

The *Leeuwengroten* of the Lordship of Horne: A Preliminary Overview

By Paul A. Torongo with Raymond van Oosterhout
© 2019



*Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin / 2.62 g.
Acc. 1921/1030
Photo: Christian Stoess*

Like most small realms of the Middle Ages, Horne is not well represented in the history books nor in the available medieval records, making information about the region difficult to come by.

The *leeuwengroot* (*gros au lion*, *gros compagnon*, *gezel*, *socius*) was struck in the Lordship of Horne at the mints of Weert and Wessem. There are 3 main types and a number of sub-types known, all of which were struck for “Dirk of Horne” who is likely to be Dirk-Loef, self-styled Lord of Horne (1357-1368) (See Appendix A: Who was Dirk of Horne?, below for details). The 3 types are referred to by the word after MONETA on the obverse (and the name on the reverse), as follows:

- cat. I** VESMN
- cat. II** VIERD / DIRIC
- cat. III** VIERD / THEO

(The VESMN coins have the name DEDERIC on the reverse, but since there is only one Wessem type, we dispense with the “/ DEDERIC” for the sake of convenience.)

The *leeuwengroten* of Horne have never been properly described by any previous author. This is due in large part to a lack of (legible) examples available for study (although a decent number of specimens were available for much of the time, but no one seems to have bothered with them). As far as we can tell, there have only ever been photos of 3 specimens published (1 of each type) by other authors, despite the fact that there are over 60 specimens recorded, the locations of 25 of which are known. Photos of 2 more coins were published in ref. 22, and yet another 3 in ref. 23, which is already more than all of the other authors combined. Suhle (1932, ref. 21) and Berghaus (1958, ref. 1) both reported the presence of 31 Horne *leeuwengroten* in the Schoo Hoard (1927), albeit unillustrated, something that seems to have gone completely unnoticed by most subsequent researchers.

Types and Sub-Types of Horne *Leeuwengroten*

There are 3 basic types of Horne *leeuwengroten* known to exist, under which a number of sub-types are found. It is likely that the VESMN type is the oldest, followed by the VIERD / DIRIC type and then the VIERD / THEO type.

The word DEI is found in the reverse, outer legend of the VESMN coins, but not on the VIERD / THEO coins. This is a strong indication that the former were struck before the latter. Most of the VIERD/DIRIC coins have outer legends that are almost illegible, but based on the few words that can be read and the spacing, it would appear that the word DEI is absent. Only the VESMN type has 5-lobed border leaves, the two VIERD types have 3-lobed leaves.

In most cases (in other regions), it seems that the reverse, inner legend had a tendency to move closer to the model over time, which is to say that the legends tended to become more and more like the original Brabançon (or Flemish) legend as time went on. This is another reason that we suspect that the VIERD / DIRIC type is older than the VIERD / THEO type: the latter has an ODV legend (like the Brabant coins), while the former has an ODI legend, which is similar, but not exact.

The basic sub-types of Horne *leeuwengroten* known are as follows (note that only the relevant letter forms are portrayed here):

I	A	ⱮESMN	DED ERI CDH ORN •	
I	B	ⱮESMN	DED ERI CDH ORN	
II	C	ⱮIERD	ODI RIC VAL HER	
II	D	ⱮIERD	HER ODI RIC VAL	
III	E	ⱮIERD	THEO TEN	•✚
III	F	ⱮIERD	THEO TEN	•✚
III	G	ⱮIERD	THEO TEN	•✚•
III	H	ⱮIERD	THEO TEN	•✚•
III	I	ⱮIERD	THEO TEN	•✚•
III	{I-2}	VIERD	? ? ?	
III	J	ⱮVIERD	THEO TEN	•✚•
III	K	VVIERD	THEO TEN	•✚•

v. Frauendorfer 3 c var. ^[8]

Differences between sub-types include:

- pellet after HORN on reverse present / absent (?) (**cat. I**)
- position of the start of the reverse, inner legend (**cat. II**)
- pellet right of the initial, obverse cross, present / absent (**cat. III**)
- **T** or **Ŧ** in THEO and/or {AHO}TEN (**cat. III**)
- **V** or **İ** (**cat. III**)
- VIERD or VVIERD (**cat. III**)

At all times, the reader is asked to bear in mind that many of the known specimens are partially illegible, which means that any given coin might have one or more unverifiable letters in the legend(s), which in turn means that there are a number of specimens which we believe to be “the same” as one another, but about which we can never be completely certain.

Known Specimens of Horne *Leeuwengroten*

The specimens known to us are as follows:

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| I. VIERD / DIRIC | 1 Rotterdam Museum (RM 55003-1) ex- collection v. Rede
1 Byvanck Hoard (1860) whereabouts unknown
4 Schoo Hoard (1927) (3 currently in Berlin)
1 DNB (NM-10468) ex- Wittmund Hoard (1858)
this is v.d. Chijs drawing (Plate XXX, 2) ^[6]
and Meyer 13 ^[15] |
|------------------|--|

7 (6 photographed)

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| II. VIERD / THEO | 2 DNB (NM-10469; NM-10470)
one of which is v.d. Chijs drawing (Plate XXX, 3) ^[6]
and Meyer 14 ^[15]
and Haanen 2-7 / fig. 9 (p. 71) ^[11]
and Pelsdonk 4 (p. 72) ^[16]
1 private collection
6 Byvanck Hoard (1860) whereabouts unknown
31 Schoo Hoard (1927) (12+19 fragments)
(7 currently in Berlin)
1 Arnhem Hoard (1957) Museum Arnhem ?? 2.33 g
2 CdMB (117; 118 ex- Wittmund Hoard (1858) ?)
2 Berlin 2.62 g.; 2.24 g. (ex- collection Dannenberg) |
|------------------|--|

45 (14 photographed)

III. VESMN

- 1 Rotterdam Museum (RM 55003-2) ex- collection v. Rede
- 1 DNB 1953-0057
this is Haanen 2-12 / fig. 12 (p. 75) ^[11]
- 3 Byvanck Hoard (1860) whereabouts unknown
- 1 Schoo Hoard (1927) (currently in Berlin)
- 1 CdMB (120)
this is v.d. Chijs' drawing (v.d. Chijs Plate XXX, 4) ^[6]
and Meyer 15 ^[15]
- 1 Berlin (ex- collection Grote) 1.75 g.
- 1 J. Schulman 1953, lot 742 whereabouts unknown

9 (5 photographed)

{c.} 61 Horne *leeuwengroten*

25 of which have been photographed

In theory, there may be some overlap in the count; for example the VESMN coin sold by Schulman in 1953 could have come from the Byvanck Hoard, etc.

Unusual Characteristics of the Horne *Leeuwengroten*

Lettering

We do not have a large number of coin available for study, and most of the known Horne *leeuwengroot* specimens are partially illegible. To illustrate the problems that this can cause: there are coins known with combinations of T/T, T/T and T/T (but not T/T) on the reverse. If the second T of a given specimen is illegible, it is impossible to determine if the piece is a T/T or a T/T coin.

The same is true of the combinations of T/T and T/T in MONETA on the obverse. For that matter, it is unclear if some of the coins have an annulet A or a pellet A: T/T. Several of the A's have definite annulets, which may indicate that all of the A's were intended to have annulets (i.e. no pellets).

The limited number of coins available (and their illegibility) also makes it difficult to determine if the usage of annulet or 'normal' A's is an indication of a new sub-type (i.e. an intentional minting mark) or simply the "whim of the die-sinker". It is difficult to determine if all of the coins of a proposed sub-type have the same sort of A's, because some of the coins are partially unreadable. We are not afraid of unanswered questions, and we are unwilling to force unreadable coin specimens into "sub-type pigeon holes", as so many numismatists before us have done.

The Obverse Legend: VIERD or VIER \mathfrak{N} ?

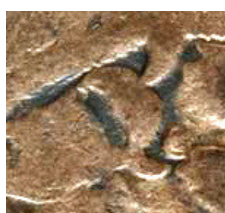
The two VIERD *leeuwengroot* types from Horne present an immediate transcription problem which has gone unmentioned (unnoticed?) by all previous researchers, none of whom were engaged in closely comparing the details of the *leeuwengroten* of different regions with one another.

The obverse legends of the Weert types have, until now, always been interpreted as reading MONETA VIERD (or in some instances, VVEIRD). But is this actually correct?

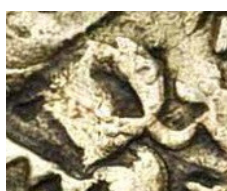
Other Horne coin types (i.e. not *leeuwengroten*) have legends reading WERDENSIS or WERDENSVS, so a VIERD legend seems perfectly acceptable. But then again: so might a VIERN or VIERDN legend, if such a thing were to exist.

The problem is the final letter in the legend: \mathfrak{N} . It certainly looks like a **D** (VIERD), but it has strange little ‘foot’ attached. If the letter is a **D**, why the hook-like appendage? Why not use the same “normal” **D** as in THEODV or DIRIC on the reverse? The letter is unlike any **D** or \mathfrak{N} used elsewhere on the Horne coins (all types).

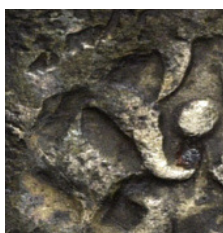
This same \mathfrak{N} letter is seen on the RUMEN *leeuwengroten* of Rummen and on the FALCN / FALEN *leeuwengroten* of Fauquemont – where it is interpreted as an **N** (\mathfrak{N}) – thus: should it not be VIERN on the Horne coins?



Horne



Rummen



Valkenburg



The “normal”, footless **D** from the reverse, inner legend
of a Horne VIERD / THEO *leeuwengroot*.

In Rummen, Arnold of Oreye wanted his final **Ń**'s to look like the **D** of FLAND or FILFD (like the then-current Flanders and Brabant *leeuwengroten*, respectively). Why was this same **Ń** letter used on the coins of Horne? Is it possible that in Horne the letter was intended as some strange kind of **DŃ** ligature (VIERDN)?

It does not seem possible to interpret this **Ń** letter as **D** in Horne, especially in light of the fact that the *leeuwengroten* of Horne, Rummen (RUMEN type) and Fauquemont are closely related in style (they all use the same leaf-mark after MONETA, they all sometimes employ the same enormous pellet left of the initial cross), and all of them are direct imitations of the Brabant *leeuwengroten* of Johanna (and Wenceslas) and only indirect imitations of the same type in Flanders under Louis of Male, as evidenced by the slavish copying of the ODV in the second quadrant, a motif that does not appear on the Flemish coins.

Having said all of that, there is one Schoo Hoard specimen with a **D** (?) that looks something like this: **Ń** (DIRIC, 1.75 g.):





Horne



Rummen

On this coin, it seems that the apparent Rummen-Horne connection went even farther, and the **D** of the ODV on the Horne (VIERD/THEO) coin has an extra sort of triangle at the bottom left, causing it to resemble the famous **Q** of the OQV on the Rummen RUMEN coins (which was intended to resemble the ODV of the Brabant model coins). (Note that the Rummen **Q** does not have the sharp point at the top right that the Horne **D** has.) Although there may be no particular significance to the form of the Horne **D**, it is certainly noteworthy.

The Large Pellet

A great many *leeuwengroten* from many regions have pellets to the left and/or right of the initial cross in the obverse legend. Most of these pellets are 'normal-sized', relative to the original Flanders and Brabant models. There is a small group of types, however, that have an unusually large pellet to the left of the initial cross, struck in Horne, Rummen, Valkenburg and perhaps one or two other places as well. This pellet is noticeably large, and can sometimes be described as enormous. The significance of the large pellet is unclear at this time. (Cf. the pellets on p. 5 above.)



'normal-sized' pellets (Flanders)



Rummen



Rummen





Horne



Valkenburg

'normal' pellets right and large pellets left

Other Unusual Letters and Marks

Similar to the *HOLAND leeuwengroten* of Holland, and the *leeuwengroten* of Rummen, annulet (or pellet) A's are found on some of the Horne *leeuwengroten*:  . The stylistic, Horne **U**'s were often mistaken for stylistic **L**'s by previous authors. Most of the apostrophes on the coins are very large.















Unlike the contemporary *leeuwengroten* from Brabant and Flanders (and Holland), most of the Horne coins have Roman **N**'s in the reverse, outer legend (which usually look like **H**'s). Some of the *leeuwengroten* from Rummen have Roman **N**'s as well (which may be relevant to the Horne coins). Roman **N**'s disappeared from the model Flemish coins before 1339, and by 1341 the word DEI was gone as well. In Rummen, the Roman **N**'s were replaced by gothic **Ń**'s, seemingly under the tendency of the legends moving closer to the Flemish/Brabançon originals as time went on.

Until 1346, all of the Flemish *leeuwengroten* (under Louis of Nevers) had an eagle as an initial mark, and thereafter a cross. All of the Brabant *leeuwengroten* struck for John III († 1355) had an initial eagle, and all of the Brabant *leeuwengroten* struck for his daughter Jeanne (1355-1406) had an initial cross. All of the Horne (and Rummen) coins have an initial cross, never an eagle.

The VESMN coins have a Roman **E** in MONETA, which is highly unusual for a *leeuwengroot* of any region.

Horne *Leeuwengroot* Sub-Types

Bearing in mind that most Horne *leeuwengroot* specimens are at least partially illegible, the known sub-types seem to be as follows:

I A	•+	MON E Y T 	U ES M Ń	DED ERI CD h OR Ń •	N
I B	•+	MON E [T 	U ES M Ń	DED ERI CD h OR Ń	N
II C	•+	MON E Y T 	U IER Ń	ODI RIC V Ń L h ER	N
II D	•+	MON E [T 	U IER Ń	h ER ODI RIC V Ń L	Ń
III E	•+	MON E Y T 	U IER Ń	Th E O TE Ń	N
III E-2	•+	MON E Y T 	U IER Ń	Th E O TE Ń	N
III F	•+	MON E Y T 	U IER Ń	T h E O TE Ń	N
III F-2	•+	MON E Y T 	U IER Ń	T h E O TE Ń	N
III G	•+•	MON E [T 	U IER Ń	T h E O TE Ń	N
III G-2	•+•	MON E [T 	U IER Ń	T h E O TE Ń	N
III H	[•+•]	MON E T Ń 	U IER Ń	T h E O T h E O	N
III I	•+•	MON E Y T 	U IER Ń	Th E O TE Ń	N
	?	MON E T Ń 	V IER D	? ?	?
III J	•+•	MON E [??]	V U IER Ń	T h E O TE Ń	N
III J-2	•+•	MON E Y T 	V U IER Ń	T h E O TE Ń	N

There is a *cat.* II C coin with a **U**IER****D**** legend.

“Cat. III I-2” is v. *Frauendorfer 3 c* var., which we have been unable to verify.

CATALOG of Horne *Leeuwengroten*

I. VESMN

Wessem mint

v.d. Chijs (Leenen Brabant) Plate XXX, 4 ^[6]

R. Serrure 45 ^[20]

Lucas 17 (attributed to Dirk of Perwez, Lord of Perwez and Cranenbourg (1332-1363))
(Lucas 17a. VESMI var.) ^[13]

11♣ / 1☿

5 lobes type ☼

Unlike the two following types, this type has an obverse, outer border of 11 leaves and 1 triple horn group: ☿ (sigil of Horne), as well as 5-lobed leaves in the obverse border. The Horne coins differ from the contemporary coins of Brabant and Flanders in a number of other respects as well. The appearance of the word DEI in the outer legend on such a late *leeuwengroot* is quite surprising, as are the Roman N's. The Roman E in MONETA is also unusual; almost all *leeuwengroten* (of any region) have a gothic **Ɔ** in MONETA (some of the *gros au lion* of Brittany and Burgundy being some of the very few exceptions).

A third form of Dirk's name (DIRIC, THEOD...) is used on this type: DEDERIC. The legend read:

MONETA VESseMensis	<i>money of Wessem</i>
DEDERIC De HORNe	<i>Dirk of Horne</i>

• **SUB TYPE (I) A**

pellet after HORN ?



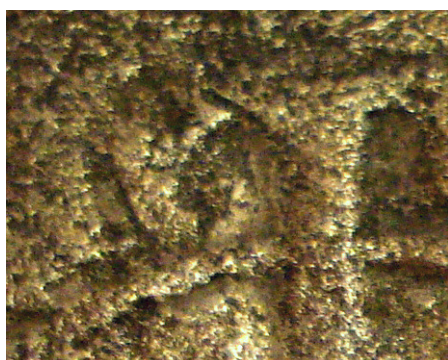
*NNC-DNB 1953-0057
Collection DNB*

• **✠ MONETA + UESM]N**
DED ERI CDh ORN[']
[...]IT :] NOM[...]DEI[...]

The annulet T and A of MONETA are clear. There appears to be a pellet after ORN in the reverse, inner legend.



NNC-DNB 1953-0057 (detail)



• (?)

RM 55003-2 (detail)



*Schoo Hoard (1927) / 1.78 g.
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85
Photo: Christian Stoess*

• ✠ MON E[] + UESM
DED ERI CDH OR
[...]TV : SIT : NOME : DHI : HRI : DEI : [...]

Same as the previous coin (?).



Museum Rotterdam, RM 55003-2

✠ **MON**E[TA + **UESM**]N
DED ERI [CDh ORN'•]
[...] SIT :] **NOM**[...]

Same as the previous coin (?).



*Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin / 1.75 g.
ex- collection Grote (Acc. 1879 Grote)
Photo: Christian Stoess*

Same as the previous coin (?).

• SUB TYPE (I) B ?

no pellet after HORN ?



*CdMB 120 / 1.89 g.
Wittmund Hoard (1858) ?*

• ✠ MONET~~A~~ + DESMOT'
DED ERI C'DH ORN'
✠ B[D]MID[IC]TV : IT : NOM[...] RI : IH[...]

There is no sign of a pellet after HORN in the reverse, inner legend. The beginning of the reverse, outer legend is mangled. (See ref. 23, p. 14-17).



detail

No VESMI Legend

According to Dannenberg, the obverse legend reads MONETA VESMI instead of VESMN; we are of the opinion that Dannenberg was wrong. Many of the known specimens display a weak **N** at the end of the word that can be misinterpreted as an **I**.



detail
(CdMB 120)

The legend is likely to read VESMN like the rest. The right ‘leg’ punch of the **Q** is a smaller version.. Not a single previous researcher has reported seeing more specimens than we have, and we have yet to see any convincing “VESMI” specimens at all.

In their auction catalog (ref. 19), Schulman gives a VESMI legend, while citing v.d. Chijs XXX, 4 (p. 145) and *RBN* 1860, pl X, 15 (Meyer); both of these references show VESMN coins. There is no photo of the coin in the Schulman catalog.

Lucas (ref. 13) cites the Schulman catalog for his ~~Lucas 17a~~, but this is just a parroting of bad information; as far as we can tell, there are no VESMI coins.

II. VIERD (VIERN?) / DIRIC

Weert mint

11♣ / 1♣

3 lobes type ♣

All of the previous authors overlooked the **L** (of **ALtena**) in the reverse, inner legend, probably due (in part) to the illegible specimens with which they were working (although we looked at the same Schoo Hoard coins that Suhle did, and the **L** is plainly visible on some of the Schoo coins).

The legend does not read *Diric van Herne* as asserted by Suhle (ref. 21), nor *Diric van Hero*, as asserted by Haanen (ref. 11). In all likelihood, the legend reads: **DIRICVs ALtena HERnO**. The reason for the **O**, i.e. *Herno* instead of *Herne* or *Horne*, is the common practice used on *leeuwengroten* of all regions of imitating the reverse, inner legend of the Flemish or Brabançon originals. In this case, the ODV of the Brabant *leeuwengroot* is being imitated (albeit ODI on the Horne coins).

In most cases (in other regions), it seems that the reverse, inner legend had a tendency to move closer to the model over time, which is to say that the legends tended to become more and more like the model Brabançon (or Flemish) legend as time went on. This is one of the reasons that we suspect that the VIERD / DIRIC type is older than the VIERD / THEO type: the latter has an ODV legend (like the Brabant coins), while the former has an ODI legend, which is similar, but not exact.

The presence of the word *Altena* in the legend is important, because it strongly suggests that this type was struck for Dirk-Loef and not for Dirk of Perwez (see Appendix A below).

All (?) of the coins have a pellet to the left of the initial cross on the obverse; some or all of them may have a pellet to the right of the cross as well, but the coins are illegible.

• SUB-TYPE (II) C

Meyer — (Meyer, *RBN* 1860, plate IX, 13 var.) ^[15]

v.d. Chijs — (v.d. Chijs (Leenen Brabant), Plate XXX, 2 var.) ^[6]

Lucas — (Lucas 16 var.) ^[13]

ODI



*Schoo Hoard (1927) / 1.85 g.
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85
Photo: Christian Stoess*

[.✱] M[ON]ET[✱] [U...Q']
O'D[P'] [...] [V]✱AL' [HER]
[...HDICTV...] DHI: HRI: [...]

The reverse, inner legend “begins” with ODI. The annulet T and A of MONETA are clear. On the reverse, the AL of Altena is clear.



*Schoo Hoard (1927) / 2.00 g.
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85
Photo: Christian Stoess*

• ✕ MONET[**T**▲] ✕ VIE[R]Q'
O'•DI' RI[Q] V'✕AL'• HER
[...]DICTV : SIT : **H**[...] DHI : **H**[RI : ...]

The T and A of MONETA are unclear, while the AL of Altena is clear.



Museum Rotterdam, RM 55003-1

Same as the previous coin (?). This specimen (RM 55003-1) is in such poor shape that we cannot be sure of the exact legend transcriptions.

• SUB-TYPE (II) D

HER

Dannenberg Item 96 : Weert, Diric ^[7]

Meyer, *RBN* (1860) n° 13, plate IX, 13 ^[15]

v.d. Chijs (Leenen Brabant) pl. XXX, 2 (p. 136) ^[6]

Lucas 16 (attributed to Dirk of Perwez, Lord of Perwez and Cranembourg (1332-1363)) ^[13]
(this coin)



DNB NM-10468 / 1.876 g.

[. ✕ •] MONET[...]IER[...]
[h]ER• O'.DI RIC' V[']ÆL'
[...T:] NO[...]

The reverse, inner legend “begins” with HER, the outer legend is almost completely illegible. However, the letters NO (**NO**) can be seen at the bottom. This appears to be the part of the legend reading **[SI]T : NO[mē]**, which enables us to properly orient the coin. Having done so, we can see that the inner legend begins in a different quadrant than the previous coin. Furthermore, unlike the previous coin, this example seems to have gothic **N**’s (or at least one of them) instead of Roman N’s. The final letter of the obverse legend is illegible.



Pellet between the ✠ and the M?



*Schoo Hoard (1927) 1.75 g.
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85
Photo: Christian Stoess*

**.✠ MONET[?] ✠ UIERD'
HER O'·DI' RIC' [V'·ΛΛ'·]
[...] DNI : NRI : IHV : [...]**

In his Schoo Hoard report (ref. 21), Suhle does not mention a coin with a reverse, inner legend beginning in a different quadrant than the others (1.75 g.). This is the only coin of the 3 Schoo Hoard pieces to have Gothic **Ų**'s in the outer legend.

Note as well that this coin does not have the odd **Ų** letter, it has a **D** like this: **Ų**, (proving that the legend reads VIERD and not VIERN?).

III. VIERD (VIERN?) / THEO

Weert mint

11♣ / 1♣

3 lobes type ♣

v.d. Chijs XXX-3 ^[6]

R. Serrure 44 ^[20]

Lucas 20 ^[13]

Although this type was also struck at Weert like the previous coin, the reverse, inner legend is different: **THEOdiric** instead of *theoDIRIC*. Meyer and v.d. Chijs commented extensively on the “unusual **L**” on the obverse, which is, in fact, a stylized **V** and not an **L** at all.

Note that both ‘rules’ of imitation have been employed on these coins; the round / long **O**'s are next to the cross arms, as on the Brabant *leeuwengroten*. There are definite variations between **T** and **Ų** in THEO and HOTEN on the reverse. In the word MONETA on the obverse, there are variations between **Ų** and **Ų** (or **Ų**), and there may be variations between **T** and **Ų**, but many of the coins are unclear.

The reverse legend is problematic: **THEOD'.VA'H'OTEN'**, and the exact meaning is unclear. Suhle tentatively proposes something like **THEODirc VAn HORne a/TENa**, (in *Diets*, not Latin), which is certainly plausible, and we have no better alternative to offer at this point.

Apostrophes do not necessarily indicate the end of a word, rather, they indicate missing letters (unlike other stops such as **x**'s). The apostrophe after the **H** of Horne seems misplaced, as though it belongs after the **O** instead. Or it seems that the legend should have read: **THEOD'.V'HO'ATEN'** instead (**THEODoricvs Van HORne A/TENa** or **THEODoricVs HORne A/TENa**).

Von Fraudendorfer reports 1 specimen (out of 6) in the Byvanck Hoard (1860) (ref. 8, p. 8, n° 3 c) with a VIERD obverse instead of the ‘normal’ **ŲIERD**. We have been unable to verify this sub-type (not listed in the catalog below). The fact that v. Frauendorfer pointed it out at all indicates that it probably does exist.

• SUB TYPE (III) E

• +
THEO
TEN
✠



*Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin / 2.62 g.
Acc. 1921/1030
Photo: Christian Stoess*

✠ MONET[✠] + VIER[✠]
O'D.V ✠h'o TEN' THE
✠ BHD[ICTV]: SIT: NOM[✠]E: DHI: HRI: I^hV: XPI

This is one of the best (condition) Horne specimens known. There is no sign of a pellet right of the initial cross, and there are 'normal' T's in THEO and HOTEN. The A of MONETA appears to have an annulet (or pellet).

• **SUB TYPE (III) E-2**

• +
THEO
TEΩ
Ɱ



*Schoo Hoard (1927) 1.71 g.
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85
Photo: Christian Stoess*

• ✠ MONET[Ɱ] + UIERQ'
O'D.V Ɱh'O TEΩ' THE
[...D... **DHI** : **HRI** : Ihv : X...]

This coin is not completely clear, but it appears to have a 'normal' A in MONETA (unlike the **cat. III-E** specimen), as well as 'normal' T's on the reverse (like the **cat. III-E** specimen).

• SUB TYPE (III) F

• +
THEO
 TEN
 †



*Schoo Hoard (1927) / 2.25 g.
 Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85
 Photo: Christian Stoess*

. † MONET[†][† UIER]Q'
 O'D.V †h'o TEN' **T**hE
 [...DICTV ...**HI** : **HRI** : ...]

No pellet right of the initial cross and an annulet † in THEO. The T of HOTEN appears to be 'normal'.



*Schoo Hoard (1927) / 1.99 g.
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85
Photo: Christian Stoess*

Same as the previous coin (?).

The A of MONETA is completely illegible, but the other relevant letters are fairly clear.

• **SUB TYPE (III) F-2**

• +

THEO

TΘ

Λ



*Schoo Hoard (1927) / 1.92 g.
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85
Photo: Christian Stoess*

.✠ MONET[Λ + UIER]Θ'
Θ'D.V Λh'ο TΘ' [THE]
...DICT ...ΘΘ: DHI: HRI Ih...]

Once again, we have a specimen with the same T's as the previous sub-type, but a different A. The coin is not completely clear, but appears to have a 'normal' A in MONETA (unlike the **cat. III-F** specimens), and **THEO** / **HOTEN** on the reverse (like the **cat. III-F** specimens).

• SUB TYPE (III) G

• + •

THEO

TE Ω

Λ (?)



*Schoo Hoard (1927) / 2.14 g.
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85
Photo: Christian Stoess*

• ✠ • MONET Λ + UIER Ω '

O'D.V Λ h'O TE Ω ' **T**hE

[...]CTV : SIT [: NOM Θ :] D**H**I : **H**RI : I Ω V : XPI

There are pellets left and right of the initial cross and neither the **T** nor the **A** of MONETA appear to have an annulet. There is an annulet **T** in THEO, and the apostrophe above the **A** on the reverse is quite large.

• SUB TYPE (III) G-2

• + •

THEO

TEΩ

✠



*Schoo Hoard (1927) / 2.67 g.
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85
Photo: Christian Stoess*

• ✠ • MONET[**T✠**] + UIERΩ'

o'D.V ✠h'o TEΩ' **THE**

[...]CTV : SIT [: NOMET:] **DHI** : **HRI** : IΩV : XPI

There are pellets left and right of the initial cross. The **T** of MONETA does not appear to have an annulet but the **A** does, but neither is clear. There is an annulet **✠** in THEO, but the same letter in HOTEN is unclear.

Also: CdMB 117:

• ✠ • MONET[**T✠**] + UIERΩ'

[...]D.V ✠h'o TEΩ' **THE**

[...] **HRI** : IΩV : XP[...]

• SUB TYPE (III) H

• + • (?)

THEO

TEN



*Schoo Hoard (1927) / 2.93 g.
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85
Photo: Christian Stoess*

[...MONET + UIERQ']
O'D.[V] K'0 **T**EN' **T**HE
[...D**H**I...]

Much of the obverse legend is illegible (including the initial cross area), but the annulet **T**'s in THEO and TEN are clearly visible. We have no other examples of this sub-type for comparison.

• **SUB TYPE (III) I (i)**

• + •

THEO
TEN

Dannenberg Item 101 : Weert, Theo
Meyer RBN (1860) n° 14
v.d. Chijs (Leenen Brabant) pl. XXX, 3
2 coins in NNC/DNB collection

Berghaus: “Horn, Dirk-Loef, 1358-1390 Lowengroot [*sic*] von Weert, v. d. Chijs XXX, 3”^[2]



Wittmund Hoard (1858)
DNB NM-10469 / 1.593 g.

.✠[.] MONET[.] UERD'
O'D.V K'h'O TEN THE
[✠ BNDICT... MÆ:D...]

There are pellets left and right of the initial cross and ‘normal’ T’s in THEO and TEN. The outer legend seems to have a Roman N (H) in BNDICTV.



*Wittmund Hoard (1858)
DNB NM-10470 / 2.188 g.*

**.ϥ•MONE[ΤΑ ... ΥΙ]ΕΡΔ'
[Ο'D.V] Α[ΗΘ] ΤΕΝ' ΤΗΕ
[...ΔΙΔ...]**

Although not illustrated by Meyer (nor v. d. Chijs), this coin is almost certainly from the Wittmund Hoard as well. It was definitely one of the coins received in the 1859 trade with Hannover^[28]. On this piece, pellets left and right of the initial cross are clearly visible (but little else).

Same as the previous coin (?).

• SUB TYPE (III) J

WIERD



*KBR / CdMB 118 / 2.06 g.
Wittmund Hoard (1858) ?*

• ✠ [• MONETA... WIER]D'
O'D.V A[hO] TEŃ' THE
[...]

This example seems to be similar to the previous coin (NM-10470), but with an annulet or pellet T in THEOD. The reverse, outer legend is gone. If the coin CdMB 120 (the “BOINDICTV” coin) is indeed from the Wittmund Hoard, then it is also possible that this coin (CdMB 118) may have come from that same hoard as well. The obverse legend appears to read MONETA VVIERD, although it may simply be a double-struck VIERD (note how thin the “T” is).

★101. THE — O'D · V — AŃ'OTER R/. MONETA · WIERD'
(oben ein Löwe). v. d. Chijs leenen v. Brab. S. 136
Taf. XXX, 3.
Von dem bei Nr. 95 u. 96 genannten Dirk-Loef.

*Wittmund Hoard (1858)
Dannenberg, ZfN, p. 232 ^[7]*

• **SUB TYPE (III) J-2**
VVIERD



*Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin / 1.85 g.
 Ex- collection Dannenberg
 Photo: Christian Stoess*

[.✠·] **MONET** ✠ **VVIERD**[']
O'D.V ✠ **h'o** **TEN'** **THE**
 [...**ME**:] **DHI** : **H**[...]

Although similar to the previous example, this coin has VVIERD instead of **U**IERD.

UNKNOWN SUB-TYPE



private collection / 2.07 g.

[• ✠ ΜΟΝΕΤΑ + ΒΙΕΡΔ']
[Ο'Δ.Υ' ΠΗ'Ο ΤΕΝ' ΤΗΕ]
[...]

This coin is in such poor condition it is impossible to determine to which sub-type it belongs.

FRACTIONAL COINS

Only one type of fractional Horne *leeuwengroot* has been reported (with a long cross). Piot (ref. 17) reported a second, questionable type with a short cross.

LONG CROSS

William of Horne

William IV [V] (1330-1343) ?

Wolters (plate between pp. 144-145), n° 2 ^[27]

Piot plate V, 25² [*RBN*, 1856] ^[17]

v.d. Chijs pl. XIII, 3 ^[6]

cites *RBN* 1856, plate V, 25² [Piot]

te Boekhorst p. 9 (William V, 1333-1343); v.d. Chijs' drawing ^[2]

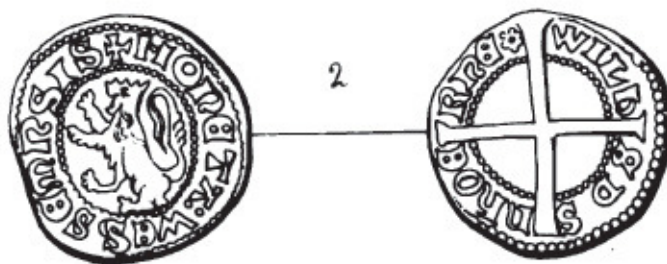
Based upon the coins known to us today, it would appear that Dirk-Loef did not have any fractional *leeuwengroten* struck, and that the only known fractional *leeuwengroten* from Horne were struck for a lord called William (at the Wessem mint).



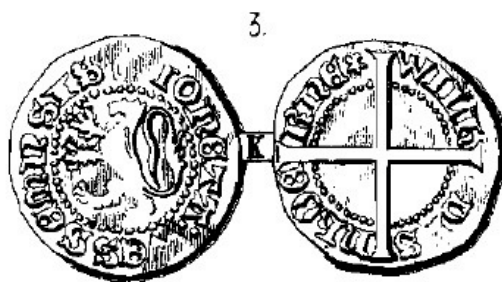
private collection / 0.61 g.

[...]ΜΟΝΕΤΑ [...] WESSEMΩΣΙΣ]
[W]ΙΛΗ ΣΔΩΣ [ΔΗΘΕ] ΡΩΕ[★]

All of the previous authors give a double-pellet (colon) after MONETA, which may well be correct.



Wolters 1850, n° 2 ^[27]



v.d. Chijs pl. XIII, 3 ^[6]

...William IV, Lord of Horne, † 1343

Nous croyons que la monnaie suivante, au type de Louis de Crécy, comte de Flandre (1522-1546) appartient au même seigneur :

Av. ✠ MONETA : WESSEMENSIS. Lion debout à gauche.

Rev. WILH — S DNS — D HOE — RNE *. Croix traversant la légende (pl. V, fig. 23²).

Les monnaies dont nous faisons suivre la description appartiennent à un autre sire de Hornes, du nom de Guillaume.

Piot, RBN 1856, p. 89 ^[17]

SHORT CROSS (?)

Wolters — ^[27]

Piot pl. V, 26 [**RBN**, 1856] ^[17]

v.d. Chijs — ^[6]

te Boekhorst — ^[2]

We have not found an example of the short cross type to confirm, and it only seems to have been reported by Piot. Based upon Piot's description and illustration (which do not match one another), the coin might not have been struck in Horne at all, which may be why no other author seems to have reported it.



Piot, RBN 1856, pl. V, 25² - 26 ^[17]

...William V, Lord of Horne (1380-1415)

Au même seigneur appartient aussi, par son type, la monnaie noire suivante :

Av. ✠ **GVILHELMVS** :..... Lion à gauche.

Rev. ✠ **MONETA** : N..... Croix pattée dans un cercle (pl. V, fig. 26).

Piot, RBN 1856, p. 90 ^[17]

Note the Piot's reverse legend transcription does not appear to match his illustration, which seems to read:

✠ **MOETA** : [...]**I[NE]**

PREVIOUS LITERATURE

Despite a fairly large amount of writing having been done on the subject, the *leeuwengroten* of Horne are not well documented, due in large part to a lack of legible specimens. Once Meyer (1859/1860) had described the 3 basic Horne types, and v.d. Chijs had provided better illustrations and descriptions of these same 3 types (1862), little or nothing regarding the knowledge of Horne *leeuwengroten* changed for over 150 years, other than new hoard discoveries.

Despite all of the subsequent publications (Grote, Dannenberg, v. Frauendorfer, Suhle, Lucas, Haanen), these authors provide little (if any) real insight or additional knowledge about the coins, other than the hoard data, which did not include detailed analysis of the characteristics of the coins themselves. For the most part, they simply repeat the 3 known types without really adding anything to “v.d. Chijs XXX, 2, 3 & 4”. A lot of time seems to have been devoted to needlessly discussing the **⚭** that looked like an **L** to them, while no one (except perhaps Grote) paid any attention to the **O**’s, and no one noticed the **L** of **ALtena** or the changing **⚭**/T’s.

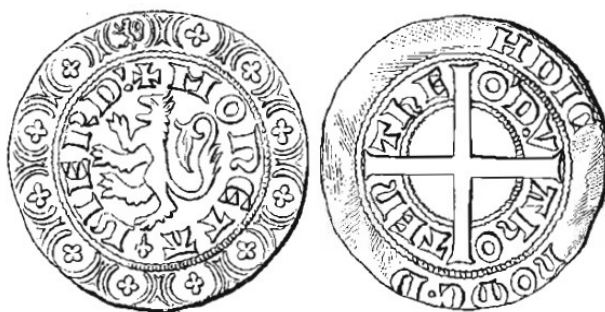
Meyer, 1859 and 1860

(ref. 14 & 15, resp.)

In his two publications, Meyer described a number of coins that had been acquired by the Koninklijk Penningkabinet of The Netherlands, which, as it turned out later, had originated with the Wittmund Hoard (1858) (see ref. 23).

cat. II	VESMN	Meyer Plate IX, 15	v.d. Chijs Plate XXX, 4
cat. II	VIERD / DIRIC	Meyer Plate IX, 13	v.d. Chijs Plate XXX, 2
cat. III	VIERD / THEO	Meyer Plate VIII, 14	v.d. Chijs Plate XXX, 3

As we have previously pointed out (ref. 23, pp. 7, 15-20), Meyer’s drawings are wildly and inexplicably inaccurate. We have the actual model specimens for comparison, and we are a complete loss for any explanation as to why Meyer’s drawings went so far off.

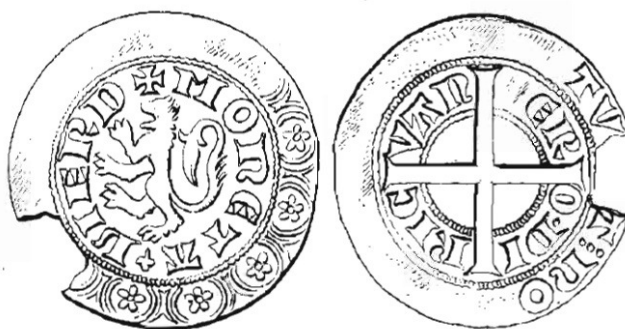


Meyer, **RBN** 1860, pl. VIII, 14^[15] / (DNB NM-10469)

πh○ [sic]

ηome [sic]

The border leaves are also inaccurate



RBN 1860, plate IX, 13^[15] / (DNB NM-10468)

○•DI [sic]

η○ [sic]

The border leaves are also inaccurate



RBN 1860, plate IX, 15^[15] / (CdMB 120)

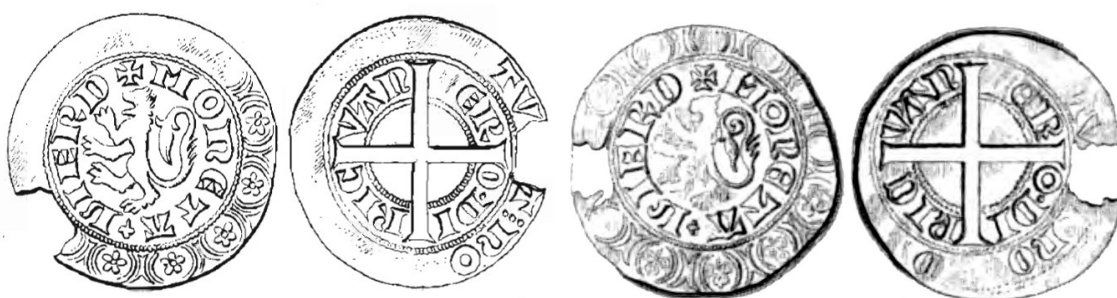
M○ηETπ [sic]

B○ηDICTV:IT η○m [sic]

The border leaves are also inaccurate



DNB NM-10468



Meyer
RBN 1860, plate IX, 13 ^[15]

v.d. Chijs
Leenen Brabant, pl. XXX, 2 ^[6]

Both of these drawings show coin DNB NM-10468. Although it is obvious that both drawings have been idealized (especially Meyer's), v.d. Chijs' drawing is clearly the more accurate of the two. Note that the two drawings are not in agreement with one another: the long **●** / round **●** in **●**•**DI** and **NO**[...], and the **C** / **♣** of **RIC** do not match. Even the broken piece on the obverse is shown in two different places.

V.d. Chijs (1862) and R. Serrure (1899)
 (ref. 6 & 20, resp.)

The same Wittmund Hoard specimens that were described by Meyer were used by v.d. Chijs and by R. Serrure. Serrure only lists two types, and does not cite any sources.

cat. I	VESMN	v.d. Chijs Plate XXX, 4	R. Serrure 45
cat. II	VIERD / DIRIC	v.d. Chijs Plate XXX, 2	R. Serrure —
cat. III	VIERD / THEO	v.d. Chijs Plate XXX, 3	R. Serrure 44

v.d. Chijs Plate XXX, 4 ^[6]
Cat. I (VESMN)



v.d. Chijs Plate XXX, 4 ^[6] (also *R. Serrure 45* ^[20])
 (CdMB 120)

[B]OINIDI[CH]V

[...]BOINIDI[...]V : ITIHOCD[...]NRI:IN[...]

This is CdMB 120 / 1.89 g.
 V.d. Chijs cites Meyer as his source

v.d. Chijs Plate XXX, 2 ^[6]
Cat. II (VIERD / DIRIC)



v.d. Chijs, Leenen Brabant, pl. XXX, 2 ^[6]
 (corrected)

The reverse of v.d. Chijs' drawing needs to be rotated 180°. V.d. Chijs gives the obverse legend as LIERD, with a note to see the previous coin in his catalog, which is a *lion-with-helm plak*. V.d. Chijs discusses Chalon's opinion about this *plak*, that the initial L of LVIERDEN on said coin was in fact a 14th century V (i.e. **UVIERDEN**). We have not seen a specimen, and it is difficult to be sure from the drawing (v.d. Chijs Plate XI, 2). But as we have stated several times now, the first letter on the Horne *leeuwengroten* is a V, not an L.

v.d. Chijs Plate XXX, 3 ^[6]
Cat. III (VIERD / THEO)

The reverse of v.d. Chijs' drawing needs to be rotated 90° counterclockwise. V.d. Chijs again gives the obverse legend as LIERD, although this time he says his 'LIERD' "is to be read as WEIRD".



v.d. Chijs Plate XXX-3 ^[6] (also R. Serrure 44 ^[20])
 (corrected)

N° 2 heeft op de vz. een leeuw binnen eenen rand van twaalf bloempjes.
Omschrift:

MONETA LIERO.

Dit weder (zie de aanmerking over de eerste letter van de voorgaande munt) beteekenende: *Moneta Wierd(ensis)* of Munt van Weert.

Op de kz. bevindt zich het gewone vierbeenige kruis met twee rijen omschriften. Aangezien de munt zeer geleden heeft is van de binnenste rij alleen leesbaar:

O · DI | RIC | VAN | .. ER

De eerste O, zegt de Heer MEIJER in de *Revue de la Num. Belge*, 1860, page 159, is eene navolging van de O op de *grooten met den leeuw* van Hertog Jan III van Brabant (zie onze *Munten van Brabant en Limburg*, Pl. IX, N° 24); terwijl het verder zal beteekenen: *Diric van Hoerne*.

Het omschrift van den buitenrand zal zijn:

Benedictum sit nomen, enz.

De onder N° 3 afgebeelde munt heeft op de vz. weder den leeuw, en in den rand elf bloempjes en even zoo vele schildjes, terwijl in het twaalfde een leeuwte gezien wordt. Omschrift:

MONETA LIERO

te lezen: *Moneta Wierd*.

De type der kz. is weder het langbeenige, vierkante kruis.

(137)

Het binnenste omschrift luidt thans:

THE | O · D · V | T · HO · TEN.

Hetgeen de Heer MEIJER meent dat aldus gelezen moet worden:

THEODERIC VAN HOORNE en ALTENA.

Weegt 1,6 w.

De Heer MEIJER, die bovengestelde munten voor het Koninklijk Penningkabinet mogt aankopen, doet opmerken, dat de binnenste en buitenste omschriften op die munten niet op de zelfde plaats beginnen.

v.d. Chijs, Leenen Brabant, pp. 136-137^[6]

Onder N° 4 van de Supplementplaat XXX geven wij weder een groot. Op de vz. ziet men den leeuw, thans met de drie hoornen uit het wapen des lands in een schildje boven zich. De rand bevat verder elf bloemschildjes. Het omschrift luidt:

✠ MONETA WESSEM.

Hetgeen gelezen moet worden:

moneta Wes(se)m(e)nsis.

munt te Wessem geslagen. Over deze muntplaats handelen wij weldra nader.

De kz. heeft weder het lange kruis met twee rijen omschriften. In de binnenste rij staat:

DED | ERI | EDH | ORN.

d. i. *Diedericus de horne*.

en in den buitensten:

... BOMINICIV : IT ROM ... BRI : IT

Het gewigt is 1,9 w. Medegedeeld door den Heer MEIJER in de *Revue* van 1860.

v.d. Chijs, Leenen Brabant, p. 145^[6]

Dannenberg Items 95, 96, 101
(ref. 7)

In his report on the Wittmund Hoard (1858), Dannenberg describes all 3 types of Horne *leeuwengroot*, which were found in the hoard, albeit without informing us of the quantities present. He claims that the obverse legend of his n° 95 reads VESMI', but this is unlikely.

95. DED — ERI — C'Dh — ORR R/. MORETA + VESMI'

1) Die Abbildung ist von einem andern Exemplare genommen.

232

H. Dannenberg: Turnosenfund.

(oben Schildchen mit 3 Hörnern) v. d. Chijs a. a. O.
S. 145, Taf. XXX, 4.

Zu Wessem von Dirk-Loef (1358—90) geschlagen, wie die
folgende zu Weert.

96. DI — RIC — VAR — . . R — O R/. MORETA VIERD
(v. d. Chijs a. a. O. S. 136 Taf. XXX, 2)

***101. THE — O'D · V — Ah'OTER R/. MORETA + WIERD'**
(oben ein Löwe). v. d. Chijs leenen v. Brab. S. 136
Taf. XXX, 3.

Von dem bei Nr. 95 u. 96 genannten Dirk-Loef.

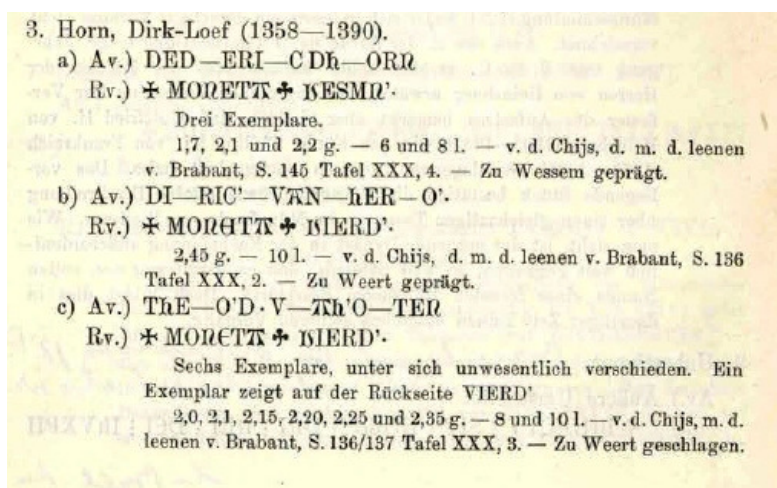
Dannenberg, ZfN pp. 231-232 ^[7]
Wittmund Hoard (1858)

cat. I	VESMN	Dannenberg Item 95	v.d. Ch. XXX, 4
cat. II	VIERD / DIRIC	Dannenberg Item 96	v.d. Ch. XXX, 2
cat. III	VIERD / THEO	Dannenberg Item 101	v.d. Ch. XXX, 3

Von Frauendorfer (1909)
(ref. 8)

In his report on the Byvanck Hoard (1860), v. Frauendorfer describes all 3 types of Horne *leeuwengroot*, which were present in the find, including the quantities (10 in all):

3	vF 3 a	cat. I	VESMN	1.70 g.; 2.10 g.; 2.20 g.
6	vF 3 b	cat. II	VIERD / DIRIC	2.00 g.; 2.10 g.; 2.15 g.; 2.20 g.; 2.25 g.; 2.35 g.
1	vF 3 c	cat. III	VIERD / THEO	2.45 g.



v. Frauendorfer p. 8^[8]
Byvanck Hoard (1860)

V. Frauendorfer notes that one of his **3 c** coins has a VIERD obverse legend instead of **DIRIC** like the others, but he does not make it clear which of the coins this is (by weight), and we cannot be certain about the coin's other characteristics. The current whereabouts of these coins are unknown,

Suhle, 1932

(ref. 20)

Suhle's report on the Schoo Hoard (1927) includes 32 Horne *leeuwengroten*, 11 of which are currently in Bode Museum collection in Berlin (the rest have disappeared), divided as follows:

cat. I	VESMN	Suhle Item 74	1	(0 unaccounted for)
cat. II	VIERD / DIRIC	Suhle Item 73	3	(1 unaccounted for)
cat. III	VIERD / THEO	Suhle Item 72	7	(20 unaccounted for)

Dietrich-Loef von Horn (und Altena) 1358—1390 in Limburg, Münzstätte Weert (Hauptstadt d. Grfsh. Horn):	
72.	THE O'D.V A'h'O Ten' — + . MONETA Blatt UIERD'. = THEODerie VAN HOorne en altENa(?) 10 St. = 1,79; 1,81; 1,94; 2,0; 2,27; 2,35 (2); 2,50; 2,67; 2,95 g; 17 Bruchstücke. Wittmund No. 101; Byvank No. 3 c; v. d. Chijs S. 137 Suppl. Taf. XXII 3; Z. f. N. II S. 151; Rev. num. belge 1860 S. 160 No. 19; Serrure S. 30 Fig. 44.
73.	ODI' RIQ' V' x AN' HER = Diric van Herne — 2 St. = 1,75; 2,14 g; 2 Bruchstücke. Wittmund No. 96; Byvank No. 36; v. d. Chijs S. 136 No. 2 Suppl. Taf. XXX. Das „O“ vor dem Namen befindet sich dort in Nachahmung der Groschen Johannes III. von Brabant (De Witte, Brabant I Pl. XVI 359).
Münzstätte Wessem an der Maas:	
74.	DED ERi CDh ORN — + MONETA Blatt uESMn' 1,78 g. Wittmund No. 95; Byvank No. 3 a; Serrure S. 30 Fig. 45; v. d. Chijs S. 145 Suppl. Taf. XXX No. 4; Rev. num. belge 1860 S. 160 No. 15.

Suhle p. 79^[21]

Suhle referred to broken coins as *Bruchstücke*, even if they were only moderately damaged.

CAT. I

Suhle Item 74. Wesseem mint (cites v.d. Chijs (Hoorne) XXX, 4)

1 coin: 1.78 g. [in Berlin]

Suhle:

✠ MOŊETA + ŬESMŊ
DED ERI QDh ORN [sic]

CAT. II

Suhle Item 73. Weert mint (cites v.d. Chijs, (Hoorne) XXX, 2)

2 coins:

2.14 g.

1.75 g. [broken; in Berlin]

+ 2 fragments

[2.00 g.; in Berlin]

[1.85 g.; broken, in Berlin]

Suhle:

.✠. MOŊETA + ŬIERD'
ODI' RIC' V' *AN' hER [sic]

CAT. III

Suhle Item 72. Weert mint (cites v.d. Chijs (Hoorne) XXX, 3)

10 coins (see below for weights)

+ 17 fragments

Suhle (p. 79):

.✠. MOŊETA + ŬIERD'
ThE O'D.V AN'h'O TEŊ'

in fact :

**.ϥ. MONETΛ + VIERD'
THE O'D.V Λ'h'O TEN'**

**.ϥ. MONETΛ + VIERD'
THE O'D.V Λ'h'O TEN'**

Suhle listed the following Horne *leeuwengroten* for the Schoo Hoard (1927):

type	grams	item	[in Berlin]
VIERD THEO	2.95	72	2.93 g.
VIERD THEO	2.67	72	2.67 g.
VIERD THEO	2.50	72	not in Berlin
VIERD THEO	2.35	72	not in Berlin
VIERD THEO	2.35	72	not in Berlin
VIERD THEO	2.27	72	not in Berlin
VIERD THEO	2.00	72	1.99 g.
VIERD THEO	1.94	72	1.92 g.
VIERD THEO	1.81	72	not in Berlin
VIERD THEO	1.79	72	not in Berlin
VIERD THEO 17 fragments (i.e. broken coins?)	?	72	not in Berlin
VIERD THEO	?	72	2.25 g.
VIERD THEO	?	72	2.14 g.
VIERD THEO	?	72	1.71 g.
		72	7 VIERD / THEO coins in Berlin
VIERD DIRIC	2.14	73	2.00 g..
VIERD DIRIC slightly broken	1.75	73	1.75 g.
VIERD DIRIC 2 fragments (i.e. broken coins?)	?	73	not in Berlin
VIERD DIRIC broken	1.85 g	73	1.85 g.
			3 VIERD / DIRIC coins in Berlin
VESMN	1.78 g	74	1.78 g.
			1 VESMN coin in Berlin
			11 Horne coins in Berlin

Berghaus, 1958

(ref. 1)

Horn, Dietrich—Loef 1358—1390. Löwengroot von Wessem. v. d. Ch. XXX, 4.	1+ 0
—, Dietrich—Loef. Löwengroot von Weert. v. d. Ch. XXII, 3 (10+17) u. XXX, 2 (2+2).	12+ 19

Berghaus, Friesisches Jahrbuch 32, 1958^[1]
Schoo Hoard (1927)

Suhle's 1931 report (ref. 20) was Berghaus' main source for information. Berghaus lists the Horne coins but does not describe them, and he adds no new information about Horne *leeuwengroten*.

Schulman (The Arnhem Hoard, 1957)

(*JMP* 1968, p. 67)

In 1968, J. Schulman published a supplemental article on the Arnhem Hoard, in which he describes an additional 95 coins that were also from that hoard. Schulman provides no information concerning the origin or whereabouts of the coins he describes, he simply says that they "showed up" (*te voorschijn gekomen*). Schulman lists 21 *leeuwengroten* (1 Horne, 16 Flanders, 4 Holland,) and 1 Holland ½ *leeuwengroot* in his article (see ref. 24).

Schulman attributes the Horne *leeuwengroot* to Dirk-Loef, citing **v.d. Chijs XXX, 3 (cat. III)** and stating that the coin weighs 2.33 g. Presumably then, the coin was a VIERD/THEO type.

Lucas. 1982

(ref. 13)

Haanen (ref. 11) seems impressed with Lucas' work on the subject of the Horne coins, describing it as "a modern, almost complete overview of Horne coins" (p. 65). We cannot concur with Haanen's assessment however; Lucas' work is simply a compilation of material from other sources (e.g. v.d. Chijs), with his own opinion occasionally added in. But Lucas' source material is often erroneous, as are some of Lucas' opinions. Lucas adds little or nothing to our knowledge of the *leeuwengroot* (of any region), and in fact, usually only clouds

the waters even further, so to speak. The only reason we bother discussing Lucas' works at all is because so many other people cite them as references.

Lucas assigns the Horne *leeuwengroot* coins thusly:

Dirk of Perwez, Lord of Perwez and Cranenbourg (1332-1363) [*sic*]

16. VIERD / DIRIC

17. VESMN / DEDERIC

17a. VESMI var.

Dirk Loef 1358-1374

20. VIERD / THEO

Lucas' reasoning for these determinations is not made clear, but it may simply come down to DIRIC for Dirk of Perwez and THEO for Dirk-Loef (which is what Haanen seemed to think Lucas did).

Lucas 16. (cites Meyer p 159; v.d. Chijs XXX, 2)

Lucas incorrectly states that the obverse border consists of 12 leaves and he gives an incorrect, all-capitals legend transcription: "+MOnETA LIERD / :O.DI RIC VAn ...ER and BENEDICTVM etc...?".

Lucas 17. (cites Meyer pl. X, 15; v.d. Chijs XXX, 4; R. Serrure 45)

17a. (cites Schulman catalog, 1953, Lot 742)

Because he is taking his information directly from v.d. Chijs, Lucas gives the obverse legend as +MOnETA LESMn', and the reverse outer legend he provides is from the very specific variant coin CdMB 120 (**cat. I, sub-type B**), with the "BOINIDICTV" etc. outer legend.

We are not convinced that any VESMI variant exists (**Lucas 17a**), despite the description in the 1953 Schulman catalog cited by Lucas as his source for this "variant".

Lucas 20. (cites v.d. Chijs XXX, 3; R. Serrure 44)

Lucas' legend transcriptions for this type are fairly accurate, despite his all-capitals plan and the incorrect LIERD transcription.

cat. I	VESMN	Lucas 17	v.d. Ch. pl. XXX, 4	R. Serrure 45
cat. II	VIERD / DIRIC	Lucas 16	v.d. Ch. pl. XXX, 2	R. Serrure —
cat. III	VIERD / THEO	Lucas 20	v.d. Ch. pl. XXX, 3	R. Serrure 44

Haanen (2014) (ref. 11)

The main focus of Haanen's article is the coinage of Philip of Montmorency (1562-1566), Count of Horne, Lord of Altena, Weert & Wessem. The article was not intended to be a complete catalog of the Horne coins. Haanen provides a superficial discussion of the medieval coin types struck in Horne, including the *leeuwengroten*. It appears, however, that Haanen did not delve all that deeply into the subject, and he did not use all of the literature relevant to the Horne *leeuwengroten* nor the available coin specimens that were at his disposal, e.g. the Schoo Hoard (1927) (Suhle 1932, Berghaus 1958), and the CdMB coins, some of which come from the Wittmund Hoard (1858). Haanen's title is, after all, simply "Contribution to the Minting History of Horne". The only *leeuwengroot* specimens that Haanen seems to have been aware of are those currently found in the NNC/DNB collection and the Museum Rotterdam. (Haanen passed away during the final editing process and the last phases were completed by others.)

Haanen referred to the **U** of VIERD as an **L** (like v.d. Chijs did) but went on to say that it must be read as a **V**. (In fact, the letter is simply a **V**, although stylized, and not an **L** at all.) On p. 75, Haanen incorrectly says that the obverse borders consist of 12 leaves. He says that the outer legend reads **✠BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : DEI : IhV** [*sic*] "or a light variation thereof"; however, there is never an **E** in BNDICTV and the words **QRI** and **XPI** are missing. Only the VESMN (**cat. I**) coins have the word DEI in the legend, as well as a gothic **Q** in BNDICTV.

Although Haanen lists v.d. Meer's Arnhem Hoard report (see ref. 24) in his bibliography, he does not list Schulman's supplemental 1968 article, in which Schulman reports the presence of a Horne *leeuwengroot* of the VIERD / THEO type. Haanen's interpretation of the VIERD / DIRIC reverse legend is incorrect.

Haanen ascribes all of the Horne *leeuwengroten* to Dirk-Loef, and lists them as follows:

cat. I	VESMN	Haanen 12	v.d. Ch. pl. XXX, 4	R. Serrure 45
cat. II	VIERD / DIRIC	Haanen 11	v.d. Ch. pl. XXX, 2	R. Serrure —
cat. III	VIERD / THEO	Haanen 7	v.d. Ch. pl. XXX, 3	R. Serrure 44

CONCLUSION

We are of the opinion that all 3 types of Horne *leeuwengroot* were struck for Dirk-Loef. (The reasons for this opinion are laid out in the text above, and also in Appendix A below.)

More research is needed on the Horne *leeuwengroten*, and we hope that in the future, more new, legible specimens will come to light.

The known specimens of Horne *leeuwengroten*, most of which are partially illegible, are as follows:

VESMN			
I-A	RM 55003-2	1.71 g.	ex- van Rede
I-A	DNB 1953-0057	2.069 g.	
I-A	Berlin	1.78 g.	Schoo Hoard (1927)
I-A	Berlin	1.75 g.	ex- Grote
I-B	CdMB 120	1.89 g.	Wittmund Hoard (1858)
VIERD / DIRIC			
II-C (?)	RM 55003-1	2.53 g.	ex- van Rede
II-C	Berlin	1.85 g.	Schoo Hoard (1927)
II-C	Berlin	2.00 g.	Schoo Hoard (1927)
II-D	Berlin	1.75 g.	Schoo Hoard (1927)
II-D	DNB NM-10468	1.876 g.	Wittmund Hoard (1858)
VIERD / THEO			
III-(?)	private collection	2.07 g.	
III-E	Berlin	2.62 g.	
III-E 2	Berlin	1.71 g.	Schoo Hoard (1927)
III-F	Berlin	2.25 g.	Schoo Hoard (1927)
III-F	Berlin	1.99 g.	Schoo Hoard (1927)
III-F 2	Berlin	1.92 g.	Schoo Hoard (1927)
III-G	Berlin	2.14 g.	Schoo Hoard (1927)
III-G 2	Berlin	2.67 g.	Schoo Hoard (1927)
III-G 2	CdMB 117	2.24 g.	
III-H	Berlin	2.93 g.	Schoo Hoard (1927)
III-i	DNB NM-10469	1.593	Wittmund Hoard (1858)
III-i	DNB NM-10470	2.188 g.	Wittmund Hoard (1858)
III-J	CdMB 118	2.06 g.	
III-J 2	Berlin	1.85 g.	ex- Dannenberg

The concordance of reference numbers for Horne *leeuwengroten* reads as follows:

	ref.	VESMN	VIERD / DIRIC	VIERD / THEO
catalog		I	II	III
Meyer	15	IX, 15	IX, 13	VIII, 14
v.d. Chijs	6	XXX, 4	XXX, 2	XXX, 3
R. Serrure	20	45	—	44
Dannenberg	7	95	96	101
von Frauendorfer	8	3 a	3 b	3 c
Suhle	21	74	72	73
Lucas	13	17	16	20
Haanen	11	12	11	7
Pelsdonk	16	—	—	4

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to thank the following individuals and institutions for their kind assistance:

Martin Damsma, Cabinet de Médailles, Brussels (CdMB / KBR), Museum Rotterdam, Jan Pelsdonk, Dolf Ruesink, Christian Stoess, Valentine Shröder, Staatliche museen zu Berlin, Johan Van Heesch.

LITERATURE

[1]

Die ostfriesischen Münzfunde

Peter Berghaus

pp. 9-73

in ***Friesisches Jahrbuch***

Number 32, 1958

Item 35: Wittmund (pp. 50-51)

Item 36. Schoo (pp. 51-52)

[2]

De heerlijke munten van Horne

B.H.J. te Boekhorst

Anjum, 1998

ISBN 90-76334-04-8

[3]

De Heren van Horne

W.M. van de Boel

in ***Horne: Horn: Häör***

Jac Wijnands, Piet Spee (eds.)

Horn, 1989

pp. 23-30.

[4]

Facetten uit de Middeleeuwse historie van Weert

W.M. van de Boel

pp. 128-144

Supplement

pp. 23-32

{Stichting Historisch Onderzoek Weert website}

[5]

Het wapen der Hornes

W.M. van de Boel

pp. 265-286

{Stichting Historisch Onderzoek Weert website}

[6]

Leenen van de voormalige hertogdommen Brabant en Limburg, enz., van de vroegste tijden tot aan de Pacificatie van Gend

P. O. van der Chijs

Haarlem, 1862

[7]

Der Turnosen Fund von Wittmund

H. Dannenberg

in *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 10 (1883)

pp. 223-232

[8]

Ein Turnosen- und Löwengroschen-Fund

von Frauendorfer, H.

MBNG 26/27 (1908/09), pp. 1-11 & plate 1

(*Mitteilungen der Bayerischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft*)

[9]

De vondst van Wittmund

H.E. van Gelder

Jaarboek voor Munten- en Penningkunde (JMP) 33/34 (1946/1947), p. 138

[10]

Bergischen und Jülich'schen Münzgeschichte

in *Münstudien* Bd. VII, pp. 41, 427

Hermann Grote *et al*

[11]

***Bijdragen aan de muntgeschiedenis van de heerlijkheid en het graafschap Horn
(± 1270 -1567)***

Emile Haanen

JMP 101, 2014

pp. 58 - 123

[12]

De heren van Horne, Altena, Weert en Kortesse (1345-1433)

T. Klaversma

in ***Weert in woord en beeld***

Jaarboek voor Weert 4 (1989)

pp. 51-63

[13]

Monnaies seigneuriales mosanes

P. Lucas

Walcourt, 1982

ISBN 2-87039-049-5

[14]

***Verslag omtrent de aanwinsten van het Koninklijk Penningkabinet te 's Gravenhage van 1
januarij to 31 december 1859***

J.F.G. Meyer

The Hague, 1860

[15]

Médailles et monnaies inédites du cabinet royal des médailles, a la Haye

J.F.G. Meyer

in ***RBN***, 1860

pp. 149 – 163

Plates VIII, IX and X

[16]

***De penningen van Willem van Horn en de munten van Dirk van Perwijs: Een poging tot
ordening***

J. Pelsdonk

in ***De Beeldenaar***, 2015-2

2015

pp. 67 - 75

[17]

Notice concernant des monnaies de Kessenich, Hornes, Grave, Randerode, Stenvenswerd et Rekheim

C. Piot

in *RBN* 1856

pp. 76 - 95

Pl. V, 25², 26

[18]

Arnhem 1957

J. Schulman

in *JMP* 55 (1968), pp. 66-68

[19]

J. Schulman

Auction catalog 1953

lot 742

[20]

L'imitation des types monétaires flamands : depuis Marguerite de Constantinople jusqu'à l'avènement de la Maison de Bourgogne

Raymond Serrure

1899

Liège: G. Genard; Maastricht: A.G. Van der Dussen, 1972

[21]

Der Groschenfund von Schoo bei Esens

A. Suhle

in *ZfN* 41

1931

pp. 67-91

[22]

Leeuwengroten in the Collection of the Museum Rotterdam

Paul Torongo & Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2016

Academia.edu

[23]

The Leeuwengroten of the Wittmund Hoard (1858)

Paul A. Torongo & Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2018

Academia.edu

[24]

The Leeuwengroten of the Arnhem Coin Hoard (1957) Part One

Paul A. Torongo
Rotterdam, 2019
Academia.edu

[25]

Atlas der munten van België van de Kelten tot heden

Hugo Vanhoudt
Herent, 1996
ISBN 90-9009686

[26]

Van Horne of Hoorne, maar niet Hoorn

Daniël van Wely
pp. 141-148
{Stichting Historisch Onderzoek Weert website}

[27]

Notice historique sur l'ancien comté des Hornes et sur les anciennes seigneuries de Weert, Wessem, Ghoor et Kessenich

Wolters
Ghent, 1850

[28]

private conversations & correspondence
Dolf Ruesink – Paul Torongo
2016

[29]

private correspondence
Jan Pelsdonk – Paul Torongo
2018

APPENDIX A

Who was Dirk of Horne?

As in many medieval regions, the Lords of Horne tended to use the same names for their children over and over, and so there are multiple Williams, Gerards and Dirks (a.k.a Theodoric or Dideric or in English, Derrick). All of the Horne *leeuwengroten* are in the name of “Dirk”, and so the Gerards and Williams need not concern us too much, other than their relationships to the Dirks... at least, in theory.

In practice, it works out much differently. As non-genealogists, we are often heavily dependent on the works of others for information regarding the various barons of the fourteenth century, and Horne is no exception. But modern researchers (back to the 19th century), attempting to disentangle the Williams, Dirks and Gerards, discuss these people at length without any “numbers”, not to mention the fact that they also assign different numbers to the various characters, creating a confusing mess for those of us who come afterwards and try to figure out just what is going on. No one provides a clear, **correct**, easy-to-read family tree. Instead, one must pore through long tracts of texts, picking out dates and information as it comes up, and problems arise almost immediately...

V.d Boel (ref. 3, p. 24) decided that it would be a good idea to refer to William, the son of his William II, as “William IIa” instead of as “William III”, so as “not to upset the current genealogy” (whether or not this was a good idea is debateable).

Typographical errors do not help matters any either; for example, v.d. Chijs (ref. 6, p. 124) says something about an agreement in March of 1336 involving Louis of **Male** [*sic*], Count of Flanders... he meant Louis of **Nevers**.

On p. 25, v.d. Boel says:

“De kinderen van Willem van Horn en Elisabeth van Hulchrath waren: Willem, geboren 1337, hij volgde zijn halfbroeder Gerard in **1445** op, maar voorlopig onder voogdij van zijn oom Dirk van Perwijs. Eerst in **1449** werd hij ontslagen uit de voogdij.”^[3]

and

“Als Gerard II in **1445** sneuvelt, is zijn opvolger, zijn halfbroer Willem V slechts 8 jaar oud.” [i.e. 1345]^[3]

It was not going so well for v.d. Boel with the proofreading, apparently. We are sure that we can assume that someone born in 1337 did not follow his brother as Lord of Horne 108 years later in 1445, or that his being under guardianship as a minor ended 112 years after he was born.

Leeuwengroten were minted in Flanders, on and off, from 1337 to 1364, and in Brabant for about the same period (ending in 1363), with a “restart” c. 1381-1383. These are the approximate dates of minting of *leeuwengroten* in other regions as well, including Horne. Therefore, the only Lords of Horne that truly need concern us are those in power during these time periods, and even more specifically, those named Dirk. We shall leave the rest of the genealogical nightmare in Horne to some other researcher. (There is, of course, also the fractional coin struck for William of Horne.)

Most authors attribute all 3 types of Horne *leeuwengroten* to **Dirk-Loef**, although some (Lucas) attribute the DEDERIC (VESMN) and DIRIC (VIERD) coins to his uncle, **Dirk of Perwez**, perhaps because the other type says THEODV and not DIRIC / DEDERIC, a different form of the name.

The Horne *leeuwengroten* were struck for a Dirk calling himself Lord of Horne (and Altena). As it turns out, what is really important is for our purposes is: Who was the Lord of **Altena** during the period 1337-1365? Two of the three Horne types bear the title of Altena, and this means that these coins were struck for Dirk-Loef and not for Dirk of Perwez. The third type is likely to be (relatively) concurrent, and is therefore likely to belong to Dirk-Loef as well.

In fact, neither Dirk-Loef nor Dirk of Perwez had any right to strike coins in Horne. The actual Lord of Horne at the time was the minor William VI (VII) (using v.d. Boel's numbering, William VII using v.d. Chijs' and te Boekhorst's).

According to v.d. Boel (ref. 3, p.24-26), William II of Horne was married to Agnes, and they had a son named William, to whom v.d. Boel refers to as William IIa.

According to v.d. Boel, this "William IIa" [III], who followed his father as Lord of Horne in 1277 had 4 sons: William III [IV], **Dirk**, Engelbert and **Gerard**. This particular Dirk would not seem to be relevant to our story, since he was a clergyman who died in 1304, long before any *leeuwengroten* were ever struck anywhere. Gerard I's second marriage to Ermingarde of Cleves (c. 1312/1313) gave him several sons, the eldest of whom was named **Dirk**. This is the Dirk who is now known as **Dirk of Perwez**.

V.d. Boel says (ref. 3, p. 24) of one of the sons of "William IIa": Dirk was a clergyman in Utrecht and Liège, that he was killed in 1304 in Duiveland, and was followed in Utrecht by his brother Engelbert.

V.d. Chijs (ref. 6, p. 120) lists the children of William IV (in 1299) (v.d. Boel's William IIa) as William (V), Dirk (clergyman), Gerard and Engelbert (clergyman). V.d. Chijs says (p. 121) that William IV (v.d. Boel's William III) died in 1304 at the Battle of Zierikzee, along with his son Engelbert.

Somone has got it wrong, even without the numbering problems...

V.d. Boel (ref. 3) says that Gerard I died in 1330, and that his second son William IV [V] followed him Lord of Horne (and other regions), but not as lord of Perwez or Herlaer. Presumably, Perwez went to Dirk {"of Perwez"}. William IV was married to Oda van Putten, and they had several daughters and one son, **Gerard II**, who followed his father as Lord of Horne (etc.) in 1343. On p. 25, v.d. Boel says that Gerard II died in 1345 at the Battle of Warns (but a subsequent typo says 1445).

It is unclear why Gerard I's second son (William IV) became Lord of Horne and not his eldest son (Dirk "of Perwez").

According to v.d. Boel, in 1336, William IV [V] entered into a second marriage with Elizabeth of Cleves-Hulchrath, who bore him 3 sons: **William V**, **Dirk-Loef** and Arnold. Arnold is the Arnold of Horne who would later become Bishop of Utrecht and after that, Bishop of Liège (died 1389).

V.d. Boel says (p. 25) that when Gerard II died in 1345, his heir, his half-brother William V [VI], was only 8 years old, and so he was placed in the guardianship of his uncle, Dirk of

Perwez (son of Gerard I). In April of 1357, because of various complications, William V [VI] lost the Lordship of Altena, which was given to his brother, Dirk-Loef, and shortly afterwards, William V [VI] died. At this point, Dirk-Loef declared himself to be Lord of Horne (and Altena), even though William V's {VI} infant son with Mechteld van Arkel (**William VI [VII]**, born April 1357) was the rightful heir.

Te Boekhorst (ref. 2) tells a slightly different version of the tale. According to him:

Gerard van Hoorne	† 1203
his son, William I	
William II	† c. 1240
William III	c. 1241-1264
William IV	1264-1304 (first minter in Horne)
Gerard II	1304-1333
William V	1333-1343 (oldest son of Gerard II and Johanna van Leuven)
[William VI	1343-1358 ?]
Dirk of Perwez	1358-1363 (guardian)
Dirk-Loef	1358-1374 (pretender)
William VII	1374-1415

On p. 11, te Boekhorst states that Dirk-Loef was the brother of William VI (until this point unmentioned by te Boekhorst), and thus the uncle of the “newborn William” [VII]. In his table of the “minting lords of Horne”, William VI is not listed – presumably because he did not strike any coins?

Te Boekhorst continues by saying that just before the birth of the infant William [VII], Dirk-Loef travelled to Middelburg (probably on 3 May, 1357), where William, Duke of Bavaria, Count of Holland, Hainaut and Zeeland and Lord of Friesland was staying (i.e. William V of Holland). Dirk-Loef managed to convince Count William to give him the fief of Altena. In this manner, Dirk-Loef managed to obtain some of his brother's [William VI] property. It remains a mystery as to exactly how Dirk-Loef managed to convince Duke William to go along with his plan, but he apparently paid dearly for it (2000 golden Brussels *écus*). Te Boekhorst also says that in later years, Dirk-Loef made attempts to gain control of other properties from the Horne inheritance, to no avail.

The inhabitants of Altena and Munnikenland were apparently unhappy with the new arrangement, and they took up arms against their new lord, who promptly began construction of the castle Loevestein, which must have been completed before 1368. This enabled Dirk-Loef to control the important waterways around Gorinchem and Woudrichem, and place tolls on all passing ships ^[2].

According to v.d. Boel (ref. 3, p. 25), from about April 1357 until 28 March, 1368, Dirk-Loef was Lord of Horne and Altena, (with or without the rights to these regions). On that date, Albert, acting Count of Holland and apparently the arbitrator in the case between Dirk-Loef and William VI (VII), decided that William would get Horne, and that Dirk-Loef would get the incomes from Altena, which would be administrated by Albert's clerks ^[3].

Te Boekhorst (ref. 2, p 12) says that Dirk-Loef's actions (as Lord of Horne) made him many enemies, and that even his allies began to see him as uncontrollable. In 1368, he offended his liege-lord Albert of Bavaria (Count of Holland) by demanding ransom money for some prisoners that by rights belonged to Albert, and by refusing his lord's call to arms. Albert decided to hold Dirk-Loef accountable, and it was at this point that his nephew, the son of

William VI, made a reappearance. Where he had been staying all this time was unclear, but it had certainly been somewhere outside the sphere of influence of Loevestein.

On 24 February, 1368, Dirk-Loef was made to answer to Albert regarding the situation, and on 28 March 1368 a final judgement was made, that Dirk-Loef was guilty of improperly appropriating Altena (and the other charges, which included things like imposing tolls without the right to do so, etc.). Albert used the opportunity to attempt to gain control of Altena and Loevestein by arranging that his own clerks would take over the administration of these places.

Two months later, Dirk-Loef came with his answer: he admitted guilt to all of the charges, but declined to relinquish Altena and Loevestein. He was, after all, not the Lord of Altena, but rather he was only acting as “guardian and agent” on behalf of his nephew, William VII. In this manner, Dirk lost his own “properties”, but managed to keep the lands “in the family” instead of letting them fall into the hands of the Count of Holland ^[2].

According to v.d. Boel (ref. 3, p. 25), on 31 October, 1368, Jan van Arkel (Bishop of Liège), Dirk of Perwez, Johan van Polanen and Jan van Pieterheim came to a decision regarding a new arrangement between the parties. For our purposes, the most relevant point is that William VI (VII) got Horne, Weert and Wessem. William was apparently 11 years old, and he became an adult by medieval reckoning in 1369 when he turned 12. It is not clear when William VI (VII) died, but in 1416 he gave up the rights to Horne to his son, William VII (VIII).

“Willem VI van Horn werd in 1369 meerderjarig (Dat betekende toen voluit 12 jaar). Zijn oom Dirk-Loef verzoekt aan Albrecht, graaf van Holland hem [Dirk-Loef] te willen belenen met Altena. Hij blijft nog enige jaren op Loevestein, maar vertrekt dan naar Henegouwen (Oostervant), waar hij getrouwd was met Isabella de Montigny, Dame van Braine-le-Château. Van hem stammen de Hornes af, die zich in de 15^e eeuw verdeelden in de takken Houtkerke en Bassignies.”

– v.d. Boel (ref. 3, p. 26),

V.d. Chijs (ref. 6, p. 125) says that Dirk-Loef was married to Isabella of Montigny, and that he died in 1390.

“Het belangrijkste feit van Willem VI [VII] was dat hij in 1386 van zijn leenrechten in Altena werd vervallen verklaard. De redenen zijn onbekend.”

– v.d. Boel, p. 26 ^[3]

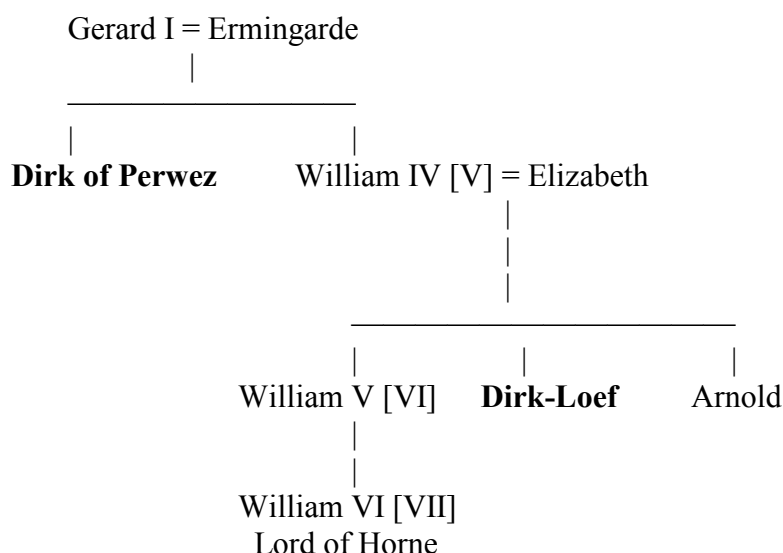
To clarify (using v.d. Boel’s information and numbering):

William V [VI] † 1357
nephew of Dirk of Perwez
brother of Dirk-Loef

William VI (VII), true Lord of Horne (born in 1357, and a minor until 1369)
 Lord of Horne 1369 - 1416
 Lord of Altena - 1386
 was the nephew of Dirk-Loef
 and the great-nephew of Dirk of Perwez.

Dirk of Perwez
 was the great-uncle of William VI (VII), true Lord of Horne
 and his guardian 1345-
 and the uncle of Dirk-Loef

Dirk-Loef
 was the uncle of William VI (VII), true Lord of Horne
 and the nephew of Dirk of Perwez



According to v.d. Boel's information (ref. 3), the Lords of Horne during the time that *leeuwengroten* were being minted in Flanders and/or Brabant were as follows:

William IV [V] (1330-1343)
 William V [VI] (1343-1357)
 Dirk of Perwez as guardian
Dirk-Loef, Lord of Horne (1357-1368)
 William VI [VII], Lord of Horne (1369-1416)
 (Dirk of Perwez as guardian until 1369)

To repeat, te Boekhorst says (ref. 2, p. 28):

William V	1333-1343 (oldest son of Gerard II and Johanna van Leuven)
[William VI	1343-1358 ?]
Dirk of Perwez	1358-1363 (guardian)
Dirk-Loef	1358-1374 (pretender)
William VII	1374-1415

Neither Dirk of Perwez nor Dirk-Loef had the right to strike coins in Horne (Weert and Wessem). If we ignore the “right to strike coin” and focus solely on the name Dirk, it is clear that during the period of *leeuwengroot* minting in Flanders and Brabant (1337-1364), either Dirk could have conceivably struck the Horne *leeuwengroten*. During the “second wave” of *leeuwengroot* minting c. 1381-1383, William VI was the Lord of Horne, so the Horne *leeuwengroten* must be from the “first wave”.

This is the conundrum that has faced every numismatist who has attempted to catalog the Horne *leeuwengroten*. The dates do not help and the hoard evidence does not help, so what are we left with to determine which Dirk struck the Horne *leeuwengroten*?

The answer is: not much. There are only a few other coins known for either Dirk, and they do not, in and of themselves, shed much light on the *leeuwengroten*.

What can we glean from the legends?

Cat. I : DEDERICDHORNE

MONETA VESseMensis

money of Wessem

DEDERIC De HORNe

Dirk of Horne

Cat. II : DIRICVALHERO

MONETA VIERD

money of Weert

DIRICVs ALtena HERnO

Dirk, Altena, Horne

Cat. III : THEODVAHOTEN

MONETA VIERD

money of Weert

THEODirc VAn HORne alTENa

Dirk of Horne, Altena

The **cat. II** coins clearly say Altena on them, which is a strong indication that they were minted for Dirk-Loef (and not Dirk of Perwez).

In our opinion, the **cat. III** coins were minted for the same person as the **cat. II** coins (Dirk-Loef), and they may indicate Altena in the legend as well.

The **cat. I** coins are somewhat different than the other two types; triple horn sigil and 5-lobed leaves in the outer border, the word DEI in the outer legend, etc. These differences appear to indicate that this type is the oldest of the three, not that it was struck for someone other than Dirk-Loef *per se*. Since we believe that the other two types were struck for Dirk-Loef, and there is no evidence to suggest that the **cat. I** coins were struck for Dirk of Perwez, we would ascribe the **cat. I** coins to Dirk-Loef as well, especially in light of the fact that there are no specifically Horne coins known for Dirk of Perwez at all. There does not seem to be any particular reason to ascribe any of the three Horne *leeuwengroot* types to Dirk of Perwez.

We are of the opinion that all 3 types of Horne *leeuwengroot* were struck for Dirk-Loef.

APPENDIX B

Medieval Records

Wolters (ref. 27)
pp. 229-232

None of the following medieval documents have much bearing on the coinage of Horne or the *leeuwengroten*. They are, however, the only documents published by Wolters from the relevant time period of c. 1337-1365.

N° 10.

Testament de Guillaume V, sire de Homes, d'Altena et de Gaesbeek.

1342.

Allen den ghenen die dese letteren selen sien oft hooren lesen, wy Willem , bcer van Hoern , van Altena ende Gaesbeek, saluyt. In de kennisse der wachtheydt, condit sy alle lieden , dat wy met onsen volkommen wille en met ons raede ende eendrachtelycke, met ons gemeenc magen ende vrinden , hebben ghegoet ende goeden onsen lieven oudtsten soene Geeraert van Hoeiw, riddere, in der manieren gelyck hiernacr beschreven staet, ende is te wetene in den eersten , dat wy hebben gegeven ende geven in goedingen heeren Geeraert , onsen soene voorseyt , Hees ende Leende, etc., ende nner onse doot, soo sal dat voor seyde goet van Hees ende Leende met alle de voorseyde toebehoorten geheel ende al kommen op onse achterste kinderen, die wy hebben ende naemaels hebben sullen oft mogen van vrou Else van Cleve , onser elieher vrouwen, ende dat, etc., item voort soo hebben wy ghegeven ende gheven heer Geeraert onsen oudtsten soene vorengheenoemt nu al te hant het lant van Montcornet ende van Bassingys gheleghen in Tirasse, met alle de heerschappye, etc., gelyck dat wy op den dach van heden houdende zyn , ende ghelyck dat houdende was voor ons onse lieve nichte Beatrix van Lovene, te dien tyde jonckvrou van Haerstal , van Gaesbeke ende van Montcornet, daer Godt de siele af hebben moet, etc.

Dit was ghedaen in jaer ons Heeren als men schreef MCCCXLII des sondachs naer S. Bemeus ende S. Bavens daege in de maentvan octobre.

Nº 11

Acte passé devant les échevins de Bruxelles , réglant un partage de biens entre les enfants de Guillaume V, sire de Homes et d'Altena.

10 Octobre 1357.

Want quist ende descort is geweest tusschen heer Gisbrecht, heere van Abcoude, heer Sweer van Abcoude, heere van Gaesbeek, ende Willem synen broeder, ridders; soo hebben partyen voorsz. gestelt in t'seggen heer Diericx van Hoerne, heere van Perwes, en heer Jans van Polanen, heere van der Lecke, ende van Breda; ende hebben geseyt wy volcht : in t'eerste, dat Dierick, heere van Hoerne voorsz., ende Àrnout, synen broe der, ende joncvrou Lisbette , syne suster, houden sullen de heerlicLeit van Hoerne ende Altena, met de moerlanden , ende het lant ende heerlicheit van Herstal , Hese ende Leende, ende het lant van Moncornet ende Cortresem ; ende heer Sweer van Abcoude, heere van Gaesbeek, sal bchouden het lant van Gaesbeek, met alle de toebehoorten , ende dat dorp te Loen by Oosterwyck, gelyck als hecr Geerard, heere van Hoerne, die lest heere van Hoern was , die te Vriesen bleef , dat plach toe te hooren; ende sal Dierick, heere van Hoern voorsz., aflossen de heere van Abcoude de Donck-Hoven , gelyek sy gelegen syn in de landen van Aliena , ende vrou Alyt van Cranendonck die nu besit.

Gedaen voor schepenen van Brussel 10 october 1357.

Nº 12.

Charte par laquelle Thierry-Loef, sire de Homes et d'Altena, règle avec Henri, sire de Diest, différents points concernant la dot de sa soeur Elisabeth de Homes.

18 Octobre 1366.

Wer Didderic Luef her van Huerne en van Altena maken kont en kenlic allen luden dat wer overdragen syn mit onsen Iyevcn swager den here van Dyest, en suster der vrouwen van Dyest van allen saken die wer samm gaens hadden also van gelaefte van gelte, van hilex voerwarden, van onss suster voers, also dat wer des bleven syn an drien onss vrunde , also herrn Geraerde Baers van Baersdonck , hern Geraerde Hake, en Goyswine van Tule , en vort der her van Dyest an drien synre vrinde also hern Geraerde van Rumpstc , Willem van Meerwuit , enn Claes van Vilter, so wes si ons beseggen minnen of rechts van dess voerwarden voerschreven dat geloven wer in guden truwen vast enn stede te halden. En wert sake dat sich die sesse seggener voers. nyet en overdrugen minnen of rechts , so synt si mechtich een geliken boven man te kiezen , by wilken drien seggern dee boven man viele enn bleve van desen voers. voerwarden , dat sulen wer in guden truwen vast enn stedc halden enn doen , also voers. is, enn of dess segger cinich gebrcke, so sal mon een geliken man in sine stat ncmen, en et is voerwarde, dat dese voers. sesse segger semelyc des sondaechs na sente Martyns dage neest comende by een sulen syn tot wert dit voers. seggen te seggen , enn wert sake, dat sie sich aldaer nyet en overdrugen, so sulen si liare seggen seggen tusgen dan enn kersines neest comende, enn wert, dat si van hare seggen nyet en sechten eendrechtichlic, so sal dee boven man dan mechtich syn mit den drien seggern da er hys by blyft dat seggen oder te halden enn dat te seggen tus gen dan enn ons Vrouwen Liechtmes dach neest comende, enn dat sal malline den andern in guden truwen stede halden enn doen, alle arglist van beyden siden utegescheiden. In orcunde dis hebben wer onsen segele an desen brief doen hangen.

Gegeven int jaer ons hern MCCC ses en tsestich op sente Lucas dach ewangeliste.

Nº 13.

Charte par laquelle Thierry-Loef, sire de Homes et d'Altena, assigne à sa soeur, Elisabeth, épouse de Henri, sire de Diest, différents biens pour sa dot.

1 Novembre 1367.

Wy Dederic Luef, her van Hurne enn van Althena, doen cont allen luden die desen brief zullen sien of horen lesen, dat wy bewyst hebben en bewisen onser suster der Vrouwen van Dieste als voer hoer hylx ghoet alsulken renten thynse enn goede als hier nae ghescreven staen ghetaxeert ellet stucke bihen voir zevendehalf hondert ghulden tsiaers. Maer altoes eest vorwaerde soe wann eer wy of onse erven onss suster voers. oft horen nacomelinghen betalen sevende half dusent ghulden , soe sulten onse renten tsynse enn geede die hier nae ghescreven staen quyt ende los syn van allen vorwaerden voers. behoudelec alre vorwaerden enn dedinghen die in der hylex vorwaerden ghededinct waren , dats te wetene van den discoert van den ghelde, want wy meynden , dat wy ons suster slechte ghulden gheloeft hebben, ende onse suster meynt dat wy haep brugsche schilde gheloeft hebben, oft antwerpseh schilde mitten vier lewen. Oec eest vorwaerde, waer dat sake, dat wy der voers. renten tsinse enn goede onmechtich worden eer ons voerg. suster van den voerg. zevendehalf dusent ghulden genoegh ghedaen were gheheelec enn altemale, dat wy dan ons voerg. suster betalen zullen enn oec gheloven te betalene in goeden truwen alle jare zevendehalf hondert ghuldene tot dier tyt dat wy de voerscreven zevendehalf dusent ghuldene betaelt oft wael bewyst hebben^ In dem iersten bewisen wy aen onsen tsynse tot Heythusen , Kogghel , Dasselre enn Beegde hondert schellinghe , etc. Voert eest vorwaerde dat ons suster voers. ofte hoer erven ons oft onsen crven onse voerscreven hove alsoe goet leveren sal enn in allen dien staede , dat wi se haer ghelevert hebben utghesceiden ghemeyn ongheval, ende waer dat zake, dat dat ongheval van ons suster wegghen toe comen waer, soe soude sy of hore erven ons oft onsen erven dat verrichten.

In kennisse der waerheyt hebwy desen brief mit onsen zeghel open beseghelt , int jaer ons berren geboerten dusent driehondent tsestich enn zeven op Alreheyleghen dach.