

#### IV.

DESCRIPTIVE NOTICE OF THE COINS IN THE FORTROSE HOARD, WITH  
NOTES ON THE CORRESPONDING GOLD COINAGE OF SCOTLAND.  
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
There are two principal series of the Robert III. groat coinages, both very well represented in this hoard. These are respectively distinguished: the one by having the points of tressure ornamented with three pellets, disposed in loose pyramid form, the other by having the points of tressure ornamented with neatly-formed trefoils. They differ also in their style of bust and lettering, and in their general execution. The first series, so far as relates to the present hoard, consists entirely of Edinburgh groats. I am not aware of any Perth or Aberdeen groats which have the points of tressure ornamented with three pellets, but there are a few Dumbarton groats of this variety, evidently imitated from those of Edinburgh. The Dumbarton groat coinages of Robert III. must have been of very late issue, for their average weights do not exceed those of the James I. groats. As there are no Dumbarton groats in this hoard, nor any specimens of the light groat coinages of Edinburgh or of Aberdeen,—there seems to have been none struck for Perth,—it may be inferred that the Fortrose hoard was deposited some time before the light groat coinages of Robert III. made their appearance.

The second series, as here represented, consists of groats of Perth, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen. The Perth coins are placed by me first in order, for the earlier issues of the trefoil-pointed tressure groats appear to have been limited to the Perth mint. To a certain extent the two series were probably of concurrent issue. But judging from the remarkable

correspondence in respect of lettering and fabric of the groats of the three-pellet-pointed tressure series with the groats of Robert II., we may reasonably assume that these were the first in the field. Bonagius of Florence, who was master moneyer during the reign of Robert II., is expressly referred to as Bonagius, "our Moneyer," in the Act 24 Oct. 1393, of Robert III.; and, in all likelihood, the three-pellet-pointed tressure coins of Edinburgh under Robert III. were executed from dies chiefly furnished by Bonagius himself. The crown, it may further be remarked, on what appear to have been the earlier varieties of the three-pellet-pointed tressure groats of Robert III., is identical with that on the groats of Robert II.

Until the reign of Robert III. the points of tressure were always quite plain. Such ornamentation as was introduced on the tressure during the two previous reigns was confined to the external angles. The number of arcs on the groats of David II. and Robert II. was usually six—in some rare instances seven—these in no case extending below the bust. The lowest number of arcs on the three-pellet-pointed tressure series of Robert III. is seven arcs, and these invariably extend all round the bust. There are, however, in this hoard, certain Edinburgh groats with tressure of six arcs, which do not extend below the bust, and which have the points plain, agreeing in these respects with the groats of Robert II. Save in these particulars, and that the words on obverse are not divided, these coins correspond closely with certain seven-arc groats of the three-pellet-pointed tressure series. Both have the same broad face, with limp curls—the same plump formation of the lower part of bust—the same long, flat Robert II. style of crown—the same peculiarity of lettering, remarkable for this, that the *r*, which is more free and flowing than the usual *r*, always takes the place of the *B*, so that we have *ROBERTVS* for *ROBERTVS*, *LIRATOR* for *LIBATOR*, *EDINVRGH* for *EDINVRGH*,—as on some Robert II. coins with this identical *r*. It is extremely probable that the six arc Edinburgh groats, as above, with the points plain—and with the tressure not extending below the bust—were the very earliest issues of Robert III.; and that their counterparts of the three-pellet-pointed series, with the

seven arcs all round, were the earliest of that series. Commencing the three-pellet-pointed series in this way, we have next groats with head similar to the preceding but not so broad, and with the curls branching out in more graceful curves. The lower part of the bust on some pieces is plump and full, as on the above, but more frequently it has an attenuated appearance, with long sloping shoulders. The letter R is the straight up and down R of the usual Robert II. character, and is never substituted for the B. The words on reverse in this group, as also on both the preceding, are divided by two saltires (crosses of the St Andrew form); on obverse the words are divided by three pellets—so also are the words on the obverse legends of the ROBERTVS groats with the seven arc three-pellet-pointed tressure. Some coins with this tressure, both with the ROBERTVS and the ROBERTVS inscriptions, besides the three pellets after each of the words on obverse, have two saltires after SCOTORVM. One variety has two saltires after each of the three first words on obverse, and three pellets between REX and SCOTORVM.

With the more attenuated bust we have also, of the three-pellet-pointed tressure series, groats with the words on obverse divided partly by three pellets and partly by small fleurs-de-lis and crescents in combination—; and on reverse, by fleurs-de-lis and crescents only—combined in the same manner as on obverse—. It is remarkable that, where the pellets prevail in the inscriptions on obverse, the crown is large, with the spaces between the lis low and flat, as on the coins previously described; and that, where the fleurs-de-lis and crescents are the more numerous, the crown is usually smaller, and with the spaces between the lis taller and sharper. On the coins, in the group next in order of sequence, with same style of head as before, but with still more attenuated bust, and with the words on both sides divided wholly by fleurs-de-lis and crescents in combination, the crown is almost invariably of the smaller character with the tall sharp intermediate spaces.

There is a peculiarity in the form of the letter A on some of these fleurs-de-lis and crescents groats, of which it is very important to take note. On the coins, with the words otherwise divided than by fleurs-de-lis and crescents,

in the three-pellet-pointed tressure groups previously described, this letter was of the compact form of the A on the Robert II. coinages. But now we meet with a smaller A, somewhat top-heavy, and frequently in two halves. This A does not occur on the obverses of the coins with the words divided partly by three pellets and partly by fleurs-de-lis and crescents in combination, but we find it on their reverses, where the words are divided wholly by fleurs-de-lis and crescents in combination. Out of 32 groats of this variety in the present hoard, it occurs on the reverses of 16—exactly one-half. I ought to state that there are two varieties of tressure on the groats with the words on both sides wholly divided by fleurs-de-lis and crescents—the tressure of seven arcs, as on all the preceding coins of the three-pellet-pointed tressure series, and the tressure of nine arcs, now apparently for the first time introduced. One coin in this hoard seems to have the tressure consisting of eight arcs, but it is possibly only a mistruck nine arc tressure groat. For the rest, we find that out of 213 fleur-de-lis and crescent groats in this hoard, 176 specimens have the tressure of seven arcs, and 37 specimens the tressure of nine arcs. On the seven arcs tressure fleurs-de-lis and crescent groats, the small, heavy-topped A is by far the most commonly met with form of the A; on the nine arcs tressure fleurs-de-lis and crescent groats it is the only form of the A met with—so far, at least, as regards the coins in the Fortrose hoard.

Another variety of the three-pellet-pointed tressure groats has the words on both sides divided by fleurs-de-lis only, with a fleur-de-lis, instead of a cross, before the legend on obverse. The tressure on these coins consists of nine arcs, the crown is narrow, and the A is of the small heavy-topped character. There is a groat in this hoard with words on obverse divided by fleurs-de-lis, and on reverse by fleurs-de-lis and crescents. But this is simply a mule, the obverse being from the identical same die as the preceding coins with words on both sides divided by fleurs-de-lis.

The only other variety of the three-pellet-pointed tressure groats—so far as represented in the Fortrose hoard—while presenting us with a pleasing change of portrait from the somewhat coarse-featured face we have hitherto been familiar with, the nose being aquiline instead of a

broad snub, and the other features more carefully rendered—exhibits a very close connection with the coins last described, as shown by the nine arc tressure, by the small crown with high intermediate spaces, the slim bust, and the small heavy-topped  $\Delta$  in the inscriptions. The words on both sides are divided by two saltires. I have placed these coins last in the three-pellet-pointed tressure series, both because of their correspondence with the nine arcs tressure groats in the preceding groups, and because the very same style of head, with slightly different adjuncts, is found on the very light groats of Edinburgh of late issue not represented in this hoard. These latter have single pellets only on the points of tressure, and the tressure is sometimes of eight, sometimes of twelve arcs, in both cases extending all round the bust, as on all the coins of the three-pellet-pointed tressure series. A Dumbarton groat with twelve arc single-pellet-pointed tressure, with aquiline portrait as above, is in the collection of this Society.

Not many interchanges of dies occur between the several groups of the three-pellet-pointed tressure series. As already mentioned, there is an instance in this hoard of a fleur-de-lis and crescent reverse united to a fleur-de-lis obverse. With the fleurs-de-lis and crescent reverse there are two coins with their obverses struck from dies of the previously described group—with words divided by three pellets. And of the groats with the full face and limp curls, and with ROBERTVS for ROBERTVS, there are two specimens with LIBATOR and EDINBURGH on reverse, instead of LIRATOR and EDINRVRGH—the reverses being struck from dies of the following group, with the regular B, and its concomitant, the straight laced R.

The other great series of the Robert III. coinage—with the points of tressure ornamented with neatly-shaped trefoils, instead of the three pellets disposed in loose pyramid—is further distinguished from the three-pellet-pointed tressure series by the greater smoothness of the finish of the coins. The lettering is straighter and more sharply defined. The manner of ornamentation between the words is different. The crown, while large, has the spaces between the lis tall and acute. The curls swell out from immediately beneath the crown, instead of first descending some little distance as

on the former series. The lower part of bust, although not very full, is broad, with the shoulders well rendered. There are three styles of head on the trefoil-pointed tressure coinages, but all have the same crown, the same arrangement of the curls, with the same broad formation of the lower part of bust. One variety has an aquiline visage very similar to that on the last-described group in the three pellet-pointed series. A second, with longer and sharper face, has the nose very long. A third, and by far the best known, and the most numerous represented, has a round and rather chubby countenance. The second of these, in point of issue, is unquestionably the intermediate variety. It occurs only on some of those somewhat scarce pieces with annulets in the external angles of tressure, a peculiar mode of ornamentation, of which there are also examples with the two other styles of head. I have commenced my description of the trefoil-pointed tressure coins with this third-mentioned variety of head, my reasons for which will be apparent as we proceed.

Some coins with the round chubby head have the lettering larger than is found on others of the same variety, or on those with the two other styles of head. These relate entirely to the Perth mint. I have seen lettering similar in some respects on a few coins of Robert II. The *A* is not unlike that on the earlier groups of the three-pellet-pointed tressure coinage, the *C* and *E* are sharp and angular, the *T* with plain top, but more frequently, on reverse, with long pendants at either end. The ends of the small crosses before legend on obverse, and in the legends on reverse, are usually so prolonged as to meet with each other, assuming the appearance of ornaments of four compartments. Some of these coins—with a tressure of seven arcs, not surrounding the bust—have no divisions between the words on obverse, but on reverse have the words divided by saltires and pellets, detached, or in combination. Others—with a tressure of eight arcs, the lower arc extending across the bust—have the words on reverse divided as on these last, and on obverse, by trefoils of the same form as the trefoils on the points of tressure. Others, with smaller lettering on reverse than on obverse—with a tressure of eight arcs as on these last, but with the lower arc across the breast very faintly expressed—have saltires and pellets

in combination ( $\times$ ) between the words on both sides. On this smaller lettering the A and T are of a lankier character than on the larger lettering. The greater number of the groats in this hoard, on which the words are divided by saltires and pellets in combination, as above, have this smaller lettering on both sides. The tressure on these is respectively of eight, nine, and ten arcs. The lower arc of tressure, across the bust, on those with eight arcs, is very feebly rendered, and the breast is plain, as on all the coins with the trefoil-pointed tressure previously described. Some with the nine arcs, and all those with the ten arcs tressure, have a trefoil on the breast. With the exception of one groat of Edinburgh, all the coins in this hoard, which have the words on both sides divided by saltires and pellets, are of the Perth mint.

Next in order, perhaps, ought to be placed those Perth groats, with this chubby head, which have the words on obverse divided by mixed ornaments— $\times \times \times \times$ ; and on reverse by two plain crosses— $\dagger$ . There are ten of these pieces in the Fortrose hoard, embracing several varieties of reverse, according to the different ways in which the crosses are disposed between the words. There is also an Edinburgh groat with the obverse from the same die as above, and with mixed ornaments on reverse, of the same character, but somewhat differently arranged from those on obverse. The lettering on these coins is the same as on those last described with saltires and pellets in combination between the words.

The remaining groats of Perth and Edinburgh, with the round chubby head, while agreeing with each other closely in lettering, and in the rendering of their obverse legends, now split partnership so far as the ornaments between the words are concerned. On those of Perth, the words, on obverse and reverse, are divided by two crosses— $\dagger$ ; while those of Edinburgh have the words on both sides divided by two pellets— $;$ ; subsequently, by two annulets— $\circ$ . The Perth groats with GRACIA correspond with the Edinburgh groats with GRACIA; and the Perth groats with GRA with the Edinburgh groats with GRA. Any one comparing these several varieties, in the respective coinages, can hardly doubt but that they have been of corresponding issue.

The lettering on the trefoil-pointed tressure coins, so far as described, has been homogeneous—of the same character all through. There appear to have been very few interchanges of dies on the Perth groats. One coin with large lettering on obverse, with the words divided by trefoils, has its reverse from a die of the smaller lettering coinage, with the words divided by saltires and pellets. Another coin, with the larger lettering on obverse and the smaller lettering on reverse, has its reverse from a die of the larger lettering coinage of the preceding group. And one coin, with the small lettering obverse—words divided by saltires and pellets—has its reverse from another die of the same larger lettering coinage. These three pieces excepted, there do not seem to have been any interchanges of dies on the Perth trefoil-pointed tressure coinages so far as represented in this hoard, and in so far as described. With the Edinburgh mintages of the trefoil pointed tressure series, as we shall have occasion to see presently, it was very different.

One variety, however, with round, chubby head as on the preceding groups, requires yet to be noticed—remarkable in more respects than one. The Perth groats of this class have the words on both sides divided by two crosses, as above, but with an annulet in each of the external angles of tressure,—which consists of seven arcs, not all round, with the breast plain. The Edinburgh groats corresponding to these have the words on both sides divided by two annulets, but are without annulets in the angles of tressure. On some, the tressure, like that on the Perth groats, is of seven arcs, not all round, and without trefoil on breast. On others, the tressure is of eight arcs—the lower arc, which stretches across the breast, being usually very faintly expressed. These last have a trefoil on the breast. The lettering on the obverses of all these coins, alike of the Perth and Edinburgh mints, is of the same description as on the immediately preceding groups. On reverse, also, the lettering on some pieces, although not on all, is homogeneous with that on obverse. These coins have the character, which stands for “&.” in the inscription on reverse before LIBATOR, expressed thus—+, which is simply an I with a stroke across the centre. This is the manner in which the & is represented on all the preceding coins with this head in the trefoil-pointed tressure series.



On all the three pellet-pointed tressure coins it is formed thus—**Ɔ**, like a reversed **F**; and this is the style in which it is rendered on all the Robert II. coinages. Now, on the reverses of some of the Robert III. coins here referred to, on which the lettering on reverse is not homogeneous with that on obverse, we have this **Ɔ**; sometimes upsides down. On such of the reverses of the Edinburgh groats as the form **Ɔ** appears, the lettering is almost a literal transcript of that on the reverses of the groats last described in the three-pellet-pointed tressure series. So also on some of the Perth groats, while on others of the Perth mint the lettering, with which it is found in connection, is chiefly the same as that on the obverses. In stating these varieties, I refer, of course, to such examples as I have met with in this hoard.

Of the intermediate style of head, with the long face, we have groats of Perth and Edinburgh, both with annulets in the angles of tressure. The words on both are divided as before; on the Perth groats, by two crosses; on the Edinburgh groats, by two annulets. The lettering on the obverses of both mints is of the same character as the preceding. But while on the reverses of the Edinburgh groats the lettering is entirely homogeneous with that on obverse except in having **Ɔ** for **+**—the **Ɔ** sometimes taking the place of the **r**, and sometimes turned upsides down; the lettering on the reverses of the Perth groats—also with **Ɔ** for **+**—while for the greater part homogeneous with that on obverse, has some of the letters, notably the small, heavy-topped **A**, as on the last-described varieties of the three-pellet-pointed tressure coinage. These annulet groats seem to be the only coins with this head.

With the aquiline style of head, also, as previously remarked, there are groats with annulets in the angles of tressure. Those of Perth have the words, as before, divided by two crosses; those of Edinburgh, by two annulets; and those of Aberdeen—the first appearance, apparently, of this mint—by two crescents. On all of these we have **Ɔ** for **+**—this character also taking the place of the **r**—but in all other respects the lettering on reverse corresponds with that on obverse, which is the same as on the preceding varieties with annulets in the angles of tressure.

With the aquiline portrait, and with homogeneous lettering, as on these last, there are a number of groats in this hoard which have crosses instead of annulets in the angles of tressure, which is of seven arcs, with the breast plain. This is a hitherto unpublished variety of the Robert III. coinage, although known to some private collectors. All the specimens in the Fortrose hoard, and such few others as I have seen, belong to the Perth mint. There is, however, in the collection of Mr Coats, an extremely rare Robert II. Edinburgh groat, with the usual six arcs tressure, and with small crosses, as on these, in the external angles. This groat is further peculiar in having no star on the handle of sceptre; the lettering is of the ordinary Robert II. character; and the words on obverse, as on most groats of Robert II., are divided by two small crosses. It weighs 59 grains. Two of the Robert III. Perth groats in this hoard, with crosses in the angles of tressure, have + on reverse; all the others have  $\nabla$ , sometimes upsides down, and, in every instance, taking the place of the P in PECTOR.

Some remarkable interchanges with dies relating to other mintages, as above mentioned, occur on the Edinburgh groats with the trefoil-pointed tressure obverse. None of these, so far as regards this hoard, are connected with the aquiline, or intermediate portraits; but of coins with the round, chubby style of head, we have the following varieties of reverse—partly from dies belonging to the three-pellet-pointed tressure series, and partly from dies proper to the trefoil-pointed tressure coinage.

I. *Obverse*: words divided by saltires and pellets.

*Reverses.*

1.	Words divided by fleurs-de-lis and crescents (small top-heavy A),	3 coins.
2.	„ „ fleurs-de-lis (small top-heavy A),	5 „
3.	„ „ two saltires (small top-heavy A),	4 „
4.	„ „ saltires, pellets, and semi-pellets, variously combined,	2 „
5.	„ „ two pellets,	3 „
6.	„ „ three pellets,	2 „
7.	„ „ three and two pellets,	2 „
8.	„ „ two annulets,	3 „

II. *Obverse*: words divided by two pellets.*Reverses.*

1.	Words divided by two saltires (small top-heavy A),	16 coins.
2.	„ „ saltires and pellets,	1 „
3.	„ „ saltires, pellets, and semi-pellets, variously combined,	3 „
4.	„ „ three and two pellets,	3 „
5.	„ „ two annulets,	2 „
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III. *Obverse*: words divided by two annulets.*Reverse.*

1.	Words divided by two pellets,	2 coins.
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The reverses of Nos. 1, 2, 3, Class I.—and of No. 1, Class II., are from dies belonging to the three-pellet-pointed tressure series. It is of especial importance to take note of the fact that the A in the inscriptions on these reverses is the small top-heavy of the later described groups in that series. On the earlier groups of the three-pellet-pointed tressure coinages, with the words on reverse divided by saltires, the A is the firm, compact A of the Robert II. period. It is plain, therefore, that the interchanges of dies, as above, with trefoil-pointed tressure obverses, can not have taken place with respect to these. The only coins with the three-pellet-pointed tressure obverse, which have the words on reverse divided by two saltires, and have also the small top-heavy A in the inscriptions, are those in the last-described group of that series, with the aquiline head. On these the tressure round the bust is of nine arcs. This is also the tressure on the groats with the words divided by fleurs-de-lis, and on a number of those with the words divided by fleurs-de-lis and crescents. All these nine arc three-pellet-pointed tressure groats have the small top-heavy A in the inscriptions; and it is with reverse dies, in connection with these varieties, that the above-described interchanges with trefoil-pointed tressure obverses have been made. The manner in which these interchanges occur serves to show what must have been the respective order of issue of the several groups in the trefoil-pointed tressure series itself. In Class I. three inter-

changes with reverses, connected with three different varieties of the three-pellet-pointed series, occur; in Class II., one only; in Class III., none. How, or why, these interchanges should have been made forms a subject of curious inquiry, in which some may be disposed to interest themselves. What more immediately concerns us here is the fact that they did take place. Taken in connection with similar interchanges observable on the gold coinages of this reign, these interchanges strongly favour the suggestion of there having been a concurrent issue, to some extent, of the three-pellet-pointed tressure, with the trefoil-pointed tressure coinages. The smoother finish, and more delicate execution, of the dies of the latter series, renders it very probable that a different hand had been employed in their fabrication from that by which the dies of the former series were produced.

A few more coins still remain to be described. These are apparently the latest of the Robert III. groat coinages in the Fortrose hoard. With aquiline head, as on the Perth groats with the crosses in the angles of tressure, and with very similar lettering on obverse, as on these, except that here and there letters of a bolder character are introduced, we have groats of Perth, with tressure of six arcs, not all round; some with trefoil on breast, and some with the breast plain. These are of the trefoil-tressure coinage, but the trefoils are very sparingly employed, most of the points of tressure being without ornamentation. The lettering on the reverses of these pieces is chiefly of a mixed description, like that on obverse. Some have  $\pm$ , and some  $\text{r}$ —these characters taking the place of the r in *PRETOR*. With same bust and lettering, we have also in this hoard groats of Aberdeen; some with tressure of seven arcs, not extending below the bust, the points fleured with trefoils, words divided by two crescents; some with what seems to be a tressure of eight arcs, the lower arc extending below bust, and the points fleured with trefoils as above, words divided by single crescents—in both cases, with  $\text{r}$  on reverse, which, as before, supersedes the r. There is an Edinburgh groat in this hoard of the annulet in tressure series, with cross instead of trefoil on breast, which corresponds

exactly with these Aberdeen groats in fabric, bust, and lettering. Next, in order of issue, seems to be the Perth groat, in this hoard, with the lettering in a bolder style than before, words on obverse divided by two saltires, one saltire only after ROBERTVS; words on reverse divided by two crosses;  $\text{†}$  for P, and also before LIB. The tressure on this coin is of nine arcs, entirely surrounding the bust, with none of the points fleured; the breast plain. With this aquiline head, and apparently of still later issue, we have Perth groats of ruder execution in every respect than the preceding, and with the lettering of a more mixed description. The legends on these rude coins, so far as here represented, are usually more or less blundered, chiefly on reverse. Some with EI for DEI are without any divisions between the words, but with two crosses, and two saltires, after SCOTTORVM; and with two crosses, sometimes accompanied with saltires, interspersed, here and there, in the inscriptions on reverse. The tressure on the above groats is remarkable for the small size of the arcs; in this respect corresponding with the tressure on the very light groats with aquiline head, of which we have no specimens in this hoard. One Edinburgh groat in the Fortrose hoard, with this tressure, the points plain, has the identical same lettering as on the Dumbarton light groat with aquiline head in the collection of this Society; and a Perth groat, with tressure of nine arcs all round the bust, the points plain, has the lettering closely resembling that on the very light Edinburgh groat with aquiline head, with the eight arcs tressure not here represented. These two coins must therefore be regarded as the very latest groats with the aquiline head in the Fortrose hoard. It is scarcely probable that any great interval should have elapsed between the issue of these and the issue of the very light groat coinages with same head. And yet, while the light groats—distinguishable from these also by their smaller module—weigh only about 30 grains each, these two pieces are of the respective weights of  $43\frac{1}{4}$  and 37 grains. Of the lighter of these, there is a specimen in the Society's collection weighing 40 grains.

I may here remark that, all through, the several groups in the Fortrose hoard, whether of the three-pellet-pointed tressure series, or of the trefoil-pointed tressure series, or of the coins last described, displayed a remark

able conformity in their average weights. The coins of any particular group seldom fell below an average weight to each coin of 41 grains, or rose above an average weight to each of 42 grains. This was the more surprising, viewed in connection with the extraordinary differences of weight of individual coins, more particularly in some of the larger groups. In the three-pellet-pointed tressure series, two groats, with the words divided by fleurs-de-lis and crescents—from almost identical dies, and of corresponding module, weighed severally 52 and 29 grains. Any one looking at these two groats, as placed under glass, would have been puzzled to say which was the heavier and which was the lighter coin. This conformity, in the aggregate weights of the coins in each of the several groups, shows that no change in the standard weights of the Robert III. silver coinages had occurred throughout all the period represented by this hoard, which, as we have just seen, brings us very close to the time when the very light coinages of Robert III. were introduced. It is not probable that any change of weight took place in the interval. Many of the coins in this hoard have suffered from detrition, in the ordinary course of currency, and many bear evidences of having been clipped. By the Act 24 Oct. 1393, 21 shillings, or 63 groats, were ordered to be made out of every six ounces of *pure* silver, these coins to be of *good* silver as in the reign of David II. The standard of fineness by which David II. professed to make his coins was the same as that of the English sterling, consisting of 11 oz. 2 dwt. of fine, or utterly pure silver, to 18 dwt. of alloy, that is, of  $\frac{37}{40}$  parts pure silver to  $\frac{3}{40}$  parts alloy. The weight of the ounce at this period was equivalent to 450 grains Troy weight. Six ounces of pure silver would thus give 2700 grains Troy; to which, adding the alloy in the proportion as above, we get  $202\frac{1}{2}$  additional grains, or  $2902\frac{1}{2}$  grains in all, and dividing this by 63, the number of groats to be made out of every six ounces, we find that the standard weight of the groat, as ordained by the Act 24 Oct. 1393, was  $46\frac{1}{4}$  grains. If we are to understand the terms “pure” and “bono,” in the Act, as meaning the same thing, then the standard weight would be  $42\frac{2}{7}$  grains. But as so many groats of Robert III. exceed the standard of  $42\frac{2}{7}$  grains, it is more probable that

the proper standard, as given above, was  $46\frac{1}{44}$  grains. In England, however, by the statute of 1390, the Scottish groat was ordered to be current at only half the value of the English groat—the standard weight of the English groat being then 72 grains Troy. The quality, as well as the quantity, of the silver in the Scottish groat has to be taken into consideration in this case; as also that, this being a protective measure, the English naturally made a good allowance in their own favour. In 1398, the ordinance to reduce the current value of the Scottish money to one-half, in England, was again enforced; from which we may understand that between 1390 and 1398, the intrinsic value of the Scottish groat had remained much the same; also, that it is to the silver coinage attributed to Robert III. that the English Act, 1390, relates. Some of the money ascribed to Robert III. may, however, have been struck under Robert II. I am not aware of the exact date of the English statute of 1390, but Robert II. died in that year—on the 13th of May, according to Balfour—and Robert III., according to the same authority, was crowned on the day of the Assumption of the Virgin, which by the Roman and Greek Catholic churches is celebrated on the 15th of August. The dies for these front face coinages must have taken some time to prepare,<sup>1</sup> and some further time must have elapsed before the hue and cry in England against these coins became so strong as to result in the Act of 1390, by which the value of the Scottish groat, which previously to this had been received at three-fourths of the current value of the English groat, was reduced to one-half.


Among the later groats of Robert III., in the Fortrose hoard, are certain coins, which from their style of lettering, and general execution, were probably issued at about the same time as the later coins with the aquiline face, described above. The head on one variety is an evident imitation of the rude head on the more common groats of the three pellet-pointed tressure series—fitted, however, with the crown, curls, and bust of the trefoil-pointed tressure groats. There are of this variety, in this hoard, groats of Aberdeen, with tressure of eight arcs, not extending below the

<sup>1</sup> The year, old style, it is also to be remembered, commenced on 25th March, not on 1st January as now.

bust, and with the points plain. These have no divisions between the words on either side. They read *SCO* in obverse legend, and *DOMINVS PROTECTOR MEV* in the outer legend on reverse. With the same head and adjuncts, and with the same pointless tressure—but in this case, apparently consisting of nine arcs, and extending below bust—we have groats of Perth—three specimens, all from the same obverse die, but with different reverses. The obverses read *SCOTORVM*, and have single crosses between the words. Two of the reverses have the ordinary inscriptions—in the one case with the words divided by two crosses, in the other with the words divided partly by two saltires and partly by two crosses. The remaining reverse, as on the Aberdeen groats, has *DOMINVS PROTECTOR MEV* in the outer circle, the words not divided, but with two crosses after *PERTH*.

Of still later issue—as shown by the greater correspondence of the lettering with that on the very light groat coinages of Robert III.—are certain groats in this hoard, chiefly of the Aberdeen mint. These present several slight varieties of head, all bearing a greater or less resemblance to the round, chubby face on the first-described coins in the trefoil-pointed tressure series. These also have trefoils on the points of tressure, but of a ruder and less compact form than on the earlier coins. With a rather longer style of face than on the others of this class, we have two varieties of Aberdeen groats, both with the words on obverse divided by two crescents; but while the one has the words on reverse also divided by two crescents, the other has three pellets between the words of reverse. The tressure on these is of seven arcs, with what may be called another arc stretching in a single line below the bust. There is also an Edinburgh groat with this obverse, with the words, as above, divided by two crescents; and, on reverse, partly by three and partly by two pellets. This is the only instance of an Edinburgh groat of Robert III. that has come under my notice with the words on obverse divided by two crescents; which is, rather, a characteristic of the Aberdeen mint. With larger and rounder face, and with the lettering still more approximating to that on the very light Aberdeen groat mintages, we have also in this hoard groats of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. The Aberdeen groats have the words on both sides divided



by two crescents; the Edinburgh groats have the words on obverse divided by three pellets, and, on reverse, partly by three and partly by two pellets. On these the tressure is of seven arcs, not surrounding the bust, and with what resemble small fleurs-de-lis, rather than trefoils, on the points. And with very similar head to the preceding, but with a more marked expression, we have groats, all of Aberdeen, with the lettering, except with respect to one or two of the characters, identical with that on the very light groat coinage of Aberdeen with the small head and bust in the James I. style. The same punches might have been, and very probably were, employed for the lettering on both. These are certainly the latest groats of Aberdeen in this hoard, and they are the last groats I have to describe. Two specimens, with tressure of seven arcs, trefoiled, not surrounding the bust, have the words on both sides divided by two crescents. One other, with the same tressure, has no divisions between the words on obverse except a peculiar character 9 after GRA, which, with a slight stretch of fancy, might be regarded as the Arabic numeral Q (4), with the stroke to right not sufficiently struck up!—and had there been a Robert IV. in immediate succession to Robert III. on the Scottish throne, there is very little cause to doubt but that this character would have been so regarded. The only ornaments dividing the words on reverse of this coin are two pellets after DNS, and two after DE. With a tressure of eight arcs, trefoiled, and not surrounding the bust, we have another piece, which, on obverse, has the words divided by three pellets, and, on reverse, by crescents and pellets  - . These four coins weigh respectively,  $41\frac{3}{4}$ ,  $43\frac{3}{4}$ ,  $37\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $40\frac{1}{4}$  grains.

The only two half-groats in this hoard, among the coins submitted to me, belong to the trefoil-pointed tressure series. One of these is of the Perth mint, with tressure of seven arcs, surrounding the bust, trefoil on breast, and with the words divided by two crosses. The other is of the Edinburgh mint, with tressure of seven arcs all round, an annulet on breast, and with the words divided by two annulets. The head on both pieces is the round, chubby head as on the first-described groats of the trefoil-pointed tressure coinage.

The contents of this hoard, so far as the coins came under my inspection, are as follows—Groats: Edinburgh, 669; Perth, 190; Aberdeen, 19. Half-Groats: Edinburgh, 1; Perth, 1—in all 880 coins. These embrace about 240 distinct varieties, of which a detailed account, with autotype illustrations, will appear in the “*Archæologia Scotica*”; together with a notice of the coins in the Montrave hoard, which comprises the period of Scottish numismatic history almost immediately previous to this, extending from Alexander III. to David II. This hoard includes also many English, Irish, and foreign coins in circulation at the same time with the Scottish, in all about ten thousand coins.

Among the Fortrose coins were several pieces which had been struck over groats of Robert II. In every instance these related to the trefoil-pointed tressure series. Of the Perth mint, with the round, chubby style of head, with the words divided by two crosses, I noticed four coins thus struck over. Of the Edinburgh mint, with this head, with the words divided by two annulets, there were two coins struck over in this way. Also, of the Edinburgh mint, with the long face, with words divided by two annulets, and with annulets in the angles of tressure, three coins. Of Perth, with the aquiline face, with the words divided by two crosses, and with crosses in the angles of tressure, seven coins. Of Perth, with the same head, with tressure of six arcs, words divided by two crosses, two coins. There were a number of pieces belonging to the same groups as these, and to similar groups, which had also the appearance of being struck over other coins; but, as no vestiges of the Robert II. type were apparent on any of these, I have passed them over. On some of the coins specialised, traces of the Robert II. profile were distinctly visible, although better shown on a Perth groat in the collection of Mr Taap, and still better on a Perth half-groat in the collection of Mr Coats, where the Robert II. profile head, sceptre in front, stands clearly out on the one side, without any appearance of the Robert III. front face head, while, on the reverse, in each of the angles of the cross, are three pellets, placed close together like trefoils, as on other Perth half-groats of Robert III. On others of the coins specialised, the large star, on the reverses of

the Robert II. groats, comes out through the Robert III. type, sometimes on the obverses; for in these re-strikes, they were not particular whether they struck a Robert III. obverse die over a Robert II. reverse, or a Robert III. reverse die over a Robert II. obverse. On others again, we find still remaining some of the large letters of the inscriptions on the inner circles of the Robert II. reverse. The letters on the legendary inner circle of reverse on the Robert II. groats were much larger than those in the outer legendary circle, or on the obverse. On the Robert III. groats this is not the case, the lettering on the inner legendary circle corresponding in size with that on the outer legendary circle of reverse. Where we find traces, therefore, upon restruck coins of Robert III. of this very large lettering, we may be as certain that they have been struck over coins of Robert II. as if we had seen upon them the Robert II. profile obverse, or the Robert II. stars on reverse.

The fact of Robert III. groats being struck over groats of Robert II. in this way, affords naturally a strong presumption that these were the earliest coins of Robert III. The coins in question belong to that group, where the three several heads on the trefoil-pointed tressure series are brought together, by similarity of lettering on obverse, and by certain irregularities of lettering on reverse, as well as by certain of the coins with each of these heads having annulets in the external angles of tressure—a very notable peculiarity, occurring on no other coins of Robert III. except on those of this particular period. If we are to regard these overstrikes as the earliest issues of Robert III., then we must reverse the order in which I have described the coins of the trefoil-pointed series, and also those of the three-pellet-pointed tressure series; for we will have to commence both series with the coins with the aquiline head, which is really the same on both, only fitted with different adjuncts, in respect of style of crown, arrangement of the curls, and formation of the lower part of bust. The mixed lettering on the reverses of some trefoil-pointed tressure groats, with annulets in the angles of tressure, as formerly remarked, page 194, is borrowed, in so far as it differs from the ordinary lettering of the trefoil-pointed tressure series, from the lettering on the nine arc tressure groats, placed last by

me, in the three-pellet-pointed tressure series. This lettering crops up again and again, on the ruder varieties of the aquiline head groats—the very latest varieties certainly of the trefoil-pointed tressure coins, for we find some of them approximating very closely to the groats with aquiline head of the very light Robert III. groat coinages. So that, if we place these other aquiline head groats of Robert III.—struck over groats of Robert II.—at the commencement of the Robert III. coinage, we separate them by a long way from the groats with same head, so manifestly connected with the very light groats of Robert III., and therefore to be regarded as among the very latest coins represented in this hoard. Further, by reversing the order in which the three-pellet-pointed tressure coins have been described in this paper, we place those, which have least affinity with the Robert II. coinages in style of crown and lettering, first, and those, which have the greatest affinity with them in these respects, last. After much consideration, I have preferred to follow what seemed to me to be the natural order of the coins, as shown by their relations one to the other; by their connection on the one side with the Robert II. coinages, and on the other side with the very light groat coinages of Robert III. Besides, at the commencement of a great re-coinage, accompanied by a marked reduction in the weights of the coins, such as was that of the change from the side to the front face, it was really more likely that a wholesale melting of the old currency should have ensued, than that it should have been initiated in such a slovenly piecemeal fashion as by merely clipping down and re-striking the old coins.

This hoard, although of great interest and value for the information it affords us respecting the silver coinages of Robert III., is of still greater importance for the light it throws upon the corresponding gold coinages. It has been mainly with the view of enabling us to have a clearer view of the correlations between the several gold and silver issues of the period, to which this hoard relates, that I have set forth, with the greater detail, the special features by which the various groups in the silver coinages are individually distinguished. In drawing up the following list of the correlative gold coinages, I have been greatly assisted by an examination

of the gold coins of Robert III. in the extensive collections of this Society—whose coins are here indicated by the letters S.S.A.—and of Mr Coats. My best thanks are also due to Messrs Carfrae, Kermack Ford, and the Rev. Mr Pollexfen, for kindly forwarding the gold coins of Robert III. in their fine cabinets for my inspection. I greatly regret that, owing to the absence from home of Mr Cochran Patrick, M.P., the coins in his valuable collection were not available, as by the uniform kindness of that gentleman they otherwise would have been, for the purpose of this paper.

#### GOLD COINAGE OF ROBERT III.

##### I. XPC. REGNAT, &c., on reverse.

1. St Andrew—long cross. Words on both sides divided by three pellets. Lettering as on the ROBERTVS groats of the three-pellet-pointed tressure series. ROBERTVS, also, as on these, for ROBERTVS. Types—crowned escutcheon with plain border; arrow-head ornaments between the fleurs-de-lis of the crown. The saint with moustache and pointed beard, and with close nimbus round the head like a cowl. Messrs Carfrae, Kermack Ford, and Pollexfen; same dies. Weights, from 60 to 60½ grs.

2. Lion—with the tressure. Words on obverse divided by two saltires; lettering as on the ROBERTVS St Andrews, except in having the usual B in ROBERTVS. Words on reverse divided by saltires and pellets—from same die as the reverse of the Lion in No. 10. S.S.A. Weight, 28 grs. The only other specimen known is in the collection of Mr Cochran Patrick.

3. St Andrew—long cross. Words on obverse divided partly by three pellets and partly by fleurs-de-lis and crescents; on reverse, divided by fleurs-de-lis and crescents only. Lettering as on the corresponding three-pellet-pointed tressure groats. Large A on obverse, small heavy-topped A on reverse. Crowned escutcheon exactly as on the St Andrew in No. 1. The saint with broad, beardless face, and long limp curls. S.S.A. and Mr Coats. Weights, 58½ and 60 grs.

4. St Andrew—long cross. Words on obverse divided partly by three pellets, partly by fleurs-de-lis and crescents. Lettering and type of obverse as on the St Andrews in No. 3. Reverse from same die as the reverse of the St Andrew in No. 1. British Museum. Weight 58.2 grs. (Described from an electrotype in the S.S.A. collection. Mr Stuart Poole kindly supplied the statement of the weight.)

5. Lion. Words divided partly by three pellets and partly by fleurs-de-lis and crescents. Lettering partly as on the preceding St Andrew, but principally of a smaller and more rounded character. Small heavy-topped A. Types—escutcheon on obverse with plain border; the trefoils on reverse large, with hollow spaces in the centres. S.S.A.; Messrs Coats and Pollexfen. Weights, from  $28\frac{1}{4}$  to  $30\frac{1}{4}$  grs.

6. Lion. Words on obverse divided as on the above; words on reverse not divided, but with lis and crescent after VINCR. Lettering and types as on the above Lion. Messrs Coats, Carfrae, and Kermack Ford. Weights,  $28\frac{3}{8}$  to  $29\frac{5}{8}$  grs.

7. Lion. Words on both sides divided by three pellets. Lettering and types as on the Lion in No. 5. Mr Coats. Weight, 30 grs.

8. St Andrew—long cross. Words on both sides divided by fleurs-de-lis and crescents. Lettering as on the corresponding three-pellet-pointed tressure groats. Small heavy-topped A on both sides. Types as on the St Andrew in No. 3. Messrs Carfrae and Coats. Weight  $59\frac{1}{4}$  and 60 grs.

9. St Andrew—long cross. Words on obverse divided by two saltires; on reverse, not divided. Lettering, chiefly large, as on the three-pellet-pointed tressure groats with the aquiline head, and with the words, as on these, divided by two saltires; partly smaller and rounder, as on the Lion in No. 5. Small heavy-topped A on both sides. Types as the St Andrew in No. 3. Mr Coats. Weight,  $57\frac{1}{2}$  grs.

10. Lion. Words on obverse divided by two saltires; on reverse, by saltires and pellets. Same lettering, and type of obverse, as on obverse of the Lion in No. 5. Same lettering on reverse as on the trefoil-pointed tressure groats with words divided by saltires and pellets. The trefoils on reverse, small and wasp-waisted. S.S.A.; Messrs Coats and Pollexfen. Same dies. Weights from  $28\frac{1}{4}$  to  $29\frac{1}{4}$  grs.

11. St Andrew—long cross. Words on obverse divided by saltires and pellets; on reverse, not divided. Lettering chiefly small, as on obverse of the preceding Lion; a few large letters intermixed, same as those on the St Andrew in No. 8. Same types as the St Andrew in No. 3. S.S.A. Weight,  $59\frac{1}{2}$  grs.

12. Lion. Words on both sides divided by saltires and pellets. Lettering as on the trefoil-pointed tressure groats, of the smaller lettering, with words divided by saltires and pellets. The escutcheon with beaded border. Reverse from the same die as the Lion in No. 10. Mr Coats. Weight,  $29\frac{1}{4}$  grs.

13. St Andrew—short cross. Words on both sides divided by three pellets.

Lettering on obverse of the same character as the St Andrew in No. 8. Small top-heavy A, but barred across the centre, and with GRACIA and double T in SCOTTORV. Neither the barred A, nor the double T in SCOTTORV, nor GRACIA are found on the three-pellet-pointed tressure groats in the Fortrose hoard, or on their corresponding gold issues.<sup>1</sup> Lettering on reverse as on the trefoil-pointed tressure groats with words divided by two, and sometimes on reverse by three pellets. Crowned escutcheon with beaded border; of same size as the escutcheon on the Lion in No. 12; the crown with neat trefoils between the fleurs-de-lis. The saint's head small, and with pointed beard, and loose, flowing curls. S.S.A.; Messrs Carfrae and Coats. From same dies. Weights, from 57 to 61 grs.

14. St Andrew—short cross. From same obverse die as the preceding. Words on reverse divided by three pellets, with same style of lettering as on last. Same type of head on the saint, but with nimbus. Mr Carfrae. Weight, 57½ grs.

15. St Andrew—short cross. Words on both sides divided by two crosses. Lettering as on the trefoil-pointed tressure groats, which have the words divided by two crosses; or of same character as on the two preceding St Andrews. The cross with beaded lines; otherwise, the types on obverse and reverse are the same as on the St Andrew in No. 14. Messrs Coats, Kermack Ford, and Pollexfen. Weights, from 59½ to 60 grs.

16. Lion. Words on obverse divided by two crosses, with three pellets after D: words on reverse divided by three pellets. Lettering and types as on the Lion in No. 12, save that the escutcheon is somewhat smaller. Mr Coats. Weight, 27¼ grs.

17. Lion. Words on obverse divided by two pellets; on reverse, not divided, but with small fleur-de-lis—with pellet below—after the last XPC, and after VIN. Lettering very full and round, as on the last described Aberdeen groats in the Fortrose hoard, page 200. The identical style of lis on the reverse of this piece occurs in the legend of reverse on one of the very light Aberdeen groats, with bust approximative to the James I. bust, specimens of which are in the collection of Mr Coats. Escutcheon with plain border. The trefoils in the angles of cross on reverse small, but with hollow centres. S.S.A. Weight, 25½ grs.

18. Lion. Words on obverse divided by fleurs-de-lis, with pellets below. The

<sup>1</sup> The peculiarity of the obverses of the short cross St Andrews, with words divided by three pellets, is, that the lettering should belong to the three-pellet-pointed tressure groats—save that the A is barred across, instead of open—while the form of the legend itself belongs to the trefoil-pointed tressure groats.

reverse of this piece is from the same die as the reverse of No. 17. The lettering on obverse has the feet of the B. D and R forked. S.S.A. Weight, 22 $\frac{3}{8}$  grs.

19. Lion. Pellet after ROBERTVS; trefoil, or lis, after DEI. No divisions between the words on reverse. Lettering exactly as on the very light Aberdeen groats, with the busts approximative to those on groats of James I. Plain escutcheon. The trefoils on reverse, small and wasp-waisted. S.S.A. Weight, 23 $\frac{1}{4}$  grs.

20. Lion. Words on obverse divided by single pellets; on reverse, not divided. Lettering as on last Lion. The escutcheon with headed border. The trefoils on reverse as on last Lion. Mr Coats. Weight, 18 $\frac{3}{8}$  grs.

21. St Andrew—without the cross. Words on obverse not divided, but with very rude lis—more resembling a cross—before and after legend, and after GRACIA. Words on reverse not divided, but with a pellet after C REGNAT X. Lettering as on the very light Edinburgh groat, with 12 arc-tressure, in the collection of Mr Coats, or, as on the Dumbarton groats. Cross paty potent before legend on obverse. Escutcheon with beaded border. The ornaments on the spaces of crown between the lis very rude—doubtful whether crosses, or fleurs-de-lis, or slipped trefoils. The saint with short, pointed beard, and curly hair close to the head. Very small module. S.S.A. Weight, 42 $\frac{5}{8}$  grs.

22. St Andrew—without the cross. Obverse from same die as last. Words on reverse not divided, but with two pellets before and after IN, two after legend, and one before the first hand. Same lettering as on the preceding St Andrew; the tail of the R on reverse rather clumped, as on the R on the very light 8 arc-tressure groat of Edinburgh, with single pellets on the points, in the collection of Mr Pollexfen, and on some Dumbarton groats. Module very small, but rather larger than that of the preceding St Andrew. Mr Coats. Weight, 34 $\frac{1}{4}$  grs. This coin was formerly in the collection of Mr Wingate, although it does not appear in his work on the Coinage of Scotland. It was regarded by Mr Wingate as a half St Andrew of Robert III. and was sold at his sale as such, along with another very light St Andrew, also regarded by Mr Wingate as a half St Andrew of Robert III., and published by him in his Illustrations, pl. xii. 5. This last coin was formerly in the collection of Mr Lindsay, and appears in Lindsay, pl. xii. 12. The types are exactly as on the DOMINVS PROTECTOR St Andrew described below, No. 26. An autotype of a piece, similar to the St Andrew No. 22 of this list, will be found in pl. ii. 18, accompanying Mr Cochran-Patrick's Records of the Coinage of Scotland. Mr Cochran-Patrick states that the coin autotyped by him, was in



the collection of Mr Wingate, but, if so, it is certainly not the same piece as the St Andrew No. 22, now in the collection of Mr Coats, which has the inscription on reverse differently rendered, and is in every respect a much finer coin.<sup>1</sup> Mr Cochran-Patrick, in a note remarks—"The half St Andrew is a doubtful appropriation. It is more probably the same coin as No. 12"—(the Dominus Protector St Andrew)—"although differing in legend."

## II. DNS. PTECTOR, &c., on reverse.

23. St Andrew—without the cross. Words on obverse divided by two fleurs-de-lis, with the stems opposed. Single lis at end of legend. Words on reverse not divided, but with two pellets after DNS. Lettering as on the two preceding St Andrews, but with the *n* freer and fuller, and with an *x*, of the same rounded form as on the Dumbarton groats, substituted for the + before LIBATOR. Cross paty potent before legend on obverse as on the St Andrew No. 22. Escutcheon with plain border—the fleurs-de-lis in tressure of the same peculiar trefoil form as the opposed fleurs-de-lis in the inscription. The spaces of crown pointed with neat trefoils. S.S.A. Weight, 32½ grs.

24. Lion. Words on obverse not divided; on reverse, divided by pellets—two after DNS, one after P, and two at end of legend. Lettering as on above St Andrew. Cross paty potent before legend on obverse, and after legend on reverse. Escutcheon with plain border—the fleurs-de-lis in tressure of the same form as on the tressure of the preceding St Andrew. Wasp-waisted trefoils in the upper and lower angles of cross on reverse. S.S.A. Weight, 17½ grs. This is the coin described by Nicolson in his "Scottish Historical Library"—formerly in the collections of Professor Sutherland and of the Faculty of Advocates. It is not mentioned by any succeeding writer on Scottish coins, save by Mr Cochran-Patrick, in whose cabinet another specimen exists.

25. St Andrew—without the cross. Words on both sides divided by two rude fleurs-de-lis—more resembling crosses—exactly as on the very light 8 arc-tressure Edinburgh groats. Lettering also much the same as on these groats except that the *A* is small and top-heavy, with the *n* closer, and the *r* looser. Cross fourchy before legends. Escutcheon with plain border. A single pellet on each of the arched spaces of crown, exactly as on the points of tressure of the

<sup>1</sup> The coin autotyped, pl. ii. 18, by Mr Cochran-Patrick seems to be the same as a specimen in the British Museum, of which there is an electrotype in the collection of this Society.

very light Edinburgh groats. The saint, slightly bearded, and with long, loose hair. S.S.A. and Mr Coats. Weights, respectively 38 and  $34\frac{3}{8}$  grs.

26. St Andrew—without the cross. As last, but the saint, with broad beardless face, and long, limp curls, as on the St Andrew in No. 3. Several minor varieties. S.S.A. ; Messrs Coats and Ford. Weights from 32 to  $36\frac{1}{8}$  grs. The types of the so-called Half St Andrew, engraved in Lindsay and Wingate, see remarks, No. 22 above, are the same as on this St Andrew—so far as may be judged from the plates—and have the words, obverse and reverse, divided by two pellets—a very common manner of dividing the words on Dumbarton-groats.

27. St Andrew—without the cross. As last, but with arrow heads on the spaces of crown. Messrs Coats and Pollexfen. Weights 29 and  $29\frac{1}{2}$  grs.

In the above list I have mentioned only such coins as I have had the opportunity of personally examining, and comparing with the corresponding silver coinages. To some it will be a surprise to find the St Andrews, ascribed by Cardonnel, Lindsay, and Wingate to Robert II., here restored to Robert III. I am glad, however, to observe that Mr Cochran-Patrick, who has autotyped a specimen of the St Andrew No. 26, see pl. ii. 12, of the illustrations to the "Records of the Coinage of Scotland," while following Cardonnel and the others, in placing that coin under Robert II., expresses the opinion, that "It is doubtful whether the St Andrew is rightly appropriated." I regret, however, to observe that, misled by an obscure reference in the Acts of 1393 and 1398, to certain gold coins, described there by the general term of "obuli," or "mailes," and which, like the "scuta"—larger coins of the same kind, and more particularly defined in the Act 1398, as "Scuta Brabancie," were evidently foreign coins—Mr Cochran-Patrick has followed Cardonnel, Lindsay, and Wingate, in ascribing the smaller pieces, or Lions, with the XPC REGNAT inscriptions, to Robert II. ; while, at the same time, attributing, and correctly, the larger coins, with identically the same inscriptions, fabric, lettering, and ornamentation, to Robert III. That the smaller pieces are really the halves of the larger pieces, the foregoing list satisfactorily demonstrates. What we find is this. So far as the gold issues correspond, in fabric, lettering, and ornamentation with the groats of the regular

silver issues—comprising the St Andrews and Lions Nos. 1 to 16 of the list—so far the larger pieces maintain a proportion of weight just double that of the smaller pieces. When we come to the coins with the DNS. PECTOR legends, we find that the Lion No 24 gives a weight just about one-half of that of the corresponding St Andrews Nos. 23, 25, 26. The Lions Nos. 17, 18, 19 were probably struck during the period that intervened between the issue of the last Aberdeen groats in the Fortrose hoard, and the issue of the very light groat coinages not there represented. The Lion No. 20 approaches in weight so closely to that of the Lion, No. 24, that we may conclude no long interval could have ensued between the issue of the one and of the other. And so, also, with the issue of the XPC REGNAT St Andrew No. 22, and of the DNS PECTOR St Andrew No. 23. The St Andrew No. 21 is an exceptional piece, struck just before the permanent reduction of the weights of the gold and silver coinages. It is the link between the St Andrews, whose weights correspond to that of the standard of 1393, and the very light St Andrews represented by Nos. 22, 23, &c. At the same time, with a weight of  $42\frac{1}{5}$  grains, this coin completely demolishes the theory that the St Andrew No. 22, from same obverse die, weighing  $34\frac{1}{4}$  grains, and the corresponding piece—Lindsay, pl. xii. 18, and Wingate, pl. xii. 5, weighing 33 grains, are half St Andrews of Robert III. A theory, moreover, untenable on its own ground, for on this hypothesis the weights of these pieces would give St Andrews of the respective weights of  $68\frac{1}{7}$  and 66 grains.

In terms of the Act, Oct. 1393, the St Andrew—or, as it ought rather to be called, the Lion, the name given to it in the Act, while what is now known as the Lion ought properly to be called the Half Lion—was to have course for five shillings, so that two Lions, or St Andrews, should be worth ten shillings of the same money, and should be worth more than the Noble by three pennies. The English Noble, it was further ordered, was to have currency for nine shillings and sixpence. Now the standard weight of the Noble of England, at that period, being 120 grains, it follows that two Lions, or St Andrews, in order to have exceeded in intrinsic value the English Noble by three pence, ought each to have been of the standard

weight of, say, a little less than  $61\frac{1}{2}$  grains. At this very time the Ecu à la Couronne of France—the coin from which the Lion, or St Andrew, has manifestly been imitated—was struck, according to Le Blanc's Tables, in the proportion of  $61\frac{1}{3}$  to the marc, consisting of 4608 Paris grains, which, as shown by Napier of Merchiston's calculations,<sup>1</sup> was equivalent to  $3769\frac{1}{4}$  grains Troy—giving a standard weight to the Ecu à la Couronne of  $61\frac{3}{7}\frac{3}{8}\frac{5}{6}$  grains Troy. According to Le Blanc, the Ecu à la Couronne was itself a coin of comparatively recent introduction in France. He writes, "Cette monnoye fut ordonnée par Lettres expédiées à Paris le xi. Mars 1384"—or, new style, 11th March 1385. The obverse of this piece had for type a crowned escutcheon—whence the name of the coin—with the king's name and titles on the legendary circle round the edge. The inscription on reverse was XPC. VINCIT. XPC. REGNAT. XPC. IMPERAT—a favourite legend on French coins—being "le mot de l'armée," according to Foulcher, as quoted by le Blanc, of the Christians in a battle with the Saracens in the reign of Philip I. At its first issue, the Ecu à la Couronne was struck in the proportion of 60 to the marc, representing an average weight of  $62\frac{5}{8}$  grains Troy, which ratio was preserved till 28th February 1387—new style 1388—when the number of Ecus coined out of the marc was increased to  $61\frac{1}{3}$ , which was the ratio maintained till the 5th September 1394, when the number was still further increased to 62, giving an average weight to each coin of  $60\frac{4}{8}\frac{9}{8}$  grains Troy. No further change took place till 7th November 1411, when 64 Ecus were fabricated out of each marc. It is a pity that the framers of the Act, Oct. 1393, of Robert III., in their anxiety to have the Scottish Lion, or St Andrew, placed upon a par with the English Nobles and half Nobles, in respect of mutual currency, should have so completely overlooked all mention of the French origin of the piece. Had this been clearly stated, and keeping in view that the French Ecu à la Couronne was itself a coin of such comparatively recent introduction, and that so many of our Scottish Crowns with the St Andrew, with the xpc REGNAT inscriptions, correspond so closely in their weights with the

<sup>1</sup> Cochran-Patrick's Records of the Scottish Coinage, vol. i. p. 85.

standard weights of the French crowns of 1387-94, it could not but have been accepted as self-evident that these Lions or St Andrews with their halves, thus corresponding, must have been the earlier issues of the Robert gold series. And with this other fact, kept prominently in view, that the DOMINVS PROTECTOR Lions, or St Andrews, in their fabric, lettering, and ornamentation—in their smaller module and reduced weight, correspond so closely with certain varieties of the very light groats of Robert III., as shown in the preceding list, it would surely never have entered the head of any one to have assigned them to any other than their proper place, that is, at the very end of the gold coinage of Robert III. If any of these Lions, or St Andrews, are to be assigned to Robert II. at all, it is probably the coin No. 1 of the preceding list, with the ROBERTVS inscription, and the close nimbus, like a cowl round the saint's head. The head of the saint on these pieces is very different from that on any of the other Lions, or St Andrews. It does not seem quite clear, from the wording of the Act, Oct. 1393, whether the gold coin, there ordered to be fabricated, had been in previous issue or not—"Etiam fabricata erit de bono auro una pecia vocata leo"—"called a Lion," as if this already had been a recognised name for the coin. There is a coin published by Le Blanc, p. 154, No. 1, wonderfully resembling our Lion with the tressure. The type of obverse is a shield of the same form as on the Scottish coin—charged with six fleurs-de-lis, arranged in three lines—and, as on the Scottish coin, surrounded with a tressure of eight arcs, reading LVDOVICVS, &c., in the legendary circle. On reverse, it has a cross fleury within inner circle, with a fleur-de-lis in each angle, and reads XPC VINCIIT, &c. Le Blanc ascribes this piece to Louis VI. or VII. (1108-1180), but remarks that if any one should prefer to attribute it to Louis VIII. (1223-1226) he would not object. He gives the weight of the coin as 76 grains Paris, equal to about  $62\frac{1}{8}$  grains Troy. He says that he regarded it as the most ancient "Monnoye d'or" of the third Race that he had seen. No other coin, with an escutcheon for type, is published by Le Blanc till the Ecu à la Couronne makes its appearance under Charles VI. Unfortunately, even if we reject the

attribution to Louis VI., VII., or VIII., we can find no other Louis whose reign fits in with the period of issue of the Scottish Lion with the tressure. Louis X. reigned 1314–1316; Louis XI. 1461–1483. It seems a very strange thing that two French types, separated from each other, in point of issue, by some 200 years, should have appeared on the Scottish coinage at one and the same time.

The earliest mention of a Scottish gold coinage is found in a proclamation of Edward III., 1372, forbidding all money of Scotland, whether of gold or silver, to be received in England except as bullion. This event took place in the second year of Robert II. The only Scottish gold coins to which this Act could apply are the Nobles of David II. On these I now propose to make a few remarks. Through the kindness of Mr Carfrae, I have been enabled to make a very minute examination of the Noble of David II. in his fine and rare cabinet of Scottish gold coins, the only specimen, save one, known to be in private hands. The lettering on obverse of this piece is of that broad, firm character, distinctive only of the very earliest groat issues of David II. The ornaments dividing the words on obverse are small saltires of the finely-rounded form that we find only on the earliest groats—resembling quatrefoils rather than saltires. The lettering on reverse, although very similar, at a first glance, to that on obverse, is of a lankier and more acute character, with sharp projecting points. The *n* is the Roman *n*, but without the connecting cross bar—a style of *n* frequently found on the Nobles of Edward III. The ornaments, dividing the words, are small annulets, along with two small saltires, very rude and scraggy, before *IBA*. Neither the Roman *n*, nor the annulets between the words, occur on the silver coins of David II.

Owing to the very great rarity of the Nobles of David II., it has been generally supposed that they were struck as patterns rather than as current coins. Mr Lindsay remarked of them—"Some indeed have considered these fine pieces as medals, and not intended for general circulation, but it is far more probable that they were struck as patterns with a view to their being adopted as a portion of the currency, and at the end of David's reign." The results, however, of the examination of the Montrave hoard,

which contains none of the later coins of David II.—those with the old, or Robert II. head—would have been accepted, I feel assured, by Mr Lindsay, had they been known to him, as disproving the opinion, that the Nobles of David II. were struck merely as patterns, and at the end only of David's reign. By the time the Montrave hoard had been deposited, the average weight of the coins had undergone a sensible diminution. From this circumstance, and other considerations, we have no difficulty in determining which were the earlier and which were the later coins in that find. Now, as above observed, the lettering and ornamentation on the obverse of Mr Carfrae's Noble of David II. correspond with the lettering and ornamentation on the earlier groats of David II., while the lettering on reverse is of that more acute character belonging to the later groats of David II. in the Montrave hoard. This would seem to indicate a consecutive issue of David II. Nobles; which is the more probable, as one of the two specimens in the British Museum, of which there is an electrotype in the Museum of this Society, has the lettering on both sides of the round, full character found only on the earlier groats. At all events, these pieces, and their parts, if they had any, as in all likelihood they had, in common with the English Nobles, appear to have been the only native gold currency in Scotland till the introduction of the Lions or St Andrews, and smaller pieces with name of Robert.

When Archdeacon Nicolson, in 1702, in his "Scottish Historical Library," published the first detailed account of Scottish gold coins—for information respecting which he was indebted to Professor George Sutherland, whose valuable collection of Scottish gold and silver coins, formerly in the cabinet of the Faculty of Advocates, now forms part of the collection of coins belonging to this Society—he expressed it as his opinion, that the Lions or St Andrews, and smaller pieces, with the *DOMINVS PROTECTOR* inscriptions, had been struck under Robert II., and that the Lions, or St Andrews and smaller pieces, with the *XPC REGNAT* legends, were to be ascribed to Robert III. Anderson, whose "Numismatum Scotiæ Thesaurus" appeared in 1739, does not furnish representations of any of the *DOMINVS PROTECTOR* pieces, while he applies

the general term ROBERTORVM to the others. Snelling publishes in his first plate of Scottish gold coins, one DOMINVS PROTECTOR Lion, or St Andrew, along with several XPC REGNAT Lions, or St Andrews, and smaller pieces, as previously given by Anderson, and ascribes the whole to Robert III. Snelling's work on Scottish coins came out in 1774, just after his lamented death. No letterpress descriptions accompany his plates on the gold coinage. His editors simply announced that no materials sufficient for a complete illustration being left, they must confess their inability to explain them. Regarded, however, as the opinion of a man of great practical sagacity, who, in the course of a most extensive experience, had many opportunities of comparing the various gold coinages bearing the name of Robert, with the acknowledged silver issues of Robert III., and observing how closely, all through, the one agreed with the other, the decision arrived at by Snelling, that the several gold issues, with name of Robert, were all to be assigned to Robert III., might well have received more respectful consideration than it seems to have obtained from subsequent writers on Scottish numismatics. Cardonnel, in his "Numismata Scotiæ," which was published in 1786, twelve years after Snelling's work, ascribed the DOMINVS PROTECTOR Lions, or St Andrews, to Robert II.; and, without the slightest reason assigned—and now done for the first time—he separated the smaller XPC REGNAT gold pieces from the larger, giving the former to Robert II., and the latter to Robert III. How such an extraordinary and unprecedented blunder could have been committed it is difficult to understand. The smaller and larger XPC REGNAT gold pieces occupy a much more palpably evident relation to each other, as the respective halves and wholes of the same coins, than do the English quarter Nobles to the corresponding half and whole Nobles. In the one case we have identity of legends, with close similarity of types; in the other case we have neither. And yet, with scarcely an expressed misgiving, this absurd arrangement of assigning the halves to one reign, and the wholes to another reign, has been accepted by every succeeding writer on Scottish numismatics. Lindsay made the confusion still more confounded by inventing a new coin, as he did, by describing the very light



XPC REGNAT Lions, or St Andrews, as Half St Andrews; and by giving, to what was really the Half Lion, or Half St Andrew, the name of the Lion itself. Indeed, so habituated have Scottish numismatists become to the use of the term Lion, as applied to these smaller XPC REGNAT pieces—with the untroubled escutcheon, and without the figure of the saint—that, for the purpose of making myself understood, I have, in the preceding list (pp. 206–211) employed the term Lion to denote these smaller pieces, and that of St Andrew to denote the larger pieces—with the crowned escutcheon, and with the figure of the saint. At the time, when these coins were current in Scotland, their names, as shown by the Scots Act of 1398, were respectively the Lion and the Demi-Lion. In the account of the trial of the Pix, 19 July 1438, the gold coins of James I. and II., now usually denominated Lions, are referred to as vulgarly called Dimyis—or Demi-Lions. This term, as appears from the said document, was also popularly applied to the halves of these pieces, now called Half Lions. Both the larger and smaller denominations are there characterised generally as “diversa pecias auri tam majores quam minores de aureis vocatis vulgariter Dimyis.” That both the larger and the smaller of these coins should thus have been designated, in popular parlance, by the common term of Dimyis, or Demi-Lions, is strongly suggestive of the fact that the name Demy, as applied to them, was only a survival of that applied to the smaller coins of Robert III., with corresponding type of obverse. The name Lion, which had been already appropriated to the larger coins of Robert III. with the St Andrew on reverse, was the name still given to the coins with similar types, issued in the succeeding reigns. In the Act 25th Oct. 1451, of James II., ordering a new coinage of these pieces, it is enacted, “that thare he strikyn ane new penny of gold callit a Lyone, with the prent of the Lyon on the ta side and the ymage of Sanct Andro on the tother side, with a side cote ewin to his fute haldande the samyn wecht of the half Inglis nobil.” In the same Act, what had been described in the trial of the Pix, 1438, as “diversa specias auri tam majores quam minores de aureis vocatis vulgariter Dimyis,” are designated, respectively, as Demies and Half Demies. It is of importance to observe that these Lions, with the image

of St Andrew, with a side, or long coat, were to hold the same weight as the Half Noble of England. In the Glossary, appended to the "Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, 1473-1498," edited by Mr Thomas Dickson, it is stated that the Demy was so named "probably from its being equal in value to half an English or Harry Noble"! If this were so, why were not the Lions, or St Andrews, as above described, also so named? I cannot think that such an explanation would have been offered, had not Cardonnel and Lindsay, between them, so completely shut out from view the true relation to each other of the larger and smaller gold pieces of Robert III., as the respective wholes and halves of the same coins, that the true and proper Scottish origin of the name Demy has been entirely lost sight of. For the future, in numismatic works treating of Scottish coins, it were much to be desired, for the sake of clearness, that the new nomenclatures should be dispensed with, and the usage of the old names restored.

I may here remark that what Mr Lindsay has published as a Lion, or St Andrew of James I., is really a later coin than the corresponding piece attributed by him to James II. The former, in lettering and other respects, corresponds to the later groats of James II., struck after the standard weight of the Scottish groat had been raised to the English standard of 60 grains. The latter, in lettering, &c., corresponds with the groats with the draped and florid style of bust, which, being the latest Jacobus groats of the sceptre coinages, and the earliest Jacobus groats of the non-sceptre coinages, fall to be appropriated either to the end of the reign of James I. or to the beginning of the reign of James II., or partly to the one and partly to the other. The Lion, or St Andrew, of James IV., in the collection of this Society, of which Lindsay has given a representation (pl. xiii. 32), weighs  $48\frac{1}{2}$  grains, not 76 grains as stated by Lindsay (page 280). Owing to this unfortunate mistake, Mr Lindsay describes the next coin in his plate, No. 33—a Lion or St Andrew, in the Cuff cabinet, weighing  $50\frac{1}{2}$  grains—as a two-thirds St Andrew; and the next again, No. 33—a Half Lion, or Half St Andrew, in the cabinet of the Rev. Mr Martin, weighing  $25\frac{1}{2}$  grains—as a one-third St Andrew. No such coins as the two-thirds and one-third St Andrew, either of James IV. or of any other reign, are known in the Scottish coinage.