

# The *Leeuwengroten* of the Wittmund Hoard (1858)

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## Introduction

“In general, the reports on coin hoards to be found in old numismatic journals leave much to be desired. Usually superficial and often downright inaccurate, these reports are, more often than not, the only record we have of important coin finds made in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (the coins themselves have a tendency to disappear from public view.) In other words: we have little or no useful information about several important coin finds. And yet, researchers continue to use these reports to this day, often without questioning their content.

We present here a report on an important coin hoard which was not properly nor accurately described, now lost to researchers forever. While we applaud the efforts of all previous researchers, we cannot condone the continued dissemination of misinformation, and we are therefore compelled to point out previous errors and attempt to correct them for the good of numismatics in general.” [23]

-- Torongo & Haeck, *The Tourn Hoard (1911): A Numismatic Tragedy Revisited* (ref. 23)

There are three German coin hoards that are of great importance to the study of the *leeuwengroten* of all regions: Wittmund (1858), Byvanck (1860), and Schoo (1927), which we lovingly call “the big three”. The contents of these hoards are similar to one another, all of them containing significant numbers of rare *leeuwengroten* struck in small regions such as Horne and Fauquemont (Valkenburg), as well as large numbers of *gros tournois*.

Previous reports on these hoards were written by:

<b>Wittmund</b>	Dannenberg; Berghaus, (Meyer)
<b>Byvanck</b>	von Frauendorfer
<b>Schoo</b>	Suhle; Berghaus

None of these previous reports are without errors or problems, however. In the case of the Wittmund Hoard, for example, no one ever reported the total number of coins that the find contained, Dannenberg and Berghaus both list coins not listed by the other, Meyers’ illustrations of the coins are hopelessly inaccurate, and so on.

It is our intention to report on these three important hoards separately, followed by a report on their relationship to one another.

Of the 103+ (225+ ?) coins originally found in the Wittmund Hoard, we were able to locate 22 coins (or a few more) in The Netherlands and Germany (and Belgium?). In this paper we present all of the *leeuwengroten* (or *gros au lion*, *gros compaignon*, *löwengroschen*) from the Wittmund Hoard that we were able to track down: four coins (perhaps five or six). The greater portion of this paper is taken up with a stroll through the previous literature. The hoard was first described by Dannenberg (1883, ref. 8) and subsequently by Berghaus (1958, ref. 2). Some of the coins were also described by Meyer (1860, ref. 17 and 18), who did report on the entire hoard, but only on the coins acquired by the Dutch *Penningkabinet*.

We shall leave the in-depth investigation into the *gros tournois* and other coin types found in the Wittmund Hoard to some other researcher(s), including perhaps looking into why Dannenberg seems to describe 93 *tournois* types, while Berghaus only seems to list about 80.

## The Wittmund Hoard (1858)

Found: 1858 ?

Total number of coins: Unknown (mostly *gros tournois* and *leeuwengroten*)

Current location: Dispersed – Landesmuseum Hannover, NNC / DNB, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, KBR Brussels (?) and unknown locations

Deposited: end 14<sup>th</sup> century ?

See p. 32 for an estimation of the minimum numbers of coins present in the hoard.

The two main sources for information on the Wittmund Hoard are **Dannenberg** (ref. 8) and **Berghaus** (ref. 3). Listed by Dannenberg were 1 bishop's head type, 1 shield with 4 lions type, 93 different types of *gros tournois*, and 8 different types of *leeuwengroot*. Berghaus subsequently listed an additional *leeuwengroot* type, but left one of Dannenberg's out. There may be other Dannenberg-Berghaus discrepancies among the *gros tournois* as well.

The Wittmund Hoard *leeuwengroten* reported are as follows:

<b>Brabant</b>	* John III 1312-1355 * Johanna 1355-1383 Johanna 1355-1383	BRABAN (?) <sup>1</sup> BRABA (?) <sup>1</sup> FILFD
<b>Cambrai</b>	Peter IV 1349-1368	CMACN / PETRVS EPOPVS
<b>Falkenburg</b> <sup>2</sup>	Wilhelm II 1357-1361	FALCN (?)
<b>Horne</b>	Dirk-Loef 1358-1390	VESMN VIERD / THEO VIERD / DIRIC
<b>Rummen</b>	Arnold 1331-1364	RUMEN
<b>Groningen</b>	Reinald III or IV <sup>3</sup>	GRONINGHE

1) not listed by Berghaus. Dannenberg's description is faulty / correct attribution is uncertain.

2) not listed by Dannenberg.

3) See p. 25.

See Appendices B & C for lists of the other types of coins found in the hoard.

## PREVIOUS LITERATURE

### Dannenberg, 1883

The first source at our disposal for information about this hoard is **Dannenberg**:

*Der Turnosen Fund von Wittmund*

H. Dannenberg

in *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 10,

1883

pp. 223-232

(Ref. 8)

Dannenberg cites as his own primary source an inventory put together by a Dr. **Grotefend**, one-time curator of the Royal Coin Cabinet in Hannover, Germany. Dannenberg further cites **Grote**:

*Bergischen und Jülich'schen Münzgeschichte*

in *Münstud. VII*, pp. 41, 427

Hermann Grote *et al*

(Ref. 15)

In his 1883 *ZfN* report, Dannenberg states that he is simply repeating information provided by Grotefend and Grote. Dannenberg lists and describes 103 different types of *grotten*, for which the total numbers of coins found in the Wittmund Hoard are not provided. These include 8 types of *leeuwengroot* from Rummen, Horne, Brabant, Cambrai and Groningen/Coevorden. Dannenberg further makes it clear that he regrets not having any more information about the hoard to relay. (Grote describes 2 Valkenburg *leeuwengrotten* and states that they are from the Wittmund Hoard (ref. 15 p 444); these coins are not reported in Dannenberg's article.)

Dannenberg does not state when the find was made, and says that basically all he knows is that the find was made in East Frisia (*Ostfriesland*).

That said, it appears that both Grote and Dannenberg actually acquired some of the Wittmund coins themselves<sup>[29]</sup>. Both of their collections ended up in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin (see p. 34), but any Wittmund Hoard coins can no longer be identified as such.

## Der Turnosenfund von Wittmund.

Beim Blättern in alten Skripturen fällt mir ein Verzeichniss eines bedeutenden Fundes von Turnosen in die Hände, das ich ebenso wie eine Anzahl Dubletten dieses in das damalige Kgl. Münzkabinet zu Hannover gelegten Schatzes der Gefälligkeit des Herrn Dr. Grotefend, des damaligen Vorstehers dieser jetzt leider unzugänglichen, ja fast verschollenen Sammlung verdanke. Der Fund ist wichtig, wird auch von Grote öfter, namentlich in seiner Bergischen und Jülich'schen Münzgeschichte (Mzstud. VII, S. 41 u. 427) erwähnt. Da er jedoch ebensowenig als meines Wissens irgend ein anderer ähnlicher Fund bisher eine Beschreibung erfahren hat, so halte ich es für erspriesslich, die gedachte Liste mitzutheilen, obwohl sie leider manche genaueren Angaben namentlich über die Stückzahl<sup>1)</sup> vermissen lässt. Auch weiss ich eigentlich nur, dass der Schatz in Ostfriesland entdeckt worden ist, die von Grote a. a. O. gemachten Angaben, sowie Grotefends Mittheilung, nach welcher der Fund damals, als er mir von ihm sprach, nämlich bei der im September 1858 hier abgehaltenen Versammlung des Gesamtvereins der Alterthumsforscher, unlängst erst eingeliefert worden, lassen aber an der Identität keinen Zweifel.

Ich gebe das Verzeichniss, alphabetisch wie es mir vorliegt, mit wenigen von mir hinzugefügten Anmerkungen, namentlich

1) Einige Auskunft hierüber geben aber doch die vor vielen Nummern angebrachten Sternchen; sie bezeichnen diejenigen Münzen, von denen mir Dubletten zugefallen sind.

*Zeitschrift für Numismatik. X.*

16

224

H. Dannenberg.

chronologischen Bestimmungen<sup>1)</sup> und Citaten, wie sie mir gerade zur Hand sind. — Vergrabungszeit Ende des XV. Jahrhunderts.

*Dannenberg, ZfN 10, pp. 223-224* <sup>[8]</sup>  
*The Wittmund Hoard as described by Dannenberg.*

Dannenberg makes an effort to transcribe the coin legends using the correct letter forms, which is always a plus, but he does not make it clear whether his transcriptions are derived from Grotefend's list, Grote's *Münzstudien*, or whether he has cobbled them together himself from the various reference works listing these types of coins (i.e. v. d. Chijs, von Frauendorfer, Grote, Menadier etc.), or indeed, from some of the Wittmund coins themselves.

Dannenberg divides his list of the coins present in the hoard into three groups:

- A. *Tournosen*
- B. *Löwengroschen*
- C. *Andere Arten*

For the *leeuwengroten*, we are concerned with pp. 231-232, items 94-101. For the most part, Dannenberg's descriptions of the coins do not convey enough detail to be of much use to us,

which is a shame, because he was describing several fairly rare types (although Dannenberg may not be to blame, of course).

All we really learn from Dannenberg's report is that the hoard contained at least one specimen each of 8 different types of *leeuwengroot*, with legends somewhere in the neighborhood of the transcriptions provided by Dannenberg. (As with most old numismatic literature, Dannenberg does not properly report the forms of the O's.) Not mentioned by Dannenberg is a *leeuwengroot* (or two) of Valkenburg (Fauquemont), which is listed by Berghaus (and Grote).

#### B. Löwengroschen.

Gepräge: Durchgehendes Kreuz *Rf.* Löwe.

\*94.  $\overline{\text{ARR}} - \text{O} \cdot \text{9V} - \text{C'DO} - \text{MNI} \cdot \text{Rf. MORETA} \phi$   
 $\text{RVMEP}'$  (v. d. Chijs d. m. d. leenen v. Brabant S. 259  
 Taf. XXIII, 4).

Prägherr ist Arnold d'Oreilly Herr von Quabeke (1363—70),  
 Prägstätte Rummen.

95.  $\text{DED} - \text{ERI} - \text{C'Dh} - \text{ORR} \text{Rf. MORETA} \cdot \text{VESMI}'$

1) Die Abbildung ist von einem andern Exemplare genommen.

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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.  $\text{DI} - \text{RIC} - \text{VAN} - \dots \text{R} - \text{O} \text{Rf. MORETA VIERD}$   
 (v. d. Chijs a. a. O. S. 136 Taf. XXX, 2)

97.  $\text{I} - \text{O} \cdot \text{DV} - \text{C} \cdot \text{LO} - \text{TBR} - \text{AB}' \text{Rf. MORETA}$   
 $\text{BRABAN}$ .

98.  $\text{I} - \text{O} \cdot \text{DV} - \text{C} \cdot \text{LO} - \text{T} \cdot \text{BR} - \text{AB} \cdot \text{Rf. MORETA} \cdot$   
 $\text{FILFD}'$ , d. h. Vilvordensis (oben ein Löwe) (v. d. Chijs,  
 Brabant, Taf. XII, 9).

Beide Groschen sind von Johanna, die in Brabant von 1392—1406  
 allein regiert hat, also die sicher jüngsten Stücke des Fundes.

98.  $\text{+PET} - \text{RVS} - \text{EPO} - \text{PVS} - \text{Rf. MORETA CMACR}$   
 (oben ein Löwe).

Peter IV. von André war von 1349—68, Peter V. v. Ailly von  
 1398—1411 Bischof von Cambray. An ersteren ist wohl zu denken.

100.  $\text{REI} - \text{RAL} - \text{DVS} - \text{KOV} \text{Rf. MORETA} \cdot \text{GRONINGHE}$   
 (oben Löwe). Rev. Belge IV. Ser. IV. Bd. S. 161.

Reinold III. von Kovorden wird 1344 u. 1364, und Reinold IV.  
 1382 u. 1402 erwähnt. v. d. Chijs (Friesland, Taf. XXI, XXII)  
 hat verschiedene Münzen von ihnen, diese aber nicht.

\*101.  $\text{THE} - \text{O'D} \cdot \text{V} - \text{Ah'OTER} \text{Rf. MORETA} \cdot \text{WIERD}'$   
 (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 10, pp. 231-232* <sup>[8]</sup>  
*The Wittmund Hoard leeuwengroten as described by Dannenberg.*

Dannenberg's descriptions are discussed in more detail on pp. 13 - 31 below.

### The 1859 Trade / Meyer, 1860

In 1859, the *Koninklijk Penningkabinet* in The Netherlands made a trade with its counterpart in Hannover. This trade involved some of the coins from the Wittmund Hoard, and included a number of extremely rare *leeuwengroten* from Horne and Groningen / Coevorden. (According to van Gelder, the Dutch received more than 20 coins <sup>[12]</sup>.) Some of these coins were described by then-director J.F.G. Meyer, in:

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

J.F.G. Meyer

in **Revue de la Numismatique Belge (RBN)**

1860

pp. 149-165

Plates VIII, IX and X

(Ref. 18)

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

J.F.G. Meyer

(Ref. 17)

Meyer does not actually mention the Wittmund Hoard by name, and sadly, all of his illustrations are flawed, showing incorrect details, which is rather disappointing from a Director of the Koninklijk Penningkabinet. Most of them can be demonstrated to be erroneous – it is almost as if Meyer was bound and determined to show the incorrect **O** every time. With only two exceptions, if the **O** was long, Meyer made it round, and if it was round, he made it long. The mind boggles. (Of course, we do not know if Meyer himself is to blame for these problems, or the artist who made the drawings.)

In **RBN** 1860, Meyer describes 12 *gros tournois*; 11 of which are currently in the NNC/DNB collection (see p. 36). Meyer does not mention the Liège bishop's head *groot*, but it appears to have been part of the trade with Hannover (Dannenberg Item 102, see p. 31). He also describes 4 *leeuwengroten*, 3 of which are currently in the NNC/DNB collection, the other in the KBR Brussels (?).

### Van Gelder, 1947

The Wittmund Hoard was briefly discussed by noted Dutch numismatist H. E. van Gelder:

*De vondst van Wittmund*

H.E. van Gelder

in **JMP** 33/34 (1946/1947)

p. 138

(Ref. 12)

Van Gelder makes the connection between Dannenberg's 1883 report on the Wittmund Hoard and the 1859 Netherlands-Hannover coin exchange, stating that the traded coins now in The

Netherlands must have come from the Wittmund Hoard. Van Gelder's article is fairly short, and we quote it here in its entirety:

**“De vondst van Wittmund** — In 1859 werd het Koninklijk Penningkabinet <sup>1)</sup> verrijkt met een aantal, grotendeels zeer zeldzame 14<sup>e</sup> eeuwse groten, verkregen door ruiling met het Koninklijk Muntkabinet te Hannover. De stukken werden door de toenmalige Directeur, Meijer, uirvoerig gepubliceerd in het Verslag van het Koninklijk Kabinet over 1859, blz. 1–5, en korter in de Algemeene Konst- en Letterbode voor 1861, blz. 279, terwijl hij de belangrijkste stukken nogmaals bekend maakte in de Revue belge, 1860, blz. 149–165. Over de vindplaats is hem blijkbaar niets naders bekend geweest; in de administratie van het Kabinet staan de stukken vermeld als “gevonden in Hannover”.

Nu is door H. Dannenberg in het *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* X (1883), blz. 223–232, een door hem gevonden inventaris bekend gemaakt van een vermoedelijk in 1858 bij Wittmund in Oost-Friesland aan de dag gekomen en bij het Muntkabinet te Hannover ingeleverde vondst. Uit de gegeven beschrijving is met zekerheid vast te stellen, dat de door Meijer verworven stukken uit deze vondst afkomstig zijn geweest.

De vondst bevatte 103 verschillende soorten van groten, geslagen in de Noordelijke en Zuidelijke Nederlanden en in West-Duitsland; het aantal exemplaren van iedere soort wordt niet vermeld. Voor het Haagse Kabinet werden hieruit ruim twintig stukken verworven, namelijk een exemplaar van iedere Noord-Nederlands soort. Dus kunnen dus thans als afkomstig uit de vondst van Wittmund, die ook elders meermalen wordt aangehaald, aangeduiden worden. H. E. v. G.” <sup>[12]</sup>

H. E. van Gelder, *De vondst van Wittmund*  
in *JMP* 33/34 (1946/1947), p. 138

(In Dutch, Meyer and Meijer are basically the same.)

According to van Gelder, more than 20 coins came to The Hague, “an example of each Northern Netherlands sort.”

Van Gelder cites (his footnote 1):

***Geschiedenis van het Koninklijk Kabinet van Munten, Penningen en Gesneden Steenen te 's-Gravenhage***

J. van Kuyk  
p. 48

When we referred to van Kuyk's book, we could find no reference to the 1859 trade with Hannover on p. 48 <sup>[30]</sup>. We did find this passing reference on p. 56:

“In 1859 valt een groote aanwinst van Toursche grooten, door ruiling, te vermelden, waarop wij hierboven reeds gewezen hebben.”

– Van Kuyk  
p. 56 <sup>[30]</sup>

## **Berghaus, 1958**

In 1958, Peter **Berghaus** published a list of coin hoards found in East Frisia and their contents, including the Wittmund Hoard:

### ***Die ostfriesischen Münzfunde***

Peter Berghaus

in ***Friesisches Jahrbuch***

Number 32 (1958)

pp. 9-73.

Item 35: Wittmund (pp. 50-51)

(Ref. 3)

Berghaus cites Dannenberg (ref. 8) and v. Gelder (ref. 12) among his references. Berghaus provides totals for some of the *gros tournois*; 145 in all, although many totals are not listed (i.e. listed as “?”). Presumably, Berghaus got his numbers from the other sources he cites, namely:

***Nachlass Grote*** Bf. VX, 41, XV, 27 u. XV, 25.

(Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, Cod.ms.hist. 39u.)

{i.e. archival material of Hermann Grote}

***Münzstudien*** Bd. III, s. 452; Bd. VII, S. 41ff, 46, 47, 70, 74h. 199, 427, 428, 431–438, 443, 444

(Hermann Grote *et al*)

(Ref. 15)

Berghaus’ article is more a set of lists than a report on the hoard *per se*. It is part of an even larger set of lists of coin hoards found in East Frisia. Berghaus’ description of the Wittmund Hoard deviates from Dannenberg’s, however.

According to Berghaus, the Wittmund Hoard was deposited after 1376 (“*nach 1376*”). On p. 51, Berghaus lists the following “*Sonstige Groschen*”<sup>[2]</sup> (none of which have totals provided):

“Brabant, Johanna 1355-1383 Groot von Vilvorde. De W. 395 & 397.

Cambrai, Peter IV, 1349-1368 Löwengroot. Fd. Byvanck C1.

Liège (Lüttich), Johann 1364-1378 Groot. Chestret 256.

Falkenburg, Wilhelm II, 1357-1361 Löwengroot. Men. 11b, 11c.

Horn, Dirk-Loef, 1358-1390 Löwengroot von Wesseem, v.d. Chijs XXX, 4.

Dirk-Loef, Lowengroot [*sic*] von Weert, v. d. Chijs XXX, 2 und XXX, 3.

Rummen, Arnold 1331-1364. Löwengroot. v. d. Chijs XXIII, 4.

\*Koevorden, Reinald II [*sic*], 1376-1402 Löwengroot von Groningen. v. d. Chijs —.

Fd. Wittmd. 100.<sup>1)</sup>

1) Regierungsdatum nach frdllicher Mitteilung von Dr. H. Enno van Gelder. Den Haag.”

Berghaus' abbreviations:

De W. = de Witte, i.e. ref. 25

Fd. Byvanck = Byvanck Hoard (1860), i.e. von Frauendorfer (ref. 11)

Men. = Menadier, i.e. ref. 16

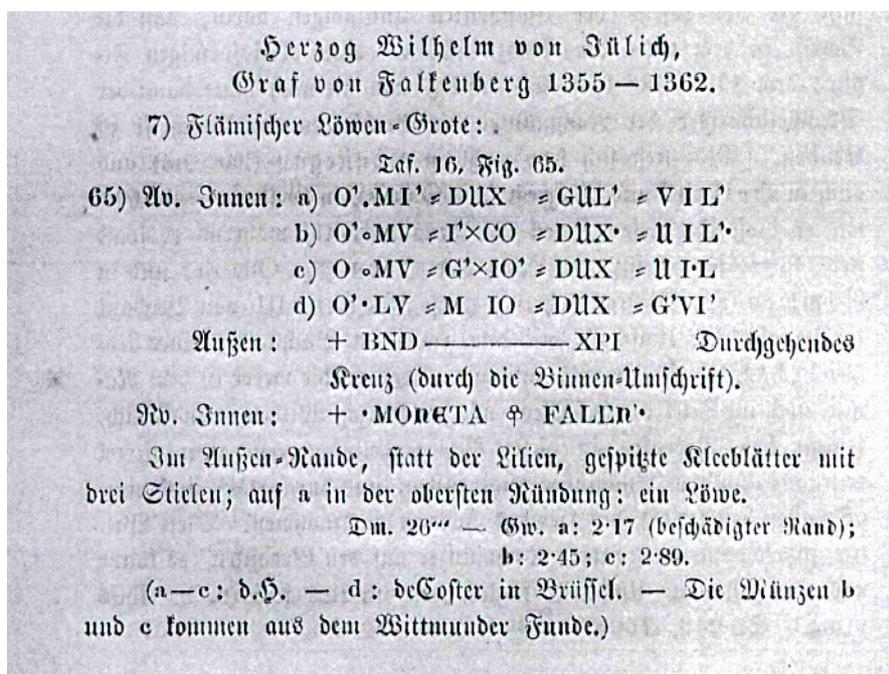
v. d. Chijs = van der Chijs, i.e. ref. 5

Fd. Wittmd. = Wittmund Hoard (1858), i.e. Dannenberg's 1883 *ZfN* report (ref. 8).

Berghaus does not mention any Brabant MONETA BRABA[N] coin (Dannenberg Item 97). The Menadier and v.d. Chijs numbers that Berghaus cites are in fact the very same Wittmund Hoard coins that Berghaus himself is listing.

### Münzstudien (Grote et al) (Ref. 15)

On p. 444 (Bd. VII) of Grote's work we find the following: "*Die Münzen b und c kommen aus dem Wittmunder Funde.*"<sup>[15]</sup>



*Münzstudien, Bd. VII, p. 444*<sup>[15]</sup>

Weights are also provided for these 2 Valkenburg *leeuwengroten*: 2.49 g. and 2.89 g. Coins a – c come from “d.H.”. Does this stand for ‘den Haag’ (The Hague), i.e. the *Koninklijk Penningkabinet*? We only obtained facsimiles of a small number of *Münzstudien* pages, so we do not know whether Grote explained this abbreviation at some point or not.

Diese Münzen sind gesprächig genug, um ihre richtige Bestimmung außer Zweifel zu stellen; das *moneta Flandbergensis* des Av. und das *DUX GVLIacensis VILhelmus* des Av. auf a ist wohl ganz unzweideutig. Die übrigen beiden Viertel der Av.-Umschrift sind sinnlos, oder doch die des ersten Viertels, falls in dem zweiten die Worte *Iuliacensis COMes* stecken sollten, was mir eingefallen ist, weil zwei Exemplare G. anstatt I, d. h. Gulge: die alte deutsche Form des Namens „Jülich“ haben. Allein es ist wahrscheinlicher, daß auf dem Exemplare b die Buchstaben *MVI CO* durch *Montis Valconis COMes* zu ergänzen sind, was dann auf c mehr corumpirt erscheint, während auf d die drei Buchstaben *LVM* rückwärts: *MVL* (*Montis VaLeonis*) zu lesen sind, vollständig also: *Dux Wilhelmus O' Montisfalconis Comes*.

Die Löwen-Groten des Grafen Ludwig von Flandern waren eine in den Niederlanden so verbreitete und beliebte Münzsorte geworden, daß man sie an vielen Orten nachmünzte. Ein Erkennungszeichen der ächten bestand, außer den Typen, nach der Ansicht der des Lesens der Umschriften Unkundigen darin, daß die Schrift in dem einen der Kreuzwinkel mit einer Kreisförmigen Figur: dem O (ir. lud=Ovi=cus) anfing, und hiernach hatte dann der Stempelschneider der Nachmünzen die Buchstaben der Umschrift zu trennen. Dies ließ sich sehr wohl in Hennegau (*han=Oui*) und auch in Holland und Wegen (*..e=Ome=s*), in Geldern (*r=ein=Old* wie er bloß für diesen Zweck hier genannt wird, während er sonst stets *ReynAldus* heißt), in Looz und Horn (*the=Ode=rie*) und in Rümmer (*arn=Old*) ausführen; Herzog Johann III. von Brabant mußte aber die Umschrift mit dem zweiten Buchstaben seines Namens (*i=O,du=x hr=aba=nt*) anfangen; Andere, die weder in dem Namen noch im Titel ein O hatten, wie der Herzog Wilhelm von Jülich, trugen kein Bedenken in dieser Verlegenheit das erste Kreuzviertel mit ganz sinnlosen Buchstaben auszufüllen, und durch *OMV* noch einigermaßen das *IO DV* des Herzogs Johann nachzuahmen. Diese Wilfür führte dann noch andere Nachmünzer auf den Gedanken, es könne auch die gesammte Umschrift füglich ganz sinnlos sein (v. d. Chijs a. a. D. S. 248, 260).

*Münzstudien, Bd. VII, p. 445* <sup>[15]</sup>

“Die Löwen-Groten des Grafen Ludwig von Flandern waren eine in den Niederlanden so verbreitete und beliebte Münzsorte geworden, daß man sie an [auf?] vielen Orten nachmünzte. Ein Erkennungszeichen der ächten bestand, außer den Typen, nach der Ansicht der des Lesens der Umschriften Unkundigen darin, daß die Schrift in dem einen der Kreuzwinkel mit einer Kreisförmigen Figur: dem O (ir. lud=Ovi=cus) anfing, und hiernach hatte dann der Stempelschneider der Nachmünzen die Buchstaben der Umschrift

zu trennen. Dies ließ sich sehr wohl in Hennegau (han=Oni) und auch in Holland un Megen (..c=Ome=s), in Geldern (r=ein-Old wie er bloß für diesen Zweck hier genannt wird, während er sonst stets RaynAldus heißt), in Looz und Horn (the=Ode=ric) und in Rümren (arn=Old) ausführen; Herzog Johann III. Von Brabant musste aber die Umschrift mit dem zweiten Buchstaben seines Namens (i=O,du=x br=aba=nt) anfangen; Andere, die weder in dem Namen noch im Titel ein O hatten, wie der Herzog Wilhelm von Jülich, trugen kein Bedenken in dieser Verlegenheit das erste Kreuzviertel mit ganz sinnlosen Buchstaben auszufüllen, und durch OMV noch einigermaßen das IO DV des Herzogs Johann nachzunehmen. Diese Willkür führte dann noch andere Nachmünzer auf den Gedanken, es könne auch die gesammte? Umschrift süglich ganz sinnlos sein (v. d. Chijs a.a.D.G. 248, 260).”

– *Münzstudien*  
p. 445

It is interesting that Grote has noticed that something is going on with the **O**'s of the reverse, inner legend on the various *leeuwengroten*. He has noticed the first, round **O** in LVDOVIC on the Flemish *leeuwengroten*, and that this **O** and its position were copied on the many imitative *leeuwengroten* of other regions. His transcriptions of the coin legends are actually fairly sloppy, however:

<u>Grote</u>	<u>correct</u>
lud=Ovi=cus	lvd=Ovi=c cO=mes (Flanders)
han=Oni	han=Oni=e cO=mes (Hainaut)
i=O,du=x br=aba=nt	i=O dv=x lO=t br=ab (Brabant)
the=Ode=ric	the=Od v=a hO=ten (Horn)
arn=Old	the=Orv=c cO=mes (Looz)
..c=Ome=s	Oi a=rnO=l de=rvm / O qv=c dO=mni=arn (Rummen)
	..cO=mes / ..c=Omes (Holland)
	iOh=ann=es c=Om (Megen ½ <i>groot</i> )

Note that with the legends correctly transcribed in full, the nearly ubiquitous second **O** becomes obvious as well, something Grote apparently failed to notice (there is no second **O** on the Holland coins). He was also unaware of the ‘rule’ of *first O round, second O long* being used on the coins. It is also interesting that until we independently made the same discovery well over a hundred years later, no author since Grote has made any specific mention of the *leeuwengroot O* phenomenon, although several authors have noted that the imitative *leeuwengroot* legends copied the original Flemish and Brabantine coins in certain respects.

Several authors refer to Megen *leeuwengroten*, but we have yet to see anything but a fractional (½ *groot*).

Sadly, the copy of *Münzstudien* to which we have access has been vandalized, and pages 447-450 are missing, having been removed from the book<sup>[30]</sup>. *Münzstudien* also lists quantities of some of the Wittmund *gros tournois*, which are clearly the source for the numbers provided by Berghaus.

## The Leeuwengroten of the Wittmund Hoard (1858)

As previously mentioned, Dannenberg (ref, 6) lists 103 different types of *groten* in the Wittmund Hoard, without totals, and he divides his list of the coins present into three groups:

- A. *Gros tournois*
- B. *Leeuwengroten*
- C. *Other types*

We shall handle the *leeuwengroot* coins in the order that Dannenberg lists them. See Appendices B and C for information on the other types.

### RUMMEN

\*94.  $\overline{\text{AR}}\overline{\text{R}} - \overline{\text{O}} \cdot \overline{\text{GV}} - \overline{\text{C'DO}} - \overline{\text{MNI}} \cdot \text{R} / \text{MONETA} \phi$   
RUMEN' (v. d. Chijs d. m. d. leenen v. Brabant S. 259  
Taf. XXIII, 4).  
Prägherr ist Arnold d'Oreilly Herr von Quabeke (1363—70),  
Prägstätte Rummen.

*Dannenberg, ZfN p. 231* <sup>[8]</sup>

### **Dannenberg Item 94**

(whereabouts unknown)

**Berghaus:** "Rummen, Arnold 1331-1364. Löwengroot. v. d. Chijs XXIII, 4" <sup>[2]</sup>

Assuming that Dannenberg's transcription is anything close to correct, which it may not be, it is likely that the legends read:

**• + MONETA + RUMEN'**  
**○'GV C'DO MNI ARR**

*Coin of Rummen*  
*Arnold, Lord of Quaebeek*

The A of MONETA may well have been annuletted or pelleted as well:  . The forms of the letters in the outer BNDICTV... legend on Rummen coins are also important for identification, in particular the N's, but Dannenberg does not provide us with this information (as most numismatic literature does not).

There are two main sub-types of RUMEN *leeuwengroot* known to exist:

• ✠ • **MONETA + RUMIQ'**

✠ **BNDICTV : SIT : NOMES : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI**

• ✠ **MONETA + RUMIQ'**

✠ **BNDICTV : SIT : NOMES : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI**

But from Dannenberg's description it is not possible to determine which type(s) were present in the Wittmund Hoard. There may have only been one Rummen *leeuwengroot*, there may have been more – perhaps different types – we just do not know.

## HORNE

95. DED — ERI — C'Dh — ORR Rf. **MONETA + 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 Rf. **MONETA VIERD**

(v. d. Chijs a. a. O. S. 136 Taf. XXX, 2)

*Dannenberg, ZfN pp. 231-232* <sup>[8]</sup>

### **Dannenberg Items 95, 96, 101**

*Leeuwengroten* from Horne are extremely rare, and are known from only a tiny number of specimens (including the Wittmund coins). Being able to inspect all of the Wittmund Hoard Horne coins would have been of great value to our study.

### **Dannenberg Item 95 : Wessem, Dederic**

Meyer *RBN* (1860) n° 15 <sup>[18]</sup>

v.d. Chijs (Leenen Brabant) pl. XXX, 4 <sup>[7]</sup>

(whereabouts unknown or CdMB)

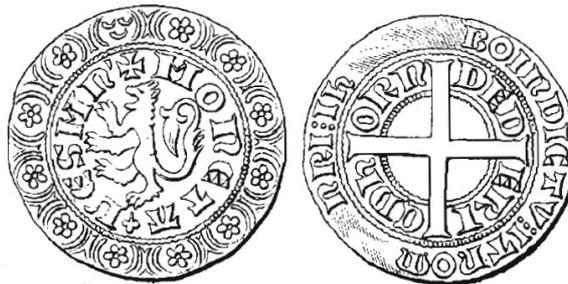
**Berghaus:** “Horn, Dirk-Loef, 1358-1390 Löwengroot von Wessem, v.d. Chijs XXX, 4” <sup>[2]</sup>

Either Dannenberg is describing an otherwise unknown sub-type for his Item 95, *leeuwengroot* of Horne struck at Wessem, or his transcription should read MONETA VESMN (not VESMI'):

✠ MONETA WESM  
DED ERI CDH OR

*Coin of Wessem  
Diederic of Horne*

We have been unable to locate this coin in the DNB collection <sup>[28]</sup>, which means we have only the 19<sup>th</sup> century drawings to go on:



*Meyer, RBN 1860, plate X, 15 <sup>[18]</sup>  
(inaccurate drawing?)*

MONETA  
BONDICTV:IT NOM



*v.d. Chijs (Leenen Brab) pl. XXX, 4 <sup>[7]</sup>*

MONETA  
BONIDI[...]V:IT NOM  
*(likely to be nearly correct)*

Meyer's drawings are notoriously untrustworthy, while v.d. Chijs' are usually reasonably accurate. (Note the differences in the O/O's between the two drawings, for example, as well as the vast difference between the border leaf types.)

The reverse outer legend, as shown in the drawings, is suspect (Meyer's in particular). **BOINDICTV : ITNOM** does not follow the normal course of events, so to speak (i.e. **BNDICTV : SIT : NOME...**).

We were unable to find this coin at DNB <sup>[28]</sup>. We have only seen three specimens of the Horne VESMN type so far: one in the Museum Rotterdam (n° 55003-2) and one in the DNB collection (n° 1953-0057), which was purchased by DNB at an auction (Jacques Schulman Auction 223, 23 March, 1953, lot 742 <sup>[28]</sup>). Neither has a BOINDICTV legend, both have the "normal" BNDICTV SIT NOME... etc.

The third specimen, in the Cabinet de Médailles, Brussels (KBR), however, is quite different:



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

✠ **MONET** ✠ + **VESMN**  
**DED ERI CDH ORN**  
 [✠ **BNDICTV : IT NOME... DNI : Ih...**]

**Is this the Wittmund VESMN coin?** Based upon v.d. Chijs' drawing, it certainly does seem to be. How this coin came to be in the CdMB collection is unknown<sup>[28]</sup><sup>[31]</sup>. There may be an apostrophe after HORN on the reverse. According to van Gelder, an example of each type of Northern Netherlands coin went to the *Penningkabinet* in The Netherlands; is it possible that some of the Southern Netherlands coins went to Brussels? If so, is one (or more) of the Rummen *leeuwengroten* in the KBR collection from the Wittmund Hoard as well?

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**Dannenberg Item 96 : Weert, Diric**

Meyer RBN (1860) n° 13<sup>[18]</sup>

v.d. Chijs (Leenen Braband) pl. XXX, 2<sup>[7]</sup>

1 coin in NNC/DNB collection

**Berghaus:** "Horn, Dirk-Loef, 1358-1390 Lowengroot [*sic*] von Weert, v. d. Chijs XXX, 2."<sup>[2]</sup>

An example of Dannenberg's Item 96, *leeuwengroot* of Horne struck at Weert, can be found in the NNC/DNB collection:



DNB NM-10468 / 1.876 g.  
Wittmund Hoard (1858)

[✠] MON[TA ... ] UIRD'  
[h]ER O'DI RIC V[...]

*Coin of Weert*  
*Diric of Herno (DIRIC VAN HERO)*

Obviously, the reverse, inner legend is not completely legible, so the reverse has been oriented based upon the barely visible NO of NOME (about 5:00). Note that the inner legend is not in Latin, but rather in Dutch (or *Diets*).

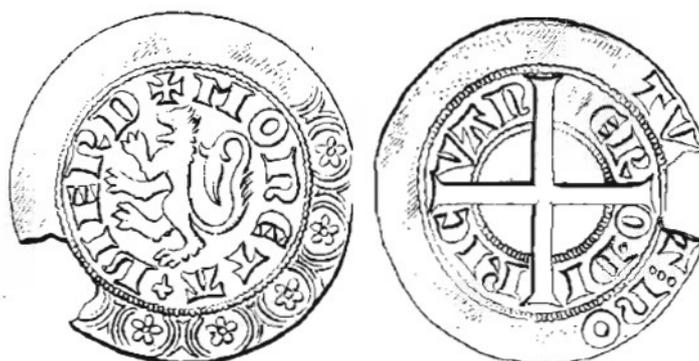
Meyer refers to this coin as the “sole example” (ref. 18 p. 159). The only other known specimen of this type (MR 55003-1) has been used to infer the **H** of HERnO. That coin, however, has a reverse, inner legend beginning in a different quadrant than the Wittmund coin, as well as what appears to be a Roman **N** in NOME:



Museum Rotterdam 55003-1 / 2.53 g.

**[✠] MON[ETA ...] U[E]R[D]  
O•DI RIC V[IT]O [H]ER**

The illustrations used by both Meyer and v.d. Chijs clearly show the coin NM-10468:



*Meyer, RBN 1860, pl. IX, 13* <sup>[18]</sup>

**MONETA  
[...]**ER** O•DI RIC V[IT]O  
...T: **O****

On the actual coin, the opening of the **O** of NOME is little more than a slit. Why in the world would the artist draw a round **O**?



v.d. Chijs (*Leenen Brabant*) pl. XXX, 2<sup>[7]</sup>

MONETA  
 [...]ER O·DI RIC VTRON  
 ...T:RO

V.d. Chijs' drawing is much more accurate than Meyer's idealized version. (We have rotated both drawings 180° from their original states so that they are now correctly oriented.)

### 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"<sup>[2]</sup>

\*101. THE — O'D · V — Ah'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.

*Dannenberg, ZfN p. 232<sup>[8]</sup>*

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

Note that while many authors transcribe the obverse legend as MONETA LIERD (instead of VIERD), Dannenberg has chosen WEIRD; one of the coins in the Cabinet de Médailles, Brussels (KBR) seems to have a **WUIERD** legend. **This may be significant.** We have already found another Horne coin in Brussels that almost certainly comes from the Wittmund Hoard (CdMB 120, see p. 16) – is there a second as well? (CdMB 118, see p. 22).

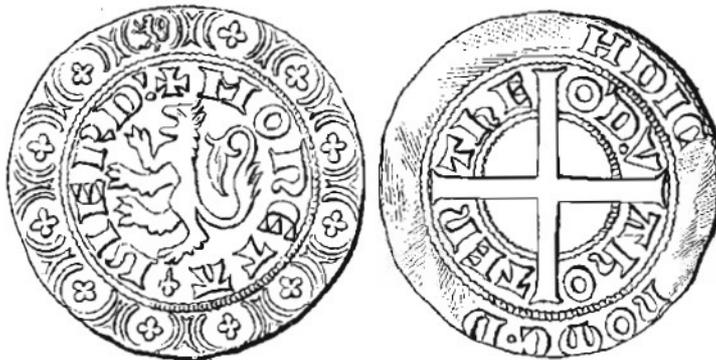


DNB NM-10469 / 1.593 g.  
Wittmund Hoard (1858)

·✠ ['] MONETA [...] UIRD'  
O'D.V ꝥ'h'O TEŃ THE  
[✠ BNDICT... ME: D...]

Note that the reverse, inner legend “should” read THEOD’ and not THEO’D as it does on the coin. This was likely to have been done on purpose so that the coins would resemble those of Brabant, with their IO’DVC legends. The outer legend seems to have a Roman N in BNDICTV. There are variants of this type known with a **ȚheOD** legend (annulet T).

We are fairly certain that coin DNB NM-10469 was the model for Meyers’ idealized drawing, based on the reverse, outer legend:



Meyer, RBN 1860, pl. VIII, 14<sup>[18]</sup>

ꝥ'h'o  
ŃOME

*The border leaves are also inaccurate*



*v.d. Chijs (Leenen Brabant) XXX, 3<sup>[7]</sup>*



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

**•✠• MON[ET] ... [U]ERD'  
 [O'D.V] T[ER] T[ER] THE  
 [...DID...]**

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<sup>[28]</sup>. On this piece, pellets left and right of the initial cross are clearly visible.

In the Cabinet de Médailles in Brussels (KBR), we found this coin:



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

·✠[· MONETA... VVIER]D'  
O'D.V ꝥ[ho] TEO' THE  
[...]

It 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 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.

### The Unusual D

It must be pointed out that the **D** in VIERD on the obverse: **Q** is different from the ones in DIRIC or THEOD on the reverse: **D**. The significance (if any) of the **D** with the extra ‘foot’ is unclear. But the similarity of this **D** to the final **N** (n) of the MONETA RUMEN coins of Rummen cannot be ignored.

## BRABANT

97. I — O' · DV — C · LO — TBR — AB' Rf. MONETA  
BRABAN.

98. I — O · DV — C · LO — T · BR — AB · Rf. MONETA ·  
FILFD', d. h. Vilvordensis (oben ein Löwe) (v. d. Chijs,  
Brabant, Taf. XII, 9).

Beide Groschen sind von Johanna, die in Brabant von 1392—1406  
allein regiert hat, also die sicher jüngsten Stücke des Fundes.

Dannenberg, ZfN p. 232 <sup>[8]</sup>

### Dannenberg Item 97

(whereabouts unknown)

“BRABAN / DVC” *leeuwengroot*

Berghaus — <sup>[2]</sup>

Dannenberg's description of his item 97 does not match any known coins, and is therefore suspect. Even if we ignore the forms of the O's (never properly reported in old numismatic works), Dannenberg's transcription of the legends does not relay several vital bits of information: there is no mention of the mark after MONETA, nor of the initial mark (eagle or cross?), no mention of an {expected} annulet T in LOT, and he does not report all of the expected apostrophes.

But the real problem is that **there are no coins known with a combination of BRABAN (obv.) and DVC (rev.) as reported by Dannenberg**. It is either BRABAN / DVX or BRABA / DVC. The former have a BNDICTV SIT NOME... reverse, outer legend, while the latter have a WENCESL DEI GRA... legend, but Dannenberg is silent about the outer legend as well. The “common type” *leeuwengroot* of John III (1312-1355) has the following legends:

✠ MONETA † BRABAN'  
O'·DV X·LO T'·BR AB'·I  
✠BNDICTV : SIT : NOMES : DNI : NRI : IHV : ✠PI

The “BRABA” type of Johanna and Wenceslas (1355-1383) has these legends:

· ✠ MONETA ✠ BRABAN.' (or rarely: · ✠ MONETA ✠ BRABAN.')

ODV C·LO T·BR AB·I  
✠ WENCESL : DEI : GRA : LVCEMB' : BRAB' : DVX

While Dannenberg gives a cryptic:

[?] MONETA [?] BRABAN'  
O'·DV C·LO TBR AB'I  
[?]

Dannenberg attributes the coin to Joanna, based on the DVC. Does this mean that DVC is correct and that Dannenberg's obverse legend transcription is erroneous and should read BRABA?

Dannenberg's stop marks do not match either the BRABAN nor the BRABA coins: no pellet after LOT, no x after BRAB. And in the case of the BRABA coins, Dannenberg's pellet following DVC does not match the Brabant  $\text{✠}$ .

**Berghaus** does not list the BRABA(N) coin(s) at all, listing for Brabant only:

**“Brabant, Johanna 1355-1383 Groot von Vilvorde. De W. 395 & 397”** [2]

De Witte 395:   Dannenberg Item 98       (Brabant, FILFD *leeuwengroot*)  
 De Witte 397:   Dannenberg Item 103       (*groot* with a shield with 4 lions)

Berghaus lists neither a John III BRABAN / DVX nor a Joanna BRABA / DVC coin.

De Witte 359-360:   Dannenberg Item 97 ?       (Brabant, John BRABAN *leeuwengroot*)  
 De Witte 405:       Dannenberg Item 97 ?       (Brabant, Joanna BRABA *leeuwengroot*)

The answer to this problem is, in fact, fairly important. Brabant FILFD *leeuwengroten* struck for Joanna were probably minted in the late 1350's, while her BRABA coins may not have been minted until some time around 1376 or 1382, which is almost 20 years after minting of this type of coins had ceased in Flanders (1364) and in Brabant as well (1363).

It appears that about 1382, Joanna may have begun minting *leeuwengroten* again (in fact, minting may have been going on as early as 1376). It seems that several smaller realms followed suit, including Batenburg, Gennep/Brederode, Luxemburg, Megen, and perhaps Groningen/Coevorden. Most of these regions issued only fractional *leeuwengroten* (1/2 or 1/3 *groten*). At this time, we are still investigating the details of this apparent “second wave” of *leeuwengroot* minting (see ref. 25, de Witte).

## Dannenberg Item 98

FILFD *leeuwengroot*  
 (whereabouts unknown)

Dannenberg makes no mention of any pellet L's, and so we cannot be sure one way or the other as to whether or not such marks were present. We do not know how many FILFD *leeuwengroten* were in the hoard, and it is certainly possible that if there were more than one, and there may have been coins present with and/or without pellet L's.

**Berghaus** “Brabant, Johanna 1355-1383 Groot von Vilvorde. De W. 395” [2]

In theory, the legends would read:

•  $\text{✠}$  **MONETA**  $\text{✠}$  **FILFD'**                   (or •  $\text{✠}$  **MONETA**  $\text{✠}$  **FILFD'**)  
**○•DV** **Q'•LO** **T•BR** **AB•I**                   (or **○•DV** **Q'•LO** **T•BR** **AB•I**)

## CAMBRAI

98. +PET — RVS — EPO — PVS — Rf. MONETA CAMBR  
(oben ein Löwe).

Peter IV. von André war von 1349–68, Peter V. v. Ailly von 1398—1411 Bischof von Cambray. An ersteren ist wohl zu denken.

*Dannenberg, ZfN p. 232* <sup>[8]</sup>

### **Dannenberg Item 98 bis (i.e. Item 99)**

(whereabouts unknown)

**Berghaus:** “Cambrai, Peter IV, 1349-1368 Löwengroot. Fd. Byvanck C1.” <sup>[2]</sup>

Dannenberg has made a numbering error, and his Item 99 is numbered 98. *Leeuwengroten* from Cambrai are extremely rare and known from only a very few specimens. We have no idea where the Wittmund Cambrai coin can now be found. Based upon the few known specimens, the Wittmund would have had legends something like these:

[✠ MONETA ✠ CAM'BR  
PET RVS EPO' PVS  
✠ BNDICTV SIT NOME DNI NRI IHV XPI] ?

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## GRONINGEN / COEVORDEN

100. REI—RVL—DVS—KOV Rf. MONETA + GRONINGHE  
(oben Löwe). Rev. Belge IV. Ser. IV. Bd. S. 161.

Reinold III. von Kovorden wird 1344 u. 1364, und Reinold IV. 1382 u. 1402 erwähnt. v. d. Chijs (Friesland, Taf. XXI, XXII) hat verschiedene Münzen von ihnen, diese aber nicht.

*Dannenberg, ZfN p. 232* <sup>[8]</sup>

## Dannenberg Item 100

Meyer RBN (1860) n° 16

### Berghaus:

“\*Koevorden, Reinald II {sic}, 1376-1402 Löwengroot von Groningen. v. d. Chijs —. Fd. Wittmd. 100”<sup>[2]</sup> {these dates indicate Reinald IV}

The *leeuwengroot* type described by Dannenberg as his Item 100 is an extremely rare and unusual type of coin, and its attribution is far from simple. The legends read MONETA GRONIGHE / REINALDVS KOV, or *coin of Groningen / Reinald Koevorden*. (See our report *A Preliminary Look at the Rare Leeuwengroot of Groningen* (ref. 34()) for more information about this coin type.)



DNB NM-08175  
Wittmund Hoard (1858)

✠ MONETA † GRONIGHE

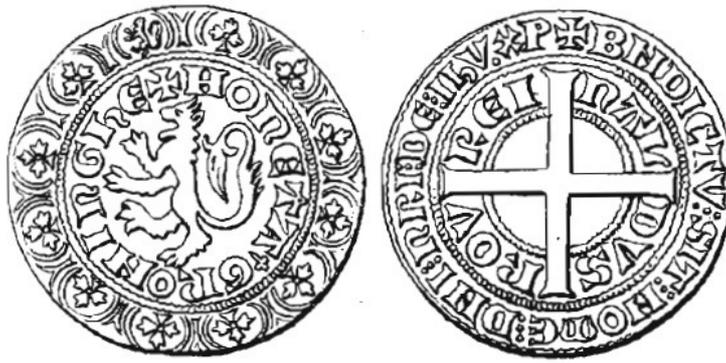
ŃAL DVS KOV RŃI

✠ BNDICTV : SIT : NOMŃ : DNI : ŃRI : DE : IHV : XP

The leaf mark after MONETA has a long, straight stem. The Roman N's in the outer legend are unusual for such a late *leeuwengroot*, as is the word DEI. Note that the central lion is not properly aligned with the obverse legend and outer border.

Only one other specimen of this type is known (DNB-09458, also NUMIS 1016934), found in Kimsward in The Netherlands (Friesland province). Van der Chijs does not report this type of coin at all, which seems odd. In his report on the Schoo Hoard (1927), A. Suhle gives one more example (Item 79), which would be a third specimen, assuming that the coin is still in the Berlin *Münzkabinett*<sup>[22]</sup>. Suhle also reports a unique type of *leeuwengroot* (?) from Schoo with MONETA COUORD / REN ALD COU ORD legends (Item 78), but we have yet to verify this.

Meyers' drawing is, again, inaccurate:



Meyer, *RBN 1860*, pl. X, 16<sup>[18]</sup>

GRONINGHE  
 REX DVS KOV REI  
 NOMINE

The reverse legend clearly indicates that the coin was struck for a “Reinald of Koevorden”, but who was this person, exactly? Dannenberg mentions Reinald III (1344-1364) and Reinald IV (1382-1402), but doesn’t make any further statements as to the coin’s origin. He does not indicate who was Lord of Coevorden c. 1364-1382 (i.e. John).

According to Berghaus, this is a coin of “Koevorden, Reinald II [*sic*], (1376-1402) Löwengroot von Groningen.”<sup>[2]</sup> (this is an error: with these dates, it must be Reinald IV). Based on how the rest of Berghaus’ list is written, this wording would seem to indicate that it is a coin of the Lordship of Coevorden struck at Groningen. Note, however that the two authors are not in agreement as to the details regarding “Reinald of Coevorden”. The opinions of Meyer, Grolle, Puister *et al* concerning this coin are discussed in ref. 34.

There were only 2 men known as Reinald {Lord of} Coevorden who might have had the Groningen *leeuwengroot* struck: Reinald III and Reinald IV (Reinald I being far too early, and Reinald II having died before 1338<sup>[4]</sup>). Sources are not necessarily in agreement as to the dates that the Lords of Coevorden were in power, however.

Reinald I	1288 - 1316
Reinald II	1316 - 1336
<b>Reinald III</b>	<b>1336 - 1370</b>
Johan	1370 - 1375
<b>Reinald IV</b>	<b>1376 - 1402</b>

(ref. 34)

How, when and why either Reinald III or Reinald IV would have struck *leeuwengroten* with the name Groningen on them, and under what authority, remains a mystery. Given the situation in the area at the time, it seems possible that the coins were not actually struck in the city of Groningen itself, and/or that Reinald did not actually have the “right” to strike such coins. Some authors are of the opinion that the Bishop of Utrecht’s right to strike coins in

Groningen, as bestowed upon him by the Emperor, was transferred to those men who leased out the Groningen lands from the bishop in Utrecht.

In ref. 20 pp. 101-104), Schaap discusses *Opmerkingen over de heraldiek in verband met het muntrecht der prefecten*, or: Comments Regarding Heraldry in Connection With the Minting Rights of the Prefects {of Groningen}. Based upon this text, it seems that the different branches of the family around Groningen were striking their own coins. For example, Schaap claims that Hendrik of Selwerd (son of Ida) struck MONETA GRONINGE coins as Prefect of Groningen, while Adolf of Selwerd struck coins with an ALDVLPVVS ZELWORDENSIS legend (presumably as “acting” Lord of Selwerd after the death of his brother Henry).

Unsurprisingly, Schaap does not specifically mention the Groningen *leeuwengroot*, but his descriptions of the families involved certainly help to explain how a coin such as the Groningen *leeuwengroot* might have come into existence, in a situation where different parts of the family controlled different areas of the countryside around the city. Perhaps the Groningen *leeuwengroot* was an attempt by the van Coevordens to assert power in the city of Groningen. Or maybe it was simply a coin in answer to the coins of the van Selwerds (van Gronebekes, etc.). The rarity seems to indicate that the type was not struck in any great numbers.

As we stated in ref. 34, minting of *leeuwengroten* in Flanders began in 1337 and continued on and off until March, 1364. Minting of *leeuwengroten* in Brabant occurred during the same period, also on and off, but more “off” than in Flanders, and minting ceased in Brabant by mid-1363.

Minting of *leeuwengroten* in Groningen while such coins were not being struck in either Flanders or Brabant (or Holland or Guelders) seems unlikely. If the Groningen *leeuwengroten* are concurrent with those of Flanders and Brabant, then they must have been struck by **Reinald III** of Coevorden, under whatever pretext.

If, however, there was indeed a “second wave” of *leeuwengroot* minting in Brabant under Johanna (see p. 24) c. 1376-1382 onwards, then the Groningen *leeuwengroten* may have been struck during that period by **Reinald IV** of Coevorden, in imitation of the “new” Brabançon, BRABA *leeuwengroten*, sometime between 1376/1382 - 1383 (death of Wenceslas of Brabant) or 1392 (loss of Groningen by Reinald IV).

At this point, knowing whether the Wittmund Hoard, Brabant coin Dannenberg Item 97 read BRABAN / DVX or BRABA / DVC may have been helpful.

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## **VALKENBURG (Fauquemont)**

### **Dannenberg Item —**

**Berghaus:** “Falkenburg, Wilhelm II, 1357-1361 Löwengroot. Men. 11b, 11c”<sup>[2]</sup>

*Leeuwengroten* from Valkenburg (Fauquemont) are extremely rare. Most of the “known” specimens come from the “big three” of German, *leeuwengroot* coin hoards: Wittmund

(1858), Byvanck (1860), and Schoo (1927), although we don't actually know where many of those coins are at the moment.

There seem to be two main types, with a number of sub-types. One has a MONETA FALEN obverse legend, and a reverse legend with the name Arnold (not reported as being present in the Wittmund Hoard), while the other has a MONETA FALCN (?) legend, and on the opposite face the name of William (reported to be in the Wittmund Hoard).

Menadier (ref. 16) reports the obverse legend for the William / Valkenburg coins as FALLN, while Grote (ref. 15) says it is FALCN. According to von Frauendorfer (ref. 11), Grote is wrong, and the correct legend is FALEN. The photographs provided by v. Frauendorfer, however, clearly show illegible specimens from which v. Frauendorfer could not possibly have made any accurate conclusions. In Suhle's report on the Schoo Hoard of 1927 (ref. 22), the author states that the Valkenburg coins found clearly show a FALCN legend.

Unlike Berghaus, Dannenberg lists no coins Valkenburg coins in the Wittmund Hoard, which immediately compels us to ask: why not? Were there no such coins listed in Grotefend's inventory? Was it a simple oversight on Dannenberg's part, and should Valkenburg have in fact been listed? Or did Berghaus make some kind of error in listing such coins in his report?

As it turns out, Grote lists 2 Wittmund, Valkenburg *leeuwengroten* in his *Münzstudien* (ref. 11, p. 444), so the error must lie with Dannenberg and not with Berghaus. (Von Frauendorfer also points out Dannenberg's error, see ref. 11.)

For the Valkenburg coins, Berghaus cites Menadier 11b / 11c (*Zfn* 30, ref. 8):

	Löwengroschen. Umschriftteilendes Kreuz.	Steigender Löwe in einem Blattkranz.
11a.*	O' · MP' DVX GVL' VIL'	† · MONEA ♣ FALCN' ·
b.	O' · MV' I' · CO DVX VIL' ·	
c.	O · MV' G' · IO' DVX VI · L	
d.	O' · LV' M IO DVX G' VP	

Äußere Umschrift der Ks. :  
 † · BHIDICTV : SI DEI : HPI : IHVXPI  
 2,17 gr. 2,45 gr. 2,89 gr. 2,25 gr. 2,08 gr.  
 R. Chalon, Monnaies de Falais. Rev. b. 1859 378.  
 R. Chalon, Monnaies rares ou inédites. Rev. b. 1866 206 (Wilhelm  
 v. Wezemaal nach Hooft v. Iddekinge).

30\*

*Menadier, Zfn 30, p. 467* <sup>[16]</sup>

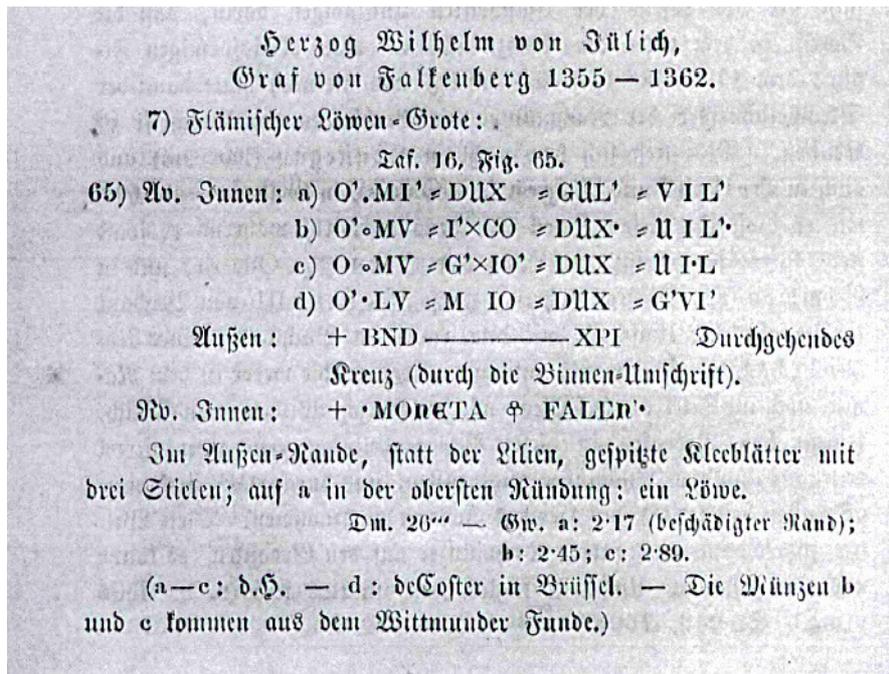
There are five weights listed for four coin types... which weight goes with which type? Menadier does not indicate the origin of the coin specimens reported.

Menadier (pp. 467-468) cites :

“Hermann Grote

*Die Münzen der Grafen und Herzöge von Jülich*

Mst. VII 445, 65 (Fund von Wittmund)”



*Münzstudien*, Bd. VI, p. 444 <sup>[15]</sup>

Here Grote clearly states that “*Die Münzen b und c kommen aus dem Wittmunder Funde.*” and provides their weights:

Grote 65b	Menadier 11b	2.45 g.
Grote 65c	Menadier 11c	2.89 g.

This, by the way, is another excellent example of how vital information gets filtered out as it moves from author to author. Menadier discards Grote’s attribution of the two coins to the Wittmund hoard, and makes the information about their weights confusing. Dannenberg does not convey any of Grote’s information about these coins at all, and Berghaus omits the weight information. It is only by following the trail all the way back to Grote’s *Münzstudien* that we are able to extract this meager but vital data about the Wittmund Valkenburg *leuwengroten*.

According to *Münzstudien*, this coin was minted for Duke William of Juliers, 1355-1362, Count of Valkenburg 1355-1362. R. Serrure says the same, but he is following Grote (see ref. 21, pp. 162-163, n° 43):

“Cette pièce que Renier Chalon attribuait à Guillaume de Wesemael, seigneur de Falais, a été rendue à sa véritable origine par l’illustre numismate allemand H. Grote.”

– R. Serrure, p. 162

The history of the Lords of Fauquemont is as complicated as that of Coevorden. But we do not need to delve too deeply into it, because only one of the rulers was named William. Other sources give different dates than *Münzstudien* for William’s reign,

## Other Types of Coins in the Wittmund Hoard

Besides the *gros tournois* and the *leeuwengroten*, Dannenberg lists only two other coin types:

### C. Andere Arten.

102. MOR — ETA — S'. PE — TRI Rf. IOH'EP — S · LEOD  
Kopf mit Bischofsmütze, über demselben d. Arkelsche Wappen.  
Geprägt von Johann V. von Arkel, 1364—78, B. v. Lüttich.
103. + IOHANA DEI GRA ꝥ BRABANTIE Kreuz mit DVLC'  
in den Winkeln. Rf. MORETA ꝥ ROVA ꝥ FILFORDERIS  
im Sechspasse ein Schild mit 4 Löwen. v. d. Chijs Brabant  
Taf. XII, 12. H. Dannenberg.

Dannenberg, *ZfN*, p. 232 <sup>[8]</sup>

**Berghaus:** “Lüttich, Johann 1364-1378 Groot. Chestret 256.”

“Brabant, Johanna 1355-1383 Groot von Vilvorde. De W. 395 & 397”

De Witte 395: Dannenberg Item 98 (Brabant, FILFD *leeuwengroot*)  
De Witte 397: **Dannenberg Item 103 (groot with a shield with 4 lions)**

The Liège (Lüttich) coin is a *groot* of the *bishop's head wearing mitre* type, and can be found in the DNB/NNC collection:



DNB NM-10750  
**Wittmund Hoard (1858)**  
Dannenberg Item 102

## Contents of the Hoard

### Minimum Total

Obviously, we can never know how many coins were originally in the Wittmund Hoard when it was found in 1858. The best we can do at this point is to calculate the minimum number that must have been present, based on Dannenberg and Berghaus' descriptions.

**Assuming for the sake of argument that Dannenberg and Berghaus' (and Grote's) information is correct** (which may not be the case at all):

Dannenberg describes 103 types of coin, meaning, in theory, there were at least 103 coins in the hoard.

Berghaus provides totals for some of the *gros tournois*, adding up to **145**. Every total listed by Berghaus as ? can be assumed to have been a minimum of 1 coin, which is 27 more coins = **172**. (See Appendix C, p. 59.)

For several types, Berghaus lists multiple numbers from the same reference work. Presumably, Berghaus wished to indicate which sub-types were present in the hoard. For example, under Dietrich III of Heinsberg (1331-1361), Berghaus cites Menadier 24a, 24c, 25b, 25var., 26a, 26c and gives a total of ? coins. Can we not infer that there were at least 6 coins of this type present, based on the six reference numbers?

Berghaus lists 80 different types: 40 "main" types with another 40 "extra" sub-types listed (as reference numbers). (Dannenberg lists 93 types of *gros tournois*; one wonders what happened to Dannenberg's other 13 types in Berghaus' report...). For each of the 40 "extra" sub-types listed by Berghaus, a minimum 1 coin must be added to the total: **212**.

(To be clear: in the Heinsberg example above, there is one "main" type, i.e. the listing of Heinsberg itself. In addition, there are 5 "extra" sub-types: Menadier 24c, 25b, 25var., 26a, and 26c. The first Menadier reference number (24a) has already been counted, so to speak, as the "main" type. In other words, only reference numbers from the same book, over and above the initial number, have been counted as "extra".) Thus:

- 1 Heinsberg, Dietrich III. 1331–1361. Men. 24a,
- 2 Men. 24c
- 3 Men. 25b
- 4 Men. 25var.
- 5 Men. 26a
- 6 Men. 26c.

Dannenberg lists 8 *leeuwengroot* types (no Valkenburg coin), Berghaus also lists 8 types (no BRABA(N) coin). Assuming both authors are correct, this is 9 more coins: **221**.

The KPK in The Netherlands gained two of the same type of Horne *leeuwengroot* in the 1859 trade with Hannover, meaning that 1 must be added to the total number of coins: **222**.

In *Münzstudien* there are 2 Wittmund Hoard, Valkenburg *leeuwengroten* listed, meaning there is 1 "extra" that has not yet been counted: **223**.

To this must also be added the Liège bishop's head *groot* and the Brabant 4-lion *groot*, for a minimum total of: **225** coins. Thus:

145	<i>tournois</i> , totals provided by Berghaus
27	<i>tournois</i> types with totals listed by Berghaus as ? (1 coin each)
40	“extra” <i>tournois</i> sub-types listed by Berghaus under ? totals (1 coin each)
9	<i>leeuwengroten</i> types, including FALCN and BRABA(N) (1 coin each)
1	“extra” NNC/DNB Horne <i>leeuwengroot</i> VIERD / THEO
1	“extra” Valkenburg <i>leeuwengroot</i> listed in <i>Münzstudien</i>
2	coin types other than <i>gros tournois</i> or <i>leeuwengroot</i>
<b>225</b>	<b>minimum coins (?)</b>

Obviously, we are completely dependent on Dannenberg and Berghaus (and Grote) to have provided correct information, which is something we cannot verify. A thorough investigation of *Münzstudien* might reveal an even more accurate minimum total (which would remain dependent upon Grote’s accuracy); we leave that to some other researcher(s).

## Current Locations

### **The Netherlands**

The official Dutch coin collection, the *Nationale Numismatische Collectie* (NNC) is the possession of the *Koninklijk Penningkabinet* (KPK) which, over the years had been housed in Leiden and The Hague, and finally in *Het Geldmuseum* in Utrecht. De Nederlandsche Bank (DNB) has its own fairly substantial collection of coins. With the closing of *Het Geldmuseum* a few years ago, the national collection (NNC) was placed in the care of DNB (Amsterdam). The coins are no longer accessible to the public, but photographs can be obtained from DNB (for which we are extremely grateful).

According to DNB/NNC records, there are currently 16 coins in the collection(s) that were obtained by the KPK in the 1859 trade with Hannover<sup>[28]</sup>. In RBN (1860) Meyer describes and illustrates 12 *gros tournois*; 11 of these are likely to be those *gros tournois* currently in the NNC/DNB collection. The 12<sup>th</sup> *gros tournois* is currently unaccounted for; the 12<sup>th</sup> coin in the NNC/DNB collection is the bishops head *groot* (NM-10750; Dannenberg Item 102). The other 4 coins are *leeuwengroten* of Horne and Groningen; 1 of the *leeuwengroten* described by Meyer is either unaccounted for, or it is in the KBR, Brussels (see p. 16).

### **Hannover, Germany**

According to Reinier Cunz, curator of the Münzkabinett Landesmuseum, Hannover:

“Only 6 from in total 103 coins of hoard Wittmund can be identified in the royal collection. They were minted by the abbot of Werden (Dannenberg, esp. pp. 225 f., Nr. 27-32). The inventory numbers are 04:025:015 – 04:02:020”<sup>[27]</sup>.

He assures us that there are currently no *leeuwengroten* at all in their collection<sup>[27]</sup>.

## Berlin, Germany

According to Christian Stoess of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin:

“Most of the coins from the Wittmund hoard came to the Provinzialmuseum (now Landesmuseum) Hannover. Some pieces were acquired by Hermann Grote (compare his studies in *Münzstudien*, for example Grote, Isenburg, S. 199; Grote, Berg, S. 41 ff.; Grote, Jülich, S. 427 ff.) and Hermann Dannenberg (cf. Dannenberg, H., *Der Turnosensfund von Wittmund*, Zeitschrift für Numismatik 10, 1883, S. 223-232). We acquired both collections in 1879 (Grote) and 1870/1892 (Dannenberg). But the provenience from the Wittmund hoard is not indicated on the tickets and there are numerous coins which Dannenberg for examples lists in his description of the hoard as in his possession which are not in the Dannenberg collection which we acquired.

Means that there are probably some coins from the Wittmund hoard in our collection but I am unable to identify them certainly.”<sup>[29]</sup>

## Brussels, Belgium

The Horne VESMN *leeuwengroot* in the CdMB collection (CdMB 120) bears a striking resemblance to the drawings provided by v. d. Chijs and Meyer of the Wittmund coin of the same description. It seems highly probable that the CdMB coin and the Wittmund Hoard coin are indeed one and the same, although we cannot prove this theory with certainty at this time. The Horne “VVIIRD” coin (CdMB 118) may be from the Wittmund Hoard as well, but that remains a theory for the moment.

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## The list of known coins from the Wittmund Hoard reads as follows:

### NNC / DNB Collection, The Netherlands<sup>[28]</sup>

BM-04397	<i>gros tournois</i>	
BM-05372	<i>gros tournois</i> (1371-1329)	
BM-05374	<i>gros tournois</i> (1361-1371)	
NM-02321	<i>gros tournois</i> (1367-1401)	
NM-02323	<i>gros tournois</i> (1367-1401)	
NM-02324	<i>gros tournois</i> (1367-1401)	
NM-08149	<i>gros tournois</i> (1337)	
<b>NM-08175</b>	<b>leeuwengroot / Groningen</b>	{D. 100}
NM-08576	<i>gros tournois</i>	
<b>NM-10468</b>	<b>leeuwengroot / Horne, VIIRD/DIRIC</b>	{D. 96}
<b>NM-10469</b>	<b>leeuwengroot / Horne, VIIRD/THEO</b>	{D. 101}
<b>NM-10470</b>	<b>leeuwengroot / Horne, VIIRD/THEO</b>	{D. 101}
NM-10589	<i>gros tournois</i> (1336-1361)	
NM-10717	<i>gros tournois</i> (1364-1384)	
NM-10724	<i>gros tournois</i>	
NM-10750	<i>groot</i> (1364-1378), Liège, Jan van Arkel	{D. 102}

## Landesmuseum Hannover Collection, Germany <sup>[27]</sup>

04:025:015 Abbot of Werden  
04:025:016 Abbot of Werden  
04:025:017 Abbot of Werden  
04:025:018 Abbot of Werden  
04:025:019 Abbot of Werden  
04:025:020 Abbot of Werden

Presumably Dannenberg Items 27 – 32, Heinrich von Wildenberg (1354-1395)

## Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Collection, Germany <sup>[29]</sup>

Unknown quantity, unknown types and descriptions

Since our research is primarily concerned with the *leeuwengroot*, we did not request photos of the other, non-*leeuwengroot* coin types (we leave that to some other researchers). We are assuming that the DNB and Landesmuseum Hannover descriptions are correct.

If van Gelder was correct about “*ruim twintig stukken*” (*more than twenty pieces*)<sup>[12]</sup>, then there are at least 4 coins from the trade that are either no longer in the NNC/DNB collection, or are unaccounted for, one of which seems to be the “BOINDICTV” Horne VESMN *leeuwengroot* (Meyer, RBN 1860, plate X, 15<sup>[18]</sup>, Dannenberg Item 95<sup>[8]</sup>), which seems to have made its way to the KBR in Belgium:

## Cabinet de Médailles, Koninklijk Bibliotheek / Bibliotheque Royale, Belgium

**CdMB-120**    *leeuwengroot* / Horne, VESMN / DEDERIC    (?)    {D. 95}

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## CONCLUSION

Of the 103+ (225+ ?) coins known to have been in the Wittmund Hoard (1858), and of the 20+ (?) coins that were received in the trade with Hannover in 1859, all presumably from said hoard, 16 pieces can still be found in the DNB collection (Netherlands). 6 other pieces from the Wittmund Hoard can be found in the collection of the Landesmuseum Hannover (Germany). These seem to be the only coins that can be identified with certainty as having come from the Wittmund Hoard (1858); the whereabouts of the other coins are unknown. An unknown number of coins of unknown types are likely to be in the collection of the Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

Included in the 16 coins currently in the NNC/DNB collection are 4 *leeuwengroten* (3 Horne, 1 Groningen/Coevorden). It is probable that the Horne VESMN *leeuwengroot* originally in the NNC collection is now in the Cabinet de Médailles in Brussels. These are the only *leeuwengroten* from the hoard which we were able to track down.

The Wittmund Hoard of 1858 was dispersed without ever being properly documented. Most of the coins that did find their way into the collections of museums were not properly cataloged and have become disassociated with their Wittmund Hoard origin. Although descriptions of the various types were made, they are incomplete, and the total numbers of coins for each type were not recorded. We have no idea how many coins were originally present. If other hoards, e.g. Tournai (1911), can be used as an indication, the possibility also exists that gold coins may have originally been present but were removed almost immediately after the find was made.

The Wittmund Hoard contained a significant number of extremely rare *leeuwengroten*, and, we suspect, rare *gros tournois* as well (based upon a cursory reading of the lists provided by Dannenberg and Berghaus). It is always a shame when important coins are found in hoards that are subsequently neglected, as they often become inaccessible to researchers. We would very much have liked to have seen the Wittmund *leeuwengroten* from Rummen and Brabant, and even more so those from Valkenburg and Cambrai (and the “missing” Horne coin, or have we seen it in Brussels?).

### The *Leeuwengroten* of the Wittmund Hoard (1858)

<b>Brabant</b>	* John III 1312-1355	BRABAN (?) <sup>1</sup>	
	* Johanna 1355-1383	BRABA (?) <sup>1</sup>	
	Johanna 1355-1383	FILFD	(location unknown)
<b>Cambrai</b>	Peter IV 1349-1368	CMAN / PETRVS EPOPVS	(location unknown)
<b>Falkenburg</b> <sup>2</sup>	Wilhelm II 1357-1361	FALCN (?)	
	OMV ICO DVX VIL	Grote 65b / Menadier 11b	2.45 g.
	OMV GIO DVX VIL	Grote 65c / Menadier 11c	2.89 g.
			(location unknown)
<b>Horne</b>	Dirk-Loef 1358-1390	VESMN	
			(CdMB 120? / 1.89 g.)
		VIERD / THEO	
			(DNB/NNC NM-10469)
			1.593 g.
		(DNB/NNC NM-10470)	2.188 g.
		VIERD / DIRIC	
		(DNB/NNC NM-10468)	1.876 g.
<b>Rummen</b>	Arnold 1331-1364	RUMEN	(location unknown)
<b>Groningen</b>	Reinald <sup>3</sup>	GRONINGHE	
			(DNB/NNC NM-08175)
			2.20 g.

- 1) not listed by Berghaus. Dannenberg's description is faulty / correct attribution uncertain.
- 2) not listed by Dannenberg.
- 3) See p. 25.

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**The Known *Leeuwengroten* of the Wittmund Hoard (1858):**



DNB NM-10468 / 1.876 g.  
Horne (see p. 17)



DNB NM-10469 / 1.593 g.  
Horne (see p. 20)



DNB NM-10470 / 2.188 g.  
Horne (see p. 21)



DNB NM-08175 / 2.20 g.  
Groningen (see p. 25)



CKBR/ CdMB 120 / 1.89 g.  
**Wittmund Hoard (1858) ?**  
Horne (see p. 16)

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Johan Van Heesch, CdMB / KBR

## LITERATURE

Although this list is in alphabetical order by author's name, we wished to retain the same reference numbers as used in our *A Preliminary Look at the Rare Leeuwengroot of Groningen* (Torongo & van Oosterhout) and so we have placed that article at the end of the list (ref. 34).

[1]

*Algemeene geschiedenis des vaderlands van de vroegste tijden tot op heden*

J. P. Arend

J. F. Schleier, Amsterdam

1844

[2]

*Croniken der Vrescher Landen mijten Zoeven Seelanden en de der stad Groningen  
(De Kroniek van Sicke Bennighe)*

Sicke Benninghe

Huygens Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis (digital version)

Amsterdam

[3]

***Die ostfriesischen Münzfunde***

Peter Berghaus

pp. 9-73

in ***Friesisches Jahrbuch***

Number 32, 1958

Item 35: Wittmund (pp. 50-51)

[4]

***Nieuw Nederlandsh biografisch woordenboek***

P.J. Blok, P.C. Molhuysen, eds.

A. W. Sijthoffs, Leiden

1911

[5]

***De Munten van Nederland van de Vroegste Tijden tot aan de Pacificatie van Gend (1576)***

(9 volumes)

P. O. van der Chijs

Erven F. Bohn, Haarlem

1851-1866

[6]

***De munten van Friesland, Groningen en Drenthe (der heeren van Koevorden) van de vroegste tijden tot aan de Pacificatie van Gend***

P. O. van der Chijs

Erven F. Bohn, Haarlem

1855

[7]

***De munten der leenen van de voormalige hertogdommen Brabant en Limburg, enz. van de vroegste tijden tot aan de Pacificatie van Gend***

P. O. van der Chijs

Erven F. Bohn, Haarlem

1862

[8]

***Der Turnosen Fund von Wittmund***

H. Dannenberg

in ***Zeitschrift für Numismatik*** 10 (1883)

pp. 223-232

[9]

***Het kerkelyk en wereltlyk Deventer***

Gerhard Dumbar

Johan Christoffel Nebe, Arnhem

1752

[10]

***Rijder- en leeuwengroten van Koevorden en Selwerd***

J. A. Feith

in *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde*

1893

[11]

***Ein Turnosen- und Löwengroschen-Fund***

von Frauendorfer, H.

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

**(Mitteilungen der Bayerischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft)**

[12]

***De vondst van Wittmund***

H.E. van Gelder

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

[13]

***Muntende ministerialen in Over-Sticht en Holland gedurende de 13e en 14e eeuw***

J. J. Grolle

Amsterdam, 2002

[14]

***Het geslacht Borculo***

De Groot

in *Nederlandsche Leeuw*, 53

1935

pp. 324 - 331

[15]

***Bergischen und Jülich'schen Münzgeschichte***

in *Münstudien* Bd. VII, pp. 41, 427

Hermann Grote *et al*

[16]

***Die Münzen der Jülicher Dynastengeschlechter:  
Part 2. Die Münzen der Herren von Falkenburg und Borne.***

J. Menadier

pp. 459-475 & Plate 19

in *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 30

1913

[17]

***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

[18]

***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

[19]

***Munten der Oost-Nederlandse heerlijkheden***

A. T. Puister

in *De Florijn*

1972

pp. 16 – 19

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***De burggraven van Groningen***

J. W. Schaap

in *Nederlandsche Leeuw*, 96

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***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

[22]

***Der Groschenfund von Schoo bei Esens***

A. Suhle

ZfN 41

1931

pp. 67-91

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***The Tourch Hoard (1911): A Numismatic Tragedy Revisited***

Paul A. Torongo & Aimé Haeck

Rotterdam, 2017

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***Jaarboek van en voor de provincie Groningen ter gebruike dier genen, welke de geschiedenis deler provinciegeheel wensen over te zien***

***Het tweede stuk gaande van het jaar 1273 tot 1493***

Nikolaas Westendorp

J. Oomkens

Groningen, 1832

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***Histoire monetaire des comtes de Louvain, ducs de Brabant et marquis de Saint Empire Romain***

Alphonse De Witte

Veuve de Backer, 1894

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Paul Torongo – Peter Illisch

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Paul Torongo – Reinier Cunz

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[33]  
***Oorkondenboek Groningen en Drenthe (OGD)***

[34]  
***A Preliminary Look at the Rare Leeuwengroot of Groningen***  
Paul A. Torongo & Raymond van Oosterhout  
Rotterdam, 2018  
Academia.edu

## APPENDIX A: Meyer 1860, *Leeuwengroten*

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

J.F.G. Meyer  
in **RBN**, 1860  
pp. 159 – 163  
n° 13 – 16  
Plate X

15. *Av.* ΜΟΝΕΤΑ + ΛΙΕΡΩ. Lion, le tout dans la bordure de douze (?) fleurons.

*Rev.* Légende intérieure: Ο · ΟΙ | ΡΙΘ | ΒΑΝ | ..

ΘΡ. Légende extérieure : ..... ΠΥ · Π · ΝΟ....

Croix traversant la légende.

A. 4.90.

Cette pièce, dont il n'y avait qu'un seul exemplaire, était la plus usée de toute la trouvaille, apparemment à cause du très-bas titre de l'argent. La légende extérieure du revers est à peu près illisible; de l'intérieur manquent aussi quelques lettres : le Ο y est en imitation des gros au lion de

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Jean, duc de Brabant : la légende aura donné Ο · ΟΙΡΙΘ · ΒΑΝ · ΗΘΘΡ.. pour indiquer le nom de Thiery Loef, seigneur de Hornes.

L'usage d'un L au long trait pour un V ou W se rencontre aussi sur d'autres pièces de ce seigneur (1). Il est connu que Weert ou Wiert était le chef-lieu de la seigneurie de Hornes.

*Meyer, RBN 1860, pp. 159-160*

14. *Av.* ΜΟΝΕΤΤ φ ΛΙΕΡΩ. Lion, le tout dans une bordure de onze quartefeuilles et d'un lion.

*Rev.* Légende intérieure : ΠΗΕ | Ο' Ω . V | Τ' Η Ο | ΠΕΩ. Légende extérieure : .... ΗΟΙΕ .... ΩΟΩΕ Ω .... ΡΙ. Croix traversant la légende intérieure.

A. 4.60.

Ce gros du même seigneur se distingue par la légende bizarre, moitié latine, moitié en langue du pays, qui devra se lire THEODeric VAN HOorne en alTENA.

15. *Av.* ✠ ΜΟΝΕΤΤ φ ΛΕΣΜΩ. Lion. Le tout dans une bordure de onze fleurons et au-dessus de la tête du lion les trois cornets de Hornes.

*Rev.* Légende intérieure : ΩΕΩ | ΕΡΙ | ΕΩΗ | ΟΡΩ.

Légende extérieure : .. ΒΟΙΩΙΩΙΩΤΩ : ΙΠ ΩΟΩ... ΩΡΙ : ΙΗ.

A. 4.90.

Sur cette pièce, on a encore substitué le L au grand trait au W, dans la légende : *Moneta wessemensis*. Wessem était

(<sup>1</sup>) Voy. le double gros *botdrager*, figuré pl. X, n° 7, au tome I<sup>er</sup> de la 2<sup>e</sup> série de cette Revue.

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un bourg dans le pays de Hornes où Guillaume de Hornes frappa des esterlins à tête au type anglais, et des gros à l'aigle au type de ceux d'Engelbert et d'Adolphe de la Marek, évêques de Liège.

On aura remarqué sur les derniers gros comme sur le suivant, que les légendes extérieures et intérieures ne commencent pas au même endroit.

*Meyer, RBN 1860, pp. 160-161*

16. Av. ✠ MONETA † GROHINŒE. Lion. Le tout dans une bordure de onze fleurons et d'un petit lion.

Rev. Légende intérieure : REI | NTL | OVS | KOV. Légende extérieure : ✠ BNDICITV : SIT : NOMO : ONI : ORI : OE : IIV : XP. Croix traversant la légende intérieure.

A. 2.20.

Sans contredit, cette pièce est une des plus intéressantes de toutes. Une monnaie de Renaud de Koevorden à la légende : *Moneta Groninghe!* Groningue où jadis l'évêque Bernulphe d'Utrecht frappa monnaie, et qui, d'après le type de ses monnaies, qui sont venues jusqu'à nous, des gros tournois, et des esterlins, frappa elle-même monnaie depuis le commencement du xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle! Comment le nom de cette ville peut-il se trouver réuni au nom d'un des nobles du pays de Drenthe?

Voici le mot de l'énigme.

En 1040, l'empereur Henri III donna à l'église de Saint-Martin, à Utrecht, un certain domaine (*tale prædium in villa Groninga nuncupata situm cum areis, ædificiis, agris, campis, monetis, etc.*), situé à Groningue.

*Meyer, RBN 1860, p. 161*

L'église y mit ensuite un préfet, qui ne portait pas toujours le même titre; cette dignité devint enfin un fief héréditaire, dans lequel les familles Sepperoth, Groenberg, Groenebeke et Selwert se sont succédé.

En 1560, Ida, fille de Henri de Selwert, fut mariée à Herman de Koevorden, frère du sire de Koevorden. Dans le contrat de mariage, cité par Idserda, il est stipulé qu'en cas qu'elle mourût sans enfants la maison et seigneurie de Selwert avec la juridiction dans Groningue devraient retourner à ses héritiers. Cependant, en 1571, l'évêque Jean de Virnebourg avait su engager Herman de Koevorden, son frère Jean et Geoffroi ten Hove, à prendre, chacun pour un tiers, en amodiation du chapitre métropolitain d'Utrecht, la juridiction temporelle et les droits seigneuriaux, haute et basse justice à Groningue et à Selwert, avec Wolde et Goo, avec toutes leurs dépendances, comme ce chapitre les possédait. Jean étant mort en 1582, son fils, Renaud IV, lui succéda tant à Koevorden que dans le tiers de la juridiction de Groningue, dont il fut déclaré déchu par le doyen et le chapitre, en 1592, pour défaut de paiement. Ce tiers fut alors inféodé par eux à la ville de Groningue, qui reçut aussi l'autre tiers de Herman de Koevorden, l'oncle de Renaud. L'évêque Frédéric de Blankenheim ayant fait prisonnier, en 1400, Jean ten Hove, fils de Geoffroi, possesseur du troisième tiers, le força à lui céder ce tiers : après quoi, voulant humilier la ville, avec laquelle il était en guerre, il réussit à faire rompre, en 1405, les relations entre le chapitre et la ville, et à se mettre en possession de ses droits, dont il ne céda à la ville que la basse juridiction.

*Meyer, RBN 1860, p. 162*

Nous avons tâché de donner, en peu de mots, un aperçu de ces transactions. Il y reste encore bien des points obscurs; mais cette obscurité s'explique par le défaut de documents originaux et par l'esprit de parti auquel obéissaient les historiens de la localité; car pendant des siècles entiers ces droits ont été la pomme de discorde entre la ville et la province.

Notre pièce est donc un monument des droits que Renaud de Koevorden a exercés, pendant une dizaine d'années, comme seigneur dans Groningue; car ces droits ne pesaient que sur une partie de la ville. A l'exception de cette pièce, on ne connaît qu'une seule monnaie de Renaud IV, le double gros ou *botdrager* où il se donne le titre de : *Comes et Dominus Kovordensis*.

J. F. G. MEYER.

Meyer, RBN 1860, p. 163



Meyer, RBN 1860, Plate X

## APPENDIX B: Dannenberg 1883, *Gros Tournois*

### *Der Turnosen Fund von Wittmund*

H. Dannenberg

in *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 10 (1883)

pp. 224-231

#### A. Turnosen.

\* 1. †ADOLPHVS\*COMES.

2. †ADVLPHVVS COMES

Beide von Adolf VIII. v. Berg 1308—1348, (s. Münzstud. VII, S. 19, Taf. II, 15.)

\* 3. †ARALC. DRS RADI

\* 4. †ARROID DRS. RΛ'

\* 5. †ARROID. DRS. RΛR

\* 6. †ARROD DRS RΛR

\* 7. †ARRODI DR2 RΛR

(oben ein Löwe).

Nr. 4—7 sicher und Nr. 3 doch wohl wahrscheinlichst von Arnold III., Herrn von Randerath (1364—80) eher als von Arnold II (1290—1331), dem v. d. Chijs, de munten der leenen van Brabant S. 157 (Taf. XV und XXXIII) sie zuteilt.

8. †ARROV3 · D'DE LIR (v. d. Chijs a. a. O. S. 308 Taf. XXXIII).

Geschlagen von Arnold Herrn von Stein und Limbricht, der 1381 erwähnt wird (s. auch Rev. Belge Ser. III Bd. IV S. 152).

9. †BERGHEMERS CIVI (oben Löwe).

Von Wilhelm II., Herzog von Jülich 1361—1393 (s. Münzstud. VII, S. 438).

10. †BRABANTIE: DVX R/ MONETA · BRVXEL (statt der Lilien 3 Kugeln) v. d. Chijs. Brabant Taf. VI, 9.

Wohl die älteste Münze im Fünde, denn sie rührt von Johann II. 1294—1312, her.

11. †CONRADVS COMES (Münzstud. III, S. 100, Taf. I, 3).

Oldenburgisch und wohl eher von Konrad II 1368—1386 als vom I. 1345—1368.

12. †DIDERICVS · COMS (oben Löwe).

Von Dietrich III. von Heinsberg Grafen von Looz, 1331—1361.

1) Grösstentheils nach Grottes Stammtafeln (Mzstud. Bd. IX).

- \* 13. †D<sup>NS</sup> DE H<sup>E</sup>IRSBER }  
 \* 14. †D<sup>NS</sup> DE H<sup>E</sup>IRSBERG ‡ } (oben Löwe).

Vermuthlich beide von Gottfried III. (1361—1395).

15. †D<sup>NS</sup> GIESBERTVS

Nr. 26 sowie der seltene Name lassen wohl keinen Zweifel, dass eine Münze des Hauses Bronkhorst vorliegt, entweder von Giesbert V. (1328—1356) oder von seinem gleichnamigen Sohne, der Borculo von 1356 1367 besass, oder von Giesbert VI. (1388—1418).

- \* 16. †D<sup>NS</sup> · H<sup>E</sup>NSBERH · (oben Kreuz).

- \* 17. †D<sup>NS</sup> · H<sup>E</sup>NSBERC (oben Löwe.)

Gleichaltrig mit Nr. 13 und 14.

- \* 18. †D<sup>NS</sup> · LIRIERSI.

Ligny? Linnich? Letzerenfalls, wie Grote Münzstud. VII S. 428 Anm. sagt, nicht Jülichisch, da die Herren von Randerath die Stadt von 1368—1392 in Besitz hatten.

19. †DVLKEHSI CIVIS }  
 \* 20. †DVLKERSI CIVITS } (oben Löwe).  
 21. †DVRENSI CIVITS ‡ }  
 \* 22. †DVRENSI CIVITS' } R/. oben Adler

Alle vier von Wilhelm II., Herzog von Jülich (1361—1393), die beiden ersten in Dülken, Nr. 21 u. 22 in Düren geschlagen (s. Münzstud. VIII S. 436 u. 434).

23. †ELISABET ABBA · (oben Löwe).

- \* 24. †ELISABET:ABBI desgl.

- \* 25. †ELISABET:ABBA desgl. R/. MONETA · ESSEIR

Elisabeth von Nassau war Aebtissin von Essen 1370—1412 (s. Münzstud. III, S. 451).

26. †GIESBERTVS BOR.

Von Giesbert von Bronkhorst Herrn von Borculo, welchem nach dem bei Nr. 15 Gesagten diese Münze gehört, kannte v. d. Chijs nur einen Sterling (s. de munten der herren en steden van Gelderland S. 452 Taf. XXIII).

27. †H<sup>E</sup>IR · ABB · WERDII (oben 3 Rosen).

16°

28. +hERRICS' ABBS' }  
 29. +hERRICVS\*ABBA' } (oben Schildchen mit 3 Rosen).  
 30. +hERRICVS\*ABBAS }  
 31. +hRRICVS\*ABBAS\*WI }  
 † 32. hENR°WERDH. ABB (oben 3 Rosen).

Der Präherr dieser sechs Turnosen Heinrich von Wildenberg, Abt von Werden, hat seine Würde von 1360—1382 bekleidet. Seine Münzen s. Münzstud. III, S. 416.)

33. +h'MAR·DRS DE WL (oben Schildchen mit 1 Rose)  
 Münzstud. III, S. 178, Taf. IV, 9.

Auf dieser Münze des Dynasten Herrmann von Wildenberg, der zwischen 1354 und 1395 erwähnt wird, ist das Wildenberg-sche Wappen, das Nr. 27—32 vollständig zeigen, in einer Weise vereinfacht, wie es im Mittelalter sonst häufig, dann aber selten geschieht, wenn das Wappenbild im Rahmen des Schildes erscheint.

34. Ein gleiches Exemplar mit der Contremarke O.  
 \* 35. +IOHAN' Krone COMES (Münzstud. III, Taf. IV, 6).  
 36. +IOHANNES · COMES (v. d. Chijs Holland Taf. IV, unter Johann I. 1296—1299).  
 37. +IOHANNES COMIS (oben ein Löwe).

Die Herkunft dieser Münzen ist zweifelhaft, Grote (Münzstud. III, 164, Taf. IV, 5) neigt zu Johann III, Grafen von Sayn (1359—1403), obgleich das Krönchen auf Nr. 35 besser für Johann von Böhmen, als Grafen von Luxemburg (1313—1346) passen würde.

38. +JOHANNES·DOMICE Katalog Schellhass 2469. Rev. Belge Ser. III, Bd. III, Taf. XIII, 4; Bd. IV, S. 156, Taf. IX, 10. Johann (domicellus) von Kuinre kommt i. J. 1359 vor, v. d. Chijs (Overijssel Taf. I, II und XX) hat zahlreiche Gepräge von ihm, diesen Turnosen aber nicht.  
 39. +IVLIACERSI CIV' (oben Löwe).  
 \* 40. +IVLIECERSI CIVIS (oben Löwe).

Gleich den Dülkener und Dürener Münzen, Nr. 19—22, von Herzog Wilhelm II.

41. +RHAROLVS REX.

Vermuthlich Karl IV. 1322—1328 (Hoffmann m. royales de France Taf. XV 6), obgleich dem Zeitalter unseres Fundes Karl V., 1364—1380 besser entsprechen würde.

\* 42. +LIRIERSI CIVI'.

\* 43. +LIRNIERSI CIVIS (s. Mader krit. Beit. V S. 30).

Vergleiche oben Nr. 18.

44. +LODEVICVS DRVS (v. d. Chijs leenen v. Brabant Taf. 30, Rev. Belge Ser. III, Bd. IV, S. 153.

Von Ludwig III., Herrn von Randerath 1331—1364.

45. +LVDOVICVS·S·REX, nebst einigen (nicht näher angegebenen) Verschiedenheiten.

Solche Turnosen haben geprägt: Ludwig IX 1226—1270 und Ludwig X 1314—1316. Ob aber nicht einige auf den deutschen Ludwig IV zurückzuführen sind? von dem wir eine solche Münze mit Ludowicus quartus (Berl. Bl. III, Taf. XXXIV 6, Münzstud. VII, S. 23) und andere kennen, die im Bergischen geschlagen sind (Münzstud. VII, S. 19 Nr. 16, S. 21 Nr. 17, S. 22 Nr. 18).

\* 46. +MORETA FIVLGOIE (Rev. Belge Ser. III, Bd. IV, 155, v. d. Chijs Friesland, Taf. 18, S. 528.)

Fivelgo oder Favelingo war eine Grafschaft in Westfriesland, mit Appingedam als Hauptort.

47. +MOETA·GERISHĒ (Rev. Belge Ser. III, Bd. IV, S. 154, Münzstud. VII, S. 47, Taf. V, 50).

In Gerresheim von Wilhelm II. von Berg (1360—1380) geschlagen, nicht wie v. d. Chijs (Holland S. 154 (Taf. IV, 3) annimmt, in Zieriksee durch Graf Wilhelm III. von Holland.

48. +MORETA GRONIC' (v. d. Chijs Friesland, Taf. VIII, 6).

49. +MONETA GRORIG (v. d. Chijs Friesland, Taf. XXII).

\* 50. +MORETA HERSBE' } (oben ein Löwe).

\* 51. +MONETA·HISBRG }

Vgl. Nr. 13, 14, 16 u. 17.

*Dannenbergh, Zfn 10, p. 227*

\* 52. †MONETA · RATIGIR (Münzstud. VII, S. 46, Taf. IV 47).

\* 53. †MORETA · RATIRG · Rf. †WILH'IMVS · COMES  
(Ebenda S. 45, Taf. IV, 45).

Von Wilhelm II., Grafen v. Berg (1360—1380).

54. †MORETA · SINSIG (Münzstud. VII, S. 199, Taf. X, 6).

Der Münzherr ist Wilhelm, Graf von Isenburg-Wied (1367—1376), als Pfandinhaber der alten Reichsdomäne Sinzig.

55. †PHILIPPVS · REX, †PHILIPV · S · REX und einige andere Arten.

Solche Turnosen haben Philipp III. (1270—1285), Philipp IV. (1285—1314), Philipp V. (1316—1322) und Philipp VI (1328—1350) schlagen lassen (s. Hoffmann a. a. O. Taf. XI, XII, XIV, XVII).

56. †PHILIP' CONGS · (oben ein Löwe) s. Rev. Belge Ser. III, Bd. IV, S. 151.

Meines Erachtens von Philipp I., Grafen von Nassau-Weilburg (1370—1429), worauf auch der Löwe deutet, der ebenso, ohne die Schindeln, auf den Turnosen von Siegen (Mader VI, 208, Bl. f. Mzkd. III, Taf II, 16) vorkommt. Also nachzutragen zu S. 170 Bd. VII dieser Zeitschrift.

\* 57. †ROBERTVS · DVX

Von Robert, Grafen (seit 1352) und Herzog (seit 1355) von Bar, (bis 1411).

58. †VREDERICVS DE .

Wohl von demselben Friedrich von Berg in Geldern, der Nr. 93 geprägt hat.

\* 59. †WIBERTVS BOERC

\* 60. †WILBERTVS · DHS

\* 61. †WILBERTVS DE

62. †WIGIESBERTVS 

Bei Nr. 15 und 16 sind wir bereits Giesbert von Bronkhorst, Herrn von Borculo begegnet. Ein Name Wigiesbertus, wie er auf der letzten Münze erscheint, ist ungeheuerlich, und daher wohl nicht zu zweifeln, dass er nur einer auf Täuschung des Publikums gerichteten Absicht seine Entstehung verdankt, es wird mit

dem unverständlichen WI auf eine Verwechslung mit den beliebten Turnosen des Bergischen und Jülichischen Wilhelm (siehe Nr. 67–79) abgesehen gewesen sein. Analogien sind namentlich in dieser Gegend zahlreich, es sei nur erinnert an die Sterlinge mit EIWARES DNSZREYB (Mader VI, Taf. I, 4, Bl. f. Mzkde. IV, Taf. XIII, 293) statt EDW REX ARGL DNS HYB, an EDIWARHNS REX B (Chantard, monn. au type esterlin Taf. XIV, 9), ja sogar EDWARD ARG + RHYB Rf. LOGHNBGNSIS (a. a. O. S. 385 Nr. 550, num. Chron. XVIII S. 121), an den Goldgulden von Rummen mit + † MORATT † ROVA † ROMARORVM in Nachahmung der Kaisergulden (Berl. Bl. VI Taf. LXXI) und den Rosenobel der Maria von Brimeu als Gräfin v. Megen (v. d. Chijs leenen van Brabant Taf. III Nr. 22) MLR · A · B · PRI · D · OHI · GO · D · M · E · AD · LE — EDWARD · G · R · EG · ARG. Die letzten Worte EDWARD G · R · EG · ARG geben Aufklärung über die böse Absicht, die bei dieser Nachprägung obgewaltet hat. — Von Nr. 62 sind aber die 3 vorgehenden Turnosen offenbar nicht zu trennen, auch hier das trügerische WI, WIL statt GIES.

63. + WILHELMVS COMES · (Rf. oben Schildchen mit 2 Balken).

\* 64. + WILHELM COMES (oben und im Rf. oben dasselbe Schildchen).

65. + WILHELMVS COMI }  
66. + WILHELM COMIS } (oben dasselbe Schildchen).

Man sehe diese oder ähnliche Turnosen des Grafen Wilhelm von Isenburg - Wied (1367- 1376) bei Grote (Münzstud. Bd. VII S. 200), wo er (S. 199) bezeugt, dass sie nebst den Sinzigern (siehe oben Nr. 54) fast sämtlich aus dem Funde von Wittmund 1858 herrühren, während die Funde von Berum 1836 und von Weimar 1848 deren nicht enthalten haben.

67. + WILHELMV CONS · (oben Kreuz).

68. + WILHELM' COMES · (oben Löwe).

69. + WILHELM COMES ·

70. + WILHELM' COME †

*Dannenberg, Zfn 10, p. 229*

71. + WILHELM COMIS  
 72. + WILHELMV · COMS.  
 73. + WILHELMV COMES  
 74. + WILHELMV COMS ·  
 75. + WILHELMVS · COMES ·  
 76. + WILHELMVS COES  
 77. + WILHELMVS COMES ·

(Nr. 67—77 s. Münzstud. VII S. 42—44).

- \* 78. + WILHELM COMES *Rf.* + WILHELMVS COMES  
 (Münzstud. VII, S. 45, Taf. IV 44).  
 \* 79. ebenso *Rf.* + ΜΟΡΕΤΑ · · ΛΙΣΤΕΙΡ (undeutlich).

Alle diese Münzen (Nr. 67—78) sind Bergische, wie Nr. 47, 52 u. 53 vom Grafen Wilhelm II 1360—1380. Darf man in dem undeutlichen Stadtnamen des letzten Stückes ΛΙΣΤΕΙΡ sehen, so haben wir Lennep wie auf den Turnosen Münzstud. VII 46 Nr. 48 a—e Taf. V 48.

- \* 80. + WILHELM DORS

Vermuthlich gleich Nr. 92 von Wilhelm I von 's Heerenberg.

81. + WILHELMVS DVX  
 82. + WILHELMVS · DVX  
 83. + WILHELMV ☉ DVX  
 84. + WILHELMVS · DVX ☉ (oben ein Löwe).  
 85. + WILHELMVS ☉ DVX (oben ein Löwe).  
 86. + WILHELMVS ☉ DVX (oben ein Löwe *Rf.* ebenso).  
 87. + WILHELMVS DVX (oben ein Löwe).  
 88. + WILHELMVS DVX (oben ein rechtsgekehrter<sup>1)</sup> Löwe).

(Nr. 81—88 vgl. Münzstud. VII S. 431—433.)

89. + WILHELMVS ☉ DVX (oben ein Löwe *Rf.* oben ein Adler), Münzstud. VII, S. 433 Nr. 50.  
 90. + WILHELMVS ☉ DVX (oben ein Löwe *Rf.* oben ein doppelschwänziger Löwe), Münzstud. VII, S. 53 Nr. 54. Taf. V 54 und S. 433 Nr. 49.

Nach Grote's Meinung sind alle diese Münzen Jülicher, von

1) Das „rechts“ scheint nicht in heraldischem Sinne gemeint.

Wilhelm II. (1361—93) nur die letzte etwa, wegen des doppelgeschwänzten Löwen, von Herzog Wilh. von Berg (1380—1408).

91. † WILHELM BORG'VE (oben Wappenschild.)

s. Rev. Belge Ser. III, Bd. IV, S. 153, Taf. VIII, 6, Wiener num. Zeitschr. II, S. 522, Nr. 12.



Bisher ist diese Münze nicht gedeutet, seitdem wir aber Groschen der Burggrafen Ludwig und Wilhelm Hammerstein (Bl. f. Münzfreunde 1880 S. 697) kennen, ist kein Zweifel mehr, dass auch sie letzterem Burggrafen zuzuschreiben ist.

92. † WILHES DRS D MÖTE (v. d. Chijs, steeden v. Gelderland Taf. XVI).

Von dem schon bei Nr. 80 erwähnten Wilhelm I. von's Heerenberg (1354—87).

93. † WRIDER . . . 2 DR2 Rf. TVRONIV . . . VIS (v. d. Chijs a. a. O. S. 193, Taf. XXIII).

Ebenfalls von 's Heerenberg und zwar von Friedrich II. 1312—32, wenn nicht etwa von Friedrich III (1387—1416).

*Dannenberg, Zfn 10, p. 231*

## APPENDIX C: Berghaus 1958

### *Die ostfriesischen Münzfunde*

Peter Berghaus

pp. 9-73

in *Friesisches Jahrbuch*

Number 32

1958

Item 35: Wittmund (pp. 50-51)

Quantities listed by Berghaus as ? unless otherwise indicated in (red).

### Turnosen

Frankreich, Ludwig IX 1226–1270

—. Philipp III 1270–1285

—. Philipp IV 1285–1314

Bar, Robert 1354–1411. Schoo 62.

Luxemburg, Karl IV. 1346–1346

Berg, Adolf VIII. 1308–1346. Noss 19, 21b

—. Wilhelm II. 1360–1408. Lennep. Noss 50c. **(1)**

—. Wilhelm II. Gerresheim. Noss 56. **(1)**

—. Wilhelm II. Ratingen. Noss 41c, 46. **(6)**

—. Wilhelm II. Ohne Angabe der Münzstätte. Noss 60ff. **(64)**

Jülich, Wilhelm II. 1361–1393. Bergheim. Noss 80. **(2)**

—. Wilhelm II. Dülken. Noss 67, 69. **(7)**

—. Wilhelm II. Düren. Noss 89d, 90. **(6)**

—. Wilhelm II. Jülich. Noss 85a, 87. **(5)**

—. Wilhelm II. Ohne Angabe der Münzstätte. Noss 76a (?), 78, 93c, 97, 98c, 100, 105 (?), 106a, 106c. **(39)**

Heinsberg, Dietrich III. 1331–1361. Men. 24a, 24c, 25b, 25var., 26a, 26c.

Randerath, Ludwig III. 1331–1364. Linnich. Men. 7c, 7d, 8.

—. Ludwig III. Ohne Angabe der Münzstätte. Men. 3.

—. Arnold III. Linnich. Men. 13.

—. Arnold III. Ohne Angabe der Münzstätte. Men. 10a, 10c, 10h, 10b, 12.

Hammerstein, Wilhelm 1359–1409. Men. 5b.

Isenburg, Wied, Wilhelm 1367–76. Sinsig. Grote 4. **(3)**

—. Wilhelm II. Ohne Angabe der Münzstätte. Gr. 8e8f, 9, 7c. **(10)**

Kleve, Johann 1347–1368. Noss 60/61.

Moors, Dietrich IV. 1356–1372. Noss. 2.

Nassau–Dillenburg, Johann 1351–1416. Isenb.—. Fd. Wittmund 37.

Nassau–Weilburg, Philipp 1371–1429. Isenb.—. Fd. Wittmund 56.

Sayn, Johan III. 1357–1403. Gr. 8.

Wildenberg, Herman -1364–1395—. Münzstudien III, Tf.4,9.

—. Hermann, wie vorher mit Gegenstempel Kreis. **(1)**

Essen, Elisabeth 1370–1413. Gr. 3d, 3f, 4c.

Werden, Heinrich II. 1360–1382. Gr. 4a, 4b, 4c, 4d, 4f, 4g.

Brabant, Johann II. 1294–1312. de W. 298.  
s Heerenberg, Wilhelm I. 1354–1387. v.d. Ch. XVI, 1 u.—.  
(Fd. Wittmund 80 = Fd. Byvanck B6c).  
—. Friedrich III. 1370–1416. v.d. Ch. XXIII, 1 u.—. (Fd. Wittmund 58).  
Borculo, Giesbert 1365–1367. v.d. Ch.—. Fd. Wittmund 15, 26, 59, 60, 61, 62  
Kuinre, Johann – 1359 –. v.d. Ch.—. Fd. Wittmund 38.  
Groningen, v.d. Ch. VIII, 6 und XXII, 1.  
Fivelgo, v.d. Ch. XVIII, var.  
Oldenburg, Konrad III. 1350 1401. Grote 6.

### Sonstige Groschen

Brabant, Johanna 1355-1383 Groot von Vilvorde. De W. 395 & 397.  
Cambrai, Peter IV, 1349-1368 Löwengroot. Fd. Byvanck C1.  
Liège (Lüttich), Johann 1364-1378 Groot. Chestret 256.  
Falkenburg, Wilhelm II, 1357-1361 Löwengroot. Men. 11b, 11c.  
Horn, Dirk-Loef, 1358-1390 Löwengroot von Wessem, v.d. Ch. XXX, 4.  
Dirk-Loef, Lowengroot von Weert, v. d. Ch. XXX, 2 und XXX, 3.  
Rummen, Arnold 1331-1364. Löwengroot. v. d. Ch. XXIII, 4.  
\*Koevorden, Reinald II, 1376-1402 Löwengroot von Groningen. v. d. Ch. —.  
Fd. Wittm. 100. <sup>1)</sup>

1) Regierungsdatum nach frdllicher Mitteilung von Dr. H. Enno van Gelder. Den Haag.

Auch den Datum dieses Fund is möglicherweize auf 1400 herabzurücken.  
H. Dannenberg, Der Turnosen Fund von Wittmund, Zfn 10, 1883, S. 223–232.  
Nachlass Grote Bf. VX, 41, XV, 27 u. XV, 25.  
H.E. van Gelder, De vondst van Wittmund, Jaarboek voor Munt- und Penningkunde  
33/34, 1946/47, S. 138  
Münzstudien Bd. III, s. 452; Bd. VII, S. 41ff, 46, 47, 70, 74h. 199, 427, 428, 431–438, 443,  
444.