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SOME SCOTTISH ‘BLACK MONEY’ AND ITS IMITATIONS FOUND IN THE NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

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Introduction

In an appendix to an article on the typology of the Scottish ‘Crux Pellit’ coinage, published in this Journal in 2008, one of us (NH) discussed a small hoard of Scottish ‘black money’ found in the Netherlands and subsequently acquired by the National Museum of Scotland. The conclusion was that it had probably been lost by a Scot travelling abroad, as these coins would have had no purchasing power outside Scotland. Subsequent correspondence with HVC served to indicate that this assumption was not necessarily correct, and that Scottish copper coins of the later fifteenth century are found sufficiently frequently in both the Netherlands and Belgium to suggest that they may indeed have had some monetary function in those countries. Imitations of ‘Crux Pellit’ coins have been frequent finds in various regions of continental Europe, and these were discussed most recently in another paper published in this Journal in 2006. It is now becoming clear that genuine Scottish coins are also being found more frequently than previously thought, and these finds include farthings as well as ‘Crux Pellit’ coins. This paper is intended to investigate this phenomenon further by examining groups of finds from several locations. These sites are ordered below according to the principalities which made up the Burgundian state in the Netherlands of the 1460s and 1470s.

The Scottish ‘Crux Pellit’ coinage: a brief introduction

The copper coins now described as ‘Crux Pellit’ issues are those which in previous times were known first as ‘Cros(s)raguel pennies’ and subsequently as ‘Bishop Kennedy pennies’. In a paper published in 1977, Mrs Joan Murray convincingly connected these coins with references in documents of the later fifteenth century to ‘threepenny pennies’ or ‘Cochrane’s placks’, concluding that they had formed part of the regal coinage and were not the product of an ecclesiastical mint.

The most recent study of these coins – a typological analysis covering all aspects of the design, lettering and ornamentation to be found on over 300 recorded specimens – led to a suggestion that the coins were not struck at the regal mint, but at a semi-official workshop under the supervision of Cochrane, Earl of Mar. That unfortunate courtier was hanged from the bridge at Lauder in 1482 at the instigation of Scottish nobles, at the same time as the arrest of the king himself and the ‘crying down of the black money’, which Mrs Murray interpreted as a probable drastic devaluation of the ‘Crux Pellit’ coins, possibly to a farthing.

Contemporary documents make it clear that the copper coinage was extremely unpopular in Scotland, with records of legal proceedings against people who had refused to accept it in payment. Not surprisingly, therefore, there is no evidence to suggest that ‘Crux Pellit’ coins were counterfeited in Scotland. Only one example of a contemporary copy has been recorded as a Scottish find, and it is reasonable to assume that the large numbers of counterfeits which have been found in various parts of Europe were struck at mints on the continent.

Acknowledgements

We are very grateful to Professor Peter Spufford for providing much of the information that we have included about the various towns and their local industries in the later fifteenth century. We wish to thank Patrick Pasmans for assistance with photography, and all those who have given permission for coins in their collections to be studied.

1 Holmes 2008a, 158–9.
2 Anderson 2006.
3 Murray 1977, 121.
4 Holmes 2008a, 156–7.
The Scottish copper farthing coinage

Five main varieties of farthing have been identified, all of which are generally accepted to have formed part of the regal coinage, although three have in the past been termed ‘ecclesiastical’ or ‘Cros(s)raguel’ farthings. The first issue, possibly struck in 1465–6, bears a crown on the obverse and, on the reverse, a saltire flanked by two small saltires. The second issue, possibly dating from just a year or so later, has the letters IR, crowned, on the obverse, and on the reverse a crown superimposed on a saltire, with small saltires in the side and lower angles. The same obverse design appears on the first of the ‘ecclesiastical’ types, but the reverse bears a cross with crowns and mullets in alternate angles. Types II and III, however, bear the distinctive obverse design of a large trefoil with a mullet in the centre and a fleur-de-lis on each leaf. On the reverse is a cross with five- or six-pointed mullets in the angles. The two types are distinguished only by the form of the reverse legend: MONE PAUP or MO PAUPER (money of the poor). All these ‘ecclesiastical’ issues may date from the 1470s.

It is not always easy to establish which farthings are genuine and which are imitations. At one extreme are official strikings with literate inscriptions and fairly skilfully cut dies, and at the other are very crude imitations on angular flans, frequently of brass, but in between these are some coins which may be either official strikings from poorly manufactured dies or copies made by relatively skilful counterfeitters.

Because of the poor condition of most recorded specimens it has not been possible to undertake any serious study of the detailed typology of the various ‘black farthing’ series, but despite the historically recorded unpopularity of these very low value coins in Scotland, they appear to have been extensively copied. Many of the farthings from the assemblage found at

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5 For a discussion of the farthing coinages, see Holmes 1998, 22–5.
6 Murray 1977, 120.
Cros(s)raguel Abbey in Ayrshire in 1919 were crude strikings in brass, and other examples of counterfeits have been found more recently. Many of the poorly produced copper specimens which have been found in Scotland may therefore be either imitations or genuine issues produced at a mint where little effort was put into the manufacture of dies or the striking of coins. This should be borne in mind when attempting to assess how many of the finds from other countries may be regarded as local imitations rather than imports.

Arnemuiden, County of Zeeland, now Netherlands

Arnemuiden lies just to the east of Middelburg, on the Isle of Walcheren (Figs 1 and 2). Old Arnemuiden was destroyed by floods in 1440, and the new Arnemuiden was not founded until 1462. It then served until the very end of the sixteenth century as an important outer harbour for larger cities such as Antwerp and Middelburg (Fig. 3), but did not receive even limited municipal privileges until 1574. Its function as a port came slowly to an end when the river Arne choked up with sand, and from 1600 only smaller ships could tie up in the harbour. Eventually the inhabitants earned a living mainly from fishing and salt production.

In preparation for the construction of a shopping centre and apartments in Clasina Street, Arnemuiden, in 2009, ArcheoMedia carried out a trial excavation in 2004. During this excavation remains of the old harbour were found, and also foundations of sixteenth-century merchant houses build on a dike frame. As a result of these discoveries, an excavation was carried out by ADC ArcheoProjecten in the autumn of 2008 and spring of 2009.

Fig. 2. Map of the Isle of Walcheren, dated 1664, showing location of Arnemuiden to the east of Middelburg. (Reproduced by courtesy of Collectie het Scheepvaartmuseum Amsterdam.)

7 Macdonald 1919.
8 Some were published by Holmes 2008b.
The site lies at the edge of the oldest core of Arnemuiden, where dike and harbour converge. During the excavations remains were found of the wooden construction of the former quay. In addition, some remains of the former harbour infrastructure were mapped. At the end of the excavation amateur archaeologists were able to recover a quantity of metal objects, including a significant number of coins. These coins are in several private collections so the exact number cannot be ascertained. In cooperation with the Walcheren Archaeological Service and the Museum of Arnemuiden the amateur archaeologists gathered these finds from Clasina Street in an illustrated catalogue in which more than 200 coins are shown.

The majority of these coins date from the fifteenth century, and most of them are small change made from brass or copper. There are also some silver coins and two of gold: an English angel of Edward IV’s second reign (1471–1483) and an écu d’or of Charles VI of France (1380–1422). Most of these fifteenth-century coins were struck during the reign of Philip the Good of Burgundy (1419–1467) or are imitations manufactured in the region of the Meuse. Among these imitations new types were found for Gerdingen and Rummen, and an unknown mite for Philip the Good. There are also some French coins, such as the double tournois, denier tournois and maille or obole tournois, and imitations of them struck in Gerdingen. Around this time Henry the Navigator, brother of the Portuguese king, was placing Portugal on the nautical map, and Portuguese ceitils and a single reaal were also found in this coin assemblage. The study of these coins is still incomplete owing to the poor quality of some of them, a lack of clear legends, wear, and the presence of new types among the imita-

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9 http://harrievanhelden.nl/2/stadsplattegronden/details/119510/stadsplattegronden/arnemuiden-guicciardini.html
10 Janson 2012.
11 Van Caelenberghe 2012.
tions. The assemblage also included nineteen examples of Scottish copper coins or imitations of these, five being of ‘Crux Pellit’ type and fourteen farthings, these representing just a small percentage of the total number of finds.

The Scottish coins and imitations from Arnemuiden

Of the five larger size coins, two are genuine Scottish issues of the ‘Crux Pellit’ coinage (catalogue nos. 1–2). Both are in poor condition, and the second is badly mis-struck, but they can be ascribed to types IL(i) and IIR in the most recent classification. The other three coins are imitations of types apparently not previously recorded (nos. 3–5). They are all struck on irregularly-shaped flans made of a yellowish brass alloy and have the obverse design of an orb, as on the ‘Crux Pellit’ coins, although this is unclear on no. 4, which is poorly struck. The reverses all bear a cross within a four-arc tressure, but the crosses have arms of equal lengths, unlike those on Scottish coins. The cross on coin 3 is pattee, whereas those on 4 and 5 have arms with terminals which are slightly fleury. The source of these crude imitations is unknown, but it seems clear that the basic inspiration for their design was derived from ‘Crux Pellit’ coins.

Of the fourteen farthings in this assemblage, eleven are examples of the first issue of James III or imitations of this type, possibly minted in 1465–6. Two may be identified without serious doubt as official Scottish issues (catalogue nos. 6–7). Both have partially legible and literate inscriptions, despite being in a poor state of preservation, and the workmanship is as good as any normally displayed on coins of this type. Coins 8 and 9 are more difficult to assess, as none of the lettering in the inscriptions is discernible, but the style of the designs would not be out of place on genuine issues. Coin 10, although of reasonable style, is probably an imitation, as the legends are completely blundered and senseless sequences of letters. Likewise, coins 11 and 12 are more likely to be imitations than genuine issues, although the legends are illegible. The former is made of brass, as can be seen by the yellow colouring visible on the high points of the design, and the latter has a crown of fairly crude style. Coin 13 has a fluted saltire on the reverse – a feature not found on genuine coins – so may also be regarded as an imitation. Coins 14–16 are very obvious copies, with angular brass flans and struck from poorly engraved dies.

Coin 17 is an example of the second farthing issue (?1466–7), and is probably an official issue, as the first two letters of the obverse legend (IA) are present. Coins 18 and 19 belong to the second or third of the types traditionally referred to as ‘ecclesiastical issues’ owing to the use of the words MONE PAVP or MO PAVPER (money of the poor) in the reverse legend. Both are badly corroded, but may be official strikings. They belong probably to the 1470s.

Vlissingen, County of Zeeland, now Netherlands

Two corroded Scottish ‘Crux Pellit’ coins (types IIIL and uncertain), and one farthing of ‘ecclesiastical’ type III have been found here.

Zierikzee, County of Zeeland, now Netherlands

One Scottish ‘Crux Pellit’ (type IIIL) and one farthing (‘ecclesiastical’ type I) have been found here.

Westenschouwen, County of Zeeland, now Netherlands

Five Scottish farthings were found on the site of a flooded village. Four are of ‘ecclesiastical’ types II or III, the other uncertain owing to corrosion.

12 Holmes 2008a.
Goes, County of Zeeland, now Netherlands

Goes was a slightly larger town than Arnemuiden, and was provided with defensive walls at the beginning of the fifteenth century (for location see Fig. 1). One Scottish ‘Crux Pellit’ coin was found during sewage works in the city centre.

Hulst, County of Flanders, now Netherlands

In the later fifteenth century Hulst was still a port lying on an inlet on the south side of the Schelde estuary, in which the islands of Zeeland were to be found (for location see Fig. 1). A Scottish ‘Crux Pellit’ (type IL) and two imitations were found in the polders, on the sites of three different former farms. One of the imitations was found on a site where the earliest other coin found is a korte of Charles V, dated to around 1550. This may suggest that the ‘Crux Pellit’ imitations remained in circulation for a substantial period. A fragment of an English sixpence of Elizabeth I was found on the same site as the type IL and duïten from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were recovered from both this site and that where the second imitation was found, but no stratigraphical evidence is available.

Bergen op Zoom, Duchy of Brabant, now Netherlands

This town was the location of one of the two most important fairs in NW Europe in the later fifteenth century (for location see Fig. 1). One Scottish ‘Crux Pellit’, of transitional type I–II, was found in the outskirts of the town, in an area known as ‘Benedenbaantje’ which was populated during the Middle Ages.

This is an important coin from the point of view of the classification of the ‘Crux Pellit’ series. Six type I–II transitional coins were identified by Holmes, each incorporating aspects of both types, but none of them identical to any of the others. This suggested that there was a considerable overlap between the two types, at least in terms of the cutting of the dies. This coin from Bergen op Zoom is similar to nos. 95 and 96 in the Holmes catalogue, in having an obverse orb as type IR, but a reverse with annulet stops. Like no. 95, this coin has an initial cross on the reverse made up of five annulets, but both dies are different from those used for either of the previously recorded hybrids. This coin also has annulet stops on the obverse.

Oudenaarde, County of Flanders, now Belgium

Oudenaarde is situated on the banks of the River Schelde in East Flanders (Flemish Ardennes), to the SSW of Ghent (Figs. 1 and 4). It was a centre for the manufacture of both woollen and linen cloth and of tapestries, with the same group of entrepreneurs involved in all three occupations. By the late fifteenth century, however, tapestry manufacture was the most important. At this time, however, it was primarily a centre of an agricultural area producing flax amongst other crops, and this was spun in the countryside where it was grown. Dyestuffs including madder and woad were also produced.

In May 2008 an excavation for sewer construction took place at St-Walburga Street, beside the St-Walburga church (Fig. 5). The soil which was removed was then dumped at the new industrial estate beside the Schelde, and 148 coins and three jetons were subsequently recovered from this deposit. The coins came from the period from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries, but most of them belonged to the fifteenth and sixteenth. Included were twelve examples of ‘Crux Pellit’ coins and their imitations.

13 Holmes 2008a, 151–2, 164.
14 The coins were fully published by Beeckmans et al. 2011, and we are grateful to the authors of this paper for allowing us to republish them here.
Fig. 4. Map of Oudenaarde c.1558 by Jacob Van Deventer. (Bibliothèque royale de Belgique; source: Wikipedia).

Fig. 5. Location of 2008 excavation in Oudenaarde (from Beeckmans et al 2011).
Geraardsbergen, County of Flanders, now Belgium

Geraardsbergen is situated in the southern part of East Flanders (Flemish Ardennes), some 12½ miles SW of Aalst (see Fig. 1). Its primary activities in the medieval period were the same as those of Oudenaarde (see above).

Six examples of continental ‘Crux Pellit’ imitations have been recovered from various sites within the town. One of these coins (no. 6) is of particular interest in that the obverse legend comprises an abbreviated form of SIT NOMEN DOMINI BENEDICTUM. Seven imitations with this obverse legend were among a large number of both Scottish and imitation ‘Crux Pellit’ coins found in the church of San Esteban in Oiartzun, Spain, and this find from Geraardsbergen confirms that this variant is not exclusively confined to that part of Europe.

Brugge, County of Flanders, now Belgium

A ‘Crux Pellit’ imitation was found during the excavation of an Augustinian monastery.

Dendermonde, County of Flanders, now Belgium

Dendermonde belongs to the same group of towns as Oudenaarde and Geraardsbergen (for location see Fig. 1). It was the key toll station on the Schelde, so all goods going downstream had to pass through it.

An imitation ‘Crux Pellit’ was found in the grounds of the former Zwijveke convent, located on the banks of the river Dender, which merges with the Schelde at Dendermonde.

Zonnebeke, County of Flanders, now Belgium

Zonnebeke is situated towards the south-west of Flanders (see Fig. 1). During excavations in 1991 on the site of a former abbey of the Augustinian order, fifty-one numismatic items were recovered. Thirty-three were identified by R. Van Laere, and with exception of a coin from Zeeland (Netherlands) he considered the totality of the coin assemblage to be a chronological and geographical unit. Unfortunately the numismatic report was not included in the publication, but the assemblage included two Scottish Crux Pellit coins (type IIIL) and four imitations.

Diest, Duchy of Brabant, now Belgium

Diest was part of the northern Brabant group of small towns and villages which in the 1460s and 1470s were beginning to make new light draperies using Spanish and Scottish wool, as well as English (for location see Fig. 1).

A ‘Crux Pellit’, probably an imitation, was found in a field on the outskirts of the town, thought to have been an old rubbish dump.

Mechelen/Malines, now in Belgium

Mechelen is situated on the banks of the River Dijle, about half-way between Antwerp, to the north, and Brussels, to the south (Fig. 1). Although entirely surrounded by the Duchy of Brabant, it was a tiny principality of its own, and so a separate part of the Burgundian state. Since it was neither in Brabant nor in Flanders, it was chosen to house centralized legal and financial institutions in the second half of the fifteenth century and in the sixteenth. Mechelen

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15 The coins were fully published by Beeckmans 2004, and we are grateful to the author of this paper for allowing us to republish them here.
17 Dewilde 1991.
had had a woollen industry before the middle of the fourteenth century, and had a growing metal industry by the 1460s and 1470s.

In 1973 the river at Mechelen was dredged, and the mud was dumped in a nearby forest. Numerous people were subsequently involved in searching this deposit for artefacts, and some 10,000 coins in all were recovered by just three of these finders, who are known to HVC. Among these were thirteen examples of Scottish ‘Crux Pellit’ coins and imitations of these. These clearly form only a tiny proportion of the total, and we have no idea whether there were other similar finds, but their presence serves as another small piece in the overall picture of the distribution of these coins in the Low Countries. Five (or just possibly six) of the coins are official Scottish issues, the rest being imitations, some with IACOBVS in the obverse legend, and others with KAROLVS.

Veurne, County of Flanders, now in Belgium, on the French border

Veurne is situated in West Flanders, near the border with France and just NE of Dunkirk (Fig. 1), at the junction of four canals. In the mid fifteenth century, however, the border lay well to the south, and towns on the Somme were part of the Netherlands until 1477. Because of extensive poldering, Veurne as a port had by the 1460s and 1470s to be linked to the sea by a canal.

Seven ‘Crux Pellit’ type coins have been found in a field just outside the town, all unfortunately in poor condition.

Discussion

Historical background

It has generally been agreed that the mechanism for the arrival of ‘Crux Pellit’ coins in the Low Countries from Scotland must have been provided by the wool trade, which would have involved frequent visits by Scots merchants and seamen, no doubt carrying purses containing Scottish small change. However, this may be an over-simplistic explanation. The presence of these coins also has also a political basis, dating from the time of Henry II of Borselen (1404–1474). He was lord of Veere and Zandenburg, Vlissingen, Westkapelle, Domburg, Brouwershaven and Count of Grandpré. Philip the Good became Count of Holland and Zeeland in 1433, but he had to take the power of Henry II into consideration. The latter had a strong position on Walcheren, he possessed a merchant fleet and waged his own piracy wars. His reputation extended far beyond Zeeland. In 1444 he arranged a marriage between his son, Wolfert VI of Borselen, and the Scottish Princess Mary Stuart, daughter of King James I. This marriage provided a powerful impetus for Scottish merchants towards a closer system of the cooperation and trading contracts between Veere and Scotland that had existed since the fourteenth century.

In 1541 Wolfert’s great-grandson, Maximilian of Burgundy, confirmed the staple contract with the Scottish merchants. Veere was the only city in the Netherlands with the right to supply, store and trade Scottish wool. In exchange, the Scottish merchants in Veere had several privileges, such as an administration of justice, a private chapel in the Cathedral and beautiful houses. From Veere the Scottish wool was transported further to the north of the Netherlands, and to Flanders and Brabant. With short interruptions Veere remained the staple place of Scottish wool until the French period.

In 1475 Anselme Adornes (originally from Genoa) was mayor of Bruges. He played a key role in major diplomatic relations with Scotland. After the Scottish Parliament had prohibited trading with Flanders in 1467, he travelled to Scotland on a diplomatic mission. Thanks to successful negotiations the Scottish merchants returned to Bruges in the spring of 1470.

18 See Blom et al. 2009, 196; De Limburg-Stirum 1881.
‘Crux Pellit’ coins

Any study of ‘Crux Pellit’ coins found in the Low Countries must take as its starting point an article by Murray and Van Nerom.19 This paper included an illustrated catalogue of twenty-six Scottish and imitation coins at that time held in Belgian collections. Of these, fifteen had known provenances (East Dunkirk, the Abbaye Ter Duinen at Koksijde, the Panne, Adinkerke, Damme and Deinze), four of these being Scottish issues and the rest imitations.

The present study includes twenty-five Scottish issues, thirty direct imitations of ‘Crux Pellit’ type and five coins which may belong to either category. Ignoring the latter, therefore, published finds from the Low Countries number twenty-nine Scottish and forty-one imitations – a ratio of approximately 40%:60%. Although the actual numbers are still fairly small, this proportion, together with the wide geographical spread of find-spots, would seem to indicate that Scottish issues, as well as the continental imitations, were circulating as currency in this area and that their presence cannot be explained simply as losses by Scots visiting the area. Having said this, it is important to recognise that ‘Crux Pellit’ coins, both Scottish issues and imitations, make up only a very small proportion of coins recovered in recent years. The figure of thirteen examples out of some ten thousand coins from Mechelen may serve to emphasise this. On the other hand, the very fact that people took the trouble to strike imitations indicates that the coins were regarded as an important part of the circulating currency, so perhaps they filled a gap in the currency system which was not occupied by base metal denominations minted closer to home.

The ‘black money’ was hugely unpopular in Scotland, with many examples recorded of people being prosecuted for refusing to accept these coins in payment, and if it became known that the Flemish and others on the continent were willing to absorb large quantities of them and exchange them for precious metal coins which could be ‘recycled’ when they got home. This process may well have been accelerated as a result of the ‘crying down’/devaluation of the ‘Crux Pellit’ coins in 1482. Scots may have found themselves able to offset this to some extent by spending them on the continent. (It has been argued elsewhere that a shortage of low-denomination Castilian coins in circulation may account for the various finds of ‘Crux Pellit’ coins in Catalonia, the Basque country and Navarre.20)

It is noteworthy that all the imitations seem to be copies of Scottish type III, with a rosette on the centre of the orb on the obverse. Moreover, of the twenty-nine recorded finds of Scottish issues, nineteen are of this type, with five being of type I, three of type II, one I–II transitional and one uncertain. This is not particularly surprising, as type III appears to have been the largest issue anyway (see the corpus in Holmes 2008a), but it also seems to have been the latest, and the fact that no imitations are known of the earlier types may suggest that minting of them did not commence until the type III originals had arrived in some numbers. We do not know who was responsible for striking them, but in the light of the presence of many Meuse imitations among other finds, it is possible that little principalities with mint rights also struck the ‘Crux Pellit’ imitations. The presence of an imitation at Hulst, on a site which has produced no other coins earlier than about 1550, may suggest that the ‘Crux Pellit’ imitations circulated for some decades after the originals ceased to have any part in the currency of Scotland.

There remains the puzzle presented by the three coins from Arnemuiden which combine an obverse design which appears to have been copied from that of ‘Crux Pellit’ coins with a reverse which has a cross with arms of equal lengths, either pattee or fleury, within a four-arc tressure. It is unfortunate that there is no legible inscription on these coins to assist in establishing their source, but they are not the only issue which is clearly derived from ‘Crux Pellit’ originals, but which displays substantial differences. Anderson illustrates a coin of Count Hug Roger III of Pallars (Catalonia) which has the ‘Crux Pellit’ reverse design on both sides.21

19 Murray and Van Nerom 1983.
20 Anderson 2006, 347.
21 Anderson 2006, 347–8 and Fig. 5.
Farthings

Whereas ‘Crux Pellit’ coins and their imitations are found across a wide area of the Low Countries, it is notable that finds of farthings have so far been recorded only from sites in the former County of Zeeland. Our catalogue here contains examples from Arnemuiden, Vlissingen, Westenschouwen and Zierikzee, and in Middelburg no less than thirty-eight examples have apparently been recovered from the spoil from excavations in the market-place surrounding the church.22

The presence of these Scottish farthings and their imitations has opened up an entirely new aspect to the study of Scottish ‘black money’ on the continent. The little hoard from Holland purchased by the National Museum of Scotland in 1993 (see above, p. 109) contained six farthings as well as ‘Crux Pellit’ coins, but its exact provenance was unknown, and the group from Arnemuiden represents the first opportunity for a properly recorded group of farthings to be studied in detail.

Unlike the hoard, the Arnemuiden group of fourteen coins contains imitations of farthings as well as official issues, but whereas imitations of ‘Crux Pellit’ coins are exclusively continental, those of farthings are known to have been struck and used in Scotland itself. It is therefore impossible to say with certainty whether they were also being struck on the continent. Since the Arnemuiden coins were individual finds rather than part of a single assemblage or hoard, it does seem likely that the farthing had been in circulation and were not simply the result of a single loss like the ‘Holland hoard’. This theory is supported by the discovery of farthings in various other towns in Zeeland. The absence of farthings from any of the other areas where ‘Crux Pellit’ coins have been found does tend to suggest that they were not in general use in the Low Countries in the same way as the larger coins. At present, therefore, the picture we have is one of localised use of these coins, at least for the most part in Zeeland, but it is clearly possible that further finds in the future will alter this image. As to the role which these coins may have played in local currency, it is possible that they may have had a tariffed at less than a mite. Interestingly, numerous clipped examples of local copper coins have been recovered from Westenschouwen, with others found at Arnemuiden and Goes, and it may be that these as well as the Scottish farthings were being accepted at such a valuation.

Whereas only two of the Arnemuiden farthings were of the ‘ecclesiastical’ types, perhaps dating from the 1470s, with all the others being either originals or copies of the two varieties which may date from the middle 1460s, the identifiable examples from Vlissingen, Westenschouwen and Zierikzee are all of one or other of the ‘ecclesiastical’ types. Five of the six farthings in the hoard were also of the ‘ecclesiastical’ types. It would appear, therefore, that no distinction was being made between the various Scottish issues in Zeeland.

General observations

The subject of Scottish ‘black money’, particularly ‘Crux Pellit’ coins and imitations, in continental Europe, is one which is clearly wide-ranging and constantly expanding. So far it seems to have been studied largely within regional boundaries, especially those of areas within the Low Countries and northern Spain, as well as, to a lesser extent, Poland.23 The fact that these unprepossessing coins, so unwelcome in their country of origin, were apparently used and copied over such a wide geographical area of the continent of Europe poses a great many questions. Anderson has started the ball rolling, but the number of recorded finds available was then, and still is, too small to allow conclusions to be drawn.24 Answers are unlikely to be provided until a full record of all continental finds can be compiled, and this would be a major project requiring much time and travel. This paper represents an attempt to shed more light on one particular piece of the jigsaw.

22 Information from Bouke Jan Van der Veen (pers. comm.).
23 Paszkiewicz 2000.
Arnemuiden

All the coins are illustrated on Pl. 1.

*Crux Pellits’ and imitations*

1. Type IIL(i)
   
   **Obv.** +I0cOBVS DEI GR[ ]; stops of uncertain form
   
   **Rev.** +cRVX PE[ ]; stops and ornaments of uncertain form
   
   17.0 mm; 0.73 g; 180°
   
   Corroded and pitted.

2. Type IIR
   
   **Obv.** [no initial cross] ¡AICOBVS¡DEIGR[ ]X
   
   **Rev.** legend illegible; design unclear

   18.5 mm; 0.76 g; die axis uncertain
   
   Reverse very poorly struck; moderate wear.

3. Unknown issue, with obv. imitating CP type
   
   **Obv.** no legend visible; orb tilted upwards and to left, with widely spaced bands
   
   **Rev.** traces of some lettering, but illegible; cross pattee within four-arc tressure

   16.5 × 16.0 mm; 0.69 g; die axis uncertain
   
   Struck unevenly and well off-centre, but not much evidence of wear.

4. Unknown issue, with obv. apparently imitating CP type
   
   **Obv.** only X legible in legend; design appears to include orb

   **Rev.** possibly OI legible in legend; cross ?fleury within four-arc tressure

   16.0 × ?? mm; 0.64 g; die axis uncertain
   
   Very poorly struck on angular flan.

5. Unknown issue, with obv. imitating CP type
   
   **Obv.** no legend visible; orb tilted upwards and to left, with widely spaced bands
   
   **Rev.** no legend visible; cross fleury within four-arc tressure

   Size and weight not supplied

   Very poorly struck on misshapen flan.

*Farthings and imitations*

6. First issue, probably an official striking
   
   **Obv.** possibly reading +IR[ ]; crowned TO

   **Rev.** possibly reading +VILLAXEGD[ ]BVR+

   12.5 × 13.0 mm; 0.25 g; 15°
   
   Corroded and pitted.

7. First issue, probably an official striking
   
   **Obv.** possibly reading +IR[ ]

   **Rev.** possibly reading [ ]

   13.5 mm; 0.48 g; 45°
   
   Corroded and pitted.

8. First issue, either official issue or imitation
   
   Legends illegible

   12.5 × 12.0 mm; 0.42 g; die axis uncertain
   
   Much corroded.

9. First issue, official issue or imitation
   
   Legends illegible

   11.0 × 12.0 mm; 0.32 g; die axis uncertain
   
   Much corroded.

10. First issue, probably an imitation, but of better style
    
    Both legends blundered

    13.0 × 13.5 mm; 0.43 g; die axis uncertain
    
    Moderate wear.

11. First issue, probably an imitation, but of better style
    
    Legends illegible

    13.0 × 13.5 mm; 0.46 g; 285°
    
    Worn and slightly corroded.

12. First issue, probably an imitation, but of better style
    
    Legends illegible

    11.0 × 10.0 mm; 0.32 g; die axis uncertain
    
    Angular flan; corroded.

13. First issue, imitation
    
    Legends illegible; fluted saltire on reverse

    12.5 × 12.0 mm; 0.30 g; die axis uncertain
    
    Much corroded.

14. First issue, imitation, poor style
    
    Legends illegible

    13.0 × 12.0 mm; 0.81 g; die axis uncertain
    
    Angular flan; poorly struck.

15. First issue, imitation, poor style
    
    Obverse legend apparently blundered, reverse legend illegible

    10.0 × 12.0 mm; weight not supplied; c.180°
    
    Angular flan; perforated; corroded, especially obverse.

16. First issue, imitation, poor style
    
    Obverse legend apparently blundered, reverse legend illegible

    11.0 × 14.0 mm; 0.26 g; die axis uncertain
    
    angular flan; uneven striking; corroded.

17. Second issue, probably official issue
    
    **Obv.** +IR[ ]; crowned IR

    **Rev.** legend illegible; saltire with crown above and small saltires to each side and below

    11.0 × 14.0 mm; 0.26 g; die axis uncertain
    
    Angular flan; corroded and oxidised.

18. ‘Ecclesiastical’ type 2 or 3
    
    12.0 mm; 0.46 g; die axis uncertain
    
    Corroded and oxidised.

19. ‘Ecclesiastical’ type 2 or 3
    
    11.0 × 10.0 mm; 0.23 g; die axis uncertain
    
    Highly corroded.

*Vlissingen (not illustrated)*

1. ‘Crux Pellit’ type III

   **Obv.** legend mostly illegible

   **Rev.** + CRVX PELLIT[ ]; crowned CR
   
   Stops uncertain; annulets in spandrels

   21.0 mm; 2.46 g; die axis uncertain
   
   Much corroded.
2. ‘Crux Pellit’, uncertain type
20.0 mm; 2.43 g; die axis uncertain
Highly corroded.

3. Farthing, ‘ecclesiastical’ type III
12.5 mm; 0.49 g; die axis uncertain
Much corroded.

Zierikzee (no. 1 on Pl. 4; no. 2 not illustrated)
1. ‘Crux Pellit’ type IIIL
Obv. [                    ] IûGR0ûRe
Rev. +cRVXûPeL [                       ]; trefoils on cusps, nothing in spandrels
18.0 mm; 1.3 g; die axis uncertain.

2. Farthing, ‘ecclesiastical’ type III
13.0 mm; 0.4 g; die axis uncertain
Much corroded.

Westenschouwen (not illustrated)
1–4. Farthings, ‘ecclesiastical’ type II or III
All fairly corroded.

5. Farthing, uncertain type
Highly corroded.

Goes (Pl. 4)
‘Crux Pellit’, Type III
Obv. legend illegible
Rev. +cRVX[ ] PeLLIT[ OIE[ ]GRI]; stops of uncertain form; trefoils on cusps; nothing in spandrels
19.0 mm; 2.27 g; 45°
Some surface pitting; mostly worn.

Hulst (Nos 1 and 2 on Pl. 4; no. 3 not illustrated)
1. ‘Crux Pellit’ type IIL(i)
Obv. +I0cOBVS De [                        ] ReXû
Rev. +šcRVXšPeLLITšOIešcRIš [                ]; stars on cusps; nothing in spandrels
21.0 mm; 1.09 g; 330°
Slightly double-struck; worn.

3. (141) Type III
Obv. legend illegible
Rev. legend illegible; ornaments uncertain
19.0 mm; 1.09 g; die axis uncertain
Worn and corroded.

4. (140) Type III or IIIR
Obv. [ ] I0cOBVSšDeIšgR0šReXš [                ]
Rev. +šcRVXšPeLLITšOIešcRIIš [                ]; stars on cusps; nothing in spandrels
19.5 mm; 1.96 g; 30°
Obv. Badly corroded; rev. slight wear.

Scottish or imitation issues
6. (142) Uncertain type
Obv. legend illegible; design indistinguishable
Rev. +šRVX[ ] PeLLIT[ OIE[ ]GRI]; ornaments uncertain
17.5 mm; 0.78 g; die axis uncertain
Much corroded.

7. (143) Uncertain type
Obv. legend illegible; design indistinguishable
Rev. legend illegible; ornaments uncertain
16.0 mm; 0.83 g; die axis uncertain
Much corroded.

Bergen op Zoom (Pl. 4)
‘Crux Pellit’, Type I–II transitional
Obv. +IAGOBVS[DEI] GR[ ]AX; orb upwards and to right, as type IR
Rev. +GRVX[ ] PeLLIT[OIE[ ]GRI]; pellets on cusps, nothing in spandrels
19.0 mm; 1.10 g; 210°
Slight corrosion; moderate wear.

Oudenaarde
All are illustrated in Pl. 2. Numbers in brackets refer to the published catalogue by Beeckmans et al. 2011. Legends are copied from this catalogue where they are not legible on the images.

Scottish ‘Crux Pellit’ issues
1. (134) Type III
Obv. +IAGOBVS[    ] I[GR][A][RE]
Rev. +GRVX[ ] PeLLIT[OIE[ ]GRI]; saltires on cusps; annulets in spandrels
19.5 mm; 1.89 g; 330°
Some flattening and surface corrosion; moderate wear.

2. (135) Type III
Obv. +IAGOBVS[DEI] GR[ ]AX;[ ]
Rev. +GRVX[ ] PeLLIT[OIE[ ]GRI]; stars on cusps; nothing in spandrels
21.0 mm; 1.09 g; 330°
Slightly double-struck; worn.

3. (141) Type III
Obv. legend illegible
Rev. legend illegible; ornaments uncertain
19.0 mm; 1.09 g; die axis uncertain
Worn and corroded.

4. (140) Type III or IIIR
Obv. [ ] I0cOBVSšDeIšgR0šReXš [                ]
Rev. +šcRVXšPeLLITšOIešcRIIš [                ]; stars on cusps; nothing in spandrels
19.5 mm; 1.96 g; 30°
Obv. Badly corroded; rev. slight wear.

5. (133) Type IIIR
Obv. +I0cOBVSšDeIšgR0šReXš [                ]
Rev. +cRVX!PeLLIT!OIe!cRI [                ]; trefoils on cusps; nothing in spandrels
21.5 mm; 2.35 g; 90°
Obv. fairly worn; rev. moderate wear.

Imitations with IACOBVS
8. (136) As type III
Obv. [ ] IACOBVS[     ] I[GR][A][R][ ] (?)
Rev. +GRVX[ ] PeLLIT[OIE[ ]GRI] [                ]; ornaments uncertain
17.5 mm; 0.78 g; die axis uncertain
Much corroded.

9. (137) As type III
Obv. [ ] IACOBVS[DEI] GR[ ] [ (?)]
Rev. +GRVX[ ] PeLLIT[OIE[ ]GRI] [ (?)]
20.0 mm; 0.79 g; 270°
Some corrosion; moderate wear.
Imitations with uncertain name

10. (139) As type III(L)
   Obv. legend mostly illegible (...RG...)  
   Rev. legend illegible  
   21.0 mm; 0.78 g; die axis uncertain  
   Buckled; surfaces corroded

11. (30) As type III(L)
   Obv. legend illegible  
   Rev. legend illegible  
   17.0 mm; 0.62 g; die axis uncertain  
   Much corroded.

Imitation with KAROLVS

12. (138)
   Obv. +H0ROLV[      ]  
   Rev. (?) (H instead of K)  
   17.5 mm; 0.69 g; 150°  
   Obv. corroded; rev. heavily patinated.

Two further finds from Oudenaarde were recovered from the site of an old mill (location unknown). Both are Scottish 'Crux Pellit' issues.

A. Type III(L)
   Obv. +I0cOBV[DeIûgR0ûReX  
   Rev. +cRVX[       ]LITûOIeûcRIII; ornaments of uncertain type  
   19.0 mm; 1.98 g; die axis not recorded  
   Surfaces oxidised; some flattening on reverse.

B. Type III(L)
   Obv. +I0cOBV[DeIûgR0ûReX (stops probably double saltires, but unclear)  
   Rev. +cRVX[       ]PeLÎ[Oe]ÎII (?); trefoils on cusps; annulets in spandrels  
   21.0 mm; 3.09 g; die axis not recorded  
   Some surface pitting; moderate wear.

C. Type III(L)
   Obv. +I0cOBV[DeIûgR0ûRe]  
   Rev. +cRVX[       ]PeLÎ[Oe]ÎII; saltires on cusps; pellets in spandrels  
   19.0 mm; 1.08 g; 270°  
   Creased and somewhat corroded.

A third stray find of a Scottish 'Crux Pellit' is from an unrecorded location in or near the town.

Geraardsbergen

All are illustrated in Pl. 4. Numbers in brackets refer to the published catalogue by Beeckmans et al. 2011.

'Cruis Pellit' imitations

1. (57) As type III(L)
   Obv. legend illegible  
   Rev. +[VRX][       ]TI[OEG]  
   17.0 mm; 0.79 g; die axis uncertain  
   Surfaces corroded and oxidised.

2. (58) As type III(L)
   Obv. +[R0][  ]R[EX  
   Rev. +[GRV][       ]PSL[       ]Ell (?  
   18.0 mm; 0.90 g; 30°  
   Fairly worn.

3. (59) As type III(L)
   Obv. legend mostly illegible (...Ell ...)  
   Rev. legend mostly illegible (...Ell ...EpI ...??)  
   18.0 mm; 0.84 g; die axis uncertain  
   Very worn; some corrosion.

4. (60) Type uncertain
   Obv. legend illegible  
   Rev. legend illegible  
   17.0 mm; 0.90 g; die axis uncertain  
   Chipped; highly corroded.

5. (61) As type III(L)
   Obv. legend illegible  
   Rev. legend illegible  
   18.0 mm; 1.25 g; die axis uncertain  
   Surfaces oxidised and corroded.

6. (62) As type III(L)
   Obv. [      ]NO[DN][       ]BENED[ ]  
   Rev. [       ]PeL[       ]  
   19.0 mm; 0.95 g; die axis uncertain  
   Worn; surfaces oxidised.

Brugge (Pl. 4)

'Crux Pellit' imitation, as type III(L)  
Legends illegible  
18.0 mm; 0.87 g; die axis uncertain.

Dendermonde (Pl. 4)

'Crux Pellit' imitation, as type III(L)  
Legends illegible  
18.0 mm; 1.08 g; 270°  
Creased and somewhat corroded.

Zonnebeke

All are illustrated on Pl. 3. Numbers in brackets refer to the unpublished catalogue by R. Van Laere.

1 (27). 'Crux Pellit', type III(L)
   Obv. +I0cOBV[GrR]  
   Rev. +[GRV][       ]E  
   19.0 mm; 1.47 g; 150°  
   Some corrosion; moderate wear.

2 (28). 'Crux Pellit', type III(L)
   Obv. +I0cOBV[       ]GrR[       ]  
   Rev. +[GRV][       ]E  
   19.0 mm; 1.59 g; 0°  
   Some corrosion; accretion on obv.; moderate wear.

3 (29). 'Crux Pellit' imitation, as type III(L?)  
   Obv. +I0cOBV[       ]GrR[       ]  
   Rev. +[GRV][       ]E  
   19.0 mm; 1.01 g; 270°  
   Worn; surfaces oxidised.

4 (30). 'Crux Pellit' imitation, as type III(L)  
   Obv. legend illegible  
   Rev. legend illegible; saltires on cusps  
   17.0 mm; 0.90 g; 270°  
   Very worn and corroded.
5 (31). ‘Crux Pellit’ imitation, as type IIIR
Obv. [ ] [KAROLVS] [GR AvR] [ ]
Rev. [ ] [VX PeL] [ ]; ornaments indecipherable
19.0 mm; 0.84 g; 0°
Some corrosion; worn.

6 (32). ‘Crux Pellit’ imitation, as type IIIR
Obv. [ ] [KAROLVS] [ ]
Rev. [ ] [VX PeL] [ ]; ornaments indecipherable
19.0 mm; 0.84 g; 30°
Uneven striking; some corrosion; moderate wear.

Diest (not illustrated)
‘Crux Pellit’, probably imitation, uncertain type
Obv: no details decipherable
Rev. [ ] [X Pe] [ ]
16.0 mm; 0.68 g; c. 330°
Pierced; badly corroded, especially obverse.

Mechelen
All are illustrated in Pl. 3.
Scottish ‘Crux Pellit’ issues

1. Type IL(i)
Obv. [+I0cOBVS] [Ex]; pellets on cusps; nothing in spandrels
Rev. [ ] [X PeL] [ ]
1.4 g
Uneven striking; fairly worn.

2. Type IIIR
Obv. [+I0cOBVS] [ ]
Rev. [ ] [X PeL] [ ]; pellets on cusps; nothing in spandrels
1.5 g
Uneven striking; slight corrosion; fairly worn.

3. Type IIIR
Obv. [ ] [X PeL] [ ]
Rev. [ ] [X PeL] [ ]; pellets on cusps; nothing in spandrels
1.3 g
Uneven striking; fairly worn.

4. Type IIII
Obv. [+I0cOBVS] [DcI:GR AvR] [ ]
Rev. [ ] [X PeL] [ ]
1.3 g
Uneven striking; some corrosion; fairly worn.

5. Type IIII
Obv. [+I0cOBVS] [DcI:GR AvR] [ ]
Rev. [ ] [X PeL] [ ]
2.1 g
Some corrosion; moderate wear.

Imitation?

6. Uncertain: probably an imitation, but just possibly an official issue
Obv. [ ] [HAGOBVS] [ ]
Rev. [ ] [GRV] [ ] [I] [ ]; design worn away
0.8 g
Chipped; corroded; very worn.

Imitations with IACOBVS

7. As type IIII
Obv. [ ] [OBL] [ ]
Rev. [ ] [VX PeL] [ ]; trefoils on cusps; nothing in spandrels
1.1 g
Uneven striking; corroded; fairly worn.

8. As type IIII
Obv. [+HAGOBVS] [ ]
Rev. [+GRVX PeL] [ ] [G G] [ ]; uncertain ornaments
1.1 g
Uneven striking; worn.

Imitation, uncertain name

9. As type IIIR
Obv. Legend illegible
Rev. [ ] [VX PeL] [ ]; trefoil on cusps; nothing in spandrels
0.6 g
Chipped and corroded; fairly worn.

Imitations with KAROLVS

10. As type IIII
Obv. [ ] [KAROLVS] [ ] [DcI] [ ]
Rev. [ ] [X PeL] [ ]; trefoils on cusps; nothing in spandrels
0.6 g
Uneven striking; fairly worn.

11. As type IIII
Obv. [ ] [KAROLVS] [ ] [DcI] [ ]
Rev. Mostly illegible; saltsire or trefoil on cusps; nothing in spandrels
0.9 g
Uneven striking; fairly worn.

12. As type IIII
Obv. [ ] [KAROLVS] [ ] [DcI] [ ]
Rev. Mostly illegible; saltsire or trefoil on cusps; nothing in spandrels
0.9 g
Uneven striking; fairly worn.

Veurne
All are illustrated on Pl. 4.
Scottish ‘Crux Pellit’ issues

1. Type IL
Obv. [ ] [HAGOBVS] [ ] [R AvR] [X]
Rev. [ ] [VX PeL] [ ]; design at 11.0
17.0 mm; 1.97 g; 315°
Very poorly struck; some corrosion.

2. As type IIII
Obv. [ ] [KAROLVS] [ ] [DcI] [ ]
Rev. [ ] [X PeL] [ ]; trefoils on cusps; nothing in spandrels
0.8 g
Uneven striking; some corrosion; fairly worn.
2. **Type IIII**
*Obv.*: +I0cOBV[ ] [GR][ ] [RE] (?)  
*Rev.*: +cRVX[ ]; ornaments uncertain
17.0 mm; 1.23 g; die axis uncertain
Much corroded.

*Imitations*

3. as type IIII
*Obv.*: +I0cOBV[ ] [GR] [EX]  
*Rev.*: [ELL] [CR] [ ]; ? saltires on cusps
18.0 mm; 1.21 g; die axis uncertain
Much corroded.

4. As type IIII
*Obv.*: legend illegible
*Rev.*: legend illegible; ornaments uncertain
17.0 mm; 0.91 g; 300°
Badly chipped; much corroded.

5. As type IIII
*Obv.*: [ ] [DEI] [GR] [ ]  
*Rev.*: +cRVX[ ] [LIT] [OE] [CR] [ ]; ornaments uncertain
18.0 mm; 0.86 g; 120°
Slightly chipped; much corroded.

6. As type IIII
*Obv.* legend illegible
*Rev.*: +cRVX [ ] [PELLIT] [ ]; ornaments uncertain
16.0 mm; 0.68 g; 30°
Slightly chipped; much corroded.

7. As type IIII?
*Obv.*: [ ] [DEI:] [OR:] [RE] [ ]  
*Rev.*: +cR[ ] [CR] [ ]; saltires on cusps
18.0 mm; 0.87 g; 225°
Uneven striking; corroded.

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ARNEMUIDEN
PLATE 2

MECHELEN

ZONNEBEKE

HOLMES AND VAN CAELENBERGHE: SCOTTISH ‘BLACK MONEY’ (2)