The three little-known hoards considered here understandably escaped notice in *Hoard containing early Scottish Groat*, appended to Seaby and Stewart's account of Balleny hoard, 1962, which is the fullest discussion for this period.\(^1\) I have unpublished material on one, the Elvet Moor (Durham) hoard. This did not qualify for inclusion in Dr. Metcalf's list of Scottish coin hoards in *Coinage in Medieval Scotland*, but I was able to provide him with the brief data given there for the other two.\(^2\)

**Elvet Moor, Durham, 30 January 1756**

A manuscript account among the family papers of the descendants of John Sharp, archbishop of York, contains a brief listing of the coins found on Elvet Moor, and the Sharp collection almost certainly included a parcel of groats from this hoard. This account is printed below, by permission of the family, from a copy in the possession of Mr. Owen Parsons. I am much indebted to Mr. Parsons for bringing this account to my attention and for enabling me to study the relevant part of the collection, on which he did a great deal of work for the late owner. The manuscript is stated to be in the hand of Thomas Sharp, or possibly of his son Thomas. Thomas Sharp was the younger of the two surviving sons of the archbishop, and his brother predeceased him. He became archdeacon of Northumberland in 1723 and tenth prebendary of Durham in 1730, while in 1755 he was made official to the dean and chapter. In this last capacity he may have been responsible for the disposal of the Elvet Moor coins, and he was probably the best local authority to identify them, because of his father's numismatic studies: certainly the following description shows sufficient scholarship to avoid the common error of attributing coins of Robert II to his more illustrious grandfather, Robert Bruce.

The back of the manuscript reads: Coins dug up in Elvet Moor (How disposed of by the Chapter at Durham). The original spacing has apparently been preserved in the copy of the inside, which reads:

| Of David (Bruce) | 68 | whereof 67 stamp! at Edinburgh, and one at Aberdeen, a Curiosity.— |
| Of Robert (Stuart) | 88 | whereof 67 at Edinburgh, and 21 at Perth. |
| Of Edw! 3d of Eng!— | 1 |

In all 157

[See overleaf for footnotes.]
To the Library 7 the most choice of the whole.
To Mr Dean— 10 picked among the best.
To the Preb: 5 each. 60 the fairest that remain, viz.
2 of David.
2 of Robert at Edinburgh.
1 of Robert at Perth.
The Subdean to choose his 5 out of ye 60.
And rest resident in their Order.
The remainder among the Absent.
Clipped, or otherwise defaced— 80 viz. 39 of David. 38 Robert at Edinburgh.
3 Robert at Perth

In all 157

These 80 clipped & most worn will if sold by weight be nearly the value of 2 guineas and ½ given to ye Servt who dug up the Coins.

I am very grateful to Mr. Hugh Pagan for two references to the same hoard, in Sykes’s Local Records.3 The first4 proves to be copied exactly from The Newcastle Courant of 28 February, 1756.5

1756 (Jan. 30)—A pot was found with 142 pieces of Scots silver coin, about three hundred years old, in the ground belonging to George Smith, esq., of Burnhall, in the county of Durham.

The following fuller account, in the second volume,6 was presumably contributed by the Revd. James Raine, a well-known antiquary and at that time Chapter Librarian, whom Sykes thanked for ‘various valuable paragraphs’.

A labouring man in ditching and scouring a hedge belonging to Mr. George Smith, of Burnhall, found upon Elvet moor, 170 pieces of silver coin included in a pot or small urn, of Edward III of England, and Robert II and David, kings of Scotland. He carried them to a silversmith in Durham, where they were claimed and had by the dean and chapter as treasure trove, found within their manor of Elvet.7 Upon a division of this money, the dean had ten pieces allotted to him, and each of the prebendaries five, and

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3 John Sykes, Local Records; or historical register of remarkable events . . . in the counties of Durham and Northumberland, reprinted and published by T. Foddyce, Newcastle (1866). My page references are to this 1866 edition, but vol. i was originally published in 1824 and a new edition, with vol. ii added, in 1833. Mr. Pagan also provided a reference to Mackenzie and Ross, View of the County Palatinate of Durham ii (1834), 326n., which appears to be based on Sykes, to provide the fact that Burnhall is (or was) in Brandon townships in Brancepeth parish.
4 Sykes, op. cit. i. 213.
5 Miss J. W. Thompson, Local History Librarian, Newcastle upon Tyne, kindly checked the Newcastle Courant for me. She found no other relevant entries in the Courant or the Newcastle Journal for that period.
6 Sykes, op. cit. ii. 374.
7 The dean and chapter may have been mistaken in believing that they had a right to treasure trove, a franchise which is very uncommon. When Elvet Moor was enclosed by Act of Parliament in 1772, they reserved the mineral rights. Mr. George Smith was a nonjuring bishop, with denomination of Durham—another detail which I owe to Mr. Pagan, who suggested that ‘the chapter would have taken a certain pleasure in asserting their proprietary rights over a hoard found on Smith’s estate’. The nonjurors maintained an episcopal succession from those bishops who were deprived because refusing to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary in 1689. Originally, at least, they had no doctrinal differences from the established church, and hoped that this would re-unite with the nonjuring church. They were not necessarily political Jacobites, but were certainly suspected in 1745, when, on the news of Prince Charles’s landing, ‘all Papists, reputed Papists, and Nonjurors, were ordered to send to Durham Castle all their horses, mares and geldings exceeding the value of £5 each’, and to remain within five miles of their homes—Mackenzie and Ross, op. cit. ii. 352. George Smith (consecrated 1728, died 4 November 1756) was a man of learning and high character, and editor of Bede’s works.
others of the pieces were deposited in the library, and such of them whose inscriptions and figures were effaced, were sold. The value of the whole was between four and five pounds. It is very probable that this money had been deposited in this place at or about the time of the battle of Neville’s Cross, which was fought not far from it in 1346. The urn and a few of the coins are still preserved in the library.

Unfortunately it is no longer the case that the pot and a few coins are preserved in the library; the Chapter Librarian in 1973, Canon Couratin, had no knowledge of them, nor had his predecessor, whom he kindly asked. There was presumably also a contemporary manuscript account in the library in 1833, perhaps taking the story a little later than the Sharp one, after some strays had brought the number of hoard coins up to 170, instead of 157.

It is reasonable to assume that Thomas Sharp would have listed Robert III coins separately from Robert II, if both types were present; and also that he would have distinguished different denominations. A calculation of the average weight of the hoard coins from the estimates of its value shows that at least the majority of the coins were groats, as might have been expected. A date towards the end of Robert III’s reign, or even the beginning of the next (in 1390), is indicated by the Robert coins outnumbering David ones. The same is true of Neville’s Cross hoard, and that indicated by beach finds at South Shields. These three hoards perhaps form a sufficiently tight group, geographically and by deposit date, to justify considering whether there might have been a common cause for their loss, and there were certainly Scottish incursions in the appropriate period—whereas the battle of Neville’s Cross was far too early.

A fourteen-year truce between England and Scotland was nominally in force until February 1384, but after Edward III’s death the Scots defaulted on the instalments of David’s ransom (after the payment at midsummer 1377), and in 1378 the nobles resumed raids across the border. Of these raids, that in 1388 was unusual in penetrating to Durham itself. The main Scottish invasion was on the west, but a force about 2300 strong went by byroads until ‘they entered the rich country of Durham, and instantly began their war, by burning towns and slaying the inhabitants’. Durham and Newcastle were, of course, adequately defended against a light raiding force, but there were skirmishes at the gates of both. When the Scots moved back home, Percy pursued them with superior forces, without waiting for the bishop of Durham and his men, so these escaped the bloody encounter at Otterburn, where the attack on the Scottish camp was beaten off with heavy English losses: this may be thought to weaken the case for associating these three hoards from County Durham with the 1388 incursion.

It will be apparent that I do not think it likely that this pot hoard represents the

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9 The following calculations use the rather arbitrary figure of 48s. for ‘nearly the value of 2½ guineas’ for 80 coins, which is slightly above the top end of the range in the other estimate (perhaps not independent) of £4 to £5 for 170 coins. At this date, sterling silver was coined at 5s. 2d. per Troy ounce, so the average weight works out at 55·8 gr. If they were all groats, this would certainly be low, but it is not impossibly low as referring to the most clipped and worn half of the hoard. The five light-coinage groats among those listed below as probably from Elvet Moor average more than 2 gr. below the standard of 61·4 gr. On the same basis, the value per piece, by weight, would be 7·2d.
10 SS xiii and xviii: NC xi (1931), 201–28; BNJ xxx, 100 and 116–17.
11 J. Froissart, Chronicles, tr. T. Johnes (1805–6), ix. 246. ‘Near to Brancepeth’—the parish in which Burnhall is situated—precedes the quoted passage, but apparently referring to where the Scots crossed the Tyne, whereas Brancepeth is south-west of Durham.
cash of a traveller from Scotland, although not casting any doubt on that as an explanation for some of the smaller finds of Scottish coins beyond the borders of that country. The composition of Elvet Moor hoard is certainly exceptional for England, although Scottish coins were at this time allowed currency in England, and Neville’s Cross hoard may be representative of the circulating medium in the area: in this, although English coins predominated, they were mainly pennies, whereas the Scottish were groats and half-groats and gave nearly half the value, even reckoned at their English currency value of threepence (from 1373 to 1390). This valuation of the somewhat lighter Scottish coins would provide a reason for the owner to separate off the Scottish portion of his spare cash, if only for convenience in reckoning. The Gisors hoard is a clear case of segregation of foreign coin, but these were in a leather bag or purse within the one bronze container. Another aspect of the English valuation for these Scottish coins is that anyone in a position to smuggle them across the border could expect a better return for them in Scotland, where they would be taken at par with the rather heavier English coins. (The single English coin in the 157 listed, if not included in the pot in error, might have been too light to pass in England.) The proscription of Scottish pennies and halfpennies, from Michaelmas 1387, may have led English holders of the higher denominations, too, to fear stronger measures against their use.

The Sharp coins

Although Archbishop Sharp left his coin collection to his friend and fellow collector, Ralph Thoresby of Leeds, it remained in the family (or was returned). There were certainly some additions after his death in 1713, and these probably included seven groats from Elvet Moor hoard. The collection contained four groats of David II and four of Robert II. Of these, seven were alike enough in patination to have the same provenance, although this patination is not distinctive enough to be conclusive. The remaining one is thoroughly blackened with silver chloride and badly scratched, doubtless in an attempt to remove this: its weight, 62.8 grains, agrees with the single piece of either reign which was in the collection in 1699, described as ‘a groat of David Bruce . . . The weight of this piece is 3 penny weight wanting 9 granes’, i.e. 63 grains. Archdeacon Thomas Sharp could easily have acquired two more pieces than his allocation of five as prebendary, either from another member of the chapter or from those remaining, to be sold.

The following notes on the coins include some comments from Mr. Ian Stewart on the David pieces. I am also much indebted to him for material for a die-study of Robert II coins, which I hope to publish separately, from which certain changes in the lettering can be recognized as indicating the sequence within the large number of ordinary groats, i.e. those before the use of a r behind the king’s head, which can be dated about 1385. (There were other and later changes, of course.) In particular,
FINDS OF LATE FOURTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTTISH COINS

a new punch for the large A of VILLA was introduced about a third of the way through these ordinary Robert II groats: a sample gives the following distribution:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>A1</th>
<th>A2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perth</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. David II, Edinburgh groat; heavy coinage, third head (Stewart C), plain A (early in C); obv. die reads Scotorum—(but end not legible on this coin); small D under v of Villa. Dupl. of RCL plate VII\(^1\) (British Museum photographs of R. C. Lockett's Scottish coins). Wt. 63.3 gr.

2. As 1, but Scotorum, ornamental A, trefoils in spandrels, Robert II head (Stewart D); no small D on rev. Dupl. of RCL VII\(^2\), now in Mr. Stewart's coll. Wt. 64.6 gr.

3. Light coinage: as 2, but reads Scotorum; head set right back on tressure, and rev. has two stars after Dns—both late features. Obv. die same as Balleny 16. Wt. 59.1 gr.

4. Robert II, Edinburgh groat, as standard (reading Scotorum in this reign); A1 in Villa. Obv. die known, in Mr. Stewart's coll. Wt. 60.3 gr.

5. As 4, but A2. Obv. die not matched. Wt. 56.7 gr.

6. Robert II, Perth groat; standard, except reading Villa ed Perth; A1 in Villa, as on other dies with this reading. Dies not matched. Wt. 60.8 gr.

7. As 6, but de and A2. Dupl. of RCL VIII\(^3\), now in Mr. Stewart's coll. Wt. 58.7 gr.

The evidence of this small sample is almost valueless for dating the hoard. The two latest coins, 5 and 7, show more wear than some of the earlier ones.

**Lumphanan, Aberdeenshire, before May, 1750**

An account of Lumphanan hoard was published in *Coins and Medals* for November 1966, under the title 'Where the Rainbow Ends', but the primary reference on which that must have been based is *The Scots Magazine* for May 1750, p. 253.

Letters from Aberdeen bear, that some time ago, as some workmen were digging for a new entry to the church-yard of Lumphanan, they found an earthen pot full of old pieces of silver coin; that many of them were so consumed with rust that they easily mouldered away; that those on which any of the characters are legible, are coins of the Kings Robert and David of Scotland, whose heads they bear, and appear to have been struck at Edinburgh, Perth, and Aberdeen; and that Mr. Downie,\(^4\) Minister of the parish, sells those struck at Edinburgh and Perth, at 5s. and those struck at Aberdeen at 10s. for the benefit of the poor, whatever is found within the church-yard being their property.

*The Statistical Account of Scotland*, for Lumphanan parish, written in 1793, doubtless refers to the same hoard: 'A few old coins were found some years ago, when repairing the church-yard dykes, and a mortcloth bought with them.'\(^5\) The purchase of a parish mortcloth was a legitimate charge on the poor-box, indeed a prudent investment, as the compulsory fee for its use at funerals, to cover the coffin, was one of the normal supplements to the church collections, for maintenance of the poor.\(^6\)

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1. This sample excludes Balleny hoard coins, since that deposit date was early in Robert II's reign. For Balleny, the split is A1-7, A2-3, with one illegible.
2. *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae* gives his name as Francis Dauney.
3. (Old) *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vi. 388 n. I owe this reference to I. D. Brown and M. Dolley, *Coin hoards of Great Britain and Ireland, 1500–1967*. With no other information available, Lumphanan had to be listed as of uncertain date, SZ22.
4. H. G. Graham, *The social life of Scotland in the eighteenth century* (1950), 245. The main means of supporting the poor was by licensing them to beg within their parish.
In 1793, when there were six on the poor-roll, the weekly collections were only about 10d., and it is unlikely that the situation was any easier in 1750.

Register House in Edinburgh holds an official copy of the record of payments of mortcloth dues, 'extracted from the Sessional Register of Lumphanan . . . in terms of the Acts . . . and 23° & 24° Vict. cap. 85°, containing forty-three entries for 1755 to 1781. One entry occasionally covered more than one death, but the number of deaths recorded in this list is still low in relation to the population (682 in 1755) and to the baptisms, of which there were twelve and fourteen in 1755 and 1756. While the population of the parish was probably growing, and migration to towns would help to account for these figures, I suspect that there were additional deaths: there would naturally be no entry of this type for paupers, where the burial was a charge on the parish instead of contributing to the poor-box, and for others who were not actually on the poor-roll the family might have been excused this payment on the grounds of poverty. In this record, the switch from reckoning in Scots money to sterling occurred in 1777, the normal payment being 12s. or 18s. up to then and 1s. afterwards.

The Kirk Session records for the period covering the find are no longer held by Lumphanan parish, nor are they among those in the Scottish Record Office on loan from the Church of Scotland. (The cost of a mortcloth at that period might be obtainable from other sources, as some guide to the size of this hoard, but I have not pursued this idea.) In view of the continued reckoning in Scots money in the Lumphanan records, the price put on the Edinburgh and Perth coins was presumably only 5d. sterling, and this would be below the value per piece of the Elvet Moor coins, if sold by weight; but even if the minister was not able to get a better price from antiquaries than from a silversmith, numismatists must consider that it was a better way of disposing of them.

There can be no certainty about the denominations of the Lumphanan coins, but the deposit date cannot have been earlier than Robert II's reign, since Robert Bruce's coins do not bear a mint name, and David's were not struck at Perth. The relative prices suggest that Perth coins may have been present in about the same numbers as Edinburgh ones (or ones of the same reign), but it might simply reflect their proportions in collections, and is thus of little value as an indication of date or of a regional distribution. Aberdeen coins were clearly more plentiful in this hoard than the single one of Elvet Moor hoard, while there were none in the better-recorded Craigie hoard, with seventy-eight pieces of the David II and Robert II groat coinage. The lack of mention of any English coins in Lumphanan hoard fits in with other hoard evidence from Scotland, at least for the end of Robert II's reign and the

19 Mr. R. H. Duguid, as church treasurer, answered my enquiry, in October 1974. He also informed me that the Kirk Session no longer has any of the hoard coins, and he was unaware of the find.
20 Calculated on p. 75 n. 9, as 7-2d.
21 Or even the types, as there might have been some Robert III pieces included, with front face, and pellets instead of mullets in the angles of the rev. cross. Although I know of no hoard which definitely contained David II coins together with Robert III ones, and the older coins were certainly used as bullion for the front-face coinages of Robert III, a mixture could be expected in hoards soon after the recoinage began. Fortrose (1880) hoard was deposited not long before the standard weight was reduced again; there is a Robert II groat with this provenance in NMAS, although E. Burns mentioned only Robert III groats in 'Descriptive notice of the coins in the Fortrose hoard . . .', Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (1879-80), pp. 186ff.
following reign, and this type of cumulative evidence is perhaps the most valuable contribution of such inadequate hoard records.

Disorder was rife under the weak rule of the first two Stewart kings, and the north-east of Scotland suffered particularly. Alexander Stewart, earl of Buchan, one of Robert II's sons, misused his office as justiciar of the north until he was deprived in 1388. Known as the 'Wolf of Badenoch', he exacted what amounted to blackmail or protection money. When the bishop of Moray turned elsewhere for help, in 1390 Highlanders led by the Wolf burnt Forres and Elgin with its cathedral: 'This beand done, as my author did mene, That samyn tyme passit till Abirdene.' Dipple hoard, for which Mr. Stewart put the deposit date as 1385-90, might possibly be related to these events of 1390; but they are only the highlights of many years of lawlessness and it would be very rash to attempt to assign a date to an ill-recorded hoard like the Lumphanan one by relating it to any particular historical event.

Drumnadrochit, Inverness-shire, December 1931

The acquisition by the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland of one David II and two Robert II groats from this hoard is recorded in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland lxvi (1931–2), 138. In the Society's library copy, Mr. R. B. K. Stevenson has copied out Sir George Macdonald's summary listing of the thirty-four coins of this hoard, and he provided me with the December 1931 date. A Perth groat from the same find, reading Villa ed, is in the Elgin Museum, the find spot being recorded as being on the supposed site of St. Ninian's Chapel, near Temple Pier, and the date as January 1932.

The summary list is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mint</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>David II</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>11 groats, 1 half-groat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert II</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>12 groats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perth</td>
<td>9 groats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 half-groat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two Robert II coins in NMAS are of Edinburgh mint:

1. Single + stops on obv., except the normal double ones after Rex. Double star stops after Dns—a rare early variety, for which cf. Balleny 20 (different dies).
2. Standard, double stops. As in Villa.

Once again, the ratio of Robert II coins to David II's argues for a late deposit date for this hoard, i.e. towards the end of Robert II's reign (1390), or indeed early in the next reign, since I am not entirely convinced by the arguments in favour of an earlier date than 1393 for the introduction of the light front-face groats, of which the great majority were certainly struck under Robert III.

23 H. Boethius (Bece), The buik of the cronicles of Scotland; or a metrical version of the history of Hector Boece, by W. Stewart (ed. W. B. Turnbull), Rolls ser. 6, 1858, vol. iii, p. 442.
25 Ibid., p. 58.