# THE ABERDEEN, ST NICHOLAS STREET, HOARDS OF 1983 AND 1984 

N.J. MAYHEW

THE cluster of large fourteenth-century hoards found in Aberdeen in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is probably without parallel anywhere in Europe. At least six major Edward penny finds are on record, four of them from the same street. Early reports of these finds have been usefully summarized by Evans and Thain. ${ }^{1}$ In November 1807 two major finds were made in St Nicholas Street; the first, in a wooden container, apparently contained groats. A third 'Edward' hoard occurred in Clarence Street, Footdee in 1867, while the famous bronze pot hoard from Ross's Court, Upperkirkgate was discovered in $1886 .{ }^{2}$ Containing over 12,000 pennies, Upperkirkgate is among the largest reasonably documented medieval British coin hoards on record, yet all these hoards were large, Footdee being the smallest with 'nearly a thousand' coins. Thus a tradition was already well established when on 30 November 1983 some 4493 coins were discovered by builders working on the new St Nicholas Street Centre. Although full excavation of the site was not possible because of the building work and because the find was made at a depth of about 4.5 metres below the present street level, ${ }^{3}$ several tons of associated soil were taken away and painstakingly sieved by the archaeological staff of the Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museums Department, ${ }^{4}$ so that we may be reasonably sure that all the coins were recovered. Apart from the coins, and the fragments of the pot, the sieving revealed no other archaeological evidence. Not six months later, on 2 May 1984 a second discovery of 2538 coins was made at a similar depth, 3.5 metres south-east of the 1983 find spot. Once again, careful sieving of the soil produced only the coins and the pieces of the pot. Given the extraordinary nature of these two finds it is particularly important that all the details of discovery should be so well attested. The conduct of the finders, and of the archaeological authorities was exemplary. Both finds were claimed by the Crown as Treasure Trove and referred to the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland in Edinburgh ${ }^{5}$ who cleaned the coins, and arranged for them to be deposited on loan to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford for study. The finders were fully rewarded, and the coins themselves acquired by Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museums who now retain both these fine hoards in their entirety. There is a pleasing element of historical continuity in the fact that the 'Common Good' fund, which made it possible for Aberdeen to acquire the hoards, was itself established on the basis of generous grants made to the city by Robert the Bruce.

If the number of medieval hoards from Aberdeen is unusual, the four discoveries in St Nicholas Street are particularly extraordinary. In the fourteenth century, however, this street did not exist. The area lay outside the burgh, to the west of the ports in Upper- and Netherkirkgate and a rough embankment running between the ports, as appears from

Acknowledgements. The publication of this article has been made possible by a most generous grant from the City of Aberdeen District Council.
${ }^{1}$ D.H. Evans and Stewart Thain, 'New light on old coin hoards from the Aberdeen area', forthcoming.
${ }^{2}$ N.J. Mayhew, 'The Aberdeen Upperkirkgate Hoard of 1886', BNJ 45 (1975), 33-50.
${ }^{3}$ The construction of Union Street at the beginning of the last century involved the deposit of many feet of earth on top of the site of the two new Aberdeen finds. When originally
concealed the hoards would have been buried no more than a few feet below the medieval surface level.
${ }^{4}$ My special thanks are due to the director of the Aberdeen archaeological unit, J.C. Murray, to Dr Hilary Murray, and to Stewart Thain, as well as to all the staff of the unit for their help and many kindnesses.
${ }^{5}$ Now the National Museum of Scotland. My thanks are particularly due to Dr David Caldwell who arranged for the cleaning of the finds and supervised the administrative arrangements.

Parson Gordon's 1661 map. ${ }^{6}$ The parish church of St Nicholas stood still further to the west, also outside the burgh. Between the burgh and its church there may have been an area of scrub or boggy ground through which the mill stream ran, and it seems to have been here that these four substantial fortunes were concealed. The absence of other archaeological finds from the 1983 and 1984 find spots confirms the documentary evidence of the medieval topography suggesting that this area was then uninhabited. The proximity of the church serves to remind us that priests sometimes acted as minor bankers, lending or storing money, but the owners of these treasures could equally well have come from the burgh. The new finds fall between the two 1807 finds, ${ }^{7}$ confirming that the 1807 finds were unquestionably two distinct and separate hoards. It remains a much more difficult question whether the 1983 and 1984 deposits were as completely separate. At first sight it is clear that the two different pottery containers, and the 3.5 metres between the two finds argue strongly for two separate deposits. Yet although the hoards were hidden too far apart to be the same deposit, any alternative interpretation has to be explained in terms of the chance coincidence of two separate hoarders independently selecting almost the same spot.

The composition of the hoards provides some further information. The first and larger hoard has a terminus post quem in the 1330s provided by the XVd penny of York (pl. 21, 319). ${ }^{8}$ The second hoard contains three Florin issue pennies dated $1344-5^{9}$ (pl. 21, 321-3). Yet the two finds are actually a good deal more similar than this comparison of terminus post quem might appear to suggest. Analysis of both hoards by mint and Fox type ${ }^{10}$ shows them to be a remarkably homogeneous mix. It may reasonably be argued that all Edward penny hoards look the same, but Tables 1 and 2 show that the two recent Aberdeen finds are indeed closer to one another than to any other Edward penny hoards. I have been advised that if the two hoards had been thoroughly mixed together in a sack and then a pile of 4493 counted out and another pile of 2538 , statistically speaking it is unlikely that the two resulting piles would be more thoroughly mixed and homogeneous than they already are. ${ }^{11}$

It was hoped that analysis of the weights of the two hoards might shed some light on this question. It is at least possible that if one hoard were concealed some ten years before the other some weight difference might be expected to have opened up. In fact the weights of coins in the two hoards differ by only hundredths of a gram, and neither hoard appears consistently heavier than the other. The mean weights of selected groups are set out below.

| Mean weights of selected Edward penny groups (g) |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Mint | Class | 1983 | 1984 |
| London | III | 1.274 | 1.251 |
| Canterbury | III | 1.249 | 1.314 |
| London | IV | 1.278 | 1.288 |
| Canterbury | IV | 1.232 | 1.246 |
| London | XIII+XIV | 1.306 | 1.331 |
| Canterbury | XIII+XIV | 1.340 | 1.342 |
| London | XV | 1.333 | 1.318 |
| Canterbury | XV | 1.297 | 1.361 |

[^0][^1]Thus although older coins were more worn than younger ones, the weight patterns did not reveal any difference of age between the two hoards.

On balance it would appear that we are dealing with two deposits, but that both were drawn from the same coin circulation, at about the same time. It is even possible that they were concealed on separate days by the same person. However, even if one assumes that these two hoards were concealed within a few days of one another in response to the same emergency, some at least of the other Aberdeen deposits look to have been concealed on other occasions. If the first 1807 hoard did indeed contain groats as reported that suggests a date of deposit after 1351. ${ }^{12}$ Moreover, the Upperkirkgate find, although conceivably hidden at the same time as the two new hoards, does have more the look of a 1330s hoard as Tables 1 and 2 show (see also the discussion of hoard profiles below). There are no indications of possible date for the Footdee hoard.

A single calamity would have provided a much neater explanation of the rash of hoards from fourteenth-century Aberdeen, but even the limited evidence available suggests that few if any of the six hoards under discussion were concealed at the same time. Instead it appears that hoarding of large sums was sufficiently commonplace in Aberdeen for unusual numbers of such treasures to have been lost. All this argues for a high degree of liquidity perhaps combined with limited investment opportunities. Burgh society in fourteenthcentury Scotland seems to have enjoyed less security, but more wealth, than it needed. Yet such an interpretation leaves many questions unanswered: if Aberdeen was unusually liquid, why have archaeological excavations found so few single coins? And why have the mercantile prosperity and war-torn history of Scotland's other east coast burghs not produced a similar hoard record to that of Aberdeen?

Returning more specifically to the 1983 and 1984 finds it is suggested here that both hoards were probably concealed at about the same time around the mid 1340s. There are no very obvious events in Aberdeen's history which can be associated with the deposit. As is well known the town suffered a severe fire in 1326, and was sacked by the English in 1336, but Aberdeen served as a centre of Scottish government in the late 1330s and provided a home for the returning David II in the early 1340s. ${ }^{13}$ Such evidence as there is argues for a quiet prosperity in mid-century Aberdeen. However, though Aberdeen itself was perhaps more peaceful in the 1340s, it is possible the owner(s) of this money left their fortune at home before meeting trouble further afield. A merchant drowning or falling ill abroad, a soldier dying on the field at Neville's Cross, would have no means to recover their treasures or tell their loved ones where to find it.

Tables 3 and 4 provide a detailed break-down of the two hoards by mint and Fox type. This information is compressed and set alongside similar data for some other Edward hoards in Tables 1 and 2. Since almost no coins were struck at the English mints between $c .1325$ and $c .1345$, it is often difficult to date the hoards of this period accurately. However, Table 1 suggests that the proportion of recent issues in a hoard may provide some guide to its likely date of deposit. ${ }^{14}$ The percentage of coins of classes XI-XV is a useful indicator: a figure of around 25 per cent seems to be normal for hoards concealed in the 1320s, before these recent issues had been seriously exposed to normal wastage. In the 1330s this figure seems to be falling to around 22 per cent, while it falls lower still to 20 per cent and below for hoards of the 1340s and later. By this yardstick Upperkirkgate would indeed appear to be a 1330s hoard, but it should be remembered that the culling of the provincial output in

[^2][^3]this hoard may have distorted the remaining proportions. It must also be admitted that there is little comparative material available for the 1330s (Loch Doon only).

The detailed examination of these two hoards may seem disappointing, in the sense that it has brought to light few surprises. There are no revolutionary discoveries. Nevertheless, it is important to place this material on record since it does provide a record of what the currency of the mid 1340s was like. The size of the hoards, whether taken together or individually, gives this evidence greater weight, since so large a sample is much less easily distorted by small anomalies. These hoards also provide an opportunity to discuss and illustrate the famous Fox classification. In fact although the Fox-Burns arrangement of this series has been repeatedly confirmed over the last century, few writers have been content to accept it totally without offering some emendations of their own. Consequently, a mass of post-Fox insights has built up and as I write J.J. North's imminent study is about to draw together all the recent work (much of it his own), and open a new chapter in Edwardian numismatics. Since the Aberdeen material came to light just before the appearance of North's work, the present description of it forms something of a swan-song for the Fox classification. With this in mind the series has been extensively illustrated, together with a full range of the Berwick, Scottish, and Irish types in the hoards. It is hoped that this report will place on record a view of how one student saw the Fox classification in its last days before the full publication of what future numismatics may see as the North revolution.

## The coins and the classification

The survival of a Tealby penny ( $\mathbf{p l} \mathbf{1 . 1 2 , 1 )}$ in an Edwardian hoard is remarkable. A few Long or even Short Cross might have been expected, but except for this surprising survivor the Edwardian dominance is complete. Class I in the Edward series is conventionally dated May to December 1279. Gregory de Rokesle and Orlandino de Podio were sworn in on 17 May, though their account is dated from 28 April, ${ }^{15}$ and their original appointment as wardens of the exchange dates from 7 January. ${ }^{16}$ The Foxes argued that actual striking did not occur till July when three keepers of the dies were sworn in, but that may be according this office rather more significance than it deserves. ${ }^{17}$ Clearly, however, the arrival of the moneyers - the Turnemire brothers in March and Hubert Alion of Asti in April - was critical for the beginning of coining.

Four varieties of Class I are usually listed (a to d), but Ib is really only a discontinued pattern, and is almost as rare as the unique pattern in the British Museum described long ago by Lawrence. ${ }^{18}$ Ia and Ic have REX spelled out in full; Ia has a Lombardic N on the obverse, and larger lettering than Ic which has Roman Ns often reversed. Ia is only found in these two hoards in its muled form Ia/c (pl. 12, 2) or Ic/a (pl. 12, 3). Given that Ia and d both have the larger form of lettering, the distinction between Ic/a and Ic/d is a nice one, in this case decided in favour of Ic/a since the Ns are not reversed. Only the second hoard contained an example of a mule between Ic and d, a Id/c (pl. 12, 7). The rarity of links between Ic and d has given rise to speculation about parallel issues from two separate officinae. ${ }^{19}$ The face and crown punches, however, were shared between Ic and d, even if the letter punches were kept distinct. The abbreviation of REX to R allowed space for larger lettering and it was this form and size of lettering which carried on to the next Class II.

The emergence of Class II is not clear cut, and various transitional phases have been

[^4][^5]noted. ${ }^{20}$ The reverses of Id and II are virtually indistinguishable, while varieties with the crown of II and the face of I (or vice versa) are well known (pl. 12, 9-10). Tatler made his decisive distinguishing feature the shape of the crown, but in my lists it is the face. Class I is only known at London, though it was known to Burns and the Foxes with Class II reverses of Canterbury and York. ${ }^{21}$ Given the difficulty of distinguishing a Id reverse from a II reverse, the point is only significant because of the convenience of dating the beginning of Class II to January 1280 with the emergence of William de Turnemire as master, and the beginnings of coinage at the provincial mints. ${ }^{22}$ Burns regarded IIb as the first group to appear at the provincial mints, and the Fox description and illustrations are concerned solely with IIb, but North notes IIa at York ${ }^{23}$ and an example occurred in the 1983 find (pl. $\mathbf{1 2 , 1 2}$ ). The distinction between IIa and $b$ lies chiefly with the face and neck, though North also notes the broken left central fleur on the crown of IIa. North dates the end of Class II to May 1280, though the Foxes' only guide was the introduction of round halfpennies clearly Class III - before August. ${ }^{24}$

Class IIIa occurs only at London, IIIb at London, Canterbury, Bristol, Durham, and York, all of which were found in Aberdeen. There are various transitional types between IIIa and IIIc. PI. 12, 23 is really IIIc in everything except the rounded drapery, while the Burns varieties A11 and A12 (spearheads in the crown) (pl. 12, 25-7) combine the face and crown of IIIb with the neck and drapery of IIIc.

No attempt has been made in the lists to distinguish between IIIc and IIId (pl. 12, 28-35, pl. 13, 36-9). Although examples can be found - and are illustrated - which are clearly one or the other, too many coins fall between the two classes. Early features include the h without a tail, and unbalanced drapery, while the type usually described as IIId achieves a consistent regularity of features. Two Bury Class IIIc-d coins of Robert de Hadelie are illustrated (pl. 13, 38-9). Instructions for striking these coins were supplied to the abbot by Gregory de Rokesle on 8 June 1280, and Tatler has dated the first issues of this mint after midsummer 1280. The monks at Bury specified 26 June 1280. Unfortunately, Tatler's die study of Robert de Hadelie's issues remains unpublished, but all the coins bearing Robert's name in these two hoards are illustrated regardless of condition. Coining at Lincoln began also at this time (May-October 1280), effectively dating the beginning of the IIIc-d period. It was also struck at London, Canterbury, Bristol, York and Durham. IIIe (pl. 13, 40-1) is the distinctive northern variety of face, dated $c$. August 1280 by the writ for the archbishop of York's first dies of this coinage. IIIf (pl. 13, 42-3) is another distinctive face; it is late, exhibiting the later crown and fat S associated with later IIIg. It also sometimes has wedge abbreviation marks (pl. 13, 43).

Class IIIg (pl. 13, 44-65) is usually defined by its crown (as IIIf) with more widespread side fleurs, and a neat bust. It is met with both the early and later S, and occasionally with wedge shaped comma abbreviation marks ( $\mathbf{p l} \mathbf{1 3} \mathbf{1 3} \mathbf{4 5}$ and 50) instead of the crescent shaped commas which are otherwise the central unifying characteristic of the whole of Class III. The presence of wedge shaped commas in what must be Class III (eg IIIf, or IIIg with early S), blurs the distinction between Class III and early Class IV. In practice I have assigned any coins with wedge shaped comma abbreviation marks to Class IV unless there are other over-riding considerations placing it earlier in Class III. Thus IIIg with late S and wedge shaped commas would be classified as IV, but IIIg with early S and wedge shaped commas

[^6][^7]remains in Class III. IIIg is sometimes known as the Chester type, which dates its introduction to around December 1280. It is also found at London, Canterbury, Bristol, Lincoln, Durham, and Bury, but the York coin listed by the Foxes is a Gaucher de Châtillon imitation. Another example occurred in the second hoard (pl. 12, 416). Class III must have come to a close during the autumn of 1281 when there is a good deal of documentary evidence for the winding up of most of the provincial mints. ${ }^{25}$

Therefore, Class IV is assigned a starting date around Michaelmas 1281. Sub-groups IVa-c have not been separately identified in the lists since a good deal of ambiguity seems to exist in the arrangement of these coins. Although I have not felt sufficiently confident to label specific coins a , b , or c , it may be observed that coins described as IVa-c are divided into three unmarked groups. These roughly correspond to the sub-groups $a, b$, and $c$, on the basis described in the lists. Class IV(a) (pl. 13, 66-70, pl. 14, 71-84) contains a number of varieties, beginning with examples very similar to IIIg but with the commas of Class IV in place of the small crescent shaped commas typical of IIIg. Class IV(b) (pl. 14, 85-95) was the type in issue when Bishop Bek received the temporalities of the see of Durham on 4 September 1283. Class IV(c) (pl. 14, 96-103), however defined, is much the smallest of the IVa-c sub-groups; I have looked chiefly for the nick in the crown band between the central and left hand fleur. The unbarred A seems to be a later development, more characteristic of IVd, and e, defined by the extra pellets in the legend or on the bust. IVe was in issue when Richard de Lothbury was admitted as the moneyer at Bury late in November 1287. ${ }^{26}$ In the course of Class IV a new form of S is sometimes met, with large serifs and a less pronounced thickening of the waist; the fat waisted S is however still met throughout the class.

Class V ( $\mathbf{p l} . \mathbf{1 5}, \mathbf{1 1 9 - 3 6})$ is the last of the large letter series, and is dated $c .1290-1$. Given the small size of the issue I have not sub-divided this group; the same goes for Class VI. Difficulties have been expressed about the Fox classification at this point in the series, and it has been suggested that VI (pl. 15, 137-40, pl. 16, 141-9, 162, 174-5) and VII (pl. 16, 150-62) could be parallel issues. ${ }^{27}$ Although not wishing to contribute further to this debate, I have attempted to illustrate a much higher proportion of the coins of these types in the two hoards in the belief that the collection of material is the first step towards the solution of these problems. I have not been able to attribute any Canterbury coins in the two hoards to Class VI, and none were known to the Foxes, though North lists VIb at this mint. ${ }^{28}$ Class VIIa (pl. 16, 150-4, 158, 161) retains the crown of VI, while VIIb (pl. 16, $\mathbf{1 5 5 - 7}, 159-60)$ introduces its own crown variety. The rose is often lacking at Canterbury and Bury.

The most important chronological indications at this point come from the illuminating Canterbury output figures, which fell dramatically to under 1000 lb . p.a. from 1290 , and again to under 100 lb . p.a. in 1293-4. From Michaelmas 1294 till the closure of the Canterbury mint in 1296 only a further 36 lb . of bullion were purchased for coining. ${ }^{29}$ Class VIII is totally lacking at Canterbury, while VI and VII are very rare. The Foxes considered it likely that 'all the dies [for VII] were sunk before Michaelmas 1293 or Michaelmas 1294 at the latest'. ${ }^{30}$ North dates VI 1292-6, VII $c .1294-6$, and VIII $c .1294-c .1300 .{ }^{31}$ In a period of little or no work, dies and the punches used to make them will have lasted longer. It is probably inevitable that the chronology and classification should lack definition at this point in the series.

[^8][^9]Class VIII is a more plentiful variety, but it merges into both the earlier classes from which it grew and into the later Class IX which succeeded it. The lists and plates (16, $163-74$ and $17,176-84)$ provide a fairly detailed commentary on the range of features which define Class VIII but which are by no means always present in all cases. Class IXa (pl. 17, 185-98) is really a transitional group, bridging the gap between VIII and the recoinage Class IXb dated May $1300 .{ }^{32}$ All the special recoinage mints except Newcastle were closed by the end of $1300 .{ }^{33}$ The significance of the presence or absence of the star on the breast during Class IX remains a mystery. Interpreting almost any signs of a mark on the breast as a star, I found that coins with star strongly outweighed those without, but it may be worthy of note that the Newcastle IX/X mules were consistently found without star. This observation prompts the suggestion that perhaps IXb without star came later than IXb with star. Examples of the rare irregular types of Class IX from Durham (pl. 17, 199-203) and Bury (pl. 17, 197) were present in these hoards and have been illustrated because of their special interest.

Class X is conventionally dated from 1302 , but analysis of the output from the Newcastle mint has allowed Stewart to show convincingly that the Foxes' concentration on misinterpreted Durham evidence misled them. Stewart dates Class X from 1301 or even late 1300. Class IXb/X Newcastle mules (pl. 18, 219), and X/IXb London mules (pl. 18, 225-6) are plentiful and mark a transitional phase early in 1301. ${ }^{34}$ In the same way the Foxes' attempt to fit the appearance of Durham coins without the bishop's mark to periods when the temporalities of the see were known to be in royal hands, led them to date the end of Class X to c .1307 . Stewart has summarized the evidence for the now conventional dating to 1310 or later. ${ }^{35}$ Class X is the largest of the Fox classes and corresponds to the heaviest decade of non-recoinage mint output in the history of medieval England. The classification at this point is correspondingly complex, and the Foxes' original sub-groups a-f have received considerable attention. Difficulties centre chiefly on subgroups Xc-f. Tatler and Stewart first suggested a rearrangement of these groups identifying a succession of three different crowns. ${ }^{36}$ Wood identified a further two crowns within the crown 3 group, and North's forthcoming arrangement of Class X as a whole includes some twenty subvarieties. It is above all the future discovery of hoards concealed within the time period of Class X which will add chronological indications to detailed numismatic observation, and in the meantime it may be salutary to quote from the report of one such find - that from Mayfield - which has already added to our understanding of the chronology of Class X. Miss Archibald wrote:

The evidence of this hoard suggests that at such a period too, several irons were probably available to the die maker for each feature. (Indeed this would have been advisable if more than one man were to have been employed on the production of complete dies at the same time.) Different irons for each element of the effigy and the letter fount may not have been chronologically exclusive. Even if certain combinations are dominant and therefore justify the selection of the dies on which they appear as the substantive types, a system based on the identification of less than the total number of unique combinations will leave dies which it is still difficult to 'classify'. Furthermore, the whole question of the stock-piling of dies at such a time and their potential use in an order different from that in which they were produced, means that the precise order of striking is difficult to determine. ${ }^{37}$

[^10][^11]For some numismatists the solution to this problem is to strive for a system which is more nearly based on the total number of unique combinations. For myself, the end of classification is to make the material more comprehensible in its historical context. These two approaches do not always make easy bed-fellows.

Class XI has recently been re-examined by North. ${ }^{38}$ The present arrangement, though not analysing all the material in quite the detail achieved by North, follows him in finding the decisive distinction between XIa (pl. 19, 267-76) and b (pl. 19, 277-80, pl. 20, 281-5) in the development of the angular or pointed backed E. Serifed Ns though regarded by the Foxes as a feature of XIb are found also on some XIa (in North XIa3). The commentary in the list explains something of the evolution of XIa, which North has formalized in the forms XIa1-3. North's XIbl is included in my XIb; North's XIb2 equals my XIN (pl. 20, 286-9); North's XIb3 though undistinguished in my XIb will include the Fox illustrated examples of XIb mentioned in my list. The beginning of Class XI is usually dated 1310. Class XIa was struck by both Bek and Kellawe, the latter receiving the temporalities in May 1311. ${ }^{39}$ North dates the end of Class XI to 1314, the very small Class XII (pl. 20, 293-5) to the same year, and the introduction of Class XIII to 1315. 1314 was a year of quite high mint output, which also marks the point when Canterbury output began to exceed that of London. Although Class XII does occur more plentifully at Canterbury than at London, it is not a large enough group to account for the known mint output of the year. Personally, I incline to the belief that Class XIII began in that year, rather than that XI extended nearly to the end of it. Class XIII was struck by both Bishop Kellawe (pl. 20, 300) and Bishop Beaumont (pl. 20, 301), and was therefore in issue in the spring of 1317. Woodhead and Stewart date the end of Class XIII to October 1317,+ or - a few months. ${ }^{40}$

Class XIV is defined by its face ${ }^{41}$ and crown (pl. 20, 303-6). Naturally, therefore, examples exist which combine for example the face of XIII with the crown of XIV. A broken E punch is common to some XIII and XIV (pl. 20, 303). Analysis of the Renfrew hoard suggests XVa (pl. 20, 307-9) began mid to late 1320, and was struck for only a matter of months before being succeeded by $\mathrm{XVb}(\mathbf{p l} . \mathbf{2 0}, \mathbf{3 1 0 - 1 2}$ ) and c ( $\mathbf{p l} . \mathbf{2 0}, \mathbf{3 1 3 - 1 5}$, pl. 21, 316-8). ${ }^{42}$ The XVc/d mule of Canterbury is worthy of note, (though not adequate for illustration) bridging as it does a period of some years inactivity at the mint. ${ }^{43}$ The dominance of York in the coinage of $\mathrm{XVd}(\mathbf{p l} . \mathbf{2 1}, \mathbf{3 1 9 - 2 0})$ is confirmed by its presence in both these hoards while the type from other mints did not occur here. Finally the series closes with the Florin pennies of London in the second hoard (pl. 21, 321-3).

The plates include a full range of the types of Berwick, Scotland and Ireland present in the hoard. In general these issues contained few surprises, but a set of photographs of all the Berwick and Scots types have been sent to the leading students of these series. Similarly, the continental series contained few new coins. One fragment remains unidentified ( $\mathbf{p l} . \mathbf{2 3}, \mathbf{4 1 0}$ ) and seems to be unpublished, but otherwise there were only a few varieties of otherwise recorded continental imitations (pl. 23, 411-16).

[^12][^13]
## APPENDIX

## The Aberdeen coin hoard pots

## J. C. MURRAY

The two coin hoards found at St Nicholas Street, Aberdeen in 1983 and 1984 were both contained in ceramic vessels (fig. 1). Both pots are of local manufacture and of a type recognised from previous excavations within the medieval burgh of Aberdeen. ${ }^{44}$

The 1983 hoard of 4493 coins was contained in a medium sized jug ( $210 \mathrm{~mm} \times 190 \mathrm{~mm}$, no. 1) broken at the junction between shoulder and neck. It is a buff-orange medium coarse sandy fabric, slightly micaceous with quartz grits; this has formerly been described as Local Fabric No $3 .{ }^{45}$ A yellow-green glaze had been applied externally to the upper portion of the jug with dark vertical strips of iron enriched glaze. The handle scar on the body shows it to have been of strap type. Vessels of similar form have been discovered elsewhere in medieval Aberdeen. ${ }^{46}$

The 1984 hoard of 2538 coins was contained in a smaller jug ( $150 \mathrm{~mm} \times 140 \mathrm{~mm}$, no. 2), also broken off at the lower neck. The fabric is buff-orange, smooth, fine and slightly micaceous with a strip of brown/green glaze applied externally. This most closely resembles Aberdeen Local Fabric 8,47 and has been identified on previous excavations. ${ }^{48}$

It is interesting to note that both pots have the neck and handle or part of the handle missing. As the soil removed from above and surrounding both hoards was retained for sieving and yielded many coins but no additional fragments of pot it would seem likely that both vessels were broken off at the neck prior to deposition and this may have been done for easier concealment. The absence of necks and handles from similar shaped earthenware pots used to bury coin hoards has also been reported in some Danish examples. ${ }^{49}$ Examples also exist in the collections of the Royal Museum of Scotland (pers. comm. D. Caldwell).

## Dating

The dating of coins from both coin hoards to sometime after 1346 provides us with a good independent date for the types of pots used. This is particularly so for the vessel containing the 1984 hoard (no. 2). This fabric was recorded at St Paul Street from Phase 9 onwards and a date approaching the mid to late fourteenth century was suggested for this phase.

The pot containing the 1983 hoard (no. 1) is of a fabric type first evident at St Paul Street from the late thirteenth century but continuing through the first half of the fourteenth century. The more abraded nature of the vessel, however, could suggest that it had been in use for some considerable time prior to its deposition after 1346.


[^14][^15]Table I．Finds analysed by Fox type
\％of the Fox type totals to XV

|  | I | II | III | IV | V－VII | VIII | IX | X | XI－XII | XIII－XIV | xV | XI－XV | Unc | Fox type total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Aberdeen I | 1.18 | 2.85 | 10.50 | 10.28 | 0.95 | 1.00 | 10.72 | 41.46 | 9.86 | 6.00 | 4.79 | 20.65 | 0.34 | 4064 |
| Aberdeen II | 1.47 | 2.94 | 11.03 | 9.78 | 0.89 | 1.07 | 11.47 | 40.33 | 9.87 | 6.20 | 4.51 | 20.58 | 0.40 | 2239 |
| Upperkirkgate | 0.89 | 1.91 | 7.43 | 10.00 | 0.72 | 1.06 | 10.05 | 45.46 | 11.76 | 5.77 | 4.75 | 22.28 | 0.13 | 9458 |
| ＇Scottish＇ | 0.89 | 1.90 | 8.77 | 7.88 | 1.27 | 1.01 | 10.05 | 47.83 | 9.79 | 4.70 | 5.85 | 20.34 | － | 786 |
| Grittleton | － | 2.17 | 8.69 | 13.04 | 2.17 | 2.17 | 8.69 | 45.65 | 10.86 | 2.17 | 4.34 | 17.37 | － | 46 |
| Upper Cullmore | 1.35 | 2.29 | 14.27 | 12.39 | 1.15 | 0.10 | 15.52 | 38.75 | 5.42 | 7.50 | 0.73 | 13.65 | 0.52 | 960 |
| Durham | 1.22 | 3.06 | 22.08 | 2.45 | 0.61 | 0.61 | 8.58 | 41.10 | 10.42 | 6.13 | 2.45 | 19.00 | 1.22 | 163 |
| Dunblane | 2.46 | 1.23 | 12.34 | 12.34 | － | 2.46 | 7.40 | 35.80 | 11.11 | 8.64 | 6.17 | 25.92 | － | 81 |
| Derby | 1.63 | 1.63 | 13.67 | 4.69 | 1.22 | 0.40 | 9.79 | 43.46 | 11.02 | 2.65 | 5.30 | 18.97 | 4.48 | 490 |
| Neath I and II | 0.65 | 1.96 | 11.11 | 11.11 | － | 0.65 | 10.45 | 39.21 | 13.72 | 4.57 | 6.53 | 24.82 | － | 153 |
| Scotton | 0.68 | 1.72 | 10.68 | 3.44 | 0.34 | 1.03 | 13.79 | 41.72 | 10.68 | 6.20 | 9.65 | 26.53 | － | 290 |
| Montrose | 1.45 | 5.80 | 10.14 | 8.69 | － | － | 13.04 | 37.68 | 5.79 | 10.14 | 7.24 | 23.17 | － | 69 |
| Boyton | 1.45 | 1.96 | 8.19 | 8.16 | 0.37 | 0.49 | 10.75 | 41.75 | 12.43 | 8.21 | 5.98 | 26.62 | 0.18 | 3858 |
| Loch Doon | 1.10 | 2.61 | 8.59 | 8.47 | 0.85 | 1.68 | 11.38 | 40.36 | 11.37 | 6.15 | 4.87 | 22.39 | － | 1722 |
| Berscar | 0.46 | 2.02 | 14.85 | 3.96 | 0.53 | 0.62 | 11.11 | 62.28 |  | 66.40 | （ x －xv） |  |  | 1286 |
| Montrave | 0.99 | 3.41 | 12.18 | 10.31 | 1.04 | 1.20 | 11.08 | 39.85 | 11.39 | 6.90 | 1.56 | 19.85 | － | 8229 |
| Kirial | 1.23 | 3.31 | 13.98 | 10.28 | 1.05 | 1.29 | 9.26 | 42.07 | 9.09 | 4.26 | 3.70 | 17.05 | 0.39 | 1780 |

Table 2．Finds analysed by mint

|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 음 } \\ & \text { O} \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \bar{O} \\ & \text { in } \\ & \text { nen } \end{aligned}$ | 㐫 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { む } \\ & \text { む } \\ & \text { ভ } \end{aligned}$ |  | $$ | 垔 |  |  | 픙 | ⿹ㅡㄴ U． 5 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { u} \\ & \text { un } \\ & \text { u} \\ & \text { en } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 믈 } \\ & \text { 牶 } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 믈 } \\ & \text { ت0 } \\ & \text { 0 } \end{aligned}$ |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| en | 51.27 | 27.11 | 2.50 | 4.20 | 0.31 | 9.76 | 0.19 | 0.34 | 0.78 | 0.86 | 2.48 | 0.12 | 1.75 | 1.53 | 2.80 | 1.73 | 1.69 |
| en II | 52.43 | 26.57 | 2.41 | 4.60 | 0.17 | 8.88 | 0.08 | 0.17 | 1.02 | 1.25 | 2.36 | － | 2.12 | 1.53 | 2.63 | 3.23 | 2.12 |
| rkirkgate | 55.91 | 29.19 | 1.18 | 2.62 | 0.02 | 8.94 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.28 | 0.49 | 1.31 | － | 0.44 | 0.08 | 0.24 | 0.50 | 1.47 |
| ish＇ | 60.43 | 35.49 | 0.25 | 0.63 | 0.12 | 1.65 | 0.12 | － | 0.25 | 0.50 | 0.50 | － | 0.49 | 0.37 | 0.24 | 0.12 | － |
| eton | 52.17 | 36.95 | － | 2.17 | － | 6.52 | － | － | － | 2.17 | － | － | 3.92 | － | － | 3.92 | 0.19 |
| Cullmor | 58.75 | 20.52 | 3.13 | 2.08 | 0.52 | 8.02 | 0.10 | 0.31 | 1.25 | 1.15 | 3.64 | 0.52 | 2.52 | 2.13 | 0.48 | 0.39 | 1.45 |
|  | 51.53 | 25.76 | 4.29 | 3.68 | － | 11.04 | － | － | － | 0.61 | 3.06 | － | 1.70 | － | 1.70 | 4.55 | － |
| lane | 40.74 | 27.16 | 3.70 | 6.17 | － | 13.58 | － | 1.23 | 1.23 | 2.46 | 3.70 | － | 3.26 | 2.17 | 2.17 | 1.08 | 3.26 |
|  | 45.71 | 27.34 | 3.06 | 3.67 | － | 9.18 | 0.20 | 1.02 | 1.42 | 1.02 | 2.85 | 4.48 | 2.02 | 0.92 | 1.84 | 4.97 | － |
| I and | 44.44 | 30.71 | 2.61 | 7.18 | － | 9.80 | － | 0.65 | 0.65 | 1.30 | 0.65 | － | 1.80 | 1.20 | 0.60 | 3.01 | 1.20 |
|  | 54.48 | 25.17 | 1.37 | 6.55 | － | 7.24 | － | － | 0.68 | 2.41 | 2.06 | 4.38 | 0.94 | 0.94 | 1.88 | 0.62 | 0.31 |
|  | 53.62 | 23.18 | 1.44 | 2.89 | － | 15.94 | 1.44 | － | 1.44 | － | － | － | 1.29 | 3.89 | 2.59 | 1.29 | 1.29 |
|  | 50.75 | 29.65 | 2.22 | 4.87 | 0.20 | 8.52 | 0.12 | 0.15 | 0.36 | 1.19 | 1.86 | 0.05 | 1.64 | 1.30 | 2.27 | 1.40 | － |
| Doon | 51.45 | 27.58 | 2.32 | 3.60 | 0.05 | 10.33 | 0.23 | 0.34 | 0.69 | 1.27 | 1.85 | 0.23 | 2.27 | 1.76 | 2.61 | 1.59 | 0.57 |
|  | 48.98 | 27.76 | 2.09 | 4.74 | 0.15 | 11.43 | 0.15 | 0.07 | 0.77 | 1.32 | 2.48 | － | 2.25 | 0.22 | 0.58 | 1.38 | － |
| aver | 53.00 | 26.80 | 2.61 | 4.16 | 0.12 | 8.11 | 0.18 | 0.20 | 1.13 | 1.28 | 2.35 | － | 1.77 | 1.38 | 4.72 | 3.04 | 2.05 |
|  | 51.06 | 26.17 | 3.20 | 3.48 | 0.16 | 10.73 | 0.16 | 0.05 | 0.78 | 1.29 | 2.75 | 0.11 | 1.67 | 0.90 | 1.80 | 13.60 | 5.57 |

## Sources for Tables 1 and 2

Upperkirkgate．NC 3rd ser． 6 （1886），247－8．BNJ 45 （1975）， 33－50．Provincial mints heavily culled．
＇Scottish＇．BNJ 28 （1955），196－201．Provincial mints culled．
Florin issue present．
Grittleton．BNJ 39 （1970），80－3．
Upper Cullmore．List kindly supplied by Heslip and Wood．
Durham．NC 5th ser．（1931），201．BNJ 32 （1963）， 128.
Including Florin issue and later．
Dunblane．BNJ 23 （1938－40），280－2．

Derby．NC 5th ser．8（1928），47－60．
Neath I and II．BNJ 28 （1955－7），294－8，555－9．Dolley and Boon have both argued that the two finds are best treated as one．
Scotton．NC 5th ser． 4 （1924），325－6．
Montrose．BNJ 46 （1976），39－43．
Boyton．NC 5th ser． 16 （1936），115－26．
Loch Doon．BNJ 38 （1968），31－49．
Montrave．PSAS 16 （1881－2），466－71．
Kirial．NNA（1970），37－168．

Table 3. Aberdeen I analysed by mint and Fox type


Table 4. Aberdeen II analysed by mint and Fox types

|  | I | II | III | IV | V-VII VIII |  | IX | X | XI-XII | XIV | XV | Unc | Totals | \% |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| London | 33 | 48 | 118 | 138 | 16 | 23 | 147 | 500 | 92 | 36 | 21 | 2 | 1174 | 52.43 |
| Canterbury | - | 2 | 35 | 78 | 2 | - | 31 | 279 | 62 | 66 | 40 | - | 595 | 26.57 |
| Bristol | - | 9 | 33 | - | - | - | 12 | - | - | - | - | - | 54 | 2.41 |
| Bury | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | 1 | 4 | 28 | 24 | 23 | 21 | - | 103 | 4.60 |
| Chester | - | - | 3 | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 4 | 0.17 |
| Durham | - | 3 | 4 | 3 | 1 | - | 15 | 91 | 43 | 14 | 18 | 7 | 199 | 8.88 |
| Exeter | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 0.08 |
| Hull | - | - | - | - | - | - | 4 | - | - | - | - | - | 4 | 0.17 |
| Lincoln | - | - | 23 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 23 | 1.02 |
| Newcastle | - | - | 7 | - | - | - | 16 | 5 | - | - | - | - | 28 | 1.25 |
| York | - | 4 | 23 | - | - | - | 25 | - | - | - | 1 | - | 53 | 2.36 |
| Uncertain | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Total from English mints |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2239 |  |
| Berwick | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 54 | 2.12 |
| Ireland | - | - | - | - | - | _ | - | - | - | - | - | - | 39 | 1.53 |
| Scotland | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 67 | 2.63 |
| Continental | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 82 | 3.23 |
| Imitation | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 54 | 2.12 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & (+3 \text { flc } \\ & 2538 \end{aligned}$ | n) |
| Totals | 33 | 66 | 247 | 219 | 20 | 24 | 257 | 903 | 221 | 139 | 101 | 9 | $($ Fox total $=2239)$ |  |
| \% | 1.47 | 2.94 | 11.03 | 9.78 | 0.89 | 1.07 | 11.47 | 40.33 | 9.87 | 6.20 | 4.51 | 0.40 |  |  |

## HOARD I

Legends, when given, are printed only in standard Roman letters. All weights are in grams.

Tealby Bust B4, die used by Alwine (BMC 448), Lifwin (BMC 508a, 508 and 507) and Ricard (BMC 554x).
Rev: Type B (probably Alwin) BMC-, FEJ-, SCBI-, 1.09

Edward penny series

## London

Ia-c small lettering on reverse $=\mathrm{c} 1.39$
Ic-a large lettering on reverse $=$ a. Obv. Ns unbarred 1.25 Ic usually 1 spearhead, 1 pellet in crown
$0.46,0.94,1.17,1.20,1.21,1.28,1.31,1.31,1.31,1.32,1.32$, $1.33,1.34,1.34,1.35,1.35,1.36,1.36,1.37,1.39,1.39,1.40$ Ic with colon stops 1.38
Ic unusual face 1.29
Id usually 1 spearhead, 1 pellet in crown
$0.95,0.95,1.19,1.21,1.29,1.31,1.33,1.34,1.35,1.36,1.37$, $1.37,1.37,1.38,1.39,1.39,1.41$
Id with shaped band of crown
$1.13,1.15,1.19,1.24,1.39$
Tatler regards the shaped band of the crown as the distinctive feature of Class II, but I have made the face my chief distinction between I and II.

IIa with crown of I d $1.10,1.30,1.35,1.38$
IIa with crown of I d, one N on obv. 1.32
IIa $1.13,1.16,1.16,1.17,1.26,1.29,1.30,1.31,1.31,1.31$, $1.33,1.34,1.34,1.36,1.39,1.41$
IIa with occasional Ns 1.15, 1.17, 1.29, 1.37
IIa? 1.37
IIb $0.67,1.01,1.09,1.10,1.12,1.18,1.18,1.19,1.20,1.21$, $1.22,1.24,1.24,1.24,1.27,1.28,1.28,1.30,1.31,1.32,1.33$, $1.33,1.34,1.34,1.34,1.34,1.35,1.36,1.36,1.36,1.37,1.38$, $1.39,1.39,1.40,1.44$
IIb with Ns on reverse 1.22
IIb? 1.21
IIIa $0.98,1.10,1.16,1.37$
IIIb $1.09,1.13,1.32$
Although typical examples of IIIc and IIId may be found, in very many cases distinguishing between these two classes is often difficult. Accordingly, all these coins have been listed as IIIc-d except a few coins of the type identified by Burns as A11 and A12, with small face and pointed chin set high on a long neck, and almost always a distinctive letter h .
A11 - the same type with pearls in the crown - 1.29
A12 1.03, 1.13, $1.17,1.23,1.24,1.25,1.26,1.32,1.32,1.33$, $1.33,1.34,1.38,1.39,1.39,1.42,1.42$
IIIc-d found with early and later h, the later type being dominant $0.70,0.95,1.04,1.08,1.10,1.12,1.13,1.14,1.16$, $1.16,1.17,1.18,1.18,1.19,1.20,1.20,1.20,1.21,1.22,1.23$, $1.23,1.23,1.24,1.24,1.24,1.25,1.25,1.26,1.26,1.26,1.27$, $1.27,1.28,1.28,1.28,1.28,1.29,1.29,1.29,1.29,1.29,1.30$, $1.31,1.31,1.31,1.31,1.32,1.32,1.32,1.33,1.33,1.33,1.33$, $1.34,1.34,1.34,1.34,1.35,1.35,1.35,1.35,1.35,1.35,1.36$, $1.36,1.36,1.37,1.37,1.37,1.37,1.38,1.38,1.38,1.38,1.39$, $1.39,1.39,1.39,1.40,1.40,1.41,1.42,1.42,1.42,1.47$
IIIc-d with late S on obverse 1.35 (northern type?)
IIIf $1.26,1.27,1.27,1.34,1.34,1.35,1.36,1.38$
IIIg early S
$1.05,1.12,1.13,1.13,1.14,1.20,1.23,1.23,1.24,1.25,1.29$,
$1.29,1.29,1.30,1.31,1.31,1.32,1.34,1.34,1.35,1.35,1.35$, $1.36,1.36,1.38,1.38,1.40,1.40$
IIIg early S but wedge shaped comma abbreviations 1.16, 1.28, 1.36

IIIg late S/early S mules
$0.97,1.05,1.12,1.13,1.14,1.14,1.15,1.18,1.19,1.30,1.30$, $1.31,1.35,1.36,1.36,1.38,1.38,1.39,1.41$
IIIg early S/late S mule 1.36
IIIg late S
$0.95,1.04,1.07,1.13,1.16,1.16,1.20,1.21,1.22,1.26,1.26$, $1.31,1.35,1.35,1.35,1.36,1.36,1.37,1.38,1.38,1.38,1.39$, 1.41

IIIg abbreviation marks absent or not visible, late $\mathrm{S} /$ early S mules $0.98,1.38$
abbreviation marks absent or not visible, late S
$1.18,1.30,1.43$
IVa to c are listed together, and a range of examples illustrated. A number of different types usually gather under the umbrella label of IVa: the type begins with those examples most similar to Class III but also includes types shading into IVb . For me, IVb is usually distinguished by the deterioration of the right-hand fleur of the coin - the extreme right limb of the fleur is often almost completely lacking. Class IVb usually has a distinctive face with extremely piercing eyes. IVc at its most distinctive has a face resembling subsequent types, and a crown with a nick in the band between the extreme left fleur and the left spearhead. The deteriorated state of the righthand fleur (IVb) remains. I have made the crown the decisive criterion (rather than the face).
IVa-c with early S on rev. (i.e. IV/III mules)
$1.34,1.35,1.30$
(IVa) $1.32,1.41,1.21,1.35,1.35,1.36,1.36,1.31,1.22$, $1.33,1.31,1.40,1.07,1.33,0.94,1.29,1.36,1.36,0.99,1.37$, $1.44,1.40,1.30,1.33,1.34,1.14,1.27,1.32,1.35,1.34,1.42$, $1.25,1.24,1.23,1.35,1.30,1.34,1.31,1.23,1.36,1.03,1.12$, $1.35,1.32,1.32,1.29,1.13,1.06,1.33,1.30,1.34,1.20,1.28$, $1.04,1.27,1.29,1.37,1.24,1.26,1.33,1.03,1.28,1.35,1.39$, $1.29,1.08,1.34$
IVab crown of IVb, face of IVa 1.39
crown of IVa, face of IVb 1.28
(IVb) $1.34,1.01,1.38,1.16,1.41,1.36,1.36,1.33,1.40$, $1.43,1.31,1.38,1.32,1.42,1.32,1.35,1.20,1.39,1.30,1.35$, $1.35,1.35,1.38,1.39,1.22,1.38,1.35,1.39,1.30,1.34,1.24$, $1.31,1.06,1.19,1.32,1.37,1.37,0.95,1.10,1.07,1.24,1.34$, $1.30,1.05,1.31,1.32,1.39,1.38,1.32,1.34,1.11,1.35,1.41$, $1.29,1.16,1.14,1.32,1.33,1.34,1.10,1.39,1.39,1.14,1.33$, $1.22,1.35,1.07,1.30,1.24,1.06,1.35,1.03,1.36,1.34,1.39$, $1.36,1.06,1.31,1.34,1.12,1.35,1.18,1.21$
(IVc) $1.42,1.30,1.32,1.37,1.39,1.44,1.36,1.33,1.25,1.34$, $1.36,1.39,1.39,1.29,1.33,1.12,0.90,1.12,1.33,1.26,1.15$, 1.36, 1.12

IVa-c uncertain $1.22,1.09,0.85,0.60$
IVd usually with .CIVI
$1.37,1.36,1.35,1.36,1.31,1.32,1.36,1.06,1.25,1.33,1.14$, $1.34,1.21,1.40,1.34,1.37,1.40,1.36,1.35,1.40,1.33,1.33$, $1.35,0.97,1.18,1.20,1.11,1.35,1.28,1.00,1.04,1.32,1.35$, $1.15,1.37,1.26,0.93,1.20,1.41,1.35,1.32,1.30,1.37,1.22$, $1.39,1.38,1.37,1.34,1.38,1.36,1.39$
IVd with garbled rev. ( $=$ CIV TAS LON D[? $? \mathrm{NI}$ ) 1.32
IVe/d 1.21, 1.19, 1.06
IVe (known with crown of IVd, and with another crown)
$1.25,1.33,1.35,1.34,1.32,1.40,1.42,1.32,1.23,1.34,1.41$, $1.36,1.27,1.31,1.37,1.35,1.10,1.38,1.35,1.29,1.04,1.25$, $0.91,1.00,1.35,1.38,1.33$

IVe? (pellets on obv. not visible) 1.33
IVa-c/e mule (no pellets on $o b v$., crown not of IVd type) 1.38

V/IVe mule 1.30, 1.27
V
$1.34,1.15,1.40,1.35,1.13,1.36,1.40,1.01,1.30,1.19,1.24$,
1.34

V irregular 1.29
VI $1.18,1.27,1.36,1.26,1.03,1.33,1.35,1.22,1.28$
VI EDWA 1.37
VIIa (with crown as VI) 1.24, 1.37, 1.29
VIIb (different crown) 1.34, 1.22, 0.68
All these VIIs have double-barred Ns $o b v$. and rev.
VI with double-barred N obv. and rev. and top-tilted S on rev. could be described as VII a without rose or almond eyes but with late top-tilted S on rev. 1.42

The classification of Class VIII is important since its total absence at Canterbury (one in Montrave?) at a time when the mint was known to be closed makes it important for the chronology. For this reason the classification is examined quite closely at this point. However, classification is by definition a process of generalisation and I make no attempt to create new classes to accommodate every minor variety discussed here.

The commas in the legend and the swollen drapery hark back to Class VI, but some Class VIII coins have increasingly the look of Class IX. In addition to the swollen drapery, most Class VIII are characterised by the top-tilted S and the extra comma in $\mathrm{h}^{\prime} \mathrm{YB}$.
VIII 1.33, 1.37, 1.36, 1.39, 1.41, 1.34, 1.42, 1.14, 1.31, 1.38, $1.28,1.37,1.36,1.32,1.34,1.24,1.13,1.39,1.35,1.30,1.33$, 1.35

Some examples have these characteristics combined with drapery of IX 1.16, 1.33
Some have the top-tilted S but lack the extra comma 1.24, 1.31, 1.21, 1.12

Some have the comma but lack the top-tilted S
$1.40,1.13,1.25,1.30$
Some have neither the top-tilted S, nor the extra comma, but remain unmistakably VIII
$1.41,1.39,1.39,1.31,1.31$
VIII-IX uncertain (poor condition) 1.02
IX with top-tilted S and h'YB'. 1.34
The top-tilted S occurs quite often in Class IX as a hang over from the earlier class, and has not of itself been specially noted. In this case, however, in combination with the extra comma, it does constitute a good example of a border-line coin, sharing characteristics of two classes.
IXa In a sense the whole of IXa is a transitional group, starting as a variety of VIII with star on breast, and merging imperceptibly with the recoinage group IXb. The following listing begins with coins which might well have been described as VIII, but are listed as IXa because of their drapery. (The Foxes, however, regarded IXa as by definition with a star on breast.) $1.25,1.44,1.39,1.22$
IXa no star 1.26, 1.32, 1.07
None of these coins has the star on breast but another, IXa star 1.25
combines the star on breast with the $\mathrm{h}^{\prime} \mathrm{YB}$ ' reading peculiar to some VIIIs.
The remaining IX a coins all have star on breast. They are distinguished from IXb by their larger module, plain initial cross and/or earlier style of lettering, but the possibility that another student might have classified some of these coins as IXb cannot be ruled out.

IXa star (continued)
1.38, 1.31, 1.36, 1.32, 1.39, 1.35, 1.15, 1.41, 1.32, 1.26, 1.28, $1.38,0.97,1.24,1.38,0.87,1.21,1.43,1.41,1.30,1.36,1.04$, $1.29,1.24,1.33,1.30,1.35,0.71,1.00,1.12,1.31,0.95,1.33$, $1.37,1.32,1.15,1.24,1.14,1.40,1.39,1.31,1.06$
IXa star uncertain 1.34
IXb star uncertain
$1.35,1.30,1.23,1.26,1.37,1.36,1.33,1.15,1.33,1.07,1.08$, $1.38,1.20,1.39,1.24$
IXb no star
$1.33,1.32,1.36,1.30,1.41,1.05,1.38,1.31,1.21,1.36,1.12$, $1.33,1.41,1.18,1.20,1.36,1.34,1.34,1.40,1.30,1.34,1.31$, $1.30,1.37,1.33,1.30,1.39,1.40,1.35,1.45,1.34,1.38,1.35$, $1.38,1.15,1.09,1.10$
IXb star
$1.35,1.35,1.34,1.31,1.39,1.33,1.39,1.38,1.18,1.36,1.39$, $1.41,1.35,1.00,1.34,1.30,1.19,1.40,1.34,1.38,1.29,1.35$, $1.07,1.32,1.07,1.41,1.27,1.42,1.31,1.37,1.29,1.39,1.32$, $1.38,1.42,1.36,1.17,0.88,1.35,1.29,1.34,1.38,1.34,1.35$, $1.37,1.34,1.36,1.34,1.36,1.34,1.43,1.27,1.32,1.33,1.40$, $1.29,1.39,1.29,1.34,1.39,1.39,1.45,1.39,1.36,1.38,1.31$, $1.33,1.39,1.29,1.42,1.39,1.31,1.31,1.34,1.05,1.39,1.34$, $1.45,1.36,1.39,1.36,1.39,1.39,1.40,1.34,1.36,1.38,1.40$, $1.38,1.36,1.34,1.35,1.38,1.42,1.25,1.39,1.35,1.36,1.40$, $1.36,1.34,1.38,1.36,1.42,1.29,1.34,1.38,1.33,1.41,1.42$, $1.45,1.45,1.09,1.31,1.34,1.27,1.29,1.20,1.35,1.40,1.35$, $1.33,1.38,1.33,1.32,1.34,1.32,1.33,1.39,1.38,1.35,1.38$, $1.39,1.30,1.23,1.36,1.29,1.24,1.27,1.28$
$\mathbf{X a} / \mathbf{I X b}$, mules
$1.38,1.44,1.33,1.40,1.41,1.18,1.31,1.39,1.23,1.37,1.37$, $1.28,1.35,1.28,1.22,1.30,1.30,1.39,1.40,1.37,1.05,1.34$, $1.39,1.39,1.32,1.43,1.39,1.30,1.27,1.33,1.37,1.35,1.33$, $1.07,1.12,1.15,1.36,1.36,1.38,1.35,1.33,1.37,1.38,1.36$, $1.41,1.37,1.17,1.39,1.40,1.33,0.75$
Xa $1.43,1.27,1.13,1.40,1.35,1.23,1.38,1.34,1.39,1.41$ [reading hB], 1.34, 1.37, 1.40, 1.12, 1.34, 1.40, 1.32, 1.41, $1.37,1.37,1.37,1.15,1.33,1.38,1.27,1.35,1.37,1.28,1.34$, $1.38,1.44,1.31,1.35,1.42,1.31,1.34$

Xa or b 1.17, 1.33

## $\mathbf{X b} / \mathbf{I X b}$ mules

$1.37,1.32,1.39,1.31,1.37,1.36,1.29,1.38,1.29,1.29,1.38$, 1.28, 1.34
with trifoliate crown $1.42,1.35,1.23,1.41$
Xb $1.45,1.37,1.29,1.40,1.35,1.18,1.23,1.33,1.40,1.37$, $1.64,1.39,1.40,1.38,1.41,1.33,1.31,1.12,1.09,1.40,1.38$, $1.40,1.34,1.12,1.37,1.36,1.35,1.34,1.38,1.35,1.37,1.36$, $1.34,1.30,1.38,1.17,1.36,1.41,1.28,1.17,1.33,1.25,1.08$, $1.33,1.33,1.36,1.23,1.19,1.37,1.23$
with HB 1.34
with EDWRR $1.40,1.35,1.32,1.38$ (pierced), $1.34,1.44,1.38$, $1.27,1.32,1.35,1.39,1.31,1.05,1.14,1.13,1.27$ edwarra legend with crown' $11.36,1.29,1.36,1.38$
Crown of Xa-b, legend of Xc-f 1.28, 1.37, 1.25, 1.18, 1.11

## X crown 1

Usually with the E of Mayfield type, but not the h. Also a few examples have the larger E which might be the antecedent of the late E of Class X .
$1.35,1.23,1.43,1.43,1.40,1.39,1.39,1.34,1.35,1.29,1.42$, $1.39,1.30,1.14,1.39,1.28,1.39,1.37,1.41,1.35,1.38,1.33$, $1.38,1.35,1.37,1.28,1.34,1.45,1.38,1.40,1.30,1.32,1.40$, $1.38,1.40,1.36,1.41,1.40,1.33,1.38,1.36,1.34,1.29,1.38$, $1.40,1.28,1.32,1.27,1.24,1.36,0.82,1.37,1.05,1.10,1.23$, $1.20,0.97,1.23,1.43,1.18,1.24,1.31,1.06,1.38,1.40,1.39$, $1.18,1.35,1.37,1.34,1.33,1.34,1.26,1.35,1.28,1.29,1.35$, $1.08,1.33,1.37,1.16,1.34,1.34,1.44,0.80,1.30,1.01,1.42$,
$1.25,1.16,1.12,1.44,1.30,0.94,1.29,1.29,1.25,1.45,1.41$, $1.30,1.36,1.39,1.45,1.32,1.36,1.36,1.32,1.36,1.32,1.39$, $1.43,1.26,1.40,1.35,1.30,1.32,1.29,1.45,1.39,1.36,1.45$, $1.38,1.42,1.36,1.42,1.25,1.43,1.38,1.31,1.33,1.31,1.39$, $1.33,1.37,1.45,1.35,1.32,1.34,1.36,1.15,1.30,1.42,1.36$, $1.42,1.34,1.24,1.13,1.20,1.44,1.34,1.09,1.40,1.42,1.37$, $1.22,1.32,1.43,1.11,1.32,1.31,1.17,1.41,1.33,1.36,1.17$, $1.30,1.24,1.34$
X crown $21.36,1.40,1.37,1.30,1.32,1.40,1.26,1.33,1.39$, $1.36,1.28,1.43,1.35,1.40,1.35,1.13,1.36,1.06,1.38,1.24$, $1.37,1.24,1.07,1.37,1.21,1.29,1.12,1.40,1.41,1.32,1.43$, $1.39,1.28,1.23,1.24,1.36,1.28,0.86,1.33,1.36,1.40,1.15$, $1.39,1.32,1.29,1.29,1.38,1.38,1.36,1.36,1.35,1.38,1.40$, $1.24,1.38,1.33,1.40,1.41,1.34,1.43,1.12,1.35,1.37,1.44$, $1.49,1.37,1.31,1.38,1.19,1.36,1.24,1.28,1.39,1.33,1.43$, $1.32,1.37,1.37,1.40,1.34,1.36,1.34,0.72,1.30,1.21,1.03$, $1.05,0.98,0.99,1.27,1.01,1.31,1.35,1.28,1.35,0.91,1.43$, $1.25,1.20,1.42,1.30,1.43,1.41,1.34,1.39,0.90,1.20,1.21$, $1.37,1.35,1.32,1.25,1.33,1.37,1.21,1.34,1.33,1.39,1.37$, $1.42,1.32,1.34,1.35,1.29,1.38,1.40,1.33,1.40,1.28,1.32$, $1.32,1.09,1.32,1.10,1.13,1.28,1.26,1.39,1.18,1.35,1.30$, $1.34,1.44,1.27,1.41,1.35,1.26,1.27,1.06,1.32,1.32,1.42$, $1.18,1.39,1.33,1.42,1.40,1.33,1.41,1.49,1.38,1.35,1.32$, $1.35,1.31,1.24,1.41,1.23,1.37,1.42,1.37,1.34,1.35,1.33$, $1.26,1.43,1.31,1.24,1.30,1.40,1.34,1.28,1.34$
with : at end of $o b v$. legend $1.23,1.35,1.27$

## X crown 3 Mayfield

$1.35,1.42,1.36,1.39,1.41,1.38,1.27,1.33,1.31,1.41,1.11$, $1.14,1.16,1.43,0.89,1.22,1.36,1.23,1.40,1.24,1.40,1.36$, $1.33,1.37,1.40,1.23,1.41,1.41,1.40,1.29,0.91,1.30,1.10$, $1.28,1.43,1.28,1.35,1.21,1.36,1.36,1.36,1.43,1.40,1.07$, $1.31,1.37,1.34,1.39,1.36,1.30,1.38,1.35,1.39,1.41,1.31$, $1.35,1.26,1.35,1.23,1.41,1.32,1.29,1.47,1.28,1.37,1.39$, $1.30,1.35,1.32,1.40,1.28,0.73,1.29,1.38,1.39,1.42,1.12$, $1.25,1.38,1.36,1.30,1.39,1.33,1.38,1.41,1.28,1.40,1.39$, 1.38
with three pellet stop 1.37
with : 1.31, 1.40, 1.38
with . 1.30
with ' 1.44
$\mathbf{X}$ crown 3 late lettering
In my report on the Upperkirkgate find I noted varieties of crown numbered 3,4 and 5 . Varieties 4 and 5 had been kindly brought to my notice by Christopher Wood, and I tried to take account of his work in my report. He has subsequently reversed the numbers to reflect the likely chronology, rather than the order in which he identified them. Mr Wood has yet to provide the definitive publication of these crowns, but Mr North has incorporated them in a new and intensely detailed classification involving some twenty sub-groups within Fox Class X alone. Unfortunately, details of this new classification did not reach me until after the coins were returned to Aberdeen. Moreover, although such detailed classification extends our knowledge of the coinage and our understanding of how successive punches succeeded one another, analysis in such detail is not always applicable to hoard reports in which a number of coins may not always be preserved in a condition adequate to permit the most detailed classification. Thus, this report represents something of a reaction against continued proliferation of sub-types, and I have reverted to the old-fashioned practice of listing all the later forms of crown as crown 3 . Within this group certain other features of clearly established chronological significance have been noted.
Mayfield lettering was superseded by a later type which continued in use till Class XI. The appearance of a small depression in the neck has also been noted. This mark is unquestionably a late feature which continues on subsequent
classes; its absence on some early coins of X crown 3 late lettering is therefore chronologically significant and has been recorded. Crowns 4 and 5 are not generally met without the depression.
X crown 3 late lettering, no depression
$1.35,1.31,1.39,1.39,1.36,1.38,1.37,1.23,1.34,1.40,1.41$, $1.37,1.28,1.27,1.42,1.39,1.26,1.34,1.24,1.38,1.33,1.40$, $1.34,1.33,1.42,1.31,1.36,1.38,1.38,1.38,1.42,1.44,1.39$, $1.32,1.26,1.35,1.33,1.22,1.25,1.11,1.41,1.36,1.37,1.16$, $1.36,1.27,1.26,1.21,1.30,1.36,1.28,1.29,1.23,1.18,1.28$, $1.21,1.12,1.39,1.40,1.22,1.35,1.31,1.31,1.33,1.34,1.32$, $1.42,1.36,1.27,1.38,1.39,1.22,1.33,1.41,0.92,1.27,1.39$, $1.44,1.37,1.41,1.06,1.40,1.40,1.38,1.30,1.33,1.35,1.39$, $1.26,1.39,1.31,1.37,1.39,1.37,1.33,1.40,1.31,1.34,1.30$, $1.36,0.97,1.13,1.37,1.33,1.35,1.34,1.04,1.30,1.26,1.32$, $1.40,1.39,1.35$
reading EDWAARANGL etc. 1.37
with three pellet stop 1.36, 1.35
with : $1.25,1.41,1.32,1.13,1.26$
with 1.33
with broken chin (I have not yet found this faulty punch with the neck depression.)
$1.39,1.24,1.23,1.29,1.29,1.43,1.32,1.43,1.16,1.40,1.25$, $1.39,1.34,1.41,1.39,1.21,1.37,0.95,1.21,1.43,1.41,1.30$, $1.28,1.38,1.20,1.36,1.46,1.37,1.39,1.35,1.15$
with : $1.40,1.30$
with depression uncertain
$1.36,1.35,1.35,1.44,1.18,1.40,1.26,1.26,1.32,1.35,1.34$, $1.34,1.21,1.29,1.23,1.29,1.36,1.28,1.06,1.24,0.92,1.33$, $1.07,1.14,1.29,1.36,1.35$
uncertain with : or $0.99,0.90$
with depression
$1.34,1.37,1.31,1.10,1.37,1.37,1.38,1.42,1.25,1.29,1.28$, $1.29,1.39,1.12,1.38,1.30,1.42,1.38,1.34,1.36,1.35,1.38$, $1.28,1.35,1.20,1.21,1.07,1.25,1.32,1.16,1.36,1.36,0.77$, $0.68,1.32,1.30,1.42,1.35,1.15,1.32,1.31,1.17,1.32,1.38$, $1.30,1.28,1.37,1.36,1.36,1.06,1.45,1.33,1.06,1.33,1.19$, $1.16,1.21,1.37,1.09,1.32,1.41,0.52,1.15,1.36,1.34,1.33$, $1.41,1.13,1.11,1.32,1.30,1.33,1.37,1.35,1.18,1.37,1.09$, 1.39, 1.32
with three pellet stop $1.14,1.24$
with : $1.11,1.19,1.37,1.33,1.34,1.28$
with three pellet stop or : 1.34
with :and ' 1.32
with '__1.34
with depression and straight-sided Ns on obv. 1.29
with depression and straight-sided Ns on $o b v$., and open E 1.23
with depression and straight-sided Ns on obv. and rev., and open E 1.14
with depression/XI mules
$1.30,1.41,1.35,1.42,1.28,1.33,1.13,1.26,1.29,1.17,1.34$, $1.31,1.35,1.42,1.17,1.35$
X uncertain crown 1.29, 1.21, 1.17
XI The principal difficulty with the classification of Class XI concerns the distinction between XIa and XIb. The Fox illustrations of XIb (plate X) all read edwarra and might have been placed in Class XIII but for the damaged crown. Adherence to these criteria would produce a very small XIb class. Most numismatists nowadays tend to look to the angular E and the seriffed N as signs of XIb, but in fact coins with the most angular Es are not generally those with the most seriffed Ns. In the following classification the Es are regarded as the paramount criterion. The round-backed E of XIa is initially the distinctive letter so familiar on X crown 3 late lettering. It is replaced by a different, though still round-backed letter, which in turn gradually develops a peaked back and serifs. When these angular features
become marked the coin is deemed to be XIb.
$\mathbf{X I a} / \mathbf{X}$ (crown not broken but straight-limbed Ns) 1.35
XIa/X 1.34
XIa (crown not broken but straight-limbed Ns) 1.33
XIa $1.39,1.37,1.29,1.39,1.39,1.36,1.30,1.38,1.42,1.37$, $1.45,1.40,0.98,1.26,1.22,1.36,1.33,0.94,1.32,1.40,1.33$, $1.29,1.24,1.42,1.30,1.28,1.30,1.01,1.19,1.35,1.32,0.98$, $1.13,1.29,1.10,0.72,1.27,0.91,1.15,0.92,1.38,1.42,1.18$, $1.31,1.36,1.41,1.23,1.37,1.10,1.34,1.25,1.28,1.23,1.30$, $1.33,1.30,1.34,1.13,1.23,1.09,1.18,1.29,1.35,1.25,1.35$, $0.88,1.37$
XIa with reversed Ns on rev. 1.27
edwarra $1.39,1.39,1.31$
XIb $1.33,1.37,1.43,1.44,1.39,1.40,1.38,1.35,1.44,1.38$, $1.32,1.46,1.36,1.41,1.22,1.17,1.14,1.18,1.41,1.29,1.38$, $1.34,1.14,1.30,1.39,1.43,1.41,1.34,1.26,0.85,1.42,1.33$, $1.33,1.27,1.21,1.33,1.39$
EDWARRA $0.93,1.32,1.08,1.40$
XIN $1.29,1.38,1.42,1.37,1.39,1.39,1.18,1.13,0.97,1.13$, $1.40,1.18,1.37,1.29,1.42,1.36,1.39,1.36,1.31,1.15,1.06$, $1.39,1.40,1.40,1.39,1.39,1.26,1.28,1.34,1.11$
with : $1.28,1.35,1.28$
EDWARRA $1.36,1.12,1.34$
XIc (the distinctive letter A found on the rev. only)
with XIN obv. 1.37, 1.20
with edwarra obv. $1.41,1.07,1.38$
uncertain XI 1.01, 1.19, 1.01
XII/XIN mule 1.36 (elaborate intermediate ornament in crown)
XII 1.19 (pellet intermediate ornament in crown)
XII 1.24 (ornaments not clear)
XIII 1.44, $1.46,1.39,1.37,1.22,1.08,1.16,0.87,1.07,1.28$, $1.41,1.20,1.23,1.07,1.36,1.31,1.34,1.31,1.37,1.42,1.29$, $1.34,1.42,1.31$
XIII with edwarra and : 1.36, 1.38
XIII-XIV transitional $1.35,1.27,1.33,1.31,1.43$
XIV $1.42,1.22,1.35,1.37,1.38,1.39,1.34,1.37,1.34,1.40$, $1.44,1.42,1.13,1.22,1.14,1.12,1.32,1.37,1.21,1.21,1.37$, $1.21,1.29,0.96,1.42,1.42,1.35,1.35,1.27,1.35,1.41,1.41$, $1.41,1.30,1.32,1.37$
XVa $1.41,1.39,1.39,1.38,0.71,1.37,1.43$
XVa or b 1.42
XVb $1.32,1.42,1.44,1.44,1.42,1.24,1.37,0.74,1.33,1.38$, $1.39,1.43,1.42,1.41,1.36,1.39,1.39$
Durham-London mule 1.33
XVc 1.41, 1.37, 1.31, 1.39, 1.37, 1.36, 1.11, 1.35, 1.43, 1.42, 1.15

Durham-London mule 1.26

## Canterbury

IIa 1.26
IIb $1.36,0.97,1.40,0.98,1.34,1.33,1.18,1.25,0.96$
$\mathbf{I I b} / \mathbf{I I I}$ (i.e. N with curved uprights in place of reversed N with straight uprights on rev.) 1.38

## IIIc-d

$1.30,1.35,1.16,1.16,1.30,1.11,1.36,1.35,1.19,1.23,1.05$, $1.39,1.32,1.36,1.18,1.33,1.32,1.10,1.25,1.29,1.34,1.18$, $1.40,1.03,1.32,0.91$
IIIf 1.30
IIIg early S
$1.36,1.18,1.37,1.32,1.36,1.17,1.34,0.99$
early S, wedge shaped comma abbreviations 1.36
early S/late S mules $1.38,1.18$
late S $1.36,1.37,1.36,1.18,1.30,1.26,1.09,1.25,1.20$, $1.10,1.38,1.26,1.37,1.13$
III uncertain (early S) 0.87
IVa/III early S mule 1.37

IVa-c $1.30,1.33,1.38,1.24,1.32,1.22,1.36,1.37,1.37$, $1.32,1.27,1.30,1.24,1.27,1.30,1.20,1.39,0.94,1.40,1.34$, $1.12,0.95,1.23,1.37,1.29,1.33,1.30,1.18,1.27,1.08,1.02$ $1.31,1.35,1.39,1.22,1.05,1.37,1.28,1.37,1.31,1.32,1.14$, $1.15,1.17,1.40,1.28,1.10,1.34,1.21,1.35,1.39,1.36,1.30$, $1.31,1.11,1.37,1.28,1.27,1.32,1.38,1.22,1.33,1.01,1.22$, $1.32,1.28,1.37,1.11,1.12$
$1.42,1.25,1.33,1.05,1.33,1.26,1.10$
with DNS. ? 1.32
IVa-c uncertain 1.12
IVd 1.36, 1.31, 1.32, 1.30, 1.30, 1.22, 1.30, 1.20, 1.24, 1.39 , $1.15,1.36,1.40,1.07,1.06,1.35,1.32,1.31,1.19,1.02,1.29$, $1.40,1.23,1.40,0.97,1.19,1.32,1.18,1.24,1.18,1.46,1.42$, $1.35,1.10,1.39,0.97,1.39,1.17,1.38,1.07,0.99,1.39$
IVd/e mule 1.41
IVe $1.37,1.20,1.20,1.26,1.22,1.10,1.12$
with .TAS 1.36, 1.38
no pellet on rev. ? or IVe/V mule ? 1.40
V $1.10,1.18,1.21,1.14$
VIIa 1.40
VIIb 1.31
IXa star uncertain 1.35, 1.15
star $1.39,1.03,0.98,1.10,1.37,1.39,1.08,0.93$
no star 1.38
IXb star uncertain 1.39, 1.40, 1.26
star $1.25,1.34,1.31,1.37,1.30,1.40,1.41,1.28,1.41,1.42$, $1.37,1.37,1.33,1.39,1.34,1.09,1.27,1.25,1.35,1.41,1.31$, $1.35,1.35,1.37,1.25$
no star $1.33,1.32,1.41,1.33,1.37,1.24,1.39,1.30,1.33$, $1.35,1.12,1.35,1.32,1.45,1.35,1.36$
star Clator 1.38
no star Castor 1.35
no star CANTOR' 1.42, 1.39
Xa $1.38,1.40,1.42,1.39,1.23,1.29,1.31,1.16,1.23,1.41$, $1.31,1.40,1.20,1.11,1.38,1.37,1.36,1.39,1.32,1.38,1.48$, $1.22,1.37,1.36,1.32,1.20,1.34,1.35$
Xb $1.39,1.42,1.41,1.35,1.42,1.35,1.34,1.32,1.32,1.41$, $1.36,1.39,1.38,1.37,1.37,1.38,1.35,1.27,1.40,1.34,1.31$, $1.25,1.41,1.37,1.44,1.41,1.33,1.40,0.81,1.19,1.31,1.38$, $1.37,1.38,1.38,1.31,1.31,1.35,1.07,1.29,1.36,1.30,1.27$, $1.42,1.24,1.22,1.38,1.08,0.95,1.37,1.40,1.42,1.41$
reading +EDWARRANGDNShYB' 1.35
reading +EDWR'R'_ $1.43,1.38,1.33,1.05$ (chipped)
X crown 11.34, 1.33, 1.41, 1.39, 1.37, 1.37, 1.36, 1.40, 1.15, $1.36,1.13,1.32,1.44,1.40,1.39,1.35,1.01,1.08,1.37,1.27$, $1.33,1.44,1.23,1.30,1.29,1.32,1.26,1.36,0.79,1.45,1.22$, $1.38,1.31,1.37,1.21,1.13,1.30,1.33,1.18,1.38,1.18,1.36$, $1.20,1.36,1.31,1.30,1.27,1.56,1.39,1.38,1.14,1.36,1.45$. $1.34,1.44,1.34,1.29,1.31,1.42,1.44,1.32,1.24,1.37,1.31$, $1.36,1.34,1.16,1.40,1.34,1.41,1.23,1.36,1.42,1.34,1.24$. $1.38,0.98,1.02,1.26,1.37,1.34,1.32$
X crown $21.34,1.31,1.42,1.36,1.37,1.40,1.38,1.36,1.36$, $1.36,1.36,1.39,1.36,1.35,1.40,1.41,1.42,1.39,1.22,1.19$. $1.41,1.37,1.04,1.44,1.43,1.35,1.37,1.16,1.26,1.33,1.38$, $1.35,1.42,1.46,1.44,1.36,1.40,1.29,1.37,1.43,1.37,1.38$, $1.37,1.31,1.40,1.35,1.40,1.30,1.40,1.29,1.39,1.19,1.41$, $1.33,1.36,1.35,1.24,1.29,1.32,1.34,1.33,1.10,1.23,1.37$, $1.37,1.41,1.32,1.29,1.30,1.35,1.26,1.22,1.14,1.33,1.11$, $1.20,1.17,1.32,1.40,1.34,1.36,0.93,1.34,1.30,1.19,0.91$, $1.15,1.26,1.27,1.19,1.34,1.39,1.29,1.31,1.14,1.06,1.24$, $1.33,1.44,1.42,1.41,1.32,1.17,1.04,1.04,1.09,1.19,1.35$, $1.43,1.33,1.30$
with three pellet stop $\quad 1.29$
with :_ $\quad 1.42,1.32,1.18$
ICA IIOR 1.42
CIAN TOR 1.16

## X crown 3 Mayfield

$1.37,1.39,1.38,1.42,1.35,1.39,1.43,1.28,1.40,1.34,1.33$, $1.42,1.33,1.44,1.43,1.38,1.34,1.41,1.34,1.40,1.30,1.32$, $1.35,1.41,1.35,1.36,1.40,1.18,1.36,1.38,1.32,1.40,1.37$, $1.19,1.41,1.31,1.39,1.25,1.35,1.07,1.34,1.26,1.36,1.32$, $1.38,1.42,1.34,1.37,0.79,1.27,1.43,1.30,1.31,1.35,1.26$, $1.37,1.05,1.22,1.35,1.23,1.29,1.38,1.09,1.05,1.14,1.43$, $1.13,1.27,1.12,1.35,1.37,1.39,1.34,1.40,1.10,1.07,1.10$ with EDWARRA 1.29
with ' $1.32,1.35$
with : $1.39,0.87$
with . and ' 1.42
$\mathbf{X}$ crown 3 late, no depression
$1.36,1.35,1.38,1.40,1.46,1.32,1.40,1.34,1.41,1.26,1.36$, $1.40,1.20,1.33,1.28,1.38,1.43,1.39,1.14,1.34,1.34,1.41$, $1.32,1.40,1.36,1.40,1.25,1.22,1.25,1.32,1.30,1.37,1.32$, $1.39,1.25,1.43,1.36,1.34,1.37,1.42,1.35,1.33,1.41,1.36$, $1.29,1.35,1.00$
no depression, damaged chin
$1.39,1.26,1.39,1.31,1.30,1.25,1.41,1.37,1.41,1.41,1.39$ depression uncertain
$1.38,1.32,1.10,1.15,0.87,1.35,1.25,1.33,1.28,1.27,1.32$, $1.16,1.24,1.06,1.36,1.42,1.35,1.37$
with three pellet stop 1.39
with : $1.24,1.43$
with + DWAR etc. (i.e. E omitted) 1.23
with depression
$1.43,1.18,1.26,1.24,1.22,1.37,0.86,1.12,1.31,1.27,1.15$, $1.22,1.40,1.37,1.38,1.37,1.25,1.06,1.32,1.19,1.38,1.36$, $1.32,1.17,1.32,1.35,1.30,1.28,1.26,1.24,1.31,1.34,1.36$, $1.42,1.39,1.23,1.35,1.33,1.40,1.39,1.33,1.41,1.40,1.38$, $1.38,1.35,1.23,1.39,1.30,1.40,1.39,1.40,1.40,1.42,1.36$, $1.44,1.38,1.29,1.40,1.45,1.41,1.21,1.40$
with three pellet stop $\quad 1.39,1.42,1.17$
with :1.26, 1.06
CAN TON 1.40
$\mathbf{X}$ uncertain 1.31, 0.92
$\mathbf{X}$ crown 3 late with depression/XI mule
1.38

XIa/X mule 1.36
XIa $1.40,1.31,1.18,1.36,1.38,1.35,1.38,1.37,1.31,1.17$, $1.39,1.40,1.03,1.35,1.42,1.38,1.12,1.32,1.34,1.12,1.41$, $1.27,0.89,1.24,1.35,1.18,1.42$
with : 1.42
XIb 1.39, 1.42, 1.37, 1.44, 1.37, 1.22, 1.30, 1.41, 1.38, 1.29, $1.33,1.36,1.16,1.36,1.28,1.32,1.35,1.25,1.42,1.17,1.36$, $1.24,1.15,1.36,1.26,1.25,1.31,1.36,1.28,1.40,1.39,1.34$, $1.39,1.43,1.47,1.17,1.35,1.38,1.38,1.38,1.42,1.42,1.38$, $1.41,1.42,1.34$
with three pellet stop $1.26,1.39,1.33$
with : $1.37,1.17$
edwarra $1.37,1.39,1.32,1.28,1.24,1.11,1.40,1.10$
EDWARRA (possibly merely double-struck) 1.32
XIN $1.35,1.37,1.23,1.31,1.22,1.40,1.37,1.42,1.34,1.34$, $1.25,1.30,1.41,1.22,1.34,1.37,1.38,1.33,1.34,1.31,1.36$, $1.11,1.31,1.27,1.19,1.29,1.27,1.41,1.27,1.36$ with edwarra $1.30,1.38$
XIb/c 1.40, 1.33
XIc $0.96,1.35,1.23$
XI uncertain with : $1.08,1.32$
XII 1.46, 1.38, 1.40, 1.32, 1.41, 1.19, 1.37, 1.36, 1.33, 1.26, 1.32

XIII with edwara $1.29,1.31$
XIII $1.38,1.38,1.45,1.39,1.37,1.39,1.24,1.36,1.45,1.43$,
$1.42,1.36,1.43,1.32,1.38,1.38,1.30,1.32,1.42,1.17,1.40$, $1.37,1.33,1.41,1.37,1.35,1.13,1.37,1.27,1.33,1.37,1.25$, $1.38,1.28,1.36,1.35,1.33,1.32,0.87$
with : 1.42
crown of XIV, face of XIII 1.38
XIV 1.37, 1.37, 1.39, 1.42, 1.15, 1.36, 1.37, 1.38, 1.33, 1.19 $1.41,1.34,1.45,1.41,1.36,1.40,1.36,1.33,1.38,1.32,1.39$, $1.13,1.40,1.30,1.44,1.37,1.37,1.41,1.40,1.35,1.39,1.11$, $1.40,1.28,1.28,1.32,1.31,1.41,1.34,1.38,1.26,1.40,1.26$, $1.27,1.29,1.27,1.33,1.40,1.36,1.36,1.35,1.21,1.40,1.35$

XVa 1.40, 1.36, 1.44, 1.34, 1.43, 1.40, 1.42, $0.99,1.35,1.39$, $1.22,0.99,1.37,1.40$
XVb $1.40,1.29,1.41,1.40,1.26,1.43,1.26,0.88,1.41,1.29$, $1.31,1.29,1.22,1.51,1.21,1.25,1.27,1.37,1.23,1.31,1.28$, $1.37,1.08,1.15,1.40,1.46,1.37,1.35,1.21,1.38,1.40,1.39$, $1.33,1.28,1.46,1.46,1.42,1.01,1.45,1.45,1.44,1.36,1.30$, $1.07,1.37,1.33,1.10,1.31,1.36,0.92$ (clipped and worn)
XVc $1.34,1.46,1.38,1.38,1.36,1.28,1.23,1.35,1.14,1.39$, $1.29,1.43$
XVc/d mule (See BNJ 31 (1962), 72-3, not same dies but confirms style of Lombardic N) 1.40

Canterbury uncertain class $1.04,1.15,1.10,1.17,1.25,0.64$

## Bristol

IIb $1.35,1.32,1.32,1.26,1.39,1.19,1.17,1.12,1.38,1.36$, $1.38,1.31,1.35,1.31,1.35,1.32,1.12$
reading bristollio 1.33
IIIb 1.22
IIIc-d with early h $1.35,1.26,1.11$
with later h (mostly of a IIIc type rather than IIId)
$1.38,1.43,1.39,1.34,1.37,1.37,1.23,1.37,0.96,1.32$ (this double-pierced, perhaps for wearing as a cross), 1.21, 1.33, $1.12,1.17,1.05,1.32,1.29,1.21,1.40,1.13,1.26,1.11,1.15$, $1.26,1.39,1.34,1.37,1.36,1.18,1.33,1.38,0.78,1.30,1.24$, 1.36
with unusual bust 1.35
with bristoille 1.26
IIIf $1.33,1.40,1.39$
IIIg early S
$1.35,1.30,1.34,1.26,1.06,1.05,1.41,1,37,1.29,1.34,1.29$,
$1.38,1.34,1.36,1.32$

## IXb star

$1.07,1.26,1.33,1.18,1.21,1.31,1.32,1.13,1.30,1.32,1.35$, $1.17,1.31,1.38,1.26,1.34,1.20,1.33,1.18,1.18,1.00$ no star $1.30,1.43,1.39$
star uncertain 1.39
Bury St Edmunds
In name of Robert de Hadeleie
IIId 1.02, 1.25
IIIg early S, wedge abbreviations 1.36
IIIg late S $1.34,1.29,1.28$
IVa-c Robertus de Hadl (IVa) 1.39, 1.23, 1.30, 1.40, 1.40
Robert de Hadeleie (IVb) 1.34
Hereafter reading Villa Sci Edmundi (or some variety of it)
VIII 1.34, 1.01
VIII? 1.35
IXa 1.26 (See Fox pl. VIII, 9)
IXb no star 1.06
star 1.26

Xb $1.28,1.32,1.30,1.38,1.35$
with hB 1.36
", and crudely punched pellets as eyes 1.29
Xa-b but edwara 1.14
X crown 1 1.17, 1.03
X crown $21.38,1.25,1.41,1.39,1.46,1.35,1.46,1.35,0.92$
X crown 3 Mayfield 1.42, 1.16, 1.33, 1.27, 1.11
$\mathbf{X}$ crown 3 late lettering, no depression
$1.21,1.33,1.09,1.30,1.18,1.34$
broken chin 1.32
depression uncertain $1.21,0.99,1.33$
with depression
$1.26,1.29,1.30,1.23,1.24,1.28,1.29,1.17,1.26,1.27,1.28$,
$1.41,1.30,1.24,1.23,1.28,1.38,1.27,1.27$
with depression, reading hYB: 1.26
XIa $1.43,1.18,1.09,1.08,1.39,1.13,1.30,1.41,1.36,1.48$, $1.35,1.09,1.20,1.30,1.20,1.24$
with edwarra and vill: 1.28
XIb (including open $E$ and usual pointed-backed $E$, in one case muled together)
$1.31,1.19,1.40,1.29,1.47$
XIN 1.40, 1.33
XIII 1.19, 1.14, 1.28, 1.15, 1.08, 1.41
with R.R. 1.41, 1.43
XIV 1.36, 1.20, 1.37, 1.31, 1.39, 1.45, 1.13, 1.27, 1.26, 1.36, $1.37,1.38,1.35,1.33,1.36,1.40,1.33,1.31,1.30,1.33,1.41$, $1.27,1.44,1.23,1.34,1.38,1.30,1.27,0.99,1.04,0.70,1.34$, 1.45, 1.44

XVa $1.14,1.29,1.32,1.32,1.30$
XVb $1.44,1.47,1.43,1.36,1.33,1.36,1.34,1.38,1.32,1.33$, $1.36,1.36,1.40,1.27,1.33,1.38,1.19,1.28,1.20,1.44$
XVc/b? (with smaller E on reverse) 1.33
XVc $1.43,1.30,1.33,1.34,1.27,1.27,1.36$

## Chester

IIIg all early S $1.32,1.21,1.27,1.29,1.33$
IXb star 1.36, 1.21, 1.39, 1.36, 1.35, 1.06, reading SES TRIE 1.29
IXb no star 1.12

## Durham

de Insula
IIb 1.10, 1.38, 1.32, 1.31, 1.27
IIIb 1.37
IIIc or e 1.22, 1.04, 1.33
IIIe occasionally with pellet barred N .
$1.29,1.37,1.40,1.40,1.32,1.36,1.35$
IIIg all late S
$1.41,1.34,1.31,1.09,1.21,1.39,1.32$
IVa $1.26,1.28,1.31,1.34,1.30$

## Bek

IVb 1.46, 1.19, 1.15
IVe 1.33, 1.41
IV? 1.17, 1.35
Irregular IX (See J.J. North, 'Irregular dies of the Durham mint c. 1300', BNJ 54 (1984), 74-80)
$1.23=$ no. 2, p. 76. Same dies.
$1.33=$ no. 3, p. 76. Same dies.
$1.37=$ no. 4. Same dies.
1.16 regular IXb Bek obv. (star uncertain)
with irregular rev. $=$ no. 7 p. 76, but different dies.
IXa is difficult to distinguish from IXb. (Fox pl. VIII examples suggest IXa had moline cross on reverse as well as obverse, but there were none such in this hoard.)
IXa star - Bek or no mark uncertain (probably no mark) 1.30

IXb Bek star 1.09, 1.19, 1.36, 1.30, 1.27, 1.33
star uncertain 1.24, 1.40
no star 1.39
Bek or no mark uncertain
IXb star $1.35,0.99$, star uncertain $1.38,1.00$
no star 1.30

## No mark

Uncertainties exist about the attribution of all Durham coins without the bishop's mark to a mint operated by the royal receiver. See North, and in the same volume, I. Stewart, 'Bishop Bek and the Durham coins of Edward I and II', BNJ 54 (1984), 81-5.
IXb star
$1.30,1.32,1.23,1.41,1.38,1.35,1.37,1.31,1.23$
star uncertain $1.33,1.40,1.45,0.85,1.02$
no star 1.09, 1.27
no star, double-barred N and A on reverse 1.46
no star, double-barred N and A on reverse, N reversed. 1.34 no star/X mule 1.26

Xa no mark
$1.33,1.34,1.33,1.49,1.59,1.20$
1.33 reads DVR EMIE

## Xb Bek

$1.29,1.11,1.37,1.14,1.33$
X crown 1 Bek At Durham often not with the usual Mayfield lettering: especially h with tail used rather than h $1.32,1.34,1.31,1.39,1.13,1.39,1.39,1.05,1.26,1.24,1.13$, $1.35,1.33,1.32,1.34,1.17,1.31,1.29,1.22,1.33,1.43,1.29$
X crown 2 (Mayfield as usual)
no mark $1.13,0.77,1.37,1.20,1.31,1.43,1.29,1.28$, $1.14,1.29,1.28,1.21,1.25,1.13,1.45,1.40$
Bek $1.48,1.20,1.23,1.25,1.49,1.38,1.45,1.49,1.37,1.38$, $1.24,1.34,1.34,1.14,1.39,1.23,1.36,1.21,1.44$
Bek or no mark $1.36,1.25,1.31,1.19,1.44,1.17,1.28$
X crown 3 Bek Mayfield (sometimes $h$ with tail in place of $h$ )
$1.39,1.27,1.50,1.35,1.20,1.35,1.11,1.20,1.21,1.16,1.43$, $1.31,1.21,1.31,1.46,1.12,1.23,1.43$
with EdWarra 1.34, 1.33
X crown 3 Mayfield no mark (London-Durham mules?) $1.27,1.29,1.27,1.28$
X crown 3 lettering and initial mark uncertain 1.13
The coinage of Durham seems generally to be particularly poorly struck up, so it has not proved feasible to list all the usual sub-varieties because so many coins would have to be recorded as 'uncertain'. Accordingly, although the usual varieties occurred no distinctions have been recorded between the various sub-types of X crown 3 late. All may be presumed to be Bek's issue except where noted. The use of straight-sided lettering, especially on the reverse, develops slowly towards the close of this group. It is something of a moot point when such a coin should be regarded as a X/XI mule.
$1.12,1.18,1.54,1.39,1.31,1.47,1.42,1.11,1.40,1.36,1.41$, $1.38,1.20,1.16,1.39,1.30,1.28,1.22,1.33,1.01,1.21,1.39$, $0.93,1.33,1.35,1.40,1.49,1.53,1.33,1.24,1.19,1.20,1.05$, $1.29,1.19,1.03,1.12,0.74,1.37,1.21,1.16,1.24,1.00,1.24$, $1.18,1.20,1.28,1.32,1.36,1.24,1.37,1.25,1.31,1.02,1.29$,
$1.14,1.35,1.17,1.22,1.39,1.22,1.34,1.39,1.22,1.36,1.33$, $1.17,1.17,1.27,1.10,1.05,1.45,1.31,1.36$
with EDWARRA 1.24
with cross i.m. 1.42 (London-Durham mule?)
XIa Bek
1.27, 1.31, 1.31, 1.35, 1.32, 1.51, 0.95
with EDWARRA 1.14
royal (or London-Durham or Kellawe-Bek mule) 1.42
Bek or royal uncertain 1.29, 1.34, 1.17, 1.20
XIa Kellawe 1.33, 1.20, 1.20, 1.12, 1.24, 1.24
with Civitas: and open Es 1.53
XIb Kellawe 1.43, 1.41, 1.39, 1.19, 1.45, 1.59, 1.45, 1.32 , $1.30,1.27,1.23,1.56,1.28,1.21,1.23,1.66,1.38,1.31,1.50$, $1.24,1.32,1.41,1.36,1.21,1.24$
with edwarra, face and lettering of XIII but crown of XI therefore XIb 1.56
XIN Kellawe 1.46, 1.37, 1.30, 1.10, 1.38, 1.00, 1.28, 1.40 , $1.14,1.38,1.39,1.11,1.31$
XIII Kellawe
$1.36,0.90,1.44,1.23,1.38,1.33,1.10,1.22,0.98,1.27,1.29$, 1.45, 1.37, 1.41
with Civitas: 1.25
Beaumont 1.41, 1.35, 1.34, 1.44, 1.34, 1.32, 1.32
XIV Beaumont
$1.14,1.31,1.01,1.31,1.27,1.16,1.30,1.34,1.20,1.32,1.31$, 1.35, 1.35

London-Durham mules 1.42, 1.36
XVa Beaumont 1.28, 1.14
XVb 1.31, 1.38, 1.55, 1.30, 1.37, 1.29, 1.19, 1.28, 1.20, 1.32, $1.50,1.01,1.16,1.43,1.16$
XVc 1.40, 1.36, 1.44, 1.34, 1.45, 1.13, 1.21, 1.24, 1.37, 1.41 (with curious $o b v$. flan), $1.38,1.37,1.11,1.20,1.37,1.32$, $1.27,1.48,1.43,1.45,1.40,1.33,1.21,1.15,1.00$
XV uncertain sub-class 1.41, 1.29
Beaumont, uncertain class 1.39, 1.23
Uncertain Durham, probably Beaumont 1.33, 1.11, 1.20, 1.26

## Exeter

IXb star
1.30, 1.29, 1.37, 1.21, 1.34, 1.38, 1.35

Star uncertain 1.35

## Hull

IXb star
$1.38,1.39,1.30,1.40,1.41,1.35,1.31,1.35,1.19,1.04,1.15$, 1.28
with hYB' $1.36,1.38$

## Lincoln

IIIc-d (later $h$ with tail somewhat more frequent than early) $1.35,1.38,1.38,1.41,1.33,1.18,1.01,1.05,1.24,1.38,1.30$, $1.09,1.40,1.18,1.25$
reading reversed NN COL’ 0.94
IIIf $1.27,1.05$
IIIg early S $1.34,1.32,1.43,1.32,1.36,1.27,1.38,1.40$, 1.34, 0.88
late S obv, early S rev. 1.38, 1.19, 1.33
late S 1.30

## Newcastle

IIIe early S VIL AND VICA STRI $1.27,1.25,1.20,1.34$

IXb star
VILL
VIL' NOV CAS TRI $1.39,1.27,1.42,1.31,1.33,1.35$
VILL'
with hYB' $1.28,1.43$
IXb no star/X mules (all read Novi, often with apostrophe after first or second L in Vill)
$1.33,1.38,1.36,1.12,1.42,1.41,1.32,1.34,1.31,1.20,1.35$, 1.07, 1.44 , this last with hYB'

Xa (NOVI) 1.22, 1.31, 1.15, 1.42
(Nov) 1.38, 1.30, 1.35
$\mathbf{X b}$ (NOVI) 1.23, 1.39
with trifoliate crown 1.30

## York episcopal

IIIe with quatrefoil on breast and on reverse $1.33,1.45,1.32$,
1.32, 1.31, 1.31, 1.37, 1.37
no mark on breast 1.36
no mark on breast, with pellet barred N 1.37, 1.36, 1.10
IXb star 1.40, 1.24, 1.26
star uncertain 1.06, 1.44
no star 1.39, 1.30
XVd (extra pellets in second quarter of reverse barely visible. Pellet stops between words on $o b v$.) 1.41

## York royal

IIa (Burns says provincial mints begin with IIb) 1.28
IIb $1.42,1.30,1.25,1.12,1.38,1.13,1.35,1.40,1.26,1.18$, $1.35,1.05,1.34,1.30,1.37,1.33,1.32,1.35$
IIIb $1.35,0.84,0.98,1.35,1.37,1.40,1.11,1.47,1.40,1.17$, 1.33
with graving of face punches unusually clear and crude 1.39
IIIc 1.33
IIIc? 1.40
IIIe
(rarely wth pellet barred N) 1.36, 1.34, 1.41, 1.39, 1.36, $1.42,1.24,1.35,1.33,1.31,1.05,1.32,1.35,1.34,1.36,1.35$, $1.31,1.20,1.37,1.18,1.32,1.21,1.30,1.20,1.31$
III uncertain (probably e) 1.33
IXb star $1.25,1.32,1.29,1.36,1.29,1.24,1.36,1.44,1.39$, $1.26,1.24,1.35,1.47,1.36$
with EBOR ACI $1.39,1.29$
no star $1.34,1.39,1.29,1.36,1.24,1.34$

## Uncertain mint

X crown 2 double-struck 1.40
XVb 1.46
XVc? 0.94

Berwick, according to Blunt's classification
See also C.J. Wood, 'Early Edward I pence of the mint of Berwick-on-Tweed' BNJ 47 (1977), 141-4.
Ia 1.34, 1.45
Ia or b 1.20
Ib $1.38,1.43$
Ia/II mule 1.45
Ib/II mule 1.46
IIa $1.32,1.28,1.42$
IIIa willa 1.31, 1.48
L with stop, pellet barred N 1.33, 1.25
IIIa or b 1.50
IIIb $1.23,1.40,1.30,1.36$
IIIa or b/IV 1.26
IIIb/IV 1.20
IVa $1.29,1.32,1.20,1.28,1.40,1.12,1.26$

IVb $1.56,1.44,1.24,1.27,1.18,1.15,1.54,1.32,1.41,1.33$, $1.31,1.30,1.41,0.80$
IVc $1.34,1.31,1.15,1.04,1.29,1.60,1.27,0.98,1.25,1.46$, $0.89,1.20,1.42,0.96,1.16,0.85,0.75,0.88,1.38,1.33,1.38$,
$1.22,1.41,1.36,1.42,1.36,1.33,1.31,1.23,1.42,1.32,1.38$,
1.41

V 1.38, 1.33, 1.40
Uncertain (probably IVa or b) 0.72

## IRELAND <br> Dublin

1. Three pellets (not all always visible) on breast. No mark at beginning of obv. legend. No contraction on DNS 1.35 , $1.36,1.09,1.21$
error reading EDWR' ANGL'B ANhhYB 1.34
2. Pellets on breast as 1 . Pellets at beginning $o b v$. legend and between words. Contraction bar on DNS.
Early S obv. and rev. 1.30, 1.28, 1.08, 1.43, 1.12, 1.38, 1.31, 1.39,
$1.13,1.35,1.29,1.34,1.35,1.28,1.35$
Late S on rev. 1.14, 1.24
3. As 2 but Lombardic N on rev. Some also have distinctly smaller face. $1.32,1.21,1.32,1.14,1.17,1.25$
4. Rose on breast - none
5. Single pellet in each angle of triangle 1.32
6. Single pellet on breast. (A few of this group have noticeably smaller lettering on rev. than the rest.)
$1.30,1.44,1.36,1.30,1.37,0.98,1.41,1.18,1.39,1.42,1.43$, $1.42,1.22,1.37,1.09,1.22,1.33,1.34,1.11,1.38,1.34,1.33$

## Waterford

All class 2
Early S $1.35,1.35,1.21,1.16,1.40,1.33,1.32,1.16,1.38$, $1.41,0.89,1.36,1.44,1.28,1.38,1.40,1.01$
with late S on rev. 1.40

## SCOTLAND

Alexander III
24 points
Burns group I
Stewart A $1.33,1.28,1.17,1.40$
A/C 1.25, 1.29
C/B 1.11
C $1.32,1.10$
All the above have 'soft' face. But for the smaller lettering and soft face, 1.25 and 1.29 might be seen as straight Cs. This illustrates the closeness of A and C and why Burns put them together.
With 'hard' face
B XESCOSSIE:REX 1.39
B Rex Scottorum $+1.41,1.28$
B/C $1.37,1.28,1.32,1.32,1.34,0.94,1.37$
C 1.33 (or B/C with plain + )
Burns group II
Stewart D 1.23, 1.32
D/E 1.17
E $\quad 1.30,1.24,1.35,1.42,1.34$
FG $1.25,1.35,1.31,1.22,1.14,0.92,1.15,1.30,1.18,1.39$, $1.33,1.33,1.44,1.38,1.38,1.31$
FG/D 1.37, 1.31, 1.33, 1.34, 1.42, 1.34
FG/E $1.39,1.10,1.32,1.35,1.34,1.34,1.20,1.38,1.34$, $1.33,1.40,1.31,1.26$
I (Rough type as Baliol, + Rex Scotorum) 1.18
20 points (all read Alexand.er)

E $1.42,1.30$
E, with extra pellets in 2 nd and 4th quarters $1.41,1.16$
E, with extra pellets in 2 nd and 4 th quarters ( 2 extra in 4 th quarter) 1.32
23 points
E (none with extra pellets in $o b v$. legend or rev. quarters)
1.43, 1.17, 1.06

E/FG 1.31
FG 1.37, 1.39
25 points
D 1.30
D/FG 1.18
E/FG 1.22
FG/E 0.99
26 points (Most of the $D$ coins and mules at this mint have wedge Rs, but were classified D because of fish-tailed E on the rev, and/or barred A on $o b v$.)
D 1.37
D/E 1.33
E/D $1.18,1.34,1.32,1.38,1.42,1.34,1.31$
E 1.28, 1.36
FG/D 1.37
FG/E 1.17
28 points
E $1.36,1.46,1.21,1.30,1.44,1.34$

## John Baliol

## Rough issue

St Andrews 22 points Civitas S Andre 1.40, 1.47, 1.22 22 points + Rex Scotorum 1.38
24 points + Rex Scotorum 1.22, 1.36, 1.37, 1.34, 1.19, $1.43,1.32,1.10,1.37$
Smooth issue
20 points Rex Scotorum + , 4 mullets $1.21,1.16,1.32$
$1.46,1.36$
" " , 2 mullets (?) 1.38
" " , 2 mullets 1.11

## Robert Bruce

Scotorum Rex +
20 points $1.45,1.46,1.21,1.38,1.42,1.39,1.38,1.33$
Unidentifiable $0.33,0.63$, plus tiny fragments

## Continental sterlings.

$\mathrm{M}=$ Mayhew, Sterling Imitations of Edwardian Type (1983)
Unpublished fragment $+[$ GB.VE crowned sterling
CIVI TAS [ ]0.60
Guy of Dampierre 1279-1305, Namur and Flanders
M 16 without pellets at beginning of rev. legend $1.08,1.18$ M 20-22 uncertain 0.41

John of Avesnes, 1280-1304, Hainaut, Valenciennes, M 29 1.39

Mons M 341.16 M $360.85,0.48$ (fragment)
John I, 1261-94, Brabant-Limburg, M 431.35 M 441.23
Guy of Collemède, Bishop of Cambrai 1296-1306 M 990.96 (pierced for demonetisation?)

Henry II or III of Kuinre, imitation in name of Mons M 177 1.05

Renaud of Gelderland 1272-1326, Arnhem M 1841.37 M 184-6 uncertain 0.97

Henry II, archbishop of Cologne 1306-32, Bonn M 2060.65
Robert of Béthune, count of Flanders 1305-22, Alost
M 211f 1.29
M 211 1.29. 1.27, 1.41, 1.27, 1.31, 1.25
M 2121.37
M 2141.20
M 2191.35
Valéran of Ligny 1304-53, Serain
M 220, variant with double annulet stops 1.16
M 2231.25
M $226 \mathrm{~d}-\mathrm{e}$, variant reading annulet invs:: (Lombardic N) 1.44

M 227, variant with Y reversed N 0.94
M 227, variant reading +G.Dominvs three pellets deliny round closed E, Lombardic Ns
MON Lombardic ETA SER AIN reversed N 0.99
M 231f variant reading G.DOMYNVS.DELINY First N Lombardic, second reversed 1.35

Gaucher of Châtillon 1313-22, Yves
M 237 1.41, 1.24, 1.32, 1.25, 1.11
M 237 but wedge R 1.30
M 239 1.33, 1.25, 1.24, 1.34, 1.16, 1.03, 1.19, 1.15, 1.17
M 239 or 238 with wedge R 1.04
M 244 large ringlets 1.25
M 244 chipped 0.65
M 244 1.18, 1.05
M 245 ? uncertain Gaucher 0.90
M 246 1.22, 1.07
M 2471.15
Neufchâteau M248 0.96
Florennes M249 d-e 1.26
John the Blind of Luxemburg M 259 1.36, 1.28
Marville M 2851.21
Stephen, 1280-1306, or John, 1306-26, Sancerre
M 290b 1.14
M 291 variant without pellet stops at head of obv. legend 1.18

M 290-2 variant reading + NOM.IVLI lis vSCESAR 1.25
Louis of Nevers 1290-1322, Rethel M 2931.16
Ec Moneta Nostra (Ferry IV?), Lorraine
M $3110.76,0.44,0.42$ (fragment), 0.53 (chipped)

Louis IV, Holy Roman Empire 1314-47, Aachen
M 3321.31
M 333 variant without stop in rev. legend 1.39
Aquitaine sterling, according to E.R. Duncan Elias, The Anglo-Gallic Coins (1984).
Elias 56 d and i (i.e. 56 d with trefoil after Angl) 1.27
Elias 56 with comma after Angl' 1.30
Elias 561.27
Elias 56 d but saltire after Angl+ 1.41
Elias 56 d but uncertain stop after Angl 1.28
Uncertain crockard 0.50
Jean I or II of Namur (1297-1331, 1331-35)
Chalon 79 1.16. R. Chalon, Recherches sur les Monnaies des Comtes de Namur (Brussels, 1860)

Guillaume I of Hainaut, 1304-37,
Chalon 52 with Roman M as plate 1.17. R. Chalon, Recherches sur les Monnaies des Comtes de Hainaut (Brussels, 1848).

## Imitations with 'English' legends

## Gaucher of Châtillon

M 241 London $1.16,0.87,1.09,0.89,1.05,1.26$
M 242 London 1.17, 1.11, 1.16
M 243 London $1.09,0.98,1.05,0.95,1.02,1.09,1.10,1.10$, $1.35,1.00,1.02,1.12$
The edwarra type, now attributed to Gaucher of Châtillon.
See N.J. Mayhew, 'A Sterling Imitation by Gaucher of Châtillon', BNJ 54 (1984), 292-3.
M 377 London $1.36,1.17,1.29,1.34,0.99,1.13,1.17$
Canterbury $1.30,1.30,1.23,1.34,1.30,1.29,1.00,1.26$, 1.15

Durham $1.25,1.35,1.17$
London, reading EDWRR . . hYBB $1.24,1.31$
M 378 London 1.36, 1.29, 1.04, 1.30
M 378 Durham 1.18
The edwre type
M 374 0.97. $0.60,0.95,0.98,0.83 .0 .85$
M 3751.07
Probably associated with EDWARRA type but EDWRA 1.37
M 381 d variety reading VTE: ROP 1.25
Other imitations, $0.95,1.33,1.23,1.08,1.18$
1.05, York cf North Sylloge coin in Blunt collection
1.12, Dublin?

Crude imitations 1.17, 0.71
Poorly preserved imitations $0.83,0.93,0.87,0.66,0.93,0.49$
Poorly preserved imitations (or legitimate English?) 1.18, $0.76,1.04$
Cliché forgeries $0.20,0.12$

## London

Ia/c (small lettering on rev. $=$ c) 1.33, 1.38
Ic $1.36,1.39,1.27,1.38,1.39,1.34,1.34,1.32,1.27,1.22$,
$1.28,1.30,1.33,1.36,1.10,1.37,1.38,1.17$
Ic with four piercings for mounting 1.32
Id/c (small letter rev.) 1.38
Id $1.15,1.38,1.34,1.28$
Id with DNS with double barred reversed $\mathrm{N} 1.37,1.25$
Id with LON reversed N , DON reversed and double barred N 1.35

Id with shaped crown of II $1.38,1.36,1.37,1.35$

IIa with crown of I and Ns on obv. 1.36
IIa with crown of I and Ns on rev. 1.38
IIa with Ns on obv. 1.35
IIa with ANGL and LONDON (only last N reversed) 1.35
IIa with LONDON (only last N reversed) 1.08
IIa $1.32,1.20,1.18,1.04,1.36,1.36,1.40$
IIb $1.25,1.27,1.36,1.31,1.14,1.37,1.38,1.42,1.31,1.15$,
$1.35,1.33,1.39,1.33,1.23,1.29,1.31,1.32,1.31,1.28,1.33$,
$1.37,1.22,1.39,1.36,1.31,1.35,1.36,1.34,1.35,1.36,1.35$,
$1.34,1.39,1.36,1.35$
with Ns on rev. -IIb/III 1.32 (curved uprights for Ns )
IIII 1.33, 1.34, 1.21, 1.36, 1.39, 1.34, 1.35
IIII 1.22, 1.21
IIII with spearhead crown 1.36
Burns A11 1.27, 1.33, 1.32
Burns A12 1.25, 1.39, 1.27, 1.39
IIIc-d $1.35,1.34,1.29,1.37,1.07,1.29,1.30,0.97,1.30$, $1.37,1.02,1.35,1.33,1.28,1.05,1.32,1.17,1.34,1.28,1.22$, $1.29,1.04,1.14,1.29,1.38,1.39,1.40,1.16,1.30,1.29,1.36$, $1.16,1.33,1.32,1.33,1.36,1.17,1.25,1.36,0.97,1.30,1.35$, $1.06,1.13,1.10,1.15,1.32,1.35,1.34$
reading DON DON 1.16
III uncertain (early S) 1.16
IIIf late S/early S 1.10, 1.34
IIIg early S $1.36,1.32,1.08,1.36,1.35,1.37,1.39,1.33$, 1.16, 1.20, 1.32, 1.19, 1.16
early S, wedge shaped comma abbreviations 1.10
early/late S 1.39
early/late S (but var. comma abbreviations and very late style S) 1.37
late/early Ss $1.21,1.37,1.32,1.34,1.29,1.20,1.41,1.15$, 1.29
late/early Ss with abbrevs 1.20 (has pellet barred Ns on obv.), 1.39, 1.37
late S $1.39,1.28,1.31,1.15,1.26,1.05,1.21,1.36,1.27$, $1.41,1.36,1.34,1.35,1.36,0.99$
late S wedge shaped comma abbreviations 1.37
late S no abbrevs $1.28,1.35,1.28$
IVa-c 1.28, 1.40, 1.34, 1.35, 1.35, 1.28, 0.98, 1.30, 1.18, $1.20,1.36,1.14,1.29,1.32,1.10,1.38,1.38,1.37,1.30,1.26$, $1.35,1.31,1.25,1.22,1.41,1.32,1.17,1.37,1.15,1.29$, $1.30,1.29,1.39,1.33$
$1.37,1.37,1.33,1.25,1.11,1.04,1.25,1.10,1.36,1.34,1.33$, $1.35,1.34,1.30,1.31,1.40,1.38,1.16,1.18,1.23,1.31,1.17$, $1.37,1.13,1.03,1.32,1.38,1.46,1.37,1.27,1.02,1.19,1.39$, $1.35,1.34,1.41,1.37,1.33,1.38,1.15,1.29,1.36,1.19,1.14$ $1.36,1.38,1.13,1.29,1.20,1.34,1.38,1.34,1.35,1.36,1.36$, 1.36

IVd $1.02,1.17,1.31,1.32,1.34,1.24,1.37,1.40,1.33,1.36$, $1.24,1.33,1.32,1.32,1.31,1.22,1.40,1.17,1.31,1.32,1.38$, $1.29,1.39,1.30,1.32,1.41,1.38,1.42,1.38,1.35,1.15$
IV/IVe 1.05
IVe/IVe (?) 1.14
IVe/d 1.35
IVe 1.32, 1.13, 1.28, 1.29, 1.31, 1.41, 1.42, $0.91,1.24,1.30$, $1.33,1.35,1.30,1.23$

V or IVe/V or IVe 1.37 (crown of IVb)
V $1.32,1.39,1.15,1.39,1.18,1.28,1.14,1.30$
VI 1.29, 1.33, 1.31 (EDWAR), 1.31
VIIa 1.07, 1.37
VIIb 1.40
VIII (i.e. usually top-tilted S, and/or swollen drapery, and/or h'Yb. Some have occasional double barred N.) 1.37, 1.31, $1.06,1.36,1.30,1.40,1.28,1.40,1.30,1.40,1.02,1.33$ no top-tilted S on rev. and one double barred N on rev. 1.23 no top-tilted S ( $o b v$. or rev.) and double barred N in DNS 1.38
no top-tilted S (obv. or rev.) 1.37
no h'Yb, and double barred N in LondoN 1.37

VI but crown of VIII ? 1.15
VI EDWAR or imitation 1.09
VIII without top-tilted S 1.40, 1.32
VIII with drapery of IX 1.42, 1.31, 1.36
VIII as IX 1.43, 1.30
with round drapery 1.36
with earlier face? 1.34
-IXa (?) 1.09, 1.39, 1.34
IXa no star 1.36, 1.00, 1.34
IXa star uncertain 1.32, 1.01
IXa star $1.39,1.34,1.30,1.27,1.39,1.15,1.21,1.31,1.41$, $1.23,1.37,1.35,1.11,1.35,1.39,1.39,1.35,1.34,1.42,1.37$, 1.32

IXb star $1.35,1.07,1.33,1.34,1.35,1.34,1.13,1.33,1.36$, $1.16,1.28,1.39,1.36,1.35,1.42,1.00,1.36,1.29,1.38,1.27$, $1.32,1.36,1.28,1.24,1.37,1.34,1.36,1.40,1.28,1.37,1.34$, $1.24,1.36,1.30,1.37,1.27,1.43,1.38,1.36,1.31,1.45,1.40$, $1.37,1.37,1.27,1.31,1.44,1.34,1.46,1.31,1.41,1.35,1.36$, $1.43,1.33,1.43,1.40,1.35,1.37,1.34,1.34,1.41,1.41,1.40$, $1.21,1.28,1.37,1.39,1.36,1.28,1.36,1.37,1.27,1.41,1.33$, $1.35,1.33,1.30,1.29,1.30,1.36,1.16,1.36,1.32,1.33,1.22$, 1.14

IXb no star $1.32,1.18,1.21,1.29,1.36,1.35,1.33,1.36$, $1.32,1.40,1.38,1.21,1.30,1.33,1.42,1.37,1.30,1.36,1.37$, 1.36, 1.36

IXb star uncertain $1.38,1.24,1.26,1.35,1.38,1.32$
$\mathbf{X a} / \mathbf{I X b} 1.34,1.29,1.26,1.34,1.34,1.39,1.36,1.40,1.21$, $1.31,1.34,1.43,1.35,1.34,1.31,1.36,1.36,1.41,1.38,1.35$, $1.28,1.36,1.41,1.42,1.39,1.41,1.32,1.41,1.31,1.15,1.42$, $1.28,1.18,1.35,1.29$

Xa $1.36,1.21,1.36,1.37,1.42,1.30,1.42,1.35,1.34,1.21$, $1.44,1.29,1.38,1.44,1.27,1.37,1.39$
Xa or b 1.23
$\mathbf{X b} / \mathbf{I X b} 1.26$ (late context for top-tilted S), 1.42, 1.39, 1.27, 1.41, 1.29, 1.27 trifoliate crown 1.07, 1.34
Xb $1.32,1.33,1.35,1.29,1.36,1.39,1.34,1.34,1.36,1.32$, $1.33,1.33,1.13,1.35,1.34,1.31,1.39,1.33,0.98,1.40,1.39$, $1.39,1.43,1.39,1.32,1.33,1.37,1.41,1.33,1.34,1.13,1.37$, $1.38,1.38,1.34,1.29,1.33,1.38,1.17$
EDWR'R 1.44, 1.42, 1.34, 1.30
Xc-f legend with crown of a-b 1.35
X crown 1 - usually with Mayfield E but not h - has long tailed h 1.37, 1.40
rarely with an E__ which may be antecedent of late X E 1.17, 1.45
$1.30,1.35,1.39,1.40,1.43,1.37,1.42,1.32,1.33,1.12,1.37$, $1.39,1.12,1.40,1.35,1.31,1.35,1.35,1.35,1.18,1.40,1.33$, $1.31,1.32,1.22,1.38,1.31,1.40,1.20,1.34,1.41,1.08,1.03$, $1.39,1.37,1.34,1.35,1.28,1.11,1.29,1.14,1.27,1.36,1.39$, $1.34,1.32,1.32,1.39,1.26,1.38,1.37,1.34,1.18,1.08,1.39$, $1.35,1.37,1.33,1.34,0.85,1.39,1.45,1.30,1.07,1.39,1.35$, $1.29,1.11,1.43,1.32,1.35,1.12,1.35,1.35,1.08,1.30,1.32$, 1.16
$\mathbf{X}$ crown $21.37,1.42,1.43,1.42,1.25,1.32,1.31,1.39$, $1.39,1.40,1.39,1.30,1.33,1.37,1.33,1.05,1.38,1.25,1.41$, $1.34,1.25,1.26,1.11,1.39,1.36,1.35,1.43,1.20,1.34,1.41$, $1.29,1.22,1.40,1.27,1.36,1.38,0.84,1.26,1.30,1.35,1.15$, $1.36,1.34,1.29,1.33,1.31,1.35,1.32,1.37,1.28,1.38,1.42$, $1.41,1.36,1.33,1.39,1.41,1.39,1.18,1.39,1.43,1.44,1.34$, $1.35,1.37,1.47,1.25,1.26,1.33,1.02,1.35,1.33,1.33,1.39$, $1.40,1.36,1.31,1.39,1.38,1.33,1.32,1.38,1.37,1.34,1.43$, $1.44,1.33,1.34,1.12,1.37,1.24,1.29,1.32,1.34,1.44,1.31$, $1.34,1.27,1.12,1.41,1.29,1.33,1.16,1.32,1.37,1.41,1.39$, 1.34 (with hYB:)

X crown 3 Mayfield $\quad 1.28,1.14,1.32,1.36,1.16,1.35,1.39$, $1.36,1.34,1.35,1.34,1.29,1.27,1.35,1.23,1.33,1.13,1.38$, $1.44,1.31,1.26,1.21,1.32,1.41,1.35,1.36,1.35,1.36,1.33$, $1.37,1.32,1.29,1.40,1.31,1.36,1.45,1.25,1.33,1.33,1.39$, $1.42,1.38,1.33,1.32,1.15,1.38,1.27,1.30,1.32$ error DNhYB 1.25
hYB' 1.32
hYB: 1.32
hYB three pellet stop 1.39 (also reads LONCON)
X crown 3 late, no neck depression and/or broken chin $1.39,1.38,1.40,1.33,1.38,1.30,1.39,1.32,1.31,1.35,1.44$, $1.41,1.35,1.19,1.32,1.40,1.34,1.29,1.32,1.28,1.42,1.12$, $1.32,1.41,1.42,1.19,1.36,1.30,1.19,1.27,1.32,1.27,1.36$, $1.37,1.36,1.38,1.41,1.31,1.33,1.38,1.31,1.31,1.42,1.42$, $1.32,1.38,1.39,1.33,1.36,1.39,1.34,1.33,1.24,1.32,1.33$, $1.40,1.35,1.44,1.40,1.34,1.38,1.08,1.42,1.39,1.29,1.25$, $1.35,1.37,1.37,1.33,1.34,1.28,1.41,1.20,1.42,1.38,1.40$, $1.38,1.36,1.32$
$\mathbf{X}$ crown 3 late with neck depression (visible or presumed)
$1.12,1.17,1.31,1.35,1.23,1.25,1.38,1.29,1.33,1.37,1.22$, $1.36,1.37,1.23,1.28,1.33,1.22,1.28,1.20,1.33,1.20,1.35$, $1.35,1.34,1.43,1.31,1.34,1.37,1.31,1.43,1.37,1.32,1.43$, $1.39,1.34,1.19,1.32,1.07,1.37,1.39,1.39,1.30,1.29,1.40$, 1.33, 1.16

X crown 3 late, neck depression, hYB: 1.22, 1.33, 1.05
neck depression, with straight-sided lettering on obverse 1.34

X crown 3 late, neck depression uncertain
$1.22,1.36,1.38,1.08,1.06,1.43,1.24,1.41,1.25,1.32,1.42$, $1.43,1.35,1.38,1.30,1.35,1.33,1.39,1.32,1.20$ (with hYB three pellet stop or :)
X crown 3 uncertain 1.22

## X crown 3 late neck depression/XI 1.40, 1.29, 1.01

XIa $1.29,1.20,1.20,1.24,1.26,1.01,1.03,1.22,1.35,1.28$, $1.26,1.25,1.28,1.27,1.34,1.36,1.14,1.05,1.33,1.19,1.31$, $1.21,1.37,1.40,1.11,1.19,1.20,1.42,1.45,1.40,1.33,1.36$, $1.34,1.27,1.40,1.36,1.37,1.36,1.04,1.32$ (hYB:), 1.15
XIa or $\mathbf{b}$ uncertain 0.99
XIb $1.36,1.30,1.34,1.38,1.35,1.39,1.39,1.36,1.40,1.27$, $1.34,1.42$ (with hYB:)
with face of XIII and edwarra $1.36,1.41$
with face of XIII and edwara 1.19
XIN 1.36, 1.38, 1.32, 1.36, 1.29, 1.42, 1.37, 1.21, 1.37, 1.34, $1.33,1.43,1.36,1.37,1.33,1.29,1.31,1.14,1.19,1.17,1.33$, $1.22,1.29,1.25$
with hYB: $1.42,1.39$
with edwarra and face of XIII $1.20,1.34$
XIc 1.35 edwarra, face of XIII
XII 1.36, 1.34, 1.32
XIII 1.13, 1.35, 1.14, 1.38, 1.34, 1.25, 1.21, 1.39, 1.33, 1.35, $1.39,1.38,1.39$
XIII or XIV 1.42
XIV 1.36, 1.41, $1.42,1.37,1.36,1.12,1.25,1.42,1.41,1.39$, $1.32,1.33,1.38,1.35,1.38,1.40,1.36,1.41,1.14,1.41,1.29$, 1.20 (with R.R.)

XVa 1.44, 1.24, 1.39
XVb $1.37,1.38,1.35,1.39,1.23,1.40,1.39,1.44,1.28,1.40$
XVc $1.36,1.27,1.14,1.22,1.22,1.06,1.33$
XV uncertain sub-group 1.38
Uncertain penny $0.81,1.06$

## Florin issue

## Fox type B (Jan-Sept 1344) 1.24

Fox type 21.32
Fox type 31.28 (Types 2 and 3 probably Sept. 1344-5)

## Canterbury

IIb $1.28,1.28$
IIIb 1.36, 1.20
IIIc-d, early h 1.40
uncertain or late h $1.37,1.36,1.29,1.16,1.38,1.18,1.30$, $1.42,1.39,1.37,1.35,1.23,1.30$
IIIf 1.31

IIIg early S 1.27
early S/late $S$ with wedge-shaped comma abbreviations 1.36 late S 1.34, 1.36, 1.38, 1.37, 1.39, 1.41, 1.25, 1.32, 1.39, $1.35,1.08,1.32,1.25,1.39,1.31$
S uncertain 1.07
IVa-c $1.18,1.35,1.41,1.35,1.14,1.33,1.22,1.13,1.22$, $1.34,1.13,1.34,0.96,1.29,1.28,0.99,1.29,1.15$
$1.23,1.36,1.35,1.04,1.39,1.31,1.13,1.20,1.35,1.41,1.43$, $1.03,1.20,1.03,1.10,0.78,0.88,1.39,1.34$
$1.23,1.21,1.20,1.37,1.37,1.24,1.27,0.88$
IVa-c uncertain 0.84
IVd $1.29,1.36,1.26,1.18,1.36,1.36,1.35,1.35,1.34,1.37$, $1.37,1.31,1.37,1.34,1.18,1.23,1.21,1.25,1.33,1.28,1.36$, $1.26,1.19,1.27,1.06$
IVe/d mule 1.33, 1.38
IVe 1.32, 1.32, 1.30, 1.29
with .TAS 1.35
V 1.32
VII 1.37 no rose
IXa star $1.33,1.35,1.37$
IXb star uncertain 1.30, 1.38
star $1.26,1.33,1.24,1.35,1.38,1.40,1.34,1.37,1.35,1.41$, $1.48,1.37,1.27,1.28,1.39,1.28$
no star $1.35,1.37,1.38,1.35,1.43,1.20,1.34,1.39,1.31$, 1.37

Xa $1.39,1.15,1.32,1.22,1.27,1.33,1.35,1.28,1.38,1.23$, $1.15,1.03,1.35,1.29,1.34$
Xb $1.08,1.44,1.34,1.23,1.35,1.17,1.43,1.38,1.32,1.27$, $1.31,1.35,1.38,1.39,1.33,1.36,1.36,1.39,1.40,1.16,1.38$, $1.19,1.34,1.30,1.32,1.29,1.36,1.40,1.33,1.36,1.39,1.07$ EDWR'R' $1.41,1.38,1.24$
EDWAR.R 1.40, 1.38 (same obv. die)
Xb crown but edwara 1.36, 1.36, 1.20, 1.35
X crown $11.41,1.31,1.31,1.39,1.23,1.26,1.32,1.32,1.23$, $1.36,1.36,1.29,1.31,1.29,1.08,1.36,1.35,1.36,1.30,1.39$, $1.36,1.36,1.40,1.33,1.36,1.40,1.36,1.35,1.35,1.43,1.06$, $1.25,1.38,1.41,1.38,1.45,1.45,1.41,1.40,1.40,1.25,1.25$, 1.31, 1.37, 1.18

X crown $21.36,1.40,1.38,1.32,1.42,1.42,1.32,1.30,1.38$, $1.37,1.39,1.41,1.33,1.32,1.29,1.35,1.35,1.33,1.14,1.34$, $1.36,1.36,1.30,1.29,1.36,1.40,1.41,1.16,1.39,1.41,1.32$, $1.40,1.35,1.36,1.28,1.43,1.34,1.19,1.38,1.20,1.27,1.22$, $1.38,1.26,1.36,1.38,1.32,1.32,1.27,1.32,1.35,1.33,1.36$, $1.38,1.28,1.28,1.31,1.33,1.19,1.24,1.30$
$\mathbf{X}$ crown 2 or 3 uncertain 1.37
X crown 3 Mayfield 1.39, 1.33, 1.36, 1.36, 1.37, 1.18, 1.37, $1.40,1.29,1.33,1.38,1.09,1.38,1.36,1.35,1.40,1.33,1.33$, $1.30,1.35,1.35,1.08,1.37,1.35,1.36,1.41,1.27,1.26,1.31$, $1.15,1.37,1.41,1.42,1.26$
$\mathbf{X}$ crown 3 late, no neck depression (including those with broken chins) $1.27,1.39,1.36,1.33,1.36,1.18,1.28,1.33$, $1.34,1.39,1.24,1.35,1.19,1.43,1.39,1.40,1.40,1.38,1.26$, $1.35,1.07,1.26$
neck depression uncertain $1.40,1.31,1.43,1.28,1.37,1.10$, 1.29
$\mathbf{X}$ crown 3 late, neck depression, irregular obv. lettering 1.40 $\mathbf{X}$ crown 3 late, neck depression (including neck depression presumed from crown 4 or 5) $1.43,1.39,1.19,1.38,1.41$,
$1.14,1.40,1.38,1.36,1.26,1.29,1.34,1.35,1.29,1.28,1.35$, $1.34,1.35,1.35,1.37,1.45,1.31,1.34,1.21,1.35,1.33,1.43$, $1.35,1.34,1.09,1.34,1.03,1.36,1.21,1.34,1.28,1.43,1.21$, $1.33,1.27,1.37,1.37,1.30,1.27,1.37,1.23,1.35,1.41,1.16$, $1.35,1.10$
X crown 3 late, with straight-edge lettering -i.e. $\mathrm{X}-\mathrm{XI}$ borderline 1.36
XIa $1.27,1.38,1.45,1.12,1.42,1.36,1.11,1.26,1.38,1.38$, $1.27,1.35,1.19,1.35,1.20,0.96,1.34,1.24$
XIb $1.43,1.39,1.28,1.33,1.35,1.23,1.38,1.08,1.38,1.34$,
$1.28,1.16,1.30,1.40,1.19,1.24,1.37$
XIb with face of XIII (EDwara) 1.41, 1.36, 1.18
XIb with face of XIII (EDWarra) 1.42, 1.24
XIN $1.31,1.27,1.33,1.35,1.24,1.37,1.35,1.34,1.32,1.36$,
1.41, 1.42, 1.36, 1.36, 1.35

XIN with hYB: $1.39,1.32,1.02$
XIc 1.23
XI uncertain 0.90
XII/XIc 1.35
XII 1.06
XIII 1.43, 1.28, 1.38, 1.37, 1.40, 1.39, 1.33, 1.36, 1.32, 1.42, $1.08,1.12,1.37,1.35,1.40,0.93,1.46,1.33,1.34,1.17,1.43$, 1.31

XIII with crown of X crown 31.34
crown of XIV, face of XIII 1.42
uncertain XIII-XV 1.37
XIV $1.40,1.38,1.33,1.41,1.32,1.41,1.38,1.38,1.40,1.40$, $1.40,1.26,1.42,1.43,1.34,1.34,1.40,1.23,1.31,1.24,1.42$, $1.20,1.34,1.38,1.22,1.36,1.33,1.46,1.38,1.41,1.17,1.39$, $1.25,1.39,1.36,1.37,1.38,1.43,1.35,1.40,1.32$
XVa $1.37,1.19,1.40,1.42,1.38,1.34,1.34,1.40,1.42,1.40$ XVb 1.36, 1.42, 1.40, 1.41, 1.47, 1.33, 1.28, 1.16, 1.34, 1.32, $1.39,1.45,1.32,1.38,1.38,1.34,1.42,1.26,1.19,1.40$
XVc $1.15,1.34,1.38,1.45,1.44,1.41,1.43,1.41,1.41,1.36$, 1.30

## Bristol

IIb $1.39,1.10,1.38,1.30,1.10,1.33,1.34,1.33,1.08$
IIIc-d early h? 1.34, 1.13, 0.96
IIIC-d later h $1.35,1.16,1.31,1.33,1.36,1.18,1.32,1.35$, $1.23,1.14,1.32,1.26,1.29,1.44,1.10,1.33,0.83$
IIIg early S $1.09,1.39,1.41,1.35$
late S $1.33,1.32,1.36,1.34,1.37$
late S with wedge abbreviations (NB not IIIf face) 1.28, 1.39, 1.29, 1.31

IXb star $1.45,1.31,1.30,1.30,1.36,1.39,1.36,0.93,1.30$, $1.35,1.35$
star uncertain 1.24

## Bury St Edmunds

IIIg late S (Rob de Had) 1.44
VII no rose 1.31
VIII? 1.40
IXb no star 0.97
star $1.40,1.31,1.29$
Xa 1.06
Xb 1.31
X crown $11.29,1.40,1.14$
X crown $21.28,1.41,1.35,1.27,1.33,1.32,1.32,1.34,1.28$
X crown 3 Mayfield 1.18, 1.19
X crown 3 late, no depression $1.35,1.02,1.21,1.18,1.40$, 1.27, 1.28
depression uncertain 1.17, 1.45
neck depression 1.39, 1.25, 1.19
XIa $1.18,1.30,1.02,1.20,0.99,1.37,1.28,1.44,1.26$
XIa with open $\mathrm{E}=$ XI b (see notes to first hoard) $1.20,1.08$,
$1.04,1.20,1.31,1.22,1.20$
XIb $1.31,1.36,1.03,1.35,0.97$
XIc 1.47, 1.43
XII 1.19
XIII 1.33 with R.R., 1.16
XIV 1.38, 1.39, 1.38, 1.41, 1.34, 1.35, 1.34, 1.46, 1.28, 1.39,
$1.39,1.41,1.35,1.39,1.39,1.21,1.40,1.27,1.41,1.46,1.04$
XVa $1.33,1.30,1.16,1.38$
XVb $0.99,1.39,0.87,1.32,1.37,1.04,1.44,1.33,1.46,1.26$, $1.41,1.41,1.35,1.40$
XVc 1.40, 1.39, 1.38

## Chester

IIIg all early S 1.38, 1.35
with wedge-shaped abbreviations 1.32
IXb no star 1.35

## Durham

IIb $1.33,1.35,1.21$
IIIe 1.27, 1.31
with pellet barred N 1.36
IIIg late S 1.30
IVa? closed E 1.32
IVb Bek 1.35, crown before damage to right hand fleur, eyes of IVb
IVc Bek 1.29
V Bek 1.42
IXb Bek irregular dies 1.38
IXb Bek star 1.10, 1.27
IXb Bek star uncertain 1.35
IXb no mark star $1.14,1.24,1.40,1.39,1.35$
IXb no mark, star uncertain 1.34, 1.44
IXb no mark no star 1.39, 1.25 (double-barred A on rev, N not visible), 1.13, 1.27
Xa no mark, with double barred A and N on rev. - i.e.
$\mathrm{Xa} / \mathrm{IX}$ mule 1.39
Xa no mark $1.33,1.35,1.25,1.28,1.39$
with DVR Emie 1.32, 1.30
with dVre nie 1.42
Xb Bek 1.30, 1.44, 1.44, 1.42
X crown 1 Bek 1.42, 1.40, 1.35, 1.41, 1.32
X crown 2 no mark $1.23,1.39,1.44,1.29,1.43,1.24,1.22$, 1.42, 1.24

X crown 2 Bek $1.28,1.51,1.15,0.96,1.15,1.54$
X crown $2 \mathrm{Bek} /$ no mark uncertain 1.21
X crown 3 Mayfield Bek 1.30, 1.31, 1.36, 1.42, 1.10, 1.17, 1.24, 1.12, 1.14, 1.45

X crown 3 Mayfield no mark 1.25, 1.62(sic), 1.38
X uncertain, Mayfield lettering 1.33
X crown 3 late, no neck depression, Bek 1.29, 1.32, 1.37, $1.13,1.29,1.36,1.37,1.38,1.28,1.16,0.98,1.13,1.24,1.46$, $0.95,1.34,1.40$
X crown 3 late, neck depression uncertain, Bek 1.52, 1.42, 1.37, 1.38, 1.45, 1.23, 1.16, 1.30

X crown 3 late, depression and mark uncertain 0.90
X crown 3 late, depression uncertain, no mark 1.19
X crown 3 late neck depression, Bek 1.48, 1.43, 1.24, 1.36, 1.20, 1.26

X crown 3 late, neck depression, Bek presumed, 1.34, 1.24, $1.26,1.40,1.27,1.25$
X uncertain 1.27
X Bek, sub-class uncertain 1.44
X-XI Bek/no mark/Kellawe uncertain 1.40, 1.08
X crown 3 late, neck depression, Bek/XI 1.34, 1.16 with hYB three pellet stop
XIa Bek 1.21, 1.24, 1.34, 1.37, 1.40
XIa no mark 1.16
XIa mark/no mark uncertain $1.12,1.12,1.21$
XIa Kellawe 1.21, 1.26, 1.42, 1.32, 0.96
XIa Kellawe with open E (i.e. XIb?) 1.28, 1.14
XIb Kellawe, including some with face of XIII 1.20, 1.49, $1.24,1.31,1.49,1.33,1.21,1.14,1.42,1.39,1.33,1.38,1.31$, 1.30
with edwarra and face of XIII 1.50
XIN Kellawe 1.21, 1.31, 1.44, 1.19, 1.28, 1.59, 1.27, 1.53
XIc Kellawe 0.92
XII Kellawe 1.21
XIII Kellawe $1.33,1.15,1.15,1.25,1.24,1.21,1.32$
with CIVI Tas: 1.31

Kellawe uncertain class 0.82
XIV Beaumont $1.29,1.32,1.37,1.44,1.39$
XVa Beaumont 1.38
XVa or c Beaumont 1.28
XVa or $\mathbf{c}$ London/Durham mule (i.e. lacking Beaumont mark) 1.36
XVb Beaumont $1.29,1.37,1.39,1.33,1.33$
XVc Beaumont $1.28,1.19,1.34,1.20,1.23,1.26,1.47,1.43$, 1.40, 1.42

Beaumont, XIV or XV uncertain 1.24
Beaumont uncertain class $0.42,1.12,1.38,1.34$
Durham, probably Beaumont 1.38, 1.09

## Exeter

IXb star 1.35, star uncertain 1.36

## Hull

IXb star 1.20, 1.38, 1.38
no star 1.39

## Lincoln

IIIc-d 1.36, 1.29, 1.00, 1.23, 1.15, 1.40, 1.27, 1.36, 1.36, 1.39, 1.37, 1.11

IIIf 1.37, 1.40
IIIg early S $1.09,1.26,1.35$
late S/early S $1.37,1.37,1.23,1.44$ (this coin double-struck and possibly London rather than Lincoln)
late S 1.13, 1.37

## Newcastle

IIIe 1.37, 1.18, 1.32, 1.26, 1.33
with pellet barred N 1.38, 1.34
IXb star $1.40,1.34,1.35,1.32,1.37,1.36,1.42,1.38,1.41$, 1.40
star uncertain 0.98
no star $1.26,1.39,1.27,1.37,1.33$
IXb no star/X (NOVI) 1.36
Xa (NOVI) 1.42, 1.37
(NOV) 1.25
Xb (NOVI) 1.20
York archiepiscopal
IIIe 1.13
IXb star 1.32, 1.35
no star $1.41,1.14,1.32$
XVd 1.39
York royal
IIb $1.35,1.36,1.29,1.37$
IIIb $1.35,1.34,1.35,1.12,1.36,1.23$
IIIc 1.34
IIIe $1.29,1.15,1.36,1.21,1.16,1.36,1.23,1.33,1.01,1.30$, $1.24,1.33,1.40$
with pellet barred N $1.02,1.18$
IXb star $1.41,1.26,1.39,1.29,1.41,1.38,1.34,1.31,1.39$, $1.04,1.34,1.34,1.42,1.41,1.18$
no star $1.14,1.31,1.39$
star uncertain 1.33, 1.27
Berwick
Ia 1.30, 1.40
Ia/IIa 1.35
Ib $1.38,1.21$
Ia or Ib $1.24,1.14$
I or III 1.18

IIa 1.31
IIb 1.29
IIc 1.45
IIIa 1.37, 1.47, 1.27, 1.40
IIIb 1.37, 1.21
IVa 1.33, 1.40, 1.22
IVa/III mule 1.18
IVb $1.27,1.28,1.29,1.19,1.23,1.14,1.34,1.26,0.98,1.17$, $1.38,1.36,1.23,1.26$
IVb or c $1.08,1.13,1.18$
IVc $1.21,1.24,1.67,1.38,1.48,1.26,1.41,1.21,1.30,1.40$,
1.40, 1.33

IVc? 1.18
V Berewyci 1.34
Berewyci edwarra 1.30
Uncertain Berwick 1.11
Ireland
Dublin
$1 \quad 1.19$
1 or 21.19
2 early S $1.33,1.42,1.21,1.34,1.36,1.17$
3 all early S/late S $1.31,1.20,1.21$
with + E 1.39, 1.27
4 (rose on breast) 1.38
$61.32,1.35,1.44,1.26,1.40,1.43,1.33,1.39,1.18$,
$1.18,1.34,1.38,1.37,1.42,1.37$
Irregular - probably imitation 1.12

## Waterford

All class 2, all early S
$1.34,1.16,1.07,1.37,1.38,1.14,1.35,1.37,1.18$

## Scotland

Alexander III
24 point mint
A Alexsander G'CIA three pellet stop, t:TO 1.26
B $1.33,1.30,1.20,1.25,1.38$
B/C 1.38
D/FG (DEGRA) 1.16
E $1.06,1.03$
E/FG 1.29, 1.08
E or $\mathrm{FG} / \mathrm{E}$ (would be E if $o b v . \mathrm{R}$ is wedge, $\mathrm{FG} / \mathrm{E}$ if $o b v . \mathrm{R}$ has curved tail) 1.20
FG/D 1.31
FG/E 1.30, 1.33, 1.28, 1.35
FG $1.30,1.35,1.45,1.32,1.32,1.39,1.32,1.43,1.32$
20 points all E $1.41,1.15,1.30,1.12,1.31,1.29$
23 points all FG 1.30, 1.30, 1.38
25 points
D 1.36 (despite wedge R on $o b v$.)
D/FG 1.42
E/D $\quad 1.20$ (curved tailed R and almost fish-tailed C)
FG/D $1.29,1.34,1.35$
FG 1.16
26 points (See comments on $D$ at 26 point mint in first hoard)
D $\quad 1.31,1.21$
E/D $1.39,1.21$
E $\quad 1.25,1.21,1.17,1.28,1.10$
E/FG 1.27
FG/D (despite wedge R because of fish tailed C) 1.32, 1.30
FG/E $\quad 1.13,1.33$
H/E $\quad 1.31$
Baliol
Rough 24 points + Rex Scotorum
1.12, 1.32, 1.26, 1.40

Bruce
20 points $1.48,1.18,1.30,1.08$ all with : punctuation
1.06 with : and three pellet punctuation

Continental Sterlings ( $\mathrm{M}=$ Mayhew, Sterling Imitations)
Unpublished Louis of Chiny, cf. M 251-2
Crowned head +LvDO[ JV[ ]COME[]
mo[] ETA N[ JVE Lombardic N, rounded open Es 1.01

Guy of Dampierre, Namur and Flanders
M $12 \quad 1.34$
M 190.69
John of Avesnes, Hainaut
Valenciennes, M 241.42
M 29b 1.41
M 321.00 broken
Mons M 34 1.29, 1.23
John I, Brabant-Limburg
Brussels M42 1.39
Arnold of Looz
M 621.25
William of Hainaut, bishop of Cambrai
M 87-90 (stops uncertain) 0.95
Sede Vacante, Cambrai
M 941.20
Adolf VII or VIII of Berg
M 114 var 0.66 broken, reads ADVLFVS'
Henry II, archbishop of Cologne
Bonn M 205 var 0.77 broken
henr.'A RCh[ ].PS.OL
MON ET[ JVN ENS Lombardic Ns, rounded open Es
Robert of Béthune, count of Flanders
Alost M 2091.32
M 2111.12
M 211-2 1.28, 1.32
M 213 var 1.39 with FLAMDRIE
Valéran of Ligny, Serain
M 220 1.22, 1.30, 0.93 (var. with double annulet stops?)
M 2211.14
M 228 but MOI 1.31
M - reading +edominvsthree pellet stop delinny round closed Es, second N Lombardic, MON ETA SER AYN round closed Es, Lombardic Ns, 1.15

Gaucher of Châtillon
Yves M 237 1.08, 1.26
M 239 1.37, 1.32, 1.20, 1.08, 1.00, 1.07, 1.11 reading POR, 1.30, 1.17

M 244 large ringlets 1.13
M 244i-k (i.e. Lombardic Ns on rev.) 1.22
M 2451.26
M 247 1.01, 1.31
Neufchâteau M 248 0.97, 0.77, 0.89
John the Blind, Luxemburg
M 265 a-1 $0.89,1.03,0.91,0.92,1.03,0.97$
M 265 m-t 0.87, 1.09
M 2691.22
Méraude M 270 or 2760.61
M 278 with IOhAES.DEI but no other stops 0.74
Damvillers M 284 1.02, 1.28, 0.87
Stephen or John of Sancerre
M290b 1.09

Ferry of Lorraine
M305 0.98, 0.90
Ec Moneta Nostra
M $3110.72,0.69,0.54,0.53$
Thomas of Bourlémont, bishop of Toul
M $3250.79,0.73$
Edward of Bar
M 327 var reading MIC AIL 1.05
Louis of Bavaria, Aachen
M 3321.36
M 333 lacking pellet stop on rev. 1.07
lacking pellet stop on rev. and reading LEX on obv. 1.34
M 3341.41
M 336 1.31, 1.31, 1.11
William of Namur
M 365? +ED[ |SCO|] B
MO[ IR A [ ] 0.42 broken
John II of Brabant
A. de Witte, Histoire Monétaire des Comtes de Louvain, Ducs du Brabant. . . (Antwerp, 1894), I, no. 3071.12

Aquitaine sterlings, according to Elias, Anglo-Gallic Coins Elias 56 but comma after Angl' 1.29
Elias 56 but double saltire after Edward 1.39
Elias 56 but double annulets after Edward and comma after Angl' 1.18
Elias 56 but saltire after Edward and stop after dvx 1.11
One uncertain continental imitation in fragments, not weighed.

Imitations with 'English' legends (all 'London' unless stated) Gaucher of Châtillon
M 2401.49
M 241 1.16, 0.41
M 241 bust York 1.04
M 242 Canterbury 1.04
M 242 1.12, 0.90, 1.11
M 243 1.18, 1.19, 1.11, 1.29, 1.07, 0.50
Edwarra type now attributable to Gaucher
M 377 1.37, $1.26,1.18,1.33,1.07,1.41,1.23,1.09,1.34$, 1.31, 1.22

M 377 'Cantor' 1.19, 1.22 1.26, 1.18, 1.10
M 377 'Dureme' 1.24
M 377 reading Edwrr 1.33
M 377 reading Edwrr, Cantor 1.36
M 378 1.18, 1.30
M 374 i.e. Edwre 1.08, 0.92, 1.21, 0.96
M 374/375c (i.e. LVNDON) 1.10
M 381 d vTE:ROP 1.36 (Perhaps same dies but here suggest different reading)

Other imitations $1.32,1.41,0.98,0.77$ (Irish obv.), 0.93 , 0.98 (retrograde rev.), $0.73,1.17,0.89$ (Gaucher?), 0.71, 0.73 'York' 1.14(genuine?), 1.05

## Key to the Plates

* indicates the second hoard. For the English series the mint is London unless specified.

Plate 12

1. Tealby
2. $\mathrm{I} a / \mathrm{c}$
3. $\mathrm{Ic} / \mathrm{a}$
4. Ic
5. Ic with colon stops
6. Ic with irregular face
$\mathrm{Id} / \mathrm{c}^{*}$
Id
Id with shaped crown typical of II
IIa with crown typical of Id
IIa
IIa York
IIb
IIb Canterbury
IIb Bristol
IIb Durham
IIb York
$\mathrm{IIb} / \mathrm{III}{ }^{*}$
IIIa*
IIIb
IIIb
IIIb Canterbury*
IIIb with spearheads; i.e. IIIc but rounded drapery of IIIb*
7. IIIb York*
8. A11
9. A12
10. A12 Bristol
11. IIIc-d early h
12. IIIc-d later $h$
13. IIIc-d later h
14. IIIc-d later h Canterbury
15. IIIc-d early h? Lincoln
16. IIIc-d later h Lincoln
17. IIIc-d later h Lincoln
18. IIIc-d later h Bristol

Plate 13
36. IIIc-d later h Bristol; pierced for wearing as a cross
37. IIIc-d later h Bristol
38. IIIc-d Robert de Hadelie, Bury
39. IIIc-d Robert de Hadelie, Bury
40. IIIe Newcastle*
41. IIIe York (archbishop)
42. IIIf
43. IIIf Lincoln*
44. IIIg early S
45. IIIg early S , wedge-shaped commas
46. IIIg late S/early S
47. IIIg early S/late S
48. IIIg late S
49. IIIg late S , no abbreviations
50. IIIg Canterbury early S, wedge-shaped commas
51. IIIg Canterbury early S/late S
52. IIIg Canterbury late S
53. IIIg Chester early S
54. IIIg Chester early $\mathrm{S}^{*}$
55. IIIg Lincoln early S
56. IIIg Lincoln late S/early S
57. IIIg Bristol early S
58. IIIg Bristol late $\mathrm{S}^{*}$
59. IIIg Robert de Hadelie, Bury
60. IIIg Robert de Hadelie, Bury
61. IIIg Robert de Hadelie, Bury
62. IIIg Robert de Hadelie, Bury
63. IIIg Robert de Hadelie, Bury*
64. IIIg Durham late S
65. IIIg early S/ very late style S, wedge-shaped commas*
66. IV(a)/early S reverse
67. IV(a)
68. IV(a)
69. IV(a)
70. IV(a)

Plate 14
71. IV(a)
72. IV(a)
73. IV(a)
74. IV(a)
75. IV(a)
76. IV(a)
77. IV(a) Canterbury
78. IV(a) Canterbury
79. IV(a) Durham, Insula*
80. IV(a) Robert de Hadelie, Bury
81. IV(a) Robert de Hadelie, Bury
82. IV(a) Robert de Hadelie, Bury
83. IV(a) Robert de Hadelie, Bury
84. IV(a) Robert de Hadelie, Bury
85. IV(b)
86. IV(b)
87. IV(b)
88. IV(b)
89. IV(b)
90. IV(b) Canterbury
91. IV(b) Canterbury
92. IV(b) Robert de Hadelie, Bury
93. IV(b) Durham, Bek, right hand fleur not damaged*
94. IV(b) typical crown of IVb with different bust
95. IV(b) Canterbury, typical crown of IVb with different
bust
96. IV(c)
97. IV(c)
98. IV(c)
99. IV(c)
100. IV(c) Canterbury
101. IV(c) Durham, Bek
102. IV(c) Durham, Bek
103. IV(c) Durham, Bek*
104. IV? Durham, Bek
105. IV ? Durham, Bek

Plate 15
106. IVd
107. IVd
108. IVd Canterbury
109. IVd Canterbury
110. IVd/e Canterbury
111. IVa/e
112. IVe/d*
113. IVe/d Canterbury*
114. IVe
115. IVe
116. IVe
117. IVe
118. IVe Canterbury
119. V or $\mathrm{IVe} / \mathrm{V}$ ? *
120. V/IVe pattee initial cross
121. V/IVe plain initial cross
122. V
123. V
124. V
125. V irregular bust?
126. $\mathrm{V}^{*}$
127. $\mathrm{V}^{*}$
128. $\mathrm{V}^{*}$
130. $\mathrm{V}^{*}$
131. V Canterbury
132. V Canterbury
133. V Canterbury
134. V Canterbury
135. V Canterbury*
136. V Durham Bek*
137. VI hib
138. VI
139. VI
140. VI EDWAR

Plate 16
141. VI
142. VI
143. VI
144. VI*
145. VI*
146. VI EDWAR*
147. VI*
148. VI Durham
149. VI transitional to VII
150. VIIa
151. VIIa
152. VIIa
153. VIIa*
154. VIIa*
155. VIIb*
156. VIIb
157. VIIb
158. VIIa Canterbury
159. VIIb Canterbury, no rose*
160. VIIb Canterbury, no rose
161. VIIa Bury, no rose*
162. VI-VII with top-tilted S on reverse
163. VIII
164. VIII
165. VIII
166. VIII
167. VIII
168. VIII*
169. VIII without top-tilted S*
170. VIII without top-tilted S or extra comma
171. VIII without top-tilted S or extra comma
172. VIII without top-tilted S or extra comma
173. VIII without top-tilted S or extra comma
174. VI with crown of VIII*
175. VI EDWAR, or imitation?*

Plate 17
176. VIII Bury*
177. VIII Bury
178. VIII Bury
179. VIII-IX transitional ${ }^{*}$
180. VIII-IX transitional*
181. VIII-IX transitional*
182. VIII-IX transitional*
183. VIII-IX transitional, round drapery*
184. VIII-IX transitional, earlier face?*
185. IXa top-tilted S and h'YB', no star
186. IXa no star
187. IXa no star
188. IXa no star
189. IXa star and h'YB
190. IXa star
191. IXa star
192. IXa star
193. IXa star
194. IXa Canterbury, star uncertain
195. IXa Canterbury, star
196. IXa Canterbury, no star
197. IXa Bury, irregular
198. IXa Durham star
199. IX Durham irregular
200. IX Durham irregular
201. IX Durham irregular
202. IX Durham irregular reverse
203. IX Durham irregular*
204. IXb no star
205. IXb no star York (archbishop)
206. IXb no star York (royal)
207. IXb no star Hull*
208. IXb no star Durham
209. IXb no star Durham
210. IXb star

Plate 18
211. IXb star Canterbury
212. IXb star Hull
213. IXb star Exeter
214. IXb star Chester
215. IXb star Bristol
216. IXb star York
217. IXb star York
218. IXb star Durham
219. IXb no star/X mule Newcastle
220. $\mathrm{Xa} / \mathrm{IXb}$
221. Xa
222. Xa Canterbury
223. Xa Newcastle Novi*
224. Xa Durham no mark
225. $\mathrm{Xb} / \mathrm{IXb}$
226. $\mathrm{Xb} / \mathrm{IXb}$ trifoliate*
227. Xb
228. Xb R'R'
229. Xb Canterbury
230. Xb Canterbury R.R *
231. Xb EDWR'R'
232. Xb Canterbury EDWR'R'
233. Xb Newcastle, NOVI
234. Xb legend, crown 1
235. Xb crown, Xc-f legend, Mayfield
236. X cr 1
237. X cr 1 Canterbury
238. X cr 2
239. X cr 2 hYb:
240. X cr 2 Canterbury
241. X cr 2 Canterbury hYB _
242. X cr 2 Durham Bek
243. X cr 3 Mayfield
244. X cr 3 Mayfield
245. X cr 3 Mayfield

Plate 19
246. X cr 3 Mayfield hYB:
247. X cr 3 Mayfield Canterbury
248. X cr 3 Mayfield Bury
249. X cr 3 Mayfield Durham Bek
250. X cr 3 late lettering, no neck depression
251. X cr 3 late lettering, no neck depression
252. X cr 3 late lettering, no neck depression EDWAAR
253. X cr 3 late lettering, no neck depression hYB
254. X cr 3 late lettering, no neck depression, broken chin
hYB:
255. X cr 3 late lettering, no neck depression, broken chin
256. X cr 3 late lettering, no neck depression, broken chin
257. X cr 3 late lettering, no neck depression Durham Bek
258. X cr 3-5 late lettering, neck depression
259. X cr 3-5 late lettering, neck depression
260. X cr 3-5 late lettering, neck depression
261. X cr 3-5 late lettering, neck depression hyb:
262. X cr 3-5 late lettering, neck depression, straight-sided Ns on obv.
263. X cr 3-5 late lettering, neck depression, straight-sided Ns on obv.
264. X cr 3-5 late lettering, neck depression, straight-sided lettering on obv. and rev. and open E
265. X cr 3-5 late lettering, neck depression, straight-sided lettering on obv., and open E Canterbury*
266. X cr 3-5 late lettering, neck depression/XI mule
267. XIa/X mule crown unbroken
268. XIa crown unbroken
269. XIa
270. XIa
271. XIa
272. XIa
273. XIa Canterbury
274. XIa Canterbury
275. XIa Bury edwarra
276. XIa EDWARRA
277. XIb
278. XIb
279. XIb
280. XIb

Plate 20
281. XIb Canterbury
282. XIb Canterbury*
283. XIb Canterbury EDWARRA
284. XIb Bury open and angular Es
285. XIb Durham Kellawe
286. XIN
287. XIN RR, large Rs
288. XIN RR, small Rs
289. XIN Durham Kellawe
290. XIc*
291. XIc Canterbury*
292. XIc Bury*
293. XII/XIN
294. XII/XIc Canterbury*
295. XII Canterbury
296. XIII
297. XIII edwara hyb:
298. XIII Canterbury
299. XIII Bury R.R*
300. XIII Durham Kellawe
301. XIII Durham Beaumont
302. XIII face, XIV crown
303. XIV broken E
304. XIV
305. XIV Bury
306. XIV Durham Beaumont
307. XVa
308. XVa Bury
309. XVa Durham
310. XVb
311. XVb Canterbury, clipped and worn, with implications for the age of the hoard.
312. XVb Bury
313. XVc
314. XVc
315. XVc Durham-London mule

Plate 21
316. XVc Canterbury
317. XVc Bury
318. XVc Durham
319. XVd York (archbishop)
320. XVd York (archbishop)*
321. Florin issue
322. Florin issue
323. Florin issue
324. Berwick Ia
325. Berwick Ib
326. Berwick Ib
327. Berwick Ia/II
328. Berwick $\mathrm{Ib} / \mathrm{II}$
329. Berwick IIa
330. Berwick IIb*
331. Berwick IIc*
332. Berwick IIIa
333. Berwick IIIa
334. Berwick IIIb
335. Berwick IIIa or b/IV
336. Berwick IVa
337. Berwick IVb
338. Berwick IVb
339. Berwick IVc
340. Berwick IVc
341. Berwick IVc
342. Berwick V
343. Berwick V
344. Ireland Dublin 1
345. Ireland Dublin 1 error reading
346. Ireland Dublin 2
347. Ireland Dublin 2
348. Ireland Dublin 2 late S on rev.
349. Ireland Waterford 2
350. Ireland Waterford 2

Plate 22
351. Ireland Dublin 3
352. Ireland Dublin 3
353. Ireland Dublin $3+\mathrm{E}^{*}$
354. Ireland Dublin 4 rose on breast*
355. Ireland Dublin 5
356. Ireland Dublin 6 large letter rev.
357. Ireland Dublin 6 small letter rev.
358. Ireland Dublin irregular*
359. Scotland Alexander III 24 pts A
360. Scotland Alexander III 24 pts A
361. Scotland Alexander III 24 pts A
362. Scotland Alexander III 24 pts A/C
363. Scotland Alexander III 24 pts C/B
364. Scotland Alexander III 24 pts C
365. Scotland Alexander III 24 pts B
366. Scotland Alexander III 24 pts B/C
367. Scotland Alexander III 24 pts B/C
368. Scotland Alexander III 24 pts C
369. Scotland Alexander III 24 pts D
370. Scotland Alexander III 24 pts D/E
371. Scotland Alexander III 24 pts E
372. Scotland Alexander III 24 pts E
373. Scotland Alexander III 24 pts FG
374. Scotland Alexander III 24 pts FG
375. Scotland Alexander III 24 pts FG
376. Scotland Alexander III 24 pts FG/D
377. Scotland Alexander III 24 pts FG/E
378. Scotland Alexander III 24 pts FG/E
379. Scotland Alexander III 24 pts I
380. Scotland Alexander III 20 pts E
381. Scotland Alexander III 20 pts E
382. Scotland Alexander III 20 pts E
383. Scotland Alexander III 23 pts E
384. Scotland Alexander III 23 pts FG
385. Scotland Alexander III 23 pts FG

Plate 23
386. Scotland Alexander III 25 pts D
387. Scotland Alexander III 25 pts E/FG
388. Scotland Alexander III 26 pts D
389. Scotland Alexander III 26 pts E/D
390. Scotland Alexander III 26 pts E
391. Scotland Alexander III 26 pts E
392. Scotland Alexander III 26 pts FG/D
393. Scotland Alexander III 28 pts E
394. Scotland Baliol St Andrews
395. Scotland Baliol St Andrews
396. Scotland Baliol 24 pts
397. Scotland Baliol 24 pts
398. Scotland Baliol 24 pts
399. Scotland Baliol 24 pts
400. Scotland Baliol smooth 20 pts
401. Scotland Baliol smooth 20 pts
402. Scotland Bruce
403. Scotland Bruce
404. Scotland Bruce
405. Scotland Bruce
406. Scotland Bruce
407. Scotland Bruce
408. Scotland Bruce
409. Scotland Bruce
410. Continental unidentified fragment
411. Continental Valéran de Ligny M226d-e var
412. Continental Sancerre M290-2 var
413. Continental Anglo-Gallic Elias 56 var
414. Continental Louis of Chiny of M251-2 *
415. Continental Valéran de Ligny unpublished var *
416. Continental Gaucher imitation M241 York *

PLATE 12


## PLATE 13




99


100


101


03






MAYHEW : ABERDEEN HOARDS (7)






MAYHEW : ABERDEEN HOARDS (12)


[^0]:    ${ }^{6}$ See especially Judith Cripps, 'Establishing the topography of medieval Aberdeen: An assessment of the documentary sources', in New Light on Medieval Aberdeen, edited by J.S. Smith (Aberdeen, 1985), pp. 20-31. I am most grateful to Judith Cripps, and also to Elizabeth Ewan for their advice on topographical questions.
    ${ }^{7}$ The first 1807 hoard was found digging foundations for a new building near the Flour Mill, the second 1807 find on the site of Dyer's Hall. The two new finds were made outside Marks and Spencer, at the point where the original course of the Netherkirkgate would have crossed the stream towards the church.

[^1]:    ${ }^{8}$ For the dating of XVd at York, see Mayhew, 'The Aberdeen Upperkirkgate Hoard', p. 34, which remarks are based chiefly on those of P. Woodhead, I. Stewart, and G. Tatler, 'The Loch Doon Treasure Trove 1966', BNJ 38 (1969), 33-4.
    ${ }^{9} \mathrm{~J}$. Shirley-Fox, 'The pennies and halfpennies of 1344-51', NC 5th ser. 8 (1928), 16-46.
    ${ }^{10}$ H.B. Earle Fox and Shirley Fox, 'Numismatic history of the reigns of Edward I, II, and III', BNJ 6(1910), 7(1911), 8(1912), 9(1913), and 10(1914).
    ${ }^{11}$ I am most grateful to Dr Warren Esty for this opinion.

[^2]:    ${ }^{12}$ The theoretical possibility that these were Edward I groats seems even more remote. The 1807 source cited by Evans and Thain speaks of 'Pennies, about the size of a sixpence of the present day; and Groats, proportionately larger'. So specific and reasonably accurate a description is not easily discounted.
    ${ }^{13}$ Elizabeth Ewan, 'The Age of Bon-Accord: Aberdeen

[^3]:    in the fourteenth century', in New Light on Medieval Aberdeen, p. 33. The only surviving Exchequer audits of the late 1330s were held in Aberdeen, The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, I, edited by J. Stuart and G. Burnett (1878).
    ${ }^{14}$ Similar observations were made by I. Stewart, 'Edwardian sterlings in the 1900 Berscar (Closeburn) find', BNJ 47 (1977), 94.

[^4]:    ${ }^{15}$ Fox, BNJ 7 (1911), 98.
    ${ }^{16}$ Mavis Mate, 'Monetary Policies in England, 12721307', BNJ 41 (1972), 44.
    ${ }^{17}$ Mayhew suggests that by the late thirteenth century this office was on the way to becoming a sinecure. See A New History of the Royal Mint, edited by C.E. Challis (Cam-

[^5]:    bridge, forthcoming).
    ${ }^{18}$ L.A. Lawrence, 'On a new type of penny of Edward I', NC 5th ser. 3 (1923), 56-9.
    ${ }^{19}$ Fox, BNJ 7 (1910), 106-7. J.J. North, The Coinages of Edward I and II (1968), pp. 9, 16.

[^6]:    ${ }^{20}$ G.L.V. Tatler, 'A note on the transition between types I and II of the pennies of Edward I', BNJ 28 (1956), 288-93.
    ${ }^{21}$ Fox, BNJ 7 (1910), 108. Edward Burns, The Coinage of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1887); the masterly Addenda on the English pennies of Edward I, II, and III, occurs in volume I, pp. 186-220, with the plate in volume III.
    ${ }^{22}$ Coinage was ordered earlier at Canterbury and Bury,

[^7]:    but delayed. (Fox, BNJ 7 (1910), 102-3.) Durham dies were ordered at the same time as those for Bury, i.e. November 1279.
    ${ }^{23}$ North, The Coinages of Edward I and II, p. 15.
    ${ }^{24}$ Fox, BNJ 7 (1910), 114. North, The Coinages of Edward I and II, pp. 16-7.

[^8]:    ${ }^{25}$ Fox, BNJ 7 (1910), 118, 120, 124-5.
    ${ }^{26}$ Fox, BNJ 8 (1911), 139-40.
    ${ }^{27}$ G.L.V. Tatler and B.H.I.H. Stewart, 'Edwardian sterlings in the Montrave hoard', BNJ 31 (1962), 82.
    ${ }^{28}$ Fox, BNJ 8 (1911), 142-3. North, The Coinages of Edward I and II, p. 14.

[^9]:    ${ }^{29}$ The Foxes speak of only 16 lb . struck 1294-6, BNJ 8 (1911), 138, 143. Mate, 'Monetary Policies', p. 78, and
    Crump and Johnson, 'Tables of Bullion Coined Under (1911), 138, 143. Mate, 'Monetary Policies', p. 78, and
    Crump and Johnson, 'Tables of Bullion Coined Under Edward I, II, III', NC, 4th ser. 13 (1913), 228, give 36 lb .
    ${ }^{30}$ Fox, BNJ 8 (1911), 144.
    ${ }^{31}$ North, The Coinages of Edward I and II, pp. 20-2.

[^10]:    ${ }^{32}$ J.J. North, 'Irregular dies of the Durham Mint c.1300', BNJ 54 (1984), 79.
    ${ }^{33}$ December (or even Michaelmas) 1300 is favoured by Ian Stewart as the closing date for IXb ('Bishop Bek and the Durham coins of Edward I and II', BNJ 54 (1984), 82). North (BNJ 54 (1984), 78) would allow it to be stretched at the latest to mid 1302.
    ${ }^{34}$ Stewart, 'Bishop Bek', p. 82. See also his note 8 on the same page which draws attention to Wood's otherwise unpublished suggestion that some Xb types may ante-date

[^11]:    Ха.
    ${ }^{35}$ Stewart, 'Bishop Bek', p. 81. Also J.J. North, 'A re-examination of the Class XI pence of Edward II', NCirc (1984), 74-5.
    ${ }^{36}$ BNJ 31 (1962), 83-4, conveniently summarized by North, The Coinages of Edward I and II, pp. 23-4.
    ${ }^{37}$ Marion M. Archibald, 'The Mayfield (Sussex) 1968 hoard of English pence and French gros, c. 1307 ' in Mints, Dies and Currency, edited by R.A.G. Carson (1971), pp. 152-3.

[^12]:    ${ }^{38}$ J.J. North, 'A re-examination of the Class XI pence of Edward II', NCirc (1984), 74-5.
    ${ }^{39}$ Fox, BNJ 10(1913), 103.
    ${ }^{40}$ Peter Woodhead and Ian Stewart, 'The Renfrew Treasure Trove, 1963', BNJ 35 (1966), 130.
    ${ }^{41}$ Fox, BNJ 10 (1913), 100: 'a pointed chin, a curious

[^13]:    enigmatical smile, and leering eyes'. It is a broader face than that of XIII.
    ${ }^{42}$ BNJ 35 (1966), 131.
    ${ }^{43}$ F. Elmore Jones, 'An unpublished Edward III/Edward II mule', BNJ 31 (1962), 72-3.

[^14]:    ${ }^{44}$ Excavations: the medieval burgh of Aberdeen 1973-81, edited by J.C. Murray, Soc. Antiq. Scot. Monogr. Series No 2 (1982).
    ${ }^{45}$ Murray 1982, 118.
    ${ }^{46}$ Murray 1982, ill. 88 , no 485 , ill. 92 , no. 657.
    ${ }^{47}$ Murray 1982, 118.

[^15]:    ${ }^{48}$ Murray 1982, see in particular ill. 71, no. 41 for a similar body profile and ill. 90 , no. 580 for a similar handle.
    ${ }^{49}$ Neils-Knud Liebgott, Danske Fund Af Montdaterat Keramik ca. 950-1450, Nationalmuseets Skrifter (1987). Note in particular, hoards nos 25 and 26.

