

## INNERWICK HOARD, 1979

*D.H.Caldwell, Joan E.L.Murray and M.Delmé-Radcliffe<sup>1</sup>*

### *The find*

The coins were found at Thurston Gardens, Innerwick, East Lothian (NGR NT 708744) in 1979. This site was being cleared by machine for the erection of huts to house the men working on the nearby Torness power station project and several coins were turned up by a bulldozer towards the end of June. A rumour to this effect reached the National Museum in Edinburgh and on the police being informed eleven coins were acquired from workmen on the site. Thanks to the help of the police and a campaign of publicity in the local press and radio the Museum was able to recover the rest of the coins from locals over the following few weeks. The one gold coin turned up on the site about a year after the initial discovery. Fifty-three of the coins were not found at Thurston Gardens itself but at the cement works at Dunbar where earth was taken from Thurston Gardens and dumped. All the coins recovered from these sources are likely to have belonged together and have been listed here, except one bodle (turner) of Charles II, second issue, 1677 or 1678. Such coins occur commonly in Scotland as stray finds.

Careful enquiries were made to see if any information could be got on how the coins were found in the ground or whether there were any signs of a container. It is evident that the finders only became aware of the presence of the coins once they were scattered by the earth-moving machinery and no pieces of pottery, leather, metal, etc. were noticed which might have been part of what they were buried in.

### *Treatment of the coins*

All the coins were given in to the Museum in the condition in which they came out of the ground, except one group of seventy-seven. The finder of these has attempted to clean them in vinegar but does not seem to have altered their appearance significantly by so doing. Generally the coins were quite clean but about a third had corrosion deposits, some green (copper) others lilac (horn silver). Two had specks of iron. All were cleaned in the Museum's conservation laboratory with ammonium thiosulphate (fifteen per cent in one per cent lissapol) and thoroughly rinsed in deionised water and dried in acetone. They were weighed before being lacquered with frigidene.

### *Disposition*

The following coins have been acquired by museums and the rest have been returned to the finders. National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland. 6, 10-12, 14, 15, 17-21, 25-31, 34, 36, 38-42, 44-49, 51, 57, 104, 105, together with fifty-two of the English ones, as representatives of the Scottish currency at that time.

Hunterian Museum. 63, 69, 93, 103.

Ashmolean Museum. 50, 52-54, 64, 70, 72, 75, 76, 79, 82, 100, 102.

A complete photographic record of the hoard has been made, and will be retained by the National Museum.

*Summary listing*

The following listing includes currency values, which are mainly those introduced in October 1467. Although at least four revaluations intervened, this tariff certainly applied for old and new English groats in 1485, and presumably also for old Scottish groats.<sup>2</sup> All the coins are silver, unless otherwise stated. The values in the tariff column refer to groats.

SCOTTISH (Edinburgh mint, unless otherwise stated)				Tariff	£	s	d
	Groats	Half- groats	Pennies				
David II	2	1	-	16d.	3	4	
Robert II	1	-	-	16d.	1	4	
Robert III	1	-	-	12d.	1	0	
James I, lis coinage	14	-	-	8d.	9	4	
James II, lis coinage	3	-	-		2	0	
Stirling	1	-	-			8	
James II, crown coinage (Gold) 1 lion					13	4	
Stirling	29	1	-	14d.	1	14	5
Aberdeen	1	-	-			1	2
Perth	1	-	-			1	2
James III, mullet issues							
Berwick	40	-	6	12d.	2	1	6
	2	-	-			2	0
(Crux Pellit coppers, not valued)			2				
Scottish Total	107 coins			Value	5	12	5
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ENGLISH and ANGLO-IRISH							
(London mint, unless otherwise stated)							
Edward III	17	20		16d.	1	16	0
York	1	3				3	4
Henry V (including fragment)	6	3				10	0
Henry VI (including forgery)	19	3			1	7	4
Calais	51	14			3	17	4
Edward IV heavy coinage	2	-				2	8
Total Old English	96	43			7	16	8

	Groats	Half-groats	Pennies	Tariff	£	s	d
Edward IV light coinage							
	6	-	-	12d.	6	0	
Coventry	1	-	-		1	0	
York	1	-	-		1	0	
Durham	-	-	1				3
Dublin	3	-	-		3	0	
Trim	1	-	-		1	0	
	—	—	—		—	—	—
Total 'new Edward'	12	-	1		12	3	
	—	—	—		—	—	—
English Total	152 coins			Value	8	8	11
Overall	259 coins			Value	14	1	4

The currency value might, of course, have been lower, if some of the old pieces were not acceptable at these tarified values, because of their very low weight; but the records give no evidence about minimum weights. Equally, the value could have been higher, if not all the hoard coins were recovered. As the Irish groats were of English type, they were doubtless accepted in Scotland at the same rate as other new Edward groats.

#### *Dating*

The latest coins in the Innerwick hoard are twenty-three five-pointed mullet groats and six silver pennies of James III, S. group IV,<sup>3</sup> probably introduced in 1482 or 1483. All four groat obverse dies are well represented, with seven coins from what appears to be the latest obverse die in use (on the basis of the die-links, for which see pp.144-45. The Innerwick pieces show little sign of wear, but the same is true of some of the earlier groats of the same reign. A heavier groat was first specified by parliament in February 1484,<sup>4</sup> and three-quarter face portrait groats (S. group VI) of the new heavy standard were struck on a relatively large scale, but the absence from the Innerwick hoard of these (and also of the rarer heavy types) is not very reliable as dating evidence: these heavy groats were absent from the Perth hoard, with deposit date about 1500, although not from other hoards of similar date.<sup>5</sup> An act of parliament in 1493 mentions 'refusing of the [Scottish] money...for the diversitie of divers cunyeis of silvir strikin be divers cunyeouris'.<sup>6</sup> Such refusal may have particularly applied to the group VI groats, because of their unconventional representation of the king. In relation to the silver content, their currency value of 14d. was almost identical to that of the preceding light groats, but the fact that the value was the same as the obviously heavier crown groats may have contributed to mistrust of the new groats. The deposit date should thus be put not earlier than 1484, and possibly several years later.

The coins were found about 100 yards from the site of the eighteenth-century house of Thurston, but the site of the fifteenth-century house is uncertain. The lands of Thurston (and Woodhall), in the sheriffdom of Edinburgh and constabulary of Haddington, had long been included in the barony of Renfrew, which at the relevant time was part of the patrimony of the prince of Scotland. These lands were held in feu ferm by Wallace of Craigie; as his principal estate was in Ayrshire, it was doubtless a tenant who actually occupied Thurston, and who may well have been the owner of the hoard coins.

The currency value of Innerwick hoard, as found, was close to £14

Scots. Such a sum might represent short-term savings, put aside - possibly within the house, rather than in the ground - by the tenant of Thurston, perhaps to cover his rent, which was at least £10 yearly. (Thurston and Woodhall together were '20 libratas terrarum antiqui extentus', and Woodhall was let for £10 per year to a kinsman, David Wallace.)<sup>7</sup> While any suggestion of a reason for the loss of the hoard coins can only be very tentative, it is possible that their owner was killed in 1488, in the rebellion which culminated in the battle of Sauchieburn, on 11 June. It is, however, perhaps more likely that their loss arose from private feud, since there was well-documented contention for the beneficial occupation of Thurston between Humes of Wedderburn and the Wallace owner. At some date before 1495, George Hume and his son David led about one hundred men in the 'masterful destruction, burning and casting down of the place of Thurston pertaining to William [recte John] Wallace of Craigie'.<sup>8</sup> This destruction might have prevented the owner of the coins from finding them again, or he might have abandoned them for fear of the Humes. The case came before the lords of council (sitting as the supreme civil court) on 3 November 1495. There are, however, some reasons to think that this Hume attack on Thurston might have taken place as early as 1488. One is the involvement of so many men, surely more than were needed to overwhelm the people of Thurston. In the 1488 revolt the Humes of Wedderburn doubtless mustered their full strength against James III, since Humes of the senior line were prominent rebels; and this would also provide an opportunity to pursue private aims by force.

Humes of Wedderburn were already involved with Thurston in 1479, when George Hume appears to have resided there, presumably with a lease of the property.<sup>9</sup> In James IV's reign, the lands of Thurston may well have been in Hume hands continuously up to 1501, as they were (in part, and wrongfully) from Whitsun 1493 to June 1494, and also in November 1497, when the king granted a lease of them to David Hume, having compensated Wallace with other lands.<sup>10</sup>

Although a date just before James IV's accession, for the Hume attack on Thurston, involves assuming that John Wallace acquiesced in Hume occupation of the property for several years from 1488, this is not particularly unlikely, in view of the powerful position of the Humes (and their allies) after their prominent part in the rebellion. A few days after the young king's accession, a commission was set up to grant leases of vacant crown lands, and it is conceivable that it was on condition of allowing Hume of Wedderburn a lease of Thurston that John Wallace then received the custody of Dundonald castle (in Ayrshire), on favourable terms.<sup>11</sup> The proximate cause of his taking legal action over the Hume attack on Thurston may have been the need to counter George Hume's summons against him and his brother, which was the immediately preceding case before the lords of council.

#### *The Scottish content*

There are six hoards of suitable date which have been described in sufficient detail for comparison with Innerwick. These are Ayr 1862, Kilkerran 1892, Perth 1920, Whitburn 1921, Glenluce 1956 and Rhoneston 1961.<sup>12</sup> All except Rhoneston contained some coins of James IV, and that, in which (like Glenluce) the bulk of the hoard was of billon pennies, also had later coins than Innerwick. Table I summarises the groat and half-groat contents of these.

The one gold coin, although found about a year later than the rest, has been accepted as part of the hoard. By coincidence a James II lion was also the only gold piece in the Whitburn hoard, the closest in currency

TABLE I. *Numbers of groats and half-groats in the Innerwick hoard and six others, by major types. The approximate deposit date is given for each.*

Reign or period	Type	Innerwick 1485+	Rhoneston 1490	Glenluce 1495	Ayr 1495	Perth 1500	Whitburn 1500	Kilkerran 1500
<i>Scottish</i>								
- 1424		4,1			-,1	3,-	1,1	1,1
James I/II	Lis	18			7	112	15	1
James II	Crown	32,1	2,-		3,-	161,12	76,1	1,-
James III	(Placks)		(4,-)	(2,-)		(436,63)	(5+,-)	(1,-)
	Mullet	42	4,-		19,1	56,5	28,1	4,1
	Thistlehead and mullet			6,3	6,-			11,2
	$\frac{3}{4}$ -face left			1,-	55,5		38,2	8,2
James IV	Heavy				2,-			
	Mullet					6,1	4,-	1,-
<i>English</i>								
Edward III	'Old'	18,23	1,-	-,1	2,8	17,83	10,19	2,8
Richard II to 1464	'Old'	78,20	2,1	1,-	7,9	50,98	40,2	13,7
Edward IV from 1464	'New'	14,-	1,-		1,-	3,2		5,1
1483 on	'New'							2,-

value to Innerwick. The proportion, by value, of the English coins in the Innerwick hoard is about sixty per cent, which is higher than usual for this period, although similar to the small Kilkerran hoard: for Perth, Ayr and Whitburn, this proportion was roughly twenty to thirty per cent - but about forty-six per cent, by value, of the silver coins in the Perth hoard. As for Scottish hoards from earlier in James III's reign, there was an overwhelming preponderance of English coins in the silver content of three, namely Bridge of Don (1937), New Cumnock (1882) and Crookston (1797); but in the mainly billon Leith hoard (1980), with deposit date c.1470-75, the proportion by value of the English coin among the twenty-six silver pieces was about twenty-eight per cent.<sup>13</sup>

The David II and Robert II coins (and those of Edward III) were more than a century old when deposited, and, as would be expected, they are much worn and clipped. The one Robert III groat is better, but it is only the fleur-de-lis groats of James I (introduced about 1424) and later coins that have been fully studied by dies. There are several fleur-de-lis groat

dies not previously represented in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland (NMAS), while in the crown groat series there is one obverse die new to NMAS (but recorded elsewhere) and a few new reverse dies.

The fine silver light groats of James III were already very well represented in NMAS and other major museums, and nearly all the Innerwick specimens are of known die-combinations. There are no fewer than three of the group IV/III mules, and one, no.79, shows the obverse die in the latest known state: two die cracks can be seen, one inside the stop between Dei and Gra, as well as one outside this, which is commoner. One of the silver pennies, no.105, deserves special comment, because the reverse die was originally made as if for the billon pennies. The correct mullet for the silver pennies, punched over the three pellets, can be seen in the first legendary quarter (although not very clear on the plate), and presumably one was also overpunched in the third quarter. The inscription reads Edinburgh, as on billon pennies, instead of Edeinbour. The close relationship between the silver pennies and the corresponding billon ones is well known, but (as mentioned in the Glenluce hoard report) no obverse die-link has been found, and this also applies to the altered reverse die.

The question has arisen whether the extent of duplication among the James III mullet groats in this hoard is evidence of sluggish circulation. For group IV, however, the number of duplicates (including the mules) is slightly below what would be expected on the basis of the non-Innerwick specimens. The twenty-three Innerwick ones provide 253 comparisons (i.e. pairs of coins) and nineteen duplicates; and the forty-nine others, 1176 comparisons and 108 duplicates. No such calculation is available for the mullet groats as a whole, and indeed it would be difficult to obtain an unbiased sample for groups I and III, where the varieties of head are so distinctive that they are likely to be over-represented when several collections are combined.

A noteworthy feature of the Innerwick hoard is the complete absence of the substantial issue of thistlehead-and-mullet groats (James III, S. group II), and of billon pieces. In fact, group II groats were also absent from Perth and Whitburn, the two largest of the comparable hoards, and from Rhoneston, although present in Ayr and Kilkerran, and also Glenluce: in the latter hoard, consisting mainly of billon pennies, these rather base groats were among the more valuable coins. Placks were present in five of these other six hoards, being particularly plentiful in the richest one, Perth. Their absence from the Innerwick hoard, however, is not surprising: after problems in getting them accepted, placks were 'declamatis pro duabus partibus' in 1486, i.e. tarified at two-thirds of their previous value, but perhaps still above their intrinsic value.<sup>14</sup>

As the owner of this hoard could afford to be selective and eschewed billon and base silver, there must be some doubt as to whether the two copper coins were part of the same deposit, rather than casual losses in the same area. The attribution to Scotland of these Crux Pellit pennies - for which the familiar names, 'Bishop Kennedy' or 'Crosraguel' penny, should perhaps be avoided - is not accepted by all numismatists, but is supported by the multiplicity of finds in Scotland, and the Innerwick ones at least add to this evidence. Moreover, their association with a hoard probably deposited late in James III's reign is entirely appropriate, if they were part of the regal black money which was devalued in 1482, in the Lauder crisis, as most recently argued.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately these pieces are very corroded and it is impossible to form any estimate of how long they had circulated, which might have been interesting because of alternative attributions which would put their striking several decades earlier.<sup>16</sup>

*Catalogue of the Scottish coins*

The following abbreviations are used, generally with a number:-

- B Burns (Coats collection, in NMAS), for E. Burns, *The Coinage of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1887). Three-figure numbers refer to figures in vol.iii, while smaller numbers are for denomination within reign, in vol.i up to Robert III, vol.ii for James I onward.
- R NMAS, in A.B. Richardson, *Catalogue of the Scottish Coins in the National Museum* (Edinburgh, 1901).
- P NMAS, from Perth hoard, by accession no. (thus P 76 stands for xi.20.76).
- BM British Museum (many being ex-Pollexfen).
- PM Perth hoard specimens in the City of Perth Art Gallery and Museum, numbered by position on the photographs taken by the BM in 1967 (crown groats only).

In the descriptions, quarters are legendary ones, not heraldic. (In the case of 25-29, the outer and inner legends start in different quarters, and the inner one is used, since it alone has an i.m.). The lettering is Gothic, with top-barred A, closed C and E, round M, N, and H, unless otherwise stated. The mint is Edinburgh, unless otherwise stated. Weights are given in grains, at ends of lines. Coins illustrated on the Plate are marked \*.

For matched dies, reference is made to a Burns's figure where possible, and otherwise preferably to another NMAS coin, without attempting to give the number of recorded occurrences.

For fleur-de-lis groats of the first two varieties (better called groups) a shorthand notation has been introduced for the commoner positions of the ornaments (mainly I, lis, points or saltires):-

Obverses - /neck, shoulders/left, right of neck/right of head or crown/.

Reverses - /centre of cross/left, right of lis in 1st qtr./ditto in 3rd qtr./between pellets (in 2nd and 4th qtrs.)/.

For crown groats, die comparisons for Edinburgh mint include thirty-six specimens in the Coats collection, eighty-five others in NMAS, and 119 PM ones. Most details of the reverse inscriptions have been omitted, as they are generally inadequate to identify the die, in spite of the great variety of stops and position of contraction marks, particularly on the later dies.

## DAVID II

1. Heavy coinage groat, S. class D1. Ornamental A in DAVID, plain A in VILLA. Badly clipped. 44.37
2. Light coinage groat. Obv. legend largely lost by clipping, rest almost illegible, but D at 2-3 o'clock rules out Robert II. Head set far back, a late feature.  
Rev. has plain A in VILLA. 36.77
3. Half-groat (heavy coinage?). Very worn and clipped.  
Obv. almost illegible, nothing in spandrels.  
Rev. has ornamental A in VILLA. 19.53

## ROBERT II

4. Groat. Normal, cf. B 310 (class I B2, in unpublished Murray classification). Clipped. 40.86

## ROBERT III

5. Heavy coinage groat, first issue. 41.50

## JAMES I Fleur-de-lis groats, first variety

Standard legends +IACOBVS(lis)DEI(lis)TRACIA(lis)REX(lis)SCOTOR  
 +DNS(lis)P | TECOTOR | MS&LI(lis) | BATORM  
 VILL | A(lis)ED(lis) | INBV | (lis)RGH

(where & represents crossed I for ET).

Lettering. The earlier specimens have small plain A, small G, ornamental I, L: C, D with sharp indented ends. Changes which are noted apply for all following coins.

6. Obv. die B 425, i.e. starts  $\overset{x}{x}$ , reads RE $\overset{x}{x}$ ; /, xx/, I//; 8 arcs.  
 Rev. reads P $\overset{x}{x}$ | $\overset{x}{x}$ TECTOR $\overset{x}{x}$ |ATORMS|ATORMS; VILL $\overset{x}{x}$  with plain L; no ornaments. 30.35
7. Obv.<sup>17</sup> ends SCOTO $\overset{x}{x}$ ; /, xx/I, I/x r. of crown and of hair/; 7 arcs.  
 Rev. only +DNS(lis)P $\overset{x}{x}$  legible of outer legend; lis after RGH;  
 ///x, x/./ . 26.54
8. B 432A (=R Add. 136).  
 Obv. reads GRACIA, ends SCOTO(lis); /, xx/I, /I $\overset{x}{x}$ /; 7 arcs.  
 Rev. saltires at end of inscription in all qtrs. except after BATORM;  
 //, x/x, x/./ . 30.02
9. R 4. Large G.  
 Obv. reads as no.8; /, xx/I (and I l. of sceptre), x//; 7 arcs.  
 Rev. additional saltire stops, reading P $\overset{x}{x}$ | $\overset{x}{x}$ TEC, L $\overset{x}{x}$ I $\overset{x}{x}$ ; double saltires  
 after ED and RGH: ///?// . 30.61
10. Obv. somewhat double-struck, reads (TRACIA), SCOTOR; /, xx/I, I//;  
 7 arcs. C, D with projecting ends.  
 Rev. with chainwork circles. Double saltires after P and RGH, single  
 after LI(lis), BATORM and VILL: ///x, x/./ (2nd qtr. only) // also x in  
 4th qtr. 34.08
11. Small lis stops.  
 Obv. has small indented A, but normal S. Reads +:IC, SCOTOR (3 lis);  
 /(lis, xx)/lis, I//, I on sceptre handle, 3 points nearly in vertical line  
 l. of sceptre; 8 arcs.  
 Rev. small indented A, large S. Reads ED+ and RGH $\overset{x}{x}$ ; ///./, x/./ . 37.49
- 12\* Same obv. die as last.  
 Rev. has large S, reads P+, + at end; RGH $\overset{x}{x}$ ; ///./, x/./ . 25.71
13. Small lis stops. Small indented A, large S.  
 Obv. IC (as also 14-18), SCOTOR(lis)+; /lis, ?/lis, I/x/; 8 arcs.  
 Rev. reads RGH (lis above x); /lis./, /x, ././ . 38.18
14. Obv. die B 450. Small indented A, large S, small lis stops, no stop  
 after DEI, lis at end; /lis, ++/I on sceptre handle, I/x/; 8 arcs.  
 Rev. large indented A(?), normal S, T's illegible, normal-sized stops.  
 Reads C for D in ED, ends RGH $\overset{x}{x}$ ; ///./, x/./ / . 25.40
15. Same obv. die as last.  
 Rev. large indented A, normal S, normal-sized lis stops. Reads  
 BV $\overset{x}{x}$ |(lis)RGH $\overset{x}{x}$ ; /lis./, ./, x/./ . 28.29

- 16\*, 17. Large indented A and X, lob-stemmed T, normal-sized lis stops. Die duplicates.  
Obv. has lis at end of legend; /lis,xx/lis,I//; 8 arcs.  
Rev. reads LIx, RGH<sup>+</sup>; //.,/x,././ . 32.33, 26.53
18. Obv. die B 460A (=R 15). /lis,xx/x,I//; 8 arcs.  
Rev. no additional stops, unless after P; /lis /.,./.,x/./ . 32.43
- JAMES I (or II) Fleur-de-lis groat, second/first variety
- 19\* Obv. ends SCOT (?), x after DEI; /lis, xx/, x//, probably I on sceptre handle; 7 arcs.  
Rev. die B 490, late first variety with wedge-stemmed T, large L; /lis///. . 31.82
- JAMES II Fleur-de-lis groats, third variety
- Standard readings GRACIA, TECTOR | MS&LI | BERATO. No ornaments.  
II for N.
- 20\* Obv. die B 505. Double annulet stops, reads SCOTO(RV<sup>o</sup>); 8 arcs.  
Rev. reads LoI, (lis)VIL|LAED|INBV|oRGH(lis)<sup>o</sup>. Lis in qtrs. is from a different punch from B505. 35.92
- 21\* Obv. die B 500. Stops are 4 points, colon-wise (but printed as quatre-foil in Burns). Reads IACOVS, GRACA, SCOTORV; 8 arcs.  
Rev. Outer i.m. is a crown with high-arched base, as on B 500, and as before VIL on a Stirling groat, B503B. Reads DNS<sup>o</sup>P and LIB|ERATOR, +VIL; no other stops. 33.33
22. Stirling mint. B 503B (=R 3). Double annulet stops.  
Obv. reads REXSCOT<sup>o</sup>; 8 arcs.  
Rev. has stops after TECTOR, MS and &: the crown i.m. is not clear on this specimen. Clipped. 25.40
- JAMES II Fleur-de-lis groat, fourth variety
23. B 514. Large chip missing. 24.94
- JAMES II Crown coinage
- First issue
24. Gold lion, B 519. Double-struck, but the identification is certain. 51.93
25. Obv. die B 516.  
Unrecorded rev. die, outer legend starts in 3rd qtr.; crowns 1,3.  
Chipped. 43.04
26. B 4, same obv. die as last. Outer legend starts in 4th qtr.; crowns 2,4. 50.69
27. R 5, same obv. die as last. Outer legend starts in 4th qtr.; crowns 1,3. 50.49
28. PM 9, same obv. die as last. Outer legend starts in 4th qtr.; crowns 2,4. 52.63
29. Obv. die B 517.  
Rev. die recorded for BM; outer legend starts in 3rd qtr.; crowns 1,3.  
Two small chips. 52.38

Second issue groats Here open C is used.

Dr Stewart's classification has been slightly extended.

For S. class II reverses (which normally have crowns 1,3 and annulets between the pellets):-

- IIa With PRO in full, as normal in I.  
 IIb Pro abbreviated to P preceded by a crescent, as also in III.
- For S, class III (for which crowns 2,4, normally):-  
 IIIa All with C reversed for D, sometimes with a line added to close it; unbroken E. Normally saltires by neck, and between pellets.  
 IIIb Broken E, generally a normal D. Various ornaments.
30. I, obv. die B 521, 522.  
 Rev. die otherwise recorded only for a IIIb/I mule, with the late 2-lis obv. die, as 53 below. Double star stops on either side of abbreviated ET; crowns 2,4; nothing between pellets. 52.36
- 31\* Same obv. die as last.  
 Unrecorded rev. die, similar but crowns 1,3. Corroded, perhaps weight loss in cleaning. 45.02
- 32\* IIa/I. Obv. die reads GRASIA, lis l. of crown. Two coins from this die in BM.  
 Rev. die unrecorded; annulets between pellets; crowns 2,4. 51.81
- 33-35. IIa, PM 23 - obv. die B 532, lis r. of crown.  
 Rev. with D of DNS punched over crown i.m., annulets between pellets, crowns 1,3. Small chip out of 35. 54.55, 50.01, 49.97
36. Same obv. die as last three.  
 Unrecorded rev. die, ends MS<sup>x</sup>, rev. qtrs. as last. 50.76
37. IIb, P 34 - obv. die B 531, lis l. of head 53.04
38. IIb, PM 52 - obv. die B 19a, 19b. Large chip. 46.20
39. IIb, Obv. die B 533. Unrecorded rev. die. 50.87
40. IIb, PM 71 - obv. die B 22a, cross on neck and each side.  
 Rev. die B 534, with C reversed for D. 53.55
41. IIIa/IIb. Obv. die B 539, 540.  
 Rev. die B 19b (=R Add. 158). 42.27
42. IIIa/IIb. Obv. die B 542.  
 Rev. probably an unrecorded die (somewhat double-struck). 52.79
43. IIIa, B 542. Large chip. 43.35
44. IIIa, PM 86, 87 - obv. die B 26. 55.20
45. IIIa, obv. die B 541 (which is of Aberdeen mint).  
 Rev. die recorded only with the other obv. die used at Aberdeen. 55.83
46. IIIa, same obv. die as last. Duplicate in BM. 51.67
47. IIIb, obv. die B 543, with C reversed (for D) over C, x by neck.  
 Unrecorded rev. die, with normal D, x between pellets. 48.14
- 48\* IIIb/IIb - first such coin recorded for this obv. die, B 550, with trefoils by neck.  
 Rev. is a normal IIb die, recorded for a homogeneous coin (and also with a different IIIb obv., in BM). Small chip. 53.05
49. IIIb, PM 115, also BM - same obv. die as last.  
 Rev. with x between pellets. 54.78
50. IIIb, P 48 - obv. die B 547A, cross i.m., ends with four saltires diamond-wise. Nothing between pellets. 51.93

- 51, 52\* <sup>18</sup> IIIb, Rhoneston 9 - obv. die B 548, 549, used also at Roxburgh and Perth. 51 shows an early state of the die flaw, which is fully developed on 52.  
Rev. reads LIBR. 52.07, 50.02
- 53\* IIIb, P 63 - obv. die with lis above crown and r. of crown, x by neck.  
Rev. IIIb, nothing between pellets. (This obv. die was also used with several much earlier rev. dies, e.g. that of 30, above.) 50.06
54. Stirling mint. IIIa, B 540A (=R 19) - obv. has a large crown, double annulet stops after SCOTORV, lis by neck.  
Rev. has nothing between pellets, crowns 2,4. Small E on both dies. 51.46
55. Aberdeen mint. IIIa, R 20 - obv. die B 541, same as 45, 46. 54.74
56. Perth mint. IIIb, same as an NMAS coin purchased 1965.  
Obv. die R 22 fig. 66, used also at Roxburgh and Edinburgh.  
Rev. die B 41a, with x between pellets. Cracked. 52.60

## Half-groat

- 57\* II, obv. die B 551, 552 - made early in class II, with small B.  
Rev. die late II, with C reversed for D and broken G. 26.87

## JAMES III Mullet issues

## S. group I groats

- 58-62. 1a, B 561 40.55, 40.29, 40.22, 39.66, 38.78
63. 1b, B 567 (S. fig. 102). 40.06
64. 1b, R 3 (B 567/B 568). 40.29
- 65-67. 1c. B 568 40.33, 40.09, 38.81
68. 1c, B 569. Reads LIBER with E reversed. 38.14
69. Berwick mint. 1c, B 5a (=R 4). Same obv. die as last. 37.78

## S. group III groats

70. IIIa (i.e. crown of 5 lis), B 15 (S. fig. 104). Small head.  
Mullets 1,3. 40.29
71. IIIa, R 19 (B 588/B 592). Same obv. die as last. Mullets 1,3. 38.14
- 72.<sup>19</sup> IIIb, B 18, R 22. Early stage of obv. die flaw.  
Rev. reads TETOR<sup>x</sup> (B 17, from same rev. die, was read as TECTOR<sup>x</sup>,  
due to double-striking); mullets 2,4. 38.36
- 73-75. IIIb, B 591. Showing the fully-developed flaw. This rev. die was  
used also for 77-79 (mules). 39.02, 38.28, 38.03
76. Berwick mint. IIIb, B 593. Same obv. die as last, in same state of  
die flaw. 36.92

## S. group IV groats

(The dies are given first, named according to the analysis below)

- 77, 78\*, 79. 1/a (IV/III mules). No.78 shows an obv. die crack parallel  
to the circles, near . after GRA, which is not visible on 77,  
79-84. 38.25, 37.80, 37.42
- 80, 81. 1/b. 37.64, 34.07 (but apparently a full coin)

82, 83.	1/c.	38.66, 37.17
84*	1/d.	39.88
85.	2/c.	36.53
86.	2/d.	36.12
87, 88.	3/c.	37.09, 35.12 (perhaps both clipped)
89, 90.	3/f.	40.63, 37.57 (perhaps clipped)
91, 92.	3/g.	38.46, 37.36
93-97.	4/h.	39.77, 39.29, 38.28, 37.63, 37.01
98, 99.	4/i.	39.24, 38.93

## S. group IV pennies

Standard legends + IACOBVS<sup>x</sup>DEI<sup>x</sup>GRA<sup>x</sup>REX ... ; + VIL|LA<sup>x</sup>E|DEIN|BOVR

100. Large head, full curly G.  
Obv. reads DE for Dei, and ends REX<sup>x</sup>SO. As B 609, same obv. die, but probably different rev. die, mullets 1,3. Buckled. 7.95
101. Small head, different G.  
Obv. ends REXS: Obv. die B 610; probably rev. die too, mullets 1,3. 6.82
102. Obv. as 101. Obv. die B 611; rev. die probably B 610, mullets 1,3. 10.24
103. B 611, mullets 2,4. 10.89
- 104\* Obv. ends REX, crown tilted down on dexter side (a die otherwise recorded only from R.C.Lockett's collection).  
Rev. die probably the same as 100. 8.97
- 105\* Same obv. die as last.  
Rev. die altered from one for billon pennies, with smaller inner circle and reading VIL|LA<sup>x</sup>ED|INB<sup>x</sup>|VRGH. Three pellets in all qtrs., but mullet over-punched in first qtr. and perhaps third. 8.84

## JAMES III(?) Crux Pellit copper pennies

Probably both are S. class III (under Ecclesiastical Coinages), i.e. rosette on centre of obverse. Both very corroded.

106. Illegible, chipped (?). 15.87
107. Cf. S. fig. 99. Obv. almost illegible.  
Rev. with annulets in spandrels; ( )VX<sup>o</sup>P( )IE<sup>o</sup>CR( ) can just be made out. 15.78

*Die analysis of James III groats of S. group IV*

The standard legend is given, and the variations for each die.

## Obverse dies

+ IACOBVS DEI GRA REX SCOTORM

No.	Stops	Arcs in tressure	Trefoils on cusps by shoulders	Examples
1	— — — — —	7	Yes	(1/a) B 604
2	— — — — —	8	No	(2/d) B 606
3	— : — : — . — . — — —	7	No	(3/c) S fig 105
4	— — — — —	7	Yes	(4/h) B 605

(The stop on the last die could not be read on B 605, but the reading was corrected in the Rhoneston hoard report.)

## Reverse dies (Position of mullets is given by legendary quarters)

		+ DNS PT	ECTORM	S Z LIBEA	TVR MS	where Z denotes Z reversed, for ET.							
		VILL	A EDE	NBEO	VRGE	Mullets	No. of recorded cases of die-combinations						
							Rev.	1	2	3	4	Obv.	
a	(Group III die, 6-pointed mullets)						(2,4)	a	5	-	-	-	
b	Standard						1,3	b	7	-	-	-	
c	Standard						2,4	c	5	1	5	-	
d				ES Z LIBE	ATVRER	1,3	d	1	5	2	-		
				(perhaps IER)									
e					TVR MES	1,3	e	3	7	-	-		
f	As e					1,3	f	-	-	11	-		
g	As e					2,4	g	-	-	3	-		
h				ES Z LIBE	ATVR M	1,3	h	-	-	-	12		
i				ES Z LIBE	ATVR MS	1,3	i	-	-	-	5		
Totals								21	13	21	17	72	

## Notes

Die f has the mullet in third quarter double-punched. Dies e,f can also be distinguished by position of final E of inner legend. On e, its entire front touches the arm of the cross, but on f, only the base touches. Die d has the second E of Edenbeourge punched over what is either D or reversed E. The pattern of die-links suggests that minting was in two periods, with a break before the use of obverse die 4.

## Examples in museums, and the Innerwick hoard

Abbreviations as above, and also:

- I Innerwick hoard
- A Ashmolean Museum

Additionally, the count includes R.C.Lockett coins (from the complete photographs), and two other private collections.

- 1/a. I 77-79, B 21, P 76
- 1/b. I 80-81, B 24, R 25, BM, +2
- 1/c. I 82-83, P 80-81, +1
- 1/d. I 84
- 1/e. R 26, BM(2)

- 2/c. I 85  
 2/d. I 86, B 26, P 85, BM, +1  
 2/e. B 27, R 28, P 86, A, +3  
 3/c. I 87-88, P 82-83, BM (S fig 105)  
 3/d. B 25, A  
 3/f. I 89-90, P 84, BM(5), +3  
 3/g. I 91-92, BM  
 4/h. I 93-97, B 23, R 27, P 78, NMAS (Rhoneston 24), BM, +2  
 4/i. I 98-99, P 79, BM, A

#### *The English and Irish content*

The English and Irish coins contained in the Innerwick hoard totalled 152, of which one was a forgery. There was a preponderance of groats (108) over half groats (forty-three), and just one penny. The mints were mainly London and Calais but York, Coventry, Durham, Dublin and Trim were sparsely represented.

The earliest coin dates from c.1352 in the fourth coinage pre-treaty period of Edward III, but judging by the condition of this and others of his reign (forty-one in all) they had been in circulation for some considerable time before being deposited. There was only one coin from each of the treaty and post-treaty periods and none at all for the following reigns of Richard II and Henry IV.

Henry V was represented by eight coins and a fragment, but by far the largest number came from the reign of Henry VI. These totalled eighty-six and of these sixty-five were minted in Calais. All are from his first reign and eight out of a possible twelve issues are represented. In addition the one forgery came from this reign. It purported to be a London groat and judging by the lettering this was made during the second reign.

Edward IV's coins numbered fifteen only, some from each reign, and were the latest English in the hoard. The date of the last ones to be deposited is c.1473-76 which gives a spread of well over a hundred years for the hoard.

The classification for Edward III is taken from L.A.Lawrence, 'The Coinage of Edward III from 1351', *NC* 1926, 1929, 1932, 1933; for Henry VI from C.A.Whitton, 'The Heavy Coinage of Henry VI', *BNJ* 23 (1938-40); and for Edward IV from C.E.Blunt and C.A.Whitton, 'The Coinages of Edward IV and of Henry VI (Restored)', *BNJ* 25 (1945-48).

#### Edward III

	Type of Issue	Mint	No.	Weights in gr.
Groats				
108.	B/C mule	London	1	55.66
109-14.	C	London	6	52.58, 52.18, 52.07, 49.86, 49.26, 47.98
115.	D/C mule	London	1	57.04
116-17.	D	London	2	55.81 (FRANE for FRANC), 50.39
118-23.	E	London	6	57.52, 57.48 (Lis on breast), 57.27 (Pellet in S of TAS), 54.24, 51.88, 49.48 (LOMDOM)
124.	E	York	1	44.91
125.	E/F mule	London	1	57.40

## Half-groats

126-36.	C	London	11	29.75, 29.46, 24.68, 24.64, 23.30, 22.91, 21.88, 21.69, 21.68, 20.13, 19.85
137-40.	D	London	4	25.06, 23.57, 21.47, 21.36 (FRAG)
141-42.	E	London	2	26.43, 19.41
143-45.	E	York	3	24.23, 23.47, 23.99
146.	F/G mule	London	1	32.08
147.	Treaty	London	1	23.92
148.	Post-treaty	London	1	23.96

## Henry V

Type of Issue      Mint      No.      Weights in gr.

## Groats

149-53.	Mullet on right shoulder	London	5	57.81, 57.34, 56.89, 56.07, 49.15
154.	(A fragment which appears from the lettering to come from a groat of this reign.)			

## Half-groats

155.	Mullet in centre of breast	London	1	27.43
156-57.	(Unclear)	London	2	21.00, 18.39

## Henry VI

Type of Issue      Mint      No.      Weights in gr.

## Groats

158-64.	Annulet	London	7	57.97, 57.75, 57.24, 56.53, 54.83, 52.01, 51.24
165-203.	Annulet	Calais	39	58.98, 58.79, 58.76 (rev. D over E in ADIT), 58.45, 57.98, 57.70, 57.68, 57.62, 57.57, 57.23, 56.81, 56.74, 56.74, 56.72, 56.63, 56.55, 56.14, 56.13, 56.08, 55.91, 53.91, 52.26, 51.86, 49.63, 49.61, 49.44, 49.29, 48.79, 48.61, 48.02, 47.80, 47.66, 47.63, 47.28, 46.87, 46.76, 45.47, 43.04, 41.50
204.	Annulet Sub-issue	Calais	1	50.33
205-12.	Rosette Mascle	Calais	8	58.65, 58.40 (2), 57.84, 57.24, 56.81, 56.70, 54.47
213-14.	Pinecone Mascle	Calais	2	59.13, 56.46
215-16.	Pinecone Mascle	London	2	56.65, 50.19
217.	Leaf Mascle/ Leaf Trefoil mule	London	1	57.17
218.	Leaf Trefoil	London	1	58.91
219.	Trefoil	London	1	58.69
220.	Trefoil	Calais	1	56.51
221-24.	Leaf Pellet	London	4	59.13, 46.51, 46.23, 44.70
225-26.	Cross Pellet	London	2	55.19, 48.09
227.	(Forgery)	London	1	41.80 (Crude bust and lettering. Type of lettering suggests 2nd reign.)

## Half-groats

228-38.	Annulet	Calais	11	28.66, 27.93, 27.92, 27.59, 26.31, 24.92, 24.91, 24.47, 23.43. 23.27, 22.54
239-41.	Annulet	London	3	27.72, 25.64, 25.47
242.	Rosette Mascle	Calais	1	26.93
243.	Pinecone Mascle	Calais	1	26.32
244.	Leaf Mascle	Calais	1	27.35

## Edward IV

## 1st Reign

	Type	Mint	No.	Weights in gr.
Heavy Coinage Groats				
245.	Ic	London	1	59.11
246.	II	London	1	57.26
Light Coinage Groats				
247.	Va (2)	London	1	46.95
248.	Vc (3)	London	1	46.33 (pellet under CIVI)
249.	VI	York	1	47.97 (E on breast double struck)
250.	VI (2)	Coventry	1	36.32
251-52.	VII (1)	London	2	47.90, 43.15

## 2nd Reign

Groats				
253.	XIV/? mule	London	1	47.16. This is an interesting coin. The rev. bears a rose-like mintmark which is not known for groats although a rose appears on the rev. of half-groats of type XIII, XIV mules, and XV, all very rare. Unfortunately, the mark on this coin is not sufficiently clear to be accepted with certainty.
254.	XIV	London	1	45.36
Ireland - groats				
255-57.	Cross and Pellets	Dublin	3	42.95, 42.20, 40.28
258.		Trim	1	35.23
Penny				
259.	Bishop Booth	Lawrence Durham	1	10.22

## NOTES

1. Dr Caldwell, of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, has been in charge of the Museum's work on the hoard, and has written the first section of this report. While himself doing a good deal of identification, including some of the die-matching of Scottish coins, he enlisted the help of Mrs Delmé-Radcliffe, who is responsible for the final identification and listing of the English coins, and Mrs Murray who is responsible for the remainder of this report.
2. For 1485, *The Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes (Acta Dominorum Concilii) 1478-1495* (1839. Hereafter cited as *ADC*), 94\* - 'Inglis grotis', 'Inglis Eduard grotis' (light), 'Scottis crounis of gold'. Here and elsewhere the year has been modernised for dates before 25 March. For 1467, R.W.Cochran-Patrick, *Records of the Coinage of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1876. Hereafter cited as *C-P, Records*), I, 32, from *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, II (hereafter cited as *APS*), 88,
3. Classification is according to I.H.Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage* (London, 1955).
4. *C-P, Records*, 39, from *APS*, 166, c.10.
5. The hoard references are given in note 12, below.
6. *C-P, Records*, 49, from *APS*, 233, c.10.
7. *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland. Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum* II, no.2883; *ADC*, 406 (quoting a letter of tack dated 1473).
8. *ADC*, 414; *Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland. Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, I (cited as *RSS*), no.82.
9. *ADC*, 46 (George Hume of Thurston mentioned, as a third party); *APS*, 128.
10. *ADC*, 330; *RSS*, no.161.
11. *Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum. The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, X, 125 shows that he already had this custody in the year from August 1488, although his letter of gift under the privy seal was dated May 1491. *Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes* (1918), II, 12.
12. The original hoard reports have been used, but numbers in J.D.A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards A.D.600-1500* (Oxford, 1956) are also given as reference, if available. Ayr (Inv. 20), *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (hereafter cited as *PSAS*), 5 (1863), 105 ff.: the attribution of coins to James III, IV and V has been corrected, and in particular those of Lindsay's 6th coinage of James III, i.e. of crown-and-lis type, are now transferred to James IV. Kilkerran (Inv. 208), *PSAS* 28 (1893-94), 275 ff. Perth (Inv. 309), *NC* (1921), 294 ff. and *PSAS* 55 (1920-21). Whitburn, *PSAS* 56 (1921-22), 321-4, also summary in *NC* (1967), 148-9. Glenluce, *BNJ* 29 (1959), 362-81. Rhoneston, *BNJ* 34 (1965), 109-17.
13. Bridge of Don (Aberdeen No.5, Inv. 5), deposit date c.1466. New Cumnock, Ayrshire (Inv. 284), *terminus post quem* provided by an Edward IV heavy groat. Crookston, Renfrewshire (Inv. 107), *t.p.q.* provided by a few coins of Edward IV. Leith; N.M.McQ.Holmes, *Weill Wrocht & Cunyeit: The Edinburgh Mint and its Coinage* (City of Edinburgh Museums and Art Galleries, 1982), and full report forthcoming.

14. C-P, *Records*, 41, from *APS*, 174, c.1 - calling in the new placks, the mint to pay 2d. for all placks, as bullion, up to the end of May (1486). The devaluation of the old placks, perhaps from 6d. to 4d., was presumably at about the same time, and certainly within the period 21 July 1485 to 27 July 1486; *Exch. Rolls IX*, 445.
15. J.E.L.Murray, 'The Black Money of James III...', in *Coinage in Medieval Scotland (1100-1600)*, edited by D.M.Metcalf (British Archaeological Reports, 45, 1977).
16. From 1855 to 1919, what was considered to be the most probable attribution for these pieces was to James de Bourbon, consort of Joanna II of Naples, who was proclaimed king in August 1415 and defeated in November 1416: this is still accepted by some numismatists. Mr R.B.K. Stevenson, who revived the attribution to Bishop Kennedy of St Andrews, has told me that he has long realised that some, at least, of these coins must be later than 1465, when Kennedy died.
17. Here, and for nos.10-15, the obverse reading has been supplemented from coins in a private collection.
18. Nos. 51, 52 and 56 (and probably 53) were struck under James III. The die flaw to right of hair, on 51 and 52 is not found on Roxburgh coins, and James II was killed at the siege of Roxburgh castle.
19. S. IIIb has crown of 3 lis. Nos.72-76 are all from the same obv. die, B 590-593. An I-shaped flaw developed, crossing the inner circle and touching the final M.

PLATE

