

# The Extremely Important *Leeuwengroten* of the Schoo Hoard (1927)

by Paul A. Torongo with Raymond van Oosterhout  
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*leeuwengroot of Coevorden / 3.09 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*



*shown actual size*



*leeuwengroot of Valkenburg / 2.21 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

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## Introduction

Hoard Deposited: after 1370

Current locations: Berlin / unknown

Found: Schoo (district Wittmund), Ostfriesland, Germany

c. 586 coins:

2 gold coins

584 silver coins, whole or broken

(including 443 *leeuwengroten*, whole or broken)

The hoard was discovered in a crop field on February 9, 1927, during routine plowing. The coins had been buried in a wooden chest, and were fused together into a solid mass. After separation and cleaning, the hoard was found to contain 2 gold and 267 silver coins, as well as 317 silver coin fragments (or broken coins). A number of the lower-fineness coins had broken into smaller pieces; in total, some 71.7 grams of unidentifiable material were left over, along with the whole coins and identifiable fragments <sup>[25]</sup>.

Most of the coins (about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the total) in the hoard were silver *leeuwengroten*, similar to the coins pictured on p. 1 above. The remaining  $\frac{1}{4}$  were *gros tournois* from several regions, as well as a small number of other types of coins (including 2 gold pieces). Our primary interest in the Schoo Hoard is the *leeuwengroten*. **Other than our own recent publications, no photographs of the Schoo Hoard *leeuwengroten* have been published before.**



*a gros tournois of Louis IX of France (1226-1270)*  
*private collection / 4.0 g.*  
*(NOT from the Schoo Hoard)*

The Schoo Hoard was housed in Berlin, but at the end of the Second World War, the coins were confiscated by the Russians. The hoard was subsequently returned to Berlin (then in East Germany), but a large number of the Schoo coins seem to have “gone missing” and remain unaccounted for. The *leeuwengroten* of Serain (3 or 4), Brittany (1), and most of those from Cambrai (33 out of 35) are not in the Berlin collection, nor are many of the Brabant and Rummen coins <sup>[36] [37]</sup>.

In May of 2018, my wife and I had the opportunity to visit the Bode Museum in Berlin and photograph the remaining Schoo Hoard coins. Fortunately for us, many of the “important” Schoo *leeuwengroten* are still present in the collection. We were assured by the museum staff that we were shown all of the *leeuwengroten*, including those from the Schoo Hoard, that are currently residing in the museum collection.

**The Schoo Hoard contained a significant number of rare and important *leeuwengroten* from smaller mints such as Serain, Looz, Cambrai and Horne. Some of them are otherwise almost unknown (e.g. those from Valkenburg (Fauquemont), Rekem (Reckheim), Groningen, Coevorden, Guelders and Namur).**

There are 4 or 5 types known solely from the Schoo coins (Namur, Rekem, Coevorden, Guelders). There are a number of variant sub-types of other coins that are otherwise unknown as well (Rummen, Horne). There are 13 Valkenburg coins; only 5 photos of Valkenburg *leeuwengroten* have ever been published before, of which 3 are of fairly poor quality. (The remaining 2 photos were only published in 2018, meaning that for 100 years, the only photos available of Valkenburg *leeuwengroten* were poor.)

In short: the Schoo Hoard is an extremely important hoard for the study of *leeuwengroten* of all regions, and we are thankful to have had the opportunity to view and photograph these amazing coins. Cataloging the Schoo coins remains a bittersweet victory, however, since we are also aware of the fact that we saw **less than 25% of the *leeuwengroten* reported by Suhle** in 1931 (ref. 25) as having been in the original Schoo find (the missing coins including 173 Rummen coins, 33 Cambrai coins, 20 Horne Coins, 14 Valkenburg coins, 3-4 Serain coins, and 87 Brabant coins).

### **Suhle (ZfN 1931)**

The Schoo Hoard was previously studied and described by **Suhle** (ref. 25), and again (in less detail) by **Berghaus** (ref. 2). Suhle's descriptions of the coins are very detailed, and include the weights as well as transcriptions of the legends. Suhle was, of course, not concerned with the *leeuwengroten per se*, and he does not provide some of the vital information necessary to those of us who are investigating this coin type specifically. And unfortunately, no illustrations are provided at all. Nevertheless, Suhle's article clearly shows that he was paying close attention to his work.

But despite his thoroughness, Suhle's report is not without errors (nor is Berghaus'). For example, on p. 68, Suhle says there were 111 *gros tournois* present (instead of 112 as on p. 86). (Based on the other pages in the report, it appears that 112 is correct.) There are several other inconsistencies in Suhle's *leeuwengroten* totals (Holland, Looz, Cambrai, Guelders, Serain). Suhle's descriptions of the Rummen and Valkenburg coins are so superficial that some of them become erroneous.

Suhle makes a good effort to convey many (but not all) of the letter forms used on the coins. Like most authors, he does not do this for the **O**'s, and the typeface he used makes them all look round, when some are in fact long.

In his report, Suhle refers to many of the coins as "fragments" (*Bruchstücke*), by which he seems to have meant: "damaged coin". The term is rather misleading, as Suhle seems to have used it for coins that were hardly broken at all as well as for actual "fragments" of coins (with parts of the legends missing).

Suhle was also inconsistent in his use of the term, listing broken coins as "*Bruchstücke*", even when the coins are only slightly damaged, while in other cases he listed damaged coins as "coins", not as "fragments". This makes double-checking his various coin totals all the more difficult. On p. 67, Suhle describes the contents of the hoard, saying there were "600-700 coins", but the final total is far short of this; it is clear that the "fragments" must be counted along with the complete coins for a total of about 584 silver coins (whole or broken).

**The reader is asked to bear in mind throughout the current report that any one of Suhle's given "fragments" might be a fairly complete coin after all.**



*Rekem / 2.21 g.*

*Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

*One of Suhle's Bruchstücke; the obverse legend is complete, as is the reverse, inner legend.*

*It appears that the missing parts of the outer legend  
were probably "blank" and illegible anyway.*

*This type of coin is incredibly rare (only 3 specimens known).*

For some reason, possibly because he did not provide any illustrations, Suhle's report and the *leeuwengroot* coins contained therein have been almost systematically ignored by subsequent researchers (cf. **Meert** on Namur, both **Lucas** and the **Schulman** auction catalogs on Valkenburg, etc.). When Suhle's work is used as a reference, it is often done incorrectly (cf. **Grolle** on Coevorden, **Vanhoudt** on Rekem, etc.).

The important *leeuwengroten* of the Schoo Hoard have thus slipped into the mists of obscurity (until now). We suspect that because Suhle was reporting otherwise unknown types, without illustration, and in many cases making little or no fanfare about the rarity of the coins in his report, some subsequent researchers were unsure of how to proceed with Suhle's information. They seem to have either misunderstood or doubted what Suhle was reporting, and then employed the typical numismatist trick of simply ignoring Suhle's work and moving on with their lives (to the detriment of numismatics in general).

One wonders what important *gros tournois* may have also been in the hoard (only to be subsequently ignored as well by numismatists?). Berghaus was unable to come up with reference numbers for several of them, using Suhle's item numbers instead, indicating that they were previously unknown types, and still otherwise unknown in 1958.

### **Photographs of the Schoo Coins**

Throughout our ongoing investigation into the *leeuwengroten* of all regions, it has always been our policy to ensure that our research and associated publications are as transparent as possible. We do our very best to avoid asking the reader to simply take our word for anything. To this end, we always try to provide photographs of coins as evidence, so that the reader can see that our conclusions are correct (or challenge them if need be).

Sadly, in the case of the Schoo coins, it is not possible for us to provide photographs of all of the *leeuwengroot* coins remaining in Berlin. Although we did make our own photos for research purposes, the *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin* does not allow publication of photographs

made by anyone but their own staff, and they will only provide said photographs for a fee. While the {current} fee is not unreasonable, it does add up fairly quickly (there are 97 Schoo *leeuwengroten* in Berlin), and our numismatic research is not financially subsidized in any way. It has therefore taken us a year to pay for all of the photographs that we felt would be absolutely necessary to this report (and the related papers on Horne, Rummen etc.)

The original fee quoted to us by the museum staff was, in fact, completely unreasonable (around € 2000 for all of the Schoo *leeuwengroten*). After returning home from spending a great deal of money and time going all the way to Berlin to avoid this outrageous photo cost, we were informed that the price of photos had actually been reduced by some 2/3 (... **after** returning home). In effect, we had spent almost the same amount of money on the trip that it would have cost us had we stayed home and simply ordered photos of all of the Schoo *leeuwengroten*... and we returned from Berlin without a single, publishable photo. Subsequently, we had to pay even more money for the photos that are published in this report. Bottom line: we spent a great deal of money only to end up still not being able to provide our readers with photographs of all of the Schoo *leeuwengroten* currently in Berlin.

We can only apologize for the lack of photos in this report, and for the resulting lack of transparency. Readers are welcome to contact us with inquiries regarding the content of this report and/or the unpublished photographs. Alternatively, you can contact the *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin* directly, yourself.

We can assure the reader that we have thoroughly studied the actual coins and the photos that we made, and that our report is accurate. We provide here as many photographs as we could afford, including some of what we hope are the most “interesting or important” coins.

## The Schoo Hoard (1927)

Der Fund ist also Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts, jedenfalls nach 1376 in die Erde gekommen. Er steht in Ostfriesland in bezug auf Vergrabungszeit und Zusammensetzung der Münzen nicht allein. Es entspricht ihm im Harlingerland der oft zitierte Fund von Wittmund, der ebenfalls Ludwigs- und Philippsturnosen, zahlreiche deutsche Turnosennachahmungen und eine Reihe Löwengroschen enthielt. Es scheinen in ihm — die Stückzahl der einzelnen Münzen ist nicht überliefert — bergische Turnosen zu überwiegen. Weiter gehört der von Grote (Mzst. VII S. 41, 427) erwähnte, 1836 vergrabene Fund von Berum im Norderland in diesen Zusammenhang. Dieser scheint in der Hauptsache mit der Sammlung Grote 1879 in das Staatliche Münzkabinett zu Berlin gelangt zu sein und ist in seiner genaueren Zusammensetzung nicht mehr zu rekonstruieren; auf jeden Fall waren in ihm zahlreiche bergische Turnosen. Schließlich ist hier auch der Münzfund bei Norden<sup>1)</sup> (Norder Eisenhütte) zu nennen, der u. a. 67 französische, 13 deutsche Turnosen, 4 kontermarkierte böhmische Groschen, 14 Wittenpfennige Widzelds ten Brok (1381—1399) und einen Halbflindrich Udos von Norden (1421—33) enthielt.

Wie erklären sich diese Funde? Sie hängen zweifellos mit den Streitigkeiten der ostfriesischen Häuptlinge, die seit dem 14. Jahrhun-

<sup>1)</sup> Tergast in Z. f. N. 22 S. 67/69.

*Suhle, p. 87* <sup>[25]</sup>

dert auftreten, zusammen<sup>1</sup>). Und zwar war es vor allem der Streit um die ten Broksche Erbschaft, an die sich immer neue und neue Fehden anschließen. Er begann, als im Jahre 1376 Keno Hilmersna starb. Zwischen seinem Sohne Ritter Ocko ten Brok und Folkmar Allena von Osterhusen, dem Schwiegersohne von Oekos jüngerem, kurz zuvor verstorbenen Bruder Imel entstanden zuerst die Differenzen, in die dann nach und nach ganz Ostfriesland hineingezogen wurde. In diese Kämpfe mischten sich fremde Landesfürsten, so die Grafen von Holland und Oldenburg u. a. ein. Durch Begünstigung der sogenannten Vitalienbrüder durch die Häuptlinge wurde auch die Hansa in die Streitigkeiten hineingerissen; von ihr entsandte Mannschaften eroberten 1407 eine Reihe friesischer Schlösser, z. B. auch das von Berum<sup>2</sup>).

Bei diesen dauernden Kämpfen ist es kein Wunder, wenn von den Bewohnern des Landes größere Schätze vergraben wurden.

Die Zusammensetzung unseres Fundes ist unter Berücksichtigung des Umstandes, daß in ihm nur größere Münzen enthalten sind, so, wie man sie aus dieser Zeit nicht anders erwarten kann. Einheimische Münzen gab es damals so gut wie noch gar nicht, vielmehr waren landesübliches Geld die damals wegen ihrer Güte überall beliebten<sup>3</sup>) Turnosen der französischen Könige, deren Nachahmungen rheinischer Fürsten und geringhaltige Löwengroschen der benachbarten niederländischen Herren.

*Suhle, p. 88* <sup>[25]</sup>

“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), [Torongo / van Oosterhout]
<b>Byvanck</b>	von Frauendorfer
<b>Schoo</b>	Suhle; Berghaus

... It is our intention to report on these three important hoards separately, followed by a report on their relationship to one another.” <sup>[29]</sup>

Of the three finds, the Schoo Hoard is especially important. Not only for the otherwise unknown types found within, but also for the fact that it is the only one of the three from which we still have (some of) the coins, which we can study with our own eyes, instead of relying on previous reports that are lacking in detail. (A small number of Wittmund Hoard coins are also available as well.)



Berghaus p. 72 <sup>[2]</sup>  
 [with the Schoo find indicated, n° 36]

## Contents of the Schoo Hoard (1927)

According to Suhle, the original find was comprised of c. 586 coins: <sup>[25]</sup> [2]

2 gold coins (Au)  
267 silver coins (Ag)  
317 “fragments” of silver coins (i.e. fragments and/or damaged coins)  
(584 silver pieces in all)

### — 2 gold *écus*

2 Lewis the Bavarian (1338-1346) Antwerp (Kull 6ff)

### — 149 silver (or billon) *leeuwengroten, gros au lion or gros compagnon*

### — 294 fragments of *leeuwengroten*

(443 *leeuwengroten* in all)

divided as follows (pp. 86-87) <sup>[25]</sup>:

#### coins fragments

2	4	County of Flanders
37	64	Duchy of Brabant
1	1	County of Namur
1	1	County of Holland (not listed in the main text)
0	2	Duchy of Guelders (p. 80 says 0 + 1)
75	142	Lordship of Rummen (p. 78 says 76 + 141)
3	0	County of Looz (p. 78 says 2 + 0)
13	19	Lordship of Horne
1	2	Lordship of Rekem
11	19	Lordship of Valkenburg (Fauquemont)
1	2	Coevorden [ / Groningen]
4	31	Diocese of Cambrai (p. 82 says 3 + 31)
0	3	Lordship of Serain (p. 83 says 0 + 4)
0	1	Duchy of Brittany
0	3	unknown

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**149      294      TOTAL (443)**

Due to the discrepancies between the totals in Suhle’s table on pp. 86-87 and the descriptions in his main text (pp. 77-83), the total numbers of fragments and “whole” coins may, in fact, be “off” by as many as 4-6 coins.

And of course, any of the totals for the other regions that we could not verify ourselves in Berlin could be off as well (e.g. Brabant or Rummen). The coins of Rummen were counted / reported inconsistently by Suhle: 76 coins and 141 fragments (p. 78), 75 coins and 142 fragments on p. 86 (either way, adding up to 217 Rummen coins in total, damaged or otherwise).

The other silver coins listed by Suhle were (references provided by Berghaus, not Suhle):

— **112 silver (or billon) gros tournois (and 1 fragment)**  
(on p. 80, Suhle says there were 111 *tournois* + 1 fragment)

divided as follows <sup>[25]</sup> [2]:

Kingdom of France (99 coins + 1 fragment)

- 3 Louis IX (1226-1270) (Lafaurie 198) [Duplessy 190]
- 5 Philip III (1270-1285) (Lafaurie 204) [Duplessy 202]
- 88 Philip IV (1285-1314)
  - 70 Lafaurie 217 (+1 fragment) [Duplessy 213] = 71 coins
  - 17 Lafaurie 218 [Duplessy 214]
  - 1 Lafaurie 219 [Duplessy 217]
- 3 Philip V (1314-1322) (Lafaurie 242) [Duplessy 238]
  
- 1 County of Berg, William I (1360-1380) (Noss 70g )
- 1 County of Nassau, Walram (1370-1393) (Isenbeck 6 var.)
- 1 County of Holland, Floris (1266-1296) (vdCh III, 2)
- 5 Duchy of Luxemburg, Charles IV (1346-1356) (Schoo 61)
- 4 County of Bar, Robert (1354-1411) (Schoo 62)
- 1 Indeterminate Rheinland *gros tournois* (Schoo 58) – Berghaus  
(attributed by Suhle to Gerard of Jülich)

**112 TOTAL** (+ 1 fragment, i.e. 113 coins in all)

— **6 silver (or billon) groten or groschen (and 22 fragments)**  
(not *gros tournois* or *gros au lion*)

divided as follows: <sup>[25]</sup>

**coins fragments**

- 4 9 Brabant Johanna Vilvoorde *groot* (De Witte 395)
- 2 4 Liège Engelbert (1345-1364) *groschen* (Ch. 248)
- 0 8 Liège Johann (1364-1378) *groschen* (Ch. 255-256)
- 0 1 Stein Arnold (? - ?) *groschen* (Schoo 88)

**6 22 TOTAL**

Bearing in mind the previously mentioned problems with Suhle's counts, these quantities add up to:

149	294	<i>leeuwengroten</i>	(443)
112	1	<i>gros tournois</i>	(113)
<u>6</u>	<u>22</u>	<i>other groten types</i>	(28)
267	317		(584)

On pp. 86-87, Suhle provides a table listing all of the coins in the hoard <sup>[25]</sup>:

Im Fund von Schoo bei Esens sind also folgende Münzherren vertreten:

Kaiser Ludwig der Bayer 1338—1346 Ecus d'or 2  
Turnosen:

Ludwig IX. von Frankreich	1266—1270	3 Stück	
Philipp III. " "	1270—1285	5 "	
Philipp IV. " "	1285—1314	88 "	1 Br.
Philipp V. " "	1314—1322	3 Stück	
Gerhard VI. von Jülich	1297—1328	1 "	
Wilhelm II. von Berg	1360—1380	1 "	
Florenz V. von Holland	1266—1296	1 "	
Karl IV. von Luxemburg	1346—1356 ?	5 "	
Robert von Bar	1354—1411	4 "	
Walram von Nassau	1370—1393	1 "	
		112 Stück, 1 Br.	

Löwengroschen:

Ludwig von Flandern	1346—1384	2 Stück,	4 Br.
Johanna von Brabant	1355—1383	37 "	64 Br.
Wilhelm I. von Namur	1337—1391	1 "	1 "
Dietrich v. Heinsberg, Graf v. Loos	1336—1361	3 "	
Arnold von Rummen	1331—1364	75 "	142 "
Dietrich Loef von Horn	1343—1390	13 "	19 "
Arnold v. Stein, Herr v. Reckheim	1335— ?	1 "	2 "
Wilhelm v. Jülich, Herr v. Falkenburg	1355—1362	11 "	19 "

Übertrag 143 St. 251 Br.

Wilhelm V. von Holland	1346—1351	1 "	1 "
Reinold II. von Geldern	1326—1343		2 "
Reinold III. von Koevorden	1376—1402	1 "	2 "
Bischof Peter IV. von Cambrai	1349—1368	4 "	31 "
Walram v. Luxemburg, Herr v. Serain	1304—1353		3 "
Karl von Blois, Herzog von Bretagne	1341—1364		1 "
		149 St. 291 Br.	

Andere Groschensorten:

Johanna von Brabant	1355—1383	4 Stück,	9 Br.
Bischof Engelbert von Lüttich	1345—1364	2 "	4 "
Bischof Johann von Lüttich	1364—1378		8 "
Arnold von Stein	?		1 "
		6 St. 22 Br.	

*Suhle pp. 86-87*

### Errata:

- On p. 78, Suhle lists 2 + 0 for Looz (not 3 + 0).
- On p. 80, Suhle says 111 *gros tournois* (+1 fragment), not 112 + 1
- On p. 80, Suhle lists 0 + 1 for Gelre (not 0 + 2).
- On p. 82, Suhle lists 3 + 31 for Cambrai (not 4 + 31).
- On p. 83, Suhle lists 0 + 4 for Serain (not 0 + 3).
- Holland 1 + 1 not listed in Suhle's detailed descriptions.
- On P. 86, Suhle lists 75 Rummen coins and 142 fragments (not 76 + 141).
- Suhle does not separate the two Rekem types (i.e. two item numbers).

On p. 52, Berghaus lists the coins of the Schoo Hoard <sup>[2]</sup>, based on Suhle's report:

Teil der Silbermünzen wurde beim Reinigen zerstört. Aufgenommen und veröffentlicht (Ganze + fragmentarische Stücke):

Gold	
Antwerpen, Ludwig der Bayer 1338—1347, Goldener Schild. Kull 6ff.	2
Silber	
Turnosen	
Frankreich, Ludwig IX. 1226—1270. Lafaurie 198.	3+ 0
—, Philipp III. 1270—1285. Lafaurie 204.	5+ 0
—, Philipp IV. 1285—1314. Laf. 217 (70+1), 218 (17), 219 (1).	88+ 1
—, Philipp V. 1314—1322. Laf. 242.	3+ 0
Berg, Wilhelm II. 1360—1380. Noss 70 g.	1+ 0
Nassau, Walram 1370—1393. Isenbeck 6 var.	1+ 0
Unbest. rheinische Münzstätte. Fd. Schoo 58.	1+ 0
Holland, Florenz 1266—1296, v. d. Ch. III, 2.	1+ 0
Luxemburg, Karl IV. 1346—1356. Schoo 61.	5+ 0
Bar, Robert 1354—1411. Schoo 62.	4+ 0
Groschen	
Geldern, Reinald III. 1343—1371. Löwengroot. v. d. Ch. III, 1.	0+ 1
* Koevorden, Reinald III. 1376—1402. Löwengroot. Schoo 78. <sup>1)</sup>	1+ 1
* —, Reinald III. 1376—1402. Löwengroot v. Groningen. Schoo 79.	1+ 0
Brabant, Johanna 1355—1383. Löwengroot v. Vilvorde. de W. 395.	37+ 64
—, Johanna. Groschen v. Vilvorde. de W. 396/397.	4+ 9
Flandern, Ludwig 1346—1384. Löwengroot. Gaillard 221 var.	2+ 4
Namur, Wilhelm I. 1337—1391. Löwengroot v. Bouvignes.	
Chalon 156.	1+ 0
—, Wilhelm I. Löwengroot v. Namur. Chalon 105/106.	1+ 0
Falkenburg, Wilhelm 1357—1361. Löwengroot. Men. 11.	11+ 19
Horn, Dietrich—Loef 1358—1390. Löwengroot von Wessem.	
v. d. Ch. XXX, 4.	1+ 0
—, Dietrich—Loef. Löwengroot von Weert. v. d. Ch. XXII, 3	
(10+17) u. XXX, 2 (2+2).	12+ 19
Loos, Dietrich 1336—1361. Löwengroot. v. d. Ch. XXII, 4.	2+ 0
Reckheim, Arnold 1335 —. Löwengroot. Schoo 75.	1+ 2
Rummen, Arnold 1331—1364. Löwengroot. v. d. Ch. XXIII, 4 (69+139),	
XXIII, 5 (6+2), Schoo 71 (1).	76+141
Serain, Walram II./III. 1304—1353 bzw. 1371—1415. Löwengroot.	
P.d.A. 6909.	0+ 4
Stein, Arnold. Groschen. Schoo 88.	0+ 1
Lüttich, Engelbert 1345—1364. Groschen. Ch. 248.	2+ 4
—, Johann 1364—1378. Groschen. Ch. 255/256.	0+ 8
Cambrai, Peter IV. 1349—1368. Löwengroot. Robert 1 (1+31,	
3 (1), Schoo 81 (1).	3+ 31
Bretagne, Karl 1341—1364. Löwengroot. P.d'A. 493.	0+ 1
Unbestimmte Löwengroots	0+ 3
Unbestimmter Münzbruch: 71,7 g.	
A. Suhle, Der Groschenfund von Schoo bei Esens. ZfN 41, 1931, S. 67—91. Schulchronik in Neugaude.	

<sup>1)</sup> Regierungszeit nach Suhle.

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### Berghaus p. 52

#### Errata:

- The reference Gaillard 221 under Flanders (*Flandern*) is incorrect (Gaillard 219).
- The reference Chalon 156 under Namur is incorrect (Chalon —).
- The reference Chalon 105 under Namur is incorrect (Chalon 106 only)
- Berghaus lists this Namur piece (C. 106) as a “coin” instead of the “fragment” that it is (and was listed as such by Suhle).
- The *leuwengroot* + fragment of Holland are not listed.
- Berghaus does not separate the two Rekem types.

## Description of the Leeuwengroot

The obverse of the coins shows a rampant lion left, surrounded by a clockwise legend that begins with an initial cross, followed by the word *MONETA* (*coin*). Around this is a border of 1 small lion and 11 leaves, each itself enclosed in a partial circle\*. Between the legend and the outer border is a ring of oblong pellets (the “pearl ring”). The obverse legends of older *leeuwengroot* types begin with an eagle in place of a cross, e.g. **Schoo 67** (Namur).

The reverse has an outer and an inner legend. The central type is a medium cross, the arms of which break into the inner legend. The legends are separated by a “pearl ring” of oblong pellets. There is another “pearl ring” beneath the inner legend. (There are rings of pellets along the outer edges of both faces as well, but these are often not visible on the coins themselves.)

Some numismatists (including Suhle) prefer to view the lion side as the reverse and the cross side as the obverse, while we take the opposite view. The approximate diameter of a *leeuwengroot* is 27-28 mm.

With a few noted exceptions, the reverse, outer legend is the same for most of the *leeuwengroten* in the hoard:

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

BeNeDICTVm SIT NOMEn DomiNI NostRI IHsV CHRIsTi  
*Blessed be the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ*

Outer legends from some of the smaller mints, such as those found in the Schoo Hoard (e.g. Horne), have Roman N's in place of some of the Lombardic **Ń**'s:

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

In Flanders, and in some other regions as well, the original outer legend of c. 1337-1339 read:

BNDICTV SIT NOME DNI **DEI** NRI IHV XPI

The word **DEI** disappeared from the Flemish *leeuwengroten*, never to return, and most other regions followed suit. One of the Schoo Hoard, Horne types, struck long after 1339, has a legend containing the word **DEI** (**Suhle 74**), which is noteworthy, as does the rare Groningen type (**Suhle 79**).

\* This is the border of all of the Schoo *leeuwengroten* except some of the Horne Coins (see p. 49) and possibly some of the Cambrai coins (see p. 93). Many of the older *leeuwengroot* types

of several regions have outer borders of 12 leaves and no lion, and other variations are also known (not present in the Schoo Hoard).

When a *leeuwengroot* is properly oriented (with the initial cross of the reverse, outer legend at the top, (i.e. 12:00), then the reverse, inner legend of a *leeuwengroot* is read from quadrant 2 onwards, following the original Flemish coins, which read : LVD OVI CꝛCO MES (*Louis, count*).



*The reverse of a Flemish leeuwengroot of Louis of Nevers (1322-1346)  
(late issue, no DEI in the outer legend)  
Private collection; photo by the author. NOT from the Schoo Hoard.*

The *leeuwengroten* coins of the Schoo Hoard help drive home the point that it is vital that researchers properly report the forms of the letters used for the legends on the coins. These letter forms cannot be ignored if one has any hope of accuracy (and of being useful to subsequent researchers):

- E**      C or E ?
- C**      C or E ?
- Q**      N (n) or D ?
- T**      T
- C'**     C' or G ?

(Those readers who think that they “know” and are already trying to answer these questions are strongly advised to wait until they have read this entire report.)

The obverse *leeuwengroot* legend differs from region to region, as does the reverse, inner legend. In fact, the farther one ventures from Flanders, so to speak, the more deviation from the *Flemish Model* is found in the specific details of the coins. The Schoo Hoard contained very few Flemish *leeuwengroten*, but many Brabant *leeuwengroten*, as well as a large number

of *leeuwengroten* from smaller regions, where one might expect to find coins with characteristics that are different from those of Flanders, e.g. a central lion with a double tail (Serain). In Cambrai, a border of 11 leaves and an eagle was used; sometimes even a border of 12 eagles (a type not present in the Schoo Hoard, for as far as we know). In Horne, an outer border of a set of 3 crescents, plus 11 lions was sometimes used (**Schoo 74**). There are even *leeuwengroten* known with a completely different reverse, outer legend (not present in the Schoo Hoard).

On p. 76 of his report, Suhle gives an example of the typical reverse outer legend, and states that on many of the Schoo coins this legend is unreadable, due to breakage and/or a general illegibility of this area of the coins <sup>[25]</sup>. Like almost all researchers reporting on this type of coin, he does not report the outer legends in detail for any specific coins, although variations are clearly present (Namur, Guelders, Rummen, Horne, etc.) and, as we now know, relevant (e.g. the use of **N** or **Ń**).

### The ‘Rules’ Used by Imitators of *Leeuwengroten*

In many (most?) of the regions that imitated the Flemish and Brabançon *leeuwengroten*, a definite effort was made to make the imitations look as much like the originals as possible. For example, the use of a round **O** and gothic **Ń** in MONETA on the obverse was almost universal (almost). The point was to make a largely illiterate public feel confident with the coins by making them look as much like the Flemish *leeuwengroten* as possible. This sort of thing was “standard practice” in the Middle Ages. The copying often meant creating reverse, inner legends that are awkward (or even nonsensical) in order to make them look like the originals from Flanders (or Brabant).

The first ‘rule’ (i.e. guideline) employed is *First O round, second O long*. On the Flemish (and Brabançon) coins, the first **O** on either face is round, the second is long (LVD **O**VI CC**O** MES and **IO** DVX **LOT** BRAB). (On the obverse of the Flanders and Brabant coins, there is no second **O** to be a long **O**, but the first is indeed round.)

The second ‘rule’ is *Two O’s by the cross arms*. The Brabant coins copy the Flemish originals, and in order to make this work out, the Brabant coin legends are actually ODV XLO TBR ABI instead of IOD VXL OTB RAB (i.e. IO DVX LOT BRAB).



Note that on the Bordeaux coin, the *First O round, second O long* ‘rule’ has not been followed (2 long O’s). But an unusual EDOVARDOS (instead of the usual EDWARDVS) has been used, in order to get the ‘required’ two O’s in (and in the right positions).

Note as well that on the Brabant and Bordeaux coins, and many other *leeuwengroot* types, the inner legends do not really begin in the same place as the Flemish original. It would have been more logical for the Bordeaux coin (for example) to read EDO VAR DOS REX instead of the odd and confusing XED OVA RDO SRE. But getting the O’s in the “correct” places was far more important. The public could not read the legend anyway, but apparently they looked for the two O’s, because almost every realm striking *leeuwengroten* made a serious effort to arrange (manipulate) the legends in this manner. They must have been doing this for a reason.

In the illustration above, we have rotated the Brabant coin 90° clockwise to emphasize the positioning of the O’s. If the initial cross of the outer legend is at the top, the two O’s are not in the “correct” places.

It would seem that in Brabant, as in Bordeaux, a problem had arisen, because there had to be two O’s by the central cross arms, like the Flemish coins, but the Duke of Brabant’s name also had to be at the “beginning” of the legend in quadrant 2, or as near to it as possible. Presumably, it would not do to have the duke’s name somewhere in the middle of the coin legend, instead of at the start (in the place of honor). At the same time, the public’s search for 2 O’s on the reverse had to be satisfied.

It appears that the compromise that was reached was to put the duke’s name in quadrant 1, “just before” the “beginning” (in quadrant 2), and to move the position of the pair of O’s from underneath the central cross to the right side of it. Apparently where the O’s were (in relation to the outer legend) was unimportant; the general public was not reading the outer legend anyway. All that was important was that there were two O’s next to the cross arms... somewhere. This practice was copied in several other regions (such as the aforementioned Bordeaux, where the legend begins “late” in quadrant 2).

This all seems like such a minor point; if the public was not reading the outer legend anyway, when they looked for the two O’s on the coins, they would be holding the Brabant coins “wrong”, with the initial cross off to the right side at 3:00, and the duke’s name would still end up “lower down” on the coin. And yet, technically, the duke’s name stood at the top of the coin, beginning about 11:00, just left of the central cross, in quadrant 1.

Coins were not just a means of currency, they were also propaganda tools, and medieval nobles had appearances that had to be kept up. And so, instead of IO D – VX L – OT B – RAB (beginning in quadrant 2, but O’s not by the cross arms) or AB I – O DV – X LO – T BR (beginning in quadrant 2, O’s by the cross arms, but ‘John’ “too far down” the legend), the Brabant legends read: I – O DV – X LO – T BR – AB (beginning at the “end” of quadrant 1, but with ‘John’ pretty much “at the beginning” of the legend, and a pair of O’s by the central cross arms... somewhere, anyway).

Note that we have been speaking of the Brabant coins of John III (1312-1355) here. But none of these coins were reported by Suhle as having been present in the Schoon Hoard, only those of his daughter Johanna (1355-1406). The basic point remains valid, however; instead of an IO DVX LOT BRAB legend, Johanna’s coins have an IO DVC LOT BRAB legend, divided in the same way as on the coins of her father.

This is the same problem encountered on the Bordeaux coins of king Edward III of England, some of which ended up the odd XED OVA RDO SRE legend discussed above (i.e. EDOVARDOS REX.).

Even more similarity with the Flemish or Brabançon originals could be achieved with an “imitation” *leeuwengroot* by ensuring that part of the reverse legend read OVI (following the Flemish coins) or ODV (after the Brabançon coins), or something as close as possible to these. In the more eastern regions, farther from Flanders, it appears to have been the *leeuwengroten* of Brabant that were imitated by the smaller lordships, and so most of these will have ODV (or something similar) on the reverse, or rather: **○’\*DV** (or something similar).

This ODV can be found on both types of Rekem *leeuwengroten* as well as on the VIERD / THEO coins of Horne. On the Horne VIERD / DIRIC coins it was ODI, which may indicate that this type is an earlier issue, which was later replaced by the version which employed a legend that provided the “correct” ODV, like the Brabant model. (The general trend seems to be that the imitation legends moved closer to the original Brabant (or Flanders) legends over time.)

ODV is also found on the Pietersheim and the unassigned MONETA LIRAN (?) *leeuwengroten*, and a few other types as well (all not present in the Schoo Hoard). In Looz, the ODV became ORV, in Valkenburg it became OMV, OLV, OMI (found in the Schoo Hoard; see Looz and Valkenburg respectively, below).

It must be pointed out that these manipulations of the legends to mirror the Flemish or Brabançon originals may have been the “rule”, but there are a great many known exceptions as well. Some minting lords did not seem to bother much with imitative legends, e.g. the *leeuwengroten* of Serain or Groningen, or any number of specific types from regions that at other times **did** employ such legend manipulations as described above.

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## The Schoo Hoard Catalog

The following catalog of the Schoo Hoard *leeuwengroten* is based upon Suhle’s report (ref. 25), with additions and corrections made where necessary, and also based upon the actual Schoo coins remaining in the Bode Museum in Berlin, which we viewed in 2018.

To be perfectly frank, before viewing the coins in Berlin ourselves, we were highly skeptical of Suhle’s descriptions of some of the more unusual *leeuwengroten* in the hoard (e.g. the MONETA BVUINC’ coin of Namur, **Schoo 66**). As it turns out, Suhle’s descriptions are, in fact, remarkably accurate (minor errors aside). His counts go off here and there, but his coin descriptions are almost “spot on” in many cases. Suhle was clearly paying attention to what he was doing.

As previously mentioned, Suhle (inconsistently) listed broken coins as “fragments” (*Bruchstücke*), even when the coins are only slightly damaged. In other cases, Suhle listed damaged coins as “coins”, not “fragments”. This may affect our ability to correctly match the weights of the known coins to those listed by Suhle, since he only occasionally listed the weights of “fragments”.

We attempted to match up the weights of the coins we saw in Berlin to those listed in Suhle’s report. In many cases this was indeed possible (keeping in mind a reasonable +/- 0.01 gram margin of error), and the weights of many coins “matched up” with Suhle’s report. In other cases, some broken coins were lighter than those listed by Suhle, but it is of course

possible that they were damaged (and thus lightened) subsequent to Suhle's recording of the weights.

Some of the coins we viewed displayed a wider than 0.01 g. difference between the coin and the weight noted by Suhle, i.e. the Berlin coins are heavier than those listed by Suhle. Some of the differences were fairly large, leaving us to wonder how this is possible: are some of the Berlin coins not really from the Schoo Hoard after all? (We did find at least one *leeuwengroot* in the Berlin collection, mismarked as having come from the Schoo Hoard, that turned out to have come from the Wittmund Hoard (1858).) Based upon the rest of his work, we have no reason to doubt that the weights given by Suhle are correct, although errors on his part cannot be ruled out completely.

The Schoo Hoard coins were listed by Suhle in the following order, to which we have also adhered in the current report:

1-63	<i>gros tournois</i>
64	Flanders
65	Brabant
66-67	Namur
—	Holland [?]
68	Looz
69-71	Rummen
72-74	Horne
75	Rekem [should have been two numbers]
76	Valkenburg (Fauquemont)
77	Guelders
78-79	Coevorden (incl. Groningen)
80-82	Cambrai
83	Serain
84	Brittany
85-88	other <i>grotten</i> types

The **Rekem** coins are of two different types and should have been assigned two item numbers, not just one. The **Holland** coins (if there ever were any) were only listed by Suhle in his table on p. 87, but not in his detailed descriptions in the main text, and therefore they have no item number.

## CATALOG of COINS:

(Item numbers refer to those used by Suhle <sup>[25]</sup>.)

The regions are listed here in the same order in which they were listed by Suhle.)

### County of Flanders: 2 coins, 4 fragments [2 coins in Berlin]

Louis II of Mâle, Count of Flanders (1346-1384)

Despite only a tiny representation in the Schoo Hoard, *leeuwengroten* from Flanders are the most common type seen today. Suhle refers the reader to Gaillard 221 (“*zu 221*”) for these coins, but the correct reference number is G. 219. Gaillard 221 is a medieval counterfeit with two obverses (lions). It seems extremely unlikely that Suhle meant to indicate that this type of counterfeit was present in the Schoo Hoard. (Berghaus repeats the error.)

Suhle indicates a pellet after FLAND’ and crossbars to both A’s. No indication is given of the forms of the L’s, O’s, M’s, T’s or C’s, but **Ⓝ** is given for MONETA and **Ⓝ** for FLAND. Neither the form of the leaf after MONETA, nor the direction the leaf-stem is specified (the mark after MONETA is described as “a leaf”). We can only assume that the T’s were annuleted, like all Flemish *leeuwengroten*.

#### **Suhle Item 64.**

“to Gaillard 221”

[Gaillard 219; Vanhoudt 2596]

2.88 g. ✓

2.67 g.

+ 4 fragments (including 1 cut half *groot*)

[2.73 g.] ✓

minted c. 1355 - 1358

2.88 g.

• ✠ MONETA ✠ FLAND’

LVD OVI ⓃDO MES

✠ B[ⓃDICTV : SIT :] ⓃOMES : [DNI : NRI : IHV] : XPI

2.73 g.

• ✠ MONETA ✠ FLAND’

LVD OVI ⓃDO MES

[✠ B]ⓃDICTV : [SI]T : ⓃOMES : DNI : NRI : IHV : X[PI]

Ludwig von Mâle, Graf von Flandern 1346—1384.  
64. LVD|OVI|C'×CO|MES —+MONETA dreiteiliges Blatt am  
Stil FLAND'. 2 St. = 2,67; 2,88 g. 4 Bruchst. (davon  
1 zerschnittene Hälfte).  
Serrure S. 25 Fig. 33; Gaillard, Recherches sur les monnaies  
des comtes de Flandre 1857 zu No. 221, S. 164.

*Suhle p. 77*<sup>[25]</sup>

### **Current status:**

There are 2 Flemish *leeuwengroten* in Berlin that are said to be from the Schoo Hoard. 2.88 g. (Louis of Male, Issue V, 'footless' N sub-group) and 2.73 g. (slightly broken), also Louis of Male, Issue V ('refined style' sub-group?). Issue V ran c. 1355 - 1358.

The weight of first of these matches a coin listed by Suhle, the other does not. It seems highly unlikely that the 2.73 g. Berlin coin could be the coin Suhle listed at 2.67 g. (whereabouts currently unknown); the 2.73 g. coin is either one of the fragments listed by Suhle (no weight reported), or it is not from the Schoo Hoard at all.

The other Flanders fragments listed by Suhle are not in Berlin at this time.

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**Duchy of Brabant: 37 coins, 64 fragments (101 coins total)** (see Appendix for weights)  
**[14 coins in Berlin]**

Johanna (Jeanne), Duchess of Brabant (1355-1406)  
(and Wenceslas, Duke of Brabant 1355-1383)

### **Suhle Item 65.**

cites De Witte 395; V.d. Chijs (Brabant) XII, 9; R. Serrure 38; Wittmund [Dannenberg] 98;  
Byvanck [v. Frauendorfer] 2.  
[Vanhoudt G 295]

Johanna (und Wenceslaus) von Brabant  
1355—1383 in Vilvorde.

65. | O · DV | Q · LO | T · BR | AB · × — + MONETA Blatt FILFD'  
37 St. = 1,67; 1,7; 2,05; 2,09; 2,13; 2,15; 2,18 (2); 2,22;  
2,25; 2,28; 2,37; 2,4 (2); 2,41; 2,46 (2); 2,48; 2,5; 2,52;  
2,53; 2,57; 2,6; 2,62 (2); 2,65; 2,68; 2,69; 2,72 (2); 2,75;  
2,84; 2,89; 2,93; 2,95; 3,02 (2) g; 64 Bruchst. (ausgebr. u.  
zerbr. St.).

Wittmund No. 98; Byvank No. 2; Serrure S. 27 Fig. 38;  
de Witte, Histoire monétaire des comtes de Louvain, ducs  
de Brabant I 1894 Nr. 395; v. d. Chijs, Brabant S. 115 u.  
Taf. XII 9. De Witte legt diese Münze in die Zeit der  
Regierung Johannas' und Wenceslaus', obwohl sich nur der  
Name der ersteren auf jener befindet, da die uns bekannten  
Rechnungen der Münze in Vilvorde keine Löwengroschen aus  
der Zeit der alleinigen Regierung Johannas (1383—1406)  
erwähnen.

*Suhle p. 77* <sup>[25]</sup>

The Schoo Hoard, Brabant coins that we saw in Berlin were as follows:

<i>count</i>	<i>Weight listed by Suhle</i>	<i>Berlin coins</i>
1	<b>3.02</b>	<b>3.03 g.</b>
2	<b>2.89</b>	<b>2.88 g.</b>
3	<b>2.84</b>	<b>2.83 g.</b>
4	<b>2.72</b>	<b>2.72 g.</b>
5	<b>2.68</b>	<b>2.67 g.</b>
6	<b>2.48</b>	<b>2.47 g.</b> tiny chip
7	<b>2.46</b>	<b>2.45 g.</b>
8	<b>2.40</b>	<b>2.39 g.</b>
9	<b>2.13</b>	<b>2.13 g.</b>
10	<b>2.09</b>	<b>2.10 g.</b> small piece missing
11		<b>2.20 g.</b> small piece missing
12		<b>1.97 g.</b> small piece missing
13		<b>1.90 g.</b> slightly broken
14		<b>1.00 g.</b> cut half

Table 1

Most of the weights are “off” by an acceptable 0.01 g. We cannot be 100% certain that the specific Berlin coins are the same ones noted by Suhle; all we have are the coins in Berlin and Suhle’s weight list (which does not include the “fragments”), to match up with one another as best we can. 87 Brabant coins are missing.

The legends read:

**MONETA FILForDensis**  
**IOhanna DVCissa LOThier BRABantiae**

*Coin of Vilvoorde*  
*Joanna, Duchess of Lothier, Brabant*

Lothier is Lower Lorraine (Lower Lotharingia), or Neder-Lotharingen.

Suhle points out that Wenceslas' name does not actually appear on the coins. Suhle does not indicate the presence of a pellet left of the cross, but this pellet is indeed present on the Schoo Hoard coins currently in Berlin.

Suhle gives crossbars to both **A**'s, but no indication is given of the forms of the **L**'s, **O**'s or **M**'s, although **Ð** is given for **MONETA**. He carefully describes the pellets and **x** stop of the reverse, inner legend; his transcription seems to be correct (basically). Suhle gives an apostrophe after every word of the reverse, inner legend, but on many of the Schoo coins, the only apostrophe comes after **DVC** (and no other word).

Suhle gives a fork-stemmed **T** for **LOT**, but on coins of this type, this **T** is no different than the **T** of **MONETA** – both are annuleted: **Ŧ**. Suhle gives a Lombardic **C** for **DVC**. No indication is given of the leaf after **MONETA**, nor the direction the leaf-stem, the mark is described simply as a leaf. Suhle does not indicate any pellet **L**'s in **FILFD** or **LOT** (present on some of the Schoo coins).

The legends on the coins read (A):

• ✠ **MONETA + FILFD'**  
**○•DV C'•LO Ŧ•BR AB•I**  
**✠ BNDICTV : SIT : NOMB : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI**

2.10 g. / 2.13 g. / 2.39 g. / 2.47 g. / 2.72 g. / 2.83g. ? / 3.03 g.  
(normal **L**'s, and apostrophes absent)

or (B):

• ✠ **MONETA + FILFD'**  
**○'•DV C'•LO Ŧ'•BR AB'•I**

2.88 g.  
(normal **L**'s, and apostrophes present)

or (C):

• ✠ **MONETA + FILFD'**  
**○•DV C'•**L**O Ŧ•BR AB•I**

2.20 g. / 2.67 g. ?  
(pellet **L**'s, and apostrophes absent)

or (D):

• ❖ MONETA + FILFD'  
O'DV C' \* LIO T' BR AB' \* I

1.90 g. / 1.97 g. ? / 2.45 g. ?  
(pellet L's, and apostrophes present)

**Indeterminate coin:** 1.00 g. (cut half)

(Question marks indicate semi-illegible coins.)

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**Current status:**

There are currently 14 Brabant, FILFD *leeuwengroten* (whole or broken) in the Berlin collection. Only 1 coin (2.13 g.) matches a weight listed by Suhle, the others are all “off” by 0.01 g. One coin is “off” by 0.02 g.

It is difficult to determine if Suhle listed slightly broken coins as fragments or not. It is also not possible to say if the slight chipping on some of the Brabant coins occurred before or after Suhle saw the coins (bearing in mind the hoard's trip to Russia and back). One of the coins present (1.00 g.) is a cut half *groot* (i.e. a *groot* cut in half).

Unmentioned by Suhle, at least 2 of the coins have pellet L's: **II** (2.20 g. and 1.97 g. ). Another 2 may have pellet L's as well, but they are encrusted and illegible. As expected, the T's in MONETA and LOT are annuletted on all of the legible coins.

Something like +/- 27 coins and +/- 60 “fragments” of Schoo Hoard, Brabant *leeuwengroten* listed by Suhle are unaccounted for at this time.

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**County of Namur: 1 coin, 1 fragment**  
William I, Count of Namur (1337-1389)

Bouvignes?

**Suhle Item 66.**

❖ MONETA ❖ BVUING [sic]  
NAM ORI BDO MES [sic]

2.53 g. ✓  
 11♣/1♣ border (?)



Namur / 2.53 g.  
 Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85

✠ MONETA ✠ BVUINC  
 N M ORI E: O MES  
 ✠ BNDICT[...M]E: DNI: ORI: IHV ✠ PI

What Suhle described was a unique and otherwise unpublished type of *leeuwengroot*. Before seeing the piece, we were highly skeptical that Suhle had described it properly, and we expected a fairly illegible coin. Instead, we were delightfully surprised (stunned) to find a magnificent, legible coin, a unique *leeuwengroot* that no researcher has seen for over 80 years, and of which no photograph had ever been published (before our own ref. 30).

The uppermost item in the obverse border is not completely legible, but appears to be a lion, not a leaf (i.e. an 11♣/1♣ border).

Suhle does not note the barless A's, and gives small x's after MONETA instead of the correct stars.

The final letter in the obverse legend is clearly a C followed by a wedge apostrophe, but whether this combination was intended as C' or as G is difficult to say; Suhle interpreted the legend as BVUING, but it might be BVUINC'. Presumably, the word was intended to be read as {the Latin equivalent of} *Bouvignes*.

The initial eagle in the obverse legend indicates that this piece is much older than most of the other *leeuwengroten*, perhaps the oldest in the hoard.

The (retrograde) Roman N in DNI on the reverse is unusual.

Suhle gives “zu Chalon 156” (border: 12♣, GVILLEM reverse), as a reference, probably because it is another Bouvignes coin. But a better reference might have been “zu Chalon 159” (border: 11♣/1♣, NAMOURC reverse).

**Suhle Item 67.**

cites Chalon 105/106 [sic]

Cut half (“Hälfte”)

[1.05 g.] ✓

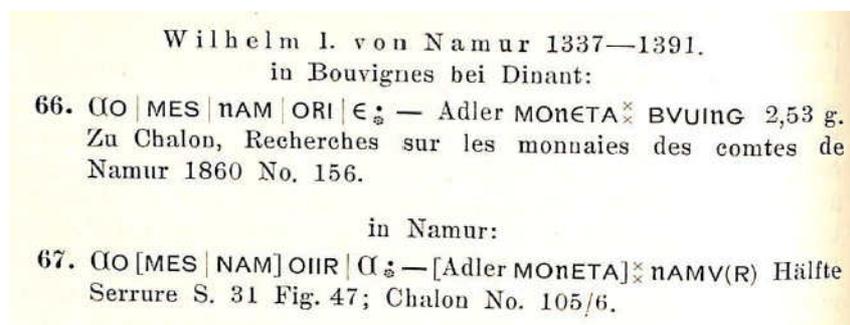
Suhle (p. 78):

[♣ MONETA] ✕ BVUINC[R] [sic]  
 [NAM] OIR C:CO [MES] [sic]

This type of coin is known to exist (Chalon 106 but not 105), albeit with a slightly different legend that that given by Suhle:

[♣ MONET] BVUINC ✕ BVUINC[R]  
 [NAM] OIR C:CO [MES]

The initial eagle in the obverse legend of the BVUINC’ piece from Namur (**Suhle 66**) indicates that it is the oldest *leeuwengroot* present in the hoard (for as far as we know, given the large number of fragments that were also found, but which we have not seen). It was most likely struck some time before 1346. The NAMVR fragment (**Suhle 67**) may have had an initial eagle as well, but it has been cut in half (probably in the 14<sup>th</sup> century) and the legend is no longer intact.



*Suhle p. 78* <sup>[25]</sup>

**Current status:**

Both of the Namur coins listed by Suhle (BVUINC' and NAMVR) can currently be found in the Bode Museum collection in Berlin.

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**County of Holland: 1 coin, 1 fragment**

William V, Count of Holland and Zeeland (1346-1351) *sic* [c. 1350-1389]

**Suhle Item — .**

Suhle lists 1 coin and 1 fragment from Holland in his table on p. 87, but for some reason, he neither describes the coins in detail, nor gives the weights on the preceding pages with the other detailed text descriptions (which means the Holland coins have no item number). We assume that this was merely an oversight on Suhle's part. Berghaus, who seems to have been working from Suhle's detailed (text) list, does not mention the Holland *leeuwengroot* (nor the fragment thereof) anywhere in his report.

The alternative, that there never were any Holland coins in the hoard, seems a less likely (but still possible) option. From what we can see, it appears that Suhle was a good researcher, despite his various omissions and inaccuracies. It seems far more probable that he saw a Holland coin (or two) and subsequently forgot to describe them in the main text, than he never saw any such coin(s) but still listed them on p. 87 (for reasons unknown). It is also possible that at some point, Suhle decided that 2 of the 3 indeterminate *leeuwengroten* that he mentioned on p. 84 were in fact (?) from Holland. Another possibility is that Suhle made his table (pp. 86-87), including what he thought were Holland coins, but subsequently changed this determination while forgetting to change the table.

In any case, something went wrong, and we can no longer be sure whether or not there were any Holland *leeuwengroten* in the Schoo Hoard.

**Current status:**

There is no sign of any Holland *leeuwengroten* from the Schoo Hoard in Berlin. There are, however, 6 Holland *leeuwengroten* of William V in the general collection of the Bode Museum. Of these, 1 might be a deceptive imitation, 4 are from the Grote collection (1879), and 1 is from the Dannenberg collection (1870) (see ref. 32). None of them are damaged enough to have become unidentifiable.

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**County of Looz: 2 coins (p. 78) or 3 coins (p. 86)**

Diederick (Dirk) of Heinsberg (1336-1361)

**Suhle Item 68.**

cites v.d. Chijs XXII, 4 (Leenen-Brabant); R. Serrure 39; Menadier (Jülich) n° 16 (ZFN XXX)

2.76 g. ✓

2.57 g. ✓

11♣/1♣ border

Dietrich von Heinsberg, Graf von Loos<sup>1)</sup> 1336—1361.

68. T<sup>h</sup>E | ORV | C'×C<sup>o</sup> | MES — + MONETA Blatt LOSEN<sup>2)</sup>.

2 St. = 2,57; 2,76 g.

Serrure S. 28 Fig. 39; v. d. Chijs, Leenen van de Hertogdommen Brabant en Limburg S. 241 n. Pl. 22,4; Menadier, Die M. d. Jülicher Dynastengeschlechter, in Z. f. N. XXX S. 435 No. 16.

*Suhle p. 78* <sup>[25]</sup>

*Leeuwengroten* from Looz are quite rare, and known from only a few specimens. Suhle correctly indicates a pellet after LOSEN, but does not indicate the forms of the A's, O's, L's, or T's. Suhle gives a Lombardic C for COMES (only), but both C's are the same on the coins. The legends read:

• ✠ MONETA ✠ LOSC<sup>o</sup>  
T<sup>h</sup>E ORV C'×C<sup>o</sup> MES

The obverse legend has always been transcribed by previous authors as MONETA LOSEN, which may well be correct, but the letter after the S is not the same as the letter after the N of MONETA (E, or rather, **Θ**), nor is it the same as the C's on the reverse. We do not know if the **Θ** letter was intended to be read as an E or a C; this may be another case of intentionally using a different form for the second instance of a letter (like the **o** / **o**) or the **N** / **Ń** sometimes seen on medieval coins.

All of the long O's (including those of the outer legend) are the 'keyhole' type.



*Looz / 2.57 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*



*Looz / 2.76 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

**Current status:**

On p. 78, Suhle reports 2 coins, on p. 86 he says 3 coins. Either both of the specimens reported by Suhle can be found in the Bode Museum collection (p. 78), or 1 of the 3 is unaccounted for (p. 86).

### **Lordship of Rummen: 217 coins and/or fragments**

Arnold of Oreye, Lord of Rummen (1331-1365)

At this point in his report (Rummen), Suhle becomes very inconsistent, listing several broken coins and providing their weights, which he did not do for the broken coins of other regions. He refers to coins with pieces broken off, and to fragmented coins (“*ausgebrochene oder zergerbrochene Stücke*”) as well as to cut halves (“*zerschnittene Hälften*”). For the most part in his report, Suhle refers to broken coins as “fragments” (*Bruchstücke*). Under Rummen, however, the distinction between Suhle’s “coins” and his “fragments” becomes even more blurred, and his “75 coins + 142 fragments” cannot be taken very literally.

Suhle causes a bit of confusion by listing the weight of one Rummen coin, cut in half, under the 70 complete coins of his **Item 69** (p. 78, 1.07 grams), while on p. 86 he lists this same half-coin as a fragment:

on p. 78: 76 coins and 141 fragments (217 in total)

on p. 86: 75 coins and 142 fragments (217 in total)

Suhle’s list of 70 “complete” RUMEN coins (p. 78) contains 6 broken coins (i.e. fragments), thus: 64 coins, 6 fragments, and 138 more fragments:

64 coins

6 fragments

138 fragments

1 coin (fragment) – **Suhle Item 71** (RUMEN but with ORNO)

= 209 RUMEN coins / fragments

plus

8 FRAND coins / fragments (**Suhle Item 70**)

= **217 Rummen coins / fragments in total**

Of these, only 45 coins are present in Berlin at the current time.

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### **Rummen *Leeuwengroten***

There are two main types of Rummen *leeuwengroot*: the MONETA RUMEN type and the MONETA FRAND type. Under both of these types are found a surprising number of sub-types, with variations in the interpunctuation of the legends, and use of the **N** or **Ń** in the outer legend (RUMEN type only), and the forms of the **T** and **A** in MONETA. (See ref. 33.)

It is sometimes difficult to determine if a known variant represents a “new sub-type” or not. A given specimen may match a given sub-type completely... except for one illegible letter, which makes complete determination impossible. More often than not, the next coin inspected

will also match said sub-type completely... except for one illegible letter (which will be a different letter than the previous coin), and so on. The Schoo Hoard has a great many such Rummen coins that probably belong to one sub-type or another, but one or two important, unreadable letters keep us from being certain.

Many a previous researcher has made a decision one way or the other, assigning a coin to a type or sub-type, often without informing the reader that there is any problem at all (many researchers refuse to bracket illegible letters in their legend transcriptions).

Even if the coins are completely legible, a slight difference between them may be present, such as the presence or absence of an apostrophe (which is usually an indication of an abbreviated word, but is often not a minting mark *per se*). If two coins have all the same pellets (or other interpunction), but one coin has an apostrophe and the other does not, are they “two different sub-types”?

The Rummen RUMEN coins were meant to imitate the Brabant *leeuwengroten* of Johanna and Wenceslas, the FRAND type those of Louis of Male in Flanders. This imitation meant more than simply minting the same type of coin; it meant manipulating the legends so that the coin would, at first glance, fool the bearer into thinking that he was holding a coin of Flanders or Brabant (not of Rummen). This copying went far beyond the usual *First O long, second O round* or *Two O's by the cross arms*. On the Rummen coins, some of the letter forms of are rather odd, and were clearly intended to look like other letters altogether, letters that occupied the same positions on the Flanders and Brabant coins. The Rummen Q: **Q** is supposed to resemble a Brabant D, the Rummen N (n): **N** is supposed to resemble a Flanders D, etc. (Note that the legend reads RUMEN, not RVMEN).

See, however, p. 49 for an **important** note on the lettering of the Horne *leeuwengroten*, relevant to the Rummen coins.

Today, the RUMEN coins are far more common than the FRAND coins, and based on the totals in the Schoo Hoard, this may have been true in the 14<sup>th</sup> century as well. *Leeuwengroten* from Rummen are uncommon, but they are far less rare than the market prices would have you believe (note the large number present in the original Schoo find).

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### **Suhle Item 69.**

cites v.d. Chijs XXIII, 4 (Leenen-Braband); R. Serrure 40

MONETA RUMEN

“70 coins, 138 fragments, including cut halves”

### **Current status:**

Of the 208 RUMEN coins reported by Suhle, we saw 42 in Berlin, meaning that 166 coins are currently unaccounted for.

The RUMEN coins that we saw in Berlin were as follows:

<i>count</i>	<i>Weight listed by Suhle</i>	<i>Berlin coins</i>
1	2.90 g.	2.90 g.
2	2.73 g.	2.73 g.
3	2.50 g.	2.50 g.
4	2.49 g.	2.49 g.
5	2.43 g.	2.42 g.
6	2.40 g.	2.40 g. broken
7	2.39 g.	2.39 g.
8	2.37 g.	2.37 g.
9	2.35 g.	2.35 g.
10	2.35 g.	2.34 g.
11	2.31 g.	2.32 g.
12	2.29 g.	2.29 g.
13	2.24 g.	2.25 g.
14	2.21 g.	2.21 g.
15	2.20 g.	2.20 g. A
16	2.20 g.	2.20 g. B
17	2.18 g.	2.17 g.
18	2.15 g.	2.15 g.
19	2.14 g.	2.14 g.
20	2.12 g.	2.12 g.
21	2.08 g.	2.09 g.
22	2.07 g.	2.07 g.
23	2.03 g.	2.02 g.
24	2.00 g.	2.00 g.
25	2.00 g.	1.99 g. damaged
26	1.97 g.	1.98 g.
27	1.96 g.	1.96 g.
28	1.95 g.	1.95 g. A
29	1.95 g.	1.95 g. B
30	1.94 g.	1.94 g.
31	1.94 g.	1.93 g.
32	1.91 g.	1.91 g. broken
33	1.84 g.	1.83 g.
34	1.82 g.	1.81 g.
35	1.80 g.	1.80 g. damaged
36	1.76 g.	1.76 g.
37	1.63 g.	1.63 g.
38	1.59 g.	1.59 g.
39	1.57 g.	(one of the 1.56 g. coins ?)
40		1.71 g. broken
41		1.56 g. A broken
42		1.56 g. B broken

Table 2

With so many Rummen coins missing, we cannot be sure that the coins currently in Berlin are those specifically listed by Suhle; we can only attempt to match the known coins with the list of weights that Suhle provided.

## The RUMEN Coins

Suhle:

• ✠ MONETA † RVMEN' [sic]  
O'QV C&DO MNI ARN [sic]

in fact :

• ✠ MONETA † RUMEN'  
O'QV C&DO MNI ARN

(or something similar; see below)

ARNOldi QvaebeCae DOMiNI  
Arnoldi Quaebecae domini

*Arnold, Lord of Quaebeek*

The Q on these coins has a rather unusual form, rather like a D: **Q**. This is because the legend of this coin was designed to closely (deceptively) imitate that of the Vilvoorde *leeuwengroot* of Johanna of Brabant:

• ✠ MONETA [†] FILFD'  
O'DV C'LO T'BR AB'I

There is {almost?} always a pellet after ARNO and after DOMNI on the RUMEN coins. Suhle gives a Roman N in ARN, but the only Roman N's on the coins are in the outer legend (of some of the sub-types). He does not indicate an x after QVC (always present), nor the forms of the O's. He gives a V in RVMEN, but on this type of coin the letter is a U that looks rather like an I/L (to imitate the *leeuwengroot* of Brabant).

Note that many of the Rummen A's are 'bow' A's: **A**, which is not the same as a 'pellet' A: **A** (some of the Rummen A's are 'normal', i.e. with a flat top bar: **A**). Bear in mind as well that any given pellet **A** or **T** might have been intended by the mint as an annulet **A** or **T** but got "mashed" during striking of the coin. Some A's are clearly barred: **A**, others are not: **A**, many are simply unclear. The reader is asked to pay close attention to the changing forms of the T and A in MONETA, and to the mark after ARNO (or lack thereof).

Suhle abandoned transcribing any outer legends, but on the RUMEN coins, they are important. The earlier (?) coins have Roman N's in the outer legend, while the later (?) coins do not, which is almost certainly significant.

There are numerous variants of the RUMEN type present in the Schoo Hoard. Many of the coins are completely legible in one area but partially or completely illegible in other areas, which makes 100% certainty all but impossible. This leads to situations where one has, for example, a coin that is completely readable except for the area right of the initial cross (is there a pellet present or not?) and another coin that seems to be exactly the same, with a pellet right of the cross, but a completely illegible T and/or A in MONETA. The coins seem to be the same otherwise, and probably are the same, but certainty is impossible. Then, of course, there might be a third ‘matching’ specimen that is legible except for the mark after ARNO, and so on.



*leuwengroten of Rummen  
(photos by the author)*

Both coins shown above have Roman N's in the outer legend. The coin on the left has a clear x after ARNO, but the area after DOMNI is completely illegible. The coin on the right has a clear x after ARNO as well, but also shows a clear pellet after DOMNI. Are these two coins the same as one another? (Assuming for the sake of argument that the obverses are legible and identical.) The answer is “probably”, but we can never be certain, because the coin on the left is (partially) illegible, and we cannot see a pellet after DOMNI.

We have grouped the following Schoo, RUMEN coins together into what we believe are likely to be the proper “sub-types”, insofar as this is possible. Tentatively, we seem to have the following RUMEN sub-types in the Schoo Hoard (based upon the sub-types listed in ref. 33, p. 11):

<i>type</i>	<i>obverse</i>	T	A	<i>reverse</i>	<i>reverse</i>	N / Ω	<i>qty.</i>
A	•+•	T	Α	Ο'×ΩV	MΩI•	N	7
B	•+•	T	Α?	Ο'◦ΩV	MΩI•	N	5
C	•+•	T	Α	Ο'ΩV	MΩI•	N	7
C2	•+•	T	Α	Ο'ΩV	•ΑRΩ	N	1
D	•+•	T	?	Ο'ΩV	MΩI•	N / Ω	2
E	•+•	T	Α	Ο'ΩV	MΩI•	Ω	
E2	•+•	T	Α	•Ο'ΩV	MΩI•	Ω	1
F	•+•	T	Α	Ο'ΩV	MΩI•	Ω	
F2	•+•	T	Α	Ο'ΩV	MΩ'I•	Ω	1
?							11
							42

Table 3

*Nota bene:* the sub-types may or may not be listed in the correct, chronological order in the table above. They have been grouped according to the N's of the outer legend first, and thereafter by their other characteristics (pellets by initial cross, marks after ARNO, T/A of MONETA).

## RUMEN

### 42 coins in Berlin.

Most of the coins in the Schoo Hoard were RUMEN *leeuwengroten* from Rummen. Suhle did not divide the RUMEN coins into sub-types based upon legend variations, he simply listed them all under his n° 69, giving one (partially incorrect) legend for all of them. The only exception is his n° 71, which Suhle says has an ORNO (instead of ARNO) legend (we did not see this coin in Berlin).

Listing all of the RUMEN coins under one number without sub-types is not convenient for our larger investigation into this coin type. We have therefore listed the Schoo, RUMEN coins based upon our own, current catalog (ref. 33) – all **Suhle Item 69**.

## ROMAN N's in the outer legend

Cat. Sub-Type A. (7 coins)

'NORMAL' T and (barless) A in MONETA

**X MARK** AFTER ARNO

• ✠ • MONETA + RUMEN

○'✠'OV C̄DO MNI • ΠRN

✠ BHDICTV : SIT : HOMO : DHI : HRI : IHV : XPI



*Rummen / 1.95 g.*

*Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

1.95 g. (B) [T✠ and MNI•

2.02 g. [MNI•]

2.12 g. [...DNI...]

2.14 g. largely unreadable, but does have ○'✠'OV [BHDIC...DHI...]

2.17 g. somewhat illegible, but does have ○'✠'OV and [MNI]

[BHDI...IT : HOMO...PI]

2.29 g. somewhat unreadable, but seems to have ○'✠'OV and def. MNI•

[BHDICTV : SI... H... DHI : HRI ...]

2.32 g. largely unreadable, but does have • ✠ • and MNI• but ○'✠'OV

[...DICTV...SIT...H...HI...HRI : IHV : X...]

Cat. Sub-Type B. (5 coins)

ANNULET / PELLET T and A in MONETA

**ANNULET** AFTER ARNO

• ✠ • **MONETA** + **RUMEN**

○ • **OV** **Q̄DO** **MNI** • **TRN**

✠ **BHDICTV** : **SIT** : **HOM** : **DHI** : **HRI** : **IhV** : **XPI**



*Rummen / 1.83 g.*

*Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

1.83 g. (broken) ✠ **TRN**

1.95 g. (A) [...] **ETA** / [✠ **B**] **BHDICTV** : **SIT** : **HOM** [ **E** : **D** ] **HRI** : **HRI** : [...]

1.98 g. (prob.)

1.99 g. (prob.)

2.35 g. (prob.) **BHDIC**... **HOM**... **DHI**...

Some annulets get ‘mashed’ during striking, and look like pellets; some pellets get ‘dimpled’ and look like annulets. All 5 of the coins listed here have clear and distinct annulets present after ARNO.

**Cat. Sub-Type C. (7 coins)**

**ANNULET / PELLET T and A in MONETA  
PELLET AFTER ARNO**

•✠• **MONETA + RUMEN**  
 O'.OV QDO MNI • ARN  
 ✠ **BHDICTV : SIT : HOM : DHI : HRI : IHV : XPI**

- 1.56 g. (A) maybe; **BHDIC... HOM... DHI... HRI...**  
the pellet after ARNO is dimpled and may be an annulet
- 1.59 g. the pellet after DOMNI is misformed (x?)
- 1.81 g. (?) [OQ...V] **MNI • ARN**  
the pellet (?) after ARNO may be an x
- 1.96 g. largely illegible but def. **MNI •** and **BHD... HRI**
- 2.07 g. largely illegible but def. **MNI • ARN HOM...**
- 2.49 g. (?) largely illegible, ODV unclear but def. **MNI •** and ...**HRI...**
- 2.90 g. very coppery coin (counterfeit?), largely illegible but def. **HOM...**

Most of the coins with a pellet (?) after ARNO are illegible or partially so; some of them may well have some mark other than a pellet.

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**Cat. Sub-Type C2. (1 coin)**

**PELLET AFTER DOMNI IN A DIFFERENT PLACE**

•✠• **MONETA + RUMEN**  
 O'.OV QDO MNI • ARN  
 [...**NOM : DNI...**]



*Rummen / 2.42 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85  
Cat. Sub-Type C2*

This seems to be a unique piece. Unlike the previous coins, the pellet after DOMNI is in the following quadrant before ARNO. Is this a die-sinker's error, or a "new" sub-type? Did the die-sinker forget the required pellet (or run out of space for it) and simply place it in the next quadrant? We have not seen another RUMEN coin like this.

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**Cat. Sub-Type D. (2 coins)**  
**N / N MIX (2)**  
**NO PELLETT R. OF CROSS (?)**  
**PELLET AFTER ARNO**

**• ✠ MONET[A] + RUMEN**  
**o'.ov cꝛdo mni. arno**  
**✠ BNDICT[...no...] v: xpi**

1.93 g. obverse initial cross clear (no pellet); def. **BNDICT / NRI** (other N's unclear)  
 1.94 g. obverse initial cross unclear (pellet?) but def. **BNDICT / NOMS** (other N's unclear)



*Rummen / 1.93 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*



*Rummen / 1.94 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

Up to this point, all of the N's in the outer legend have been Roman (only). On these coins, there is clearly a Roman N in BNDICTV but a Gothic **Ń** in NOME or NRI. Sadly, the other N's are illegible. Subsequent pieces have **only** gothic **Ń**'s in the legend. Presumably, the two coins listed here are in the "transition" phase between the two N types. We have not seen any other RUMEN coin like this (outside of the Schoo coins).

Suhle, who was not concerned with the outer legends, did not note this variant in his report.

**GOTHIC Q's in the outer legend**

Cat. Sub-Type E. (3 coins)  
NO PELLET R. OF CROSS  
ANNULET T and PELLET A in MONETA  
PELLET AFTER ARNO

• ✠ MONETA + RUMEN  
O'OV QDO MNI • ARN  
✠ BNDICTV : SIT NOMB : DNI : QRI : IHV : XPI

1.56 g. (B) ✠  
2.25 g. • + [•]; ✠  
2.34 ? (partially illegible); ✠



*Rummen / 1.56 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

Cat. Sub-Type E-2. (1 coin)  
EXTRA PELLET IN ARNO (?)

• ✠ • MONETA + RUMEN  
• O • DV C̄DO MNI • ARNO  
[...NOME: DNI...]



*Rummen / 1.71 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

Unlike the other coins, there is a small pellet left of the **O** in ARNO, which may have been unintentional. This seems to be a unique piece, although it may well be a die-sinker's error.

Cat. Sub-Type F. (4 coins)  
 NO PELLET R. OF CROSS  
 ANNULET T and 'NORMAL' A in MONETA  
 PELLET AFTER ARNO

• ✠ MONETA + RUMEN  
 O·DV [C&DO] MN·I· ARN  
 ✠ BNDICTV : SIT NOME : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI

- 1.80 g. [✠...] but def. TA
- 2.00 g. area right of cross is unclear; def. TA
- 2.20 g. (A) [+]; T[A]; ARN ; pellet (?) after DOMNI very faint
- 2.21 g. T[A]

-----  
 Cat. Sub-Type F-2. (1 coin)  
 EXTRA APOSTROPHE in DOMNI

• ✠ MONET[A] + RUMEN  
 O·DV [C&DO] MN·I· ARN  
 ✠ BND[ICTV : SIT NOME :] DNI : NRI [: IHV : XP]I



*Rummen / 2.40 g.  
 Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

There is a superfluous apostrophe in DOMN'I; it is quite possible that this is a die-sinker's error and not a "minting mark" as such.

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**INDETERMINATE / Illegible** (11 coins)  
(Probably sub-type E ?)

**(NO) PELLETT R. OF CROSS ? or UNCLEAR  
ANNULET T and 'NORMAL' A in MONETA  
PELLET AFTER ARNO**

**• [X...] MONETA † RUMEN  
O' DV QDO MNI • ARN  
✠ BNDICTV : SIT NOMB : DNI : QRI : IHV : XPI**

- 1.63 g. **TA ARN**
- 1.76 g. **TA ARN**
- 1.91 g. **TA ARN**
- 2.09 g. • ✠ ? MONETA, BNDICTV, ODV unclear; **ARN**
- 2.15 g. very coppery coin **TA [...]RN**
- 2.20 g. (B) **T[A] ARN**
- 2.37 g. **[TA] ARN**
- 2.39 g. **TA ARN**
- 2.50 g. **TA ARN**
- 2.73 g. **[...A] [...]N**

1.56 g. (C) no sign of pellet after **MNI**, **TA**  
outer legend completely illegible N's? **N**?

The indeterminate coins cannot be identified with certainty, and are thus less useful as study material. Some of the legends are partially legible, however, and we can therefore state that the readable parts of the legends do not show any anomalous variations to the known RUMEN legends. The legible portions of the coins do not, in and of themselves, indicate any "new" sub-types. (See **Suhle Item 71** below; a RUMEN coin with an ORNO legend on the reverse.)

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**Suhle Item 71.**

1 fragment

✠ MONETA R[UM]E]N [sic]  
 ORN [...] DV[...] EI[...] [sic]

This may in fact be another coin like **Suhle Item 69** (v.d. Chijs XXIII, 4; Serrure 40), or it may be an unknown (sub-)type (i.e. unknown to us). There is simply not enough information available to make a proper determination (we did not see this coin in Berlin). Suhle cites a footnote to von Frauendorfer's Byvanck Hoard report (ref. 13), which reports 2 similar coins with an ORNO legend (in place of ARNO), which is evidence that such ORNO coins must indeed exist.

Based on Suhle's thoroughness throughout his report, it is probably safe to assume that this coin was not much more legible than Suhle's transcriptions indicate. (See, however, the problems surrounding **Suhle Item 76 d** (and **76 c**) on p. 71 below.) We are also assuming that there was a leaf mark after MONETA on the obverse, unreported by Suhle.

We have never seen any such ORNO coin, but they may well exist, having been reported by two authors as having been in two hoards, and of course, die-sinker errors can never be ruled out.

**Current status:**

This RUMEN variant is not currently in the Berlin collection.

**The FRAND Coins**

The variations (sub-types) of the FRAND type include 'normal' or annulet **A**'s, and reverse, inner legend that begin in 3 different quadrants, none of which were noted by Suhle.

The 3 FRAND coins remaining in Berlin all have the same reverse quadrant orientation, and all 3 may be "the same" as one another (they are rather illegible).

## FRAND

3 coins in Berlin.

### Suhle Item 70.

cites v.d. Chijs XXIII, 5-6 (Leenen-Braband); R. Serrure 41

### MONETA FRAND

“6 coins, 2 fragments”

2.10 g. ✓

2.14 g.

2.26 g.

2.70 g.

2.82 g.

2.90 g. ✓

+ 2 fragments

[2.61 g.] ✓

Suhle (p. 78):

✠ MONETA † FRAND' [sic]  
OI\*A RHO L'•DE •RVM•

The legend of this coin was designed to imitate that of the *leeuwengroot* of Louis II of Mâle, Count of Flanders; on the reverse, the two O's fall in the same places as those on Flemish coins. The reverse, inner legend reads: ARNOL DE RVMOI.

Suhle does not mention a pellet left of the initial, obverse cross, nor any annulet T. The coins are not legible enough to be able to determine the correct sub-types, but what is clear is that all of the reverse, inner legends “begin” in quadrant 2 with OIA (as opposed to the RVM or RNO of other sub-types, not present in Berlin).

Suhle reports that according to R. Serrure (ref. 24), the FRAND legend is an imitation of the Flemish FLAND legend, further stating that no one has since offered a better explanation. We are of the opinion that Serrure's conclusion was absolutely correct.

• ✠ MONET[A] [...]N'D'  
O[I\*Æ] RNO L'•DE •R[...]  
✠ BNDICTV [...] NOMES: DN[...]

2.10 g.

The pellet after ARNOL' appears as a pellet L.

• ✠ MONET[~~T~~] ✠ FRAND'  
 OI\*~~A~~ RNO L'•DE •RVM•  
 ✠ BNDICTV [...] NOMES: DN[...]

2.61 g.

This weight is not listed by Suhle. The coin is barely damaged, and it is hard to imagine Suhle listing it as “damaged”. The annulet **A** in MONETA is clear.

[...]  
 OI\*~~A~~ RNO L'•DE •RVM•  
 ✠ BND[...] NOM[...]

2.90 g.

obverse completely illegible

**Current status:**

There are 3 Rummen, FRAND, Schoo coins currently in Berlin; the weights of two of them match with two examples reported by Suhle, the third does not. This third specimen (2.61 g.) is barely damaged at all, and it seems unlikely that Suhle would have called it a “fragment”. We cannot explain why the weight does not match one of Suhle’s weights (the weight difference is significant), unless it is not from the Schoo Hoard at all, or Suhle made an error. The 5 (?) other FRAND coins listed by Suhle are absent from the Bode Museum collection. We are left to wonder how the other reverse, inner legends were oriented.

Arnold von Rummen, Herr von Orey u. von Quaebeek  
(Prov. Brabant), 1331—1364.

69. ARN | O'QV | A' × DO | MNI · (Arnoldi Quaebecae domini) — + MO-  
NETA Blatt RVME<sup>n</sup>.

70 St. = 1,44; 1,57; 1,59; 1,60; 1,63; 1,76; 1,8 (ausgebr.);  
1,82; 1,84; 1,88; 1,89; 1,91 (2,1 ausgebr.); 1,94 (2); 1,95  
(2); 1,96; 1,97; 2,0 (3,1 beschn.); 2,01; 2,03 (2); 2,07;  
2,08; 2,11; 2,12; 2,13; 2,14 (3); 2,15; 2,18 (2); 2,2 (2);  
2,21 (2); 2,22 (2); 2,23; 2,24; 2,26; 2,27 (3); 2,29 (2);  
2,31; 2,35 (2); 2,36 (etwas ausgebr.); 2,37; 2,38; 2,39 (2);  
2,40 (3,1 ausgebr.); 2,43 (2); 2,45; 2,49; 2,50; 2,73; 2,77  
2,90; 1,07 g eine Hälfte; 138 ausgebrochene oder zerbrochene  
Stücke bzw. Bruchstücke (darunter einige zerschnittene Hälften).  
Wittmund No. 94; Byvank No. 4; Serrure S. 28 Fig. 40;  
v. d. Chijs, a. a. O. S. 259 und Pl. 23,4.

70. A | RHO | L' · DE | · RVM · | OI × — + MOÑETA Blatt FRAN'D<sup>2</sup>

6 St. = 2,10; 2,14; 2,26; 2,70; 2,82; 2,90 g; 2 Bruchstücke.  
Serrure S. 29 Fig. 41; v. d. Chijs No. 5.

<sup>1)</sup> Die Grafschaft Loos liegt zwischen Brabant und Lüttich.

Der Groschenfund von Schoo bei Esaus.

79

Serrure im Dictionaire géographique de l'histoire monétaire  
belge S. 285 erklärt das „Fran'd“ als Nachahmung des „Fland“  
auf den Löwengroschen Ludwigs von Flandern; eine bessere  
Erklärung hat man noch nicht gefunden.

71. ORN | . . . DV | OI — + MONETA R[UME]n Bruchstück.  
Vgl. Byvank No. 4 Anmerkung.

*Suhle pp. 78-79* <sup>[25]</sup>

4. Rummen, Arnold von Orey, Herr von Quabecke (bis 1367).

Av.) TRR—O'· QV—O'· DO—MNI ·

Rv.) ✠ MONETT ✠ RUMER'.

v. d. Chijs, d. m. d. leenen v. Brabant, S. 259 Tafel XXIII, 4.

14 Stück, mehrere Varianten mit unwesentlichen Abweichungen,  
darunter jedoch zwei Exemplare mit ORN—O.

Im Gewichte von 1,75 bis 2,85 g. (die leichteren Stücke teilweise  
beschädigt). — 6,8 und 10 l.

*von Frauendorfer, Byvanck, p. 9* <sup>[13]</sup>

**County of Horne: 13 coins, 19 fragments (32 coins total)**

Dirk-Loef of Horne (1358-1390)  
and Altena

*Leeuwengroten* from Horne are rare, and were previously known from only a very few specimens. The 11 Schoo Hoard coins increase our knowledge of the Horne types dramatically (see ref. 31).

**Lettering: VIERD or VIERN? (Or VIERDN?)**

As discussed in our report on the Horne *leeuwengroten* (ref. 31), the coins of Horne present an immediate transcription problem which has gone unmentioned (unnoticed?) by all previous researchers, none of whom were engaged in closely comparing the details of the *leeuwengroten* of different regions with one another.

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

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

The problem is the final letter in the legend: **Q**. It certainly looks like a **D** (VIERD), but it has a strange little ‘foot’ attached. If the letter is a **D**, why the little ‘foot’? Why not use the same “normal” **D** as in THEODV or DIRIC on the reverse? The letter is unlike any **D** or **N** used elsewhere on the Horne coins (all types). It is, however, the same as the final **N** of the RUMEN coins of Rummen discussed above.

This same **Q** letter, an **N** on the RUMEN *leeuwengroten*, is also seen on the FALCN / FALEN *leeuwengroten* of Valkenburg (discussed below) – where it is also interpreted as an **N** (**N**) – thus: **should it not be VIERN on the Horne coins?**

In Rummen, Arnold of Oreya wanted his final **N**'s to look like the **D** of FLAND or FILFD. Why was this same **Q** letter used on the coins of Horne? Is it possible that in Horne the letter was intended as some kind of **DN** ligature (VIERDN)?

Was this **Q** letter used as **D** in Horne? Or should it be interpreted as an **N**, especially in light of the fact that the *leeuwengroten* of Horne, Rummen (RUMEN type) and Valkenburg are closely related in style (they all use the same leaf-mark after MONETA), and all of them are direct imitations of the Brabant *leeuwengroten* of Johanna (and Wenceslas) and only indirect imitations of the same type in Flanders under Louis of Male, as evidenced by the slavish copying of the ODV in the second quadrant, a motif that does not appear on the Flemish coins?

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

Although he divided the Horne *leeuwengroten* into the 3 main types (THEO, DIRIC, VESMN), Suhle did not further subdivide the coins into sub-types based upon letter type variations, he simply listed them all under his n<sup>o</sup> 72-74, giving one (partially incorrect) legend for each of them.

Listing the Schoo Hoard, Horne coins without these sub-types is not convenient for our larger investigation into the *leeuwengroten* (of all regions). We have therefore provided catalog numbers for the Horne coins based upon our own, current catalog (ref. 31).

THEO	Suhle 72	cat. Type III
DIRIC	Suhle 73	cat. Type II
VESMN	Suhle 74	cat. Type I

---

## VIIRD (VIERN?) / THEO

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

10 coins (see appendix for weights)  
+ 17 fragments  
[7 coins currently in Berlin]

Suhle (p. 79):

**.✠. MONETA + VIIRD'  
THE O'D.V A'h'O TEN'**

in fact :

**.✠ MONETA + VIIRD'  
THE O'D.V A'h'O TEN'**

(or something similar; see below)

The exact meaning of the reverse legend is unclear; Suhle tentatively proposes something like THEODirc Van Horne aLTENa, which is certainly plausible, and we have no better alternative to offer at this point. Note that both 'rules' of imitation have been employed on these coins; the round / long O's are next to the cross arms, as on the Brabant *leeuwengroten*. Suhle erroneously gives a Roman E in ...TEN.

We saw 7 examples of Horne, Weert THEO type coins in Berlin:

[Cat. III E-2]

1.71 g.

• ✠ MONΘ[ΥΥ] † UIERQ'  
[T]hE O'D.V A'h'O TΘQ'  
[✠ B...DI... DHI : HRI : IhV : XPI]



*Horne / 1.71 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

No pellet right of the initial cross (?) and a 'normal' T in THEO.



*Is there a pellet to the right of the initial cross?*

[Cat. III F]

• ✠ MONETA + UIERO'  
THE O'D.V AK'O TEN'  
[✠ BHDICTV : SIT : NOME : DHI : HRI : IHV : XPI]

1.99 g.

1.92 g. ? (T illegible)

2.25 g. (?) obverse illegible



*Horne / 2.25 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*



*Horne / 1.99 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

[Cat. III F cont.]

No pellet right of the initial cross and an annulet **Y** in THEO.

---

[Cat. III G]

2.14 g.

**•✠•MONET[Λ] + UIERQ'**  
**o'D.V Λh'O TEN' THE**  
**[...]CTV : SIT [: NOMΘ:] DHI : HRI : IHV : XPI**



*Horne / 2.14 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

Pellets left and right of the initial cross and an annulet **Y** in THEO. 'Normal' **A** in MONETA?

---

[Cat. III G-2]

2.67 g.

•✠•MONET[**T**]✠+VIERQ'  
O'D.V AK'O TEO' **T**hE  
[...]CTV : SIT [: NOMES :] **D**HI : **H**RI : IHV : XPI



*Horne / 2.67 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

Pellets left and right of the initial cross and an annulet **T** in THEO. The same as the previous coin, but with a pellet **A** in MONETA.

## [Cat. III H]

2.93 g.

[...MONETA + VIERD']  
 THE O'D.V AK'O TEN'  
 [...DHI...]

*Horne / 2.93 g.**Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

Initial cross area illegible (pellets?), but annulet **T**'s in THEO and TEN.

**Current status:**

Of the 27 VIERD / THEO specimens reported by Suhle, only 7 can be found in the Bode Museum collection. The weights of some of the Berlin coins do not match up well with those listed by Suhle:

<i>count</i>	<i>Weight listed by Suhle</i>	<i>Berlin coins</i>
1	2.95 g.	2.93 g.
2	2.67 g.	2.67 g.
3	2.27 g.	2.25 g.
4	2.00 g.	1.99 g.
5	1.94 g.	1.92 g.
6	fragment ?	2.14 g.
7	fragment ?	1.71 g. broken

Table 4

Note that at least three coins are 'off' by 0.02 g. One of the coins listed as a fragment by Suhle (?) does not seem all that damaged.

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## VIERD (VIERN?) / DIRIC

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

2 coins:

2.14 g.

1.75 g. [broken] ✓

+ 2 fragments

[2.00 g.] ✓

[1.85 g., broken] ✓

Suhle:

**.✠. MONETIA [+] VIERD'**  
**ODI' RIC' V' \*AN' HER** [sic]

Most previous authors (including Suhle) overlooked the **L** (of **AL**tena?) on the reverse, probably due to the illegible specimens with which they were working. The legend does not read *Diric van Herne* as asserted by Suhle, nor *Diric van Hero* as asserted by Haanen (ref. 17). Does it read **DIRICvs Van ALtena HERnO**? Or is the inner legend not in *Diets*, but in Latin after all: **DIRICVs ALtena HERnO**?

[Cat. II C]

1.85 g.

[.✠] M[ON]ET[✠] [U...D']  
O'D['] [...] [V]✠[L]• [HER]  
[...HDICTV...] DHI: HRI: [...]



*Horne / 1.85 g.*

*Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

2.00 g.

•✠ MONET[✠] • VIE[R]D'  
O'DI' RI[C] V'✠[L]• HER  
[...]DICTV: SIT: H[...] DHI: H[RI: ...]



*Horne / 2.00 g.*

*Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

The two coins on the previous page seem to be “the same” as one another although the 1.85 g. coin is rather illegible.

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[Cat. II D]

1.75 g.

• ✠ MONETA ✠ VIERD'  
HER O'·DI' RIC' [V'·XL·']  
[...] DNI : NRI : IHV : [...]



*Horne / 1.75 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

Suhle does not mention a coin with a reverse, inner legend beginning in a different quadrant than the others (1.75 g.). This is the only coin of the 3 to have Gothic **Ń**'s in the outer legend.

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

**Current status:**

3 of the 4 VIERD / DIRIC specimens reported by Suhle can be found in the Bode Museum collection, although we would not have described the 2.00 g. piece as a “fragment”; perhaps Suhle switched the descriptions for the 1.75 g. and 2.00 g. coins. We did not see a 2.14 g. coin.

**VESMN**

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

1.78 g. ✓

Suhle:

**✠ MONETA † WESMN  
DED ERI CDh ORN**

in fact :

**. ✠ MON**E**[T]✠ † WESMN  
DED ERI CDh ORN**

11♣ / 1☛ obverse border

This type of coin has an obverse, outer border of 11 leaves and 1 triple horn group: ☛, which is not mentioned by Suhle (it is illegible on the Schoo coin). Suhle does not report the pellet left of the initial cross. The appearance of the word DEI in the outer legend on such a late *leeuwengroot* is quite surprising.

The Roman **E** in MONETA is unusual as well; it is the only such *leeuwengroot* in the Schoo Hoard (as far as we can tell at this point). Almost all *leeuwengroten* (of any region) have a gothic **Ɔ** in MONETA (some of the *gros au lion* of Brittany and Burgundy being some of the very few exceptions). The **T** (**T**?) of MONETA is unclear.

[Cat. I]

• ✠ MONE[Υ]✠ + VESMN  
DED ERI CDh ORN  
[...]TV : SIT : NOME : DHI : HRI : DEI : [...]  
(1.78 g.)



*Horne / 1.78 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

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**Current status:**

The sole specimen reported by Suhle is in the Bode Museum collection.

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**Current status:**

7	VIERD THEO	(27)
3	VIERD DIRIC	(4)
1	VESMN	(1)

11 Horne *leuwengroten* in Berlin (of 32 reported by Suhle in 1932), meaning that 21 are unaccounted for.

Dietrich-Loef von Horn (und Altena) 1358—1390  
in Limburg, Münzstätte Weert (Hauptstadt d. Grfsh. Horn):

72. T<sup>h</sup>E O<sup>o</sup>D. V A<sup>h</sup>O T<sup>h</sup>En<sup>o</sup> — + . MONETA Blatt UIERD<sup>o</sup>.

= THEODERIC VAN HOORNE en ALTENA(?)

10 St. = 1,79; 1,81; 1,94; 2,0; 2,27; 2,35 (2); 2,50; 2,67;  
2,95 g; 17 Bruchstücke.

Wittmund No. 101; Byvank No. 3 c; v. d. Chijs S. 137 Suppl.  
Taf. XXII 3; Z. f. N. II S. 151; Rev. num. belge 1860 S. 160  
No. 19; Serrure S. 30 Fig. 44.

73. ODI<sup>o</sup> RIQ<sup>o</sup> V<sup>o</sup> × AN<sup>o</sup> H<sup>h</sup>ER = Diric van Herne —

2 St. = 1,75; 2,14 g; 2 Bruchstücke.

Wittmund No. 96; Byvank No. 36; v. d. Chijs S. 136 No. 2  
Suppl. Taf. XXX. Das „O“ vor dem Namen befindet sich  
dort in Nachahmung der Groschen Johannes III. von Brabant  
(De Witte, Brabant I Pl. XVI 359).

Münzstätte Wessem an der Maas:

74. DED | ERI | CD<sup>h</sup> | ORN — + MONETA Blatt uESMn<sup>o</sup> 1,78 g.

Wittmund No. 95; Byvank No. 3 a; Serrure S. 30 Fig. 45;  
v. d. Chijs S. 145 Suppl. Taf. XXX No. 4; Rev. num. belge 1860  
S. 160 No. 15.

*Suhle p. 79*<sup>[21]</sup>

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### **Lordship of Rekem (Reckheim): 1 coin, 2 fragments**

Arnold of Stein (? - ?) p. 83 / (1335 - ?) p. 79  
(1346-1381)<sup>[35]</sup>

**Suhle 75 a/b**<sup>[25]</sup>

\* Vanhoudt G 1804 (incorrectly described as a copper *mijt*)<sup>[35]</sup>

Rekem (currently located in Belgian Limburg) was known in the 12<sup>th</sup> century as Radekeim or Radenchen. According to Vanhoudt, minting began c. 1356 (p. 93)<sup>[35]</sup>.

Arnold von Stein, Herr von Reckheim 1335—?

75. a) ARN | O × DV | Q × DO | Mnl. — + · MONETA Blatt REDEK<sup>o</sup>.

2,2 g.

b) ARN | O<sup>o</sup> × DV | D<sup>o</sup> · ES | T<sup>h</sup>En — \_\_\_\_\_

2 Bruchstücke.

(Vgl. Wittmund No. 8: eine Turnose Arnolds von Stein u. Limbricht, der 1381 erwähnt wird.) Die Aufschrift der Vorderseite von a) stimmt überein mit der von No. 69, den Löwengroschen Arnolds von Rummen.

*Suhle p. 79*<sup>[25]</sup>

Suhle did not assign these coins two different numbers, presumably because the obverses (lion side) are the same as one another. But because of the vastly different reverse legends, we would not consider one to be a sub-type of the other, rather they are two different types.

*Leeuwengroten* from Rekem are incredibly rare. So rare, in fact, that the coins in Berlin are the only known specimens (2 coins from the Schoo Hoard, and 1 other specimen). No photographs of a Rekem *leeuwengroot* had ever been published previous to our report on these coins (ref. 30), no author other than Suhle has reported such types. Despite our initial skepticism, Suhle once again proved himself to be a worthy researcher, and his descriptions are acceptably accurate.

Suhle notes that the inner legend of **75 a** is the same as that of the Rummen RUMEN coins (**Suhle 79**).

The Rekem *leeuwengroten* are puzzling, to say the least. The lettering very similar to the Horne coins, and they have the same large pellet left of the initial cross as on the Rummen, Valkenburg and Horne coins. The reverse, inner legend of **Suhle 75 a** is almost identical to the RUMEN coin of Arnold of Oreye in Rummen; is this coincidence, or design on the part of one Arnold or the other (or both)? There are “Arnold” *leeuwengroten* known from other regions that only add to the mystery (Pietersheim, Fallais (?) etc.)

**Item 75 a.** 2.20 g. ✓

Suhle (p. 79):

• † • **MOŊETA † REDEK’**  
**ARN O×DV C×DO MŊI•** [sic]



*Rekem / 2.20 g.*  
*Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

•✠• ΜΟΝΕΤΑ † REDEꝚ  
 O'•DV [CDO] ΜΝΙ ΠΡΩ  
 [...] : ΗΟΜΘ [...]ΡΙ : [...]

This is the sole known example of this type. Like the Coevorden coin (Suhle 78), Suhle makes no fanfare about this unique piece, although he does devote quite a bit of space in his report to Arnold of Stein.

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Item 75 b.  
 2 fragments:  
 weight unknown  
 [2.21 g.] ✓

Suhle: ARN O'•DV D'•ES TEꝚ' [sic]



*Rekem / 2.21 g.  
 Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

•✠• ΜΟΝΕΤΑ † REDEꝚ  
 O'•DV D'ES TEꝚ' ΠΡΩ  
 [...] : ΗΟΜΘ [...]ΡΙ : [...]

This is one of only two known examples of this type; the other is also in the Berlin collection but is not from the Schoo Hoard (?), which would mean that 1 Schoo Hoard, Rekem “fragment” is currently unaccounted for.

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It is unclear what the exact transcription of the reverse, inner legend should be:

ARNOldvs DominVs DE STENsis (?)

ARNO/DVs dominvs DE STENsis (?)

ARNO/DVs Dominvs ESTENsis (?)

It would appear that the apostrophe in ARN'O {and the x?} is superfluous, and perhaps in D'E as well. It is possible that the target ODV (copied from the Brabant original) is throwing the legend off a bit (see below).

### Who was “Arnold of Stein”?

Information on the medieval Lordship of Stein is scarce, like so many other small, medieval regions. Sources are not in agreement with one another (as always). The dates of a person's life and/or reign are inferred by modern researchers from the appearances of said person in medieval records, which are rarely clear or specific. And we are often left to rely upon the work of others, who may or may not cite their source material. In the case of Arnold of Stein, our best source seems to be Munster's 1985 article (ref. 22).

On pp. 83-86, Suhle discusses the history of the Lordship of Stein (as known to him), and nine coin types struck under the name “Arnold of Stein” (most of which are not present in the Schoo Hoard). Suhle mentions one (or more) “Arnold” from 13<sup>th</sup> century records. Another Arnold appears in the records in 1320, and Suhle feels that this is the same Arnold subsequently mentioned in 1331 and again in 1334.

Suhle points out that although there are no contemporary mentions of Arnold as Lord of Rekem, he must have followed the previous lord, Gerhard von der Mark, Lord of Rekem (1317-1335), citing his own **Items 75 a/b**, which are attributed to “Arnold of Stein (1335-?)” on p. 79. On p. 83, under “other *groschen* types”, Suhle does not give any dates for “Arnold of Stein” (**Suhle 88**)<sup>[25]</sup>.

Based upon the dates, however, it would appear that there were two “Arnolds of Stein” who could have (theoretically) had *leeuwengroten* struck: Arnold V and Arnold VI. And to complicate matters even more, there seems to have been an Arnold or Merwede who began calling himself “Arnold of Stein” (without the actual right to do so) at some point in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century.

Arnold of Oreye, Lord of Rummen (1331-1365) is considered to be a rather notorious imitator (borderline counterfeiter?) of other people's coins. Some of the *leeuwengroten* of Arnold of Stein share identical characteristics with some of those of Arnold of Oreye. In one sense, everyone was copying the coins of Brabant (and/or Flanders), but was Arnold of Stein also copying the coins of Arnold of Oreye, or *vice versa*?

If the Rekem coins were struck during what appears to be a “mushrooming” *leeuwengroot* production in the western Low Lands around 1364-1365 (Discussed under Rummen above), then they would have been struck for Arnold VI of Stein dates.

**Vanhoudt (ref. 35)**

On p. 93 of his book, Vanhoudt discusses the Lordship of Rekem (Reckheim). On p. 94 he lists 9 Rekem coins struck for Arnold of Stein, the entry for one of which reads as follows:

“G 1804  
Mijt – koper  
Rekem  
Z.f.N. 1931, p. 79”

For some inexplicable reason, Vanhoudt has decided that the silver Rekem *leeuwengroten* are copper *mites*, although Suhle’s description of these coins makes it abundantly clear that he is talking about full, silver *leeuwengroten*, not copper *mites*. Vanhoudt does not provide an illustration (of course). It would also appear that Vanhoudt has merged **Suhle 75 a** and **Suhle 75 b** into one type (**Vanhoudt G 1804**).

**Current status:**

Suhle listed 1 coin and 2 fragments for Rekem, one of which is not currently in Berlin. Unless, of course, the other Berlin coin (2.21 g.) is from the Schoo Hoard, and has become separated from its *provenence* (and was considered to be a *Bruchstücke* by Suhle). The extreme rarity of Rekem *leeuwengroten*, and the fact that we have a third specimen in the same museum, makes this a plausible (if unproveable) theory.



*Rekem / 2.55 g. (NOT from the Schoo Hoard)  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1885/51*

• ✠ • MONET[Λ] † R[E]DE[R]  
[O]\*DV D[']ES TEN['] [ΛR]O'  
[...BHD...] SIT [...] H[RI...]

This is the only other known Rekem *leeuwengroot*, which according to its *provenance* in the Berlin museum, was added to the collection long before the Schoo Hoard was discovered.

### **Lordship of Valkenburg (Fauquemont): 11 coins, 19 fragments**

William of Juliers as Lord of Falkenburg (1355-1362)

Coins with legends reading MONETA FALCN and MONETA FALEN (and “William” reverse legends) have traditionally been attributed to Valkenburg (Fauquemont), in the modern Netherlands province of Limburg, based solely upon the legends. Despite this admittedly weak evidence, we have no particular reason to doubt the attribution to Valkenburg at this time, and we certainly have no better alternative to offer the reader.

In our *A Preliminary Look at the Rare Leeuwengroten of Valkenburg*, we discuss the Valkenburg *leeuwengroten* and the related, previous literature at great length, and the reader is referred to that publication for more information (ref. 34).

The traditional interpretation of the William / FALCN legend as meaning FALCeNburgensis or FALcENburgensis originated with Chalon. (Presumably the FAUCN coins found in the Schoo Hoard read FAUCoNburgensis or something similar.)

*Leeuwengroten* from Valkenburg / Fauquemont are extremely rare, and much of the previous literature regarding these coins is fairly inaccurate. In fact, the large majority of known Valkenburg *leeuwengroten* come from the Schoo Hoard.

Coins with MONETA FALEN obverses but ARNO reverse legends (not present in the Schoo Hoard) were attributed by previous authors (von Frauendorfer) to Fallais, south of Rummen (now in Belgium); this theory requires further investigation (see ref. 34).

### **Lettering on the Valkenburg Coins**

There is a wide variance between the transcriptions provided by previous authors (Chalon, Menadier, Grote, Suhle) for the reverse, inner legend of the FALEN / William coins. Most of these variations seem to involve difficulties in reading the coins (i.e. not noticing pellets or apostrophes that are present on the coins).

Previous authors were not in agreement as to the exact, correct transcription of the obverse legend: either MONETA FALEN or FALCN (or even Menadier’s incorrect FALLN). Comparison of the available coins in Berlin, 16 from the Schoo Hoard and 2 coins from Grote’s own collection, reveals the following: **there are coins with clear legends reading MONETA FALEN, FALCN and FAUCN.**

The problems of previous researchers originate with semi-illegible coins and an uncertainty over how to interpret and transcribe the letter found on the coins after the FAL: **Ŀ**. We have examples available with a clear **Ŀ** as well as with a clear **E**, which means that all of the coins either read MONETA FALEN (and this **Ŀ** letter was intended as an **E**), or some read MONETA FALEN (**E**) and others read MONETA FALCN (**E**).

Suhle points out this distinctive **C** (**E**?) used in FALCN (FALEN?); this same **C** is also seen in Cambrai.

The second set of difficult letters that previous authors had to contend with were: **U** and **U**, which, as far as we can tell, can always be interpreted as **V** and/or **U**. (Of course, a word such as *dux* in Latin is often written as “DVX”.) Several previous authors have misinterpreted the **U** as a stylistic **L** (e.g. when attempting to catalog the *leeuwengroten* of Horne). On the Valkenburg *leeuwengroten*, both **DUX** and **DVX** are seen.

At least two Valkenburg specimens read FAUCN (i.e. **FAUCN**); we do not feel that these specimens read FALCN. Suhle did not report any FAUCN legends, but then again, he may have read them as FALCN.

Most of the FALCN / FALEN coins have a small pellet right of the initial cross, some of them do not, and several of the illegible specimens are suspected of having this pellet.

Most of the coins appear to have pellet **T**'s (**T**), but some of them have clear annulet **T**'s (**T**). It is possible that some (or all) of the "pellet **T**'s" were intended by the mint as annulet **T**'s.

The unusual **Ń** seen on the Rummen and Horne coins is also found on the Valkenburg coins: **Ń**. The extra 'tail' (making the letter an **N** and not a **D**) is quite prominent on most of the Valkenburg coins.

### Legends on the Coins

There are two basic reverse types of Valkenburg *leeuwengroot*: one with an ARNOldvs legend, and one with what appears to be some form of GVILelmvs (William) legend. Under the latter type there are {at least} 4 sub-types with different inner legends, and different outer legend variations as well.

There were no Valkenburg ARNO coins found in the Schoo Hoard, so we will ignore that type for the time being (read: "that can of worms"). Who would have struck ARNO coins in Valkenburg (and/or Fallais)? Arnold of Oreye (Lord of Rummen)? Arnold of Stein? Someone else?

The exact transcription of the "William" legends remains unclear. Presumably, it is something along the lines of: *Gvillelmvs Ivlio dvx* or *Vilhelmvs dvx Gulic* (William, Duke of Juliers), but the only consistent word is DVX / DUX. The legends seem to be borderline nonsense.

Ignoring (for the moment) the various interpunction marks and the use of **U** or **V**, there seem to be four basic inner legends:

- a. "**OMI DVX**" ("**OMI**")  
OMI DVX GVL VIL
- b. "**OMV ICO**" ("**ICO**")  
OMV ICO DVX VIL
- c. "**OMV GIO**" ("**GIO**")  
OMV GIO DVX VIL
- d. "**OLV MIO**" ("**OLV**")  
OLV MIO DVX GVI

In a nutshell, the four legends can be referred to as: OMI; (OMV-)ICO; (OMV-)GIO and OLV. At this point, there does not seem to be any particular correlation between these 4 reverse legends and the type of obverse legend used (i.e. FALEN or FALCN), but further research may prove otherwise.

### **Suhle on Valkenburg**

It is obvious that Suhle was a careful and observant researcher, as evidenced by his report up to this point (various minor issues notwithstanding). The section on Valkenburg, however, has some serious problems; problems which seem rather inexplicable, given Suhle's work until now.

Suhle does not (accurately) list reverse legend **c** (GIO) in his report, although several of these coins were present in the hoard (based upon the coins currently in Berlin). These coins seem to have instead been "listed" by Suhle under three different categories: his **76 c** (for which Suhle provides an incorrect reading of the reverse legend), his **76 d**, for which Suhle gives no more than "[...DVX...]" as the legend, even though the coins themselves are far more readable than this transcription would imply, and his **76 f**, which is a known error variant. It would appear that Suhle seems to have "given up" a bit when it came to the Valkenburg coins, for some reason.

The reader is also asked to bear in mind that all of Suhle's references to Menadier (ref. 21), his primary reference, are a bit shakey, which is to say that most of them do not actually match what Menadier said... because Menadier did not get it exactly right, nor did Suhle.

### **"DIX" (Suhle 76 c)**

Suhle misread one of the GIO coins, believing that it read DIX instead of DUX (as the coin in Berlin actually reads). Suhle lists this one coin as his **76 c**, but he subsequently fails to provide any sub-type category for the other OMV GIO DUX (not DIX) coins found in the Schoo Hoard. These coins end up being listed by Suhle under his sub-type **76 d**, for which Suhle gives the transcription: "[...DVX...]" and nothing more, which makes counting the Schoo coins far more difficult. (The coins in question have OMV GIO legends that are legible, well beyond simply "...DVX...".)

We have corrected Suhle's "DIX" to the DUX found on the actual coin itself, and placed the other Berlin OMV GIO coins under **Suhle 76 c** in the catalog, where they belong.



**DUX**, not **DIX**

## a. OMI

Suhle Item 76 a.  
cites Menadier 11a

2.21 g. ✓ [ 76 a-1 ]

+ 1 fragment

Suhle 76 a:

• † MONETA [†] FALLO' [sic]  
O' MI DUX GUL' VIL' [sic]

Menadier 11 a:

• † • MONETA † FALLO' [sic]  
O' MI' DVX GVL' VIL' [sic]

in fact : O' MI' DUX • GUL' • VIL' • [ 76a-1 ]



Valkenburg / 2.21 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85

2.21 g. [ 76 a-1 ]

• ✕ [•] MONETA † F[†]ALLO'  
O' MI' DUX • GUL' • VIL' [•]  
[✕ BHDICTV : SIT : H... ] DHI : H[RI : IHV : XP...]

The C of FALCN has a tiny wedge attached to the bottom, giving it a forked look. The N's in the outer legend look like H's. There is a tiny, wedge-like mark after OMI, which is likely to be unintentional. The pellet after VIL is tiny and hard to see. Note that VIL (not UIL) is used (unlike most of the other sub-types).

We did not see any OMI fragment in Berlin.

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## **b. OMV ICO**

**Suhle Item 76 b.**  
cites Menadier 11b

2.50 g.

2.41 g. ✓ [ 76 b-1 ]

+ 4 fragments

[1.41 g] ✓ [ 76 b-2 ]

**O'◦MV I'×DO DUX UIL'.** Suhle 76 b

**O'◦MV I'×DO DVX VIL'.** Menadier 11 b [sic]

Suhle transcription matches that of Menadier (although Menadier transcribes all the U's as V's). The transcription is fairly accurate; the only possible variants to be found in the hoard are a pellet (or no mark at all) instead of an annulet, on an unclear coin (76 b-2).

2.41 g. [ 76 b-1 ]

• ✕ • **MONETA** + **F[ALC]Q'**  
**O[']M]V I'×DO DUX • UIL'.**  
✕ [...] **NOB : D[NI] : NRI : IHV : XPI**

The mark after OMV is unclear.

1.41 g. [ 76 b-2 ] (broken)

• [**✕**] **MONETA** + **F[ALC]Q'**  
**O[']M]V I'×DO DU[✕] UIL'.**  
[**✕** BH...V : SIT HOM...PI]

We did not see any 2.50 g. coin, nor the “missing” fragments in Berlin.

## c. OMV GIO

As discussed above, Suhle does not actually list a complete OMV GIO DVX UIL legend, as found on the coins, rather, he lists 1 extant error-variant (**76 f**), 1 misread ‘variant’ legend (**76 c[-3]**), and an incomplete legend consisting of only [...DVX...] (**76 d**).

We have opted to number all of the OMV GIO coins that we saw in Berlin as “**76 c**”, because it is the legend transcription that would have been applied to these coins, had Suhle not misread a **U** as an **I** (DIX instead of the correct DUX).

Based upon Suhle’s count, however, Suhle himself must have listed these Schoo, GIO coins under his **76d**, even though the reverse, inner legends are far more legible than simply “[...DVX...]”.

We have numbered the Berlin, OMV GIO coins as 1-7, regardless of Suhle’s assignments:

2.39 g.	✓ [ <b>76 c-1</b> ] / [ <b>76 f</b> ]	mint error	listed by Suhle under <b>76 f</b>
1.95 g.	✓ [ <b>76 c-2</b> ]		listed by Suhle under <b>76 d</b>
1.87 g.	✓ [ <b>76 c-3</b> ]		listed by Suhle under <b>76 c</b>
1.73 g.	✓ [ <b>76 c-4</b> ]		listed by Suhle under <b>76 d</b>
[1.62 g.]	✓ [ <b>76 c-5</b> ]		listed by Suhle under <b>76 d</b>
1.41 g.	✓ [ <b>76 c-6</b> ]	(broken)	listed by Suhle under <b>76 d</b>
1.28 g.	✓ [ <b>76 c-7</b> ]	(cut half)	listed by Suhle under <b>76 d</b>

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### Suhle Item **76 c**.

“to Menadier 11c”

1.87 g. ✓ [ **76 c-3** ]

**O.MV G’\*IO’ DIX UI’L** [sic] Suhle 76 c

**O.MV G’\*IO’ DVX VI’L** [sic] Menadier 11 c

in fact : **O’ .MV G’\*IO’ DUX UI’L** [ **76 c-3** ]

This is the only “**76 c**” coin actually listed by Suhle under his item **76 c**. But Suhle’s legend transcription is wrong, since has misread the odd **U** on the coin as an **I**, and missed the apostrophe after the **O** in OMV. The actual coin in Berlin reads:

[ 76 c-3 ] / 1.87 g.

[.] ✠ MONETA [† FALCO]  
O.MV GZIO' DUX[.] UT·L  
✠ BNDICTV : SIT : [...MΘ : D...] QRI : IHV [...]



*Valkenburg / 1.87 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

The pellet left of the cross is unclear, and there is no sign of a pellet right of the cross (although the serif of the **M** is very wide). There is a clear annulet **T** in **MONETA**. The pellet (?) after **DUX** is unclear. There are gothic **Q**'s in the reverse, outer legend. The left side of the **U** of **DUX** is extremely wide, and the right side is faint, which caused Suhle to misread the letter as an **I**.

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The following coins are

**Suhle Item 76 c Type coins, but not described in detail by Suhle anywhere under his Item 76:**

[ 76 c-5 ] / 1.62 g.

• ✠ • MONETA + FALEQ'  
O' [•] MV G\* IO ['] DUX UI • M  
✠ [BNDI] QTV : SIT : [ ... ] : DNI : NRI : hV : [XPI]

A coin was listed by Suhle under his **Item 76 d** at 1.62 g. (?), specifically described as “very damaged”, a description that does not seem to fit the Berlin 1.62 g. coin, which is only slightly damaged. If a pellet was intended after DUX, it is not visible on the coin.

[ 76 c-2 ] / 1.95 g.

• ✠ • MONETA + FAL[E]Q'  
O' • MV G\* IO' DUX UI • M  
✠ [BHDI] QTV : SIT : HO... ] hV : XPI



*Valkenburg / 1.95 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

This variant (?) is unmentioned by Suhle; there appears to be an annulet after the **O** of OMV. It is often difficult to be certain that an “annulet” is not a “dimpled {intended} pellet”, or is a “pellet” is not a “mashed {intended} annulet”. The mark certainly appears to be a true annulet, but then again, the mark after the UI also looks a bit like an annulet. Since this is the only example of this sort, we are not sure if it represents another “sub-type” or not.

The legend may read FALEN. Note the Roman **N**'s in the reverse, outer legend. The reverse, inner legend is fairly clear, and there does not appear to be a pellet after DUX. The **I** of UIL has been notched to accommodate the pellet that follows.

Listed by Suhle under his **Item 76 d** (1.95 g.).

Some of the GIO coins have a variant obverse legend that has gone unreported by any previous author (including Suhle): MONETA FAUC'N.



*Valkenburg / 1.73 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

[ 76 c-4 ] / 1.73 g.

• [✕'] MONET[A] + F[A]U[E]Q'  
O'.MV G'IO' D[UX] UF'Λ  
[...DICTV : S]IT : NOM[...] ORI : IH [...]

This FAUC'N variant is unmentioned by Suhle (bear in mind that Suhle was misreading some of the **U**'s as **L**'s, and so the FAUCN coins may have looked to him like "FALCN" coins). There is a clear annulet **T** in MONETA.

Listed by Suhle under his Item 76 d (1.74 g.).



*Valkenburg / 1.41 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

[ 76 c-6 ] / 1.41 g. (broken)

• [⌘] MONETA + F[⌘]U[⌘]Q'  
 O'·MV [G']IO' DV[·X...] U[⌘]·M  
 [...] : SIT : NOMB : [DNI] : NR[ [...] ]V : X[...]

A different variant, also unmentioned by Suhle, with FAUC'N on the obverse and DVX with a V on the reverse. The area around the initial cross is unclear, and there may be a pellet to the right. The letter after the U is unclear, but appears to be a C (⌘). The X of DVX is unclear, but appears to be bordered by two marks, which might be one or two crude pellets, although the mark (?) after the X seems to be rather angular and sharp.

Listed by Suhle under his Item 76 d (fragment, no weight given).

On the two FAUCN coins (only) there is an extra apostrophe in the word after MONETA (i.e. FAUC'N).

[ 76 c-7 ] / [1.28 g.] (cut half)

[A...FA]LE[Q...]  
 O•MV G[\*IO'] [...] [...]  
 [XBQ]DICTV : SIT : QOM[...]

Listed by Suhle under his Item **76 d** (fragment, no weight given).

Many of the saliant details are missing.

Coin **76 c-1** (2.39 g.) is described below under Suhle's **Item 76 f** (mint error).

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**Suhle Item 76 d.**

cites Menadier 11c [*sic*]

1.95 g. / 1.74 g. / 1.62 g. (very damaged)  
 13 fragments

[...] DVX [...] [...]

We don't know why Suhle (apparently) stopped looking at the coins here and just placed all of these coins under this vague transcription, but there are a number of clear OMV GIO coins from the Schoo Hoard in the Berlin collection that have obviously been listed under **76 d** by Suhle. Perhaps the coins were subsequently cleaned and are now more legible than when Suhle saw them (but that is simply a guess). No matter what the reason, Suhle does not report the OMV GIO DUX legend from the Schoo Hoard specifically, he only reports one coin with his (misread) OMV GIO "DIX", and the rest of the OMV GIO coins land here under "[...] [...] DVX". From what we can see, it seems very unlike Suhle's work.

Minor errors aside, Suhle's categorization breaks down as follows:

- 76 a** OMI
- 76 b** OMV ICO
- 76 c** OMV GIO
- 76 d** [...DVX...]
- 76 e** OLV
- 76 f** mint error with upside-down punches (intended as OMV GIO)

This means that all of the OMV GIO coins we saw in Berlin must be **Suhle 76 c** coins. Suhle only listed **one 76 c** coin (albeit misread), but there are currently **seven** in Berlin. This, in turn, means that Suhle must have listed these other six coins under his **76 d**... but they do not belong there, their legends are legible enough for us to easily determine that they are OMV GIO coins (i.e. **76 c**).

Under his **76 d**, Suhle lists 3 coins by weight, one of which he describes as “very damaged” and which could therefore be called one of his “fragments”, but he lists the weight anyway. He further lists 13 other fragments.

The following Berlin coins, listed by us under **76 c**, all match weights listed by Suhle under his **76 d**, and they may or may not be the same coins:

1.95 g.	[ <b>76 c-2</b> ]	slightly cracked and chipped
1.73 g.	[ <b>76 c-4</b> ]	i.e. 1.74 g. per Suhle; also not a perfect coin
[1.62 g.]	[ <b>76 c-5</b> ]	somewhat damaged

In addition, there are two other **76 c** (i.e. OMV GIO) coins in Berlin, which were listed by Suhle under his **76 d** (as fragments, no weights given):

1.41 g.	[ <b>76 c-6</b> ]	(broken)
1.28 g.	[ <b>76 c-7</b> ]	(cut half)

Suhle lists 3 “**76 d**” coins (with weights) and 13 fragments (no weights listed); the 3 coins and 2 of the fragments seem to be accounted for. This means that there are still 11 coins (“fragments”) currently not in the Berlin collection. These coins were listed by Suhle under his vague **76 d**, and we cannot know what the legends actually read (if they were even partially readable at all). They may be OMV GIO coins, but they could just as easily have had some other legend(s).

The 5 coins listed above are those coins that we actually saw in Berlin that conform to the legend Suhle would have used for his **76 c**, had he not misread one of the letters on the coin upon which he based that category. But Suhle only listed that one {misread} coin under his **76 c**, the 5 coins listed above (**76 c** coins) were listed by Suhle under his **76 d**. They can (must) therefore be subtracted from the total of 16 coins/fragments listed by Suhle under his **76 d**, leaving 11 coins/fragments unaccounted for at the present time (even if the coins specifically listed by weight were not the coins we saw in Berlin with the same weights, which would have then been simply some of the “13 fragments” listed by Suhle).

Suhle did not find any more coins that he felt were “**76 c**” coins, because he did not see any more coins that read “DIX” (*sic*), i.e. his misreading of the 1.87 g. coin. But why he did not make a seventh category for the “other” OMV GIO coins is unclear. The other OMV GIO coins landed under **76 d** (“[...DVX....]”), even though their legends are legible enough to read. Suhle’s report is very thorough, and it is hard to understand why it seems to break down at this point, unless, perhaps, the coins were cleaned even further subsequent to Suhle’s viewing of them.

None of the coins currently in Berlin can accurately be described as having legends reading [...] [...] DVX [...], they are all more legible. In other words, we saw no “Suhle 76 d” coins in Berlin at all.

Suhle Item 76 f. Menadier —

2.39 g. ✓ [ 76 c-1 ] / [ 76 f ]

Suhle: IO DNX NI·U O'NVG'\* sic

in fact : O'MV G·IO' DNX NI·L

• [✠ ·] MONETA + FALCO  
 O'MV G·IO' DNX NI·L  
 ✠ [BH...NO...]I : IHV : [...]



Valkenburg / 2.39 g.  
 Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85

The erroneous DNX and NI·U are simply DUX and UI·L with inverted U's; that is, the punches used to make the dies were held upside-down. Also noteworthy is the use of two round O's (this is the only example with a round O in GIO). It seems highly probable that this is not a “new sub-type”, but rather, a die produced by an inept die-sinker. We have therefore listed this coin under 76 c, its “intended” place, albeit a variant.

The letter that Suhle has mistranscribed as a U is clearly an L. The M of OMV looks like an N, but this is likely to be a sort of illusion. There appears to be a Roman N in BNDICTV.

**d. OLV**

**Suhle Item 76 e.** Menadier 11d

2.33 g. ✓ [ 76e-2 ]

2.16 g. ✓ [ 76e-1 ]

+ 1 fragment

[0.84 g.] ✓ [ 76e-3 ]

**O'LV MIO DUX G'VI'•** *sic* Suhle 76 e

**O'•LV MIO DVX G'VI'** *sic* Menadier 11 d

in fact : **O'•LV MIO [DUX] G'V[I'•]**

or

**O'•LV MIO [DUX•] G'V[I'•]**

---

[ 76 e-1 ] / 2.16 g.

**• [✠] MONETA + FAN[...]Q'**  
**O'[•]LV MIO [DUX•] [GVI'•]**  
**✠ BHDICTV [...] HRI : IHV : XPI**

The area to the right of the initial cross is unclear on this coin, and the presence or absence of a pellet cannot be determined.

---

[ 76 e-2 ] / 2.33 g.

[.] ✠ MO[Q]B[TA] + F[AL...]Q'  
O'LV MIO DVX[.] G'VI'  
[...D]ICTV [HOM...] HRI : IHV : XP[I]



*Valkenburg / 2.33 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

There does not appear to be a pellet right of the initial cross, however, there is a small mark at the bottom, left side of the following **M** that could perhaps have been an intend pellet after all.

[ 76 e-3 ] / 0.84 g. (broken)

• ✠ • MON[...L]EQ'  
[...] [...O] DUX • [GVI' •]  
[...] M[...]: DHI : HRI : [...]



*Valkenburg / 0.84 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

On this piece there certainly does appear to be a pellet right of the initial cross, although it has “merged” with the cross itself. We cannot actually be certain about the illegible reverse legend, but there is a definite **O** before the word **DUX**, which strongly implies that this is an OLV MIO {DUX GVI} coin.

All 3 of the “OLV” coins reported by Suhle are accounted for in Berlin.

Wilhelm von Jülich, Herr von Falkenburg  
an der Maas 1355—1362.

76. a) GUL'·|VIL'·O'·MI|DUX —+ MONETA Blatt FALCN'.  
2,21 g; 1 Br.

Menadier in Z. f. N. XXX S. 467, No. 11 a.

b) CO|DUX|UIL'·|O'·MV|I'·×—

3 St. = 2,41; 2,42; 2,5 g; 4 Br.

Menadier No. 11 b.

c) IO'·|DIX|UI'·L|O'·MV|G'·×—

1,87 g

Zu Menadier No. 11 c.

d) — DVX —

3 St. = 1,62 (stark  
beschn.); 1,74; 1,95 g; 13 Br.

Menadier No. 11 c; Byvank Nr. 5.

e) IO'·|DUX|G'·VI'·|O'·LV|M—

2 St. = 2,16  
2,33 g; 1 Br.

Menadier No. 11 d.

f) IO|DNX|nl·U|O'·NVG'·×—

2,39 g.

Vgl. zu der Frage, ob Falais oder Falkenburg gemeint ist, Grote, Mzst. VII S. 444; Noß, die Münzen von Jülich, Mörs und Alpen S. 35; Menadier in Z. f. N. 39, S. 234f. Auf den Münzen dieses Fundes ist das „C“ nicht zu bezweifeln, so ist die Streitfrage mit Sicherheit für Falkenburg entschieden.

Suhle p. 80<sup>[25]</sup>

## Summary:

We saw the following 13 Schoo Hoard, Valkenburg coins in Berlin: (Table 5)

item	obv.	obverse	reverse	reverse	reverse	reverse	rev.
76 a-1	·+·	FALCQ'	O'·MI	DUX·	GUL'·	VIL'·	N
76b-1	·+·	F[ALC]Q'	O[·M]V	I'·CO	DUX·	UIL'·	N
76b-2	·+	[FAL... ]Q'	O'[·]MV	I'·CO	DUX·	UIL'·	N
76 c-1	·+·	FALCQ'	O'·MV	G'·IO	DNX	nl·L	N
76 c-2	·+·	FAL[C]Q'	O'·MV	G'·IO'	DUX	UI'·L	N
76 c-3	·+	[FALCQ']	O'·MV	G'·IO'	DUX	UI'·L	Q
76 c-4	·+ [·]	F[AL]U[E]Q'	O'·MV	G'·IO'	D[... ]X	UI'·L	Q
76 c-5	·+·	FALCQ'	O'[·]MV	G'·IO'	DUX	UI'·L	Q
76 c-6	[·+]	F[AL]U[E]Q'	O'·MV	G'·IO'	DV[·X·]	UI'·L	Q
76 c-7	?	[FAL]CQ'		G'·IO'	?	?	Q
76 e-1	·+ [·]	FAL[... ]Q'	O'[·]MV	MIO	DUX[·]	[G'VI'·]	N
76 e-2	·+·	F[AL... ]Q'	O'·MV	MIO	DUX[·]	G'VI'·	N
76 e-3	·+·	[... L]EQ'	?	[... ]O	DUX·	[G'VI'·]	N
13							

Some of the marks that are necessary for identification and cataloging are unclear on the coins. Based solely upon the Schoo, Valkenburg coins we saw in Berlin:

There only seems to be one type of OMI coin (a).

There may (or may not) be 2 types of ICO coins (b): one with pellet stops and two pellets by the initial cross, and one with annulet stop(s) (?) and 1 pellet by the initial cross (?).

There only seems to be one type of OLV coin (d).

There seem to be as many as 4 different types of GIO coins (c) (and another known mint error): the first (FALCN) has an annulet stop, and Roman N's in the outer legend; the second (FAUC'N) has pellet stops, and gothic **Ń**'s in the outer legend; the third (FAUC'N) also has pellet stops, and gothic **Ń**'s in the outer legend, but DVX instead of DUX; and the fourth (FALEN) has pellet stops, and gothic **Ń**'s in the outer legend.

In other words:

1	FALCN (or FALEN?)	DUX	◦	<b>N</b>
4	FALEN (or FALCN?)	?	•	<b>Ń</b>
2	FAUC'N	DUX	•	<b>Ń</b>
3	FAUC'N	DVX	•	<b>Ń</b>

The Valkenburg coins in Berlin:

<i>item</i>	<i>weight</i>	<i>reverse</i>	<i>qty.</i>
<b>76 a-1</b>	2.21 g.	OMI	1
<b>76 b-1</b>	2.41 g.	OMV – ICO	1
<b>76 b-2</b>	1.41 g.	OMV – ICO	2
<b>76 c-1</b>	2.39 g.	OMV – GIO	1
<b>76 c-2</b>	1.95 g.	OMV – GIO	2
<b>76 c-3</b>	1.87 g.	OMV – GIO	3
<b>76 c-4</b>	1.73 g.	OMV – GIO	4
<b>76 c-5</b>	1.62 g.	OMV – GIO	5
<b>76 c-6</b>	1.41 g.	OMV – GIO	6
<b>76 c-7</b>	1.28 g.	OMV – GIO	7
<b>76 e-1</b>	2.16 g.	OLV	1
<b>76 e-2</b>	2.33 g.	OLV	2
<b>76 e-3</b>	0.84 g.	OLV	3
			<b>13</b>

Table 6

**Current status:**

- a. OMI : 1 coin in Berlin, 1 fragment unaccounted for
- b. OMV-ICO : 2 coins in Berlin. Based on Suhle's numbers, 2 coins and 3 fragments are unaccounted for.
- c. OMV-GIO : 7 coins in Berlin, 11 fragments are unaccounted for
- d. OLV : All 3 coins reported by Suhle are in Berlin.

2 Valkenburg coins currently unaccounted for.  
15 Valkenburg "fragments" currently unaccounted for.  
(17 coins missing in total)  
13 coins / fragments currently in Berlin.  
(30 coins in total)

**Wittmund Hoard (1858)**

In addition to the Schoo Hoard coins, there are 5 Valkenburg *leeuwengroten* in the Berlin collection which came from the Grote collection, and may well have originally come from the Wittmund Hoard (1860) (see ref. 30 and ref. 34).

One of these is definitely from the **Wittmund Hoard (1858)**, and was used by both Grote and Menadier as an illustration. In later years, it was regrettably mismarked in the Berlin collection as having come from the Schoo Hoard:



*Valkenburg / 2.42 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin  
ex- Grote collection  
Wittmund Hoard (1858)*



Grote, *Münzstudien*, pl. 16, 65 (b)  
The same specimen.<sup>[16]</sup>

(a—c: d.H. — d: deCoster in Brüssel. — Die Münzen b und c kommen aus dem Wittmunder Funde.)

Grote, *Münzstudien*, p. 444<sup>[16]</sup>  
“The coins b and c come from the Wittmund Find”



Menadier, *ZFN* 30 (1913), pl. 19, 11 (a)<sup>[21]</sup>  
The same specimen again.

Unfortunately, this coin was not listed in our report on the Wittmund Hoard *leeuwengroten* (ref. 29).

**Duchy of Guelders: 1 fragment (p. 80) / 2 fragments (p. 87)**

Reinald II, Duke of Guelders (1326-1343) [no]

or

Reinald III, Duke of Guelders (1343-1371) [yes]

**Suhle Item 77.**

cites v.d. Chijs (Gelderland) III, 1; R. Serrure 70

[1.99 g.] ✓

✠ MONETA † GELRNS' [sic]  
EIN OLD DNO SGR

11♣/1♣ border (lion with double-tail)



*Guelders / 1.99 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

✠ MONETA † GELRNS'  
EIN OLD DNO SGR  
[✠] BNDICTV : SIT : DOME : DNI [...]V : X[...]

Suhle does not indicate a pellet left of the initial cross on the obverse (found on the Berlin coin). He does not specify the forms of the A's, L's or O's, and erroneously gives a Roman E

in GELRNS. On p. 80 Suhle states that there was 1 Guelders fragment present, but on p. 87 he says that there were 2.

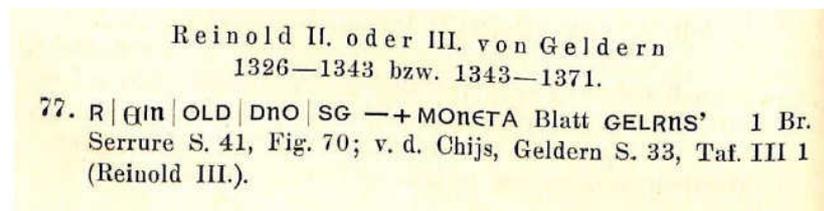
**This is a unique coin, the only known specimen of such a *leeuwengroot* with a GELRNS legend (instead of GELRENS).** But then again, Guelders *leeuwengroten* are very rare, and several types are known from unique specimens only. This coin might not be a new “type”, it may be a simple die-sinker’s error, the omission of an intended **E**. There is an unusual, Roman **M** in NOME on the reverse, which we have not seen on any other Gelre *leeuwengroot* (so perhaps it is a new type...). The Guelders GELRENS coin is itself known from a single specimen, but it has a gothic **Ω** in NOME on the reverse (Teylers Museum, coin TMK-06014).

This coin is a good example of both the *First O round, second O long* ‘rule’, and the *Two O’s by the cross arms* ‘rule’. Instead of a more logical REI NOL DDN OSG legend, the manufacturers went for EIN OLD DNO SGR, which puts the two **O**’s exactly in the ‘right’ places. In fact, REI NOL DDN **V**SG would have been even more logical (DomiNVs instead of DomiNOs), but they wanted 2 **O**’s in the legend (see p. 16 above).

See also ref. 30.

#### Current status:

There is currently 1 Gelre *leeuwengroot* (broken) in the Berlin collection. Depending on which of Suhle’s pages is correct, there is either 1 fragment missing, or the Schoo Gelre coin in Berlin is the sole example from the hoard.



*Suhle p. 80* <sup>[25]</sup>

**Coevorden: 1 coin, 2 fragments**

Suhle: "Reinald III of Coevorden (1376-1402)" [sic]

**Reinald III 1336 - 1370**

or

**Reinald IV 1376 - 1402** <sup>[28]</sup>

**Suhle Item 78.**

3.09 g. ✓

[2.39 g.] ✓

V.d. Chijs — <sup>[8]</sup>

Grolle 3.3.1 ? <sup>[15]</sup>



*Coevorden / 3.09 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*



*Coevorden / 2.39 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

✠ MONETA ✠ COUORD'  
 RER TAD COU **O**RD  
 ✠ BNDICTV.SIT : NOMB : D[...] : ORI : IHV XPI

The use of two round **O**'s on one face (the reverse) is unusual. Furthermore, no effort was made to insure that both **O**'s ended up by the cross arms, as is the case on most *leeuwengroten*. Note that on the obverse, however, the 'rule' of *first O round, second O long* was indeed followed.

Clearly, Suhle was describing *something* in his report, but we fully expected to find some other type of coin with a central lion, not a true *leeuwengroot*. But in Berlin we were delighted to find these two Coevorden *gros au lion*, superb and legible pieces despite the obvious damage to the one specimen; coins of which no photographs have ever been published and which no researcher has seen for over 80 years. No one since Suhle has described this type of coin, including Grolle, who published a book in 2002 that included the coins of Coevorden (ref. 15).

Suhle's legend transcription is basically correct. Suhle must not have realized just how rare these coins are, i.e. **these are the only known or reported specimens**, because he says literally nothing more about them in his report (!), although he does discuss Coevorden in general and the Groningen coin (see p. 91 below).

The dates given by Suhle are for Reinald IV, not Reinald III <sup>[28]</sup>:

**Reinald III 1336 - 1370**  
**Johan 1370 - 1375**  
**Reinald IV 1376 - 1402**

From the date of 1376 (Reinald IV), Suhle has drawn his conclusion that the hoard's *t.p.q.* is 1376. But the Coevorden coins could also have been struck for Reinald III (c. 1336-1370). Therefore, it is the *tournois* of Walram of Nassau (1370-1393) that determines that the hoard could not have been deposited before 1370.

Grolle (ref. 15, n<sup>o</sup> 3.3.1) lists a *leeuwengroot* of Reinald of Coevorden which, according to Grolle, has not been recovered. Presumably these Schoo coins would be said *leeuwengroot*, although clearly they **were** recovered... and some seventy years before Grolle published his book. Grolle is notorious for not citing his sources, and for presenting his opinions as facts. It is unclear why Grolle thought that a *leeuwengroot* was struck in Coevorden, or from whence he got his "information" about said coins, if it was not from Suhle's report (which is not listed in Grolle's bibliography). For the *leeuwengroot* of Groningen-Coevorden (**Suhle 79**), however, Grolle **does** list Suhle's report as a reference.

Regarding the *leeuwengroot* of Coevorden, Grolle says:

"1 groot, 24 mijt, 16 tournois, 12 parisis money of account, 8 d Holl; ca. 1.72 g. AG but quickly declining; ca. 26 mm. imitation of the Holland *leeuwengroot* of 1354 with 1.919 g AG [HOL 1.7.2.2) and the Guelders imitation thereof by Reinald III of Guelders [vdCh III, I] Not recovered [*sic*], probably minted, compare SEL 6.1"

– (Ref. 15, p. 179)

Clearly, Grolle's "1.72 g." weight is quite far off (the **broken** Berlin coin weighs 2.39 g.!). In his various publications, Grolle seems to say that pretty much everything is an imitation of the Holland *leeuwengroot* of 1354, without ever providing any real evidence for his claims. The Coevorden coin might have been a direct imitation of the Holland or Guelders coins, and then again, it might not.

[30]

### **Current status:**

Both of the Coevorden coins listed by Suhle are currently in the Bode Museum collection (for which we are immensely thankful).

## Coevorden / Groningen

### Suhle Item 79.

cites Wittmund [Dannenberg] 100

1.90 g. ✓



Groningen / 1.90 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85

✠ MONETA † GRONINGHE  
DVAL DVS KOV REI  
[✠] BNDICTV : SIT : NOM[VS : DNI :] ORI : DE : IHV . X[P]

Grolle 6.1 (Selwerd) <sup>[15]</sup>

V.d. Chijs — <sup>[8]</sup>

Meyer *RBN* (1860), p. 161 & Plate X, n° 16

Dannenberg, *ZfN* X (1883) p. 232, n° 100 <sup>[10]</sup>

Suhle, *ZfN* XLI (1931), n° 79 <sup>[25]</sup>

Puister, *De Florijn* (1972), p 19, n° 16

see: Torongo & van Oosterhout <sup>[28]</sup>

On p. 87, Suhle lists “1 coin, 2 fragments” for Coevorden; this coin is one of the “fragments” (the other pieces are the MONETA COVORD coins described above). This type is only known from 2 other specimens (see ref. 30). The word DE[I] is unusual on such a late *leeuwengroot*.

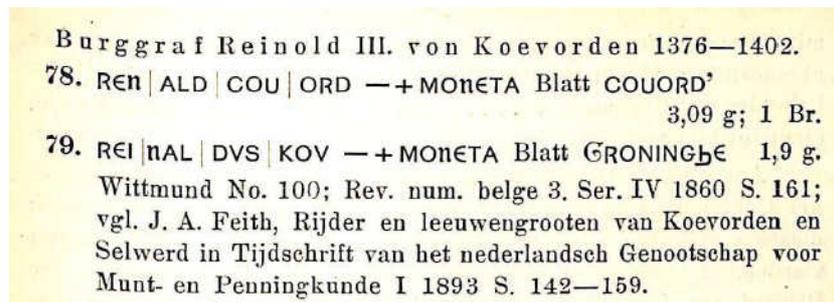
No one knows for sure exactly where or when this type of coin was struck; Grolle chose to place it under Selwerd, Suhle under Coevorden (albeit struck in Groningen). Traditionally however, every *leeuwengroot* has been assigned to the place whose name follows the word MONETA on the obverse; which in this case is Groningen. Why should this coin be the exception? We have listed it here under Coevorden simply because Suhle did.

In our *A Preliminary Look at the Rare Leeuwengroot of Groningen*, we discuss the Lords of Coevorden and the Groningen *leeuwengroot* at great length, and the reader is referred to that publication for more information (ref. 28).

As a reference, Grolle cites “*ZfN* XLI (1931), 81” (i.e. Suhle, p. 81), but for some reason, he did not cite this same reference for his n<sup>o</sup> 3.3.1 (p. 179), the *leeuwengroot* of Coevorden (Suhle 78).

### Current status:

This coin is currently in the Bode Museum collection.



*Suhle, p. 81* <sup>[25]</sup>

**Cambrai: 4 coins, 31 fragments**

Peter d'Andre (1349-1368)

Like so many of the other Schoo *leeuwengroten* types, those from Cambrai are fairly rare. Far more rare than those of Rummen (for example). Unfortunately, a substantial percentage of the Schoo, Cambrai *leeuwengroten* are not in the Berlin collection.

**Suhle Item 80.**

cites Robert 1 var. / R. Serrure 61

2.10 g. / 31 fragments

[1.74 g.] ✓

[1.67 g.] ✓

Suhle:

• ✠ MONETA + DMA'DD [sic]  
PET RVS EPO PVS [sic]

in fact :

• ✠ • MONETA + DMA'DD  
\*PET RVS EPO PVS

(Bearing in mind that we only saw 2 of the 32 Cambrai coins of this type reported by Suhle as being in the hoard.)

Some of the *leeuwengroten* of Cambrai are known for their use of unusual letter forms. Suhle states that **Robert 1** has an eagle in the outer border, while {most of?} the **Suhle 80** coins have an 11♣ / 1🦁 border, with two examples with 11♣ / 1🦁 borders.

We saw only 2 coins ("fragments") of this type in Berlin, and no other coins from Cambrai.

Border: 11♣ / 1🦁



*Cambrai / 1.67 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

**.✠• MON[ETA + DMA'DN']**  
**\*PET RVS EPO PVS**  
**[...]DTV: SIT: [H]OMES: [...]**



*Cambrai / 1.74 g.  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85*

**[.✠• MONETA + ...A'DN']**  
**\*PET [RVS] EPO [PV]S**  
**✠ BHDICT[V... DHI: HR...:] XPI**

**Suhle Item 81.**

2.34 g.

12✠ border

✠ MOÑETA + CAM'DON' [sic]  
S'PÆ RTS' ÆPI DOP [sic]

We did not this coin in Berlin. Note that Suhle transcription reads PERTS and not PETERS; either the die-sinker made an error, or Suhle did.

This type of *groot* is not listed in Robert (ref. 23). The only similar specimen of which we are aware was auctioned off by the firm of Jean Elsen et ses Fils on 15 March, 2008, with these legends (ref. 11; Elsen 95-764, 2.27 g.):

[.] ✠ MOÑETA [+] CAM'DON'  
S'[PÆ T]RS ÆPI DOP

**Suhle Item 82.** [Robert 4 / R. Serrure 63]  
cites Robert 3 [sic]; R. Serrure 63

2.35 g.

Suhle:

✠ MOÑETA [+] CÑÆ'EN'  
SDO MÑ'S ÆPC O·PV

We did not this coin in Berlin, but based upon other known Cambrai specimens, the obverse legend is probably:

✠ MOÑETA [+] EM/EN'

Suhle gives **Robert 3** as a reference, but this is incorrect (it is **Robert 4**).

N° 3. + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : N.....HV : XPI  
· P·EP ISC OP: E T·CO

ṛ. + MONETA CAM' COR'

Cette jolie monnaie présente, au droit et au revers, les types des deux N° précédents. Elle en diffère par le titre de comte ajouté à celui d'évêque et par la forme CAM COR, pour CAMERACORVM, imitée du FRANCORVM de la monnaie royale.

Dessin communiqué par M. Ducas, sans indication de poids; pl. XIII, fig. 4.

N° 4. + BNDICTV : S....ME:D....NRI : H·V : XPI, en dehors.

DO MN'S EPC O:PVSᶜ, en dedans et entre les branches de la croix.

ṛ. + MONETA CMA'CN; trèfle entre les deux mots; au centre, un lion à gauche; le tout dans une bordure composée de douze trèfles.

*Robert p. 116* <sup>[23]</sup>

Bischof Peter von Cambrai 1349—1368.

80. PQT | RVS | QPO | PVS — + MONETA Blatt CMA'CN<sup>o</sup>, statt des Löwen in dem äußeren Blätterkranz auf 2 St. ein Adler.  
1 St. = 2,1 g; 31 Br.

Wittmund No. 98; Byvank S. 8 No. 1; Robert, Cambrai S. 115 No. 1 (hier Adler i. d. Blätterkranz); Serrure S. 37 Fig. 61.

81. PE | RTS' | QPI | QOP | S' × — Adler MONETA Blatt? CAM'CN<sup>o</sup>. (oder R?) statt des Blattkranzes ein Adlerkranz. 2,34 g.  
Der Adler vor der Umschrift der Löwenseite wie auf den Löwengroschen Ludwigs von Crécy, Grafen von Flandern (Serrure S. 24 f. Fig. 30/32).

82. DO | Mn's | QPC | O·PV | S — + MONETA Blatt CMA'CN<sup>o</sup>, dasselbe „C“ wie auf den Löwengroschen Wilhelms von Jülich als Herrn von Falkenburg. 2,35 g.  
Robert S. 116 No. 3; Serrure S. 38 Fig. 63.

*Suhle p. 82* <sup>[25]</sup>

### Current status:

The large majority of the Schoo Hoard, Cambrai coins are missing. Only 2 Cambrai *leeuwengroten* (fragments?) remain in the Bode Museum collection. All 33 of the other Schoo, Cambrai coins reported by Suhle are unaccounted for. Since Cambrai *leeuwengroten* are so very rare, it would have been a great benefit to have been able to see more of the Schoo, Cambrai coins.

**Lordship of Serain: 3 (p. 87) or 4 fragments (p. 83)**

Walram II (1304-1353) [likely]  
or Walram III (1371-1415) [unlikely]

**Suhle Item 83.**

cites P.d'A. 6909; R. Serrure 65

**† MOŃETA [†] SEBRON** [sic]  
**\*WTK LLB RAN DVS**

If the Serain coins were minted for Walram III, then they must have been struck in imitation of the “final wave” of *leeuwengroot* production in Brabant c. 1382-1383. Suhle offers both Walrams as possibilities.

We did not see any of these coins in Berlin, because there are currently no Serain *leeuwengroten* in the collection. Based on two fairly legible, known specimens (KBR / 2.45 g. and Künker Summer 2018, 860 / 2.25 g.), the legends may have read:

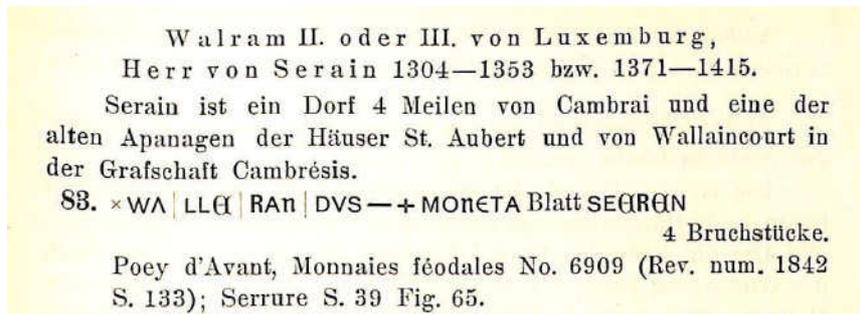
**• † MOŃETA † SEBRON**  
**\*VVTK LLB RAN DVS**  
**✠ BHDICTV : SIT : HOMB : DHI : HRI : IHV : XPI**

11♣ / 1♣



*Leeuwengroten* from Serain are extremely rare. The few known specimens have a central lion with a crown and double tail, details unmentioned by Suhle, who is also silent about any pellet left of the initial cross on the obverse. (Poey’s illustration, reused by R. Serrure, shows the double tail but not the crown).

There is another type of Serain *leeuwengroot* with different obverse and reverse legends (see *RBN* 1924, pp. 189-190). We are left to wonder just how large and complete the Schoo Hoard, Serain “fragments” were, and whether or not they were indeed all of the same type or not.



*Suhle p. 83*

**Current status:**

The 3-4 Schoo Hoard, Serain coins reported by Suhle are not in the Bode Museum collection and are currently unaccounted for.

**Duchy of Brittany: 1 fragment**

Charles of Blois (1341-1364)

**Suhle Item 84.**

cites P.d'A. 493 (pl. XIV, 8); R. Serrure 77

MO[...] AB [G]IT] N' [sic]  
 ChA R[...]L LVS DVX

We can only assume that Suhle has made a slight error in his transcription here, as the **G** in the obverse legend simply does not belong. (Otherwise, this is another unique and unknown piece.) It seems clear that the coin was not particularly legible. *Leeuwengroten* from Brittany are fairly rare (but less rare than those of Cambrai or Serain).

The legend probably read:

✠ • MONETA [✚] BRITANN'  
 ChA ROL LVS DVX

or something similar, such as

✠ • MONETA ✠ BRITAN'  
 ✠ • MONETA ✠ BRITAN'  
 ✠ • MONETA ✠ BRITAN'

(see. ref. 27)

Karl von Blois, Herzog der Bretagne 1341—1364.  
 84. CBA|R///L|LVS [DVX] — MO/////AB[GIT] n' Bruchstück.  
 Poey d'Avant I No. 493 Pl. XIV 8; Serrure S. 44 Fig. 77.

*Suhle p. 83* <sup>[25]</sup>

### Current status:

This coin is not in the Bode Museum collection and is currently unaccounted for.

### 3 Unknown *Leeuwengroot* Fragments

On p. 52 of his report, Berghaus lists “0 coins + 3 fragments *Unbestimmte Löwengroots*”. On p. 84. Suhle says:

84

A. Suhle:

Außerdem drei Bruchstücke von unbestimmbaren Löwengroschen und 71,7 g Bruch, die sich nicht identifizieren lassen.

Do these “three fragments of *leeuwengroten* of unknown origin” include Suhle’s two “missing” coins from Holland? Do they include any of the other coins that are part of the discrepancies of Suhle’s counts?

## Other Types in the Schoo Hoard

**We have not investigated the *gros tournois* of the Schoo Hoard, nor the few other non-*leeuwengroot* types, nor Suhle's report on these coins.** We cannot tell you how accurate (or inaccurate) the information provided by Suhle is, and have done only a cursory check of his totals (necessary to determine the total number of coins in the hoard). We have not checked Berghaus' references for these coins. We leave the *tournois* to some other researcher(s).

We did not see any of the Schoo Hoard, *gros tournois* in Berlin, nor any of the other types from the hoard (because one has to request the trays of coins one wishes to see for viewing, and we only requested the *leeuwengroten*). We are unable to comment on the *tournois* coins **or their current status**. The fact that Berghaus cites Suhle's Schoo Hoard report as the reference for at least 3 types of *tournois* would seem to indicate that the hoard must have contained some rare *tournois* types as well as the rare *leeuwengroten*.

Based upon the *leeuwengroot* portion of Suhle's article, we are of the opinion that his descriptions of the other types are probably reasonably accurate, but that there are likely to be minor errors in the details, and that some of Suhle's counts might be off (e.g. the number of *tournois* present, 111 + 1 (p. 80) or 112 + 1 (p. 86).

We wonder as well if the Schoo *tournois* coins have been as ignored or as poorly handled by subsequent researchers as the Schoo *leeuwengroten*. Perhaps someone should take a good look at the Schoo *tournois* coins; there may be something interesting and exciting to find.

## Conclusion

The Schoo Hoard contained many extremely rare, interesting and important *leeuwengroot* coins from various regions. A large portion, perhaps as much as 75 % of the coins have “gone missing” and are not currently in the Bode Museum collection in Berlin. Fortunately, many of the “important” *leeuwengroten* are still available for study (i.e. rare and otherwise unknown types). Suhle’s description of the Schoo Hoard {*leeuwengroten*} turned out to be reasonably accurate, despite the many errors.

The presence of a coin of Walram of Nassau (1370-1393) indicates that the hoard could not have been deposited before 1370. We have not investigated the hoard much further than the *leeuwengroot* coins, and cannot comment further on the other types present.

We can say that it is clear that many fairly “old” coins were also included in the hoard (e.g. the 13<sup>th</sup> century *tournois*). Most of the *leeuwengroten* are relatively “new” (so to speak), many of them having been struck in the mid- to late 1350’s (e.g. Coevorden, Horne). The oldest *leeuwengroot* in Berlin seems to be that of Namur, with an eagle as an initial mark. No Brabant *leeuwengroten* of John III (1312-1355) are reported as having been present in the find, only those of his daughter, Jeanne (1355-1406).

It is certainly worth noting the almost complete lack of Flemish coins (only 2 coins + 4 fragments), which make up the lion’s share of most other *leeuwengroot* hoards. The location of the hoard’s deposit is a major factor in this respect: far north and west of the County of Flanders, in East Friesland (*Ostfrisia*). The major proportion of the *leeuwengroten* present were struck in Rummen (and Brabant). In fact, Rummen RUMEN *leeuwengroten* make up the largest proportion of coins (any type) in the hoard. It is interesting that so many *leeuwengroten* from other small mints such as Horne, Fauquemont or Cambrai were also present.

Although a large number of French *gros tournois* are present, there were a significant number of imitations from smaller mints in the find as well.

The Schoo Hoard and the Byvanck Hoard (>1860) are comparable to one another; both were deposited in an area under the Guelders sphere of influence, and both have similar contents. (see also the Wittmund Hoard of 1858, ref. 29). We will be comparing the contents of these hoards in an upcoming report.

The Schoo Hoard (1927) is divided as follows:

<u>whole</u>	<u>damaged</u>	
149	294	<i>leeuwengroten</i> (443 in total)
112	1	<i>gros tournois</i>
<u>6</u>	<u>22</u>	other <i>groten</i>
267	317	silver coins (584 in total)
2	0	gold coins
		<hr/>
		586 coins in total (approximately)

Coins Reported by Suhle as Having Been in the Schoo Hoard (table pp. 86-87): (Table 7)

whole	frgmt	whole	frgmt	whole	frgmt	
<b>269</b>	<b>317</b>					<b>Total coins in hoard = c. 586</b>
		<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>			gold coins ( <b>Bavaria</b> : <i>écus</i> )
		<b>267</b>	<b>-</b>			silver coins
		<b>-</b>	<b>317</b>			fragments of silver coins
				<b>149</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>Total whole <i>leeuwengroten</i></b>
				<b>-</b>	<b>294</b>	<b>Total <i>leeuwengroot</i> “fragments”</b>
				2	4	<b>Flanders</b> : Louis of Mâle (1346-1384)
				37	64	<b>Brabant</b> : Joanna (1355-1406)
				1	1	<b>Namur</b> : William I (1337-1391 )
				<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>Holland</b> : William V (1350-1389) p. 87
				0	<b>2</b>	<b>Guelders</b> : Reinald III (1343-1371) p. 87
				75	142	<b>Rummen</b> : Arnold of Oreya (1331-1364)
				<b>3</b>	0	<b>Looz</b> : Dirk of Heinsberg (1336-1361) p. 86
				13	19	<b>Horne</b> : Dirk-Loef (1358-1390)
				1	2	<b>Rekem</b> : Arnold of Stein (1335-?) ?
				11	19	<b>Valkenburg</b> : Wm. of Juliers (1355-1362)
				1	1	<b>Coevorden</b> : Reinald III (c. 1356-1360) or Reinald IV (c. 1376-1402)
				0	1	<b>Coevorden / Groningen</b>
				<b>4</b>	31	<b>Cambrai</b> : Peter (1349-1368) p. 87
				0	<b>3</b>	<b>Serain</b> : Walram II (1304-1353) ? p. 87
				0	1	<b>Brittany</b> : Charles of Blois (1341-1364)
				0	3	<b>unknown</b>
				<b>112</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>Total <i>gros tournois</i></b>
						<b>France</b> : 99 coins + 1 fragment
				3	0	Louis IX (1226-1270)
				5	0	Philip III (1270-1285)
						Philip IV (1285-1314) 88 coins + 1 frgmt.
				70	1	Lafaurie 217 / Duplessy 213
				17	0	Lafaurie 218 / Duplessy 214
				1	0	Lafaurie 219 / Duplessy 217
				3	0	Philip V (1314-1322)
				1	0	<b>Berg</b> : William I (1360-1380)
				1	0	<b>Nassau</b> : Walram (1370-1393)
				1	0	<b>Holland</b> : Floris (1266-1296)
				5	0	<b>Luxemburg</b> : Charles IV (1346-1356)
				4	0	<b>Bar</b> : Robert (1354-1411)
				1	0	indeterminate Rheinland <i>gros tounois</i>
				<b>6</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>Total other <i>groschen</i></b>
				4	9	<b>Brabant</b> : Johanna
						<b>Liège</b> : 2 coins + 12 fragments
				2	4	Engelbert (1345-1364)
				0	8	Johann (1364-1378)
				0	1	<b>Stein</b> : Arnold (1335 - ?)

Note that the following inconsistencies in Suhle's report {text} could throw the totals off by 1 - 6 coins:

			whole	frgmt		
			-	-	<b>Holland</b> : William V (1350-1389)	p. –
			2	0	<b>Looz</b> : Dirk of Heinsberg (1336-1361)	p. 78
			0	1	<b>Guelders</b> : Reinald III (1343-1371)	p. 80
			3	31	<b>Cambrai</b> : Peter (1349-1368)	p. 82
			0	4	<b>Serain</b> : Walram II or III	p. 83

Table 8

### Discrepancies Between Suhle's Text (pp. 73-83) Compared to His Table (pp. 86-87)

(Berghaus using Suhle's text, not table)

	Berghaus	Suhle text	Suhle table	Suhle table
<b>Guelders</b>	0+1	0+1	0+2	+ 1
<b>Serain</b>	0+4	0+4	0+3	- 1
<b>Loon</b>	2+0	2+0	3+0	+ 1
<b>Cambrai</b>	3+31	3+31	4+31	+ 1
<b>Holland</b>	—	—	1+1	+ 2
<b>Namur</b>	2+0	1+1	1+1	0
<b>Rummen</b>	75+142	76+141	75+142	0
	82+178	82+178	84+180	
	260	260	264	+ 4

(Table 9)

*Leeuwengroten* currently in Berlin, compared with Suhle's listings:

<b>BERLIN</b>	<b>whole</b>	<b>frgmt.</b>	<b>total</b>	<b>missing</b>	<b>realm</b>
2	2	4	6	4	<b>Flanders</b> : Louis of Mâle (1346-1384)
14	37	64	101	87	<b>Brabant</b> : Joanna (1355-1406)
2	1	1	2	0	<b>Namur</b> : William I (1337-1391 )
0	1 ?	1 ?	2 ?	2 ?	<b>Holland</b> : William V (1350-1389)
1	0	1 or 2	1 or 2	1 or 0	<b>Guelders</b> : Reinald III (1343-1371)
45	75	142	217	172	<b>Rummen</b> : Arnold of Oreye (1331-1364)
2	2 or 3	0	2 or 3	1 or 0	<b>Looz</b> : Dirk of Heinsberg (1336-1361)
11	13	19	32	21	<b>Horne</b> : Dirk-Loef (1358-1390)
2	1	2	3	1	<b>Rekem</b> : Arnold of Stein (1335-?) ?
13	11	19	30	17	<b>Valkenburg</b> : Wm. of Juliers (1355-1362)
2	1	1	2	0	<b>Coevorden</b> : Reinald III (c. 1356-1360)
1	1	0	1	0	<b>Coevorden / Groningen</b>
2	3 or 4	31	34 or 35	32 or 33	<b>Cambrai</b> : Peter (1349-1368)
0	0	3 or 4	3 or 4	3 or 4	<b>Serain</b> : Walram II (1304-1353)
0	0	1	1	1	<b>Brittany</b> : Charles of Blois (1341-1364)
0	0	3	0	3	<b>unknown</b>
-	149	-	-	-	<b>Total whole <i>leeuwengroten</i></b>
-	-	294	-	-	<b>Total <i>leeuwengroot</i> "fragments"</b>
<b>97</b>	-	-	<b>438 - 444</b>	<b>341 - 347</b>	<b>Total <i>leeuwengroten</i> in hoard</b>
<b>BERLIN</b>			<b>total</b>	<b>missing</b>	

Table 10

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P. O. van der Chijs

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## APPENDIX A: Weights of the *Leeuwengroten* in the Schoo Hoard (1927)

Suhle (ref. 25)

1-63	<i>gros tournois</i>	
64	Flanders	FLAND
65	Brabant	FILFD
66	Namur	BVUINC'
67	Namur	NAMVR
68	Looz	LOSEN
69	Rummen	RUMEN
70	Rummen	FRAND
71	Rummen	RUMEN / ORNO (variant)
72	Horne	VIERD / THEO
73	Horne	VIERD / DIRIC
74	Horne	VESMN
75a	Rekem	REDEK / ARNO DVC DOMNI
75b	Rekem	REDEK / ARNO DVDESTEN
76	Valkenburg	FALCN, and FALEN [and FAUCN]
77	Guelders	GELRNS
78	Coevorden	COVORD
79	Coevorden	GRONINGHE
80	Cambrai	CMACN / PETRVS
81	Cambrai	CAMCON / PERTS (?)
82	Cambrai	CMACN / DOMNS EPCOPVS
83	Serain	SEEREN
84	Brittany	BRITAN / CHAROLLVS
—	Holland [?]	
85-88	other <i>groten</i> types	

Table 11: Coins Reported by Suhle (ref. 25)

GRAMS	ITEM	REALM	number	REMARKS
2.88	64	Flanders	1	
2.67	64	Flanders	2	
?	64	Flanders	+	4 fragments
3.02	65	Brabant	1	
3.02	65	Brabant	2	
2.95	65	Brabant	3	
2.93	65	Brabant	4	
2.89	65	Brabant	5	
2.84	65	Brabant	6	
2.75	65	Brabant	7	
2.72	65	Brabant	8	
2.72	65	Brabant	9	
2.69	65	Brabant	10	
2.68	65	Brabant	11	

2.65	65	Brabant	12	
2.62	65	Brabant	13	
2.62	65	Brabant	14	
2.60	65	Brabant	15	
2.57	65	Brabant	16	
2.53	65	Brabant	17	
2.52	65	Brabant	18	
2.50	65	Brabant	19	
2.48	65	Brabant	20	
2.46	65	Brabant	21	
2.46	65	Brabant	22	
2.41	65	Brabant	23	
2.40	65	Brabant	24	
2.40	65	Brabant	25	
2.37	65	Brabant	26	
2.28	65	Brabant	27	
2.25	65	Brabant	28	
2.22	65	Brabant	29	
2.18	65	Brabant	30	
2.18	65	Brabant	31	
2.15	65	Brabant	32	
2.13	65	Brabant	33	
2.09	65	Brabant	34	
2.05	65	Brabant	35	
1.70	65	Brabant	36	
1.67	65	Brabant	37	
??	65	Brabant	+	64 fragments
2.53	66	Namur	1	Unique ??? BVUINC'
?	67	Namur	+	Broken coin (half) NAMVR
?	--	Holland		
?	77	Guelders	+	1 fragment
2.90	69	Rummen	1	RUMEN
2.77	69	Rummen	2	RUMEN
2.73	69	Rummen	3	RUMEN
2.50	69	Rummen	4	RUMEN
2.49	69	Rummen	5	RUMEN
2.45	69	Rummen	6	RUMEN
2.43	69	Rummen	7	RUMEN
2.43	69	Rummen	8	RUMEN
2.40	69	Rummen	9	RUMEN
2.40	69	Rummen	10	RUMEN
2.40	69	Rummen	11	Broken RUMEN
2.39	69	Rummen	12	RUMEN
2.39	69	Rummen	13	RUMEN
2.38	69	Rummen	14	RUMEN
2.37	69	Rummen	15	RUMEN
2.36	69	Rummen	16	Slightly broken RUMEN
2.35	69	Rummen	17	RUMEN
2.35	69	Rummen	18	RUMEN
2.31	69	Rummen	19	RUMEN
2.29	69	Rummen	20	RUMEN
2.29	69	Rummen	21	RUMEN

2.27	69	Rummen	22	RUMEN
2.27	69	Rummen	23	RUMEN
2.27	69	Rummen	24	RUMEN
2.26	69	Rummen	25	RUMEN
2.24	69	Rummen	26	RUMEN
2.23	69	Rummen	27	RUMEN
2.22	69	Rummen	28	RUMEN
2.22	69	Rummen	29	RUMEN
2.21	69	Rummen	30	RUMEN
2.21	69	Rummen	31	RUMEN
2.20	69	Rummen	32	RUMEN
2.20	69	Rummen	33	RUMEN
2.18	69	Rummen	34	RUMEN
2.18	69	Rummen	35	RUMEN
2.15	69	Rummen	36	RUMEN
2.14	69	Rummen	37	RUMEN
2.14	69	Rummen	38	RUMEN
2.14	69	Rummen	39	RUMEN
2.13	69	Rummen	40	RUMEN
2.12	69	Rummen	41	RUMEN
2.11	69	Rummen	42	RUMEN
2.08	69	Rummen	43	RUMEN
2.07	69	Rummen	44	RUMEN
2.03	69	Rummen	45	RUMEN
2.03	69	Rummen	46	RUMEN
2.01	69	Rummen	47	RUMEN
2.00	69	Rummen	48	RUMEN
2.00	69	Rummen	49	RUMEN
2.00	69	Rummen	50	Damaged RUMEN
1.97	69	Rummen	51	RUMEN
1.96	69	Rummen	52	RUMEN
1.95	69	Rummen	53	RUMEN
1.95	69	Rummen	54	RUMEN
1.94	69	Rummen	55	RUMEN
1.94	69	Rummen	56	RUMEN
1.91	69	Rummen	57	RUMEN
1.91	69	Rummen	58	Broken RUMEN
1.89	69	Rummen	59	RUMEN
1.88	69	Rummen	60	RUMEN
1.84	69	Rummen	61	RUMEN
1.82	69	Rummen	62	RUMEN
1.80	69	Rummen	63	Broken / chipped RUMEN
1.76	69	Rummen	64	RUMEN
1.63	69	Rummen	65	RUMEN
1.60	69	Rummen	66	RUMEN
1.59	69	Rummen	67	RUMEN
1.57	69	Rummen	68	RUMEN
1.44	69	Rummen	69	RUMEN
1.07	69	Rummen	70	RUMEN / Broken (half coin)
?	69	Rummen	+	138 fragments
2.90	70	Rummen	1	FRAND
2.82	70	Rummen	2	FRAND

2.70	70	Rummen	3	FRAND
2.26	70	Rummen	4	FRAND
2.14	70	Rummen	5	FRAND
2.10	70	Rummen	6	FRAND
?	70	Rummen	+	FRAND / 2 fragments
?	71	Rummen	+	1 fragment RUMEN / ORNO
2.76	68	Looz	1	
2.57	68	Looz	2	
2.95	72	Horne	1	VIERD / THEO
2.67	72	Horne	2	VIERD / THEO
2.50	72	Horne	3	VIERD / THEO
2.35	72	Horne	4	VIERD / THEO
2.35	72	Horne	5	VIERD / THEO
2.27	72	Horne	6	VIERD / THEO
2.0	72	Horne	7	VIERD / THEO
1.94	72	Horne	8	VIERD / THEO
1.81	72	Horne	9	VIERD / THEO
1.79	72	Horne	10	VIERD / THEO
?	72	Horne	+	17 fragments VIERD / THEO
2.14	73	Horne	1	VIERD / DIRIC
1.75	73	Horne	2	VIERD / DIRIC
?	73	Horne	+	2 fragments VIERD / DIRIC
1.78	74	Horne	1	VESMN
2.20	75a	Rekem	1	DVC DOMNI
?	75b	Rekem	+	DV DE STEN 2 fragments
2.21	76a	Valkenburg	1	
?	76a	Valkenburg	+	1 fragment
2.50	76b	Valkenburg	2	
2.42	76b	Valkenburg	3	
2.41	76b	Valkenburg	4	
?	76b	Valkenburg	+	4 fragments
1.87	76c	Valkenburg	5	
1.95	76d	Valkenburg	6	
1.74	76d	Valkenburg	7	
1.62	76d	Valkenburg	8	Very damaged
?	76d	Valkenburg	+	13 fragments
2.33	76 e	Valkenburg	9	
2.16	76 e	Valkenburg	10	
?	76 e	Valkenburg	+	1 fragment
2.39	76f	Valkenburg	11	
3.09	78	Coevorden	1	COVORD
?	78	Coevorden	+	1 fragment COVORD
1.90	79	Coevorden	2	GRONIGHE
2.10	80	Cambrai	1	
?	80	Cambrai	+	31 fragments
2.34	81	Cambrai	2	
2.35	82	Cambrai	3	
?	83	Serain	+	4 fragments
?	84	Brittany	+	1 fragment
?	(p. 86)	unknown	3	3 fragments

**Table 12: Weights / Checklist of the Schoo Hoard Coins in Berlin (2018)**

GRAM (Suhle)	ITEM S.	REALM	Count (Suhle)	count 2018	seen 2018	REMARKS
2.88	64	Flanders	1	1	✓	2.88 g. / LdM Issue V, footless N
2.67	64	Flanders	2	2	??	2.73 g. / slightly broken
?	64	Flanders	+	-	✗	4 fragments (i.e. broken coins?)
3.02	65	Brabant	1	3	✓	3.03 g.
3.02	65	Brabant	2	-	✗	
2.95	65	Brabant	3	-	✗	
2.93	65	Brabant	4	-	✗	
2.89	65	Brabant	5	4	✓	2.88 g.
2.84	65	Brabant	6	5	✓	2.83 g
2.75	65	Brabant	7	-	✗	
2.72	65	Brabant	8	-	✗	
2.72	65	Brabant	9	6	✓	
2.69	65	Brabant	10	-	✗	
2.68	65	Brabant	11	7	✓	2.67 g
2.65	65	Brabant	12	-	✗	
2.62	65	Brabant	13	-	✗	
2.62	65	Brabant	14	-	✗	
2.60	65	Brabant	15	-	✗	
2.57	65	Brabant	16	-	✗	
2.53	65	Brabant	17	-	✗	
2.52	65	Brabant	18	-	✗	
2.50	65	Brabant	19	-	✗	
2.48	65	Brabant	20	8	✓	2.47 g
2.46	65	Brabant	21	9	✓	2.45 g
2.46	65	Brabant	22	-	✗	
2.41	65	Brabant	23	-	✗	
2.40	65	Brabant	24	-	✗	
2.40	65	Brabant	25	10	✓	2.39 g
2.37	65	Brabant	26	-	✗	
2.28	65	Brabant	27	-	✗	
2.25	65	Brabant	28	-	✗	
2.22	65	Brabant	29	-	✗	
2.18	65	Brabant	30	-	✗	
2.18	65	Brabant	31	-	✗	
2.15	65	Brabant	32	-	✗	

2.13	65	Brabant	33	11	✓	2.13 g
2.09	65	Brabant	34	12	✓	2.10 g
2.05	65	Brabant	35	-	✗	
1.70	65	Brabant	36	-	✗	????
1.67	65	Brabant	37	-	✗	????
??	65	Brabant	+	-	✗	64 fragments (i.e. broken coins?)
		Brabant		13	✓	2.20 g
		Brabant		14	✓	1.97 g small piece missing
		Brabant		15	✓	1.90 g slightly broken
		Brabant		-	✗	1.41 g broken
		Brabant		16	✓	1.00 g / cut half
2.53	66	Namur	1	17	✓	BVUINC'
?	67	Namur	(2)	18	✓	1.05 g Cut half / NAMVR
?	--	Holland	1	-	✗	
?	77	Guelders	1	19	✓	1.99 g 1 fragment (i.e. broken coin)
2.90	69	Rummen	1	20	✓	RUMEN 1
2.77	69	Rummen	2	-	✗	RUMEN
2.73	69	Rummen	3	21	✓	RUMEN 2
2.50	69	Rummen	4	22	✓	RUMEN 3
2.49	69	Rummen	5	23	✓	RUMEN 4
2.45	69	Rummen	6	-	✗	RUMEN
2.43	69	Rummen	7	-	✗	RUMEN
2.43	69	Rummen	8	24	✓	2.42 g RUMEN 5
2.40	69	Rummen	9	-	✗	RUMEN
2.40	69	Rummen	10	-	✗	RUMEN
2.40	69	Rummen	11	25	✓	RUMEN broken 6
2.39	69	Rummen	12	26	✓	RUMEN 7
2.39	69	Rummen	13	-	✗	RUMEN
2.38	69	Rummen	14	-	✗	RUMEN
2.37	69	Rummen	15	27	✓	RUMEN 8
2.36	69	Rummen	16	-	✗	RUMEN Slightly broken
2.35	69	Rummen	17	28	✓	RUMEN 9
2.35	69	Rummen	18	29	✓	2.34 g RUMEN 10
2.31	69	Rummen	19	30	✓	2.32 g RUMEN 11
2.29	69	Rummen	20	-	✗	RUMEN
2.29	69	Rummen	21	31	✓	RUMEN 12
2.27	69	Rummen	22	-	✗	RUMEN
2.27	69	Rummen	23	-	✗	RUMEN

2.27	69	Rummen	24	-	X	RUMEN
2.26	69	Rummen	25	-	X	RUMEN
2.24	69	Rummen	26	32	✓	2.25 g RUMEN 13
2.23	69	Rummen	27	-	X	RUMEN
2.22	69	Rummen	28	-	X	RUMEN
2.22	69	Rummen	29	-	X	RUMEN
2.21	69	Rummen	30	33	✓	RUMEN 14
2.21	69	Rummen	31	-	X	RUMEN
2.20	69	Rummen	32	34	✓	A RUMEN 15
2.20	69	Rummen	33	35	✓	B RUMEN 16
2.18	69	Rummen	34	36	✓	2.17 g RUMEN 17
2.18	69	Rummen	35	-	X	RUMEN
2.15	69	Rummen	36	37	✓	RUMEN 18
2.14	69	Rummen	37	38	✓	RUMEN 19
2.14	69	Rummen	38	-	X	RUMEN
2.14	69	Rummen	39	-	X	RUMEN
2.13	69	Rummen	40	-	X	RUMEN
2.12	69	Rummen	41	39	✓	RUMEN 20
2.11	69	Rummen	42	-	X	RUMEN
2.08	69	Rummen	43	40	✓	2.09 g RUMEN 21
2.07	69	Rummen	44	41	✓	RUMEN 22
2.03	69	Rummen	45	-	X	RUMEN
2.03	69	Rummen	46	42	✓	2.02 g RUMEN 23
2.01	69	Rummen	47	-	X	RUMEN
2.00	69	Rummen	48	-	X	RUMEN
2.00	69	Rummen	49	43	✓	RUMEN 24
2.00	69	Rummen	50	44	✓	1.99 g RUMEN damaged 25
1.97	69	Rummen	51	45	✓	1.98 g. RUMEN 26
1.96	69	Rummen	52	46	✓	RUMEN 27
1.95	69	Rummen	53	47	✓	A RUMEN 28
1.95	69	Rummen	54	48	✓	B RUMEN29
1.94	69	Rummen	55	49	✓	RUMEN 30
1.94	69	Rummen	56	50	✓	1.93 g RUMEN 31
1.91	69	Rummen	57	-	X	RUMEN
1.91	69	Rummen	58	51	✓	RUMEN broken 32
1.89	69	Rummen	59	-	X	RUMEN
1.88	69	Rummen	60	-	X	RUMEN
1.84	69	Rummen	61	52	✓	1.83 g RUMEN 33

1.82	69	Rummen	62	53	✓	1.81 g RUMEN 34
1.80	69	Rummen	63	54	✓	RUMEN Broken / chipped 35
1.76	69	Rummen	64	55	✓	RUMEN 36
1.63	69	Rummen	65	56	✓	RUMEN 37
1.60	69	Rummen	66	-	✗	RUMEN
1.59	69	Rummen	67	57	✓	RUMEN 38
1.57	69	Rummen	68	-	?	RUMEN (1.56g ?)
1.44	69	Rummen	69	-	✗	RUMEN
1.07	69	Rummen	70	-	✗	RUMEN / Broken (half coin)
?	69	Rummen	+	-	✗	RUMEN 138 fragments (i.e. broken coins?)
		Rummen		58	✓	1.71 g RUMEN broken 39
		Rummen		59	✓	1.56 g A RUMEN broken 40
		Rummen		60	✓	1.56 g B RUMEN broken 41
		Rummen		61	✓	1.56 g C RUMEN broken 42
2.90	70	Rummen	1	62	✓	FRAND 43
2.82	70	Rummen	2	-	✗	FRAND
2.70	70	Rummen	3	-	✗	FRAND
2.26	70	Rummen	4	-	✗	FRAND
2.14	70	Rummen	5	-	✗	FRAND
2.10	70	Rummen	6	63	✓	FRAND 44
?	70	Rummen	+	-	✗	FRAND / 2 fragments (i.e. broken coins?)
?	71	Rummen	+	-	✗	RUMEN 1 fragment (i.e. broken coin?) ORNO
	70	Rummen	????	64	✓	2.61 g FRAND 45
2.76	68	Looz	1	65	✓	2.76 g
2.57	68	Looz	2	66	✓	2.57 g
2.95	72	Horne	1	67	✓	2.93 g. VIERD THEO
2.67	72	Horne	2	68	✓	VIERD THEO
2.50	72	Horne	3	-	?	VIERD THEO
2.35	72	Horne	4	-	?	VIERD THEO
2.35	72	Horne	5	-	?	VIERD THEO
2.27	72	Horne	6	-	?	VIERD THEO
2.00	72	Horne	7	69	✓	1.99 g VIERD THEO
1.94	72	Horne	8	70	✓	1.92 g VIERD THEO
1.81	72	Horne	9	-	?	VIERD THEO
1.79	72	Horne	10	-	?	VIERD THEO
?	72	Horne	+	-	✗	VIERD THEO 17 fragments (i.e. broken coins?)
?		Horne		71	✓	2.25 g. VIERD THEO
?		Horne		72	✓	2.14 g. VIERD THEO
?		Horne		73	✓	1.71 g. VIERD THEO
2.14	73	Horne	1	74	✓	2.00 g VIERD DIRIC

1.75	73	Horne	2	75	✓	VIIRD DIRIC slightly broken
?	73	Horne	+	-	??	VIIRD DIRIC 2 fragments (i.e. broken coins?)
		Horne		76	✓	1.85 g VIIRD DIRIC broken
1.78	74	Horne	1	77	✓	VESMN
2.20	75a	Rekem	1	78	✓	2.20 g DVC DOMNI
?	75b	Rekem	2	79	✓	2.21 g 1 fragment (i.e. broken coin) DV D'ESTEN
?	75b	Rekem	+	-	✗	1 fragment (i.e. broken coin?) DV D'ESTEN
2.21	76a	Valkenburg	1	80	✓	
?	76a	Valkenburg	+	-	✗	1 fragment (i.e. broken coin?)
2.50	76b	Valkenburg	2	-	✗	
2.41	76b	Valkenburg	4	81	✓	
?	76b	Valkenburg	+	-	✗	4 fragments (i.e. broken coins?)
1.87	76c	Valkenburg	5	82	✓	
1.95	76d	Valkenburg	6	83	✓	
1.74	76d	Valkenburg	7	84	✓	1.73 g
1.62	76d	Valkenburg	8	85	✓	"Very damaged " (i.e. "fragment") <i>This coin is not that bad....</i>
?	76d	Valkenburg	+	-	✗	13 fragments (i.e. broken coins?)
2.33	76 e	Valkenburg	9	86	✓	
2.16	76 e	Valkenburg	10	87	✓	
?	76 e	Valkenburg	+	-	✗	1 fragment (i.e. broken coin?) = 19 "fragments" total
2.39	76f	Valkenburg	11	88	✓	
		Valkenburg	?	99	✓	1.41 g broken coin
		Valkenburg	?	90	✓	1.41 g broken coin
				91	✓	1.28 g cut half
		Valkenburg	?	92	✓	0.84 g broken coin
3.09	78	Coevorden	1	93	✓	3.09 g.
?	78	Coevorden	2	94	✓	2.39 g 1 fragment (i.e. broken coin)
1.90	79	Groningen	1	94	✓	1.90 g
2.10	80	Cambrai	1	-	✗	Peter
?	80	Cambrai	+	-	✗	31 fragments – Peter
				96	✓	1.67 g. (broken) Peter "fragment?"
				97	✓	1.74 g. (broken) Peter "fragment?"
2.34	81	Cambrai	2	-	✗	Robert
2.35	82	Cambrai	1	-	✗	1 fragment – Robert (i.e. broken coin?)
?	83	Serain	+	-	✗	4 fragments (i.e. broken coins?)
?	84	Brittany	+	-	✗	1 fragment (i.e. broken coin?)
?	p. 86	unknown	3	-	✗	3 fragments (i.e. broken coins)



*One of the 2 gold coins from the Schoo Hoard (écu d'or)  
Holy Roman Empire: Lewis IV the Bavarian (1314-1347)  
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. BM-053/41*

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