in all types (O2), and at least one punch breaks, first at the top, then at the bottom as well. Letters with full crossbar are not found at all in Type I, and only occasionally in Type II, but occur on most Type III coins (O3).

P (occurs on reverse and on obverse with CRVX legend)
Fourteen forms of the letter P were noted, but many are not particularly distinctive, having an incurved upright with small serifs. The size and form of the loop varies, but such variants are not really diagnostic. A fairly easily recognisable form comprises an incurved upright with long forward-projecting serif at the bottom, which is sometimes found broken (P1). This form is found with all three major types, and several punches must have been used. Some IIR coins have another P with long forward-pointing serif at the bottom, but with a large loop extending almost to the bottom of the upright and containing small internal projections at front and back (P2). A similar P, but with smaller loop, occurs on some IIL coins (P3). In Type III a distinctive P with straight-sided upright also appears (P4).

R (occurs on both obverse and reverse)
An astonishing thirty varieties of the letter R were noted, and it must be debatable how many of these are genuinely from different punches and how many owe their appearance to damaged punches, poor striking and/or worn or corroded coins. R is certainly one of the letters having the greatest potential for variation, since it comprises three distinct parts – an upright which may be straight or incurved, with or without serifs; a loop which may be full or incomplete, rounded or angular, and of different sizes; and a tail which may be simple or complex and of differing shapes. Since many of the forms noted appear on very few coins, and since some occur on coins of more than one type, there seems little point in illustrating more than a few of the more prevalent forms to indicate the range and variety. A few coins of Type I have an R resembling a B, with closed bottom loop, in the obverse legend (R1), but the most prevalent form in Type I has an incurved upright, an incomplete loop and a tail like a rounded wedge (R2). Exclusive to Type II is an R with incurved upright, full angular loop and dog-leg tail with a projection at the knee (R3). Two very different forms both occur on coins of Types IIR and IIL, suggesting that both may have been in use during a transitional period. One has an incurved upright, rather angular loop and dog-leg tail which extends below the base of the upright and almost touches its lower serif (R4). The other is a very distinctive letter which resembles a Gothic N, with the front of the loop simply continuing downwards to form the tail. There are small internal projections on the upright and the loop (R5). Another possibly transitional letter, found mainly on coins of IIL, but also on one of IIR, has an incurved upright with an internal projection in the middle and a zig-zag front forming an incomplete loop and a dog-leg tail (R6). Two other forms are found frequently, but only on coins of Type III. They are quite similar, having a straight-sided upright with backward-facing serifs at top and bottom, but one (R7) has a distinctly angular front to the loop, whereas the loop on the other is rounded (R8). Both have a long curved tail with a forward projection at the knee, but the latter feature appears to have broken off the R8 punch at some stage.

S (occurs on obverse only)
The letter S is another which in many cases can not be read clearly enough for individual punches to be identified, but a few are illustrated to indicate the variants noted. S1 appears on numerous coins of Type IL and on a few of Types II and III, so more than one punch is likely to have been involved. The letter is fairly flat, with serifs at each end and a pronounced
angle between the top and bottom loops. Many of the other punches display fish-tail ends to the S, and there are variations in the slope of the middle part of the letter. S2, noted only on two coins of IR, has a downward slope from left to right, whereas S3, found on coins of Type II, has an upward slope and an angle between the two loops, like S1. S4 is a similar letter, with less pronounced fish-tails, found only on Type III coins. The lower end usually resembles a serif more than a fish-tail, and both upper and lower appendages are missing on some coins.

T (occurs on reverse and on obverse with CRVX legend)
Twenty forms of the letter T were noted, but again many of the variations may be due to flaws in die-sinking or striking, or to wear and corrosion. The shape of the stem varies between a simple plain upright (rarely), via various degrees of expansion at the base, to an almost triangular form. The crossbar may be plain (straight or curved), may expand towards the tips and may have fish-tail ends. Few shapes appear frequently enough or consistently enough within a particular class to be regarded as diagnostic, but again a few forms are illustrated to indicate the range. T1 occurs on five coins of IL, in legends where the word CRVX is missing, and on one of IIR. It has a fairly short triangular stem, and the bar is concave at top and bottom with slightly fish-tail ends. T2 has been noted on coins of all three types, so more than one punch of similar form is likely to have been used. It is characterised by a fairly tall stem with an expanded and concave base and a bar with prominent fish-tails. T3, which has much more exaggerated versions of the same characteristics, occurs on coins of IIR and IIIR, and apparently the same punch, with the fish-tail ends missing, on coins of IIIIL and IIIIR. T4, with a peak above the fish-tailed crossbar, is exclusive to Type III, as is the similar T5, which also appears with the peak missing. Three distinctive broken punches were noted – T6 occurs on three coins of IL, T7 on four coins of IIR, and T8 on three coins of IIIIL.

V and X (occur on both obverse and reverse)
There is nothing sufficiently distinctive about the form of these two letters to justify describing or illustrating them.

Reverse ornaments
Table 4 shows, in column 1, all recorded combinations of ornaments in the reverse design, arranged as ‘ornaments on cusps / ornaments in spandrels’. Columns 2–7 show which major obverse types are associated with each combination, and which reverse legendary stops are known to be associated with that combination of ornaments and obverse type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cusps / spandrels</th>
<th>IL</th>
<th>IR</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IIR</th>
<th>IIIIL</th>
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The table demonstrates that, as with legends, by far the greatest variety is to be found within Type III. Coins of Type I display only combinations of pellet ornaments and/or none, and those of Type II mostly bear annulets, sometimes in combination with pellets or none. A single coin with IIR obverse has been recorded with saltire stops on the reverse, but this can not be confirmed, and the coin may be a II/I mule. Only the pellets/none combination is found in all three types. The use of saltires, stars and trefoils as ornaments is confined to Type III.

**Description of the types**

Mrs Murray expressed some doubts about the wisdom of dating the Crux Pellit coinage as early as the time of Bishop Kennedy of St Andrews (d. 1465), citing the peaked form of many of the letters as suggesting a somewhat later date by comparison with those on silver coinages of James III.\(^8\) Although there is very little evidence from this new study to assist in the allocation of dates to any of the recorded types of Crux Pellit coins, there are at least a few clues to the relative dating of the major types and of smaller groups within these types. There are some grounds for believing that Types I, II and III may have been struck in that order.

Type I includes the fewest variants of ornamentation within it, as might be expected of the earliest group of a new coin series. The number of coins and dies recorded of Type II(iii), with CR VX legend on the obverse, suggests that these coins were not simply the result of errors at the mint, but belonged to an experimental type within the series, before final decisions were taken on legend form, and the same might be said of those coins lacking the word CR VX in the reverse legend, where the cross initial mark may have been intended to be read as CRVX. There is also the Ci letter punch, apparently at least copying the form of C found on precious metal coins of James II only, the use of which might be expected to have continued into the earliest coins of the Crux Pellit series rather than reappearing in a later series.

Type II may be accepted as coming next in the series, on the grounds that there seem to be a few coins which display elements of both I and II and which may therefore be regarded as belonging to a transitional phase. These may also indicate that not much, if any, time elapsed between the striking of the two classes. Type II also contains relatively few variations in ornamentation.

Type III may be regarded as the latest, and also perhaps the largest in terms of numbers of coins struck. More coins of this class have been recorded than of either I or II, and there are numerous variations in legends, stops and ornaments. The rose on the orb constitutes an innovation, of course, perhaps intended to differentiate coins of this series easily from those struck before, and it may also be noted that the form of the orb itself frequently becomes less realistic on Type III coins, with the bands across the middle often curved in an exaggerated way. There are some Type III coins which incorporate design symbols typical of Type II, suggesting again that there may not have been much of a gap between the two varieties. It is worth noting that only eight specimens of Type III were found at Crossraguel Abbey, compared with twenty-one each of Types I and II, suggesting that the process of deposition there may have ended fairly soon after Type III coins were introduced into circulation, but if this

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\(^8\) Murray 1977, 123.
was the case, it would have to be accepted that many of the recorded variants were introduced fairly quickly. Of the eight coins from Crossraguel, four are of IIIL and four of IIIR. Stops in the reverse legend are annulets in three cases and saltires in four, with one uncertain. Ornaments include saltires/annulets (three), pellets/annulets (one) and stars/none (one).  

Type IL(i)

This is by far the largest sub-group within type I, with fifty-two specimens included in the corpus. The orb is shown tilted downwards and to the left, and the obverse legend is of normal type, with the king’s name and title. There are four coins, all from the same die, with obverse legend B (+ IACOBS DEI GRA REX S) and single saltire stops (1–4 in corpus). All other coins where the obverse legend can be read or deduced in full have + IACOBS DEI GRA REX (legend C), and two die-linked pairs and one trio have been noted. All coins of this sub-type have saltire stops – single, double or in combination – and on some dies the legend ends with a triangle of three saltires. The distinctive open letter C with serifs (C1) can be read on five coins and possibly on a sixth. All other legible Cs are of closed type (C2). E is normally of closed type with bar (E1), noted on fifteen coins, but the unbarred type (E2) can be seen on seven coins, including the four with S at the end of the legend.

Most reverses bear a legend commencing with + CRVX PELLIT OIE, the variations coming only in the form of the abbreviation of CRIMEN. The most frequently recorded legend is 3, ending in CRIM, which is definitely attested on ten coins, but CRIII (7) and CRII (8) occur twice, and CRII (9) once. One of the coins with REX S on the obverse has reverse legend 1, reading CRIMEI (1), and there is also one coin with reverse legend 6 – partially uncertain, but ending with CRIII (18). Also represented on three coins, two of them die-linked, is reverse legend 33 (+ PELLIT OIE CRIME) (16, 17, 24), and one coin has been recorded with legend 31 (+ PELLIT . . . . . . . . CRIMEN) (43), although this can no longer be verified. All reverses of this sub-type have saltire stops, again single, double or in combination, with an occasional triangle of three saltires at the end. The open letter C1 has been noted on four reverses and possibly on a fifth, and the unbarred E2 on three, including one associated with an obverse with legend REX S. Otherwise these letters are of the normal closed form, with the E barred. Where the letter M is clear, six coins display straight uprights with various form of crossbar (M1–4), with a further six bearing a letter of Gothic form. Ornaments on the reverse almost invariably comprise pellets on the cusps, with nothing in the spandrels; on five coins the pellets are visible only on the upper or lower pair of cusps. The pellets are missing altogether on two coins with CRIM and one with CRIIII. The die reading CRIMEI, which appears on just one coin combined with a REX S obverse, has nothing on the cusps, but unusually large pellets in the spandrels.

Type IL(ii)

These coins have the orb as in Type IL(i), but a version of the CRVX PELLIT OIE legend appears on both sides. Thirteen examples were included in this study, but the exact form of the legends on most of them was unclear. On the obverse there were four definite occurrences of legend K (+ CRVX PELLIT OIE CRIM), and two coins from a single die with CRM (legend L). Stops are normally single saltires, with just one die having a double saltire at the end. Letter C1, with open front and serifs, was not noted at all, with all the occurrences of the letter C being of the closed form. Somewhat surprisingly, every letter E in obverse legends which was clear enough to be identified was of the unbarred form E2. The only two distinguishable Ms were of Gothic form M5, on die-linked coins.

The exact form of most of the reverse legends was also unclear, with three occurrences of + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRIII (legend 7) and one each of + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRIM (3) and + PELLIT OIE CRIMEII (32). Stops are all saltires – single, double or in combination.

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Again the open C1 was not recorded for this sub-class, all those legible being closed. Most of the Es seem to be barred (E1), with just one recorded occurrence of the unbarred E2. Only one M was distinguishable – of barred upright M4. Ornaments comprise pellets on the cusps and nothing in the spandrels, with the exception of a single coin without the pellets.

**Type IL (unc.)**

This group comprises seven coins, the obverse legends of which were either completely illegible or unrecorded. Very few details of any of these coins are available, but they are included in order to ensure a correct total for all known coins of IL. Ornaments were identifiable on six of the seven reverses, and all comprised pellets on the cusps and nothing in the spandrels.

**Type IR**

In this type the orb is shown tilted downwards and to the right. Eighteen coins were included in the corpus. All the fully legible or reliably reconstructable obverse legends read + IACOBVS DEI GRA REX (eleven coins), but there are two coins with partially uncertain legends which end in S (73, 74). Stops in obverse legends are mostly double saltires, with a few single, and a few coins bear triangles of three saltires at the end of the legend. This sub-type displays the greatest prevalence of the open letter C with serifs (C1), which was observed on the obverse of ten coins, with only two definitely bearing a closed C. The form of the letter E could be established on only three coins, on each of which it was barred.

Five different reverse legends were recorded, all commencing with + CRVX PELLIT OIE, the variations again being confined to the abbreviations of CRIMEN. One example was noted of CRIME (legend 2), two of CRIM (3), one of CRIII (7), five of CRIII (8) and one of CRI (9). Stops in all cases were single or double saltires or a combination of the two. Four occurrences of the open C1 were noted, with six of the closed C2. All the six clearly identifiable Es were barred, with the unbarred E2 not confirmed for this sub-class. Only three Ms were sufficiently legible – one each of the straight-sided M1 and M2 and one of uncertain Gothic form. Eight coins clearly bore pellets on the cusps and nothing in the spandrels, but there were also four coins on which there appeared to be pellets on just one or two of the cusps. Just two coins clearly had no ornaments at all.

**Type I (unc.)**

This group of three coins can not be designated more precisely, as in each case the sideways direction of tilt of the orb is uncertain. They were previously regarded as belonging to a separate sub-type, with orb tilted vertically downwards, but this feature is almost certainly more apparent than real. All the coins are in a poor condition, probably disguising a slight sideways tilt in one direction or the other. Few details are clear, but all have single saltire stops where these are distinguishable. One coin has pellets on the cusps and nothing in the spandrels, the ornaments on the others being uncertain.

**Type I–II transitional**

Six coins have been recorded which combine elements normally found in Types I and II, but not in both. Since these are all different from each other, but are important as indicators of a possible overlap in production of the two classes, or at least of a rapid transition from one to the other, it seems sensible to describe each in detail.

The first of these coins (94) has a standard Type IL(i) obverse, reading + IACOBVS DEI GRA REX, with double saltire stops, but with letter forms uncertain. The reverse legend, however, reads CRVX PELLIT OEI CRM, without initial mark and with annulet stops. Among the letter punches employed is a C which appears to be of a form which, as will be
demonstrated, was in common use during the production of Type II (C3). The ornaments are annulets on the cusps, with nothing in the spandrels.

The second coin (95) has an obverse of Type IIR, with legend again + IACOBVS DEI GRA REX. There may be a saltire stop after IACOBVS, but apparently there are no others. The initial mark on the reverse appears to comprise a cross of five annulets, with a legend reading CRVX PE [     ] III, and an annulet stop visible after CRVX. There appear to be no ornaments on cusps or in spandrels.

Another coin with IR obverse (96) has legend + I[     ] DEI GRA RX, apparently without stops. Only PELLIT is legible on the reverse, but a double annulet stop follows it. Ornaments on the cusps are uncertain, possibly pellets, with nothing in the spandrels.

The fourth coin (97) takes the process of transition one step further. The orb on the obverse is that of Type IL, with the legend + IACOBVS DEI GRA REX, but the stops are double annulets. The reverse reads CR[     ] PELL[     ]IE CRM, without initial mark and with annulet stops. There are annulets on the cusps and nothing in the spandrels.

The fifth coin (98) is a poorly struck and fairly worn specimen which may be a continental imitation, so wide are the bands across the middle of the orb, but even if this is the case, it is worth mentioning here, since it is likely to have been copied from a genuine coin displaying similar characteristics. Only IACOBVS is legible on the obverse, but the orb tilts downwards and to left. The reverse is completely illegible, but again there are annulets on the cusps with nothing in the spandrels.

A sixth coin (99), recorded by Kerr as in the collections of the Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow, but not located for recent examination, apparently had an obverse of Type IIR and double saltire stops in the reverse legend. Since saltire stops are not known on the reverse of any other Type II coin, it is probable that this represents the re-use of a Type I reverse die.

Type III

Only five coins of this type are included in the corpus, having the orb shown tilted upwards and to the left, but not only are they struck from five different obverse dies, but they also display more obvious variations. Four bear the legend + IACOBVS DEI GRA REX, but one has single annulet stops (100), the second has at least one double annulet stop and possibly several (101), and the third has all double annulets (102); another has no stops at all (104). On the fifth coin the latter part of the legend and the nature of the stops are unclear (103). Only one reverse legend is fully legible, reading + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRIM, with two others apparently similar but ending in CRIII. Stops are all single and/or double annulets.

Letter forms which are characteristic of Type II will be discussed in detail when discussing the very much larger Type IIR, but it should be noted here that the legends on these four coins include two clear occurrences of C3, one of D3 and four of E3. There are also two occurrences of the angular B3 and three of the apparently related R3.

Types IIR and IIR*

This is a large group, with seventy-four coins included in the corpus. The orb is shown tilted upwards and to the right. There is more variety than in Type I, but there are some features which may be regarded as characteristic, being either exclusive to II or at least found much more frequently than in other types. These include the use of annulets as stops in the legends and of a group of related letters, characterised by small opposed internal projections at the back and front. These include B2, C3, D2, D3, E3, P2, P3, R5 and R6. Also found in this type are letters with distinctively angular loops (B3, R3 and R4).

The obverse legend recorded most frequently is + IACOBVS DEI GRA REX (legend C), which can be read with certainty or at least a high degree of probability on twenty coins, nine of which appear to have no stops (105–113), with the remainder displaying at least some single or double annulets (114–124). One coin has obverse legend G, in which DEI is abbreviated to D (125), and another has REX abbreviated to RX (probably legend F) (126). One coin
has the obverse legend ending in RE (127), but most of it is illegible, and there are also three instances of IACOBS (128–130) and one of IACOVS (131), again in otherwise incomplete readings. Stops on these coins, where legible, are all annulets, but the coin with RX may have none. A fairly high proportion of coins of this type are too worn or damaged for the obverse legend to be fully legible, but no stops other than single or double annulets have been noted.

Where the diagnostic letters B, C, D, E and R are sufficiently clear, the following totals have been noted: B2 – 5, B3 – 2; C2 (normal closed form) – 1, C3 – 14; D2 – 3, D3 – 6; E1 (normal closed and barred form) – 12 or 13, E3 – 14; R4 – 5, R5 – 3. It is notable that, alone of these letters, the old form E1, as found on many coins of Type I, continues to be used frequently alongside the new E3. Since the latter appears to be from the same punch as C3, it is possible that this was used for the letter E either in error or as a replacement when the old E punch broke.

There is a much greater variety of reverse legend than in Type I, with no particular reading being recorded significantly more frequently than others. Several coins have no initial mark before CRVX, and at least two have an initial mark in the form of a cross of five annulets (120, 147). Stops are invariably in the form of single or double annulets, or a combination of the two, with just a very few coins possibly having none, although this is not definite in any instance.

The relative frequency of letter forms on reverse dies follows a similar pattern to that on obverse dies. There are eight definite occurrences of C3, with two further possible; one coin appears to bear this letter from a broken punch. Curiously, however, there are also at least two, and possibly up to five, occurrences of a more normal closed C with apparently peaked back, possibly a damaged version of C2. Again the conventional closed and barred E (E1), with 13 recorded occurrences, was used in this class, with the new E3 noted on ten reverses. P2, with unusually large loop and internal projections, can be read on four coins, as can P1, as found in class I. The angular-fronted R3 and R4 were noted six times and twice respectively, but letters with internal projections were also found in the form of R5 (four times) and R6 (once).

Three main combinations of ornaments occur in this type: pellets/none, as in type I (13 coins + 1 possible), pellets/annulets (19 + 4?), and annulets/none (17 + 2?). Infrequently encountered combinations included none/annulets (1 + 1?) and annulets/annulets (1 + 1?), and one coin appeared to have no ornaments at all.

Three coins of IIR have been recorded with ornaments on the orb (assigned by Stewart to class IIb), and these are here designated IIR* (176–178). All are from different obverse dies, but the presence of the ornaments is all that distinguishes them from other IIR coins. None of the obverse legends is fully legible, but two have IACOBS and one IACOVS. Stops on the obverse are all ill-defined, as are most of the letters, but there is one instance of B2, one of C3 and one of E3. The ornaments on the orb appear to be large pellets, although one could be an annulet. On two coins they can be seen on all three segments of the orb, but on the third the pellet on the lower segment is not distinguishable. None of the reverse legends is fully legible either, but one has normal cross initial mark and one appears to have cross of five annulets. Stops are double annulets on two (in one case broken), and there are two clear occurrences of C3 and one of E3. The reverse ornaments seem to be pellets/annulets in all cases, but this is definite on only one coin.

**Type II (uncertain)**

Under this heading are two coins with orb shown as turned upwards, one apparently vertically and one in an uncertain direction (179–180). The first has obverse legend + IACOBS DEI [    ] REX, and annulet stops, but the second is largely illegible. The reverse of the first coin is illegible, but that of the second reads C[    ] PELLIT OIE CRIM, with no initial mark and annulet stops.
**Types III and III**

This is the largest group among the coins recorded for this survey, with ninety-six specimens. The orb appears tilted upwards and to the left and bears a rosette in the middle. Eighteen coins bear the legend /H11001 IACOBVS DEI GRACIA REX (legend A), found only in this type (181–198). Most of these coins appear to be related to those of Type II in having annulet stops in the obverse legend, although a few appear to have none, and there are two anomalous coins which have saltires and stars respectively (195, 196). This group also has many letters in the obverse legend which are also found in Type II, notably B3, C3, D3, E1, R5 and R6. Although the ‘GRACIA’ obverse dies may be of early style, it should be noted that they are occasionally paired with reverse dies with stars as stops and ornaments, these possibly being from much later in the series. Three of these coins are distinguished by the presence of ornaments on the orb and have been designated III*, but they have been positioned in the Catalogue with the III ‘GRACIA’ group, with which they clearly belong in all other respects (189–191). All three appear to have an annulet in the upper left segment, and one also displays fragmentary marks in the upper right segment.

Related to these coins are four with obverse legend / IACOBVS DEI GRA REX, three of which have annulet stops and one none (199–202). Again there are similarities with Type II in those letters which are distinguishable. (An extra coin (X), mostly illegible but again with annulet stops on the obverse, has been added to the corpus after coin 199 at the conclusion of the preparation of this paper.)

The remaining seventy-four coins (plus coin Y added to the corpus after 202) display a degree of homogeneity as far as the obverses are concerned. Only double saltire stops have been identified (although they are of uncertain form in sixteen cases), and only three forms of legend are represented. Legend C occurs thirty-eight times (203–240), in addition to the four coins described above, and there are three occurrences, of which two are clearly from the same die, of the erroneous reading /H11001 IACOBVS DEI REX GRA (legend D) (241–243). There are also eighteen coins definitely reading /H11001 IACOBVS DEI GRA RE (legend E) (244–261), and three further probables. A number of distinctive new letter forms start to appear on these coins, including B4, D4, R7 and R8, all of which are characterised by fairly thick, straight uprights with thick serifs at top and bottom. D4 may appear with a normal loop, as illustrated, or with what appears to be a thickening on the middle of the interior. The two forms of the R are very similar in having a projection at the knee of the tail, but the loop may appear rounded or angular. It is likely that more than one similar punch was used for both D and R. Accompanying these letters is E5 which displays the same thick upright with serifs, this time at the front. By contrast, the shape of the letter C is open, with an internal peak to the loop and fish-tail ends (C4, C5). C6, with serifs at the terminals, may be a broken form of C4. An unusual ‘bag-shaped’ form of G (G6) has been noted on a small number of coins.

If the obverse typology of this group is relatively simple, the reverses display a diverse and confusing picture. At least twenty variants of the legend exist (see Table 3), and the stops and ornaments appear in numerous combinations of annulets, pellets, saltires, stars, trefoils and none. As with the obverses, there are a number of dies with annulet stops, which may belong at the beginning of the series on the basis of the use of letter forms encountered previously (C2, C3, E1, E3, L7, P1, R4, R6). Most of these bear the inscription /CRVX PELLIT OIE CRIM (legend 3), although legends 2 (CRIME) (245) and 4 (CRM) (248) each occur once with annulet stops, as does legend 13 (OI CRIM) (257). The situation is far from clear-cut, however, since annulet stop dies occasionally include an example of a later letter form, and earlier ones sometimes occur on dies with other forms of stop. Furthermore, the ornamentation on dies with annulet stops is not consistent either, with trefoils/annulets, saltires/annulets, saltires/pellets, saltires/none and pellets/none all recorded, and possibly also stars/none.

Letters on other dies are predominantly those encountered on obverse dies with double saltire stops (C5, C6, E5, P4, R7, R8). The letter L, which occurs only on the reverse, is often of a distinctive form with dog-leg front (L8). In addition, there are occasional appearances of
a few letters not noted on obverse dies of this type (C7, with open front and T-shaped serifs, and C8, closed with interior peak, which also appears as E7).

There are otherwise few patterns to be discerned, but a few observations can be made. In this type only the word CRVX escapes abbreviation. In addition to the numerous ways of abbreviating CRIMEN, we also have OE and OI in addition to OIE, and PELLIT for PELLIT, with one coin having PELLI (234). The most frequently recorded legend is 17 (+ CRVX PELLIT OE CRI), which has been noted on ten coins, in each case with double saltire stops and ornaments trefoils/none. The same combination of stops and ornaments is found on the four recorded reverses with legend 16 (+ CRVX PELLIT OE CRII), and on a large number of coins where the legend can not be fully read. Annulets as ornaments occur infrequently on these ‘later’ dies, as do saltires and pellets. Star stops, which occur with numerous legend forms, are invariably accompanied by stars on cusps and nothing in spandrels.

**Type IIIR**

Twenty-seven coins bear an orb shown as tilted upwards and to the right, with a rosette on the middle. One anomalous coin with no rosette has also been allocated to this type on the basis of all its other features.

The most commonly found obverse legend is + IACOBVS DEI GRA REX (legend 3), which can definitely be identified on eleven coins (277–287). There are six occurrences of legend 1, with IACOVS (288–293), three of them from the same die, and two of legend H, with IACOBS (294–295), including the coin without rosette. One coin appears to read IACOIVS (296), but the legend is hard to read, and the existence of this form requires confirmation. Stops, where they can be identified, are almost exclusively stars, but one coin has none (287). This also bears what appears to be a large pellet, rather than a rosette, on the orb, and to this extent might belong as well to class IIR, but the band on the orb displays the exaggerated and somewhat unrealistic curvature which is characteristic of a substantial number of Type III coins. The lettering is squat, but mostly of uncertain form. One coin recorded by Robert Kerr, but not seen by the present writer, was described as having annulet stops (303).

Much of the lettering in the obverse legends is too poorly legible to classify, but it clearly varies from that most frequently encountered on coins of Type IIIL. The letter B can be clearly read on just three coins, and in each case the letter is a broken form of B3. Where C can be identified, on six coins including three from a single die, it is of the open C7 form, with T-shaped serifs, and in the case of D, the only identifiable letters are of the distinctive D5 or D6 form, with curved upright and full or partial cross-bar. There are two examples of a normal closed E (E1), but at least six, and up to ten, of E6, with a peaked back and internal projections at front and back. The single identifiable G is of the distinctive 6–shaped G7 form. Whilst the letter R is usually not distinctive, it often appears to have an incurved upright and to resemble R6, but with an outward projection at the base of the tail. Significantly, there is no demonstrable use in obverse dies of this type of the straight-backed/fronted letters so characteristic of most of Type III.

Again there is a greater variety of legends on the reverse of IIIR coins than on the obverse, with nine fully identifiable inscriptions noted (see Table 2). Four coins have legend 28 (287–289, 301) and one probably legend 29 (296), with annulet stops and no initial cross, and three coins have legend 4 and annulet stops (284, 286, 290), and these may all have been struck from dies which were amongst the earliest produced for IIIR, since there are occurrences of previously noted letters such as C2, E1, L6 and P1. Most of them at least are not re-used Type II dies, as might be thought, since five of the eight coins have reverse ornaments which have not been recorded for Type II (saltires/annulets, trefoils/annulets). One coin bears pellets/none (286) and two annulets/none (287, 296) – combinations which are found in the earlier type.

The remainder of the reverses of this type show consistency to the extent that the stops are either stars, invariably combined with stars/none as ornaments, or double saltires, invariably paired with trefoils/none. (The coin recorded by Kerr as having annulet stops on the obverse is also listed as having no stops and pellets/annulets on the reverse (303). It seems probable
that this coin was misattributed to Type III by Kerr, as it appears to be a normal coin of Type IIR if the rosette is removed from the obverse description.) Lettering on these reverses is less than consistent in form, with letters typical of IIR appearing as well as those otherwise found exclusively on the obverse of IIR. Just one occurrence of C5 has been noted, but five or six of C6, along with two of C7 and one of C8. E5 was noted eight times, but four of these were in a broken state, whereas E7 was seen only once. The letter P, where identifiable, was always of form P4, and R was always of R7 or R8, but clear occurrences were few.

Discussion

Unfortunately it has to be admitted that this study has not provided definite answers to the questions posed at its commencement. Whereas it can perhaps be asserted that a detailed study of the typology of the Crux Pellit series has helped to establish a relative chronology, hardly any of the letter forms identified can be associated with any other coinage issue. Almost the only exception to this is the very unusual form of the letter C, described and illustrated above as C1, which is found only on Type I Crux Pellit coins and on James II’s second (crown groat) coinage. Although it is tempting to use this as evidence to support a suggestion that the Crux Pellit coinage may have commenced as early as the 1450s, the absence of any other similarities between the two coinages renders this more likely to be coincidental than otherwise. It is quite possible that an individual punch could have been re-used at a much later date.

Indeed the very wide range of forms of some of the letters used in Crux Pellit coinage legends, and the absence of any reliable links to other issues of the Scottish mint, would seem to suggest that the copper coinage may have been struck entirely independently of the other activities of the mint, and that the letter punches utilised may have comprised a mixture of a few re-used items from earlier coinages and others prepared specifically for manufacturing Crux Pellit dies. This inevitably leads to questions of where and by whom the Crux Pellit dies were made and where the coins were struck.

Some might think that this strengthens the currently discredited argument for declaring these coins to be either foreign or from an ecclesiastical mint, but the evidence presented in previous publications seems to point quite firmly to their being both Scottish and regal, and it is not really very difficult to believe that it might have been considered advantageous for the ‘black money’, including both the Crux Pellit coins and the copper farthings, to be minted at a different location from the remainder of the coinage. Unfortunately there is next to no surviving evidence for the location of the mint in Edinburgh in the second half of the fifteenth century, but between 1436 and 1450 it seems to have been housed in a building in the High Street, near the entrance to the kirkyard of St Giles. This building was owned by the king until 1440, after which date rent was paid for the use of it, and this still seems to have been the case in 1463, by which time the owner was the Burgh of Edinburgh.10 This implies that even precious metal coinage was being struck in what must have been a relatively insecure location, compared with Edinburgh Castle for instance, so there can have been few qualms about allowing copper coins to be minted in a similar location. It is possible to believe that there might have been political motivation behind a decision to divorce this activity physically from the royal mint. If it had been anticipated that the introduction of the copper coinage would attract the degree of opposition which it did among the Scottish people, the king might well have decided to distance himself personally from its manufacture, even if documents demonstrate that it was struck at his command.11

If this hypothesis may be considered plausible, it might account for the frequently recorded association of this coinage with the unfortunate Robert Cochrane, Earl of Mar, who was hanged at Lauder in 1482 at the same time as the ‘crying down’ of the black money by the Lords of Council. It is clear that the coins were widely known as ‘Cochrane’s placks’, but it

has never been apparent why this should have been the case. If Cochrane had assumed responsibility for the copper coinage, perhaps to protect the king's reputation, and perhaps also to his own financial advantage, this would explain both the nomenclature and at least some of the opprobrium which he suffered. Lindsay of Pitscottie, in *The Historie and Chronicles of Scotland*, recorded that the king had authorised 'ane new courteour start wpe callit Couchren . . . to straik conye of his awin as he had ben ane prince'. This may have been something of an exaggeration, but it might reflect the way in which Cochrane's involvement was viewed by outsiders.

This does not, of course, explain who might have prepared the dies and struck the copper coinage. It has been demonstrated that a number of the most distinctive letter forms encountered in particular types and sub-groups of the Crux Pellit coinage are unparalleled on any other Scottish coin denominations of the period, which would tend to suggest that those who made the punches and dies were not otherwise employed at the Scottish mint. If they had been brought in from abroad, they might have been expected either to have brought existing punches with them or to have made new ones of similar letter forms to those they had used elsewhere, but so far the writer has been unable to identify any foreign coinage issue on which the most unusual and distinctive Crux Pellit letter forms can be recognised. An alternative possibility is that the craftsmen who worked on the copper coinage were not otherwise involved in minting activities at all. This could explain both the unconventional letter forms and the relative crudeness of much of the die-sinking, compared even to that evident on the billon plack coinage of James III. One of the few surviving documentary records of the copper coinage is that in the Edinburgh custumar's account for the period October 1482 to July 1483 of a payment of £180 16s. on the king's behalf 'to the werkmen that wrocht the blac money of oure command'. This of course postdates the 'crying down' of the copper coinage and the death of Cochrane, and might perhaps indicate the settlement of an outstanding debt to a group of craftsmen who were not official mint employees.

Aside from the identity of the persons responsible for the striking of the Crux Pellit coinage there is the question of why there are so many variants of design and ornamentation. It is hard to imagine that all these resulted simply from the whim of the diesinkers without some form of direction from a higher authority. If they constituted some form of privy marking system, what might its purpose have been? The six major classes, as defined by the appearance of the orb on the obverse and the presence or absence of a rosette, could perhaps be seen as the products of particular contracts between the crown, or Cochrane on the king's behalf, and the craftsmen employed, perhaps designating the coins struck from specified consignments of copper. Smaller variations, involving different combinations of symbols used as stops and ornaments, could have been intended to serve to distinguish batches of coins struck during specified periods of time or by individual craftsmen or groups of men. Such might have been particularly important if the men were effectively self-employed, working to contract to produce set numbers of coins from metal supplied to them.

Unfortunately there are not the clear distinctions between batches of coins which would offer definite support to such a theory, however. It has been demonstrated that, although Types I and II are largely distinct in terms of the form of the stops and the ornaments, as well as in the angle of the orb, there are a number of coins which seem to combine elements of the two. New letter punches seem to have been introduced gradually, rather than immediately in combination with the upward-tilted orb. In Type III there are some coins which have annulet stops and letter forms which connect them to Type II, but the obverse and reverse dies with these characteristics seem very rarely to have been used in combination. Indeed, the corpus contains just two coins of IIIL (184, 185), with annulet stops on both sides. The overall picture seems to suggest a measurable progression in the order in which the dies were cut, but no such ordered progression in the use of the dies to strike coins, especially in Type III, where annulet obverse dies with letters also used in Type II are sometimes combined with star reverse dies, which a study of the letters might suggest belong at the end of the die series, and

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12 Lindsay of Pitscottie, I, 169; quoted by Murray 1977, 116.
vice versa. If the form of the stops and ornaments was intended to fulfil the function of a privy marking system, therefore, it must either have applied only to the die-sinking and not to the striking, or must have broken down when Type III commenced, leading to random die selection in the workshop.

The writer is aware that this is not the ideal way to conclude this paper, since it may be judged to have proven very little, but having had the opportunity to examine and compare a greater number of Crux Pellit coins than anyone is likely to have done since the fifteenth century he hopes that he may have performed some service to future scholars simply by presenting this overall survey of the coinage. Unless more contemporary documents relating to the black money should miraculously be brought to light, it seems unlikely that it will ever be possible to provide definite answers to the questions outlined in the first paragraph, and the reader is earnestly requested to regard with indulgence the hypotheses offered above.

APPENDIX 1: AN EARLY MANUSCRIPT REFERENCE TO CRUX PELLIT COPPERS

It has already been noted that those in the late nineteenth century who considered the Crux Pellit coins to be foreign were contradicting the opinions of much earlier writers whose attributions were much closer to what is now believed to be the truth. George Martine, whose work Reliquae Divi Andreae was published in 1797, but with a dedication dated 1683, attributed the coins to Bishop Kennedy, and Ralph Thoresby, in Ducatus Leodiensis (1715), listed one example under James III. Another such early reference has now come to light.

The collections of the National Museum of Scotland include fragments of the manuscript catalogue of the numismatic collection of James Sutherland (?1638 – 1719), Professor of Botany at the University of Edinburgh. Figure 2 shows an extract from this manuscript, in which sixteen items which are clearly Crux Pellit coppers are described as issues of James IV. The manuscript must date from no later than 1705, when Sutherland’s collection was sold to the Faculty of Advocates, who in turn sold it in 1872 to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The Society’s collections formed the basis of those of the former National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland (now part of National Museums Scotland), and many of the Sutherland/Advocates Scottish coins remain at NMS, despite the ‘duplicate sales’ held in the late nineteenth century. Sadly, it appears that most of the Crux Pellit coppers must have been sold, presumably on account of the prevailing opinion at that time that they were not Scottish. However, in 1976 five specimens were purchased by NMAS from the Faculty of Advocates, and it is possible that these were survivors from the Sutherland collection which had become separated from the rest of the coins prior to the 1872 sale (corpus numbers 128, 143, 187, 210, 244).

APPENDIX 2: A HOARD OF BLACK MONEY FROM HOLLAND

In 1993 the National Museums of Scotland purchased from the Glasgow Coin Gallery a parcel of thirteen base metal coins which were described as constituting a hoard found in Holland in the early 1990s. Unfortunately no further details were available as to exact find-spot or circumstances of discovery, but the coins are nonetheless of interest as the only hoard of Scottish ‘black money’ recovered since Crossraguel in 1919.

Six of the coins were Crux Pellit issues, one being of Type I(i) (corpus number 39), two of I(i) (61, 64), one of IR (93), and two of IIR (120, 148). A further six were farthings of James III, one being of the second ‘regal’ issue, with crowned IR / crown superimposed on saltire with three small saltires around, and the remainder of the so-called ‘ecclesiastical’ issues: two of Type I, one of Type II or III and two of Type III. There was one foreign coin – a base billon double mite of Guillaume I, Comte de Namur (1337–91). 14

There is not a great deal here to assist with the dating of either the deposition of the hoard or the Crux Pellit coinage in general, with the coin of Namur clearly struck much earlier than any of the Scottish types. With such a very small group of coins, any attempt to analyse the internal distribution must be unreliable, but it is worth noting that (a) the hoard contains no specimen of Crux Pellit Type III, which appears to have been both the largest and the latest, and (b) that all types of the ‘ecclesiastical’ farthings are present. Like the Crux Pellits, these farthings are no longer considered to be anything other than a regal coin issue. With both the ‘regal’ types now

13 Murray 1977, 121–2 and 127–8, notes 36 and 37.
14 Chalon 1848, 79 and Plate VIII, 127.
considered to date from around 1465–6,15 the ‘ecclesiastical’ types can probably be placed in the early 1470s. This might suggest that Crux Pellit Type III dates from around this time or later, but much more evidence would be required to corroborate this.

As to the circumstances which might have led to these coins ending up in Dutch soil, it seems probable that the last owner was a Scot travelling abroad. The Scottish coins would of course have had no purchasing power in mainland Europe, and the one continental coin, which was presumably obsolete in any case by the 1470s, either may not have been identified by its owner or may have been kept with the intention of attempting to pass it fraudulently in Scotland. The assemblage as a whole looks very much like the contents of a relatively impecunious Scotsman’s purse.

**CORPUS OF RECORDED COINS**

The following details are provided for each coin, to the extent that they are known: full reading of obverse and reverse legends, with position and form of stops; type of ornaments on the reverse; details of ownership and history of the coin and of any previous publication. No attempt is made to reproduce the form of any of the letters. This aspect of the coins is fully discussed in the text, and it would prolong the catalogue excessively if every letter of every inscription were to be cross-referenced to the forms described and illustrated. Coins illustrated in the plates are indicated by an asterisk (*) beside the number. There are fewer of these than would have been ideal, but because of the poor condition of so many of the coins, 1:1 scale monochrome illustrations would have been of very little use. Digital images of many of the coins in the corpus are retained at the National Museum of Scotland, where they can be made available for viewing by any scholar who may wish to do so. NMS indicates that the coin is in the collections of National Museums Scotland, and the registration number is appended. Other museum registration numbers are included if known.

| Type II(i): orb downwards and to left: normal obverse legend (52 coins) |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| **Legends** | **Reverse ornaments (cusps/sprandrels)** | **Owner/location; provenance; previous publication details** |
| 1*  | IACOBVS • DEI • GRA • REX • S + CRXX [?] PELLIT • OIE [?] CRIMEI | NMS, H.C2835; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919. |
| 2*  | Same obverse die + PELLIT • OIE • CRIM | pellets/none | Stewartby collection; ex J.E.L. Murray collection. |
| 4   | Same obverse die Reverse illegible | ?pellets/none | Stewartby collection. |
| 5   | IACOBVS • DEI • GRA • REX • S + CRXX [ ] OIE • CRIII | pellets/none | Private collection; plaster casts supplied to J.E.L. Murray by N. Holmes, c.1983 |
| 6   | IACOBVS [?] • DEI [?] • GRA • REX • S + CRXX [ ] OIE [?] CRIM | pellets/none | NMS, K.2003.39; from Fast Castle, Berwickshire, excavation. Holmes 2001, 48 no. 7. |
| 7   | IACOBVS • DEI • GRA • REX • S + CRXX • PELLIT • OIE • CRIM | ?pellets/none | Historic Scotland; from Linlithgow Palace excavation. Laing 1968, 125–6. |
| 8   | IACOB[ ] • DEI • GRA • REX • S + CRXX • PELLIT • OJ • IM | pellets/none | Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; Neilson bequest N.220. *SCBI* 35, no. 807; Bateson 1997, 91, fig. 115. |
| 9   | IACOBVS • DEI [ ] REX • S + CRXX • PELLIT • OIE [ ] RIM | pellets/none | Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; photographs by M. Dhénin in J.E.L. Murray archive. |
| 10  | Same obverse die + CR[ ] | ?pellets/none | NMS, H.C2830; found at Glenluce Sands, Wigtownshire. |

### THE SCOTTISH COPPER CRUX PELLIT COINAGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Obverse Die</th>
<th>pellets/none</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>+ HI [EI * GRA [?] REX [?]] double-struck? + PELLIT * OIE * CRI[ ]</td>
<td>pellets (visible on lower cusps only)/ none</td>
<td>NMS, H.C2828; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Same obverse die + C[ ] PELLIT * OIE * [ ] III</td>
<td>pellets/none</td>
<td>N.M.S., K.2003.38; from Fast Castle, Berwickshire, excavation. Holmes 2001, 48 no. 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Same obverse die + CRVX [(?)] [ ] OIE : CRIII [ ]</td>
<td>pellets/none</td>
<td>Stewartby collection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>+ IACOVS [?] DEI [ ] REX [?] + CRVX * PELLIT * OIE * CRIM [ ]</td>
<td>pellets/none</td>
<td>N.M.S., H.C2825; from Fast Castle, East Lothian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>+ IACOVS [ ] [X [?] CRVX [?] ] + CR[ ] PE[ ] CRIM [?]</td>
<td>pellets/none</td>
<td>Cabinet des Médailles, Brussels; photographs (by Cl. Van Nerom?) in J.E.L. Murray archive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24*</td>
<td>+ IACOVS * DEI [ ] A * REX [?] + PELLIT * OIE * CRIME [ ]</td>
<td>pellets (visible on lower cusps only)/ none</td>
<td>Stewartby collection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>+ IACOVS * DEI : GRA : REX [?] + CRVX * PELLIT * OIE * CRIII [ ]</td>
<td>pellets/none</td>
<td>Private collection; ex Christies sale 4 December 1984, lot 45 (part).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>+ IACOVS DEI GRA REX (stops [?]) + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRIII (stops [?])</td>
<td>none/none</td>
<td>St Andrews Cathedral Museum; recorded by R. Kerr, late 1950s?, but subsequently stolen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS * D[ ] [A] [?] REX (double-struck) + C[ ] JRIIIIM (double-struck)</td>
<td>pellets/none</td>
<td>N.M.S., H.C2820; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>[ ] RA * REX [ ] PELLIT : OIE [ ]</td>
<td>pellets/none</td>
<td>N.M.S., H.C2816; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Legend</td>
<td>Material</td>
<td>Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>IACOBVS • DEI • GRA • REX [?] + CRVX • PELLIT • OIE • CRIM</td>
<td>pellets/none</td>
<td>Private collection; metal-detector find from East Haven, Angus, 2000. Holmes 2004, 278.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>IACOBVS [?] DEI [?] GRA • REX [?] + CRVX • P [ OIE • C ]</td>
<td>pellets/none</td>
<td>Baldwin Argentum sale, 7 February 2004, lot 240.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Legend unrecorded; stops •</td>
<td>pellets/none</td>
<td>North Berwick Museum (closed since 2002); recorded by R. Kerr, late 1950s; present location uncertain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>IACOBVS • DEI • GRA • REX [?] + CRVX [?] PELLIT [ ] CRIM</td>
<td>none/none</td>
<td>Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; Neilson bequest N.216. SCBr 35, no. 806.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>[ ]OBVS • DEI • GRA [ ] + CRVX • PELLIT • OIE • CRIM</td>
<td>pellets/none</td>
<td>NMS, H.C2817; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>[ ]COBVS [ ]EI • GRA [ ] + CRV[ ] T : O [ ]</td>
<td>pellets/none</td>
<td>NMS, H.C2831; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>[ ]ACOBVS • DEI • GRA [?] RE[ ] + CRVX [ ] L:IT • OIE • C[ ]</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>NMS, H.1993.656; from Dutch hoard (see Appendix 2).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>IA[ ] RA • R[ ] + C[ ] T : OIE • CRII(?)</td>
<td>pellets/none</td>
<td>Spink sale, 27 September 2006, lot 481 (M. Anderson collection); ex Morton and Eden sale 10, 24 November 2004, lot 1077 (part).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>IACOBVS • [ ] REX [ ] + [X • PELLIT • OIE • CRI(?)]</td>
<td>pellets/none</td>
<td>Stewarty collection; ex Thorburn. Stewart 1967, Pl. VII, 95.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>IACOBVS • DEI [ ]A • [ ]</td>
<td>pellets/none</td>
<td>Stewarty collection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>[ ]JS • DEI [ ] + [ ] CRIM</td>
<td>pellets/none</td>
<td>Private collection; metal-detector find from Dairsie Castle, Fife, 1995. Bateson and Holmes 1997, 540.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>IACOBVS • DEDE[ ] : double-struck</td>
<td>pellets/none</td>
<td>Archaeological Museum, Gdansk, Poland, MAG/N. 2484; found in Gdansk. Paszkiewicz 2000, Fig. 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>IACOBVS [?] DEI [?] GRA [?] R[ ] + CRVX[ ]</td>
<td>??/none</td>
<td>NMS, H.C2818; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>[ ]COBVS [?] DEI [ ]A [ ] + CRVX • PE [ ]T : OIE • C[ ]</td>
<td>pellets/none</td>
<td>Private collection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>IA[ ] DEI [ ] + CRVX [?] PELL[ ]</td>
<td>pellets (visible on upper cusp's only)</td>
<td>Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; Neilson bequest N.221; SCBr 35, no. 808.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>[ ]E[ ] + [ ] OIE • CRI[ ]</td>
<td>pellets/none</td>
<td>NMS, H.C2833; found at Glenluce Sands, Wigtownshire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Reverse illegible</td>
<td>Reverse illegible</td>
<td>NMS, H.C2832; unprovenanced.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE SCOTTISH COPPER CRUX PELLIT COINAGE

Type II.(ii): orb downwards and to left: CRVX legend on obverse (13 coins)

53 \(+\) CRVX • PELLIT • OIE [?] CRIM • + CRVX • PELLIT • OIE • CRIM \\
\(+\) pellets/none NMS, H.C2824; purchased privately, 1965.

54 \(+\) CRVX • PELLIT • OIE • CRIM \(+\) pellets (visible on upper left cusp only/none NMS, H.C2829; found at Culbin Sands, Moray.

55 \(+\) CRVX • PELLIT • OIE • CRIM ?/ pellets/none Spink sale, 27 September 2006, lot 483 (M. Anderson collection); bt via eBay, 2006.

56 \(+\) CRVX • PELLIT • OIE • CRIM pellets/none Private collection; metal-detector find from Easter Clockeasy, near Urquhart, Moray, 1999. Bateson and Holmes 2003, 258.

57 \(+\) CRVX • PELLIT • OIE • CRIM pellets/none Private collection.

58* \(+\) CRVX • PELLIT • OIE • CRIM pellets/none NMS, H.C2821; H.A. Armitage bequest?

59 Same obverse die Probably same reverse die pellets/none NMS, H.C2823; bt 1957, Seaby.

60 \(+\) CRVX þ CRIM pellets/none British Museum (18)47–5–17–248.

61 \(+\) CRVX þ CRIM pellets/none NMS, H.1993.654; from Dutch hoard (see Appendix 2).

62 \(+\) CRVX þ CRIM pellets/none NMS, H.1993.653; from Dutch hoard (see Appendix 2).

63 \(+\) CRVX þ CRIM pellets/none NMS, H.C2822; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.

64 \(+\) CRVX þ CRIM pellets/none NMS, H.C2834; found at Culbin Sands, Moray.

65 \(+\) CRVX þ CRIM pellets/none NMS, not yet registered; from Eyemouth Fort, Berwickshire, excavation, 1981. Holmes 1997b, no. 1.

Type II (unc.): orb downwards and to left: obverse legend type uncertain (7 coins)

66 Obverse legend illegible pellets/none Historic Scotland; from Edinburgh Castle excavation, 1988 (small find 241), but omitted from published report.


68 Obverse legend illegible pellets/none NMS, H.C2834; found at Culbin Sands, Moray.


72 Legends illegible pellets/none Perth Museum and Art Gallery, SMC 144.
**Type IR: orb downwards and to right (18 coins)**


77  + IACO[ ] DEI [ ]  ??/??  NMS, H.C3847; found at St Andrew’s Church, North Berwick, East Lothian.


79  + IACOBVS : DEI : GRA : REX : + CRVX : PELLIT : OIE : CRIII  pellets (visible on right cusps only)/ none  NMS, H.C2840; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919

80  + IACOBVS : DEI : GRA : REX : + CRVX : PELLIT : OI[ ]  pellets/none  Royal Castle, Warsaw, Poland, ZKWN.N.6261; found at Gdańsk, Poland. Paszkiewicz 2000, Fig. 1.

81  + IACOBVS : DEI : GRA [ ] X  + CRVX : PELLIT : OIE : CRIII  apparently a pellet on upper left cusp only, but this may be a die flaw/none  NMS, H.C2837; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.


84  + IACOV[ ] DEI : GRA : REX + CRVX : PELLIT : OI[ ]  pellets (visible on lower right cusp only)/none  Stewartby collection; ex J.E.L. Murray collection.

85  + IACOBVS (?) DEI (?) GRA (?) + REX [?] + IT : OIE : CR[ ]  pellets/none  Stewartby collection.

86  + IACOV[ ] GRA (?) REX (?) + CRVX : PELLIT : OIE : CRIM  pellets (visible on lower left cusp only)/none  NMS, H.C2838; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.


88  + IAC[ ] RE[ ]  Reverse legend illegible  ??/??  NMS, H.C2844; found at Ardeer, Ayrshire.

89  + IACOBVS[ ]  pellets/none  NMS, H.C2842; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919


**Type I (uncertain): orb downwards, but direction uncertain (3 coins)**

### Type I-II transitional: coins combining elements characteristic of both types (6 coins)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ IACOBVS (?/) DEI GRA REX : annulets/none NMS, H.1993.655; from Dutch hoard (see Appendix 2).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Type III: orb upwards and to left (5 coins)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### Type IIR; orb upwards and to right (74 coins)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
THE SCOTTISH COPPER CRUX PELLIT COINAGE

110 + IACOBVS DEI GRA REX
(no stops)
[ CRVX • PELLIT • OIE ]
[ ]RHI (?) (?);
possibly no initial mark, but
uncertain group of annulets at 12.0
pellets/annulets

111 + IACOBVS DEI GRA REX
(no stops)
[ ] JIT • OIE • CRIM (?)
[ CRVX • PELLIT • OIE ]
pellets/none

112 + IACOBVS DEI GRA REX
(? no stops)
Reverse legend uncertain; stops ?
annulets/none

113 + IACOBVS DEI GRA REX
(no stops, but single pellet set low down after ?)
[ CRVX • ] JE • CRM :

114 + [?] IACOBVS DEI GRA REX :
+ CRVX • PELLIT • OIE • CRIM :
pellets/none

115* + + IACOBVS (?) DEI • GR [ ] • REX
+ CRVX • PEL [ ] • OIE • CRM :
[ ]

116 + (?) IACOBVS DEI • G • REX (?)
[ CRVX • PELLIT (?) ]
[ ]

117 Same obverse die (?)
[ ]

118 + IACOBVS DEI • GRA • REX (?)
[ ]

119 + IACOBVS DEI • GRA • REX
CRVX • PELLIT • OIE [ ]

120 + + IACOBVS (?) DEI • GRA • REX
+ CRVX • (?) PELLIT • OIE • CRIM :
[ ]

121 + + IACOBVS (?) DEI • GRA (?) REX
[ ] CRVX • PELLIT (?) [ ]

122 + (?) IACOBVS DEI GRA REX •
+ CRVX • [ ] JIT • OIE • CRM (?);
possibly from same die as 125
pellets/none

123* + + IACOBVS DEI (?) GRA • REX
+ + CRVX • PELLIT [ ]
[ ] CRM II

124 + IACO[ ] VS (?) DEI (?) GRA (?)
+ CR[ ] [ ] JIT • OIE [ ]

125 + + IAC[ ] VS (?) D (?) GRA (?) REX •
[ ] CRVX • PELLIT (?) [ ]
[ ]

126 + [ ] EI GRA RX (no stops
visible)
[ ] X • PELLIT • OIE [ ]
[ ] (?);
possibly from same die as 121
pellets/none

127 + + IA [ ] RA • RE :
CRVX • PELLII [ ] OIE [ ]
[ ]RII ?

128 + IACOBS (?) DEI (?)
CRVX • (?) P [ ] OIE CRIII (?)
annulets/none

129 + (?) IACOBS [ ] GRA (?) R [ ]
CRVX PELLIT (?) OIE CRM :
annulets/none

Spink sale, 28 September 2005, lot 1243
(part) (John Scaife collection).

Private collection; metal-detector find
from East Scryne Farm, East Haven,

Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow;
recorded by R. Kerr, late 1950s; not
available for re-examination.

NMS, H.C2867; found at Skirling
Castle, Lanarkshire.

From Scottish Urban Archaeological
Trust excavation at Ballumbie, Angus,
2005.

Stewartby collection; ex J.E.L. Murray
collection.

NMS, H.C2849; found at North
Berwick, East Lothian.

NMS, H.C2846; from Crossraguel
Abbey excavation, 1919.

NMS, H.C2845; found at Orchardton
Tower, Kirkcudbright. Stewart 1967,
Pl. VII, 97.

NMS, H.C2869; purchased privately,
1965.

NMS, H.1993.658; from Dutch hoard
(see Appendix 2).

Stewartby collection; bt 1978, Spink.

NMS, H.C2862; from Crossraguel
Abbey excavation, 1919.

NMS, H.C2847; from Crossraguel
Abbey excavation, 1919.

NMS, H.C2865; from Crossraguel
Abbey excavation, 1919.

Stewartby collection; ex J.E.L. Murray
collection.

NMS, H.C4266; bt 1976, Faculty of
Advocates.

NMS, H.C2872; from Crossraguel
Abbey excavation, 1919.
IACOBS DEI [ ] pellets/annulets NMS, H.C.2854; found at Culbin Sands, Moray.

IACOVS DEI [ ]EX pellets/annulets NMS, H.C.2853; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.

IACOBS (or IACOVS) [ ] pellets/annulets NMS, H.C.2855; found on beach below Tantallon Castle, East Lothian.

BVS DEI GRA [ ] annulets?none National Museum, Copenhagen; Devegg collection 2331-33(a); photographs in J.E.L. Murray archive.

IACOBVS DEI GRA [ ] pellets (visible on upper Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; Bishop collection.

Obverse legend uncertain; stops...
THE SCOTTISH COPPER CRUX PELLIT COINAGE

152 [ ] [I [?] GRA [?]] [ ] pellets/none NMS, H.C2860; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.

153 + [I] [OB] [ ] EI GRA REX pellets/none Stewartby collection.

154 [ ] [OBVS DEI GR[?]] [ ] pellets/annulets NMS, H.C2848; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.

155 [ ] [OBVS DEI GRA[?]] [ ] annulets/none NMS, H.C2873; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.

156 + [IACOB[?]] [ ] pellets/annulets NMS, H.C2875; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.

157 + [IACOBVS ?/?] DEI [ ] pellets/annulets NMS, H.C2866; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.


159 [ ] [V] [ID] [ ] GRA REX pellets/annulets NMS, K.2003.42; from Fast Castle, Berwickshire excavation. Holmes 2001, 48 no. 9a.


161 [ ] [REX ?/?] pellets/annulets NMS, H.C2871; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.

162 [ ] [IACOBVS DEI?] [ ] pellets/annulets NMS, H.C2877; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.

163 [ ] [COBVS ?/?] pellets/annulets NMS, H.C2851; found at Glenluce Sands, Wigtownshire.

164 [ ] [COBVS ?/?] pellets/annulets NMS, H.C2877; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.


166 [ ] [V] [ID] [ ] GRA REX pellets/annulets NMS, K.2003.42; from Fast Castle, Berwickshire excavation. Holmes 2001, 48 no. 9a.


169 Obverse legend illegible pellets/none NMS, H.C2863; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.

170 Obverse legend illegible pellets/annulets NMS, H.C2858; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.
### THE SCOTTISH COPPER CRUX PELLIT COINAGE

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Page</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>Obverse legend illegible CRVX • PELLIT • OIE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>Obverse legend illegible + CRVX PELLIT OIE CRII (+ stops)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Type IIR*: orb upwards and to right, with pellets/'jewels' on orb (3 coins)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>177*</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS (?) DEI (?) [ ] EX; large pellets on all three segments of orb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Type II (uncertain): orb upwards in uncertain direction (2 coins)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>179</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS • DEI • [ ] REX •; orb appears to be tilted vertically Reverse legend illegible</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Types III, and III*: orb upwards and to left, with rosette in middle (96 coins, plus one late addition after 199)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS • DEI • GRACIA • REX CRVX • PELLIT • OE • CRII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS • DEI • GRACIA • REX + CRVX • PELLIT • OE • CRI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS • DEI [?] GI • IA • REX + CRVX (?') PELLIT • OE • CR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS [?] DEI GRACIA • REX + CRVX • PELLIT • OE • CRIIM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>Obverse possibly from same die CRVX • PELLIT • OE • CRIIM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Type III. (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS · DEI G[RACIA REX]; length of illegible section of legend demands this reading + CRVX · IT · OI · CRII</td>
<td>stars/none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187*</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS · DE · I (?) GRACIA REX; stops before and after DE resemble pellets rather than annulets + CRVX · PELT · OIE (?) CRIII (?)</td>
<td>stars/none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>+ IACOBV[ ] · (?) DEI (?) GRACIA [ ] REX</td>
<td>?trefoils/?none as described by J.E.L. Murray; unclear on photographs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Type III.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>189*</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS (?) DEI (?) GRACIA (?) REX; annulet on upper left segment of orb; fragmentary marks on upper right + CRVX (?) PELT (?) OIE (?) CRIM (?) (stops are double stars)</td>
<td>stars/annulets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190</td>
<td>+ IACOB[ ] A (?) REX (?)</td>
<td>stars/none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191</td>
<td>+ IACOBV[ ] E(?) DEI (?) GRACIA (?) REX; probably annulet on upper left segment of orb + CRVX (?) E (?) OE (?) CRI (?)</td>
<td>trefoils/none</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Type III. (continued)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>192</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS DEI GRACIA REX; no stops visible + CR[ ] OIE · CRIM</td>
<td>?stars/annulets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>194</td>
<td>[ ] IACOBVS DEI GRA REX; no stops + CRVX · PELLI[ ]</td>
<td>saltires/pellets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS Æ DEI GRACIA · REX (first two stops are double stars) + CRVX · PELT · OI · CRI</td>
<td>?stars/?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td>[ ] IACOBVS DEI GRACIA R[ ]; stops uncertain; orb appears vertical + CRVX (?) PELT (?) OE (?) CRIII (or CRM); uncertain stops, probably double saltires</td>
<td>trefoils/none</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE SCOTTISH COPPER CRUX PELLIT COINAGE

198 + IACOVBS [ ] [ ]|ACIA REX; trofeils/none Musée de l’ Abbaye des Dunes à
length of illegible part of Coyoël; part of Karel Loppens
legend demands this reading collection. Van Gansbeke-Grothausen
+ CRV[ ] [?] OE [?] CRIM * 1985, 70 no. 36, and plate.

199 [ ] S[?] DEI • GRA (?R] stars/none NMS, K. 2003.43; from Fast Castle,
+ • CRVX • PELLIT (?OIE (?CRIM (?); stops unclear
X + IACOVBS [ ] stars/none Metal-detector find from Auchmithie,
+ • CRV[ ] PEL[ ] OIE [ ]RI [ ] ANGUS, 2007.

200 [ ] BV[S • DEI [?] GRA [ ] saltires/annulets Angus Museums (Signal Tower,

201 + IACOVBS DEI • GRA [ ?] REX; possibly from same die as 241
+ • CRVX • PELLIT • OIE • CRIM; 2nd edition (2003), 42 no. 5311.

202 + IACOVBS DEI GRA REX; no steps
+ • CRVX • PELLIT • OIE • CRIM stars/none HBOS Museum, Edinburgh,
NMS, H.C2887; from Crossraguel 1985, 70 no. 36, and plate.

203 + IACOB[ ] A[?] REX (?]
+ CRVX [?] PELLIT • OIE [ ] ANNULETS private collection; plaster casts labelled
?saltires (or trofeils)/ ‘Spink 1’ in J.E.L. Murray archive.

204 + IACOVBS (?) DEI • GRA (?REX; trofeils/annulets Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; bt 1960.
+ • CRVX • PELLIT • OIE (?CRIM ? saltires/annulets SCBI 35, no. 814; Spink, Coins of
NMS, H.C2881; from Crossraguel SCOTLAND, IRELAND AND THE ISLANDS,
ABBOTSFORD, 1985, 48 no. 10. Stewartsby collection.

205* + IACOVBS DEI • GRA • REX; trofeils (with tiny
+ • CRVX • PELLIT • OIE • CRIM stalks)/annulets Ashmolean Museum, Oxford;
NMS, H.C4270; bt 1976, Faculty of
X + IACOVBS [ ] [ ]|RA : [ ]|X saltires/none J.K.L. Hartley donation, 1961. SCBI 35,
+ CRVX • PELLIT • OIE • CRIM no. 813.

207 + IACOVBS DEI • GRA • REX; Private collection; metal-detector find
+ • CRVX • PELLIT • OIE • CRIM from Aberlady, East Lothian, 1991.
NMS, H.C2881; from Crossraguel 1985, 70 no. 36, and plate.

208 + IACOVBS DEI • GRA • REX; pellets/none BATESON AND HOMES 1997, 353.
+ CRVX [ ] LIT (?OIE (?CRIM

209 + IACO[ ] S[?] DEI (? GRA (?REX; pellets/annulets NMS, H.C2881; from Crossraguel
+ • CRVX • PE[ ]|RII ABBEY EXCAVATION, 1919.

210 + IACOVBS (?) DEI (? GRA (?R] annulets/none NMS, H.C4270; bt 1976, Faculty of
+ C [ ] PE[ ]|RII • OIE • CRIM ADVOCATES.

211 + IACOVBS [ ] I • GRA • REX; large saltires/ annulets Edinburgh City Museums and Galleries,
+ • CRVX • PELLIT • OIE • CRIM AR 521/81; from Bernard Street, Leith,
(Norwich); stops are large cross and saltire EXCAVATION, 1980. Holmes 1985, 418,
+ • CRVX • PELLIT • OIE • CRIM no. 1.

212 + IACOVBS DEI • GRA • REX; annulets/none NATIONAL MUSEUM, COPENHAGEN; ACQ.
+ • CRVX • PELLIT • OIE • CRIM 1862; PHOTOGRAPHS IN J.E.L. MURRAY
ARCHIVE.

213 + IACOVBS DEI • GRA • REX; trofeils/annulets SELL BY LLOYD BENNETT, MORNBETH,
+ • CRVX • PELLIT • OIE • CRIM DECEMBER 2006; EX BALDWIN ARGENTUM
SOLD BY LLOYD BENNETT, MORNBETH, SALTIRE NO. 1. www.COINSOFBRITAIN.COM.

214 + IACOVBS (?) DEI • GRA • REX; trofeils/none EDINBURGH CITY MUSEUMS AND GALLERIES,
+ • CRV[ ] PELLIT • OIE • CRIM AR 508/81; FOUND AT EDINBURGH CASTLE.

215 + IACOVBS DEI [?] GRA • REX; trofeils/none STEWARDBY COLLECTION; BT 1990, ELSEN.
+ CRVX • [ ] ELLIT • OIE • CRIM

216 + IACOVBS [ ] [ ] GRA • REX; trofeils/none NMS, H.C2887; from Crossraguel
+ • CRVX • PELLIT • OIE • CRIM 1985, 70 no. 36, and plate.

217 + IACOVBS [ ] [ ] GRA • REX; trofeils/none NMS, H.C2887; from Crossraguel
+ • CRVX • PELLIT • OIE • CRIM 1985, 70 no. 36, and plate.

218 + IACOVBS [ ] [ ] GRA • REX; trofeils/none NMS, H.C2887; from Crossraguel
+ • CRVX • PELLIT • OIE • CRIM 1985, 70 no. 36, and plate.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>216</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS造型 DEI造型 GRA造型 REX造型 + CRVX造型 PELLIT造型 OE造型 CRRI造型</td>
<td>British Museum, (18)70–5–7–8125.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS造型 DEI造型 GRA造型 REX造型 + CRVX造型 PELLIT造型 OE造型 CRI造型</td>
<td>Private collection; ex Christies sale 4 December 1984, lot 45 (part). Bateson 1997, 92 fig. 117.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS</td>
<td>trefoil:none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS造型 DEI造型 GRA造型 REX造型 + CRVX造型 PELLIT造型 OE造型 CRI造型</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS造型 DEI造型 GRA造型 REX造型 + CRV造型</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS造型 DEI造型 GRA造型 REX造型 + CR造型</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS造型 DEI造型 GRA造型 REX造型 + CRVX造型 PELLIT造型 OE造型 CRI造型</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS造型 DEI造型 GRA造型 REX造型 + CRVX造型</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS造型 DEI造型 GRA造型 REX造型 + CRV造型</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS造型 DEI造型 GRA造型 REX造型 + CRVX造型</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS造型</td>
<td>stars/none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS造型 DEI造型 GRA造型 REX造型 + CRVX造型 PELLIT造型 OIE造型 CM造型</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS造型 DEI造型 GRA造型 REX造型 + CRVX造型 PELLIT造型 OIE造型 CRRI造型</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230</td>
<td>+ IA造型 DEI造型 REX造型</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231</td>
<td>+ IA造型</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS造型 DEI造型 GRA造型 REX造型 + CRVX造型 PELLIT造型 OIE造型 CRM造型</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS造型 DEI造型 GRA造型 REX造型</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS造型 DEI造型 GRA造型 REX造型</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>235</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS造型 DEI造型 GRA造型 REX造型</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All stops uncertain J.E.L. Murray archive.
THE SCOTTISH COPPER CRUX PELLIT COINAGE

   + CRV[ ] PELLIT • OI • CR[ ]; stops uncertain

237 + IACOBS[ ] GRA : REX \( ?\) ; Photographs labelled 'M. Dengis' in J.E.L. Murray archive.
   + CRVX[ ] OI • CR • ; stops uncertain

238 + IACOBS[ ] DEI \( ?\); trefoils/none Stewartby collection.
   + CRVX[ ] ; stops uncertain, possibly saltires

   + CR[ ] OIE \[ ?\] CRII \[ ?\]

240 [ ] REX \( ?\) ; Private collection?; plaster casts labelled 'Seaby B' in J.E.L. Murray archive.
   + [ ] ELL[ ] ; stops uncertain

   + C[ ] • PELLIT • OIE • CRI • ; flawed striking; possibly from same die as 201

242* Same obverse die
   + [+] CRVX • PELLIT • OIE • CRIM ; Stewardby collection; ex J.E.L. Murray collection.

243 + IACOBS DEI REX GRA; stops : trefoils/annulets St. Andrews Cathedral Museum; recorded by R. Kerr, late 1950s?, but subsequently stolen.
   + CRVX • ; Legend uncertain; stops *

   + CRVX • PELLIT • OIE • OI • ;

245* Same obverse die
   + CRVX • PELLIT \( ?\) OIE • [ ] ME ; Stewardby collection; ex J.E.L. Murray collection.

   + CRVX • PELLIT • OIE • OI •

247 Same obverse die
   + CRVX \( ?\) ; trefoils/none Musée de Coxyde, Belgium, Inventory no. 307; from Damme; photographs in J.E.L. Murray archive.
   + PELLIT • OIE • CRI •

   + CRVX • PELLIT • OIE • CRM

   + CRVX • PELLIT • OIE • CRIM

   + [?] CRVX • PELLIT • OIE • OI • CM •

   + CRVX • PELLIT • OIE [ ]

   + D reversed
   + CRVX \( ?\) PELLIT • OIE • CRI •

253 + I[ ] JOBS[? ] DEI [ ] RA[? ] RE[? ] saltires/annulets Private collection; ex Walter Mason collection, Selkirk; possibly found near Melrose Abbey, Roxburghshire.
   + [ ](? ) P • OIE • (? ) CRII

254 + IACOBS[ ] DEI [ ] A[? ] RE[? ] saltires/annulets Hunterian Museum, Glasgow,
   + [ ] X • PE[ ] OIE • CRIII

   + CRVX : PELLIT \( ?\) OIE \( ?\) CRI \( ?\)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>256</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS [?] DEI [?] GRA × RE</td>
<td>CRVX • PELLT • OI × CRI [?]; uncertain stops, possibly stars</td>
<td>Stewarthy collection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>257*</td>
<td>+ IACOBV[ ?] D[?] × GRA × RE + CRVX × PELLT × OI × CRIM ×</td>
<td>saltires/annulets</td>
<td>Stewarthy collection; ex J.E.L. Murray collection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>258</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS × DEI × GRA × RE + CRVX × PELLT × OIE × CRII ×</td>
<td>trefoils/none</td>
<td>Spink sale 27 September 2006, lot 485 (M. Anderson collection); ex Baldwin sale 28, 9 October 2001, lot 1632.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>259</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS Æ DEI Æ GRA Æ RE</td>
<td>stars/none</td>
<td>Cabinet des Médailles, Brussels; photographs (? by Cl. Van Nerom) in J.E.L. Murray archive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>260</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS Æ DEI Æ GRA Æ CR Æ PEL Æ OI Æ CRI Æ</td>
<td>trefoils/none</td>
<td>NCirc April 2007, no. SCO555; ex Dolphin Coins list 2 (1992), no. 1396.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>263</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS Æ DEI Æ GRA Æ RE + CRVX Æ PÆ Æ OÆ Æ CRIM Æ</td>
<td>saltires/pellets</td>
<td>NMS, H.C2883; found at Culbin Sands, Moray.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>264</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS Æ DEI Æ RE + CRVX Æ PE Æ T (or I) Æ OIE Æ CR ×</td>
<td>stars/none</td>
<td>NMS, H.C2889; found at Crichton Church, Midlothian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>266</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS Æ DEI Æ GRA Æ CRÆ + CRVX Æ PÆ Æ OÆ Æ CRI Æ</td>
<td>stars/none</td>
<td>Stewarthy collection; ex Parsons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>267</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS Æ DEI Æ GÆ</td>
<td>saltires/annulets</td>
<td>NMS, H.C2882; found at the Palace of Holyroodhouse, Edinburgh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>268</td>
<td>+ IACOBVS Æ DEI Æ CRÆ + CRVX Æ PEL Æ OIE Æ CRII Æ</td>
<td>trefoils/none</td>
<td>Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; photographs by M. Dhénin in J.E.L. Murray archive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>271</td>
<td>Obverse illegible</td>
<td>saltires/annulets</td>
<td>NMS, H.C2885; from Crossraguel Abbey excavation, 1919.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>272</td>
<td>Obverse illegible</td>
<td>?/annulets</td>
<td>NMS, H.C2886; found at Glenluce Sands, Wigtownshire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>275</td>
<td>Obverse legend illegible + CRÆ E æ CRÆ</td>
<td>stars/annulets</td>
<td>Private collection; photographs at NMS in envelope labelled “Mr. Cockburn GF 647” and dated 1984.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Type III: orb upwards and to right with rosette in middle (28 coins)

277* 

280* 

283 

286 

287 

288* 

289 

290 

291
THE SCOTTISH COPPER CRUX PELLIT COINAGE 175

292 + * IACOVS * DEI [?] GRA * REX * + CRVX : PELLIT : OE : CR [ ]

293 + * IACOVS * DEI [?] GRA * REX * + CRVX : PELLIT : OIE : CRI

294 + * IACOBS * DEI * GRA * REX * + * CRVX * PELLIT * OIE * CM *

295 + * IACOB[ ]S * DEI * GRA [ ]; no rosette
   + * CRVX * PELLIT [ ] + * CRII *
   + IACOBS [?] DEI [?] GRA [?]? REX
   CRVX [?] PELLIT [?] OIE [?] CR(?) M(?);

296 + IACOVS[ ] * GRA [ ]

297 + IACOBS[ ] RA[ ]

298 + IACOBS[ ]

299 [ ]

300 + IACOBS[ ]

301 Obverse legend not recorded;

302 Obverse legend not recorded;

303 Obverse legend not recorded;

304 Legends and stops not recorded

REFERENCES


Chalon, R., 1848. Recherches sur les Monnaies des Comtes de Namur (Brussels).


Lindsay of Pitscottie, R. The Historie and Chronicles of Scotland (Scottish Text Society, 1899–1911).
PLATE 4

HOLMES: THE SCOTTISH COPPER CRUX PELLIT COINAGE