

THE CATHERINEFIELD, DUMFRIES, HOARD, 2007–8

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Introduction

IN 2007 a group of metal-detectorists working in a field at Catherinefield Farm, Dumfries, began to unearth a scatter of hammered silver coins. These had been spread across an area about 100 m × 50 m, but it rapidly became clear that they belonged to a hoard disturbed by ploughing. By the end of 2007 a total of 145 coins had been recovered, and a further eleven were found in the early part of 2008, but despite some excavation in the area where coins had been found in the greatest concentration and at the greatest depth, no undisturbed residue was located. Neither was there any definite evidence of a container, although one foot from a bronze tripod bowl was recovered.

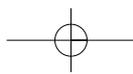
The coins were catalogued by the writer at the National Museum of Scotland and were claimed as Treasure Trove and allocated to Dumfries Museum. It remains possible that more coins will eventually be recovered if the detectorists return to the field after further ploughing takes place, but this is not expected to happen in the near future, and the number and identity of those already available for study are sufficient to allow some analysis of the hoard to be carried out, even though we have no idea what proportion of it has so far been recovered.

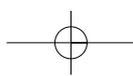
Date of deposition

The latest coin recovered was a Scottish silver groat of Robert II (1371–90), but it is possible to argue that this should be regarded as a stray find from the same field rather than as part of the hoard. Its surface condition and degree of damage would suggest that it might have been exposed to the soil and to plough disturbance for longer than most of the other coins, but of greater significance is its status as an outlier in terms of date. Aside from this coin, the latest Scottish issue represented was David II's second coinage, type C. There were no examples either of type D, with the so-called 'Robert II head' or of the third coinage. Since neither of these issues is rare, the absence of any specimen from an assemblage which contains thirty-one groats and ten half-groats of David II's second coinage types A–C must be considered significant (but see comparisons with the Aberdour hoard, below). The first appearance of the Robert II head is generally agreed to have coincided with the appointment of the Florentine moneyer Bonagius at the Edinburgh mint in 1364, so a *terminus ante quem* for the closure of the hoard of that year or very soon after might be indicated. The latest English coins found were five pennies of Edward III's Treaty Series (1363–69), and the presence of a small number of coins of this issue would be consistent with this conclusion as well as providing a *terminus post quem* of 1363.¹ If the lone Robert II groat did belong to the hoard, however, it would of course be necessary to extend this forward to at least 1371.

Acknowledgements. The writer would like to thank all the following people for their contributions to the recovery of this hoard. The detectorists who found the coins were John Robinson, Dougie Smith, Ian and Sheila Taylor and Leonard and Isobel Turnbull, with Ian Taylor acting as contact for the reporting of the find, which was done in speedy and exemplary fashion. The owners of the land, Mr and Mrs Henderson, not only gave permission for searching to take place, but provided much support and assistance. Among professional colleagues, thanks are due to Andy Nicholson, archaeologist with Dumfries and Galloway Council (Planning and Environment), and David Lockwood and Joanne Turner, at Dumfries Museum.

¹ This is based on the widely accepted dates for the striking of the Treaty Period coinage, as suggested by Brooke and North. Lord Stewartby (pers. comm., and agreeing with Potter (1962), 216–7) is of the opinion that Treaty A (North's Transitional Series) was minted only in 1361, with Treaty B also commencing in that year.





Summary of contents

The hoard comprised a combination of Edwardian pennies and contemporary issues from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, Florin coinage pennies of 1344–51 and groats, half-groats and pennies from the period from 1351 onwards. A summary of the contents in the *Inventory* format might be as follows:

CATHERINEFIELD, DUMFRIES, 2007/8

156 AR English, Scottish and Continental: Deposit 1363 – c.1365, or 1371+.

ENGLAND (25 groats, 12 half-groats, 72 pennies):

Edward I–II (30 pennies): Berwick (1) – 4b or 4c, 1; Bristol (1) – 9b1, 1; Canterbury (9) – 3(d?), 1; 4d, 1; 10ab3a/10ab2, 1; 10ab5, 1; 11a1, 1; 11a2, 1; 13, 1; 14, 1; 15c, 1; Canterbury or London (1) – 10cf2a, 1; London (14) – 2b, 1; 3a, 1; 3c–d, 1; 5a, 1; 9b1, 1; 9b2, 1; 10cf(1?), 1; 10cf3b(2?), 1; 10cf3b (uncertain sub-class), 1; 11b1, 1; 11b3, 1; 12b, 1; 13, 1; 14, 1; London or Lincoln (1) – 3g1 (fragment), 1; Newcastle (1) – 9b1, 1; York (Royal) (1) – 3e, 1.

Edward III (25 groats, 12 half-groats, 42 pennies): 3rd (Florin) coinage pennies: London (1) – 4, 1; Durham (1) – D1, 1; 4th coinage, pre-Treaty series groats: London (25) – C, 5; D, 3; D/E, 1; E, 12; F/E, 1; F, 1; G(a), 2; pre-Treaty series half-groats: London (10) – C, 5; C?, 2; C/D, 1; D, 1; F, 1; York (2) – E, 2; pre-Treaty series pennies: London (1) – C, 1; York (Royal) (1) – E, 1; York (Archiepiscopal) (13) – C–D?, 1; D?, 1; E or G(d or f), 1; G(a?), 1; G(d or f), 1; G(f), 1; G(g), 4; G(g?), 1; G(h), 1; G (uncertain sub-class): 1; Durham (16) – C, 2; C?, 2; C–D, 2; E, 2; F, 1; G(a), 1; G(b–d), 1; G(b, d or f), 1; G(c), 1; G(g), 1; G (uncertain sub-class), 2; Treaty A (North Transitional Series) pennies: York (Archiepiscopal) (1); Durham (1); ?Treaty A/B (North Treaty Series / Transitional Series) mule penny: Durham (1); Treaty B (North Treaty Series) pennies: York (Archiepiscopal) (2); Durham (3); Edward III penny fragment, otherwise unidentifiable (1).

SCOTLAND (32 groats, 10 half-groats, 4 pennies):

Alexander III, second coinage penny (1): Stewart and North E2, 22 points, 1.

David II, first coinage penny (1): Group II (small lettering), 1; second coinage groats: Edinburgh (31) – Stewart A1 early variant, 1; A1, 2; A5, 4; A5/A6, 1; A6 variant / A5, 1; A6, 1; A7, 1; B1, 4; B3a, 2; B3b, 4; B3d, 1; C1, 8; C2, 1; half-groats: Edinburgh (7) – A5, 3; A6, 1; B3a, 1; C1, 1; C2, 1; Aberdeen (3) – B1, 3; pennies: Edinburgh (2) – C1, 1; C2, 1.

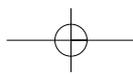
[Robert II: Edinburgh – groat, 1 (possibly not part of hoard)].

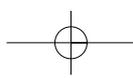
CONTINENTAL (1 sterling):

Gaucher de Châtillon, Yves – Mayhew 246, 1.

Discovery and deposition: Found by metal-detector at Catherinefield Farm, Dumfries; coins spread over an area c.100 m × 50 m. Claimed as Treasure Trove and allocated to Dumfries Museum.

Many of the coins showed signs of damage, presumably as a result of being struck during ploughing, but their condition proved to be essentially stable. However, many of the Edward III pennies proved difficult to identify accurately, as a result of a combination of this damage and poor striking. Of particular interest from a numismatic point of view are the three type B Aberdeen half-groats of David II. The discovery of these coins has raised the total number of traceable examples to just ten, and one of the Catherinefield coins had been struck from a previously unknown obverse die. For details see Appendix 2, below.





Discussion

If a date of deposition of 1363 to *c.*1365 were to be accepted on the above evidence, this hoard would assume considerable significance in a Scottish context, despite its incompleteness. It would be comparable in date only with the much-studied hoard from Montrave, Fife (1877; over 9,000 coins), but the internal distribution of the two hoards is entirely different, as will be discussed below. In addition it would belong to the period immediately preceding the first reduction in weight of the Scottish silver coinage as compared to that of England (in 1367), with all the attendant consequences in terms of the acceptance and valuation of coins on both sides of the border. In order to appreciate what this hoard might reveal about coin circulation and use in Scotland in the mid 1360s, it will be necessary to look at the contents of Scottish hoards which both predate and postdate this period and at the picture presented by individual finds.

From the earlier decades of the fourteenth century there are, of course, a large number of Scottish hoards which comprise English coins of Edward I–II, together with Scottish issues of Alexander III, John Baliol and Robert Bruce and some contemporary Irish and continental types. Although most of these hoards conclude with coins minted no later than the early 1320s, their date of deposition may have been much later, owing to the comparatively very low mintages of coins belonging to the period between 1322 and at least 1344 (the Florin coinage) for English issues and 1351 (David II's second coinage first issue pennies) for Scotland. There are very few recorded Scottish hoards which definitely conclude with Florin coinage pennies, examples being those from Dunfermline, 1896,² 'Scotland B', nineteenth century,³ and possibly Arkleton, Dumfriesshire, 1883.⁴ This is not surprising, however, since few of these coins have been recorded as individual finds either. Between 1978 and 2005 the number of English pennies of Edward I–II reported as individual finds from Scottish soil was 586, as opposed to two or perhaps three examples of Florin coinage pennies.⁵ It must be accepted, therefore, that pennies and fractions of Edward I–II and contemporary Scottish, Irish and continental issues made up virtually the whole of Scotland's currency until the 1350s.

For most of the 1350s the Scottish mint struck only pennies – those of David II's first coinage, second issue (1351–57) – while groats and half-groats of Edward III were being issued in large numbers in England. Coins of these larger denominations were not struck in Scotland until 1358. Unfortunately there is very little evidence which might indicate how quickly the larger English coins may have entered circulation in Scotland, but it might perhaps be regarded as unlikely that this happened to any great extent while there were no equivalent Scottish issues. Whilst English coins might have been hoarded for their bullion value alone, they are unlikely to have been used much in normal transactions. In fact there are very few recorded Scottish hoards which contain coins of the 1350s not including any of 1358 or later. The best recorded example is that found in the grounds of Dykebar Hospital, Paisley, in 1987,⁶ which included two David II pennies of the 1351–57 issue as well as one of Edward III's Pre-Treaty C, but no groats or half-groats. The hoard from Dalquarran Castle, Dailly, Ayrshire, 1818,⁷ included one penny of David II along with earlier coinage, and this must presumably have been of the 1351 coinage, but no larger denomination coins were included. A hoard found in Inverness in 1824 or earlier⁸ is said to have contained pennies of David II along with earlier issues in a total of 3,000+, but the record is unreliable and the word 'penny' may not have designated a specific denomination. Other hoards ostensibly dated to the 1350s are even less well recorded, but the fairly meagre evidence so far available tends

² Thompson 1956, 54, hoard 142; Metcalf 1977, 41, hoard 136.

³ Dolley 1968, 274; Metcalf 1977, 41, hoard 131.

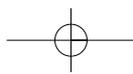
⁴ Dolley 1968, 255–7; Metcalf 1977, 41, hoard 135.

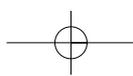
⁵ Holmes 2004, 249; Bateson and Holmes 2006, 191.

⁶ Holmes 1994, 53–8.

⁷ Thompson 1956, 42, hoard 114; Metcalf 1977, 41, hoard 137.

⁸ Metcalf 1977, 42, hoard 138.





to suggest that English groats did not feature strongly in Scottish currency at this period. (It is also worth noting that, between 1978 and 2005 only three 1351–57 pennies of David II were reported as single finds from Scotland,⁹ which is perhaps fewer than might have been expected given that these coins are fairly plentiful in today's market. Their absence from a particular hoard, as in the case of Florin coinage pennies, does not therefore preclude a date of concealment as late as the 1350s.)

Not surprisingly the picture seems to have changed rapidly once David II's groats and half-groats had appeared. Hoards which contain these coins tend also to include English pre-Treaty equivalents in similar or greater numbers. Unfortunately the only Scottish hoard recorded as containing groats of the 1350s but no later is that from Croal Chapel, Closeburn, Dumfriesshire, 1844,¹⁰ which is said to have contained over 10,000 coins which were removed and presumably melted down without any detailed recording. The latest coins were reported to have been of Edward III and David II and to have included groats. Fortunately a residue of 220 coins was located in 1996, and analysis of these supported the nineteenth-century record, with the latest coins being a David II groat of the second coinage, type A, and Edward III pre-Treaty issues.¹¹ Of the 220 coins, which must be regarded in some sense as a random sample of the original hoard, no less than 194 belonged to issues minted no later than the early 1320s, with later issues being represented by seven Florin coinage pennies, four groats and eight pennies of the pre-Treaty series, and two 1351–57 pennies of David II as well as the later groat. (Four pennies were fragmentary and/or unidentifiable.) This, as far as it can be regarded as significant, tends to suggest that Edward I–II pennies and contemporary issues still made up a substantial proportion of Scotland's currency as late as 1358+.

Evidence for the Scottish currency of the early to middle 1360s has so far existed only in the form of the Montrave hoard, which has been the subject of a number of studies. A list of its contents was published by Thompson,¹² and the total number of coins was given there as 9,441, with a date of deposit of *c.*1356. A revised date of '1363+ (?)' was given by Seaby and Stewart,¹³ based on correspondence with R.B.K. Stevenson, who had reported that at least one Edward III penny in the collections of the former National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland belonged to Treaty B and displayed a 'whitish deposit' which also appeared on other coins presumed to be from the Montrave hoard. On this basis Stevenson believed that there was 'a small, probably very small, Treaty B element in the hoard'. Unfortunately the present writer, who has compiled a database of all the British coins in the collections of what is now the National Museum of Scotland, has failed to locate this coin, or any other Treaty B pennies, in the trays. It is of course possible that one or more coins could have disappeared from the collections between 1964 and the compilation of the database catalogue in the early 1990s, and one would hesitate to disagree with the identifications of as great an authority as Stevenson, but the fact remains that the latest coin now identifiable as from the Montrave hoard is a Durham penny belonging to Treaty A (North's Treaty Period, Transitional Series), with obverse legend ending $\text{AIIIGLÆ} \cdot \text{DII}$, and the mint name rendered as $\text{DVR} / \text{ÆIN}$.¹⁴ This would push the *terminus post quem* for the closure of the hoard back to 1361. It is notable that the latest Scottish coins in the hoard were groats of type B of David II's second coinage (as opposed to type C at Catherinefield, which has a *terminus post quem* of no earlier than 1363 according to currently accepted dating).

Dolley expressed the opinion that the Montrave hoard could, in fact, represent two phases of accumulation, with a large hoard containing Edwardian and contemporary issues having

⁹ Holmes 2004, 250; Bateson and Holmes 2006, 191.

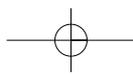
¹⁰ Thompson 1956, 33, hoards 92–93; Metcalf 1977, 42–3, hoard 145.

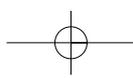
¹¹ Holmes 1998, 83–8.

¹² Thompson 1956, 104–5, hoard 272.

¹³ Seaby and Stewart 1964, 102.

¹⁴ North 1991, 55, no. 1229/1. These coins were discussed by Stewart (1974), with the suggestion that they might belong to the period between the signing of the Treaty of Bretigny in October 1360 and the appointment of Walter dei Bardi at the London mint on 5 March 1361.





been topped up with later coins in the 1360s.¹⁵ Of the total of 9,441 coins given by Thompson, only about 400 Montrave coins in his list were minted after the early 1320s. The figure is not exact, as the totals given for Florin coinage pennies include ‘number uncertain’ for the Durham mint. Excluding these there are listed eleven Florin coinage pennies, and thirty-nine groats, four half-groats and 175 pennies of the fourth coinage, pre-Treaty series. From the coinages of David II the list contains eighteen pennies of 1351–57, and 127 groats, eight half-groats and seventeen pennies of the second coinage. This kind of internal distribution is in marked contrast to that of the Catherinefield hoard, which contained just thirty-two Edwardian and contemporary issues, the remaining 123 coins being of Edward III or David II. These figures indicate that the two hoards are really not comparable entities at all, with Dolley’s theory concerning Montrave possibly explaining the discrepancy.

It will now be instructive to look at the evidence for the nature of the Scottish currency in the later fourteenth century. The Act of Parliament which authorised the minting of David II’s third coinage in 1367 provided for a reduction in the weight, with 352 pennies to be struck from the pound of silver instead of 300. This reduced the theoretical weight of the groat from 72 to 61 $\frac{4}{11}$ grains.¹⁶ Unsurprisingly this led to Scottish coins being banned from circulation in England, and when this ruling was eventually relaxed, in 1373, the value of the Scottish groat in England was reduced to three pence. In these circumstances it would not be surprising if earlier and heavier coins disappeared from circulation and were melted down, and this seems to have been exactly what eventually happened if the evidence of late fourteenth-century hoards is to be believed.

There are no recorded hoards which close with coins of David II’s light coinage, but there are several closing with issues of Robert II, and these can be divided into two distinct categories – those which contain Edwardian and contemporary issues as well as coins minted in the second half of the fourteenth century, and those which contain only the latter. In the first category are the hoards from Aberdour, Fife (1978 and 1981)¹⁷ and from Tranent, East Lothian (1980).¹⁸ The latest of the 295 coins from Aberdour were two groats and a penny of Robert II, but the profile of the remainder of the hoard suggested that these might have been later additions to an earlier accumulation. More than two-thirds of the coins (204) belonged to English, Irish, Scottish and continental issues of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The remaining English coins comprised two ‘star-marked’ halfpennies, fifteen Florin coinage pennies and twenty-nine examples of the fourth coinage, all but one minted by 1361. Of David II there were eight pennies of the 1351–57 issue and thirty-four coins of the second coinage (all of types A–C except one fragment of a D3 penny). The Tranent hoard of 150 coins is likely to have been deposited somewhat later than that at Aberdour, since it contained twenty-seven coins of Robert II and twelve of David II’s light coinage, as well as seventeen from the second coinage and one 1351–57 penny. Coins of Edward III included six Florin coinage pennies, fifteen assorted pre-Treaty issues and two Treaty series pennies. Notably, however, seventy of the Tranent coins were Edwardian or contemporary issues, still nearly half the overall total.

The best recorded hoards in the second category are those from Drumnadrochit, Inverness-shire, 1931,¹⁹ which contained eleven groats and a half-groat of David II and twenty-one groats and a half-groat of Robert II, and from Craigie, Ayrshire, 1893,²⁰ which comprised twenty-one groats and four half-groats of David II, as well as one 1351–57 penny, and forty-six groats, six half-groats and a penny of Robert II, together with an odd Irish penny of Edward I. A reconstruction by Lord Stewartby of the 1868 hoard from Dipple, near Elgin, Moray, shows that it contained three groats of David II and seven of Robert II.²¹ The finds

¹⁵ Dolley 1968, 267–8.

¹⁶ Stewart 1967, 31.

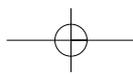
¹⁷ Woodhead et al. 1988.

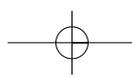
¹⁸ Bateson and Stott 1990.

¹⁹ Metcalf 1977, 43, hoard 148; Murray 1978, 79.

²⁰ Thompson 1956, 37, hoard 104.

²¹ Stewart 1972.





from Lumphanan, Aberdeenshire, at some time before 1750,²² and from Branhholm, Roxburghshire, 1860,²³ were never properly listed, but only coins of David II and Robert II are mentioned. The assumption has been that hoards of this type must have been deposited towards the end of Robert II's reign, i.e. close to 1390.

The sudden predominance of Scottish coins, and the almost total exclusion of those of English kings, in hoards of Robert II's reign from which pre-1351 coins are absent is reflected in the numbers of late fourteenth-century coins recovered as stray finds. The figures for finds between 1978 and 2005 are summarised in Table 1.²⁴

TABLE 1. Non-hoard finds from Scotland, 1978–2005.

	<i>groats</i>	<i>half-groats</i>	<i>pennies</i>	<i>halfpennies</i>
David II (1358 +)	7	4	6	–
David II or Robert II	2	1	1	–
Robert II	12	12	7	1
Edward III (4th coinage)	6 or 7	6	18	3
Richard II	–	–	1	–

Since almost all of the Edward III coins included above belonged to the pre-Treaty series, the picture reflects that offered by the hoards: that English coins did not come across the border into Scotland very much after the early 1360s, and that their place was taken by issues of David II and Robert II.

It is against this background that an attempt must be made to assess the Catherinefield hoard, and in particular to examine whether its contents point towards a date of closure in the 1360s, with the Robert II groat regarded as either a later addition or as a stray find, or in the 1370s with the Robert II groat accepted as a genuine indicator of date. It will be instructive to compare it with the two hoards from the reign of Robert II – Aberdour and Tranent – which contain both Edwardian and later coins. Table 2 shows the number of coins of each denomination and issue in each of the three hoards, then these numbers expressed as a percentage of the total number of coins in each hoard and as a percentage of the total value of the hoard in pence.

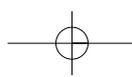
TABLE 2. Comparison of the internal distribution of the Catherinefield, Aberdour and Tranent hoards. The total for Catherinefield excludes one otherwise unidentifiable fragment of an Edward III penny.

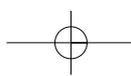
	<i>Catherinefield</i>			<i>Aberdour</i>			<i>Tranent</i>		
	<i>155 coins; value 348 pence</i>			<i>295 coins; value 380 pence</i>			<i>150 coins; value 247 pence</i>		
	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>% by value</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>% by value</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>% by value</i>
Pennies 1279 – c.1322	32	20.65	9.20	204	69.15	53.54	70	46.67	28.34
Star-marked halfpennies	–	–	–	2	0.68	0.26	–	–	–
Florin coinage pennies	2	1.29	0.57	15	5.08	3.94	6	4.00	2.43
David II 1351–57 pennies	1	0.64	0.29	8	2.71	2.10	1	0.67	0.40
Pre-Treaty groats	25	16.13	28.74	4	1.36	4.20	1	0.67	1.62
half-groats	12	7.74	6.90	1	0.34	0.52	1	0.67	0.81
pennies	31	20.00	8.91	23	7.80	6.04	13	8.67	5.26
Treaty									
groats	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
half-groats	–	–	–	1	0.34	0.52	–	–	–
pennies	8	5.16	2.30	–	–	–	2	1.33	0.81
David II 2 nd coinage									
groats	31	20.00	35.63	19	6.44	19.95	7	4.67	11.34
half-groats	10	6.45	5.75	10	3.39	5.25	5	3.33	4.05
pennies	2	1.29	0.57	5	1.70	1.32	5	3.33	2.02

²² Metcalf 1977, 43, hoard 149; Murray 1978, 77–9.

²³ Thompson 1956, 19, hoard 53; Metcalf 1977, 44, hoard 153.

²⁴ Holmes 2004, 250; Bateson and Holmes 2006, 191–2.



TABLE 2. *Cont.*

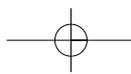
	<i>Catherinefield</i> 155 coins; value 348 pence			<i>Aberdour</i> 295 coins; value 380 pence			<i>Tranent</i> 150 coins; value 247 pence		
	no.	%	% by value	no.	%	% by value	no.	%	% by value
David II 3 rd coinage									
groats	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	2.67	6.48
half-groats	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	2.67	3.24
pennies	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	2.67	1.62
Robert II									
groats	1	0.64	1.15	2	0.68	2.10	14	9.33	22.67
half-groats	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	6.00	7.29
pennies	–	–	–	1	0.34	0.26	4	2.67	1.62
Totals	155	99.99	100.01	293	100.01	100.00	150	100.02	100.00

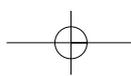
The first and most striking revelation from this comparison is that there are proportionally much higher numbers of late thirteenth / early fourteenth century pennies from both Aberdour and Tranent than from Catherinefield, which is far from what might be expected given the apparent closure dates of the three hoards. (Although the percentage of Robert II coins from Aberdour is perhaps not significantly different in statistical terms from that at Catherinefield, there is no doubt that in the case of Aberdour these coins do definitely belong to the hoard and indicate a *terminus post quem*, whereas the single coin from Catherinefield may not.) By contrast, the Catherinefield hoard contains proportionally far more groats and half-groats than pennies, with over sixty-four per cent by value comprising just groats of Edward III and David II. Given the circumstances of the recovery of the Catherinefield hoard, therefore, with coins scattered individually over a wide area, there must be a serious question as to whether what is so far available for study constitutes a true reflection of what the hoard originally contained. There is no doubt that larger coins are easier to find with a metal-detector than smaller ones, and if the former are over-represented in the total recovered, this would bias the overall picture in favour of later issues as well.

There is a similarity between Catherinefield and Aberdour in that both contain a small representation of Robert II's coinage, but not the late coins of David II which one would expect to find in association with them. Neither contains any example of the light coinage of 1367–71, and of the second coinage, type D (with Robert II head) there is just one fragment of a penny at Aberdour (listed as such as no. 283 in the published catalogue, but rather confusingly as an example of the 1367–71 coinage in the summary on p. 70). This led the authors of the Aberdour report to suggest that the Robert II coins had been added to an earlier accumulation from the early to mid 1360s.²⁵ It is thus also possible to make the same suggestion in the case of Catherinefield, and to regard both hoards as essentially belonging to the 1360s, and thus to an entirely different group from Tranent, which contained a substantial number of Robert II coins. Tranent contained substantially fewer coins of the late thirteenth century and early fourteenth century than Aberdour, which is as one would expect in such a scenario, but the profile of Catherinefield clearly still does not fit.

We have seen that hoards apparently deposited in the 1350s, even those post-dating the introduction of David II's groat coinage, still included mostly pennies minted up to 1322 (although the small residue of the Croal Chapel hoard is hardly reliable in this respect). Some hoards deposited after 1371 also contain substantial numbers of these coins, whereas others also closing with coins of Robert II do not. The 1370s–1380s therefore seems to be the period when Edwardian pennies gradually disappeared from circulation, as might be expected to have happened once it became apparent that David II's third coinage, introduced in 1367, was of reduced weight. The contents of the Catherinefield hoard might tend to suggest that the process was fairly advanced by its date of closure, but some caution needs to be exercised here, for the reason outlined above.

²⁵ Woodhead et al. 1988, 71.





It is unfortunately impossible to reach any definite conclusions, therefore, as to the exact nature of the Catherinefield hoard. Of the three possibilities, the least probable would seem to be that it represents a single accumulation, put together during the reign of Robert II, despite the suspiciously low number of late thirteenth- / early fourteenth-century coins. The absence of late issues of David II renders this theory unsustainable. The probability must be that the hoard was put together by the middle 1360s, with the single Robert II groat being either a stray loss in the same field or a later addition to an earlier accumulation. If the latter were the case, Catherinefield would fall into the same category as Aberdour, for which the same theory has been advanced, and in either case we would have to assume that the low proportion of early pennies at Catherinefield might at least partially result from accidents of recovery.

There may still be some value in looking at the post-1351 coins from Catherinefield, in an attempt to assess whether they might represent an accurate cross-section of the coins in circulation in Scotland in the middle 1360s. The totals for groats, half-groats and pennies of the 1350s and 1360s can be compared with those in other hoards and among individual finds. Table 2 shows that the number of pre-Treaty and Treaty series pennies of Edward III at Aberdour and Tranent greatly exceeds that of groats and half-groats, with the reverse being true of David II's second coinage issues, particularly at Aberdour. As stated above, the Montrave hoard contained 127 Scottish groats of David II, but only eight half-groats and seventeen second coinage pennies. Of Edward III, however, there were thirty-nine groats, four half-groats and 175 pennies. At Catherinefield the total includes thirty-one groats, ten half-groats and only two second coinage pennies of David II, compared with twenty-five groats, twelve half-groats and forty pennies of Edward III. The figures for individual finds between 1978 and 2005 are seven groats, four half-groats and six second coinage pennies definitely of David II, and six or seven groats, six half-groats, eighteen pennies and three halfpennies of Edward III (see Table 1). Although the latter figures show a less pronounced contrast, the overall picture does imply that the circulating currency of Scotland in the early to middle 1360s included more groats and half-groats from the Scottish mints than from England, but that most of the recently minted pennies came from south of the border.

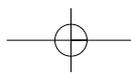
Not surprisingly the vast majority of the recorded pennies belong to the pre-Treaty series and are products of the northern mints of York and, especially, Durham. The evidence of both hoards and individual finds is that post-1361 English pennies did not enter Scottish circulation in any great numbers. Only a very few single finds of these have been recorded, and finds of post-1358 Scottish pennies are also fewer in number than might have been expected by comparison with the totals for groats and half-groats. The supposition must therefore be that the profile of the pennies circulating in Scotland in the period from the 1360s to around 1390 must have included a mixture of Edward I–II and contemporary issues (in declining numbers), large numbers of Edward III pre-Treaty issues, with a very few later English coins, and an increasing but smaller number of Scottish issues of David II and Robert II.

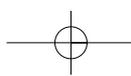
In summary, therefore, the Catherinefield hoard, without the problematical Robert II groat, contains nothing which would be inconsistent with a date of closure in the early to middle 1360s, but there remain questions as to the reason for the small proportion of late thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century pennies among the coins so far available for examination.

APPENDIX 1. LIST OF COINS

<i>Number</i>		<i>Weight in grammes</i>
	ENGLAND	
	Edward I–II pennies (<i>SCBI</i> North 1989 classification) ²⁶	
	<i>Berwick</i>	
1	4b or 4c	1.03

²⁶ North 1989 (*SCBI* 39).

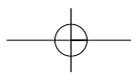


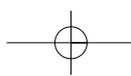


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THE CATHERINEFIELD, DUMFRIES, HOARD, 2007–8

<i>Number</i>		<i>Weight in grammes</i>
	<i>Bristol</i>	
2	9b1; pot-hook Ns; star on breast	1.15
	<i>Bury St Edmunds</i>	
3	10cf1	1.07
	<i>Canterbury</i>	
4	3(d?)	1.01
5	4d	0.95
6	10ab3(a)/10ab2; top-tilted S on obv.	1.25
7	10ab5	1.28
8	11a1	1.21
9	11a2	0.99
10	13; R1 on obv.	1.06
11	14; broken \mathfrak{C}	1.22
12	15c	1.05
	<i>Canterbury or London</i>	
13	10cf2a; \mathfrak{N} 1, \mathfrak{C} 1, h?, N1; rev. appears to read $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{N}$ / DON, with $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{N}$ over LO, but D over T	0.85
	<i>London</i>	
14	2b	0.97
15	3a; as <i>SCBIN</i> 76, but large round face	0.95
16	3c–d; h2, S2, R2(?) / S2	1.07
17	5a	1.05
18	9b1; pot-hook Ns; star on breast; <i>SCBIN</i> 372	1.10
19	9b2; pothook / unbarred 1 Ns; no star	1.32
20	10cf(1?)	0.94
21	10cf3b(2?)	1.04
22	10cf3b (unc. sub-class)	0.91
23	11b1	1.19
24	11b3; $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{R}$	1.28
25	12b	1.26
26	13; obv. R2, broken \mathfrak{C}	1.04
27	14	1.11
	<i>London or Lincoln</i>	
28	3g1, fragment; obv. stops 1; rev. S2	0.50
	<i>Newcastle</i>	
29	9b1; mostly illegible, but no star	1.08
	<i>York (Royal)</i>	
30	3e; damaged hair	0.96
	Edward III pennies, third ('florin') coinage (<i>SCBI</i> North 1989 classification)	
	<i>London</i>	
31	4, rev. 1	1.07
	<i>Durham</i>	
32	D1, rev. 1	1.15
	Edward III, fourth coinage, pre-Treaty series	
	<i>London, groats</i>	
33–7	C	4.51, 4.51, 4.47, 4.38, 4.33
38–40	D; the last clipped	4.52, 4.43, 3.67
41	D/E	4.59
42–53	E; 50 appears to read $\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{L}$; 51 has $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{I}$ below $\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{I}$	4.60, 4.53, 4.51, 4.48, 4.46, 4.45, 4.43, 4.40, 4.39, 4.38, 4.37, 4.19
54	F/E	4.35
55	F	4.53
56–7	G(a)	4.61, 4.40
	<i>London, half-groats</i>	
58–62	C	2.24, 2.18, 2.15, 2.13, 2.04
63–4	C?	2.23, 2.11
65	C/D	2.23
66	D	2.21
67	F	2.24
	<i>London, penny</i>	
68	C	0.99

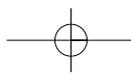


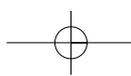


THE CATHERINEFIELD, DUMFRIES, HOARD, 2007–8

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<i>Number</i>		<i>Weight in grammes</i>
	<i>York (Royal)</i>	
69–70	Half-groats, E	2.23, 2.15
71	Penny, E	1.00
	<i>York (Archiepiscopal), pennies</i>	
72	C–D?; chipped	1.02
73	D?; badly chipped	0.87
74	E or G(d or f)	1.10
75	G(a?)	1.24
76	G(d or f)	1.12
77	G(f)	1.09
78–81	G(g)	1.16, 1.09, 1.06, 1.03
82	G(g?)	1.14
83	G(h)	1.16
84	G (unc. sub-class)	1.05
	<i>Durham, pennies</i>	
85–6	C, partial brockages; the second chipped	1.13, 0.97
87–8	C?	1.10, 1.06
89–90	C–D; obv. die of latter apparently crudely cut or damaged	1.17, 1.01
91–2	E; the latter badly chipped	1.08, 0.82
93	F	0.92
94	G(a)	1.01
95	G(b–d)	1.00
96	G(b, d or f)	1.15
97	G(c)	1.06
98	G(g)	1.00
99–100	G (unc. sub-class)	0.99, 0.99
	Edward III fourth coinage, Treaty A (North Treaty period, Transitional series), pennies	
	<i>York (Archiepiscopal)</i>	
101	North 1228 ²⁷	1.11
	<i>Durham</i>	
102	Rev. [CIVI / TΛS / DORÆ] / LMÆ; North 1229/2; chipped	0.97
	Edward III fourth coinage, ?Treaty A/B (North Treaty series / Transitional series) mule	
	<i>Durham</i>	
103	Penny; Treaty X on obv.; rev. CIVI / TΛS / []OR / · ΕLMÆ	1.13
	Edward III fourth coinage, Treaty B (North Treaty series), pennies	
	<i>York (Archiepiscopal)</i>	
104–5	Obv ΕDWΛRDVS · REX · ΛIIGLI; North 1268	1.00, 1.00
	<i>Durham</i>	
106	Rev DVR / ΕIIÆ; crozier head before TΛS; North 1272/1	1.14
107–8	Rev DVVÆ / LMIS; no crozier head; North 1273; the second clipped / angular flan	1.10, 0.69
	Edward III penny fragment, otherwise unidentifiable	
109	About one quarter of coin	0.37
	SCOTLAND	
	Alexander III, second coinage	
110	Penny, Stewart and North type E2, rev. 22 points	1.12
	David II, first coinage	
111	Penny, second issue, Group II; slightly chipped	1.00
	David II, second coinage (Stewart 1967 classification) ²⁸	
	<i>Edinburgh, groats</i>	
112	A1 early variant, with plain spandrels and rosette stops (see Stewart p. 195); same dies as Richardson 39	3.74
113	A1; same dies as Burns 1, fig. 250	4.37
114	A1; same obv. die	4.39
115–17	A5; same dies as Aberdour hoard 251; same obv. die as Richardson 41	4.17, 4.16, 4.01
118	A5; same obv. die as Aberdour hoard 250	4.46

²⁷ North 1991.²⁸ Stewart 1967, 29–30.



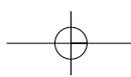
<i>Number</i>		<i>Weight in grammes</i>
119	A5/A6; same dies as Richardson 56; same obv. die as Burns 15a, fig. 262B	4.25
120	A6 variant/A5, with ✕ at end of obv. legend and saltire stops on rev.; same obv. die as Tranent hoard 95	4.02
121	A6; same dies as Burns 11, fig. 258	4.40
122	A7; same dies as Burns 14, fig. 261; slightly chipped	4.08
123	B1; same obv. die as Burns 19, fig. 279	4.31
124	B1; same obv. die as Richardson 60	4.31
125–6	B1	4.04, 3.87
127	B3a; same obv. die as Burns 18, fig. 271	4.22
128	B3a; same dies as Richardson Add. 109	4.20
129–30	B3b; same dies; same obv. die as Burns 23a, fig. 282A (type B2b); the second chipped	4.18, 3.46
131	B3b; same obv. die; chipped	4.20
132	B3b	4.05
133	B3d; same obv. die as Burns 22, fig. 281	4.32
134	C1; same obv. die as Burns 24, fig. 286	4.31
135–6	C1; same obv. die as Burns 25, fig. 287; different rev. dies	4.21, 4.09
137	C1; same obv. die as Richardson 65; chipped	4.12
138–9	C1; same dies as Aberdour hoard 266; same obv. die as Burns 26, fig. 288 (type C2)	4.16, 4.11
140	C1; same obv. die as Aberdour hoard 268	4.12
141	C1; slightly chipped	3.79
142	C2; same dies as Burns 26, fig. 288	4.04
	<i>Edinburgh, half-groats</i>	
143	A5; same dies as Richardson 83; NB MÆVM in rev. legend	2.08
144–5	A5	2.34, 2.07
146	A6; same dies as an NMS coin, ex Thorburn (H.C1696); same obv. die as Burns 5, fig 264	2.24
147	B3a; same obv. die as Aberdour hoard 274 (type B2b) and two other coins in the National Museum of Scotland, the second of type B3b (H.C4163, H.C1705); same rev. die as Burns 10, fig. 272	1.99
148	C1; same obv. die as Burns 17, fig. 295; chipped	2.07
149	C2; same dies as Richardson 95	2.01
	<i>Edinburgh, pennies</i>	
150	C1; badly chipped	0.85
151	C2; same dies as a coin in the National Museum of Scotland (H.C4178)	1.03
	<i>Aberdeen, half-groats</i>	
152–3	B1; same dies as J.K.R. Murray sale lot 141	2.19, 2.15
154	B1; same rev. die as Lockett sale lot 144	2.02
	Robert II	
155	groat, Edinburgh; chipped	3.48
	CONTINENTAL	
156	Gaucher de Châtillon, sterling of Yves, Mayhew 246; ²⁹ slightly chipped	0.83

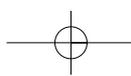
APPENDIX 2. DAVID II ABERDEEN HALF-GROATS

The inclusion in the Catherinefield hoard of three Aberdeen half-groats of David II's second coinage, Stewart type B, is significant in that very few examples of this issue seem to have been identified previously. Whilst it is the case that a new study of the entire post-1358 coinage of David II is now required, the preparation of this would inevitably constitute a major enterprise, the results of which would not be available for a number of years at least. In order to provide a context for the three Catherinefield coins, therefore, it seems appropriate to include here a brief analysis of this small part of the series on the basis of the specimens which the present writer has been able to locate.

The feature which distinguishes Stewart types A and B of the second (1358–67) coinage is the size of the bust, with the terms 'small young head' and 'large young head' being commonly applied respectively. This difference in size is less obvious on the half-groats than on the groats, however: for the Aberdeen half-groats at least, a more valid distinction might be drawn on the basis of lettering. Coins which have been described as type A normally have a simple unbarred **Æ** in the obverse legend and a normal Roman **V** on the reverse. Coins ascribed to type B normally have an ornamental **Æ** on the obverse and a letter of similar style (**U**) instead of a **V** in the word

²⁹ Mayhew 1983.





'MEVS'. There is one reverse die belonging to type A on this basis which is paired with obverse dies of both types, and those coins with type B obverses may perhaps be regarded as mules.

A total of twenty coins have been located with type A obverses, with three separate dies identified (A1–A3). Just ten coins of type B have been located, including the three Catherinefield coins, but with four obverse dies (B1–B4), one of which is known so far only from one of these newly discovered coins. Eight reverse dies have so far been identified, of which a–d are paired with type A obverses only, e with both types, and f–h with type B obverses only.

Obverse dies

A1: † DꝚVID + DƎI + GRꝚ + RƎX + SCOTORV
 A2: † DꝚVID + DƎI + GRꝚ + RƎX + SCOTORVM
 A3: † DꝚVID + DƎI + GRꝚ + RƎX + SCOTORVM
 B1: † DꝚVID + DƎI ‡ GRA + RƎX + SCOTORV ‡
 B2: † DꝚVID + DƎI + GRA + RƎX + SCOTORVM
 B3: † DꝚVID []I + GRA + RƎX + SCOTORV
 B4: † DꝚVID + DƎI + GRA + RƎ[]OTORVM [?]

Reverse dies

a: † DꝚS / PROT / ƎCTOR / MƎVS // VILL / Ꝛ ‡ Ꝛ / BƎR / DON
 b: † DꝚS / PROT / ƎCTOR / MƎVS // VILL / Ꝛ ‡ Ꝛ / BƎR / DON
 c: † DꝚS / PROT / ƎCTOR / MƎVS // VILL / Ꝛ ‡ Ꝛ / BƎR / DON
 d: † DꝚS / PROT / ƎCTOR / MƎVS * // VILL / Ꝛ + Ꝛ / BƎR / DON
 e: † DꝚS / PROT / ƎCTOR / MƎVS // VILL / Ꝛ ‡ Ꝛ / BƎR / DON
 f: † DꝚ[] / PROT / ƎCTOR / MƎVS // VILL / Ꝛ ‡ Ꝛ / BƎR / DON
 g: [] / PROT / []CTOR / MƎVS // VILL / [] ‡ Ꝛ / BƎR / DON
 h: † DꝚS / PROT / ƎCTOR / MƎVS // VILL / Ꝛ ‡ Ꝛ / BƎR / DON

The following combinations of obverse and reverse dies have been noted. NMS indicates that the coin is in the collections of the National Museum of Scotland, and is followed by the registration number. An asterisk (*) indicates that the coin is illustrated on **Pl. 15**.

A1/a (7)

Burns³⁰ 6, fig. 265 (NMS, H.C16846) (* obv.)

Richardson³¹ 88 (NMS H.C1697) (* rev.)

Hunterian Museum, *SCBI* 35, 402,³² where a die-link to Burns 6 is not recorded, although it does appear to be the case; illustrated in Stewart (1967), pl. IV, no. 54

Lockett collection sale (1957), lot 139; Lockett collection pl. VII.12

Dolphin coins fixed price list 2 (1992), no. 1336

Spink auction 12 November 2003, lot 115

Dix Noonan Webb auction 63, 7 October 2004 (David McDonald collection), lot 675; ex DNW auction 60, 9 December 2003 (Dr. James Davidson collection, part II), lot 364

A1/b (4)

Ashmolean Museum, *SCBI* 35, 401; from Tranent hoard, 1980

Dix Noonan Webb auction 55, 8 October 2002, lot 680

Stewartby collection, ex Bute 223

Stewartby collection (bt Baldwin 1974)

A2/b (2)

Spink auction 57, 29 April 1987 (J.K.R. Murray collection), lot 140

Stewartby collection, ex Parsons 714 (* obv. and rev.)

A2/c (2)

Stewartby collection, ex Thorburn; 'Scottish Mints', pl. XVII.28a³³

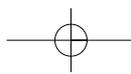
Home Farm Portree, Skye; found during excavation by CFA Archaeology; final location yet to be decided

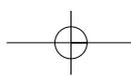
³⁰ Burns 1887.

³¹ Richardson 1901.

³² Bateson and Mayhew 1987.

³³ Stewart 1971.



*A3/c (1)*

Stewartby collection, ex Dakers 342 (* obv. and rev.)

A3/d (2)

British Museum (E2435) (* rev., courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)
Lockett collection sale (1957), lot 140; Lockett collection pl. VII.13

A3/e (2)

Aberdour hoard, 1978/1981, no. 270 (NMS, H.C4166)
Stewartby collection ex Mackenzie

B1/e (4)

Spink auction 57, 29 April 1987 (J.K.R. Murray collection), lot 141
Stewartby collection, ex Bute 223 (* obv.)
Catherinefield hoard 152, 153 (153 * rev.)

B2/f (2)

Burns 13, fig. 277 (NMS H.C16853)
Richardson 93 (NMS H.C1710) (* obv. and rev.)

B2/g (1)

Stewartby collection, ex Walters 627 (* rev.)

B3/h (2)

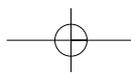
Lockett sale (1957), lot 144; Lockett collection pl. VII.42
Stewartby collection, ex Davidson (* obv. and rev.)

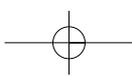
B4/h (1)

Catherinefield hoard 154 (* obv.)

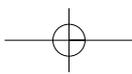
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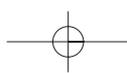


PLATE 15

