

THE BAWBEE ISSUES OF JAMES V AND MARY

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Introduction

THE intermittent coinages of the Scottish mint in the first half of the sixteenth century into the 1550s have attracted little new study for a long time with the exception of some rare gold.¹ Silver was virtually only struck between 1526 and 1538, supposedly at 10 deniers fine (83.3 per cent). The groat at eighteen pence Scots weighing 42.8 gr. (like Henry VIII's 1540 fourpenny groat) was thus intrinsically c.83 per cent of Henry's 1526 groat at 11.1 deniers which weighed 48 gr. It was billon that provided the bulk of the coins in circulation, in the form of placks, fourpence Scots, minted up to about 1515, and of sixpenny bawbees from 1538 or 1539 under James, and 1543 into 1554 under Mary. The bawbee at 3 deniers fine (75 per cent alloy) seems to have remained unchanged in quality or weight throughout,² while the successive debasements of Henry and Edward VI brought the English silver down, very briefly in 1551, to a base shilling of that same standard, described by George Brooke as the worst silver England ever saw. Edward's post-recovery base pennies at 4 deniers were comparable in size to the half-bawbee, but were supported by a range of good quality higher denominations not paralleled in Scotland till after the issue of bawbees had ceased.

Intensive collecting and study of billon has been discouraged by more than its low value, liability to corrosion and relative quantity. Good clear specimens have been difficult to find. Deficiencies in striking are common to thin base-metal coins, and have often been compounded by the long periods during which the placks and bawbees circulated. Thus a rural hoard buried c.1587 had still respectively 12 and 32 of these out of 94 coins (Noranside, Angus, 1962).³

In contrast to that find, two hoards hidden about 1530 (Linlithgow) and 1555 (Rigghead, Collin, Dumfriesshire) gave in 1963 considerable new opportunities for study.⁴ In particular they included the largest recorded numbers, in the first of James IV and James V placks (324) and in the second of James V bawbees (132). The latter were in particularly good condition. So were the accompanying bawbees of Mary (214), which were mostly of

Acknowledgements. The late Robert Kerr made the initial card-index of the Rigghead coins acquired for the National Museum. Dr I. H. Stewart has read the typescript critically at various stages; this and the prolonged loan of his bawbees have been invaluable to the study. Mrs J. E. L. Murray has read some parts. I am grateful for the opportunity of examining an unpublished hoard found in Linlithgow c.1935 presently on loan to the National Museums. Photographs for comparison were made available by the Ashmolean and Hunterian Museums' cabinets, and some from the British Museum and the Fitzwilliam Museum (Edinburgh whole bawbees omitted in particular), for which Mr N. J. Mayhew, Dr J. D. Bateson, Miss M. M. Archibald and Mr M. A. S. Blackburn are especially thanked. Photographs of the relevant parts of the late Dr James Davidson's collection and of the Lockett collection have been used. Dumfries Museum (Mr D. Lockwood) and Dundee Museum (Mr A. Zealand) have also been helpful.

The photographs and diagrammatic drawings are National

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¹ I. H. Stewart, *Scottish Coinage* second edition (London, 1967), pp. 200–3; Lt Col and Mrs Murray, see notes 23–24.

² Burns, p. 294, note 7. There is a very great variation in the present appearance of bawbees, from bright silvery through almost pewter to patinated dark brown as if entirely copper. Hoards show that this is due to differing circumstances in which each has been buried or hidden.

³ Noranside: I. D. Brown and M. Dolley, *Bibliography of Coin Hoards of Great Britain and Ireland, 1500–1967* (London, 1971), SO 20; Appendix here. See Braeside, Greenock (1955) buried c.1573, SO 2 and PSAS 89 (1955–56), 109–12.

⁴ Rigghead (cited below as Rigg), full summary in Appendix) and Linlithgow 1963, Brown SM 6 and SN 1.

early varieties that are less well represented elsewhere, but tapered sharply to the latest. In both finds there were groats of James V which are rare in hoards. Under Scots law the coins of whatever metal could be claimed for the Crown, and the preliminary study was made to provide a basis for selection for the National Museum of Antiquities (NMA) and other public collections, for rewards to the finders, and for the return to them of the remainder. Unfortunately it was not feasible at that time to make a photographic record as a permanent check on the initial catalogue. Further comparative review at intervals since has concentrated on the collections of the NMA.⁵ A limited amount of comparison beyond them has now been included, most recently from the illustrations of the Oxford and Glasgow *Sylloge*.⁶ It is planned to publish the resulting numismatic details in this *Journal*, beginning now with the bawbees and their halves, to be followed by James V's groats and one-third groats, and then by his placks with those of James IV. Further aspects of these and other hoards of the period may be covered by a later paper elsewhere.

James V's bawbees, 1538–42

The sixpenny bawbee was a newly devised denomination (pl. 12, 1). Together with the 3-merk 'bonnet-piece' ducat, dated 1539 and less rarely 1540, it broke away from earlier designs and the broader flans of placks and crowns. A new coin issued perhaps for several years before 1539 had been the one-third groat, also valued at sixpence, which contained 63 per cent more silver; it was no doubt inconveniently small, being similar in size and weight to the half-bawbee.

The history, contemporary name and typology of the bawbee were established by Edward Burns;⁷ previous numismatists had reckoned them as placks. He based his detailed classification on Thomas Coats' Scottish collection, now part of the national collections. His published sample of James's bawbees was, however, only seven with four halves, of which three were in other collections. Two of these were in the NMA which Richardson's catalogue of 1901 shows as having five of the bawbees and three halves;⁸ one more was added before 1962. The most accessible account with illustrations has been by I. H. Stewart.⁹

From the Rigghead hoard's 132 bawbees of James and 6 halves the NMA received 53 and 4 halves, the Hunterian Museum 15 and one half, and Dumfries Museum 23 (including 4 from a stray parcel) and one half. Forty were returned to the finders and so ultimately became available to collectors. The number of obverse dies represented was not firmly ascertained for the bawbees, but the maximum number of dies represented by a single coin is 93 with 13 noted more than once. Of the singles 7 have been duplicated in other samples examined, some photographically.

*Relations to the gold issues (pl. 12, A–G)*⁸

Bawbees were certainly projected in 1538, but the historical records (p. 125–7 below) do not make clear when their actual issue began. They covered at any rate less than five years during which a small amount of gold was struck from a very few dies. James V died in

⁵ The National Museums of Scotland, since the NMA was amalgamated with the Royal Scottish Museum (RSM) under a new Board of Trustees in 1985.

⁶ See also Note to Catalogue below; J. D. Bateson and N. J. Mayhew, *SCBI 35: Scottish Coins in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford and the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow* (London, 1987); numerous Rigghead bawbees are there illustrated. Cited as AS and HS.

⁷ *The Coinage of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1887), II, 262–8

and 292–307; III, pl. lvii, ix–lxii. Cited as Burns or B. The present paper is dedicated to Burns' memory following the centenary of the posthumous publication of his great work. See I. H. Stewart, 'Edward Burns', *BNJ* 57 (1987), 89–98.

⁸ A. B. Richardson, *Catalogue of Scottish Coins in the National Museum, Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1901). Cited as Richardson or Rich. The gold in pl. 2, A–G here are Rich. James V 36, 37, B.4, Rich. 39–40.

⁹ Stewart.

December 1542. The design on the reverse of the bawbees with its novel crown-girt saltire is too close to that of the unique pattern ducat dated 1539 (**pl. 12, A-B**, B.1a fig. 750) to have been used before this was abandoned; the designs for billon had hitherto been kept distinct from those for gold or silver. A crowned shield like that on the pattern's obverse was then placed on the reverse of the ducat's striking portrait of the king wearing a bonnet (a low cap embroidered with jewels to resemble a crown)¹⁰ and a heavy gold collar of thistle-heads like that which had surrounded the pattern's shield.¹¹ This ducat is still dated 1539, from a single obverse die both with and without a pellet to the left of the field (B. figs. 751 and 752). The obverse die dated 1540, simplified by having a chain instead of a collar, was used with the previous reverse die and a new one (B. figs. 753 and 754). In 1540 matching two-thirds and one-third ducats were also struck; apparently each from a single pair of dies, though the back of the head in **pl. 12, G** differs from B. fig. 756. Some gold is recorded as struck in 1541 and 1542, without changes of date, probably, besides possible crown pieces.

The crowned thistle-head on the obverse of the bawbees was no less an innovation (revived on our '5 new pence'). The I and 5 that flank it are like those beside the shield on the ducat fractions. The crown is very like that on the ducat's reverse and appears to be the same on through Mary's class I. It is also that of James's latest extremely rare 'abbey crown'.¹² Close inspection of well-struck bawbees suggests that not one but several seemingly long-lasting punches were used for it – a cross with a short stem, a U-shaped double leaf for the sides, perhaps a single crescent for cusping, and bars for the hoop (**pl. 12, 26**); exceptionally a vertical guide-line may be seen at the sides (**pl. 12, 19**). The letter G is also composite, with the vertical stroke punched separately (cf. (**pl. 12, 28-9**) horizontal on the Cs) like the tail of the Q on the crowns.

Alongside innovations, traditions persisted long in the Scottish mint. Many of these bawbees have an annulet to the left of the obverse field. This had some traditional significance in the mint's operations, for it was put on the 1540 ducat and two-thirds ducat, replacing the pellet added to the 1539 ducat die, while the one-third again had a pellet. The preceding groats frequently had a 'trefoil' of pellets similarly placed, and at least once an annulet (B. fig. 715). On James III's three-quarter-face groats half a century earlier such an annulet was quite frequent (Stewart class VI e–g). It seems that a quarter of the Rigghead bawbees were struck before an annulet was begun on them; apparent early examples (B.3 and Rich.76) are illusory. Thereafter it was left off from one in ten, which may be rather too many to be accidental, for it was obvious and could be corrected. Of two dies with the annulet above the 5, one has perhaps been 'corrected' by having it placed above the I as well (Rigg 204 and 211, **pl. 12, 18–19**). The device was not continued under Mary. A very inconspicuous privy mark, three tiny dots in the field, occurs on one reverse (Rigg 228–9, **pl. 12, 23**), and twice similarly under Mary (p. 123). A dot in the letter O as on the two-thirds ducat recurs briefly on the bawbees (**pl. 12, 16**).

The small fleur-de-lis initial-mark on the reverses harks back to the gold unicorns of James IV, the large ones in the field to perhaps still earlier groats. They came immediately from the pattern ducat, from which the crown initial mark and the thistle-head were used on the quarter-bawbee. The crown for the 'regal saltire' is again the same as on the pattern, both sides of the half, and the reverse of the quarter. It is not clear whether it was composite or from a single punch. On the two-thirds ducat it was used for the crown above

¹⁰ H. Bennett, 'The Scots Bonnet' in *From the Stone Age to the 'Forty-five*, edited by A. O'Connor and D. V. Clarke (Edinburgh, 1983), pp. 546–66 (548–50). In 1538 James, in Paris for his marriage, had forty diamonds set in a bonnet, possibly the one depicted: *Accounts of the Lord High*

Treasurer of Scotland, (cited as LHT), edited by J. Balfour Paul (Edinburgh, 1907), VII (1538–41), xv and 14.

¹¹ See also note 20.

¹² AS 900; Stewart, p. 202 and pl.xxii, 302, 'Type V'.

the shield, with the separate addition of an arch of double lines and a tiny pellet above each cusp (**pl. 12, F**). On the half-bawbee's obverse an arch was similarly added, and on some an indication of the hoop's circuit below. The design at least barely changed on through the first years of Mary's bawbees.

Some letters from the ducat fount, originally the crowns', occur sporadically, notably the R with reversed-S foreleg such as comes again on Mary's very first bawbees (fig.1.1). It has been noted in James's issue on some dies in what are here called varieties (a), (b) and (d), in the latter rare, and is the characteristic of (c). The half-bawbee letter punches seem mainly the same as for the two-thirds ducat. Altogether it is likely that the first dies for the bawbees and half-bawbees were made concurrently with those for the ducat and its fractions in 1539–40.

Classification (see also Catalogue)

The striking sequence of these bawbees is not of much consequence, given their short period and few obvious changes, but the somewhat erratic order now obtainable from details of the obverse crown and of the lettering shows that Burns' brief list should be reversed. That crown is, as mentioned above, like that of the ducat's reverse, but the arch has a second line often lost in the border. At first the hoop (unlike that of the gold but like the crowns on the placks) has the whole circuit indicated as seen from below, and the interior was sometimes hatched (**pl. 12, 1**). The cusps then had no pellets. Soon the line for the back of the hoop, apparently always faint, was reduced to a small hook at the side, and before long removed entirely. This logical progression is confirmed by successive damage to the letter N on the reverses. The use of this and other criteria is not always straightforward and they are often not clear. In the beaded border a large pellet, as on the ducat, forms with the initial cross in the inscription an orb-and-cross finial for the crown. There are variations in the size and thickness of this cross, which standardised to thin and relatively large.

The first major variety (a) is, however, defined by the three-pellet stop in the reverse inscription (**pl. 12, 2**; B.5 fig. 776). It comprises a fifth of the Rigghead sample (26), and is followed in variety (b) onwards by a single-pellet stop. Exceptionally, as on B.4 fig. 775, a three-pellet reverse not only accompanies an obverse of variety (c) but has the 'sharp N' which has lost its lower front serif (**pl. 12, 10**), so that temporary re-use of the stop might be deduced, if not error. But the sharp N does already appear sometimes in the second of the two subdivisions of (a). The distinction between the pictorially backward-tilted crown showing much of the interior (i) and that with mere side-hooks (ii) (**pl. 12, 5**) may not be entirely chronological, if only because of ease of encroachment by the thistle-top.

Variety (b) does not have a distinctive obverse. Its single-pellet reverses are twice combined with obverses that are also known with their doubtless original three-pellet (a) reverses (**pl. 12, 3–4**). (The absence of a central bar from some of the lis suggests that they were made up from several punches.) Another similar obverse from Rigghead, is the only case of the shorter ending ORV, due perhaps to 'correcting' the error SOCOT. One of Rigghead's three examples of (b) with normal R on the obverse has a correction on the reverse, made by striking ID over DV (**pl. 12, 6**). On B.3 a double-struck crown makes an imaginary annulet.

Variety (c) is a little more frequent (7 in Rigghead). Its obverse crown still has some sign of the hoop's interior, but it has become normal to add pellets to the cusps. The annulet now also begins; dies without it may be combined with three-pellet (a) reverses (**pl. 12, 9–10**), so too B.4. Perhaps the first use of the annulet was on the exceptional obverse die (found with both sharp and complete N reverses), which has it inconspicuously at the very edge of the field (**pl. 12, 11–12**, N sharp; B.-), as on the ducat. Another has it high beside

the crown, from which the arch has been omitted (**pl. 12, 13**, B.2 fig. 773 etc, N complete). This die has the peculiarity of a dot in the letter O, as on the two-thirds ducat (cf. **pl. 12, 16**). With ordinary O, and an annulet (and so not (a) or (b)), one Rigghead obverse has the crown's pellets omitted (**pl. 12, 14–15**). Its annulet is closer above the I, as became usual.

On much the most numerous (87) of the Rigghead bawbees of James V any sign of the hoop's interior was eliminated. Of their three tentative divisions variety (d i) is that in which the letter N is complete or more usually sharp. The position of the normal annulet throughout can only arbitrarily be described as medium or low above the I; high is less common. A die with a low annulet larger than usual has the ducat R (**pl. 12, 21**). The annulet may be hardly visible (not struck up, as clearer duplicates once show), but may be omitted as the crown's pellets certainly are sometimes. Probably also accidental are more obvious exceptions, the dies already mentioned which have the annulet above the 5 (**pl. 12, 19–20**), found with two unbroken N reverses, and above both I and 5 (**pl. 12, 18**). (It should be noted that Rich. 76 in (a) has only a phantom annulet above its 5.)

When the sharp N breaks further (**pl. 12, 23**) and then becomes squarely truncated (**pl. 12, 27**), a later stage is evidently reached, variety (d ii), which is not distinguishable by other criteria. The confusing omissions of the crown's pellets or of annulets (**pl. 12, 24**) continued occasionally. Two extra annulets have once been punched, beside and below the I (**pl. 12, 29**). A larger-sized annulet occurs several times in Rigghead, once on a coin (248) that is heavier than normal but which duplicates the obverse of B.1bis fig. 772, which is of average weight. The three-dot privy-mark (p. 122) is known with two Rigghead obverses (**pl. 12, 22–4**) and on a duplicate. Variety (d ii) is represented by 59 of James's bawbees from Rigghead, almost half their total, and among these there is frequent duplication of obverse dies, including 3 quintuples and a quadruple out of 13 multiples noted. (Some identities were probably missed, giving too many singles.) Presumably this indicates some special circumstance during the formation of the hoard. Of that there is some confirmation from more evenly spaced duplication within varieties from other sources. The high representation at Rigghead of the class I bawbees of Mary (p. 136) is further evidence that much of it was put together in 1542 to 1545.

A final variety (e) (**pl. 12, 30**) is distinguished by the return and regular use of the ducat R, and of a large C and G that had been used occasionally in (d). These letters and the M, by this time with a shorter left leg, continued into Mary's class Ia, but the broken N did not. A curious tendency was the multiple punching of the annulet. There were only 8 of variety (e) in Rigghead.

James V's half-bawbees (**pl. 15, 127–34**)

Very few half-bawbees were issued, to judge from the duplication of obverse dies – one even among the 6 specimens from Rigghead. In the total miscellaneous sample of 34 coins studied (including photographs) 8 obverse dies are duplicated and 7 occur once, suggesting not more than about 20 originally. Variations such as the position or omission of the annulet seem to have had even less deliberate significance than on the bawbees. The design was reduced in size by smaller letters, the contraction of R(EX) and omission of the two large lis, but the crown on the reverse saltire appears to be the same as that of the bawbees, and with additions was the same also on the obverse. Changes in the hoop follow those of the bawbees; two obverses show an oval interior, which is reduced in four or five cases to side-hooks or just one. These all have a small initial cross in the legend, here used to denote variety (a) (**pl. 15, 127–31**). Obverses on which there is no sign of the crown's interior have almost all a considerably wider and thinner initial cross – variety (b) (**pl. 15, 132–4**). A slightly broader G is much commoner in (b), but is only a die-sinker's tendency and has to be rejected from classification. For the shape of the void varies and the upright,

struck separately, may leave the lower tip of the basic C projecting from a narrow G.

The original letter punches, including an R that resembles a B, seem to be those of the two-thirds ducat, as also the smaller cross. Variations in the letter A have not been found helpful, but a pellet-like lob-top has been put at the end (pl. 15, 132 B. fig. 777). The letter V has generally lost all or part of its right upper tip. Even the complete crown interiors are accompanied by broken or breaking V, while the complete letter may be beside side-hooks. Conceivably it was refurbished only to break again. The saltire is grained (pl. 15, 130).

In (a) one die has a triple-punched annulet (AS 974), another VVM in monogram and evident composite G (pl. 15, 129, with four reverses), while there is also one ORV (pl. 15, 131). In (b) one die has an annulet above the S (pl. 15, 134); though an obvious attraction for collectors who acquired five specimens including B.2a fig. 779, it is represented by a further two from Rigghead (HS 975). There are again four reverses with it.

James V's quarter-bawbee (pl. 15, 135-6, 135a-6a)

The obverse of the unique quarter-bawbee (B.-, NMS ex Lockett) is partly double-struck and its centre now largely blank. However, as Stewart saw, its design is novel.¹³ At about four o'clock there are two overlapping impressions of the thistle-head used above the saltire on the pattern ducat, and a slight bump further round confirms that there may well have been three heads 'disposed tripodially' and radially (unlike those vertical on James VI's 1597 twopenny and penny (B. fig. 970-1) by another James Achesoun). The reverse is like the bawbees', the crown on the saltire again from the much-used punch or punches. The crown initial mark is the same as on the ducat pattern. The C and G punches at least were the same as those of the one-third ducat. In view of the estimated small number of half-bawbee dies, there may have only briefly been a very restricted issue of the quarter, which was contracted for at the same time.

Historical records

Mrs Murray has recently drawn attention to the decision in 1538 to issue a new alloyed 'penny of three penny fine' to be current for six pennies. This was embodied in a royal letter of 7 August and in the subsequent tender dated 16 August accepted from Richard Wardlaw.¹⁴ There were to be halfpennies and quarters, but their proportionate quantities were not indicated. The detailed equipment which Wardlaw expected the Treasurer to supply and maintain included twenty anvils, sixteen small balances and sixteen silversmith's benches. Wardlaw and the other officers were to have the mint's dwelling and workshop accommodation at Holyrood. The latter at least was in regular use already, as can be seen from the annual profits on the coinage recorded by the Treasurer from before 1530 up to 18 April 1538, apart from two possible interruptions. Indeed as the sum for the final short period (table 1),¹⁵ is rather higher than for almost all the previous full years, there may have been some crowns and a last intensive striking of groats, and perhaps largely of the one-third groats introduced then or not long before. Contrary to Burns' view,

¹³ I. H. Stewart, 'Two Scottish coins of new denomination', *NC* 6th Ser. 20 (1960), 196-9, fig. 2; Stewart, *Scottish Coinage* pl.xxii.300.

¹⁴ J. E. L. Murray 'A tender for the Scottish coinage in 1538', in *Later Medieval Minis . . . Eighth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Economic History*, edited by N. J. Mayhew and P. Spufford, BAR Int. 389 (Oxford, 1988), pp

222-28; *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs 1501-1554*, edited by R. K. Hannay (Edinburgh, 1933), pp 472-3.

¹⁵ LIII VI (1531-1538) - VIII (1541-1546). X (1551-1559) (1913), previously extracted in R. W. Cochran-Patrick, *Records of the Coinage of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1876), I, 59-60. Cited as C-P.

it is now thought that the last coins of the silver issue were those with colon stops, with one-third groats perhaps last of all as they run on typologically from the groats.

The change to base silver (and to ducats, though this is not in the records) coincided with the appointment as Master of the mint on 13 August 1538 of Alexander Orrok of Silliebawbie, after whose territorial name the bawbees seem to have been soon called. He took the place of James Achesoun, who had produced the one-third groat and who was said long afterwards to have refused to coin the bawbee, its replacement. According to the same source, c.1582, Achesoun had to return as master coiner in 1540 because Wardlaw and his immediate successor Richard Young had been unable to perform their task.¹⁶ Despite this assertion the royal profits as paid to the Treasurer are evidence of more continuous coining, as summarised in table 1, with estimates of the volume of coinage added.

TABLE 1

From	Mint period, and gold bullion	Payment of profit	Estimated bawbees	(crowns & ducats)
Achesoun	15.2.37/38–18.4.38 (LHT period 24.3.37/38–24.9.38)	£150 12s 9d	mainly $\frac{1}{3}$ groats?	
Orrok	20.5.38–18.8.39 (LHT period 24.9.38–17.9.39)	£2,254 18s 4d and £76 with Wardlaw	273,066 (if £2,000 for b.)	??
Orrok	18.8.39–2.9.40 (LHT period 17.9.39–2.9.40)	£1,421 6s 4d	194,057	
Young & Orrok	do. from 17lb. 14 oz Troy [c.108, 125 grains alloyed]	£825 1s 6d		1,224
Achesoun	2.9.40–7.9.41	£4,785 9s 6d	560,037	
Achesoun	do. from c.153 oz [c.76,633 al.gr.]	£402. 8s. 10d		867
Achesoun	7.9.41–16.8.42	£3,536 19s 6d	413,927	
Achesoun	do. from 197 oz	£503 10s 10d		1,134
	16.8.42–12.12.42 not known		?	?
			1,441,087+	3,225+

Note: Non-gold is estimated as all whole bawbees. Profit on bawbees for 1538–40 is reckoned at £120 per stone bullion (16,384 coins), and from 1540–41 at £140.¹⁷ Gold bullion is reckoned at 24 carats, and ducats at 23 carats though they seem to have been reckoned 22 carats in 1596.¹⁸

Few, if any, coins need have been struck in the latter part of 1538; it is particularly unlikely that one-third groats continued to be struck after the bawbee was decided on. The preparations for the new coins and their designs could well have lasted into 1539, especially as Wardlaw was not fully experienced.¹⁹ So although the bulk of the 1538–39 payment must relate to bawbees, the quantity involved could well have been struck during five months of 1539, and the suggestion made on p. 122, that the rejected design for the ducat preceded the (final) design for the bawbee, is quite feasible.²⁰ A total issue of James V Bawbees,

¹⁶ Hopetoun MS (BL Add.MSS 33, 531 f.250–8); C–P I, 96.

¹⁷ Murray, 'A tender for the Scottish coinage', p. 226.

¹⁸ Burns II, 250.

¹⁹ As note 17.

²⁰ Mrs Murray suggests (*in litt.*) that the gold piece might not be a pattern but a restricted issue in connection with the Order of the Thistle. She notes the statement by Sir George Mackenzie, *Observations upon the Laws and Customs of Nations as to Precedency* (Edinburgh 1680), p. 99, that the knights of the Order when attending service in the cathedral of St Andrews [therefore before the Reformation of 1560]

had worn a saltire 'environed . . . with a crown' as a badge. But it seems that there is no other evidence to connect the device with the Order, which indeed is now generally thought not to have existed as such before it was 'revived' in 1687: C. J. Burnett, *The Green Mantle* (Edinburgh (NMS) 1987), p. 4 and 'The collar of the . . . Order of the Thistle', *Journal of the Orders and Medals Research Society* 26 (1987), 149–68. T. Innes [later Lord Lyon King of Arms] took, however, a flexible interpretation of what constitutes an Order in 'The foundation of the . . . Order of the Thistle', *Scots Law Times*, June 1937.

subsuming halves and quarters, at somewhat over a million and a half spread through more than three and a half years is smaller than estimated for less than three years in 1544–47 under Mary (table 4). The comparable figure of upwards of only 3,225 ducats from, it now seems, only two obverse dies, with one each for the very rare half and extremely rare quarter ducats, gives a very low output per die for the softer metal.²¹

Mary's bawbees, 1543–1554

Classification (pls. 12–15)

(see also *Catalogue*)

The small design changes in the larger features of Mary's bawbees, over a period of a dozen years, were no doubt in the main intentional and of significance within the mint's accounting and accountability. Burns used the crowns on the obverse to distinguish eight classes, noting varieties of crown within some, and specifying a few of the changes of lettering. The beginning he identified by continuity in crown and letters with James's issue, and the end by a similar sharing of punches with the silver struck in 1553. But within the series, he wrote deprecatingly of his own results, 'there is no possibility of fixing the order of the bawbees of Mary'. This remains true, particularly of many varieties within the numbered classes which may now be more clearly indicated – by numbering as a (i) etc without necessarily implying their sequence, and by some drawings (figs. 1–5). Study arising from the Rigghead hoard has, however, found some confirmation of Burns' order from further internal links.

Few real alterations are now put forward. One is the recognition that Burns class 1, much better represented at Rigghead than in collections previously, covers several major subdivisions equivalent to other classes, including the coins minted exceptionally not at Edinburgh but at Stirling. So it may be called group 1. Three other groups are proposed – 2, classes II–Va; 3, classes Vb–VIIa; 4, classes VIIb–VIII. It is also suggested that two varieties should lead into class VI instead of coming at its end.

The possibility should be kept in mind that small features may have distinguished say two workshops striking simultaneously. Because of the similarities to be expected in the work of any one punch-maker the forms of the letter-punches and of the initial mark fleur-de-lis (which may be composite) provide guidance that is hard to follow, and has been used rather selectively. Die comparison has concentrated on obverses. The number of dies was usually too large to allow the available sample to help by die-linking. Details are in practice often unascertainable, not just because of wear but because of frequent double-striking, and of poor striking so that the centre is weakly struck-up. The thistle is thus a less useful feature than might be expected. For these reasons too, and for want of access to the Coats collection, Richardson in his catalogue was often unsuccessful in correctly matching coins to Burns' classes. There is, further, a scarcity of bawbees which retain even a substantial part of the outer beaded margin; as well as the irregular flans occasionally evident, clipping may be suspected even for billon. The bawbees from Rigghead, though little worn, averaged about 7 per cent below the nominal weight of 29.45 gr.²²

²¹ Comparably low figures were suggested for 1555–58 by J. K. R. Murray, 'The Scottish gold coinage of 1555–58' *NC* 7th ser. 19 (1979), 158.

²² The absence of a 'remedy of weight' from the 1538 contract and the averaging of profit on light and heavy pieces provided for in the 1547 lease (see note 34), suggest that no very close check was kept on the weight-range of individual

pieces; Murray, 'A tender for the Scottish coinage', p. 226. Rigghead unclipped bawbees averaged 27.5 gr. (302 coins); ranges James V 34.0 – 19.58 gr., av. 27.25 gr. (118 coins), standard deviation 3.05; Mary class 1 39.93 – 20.77 gr., av. 27.67 gr. (110), s.d. 4.09; class II–VIII 38.195 – 20.88 gr., av. 27.65 gr. (74), s.d. 3.72.

Privy marks and errors

The pellet sometimes noted by Burns as above the obverse crown is, as on James's bawbees, simply the orb of its finial which is completed by the cross in the inscription. A few dies, however, would seem to have been made identifiable by various additional marks. Short rows of tiny dots have been placed in the upper triangle of the saltire or to its side in group 2 (class II Rigg.425; Va B.36bis fig. 840), as comparably once under James (p. 122). There is a single pellet similarly placed once in class Ib(iii) and once in II (B.15 fig. 829 – not B.13), but one on Rigg.427 and die duplicates is illusory, due to a lis initial mark misplaced then double-punched (**pl. 13, 56**). In IIIa there is a stray pellet in a corner of one obverse crown. Occasional single pellets centrally on the thistle-head or on the reverse crown's hoop (**pl. 13, 55–6 and 88**) are presumably just the mark of a compass laying out the beaded inner circles. In group 3 an obverse initial cross has been quite exceptionally duplicated at the end of the inscription by surrounding the stop with four dots (Braeside, Vc). A pellet stop within a word was perhaps significant – M·A in class IIa (Rich.59), in III^a (Rich. 79bis), and again in Va (B.35 fig. 839); MA·R in Ib(iii) (*ex* Murray), in VIIa (B.66 = AS 1053), and in half-bawbee Type B (ill.146); OPPI·DVM in Vc (Rich.91). The pellet in the letter O earlier (p. 124) may be comparable. In Va G·I is probably only a mistake for GI· (Rigg.471).

Crescents or annulets have been inserted several times in group 1 – M·R (B.2 obv. = B.3). RE·G (B.5), twice in the obverse field below M (B.10 = Rich.52, and Rigg.351). There are pseudo-crescents made by double-punching stops in a class Ib(iii) obverse (B.9 = Rigg.352). A gapped annulet below the saltire has been noted in group 4 VIIb(iii-v) – three dies with it complete (Rich.112, **pl.14,118**) and two seemingly with it obliterated (Rigg.499 and *ex* Lockett).

There are several misspellings not always corrected in group 1 (Rigg.338, **pl. 12, 34**), besides cinquefoils omitted (Rigg.350, **pl.12,36**). In Vd BV is punched over GI (Rich.128, **pl. 14, 80**), but 'errors' on Rich.139–40 are due to double-striking, as in VIIb (Rich.145, **pl. 14, 115**). The reverse crown may be upside down Ib(iii), VIa(iv) (**pl. 14, 87**), and VIc(ii), all Stewart collection. In VIb the central bar of the lis initial mark may be omitted.

Forgeries

Garbled inscriptions are one feature that the only two counterfeit bawbees seen have in common. They are also both of copper. One with its main details tolerably well drawn and clearly copying class I is in the Stewart collection, from Seaby in 1953. The other, now in the National Museums from J.K.R. Murray's sale, is not well drawn but its obverse inscription is partly intelligible MA . . . ORVI, and a narrow M resembles that of class VIa-b. (See also footnote 49.)

Contractions and stops

The common variations of stops in the inscriptions may conceivably have helped the mint to identify dies. Those recorded by Burns and Richardson are not regularly reproduced in this paper. It may, however, be convenient to note that in group 1 the standard contraction SCOTORV was intended to have a pellet above the V as a contraction mark; it is present where ascertainable, B.2–11 being uncertain or incorrectly given in this respect. In group 2 this mark is omitted or sometimes becomes a following stop, V· particularly in class III. In group 1 SCOTOR· has been seen once in Ib(iii) (**pl. 13, 45**), in group 2 twice in IIa(ii) (**pl.13,51**) and (c) (Rigg.435), once with five reverse dies in IVa (Rigg.460); and without the final stop once in II, a(i), also once each in IIIa and Va(ii) (B.21 and Rich.87).

James's SCOTORVM is frequent in class Ia, recurs rarely in group 2 – IIIc, IVa and Va(i) (B.19, Rich.74, B.32) and is standard in groups 3 and 4.

The original standard form 'D·G·REGINA', has variants in group 2, 'D·G·' and 'DG·' never indicated by Burns. It was changed for group 3 to 'D·G·R·', the stop between D and G being often so high as to appear omitted. The formula was enlarged for the later part of group 4, class VIII, to 'DEI·G·R·' (see p. 134) except for Rich.149 (pl. 15, 125). Apparent D GRA in VIIIb(iii) (Rich.140) is merely due to double-striking.

A stop at the end of the inscriptions is quite common in group 2, most frequently in class III. In group 3, rather than final stops only, a stop at both ends of the reverse inscription (occasional in class II) is common in Vb-VIa(i) and sporadic into VIIa(i). Corresponding, sometimes simultaneous, obverse stops (shown in the catalogue as '+') are common into VIa(i) and occur in VIb(ii) (Rich.107); this pattern supports the new position of Vd and VIa made on other grounds. Such pairs of stops recur in group 4 in VIIIb(i-ii) on the reverse, and exceptionally on the obverse (Rich.147). An anomalous colon before the reverse legend occurs in Vb(i-ii). Omission of all stops on the obverse is occasional in group 2 (IIa Rich.62 and Rigg.419; IIIa Rigg.441 and 452; Va(ii) St. coll.; Vb(ii) Rich.96) and is common in group 4, VIIb.

Relations to the gold issues

Only a very few twenty-shilling pieces dated 1543 are known, all from a single obverse die (B.1–2 fig. 809–10).²³ The composite crown over the MR in monogram on the reverse is as that showing part of the interior on James's half-bawbees' obverse, while above the obverse shield it has 'hooks' and no arch. Its orb is present not only below the cross initial mark on the obverse but below the reverse's sun initial mark. This visual malapropism was copied from James's type V abbey crown – the correct form goes back to his class I groats. The main punches for the twenty shilling's obverse and reverse crowns were probably also the same for those on Mary's type A half-bawbees, and the letter punches as those of A(i); for the gold's Ls in ANCILLA the G's vertical was used as horizontal stroke with an I. *Pace* Burns the R of the twenty shillings is not like that on his crown B.1, but a parallel to that of bawbees class Ib(i), which should make it slightly later than Mary's first abbey crowns.

These, which are undated, follow the type V crown in most details, including the cross-less orb. They have, however, single-pellet stops, and cinquefoils at the sides of the shield. The letter fount is usually that of her bawbees closest to James's, here class Ia. Of the three such obverse dies known only one, with its reverse, is not extremely rarely represented (B.3 = Rich.33 fig. 111 = AS 976 = obv. B.2 and revs. B.4 and HS 997). A fourth obverse die, two examples with different reverses (B.1 fig. 807), has the same letters as bawbees class Ib(iii), and the lob-top of its A is still unbroken. So it is not earlier than autumn 1544 nor much later. One may add that though the obverse crowns of these dies vary in width as Burns noted for B.1, they are from the bawbees' set of punches differently spaced, except for the lines of the hoop, and guide-lines in two cases at the sides (B. fig.808) (see p. 130). All told it would not seem that gold then took up much of the mint's time.

The gold of 1553 was a more extensive issue, studied thoroughly by J. K. R. Murray along with the silver and some bawbees and halves.²⁴ He summarised them in tabular form, showing nine obverses of two types for the forty-four shilling pieces, five obverses for

²³ J. E. L. Murray, 'The first gold coinage of Mary, Queen of Scots', *BNJ* 49 (1979), 82–86.

²⁴ J. K. R. Murray, 'The Scottish coinage of 1553', *BNJ* 37

(1968), 98–109; cf. *idem* 'The Scottish gold coinage of 1555–58', *NC* 7th ser. 19 (1979), 155–64. See also note 46 below.

four-shilling testoons, and thirteen for the twenty-two shillings. Of particular significance for the bawbees, as he pointed out, a cinquefoil-punch with a broken leaf on forty-four shillings type IIa recurs on some class VIII bawbees. Further, along with it there is a D lacking the upper serif, a feature of twenty-two shillings type II, its last two dies, possibly separated by a clear interval from the much larger type I, so possibly not really struck in 1553.

Group 1

The obverse crown of this group (fig. 1.1) is from the same punches as James's bawbees; the cross, outer florets, lines of the arch, hoop, and semi-circles seem to have had separate punches. The arch was probably intended to be two-line throughout. The crown on the reverse continued to be the same as on James's billon (p. 122), and the saltire continued to have a wood-grain pattern, which soon generally failed to show up. The variations of letter forms are considerable, but analysis of them here has been selective and incomplete. It is primarily by the form of the initial lis on the reverse that the new main subdivisions are distinguished. The Stirling bawbees can be related by their letters to one of these.

Class Ia has the same lis initial mark, thistle and open \bar{A} with barred and peaked top as were on James's bawbees, the 'ducat R' as on his latest (pl. 12, 31–2, fig. 2. 1). The ending ORVM rather than \bar{V} continues on perhaps half the dies. An early start in 1543 seems likely. Slender cinquefoils with a pellet in the centre, which Burns placed second, are the peculiarity of Ia(i); those without this pellet appear at first less numerous, Ia(ii), but went on through Ib. Ia(iii), only known from a later mule, has a closed lob-top A and some larger letters (pl. 12, 33).

Class Ib has a very small lis initial mark, and a new arrangement of the dicing on the thistle which to begin with has fine projections from the lowest central triangle (pl. 12, 34–6). Its first new R with straight foreleg, originally extended by a fine horizontal tip, can be distinguished from later forms by the circular drill-hole that formed its fork and adjoining serif-projection (fig. 2.2). The ending ORV becomes normal. On a number of specimens the new R is on the reverse only; that some of their obverses keep the form ORVM, and probably all keep the earlier thistle, shows that a(i-ii) obverses continued for a time, but that perhaps the use of the previous lis reverses was specifically discouraged. As well as the new R, a mark of b(i) is an open \bar{A} which has no central peak and soon loses its left projection (pl. 12, 34, and see pl. 13, 38). Occasionally there is a round O (pl. 12, 34). The use of an A like that of a(iii) but larger, constitutes the still scarce variety b(ii) (pl. 13, 37).

Stirling-mint bawbees, class Is(i-v) (pl. 13, 38–44), come in at this point. They were the first coins after James III's Aberdeen groats not to have been minted in Edinburgh, or at this time more strictly in the precincts of the palace of Holyroodhouse in the suburban burgh of the Canongate. They reflect the regency controversy of summer and autumn 1544 (see p. 139). An ostentatious cross-potent having plain crosses in the angles replaces the saltire on the reverse beside the name of the town, and its initial mark becomes a crown. The obverses are just as those of Edinburgh class I as Burns noted, but no connecting die-links have yet been recognised. There is, however, substantial duplication of dies even among the twelve Stirling coins of the Rigghead hoard.

On the obverse dies what Burns called the old open \bar{A} is the new variety belonging to class Ib(i), three times in its unbroken form, Is(i), and three times broken, Is(ii) (pl. 13, 38–9). Two of the latter and one of the former are represented in the sample of eleven studied by a single coin each, compared with only four singles among the forty-two coins with a closed A, so they may have worn out quickly. A round O little used in Edinburgh, in Ib(i), accompanied the open \bar{A} but lasted more than twice as long. Perhaps some obsolete obverses

and punches had been taken from Edinburgh. The closed A at Stirling is a lob-topped form like that of b(ii) but wider; its beginning marks Is(iii) (pl. 13, 40). For about half the Stirling issue, Is(i-iii), the M and R beside the thistle and in the legends are the same as in Edinburgh Ib(i-ii), then they are replaced by the slightly larger ones which characterise b(iii) and s(iv-v). The R is the more readily recognised as instead of a curved fork it has an acute angle (fig. 2,3). The round O seems to have been retained for only one pair of the new R dies, Is(iv) (pl. 13, 41-2), before being replaced by the constricted oval style on seven obverse dies in the sample, twenty coins, Is(v), (pl. 13, 43-4). A peculiarity perhaps of one die-sinker seen particularly on Stirling obverses, but also occurring through Edinburgh Ib(i-iii), is that the pellet for the orb is often placed on and not below the stem of the initial cross. With this there is a tendency for the RV to come very close together, or even overlap. One may conclude that the Stirling dies came between Edinburgh Ib(ii) and Ib(iii), and were produced by the same craftsmen.

Edinburgh class Ib(iii) (pl. 13, 45-6) comprises almost all of the numerous bawbees of group 1 struck after November 1544, when the regency quarrel was patched up. As the small lis initial mark distinctive of Ib(i-ii) is resumed after the Stirling interlude (losing only after a while its lower tip), b(iii) is distinguished by the R (fig. 2, 3) and larger M which are those of the later half of the Stirling minting. Rigghead produced a b(iii)/b(i-ii) mule, as the difference between the Ms and Rs shows. There seem to be at least two variant closed As in b(iii), one already normal in the Stirling coins, among which too the lob-top often appears broken, but a systematic arrangement has not been achieved; refurbishing of the punch or punches is likely. The tendency to increase the size of the letters had continued, with exaggerated openings. The sharp-forked R finally appears to be a P with an inserted foreleg (fig. 2, 4, see pl. 13, 48). A few dies with possible privy marks have been mentioned on p. 128.

Class Ic seems to have been small – one coin each in Burns and Richardson, the latter duplicating the obverse of one of the seven in Rigghead. Its distinctions are a new, larger lis initial mark and a new cinquefoil, neither previously illustrated. These features are accompanied on the reverses of c(i) by the final 'patched' R of Ib(iii) (pl. 13, 48, fig. 2, 4). A new R was used for the known obverses (pl. 13, 47), and for some reverses – c(ii). It was probably in origin B-shaped like that on James's half-bawbees (pl. 15, 133), but usually has a tip added at various angles (fig. 2, 5), sometimes horizontally.

Group 2 (pl. 13, 49-70)

One Rigghead coin provides confirmation of Burns' next step, for it mules a Ic(ii) reverse with a class II obverse. Classes II-Va are so closely related that they may be called group 2, and except for the beginning and end their numbering is arbitrary. That there was a distinct fresh start is indicated by the new letter punches, by the lis initial mark on the reverses and the fatter cinquefoils, as well as by the details of the crowns on both faces. The initial cross on the obverses is sharp at the foot.

On the obverse crowns the long-lasting central cross was replaced by heavier forms, Burns' II cross fleurie (fig. 1, 2, pl. 13, 55) and III cross fourchée. Here the common IIIa (B.fig. 834; pl. 13, 58) is distinguished from IIIc which has pellets on the cusps, apparently a short revival (B.fig. 833; fig. 1, 5), and from IIId which has a 'decorated' arch as if in transition to class IV (B.-; Rigg.459, pl. 13, 61). Class IV's crown is smaller as well as spiky, IVa having a central trefoil and two-line hoop, IVb a cross-like trefoil and single-line hoop (fig. 1, 6-7, pl. 13, 63 and 65). Class Va's crown is larger and its cross is partly squared-off (B.fig. 838; fig. 1.8). When the arch is still decorated it is called a(i) (pl. 13, 66 and 68), plain is a(ii) (B.fig. 839-40; pl. 13, 69), and a(iii) (B.fig. 841) is when the arch is omitted.

Burns did not comment on the reverse crowns, but although their incidence appears in part irregular, and they are now often not ascertainable, they could have been significant to the mint. Possibly they indicated workshops, for other features are also concurrent in group 2. The centre of one form is a simplification of the obverse crown's cross into a 'club' flanked by large pellets, which may be circular or irregular. This (fig. 1, 3 – coded p) is a characteristic of class IIa (B. fig. 829; **pl. 13, 50 and 52**). It may stray onto the obverse with a plain arch added to obscure the probable error – three dies including B. 27 fig. 836, part of Burns' class IV, here IIb (**pl. 13, 53**). The second reverse form, characteristic of IIc, is distinguished by a central trefoil in two or more variants, one resembling (p) – both coded (t) (fig. 1.4, **pl. 13, 56–7**, cf. B. fig. 830). It was used once as an obverse in IIb, B. 28 (**pl. 13, 54**). These two forms of class II's reverse crown were used in the rest of group 2: (t) in IIIa with a few exceptions and in IIIc-d (**pl. 13, 62**), (p) in IIIb (**pl. 13, 59**); then a mixture in IVa which might also be due to die interchanges not otherwise recognisable, for IVb and Va seem to have (p) almost entirely, latterly with a slimmed-down version of its 'club' stem (**pl. 13, 67**).

The letter M in two forms is the chief criterion for the separation of IIa-b and IIc, starting with the IIa(i)/Ic(ii) mule, on which the M's central indentation makes almost a right-angle and the legs broaden to the foot without a serif (fig. 2.6). The ball of the thistle, in a(i) only, has larger dicing than in class I (**pl. 13, 49**). This then becomes finer again from IIa(ii) (**pl. 13, 51–2**), perhaps at the same time as modification of the M produces projecting serifs. The other M punch apparently coincides with the trefoil reverse crown of IIc (**pl. 13, 55–7**). It has an acute-angled indentation (fig. 2.7) and, at first, serifs. Judging by the Ms there is some die-linking between IIa(ii) and IIc. The 'acute M' is then standard through classes III, IV and Va, as well as IIc, but the 'wide-angle' M recurs in IVa.

Another variable in group 2 is the lis initial mark. More than one size of punch was used for the separate petals already in IIa(i). A larger, with a drill-hole showing nearly complete on the left, has at first more of a hump (**pl. 13, 52**) than later. Its modified form is usual in IIc and on through Va; this often shows a hair-line tip on the left (**pl. 13, 56–7**). A smaller petal is more frequent in IIa (**pl. 13, 50**) and sporadically afterwards. It is usual in IIIc (**pl. 13, 60**), relatively frequent in IVa and Va (**pl. 13, 67**), and perhaps entirely absent from class III's principal sub-division IIIa, and also from IVb. A quite different lis that has straight petals distinguishes class IIIb (**pl. 13, 59** and B. 24 fig. 835).

A number of obverses in IIIa have a final stop at SCOTORV· as rarely in II and Va (**pl. 13, 69**). Reverses in III and Va often end in GF·, which is occasional in II and IV. In III indeed there is a marked tendency to have a final stop one side or the other; some have neither but to have both is less common. For SCOTOR see p. 128.

The surface of the saltire in group 2 may normally have been rippled horizontally, with a slight raised margin that tended towards the later fluted effect (**pl. 13, 56 and 60**). Instead of rippling there were sometimes vertical striations or shorter graining (see **pl. 12, 32**). Wear and mis-striking generally obscure these features. In classes III and Va it is occasionally evident, owing to less careful placing, that the saltire's arms were punched as separate rectangles (**pl. 13, 62 and 67**). In Va the cinquefoils have become smaller. As indicators of the sequence of the classes there are mules, IVb/Va (Rich.85) and Va/Vb (Rigg.484).

Group 3

Class Vb (**pl. 13.71–2**; B. 38–39), a small sub-class, marks the beginning of what Burns called the second great subdivision of Mary's bawbees, here group 3. This group is distinguished particularly by the inscription ·D·G·R·SCOTORVM instead of ·D·G·RE·GINA·SCOTORV·. There were new punches for all the letters, with the peculiarity of

reversed \mathcal{H} s. The crown on the reverse now had a central floret that remained the same or very similar on into group 4, as did apart from a few exceptions a new lis initial mark which has a three-spike foot. Hooks on the hoop of the crown are a peculiarity of Vb-d, occurring in b(ii) also on the obverse. Other changes did not take place all at once, hence Burns' numbering and order. At the start there were for a time also a reworked or new thistle, a plain central cross on the obverse crown, and larger cinquefoils.

The obverse crown for class Vc(i-iii) was redesigned as open, without an arch, and showing the interior by a more or less complete oval hoop (fig. 1.10, pl. 13, 73; B. 40-3), reminiscent of James's variety (a). Pellets on cusps and hoops may be added – Vc(iv) (fig. 1.11, pl. 13, 75; B. 44-45). For Vc the cinquefoils became smaller again than in Va but more pentagonal (pl. 13, 74), and a form of R with serified foreleg began (pl. 13, 73). With Vc(ii) the saltire became strongly fluted, so much so that group 2's partial or slight fluting seems to have been largely overlooked hitherto. An exceptional wide foot on the lis initial mark distinguishes Vc(iii) and is found in c(iv) (pl. 13, 76). Stops at the beginnings and ends of the inscriptions are common in Vb on into VIb (see p. 129), a liking echoed by the pellets on the crown of Vc(iv). Close links are provided by mules Vb/c(i) (B. 39 and Rich.93 bis), Vc(iv)/c(i) (Rich.94).

Class Vd (pl. 13, 77-8 and pl. 14, 79-80) has been introduced to contain B. 63-64 hitherto in class VII, and some related coins, for they share features with Vc – the R with front serif, the form of thistle, and the hooked crown on the reverse. An ornamented O, as used on James's bawbees, is new. The bold 'strawberry-leaf' obverse crown of Vd(i) (fig. 1.12, pl. 13, 77; B. fig. 854) has the interior shown as if tilted, and despite the return of the arch is more closely related to those of V than to class VII (pl. 14, 107). The crown of Vd(ii) (B. 64 fig. 855) differs in having a spaced double-line arch and no indication of interior (fig. 1, 13, pl. 14, 79). The serified R gets dropped in the course of Vd.

Class VI is large and in this is comparable to class I. In contrast it gives the impression that several designers of varying quality were now involved in the many changes of detail. It begins with B. 62 fig. 853, hitherto placed at the end but here VIa(i) (see pl. 14, 81-2); VIa(ii and iv) are not in Burns (pl. 14, 83-4 and 86-7). The ornamented O links Vd and VIa-b(i-iii), after which the plain O returns. The serified R recurs rarely in VIa-b. A distinctive narrow M is specific to the several subdivisions of VIa and part of VIb, and with other forms of M and their tendency to break at a corner, has been used to trace various stages in class VI, not necessarily sequentially (fig. 3). The reverse crown has a two line hoop, without hooks.

The obverse crowns of VIa-c are varied, but all have cross-like fleurs on the intermediate cusps (fig. 1.14-19). In VIa(i) there is a low double-arch with a straight-line hoop, the whole being rather poorly drawn; it is represented by eleven coins from four obverse dies (pl. 14, 81-2; B. fig. 853). The accompanying thistle has a smoothed outline. A single arch and more jagged thistle distinguish VIa(ii) (pl. 14, 83-4; B. -). VIa(iii) has no arch (pl. 14, 85); here B. 52 gives a further link for the new order by having the distinctive cinquefoils of VIb(i-iii) – not fig. 848 rev. A similar but better-drawn crown, which has a strongly curved hoop and row of fleurs but no arch, forms VIa(iv) (fig. 1.16, pl. 14, 86-7), known from a single example. In VIb the thistle is increasingly jagged. The crown is arched and narrower with a gently curved hoop (fig. 1.17). Some varieties distinguished here are not readily seen or always ascertainable – crowns with sides joined to the hoop or not, and changes in the size of the cinquefoils and the ring-punch 'piercing' on them (pl. 14, 88-94). The large slender cinquefoils of VIb(i-iii) are, however, evident (pl. 14, 90-2). So too is a curious version of the obverse crown which has rectangular 'jewels' on the hoop, VIb(v) (fig. 1.18, pl. 14, 95-6). It was not known to Burns but four obverse dies have been seen, and five different reverses with cinquefoils as b(i), b(iv) and c. The crown of the common sub-class VIc is smaller (fig. 1.19, pl. 14, 97-104; cf. B. fig. 850, and 852 – *recte* B. 60). It has its arch

decorated; a variety in c(iii) has a two-line arch, anticipating the crown of VIIa. In VIc(iii) the inner beaded circle is omitted on one face or the other, or on both, leaving a laying-out hair-line exposed, as often in VIIb(iii-v).

The occasional absence of the central bar of the lis initial mark in VIb(ii) shows that it was made up from more than one punch. So possibly a narrower form was as much due to a different die-sinker as to the need for refurbishing. This variation belongs to VIc (pl. 14, 106), but occurs also in VIIa(i) (with which there are mules). Several features distinguish VIc besides the 'wedges' on the intermediate cusps noted by Burns (B. 58 fig. 851). A peculiarity of the crown is that the central decorative pellets on the arch sometimes merge to form a trefoil with the leaf-shaped top arm of the cross when it rises from the broad transom (fig. 1.20, pl. 14, 105).

Class VIIa (pl. 14, 107-10; B. 65 fig. 856) has a neat obverse crown with a two-line arch (fig. 1.21). It shares quality and details with B. 63 fig. 854 which here has been moved back as Vd, for a series of reasons already explained. The cinquefoils are as in VIc-d. A blurring of letters is frequent in VIIa-b, as occasionally in VIc, and rarely earlier. Could this have been due to the quality of the die-metal, to allowing the voids in the punches to get clogged, or to too deep and uneven punching plus wear? A drop in the standard of workmanship is apparent despite the improvement of design. In VIIa(ii) there is a different M (fig. 3.7), and a distinctive A with a nicked top begins, that is normal on the coinage of 1553. A two-line hoop returns on the reverse crown (pl. 14, 109-10).

Group 4

The slight alteration of the initial cross above the obverse crown into a cross-potent is here taken to be of political significance, as well as being one of a number of links with the gold and silver issue of 1553 (pp. 129-30). It marks the final Group, which consists of two classes, neither common.

Class VIIb has a larger crown usually without an arch (fig. 1.22-23), a new thistle, smaller letters notably an N instead of И, and two further cinquefoil punches. Obverses and reverses of VIIa may be used with the new dies, which include an obverse with misplaced inscription (pl. 14, 112-13). Once a two-line arch echoes VIIa (pl. 14, 111). The varieties VIIb(i-iii) are infrequent (and not in Burns); they retain beaded inner circles on both sides and may have a small pentagonal cinquefoil (pl. 14, 114). The extremely rare VIIb(ii) has the cross-potent as initial mark on the reverse as well (pl. 14, 115). VIIb(iii) normally has beaded circles only on one face, more open cinquefoils, and may have below the saltire a crescentic annulet or obliterated annulet (pl. 14, 116-18), also found with a VIIb(v) obverse (pl. 14, 120). The lis initial mark has become cross-like. There are no beaded inner circles on VIIb(iv) (pl. 14, 119; B. fig. 858), or on b(v) which has a double-line arch on the crown, as in VIIa (fig. 1.23, pl. 14, 120; B. fig. 857). One example has no stops on the obverse and a roughly scored thistle (pl. 15, 121).

Class VIII (pl. 15, 122-6) was discussed and fully described by J. K. R. Murray in 1968, greatly amplifying Burns' identification of close links with the twenty-two shilling gold pieces of 1553, including some shared punches that were defective (see p. 130). The inscription has been changed again, to DEI·G·R· (p. 130), with one exceptional D·G·R· (pl. 15, 124). The crown is elaborate (fig. 1.24). There are smaller letters, beaded inner circles, and three sizes of cinquefoil as reverse initial mark, VIIIb(i-iii), with others beside the saltire. Despite a general neatness, a tendency for letters to be blurred continues. The saltire in VIIIb is slender and not fluted.

Mary's half-bawbees (pl. 15, 137–64; fig. 4–5)

Concurrent with bawbees, but not distinguishable in the records, an unknown proportion of the issue consisted of half-bawbees. (There were no quarters.) Their general design is similar, with one cinquefoil only, below the saltire. The division between more or less unfluted and strongly fluted saltires was maintained, as Burns noted. But the few that have been published, notably eight by Richardson, have not presented a clear picture although they covered the main varieties now recognisable in a sample of seventy-two, of which only one is from Rigghead. Thistle-heads, perhaps more readily distinguished than on the bawbees, are here proposed (rather than the crowns in fig. 4) to identify four types. These may be correlated with the four groups of bawbees.

Type A has two main subdivisions. Its thistle throughout resembles that of James's bawbees and Mary's class Ia, and was probably the same as on James's halves, as were the obverse and reverse crowns. Type Aa (pl. 15, 137–8) has variants of a lis initial mark possibly from class Ia punches. The fork of its R is drilled like that peculiar to Ib(i) (cf. fig. 2.2). Type Ab (pl. 15, 139–45) is distinguished by a smaller version of class Ib's very small lis initial mark, generally with a dot foot. Its minor subdivisions, Ab(i–iii), are marked by three further forms of R – the commonest is similar to that of class Ib(iii), the second has a short front leg, and the third resembling a B seems to be a reuse from James' halves. This has been placed last because its only two specimens have the added stop at the final VM which is usual in the next type, and its R recalls that of class Ic (pl. 13, 47). James' decorated O, not used on Mary's bawbees until class Vd, may have been usual in type A but is generally indistinct. The M is like those of Ia.

In Type B (pl. 15, 146–7) the thistle is smaller and coarser, its form reminiscent of that of class IIc. The letter M is like that of class IIa, except once like IIc-IV (cf. fig. 2.6–7). The lis initial mark is like that of IIIa (pl. 13, 62). The sample is, however very small, only seven coins. Of these three are from one obverse die, the crown like type A; their reverse crowns are like those of classes II–IV, one of variety (p) and two of variety (t) (cf. fig. 1.3–4).

Type C's thistle accompanies a fluted saltire and reversed \mathfrak{N} (pl. 15, 146–7) so it is associated with group 3. The thistle is curious because the ball appears to be from more than one punch, primarily a large diced triangle on and around which the dicing may be widely spaced, perhaps if weakly struck (pl. 15, 148 and 155). The new obverse crown has a tall central lis and a distinctive lop-sided arch. The new reverse crown is light, with splayed sides and a stunted central version of (t); it continues right through type D. Though type C is much the most numerous, comprising nearly half the sample, it is short of obvious subdivisions, so as for class VI some letters have been invoked. An R with complete rear serif distinguishes Ca (pl. 15, 148–9) from Cb in which the R has only half a serif (fig. 5.2). Cb then covers the later two-thirds, within which there is a succession of three Ms (i–iii), complete and defective (fig. 5.3–5, pl. 15, 150–5). It seems that as on class VI bawbees the punch for this letter was liable to be so held by the die-sinker that one corner got damaged. Very slight damage to the M of (ii) may account for its appearing on one obverse both complete and defective in the same inscription (pl. 15, 151), and indeed differently on three duplicates from the same die. Usually there is consistency on the obverse though the reverse may differ. A change of lis initial mark comes with the third M in Cb(iii) (pl. 15, 153–4). This lis, and at first the R and M with it, last on into part of the final type.

Type D has a finer-meshed thistle. Its twenty-seven specimens are spread out over several varieties between which die-linking and muling are frequent. Of two successive obverse crowns that of Da is not unlike that of type C but heavier, with a two-line hoop, no pellets on the cusps and an even-sided arch (pl. 15, 156). The reverse crown remains the same as in C all through D. The reverse's cinquefoil, hitherto uniform, was soon replaced by a larger one – Da(ii) (pl. 15, 157). Also in Da the letters, now of two founts of different size, are often blurred. The slightly smaller, medium-sized, letters that form Da(iii) (pl. 15,

159) are similar in design to those of the gold of 1553 including the nicked-top A, and an M (fig. 5.6); on one reverse the older cinquefoil recurs (**pl. 15, 159**). Another obverse has no beaded inner circle. Thus there are features associated with bawbee classes VIIa-b, the transition to group 4.

Type D b and c, have a very poor obverse crown (fig. 4.4), its central broken-down lis and its arch now dented from C's punches. In style the letters of Db continue those of a(iii) but they are very small, and more often blurred than clear (**pl. 15, 160**). Six obverses have been noted, from three dies, but two have Da(ii) reverses and three Dc reverses, from two dies.

It is assumed that the three marked changes that constitute Dc were introduced simultaneously. Its cross-potent obverse initial mark is like that of group 4 bawbees. New larger letters include an N the right way round, but the medium-sized and defective D is from the punch used for the latest twenty-two shilling gold pieces and VIIa-b(i) bawbees (**pl. 15, 162**). One obverse is eccentric in having no inner circle, and the central M and R transposed (**pl. 15, 161**); it has a Da(ii) reverse. The other known obverse die is similarly represented by a single coin (Rich.161, **pl. 15, 163-4**). Its appearance is bold because of fairly clear letters on either side, including a large D, but its letter Os set obliquely or sideways, and the retention of a small T, again show poor workmanship. On the reverse the two cinquefoils have a wide incuse 'piercing' and are the same as the initial mark of class VIIIb(i). The saltire, however, remains fluted.

Discussion

Group and class proportions: the internal evidence

The various available hoards and collections give conflicting evidence about the size of the main groupings of bawbees – table 2. Contrary to the sharp tapering already noted in the Rigghead hoard, the nineteenth century collections listed by Burns and Richardson drew from hoards, unspecified and mainly well-worn, in which apparently groups 2 and 3 were best represented. Though the greater number of readily distinguishable varieties which characterise these groups is an evident incentive to collection, the preponderance of group 3 is borne out by the three c.1935–62 hoards. As group 4 is so small in these hoards and in Burns, its numismatic distinctiveness may have resulted in over-representation in Richardson and in subsequent collections. Probably it was much the smallest group.

TABLE 2

	<i>Coats</i>	<i>Rich.</i>	<i>Rigg. (incl. kept for NM)</i>	<i>Three hoards c.1935–62</i>	<i>Three private colls.</i>
<i>Edinburgh</i>					
Group 1	14	14	120 (38)	33	24
2	29	39	66 (43)	29	25
3	33	53	14 (11)	46	59
4	6	21	4 (4)	6	27
Halves	6	8	1 (1)	1	34
<i>Stirling (Gp. 1)</i>					
	5	5	12 (8)	1	16

TABLE 3

Group	Sample	Dupl. obvs.	%	Dupl. dies	+ Single specs.	= Obv. dies	Obv. die estimate
1 <i>Stir.</i>	55	46	86.8	11	7	18	21
1 <i>Edin.</i>	133	46	34.5	20	87	107	310
2	165	54	32.7	23	111	134	410
							740
3	186	58	31.2	25	128	153	490
4	57	14	24.5	7	43	50	210
							700
Halves, <i>Edin.</i>	72	18	25.0	7	54	61	245

N.B. Incomplete identification makes the Edinburgh estimates too large.²⁵

The obvious distinctiveness of the Stirling bawbees is, however, a likely reason for their relatively large number in collections, possibly in Rigghead as well. For their originally very small number of obverse dies can be closely estimated from their 85 per cent duplication – table 3. The present two-to-one ratio of reverses is based on possibly incomplete identification of reverse duplicates. One might expect it to be too high if, as seems probable, some of the obverse dies at first used at Stirling had been previously used at Edinburgh.

The die estimates given here for groups 2 and 3 are based less securely on identified 30 per cent obverse duplication, and thus indicate only maximum numbers. In these groups class III seems to have been relatively large, with II and Va each a little behind and IV only half of either, while Vc(i-iii) is comparable to Va. In the much subdivided class VI, VIb(i-iv) and VIc are similarly predominant, with VIIa like IV.

The greater monotony of group I obverse dies has led to a lower proportion of those from Rigghead being kept for the national collection. The Rigghead proportion of four to five for the coins of the pre- and post-Stirling phases compares with an overall one to one in other sources examined. The pre-Stirling obverses duplicate frequently (45 per cent noted recently) like Rigghead's late James V bawbees. Die recognition for the post-Stirling phase may be less complete. A distorting factor will have been also the discarding of poor Edinburgh specimens.

In the sample of half-bawbees Types A and D amount to under one-third of the total. Obverse duplication so far recognised is erratic, B and D (the scarcest types) having in all half of it. The resulting die-estimate will again be too large, which strongly suggests that the halves formed only a small part of the issue, as well as being unpopular with hoarders.

This very imperfect account of the internal evidence is put forward now in order to allow some comparisons with the historical evidence that is to be discussed in the next section. The recorded accounting periods of the mint are awkwardly incomplete at either end, and the typological groups cannot be fitted at all closely onto them. Yet some of the problems may be identified by supposing that Burns' great divide might coincide with the beginning of the third recorded accounting period. In the hypothetical part of table 4 the (possibly

²⁵ Using the formula $(n-1)(n-\text{known obv. dies}) = (\text{known single unduplicated obverses} \times n^2 - \text{size of sample})$, where n is the probable original number of obv. dies: see I. H.

Stewart, 'Second thoughts on medieval die-output', *NC* 4 (1964), 298-9 and 303.

much too large) die-estimates in table 3 for groups 1 and 2 have been reconciled with the pre-1547 striking figures by allowing just 3,100 coins per obverse die and assuming 50 dies for the blank in early 1543. The interestingly large variations in the average monthly outputs are, on the evidence, true and not hypothetical, and may conceal even greater variations within the periods. In the third and fourth periods, when output was high, the hypothetical numbers of dies become greater than those (already too high) of table 3, though there may be more missing months at the end than now proposed. This suggests that in times of heavy output either dies were used for a longer period or some fixed supply of dies (say monthly) had to strike more coins. The heavy output was, however, only relatively so, for in late fifteenth-century Flanders the 'normal' daily output from one *monneyeur* (= obverse die ?) was 3,168 *courtes* (two *mites*, much baser than Mary's pennies).²⁶ (For an improbably high Scottish output see p. 140).

Historical Records

Though official records of minting do not survive, notes from them in the seventeenth-century Hopetoun MS specify the bulk-weight, value and profits of bawbees during four accounting periods.²⁷ Theoretical numbers of bawbees struck may be calculated from these, at 16 per oz., 16 oz. per lb., and 16 lb. per stone (4,096) – disregarding the probability that an unknown proportion of half-bawbees was subsumed – as shown in table 4.

TABLE 4

<i>Dates and metal minted, from Hopetoun MS, presumably incl. half bawbees</i>	<i>Estim. no. of coins if all bawbees</i>	<i>No. of months</i>	<i>Hypothetical Av. no. of coins p.m.</i>	<i>No. of obv. dies for period @ 3,100 each</i>
<i>Period</i>				
[14.12.42–10.8.43]		(8)	19,375?	50 ?
1 10.8.43–30.6.44 54 st. 6 lb.	222,720	(9½)	23,444	71
2 30.6.44–30.3.47 463 st. 1 lb.	1,896,704	(St.5)	12,400	20
[incl. Stirling? 6.44–11.44]		(28)	65,525	592
				733
3 30.3.47–7.3.49/50 121 st. 4 lb. 2 oz.	496,672	(35)	14,190	160
[pennies @ 42 per oz. alloy, from 12 st. silver ²⁸ :-				
[3.5.47 – ? 144 st. 4 lb. 8 oz.	1,551,312]	[(35?)	44,323	?]
4 7.3.49/50–15.9. 499 st. 6 lb. 2 oz.	2,045,472	(41?)	49,889	659
[53 ? or part 54?]		(50?)		
				819
				4,661,568

In addition to what the table lists, it was stated in the Hopetoun MS that 'thair wer mony ma bawbees cunyeit yet thair remains na ma in the register'. There were presumably more at the end (see below), and probably at the beginning in the eight months of Mary's reign before 10 August. The Stirling bawbees of 1544 may well have been included in the

²⁶ P. Spufford, 'Mint organisation in the Burgundian Netherlands in the fifteenth century' in *Studies in Numismatic Method* edited by C. N. L. Brooke et al. (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 239–61 (pp. 243–4 and note 28).

²⁷ Hopetoun MS as in note 16. Burns II, 263–4, 266, 292–5; C-P I, 80–2, 96.

²⁸ Burns II, 307–9; excluding proposed halfpence not now known.

above figures as if there had been no transfer of minting. As J. K. R. Murray has shown,²⁹ their large cross-potent and plain crosses in the angles, the 'arms of Jerusalem', derive from the arms of Lorraine, and so were the symbol of Mary of Lorraine and Guise, the queen-mother, repeated on her silver coinage of 1554. After the earl of Hertford's surprise landing at the beginning of May had left Holyrood and much of Edinburgh burnt, during Henry VIII's 'rough wooing', she set up her court at Stirling. She was appointed Governor (Regent) by her convention there on 3 June,³⁰ in opposition to the earl of Arran, whose badge was the cinquefoil placed on all other bawbees of the reign. The mint apparatus might have been sent away from Edinburgh in May, but it is unlikely that any Stirling bawbees were struck before June. They were referred to in letters sent by Governor Arran to the burghs of Stirling and Perth between 13 and 18 July 'dischargeing the babeis cunyeit be the quene', and again before 3 October when officers were paid 'wha proclamit letters in Aberdene and Banfe dischargeing the quene of hir autorite and dischargeing her canze'.³¹ This may imply that the bawbees continued to be struck into the autumn. They will have ceased, but become legal tender, after Mary of Guise was reconciled with Arran late in November.

A year later, on 1 November 1545, Alexander Orrok was succeeded as mint master by William Hamilton of Comiskeith,³² but as James Achesoun continued as master coiner this may have been a sinecure.³³ The subsequent third accounting period in the Hopetoun MS is there specifically associated with Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhar as 'taxman [lessee] of the cunyeihous'. The long Letter of Tak to Hamilton and 'his partakeris' dated 1 March 1546/47 is recorded in the Register of the Privy Seal.³⁴ Its provisions included the leasing of the profits of the coinage for a fixed yearly sum, and blanket authority for minting a specified comprehensive range of gold, silver and billon coins, which significantly did not include quarter-bawbees. A new 'sinker of the irons' John Achesoun, perhaps James's son, was appointed on 4 April 1548 in place of Patrick Lindsay deceased.³⁵ A curious entry in the Acts of the Lords of Council for 5 December 1549 instructs that all puncheons for sinking of the irons for the coining of gold, silver and 'other layit money' which had been delivered to the late Patrick Lindsay, and the late Robert Logan of Cotfield as cautioner, should be delivered to James Achesoun, goldsmith and master coiner.³⁶

For the fourth period in the Hopetoun MS William Colville, commendator of Culross abbey, is shown as 'comptroller and taxman'. It seems that there is no blank in the MS after '15 September' for the year but, unlike Cochran-Patrick,³⁷ one would assume that the year intended must be later than 1550 to allow for the largest stated minting of the four. And indeed the Lord High Treasurer's accounts recording the royal profits from the coinage from 1546 onwards,³⁸ show that the commendator paid various sums in respect of 1550, then £2,333.6.8 for 1 November 1551 to 30 November 1552, and the same sum for 1 March 1552/3 to 1 March 1553/4 – which must cover the 1553 gold and silver, the first fine coinage since 1543.³⁹

Bawbees were only 25 per cent silver and the Hopetoun MS comments 'The maist pairt of the saidis babeis were cunyeit of clippit souses quhilk than wer proclamit in France for bullion and send heir to be convertit in babeis for payment of thair men of weir lying heir agains England'. This can be related to the French forces which arrived in June 1548, and to the Act of the Privy Council in December 1551 which prohibited merchants from

²⁹ 'The Stirling bawbees of Mary, Queen of Scots', *NCirc* 1966, 306 and 1968, 265.

³⁰ LHT VIII, p. lxi.

³¹ LHT VIII, 308-9, 322.

³² *Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland*, III (1542-48) edited by D. H. Fleming (Edinburgh, 1936), No. 1400.

³³ Murray 'A tender for the Scottish coinage . . .', p. 223.

³⁴ As note 32, No. 2181.

³⁵ *ibid.* IV (1548-56), No. 2704.

³⁶ *ALC in Public Affairs*, p. 595.

³⁷ C-P, I, p. cxxv.

³⁸ C-P, I, 80-82; LHT VIII and X.

³⁹ Murray, 'The Scottish Coinage of 1553', pp. 98ff.

importing for public circulation 'clippit sowsis and clippit Carolus as cryit doune in the realme of France'. Even if exaggerated it does help to explain the large mintage in the fourth accounting period, when there were also Acts in July and November 1551 about the unpopular circulation of French money, which may then have been replaced by recoin-ing.⁴⁰

1554 still presents problems. The Hopetoun MS states that 'in the end [of the bawbees] thair wer sum cunyeit to Mr David Panter bischop of Ross'. They were, however, not the only ones then coined. For as shown in the Acts of the Privy Council,⁴¹ they were authorised on 11 January 1553/4 to be made from 'certane stanis of silver veschell that the bishop has for his expensis'; but on 22 January the council further 'ordanis James Aitchesoun maister Cunyeour to imprent *all silver* [my italics] to be brocht and deliverit to him be ane venerable fader in God William commendatour of the abbey of Culros comptroller to our soverane lady in babeis, Providing alwais that the silver inbrocht or to be inbrocht be my lord of Ross . . . be just cunyeit in babeis conforme to the ordnance maid their upon befoie, and gif the bischop of Ross has nocht the said silver reddy to be cunyeit as said is, ordanis the said James to receive the silver to be inbrocht be the said venerable fader and to cunye the same in babeis as said is, nochtwithstanding the actis made theirupon to the contrair' (not now extant). Presumably it was the bullion value plus the profits of his issue that were wanted to support the bishop's embassy to France, and foreign currency and credit could have been borrowed on their security. So the minting need not have been hurried, and Achesoun was authorised to start on the commendator's silver if the bishop's was not ready when the bishop left.

Supposing 'certane stanis' amounted to at least three (48 lb. of say 87 per cent silver) this would nominally have given 42,762 bawbees with a face value of £1,069.1.0 including a profit of £261 if one disregards the value of the vessels' 13 per cent alloy.⁴² But in addition, specifically lifting some previous embargo and without limit of amount, authority had been given to the commendator, accountable as lessee of the mint, to strike billon again on his own, probably in line with his previous scale. There was nothing exceptional in the specification of vessels to be used as bullion, for details of silver and gold vessels received and paid for by Achesoun in 1543–47 are noted in the royal accounts, and silver vessels totalling 3 st., 2 lb., 3 gr. are noted for 1550.⁴³ In a way comparable to the bishop of Ross' licence there was a licence to the French ambassador to have struck two stone weight of utter fine silver into pennies between 6 December 1554 and 'the x of Januar next thaireafter'. Made up with alloy to 24 st., 12 oz. as recorded in the Hopetoun MS this would have made 258,552 coins in barely over a month; but much higher rates and evidence of activity were soon usual.⁴⁴

Conclusion

From the samples catalogued by Burns and Richardson it is likely that the size of group 1 (understated before Rigghead) together with group 2 may have been not much smaller than group 3 and 4 combined (in which 3 must have greatly predominated despite the natural tendency of collectors to over-emphasise the scarcer varieties such as those in 4). The substantial part of group 1 now shown to have been later than the Stirling bawbees of mid-1544, must be included in the second accounting period of the Hopetoun MS. We

⁴⁰ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, edited by J. H. Burton (Edinburgh, 1877). I (1545–69). 102–10. C-P I. 71–74.

⁴¹ RPC I. 151–2; C-P I. 75–76.

⁴² Cf. Burns II. 294. For analyses of sixteenth century

vessels see H. McKerrell, *PSAS* 104 (1971–72). 309–15.

⁴³ LHT VIII 219–21. C-P 80; 1546–47 IX 20; 1550 IX.20. C-P 81.

⁴⁴ Hopetoun MS. C-P I. 98–9 and Burns II. 308–10.

might then tentatively equate group 2 with the remainder of that period. The striking of penny pieces authorised in May 1547 may have had priority in the third period (1547–50). So if the main minting of bawbees in that time was conveniently marked by the beginning of group 3, it need not have begun promptly after John Achesoun's arrival in 1548. Period 4 with its largest stated minting, beginning in 1550, would then cover the bulk of group 3 and at least some of group 4.

The criterion for group 3 has been taken to be the change in the inscription from D·G·REGINA to D·G·R rather than the not quite coincident strong fluting of the saltire headlined by Burns, for it seems likely to have been the more evident and significant. The contraction to D·G·R had already been used on the rare twenty-shilling gold pieces of 1542 and on James V's half-bawbees, and was standard, if only for reasons of space, on the tiny penny pieces apparently first authorised in 1547. Perhaps group 3 bawbees merely followed this lead; and it is R· too on the gold of 1553 except for one forty-four-shilling type which has REGINA. It is notable that this full form returned in 1555 not only on the large silver testoons but also on the billon coins that were considerably smaller than the bawbees. Moreover contrary to Scottish precedent it was in each case made emphatic by being placed at the end of the phrase, after instead of before SCOTOR; and this arrangement was continued whenever Mary issued coins alone, though with Francis and Henry Darnley the usage was R·R· SCOTOR or similar. In 1553 and 1555 the stress on the queen may have been subtle claims by the rival regents to be acting for her. Perhaps it is not too far-fetched to wonder if D·G·R· had marked Mary's departure in November 1548. The change in class VIII and in 1553 late gold to DEI in full could reflect the increasing religious strife by stressing the divine legitimacy of the queen's authority. (The political significance of the motto-like inscriptions on the coinage of Mary and of James VI has been examined by J. H. Stewart.)⁴⁵ Similarly the replacement of the fleur-de-lis initial mark on the class VIII reverse by a cinquefoil, as on the obverse of the 1553 testoons, may have been intended to soft-pedal the French connection.⁴⁶ Mary of Guise's cross-potent, however, introduced as the initial mark of VIIb, continued to indicate her strengthening interests, as shown by its presence on the coins during her subsequent regency (1554–60).⁴⁷

At any rate while typologically class VIIb is linked with the 1553 coinage there is as yet no proof that it must all precede that year, nor any that it was not continued after it – even for a while concurrent with class VIII if that was all for the bishop. On the other hand only a lesser part of VIII may have been the bishop's, for on the basis of our very small sample VIIb and VIII might have had a ratio of 3:2. We can only be confident that, as all known bawbees (except those of Stirling) bear the Hamilton cinquefoils, none were struck after Arran resigned as Governor (Regent) in November 1554. There is, too, no gold or silver dated that year for the mint to have worked on, though already in September there were preparations for a new coinage.⁴⁸ Pennies which Burns identified as those struck for the French ambassador at the turn of the year have a crown like class VIII, fleurs-de-lis instead of cinquefoils, and a plain cross not a cross-potent.

Sixpenny billon was not struck again. There were lighter twelve-penny groats (nonsunts) of six not three deniers fine in 1558 and 1559, following more very base pennies, penny-halfpenny 'lions' (hardheads) and fourpenny placks, and some experimental silver. Substantial minting of good silver had, however, been resumed in 1556–58. The date when

⁴⁵ 'Parallels between German and Scottish coins of the 16th century', *NCirc* (1981), 161, cf. J. E. L. Murray, *NC* 19 (1979), 156; 'Coinage and propaganda: an interpretation of the coin types of James VI', in *From the Stone Age to the Forty Five*, pp. 450–62.

⁴⁶ A penny similar to B.5–6 (rev. only fig. 865, obv. is B.4)

but with a cinquefoil as obv. 1, m. hitherto unknown in this denomination, has been recently added to the Stewart collection.

⁴⁷ Murray, *NC* 19, (1979), 159.

⁴⁸ *LHT* X, 237, 262, C·P I, 82.

the Rigghead hoard was hidden, probably 1554–55, is deduced from the absence of all these. Counterfeiting indeed went on and was one of the reasons given in 1567 for a halving of the values of billon, including the reduction of the bawbee to threepence and the nonsunt to sixpence.⁴⁹ Yet there was no mention of either in 1575 when counterfeiting of the lions and placks was so serious that they were called in, and those genuine re-issued countermarked, at the reduced 1567 values.⁵⁰ Whatever their price bawbees stayed numerically the predominant coin in hoards for at least twenty years after their issue ceased.⁵¹

APPENDIX

Inventory-type summaries

Rigghead Sandpit, Collin, Torthorwald, Dumfriesshire, December 1963.

10 AV, 142 AR, 377 Billon incl. 1968 stray parcel, plus some unrecorded, English, Scottish and French. Deposit: c.1554–55.

England (115): Henry VII, half-groats, profile 4; Henry VIII, 2nd issue groats, 93, half-groats 18.

Scotland (405): James III, plack 1st issue 1; James IV, placks OE 8, Rom. 3; James V, groats 21, one-third groats 6, placks 12, bawbees 132, half-bawbees 6; Mary, abbey crown 1, bawbees Edinburgh 202, Stirling 12, half-bawbee 1.

France (9): Charles VIII, écu 1, half-écu 1; Francis I, écus 7.

Container: earthenware jug.

Disposition: NMAS 200, Dumfries M. 93, Hunterian 54, BM 7 English, RSM 1 French, returned to finders 174.

Noranside, Tannadice, Angus, October 1962

1 AR, 93 Billon, Scottish. Deposit: c.1587.

Scotland (94): James IV placks OE 5, Rom. 2; James V, placks 5, bawbees 5, half-bawbee 1; Mary, bawbees Edinburgh 24, half-bawbee 1, bawbees Stirling 1, placks 17, hardheads 1555 3, 1556 1, 1558 5, uncertain 6, penny 1556 1; Mary and Francis, hardheads 13, James VI, half-merk 1580 1, placks 3.

Disposition: NMAS 21, Dundee M. 19, returned 54.

CATALOGUE

Notes. This catalogue of varieties aims at listing features of the bawbees and half-bawbees in the Rigghead hoard along with those in Burns, *Coinage of Scotland* (primarily the Coats collection, B. no.: new varieties sometimes stressed as B.–). With these is a selection from the other collections of the National Museums of Scotland (NMS) – published by Richardson (Rich.) or then unpublished (Rich.bis), later accessions from the Braeside and Noranside hoards etc (year nos.), also the small Royal Scottish Museum collection (RSM). The bawbees in the Ashmolean and Hunterian *Sylloge* (AS and HS) are also shown, many in the latter from Rigghead. Some coins in Dr I.H. Stewart's collection are included (St. coll.) and a few in the British Museum (BM) and elsewhere. Die identities are indicated by = (see p. 37), double-struck by d.s. and initial-mark by i.m.

⁴⁹ *Acts of Parliament of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1814), III, 43 (26 December), C-P I, 108 (heading 'raised' instead of reduced). In 1546/47 counterfeit English irons (dies), and coins of 'tyñ', English and bawbees, owned by Walter Gardner, executed, had been produced by the Provost of Edinburgh for destruction (*Acts of the Lords of the Council* . . . p. 561). In November 1556 Henry Wynd burgess of Dysart was beheaded for striking and issuing 'forged money called Balbeis' (*Criminal Trials*, edited by R. Pitcairn

(Edinburgh, 1833) I, 392). A trial in 1568 for alleged coining of false bawbees is referred to in *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, I, 642.

⁵⁰ *Acts* III, 92 (5 March 1574/5), C-P I, 109 (in error '1571', so also Burns II, 329 but not 314) but Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary* (London, 1617), p. 283, seems to imply that the original values had persisted (quoted by Burns II, 262).

⁵¹ E.g. Braeside nearly half, 1573–; Noranside a third, c.1587; see note 3 and Appendix.

In the left margin Rigghead serial numbers are itemised, showing what was not acquired for the National Museum: R returned to finders (thence to collectors), D acquired by Dumfries Museum and H by the Hunterian Museum.

Pls. 12–15 are numbered 1–164, and A–G (gold, see note 8), same obv. and rev. —, die-linked. Figs. 1–5 are crowns and specific letters.

James V (1513–42)

Bawbees (1539–42)

Rigghead nos

Ja. *Obv.* crown without pellets, no annulet in field, cross i.m. of various forms, *rev.* 3-pellet stop, saltire grained (throughout), B.5 fig. 776.

a (i) *Obv.* crown underside pointed oval, sometimes hatched

167–74 cf. B.5 = Rich. 76, *rev.* N serifs complete: 168 *obv.* pl. 12, 1, *rev.* = AS 957; 171 HS 953; cf.
D.H.R3 HS 956 and Rich. 79 (pl. 12, 2).
175 R St coll. *obv.* ducat R (fig. 2.1), tall D (= pl. 12, 3), *rev.* same R, normal D (pl. 12, 4), *obv.*
= AS 969 (*rev.* normal R).

a (ii) *Obv.* crown underside reduced to short hooks at sides

176–88a *rev.* N complete: 179 HS 954; cf. AS 958.
D2.H.R9
189–91 *rev.* N lower front serif broken sharp: 189 *obv.* wide thin cross i.m. (pl. 12, 5), *rev.* error
D.H. OPPD; 191 HS 955.

Jb. *Obv.* as (a), *rev.* single pellet stop, B.3 fig. 774

(a)/(b) Noranside 1963.606 *obv.* = B.5

(a)/(b) 1964.995 *obv.* pl. 12, 3 = Rigg. 175, *rev.* normal R, lis without central bar, N complete; cf. St coll. *rev.*
ducat R (pl. 12, 7–8)

195 similar to 1964.995, d.s. but also error SOCTORV (p. 00)
192–3 normal lettering, N complete: 193 HS 970 (*recte* no annulet)
H
194 *rev.* N breaking ?, corrected error ID over DV, complete lis (pl. 12, 6).

Jc. *Obv.* crown as (a) but pellets added to cusps; annulet in left of field begins, thin wide cross i.m. becomes normal; *rev.* single pellet stop

196 (c)/(a) *obv.* hatching but no hooks, no annulet, *rev.* 3-pellet stop but sharp N (pl. 12, 10);
cf. B.4 fig. 775 and RSM 1933.451 (pl. 12, 9), *rev.* N complete
197 no annulet, complete N; cf. AS 973 annulet ?
198–9 B.– annulet at left edge of field, *obvs.* (pl. 12, 10) = Noranside 1963.607 and St coll. ex
Murray, *rev.* 198 complete N, 199 sharp N (pl. 12, 12).
200–1 *obvs.* (pl. 12, 13) = B.2 fig. 773, arch omitted, annulet to left of crown, pellet in O, *rev.*
H complete N; 201 HS 972
205 *obv.* left hook gone, pellets omitted, annulet mid-height over I, *rev.* complete N (pl. 12,
14–15).

Jd. *Obv.* crown with hooks removed, normally with pellets, annulet usual, rarely large; *rev.* single pellet, B.1 fig. 772

d(i) N complete or sharp

202–3 *obvs.* = Rich. 77 (pl. 12, 16), annulet high, but not struck up on 202, pellet in O, *revs.*
complete N, all different, Rich. 77 M bifid feet (pl. 12, 17)
204 B.– annulet to right, high above 5, guide-lines at edge of crown (pl. 12, 19–20), *obv.* = St
coll. [Rich. 76 *recte* no annulet, see a(i)]
211 B.– annulet above both I and 5 (pl. 12, 18), *rev.* N breaking
206–7 crown pellets omitted, annulet above I, *rev.* N complete and sharp, 206 HS 962
H

212 *obv.* ducat R, annulet large low above I (**pl. 12, 21**)
 213–22 annulet varying height above I: 213 *obv.* = 214 HS 971 and 225; 215 = HS 960 (not Rigg.)
 222a–b
 D4.H.R2
 – Noranside 1963.608 *rev.* double or pseudo-trefoil stop

d(ii) some with N breaking further, most with N truncated

223–7 annulet varying height above I. 223 larger flan, 31.7 gr (**pl. 12, 25**); 225 *obv.* = 213–4; 227
 D.H HS 967 = AS *obv.* 959
 228 similar. *obv.* (**pl. 12, 22**), *rev.* N breaking further, 3 dots in field below R = 229
 229–36 annulet omitted: 229 (**pl. 12, 23–4**) *obv.* = 230 and St coll., *rev.* = 228; 231 *obv.* HS 951 =
 D.H2.R 232 = Rich. 78 fig. 106, B.p.267–8 '4a'; 235 HS 952
 208–10 *obv.* crown pellets omitted, annulet high, three same die becoming rusty, 210 HS 963
 H
 237–48 annulet low: 244 HS 965, cf. HS 961; two with large annulet, 247 (35.2 gr) *obv.* = B.1bis
 D4.H.R3 fig. 772 (28 gr)
 249–56 annulet high: five same *obv.* 249–50 and 252 HS 966, and two another; 254 *rev.* BVRG
 D2.H.R2
 257–85 annulet mid-height; incl. five each from two *obv.* dies, four from another, fifteen singles
 285a,b (?) *obv.* 262 = Rich. 75 (**pl. 12, 26–7**) shows composite crown (p. 00); *obv.* 266 = B.1;
 D6.H.R18 *obv.* 271 = 272 rusty and cracked = St coll. worse (not Rigg); c.275 HS 964
 – St coll. *obv.* annulet mid-height faint, the composite G's vertical stroke set horizontally on
 the Cs (**pl. 12, 28**)
 – 1914 Ayr, annulet above I, also to right and below (**pl. 12, 29**)

Je. as d(ii) truncated N, but ducat R (fig. 2.1) *obv.* and *rev.*

286–93 annulet varying height above I: 286 *obv.* large flaw in field; 291 annulet triple-punched (**pl.**
 D2.H.R **12, 30**) = Lockett coll., *rev.* lis without bar = 293 St coll.; 292 HS 968 large annulet
 double-punched

Half-bawbees (1539–42)

JA. *Obv.* cross i.m. narrow, crown interior usually indicated, annulet above I common [9 *obv.* dies]

– St coll. *obv.* crown full interior ? (d.s), no arch, annulet high? (**pl. 15, 128**), *rev.* = 294
 294 crown side-hooks, annulet above I, and above 5 ?, *obv.* (**pl. 15, 127**) = NM 1914 Ayr
 – BM Grueber 9, side-hooks, annulet above I triple-punched, *Scot. Coinage* pl. x.144, *obv.*
 and *rev.* = AS 974
 – BM 1914.12.6.24 (Ayr) *obv.* side hooks, no annulet, exceptionally ends ORV (**pl. 15, 131**)
 = Lockett coll.
 – B.2 fig. 778 left hook, no annulet, cf. Rich.81
 – RSM 1926.83 etc. *obv.* left hook ?, annulet above I, ends VVM in monogram (**pl. 15, 129**),
rev. grained saltire (**pl. 15, 130**)
 – Rich.80 no hooks, annulet above I, A engraved on reversed V ?, *obv.* = St coll.

JB. *Obv.* cross i.m. wide, crown no interior, annulet in field [6 *obv.* dies]

295–6 *obv.* dupls., large annulet above 5 = Rich.82 (**pl. 15, 134**, B.2a fig. 779) etc. 296 HS 975
rev. = 295
 297 large annulet above I
 298–9 *obv.* and *rev.* = B.1 fig. 777 (298, **pl. 15, 132**) normal annulet; cf. NM ex Murray (1987 181
 D ill.), ex Lockett (**pl. 15, 133**)

Quarter-bawbee

IQ. *Obv.* three thistle-heads radially, i.m. crown, *rev.* like half-bawbee

– B.-1957.356 ex Lockett, 'D G R', ends ORV, 8.2gr. (**pl. 15, 135–6** enlargement 135a–6a, and
Scot. Coinage pl. xxii.300)

MARY (1543-67)

*Bawbees, Edinburgh (1543-54)**Group 1, Class 1*

1a. *obv.* crown (fig. 1.1) and thistle, *rev.* lis and grained saltire, all as James V bawbees

(i) *rev.* cinquefoils with pellet centre; R (fig. 2.1) and peak-topped open A as James Je

306-19 cf. *rev.* B.3 fig. 824.⁵² *obv.* ends VM as James, in Rigghead at least one pair (= B.1, a(ii))

D2,11,R9 and two triple die dupl.; 310 HS 1025 *obv.* = HS 1021 a(ii)

301-5 *obv.* ends V, contraction pellet as normal; 301 *rev.* = Rich.46 (pl. 12, 32); 302 *obv.* pl. 12, D,H

31; 305 HS 1024

B.2 MA·R = *obv.* B.3 (not noted), V

(ii) *rev.* cinquefoils without pellets, henceforward

320-26 cf. B.1 fig. 823 *obv.* VM; 321 d.s. SOT but = 310 and 323 HS 1021

D,H,R3

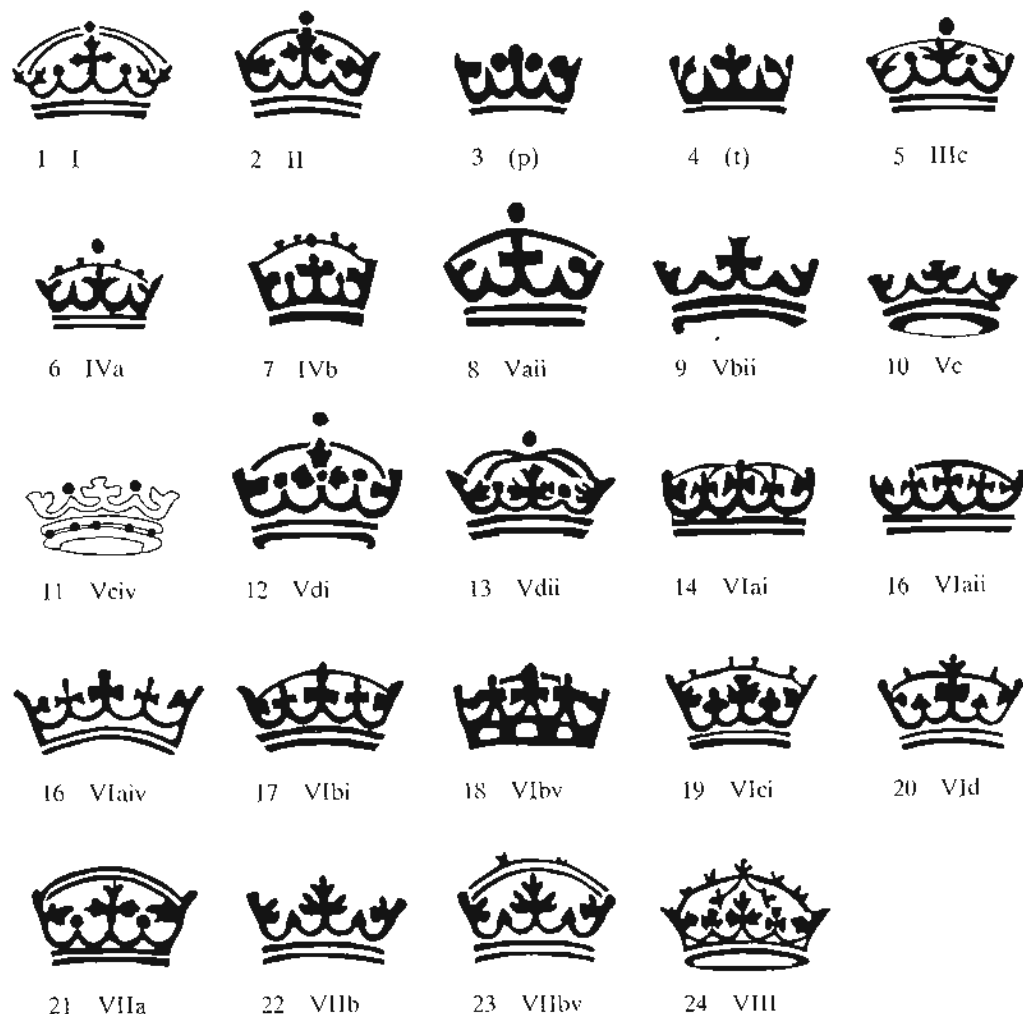


FIG. 1 Crowns of Mary bawbees.

⁵² Bawbee B. fig. 824 *obv.* is class Ib(ii) and is not in the Coats collection. Rigg.300 was an abbey crown of Mary (=B.2), stolen from Dumfries Museum in the 1960s with part of the French gold



FIG. 2 Distinctive letters in Groups 1 and 2.

327–29 *obv.* \dot{V} : 327 = *obv.* Rich.46. a (i); 329 HS 1022
 D.H
 330–1 endings unascertainable
 R2

(iii) *obv.* small lob-topped closed A, some larger letters also

– see 337 a(iii)/b(i) **pl. 12, 33**

Ib. *Rev.* very small lis i.m., *obv.* new thistle dicing, \dot{V} normal, R with straight foreleg and circular fork (fig. 2.2)
 (i) new open A, left side of flat top soon breaks

332–4 a(i–ii)/b(i) *obv.* VM, 332 *obv.* error C under S; 333 HS 1023
 H.R
 335–6 a(i–ii)/b(i) 335 *obv.* = B.4 (not *obv.* fig. 825) really \dot{V} , *rev.* **pl. 12, 35**, cf. B.4 fig. 825; 336
 H HS 1026
 337 a(iii)/b(i) *obv.* (**pl. 12, 33**) A, \dot{V} , cf. 1955.641 Braeside, V
 338 *obv.* (**pl. 12, 34**) error MARA, round o, *rev.* normal narrowed O, cf. B.6 *recte* fig. 825 *obv.*, no
 error = Rich.48
 339–339a *obv.* narrowed O, *rev.* round o
 D
 340–50 narrowed O both sides, cf. B.4bis and B.5 (REG)); 344 HS 1027; errors: 350 no cinquefoils
 D.H.R6 (**pl. 12, 36**) cf. Lockett coll.; 1955.640 Braeside *rev.* N under I; 1987 *ex* Murray *obv.* no
 pellets on crown

(ii) lob-topped closed A, R and M as b(i), narrowed O

408–10 St coll. (see Ib(iii)) cf. Rich.49 (**pl. 12, 37**) and Rich.50
 R3

Is. Stirling bawbees (summer–autumn 1544)

Obv. like Edinburgh class Ib, *rev.* cross-potent and crosslets, crown i.m.

s(i) small M and R, open A complete, round O, all as Ib(i)

– B.74 fig. 860 *obv.* V, *rev.* = St coll. (*obv.* = RSM 1926.85 \dot{V}), cf. BM 1914, 12–6, 56 (Ayr)
 [3 *obv.* dies]

s(ii) open top broken as late Ib(i) [3 *obv.* dies]

503 *obv.* V, cf. B.75 etc really \dot{V} , and Rich.152 \dot{V} (**pl. 13, 38–9**)

s(iii) closed A, cf. Ib(ii), but round O [4 *obv.* dies]

504–5 504 *obv.* V (**pl. 13, 40**), *obv.* and *rev.* = Murray sale 1987; 505 *obv.* and *rev.* = Rich.153
 D V, *obv.* = 506–7

s(iv) larger M and R as Ib(iii), still round O (breaking) [1 *obv.* die]

506–7H s(iii)/s(iv) 506 = 507 HS 1055, *rev.* **pl. 13, 42**, *obv.* = 505

508–9D s(iv)/s(i–iii) *obv.* 508–9 *rev.* close **pl. 13, 41** = B.76 etc

– s(iv)/s(iv) St coll., *obv.* = 508, *rev.* = 506–7

s(v) narrowed O [7 obv. dies]

- 510 s(iii)/s(v) obv. V = Rich.154, rev. pl. 13, 44: AS 1054
 511 s(v)/s(i-iii) 511 = obv. 512-3 etc, RV close
 512-3H s(v)/s(v) 512 = obvs. 511, 513 HS 1058, BM 1914, 12-6, 57 (Ayr); rev. = Rich.154 etc)
 514 obv. = B.78 fig. 861 (*recte*) etc, RV in monogram; B.78 = Rich.156 and revs. 154 and 155 (obv. pl. 13, 43); cf. HS 1057 V = obv. AS 1056 and rev. B.77 (not ill.); cf. *Scot. Coinage* pl. xi.156 (BM E2495)

Edinburgh

Class Ib(iii) (autumn 1544-)

Obv. as B.12 fig. 828, M,R and O as late Stirling, rev. lis i.m. as Ib(i-ii); other large letters incl. lob-topped A which breaks, followed by lis; late R fig. 2.4

- 351 b(iii)/b(i-ii) obv. crescent below M in field, cf. B.10 fig. 826 = B.10bis = obv. Rich.52 (revs. b(iii))
 352-406a obv. V regular, but unascertainable in c.40 per cent, rev. lis often without foot as 364 (pl. 13, 46); 352 obv. = B.9 pseudo-crescent stops; 371 HS 1029; cf. AS 1028 and B.7-8 and 12.
 D6,H,R 19 also B. fig. 824 obv. (not in Coats); *Scot. Coinage* pl. xi.154 (BM)
 (N.B. Coins returned as b(iii) included some b(ii) - 407-9 and presumably others)
 - 1987 ex Murray obv. MAR
 - St coll. rev. pellet on inner side of upper arm of saltire
 - St coll. rev. crown upside down
 410 rev. lis fragmentary
 411 B.- obv. SCOTOR. (pl. 13, 45) = Rich.69, rev. complete i.m.

Ic. Obv. as B.11 fig. 827, new R (fig. 2.5); rev. larger lis i.m., cinquefoils slightly larger

(i) rev. R as fig. 2.4; new N complete or chipped

- 416H c(i)/b(iii) HS 1030
 412-5D 412 obv. V (pl. 13, 47) = Rich.53 (rev. pl. 13, 48)

(ii) rev. R as obv., added tip more horizontal

- 417-8 417 obv. wide N ?, cf. II/Ic(ii); 418 obv. crown arch incomplete

Group 2, Class II

Obv. crown fleury (fig. 1.2; B. fig. 829-32), no pellets on cusps, single-line arch (unless no room), new thistle, soon changed; rev. two main forms of crown (p) and (t), (fig. 1.3-4), two sizes of lis i.m., fatter cinquefoils; several letters vary, notably M

IIa(i) obv. large dicing on thistle, upper indentation of M almost a right-angle (fig. 2.6), rev. as B. fig. 829 (B.15 not 13), 'pellet-and-club' crown (p)

- 419 IIa(i)/Ic(ii) obv. no stops cf. Rich.62, V as usual no contraction mark, obv. = 1987 ex Murray (rev. Ic(ii) wide N)
 420-1 420 obv. pl. 13, 49, rev. saltire part striated, large lis; 421 saltire part rippled and fluted, large lis
 431 obv. = 1955.642 Braeside (with rev. smaller lis, pl. 13, 50), rev. smaller lis, ends GI
 - B.15 and Rich.78 V, B.15 rev. fig. 829 large lis, GI, dot in field below lis
 - St coll. obv. OR, rev. wide-angle M, large lis with hair line and top GI, crown ?

IIa(ii) obv. smaller dicing, M may have sharp serifs

- 432H HS 1034 rev. large lis, GI; cf. Rich.65 rev. large lis, OPGI (pl. 13, 52); B.17 obv. fig. 831 D G, not noted in Burns, rev. smaller lis, cf. B.16 fig. 830
 - Rich. 59 obv. MAR
 - Rich.71 obv. ends OR (pl. 13, 51), rev. smaller lis

IIb. obv. crown exceptional (was in Burns class IV), like rev. (p) or (t - central trefoil) but plain arch added; dicing and M as a(ii)

- B.27 *obv.* fig. 836 crown (p), D:G V = B.27bis, *rev.* also crown (p), saltire rippled and fluted
 422 *obv.* (p) (pl. 13, 53), orb pellet below beaded circle, *rev.* crown uncertain, serifed M
 423-4 die duplicates = Rich.60, *obv.* and *rev.* crown (p), grained saltire, smaller lis
 - B.28 *obv.* crown (t), M as a(i), D:G (pl. 13, 54), *rev.* (p), saltire grained and fluted, large lis,
 'OP GI'

IIc. *obv.* crown and thistle as a(ii) – arch rarely visible, 'acute' M (fig. 2.7), *rev.* central trefoil crown (t), large lis normal

- c/a(ii) Rich.68 D:G, *rev.* saltire striated and strongly fluted, GI: cf. AS 1032 (*obv.* = AS 1031 & B.14 c/c)
 - a(i)/c 1972 Aberlady *obv.* V, *rev.* smaller lis, GI'
 430 a(ii)/c *rev.* saltire rippled and part fluted, GI'
 - c/c B.13 *obv.* fig. 829 D:G = AS 1033 (*rev.* GI'); B.18 fig. 832 *obv.* no arch
 425 D:G, *rev.* crown (p), five or six irregular dots in field below i.m.
 426-9 D:G, 427 *obv.* and *rev.* central compass-mark (pl. 13, 55-6), *rev.* lis double-punched
 D.H (placing pellet-foot inside beaded circle), saltire rippled and part fluted = two in St coll. 429 HS 1035
 435 *obv.* no arch, ends OR, *rev.* GI: hair-line lis as on into Va, saltire part fluted (pl. 13, 57)
 433-4 fragments

Group 2 ctd, class III

Obv. crown cross-fourchée (fig. 1.5), letters like IIc, *rev.* crown normally (t)

IIIa. *obv.* no pellets on crown cusps, plain arch, *rev.* large lis as IIc, endings V GI normal, V GI & V GI scarcer

- 437-46 cf. B.22-23, 25, some D:G; 440 no arch?; 441 *obv.* no stops = Rich.64 (small lis), *rev.*
 D.H.R3 saltire grained; 443 HS 1036, cf. HS 1038 and B.26
 447-8 H *obv.* HS 1037, die duplicates, V cf. B.25, *rev.* 447 'OP GI'
 449-52 varieties, two D:G; 449 *obv.* no arch pl. 13, 58, *rev.* crown (p), cf. Rich.72 and 77; 451 V-OP
 D GI; 452 *obv.* no stops, *rev.* rippled and fluted saltire, GI
 453-6 R4 uncertain
 - NM 1988 loan, *obv.* crown, pellet above left fleur
 - Rich.79bis M-AR
 - B.21 fig. 834 *obv.* ends OR

IIIb. *obv.* crown as a., *rev.* lis i.m. all petals straight, crown (p)

- 457-8 D:G V GI: cf. B.24 fig. 835 (*obv.* = B.25 – IIIa); Rich.76 and 75 (*rev.* pl. 13, 59)

IIIc. *obv.* crown has pellets on cusps (fig. 1.5), *rev.* lis smaller, narrow

- IIIa/c? Rich.64

- 436 *obv.* V = Rich. 70 and 1987 ex Murray (cf. B.20), *rev.* GI: saltire rippled and fluted (pl. 13, 60)
 - Rich. 81 D:G *rev.* error BVRG; large lis
 - B.19 fig. 833 *obv.* ends VM, *rev.* lis?

IIId. *obv.* crown arch decorated, *rev.* crown and lis as a.

- 459 B.- V GI: saltire arms punched separately (pl. 13, 61-2, and see 67)

Group 2 ctd, Class IV (for B.27-28 see IIb)

Obv. crown small, decorated arch (fig. 1.6-7), letters like III, *rev.* crown usually (p), lis i.m. large or smaller

IVa. *obv.* crown like (t), two-line hoop often not distinct, M may have wide-angle

- 460 *obv.* OR = B.29, Rich.82, 1987 ex Murray and another *rev.* all different, most 'wide M': cf. OR (?) St coll.
 461-2 461 *obv.* pl. 13, 63; 462 *obv.* 'wide M', *rev.* pl. 13, 64; cf. B.30 fig. 837 (not B.29) and B.31; all really D:G,V, 'OP GI'
 465H HS 1041 prob. = *obv.* B.31 = Rich.56 (*rev.* 'OP GI')
 - Rich.74 VM GI

IV b. *obv.* crown cross-like central trefoil, single-line hoop

463-4 463 *obv.* pl. 13, 65, *rev.* saltire rippled; Rich.83; HS 1039 (·OP GI·) and 1040
D

Group 2 ctd. Class Va

Obv. larger crown, central cross, two-line hoop (fig. 1.8), *rev.* cinquefoils smaller, two sizes of lis
Va(i). *obv.* decorated arch, coarser thistle

- IVb/Va(i) Rich.85 *rev.* lis small, saltire arms separate (pl. 13, 67, see 62)
466, 466AD *obv.* 466 (pl. 13, 66) = Rich.84 ·DG· v? ·GI· lis ?, cf. B.33 lis large
- Rich.89 *obv.* beaded arch = Rigg.484 pl. 13, 68, *rev.* Vb(i)), *rev.* ·OP GI·
- B.32 fig. 838 VM GI·

Va(ii). *obv.* plain arch, thistle mainly neater ball, *rev.*(p) var., lis usually large

467 *obv.* oval thistle, cf. Rich.86bis and B.36, *rev.* saltire part fluted, small lis; (B.36 = 36bis,
obv. and *rev.* fig. 840, *rev.* six dots in field, see p. 00)
468-76 *obv.* cf. B.34 unfluted saltire, several apparently ·DG·; 468 *obv.* = Rich.86 v?, *rev.* GI· (pl.
D2.H 13, 70); 473 v. error ? GI·; 474 v GI·; 476 ·V· (pl. 13, 69) GI·; HS 1042 v GI·
- *obv.* B.35 fig. 839 (not B.34) = B.35bis M·AR
- Rich.87 OR
- St coll. VM
477-8 R2 uncertain

Va(iii). *obv.* no arch; *rev.* plain saltire

479-83 cf. B.37 fig. 841 (*rev.* small lis); 482 HS 1043 large lis
D,H,R

Group 3. Class Vb-c

D·G·R· begins and SCOT·ORVM or VM· invariable; new lettering soon includes reversed *W* invariably; *rev.* saltire soon strongly fluted, new lis i.m. with three-spike foot, ends of crown's hoop hooked

Vb(i) *obv.* crown as Va(ii), plain arch sometimes lost in border, *rev.* very large cinquefoils, plain saltire, B. fig.842

484 Va(i)/b(i) *obv.* beaded arch (pl. 13, 68) = Rich.89, *rev.* N
485 *obv.* = B.38, cf. Rich.93 (pl. 13, 71), *rev.* N, ·OP GI· (pl. 13, 72, 485); St coll. *rev.* N, ·OP GI·
Vb(ii) *obv.* crown no arch, lower line of hoop may be hooked as *rev.* (fig. 1.9), *rev.* as b(i)
- Rich.95bis *rev.* reversed *W*, ·OP GI·; Rich.96 similar, *obv.* no stops

Vc. *obv.* crown smaller and lower (fig. 1.10), has central trefoil, no arch, hoop shows interior by hooks or complete oval; R generally with front serif (shortens); *rev.* crown hooked as Vb, saltire soon strongly fluted, cinquefoils small and more pentagonal, reversed *W*

Vc(i) *rev.* saltire still plain, lis as Vb

- Vb(i)/c(i) B.39 fig. 843, *rev.* plain R, ·OP GI·?; Rich.93bis *obv.* = Rigg.485, *rev.* R? ·OP GI·;
- Rich.92 similar, seriffed R
- B.40 *obv.* fig. 844 .+., seriffed R, ·OP GI·; 1954.422 (d-s) similar, +

Vc(ii) *rev.* saltire strongly fluted henceforward, *obv.* additional stops common

- c(i)/c(ii) Rich.97 *obv.* = B.40, *rev.* ·OP GI·; B.42 *obv.* = 1954.422, *rev.* OP GI
- B.41 fig. 845 *rev.* ·OP GI·, dots in field accidental ?
- Rich.97bis (*obv.* pl. 13, 73) and 101 (*obv.* two different Ms, *rev.* pl. 13, 74) .+., ·OP GI·;
- similar 99 OP, error B reversed, and 100 +.
- 1955.644 Braeside *obv.* ·+· +, *rev.* ·OP GI·

Vc(iii) *rev.* lis has exceptional wide foot (pl. 13, 76)

- Rich.91 *obv.* .+., *rev.* OPPI·DVM GI·, *rev.* = Rich.98 .+.; BM Scot. Coinage pl. xi.155 OP GI

Vc(iv) *obv.* pellets added to crown's hoop and cusps (fig. 1.11) *rev.* lis as c(iii)

– c(iv)/c(i) Rich.94 *obv.* plain R. .+. . *rev.* plain saltire. 'OP GI'

– c(iv)/c(ii) Rich.102 .+. .

486 *obv.* + D.G. *rev.* OP GI (pl. 13, 75–6). cf. B.44 fig. 846. *recte* .+. . as B.45. lis?: Rich.103 +

Group 3. Class Vd – was beginning of B. Class VII (p. 133)

Vd(i). *Obv.* large crown, strawberry-leaf centre, pellets on cusps, hoop oval? (fig. 1.12) thistle like Vc(iv); serified R continues but is replaced by plain; other new letters include ornamented O; *rev.* lis like Vb–c (i–ii) and hooked single-line hoop, cinquefoils like Vc may be 'pierced' by light circle

B.63 fig. 854 'OP GI' : Rich.126 (pl. 13, 77–8); 1955.647 Braeside .+. . 'OP GI' : Rich.127 *rev.* plain O

Vd(ii) *obv.* double-arch crown, two-line hoop (fig. 1.13), serified R *rev.* only

– Rich.130 *obv.* (pl. 14, 79) .+. . = Rich.128 (*rev.* GI under BV pl. 14, 80); Rich.129 'OP GI' ; B.64 fig. 855 plain R only, ornamented O and reversed M *recte*, *rev.* crown as VIa

Group 3 ctd. Class VI

VIa (See p. 133). *Obv.* crown of three larger and two smaller lis or crosses *rev.* crown two-line hoop without hooks, cinquefoils with larger centres normally pierced; R with front serif rare, O still ornamented at first, narrower M also replaced later (fig. 3.1)

VIa(i) *obv.* crown poorly drawn, low double arch, straight hoop (fig. 1.14), thistle smooth oval, B. fig. 853

– B.62 = B.62bis = Rich.123bis = *obv.* Rich.123 (pl. 14, 81–2) .+. . 'OP GI' ; cf. Rich.124 similar; St coll. no extra stops

VIa(ii) *obv.* crown single arch, hoop still straight (fig. 1.15), thistle may be more jagged

487 *obv.* .+. . flawed = 1963.612 Noranside, *rev.* 'OP GI' (pl. 14, 84), 'OP GI' ; cf. 1987 ex Murray *obv.* .+. . (pl. 14, 83), *rev.* 'OP GI' ; Rich.109 .+. .

VIa(iii) *obv.* no arch, *rev.* cinquefoils slightly larger

– Rich.111 *obv.* .+. . pl. 14, 85; IIS 1045 (*rev.* GI) ; B.52 fig. 848 *obv.* (*rev.* VIb(i–ii)); fig. 848 *rev.* is B.51)

VIa(iv) *obv.* large crown, no arch, sides joined to strongly curved hoop (fig. 1.16)

– St coll. (pl. 14, 86–7) *obv.* .+. . *rev.* lis ?, 'OP GI', crown upside down, cinquefoils as a(iii)

VIb. *Obv.* crown single arch, narrower hoop curved, thistle coarsely jagged – B. fig. 847 and variants, A has broken lob-top; *rev.* larger composite (?) lis

VIb(i) *obv.* crown's sides not joined to hoop (fig. 1.17), narrow M's right leg bent; large slender cinquefoils, piercing often not evident

– a(ii)/b(i–ii) St coll. .+. . (dots by pellet accidental?) 'OP

– a(iii)/b(i–ii) B.52, *rev.* not ill.

– B.48 R with front serif; Rich.108 GI ; Rich.106bis *obv.* pl. 14, 88

VIb(ii) *obv.* top line of hoop joined to sides of crown; cinquefoils as b(i)

– b(ii)/a(i) B.49 small cinquefoils, 'OP



FIG. 3 Distinctive and damaged letters in Groups 3–4.

488 *obv.* = B.46 fig. 847, *rev.* 'OP = Rich.120 (*obv.* c(ii)); cf. B.47 'OPGI', B.50 GI', Rich.104bis
pl. 14, 89–90 .+. ; 107 .+. GI' ; 110 *obv.* R with front serif, 'OP

VIb(iii) short square M (fig. 3.2), cinquefoils as b(i)

– Rich.104 (pl. 14, 91–2) and 106

VIb(iv) *obv.* crown normally as b(ii), plain O returns, new letters include wide sloping M soon sharp-topped (fig. 3.3), B.fig. 849, thistle neatly jagged; *rev.* stout cinquefoils like VIa but larger (c.4mm) and strongly pierced
– b(i–ii)/b(iv) B.51 *obv.* .+. , *rev.* M with 'ears' fig. 848 (not B.52); St coll. *obv.* = Rich.110,
rev. narrow M but new cinquefoils, lis without bar
– B.53, and fig. 849 *recte* B.54 (cinquefoils like b(i–iii) but larger) sharp M; Rich.114 *obv.*
plain and ornamented O (pl. 14, 93–4)

VIb(v) *obv.* crown has rectangles on hoop (fig. 1.18), B.–, sharp M, wider thistle

– b(v)/b(i–ii) St coll. bis
– Rich.115bis cinquefoils as b(iv)
– Rich.115 (42 gr. chipped) = *obv.* St coll. (33 gr.) (pl. 14, 95–6), *rev.* cinquefoils as c(i)

VIc. *obv.* smaller crown, arch decorated (fig. 1.19), thistle like b(v), cinquefoils like a(iii)

VIc(i) *obv.* crown's sides not joined to hoop; new squarish M in two sizes (fig. 3.4)

– VIc(i)/VIa(ii) AS 1047 'OP GI'
– B.60 fig. 852 *recte*; B.59, Rich.117, 119; AS 1046 *obv.* M as VIb(iv); HS 1044, 1049–50
489 pl. 14, 97–8, *rev.* wide I (as B.53, 55–56, Rich.117bis)
– Rich.113 *obv.* no arch, *rev.* large lis i.m.

VIc(ii) *obv.* crown's sides generally continuous, slightly sloping M usually has 'club-foot' (fig. 3.5), B.fig. 850

490 VIc(ii)/b(i–ii); cf. Rich.120 *obv.* .+. , nicked apex A appears (pl. 14, 99), *rev.* OP
491–2 club-foot M (pl. 14, 100), cf. B.65 and 51; Rich.118 *obv.* broken lob-top A (as B.60, 65–7),
rev. pl. 14, 101; 492 St coll.
– St coll. *rev.* crown upside down
493D VIc, VIc(ii)

c(iii) similar but hair-line inner circles – temporarily, M as c(ii) sometimes complete

– B.56 = *obv.* Rich.117bis (pl. 14, 102), *revs.* beaded inner circle
– St coll. (pl. 14, 103–4) *obv.* crown two-line decorated arch, cf. VIIa; hair-lines *obv.* and
rev.

VId. *obv.* crown with 'wedges' on cusps, may have trefoil on arch (fig. 1.20), new sloping M right foot defective (fig. 3.6) B. fig. 851; beaded inner circles resume; *rev.* narrow lis i.m., crown single-line hoop, cinquefoils as c., saltire's left lower edge sometimes broken (see pl. 14, 108)

– VId?/c(ii) HS 1051
494H HS 1048 'OP GI' like Rich.121 (pl. 14, 106); cf. B.57 *obv.* = Rich.119bis (pl. 14, 105), and
B.58 fig. 851 = *obv.* Rich.119, *revs.* OP GI

Group 3 ctd, Class VIIa (see Vd and pp. 25–6)

Obv. crown three lis of strawberry leaves, two-line arch, pellets on cusps (fig. 1.21), finer-meshed thistle, blurred letters, B. fig. 856

VIIa(i) new similar M, left foot becomes defective (fig. 3.7), broken-top A continues, *rev.* like VId, sometimes larger lis

– VId/VIIa(i) St coll.
– VIIa(i)/VId St coll.
495–6 cf. B.65 fig. 856, B.66–68 (all *recte* I reversed – 67 .+. , illusory)
495 *obv.* M left serif broken as Rich.116 and AS 1052; 496 *obv.* M left leg broken;
Rich.131bis (pl. 14, 107–8) broken saltire

- B.66 *obv.* M·A·R, M in field as a(ii) = AS 1053 (with *rev.* ·O·P·G· like B.68 and Rich.133)
- Lockett coll. no arch

VIIa(ii) square M (fig. 3.8), A with nicked apex *rev.* two-line hoop

- 497 *obv.* = Rich.131 fig. 117 (**pl. 14, 109–10**)

Group 4. Class VIIb

Obv. i.m. cross-potent, crown larger, usually without arch (fig. 1.22), occasionally coarser thistle; new letters include N instead of N; nicked A regular, beaded inner circles gradually dropped; *rev.* crown like VIIa(ii), also lis which becomes like a cross

VIIb(i) beaded circles, *rev.* small tight pentagonal cinquefoils

- VIIa(ii)/VIIb(i) St coll.
- VIIb(i)/VIIa(ii) Rich.137 *obv.* **pl. 14, 112**; Rich.139 *obv.* = Rich.138
- 498 B.- new crown, normal circles
- St coll. *obv.* crown as VIIa (**pl. 14, 111**)
- Rich.138 *obv.* coarser thistle, inscription starts to left of crown = Rich.139 (**pl. 14, 113**), *rev.* **pl. 14, 114**
- St coll. *rev.* b(iii) cinquefoils

VIIb(ii) *rev.* i.m. cross-potent also, exceptionally

- B.- Rich.145 saltire not fluted, cinquefoils as VIIa, inscriptions d.s. (**pl. 14, 115**)

VIIb(iii) beaded inner circles only on *obv.* (o) or *rev.* (r), B.-; *rev.* cinquefoils more open than b(i)

- (o) Rich.134, Rich.144
- Rich.112 (not VI) *rev.* crescentic annulet below saltire (**pl. 14, 118**), cf. St coll. and another
- 499 obliterated annulet (?) below saltire, cf. VIIb(v)
- (r) Rich.143 **pl. 14, 116–17**, *rev.* = St coll. (*obv.* VIIb(v)); Rich.140 no stops, DGRA illusory (d.s.)

VIIb(iv) no beaded inner circles, cinquefoils as b(iii)

- B.70 fig. 858, B.71, Rich.136, Rich.141–2; Rich.135 no stops, *obv.* **pl. 14, 119**

VIIb(v) as b(iv) but two-line arch added to *obv.* crown (fig. 1.23), cf. VIIa; no stops

- VIIb(v)/VIIb(iii) St coll., *rev.* = Rich.143
- B.69 fig. 857; St coll. thistle incompletely diced (**pl. 15, 121**)
- 1957.366 *ex* Lockett (= St coll.) *obv.* **pl. 14, 120**, *rev.* annulet below saltire partly obliterated ?

Group 4 ctd. Class VIII (see J.K.R. Murray, *BNJ* 37 (1968) 105–7)

Obv. i.m. cross-potent stronger; ·D·E·I·G·R, crown decorated, double arch and complete hoop (fig. 1.24); *rev.* i.m. cinquefoil in three sizes, side cinquefoils very large; smaller letters; beaded inner circles; ·O·P·G· normal

- VIIa, *rev.* fluted saltire, smallest i.m., side cinquefoils have one defective leaf
- Rich.148 and 1963.613 Noranside (*obv.* **pl. 15, 122**), *rev.* defective D
- 1955.648 Braeside, defective D both sides; 1964.1004 (**pl. 15, 123**)

VIIIb. *rev.* slender plain saltire

VIIIb(i) cinquefoils as VIIa

- 500–1 cf. B.72bis, 501 *rev.* i.m. double-punched
- St coll. small i.m. loses leaf

VIIIb(ii) *rev.* medium i.m., side cinquefoils larger, more angular

- B.72 fig. 859, Rich.146–7, defective D replaced by larger; Rich.151 *rev.* defective old D (**pl. 15, 125**); Rich.147 .+.
- Rich.149 ·D·G·R· (**pl. 15, 124**)



FIG. 4 Obverse crowns on Mary half-bawbees.

VIIIb(iii) *rev.* largest i.m.; side cinquefoils as (ii)

– B.73 *rev.* **pl. 15, 126**; Rich.146bis. 150

Half-bawbees

Design like bawbees but 'D·G·R' and single cinquefoil below saltire

Type A

Obv. thistle 'A' as on James' halves and similar to Mary class Ia, VM ending normal; *obv.* (fig. 4.1) and *rev.* crowns like James' Aa, *rev.* i.m. large lis like Mary Ia – central bar may be omitted; R like Ib(i) (cf. fig. 2.2); saltire unfluted

502 *obv.* high arch, sharp-top A, *rev.* d.s., lis lost (16.0 gr); cf. Rich.157, and St coll. (**pl. 15, 137–8**)

Ab. *rev.* very small lis like class Ib

(i) R like Ib(iii) (cf. fig. 2.3)

– B.1 fig. 862 *obv.*, *rev.* **pl. 15, 140**; B.2 fig. 862 *rev.*, *obv.* error MARI·D·G·R; St coll. (**pl. 15, 139**)

– B.2 but Coats. 1921.1294, no arch, SCOTOR (**pl. 15, 141**)

(ii) R's front leg short, squared off

– St coll. (**pl. 15, 142–3**), *rev.* = AS 1059, 'cog-wheel' mark at second P

(iii) R resembles a B, from James' half-bawbee fount

– Rich.158 VM (**pl. 15, 144**) like Type B, lob-top A possible; St coll. VM *rev.* lis broken? (**pl. 15, 145**)

Type B

Obv. thistle 'B', smaller and jagged; crowns similar to type A; lob-top A, new R, round o: lis with bar-and-dot foot; final stops common, cf. group 2; saltire still unfluted

– Rich.159 *obv.* i.m. low, one cusp double-punched, MARI·A·VM, *rev.* crown (t) as usual, G (pl. 15, 147); *obv.* = 1914 Ayr and 1957.368 ex Lockett (**pl. 15, 146**), latter *rev.* crown (p); M like IIa

– Murray sale 1987, 241 ill., M like IIc–IV, VM G

Type C

Obv. thistle 'C', dicing may be widely spaced, crown's arch lop-sided, central spike tall (fig. 4.2); new letters with reversed I, successive forms of R and M (fig. 5), also lis i.m.; cinquefoil as A–B; saltire fluted as group 3

Ca. full rear-serif R, *rev.* lis has narrow dart-shaped foot

(i) complete M (right fork higher than left)

– Rich.160 *obv.* open dicing with triangular area (**pl. 15, 148**) = 1926.84 RSM, oblique-top A; AS 1061 lis i.m. clear

(ii) M breaking, then loses right serif

– a(i)/a(ii) B.4 *obv.* dicing closer, *rev.* M half-serif

– a(ii)/a(i) NM unnumb. no prov. *rev.* **pl. 15, 149**

– 1957.369 ex Lockett, *obv.* = B.3 fig. 863, M right serif lost, *rev.* M half-serif

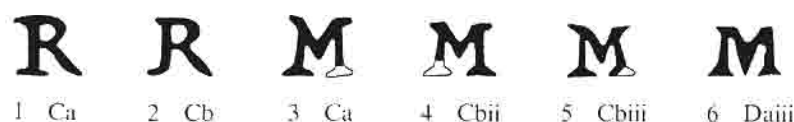


FIG. 5 Distinctive and damaged letters on Mary half-bawbees.

Cb, half-serif on R rear foot

(i) M as Ca(ii)

- b(i)/a(ii) B.3bis fig. 863 *rev.* only, *obv.* M serif lost (**pl. 15, 150**)
- a(ii)/b(i) Fitzwilliam Mus. *obv.* = B.3
- HS 1063 M right serif lost both sides

(ii) new M (forks level), left serif usually appears broken – see fig. 5; lis i.m. as Ca

- a(ii)/b(ii) B.3 *obv.* fig. 863
- b(ii)/b(i) HS 1062 Ms with opposite legs broken
- 1914 Ayr (**pl. 15, 151–2**), *obv.* = 1963.614 Noranside and BM E2596 M complete and defective variously on each, *revs.* all different but M complete; cf. AS 1060 and Rich.164

(iii) 'third' M (left fork higher than right), *rev.* lis i.m. wider foot

- b(ii)/b(iii) St coll.
- b(iii)/b(ii) HS 1064
- Rich.162 (**pl. 15, 153–4**) M complete both sides, nick in D as in part b(ii); St coll. *obv.* 'triangular dicing' (**pl. 15, 155**)

Type D

Obv. thistle 'D', finer meshed, *rev.* saltire fluted

Da, *obv.* crown heavier, double-line hoop (fig. 4.3)

(i) letters and cinquefoil as Cb(iii)

- 1957.370 *ex* Lockett, no room for arch, nick in D enlarged

(ii) *obv.* as (i), *rev.* larger cinquefoil begins, letters and inner circles may be blurred

- St coll. *obv.* crown no arch, M complete, D large gap, bar inside O, A with nicked apex (**pl. 15, 156–7**); Rich.163 fig. 118 *obv.* M defective right serif, *rev.* d.s.

(iii) new letters, medium-sized, include long-centred M (fig. 5.6)

- a(iii)/a(ii) BM 1914, 12–6, 58 (Ayr) *obv.* crown no arch, no inner circle, cf. class VIIb
- St coll. *obv.* faint inner circle virtually unbeaded, *rev.* small cinquefoil, exceptionally? (**pl. 15, 159**)

Db, *obv.* very poor crown (fig. 4.4), marginal circles fine blurred beading, *obv.* and *rev.* very small letters, usually blurred and M broken right

- Db/a(ii) BM 1914 12–6, 60 (Ayr) *obv.* letters all crisp, only stops 'DG', *rev.* large letter, wide \mathcal{N} cf. class VIc
- Db/a(ii) NM unnumbered, no prov., *obv.* **pl. 15, 160** = 1950.561 and another (two Dc *revs.*), *rev.* M as Rich.163, large cinquefoil (**pl. 15, 158**)
- St coll. small letters both sides, *rev.* \mathcal{N} still reversed

Dc, *obv.* i.m. cross-potent, mainly new letters, like Da(ii) but slightly larger, include N, *rev.* i.m. cinquefoil instead of lis, saltire still fluted (Murray, *BNJ* 37 1968)

Dh/De 1950.561 found Dornoch, *rev.* strongly beaded inner circle, same small D with defective serif as class VIIIa (pl. 15, 162, see 125)

De/a(ii) St coll. *obv.* no inner circle, defective D, error in centre RM for MR (pl. 15, 161)

De/De Rich.161 clearer letters include large D, finely beaded inner circles, *rev.* cinquefoils widely 'pierced' (pl. 15, 163–4, also *Scot. Coinage* pl. xi, 159 – not BM, and *BNJ* 37 (1968) pl. xi, 31–2)

Key to the plates

Plate 12

A B C D E F G

1. Jai
2. Jai
3. Jai/(b)
4. Jai
5. Jaii
6. Jb
7. Jb
8. Jb
9. Jc/(a)
10. J(c)/a
11. Jc
12. Jc
13. Jc
14. Jc
15. Jc
16. Jdi
17. Jdi
18. Jdi
19. Jdi
20. Jdi
21. Jdi
22. Jdii
23. Jdii
24. Jdii
25. Jdii
26. Jdii
27. Jdii
28. Jdii
29. Jdii
30. Jc
31. lai
32. lai
33. laiii/bi
34. lbi
35. l(a)/bi
36. lbi

Plate 13

37. lbi
38. lsii
39. lsii
40. lsiii
41. lsiv/(i-)
42. ls(iii)/iv
43. lsv
44. ls(iii)/v

45. lbiii
47. lci
48. lci
49. Hai
50. Hai
51. Haii
52. Haii
53. Hlb
54. Hlb
55. Hlc
56. Hlc
57. Hlc
58. Hla
59. Hlb
60. Hlc
61. Hld
62. Hld
63. IVa
64. IVa
65. IVb
66. Vai
67. (IVb)/Va
68. Vai/(bi)
69. Vaii
70. Vaii
71. Vbi
72. Vbi
73. Vcu
74. Vcu
75. Vciv
76. Vciii–iv
77. Vdi
78. Vdi

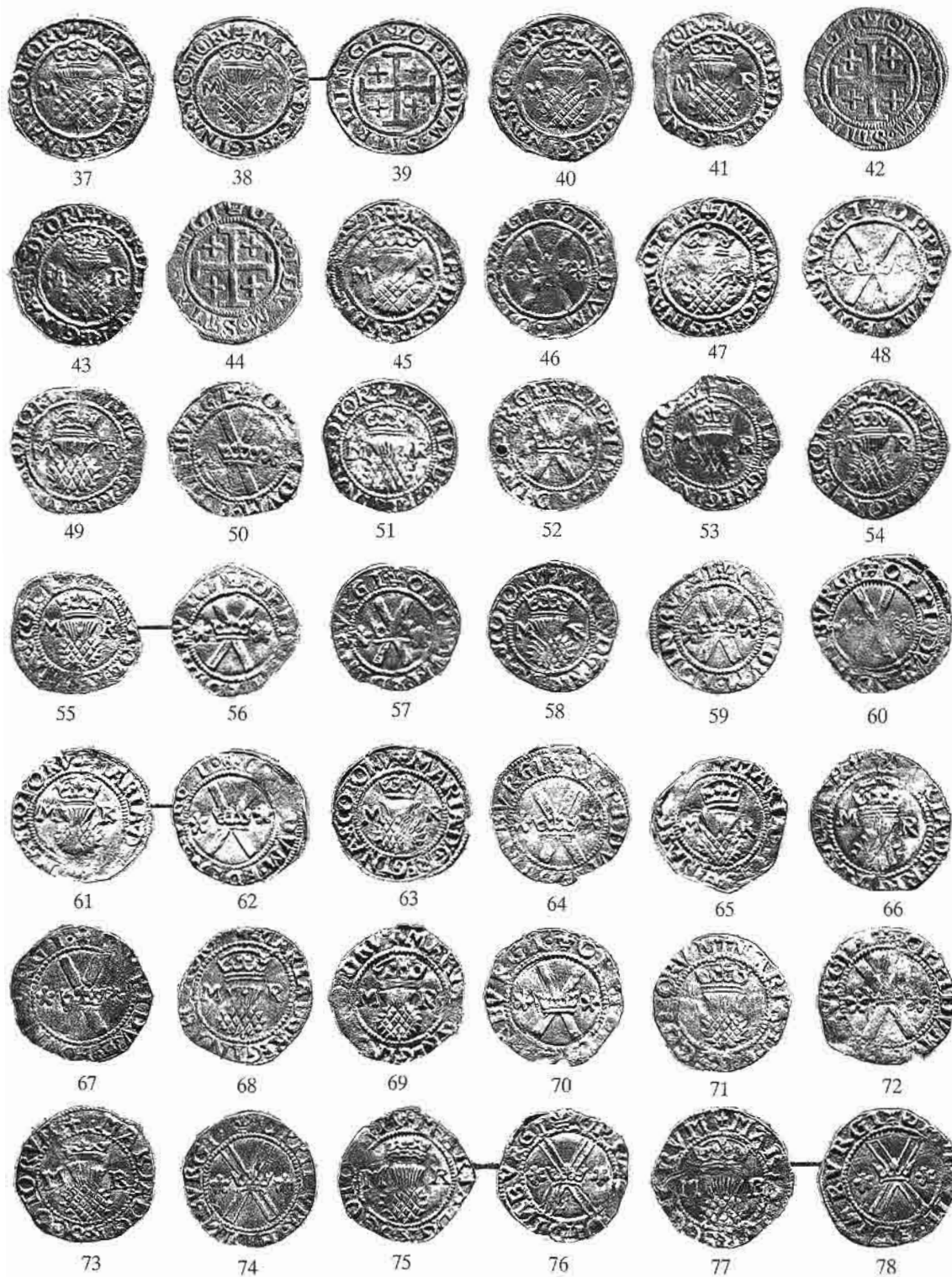
Plate 14

79. Vdii
80. Vdii
81. VIai
82. VIai
83. VIaii
84. VIaii
85. VIaiii
86. VIaiv
87. VIaiv
88. VIbi
89. VIbii
90. VIbii
91. VIbiii
92. VIbiii

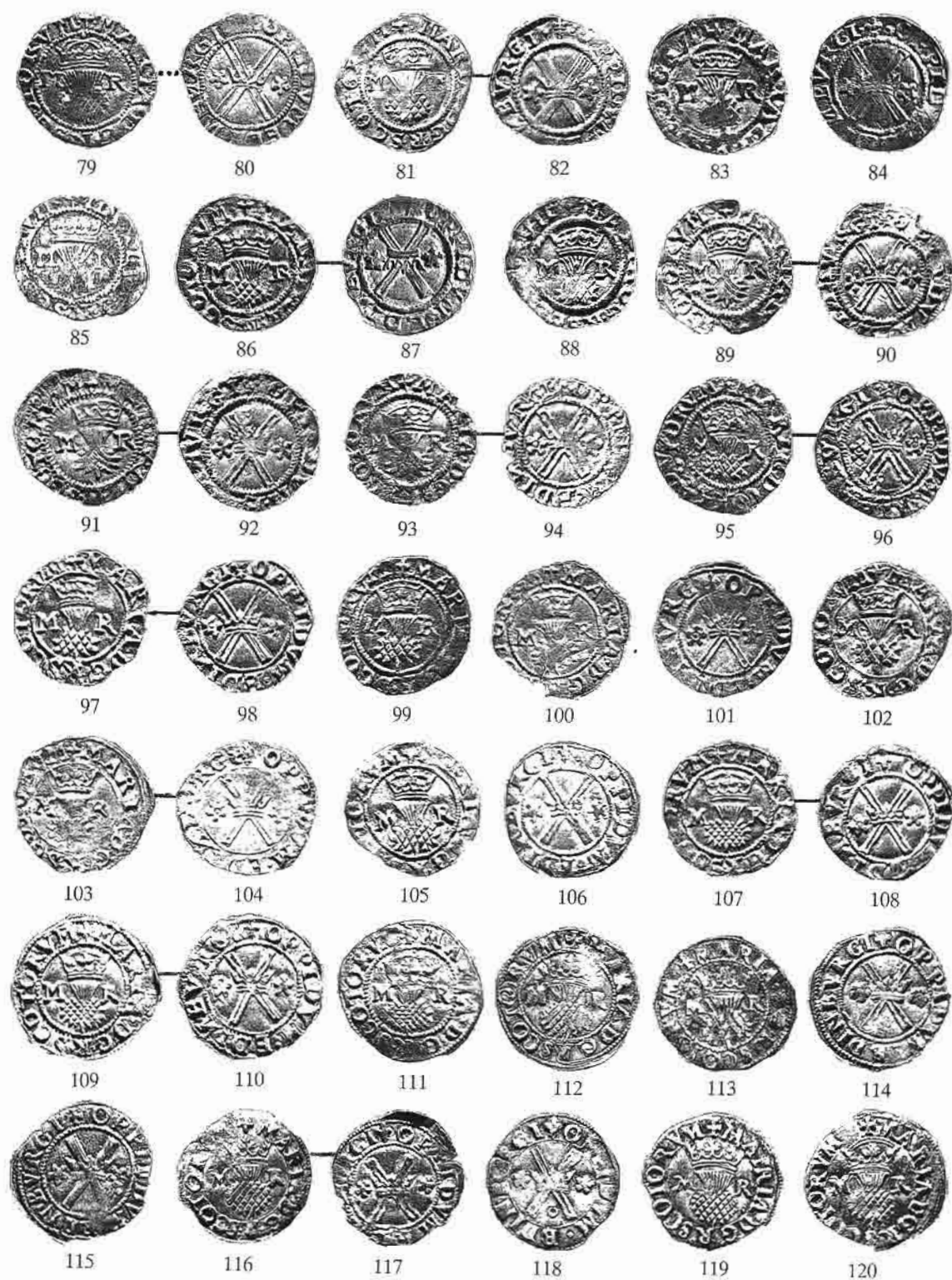
93.	VIbiv	128.	JA
94.	VIbiv	129.	JA
95.	VIbv	130.	JA
96.	VIbv	131.	JA
97.	VIci	132.	JA
98.	VIci	132.	JB
99.	IVcii	133.	JB
100.	VIcii	134.	JB
101.	VIcii	135, 135a, 136 and 136a.	JQ
102.	VIciii	137.	Aa
103.	VIciii	138.	Aa
104.	VIviii	139.	Abi
105.	VIId	140.	Abi
106.	VIId	141.	Abi
107.	VIIai	142.	Abii
108.	VIIai	143.	Abii
109.	VIIaai	144.	Abiii
110.	VIIaai	145.	Abiii
111.	VIIbi	146.	B
112.	Viihi/(aii)	147.	B
113.	Viihi/(aii)	148.	Cai
114.	VIIbi	149.	C(aii)/ai
115.	VIIbii	150.	Cbi/(aii)
116.	VIIbiii	151.	Cbii
117.	VIIbiii	152.	Cbii
118.	VIIbiii	153.	Cbiii
119.	VIIbiv	154.	Cbiii
120.	VIIbv	155.	Cbiii
Plate 15		156.	Daii
121.	VIIbv	157.	Daii
122.	VIIIa	158.	D(b)/aii
123.	VIIIa	159.	Daii
124.	VIIIbii	160.	Db/(aii)
125.	VIIIbiii	161.	Dc/(aii)
126.	VIIIbiii	162.	D(b)/c
127.	JA	163.	Dc
		164.	Dc



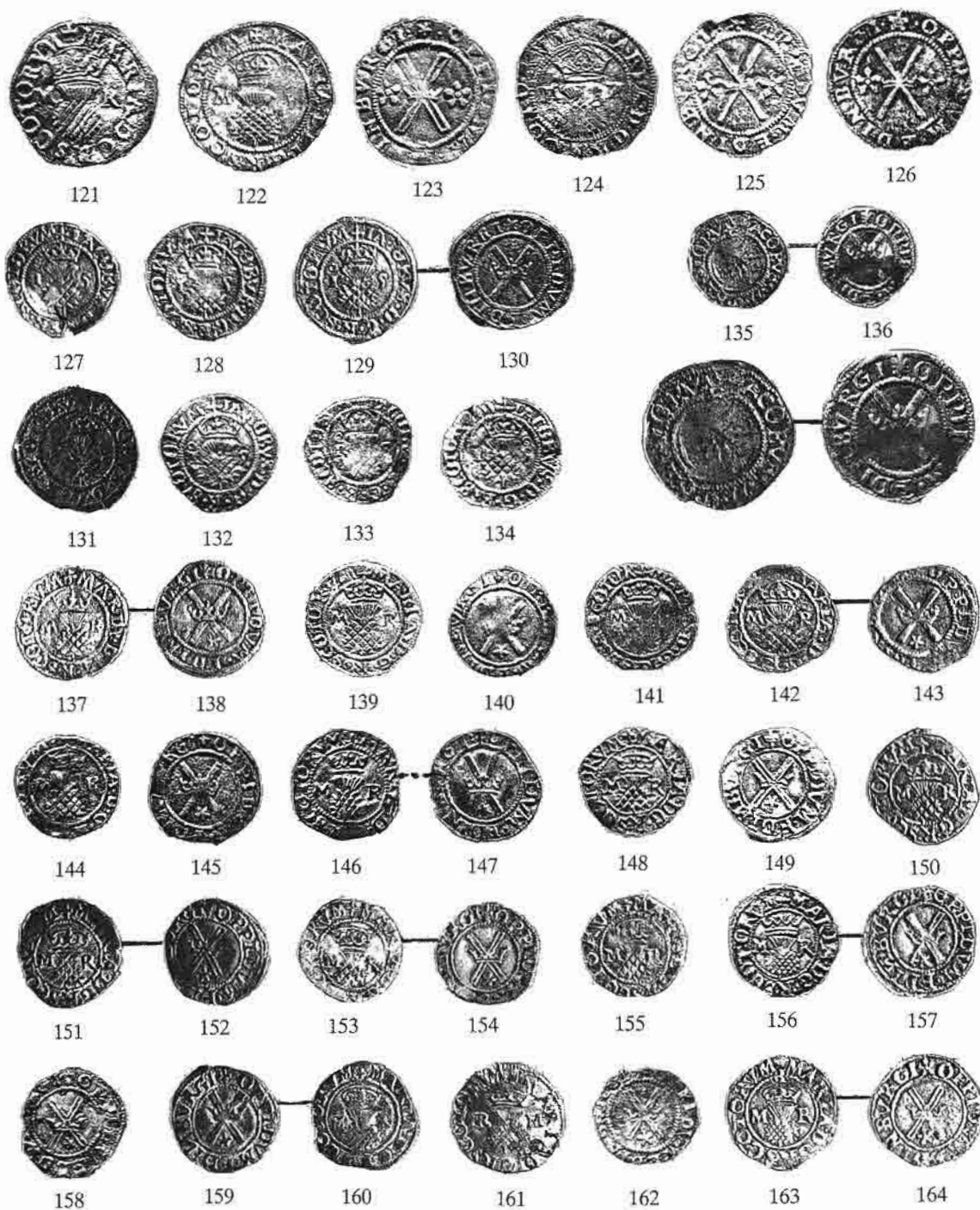
STEVENSON: BAWBEES OF JAMES V AND MARY (1)



STEVENSON: BAWBEES OF JAMES V AND MARY (2)



STEVENSON: BAWBEES OF JAMES V AND MARY (3)



STEVENSON: BAWBEES OF JAMES V AND MARY (4)