

The de Wit Collection
of Medieval Coins

AUKTION 121.
13. März 2007 in Osnabrück



121. AUKTION

THE DE WIT COLLECTION OF MEDIEVAL COINS



12. - 13. März 2007

Steigenberger Hotel Remarque Osnabrück
Natruper-Tor-Wall I
Hotel-Telefon (05 41) 60 96 633
Hotel-Fax (05 41) 60 96 634

*(nur während der Auktion/only during the auction/
uniquement pendant la vente/solamente durante l'asta)*

ZEITPLAN AUKTIONEN 121 - 124

AUKTION 121
THE DE WIT COLLECTION
OF MEDIEVAL COINS

Montag, den 12. März 2007

14.00 Uhr - 18.00 Uhr
Nr. 1 bis Nr. 521

Dienstag, den 13. März 2007

10.00 Uhr - 13.00 Uhr
Nr. 522 bis Nr. 970

14.00 Uhr - 18.00 Uhr
Nr. 971 bis Nr. 1514

AUKTION 122
MÜNZEN UND MEDAILLEN
AUS MITTELALTER UND NEUZEIT

Mittwoch, den 14. März 2007

10.00 Uhr - 13.00 Uhr
Nr. 2001 bis Nr. 2494

14.00 Uhr - 18.00 Uhr
Nr. 2495 bis Nr. 3364

Donnerstag, den 15. März 2007

10.00 Uhr - 13.00 Uhr
Nr. 3365 bis Nr. 3974

14.00 Uhr - 19.00 Uhr
Nr. 3975 bis Nr. 5000

AUKTION 123
DEUTSCHE MÜNZEN SEIT 1871
DIE SAMMLUNG PAULS U. A.

Freitag, den 16. März 2007

10.00 Uhr - 13.00 Uhr
Nr. 6001 bis Nr. 6703

14.00 Uhr - 16.30 Uhr
Nr. 6704 bis Nr. 7237

AUKTION 124
MÜNZEN AUS DER ANTIKEN WELT
DIE SAMMLUNG DR. ADOLF WILD U. A.

16.30 Uhr - 19.00 Uhr
Nr. 7501 bis Nr. 8108

Samstag, den 17. März 2007

10.00 Uhr - 13.00 Uhr
Nr. 8109 bis Nr. 8699

14.00 Uhr - 18.00 Uhr
Nr. 8700 bis Nr. 9509

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Besichtigungen siehe Seite 12*

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Viewing of auction good view page 12*

*Horaires détaillés voir page 5
Exposition des monnaies voir page 12*

*Calendario dettagliato veda pagina 5
Esposizione veda pagina 12*



UNSERE ADRESSE
OUR ADDRESS



Fritz Rudolf Künker e. K. Münzenhandlung
Gutenbergstr. 23 · 49076 Osnabrück
Telefon: 05 41-96 20 20
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Gebührenfreie Rufnummer: 08 00-58 36 537

International calls: +49 (0)5 41-96 20 20
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Während der Auktion/During the auction
Steigenberger Hotel Remarque:

Telefon: +49 (0)5 41-60 96 633
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Ust.-Id.-Nr.: DE 117 620 142

UNSERE GESCHÄFTSZEITEN
OPENING HOURS

Montag-Donnerstag 9.00 - 17.00 Uhr
Freitag 9.00 - 15.30 Uhr
Sonnabend nach Vereinbarung
Saturday by prior appointment

*Außerhalb unserer Geschäftszeit steht unseren Kunden ein automatischer Anrufbeantworter zur Verfügung.
Answering machine available after opening hours.*

WWW.KUENKER.DE
E-MAIL: INFO@KUENKER.DE

Auf unserer Internetseite haben Sie die Möglichkeit:

- die Abbildungen zu vergrößern
- Ihre Gebote direkt per Email abzugeben
- die Ergebnisse der Auktionen abzurufen

On our website you have the possibility:

- to zoom all images
- to place your bids
- to view all auction results

IHRE ANSPRECHPARTNER
CONTACT

*Abwicklung der Aufträge und
Einlieferungen*

Gisela Thomas, Prokuristin
Telefon: (05 41) 96 20 221

*Annahme von Einlieferungen
Staff members accepting consignments*

Dr. Andreas Kaiser
Telefon: (05 41) 96 20 254

Arne Kirsch, Prokurist
Telefon: (05 41) 96 20 234

Oliver Köpp, Prokurist
Telefon: (05 41) 96 20 229

Jens-Ulrich Thormann MA (Antike Münzen)
Telefon: (05 41) 96 20 242

*Mitglied Verband der Deutschen
Münzenhändler e. V.
Association Internationale des Numismates
Professionnels (AINP)*





HINWEISE FÜR UNSERE BIETENDEN AUKTIONSKUNDEN

1. Die Auktionsbedingungen finden Sie am Ende dieses Katalogs.
2. Bitte senden Sie uns Ihre Aufträge möglichst frühzeitig zu. Wenn uns Ihr Auftrag erst kurz vor der Auktion erreicht, können sich bei der Bearbeitung Fehler einschleichen.
3. Das beiliegende Formular macht es Ihnen leicht, ein schriftliches Gebot abzugeben. Falls Sie Ihre Gebote faxen möchten: unser Telefax 0541 - 96 20 222 steht Ihnen Tag und Nacht zur Verfügung.
4. Die von Ihnen ersteigerten Objekte werden Ihnen innerhalb von acht Tagen nach Beendigung der Auktion zugeschickt. Die Aufträge werden in der Reihenfolge des Eingangs bearbeitet, d. h. die zuerst eingegangenen Aufträge werden auch zuerst bearbeitet. Auch alle Bieter, die keinen Zuschlag erhalten haben, werden von uns nach der Auktion benachrichtigt.
5. Wenn Sie telefonisch bieten möchten, rufen Sie bitte vor der Auktion unseren Kundenservice an. Frau Thomas freut sich auf Ihren Anruf entweder direkt unter 0541 - 96 20 221 oder gebührenfrei unter 0800 - 5 83 65 37.
6. Wenn Sie als neuer Kunde noch nicht bei uns gekauft haben, ist es empfehlenswert, wenn Sie uns Referenzen angeben. Nennen Sie uns eine Münzhandlung, mit der Sie bereits in Geschäftsverbindung stehen. Oder rufen Sie unseren Kundenservice an. Telefon 0541 - 96 20 221 oder gebührenfrei unter 0800 - 5 83 65 37.
7. Unsere Broschüre "DIE KÜNKER-AUKTIONEN: WIE BIETE ICH ERFOLGREICH?" liegt in jedem Katalog und ist für Sie eine nützliche Hilfe.
8. Die Echtheit aller verkauften Objekte wird auch über die gesetzliche Frist hinaus gewährleistet.
9. Alle Kunden, die als Bieter an einer unserer Auktionen teilnehmen, erhalten innerhalb von zwei Wochen nach der Auktion unsere Ergebnisliste gratis.
10. Sie haben Fragen zu einer bestimmten Münze? Sie möchten persönlich an unserer Auktion teilnehmen? Sie haben andere Fragen? Unser Kundenservice freut sich auf Ihren Anruf, entweder direkt unter 0541 - 96 20 221 oder gebührenfrei unter 0800 - 5 83 65 37.

RENSEIGNEMENTS À L'ATTENTION DE NOS CLIENTS DES VENTES AUX ENCHÈRES

1. Vous trouverez les conditions générales de vente aux enchères à la fin de ce catalogue.
2. Veuillez nous faire parvenir vos ordres le plus tôt possible. Si vos ordres nous parviennent juste avant la vente aux enchères, des erreurs risquent d'être commises lors de leur traitement.
3. Le formulaire ci-joint vous aidera à rédiger facilement votre offre. Si vous souhaitez faxer votre offre, vous pourrez le faire 24 heures sur 24 au +49 (0)541 - 96 20 222.
4. Les objets dont vous serez adjudicataire vous seront envoyés dans les huit jours suivant la fin de la vente aux enchères. Les commandes seront prises en compte dans l'ordre de leur arrivée, c'est-à-dire que les commandes nous parvenant les premières seront d'abord traitées. Après la vente aux enchères, nous préviendrons tous les enchérisseurs n'ayant pas obtenu l'adjudication.
5. Si vous souhaitez faire des enchères par téléphone, veuillez appeler auparavant notre service clientèle. Madame Thomas sera heureuse de vous répondre directement au +49 (0)541 - 96 20 221.
6. Si vous êtes un nouveau client et n'avez encore fait aucune acquisition chez nous, il serait conseillé de nous fournir quelques références. Indiquez nous si vous traitez déjà avec un professionnel du commerce des monnaies. Ou contactez notre service clientèle au +49 (0)541 - 96 20 221.
7. Notre brochure intitulée : »DIE KÜNKER-AUKTIONEN : WIE BIETE ICH ERFOLGREICH?« (»Les ventes aux enchères de Künker : comment faire une enchère réussie ? «) jointe dans chaque catalogue vous sera très utile.
8. L'authenticité des pièces vendues sera garantie même au-delà des délais légaux.
9. Tous les clients participant à l'une de nos ventes aux enchères en tant qu'enchérisseurs recevront gratuitement une liste de résultats dans les deux semaines suivant la vente aux enchères.
10. Vous avez des questions concernant une pièce particulière ? Vous désirez prendre part personnellement à notre vente aux enchères ? Vous avez d'autres questions ? Notre service clientèle se fera un plaisir de vous répondre au +49 (0)541 - 96 20 221.

IMPORTANT INFORMATION FOR PLACING BIDS

1. The terms and conditions of the auction can be found at the end of this catalogue.
2. Please send us your instructions as early as possible. The likelihood of errors occurring increases if we do not receive your instructions until shortly before the auction.
3. The enclosed form makes it simple for you to submit a written bid. Our fax machine +49 (0)541 - 96 20 222 is on standby day and night in case you wish to fax your bids.
4. The objects which you purchase will be delivered to you within eight days of the close of auction. Instructions are processed in the same order as they were received - in other words, the first instructions to be received are the first to be processed. All unsuccessful bidders will be also informed after the auction.
5. If you would like to bid by telephone, please ring our customer service beforehand. Mrs. Thomas will be pleased to speak to you on +49 (0)541 - 96 20 221.
6. If you are a new customer who has not yet bought anything through us, we recommend that you give us references. Name a coin dealer with whom you have already done business. Or call our customer service on +49 (0)541 - 96 20 221.
7. Our brochure „DIE KÜNKER-AUKTIONEN: WIE BIETE ICH ERFOLGREICH?“ ("The Künker auctions: How to bid successfully?") is enclosed in every catalogue and will prove useful to you.
8. The genuineness of all sold objects is also warranted beyond the statutory length of time.
9. All customers who participate as bidders in our auction receive our list of results free of charge within two weeks of the close of auction.
10. Do you have questions about a particular coin? Would you like to participate personally in our auction? Do you have any other questions? Our customer service team will be pleased to help you - call on +49 (0)541 - 96 20 221.

INFORMAZIONI PER GLI OFFERENTI DELLE NOSTRE ASTE

1. Le condizioni d'asta si trovano alla fine di questo catalogo.
2. Siete pregati di inviarci i vostri ordini il più presto possibile. Se il vostro ordine ci perviene poco tempo prima dell'apertura dell'asta, si possono verificare errori nell'elaborazione dello stesso.
3. Per le vostre offerte scritte potete utilizzare il modulo allegato al catalogo. Nel caso voleste trasmettere le vostre offerte per fax, siete pregati di inviarle al seguente numero: +49 (0)541-96 20 222.
4. Gli oggetti che avete acquistato all'asta vi saranno spediti entro otto giorni dal termine della stessa. Gli ordini vengono evasi in base alla data di ricevimento, quindi hanno precedenza quelli pervenuti prima. Anche gli offerenti che non hanno avuta alcuna aggiudicazione riceveranno una nostra comunicazione al termine dell'asta.
5. Se desiderate la partecipazione telefonica in diretta durante l'asta, siete pregati di chiamare prima la consulenza ai clienti. La sig.ra Thomas, raggiungibile al numero diretto +49 (0)541- 96 20 221, sarà a vostra disposizione.
6. Se siete clienti nuovi e non avete mai acquistato da noi, vi proponiamo di inviarci delle referenze. Dateci il nome di un negozio di monete presso il quale avete già fatto degli acquisti, oppure chiamate la nostra consulenza ai clienti al numero +49 (0)541 96 20 221.
7. Nel nostro opuscolo « DIE KÜNKER-AUKTIONEN : WIE BIETE ICH ERFOLGREICH?« („Aste Künker: come avere successo nelle offerte?“), allegato ad ogni catalogo, troverete consigli utili.
8. Il certificato d'autenticità di tutti gli oggetti venduti viene rilasciato anche oltre i termini previsti per legge.
9. Tutti i clienti che hanno partecipato ad una nostra asta riceveranno gratuitamente l'elenco delle aggiudicazioni entro quindici giorni dal termine della stessa.
10. Avete delle domande su una moneta in particolare ? Desiderate partecipare personalmente ad una nostra asta? Avete altre domande? Rivolgetevi al nostro Servizio Clienti al numero +49 (0)541 - 96 20 221.



WICHTIGE HINWEISE FÜR UNSERE EINLIEFERER

1. Unser Expertenteam garantiert Ihnen eine fachgerechte Bearbeitung der von Ihnen eingelieferten Stücke.
2. Die Schätzpreise werden von uns aufgrund unserer hervorragenden Marktkenntnisse sorgfältig festgelegt. Die Stücke werden zu 80% der im Katalog angegebenen Schätzpreise ausgerufen. Durch diese Regelung werden Sie als Einlieferer geschützt. Für nicht verkaufte Objekte werden keine Gebühren erhoben.
3. Der Standard unserer Kataloge ist von hoher Qualität und findet internationale Anerkennung. Wir haben eine der besten Kundendateien, die es weltweit gibt.
4. Von der individuellen Betreuung unserer Kunden profitieren auch Sie als Einlieferer.
5. Als Einlieferer erhalten Sie Ihren Auktionserlös innerhalb von 45 Tagen nach der Auktion. Sonderregelungen sind nach Absprache möglich.
6. Auf Wunsch kann Ihre Einlieferung bei Ihnen zuhause abgeholt werden. Ab € 2.500,- Einlieferungssumme übernehmen wir die Kosten, ab € 25.000,- können wir unter Umständen an einem vereinbarten Ort Ihre Einlieferung nach Absprache gerne auch persönlich entgegennehmen. Selbstverständlich ist Ihr Versteigerungsgut durch uns versichert.
7. Nicht alle Münzen eignen sich, als Einzelstücke aufgenommen zu werden. Vertrauen Sie auf die Erfahrung unserer Experten, die niedrigpreisige Münzen liebevoll zu interessanten Lots zusammenstellen.
8. Der Schätzwert Ihrer Einlieferung sollte mindestens € 1.000,- betragen.
9. Ihre Einlieferung wird Ihnen sofort bei Übernahme durch ein Protokoll quittiert. Spätestens fünf Wochen vor der Auktion erhalten Sie eine genaue Auflistung Ihrer Objekte mit den dazugehörigen Katalognummern.
10. Innerhalb einer Woche nach der Auktion erhalten Sie bereits die Ergebnisliste und können alle erzielten Preise feststellen.
11. Profitieren Sie von der Anziehungskraft eines führenden Unternehmens. Bitte wenden Sie sich bei Fragen an unseren Kundenservice unter Leitung von Frau Gisela Thomas direkt unter 0541 – 96 20 221 oder gebührenfrei unter 0800 – 5 83 65 37.
12. Unsere Verträge für Einlieferungen können Sie unverbindlich anfordern. Haben Sie noch Fragen? Frau Thomas freut sich auf Ihren Anruf. Telefon: 0541 – 96 20 221 oder gebührenfrei unter 0800 5 83 65 37.

RENSEIGNEMENTS IMPORTANTS A L'ATTENTION DES VENDEURS

1. Notre équipe d'experts garantit une prise en charge compétente des pièces que vous nous confiez.
2. Notre excellente connaissance du marché nous permet de fixer soigneusement les prix estimés. Les pièces seront mises aux enchères à un prix représentant 80% du prix estimé indiqué dans le catalogue. Cette réglementation vous protège en tant que vendeur. Aucuns frais ne seront prélevés sur les pièces invendues.
3. Nos catalogues ont un niveau qualitatif élevé, reconnu au plan international. Nous disposons d'un des meilleurs fichiers clients du monde.
4. En tant que vendeur, vous profiterez vous aussi du suivi personnalisé que nous offrons à nos clients.
5. Le vendeur recevra le produit de la vente dans les 45 jours qui suivront les enchères. Des dispositions spéciales pourront être prises sur accord préalable.
6. Nous prendrons en charge les frais d'expédition des pièces dont le montant sera supérieur à € 2.500,-. Si leur montant est supérieur à € 25.000,-, l'un de nos employés se pourra charger de prendre la livraison à un lieu concordé. En concertation, notre assurance couvrira tous les risques.
7. Les pièces de monnaie ne se prêtent pas toutes à une vente individuelle. Faites confiance à l'expérience de nos spécialistes qui se chargeront avec plaisir de rassembler les pièces bon marché de manière à constituer des lots intéressants.
8. La valeur estimée des pièces fournies devrait s'élever à un minimum de € 1.000,-.
9. Au moment de la prise en charge, vous recevrez un détail des pièces fournies. Au plus tard cinq semaines avant la vente aux enchères, vous recevrez une liste exacte de vos pièces avec les numéros de catalogue correspondants.
10. Dans la semaine qui suivra la vente aux enchères, vous recevrez déjà la liste de ses résultats et pourrez prendre connaissance des prix obtenus.
11. Profitez de l'attrait du leader du marché. Pour tout renseignement, veuillez-vous adresser à notre service clientèle sous la direction de madame Gisela Thomas : +49 (0)541 – 96 20 221.
12. Vous pouvez demander sans engagement de votre part nos contrats de dépôt de pièces? Vous avez d'autres questions? Madame Thomas sera heureuse de vous répondre au +49 (0)541 – 96 20 221.

IMPORTANT INFORMATION FOR OUR CONSIGNERS

1. Our team of specialists guarantees an expert treatment of the consigned items.
2. The estimates are carefully established by us due to our excellent knowledge of the market. Bidding for the items is then started at 80 % of the estimate price stated in the catalogue. This arrangement protects you as a consigner. Unsold items incur no fees.
3. The standard offered in our catalogue is of the highest quality, and is recognised internationally. We have one of the best clientele lists worldwide.
4. You as a consigner also profit from the individual consultation offered to our customers.
5. As a consigner, you receive the auction proceeds within 45 days of the close of auction. Special arrangements can be made following discussion.
6. For consignments with a value over € 2.500,- we may bear the transportation costs. For deliveries over € 25.000,- we may personally collect the items at an arranged place after prior consultation. Upon consultation, the shipping of your goods could be covered by our insurance.
7. Not all coins are suited to be registered as individual items. Trust in our expert's experience as they carefully combine less-valuable coins into interesting lots.
8. The valuation price of your delivery should be at least € 1.000,-.
9. Your delivery is confirmed in writing immediately on receipt. At least five weeks before the auction, you receive an exact list of your objects with the relevant catalogue numbers.
10. Within a week of the close of auction, you receive a list with the results in order to see what prices were reached for each individual lot.
11. Profit from our position as a leading coin dealer. If you have any questions, please contact our customer service team which is headed by Mrs. Gisela Thomas – directly on +49 (0)541 – 96 20 221.
12. Would you like to receive copies of our contracts for consigner, without making any commitment? Do you have any other questions? Mrs. Thomas will be pleased to help you – please call on +49 (0)541 – 96 20 221.

INFORMAZIONI PER I NOSTRI DEPOSITANTI

1. Il nostro team di esperti assicura un trattamento accurato dei pezzi che ci avete inviato.
2. Eseguiamo valutazioni finalizzate alla vendita. I prezzi di stima sono frutto della nostra eccezionale conoscenza del mercato e della nostra attenta valutazione. La base d'asta ammonta all'80% del prezzo di stima indicato sul catalogo. Non si addebitano spese per gli oggetti invenduti.
3. I nostri cataloghi sono di alta qualità e sono riconosciuti a livello internazionale. I nostri clienti sono fra i migliori al mondo.
4. Come depositanti potete beneficiare dell'assistenza riservata a ciascuno dei nostri clienti.
5. Come depositanti riceverete gli importi realizzati all'asta entro 45 giorni dal termine della stessa. Si possono concordare condizioni particolari.
6. A partire da un controvalore degli oggetti di € 2.500,- i costi del trasporto sono a nostro carico, mentre a partire da un controvalore di € 25.000 gli oggetti possono essere ritirati personalmente da un nostro incaricato ad un posto concordato. Naturalmente il trasporto dei vostri oggetti può essere assicurato tramite la nostra assicurazione.
7. Non tutte le monete possono essere negoziate singolarmente. Fidatevi dell'esperienza dei nostri esperti, che raggruppano le monete non molto preziose in lotti di sicuro interesse.
8. Il valore stimato degli oggetti depositati deve ammontare ad almeno € 1.000,-.
9. Nel momento in cui gli oggetti sono presi in consegna, viene rilasciata una ricevuta numerata. Riceverete un elenco preciso degli oggetti che avete depositato con i relativi numeri di catalogo al massimo cinque settimane prima dell'asta.
10. Riceverete l'elenco degli oggetti aggiudicati entro una settimana dalla chiusura dell'asta. Potrete così verificare i prezzi realizzati.
11. Approfittate della capacità di un leader di mercato per aumentare il valore dei vostri oggetti. Se avete delle domande, rimaniamo a vostra disposizione per qualsiasi necessità. Rivolgetevi alla nostra consulenza ai clienti diretta dalla sig.ra Gisela Thomas al numero +49 (0)541-91 20 221.
12. Volete ricevere i nostri contratti senza impegno? Avete altre domande? Potete contattare la sig.ra Gisela Thomas al numero +49 (0)541-96 20 221.



DETAILLIERTER ZEITPLAN AUKTIONEN 121-124

AUKTION 121 THE DE WIT COLLECTION OF MEDIEVAL COINS	Montag, den 12. März 2007 14.00 Uhr - 18.00 Uhr Nr. 1 bis Nr. 521 Völkerwanderung - Frankreich Dienstag, den 13. März 2007 10.00 Uhr - 13.00 Uhr Nr. 522 bis Nr. 970 Elsaß-Lothringen, Skandinavien, Niederlande: Friesland - Zutphen 14.00 Uhr - 18.00 Uhr Nr. 971 bis Nr. 1514 Niederlande: Geldern - Burgundische Niederlande
AUKTION 122 MÜNZEN UND MEDAILLEN AUS MITTELALTER UND NEUZEIT	Mittwoch, den 14. März 2007 10.00 Uhr - 13.00 Uhr Nr. 2001 bis Nr. 2494 Goldprägungen: Ausland, Habsburgische Erblande 14.00 Uhr - 18.00 Uhr Nr. 2495 bis Nr. 3364 Goldprägungen: Deutschland, Silberprägungen: Ausland Donnerstag, den 15. März 2007 10.00 Uhr - 13.00 Uhr Nr. 3365 bis Nr. 3974 Silberprägungen: Habsburgische Erblande, Deutschland: Aachen - Brandenburg-Preußen 14.00 Uhr - 19.00 Uhr Nr. 3975 bis Nr. 5000 Silberprägungen: Braunau - Wuppertal, Sammlung Hans Lummer Teil I und II, Medaillen, Notmünzen, Papiergeld, Münzgefäße, Numismatische Literatur, Lots
AUKTION 123 DEUTSCHE MÜNZEN SEIT 1871 DIE SAMMLUNG PAULS U. A.	Freitag, den 16. März 2007 10.00 Uhr - 13.00 Uhr Nr. 6001 bis Nr. 6703 Reichskleinmünzen, Reichssilbermünzen, Reichsgoldmünzen: Anhalt - Mecklenburg-Strelitz 14.00 Uhr - 16.30 Uhr Nr. 6704 bis Nr. 7237 Reichsgoldmünzen: Preußen - BRD, Weltkrieg und Inflation, Weimarer Republik, Drittes Reich, BRD, DDR, Gent, Zweiter Weltkrieg, Deutsche Kolonien, Notmünzen, Proben, Lots 16.30 Uhr - 19.00 Uhr Nr. 7501 bis Nr. 8108 Goldprägungen der Antike, Griechische Münzen, Sammlung Hans Lummer Teil III
AUKTION 124 MÜNZEN AUS DER ANTIKEN WELT DIE SAMMLUNG DR. ADOLF WILD U. A.	Samstag, den 17. März 2007 10.00 Uhr - 13.00 Uhr Nr. 8109 bis Nr. 8699 Römische Münzen Teil I 14.00 Uhr - 18.00 Uhr Nr. 8700 bis Nr. 9509 Römische Münzen Teil II, Völkerwanderung, Byzanz, Kreuzfahrer
BESICHTIGUNGEN	Besichtigung des Auktionsgutes in unseren Geschäftsräumen, Gutenbergstr. 23, 49076 Osnabrück, ab dem 12.02.2007, nach vor- heriger telefonischer Vereinbarung unter Nr. 05 41 - 96 20 221.



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1,000 YEARS OF EUROPEAN COINAGE THE DE WIT COLLECTION OF MEDIEVAL COINS

Volume I: Migration Periode, Merovingians, Carolingians, France, Scandinavia and the Northern and Southern Netherlands

Introduction

The Middle Ages stand for almost 1,000 years of European History - and consequently 1,000 years in History of Coinage from the decline of the Western Roman Empire in the 5th century to the discovery of the New World in 1492. During this period the course for many European currencies was set, beginning at the latest with the introduction of the *novi denarii* at the end of the 8th century by Charlemagne. Variable borders - the results of chivalry warfare - changing allies and politically motivated marriages left their marks on the coins.

For the individual collector it often seems difficult to pass through the jungle of medieval European coinage. Sometimes the helpful travelguide seems to lack. Although a lot of brilliant works from experienced specialists have been published (confer the extensive but still incomplete bibliography) many questions are still unanswered, especially those pertaining to the early medieval ages.

With the publication of the first part of the De Wit collection we hope to supply interested collectors with a small "guide" through the landscape of medieval coinage. With this guide within reach we will travel through medieval time and space and stop at important places, persons and events. From the tracks of Germanic tribes during the Migration Period to the battlefields of the Hundred Years' War, from the formation of the independent, lively and powerful cities to the quiet monasteries - protectors of medieval scholarship, from the cottages of the poorer people to the palatines of the Frankish kings. Money is omnipresent and mirrors the development of medieval society. The combined historical, economic and artistic aspects of individual coins become a source of significant information.

Considering the fact that some attributions are still uncertain, the arrangement of the coins in this catalogue partly seems to be debatable. In arranging the catalogue we extensively followed the concept of the collector and author, who is responsible for the text in general as well as for the explanations of the coins. We've published a lot of comments from Professor De Wit on the individual coins, the persons who issued them, the historical background and a detailed bibliography, providing prospective customers with the possibility to gain a deeper understanding of this extraordinary period of coin history. In his own words, Professor De Wit provides the interested reader with further information and explanations of how and why some distributions are the way they are, not only proving his qualification as an author of numismatic literature but also his knowledge of medieval history. At least it would be a pleasure to give medieval numismatic research an impulse by putting the individual specimens up for discussion. Although it certainly will not cover all aspects of medieval history, the publishing of the De Wit collection provides more than a general overview over 1,000 important years of European coin history.

Professor G. W. de Wit



Private life

G. W. de Wit was born in 1926. He taught physics at the Leiden University in the Netherlands and entered the insurance business at the end of 1947. He spent his whole professional life in the same company as a general manager - the first Nationale Levensverzekeringbank (later Nationale-Nederlanden and today ING) - where he was first engaged with the pensionbusiness and later on responsible for the scientific part of the whole business. Over a long time he promoted the development of non-life insurance mathematics all over the world.

During his scientific career he wrote more than a hundred articles on all fields of insurance. The last eight years he also taught insurance economics as a professor at the Erasmus University in Rotterdam.

After his well-earned professional retirement he didn't retire from science but wrote a book "Thoughts about economics", in which he developed his ideas about the future of society and the role of economics in it.

Acquiring the collection

In the late fifties and early sixties Professor de Wit and his wife made yearly trips through Italy. Both were fascinated by the medieval art and especially by the long series of scenes from the Old and New Testament in churches and on wooden crucifixes. He was interested in the development of the separate scenes and the iconography of the pictures.

To study this aspect of medieval art he selected the scenes of the Annunciation for two reasons: Firstly this scene is the most represented and secondly it is a relatively simple scene with only two persons and a maximum of two objects – the hand of God and a pot of flowers, sometimes with an architectural framework. During the studies of this scene he discovered that there was a representation of the annunciation on a coin: The Salut d'Or of Charles of Anjou (1266-1278) of Naples.



In 1965 he bought a wonderful specimen of this coin at Schulman in Amsterdam to have something in hand of this fascinating medieval period – the beginning of his future coin collection. First limiting it to Italy, De Wit soon ventured into European numismatic territory, but still restricted his collection to coins of the Middle Ages. His goal still was to collect beautiful specimens with an interesting background (art)history and iconography. The guideline was to possess the best available quality, for "art is only beautiful when it is of the highest quality". To illustrate the often high standard of medieval coin art the majority of the specimens is shown enlarged. If not otherwise mentioned, these enlargements are 1.5:1.

Today the collection gives, as best as possible, an overview of european medieval coinage. But there are several parts, which attract the special attention of the collector. The first part started in 1967 when he bought a small coin of excellent quality, having no idea what he was looking at. This grew up over 35 years to the most important collection of sceattas (650 to 750) in the world. For him, in the sceattas beauty and interesting iconography go hand in hand. The second part was a collection of 68 pennies of the "Quatrefoil Type" of Cnut the Great of England. Here we find die-cutting of the highest standard. This gives an excellent overview of the different styles from several minthouses in the time around 1000. The third and last part started somewhat later. Here it is the attraction of the German bracteates - in fact more than 300 specimens - from the time of Frederic Barbarossa (2nd half of the 12th century), which present wonderful romanesque engravings. This part was mostly formed from old collections.

But these parts were only one standing leg of this extraordinary collection. Containing among others a 1/4 Siliqua of the Ostrogoths, Carolingian deniers, bracteates of the German emperor Frederic Barbarossa (1152-1190), pennies of the Danish king Valdemar IV Atterdag (1340-1375) and a Noble of Philip the Fair (1482-1494), the collection of Professor De Wit which now comes to sale provides a unique survey of the Coinage during the Middle Ages. And so it became a lot more than a collection of interesting medieval iconographies.

We consider it an honour to publish and sell Professor de Wit's important collection of medieval coins in three parts and would like to express our thanks for placing his confidence in our house. The decision to part from his collection enables other interested collectors to discover the numismatic characteristics, fascination and rarities of medieval European coinage. Many of the specimens are from notable collections and in excellent condition. We hope that this catalogue and its continuation will attract the attention and win the recognition of our collectors. We hope you enjoy reading the commentaries and wish good luck in obtaining pieces from this extraordinary collection.

Dr. des. Sebastian Steinbach

Osnabrück, January 2007

Pay attention to the following auctions of the de Wit Collection:

Part II (October 2007): Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, Balticum and Russia.

Part III: England, Ireland, Scotland, Portugal, Spain, Italy and the Crusader States, weights and tokens.

Auf Wunsch von Herrn Professor de Wit haben wir uns entschlossen, den Katalog seiner Sammlung in englischer Sprache zu verfassen. Wir verbinden damit die Hoffnung, ein internationales Publikum interessierter Sammler mittelalterlicher Münzen und Erforscher der Numismatik des Mittelalters ansprechen zu können. Für die damit verbundenen Schwierigkeiten für unsere deutschsprachigen Kunden bitten wir um Verständnis. Unser Team steht Ihnen selbstverständlich mit Rat und Hilfe bei Unklarheiten oder Verständnisproblemen zur Verfügung.



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THE MIDDLE AGES

The Middle Ages are of great historical significance: firstly, Europe's national borders, as we know them today, were set in this period and secondly, codification laid most rules and customs down in law.

Usually, the Middle Ages are considered to have begun around 500 A.D, the turn of the fifth century marking the decline of the Western Roman Empire. This concurs with numismatic history, as after 500 AD non-Roman minting took a start.

Nonetheless, the Middle Ages remain dark without a clear understanding of what took place beyond Roman borders before 500 AD: the migration of an overwhelming amount of tribes, mainly from the borders of the Baltic Sea towards the South. These tribes eventually reached the outer limits of the Roman world, especially at the lower course of the Danube and east of that. In the early stages, apparently, Roman coins were taken up as a means of paying, which was a practice not unusual among Germanic tribes. In the days of Constantine I, copies of these Roman originals surfaced, but they didn't really constitute new issues.

In the 5th century a westward migration ensued, caused by, among other things, the advancing Huns. From the tribes, that up to then had roamed the lands in disarray, independent nations emerged (with their own rules and laws). First the Visigoths (around 450), later the Franks (507) and finally the Lombards (around 590) coalesced into autonomous peoples. In these days it was commonly-held belief that a people could be brought together only under a single leader and kings appeared all over Europe (afterwards, also dukes and counts would fulfil this role).

A king typically would have two purposes: to expand his territory *and* to defend it against assaulters and his possibilities of doing so would be twofold:

1. Equipping armed forces: initially these would be recruited from own ranks, then chiefly from foreign peoples (mercenary armies), after which a system of military service was employed. To keep up a welltrained and agile army, the Franks had already turned to a feudal system but not until the days of Charlemagne would feudalism rise to its full height. A vassal was obliged to perform knight's service, but as the balances of power were constantly shifting, he couldn't depend entirely on his suzerain to provide. Thus, dukes, counts and others holding public offices would demand to be granted territories in fief as well; these demands were mostly honoured which established a firm bond between office and demesne. The fief was officially granted through a ceremony called "homage" in which the vassal had to pledge allegiance to his lord. The suzerain promised to protect the vassal, who in turn had to commission his services and property to his lord (i.e. financial and military support). Feudalism applied to bishops and abbots as well, which is why clergy is sometimes seen to intervene militarily. Because almost every vassal, both secular and clerical, possessed the right of mint, medieval numismatics were highly complicated by feudality. Later, the monetary system was regarded as an acceptable tool to replenish the exchequer and permit money-based outlasting strategies in the armed conflicts that were the order of the day. A constant devaluation resulted, which severely destabilised international trade, prompting minting authorities, like the "Rheinische Münzverein" in particular, to manage affairs with the foresight their lords lacked and see to it that their Rhinian gold guilders (*florenus rheni*) remained untouched for centuries.

2. Establishing sound familial ties with other royal houses through (well-calculated) marriage was also thought to preserve security. Marriage was later employed for reasons of territorial expansion, in which especially women more than once played decisive parts, accomplishing long-lasting changes. These familial bonds too substantially added to the complexity of medieval politics: used on the one hand to provide security and on the other as a shortcut to territorial expansion, ensuing heredity sometimes caused realms to disintegrate as easily as they were formed. This main force at work in the political landscape of the Middle Ages eventually thoroughly disrupted the political balance and the national borders, especially so as hereditary custom took on many forms: division amongst the male heirs (see under Merovingians), direct inheritance by the first in line, who, upon decease, would bequeath the next in line (see Russia) and sole inheritance by the first heir in line.

Finally, the problems in medieval society were exacerbated by ongoing religious machinating. Initially, the clash between paganism, arianism and catholicism unhinged the balances of power, later the Investiture Controversy would keep matters in disarray.

The effects can be found throughout medieval numismatics, leaving researchers sometimes facing an intricate period with little to go on.



MIGRATION of the GERMANS

At the beginning of the Common Era, Central Europe was populated by numerous tribes, of which Tacitus in his *Germania* presents a summary. Many disappeared or merged into larger peoples. For numismatic purposes, only three tribes prove historically significant: the Vandals, the Goths and the Franks. This text will focus on these three tribes. For the Germanic tribes that remained in Germany (Saxons, Alemanni, a.o.) see under Germany. It is possible that a number of small tribes, especially in the Danube-delta, also played a role in numismatic history. Peculiar is that the Vandal and Gothic (Visigothic *and* Ostrogothic) realms vanished after a period of time, whereas the Franks laid the foundations of a world empire, that under Charlemagne would encompass the whole of Europe.

Vandals

At the start of the Common Era, the large territory around the centre of Silesia was occupied by two tribes: the Silingi and the Hasdingi. The name Vandals was introduced by Pliny as *Vindili*, a bit later Tacitus in his *Germania* would mention the *Vandilii*.

When in the 2nd century, the Goths, living in a relatively small territory between the Vandals and the Baltic Sea, migrated southwards the Hasdingi were soon to follow. Under the kings Rhaus and Raptus they can be traced to Dacia. The Silingi stayed behind and became the name-givers to the region of Silesia. The Goths finally settled down in Bessarabia.

In 270, Emperor Aurelianus defeated the Vandals in the Pannonian plain and agreed to a federative treaty.

In 335, war ignited between Vandal King Visimar and King of the Goths Geberic. Although the Vandal King didn't return alive from the battlefield, the Vandals appear to have emerged victorious: they settled around Lake Balaton, in the Pannonian plain. They would remain there until the turn of the 4th century.

In 389 or 390, Vandal King Godigisel begot a son, Geiseric, with a non-Germanic concubine. At the end of the 4th century, the Goths of King Ermanric were conquered by the Huns, this directly resulted in a massive rising and westward movement of all tribes. The Vandals migrated along the Danube only to encounter an army of Romans and Franks on the banks of the Rhine (406). In the first battle King Godigisel was killed, but the second battle opened a passage across the Rhine to Vandal King Gunderic. After that the way to Southern Gaul and to Toulouse lay paved (see further under Vandals).

Goths

Before the Common Era, a people by the name of *Gutones* or *Gothones* lived along the lower course of the Vistula. In the 2nd and 3rd century AD, they migrated via Masovia and Brest to Pontus bordering on the Black Sea, their trek probably a gradual one. At the Black Sea a great empire was founded.

From 238 Gothic raids were launched on the Roman Empire, continuing a fairly long time and culminating in 268 when they raided Agaïs. The turning point came when, in 271, the Goths suffered a devastating defeat by Emperor Aurelianus. Losing this battle had far-reaching consequences for the Goths. Not only did the great Gothic realm end, but (partially through interference by the Gepids) the Gothic tribe broke in two: in the region west of the lower courses of the Dnjestr and the Pruth the visigothic Tervingi settled, the territory east of these rivers was occupied by the ostrogothic Greuthungi. There, a gigantic realm grew (350) under Ermanric, stretching from the Black Sea to the Baltic and the Ural, its core made up by the Ukraine.

Under Constantine I the Tervingi became *foederati*. These were the days of Ulfila (starting 341) as bishop and of king Athanaric (365-376). When the Tervingi were confronted by the Huns, they crossed the Danube under Alaviv. On 9th August 378 the battle at Adrianople was fought, Emperor Valens meeting his end on the battlefield. In 382, a foederati treaty was reached with Emperor Theodosius and the Tervingi settled in the north of Thracia. In the last decennium of the 4th century they once again left their domicile to finally reach Gaul in 418 (Toulouse) (see further under Visigoths)

Until 367 the name Ostrogoths (= "Sunrise Goths") was used, after that the term Greuthungi appeared. When, in 375/6, they were faced by the Huns and their king Ermanaric perished, the majority of the Greuthungi yielded to the horseback warriors. Presumably, they then moved to the left bank of the lower-course Danube. After the collapse of the Hun Realm (456/7), the East Goths were incorporated into the Roman Empire as *foederati* and settled in Pannonia. In 469, they moved to the region around Constantinople to establish a *foederati* realm. Meanwhile, Theoderich had been born in 451 and upon his father's demise became king to this *foederati* realm in 474 (see further under East Goths).



Franks

The term Franks first emerged in the days of Gaulenus (253-268), they were usually referred to as Germans or Barbari. The Franks, a Germanic tribe, lived on the right bank of the Rhine, directly across from Xanten. Their dominion stretched along the Rhine as far as Mainz, south of which the Alamanni lived. Frank collaboration with the Romans was considerably larger, a lot of them served in the Roman army. Thus, a gravestone was discovered: "Franke bin ich als Bürger, römischer Soldat in Waffen" ("Frank am I a citizen, in arms a Roman soldier"). The defense of their borders was often decreased by the Romans and often replaced with the emperor's own mobile army named *comitatensis* (its members were called *comitatus* and bore the title *comes*). There were frequent transgressions of the limes, at which occasions Franks invaded Gaul territory (often settling there).

In the middle of the 4th century, the situation deteriorated. Magnentius, supreme commander of Emperor Constans killed his master and declared himself emperor. He was acknowledged in Gaul, Britain and Spain. Constantius, emperor in the eastern part and brother to Constans, took up arms against the mutinous general. In the battle to ensue within the Roman Empire, the Franks, who made up a substantial part of the military forces, would play a significant role. Eventually, Constantius II appointed Julian his supreme commander, but the Franks managed to seize Cologne (that was immediately recaptured by Julian) and parts of Belgica Secundus.

To adequately defend the long borders proved infeasible. The Romans chose to simply admit the Franks. Especially after 400 numerous migrants entered.

Thus, when in 451 Gaul were faced with Attila's hordes, an important part of Aëtius' "Roman army" consisted of Franks. This was the army that, on the Katalaunian fields (situated near Châlons-sur-Marne) defeated Attila and its victory immensely reinforced the Frankish position in the empire.

As soon as 430/40, Chlodio, the great-grandfather of Clovis, had taken Cambrai. Nothing is known about his son Merovech, except for having given the Merovingians their name. His son Childeric made himself impossible and was expelled by his people, he fled to Thuringia and wedded Basina (related to king Basinus). Childeric returned and a son was born, who was named Clovis. Childeric was buried in Doornik.

Minting

Finds prove that Roman coins were used by various Germanic tribes from earliest Germanic days on, probably as part of the pay for military services rendered to the Romans.

Tacitus, too, holds forth about the use of money. In § 5 of his *Germania* we read "Our immediate bordering neighbours, due to trade relations, do appreciate gold and silver and they acknowledge some of our fabrics and even favour them, among the inhabitants of the inner lands the ancient practice of bartering persists. They will readily accept the ageing coin with the milled edge and the carriage and pair. They will rather clamp to gold and silver, not out of fancy, but solely because a (larger) number of silver coins is more habile when bargaining for trinkets".

At the beginning of the 4th century, imitations of Roman money suddenly emerged. Bastien (Imitations of Roman bronze coins A.D. 318-363, ANSMN 30 (1985)) assumes that this first took place after the monetary reform of Constantine I in 318. He distinguishes six phases in which these imitations were issued. We will adhere to this classification (it should be noted that we have interchanged his groups 5 and 6). Bastien implicitly assumes that the imitations were struck at the same time as the originals. In my opinion, this is not necessarily true. The more frequent series particularly, as for instance "two Victories with shield and altar" to my knowledge didn't emerge until the thirties as opposed to in 319- 320.

With the invasion of the Huns these imitations took an end. Bastien infers that these imitations emerged only in times of tranquility. Their issuance could therefore well cohere with the founding of the *foederati* states. In 332, Constantine I had a treaty drawn up for the *foederati* and shortly after that signed such a treaty with the Vandals and the Visigoths.

Apart from their chronological order, these imitations may be classified by their manufacture:

1. Text and mint are distinctly (up to one flaw) legible,
2. Text is still legible, but shows more flaws, the mint-name is blundered,
3. Text is still legible to an extent, the mint vanishes,
4. Text becomes a series of letters (usually N) that is interrupted only once or twice by another letter (often an S),
5. Text merely consists of a row of dashes, again once or twice interrupted by a letter.



Who manufactured these coins remains unanswered. The "two Victories with shield and altar"- type and Decentius' coins in particular are of a remarkably handsome design. This raises the assumption that die-cutters from the official mints were at work. Bastien suggests that these could have been the results of extracurricular manufactures by these die-cutters. However probable that may be, the type "two Victories with shield and altar" is especially seen in Siscia and so Jarvic (in his A IVth and Vth centuries hoard of roman coins and imitations in the collection of the National Museum in Belgrade, in: Sirmium VIII, Ecole Francaise de Rome, 1978) suggests that these coins were struck at separate mints, like Nis and Pincum. When the texts become more and more blundered, it seems impossible to me that these coins could have been struck at the official mints (the same may be seen in the Frisian imitations of the Dorestad coins; they too weren't minted in Dorestad). In my opinion, these imitations have to be considered minted in small, independent mints and whether these were or weren't within Roman borders is a matter of less significance.

Sometimes, these coins are also utilised to prove a certain Germanic people had lived inside the *limes*. Thus, the Romanian historian Diculescu writes, "Especially the numerous 4th century bronze coins found there suggest at least large parts of the Vandal people settled here until after the turn of the century. As the first series of found coins proves no older than the 4th century, and the added coins show a most strict chronology - suddenly starting with Constantine I (306-337), just as abruptly cut off with Valentinian II (375-392) - this amply proves the Germanic peoples that this cultural sub-group belonged to, settled here in the first half of the 4th century and left as soon as the beginning of the 5th".

However, the question remains who these imitations were intended for. The assumption that they were struck in times when coins were scarce, doesn't seem accurate, for instance, why would the (good) diecutters suddenly start manufacturing corrupted replicas. In my opinion, they most definitely served as money for the Germanic peoples that held *foederati* status within the Roman Empire. With regard to other finds (jewelry, etc.), these peoples showed developed craftsmanship, which would have also allowed them to cut their own coin.

Maybe, the following development can be observed with the Germanic peoples:

1. They used original Roman coins.
2. For their "private use", coins appeared that derived from Roman coins, but were corrupted.
3. From about the middle of the 5th century, they issued own coins, but avoided including their own (king's) name (only Theoderic had coins show his monogram). Coins were struck with the name of a Roman emperor (not necessarily the one reigning, the Ostrogothic King Baduila (541-552) struck coin bearing the name of Emperor Anastasius (491-518). Sole purpose was rather to have any imperial name (to imply imperial authority, even if there really was none such that applied) than to have the name of the ruling Emperor.
4. Coins show the own (king's) name. Seen with the Vandals starting 484 (Gunthamund), with the Ostrogoths starting 526 (Athalaric), with the Visigoths starting 568 (Liuvigild).

This catalogue adheres to Bastien's classification for group 2, it is preceded by four coins that don't fit this classification and concludes with a number of coins that are clearly imitations, struck after the confrontation with the Huns. Possible attribution is indicated for each individual group. Bastien mainly concentrates on the West and the finds there (hence, the type "two Victories with shield and altar" is rarely mentioned). There are, however, numerous hoards from the East, for which the question "for who were these imitations intended" applies.

Group 0: Non classifiable under Bastien

Jupiter - eagle



- 1 A: Laureated bust r. IMPCVLLINIVCINIVSPFAVG, R: Jupiter standing with eagle, Victory in right hand and S in the field IOVICNSERVAPORIAVG, in exergue SMK. 3.889 gr. Attractive specimen, very fine 100,--
- Müller - Solingen, Auction 71 (1992), no. 776.
Mint: Cyzicus.
In the name of Licinius I (308-324).
Because as well the father as the son Licinius are mentioned in the text, this coin, has to be struck in the period 317-324.
It seems peculiar that the text on the reverse should end AVG (normal text IOVI CONSERVATORI).

Helena - Fausta



- 2 A: Diademed bust r. (Helena) FLNELENA HVGVSTH, R: Empress standing with two children (as Fausta) SATVS REI PUBAIC, in exergue STR crescent. 2.192 gr. Brown patina, good very fine 75,--
- Spink - London 1982.
Mint: Trier
RIC 7, on p. 206, the footnote mentions: There is a known, barbaric-looking Helena-coin, with SPES on the reverse (STRJU). It shows a course script: TLHELENA - HVGVSTII'.

Star



- 3 A: Bust r. FVN2 TIANA, R: Star in wreath. 4.002 gr. R Green patina, minor traces of corrosion, almost extremely fine 200,--
- Hirsch - München, Auction 179 (1993), no. 55.
Copy of the Fausta coin from Thessalonica (cf. LRBC: 824-825)

Hanniballianus

Hanniballianus was a brother of Delmatius and a grandson of Constantine I and Theodora. He had the title REX REGUM ET PONTICARUM GENTIUM.
Reign: 336-337



- 4 A: Bust r. FL HANNIBALLIANVS REGI, R: Sitting Euphrates SECVRITAS PVBLICA, in bottom field CONS. 1.746 gr. RR Green-brown patina, very fine 200,--
Münzzentrum - Köln, Auction 74 (1992), no. 1249.
Mint: Constantinopel
The "sitting euphrates" is difficult to discern.

Group 1. Comprises the period 318 to 330, during the reign of Constantine I. Especially in the types "two captives around labarum" and "two Victories with shield and altar", Siscia is typically named as the mint. It, therefore, seems probable that this first group was intended for the people living in Pannonia (Siscia lies on the outskirts of Pannonia). It is certain that Vandals settled in Pannonia starting 335 (this date was after Constantine's foederati-law).

Campgate

Reign: 320-324



- 5 A: Diademed bust r. CONI2NI INSNNO, R: Campgate with star between two towers THNNND D . IHNN2 QHNN. 2.405 gr. Traces of corrosion, almost very fine 25,--
Bernardi - Triest 1970.
The text runs all the way around, allowing no mint indication.



- 6 A: Diademed bust l. with lance . XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX SIO XXXXXX S, R: Campgate with three towers XXXXXXXX XXXXXXXX, in exergue MSM. 3.071 gr. Green patina, very fine 75,--
Hirsch - München, Auction 167 (1990), no. 43.

Two captives around labarum

The obverse shows a bust facing left, the reverse two captives sitting at the foot of a labarum. In the labarum TT . XX. The normal text on the reverse would be VIRTVS EXERCIT.
Period: 320-324.

The original type was an example for the oldest sceatta (Rigold, S.E.: The two primary series of sceattas, in: BNJ 30 (1960-1), series A et seqq., cf. especially P1b, nr. 2.).

- 7 A: Bust l. with helmet DNISEIIO H . PIFII (retrograde), R: Two captives around labarum, in field S, in labarum TT . XX, FETES ITIII, in exergue SIS. 2.962 gr. Brown patina, minor traces of corrosion, very fine specimen with nice portrait 75,--
Hirsch - München, Auction 167 (1990), no. 45.
Mint: Siscia.



8

- 8 A: Diademed bust l. with shield and spear NSXo....., R: Two captives around labarum, in field S F, in labarum TT . X, LHLTAS CVTE, in exergue SIS. 3.769 gr. Traces of corrosion, very fine 25,--
Bernardi - Triest 1970.
Mint: Siscia.

Vota

The first coin still shows the normal portrait of Constantine I, both the others a "barbaric" version. The normal texts on the reverse are dependent on VOT / XX (DN CONSTANTINI MAX AVG) and respectively VOT / X (CAESARVM NOSTRORVM).

Period: 321-324.



- 9 A: Laureated bust r. CON2N TN2NNC, R:VT. XX in wreath INOINONI . NNNONN, in bottom field T2T. 2.322 gr. Brown patina, almost extremely fine 50,--
Bernardi - Triest 1971.



- 10 A: Laureated bust r. COXSTANT IIIISHIC, R: II o T / . / XX in wreath CIIIXSTIIIXSTIIIIITS IIIIIC, in exergue SIS. 2.039 gr. Minor traces of corrosion, expressive style, very fine 30,--
SKA - Zürich 1984.
Mint: Siscia.



- 11 A: Laureated bust r. IIIIITIII- KIIISHI, R: I I O T / . / X in wreath IIIIISIIIIITIIIIITIIIII, in bottom field ST. 2.530 gr. Green patina, in places weakly struck, otherwise attractive specimen, very fine 40,--
Hirsch - München 1968.
Ex: Hirsch, Auction 47 (1966), no. 879.
The portrait compares in some details to that of no. 10.

Two Victories with shield and altar

On the obverse a helmeted military head, usually facing right. This is only seen under Constantine I. On the reverse two Victories, between them an altar bearing a shield. The inscriptions on the shield are usually unclear or illegible altogether.

Three groups may be distinguished:

- a. the name of the mint SIS is clearly legible (nos. 12 and 13)
- b. the altar on the reverse bears a shield, inscribed with mainly unclear script
- c. the shield on the altar is missing. Present are the letters at the same position.

The originals show the text VICT LAETAE PRINC PERP (period 319-320). If the military busts in the original editions display limited variation, a multitude of different designs can be found here, in the imitations.



- 12 A: Bust l. with helmet, spear and shield, on the helmet + +, COSIITIIIINI....., R: Two Victories with altar, no shield, letters: + / oo / pp between them, IONIII....CPOIIECIII, in exergue . SI2. 2.028 gr. Green patina, very fine 30,--
Bernardi - Triest 1970.
In view of the length, the text on the obverse might be "Constantine I".
- 13 A: Bust r. with helmet IMPCOIISTANTINIS PFAVC, R: Two Victories with shield and altar, legend on shield not visible, IIIOIIIETAIININ...NV, in exergue 2I2. 2.912 gr. Light green patina, very fine 30,--
Müller - Solingen, Auction 35 (1981), no. 416.



- 14 A: Laureated bust r. with helmet IIISO IISNCNICO, R: Two Victories with shield and altar, IOI / II on shield VICTONIN..... 2.458 gr. Broad, very fine specimen 50,--
Hirsch - München, Auction 167 (1990), no. 49.
- 15 A: Laureated bust r. with helmet NNNNNI INNNN, R: Two Victories with shield and altar, AAVV on shield NN N NNN, in exergue NN. 2.393 gr. Green patina, small flan defect on the reverse, very fine to extremely fine 60,--
Hirsch - München, Auction 167 (1990), no. 44.



- 16 A: Bust l. with helmet, spear and shield NOD2NCNDDMHN TH..., R: Two Victories with shield and altar, III / CAC on shield, ..N-ITIIIII IIIIOIIII, in exergue . 2NI. 2.316 gr. Nice dark green patina, very fine 30,--
Hirsch - München, Auction 167 (1990), no. 53.



17



2:1



18



2:1

- 17 A: Laureated bust r. with helmet DIIHNDIINNNNIINI , R: Two Victories with shield and altar, VO and two cubes on shield, $\text{DDNNN . NNA . ANNCC}$. 3.049 gr. Green patina, very fine + 50,--
Hirsch - München, Auction 167 (1990), no. 51.
- 18 A: Diademed bust r. with helmet $\text{IIIZONIITIIIIITIII...}$, R: Two Victories with shield and altar, + / II on shield, ...IIIIITIIIIIG . 3.420 gr. Green patina, very fine 30,--
Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 256 (1973), no. 1708.
Found in Cologne.



19



2:1



20



2:1

- 19 A: Laureated bust r. $\text{DIIXOAAVHXSASCIASNVAC}$, R: Two Victories, x x over altar, OS OANNIIO , in exergue A . 3.743 gr. Green patina, expressive style, magnificent centred very fine specimen 40,--
Rauch - Wien, Auction 5931 (1985).
- 20 A: Bust r. with helmet H H H I H H H H , R: Two Victories with shield and altar, I / IO / OI over altar, I...IHOI , in exergue II. 3.062 gr. Shining green patina, almost extremely fine 60,--
Jacquier - Kehl 1996. From list 18, no. 134.



21



2:1



22



2:1

- 21 A: Bust r. with helmet $\text{III II II II IIIIIII}$, R: Two Victories with altar ...II II II II . 2.596. Dark green patina, traces of corrosion on the obverse, attractive and very fine specimen 40,--
Lanz - München, Auction 68 (1994), no. 28.
Struck around 340.
- 22 A: Bust r. with helmet II II II II II , R: Two Victories with altar II II II V 2.752 gr. Shining green patina, very fine 40,--
Hirsch - München, Auction 167 (1990), no. 50.



- 23 A: Bust r. with helmet II I I ... II I I III O, R: Two Victories with altar, rectangle III O above altar (vertical), □ II □ □ o. 2.983 gr. Shining green patina, edge weakly struck, otherwise extremely fine Lanz - München, Auction 68 (1994), no. 27. 75,--

Group 2. The last years of the government of Constantine I through to 348.

We now more and more observe the mint Lugdunum, so that the region along the Rhine should be considered as the area of circulation (e.g. the Franks). This goes in particular for the numbers 35 and 36 that possibly circulated in England (the latter (no. 36) is a direct prototype for a sceat).

Constantinopolis

The obverse shows the image of Constantinople with a helmet and cross behind it. On the reverse a Victory, shield in hand, inclined to the left. The prow is usually unrecognisable. All coins are of a small format.

Period: 330-337?



- 24 A: Bust l. with helmet CONSTAN TINOPOLIS, R: Victory with shield and spear, in exergue (P)LG. 1.226 gr. Green patina, very fine 25,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1978.
Mint: Lugdunum
- 25 A: Bust l. with helmet, legend not visible, R: Victory with shield and spear, in exergue PL(G). 1.336 gr. Green patina, very fine 25,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1978.
Mint: Lugdunum



- 26 A: Bust l. with helmet CONSTAN, R: Victory with shield and spear, bottom field not visible. 1.260 gr. Green patina, edge slightly chipped on the obverse, otherwise very fine specimen Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1971. 25,--
- 27 A: Bust l. with helmet and cross, barbarized legend, R: Victory with shield and spear, bottom field not visible. 0.957 gr. Brown patina, very fine Münzzentrum - Köln, Auction 54 (1985), no. 1157. 25,--

Urbs Roma

On the obverse the personification of the Urbs Roma. On the reverse the usual image of the she-wolf and the twins Romulus and Remus. The weight and format substantially decreasing. The she-wolf and twins-motif is also seen on the sceattas.



- 28 A: Urbs Roma I. SIISS ISITI, R: Two stars over she-wolf and twins, in exergue . TSIS ..
2.136 gr. Worn-out obverse die, very fine 50,--
Hirsch - München, Auction 167 (1990), no. 62.



- 29 A: Urbs Roma I. IRPIL....., R: Two stars over she-wolf and twins, in exergue CNIIS. 0.983 gr.
Green patina, very fine to extremely fine 75,--
Lanz - München, Auction 80 (1997), no. 45.
R. Göbl: Antike Numismatik (1978), pl. 124, 2640 (of the same die?). Göbl refers to Cat. Cahn 60 (1928), no. 2351.
- 30 A: Urbs Roma I. URB2, R: Two stars over she-wolf, in exergue PLC. 0.692 gr. Very fine 25,--
Schulten - Köln, Auction 4-89 (1989), no. 841.
Mint: Lugdunum.



Emperor crowned by Victory

- 31 A: Barbarized head r.VS, R: Emperor with spear, crowned by Victoria HIIS..... 1.186 gr.
Dark green patina, very fine 25,--
Dombrowski - Münster 1983.

Constantinopolis (?) enthroned

- 32 A: Head I. ...II, R: Constantinopolis (?) enthroned with spear or sceptre and victory on globe (?) ...II.
0.358 gr. Extremely fine 100,--
Kricheldorf - Freiburg, Auction 45 (1996), no. 215.
Ex: Münzzentrum - Köln, Auction 81, no. 1534.

Two men with standard(s)



- 33 A: Diademed bust r. CONSTANTINUS IVN NC, R: Two men with two standards CLOR IAEXER....
0.961 gr. Very fine 25,--
Schulten - Köln, Auction 4-88 (1988), no. 1269.
Normal text reverse GLORIA EXERCITVS.
- 34 A: Diademed bust l. CO..., R: Two men with one standard, in exergue PTR. 0.864 gr.
Sharp and clear struck specimen, almost extremely fine 30,--
Elsen - Brussel, Auction 50 (1997), no. 737.
Mint: Trier.
Small format. Typical Roman reverse.



- 35 A: Laureated bust l. NIEH TA III, R: Two men with one standard. 0.594 gr. Very fine 25,--
Schulten - Köln, Auction 4-89 (1989), no. 840.
- 36 A: Bust l. with helmet COS..., R: Two men with one standard, wreath on top. 0.701 gr.
Green patina, attractive and very fine specimen 30,--
Elsen - Brussel, Auction 50 (1997), no. 736.
The reverse is not a typical Roman reverse.
Prototype for a sceat type (cf. the small picture). The mint in London was inoperative in 325/6, hence continental coins were circulating in Britain, including imitations.

Siliqua



- 37 A: Diademed bust r. VII CON2TNNTN2IFAVI, R: Wreath AOTI2 / XXX / MVLTI2 / XXXX in four lines, GHH in exergue. 2.534 gr. Broad flan, centred very fine specimen 200,--
Vinchon - Paris 1973.
The text gives reason to consider Constantine, but the portrait more resembles Constantius. Perhaps Constantine II (337-340).

Phoenix



38 A: Diademed bust r. DNCONSTA NSPFAVC, R: Phoenix on funeral pile FEL TIIP RIPARA TIO, in bottom field SIS(?). 2.448 gr. Green patina, good very fine 60,--
 Münzzentrum - Köln, Auction 74 (1992), no. 1245.
 Mint: Siscia (?).
 Constans (337-350).

Group 3. The period after the monetary reform of 348 (introduction of the maioriana). It comprises of the types showing the reverse legend: FEL TEMP REPARATIO, those are Emperor with falling horseman, Emperor in galley and Hut. Presumably, these coins were mainly intended for the peoples that lived along the lower course of the Danube: Visigoths, Sarmats, Iazyges.

Emperor with falling horseman

The obverse device invariably a normal Roman portrait, on the reverse the Emperor stabbing a conquered falling off his horse.

There are three varieties of the reverse illustration:

- a. Conquered sitting in front of horse (nos. 39, 40 and 41, all maioriana-format)
- b. Conquered holding horse at neck, facing (nos. 42, 43 and 44, all maioriana-format).
- c. Conquered falling off horse, looking up (nos. 45, 46, 47, 48 and 49)

After the "two Victories with shield and altar" - type, this is the most-occurring group.



39 A: Diademed bust r. ON OOC(N)STAN IVS PF..., R: Emperor with falling horseman IIIOOO NNT. 3.707 gr. Green patina, very fine + 75,--
 Gorny - München, Auction 76 (1996), no. 15.
 The conquered is looking very surprised, and the hair is standing on end.



40 A: Diademed bust r. DN CONSTAN..., R: Emperor with falling horseman FEL TEMP REPARAT. 4.796 gr. Green patina, very fine 60,--
 Kölner Münzkab., Auction 50 (1990), no. 1689.
 The conquered is wearing a phrygian cap.



41

- 41 A: Diademed bust r., A in field DNCONSTAN TIVSPFAVC, R: Emperor with falling horseman ...PHBHTIO, in exergue TE.... 4.265 gr. Green patina, expressive style, very fine + Münzauktion - Essen 1996. The conquered is wearing a phrygian cap. 75,--



42

- 42 A: Diademed bust r. DN CONPTN TIVS IV AVG, R: Emperor with falling horseman, star in field IFTCMP VNTQ, in exergue SMNA. 5.159 gr. Green-brown patina, weakly struck, very fine to extremely fine Franceschi - Brussel 1974. 75,--



43

- 43 A: Diademed bust r. DNCN... TIVSPFAVG, R: Emperor with falling horseman FELTENPFI PIATIO, in exergue SNN.. 5.091 gr. Dark patina, good very fine Hirsch - München, Auction 291 (1996), no. 39. 60,--



44

- 44 A: Diademed bust r. DN D2 T OIED, R: Emperor with falling horseman ...QEV, r. upwards OILIED. , QEHIQ. 5.298 gr. Magnificent green patina, very fine Lanz - München, Auction 48 (1989), no. 48. 60,--

From here, the format and weight is small, with exception of the nos. 45 and 46, that exhibit the usual weight of the larger formats.
This group concurs with type c.



- 45 A: Diademed bust r., CIICICISII AT2 AIIII, R: Emperor with falling horseman, H in field FEL THCI HDATIO, in exergue. • CISI • 5.235 gr. Shining green patina, very fine 75,--
Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 26 (1994), no. 632.
This piece originates from the Northern Balkan.



- 46 A: Bust r., H in field NIINIINIOIN NIONN..., R: Emperor with falling horseman INNNININI..., in exergue IN.... 5.233 gr. Dark patina, minor traces of corrosion, very fine + 60,--
Rauch - Wien, Auction 52/I (1994), no. 36.
- 47 A: Diademed bust r. DN KONST TIVO . Y..., R: Emperor with falling horseman IOIAΘ2 □ INO □ TIO, in exergue ANT . B. 1.335 gr. Very fine 25,--
Dombrowski - Münster 1983.
Coin appeared in a hoard in Syria. The K on the obverse suggests the eastern part of the Mediterranean. The mint might be Antiochia.



- 48 A: Diademed bust r. ...VI II..., R: Emperor with falling horseman ...IIIIII. 1.011 gr. Sharp and clear specimen, almost extremely fine 30,--
Jacquier - Kehl 1996.
From list 18, no. 136.
The soldier is wearing a phrygian cap.
The portrait is not Constantius', perhaps, it is that of Magnentius.
- 49 A: Bust r., A in field ...NTIVS, R: Emperor with falling horseman FELT ...AR. 3.106 gr. Green patina, very fine 75,--
Elsen - Brussel, Auction 50 (1997), no. 740.
The portrait could be Magnentius.

Emperor between two labara



50

- 50 A: Diademed bust r. with A and star in field DIICOIECIO DIVIINOG, R: Figure standing l. between two labara, star above, A l. IIOIIOVV . ITII . DV . , in exergue * A / A *. 5.018 gr.

Dark green patina, broad and centred specimen, very fine

75,--

Schulten - Köln, Auction October 1989, no. 1178.

A very characteristic portrait. A similar specimen is found in Göbl, pl. 124, no. 2643 (there is a reference to Cat. Kress 120 (1961), no. 420).



51

- 51 A: Bust r. with II in field DN CONTNVNSHTHOII, R: Emperor standing l. with two labara, in the labara cross with one pellet in each angle DHHH HOHH, in exergue SHSI. 3.306 gr.

Green patina, very fine

75,--

Henzen - Amerongen 1994.

From list January 1994, no. 202.

Perhaps this coin was issued under the name of Constantine II.

Emperor in galley

On the obverse, invariably, the normal portrait of the Roman emperor, on the reverse a standing emperor, mantled, on a galley, usually holding a bird in the right hand and a labarum in the left (using a simple cross, no christogram), in the posterior of the galley a rowing person (the oar in a variety of shapes). Text reverse FEL TEMP REPARATIO.

After the types "two Victories with shield on altar" and "Emperor with falling horseman" this is the most-occurring type.

Without exception, the image is of Constantius II, apart from the numbers 52 and 53 that are under the name of Constans.



52

- 52 A: Diademed bust r. DN CONTAH N2 IIAVC, R: Emperor in galley IIITEMP POHAVTIO. 5.141 gr.

Dark green patina, very fine

75,--

Elsen - Brussel, Auction 50 (1997), no. 739.



- 53 A: Diademed bust r. DN CONST NS...AVC, R: Emperor in galley with Victory on hand ...EMD REDA.... 3.453 gr. Green patina, small flan, very fine specimen 50,--
Kölner Münzkab., Auction 50 (1990), no. 1687.



- 54 A: Diademed bust r. DN CONSTAN TIVSPFAVG, R: Emperor in galley FEL TEMP REPARATIO, in exergue * TLG. 5.211 gr. Brown patina, small mistake in the die, attractive and very fine specimen 75,--
Rauch - Wien, Auction 31 (1983), no. 778.
Here, the oar is a simple stick.



- 55 A: Diademed bust r. DNCON2TAN TIVSPFAVC, R: Emperor in galley ...TEMPR IIIIRIATIO, in bottom field PLC. 4.546 gr. Green patina, very fine 75,--
Hirsch - München, Auction 190 (1996), no. 39.
Here, the oar is a stick with a blade.



- 56 A: Diademed bust r. DN.....TIVSPFAVG, R: Emperor in galley ...SISDHRIITIO, in exergue ...C. 6.761 gr. Brown patina, very fine 60,--
Kölner Münzkab., Auction 50 (1990), no. 1688.
Here, the oar is a stick with a blade.



57

- 57 A: Diademed bust r. DN CONSTAN TIVS PF AV, R: Emperor in galley FEL TEMP REPARATIO, in exergue SLC. 4.680 gr. Minor traces of corrosion, very fine 60,--
Elsen - Brussel, Auction 50 (1997), no. 738.

Group 4. The age of Magnentius and Decentius (350-353).

The Frank territories have to be considered for the area of circulation, as the Franks already held the territory to the north of Amiens at that time.

Two Victories with shield on pillar

Reverse: two Victories holding one shield that rests on a pillar.



58

- 58 A: Bust r. with A in field DN MAGNEN TIVS PF AVG, R: Two Victories with shield on pillar, on the shield IO / V / NVIT / +, in exergue A.... 3.437 gr. Very fine 50,--



59

- 59 A: Bust r. ...VSCHE, R: Two Victories with shield on pillar, S / V beneath the pillar, on shield VOT / v IIIIT / x, in exergue TSI(?). 3.835 gr. Very fine 50,--
In view of the obverse text that ends with CAES, this coin has to be attributed to Decentius, although the head more resembles Magnentius'.



60

- 60 A: Bust r. DN DECENTIVS NOB CHEC, R: Two Victories with shield on pillar, S / V beneath the pillar, on shield VOT / V / MVLT / x, VICTORIIIIE DDNN HVCETCHE, in exergue HMB. 3.282 gr. Green-brown patina, very fine specimen 100,--

Münzzentrum - Köln, Auction 20 (1974), no. 139.

Mint: Amiens

The mint of Amiens was a creation of Magnentius. The beginning can be dated in the second half of 350, in the summer of 353 the mint was closed.



- 61 A: Bust r. DNDECENTIVS NOB CHES, R: Two Victories with shield on pillar, S / V beneath the pillar, on shield VOT / v / MVL T / x, VICTONIAE DDNN VVCETIIE, in exergue IISLG. 3.275 gr. Brown patina, weakly struck, otherwise almost extremely fine 125,--
- Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1983.
 Mint: Lugdunum
 Normally this should read RPLG, assuming Lugdunum is meant here too. The inscription on the shield is very unclear.

Two Victories with shield

In principle, this type matches the last one, with the only difference that the shield does not rest on a pillar here.
 The normal text on the reverse is VICTORIAE DD NN AVG ET CAE.



- 62 A: Bust r. with A in field ...NTIVS PF, R: Two Victories with shield, VOT / VLT / x on shield ...AVG ET CAE. 1.489 gr. Green patina, small flan, very fine 50,--
- Schulten - Köln, Auction 20-10-87 (1987), no. 1093.
 (MAGNE)NTIVS?
- 63 A: Bust r. with H in field MHGN..., R: Two Victories with shield, VOT / v / MVL / x on shield ...DNINNVCTICHI. 2.676 gr. Shining green patina, almost extremely fine 75,--
- Jacquier - Kehl 1991.
 From list 13, no. 523.
 MHGN(ENTIVS)?

Christogram

Normal text reverse SALVS DD NN AVG ET CAES.



- 64 A: Bust r. DNMA... IVSPFAVC, R: Christogram, l. omega and r. alpha SNLNOPVNNM..., in bottom field IIPLC. 3.276 gr. Brown patina, very fine 100,--
- Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1983.

Group 5. The age of Julianus with the Bull-type. The mints that appear are situated in the East, perhaps in the Danube-region.

Bull



65

- 65 A: Diademed bust r. DN VLCL IVLI ANVS PF AVG, R: Bull, above two stars and eagle with wreath before SECVRICTAS REIPVB, in exergue . A QVILP. 6.349 gr. Fine 75,--
 Schulman - Amsterdam 1987.
 The bust is not the usual Julianus, but more that of Constantius
 Mint: Aquileia.
 The eagle before the bull normally only occurs in Arles' coinage.



66

- 66 A: Diademed bust r. DNFLCLIV..... VSPFAVVC, R: Bull, two stars above ...VRITAS PV, in bottom field TCON. 6.621 gr. Green patina, almost very fine 75,--
 Hirsch - München, Auction 171 (1991), no. 30.
 Mint: Constantinopel.



67

- 67 A: Bearded and diademed bust r. (DN FL CLIVLI) ANVS PF AVG, R: Bull, two stars above SECVRITAS REIPVR, in exergue ANTT, branch. 8.925 gr. Dark green patina, very fine 100,--
 Holleman - Enschede 1997.
 Mint: Antioch.

Group 6. From the period after 364, though with the normal weight.

Emperor with standard



- 68 A: Diademed bust r. DN VALENTINI...VC, R: Emperor standing r. with standard and Victory RESTITVTOR REIP..., in exergue SMHCS. 8.001 gr. Green patina, traces of corrosion, very fine 100,--
- Münzauktion Essen - 1996.
From list 4, no. 410.
Valentinianus II (364-367).
Goddess
Normal text reverse REPARATIO REIPVB.



- 69 A: Diademed bust r. ...NA NVSPPIII..., R: Emperor standing l. with kneeling goddess ...REPHRATIO.... 3.560 gr. Green patina, very fine 40,--
- Münzzentrum - Köln 1973.
Valentinianus II (378-383).

Group 6a. Around this time, the types were reduced to a smaller format and weight.

Victories with captive

Period: 383-392 (Valentinian II / Theodosius I / Arcadius).



- 70 A: Diademed bust r. SIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIT, R: Victory with captive and phrygian cap, + in field SIII2 III IIBIICLI, in exergue IIII. 1.201 gr. Brown patina, very fine 25,--
- 71 A: Diademed bust r. ...IISIITI, R: Victory with captive and phrygian cap, + in field ...IISDTTII..., in exergue SS.... 1.578 gr. Brown patina, expressive style, attractive and very fine specimen 30,--
- NMB - Amsterdam 1979.

The following coins are from a later period and hard to classify. Perhaps some may be attributed to the Visigoths.

Imitation / Western Roman Empire

Honorius (395-423)

Siliqua



- 72 A: Diademed bust r. DN HoNoRI VSPPAVG, R: Roma on throne with reversed spear, Victory with wreath in r. hand VIRTVSRO MANoRVM, in exergue TRPS. 0.998 gr. Very fine 100,--
Batavia - den Haag 1985.
Mint: Trier.

Imitations/ Eastern Roman Empire

Bronze

Anastasius (395-408)



- 73 A: Diademed bust r. DNANA2 TAS IV2 PTVC, R: Great M between two stars, cross above, Θ within, in exergue CON. 19.287 gr. Brown patina, fine to very fine 50,--
Bonvallet - Paris 1983.
Mint: Constantinopel.
- 74 A: Bust r. with retangled drawn body ...NVT2 STIV2 A..., R: Great M between stars, cross above, Θ within, in exergue NOC .. 10.011 gr. Green patina, very fine 50,--
Hirsch - München, Auction 175 (1992), no. 32.
Mint: Constantinopel.



Theodosius II (408-450)

- 75 A: Diademed bust r. THEODO..., R: Emperor standing with Victory in l. handREIP 4.220 gr. Green patina, fine to very fine 25,--
Mint: Constantinopel.

Imitations of gold coins

Theodosius II (408-450)

- 76 Tremissis. A: Diademed bust r. DVIHEO . O NOI ., R: Cross in wreath, in exergue CONOB.. 1.482 gr. Fine to very fine 150,--
BRED - Paris 1977.
The reverse form brings the Suebi to mind, but that shows an ornamented outer circle. In Visigoth coinage this edge is smooth. This coin might stem from Visigoth territory, it shows some resemblance to a coin under Anthemius (see Subjack collection (Vecchi - London, Auction 14 (1999), no. 19)



2:1



77



2:1

- 77 Tremissis. A: Diademed bust r. DN THEODO SIVS PF AVG, R: Victory with wreath and orb, star in field VICTORIA AVCSTORVM, in exergue CONOB. 1.353 gr. Good very fine 250,--
Gorny - München 1987.
Grierson suggests a mint on the Balkan peninsula. Hahn has no record of this type.

Honorius (393-423) ?



2:1



78



2:1

- 78 Solidus. A: Bust facing with helmet, shield and spear over shoulder CCONO OIAOCIV, R: Victory standing r. with cross-headed staff, star r. CCONOHVO OVHO, in exergue O.... 1.390 gr. Almost very fine 175,--
Rauch - Wien, Auction 31 (1983), no. 821.
The weight is that of a tremissis. Could this be a light solidus? It is doubtful that this coin should be attributed to Justin.
The text on the reverse to the left and right of the Victoria consists of the same letters OAHV, on the left definitely followed by an N. This can also (partly) be found on the obverse. This possibly refers to a mint under Honorius. The coin fits the Visigoth series best. A similar repetition of text fragments is found on the Lombard coin no. 141.

Justinianus I (527-565)



2:1



79



2:1

- 79 Tremissis. A: Diademed bust r. DN IVSTINI ANVSPPAVG, R: Victory l. with wreath on orb, star in field VICIORIAAVCVSTORVM, in exergue CONO/. 1.479 gr. Weakly struck, mistake in the die, small graffiti on the reverse, otherwise extremely fine 250,--
Rietdijk - den Haag, Auction 361 (1996), no. 1029.
Mint: Constantinopel.
In view of the reverse probably Lombard.



HUNS

Around 370, the Huns crossed the Volga and drove the Alans and Ermanaric's Ostrogoths away. In 376, they defeated Citanaric's Visigothic army. In the ensuing 20 years, they founded an Eastern European Empire. Around 400, Hun armies led by Uldin emerged in Wallachia. In 402 respectively 404, the Huns drove the Burgundians and the Silingi-Vandals from the Vistula and the Oder. The Silingi-Vandals joined the Hasdingi-Vandals in the Upper-Theiss territory and the Pannonian Quadi and Suebi-groups and they together set out for Gaul in 407 (see Vandals).

With Arcadius' death in the end of summer 408 the collaboration with the Eastern Romans took an end. The Huns crossed the Danube and took the fortress of Castra Martis. In 412, a peace was made between Constantinople and Hun King Charaton.

In 424, Hun King Ruga chose to establish a new capital in the plain east of the Theiss. In 434, Bleda and Attila succeeded King Ruga as kings of the Huns. The murder of Bleda by Attila in 445 left him the sole ruler. His realm was a tightly governed federation stretching from the Caucasus to the Rhine. Ties with Rome and Byzantium were only upheld to obtain wealth. Wars were started to gain richness and tribute, to control markets and create lucrative diplomatic relations. To consider Attila a mere thief and pillager would be inaccurate (as he used to be regarded). Important envoys resided at Attila's court. He kept up good relations to Aëtius (who, in 428, ceded part of Pannonia to the Huns). The cancelling of Marcianus' tributary status in 450 and a secret marriage proposal from the augusta Justa Grata Honoria (sister of Valentinian III), which Attila accepted to secure part of the Western Roman Empire are evidence of his influence. Attila tried uniting the Visigoths and the Vandals under his rule, but without success.

In 441/2, Attila conquered Aspar's East Roman army. A yearly tribute was agreed upon and the Huns amass large amounts of gold, allowing them to quietly prepare for the Gallic War. In 451, Metz was destroyed and Orleans besieged. Aëtius then succeeded to defeat Attila on the Catalaunic fields (situated near Châlons-sur-Marne), with the aid of a Roman/Visigothic/Burgundian/Franconian coalition. Aëtius first maintained friendly relationships with the Huns, however, in 451 turned against them. This originally gave him a powerful position that nevertheless proved fatal when he was assassinated during an audience with Emperor Valentinian. Immediately after which (March 455) Valentinian was murdered (see Vandals) by Aëtius' henchmen, signalling the final decline of the Western Roman Empire.

The ensuing campaign into Northern Italy (452) merely resulted in the taking of Aquileia, the Eastroman Emperor Marcianus withstanding the Huns and forcing them to retreat. Thus Aëtius had prevented worse for Rome.

In 453 during his marriage to gothic Ildico, Attila died.

After his passing, his eldest son Ellac became king. His younger brother opposed. Ellac died in the Second War of Hunnic Succession at Nedao. The Huns fled to the east, Attila's second son Dengizich regrouping the Huns. In 469, he met his end in the battle for Byzantium that was lost and this concluded the European history of the Huns.

Attila on the one hand modelled his realm on the Roman Empire, on the other hand envisioned a unification of all Steppe peoples. The world historic significance of the Huns is that they spurred the second Migration Period. The Visigoth, Vandal, Suebi, Burgundian and Alan tribes that invaded the Roman Empire were actually fleeing from the Huns. The Roman Empire managed to incorporate these many foreign peoples to a certain extent, mainly due to the acquiescing Huns, until the wars of Bleda and Attila definitively ended this.

VANDALS

The Vandals had fallen apart into two tribes, the Hardingi (from Dacia) and the Silingi (from Silesia) and they reunited during the second Migration Period. In 401, the Roman Empire was invaded and in 406 Gaul was reached (Toulouse). Under the leadership of Godigisel's sons, Gunderic and Geiseric (Gunderich became king), Spain was reached in 409, together with the Alani and the Suebi. The Silingi settled in Baetica (today's Andalusia), the Hasdingi together with the Suebi established themselves in Galicia. In 411, a foederati-treaty was reached with Romans, but dangers still loomed. Visigoth King Valia marched into Spain and he vanquished the Silingi. The Alans, that remained without a king after the death of King Addax, joined the Hasdingi-Vandals under Gunderic. Then Gunderic proclaimed himself *Rex Vandalorum et Alanorum*. After Gunderic's demise in 428, Geiseric became king of the Vandals and Alans. After conquering the Romans, they pillaged Cartagena, the Balearic Islands and Mauritania's coast.

In 429, 80,000 men, among who the Alans, led by Geiseric, crossed the straight to Africa on request of Comes Boniface. They settled in Hippo Regius (the diocese of Augustine) leaving Carthage's port free for Boniface to use. Then the latter was called back to Rome and he appointed Aspar imperial commander-in-chief. Neither side felt inclined to start a war, so in 435 peace was signed in Hippo, granting the Vandals and the Alans foederati-status. Aspar, who was Alan, returned to Byzantium. Geiseric, just as his father, was *Rex Vandalarum et Alanorum*. In 439, Carthage fell to the Vandals. Geiseric built up his fleet anew and captured Sardinia, Sicily, Corsica and the Balearic Islands (439- 442), eventually sacking Rome. In 442, peace was reached with Rome and Byzantium. By that time, the Vandals clearly constituted the third force in the Mediterranean. In May/June 455, the Vandals pillaged Rome, but did not occupy it.

MIB has coinage start in 439: up to that time minting was done by Boniface. Huneric and Hilderic coins after the heavy standard (half siliqua 1.36 gm), Gunthamund and Trasamund after the light standard (half siliqua 1,14 gm).

GEISERIC (428-477)

The territories Geiseric had conquered were hard to control and in 496, the Vandals had to pay tribute to Odoacer for Sicily, which fell entirely to Theoderic in 491.



- 80 Siliqua - Carthago. A: Diademed bust r. DN ONORI VS PF AVG, R: Roma sitting with sceptre and Victoria VRBS ROMA, in exergue RVPS. MEC: 3. 1.317 gr. Broad specimen, very fine 150,--

Sternberg - Zürich, Auction 19 (1987), no. 1018.

Imitation of a siliqua from Honorius / Ravenna.

This piece definitely is from Carthage (many are copies from Ravenna). It is not listed in the MIB. "Pseudo-imperial siliquae and half-siliquae copied from Ravennate coins of Honorius; the halves have only recently been identified and an excellent study is now available of both series (Morrison and Schwartz 1982). They are distinguishable from original products of the Ravenna mint by their thick flans and the prevalence of 90° die-axis already alluded to" (commentary MEC I, p. 20). RVPS stands for RAVENNA PVSVLATVM.



- 81 1/2 Siliqua - Carthago. A: Diademed bust r.VSPFAV, R: Victoria l. with wreathAAVC. MEC: 4. 0.774 gr. Small flan, very fine 150,--

Aufhäuser - München 1989.

cf. no. 80.

HUNERIC (477-484)

Huneric, son of Geiseric, became engaged to Eudoxia, daughter of Valentinian III. His sacking Rome might have been an act of loyalty toward the assassinated Valentinian.

Already under Geiseric, nobility led an uprising that was struck down in 442. Huneric, too, had to deal with rebellious nobility. He continued the arianising politics, but his successor, his cousin Gunthamund (484-496) put an end to this. Gunthamund's reign was marked by the wars against the Moors and against Nomadic tribes.



- 82 2 1/2 Nummi. A: Diademed bust r. VVO M ADSAT, R: Cross OSPV VIOITO, in exergue three pellets. MEC: --, MIB: --. 0.685 gr. Attractive and very fine specimen 150,--

Schulten - Köln, Auction 19-4-89 (1989), no. 851.

Not published.

GUNTHAMUND (484-496)

Gunthamund is the first who mentions his name on the coins.



- 83 1/2 Siliqua. A: Diademed bust r. DN RX GVNTHA, R: D.N in wreath under stripe. MEC: 10, MIB: 3. 0.912 gr. **R** Very fine 250,--
 Vinchon - Paris 1973.
 DN = 50 denarii.



- 84 1/4 Siliqua. A: Diademed bust r.VNTHA, R: In wreath D.N / XXV, stripe above. MEC: 11, MIB: 4. 0.455 gr. **R** Almost very fine 150,--
 Aufhäuser - München 1991.
 XXV = 25 denarii.
- 85 2 1/2 Nummi. A: Diademed bust r. , R: Christogram in wreath. MEC: --, MIB: 15 var. 0.438 gr. **R** Good very fine 150,--
 Toderi - Florence 1974.
 MIB 15 shows a pellet in the christogram. Gunthamund is the only one with a 2 1/2 nummi and a christogram.



- 86 2 1/2 Nummi. A: Diademed bust r. DNDVDI2, R: Star with one stripe in each angle. MEC: --, MIB: --, Mostecky: cf. Pl. XI, 755ff. 0.547 gr. Very fine 100,--
 Holleman - Enschede 1988.
 Could the six-pointed star be a christogram?
- 87 2 1/2 Nummi. A: Diademed bust r. , R: Star in wreath with the limbs ending in pellets. MEC: --, MIB: --, Mostecky: cf. Pl. XI, 755ff. 0.471 gr. Very fine 100,--
 Holleman - Enschede 1984.
 These coins used to be attributed to the Moors in Africa (see BMC: 168-172).

THRASAMUND (496-523)

Thrasamund (496-523), brother of Gunthamund, ruled a predominantly romanised people. He married Amalfrida, sister of Theoderic, establishing a bond with the East Goths in 500. Thrasamund strove toward sound ties with Byzantium and nurtured a dialogue with the Christian church.



- 88 1/2 Siliqua. A: Diademed bust r. DN RG TR ANIAIIV, R: D.N in wreath between stripe and L (horizontal). MEC: 17, MIB: 6a. 0.800 gr. **R** Very fine specimen 300,--
 Elsen - Brussel 1983.
 In MEC this is Class 2. With a more stylized bust and wreath, the 50 denarius pieces with the mark of value L on the reverse.



- 89 1/2 Siliqua. A: Diademed bust r. DN R... SAMVDS, R: D.N under stripe in wreath, circle with pellet above. MEC: 15, MIB: 5a. 0.928 gr.
R Slightly irregular flan, minor scratches on surface, otherwise extremely fine specimen 400,--
 Aufhäuser - München 1991.



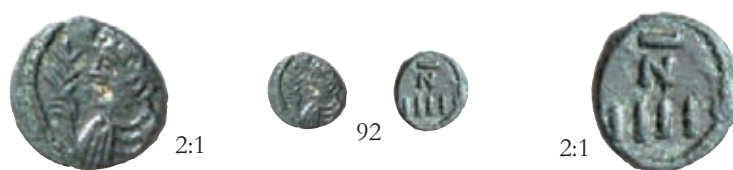
- 90 2 1/2 Nummi. A: Diademed bust r.SA, R: Victory with wreath. MEC: 19-20, MIB: 16. 0.380 gr.
R Good very fine 100,--
 Toderi - Florence 1974.

HILDERIC (523-530)

Hilderic (523-530) was a son from the marriage of Huneric and Eudoxia. He killed Amalfrida, used coins bearing the image of Justinian and turned away from Byzantium, for which the Carthage Synod of 525 was one of the reasons. After being defeated by the Moors, he was captured and executed (533).



- 91 1/2 Siliqua. A: Diademed bust r. DN HILDI RIX REX, R: Carthago facing with ears of corn FELIX KARTG. MEC: 21, MIB: 8. 1.283 gr.
 Small flan crack, very fine specimen 250,--
 Vinchon - Paris 1973.



- 92 4 Nummi. A: Bust l. with palm leaf, R: In two lines N / IIII, stripe N. MEC: 51, MIB: 20. 1.055 gr.
 Green patina, attractive and very fine specimen 100,--
 Müller - Solingen, Auction 49 (1985), no. 748.
 IIII = 4 nummi.

GELIMER (530-534)

The last king Gelimer (530-534) suffered a loss against Belisar and was banished to Asia Minor.



- 93 2 1/2 Nummi. A: Barbarized bust r., R: Ears of corn. 0.695 gr. Almost very fine 50,--
 Schulten - Köln, Auction October 89 (1989), no. 1179.
 This is a barbaric imitation of a nummus of Gunthamund (Hahn MIB: 16) from the last years of Vandal dominance. Attributed to Gelimer (530-534).

ITALY in the 2nd half of the 4th century

When Romulus Augustus was deposed in 476, the East Roman Empire considered Italy part of its territory.

In the south, the Vandals still prevailed, and in the north, the Germanic chieftain Odoacer invaded Italy. In 476, the year of the collapse of the West Roman Empire, Odoacer had his troops proclaim him king. Odoacer's (born approx. 433) ancestry, is unclear. He might have been a son of Edeko, a magistrate at Attila's court. After the end of the Hun Empire, he was a mercenary in Gaul and then went to Italy in Ricimer's service.

Byzantium appointed him patrician. His relationship to the senate is good and he enjoyed the privilege of appointing consuls. After he destroyed the Rugian Realm, he gained Sicily from the Vandals through a demise charter. This influence strained his relationship with Byzantium (484). In 488, Emperor Zeno assigned Theoderic, who by then was in Epiros, to drive Odoacer from Italy. To be allowed establishing himself in Ravenna, he signed a treaty with Odoacer (493), but in the same year slew him (the supposed reason was the avenging for the defeat of the Rugian House).

Italy became the land of the East Goths, who stayed part of the East Roman Empire.

MUNICIPAL COINAGE IN ITALY AND AFRICA

As soon as Roman times, coins were struck for the city of Rome and Constantinople (no part of this collection, but represented in the imitations). Also in the 5th century, municipal coins were struck in Carthage, Rome and Ravenna. They bear the characteristics of these cities, tracing back to old legends.

CARTHAGO (480-533)

There are various motives: Female figure of Carthago standing in the guise of Ceres holding ears of corn and two figures from the foundation legends of the city, one a standing soldier and the other a horse.

In Rome (she-wolf and twins) as well as in Carthage (horse) there is reference to the legends surrounding the founding of these cities. The horse has the following legend attached to it: The king of Tyre had a son and a daughter Elissar. The people wanted only the son, who had Elissar's husband killed. Elissar fled to Africa. She was well received and granted a piece of land the size of an oxes' skin. She named this new settlement Byrsa, the greek word for oxskin. In the construction of the city, the first spade struck a cow's head, providing a bad omen. The second spade struck a horse's head, holding a promise of power.

There are 2 classes:

1. Carthago standing
2. Soldier standing

Both classes occur in the denominations: 42, 21 and 12 (these numbers are characteristic for the Vandal (see there) numerical system: 83, 42, 21, 12, 4 (resp. 1/3, 1/6, 1/12, 1/24 and 1/72 of 250 nummi = a 1/2 siliqua).



94

94 12 Nummi. A: Carthago standing, crowned with corn wreath and holding ears of corn, within laurel-wreath, R: NXII in laurel-wreath under stripe. MEC: 42, MIB: 19. 5.950 gr.

R Brown patina, very fine

250,--

Elsen- Brussel, Auction 58 (1999), no. 651.

Ex: Elsen - Brussel, Auction 42 (1995), no. 399.

MIB classifies this under Hilderich. Heavy series, in MEC Class 1.



- 95 21 Nummi. A: Soldier standing KART HAGO, R: Horsehead, in exergue XXI. MEC: 45, MIB: 23. 5.776 gr. Brown patina, very fine 150,--
NMB - Amsterdam 1988.
MIB classifies this under Gelimer (530-534). With MEC class 2 (Light coinage).
- 96 21 Nummi. A: Soldier standing KART HAGO, R: Horsehead, in exergue XXI. MEC: 45, MIB: 23. 7.075 gr. Green patina, very fine 150,--
Beckenbauer - München 1982.
MIB classifies this under Gelimer (530-534). With MEC class 2 (Light coinage).

ROMA (491-535/6)

The symbol: the helmeted bust of Roma (from early denarii of the Roman Republic). INVICTA ROMA. The reverse types, when they are not a Roman eagle, refer to the traditional origins of Rome, with Romulus and Remus suckled by a she-wolf or a fig-tree, representing the *figus ruminalis* - Rumina was the goddess of nursing mothers - beneath with, according to Livius, this scene was enacted.

There are two classes:

Class 2 (heavy series):

- a. Follis: she-wolf and twins with XL
- b. 1/2 Follis: she-wolf and twins with XX

Class 3 (light series):

- a. Follis: eagle with XL
 - b. 1/2 Follis: fig-tree or two eagles with XX
- (see MEC I, p. 32)



- 97 Follis - Cl.2a. A: Bust r. with helmet INVICTA ROMA, R: She-wolf with twins, XL above, . IIII . below. MEC: 93, MIB: 70. 16.988gr. Olive-green patina, broad specimen, good very fine 200,--
R. Schulman, Auction 291 (1990), no. 1205.



- 98 1/2 Follis - Cl.2b. A: Bust r. with helmet INVICTA ROMA, R: She-wolf with twins, X . X . below. MEC: 97, MIB: 71b. 10.869 gr. Green patina, very fine 150,--
Peus - Frankfurt, Auction 329 (1990), no. 697.
Struck between 512 - 526.



99



99

99 1/2 Follis - Cl.2b. A: Bust r. with helmet INVIC TAROMA, R: She-wolf with twins, * I * above, XX below. MEC: 97, MIB: 71b. 9.101 gr.

Green patina, small flan defect on the obverse, almost very fine

100,--

Holleman - Enschede 1988.



100



100 Follis - Cl.3a. A: Bust r. with helmet INVICT A ROMA, R: Eagle l. looking back, XL l., in bottom field greek delta between two pellets. MEC: 101, MIB: 74a. 14.394gr.

Green patina, reverse a little off centre, attractive and very fine specimen

150,--

R. Schulman, Auction 291 (1990), no. 1205.



101



101 Follis - Cl.3a. A: Bust r. with helmet INVICT A ROMA, R: Eagle l. looking back, XL l., in bottom field greek gamma between two pellets. MEC: --, MIB: 74a. 10.070gr.

Green patina, very fine

150,--

Beckenbauer - München 1982.



102



102 Follis - Cl.3a. A: Bust r. with helmet (INVICT) A ROMA, R: Eagle l. looking back, XL l., bottom field invisible. MEC: -- (cf. 100 ff.), MIB: 74a. 10.286 gr.

Brown patina, very fine

150,--

Henzen - Amerongen 1996.

RAVENNA (536-540)

Symbol: crowned bust FELIX RAVENNA.
Often classified under Theodoric or Athalaric.



2:1



103



2:1

- 103 10 Nummi. A: Crowned bust r. FELIXR AVENNA, R: Eagle between two stars, in exergue X. MEC: --, MIB: 76. 2.881gr. Attractive, very fine specimen 100,--
Holleman - Enschede 1988.



2:1



104



2:1

- 104 10 Nummi. A: Crowned bust r. FELIXR AVENNA, R: Eagle between two stars, in exergue X. MEC: --, MIB: 76. 2.443 gr. Traces of corrosion on the reverse, otherwise attractive, very fine specimen 100,--
Sternberg - Zürich, Auction 19 (1987), no. 1071.

EARLY IMPERIAL (until 530/40)

Old Roman coins, mostly from the Flavian period, with a value etched into them circulated alongside these municipal coins. MEC signalises about 150 specimens. They have only two nominal values: 83 and 42 nummi (the 83 was intended for the sestertii, the 42 for the asses). The place of origin remains ambiguous. The denominations 83 and 42 indicate Africa (Morrison: The re-use of obsolete coins: the case of Roman imperial bronzes revived in the late fifth century, in: Studies in Numismatic Methods presented to Philip Grierson, Cambridge 1983, p. 95-111, Friedländer and Wroth), but nearly all hoards were located in Italy (especially in the Rome region). MEC classifies them under Italy, Hahn and Mostecky under Vandals. Here neither is adhered to, these coins are considered together with the municipal coins, that spread over Africa and Italy as well.



105



- 105 Follis XLII. XLII engraved in one As from Galba. A: Bust r. with laurel-wreathGALBA IMP CAE SAR AVG PMTRP, in exergue r. XLII, R: Victoria l. with wreath between S / C. MEC: 69. 12.117 gr. Brown patina, almost very fine 175,--
Elsen - Brussel, Auction 58 (1999), no. 654.
Ex: Elsen - Brussel, Auction 42 (1995), no. 403.
MEC 69 has a Libertas on the obverse.



OSTROGOTHS

After the division in 291, two groups emerged: to the west the Tervingi-Vesi and to the east Greutungi-Ostrogothi (Ostrogothen = "Sonnenaufgangsgoten" (sunrise Goths) or "durch den Aufgang der Sonne glänzenden Goten" (Goths, shining because of the sunrise's illumination). Basically, the Visigoths consisted of Ostrogoths as well, and it is therefore preferable to distinguish between the Ostrogoths, up to the turn of the 4th century, and the East Goths after that time. The West- and East Goths have always considered themselves descendants of the same tribe, despite their diaspora (see under Visigoths).

After the Hun Empire had fallen (456/7), the East Goths entered the Roman Empire as *foederati* and shortly settled on the banks of the Sava and the Drau. Most East Goths were of Arian faith. Theoderic was presumably born during the Hun Empire (451).

After the battle at the Bolia, Leo I released Theoderic, who had been held hostage in Constantinople from 459 to 469. Theoderic took over Pannonia from Valimir and conquered the Theiss-Sarmats (Singidunum-Belgrade).

In 473, the Amal Dynasty lost Pannonia. Vidimir went to the West Roman Empire (with his son), Thiudimir took his son Theoderic to Macedonia, where Thiudimir died in 473. Theoderic then became king.

The period from 474 to 488 is a confused time. Toward the end we find Theoderic in Epiros. His main adversary was the Gothic King Theoderic Strabo. After the latter's demise (481), Theoderic's star began to rise.

In 488, he signed a treaty with Zeno in which he pledged to drive Odoacer from Italy. This treaty formed the foundation under the Eastgothic Empire in Italy. On the 25th of February 493, the bishop of Ravenna mediated between Odoacer and Theoderic, enabling a joint government. This was inconsistent with the treaty with Zeno, but allowed Theoderic to set up in Ravenna (5th March 493). In the same year he disposed of Odoacer.

Subsequently, the Vandals were driven from Sicily and pillaging Burgundians were expelled from the north.

Theoderic used marriage to establish ties with other peoples. He himself wedded Audofleda, Clovis' sister and in 490/1 Theoderic's daughter was engaged to the Burgundian Crown Prince Sigismund (marriage in 493), another of his daughters, Thiudigotho, wedded the Visigoth King Alaric II, the marriage connecting both Gothic royal houses.

When the Alamanni suffered a defeat against the Franks, conflict arose between the brothers-in-law Theoderic and Clovis. Theoderic wished to retain Raetia and Italy and to this end a compromise was made between Theoderic and Clovis, resulting in the latter's retreat. Despite numerous attempts on Theoderic's side to prevent a coalition being formed between the Franks and the Burgundians, they joined forces and attacked the Westgothic Realm. In the Battle of Vouillé in 507, Clovis personally took the life of Alaric II. Theoderic's grandson was too young, as was Alaric's other son. Battle among the Goths ensued (507-511) in South Gaul and Spain and the final result was that Theoderic became king of the Visigoths.

The heiress of Theoderic, Amalasantha, was wedded to Visigoth King Eutharic. He was deemed heir and was to succeed Theoderic as king of all Goths. The new Emperor Justin acknowledged this succession (for Italy, Gaul and Spain). The plan miscarried, however, when Eutharic died as soon as 522.

Theoderic was held in high esteem among Romans. He was compared to Trajanus and Valentinian. Especially his appearance in 500 marking the triennial made an impression. The Romans called him *dominus* and even *augustus*. Even if the emperor in Constantinople appointed the main positions, he always acted upon Ravenna's recommendation.

Theoderic died on 30th August 526. The Amal Dynasty then lapsed into a crisis. Neither Amalasantha, nor Athalaric, or Theodohad were up to their tasks and they couldn't avoid war with the Byzantine Empire.

In 536, Witiges became the first non-Amal king and he set out to ward off the imminent ruin of the East Gothic Empire. In 540, however, he is forced to capitulate to the imperial commander Belisarius (an important Roman general under Justinian, he defeated the Vandals (533/4), was at times successful in Italy and was called back to Constantinople in 540. His position was filled by Narses). Nevertheless, the war between the East Goths and the Byzantine Empire had yet to end. In 541, Baduila, whose "nom de guerre" was Totila, managed to recapture most of the territory that had been lost. In June/July 552, he died in the Battle of Busta Gallorum, defeated by imperial commander Narses. In October 552, the East Goths made a last stand against Narses, south of present-day Naples, as the East Gothic king Theia lost the battle of Mons Lactarius, marking the definitive end of the East Gothic Empire.

THEODORIC (493-526)



- 106 1/4 Siliqua - Mediolanum. A: Diademed bust r. D ANAS TASIV PP AC, R: Theoderic monogram, above cross, star below INVIC TA ROMA. MEC: 120, MIB: 44b. 0.827 gr. Very fine 250,--
Elsen - Brussel 1986.
Ex: Goodacre collection (360).
In the name of Anastasius (491-518).
- 107 1/4 Siliqua - Rome. A: Diademed bust r. DN IVSTINVS AVG, R: Theoderic monogram in wreath, above cross. MEC: 121 var, MIB: 49. 0.611 gr. Very fine 300,--
Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 245 (1967), no. 1489.
In the name of Justinus I (518-527).

ATHALARIC (526-534)

- 108 1/4 Siliqua - Rome. A: Diademed bust r. DN IVSTINIA..., R: In wreath DN / ATHAL / ARICVS / REX. MEC: 127, MIB: 54. 0.719 gr. Very fine + 300,--
Vinchon - Paris 1974.
In the name of Justinianus I (527-565).



- 109 10 Nummi - Rome. A: Bust r. with helmet (INVIC) TA ROMA, R: Figure standing with spear and shield DN ATHAL ARICVS, in field S C and X. MEC: 132, MIB: 77. 2.924 gr. Nice green patina, very attractive and very fine + specimen 300,--
Vinchon - Paris 1972.
SCX = Senatus Consulto 10 nummi.



- 110 10 Nummi - Rome. A: Bust r. with helmet INVICT A ROMA, R: In doubled wreath (the inner circle with X) DN / ATHAL / ARICVS / REX. MEC: 133, MIB: 78. 4.365 gr. Very fine 200,--
Kölner Münzkab. - Köln, Auction 58 (1989), no. 237.



- 111 5 Nummi - Rome. A: Bust r. with helmet INVIC TA ROMA, R: V in the field + DN
ATHALARICVS. MEC: --, MIB: 79a. 1.118 gr. Green patina, very fine 75,--
Holleman - Enschede 1988.



- 112 2 1/2 Nummi - Rome. A: Diademed bust r.NI AVG, R: Athalaric monogram in wreath. MEC:
135, MIB: 80. 0.996 gr. Very fine 50,--
Santamaria - Rome 1975.
In the name of Justinianus I (527-565).
- 113 2 1/2 Nummi - Rome. A: Diademed bust r. IVST INIAN, R: Athalaric monogram in wreath. MEC: 135,
MIB: 80.1. 0.792 gr. Very fine 50,--
Holleman - Enschede 1988.
In the name of Justinianus I (527-565).

ATHALARIC or THEODOHAD (527-536)

Neither of the coins underneath, struck in the name of Justinian I (527-565), are attributable to Athalaric or Theodohad with absolute certainty. Athalaric started striking them and Theodohad made no changes to the device (MIB I, p. 84). These are the only two types.



- 114 Solidus - Rome. A: 3/4 Bust r. with helmet, shield and spear over shoulder DNIVSTINI ANVSPI
AVC, R: Victory with cross l., star under cross VICTOR I AAVCCCA, bottom field COMOB. MEC:
122 var, MIB: 28. 4.418 gr. Small graffito on the obverse, very fine to extremely fine 600,--
Spink - London 2003.
From Numismatic Circular 2002, no. BY0080.



- 115 Tremissis - Rome. A: Diademed bust r. DNIVSTINI ANVSPÄAVC, R: Victory with cross and wreath,
star r. VICTORIA AUCVSTORVM, bottom field COMOB. MEC: 123 var, MIB: 29a. 1.462 gr. 400,--
Small graffito on the obverse, slightly bent, good very fine
Spink - London 2003.
From Numismatic Circular 2002, no. BY0081.

THEODOHAD (534-536)

King of the East Goths from 534 to 536. Son of Amalafriada, a sister of Theoderic. After the untimely demise of Eutharic, Theodohad was the last from the Amal Dynasty, but he was excluded from succession.

He owned vast estates in Tuscany and devoted himself to philosophy. When Athalaric died on the 2nd October 534, Theodohad, together with Amalasintha, became king. He sought to establish a sound relationship with Byzantium.

At the end of 534, he had Amalasintha confined to quarters on an island in the lake of Bolsena. Here, she was murdered in the same year, provoking war between Theodohad and Byzantium (Justinian I). In 536, Theodohad was defeated by Belisarius and attempted to flee, but he was captured and executed on orders of his successor Witiges.



- 116 1/4 Siliqua - Rome. A: Diademed bust r. DN IVSTI NIAN AVG, R: In wreath DN / THEODA / HATHVS / RIX. MEC: 139, MIB: 56. 0.703 gr. Very fine 300,--
Holleman - Enschede 1988.



- 117 Follis - Rome. A: Crowned bust r., cross on cloak DN THEODA HATVS REX, R: Victoria r. with wreath and palm between S / C VICTORIA PRINCIPVM. MEC: 142, MIB: 81. 9.102 gr. 1.000,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1991. R Dark green patina, almost extremely fine

- 118 Follis - Rome. A: Crowned bust r., cross on cloak DN THEO DAHADVS REX, R: Victoria r. with wreath and palm between S / C VICTORIA AVGVST. MEC: --, Metlich: 89a (this coin), MIB: --. 10.295 gr. 2.500,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1989. RR Green patina, high relief, the only known specimen in commerce, very fine +

Friedländer (Friedländer, J.: Die Münzen der Ostgothen. Berlin 1844) in a footnote with the description of the normal type mentions: "Die Aufschriften VICTORIA AVGVST und VICTORIA PVBLICA REST bei Mezzabarba und danach bei Banduri, sind wohl verfälscht, jedenfalls bedürfen sie der Bestätigung durch andere Exemplare". Kraus (Kraus, F.F.: Die Münzen Odovacars und des Ostgotenreiches in Italien. Halle 1928) describes a badly conserved piece under no. 41 (illustrated) with DN THEO [DA]HADVS REX and VICTORIA AVGVST (?) (weight. 9.07 gm) and notes: Die Umschrift VICTORIA AVGVST bei Nr. 41 ist nicht sicher bezeugt (Friedländer, M. d. Ostg. p. 39). Das gleiche gilt für die rückseitigen Legenden von Nr. 42 und 43 (Friedländer ebenda). Bei allen diesen bedarf es noch zuverlässiger Bestätigung. This specimen is kept in Berlin.
Tolstoi (Tolstoi, J.: Monnaies Byzantines) under 596 (illustration) gives a specimen from the Hermitage collection in St. Petersburg that was cast from the same die as the specimen at hand. (Corr. Hahn 14-4-1989).



Middle Age effigies were never realistic (except toward the end, for instance in Milan and Scotland). The portrait of Theodohad on no. 117 may raise some doubt that this is a real portrait, but such doubt is out of the question in the case of no. 118 in my opinion. Possibly, Theodohad's portrait on the famous coins constitutes a "real portrait" as well.



- 119 10 Nummi - Rome. A: Bust r. with helmet INVICT A ROMA, R: DN / THEODA / HATHVS / REX
 in wreath. MEC: 144, MIB: 82. 3.613 gr. Green patina, very fine 150,--
 Sternberg - Zürich, Auction 19 (1987), no. 1097.



- 120 5 Nummi - Rome. A: Diademed bust r. DN IVIII V . NVS PP AVG, R: V in wreath. MEC: --, MIB: --.
 1.820 gr. R Minor traces of corrosion, very fine to extremely fine 100,--
 Toderi - Florence.
 MIB: 246. cf. DOC: 369 and BN: 24-25. In the name of Justinianus I (527-565).
 BN attributes a considerably larger model to Rome. The same larger model matches DOC 327.
 DOC attributes the smaller types to "uncertain mints". Ratto attributes it to Theodohatus. The missing penta with
 Theodohatus in the Prägetabelle XII (MIB) is remarkable.
 Under Athalaric, there is a 5 nummi piece with a V.

WITIGES (536-540)



- 121 1/2 Siliqua - Ravenna. A: Diademed bust r. DNIVSTI NIANVS AVC, R: In wreath DN / VVIT / ICES
 / REX. MEC: 151, MIB: 57. 1.463 gr. Very fine 300,--
 Elsen - Brussel 1986.
 Ex: Goodacre collection (368) (no. OG 23).
 In the name of Justinianus I (527-565).



- 122 1/4 Siliqua - Ravenna. A: Diademed bust r. DNIVSTI NIANAVS, R: Theodericus monogram in
 wreath. MEC: --, MIB: 59. 0.704 gr. R Very fine to extremely fine 500,--
 Elsen - Brussel 1986.
 Ex: Goodacre collection (370) (no. OG 25).
 Ex: Sotheby 1936.
 For this monogram, that of Theodoric was reverted to (Theodoric's monogram on his own coins is different).

BADUILA (541-552)



- 123 Tremissis - Ticinum. A: Diademed bust r. DN ANASTA SIVSIIAVG, R: Victory l. with wreath and cross, star r. VICTORIA AVGVSTORVII, in exergue COIIO. MEC: --, MIB: cf. 33/34. 1.419 gr. Attractive, very fine specimen 250,--

Auktionen - Basel, Auction 13 (1983), no. 834.

In the name of Anastasius (491-518). Maybe struck during the reign of Theia.

Ticinum = Pavia.

"Wenn wir von der Mache der Silbermünzen aus der neu aufgebauten Münzstätte Ticinum (=Pavia) ausgehen, können wir annehmen, dass Baduilas Goldmünzen ebenfalls einen leicht verwilderten Charakter haben müssen. Damit befinden wir uns im grossen Feld der barbarisierten Gepräge nach italienischem Muster (die wohl großteils fränkischen Ursprungs sind) und es ist mit der Zuweisung an Baduila größte Vorsicht geboten. Ich möchte es nur mit zwei Tremissesstempeln versuchen: der eine hat als Sigle CONOT (Nr. 33), der andere sogar CONIT (Nr. 34); in beiden Fällen scheint ein kleiner Hinweis auf Ticinum gegeben; vielleicht diene das CONOI der imperialen römischen Goldmünzen als Anregung. Die Vorderseite hat ebenso wie die meisten Silbermünzen des Baduila eine Anastasius-Legende. Der Globus der Victoria auf dem Rv. ist in gotischer Manier punktförmig bzw. nicht vorhanden. Die genauere Zeitstellung dieser beiden Tremisses ist unklar, es ist durchaus möglich, dass sie noch in die kurze Regierungszeit des Theia hineinreichen. Die von Wroth und Kraus dem Baduila bzw. Theia gegebenen Prägungen sind fast alle anders zuweisbar, nur der Tremissis Nr. 35 scheint dem Baduila zu gehören (vgl. die Viertelsiliqua BMC 20 (pl.XI/10)), und zwar aus Rom 549-552; er hat die Anastasius-Legende und das gotische Kreuz ohne Globus, aber im Unterschied zu den Tremisses aus Theoderichs Zeiten die Sigle CONOI, den seit 527 üblichen 6strahligen Stern und das Portrait so, wie es davor im kaiserlichen Rom (Justinianus I, Nr. 36) aussieht. Dies dürfte dann überhaupt für längere Zeit die letzte Goldprägung in Rom gewesen sein" (explanation in MIB, p. 85).



- 124 Tremissis - Rome. A: Diademed bust r. , above crescent with pellet and wreath l. II ANAST ASIVS PINC, R: Victory l. with cross and wreath, star r. VICTORIA AVCSSIVM, in exergue CONOI. MEC: --, MIB: 35. 1.318 gr. Extremely rare, very fine 250,--

Elsen - Brussel 1997.

From list 194, no. 464.

In the name of Anastasius (491-518). MIB knows two bad specimen, both in British Museum.

See elucidation with no. 123.



- 125 2 1/2 Nummi - Ticinum. A: Diademed bust r DN AN....., R: Baduila monogram with cross above. MEC: --, MIB: 87. 1.014 gr. Very fine 100,--

Münzzentrum - Köln, Auction 100 (1999), no. 779.



2:1



126



2:1

- 126 2 1/2 Nummi - Ticinum. A: Bust r., R: (D)N REX between star and B in wreath. MEC: 164, MIB: 88. 0.633 gr. Very fine 75,--
- Müller - Solingen, Auction 46 (1984), no. 614.
Hahn deems this a minimus. In the name of Anastasius (491-518).



2:1



127



2:1

- 127 2 1/2 Nummi - Rome. A: Bust facing DN B (A)DV, R: Lion r.. MEC: --, MIB: 91. 0.569 g. Very fine 100,--
- Lanz - München, Auction 114 (2003), no. 929.
Between 550-551.
"In dem 549 zurückgewonnenen Münzamt Rom prägt Baduila ebenfalls Zehner und Minimi (wie auch die Byzantiner kurz davor, vgl. Justinianus) wobei er von den Byzantinern die Frontaldarstellung der Portraitbüste und den Löwentyp der Minimi übernimmt. Das Frontalportrait stellt ihn nun selbst dar, und zwar ähnlich wie Theodohat gewandet" (MIB I, p. 91).

GEPIDEN

The Gepids followed the other Germanic tribes south and reached Transdanubia by the 4th century. They became incorporated in the Hun Empire, but attained independency after the battle at Nedao (under Ardaric).

From 455 they had foederati status toward Byzantium, but remained autonomous and, thus, reached Dacia and the Danube-Theiss territory. In 504, Theoderic captured Sirmium, which he lost again in 533.

In 567, Emperor Justinus II deemed the Gepids a threat and he allied with the Avars. After the victory of the Avars and the Lombards over the Gepids the latter dissolved into other peoples.



2:1



128



2:1

- 128 1/4 Siliqua. A: Bust r. DN ANASTASIVS, R: Theoderic monogram INVICTA RVMANI * A. 0.811 gr. Very fine 350,--

Spink - London 2003.

From Num. Circ. 2002, no. BY0078 (described as quarter siliqua under Theoderic in Anastasius' name).

This coin is normally attributed to the East Goths from Sirmium. Cf. Hahn: 46. However, the obverse always bears the addition PFAVC (or similar), and the reverse always shows INVICTA ROMA along with something indicating Sirmium (like ISPM). Hahn assures me that this is no East Gothic coin from Sirmium, but rather something Gepid.

The reverse of this coin clearly reads INVI . CTA RVMANI * A. What does this mean? Rumania might be a corruption of Romania, through which Latin scribes would express the notion of sovereignty. Another possibility is the existence nowadays of a place called RUMA just above Sirmium, which is where the Gepids often were checked. Did this place exist in those times? And if it did, why does its name appear on this coin?



VISIGOTHS

The Tervingi (= forrest people), that called themselves Vesier (= the good, noble), for a century inhabited a region north of the Danube, west of the Upper Dneestr and the Lower Pruth, up to the Hun invasions in 376. They lived alongside the remaining rural Roman population. In 332, a *foederati* treaty was signed (enabling trade, payment of annual Roman moneys and also deployment of Tervingi troops in Roman service). Thus, the Tervingi encountered christianity (Ulfila).

When Athanaric fought the Romans (367-369) and proved no match for the Huns (376), the majority of Tervingi desired to be incorporated in the Roman Empire.

The Romans didn't accomplish solving their problems militarily, especially after the Roman defeat at Adrianopel (378). The regions south of the Danube (Moesia and Dacia) were ravaged and depopulated. Here, the Tervingi could live under their own law.

This was the time of the reign of Alaric I (from the House Balti). Seeking more favourable conditions, the Visigoths wandered the East Roman Empire until in 401, they reached the West Roman Empire. On the 24th of August 410 they conquered Rome.

Alaric's plan to arrange a treaty failed, as there were too many conflicting interests. His successor Athaulf, who had led the Visigoths to Gaul in 412 (which the Vandals had passed through in 409) and wedded Galla Placidia in 414 (stepsister of Emperor Honorius), strove toward a Roman-Gothic collaboration, but didn't accomplish it.

In 418, a new episode began. The foundation of the Kingdom of Toulouse by the Visigoths, with Rome consenting, heralded the decline of the West Roman Empire. During the reigns of Theoderic I and Theoderic II the notion of the Gothic-Roman State was born. Aided by Theoderic II, Avitus became Emperor (456). King Euric openly practiced expansional politics (due to a disintegrating West Roman Empire).

In 475, the Kingdom Toulouse encompassed major parts of Spain (with the exception of the Suevi and the Bask and Cantabria territories), of Gaul, from the Atlantic to the Loire and Rhône, and from 476, the Provence as well.

Although they possessed a native language and religion, the Visigoths were soon influenced by Roman culture (*Codex Euricianus*). Alaric II tried to consolidate his annexation of the catholic church (Council of Agde in 506), but he was defeated by the Burgundians and the Franks under Clovis in the Battle of Vouillé (506, Vouillé is just northwest of Poitiers). The Visigoths were driven back onto a small stretch of land along the Mediterranean (around Narbonne).

Then, the Tolosan Kingdom (Toulouse) gave way to the Toledan Kingdom (Toledo), which meant the loss of the Gaul territories with the exception of Septimania. The transition was completed by 531.

Alaric II was killed in the Battle of Vouillé. His son Amalaric was too young and his older stepbrother Gesalec was excluded from succession. Subsequently, Theoderic (in 497 he became king of the East Goths) became king of the Visigoths. His designated successor, his son-in-law Eitharic, however, died before he did. When Theoderic died in 526, his grandson Amalaric, last of the Balti, ascended the Gothic throne. Amalaric (assassinated in 531) sought ties to the Franks and wedded Clovis' daughter Chlotichild, to no avail however.

Under Theidis (531-548), peace returned, but when the Vandal Realm fell, Byzantium growingly posed a threat. Eventually, throne pretender Athanagild called Byzantium to his aid in the battle against Agila I and they subsequently occupied parts of Southeast Spain.

Liuvigild (568-586) and Reccared (586-601) have to be accredited with modernising the Visigoth realm. Liuvigild fought the Byzantines, the Cantabrians and the Basks. Liuvigild accrued a vast Spanish Visigothic realm, which he consolidated by striking down the revolt led by his son Hermenegild (579-584) and subduing the Suevi (585-586).

Originally the catholic majority was thought to be reconcilable with an adapted arianism, but at the 3rd Council of Toledo (589) catholicism prevailed, Reccared crowning the endeavours of Liuvigild. Catholicism was to become a major factor in the following era.

In the 7th century, Romans mixed with the Gothic minority. The *Liber Iudiciorum* published by king Reccesuinth in 654, completed this process and a nation was born. Gradually, the church's influence on kingdom grew. Clerical and worldly powers became more and more interlaced with eachother, entangling the church in political machinations. In the 2nd half of the 7th century, the struggle for power gained vehemence. In 709/710, Arabic invasional intentions revealed themselves and on 23rd July 711, the Visigoths suffered a defeat at Guadalete against a modest-numbered armed force led by Tariq. King Roderic died in battle.

The Arabs had conquered the whole of the Visigoth realm by 725. The aristocrats fled to Galicia, the northwest part of Spain that would never be conquered by the Arabs and would later cradle the Reconquista.

In the name of HONORIUS (393-423)



- 129 Tremissis. A: Diademed bust r. DN HONORI VS PF AVC, R: Victory r. with palm-leaf, cross and crosier, R V in field VICTORI AVCVSTORVM, in exergue COM. MEC: --. 1.487 gr. Good very fine 500,--
 Künker - Osnabrück 2002.
 From list 164, no. 64.
 Grierson (letter 2.9.2002) thinks cross and crosier indeed designate something, but provides no information as to what.

In the name of SEVERUS III (461-466)

- 130 Tremissis. A: Diademed bust r. DN SEVER VS PF AVC, R: Victory l. with long jewelled cross VICT AVCCC, in exergue COMOB. MEC: --. 1.381 gr. Good very fine 750,--
 Künker - Osnabrück 2002.
 From list 164, no. 66.
 The reverse bears great resemblance to the tremisse in Valentinianus III's name (see MEC 173).



PRE-VISIGOTHS

- 131 Tremissis. A: Head r. with cross on cloak DN AITIII ASPPAVIC, R: Victory r. VICTOIVIVTONAVI, in exergue CONOB. MEC: cf. 187/188. 1.413 gr. Very fine to extremely fine 400,--
 Vinchon - Paris 1978.

AMALARIC (511-531)

- 132 Tremissis. A: Bust r. DN ANASTA SIVS PP AVG, R: Victory r. VICTORIA AVGVSTORVI, in bottom field COHOB. MEC: 181. 1.476 gr. Good very fine 500,--
 Auktiones - Basel, Auction 13 (1983), no. 835.
 Aforementioned four coins are all in the name of Roman emperors (with no reference to Visigoth kings). It appears that these coins were manufactured in the Tolosan Realm. The following pieces consequently are Toledan fabrics. The dividing line lies somewhere around 535.

WITTERIC (603-609)



- 133 Tremissis - Sevilla. A: Facing bust + VVITTERICVS RE, R: Facing bust + PIVS IIPALI. MEC: 228, Miles 140d. 1.574 gr. Extremely fine 600,--
 Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1990.
 From list 534, no. 63.

SISEBUT (612-621)



- 134 Tremissis - Sevilla. A: Facing bust + SISEBVTVSRE, R: Facing bust + .ISPALI PIVS. MEC: 300,--
 232, Miles 187c. 1.463 gr. Small pressure point, almost extremely fine
 Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1990.
 From list 534, no. 64.

SUINTHILA (621-631)



- 135 Tremissis - Mérida. A: Facing bust + SVINTHILAREX, R: Facing bust + EMERITA PIVS. MEC: 300,--
 238, Miles 235a. 1.491 gr. Very fine
 Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1990.
 From list 534, no. 69.

CHINTILLA (636-639)



- 136 Tremissis - Sevilla. A: Facing bust, star in field r. + CHI o NTIL o AFE, R: Facing bust + ISPAL * 1.000,--
 IPI o VS. MEC: 250, Miles: 291b. 1.348 gr. Very fine to extremely fine
 Toderi - Florence 1977.

ANONYMOUS

For the bronze coinage of the Visigoths cf. Crusafont i Sabater, M.: El sistema monetario visigodo: Cobro y oro. Barcelona 1994.



- 137 Bronze - Sevilla - ca. 650. A: Cross on step, R: S P in field. MEC: --, Crusafont: Grupo A / Tipo 2. 75,--
 0.348 gr. Very fine
 Lanz - München, Auction 114 (2003), no. 932.
- 138 Nummus - Sevilla. A: Facing bust, R: Latin cross between 2 / PL (ligatured). MEC: --, Crusafont: 150,--
 Grupo B / Tipo 16. 1.514 gr. Very fine
 Elsen - Brussel, Auction 52 (1997), no. 2055.



LOMBARDS

The Lombards lived by the Baltic Sea, in the shadow of the Vandals. They migrated to the region around the lower course of the Elbe and the Lüneburg Heath. At the turn of the 5th century, they had arrived in Lower Austria under King Agilmund from the House Gucingi. They had by then evolved from a people of peasants into one of conquerers. Under Tato they migrated to a plain east of Vienna (possibly they were tributaries to the Heruli). In 508, Tato defeated the Heruli and their king Rodolph.

His successor, his cousin Wacho, wedded three times, all marriages politically motivated. His most influential move, however, was wedding his daughter Wisigarda to the Merovingian King Theudebert in 530. Wacho had, thus, ensured sound ties all around him and was able to create a large kingdom, forming, next to Byzantium and the Frank Empire, the "third power" in Europe.

Around 545, Audoin proclaimed himself king. Great confusion ensued, with the Byzantines (Justinian), the Franks, the Gepids (who meanwhile had advanced to Sirmium) and the Lombards doing everything to stir up chaos even more.

Lombard glory started when at the beginning of the seventh decade, Alboin succeeded his father Audoin. Apart from being king, he was also married to Chlodeswind, a daughter of the merovingian king Chlotarius I. As the Lombards were a small people, Alboin assured himself of the support of the Avars, whom he offered the Pannonian Plain once the Lombards would have left for Italy. In May of 568, the Lombards advanced into Italy, not as a people seeking *foederati* status (like the East Goths), but rather as foes and victors. Alboin died in 572.

The Lombards, in Pavia, elected Cleph from the House Beleo, but he was soon murdered (574). The Lombards then failed to appoint a new king and an interregnum followed until 584. The Lombards didn't restrict their raids to Italy, but went pillaging in the Provence too.

Yet, the need for *one* leader grew and in 584 Authari, the son of Cleph, was elected king. He reshaped the Lombards from a loose band of outlaws into a nation. In 590, he died as the first statesman of Italy.

Authari had been married to the Lethingian Theodelinda. Their marriage ended childless. After Authari's demise she was allowed to choose a husband who would consequently become king. It was to be Agilulf, a brother-in-law of Authari.

Under the marriage Agilulf-Theodelinda the nation took shape. One should bear in mind that the Lombard realm up to then consisted of a great many duchies, like those of Turin, Bergamo, Verona, Treviso, among others. Furthermore, the grand duchies of Spoleto and Beneventum lay to the south, though they were, to an extent, detached from central authority. The northern duchies were partly abolished by Agilulf and their the dukes tried as traitors. Agilulf conquered a number of Byzantine cities and subsequently threatened Rome, but Pope Gregory the Great managed to avert the imminent siege by paying tribute. Gregory more and more took on a central role in Italian politics. Battle with Byzantium was, however, uncessible (even resulting in the temporary capture of Agilulf's daughter and her husband Godesclac), but after the demise of Emperor Maurice Tiberius in 602, Byzantium shedded all hope of ever winning Italy back.

Theodelinda was catholic and the Lombards were heathens and Arians. But gradually, through efforts on the queen's part, catholicism gained ground. Thus, in 604, their son Adaloald became associate king and was baptised. Milan became the capital and Monza the summer residence. With the aid of the Avars, he reorganised the duchy Friaul (under the leadership of a descendant of the Alboin family). Adaloald was the first to proclaim himself *Gratia Dei Rex Totius Italiae*. In 616 he died.

From 616, what was known as the Bavarian Dynasty began to play a role. This dynasty descended from Gunduald (sister of Theodelinda) who had fled for the Franks to Bavaria in 589. In 626, Adaloald died and in 627 Theodelinda passed away. Son Arioald became king, but he is Arian. In 636, he died.

He was succeeded by the duke of Brescia, Rothari, an Arian. He wedded Gundeperga, his predecessor's widow. The latter was catholic, this promoted the late Theodelinda's religion. Rothari's main act was codifying Lombard law (643). In 652, the highly adored king passed away and was succeeded by his son Rodoald, who was murdered after a few months however. In 653, Aripert (cousin of Theodelinda and son of Duke Gunduald of Asti) became king (he was a member of the Bavarian dynasty). He abolished Arianism. When he died in 661, the kingdom was divided among his two sons Perctarit (in Milan) and Godepert (in Pavia). In the resulting dispute between the brothers, Godepert sought the support of Duke Grimoald of Beneventum. Perctarit fled to the Avars and then on into the Frankish Realm. Grimoald became king of the Lombards until his death. He conquered Emperor Constans II in South Italy and held a nearly impregnable position in the Po Plain. When he died in 671, he handed down

a relatively large realm. His son and successor Garibald could assert his position for a mere few weeks. Perctarit returned and ascended the throne (672). He reached a settlement with Romuald of Beneventum (son of Grimoald). As a consequence, Romuald sent Perctarit's wife Rodelinda and their son Cunipert back to Pavia. Perctarit's main aim: promoting the Roman Catholic Church. In 680, Cunipert became associate king.

Troubles arose in the north. His Agilolfing kinsmen came to Perctarit's aid. In 688, he died. Cunipert was driven from Pavia (the Arians led by Alahis were behind this). In the end, Cunipert defeated Alahis and returned to Pavia.

In 700, Cunipert died, he had been a very popular king. His son Liutpert succeeded. The duke of Turin revolted and seizing the opportunity, proclaimed his son Aripert II king. Under Aripert, Byzantine influence in Italy further declined.

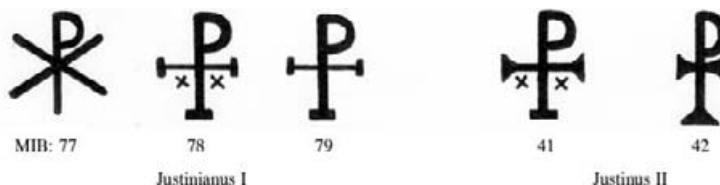
In 712, the Bavarian king Theudepert had Ansprand (guardian of Liutpert, who had fled to Bavaria) march an army on Italy. Aripert died on the run. Ansprand became king, dying after only a few months, but not before bringing his son Liutprand to the throne. Liutprand further extended the rudiments of Rothari's law. He was a devout Catholic and resided in Pavia. His ultimate ambition was domination over entire Italy. But he encountered resistance from both the Byzantines and the practically independent grand duchies Spoleto and Beneventum. In 729, Liutprand subdued the duke of Spoleto (Transamund II) as well as the duke of Beneventum (Romuald II). Liutprand now possessed what seemed to be great power in Southern and Central Italy, but this proved to be a house of cards. In Beneventum, Romuald had a minor son Gisulf. Liutprand did not accept his rights and appointed Gregorius, retaining full control himself. In 739, Gregorius died and Godescalc, a foe of Liutprand's, became duke. The latter then vanquished Godescalc and made Gisulf duke. Liutprand once again held full power. 744 saw his demise, he was succeeded by Hildeprand, who ruled only a few months and was in turn succeeded by Ratchis, duke of Friaul. He particularly endeavoured to help the poor. In 746, he assumed the Princeps title, instead of the *Rex Gentis Langobardorum*. When in 749, he retreated from Perugia "of his own free will" (under papal pressure, really), it was regarded treason and his brother Aistulf rose to power. He managed to unite the country under his authority, which gave him great power, exceeding that of Grimoald and Liutprand.

On the 6th January 754, Pippin the Younger, in return for his reconsecration as Frankish king, agreed with Pope Stephan II to intervene in Italy. In the same year, Aistulf lost to Pippin and had to recognise Frankish suzerainty. In 756, he died.

Last of the kings was Desiderius (from Brescia). He once again restored Lombard power in South and Central Italy, but then was beset by catastrophe, on the one hand Carloman died in 771 leaving the throne to Charlemagne and on the other hand his ally Pope Stephan III died in 772. In 773, Charlemagne (having disposed of his Lombard wife, a daughter of Desiderius) marched for Italy, substantiating his prestige as protector of the Holy See. In 774, he conquered Pavia and had Desiderius and his wife Ansa deported into the Frankish Empire. From then on, Charlemagne was *Gratia Dei Rex Francorum et Langobardorum*.

Coinage is usually classified in three sections: Lombardy; Tuscany (that was united with Lombardy in the 8th century) and Beneventum. Coinage started with a pseudo imperial minting, as well in Lombardy as in Tuscany. The attributions to certain kings in this period are highly equivocal. With Cunipert (688-700) the Regal coinage period commenced, ending with Desiderius in 774.

In December of 539, Belisarius took Ravenna and from 540 Justinian minted in Ravenna. The following reverses may be distinguished on Justinian's silver coins (continued by Justin II):



In my opinion, all of these somehow commemorate the inauguration of either the St. Vitale (547) or the St. Apollinare in Classe (549). Maximinianus was then bishop of Ravenna. The christogram on no. 77 is also seen on the shield of the famous Ravenna Mosaic of Justinian. Nordström (Ravennastudien (1953) p.99) notes: "To the far left stands the imperial guard with shield and lance. The front shield bears the monogram of christ, it apparently is an imperial parade shield" (this mosaic presumably features Belisarius as well). The cross with the P at its top is harder to determine, however, at St. Vitale a mosaic does exist that depicts the bishop holding the church, crowned with a cross with the similarly shaped arms.

Follower of JUSTINIANUS I (527-565)



- 139 1/2 Siliqua. A: Diademed bust r. TV IV VV II, R: Cross, with P on top and one step below, between two stars in laurel-wreath. 0.400 gr. Very fine + 300,--

Sternberg - Zürich, Auction 19 (1987), no. 1163.

This coin stems from a French hoard that appears to have been in the possession of the firm Rollin and Feudant in Paris after the turn of the 19th century.

In the cat. Sternberg, the following account can be found: "Als die Langobarden ins römisch-byzantinische Reich eindringen (546 überlässt ihnen der Kaiser Pannonien), finden sie dort Halb- und Viertelsiliquen vor. Beide haben als Bild das kreuzförmige Christusmonogramm, die Halbsiliquen dazu zwei Sterne (Justinianus I, MIB 78 und 79). Diese Münzen halten sich die Treue. 568 zieht das Volk der Langobarden nach Italien. Genau zu dem Zeitpunkt lässt Justinus II in Ravenna wieder Münzen von diesem Typ und Gewicht prägen, obwohl Justinianus I zwischenzeitlich andere Typen eingeführt hatte (MIB 81 und 82). Es sieht so aus, als seien diese Münzen für den Verkehr mit den Langobarden geprägt. Wenig später beginnen diese selbst Münzen dieser Art zu prägen. Ihnen folgen die Franken, die 581 in langobardisches Gebiet eingedrungen waren. Die fränkischen Prägungen sind selten. Man kennt einige aus Grabfunden, grössere Funde scheinen nicht publiziert." Sternberg attributes this coin to the Burgundians, comparing it to the tremisses B: 4831 (Vienne) and B: 6476 (Valence). This seems somewhat fanciful.

A coin with a similar effigy is found in the Subjack collection (Vecchi, Auction 14 (1999), no. 64), where it was attributed to the Gepids.

In cat. 94 of Münzen und Medaillen (16-12-2003), a nearly identical coin is described under no. 508 (lower part of the cross differs slightly). This catalogue classifies it under the Lombards (Schulte believes the superior specimens should be attributed to the Lombards (since Lombardy produced numerous finds), whereas the origins of the somewhat uncultivated coins should be sought elsewhere (tel. Schulte 18-11-2003). Here, it is classified with the Lombards.

AGILULF (590-616)



- 140 Tremissis - large flan. A: Diademed bust r.IbPPVI, R: Victory standing with wreath and cross VMTOXIAIVIVITTOVI, in exergue CONO. Bern: 1a, MEC: 305-306. 1.453 gr. R Extremely fine 1.000,--

Münzzentrum - Köln, Auction 69 (1990), no. 726.

This coin is an imitation of the coins of Maurice Tiberius from Ravenna (582-602). The **Ib** proves it. That their coinage remained based on Byzantine fabrics seems peculiar, especially because the Lombards were at constant war with Byzantium.

This coin is classified under Agilulf, because the reverse clearly shows a small cross. This is reminiscent of Theodelinda, champion of the Catholic belief, and wife of Agilulf.

It is indeed equally peculiar that this coin, on a large flan, was manufactured exactly as later coins starting with Cunipert. The text on its reverse is much clearer than in MEC.

PERCTARIT (672-688)

The half siliqua bear the letters PER, that, of course, refer to Perctarit. This is less certain in the case of the tremisse, although the bust on no. 142 reveals the same style as that on 141. Based on this, I favour attribution to Perctarit.



- 141 Tremissis. A: Diademed bust r. IVHIV VHOVI, R: Latin cross with the limbs ending in two pellets MIOHVIVHOTH, in the bottom field ANA. Bern: 16, MEC: 314. 1.423 gr. Extremely fine 1.000,--

Ratto - Mailand 1969.

Attribution to Perctarit is not beyond doubt. Bernareggi classifies this coin as "anonymous issue imitating Byzantine type", MEC as "Tuscany. Pseudo-imperial coinage c.620-c.700. With completely blundered legends".

The texts on ob- and reverse show a certain similarity: the three letters at the beginning and the last four letters are the same. That leaves IVV for the obverse and OTHVNVM for the reverse. A similar construction of repeating script is seen on no. 78.



142



2:1



143



2:1



- 142 1/2 Siliqua. A: Bust r., R: Monogram PE R, three pellets l., three in the middle (before E) and five r. (three of them before the R). Bern: 46, MEC: 329 var. 0.272 gr. Very fine 300,--
Kunst und Münzen - Lugano 1983.
- 143 1/2 Siliqua. A: Bust r., R: Monogram PE R. two pellets l., one pellet under the R. Bern: 46, MEC: 329 var. 0.327 gr. Very fine 300,--
Kunst und Münzen - Lugano 1996.

ARIPERT II (701-712)



144



- 144 Tremissis. A: Diademed bust r. with H in field DN ARIPERX, R: St. Michael standing l. with long staff ending in three pellets SCS MIHAHIL. Bern: 7, MEC: 321 var. 1.317 gr. Good very fine 1.000,--
Elsen - Brussel, Auction 25 (1992), no. 199.
The meaning of the letters in the field remains unknown. They neither refer to a moneyer or a die-cutter, both being too insignificant at the time as to be allowed including their initials on coins, nor do they indicate any mint, as letters feature that implicate no places known of. Alternatively, they could be the initials of dukes, who were entrusted by the king with the task of minting locally, as was allowed by Rothari's Edict (ch. 242). But there are not enough letters and ligatures vis-à-vis the total numbers of dukes. For various theories to this matter, see Bernareggi p. 62 et seqq. On the reverse of this coin St. Michael can be seen. First appearance on coins is on those of his predecessor Cunipert. Grimoald had brought with him from Beneventum the rite of venerating the archangel Michael, in whose honour he consecrated a church in Pavia. His successor elaborated this cult, establishing St. Michael as the patron saint of the Lombards (Cunipert also propagated the veneration of St. George, but he favoured the archangel and was the first to place St. Michael on a coin).



145



- 145 Tremissis. A: Diademed bust r. with blessing hand DN (AR)IPCIPX R, R: St. Michael standing l. with long staff ending in three pellets SCS MIHAHIL. Bern: 7, MEC: 321 var. 1.377 gr. Good very fine 1.000,--
Elsen - Brussel, Auction 46 (1996), no. 934.
Normally, the obverse text ends with REX, here this was replaced (for lack of space) by R with a dash crossing its slanted stroke.
Bernareggi: Moneta Longobardorum, p. 66: "As far as the symbol of the hand is concerned, my opinion remains as proposed in my 1960 essay (Bernareggi: Il sistema economico e la monetazione dei Longobardi, p. 91). These specimens not only always reveal a very high workmanship, and an excellent standard of fineness, but also have weights that are consistent and higher than average. Furthermore, if one takes into account the fact that the hand is shown in a gesture of greeting, it will not seem too far-fetched to surmise that these coins celebrate an adventus (The celebration of the adventus by means of the sign of the greeting hand was a traditional device on Roman imperial coins. Thus there is no reason why the Lombards would not have adopted it), i.e., the introduction of the new coin for Cunipert (which also probably celebrated his victorious battle), as well as the accession to the throne of Aripert II and Liutprand."

LIUTPRAND (712-744)



2:1



146



2:1

- 146 Tremisse. A: Diademed bust r. with S in field DN (LV)IPRNRX, R: St. Michael standing l. with long staff ending in three pellets SCS MHAHIL. Bern: 8, MEC: 322 var. 1.263 gr.

Elsen - Brussel, Auction 25 (1992), no. 200.

Very fine to extremely fine

1.250,--

PRINCIPALITY BENEVENTUM

When Lombard domination over Beneventum had crumbled in 774, Arichis II immediately changed his title to leave no doubt about independence. He discarded the title *Dux* and proclaimed himself *Princeps*, which however did not prevent the Franks of imposing upon him the obligation to acknowledge Frankish suzerainty during the last year of his life.

His second son Grimoald III succeeded but the pope pleaded with Charlemagne to annex Beneventum. Grimoald just averted this by promising to name Charlemagne in all Beneventum legislation and on all coins. As soon as 789/791 he departed from his word and discontinued this. He resided in Salerno.

Grimoald IV was compelled to pay annual fees to the Franks (to Charlemagne as well as to Louis the Pious). He was assassinated in 817. His successor Sico tried to annex Naples. His son Sicard was murdered in 839.

A civil war broke out for succession, Beneventum was subsequently divided (849). Radelchis became prince in Beneventum and Siconulf, Sicard's younger brother, became prince of Salerno (for Salerno see Italy). Radelchis had to stand his ground by fighting off many a neighbour, but also faced the advancing Arabs. In 866, Louis II came to his aid. The latter then claimed sovereignty and took the mint. He minted in his own name, in that of Empress Angilberga and sometimes jointly with Adelchis (brother of the son of Radelchis). In 871, minting ceased.

ARICHI II (774-787)



2:1



147



2:1

- 147 Solidus. A: Facing bust with orb + DNS VI CTORIA, R: Latin cross on three steps with A in field VICTIRV PRINPI, in exergue C . ONO . B. MEC: 1096. 3.859 gr.

Very fine to extremely fine

500,--

Ratto - Mailand, 1966.
In MEC class 3 (774-787) as Princeps.

GRIMOALD III (788-806)



- 148 Tremissis. A: Facing bust with orb + GRIM VALD, R: Latin cross on step, G R in field VITORV PRINCIP, in exergue CONOB. MEC: 1099. 1.196 gr.

Small flan crack, very fine to extremely fine

500,--

v. d. Dussen - Maastricht, Auction 20 (1993), no. 792.

Grimoald III was the first to strike his own name on coins. The letters in the field refer to his predecessors. Here, they are G for Gisulf I and A for Audelais (both dukes from Lombard times).

According to MEC class 1 (Rev. cross on globule and steps, or on globule and base). Class 1 shows no globule at the base of the cross, class 2 does. The coin at hand displays such a globule.



ADELCHIS (853-878)

- 149 Denier. A: Carolingian temple ADELCHS PRIN, R: Cross-on-steps + S.C.A MARIA. MEC:1113. 0.898 gr. Very fine

100,--

Ratto - Mailand 1969.

Adelchi principe, 1st period, i.e. Adelchis alone (853-867).

LOUIS II and ANGILBERGA (866-871)

- 150 Denier. A: Cross-on-steps + LVDOVVICVS INP, R: Two crosses over eachother + ANGILBERGA NP. MEC: 1116. 1. 082 gr.

Attractive fine patina, very fine

150,--

Toderi - Florence 1974.

FRANKS-FRISIA



- 151 1/2 Siliqua. A: Barbarized bust l. with zigzag line in front, R: Christogram with one pellet below and between two stars. 0.434 gr. Very fine specimen with attractive tone

400,--

Gorny - München, Auction 81 (1997), no. 994.

A type that is hard to trace. It is recorded as originating from the Lower Rhine territory, which would date it back to approx. 580. However, silver coins did not yet exist in the Frank Realm to that time (let alone halves). This variety and its halves, circulated only in the Byzantine Empire and in its direct proximity (see, among others, no. 139). The forked cross is unknown of there however. In the hoard that contained no. 139, one of the coins showed a forked cross (cat. Sternberg no. 1158), described there as "Frankish coinage - Lower Rhine".

Two parallels can be observed: the cross fourchée also appears on the earliest sceattas, these date back to around 700. And a similar zigzag line is also seen on the obverse of the so-called Dronrijp type, which however is dated around 620-630. Frisia could also be considered, but types of such delicacy are atypical for the region. Still, the Rhine-Meuse-Scheldt basin seems the most likely place of origin.



MEROVINGIANS

Merovingian history, that spans the period from 482 until 751, can be subdivided in five episodes:

1. *The time of Clovis (482-511)*

Around 450, Childeric advanced up to the Somme banks. When he died in 482, he was buried in Doornik. His son Clovis (482-511) pushed forward until Paris.

Clovis was, on succeeding his father, not addressed as regional king in Doornik, but as administrator of the provincia Belgica secunda (capital Reims). In 486/7, Clovis discontinued Roman occupation of the rump state of Syagrius in Soissons (the clan of the Syagrii would later hold high offices in the Merovingian kingdom).

Clovis was wedded to the Burgundian princess Chlotilde, who was Catholic. On Christmas 498, Clovis was baptised by bishop Remigius of Reims (this led to the eventual amalgamation of the Gallo-Roman and Frankish people). A sister of Clovis, Audofleda, was married to the Gothic king Theoderic.

Clovis accrued large parts of Gaul. His greatest victory was that over the Visigoths at Vouillé in 506, throwing back the Visigoths onto a small stretch of land along the Mediterranean around Narbonne. In 507, he took Toulouse. The entire territory from there to the Loire came under his sway. Furthermore, he also defeated the Alamanni in 506, leaving a vast realm at his death. Thus, Clovis was *Primus rex Francorum*.

2. *The time of the four sons of Clovis (511-561)*

At his death, Clovis had four sons: Theuderic I from a concubine marriage and three sons with Chlotilde. The dominion was divided among them. The 4 territories (core territories of Francia - the name Gaul is replaced by Francia) were based around the former Roman *civitates*: Reims, Orleans, Paris and Soissons. The new kings were: Theuderic I (511-534) in Reims, Chlodemer (511-524) in Orleans, Childebert I (511-558) in Paris and Chlotarius I (511-561) in Soissons. It was however no "real" division, as later with the Carolingians, the brothers maintained collaborations and it is therefore historically accurate to refer to the Merovingian Realm.

During this division, the *Lex Salica* (the stipulation of a number of Frankish regulations) that stated that "at the division of an estate at the demise of a father each son is entitled to an equal share" was frequently appealed to. Wood (*Kings, Kingdoms and Consent in Early Medieval Kingship*, Leeds 1977, p. 6-29) doubts this. In his view there was a compromise in 511, between on the one hand Theuderich and on the other Chlotilde and her three sons, in which Chlotilde was counselled by "experts" (the bishops). During the territorial division of Clovis' dominion the old Roman *civitates* and their boundaries were adhered to (in 511, they were episcopal sees).

The sons conquered the whole of Gaul (in 534 the Burgundian realm and in 536 the Provence), Theudebert (son of Theuderic) conquered part of North Italy (540) up to Venice, while the king of Reims in 531 occupied the Thuringian realm. By then, the Frankish realm encompassed Francia and large parts of Germany (as far as the Elbe and the Danube). Because Chlodemer, Theuderic's grandson, and Childebert had died, Chlotaire was king of the entire dominion, from 558 to his death in 561. Unlike the situation at Clovis' demise, civil war broke out between Reims and Soissons at Chlotaire's death.

3. *The time of the four sons of Chlotarius (561-613)*

Chlotarius I, too, left four sons, three by his wife Ingund and one by her sister Arnegund. In principle the division of 511 was kept. Charibert (Paris, 561-567), Chilperic (Soissons, 561-584), Gunthram (Orléans, 561-592) and Sigibert I (Reims, 561-575). Chilperic changed the name Soissons to Neustria. Aquitaine was divided among all four, granting it more freedom, its nobility seizing the opportunity to rise to greater autonomy.

The boundaries of the territories had to be set anew, three eventually were comparable, but the fourth, Chilperic's (son of Arnegund) was substantially less significant. Thus, Chilperic invaded the territory of Sigibert but was repelled.

New conflicts arose when Charibert I (Paris) died. The three remaining brothers attempted a most intricate dividing system for the estate. This led to new conflict between the brothers, in which Sigibert's wife Brunichild (daughter of a Visigothic king) would play a major role. The realm of Reims from then on was called Austrasia and the son of Sigibert, Childebert, established the new capital in Metz.

Now there were three realms: Neustria (Soissons), Austrasia (Metz) and Burgundy (where Theuderic II moved the capital from Orleans to Chalon-sur-Saône). Austrasia and Burgundy allied against Soissons.



In Austrasia, internal problems arose and the Avars growingly posed a threat. Because many a king died young, succession regularly proved problematic, as in the case of Theuderic who suddenly died at the age of 25. Queen Brunichild appointed Theuderic's oldest son king. But nobility did not accept the queen's decision and chose Chlotarius II of Soissons. In the ensuing battle queen Brunichild was vanquished and eventually executed by Chlotarius II. From then on, Chlotarius once again ruled the three territories as one. In 613, as in 558 alike, a Merovian from Soissons became king of the whole territory.

Due to the struggle for power, the influence of nobility had fairly increased, which would prove to be decisive.

4. *The time of Chlotarius II and Dagobert I (613-639)*

Under Chlotarius II (613-629) and his son Dagobert I (629-638/9), Merovingian culture rose to its apogee. Dagobert moved the court to Paris, that from that moment would effectively be France's capital. Even under Dagobert's reign, Sigibert III became viceroy in Austrasia and Clovis II became viceroy in Neustria, the territory was once again divided two ways and decline soon set in.

5. *The time of the mayor of the palace (maior domus) (600-752)*

In the meantime a very significant transition had taken place: the rise of the office of *maior domus* or mayor of the palace. Originally the head of the (unfree) domestic staff, this institution evolved into an influential force. The position of mayor of the palace emerged in Neustria and Austrasia as well as in Burgundy. The allegiance to the king was preserved. This was the state of affairs as seen in 6th century.

Around 600 this tie of allegiance was severed. The mayor of the palace detached his office of that of the king and turned toward nobility. The office of mayor of the palace steadily gained in power, with a hereditary aspect even to it in Austrasia, unlike the equivalent positions in the other two territories.

In Austrasia two dynasties dominated: the Arnulfings and the Pippinids. The Arnulfings, who took their name from Arnulf the Saint, bishop of Metz, mainly had possessions in the region around Metz and Verdun. The House of the Pippinids was founded by Pippin the Elder, their estates situated around the Meuse, in the Ardennes, later in Trier, Echternach and surroundings. Both had held positions at the court: Arnulf was clerical advisor and Pippin mayor of the palace.

Pippin was succeeded by his son Grimoald, who in his capacity of mayor of the palace held effective sway together with bishop Kunibert of Cologne. This provocation was directed toward Otto, educator of Sigibert III. Grimoald attempted a coup, but failed (661). More significant was the marriage of Pippin's daughter Begga to the son of Arnulf, Ansegisel. This union between the Arnulfings and the Pippinids laid the foundations for the Carolingian Dynasty. In 680 (after an interim period with Wulfoald), their son Pippin of Herstal was the third Carolingian (after Pippin the Elder and Grimoald) to hold the office of Austrasian mayor of the palace. Through his marriage with Plectrud he substantially expanded his possessions and he accomplished unifying nobility under his rule.

Meanwhile, Neustria had seen significant change as well. Clovis II ascended to the throne at the age of four. The mayor of the palace Aega and (after 614) Erchinoald held effective power. The latter wedded Clovis to the Anglo-Saxon slave Balthilde. When Clovis died only 23, Balthilde took over. After Erchiboald's demise (before 660), instead of his son she appointed Ebroin, a relatively unknown person. His assuming the office would cause a revolution (the queens – Chlotilde, Brunichild and Bathilde – exerted deciding influence!). Ebroin not only deposed the king, but also endeavoured to disempower nobility. After numerous assassinations on all sides, Ebroin met his fate when he was murdered (680/1). Neustria, under his successor Waratto, then signed peace with Pippin (even though the latter was not yet mayor of the palace of Austrasia), thus, Waratto retained his office until his death in 686. The situation came to a head a year later (687) when Pippin II in the battle of Tertry defeated Waratto's successor Berchar. Berchar shortly retained his office, but he was murdered in 688 and Pippin usurped the office of mayor of the palace in the entire realm, taking on the title *Princeps Francorum*.

After Pippin's demise, another division took place: Neustria devolved to his own son Grimoald II (who was killed by a Frisian in the Lambertus church in Liège), Austrasia went to his bastard son Charles Martel. The Carolingian Era had in fact begun with the marriage of Ansegisel and Begga, but reference to the Carolingian Dynasty starts with its founder Charles Martel.

Charles Martel's main feat was that he accomplished repelling the Arab invasion for good in a series of battles in 732 near Poitiers. After the demise of Theuderic IV in 737, Charles Martel ruled without a factual king (mayor of the palace 714-741). Martel's son Pippin III (whom he

had adopted by the Lombard king Liutprand) was the first to ascend a king's throne. From 741 to 752 still mayor of the palace, but officially king from 752 to 768. As he desired no recurrence of the potent mayor of the palace office, he abolished it altogether.

The mayors of the palace never minted. It is presumably an attempt at displaying prestige that one type shows the name BRO / INO (this is the same type as no. 168, which bears no name). The first one to mint is Pippin III as king (see Carolingians-Robertines).

MEC divides the history of coinage in three: 1. gold solidi and triens, with the Victory (500-580), 2. gold triens with cross (580-670) and 3. silver denarii (from 670). The transition in the years around 580 is hard to pinpoint. The change to silver is much more obvious (parallel to the Anglo-Saxon development). This is why we chose the following classification, which to my mind matches contemporary international development better.

1. Gold solidi and triens in the name of a Merovingian king. These were struck virtually throughout the whole period (Engel & Serrure even mention one by Dagobert III (711-715)), each in small numbers. Similar to other regions, coins were initially minted in the name of a Roman emperor (from Anastasius to Justin II), in the Midi and along the lower course of the Rhône, names up to Heraclius were even used ((610-641), (see Engel & Serrure p. 63), after that own names were used.

2. Gold triens struck in a variety of mints, only specifying a place (sometimes unidentifiable with present-day places) and a moneyer. Such coins are found of an all but endless series of mints. Grierson has this practice begin in 570 (MEC I, p. 81)

3. Silver denarii. Around 650, gold was discarded abruptly and silver denarii were minted. These would prevail until Pippin the Short introduced his coins (see under Carolingians-Robertines). The transition to silver in the Frank Realm took place a little earlier than that in Anglo-Saxon England.

Only coins of type 2 and 3 are represented underneath.

TRIENS



- 152 **Autun. Moneyer Teudulfo.** A: Double portrait r. AVGSTIDV(NO FIT), R: Latin cross chrismée between A and C + TEVDVLFO M. Belfort: 451. 1.249 gr. **RR** Small edge nick, extremely fine 2.500,--
Spink - London 1997.

Autun took its name (Augustodunum) from Augustus, who magnificently reconstructed it as a replacement for Bibracte as the capital of Roman Gaul, but in Merovingian times it was of much less account than Chalon. Its coinage is largely modelled on that of this city, with A G in the field instead of C A and usually a cross chrismée for type, though unlike Chalon there is usually no wreath inside the legend. A peculiar feature is the occasional occurrence of two overlapping busts instead of a single one as the obverse type. Prou, whose catalogue of the coins of Autun (1888) requires little revision, suggested that it originated in a double striking, but it is used by several moneyers and was more likely copied from some Roman coins. It inspired numismatists from Chiflet and Leblanc onwards into remarkable flights of fancy, the figures being identified with such personages as Sigebert and Brunhild (Chiflet 1655) or Guntram and Childebert II (Lelewel 1835) (MEC I, p. 132)

In 505, the diocese Autun had already become independent of those of Chalon, Macon and Nevers. Queen Brunichild (King Sigebert's wife) supported bishop Syagrius in fostering the development of numerous monasteries in the region. Therefore, the suggestion of 1655 is not altogether inconceivable.



- 153 **Dorestad. Moneyer Madelinus.** A: Diademed bust r., five pellets in triangular on cloak DORESTATIFIT, R: Cross-on-step, six pellets below MAD • EL • INVS M. Belfort: 1760. 1.298 gr. **RR** Extremely fine 2.000,--

Bought 1985 (Dekker collection).

Bought Schulman - Amsterdam on 11-10-1958.

This is a Dorestad original. Pol signalises 72 specimens in his dissertation, of which 56 are in museum collections. Belfort designates the pellet after the third letter in the reverse text a "point secret".



- 154 **Maastricht. Moneyer Adelbertus.** A: Diademed bust r. x T(RA)IETO FIT x, R: Cross-on-step, six pellets below ADELBERTVS M. Belfort: 4462. 1.117 gr. **R** Flan defect at the edge, very fine + 1.500,--
 Spink - London, Auction 1239 (2000), no. 812.
 Ex: Dreesmann collection II, no. 812.
 Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 225 (1955), no. 791.
 Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 275 (1982), no. 2164.
 In Belfort falsely listed under Utrecht



- 155 **Maastricht. Moneyer Domaricus.** A: Diademed bust r. TRIECTV FIT, R: Cross-on-globule DOMARICVS MO. Belfort: 4418. 1.118 gr. **R** Very fine 1.000,--
 Schulman - Amsterdam 1968.
- 156 **Mainz (?)**. A: Circle with pellet, crosses and pellets around the circle, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle, legend not visible. Belfort: --. 0.838 gr. **R** Very fine to extremely fine 1.000,--
 Auktiones - Basel, Auction 20 (1990), no. 585.
 Unpublished? Even Grierson has no inkling as to what the "text" on the reverse means.
 In catalogue 94 of Münzen und Medaillen a similar coin occurs under no. 533. The accompanying comment reads: "Triens of Dronrijp hoard type". This piece is much heavier 1.24. References: Belfort 3029ff and 5587f, pr: 1244var, MEC I, cp. 509, Werner cp. 146. This type and related pieces used to be claimed for Mainz immediately, a theory that lacks proof, that they originate from the region of Mainz, is confirmed by numerous independent finds however. (Werner, J.: Münzdatierte austrasische Grabfunde, Berlin/Leipzig 1935).



- 157 **Quentovic. Moneyer Dutta.** A: Diademed bust r. X VVICCO, R: Cross-on-steps DVTT(AMO)NE. Belfort: 4960. 1.253 gr. **R** Struck from corroded and weak dies, otherwise very fine to extremely fine 1.500,--
 Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1989.
 Same coin as in Numismatic Circular 1988, no. 3179.
 The obverse is a die-duplicate of Crondall Hoard 13.
 Found in Canterbury Area approx. 1986. See BNJ 1988 (Coin Register no. 101).
 Text reverse intact DVTTA MONE.
- 158 **Moneyer Aldinus.** A: Bust r. + (ALODI)NOM(ONET), R: Cross with two sidearms on rectangle with cross in centre (VVICVS FIT). Belfort: 4983, MEC: 471. 0.907 gr. **R** Very fine to extremely fine 1.500,--
 Peus - Frankfurt, Auction 361 (1999), no. 750.
 The coin mentioned in Belfort is kept in the Cabinet de France (Ex: P.d'Amecourt collection, orig. Dassy, no. 189).
 For the text, Belfort gives: +ALODINO MONIT / VVICVS FIT. The illustration in Belfort shows a different text (+ALODINO MON.). Belfort mentions the moneyer Alodinus.
 In MEC (471), there is another specimen. Text: +ALPINO [MONIT] P inverted and M upside down. Moneyer indicated here is Aldinus.
 The illustration (Belfort), like the one in MEC clearly differ from the coin at hand. I believe this coin constitutes a perfect prototype for subgroup 2 of the Vernus series (Sceatta / Anglo-Saxon), see photo.



2:1

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2:1

- 159 **Rodez. Moneyer Rosolus.** A: Bust r. with cross, palm with three leaves and three pellets in front, R: Rodez monogram (RNS = RVTENIS) + IO.GO....MO. Belfort: 3928. 1.248 gr.

RR Reverse a little off centre, otherwise very fine specimen with expressive portrait

1.000,--

Auktiones - Basel, Auction 27 (1996), no. 1346.

Ex: Ponton d'Amecourt collection (shown in Belfort).

After the Clovis' victory over the Visigoths, they recaptured the region surrounding Rodez. Theudebert (533-548) reclaimed it, prior (531) to his accession to the throne.



2:1

160

2:1

- 160 **Rouen. Moneyer Aigoaldus.** A: Bust r. + ROTO (MOCIV), R: Small cross in wreath (AIGO) ALDOMO. Belfort: 3840. 1.318 gr.

RR Extremely fine, perfect piece

2.000,--

Spink - London 1996.

cf. BNJ 1988, p. 147 (Coin Register no. 100).

Found Knighton, Oxon (formerly Berks), c. 1986.

"The likelihood is that this coin came directly into Wessex across the Channel". Inf. by courtesy of Mr B. Cavill.

SILVER DENIERS



2:1

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2:1

162

- 161 **Brioude. Moneyer Norbertus?.** A: Degenerated head r., R: Cross with one pellet in each angle ...O R N T Belfort: -- (Reverse compares to 1017). 1.097 gr.

Small flan, very fine

200,--

Jacquier - Kehl 1991.

From list 13, no. 526.

In Belfort, the obverse is described as "mitre".

The coin from the Bais hoard (no. 305) shows the same obverse as this does. Indeterminée. This piece is now kept in Mainz. Accompanying text: Attribuable a Brioude.

In the Bais hoard, the obverse is described as "peut-être une tête déformée". This is more likely than the mitre, this is why, here, it is shown as it is. If it is this deformed head, it would depict a head with a quite protruding nose.

- 162 **Limoges. Moneyer Scobilion.** A: Great E with two pellets, R with cross in front, R: Circle with croix ancrée and one pellet in the 1st and 2nd angles SCOBILION M. Belfort: -- (Reverse compares to 6682). 0.933 gr.

RR Small traces of sealing-wax on the obverse, minor scratches, otherwise very fine to extremely fine

500,--

Sotheby - London, Auction 6-10-94 (1994), no. 876.

In the hoard Bais were 4 specimens from Limoges and one from St. Martial in Limoges. The obverse is Limoges (Bais 137), the reverse resembles no. 139 (Novi Vico) (with a different text).

B: 6682 gives exactly the same reverse, with only MON instead of M. Coin, with a wholly different obverse, here indicated as "monnaie indéterminée".



- 163 **Lyon. Episcopal minting.** A: LVG with stripe above, R: Cross with V-P-E-S in the angles. Belfort: 2354. 1.009 gr. **R** Minor traces of corrosion, very fine 300,--

Vinchon - Paris 1978.

The letters EPS are clear. Here, the remaining quadrant reveals a V, in Belfort this is consistently depicted as a type of R as part of the cross (croix grecque chrismee).

Also appears in cat 94 of Münzen und Medaillen: Coin weight there is 1.73. References: Cimiez: 143 and Taf. 8.143, Belfort: 2354, Prou: 112.

This piece probably is from episcopal coinage, regardless of whether one wants to recognise G EP(iscopus), S EP(iscopus) or even merely EPS. What makes this type remarkable, is that the shape and the style of the die are very reminiscent of the early Carolingian coins of Pippin the Short indeed, even if its flan is typically Merovingian.

- 164 **"Maastricht type".** A: Rough drawn bust l. with four pellets behind, R: Interlace Cross (Solomon's knot) with three pellets in each angle. B: 5992, MEC: 634. 0.832 gr. **R** Very fine 300,--

Schulman - A'dam, Auction 275 (1982), no. 3510.

Attributed by Belfort to Auxerre, later to Maastricht (cf. no. 5990-5999). Both assumptions are incorrect. Metcalf ranges it under the sceattas (T&S p. 255 et seq.), but under reserve. An attribution to Frisia is possible according to him, but also the lower Meuse valley might be considered (T&S p. 261). MEC has included them under Frisia (MEC I, p. 151 and no. 634-635), for which he refers to the analogies between its reverse and those of Pippin and Charlemagne coins.

Hatz in his description of the hoard Goting-Kliff/Föhr considers an origin around the Lower Meuse - Lower Rhine - Friesland and dates them 720. Op den Velde, Boone and Pol, in: Bar 128 (1984), p. 138, considers a Dorestad origin.



- 165 **"Herstal type".** A: Two triangulars over each other with cross in centre and one pellet in each outer angle, R: Cross with "legend" made of stripes underbroken by cross. B: 5737, MEC: 637. 1.028 gr. **R** Very fine 300,--

Holleman - Enschede 1992.

Found in Minnertsga.

Used to be attributed to Herstal (south of Liège). Also falsely.

Metcalf lists under sceattas (T&S p. 255), but under the same reservations as mentioned with no. 164. MEC ranges them under Frisia (MEC I, p. 152 and no. 637). Op den Velde suggests Dorestad as a possible mint, but notes "we believe that the possibility of minting by travelling private-enterprise moneyers deserves serious consideration".

In the larger hoards, the nos 164 and 165 occur as follows: Domburg, on a total of 998, 19 Maastricht, 23 Herstal, 63 Merovingians; Hallem, on a total of 222, 2 Maastricht, 24 Herstal, 3 Merovingians; Wijk bij Duurstede, on a total of 40, 1 Maastricht, 3 Herstal, 2 Merovingians; Franeker, on a total of 403, 1 Maastricht, 36 Herstal, 6 Merovingians; Goting - Kliff/Föhr only 1 specimen from Maastricht and 18 of Herstal.

- 166 **Metz. Denier au D.** A: Great D over stripe, R: M E monogram. Belfort: 2966. 1.175 gr. **R** Very fine to extremely fine 400,--

Henzen - Amerongen 2000.

From list 112, no. 850.

Found in Wadenooyen (near Tiel).

See v.d.Ch: 6.81, MEC: 596. In JMP 1982, p.13 shows the illustration from v.d.Chijs. The coin found near Maurik is not displayed (the reference in JMP to Belfort is incorrect). The specimen in v.d.Chijs was found on the beach of Domburg (in Belfort, a coin is also mentioned found in Domburg (de Man collection) but that is not the same).

One was found in IJzendoorn (Betuwe), though that is smaller and it shows a tight ME (attached), found by Henzen and in his possession.

B: 2967 is the same type, but for the line above the D. Belfort comments on p. 365 as follows: "Le D, suivants les uns, designe Dagobert II ou III (711-715). Suivants les autres, Thierry III (720-737), dont le nom s'est immobilisé en Austrasie sous la forme Dietricks. Au Xe siecle on lit encore DEODORICVS sur des monnaies the Metz (cf. Voillemier, R.N. 1840)."

Remarkable is that these coins, with the D, are so course, whereas the Merovingian coins normally exhibit a delicate die. Also appears in catalogue 94 of Münzen und Medaillen: "The attribution to Metz is nowadays considered certain, whether the D stands for Dagobertus, Deodericus or something other, however, remains to be determined". E. Wendling: Corpus nummorum Lotharingiae Mosellanae I, Metz, 1979.

(Ref: Belfort: 2963 ff var, Fd.Cimiez cp. 285 et seqq, Wendl. II/A/a/18 et seqq.ff).



- 167 **Orleans. Moneyer Maurinus.** A: Diademed bust r. + MAVRINVS M, R: Croix chrismée on three steps, pellet r. + AVRILIANIS C. Bais: 75, Belfort: --. 1.195 gr. **R** Nice portrait, very fine 500,--
 Lanz - München, Auction 123 (2005), no. 1174.
 Ex: Biszinger collection (38).
 Belfort records a similar tremisse under 519.
 From the hoard Bais (Dep. Ille et Vilaine, Bretagne in 1904).
 Prou - Bougenot: Trouvailles de Bais, RN 11 (1907), Pp.218.75 (this specimen).
 Not in MEC, not in Belfort. In hoard Bais only two different specimens by the moneyer Maurinus.
 The head is very reminiscent of the sceattas.

- 168 **Paris. Unknown Moneyer.** A: Bust l., R: Great E with cross, two pellets on both sides. Belfort: 3462. 1.051 gr. Obverse weakly struck, otherwise extremely fine 400,--
 Spink - London 1999.
 From NC 1999, no. 1384.
 Belfort: 3462 has as A the legend + NOA VCV F, R is the same as Belfort: 3462.
 This coin more closely resembles Belfort: 3460 A: RODEMARVS, R: same reverse, only with three pellets and BRO / INO (Ebroin).
 The obverse matches Belfort: 6333 where the text is determined as ...OVIBO....



- 169 **Palacius et Scolia. Moneyer Bertulfus.** A: Great E, R: Cross, the limbs ending in bows. Belfort: 3548. 1.099 gr. **R** Very fine 500,--
 Elsen - Brussel 1998.
 Struck ca. 700 AD. P: 797.

- 170 **Unknown.** A: Cross with three pellets at the end of the limbs, R: Cross, the limbs ending in bows, one small stripe at the bows. Belfort: --. 1.067 gr. Attractive tone, very fine 400,--
 Vinchon - Paris 1978.



- 171 **Unknown.** A: Cross with pellets at the end of three limbs and one crown at the 4th limb, loop around, R: Great round A with cross above, two circles, the inner circle with two heads beneath the cross. Belfort: --. 1.209 gr. Traces of corrosion, otherwise very fine specimen 400,--
 Spink - London 1997.
 From NC 1997, no. 5544.
 cf. Bais no. 293.



- 172 **Unknown.** A: Cross in circle of pellets, two pellets at the end of each limb, R: Latin cross in circle of pellets with two loops around it. Belfort: 5724. 0.771 gr.

Small flan crack, otherwise almost extremely fine specimen

400,--

Spink - London 2001.

On map: Southern France.

Found in South England.

One specimen is kept in the cabinet de France (specimen from Morel Fatio collection).

Prou: 2897.

In Op den Velde and Klaassen (Sceattas and merovingian deniers, Middelburg 2004) a similar specimen is listed under no. 920. Again with reference to Belfort: 5724. That specimen came from the collection Réthaan Macaré (1838) and now is in the possession of the Zeeuws Museum (no. 2075, cat: 235).

PROVENCE

Even in Frankish times, the Provence was still under East Gothic sway. The Goths did not give it up until 536, when Emperor Justinian I ordained that the Provence be ceded to Theudebert.

After the demise of Childebert I in 558, Sigibert I received the Provence among other territories, which restored Burgundy to a whole and, moreover, linked it closely to Francia (Orléans).

In Aquitanië and the Provence, there was a strong development of aristocratic families. In the Provence, this especially is observed in the period from 650 to 700. There were, consecutively, Ansedert, Nemfidius, Antenor and Maurontus (a distant relative of the Neustrian mayor of the palace Waratto, the successor of Ebroin). The latter two managed to wrest themselves from Pippinid control (this was not intended against Childebert III (694-711) the formal Merovingian king of Neustria, Austrasia and Burgundy). Independence reached so far that they minted in their own name (including bust), albeit monogrammed. Nevertheless, this proved advantageous for Pippin and Charles Martel, for when Antenor and Maurontus started proclaiming themselves *principes*, they not only stood up to both Carolingians, but to the entire Provence nobility. Nobility was led by Abbo. Between 720 and 740, Maurontus took the chances of relying on the Septimania muslims, whereas Abbo allied with Charles Martel.

After defeating the muslims, Charles Martel wanted to prevent another independent Provence emerging. Abbo was, however, allowed to call himself *patricius*, but solely because he was childless. After his demise, the Provence unconditionally was part of the Frankish realm.



- 173 **Marseille.** Triens. A: Diademed bust r. DN MAVRIC IVS PPA, R: Cross-on-globule between M / A and V / II. VICTORIA AVSTOR, in exergue CONOB. Belfort: 2451. 1.312 gr.

Well struck up, very fine to extremely fine

1.250,--

Vinchon - Paris 1973.

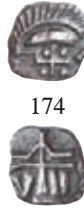
In the name of Maurice Tiberius (582-602). M A = Massilia.

V II is typical for Gaul (see E & S p.114).

Belfort knows of one specimen in the Cabinet de France (see Lenormant RN (1854), p. 310, pl. 13.2).



2:1



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2:1

- 174 **Marseille.** A: Haired bow with crescent on it, cross with one pellet in each angle, R: Horizontal line with triangle over cross, step below, V and II in the 3rd and 4th angles of the cross. Belfort: 3037. 1.165 gr. Very fine

300,--

Auktionen - Basel, Auction 20 (1990), no. 587.

A similar coin is shown by v.d.Chijns (III-7), from excavations near Dorestad in around 1838. Possibly a Frisian imitation of the Merovingian type (the Belfort 3054 (a real face) and 3056) => see Belaiw (1936). For this comparison, see Lafaurie 1969. Taken from the article by Op den Velde in: *The Beeldenaar* 6 (1982) p. 40-52 and 83-69.

These coins used to be attributed to Mainz. Morel Fatio advanced the possibility of Marseille. This is commonly accepted nowadays. This makes sense, considering the VII, also see no. 412 (the imitation by Maurice Tiberius).

B: 3037 is de Man collection. Op den Velde and Klaassen (*Sceattas and merovingian deniers*, Middelburg, 2004) note that no. 867 is no longer in the collection of het Zeeuwsch Genootschap. Perhaps, the same coin as in de Man (1926) I-16 (M. de Man: *Over eenige te Domburg gevonden merkwaardige munten*, JMP 13, p. 1-25). Op den Velde and Klaassen comment: "Possible from a mint near Marseille".

In catalogue 94 of *Münzen und Medaillen* (references: Fd. Cimiez: 108var, Belfort: 3040 (Mainz), MEC I, 578/9var.): "Here, the approach to localisation was a little broader. Grierson places this type in the "Marseille region", we refer to his extensive motivation (p. 149)".

Text in MEC I, p. 149: "This type has on one side a bust with a cross before it and on the other a distorted cross ancrée with VII in the field. On the earliest coins, present in the Saint-Pierre-les-Etieux and Nohanent hoards (no. 576), the bust is fairly well formed with hair flowing down behind the neck, but later it becomes grotesquely deformed (nrs. 577-578) under the influence of Frisian "porcupine" sceattas. There were 22 specimens of this later type in the Cimiez hoard (MF 107. pls 6-7.106-17). The suggestion that they were the prototype for the "porcupine" design is contradicted by the evidence in the French finds which show that the "porcupine" type was already fully developed when the earliest VII coins were being used. Fillon (1853,91) attributed the type to Mainz without giving any good reason, while Prou (1896a) and Le Gentilhomme (1938a) rejected them altogether from the merovingian series. However, Morel-Fatio's suggestion that they are Provençal has been adopted by Lafaurie (1969a, 175) and seems preferable in view of the number in the Cimiez hoard and the use of VII regularly found on tremisses of the region, even if this typological parallels with early Carolingian coins of Marseille are unconvincing".

MEC determines the obverse a face with a cross in front of it and for refers to MEC no. 576.



2:1



175



2:1

- 175 **Patricius NEMFIDIUS.** A: Bust l. with cross in front (Nemfidius), R: Christogram (croix latine chrismee) NE..... Belfort: 2626. 1.079 gr. R Magnificent portrait, very fine +

400,--

Vinchon - Paris 1978.

Nemfidius series. These are by far the commonest of the Massiliote deniers, with some 1200 in the hoard. They are of various types, with the earlier coins resembling those of Ansedert and Antenor in having Nemfidius' name spelled out in full and the later ones having as obverse type a crude bust, usually accompanied by a cross, and on the reverse a monogram of the chief letters of Nemfidius' name (MF 25-72, pls. 2-5.42-88; variations tabulated on plate 4). Although Nemfidius was given no title, it is reasonable to identify him with the patrician and thus date them c. 700/10 (MEC I, p.148).



2:1



176



2:1

- 176 **Patricius NEMFIDIUS.** A: Bust r. with cross behind, R: NEF., between two crosses. Belfort: 2646. 1.025 gr. R Very fine

400,--

Spink - London 1997.

From NC 1997, no. 5543.



177

- 177 **Arles.** Patricius ANTENOR. A: AR (ligatured) in circle of pellets, R: VA (ligatured) in circle of pellets. Belfort: 290. 1.090 gr. 200,--
 Small traces of corrosion, very fine
 Vinchon - Paris 1970.
 Belfort provides a commentary on p. 87, where doubt is raised about the mint Arles. Another possibility is Marseille. However, in that case, the ANT should be an M, which is evidently not the case here. ANT being an abbreviation for Antenor, leaves AR unanswered for, unless Antenor next to his title of Patrice of Marseille played a role in Arles as well.

CAROLINGIANS - ROBERTINES

FRANCE ROYALE and IMPERIALE

The period 639-721 signals of the decline of the merovingian kingdom. The influence of nobility, which above all desires for autonomy of the several parts of the kingdom, increases, as does that of the mayors of the palace. Sometimes they succeed in (partially) restoring unity, as did Pépin II of Herstal round about 680, but it was Charles Martel (719-741) who ultimately restored unity. He is best remembered for conquering the Arabs in the battle of Poitiers in 732. His position as mayor of the palace is now so strong, that Martel acts as if he were king. This is also underlined in the fact that, after his death, the kingdom is to be divided between his two sons: Carloman and Pippin. Soon, Pippin (III) solely remains and has himself crowned in Soissons in 751, on which occasion he is anointed by Bonifacius, to add a supernatural quality to his authority. In 754 Pippin receives a papal anointment in St. Denis (which establishes an ecclesiastical bond between the pope and Pippin) and is bestowed upon the *patricius* title (which obliges him to defend Rome and Italy).

PÉPIN le BREF (751-768)



178

- 178 **Denier.** A: RP (for REX PIPINVS), above T, R: In three lines AT / TO V / NO. MEC: 270, MG: 47, vdCh: 10.23. 0.806 gr. 1.500,--
RR Edge slightly chipped, otherwise very fine
 Spink - London 1996.
 Attigny comes to mind, a frankonian regal palatine, long since the possession of the mayor of the palace (situated at the crossing of the roads between Reims-Cologne and Reims-Mainz).
 MEC, on p. 634, elaborates on this coin: Longpérier, publishing the Imphy hoard, suggested a moneyer Auttramnus (Longpérier 1858, 226-9), but Gariel (1883-4, II 42-4) preferred an attribution to a mint at Antrain (Ille-et-Vilaine, arr. Fougères), not far from Imphy, although the occurrence of the seven specimens in the Ilanz hoard shows this not to be conclusive. Metcalf has suggested St. Denis, interpreting it as ANT(istitio) R(egio) D(io)N(usiac) O (Metcalf 1965a), but, although his article brings together much useful material, such an interpretation must be dismissed as wholly fanciful in the context of Carolingian coin inscriptions (Grierson 1965b, 512, n. 59). Depeyrot (: Le Numéraire Mérovingien l'âge de l'or: les ateliers septentrionaux. Wetteren 1998) has recently given it to the mint of St. Denis.
 In the description of the find at Imphy Völkers classifies (p. 121) these coins under the mint of Auttramnus. The find at Imphy contained 20 specimens in 7 variations. Völkers describes the hoard at Ilanz along the same lines (p. 160). The hoard contained 7 specimens in 7 variations. All coins are kept at the museum in Chur).

In 768, the kingdom is divided among the two sons Charlemagne and Carloman, the latter dying as soon as 771. By then, the kingdom stretches over all of Western and Middle Europe, with exception of Spain and England. The Anglo-Saxon monk Alcuin suggests that Charlemagne be dignified in the Roman imperial vein. With the Byzantine Empress Irene practicing atrocities, the imperial throne was considered vacant. On Christmas Day 800, Pope Leo III crowned Charlemagne Roman Emperor (on the few coins displaying Charlemagne as emperor, without exception he appears with a laurel wreath, just as Louis the Pious). Henceforth Charlemagne bore the title: *Carolus serenissimus augustus a Deo coronatus magnus pacificus imperator Romanorum gubernans imperium qui et per misericordiam Dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum*. He was now obliged to institute God's kingdom on earth, however, for Charlemagne his regal authority was the only substantial element.

CHARLEMAGNE (768-814)



- 179 Denier - Treviso. A: Karolus monogram, R: One pellet within circle of pellets + TARVISO. MEC: --, MG: 217. 1.101gr.

Extremely rare, only a few known specimens. Small traces of encrustation but very fine +

2.500,--

Bernardi - Triest 1976.

Ex: Zoppola collection.

This is the first coin with the Charlemagne monogram (used in the period before 793 on the coins of Treviso, in 793/4 it became common practice (MEC p. 199).

The MG piece has two pellets in the front-side monogram. MG (216) mentions only one in the Berlin museum and two specimens in older collections. In Meijer (108) is reference to Gariel pl. XII, no. 183, that also had 14 beads, but was broken and Gariel Coll. 658 and further Hess, Auction June 1888, no. 45. In MG 217 is a reference to CNI VI, p. 227, 8-10 (217 comes closest to this coin). In the hoard of Ilanz II were two specimens.



- 180 Denier - Dorestad. A: CARO / LVS, R: Five letters around an A, under them horizontal axe (francisca). MEC: --, MG: --, vdCh: 12.21. 0.946 gr.

Extremely rare, possibly the only known specimen of this type. Edge chipped, very fine

2.000,--

Vinchon - Paris 1972.

This type is much more rare than the type that shows the writing of Dorestad in two lines (v. Gelder). Gariel attributes this coin to Dorestad. Van Gelder agrees. This is the coin that can be seen drawn in v. d. Chijs. He refers to Cappe: *Münzen der deutschen Kaiser*, Dresden 1850, pl. XXI, no. 217. The drawing in Cappe is the same as in v. d. Chijs. Cappe, in turn, refers to Götz: *Deutschlands Kaijser-Münzen des Mittel-Alters*, Dresden, 1827, tab. IV, no. 9 (this is impossible for it is a normal Dorestad coin). Presumably, it's a unique.

Francisca: This battle axe, a symbol originally adopted from ancient pagan cult, is the francisca, the throwing axe that in Franconian style was a short-shafted battle axe (Paulsen, P.: *Axt und Kreuz bei den Nordgermanen*. Berlin 1939, p. 15). This francisca is only seen on coins from Dorestad (75), BONA (?) (6), Condé-sur-l'Escaut (3) and Saint-Bavon (Gent) (1) (excerpt: Völckers, amounts: Morrison-Grunthal).



181

- 181 Denier - Utrecht (?). A: CARO / LVS AR, R: B O N A, horizontal axe (francisca) above and crosier below. MEC: --, MG: 108. 1.070 gr. **Extremely rare.** Rather chipped, very fine 3.000,--

Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1982.

Historically attributed to Bonn, which is incorrect. Metcalf (An Early Carolingian Mint in the Low Countries: BONA = Tiel, in: RBN 116 (1970), p. 141 has suggested Tiel, but there is no reason to place a crosier in Tiel.

Apart from a francisca, this coin displays a crosier. Völckers notes: "Because of appearance of a crosier, q.v. Mainz (Fd. Krinkberg)". Confer Paulsen p. 233, 247 and 269, who explains thus: "The church endeavoured to widen their claim of sole rights to the entire area of holiness: in this case to the ancient symbol of the battle axe of Thor worship" (Paulsen Abb. 130 a and b: Olafskult, in which St. Olaf is portrayed with a battle axe).

Völckers distinguishes two types: A with cross, B with crosier. To him, only three specimens of type B are known:

a. Find Gelderland, 1859 (on the border of Utrecht and Gelderland). The find Gelderland was acquired entirely by De Coster and is now kept at the Bibliothèque Royale in Bruxelles.

b. Find Jelsum (a dwelling mound in Friesland) 1892. The find Jelsum is kept at the Fries Museum in Leeuwarden.

c. Hoard Krinkberg (Schleswig-Holstein) 1885. The hoard Krinkberg is kept at the Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landesmuseum in Schleswig.

The finds are all in the north, two of them in the Netherlands and one on the border of Germany and Denmark. Moreover, all finds in majority contain coins from Dorestad (Gelderland 11 of 18, Jelsum 3 of 10 and Krinkberg 47 of 88).

Both the francisca as the presence of coins from Dorestad locate the mint somewhere in the Northern Netherlands (Völckers attributes the Jelsum and Krinkberg coins to Mainz). The use of BONA is seen often in the Netherlands, but it is always associated with a placename: BONA TIELE and BONA DAVENTRIA; BONA, no doubt, meaning city.

After Alberich (777 – approx. 784), there is an uninterrupted series of Utrecht bishops. After reinstalling the metropolitan constitution Utrecht was part of the ecclesiastical province of Cologne. Utrecht, therefore, has to be under foremost consideration for this type (which, in my opinion, does not rule out the possibility of minting at Dorestad).



182

- 182 Denier - Milan - Sarzana type. A: CARO / LVS AR, R: RF one pellet in and four pellets below the R. MEC: 733 var, MG: 231 var. 0.527 gr. **RR** Rather chipped, otherwise extremely fine 1.250,--

Spink - London 1983.

Struck not long before 790 (Lafaurie: Jura ANS, p. 412).

Named after the find at Sarzana (NW of Lucca) in 1868. These are copies of franconian coins, though in a finer, more elegant style.

MG mentions 3 specimens of this type, of which only MG 231 is depicted (differs from this coin).

This coin shows highest resemblance with MEC 733. According to the accompanying text the reverse shows the monogram MED (Mediolanum = Milan). This can also be seen on our coin.

Next to the illustrations, Völckers labels these coins with "no mint specification" but to the find at Bel-Air (p. 176) adds a remark, that sometimes left of the R, an E or ME is legible, which clearly suggests Mediolanum. In Völckers, this coin shows the highest resemblance with no. XXIV.46.

Völckers, on p. 77, comments as follows: "Dass der Prägeort gleichfalls Mailand gewesen ist, wird kaum zu bezweifeln sein, wenn die Lesung der Me- und Med-Beizeichen richtig Mediolanum ergibt. Da es sich bei diesen Sarzana-Geprägungen ursprünglich um fränkische „neutrale“ Pfennige zur besonderen Verwendung des Königs gehandelt hat, könnte folgerichtig eine Pfalz oder das Hauptquartier des Königs oder eine in der Stadt eingerichtete Feldmünzstätte in Frage kommen. Da sich indes diese Gepräge über einen längeren Zeitraum hingezogen haben, bis, kurz vor 790, der vollendete Sarzana Typus mit seinen überschlanken Buchstabenformen und den langen Spuren entwickelt wurde, kann es kaum wahrscheinlich sein, dass bis unmittelbar vor der Münzreform ein solcher neuartiger unfränkischer Typus nach altem Schlag in einer der Kontrolle des Königs direkt unterstellten Dienststelle herausgebracht sein sollte. Infolgedessen bleibt nur die Möglichkeit, dass diese Münzen in einer geistlichen Prägestätte entwickelt und ausgegeben worden sind. [...] Die Frage einer geistlichen Prägung, von Mailand ausgehend, müßte ernstlich geprüft werden."

In 793/4, Charlemagne adopts a new and uniform monetary system, based on weight (240 deniers to a carolingian pound of silver), with a new appearance. There has been quite some dispute as to the date of adoption. Grierson refers to the Council of Frankfurt of 794, where there is mention of *novi denarii*. On all accounts, Grierson is convinced that the introduction of Charlemagne's heavy denier cannot have preceded Offa's monetary reform (792) but must have followed it (cf. Grierson, P.: Money and coinage under Charlemagne, in: Beumann, H. [Hrsg.]: Karl der Grosse, Lebenswerk und Nachleben. Düsseldorf 1965, p. 501-536). Before this date, the weight was 1.3 gr, after it 1.7 gr.



183

- 183 Denier - Dorestad. A: Cross with one wedge in the 3rd angle + CARLVS REX FR, R: Karolus monogram + DORESTADO. MEC: --, MG: 102 var. 1.581 gr. **R** Very Fine + 1.500,--
 Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 93 (2004), no. 3001.
 Ex: Kennepohl collection. Bought from Bruno Dorfmann 1951, Cahn - Frankfurt a.M., Auction 69 (1931), no. 4. Freiherr L.v.H. - v.d.R (Freiherr L.v.H = Freiherr Lochner von Huttenbach).
 Bruno Dorfmann bought this coin at the auction of Cahn in 1931, to sell it to Kennepohl in 1951.
 This Charlemagne coin was included in the collection Kennepohl because Charlemagne is considered to be the founder of Osnabrück. The diocese of Osnabrück emerged shortly before 800.



184

- 184 Denier - Pavia. A: Cross + CARLVS REX FR, R: Karolus monogram + PAPIA •. MEC: 745, MG: 207 var. 1.674gr. **RR** Extremely Fine 1.500,--
 SKA - Bern 1980.
 This coin is not mentioned in MG, the pellet in two other places. Here the pellet after PAPIA at the top.

MILO (782-790)



185

- 185 Denier - Narbonne. A: Cross with M - I - L - O in the angles, R: Cross with N - R - B - O in the angles, two curved bars extend symmetrically from each end of the cross. MEC: --, MG: --. 1.487 gr. **RR** Flan crack but very fine 750,--
 Credit de la Bourse - Paris 1979.
 Milo, count of Narbonne, under Charlemagne
 There is no doubt that NRBO stands for NARBO, i.e. Narbonne. Since a count Milo was a party to a dispute over some landed property with the archbishop of Narbonne in 782, and was also co-founder of the abbey of Caunes near Carcassonne in c. 790, it seems reasonable to identify him as the Milo of the coins. One of the Caunes documents shows him to have died before 5 December 791. The coin is of exceptional interest as it bears the name of a private person instead of that of Charlemagne, though the late conquest of Septimania from the Muslims (759) and its remoteness from the centre of Carolingian power make the phenomenon easily understandable. The specimen in MEC (no.1497, 1.08gr) has a low relief and weight, the style of lettering being highly suspicious. Grierson would find it difficult to accept the authenticity (MEC p. 643).
 This coin is of larger weight, greater diameter and the lettering suits the style of that time.
 Lafaurie also shows a specimen in Francia under XV.3 and notes that deniers bearing Milo's name were struck under Pippin as well (see e.g. MG 62).

LOUIS le PIEUX (814-840)

The coins of Louis le Pieux are to be classified in three categories: class 1 (814-819), class 2 (819-822) and class 3 (822-840).

Class 1 (814-819)

Portrait coin, a continuation of the coins of Charlemagne.



- 186 Denier - Cl.1 - Melle. A: Laureate Bust r. H LVDOVVICVS IMP AVG, R: Minting tools + METALLVM. MEC: 758, MG: 396. 1.613 gr. **R** Minor scratches on surface, otherwise well struck, very fine 2.500,--
- Spink - London 1976.
cf. Peus - Frankfurt, Auction 276 (1971), no. 2503.
MG knows of 14 specimens in total.
Class 1 (814-819): A continuation of Charlemagne's class 4, obverse type a laureate bust surrounded by HLVDOVVICVS IMP AVG, on reverse with name or XPISTIANA RELIGIO.



- 187 Imitation gilded copper. A: Laureate Bust l. DVASIIITI . ITIOTOTIIOI, R: Temple with cross in it OCIAI - NIANSI - RITAM. MEC: --, MG: --. 4.641 gr. Extremely rare. Very Fine 500,--
- Verschoor - Strijen 1996.
Ex: Sotheby - London, Auction 9-10 (1995), no. 406.
Ex: Dolivo collection, Münzen und Medaillen - Basel, Auction 29 (1964), no. 12.
Ex: Prinz Fürstenberg collection, Auction 1932, no. 1224.
First described by J. de S. Quintino: "On connoît déjà, en France, six pièces en or de Charlemagne et de ses premiers successeurs. [...] Mais cette apparence dispa-roît encore en face d'une autre de ces pièces en or, du même empereur, qui se trouve à côté des précédentes, dans le même cabinet, car elle n'a que le poids d'un ducat, c'est-à-dire soixante-cinq grains, et si, depuis plusieurs années que je l'ai vue, je m'en souviens bien encore, elle n'est pas moins bien conservée que les trois autres. D'un côté, elle présente aussi le buste de l'empereur Louis avec la légende +HLVDOVVICVS INP AVG. Mais le type du revers n'est pas le même; on y voit la facade d'un édifice surmonté d'une croix, et d'une forme différente de celle du temple qu'on trouve si souvent représenté sur les deniers de la dynastie carlovingienne. La question reste doc dans le même état de doute qu'aparavant. Elle n'en sortira peut-être jamais."
At this time, the coin appears in the Fürstenberg collection. Cat. Cahn - Frankfurt no. 79 (14-12-1932), no. 1224. Described as : "Friesische Bronzennachbildung" and "Diesem sehr merkwürdigen Stück hat ein Denar Ludwigs mit Brustbild und Tempel mit der Christiana Religio Umschrift als Vorbild gedient. Die Vergoldung der Vorderseite zeigt, daß es als Schmuckstück verwandt worden ist".
After this it is found in the Dolivo collection, Catalogue Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 29 (27-11-1964), no. 12. Here described as "Frise. Imitation en cuivre doré (pièce de bijou)". Sold to a well-known Cologne collector.
Grierson adressed this in his article: "The Gold solidus of Louis the Pious and its imitations" in the Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde 1951. on page 21: "The second piece is equally exclusive. The Italian numismatist Cordero di San Quintino, writing in the Revue numismatique in 1841 (p. 56), described how some years previously he had seen in a private collection three barbarous solidi, each weighting about 4.4 g. and a lighter solidus (3.45) of different style; the obverse had the usual bust and the legend + HLVDOVVICVSINPAVG, but the reverse showed a building, surmounted by a cross, different from the usual temple on the deniers of the period. The collection here alluded to can only be that of Lelewel, who is known to have acquired no fewer than six barbarous solidi by the middle of the century, but no other reference to this "temple solidus" has come my way. Possibly it resembled the bronze piece, with bust and temple and hopelessly corrupt legends, which was in the seventh section of the Fürstenberg sale (Cahn, Versteigerungs-Katalog 70, 14 December 1932), lot 1224. The weight of this is unfortunately not given, but there are stated to have been traces of gilding on the obverse. Neither piece can be regarded as closely related to the solidi of the MVNVS DIVINVM type".

Class 2 (819-822)

The mint appears in two lines on the reverse.



- 188 Obole - Aquitaine. A: Small cross + H LVDOVICVS R, R: In two lines AQVI / TANIA. MEC: --, MG: --. 0.541gr. Very Fine 150,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1996.
 From hoard Raalte 1995
 Does not appear in MG, contrarily to the denier of the same type that does (MG: 390).
- 189 Denier - Dorestad. A: Cross within circle of pellets + H LVDOVICVS IMP, R: In three lines . DOR . / ESTA / TVS. MEC: 771 var., MG: 332. 1.823 gr. R Pleasingly toned, extremely fine 1.000,--
 Elsen - Brussel 1993.
 From Credit de la Bourse, Auction 26-4 (1993), no. 84.



- 190 Obole - Melle. A: In two lines LVDO / VVIC with pellet between the lines, R: Small cross + METALLVM. MEC: 777, MG: 394. 0.734 gr. Very fine 100,--
 Vinchon - Paris 1978.
 Specimens in MG have no pellet between VV and IC.
- 191 Denier - Venice. A: Cross H LVDOVICVS IMP, R: In two lines + VEN / ECIA. MEC: 789, MG: 456. 1.568 gr. Pleasingly toned, extremely fine 750,--
 Franceschi - Brussel 1966.

Class 3 (822-840)

On the reverse carolingian temple with XPISTIANA RELIGIO.



- 192 Denier - Anonymous. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + H LVDOVICVS IMP, R: Temple XPISTIANA RELIGIO. MEC: 805, MG: 472. 1.531gr. Attractive patina, very fine + 150,--
 Schulman - Amsterdam 1967.



- 193 Obole - Anonymous. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + H LVDOVICVS IMP, R: Temple XPISTIANA RELIGIO. MEC: 809, MG: 473. 0.721gr. R Very fine 200,--
 Spink - Zürich 1979.



194



195



195

- 194 Obole - Anonymous. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + HLLODOVVICVS IMP, R: Temple XPISTIANA RELIGIO. MEC: 809, MG: 473. 0.732 gr.
Bonvallet - Paris 1982. R Pleasingly toned, reverse a little off centre but very fine 200,--
- 195 Denier - Anonymous. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + HLVDVVICVS IMP, R: Large and narrow temple XPISTIANA RELIGIO. MEC: --, MG: --. 1.317 gr.
Holleman - Enschede 1989. Small traces of encrustation, otherwise very fine + 150,--
Van Gelder fancies remembering that in the find Goes a similar type (large, narrow church) was seen. The number 614 in MG, a denier from Dax of Pippin II displays the same church (MG mentions two finds: Kimswerd-Pingjum II and Pilligerheck). Would this coin have to be attributed to Dax?

Louis the Pious held imperial dignity in high esteem (hence his title: *Hludovicus divina ordinante providentia imperator augustus*). As a consequence, regal dignity devaluated. If imperial authority meant protecting the church, the empire had to stay united, just like the church.

According to this idea, Louis the Pious decided in 817 that his eldest son, Lothair, would succeed him to be emperor, both other sons (Louis and Pippin) designated to take subordinate roles as kings, in respectively Bavaria and Aquitaine.

In 823, Charles the Bald was born from the second marriage with Judith. As she appealed against the decision of 817, the matter of succession wasn't directly dealt with after Louis' death in 840. Pippin I had already died in 838 and in 842 two sons Louis (from the first marriage) and Charles the Bald (from the second marriage) allied in Strasbourg. This Oath of Strasbourg determined (for the first time ever in two languages: Old High German and Old French) that the countries of Germany and France were to be separated and remain that way. This, in fact, determines the borders of Europe.

From this state of affairs, negotiations with the eldest son Lothair were begun. In 843, this led to a four-way division (Treaty of Verdun): Lothair (as emperor) the middle realm (from Frisia to Italy), Charles the Bald (as king) the regions to the west (Francia occidentalis), Louis/Ludwig (as king) the dominions to the east (Francia orientalis) and Pippin II (son of Pippin I): Aquitaine. The notion of imperial unity was now deserted forever. However, the borders in Western Europe were now virtually set.

AQUITAINE

In the end, Pippin's resistance against Charles the Bald had been in vain. It resulted in civil war, evoking anarchy in the end. In 877, the sub-kingdom was dissolved.

Nevertheless, Aquitaine soon eluded from under the French king's reign, for instance under Charles III. In Aquitaine's further history it would continue to fulfil an important and partly independent role (see France féodale).

PÉPIN II (839-852)



196



- 196 Obole - Aquitaine. A: Small cross + PIPPI . NVS REX, R: In two lines AQVI / TANIA. MEC: 812, MG: 601. 0.861 gr.
Vinchon - Paris 1973. Very fine + 75,--



197

- 197 Obole - Melle. A: Small cross + PIPINVS IE+ EO, R: Pippinus monogram in small circle + METVLLO. MEC: --, MG: --. 0.453 gr. Very fine 100,--
 Kölner Münzkabinett - Köln, Auction 69 (1998), no. 882.
 As in MG (cf. no. 606) the inscription should be PIPINVS REX EQ.

FRANCIA OCCIDENTALIS

Here, alternately, the Carolingians and the Robertines play a role. Eventually, the Robertines will merge into the Capetians (see France Féodale).

CAROLINGIANS

CHARLES le CHAUVÉ (840-877)

The coins of Charles the Bald can be subdivided in various classes and subclasses.

Class 1 (840-864)

a: With cross and mint in field.



198

- 198 Denier - Melle. A: Cross + CARLVVS REX FR, R: In two lines META / LLVM with pellet between the lines. MEC: --, MG: 1056. 1.617 gr. Very fine + 100,--
 Bourgey - Paris, Auction 24-2 (1970), no. 304.

b: With bust and mint name in field.



199

- 199 Denier - Bourges. A: Armoured and laureate bust l. + CARLVVS RE, R: In two lines BITV / RICES. RR Attractive specimen, very fine 3.000,--
 MEC: --, MG: 1069. 1.451 gr.
 Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1989.
 The only type displaying a portrait of Charles the Bald.

d: With cross and monogram.



200

201

- 200 Denier - Toulouse. A: Cross + CARLVVS EX F, R: Karolus monogram + TOLVSA CIVI. MEC: --, MG: 1103. 1.486 gr. Extremely fine 150,--
 Kricheldorf - Freiburg 1973.
- 201 Denier - Toulouse. A: Cross + CARLVVS REX, R: Karolus monogram + TOLOSA. MEC: --, MG: 1097. 1.736 gr. Dark patina, very fine + 100,--
 Schulman - Amsterdam 1984.



- 202 Denier - Toulouse. A: Cross + CARLVS REX, R: Karolus monogram + TOLOSA. MEC: --, MG: 1097. 1.787 gr. Dark patina, very fine 100,--
Schulman - Amsterdam 1984.
- 203 Obole - Toulouse. A: Cross + CARLVS REX, R: Karolus monogram + TOLOSA. MEC: --, MG: 1098. 0.721 gr. R A little blotchy tone but almost extremely fine 250,--
Schulman - Amsterdam 1984.

e: Cross and temple.



- 204 Denier - Paris. A: Temple PARISII CIVITAS, R: Cross + CARLVS REX FR. MEC: 843, MG: 827. Slightly pitted, very fine + 200,--
1.071 gr. Vecchi - London, Auction 2 (1996), no. 1909.



- 205 Denier - Reims. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + CAROLVS REX FR, R: Temple + REMIS CIVITAS. MEC: --, MG: 813. 1.516 gr. Minor scratches on the obverse, very fine 150,--
Schulman - Amsterdam 1977.
From hoard Goes 1968.



- 206 Denier - Anonymous. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + CARLVS REX FR, R: Temple XPISTIANA RELCIO. MEC: --, MG: 1157. 1.650 gr. Dark patina, very fine + 100,--
Schulman - Amsterdam 1968.
From hoard Goes 1968.



Class 2 (864-877)
With GRATIA D-I REX.



207



208



- 207 Denier - Curtisasonen. A: Karolus monogram GRATIA D-I REX, R: Cross ICVRTISASONIEN. MEC: 866, MG: 898. 1.688 gr. Attractive patina, extremely fine 150,--

Franceschi - Brussel 1967.

CVRTISASONIEN = Curti(s) Sasonien(sis) was a small hamlet called Courcessin (on modern maps Court-Sessin). The mint of Courcessin must have been open for some four decades. The limiting dates are the introduction of the Gratia D-I Rex type in 864 and, probably, the cession of Normandy to Rollo in 911. It is at first sight surprising that coins of a locality of such obscurity should occur in so many hoards, and be among the commonest of the Carolingian period. The explanation, probably, is the fact that Courcessin was a possession of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. The abbey, though one of the wealthiest in France, had no mint in Paris itself, and there was none at Sééz, the diocese in which Courcessin was situated; Sééz is indeed the only episcopal see in northern France which played no part in the GDR coinage. A mint at Courcessin would have made it possible for the rents of the large group of abbatial estates in the region to be turned into coin on the spot, and go far to explaining the commonness of these coins today (MEC p. 635-637).

- 208 Denier - Le Mans. A: Karolus monogram + GRATIA D - I REX, R: Small cross + CINOMANIS CIVITAS. MEC: 872, MG: 905. 1.768 gr. Mistake in the die of the reverse, about extremely fine 150,--

Münzen und Medaillen - Stuttgart 1989.

Considering the appearance in several hoards, this coin could have been struck under both Charles the Bald or Charles the Simple.



209



210



- 209 Denier - Orleans. A: Karolus monogram + GRATIA D-I REX, R: Cross + AVRELIANIS CIVITAS. MEC: 881, MG: 948. 1.572 gr. Very fine 100,--

Schulman - Amsterdam 1977.

- 210 Denier - Palais. A: Karolus monogram + GRATIA D-I REX, R: Cross + PALATINV MONE. MEC: 884 var., MG: 629 var. 1.556 gr. Very fine + 150,--

Tietjen - Hamburg, Auction 44/45 (1983), no. 801.

Pilartz - Köln, Auction 11 (1966), no. 918.

The illustrations in MG and MEC show a normal last A in PALATINA, but here it is clearly an V.



211



- 211 Denier - Paris. A: Karolus monogram + GRATIA D-I REX, R: Cross + PARISII CIVITAS. MEC: 885, MG: 833. 1.580 gr. R Pleasing patina, very fine to extremely fine 150,--

Gorny & Mosch - München, Auction 123 (2003), no. 3644.



- 212 Obole - Rouen. A: Karolus monogram + I GRATIA D-REX, R: Cross + ROTVIIACVS CII. MEC: 896, MG: 873. 0.601 gr. Extremely fine 200,--
Finn - Kendal 1998.
Ex: J. F. Chown collection.



- 213 Denier - St. Denis. A: Karolus monogram + GRATIA D-I REX, R: Cross + SCIAIONVSIVM. MEC: 897, MG: 843. 1.645 gr. Very fine + 150,--
v.d.Dussen - Maastricht 1984.

The coins of the mint "Melle" are separately classified (see France, County of Poitou, nos. 392-393).

- 214 Denier - Melle. A: Cross + CARLVS REX FR, R: Karolus monogram + METVLLO. MEC: 924, MG: 1063. 1.729 gr. Extremely fine specimen 75,--
Bought 1985 (ex: Decker collection).
Schulman - Amsterdam, d.d. 1-12-1953.



- 215 Obole - Melle. A: Karolus monogram, small cross below K, R: Cross + METVLLO. MEC: 962, MG: 1061. 0.769 gr. Nice patina, very fine to extremely fine 150,--
Vinchon - Paris 1978.

Class 3 (875-877)
With the title IMPERATOR.



- 216 Denier - Bourges. A: Cross + CARLVS IMP AVG, R: Karolus monogram + BITVRICES CIVI. MEC: --, MG: 1484. 1.722 gr. Magnificent tone, almost extremely fine 150,--
Vinchon - Paris 1979.
It is not clear whom this and the following coin should be attributed to. Only two rulers could be considered: Charles the Bald and Charles the Fat, only they have held imperial titles. MG takes no choice and classifies them under "Late Ninth-Century of an Emperor Charles". MEC classifies them under Charles the Bald (cf. 913-918), which was chosen here.
The lettering of no. 216 is the same as that of no. 217.



- 217 Obole - Bourges. A: Cross + CARLVVS IMP AV, R: Karolus monogram + BITVRICES CIVI. MEC: --, MG: --. 0.844 gr. Very fine to extremely fine 200,--
 Vinchon - Paris 1978.
 MG has 1483 and 1487, but both show a different text from this one. In MEC there is no. 918 also with different text.
 For the coin struck by Charles the Bald in Italy, see kingdom Italy.

After the death of Charles the Bald, his son Louis II the Stammerer is king from 877 to 879. After him, his two sons Louis III (879-882) and Carloman II (880-884) together rule the country. Of course, there is some dispute about the division; Carloman, for instance, got Burgundy and Aquitaine. Together, they fought the Vikings and Bosonids. Louis II had yet another son, from his second marriage, Charles the Simple. After the deaths of Carloman and Louis III comes Charles the Fat (884-887). He is from the German branch, a son of Louis the German (Ludwig der Deutsche). In this capacity, he is king of both Germany and Italy. At the request of the pope, he fights the Saracens and is crowned emperor in 881. When he was appointed successor of Carloman in France, the great realm of Charlemagne seemed re-established. However, the Vikings invaded the country (885) and besieged Paris. Only at a high price could he purchase peace and safeguard his reign, having to allow the Vikings to pillage Burgundy. Shortly after that, in 888, he deceases. Once again, the realm falls apart completely.

Nobility greatly admiring the fact that Odo, son of Robert the Strong, eventually drove the Vikings away, they elected him king of Francia. Charles the Bald soon acknowledged Odo as Duke of France and his successor. Carolingian tradition was now discontinued until 898, although in 893, Charles the Simple was crowned king as well. When Odo died in 898, his son Robert I accepted Charles the Simple as king. Later he will depose Charles to become king himself, if only for a year.

After the death of Charles the Simple another discontinuation sets in; Raoul, of the Robertines, becomes king. Eventually, the Carolingians return with Louis IV (936-954), Lothair (954-986) and Louis V (986-987), with whom the Carolingian era comes to an end and the Capetians enter.

For the coin struck by Louis II, together with his wife Angilberga, see Beneventum, Adelchis 853-878.

CARLOMAN (880-884)



- 218 Denier - Arles. A: Cross + CARLEMANVS RE, R: Karolus monogram + ARLEA CIVIS X. MEC: --, MG: 1213. 1.562 gr. **R** Attractive patina, very fine 300,--
 Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 11 (1988), no. 3386.

CHARLES le GROS (884-887)



- 219 Denier - Arles. A: Cross + CARLVVS III PERAT, R: Karolus monogram + ARELA CIVIS XI. MEC: --, MG: 1498. 1.416 gr. Very fine 100,--
Bourgey - Paris 1984.

In 911, a significant part of the old France midi comes under Francia occidentalis, among which parts of the North and cities like Strasbourg and Cologne.

CHARLES le SIMPLE (898-923)



- 220 Denier - Brugge. A: Blundered Karolus monogram + CRATAO-PEX, R: Cross with one wedge in each angle + BRVCCIA MO. MEC: --, MG: 699. 1.673 gr. RR Flan crack, otherwise extremely fine 300,--
Vinchon - Paris 1977.
Frère always refers to MG 699. As the dates, he indicates 896-923.
There are 4 numbers in MG (698-701), all of them under the name of Charles the Bald.

- 221 Denier - Köln. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + KVVROLVS REX, R: Colonia monogram S / COLONIA / A. MEC: 999, MG: 1352. 1.490 gr. Minor flan crack, weakly struck, very fine + 300,--
Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 90 (2004), no. 3516.
Hävernicks: 24.
Normally the number would be in MG 1352 and Häv: 23. On those, however, KAROLVS is rendered reasonably well. Here we see + EVDOL... with a small triangle under the D to the right. That concurs with MG 1356 and Häv: 24. There seem to be only two specimens: Berlin (1.58 and 1.70 gr). Gariel XL.2 (Gariel collection). There, EOD-L can be distinguished, according to MG.



- 222 Denier - Paris. A: Karolus monogram + GRATIA D-I REX, R: In four lines + / PARIS / SIVIT / +. MEC: 996, MG: 1392. 1.445 gr. Very fine + 300,--
Vinchon - Paris 1979.



- 223 Denier - Strasbourg. A: Cross + WROIVS PIVS REX, R: In two lines ARGENTI / NACIVITS. MEC: 1000, MG: 1348. 1.180 gr. **R** Extraordinary well struck, extremely fine specimen with attractive tone 750,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1982.
- 224 Denier - Verdun. A: REX in field + CAROLVS, R: Cross + VIRDVN CIVIC'. MEC: --, MG: 1366 var. 1.477 gr. Very fine + 150,--
Peus - Frankfurt, Auction 315 (1986), no. 604.
Not exactly MG: 1366 which ends with CIVITVS, but nearly related to it.

LOUIS IV (936-954)



- 225 Denier - Chinon. A: Diademed bust r. LVDOVICVS REX, R: Cross + CAINONI CASTRO. MEC: --, MG: 1631, Legros: 772. 1.320 gr. 2.000,--
Extremely rare. Magnificent portrait, weakly struck, otherwise very fine to extremely fine
Elsen - Brussel 1998.
From list 196, no. 113.
MG only knows of few specimens. Legros RRRRR.
For further description see Touraine in France féodale.



- 226 Denier - Langres. A: I X in field + HLVDVVICVS, R: Cross + LINCONIS CVTS. MEC: 1004, MG: 1636. 1.229 gr. Weakly struck, very fine 75,--
Bourgey - Paris 1984.
Note in MEC: The type became immobilized during the second half of the 10th century (Dumas 1971, 174-5), and this specimen may well have been struck after Louis' death.

LOTHARIUS (954-986)



- 227 Denier - Chalon sur Saône. A: B in field + LOTARIVS REX, R: Cross + CAVILON CIVT. MEC: 1005, MG: 1663. 1.194 gr. **R** Attractive patina, very fine to extremely fine 250,--
Wruck - Berlin, Auction 25 (1977), no. 94.
B for Burgundia.



228

228 Denier - Bourges. A: Cross within circle of pellets + LOTERIVS REX, R: Temple BITVRICES CIVITAS. MG: 1672. 1.193 gr. Dark tone, very fine to extremely fine 150,--

Finn - Kendal 1998.

Ex: J. F. Chown collection.

MEC dates this type back to the 11th century, consequently it is listed in vol. V (4 specimen) of the MEC (see MEC I, p. 555)

Check dates Lothair: map shows 954-986.

ROBERTINES

After 843, in Francia occidentalis the first signs of weakness are beginning to show: Aquitaine has to be conquered and Brittany retains a form of autonomy. Not only is nobility gaining independence, the raids of the Vikings destabilise the country. This forces Charles the Bald to entrust the mutineer Robert the Strong with power over the territories between the Seine and the Loire in 858 (this, in fact, is the step that eventually leads to Capetian France).

The same Robert the Strong is the founder of the dynasty of the Robertines and count of Anjou and Blois and margrave of Neustria. Presumably, he is from German descent, he establishes himself on the banks of the Loire. Together with Charles the Bald, he fights Pippin of Aquitaine and Louis the German. Both his sons Odo and Robert are still very young at the time of his death and his dominions between Seine and Loire pass to Hugh, layman abbot of the abbeys Saint-Martin-de-Tours and Marmoutiers.

Eldest son of Robert the Strong, Odo, 6 years of age at the demise of his father, is count of Paris, the territory between Seine and Loire. Charles the Fat acknowledges him as *Dux Francorum*. Odo successfully defends Paris against the Vikings (885-886) and this induces the great vassals to elect him, in Compiègne in 888, as Carloman's successor, instead of Charles the Simple. Arnulph the Bastard and Foulques, archbishop of Reims, however, support Charles the Simple, who consequently is crowned king by Foulques in 893. Eventually, Odo and Charles the Simple reconcile and Odo gives up the territories between the Rhine and the Seine.

After his older brother Odo dies in 898, Robert I acknowledges Charles the Simple as king and becomes count of Paris and count of Angers himself. He is faithful to the Carolingians and, as such, reaches an agreement with Rollo in 911 in Clair-sur-Epte, in which Normandy is granted independence. With the consent of Charles the Simple, his son Hugh (the Great) succeeds him. His daughter Emma marries Raoul, duke of Burgundy. Such is Robert's power now, that, in 922, he decides to depose Charles the Simple and become king himself. The same year, the great vassals elect him king in Reims, but his reign is only to last one year. He then meets his end in the Battle at Soissons against Charles the Simple, who is subsequently beaten by Hugh the Great and Herbert of Vermandois.

EUDES (ODO) (887-898)



229

229 Denier - Limoges. A: ODO monogram between two crosses + GRATIA D-I RE, R: Cross + LIMOVICAS CIVIS. MEC: 973, MG: 1332. 1.813 gr. Perfect piece, extremely fine 200,--

Kricheldorf - Stuttgart, Auction 28 (1974), no. 366.



- 230 Denier - Soissons. A: Small cross with + - O - D - O at the end of the limbs + GRATIA D-I REX, R: Cross + SVESSI . CIVITAS. MEC: 979, MG: 1279. 1.754 gr. Attractive tone, extremely fine 200,--
Toderi - Florence 1977.
cf. M.u.M., Auction 39 (1969), no. 528.



- 231 Denier - Toulouse. A: Cross + ODDO REX FR-C, R: ODDO in circle + TOLOSA CIVI. MEC: 988, MG: 1341. 1.653 gr. Nice patina, extremely fine 150,--
Vinchon - Paris 1979.



- 232 Denier - Tours. A: ODO RX monogram + MISERICORDIA DI, R: Cross + TVRONES CIVITAS. MEC: 986, MG: 1301. 1.525 gr. Very fine to extremely fine 200,--
Elsen - Brussel 1996.
From list 183, no. 344.
This is of crude style and is possible a posthumous copy of the foregoing coins. Lafaurie attributes coins of this type to Raoul (Lafaurie 1965a, 286). MEC 986 is in a much courser style than this coin.

RAOUL (923-936)

Raoul was son of Richard, duke of Burgundy (+ 921). He was married to Emma, the daughter of Robert I, who was sister to Hugh the Great. After Robert's death, crowned king in Soissons in the Saint-Médard by Gautier, by the archbishop of Sens (who had crowned Odo and Robert as well). The counts of Auvergne, Rouergue and Toulouse paid homage to him. In 936, Raoul dies childless. His brother Hugh the Black succeeds him as duke of Burgundy.



- 233 Denier - Chartres. A: Karolus monogram + CRATIA D-I REX, R: Cross + CARTIS CIVITAS. MEC: --, MG: 1592. 1.375 gr. Very fine to extremely fine 150,--
BRED - Paris 1976.
In MG, the illustration differs gravely from the description.
The numbers 233, 234 and 235 all bear the deformed Charlemagne monogram. de Wit: Zur Datierung Spätkarolingischer Münzen, Schweizer Münzblätter 30 (1980), p. 10.



- 234 Denier - Chateaudun. A: Rodulfus monogram + CRATIA D-I REX, R: Cross + DVNIS CASTLLI. MEC: --, MG: 1594. 1.392 gr. **R** Very fine 300,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1977.
- 235 Denier - Orleans. A: Rodulfus monogram + CRATIA D-I REX, R: Cross + AVREL' ANIS CIVTAS. MEC: --, MG: --. 1.414 gr. **R** Extremely fine 300,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1977.
MG: all reverses vary (1595 - 1600).

FRANCE MIDI

In 843, the dominions of Louis the Pious were divided among his three sons. From this division, a peculiar middle territory resulted, devolving on the eldest son Lothair, who also inherited the imperial title. This "middle realm" stretched from Frisia to deep inside Italy. It would last Lothairs lifetime, but was redivided in 855.

LOTHARIUS I (840-855)



- 236 Denier - Dorestad. A: Cross + HIOTIARVS IIEIA, R: In three lines DOR / ES • TA / TVS. MEC: 820, MG: 524. 1.746 gr. **R** very fine specimen 250,--
Bought 1985 (Ex Decker collection).
Schulman - Amsterdam, d.d. 4-3-1955.
With v. Gelder (The carolingian mint at Duurstede, JMP 1961, p. 15) type 8 (1st type) it is normal to write name and title of the emperor in this way. Type bears great resemblance to the coins of Louis the Pious and would have to be dated back to the beginning of Lothairs reign. But, based on finds, the possibility that this type was struck much later, possibly even after Lothairs demise, cannot be ruled out.
MEC considers this to be a Frisian imitation and reads IIIOTIA-IIVSIIA on the obverse.



- 237 Denier - Dorestad. A: Cross with a pellet in each angle IOTAMVS IP MEIRAT, R: Temple DORESTATVS MON. MEC: 819, MG: 525. 1.671 gr. **R** Magnificent patina, almost extremely fine 250,--
Schulman - Amsterdam 1967.
v. Gelder (1961), type 9 (p. 22.9, pl. II, 9a-b). This type is closely related to type 8. Type 9 comes into circulation only after approx. 845-850. V. Gelder claims that the mint being Dorestad should be doubted.
The abbreviation MON (for MONETA) appears for the first time; only to become generally used on later types of Charles the Bald.
These exact circumscriptions can't be found in MG (525 - 530).



238

- 238 Denier - Anonymous. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + LVTHARIVS IMP, R: Temple XPISTIANA RELIGIO. MEC: --, MG: 582. 1.355 gr. Very fine to extremely fine 100,--
 Schulman - Amsterdam 1977.
 v.Gelder (JMP 1961), type 8f. According to v.Gelder it is doubtful that this type was struck under Lothair.
 MG: 580 has the same obverse, but the reverse shows RELICO; MG: 584 shows on obverse + H LVT..., the reverse being equal.



239

- 239 Denier - Milan. A: Small cross + HLOTHARIVS IMP, R: MEDIOL * in field. MEC: 821, MG: 558. 0.940 gr. RR Cleaned specimen from a hoard, very fine 300,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1996.
 From list november 1996, no. 1679.
 From hoard Raalte 1995.

When Lothair I dies in 855, the long stretched territories are divided three ways among his sons: Italy goes to Louis II (who was already king there and was now crowned emperor), the northern territories, under the name of Lotharingia, go to Lothair II and the Provence goes to Charles.

Charles the Bald attempts to seize the lands of his cousins. A change doesn't occur until Charles (Provence) dies in 863. Officially, the Provence is divided among Lothair II and Louis II, but Charles the Bald has himself crowned king of Lorraine by the archbishop of Reims, Hincmar. Only in 870 with the Treaty of Meerssen (between Charles the Bald and Louis the German) a real solution presents itself: Charles the Bald gains control of that part of the Provence, that Lothair II had acquired in 863 (the region surrounding Lyon).

The old middle realm is now divided as follows:

The part of the Provence that was controlled by Charles the Bald, he now transfers to his confidant Boso. Boso becomes king of the southern part in 879. He attempts to acquire the whole of Burgundia, but he fails and thus two parts remain: the south (Burgundia Arelate) and the north (Burgundia Cisiurana). For the southern part and the two later parts, see France féodale.

When in 876 Louis the German dies, Charles the Bald once again tries to annex Lorraine, but his defeat against the son of Louis the German at Andernach prevents him from doing so. Lorraine now is at the mercy of France occidentale and France orientale. In 880 it goes to the eastern franconian kings, but after the death of Louis the Child, Charles the Simple regains control of Lorraine. In 925, Henry I manages to definitively annex Lorraine and add it to Germany. It is divided into Lower Lorraine (a disconnected territory, that sometimes was, sometimes wasn't governed by a duke, see further under the Netherlands) and Upper Lorraine, that later was to become the duchy of Lorraine (see Alsace-Lorraine).

As heirs to the old middle realm, the rulers of Burgundia Arelate and Burgundia Cisiurana were king, in Lorraine, however, - if present at all - solely remained duke.

FRANCIA ORIENTALIS

Charlemagne's most important achievement would have to be that, in 804, he subdued the Saxons. After all, the unification of the Saxons with all the other German peoples under one rule, has laid the foundations for the German nation. Moreover, this expansion up to the Elbe, in a worldly as well as in an ecclesiastical sense, has brought the spread of the Slavic-Byzantine world to a halt.

In the Treaty of Verdun Louis the German receives Francia orientalis. After his death, the territories are divided among his sons: Bavaria is placed under Carloman (876-880), Franconia under Ludwig III (976-882) and Swabia under Karl III (876-877).

Because Karl III (as Charles III) also becomes king of France, the old realm of Charlemagne revives. Only briefly, as the Vikings put a swift end to this illusion.

In 887, the German territories are once again united, now under Carloman's son, Arnulf (887-899), after which Louis the Child (899-911) is the last one from the house of the Carolingians, he was succeeded by Konrad I.

ARNULF von KÄRNTEN (887-899)



240 Denier - Mainz. A: Temple + MO(CONCIVEC)IVIT, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle + (ARNOLD)VS RE. MEC: 826, MG: 1532. 1.623 gr. Weakly struck, very fine

150,--

Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1980.
MOGONTIA was the spelling of the name in Mainz (MEC p. 535).

LUDWIG das KIND (899-911)



241 Denier - Köln. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + LVDOVICVS REX, R: Colonia monogram S / COLONIA / A. MEC: 828, MG:1559. 1.746 gr. R Minor edge fault, very fine to extremely fine

500,--

Franceschi - Brüssel 1973.
MG has the obverse legend +LVDOVICVSREX.

IMMOBILISATION
In the name of LVDOVICVS



- 242 Denier - Anonymous. A: Cross with one pellet in two angles + LVOOVICVS, R: Temple + RINIIRICO. 0.953 gr. Extremely fine 50,--
 Numismatica - Wien, Auction 21 (1978), no. 1806.
 cf. brief Bibl. Nat.



- 243 Denier - Anonymous. A: Cross with one pellet in two angles + IVOOVICVS I, R: Temple with cross between two pellets. X PIRNT RELO. 1.169 gr. Extremely fine 50,--
 Münzzentrum - Köln 1980.



- 244 Obole - Anonymous. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + L ISVCS IMP, R: Temple + XICANARELRO. 0.590 gr. Minor flan defect, very fine 25,--
 Münzzentrum - Köln 1980.

In the name of CHARLES



- 245 Denier - Quentovic. A: Monogram + GRATIA D-I REX, R: Cross with one pellet in an angle and a ring in another + OVVENTOVVIC. 1.305 gr. Weakly struck, very fine 100,--
 Elsen - Brussel 1981.
 From Fécamp hoard.
 Dumas: Fécamp 6186 - 6238 with ring in one angle, or 6240 - 6242 with ring and pellet in one angle.



FRANCE

From the beginning of the 10th century on, France Occidentale started to evolve to modern France. Under the last of the Carolingians, the country had fallen apart. The region north of Paris was the sole territory remaining directly under Carolingian rule. All other territories were scattered among mighty vassals, dukes, margraves and counts, some of who amassed genuine principalities, like Flanders, Vermandois, Normandy, Burgundy, Toulouse, Aquitaine and Barcelona. Within these principalities, the scattering continued, so that many a count, as for instance the counts of Anjou and of Blois, could accumulate momentous dominions. Despite this scattering, society and culture retained a distinct unity. Gradually, these separate principalities were united under the French crown, the process being virtually completed by 1500 (whatever remained autonomous would be soon to follow). *One* Duchy would last, even if it lost all of its French possessions: Burgundy. Initially wielding power only in the Netherlands, the marriages of Maria and Maximilian and of their son Philips the Fair to Jeanne from the House of the Reyes Catolicos would lead to a world empire. As the transition of the Duchy of France to the Kingdom of France was barely palpable, the following will be discussed trichotomously: Duché de France, France Royale and France Féodale.

DUCHÉ DE FRANCE

Although his father, Robert I, had been a Robertine King of France, with Hugh the Great, the rule of the Capetians in the kingdom commenced. Hugh the Great married three times, Eadchild (daughter of king Edward the Elder of England) and Hedwige (sister of the German king Otto I) were two of his wives. Hedwige bore him 5 children, each one playing a significant role in French history. In 914, Charles Simplex appointed Hugh the Great to succeed his father. After the latter's demise, however, Hugh supported the election of his brother-in-law, Rudolph of Burgundy. Hugh, while retaining control of his counties (along the banks of the Loire and surrounding Paris, and the abbeys of St. Martin de Tours, Marmoutier and St. Denis), thus renounced the crown. Nonetheless, it would be Hugh who would lead France to its future. Rudolph (Raoul) was largely dependent on Hugh and the latter had Louis IV, son of Charles Simplex, crowned king after Rudolph's death in 936. Hugh became *Dux Francorum* and named himself *in omnibus regnis nostris secundus a nobis*. His dominions separated Louis IV of substantial parts of the kingdom. However, Louis IV did strive towards an independent government, forcing Hugh to ally with Otto I. This ultimately led to a reconciliation of the conflict (Visé, 942). In 945, Louis IV fell into Viking hands, prompting Hugh to force Queen Gerberga to grant him control over Laon, whereupon Otto I started a campaign against Hugh. In 953, peace was reached in Soissons. Still, after Louis' death, Gerberga could only bring her son Lothair to the throne with Hugh's consent. Although he never would become king, Hugh solely determined the course of France, hence his title Hugh the Great.

HUGUES le GRAND (943-956)



246

Denier - Senlis. A: HVGO DUX around small cross, circle of pellets and + CRATIA D-I REX, R: In two lines SILVA / NECTIS, two lines between it, one cross above and one below. D: 6, Legros: 43. 1.297 gr. Extremely rare, remarkable pedigree, attractive patina, very fine +

2.000,--

Vinchon - Paris 1978. - Ex: Meyer collection. - Ex: Bordeaux collection. - Ex: Prieur collection.

Ch. Prieur and Elisabeth Pourcherol, in *Arethuse* (XXXVI, 1927), write: "Ces pièces sont extrêmement rares, un bel exemplaire qui se trouvait dans la collection Meyer est passé en 1902 dans la collection Bordeaux et en 1926 dans celle de M. Prieur".

In older literature, this coin is attributed to Hugh Capet, and is thought to have been struck in 987 (Hugh, on July 1st of 987, was crowned king in Noyon, ending the Carolingian era), and is sometimes referred to as "coronation denier". However, that this coin should be attributed not to Hugh Capet, but rather to Hugh the Great (who never had been king, therefore the GRATIA D-I REX is a little surprising) is explained by Legros as follows: "Les pièces à la légende HVGO DVX imitent celles de Louis IV d'Outremer (936-954) à l'inscription concentrique LVDOVIC et leur attribution ne fait aucun doute, elles sont l'œuvre d'Hugh the Great qui possédait Senlis. Elles ont peut-être été frappées au moment de la captivité du roi en 945/46 "(voir Lafaurie: Trésor du Xè siecle trouvé a Tousson, Bull. Soc. Fr. Num., 1976, p. 35).

Duplessy classifies this coin under Hugh Capet, as *Dux Francorum*.



247



248



- 247 Denier - Château-Landon. A: Monogram odonien de Raoul + GRATIA D-I, R: Cross + CASTIS LANDINI. Legros: 52. 1.345 gr. **RR** Extremely fine 400,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1977.
The *monogram odonien de Raoul* is a reversed F, an R at the top, with two O's as monogram.
In de Wit: Zur Datierung Spätkarolingischer Münzen, Schweizer Münzblätter 30 (1980), p. 10, this coin (and the numbers 248, 249 and 250) is classified under Class B of Raoul. In this article, the coins of Class B are surmised to be struck after Raoul's days, placing them in the period of Hugh the Great (the places Château-Landon, Etampes and Orléans were then part of the Duchy of France). In the same article, the assumption is made, that, taking the state of their conservation into account, these coins (Class B) must have been struck shortly after the reign of Raoul. This is all the more astonishing, as Legros attributes nrs. 250 and 249 (both from Orléans) to Hugh Capet. This text chooses to adhere to Legros' version.
- 248 Denier - Étampes. A: Monogram odonien de Raoul + GRATIA D-I REX, R: Cross + STAMPIS CATELI. Legros: 63, PdA: 38. 1.335 gr. **RR** Very fine + 400,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1977.
See notes at no. 247.

HUGUES CAPET (956-987)

After Hugh the Great's death, Hugh Capet became duke of France and his brother Odo duke of Burgundy. In the feud between Lothair and the Ottones, he took sides with the Carolingians. Even before the demise of Louis V, he coalesced with Adalbero of Reims. When Louis V died childless, Hugh was the first in line to succeed him.

In May of 987, with the aid of Adalbero of Reims, he was chosen king by the Robertine vassals, the coronation by Adalbero taking place on the 3rd of July 987 in Noyon.

Hugh instantly had to take up arms against Charles of Lower Lorraine (brother of Lothair), who was chiefly supported by the counts of Troyes, Blois, Vermandois and the archbishop of Sens. The battle lasted until 991. Some tension remained, due to, among others, Odo of Blois and Arnulph, who had been appointed in Reims by Charles.

The "Capet" name doesn't emerge until the 12th century. Hugh's possessions were remarkably small: the region around Orleans and Paris and the royal domain of Oise-Aisne, and they actually took the shape of the territories once owned by his father, Hugh the Great.



249



250



- 249 Denier - Orléans. A: Monogram odonien de Raoul + GRATIA D-I, R: Cross + AVRELIANIS CIVITAS. Legros: 65. 1.752 gr. **RR** Attractive patina, very fine + 300,--
Schulman - Amsterdam 1977.
See notes at no. 247.
- 250 Denier - Orléans. A: Monogram odonien de Raoul + CRATIA D-I REX, R: Cross + AVREL' ANIS CIVITA. Legros: 67, PdA: 71. 1.433 gr. **RR** Very fine to extremely fine 300,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1977.
See notes at no. 247.



Bishop ARNOUL II (987-1003)

- 251 Denar - Orléans. A: H Y G O around city gate, + D - I DEXTRABE, R: Short cross + AYREL'ANIS CIVITAS. Legros: 78. 1.131 gr. **R** Small traces of corrosion, otherwise very fine + 150,--
 Spink - Zürich, Auction 21 (1986), no. 290.
 H of HYGO, to the right of the city gates.
 Legros determines as Civits instead of Civitas (mentioned above).
 Legros refers to the Trésor de Troyes.

Bishop ISEMBARD (1033-1063)

- 252 Obole - Orléans. A: NE / IC beneath city gate, D above and TA within + D-I DEXTRABE, R: Cross with alpha and omega in the 3rd and 4th angles + ARELIANIS CIVITA. Legros: 98, PdA: 77. 0.642 gr. **RR** Attractive patina, very fine to extremely fine 400,--
 Beckenbauer - München 1980.
 Ex: Marcheville collection (?).
 Legend and signs around city gates on obverse principally denote: DEI DEXTRA BENEDICTA.
 Legros refers to Trésor de Saint-Hilaire.

FRANCE ROYALE

The reign of Hugh Capet can't be seen as a new era altogether, it would have to be referred to as a new episode. In retrospect, only the fact that the Capetians held the French throne for centuries, justifies designating Hugh Capet as the first sovereign of the new era.

The dominions (domaine royale) of the first generation Capetians were very limited and authority over the major as well as over the minor vassals was practically non-existent. That the Capetians could maintain such a reign was mainly due to the fact that even the most significant vassals couldn't seize power, being torn between reciprocal disputes and battling their own lieges.

For the first four Capetians succession was hereditary, though they were formally elected. Thus, the power of Hugo, Robert II, Henri I and Philip I never exceeded that of the last Carolingians.

To bring the devastation of ongoing war to a halt, the clergy was employed. In 990, the church attempted to restore peace by calling a "Peace of God", followed by a "Truce of God", the *Treuga Dei*. The hours from Thursday evening to Monday morning (the days of Christ's passion and resurrection) were to be respected as a peace period, once more showing that the kings weren't able to accomplish their foremost task of keeping order and peace.

CAPETIANS

HUGO CAPET (987-996)



- 253 Denar - Beauvais. A: Cross with one pellet in the 2nd and 3rd angles HERVEVS HVGO REX, R: Carolingian monogram BELVACVS CIVITAS. D: 1, L: 6. 1.206 gr. **R** Magnificent patina, weakly struck, very fine to extremely fine 300,--
 Vinchon - Paris 1978.
 Hervé was bishop of Beauvais (987-998). Beauvais lay beyond the royal domain. He had his coins bear the king's name for political reasons or because the territory was a mutual possession.



- 254 Obole - Beauvais. A: Cross with one pellet in the 2nd and 3rd angles HERVEVS HUGO REX, R: Carolingian monogram BELVACVS CIVITAS. D: 2, L: 7. 0.594 gr. **R** Attractive patina, weakly struck, very fine 300,--
 Vinchon - Paris 1978.

ROBERT II (996-1031)



- 255 Denier - Paris. A: REX in field ROT BER TVS, R: Cross . PARISIVS CIVITAS. D: 4, L: 9. 1.321 gr. **R** Well struck up with fine patina, very fine to extremely fine 750,--
 Spink - London, Auction 71 (1989), no. 407.
 Ex: Shirley-Fox bequest, 1939.
 Ex: Blunt.

HENRI I (1031-1060)



- 256 Obole - Toulouse. A: REX in circle + AIANRIGO, R: Christogram, one pellet in the 3rd and 4th angles POHCIO COHES. D: 30, L: 40. 0.517 gr. **RR** Well struck up, very fine to extremely fine 500,--
 Vinchon - Paris 1978.
 These coins, bearing the name of the king, were struck by Count Pons (1037-1060), blood relative of Henry I. Toulouse, of course, lay outside of the Royal Domain. Aianrigo is the southern Roman name for Toulouse.

PHILIPPE I (1060-1108)



- 257 Denier - Château-Landon. A: Blundered Raoul monogram (stripe between two O, above S I, below + and =) + PHIILPPVS REX, R: Cross with one small cross in the 1st and 4th angles + LANDONIS CASTA. D: 34, L: 52. 1.317 gr. **Very fine** 100,--
 Credit de la Bourse - Paris 1986.
 From 1068 on the Château-Landon belonged to the domain.
- 258 Obole - Château-Landon - 1st type. A: Blundered Raoul monogram (stripe between two O, above S I, below + and -) + PHIILPPVS REX, R: Cross with one small cross in the 1st and 4th angles + LANDONIS CASTA. D: 35, L: 54. 0.540 gr. **R** Attractive patina, almost extremely fine 250,--
 Vinchon - Paris 1978.
 Ex: Prieur collection.



- 259 Denier - Orleans - 1st type. A: City gate between NE / IC, I above and AT within + PHIL - PVS X REX D-I, R: Cross with S in the 1st and 4th angles + AVRELIANIS CIVITA. D: 50, L: 68. 1.300 gr. Minor double struck, very fine 75,--
Bonvallet - Paris 1983.
The city gate is the symbol of Orleans. The letters derive from DEI DEXTRA BENEDICTA.
- 260 Denar - Mâcon. A: Rhombic cross (letter O) with one pellet in each angle + PIIIPVS RX, R: S between two pellets + MATISCON. D: 81, L: 86. 0.993 gr. Very fine 50,--
Spink - London 2005.
Ex: NC 2005, no. MD0125.

LOUIS VI (1108-1137)

At the start of the 12th century there was a turn to the favour of the Capetian kings. Louis VI, after a series of successful expeditions, succeeded in subduing the rebellious vassals posing a threat to his primacy in the Royal Domain, tearing down their castles, thus restoring order and safety. Having now laid the foundations for a strong reign, he tried to wield regal authority over major fiefs outside of the royal domain, more than once failing in his attempts. The conflict between Louis VI and Henry I of England in 1106 has to be regarded in this light, Louis setting out to weaken Henry's position. It dragged on for 20 years, Louis eventually losing the Battle at Brémule (1119). Not only had Henry now maintained his position in Normandy, but, by wedding his daughter to the count of Anjou, strengthened it substantially. For Louis also some positive effects were to be noted, though. When emperor Heinrich V invaded France in 1124, the territorial sovereigns and vassals stood united behind their king. This display of loyalty to their suzerain forced the emperor to a swift retreat. Shortly before his death, Louis VI brought about the marriage of his son Louis VII to Eleonore, heiress to the just deceased duke Guillaume X of Aquitaine.



- 261 Denier - Orleans. A: City gate between omega and three horizontal stripes, above O + LVDOVICVS REX I, R: Cross, in the 1st angle an A, in the 4th angle an O + AVRELIANIS CIVITA. D: 120, L: 130. 1.070 gr. Very fine 50,--
Toderi - Florence 1977.



- 262 Denier - Sens. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle LVDOVICVS REX, R: Temple + SENONS VIIRBS. D: 133, L: 137. 0.872 gr. Almost extremely fine 250,--
Vinchon - Paris 1986.
The significance of II (= II underlined) in VRBS is unclear. Is this to correct the missing I in SENONIS? Lafaurie says there is no certain attribution to Louis VI or Louis VII. The form VRBS, however, indicates Louis VI.

LOUIS VII (1137-1180)

Louis VII continued the politics of his father, though with less authority. Among other things, he had to relinquish the newly acquired Aquitaine, when he separated from Eleonore and this loss was exacerbated by her consecutive marriage to Henry II of England. Louis also took part in the 2nd crusade, causing a 2 ½ year absence from his dominions.

He diminished the influence of the seneschal, a powerful representative of the king, thus disposing of the Garlande family, that up to then had all but monopolised this office.

Had the German Empire up to the middle of the 12th century undisputably held the greatest political power in Europe, the coronation of Henry II in England drew the epicentre of power westward. He already possessed great territories: Normandy, Anjou, Maine and Touraine, and, through his marriage, Aquitaine. Three campaigns in Brittany forced the Breton Lords to acknowledge his son Geoffrey (duke of Anjou) as the successor to their Duke Conan and with the death of the latter in 1186, Henry took control of Brittany. The count of Toulouse in 1173 had to declare himself liege to Henry II, whose power now extended to the Mediterranean. By wedding his second son Henry to the daughter of Louis VII, he gained Vexin (region around Andelys that merged with Valois, now the department of Senlis, home to the Valois dynasty).



- 263 Denier - Bourges. A: Bearded bust facing + LVDOVICVS REX, R: Floriated latin cross + VRBS BI TVRICA. D: 134, L: 145. 1.010 gr. Nice tone, very fine 75,--
Münzzentrum - Köln 1976.
- 264 Denier - Paris - 5th type. A: FRA / OON in field + LVDOVICVS RE, R: Cross + PARISII CIVIS. D: 148, L: 142. 1.011 gr. Very fine 50,--
Holleman - Delden 2000.
From list 126, no. 737.
Duplessy calls this the 4th type.



- 265 Obole - Aquitaine - 2nd type. A: Cross + LVDOVICVS . R, R: In three lines DVX / APVI / TANIE. D: 156, L: 165. 0.582 gr. R Small traces of corrosion, very fine 250,--
Vinchon - Paris 1978.
This coin was struck at the beginning of Louis VII's reign, he acquired ducal power in Aquitaine by marrying Eleonore (dissolved in 1152). In 1152, Eleonore marries Henry II of England, thereby turning Aquitaine into English territory. See further under Aquitaine. Possibly struck in Bordeaux.
- 266 Obole - Laon. A: Crowned bust facing + LVDOVICVS RE, R: Bust facing with mitre + GALTERVS EPC. D: 158, L: 162. 0.747 gr. Weakly struck at the edge, potraits well struck up, very fine 150,--
Elsen - Brussel 1998.
From list 196, no. 379.
With bishop Gautier I (1151-1155) or Gautier II (1155-1174). Lafaurie claims a weight of 0.82 to 0.75 for the denier and 0.52. for the obole. Nevertheless, this specimen is substantially smaller than the denier.
"Ces monnaies sont-elles des monnaies de pariage, ou est-ce simplement par différence que les évêques inscrivent le nom du roi sur les monnaies? Les textes connus n'ont pas encore permis de donner une solution à ce problème monétaire. De toute façon, ces monnaies doivent être considérées comme semi-féodales (sous Philippe Auguste, le roi a une part sur les bénéfices)." Explanation Lafaurie with no. 162, p. 18.
Laon lay outside the royal domain.

PHILIPPE II AUGUSTE (1180-1223)

If, at first, the Capetian dynasty seemed to collapse under the pressure of the Anglo-Angevinian realm, with Philip II Auguste, a man came to power who would restore the significance of the French throne and bestow stature on France as a nation. His first goal: to break the power of the territorial sovereigns and the major vassals, something that would only be achieved through dogged persistence. Although the feudal Lords in the North coalesced, he defeated them one-by-one, adding to his prestige.

Philip II wasn't satisfied with that, he wanted to extend his royal domain, to show himself at least the equal of the major territorial sovereigns. A few occasions would present themselves. In the North, Philip of the Alsace died during the 3rd crusade. Philippe seized the opportunity and annexed Vermandois and Artois. From that moment on Philippe Auguste decided to have Paris made for these regions. In the West, a battle over years with the English resulted in the taking of Normandy and Poitou and primacy over Brittany. In the South, where his influence was practically nil, he acquired the county of Toulouse in the crusade against the Albigensians (see under Toulouse). The subjection of Toulouse has, in spite of its bloody course, contributed to the emergence of a French people, sharing one language and one culture, for after the crusade against the Albigensians many North-French knights took up domicile in the South.

Philip II Auguste, as a sovereign, recognised the growing importance of cities, favouring them in many a way.

After returning from the Holy Land, Philip II Auguste resumed battle with the English. Richard the Lionhearted had fallen into the German emperor's hands. His imprisonment came most convenient, as well for Philip as for John Lackland. The emperor, however, was after Richards money rather than after his freedom and he blackmailed Richard to finance his war against Sicily. Richard gave in, payed a ransom and secured England by acknowledging himself to be the emperor's vassal. Philip II and John Lackland were left standing. However, when Richard died, Philip II declared all of John Lackland's French lieges expired and conquered Normandy in 1204. After the Battle at Bouvines in 1214, where Otto IV was vanquished, John Lackland is forced to accept the loss of Normandy, Maine and Anjou. From 1204, Philip Auguste adopted the denier tournois, drafted in the abbey of St. Martin (see under Touraine), for the lands in the West. "Ces deux espèces, parisis et tournois, constituèrent, au tiers d'argent fin environ, le système nouveau de la monnaie royale" (Lafaurie).



267 Denier Parisis - Arras - 2nd type. A: FRA / OCN in the field PHILIPVS REX, R: Cross with one lis in the 2nd and 3rd angles + ARRAS CIVIS. D: 168, L: 184. 1.114 gr. Dark tone, very fine
Tietjen - Hamburg 1983.
Lafaurie, as does Duplessy, gives a lis on reverse in the 1st and the 4th angles.

50,--



268 Denier - Laon. A: Crowned bust facing + PHILIPVS RE, R: Bust facing with mitre + ROGERVS EPE. D: 184, L: 173. 0.906 gr. Very fine specimen with attractive patina and portraits well struck up
Spink - London Auction 77 (1990), no. 441.
Ex: Elias collection (441).
bought Spink 1977.
Philippe II struck two series (parisis and tournois) and locally coined, like at this mint in Laon.
With bishop Roger de Rosoi (1174-1201).

200,--

LOUIS VIII / IX (1223-1245/50)

Philip II Auguste was succeeded by his son Louis VIII. The latter tried to seize the English throne and joined in the crusade against the Albigensians. When Amaury, son of Simon of Montfort, conferred the county Toulouse upon him, Philip started a war, aiming to expand the royal domain in the South of France. He didn't live to see this expansion (1229) and died a young man in 1223.



269

- 269 Denier Tournois - 1st type. A: Cross within circle of pellets + LVDOVICVS : REX, R: Châtel tournois TVRONVS CIVIS. D: 187, L: 195. 0.715 gr. Very fine to extremely fine
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1977.
Lafaurie gives CIVI instead of CIVIS (this is the text from L. 201, Louis IX).
Louis IX only refers to the first period of his government, i.e. until 1245/50 (governed until 1270), taken from Duplessy.

75,--

LOUIS IX (1245/50-1270)

Louis IX the Saint succeeded Louis VIII, his mother governing as a regent, until the young king was deemed of age. He was a devout Christian, one of whose major political interests it was to ensure the welfare of his people. He took part in two crusades and was captured in the first, only to be released after paying a large ransom. The latter expedition was no success either, forcing him to interfere in Italian matters (his brother Charles of Anjou was king of Sicily by then) which didn't serve his French cause.

Expansion of the royal domain under Saint Louis was sparse: only Languedoc and Narbonne were added. The wealthy apanages (lieges of the younger brothers of the king, who were denied the right of succession. These lieges were directly inheritable: thus, appointing an apanage like Anjou to a Capetian, would found the House of Anjou. Apanages would have a substantial influence on the course of French history), which he ceded to his three brothers even endangered royal authority, for they contained more than half the entire French territory. Fortunately, his brothers governed their lands in the spirit of their eldest brother, safeguarding the balances of power. St. Louis instituted two divisions within the *curia regis*: one, consisting of professional legalists, gradually becoming known as the "Parliament of Paris" and a "Cour (Chambre) des comptes", a counterpart to the English Exchequer. Many French institutions are derived from English ones.

On 11 March 1263, Louis IX declared the parisis and the tournois valid for the entire country. A document dated 24 July 1266 contains data concerning the Gros tournois (the ordinance is unknown). It weighed 3.60 gr. Louis IX was the first to have his coins imprinted with religious dicta: on the écu d'or XPC VINCIT XPC REGNAT XPC IMPERAT (= Christ conquers, Christ reigns, Christ prevails), from Nicephorus VIII.32, Laudes Regiae, liturgical acclamation of the king, and on the Gros tournois BENEDICTUM SIT NOMEN DOMINI NOSTRI DEI JESU CHRISTI (= Praised be the name of the God, our Lord Jesus Christ).

Apart from the Gros tournois, solely the parisis and the tournois continued to exist.



270

- 270 Gros tournois. A: Inner circle + LVDOVICVS · REX around cross, + BNDICTV · SIT · NOME · D NI · NRI · DEI · IHV · XPI, R: Châtel tournois TVRONVS · CIVIS within border of 12 arches enclosing lis, four pellets beneath the uppermost lis - two inside and two outside the two circles which surround this lis. D: 190 B, L: --. 4.039 gr. Very fine to extremely fine

150,--

Kricheldorf - Stuttgart 1973.

The Gros Tournois has served as an example for many a coin to come, French and elsewhere originating.



- 271 Gros tournois. A: Inner circle +LVDOVICVS ` REX around cross, + BNDICTV ` SIT ` NOME ` DNI ` NRI ` DEI ` IHV ` XPI, R: Châtel tournois TVRONV . S ` CIVIS within border of 12 arches enclosing lis. D: 190 D, L: 198c. 3.981 gr. Dark patina, very fine to extremely fine 150,--
 Toderi - Florence 1977.
 The text is not exactly the same as in Duplessy, who gives LVDOVICV. S . and TVRONV . S.



- 272 Denier Tournois. A: Cross +LVDOVICVS REX, R: Châtel tournois TVRONVS CIVIS. D: 193, L: 201. 0.810 gr. Very fine 25,--
 Schulman - Amsterdam 1978.

PHILIPPE III le HARDI (1270-1285)

The reign of Philippe III (1270-1285) is particularly marked by the fact that his uncle, Charles of Anjou has determined the course of French politics to a great extent. After Alphonse of Poitiers (an apanage of Louis IX) died, the apanages Poitou and Toulouse returned to the crown.

Philippe III adds the obole to the Gros tournois and the tournois.



- 273 Gros tournois. A: Inner circle + PHILIPVS ` REX around cross, + BNDICTV ` SIT ` NOME ` DNI ` NRI ` DEI ` IHV ` XPI, R: Châtel tournois TVRONV . S ` CIVIS within border of 12 arches enclosing lis. D: 202 A, L: 204. 3.886 gr. Small traces of corrosion, otherwise very fine + 100,--
 Toderi - Florence 1977.
 Coins with PHILIPVS are attributed by Dieudonné to Philippe III, which Lafaurie confirms. Duplessy unconditionally attributes them to Philippe III.
 D: 202 A gives a pellet in front of the S of TVRONVS, but none after.

PHILIPPE IV le BEL (1285-1314)

Philippe III was succeeded by his son Philippe IV the Fair (1285-1314). The latter has chiefly defended centralised monarchy against feudalism, national French kingdom and the notion of the modern state against the principle of theocracy. Through his marriage to Joan, heiress to Navarre and Champagne, he gained the Northern-French Champagne. His expansional drive towards the North was brought to a sudden halt by the Flemings in the Battle of the Golden Spurs (11 July 1302). He was more successful on his East borders, seizing Bar, Lyon, Toul and Verdun.

He continuously sought new sources of money, in the course of which he systematically weakened the French monetary system, gaining him the epithet "le roi faux monnayeur". Duplessy distinguishes 7 periods, in which the French coin was weakened. Besides the Gros tournois, the ½ Gros tournois (maille blanche) and the 1/3 Gros tournois (maille tierce) were introduced next to the parisis, the tournois and the obole and, apart from those, the double parisis and the double tournois, eventually having created a complete monetary system. This process found completion around 1290.

A characteristic of Louis IX's reign was that many French institutions were modelled after English example. In this case, for once, the monetary reform of Philip the Fair had an exemplary effect on the English situation, prompting Edward I to, in 1279, introduce a new groat with an experimental character and issue a novel penny. Only in 1344 would Edward III adopt an altogether new monetary system.

Philippe IV was the first sovereign to strike different types of gold coins, starting 1290 (the golden écu d'or by Louis IX was experimental). In England, these issues didn't take place until 1344. In Philippe IV's days and those of his predecessors, the principle of theocracy had all but vanished from politics. Pope Bonifacius VIII (1294-1303) tried to revive theocracy, but his attempt met with fierce resistance from the French crown, which instead levied taxes on the clergy. The papal bull *Clericus laicos* (1296) forbade this, but provoked a reaction from the French as well as from the English king, strong enough to cause him to reconsider. He canonised Louis IX and gained prestige by convoking the jubilee of 1300. Both sides campaigned substantially, the pope issuing his bull *Unam sanctam*, propagating theocracy in its most extreme form. When the pope threatened to excommunicate the French king, the latter ordered the pope's arrest. On the 7th of September 1303 he was arrested in Rome, but freed later on, dying shortly after, on 11 October 1303. The new pope, Clement V (from Bordeaux), annulled both bulls, capitulating totally to the French king. He took up domicile in Avignon and his authority was curtailed to that of a French bishop.

The monarchal and fiscal politics of Philip the Fair provoked some internal opposition. After his death, the barons stood up to each of his three succeeding sons, unsuccessfully however.



- 274 Gros tournois à l'O rond. A: Inner circle + PHILIPPVS REX around cross, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : DEI : IHV . XPI, R: Châtel tournois TVRONVS CIVIS within border of 12 arches enclosing lis. D: 213, L: 217. 4.124 gr. Extremely fine specimen with attractive patina 100,--
 Vinchon - Paris 1967.
 There are three issues: 1285, 1302 and 1305.
 Philippvs with a single L.
- 275 Gros tournois à l'O long. A: Inner circle + PHILIPPVS REX around cross, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : DEI : IHV . XPI, R: Châtel tournois TVRONVS CIVIS within border of 12 arches enclosing lis. D: 214, L: 218. 4.114 gr. Very fine to extremely fine 100,--
 Spink - Zürich, Auction 2 (1986), no. 327.
 The L in PHILIPPVS has a lis attached to its short stem. At D: 213, Duplessy reports a letter L, adorned with a lis, but not in the case of no. 214



- 276 Maille blanche à l'O long. A: Inner circle + PHILIPPVS REX around cross, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : DEI, R: Châtel tournois TVRONVS ♣ CIVIS within border of 12 arches enclosing lis. D: 215, L: 221. 2.114 gr. Nice patina, very fine to extremely fine 100,--
Hess - Luzern 1982.



- 277 Gros tournois à l'O long et au lis. A: Inner circle + PHILIPPVS REX around cross, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : DEI : IhV . XPI, R: Lis-topped Châtel tournois TVRONVS REX CIVIS within border of 12 arches enclosing lis. D: 217, L: 219. 4.124 gr. Very fine 150,--
Vinchon - Paris 1978.
Dieudonné thinks this coin was struck in 1298 in Bruges, which was conquered by Philippe IV. This issue was followed by Robert de Bethune.



- 278 Maille tierce à l'O rond. A: Inner circle + PHILIPPVS . REX around cross, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNINI, R: Châtel tournois TVRONVS CIVIS within border of 10 arches enclosing lis, the uppermost lis between two pellets. D: 219 C, L: 223a. 1.311 gr. Pleasingly toned, very fine + 100,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1971.
Struck in 1306.
- 279 Denier Tournois à l'O long. A: + PHILIPPVS o REX around cross, R: Châtel tournois TVRONVS CIVIS. D: 225, L: 230. 0.992 gr. Dark patina, very fine 30,--
Bourgey - Paris 1970.
Struck between 1290-1294.



- 280 Obole tournois à l'O long. A: + PHILIPPVS REX around cross, R: Châtel tournois TVRONVS ★ CIVIS. D: 226, L: 231. 0.535 gr. Very fine 50,--
Vinchon - Paris 1986.



- 281 Obole tournois à l'O long. A: + PHILIPPVS REX around cross, R: Châtel tournois TVRONVS CIVIS. D: 226, L: 231. 0.619 gr. Very fine 30,--
Bonvallet - Paris 1983.



- 282 Double parisis. A: Floriated cross + PHILIPPVS REX, R: In two lines REGA / LIS under lis + MONETA ♣ DVPLEX. D: 227, L: 232. 1.276 gr. Very fine 50,--
Henzen - Amerongen 2001.
From list 123, no. 3850.
First issue (1295-1303).



- 283 Double tournois. A: Cross with lis in the 2nd angle + PHILIPPVS . REX, R: Châtel tournois between two lis + MON . DVPLEX . REGAL'. D: 229, L: 234. 1.235 gr. Attractive patina, very fine 50,--
Elsen - Brussel, Auction 76 (2003), no. 1450.
First issue between 1295-1303.



- 284 Bourgeois fort. A: Floriated latin cross + PHILIP PVS REX, R: FOR / TIS in two lines under crown BVRGENSIS. D: 231, L: 236. 1.229 gr. Dark patina, very fine 50,--
Vinchon - Paris 1986.
In text: BVRGENSIS FORTIS.
It seems that this coin was named Bourgeois to symbolise its average numerical value and to laud the cities' bourgeois for having driven out the Lombards.
Bourges' citizens were never referred to as Bourgeois.



- 285 Obole bourgeoise. A: Latin cross + PHILIP PVS REX, R: In two lines NOV / VS under lis BVRGENSIS. D: 233, L: 238. 0.537 gr. Very fine 25,--
Elsen - Brussel, Auction 76 (2003), no. 1453.
January 1311.

CHARLES IV (1322-1328)



- 286 Maille Blanche. A: Inner circle + KAROLVS ° RE •X• around cross, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI, R: Châtel tournois FRANCORVM * within border of 10 arches enclosing lis, the uppermost lis between two pellets. D: 243 D, L: 247a. 1.627 gr. Very fine + 100,--
Toderi - Florence 1972.
3rd issue from 24 July 1326



- 287 Maille blanche. A: Inner circle + KAROLVS * REX around cross, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : DEI, R: Châtel tournois FRANCHORVM * within border of 10 arches enclosing lis. D: 243, L: 247. 1.744 gr. Very fine 75,--
Henzen - Amerongen 1999.
From list november 1999, no. 2925.
Issue 2nd March 1323.



- 288 Double parisis. A: Crown + KAROLVS REX J(?), R: Floriated cross + MONETA o DVPLEX. D: 244 B, L: 248b. 1.033 gr. Very fine + 75,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1979.
2nd issue 2nd March 1323.

The House of Valois

PHILIPPE VI (1328-1350)

After the demise of the youngest son, Charles IV, Philip VI (son of Charles of Anjou) was acknowledged to be king, as females were excluded from royal heritage. Charles held Anjou as an apanage from Louis IX and consequently called himself "Count of Anjou", marking the rise of the Anjou dynasty: the House of Valois (Philip VI was, in fact, a direct descendant from the Capetians), which would rule France until 1589. This dynasty lacked the sobriety of the Capetians and, moreover, turned their gaze towards further horizons: Italy, the imperial crown, the Holy Land. Nevertheless, Philip wouldn't attain any of these worldly ambitions.

Despite the fact that France held eight times the population of England, the English were considerably better prepared for battle on the eve of the Hundred Years' War. As a consequence, Philip lost the Battle of Crécy to the English at Sluis in Normandy, surrendered Calais and had to accept the peace of Brétigny (1360).



289



290



- 289 Royal d'or. A: Crowned king standing with sceptre under gothic canopy + FRA' COR' o / o PH'S REX o, R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil with one crown in each angle + XPC o VINCIT o XP'C o REGNAT o XP'C o IMPERAT. D: 247, Fb: 271, L: 251. 4.194 gr. Extremely fine specimen 1.250,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 2001.
 From list 120, no. 3787.
 2nd May 1328.
- 290 Ecu d'or a la chaise. A: Armoured king with sword and shield of France sitting on gothic throne + PHILIPPVS x DEI x GRA x FRANCORVM x REX, R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil with one trefoil in each angle + XPC x VINCIT x XPC x REGNAT x XPC x IMPERAT. D: 249 A, Fb: 270, L: 262a. 4.481 gr. Extremely fine 1.000,--
 Spink - London 1997.
 From NC 1997, no. 4109.
 2nd emission, 10th April 1343.



291



- 291 Chaise d'or. A: Crowned king with sceptre and Hand of Justice sitting on gothic throne + PHILIPPVS x DEI x GRACIA x FRANCORVM x REX, R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil with one crown in each angle + XPC x VINCIT x XPC x REGNAT x XPC x IMPERAT. D: 258 C, Fb: 269, L: 261. 4.219 gr. **RR** Extremely fine and perfect piece 3.000,--
 Elsen - Brussel 1997.
 Issue 17th July 1346.
 Ex: Vinchon, Auction 3/4 febr. 1986, no. 147.
 "Cette pièce rappelle la pièce homonyme de Philippe IV, avec une plus grande richesse de motifs, notamment par le double des pinacles" (Lafaurie).



292

- 292 Gros à la couronne avec étoile. A: Inner circle PHILIPPVS REX around cross, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : DEI, R: Châtel tournois under crown, with small star under castle FRANCORVM within border of ten arches enclosing lis. D: 262 A, L: 266a. 2.501 gr. Very fine + 150,--
Spink - Zürich, Auction 2 (1986), no. 344.
The L in PHILIPPVS has one lis on his foot.
2nd issue 31st October 1338.



293



294



- 293 Gros à fleur de lis. A: Lis + FRANCORVM within circle of 11 lis, R: + PHILIPPVS REX around cross with one lis in the 2nd angle + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DEI : NRI : DEI :. D: 263, L: 267. 2.364 gr. Weakly struck, very fine 75,--
Spink - London 1997.
1st issue 27th January 1341.
"Le groat au lis est le premier des groat qui, avec un titre inférieur à celui de l'argent-le-roi, ont usurpé le nom de Gros tournois" (Lafaurie).
- 294 Double parisis. A: In two lines FRA / NCO in the field, ☞ PHILIPP ☙ REX, R: Floriated cross ☞ MONETA : DVPLEX. D: 269, L: 271. 1.007 gr. Very fine 50,--
Batavia - den Haag 1987.
3rd type, 1st issue 27th April 1346.
Obverse upside down.

JEAN II le BON (1350-1364)

Philippe VI was succeeded by his son Jean II le Bon in 1350. A singular man of humble military talent, he was no match for Edward III nor for the Black Prince. In 1356, he was defeated at Poitiers and subsequently held in English captivity.



295



- 295 Mouton d'or. A: IOH' / REX under lamb in multilobe + AGN ☉ DEI ☉ QVI ☉ TOLL ☉ PCCA ☉ MVDI ☉ MISERERE ☉ NOB, R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil with one lis in each angle + XPC : VINCIT : XPC : REGNAT : XPC : IMPERAT. D: 291, Fb: 280, L: 294. 4.637 gr. Very fine to extremely fine 1.000,--
Henzen - Amerongen 1996.
From list november 1996, no. 1493.
Issue 17th January 1355.



296

- 296 Mouton d'or. A: IOH' / REX under lamb in ring of trefoils + AGN ☉ DEI ☉ QVI ☉ TOLL ☉ PCCA ☉ MVDI ☉ MISERERE ☉ NOB, R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil with one lis in each angle + XPC ☉ VINCIT ☉ XPC ☉ REGNAT ☉ XPC ☉ IMPERAT. D: 291 A, Fb: 280, L: 294. 4.655 gr. Extremely fine specimen on broad flan 1.500,--
- Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1994.
From list 576, no. 63.
Struck 17th January 1355.
The difference with no. 295 is in the frame of the Agnus Dei.



297

- 297 Royal d'or. A: Crowned king with sceptre standing under gothic dais IOHES ☉ DEI ☉ GRA / FRANCORV ☉ REX, R: Floriated cross with one lis in each angle + XPC ☉ VINCIT ☉ XPC ☉ REGNAT ☉ XPC ☉ IMPERAT. D: 293 A, Fb: 278, L: 296a. 3.524 gr. Sharp struck and extremely fine specimen 1.500,--
- Glendining -London, Auction March 91 (1991), no. 483.
Ex: Elias collection (466).
Bought Seaby 1962.
2nd Issue, 15th April 1359. 24 K gold.



298

- 298 Franc à cheval. A: Mounted king l. with sword IOhANNES ☉ DEI ☉ GRACIA ☉ FRANCORV ☉ REX, R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil with one trefoil in each angle + XPC ☉ VINCIT ☉ XPC ☉ REGNAT ☉ XPC ☉ IMPERAT. D: 294, Fb: 279, L: 297. 3.885 gr. Extremely fine specimen with pleasingly tone 1.000,--
- Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1989..
From list 526, no. 90.
Issue 5th December 1360.



- 299 Gros blanc à la couronne. A: + IOhANNES o DEI o GRA around cross with one lis in the 2nd and 3rd angles, + BNDICTV ꝑ SIT ꝑ NOME ꝑ DNI ꝑ NRI ꝑ DEI ꝑ IhV ꝑ XPI, R: Crown FRANCORV o REX within border of 12 arches enclosing lis. D: 303, L: 306. 3.617 gr. Very fine 200,--
Spink - Zürich, Auction 2 (1986), no. 352.
Issue 26th March 1357.



- 300 Gros aux trois lis. A: Inner circle + IOhANNES ꝑ DEI ꝑ GRA around cross, + BNDICTV ꝑ SIT ꝑ NOME ꝑ DNI ꝑ NRI ꝑ DEI ꝑ IhV ꝑ XPI, R: Crown over three lis FRANCOR ꝑ REX within border of 12 arches enclosing lis. D: 307 A, L: 310a. 3.271 gr. Weakly struck at the edge, very fine 200,--
Spink - Zürich, Auction 2 (1986), no. 358.
This type first appeared in the 2nd issue of 7th June 1359 and characteristically has three small rings with a dot in them or two rings with a dot interpunctuating.



- 301 Gros blanc aux fleurs de lis. A: Inner circle + IOHES DEI GRA around long cross with one crown in each angle, + BNDICTV ꝑ SIT ꝑ NOME ꝑ DNI ꝑ NRI ꝑ DEI ꝑ IHV' XPI, R: Field with lis, + FRANCORVM * REX within border of 14 arches enclosing lis. D: 312, L: 315. 4.080 gr. R Small traces of corrosion, very fine 400,--
Spink - London 1994.
From NC 1994, no. 2269.
Ex: Elias collection 484 = Spink Auction 77.
Ex: Vergne Auction, Bordeaux 6 (1981).
Issue 5th December 1360.

CHARLES V (1364-1380)

With the country devastated, prices at a high, a rapidly devaluating currency, an empty treasury and mutineers galore, the imprisonment of John II the Good presented the Dauphin (the latter Charles V) with a sheer impossible task. Etienne Marcel, leader of the Parisian bourgeoisie who were furious at this feeble government, organised parliament into a body with a list of political demands. But the dauphin chose to disregard their demands, dismissing the Estates-Général and eventually restoring order.

John II signed peace with England at the Peace of Brétigny (8 May 1360). However, as he was unable to afford the astronomical ransom, he would never return from captivity. With the governing House of Burgundy having expired (1361) before his death (1364), the territories fell to the French crown and he conceded them as apanage to his youngest son Philip the Bold.

In 1364, Charles V was crowned king of France. He was a diplomat and restored France back to its former status. Whoever resisted could count on severe retaliation, in which Charles blindly relied on his generals Bertrand du Guesclin and Olivier de Clisson. Together, these generals succeeded in reconquering the territories, ceded at the Peace of Brétigny. The death of Charles V heralded the end of the first phase of the Hundred Years' War, the second one to be of a wholly different character.



- 302 Franc à pied. A: King standing between lis in gothic dais with sword and Hand of Justice KAROLVS ★ DI ★ GR / FRANCOR ★ REX, R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil with one crown in the 1st and 2th angles and one lis in the 2nd and 3rd angles, lis in the angles of the quatrefoil + XPC ★ VINCIT XPC REGNAT ★ XPC ★ IMPERAT. D: 360, Fb: 284, L: 371. 3.833 gr.
Extremely fine specimen 600,--
Delmonte - Brussel 1970.
Issue 20th April 1365.
From one West-Central-France hoard 1970.
"Cette pièce s'appelait officiellement Denier d'or aux fleurs de lis, évoquant ainsi la pièce passagère de Jean le Bon qui lui ressemble; le peuple pour la première fois dans un text officiel en janvier 1377" (Lafaurie).

- 303 Franc à Pied. A: King standing between lis in gothic dais with sword and Hand of Justice KAROLVS x DI x GR / FRANCORV x REX, R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil with one crown in the 1st and 4th angles and one lis in the 2nd and 3rd angles, lis in the angles of the quatrefoil + XPC * VINCIT XPC REGNAT * XPC * IMPERAT. D: 360, Fb: 284, L: 371. 3.751 gr.
Slightlyly bent, almost extremely fine specimen 500,--
Henzen - Amerongen 1999.
From list november 1999, no. 2926.
Issue 20th April 1365.
This coin shows many minor differences compared to the last (no. 302).



- 304 Gros tournois. A: Inner circle + KAROLVS ∞ REX around cross + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : DEI : IHV : XPI, R: Châtel tournois under crown TVRONVS * CIVIS within border of 12 arches enclosing lis. D: 362 A, L: 372a. 2.425 gr. Well struck very fine specimen with attractive tone 200,--
Spink - Zürich, Auction 2 (1986), no. 363.
The T of TVRONVS has a singular form.
2nd issue 3rd August 1369.



305

305 Blanc au K. A: K under crown and between lis DEI ◊ GRACIA within border of 12 arches enclosing lis, R: Inner circle ☙ FRANCORV ◊ REX around cross, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : DEI : IhV : XPI. D: 363, L: 373. 2.252 gr. Dark patina, very fine

75,--

Vinchon - Paris 1986.

This is the first Blanc.

Issue 20th April 1365.

CHARLES VI (1380-1422)

When Charles VI succeeded his father, he wasn't of age. This provoked the powerful in the country to establish themselves in a forceful manner: Louis, duke of Anjou, Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, Louis of Bourbon. Jean de Berry boldly decided to pillage the Languedoc. The first three formed the genuine authority in France. They each used this influence to manage personal, mainly expansion-driven interests.

When, in 1388, Charles VI effectively took over, matters took a turn for the better, especially as he surrounded himself with the former confidants of his father. His reign, however, never grew strong, Charles being a thriftless sovereign, who was considered to be at the mercy of his surroundings. In 1392, the first signs of madness showed in the king. A period of regency began.

A long-lasting feud ignited between Philip the Bold and Louis of Orleans. Raiding bands, employed in the service of the rivalling Armagnacs and Burgundians, roamed the country. In the end, the Armagnacs (especially in Paris) emerged victorious, only to find themselves having to fight the rekindled Hundred Years' War against the English.

The English landed at Harfleur and conquered the French at Azincourt (1415). This victory awarded the English a bond with the Burgundian Duke John the Fearless and the German Emperor Sigismund. John the Fearless negotiated with the English as well as with the dauphin, a double play that cost him his life on September 10th of 1419. His successor, Philip the Good, joined the English. In 1420, with the Treaty of Troyes, Charles VI wedded his daughter to England's king Henry V, who had succeeded Charles VI after his demise. The dauphin escaped across the Loire, the House of Valois seemed at its end.

The land was now (1417) torn in two parts. Henry V, Charles VI, the dukes of Burgundy and the dauphin (the latter Charles VII) all struck coin. See Lafaurie's map on p. 71.

"En septembre 1389 fut créé le système de contrôle par le point, que nous appelons secret, placé sous une lettre que de' signait pour chaque atelier un numéro d'ordre compté à partir du commencement des légendes, ou, plus rarement, d'une des légendes. Ce point manque le plus souvent sur la monnaie noire" (Lafaurie).



306

306 Écu à la Couronne. A: Crowned shield of France + KAROLVS ◊ DEI ◊ GRACIA ◊ FRANCORVM ◊ REX, R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil with a star in the centre and crowns in the angles + XPC ◊ VINCIT ◊ XPC ◊ REGNAT ◊ XPC ◊ INPERAT. D: 369, Fb: 291, L: 378. 3.555 gr. Extremely fine specimen

400,--

Schulman - Amsterdam 1970.

Struck after 1385.

Ecu of the new France: three lis and a crown adorned with lis.



307

- 307 Mouton d'Or en Dauphiné - Romans. A: KRL / REX under lamb on four paws (in the Dauphiné) with cruciform staff and flying banner in quatrefoil + AGN . DEI . QVITOLLIS . PECA . MV'DI . MISE . NOB, R: Floriated cross with one lis in each angle + XPC . VINCIT . XPC . REGNAT . XPC . IMPERAT. D: 372 A, Fb: 290, L: 380a. 2.520 gr. **R** Small edge fault, extremely fine 1.000,--
Spink - London 1977.
Issue 10th May 1417.
Lafaurie: Marcheville collection (963).



308

309

- 308 Blanc dit Guénar - Rouen - 4th emission. A: Shield of France + KAROLVS ° FRANCORV ° REX, R: Cross with one crown in the 1st and 4th angles and one lis in the 2nd and 3rd angles + SIT ° NOME ° DNI ° BENEDICTV. D: 377 C, L: 381c. 3.017 gr. Slightly irregular flan, extremely fine 75,--
Bourgey - Paris 1970.
Struck between 1411 and 1417 (interrupted between 1413-1414 for the production of the Gros au Lis).
Rouen - 4th issue 20th October 1411.
- 309 1/2 Guénar - Paris. A: Shield of France ☿ KAROLVS © FRANCORVM © REX, R: Cross with lis in the 2nd angle and crown in the 3rd angle ☿ SIT © NOME © DNI © BENEDICTV. D: 378 G, L: 382a. 1.574 gr. Small flan defect at the edge, small traces of corrosion, very fine 50,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1973.
7th issue 7th March 1419.
Point secret under the initial.



310

- 310 Gros aux lis - Rouen. A: Three lis + KAROLVS : FRANCORVM : REX, R: Floriated cross + SIT : NOME : DNI : BENEDICTV. D: 381, L: 385. 2.914 gr. **R** Extremely fine and well struck specimen 250,--
Or Gestion Numismatique - Paris 1998.
On the reverse, a pellet under the D in BENEDICTV = Rouen.
Issue 7th June 1413.



311

- 311 Gros aux lis sous une couronne. A: Inner circle + KL : DI' : G' : FRACORV : REX around cross, + SIT : NOMEN : DOMINI : BENEDICTVM, R: Three lis under crown x GROSVS : TVRONVS within border of 12 arches enclosing lis. D: 384, L: 388. 3.725 gr. Very fine to extremely fine 250,--
 Spink - London 1996.
 From NC 1996, no. 2910.
 Issue 3rd november 1413.



312

313

- 312 Gros aux lis sous une couronne. A: Inner circle + KL : DI' : G' : FRACORV : REX around cross, + SIT : NOMEN : DOMINI : BENEDICTVM, R: Three lis under crown GROSVS : TVRONVS within border of 12 arches enclosing one cross and 11 lis. D: 384 A, L: 388. 3.665 gr. Weakly struck, otherwise extremely fine 250,--
 Vinchon - Paris - 1986
 The text on the reverse was used to have this inferior coin resemble the old Gros tournois.
 Cross and 11 lis on specimen: from Rouen or Saint Lô.
 Issue 3rd november 1413.
 The no. 312 and 311 differ in the number of lis, 11 resp. 12.

- 313 Gros dit Florette. A: Three lis under crown, ⚠ KAROLVS : FRANCORV : REX, R: Floriated cross with one crown in the 1st and 4th angles, ⚠ SIT : NOME : DNI : BENEDICTV. D: 387 A, L: 402. 2.645 gr. Very fine + 100,--
 Vinchon - Paris 1972.
 2nd issue 21st October 1417.



314

- 314 Denier tournois. A: Two lis + KAROLVS o REX, R: Cross + TVRONVS o CIVIS. D: 394 A, L: 393a. 0.569 gr. Dark patina, very fine 50,--
 Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1982.
 With a round O, no atelier pellet visible.
 This coin is exceptionally light and the cross on the reverse is longer than usual.



315

- 315 Double tournois dit "niquet". A: One lis under crown + KAROLVS : FRACORV : REX ., R: Cross + DVPLEX : TVRONS : FRACIE. D: 401, L: 417. 2.164 gr. Extremely fine

75,--

Vinchon - Paris 1972.

Issue 11th August 1421.

Niquet considers quite a few interpretations. "1. une corruption de nigellum (noir), 2. une monnaie de rien, 3. le nom d'un maître de la monnaie appelé Nicolas (il est inconnue), 4. de petit nom donné directement à la pièce, ce qui est le plus vraisemblable" (Lafaurie).

Henry V initially strove to subdue France, but died as soon as 1422, upon which Charles VI entered. In 1422, Henry VI of England (underage, his guardian was the duke of Bedford) was proclaimed king of France (which in fact was the territory north of the Loire). In the same year, dauphin Charles, as Charles VII, was proclaimed king of France as well, his territories being all south of the Loire (his capital is Bourges). There is a lot of resistance, provoked among other things by the high taxes, that, because of the war, mainly find their way to the English barons.

The region of Champagne, northern as it was, clearly supported Charles. In 1429, Joan of Arc rose, rekindling French spirit and she drove back the English. King Charles VII, however, withheld necessary political and military support. This led to her capture by the Burgundians, who extradited her to the English. She was tried and found guilty by a Beauvais court and burnt at the stake (30 May 1431).

Nevertheless, Joan of Arc's actions brought about a turn to things. The English were driven from the whole of France and eventually merely held Calais and Normandy's Channel Islands. Peace was not signed. The Hundred Years' War (1453) had come to its end, leaving both nations torn by war and severely unhinged, but evoked a national consciousness on either side of the Channel, especially in France, where Joan of Arc had made a lasting mark on French history.

Finances were all but exhausted and Charles VII responded by abundantly levying taxes under his own authority. France accepted this transition to autocracy, be it reluctantly.

Many a nobleman had prospered in wartime: the dukes of Burgundy, Brittany, Anjou, Bourbon and Berry, the counts of Foix and Armagnac. All nobles were fought by Charles, but particularly Philips the Good of Burgundy, *primus inter pares*, provided the king with unceasing trouble.

Comparably trialling were the intrigues by the dauphin Louis, who could barely wait to seize power himself. Charles drove him from his Dauphiné, the dauphin fleeing to Philips the Good, who helped him getting established in Brabant. From there he kept on machinating, siding with the Yorkists, while his father supported the Lancasters.

HENRI V (1415-1422)

Henry V was king of England and duke of Normandy. In 1417, he struck guénars in Caen. Later, mints were established in Rouen (1419) and St. Lô (1420) as well.



316

- 316 Niquet ou léopard - Rouen. A: Crowned leopard under lis + H : REX : ANGL : HERES : FRANC, R: Cross with H in the centre and one trefoil in each angle + SIT : NOME : DNI : BENEDICTV. D: 441, L: 445. 2.134 gr. R Very fine to extremely fine

150,--

Vinchon - Paris 1986.

The H in the heart on the reverse indicates Rouen, as does the trefoil. Moreover, there is a pellet under first letter on ob- and reverse

The L of ANGL rather resembles an R.

Issue 30th November 1421.

HENRI VI (1422-1453)

Henry VI was appointed by Charles VI as his heir. Not only did he rule Normandy, but entire North France. Coinage under him was aligned entirely with the French monetary system, just as it was under his father.



317



318



- 317 Salut d'or - St. Lô. A: Two shields (l. France and r. France-England), under the archangel Gabriel and Maria, AVE between and sunray above them ☙ HENRICVS : DEI : GRA : FRA'CORV : Z : AGLIE : REX, R: Latin cross in multilobe between lis and leopard over the letter H ☙ XPC * VINCIT * XPC * REGNAT * XPC * IMPERAT. D: 443 A, Fb: 301, L: 447a. 3.465 gr. Extremely fine specimen 1.250,--
Schulman - Amsterdam 1972.
cf. Elias: 271.
Atelier: St. Lô = lis - 2nd type.
Issue 6th September 1423.
Found during dredging in the Rhine delta near Rotterdam.

- 318 Salut d'or - Rouen. A: Two shields (l. France and r. France-England), under an angel and Maria, AVE between and sunray above them ☙ HENRICVS : DEI : GRA : FRACORV : Z : AGLIE : REX, R: Latin cross in multilobe between lis and leopard over the letter H ☙ XPC * VINCIT * XPC * REGNAT * XPC * IMPERAT. D: 443 A, Fb: 301, L: 447a. 3.291gr. Small scratches on the surface, very fine + 750,--
Verschoor - Strijen 2001.
From find Brouwershaven, found in September 2000 (after one single coin was found at the same site in September 1998).
See also Elias: 271b (Annulet under the last letter in the text, on ob- and reverse. Is private mintmark of Etienne Marcel. Struck under order of 18 March 1433).
Atelier: Rouen = one small lion - 2nd type
Article by Verschoor, D.: Coin find Brouwershaven 2000, in: Kroniek of het land of de Zeemeermin (Schouwen-Duiveland), 2001, p. 5. This coin is locally registered under no. 17.



319



- 319 Angelot - St. Lô. A: Archangel Gabriel over the shields of France l. and France-England r. ☙ HENRICVS : FRANCORV : ET : ANGLIE : REX, R: Latin cross between lis and leopard ☙ XPC : VINCIT : XPC : REGNAT : XPC : IMPERAT. D: 444, Fb: 300, L: 448. 2.267 gr. Extremely rare, well struck very fine specimen 4.000,--
Spink - London 1993.
Ex: Schneider collection - Antwerpen (duplicate).
From NC 1993, no. 6116.
Struck 24th May 1427.
The angelot is 2/3 of the Salut d'Or. Only struck by four mints.



- 320 Blanc aux ecus - Rouen. A: HERICVS over the shields of France and France-England ✠ FRANCORVM : ET : ANGLIE : REX, R: Latin cross between lis and leopard over HERICVS ✠ SIT : NOMEN : DNI : BENEDICTV. D: 445, L: 449. 3.207 gr.
 Spink - London 1976. A little weakly struck, otherwise extremely fine 125,--
 Issue 23rd November 1422.

CHARLES VII (1422-1461)

1st period 1422-1436

In this period, minting was exclusively done in the south of France and was of poor quality.



- 321 Royal d'or - La Rochelle. A: King with sceptre and Hand of Justice standing between lis + KAROLVS : DEI : GR CIA : FRANCOVREX, R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil with one crown in each angle + XPC : VINCIT : XPC : REGNAT : XPC : INPERAT. D: 455, Fb: 303, L: 459. 3.728 gr.
 Spink - London 1990. Very fine 1.000,--
 1st issue 9th October 1429.
 La Rochelle - 9de letter.
 1st period 1422-1436.
 Normally this type would display two scepters, at an angle. In this case, however, the one scepter is clearly held in the right hand and the Hand of Justice is the left hand, both upright.



- 322 Blanc aux lis accotés - Chinon. A: Three lis under crown + KAROLVS : FRANCO : REX C, R: Cross with one crown in the 1st and 4th angles and one lis in the 2nd and 3rd angles + SIT : NOME : DNI : BENEDICTV : C. D: 470, L: 467. 3.020 gr.
 Elsen - Brussel 1997. Nice patina, very fine + 150,--
 From list 195, no. 152.
 Issue 9th October 1429.
 Lafaurie refers to Châlons and Troyes, but Duplessy attributes this coin to Chinon.

2nd period 1436-1461

In this 2nd period there was minting through all of France and the monetary system strongly improved.



323

- 323 Ecu d'or à la couronne ou ecu neuf - Tournai. A: Crowned shield of France between two crowned lis ☞ KAROLVS : DEI : GRA : FRANCORVM : REX, R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil with one crown in each angle ☞ XPC * VINCIT * XPC * REGNAT * XPC * IMPERAT. D: 511 A, Fb: 307, L: 510a. 3.363 gr. Very fine + 400,--
Argenor - Paris, Auction 25-4 (2002), no. 261.
Ecu d'or à la couronne 3rd type, 2nd issue 12th August 1445, Tournai (160).



324

- 324 Gros de Roi - Lyon. A: Three lis under crown + KAROLVS * DEI * GRA * FRANCORVM * REX ☞, R: Floriated cross + SIT * NOMEN * DOMINI * BENEDICTVM ☞. D: 518 A, L: 513a. 3.410 gr. Nice patina, almost extremely fine 150,--
Spink - London 1986.
The sign of Lyon is a trefoil.
2nd issue 16th June 1455.



325

- 325 Blanc à la Couronne - Poitiers - 1st emission. A: Shield of France in trefoil surrounded by three crowns + KAROLVS : FRANCORVM : REX, R: Cross in quatrefoil with one crown in the 1st and 4th angles and lis in the 2nd and 3rd angle ☞ SIT : NOMEN : DNI : BENEDICTV. D: 519, L: 514. 2.879 gr. Very fine 50,--
Dombrowski - Münster 1982.

LOUIS XI (1461-1483)

Louis XI's disinclination towards his father's politics vanished as soon as he assumed office. Again he endeavoured to once and for all annex the remaining duchies and form a united France. This, however, was no simple task, particularly in the case of Burgundy. When Charles the Bold in 1477 was killed at Nancy, Louis seized the opportunity and conquered Burgundy. Only after reaching the Peace of Atrecht in 1482, will Maximilian of Austria definitively cede Burgundy to France. Now France was united, but for Brittany and Bourbon.



326

- 326 Blanc à la Couronne - Toulouse. A: Shield of France in trefoil surrounded by three crowns + LVDOVICVS ♀ FRANCOM * REX *, R: Cross in quatrefoil with one crown in the 1st and 4th angles and lis in the 2nd and 3rd angles + SIT ♀ NOMEN * DNI * BENEDICTVM *. D: 550, L: 534. 2.229 gr.

Extraordinary well struck up, almost extremely fine

125,--

Shop in Straatsburg - 1975.

1st issue 31st December 1461.

Ring under the 5th letter of the legend = Toulouse.



327

- 327 Obole tournois. A: Crown + LVDOVICVS unidentified token REX, R: Long cross dividing legend . OBO / LVS / ❧ CI / VIS. D: 565, L: 549a. 1.259 gr.

Almost very fine

20,--

Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1982.

2nd type 20th November 1467.

CHARLES VIII (1483-1498)

Charles VIII succeeded Louis XI in 1483. He married Anne of Brittany, heiress to Brittany. After his demise, Anne wedded his successor Louis XII (a son of the duke of Orleans: the House of Valois - Angoulême emerges). Brittany was now firmly attached to the French crown.

The one remaining feudality was now that of the Bourbons. Eventually, the House of Bourbon will ascend the throne of France and reign until 1792.

“Nous trouvons sous ce règne une riche floraison d'espèces royales avec des symboles provinciaux, dauphinois, provençaux, enfin bretons depuis la réunion de 1491 et des pièces marseillaises” (Lafaurie).



328

- 328 Ecu d'or au soleil - Angers. A: Shield of France under crown, above sun ♀ KAROLVS : DEI : GRA : FRANCORVM : REX : A :, R: Floriated cross with quatrefoil in the centre ♀ XPS : VINCIT : XPS : REGNAT : XPS : IMPERAT : . D: 575, Fb: 318, L: 554. 3.491 gr.

Almost extremely fine

400,--

Argenor - Paris, Auction 25-4 (2002), no. 302.

1st issue 11th September 1483.



329

- 329 Karolus ou Dizain - St. Lô. A: Great ornamented K under crown and between two lis + KAROLVS : FRANCORVM : REX, R: Cross with one crown at the end of each limb and one lis in each angle + SIT : NOMEN : DNI : BENEDICTV. D: 593, L: 568. 2.627 gr. Very fine 20,--
Münzen Auktion - Essen, Auction 38 (1979), no. 3777.
11th November 1488.



330

331

- 330 Hardi - Bordeaux. A: King facing with sword in circle of pellets KAROL / VS REX ., R: Cross with one crown in the 1st and 4th angles and one lis in the 2nd and 3rd angles \triangleleft SIT \clubsuit NOMEN \clubsuit DOMINI \clubsuit . D: 597, L: 572. 1.338 gr. Well struck and extremely fine specimen 100,--
Hirsch - München, Auction 101 (1976), no. 910.
1st issue 11th September 1483.
Ship = Bordeaux.
"Aucune ordonnance de Charles VIII ne mentionne le Hardi royal. Il est très naturel qu'il ait créé par Louis XI en même temps que le liard" (Lafaurie).
- 331 Liard de Bretagne. A: Dolphin with speckle of ermine below the head KAROLVS : FRANCORVM : REX :, R: Cross with R (= Rennes) in the middle, one crown with speckle of ermine in the 1st and 4th angles and one lis in the 2nd and 3rd angles SIT : NOMEN : DNI : BENEDICTVM :. D: 602, L: 576. 1.111 gr. Very fine 50,--
Müller - Solingen, Auction 36 (1982), no. 1072.
Struck about 1491.

The House of Valois-Angoulême
LOUIS XII (1498-1514)



332

- 332 Ecu d'or au soleil - Lyon. A: Shield of France under crown \ddagger o LVDOVICVS : DEI : GRACIA : FRANCORV : REX \clubsuit , R: Floriated cross with quatrefoil in the centre \ddagger o XPS : VINCIT : XPS : REGNAT : XPS : IMPERAT \clubsuit . D: 647, Fb: 323, L: 592. 3.430 gr. Broad flan, extremely fine 400,--
v.d.Dussen - Maastricht, Auction 15 (1991), no. 1127.
25th April 1498.



333

- 333 Ecu d'or au porc-épic - Lyon. A: Crowned shield of France between two porcupines + LVDOVICVS : DEI : GRACIA : FRANCORVM : REX ♣, R: Cross ending in trident, in the 1st and 4th angles a porcupine and in the 2nd and 3rd angles an L + XPS : VINCIT : XPS : REGNANT : XPS : IMPERAT ♣. D: 655, Fb: 325, L: 598. 3.296 gr. Very fine

500,--

UBS - Zürich, Auction 49 (2000), no. 1931.
19th November 1507.

FRANCE FÉODALE

COUNTY and DUCHY of NORMANDY

In 911, Charles the Simple (898-929) signed the Treaty of St. Clair-sur-Epte with Viking chief Rollo. In return for his subjection and conversion, Rollo received the region to the south of the Seine-delta (Upper Normandy) in fief, which effectively made him the founder of what later would become known as the duchy of Normandy.

In 924 and 933, king Rudolf also ceded Lower Normandy, giving Normandy its present proportions. The actual power of Rollo and that of his son Guillaume Longue-Epée was restricted to Upper Normandy (they were counts of Normandy).

When Guillaume was assassinated in 942, Richard I was not yet of age. Louis IV (whom Guillaume had helped return to France from an English exile) tried to regain control of the country, but he failed. In 987, Normandy became a duchy.

Under Richard II, authority was systematically built up. The marriage of Emma, sister of Richard II, to king Aethelred of England, vastly enhanced renown and the country prospered. When Richard II was killed in the Holy Land with his son Guillaume still underage, things took a turn for the worse.

William the Conqueror (Guillaume) restored ducal power, among other things by cooperating closely with the church. In 1055, he was "king in his own land". In 1063, Maine was shortly acquired. William ascended the English throne in 1066, initiating a long period of dispute and cooperation between the two nations.

At William's death, his eldest son Robert Courtoise became duke of Normandy. His second son succeeded him in England. Following Robert, William's third son was Henry duke of Normandy (and King of England).

In the years to follow, war raged on succession in Normandy and England (see under England). In the end, Henry II joins both countries under one reign (as he did Anjou and Aquitaine). The "Angevin Empire" started.

After Richard Lionheart and John Lackland had been duke of Normandy, in 1204, it went to the French crown.

GUILLAUME LONGUE-EPÉE (927-943)



334

- 334 Denier - Rouen. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + VV(ILE)LMV2, R: Cross with rhomb in the centre and one crescent in each angle + ROTOMACIS. B: 5, D: 7, Legros: 144, PdA: 115. 1.236 gr. RR Weakly struck, very fine specimen

400,--

Vinchon - Paris 1978.

cf. Legros : RRRRR: + ROTOMACS.

Guillaume uses the latin form of his name (the same can be seen with William the Conqueror on the tapisserie de Bayeux).

RICHARD I (943-996)



- 335 Denier - Rouen. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + RICARDVS, R: Temple ROTOMAGVS. B: --, D: --, Legros: 192, PdA: --. 1.144 gr. **R** Extremely fine, attractive and perfect piece 150,--
 Franceschi - Brussel 1973.
 Presumably this piece was in the hoard of Fécamp (Dumas: Fécamp 773 - 2669).
 In text obverse: S in the shape of a curled M.



- 336 Denier - Rouen. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + RICARDVS, R: Monogram + ROTOMAQVS. B: --, D: --, Legros: 209, PdA: --. 1.130 gr. **R** Extremely fine 100,--
 Elsen - Brussel 1981.
 Hoard of Fécamp.
 Dumas (Fécamp hoard, no. 4147 - 6041) attributes this coin, under reserve, to Hugh (942-989), bishop of Rouen.
 Monogram: H adjoined by a T with an O underneath it.

RICHARD II (996-1026)



- 337 Denier - Rouen. A: Cross + RIHARDVS, R: Four triangles with one pellet in the middle, cross between them M / CO / (OO) / OO B: --, D: --, Legros: --, PdA: --. 1.403 gr. **RR** Very fine to extremely fine 300,--
 Münzzentrum - Köln, Auction 46 (1982), no. 2902.
 Doesn't appear in Legros. All types shown are from the Gaillefontaine find: invariably three triangles with a central S.
 The cross on the reverse is totally different from that on the depicted coins.

GUILLAUME le CONQUÉRANT (1035-1087)



- 338 Denier - Rouen. A: o I o under Temple, R: Cross with one token in each angle. B: 13, D: 31 var, Legros: 308, PdA: 168. 0.723 gr. Very fine 50,--
 Vinchon - Paris 1983.

COUNTY of DREUX

The old name for Dreux is Drocae. The histories of Dreux and Nogent in the first half of the 11th century are closely attached.

In 991, Hugh Capet ceded Dreux to Count Odo I of Chartres. When Odo II died in 1014, he left Dreux to Roger, Bishop of Beauvais. After his successor Odalrich, Bishop of Orleans, died in 1025, Robert King of France once again added Dreux to the royal domain.

Between 1108 and 1137, Louis VI granted Dreux communal law (see under Normandy - Rouen). In 1137, Robert, brother of Louis VI, received Dreux as an apanage (introducing the House of Dreux). In 1377, Dreux was absorbed into the royal domain.

In Nogent, a similar development can be observed. In 950, Hugh the Great transferred Nogent to Hugh de Beauvais. After his demise, Nogent came into the possession of Roger, Bishop of Beauvais (perhaps Roger was a brother of Hugh of Beauvais and both were sons of Hugh the Great).

In 1028, king Robert bestowed Nogent on the abbey of Coulomb, near Nogent: this act was also signed by Odalric, his brother Isembart and Hignes Bardoul, Isembart's son. From 1028 to 1055, interrupted from 1044 to 1048, Hugh Bardoul emerged in Dreux as well as in Nogent.

ROGER (1014-1022)



- 339 Denier. A: Church with cross RO(GERIVS EP)TS, R: Cross + DRVCAS CVTS. B: --, D: 419, Legros: 107, PdA: --. 1.103 gr. RR Minor traces of verdigris, very fine specimen 150,--
Platt - Paris 1985.
B: 1 is not Dreux but Nogent.
Legros: RRRR.

HUGH BARDOUL (1028-1055)

- 340 Denier. A: Church with cross HVG x C- x MITI, R: Cross + DRVCAS CASTA. B: 2, D: 420, Legros: 112, PdA: 89. 1.285 gr. Very fine 100,--
Bred - Paris 1976.
Legros: R.

SEIGNIORY of NOGENT

ODOLRIC (1022-1028)



- 341 Denier. A: Church with cross IOENCIVS EPIS, R: Cross + SVMSNS(CV)M. B: --, D: --, Legros: 134, PdA: --. 1.140 gr. A little weakly struck, very fine piece 100,--
Platt - Paris 1985.
In Legros described as unique (Trouville de Verneuil), however not the same.
Odalric, bishop of Orleans together with Isembard de Broys.
Reverse: double S (last) and inverted C.

HUGH BARDOUL (1028-1055)

- 342 Denier. A: Church with cross HVGO - O . ITI, R: Cross M O I Z V O H V O (S). B: 3, D: 426, Legros: 135, PdA: --. 1.171 gr. R A little weakly struck with small scratches, otherwise extremely fine 200,--
Platt - Paris 1985.
Legros : RRRR.
Legros gives a somewhat different text : + HUGOC-OMI.



DUCHY of BRITTANY

The part of Gaul named Armorica would later become the duchy of Brittany. In the 3rd century, a lot of Celts from Ireland came to Brittany and in the 5th century the Anglosaxons entered. The region's name derives from their land of origin Britannia (as Gregory of Tours mentions). Originally, its people consisted of three groups: Coriosolites, Ossismi and Veneti. From 799 to 831, the family of the Widons is traceable, under them one Lambert. Neither Pippin the Short, nor Charlemagne, nor Louis the Pious saw chance to subject Brittany permanently. The Wittons met their end during the Viking raids. The last of them, Alain Barbetorti, was exiled in England under king Athelstan. An interregnum of 33 years followed.

In 936, Alan was restored to duke of Brittany with the aid of Athelstan, Guillaume Longue Epée and Hugh the Great. After Alan's death, dispute arose among the counts of Rennes and Nantes (in which the counts of Anjou and Blois played an important part). Another interim followed, lasting 20 years. Finally, Conan I, grandson of the count of Rennes, Berengar came to power. With the demise of Conan II (1040-1066) the House Rennes became extinct.

Alan III, apart from his son Conan II, had a daughter Havoise. She wedded Hoël, son of the count of Cornouaille, which introduced the House Cornouaille, governing from Nantes. Upon the death of their grandson Conan III 1148, a feud started between his son Hoël (Nantes) and his daughter Bertha (Rennes). The dispute was settled by the English King Henry II, bringing Brittany under the influence of the Plantagenets. In spite of the language gap between Haute-Brittany (French) and Basse-Brittany (Breton), unity was preserved.

After Arthur I, great-grandson to Bertha, was murdered in 1203 (John Lackland was presumably the driving force behind the conspiracy), his father, Guido of Thouars, took over until 1206. Then Philippe Auguste conquered Brittany (until 1213), to be followed by Pierre Mauclerc, husband of Alice the daughter of Guido: a new house rose to power. Brittany prospered immensely under it. The last duke was John III (1312-1341), after whose death a devastating succession war broke out. Two parties (Guido from the first marriage of Arthur II and John IV from his second marriage) struggled for power: one part was controlled by Blois-Penthièvre (French appendage, supported by Charles of Blois, married to Guido's daughter) and another part controlled by Montfort (the second wife of Arthur II was heiress of Montfort), backed by the English King Edward III. The battle of Auray in 1364, decided the dispute in favour of the Montfort party (Charles of Blois was killed in this battle). However, conflicts would last until 1379.

From 1379 to 1486 under Montfort reign, Brittany experienced a period of bloom. Towards the end of this reign, a series of conflicts started showing a growingly fervid side. When in 1488, Anne Duchess of Brittany came to power, her prospects were gloomy. Her successive claim and her title were being challenged by the Breton barons. By consecutively marrying the French kings Charles VIII and Louis XII she secured her ducal rights (as a consequence of the second marriage), but had to consent to Brittany being merged with France (1532, Edict of Nantes).

The House of Rennes

ALAIN III (1008-1040)



343



344



- 343 Denier - Rennes. A: Monogram: A between two pellets over C and O with stripe through it and one pellet between them + BR(IT)TONN(VIIS), R: Cross with a hoof iron in the 2nd and 3rd angles + REDONIS (CI)VIT. B: --, D: --, PdA: 205. 1.252 gr. Very fine 50,--
Toderi - Florence 1977.

CONAN II (1057-1066)

Alan only left one son, Conan II, a mere infant. Guardian was Eudon de Penthièvre, who acted as ruler of Brittany.

- 344 Denier - Rennes. A: Degenerated carolingian monogram + CONANVS OM, R: Cross + REDONIS CTAS. B: 20, D: 53, PdA: 217. 1.062 gr. Very fine specimen 50,--
Müller - Solingen, Auction 64 (1990), no. 775.

Falsely mentioned in the literature on the obverse: blundered monogram of Herbert, count of Le Mans. It is a degenerated carolingian temple. To the left an S, to the right a hoof iron with a small triangle underneath.

CONAN III (1112-1148)



- 345 Denier - Rennes. A: I V S in the field + CONANVS, R: Cross + REDONIS. B: 23, D: 57, PdA: 268. 0.882 gr. Very fine 50,--
Hollandia - Kamperveen 1983.

The House of Cornouaille JEAN I le ROUX (1237-1286)



- 346 Denier - Dreux. A: Cross + IOHANNES DVX, R: Shield of Dreux + B / RIT / ANI / E. B: 36; D: 73, PdA: 363. 1.022 gr. Minor traces of encrustation, very fine 50,--
Münzzentrum - Köln 1991.
Coat of arms reverse: écu échiqueté de Dreux au franc canton d'hermines.
Coat of arms of Brittany: l'hermine.
- 347 Obole - Dreux. A: Cross + IOhANNES DUX, R: Shield of Dreux + B / RIT / ANI / E. B: 38, D: 74, PdA: 364. 0.496 gr. A little weakly struck, otherwise very fine to extremely fine 100,--
Vinchon - Paris 1978.
Coat of arms: écu échiqueté de Dreux au franc cantons d'hermines.
Checked coat of arms of Dreux.

The House of Montfort JEAN V de MONTFORT (1399-1442)



- 348 Blanc aux neuf mouchetures - Rennes. A: Nine speckles of ermine + IOhANNES : BRITONV DVX . R, R: Cross + SIT + NOME * DNI * BENEDICTV. B: 112, D: 270, PdA: 1086. 3.047 gr. Small traces of verdigris, very finy 50,--
Num. Kring - Rotterdam 1970.
Bought from v. d. Wiel.
- 349 Blanc à la Targe - Dinan. A: Coat of arms with eight speckles of ermine + IOhANNES : BRITONV : DVX . D, R: Cross + SIT : NOME DNI : BENEDICTV. B: 115, D: 293, PdA: 950. 2.457 gr. Very fine 50,--
Bred - Paris 1977.
2nd period 1436 to 1442.

FRANCOIS I (1442-1450)



350

- 350 Blanc à la Targe - Rennes. A: Coat of arms with eight speckles of ermine * FRANCISCVS ꝑ BRITONV ꝑ DVX R, R: Cross + SIT o NOME ꝑ DNI ꝑ BENEDICTV. B: 125, D: 321, PdA: 1208. 2.387 gr.
Well struck up specimen, very fine
Vecchi - London, Auction 17 (1999), no. 1539.

75,--

FRANCOIS II (1458-1488)



351

- 351 Écu d'or au chevalier - Rennes. A: Mounted men with sword and shield of Brittany + * FRANCISCVS * DEI * GRACIA * BRITONV * DVX * R *, R: Floriated cross with ermine in quatrefoil + * DEVS * IN * ADIVTORIVM * MEVM * IN * TANDE * B *. B: 132, D: 334, Fb: 96, PdA: 1315. 3.360 gr.
Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 35 (1997), no. 975.
The last letter on the obverse is barely legible, presumably an R (of Rennes), on the reverse the last letter would also have to be an R, it looks like a B, however.

1.500,--



352

353

- 352 Blanc à la Targe - Nantes. A: Coat of arms with eight speckles of ermine + : † : FRANCISCVS : BRITONV : DVX : N :, R: Cross + : Δ : SIT : NOMEN : DNI : BENEDICTVM : T. B: 134, D: 341, PdA: 1292. 2.550 gr.
Bred - Paris 1977.

Almost extremely fine

75,--

- 353 Blanc à la Targe - Nantes. A: Coat of arms with eight speckles of ermine + : FRANCISCVS : BRITONV : DVX : N :, R: Cross + : SIT : NOME : DNI : BENEDICTVM :. B: 134, D: 341, PdA: 1285. 3.236 gr.
Bonvallet - Paris 1983.
The difference with the previous no. is that the moucheture at the beginning of the legend is missing.

Broad flan, very fine specimen

50,--



354

- 354 Gros à l'écu - Nantes. A: Coat of arms with six speckles of ermine + : FRANCISCVS : BRITONVM : DVX : N : * : ; R: Floriated cross with N in the centre + : SIT : NOMEN : DNI : BENEDICTVM : . B: 135, D: 336, PdA: 1261. 2.591 gr. Weakly struck, small double struck, otherwise extremely fine 50,--
Bred - Paris 1977.



355

- 355 Gros à l'écu - Rennes. A: Coat of arms with six speckles of ermine and two pellets in the centre + FRRANCICS † BRITONVM † DVX † R † † †, R: Floriated cross with R in the centre + SIT : NOMEN : DNI : BENEDICTVM. B: 136, D: 337 A, PdA: 1322. 3.369 gr. Minor traces of encrustation, very fine 75,--
Vecchi - London, Auction 17 (1999), no. 1540.

COUNTY of PENTHIÈVRE

When Geoffroy I Duke of Brittany died in office in 1008, the history of Penthievre commences.

His eldest son Alan IV received Brittany. The second son, Eudes, inherited the dioceses Tréquier, Saint-Brieuc, Saint-Malo and Dol. Eudes' son, Etienne I (1093-1136) was practically the only one that struck coin, which he did in Guingamp. Later, this type would be imitated, usually in a barely legible form. Under Pierre Mauclerc (see under Brittany) the mint was annexed once more by Brittany.

ETIENNE I (1093-1138)



356

- 356 Denier (immobilized type) - Guingamp. A: Cross with one star in the 1st and 2nd angles + STEPHAN COM, R: Head r. with star below + GVINAMP. B: 145, D: 364, PdA: 1444. 1.066 gr. Very fine 25,--
Elsen - Brussel 1981.
It is peculiar that, with the French name being Etienne, the coins show the German version Stephan.



COUNTY of ANJOU

Originally the Civitas Iuliomagus. Round 770, it was part of the Breton Mark (they were related to the family Wido-Warnachar-Lambert). In 850, the Vikings raided these lands. A new mark emerged (Robert the Brave), incorporating, among other territories, Touraine.

A time followed in which the county now was an apanage to the dauphin and then a part of the royal domain.

Thus in 1246, Charles, a Capetian and brother to Louis IX the Saint, received Grand-Anjou as apanage. From 1290 to 1297, Charles of Valois owned it as apanage. See further under "The House Anjou".

CHARLES III of VALOIS (1290-1325)



- 357 Obole - Angers. A: Cross with one lis in the 2nd angle + KAROLVS COMES, R: Key between two lis + ANDEGAVENSIS. B: 166, D: 391, Legros: 747, PdA: 1534. 0.546 gr. Very fine 50,--
- Or Gestion - Paris 2000.
From list 30, no. 671.
cf. Legros: RR.
In Boudeau under Charles II (1285-1290).

COUNTY of MAINE

The county Maine and the diocese of Le Mans sprang from the pagus Cenomanensis.

The county began with Roger in the late 9th century. The counts of Maine had the greatest difficulties to maintain their autonomy with respect to the three surrounding lands: Normandy, Anjou and Blois. Even the most influential counts of Maine, Herbert Eveille-Chien and Hugh IV felt threatened constantly. In 1063, Normandy occupied the city of Le Mans, but in 1110 the heiress to Maine, Ermengard, married count Fulk V of Anjou and Maine merged into Anjou and came under the House Plantagenet. In 1206, Philip II occupied as well Maine as Anjou, but left Le Mans to the widow of Richard the Lionhearted, Berenguela, as a thirds. Anjou and Maine fell to the royal domain. In 1246, both lands went as apanages to Charles, brother of Louis the Saint.

The counts of Anjou coined in Le Mans up to Charles III of Valois.

HERBERT I EVEILLE-CHIEN (1015-1035)



- 358 Denier - Le Mans. A: Erbertus monogram + COMES CEN(OM)ANNIS, R: Cross with one pellet in the 1st and 2nd, alpha and omega in the 3rd and 4th angles + SIGNVM DE(I VI)VI. B: 170, D: 397, Legros: 568, PdA: 1548. 1.288 gr. A little weakly struck, Very fine 50,--
- Schulman - Amsterdam 1978.
This type was struck for a long time as "type immobilisé".

CHARLES III (1290-1317)



359

- 359 Denier - Le Mans. A: Lis under crown + MONETA : CENOM, R: Cross with one trefoil in the 1st and 4th angles and one lis in the 2nd and 3rd angles + SIGNUM : DEI : VIVI. B: 179, D: 406, Legros: 631, PdA: 1611. 0.964 gr. Minor edge fault, very fine

30,--

Hollandia - Kamperveen 1986.

Legros: RR.

In Duplessy and Poey d'Avant there are rings in the 1st and 4th angles, but here it is clearly a trefoil.

TOURAINE

Touraine essentially was the Civitas Turonum. The church of Tours (founded in the 4th century) was especially renowned for its works by St. Martin (371-397). Pilgrimages to St. Martin led to the founding of many churches and abbeys. Famous persons from Tours: Gregory of Tours (573-594) and Alcuin (730-840). Touraine was a blooming region and a clerical base for Brittany and Aquitaine. Between 853 and 903 largely destroyed by Vikings.

The Capetians left Touraine to vassals: the counts of Anjou and Blois. Both had vast possessions, Anjou owning: Amboise, Loches and Montrichard, and Blois: Tours, Montsoreau, Chinon and Saumur. In the beginning of the 11th century, the Anjous emerged victorious from the lasting feud. Tours became the bulwark of the Angevin realm.

In 1188, Philip II Auguste attempted to reconquer Touraine, but it wasn't until 1205 that it was rejoined with the royal domain. The prosperity of this region is mirrored in its coinage.

In 1322, it became an apanage to John II and in 1429 it would serve as a base for Joan of Arc's liberation of Orleans.

ANONYMOUS



360

- 360 Denier - Tours-Chinon. A: Head r. TVRON, R: Cross + CIIIIIOIICASTRIIO. B: 187, D: 415, Legros: 769, PdA: 1669. 1.101 gr. RR Magnificent portrait, extremely fine

1.500,--

Vinchon - Paris 1978.

This coin is not exactly the same mentioned in the literature but similar to it, especially the reverse. Legros: RRRRR. In text on reverse inverted C.

"Le type à la tête créé par les abbés de Saint-Martin eut une postérité indéniable; il fut repris à Chinon. Les pièces de Chinon portent, au droit, soit une titulature royale, soit une référence à Tours sous la forme TVRON.

Les pièces à la tête et à la mention TVRON furent frappées pendant la période 920-936. Il faudrait admettre que Thibaut le Vieux, vicomte de Tours de 905/908 à 940 environ, monnaya à un type autonome copiant celui de Saint-Martin. Thibaut possédait Chinon en fief et il serait étonnant que son seigneur Hugh the Great lui permit de monnayer au nom de Tours qui lui appartenait et à un type essentiellement différent de ceux en usage dans les domain robertienne A Chinon, dès Louis IV (936-954), l'inscription TVRON fut remplacé par la légende LVDOVICVS REX. Or, nous savons que Thibaut était alors sous la tutelle d'Hugh the Great et qu'il accepta le rôle de geôlier lorsque le Robertien lui confia, en 945, la garde du roi Louis IV losr de son captivité" (cf. Dumas en Legros).

For the type with the inscription LVDIVICVS REX see no. 225 under Carolingians.

ANONYMOUS (second half 11th century)



361

- 361 Denier - St. Martin de Tours. A: Long Châtel tournois + SCS MoARTINVS, R: Cross + TVRONVS CIVI. B: 184, D: 410 var, Legros: 787, PdA: 1634. 1.161 gr. Very fine
 Vinchon - Paris 1983.
 Legros: RR.

75,--

ANONYMOUS (12th century)

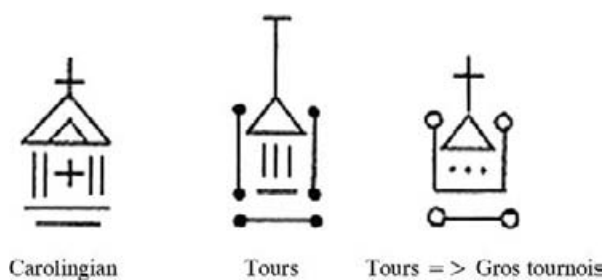


362

- 362 Denier - St. Martin de Tours A: Châtel tournois SCS MARTINVS, R: Cross + TVRONVS CIVI. B: 185, D: 412, Legros: 796, PdA: 1637. 1.080 gr. Very fine
 Holleman - Enschede 1985.

25,--

The châtel tournois has developed as follows from the carolingian temple:



The House of Blois - Champagne (Thibaudiens)

Besides the House of Anjou, in central France the House of Blois-Champagne was the most powerful. The House of Blois-Champagne is an early example of dynastical territorial politics (the entire territory was made up of many small territories, among which seigneuries, sometimes far apart, ruled by the faithful vassals). The House governed a parted land that stretched from Brittany to Lorraine. The land encircled the royal domain. Moreover, the counts of Blois-Champagne, through marriage or other alliances, have often intervened in domestic or foreign affairs.

In the 10th century Robert, King of France, gave his vassal Thibaut le Vieux, who had been viscount of Tours since 908, the county Blois. In 940, his son Thibaut le Tricheur succeeded him in both these offices. He married the widow of Guillaume of Normandy, Ledgard, who was heiress to Champagne.

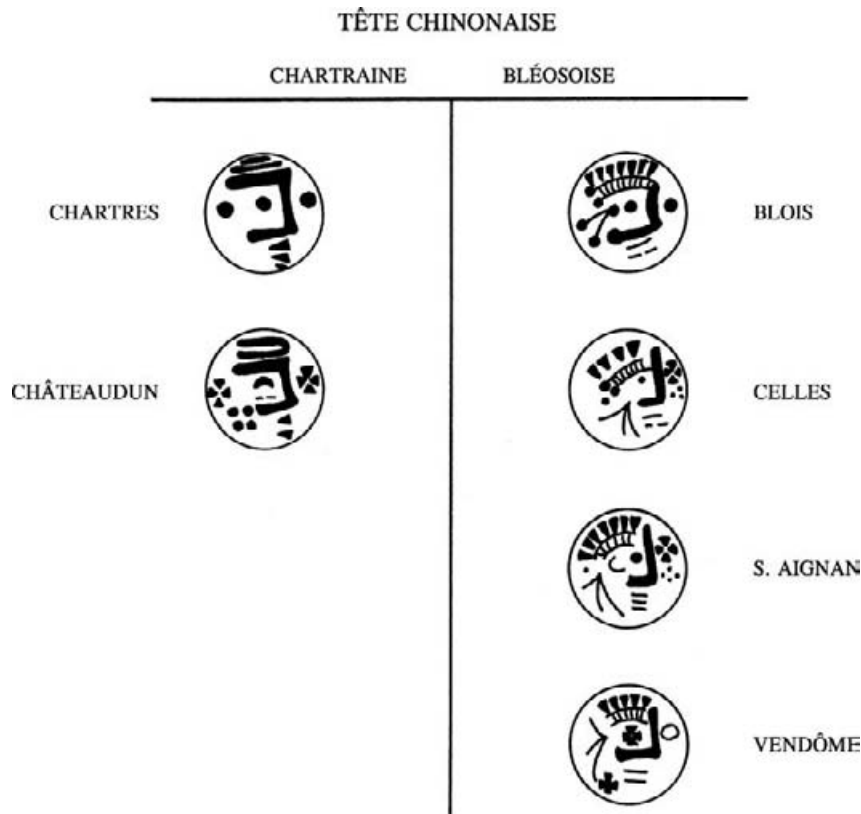
In the beginning, territorial expansion was mainly undertaken towards the west (in which some land is lost), later (after 1152) expansion turned to the east.

Odo II (1004-1037), owing to the Champagne cloth fairs, was one of the wealthiest sovereigns of France. In the time around 1100, Chartres grew to be the political and cultural centre. In 1044, Thibaut IV lost Touraine to the House Anjou. With Thibaut VI (1205-1218) the direct lineage of the House Blois-Champagne became extinct. His death brought an end to the influence of the counts of Blois-Champagne. The definitive end came when John I (1241-1279) sold the county Chartres to king Philip IV, upon which Gauchier de Châtillon (1307-1344) sold the county Blois to Louis d'Orleans (see also Lorraine).

Because this territorial conglomerate was ruled by one House, in numerous territories coins are to be found, that, though struck in a seigneurial system, were issued by the counts of Blois-Champagne.

The coins have certain characteristics. With the Tours coins modelling a type developed, that became known as "type chinonaise". Legros discerns two subcategories: the type Chartraine and the type Bléosoise. The first features a chaste stylised head, the upper part of the head existing of single connected lines. The second subcategory is distinguished by a more human head (particularly in St. Aignan), that seems to be crowned. They have been struck throughout the territories starting 960 to 1330, after which a transition to the model of the Tours denier occurs.

The development of the tête chinonaise can be schematically elucidated as follows:





COUNTY of CHARTRES



EUDES I - THIBAUT II (975-1004)

- 363 Denier. A: Tête chinonaise r. with three pellets, R: Cross + CAR(TIS CIVI)TAS. B: 204, D: 431, Legros: 887, PdA: 1731. 1.368 gr. Nice portrait, very fine 30,--
Borg - Helsinki 1975.
Father Odo I and son Thibaut II both were counts of Blois.
With Duplessy, they are characterised as being anonymous (Xème siècle et première moitié du Xième).

EUDES II (1004-1037)

- 364 Obole. A: Tête chinonaise r. with three pellets, R: Cross + CARTIS CIVITAS. B: 205, D: 433, Legros: 889, PdA: 1736. 0.700 gr. Very fine 30,--
Toderi - Florence 1980.
Odo II from 1004 on was count of Blois and from 1019 on also count of Champagne.
Duplessy characterises it as anonymous (vers 1030-1150).

CHÂTEAUDUN



EUDES II (996-1037)

- 365 Denier. A: Tête chinonaise with crescent in the centre and between two crosses, R: Cross + DVNIS CASTLLI. B: 238, D: 462, Legros: 1014, PdA: 1826. 1.296 gr. Minor traces of verdigris, very fine 50,--
Bred - Paris 1976.
Legros: RRRRR.
B and PA have a pellet instead of a crescent moon in the head.
Odo II from the House Blois-Champagne.
Duplessy characterises it as anonymous (between 1020-1040).

THIBAUT IV le GRAND (1102-1151)

- 366 Obole. A: Tête chinonaise r. with two pellets under pile, R: Cross + IVNICS : VGTFL. B: 243, D: --, Legros: 1082, PdA: --. 0.645 gr. Very fine 100,--
Argenor - Paris, Auction 23-4-99 (1999), no. 493.
Thibaut IV from the House Blois-Champagne, count of Blois and count of Champagne.
The coin resembles to D: 479, but has a different legend.

THIBAUT V le BON (1152-1191) - LOUIS (1191-1205)

- 367 Denier. A: Tête chinonaise r. between two crescents under omega, R: Cross with one S in the 2nd and 3rd angles + DVNIC : SASTI-. B: 239, D: 483, Legros: 1116, PdA: 1831. 0.961 gr. Very fine 75,--
Argenor - Paris, Auction 23-4-99 (1999), no. 494.
Thibaut IV was count of Blois and from 1125 on also count of Champagne. His brother was Stephen of Blois, later to become king of England.
Duplessy characterises it as anonymous (vers 1180-1200).

COUNTY of BLOIS

THIBAUT III (1037-1090)



- 368 Denier. A: Tête chinonaise r. with one pellet in front of it, R: Cross + BEISIS CASTRO. B: 193, D: 576, Legros: 965, PdA: 1682. 1.180 gr. Very fine to extremely fine 50,--
 Leopard d'Or - Paris 1982.
 Legros: RR.
 Only a reference to Ann. de la Société française de numismatique 1895, p. 147.
 Thibaut III was from 1048 on also count of Champagne.
 Duplessy characterises it as anonymous (vers 1030-1050).

SEIGNIORY of CELLES-sur-CHER

The Lords of Celles were vassals of the Lords of St. Aignan. Solely Robert I has coined based on the Bléosoise type. After that, coins were modelled after the Tours denier.

ROBERT I (1178-1189)



- 369 Denier. A: Tête chinonaise r., cross with four pellets in front of it, R: Cross with one S in the 1st and 4th angles and one pellet in the 2nd and 3rd angles + ROB' DE CELE'. B: 323, D: 611, Legros: 1442, PdA: 2056. 0.855 gr. Very fine + 75,--
 Credit de la Bourse - Paris 1979.
 Legros: RRR.
 The only reference is Ann. de la Société française de numismatique, 1895, p. 564.

SEIGNIORY of St. AIGNAN

The Lords of Donzy were vassals of the counts of Blois (see also the County of Donzy). Coinage basing on the Bléosoise type commenced in the years 1000 to 1025 and ended in 1175. The coins of St. Aignan, every one anonymous, display the most handsome design of the têtes chinonaises and the non-stylised heads. After this period, coins were modelled after the Tours denier.

ANONYMOUS (11th-12th century)



- 370 Denier. A: Tête chinonaise r. with cross and four pellets in front of it, R: Cross with one pellet in the centre and in each angle + SANTIAINAINO. B: 319, D: 607A, Legros: 1459, PdA: 2046 var. 1.017 gr. Extremely fine 150,--
 Vinchon - Paris 1978.
 All references to: Annuaire de la Société française de numismatique 1895, p. 552.
 In reverse text: inverted S, A consisting of three triangles.
 Duplessy characterises it as anonymous (XIème siècle).



371



372



- 371 Denier. A: Tête chinonaise r. with cross and four pellets in front of it, rough drawing, R: Cross with one pellet in the centre and in each angle + SANTIAINAINO. B: 319, D: 607A, Legros: 1461, PdA: 2046 var. 0.970 gr. Very fine to extremely fine 100,--
Platt - Paris 1986.
Legros only refers to the *Annuaire de la Société française de numismatique* 1895, p. 551.
Duplessy characterises it as anonymous (XI^{ème} siècle).
- 372 Denier. A: Tête chinonaise r. with cross and four pellets in front of it, fine drawing, R: Cross with one pellet in the centre and in each angle + SANCTIANIANO. B: 319, D: 607, Legros: 1473, PdA: 2041. 1.259 gr. Small traces of verdigris, very fine to extremely fine 100,--
Leopard d'Or - Paris 1982.
Legros: RRR.
All references are to: *Trésor de Massey-sur-Cher*, concealed around 1160.
Duplessy characterises it as anonymous (XI^{ème} siècle).



373



- 373 Obole. A: Tête chinonaise r. with cross and four pellets in front of it, R: Cross with one pellet in the centre and in each angle + SANCTIANAINO. B: 320, D: 609, Legros: 1486, PdA: --. 0.445 gr. RR Very fine + 200,--
Leopard d'Or - Paris - 1982
Obverse: same drawing as no. 370 with one pellet in each angle of the cross.
Legros: RRR.
All references to *Ann. de la Société française de numismatique* 1895, p. 554.
Duplessy characterises it as anonymous (XII^{ème} siècle).

COUNTY of DONZY

GEOFFROI II et Succ. (1060-1160)



374



- 374 Obole - Gien. A: Cross with alpha and omega in the 3rd and 4th angles + CROSEDVS COS, R: Monogram between alpha and omega + GIEMIS CA. B: 297, D: 604, Legros: 1561, PdA: 1997. 0.538 gr. Very fine + 50,--
Platt - Paris 1979.
The monogram on the reverse is a blundered monogram of Foulques d'Anjou. The coins of Gien, that are all in poor condition, are based on the type of Foulques d'Anjou, but why is unclear. There is no connection and the regions lie far apart.
The castle of Gien is purported to be built by Charlemagne. In the beginning of the 11th century, it belongs to Geoffroi de Sémur, father of Geoffroi I, Lord of Donzy. After him, it is transferred to the barons of Donzy. In 1197, under Henry IV it goes to the French crown. This coin lacks (see all references) the lis between the C and the R of CROSEDVS.
Duplessy attributes this specimen to Geoffrey III (1120-1160).



375

HERVE III of DONZY (1160-1194)

- 375 Denier- Gien. A: Cross with one triangle in the 2nd and 3rd angle (staff with hammerhead?) + COSEDVS COS, R: Monogram + GIEMIS CA. B: 299, D: 605, Legros: 1565, PdA: 1998. 1.005 gr. Almost very fine

Turquat - Montpellier 1985.

The monogram on the reverse once again is a blundered monogram of Foulques d'Anjou. Duplessy attributes it to Geoffrey III (1120-1160).

20,--

SEIGNIORY of VIERZON

In 926, the count of Blois-Chartres, Thibaut le Vieux, possessed the Vierzon castle. Odo I, son of Thibaut le Tricheur gave the seigneurie in fief to the knight Hunbaud le Tortu. His successors served loyally as vassal of the counts of Blois-Champagne. The House Hunbaud became extinct in 1270. The seigneurie fell to Brabant, Jülich and was eventually added to the royal domain after 1500.



376

HERVE I (1144-1192)

- 376 Denier. A: Great flower between to lis, R: Cross + VIRSIONE. B: 313, D: 623, Legros: 1415, PdA: 2028. 0.909 gr. Extremely fine

Leopard d'Or - Paris 1982.

Duplessy characterises it as anonymous (vers 1150-1200).

150,--

COUNTY of SANCERRE

Emerged from the small seigneurie of Châteaugordon, that depended on the archbishop of Bourges. In 1030, Odo II from the House of Blois-Champagne received it through marriage. Thus, Stephen (Etienne) came to inherit the seigneurie. Instead of being named after Châteaugordon, the seigneurie was referred to as "S" (Sancerum). Sancerre became a county. In spite of their comital title, the counts of Sancerre were merely minor vassals of the king. With John III the county ceased to exist in 1398 and fell to the Dauphins d'Auvergne.



377

ETIENNE I (1152-1190)

- 377 Denier. A: Cross with one pellet in the 4th angle + SEPHAN(VS COME), R: Head r. (+ IVLI)VS CESAR. B: --, D: 639, Legros: 1533, PdA: 432. 0.911 gr. Flan crack and hole, very fine

Henzen - Amerongen 1995.

Sancerre shows Julius Caesar on its coins, because Julius Caesar is presumed to have founded Sancerre. Mostly a star is seen behind the head (here it isn't, cf. D: 640), a reference to the comet that appeared at the death of Julius Caesar. In the text on the reverse, the T is missing.

Etienne I = Etienne II de Champagne, count of Blois.

25,--

COUNTY of VENDÔME

Here the counts coined themselves, starting with Bouchard II (958-1012), based on the Blésoise type. During the reign of John III (1207-1218) there was a change to the Tours denier model.

FOULQUES l'POISON (1050-1066)



- 378 Denier. A: Tête chinonaise with cross in and ring in front of it, R: Cross with ring in the 1st and 4th angles + VINDOCINO (C)AT(RO). B: --, D: 540, Legros: 1222, PdA: 1774. 0.912 gr.
 Kricheldorf - Stuttgart 1975. Very fine to extremely fine
 Legros: RRRR with CASTIO instead of CATRO. 50,--
 Duplessy characterises it as anonymous (between 1040-1120).

SEIGNIORY of DEOLS (CHÂTEAUROUX)

The vicus Déols encompasses the region of Déols and Châteauroux and is of celtic origin. In the beginning of the 10th century, Déols belonged to Ebbo Bituricus, a wealthy fidelis of Guillaume le Pieux, duke of Aquitaine and count of Bourges (who founded Cluny in 910). In 917, Ebbo founded a monastery in Déols. Déols became a principality and several minor seigneuries fell under it, among which Issoudun.

The coins of Déols, in the 12th century, dominated the region. There was still some dependence on the counts of Poitiers and the dukes of Aquitaine, but otherwise Déols was fairly autonomous.

In the middle of the 12th century, Rudolph V took on the name of Châteauroux. The House of Chauvigny, that acquired control of Déols through the marriage (1189) of André de Chauvigny to Dénise, heiress of Déols, henceforth called itself the Lords of Châteauroux.

EUDES l'ANCIEN (1012-1037)



- 379 Denier. A: Cross + ODO + DVX, R: Monogram + DOLEOCIVES. B: 269, D: 664, Legros: 1321, PdA: 1922. 1.065 gr. Extremely fine 75,--
 Bonvallet - Paris 1984.
 period (1045-1140)



- 380 Denier. A: Cross : ODO : DVX, R: Pentagram . DOLEOCIVES. B: 272, D: 669, Legros: 1328, PdA: 1929. 1.220 gr. Pleasingly toned and extremely fine specimen 75,--
 Kricheldorf - Stuttgart 1975.
 Legros: R.
 In text reverse: inverted S.
 Duplessy characterises under Odo the Elder.



381

RAOUL VII (1160-1176)

- 381 Denier. A: Cross + RADVLFVS, R: Hexagram with ring in the centre + DEDOLIS. B: 277, D: 679, Legros: 1352, PdA: 1946. 0.960 gr. Very fine to extremely fine
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1979.

100,--

SEIGNIORY of ISSOUDUN

Old Gallo-Roman settlement, that declined under the Merovingians. In 1020, it was seized by the Lord of Déols, Odo the Elder. In 1212, it was merged with Déols, for Guillaume I de Chauvigny married Mahaut, heiress of Issoudun. The coins were now closely attached to those of Déols. In 1240, the seigniori became part of the royal domain.



382

383

period (1044-1092)

- 382 Denier. A: Cross with pellet in the 2nd and 4th angles (+ ODR + XE . T), R: M between stripe and ring (+ DTR . ES + V). B: --, D: 706, Legros: 1398, PdA: 1984. 0.902 gr. Traces of corrosion, very fine
Elsen - Brussel, Auction 60 (1999), no. 1208.

75,--

RAOUL II (1127-1164)

- 383 Denier. A: M between two wedges (crescent?) and ring . RADVLFVS, R: Cross with one ring in the 1st and 3rd angles + XOLIDVN. B: 295, D: 708, Legros: 1403, PdA: 1994. 1.026 gr. Very fine
Elsen - Brussel, Auction 60 (1999), no. 1211.

75,--

ABBAY of SOUVIGNY

Cluniasense abbey in the Bourbonnais. First mentioned in 974. From 998 mentioned as dependent on Cluny. In 1095, Souvigny governed 50 churches and 8 abbeys. Souvigny and Cluny were closely attached. Two abbots of Cluny died in Souvigny, one of them being Maiolus (994), whom we find on the coins. Until 1078, Souvigny fell under the direct prelaty of the Cluny abbots, after which Guido count of Mâcon appeared and Souvigny became an independent priory.

ANONYMOUS



384

- 384 Denier. A: Bust of Saint Maieur facing with crosier SCS . MAIOLVS, R: Cross + SILVINIACO. B: 358, D: --, PdA: 2169. 0.982 gr. Very fine
Bourgey - Paris 1973.

50,--



- 385 Denier. A: Bust of Saint Maieur facing with crozier SCS MAIOLVS, R: Cross + SILVINIACO. B: 359, D: --, PdA: 2170. 0.965 gr. Small traces of corrosion, very fine 50,--
Bourgey - Paris 1988.

MONETARY ALLIANCE with ARCHAMBAUD X, seigneur of BOURBON (1242-1249)

- 386 Denier. A: Bust of Saint Maieur facing with crozier under stripe and two shells SCS MAIOLVS, R: Cross with crescent in the 2nd angle + DESILVINIACO. B: 361, D: 788, PdA: 2181. 0.986 gr. Very fine 50,--
Batavia - den Haag 1984.

SEIGNIORY of BOURBON

The family Bourbon originated from Aimard, the familiaris of Guillaume le Pieux of Aquitaine. Aimard had possessions in Souvigny, that he bestowed upon Cluny in 915, in exchange for permission to build a monastery in Souvigny, of which he became prior himself. The son of Aimard, Aimo, owned the castle Bourbon-Archambault and called himself "Sire of Bourbon".

In 1109 Aimo II was forced to subject to Louis VI and henceforth Bourbon would remain a faithful ally to the French kings. In 1327, it was aggrandised to a duchy.

In the 14th and 15th century, territorial expansion reached its apogee, and Bourbon would maintain its size until the end of the Ancien Régime.

ANONYMOUS (vers 1160-1205)



- 387 Denier. A: I, three pellets over each other and cross under sickle + LODVICVS REX, R: Cross with trefoil in the 1st and 2nd angles + BORBONENS. B: 365, D: 794, PdA: 2195. 0.931 gr. Dark patina, very fine + 50,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1978.

JOHN II (1459-1488)



- 388 Obole de billon - Trévoux. A: Lis under cross-beam (+ IHES .) DVC(BORB)ONI, R: Cross + OBOLVS NS. B: 1051, PdA: 5087. 0.620 gr. Traces of corrosion, very fine 50,--
Platt - Paris 1979.

The reverse should show TREVOSI, but it doesn't.

The C in the text on the obverse is inverted.

The seigneurie Trévoux originally belonged to the principality of Dombes (situated above Lyon). In 1402 Humbert VII sold several seigneuries, among which Trévoux, to the dukes of Bourbon, who thus acquired part of Dombes. John II and his successor Pierre II have coined in Trévoux.



DIOCESE of PUY

Mentioned by Gregory of Tours. The diocese actually having been founded remains uncertain (end of the 4th century?).

Decisive is that the bishop was granted immunity, jurisdiction and right of mint by the West-franconian king Rudolph in 914. The old name "Anis" (of Anicium) disappeared and the new name became "Podium Beatae Mariae", underlining the Marian pilgrimage status of the diocese (Notre-Dame-du-Puy).

The kings had always endorsed the bishops, as they did in their conflict with the viscounts of Polignac. Still, an agreement between the two parties was reached in 1171/73, concerning among other things the right of mint. In the 13th century the bishops succeeded accroaching all power. The city received its own statute in 1344, sincerely curtailing the influence of the bishops.

ANONYMOUS



- 389 Obole. A: Cross with six limbs, R: Cross. B: 376, D: --, PdA: 2229. 0.278 gr. Very fine to extremely fine 30,--
 Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1979.
 Poey d'Avant has a pellet in the 2nd angle of the reverse, which is not visible here.

DIOCESE of CLERMONT

Original name Augustonemetum, in the 3rd century renamed Civitas Arvernorum, until finally, in the 8th century, the name Clermont emerged.

The diocese commenced with Sidonius Apollinaris (+ 486). In the beginning, the bishops were in the centre of power. Later, the viscounts of Clermont appeared, they considered themselves equals to the bishops and they adopted the title "Count of Auvergne".

In 1030, the count ceded his right of mint to the bishop. Conflicts went on between the counts and the bishops, though when Louis VI acknowledged the rights of the bishop, the count left to Montferrand. The bishops claimed to be the true city lords, to be confirmed by the king in 1255 and 1269. Thus, the coins of Clermont are exclusively of episcopal issue.

ANONYMOUS (13th century)



- 390 Denier. A: Bust of Maria facing with crown SEA . MARIA, R: Cross with trefoil in each angle + VRBS . ARVERNA. B: 379, D: 830, PdA: 2253. 1.054 gr. Minor traces of encrustation and verdigris, very fine 25,--
 Spink - London 1973.
- 391 Obole. A: Bust of Maria facing with cross-pointed crown SEA MARIA, R: Cross with trefoil in each angle + V' ARVERNA. B: 380, D: 831, PdA: 2257. 0.328 gr. Very fine 25,--
 L' Observance - Draguignan 1984.
 Obverse E with prolonged horizontal middle line (SCA = Sancta).

COUNTY of POITOU

Ramnulf was the first count of the potent dynasty that ruled Poitou from 839 to 1137. Guillaume I le Pieux (+ 918) was the founder of Cluny. In 928, the count of Poitou, Guillaume III Tête d'Étoupe (910-963) acquired the title of duke of Aquitaine. He abandoned Aquitaine to Raimond III of Toulouse, but was able to recover the territory later. He was already well established: his wife Emmeline was the daughter of Rollo of Normandy and their daughter married Hugh Capet. The last from this line was Guillaume X, the father of Eleonore.

Through Eleonore Poitou and Aquitaine came under English authority. In Poitiers, a commune was founded, the English conferring communal statute on the citizens, following the example of the Etablissement de Rouen. In 1204, the English lost Poitiers, Louis IX conquering the whole of it by 1224.

From 1241 to 1271, Poitou was an apanage to Alphonse of Poitiers, brother of Louis IX the Saint. After his demise, Poitou fell to the French crown (the territory also encompassed Poitiers and Niort).

In 1360 (treaty of Brétigny) Poitou (and Poitiers) went to the English. In 1272, Poitiers opened its gates to Bertrand Du Guesclin and Poitiers and the whole of Poitou became an apanage of duke Jean de Berry. The victory at Castillon in 1453 put an end to English threats once and for all.

ANONYMOUS (ca. 930-ca. 1100)



- 392 Denier - 3rd type. A: Cross + CARLVS RE+O, R: In two lines MET / ALO between two pellets. B: 416, D: 907, PdA: 2428. 1.107 gr. Very fine 60,--
Bred - Paris 1977.
Duplessy says: "Contrairement à ce qu'affirme Dumas après Poey d'Avant, ces deniers ne sont pas des immobilisations de Charles le Chauve, mais de Charles le Simple. Les deniers de Melle au type bilinéaire n'apparaissent dans aucun trésor monétaire de la fin du XIème siècle. Les plus anciens se trouvaient dans les trésors de Chef-Boutonne (898-923) et de Rennes (915-923)."



- 393 Obole - Melle. A: Cross + C 'A ' RLVS REX, R: In two lines MET / ALO over cross. B: --, D: 915, PdA: 2493. 0.521 gr. Fine toned, almost extremely fine specimen 60,--
Elsen - Brussel 2000.
From list 208, no. 252
12th century.

RICHARD I CŒUR-DE-LION (1169-1196)



- 394 Denier. A: Cross + RICARDVS REX, R: In three lines PIC / TAVIE / NSIS. B: 424, D: 920, Elias: 8, PdA: 2505. 0.885 gr. Very fine 50,--
Holleman - Enschede 1986.



AQUITAINE

In Roman times, Aquitaine was considered the wealthiest part of Gaul. Cultural and ecclesiastical life were highly developed here.

At the beginning of the 8th century, there were numerous attempts to annex Aquitaine to the Franconian realm. Under Pippin, this was partly realised (768). Aquitaine became a viceroyalty, its first viceroy being Louis the Pious in 781. Aquitaine retains a certain independence. When Pippin II (see Carolingians) was the last to have opposed Charles le Chauve, the viceroyalty was discontinued in 877.

However, a vivid longing for independence persisted. The comital families of Toulouse and Poitiers (House of Poitou) stayed the main rulers. In the end the House of Poitou decided this conflict in its favour, although Aquitaine would once fall in Toulouse hands (see under Poitou). The counts of Poitou were by then Lord of Poitiers and Bordeaux and bore the title of *Totius Aquitaniae*. In 1058, Guy Geoffroi became duke of Aquitaine and called himself Guillaume VIII.

Upon the death of Guillaume X (1137), his daughter Eleanor, 15 years of age, succeeded him and married the French king Louis VII, in 1152 this alliance was annulled under the pretext of kinship of the spouses. After this separation she rewedded, this time to Henry II Plantagenet (1152) by which a rough-and-ready liaison with England was established, starting 1154, that would last a long time.

Aquitaine's history is dominated by the opposing crowns of England and France. Philip II August confiscated John Lackland's possessions (1204) and then Louis IX conquered Poitou. Everything seemed lost for England (except Gascogne and Guyenne), but in 1259 in the treaty of Paris Louis IX and his brother-in-law Henry II agreed on the cession of Aquitaine in fief to the latter.

Conflicts broke out anew under Philippe IV (le Bel). The French occupied Aquitaine from 1294 to 1303. Whenever the matter of English succession in France was raised, Aquitaine was always the territory at issue (having been the original cause for the Hundred Years' War).

In 1328, the duchy was limited to Bordeaux and Bayonne. After the English victory at Poitiers and the peace of Brétigny (1360), Edward III was full sovereign of Aquitaine and changed his title from *dux* to *dominus*, and passed it to his son Edward the Black Prince.

The two main Gascon barons refuted the course taken by Edward (1368-1372) and turned to the French king, who declared Aquitaine confiscated (see further under Edward the Black Prince). The English kings stayed ruler of Aquitaine all the same. After extensive battling, among others by the army of Charles V (led by Du Guesclin), Charles VII eventually seized Bordeaux (1451). Only once more would Aquitaine change hands and become English (Talbot), before it definitively would return under French sway in 1453, and remain there for good, with the sole exception of the years 1460-1492, when Charles of France, a brother of Louis XI, was duke of Aquitaine.

The House of Poitou

GUI GEOFFROI (1043-1058)



395 Denier. A: Cross + GODERIDVS COMES, R: Two crosses with ring above and pellet below + BVRDEGAIE. B: 459, D: 1016, PdA: 2736. 1.052 gr. **R** Very fine

200,--

Credit delà Bourse - Paris 1979.
Guy Geoffroi as count of Bordeaux.

GUILLAUME X (1127-1137)



- 396 Denier. A: Four crosses + CLVILILMO, R: Cross + BVRDEGALA. B: 464, D: 1020, PdA: 2733. 0.937 gr. Well struck, very fine + 75,--
Spink - London 1976.
This coin is larger and courser in design than no. 397.
- 397 Denier. A: Four crosses + CLVILILMO, R: Cross + BVRDEGIILA. B: 464, D: 1020, PdA: 2733. 0.959 gr. Well struck, very fine + 50,--
Vinchon - Paris 1977.
This coin is smaller and finer in design than no. 396.
For the coins struck by Louis VII (1137-1180) of France (husband of Eleonore) in Aquitaine, cf. no. 265 (under France Royale).

Anglo-Gallic Period

HENRY II (1152-1172)



- 398 Obole. A: REX, M above, cross below, R: Cross with ring in the 1st and 4th angles + EN(RIC)VS. B: 470, D: 1032, Elias: 3, PdA: 2759. 0.334 gr. RR Small edge fault, almost very fine 300,--
Spink - London 1999.
From Num. Circ. 1999, no. 3276.
Ex: Brand collection 30-1-1986.
Bought Spink 27-7-1960.

RICHARD I CŒUR-DE-LION (1172-1185)

In 1169 Richard paid homage for Aquitaine to Louis VII of France. In 1172 appointed duke.



- 399 Denier - Type 1. A: In two lines RICA / RDVS, above cross, omega below, R: Cross + AQVITANIE. B: 471, D: 1033, Elias: 4, PdA: 2767. 0.694 gr. Very fine + 75,--
Coin Investment - Lisse, Auction 36 (1990), no. 1132.
Text obverse in two lines.



- 400 Obole - Type 1. A: In two lines RICA / RDVS, above cross, omega below, R: Cross + AQVITA(NIE). B: 472, D: 1034, Elias: 6, PdA: 2769. 0.551 gr. R Very fine 200,--
Spink - London 1987.
From Num. Circ. 1987, no. 5409.

ELEONORE (1189)



- 401 Denier. A: Two crosses, alpha below and omega above + DVCISIT, R: Cross + AQVITANIE. B: 466, D: 1025, Elias: 11, PdA: 2742. 0.899 gr. Very fine + 75,--
 Numismatica - Wien, Auction 2 (1978), no. 1821.
 In 1172, Richard became duke of Aquitaine. As his mother Eleonore was captured in 1174, he reigned alone, though without the consent of his father Henry II. In 1185, his father forced him to cede Aquitaine to his mother "the lawful duchess".
 This coin used to be placed *before* Henry II, about 1137, on account of a find. Nowadays 1185 or 1189 are considered more accurate, when Richard resumed office after Henry II had expired.
 Most likely, the mysterious DVCISIT means DVCIS[SA] IT[ERVM] (= duchess again). For this notion, see Rechenbach, M.C.: The Cascon Money of Edward III, 1975.
 Duplessy contests, because this type doesn't fit the trésor de Saucats. Lafaurie seconds this (in Charles Higounet, Histoire de Bordeaux, II, Bordeaux pendant le haut moyenâge, p. 308). Here, Elias' views are adopted.

EDWARD I (1252-1307)

In 1252, Henry III ceded Aquitaine to his son, the later Edward I.



- 402 Denier. A: Leopard I. unadorned tail + EDVWARD' FILI ♣, R: Cross + h'REGIS ANGLIE. B: 474, D: 1037, Elias: 13c, PdA: 2787. 0.747 gr. Very fine + 75,--
 Bonvallet - Paris 1983.
 Struck during the life of Henry III (as regent of England on the reverse). Mint commissioned in 1253.
- 403 Denier. A: Leopard I. unadorned tail + EDVWARD ♣ FILI, R: Cross + h REGIS ANGLIE. B: 474, D: 1037, Elias: 13c, PdA: 2787. 0.852 gr. Very fine 50,--
 Spink - Zürich - 1989
 Minted during the life of Henry III.



- 404 Denier au leopard - Bordeaux. A: Leopard I. over AGL / E in two lines + EDWARDVS REX, R: Cross with E in the 1st and crescent in the 2nd angle + DVX AQVIT BVRD. B: 478, D: 1044, Elias: 20, PdA: 2777. 0.844 gr. Nice patina, very fine + 75,--
 Spink - London 1976.
 Elias 20 provides AGI on A, though it shows L instead of I.
- 405 Obole au leopard. A: Leopard I. over AGL / E in two lines + EDWARDVS REX, R: Cross with E in the 1st and crescent in the 2nd angle + DVX AQIT BVRD. B: --, D: 1045, Elias: 22, PdA: --. 0.452 gr. R Small traces of encrustation, very fine 125,--
 Leopard d'Or - Paris 1982.
 B: 478 is the denier to the obole of the same kind.

EDWARD II (1307-1327)

Had a good relationship with the French king. In 1308 he went to Boulogne to fetch his bride, Isabella, daughter of Philippe IV (le Bel).



- 406 Maille Blanche Hibernie. A: Inner circle + ED' : REX ANGLIE around cross, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI, R: Châtel aquitanique over three pellets DNS : HIBERNIE within border of 9 arches enclosing leaves. B: 488, D: 1049, Elias: 32, PdA: 2864. 1.673 gr. Very fine 150,--
 Vinchon - Paris 1985.
 First instance of a biblical text on the coin.
 The Irish title is peculiar. The explanation seems fairly simple. The coin is evidently the maille blanche, which in 1326 Edward II ordered to be struck at the Tower. That was after he had first relinquished the duchy to his son and then - when his wife was found guilty of treason and his son refused to return to England - resumed government again. Legally he was no longer Duke of Aquitaine so that title, that formed the reverse legend of the first maille blanche, had to be omitted. The empty space was then filled with another of Edward's titles, the Irish one, irrelevant perhaps, but sufficient (see Elias).

EDWARD III (1327-1377)

When Edward III assumed primacy over Aquitaine, the region consisted of no more than a narrow coastal strip. The Treaty of Bretigny restored Aquitaine to its former size and several mints were established.



- 407 Gros tournois à la croix longue. A: Inner circle + ED' REX ANGLIE around cross, BNDICTV SIT : NOM : EDNI : NR : DEI' (IHV XPI), R: Châtel tournois + DVX : AQIT ANIE within border of 12 arches containing leaves. B:485, D: 1057, Elias: 53var, PdA: 2862. 2.581 gr. Broad flan, very fine to extremely fine 400,--
 Spink - London, Auction 77 (1990), no. 82.
 Ex: Elias collection (82).
 Bought in 1977 from Credit de la Bourse in Paris.
 This coin is portrayed in Elias' book.
 Mark I : Feather.
 These coins are the best looking of the pre-Treaty Aquitaine silver coins; fairly well-struck, rather heavy (around 3 gr.) with a fineness above 0.400.
 The outer legend is the longest of the series and ends (with one exception, lot 82, IHV) XPI or XI. Nome is spelled with open M and roman E. The flans, although never fully round, are large for Aquitanian coins (cat. Spink, p. 25).



- 408 Sterling. A: Crowned head l. over leopard + EDWARD' REX ANGL, R: Cross with one small cross at the end of each limb and one crown in each angle DVX AQV ITA NIE. B: 497, D: 1060, Elias: 56, PdA: 2877. 1.367 gr. Very fine 100,--
 Spink - London 1976.
 The sterling is one of the most enigmatic coins of Aquitaine. Would most probably have to be dated back to 1344.



409

- 409 1/2 Sterling. A: Crowned head l. over leopard + EDWARD' REX ANGL, R: Long cross with one small cross at the end of each limb and one crown in each angle DVX AQV ITA NIE. B: 498, D: 1061, Elias: 57, PdA: 2878. 0.526 gr. **RR** Very fine 250,--
Spink - London 1976.



410

- 410 Gros à la porte. A: Inner circle + ED' ♂ REX ♂ ANGLIE around cross, (+ BN)DICTV ♂ SIT ♂ NOME ♂ DNI ♂ NRI ♂ (D), R: Châtel aquitanique with three pellets over gate + DVX : AQITANIE within border of 12 arches enclosing leaves. B: --, D: 1067, Elias: 63var, PdA: 2858. 3.107 gr. **RR** especially in this condition, small scratches on the surface, broad flan, very fine 500,--
Spink - London Auction 77 (1990), no. 119.

Ex: Elias collection (119).
Bought 1987 from Bourgey in Paris
Type: Empty Gateway RR.
"As this coin had no marks and the castle is furnished with pellets I think it is of an earlier issue than E63 (see lot 120). If I had known the coin when I wrote the book, this type would have been E63 and the others E63a, etc." (Cat. Elias p. 37).



411

- 411 Gros au léopard couchant. A: Crowned leopard l. DVX x ACITANIE ♣ within border of 12 arches enclosing leaves, R: Inner circle + ED' x REX ♣ ANGLIB around cross, (+ BNDICTV ♣ SIT ♣ NOME ♣ DNI ♣ NRI ♣ DEI). B: --, D: 1072, Elias: 68a (this specimen), PdA: 2889. 1.779 gr. **RR** Very fine specimen 750,--
Spink - London 1999.

From NC 1999, no. 3286.
Ex: Elias collection, no. 143.
Ex: Platt Auction 30-5-1980, no. 84.
Ex: sale CNG 45 (18-3-98), no. 2942.



412

- 412 Gros au lion - Bordeaux. A: Inner circle EDo VAR DVS REX around long cross, + BN(DICTV : S)IT NOME : DNI : NRI : (DEI), R: Lion rampant + MONETA * BURD' within border of 12 arches enclosing leaves. B: 494, D: 1079, Elias: 74, PdA: 2816. 3.106 gr. **RR** Very fine 600,--

Spink - London Auction 77 (1990), no. 148.
This coin is without the title Dux of Aquitaine.
Ex: Elias collection (148).
Bought 1977 from Coins and Antiquities in London.
This coin is the one portrayed in Elias' book.



413

413

414

414

- 413 Double au léopard. A: Leopard l. under crown and over star + ED' REX : ANGLIE, R: Cross with one crown in the 1st and 4th angles + MONETA DVPLEX. B: 500, D: 1092A, Elias: 92b, PdA: 2895. 0.798 gr. Small traces of corrosion, very fine 75,--

Spink - London 1981.

- 414 Denier au lion - La Rochelle. A: Leopard l., R below * ED * REX * ANGLIE, R: Cross * DNS * ACITANIER. B: 501, D: 1115, Elias: 121, PdA: 2818. 0.880 gr. **RR** Weakly struck, almost very fine 150,--

Spink - London 1987.
From Num. Circ. 1987, no. 5423.
Elias: RRRR.

EDWARD the BLACK PRINCE (1362-1372)

Edward the Black Prince was ordained Prince of Aquitaine by a Royal Charter of 19th July 1362. Edward helped Pedro the Cruel of Spain to reascend the throne (1367), however, Pedro refused to tribute moneys in return. This put the Black Prince in financial difficulties and forced him to, in 1368, impose a hearth-tax. Two Gascon nobles, the Lord of Albret and the Lord of Armagnac, contested this measure and sought the aid of the French king. Part of Aquitaine was lost. In 1371, the Black Prince returned to England and left Aquitaine to his father. The mints of Limoges, Poitiers and la Rochelle were lost in the course.



415

- 415 Pavillon d'or - Bordeaux. A: Prince with sword standing in gothic dais between four feathers and two leopards at his feet ED : PO: GNS : REGI ANGLI : PNCS : AQI, R: Decorated cross in quatrefoil with lis and leopards in the angles and one E in the centre + DNS : AIVTO : Z : P.TECTO : ME : Z : IIPO : SPAVIT : COR : MEVM : B. B: 508, D: 1020 A, Elias: 154a, Fb: 5, PdA: 2929. 4.159 gr. **RR** Very fine + 2.500,--

Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 35 (1997), no. 973.
Obverse inscription: EDWARDVS PRIMO GENETIS REGIS ANGLIE PRINCEPS AQUITAINE.



416

- 416 Gros - Agen. A: Bust r. with sword and raised hand in multilobe + EDWA(RDVS : PRIMO :) GNS : REGIS A, R: PRIN CEPS AQIT ANIE around long cross dividig legend with three pellets in each angle GLIA : INE (XCELCIS DECET IN) TRA : PAX. B: --, D: 1123, Elias: 166, PdA. 2921. 3.963 gr. **RR** Irregular flan, very fine 2.000,--
 Finn - Kendal 1998.
 From list 13, no. 494.
 This groat was exclusively minted in Bordeaux, Agen and Tarbes. The coinage must have been of minor volume.
 This type follows up the similar type that was struck under his father, but for a single difference: he is wearing a crown where the Black Prince is not.
 Elias (p. 176) suggests the possibility, that A does not stand for Agen, but for Anglie. This is peculiar, since there is a known specimen without a letter (B 167). I think it to be Agen, for the half-groat (B 169) also shows REGIS A at the end.
 Comment Finn: No specimen of this mint in Elias, Hewlett, Philippi or Lockett, but there is one in the BM (cf. Hewlett, plate IX, nr. 2) who also refers to the specimen in Anslie (plate IV, nr. 38).



417

- 417 Demi-Gros - Limoges. A: Bust r. with sword and raised finger in multilobe + : ED' : PO : GNS (: REG : ANGLIE :) PS : B, R: : PRN CPS AQI TAN around long cross with three pellets in each angle GLIA : IN (XCELCIS DEO) : EIN TRA : PA. B: 510, D: 1124A, Elias: 172a, PdA: 2969. 1.835 gr. Nice portrait, small traces of encrustation, very fine specimen 150,--
 Willems - Bennekom 1989.
 Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 290, no. 1428 - 1989.
 The text on the obverse is that of the groat.



418

- 418 Demi-Gros - Poitiers. A: Crowned bust r. with sword and raised finger in multilobe + ED : PO : GNS : REGIS : ANGLIE : P, R: PRN CPS AQI TAN around long cross with three pellets in each angle GLAINE XNEDE ETINTE RA . PAX. B: 510, D: 1124, Elias: 179b, PdA: 2987. 2.282 gr. Very fine 75,--
 Vinchon - Paris 1970.
 The text (outer circle on the reverse) doesn't suit Elias' description (p. 177).



419

- 419 Demi Gros - Poitiers - 2nd emission. A: Crowned bust r. with sword and raised finger in multilobe + : ED . PO . GNS . REGIS . ANGLIE . P, R: ✠ PRN CPS AQITAN around long cross with three pellets in each angle GLIA . IN XCELCS DE . ET INTERA . PAX. B: 510, D: 1124A, Elias: 180, PdA: --. 1.934 gr. Well struck specimen, very fine to extremely fine

300,--

Baldwin - London, Auction 13 (1997), no. 1951.

Legend Elias: GLA INE XLE : DE ETINTERA . PAX.

GL(I)A IN EX(C)L(CIS)E : DE(O) ET INTERA . PAX.

The heads of the Black Prince differ gravely on the coins:



420

- 420 Sterling - Limoges. A: Bust r. with sword and raised finger in multilobe + : ED ✠ PO ✠ GN ✠ REG ✠ ANG ✠ L, R: . PRI CPS AQV TAE around long cross with three pellets in each angle. B: 511, D: 1125, Elias: 191, PdA: --. 1.001 gr. Extraordinary well struck, extremely fine

150,--

Spink - London 1975.



421

- 421 Hardi. A: Bust facing with sword under gothic dais ED P OGENT REGIAGIE, R: Long double-banded cross with one lis in the 1st and 4th angles and one leopard in the 2nd and 3rd angles PRN CPS AQPI TAN. B: 513, D: 1126, Elias: 208, PdA: 3007. 1.042 gr.

Good struck up and extremely fine piece

125,--

Spink - London 1975.

RICHARD II (1377-1399)

In 1377 the French started a summer campaign that was crucial for Aquitaine. No less than 134 towns and castles were lost, amongst them Bergerac.

In 1390, Richard decided to grant Aquitaine to his uncle John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster (see under England, House of Lancaster) for his lifetime, giving him full powers there, including the right of coinage, only reserving sovereignty. The Gascons were opposed to this decision because they feared it might alienate them from the English crown and thus their independence from France would be no longer warranted. When in December 1394 Lancaster finally arrived at Bordeaux, the mayor and jurats made it clear that the Duke was welcome as son of King Edward III but not as sovereign lord. Before the end of 1395 he was recalled to England (Elias).



422

- 422 Hardi. A: Crowned bust facing with sword under gothic canopy RICARD RX AGLE, R: Long double-banded cross with one leopard in the 1st and 4th angles and one lis in the 2nd and 3rd angles . FRAC IE. DN S. AQ TANE. B: 515, D: 1136, Elias: 228, PdA: 3105. 1.124 gr. Almost extremely fine 100,--
Spink - London 1978.

HENRY IV, V, VI (1399-1453)



423

- 423 Hardi. A: Crowned bust facing with sword ENRIC R ANGLIE, R: Long double-banded cross with one leopard in the 1st and 4th angles and one lis in the 2nd and 3rd angles FRA CIE DNS AQI. B: 517, D: 1140, Elias: 233, PdA: 3119. 0.982 gr. Small traces of verdigris, otherwise extremely fine 100,--
Argenor - Paris, Auction 13-4-05 (2005), no. 853.



424

- 424 Denier. A: Cross with one lis in the 1st and 4th and one leopard in the 2nd and 3rd angles (partial inverted) + ENRIC' * R * R: Cross + DOMINVS * A(CITA)NIE *. B: 518, D: 1143, Elias: 237c, PdA: --. 0.810 gr. R Almost very fine 50,--
Spink - London 1987.
From Num. Circ. 1987, no. 5433.
This type shows the Frenche title + ENRIC . REX . ANGLIE . FRAN.

Duke of Aquitaine
CHARLES de FRANCE (1469-1472)



- 425 Hardi d'or. A: Bust facing with sword * KAROLVS * DVX * AQUITAINE * †, R: Floriated cross with one leopard in the 1st and 4th and one lis in the 2nd and 3rd angles * XPC VINCIT XPC REGNAT XPC IMPERAT *. B: 519, D: 1149, Fb: 20, PdA: 3144. 3.385 gr. **R** Extremely fine 2.500,-

Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 52 (1999), no. 3709.
 On the reverse between the two stars a small ship.
 The "ship" is the royal mintmark of Bordeaux.

VISCOUNTY of LIMOGES

The original name was Civitas Lemovicum. The first bishop was St. Martialis (+ 3rd century), who later would be venerated as an apostle. On his grave, in 848, the abbey of St. Martial was built.

Dualism rose between the bishop on the one hand (he controlled the city) and the abbot (who, apart from St. Martial, controlled the château as well).

The viscounts were vassals of the dukes of Aquitaine. In the beginning of the 13th century, a fierce dispute ignited between abbot and viscount. In the end, the city received an independent statute, that was recognised by the king and the duke in 1212. In 1369/71 to France.

ANONYMOUS (ca. 1020-1100)



- 426 Denier. A: Four crosses + GRATIA D-I REX, R: Cross + LIII + VICAS CVS. B: 389, D: 847, PdA: 2284. 1.157 gr. **Very fine** 50,-

Kricheldorf - Freiburg 1982.

ABBAY of St. MARTIAL de LIMOGES

Abbot Ademar (1063-1114) led the abbey to its apogee. The abbey became the spiritual centre of Aquitaine and was favoured by the dukes, the abbots of Cluny and the pope. The latter vested the abbot with the power to appoint the bishop. After Ademar, the abbey experienced a decline and in the 13th century the citizens of Limoges were allowed an independent statute.

ANONYMOUS (12th and 13th century until 1245)



- 427 Denier. A: Bearded bust facing SES . MARCIAL, R: Cross with pellets around the limbs and two rings in each angle + LEMOVICENSIS. B: 392, D: 883, PdA: 2296. 1.070 gr.
Credit de la Bourse - Paris 1976. Small scratches, very fine

50,--

COUNTY of ANGOULÊME

Original name: Ecolismensis, Engolismensis. The diocese Angoulême is a suffragan diocese of Bordeaux. Its first bishop being St. Ausonius (4th century), the diocese didn't become known until Cybard (+ 581), especially through the monastery bearing his name.

The county, since the end of the 10th century, had been a fief from the counts of Poitiers and the dukes of Aquitaine. The counts of Angoulême expanded their territory, founding the influential House Taillefer.

With the abduction of Isabella Taillefer, bride of Hugo de Lusignan, by John Lackland, the latter coerced the king of France, who had responded to Hugo de Lusignan's request for aid against Lackland (1200-1202), to call an end to the lasting dispute. The period from 1226 to 1241 comprised of the most flourishing years of the House Taillefer-Lusignan. The line ended with Hugo XIII, prompting Philippe IV (le Bel) to seize the county (1308). After that, it passed through several hands (among which were Edward III's, upon the Treaty of Brétigny).

ANONYMOUS



- 428 Denier. A: Cross + LODOICVS, R: Cross with four rings around. + EGOLISSIME. B: 445, D: 943, PdA: 2644. 0.808 gr.
Bourgey - Paris 1974. Very fine
Immobilisation of the type of King Louis IV (12th century).

30,--

COUNTY of PÉRIGORD

The name derives of the Gaul tribe Petrocores.

The county Périgord was a fief from the dukes of Aquitaine. It was a somewhat incoherent whole, made up of three cores: Périgieux, Bergerac and Sarlat. There were many monasteries. The counts of Périgord were directly related to the House Angoulême. Wulfgrim I (+ 886) was count of Angoulême and Périgord. He divided the two among his sons: Aldwin I was conveyed Angoulême and Guillaume received Périgord. Many counts bore the name Elias and Archambaud. Périgord was eventually confiscated in 1398.

ANONYMOUS



- 429 Denier. A: Five rings cross-shaped + EGOLISSIME, R: Cross with one S in the 2nd and one V in the 3rd angle + LODOICVS. B: 451, D: 986, PdA: 2676. 0.707 gr. Very fine

25,--

Platt - Paris 1979.

With respect to the text, the ob- and reverse are identical to the coins of Angoulême.

Nevertheless, there's no doubt that these coins have to be attributed to the Counts of Périgord. A charter from 1266 mentions "deniers perigourdins aux cinq oeils".

BERGERAC

The first years of the war in Gascony were difficult for the English and their Gascon allies. In 1345 only Bordeaux, St. Sever, Mézin, Bayonne and their immediate neighbourhood were effectively under English control. This situation changed when Edward III's cousin Henry, Earl of Lancaster, who was appointed the king's Captain-General and Lieutenant in Aquitaine and Languedoc, disembarked at Bordeaux on the 9th August 1345. Almost immediately he started a military campaign that was a great success. It had its climax, on 24th August, in the taking of Bergerac, which was of great strategic importance. It was the turning point in the war in Gascony. The threat posed to Bordeaux had been overcome. On 1st of June 1347, Edward III conveyed to Henry of Lancaster, "in gratitude for his victorious deeds in Aquitaine" the castle, town and castellany of Bergerac, then called Bragairac, with the privilege of striking money there and enjoying all the profit thereof, on the condition that the money should be as good as, or better, the king's money.

Two periods are to be distinguished: 1347-1351 Henry with the title Earl of Lancaster and 1351-1361 with the title Duke of Lancaster.

HENRY Earl of Lancaster (1347-1361)



- 430 Gros tournois à la croix longue. A: Inner circle HEN COM LA: NCE around long cross dividing legend, BNDICT : V.....o oo E : D n....., R: Châtel tournois + DNS BRAGAIRC within border of 12 arches enclosing leaves. B --, D: 993, Elias: 126b, PdA: --. 2.800 gr.

Extremely rare especially for this issue, extraordinary well struck, very fine

2.500,--

Spink - London, Auction 77 (1990), no. 222.

Ex: Elias collection (222).

Bought in 1977 from Credit de la Bourse in Paris.

Extremely Rare RRRR.

See article "The Coinage of Bergerac" of Elias in: BNJ 1979, p. 56-73, with the number of this coin 1.3.1 (with illustration).

Of this type, 6 known specimens exist, of which three are in public collections and three in the auction of the coll. Elias (Spink 77 (1990)).



431

- 431 Gros tournois au léopard dessus. A: Châtel tournois with cross beneath crescent with leave O V O, leopard above + DNS BERGERACI, R: Inner circle RCOM LANCAST around cross, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : DEI. B: 454, D: 996, Elias: 129g, PdA: 2697. 1.641 gr.

RR Small flan and weakly struck, otherwise in an extraordinary good condition, very fine

1.250,--

Spink - London - 1997

There is an old chart saying unpublished (presumably this specimen wasn't known to Elias; neither does it appear in his book, nor in the auction of his collection. Elias comments: I have recorded 26 specimen comprising 11 varieties. Only 10 of the coins (including the 5 in the Elias sale) are in private collections (hence not counting the specimen under discussion).

SEIGNIORY of BÉARN

Béarn played a significant role in the Middle Ages, even to the extent of becoming a sovereign principality in the 14th century.

Originally, Béarn was a fief from the duchy Aquitaine, however, had always been oriented towards Spain and thus, in the 12th century, was abandoned to the crown of Aragon.

The Catalan family Moncada allowed Béarn their own legislature. After the Battle at Muret (1213), Béarn was reunited with Aquitaine (which by then was English royal possession). In 1290, Béarn had coalesced with the county Foix.

Instrumentalising the French-English differences, Gaston Fébus (1343-1391) managed to found an autonomous state, from which base the viscount of Béarn eventually would lay hands on the crown of Navarra.

IMMOBILIZED with name of CENTULLE (12th-13th century)



432

- 432 Denier. A: Cross with one pellet in the 1st and 2nd angles CENTVLLO COM, R: P A X in the field + ONOR FORCAS. B: 525, D: 1241, PdA: 3233. 1.103 gr.

Very fine

25,--

Franceschi - Brussel 1973.



433

- 433 Obole. A: Cross with one pellet in the 1st and 2nd angles CENTVLLO COM', R: P A X in the field + ONOR FORCAS. B: 526, D: 1242, PdA: 3235. 0.525 gr.

Very fine

25,--

Franceschi - Brussel 1973.

COUNTY of ROUSSILLON

The county Roussillon was founded in the franconian age. First count was Gauzhelm in 801, who from 1016 was count of Ampurias in Spain as well.

Starting 834, Roussillon and Ampurias were governed by a comital family from Carcassonne. Even the bishop's office was not beyond the influential reach of this family. In 991, a schism in the family left the two branches of Roussillon and Ampurias separated.

When in 1172, Roussillon fell to the counts of Barcelona, it fell (together with Cerdana) in particular to the younger branch of this house, the one holding power in the Provence. After the death of Jacobus I (1276), it came under the crown of Mallorca. With regards to the mint, Roussillon was solely dependent on Barcelona and Cerdana. In 1343, the allegiance as a fiefdom to Mallorca was broken off and Roussillon was united with Catalonia (with the king as suzerain). The court chiefly resided at Perpignan. During the Catalan civil war, Roussillon (together with Cerdana) was conveyed to France to serve as collateral for high debts in 1462. In 1463 Roussillon was occupied by France (being annexed definitively to France in 1659).

GAUSFRED III (1115-1164)



- 434 Denier. A: Cross with arabesque in the 2nd and 3rd angles + GAVFREDVS, R: Cross-headed staff with C O M T around + ROSILIONVS. B: 674, D: 1508, PdA: 3538. 0.909 gr. Very fine 75,--
Spink - London 1986.



- 435 Obole. A: Cross with one ring and V in the 2nd and one ring and pellet in the 3rd angles + GAVFREDVS, R: Cross-headed staff with C O N T around + ROSILIONVS. B: 675, D: 1509, PdA: --. 0.615 gr. Small edge fault, very fine 50,--
Hollandia - Kamperveen 1983.

ALFONSO IV (1416-1458)



- 436 Gros. A: Crowned bust l. + ALFONSO : D'I : GRA : RE'X : ARAGO, R: Cross with three pellets in the 1st and 4th angles and ring in the 2nd and 3rd angles COMS BARK NONA ROCIL. B: 688, D: --, PdA: 3545. 3.127 gr. Nice portrait, very fine + 300,--
Schweiz. Bankv. - Basel, Auction 18 (1987), no. 1010.
Ex: Sober-Cabot collection.

CARCASSONNE

Carcassonne is likely to have been founded in the days of emperor Augustus (Colonia Julia Carcaso). Carcassonne was walled around 300, which in 418 didn't stop the Visigoths from occupying it. After they were expelled from Toulouse, the city's importance increased, it becoming an advanced Visigoth foothold in the enemy territory of the Franconians. The diocese was founded in 720. In 750, Carcassonne was taken by the Arabs and in 752/59 it was merged into the Franconian realm.

The county already existed in Carolingian times. Since 870, succession no longer depended on the king.

The 2nd comital house of Carcassonne was founded by Arnald (approx. 950), and the comital family of Foix traces back to him as well. This house shared its lineage with the counts of Barcelona, Urgel, Cerdagne and Besalù, being underlined by the marriage of Ermessindis, a daughter of Rogers the Elder of Carcassonne to the count Raimón of Barcelona (approx. 1002). Thus, the counts of Barcelona by inheritance took possession of Carcassonne, but ceded it to the viscount of Albi-Nîmes. Viscount Bernhard Trencavel, also viscount of Béziers, managed to restrict the influence of the counts of Barcelona in the beginning of the 12th century.

Gradually, city governance comes into being and, in 1192, there is mention of 12 prud'hommes.

In the Albigensian Crusade the crusaders devastated the city in 1209 and took Raimon Roger Trencavel into captivity. After the crusade, Carcassonne developed into an important centre in the south of France and a foothold for regal authority (the city walls were doubled by Louis the Saint, shutting out most of the population in the process). An attempt to reinstate Trencavel authority failed.

ANONYMOUS



- 437 Denier. A: Cross + CARCASONA, R: In three lines o / - + / O (blundered monogram of ODO) + CIPVI + TATIS. B: --, D: 1513, PdA: 3779. 1.343 gr. Pleasingly patina, very fine to extremely fine 150,--
Credit de la Bourse - Paris 1976.



- 438 Obole. A: Cross + CARCASON, R: In three lines o / - + / O (blundered monogram of ODO) + CIPVI + TATIS. B: --, D: 1514, PdA: --. 0.580 gr. Dark patina, very fine 100,--
Bred - Paris 1976.

COUNTY of TOULOUSE

Known since Julius Caesar as Tolosa. Christianised under St. Saturninus, Toulouse withstood the Vandals. In 413, it became the capital of the Visigothic "Tolosan empire". After being conquered by the Merovingians, Toulouse turns into a province city. The Carolingians never really had a hold on Toulouse and, thus, Toulouse around 850 definitively became a county under the Raimundians. Fredolo was at the beginning of the line, but it actually set off with his brother Raymond I (852-863) and his cousin Bernhard (865-877).

Territories were gained, but when Eudes expired in 918, the county was divided two ways. Under Raymond II Pons, the Tolosan state was reunited. After that, it experienced a period of falling apart and being joined again, until the whole was ultimately restored to the former Tolosan state under Raymond IV of St. Gilles (1093-1105), who had been count of Rouergue, Nimes, Narbonne, Gevaudan, Agde, Beziers, Uzès and Vivarais since 1065 and margrave of the Provence from 1066.

Raymond took part in the 1st crusade (1096) and when it ended, remained in the Holy Land until his death in 1105 on Mons Pelegrinus. During all this time, his son Bertrand had held office, but he then also disembarked for the Holy Land and left the estates to his younger brother Alphonse Jordain. This constant conveyance of power substantially weakened Toulouse. As well the duke of Aquitaine as the king of France sought to put this to use and they, among other things, occupied Toulouse, but in the end Raymond V (1148-1194) retained his fief. He held Carcassonne, Narbonne and Montpellier in fief. Also, he annexed Melgueil and controlled Nimes.

In the days of Raymond V, the Cathars start expanding and they would dominate politics totally. In 1207, Raymond VI was excommunicated and the crusade against the Albigensians began. During the Lateran council, Raymond VI was replaced with a general in the Albigensian Crusade, Simon of Montfort. After he expired in 1218, Raymond VI made his return. In 1222, his son Raymond VII (1222-1249) succeeded him. He lost all western possessions (Peace of Meaux-Paris). After Raymond VII's death in 1249, the regentess - the queen-mother - of France, Blanca de Castille, assumed office. In October 1271 in the Treaty of Meaux Toulouse, it is relinquished definitively to the French crown.

For the mint of count Pons, together with king Henry I, see under France Royale no. 256.

GUILLAUME IV (1060-1088)



- 439 Denier. A: Cross with one S in the 2nd angle VVIELMO COME, R: PAX in the field + TOLOSA CIVI. B: 710, D: 1210, PdA: 3676. 1.162 gr. Extremely fine +
Spink - London 2005. 50,--
From NC 2005, no. MD0132.

BERTRAND (1105-1112)



- 440 Denier. A: Cross with one ring in the 4th angle BERTRAN COM, R: Cross-headed staff between two rings + TOLOSA CIVI. B: 713, D: 1220, PdA: 3683. 1.216 gr. R Nice tone, extremely fine 150,--
Leopard d'Or - Paris 1982.



441



442



ALPHONSE-JOURDAIN (1112-1148)

- 441 Denier. A: Cross with one crozier in the 2nd and 3rd angles * AN FOS COMES, R: P A X in the field + TOLOSA CIVI. B: 719, D: 1226, PdA: 3685. 1.185 gr. Very fine + 50,--
Münzgalerie - München 1988.
From list 118, no. 1386.

RAYMOND V-VI-VII (1148-1249)

- 442 Denier. A: Cross with one S in the 2nd angle RAMON COMES, R: P A X in the field + TOLOSA CIVI. B: 721, D: 1228, PdA: 3702. 1.101 gr. Very fine 30,--
Holleman - Enschede 1986.



443



- 443 Obole. A: Cross with one S in the 2nd angle RAMON COMES, R: P A X in the field + TOLOSA CIVI. B: 722, D: 1229, PdA: 3703. 0.536 gr. Very fine + 50,--
Platt - Paris 1967.

VISCOUNTY of ALBI

The viscounty Albi was founded in 778. From 878, it was subordinate to the count of Toulouse and would remain so.

The viscounts of Albi very likely were ministerials of the counts of Toulouse. Originally they possessed the Castelvielh, the old castle of Albi. Through several marriages, this house of Albi obtained the vicounties of Nimes, Carcassonne, Beziers and Agde.

The House is named after Raymond Bernard around 1074. Raymond Roger met with a loss against the crusaders under Simon of Montfort at Béziers and Carcassonne and spent his remaining life in a dungeon. His son Raymond II attempted reconquering the territories, but he too was defeated and had to consequently forfeit all the viscounties (Albi included) to the king of France (7th of April 1247).

RAYMOND-BERNARD (1074)



444



- 444 Denier - after 1200. A: Cross + RAIIVIVHD, R: V II C O C in circle + ALBIECI. B: 772, D: 1177, PdA: 3889. 1.310 gr. Magnificent patina, almost uncirculated specimen 100,--
Rauch - Wien 1993, no. 1077.



- SUCC. DE RAYMOND BERNARD**
- 445 Denier. A: Cross + I'AWVIVMD, R: V under crosier between two I + AI'IOW≡CI. B: 774, D: 1180, PdA: 3898. 1.085 gr. Minor traces of encrustation, very fine + 75,--
Vinchon - Paris 1977.
- 446 Obole. A: Cross + I'AWVIVMD, R: V under crosier between two I AI'IOW≡. B: --, D: --, PdA: --. R Small traces of verdigris, very fine 100,--
Vinchon - Paris 1977.

DIOCESE of CAHORS

Cahors also stemmed from the days of emperor Augustus, under the name Divona. The contemporary name is derived from the Celtic Cadurci.

The diocese was founded in the 4th century. Its most known bishop was St. Desiderius (630-655), who repaired the damages done by the Merovians. Around 800, the city fell to the counts of Toulouse, the Raimundians. In the course of the 11th century, they conveyed the "county" Cahors and the accompanying right of mint to the bishops.

The diocese was a suffragan to the diocese of Bourges and one of the largest in France. The city and the diocese had been damaged by the Albigensians, but particularly suffered under the consequences of the Hundred Years' War.

Nevertheless, Cahors has always been an important centre of trade. Evidence has led to the assumption, that since 1207, the city has been governed by wealthy citizens.

ANONYMOUS (12th-13th century)



- 447 Denier. A: Three crosses, one ending in a crosier, and A in the field + CIVITAS, R: Cross + CA . TVRCVS. B: 782, D: 1158, PdA: 3920. 0.714 gr. Extremely fine 50,--
Platt - Paris 1967.
PdA mentions CATVRCIS, Duplessy as well.
"De type est contemporain de l'évêque Guillaume de Cardailiac" (1208-1234) (Duplessy, p. 298).

ANONYMOUS (end 13th-begin 14th century)



- 448 Denier. A: Crosier between two crosses + . EPISCOPVS ., R: Cross with three pellets in the 1st angle + CATVRCENSIS. B: 777, D: 1163, PdA: 3907. 0.924 gr. Small edge fault, very fine 30,--
Holleman - Enschede 1986.
- 449 Obole. A: Crosier between two crosses + EPISCOPVS, R: Cross with three pellets in the 1st angle + CATVRCENSIS. B: 778, D: 1164, PdA: 3908. 0.490 gr. Very fine 50,--
Vinchon - Paris 1977.

CITY of CAHORS

CITY (1150-1200)



450

- 450 Denier. A: T and A between two cross + CIVITAS, R: Cross + CATVRCIS. B: 784, D: 1166, PdA: 3924. 0.779 gr. Very fine 50,--
Vinchon - Paris 1977.

COUNTY of ROUERGUE

RODEZ

Rodez was the centre of the county Rouergue. Originally, it belonged to the region Aquitaine, but in the 10th-11th century, it passed to the principality of Toulouse; that is, to the younger branch of the Tolosan House, who were also margraves of Gothien.

After the death of his brother William IV of Toulouse in 1061, Raymond IV of St. Giles usurped the lands, intended by will for William's daughter Phillippa. Raymond paired expansional drive to deep religion and he wished to die in the Holy Land. When in 1098 the call for the First Crusade was raised, he was one of the first to take the cross.

HUGH II and III (1156-1196)



451

- 451 Denier. A: Cross + VGO COMES, R: + DAS in the field + RODES CIVI. B: 767, D: 1171, PdA: 3880. 0.647 gr. Very fine + 30,--
Bred - Paris 1979.

SEIGNIORY of ANDUSE and SAUVE



452

453

- 452 Denier. A: B between four pellets + ANDVSIENSIS, R: Cross moline with one pellet in the 1st angle + SALVIENSIS. B: 757, D: 1568, PdA: 3852. 0.822 gr. Extremely fine 100,--
Spink - Zürich 1989.

ANONYMOUS (13th century)

- 453 Denier. A: B in the field + DE ANDVSIA, R: Croix nêlée + DE SA LV E. B: 759, D: 1570, PdA: 3855. 0.783 gr. Extremely fine 100,--
Vinchon - Paris 1967.



COUNTY of MELGUEIL

Melgueil is today's Manguio, 12 km to the east of Montpellier. First mentioned in the 11th century, it became the domicile of the counts of Substantion (the former counts of Maguelone). These counts named themselves after Melgueil and installed a mint.

In 1085-1088, Peter of Melgueil accepted the pope as supreme authority and waived his right to appoint the bishop of Maguelone.

In 1172-76, the county was transferred by marriage to the count of Toulouse Raymond VI. At the time of Raymonds excommunication, the county was confiscated and ceded to the bishop of Maguelone in 1215.

Minting started in 963, modelled after Narbonne (since the middle of the 11th century, the melgorie, half a toulousain, was the official currency in entire South-France). Because of competition by other coins from the region (Montpellier), the coin vanished from circulation.

DIOCESE of MAGUELONNE



454 Denier. A: Pile between two iron hoofs with pellet 1. IAIIVIIIS (= RAMVNDS), R: Four rings with pellet in the centre IIAIbOIIA (= NARBONA). B: 753, D: 1578, PdA: 3843. 1.032 gr. Very fine to extremely fine

Bred - Paris 1976.

30,--

KINGDOM BURGUNDIA ARELATE

By the Treaty of Verdun (843) the entire estate came to Lothair I. His son Charles (855-863) inherited the Provence and Vienne. In 863, Charles the Bald seized the territory and conveyed Vienne (to which sovereignty the Provence belonged) to his confidant Boson. After Louis the Stammerer expired, an assembly of the noblemen from the kingdom Burgundy in Mantaille (879) was called and Boson was bestowed upon the regal title. In 890, another assembly of noblemen and bishops chose his son Louis the Blind to be margrave of Vienne and duke of the Provence. Blinded by Berengar de Friaul in the war for Italy, Louis ceded his margraviate of Vienne and his duchy of the Provence to his uncle Hugo of Arles (905). He, in 935, ceded his right to the west of the Alps to Rudolph II, king of Upper Burgundy. When upon Rudolph III's demise the German Emperor Henry III annexed the kingdom Burgundy to the German Empire (Solothurn 1038), the Provence remained an undivided principality.

LOUIS I'AVEUGLE (901-905)



455 Denier - Vienne. A: Cross with one wedge in each angle + IVDVVICVS, R: V I in circle of pellets, legend not visible. MEC: --, MG: 1575. 1.318 gr. R Very fine

Bonvallet - Paris 1983.
Name starting with an I is Prou 850.
MG records only 8 specimen.

150,--



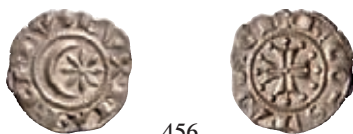
MARGRAVIATE of PROVENCE

Before the common era known as Provincia Gallia Narbonensis and the oldest Roman province in Gaul. Succinctly called Provincia, referring to the southeastern part.

From the 2nd half of the 11th century several comital houses reigned, mainly because several heiresses, upon their inheritance, wedded into a comital line. Thus, we see, among others, the houses of Toulouse (1040), Urgel (1080) and Géofdan (ca. 1090).

After the assassination of Gilbert of Gévandan, his daughter Douce married Raimond Béranger III, count of Barcelona in 1112. The estate, having always been united, was now (1225) divided. Raimond Béranger received the county Provence (encircled by the Rhône, the Durance, the Alps and the Mediterranean) and Alphons Jourdain the margraviate Provence (territories to the north of the Durance and the right bank of the Rhône). There were several rebellions, most distinctly that by the Lords of Baux against the counts of Barcelona (1131-1162).

RAIMOND VI or VII (1194-1249)



456

456

Denier. A: Star with crescent + DVX . MARCh . PV, R: Cross with border of 12 pellets + R CO - S PALACI. B: 787, D: 1606, PdA: 3726. 0.781 gr.

Extremely fine

100,--

Bourgey - Paris 1972.

B: 787 no totally the same.

PdA: 81,18 = PALATT (= 3726).

COUNTY of the PROVENCE

Alphonse II (I) (1166-1196), king of Aragon and count of Barcelona, definitively centred the power of the Catalan dynasty in the Provence. Aix-en-Provence became the royal residence. The estate was expanded by the Haute-Provence and the marriage of his daughter united the county Forcalquier with that of the Provence.

Under Sancho of Aragon and the minor Raimond Béranger IV (1209-1245), the position of the counts weakened, but Raymond Béranger restored matters in 1226.

A new era dawned when the last daughter of Raimond Béranger V, Béatrix, wedded Charles of Anjou (1246-1283), the brother of Louis IX the Saint. The House Anjou came into power. Charles of Anjou installed a solid government. Robert (1309-1343) allowed the Provence some more freedom and concerned himself chiefly with Italy. This induced great wealth, especially when, in 1346, the pope came to Avignon.

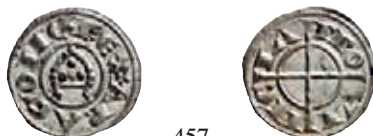
After Robert's childless demise, the Provence suffered a great deal from the court intrigues of queen Joan. She fled for the Hungarians to the Provence, where her financial needs grew rapidly. This compelled her to sell Avignon to the pope. By this schism, Joan, siding with pope Clemens VII, saw herself become increasingly stalemated. Without heirs herself, she adopted the duke of Anjou, who reciprocated by coming to her aid.

Confusion prevailed in these days, exacerbated by a plague epidemic. Not until 1440 did the tide turn. In spite of the disarray, the sovereigns of the Provence chose to direct their eyes and endeavours eastward, towards the coveted napolitan possessions.

Louis II (1348-1417), Louis III (1417-1434) and René (1434-1480) were all closely related to the French king. René was a known benefactor and he maintained a royal household in Aix, Tarascon and Gardanne.

At his death in 1474, René left the Provence by will to his cousin Charles of Maine, who accepted this inheritance in 1480. He, in turn, bequeathed the Provence to king Louis XI (10th December 1481) shortly before he expired.

ALPHONSE I - RAIMOND (1166-1196)



457

457

Denier. A: Mitre REX . ARAGONE ., R: Long cross PRO VI NC IA. B: 805, PdA: 3933. 0.840 gr.

Extremely fine and perfect piece

100,--

Münzenauktion Essen - Auction 54 (1987), no. 4788.

Alphonse I of Aragon. Raymond of Bollene, archbishop of Arles.

ALPHONSE II of ARAGON (1196-1209)



- 458 Denier. A: Crowned head l. + o REX . ARA o GONE o, R: Long cross with three rings at the end of each limb PO VI NC IA. B: 807, PdA: 3930. 0.937 gr. Very fine 75,--
Bourgey - Paris 1970.
See also no. 459 with different drawing.
- 459 Denar. A: Crowned head l. + REX . ARA . GONE, R: Long cross with three pellets at the end of each limb PO VI NC IA. B: 807, PdA: 3930. 0.892 gr. Extremely fine 75,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1979.
See also no. 458 (same type). Other drawing, other portrait and larger flan.



- 460 Obole. A: Crowned head l. + REX o ARA o GONE, R: Long cross with three pellets at the end of each limb PO VI NC IA. B: 808, PdA: 3931. 0.356 gr. Very fine to extremely fine 75,--
Elsen - Brussel 1980.

CHARLES I of ANJOU (1246-1285)



- 461 Denier. A: Cross + K . CO . P . FI . RE F, R: Châtel tournois with lis + PVINCIALIS. B: 811, PdA: 3947. 0.847 gr. Very fine 30,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1979.
- 462 Denier - Marseille - 3rd issue. A: Head l. + COMES : PVINCIE, R: Castle + CIVITAS MASSIE. B: --, PdA: 3956. 1.682 gr. Very fine + 200,--
Toderi - Florence 1973.
Era of Charles without title of Sicily and without title of Jerusalem.



- 463 Denier. A: Head l. + K . COMES . PVINCII, R: Long cross with one ring at the end of each limb MAS SIL IEN SIS. B: 814, PdA: 3960. 0.735 gr. Very fine 100,--
Vinchon - Paris 1982.
Era of Charles without title of Sicily and without title of Jerusalem.



464

- 464 Obole - Marseille - 3rd issue. A: Head l. + K . COMES . PVINCIE, R: Long cross with two rings at the end of each limb MAS SIL LEN SIS. B: 815, PdA: 3961. 0.471 gr. Very fine 100,--
Schulman - A'dam, Auction 247 (1968), no. 1907.
Era of Charles without title of Sicily and without title of Jerusalem.



465

- 465 Gros tournois - Avignon - 6th emission. A: Inner circle +KAROLVS ☉ SCL'REX around cross, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : DEI : IhV : P, R: Châtel tournois with lis COMES ☉ - PVINCIE within border of 12 arches containing leaves. B: --, PdA: 3940. 3.945 gr. Small flan defect at the edge, very fine 200,--
Toderi - Florence 1973.
SCL: after the conquer of Sicily 1265 (see E & S p. 779).
Charles as king of Sicily (1266).



466

- ROBERT of ANJOU (1309-1343)**
466 Carlin. A: King facing with lis-pointed sceptre and orb on throne + ROBERT' DI . GRA . IERL' . ET SICIL' REX, R: Floriated cross with one lis in each angle + COMES . PVINCIE . ETFORCAL QERII. B: 832, PdA: 3982. 3.863 gr. Nice tone, very fine + 75,--
Schulman - A'dam , Auction 247 (1968), no. 1912.



467

- 467 Sol Couronnat. A: Great crown dividing legend + R : Ih' R : ET : SICIL : REX, R: Floriated cross with one lis in each angle COM ES ·P VIN CIE. B: 833, PdA: 3988. 2.151 gr. Very fine 75,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1979.

ARCHDIOCESE of ARLES

Original name: Arelas, Arelate. The diocese came into being in the middle of the 3rd century. Patron of the church of Arles is St. Trophimus (historically not positively attestable). His tomb became a stop on the pilgrim route to Santiago de Compostela.

The position of the Arles diocese remained, however many attempts to alter this, one of modest influence. This changed when Avignon became the seat of papacy. The office of bishop was taken up by powerful members of the Curia. Thus, the diocese of Arles played a significant role in the large schism.

ANONYMOUS



- 468 Obole. A: Crosier + ARCHIE EPI, R: Latin cross O ARELATEN O. B: 794, PdA: 4087. 0.516 gr. Very fine
Argenor - Paris, Auction 13-4-05 (2005), no. 896. 75,--
The E of Archie has a notable form: a spiral with a pellet in it, both the O's at the beginning and end of the text on the reverse display a pellet.

COUNTY of SAINT-GILLES

The abbey is likely to have been founded in the 7th century under patronage of St. Peter and Paul with the grave of St. Giles.

Around the abbey, a city arose. The annual trade fair was one of international importance.

Raymond IV, from the comital House of Toulouse was count of St. Giles (and of Toulouse and Rouerque). Hence, St. Giles remained within the county Toulouse. From the 13th century, the influence of this county abated.

ALPHONSE-JOURDAIN (1112-1148)



- 469 Denier. A: Cross + ANFOS COMES, R: Lamb with cross-headed staff between two pellets ONOR SCI EGIDI. B: 731, PdA: 3865. 0.918 gr. RR Very fine + 250,--
Bonvallet - Paris 1982.

COMMUNE d'AVIGNON

The city was a mutual possession of the counts of the Provence, Forcalquier and Toulouse and was governed by municipal aristocracy, led by the bishop. At the beginning of the 12th century, the city acquired communal rights.

Due to having sided with the count of Toulouse in the Albigensian War, the city was forced to surrender itself to Louis VIII in 1226. After rebuilding it, a bond was forged with Arles and Marseille, giving up independence and the communal state (1251).

Avignon flourished during the days of the papal office in Avignon (from 1290, the counts of the Provence were the sole proprietors of the city and remained devotees to the church).

COMMUNE (1239-1251)



- 470 Denier. A: Great key + . AVINIO ., R: Long cross N C N S . + . I S. B: 891, PdA: 4131. 0.644 gr. Small traces of encrustation, very fine 75,--
Kunst und Münzen - Lugano 1984.
The inscriptions on ob- and reverse together form AVIONENSIS (=Avignon).



KINGDOM BURGUNDIA CISIURANA

The first king of Burgundy, Rudolph I, in fact merely ruled Cisiurana. Not until his son Rudolph II, who was king of Italy from 922 to 934 as well, would sovereignty over the entire territory be accomplished. His grandson Rudolph III died childless. His sister Gerberga was married to the duke of Swabia and their daughter Gisela was the spouse of Emperor Conrad II of Germany. He inherited Burgundy. His son Henry III too ruled Burgundy. There was minting since Rudolph III, Conrad II and Henry III have struck coin as well at the mint Lyon.

RODOLPHE III (993-1032)



- 471 Denier. A: Cross + RODVLFVS, R: Temple with cross and one pellet within LVCVDVNS. B: 1123, PdA: 5022. 1.340 gr. Well struck and very fine specimen 150,--
Vinchon - Paris 1979.



- 472 Obole. A: Cross + RODVLFVS, R: Temple LVCVDVNS. B: 1124, PdA: 5023. 0.626 gr. Nice patina, very fine 150,--
Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 11 (1988), no. 3415.
- 473 Denier. A: Cross + RODVLFVS, R: S in the field + LVCVDVNS. B: 1125, PdA: 5024. 1.154 gr. Flan defect, very fine 75,--
Münzenauktion-Essen, Auction 43 (1982), no. 358.



KONRAD III (1033-1039)

- 474 Denier. A: Cross + KONRADVS, R: Cross on triangle + LVGDVNS. B: 1126, PdA: 5013. 1.112 gr. Very fine to extremely fine 50,--
Vinchon - Paris 1979.

HENRI le NOIR (1039-1056)

- 475 Denier. A: Cross + HEINRICVS, R: S in the field + LVGDV(NV)S. B: 1127, PdA: 5025. 1.093 gr. R Very fine 150,--
Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 11 (1988), no. 3416.



- 476 Denier. A: R in the field + HEINRICVS, R: Cross + LVCVDVNVS. B: --, PdA: 5027. 1.324 gr. Splendid patina, extremely fine + 75,--
Bourgey - Paris, Auction June 88 (1988), no. 543.



- 477 Denier. A: R in the field + HEINIRICVS, R: Cross + LVCVDVNVS. B: --, PdA: 5027. 1.257 gr. Extremely fine 50,--
Bourgey - Paris, Auction June 88 (1988), no. 543.
- 478 Denier. A: R in the field + HEINIRICVS, R: Cross + LVCVDVNIVS. B: --, PdA: 5027. 1.203 gr. Magnificent patina, extremely fine 50,--
Bourgey - Paris, Auction June 88 (1988), no. 543.

DUCHY of BURGUNDY

Since Burgundy wasn't pleased to be ruled by a German emperor, it appointed a duke Robert I, founding the line of the Rudolphians. Robert I was a son of Robert II, king of France. Alternatingly, dukes by the names of Odo and Hugh reigned. Hugh III (1162-1192) inherited the Dauphiné and Odo IV (1315-1349) inherited Artois and France Comté. Eventually, the House of the Rudolphians vanished with Philippe I's demise in 1361 and Burgundy was abandoned to France. The Burgundian dukes were heavily intertwined with other houses, and so John, brother of Robert II, came by Bourbon and Odo, another of Robert II's sons, received Nevers.

Immediately after this, in 1363, the French king John the Good bestowed Burgundy upon his fourth son Philippe the Bold (who was grandson to Robert II of Burgundy), bringing the House of Valois to power in Burgundy as well. When Charles the Rash died in 1477 and left but a single daughter, Maria, the French king seized the opportunity and annexed Burgundy to France once and for all.

Rudolfingers

ODO III (1193-1218)



- 479 Denier. A: "Anille" with one pellet at each end + ODO DVX BVRG : DIE, R: Cross with one arrow in the 1st and 4th angles + DIVIONENSIS. B: 1203, PdA: 5659. 1.156 gr. Small flan crack and traces of encrustation, very fine 30,--
Leopard d'Or - Paris 1982.



ROBERT II (1272-1305)

- 480 Denier. A: Shield bearing the arms of Burgundy with V above + R . DVX BURG : DIE, R: Cross with one ring in the 2nd angle + DIVIONENSIS. B: 1210, PdA: 5673. 0.954 gr. Very fine 50,--
Vinchon - Paris 1973.

HUGH V (1305-1315)

- 481 Denier. A: "Anille" divided by DVX within two lines + VGO BVRGVNDIE, R: Cross with one trefoil in the 2nd and 3rd angles + DIVIONENSIS. B: 1212, PdA: 5678. 0.905 gr. Very fine + 60,--
Vinchon - Paris 1973.

The House of Valois

JEAN SANS PEUR (1404-1419)



- 482 Blanc d'argent. A: Shield bearing the arms of Burgundy + IOHANNES : DVX : BVRGVNDIE, R: Cross with one lion in the 1st and 4th and one lis in the 2nd and 3rd angles + SIT : NOME : DNI : BENEDICTV. B: 1224, PdA: 5723. 2.855 gr. Small traces of encrustation, otherwise very fine + 125,--
Leopard d'Or - Paris 1982.
PdA states a different distribution of the quarters on the reverse.

PHILIPPE LE BON (1419-1467)



- 483 Blanc d'argent. A: Two shields, PHILIPVS above + DVX : ET : COMES : BVRGVNDIE, R: Cross between lis and lion over PHILIPVS, + SIT : NOME : DNI : BENEDICTVM. B: 1230, PdA: 5734. 3.131 gr. Nice patina, very fine 200,--
Leopard d'Or - Paris 1982.
On the reverse, a pellet is under the N of NOME. This could indicate St. Laurent.
It is modelled specifically after the Grand blanc aux Ecus of Henri VI (cf. no. 320).



484

- 484 Blanc d'argent. A: Shield bearing the arms of Burgundy ∴ PHILIP' ∴ DVX ∴ BVRGVNDIE, R: Cross with one lis in the 1st and 4th angles and one lion in the 2nd and 3rd angles + SIT ∴ NOME ∴ DNI ∴ BENEDICTV. B: 1235, PdA: 5742. 2.999 gr. Patina, very fine 100,--
Vinchon - Paris 1973.

CHARLES le TEMERAIRE (1467-1477)



485

- 485 Blanc d'argent. A: Shield between two crosses under fire-steel + KAROLVS ∴ DVX ∴ ET ∴ COMES ∴ BVRG', R: Cross with two lis and two fire-steels + SIT ∴ NOMEN ∴ DNI ∴ BENEDICTVM. B: 1243, PdA: 5745. 3.130 gr. Very fine 250,--
Münzzentrum - Köln, Auction 72 (1991), no. 2826.



486

- 486 Blanc d'argent. A: Shield + KAROLVS ∴ DVX ∴ ET ∴ COMES ∴ BUR, R: Floriated cross + SIT ∴ NOME ∴ DNI ∴ BENEDICTV. B: 1244, PdA: 5749. 2.770 gr. Very fine 150,--
Vinchon - Paris 1982.

COUNTY of HAUTE-BOURGOGNE

Otton-Guillaume (995-1027) received the county Haute-Bourgogne of king Rodolphe III of Burgundy at the end of the 11th century). This was a conglomerate of five insignificant counties: Elsgau, Varesgau, Scodingue, Amous and Port.

COUNTY of SCODINGUE

The seigneurie Salins was acquired in the 10th century by count Aubry de Mâcon. His brother Humbert I laid the foundations of a dynasty, of which the last member Marguerite conveyed the seigneurie to duke Hugh of Burgundy.

Salins owes its prosperity to two saltmines: Bourg-le-Comte and Grand Saunerie. The latter was the richest source of income of the dukes of Burgundy.

ANONYMOUS



- 487 Denier - Salins. A: COMITS monogram : + 2CVTIICOI=V, R: Cross + 2ALINIS BVR. B: 1245, PdA: --. 1.151 gr. R Nice patina, very fine

150,--

Bonvallet - Paris 1984.

This coin stems from the days of Otton-Guillaume and presumably was in the Lons-le-Saulnier find of 1889.

ARCHDIOCESE of BESANÇON

Original name Vesontio. The diocese was probably founded from Lyon and dates back to the Constantinian era. First bishop Pancharius around 436. Three groups were founded: one from the Jura, one by the Irish-Franconian side and one by the Waldelenus family.

Since the end of the 5th century, Besancon had been part of the Burgundian realm and starting 909, close ties existed with Cluny (abbot Berno).

Basel and Lausanne, among other places, fell under the archbishops of Besancon. The archdiocese was subdivided into 5 pagi, one of which was Scodingue. The archbishops held actual power, without a comital title. They possessed the right of mint along with a right of jurisdiction, which was confirmed by Pope Leo IX in 1049, as well as the rights in the two dioceses, among those St. Stephen, that Hugh had just founded.

HUGH III (1085-1100)



- 488 Denier. A: Blessing hand S STIP HANVS, R: Cross with H - V - G - O in the angles + VESONTIUM. B: 1276, PdA: 5364. 0.865 gr. Small edge fault, very fine +

75,--

Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1979.

Obverse: Slash through the first S (= SANCTVS).

ARCHDIOCESE of VIENNE

Initially mentioned by Gregory of Tours under the name Vienna. There is mention of a diocese at the end of the 3rd century. Wulfier (798-810) was the first archbishop. Autran (876-885) was the chair at the assembly of Mantaille, by which Boso of Vienne was appointed king of Burgundy.

The city rose to "Ville libre" in 1197, as did Lyon (without advancing to communal status). In the 14th-15th century, Vienne history was dominated by the feud between the archbishops and the dauphins (from 1349). See under Dauphins de Viennois.

ANONYMOUS



- 489 Denier. A: Head l. + • S MAVRICIVS ., R: Cross + VRBS VIENNA. B: 1042, PdA: 4821. 1.030 gr. Nice portrait, almost extremely fine 150,--
Winter - Düsseldorf, Auction 40 (1981), no. 1310.



- 490 Denier. A: Head l. + • S • M • VIENNA ., R: Cross with one pellet in each angle MAXIMA • GALL. B: 1045, PdA: 4826. 1.043 gr. Small traces of verdigris, very fine 50,--
Delmonte - Brussel 1968.
- 491 Obole. A: Head l. + • NOBILIS •, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle + • VIENNA •. B: 1048, PdA: 4829. Platt - Paris 1976. 0.326 gr. Very fine 75,--

COUNTY of LYON

City known from antiquity (Lugdunum). In 843 (Treaty of Verdun), Lyon was brought under the realm of Lothair I.

Opposing the bishops, was the potent family of the Lords of Forez (Artevelde). In 1348, Lyon suffered severely from the plague. The decimated population rebelled, meeting with the fierce retribution by king Charles VII. From 1444 on matters improved, owing to the merchant Jacques Coeur in particular. In the time to follow, Lyon developed annual fairs which induced rich proceeds.

GUILLAUME I or II (921-940)



- 492 Denier. A: COMES in three line + V : VILEL(MVS), R: Cross + LVGDVNICIVIS. B: 1120, PdA: 4996. 0.616 gr. Traces of encrustation, weakly struck, very fine 50,--
Turquat - Montpellier 1985.

ARCHDIOCESE of LYON

Christianised early on, the first christian chapter of its kind in Gaul (attached to it are the names of the bishops Pothinuse and Irenaeu). Bishop Agobard (816) was the first bishop. The archbishop received the title *Primas Galliae* from Pope Gregory VII in 1079.

ANONYMOUS



- 493 Denier. A: L G under stripe in the field + PRIMA SEDES, R: Long cross dividing the legend GA LL IA RV. B: 1129, PdA: 5029. 1.112 gr. Almost extremely fine 75,--
Vecchi - London, Auction 2 (1996), no. 1899.



- 494 Denier. A: In the field L crossed out + PRIMA SEDES, R: Cross + GALLIARV. B: 1130, PdA: 5031. 1.182 gr. Almost extremely fine 50,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1979.



- 495 Denier. A: In the field L crossed out + PRIMA SEDES, R: Cross with one pellet at the end of the vertical limbs + GALLIAR . VM. B: 1132, PdA: 5032. 1.222 gr. Very fine to extremely fine 50,--
Platt - Paris 1986.



- 496 Obole. A: In the field L crossed out + PRIMA SEDES, R: Cross + GALLIARV. B: 1133, PdA: 5019. 0.919 gr. Very fine to extremely fine 50,--
Vecchi - London, Auction 2 (1996), no. 1901.

DAUPHINS of VIENNOIS

In 1349 Philip VI acquired the Dauphine, then part of the Holy Roman Empire, on the condition that it would be ruled by the king's heir. The first of these royal dauphins was Philip's grandson, Charles, the future Charles V, who, as he succeeded to the throne in 1364 without having an heir yet, for some time afterwards combined the titles of King of the French and Dauphin of the Viennois (see cat. Spink 77, coll. Elias).

CHARLES (1349-1364)



- 497 Gros delphinal. A: Dolphin + . DALPH'S . VIENS within border of 12 arches containing lis, R: Inner circle ☞ KAROLVS . REX with token after A, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI. B: --, PdA: 4911. 2.596 gr. **R** Very fine 400,--
Spink - London 1992.
Ex: Elias collection (502).
Bought Silberstein - Paris 1969.
C: 479.
- 498 Gros delphinal. A: Dolphin + ☞ KROLUS ☞ FRANCORV' ☞ REX, R: Cross couronnée, one lis in the 1st and 4th angles and one dolphin in the 2nd and 3rd angles + ☞ ET ☞ DALPHS ☞ VIENESIS. B: --, PdA: 4916. 2.500 gr. **R** Nice patina, almost extremely fine 300,--
Elsen - Brussel 1997.
From list 195, no. 180.
Charles, son of John the Good, was the latter Charles V.
C: 480.

PRINCIPALITY ORANGE

Ancient name: Arausio. Diocese founded at the turn of the 4th century by its initial bishop Constant.

The origins of the sovereignty are unclear. Known is Tiburga, daughter of Raymond II. Her daughter, called Tiburga alike, wedded prince Bertrand de Baux, setting off a noble house that would reign until 1393.

In 1247, the city revolted against the sovereign, prompting the latter to grant freedom (1271) and a charter (1282).

RAYMOND IV (1340-1393)



- 499 Florin d'or. A: Fleur-de-lis of florentine ☞ R . DIG P . AVRA ., R: Standing Saint John the Baptist . S . IOHA NNES . B helmet. B: 983, Fb: 189, PdA: 4521. 3.484 gr. Well struck and almost extremely fine specimen 500,--
Rauch - Wien, Auction 24 (1979), no. 2344.
The text on the obverse shows ADRA instead of AVRA.
Helmet = mintmaster sign.



- 500 Florin d'or. A: Fleur-de-lis of florentine + . R . DI . G P . AVRA, R: Standing Saint John the Baptist . S . IOHA NNES . B . cornet. B: 983, Fb: 189, PdA: 4523. 3.366 gr. Very fine + 500,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1998.
 From list February 1998, no. 529
 Cornet = mintmaster sign.



- 501 Carlin. A: Prince with sceptre and orb sitting on throne R • PRINCEPS • AVRANI, R: Cross with one cornet in each angle MONET CIVITS AVRA. B: 986, PdA: 4514. 1.579 gr. Minor double struck on the reverse, very fine 75,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 2003.
 From list 141, no. 631.

DIOCESE of VALENCE and DIE

In antiquity known as Valentia. In 413, pillaged by the Visigoths. There always were grave differences between citizens and bishop. Attempts to reconcile were undertaken by Frederic Barbarossa in 1178 and by archbishop Humbert of Vienne in 1209. In 1279, a full revolution broke out.

ANONYMOUS



- 502 Denier. A: Winged eagle or degenerated angel + VRBS VALENTIAI, R: Cross pommé with one ring in the 4th angle + SAPOLLINARS. B: 1021, PdA: 4690. 0.832 gr. Very fine 20,--
 Num. Kring - 1971.
 cf. Metcalf, D. M.: Coinage of the Crusaders and the Latin East, London 1995, p. 17, type D ii.
- 503 Denier. A: Winged eagle or degenerated angel + VRBS VALENTIAI, R: Cross pommé with one ring in the 4th angle + SAPOLLINARS. B: 1021, PdA: 4690. 0.766 gr. Very fine 20,--
 Diversen - 1971.
 cf. Metcalf, D. M.: Coinage of the Crusaders and the Latin East, London 1995, p. 17, type D i.



- 504 Obole. A: Winged eagle or degenerated angel + VRBS VALENTIAI, R: Cross pommé with one ring in the 4th angle + SAPOLLINARS. B: 1022, PdA: 4691. 0.365 gr. Very fine 30,--
BRED - Paris 1976.
cf. Metcalf, D. M.: Coinage of the Crusaders and the Latin East, London 1995, p. 17, type D c.

JEAN III JOFEVRY (1352-1354)



- 505 Gros d'argent. A: Cross pommé with one ring in the 2nd and one star in the 3rd angles + IOHANES EPISCOP, R: Eagle r. + VALENTIN ETDIEN. B: 1027, PdA: 4703. 3.113 gr. R Nice patina, very fine to extremely fine 500,--
Spink - London 1994.
From NC 1994, no. 2272.

ABBNEY of TOURNUS

The origins lie in Gallo-Roman times. Gregory of Tours reported on the entombment of St. Valerian in Tournus in the 6th century. In 875, the monks of Noitmoutier saved the relics of St. Philibert from the Vikings and buried them in Tournus.

In 937, Tournus was destroyed by the Hungarians. After that, in the years from 1000 to 1020, the Roman monastery was built (Benedictin abbey). From 889 to 1316, Tournus held the right of mint.

Later, Tournus was parted in two: the abbey (with the grave of St. Valerian and the relic shrine of St. Philibert) and a southern part, the old castra.

Under Louis the Saint (1215-1270), Tournus went to the French crown.

ANONYMOUS



- 506 Denier. A: Head r. + SCS VALERIAN, R: Cross + TORNVCIICAST. B: 1197, PdA: 5611. 0.923 gr. Very fine 100,--
Kricheldorf - Stuttgart, Auction 30 (1976), no. 623.



COUNTY of NEVERS

When around 909 Landricus of the counts of Burgundy acquired the county Nevers, a house took its rise that would reign for 6 centuries.

Landricus de Monceau (992-1028) was married to a countess of Burgundy. Their grandson Guillaume I took the heiress of Tonnere as his wife in 1045. From then on, Nevers, Auxerre and Tonnere would be united. When in 1181 Guillaume V died, the county passed onto female hands and remained there for more than a century. Hence, different families ruled Nevers. Consecutively, we see the Houses Courtenai (the sister of Guillaume V was married to Pierre de Courtenay, emperor of Constantinople), Donzi, Chatillon and Bourbon. With the demise of Mahaut II of Bourbon in 1273 (?), the county fell to its original pieces Nevers, Auxerre and Tonnere in the same year.

Nevers was received by Jolanda of Burgundy, who married for the second time, with Robert, count of Flanders. The coins of Robert show the Lion of Flanders.

After Burgundy and Flanders, Burgundy once more held Nevers, after that even Kleve held it, which brings us to the 16th century.

ANONYMOUS



507

- 507 Denier. A: Cross, hook between two pellets and sickle above LODVICVS RE, R: Cross +
(NEVERNIS CVT). B: 339, D: 751, PdA: 2110. 1.048 gr. Small double struck, very fine 25,--
Turquat - Montpellier 1985.

MAHAUT II (1241-1257)



508

- 508 Denier. A: Horizontal line, lis above, two stars below + . M . COMITISSA, R: Cross +
NIVERNIS CIVIT. B: 347, D: 762, PdA: 2141. 0.876 gr. Very fine 75,--
Batavia - den Haag 1987.

ROBERT de FLANDRE (1271-1296)



509

- 509 Denier. A: Croix auxerroise with one star in the 2nd angle + ROBERTUS COMES, R: Shield bearing
the flemish arms between three stars + NIVERNENSIS. B: 351, D: 772, PdA: 2153. 1.152 gr. Very fine 75,--
Elsen - Brussel 2005.
From list 232, no. 705.
After 1280.

COUNTY of AUXERRE

The county Auxerre, in 888 under Richard Justitarius, became an important part of the duchy Burgundy. In 1002, the county was merged into the county Nevers. Later, Auxerre was united with Nevers and Tonnerre. Guillaume I and II were the most important counts. This unity found its end in 1267. In 1371, the county was sold to the kingdom by Louis of Châlon. It would briefly be part Burgundy, from 1417 to 1435.

ANONYMOUS (11th century)



- 510 Denier. A: Cross auxerroise + AVTSIODES CI, R: Croix auxerroise under three pellets, no legend. Almost extremely fine specimen 75,--
 B: 1731, PdA: 5882. 1.005 gr.
 Or Gestion - Paris 2000.
 From list 30, no. 872
 The coins of Tonnerre are identical to those of Auxerre, with exception of the name of course.

COUNTY of SENS

Original name Agedincum, from the 4th century on Senones.

The archbishops of Sens were very influential. They raised their banners against the archbishops of Reims over the Sacre royal. Before it fell into Reims possession, many anointments of Carolingians and Robertines had taken place in Sens. Also did they fight Lyon, for both desired primacy over Gaul and Germany. Eventually, Lyon had the upper hand (nonetheless, in the 20th century, the archbishops of Sens still would bear the title "Primat des Gaules et de Germanie").

As important as these clergymen were, their city Sens was utterly insignificant. After the demise of Raynard II (+ 1055), the last count of Sens, the city was accrued to the royal domain.

ANONYMOUS



- 511 Denier. A: Cross with two small crosses above and below, no legend, R: Cross + CENONESCI. B: Very fine 75,--
 1740, PdA: 5914. 1.497 gr.
 Münzzentrum - Köln 1986.



COUNTY of PROVINS

Oldest recorded name *pagus Pruviniensis*. The city was in 942 acquired by Heribert II of Vermandois, but, by marriage, soon fell to the counts of Blois. The female members of the House Blois-Champagne more than once received these estates as thirds.

Provins was the city of the large champagne fairs (several times a year). When Thibaut IV (brother of Stephan of Blois, the English king Stephen) from the House Blois-Champagne died, the county was divided in several parts. Thus Champagne, and with it Provins, went to Henri le Libéral, and under him, Provins would experience a period of great bloom. Other regions were: Ligny, Blois and Sancerre.

In 1153, the people demanded their own statutes, but collaboration with the counts stayed excellent. The county fell to destitution when in 1285, the county of Champagne was relinquished to the French crown. Provins, second city of the county through its merchant position, now became a place of weavers and dyers. Charles II put independence to an end when he took Provins in 1433.

THIBAUT IV (1125-1152)



512

- 512 Denier. A: Cross wit one pellet in the 1st and 4th, omega in the 2nd and alpha in the 3rd angles + TEBALT COME2, R: Comb, A between two rings above + CASTRI PRTTINS. B: 1759, PdA: 5971. 0.942 gr. Small traces of corrosion, very fine

25,--

Platt - Paris 1978.

According to Boudeau it would have to say PRVVINS instead of PRTTINS.

PROVINS and SENS

ANONYMOUS



513

- 513 Denier. A: Cross with one pellet in the 1st and 3rd angles, alpha and omega in the 2nd and 4th angles + SEEI : OMS CIVI. R: Comb, cross between two rings above + RILDVMISCATO (hardly visible), B: 1755, PdA: 5964. 0.983 gr. Very fine specimen

25,--

Bourgey - Paris 1974.

DIOCESE of MEAUX

The ancient name is Iatinum. Lore has it that Meaux was founded and christianised in the first half of the 4th century, by an apprentice of St. Dionysius, St. Saintin. Above his tomb a basilica was built.

In the 10th century, Heribert II of Vermandois acquired Meaux as a dowry from his bride, king Robert I's daughter. He bestowed it upon his son Robert, who was already count of Troyes, thereby creating a comital complex that formed the core of the emerging county Champagne (the House Thibaud).

The bishops owned the right of mint, but the counts endeavoured to seize it. In 1158 an agreement was made that the episcopal "denier meldois" would be considered equivalent to the comital "denier provinois". At the beginning of the 13th century, the episcopal coin vanished.



514

- 514 Denier. A: Blessing hand (GALT)ERIVS PRESV, R: Cross+ MELDIS CIVITA. B: 1771, PdA: 6006. 1.028 gr. A little crestfallen, very fine

30,--

Holleman - Enschede 1987.

PIERRE I (1172-1174)



515

- 515 Denier. A: Head l. with crosier and mitre PETRVS EPISCOP', R: Cross with pellet in the centre, in the 1st and 4th angles one pellet, one lis in the 2nd and 3rd angles + MELDIS CIVITAS. B: 1780, PdA: 6035. 1.089 gr. Very fine
Platt - Paris 1977.

75,--

MEAUX and TROYES

ANONYMOUS



516

- 516 Denier. A: Blundered Karolus monogram O MEIPIS CI(VITAO), R: Cross + TRECASI CIVI. B: 1769, PdA: 6036. 1.426 gr. Very fine
Platt - Paris 1986.

50,--

ARCHDIOCESE of REIMS

The Civitas Remorum evolved into the diocese of Reims. Brother Sinicius christianised from here, at the same time as Soissons. In 511, St. Remigius separated the northwestern part to turn it into the diocese Laon.

In 744 at the council of Soissons, Reims was endowed archiepiscopal status. Archbishop Hincmar (845-882) saw to it that as well Soissons as Laon fell under his metropolitum and dismissed any claim by the archbishops of Trier or by Sens. After the separation of Noyon and Tournai, Reims held authority over 11 suffragan dioceses (among which Soissons, Cambrai, Arras, Amiens and Laon).

Foremost task of the archbishops of Reims was the sanctification of the king (Sacre royal). In 987, archbishop Adalbero anointed Hugo Capet in Noyon. From 1027 on, sanctifications became the rule.

In the late 12th century, the notion of the "12 Pairs de France" gained ground, set off by the anointment in 1179 of Philippe II Auguste by archbishop Guillaume de Champagne, who was parented to the royal house. The archbishops of Reims ranked highest among the Pairs and, from 1319, proclaimed themselves "Duke of Reims".

During the Hundred Years' War, Reims was under siege (1359/60) by the armies of Edward III, who wanted to coerce his anointment to king of France. He failed and the Peace of Brétigny (1360) followed.

GUILLAUME I (1176-1202)



517

- 517 Denier. A: In two lines GVLE / RMVS + ARCHIEPISCOPVS, R: Cross with one crescent in the 1st and 4th angles and one lis in the 2nd and 3rd angles x REMIS CIVITAS. B: 1790, PdA: 6071. 1.141 gr. Small traces of verdigris, very fine
Schulman - Bussum, Auction 27 (2002), no. 1361.

25,--



ABBEY of SAINT-MÉDARD à SOISSONS

Medard (approx. 480 - before 561) came from local Vermandois nobility. He was bishop of Noyon and fought heathendom. He anointed queen Radegundis to be a nun. He was interred in Soissons. A monastery came into existence in 557, when Chlotarius I and Sigebert had a church built on the grave of Medard, who would later be venerated as St. Medard.

ANONYMOUS



518

518 Denier. A: Head r. (SCI MEDVR) CAPVT, R: Standard and cross (ESBESD)EBEC. B: 1900, PdA: 6510. 1.227 gr. R Weakly struck, very fine to extremely fine

200,--

Credit de la Bourse - Paris, Auction 12-6-'97 (1997), no. 742.

The text on the reverse is retrograde and most probably is a disfigurement of SCS SEBASTIAN, but why a reference to St. Sebastian?

ABBEY of CORBIE

The abbey of Corbie was founded between 657 and 661, with the merovingian queen Balthild and her son king Chlotarius III consenting. It was part of their endeavour to pave the merovingian realm with monasteries (by which nobility was to be kept on a tight rein).

The founding of Quentovic (see under Anglo-Saxon), among other things, caused this region to grow prosperous.

The patron saints are St. Peter and Paul. The abbot was politically untouchable. The estate surrounding the monastery was of considerable size, which has to be seen as "a last act of significance by the merovingian central authority" (Ewig). Under Carolingian rule in 822, around 2/3 of the estate was no longer owned by the abbey. The donations started again in 842. In Carolingian times, Corbie was the king's abbey (abbots Adalhard the Elder (780-826) and his brother Wala (826-836)). Between 815 and 825, the monastery assumed the task of founding a new convent in the just conquered Saxonia, resulting in the abbey of Corbeia Nova (Corvey) (see under Germany Corvey). The school in Corbie educated a great many clergymen, as for instance Ansgar, the bishop of Hamburg-Bremen (see there). Abbot Franco (892-911) demanded the right of mint from Eudes and had coins struck under his own name. Around 1050 decline set in. From 1071, Corbie was definitively absorbed into the royal domain. In 1186, the abbot is bestowed upon a comital title (by Philippe II Auguste). City and monastery suffered severely under the Hundred Years' War. In 1435 in the peace of Arras, Corbie fell to the dukes of Burgundy.

ANONYMOUS 12th century



519

519 Denier. A: Crosier between alpha and omega + AB(B)AS DPIC, R: Cross with one small cross in the 2nd and 3rd angles + ANSICIVS. B: 1910, PdA: ---. 1.038 gr. Very fine

100,--

Elsen - Brussel, Auction 60, no. 1488.

CITY of AMIENS

Original name: Samarobriva (celtic) and Ambiano (latin). Known mint from Roman days. Christian influence was felt early here: Saint Martin of Tours was a soldier in Amiens and it is believed to have been the stage for Martin's most famous deed: he cut his cloak in half to share it with a beggar.

Comital dignity was taken up in 805 and passed through several hands. Then the counts of Vermandois established themselves in Amiens and after that, in the 10th century, the counts of Flanders. Gradually, the comital authority was abandoned and independence emerged (among others of the abbots of Corbie). However, independence wasn't accomplished without difficulties, enabling the count of Flanders, Philips of the Alsace, to seize the opportunity and accroach all power.

With the treaty of Boves (1187) Amiens was ceded to the king, Philippe August. Commerce flourished. Around 1150, Amiens was the main centre of trade in North France.

CITY



- 520 Denier billon. A: Cross with one pellet in the 1st angle, legend not visible, R: RIX in the field, pellet over I. B: --, PdA: 6400. 1.131 gr. Very fine 40,--
 Münzen und Medaillen - Stuttgart 1989.
 This coin used to be attributed to Verdun. The attribution to Amiens is of Poey d'Avant. The text on the obverse was thought to read: HENRI, the letters seperated by dots. Normally, these coins read + ISLAMVNTAI, which means Ici a monnaie.



- 521 Denier - 11th century. A: Cross with one crescent in the 1st angle + AMBIANIS, R: PAX in the field CIVIBVSSTVIS. B: 1914, PdA: 6402. 1.013 gr. Nice patina, very fine 40,--
 Elsen - Brussel 1997.
 From list 195, no. 186



ALSACE-LORRAINE

"LES TROIS ÉVÉCHÉS": METZ - TOUL - VERDUN

DIOCESE of METZ

Its ancient name is Divodurum, it was later known as Mettis.

First mentioned in medieval times when Metz was laid in ashes by Attila in 451. Metz became the city where the early Carolingians were buried. Charlemagne considered making Metz his capital, but eventually chose Aachen. Charles le Chauve (the Bald) was crowned in Metz.

The diocese Metz was founded at the turn of the 3rd century. Its age of glory started with St. Arnulf (617-639). After Charles le Chauve, Metz became an episcopal city. First coin was struck around 1000.

Adelberon I came from a Lorraine family and was elected bishop by the citizens, against the will of King Henry I. Theodorich I was appointed by Otto I and archbishop Bruno of Cologne. Adalberon II continued the powerful episcopacy. Theodorich II joined a coalition against Henry II. Adalberon III and Hermann were loyal to Pope Gregorius VII, their diocese playing a significant role in the Investiture Controversy.

Gradually, the citizens' opposition against the bishops grew. Cologne solicitor Bertram (1180-1212), employed by Frederick Barbarossa, attempted to restore the old system. Still, the citizens' influence continued to increase. Even Emperor Frederick II didn't manage to uphold the old situation favourable to the bishops. In 1224, the people's rights were laid down in law. The bishops subsequently retreated to Vic-sur-Seille.

The authority of the bourgeoisie grew so vast that four surrounding powers combined forces: the archbishop of Trier, the duke of Lorraine, the count of Bar and the count of Luxembourg (1324-1326). The city was wealthy and powerful. It became allied with the dukes of Burgundy and successfully withstood several Lorraine attempts at annexation (René I and II of Anjou).

Important bishops of the late Middle Ages were Theodorich and Conrad Bayer of Boppard.

THEODORICH I (965-984)



522 Obole. A: Temple with four columns + SC-A.M (ETT) IS DEOD, R: Cross with O - T - T - O in the angles + IMPRTA (VG). CNG: 9.12 (obole), Dann: 14, FdS: --, W: II/D/a/2. 0.549 gr.

Extremely rare, weakly struck at the edge, very fine

300,--

Münzzentrum - Köln, Auction 80 (1994), no. 4293.

The first bishop who mentions his name on coins. Kluge knows only of 4 specimens from Swedish hoards.

In fact, his name was Dietrich (in the Lexikon des Mittelalters, both Dietrich and Theoderic are used), but we maintained the French name, as it corresponds to the text on the coins (see CNG footnote with 9.12).

ADELBERON II (984-1005)



523 Denier. A: Temple with four columns (A)DELBERO, R: Cross with O - T - T - O in the angles IMP(ERATOR). CNG: 9.13, Dann: 11, FdS: 1 (suppl), W: II/D/b/4-7. 1.088 gr.

R Well struck specimen, very fine

150,--

Elsen - Brussel 1993.

From list 156, no. 424.

Attributed to Adalberon I by Dannenberg and other early authors.

THEODERIC II (1004-1046)



- 524 Denier. A: Temple with four columns and E between them + D...ODR...C....., R: Cross with one pellet in each angle + DE..... CNG: 9.17.1 f., Dann: --, FdS: --, W: --. 1.151 gr.
Weakly struck as usual for this type, very fine 150,--
BRED - Paris 1976.
All coins of this type are barely legible and the size, among other things, is not compatible with Metz. Nonetheless, Metz should be chosen, because the episcopal title PRESVL, instead of the usual EPISCOPVS, only occurs in Upper Lorraine. In the temple triangles, forming an E.
- 525 Denier. A: Head with wild hair l. + DEOD.....RES, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle + IIVCETTSC...AS. CNG: 9.18, Dann: 24, FdS: --, W: II/E/b/1-8. 0.915 gr.
Minor flan defect, very fine 100,--
WAG - Dortmund, Auction 25 (2004), no. 5205.
Perhaps this coin served to finance the construction of the cathedral of Metz.

ALDABERON IV (1097-1117)



- 526 Denier. A: Cross with one star in each angle * ALBERO EPS, R: Bust r. with blessing hand S STEPHAN. CNG: 9.33, Dann: 56a, FdS: 13, W: II/E/f/11-12. 0.856 gr.
Nice portrait, almost extremely fine 100,--
Spink - London 2005.
Ex: NC 2005, no. MD0130.
Ex: Pimprez hoard (no. 464).
- 527 Denier. A: Cross with one star in each angle * ALBERO EPS, R: Bust r. with blessing S . STEPHAN. CNG: 9.33, Dann: 56a, FdS: 13, W: II/E/f/11-12. 0.776 gr.
Dark patina, very fine + 75,--
BRED - Paris 1976.

ANONYMOUS STEPHAN COIN (1080-1120)



- 528 Denier. A: Diademed bust l. with (S STEP)HNVS l. of it, R: In three lines * M * / ETT / * IS *. CNG: 9.38, Dann: 67, FdS: --, W: II/I/8-10. 0.961 gr.
Small flan defect and weakly struck at the edge, very fine 75,--
Müller - Solingen, Auction 42 (1983), no. 2208.
Reign of Adalberon IV (1103-1115).

ETIENNE de BAR (1120-1163)



529

- 529 Denier. A: Bust of Saint Stephan with palm leaf STE P(HAN), R: Hand with crosier ME(TE)NSIS. CNG: 9.46.2, Dann: --, FdS: 90 (suppl), W: II/E/g/22. 0.782 gr. Well struck specimen, extremely fine 100,--
Münzzentrum - Köln, Auction 123 (2004), no. 3376.

FREDERIC de PLUVOISE (1171-1179)



530

- 530 Denier. A: Bust of Saint Stephan I. FRIDERIC', R: Cross with crescent in the 2nd and rosette in the 3rd angles ⦿ METENSIS. FdS: 99 (suppl), W: II/E/i/2. 0.743 gr. Extremely fine and perfect piece 100,--
Dombrowski - Münster 1971.
According to De Saulcy, the only type struck by this bishop.

BERTRAM (1179-1212)



531

- 531 Denier. A: Bust of the bishop I. with blessing hand BERTRANN', R: Hand over cross METENSIS. FdS: 29, W: II/E/k/2. 0.751 gr. Extremely fine and perfect piece 125,--
BRED - Paris 1976.

JEAN d'APREMONT (1225-1238)



532

533

- 532 Denier. A: Bust of the bishop I. with crosier, one star in front of him * INE, R: Cross with one crescent in each angle M(E)TENSIS. FdS: 49, W: II/E/m/23. 0.723 gr. Weakly struck, very fine 100,--
Vinchon - Paris 1975.
According to De Saulcy, this might also be attributed to Jacques de Lorraine.
- 533 Denier. A: Bust of the bishop I. with crosier IS EN NAHO, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle METENSIS. FdS: 42, W: II/E/m/9. 0.722 gr. Very fine 50,--
Münzen und Medaillen - 1986.
The numbers 533-536 and 538-539 are from one hoard.



- 534 Denier. A: Bust of the bishop l. with (I)S EN NAHO, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle (METE)NSIS. FdS: 42, W: II/E/m/9. 0.696 gr. Weakly struck but very fine + specimen 50,--
Münzen und Medaillen - 1986.
- 535 Denier. A: Bust of the bishop l. with crosier, one star in front of it N..., R: Cross with one crescent in each angle (MET)ENSIS. FdS: --, W: II/E/m/23. 0.672 gr. Weakly struck, very fine + 50,--
Münzen und Medaillen - 1986.
- 536 Denier. A: Bust of the bishop l. with crosier, E I behind him , R: Cross with two stars and two crescents in the angles G I C I.... FdS: --, W: II/E/m/33. 0.681 gr. Weakly struck, very fine + 50,--
Münzen und Medaillen - 1986.
According to Weldling an imitation of Jean d'Aprémont.
The meaning of the letters is unclear.

JACQUES DE LORRAINE (1239-1260)



- 537 Denier. A: Bust of the bishop l. with crosier IAIC OB I, R: Cross with two stars and two crescents in the angles METENSIS. FdS: 55, W: II/E/n/6. 0.786 gr. Extremely fine 100,--
Vinchon - Paris 1975.
- 538 Denier. A: Bust of the bishop l. with crosier I.....BI, one star r., R: Cross with two stars and two crescents in the angles M(ET)EN(SI)S. FdS: 58, W: II/E/n/13. 0.753 gr. Almost extremely fine 150,--
Münzen und Medaillen - 1986.
Note the hair.

ANONYMOUS of the period 1260 to 1282



- 539 Denier. A: Bust of the bishop l. with crosier, one pellet in front of him, no legend visible, R: Cross with two stars and two crescents in the angles L.....C. FdS: --, W: --. 0.734 gr. Almost extremely fine 50,--
Münzen und Medaillen - 1986.
Perhaps W: II/E/m/33 and then an imitation of Jean d'Aprémont. As there is no obverse text, we classified it under the anonymous period after Jacques de Lorraine.
- 540 Denier - Epinal. A: Bust of the bishop l. with blessing hand, one rose in front of him, no legend, R: Cross . + • ES • PINAVS•. FdS: --, W: II/E/p/4. 0.502 gr. Small ink drawing (number 4), almost extremely fine 50,--
Münzzentrum - Köln, Auction 123 (2004), no. 3384.
Wendling attributes this to Laurentius of Leisterberg (1269-1280).

THIERRY V of BOPPART (1365-1383)



- 541 Gros. A: Standing bishop with crozier and blessing hand THEODE' * EPS' * METE' *, R: GRO SVS MET E'S' around long cross dividing legend + BNDICTV' o SIT o NOME' o DNI' o NRI' o IHV' o XPI' o. FdS: 72, W: II/E/w/11. 3.286 gr. Nice patina, almost extremely fine 150,--
Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 247 (1968), no. 1900.
- 542 1/3 Gros. A: Bust of the bishop with crozier and blessing hand THE' o EPS' o ME' o, R: Long cross dividing legend MON ETA MET ENS' o. FdS: 73, W: II/E/w/7-8. 1.081 gr. Slightly bent and small scratches on the surface, very fine to extremely fine 150,--
Bourgey - Paris 1976.

EPINAL

Epinal was founded by Bishop Theoderic I of Metz (965-984). Otto I allowed a market place to be set up and a mint of Epinal first was mentioned under Theoderic II. His coins and those of his predecessors are direct imitations of Metz coins.

HÉRIMANN (1073-1090)



- 543 Denier or Obole (?). A: Temple SPINA(L), R: Cross with two pellets and two rosettes in the angles SPI(NAL). CNG: --, Dann: --, FdS: 70 (suppl), W: II/E/g/61-66. 0.661 gr. Weakly struck, very fine 50,--
BRED - Paris 1976.
This type is not mentioned in CNG, De Saulcy draws four specimens (70-73). Three of these were found among a group of 30 specimens of Bishop Bertram's coins (1179-1212). Nevertheless, De Saulcy classifies them under Bishop Hérermann (1073-1090), but also names Bishop Theoderic III and Frédéric de Pluvoise.

SAARBURG

In 1056, Bishop Adalberon III of Metz, with the assent of Emperor Henry III, conferred the privilege of mint in Saarburg to the cathedral chapter of Metz.

First coins were from the period of Bishop Hérermann. The name of the bishop is not mentioned, which indicates the cathedral chapter operated the mint. Not mentioning an episcopal name was a way to avoid siding with either the emperor or the pope. Starting with the third type, St. Stephanus was replaced by St. Paul, which was a manifestation of the sway of the cathedral chapter over the mint.

ADALBERON III (1046-1072)



- 544 Denier. A: Saint Paul I. S . PAVL(V)S, R: Church ...PA CNG: --, Dann: --, FdS: 49 (suppl), W: --. 0.541 gr. Well struck specimen, almost extremely fine 150,--
BRED - Paris - 1976
This type is not mentioned in CNG. De Saulcy provides a drawing (no. 49) with a similar bust, facing right however. The reverse shows exactly the same church, with the legend SAREBOC. Here, only the B is legible, moreover the bust faces left. The bust bears great resemblance to the coins of bishop Bertram, which puts attribution to this period within the realms of possibility.

CITY of METZ

In 1334, Bishop Adhémar de Monteil conferred the privilege of mint to the city of Metz for a period of two years. In 1383, Thierry de Boppart left the city the deed to the mint. From the turn of the 14th century on, the city exercised this privilege of mint (the bishops retained the privilege of mint as well).



- 545 Florin d'or. A: City-arms in multilobe with one trefoil in each angle + ✠ FLORENS ✠ CIVITATIS ✠ METENSIS ✠, R: Saint Stephen in mandorla with palm leaf and stone • . S' . STEPHANVS PROTHOMAR. B: 1657, Fb: 164, Rob: 740. 3.464 gr. Extremely fine and perfect piece 1.000,--
- Ex: Brand collection, Leu - Zürich, Auction 70, deel 5 (1997), no. 7705.
Ex: Buchenau collection, Auction A. E. Cahn, Frankfurt a.M., 11-10-1099, no. 3422.



- 546 Gros. A: GRO SSV S * M ETE' around cross long cross + BNDICTV' o SIT 8 NOME' o DNI' o NRI' o IHV' o XPI' o, R: Saint Stephen in mandorla with palm leaf and stone * S' * STEPH * * PROTHO' *. B: --, Rob: 755. 3.210 gr. Very fine to extremely fine 200,--
- Kurpfälzische Münzhandlung - Mannheim, Auction 57 (1999), no. 161.
- 547 Gros. A: GRO SSV S * M ETE' around long cross with one star in each angle city-arms BNDICTV' o SIT' 8 NOME' o DNI' o NRI' o IHV' o XPI', R: Saint Stephen with blessing hand between two shields, hand above S ✠ STEPH * PROTHO' * M' *. B: 1659, Rob: 757 ff. 2.667 gr. Small flan crack, very fine 75,--
- Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1971.



- 548 1/3 Gros - Bugne. A: Saint Stephen kneeling with blessing hand and stone S STEPH PROTHO *, R: Long cross dividing legend with one star in each angle MON ETA MET ENS. B: 1663, Rob: 783. 0.856 gr. Traces of encrustation, extremely fine 75,--
- Spink - London 1979.



- 549 1/4 Gros. A: Head of Saint Stephen facing + S x STEPHANVS, R: Cross + MONE x METENSIS. R Very fine 100,--
 B: 1666, Rob: 793. 0.585 gr.
 Münzauktion - Essen, Auction 36 (1978), no. 2107.

DIocese of TOUL

A diocese since the turn of the 4th century, in the shadow of Metz. King Henry I conferred the right of toll to the bishops in 927. The claims to full comital privileges were honoured by Emperor Otto II in 974.

At the beginning of the 10th century, the market, mint and tolls were in episcopal hands. In 1262, the county went to the bishops. Minting started in the 10th century and lasted until 1360.

In the second decade of the 12th century, there obviously was a crisis in the power of the bishops. Alberon de Chiny (1131-1156) overcame the difficulties.

PIERRE de BRIZAY (1168-1192)



- 550 Denier. A: Bust of the bishop I. with crozier PETRVS, R: Church ...LLI. B: --, Rob: 967 (?). RR Weakly struck, otherwise extremely fine 500,--
 1.230 gr.
 Münzen u. Medaillen - Basel 1992.
 From list 556, no. 167.
 The legend on the reverse is not visible.



- 551 Denier. A: Bust of Saint Petrus with book PETR VS, R: Hand on crozier ⦿ TV LLI. B: 1681, Rob: 968. 0.741 gr. A little weakly struck, very fine to extremely fine 75,--
 Lanz - München, Auction 29 (1984), no. 181.
 From the Barbarossa hoard.
- 552 Denier - Neufchâteau. A: Bust of Saint Petrus r. with keys (PETRVS), R: Tower N(OVI CAS)TRI. Dark patina, very fine + 75,--
 B: --, Nau: 183.19 (97.31), Rob: --. 0.669 gr.
 Dombrowski - Münster 1982.
 Find Traenheim S.93 c2.
 "Die sehr effektive Münzstätte Neufchâteau an der oberen Maas hat für die Bischöfe von Toul und die Herzöge von Lotharingen eine Fülle variantenreicher Pfennige von guten Stempelschnitt geprägt. Gleichbleibendes Kennzeichen ist in jedem Fall der zweistöckige Zinnturm mit oder ohne Stadtnamen. Auf der andere Seite erscheint für die Bischöfe der H. Petrus, für die Herzöge der heraldische Adler oder der Herzog selbst" (Nau).

JEAN d'ARZILIÈRES or AMADEUS of GENEVA (1321-1330)



- 553 Petit denier de Brixey. A: Bishop standing with crozier and book D' . BI . R . , R: Sword + MON
ETA. B: 1687, Rob: 1013. 0.391 gr. Traces of verdigris, very fine 50,--

Or Gestion - Paris 2000.

From list 30, no. 867.

The obverse shows a bishop, which refers to Toul, the reverse shows a downturned sword, indication of Lorraine. To my mind, this, just as the numbers 554 and 555, is an associate coin of the bishop of Toul and the duke of Lorraine.

The coin is usually attributed to Liberdun, due to the fact that it reads L' I, here, however, it clearly states B I.

Wendling (W: II/E/s/19) attributes it to the Toul mint of Brixey, which fits the letters D' BI R.



- 554 Sterling. A: Crowned head facing + EC MONE(TA) NOSTRA, R: Long cross dividing legend with
three pellets in each angle LVN TOL ENG IEN. B: 1691, Mayhew: 311, Rob: 1026. 0.987 gr.
Weakly struck, very fine 100,--

Glendining - London, Auction 23 (1975), no. 313.

This legend also occurs on coins in the name of Thierry IV (1312-1328), see Mayhew 306, therefore the duke of Lorraine may have had a hand in this issue.

LVNTOLENGIEN is a garbled version of Lotharingia.

A possibility suggested by Robert, and cited by Engel & Serrure, is that the citizens themselves may have struck coins in the 1320s.

The styles of bust indicate that the entire EC MONETA NOSTRA series have emanated from a single die-cutting centre. Could there have been a convention between Lorraine and Toul and should this money be interpreted as that of duke and bishop in association?

A coin lacking an episcopal indication could be one of the results of this convention with Lorraine. Does Chautard 130-133 provide anything on this?

Obverse: EC = ECCE, no pellet between EC and MONETA.



- 555 Sterling. A: Crowned head facing + hIC MONETA NOSTRA, R: Long cross dividing legend with
three pellets in each angle LVN TOL ENG IEN. B: --, Mayhew: Obverse 313 / Reverse 311, Rob:
1027. 0.925 gr. Very fine 100,--

Holleman - Enschede 1989.

Normally it reads EC MONETA NOSTRA (Mayhew 311). One rare variety (Mayhew 313) has hIC, its reverse, however, has the text : LON TON REN GIE (one specimen).

The reverse of this coin is that of Mayhew 311 and, therefore, a new variety

DIOCESE of VERDUN

City on Mont St. Vanne. Presumably a diocese since the 4th century (Verdun sometimes used to be referred to as *Urbs Clavorum*).

Under bishop Hatto (847-870) there was territorial expansion. Verdun was saved from Viking raids, but under Bishop Dado (880-923) the entire city and the cathedral went up in flames.

From 911 to 925, Verdun was under Westfrancoian rule and Charles the Simple had coins struck here (see under Carolingians).

In the 10th century, the economy flourished. Apart from the cathedral and St. Vanne, in 972, St. Paul was founded. In 1047, the city and the cathedral were destroyed by Godfrey the Bearded. Thierry I played an important role in the Investiture Controversy and clashed with St. Vanne. After Thierry, the bishops' influence substantially diminished, in spite of the fact that they from 1099 on formally owned the county Verdun. The counts of Bar and the abbots of St. Vanne held strong positions.

The diocese Verdun was a suffraganate of Trier.

HAIMO (990-1024)



- 556 Denier. A: AVG under three pellets and over zigzag line ...O..., R: Cross with one pellet in each angleO..... B: --, CNG: 3.8, Dann: 96/96a, Rob: --. 0.859 gr. Weakly struck, very fine 50,--
Elsen - Brussel 1983.
The legend should be HAIMO EPS and OTTO IMP.
Haimo was a student of bishop Notker of Liège and he, after Liège example, elevated Verdun to "Holy City".

RAIMBERT (1024-1039)



- 557 Denier - Hattonchatel. A: Head l. (+ RAMBERT) PVSL, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle + HADON(I CAST)RV(F). CNG 6.1, Dann: 103. 1.300 gr. Bent, very fine 200,--
WAG - Dortmund, Auction 29 (2005), no. 2784.
Hattonchatel is named after bishop Hatto of Verdun (847-870). Was operated as mint of Raimbert to Richer (beginning of 12th century).
Raimbert founded the OSB monastery St. Airy, that was totally eclipsed, however, by those of St. Vanne and St. Paul.

RICHARD I (1039-1046)



- 558 Denier. A: Head r. RICARDVS (EPS), R: Hand + HEINRI(CVS R)EX. B: --, CNG: 3.12, Dann: 104, Kluge: 321, Rob: --. 1.098 gr. RR A little weakly struck, very fine + 300,--
Münzzentrum - Köln 1979.
Both Dannenberg and CNG have the head facing left. Head facing right is non-existent in literature.



- 559 Denier - Hattonchatel. A: Blessing hand (R)ICHA(RD)VS, R: Temple with five columns H(ATTONIS C)A(TRV). B: --, CNG: 6.2, Dann: 105, Rob: 1069. 0.824 gr. **RR** Very fine 150,--
WAG - Dortmund, Auction 25 (2004), no. 5211.

THIERRY I (1047-1088)



- 560 Denier. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + TIEDERI(CVS) EPS, R: Veiled head r. in circle (nimbus ?) + SCA MARI(A). B: --, CNG: 3.17, Dann: 107, Kluge: 323, Rob: 1086. 1.056 gr. **RR** A little off centre, otherwise extremely fine specimen 300,--
Vinchon - Paris, Auction 21-5-79 (1979), no. 539.
1071-1078.
- 561 Obole. A: Cross + TIEDERICVS EPS, R: Veiled head r. in circle (nimbus ?) + SEA MARIA. B: --, CNG: 3.17, Dann: 108, Rob: 1090. 0.662 gr. **RR** Weakly struck, very fine to extremely fine 200,--
Vinchon - Paris, Auction 21-5-79 (1979), no. 540.
1071-1078.



- 562 Denier. A: Bust r. with crosier TIEDERIC' EPS, R: Church with two towers + VIRDV(N)VM. B: 1699, CNG: 3.19, Dann: 106, Rob: 1073. 0.957 gr. **RR** Weakly struck at the edge, otherwise clear and sharp specimen, almost extremely fine 400,--
Elsen - Brussel 2000.
From list 208, no. 272.
1085-1089.

RICHER (1089-1107) - RICHARD II (1107-1114)



- 563 Denier. A: Veiled head r. M(AR)IA V(IRGO), R: Cross with the limbs ending in pellets (RICHERVS EPS). B: 1706, CNG: 3.22, Dann: 1433, Rob: 1095. 0.761 gr. Legend not visible, very fine 100,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1979.
Small head, not in circle (nimbus ?), as with nos. 560 and 561.
CNG knows of only three specimens in Swedish hoards.

ABBEY GORZE

Abbey in Lorraine, near the city of Metz. Founded under bishop Chrodegang of Metz in 757 the abbey went a centre for ecclesiastical studies. After abbot Peter (1169-1203/0) the monastery falls into decay.

ANONYMOUS (12th century)



564

- 564 Denier. A: Bust of the bishop l., R: Church. Nau: 183.29 (97.35). 0.727 gr. **RR** Very fine + 300,--
Münzzentrum - Köln, Auction 62 (1987), no. 2659.
"Es handelt sich um Beischläge zu Toulser Pfennigen aus einer bedeutenden geistlichen Münzstätte der Diözese Toul. Hierfür kommt am ehesten die Abtei Gorze im Frage" (Nau).

ABBEY REMIREMONT

Women's abbey in Lorraine. Founded around 620 as abbey for young girls by Romaric and Amatus (a monk from Luxeuil). Initially, the abbey was headed by abbots, later by abbesses. In 817, the monastery adopted the *Regula Benedicti*. The canons were exclusively elected from nobility. The monastery was a meeting place of influential persons.

In the 13th century, Remiremont was an important trade centre. The influence of the duke of Lorraine and of the citizens increased however. At the turn of the 13th century, the abbess was granted the title of "princess of the empire". The monastery would be sovereign until 1566.

ANONYMOUS



565

- 565 Denier - after 1130. A: Bust of Saint Petrus r. with key, R: Cross with two pellets and two lis in the angles (R)OM(ARIC). B: 1599, CNG: 1.9, Dann: 1403, Rob: 1680. 0.791 gr. Extraordinary well struck portrait, very fine + 250,--
Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 59 (2000), no. 910.
CNG adopts Dannenberg's drawing, Maxe-Werly (1879 and cat. Robert.
B: 1599, PdA: 1680.

DUCHY of BAR

Originally a county, from 1354 on a duchy. In 960, it came under the rule of the dukes of Upper-Lorraine. In that year, Duke Frederick I built the castle Barrum-Ducis (= Bar-le-Duc). Sophie (1033-....) is considered to be the first countess of Bar. Due to its wealth and vastness, Bar was a thorn in Lorraine's side (which itself encompassed a very modest territory).

When in 1354, Luxembourg became a duchy, Charles IV united the remaining parts, elevating the counts of Bar to princes of the empire. Nonetheless, the focus stayed on France. In the same year, Yolanda adopted the ducal title for her son Robert "the Magnificent".

When Robert' son, Edward II, died in 1415 at Azincourt, the duchy went to Louis, bishop of Verdun. He adopted his grandnephew René of Anjou, who wedded Elisabeth of Lorraine in 1420, uniting Bar with Lorraine.

The coat of arms of Bar displays a little fish, bar = bass.

ROBERT (1352-1411)



566

- 566 Florin d'Or. A: Saint John the Baptist S . IOHANNES . B, R: Fleur-de-lis of florentine ROBERTVS DVX. B: 1430, Fb: 65, FdS: 4.11, Rob: 1165. 3.347 gr. Flan defect and small scratches, very fine 300,--
Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 245 (1967), no. 1772.

DUCHY of LORRAINE

Emerged after the Treaty of Meerssen, it was divided in two in 959: Lower Lorraine and Upper Lorraine (= Mosel Lorraine).

In French, Loheraigne evolved to Lorraine, a name corresponding with that of the dioceses Metz, Toul and Verdun. On the other side it evolved to "Lothier".

The first period spans the time from 959 to 1033. In this period, the dukes of Lorraine (in the person of Sophie, daughter of Frederick II, see Bar) became the authority in Bar.

The second period is from 1033 to 1047 when Lorraine fell under Lower Lorraine (Gothelo, Godfrey the bearded, etc).

In 1047, Emperor Henry III decided to confer the duchy to Adalbert, who is considered to be the first duke of Lorraine. His brother Gerhard (1048-1070) laid the foundations for ducal power. Still, the ducal family held a second-rate position. Simon I (halfbrother of Emperor Lothair III) and Mattheus (brother-in-law of Frederick Barbarossa) were constricted to settling local conflicts.

Simon II and his brother Ferry were granted the German-speaking territories in fief. Under Ferry III unity was restored again. Thibault I (1213-1220) for some time ruled the united and rich Metz-and-Alsace heritage of the count of Dagsburg, but he died childless.

Duke Mattheus II instated the French institutions of, among other things, "baillage" (where the king was represented by a bailli (bailiff)). Under Ferry III (1251-1303) a major step was taken toward establishing ducal authority.

In the 14th century, both France and Germany served to provide orientation for the duchy. The elevation of the counts of Bar to dukes by the French king posed a direct threat to Lorraine. When the daughter of Charles II (1390-1431), Isabella, married the heir of Bar, René of Anjou, all seemed clear for a reunion of both duchies. However, Count Antoine de Vaudemont thwarted these plans and the union could not be brought to completion until the reign of the grandson of René and Isabelle, René II (1488).

In 1473, Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, occupied the land. This provoked a reaction by René II and his nobles so fierce that it cost Charles his life when he was slain at the battle of Nancy in 1477. The land was subsequently restored to its former status.

Under Ferry I (1205), there was first use of the coat of arms (on a seal) of Lorraine: "La grande chargée de trois alérions ou aiglons" (the great charge of the three alerions or eagles). On the coins, this charge doesn't appear until under Ferry III (1251-1303)



THIBAUT II (1303-1312)

- 567 Denier au cavalier - Nancy. A: Mounted knight r. with lance + T DVX LOTOREGIE, R: Sword between two eagles MONETA DE NANCEI. B: 1456, FdS: 3.16, Rob: 1272. 0.922 gr. Very fine 75,--
Münzauktion - Essen 1997.
Ex: Münzauktion Essen, Auction 72 (1996), no. 1193.

FERRY IV (1312-1328)

- 568 Denier au cavalier - Nancy. A: Mounted knight r. with lance F DVX LOTOREGIE, R: Sword between two eagles MONETA DE NANCEI. B: 1458, FdS: 3.19, Rob: 1278. 0.943 gr. Nice patina, very fine 75,--
Peus - Frankfurt, Auction 303 (1981), no. 943.

Thibault II was wedded to Isabelle de Rumigny. At the demise of Thibaut in 1312, the seigneurie (manor) of Neuf-château passed to Isabelle. In 1314, she entered wedlock for the second time, with Gaucher de Chatillon. He was now entitled to Neufchâteau and exercised his privilege of mint. As this Gaucher de Chatillon was Constable of France *and* played a role in Lorraine history, the coins he struck in his own County of Porcien are listed after those of Lorraine. From this marriage Ferry IV was born. He took Isabelle of Austria for his wife and she begot him a son, Raoul. The latter's second marriage was to Marie de Blois from the House of the Thibaudiens. When Raoul died in 1346, their son Jean was only 7 years of age and a regency of Marie de Blois and the count of Wurtemberg ensued.

MARIE DE BLOIS (1346-1348)



569



569

- 569 Plaque - Nancy. A: Shield in quatrefoil with three crowns in the angles + IOHANNES : DVX : MARCIO DE LOTHORIGIE, R: + MONETA : DE : NACEI around cross with one crown in each angle, + MARIE : DVCHESSE : MARBOVRSS : DE : LA DVCHI. B: 1467, FdS: 5.13, Rob: 1316. 3.707 gr. R Small traces of verdigris, very fine to extremely fine 750,--
 Léopard d'Or - Paris 1983.
 Shield: 1st and 2nd field: Lorraine, 3rd and 4th field: Blois.

JEAN I (1346-1389)



570



- 570 Gros - Nancy. A: Eagle over shield of Lorraine . IOHANNES o o DVX o LOTH o, R: Sword between two roses MONETA o FCA' o IN o NANCEIO. B: 1472, FdS: 6.14, Rob: 1330. 2.037 gr. Very fine 200,--
 Franceschi - Brussel 1973.
 John I fought in the disastrous Battle at Poitiers. Together with the French king, he was taken prisoner of war and was not set free until the Peace of Bretigny.

CHARLES II (1390-1431)



571



572



- 571 Denier de billon - Sierck. A: Shield + KAROLVS o DVX o LOTHOR', R: Sword between two rosettes MONETA o IN o SIERK. B: 1486, FdS: 8.7, Rob: 1359. 0.792 gr. Traces of verdigris, extremely fine 20,--
 Schulman - Amsterdam 1971.
- 572 Denier de billon - Sierck. A: Shield + KAROLVS o DVX o LOTHOR', R: Sword between two rosettes MONETA o IN o SIERK. B: 1486, FdS: 8.7, Rob: 1359. 0.728 gr. Flan crack, almost extremely fine 20,--
 Holleman - Enschede 1987.
 The colour of 571 differs remarkably from that of 572.



573

- 573 Gros - Sierck. A: Helmet with eagle on top over shield of Lorraine KAROLVS * DVX * LOTHOR, R: MONETA : IN : SIERK around sword between two holly leafs BNDICTV'. SIT : NOME'. DNI'. NRI'. IHV'. XPI .. B: 1485, FdS: 8.8, Rob: 1358. 2.368 gr. Extremely fine specimen 200,--
Münzauktion Essen - 1997.
Ex: Münzauktion Essen, Auction 72 (1996), no. 1199.



574

- 574 Demi gros carolus. A: Shield over sword KAROLVS * DVX LOTHOR * Z * M, R: Long cross dividing legend with two eagles and two barbels (Bar) between crosses in the angles BENEDICTVM SIT * NOME * DNI. B: 1483, FdS: 9.14, Rob: 1355. 1.268 gr. Almost very fine 75,--
Münzauktion - Essen 1997.
Ex: Münzauktion Essen, Auction 72 (1996), no. 1198.
Rob: 1355.
Possibly the M stands for MOSELLANE?

DUCHY of LORRAINE and BAR

After the death of Edward II, eldest son of Duke Robert "le Magnifique", in the battle of Azincourt (1415), the Duchy of Bar came to Ludwig the bishop of Verdun. He adopted his grandnephew René d'Anjou, who was married to Elisabeth of Lorraine. This led to the uniting of the Bar and Lorraine.

RENÉ I d'ANJOU (1431-1453)



575

- 575 Gros - St. Michel. A: Crowned and armoured duke standing with sword and shield RENAT' + D + BAR' MP + CO, R: MONETA S * MICHA around long cross, + SIT * NOMEN * DOMINI * BENEDIC. B: 1494, FdS: 10.10, Rob: 1377. 2.170 gr. Irregular flan, very fine 125,--
Münzauktion - Essen, Auction 46 (1983), no. 1093.
Shield: 1 = Anjou, 2 = Bar, 3 = Bar, 4 = Anjou and 5 = Lorraine.
Legend obverse: René, duc de bar, marquis, comte de Provence.



576

- 576 1/2 Gros - St. Michel. A: Arms of Anjou and Bar with shield of Lorraine on it + RENATI * DUX * BARREN * Z * LOH' * M' *, R: Sword between eagle (alérion) and barbel (barbeau) with three crosses + MONETA * FACT * IN * MICHAL' IN * S * M. B: --, FdS: Obverse 11.6 / Reverse 11.3, Rob: --. 1.611 gr. 100,--
 Müller - Solingen, Auction 66 (1990), no. 1950.
 cf. no. 575 for the coat of arms.

RENÉ II (1473-1508)



577

578

- 577 1/4 Plaque - Nancy. A: Crowned shield of Lorraine I. and Bar r. + RENATVS * D * G * REX * SICIL * IHRL * LOT ., R: Sword + MONETA * NOVA * IN * NANCEIO. B: --, FdS: --, Rob. --. 1.170 gr. 50,--
 Dombrowski - Münster 1982.
 The legends on the reverse in B: 1502, Rob: 1394 and FdS: 12.7 are MONETA FACTA IN NANCEIO, but here, it is clearly NOVA.
- 578 Gros au Bras Armé. A: Shield RENATUS * D * GR * SI * IE * LO * D, R: Hand with sword breaking through clouds lotharingian cross FECIT * POTENCIAM . IN . BRANCHIOS. B: 1500, FdS: 14.1, Rob: 1389. 1.780 gr. 100,--
 Gall. des Monnaies - Genève 1980.
 Legend reverse: Fecit potentiam in brachio suo.
 Shield: 3 = Anjou, 4 = Bar and 5 = Lorraine.

COUNTY of PORCÉAN

Gaucher de Châtillon traded Châtillon for Porcéan. Through his marriage to Isabelle of Rumigny, heiress of Florines, he acquired usufruct of both Neufchâteau (see under Lorraine) and Florines. His grandson Jean sold Porcéan to Louis, Duke of Orléans in 1395. Gaucher was Constable of France.

GAUCHER of CHÂTILLON (1313-1322)



579

- 579 Sterling - Yves. A: Crowned head facing + GACHS COMES PORC, R: Long cross dividing legend with three pellets in each angle MON ETN OVA YVE. B: 2171, Mayhew: 237, PdA: 6101. 1.224 gr. 100,--
 Franceschi - Brussel 1972.
 In all references, the obverse reads GAL instead of GA as here
 Chautard 241 (Pl. XIX.3). also in Mayhew, the type without L is not listed.
 This is the type without private mark



580 Sterling - Yves. A: Crowned head facing + GALCH ' S COMES PORC, R: Long cross dividing legend with three pelets in each angle MONET NOVA Y*VE. B: 2171, Mayhew: 247, PdA: 6102. 1.033 gr. Weakly struck, very fine

75,--

Glendining - London, Auction 23 (1975), no. 313.

Ex: Noble collection (Australia).

Chautard 243.

This is a type with a private mark. An ' between the H and the S on the obverse and a star between Y and V on the reverse. Mayhew notes on p. 99: "It is distinguished by appearance of a small pierced star or mullet on the reverse" (shown here as a star). I know of about 10 examples of this type, but have yet to find an example with a star on the obverse.

ALSACE

In spite of numerous other readings, this name is generally accepted to derive from "ali" (= alien) and "sasz" (= seat). Hence, the Alsatians were Franks who were considered strangers (by the population consisting mainly of Alamanni, that is). Apart from the period 640-740, this territory had never been a unity.

The duchy Alsace was founded around 680 as a buffer to resist the Alamanni, it lasted until approx. 740.

The dukes came from the House of the Etichons. Subsequently: Etichon = Adalric (673- after 683), Adalbert (after 683-723), Liutfrid (722- approx. 740). The influence of this dynasty disquieted the Franconian mayors of the palace. After the death of Liutfrid, the duchy was discontinued and the Etichonen fell from grace. Still, later they would once again hold important offices in the Carolingian era.

ADALBERT (683-723)



581 Denier - Strasbourg - beginning of the 8th century. A: Within a V-shaped curve a V (heart?), cross above ADALBERTO, R: Monogram. Belf: 804. 1.000 gr.

Extremely rare, Flan defect at the edge, very fine +

2.000,--

Elsen - Brussel, Auction 65 (2001), no. 1334.

Originally attributed to Basel by Lelewel (Atlas XVII.3). He interpreted the monogram on the reverse as BAS CI (=Basilia Civitas). Wielandt proved this wrong (Die Monetarmünzen der oberrheinischen Merovingermünzstätten, in: Deutsches Jahrbuch für Numismatik 2 (1939), p. 70-74), as did Buchenau before him (1906). However, that Schoepflin (Alsatia illustrata, Colmar, 1751-1761) had already attributed this coin to Adalbert, Count of Alsace, prior to the attributions mentioned, may be deemed peculiar. Recently, Klein wrote the following to de Wit: "In my opinion, this is Merovingian coinage, that had a parallel issue in the "Vinivio"-variety (Belfort 805). He considers an origin within the Upper Rhine/Alsace region not altogether improbable (as Schöpflin, confer Bertsett/Elsass: 48 a-c with text on p. 99)".

To my mind too, Adalbert in his period as duke of the Alsace is the only one eligible for this coin. The question as to what the monogram on the reverse designates, remains unanswered. The text on the obverse is retrograde. Therefore, it seems probable that the same is true for the reverse text. Thus, it would read GUIB. If this isn't the case, it might be BIUG or perhaps BURG. Adalric had another daughter, a sister therefore of Adalbert, for whom he founded the monastery Odilienburg. Could the monogram be taken as BURG for Odilienburg ?

There are six known specimens (counting the one at hand): three were mentioned by Wielandt in 1971 (Die Baslermünzprägung. p. 9), a fourth is kept in the collection of the American Numismatic Society (A. Stahl ANSMN 1995, p. 19), a fifth was found in Domburg (KPK no. 459). Ex coll. De Man (described as hoard, by De Man in 1907, in the catalogue of the Numismatische Verzameling van het Zeeuwsch genootschap der Wetenschappen). See Op den Velde and Klaassen: Sceattas and merovingian denarii from Domburg and Westenschouwen, 2004, no. 927c). With the exception of the last, all specimens were found in the Alsace.

STRASBOURG

In 12 BC, the castle Argentorate was built, from where in Roman times, the entire region along the Rhine was provided for. Especially the Alamanni proved a great deal of trouble.

The first Christian chapter dates from 343. In the middle of the 6th century, Bishop Arbogast retained Roman custom, safeguarding continuity. In Gregory of Tours' days, the name "Strateburg" is common.

After discontinuing the duchy Alsace, the estate of the diocese grew smaller. Charles the Simple, who had annexed Lorraine in 911, minted in Strasbourg (see under the Carolingians). In 925, Henry I definitively added Lorraine to Germany. The Saxonian emperors then turned Strasbourg into a main stronghold (with the aid of the diocese).

The bishops of Strasbourg were the elite. Otto II granted Bishop Erchanbald full control and the possession of the royal mint. Henry II bestowed great donations on Strasbourg, enabling Bishop Werner of Habsburg to commence construction of the cathedral (1015), the Habsburgers thereby reinforced their foothold in the Alsace.

OTTO I (936-973)



582

- 582 Denier. A: Crowned bust l. . MAGNVS OTTO (retrograde), R: Cross . SCA . MARIA. Dann: 908, E&L: 53. 1.534 gr. **RR** Clear and sharp struck specimen with nice portrait, very fine + Münzzentrum - Köln, Auction 71 (1991), no. 2161.

750,--

OTTO I and BISHOP UDO (950-965)



583

- 583 Denier. A: Bust l. (OTTO RE)X PA(CIFICV), R: Church (ARGE)NT(NAVOTO). Dann: 929, E&L: 54, Kluge: 478. 1.553 gr. **R** Weakly struck at the edge, very fine

Spink - London - 1980

From Frankfurter Münzhandlung, Veil.129, no. 325

Here is the characteristic church of Strasbourg for the first time visible. The emperor has no crown, but the roman diadem.

750,--

OTTO III and BISHOP WIDEROLD (991-999)



584

- 584 Denier. A: Crowned head r. (OT)TO IMPER, R: Church V(VIDEROL)PIS. Dann: 939a, E&L: 93. 1.506 gr. **R** Weakly struck at the edge, very fine

Münzzentrum - Köln 1986.

The church on the reverse is shaped most unusually.

500,--

HEINRICH II (1002-1024)



585



586



- 585 Denier. A: Crowned head r. HEINRIC....., R: ARGEN / TINA cross-shaped, with one cross in the 1st and 2nd and one star in the 3rd and 4th angles. Dann: 918a, E&L: 122, Kluge: 81. 1.227 gr. Very fine 200,--
 Vinchon - Paris 1983.
 From Vinchon - Paris, Auction 10-5-1979, no. 735.
- 586 Denier. A: Crowned bust facing HEINRICVS IMP RAD (retrograde), R: ARGEN / TINA cross-shaped with one tower in each angle. Dann: 920, E&L: 131, Kluge: 82. 1.541 gr. 300,--
 Spink - Zürich 1979. Nice patina, extraordinary well struck, very fine

KONRAD II (1024-1039)



587



- 587 Denier. A: Crowned bust l. CHON(R)ADVS IPR, R: ARGEN / TINA cross-shaped with one ornamented cross in the 1st and 2nd angles and three lines ending in pellet in the 3rd and 4th angles. Dann: 921, E&L: 140, Kluge: 110. 1.288 gr. 300,--
 Credit de la Bourse - Paris 1979. Nice portrait, very fine
 From now on only the name of the bishop is mentioned on the coins.

WERNER of HABSBURG (1001-1029)



588



- 588 Denier. A: Crown + VICEL(INV)EXI, R: ARGEN / TINA cross-shaped with one star in each angle. Dann: 944, E&L: 134, Kluge: 483. 1.200 gr. 500,--
 Münzzentrum - Köln 1981. **RR** Very fine
 This coin was listed after the imperial coin of Conrad II for three reasons: it is the first coin that mentions the name of the bishop exclusively, its type matches that of the next coin (no. 589) better (the text is the same), and the trend of the weight is similar.

HERIMAN (1048-1065)



- 589 Denier. A: Crown + HEREMAGVVS E, R: ARGEN / TINA cross-shaped with one star in each angle. Dann: --, E&L: --, Kluge: --. 1.094 gr. **RR** Very fine + 500,--
Münzzentrum - Köln 1981.
In the lower right quarter, the demi-circle of pellets is partly replaced with a cross, just as the star. The weight is a little lower than that of no. 588. This coin is mentioned nowhere in literature.

After minting on the basis of common denarii, there wouldn't be any minting until the Hohenstaufen era. Apart from a few exceptions, these are all coins bearing no script whatsoever, rendering a temporal or spatial attribution impossible (the same is observed with the sceattas, save for the time span which is much shorter than it is here).

The first attempt at classifying these - anonymous - coins, was Nessel's and there in fact has been no attempt since. Nessel always had one certain aspect prevail, which raises questions as to the accuracy of his methods.

Underneath an attempt is made to classify these coins from a different point of view, on the basis of the available specimens. First, distinctions were made in the three different phases: the first, the Hohenstaufen period (and before), the second one after this period, and finally the third, marking the transition to municipal mint. In phase 1 another subdivision into three groups was made, as in phase 2 alike.

1st phase

a. Type with the bishop wearing a round mitre. The reverse consists of two figures with a crosier between them.



- 590 Pfennig. A: Bust of the bishop l. with crosier, R: Two figures holding cross. E&L: --, N: --. 0.943 gr. **RR** Extremely fine 300,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1978.
The figures on the reverse are inverted identicals.
In literature this type is not mentioned, although there is a picture in Grierson: Coins of the Middle Ages (fig. 370-371). Grierson writes: "coins with a raised edge are characteristic of Alsace coinage in the 12th and 13th century".
A specimen was published in Blätter für Münzfreunde XV (1923), p. 45. Few specimens known.

- 591 Pfennig. A: Bust of the bishop l., angel giving him a crosier, S and star above, R: Figure sitting l., two standing figures r. holding crosier. E&L: 117, N: 3. 0.682 gr. Extremely fine to uncirculated 300,--
Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 25 (1993), no. 1562.
According to Nessel, this coin is of the oldest type. The picture with Nessel no. 3 shows no star and no S.
The reverse is primitively cut. The weight of this coin is considerably lower than that of no. 590.

b. Type with a bare-headed bishop. The reverse shows a church. A bare-headed figure normally indicates an abbot, nevertheless, a bishop is meant here (also appears on coins of Cologne, for instance), for no. 592 clearly reads Episcopus.



- 592 Pfennig. A: Bust of the bishop facing with crosier and book EPISCOPVS, R: Church . ARGENTINA. E&L: 161, N: 48. 0.926 gr. **R** Magnificent well struck specimen with nice patina 250,--
Münzzentrum - Köln, Auction 62 (1987), no. 2680.
The small church is characteristically shaped as the Strasbourg church (see no. 583).
Nessel mentions an analogue specimen with IMPERATOR (sceptre and globus cruciger instead of crosier and book), same reverse.



- 593 Pfennig. A: Bust of the bishop l. with blessing r. hand and crosier, R: Church with three towers. E&L: -- (cf. 22), N: 55. 0.651 gr. Extremely fine 100,--

Münzauktion - Essen, Auction 87 (2004), no. 789.

The characteristic small church is still present, but as part of a greater edifice (this occurs in a simplified form on later coins).

Here too, the weight is considerably lower than no. 592.

c. Type with bishop wearing mitre and - sometimes splendid - episcopal vestment. On the reverse a church or an angelic figure.

From this point on, the weight decreases (from a little over 0.6 gr to under 0.35 gr (3rd phase)).



- 594 Pfennig. A: Bust of the bishop r. with crosier and book, R: Church HEINRICVS. E&L: --, N: 57. 0.629 gr. Patina, almost extremely fine 50,--

Henzen - Amerongen 2004.

From list 154, no. 1459.

A simplified form of the church of no. 593.

Due to the high frequency (well-preserved) in the Barbarossa hoard, this coin may now be ultimately attributed to bishop Henry I of Hasenburg (1181-1190).

On this type, the episcopal vestment is not always similarly shaped (see Lanz, Auction 29 (1984), nos. 188-208, Barbarossa hoard).



- 595 Pfennig. A: Bust of the bishop l. with crosier and blessing hand, R: Church with wheel (five spokes) in the portal. E&L: 66, N: 103. 0.575 gr. Almost extremely fine 150,--

Delmonte - Brussel 1971.

In 1908, Nessel wrote: coins with the five-spoked wheel should be attributed to Molsheim, because this wheel still features in the city's coat of arms. The mint was operative only briefly and all coins are of the same type.

In 1973, however, Wielandt wrote in "Fund alemannischer Münzen aus Marbach im Elsass" on no. 51 (identical to this coin): "Münzherr zu Straßburg ist der Straßburger Bischof, doch liegen Münzprägung und Wechselmonopol in den Händen der mächtigen und zahlreichen "Hausgenossenschaften". Das Rad wird meist auf Molsheim bezogen, jedoch zu Unrecht, denn es ist kein Mühlrad" (a royal coin with the same reverse was struck under Frederick II, see Fd. Marbach, no. 55).



- 596 Pfennig. A: Bust of the bishop l. with crosier and blessing hand, R: Angel l. holding a cross which stands on cup. E&L: 93, N: 17. 0.592 gr. Extremely fine 50,--

Münzgalerie - München, Auction 11 (1981), no. 246.

The obverse with the bishop highly resembles that of no. 595, the weight too is practically the same.

Find Traenheim S. 65c.

2nd phase

The coins now take on a much simpler character. The figure of the bishop is elongated, just as his mitre. The church is simplified to a few triangles with a cross on top.

a. Small church on the reverse



- 597 Pfennig. A: Bust of the bishop l. with staff and crosier, R: Church with two crosses. E&L: --, N: 75. 0.539 gr. Extremely fine 30,--
Kricheldorf - Stuttgart 1979.
- 598 Pfennig. A: Bust of the bishop l., R: Church with cross between stars on top. E&L: 28, N: 90. 0.483 gr. Nice patina, very fine 50,--
Winkel in Straatsburg - 1975.
Nessel classifies this under Strasbourg, in spite of the two stars on the reverse. Nessel attributes to Selz when a star is displayed behind the bishop (N: 43), no star features here.

b. On the reverse a lamb with crosier



- 599 Lamm pfennig. A: Lamb l. with staff terminating in a cross, R: Bust l. with blessing hand. E&L: -- (cf. 125), N: 123. 0.463 gr. Nice patina, very fine 50,--
Kricheldorf - Freiburg, Auction 35 (1981), no. 612.
In literature there is always mention of "lamb", but this creature has a long tail.

c. Showing an eagle on the reverse

- 600 Denier. A: Crowned bust with orb and lis-topped sceptre, R: Eagle l. E&L: 136, N: 138. 0.468 gr. Extremely fine 50,--
Müller - Solingen, Auction 42 (1983), no. 2226.
In contemporary literature, this coin is attributed to Offenburg, just as the next number (601).



- 601 Denier. A: Bust of the bishop with crosier and blessing hand, R: Eagle l. E&L: 132, N: 136. 0.481 gr. Extremely fine 30,--
Turquat - Montpellier 1985.
In a sense, the nos. 600 and 601 are each other's counterparts (same reverse, and resp. a secular and a clerical obverse).
See note with no. 600.
- 602 Denier. A: Crowned figure l. with orb. Cross behind him, R: Eagle l., star over r. wing. E&L: 134, N: 143. 0.471 gr. Extremely fine 30,--
Kricheldorf - Freiburg 1982.

3rd phase
One-sided pennies, transition to municipal coins



603

- 603 One-sided Penny. A: Angel l. holding a cross. E&L: 315, N: p. 135, A. 0.342 gr. Almost extremely fine 15,--
Schulman - Amsterdam 1971.
This statue is a late imitation of the angel and the cross (on the chalice). See type A in Nessel in Frankfurter Münzzeitung, 1908, p. 337.

STRASBOURG CITY

Strasbourg acquired city rights in the middle of the 12th century, and became a free city in 1358. Gradually, episcopal influence waned and power shifted towards the citizens. This was reinforced when the bishops slid into financial difficulty. Neither Bishop Frederick of Blankenheim (1392) nor William of Diest (1419) were able to change the course of these developments. It would take until around 1500, before finances were sound again.



604

605

- 604 One-sided Penny. A: Lis in circle of pellets with four pellets in the angles. E&L: 318, N: p. 135, I. 0.457 gr. Extremely fine 15,--
Schulman - Amsterdam 1971.
- 605 One-sided Penny. A: City-arms over lis. E&L: 331. 0.332 gr. Very fine 20,--
Dombrowski - Münster 1982.



606

- 606 Gros. A: Lis in multilobe with roses in the angles + GROSSVS Ψ ARGENTINENS, R: o TRA o o PAX o o HOIBVS o around cross, + GLORIA \otimes IN \otimes EXCELS \otimes DO \otimes ET \otimes IN. E&L: 384. 3.338 gr. Very fine 50,--
Kricheldorf - Stuttgart, Auction 22 (1971), no. 382.



607

- 607 1/3 gros. A: Lis in doubled quatrefoil + GLORIA IN EXCCISDO, R: Long cross dividing legend MON ETA ARG ENT. E&L: 348 var. 1.333 gr. Very fine 20,--
Schulman - Amsterdam 1984.

HAGUENAU

Region in the 11th century, around the castle of Hugh of Ensisheim, Count of the Nordgau. Frederick Barbarossa had an important palatine built in Haguenau. In 1164, Haguenau acquired city rights. In 1209 and 1235, diets were held there. In 1260, King Richard of Cornwall elevated it to City of the Empire.

Characteristic of Haguenau coins is the five-leaved rose (coat of arms of the city Haguenau).

FRIEDRICH II (1215-1250)



608

- 608 Pfennig. A: Rose + HZAVLNII, R: Building with two towers and two portals, great star between the towers. E&L: 2, N: 15. 0.468 gr.

Kricheldorf - Freiburg 1979.

R A little weakly struck at the edge, otherwise extremely fine specimen

150,--

This no. and the nos. 609, 610 and 611 emerged in a single hoard in the Upper Rhine Basin. The main part of this hoard found its way to the Landesmuseum of Karlsruhe.



609

610

- 609 Pfennig. A: Rose CNVACNC, R: Eagle r. + VCINHRCIN. E&L: 3, N: 22. 0.472 gr.

R A little off centre, extremely fine

200,--

Kricheldorf - Freiburg, Auction 33 (1978), no. 867.

- 610 Pfennig. A: Flying bird l. looking at following bird over rose, R: Castle with towers. E&L: 10, N: 25. 0.512 gr.

R Weakly struck, almost extremely fine

200,--

Kricheldorf - Freiburg, Auction 33 (1978), no. 868.



611

- 611 Pfennig. A: Insect (?), R: Boar l., over him hunter with axe. E&L: --, N: --. 0.474 gr.

Extremely rare, weakly struck and double struck on the obverse, otherwise very fine to extremely fine

1.000,--

Kricheldorf - Freiburg, Auction 33 (1978), no. 869.

The drawn specimen in Nessel (N: 28) shows an obverse with the well-known Haguenau rose. In spite of the fact that the coin at hand was double struck, it can't possibly depict a rose. It more resembles a winged insect, a motif that is never observed in Haguenau coinage.

The boar hunt is typical for Haguenau. The region is covered in forests and hunting used to be extensively engaged in. That the hunter is wielding an axe is rather peculiar.



Of the type in Nessel, two specimens were located, in Donaueschingen and the museum of Karlsruhe. This piece is, as far as I know, unknown.

ABBEY ALTDORF

The Benedictine Abbey Altdorf, part of the Strasbourg diocese, was founded by Otto I in 966.

FRIEDRICH I (1155-1190)



612

- 612 Pfennig. A: Mounted knight with standard r., rosette l., R: Building with towers and sickle on top. E&L: --, N: --. 0.627 gr. **R** Extremely fine 200,--

Lanz - München, Auction 29 (1984), no. 214.

From Barbarossa hoard.

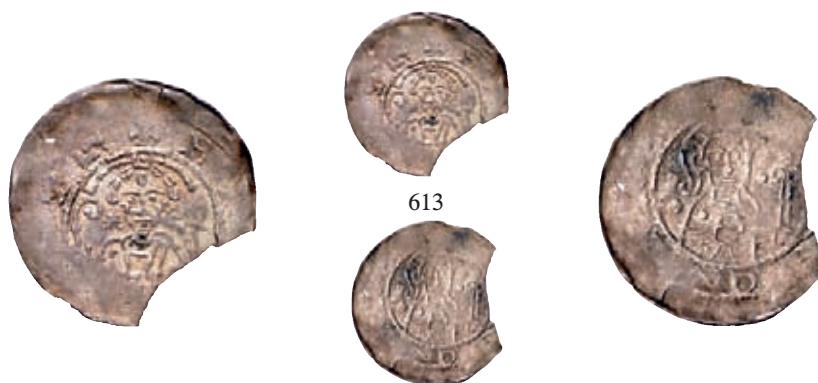
cf. Sgl. Fürstenberg: 1166a.

Mentioned in Cat. Lanz (29, 1984): "Ob diese Reiterpfennige kaiserliche Prägungen sind, kann auch durch diesen Fund nicht entschieden werden. Die Verbergungszeit widerlegt Cahn's Argumente für die Prägung in Schlettstadt, sodass wohl nur Altdorf in Frage kommt." Cf. also N. 31-33.

ABBEY SELZ

OSB monastery in the Alsace, founded by Empress Adelheid (on the estate Selz, part of her thirds). For Emperor Otto III, it was an important foothold, protecting against the Swabian dukes. In 995, Pope John XV granted suffrage and incorporated the abbey in his protectorate. Around 1000, veneration of Adelheid as a saint started, she was interred in Selz.

In the 12th century, ties with the Staufers waned and those with the Pope were tightened. After 1250, the abbots of Selz acted as papally delegated judges. The flood of 1307 devastated church and monastery. At the council of Constance (1417/8) Selz was acknowledged to be part of Cluny.



613

- 613 Denier. A: Bust of the bishop facing with crosier and book, between two stars + BR.....TS, R: Bust of the Saint with nimbus, one hand on the breast and the other holding a lis-topped sceptre. E&L: --, N: --. 0.814 gr. **R** Edge chipped, very fine 150,--

Kurpfälzische Münzhandlung - Mannheim 1982.

From Kurpfälzische Münzhandlung, Auction 17 (1979), no. 996.

Ex: Gaettens collection, Auction 23, no. 348.

From the hoard Bettenhausen.



SCANDINAVIA

Medieval Denmark, Sweden and Norway (Scandinavia) shared a number of characteristics: All three came into being around the year 1000. Christianisation met with fierce opposition in these countries. Nobility played an important role. Their royal families were related most intricately. Mainly due to this last aspect, the endeavours to unite the three countries or consolidate an individual independence wouldn't always prove successful.

DENMARK

The Denmark of the early Middle Ages was not the territory that makes up the whole of Denmark today. It consisted of a number of parts: the territory around Schleswig, Jutland, the islands and sometimes part of present-day Sweden.

The most interesting part of the medieval history of Denmark as a territory started in the second half of the 10th century. Before that the Vikings, of course, played a vital role, but mainly outside of Scandinavia.

In 936 Unni, Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, visited the city Jelling where Gorm resided. Gorm the Old (den Gamle) was a staunch heathen and loathed Christians, but after this visit he acquiesced Christianity, although he wouldn't be baptised. Gorm was wedded to Thyra, the daughter of Edward the Elder, king of Wessex. On a rune stone in Jelling there is mention of this: "Gorm, the king, has erected this stone to commemorate Thyra, his wife, the pride of Denmark". With Gorm, the Jelling dynasty took its rise and would rule Denmark until 1375. About his son Harald Bluetooth more is known. Next to the rune stone of his father, he erected a larger stone with the rune inscription: "King Harald chose this rock to be erected for Gorm his father and Thyra his mother; the Harald who conquered the whole of Denmark and Norway and christianised the Danish people". The reverse of the stone bears the first Scandinavian depiction of Christ as well as a serpentine figure.

Harald's conversion to Christianity was presumably brought about by pressure from the archbishopric Hamburg-Bremen, under which Denmark fell. Harald founded a number of places, like Roskilde and Lund (the latter specifically as an ecclesiastical centre). Harald appointed the bishops, but the right of ordination was reserved for the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen. Harald's son Sweyn Forkbeard took up old Viking tradition and sailed for England, where he was acknowledged king of England in 1013. He introduced the first penny in Denmark, copying an English coin (a Crux type (991-997) of Aethelred II). It indicates no specific mint, but Denmark in general (on the obverse, we find ZAEN REX AD DENER and on the reverse GODPINE M AN DNER. Sweden's first coin, of Olaf Skötkonung's, shows an analogous text: on the obverse OLAF REX SPEVOX and on the reverse GODPINE MO ZIHT, here with mention of a mint, see no. 670). Very soon after he was proclaimed king of England, he died, and in England, as opposed to in Denmark, was not succeeded by his son Canut (see England).

In Denmark, minting does not begin until Canut. In 1028, Canut became king of Norway, his realm by that time encompassing the North Sea: England, Denmark and Norway.

In the period between manufacture of sceattas (see England: Anglo-Saxon) in the first half of the 8th century and the first coin after English example by Sweyn Forkbeard (985-1014), three types were struck in Denmark. The first is an imitation of the Carolingian coins of Charlemagne from Dorestad (apart from this, a number of coins with typical Scandinavian motifs exist in museums). The second type is a lighter coin that constitutes a further evolved Dorestad imitation, while the third type shows more Danish motifs.

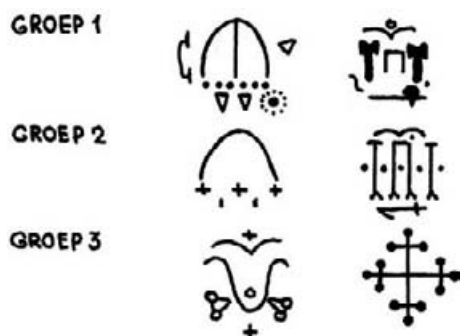
The period preceding Gorm's is shrouded in darkness. A few names are known of Danish kings, as Götriks (+810), succeeded by Horik I and Horik II. Other than these, the Fulda Annals mention Sigifred and Halvdan, who signed a treaty with the East Franks, protecting their cross-border trade.

For the classification of the coins from this period, Malmer's (1966) was used:

Group 1: Carolus imitation II (CeII) / Dorestad, type 1, II (DII).

Group 2: Dorestad Type 1, III (DIII).

Group 3: Bagar / Kors.



For this classification, see also Jankuhn: *Haitabu, ein Handelsplatz der Wikingerzeit*. Neumünster 1986, p. 179-9. Jankuhn places group 1 around 800, with a mint somewhere in Northwestern Germany (Denmark in this period lay within the sovereign territory of Germany).

Group 2 Jankuhn partly attributes to Sweden (mint Haithabu) and the period between 965-975 and for the other part to Germany (sovereign territory) with the mint Haithabu and a period between 975-980. The drawings in Jankuhn are largely simplified compared to those of Malmer. For this group Malmer's order is adhered to.

Group 3 with a period between 975-985 Jankuhn attributes to both Denmark and Germany as the sovereign territory.

Beneath, Jankuhn's classification is maintained with reference to Malmer.

AROUND 800 / Group 1



- 614 Denier - Haithabu. A: C beneath M over two wedges divided by 5 pellets, triangle and rosette r., R: T I I T, under two bows with ring between them, below francisca. Jankuhn: group 2, Malmer: Pl. 6.5 / 16.7. 1.083 gr. Extremely rare, first coin of Denmark, traces of encrustation, very fine 1.000,--
Spink - London 1992.
The attribution to Haithabu is from Malmer.

HARALD BLATAND (936-987)

Of Harald Bluetooth little is known, the only existing documents other than the mentioned rune stone are the enthusiastic writings on Harald by Adam of Bremen. His reign most probably commenced in 958 and, according to Adam of Bremen, he died on All Saints 987. His son was Sweyn Forkbeard.

Group 2



- 615 Light Denier - Haithabu. A: T I I T under wings, pellet above, francisca below, R: Three crosses under bow, over two triangles and between two bows with three pellets at the ends. Jankuhn: 9 var, Malmer: Pl. 25.1 / 13.3 (?). 0.347 gr. Extremely fine 500,--
Tietjen - Hamburg, Auction 36 (1980), no. 447.
Sgl. Bruuns Tf.2, 1210.
A: Dorestad type 1, III (DIII).
C2b.
Date 975.
The reverse shows the image which is compelled in group 3 (the bow).



616

- 616 Light Denier - Haithabu. A: T I I T under wings, pellet in the middle, francisca below, R: Three crosses with the limbs ending in pellets under bow, over two triangles and between two bows. Jankuhn: 9 var, Malmer: Pl. 25.15 / 11.5 (?). 0.273 gr. Very fine to extremely fine 500,--
- Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1985.
From list 478, no. 95.
A: Dorestad type 1, III (DIII).
C2b.
Date 975.



617

- 617 Light Denier - Haithabu. A: T I I T under wings with pellets, three pellets and francisca below, R: Three crosses under bow with vertical line. Jankuhn: 9 var, Malmer: Pl. 26.2 / 13.5. 0.376 gr. Extremely fine to uncirculated 500,--
- Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1985.
From list 478, no. 94.
A: Dorestad type 1, III (DIII).
C2b.
Date 975.

Group 3



618

- 618 Light Denier - Jelling. A: Bow under wings with pellet in the centre between triangles, one cross with the limbs ending in pellets above and below, R: Cross crosslet. Jankuhn: 10a, Malmer: Pl. 28.3 / 31.2. 0.287 gr. R Very fine to extremely fine 750,--
- Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1981.
A: A1a 4, R: A1a 2.
Date 975 / 980, the last years of the reign of Harald.



619

- 619 Light Denier - Jelling. A: Bow under two wings, R: Cross crosslet with one pellet in each angle. Jankuhn: 10c, Malmer: Pl. 29.17 / 31.12. 0.303 gr. R Extremely fine 750,--
- Hornung - Kopenhagen 1982.
A: A4d 17 / A2a 10.
Date 975 / 980, the last years of the reign of Harald.
Honouring an old heathen tradition, Sweyn Forkbeard opposed his father Harald Bluetooth. The latter fled to Jumne and died there in 987. Sweyn fought the Norwegians and the English (Danegeld). In 1013, he conquered England. A conquest that would be continued by his son Canut. He died in 1014.

CNUT (1018-1035)

Cnut was the son of Sweyn Forkbeard and his mother was a daughter of the Polish prince Mieszko. Cnut was wedded to Aelfifu (1015), she bore him two sons, Sven and Harald Harefoot, and he later wedded Emma of Normandy (1017) and with her fathered two children: Harthacnut and Gunhild, who would marry German emperor Henry III.

Under Cnut, the North Sea Empire was established, a counterpart to the German Empire. The empires maintained good relations with each other: a trade agreement was reached between Cnut and Conrad II and Cnut attended the imperial coronation of Conrad in Rome in 1027, the marriage of his daughter to Henry following soon.

Cnut's sway was mainly based on his personality. When he died in 1035, Norway loosened itself and achieved independence under Magnus. Cnut's son, Harthacnut, was not acknowledged in England either.

The mint Lund requires a specific explanation, particularly because the indication of London on English coins is the same. What even more complicates determining whether a coin is English or Danish, is that many Danish coins were struck by English moneyers (in those cases the name of the moneyer normally is the key to attribution).

Lund lies in Schonen, the southernmost part of present-day Sweden. In early medieval times and long afterwards, it was part of Denmark. Lund was founded around 990. It lay at a crossroads of north-south and east-west roads and, although the location was ideal for trade, it is rather confounding that, when the heart of kingdom pulsed in Jelling, a place of such value to the nation was founded in the backwoods.

Christianity was brought to Schonen (and therefore in Lund) by Bishop Gotebald in Sweyn Forkbeard's time (987-1014), followed by Bishop Bernhard under Cnut (1016-1035). Both bishops came from England. In 1066, Lund became a diocese, in 1102/3 an archbishopric. Sven Estridson built the first St. Lawrence Church in Lund

The 14th century had already seen a short-lived Swedish possession of Schonen, but it wouldn't be until 1658 that it definitively passed to Swedish hands.



- 620 Denier - Lund. A: Bust of Aethelred II of England I. + CNVT REX ANGLORM, R: Cross + THOREL M O LVND. Hbg: 1. 1.213 gr. R Slightly bent, very fine 500,--
 Schulman - Amsterdam 1974.
 From Schulman, Auction 256, no. 847.
 This is an imitation of the last small cross type of Aethelred II, struck in 1009-1017.
 Lund was directly used as mint.
 North: "This was allegedly struck during the campaigns against Aethelred II in 1014-1016, but is certainly a danish issue probably struck after 1019."



- 621 Denier - Lund. A: Snake, R: Four crescents with pellets, 5 pellets in the centre. Hbg: 20. 0.739 gr. R Well struck, very fine + specimen 500,--
 Hornung - Kopenhagen 1982.
 Legends on ob- and reverse are not readable (although the letters are partly clear).



622

- 622 Denier - Viborg. A: Hand, surrounded by three crosses + : OINICFITOVIIFMON, R: Cross with one cross in each angle + : OCINCONICIVMON. Hbg: 49. 0.750 gr. R Small flan crack, very fine + 500,--
 Hornung - Copenhagen, Auction 31 (1989), no. 5.
 This hand is also known from Deventer among other places, struck under Emperor Henry II (1002-1024), although that has REX around the hand.

HARTHACNUT (1035-1042)

Harthacnut was the only son of Cnut, from his marriage to Emma. As Cnut and Harthacnut had been minting together since 1030, it stands to reason that Harthacnut had also been associate king since 1030.

His mother insisted that he accept the English throne upon the death of his father. However, he was thwarted by his half-brother Harald Harefoot (son of Cnut and Aelfifu, Queen of England 1037-1040). When Harald died in 1040, Harthacnut set sail for England, commanding a large fleet that was to deal with the expected fierce English resistance that he so dreaded. Although having acceded to the throne successfully, his ensuing reign wavered and soon gave way to outright panic. In 1041 he called on his half-brother Edward the Confessor to leave Normandy and succeed him in England.

Through the treaty with Magnus from Norway, the Danish crown eventually devolved to the Norwegian.



623

- 623 Denier - Lund. A: Bust l. + HARTHECNVT, R: Cross with the limbs ending in three crescents and three pellets on two stripes in each angle OTHTH ENC RON LVD. Hbg: 23. 1.034 gr. Clear and sharp specimen, almost extremely fine 300,--
 Spink - London 1971.
 Mintmaster Othencar ?.
 See footnote after North 811: "A variety of no. 811 without the sceptre is a danish issue of Lund mint."



624

- 624 Denier - Orbaek (?). A: Barbarized bust facing LICVOVICIIOIII, R: Cross with one hoof-iron in each angle + RIOCVIIIIOICIIIOIII. Hbg: -- (cf. 42). 0.812 gr. Very fine to extremely fine 300,--
 Ahlstrom - Stockholm, Auction 4 (1973), no. 810.
 Bruun: 1506.
 Hard to recognise this coin in Hbg: 42, since that shows a face turned left.



625

ANONYMOUS (11th century)

- 625 Denier. A: Barbarized head r. with staff, R: Double-banded cross with trefoils in the angles. Hbg: --. 0.759 gr. **R** Minor split in the flan, very fine to extremely fine 750,--
 WAG - Dortmund, Auction 9 (1997), no. 2127: "Obverse SCBI Cop: vgl 4406 / Reverse SCBI Cop: vgl 4392/93". In the same auction, an analogue piece occurred (same die) that weighed 1.17, which indicates an origin before 1030. Trefoil quadrilateral type of Edward the Confessor = simpler form with Harthaknut, arm and sceptre type.

MAGNUS den GODE (1042-1047)

In 1035, Magnus returned from Novgorod, where he was raised and educated at the court of Jaroslav I of Kiev, and became king of Norway.
 In 1038, he signed a treaty with Harthacanut, stipulating that the earlier childless demise of one of both would bequeath the other with the respective kingdom. Thus, at the death of Harthacanut in 1042, Magnus was proclaimed king of Denmark in Viborg, to the absolute indignation of Cnut's grandson, Sweyn Estridson.
 In 1046, Magnus had to share power in Norway with his uncle Harald Sigurdsson, however, in Denmark he remained the sole ruler until his death in 1047.



626

- 626 Denier - Lund - Alfward. A: Bust with helmet l. + MAHNS REX +, R: Quatrefoil of Knud (England) on cross with the limbs ending in three crescents + ALFPARD o LVD. Hbg: 2. 0.970 gr. Extremely fine specimen with nice patina 500,--
 Ahlstrom - Stockholm, Auction 7 (1974), no. 727.
 Hbg Aukt: 678.
 Bruun: 1587.



627

- 627 Denier - Lund. A: Lamb l. with staff ending in cross + IIVDODIITA, R: Doubled cross with the limbs ending in three crescents + TO IIL . VII OLV. Hbg: 15. 0.933 gr. **RR** Extremely fine specimen, nice patina 2.000,--
 WAG - Dortmund, Auction 15 (2000), no. 3059.
 Sgl. Hauberg: 691 (var).
 Sgl. Bruun: 1608 (var).
 Sgl. Hede: --.



628

- 628 Denier - Roskilde. A: + OCIOENI between two lines, above and below triangle with cross on top and within + OLI CIOII OLOI EOIO, R: Triquetra with a cross in one angle . X DIOIIV VXIONE O' XIONE'. Hbg: -- (cf. 20). 1.001 gr. **R** Almost extremely fine specimen 750,--
 Spink - London 1999.
 From NC 1999, no. 5017.
 This variant is not mentioned in Hauberg. On Hbg: 20 is a face shown which cannot be seen on this specimen.

BATTLE PERIOD (1044-1047)

According to the chronicles of Adam of Bremen, Sweyn spent 12 years in Sweden, from where he waged war on the Danish-Norwegian king Magnus den Gode, yet, Sweyn had to wait for the king to die before he could at last become king of Denmark.



629

629 Denier - Lund. A: Head l. with cross and ring in front of it + IICVI IPPDCC, R: Long doubled cross with the limbs ending in three crescents and two pellets and two crescents in the angles + SV ERL CDO ILVH. Hbg: --. 0.931 gr. **R** Extremely fine

500,--

Hoiland - Kopenhagen, Auction 3 (1998), no. 70.

Ex: Becker collection 70.

Eks. Pedersen 1980.

CJB Mx 15/190a.

HBG auction 670.

LEB 1579.

cf. Becker, C. J.: The coinages of Harthaknut and Magnus the Good at Lund, c. 1040-1046. Studies in Northern Coinages of the Eleventh Century, Det. kgl. Danske Vid. Sel. Hist.-fil. Skrifter 9:4, Kbh. 1981.

SWEYN ESTRIDSEN (1047-1074)

His father was Ulf Jarl, a man from the retinue of Cnut, his mother Estrid Cnut's sister. He was wedded to Gunhild and later to Thora. Tension between Cnut and Sweyn caused father and son to seek refuge with King Anund Jacob of Sweden. Ulf was murdered 1032, presumably by Cnut.

Sweyn increased his influence in Denmark from his Schonen position, as the coins he struck show. After a quiet ten-year reign, he was defeated by Harald Sigurdsson of Norway in 1062. Still, peace was reached in 1064.

Sweyn brought about Denmark's transition from a tribal civilisation to an early Christian state and furthermore modernised the organisation of the Christian church.

Sweyn sired sons with several wives, that later each would become king of Denmark: Harald Hein, Cnut the Saint, Olaf Hunger, Eric Evergood and Niels.

The first coins of Sweyn were all struck after Byzantine example. The first are still in the name of Magnus den Gode and their reverse shows an openwork square as a cross, all later types have a reverse with the long voided cross.

This Byzantine influence undoubtedly stemmed from the Varangians, the bodyguards of the Byzantine emperors, who came back from Constantinople to Denmark. Further information on the Byzantine prototypes of Sven Estridsen's coinage in Grierson, P.: Harald Hardrada and Byzantine coin types in Denmark, in: Byzantinische Forschungen I (1966) pp. 124-138.

Two coins were used as prototypes: the standing figure with crosier and globus cruciger (see no. 631) draws on the coin of Romanus II (1028-1034) and the two figures (see no. 635) have the coin of Michael VI (1056-1057) for a prototype.

The coin shown is from Theodora (1055-1056 / DOC 1c, Sear 1837), but with the same scene as that of Michael VI (1056-1057).



These are invariably imitations, the coin with the two figures in particular shows a positively Scandinavian influence. We furthermore have to take into account that there would have been some delay to the striking of these imitations, as the Byzantine example took some time to get to Denmark.



- 630 Denier - Lund. A: Christ standing with raised hand + BOSA ON LVNDI : O. Hbg: 28. 0.973 gr. Very fine 200,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1992.
 From list September 1992, no. 1114.
 Ex: Garrett II collection (1984), no. 955.
 Ex: JWG, Raymond 20-11-1924.
 Reverse: O with pellet in the centre.
 This coin is struck in the name of his predecessor Magnus (1042-1047).



- 631 Denier - Lund. A: Byzantine figure standing + VICDO IIT IV, R: Long doubled cross with the limbs ending in three crescents + PV LFE : TOV IDIO. Hbg: 9. 0.944 gr. RR Well struck and extremely fine specimen 1.000,--
 Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1981.
 The legend is exactly the same mentioned in Hauberg no. 9.



- 632 Denier - Roskilde (?). A: Figure standing with sceptre and long cross, l. S in the field, R: Long doubled cross with the limbs ending in three crescents, in two angles X and T with two pellets. Hbg: --. 0.925 gr. R Slightly bent, very fine to extremely fine 300,--
 Spink - London 1973.
 Ex: Hauberg collection: 869.
 Ex: Ernst collection: 11.
 The reference was Hbg: 9 (see no. 631), but that is impossible. Since all byzantine imitations were struck in Lund, I doubt whether Roskilde is correct.



- 633 Denier - Lund. A: Christ sitting and facing with blessing hand II OIL, R: Long doubled cross with the limbs ending in three crescents + NID ON VIII :.. Hbg: 6. 1.101 gr. Very fine 150,--
 Hornung - Kopenhagen , Auction 40 (1996), no. 42.
 Ex: Ernst II collection, 124.
 Hbg: 6 eks.
 Hbg A 786.



634

- 634 Denier - Lund (?). A: Christ (?) facing with crozier and blessing hand + O CIIF, R: Long doubled cross with the limbs ending in three crescents, one crescent and one cross in two angles : I+ IOC . ILI . ICO. Hbg: --. 1.113 gr. **R** Very fine to extremely fine 300,--
 WAG - Dortmund, Auction 9 (1997), no. 2135.
 Bruun: 1779.
 Reference was Hbg: 6, but that is impossible, as the figure on that obverse has a nimbus, which the figure on the obverse of the coin at hand clearly hasn't.



635

636

- 635 Denier - Lund. A: Angel and king standing and holding standard SVEIN, R: Long doubled cross with the limbs ending in three crescents, two angles with crescent, one of them also with pellet + VI IIVI ILIILI IIO. Hbg: 8. 1.022 gr. Nice patina, very fine to extremely fine 300,--
 Spink - London 1973.
 Ex: Grantley collection, no. 3867.
- 636 Denier - Roskilde. A: Four bows connected by a square with ring in the centre and four times three pellets around it + II HC NC INF, R: Two lines with I's between them, in the middle two lines ending in crescents with ring and pellet in the centre, above and below a cross between two crescents with pellet. Hbg: 36. 1.031 gr. Magnificent patina, extremely fine + 300,--
 Hornung - Kopenhagen 1982.
 Hauberg mentions + H ORI NC ND as legend on the obverse.



637

- 637 Denier - Slagelse. A: Double-lined cross with square in the centre and three pellets in each angle, R: Small cross with four rings. Hbg: 50 var. 1.040 gr. **R** Very fine 500,--
 WAG - Dortmund, Auction 9 (1997), no. 2158.

HARALD HEIN (1075-1080)



638

- 638 Denier - Lund. A: Figure standing with nimbus and crozier HARALD RE, R: Cross of lobes + THVRGOT . I LVND. Hbg: 1. 1.135 gr. **R** Very fine + 750,--
 Peus - Frankfurt, Auction 309 (1984), no. 302.
 IN instead of the common ON.
 During an insurgency, Cnut the Saint was captured and murdered in St. Albans Church. This insurgency was a result of Cnut's levying of tithes that he had introduced shortly before. His immediate canonisation was to mitigate any resentment.

ERIK EJEGOD (1095-1103)



639

- 639 Denier (Bracteate) - Lund. A: Crowned bust facing with sword and orb (x ERIC). Hbg: 3. 0.584 gr. R Weakly struck and edge fault, otherwise very fine 750,--
 Hornung - Kopenhagen 1982.
 Ex: Hauberg I collection: 1278.
 Possibly a single specimen of Hauberg 3 which is one-sided.

NIELS (1103-1134)

At the beginning of Niels' reign, the Danish government acknowledged suzerainty of the German Empire.

Under Niels a strong centralisation took place.



- 640 Denier - Roskilde. A: Head facing (NICOLAVS REX), R: Long opened cross with smaller cross on it, the limbs ending in anchors Hbg: 3. 0.887 gr. Nice patina, well struck for this issue, almost extremely fine 500,--
 Ahlstrom - Stockholm 1991.
 The legend on the obverse is the same as in Hauberg but not visible here.
- 641 Denier - Roskilde. A: Bust r. with helmet and standard NI(COLAVS) REX, R: Edifice with E S T on the roof. Hbg: 9. 0.666 gr. Nice portrait, very fine to extremely fine 300,--
 Hornung - Kopenhagen, Auction 35 (1992), no. 45.
 From Ahlstrom - Stockholm, Auction 4 (1974), no. 929.
 cf. also Hbg Auction 1326 ff.
 On 7 January 1131, Cnut Lavard, Duke of Slesvig and one of the pretenders to the throne, was assassinated. Cnut Lavard held the territory of the western Wend tribe in fief of the German emperor. Cnut Lavard's brother Eric was looking to succeed and opposed, backed by the Zealand noble family Hvide, King Niels and his son Magnus. In the Battle of Fotevig (1134) in Schonen, Magnus was slain and Niels was subsequently killed in Slesvig, clearing the way for Eric. Nevertheless, another civil war ensued, caused by a dispute with the bishops. In 1157, Cnut Lavard's son Valdemar deposed Eric and was left sole ruler. In 1170, he announced the canonisation of Cnut in Ringsted.

ERIK EMUNE (1134-1137)



642

- 642 Denier - Lund. A: Crowned bust facing with raised hand and sceptre (+ ER)IT (REX) ALVI, R: Mounted king with sword. Hbg: 1. 0.897 gr. R Small flan, otherwise extremely fine struck specimen 750,--
 Hornung - Kopenhagen 1982.
 Mintmaster Alwins (ALVI on the obverse is hardly visible).
 Reverse: Hauberg mentions a cross over the horses head which is not visible here. The Reverse shows german influence.



643

- 643 Denier - Roskilde. A: Head facing (ERICVS REX), R: Wheel with 8 spokes, legend not visible. Hbg: 5. 0.906 gr. **R** Well struck specimen, almost extremely fine 300,--
 Spink - London 1973.
 Ex: Hauberg collection.
 Hauberg mentions three mintmasters: Martin, Papening and Vlfric.

BRACTEATES of NORTHERN JUTLAND (1147 - 1154)

After the murder of Cnut Lavard (son of Eric Evergood, duke of Slesvig and king of the Wends) troubled times began. Conflict arose between Valdemar (son of Cnut Lavard), Sweyn Grathe (son of Eric Emune) and Cnut (grandson of Niels).

The "unDanish" coins inspired on German bracteates, (which were then at the very height of their popularity) were struck in this period.

Apart from coins that bear either the name of a city or the name of one of the mentioned pretenders, a third group of scriptless bracteates were struck, with depictions of warriors, castles, etc. They usually aren't attributable to any certain king. The hoards that they emerged in presumably were connected to the eventual Battle of Grate Heath on the 23rd of October 1157, which Valdemar won.



644

645

- 644 Bracteate. A: Two armoured figures with swords looking at each other, standard between them. Hbg: 1. 0.261 gr. **RR** Slightly irregular edge, almost extremely fine 750,--
 Hornung - Copenhagen 1982.
 Some have this piece struck by Valdemar and his wife.
- 645 Bracteate. A: King standing with standard and sceptre ending in lis between four rings and two towers. Hbg: 2. 0.106 gr. **R** Edge clipped, very fine + 200,--
 Hornung - Copenhagen, Auction 30 (1988), no. 19.
 Ex: Hauberg collection 1442.
 Ex: Broge collection 116.
 Ex: Ernst II collection, 274.

VALDEMAR I (1154-1182)

Valdemar I began a line of politics, continued by his son Canut VI, aimed at supremacy over the Baltic. Valdemar even entered in a collaboration with the Germans to this end, Canut, however, wouldn't acknowledge Frederick Barbarossa and thus became a feared enemy of the Germans. These large-scale politics found their end under Valdemar II in the Battle of Bornhöved (1227).



646

- 646 Denier - Roskilde. A: Bust of the king facing with orb and sceptre, R: Bust of the bishop facing with crosier and blessing hand. Hbg: 15. 0.596 gr. **R** Edge fault, very fine 250,--
 Spink - London, Auction 22 (1982), no. 681.

KNUD VI (1182-1202)



- 647 Denier - Ribe. A: Bust facing with sword and sceptre, R: Flag, crosier and star. Hbg: 19. 0.583 gr. Very fine 150,--
 Elsen - Brussel, Auction 85 (2005), no. 673.
 Valdemar I had a special coin struck in Slesvig (the bishop of Ribe was entitled to half its revenues). Just as on the coin at hand, its reverse shows a flag with a cross, a six-pointed star underneath. The design is the same, except for the crosier on this coin and the cross on the flag being a St. Andrews cross and not a Nordic Cross.
 Bendixen (Denmark's money, 1967, p. 34) provides the following commentary on the coin of Valdemar: "This flag with a cross must be regarded as the oldest representation of the flag of Denmark, the dannebrog. Foreign scholars have put forward the suggestion that the flag should be explained as a Christian symbol: the flag of victory, which we often see together with Christ on e.g. pictures of the Resurrection; but there is no proof. As the coin seems to belong to the time of Valdemar I it shows, then, that the flag with a cross has been in use before the battle of Lyndanisse in 1219 when, according to tradition, the Dannebrog fell from heaven to the Danish warriors."



- 648 Denier - Ribe. A: Head facing between crescent and star, R: Gable of a church with cross and two towers. Hbg: 22. 0.596 gr. A little off centre, otherwise almost extremely fine 50,--
 Münzenauktion - Essen, Auction 41 (1981), no. 4425.
 Ribe. Bishop Omer (1178-1204).
- 649 Denier - Grenafundet. A: Head facing between crescent and star, R: Gable of a church with cross and two towers. Hbg: 22. 0.401 gr. Very fine 75,--
 Hornung - Kopenhagen, Auction 23 (1983), no. 6.
- 650 Denier - Slesvig. A: Crowned head facing, sceptre ending in lis l., staff terminating in a cross r., R: Crosier between two crosses. Hbg: 29. 0.617 gr. R Small flan defect, very fine + 75,--
 Münzen u. Medaillen - Basel 1989.
 Bruun: --.
 Hauberg: --.
 Attributed to Valdemar II Sejr (1202-1241).
 Hbg: 29 has the same reverse but the obverse is different.

VALDEMAR II SEJR (1202-1241)

Valdemar II also ruled over parts of North Germany. On behalf of Valdemar, Albrecht of Orlamünde acted as a stadtholder. He minted in Hamburg and in Lübeck. The style of his coins is wholly German and not Danish.



- 651 Denier - Lund. A: Bust of the king facing with lis and cross, R: Bust of the archbishop with crosier and cross. Hbg: 3. 0.686 gr. Very fine 50,--
 Argenor - Paris 2001.
 From list October 2001, no. 858.
 Archbishop: Andreas Sunesen 1201-1223.



- 652 Denier - Viborg. A: Head facing with lis and crosier, R: Cross between two lis on two horizontal lines. Hbg: --. 0.547 gr. **R** Weakly struck and slightly uncentered, almost extremely fine 75,--
Hornung - Kopenhagen, Auction 28 (1986), no. 21.
- 653 Denier - Grenafundet. A: Head facing with lis-topped sceptre and star, R: Crosier, horizontal line with two short vertical lines and three rings. Hbg: --. 0.543 gr. **R** Extremely fine 75,--
Hornung - Kopenhagen, Auction 26 (1985), no. 5.
At the death of Valdemar II, a century of internal dispute began. External authority suffered a great deal. Nobility and clerus gratefully took advantage of the situation and curtailed royal power.
The coins of Eric Plovpenning (1241-1250), Abel (1250-1252) and Christopher I (1252-1259) steadily deteriorated. To maximise revenue, the population was forced to exchange their old coins with new ones (of much poorer quality). The silver content showed a continuous decrease.

ABEL (1250-1252)

Abel imposed a land tax to improve the minting.



- 654 Denier - Viborg. A: Star with five beams + . ABEL REX ., R: Star with five beams (+ VIBORG. MB: 52. 0.656 gr. **R** Specimen from a hoard, fine 75,--
Hornung - Kopenhagen, Auction 32 (1990), no. 4.
Ex: Oldenburg, Auction 23-3-1983, no. 1338.

CHRISTOPHER I (1252-1259)



- 655 Denier - Ribe. A: Star with five beams (+ DAN)ORVM : REX, R: Great C with pellet in it (+ CRISTO)FORV(S). MB: 95. 0.708 gr. **R** Uncentered, almost very fine 50,--
Münzauktion - Essen, Auction 45 (1983), no. 3728.
- 656 Denier - Schleswig. A: REX in circle of pellets between two stars, R: Cross with one crescent in each angle. MB: 98. 1.062 gr. **R** Very fine 150,--
WAG - Dortmund, Auction 9 (1997), no. 2165.
Hede collection: 1.98.
Struck under the bishops Eskil (1244-1255) and Nicolaus (1255-1265).

ERIK KLIPPING (1259-1286)



- 657 Denier - Ribe. A: Double-lined cross with (E) - R - E - X in the angles, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle, eight crescents around. MB: 222. 0.999 gr. Fine to very fine 50,--
 Hornung - Kopenhagen, Auction 22 (1983), no. 7.
 The murder of Eric Klipping, son of Christopher I, in 1286 caused the country to precipitate into the so-called Age of Decay. The silver content of the coins was diminished to the point where they practically consisted only of copper (the absolute low was reached under Christopher II). These very poor copper coins are also known as "Civil War Coins".

ERIK MENVED (1286-1319)



- 658 Denier - Lund. A: Three crescents with ring, pellets between them, R: Cross with crescents in the angles. MB: 311. 1.067 gr. Small flan, very fine 50,--
 Hornung - Kopenhagen, Auction 23 (1983), no. 11.
- 659 Denier - Norre - Jylland. A: Great oval with three hooks at each side and pellet in the centre, R: Great anchor. MB: 436. 1.038 gr. Very fine 50,--
 Hoiland - Kopenhagen, Auction 23 (2003), no. 1172.
 The best specimen from this coin type.

CHRISTOPHER II (1319-1332)

Starting with Christopher II, each Danish king, upon assumption of office, had to sign the so-called håndfæstning, a charter not unlike the Magna Carta, that severely curtailed royal authority and guaranteed a strong influence of nobility in national affairs.



- 660 Denier - Roskilde. A: X X, R: Cross moline. MB: 571. 1.099 gr. Traces of encrustation, very fine 25,--
 Hornung - Kopenhagen, Auction 22 (1983), no. 8.

VALDEMAR IV ATTERDAG (1340-1375)

Valdemar IV Atterdag restored the order and Denmark's power consequently increased. That the Hanseatic League's support allowed him to resist nobility did not keep Valdemar from attempting to break the power of the German Hanseatic cities. He failed and Danish nobility immediately stepped into the power vacuum and renewed their old privileges. But Valdemar's second daughter Margaret, who was regent during the minority of her son Olaf (1376-1387) and queen after his death (1387-1412) diplomatically managed to reestablish political balance, without touching the power of nobility.

Margaret wedded king Hakon of Norway in 1363 and, thus, became queen of Norway and her son Olaf was born in that country in 1370.



661

661 Penny - Lund. A: Crown, R: Cross with one crescent in each angle. MB: 678. 0.658 gr.

R Fine specimen

100,--

Hoiland - Copenhagen, Auction 31 (2005), no. 988.

Of Valdemar Atterdag, as far as can be ascertained, only two types might be confirmed as his: one from Lund and one from Roskilde (crown on one side, a W on the other). See Bendixen: Denmark's Money, p. 46.

At the death of Valdemar IV, Albrecht of Mecklenburg (a cousin of Margaret) was the heir to the Danish throne. Margaret, however, proclaimed herself "Daughter and heiress of King Valdemar". She abandoned her claims when in 1376 her son Olaf became king of Denmark. After the untimely death of his father, Olaf also became king of Norway. Margaret acted as regent.

In 1385, Olaf attained majority, but died as soon as 1387. Margaret became regent of Denmark and in 1388 also of Norway and Sweden.

In 1389, Margaret's grandnephew Bolislav of Pomerania (born 1382) was crowned king of Norway. Margaret adopted him, and he then took on the name Eric of Pomerania. In 1396, Eric became king of Sweden and Denmark too (17th June 1397 Union of Kalmar: Eric became king of the Union). De facto authority over the three countries was retained by Margaret until her death in 1412.

ERIC of POMERANIA (1396-1439)

Eric of Pomerania achieved bringing the duchy Slesvig under the Danish crown after the outcome of the council at Konstanz in 1415.

The marriage of Eric to the English princess Philippa remained childless, his search for a successor led to several difficulties. In 1438, he retreated to Gotland.

In 1438, the Danish Riksradet called upon Eric's cousin, Christopher from the House Wittelsbach, to succeed. Eric was subsequently deposed.

Christopher, too, was king of the Union and the three nations prospered under his reign. In 1448, he suddenly died childless, which put the Riksradet in a position of extraordinary power.



662

663

662 Sterling - Lund. A: Crown ERICVS \circ REX \circ D \circ S \circ N, R: Cross MONETA \circ LVNDENS. G: 9. 0.726 gr. Very fine

50,--

Hornung - Copenhagen, Auction 22 (1983), no. 10.

663 Sterling - Naestved. A: Crown * ERICVS \circ REX \circ D \circ S \circ N, R: Cross * MONETA \circ NESTWED. G: 4. 0.786 gr. Very fine specimen

50,--

Hornung - Copenhagen, Auction 21 (1982), no. 26.

Moneyer: *Mester Gherd, muntmester to Nestvede* = the Dutchman Gerrit Gozewijnz Comhaer (from a document of 1407).



664



665

- 664 Kobbersterling - Naestved. A: Crown over E + MENEITA NESTE, R: Cross in circle of pellets + NOMINE DOMINE. G: 7. 1.011 gr. Well struck, very fine 100,--
Hornung - Kopenhagen, Auction 21 (1982), no. 27.
Mintmaster: Mester Gherd.
Hbg auction 2719.
- 665 Bracteate. A: Crown in halo. G: 5. 0.333 gr. Very fine 75,--
Münzauktion - Essen, Auction 45 (1983), no. 3729.

RIGSRADET (1448)



666



- 666 Hvid - Malmo. A: Lion l. ♣ NOVA RE..., R: Long cross on shield dividing legend MON MAL MOI ENS. G: 22. 0.727 gr. Traces of corrosion, very fine 100,--
Münzauktion - Essen, Auction 49 (1985), no. 3258.
The long cross on an empty shield gave the name "korshvid" (kors=cross) to this coins.

The Riksradet approached Adolf VIII, Duke of Slesvig, but he referred to Christian of Oldenburg, as he was childless himself. After Christian had agreed to the condition of the Riksradet that he marry Dorothea of Brandenburg the coronation took place in 1449.

As soon as 1448 the Swedish Riksradet elected marshall Karl Knutsson king of Sweden. Both candidates were proclaimed king of Norway, Karl Knutsson resigned his claim however.

The feud between Denmark and Sweden continued and nobility played a significant role in it. In 1457, Christian I was crowned king of Sweden, causing the Swedes to rebel: Karl Knutsson returned (1464-1465) and would definitively hold power from 1467 to his death in 1470. The vacuum between 1465 and 1467 was filled by the most influential noble family at the time; Eric Axelsson Thott governed in regency.

The death of Karl Knutsson prompted Sten Sture the Elder to pit Christian against the family Thott. He subsequently equipped an army which he led to the gates of Stockholm and on 10th October 1471 near Brunkeberg defeated an allied Danish Swedish army.

Although Christian I upheld his claim to the Swedish crown until his death, it had no basis in reality.

A long political crisis ensued when he died. Queen Dorothea had her hand in this. In 1482, both sons Hans and Frederick were elected associate king, sowing the seeds of the 1490 division.

In 1483, Hans became king of Denmark and Norway. In Sweden, Sten Sture the Elder was regent. Denmark (Hans) and Russia (Iwan III of Moscow) then forged an alliance against Sweden, which in 1497 led to Hans becoming king of Sweden and Sten Sture to (temporarily) disappear from the political stage. Once again, the Union of the three northern countries was restored, albeit short-lived. The Battle of Dithmarschen in 1500 had a far-reaching outcome. The power of Hans in Denmark was severely damaged, in Norway, Christian II was not accepted and in Sweden, de facto sway from 1500 on was held by the regent Sten Sture.

HANS (1481-1513)



667

- 667 Shilling - Malmo. A: Shield of Oldenburg over empty shield on long cross dividing legend IOHN o DEI . GRA o REX DACIE, R: Shield with three lions MONET ♁ NOVA ♁ MALMOESIS. G: 29. 2.264 gr. Very fine 200,--
Hornung - Kopenhagen, Auction 32 (1990), no. 18.



668

- 668 Hvid - Malmo. A: H under crown + IOHN ꝛ D ꝛ G ꝛ R ꝛ DACIE, R: Long cross over empty shield
MON MAL MOI ENS. G: 31. 0.713 gr. Very fine

50,--

GOTLAND after 1361

Gotland came 1361 to Denmark.



669

- 669 Penny - Visby. A: Lis on tripod between two crosses (+ MONETA CIVITATIS, R: Lamb (no nimbus) with standard l. WISBVCE(NCIS). LL: XXXV A.1a. 1.230 gr. Dark patina, very fine

75,--

Dombrowski - Münster 1986.

The illustration is not comparable to LL: 1a.

SWEDEN

Despite the fact that Sweden was the cradle for many European peoples and the Swedes, in the Viking Age, traveled the whole of the continent and beyond and maintained brisk trading with the East, Sweden's history as a nation starts around the year 1000.

Around 1000, Olaf Skötkonung was king of Sweden, more specifically of the territories of the Svear (Svealand) and the Götar (Götaland). Although Olaf had christianized a part of his people, pagan culture would continue to play a significant role, and after 1010 Olaf even had to retreat to the Christian Västergötland, where he founded the diocese of Skara.

From the period between 1022 and 1130 a few names have survived history, but nothing very detailed (though there are some documented coins of Olaf's son Anund Jakob).

In the period from 1130 to 1250, two royal houses rivalled each other. One house starts with Sverker the Elder and the other with Erik the Saint. And then there were the Danish throne pretenders in the 12th century, among whom Magnus Henriksen who, in 1160, killed Erik the Saint near Uppsala.

To rule the vast expanse of his country the king appointed representatives, so-called jarls. Starting around 1250, the jarls attempted to seize power. Thus, Birger Jarl, from an important noble family from Östergötland and wedded to the king's sister, helped his son Waldemar (1250-1275) ascend the throne in 1250. The House Folkunger arose.

Under Waldemar and his brother Magnus Ladislas (1275-1290) the kingdom Sweden took a more definite shape. However, this didn't mean the battle for the throne was over. In the beginning of the 14th century the Earls (earl = jarl) Erik and Waldemar contended for Birger Magnússon's throne. In 1318, both earls died in a dungeon in Nyköping and Birger fled.

Subsequently, the three-year-old Magnus Eriksson was elected to the throne. He inherited Norway and parts of present-time Sweden (like Schonen). Under his rule, the "frihetsbrevet", a Swedish Magna Carta, was decreed. After he came of age, things remained relatively peaceful.

After 1350, things started changing. Aristocrats led uprisings and Schonen was again lost to the Danish King Waldemar Atterdag, as was the island Gotland. This was aggravated by the plague striking Sweden.

Eventually, nobility called Duke Albert III of Mecklenburg (a cousin of Magnus) to the throne (in 1365, Albert defeated Magnus, who retreated to Norway). Things turned for the worse and aristocracy gained in importance, especially in the figure of Bo Jonsson. In 1388, Margarete was proclaimed queen in the Treaty of Dalaburg and after the battle at Falköping (in which Albert was captured) could effectively assume the office of queen of Sweden.

Margarete purposeful strove to a union of the three Nordic kingdoms (1397, Kalmar Union). She then helped her grandnephew Erik of Pomerania ascend the Norwegian throne. During his reign, in 1412, the aristocrats, led by Engelbrekt Engelbretsson and Karl Knudsson Bonde, stood up to the king. An interregnum followed, in which a privy council held power (farmers, miners and citizens growingly took part in decision-making). Symbolically, the Privy Council was represented by a new national seal, depicting Erik the Saint and the three Swedish crowns.

Throughout the 15th century, there was an ongoing dispute between the proponents of the union and those of a national Sweden. They were, in chronological order: Christoph of Bavaria for the union, Karl Knudsson for Sweden (in three different periods, alternated by Christian I for the union and archbishop Jöns Bengtsson for Sweden), Sten Sture the Elder as regent and finally Hans as union king.

SVEALAND and GÖTALAND united

Olaf Skötkonung was the first king who ruled over the united territories of the Svear (Svealand) and the Götar (Götaland). Around 1170, this territory fell apart and two kingdoms formed. Rivalry began as soon as 1130.

OLAF SKÖTKONUNG (994-1021/22)

Olaf Skötkonung is the son of Erik Segersäll and Gunhild, sister of Boleslav I of Poland. When his father perished in the battle of Fyris (near Uppsala) his mother rewedded Sweyn Forkbeard, making Knud and Olaf half-brothers.

Children were: Anund Jakob (King of Sweden 1022-1050) and Edmund (King of Sweden 1050-1061), Astrid, wedded to the Norwegian King Olaf Haraldsson (1016-1030) and Ingegerd, wedded to Jaroslav, Grand Duke of Novgorod.

Under the influence of the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen, Olaf endeavoured to christianise. Around 1010, he controlled Svealand and Götaland. However, pagan tribes in Uppsala forced him to withdraw to the Christian Västergötland, where he founded the diocese Skara.



670 Denier - Sigtuna. A: Bust r. with sceptre + OLAF REX SPEVOX, R: Double-lined cross with C - R - V - X in the angles + GODPINE MO ZIHT. LL: 11. 1.903 gr.

RR Extraordinary well struck, extremely fine specimen

2.500,--

Ahlstrom - Stockholm, Auction 26 (1982), no. 440.

ZIHT = ZIHTVNA = SIGTUNA.

The P must be read as W.

The end of the text on the reverse is formed by a horizontal line with a pellet above it and under it. ca. 995-1000.



671 Denier - Long Cross - Sigtuna (?). A: Bust l. + EDEDONOEDDPOPI, R: Long cross with the limbs ending in three crescents + CIO LEO V+CII. LL: -- (cf. 20a-b). 1.996 gr.

R Magnificent portrait, extremely fine specimen

1.500,--

Hirsch - Stockholm, Auction 3 (1975), no. 51.

For attribution: see art. Lyon - v.d.Meer - Dolley (1962). See Pl. II,1 in B. Malmer: King Canute's Coinage in the Northern Countries.

Sigtuna lies near Uppsala, the territory that was lost after 1010. Could the numbers 671 and 672 have both been struck in Västergötland?



- 672 Denier - Long Cross. A: Bust l. OLIE OLDROI LOCI, R: Long cross with the limbs ending in three crescents, blundered legend. LL: --. 1.552 gr. **RR** Very fine 500,--
 Münzzentrum - Köln 1980.
 G. v. d. Meer (cf. B. Malmer): Struck by Olaf Skötkonung (and not under Olaf). Malmer: Pl.II.2?

SVEALAND 1170-1290

Some kings ruled only Svealand or only Götaland, some ruled both (see abstract with Lagerqvist on p. 101).

KNUT ERIKSSON (1167-1196)



- 673 Bracteate - Uppsala. A: Bust facing with raised hands or sceptres. LL: 1A.5c. 0.292 gr. **RR** Extremely fine to uncirculated 400,--
 Peus - Frankfurt, Auction 309 (1984), no. 974.
- 674 Bracteate - Uppsala. A: Bust facing with sword and sceptre. LL: 1A.7b. 0.293 gr. **RR** Extremely fine 400,--
 Spink - London 1977.
 LL 7a seems to have the same stamp.

GÖTALAND 1170-1290

VALDEMAR (1250-1275)

After Erik Eriksson childless demise, Birger Jarl oldest son was elected king.



- 675 Bracteate. A: Crowned head facing. LL: XVII A.1a. 0.140 gr. Almost extremely fine 125,--
 Ahlstrom - Stockholm, Auction 31 (1985), no. 60.
- 676 Bracteate. A: Crowned head facing. LL: XVII A.1c. 0.134 gr. Almost extremely fine 125,--
 Ahlstrom - Stockholm, Auction 31 (1985), no. 62.
- 677 Bracteate. A: Crowned lion (dragon?) r.. LL: XVII B.4b. 0.117 gr. Small edge fault, otherwise extremely fine 100,--
 Ahlstrom - Stockholm 1991.



- 678 Bracteate. A: Crowned lion (dragon?) l. LL: XVII B.5b. 0.145 gr. Extremely fine + 100,--
Ahlstrom - Stockholm, Auction 5 (1974), no. 10.
- 679 Bracteate. A: Crowned lion (dragon?) l. putting out his tongue. LL: XVII B.6a. 0.164 gr. Extremely fine 100,--
Ahlstrom - Stockholm 1991.

MAGNUS LADULAS (1275-1290)

Magnus Birgersson Ladislas, second son of Birger Jarl and Ingeborg, sister of Erik Eriksson. After his father's death in 1266, Magnus became Sveahertig (Earl of Sweden). In Magnus' case, earl was considered equal to jarl.

Magnus expelled his brother Valdemar, but not until 1280 did the latter relinquish his rights. In 1284, during his reign, Magnus had his son Birger elected king.



- 680 Bracteate. A: M between two pellets. LL: XVIII C.4d. 0.079 gr. Small edge fault, almost extremely fine 125,--
Ahlstrom - Stockholm 1991.

GOTLAND (1140-1270)

Until 1361 Gotland was part of Sweden, then it fell to Denmark (for coins after 1361, see Denmark).



- 681 Denier. A: Cross with circle and pellet in the centre, a line with three pellets in each angle, R: Church with two towers. LL: XX A.1a. 0.175 gr. Weakly struck, very fine 125,--
Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 281 (1985), no. 324.
Attribution according to Rasmussen, cf. Hildebrand 445.



- 682 Denier. A: Wheel with three spokes, circle with pellet in the centre, one line with three pellets in each angle, R: Chequered cross. LL: XXII A.3. 0.137 gr. A little off centre, almost extremely fine 100,--
Ahlstrom - Stockholm, Auction 29 (1984), no. 70.
Ex: Pripp II collection.

SVEALAND AND GÖTALAND AFTER 1290

MAGNUS ERIKSSON (1319-1363)



- 683 Bracteate - Lödöse. A: L in halo. LL: XXVIII A.2a. 0.515 gr. **R** Very fine + 150,--
 Ahlstrom - Stockholm, Auction 27 (1983), no. 55.
 After 1354.
 Ex: Pripp I collection.
- 684 Denier - Lund. A: S between two pellets, R: Two triangles under cross. MB: 650. 0.674 gr. **Dark patina, fine to very fine** 50,--
 Hornung - Kopenhagen, Auction 27 (1985), no. 31.
 Schonen and the town of Lund had always been Danish possessions and the archbishops had a hand in this substantially. In 1332, Schonen under archbishop Karl resisted the Danes and proclaimed the Swedish King Magnus Eriksson their king. In 1360, Schonen under the Danish king Valdemar Atterdag returned under Swedish dominance. Danish catalogues often state: this type was struck under Valdemar Atterdag. It was indeed, but by Magnus Smek (= Magnus Eriksson).

PERIOD 1364-1500



- 685 Bracteate - A. A: A under crown. LL: XXXIII A.1a. 0.282 gr. **Extremely fine specimen** 100,--
 Ahlstrom - Stockholm, Auction 58 (1998), no. 79.
 Ex: Smith collection.
 The A could stand for Västerås (Aros) or Abo.
- 686 Bracteate - S. A: S under crown. LL: XXXIII B.2a. 0.352 gr. **Very fine** 75,--
 Hirsch - Stockholm 1970.
 S = Stockholm.

PERIOD 1364-1521

ALBERT of MECKLENBURG (1364-1389)



- 687 Örtug - Stockholm. A: Crowned head facing ☉ AL(BE)RTVS o REX, R: Cross on crown with one crown in the 1st and 2nd angles ☉ MONE(TA o SW)ECIE. LL: IA.4a. 1.478 gr. **Weakly struck at the edge, very fine** 150,--
 Ahlstrom - Stockholm, Auction 49 (1994), no. 45.
 The numbers 688 and 687 differ in the curl and crown.



- 688 Örtug - Stockholm. A: Crowned head facing * ALBERTVS o REX †, R: Cross on crown with one crown in the 1st and 2nd angles † MONETA o SWECIE. LL: IA.4b. 1.158 gr. Very fine + 150,--
 Elsen - Brussel 1996.
 From list 183, no. 401.
 The gap between 1388 and 1396, was filled by Margarete (see under Denmark), wedded to king Hakon of Norway, as regentess of Sweden. In 1396, her grandnephew Bolislaw of Pommern became king of Sweden, assuming the name Erik. However, Margarete remained the real leader in Sweden.
 For Sweden's further development, see under Denmark.

ERIK of POMERANIA (1396-1439)



- 689 Örtug - Stockholm. A: Crowned head facing † † REX † † ERICVS †, R: E on cross † MONETA † STOCHOL. LL: A.1a. 1.113 gr. Very fine + 125,--
 Ahlstrom - Stockholm, Auction 42 (1990), no. 49.



- 690 Örtug - Stockholm. A: Shield with three crowns on cross † ERICVS † REX † D' S' IP, R: E on cross † MONETA x STOCHOL. LL: 2b. 0.805 gr. Very fine 100,--
 Ahlstrom - Stockholm, Auction 54 (1996), no. 127.
 For the first time, Eric proclaimed himself king of Denmark, Sweden and Norway.

KRISTIAN I (1457-1461)



- 691 Örtug - Stockholm - 1478. A: Great C with pellet in the centre * CRISSTERNOS * REX, R: Shield with three crowns on long cross dividing legend MON ETA STO' HOL'. LL: 3. 1.277 gr. RR Very fine 500,--
 Ahlstrom - Stockholm 1991.

KARL KNUTSSON BONDE (1467-1470)



- 692 Örtug - Abo. A: Shield with ship and crowned A between two stars on long cross KAR OLV SRE XS' G', R: Shield with three crowns between two stars on long cross dividing legend MON ETA ABO ENS. LL: D.6. 1.398 gr. **RR** Well struck specimen, almost extremely fine 300,--
 Ahlstrom - Stockholm, Auction 29 (1984), no. 98.
 Ex: Bukowski 104, no. 645 (list from a cointrader in Stockholm).
 Ex: Pripp II collection.

STEN STÜRE (1470-1497)

Sten Stüre was merely regent and, therefore, no coin bears his name. He struck them in Erik the Saint's name instead.



- 693 Örtug - Stockholm - 1478. A: Crowned head facing SCS o ERICVS o REX X o, R: Shield with three crowns between two rings, S above * MONETA * STOCH' * 1478. LL: IA.2a. 1.413 gr. **RR** Very fine 500,--
 Ahlstrom - Stockholm 1991.



- 694 Örtug - Stockholm - na 1478. A: Crowned head facing * SCS' * ERICVS * REX *, R: Shield with three crowns between two stars * MONETA * STOCHO. LL: IA.3. 1.195 gr. Edge fault, very fine 125,--
 Ahlstrom - Stockholm, Auction 42 (1990), no. 52.



- 695 1/2 Örtug - Västerås. A: Crown ⊗ SCS' o ERICVS o REX, R: A, pellet above, star l. ⊗ MONETA o AROSIS. LL: IIB.16k. 0.905 gr. Very fine 50,--
 Ahlstrom - Stockholm 1973.



NORWAY

The kingdom Norway commenced with Harald Fairhair (+ 930) and was directly beset by an unceasing struggle for power and consequent divisions.

Early on, there were family ties to the surrounding countries. Thus, Olaf Tryggvason (994-995 and 999-1000) was wedded to Tyra, Harald Bluetooth's daughter. He was slain in a naval battle off the coast of Mecklenburg which he lost to Sweyn Forkbeard and Olaf Skötkonung.

Olaf Haraldsson the Saint (1015-1030) united his country and introduced Christianity. He was the son of a petty king (a king over a very limited territory). As Viking he sailed to Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Friesland and France (and was baptised in Rouen). In 1015, he returned to his homeland and after two victorious battles had himself proclaimed king of entire Norway.

Originally, Canut was his rival, but his marriage to Astrid (daughter of Olaf Skötkonung) brought him to joined sides with him. Yet, Canut claimed Norway. In 1028, a vast fleet under his command sailed to Norway. Olaf fled, together with his son Magnus, to his brother-in-law Jaroslav I of Kiev. An attempt at reconquering Norway resulted in his death in 1030 in the Battle at Stiklestad. In 1030, he was entombed in Trondheim, where his nephew Olaf Kyrre (1066-1093) later would erect the Cathedral of Trondheim. He was canonised almost immediately after he died, mainly as a symbol of resistance against invaders.

After Canut's North Sea Empire had fallen apart (after Canut, Sweyn Forkbeard ruled Norway until 1035), Norway grew more stable under Olaf's son Magnús (1035-1046) and his uncle Harold Sigurdsson (1045-1066). Magnús also became king of Denmark as Magnus den Gode (see Denmark).

Under both Harold Sigurdsson's (better known as Harald Hardrade) sons Magnús II (1066-1069) and Olaf III Kyrre (1067-1093) lineage continued.

A true kingdom, however, wasn't established until Hákon Hákonarsons (1217-1263), along with a substantial foreign policy. At the beginning of the 14th century, Hákon V (1299-1319) effected a treaty with the Swedish dukes Erik and Waldemar. Upon his death in 1319, his 3-year-old grandson Magnús Eriksson was crowned king of Norway and Sweden. But the alliance wouldn't hold, in 1343 it was broken: Hákon VI went on to be king of Norway and Erik became king of Sweden (both were sons of Eric Ericsson).

For the further development of Norway, see under Denmark and Sweden.

HARALD HARDRADE (1045-1066)



- 696 Denier. A: Stylized head l., R: Double-lined cross with the limbs ending in crosses, runic characters + o + + + +. ABH: 5.12, Schive: 3.23. 1.085 gr. **RR** Nice patina, almost extremely fine 1.000,--
Spink - London 1976.
Or is this the same king's reign as with the numbers 697 and 698? See Malmer: transitional type between period II.c (3) and period II.c (2)

MAGNÚS II (1066-1069) - OLAF III KYRRE (1067-1093)



- 697 Denier - 1066/75. A: Barbarized bust r. with facing head, R: Cross, legend not readable. ABH: --, Schive: 3.32. 1.003 gr. **R** Almost extremely fine 750,--
Peus - Frankfurt, Auction 291 (1977), no. 2046.
Olaf and Mogens are brothers.
Graeslid find type N.
Malmer period II: b (independent class I).
The no. ABH: 5.3 is similar to this coin but the die turned around. The numbers 697 and 698 emerged in a Norwegian hoard from the turn of the 19th century.



- 698 Denier - 1066/75. A: Bust of the king I. with helmet, curl and scepter, above cross O C + N D I, R: Long open cross IIDIIIOOIDIII. ABH: 5.1, Schive: 3.35. 0.826 gr. **R** Well struck specimen, very fine + 500,--
 Peus - Frankfurt, Auction 291 (1977), no. 2029.
 Olaf and Mogens are brothers.
 Graeslid find type T.
 Malmer period II: b (primary class 2a).
 The numbers 697 and 698 emerged in a Norwegian hoard from the turn of the 19th century.



- ANONYMOUS (1130-1150)**
- 699 Bracteate - Före. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle. ABH: 14.2, Schive: 7.89. 0.034 gr. **R** Edge faults and nicks, very fine 50,--
 Aes Rude (Toderi) - Florence, Auction 4 (1979), no. 690.
 In Auction cat. Ahlstrom 29, no. 32 (April 1984): "ca. 1130-1150. Brakteat med kors in om dubble pärlringar. Fyra ringar in omskriftern. Jfr NH, fig 12".
- ANONYMOUS - ca. 1200**
- 700 Bracteate - Oslo. A: Great A. ABH: 13.1, Schive: 7.15. 0.098 gr. Very fine + 75,--
 Spink - London 1982.
 A = Aslo (= Oslo).
- 701 Bracteate - Bergen. A: Great B. ABH: 13.2, Schive: 7.23. 0.066 gr. Very fine 50,--
 Spink - London 1982.

ARCHBISHOPRIC DRONTHEIM

Prior to 1000, Drontheim (Trondheim), or actually the surrounding territory of Trøndelag, was governed by a jarl (earl), from the House of Halogaland (for the meaning of jarl, see under Sweden). Around 1000, the jarls were driven away and their position was taken by Olaf Tryggvason (995-1000) and Olaf Haraldsson, Olaf the Saint (1015-1030). Before 1100, an episcopal see was established. Most kings held court in Trondheim, until the beginning of the 13th century, when it was moved to Bergen. In 1153, Trondheim was elevated to a metropolitan see with four suffragan dioceses (and an additional six on the islands of Greenland, the Shetlands, the Faroer and the Isle of Man).

DRONTHEIM - Archbishopric - ca. 1200



- 702 Bracteate. A: Cross with two horizontal arms. ABH: 22.11, Schive: 8.16. 0.053 gr. **RR** Very fine 300,--
 Gall. d. Monn. - New Orleans (1981), no. 2448.
 Patriarchal cross?

SCANDINAVIAN IMITATIONS

There is always mention of "Scandinavian imitations", but the accuracy of this term is questionable. Danish kings, for a known fact, weren't the only ones to strike coin, others either possessed the privilege or simply claimed it. In my opinion, any corrupted fabrics have to be attributed to persons in that last category.

They are all imitations of English coins, occasionally with an almost legible text (see no. 707), but most texts are blundered beyond recognition.

The specimens presented here are limited to a certain period (they have been ranked in the chronological order of manufacture of their prototypes), starting with the last coins from the days of Aethelred II up to those of Edward the Confessor, spanning the period from 1009 to 1053. The nos. 703-707 are from Knud's time (1018-1035), the nos. 708 and 709 are from the period Magnus den Gode (1042-1047) and no. 710 from the period Svend Estridsen (1047-1075). The no. 709 strikes as Norwegian, something which was not uncommon to the period of Magnus den Gode.

Last Small Cross

Last small cross type, struck in England under Aethelred II (978-1016) in the period 1009-1017.



- 703 Denier. A: Bust l., one ring in front and two rings behind + : IOFN o DIE.....N . I ; R: Small cross + PO RIP. 1.484 gr. Nice portrait, very fine 200,--
Rauch - Wien, Auction 48 (1992), no. 2189.

Quatrefoil

Quatrefoil type struck in England under Cnut (1016-1035) in the period 1018-1024.



- 704 Denier. A: Crowned bust in quatrefoil + ECCONVCNVDCIICVD, R: Long open cross over quatrefoil x NF ON OEO CTI. 1.003 gr. Bent with small flan defect, very fine 150,--
Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 12 (1988), no. 2827.
cf. Hbg 3 var.
cf. Syll. Kopenhagen (legend seems to be the same).
The middle of the text on the obverse reads CNVD.

Pointed Helmet

Pointed helmet type, struck in England under Cnut (1016-1035) in the period 1024-1030.



- 705 Denier. A: Bust l. + FONEI + VFON ; R: Short open cross over small doubled circle with one crescent and pellet in each angle + IVOIIN + OT - VOIOI. 0.788 gr. Edge fault and small flan crack, very fine 100,--
Münzzentrum - Köln 1986.



- 706 Denier. A: Bust r. + IOIEC + PIII ...VII, R: Short open cross over circle with one crescent and pellet in each angle + ILVN ICICIIONI. 1.292 gr. Flan crack, almost very fine 50,--
Münzzentrum - Köln 1986.

Short cross

Short cross type struck in England under Cnut (1016-1035) in the period 1030-1035/6.

- 707 Denier. A: Bust r. with sceptre ending in lis ITVNHTPXCED, R: Short open cross with ring + OISPFRODNSTANF. 1.037 gr. Small flan defect, well struck up, very fine 250,--
Hirsch - München, Action 160 (1988), no. 1256.
The text on the obverse is garbled, but can clearly be read as OSPERD ON STANF (the moneyer Osward was from Stanford).

Trefoil quadrilateral

Trefoil quadrilateral type struck in England under Edward the Confessor (1042-1066) in the period 1046-1048.



- 708 Denier. A: Bust l. with sceptre + EDP P REX, R: Cross with square in the centre and three pellets in each angle + SEPINE ON IIENR. 1.155 gr. Almost extremely fine 250,--
Gorny - München, Auction 29 (1984), no. 1317.
P = W, so this means EDW W REX.
According to Hildebrand, there was only a moneyer SEPINE in Chester (SAEPINE ON LEHE). In North there is no mention of such moneyer in Chester.
- 709 Denier. A: Bust l. + NXSSCO + KANNCO, R: Cross with square in the centre and three pellets in each angle + ALEO X OOCISAITO. 1.620 gr. Slightly bent, very fine 200,--
Gorny - München, Auction 47 (1989), no. 2356.
11th century.
The legend is turned outwards, the X is in a square. Considering the legends, a minting in Norway seems to be possible.

Expanding cross

Expanding cross type struck in England under Edward the Confessor (1042-1066) in the period 1050-1053.



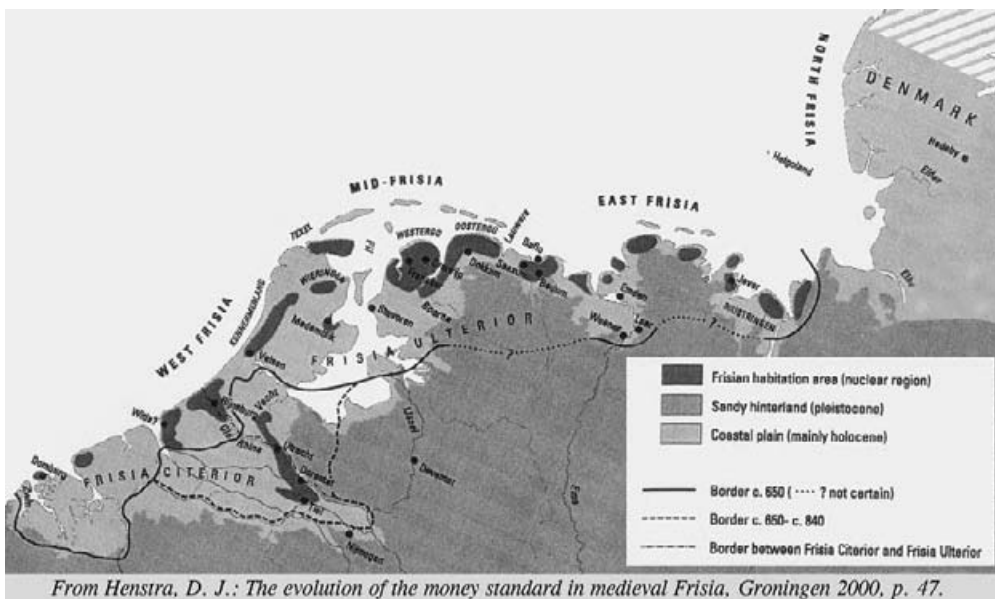
- 710 Denier. A: Bust l. with sceptre IIII CIVIIIII, R: Expanding cross. 0.804 gr. Very fine 150,--
Elsen - Brussel 1997.
The text on the reverse is made up of a series of triangles (point down)
No specimen with an expanding cross is listed in Hauberg.



NETHERLANDS

FRISIA

Around 650, Frisia stretched along the North Sea coast from the Weser to the Scheldt (Sincfala or Zwin). Only the darker parts were populated. The territory around Utrecht - Dorestad belonged to the Merovingian Empire, in 635 minting started in Dorestad. From 650 to 695, the territories of Utrecht, Dorestad and Tiel belonged to Frisia ("Great Frisia"). This was the era of the Frisian kings Aldgisl and Radbod. It constituted the largest expansion Frisia ever saw. In 695, Pippin II conquered Frisia Citerior, but apparently Utrecht was not lost. Dorestad was a Merovingian mint again. When Pippin died in 714, Radbod reconquered the entire territory, though after his death in 719 under Charles Martel, a significant part was soon lost again. In 734, the territory up to the Lauwers River was subjected. The conquest of East Friesland was a result of the Saxonian Wars of Charlemagne. In 794, the whole territory was annexed to the Frankish Empire.



First minting activities in Frisia took place around 575. Roman tremisses were imitated, followed around 600 by imitations of Maastricht Merovingian trientes. In 635, the mint in Dorestad commenced striking coin, surrounded by Merovingian territory.

Around 650, the Frisians conquered Frisia Citerior (the territory south of the Old Rhine, with the towns Utrecht, Dorestad and Tiel. Regular minting in Dorestad may be assumed to have ceased from that moment on. In Frisia, the so-called "Dronrijp type" emerged around that time, not a direct imitation of a North Dutch coin. Then the Merovingian Madelinus type was copied (a much courser strike than the "real thing" from Dorestad). It is not clear where these types were struck. Dorestad doesn't seem very probable, for why would the die-sinkers have started cutting so differently and so much courser? Moreover, these coins are invariably found in Westergo (the western part of present-day province Friesland).

These are mainly finds from dwelling mounds (rises in the landscape for people seeking refuge from the floods). As early as the 19th century, these mounds were excavated to reuse the earth (moundearth) to cultivate the meagre soil. Thus, a lot of material was lost. Nowadays, excavations are carried out much more precisely, preserving a lot more. Most important mound (or rather several grouped mounds) is undoubtedly that of Wijndaldum. Due to the objects found there, it is assumed to have been a royal dwelling mound.

From 695 to 714, Dorestad was once again in Merovingian hands and available for minting. Gold trientes wouldn't have been struck any longer, because the age of gold was over. Around 695, silver emerged as coining metal and it is mainly found in sceattas. This time frame of developments is generally adopted nowadays (see Lafaurie: *Le trésor d'Escharen* in: *RN* 1959/60, p. 153-210). There being any minting of silver coins in Dorestad in the period 695-714 is highly improbable (they would have to be sceattas). The chances of the same happening elsewhere appear rather small as well: 695 was also the year of Willibrord's arrival in Utrecht, however, matters up north were so dangerous that he had to confine to operating in Heiloo and Egmond.

Starting 719, the whole territory of Frisia gradually was brought under Carolingian authority and coins of Charlemagne, Louis the Pious and Lothair I started being struck in Dorestad.

From 843 on, Frisia was part of Lothair's Middle Realm. Starting 870 (the Treaty of Meerssen), the entire territory fell under the East Franks and in 911 it came under the German Empire. Gradually, the regions that once made up "Great-Frisia", fell apart. New regions emerged: Holland and Westfriesland (the latter territory was a part of the district of Holland from 1000 on), the east part of Frisia Citerior became the diocese Utrecht, Central Friesland (from the Vlie to the Lauwers, consisting of (in west-to-east order): Westergo, Oostergo, Westerkwartier, Hunsingo and Fivelingo) and East Friesland (from the Lauwers to the Weser, consisting of, a.o. Emsingo, Brokmerland, Ostringen and Rustringen).

Solely Holland became a county. The territory to the east of the Vlie was controlled by non-Frisian powers. Thus, Wichmann of Hameland was in a part of Central Friesland, the Billungers in Ostringen, the counts of Stade in Rustringen (whose place was taken by the counts of Oldenburg). The counts of Werl exerted condominium rights in Emsingo and Fivelingo. And finally, the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen (Adalbert) also wanted their share and joined the array of contenders for power.

In Central Friesland, the counts of Holland and the bishops of Utrecht played the main parts, in East Friesland, there were the counts of Kalvelage-Ravensberg, the bishops of Münster and the counts of Oldenburg, as well as the Häuptlingen (Chieftains).

In the following text the word "denier" is used for the coins called "penning" in Holland.



711

- 711 **DRONRIJP TYPE** - ca. 650. A: Bust l. with zigzag line in front and cross over the head, EA behind, R: Cross-on-step and globule between two pellets. 1.224 gr.

RR Reverse uncentered, extremely fine specimen

1.500,--

Credit de la Bourse - Paris, Auction April 1994, no. 266.

The "Dronrijp-type" (the name was given by Boeles, p. 314) is a coin type that generally is found in Friesland (hoards Dronrijp and Nietap). Boeles distinguishes 6 types. This coin is a transitional coin from type B to type C. In type B there are letters before the head, that on type C have degenerated into a zigzag line whereas the reverse is exactly that of type B.

Legend:

OVXNUSUJAV

See for hoard Dronrijp: Boeles, p. 313 and for hoard Nietap: Pol JMP 62-64 (1975-77), p. 23-62. Pol records a total of 56 specimens in 1978 (of which Dronrijp 7, Nietap 15 and Mons 8), see Pol: De verspreidingsgebieden van in Nederland geslagen Merovingian gouden munten der 7e eeuw, Westerheem XXXVII, no.3 (1978).

Imitation MADELINUS



712

- 712 **Triens**. A: Bust r. DOR * ESTAT FIT, R: Cross-on-step over six pellets in two lines MA'DELINVS.M. Belfort: 1785. 1.285 gr.

R Small flan crack, extraordinary well struck, extremely fine

1.000,--

Vinchon - Paris, Auction 1.9-3-70 (1970), no. 86.



713

- 713 **Denier**. A: Bust r. RESTAFTIT, R: Cross-on-steps over nine pellets IICVIIFTVII. Belfort: 1800. 1.087 gr.

RR Very fine +

1000,--

Holleman - Enschede 1992.

Found in Boer.

The type Belfort: 1800 fits the most, although it is not completely the same, the legends differ: A: RESTIT FT, R: IIVEL^oIIVSII.

The 5 pellets preceding the text derive from the pellets that are normally under the head.



714 Denier. A: Bust r. over ten pellets DVCSTAT FIT, R: Cross-on-step over six pellets IIADFLC • IIIVS • II. Belfort: 1804. 1.128 gr. **RR** Very fine + 1000,--

Holleman - Enschede 1993.

Ex: Coin Investment - Lisse, Auction 40 (1992), no. 172.

Low silvery gold content.

Found in Slappeterp (Fr).

Here, the pellets are still mainly under the head.

In the nos. 712, 713 and 714, two aspects catch the eye: all three show a much higher relief than the "real" Madelinus coins of Dorestad, apart from that no. 714 is more silvery than no. 713, which probably makes it younger (assuming the gold content was decreased during this period). Yet, the head, the accompanying pellets and the text on no. 713 show a more advanced degeneration than no. 714. Shouldn't the conclusion be that these coins are not from the Dorestad mint, but were manufactured elsewhere. Moreover, both last coins seem to stem from different mints.

The high relief we see here is found in numerous sceattas of the D-series (Interlocal Continental Northern).

WESTFRIESLAND

From around 870 (transition to the East Franks) to 911 (transition to the German Empire), the history of West Friesland (from the Vlie to the Zwin) is unclear. In this period, the country was beset on all sides by the Vikings. The populated areas no longer constitute a single, undivided territory.

At the end of the 9th century, a new age dawned on the territory of West Friesland. Yet, it would take until 1101, before there was mention of the "County Holland", derived from Holtland (the territory around the mouth of the Old Rhine). Thus, Holland and Zeeland formed and the name West Friesland stayed in use for the territory between Hoorn-Enkhuizen-Medemblik.

COUNTY HOLLAND

As so often in Western Europe, people that had rendered outstanding services in the battle against the Vikings were rewarded with important fiefs. In the old Frisian territories, there was, for instance, one Gerulf. On the 4th of August 889, he received full ownership over several properties from the Eastfrankish King Arnulf. These properties consisted of two clusters: *one* in Teisterbant (the region surrounding Teole (Tiel)) and the second in the coastal area in the estuary of the Old Rhine.

At his demise, as was customary, his land was divided among his sons: Waldger received Teisterbant (see under Tiel) and Dirk (I) the coastal area. Waldger maintained close ties with the Utrecht bishop Radbod (see under Utrecht), who was a descendant of the legendary King Radbod (see under Anglo-Saxon). That's why Dirk is generally assumed to be of royal Frisian ancestry as well. The counts of Holland were considered high nobility right from the start in Western-Europe and were related to all the significant royal houses.

As Dirk I supported Charles the Simple in his battle against revolting vassals, he received the church of Egmond and its accompanying properties from Charles on the 15th June 922. This Abbey of Egmond held a very special place with the count and was favoured by him in a most generous manner. Dirk I died in the Battle at Andernach (see under Alsace-Lorraine).

Because the male successive lineage sometimes ended, the county, by marriage, passed to other houses several times. Thus, four periods may be distinguished:

- The House of Holland 889-1299.
- The Hainaut House 1299-1345.
- The House Wittelsbach (The Bavarian House) 1345-1425.
- The Burgundian House 1425-1433.

In the last period, Jacoba of the House of Bavaria played a role.

The House of Holland
DIRK IV (1039-1049)

Due to his advancing colonisation, Dirk IV clashed with the bishops of Utrecht and Liège, who were backed by the German emperor, for they had been loyal allies. Thus, Henry III waged war on Dirk IV (who had allied with Godfrey the Bearded (see Lotharingia)) in 1047. During the ensuing campaign, the castle of Rijnsburg, among other things, was laid in ruins. Later, a church was erected here, which would provide a last resting-place for many a count of Holland. The early counts, as Dirk IV, were interred in Egmond Abbey.



715

- 715 Denier - Rijnsburg. A: Carolingian temple with cross in centre + RINEBURG, R: Cross-shaped letters with one ring in each angle AE TA / ET BT. Dann: 1390, Grolle: 1.1a, Ilisch: 11.1. 0.558 gr. Extremely rare. First coin of Holland, only known specimen in private collection, extraordinary well struck and very fine specimen

2.500,--

Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1980.

Albrecht knew of only 5 specimens, Ilisch knows of 7 (JMP 84-85, 1997/8, p. 153), this piece is included in neither. He gives the following summary: Berlin - Sgl. Dannenberg, Berlin - Sgl. Grote, Berlin, München, Dresden, Kopenhagen - Sgl. Thomson, KPK (from Auction Schulman 1936, no. 3074).

See Potin: De Hollandse muntslag in de 11e eeuw, in: JMP 52/53 (1965/66), p.8.

Although Kluge in 1991 still doubted that Rineburg is identical with Rijnsburg, it is generally accepted that Rijnsburg is the place indicated. With Albrecht (1959), we find the following quote:*rex.....duas urbas munitissimas cepit, Rinesburg et Faerdingen*, from Lamperti annales, 1047.

Ilisch takes the reverse letters as Alpha and Omega (in Greek print), he believes it is approximated by the specimen of the KPK: ALFA horizontally and vertically ET BH (the B is upside down and is identical to the Greek letter omega).

Grolle thinks the letters are a corruption of Adelbertus. The coins must have been struck before 1047. Grolle notes: "Het ontbreken van een koningsportret en titel versterkt het vermoeden dat hier sprake is van usurpatie. In 1047 werd de plaats van Dirks misdrijf dan ook door keizer Heinrich III verwoest."

The following may provide a solution: the four letters around the centre are the same in every coin (only the order varies) i.e. BELT. The surrounding letters, often somewhat illegible, are always AETV. They together read AETVBELT, or, rearranged AELBETV T, which seems to mean ADELBERTVS, concurring with Grolle.

Adelbert was, just as Willibrord, from England. He was an assistant of Willibrord, when the latter was working in Heiloo (holy forest, a pagan place). When Adelbert died in 740, he was buried in nearby Egmond. On his grave a chapel was built. Later, in 922, Dirk I had this church pulled down and transferred Adelbert to the abbey in Hallem (nowadays Egmond binner).

FLORIS I (1049-1061)

Dirk IV had no children and he was succeeded by his brother Floris I. Floris wedded Gertrude of Saxonia, a daughter of Bernhard II, Duke of Saxonia.

Floris I established himself in the castle of Leiden, as the Rijnsburg castle had been destroyed. Floris was interred in Egmond.



716

- 716 Denier. A: Bust facing with standard and staff terminating in a cross, three pellets l. + V.....M, R: Bearded bust facing between alpha and omega + VIN..... Dann: 1545, Grolle: --, Ilisch: 12.7. 0.412 gr. RR Edge fault, otherwise very fine

250,--

Ahlstrom - Stockholm, Auction 37 (1988), no. 39.

Dannenberg II, no. 1545 mentions Cat. Hess: 216.

Dannenberg legend: A: + VEVHIDAR, R: + V . V . NAEV. Dannenberg also considers bishop Konrad I (Dann: 1545a).

Ilisch attributes this to Holland, because the crosier was replaced with a pennant (further it is an imitation of William of Pont of Utrecht).

Grolle does not mention this type. He provided me with the following explanation as to why not: This coin is "probably" attributed to Leiden by Ilisch, on the basis of its type. Up to here I concur with him, albeit partly, but on the basis of its manufacture I can not attribute this coin to Leiden. The die is made up almost entirely of dots, whereas documented Leiden specimens are rather cut in lines and arches. Dies consisting mainly of dots indicate a northern origin; the episcopal bust or image is related to the royal bust of Egbert II of Brunswijk as margrave of Friesland, e.g. Ilisch 22.10, in which the pendants were replaced with alfa and omega and the crown itself, of course, was adapted.

Is this a Frisian imitation, or is something else altogether? Ilisch differs on the position of the Zutphen count. The Zutphen counts are descendants of a younger half-brother of Countess Adela of Hamaland: Otto I of Zutphen. Therefore, they are of high nobility, in terms of ancestry. In Zutphen, there were three comital functions: Zutphen was an allodial possession (with a sovereign lord or count), there was an episcopal prefecture (with an episcopal prefect or count) and there was an imperial palatine since 1050 (with an imperial count-palatine or burgrave (viscount)). These offices were not always held by one person, but more often divided among the members of a family, who by marriage were related to the Lorraine counts-palatine (from Aachen). Not until Otto III were these three functions united in one person and he was referred to as *locupletissimus comes*, signifying his combined status of count in all local offices. After 1077, Friesland passed to the bishop of Utrecht. Bishop Conrad vested the military authority over Friesland (Stavoren) in his prefect in Zutphen. In that case, coin 12.7 would be a Frisian fabric (struck in Stavoren) of the episcopal advocatus who was also prefect of Zutphen, i.e. Otto III of Zutphen, who had succeeded his uncle Gerlach in 1076 as allodial lord and imperial viscount in Zutphen.

With regard to the texts, Grolle deems ob- and reverse identical, but as to their garbled state he concludes that no sense can be derived from them (therefore no Otto and/or no Stavoren).

I attach little value to his reading and, for the time being, prefer attribution to Holland, without Leiden however.

DIRK V (1061-1091)

At the demise of Floris I there were three children: Dirk (V), Floris and Bertha. Bertha wedded King Philip I of France. Floris' widow Gertrude married Robert (youngest son of Baldwin V of Flanders), who was henceforth called Robert the Frisian. Dirk wedded Othilda from a Saxon house (many counts looked towards German territory for their brides), much to the discontent of the German emperor, who consequently granted bishop of Utrecht the entire county in fief in 1064 (however, neither the German emperor, nor the bishop de facto held any sway). Dirk retained his possessions around the Meuse mouth.

In 1069, Godfrey the Hunchback, duke of Lorraine and stalwart of the emperor, set about conquering the county and Gertrude, Robert the Frisian and the abbot of Egmond fled to Ghent. After Godfrey was killed and Bishop William of Pont had died, the time was ripe to march on the county from Flanders. In 1076, Dirk V was count in West Friesland once again.

Dirk V mainly endeavoured to restore relations with the German Empire. He had one son (Floris II) and was entombed together with his wife in the abbey church of Egmond.



717 Denier. A: Mounted armoured man r., cross behind him, R: Edifice with two towers and cross with one pellet in each angle in centre. Dann: 1232, Grolle: 3.2.Ba, Ilisch: 14.4. 0.518 gr.

Extremely rare, very fine +

600,--

WAG - Dortmund, Auction 15 (2000), no. 3284.

Dannenberg's drawing of the coin reads: A: + ATTEN(D)RVM (retrograde), R: + (ATTER)DRVM (retrograde). In truth, these texts aren't as clear as Dannenberg rendered them (reference to Thomsen 0.67 gm. and Köhne V, Table VIII.8): A: + ATM, R:DRVM.

The same texts are on Dann: 1231.

Ilisch has described the coin for this WAG auction and now he apparently arrives at the conclusion of Utrecht.

There are no letters whatsoever on this coin.

Ilisch writes (JPM 1997/8, p.171): The similarity of style to the Utrecht coins with St. Martin was already pointed out by Dannenberg, while Fiala attributes this type to an undesignated Nordheim factory. The legends indicate Holland, according to Ilisch. One piece was found in Elst. Ilisch knows of only two specimens: Hannover and Copenhagen (Sgl. Thomson 6409).

Attendum used to sometimes be identified as Attendorn (in Germany), but that is impossible. Between present-day Utrecht and Amsterdam along the Vecht River, several places lay that had been of great significance since ancient times, like Attendum. But this possibility too has to be discarded. Grolle recognises Atelbern and identifies that as Adelbertus (the patron of the Egmond abbey, see no. 719). Grolle determines the edifice on the reverse as the abbey church of Egmond.

Perhaps the following sheds some light on this: in an account of possessions from Werden, among other things, 16 coins from Attinghem were listed. This Attinghem was situated by the Linge between Asperen and Arkel. In 1076, Dirk reconquered the county by capturing the castle of IJsselmonde, among other things. Perhaps that is what the horseman symbolises (see Halbertsma H.: Friesland's Oudheid. Utrecht, 2000, p. 130-131).



718

718 Denier. A: Castle over bow of pellets, legend not visible, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle in circle of rings +EPT. Dann: 1858, Gr: --, Ilisch: 14.11. 0.471 gr.

Extremely rare, slightly bent and small flan crack, otherwise very fine

500,--

v.d.Dussen-Westerhof-Maastricht, Ex:Van den Bogaerde collection (Haarem). Auction 1.3 (1985), no. 2081.

RBN 38 (1882) 626 Tf. XXVII.27.

For the location of the mint, the Meuse - Rhine territory is suggested. A coin is shown with Dannenberg under no. 1858 (mint unknown) that is almost exactly like this one (in St. Petersburg). Under no. 4359, a coin of Burchart of Utrecht is mentioned, that has an almost identical reverse.

Another specimen exists in Berlin. Fd. Spanko: Last date of this hoard 1088.

Ilisch believes it is from Holland, which would designate Dirk V (1061-1091). He still struck large coins (Leiden or Rijnsburg), but his son Floris II struck small ones. Ilisch explains (JMP 84-85, 1997/8, p. 175): "Das ursprünglich in der Sammlung Van den Bogaerde in Haaren (Noord-Brabant), jetzt in einer Privatsammlung befindliche Stück wurde 1882 von Roest in den Raum Brabant-Limburg gelegt und Münsterbilsen als Münzstätte für möglich erachtet. Die Rs gehört aber eindeutig in den Kontext von Dann. 1231 und 1232. Vorgekommen ist der Typ auch im Fund von Spanko (1088, Nr. 67), nun in Berlin (vgl. Bauer in Zeitschrift für Numismatik). Die Rs-Legende könnte ein retrogrades TRAIECTVM enthalten."

Ilisch knows of only three specimens: Berlin, St. Petersburg and the one at hand (as implied the latter two might be one and the same).

Grolle does not mention it. He writes the following: "Ilisch 14.11 is part of a group, of which Ilisch is not certain that it was minted by "Holland". I believe Ilisch 14.11 doesn't belong to this group, in spite of his notion that the edifice of Dann. 1858 is clearly related to that of Dann. 1231 and 1232. I don't share his opinion and what's more: I think the reverse with the border of rings around the cross is too pompous and not from "Holland". And why would the count "of Holland" have Traiectum indicated on his coins, when he had already very frankly indicated Leiden, Rijnsburg or Atelbern on earlier coins? Finally, the dimensions of this coin indicate a denarius levis that does not belong to group 14. I concur with your (author of this piece) assumption that bishop Konrad was the minting lord. Weight and obverse of the coin correspond with his coinage, however, the reverse does not. In my opinion, it should be classified under small Flemish coins."

De Wit doesn't concur with the last and has kept it under Holland, maybe it will have to go under Utrecht later.

Floris II (1091-1121) is considered to have been an enormously wealthy man (revenues from peat and tolls). The original Frisian character of the county vanished under him and at the turn of the 11th century, the name Holtland became fashionable (named after one of the very rich core territories at the mouth of the Old Rhine). In 1101, Floris II was consequently referred to as count of Holland. Inhabitants were called Hollandi.

Floris was married to Gertrude, daughter of the duke of Upper Lorraine. On the occasion of their marriage she changed her name to Petronilla. Floris was buried in Egmond.

DIRK VI (1121-1157)

After the demise of Floris II, Petronilla ruled. She made grave mistakes, especially with regard to the abbey of Egmond. In 1143, the main altar was consecrated by Dirk VI, his wife Sophia and the bishop of Utrecht, Petronilla was not present.

Dirk VI was a highly dependent and irresolute man, contrary to his brother Floris the Black, who was very ambitious (from 1129 to 1131 he was count of Holland, acknowledged by the Roman king and the bishop of Utrecht).

Petronilla founded the abbey church in Rijnsburg in 1133 and designated it to be her tomb. Dirk VI founded a large church in Vlaardingen, which caused a conflict with Egmond, that claimed the church by virtue of old records. Dirk was interred next to his mother and brother in Rijnsburg.



719

719 Denier. A: Head r., R: Cross with one ending in lis, staff in each angle. Grolle: 5.3.1a., vH: A2. 0.464 gr.

Weakly struck and traces of corrosion, very fine

100,--

Henzen - Amerongen 1996.

From list December 1996, no. 292.

cf. van Hengel: Vondsten van 12e eeuwse (Hollandse ?) munten, in: JMP 80 (1993), p. 93.

DIRK VII (1190-1203)

Dirk's younger brother William was very ambitious, and, moreover, had completed a crusade. Since William was the junior, he was forced to play the inferior role. However, he refused to yield and allied with the insurgent West Frisians, but in 1195 had to succumb to countess Aleid, the wife of Dirk VII. Later (1198), Dirk reconciled with William. Contrary to his brother William, Dirk showed little interest in international politics.

When Dirk died, he had only one daughter, Ada, 15 years of age. William attempted seizing the county, which he failed to do initially (Loon War, Ada had in the meantime married Louis of Loon), but accomplished later on. Ada was sent off to England. Later she would return from her exile at the English court and rejoin her husband. She died childless in 1223. She was insignificant to the history of Holland.



- 720 Denier. A: Bust r. with sword + THEODER(IC), R: Cross with P - A - X - * in the angles (H)OLLANT CO(MES). Grolle: 7.1.Ba, vdCh: 35.7, vH: C.8. 0.659 gr. **R** Very fine 300,--
Müller - Solingen, Auction 48 (1985), no. 703.
v. Hengel does not know the obverse text: he merely mentions: THEODRIC, Grolle does likewise.
Grolle: type without sun.
- 721 Denier. A: Bust r. with sword + THEODRIC, R: Cross with P - A - X - lis-cross (retrograde) in the angles + HOLLAN(T C)OMES. Grolle: 7.1.Ca, vdCh: --, vH: C.9. 0.567 gr. **R** Weakly struck, traces of corrosion, very fine 200,--
Bought 1985 (Dekker collection)
Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 233 (1960), no. 77.
Grolle: Type C with sun on obverse (not visible here) and lis on reverse.
The reverse text does not begin a +, but with a cross consisting of four loops.

WILLEM I (1203-1222)

Named after the brother of his mother, William the Lion of Scotland. He took part in the third crusade (that of 1188). In this crusade, not only Frederick Barbarossa died, but William's father Floris III as well. Upon his return a feud ignited with his brother (see under Dirk VII).

William was count of Friesland. After a dispute with Kuinre, he was imprisoned by Henry of Kuinre, but managed to escape. He wedded Aleid, daughter of Count Otto I of Gelre (1198) in Stavoren.

After the Loon War had ended, in 1213 he became the undisputed count of Holland and a noble of international significance.

At first loyal to Emperor Otto IV, but after the defeat at Bouvignes (1214) of Otto IV, William acknowledged Frederick II as emperor and by doing so incensed the English king, the same that was keeping his cousin Ada confined.

William took part in the 5th crusade with a large fleet under his command and sailed for Damiette in Egypte.

After his return he remarried Maria of Brabant, daughter of duke Henry and widow of Emperor Otto IV. The marriage remained childless.



- 722 Denier - Stavoren?. A: Bust r. with S in field, on the border triangle and ring with pellet alternating, R: Cross with one S in each angle, on the border triangle and pellets alternating. Grolle: 8.1.1.Da, vdCh: 35.4, vH: C.5. 0.647 gr. **R** Weakly struck, very fine 200,--
Willems - Bennekom 1985.
v. Hengel describes the obverse: Bust r. with sword, but in my opinion is there no sword.
See also van Gelder: Hoard Arnhem (JMP 67 (1980), no. 44 (unlocalised coins)).
Grolle describes this coin as: William I of Holland as Count of Friesland (1195-1213).
Couldn't this coin have been struck on the occasion of his marriage, the ceremony of which took place in Stavoren (the S on the obverse).
See further elucidation with Central Friesland.



- 723 Denier. A: Lion r. under ring with pellet, L E O in field, R: Cross with the limbs ending in triangles over floriated cross with the limbs ending in rings. Grolle: --, vdCh: --, vH: A3, C.0.4 (1998). 0.604 gr. **RR** Flan crack, very fine 175,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1991.
 From list Novembre 1991, no. 147.
 See van Gelder : hoard of 12th eeuwse coins in Arnhem, in: JMP 67 (1980), p. 107 e.v., nr. 48
 Dewismes' attribution to the city Aire is false, in view of the weight. The type of the obverse matches that of several Brabant pieces from around the turn of the 12th century that, however, are substantially heavier and exhibit a wholly different reverse (A. de Witte: Histoire monétaire de Brabant, no. 17).
 In his booklet, Van Hengel, of 1998, gives the following (Van Hengel (1998) mentions these under C.0.4, under Floris III) specimens: total 11 pieces, of which 1 in the hoard Arnhem (presently in KPK), 7 in Egmond, 1 in Castricum, 1 in Diemen and 1 on the beach. Some were auctioned at Coin Investment: 35, no. 497 (presently Van Hengel), 37, no. 1 (unlocalised) and 37 (this no.) and 38, no. 2 (presently Van Hengel).
 Grolle (in the first edition of "Muntslag van de Graven van Holland": H type with Welf lion and lis bars (approx. 1210 in Zierikzee?) imitating the (Leuven?) coin of Henry I of Brabant (1190-1235); the Welf lion was taken from the bracteates of King Otto IV (before 1208), this type possibly derives from the penny of approx. 1140 of Eustace Fitzjohn. Attribution to William I is unfounded. William I of Holland as count of Friesland (1195-1213). Frisian coin.
 The second edition of Grolle's "De Muntslag van de Graven van Holland" no longer features this type. Hence Gr: --.
 Grolle substantiates this with "De munt met de leeuw, vooral cat. 8.1.1H, kan wegens zijn fijne factuur niet als Holland/Fries worden beschouwd. Zijn herkomst zal men zuidelijker moeten zoeken". In a letter, Grolle accounts that this coin, in his opinion, is from Brabant, he more specifically considers the margraviate of Antwerp. This seems far-fetched to me: these coins were never found in Belgium, but invariably in the Netherlands. Nor does the fact that there are also halves favour attribution to Brabant, etc. On these grounds it is left under Holland.
 Shouldn't a much simpler answer be considered? William was named after the Scottish William the Lion. Is it really that remarkable that he had a coin struck with a lion (perhaps by a *southern* die-sinker, but in the *North*).
- 724 Denier. A: Bust r. with helmet and sword, three cross saltire on the helmet WILLEM, R: Voided cross with small crosses in the angles + HOLLANDIA. Grolle: 8.2.1.Ba, vdCh: 36.7, vH: C.11. 0.602 gr. Traces of corrosion, very fine 100,--
 Bought 1985 (Dekker collection)
 Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 234 (1960), no. 122.
 Placement of the word William is identical to coins of Dirk VII.

FLORIS IV (1222-1234)

Wedded to Machteld of Brabant, daughter of Duke Henry I of Brabant.

On 15th November 1229, he bought a court in what was to become The Hague. Floris V had it extended with a large hall (today's "ridderzaal"). He was entombed in Rijnsburg.



- 725 Denier. A: Bust r. (x FLORENS), R: Voided cross with the limbs ending in pellets x HOLLANT. Grolle: 9.1a, vdCh: 1.2-4 und 6-11, vH: C.15. 0.585 gr. Small scratches, very fine 50,--
 NKR - 1974 (de Jong).
 Struck before 1247.
 van Hengel: type 1A.
- 726 Denier. A: Bust r. (x FLORENS), R: Voided cross with the limbs ending in pellets. (x HOLLANT). Grolle: 9.1a, vdCh: 1.2-4 und 6-11, vH: C.15. 0.616 gr. A little off centre, very fine 50,--
 Bought 1985 (Dekker collection).
 Bought Schulman - Amsterdam, d.d. 8-1-1952.
 Struck after 1247.
 van Hengel: type 1B (long neck).



- 727 Denier. A: Bust r. (x FLORENS), R: Voided cross with the limbs ending in pellets. (x HOLLANT).
Grolle: 9.1a, vdCh: 1.2-4 und 6-11, vH: C.15. 0.543 gr. Very fine 50,--

Struck after 1247.
cf. Puister in JMP 1957, p. 17 – 27.
van Hengel: type 1B (long neck).

- 728 Denier. A: Bust r. (x FLORENS), R: Voided cross with the limbs ending in pellets (HOL)LAN(T).
Grolle: 9.1a, vdCh: 1.2-4 und 6-11, vH: C.15. 0.558 gr. Very fine 50,--

Holleman - Enschede 2000.
Struck after 1247.
van Hengel: type 1B.



- 729 Obole. A: Bust r. (x FLORE)N(S), R: Voided cross with the limbs ending in pellets (x HO)LL(ANT).
Grolle: 9.2a, vdCh: 1.12-13, vH: C.17. 0.293 gr. R Weakly struck at the edge, very fine 150,--

Henzen - Amerongen 2004.
From list 146, no. 539.

WILLEM II (1234-1256)

Not his mother, but William, brother of Floris IV became guardian, he, however, died soon, passing the office to his other brother Otto (bishop of Utrecht).

Under William II the economy boomed. Brabant's influence increased. Through his Brabant uncle Henry II, he was involved in the battle against Emperor Frederick II. However, when the latter was excommunicated by the pope in 1245, Henry II put William forward for the German throne. On the 3rd October 1247, William was elected Roman King in Woeringen. In the beginning this raised a lot of resistance, but his marriage to Elisabeth of Brunswick, granddaughter of emperor Otto IV, among other things, caused things to take a turn for the better and he was universally acknowledged, also by the Welfs.

In 1255, the pope proposed that he be crowned emperor, but prior to his coronation he perished on the battlefield on the 28th of January 1256 in a campaign against the West Frisians. His body was hidden in Hoogwoud, where Floris V would discover it, 26 years later. William was buried in the abbey church of Middelburg.

During the reign of Floris V two significant monetary measures were taken: a. The introduction of the gros tournois, b. The change of the double cross to a single cross (of no. 737). Puister had already drawn attention toward this (Een nieuwe datering van de denarii van de graven uit het Hollandse Huis, in: JMP 44 (1957), p. 17). He referred to the transformation of English coinage. In 1279, England changed from the double cross to the single cross. Within a year, this change was adopted on the mainland, in the Sterling of Brabant.



- 730 Denier. A: Bust r. with collar (x FLORENS), R: Voided cross with the limbs ending in pellets x HO(LLAN)T. Grolle: 10.1.1a, vdCh: 1.5, vH: C.16. 0.494 gr. R Almost very fine 150,--

Henzen - Amerongen 1999.
From list November 1999, no. 895.
The collar-shaped symbol constitutes the only difference with the coins of Floris V (see also C. v. Hengel: Penning Hollants 1998).
Van Hengel 16, type 1.1.
Emission 1234?-1252? In the name of his father Floris IV.
Grolle refers to vH: 16, but that is an obole. Is it 15, type 1B or is it 17? In the later booklet of Van Hengel it is listed as 16 again.

FLORIS V (1256-1296)

At the demise of William II, his son Floris V was 1½ years old. Guardianship was assumed by his uncle Floris and his aunt Aleid (both children of Floris IV, Aleid was wedded to John of Avesnes). In 1266, he was of age. His first task was to avenge his father and find his body.

As two powerful lords (Gijsbrecht of Amstel and Herman of Woerden) exerted great influence in the diocese of Utrecht, Floris invaded and took hold of the Nedersticht (the part of the diocese around Utrecht).

Floris introduced a new administrative system. He maintained sound ties with England and ventured seizing the Scottish throne, but to no avail.

Later, the relationship with England deteriorated. Floris signed a treaty against England and Flanders in Paris. The same lords of Utrecht planned a conspiracy against him, culminating in his assassination on 27th June 1296. He was entombed in the Rijnsburg church.



- 731 Denier. A: Bust r. (x) F(LORENS), R: Voided long cross with the limbs ending in pellets (x H)O(L).
Grolle: 11.1.1b, vdCh: 2.3 und 6-7, vH: C.19. 0.528 gr.
Elsen - Brussel, Auction 59 (1999), no. 1158. **R** Dark Patina, very fine specimen with nice portrait 150,--
van Hengel: type 2.
Grolle emission 1256-58, reign of Floris the overseer.
- 732 Denier. A: Bust l. x COMES x HOLLA'DIE, R: Voided long cross with the limbs ending in pellets, pellet in centre and one rosette in each angle HO LL AN Tx. Grolle: 11.6.1b, vdCh: 2.4, vH: C.25. 0.594 gr.
Well struck specimen, very fine to extremely fine 150,--
Bernardi - Triest 1976.
Struck after 1266 and before 1284 (van Hengel).
van Hengel: type 3.
Grolle: emission 1284-1286.



- 733 Denier. A: Bust l. x COMES x HOLLA' DIE, R: Voided long cross with the limbs ending in pellets, pellet in centre and one rosette in each angle HO LL AN Tx. Grolle: 11.6.1b, vdCh: 2.4, vH: C.25. 0.479 gr.
A little off centre, very fine + 100,--
Holleman - Enschede 1988.
van Hengel: type 3.
Grolle: emission 1284-1286.
- 734 Denier. A: Bust l. x COMES HOLLANDIE, R: Voided long cross with the limbs ending in pellets, pellet in centre and one star in each angle HO LL AN Tx. Grolle: 11.6.1d, vdCh: 2.1, vH: C.27. 0.527 gr.
Small mistake in the die, very fine + 100,--
Schulman - A'dam, Auction 247 (1968), no. 98.
Struck after 1266 and before 1284.
van Hengel: type 3.
Grolle: emission 1284-1286.



735



- 735 Gros tournois. A: Châtel tournois + TVRONIS CIVIS within border of 12 arches enclosing lis, R: Inner circle + FLORETI' COMES• around cross, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : DEI : Ih'V XPI. Grolle: 11.7.3a, vdCh: 3.5-6, vH: C.43. 3.885 gr. **R** Very fine 500,--
 Bought 1985 (Dekker collection).
 Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 234 (1960), no. 128.
 Van Hengel doesn't mention the pellet after COMES, Grolle mentions two pellets and van Hengel three.
 Struck after 1266.
 Grolle: emission 1286-1291.



736



- 736 Gros tournois. A: Châtel tournois + TVRONVSCIVIS within border of 12 arches enclosing lis, R: Inner circle + FLORENTIVS CO around cross, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : DEI : IhV XPI. Grolle: 11.7.3b, vdCh: 3.2-4, vH: C.44. 4.008 gr. **R** Very fine 500,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1993.
 From list June 1993, no. 289.
 Grolle: emission 1286-1291.
 The introduction of the Holland sterling (probably in 1291) followed that of the gros tournois. It featured, after its English example, a long cross pattée on its reverse. In the emission of 1291-1293, there was a single variation, when a short cross pattée was chosen, the one known of the gros tournois (in combination with a so-called Scottish portrait), see the nos. 737 and 738. After the emission 1293-1296 the long cross pattée is definitively adopted and the Scottish portrait was taken.



737



738



- 737 Denier. A: Bust l. + : F : COMES : OLLANDIE (2nd L ist ornamented with trefoil), R: Cross + MONET * A . DORDRACI. Grolle: 11.8.1.Aa, vdCh: 3.12, vH: C.41. 0.534 gr. **R** Dark Patina and small traces of corrosion, very fine 300,--
 NMB - Amsterdam 1987.
 Struck in 1285.
 van Hengel has a different spelling of OLLANDIE on the obverse: OLL ... ANDIE.
 van Hengel: type 6.
 Grolle: emission 1291-1293.
- 738 Denier - Medemblik. A: Bust l. F COMES OLLANDIE, R: Cross + MONE MEDENBLEC. Grolle: 11.8.1.Ba, vdCh: --, vH: C.42. 0.523 gr. **RR** Almost very fine 500,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1996.
 Van Hengel indicates that in no. 42 both texts are preceded by three pellets (pyramidal). The obverse of the coin at hand does not show this.
 Van Hengel knows of 5 specimens (42), of which 4 are kept in museums and 3 specimens (42.1), all in museums?.
 Van Hengel: type 7.
 Grolle emission 1291-1293.
 Grolle: Dordrecht might have claimed the comital seigniorage, due to outstanding debts on the part of the count, which might prompted Floris to at least partly secure revenues by quickly opening up a mint in Medemblik (see Van Gelder JPM (1980), 137; see cat. II note 2).



739

- 739 Denier. A: Bust l. ♁ F COMES OLLANDIE, R: Long cross with one rosette in each angle MON ETA DOR D'CI. Grolle: 11.9.1e, vdCh: --, vH: C.33. 0.514 gr. Very fine 100,--
Elsen - Brussel 1997.
On the reverse between D and CI a trefoil. Van Hengel gives a " (also in the picture). He writes: on type 5 Aa and type 6, there is a trefoil too (as on the coins of Gui de Dampierre of Namur).
Van Hengel: type 5.
Grolle: emission 1293-1296 (so called dordracensis).



740

741

- 740 Denier. A: Bust l. ♁ F COMES OLLANDIE, R: Long cross with one rosette in each angle MON ETA DOR D'CI. Grolle: 11.9.1h, vdCh: 3.8, vH: C.36. 0.518 gr. Small flan defect at the edge, very fine 75,--
Schulman - Amsterdam 1973.
Struck between 1285 and 1296.
van Hengel: type 5.
Grolle: emission 1293-1296 (so called dordracensis).
- 741 Denier. A: Bust l. ♁ F COMES OLLANDIE, R: Long cross with one rosette in each angle MON ETA DOR D'CI. Grolle: 11.9.1h, vdCh: 3.8, vH: C.36. 0.441 gr. Nice portrait, very fine 75,--
Henzen - Amerongen 2003.
From list 143, no. 412.
Found in excavated earth from the Ridderstraat/Kloosterstraat area in Sluis.
Van Hengel: type 5.

JAN I (1296-1299)

The confusion in the aftermath of the murder of Floris V was great. Besides his only son John I, John of Avesnes, son of Aleid and John of Avesnes, also proclaimed himself count of Holland.

Prior to his return from England, where he was staying at the time, John wedded Elisabeth of England and close collaboration with England resulted.

John of Avesnes left Holland, yet John I became a puppet of nobility, relinquishing de facto rule to Wolfert of Borselen (a noble from Zeeland, who was murdered in 1299). After Wolfert's death, John of Avesnes was sent for to assume authority over Holland for four years, but in this period John I died childless.

This was the end of the House Holland and with John of Avesnes, as John II, The Hainaut House entered.



742

- 742 Denier. A: Bust l. + I ♁ COMES HOLL'ADIE ♁, R: Long cross MON ETA DOR D'CI. Grolle: 12.3.1a, vdCh: 4.2-3, vH: C.47. 0.438 gr. Very fine 75,--
Schulman - Amsterdam 1969.
Grolle: emission 1298-1299.



- 743 Denier. A: Bust l. + I : COMES HOLLADIE, R: Long cross MON ETA DOR D'CE i. Grolle: 12.3.1b, vdCh: --, vH: C.48. 0.450 gr. Very fine
- Henzen - Amerongen 2000.
The interpunction in D'CE is a triangle, at the end of the text on the reverse three pellets.
It is Van Hengel 48 because the text on the reverse ends with three pellets.
From list 116, no. 885.
Grolle: emission 1298-1299.

75,--

The Hainaut House

John (II) of Avesnes was embraced spontaneously as the new count, but Roman King Albrecht of Austria proved unwilling to acknowledge his rule (the king's assent was required as he was the suzerain). However, when John marched on Nijmegen, the king withdrew his objections.

John's brother, Guy (Count of Hainaut, Bishop of Utrecht 1301-1317) was granted the confiscated estates of Gijsbrecht of Amstel and Herman of Woerden. He would later become bishop of Utrecht.

Yet, not all went right now, Zeeland would not yield. The victory in the Battle of the Golden Spurs in 1302 enticed the Flemish to attack Holland. They suffered a devastating defeat against a Holland fleet commanded by the Genovese Admiral Renier Grimaldi in 1304. John's son played a decisive part in the battle.

John II introduced the system of quarters, that was characteristic of the Holland monetary system and lasted until 1816 (introduction of the decimal system). Under John II, the mint of Dordrecht was rendered operative again by John of Cambray, moneyer in Valenciennes.

The counts from the Hainaut House all used the titles Holland and Hainaut independently, i.e. no coins exist on which the count calls himself COMES HOLLANDIE and HANONIE.

WILLEM III (1304-1337)

In Hainaut, William III was designated William (Guillaume) I.

William took sides with the Roman King Louis the Bavarian (William's daughter Margaret wedded him) of the House Wittelsbach. It marks the first appearance of the House Wittelsbach in Holland. William proved a powerful man and a cunning negotiator.

Still, Holland, Zeeland and Hainaut were not entirely under his sway, they consisted of numerous fiefs (Dutch: "heerlijkheden"), as, for instance, that of his brother Jean de Beaumont. When William fell ill, Jean was his right hand. In 1337, William died. His son William IV had his father's courageous nature, but lacked his tact.

William struck only small coins, in the vein of the heads of Floris V, although larger coins had been circulated before that. On his coins, William had himself indicated as Willem.



- 744 Denier. A: Head l. + W : COMES HOLLANDIE i, R: Long cross MON ETA DOR D'CI. Grolle: 15.1.1a, vdCh: 4.6, vH: C.52. 0.392 gr. RR Few known specimen. Edge fault, dark patina, very fine
- Holleman - Enschede 1990.
From ground "De Waag" in Dordrecht on 3-4-1989.
Van Hengel knows of only two specimens: one in a museum and one in a private collection. Not in KPK. Grolle mentions one in KPK and one in DNB.
Grolle: emission 1304/5.

250,--

After much ado William IV wedded Joan, heiress of Brabant. His aim was to connect Holland and Zeeland with Hainaut through Brabant.

However, in 1337 the Hundred Years' War ignited. When English King Edward III had himself proclaimed king of France in 1340 in Ghent, William was on his side.

But then William, whose vehemence didn't permit him to sit still very long, marched against the mutinous Frisians and met his end in the devastating Battle of Stavoren in 1345.

The dream of uniting Brabant with Holland-Zeeland-Hainaut remained unfulfilled. The matter of succession to the Holland, Zeeland and Hainaut thrones arose. William's widow relinquished it all, presumably because of the high debts.

William IV, on his Holland coins, called himself Guillaume.

On 3rd December 1339, John III of Brabant and Louis of Maele of Flanders forged a military and economic alliance in Ghent, in which an associate coin was also provided. The "compagnon" (after the Brabant type) became their new conventional coin. On the 23rd March 1340, Edward III of England was admitted into this monetary union and Reinoud II of Guelders and his marionette, the Utrecht Bishop John of Diest joined subsequently. William IV also acceded to this union in April 1340 (Grolle part. I, p. 97).

The House Wittelsbach (The Bavarian House)

Margaret was Louis the Bavarian's wife. She received the territories of Holland, Zeeland and the "heerlijkheid" Friesland in fief in 1346 (she already was countess of Hainaut). Thus, the transition from the Hainaut House to the House Wittelsbach was completed in 1346. By June of the same year Louis was called back to Munich, as dark clouds were gathering over the empire.

In 1347, Louis died and Margaret left Holland and Zeeland to William V (who became count of both), but stayed in office herself in Hainaut. When matters in Bavaria had settled by 1350, Margaret once more usurped all power. Backed by a group of nobles (Hooks), Margaret tried to sell Holland and Zeeland to the English king Edward III. This caused civil war (Hook and Cod Wars) that in 1351 would be decided in the naval battle at Zwartewaal, where William defeated Margaret.

Renewed advances towards England were consolidated in the marriage of William V to Machteld, daughter of Henry of Lancaster. This marriage safeguarded the autonomous existence of Holland and Zeeland and heralded a period of close collaboration with England.

WILLEM V (1345-1389)

After his mother's death (1356), he commenced his reign as count of Hainaut, but it was not long before first signs of insanity started showing in him. From 1358 to 1389, when he died, he was kept in solitary confinement in a castle in Hainaut.

On his coins, William V went under the titles DVX (a reference to his Bavarian ancestry) and COMES, but, just as the counts from the Hainaut House, kept his Holland and Hainaut titles strictly separated.

Under William V the DEI GRATIA was introduced, as it was in Guelders alike in the same period under Reinoud III (1343-1363).



745 Gros au lion. A: Lion rampant l. + MONETA x HOLAND' . within border of 12 arches enclosing 11 leaves and one lion, R: Inner circle GVIL LELM DVXC OMES around cross, + BNDICTVS : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : IhV : XPI. EvG: 8, Grolle: 17.2.2a, vdCh: 6.18. 3.177 gr. Very fine. 100,--

Bought 1985 (Dekker collection).

Bought Schulman - Amsterdam d.d.15-12-1953.

2nd emission 1354.

"Leeuwengroot", so-called Flemish Groat, later "oude Dordtse groot". Imitation of the lion groat of Louis de Crécy of Flanders, 1322-1346 (see no. 1309).



- 746 1/2 Gros au lion. A: Lion rampant l. + MONETA : HOLLANDIE ., R: Long cross dividing legend
GVIL LELM DVX . C OMES. EvG: 9, Grolle: 17.2.3c, vdCh: --. 1.453 gr. Very fine 100,--
Bought 1985 (Dekker collection).
Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 234 (1960), no. 132.
2nd emission 1354.
- 747 1/8 Gros au lion. A: Lion rampant l. + GVILELM'S DVX COM', R: Long cross dividing legend
MON ETA HOL AND. EvG: 11a, Grolle: 17.2.5Aa, vdCh: 36.16. 0.299 gr. Extremely rare, traces of encrustation, fine 200,--
L.Schulman - Bussum 2004.
2nd emission 1354.
Grolle calls this coin penning (A.Type with long cross, 1354-1358).
Grolle knows only one specimen in his KPK.



- 748 Mouton d'or. A: Lamb with standard in multilobe over D GL' CO' h', + AGN : DEI : QVI :
TOLL : PECA : MVDI : MISERERE . NOB, R: Ornamented cross with rose in centre and one eagle
in each angle + : XPC : VINCIT : XPC : REGNAT : XPC : IMPERAT. Delm: 722, EvG: 2, Fb:
103, Grolle: 17.3.1a, vdCh: 43. 4.572 gr. Extremely rare, very fine 2.500,--
Elsen - Brussel, Auction 31 (1993), no. 105.
Emission 1357.
D GL CO h is the shortening of DVX GVILLELMVS COMES HOLLANDIE.
The golden lamb is an imitation of John the Good of France and it was imitated itself by Jeanne and Wenceclas of
Brabant and Louis of Maele of Flanders.



- 749 Dubbele Groot of Plak. A: Sitting lion l. with tourney helmet GVILLELMVS : DVX : COMES : HOLA
: Z : ZELANDIE, R: Inner circle + MONETA flamed cross DE flamed cross h'LANDIA around
floriated cross, + BENEDICTVS : QUI : VENIT : IN : NOMINE : DOMINI. EvG: 12, Grolle:
17.5.2b, vdCh: --. 3.778 gr. Very fine 100,--
Bought 1985 (Dekker collection).
Bought Schulman - Amsterdam d.d. 4-3-1955.
vdCh: 5.9, EvG: 12.
Emission 1368. Probably minted in Dordrecht.
This lion sejant is an inferior imitation of the Flemish double groat of Louis of Maele introduced in 1365.



750

- 750 Dubbele Groot of Plak. A: Lion sitting l. with tourney helmet GVILLELMVS : DVX : COMES : HOL : I : ZELANDIE, R: Inner circle + MONETA flamed cross NOVA flamed cross h'LANDIA around floriated cross, + BENEDICTVS : QVI : VENIT : IN : NOMINE : DOMINI. EvG: 12, Grolle: 17.8.1a, vdCh: 5.9. 3.099 gr. Patina, very fine 100,--
Romunt - Roermond 1980.
Plak = plackemeeuw.
Emission 1376.



751

- 751 1/4 Plak. A: Lion sitting l. with tourney helmet (+ GVILLELM : DVX : COM : H : Z : ZEL), R: Long cross dividing legend with H - L - A - D' in the angles, + BNDICT : Q' : VENIT : IN NE : DNI. EvG: 16, Gr: 17.8.3a, vdCh: 6.15. 0.503 gr. R Speckled patina, very fine 150,--
Holleman - Enschede 1989.
Found 1989 in Dordrecht.
Emission 1376.
Moneyer Maheu of Lueze and Jacomart of Assche.



752

- 752 Gulden - A ronde G. A: Count standing with sword and shield of Bavaria, lion rampant l. GVILL' ⊗ DVX ⊗ COMES ⊗ HOL., R: Dutch-Bavarian escutcheon in multilobe with rings in the angles + FLORINI ⊗ DE ⊗ HOLAND' ⊗ Z ⊗ ZEL'. Delm: 725, EvG: 6, Fb: 105, Grolle: 17.9.1.Aa, vdCh: 5.7-8. 3.470 gr. Very fine + 400,--
Bought 1985 (Dekker collection).
Bought Schulman - Amsterdam d.d.24-4-1958.
Between the legs of the count two stars.
Gulden = "oude Dordtse" or "Williamusgulden".
Emission 1378.



753

- 753 Gulden - B scherpe G. A: Count standing with sword and shield of Bavaria, lion rampant l. GVILL' ⊗ DVX ⊗ COMES ⊗ HOL., R: Dutch-Bavarian escutcheon in multilobe with rings in the angles + FLORINI ⊗ DE ⊗ HOLAND' ⊗ I ⊗ ZEL'. Delm: 725, EvG: 6, Fb: 105, Gr: 17.9.1.Ba, vdCh: --. 3.486 gr. Very fine 400,--
Winter - Düsseldorf, Auction 42 (1981), no. 1213.
Between the legs of the count two stars.
Gulden = "oude Dordtse" or "Williamusgulden".
Emission 1378.



754



755



- 754 Hollandse groot - type A. A: Helmet in quatrefoil between two Dutch-Bavarian coat of arms and one ring in each angle + GVILLELM : DVX : COM : HOLA : Z : ZELAND, R: Floriated cross, + BENE(DICT) : QVI : VENIT : I : NOMINIE : DNI. EvG: 17, Grolle: 17.9.2.Aa, vdCh: 6.25. 2.231 gr.

Schulman - Amsterdam 1973.

There is another specimen (no. 755) with ZELA instead of ZELAND (= type B).

Emission 1378.

A = interpunction with double crosses.

Grolle gives NOMINE instead of NOMINIE.

Manufacture of this type was ceased in 1382.

Very fine

100,--

- 755 Hollandse groot - type B. A: Helmet in quatrefoil between two Dutch-Bavarian coat of arms and one ring in each angle + GV . MILELM : DVX : COM' : HOLA : I : ZELA , R: Floriated cross, + BNDICT : QVI : VENIT : I NOMIE : DNI. EvG: 17, Gr: 17.9.2.Bb, vdCh: --. 2.051 gr.

Very fine to extremely fine

100,--

Vendu - Rotterdam, Auction June 1991, no. 2533.

Ex: Remkes collection (Rotterdam).

Type B interpunction with double rhombi.

The inscription on the obverse does not match Grolle's description.

Emission 1378.



756



757



- 756 Labaye. A: Dutch-Bavarian coat of arms in trefoil with trefoils in the angles + GVILLELM : DVX : COM' : HOLA : Z : ZELA, R: Inner circle MON ETA HOL AND around cross, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : IhV : XPI. EvG: 20, Gr: 17.10.1a, vdCh: 6.23. 2.295 gr.

Very fine

150,--

Bought 1985 (Dekker collection).

From hoard Zutphen.

Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 233 (1960), no. 710.

Labaye = witte groot.

Emission 1388.

- 757 Nieuwe groot. A: Helmet in quatrefoil between two Dutch-Bavarian coat of arms and one trefoil in each angle + GVILLELM' : DVX : COM : HOLA : I : ZELA, R: Inner circle MON ETA HOL AND around long cross dividing legend, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI. EvG: 22, Grolle: 17.11.2a, vdCh: 6.24. 2.609 gr.

Weakly struck as usual for this issue, otherwise almost extremely fine specimen

200,--

WAG - Dortmund, Auction 14 (1999), no. 3005.

Ex: Eglmeier collection (Hirsch - München, Auction 192 (1996), no. 1970.

2nd emission 1388.

Van Gelder considers this coin a hybrid fabric of a Labaye with a light groot obverse; the inconsistent interpunction with three pellets in the legend on the obverse gives rise to the suspicion that the type at hand is an independent one. This is confirmed by the type of the quarter new groot (EvG: 22).

ALBRECHT (1389-1404)

At the demise of their father Ludwig in 1347, the brothers William (V) and Albrecht were each entitled to part of Bavaria (see under Bavaria), as well as to part of Holland, Zeeland and Hainaut. Albrecht, who resided in Straubing, was coerced by Emperor Karl IV to marry Margaret of Liegnitz-Brieg.

In 1357, the year his brother went insane, he was bade to the Netherlands (his wife stayed). Albrecht became "ruwaard" (literally this meant rust bewaarder (peace keeper) = Ruhe Warten). Albrecht, however, found the title unappealing and proclaimed himself duke (befitting of his Bavarian ancestry).

Albrecht's actions grew more and more forceful, especially when Machteld died in 1362. He pursued international politics. The entanglement of his and other principal houses is best expressed by the marriages of his children: Catharina to William of Gulik, Joan to Wenceslas of Bohemen, Margaret to John the Fearless, John to Elisabeth of Gorlitz and Joan to Albrecht of Austria. In 1370, his oldest son William (VI) was to marry the daughter of the French king, but Joan prevented it. Hence, William wedded Margaret, daughter of Philip the Bold on 12 april 1385.

When Albrecht died, his widows declined the inheritance, because of the high debts.

For a short period of time, around 1340 under William IV and around 1392 under Albrecht, the counts of Holland moved their minor-emissions mint from Dordrecht to Geertruidenberg on political grounds. The coins struck in the period 1391-1393, golds, gold shields and silver groats, bear no mintname. The golden shields, moreover, can't be distinguished from the specimens struck in Dordrecht. A wholehearted attribution to Geertruidenberg is possible for the nos. 758 and 762 (Puister in De Beeldenaar 1 (1977), p. 7) for reasons of weight and content. For attribution to Geertruidenberg also see JMP 46 (1959), p. 45-47.



- 758 Groot - Geertruidenberg. A: Dutch-Bavarian shield in trefoil with one trefoil in each angle + ALBERTVS : DVX : COM : HOL(A : Z : ZEL')A., R: Inner circle MON ETA HOL AND around cross, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : IhV : XPI. EvG: 27, Grolle: 18.1.2a, vdCh: 7.5. 2.298 gr. Very fine + 125,--
 Huizinga - Bennekom 1984.
 Emission 1391.
 Groot = so called albertus Zijpse groot.



- 759 Groot - Geertruidenberg. A: Dutch-Bavarian shield in trefoil with one trefoil in each angle + ALBERTVS : DVX : COM : HOLA : I : ZELA., R: Inner circle MON ETA HOL AND around cross, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : IhV : XPI. EvG: 27, Grolle: 18.1.2a, vdCh: 7.5. 2.334 gr. Very fine + 150,--
 Vendu - Rotterdam, Auction June 1991, no. 2530.
 Ex: Remkes collection (Rotterdam).
 Emission 1391.
 cf. the notice at no. 758.



760 Gouden schild. A: Count sitting on throne with sword and Dutch-Bavarian shield + AELBERT' * DVX * COM' * x HOLAND * Z * ZEL, R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil with one rose in each angle, + XPC * VINCIT * XPC * REGNAT * XPC * IMPERAT. Delm: 726, EvG: 26, Fb: 107, Grolle: 18.1.6a, vdCh: 7.2. 3.920 gr. A little weakly struck, otherwise very fine to extremely fine

1.000,--

Gorny - München, Auction 57 (1991), no. 1301.
Emission 1390.



761 Gouden schild. A: Two lions holding Dutch-Bavarian shield with rose in field + AELBERTVS * DVX * COMES * HOLANDIE * Z * ZELANDI, R: Floriated cross with quatrefoil in the centre and H - L - A - D in the angles, + BENEDICTVS * QVI * VENIT * IN * NOMINE * DOMINI. Delm: 727, EvG: 30, Fb: 108, Grolle: 18.3.1a, vdCh: 7.3. 4.023 gr.

Extremely rare, small mistake in the die at the edge, otherwise well struck specimen of this important coin, very fine

15.000,--

Vinchon - Paris, Auction 10-12-1997, no. 542.

From hoard Zutphen. Schulman, Auction 233 (1960), no. 713.

This coin is depicted in the Schulman catalogue, but also in the article of Van Gelder (EvG 30). The catalogue Schulman names only one specimen, in a collection in Munich. In the hoard Zutphen, three came up: this one, another, presented to the KPK, a third still possessed by the bank (on the territory of which the hoard was found).

Golden shield = so-called "Hollands Schild" (mitter rose), "leeuwenschild" or "adelyenschild".

Mintmaster Hendrik Adelyen.

Emission 1393-1395.

v.d.Chijs provides a different text: A: + ALBETVS * DVX * COMES * HOLANDIE * Z * ZELANDI, R: + BENEDICTV * QVI * VENIT * IN * NOMINE * DOMINI (here the interpunction invariably is * = two stars over each other, ob- and reverse).



762

- 762 Groot - type B (with rose) - Geertruidenberg. A: Eagle over two shields with rose between them ALBERTVS : DVX : COM : HOL'A : Z : ZELAN', R: Long cross dividing legend with H - L - A - D in the angles, BNDICT Q' : VENIT IN : NOMINE : DNI. EvG: 31, Grolle: 18.3.2.Ba, vdCh: 8.12. 2.242 gr. Very fine + 125,--

Bought 1985 (Dekker collection).

Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 233 (1960), no. 721.

From hoard Zutphen.

Grolle has ZEL' instead of ZELAN (also no. 763).

B = type with rose (after 15 May 1393).

Emission 1393-1395.

Groot = so called Hollandse groot, adelaarsgroot (eagle's groot), jangelaar (jangelen = to use talons (by an eagle)), voetdrager of adelyengroot.

Mintmaster Hendrik Adelyen.

cf. also JMP 45 II (1958), p. 131.



763

- 763 Groot - type B (with rose) - Geertruidenberg. A: Eagle over two shields with rose between them ALBERTVS : DVX : COM : HOL'A : I : ZELAN, R: Long cross dividing legend with H - L - A - D in the angles, BNDICT Q' : VENIT IN : NOMI : NE : DNI. EvG: 31, Grolle: 18.3.2.Ba, vdCh: 8.12. 2.318 gr. Very fine 100,--

Henzen - Amerongen 1998.



764

- 764 Gulden. A: Count standing with sword between lion and Bavarian shield, rose between the paws ALBER' * DVX * COMES * HOL', R: Dutch-Bavarian shield in multilobe + FLORINI * DE * HOLAND' * Z * ZEL'. Delm: 729, EvG: 35, Fb: 109, Grolle: 18.3.6a, vdCh: 7.4. 3.344 gr. R A little weakly struck, otherwise very fine specimen with patina 1.200,--

Rauch - Wien, Auction 71 (2003), no. 1917.

So-called. new (albertus)gulden. In (April?) 1394 manufacture of guilders at Geertruidenberg was apparently resumed, although the ordinance of 15 May 1393 did not provide this.

Emission 1393-1395 (Ordonnantie April (?) 1394).



765



765

- 765 Pasant. A: Dutch-Bavarian shield on eagle l. + ALBERT : DVX : COM' : HOL' : ZEIL' : Z : DS : FRIZIE, R: Floriated Cross + MONETA : HOLLAN' : ZEILAN' : Z : FRIZIE. EvG: --, Grolle: 18.5.2a, vdCh: --. 3.598 gr. **RR** Possibly the second known specimen. Very fine 2.500,--

Gorny & Mosch - München, Auction 127 (2003), no. 4177.

Pasant = dubbele groot.

Frisian Campaigns (Friezenreizen): 1396-1401 campaigns on Friesland, 17th July 1398 landing at Stavoren, 11th August 1398 treaty with Oostergo and Westergo: Albrecht acknowledged as lord of Friesland. The remains of William IV were transferred from the monastery Bloemkamp near Bolsward via Hoorn and Amsterdam to The Hague and in May 1400 entombed in Valenciennes. September 1400 armistice with the Frisians: Friesland lost for Holland. Stavoren saved.

With his letter of 7th October 1397, the duke appointed a new moneyer: William Tonssus of "Scandalusia". He most likely was responsible for the new light groot that had been struck on orders of the duke and at his cost, to finance his Frisian Campaigns, of which the ordinance of 11th October 1397 provided an account.

Grolle knows of only *one* specimen, that is privately owned.

This coin is an imitation of the Hainaut Plak Ch: 118 (Lucas 138), struck in Valenciennes. It constitutes the only Holland coin that is a direct imitation of a Hainaut coin.



766



767



- 766 Groot. A: Crowned helmet in quatrefoil between Dutch and Bavarian coat of arms, one ring in each angle + ALBERTVS : DVX : (COM :) HOLA : Z : (ZEL)A, R: Floriated Cross + BNDICT : QVI : VENIT : I : (NOMIE : DNI). EvG: 36, Grolle: 18.5.3a, vdCh: 7.7. 1.705 gr. Small traces of corrosion, very fine 100,--

Holleman - Enschede 1986.

Emission 1397.

Groot van Holland = tonssusgroot.

Mintmaster Willem Tonssus.

- 767 Groot. A: Dutch-Bavarian shield under crowned helmet ALBERT : DVX : COM : HOLA : Z : ZELAN, R: Long cross with helmet in the 1st, bavarian shield in the 2nd and lion in the 3rd angle : + NOVA MONETA HOLLAN Z : ZELAN. EvG: 40, Grolle: 18.6.2a, vdCh: 7.8. 1.720 gr. **R** Almost very fine 125,--

Henzen - Amerongen 2000.

From list 116, no. 889.

So called koopmansgroot, emission 1401-1403.



768



- 768 1/4 Groot. A: Helmet with plume over Dutch-Bavarian shield ALBERT : DV(X : COM : hOL'A), R: Cross with three pellets in each angle : NOVA MONE TA (: H OLLA). EvG: --, Grolle: 18.6.4b, vdCh: 8.14. 0.716 gr. **RR** Small edge fault, very fine 300,--

Coin Investment - Lisse, Auction 47 (1994), no. 62.

Found in digged out ground near the church of Oosterland.

Emission 1401.

Grolle doesn't mention such specimen.



769

- 769 1/8 Groot. A: Helmet with plume over Dutch-Bavarian shield ALBERT' : DVX : COM : HOL, R: Long cross : NOVA MONE TA:H OL'A. EvG: 43, Grolle: 18.6.5, vdCh: --. 0.379 gr.

Holleman - Enschede 1989.

Found 1989 in Dordrecht.

Cf.: Revue de la Numismatique Belge 1870, p.508/9, nr.3.

Presumably struck under the Ordinance of 1404.

Emission 1401-1403.

RR Small traces of corrosion, almost very fine

200,--

WILLEM VI (1404-1417)

The relationship between Albrecht and William VI was bad most of the time. In 1404, William succeeded, the same year in which his brother-in-law John the Fearless took over in Burgundy and Flanders. Shortly before, his daughter Jacoba (16 July 1401) was born.

William supported his brother John, bishop-elect of Liège (for reasons of kinship).

In 1415, Jacoba wedded Jean of Tourraine, but the aim was not attained, due to the French defeat at Azincourt. When the French Crown-Prince Louis died, Jean suddenly was dauphin of France and Jacoba the future queen. Both Emperor Sigismund and the population of Holland and Zeeland looked askance at a possible merging with France however.

In 1417 - William was in Paris - Jean of Tourraine, with the French succession pending, suddenly died on 4th April 1417 immediately followed by the demise of William (31st May 1417). Jacoba was 15 years old at the time, half an orphan and a widow.



770

- 770 Thuyn d'or. A: Angel in garden-fence with the Dutch-Bavarian coat of arms + GVILLERM : DVX : DEI : GRA : COM : HANONIE : HOL : Z : ZEL' , R: Floriated cross with rose and quatrefoil in centre, two lions and two double-headed eagles in each angle + GLORIA : IN : EXCELSIS : DEO : Z : IN : TRA : PAX : HOMNIB. Delm: 296, EvG: 46, Fb: 260, Grolle: 19.1.1a, vdCh: 8.2. 5.718 gr.

Extremely rare and fine, perfect piece of this magnificent medieval goldcoin

30.000,--

Vinchon - Paris, Auction 10-12-1997, no. 544.

Emission 1405.

Double gold angel, worth 60 groat, was struck by virtue of the ordinance of 22nd October 1405. This ordinance was an attempt at accomplishing a monetary union of Holland and Hainaut. Where this coin was struck, whether in Dordrecht or in Valenciennes, remains unclear. In literature Valenciennes is usually mentioned, but referring to accounts, De Witte claims it was struck in Dordrecht. Its reverse shows the rose, and the name of Valenciennes, normally present on this type, is missing. That is why we've classified it under Holland.

There are three specimens: *one* in the cabinet in Brussels, *one* initially in the collection Meyer and after that in the collection Théry (present location unknown) and this one. They all contain the same text and interpunction (sole difference is that the reverse of the coin Meyer-Théry shows Gloria preceding three pellets over each other, instead of the usual two crosses over each other). Three different dies were used. In literature, drawings, often mere copies, are used that misrepresent the texts.

The motif of the garden was taken from the Order of the Garden, a military order founded by William V in 1387 that was to provide the Hook counterpart of the Hainaut Order of St. Antonius (abbot), founded in 1382 by Albrecht of Bavaria. Aim of the order was the unity in the heritable lands of Hainaut, Holland, Zeeland and Friesland. The accompanying regalia consisted of a silver or gold chain shaped like a wreathed fence, on the obverse concluded with a gate. This motif was incorporated in the coat of arms of Albrecht, William VI and Jacoba; see P.J. van Winter (1957), Van Gelder (1959), no. 21, Janse (1993) 151-153 and Van Tol (1997).



- 771 1/8 Groot. A: Fence (+ GVILHELM : DX : COM : HOLAN), R: Cross with three pellets in each angle (+NOV) : MON (HOL : : ZEL). EvG: 53, Grolle: 19.1.8a, vdCh: 9.19. 0.371 gr.
RR Specimen from a hoard, fine 125,--
 Holleman - Enschede 1989.
 Found 1989 in Dordrecht.
 Emission 1405.
 Achtste groot = half tuinke.
 The 1/8th groot was issued at a rate below its intrinsic value, due to which the legal value was limited on 8th December 1405.
- 772 1/4 Groot. A: Lion rampant + GVILHE x x DX : hOLA, R: Head of Christ on floriated cross + MON(ETA :) HOLA' : Z : ZE'. EvG: --, Grolle: 19.2.1.Ba, vdCh: --. 0.512 gr.
RR Flan defect and weakly struck, fine to very fine 125,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1996.
 Ex: Eglmeier collection: 1973 (Hirsch - München, Auction 192, no. 1996, no. 1973).
 Emission 1406. Ca. 1410/1 (probably minted by John Rasoir at a lighter standard).
 Grolle has D instead of DX on obverse.
 This type was copied from the merchant's coin 1397 of William Tonssus with il Volto Santo.



- 773 Gouden schild. A: Count on throne in multilobe with Dutch-Bavarian shield GVILHELM' : DVX * * COM' * * HOLA' : Z : ZEL, R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil with one rose in each angle + XPC : VINCIT : XPC : REGNAT : XPC IMPERAT. Delm: 731, EvG: 57, Fb: 112, Grolle: 19.3.2a, vdCh: 5.4. 3.722 gr.
 Well and sharp struck. Very fine to extremely fine 500,--
 SKA - Zürich 1982.
 The Holland shields of William V and of William VI can't be distinguished, apart from their weight. The weight of the coins of William VI is 3.765 and of those of William V is 4.079. This gold shield therefore belongs under William VI.
 Emission 1411.



- 774 Derde gouden schild. A: Count on throne with sword and Dutch-Bavarian shield + GVILEM : DVX * * COM * * HOL : Z * ZELA, R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil with one rose in each angle + XPC : VINCT : XPC : REGNT : XPC : IMPRT. Delm: 733, EvG: 59, Fb: 114, Grolle: 19.3.4a, vdCh: 5.6. 1.083 gr.
RR Very fine 1.000,--
 Elsen - Brussel, Auction 52 (1997), no. 2119.
 Emission 1411.



- 775 Dubbele leeuw. A: Lion rampant l. + GVILM' : DVX : DEI : GR' : COM' : HOL' : Z' : ZE', R: Long cross dividing legend with one lion in the 1st and 4th and one Bavarian shield in the 2nd and 3rd angles + MONT' : NOVA : HOLAD' : Z : ZELA'. EvG: 60, Grolle: 19.3.6a, vdCh: 8.4. 4.707 gr. 500,--
 L. Schulman - Bussum, Auction 22 (1999), no. 158. R Nice patina, very fine to extremely fine
 Emission 1411.



- 776 Leeuw. A: Lion rampant l. + GVILM' : DVX : DEI : GR' : COM' : HOL' : Z' : ZE', R: Long cross dividing legend with one lion in the 1st and 4th and one Bavarian shield in the 2nd and 3rd angles + MONT' : NOVA : HOLAD' : Z : ZELA'. EvG: 61, Grolle: 19.3.7a, vdCh: 9.10. 3.127 gr. 100,--
 Bought - 1985 (Ex: Dekker collection). Small traces of corrosion, very fine



- 777 Groot. A: Lion rampant l. +GVLM : DX : DE' : GR' : CO' : HOL : ZEL', R: Long cross dividing legend with one lion in the 1st and 4th and one Bavarian shield in the 2nd and 3rd angles + MON' : NOVA : HOLD' : ZELA'. EvG: 62, Grolle: 19.3.8a, vdCh: 8.6. 1.775 gr. 250,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1997. R Flan defect, very fine
 From list April 1997, no. 466.
 Ex: Eglmeier collection: 1988 (Hirsch - München, Auction 192, no. 1988).
 Emission 1411.

After the death of Willem VI. Jacoba didn't enter the throne automatically.

JAN of BAVARIA (1418-1425)

Succession to the throne aroused the attention of many pretenders. John of Bavaria was the youngest son of Albrecht. Albrecht had used his influence in 1389 to ensure John's appointment to bishop-elect of Liège. The people of Liège resisted this appointment however and he never became bishop. He, in fact, really was not cut out to go into clerical office, he was much more of a knight.

When his brother Albrecht died, John went to Bavaria to become duke there once his father had died. John was looking to reinforce his authority in the Bavarian entailed estate, and a marriage was immediately arranged between Jacoba and Jean IV of Brabant (1418) to halt John's endeavours. But by the next year, the German emperor Sigismund had granted John Jacoba's counties Holland and Zeeland in fief. And although Philip the Good mediated, the lands eventually were ceded to John in the treaty of Woudrichem (13th February 1420).

John resided in The Hague, with Van Borselen as a vassal in Zeeland. There were no children. In 1424, the knight John of Vliet attempted murdering John by poisoning him. It initially appeared he failed, but John died of the consequences in January 1425.



778 Duit. A: Dutch-Bavarian shield in front of branch with nine leaves + IOHNES • D' BAVARI', R: Cross with bavarian shield in two angles + MNETA : NOVA : GHORICV. EvG: 68, Grolle: 20A.1.1a, vdCh: 12.17. 1.048 gr. **RR** Almost very fine

125,--

WAG - Dortmund, Auction 16 (2000), no. 3075.

Also called Swerte.

Perhaps struck in Gorinchem. In 1418, this was where John of Bavaria's main residence was and where he had his headquarters. On 20th June 1418, Dordrecht was the only mint. Van Gelder considers it likely that this coin was struck in Dordrecht, with a misleading reference to Gorinchem. John of Bavaria owned Dordrecht by 1417, but at that time minting wasn't yet allowed there (see vG 1959, p. 56).

Production must have taken place before 13th February 1419, because after that time the title was *filius* (oir) of Holland and Zeeland.

Emission 1418/9.

Elucidation in Van Gelder: Minting started during the war, the types exactly the same as those John had struck in the last years of his reign over the diocese as elect of Liège. One coin, the same as the brules struck in Tongeren and Hasselt, bears the rather insignificant legend "John of Bavaria", however, explicitly states the mint of Gorinchem.



779 Groot. A: Dutch and Bavarian shield between two bows + IOH' : DVX : BAVAR' : FILI : HAN' : HOLL' Z Z, R: Cross, in the angles Bavarian shield, helmet, lion and bugle + PAX : DNI' : SIT : NOBISCVM : Z : MANEAT . S'. EvG: 72, Grolle: 20A.3.4b, vdCh: --. 1.656 gr. **RR** Edge fault, very fine

600,--

Henzen - Amerongen 1996.

From list January 1996, no. 246.

FILI = son (= primus).

PAX DOMINI SIT NOBISCUM ET MANEAT SEMPER = That the peace of Christ may remain with us forever.

In E. & S. p. 1141: On 20th June 1418, 3 days before his installation, John of Bavaria promised the city Dordrecht a mint. Two years later, John Pigge became die-cutter. According to the ordinance, two gold and 5 silver types were made (all of the same type): two adjoining coats of arms between arches. Minting was short-lived and the few coins are extremely rare (they weren't all retrieved).

Normally, the obverse does not include HAN (Hainaut), sometimes it does; "prétention qui ne répondait pas à la réalité des choses" (pretentious and wholly detached from the reality of things).



780



780

Goudgulden. A: Saint John the Baptist standing with cross-headed staff . +S . IOhANNES BAPTISTA * . , R: Four shields in quatrefoil with the Holy Roman Empire (double-headed eagle) in the centre and Bavaria, Eagle (Sigismund?), Cross (christian belief?) and Holland (lion) around it . + DVX . BAVA . IOH . FILI . HA . HOLAND . Z. Delm: 734, EvG: 79, Fb: 117, Grolle: 20A.4.4a, vdCh: 11.1. 3.285 gr.

R Very fine

1.000,--

Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1994.

From list 571, no. 82.

Type St. John, imitation of the Utrecht guilder that bishop Frederick of Blankenheim (1394-1423) manufactured in Rhenen. This Rhenen guilder was an imitation of the Guelders St-Johnsguilder of 1402 of Reinoud IV of Guelders that was also copied in Mors by Frederick of Mors-Saarwerden (1417-1448). It corresponded with the "Rijnse verdragsgulden" of 1399.



781



782



781

781

Tuin. A: Lion l. with : HOLD' in exergue + IOH : DVX : BAVA : FILI : HANONIE : HOLAND : Z Z, R: Cross with two Bavarian shields and two helmets in the angles + PAX : DNI : SIT : NOBISCVM : Z : MANEAT : SEM. EvG: 82, Grolle: 20A.5.5b, vdCh: 12.11. 3.475 gr.

Very fine +

150,--

Hekra - Ophemert -1980
Emission 1422.

782

Groot. A: Lion l. with HOLD' in the bottom field + IOH : DVX : BAVA : FILI : HANONIE : HOL' Z, R: Cross with two Bavarian shields and two helmets in the angles + PAX : DNI : SIT : NOBISCVM : Z : MANEAT. EvG: 83, Grolle: 20A.5.6a, vdCh: 12.13. 1.661 gr.

Very fine

150,--

Coin Investment - Lisse, Auction 55 (2000), no. 104.
Ex: find Breda.

After the demise of John of Bavaria, Jacoba once again had problems acceding to the throne. John of Bavaria had appointed Philip the Good to succeed him. Philip now advocated Jean IV of Brabant, who was discarded by Jacoba. Formally, Jean was now count of Holland and Zeeland, but he ceded his rights to Philip.

Jacoba was imprisoned in Ghent, but she escaped to Schoonhoven.

On 3rd July 1428, Jacoba acknowledged Philip the Good as her heir and appointed him regent for as long as she would be unmarried. Philip became "ruwaard ende oir" (regent and heir). De Zoen of Delft (The reconciliation of Delft).

Philip installed a triumvirate of members of the House of Borselen to govern over Holland and Zeeland. Jacoba married one of them, Frank of Borselen. By doing so, she broke her part of the "Zoen of Delft" agreement and enabled Philip to seize the county. On 12th april 1433, she ceded the county and Holland and Zeeland were incorporated in the Burgundian realm.

During the troubled period 1425-1433, battle went on in Holland between countess Jacoba on the one hand and her cousin Philip of Burgundy on the other. After the latter had received the rights to the county Holland from Jacoba's uncle, the elect John of Liège, the Holland mint was temporarily operated in Zevenbergen and minting took place there from presumably 1428 to 1433. Grolle deems the star-initial on the reverse characteristic for Zevenbergen. The star over the crown is also thought to indicate Zevenbergen (see Puister in De Beeldenaar 1977, p. 9).

The House of Burgund
PHILIPS de GOEDE (1425-1428)



- 783 Gouden schild - Namense or Zevenbergen?. A: Count on throne holding shield of Valois-Burgundy, with Flemish shield in centre + PhS ꝛ DVX ꝛ BURG ꝛ COM ꝛ FLAD ꝛ HES ꝛ HOL' Z Z, R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil with one rose in each angle + XPC ꝛ VINCIT ꝛ XPC ꝛ REGNAT ꝛ XPC ꝛ IMPERAT. Delm: 738, EvG: 88c, Fb: 119, Grolle: 20B.1.2.Ca, vdCh: --. 3.618 gr. Very fine 500,--
 v.d.Dussen - Maastricht, Auction 20 (1993), no. 861.
 So-called Burgundian shield. Starting April 1429 also struck in Zevenbergen.
 Under the N of REGNAT (reverse) is a pellet, which would indicate Namur, but another dot would have to be under the V of DVX (obverse), however, there isn't.



- 784 Half schild - Zevenbergen. A: Count on throne holding shield of Valois-Burgundy, with Flemish shield in centre, + PHS ꝛ DVX ꝛ BVRG ꝛ COM ꝛ FLAD ꝛ HES ꝛ HOL ꝛ Z, R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil with one rose in each angle ꝛ XPC ꝛ VINCIT ꝛ XPC ꝛ REGNAT ꝛ XPC IMPERAT. Delm: 740, EvG: 89a, Fb: 120, Grolle: 20B.1.3.Da, vdCh: 13.5. 1.737 gr. 400,--
R Small scratches and flan defect at the edge, very fine
 Henzen - Amerongen 1997.
 Star on crown = Zevenbergen
 From list May/June 1997, no. 465.



- 785 Pieter d'or - Zevenbergen. A: Saint Peter with keys and nimbus over shield of Valois-Bavaria-Holland with Flemish shield in centre + PHS ꝛ DVX ꝛ BVRG ꝛ BRAB ꝛ LIMB ꝛ Z ꝛ Z, R: Floriated cross with rose in the centre + PAX ꝛ XPI ꝛ MANEAT ꝛ SEMPER ꝛ NOBISCVM. Delm: --, EvG: --, Fb: 25, Grolle: --, vdCh: --. 3.462 gr. 500,--
R Weakly struck, otherwise very fine specimen
 Hirsch - München, Auction 192 (1996), no. 2276.
 Ex: Eglmeier collection.
 Text op reverse: PAX CHRISTI MANEAT SEMPER NOBISCUM = That the peace of Christ may remain with us forever.
 This coin is distinguishable by the star as an initial sign, or in the case that both sides have a cross, by the end title "ZZ".
 dW: 467 = de Mey: 299.
 Normally, the coins of Philip the Good of Holland show a coat of arms bearing a lis in the 1st and the 4th quarter (normally there are three = arms of Burgundy), and a single coat of arms in the 2nd and the 3rd quarter (normally that is a divided coat of arms).
 EvG: 99 notes "with Brabant titles".



786

- 786 1/16 Groot. A: Shield of Valois-Burgundy with Flemish shield in the centre, above ring + PHS o DVX BVRG o T, R: Long cross dividing legend SI ToN OM EN. EvG: --, Grolle: --, vdCh: --. Extremely rare, very fine 400,--
 Coin Investment - Lisse, Auction 40 (1992), no. 67.
 Found in church in North Holland.
 Two specimens exist (both were found in the same church). Both in auction 40 of Coin Investment (no.66 and 67).
 See Van Gelder: "Het Hollandse muntwezen onder het Huis Wittelsbach", in JMP 39 (1952), p. 1-26 and JMP 46 (1959), p. 37-81 (p. 73 in particular, under no. 98, this is impossible I think, because it corresponds with Grolle: 20C.1.9 but that is of Philip and Jacoba, two slanted escutcheons). I believe this coin must be ranked under Philips (without Jacoba).

PHILIPS and JACOBA (1428-1433)



787

- 787 Schild. A: Countess on throne with roses on the crown between two shields (l. Valois-Burgundy with Flemish shield in the centre, r. Dutch-Bavarian shield) + PhS : DVX : BURG' x x IACOB x DVC : BA : CO : HOL'Z'. R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil + XPC : VINCIT : XPC : REGNAT : XPC : INPERAT. Delm: 741, EvG: 91, Fb: 121, Grolle: 20C.1.2b, vdCh:13.2. 3.499 gr. Very fine 500,--
 Elsen - Brussel 1990.



Philips



Jacoba

The position of the legs on the resp. gold shields is as follows:



Philips



Jacoba

That the legs of the count (in France the legs are parted too, but they're equally long, just as in Flanders) are uneven and point straight down is peculiar indeed. The right foot is one step down from the left. With Jacoba that is clearly different, both legs are parallel and equally long (in the same way ladies sit nowadays).
 On these grounds, we have chosen the "enthroned countess" instead of the "enthroned duke", contrary to literature.



788

- 788 1/2 Schild. A: Countess on throne with roses on the crown between two shields (l. Valois-Burgundy with Flemish shield in the centre, r. Dutch-Bavarian shield) + PhS : DVX : BURG' x x IACOB x DVC : BA : CO : HOLZ', R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil + XPC : VINCIT : XPC : REGNAT : XPC : INPERAT. Delm: 742, EvG: 92, Fb: 122, Grolle: 20C.1.3a, vdCh: 13.3. 1.777 gr.

RR Very fine

1.500,--

Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 27 (1994), no. 1497.
Ex Rauch - Wien, Auction 51 (1993), no. 2488.



789

- 789 1/2 Kromstaart. A: Lion rampant l. with the shield of Valois-Burgundy (Flemish shield in the centre) on breast + PHS : DVX : BURG : TVTOR : Z : HES : HZ', R: Long cross dividing legend over Dutch-Bavarian shield IACOB DVC : BAVA : COM : H'Z'. EvG: 94, Grolle: 20C.1.5a, vdCh: 13.5. 1.632 gr.

Very fine

150,--

Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1982.



790

- 790 1/8 Kromstaart. A: Shield of Valois-Burgundy with Flemish shield in the centre + PHS : DVX : BVRG : TVTOR : Z :, R: Long cross dividing legend over the Dutch-Bavarian shield IACOB : DVC : BAVA : C. EvG: 96, Gr: 20C.1.7a, vdCh: 13.7. 0.582 gr. **RR** Small traces of corrosion, very fine

Henzen- Amerongen 2001.
From list 125, no. 1133.
vdCh: 13.7, EvG: 96.

250,--

STRUCK OF 1573/4



791

Struck as per charter 7th February 1573. This mint was ordained by the Estates of Holland. Only coins with this struck were to be given or accepted at a rate that was redetermined for each type. In the case of a struck, the difference between the old and the new rate was to be given to the land as a loan, free of interest for a period of one year (this loan was never repayed).

See H. Enno v. Gelder: De klop of 1573/4, in: De Geuzenpenning 4 (1954), p. 25-28 and JMP 67 (1980), p. 101-106.

- 791 Real - Sevilla - Countermark Holland. A: Crowned escutcheon of Castilië-León and Aragón between two stars FERNANDVS 8 ET 8 ELISABED, R: Six bundled arrows with S in the field and stamp of Holland in the centre + REX : ET : REGINA : CAST : LEGIO : ARAGO. Countermark - Delm: 141 A. 2.487 gr. Coin and countermark very fine

150,--

Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 263 (1976), no. 183.

Ex: Fonteyn Kuypers collection - Rotterdam.

Two different Holland dies exist. This is the Holland lion in a border of pearls (H1).



792

- 792 4 Realen - Sevilla - Countermark Zeeland. A: Crowned escutcheon of Castilia-León and Aragón between S and ring over IIII FERNANDVS o ET o ELISABET o DEI, R: Six bundled arrows under star with four rings + REX 8 ET o REGINA o CAST o LEGION o ARAGON o GRA, stamp of Zeeland on the legend. Countermark - Delm: 141 E. 3.700 gr.

RR Nice patina, coin and countermark very fine +

750,--

Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 263 (1976), no. 202.

Ex: Fonteyn Kuypers collection - Rotterdam.

A similar charter for Zeeland is not known of. V. Gelder assumes the Holland and the Zeeland striking took place at the same time.

4 different Zeeland dies exist. This is the Zeeland lion in a border of pearls (Z1).



MIDDENFRIESLAND

Imitations

Imitation **LOTHARIUS I (840-855)**

Central Frisia and East Frisia had a few characteristics in common. The Frisians had their own language (even people's names bore great resemblance) that, while other peoples would usually be able to converse to a certain extent with their neighbours, was incomprehensible to non-natives. Furthermore, they exercised Frisian law that soon distinguished itself from the law in surrounding regions. Lastly, the Frisians were renowned for their dauntless sense of freedom and their consistent denial of all authority but their own.

Despite their close ranks, the Frisians didn't manage to develop any coherent political system in medieval times and they would mostly remain at the administrative mercy of better-organised external forces, which at times obscures their coinage.

In 863, Dorestad was laid in ruins. Most historians have local trade end at the same time, but they are mistaken. The mint is to be found elsewhere (cf. Zadocks: *De eerste muntslag te Duurstede*, in: *JMP* 48 (1961), p. 1, and van Gelder: *De Karolingische muntslag te Duurstede*, in: *JMP* 48 (1961), p. 15, concur that the imitations weren't struck in Dorestad, but in some other place, possibly in Frisia). Though the right of mint having been conferred on Medemblik in 985 is historically established, any effects (like issuances) remain to be substantiated. Stavoren, too, is sometimes put forward as a possible mint. This seems more likely: all coins from this period were found at Westergo. In 911, Stavoren must have held an important position in the region, for the Vikings devastated it. Stavoren received city rights in the middle of the 11th century.



- 793 Denier. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + AD EPIS VNATOIT, R: Temple + H STPANA EINIO. MEC: --, vdCh: 14.1. 1.387 gr. **R** Small flan crack, almost very fine 250,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1996.
 Ex: van Rietdijk - den Haag (29-11-1996), Auction 362, no. 177.
 This coin has the same legend as vdCh: 14.1 (Frankish Sovereigns) and he consequently attributes it to Lothair (840-855). Inscriptions with v.d.Chijs: A: + N STIAHAIEIMNO, R: + AP EPIS VHATOI.
 Commentary P. Ilich (nov. 2000):
 The obverse text has to be read retrograde: IOTAMVS IPEDAT (this is the same text as that on Lothair's coin no. 237, except for the T in IOTAMVS).
 The reverse text he considers a corruption of the well-known *XRISTIANA RELIGIO*.

Imitation **LUDWIG das KIND (899-911)**



- 794 Denier. A: In two lines III:CHII / III:CIIII, R: Cross SVIISVCIVVOCIVIII+ (+HLVDOVICVS PIVS retrograde). Ilich: 7.2. 1.269 gr. **R** Mistake in the die on the reverse, very fine + 350,--
 Bred - Paris 1977.
 Specimens of this kind have only emerged in the hoard Pinjum. This particular piece is likely to be from the same hoard.
 This coin is often regarded as a copy of Strassbourg coins. Ilich (*JMP*) provides the following texts: O: III : CHII - III : CIIII, R: SVIISVCIVVOCIVIII + . Ilich gives two weights 1.18 and 1.03: both weights lower than that of the coin at hand. Ilich classifies it under Dorestad, I differ on that.
 The hoard Pinjum is described by Dirks, J.: *La Trouvaille de Pinjum (Frise) en juin 1868*, in: *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*, 5e serie, tome 1, 1869. Pinjum is a village, part of the municipality of Wonseradeel, near Bolsward. Original name: Pyanghum. A large amount of coins was found, a substantial part of which went into the melting pot, leaving Dirks with 257 to describe. 100 pieces from the Pinjum hoard averaged a weight of 1.23.

Imitation OTTO I (935-965)



795

- 795 Denier. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + OTTOIIIIPAVG, R: In two lines AIITCIIAV / EIEICEII (some letters retrograde). Ilisch: 20.1. 1.096 gr. Weakly struck, very fine 150,--
Huizinga - Bennekom 1987.
See Dannenberg 1157: imitation of Bruno - Cologne.



796

- 796 Denier. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + OTTOIII(PAVG), R: In two lines IIRVNRII / ARISIIII. Ilisch: 20.1. 0.528 gr. Traces of encrustation, almost very fine 150,--
Westerhof - Sneek, Auction 9 (1992), no. 374.
Found in Pinjum.
Ilisch 20.1: Imitation of Cologne (Otto I and A.b. Bruno) approx. 962-994. Ilisch lists this specimen as "one piece find". The pieces listed by Ilisch are all much heavier. See no. 795 which is also much heavier (1.096).
This is an imitation of the Cologne denarius of Bruno (archbishop of Cologne and Duke of Lorraine (953-965)) and his brother Otto I. Dannenberg has it struck in 962 / 965 (in view of the imperial title). For the Cologne original, see: Kluge: Deutsche Münzgeschichte 1990, no. 361.

WICHMANN III (994-1016)

Wichmann III was the grandson of Wichmann I and the brother of Hermann (Duke of Saxony) from the House of Billung. His father Wichmann II was Count of Hamaland (the territory between Elten and Deventer), that devolved onto his daughter Adela (see under Hamaland).

In 970, we see Wichmann of Hamaland in Frisia.



797

- 797 Denier. A: In two lines EISBISIIS / DOISISI, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle VVICMAN CO. Dann: 1229, Ilisch: 20.2. 0.679 gr. Very fine 100,--
Rauch - Wien, Auction 17 (1975), no. 635.
cf. Ilisch: Friesische Prägungen des Grafen Wichmann, in: JMP 77 (1990), p. 5-25.
Based on its occurrences in hoards, generally assumed to be struck under count Wichmann III (994-1016), who lies buried in Vreden. The consequential attribution to Vreden as mint is dismissed by the writer. The weight of approx. 0.9 gr. rules out such an attribution, for significantly heavier coins were used in western Westphalia. Its weight does, however, concur (as does the lettering) with the anonymous Frisian coins that emerged among others in the Dietrichsfeld hoard. Based on its occurrence in several Dutch hoards, this coin is generally agreed to have been struck in the part of Greater Frisia to the west of the Ems River. On what authority Wichmann's right of mint was based, hasn't been established to date. See also Ilisch, P.: Friesische Münzen um die Jahrtausendwende, in: De Beeldenaar 1987, p. 67 e.v.

ANONYMOUS - 11th century



- 798 Denier. A: Temple with five columns + O /// O + ..., R: Cross with one pellet in each angle + DIVCCI.... Dann: --, Gaettens: 292. 0.950 gr. Very fine 150,--
 Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 6 (1987), no. 2009.
 From hoard Ludwisczce (1060-1065), no. 292 (this exemplar).
 Ex: Terberger collection - Osnabrück.
 Text in publication Fd. Ludwisczce. General: Some specimens in the hoard showed a church with a cross inside that dates back to the XPRISTIANA RELIGIO. They were struck in Frisia or in Bardowik. Specific for no. 292: A: Cross in circle of pellets with 4 spheres in the angles + E lying T VCIC.....III (last C inverted), R: Church with five columns O + O - O + O
 This coin isn't mentioned anywhere else in literature.

Brunonen

The Brunonen were a house of counts and margaves in the Duchy of Saxonia, in the Margraviate of Meissen and in Frisia. The house can be traced for only four generations.

Bruno I, in vain, had sought to succeed Emperor Otto III. His house, however, must have been influential. Through cession of the county by Henry III and IV to the bishops of Hildesheim and Utrecht, as well as to the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, the Brunonen came into tenure, holding property in fief from the imperial church (Reichskirche). How the Brunonen came to rule in Frisia remains unclear.

The margraviate Meissen was Brunonen possession since 1067. Egbert II was condemned by a diet for leading an uprising against the emperor and subsequently lost Meissen and Frisia (1086, 1089).

The coins of the three Brunonen counts are striking in their exquisite workmanship. In this respect they bring to mind the English coins from the same period. Perhaps English die-cutters had been at work, even though Egbert II had them modelled after a German coin from Goslar. Puister even thinks (JPM (1968), p. 55-57) the organisation of the Frisia mints was along the same lines as that in England.

BRUNO III (1038-1057)

Bruno III was a son of Liudolf and Gertrud (countess of Frisia, granddaughter of Dirk II of Holland and sister of Dirk III). In Bruno, German and Dutch lineage had mixed.

The coins of Bruno III were all struck under Emperor Henry III (1039-1056). By this time minting was done in several places (8 in total) and Dokkum in Oostergo was the central mint.



- 799 Denier - Bolsward. A: Crowned bust r. with cross-headed sceptre (+ HENRICVS RE), R: BRVN between two lines, (BODMS WERT). Dann: 498, Ilisch: 21.25, P: 2a. 0.702 gr. Weakly struck at the edge, very fine 150,--
 Spaar- en Voorschotbank - Surhuisterveen 1990.



- 800 Denier - Dokkum. A: Crowned bust r. with cross-headed sceptre + HENRICVS RE, R: BRVN between two lines, VGGA DOCC. Dann: 499, Ilisch: 21.19, P: 2b. 0.570 gr. Small flan defect, very fine 150,--
 Holleman - Enschede 1987.



801

801 Denier. A: Crowned bust r. with crosier + HENRICVS RIE, R: . BR • VN . between two lines, DOCC VGGA (retrograde). Dann: 501, Ilisch: 21.22, P: 2b. 0.518 gr.

RR Nice patina, well struck, very fine +

1.000,--

Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 4 (1986), no. 2237.

Ex: Terberger collection - Osnabrück.

Ilisch (21.22) classifies it under Frisia, noting that "Der Krummstab deutet mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit auf einen Beischlag aus einer benachbarten Münzstätte" (Groningen). The suggestion "Groningen" doesn't make sense to me, because Groningen was deliberately kept apart from the Frisian territories (under the bishops of Utrecht). Nevertheless, Puister does consider Groningen. In JPM (1968), p. 57 he writes "Interessant is in dit verband nog op te merken dat, als bisschop Bernulphus amstreeks 1040 in Groningen munt gaat slaan, hij begint met een Bruno-typ waarop hij de kruiscepter vervangt door een Kromstaf, doch overigens alles overneemt van een Dokkums exemplar, inclusief de naam DOCC-VGGA."

Still, we are positive the coin at hand is from Dokkum, the centre of the region, but also Boniface's residence. A king's portrait with a crosier seems to be a somewhat awkward combination. Wouldn't a form of commemoration of Boniface's death in 754, some 300 years later, have to be considered?



Hooft van Iddekinge (p.99) considers a die-cutter in Dokkum, that had worked in Groningen and had taken a punch with the crosier with him. Hooft van Iddekinge recognises the punch in the Dokkum coin from bishop Bernoldus' coin with the crosier.

Ilisch knows of few specimen



802

802 Denier - Leeuwarden. A: Crowned bust r. with sceptre terminating in a cross + HENDRICVS IE, R: BR • VN between two lines, LIVN VERO (retrograde). Dann: 502, Ilisch: 21.14, P: 2c. 0.739 gr.

Very well struck specimen, very fine +

125,--

Schulman - A'dam, Auction 245 (1967), no. 513.



803

803 Denier - Leeuwarden. A: Crowned bust r. with cross-headed sceptre + T HENRICVS RE, R: • BRVN • between two lines, HIV . V NIH . O (retrograde). Dann: 502, Ilisch: 21.14, P: 2c. 0.670 gr.

Very fine

100,--

S. Antonov - Riga 2001.

I think this is a corrupted form of Leeuwarden.

The R in Rex is peculiar: a P with a horizontal stroke over it.



804

- 804 Denier - Stavoren. A: Crowned bust r. with sceptre terminating in a cross + HENRICVS RE, R: BRUN between two lines, STAV ERVR. Dann: 503, Ilisch: 21.11, P: 2d. 0.861 gr.
Huizinga - Bennekom 1986. Weakly struck at the edge, very fine
On all other illustrations STAV is placed above BRUN. In this case it is placed under.

150,--



805

- 805 Denier - Stavoren. A: Crowned bust r. with sceptre terminating in a cross + HENDRICVS RE, R: BRUN between two lines, STAV ERVR. Dann: 503, Ilisch: 21.11, P: 2d. 0.710 gr.
Münzzentrum - Köln, Auction 96 (1998), no. 1325. Weakly struck at the edge, very fine +

150,--



806

- 806 Denier - Leeuwarden. A: Crowned bust l. with sceptre terminating in a cross + IENRICVI ~ RE, R: BRVN between two lines, LIAV VERO. Ilisch: 21.15, Dann: 502, P: --. 0.584 gr.
Ahlstrom - Stockholm, Auction 37 (1988), no. 61. Extremely rare. Flan crack, very fine
In volume 4 Dannenberg records only *one* specimen (in the KM) and refers to Berl. Mzbl. 1900, p. 2760.
In v.d.Chijs, too, only *one* such coin is displayed: 18.12. Ilisch doesn't comment.

150,--

EGBERT I (1057-1068)

Egbert was a brother of Bruno III. His properties mainly lay in Brunswick and within the dioceses of Hildesheim and Halberstadt. In his final years (1067-68), he was margrave of Meissen.

In 1057, Egbert swore fealty for a number of Frisian counties to the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen. In the same year, the former intervened in the struggle for the Saxonian Northmark and came to the aid of king Henry IV and count Udo of Stade, in the ensuing fights his brother Bruno died.

From Egbert I on, the German emperor's name no longer appears on coinage. The meaning of NOTA is unaccounted for (it certainly is not, however, an abbreviation of MONETA - a theory to which Kluge in the *Deutsche Münzgeschichte* still adheres).



807

- 807 Denier - Stavoren. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + ECBERTVS, R: NOTA between two lines, STVA ERON. Dann: 521a, Ilisch 21.10.2, P: 3e. 0.593 gr.
Henzen - Amerongen 1997. **RR** Very fine

750,--



- 808 Denier - Leeuwarden. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + ECBERTVS, R: NOTA between two lines, LVVA ERTN. Dann: 519, Ilisch: 21.12, P: 2c. 0.632 gr. **RR** Very fine 750,--
Henzen - Amerongen 1997.
From list January 1997, no. 366.
- 809 Denier - Bolsward. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + ECBERTVS, R: NOTA between two lines, BODLINWEI(retrograde). Dann: 513 var, Ilisch 21.24 var, P: 3a. 0.508 gr. Very fine 200,--
Peus - Frankfurt, Auction 319 (1987), no. 742.
Normally, the ob- and reverse inscriptions are inverted.



- 810 Denier - Dokkum. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + ECBERTV(S), R: NOTA between two lines (DO)CC VGGV. Dann: 516, Ilisch 21.16, P: 3b. 0.658 gr. Weakly struck at the edge, very fine 200,--
Kurpfälzische Münzhandlung - Mannheim, Auction 26 (1984), no. 584.
- 811 Denier - Ennighem. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + EMNIGHEM, R: NOTA between two lines + ECBE RTVS. Dann: 517, Ilisch 21.23, P: 3f. 0.519 gr. **RR** Very fine 750,--
Münzzentrum - Köln 1980.

EGBERT II (1068-1090)

This son of Egbert I was also margrave of Meissen. With Egbert standing up against him, king Henry IV in 1067 appointed duke Vratislaus of Bohemia in the mark Meissen, who, however, failed to resist Egbert sufficiently.

In 1077, Egbert was condemned and he had to relinquish his Frisian county to the bishops of Utrecht. Egbert then sought to sustain a position of power through expediency rather than loyalty, eventually he was condemned in Quedlinburg and his Meissen and Frisia titles were definitively declared void. He died in 1090 while trying to flee. Through his sister Gertrud, married to Henry the Fat, he bequeathed Lothair III, the spouse of their daughter Richenza. Egbert's coins exhibit the heads of Simon and Judas on the obverse, as seen on Goslar coins.



- 812 Denier - Bolsward. A: Crowned bearded bust facing + ECBERTVS, R: Heads of Saint Simon and Saint Judas with cross + BODLISVERT. Dann: 527a, Ilisch: 22.7, P: 4a. 0.594 gr. Extremely fine 150,--
Bought 1985 (Dekker collection).
Bought Schulman - Amsterdam, d.d. 19-2-1958.



- 813 Denier - Dokkum. A: Crowned bearded bust facing + ECBERTVS, R: Heads of Saint Simon and Saint Judas with cross + DOGG (ING) VN. Dann: 528, Ilisch: 22.5, P: 4b. 0.684 gr.
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1979. Small ink drawing, very fine

100,--



- 814 Denier - Leeuwarden. A: Crowned bearded bust facing + ECBERTVS, R: Heads of Saint Simon and Saint Judas with cross + LI (VNVV) AR(T). Dann: 531, Ilisch: 22.10, P: 4d. 0.815 gr. Very fine + Glendining - London, Auction 13 (1976), no. 265.

125,--



- 815 Denier - Stavoren. A: Crowned bearded bust facing + VECBE(RTVS), R: Heads of Saint Simon and Saint Judas with cross (+ S)TAVERON(I). Dann: 532, Ilisch: 22.1, P: 4e. 0.634 gr.
Bought 1985 (Dekker collection). Weakly struck at the edge and slightly bent, very fine
Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 234 (1960), no. 354.

125,--



- 816 Denier - Westeremden. A: Crowned bearded bust facing + ECBERTVS, R: Heads of Saint Simon and Saint Judas with cross + EIG..EIEOEIH (retrograde). Dann: 529, Ilisch: 22.6, P: 4f. 0.818 gr.
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1986. RR Almost extremely fine

700,--

The mint Ennighem would be most likely, even if the name is retrograde.
In the coll. Puister, there exists a specimen with the same, retrograde text.
The text is (retrograde) + EIGEIEOEIH (the E read backwards), Puister has: +EIGEIHGEH (again, an inverted E).
Normally, it reads EMNIGHEM, which, according to Puister, is always written correctly.
After the demise of Count Egbert II in 1090, the county fell to the diocese of Utrecht. In the period 1090 to 1099, the Utrecht bishop Conrad minted in Stavoren, Leeuwarden and Dokkum (see Ilisch 23.13 to 23.17).

OTTO III of ZUTPHEN (1102-1107)

In 1101, Emperor Henry V gave Henry of Nordheim the county Frisia in fief. He was Gertrudis' husband, the sister of Egbert II. The Frisians, however, did not accept Henry's authority and in the same year, during his first visit to the county, he was murdered. A period without counts ensued, in which guardians (*advocati ecclesiae*) administrated the region, they were appointed by the bishop of Utrecht. These administrations were led by the *nobilis advocatus* Otto III of Zutphen. In 1107, his son Henry of Zutphen was granted the county Frisia by Emperor Henry V, and Otto went out of office as *nobilis advocatus*. It is, however, very likely that as well Otto as Henry continued their offices as guardians on behalf of the bishop of Utrecht. Otto was a nobleman of wealth and prestige and a mint in his name doesn't seem impossible. After Henry V had granted part of Frisia to Henry of Zutphen, the former's successor Lothair III gave Central Frisia to the counts of Holland. The dispute between the counts of Holland and the bishops of Utrecht wasn't arbitrated until 1165, when Frederick Barbarossa finally dealt with it.



817

817 Light denier - Stavoren. A: Bust r. with helm and standard + ODT....., R: Four bows with cross between two towers STAVR..... Dann: 1887, Iisch: 23.3, Scholten: 9. 0.243 gr.

Henzen - Amerongen 2004.

From list 145, no. 626.

Found in Castricum.

The obverse text ODTTO N VI stands for OTTO NOBILIS VIR, which means "Otto the Noble". 5 specimens came up in the hoard Prague (Menadier in Berliner Münzblätter "Der Fund von Prag", see Scholten in JMP 1939, p. 29-34). Iisch makes mention of this specimen (p. 252).

RR Small edge fault, very fine

500,--

ANONYMOUS

In the period that followed, small tokens were struck, which eventually evolved into coins weighing no more than 0.05 gr. In this period, we distinguish: a. Comital coining and b. Episcopal coining.

The reverse of two types shows the letters A D between two bars. These letters were used to signify (see Dirks, among others) the Utrecht bishop Andries of Kuik (1128-1139), see the remark with no. 868 (Utrecht). This is not true for the full specimens that emerged (see Scholten p. 38), that read OD AE. Later, other combinations of four letters were found: OD AO, ED AE, etc. Iisch reads OD TO on a few specimens and determines this as Otto (immobilised).

The four letters between two bars are only seen in the types Scholten: 15 (worldly) and 16 (clerical) that Jacobi places at the beginning of the 13th century. Of type 15, Jacobi only found 7 specimens, of type 16 no less than 1246, of which 1024 in the hoard Bartelehem.

This raises the question of whether there were any issues displaying a comital bust on the obverse and an episcopal on the reverse, or vice versa, since the yields would be shared by bishop and count.

Comital coining

These coins appear to derive from no. 817. They probably were struck not long after it. Iisch characterises them as Duke Otto Immobilised (1090-1140). I find the finishing date plausible (see the episcopal coins underneath), but the beginning date seems too early (see no. 817). Iisch indicates two varieties:

23.6 Bust with lance with pennant in front. Between the bars D T. Period 1090-1120.

23.8 Without pennant. Between the bars A D. Period 1120-1140.



818

818 Light denier. A: Bust r. with cross, R: DT - . DO between two lines and four bows. Dann: 1888, Iisch: 23.6, Scholten 15. 0.184 gr.

R Edge nick, two pieces, fine to very fine

25,--

Holleman - Enschede 1996.

Found in Peins.

Compared $0.184 + 0.017 = 0.201$.

The letters in the bar might resemble that Otto which Iisch mentioned.



- 819 Light denier. A: Bust r. with staff, R: OA - DO between two lines. Dann: 1549, Ilisch: 23.8, Scholten: 15. 0.407 gr. **R** The edge is weakly struck, otherwise very fine 200,--
 Schulman - A'dam, Auction 289 (1989), no. 196.
 Found at Reid, north of Peins by the road Franeker-Berlikum.
 That this coin weighs almost twice as much as the others is peculiar.
 This coin is mentioned with Ilisch on p. 254 (Ilisch makes out A - I between the bars).



- 820 Light denier. A: Bust r. with staff ending in ring and three pellets in field, R: Cross with one cross in the 1st and 4th angles and one pellet in the 2nd and 3rd angles. Dann: --, Ilisch: --, Scholten: 23. 0.233 gr. **R** Weakly struck at the edge 150,--
 Willems - Bennekom 1985.

Episcopal coining

Two types may be distinguished:

a. The bust in profile. This effigy matches the Utrecht coins of bishop Hartbert (1139-1150) and bishop Herman of Hoorne (1150-1156). The similar depiction of the nose is characteristic.



We found a similar nose on a sceatta, a coin with a high relief on the reverse.

b. The bust facing. This is not so easily matched with Utrecht coins, where a facing bust is first seen under Diederik of Ahr (1198-1212). His coins, however, depict a mitra, whereas the type at hand shows the headdress seen in the previous specimens. The suggestion of Diederik of Ahr appears to concur with Scholten type 18 (Jacobi records only two specimens, both from the hoard Bartelehiem). The obverse of this type clearly reads THEODRICVS and the reverse + STAVERNS. This coin's issuance was presumably around 1200 (potentially later, when the same type is reissued). Jacobi, determining the numbers Scholten: 15, 16 and 23 in a single go, establishes the origins at the turn of the 12th century too. Thus, the facing bust coins appear to have been struck in Frisia after 1156 up to after 1200.

Head in profile

The period starting 1140 to approx. 1160 or later should be considered.



- 821 Light denier. A: Bust r. with crosier, ring of pellets behind, R: Cross in circle of pellets with one pellet in each angle. Dann: --, Ilisch: --, Scholten: 17. 0.268 gr. **R** Weakly struck at the edge, nice portrait, very fine 150,--
 From Coin Investment - den Haag, Auction 15 (1983), no. 238.



- 822 Light denier. A: Bust r. with crosier, ring of pellets behind, R: Cross in doubled circle of pellets with one pellet in each angle. Dann: --, Ilisch: --, Scholten: 17. 0.320 gr. **R** Extremely fine 150,--
Coin Investment - Lisse, Auction 47 (1994), no. 198.
Found in Oosterland.
See 821 = reverse shows border of pellets and a smooth ring.

- 823 Light denier. A: Bust r. with crosier, ring of pellets behind, R: Cross in doubled circle of pellets with one pellet in each angle. Dann: --, Ilisch: --, Scholten: 17. 0.314 gr. **R** Weakly struck, extremely fine 150,--
Coin Investment - Lisse, Auction 52 (1997), no. 234.

Head Facing

The period in which this was struck is approx. 1160 or later up to after 1200.



- 824 Light denier. A: Bust facing with crosier, legend not visible, R: OA • D (retrograde) between two lines, legend not visible. Dann: 1548, Ilisch: 23.18, Scholten: 16. 0.289 gr. Weakly struck at the edge, almost extremely fine 150,--
Willems - Bennekom 1985.

- 825 Light denier. A: Bust facing with crosier, R: Cross in doubled circle of pellets with star in three angles. Dann: --, Ilisch: --, Scholten: 21. 0.231 gr. Weakly struck at the edge, almost extremely fine 150,--
Holleman - Enschede 2000.
From list 127, no. 493.
Scholten mentions a pellet in the 4th angle which is not visible here.



- 826 Light denier. A: Bust facing with crosier, R: Cross in doubled circle of pellets with star in three angles. Dann: --, Ilisch: --, Scholten: 21. 0.458 gr. Weakly struck at the edge, almost extremely fine 150,--
Schulman - Bussum, Auction 30 (2004), no. 794.
The difference with no. 825 is that this displays a six-pointed star, as opposed to the seven-pointed star in no. 825 and it weighs twice as much.

- 827 Light denier. A: Bust facing with crosier, I on border, R: Cross in doubled circle of pellets with star in three angles, some tokens as legend. Dann: --, Ilisch: --, Scholten: 21. 0.186 gr. Small flan defect and traces of corrosion, very fine 50,--
Coin Investment - Lisse, Auction 51 (1996), no. 288.
Found in Friesland.



- 828 Light denier. A: Bust facing with crosier, R: Cross in doubled circle of pellets with star in three angles. Dann: --, Ilisch: --, Scholten: 21. 0.218 gr. Small scratches on the surface, very fine 50,--
Holleman - Enschede 1996.
Found in Wijnaldum.
- 829 Light denier. A: Bust facing with crosier, D on border, R: Cross with stars and pellets in the angles. Dann: --, Ilisch: --, Scholten: 20. 0.239 gr. Edge chipped, very fine 10,--
Holleman - Enschede 1996.
Found in Wijnaldum II.

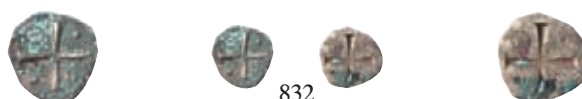
Bust facing



- 830 Light denier. A: Bust facing with crosier, R: Cross with one crescent in each angle. Dann: --, Ilisch: --, Scholten: 19. 0.120 gr. R Traces of verdigris, very fine 100,--
Henzen - Amerongen 1992.
From Leeuwarden find (1983), no. 37 (JMP 1984, p.135).
The hoard Leeuwarden was found in fall 1983 in this city's centre near the Grote of Jacobijner Kerk during excavations. The hoard comprised of 68 coins, but additional fragments that were found indicate an original amount of at least 70 pieces. Jacobi describes the hoard in the JMP, in which he presents an overview of all light Frisian coins that were recorded by Scholten.
- 831 Light denier. A: Bust facing with mitre and crosier, R: Cross with crescents and pellets in the angles. Dann: --, Ilisch: --, Scholten: 28. 0.103 gr. R Traces of encrustation, very fine 150,--
Bloemendal - 1989.
Possibly struck between 1250-1275.
Found in the summer of 1989 in Oosterbierum (northwest of Franeker).
The hoard Leeuwarden 1983 (JMP 71 (1984), p.135) contained four very light coins (hoardnumbers 53-56) that to that moment were unknown. Their poor condition, however, ruled out accurate determination. Jacobi gave them the number Scholten 28.
This specimen was published in De Beeldenaar 14 (1990), p. 85.

One-sided Pennies

Whether these very light coins, that should be classified under the last period, should be attributed to a count or a bishop can't be determined.



- 832 Light one-sided denier. A: Cross with rings and pellets in the angles. Dann: --, Ilisch: --, Scholten: 29. 0.055 gr. R Traces of encrustation, very fine 100,--
Henzen - Amerongen 1992.
From Leeuwarden find (1983), no. 65 (JMP 1984, p.135).
Unknown prior to the hoard Leeuwarden.
Among the indicated nos. (9 pieces) in Scholten 30, there was one Scholten 29, of which type, two specimens came up in this hoard.



- 833 Light one-sided denier. A: Cross with one ring and pellet in the 1st and one pellet in the other angles. Dann: --, Iisch: --, Scholten: 30. 0.047 gr. Very fine 100,--

Henzen - Amerongen 1992.

From Leeuwarden find (1983), no. 64 (JMP 1984, p. 135).

Unknown previous to the hoard Leeuwarden (which contained 8 specimens of this type).

In 1165, Frederick Barbarossa ascertained the rights and obligations of Godfried bishop of Utrecht and count Floris III of Holland with respect to the county Frisia they mutually owned (Westergo, Oostergo and Stavoren). Hooft van Iddekinge assumes that Stavoren was an associate mint (in 1204, the mint administration reported to bishop and count alike). See also the note on "mutual coins" under "anonymous".

The guardian embodied worldly authority, clerical authority was exercised by the abbot of the St. Odulfus monastery near Stavoren and the military was commanded by the prefect of Zutphen. In 1196, Dirk VII and his uncle, bishop Baldwin, granted their fiefs Westergo and Oostergo to Count William I of Holland.

After 1213, the Frisian territories became separate districts within Holland. In 1233, Floris IV was dignified lord of Frisia in Franeker. However, he held no real authority and even William II couldn't but acknowledge the "Frisian Freedom". In 1291, Floris V became the formal lord of Frisia, a status quo under the reigns of Jan I and Jan II.

William III retained effective authority as lord of Westergo, receiving it in exchange for legitimising the Frisian Freedom. Problems arose and in 1325, the comital magistrates were expelled from Stavoren.

An ultimate attempt was made when in 1328, Jan I of Kuinre received order from William III to once again fight the Frisians. In the same year, a treaty was reached between Holland and Stavoren. The death of William III ended all Holland authority in Frisia.

In 1345, William IV died at Stavoren. In 1398, Albert undertook another attempt at conquering Stavoren. In 1400, peace was signed (in which Frisia was lost and Stavoren was retained) but in 1414, Frisia was lost definitively to Holland.

When at the beginning of the 13th century minting of the (very light) tokens was stopped, a vacuum in coin production ensued until approx. 1425. The famous "Frisian Freedom" had kindled an ongoing struggle for power that finally led to anarchy.

It seems peculiar that shortly before this "interregnum in coin production", Count William I of Holland, who held Westergo in sub-fief, around the turn of the 12th century had his coins once again struck in Stavoren. As this specimen, neither in terms of the device, nor with respect to its weight (0.65 gr. for the coin in hand as opposed to an average of 0.30 gr. with Frisian coins) fits Frisian coinage, we have classified it under Holland.

A struggle for power between the counts of Holland and the city of Groningen developed. Feudal authority had vanished altogether, which caused some cities to turn to independent minting. Formally, only Leeuwarden possessed the right of mint, but four other cities approached this right as well (Bolsward, Franeker, Sneek and Workum). Minting took place for quite some time (1425 tot ca 1490), yet the output was limited and of poor quality.

Dukes of Saxonia

This period of internal struggle ended when at the turn of the 15th century, the rule of Saxonian dukes commenced.

Because of their hereditary system (property was divided equally among all the heirs) the whole of their territories was reduced to fragments eventually. To prevent this Duke Albert attempted to secure his oldest son Georg as his sole heir. But he had, of course, to compensate his second son Henry. That is where Frisia came in useful.

In this region, two parties battled for supremacy: the Schieringers in Westergo and the Vetkopers in Oostergo. The Vetkopers were supported by Groningen and the Schieringers sought the support of Albert.

On the 20th July 1498, Albert became hereditary governor (*potestat*) of Frisia. Thus, a compromise had been reached. The governorship was hereditary, which was important to Albert, potestat referred to the "Frisian Freedom" and thereby legally upheld imperial immediacy.

The region under Albert's governorship stretched from the Vlie to the Danish border (including Groningen and its Ommelanden (surrounding lands)): something that, of course, caused interests to conflict, as for instance in the case of the County East Frisia (taken from Stuurman, J. G.: Saksische hertogen in Frisia (1498-1515). *Aspiratie en muntslag*, in: JMP 88 (2001), p. 73 e.v.).

ALBRECHT von SACHSEN (1498-1500)



- 834 Dubbele Stuiver - Saxonian Eagle (Sassenaar). A: Shield with arms of Saxonia + ALBERT * DVX * SAXON * GVB * FRISL., R: Crowned imperial arms on long cross dividing legend 8 DEI 8 GRACIA REGES REGNA. Stuurman: 1.2.2, vdCh: 6.3. 2.772 gr. **R** Weakly struck, very fine 250,--
 Willems - Bennekom 1990.
 2nd emission.



- 835 Jager (2 Groninger Stuiver or Vlieger) - 1500. A: Double headed eagle with arms of Frisia in quatrefoil + ALB'TVS * DVX * SAXO' * ZE * GVB'NA * PHRI', R: Long cross dividing legend with one star in each angle, inner circle ANN DOMI I' * M 8 CCCC, * DEI * GRACIA * REGES * REGNANT. Stuurman: 1.3.2 (type b), vdCh: 6.5. 2.681 gr. **RR** Well struck specimen, very fine 500,--
 Coin Investment-den Haag, Auction 15 (1982), no. 242.
 3rd emission.

GEORG und HEINRICH von SACHSEN (1501-1504)

In May 1500, Henry had put down rebellion by the Vetkopers and the Schieringers. Thus, in September of 1500, he succeeded his father, be it reluctantly. He immediately left Frisia and wished to sell the territories to Philip the Fair, which he failed to do. Then, he reached an agreement with his brother George to jointly rule Frisia during a two-year period. When this agreement expired, Georg became sole governor.



- 836 Zestiende Stuiver. A: Crowned arms of Saxonia (o MO' . DVC' .) SAXO' . GVB' (. FR'), R: Arms of Saxonia on long cross dividing legend with one ring in each angle (SALVT . DE . I . IMNRS). Stuurman: 2.1.4, vdCh: --. 0.382 gr. Extremely rare, specimen from a hoard, almost very fine 500,--
 Willems - Bennekom 1989.
 1st emission.
 Stuurman reports two specimens (*one* in Coin Inv. Auct. 43/44 (1998) no. 144 and *one* in Westerhof, Auct. 8, no. 240. SALVTVM DE INIMICIS NOSTRIS = Deliverance from our enemy.



EAST FRISIA

East Frisia is the territory between the Emsmouth and the Weser.

In the 11th century, the Billung House emerged in Ostringen and the counts of Stade in Rustringen (subsequently the counts of Oldenburg). The counts of Werl exercised their condominium rights in Emsgau and Fivelgo. Their place was taken around 1050 by the Brunonen, who were already present in Central Frisia.

In the 12th century, the influence of the counts of Ravensberg and of Oldenburg steadily diminished and the lack of feudal authority, prompted the "Frisian Freedom". Imperial immediacy was, however, preserved (i.e. this region fell immediately under the German emperor).

After the second half of the 14th century, native dynasties came to power, the so-called "Häuptlinge" (Chieftains), whom the counts of Kavelage-Ravensberg (until 1252), the bishops of Münster and the counts of Oldenburg failed to resist. Although the Chieftains too weren't able to maintain the amount of peace and order, needed to restore unity, eventually unity would be achieved.

This development started around 1350 in eastern East Frisia, in Ostringen, Rustringen and Wangerland, from which the dominion Jever arose. Although this was Chieftain territory, it was municipally governed. In 1376, the Dynasty tom Brok in Brokmerland strove to dominate the whole of East Frisia and, to an extent, achieved this.

In 1427, the House tom Brok ended, when Ocko II was defeated by Focko Ukema, Chieftain of Leer, on the "Wilden Äckern" (wild fields), with the aid of the counts of Holland (Jan van Beieren), the Vetkopers and the Scheringers. Focko Ukema became *primus inter pares*, much to the discontent of other chieftains. Heading the opposers were the brothers Edzard and Ulrich Cirksena from Greetsiel (who were ancestors from the House tom Brok).

They took up arms against Ukema and drove him from East Frisia. In 1433, a definitive blow was struck, when they conquered Emden with the aid of the city of Hamburg and deposed the last remaining chieftain Imelo Abdena, son-in-law of Focko Ukema. In the battle of Bargebur, Focko's son Udo (Chieftain of Norden) and his son-in-law Sibet of Rustringen died.

Emden came under Hamburg and Edzard and Ulrich Cirksena were its strong figures. Edzard died in 1441, heirless. The sovereign right was transferred to his brother Ulrich, who in 1455, managed to substantially expand his dominion by marrying Theda, Focko Ukema's granddaughter.

In 1461, sovereignty was endangered when the bishops of Münster, together with the counts of Oldenburg, wished to revive their old rights. In 1464, Emperor Frederick III intervened and granted the entire territory between Westerems and the Weser River as far south as Detern and Lengen in fief. On 23 December 1464, Ulrich became "Count of Norden, Emeden, Emesgonia in East Frisia" (by using the term Emesgonia, the emperor was very articulate as to denying any rights claimed by the bishops of Münster).

In western East Frisia, Ulrich's rule was fully acknowledged. Such acknowledgement for the entire territory was not achieved until the reign of Ulrich's son Edzard I.

On 27th September 1466, Ulrich died. His widow Theda then assumed office as guardian. Ulrich's cousin Sibö Attema of Esens received feudal rights for minor sons Enno, Edzard and Uko (27 July 1468).

When Edo Wiemken (of Jever) commenced minting again (a sign of sovereignty) dispute arose. Theda, however, could count on the emperor to support her.

In 1477, Enno I partly assumed office, taking on sole authority in 1483. When he died in 1491, his brother Edzard I succeeded him. He bought off the feudal rights of Hamburg and the bishops of Münster, however, the authority over Jever proved too difficult to obtain. Edo Wiemken stayed on there, but the latter's rivals, the chieftains of Inn- and Knyphausen joined East Frisia.

In 1498, Maximilian I, in return for rendered services, awarded Duke Albert of Saxonia the title of "ewiger Gubernator und Potestat" (eternal governor and potestat) of Frisia, which conflicted with the feudal authority Edzard possessed as the imperial immediate count of East Frisia. Edzard accepted this new situation and acknowledged Albert to be the governor and potestat of his own dominion. In 1500, he came to Albert's aid at the siege of Groningen and received Westerwolde and the Frisian "Ommelanden" in fief. In the same year, Albert died in Emden, visiting Edzard (for the further development see Middenfriesland).

COUNTY EMDEN

Emden was founded around 750-800. Original name is Amuthon.

ANONYMOUS



- 837 Denier - ca. 990-1000. A: Triangle with two wedges and cross on top ...ISISI MISI...., R: Cross with one pellet in each angle :IIRIIRE.....ASAS. Dann: 1309 var, Ilisch: 20.4.2, Jesse: 41, Kilger: 2.1.1 Emd A. 0.989 gr. **R** Weakly struck, very fine +

200,--

Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 46 (1999), no. 2627.

Ex: Th. Hamer New York collection.

Ilisch refers to hoard Dietrichsfeld 17d. He suggest the heavier coins are from East Frisia, the lighter specimens from Central Frisia. See Ilisch: Friesische Münzen um die Jahrtausendwende, in: De Beeldenaar, 11 (1987), p. 6769. The Dietrichsfeld hoard (Menadier: Der Fund von Dietrichsfeld B.M. 16 (1895) Sp. 1903-1909 and Deutsche Münzen Gesammelte Aufsätze, Bd. IV, Berlin 1898, p. 103-113) contained 196 heavy and 204 light specimens. Ilisch dates this coin back to the end of the 10th century.

What Ilisch considers light or heavy remains somewhat obscure in his article. 278 of the specimens weigh 0.79 - 0.89. The coin in hand is much heavier.

Kilger doesn't distinguish by the content of the triangle. Ilisch does, and attributes it to Frisia.

Average weight of 88 measured specimens: 0.79. Due to the heigher weight, Emden (and Kilger) are adhered to.

HERMANN IV of WERL (1047-1050)

The first known count is a certain Heriman, documented only on coins. The style is from around 1050. Tergast suggests that Hermann of Kavelage is meant (this is consistently mentioned in numismatical literature). More recently, Hömberg thinks a member of the comital House of Werl is depicted. Van Lengen concludes that Hermann IV of Werl (1015)-1047-1050 is the minting lord.



- 838 Denier. A: Bust r. + HERIMAN, R: Double lined cross with the limbs ending in crescents and ring in centre, in the angles +A MV TH ON. Dann 773, Ilisch: --, Jesse: 36, Kilger 2.1.1., Emd D. 0.750 gr. Extraordinary condition, almost extremely fine

150,--

Spink - London 1976.

Following Kilger, no. 837 and no. 838 are of the same type.

Bishops of Münster

In 1252, Sophie, her daughter Jutta and her son-in-law Waleram of Montjoie ceded the land of Emden to Otto II, Bishop of Münster. The coins bear the name "scales" and differ gravely from Münster tokens. Moreover, they rather correspond to the light tokens from Central Frisia. They circulated in the 13th century, another analogy with central Frisian light tokens.



- 839 Schube. A: Bust with lance and crosier, R: Double lined cross with pellets in three angles and ring in one angle. Tergast: 20. 0.170 gr. Very fine +

50,--

WAG - Dortmund, Auction 30 (2005), no. 2481.



- 840 Schubbe. A: Hand, crosier and star, R: Double lined cross with one pellet in each angle. Tergast: 28. 0.159 gr. Very fine + 75,--
Münzzentrum - Köln 1981.
- 841 Schubbe. A: Hand, ring over star, crosier and three pellets, R: Double lined cross with one pellet in each angle. Tergast : 40. 0.186 gr. Very fine 30,--
Künker - Osnabrück 1992.
From list 98, no. 384.

LUERT ABDENA (1346-1358)

Starting 1346, Luert Abdena held the offices of steward and wordly chaplain in Emden. Formally, he was the chieftain of Emden, de iure liege of the bishop of Münster. He exercised the privilege of minting for 12 years until he died in 1358.



- 842 Denier - Emden. A: Bishop on throne l. with blessing hand and book, R: Great head of Saint PaulusVLV..... Kappelhoff: 4. 1.168 gr. **RR** Very fine 300,--
Münzzentrum - Köln, Auction 72 (1991), no. 4076.
No text visible on obverse.
Kappelhoff gives following texts: A: + L.....LLVS and R: + PAVL.... (mentions only *one* specimen priv. Sgl. A).

COUNTY EAST-FRISIA ENNO I (1466-1491)



- 843 Goudgulden - Emden. A: Saint John the Baptist with lamb over shield * ENO o CO' o FRISIE o OIGE'TAL', R: Orb in trefoil * FREDRICVS o ROMANORV' o IMPE'. Fb: 872, Kappelhoff: 94, Tergast/Meier: 7. 3.257 gr. **RR** Well struck specimen, very fine 1.500,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1989.
Title of emperor Frederick III.
St. John with lamb on arm is the distinguishing mark of the Emden Goudgulden.

EDZARD I (1491-1528)



- 844 Doppelter Krumsteert - Emden - 1504. A: Harpy over two shields (arms with harpy and lion) * EDZARD' * COI' . * . * FRI' OIENTA, R: Coat of arms (1st and 4th angles with harpy, 2nd and 3rd angles with lion and eagle on centred shield) on long cross dividing legend, ANN DONI MoCC CCC48 inner circle, BAPAC EINDNE INDIEB VS o NRIS *. Kappelhoff: 100, Tergast/Meier: 4. 2.534 gr. 250,--

Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 46 (1999), no. 2648.

Ex: Th. Hamer collection - New York.

Coinage due to the monetary reform of 1491.

The inscription DA PACEM DOMINE IN DIEBUS NOSTRUS quotes the Oldenburg motto.

The Cirksena family coat of arms shows the harpy, an eagle with a woman's head. A similar coat of arms is seen with the city of Nuremberg, in which the eagle bears the head of Emperor Frederick II. It is unclear whether the Cirksenas were inspired by this. It is seen on coins starting 1433.

On the coins of Enno I apart from the harpy, the Ukema lion is included, the inescutcheon shows the eagle of the House tom Brok, from which Enno's great-grandmother Doda stemmed. This is the coat of arms that's also shown here.

EDZARD II and JOHANN (1566-1591)



- 845 Halber Witte - 1572. A: Crowned shield with double headed eagle and shield with harpy on breast, 7 / 2 beneath the crown . ED Tz E Tz (IO Tz CO Tz E Tz DO Tz PH Tz O), R: Ornamented cross with star in centre DA . P - (ACE . - D)O . I . - D . N :. Kappelhoff: 209. 0.364 gr. 50,--

Bought 1985 (Dekker collection)

Coin from the years 1568 - 1573, usually with the moneyer's seal of Dirk Iden Kruitkremer.

v.d.Chijns (Heren en Steden van Gelderland), 6.52. Berichtigung dazu Num. Anzg. 1868, p. 74, Nieuwe Drentse Volksalmanak 1957, p.78 ff.

The illustration in v.d.Chijns is included in Passon: De Stedelijke Muntslag van Nijmegen, 1980 (bij 19. Eighth stuiver).

Description of the cross on the reverse by Kappelhoff: Cross ancrée of twin yarn dividing the legend, with elaborations and a rhombic opening in the middle, with a six-rayed star. This six-rayed star indicates the close ties of the Cirksena family with the city of Norden (taken from Kappelhoff: Die Münzen Ostfrieslands, 1982).

The text on the obverse denotes E(nno) IO(hannes) C(omes) E(t) D(omi)N(u)S PH(riesia) O(rien), the reverse text is once again the well-known dictum DA (p)ACE(m) DO(mine) I(n) D(iebus) N(ostrus).

Interpunction obverse x = f.

DIOCESE UTRECHT

On the site where a Roman castellum was once situated, King Dagobert (before 634) founded a small church and assigned bishop Kunibert of Cologne to christianise the Frisians. This undertaking would prove completely disastrous.

In 650, the Frisians conquered Utrecht and it would remain in Frisian hands until 694 when Pepin II recovered part of it. Willibrord, who had just arrived from England, would take up proselytising again. In 695, Pope Sergius I ordained Willibrord archbishop *in gestem Frisonum*. An episcopal see was never founded, however, and when the Frisians advanced, Willibrord retreated to his monastery Echternach. After Willibrord's demise in 739, Boniface took hold of Utrecht, successfully averting bishop Hildegard of Cologne's claims. After the former's death in 754, a vacuum ensued, which lasted until 777, when an uninterrupted line of Utrecht bishops would start with Alberich.

The situation, however remained unstable and when the Vikings returned, Bishop Hunger fled to Odilienberg (near Roermond, this monastery was a gift from Lothair II in 858, intended as a sanctuary from the dangerous political situation in Utrecht), while also Deventer would be a residence of the Utrecht bishops. St. Radbod still resided in Deventer, the Utrecht situation yet too volatile for him to return. His successor Baldric (918-975) would definitively bring the episcopal see back to Utrecht.

Utrecht may be regarded as part of the Ottonian system, in which German emperors bestowed large properties and the accompanying authorities on the clerus to counterbalance the political weight of local secular lords. Thus, the German kings and emperors bestowed Westergo, Oostergo and Stavoren, among other territories on the bishops of Utrecht, whose secular authority thereby was aligned with their diocese.

The 11th century saw the apogee of clerical power in Utrecht. Bishop Adelbold II built a new cathedral and Bernoldus erected two parish churches (St. Pieter and St. John) and Conrad founded the parish church of St. Maria.

HEINRICH II (1002-1024)

In 936, Utrecht already enjoyed the privilege of mint received from Otto I (and acknowledged by Otto II in 975). However, King Heinrich II would be the first to strike coin in Utrecht. Albrecht (*Niederlothringische Münzen*, p. 105) considers this coin to be struck in the name of King Heinrich II in Utrecht under Bishop Adelbold II (even though the latter's name is not indicated on the coins).

Bishop Adelbold II (1010-1026) was a scholar (a renowned mathematician) who had been educated in Liège. He built a new cathedral (which is not the present-day cathedral of Utrecht) at the site of the old small church. Adelbold also rebuilt the abbey church in Tiel, which was dedicated in the name of St. Walpurgis.



- 846 Denier - Utrecht. A: Crowned bust facing, HE(INRI)CVS RE(X), R: Edifice with cross on top and T / RA / IEC / T-V legend in four lines within (X)RISTIANA RE(LIGI)O. Dann: 539, Iisch: 10.1, Kluge: 61. 0.775 gr. **R** Weakly struck, very fine
Peus - Frankfurt, Auction 383 (2005), no. 2265.

250,--



- 847 Denier - Utrecht. A: Crowned bust facing HE(IN)RIC(VS RE)X, R: Edifice with cross on top and T / RA / IEC / T-V legend in four lines within (X)RISTI)ANA RE(LI)GIO. Dann: 539, Ilisch: 10.1, Kluge: 61. 0.841 gr. R Bent and flan crack, fine to very fine
Rauch - Wien, Auction 17 (1975), no. 634.

50,--

KONRAD II - BERNOLDUS (1027)

Bernoldus was priest in Oosterbeek, when the emperor's wife was in labour there. Upon the birth of the healthy child, the priest himself sped to Utrecht, where the emperor was staying, to deliver the good news. The emperor showed himself grateful beyond the priest's expectations and appointed him bishop of Utrecht.



- 848 Denier - Utrecht. A: Crowned bust facing (C)ON(RAD R)EX, R: Edifice with cross on top and T / RAI / ECT legend in three lines within (BE)R(NOLD) EPISCO(P). Dann: 543, Ilisch: 10.3. 0.780 gr. R Very fine

200,--

Westf. Münzauktion, Auction 8 (1997), no. 2272.

In Dannenberg it says: "Unbärtiger Kaiserkopf (Konrad II)" => no text whatsoever. On the reverse: BERNOI. In its precise imitation of the denarius of Conrad II, probably the oldest fabric by this bishop.

Konrad Rex = 1024-1027 and Bernoldus = 1027-1054. Hence, it was struck in 1027.

Ilisch knows of only four specimens: Berlin, Helsinki (twice) and Münster.

After no. 848, that features both the name of the German king and that of the bishop, the emperor's name vanishes altogether from Bernoldus' coinage.

BERNOLDUS (1027-1054)

Naturally, Bernoldus was a stalwart supporter of the emperor. He stood by him against Godfrey the Bearded and against Dirk IV of Holland. Emperor Henry III showed gratitude in the form of the bestowal of numerous properties and comital privileges. Thus, Bernoldus was the founder of Utrecht power. He built the parish churches St. Pieter and St. John in Utrecht and received the right of mint for Groningen in 1040 and for Deventer in 1046 (see also under Deventer).



- 849 Denier - Utrecht. A: Bishop facing with crosier and staff terminating in cross + IIE SCS . MARTINUS ARCHIE, R: STRA / IECTV over wall with portal + S BERNOLDV . SEDIS . CODV + I. Dann: 544, Ilisch: 10.4, vdCh: 1.10. 0.831 gr.

200,--

Willems - Bennekom 1990.

Ex: v.d.Dussen - Maastricht, Auction 14 (1990), no. 64.

Ex: Hess - Frankfurt, Auction April 1935.

This is the only coin of Bernoldus from Utrecht (vdCh under the numbers 1. 6-15, and Ilisch 10.4). Ilisch thinks this type might have been struck directly after 1027 (in view of the rarity of associate coinage with Conrad II), but the hoards give rise to the assumption that it was struck after 1039.

Van der Chijs interprets the SEDIS CODV as "administrator of the see".



- 850 Denier - Utrecht. A: Bishop facing with crosier and staff terminating in cross + III SCS . MAR(TIN)VS AR . CHIE, R: STRA / IECTV over wall with portal +S BERNOLDV . SEDIS . CODV + I. Dann: 544, Ilisch: 10.4, vdCh: 1.10. 0.741 gr. A little weakly struck, very fine + 200,--
Münzzentrum - Köln 1986.
See elucidation with no. 849.

- 851 Denier - Groningen. A: Bishop facing with crosier and AI over the right shoulder + S . CSBONIFA . CIVS . ARCHIE, R: .RV / IIINO / CE . in three lines BERNOIPVSEPSVE + V. Dann: 558, Ilisch: 18.1, vdCh: 1.16-25. 0.797 gr. Flan defect, otherwise well struck, very fine specimen 200,--
Ahlstrom - Stockholm, Auction 37 (1988), no. 47.
In Ilisch it says: "Bei dem Typ kommt eine beträchtliche Bandbreite an Varianten vor, insbesondere in der Verteilung der Punkte zwischen den Buchstaben der Legenden. Auch die Legenden sind mitunter bis zur Unkenntlichkeit entstellt." This variant is not mentioned in the literature.



- 852 Denier - Groningen. A: Bishop facing with crosier OVI.....DA (?), R: GRV / ON. NI / EC. in three lines VIII...DVL . X (?). Dann: 558, Ilisch: 18.1.11, vdCh: 1.16-25. 0.786 gr. Very fine 200,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1986.
The texts on ob- and reverse are nearly unrecognisable.

- 853 Denier - Groningen. A: Bishop facing with crosier and staff terminating in cross of pellets + SCS BOND + VCEO, R: .CRV / ONNI / CE in three lines HE + IR..... Dann: --, Ilisch: --, vdCh: --. 0.633 gr. Weakly struck at the edge, very fine 175,--
Antonov - Riga 2001.
This type with crosier and cross does not feature in Ilisch.



- 854 Denier - Groningen. A: Crosier between BACU / LVS + ERISOISRAR, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle + GEROINGGRAO. Dann: 559, Ilisch: 18.3, vdCh: 2.26. 0.621 gr. Nice patina and and well struck, very fine + 200,--
Aufhäuser - München, Auction 10-87 (1987), no. 630.
Baculus = crosier of the bishop.



- 855 Denier - Groningen. A: Crosier between BACU / LVS + GR.... RASRV, R: Cross with one pellet in each angleNIGGEA. Dann: 559, Ilisch: 18.3, vdCh: 2.28. 0.475 gr. A little weakly struck in parts, very fine 175,--
 Beckenbauer - München 1982.
 Ex: Schulman, Auction 250 (1971), no. 277.

- 856 Denier - Deventer. A: Bust facing + S LEBVINVS (CO)NF, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle + BERNOLDVS . E (PS). Dann: 573, Ilisch: 1.12, Kluge: 381, vdCh: --. 1.118 gr. R Weakly struck at the edge, very fine 200,--
 Westf. Münzauktion, Auction 8 (1997), no. 2237.
 The S on the obverse shows a horizontal stroke, as does that in Sancta Colonia
 Is CONF short for confessor?
 For St. Lebuinus see under Deventer.



- 857 Denier - Deventer. A: Bust facing + BER(NOLDVS EP), R: Cross with one pellet in each angle + HEINR(ICVS RE). Dann: 571, Ilisch: 1.14, vdCh: 27.2. 1.119 gr. Weakly struck, otherwise almost extremely fine 150,--
 Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1991.
 From list 546, no. 173.

- 858 Denier - Deventer. A: Bust facing + BERNO...S, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle + BERNOV.D..... Dann: 572, Ilisch: 1.15, vdCh: 1.3. 0.983 gr. Weakly struck at the edge, very fine + 200,--
 Gorny - München, Auction 19 (1981), no. 1673.



- 859 Denier - Deventer. A: Crosier between alpha and omega with cross on top + BERNO(LDVS EPS) R: Cross with one pellet in each angle + DAVE(N)TR(EN)SI. Dann: 568, Ilisch: 1.17, vdCh: 2.35. 0.904 gr. Flan crack, very fine 100,--
 Elsen - Brussel 1995.
 From list 176, no. 424.



- 860 Denier - Deventer. A: Crosier between alpha and omega with cross on top, legend not visible, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle, legend partly visible (+ DAVENTRENSI). Dann: 568, Iisch: 1.17, vdCh: 2.35. 1.076 gr. Weakly struck, very fine + 150,--
Rietdijk - den Haag, Auction 362 (1996), no. 183.
The Daventria on the reverse cannot clearly be made out.
- 861 Denier - Deventer. A: Crosier between alpha and omega with cross on top + BE(RNOLDV)S (E)PS, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle + BERNOLDV(S EP)S. Dann: 1551, Iisch: 1.18. 0.887 gr. Weakly struck and a little uncentered, very fine 100,--
Holleman - Enschede 1990.
This type is not listed in v. d. Chijs. However, vdCh: 2.34 and 27.7 with the same drawing, but a reverse + DAVENTRIA are established (On vdCh: 27.6 the legends are illegible).
Iisch knows of only three specimens.

WILLEM of PONT (1054-1076)

William was from the Guelders House of Pont. At the Synod of Utrecht in 1076 he advocated the excommunication of Pope Gregory VII, who shortly before had deposed him.

Under William of Pont, Utrecht coins seldomly indicated a name. But in Groningen, the name of the German King Henry appeared, together with that of the bishop. Incidentally, the coins of William of Pont from Groningen are the last struck there by the Utrecht bishops. There are no known Deventer coins of William of Pont's.



- 862 Denier - Utrecht. A: Bishop facing with crosier and staff ending in cross, three pellets in field + WILHEL..... (the letters outwards), R: V / ECTI in two lines over wall + OT.....CIAR (TRAIEVTO retrograde). Dann: 545a, Iisch: 10.9, vdCh: 27.1. 0.765 gr. A little off centre, otherwise extremely fine specimen 300,--
Gorny - München, Auction 29 (1984), no. 1534.
- 863 Denier - Utrecht. A: Bishop facing with crosier and staff terminating in cross + IICS HU....EPS, R: IV / IECTI in two lines over wall +SN .V.... Dann: 542a, Iisch: 10.5, vdCh: 1.7. 0.689 gr. Weakly struck at the edge, very fine + 300,--
Huizinga - Bennekom 1984.



- 864 Denier - Groningen. A: Crowned bust facing + HENRICVS RE, R: Bishop r. with crosier and ring behind him + VVIIHEINIVS. Dann: --, Iisch: 18.10, vdCh: 3.10. 0.681 gr. R Slightly cracked, otherwise extremely fine specimen with nice patina 300,--
Schulman - A'dam, Auction 286 (1987), no. 295.



- 865 Denier - Groningen. A: Crowned bust facing + . HENRICVS RE, R: Bishop r. with crozier and omega with cross behind him + VVIIHEINIVS. Dann: --, Ilisch: 18.7, vdCh: 3.6. 0.626 gr.
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1991. **R** Small split at the edge, extremely fine 300,--
From list 546, no. 174.
- 866 Denier - Groningen. A: Crowned bust l. with sceptre, ring behind + HERNICVS RE., R: Head r. with crozier + VVIEMCEV.. IVS. Dann: 548, Ilisch: 18.13, vdCh: 3.12. 0.646 gr.
WAG, Auction 1 (1993), no. 1778. **RR** Traces of corrosion, very fine 350,--
Dannenberg knows of only a single specimen
Ilisch knows of none (he gives only a line drawing) and, just like v. d. Chijs, refers to St. Petersburg.

KONRAD von SCHWABEN (1076-1098)

Bishop Conrad built the parish church of St. Maria in Utrecht, completing the organisation of the episcopal city. Conrad supported the emperor loyally and took part in many synods, among other things.

During his reign, Emperor Conrad IV bestowed Oostergo, Westergo and Stavoren on the Utrecht church. The Bishop exerted his right of mint in these territories from mints in Leeuwarden, Stavoren and Dokkum (see Ilisch nos 23.13 to 23.17). He was murdered by a Frisian merchant in 1099. The precise reasons for this murder remain unclear, although that the Frisians were at the time striving toward independence is an established fact.

Conrad would be the last Utrecht bishop to mint in Deventer for a long time.



- 867 Denier - Utrecht. A: Bishop r. between crozier and staff terminating in cross + .CONRADVS (EPS), R: Edifice with two towers over doubled bow (TRAIEC)T(VM). Dann: 1546, Ilisch: 10.19, vdCh: --.
R Broken specimen, very fine 50,--
Coin Investment - Lisse, Auction 51 (1996), no. 221.
Found in Egmond-Binnen.
Dannenberg (1546) knows of only a single specimen but indicates nothing as to its present location. His texts are: + CON....AD.... andR....CCVTM.
In Ilisch JPM 84-85 (1997/8) on p. 143, in a footnote: "Als Einzelfund vorgekommen in Egmond-Binnen".



- 868 Denier - Utrecht. A: Bust r. with crozier + CON(RADVS EPS), R: Three towers over bow. Dann: 1547, Ilisch: 10.22, vdCh: --. 0.553 gr.
R Flan crack, very fine 250,--
Westf. Münzauktion, Auction 13 (1998), no. 2176.
The reverse should read TRAIECTUM, but the coin shows no such thing.
Long considered a coin of Burchard (as did, among others, v. d. Chijs with no. 27.2, who, however, already doubted this), yet it is of Conrad's of the second phase (Ilisch) and it marks the start of the period of smaller coins.



- 869 Denier - Deventer. A: Bust facing with staff ending in cross and raised left hand, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle. Dann: 576, Ilisch: 1.21, v.dCh: --. 0.545 gr. **RR** Flan crack, almost very fine 150,--

Ahlstrom - Stockholm, Auction 62 (2000), no. 53.

With Dannenberg, this coin is listed under Andreas, Count of Kuyk (1128-1139), due to the AD at the beginning of the text on the obverse. But Dannenberg self thinks it more of a Conrad fabric. V. d. Chijs attributes it to Andreas. His drawing of it provides the same text as Dannenberg's (AD ...EPS), yet both drawings differ. Ilisch has now classified it under Conrad, because its size doesn't match that used by later bishops. The texts should be: A: CONRADVS EPS and R: + DVANTRIA, but none of it appears on this coin.

- 870 Denier - Deventer. A: Bust facing with crosier and book + PI C(ON)RADVS, R: Cross with one ring in each angle + HER(NH)TV(ES). Dann: 552, Ilisch: 1.25, vdCh: 3.4. 0.420 gr. **RR** A little weakly struck in parts, otherwise extraordinary well struck, very fine 600,--

Westf. Münzauktion, Auction 13 (1998), no. 2175.

With Heinrich IV.

Dannenberg says on p. 30 that titles of honor are never mentioned on clerical coins, with the exception of PIVS, which is sometimes mentioned by the archbishops of Cologne (see also the note of no. 899).

BURCHARD (1098-1112)



- 871 Denier - Utrecht. A: Head r. with crosier (BVRCARDE), R: Cross with the limbs ending in pellets, one star in each angle + T(RA)I(ECTVM). Dann: 575a, Ilisch: 10.31, vdCh: 4.3-4. 0.449 gr. **RR** Almost very fine 500,--

Henzen - Amerongen 1997.

From list November 1997, no. 536.

Found in the Betuwe on the bank of the Waal River near Waardenburg, Spring 1993.

Up to this moment, the Utrecht bishops had shown great loyalty to the German emperors. Godebald is the only one known to have joined the anti-imperial camp, a few years prior to the Concordat of Worms. To that date all bishops were such by imperial appointment.

At the Concordat of Worms it had not become absolutely clear yet, who would be entitled to appoint bishops, but from 1122 on, the cathedral chapter of Utrecht elected its bishop (the chaplains of the five parish churches were entitled to choose), yet influential nobility from the region had an important say in this matter.

Unsurprisingly, the first bishop elected after Godebald was no foreigner, as had been the case previously, but somebody from a neighbouring noble house: Andries of Kuik (1128-1139). This practice remained the same for the ensuing period, even under Friedrich Barbarossa, who, after all, had some influence on episcopal appointments.

GODEBALD (1112-1128)



- 872 Denier - Utrecht. A: Head with crosier r. TAO, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle, legend not visible. Dann: --, Ilisch: 10.32, vdCh: 4,1-6. 0.400 gr. **RR** Almost very fine 500,--

Henzen - Amerongen 1997.

From list September 1997, no. 544.

Found in the Betuwe (Heerewaarden).

At van der Chijs' illustration pl. 27, the locations of the A and the O clearly are the same.

HARTBERT (1139-1150)

The Frisian Hartbert tried to effectively establish his authority in Groningen and Drente. He appointed one brother prefect of Groningen and another viscount of Koevorden. This would have fatal consequences later (see under Groningen and Koevorden).



- 873 Denier. A: Bust r. with crosier + HA.....RT, R: Cross with one cross in each angle + IVNA vdCh: 4.2-5. 0.671 gr. **R** Very fine 250,--
 Bought 1985 (Dekker collection).
 Ex. Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 225 (1955), no. 353.
 V. d. Chijs knew several coins that fit this description, but on none could he discern anything resembling text. He did put forward the assumption that they might not have been struck in Utrecht but elsewhere.

HERMAN of HOORNE (1150-1156)



- 874 Denier. A: Bust r. with crosier, R: Cross with one pellet at the end of each limb, one wreath of pellets in the centre enclosing a star. vdCh: 5.1-9. 0.512 gr. **Traces of encrustation, very fine** 200,--
 Huizinga - Bennekom 1984.
 V. d. Chijs is not at all able to make out the text, but he suspects it to be HARMAN, based on a few letters that are discernable on the illustrations. He doesn't provide any indications as to the reverse text.
 The regional lords (who wished a feeble prelate) chose Herman, chaplain of St. Jerome in Cologne. Acknowledged by Emperor Conrad and the pope.
- 875 Denier. A: Bust r. with crosier, R: Cross with circle in the centre enclosing a wheel. vdCh: --. 0.632 gr. **R** Extremely fine 150,--
 Soester Münzkabinett - Soest 1997.
 From list 45, no. 5112.
 The obverse, bottom left, displays an O. The reverse shows a D, if not more (Deventer?).
 V. d. Chijs knows no coin of the mentioned reverse, only of a reverse such as no. 874.

GODFRIED of RHENEN (1157-1178)

Godfrey was cathedral provost and had the support of Frederick Barbarossa.



- 876 Denier. A: Bust l. with crosier and book, great rosette behind the head. R: Cross with one pellet at the end of each limb, one wreath of pellets in the centre enclosing a star. vdCh: 28.2 var. 0.545 gr. **RR** Very fine to extremely fine 600,--
 Willems - Bennekom 1984.
 Fd. Daclie Tf.7.5 (no.8)
 None of the illustrations in V. d. Chijs match this coin, the rosette in particular is missing. Drawing 28.2 comes closest, but the letters that shows aren't on this coin (legible are FPID, on this coin maybe DE).
 V. d. Chijs thinks this type, as opposed to type 5.1-2, might be struck in Deventer, for example, instead of in Utrecht.

BOUDEWIJN II (1178-1196).

Baldwin was a brother of Floris III of Holland and owed his appointment to the fact that Floris had joined in the emperor's expedition to Italy. His other brother Dirk was cathedral provost of Utrecht.



- 877 Denier - Utrecht. A: Bust r. with crosier + BADWI N'EPC, R: Cross with one star in the 1st and 4th angles and one M in the 2nd and 3rd angles + TRAIECTVM. vdCh: 6.2. 0.570 gr. RR Well struck, very fine + 500,--
Willems - Bennekom 1984.

Gradually, both Holland and Guelders regarded the Sticht as a territory in which to gain power and fight their feuds. In 1196, Holland and Guelders both marched an armed force into Utrecht. Holland took the Sticht (the territory surrounding the city of Utrecht) and Guelders the Oversticht (the territory around Deventer). In ensuing battle, Dirk VII of Holland defeated his rival Otto I on the Grebbeberg. Two bishops were chosen: Arnold of Isenburg and Dirk, son of Dirk VI Count of Holland, and envoys were immediately sent to Rome to get a papal ruling. Then the city Utrecht protested and perhaps had a hand in the election of Diederik of Ahr, chaplain of the St. Servaas church in Maastricht, as bishop (both initial candidates had died meanwhile). Diederik had no ties to Holland or Guelders.

DIEDERIK of AHR (1198-1212)



- 878 Denier - Utrecht. A: Mitred head facing with crosier + TEODE RICVS, R: Cross with one ring and pellet in the 1st and 4th and one trident with rings in the 2nd and 3rd angles + TRAIECTVM. vdCh: 6.4-5. 0.557 gr. Very fine 250,--
Schulman - A'dam, Auction 282 (1985), no. 356.
- 879 Denier. A: Mitred head facing with crosier + TEODE RICVS, R: Cross with one ring and pellet in the 1st and 4th and one trident with rings in the 2nd and 3rd angles + TRAIECTVM. vdCh: 6.4-5. 0.517 gr. Traces of corrosion, almost very fine 100,--
Holleman - Enschede 2000.
S on the obverse turned around.
Is this metal of inferior quality? No. 878 weighs a mere 0.04 g. more however.

OTTO II of the LIPPE (1215-1226)

Otto II was from the comital House van der Lippe. From Otto of the Lippe onward - apart from a few interruptions - there was minting in Deventer again.

As the prefect of Groningen and the viscount of Koevorden both had declared themselves independent, Otto led an army northward. In the Battle at Ane he not only suffered a humiliating defeat by Drente peasants, but also met his end on the battlefield. The north subsequently started its secession.



- 880 Denier - Deventer. A: Mitred bust r. with crosier (OTTO EPIS)COP, R: Cross with * - A - V - (E) in the angles x DAV (ENTRIA). vdCh: 8.1. 0.421 gr. R Weakly struck at the edge, very fine 200,--
Holleman - Enschede 2000.
From list 127, no. 494.

SEDE VACANTE (1226-1228)



- 881 Denier - Deventer. A: Bust of Saint Martinus facing with book and palm leaf (+ S . MARTI)NVS, R: Cross with one pellet at the end of each limb and P - A - X - * in the angles (IN DAVEN)TRI(A). vdCh: 8.1. 0.598 gr. Very fine to extremely fine 150,--
 Numismatica - Wien, Auction 12 (1976), no. 1122.
 This coin is almost always attributed to the sede vacant period between the bishops Otto II (until 1226) and Wilbrand (from 1227 on). Van Gelder questions this in his article on the Royal Mint in Nijmegen. In footnote 10 he incidentally remarks that v. d. Chijs falsely attributes this coin to the period directly after Otto II, because it should be attributed to the sede vacant period directly following the reign of Otto III (Otto III died on 3rd April 1249 at the latest). The canons elected Gosewinus of Randerath, which was - not unsuccessfully - contested by Henry of Vianden. The latter became bishop in 1250. Unfortunately, van Gelder provides no arguments to support this.
 Nonetheless, we prefer to choose the period directly after Otto II (see also obole no. 882).
 Also see footnote 10 in Stuurman's article "Zoeklicht op een duistere muntvondst", in: De Beeldenaar 26 (2002), p. 257.
- 882 Obole - Deventer. A: Bust of Saint Martinus facing with book and palm leaf (S MARTINVS), R: Cross with one pellet at the end of each limb and P - A - X - * in the angles (DAVEN)TRIA. vdCh: 8.2. 0.207 gr. R Very fine 150,--
 L. Schulman - Bussum, Auction 17 (1996), no. 413.
 Very curious specimen.
 For an extensive commentary on the dating of this coin, see under no. 881.

WILLEBRAND of OLDENBURG (1226-1236)

Willebrand was the cousin of Count Floris IV of Holland, son of the count of Oldenburg and bishop of Paderborn. The election was supported by the count of Guelders and the lord of Amstel.



- 883 Denier - Utrecht. A: Bishop facing with mitre and crosier, no legend, R: Cross with three pellets at the end of each limb, one small pellet in each angle near the centre, no legend. vdCh: 8.1. 0.566 gr. Very fine 100,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1996.
 From list November 1996, no. 273.
 This coin appears to contain no text; had there at some time been any, the flan would have been much larger, its weight higher.
- 884 Denier - Utrecht. A: Bishop facing with mitre, crosier and book, no legend, R: Cross with three pellets at the end of each limb, one small pellet in each angle near the centre, no legend. vdCh: 8.1. 0.551 gr. Very fine 100,--
 Bought 1992 (ten Cate collection - Rotterdam).
 cf. no. 883.



- 885 Denier - Utrecht. A: Bishop facing with mitre, crosier and book, R: Cross with three pellets at the end of each limb, one small pellet in each angle near the centre (TRAI)ECT(VM). vdCh: 8.1. 0.445 gr. Very fine 100,--
 Peus - Frankfurt, Auction 309 (1984), no. 721.
- 886 Denier - Utrecht. A: Bishop facing with mitre, crosier and book + WILL....., R: Cross with three pellets at the end of each limb, one small pellet in each angle near the centre (TRAI)ECT(TVM). vdCh: 8.1. 0.616 gr. Very fine + 125,--
 Huizinga - Bennekom 1985.

SEDE VACANTE (1233-1234)



887

- 887 Denier - Utrecht. A: Bishop facing with mitre, crozier and book (S MA)R(TINVS), R: Cross with three pellets at the end of each limb, one small pellet in each angle near the centre (TRAI)E(CTVM).
vdCh: --. 0.657 gr. **R** Very fine

200,--

L. Schulman - Bussum, Auction 17 (1996), no. 411.

Same reverse as the coins of Willebrand of Oldenburg.

This coin is extensively discussed by Stuurman in "Zoeklicht op een duistere muntvondst" (in: De Beeldenaar 26 (2002), p. 257). This article concerns a hoard in Beekbergen in 1860.

Based on the resemblance between the device on the coins of Wilbrand of Oldenburg and that of this particular coin he arrives at the conclusion that this coin should be attributed to the sede vacante period after Wilbrand. Wilbrand died on 26th or 27th July 1233. First recorded mention of Otto III of Holland as the new bishop is on 1st February 1234 (his ordination, at the earliest, took place on 22nd December 1244 and perhaps even later on 24th June 1245).

This coin is mentioned in the article of Stuurman. Two specimens of this type are kept at the KPK and seven in the central Museum of Utrecht. Of all these specimens this is the only one that not only clearly depicts the book Martin is holding, but also the hand he is holding it with:



OTTO III (1234-1249)

Otto was cathedral provost and brother of Count Floris IV of Holland.



888

- 888 Denier - Utrecht. A: Bishop l. with mitre, crozier and book + OTTO E(PIHSC), R: Cross with one pellet at the end of each limb, circle with pellet in the 1st and 4th angles and star in the 2nd and 3rd angles + TRAIETVN CIVI. vdCh: 8.3. 0.656 gr. **RR** Broad and well struck specimen, very fine

500,--

L. Schulman - Bussum, Auction 11 (1993), no. 261.

HENDRIK of VIANDEN (1250-1267)

Henry of Vianden laid the first brick for the cathedral in 1254. Henry of Vianden, from the Luxembourg House of Vianden, was a blood relative of the archbishop of Cologne and arch-deacon of the Cologne church. He had approval of King William.



889

890

- 889 Denier - Utrecht. A: Bishop l. with mitre and crozier HENRICV(S), R: Cross with the limbs ending in tridents (TR)AIECT(VM). vdCh: 9.12. 0.550 gr. **Very fine**

100,--

Schulman - Amsterdam 1985.
Small head, coin with text.

- 890 Denier - Utrecht. A: Bishop l. with mitre, book and crozier, R: Cross with the limbs ending in tridents (TR)AIECT(VM). vdCh: 9.14. 0.508 gr. **Reverve a little off centre, very fine**

75,--

Schulman - Amsterdam 1974.
No text on the obverse.



- 891 Denier - Utrecht. A: Bishop l. with mitre and crosier, R: Cross with the limbs ending in tridents (+ TR)A(IECT)V(M). vdCh: 9.14. 0.630 gr. Very fine + 100,--
Münzzentrum - Köln, Auction 98 (1999), no. 2373.
Obverse clearly without text.
- 892 Denier - Deventer. A: Bishop facing with mitre, crosier and book HENR ICVS, R: Long cross dividing legend with pellet in centre and P - A - X - o in the angles + D AVE NT RIA. vdCh: 8.1-9. 0.650 gr. Broad and well struck specimen, very fine 150,--
Elsen - Brussel 1995.
From list 176, no. 426.



- 893 Denier - Deventer. A: Bishop facing with mitre, crosier and book (HEN)RICVS, R: Long cross dividing legend with pellet in centre and P - A - X - o in the angles + D (AVE NT) RIA. vdCh: 8.1-9. 0.600 gr. Very fine 100,--
Holleman - Enschede 1984.
- 894 Obole - Deventer. A: Bishop facing with mitre and crosier (HENR)ICVS, R: Long cross dividing legend with pellet in centre and P - A - X - o in the angles DA VA NT R +. vdCh: 9.11. 0.238 gr. RR Very fine 300,--
Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 2 (1985), no. 2865.
Ex. Coll. Buller - Osnabrück.
- 895 Obole - Deventer. A: Bishop facing with mitre, crosier and book HEN(RIC)V * S, R: Long cross dividing legend with pellet in centre and P - A - X - o in the angles - . C - AV . E. vdCh: 9.11. 0.259 gr. RR Weakly struck, very fine 150,--
L.Schulman - Bussum, Auction 17 (1996), no. 418.

JAN of ARKEL (1342-1364)

When John of Arkel, a capable administrator, assumed office, he had the advantage that the situation in Holland was rapidly deteriorating due to the Hook and Cod Wars, while Guelders was experiencing something similar in the struggle between the Van Heckerens and the Bronkhorsts. He was the fourth son of John of Arkel, canon in Utrecht. His fame is mainly due to the capturing of the strong castle of Zweder of Voorst, in which he could count on enthusiastic aid of the IJssel Cities: Deventer, Zwolle and Kampen.

In 1364, John of Arkel was appointed bishop of Liège by Pope Urbanus V.



- 896 Groot - Utrecht. A: Mitred bust in multilobe over shield of the House of Arkel + IOh ꝛ EPC ꝛ TRA * * IECTENSIS, R: MON ETA TRA IEC around cross dividing legend, + BNDICTV ꝛ SIT ꝛ NOME ꝛ DNI ꝛ NRI ꝛ IhV ꝛ XPI. vdCh: 9.1. 2.563 gr. R Extremely fine specimen 300,--
Holleman - Enschede 1988.



897

- 897 Groot - Utrecht. A: Mitred bust in multilobe over shield of the House of Arkel + IOH' : EPC : TRA
 * * IECTENSIS, R: MON ETA TRA IEC around cross dividing legend, + BNDICTV : SIT :
 NOME : DNI : NRI : IhV : XPI. vdCh: 9.2. 2.390 gr. **R** Very fine 150,--

Bought 1985 (Dekker collection).

Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 234 (1960), no. 311.

The no. 896 and 897 are only distinguishable by their interpunction.



898

- 898 Groot - Deventer. A: Mitred bust in multilobe over shield of the House of Arkel + IOH : EPC : TRA *
 IECTENSIS, R: MON ETA DAV ENT around cross dividing legend with one eagle in the 2nd angle,
 + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : IhV. vdCh: 10.7. 2.611 gr. **R** Extremely fine specimen with pleasingly patina 500,--
- v.d.Dussen - Maastricht, Auction 11 (1989), no. 350.

In 1364, when the Pope suddenly transferred John of Arkel to Liège, city and chapters agreed to the "overdracht" (cession), to prevent any actions of the new bishop that could affect the land adversely. They invited nobility and minor cities to join in this cession.

In my opinion the 1/4 groot (no. 899) is a coin that expresses this cession.



899

- 899 1/4 Groot. A: Bust facing * PI TRAIECTENSIS *, R: Long cross dividing legend MON ETA EPI
 SCO. vdCh: 28.3. 0.620 gr. **RR** Very fine 500,--

Coin Investment - Lisse, Auction 53 (1998), no. 231.

Used to be attributed to John of Diest. The texts would have to be read as follows: MONETA EPISCOPI TRAIECTENSIS, i.e. with the ob- and reverse texts making up one whole. I find that unconvincing.

Coin is shown in v. d. Chijs under 28.3 with John of Diest and under 19.50 with David of Burgundy.

PI is sometimes placed before the name of the bishop, e.g. on no. 870 (Conrad, Bishop of Utrecht, where it reads PI CONRADVS). This is also seen on a number of Cologne coins (PI before the name of the bishop).

In the hoard Arnhem, concealed before 1372-1378, under no. 20, there was a single specimen (JMP 46 (1959), p. 1-35) of this type. The accompanying text of v. d. Meer: "As the name of the bishop is not indicated, this coin cannot be attributed to John of Verneburg with absolute certainty. The type is related to VdCh: 28.2, on which the name IOH occurs. The possibility that the coin at hand is an imitation of the Utrecht quarter groot cannot be ruled out." For the time being, others concur.

Furthermore, the device is almost exactly that of the small denominations of John of Arkel (especially the way that the mitre is elaborated into the outlining circle, forming one whole, as it were). The text on the obverse PI TRAIECTENSIS (= Devout Utrecht) refers to the classes, the text on the reverse MONETA EPISCO to the bishop.

JAN of VERNEBURG (1364-1371)

Pope Urban V appointed John of Verneburg, at that time bishop of Münster, bishop of Utrecht. Verneburg derives from Virneburg, a town near Coblenz in Prussia.



900

- 900 Dubbele groot. A: Lion sitting l. with helmet and coat of arms of the bishopric . IOhANNES : DEI : GRA : EPCS : TRAIECTENS, R: Small floriated cross + MONETA ♦ DE ♦ ZALANDIA, outer circle + BENEDICTVS : QVI : VENIT : IN : NOMINE : DOMINI. vdCh: 11.2. 3.430 gr. Very fine

150,--

Huizinga - Bennekom 1984.

The MONETA DE ZALANDIA that features on the coins of John of Verneburg was intended to resemble the Flemish coins bearing MONETA DE FLANDRIA. As ZALANDIA stands for Salland, v. d. Chijs assumed these coins were struck in the capital Zwolle. That assumption can't possibly be held up, because Kampen and Deventer were considerably more important then (in Deventer John of Arkel minted, in Kampen Arnold of Hoorne). As the types struck in Kampen were the same as those that were designated "Salland coin" under Arnold's predecessor, the mint of Kampen does seem likely, although this evidence is hardly conclusive (taken from v. Gelder: Weerdse groten, in: JMP (1961), p. 90-91).



901

- 901 1/2 Groot - Vollenhove. A: Bishop facing in multilobe over shield of the diocese + IOH x EP(ITR) AIECTENSIS, R: Cross with I x N - OI - CD - NI in the angles + MONETA * VOLEHO * (TRA)IE. vdCh: 11.12. 1.257 gr. RR Edge fault, very fine

125,--

Henzen - Amerongen 1997.

From list February / March 1997, no. 486.

ARNOLD of HOORNE (1371-1378)

Arnold of Hoorne was chosen by the canons. Pope Urban VI appointed Arnold bishop of Liège in 1378. Hoorne lies opposite of Roermond.

In 1375, the "cession" was acknowledged by Arnold of Hoorne and the decree that he issued to this purpose would become the fundament of the Utrecht corporate state.



902

- 902 Groot met de helm - de Weerd. A: Shield of the diocese under helmet ARNOLD : DEI GRA : EPC : TRA, R: MON INS VLE TRA around cross dividing legend, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : IhV : XPI. vdCh: 12.3. 2.485 gr. RR Extremely fine specimen

750,--

L.Schulman - Bussum, Auction 17 (1996), no. 424.

There has always been a good deal of confusion with regard to the text MON INS VLE TRA. V. Mieris translated it as "Coin of the Utrecht court", v. d. Chijs translated it as "Utrecht coin struck in Zwolle", Kerkwijk read SVLE as the place Zuilen near Utrecht. That came a lot closer. Insula and Waard (Weerd) both mean island. Thus, INS VLE TRA refers to the suburb to the north of Utrecht "De Weerd" (taken from v. Gelder: Weerdse groten, in: JMP (1961), p. 90-91).

Family arms: three hunting horns gules with rings argent on a field Or.

FLORIS of WEVELINGHOVEN (1379-1393)

Pope Urban VI appointed Floris of Wevelinghoven, the bishop of Münster, bishop of Utrecht.



903

- 903 Rijnse goudgulden - Rhenen - 1392. A: Bust of the sovereign facing with sword under gothic dais between little stars, over shield of Wevelinghoven FLOREN : EP C : TRAIECT' , R: Two shields (Imperial eagle and Wevelinghoven) over pellet in multilobe + MONETA o NOVA o FLORENI o RENENS. Fb: 175, vdCh: 12.2. 3.419 gr.

RR In parts a little weakly struck, otherwise very fine and well struck specimen

2.000,--

L. Schulman - Bussum, Auction 17 (1966), no. 426.

Ex: Schulman, Auction 281, no. 656.

Ex: Glendining, Auction May 1962, no. 589.

In a request of 18th May 1392, bishop Floris of Wevelinghoven acknowledged that he owed the city Rhenen, due to their advancing of a loan for the war of Montfoerde, the sum of 5.000 good guilders in the worth of those that he had recently struck in Rhenen. This provides ample documentation for the date of 1392 for this guilder.

Schulman knows of 5 specimens (incl. this), of which three in public collections.

Clearly visible are two stars on either side of the head (i.m.o. they are not part of the hair). Van Mieris observes the same, but v. d. Chijs comments: "the babbling on about the stars around the head (that I cannot discern) of Van Mieris on p. 224 of his charming little paper".

Arms of Wevelinghoven: Two bars gule on a field argent.



904

- 904 Goudgulden - Deventer. A: Bishop with crosier in gothic canopy over shield of Wevelinghoven FLORENC EPS : TRAI • , R: Eagle over shield of Wevelinghoven in multilobe + MONETA o NOVA o DAVENTRIENSIS. Fb: 176, vdCh: 12.3. 3.449 gr.

Extremely rare, slightly bent, very fine to extremely fine

3.000,--

Künker - Osnabrück 1996.

Ex: Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 34, no. 1446.



905

- 905 Dubbele groot - Deventer. A: Mitred bishop facing in multilobe over the shield of Wevelinghoven + FLOREN : EPC : TRA * IECTENSIS : DAV, R: Eagle l. over shield + MONETA : NOVA . . DAVENTRIENS * . vdCh: 12.8. 2.949 gr.

Very fine

250,--

Glendining - London, Auction 19-3-86 (1986), no. 54.

In the episcopal election of 1393 there once again were two candidates, one from Holland and the other one Guelders. The Guelders candidate, Frederick of Blankenheim, won.

FREDERICK of BLANKENHEIM (1393-1423)

Duke William of Jülich recommended his cousin Frederick of Blankenheim, bishop of Strasbourg.

He completed the restoration of the Oversticht and reestablished his authority in Drente and Groningen which was entirely lost after the defeat at Ane. He forced the viscount of Koevorden to abdicate.

Frederick was opposed to Holland because he was experiencing a great deal of pirate attacks, but in the Arkel War, he sided with Holland.



- 906 Goudgulden. A: Saint John the Baptist • S • IOHANNES BAPTISTA ✠, R: Five arms in multilobe + DNS • FREDERIC' • EPC • TRAIECTENS'. Fb: 179, vdCh: 13.1. 3.344 gr.

Spink - Zürich, Auction 43 (1992), no. 185.
Ex: "Veynau" collection (185).

Extremely fine specimen

500,--

The five arms are as follows: Middle and upper: national arms, left: arms of Blankenheim (lion rampant with fess, under the neck of the lion), right: arms of the Sticht, under: fantasy arms (filling).



- 907 Dubbele groot - Deventer. A: Helmet with lion over shield of Blankenheim FREDERIC : DEI : GRA : EPC : TRAIECTENS', R: Eagle of Deventer over shield of the diocese + MONETA ☉ DAVENTERE, outer circle + BENEDICT : QVI : VENIT : IN : NOMINE : DOMINI. vdCh: 13.6. 3.547 gr. Traces of encrustation, very fine

Henzen - Amerongen 1997.
From list April 1997, no. 518.

100,--

- 908 Dubbele groot - Hasselt. A: Helmet with lion over shield of Blankenheim FREDERIC : DEI : GRA : EPC : TRAIECTENS', R: Eagle l. with shield of Hasselt on the breast over shield of the diocese + MONETA ☉ DE ☉ HASSELE, outer circle + BENEDICT : QVI : VENIT : IN : NOMINE : DOMINI. vdCh: 14.15. 3.711 gr. Small scratches on the surface, very fine

Bought 1985 (Dekker collection).
Ex: Find of Zutphen.
Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 233 (1960), no. 749.

125,--

- 909 Dubbele groot - Rhenen. A: Helmet with lion over shield of Blankenheim FREDERIC DEI : GRA : EPC : TRAIECTENSIS, R: Eagle l. over shield of the diocese two keys MONETA RENENSIS, outer circle + BENEDICT : QVI : VENIT IN : NOMINE : DOMINI. vdCh: 14.20. 3.228 gr.

Holleman - Enschede 1988.
Two keys = shield of Rhenen.

R Small edge fault, very fine

150,--



910



911



- 910 Dubbele groot - Deventer (Countermark Münster). A: Helmet with lion over shield of Blankenheim. Stamped head of Paulus (Münster) FREDERIC : DEI : GRA : EPC : TRAIECTENS', R: Eagle l. over shield of the diocese + MONETA ☉ DAVENTERE, outer circle + BENEDICT : QVI : VENIT : IN : NOMINE : DOMINI. Krusy: M6.4a, vdCh: 13.6. 3.708 gr.

Countermark: Fine to very fine, Coin: Very fine

125,--

Bought 1985 (Dekker collection).

Bought Schulman - Amsterdam.d.d. 22-10-1959.

The reference to Krusy is not entirely certain because the head of St. Paul is not wholly struck through and hence the beard can't be seen. M6 = Münster.

- 911 Groot - Deventer (Countermark Münster). A: Helmet with lion over shield of Blankenheim. Stamped head of Paulus (Münster) FREDERIC : DEI : GRA EPC : TRAIECTE, R: Eagle of Deventer over shield of the diocese + MONETA : NOVA : DE DAVENTERENS. Krusy: M6.5c, vdCh: 13.7. 1.789 gr.

Countermark: Almost extremely fine, Coin: Very fine

200,--

Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 13 (1989), no. 651.

RUDOLF of DIEPHOLT (1426-1431)

Rudolf of Diepholt, son of the count of Diepholt, was chaplain of Osnabrück (some say canon in Cologne). Pope Martin V did not want to acknowledge Rudolf because of grave dissent in his diocese. Hence "Postulate" (= the desired). In between was Zweder of Kuilenburg (died in 1434).



912

- 912 Postulaatgulden. A: Saint Martin standing with crosier and blessing hand SANCTE * MERTIN' * EPIS', R: Arms of the diocese in trefoil with Diepholt in the centre + MON' * RODLP' * POSTVL' * TRAIECT'. Fb: 184, vdCh: 29. "Postulaat". 3.420 gr.

RR Well struck and almost extremely fine specimen

2.000,--

Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1981.

V. d. Chijs knows only of three specimen.

Arms of Diepholt: lion passant in the upper half and eagle in the lower.

When Frederik of Blankenheim died in 1423, war between the Hooks and the Cods was raging at full strength. Once again, both sides put up a candidate: Zweder of Kuilenburg by the Cod faction and Rudolf of Diepholt by the Hooks. Both proclaimed themselves lawful bishop. With the aid of Burgundy, Zweder could take the Nedersticht, the Oversticht stayed faithful to Rudolf.

After Zweder's death in 1434, the canons elected a successor: Walraven of Meurs, who was acknowledged at the council of Basel. Philip the Good supported the pope rather than this council and he did not approve of Walraven's appointment. But the time to intervene hadn't come yet.

It came when Rudolf died in 1455. Cathedral provost Gijsbrecht of Brederode was unanimously elected, but Philips approached the pope and requested the appointment of his bastard son David. The Oversticht couldn't but oppose this course of affairs, but Philip struck down all resistance.

RUDOLF of DIEPHOLT (1431-1455)



913

- 913 St. Maartens goudgulden. A: Saint Martin standing with crosier and blessing hand ' SANCTE MERTIN' * EPIS', R: Arms of the diocese in trefoil with Diepholt in the centre + MON' * RODLP' * EPISC' * TRAIET'. Fb: 188, vdCh: 15.1. 3.199 gr. Very fine

300,--

Münzenauktion - Essen, Auction 54 (1987), no. 5228.



914

- 914 St. Maartens goudgulden. A: Standing Saint Martin with crosier and blessing hand ' SANCTE MERTIN * EPIS', R: Arms of the diocese in trefoil with Diepholt in the centre + MON' * RODLP' * EPISC' * TRAIET'. Fb: 188, vdCh: 15.2. 3.017 gr. Very fine

250,--

Holleman - Enschede 1988.

V.d.Ch. notes that this is a specimen of very pale gold. It is an example of the Holland issues of low alloy, that eventually caused Philip the Good to take action. In order to rule out the circulation of inferior coins he simply forbade the entire issuance on 11th April 1445/46. He had had to resort to this same measure on the 8th of October 1441 in response to other coins of the mentioned bishop.

As the reluctance of the surrounding Netherlands to accept these more silver than gold coins did not wane, the specimens of this issue were soon withdrawn from circulation, and that is probably why we could retrieve only a single specimen.



915

- 915 1/8 Groot - Rhenen. A: Shield of Diepholt in trefoil (+ RODOLFVS ☉ EPS ☉ TRAIECT), R: Long cross with R - O - D - F in the angles (MONETA RENESIS). vdCh: 16.11. 0.268 gr.

RR Traces of corrosion, very fine

100,--

Schulman - Bussum 1990.

The guild council of Utrecht did not consent with David's appointment. John of Montfoort, Hook chief, resisted the bishop and the Holland Cod faction. In 1483, Maximilian besieged the city and struck down the insurgency.

DAVID of BURGUNDY (1455-1496)

After the demise of Rudolf of Diepholt, cathedral provost Gijsbrecht of Brederode was elected. Envoys were sent to Rome to acquire papal investiture. Philip of Burgundy, with the aid of Alphonso of Aragon, intervened and urged Pope Calixtus III to elect David and the pope acquiesced.

In order to appoint him, the pope had to declare David Philip's legitimate son. This raises a question: on the Davidsharp, the arms still show the white baton sinister, sign of the bastard who wasn't allowed to bear the regular arms. On David's later coins it vanished. Were these David's guilders struck before the papal declaration of his legitimacy?



916

- 916 Davidsharp - Rhenen. A: King David with harp over escutcheon MEMENTO * DOMINE * DAVID, R: Floriated cross with D - A - V - I in the angles and D with pellet in the centre + DAVID * DE * BVRGONDIA * EPISCOPVS * TRAIECTE'. Fb: 191, vdCh: 16.4, vG: 1. 3.356 gr.

RR Magnificent well struck and extremely fine specimen

2.500,--

Spink - Zürich, Auction 43 (1992), no. 186.

Ex: "Veynau" collection (186).

Emission 24-1-1457 (issued for 16 (?) stuiver).

First coin of David of Burgundy. This coin, a gold shield (David's shield), was a last use of the dated Holland shields. Manufacture lasted relatively short, until 1464 at the latest, when the David's guilder was introduced, that was related to the Rhinian gold guilders.

At the beginning of bishop David's reign, the mint likely was established in Rhenen. The Nedersticht mint of David's predecessor had been located there and David in these years normally resided in the castle Ter Horst near Rhenen. In 1459, he inherited the castle Wijk-bij-Duurstede. It stands to reason that the mint soon was also moved from Rhenen to Wijk, yet the date of the move is not known.

The escutcheon in 1 and 4 has the cross of the Sticht, in 2 and 3 the arms of the House Burgundy, from which part of the lower section is missing (in heraldics known as "la champagne") to signify the bastardy of the bearer of these arms.

The Burgundian escutcheon in 1 and 4, the most dignified quadrants, has three lis Or on azure, with a bordure of a chequered band of argent and gule, for New Burgundy, and on the left an lion Or langued gule and armed, on sable for Brabant. In the 3rd quadrant Old-Burgundy returns, and the 4th quadrant shows a shield with a lion gule, crowned and armed Or and langued azure for Limburg. Van Mieris reports, that Duke Philip of Burgundy incorporated these lions of Brabant and Limburg after the ending of the dispute between him and his mother Margaret, which was settled by the Estates of Brabant in 1430. The inescutcheon surtout displays the arms of Flanders, a lion sable, langued gule and armed, on Or, which the father of Duke Philip, John the Fearless, started bearing in the middle of the escutcheon. The division of the field was later left unchanged by Philip; even after the acquisition of Hainaut and Holland, as if the only difference between the lions of these territories and the Brabant lion would lie in the colouring (of Gelder: De Utrechtse munten ten tijde of Bishop David van Bourgondië, in: JMP 58/59 (1971/72), p. 10 e.v.).

Moneyer in those years was Danijs of Levendael (also Lievedael or Leefdael).



917

- 917 St. Maartens Goudgulden. A: Saint Martin sitting over shield of the diocese SANCTVS MARTIN' * EPS', R: Shield of Burgundy in trefoil + MON' * NOVA * AVREA * TRAIECTEN'. Fb: 190, vdCh: 17.10, vG: 5. 3.377 gr.

Well struck, very fine

250,--

Franceschi - Brussel 1973.

The coins with EPS are from the emissies 1467 and later.

Harder to determine are the coins that were introduced in 1464. The new instruction replaced the David's shield with a David's guilder, in view of its alloy clearly a different coin. In the instructions of the following years until 1482, there invariably was mention of a David's guilder as gold piece, although the alloy, at a constant weight, was gradually decreased from 18 to 16 carat. 18 carat was indicated EPIS and 16 carat EPS (incidentally, this turned out to be a simplification of a more gradual development).



918

- 918 St. Maartens Goudgulden. A: Saint Martin sitting over shield of the diocese SANCTVS MARTIN' * EPS, R: Shield of Burgundy in trefoil + MON' * NOVA * AVREA * TRAIECTEN'. Fb: 190, vdCh: 17.10, vG: 5. 3.332 gr.
 Henzen - Amerongen 1997.
 From list December 1997, no. 571.
 The coins with EPS are of the emissions 1467 and later.
 cf. no. 917.

Very fine

250,--



919

920

- 919 Jager - 1477. A: Arms of Burgundy, inner circle ⊗ ANNO o DNI o M o CCCC o LXXVIII, outer circle + MONETA o NOVA o EPIS o TRAIECTENS', R: MEME'TO DNE' o DAVID around long cross dividing legend within 13 arches enclosing lis. vdCh: 18.24, vG: 11. 2.953 gr.
 Bought 1985 (Dekker collection).
 Bought Schulman - Amsterdam, d.d.17-1-1951.
 Issued for 20 wit (=1 2/3 stuiver).
 Emission 1474 (changed in 1475, 77 and 78). A new coin, referred to in texts as bishop's groat ("coin of the bishop"). The device of these silver pieces generally derived from the jagers of the city of Groningen, that had been struck in very large quantities since 1437. That explains why the former were sometimes designated as Utrecht jagers or David's jagers. The intermediate changes are also expressed in the weight: the specimens of 1474 and 1476 are substantially lighter - but of superior silver - than those of 1477-79.

Very fine specimen

125,--

- 920 Jager - 1478. A: Arms of Burgundy, inner circle ⊗ ANNO o DNI o M o CCCC o LXXVIII, outer circle + MONETA o NOVA o EPIS o TRAIECTENS', R: MEME'TO DNE' o DAVID around long cross dividing legend within 13 arches enclosing lis. vdCh: 18.26, vG: 11. 3.123 gr.
 Peus - Frankfurt, Auction 272 (1969), no. 1150.
 Emission 1474, 75, 77 and 78.
 cf. no. 919.

Traces of verdigris, very fine +

125,--



921

- 921 1/2 Jager - type B. A: Saint Martin sitting under canopy over shield of the diocese * SANCTVS * MARTIN' * EPS', R: Shield of Burgundy under star + MONETA * NOVA * EPS' * TRAIECTEN'. vdCh: 20.56, vG: 12B. 2.381 gr.
 Schulman - Laren, Auction 291 (1990), no. 115.
 Issued for 10 wit (= 5 / 6 stuiver).
 Emission 1474 (changed in 1475, 77 and 78). Development was parallel to that of the jager (vG: 11).

Well struck, very fine

250,--



922

- 922 1/4 Jager - type A. A: Saint Martin sitting under canopy over shield of the diocese SANCTVS o MARTIN o EPIS, R: Arms of Burgundy + MONETA o NOVA o EPIS o TRAIETEN. vdCh: 20.61, vG: 13. 1.536 gr. Very fine 150,--
 Elsen - Brussel, Auction 12 (1997), no. 2124.
 Emission 1474, 75, 77 and 78.
 cf. no. 921.



923

- 923 3/4 Stuiver 1485 - Wijk. A: Arms of Utrecht-Burgundy MONETA EPISCOPI TRAIECTE, R: Cross with rosettes in the centre MEMET O * DNE DAVID 1485. vdCh: 18.34, vG: 17. 2.434 gr. Extremely rare, weakly struck, otherwise very fine specimen, pleasingly toned 750,--
 Leu - Zürich, Auction 70 (1997), no. 7722.
 Ex: Brand collection, Part 5, 1997, no. 7722.
 Ex: Buchenau collection, Auktion A.E. Cahn, Frankfurt a.M., 11-10.1909, no. 4538.
 Emission 1485.
 In older literature this is often dated 1487, but that is incorrect. This coin is the first after the peace of Utrecht, bearing a large coat of arms of the Sticht and the bishop. Struck by virtue of the instruction of 10th April 1485 (commission for Louis of Levendael, moneyer). See H. Enno van Gelder: De Utrechtse munten ten tijde van Bisschop David van Bourgondië, in: JMP 58/59 (1971/2), p. 10 et. seqq.
 The arms on this coin are the same as that on the David's harp (no. 916).



924

925

- 924 Wit. A: Tinderbox with lucifer matches and sparks + DAVID o DE (o BVRGONDI)A, R: Cross + DD * EPI' * (TRAI)ECTENSIS. vdCh: 20.54, vG: 21. 0.564 gr. Extremely rare. Irregular flan, dark patina, very fine 400,--
 Coin Investment - Lisse, Auction 41 (1993), no. 124.
 cf. no. 3170.
 v.Gelder no. 21 knows of one specimen in the KPK and two in the Centraal Museum Utrecht.
 Emission 1488.
 Found in 1991 at Egmond a/d Hoef.
- 925 Duitken. A: Tinderbox with lucifer matches and sparks + DAVID . DE . BVRGVNDIA, R: Cross EPS TRA (IEC TEN). vdCh: 20.53, vG: 22. 0.216 gr. Extremely rare. Traces of corrosion, very fine 200,--
 Willems - Bennekom 1989.
 This coin is no. 22 in the Van Gelder article: De Utrechtse munten ten tijde van bisschop David van Bourgondië, in: JMP 58/59 (1971/72), p. 10.
 Emission 1488
 "Especially hard to trace are the coins referred to in the both instructions of 1488. At the beginning of the year, small coins in the worth of 3 and 1 duitken (3/4 and 1/4 wit). There is a known set of small coins that show the motif of a tinderbox (nos. 21 and 22): they possibly were part of the same issue, for no other instruction mentions a group of this kind. There are no arguments in favour of dating these pieces to 1488, the weight of the relatively unknown specimens is far from conclusive in this respect, as the weight of small coins commonly varies significantly."
 Van Gelder provides the same text as here, albeit the pellet on the obverse is replaced with * in the coin at hand.
 There are two known specimens in the KPK and one in the Central Museum in Utrecht.

FREDERICK of BADEN (1496-1517)

Frederick of Baden was canon in Cologne. He, just as David of Burgundy, was a creation of centralised authority and was in constant dispute with the city, that was supported by the Guelders duke.



- 926 Dubbele Stuiver - 1498. A: Great helmet over two escutcheons * MONE' * FREDR(ICI * EPI) * TRAIECTE', R: Ornamented cross dividing legend with one lis in each angle and one leaf in the centre ANNO DOMIN MCCCC XCVIII. vdCh: 21.9. 3.378 gr. **R** Weakly struck as usual, very fine 300,--
Coin Investment - den Haag, Auction 16 (1982), no. 479.



- 927 1/2 Stuiver - 1507. A: Arms of Baden and the diocese + MONE' * FREDR(ICI * EPI) * TRAIECTE', R: Long cross dividing legend with lis in the centre, one ring in the 1st and 4th angles and one lion in the 2nd and 3rd angles. MONETA * NOVA ANNO * BNI * 1507. vdCh: 21.15. 1.302 gr. **R** Very fine 250,--
Willems - Bennekom 1990.

CITY of UTRECHT

The city Utrecht didn't enjoy the privilege of mint, but rather slowly acquired the right to strike small coins, needed for daily life. The bishops never resisted this: it wouldn't have been profitable and wouldn't have been a very popular measure.

The council had the interests of the poor part of the population in mind with these small coins, which is shown by the text of a late 14th century emission: its legend reads *denarius pauperum* (denier of the poor). Issues from the beginning of the 15th century were even put in the native language "dit is der armen penning" (this is the denier of the poor). A similar development took place in Antwerp where double myten were struck (*pro deo da pauperibus* 1481-1482). The reference to St. Martin also indicates a charitable notion.

The hoard Barneveld 1958 contained "pauper's pence" of the types II to V. The date of concealing might be fixed to 1422 (Pietersen).



- 928 1/4 Groot - type II. A: Arms of Utrecht in multilobe + DIT . IS . DER . ARMEN . PE', R: Cross + MONETA . S . MARTIN'. P: 8, vdCh: --, vG: --. 0.305 gr. **RR** Edge chipped, very fine 150,--
Henzen - Amerongen 2000.
From list 115, no. 1375.
Found in Amersfoort (at Pon).



929

- 929 Wit - 1460-1469. A: Arms of Utrecht + MVNT o DE o STAT o VAN o VTRE, R: Cross + HER o GEFT o ONS o VREDE. P: 14B, vdCh: 25,5-7, vG: 41. 0.473 gr. Almost very fine 100,--

Holleman - Enschede 1999.

van Gelder: JMP 58/9 (1971/72), p. 10 ff.

Commentary with Pietersen: "Geslagen bij besluit van de raad van de stad Utrecht van 19 februari 1460. Muntmeester Danys van Levendael (werkte tussen 1457 en 1477 ook voor de bisschoppelijke munt). Het omschrift op de keerzijde 'Her geeft ons vrede' behoeft niet als een verzuchting beschouwd te worden voortvloeiend uit de directe politieke situatie, in 1460 is daar geen reden voor. Dergelijke teksten (gesteld in het Latijn) komen ook voor op munten uit de omringende gebieden."



930

- 930 Duit - 1509. A: Angel holding arms of Utrecht CIVITAS + TRAIECT, R: Mounted Saint Martin dividing his cloak AN' DN I' 09. P: 18, vdCh: 25.20, vG: --. 0.835 gr. Minor traces of corrosion, very fine 75,--

Henzen - Amerongen 2000.

From list 113, no. 1338.

Commentary in Pietersen: Documentation is scarce. There is a single document, of 3rd February 1523, stipulating that the value of coins from before that date be halved. The coins were most probably manufactured by William Bonert. This goes for all duits struck between 1509 and 1522.



931

- 931 Duit - 1517. A: Angel holding arms of Utrecht CIVITAS * TRAIECT, R: Mounted Saint Martin dividing his cloak AN' DN I' 17. P: --, vdCh: --, vG: --. 0.655 gr. Small edge fault, very fine 125,--

Henzen - Amerongen 2000.

From list 113, no. 1340.

Not in Pietersen.



932

- 932 Duit - 1522. A: Angel holding arms of Utrecht CIVITAS x TRAIECT x , R: Mounted Saint Martin dividing his cloak AN' DN I' 1522. P: --, vdCh: --, vG: --. 1.447 gr. Small traces of corrosion, very fine 125,--

Henzen - Amerongen 2000.

From list 113, no. 1341.



TIEL

In a few legends there is an account of the ancient history of Tiel, the earliest starting 453. Closer examination has ruled out that these legends base on actual events. Mütter accordingly remarks "We can now establish there is no evidence for the existence of Tiel prior to the Viking Age".

One Gerulf was the first known count of the county Holland. At his demise, his lands were divided among his two sons: Dirk received the coastal region and Waltger got Teisterbant (southern land). In 889, King Arnulf legalised this division and directly afterwards Waltger set to work in the manse of Tiel. He built a monastery and a *nova et lapidea civitas* there. In how far Waltger was drawing on the remains of pre-Viking structures remains unclear.

Around 893, Tiel was designated *oppidum*. To Waltger, this was of such importance that he established a family monastery there (just as his brother Dirk did in Egmond and the Utrecht bishop Baldric in Wadenooien). Tiel formed the centre of Teisterbant since the days of Waltger. Before 896, Utrecht received acknowledgement of its toll exemptions of Zwentibold, including Tiel and Deventer.

Because the waterways surrounding Dorestad were sanding up (and had been partly devastated by the Vikings), shipping from England to Cologne was diverted through Tiel. Dorestad's trade was a rich source of income for the bishop of Utrecht and it was in his interest that Tiel would absorb losses.

In 944, Waltger's demise transpired: he had presumably died a lot earlier. He had maintained close ties with bishop Radbod, who had died in 917 and was succeeded by bishop Baldric. After Waltger's death, his son Radbod succeeded in the counties Teisterbant, Lake et Isla and Nifterlake. In that same year, Radbod and his successor Hatto were revealed as having been incapable rulers. This prompted Otto I to take action. Lake et Isla and Nifterlake went to Utrecht and for the core territory of Tiel Otto I made separate arrangements in 950. Thus, the clerical possessions in Tiel went to Utrecht and the rest of the comital properties passed to himself, as *curtis imperatoria*. Otto had Tiel governed by a certain Godfrey as *praefectus*, aided by Count Unruoch of Teisterbant.

The unlimited power of the counts of Teisterbant was broken, part of the property was appropriated to the bishop and the main part was reserved for the suzerain, albeit in a military capacity subordinate to the praefectus (for further details see the chronicle of Alpertus Mettensis, who was presumably from Tiel).

In 999, Otto III granted the bishop of Utrecht the right of mint for Zaltbommel (acknowledged by Heinrich II in 1002). Tiel wasn't granted the right of mint, its lords struck their own coin and would maintain doing so until Henry IV, at the turn of the 11th century.

Tiel coins are especially known for their characteristical, elongated heads (the "Tieler Kopf" / "Head from Tiel").



It is not only observed in Tiel, but also in Namur under Robert II? – 1018 (see De Mey no. 6 and 7).

Most coins are from the reigns of Henry and Konrad, the prime age of economic prosperity. They are to be classified as follows:

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------|
| A. HEINRICVS REX | S COLONI A |
| B. HEINRICVS IMPERATOR | Cross with 4 dots |
| C. KONRADVS REX | Cross with 4 dots |
| D. KONRADVS REX | BONA TIELE |

Each one has a specific crown:



No coins were struck during Conrad's imperial reign.

Royal/Imperial minting

OTTO III (983-1002)



933

- 933 Denier. A: Head of Tiel facing ...O...O..., R: Disfigured Colonia monogram S COLONI A. Dann: --, Hatz: 34 (?), Ilisch: 5.9 (?). 1.216 gr. Flan defect and weakly struck, fine 40,--

Huizinga - Bennekom 1987.

From list 513, no.81.

The COLONI on the reverse is retrograde, with the L encircled by two small O's.

Ilisch classifies this as "Tiel area", and deems Tiel the most probable option. The S COLONIA was used in Tiel until 1020 (then replaced by a cross with four dots). Ilisch, under § 5, exclusively has coins with the name HENDRICVS REX. This clearly is Otto. Under 5.9 in Ilisch, a coin occurs that on its obverse shows remains of Otto. Whether this no. 933 displays an L shaped as a Thor hammer cannot be confirmed, nor ruled out. Because there is no mint other than Tiel (except for Zaltbommel) we have chosen to classify it here.

HEINRICH II (1002-1024)



934

935

- 934 Denier. A: Head of Tiel facing H(ENRIC)VS IMPERAT, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle x T I E L E. Dann: 578, Hatz: 15, Ilisch: 3.3, vdCh: 17.1-2. 1.391 gr. Well struck, very fine + 350,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1991.
From list 546, no. 171.

- 935 Denier. A: Head of Tiel facing + HENR.....S....., R: Cross with one pellet in each angle (x) T (I E L E). Dann: 578, Hatz: 15, Ilisch: 3.3, vdCh: 17.1-2. 1.413 gr. Bent, otherwise almost extremely fine 150,--
Hollandia - Kamperveen 1988.



936

- 936 Denier. A: Head of Tiel facing HEINRIC(VS) MIRE..., R: Cross with one pellet in each angle (x T I E L E). Dann: 578, Hatz: 15, Ilisch: 3.3, vdCh: 17.1-2. 1.382 gr. Slightly bent but almost extremely fine 125,--
Schulman - Amsterdam 1975.

Although all three preceding coins have the same references, they differ considerably. No 934 is well-cut, contrary to the nos. 935 and 936.

KONRAD II (1024-1039)



- 937 Denier. A: Head of Tiel facingNRAD....RE....., R: Cross with one pellet in each angle T I O..I ...O...O. Dann: 582, Hatz: 40, Ilisch: 3.7. 1.322 gr. Very fine 125,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1981.
This type is placed first because the cross with the four pellets forms a link to the coins of Henry. After that COMES BONA TIELE.
- 938 Denier. A: Head of Tiel facing NOA, R: In three lines BO / (+)TIELE / NA. Dann: 584, Hatz: 29, Ilisch: 3.11, vdCh: 17.10-11. 1.248 gr. R Very fine 250,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1988.
From list 513, no. 81.
With no. 181 (Carolingians-Robertines) we assumed BONA means city. That would result in City Tiel (the same can be observed in Deventer: BONA DAVENTRIA).



- 939 Denier. A: Head of Tiel facing + CVONRADVS (retrograde), R: In three lines BO / (+)TIELE / NA. Dann: 584, Hatz: 29, Ilisch: 3.11, vdCh: 17.10-11. 1.322 gr. R Fine 100,--
Schulman - Amsterdam 1975.

ZALTBOMMEL

The following coins all depict a bishop (in literature there still is mention of a king's head, but a king with a crosier or a pastoral staff is impossible).

We attributed it to Zaltbommel, for which the Utrecht bishops had explicit permission to mint (granted in 999 by Otto III, acknowledged by Henry II in 1002). Albrecht also suggests Zaltbommel (1959, p. 104).

The first two numbers (940 and 941) depict the Tiel head with one or more attributes: crosier and/or pastoral staff. Neither Tiel nor anything of the kind features on the coins any longer. No king's or emperor's names on the obverse anymore, but a text starting + OPE... of ODE.... (often not very clear). Gaettens (fd. Ludwiszczce) interpreted it as Odelboldus, which denotes Adelbold. Ilisch dismisses this, but fails to provide any alternative.

Episcopal minting



- 940 Denier. A: Head of Tiel with crosier +OPEEIN, R: In three lines S / ELI / AN. Dann: 1276, Hatz: 87, Ilisch: 4.17.2. 1.056 gr. RR Weakly struck at the edge, very fine 500,--
WAG - Dortmund, Auction 14 (1999), no. 3020.
Second E inverted. Salmo provides the same reading of these four letters.
Ilisch considers the period of Henry III (possibly after 1046).



941

- 941 Denier. A: Head of Tiel facing with crozier and sceptre terminating in a cross + O....., R: Cross with one pellet in each angle and one extra pellet in two angles +....EV... (retrograde). Dann: 2186, Gaettens: 50, Hatz: 78, Ilisch: 4.14. 0.684 gr. **RR** Weakly struck at the edge, very fine

250,--

Rauch - Wien, Auction 63 (1999), no. 461.

Hatz mentions two specimens.

For this Ilisch considers the period of Conrad II.

The following coins are episcopal as well, but clearly from another period. By that time, the typical Tiel head was replaced by a broad head. Ilisch here too reads + ODE...., which could be evidence of the coin indeed not being from Adelbold (later bishops are claimed to have minted in Adelbold's name). Ilisch attributes this type in the period of Henry III or IV, i.e. 1039-1056-1106, and considers the eastern Netherlands. I think the device is so strongly related to the well-known Tiel head that a place in the Tiel area still deserves serious consideration.



942

- 942 Denier. A: Head facing, legend not visible, R: Cross with one great pellet and one small pellet with crescent in each angleILX.... Dann: 2185, Gaettens: 36, Hatz: 79, Ilisch: 9.3. 0.739 gr. **R** Very fine

200,--

WAG - Dortmund, Auction 8 (1997), no. 2048.



943

- 943 Denier. A: Head facing, R: Cross with one great pellet and one small pellet with crescent in each angle. Dann: 2185, Gaettens: 36, Hatz: 79, Ilisch: 9.3. 0.837 gr.

R Weakly struck and slightly bent, very fine

175,--

WAG - Dortmund, Auction 8 (1997), no. 2271.

CITY of GRONINGEN

Originally a Carolingian royal court, the birth of the *city* of Groningen is generally considered to be the 21st of May 1040, when Emperor Henry III bestowed the villa Cruoninga on Bernoldus, Bishop of Utrecht. Bernoldus presumably started minting not long after that (in the same year, Emperor Heinrich III granted Utrecht the right of mint for Groningen), because minting in Deventer started 1046. Bernoldus still struck his coins with the name Groningen, his successor William of Pont stopped. After William of Pont, the Utrecht bishops ceased minting in Groningen.

Bishop Hartbert appointed his brother prefect of Groningen, but due to the battle of Utrecht against Holland and Guelders, this prefect had become all but independent. Bishop Otto of Lippe, wanting to restore order, marched a large army north, however, suffered a most humiliating defeat against Drent peasants at Ane. The bishop was slain and vengeance was sworn, but it never came to that. On the contrary, the north gradually began separating.

Since 1258, Groningen government consisted of aldermen. There never was any formal declaration of city rights. Agreements were made with the Frisian Ommelanden (surrounding lands). Groningen became the centre of trade (all waterways ran through Groningen and numerous products could only be sold in the city).

Through this alliance with the Ommelanden of 1473, Groningen grew into the centre of the region. The Groningers feared the East Frisian Chieftains most (especially when Ceno tom Brok allied with the Vetkopers and defeated the Schieringers). Ceno was vanquished by Focko Ukema.

Around 1350, independent minting began in Groningen (see also JMP 69 (1982), p. 21), that would last until after 1500. The city's coat of arms is a double-headed eagle with a fessed escutcheon on its breast. This fessed escutcheon is the oldest element and initially the only element. Later, approx 1405, the imperial eagle was added. Emperor Sigismund bore a doubleheaded eagle after 1430, though from 1410 to 1430 (mainly) single-headed. Underneath, Puister's article "Groningse stedelijke munten", in: JMP 73 (1986), p. 12 et. seqq. was followed.

period 1350-1425



- 944 1/8 Groot. A: Shield + MONETA • DE • GRON', R: Long cross SIG MV' CR VIS. P: 1.106, vdCh: --. 0.285 gr. Extremely rare. Traces of corrosion, very fine 500,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1994.
 ca. 1380-1390.
 Puister knows of only one specimen in the museum of Groningen (presumably with a different text).

period 1425-1506



- 945 Plak. A: Double-headed eagle over shield + MONETA GRONNENSIS, R: Shield with double-headed eagle on long cross dividing legend SIT * NOMEN DOMNI * BENE. P: 1.217 var, vdCh: 9.39 var. 0.958 gr. Small edge fault, very fine 100,--
 Kneinsberg - Amstelveen 1986.
 Struck ca. 1430.
 This text not in Puister or v. d. Chijs.



- 946 Plak. A: Double-headed eagle between two crosses and over shield x MONETA x NOVA x GRON', R: Shield with double-headed eagle on long cross dividing legend x SIT x NOM x DNI BEN' x. P: 1.220, vdCh: --. 0.710 gr. Very fine 125,--
 de Geus - Eindhoven, Auction 16 (2003), no. 595.
- 947 Grootken. A: Double-headed eagle over shield MONETA : GRONIENSIS, R: Cross + SIT • NOM • DNI : BENE. P: 1.225 var, vdCh: 22.8 var. 0.342 gr. Corroded specimen, very fine 75,--
 Holleman - Enschede 1999.
 Found on 7 March 1988 in Stiens, in ground from under a sporting goods shop which in earlier times had been excavated from the Jacobine graveyard in Leeuwarden to fill up a former canal.
 Puister: not retrieved - the text is different. The weight is exceptionally low (half?).



948

- 948 Grootken. A: Double-headed eagle over shield + MONETA o GRONIGENSIS o, R: Cross + SIT o NOM' o DNI o BENEDICTVS. P: 1.226, vdCh: 9.42. 0.602 gr. Very fine 125,--
 Coin Investment, Auction 58 (2002), no. 311.
 Ex. Schulman - Bussum, Auction 30-5-88, no. 229.



949

- 949 Jager - 1458. A: Double-headed eagle in quatrefoil over shield with one lis in the angles of the quatrefoil + MONETA x NOVA x IN x GRONIGENSIS x, R: Long cross dividing legend with trefoil in the 2nd and one star in the other angles, inner circle ANO x DNI MCCCC LVIII, SIT NOMEN x DOMINI BENEDICTV x. P: 1.254a, vdCh: --. 2.506 gr. RR Very fine 500,--
 Kranenburg - Veenendaal 1981.



950

- 950 Jager - 1463. A: Double-headed eagle in quatrefoil over shield + MONETA x NOVA x GRONIGENSIS x, R: Long cross dividing legend with one star in each angle, inner circle A' o DNI' M x CCC CLXIII, SIT NOMEN DOMINI BENEDICTV x. P: 1.253d, vdCh: 11.57. 2.077 gr. R Small edge fault, very fine 400,--
 Holleman - Enschede 2000.
 From list 125, no. 526.



951

- 951 Vlieger - 1473. A: Double-headed eagle over shield + MONETA o NOVA GRONINGENSIS, R: Long cross dividing legend with G in centre ANNO DOMIN M:CCCC LXXIII. P: 1.259d, vdCh: 11.64; 19.25. 2.813 gr. R Well struck specimen, very fine 300,--
 Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1988.



952

- 952 Vlieger - 1482. A: Double-headed eagle over shield + MONETA ꝛ NOVA GRONINGENSIS, R: Long cross dividing legend with G in centre ANNO DOMIN M^cCCCC LXXXII. P: 1.259i, vdCh: --. 2.602 gr. Weakly struck, very fine 150,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1991.
 Puister mentions five specimens.



953

- 953 Vlieger - 1499. A: Double-headed eagle over shield + MONETA * NOV * GRONINGEN?. R: Long cross dividing legend with star in centre ANNO DNII * M CCCC * XCIX *. P: 1.260h, vdCh: 14.103. 2.831 gr. Small scratches and edge fault, very fine + 200,--
 Coin Investment - Lisse, Auction 52 (1997), no. 415.
 Ex: Schulman, Auction April 1988, no. 326.

The "Hohlpfennige" came from Germany to the Low Countries, they were mainly called "braemsen" there. They found their way to Nijmegen, Arnhem, Deventer and Groningen. In time, they have travelled this way too.

For Groningen these coins date back to around 1500. The braemsen were not mentioned in the moneyer's instructions. In Groningen they were called "penningen" (Rekeningen van Groningen, p. 24 and 175) and represented a value of 1/8 plak = 1/48 stuiver. In view of the numerous varieties, they must have been issued over a longer period of time, the only text referring to it dates from 1499: "Woensdag in the Paschen" (Wednesday during Easter) 1499, when the city council granted the profit of the manufacture of these coins to the church of St. Martin (Van der Chijs p. 497). That provides a reason as to why they don't appear in the moneyer's instructions, because they weren't normally circulated, but rather struck for account of the guardians of the Sint-Maartens Church, who - like the Deventer example more clearly shows (see Fortuyn Drooglever in The Beeldenaar 1978, p. 5) - owned the solitary right to circulate small coins in this manner and yield a modest profit for the benefit of the church factory (v. Gelder: Laat-middeleeuwse munten of Groningen, JMP 69 (1982), p. 47-68).



954



955



- 954 Dubbele penning. A: Double-headed eagle over shield with pellet between the heads. P: 1.503, vdCh: -- . 0.524 gr. R Very fine 200,--
 Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 11 (1988), no. 3223.
 Possibly Ex: Terberger collection (135).
 Struck ca. 1520-1540.
 Puister knows of only a single specimen (KPK).
- 955 Dubbele penning. A: Double-headed eagle over shield with pellet between the heads. P: 1.504, vdCh: 22.2. 0.422 gr. R Traces of corrosion, very fine 200,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1999.
 This type was not retrieved to date. Puister knows only of the type from v. d. Chijs and copied the latter's drawing.
 vdCh: 22.2-3.
 Approx. 1520-1540.
 Found in Deventer.



956



957



958



- 956 Penning. A: Double-headed eagle over shield. P: 1.509, vdCh: 8. 16-21; 23-24; 19.13-14; 22.4-5. 0.279 gr. Corroded specimen, almost very fine 100,--
 Holleman - Enschede 1988.
 Found in the region of Elburg - Hattum.
 Struck ca. 1500-1520.
- 957 Penning. A: Double-headed eagle over shield with token between the heads. P: 1.510 (?), vdCh: 8.22 (?). 0.310 gr. Very fine 100,--
 Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 11 (1988), no. 3225.
 Possibly Ex: Terberger collection (135).
 Struck ca. 1520-1540.
- 958 Penning. A: Double-headed eagle over shield and under G. P: 1.511, vdCh: 8.13. 0.162 gr. Very fine + 150,--
 Kricheldorf - Freiburg, Auction 47 (2002), no. 556.
 Ex: Sgl. Cermak - Wien.
 Ex: Herweijer collection, no. 1157 (Schulman - Bussum, Auction, no.1157).

KUINRE

Kuinre, which lies in the northernmost part of the province Overijssel, owes its name to the word "kun", which means dirt (= mire brook).

Kuinre was acquired in 1118 by bishop Godebald of Utrecht. In 1165, he gave out land for the purpose of cultivation. Thus, this town would grow to become a free and important trade centre with its own privileges.

The lords of Kuinre were descendants of Henry Crane (viscount of Kuinre and ministerialis of Utrecht, 1195-1213). Kuinre became a fief around 1200.

When John I succeeded in 1318, he was still minor. In 1325, he was indicated as *dominus*, a year later as *miles*. In the ordinance of 17th July 1331, the fief was acknowledged. John was killed on 1st August 1336 in the Battle at Baarle.

Under his son John II, the citizens of Kuinre requested count William III of Holland to unite Kuinre with Holland in 1337. That never happened. John II was a faithful vassal of bishop John of Arkel. He presumably died in 1362 during the devastation of the castle Voorst. His younger brother Herman I succeeded.

In 1407, Kuinre was sold to bishop Frederick of Blankenheim of Utrecht.

JAN I (1317-1336)



959

- 959 Korte adelaarsgroot - 2nd emission ca. 1320. A: Double-headed eagle in quatrefoil + IOHANS : DOMINI : DE : CVNRE, R: Ornamented cross with I - O - H - S in the angles MOTA CVNRE I . OMI DOMN. Grolle: 3.2.1.e, vdCh: 2.25. 1.776 gr. **RR** Very fine 300,--
 Holleman - Enschede 1997.
 Found in the monastery of Lidlum (near Oosterbierum).



- 960 Brabantinus - 3rd emission 1323-1336. A: Escutcheon with lion l. IOHANNES DNI, R: Long cross dividing legend MONETA DE CVRE. Grolle: 3.3.2.6.b, vdCh: --. 0.823 gr. **R** Traces of corrosion, edge fault, fine to very fine 100,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 2005.
 Grolle 3.3.2.6.b corresponds to v. d. Ch: 20.4, which, however, does not reveal any legible text on the obverse.



- 961 Korte ruitergroot - 3rd emission 1323-1336. A: Mounted knight with sword r. + IOHANS : DOMI : DE : CVNRE, R: Cross with one crescent in each angle, inner circle + SIGNVM ☉ CRVCIS ☉, + MONETA : I : CVRE : I : OMI : DOMI. Grolle: 3.3.1.g, vdCh: 2.26. 1.721 gr. **R** Very fine 500,--
 Schulman - Amsterdam 1984.
 Imitation of the baudequin of Margaretha of Constantinople (Hainault).
 The numbers 961 and 962 both come from a hoard from Friesland.



- 962 Korte ruitergroot - 2nd emission 1322-1323. A: Mounted knight l. with lance and lion-shield (+ IOHANS) : DNI : DE : CVNRE, R: Cross, inner circle + SIGNVM CRVSIS, + MONETA : I : CVRE . (I .OMI DOMI). Grolle: 3.2.3.2.k , vdCh: 2.29. 1.834 gr. **R** Very fine 400,--
 Schulman - Amsterdam 1984.
 Imitation of the Antwerp lans of John II of Brabant (approx. 1310/11).
 Grolle knows no coin with Crusis (an S in the middle).



HERMAN I (1362-1376)

Herman I was a younger brother of John II. Together with his uncle Sweder van Voorst, he led an insurgency of the towns of Stellingwerf and Steenwijkerwold against bishop John of Arkel. After the bishop in 1362 had laid the castle Voorst in ruins, Sweder's rights were declared void. Herman I was practically the last minting lord from his house. He was wedded to Machteld van der Ese, by whom he had four children. There is one known coin of his son and successor Herman II (1376-1407).

Herman I owned property in Stellingwerf and IJsselham. In 1371, he sold an estate in the Mastenbroek near IJsselmuiden. He was in conflict with all major trade cities in the region, because he obstructed the merchants of the Hanseatic League. In 1376, he and his oldest son were killed without any land to their names. The murders were attributed to the citizens of Stavoren



- 963 1/4 Leeuwengroot - 1st emission 1362-1370. A: Long cross dividing legend H' MA - CO VNR, R: Lion rampant l.NETA.....NV... Grolle: 5.1.3, vdCh: --. 0.502 gr. **R** Corroded specimen, fine to very fine 100,--
- Henzen - Amerongen 1999.
Found in Deventer.
Herman I imitated the Holland lion groat just as his brother John II had done before him. Minting perhaps in Oosterzee.
Grolle notes: not retrieved.

KOEVORDEN

When bishop Hartbert of Utrecht appointed his brother prefect of Groningen, he at the same time appointed his other brother Ludolf viscount of Koevorden. After Ludolf's death a dispute over succession arose, causing bishop Baldwin to appoint his own brother Otto IV of Bentheim in 1187. Roelof II (son of Roelof I, one of the two stepsons, who had fought over succession) then did get his chance at the demise of Baldwin. Roelof II rebelled against the Utrecht bishop, prompting bishop Otto of Lippe to equip an expedition and march towards what would become his end: the catastrophe of Ane.

Roelof II was succeeded by Frederick, who soon was expelled by Henry of Borculo (wedded to the heiress of Koevorden). With Henry the 2nd House Koevorden-Borculo took its rise. The son from this marriage, Henry II, succeeded his father in 1236. He died in 1288 in the Battle at Woeringen. In Koevorden, the 4th son succeeded: Reinoud (approx 1291-1315), named after the counts of Gelre. He presumably was the first one to mint.

His son, Reinoud II, succeeded. He was married to Ida of Selwerd and he died in the Battle at Baarle in 1336. His son, Reinoud III, succeeded, not only as prefect of Drente but also as seneschal of Twente. He died childless in 1369.

The fief continued until 1415 when Reinoud IV, wedded to Maria of Gelre, abandoned it.

REINOUD II (1315-1336)



- 964 Dordrechtse. A: Head l. + MONETA o KOVORD, R: Long cross dividing legend with one rose in each angle REN ODD NIK OVO. Grolle: 2.2.3. 0.555 gr. **R** Very fine, a little cleaned 250,--
- Henzen - Amerongen 1998.



- 965 Dordrechtse. A: Head I. ⚔ MONETA o KOVORD, R: Long cross dividing legend with one rose in each angle REN (ODD) NIK OVO. Grolle: 2.2.3. 0.304 gr. **R** Flan defect, very fine 100,--
 Holleman - Enschede 1989.
 The countermark T presumably denotes Traiectum (2nd half 14th century, decree not retrieved). See v.d.Wis: Catalogus van kloppen A 36 (Encyclopedie van Munten).

REINOUD III (1336-1369)



- 966 Grand denier. A: Lion rampant + MONETA ⚔ KOVORDENSIS, R: Long cross dividing legend with eagle in the 1st and 4th angles and lion rampant in the 2nd and 3rd angles RENO D ⚔ DNI KOVORDEN. Grolle: 3.2.1.. 1.421 gr. **RR** Extremely rare, very fine 750,--
 Verschoor - Strijen 1996.
 2nd emission (imitation of the Flemish emission of 1331 of Lodewijk of Maele).

NORTHERN or WESTERN NETHERLAND



- 967 Denier - 995-1000. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle, degenerated legend made of wedges and turned C, R: Barbarized Colonia monogram S / IIILO / A, transmogrified legend. Ilisch: 9.8. 0.717 gr. **RR** Very fine 300,--
 WAG -Dortmund, Auction 16 (2000), no. 2799.
 There are a few types of this make. The first is one without the pellets in the angles of the cross (see Ilisch: 9.6, Dann: 1936 and Häv: 53). It reads (a corrupted form of) LVDOVICVS, but the type stems from the Ottonian period. Brussels was under consideration for the mint. Ilisch also mentions Utrecht, but such early minting does not hold for Utrecht.
 Ilisch classifies it under "Unbestimmte Münzstätte in den Westlichen oder Nördlichen Niederlanden" (S / IIIO80 / A (8 = two triangles pointing towards each other), in the text two lying S's (period: 995-1000))
 Ilisch knows of four pieces: Kopenhagen (Sgl. Thomsen) 0.80 and 0.74, Münster (Fd. Ulejno) 0.79 and one coin from a hoard in Egmond a/Zee (0.91). For that last, see: Pol, A.: Münzfunde und Fundmünzen der Jahrtausendwende in den Niederlanden, in: Kluge, B. (Hrsg.): Fernhandel und Geldwirtschaft. Beiträge zum deutschen Münzwesen in sächsischer und salischer Zeit (Ergebnisse des Dannenberg-Kolloquiums 1990). Sigmaringen 1993, p. 189-204, coin on p. 197, no. 51.



GUELDERS

Guelders is an excellent example of how powerful lords made desultory attempts to usurp counties, estates, etc. after the decline of the Carolingian Realm. Thus, we see counts of Hamaland, Teisterbant, Hettergouw, etc.

Around 1000, Baldric (who was *praefectus*) and his wife Adela, stepped to the fore. However, on a diet in Nijmegen their estates were declared void. Part of their estate devolved to the Conradines (who came from the Middle Rhine region).

In the south, in the region around Heinsberg, we see a certain Anton of Flanders, of whom little is known. Well-known, however, were his two sons: Gerard Flamens (who would become the founder of the comital House of Guelders), who received Wassenberg as an imperial fief *and* Rutger (who would become the founder of the Counts van Cleves), who received Cleves as an imperial fief (see further under Cleves). The territory of both brothers lay between Meuse and Niers. Gerard assumed the name of the Niers castle of Wassenberg (northeast of Heinsberg). His son continued the name Wassenberg. His two sons divided the dominion: Henry I inherited Wassenberg, Goswin I inherited Heinsberg (see further under Heinsberg).

At the turn of the 11th century, his son Gerhard III (1085-1104) established himself in the castle Geldern (south of Kevelaer), and proclaimed himself count of Wassenberg and Guelders. A further division took place when the children of Gerhard III inherited his estate: his son Gerhard IV inherited Guelders and wedded Irmgard, heiress to Zutphen, his daughter Jutta inherited Wassenberg and wedded Waleran of Limburg. The territory was now centralised around the region Venlo - Roermond and stretched into present-day Germany.

The son of Gerhard III, Henry I, then inherited Zutphen that, in 1138, was definitively united with Guelders. This territory was not attached to the core territory. The county Zutphen proved a significant expansion to the territory, though it remained a desultory whole. However, with Zutphen a mint was gained.

When Otto I acquired the Veluwe (a fief of the dukes of Brabant and a subfief of the bishops of Utrecht), Arnhem became the centre. Presumably in 1196, Otto consequently moved the mint from Zutphen to Arnhem, a place that acquired city rights in 1233. Thus, the four quarters came into being: Upper-Guelders (the old territory, situated in present-day Germany), Betuwe, Veluwe and Zutphen.

The expansion was concluded when in 1247, Nijmegen was acquired (see under Nijmegen), which was yet another mint. Guelders, however, would always consist of two parts and emerged later than the other territories. Powerful lords played significant roles and the surrounding lands (Brabant and Utrecht) were dominantly present, for the geographical location of Guelders at the junction of the great rivers was a key factor.

Guelders suffered from successional problems in which, apart from the four central cities (Arnhem, Zutphen, Nijmegen and Roermond), the powerful House of Bronkhorst and that of Hekerens especially played an important role.

HAMALAND

Toward the end of 6th century, Hamaland encompassed territories around the Rhine and IJssel, between Elten and Deventer (this was lost in the second half of the 7th century).

Around 855, the mighty Counts Wichmann the Elder and Wichmann the Younger held sway over this region. Adela (955-1028), daughter of Wichmann the Younger, was first married to Immad (from the House of Immedinger, since 970 Count of West Saxony). They had five children, including Count Theoderich of West Saxony and bishop Meinwerk of Paderborn. After 996, she was married to Baldric, Count of Deventer.

After the demise of her father, Count Wichmann, the monastery Elten that he had founded, devolved to its Mother Superior Liutgard, Adela's sister. The latter contested this endowment, which caused Emperor Otto II to intervene, but to no avail. After Liutgard's demise, Adela usurped Wichmann's entire inheritance. In 996, Otto III put an end to the contention over Elten, resulting in the downfall of Adela in 1018. Adela's demeanor (and that of Baldric) was free of scruples and it acquired her the epithet of "second Herod". Adela spent her last years in Cologne.

In the course of the 11th century, the northern part devolved to the lords of Zutphen, the southern part to the counts of Wassenberg-Geldern and Cleves. The name Hamaland then vanished.

Adela minted on a modest scale and always in her own name. The obverse invariably shows the well-known cross with the four pellets, the reverse a hand (slender or broad) with an alpha and omega next to it.

The texts on ob- and reverse denote DOIEA-VENTEOTT and ADALA COMETISSA according to Van Gelder. The cryptic text on the obverse, he says, is nothing other than DAVANTRIA OTTO (REX). This could either mean that the coins were struck in Deventer with the assent of Otto III, or indicate a smaller mint elsewhere.

The obverse showing the hand, was copied from the coins of Aethelred II of Engeland (979-1016) and the reverse was taken from the coins of Otto III from Deventer and, thus, an established type was developed, which is confirmed by the fact that the various finds always contained coins of this type together with those of Aethelred. Their mint hasn't been determined to date.

Ilisch (JMP 84-85 (1997/8), p. 44) notes that the hand on the Deventer coins didn't appear until the imperial reign of Henry II (see no. 853), about 1014. If Adela's coins were based on the Deventer types, Adela must have struck them toward the end of her reign. I personally draw the conclusion that Adela's coins were directly based on those of Aethelred (which concurs with Van Gelder's remark that the coins of Adela invariably appeared together with Aethelred's in hoards (for a discussion on "the hand", see Deventer). Fortuyn Drooglever, in *The Beeldenaar* 4 (1980), p. 44 notes that Puister spoke to him about the existence of an Adela coin bearing Daventria in Stockholm.

ADELA (967-1016)



- 968 Denier. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle ADE...COMETISSA, R: Small hand between alpha and omega DOAVED.... Dann: 1237, Ilisch: 2.1.1. 1.257 gr. **RR** Nice patina, very fine 400,--
 Münzzentrum - Köln - 1978
 Ex: Knyphausen collection, Teil IV, no. 4727.
 Shown in the article by v. Gelder.
 Also shown in the article of Fortuyn Drooglever in: *De Beeldenaar* 1980, p. 240.



- 969 Denier. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle +...TTE...SSDME, R: Hand between alpha and omega x DO...AVENEOTTO. Dann: 1556, Ilisch: 2.4. 1.202 gr. **RR** Weakly struck at the edge, otherwise very fine specimen 400,--
 Münzzentrum - Köln 1978.
 Ex: Knyphausen collection, Teil IV, no. 4727.
 Shown in the article by Fortuyn Drooglever in *The Beeldenaar* 1980, p. 240.

ZUTPHEN

Around 1050, Zutphen was in the possession of a certain Gottschalk, Count of Twente and Hetergou. Zutphen was the northernmost part of the county Hamaland, that in 1064 was granted to the bishop of Utrecht by Henry IV.

Gottschalk is regarded as the founder of the comital house of Zutphen. There were only two counts, Otto II (1064-1113) and his son Henry I († before 1127). Otto II succeeded Gottschalk, as his son had died young. Otto and Henry both were guardian of Corvey, a guardianship they owed to their kinship to the counts of Nordheim.

Henry was last mentioned in 1118. After his death, the county passed to the bishop of Utrecht. This Godebald bequeathed Zutphen to his confidant Constantijn van den Berghe (passing Gerard III (†1133) of Wassenberg-Geldern over). In 1138, the bishop gave Zutphen in fief to Henry II, the son of Gerard III and Irmgard, it then was united with Guelders.

OTTO II (1064-1113)



970

970 Denier. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle, legend not visible, R: Two vertical stripes in four circles (as in Duisburg). Dann: 1852, Ilisch: 23.2. 0.255 gr. **RR** Very fine

200,--

Münzzentrum - Köln 1980.

Attribution of this coin is problematic. Dannenberg (1851 and 1852) determines it "a Dutch fabric" and suggests Emden, Albrecht attributes it to Zutphen and Ilisch indicates Friesland.

The heavier type reads ODDO, but who this refers to is unclear. Ordulf is most unlikely, as his name was never spelled Oddo. Otto of Zutphen could be considered, but not in Friesland, as the period doesn't concur.

GELRE (GUELDERS)

In 1138, Zutphen was joined with Guelders and from then, the counts of Guelders proclaimed themselves count of Guelders and Zutphen.

OTTO I (1182-1207)

Otto I was born approx. 1150 and died in 1207, he was buried in the monastery Kamp. Wedded to Richardis of Scheyern-Wittelsbach (later abbess of the Münster Abbey in Roermond, buried there). Eight children, of whom Gerard was the second.

Otto had to fight Holland (over the right to put up a candidate for the Utrecht episcopal seat) and Brabant (over the possessive right to and control over the main rivers). In both instances, he was defeated on the Grebbeberg. Bone of contention was the Veluwe, that separated the lower prince-bishopric of Utrecht of its upper prince-bishopric. The Utrecht bishops contested the granting of Brabant, but they failed (Brabant was prepared to go to any lengths to maintain control over the main rivers (Tiel, Zandwijk and Heerwaarden). In 1203, the count van Guelders had to acquiesce.



971

971 Penning - Zutphen. A: Bust r. with raised sword (+ GREV) EOTT, R: Cross with one rose in each angle + TRAIECTVM. vdCh (Utrecht): 6.1. 0.535 gr. **RR** Flan defect and small edge fault, very fine

400,--

L.Schulman - Bussum, Auction 17 (1996), no. 410.

V. d. Chijs falsely attributes this to bishop Otto I of Utrecht. Impossible in view of the sword.

See JMP 1940, p. 65-70 (where it is attributed to Zutphen).

As the mint was moved from Zutphen to Arnhem around 1196, this must have been struck before 1196.

Although Otto I had already used the coat of arms that his son Gerard would formally adopt, this does not bear a coat of arms.

GERARD V (1207-1229)

Gerard, born in 1185, wedded Margaretha of Brabant. Four children were born and the oldest, Otto, would succeed him. Gerard was buried in the Münster Church of Roermond.

The coat of arms has three five-pointed stars, that Van Schilfgaarde determines as flowers (they were formerly determined as medlar flowers and, thus, were considered an indication of Wassenberg, although to that time, it was no longer part of Guelders for reasons of heredity). Basing on Van Schilfgaarde, Van Beek (Het Gelderse wapen op munten. De Beeldenaar, 2002, p. 219 e.v.) assumed that this coat of arms (originating around 1190) derived from that of Otto's older brother, Gerard, who as Count of Guelders (1182) and Boulogne (1181) used a similar coat of arms with three spheres (Boulogne). Gerard was the first to include it on his coinage.

V.d.Chijs names this "Gerard de derde", Grote in his Stammtafeln designates him Gerard V. In my opinion, the latter is preferable on grounds of its genealogy.



- 972 Penning - Arnhem. A: Bust facing with sword and shield ⊗ GE(RARDVS), R: Church-tower with cross on top between two portals with cross (* ARNEMES). vdCh: 1.-. 0.591 gr.

RR Double struck, very fine

100,--

Vendu - Rotterdam, Auction Junie 1991, no. 2502.

Ex: Remkes collection (Rotterdam).

Double struck. The double striking altered this coin's reverse to the extent that it appears to be totally different from no. 973, it, however, is the same.

This reverse is also found on Nijmegen coins.



- 973 Penning - Arnhem. A: Bust facing with sword and shield ⊗ GERARDVS), R: Church-tower with cross on top between two portals with cross * ARN(EMES). vdCh: 1.-. 0.392 gr.

RR Scratches on the reverse, fine to very fine

100,--

Vendu - Rotterdam, Auction June 1991, no. 2502.

Ex: Remkes collection (Rotterdam).

Obverse not readable very well, same coin as 972.



- 974 Penning - Arnhem. A: Bust facing with sword and + GER(ARD)VS, R: Church-tower with cross on top between two portals with cross ⊗ ARNE(MES) ⊗. vdCh: 1.-. 0.633 gr.

RR Dark patina, very fine +

200,--

L. Schulman - Bussum, Auction 21 (1998), no. 1.

OTTO II (1229-1271)

Otto II, Count of Guelders and Zutphen. Born approx. 1215, died 1271 and buried in monastery's-Gravendaal. Was wedded to Margaretha of Cleves (two children) and to Philippa of Dammartin (four children, of which first-in-line Reinoud would succeed him).

Otto II was the grandson of Henry of Brabant, who also acted as his guardian. He expanded his territory, most significantly by the realm of Nijmegen that he acquired in 1247 of the Roman King William II (see under Nijmegen). Otto II was guardian of Floris V of Holland, put John of Nassau in the episcopal seat of Utrecht and his brother in the same office in Liège. He made attempts at southward expansion. His son and successor continued this strategy, which would cost him dearly.



- 975 Penning - Arnhem. A: Shield with the lion of Guelders CO M ES, R: Double-headed eagle ARN EVM. Very fine 150,--
vdCh: 1.3. 0.409 gr.

Vendu - Rotterdam, Auction June 1991, no. 2502.

Ex: Remkes collection (Rotterdam).

Gerard's son Otto II took the coat of arms of his uncle Henry II of Nassau (...-approx. 1251). Guardian of the minor Otto was the powerful Henry II of Brabant (1190-1235). Otto, however, turned to less influential sovereigns. This might be the reason for his adoption of the Nassau coat of arms: a rampant lion on a field scattered with cubes. His son and successor Reinoud I (1271-1326) adopted this new Guelder (= Nassau) coat of arms as well (taken from Van Beek: Het Gelderse wapen op munten. De Beeldenaar, 2002, p. 219 e.v.).

V. d. Chijs denotes the double-headed imperial eagle as the coat of arms of the city of Arnhem. Is this correct? Especially, because he shortly before writes: "Out of respect for the German emperor, Otto did not dare to coin in his own name." Did v.d.Chijs arrive at this conclusion based on the mint indication?



- 976 Penning - Arnhem. A: Shield with the lion of Guelders, above head between two pellets (OTTO COMES), R: Double-headed eagle ARNE (.VS). Very fine + 150,--
vdCh: 1.5. 0.612 gr.

Winter - Düsseldorf, Auction 46 (1983), no. 2397.

- 977 Penning - Arnhem. A: Shield with the lion of Guelders, above head between two pellets OTTO C(OMES), R: Double-headed eagle ARNE (VS). Weakly struck, very fine 100,--
vdCh: 1.5. 0.488 gr.

Vendu - Rotterdam, Auction Juni 1991, no. 2502.

Ex: Remkes collection (Rotterdam).



- 978 Penning - Arnhem. A: Bust facing with sword and palm leaf + O(TTO GELREN)S, R: Shield of Guelders A(R) NEM ES *. Very fine 75,--
vdCh: 1.9. 0.604 gr.

Vendu - Rotterdam, Auction June 1991, no. 2503.

Ex: Remkes collection (Rotterdam).

V. d. Chijs deems the palm leaf evidential for an completed crusade.

The numbers 977 and 978 a to were originally attributed to vdCh: 1.8 (i.e. OTTO COMES, instead of. 1.9: OTTO GELRENS). On the majority, however, I am able to make out the G resp. the E, but the N as well. Some are unclear. I have attributed the whole lot to vdCh: 1.9 with Otto Gelrens because they came as a group, I think they're from a single hoard. If that is the case, there would have to be a temporal gap between COMES and GELRENS.



- 979 Penning - Arnhem. A: Bust facing with sword and palm leaf + (OTTO GELRENS), R: Shield of Guelders AR NEM ES *. vdCh: 1.9. 0.567 gr. Small edge fault, very fine + 100,--
 Vendu - Rotterdam, Auction June 1991, no. 2503.
 Ex: Remkes collection (Rotterdam).
- 980 Penning - Arnhem. A: Bust facing with sword and palm leaf (+ OTTO GELRENS), R: Shield of Guelders AR (NEM) ES *. vdCh: 1.9. 0.611 gr. Very fine 75,--
 Vendu - Rotterdam, Auction June 1991, no. 2503.
 Ex: Remkes collection (Rotterdam).



- 981 Penning - Arnhem. A: Bust facing with sword and palm leaf + OTTO G(ELRENS), R: Shield of Guelders AR NEM (ES *). vdCh: 1.9. 0.592 gr. Very fine + 100,--
 Vendu - Rotterdam, Auction June 1991, no. 2503.
 Ex: Remkes collection (Rotterdam).
- 982 Penning - Arnhem. A: Bust facing with sword and palm leaf (+ OT)TO G(ELRENS), R: Shield of Guelders AR NEM ES *. vdCh: 1.9. 0.639 gr. Very fine 75,--
 Vendu - Rotterdam, Auction June 1991, no. 2503.
 Ex: Remkes collection (Rotterdam).



- 983 Penning - Arnhem. A: Bust facing with sword and palm leaf + OTTO G(ELRENS), R: Shield of Guelders (AR) NEM ES *. vdCh: 1.9. 0.576 gr. Very fine 75,--
 Vendu - Rotterdam, Auction June 1991, no. 2503.
 Ex: Remkes collection (Rotterdam).
- 984 Penning - Arnhem. A: Bust facing with sword and palm leaf + OTTO (GELRENS), R: Shield of Guelders AR NEM ES *. vdCh: 1.9. 0.621 gr. Nice portrait, very fine 100,--
 Vendu - Rotterdam, Auction June 1991, no. 2504.
 Ex: Remkes collection (Rotterdam).



- 985 Penning - Arnhem. A: Bust facing with sword and palm leaf + OTT(O GELREN)S, R: Shield of Guelders (AR) NEM ES *. vdCh: 1.9. 0.614 gr. Weakly struck, very fine 75,--
 Vendu - Rotterdam, Auction June 1991, no. 2504.
 Ex: Remkes collection (Rotterdam).



- 986 Penning - Arnhem. A: Bust facing with sword and palm leaf (OTTO G(ELRENS), R: Shield of Guelders (AR N) EM ES *. vdCh: 1.9. 0.550 gr. Very fine + 100,--
Henzen - Amerongen 1996.
From list January 1996, no. 221.
- 987 Penning - Nijmegen. A: Lion of Guelders OTTO CO..., R: Eagle l. NVMAG. vdCh: 1.7. 0.640 gr. R Very fine 150,--
Rauch - Wien, Auction 28 (1982), no. 1589.
"Deze denier is na 1247, toen Willem, de Rooms koning, den Burg met de Stad Nijmegen in pand aan Otto afstond, en voor 1271 geslagen want in dat jaar overleed de graaf. Hij moet bovendien geslagen zijn in een tijd dat er geen keizer was, want we hebben hier te doen met een eenkoppige adelaar" (vdChijns).

Reinoud I (1271-1326) continued the strategy of his father Otto, expansion of their territory toward the south, mainly by marrying Irmgard, the heiress of Limburg. When she died as soon as 1283, Reinoud retained usufruct. This ignited the Limburg Succession War, a war between Brabant and Guelders, which Brabant won in 1288 in the Battle of Woeringen, taking Reinoud prisoner. Reinoud was pushed for money and was forced to grant Gwijde of Dampierre, count of Flanders his lands in fief. Hard times ensued for the Guelders, as the Flemish held total control over the fief. When in 1296 problems arose between Philippe IV of France and Gwijde of Flanders, Reinoud seized the opportunity and reclaimed his lands. Reinoud I in 1310-11 marched with Henry VII to Italy and was also involved in the German Succession War. In 1317, the emperor bestowed the title "prince of the empire" on Reinoud.

REINOUD II (1326-1343)

Reinoud II was born approx. 1295, he died 12th October 1343 in Arnhem, he was buried in 's-Gravendaal. Married to a: Sophia Berthout (four children, two of whom were Mechteld and Maria, the latter married William VI Duke of Jülich) and b: Aleonora, daughter of Edward II of England (two children: Reinoud III and Edward).

The fits of madness that Reinoud I was beset by caused his son Reinoud II to stand up to him. William III of Holland mediated and Reinoud II, years ahead of his fathers demise, became the de facto authority. In 1339, his father still alive, he was bestowed upon the ducal title by Louis the Bavarian. As one of the results, the Veluwe became a direct fief of the bishop of Utrecht (a duke was not allowed to accept fiefs from worldly lords, only clerus could grant a duke a territory in fief). From the moment Reinoud became duke, he held the privilege of striking gold coins. He used the occasion to adopt a new coat of arms: the crowned lion with a double tail. It was also used by Reinoud III and Eduard. (v. Beek: Het Gelderse wapen op munten, in: De Beeldenaar 2002, p. 219 et. seq.).



- 988 1/4 Groot - Harderwijk. A: Lion rampant l. + REIN : DVX : GHELRIE :, R: Long cross dividing legend MONETA DE HERD. vdCh: 2.6. 0.619 gr. Extremely rare, weakly struck, very fine 500,--
Henzen - Amerongen 2001.
From list 121, no. 1102.
Struck between 1339 - 1343.



- 989 Kopje - Harderwijk. A: Head l. (+ REIN :) DVX : G(HELRI), R: Long cross dividing legend (MONET)A DE HER(D). vdCh: 2.17. 0.303 gr. **R** Specimen from a hoard, very fine 100,--

De Geus - Eindhoven, Auction 15 (2003), no.1.

Interpunction : = two rings over eachother.

It is remarkable that all Reinoud I types mentioned by v. d. Chijs bear the title DVX, this means that from 1326 to 1339, he did not mint at all and subsequently created all new types in only four years. This raises the question of whether part of these coins should be attributed to Reinoud III.

The head is from the same period as that of the Dutch Count William III, who was the last to have heads struck.

When Reinoud died in 1343, both his sons (from the second marriage) were not yet of age (resp. 10 and 7 years old). Their mother Aleonora acted as guardian for one year. The boys contested each other the succession. However, the estate was automatically inherited by the elder: Reinoud, who became Reinoud III Duke of Guelders. Reinoud III was married to Maria of Brabant (whom we also see in Oyen minting). 1350 saw the consequent outbreak of a crisis and the land was divided in two parts: the Bronkhorsts supported Edward and Aleonora, the Van Hekerens and the cities Reinoud III. In 1353, the brothers agreed to a settlement, that stipulated that Edward would reign for eight years, not in ducal dignity but as a governor (ruwaard). Edward agreed and took Reinoud captive in 1361 and from that moment was Duke of Guelders (Reinoud formally retained the title). Edward died on the 24th of August 1371 and Reinoud took over again. Merely until the 4th of December 1371, when he, too, died. Reinoud III was married, albeit childless, just as his brother.

A succession dispute broke out anew between the two heirs from the first marriage of Reinoud II: Mechteld and Maria. The latter wedded Duke William II of Jülich.

Under Reinoud III, the Dei Gratia was introduced, just as under William V (1345-1359) in Holland.

EDUARD as Ruwaard (1353-1361)

Edward. Born 12th of March 1336, died in the Battle at Baeswiller on August 24th 1371, buried in 's-Gravendaal. Engaged to Catharine of Bavaria-Holland.



- 990 Schild - Roermond. A: Helmet over shield of Guelders with sign of grief, arms of Guelder in the peacock's feathers EDEWARDVS' . DE ☉ GELRENS' ☉, R: Cross, inner circle + MONETA ☉☉ RVERMVN', outer circle + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : IhV : XPI. vdCh: 4.2. 3.583 gr. **R** Very fine 250,--

Bought -1985 (Ex: Dekker collection).

Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 234 (1960), no. 23.

A label in the coat of arms indicated that the heir in question was not yet allowed to use the coat of arms.

EDUARD as Duke (1361-1371)



- 991 Dubbele Groot - Arnhem. A: Sitting lion with helmet l. . EDWARDVS : DEI : GRA : DVX : Z : DNS : GELRE ., R: Cross, inner circle + MONETA ☙ ARNIMENSIS, outer circle + BENEDICTVS : QUI : VENIT : IN : NOMINE : DOMINI. vdCh: 5.2. 3.459 gr. Small scratches on the surface, very fine 100,--

Henzen - Amerongen 1997.

From list August 1997, no. 453.

From find Arnhem 1957, cf. JMP 1959, no. 47 (the hoard contained 186 specimens, each slightly different). The date of concealing lies before, or not long after, 1375 (1378 at the latest), but certainly after 1372.

According to v. d. Chijs, this was the only coin Edward, in his ducal period, had struck (except for a double mouton d'or).



992

- 992 Dubbele Groot - Arnhem. A: Lion sitting l. with helmet, arms of Guelders within the peacock's feathers EDWARDVS : DEI : GRA : DVX : Z : DNS : GELREN' ., R: Cross, inner circle + MONETA ✚ ARNEMENSIS, outer circle + BENEDICTVS : QUI : VENIT : IN : NOMINE : DOMINI. vdCh: 5.2. 3.141 gr. Small edge fault, fine patina, very fine + 200,--
- v. Stockum - den Haag, Auctionn 15-11-77 (1977), no. 21.
Ex: Hulshof Poll collection.
Possibly struck because of the muntordonnantie on 8th December 1370.

As Reinoud and Edward had died childless and virtually at the same time, successional dispute ignited once again, now between the two daughters Mechteld and Maria from Reinoud II's first marriage.

The House Bronkhorst supported Maria and her husband William II of Jülich (Maria claimed Guelders for her son William). The Van Heckerens supported Mechteld, who was married to John of Blois, Lord of Gouda. Contrary to the previous time, the cities now closed ranks with the Bronkhorsts (although they normally were on the Van Heckerens side). In 1379, Mechteld abandoned all her claims.

William won and in 1379 became Duke of Guelders and in 1393 Duke van Jülich. The union with Jülich would last until 1423.

WILLEM I (1379-1402)

When successional dispute arose between Mechteld and Maria in 1372, William II of Jülich (the husband of Maria) was appointed guardian over his son by Emperor Charles IV in Aachen and would remain so until 1377 (William was 12 years by then). From 1377 to 1393, when his father William III died, William I was only duke of Guelders (and, of course, Count of Zutphen). After that he was Duke of Jülich as well.

William waged war against archenemy Brabant, which won him massive popularity. In 1387, he declared war on Philip the Bold. Then William had to subject himself pro forma, but he stayed suspicious of the Burgundians.

William I was wedded to Catharine of Bavaria-Holland (who had been Edward's bride). He died childless and was succeeded by his brother Reinoud IV (1402-1423).



993

994

- 993 Rijnse goudgulden. A: Duke facing with sword under canopy between two towers WILH . DVX . G ELR Z COM . A, R: Two shields over pellet in multilobe (double-headed eagle l., lion of Guelders r.), one triangle in each angles + BENEDICT : QUI : VENIT : IN : NOMINE. Fb: 43, vdCh: 6.1. 3.498 gr. Extremely fine 750,--
- Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 275 (1982), no. 1.
v. d. Chijs doesn't know what COM A (on no. 993 with one pellet between COM and A) could mean.
Struck for the succession in Jülich.
- 994 Rijnse goudgulden. A: Duke facing with sword under canopy between two towers WILH . DVX . G ELR Z COM A, R: Two shields over pellet in multilobe (double-headed eagle l., lion of Guelder r.), one triangle in each angles + BENEDICT : QUI : VENIT : IN : NOMINE. Fb: 43, vdCh: 6.1. 3.400 gr. Extremely fine 750,--
- Gorny - München, Auction 20 (1981), no. 543.
Struck for the succession in Jülich.



- 995 Groot - Arnhem. A: Helmet with arms of Guelders in peacock's feathers between two lions in multilobe, one ring in each angle + WILHELM * DVX * GELRIE * Z * COM * ZVTPH, R: Floriated cross + MONETA * DE * AERHEMENSIS. vdCh: 7.10. 1.728 gr. A little weakly struck, very fine 150,--
- Henzen - Amerongen 1992.
From list September 1992, no. 260.
Coin from the period before the succession in Jülich.
Struck about 1380.



- 996 Gehelmde groot - Arnhem. A: Helmet with arms of Guelders in peacock's feathers + WILHELME DVX * GELR * COM ZVTPH, R: Cross with A - N - R - S in the angles + MONETA * NOVA * DE * AERNEMENSIS. vdCh: 7.12. 1.772 gr. Traces of corrosion, very fine 125,--
- Rietdijk - den Haag, Auction 362 (1996), no. 5.
Interpunction . = two rhombs over each other.
For the succession in Jülich.
A = Arnhem, N = Nijmegen, R = Roermond, S = Zutphen.



- 997 1/8 Groot. A: Shield with the lions of Guelders and Jülich under helmet W(ILHEL) DVX, R: Long cross dividing legend MON ETA (NOV G)EL. vdCh: --. 0.313 gr. Extremely rare, corroded, fine 75,--
- Henzen - Amerongen 2002.
From list 128, no. 1182.
Ex: R. Schulman list 241, no. 80 (falsely under Heukelom).
Struck after the succession in in Jülich.

REINOUD IV (1402-1423)

Reinoud IV, brother of William I, born approx. 1365, wedded to Maria of Harcourt and died in Terlet near Arnhem 25th June 1423, buried in Monnikhuisen. Died heirless. He is the last Duke of Guelders and Jülich.

Anton of Burgundy's vigorous actions substantially weakened the position of Guelders.

Reinoud supported the Lords of Arkel (Arkel was a buffer state between Holland and Guelders), but could not prevent Arkel from being annexed by Holland, something which the cities looked askance at. Reinoud was childless and the possibility of another successional war was dreaded. In 1418, the core cities convened with nobility (a Guelders diet, as it were) and agreed to safeguard Guelders unity. Thus, when Reinoud finally died in 1423, the young Arnold of Egmond (from a Cod House from Holland) was unanimously elected successor by virtue of this agreement.

Around 1420, economic decline set in, exacerbated by problems with water supply due to the Elisabeth Flood in 1421. Sorrow didn't come in single spies, but in battalions, for Philip the Good turned his gaze towards the North.



998

- 998 Goudgulden. A: Saint John the Baptist with staff terminating in a cross and cross between his legs . S . IOHANNES BAPTISTA . lion of Guelders, R: Five shields in multilobe + DVX . REINAUD' . IVL Z GEL Z COMIS . Z .. Fb: 49, vdCh: 8.3. 3.448 gr. Small scratches, very fine + 400,--

Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1982.

This coin is an uninspired copy of the prince-electoral guilders of 1399 (H. Enno v. Gelder: Oostnederlands geld omstreeks 1400, in: JMP 67 (1980), p. 45). The five coats of arms in quatrefoil on the reverse are a corruption of the prince-electoral coins. In the centre the double-headed eagle (that is taken for Arnhem), the eagle above is taken for Nijmegen, to the right the Trier cross was replaced with Zutphen and at the bottom the original coat of arms of the Palatinate was exchanged for a meaningless coat of arms, sometimes referred to as beehive (taken from Benders: De Venrayse munten van Reinoud van Gulik and Gelre (1394-1402), in: De Beeldenaar, 2002, p. 5).



999

1000

- 999 Dubbele Groot Arnhem. A: Two shields (Jülich l., Guelders r.) under two helmets REINAUD' . DVX . IVL' Z GEL Z CO . Z , R: Long cross dividing legend with double-headed eagle in centre and lions of Guelders and Jülich alternating in the angles MONET A . NOVA . ARNEM ENSIS.. vdCh: 9.8. 3.399 gr. Irregular edge, extremely fine and perfect piece 150,--

Num. Kring - Rotterdam 1970.

Ex: Find Zutphen.

Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 233 (1960), no. 686.

cf. v.Gelder in JMP 1958, p.110.

Coinage Act 14th March 1402.

The helmet of Jülich: recognizable by the fox on top (v. d. Chijs p. 71).

v. d. Chijs mentions a pellet between the helmets which is not visible here.

- 1000 Groot - Nijmegen. A: Two shields (Jülich l., Guelders r.) under two helmets REINAULD' . DVX . IVL Z GEL Z CO . Z , R: Long cross dividing legend with double-headed eagle in centre and lions of Guelders and Jülich alternating in the angles MONET A . NOVA . NOVIM AGENS'. vdCh: 9.8. 2.097 gr. A little weakly struck, very fine to extremely fine 100,--

Elsen - Brussel, Auction 3 (1985), no. 426.



- 1001 Groot - Nijmegen. A: Two shields (Jülich l., Guelders r.) under two helmets REINAULD' . DVX . IVL Z GEL Z CO . Z ., R: Long cross dividing legend with double-headed eagle in centre and lions of Guelders and Jülich alternating in the angles MONET A . NOVA . NOVIM AGENS'. vdCh: 9.9. 1.993 gr. Almost extremely fine 100,--
Holleman - Enschede 1991.



- 1002 1/2 Groot - Nijmegen. A: Two shields (Jülich l., Guelders r.) under two helmets REINALD' . DVX . (IVL Z GEL Z CO . Z .), R: Long cross dividing legend with double-headed eagle in centre and lions of Guelders and Jülich alternating in the angles MONET A . NOVA . NOVIM AGENS'. vdCh: 9.11. 1.031 gr. Very fine 75,--
Holleman - Enschede 1986.



- 1003 1/4 Groot - Arnhem. A: Two shields (Jülich l., Guelders r.) under two helmets REINALD' DVX IVL' Z GEL CO, R: Long cross dividing legend with double-headed eagle in centre and lions of Guelders and Jülich alternating in the angles MONETA NOVA AERNEMENSIS. vdCh: 9.12. 0.802 gr. Very fine 50,--
Henzen - Amerongen 2003.
From list 139, no. 343.



- 1004 Dubbele groot - Arnhem. A: Helmet with arms of Guelder in the peacock's feathers over two shields (Jülich l., Guelders r.) REINALD' . DVX . IVL . Z . GEL . Z . CO . Z, R: Cross with double-headed eagles and lions of Guelders and Jülich in the angles + MONETA NOVA : DE : AERNEMENS :. vdCh: 9.14. 2.897 gr. Weakly struck, very fine 150,--
Henzen - Amerongen 1997.
From list January 1997, no. 279.

ARNOLD of EGMOND (1423-1473)

Arnold was the son of John, Lord, since 1423 Count, of Egmond and Maria of Arkel, who was the greatgranddaughter of Reinoud II. Born in 1410, deceased 23rd February 1473 in Grave and interred there in the St. Elisabeth Church. Wedded to Catharine of Cleves. Six children, among whom Adolf, who was to succeed him in Jülich.

Philip the Good was an ally initially, but ceased to be (1448). Philip negotiated with the nobles and with Arnold's wife, who represented the interests of her son Adolf. In 1459, civil war broke out anew. In 1465, Adolf locked his father Arnold away. The latter appealed to Charles the Bold, who summoned father and son to his court and imprisoned Adolf (1471). Although both the cities and the knights favoured Adolf, it was too late. In 1473, Arnold granted Burgundy Guelders and Zutphen in fief.

In 1423, Adolf (as IX) succeeded Reinoud in Jülich. He attempted enhancing his claim to Guelders by wedding his youngest son Rupert to the much older widow of Reinoud, Maria of Harcourt, but to no avail. Adolf acquiesced and henceforth solely named himself Duke of Jülich and Berg, Count of Ravensberg, whereas Arnold of Egmond, who succeeded in Guelders, tenaciously continued using title and coat of arms of Jülich next to those of Guelders. Arnold regularly invaded Jülich and did not cease until he suffered defeat in the Battle at Linnich on St. Hubert's Day 3rd November 1444 by Gerard (Adolf's successor).

Title and coat of arms of Jülich are even found on Charles of Egmond's coins (who perhaps still felt attached to Jülich that, after all, had once been his father's).

In 1465, Arnold was the last to have the name Arnhem indicated on his coins.



- 1005 Rijdergoudgulden. A: Mounted knight r. with sword ARNOLD' x DVX x GEL x IVL Z COMES x Z, x GEN x in the bottom field, R: Shields of Guelders and Jülich on floriated cross + MON' x NOVA x AVREA x DUCIS x GELRE. Fb: 59, vdCh: 9.1. 3.425 gr. **R** Well struck and very fine specimen

500,--

NMB - Amsterdam 1984.

The order of ranks of the arms is now turned around.

Why is here DVCIS instead of DVX mentioned? Arnold was in 1423 nearly 13 years old, could he be under guardianship?

This Rijdergulden is already of good weight instead of the Arnoldusgulden who is lighter in weight.



- 1006 Arnoldusgulden. A: Saint John the Baptist with staff ending in a cross and cross between his legs S . IOHANNES BAPTISTA lion of Guelders, R: Five shields in quatrefoil + DVX . ARNOLD' . GEL . Z . IVL . Z . COMIS . Z .. Fb: 56, vdCh: 10.3. 3.073 gr. **R** Very fine

500,--

Kranenburg - Veenendaal 1981.

cf. no. 998 for the five shields on the reverse, here divided arms of Guelders and Jülich in the centre.



- 1007 Groot - Arnhem. A: Two shields (Guelders l., Jülich r.) under two helmets **ARNOLD' : DVX : GEL Z IVL Z C' ZV'**, R: Long cross with rose in the centre and arms in the angles **MONET A : NOVA AERNE MENS.** vdCh: 10.9. 2.274 gr. **R** Weakly struck, very fine + 200,--
- L. Schulman - Bussum, Auction 21 (1998), no. 17.
 From hoard Aalten 1990 (see Benders: Vondst Aalten 1990, in: JMP 87 (2000), p. 155). The hoard contained 22 specimens of this type. The hoard Aalten was discovered in 1990. It was buried around 1441 or shortly after.
 Prior to the Aalten find, v. Gelder dated manufacture after 1434. That minting took place in 1441 in Nijmegen can be deduced from this hoard (whether the same holds true for Arnhem is not explicitly stated). In Arnhem this coin was called "leeuw" (lion).
 In the angles, the coats of arms of all four capitals:
 Double-headed eagle, double-headed eagle, walking lion over cross with ornamented extremities and rampant Guelder lion over lily. A good view of them is offered on no. 1010.



- 1008 1/2 Groot - Arnhem. A: Two shields (Guelders l., Jülich r.) under two helmets, trefoil between the helmets **ARNOLD' : DVX : GEL Z IVL Z C**, R: Long cross with rose in the centre and arms in the angles **MONET A : NOV' AERNE MENS.** vdCh: 10.10. 1.070 gr. **R** Traces of corrosion, very fine 200,--
- L. Schulman - Bussum 2001.
 From hoard Aalten 1990 (see Benders: Vondst Aalten 1990, in: JMP 87 (2000), p. 155). This hoard contained 9 specimens of this type.
 In the angles, the coats of arms of all four capitals: cf. no. 1007.



- 1009 Dubbele groot. A: Two lions rampant (Guelders l., Jülich r.) divided by vertical line + **ARNOLDV : DVX : GELREN Z IVL Z COMES : Z'**, R: Long cross dividing legend with A (Arnhem) - N (Nijmegen) - R (Roermond) - S (Zutphen) in the angles + **MONETA : NOVA : GELRENSIS :** vdCh: 10.13. 3.133 gr. **RR** Extremely fine specimen 300,--
- L. Schulman - Bussum, Auction 18 (1997), no. 14.
 VdChijns speaks from the "zilveren schild" (silvery shield).



1010

- 1010 Groot - Nijmegen. A: Shield with the lions of Guelders and Jülich under the helmet of Guelders and between two lions ARNOLD' DVX ∴ GEL Z IVL Z C Z', R: Long cross dividing legend with one pellet in the centre and one shield of the capital cities in each angle MONET A ∴ NOVA NOVIM AGENS'. vdCh: 11.16. 1.835 gr.

RR Traces of verdigris, otherwise extraordinary well struck specimen, almost extremely fine

500,--

L. Schulman - Bussum 2000.

A Guelders and a Jülich lion are clearly visible in the coat of arms. However, the lions bearing the coat of arms and the lion in the peacock's tail are not the Guelders type, but from Jülich. What could this imply? From the find of Aalten.

v. d. Chijs knew of only one specimen. In the hoard Aalten, there were 11.

See Benders: Hoard Aalten 1990, in: JMP 87 (2000), p. 155. This hoard contained 11 specimens of this type. In his article Benders demonstrates that this coin must have been struck after the Arnhem type and, naturally, before it was buried. That places this series at the beginning of the fourth decade. This concurs with data Alberts brings to light (De Staten van Gelre en Zutphen tot 1459, Groningen, 1950). On the 24th of December 1440, the Duke asked the capitals to send envoys to convene on monetary affairs. In January 1441, envoys from the capitals discussed *den nyen payment dat onse here hadde doen slaen* (new means of payment that our lords had struck). On 6th March 1441, a plan was announced in the *stadsrekening* (city accounts) of Arnhem to conduct an assay in Nijmegen. On the 8th of March, Arnhem (and Nijmegen?) aldermen spoke with a goldsmith in Cologne, who was to conduct the assay or monitor it. Careful examination of the archives showed that *payment als die nye gulden ende lewen daer ghemunt* (means of payment, as the new guilder and the "lion", minted there) were examined (Gelders Archief, Arnhem: Stadsrekening Arnhem 1441-1442 fol. 20). This documents minting in Nijmegen in 1441.



1011

- 1011 Groot - Arnhem. A: Divided shield (Guelders l., Jülich r.) under helmet DVX ARNOLD . GEL Z IVL . Z COS' . D . Z., R: Shield with double-headed eagle on long cross dividing legend MONETA NOVA . D AERNE MENSIS. vdCh: 11.18. 2.046 gr.

RR Very fine

300,--

Henzen - Amerongen 1996.

From list July 1996, no. 237.

COS D Z stands for COMES DE ZUTPHEN.



1012

- 1012 Dubbele Groot - Arnhem. A: Two helmets (Guelders l., Jülich r.) + ARNOLD' o DVX ∴ GEL ∴ IVL ∴ COMES ∴ ZVT' o, R: Long cross with divided shield of Guelders and Jülich in the centre and A - N - R - S in the angles (letters of the capital cities) + MONE TA o NOV A o GELR ENSIS ∴. vdCh: 11.19. 2.890 gr.

Well struck, very fine specimen

250,--

Coin Investment - den Haag, Auction 16 (1982), no. 26. Also called "woechey".



- 1013 1/2 Groot - Arnhem. A: Divided shield (Guelders l., Jülich r.) + ARNOLD' DVX GEL IVL Z, R: Long cross dividing legend with A - E - R - N in the angles (MON NOV) AER NEM. vdCh: --. 0.396 gr. Corroded, almost very fine 25,--
 Holleman - Enschede 1988.
 Found surround Nijmegen.
- 1014 1/4 Groot. A: Divided arms (Guelders l., Jülich r.) ARN(OLD o) DVX o GEL o IVL, R: Cross with shield in the centre M N . NOVA . GELREN .. vdCh: 11.21. 0.290 gr. Almost very fine 50,--
 de Geus - Eindhoven, Auction 13-14 (2002), no. 281.
 The legend in v.d. Chijs is different: ARNOLD : DX GEL Z IVL C Z and + MTA NOVA GELRENS.
 On the obverse, the Guelder coat of arms, for the reverse he can't make up his mind between the Arnhem or the Nijmegen coat of arms (doesn't it show a double-headed eagle?).
 This coin is of the same type as no. 1009. The weight lies between an eighth and a quarter groat. I tend toward the eighth.
 In 1473, the dominance of the House Burgundy commenced. See under Burgundian Netherlands.
 The city Zutphen didn't recognise Burgundian rule at first and took sides with Adolf's minor son Charles of Egmond.
 In 1478 and 1480, coins were struck in Zutphen in Charles of Egmond's name, explicitly mentioning CO(MES) ZU(TPHEN).



- 1015 Stuiver - Zutphen - 1480. A: Shield of Guelders and Jülich, above star + KAROL x DVX x GEL x IVL x Z.CO x ZV x, R: Long ornamented cross with one lion in each angle ANNO x DNI x M lis CCCC x LXXX. vdCh: 14.3. 2.520 gr. R Slightly corroded, very fine 200,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 2003.
 From list 135, no.116.
 Stuiver = "witpenning".
 The first cross on the obverse is that of Guelders.

In 1492, the by that time 25-year old Charles of Egmond was released from French captivity and embraced by Guelders as its duke. Maximilian, who did not approve, could do nothing to prevent this, however, he bided his time and raised an army with the aid of Jülich and Cleves, and in 1498 invaded. Philip the Handsome was willing to negotiate a settlement: Charles would hold effective power in Guelders, though under suzerainty of Philip the Handsome. This proposal suited neither Maximilian nor Charles V and they convinced Philip the Handsome in 1504 to exert severity and retain sway. The French king intervened and finally Margaret of Parma in 1513, recognised Charles of Egmond to be Duke of Guelders and Zutphen.

KAREL of EGMOND (1492-1538)



- 1016 Clemmergulden. A: Saint John the Baptist between four rings with staff terminating in a cross, one cross between his legs KAROL * D X * GELR' * IVL' *, R: Four shields in trefoil * MO' * NO' * * AVRE' * * GELR' *. Fb: 67, vdCh: 15.4. 3.185 gr. Small flan crack, well struck specimen with patina, very fine 400,--
 Delmonte - Brussel 1969.
 Arms on the reverse: in the centre divided shield of Guelders and Jülich, l. above double-headed eagle, r. above lion of Jülich, below lion of Guelders.
 On the Clemmergulden and the gold florins from Roermond, there is no reference COMES ZUTPHEN, henceforth there would be.



1017

- 1017 Goudgulden - Roermond. A: Saint John the Baptist between four rings with shield of Roermond between the legs KAROL' o D o X o GELR' o IVL', R: Four shields in trefoil o MO' x NO' o o AVRE o o GELR' o. Fb: 67, vdCh: 15.6. 3.266 gr. **R** Minor scratches, nice portrait, very fine 400,--

Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1988.
Shield of Roermond: lion over lis.
For the shields on the reverse cf. no. 1016.



1018

- 1018 Goudgulden - Roermond. A: Saint John the Baptist between four rings with shield of Roermond between the legs KAROL' o D o X o GELR' o IVL', R: Four shields in trefoil o MO' x NO' o o AVRE o o GELR' o. Fb: 67, vdCh: 15.6. 3.307 gr. **R** Very fine 400,--

MuM - Stuttgart 1990.
Shield of Roermond: lion over lis.
For the shields on the reverse cf. no. 1016.



1019

- 1019 Rijdergulden. A: Mounted knight r. with sword KAROLVS x DVX x GELR x IVL x C x ZV, in bottom field * GEL *,. R: Divided shield of Guelders and Jülich on floriated cross + MONE' + NOVA + AVREA + DVCIS + GELR'. Fb: 68, vdCh: 15.10. 3.258 gr. **R** Small flan defect on the reverse, very fine 300,--

ING-Bank - Amsterdam 1993.
From list 43, no.1035.
First cross on the reverse = cross of Guelder.



1020

- 1020 Groot. A: Lion of Guelder rampant with shield of Guelders and Jülich on a string + KAROLVS o DVX o GELRE o IVL o Z, R: Ornamented cross with lis in centre, two lis and two lion alternating in the angles MON NOVA GELRENSIS. vdCh: 16.14. 1.261 gr. **R** Corroded but very fine specimen 50,--

Henzen - Amerongen 2003.
From list 141, no. 417.
First cross on the reverse = cross of Guelder.
V. d. Chijs calls it "halve stuiver".
Weight is lower than a groot.



- 1021 Dubbele Stuiver - 1496. A: Divided shield of Guelders and Jülich under two helmets KAROL' DV' ♂ GEL' ♂ IVL' ♂ CO' Z', R: Cross with lion (Guelders and Jülich) in the 1st and 4th angles and lis in the 2nd and 3rd angles EQVITAS * IVDICIA * TVA * DOMINE * 96. vdCh: 16.20. 3.666 gr. **R** Extraordinary well preserved, very fine to extremely fine 500,--
Schulten-Frankfurt, Auction 5-10-81 (1981), no. 689.
EQVITAS IVDICIA TVA, DOMINI = Lord! Thy judgments are right (Ps.119 : 75a).
This psalm text features on the coins of Charles of Egmond and on later coins from Roermond (end of the 15th century).
- 1022 Stuiver. A: Divided shield of Guelders l. and Jülich r. + KAROLVS + DVX + GELR' + IVL + CO' + ZVT', R: Long cross with lis in the centre, one lis in the 1st and 4th angles and one lion in the 2nd and 3rd angles EQVI TASI VDIC IA T D'. vdCh: 17.25. 2.348 gr. **R** Weakly struck, very fine + 500,--
Willems - Bennekom 1991.
First cross on the obverse = cross of Guelder.



- 1023 Stuiver. A: Divided shield of Guelders and Jülich under lions head in multilobe + KAROLVS * DVX * GELR * IVL * Z * CO' * ZV', R: Floriated cross with star in the centre, one lis in the 1st and 4th angles and one lion in the 2nd and 3rd angles + EQVITAS * IVDICIA * TVA * DOMINE. vdCh: 17.27 var.. 2.461 gr. **RR** Small flan defect, very fine to extremely fine 400,--
Henzen - Amerongen 1992.
From list September 1992, no. 261.
V. d. Ch. only mentions a type (17.27) with a circle in the centre of the cross fleury on the reverse.
The first cross on the reverse (indicated as +) has the same shape as the first cross on the obverse. No cross of Guelders.
Small cross with crescent moons.



- 1024 Dubbele groot. A: Two helmets of Guelders and Jülich + KAROLVS o DVX o GELRIE o IVL o ZVT o, R: Long cross with the shield of Guelders and Jülich in the centre and G - E - L - R in the angles (every letter between two rings) MONET A o NOVA GELRE N SIS o. vdCh: 17.28. 2.854 gr. Very fine to extremely fine 150,--
Schulman - Bussum, Auction 24 (2000), no. 21.
V. d. Ch. Chijns comments that this is a coin of bottom quality and it contains virtually no silver.
First cross on the obverse = cross of Guelders.

ARNHEM

Municipal minting is seen in a number of places, often with the overlord's assent, however, as soon as political volatility allowed it, on local initiative.

Municipal money was used in the 14th century in Groningen and Utrecht. In Guelders, Nijmegen acquired this privilege in 1457 as to finance restoration of the St. Stevens Church, Arnhem did so in 1461 for its St. Eusebius Church (one of the coins displays the bust of St. Eusebius). In contrast to these cities, Utrecht used its money for local, daily circulation).

According to v. Gelder braemses were struck in Arnhem as well (see under Groningen). No. 1028 is classified under Arnhem, since it does not belong to any of the other three cities that struck braemses.

period *around 1461*

Around 1461, the city council commissioned Evert Mess to strike coin in the city's name. There is no reference as to which coins.

This text adheres to the name "halve meeuw" (half seagull) (Purmer) with mention of Van der Chijs' reference to this type as "moerken" (Morchén). The name "meeuw" better corresponds with Nijmegen (see under Nijmegen), according to v. Gelder.

The weight should be 0,2 gm. The weight of the coins may vary, as the weight was always determined per batch, and single coins were never weighed.



- 1025 1/2 Meeuw (moerken). A: Crowned lion l. (+ MONETA NOVA) AER, R: Long cross dividing legend (+ IN) NOI (DOM INE). Purmer: 2, vdCh: 14.8. 0.363 gr. **RR** Almost very fine 100,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1999.
 From list December 1999, no. 820.
 Found in Deventer.
- 1026 1/2 Meeuw (moerken). A: Crowned lion l. with cross in his claws MON (* NOVA) * ARNEMN, R: Long cross dividing legend SIT NO DNI BN. Purmer: --, vdCh: --. 0.313 gr. **RR** Very fine 100,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1999.
 From list November 1999, no. 878.
 Found in Deventer.
 Not published.



- 1027 1/2 Meeuw (moerken). A: Lion rampant * (MONE)TA * NOVA * AR....., R: Cross with lis in each angle * SIT * NOMEN * (DNI * BENEDIC). Purmer: --, vdCh. --. 0.241 gr. **RR** Edge fault, almost very fine 100,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1999.
 From list September 1999, no. 809.
 Found in Deventer.
 Not published.

period *after 1461*

- 1028 Braemse. A: Double-headed eagle. Purmer: 11, vdCh: 8.25. 0.175 gr. Very fine 100,--
 Holleman - Enschede 1988.
 Found in Nijmegen, along with 1041 and 1042 (see Nijmegen).
 This coin does not originate from Nijmegen (with inescutcheon), nor from Groningen (escutcheon with fess) and its style doesn't match that of the Deventer Braemses. Therefore, it is listed under Arnhem here, where braemses must have been struck as well (see under Groningen, art. v. Gelder)
 V. d. Chijs lists this coin under Groningen, simply because it was found there.

's HEERENBERG

The ancient history of the House Bergh is wrapped in mystery.

Grolle believes its lineage goes back to a certain Constantinus of Melegarde (Melegarde is the monastery Malgarten, north of Osnabrück). In 1064, he became *advocatus* of the Zutphen church (appointed by Count Otto II of Zutphen). It is believed, Constantinus was married to the daughter of Otto II. Dowry was the land Bergh (Berga), a territory, to the east of St. Vitus Abbey (founded by Count Wichmann in 963). Then Grolle has an indistinct period ensue, until in 1107, one Constantinus of Berga emerged in the office of Zutphen *advocatus*, of whom Grolle assumes he was a grandson Constantinus of Melegarde. He is considered to be the constructor of the castle Bergh.

Thoben and Bisselink (both from 's Heerenberg) favour another interpretation. They have Bergh history begin with the Constantinus that suddenly appeared in 1107. They refer to the relatedness of the names Montferrand in Auvergne (where Pope Urban II preached the first crusade), the castle Montferrand in Syria and the territory Montferland (near 's Heerenberg). Constantinus (a name, unknown to this region) was supposedly an Armenian, prince of Gargar (the second marriage of Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem, was to the Armenian Arda, Princess of Gargar). This Constantinus returned with his brother-in-arms Godschalk of Tecklenburg to Malgraten. He built the castle Montferrand (= de Monte = van den Bergh (berg = mountain)). This castle no longer exists, but the mound on which it stood, is still called "Montferland" (for Montferrant and for the name Adam, see under Looz).

In further genealogy, there is a certain Henry, a *nobilis* (= nobleman) of Montferrant, and then one Adam, a very unusual name for the region. The son of Adam I, Frederick I (1272-1279) possibly struck the first coin in 's Heerenberg (the coin bears no indication to this). With his son, Adam II, regular minting began, signified by the inscription DE MOT(E). In 1341, Cologne Archbishop Waleran of Jülich granted him the privilege of mint for Gendringen and in 1346 he allowed Adam to move the mint from Gendringen to 's Heerenberg. Until 1440, minting was done under William II of Bergh. The coins were all imitations of other known types and they all bore the title DOMINVS.

The lords of Bergh held fiefs from the archbishop of Cologne, the bishop of Utrecht and the count of Guelders and Zutphen. Due to their high nobility - they were considered equivalent to princes ("Reichsfürsten") - they could claim the privilege of mint.

WILLEM I of BERGH (1354-1387)

Granted 's Heerenberg city- and toll rights in 1379.



1029 Brabantinus. A: Shield with four lions of Bergh WIL(HELMVS D), R: Floriated cross + MONET(A DE MO)NTE. Grolle: 4.2.1.B.c (this specimen), vdCh: 16.2. 0.611gr

RR A little off centre, otherwise very fine

400,--

Hollandia - Kamperveen 1989.

Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 290 (1989), no. 49.

Found in 1989 in the place where the castle Puttenstein used to be (on the north-west Veluwe, near Kamperveen). The castle was owned by the knight Herbern of Putten, who terrorised the region. On 13th December 1373, an agreement was signed between the Utrecht bishop and the city Kampen "that they would pull the house Puttensteyn down without further ado". In 1375, the castle was devastated.

There is picture of this coin in the article by Grolle in the JMP 80 (1993), p. 137 and in the article by Dubbe fig. 7. In the hoard Arnhem were 7 specimens.

FREDERICK III of BERGH (1387-1416)

As soon as 1346, Adam III was granted permission to move coinproduction to a stone building standing before the castle Bergh (later known as Alde Monte).

Frederick III was married to Catharine of Buren († 1410). He was granted the fiefdom of Bijlandt by his father. He had only one daughter, Sophia van den Bergh.



1030

- 1030 1/4 Groot. A: Helmet with the arms of Bergh + FREDERICVS : DNS : DE : BER, R: Cross with N - A - S - B in the angles + MONETA NOVA DE BERGE. Grolle: 5.3.3.f, vdCh: --. 0.359 gr.

Henzen - Amerongen 1999.

The weight is remarkably low. Normally this would be double (0.75), though there are lighter pieces. The no. Gr: 5.3.3f weighs little too: 0.518 gr.

N - A - S - B = Nijmegen, Arnhem, Zutphen and Bergh.

RR Traces of corrosion, very fine

300,--

WILLEM II of BERGH (1416-1465)

The only daughter of Frederick III, Sophia († 1412), wedded Otto van Polanen-van der Leck. This couple also had a single child, the son William II van den Bergh. He succeeded his grandfather in 1416, under guardianship of his father. In 1428, he inherited the fiefdom Hedel from his father.

In 1440, he ceased minting, due, perhaps, to the growing influence of the centralised Burgundian state.



1031

- 1031 Kromstaart. A: Lion with the arms of Leck and Bergh on breast + WILHELMVS : DIIS : DE : BERGA, R: Long cross with B - B - A - H in the angles + MONETA : IIOVA : BER : GENNIS. Grolle: 6.1.5.1c, vdCh: 16.3. 3.291 gr.

Bought -1985 (Ex: Dekker collection).

Roermond and Bijlandt (the last is not certain).

B - B - A - H = Bergh - Bijlandt - Arnhem - Hedel (Grolle's reading confirms this). It is the more reasonable option because Hedel was of higher significance to the lords of Bergh than Bijlandt. Furthermore, the lords of Bergh would have used the letters that refer to their own estate (they had always chosen the letters of the four Guelders quarters up to then).

In the hoard Vorden, a few specimens of this type emerged (hoard entirely in KPK). Under no. 1b there are three specimens of the type under consideration (all others have slightly different texts). See Evelein: De vondst van zilveren munten te Vorden, in: JMP 30-32 (1943/45), p. 69-88.

RR Edge chipped, very fine

300,--



NIJMEGEN

The name Noviomagus is also known for Speyer. Considering Forrer the name is of celtic heritage and means a place where two rivers meet in an angle ("Wo zwei Flüsse zusammenstoßend einen Winkel bilden", Forrer, R.: Noviomagus, in: Pfälz. Museum XVI (1899), p. 90).

Nijmegen has been an important place since Roman times, when it was a *castrum*, later a city (Colonia Ulpia Noviomagus). It was situated at the border of the Roman realm and at the crossing of major waterways (which in those days already constituted significant trade routes).

Charlemagne used a merovingian palatine in Nijmegen, where he regularly sojourned. And the archbishopric Cologne already owned a small church (Stephanus Church) in the *castrum*.

The Ottonians and the Salians knew the way to Nijmegen too. Otto I, as well as II and III visited Nijmegen a number of times, Empress Theophanu died there and Henry II in 1018 called a diet of sovereigns in the palatine.

In 1047, all this came to an end, when Lorraine Duke Godfried the Bearded wreaked total devastation on the palatine. Under Lorraine, a coin was included that possibly had Nijmegen origins. Since no evidence has been found in archives, this coin is classified under Lorraine for the time being (see there). From that moment on, the palatine was no longer frequented by German Emperors.

It would take until 1155, before the palatine was restored, when Frederick Barbarossa had it rebuilt, acting on political and ideological grounds. In 1247, Nijmegen devolved to count Otto II of Guelders.

Minting only partly shows these developments. There is no evidence for Roman minting in Nijmegen, nor is it likely that such evidence will surface. Charlemagne never minted in Nijmegen and there were no known Ottonians' or Salians' coins struck there (although Ilisch, with regard to some coins that are hard to attribute, sometimes suggests Nijmegen as mint).

It took until the Staufian emperors for a very limited form of minting to start, and it ceased in 1247, when Nijmegen came under Guelders' influence. From that moment on, Nijmegen is a ducal Guelders mint. Around 1457, Nijmegen developed municipal minting.

Royal/Imperial Minting

ANONYMOUS



- 1032 Penning - Nijmegen?. A: Eagle with four rings in the field, R: Cross with one ring in each angle + A + A + A + A. Muntvondst Arnhem 1950: 46. 0.690 gr. Extremely rare. Extremely fine 300,--

Henzen - Amerongen 1997.

The hoard Arnhem contained three specimens of this, previously unknown type of coin (v. Gelder: Find of 12th-century coins in Arnhem, in: JMP 67 (1980), p. 132, no. 46). The obverse shows an exquisitely rendered eagle, that also appears on the comparably heavier imperial coins that presumably were struck in Maastricht (BlfMfr 1914, kol. 5618). Coin struck on Utrecht standard approx 1150-1200 (i.e. the weight is about 0.6 gm.). V. Gelder suggested Nijmegen as the possible mint. The coins by this mint are heavier, at any rate there is an eagle on the Nijmegen coin as well under vdCh:1.7.

Both coins (nos. 1032 and 1033) were found among others in Wageningen. This supports an attribution to Gelderland. This coin is substantially heavier than the three from the Arnhem hoard (0.53, 0.56 and 0.59), however, in his commentary on the find, v. Gelder maintains that numbers 46-51 weigh well over 0.6 gr and, thus, fit the Utrechtse standard of coinage.



- 1033 Penning - Nijmegen?. A: Eagle with four rings in the field, R: Cross with one ring in each angle + A + A + A + A. Muntvondst Arnhem 1950: 46. 0.575 gr. Extremely rare. Weakly struck, otherwise almost extremely fine 300,--

Henzen - Amerongen 1997.

cf. no. 1032.

On this coin, the obverse has a border, albeit textless, I think there are a number of pellets.

FRIEDRICH I BARBAROSSA (1152-1190)



- 1034 Penning. A: Crowned bust facing with standard and palm leaf, cross l. in field, R: Cross with one ring in each angle near the centre + I A + I C + I I + I V. vG: A. 0.555 gr. **R** Nice patina, extremely fine specimen 150,--

Peus - Frankfurt, Auction 277 (1971), no. 661.

The hoard Arnhem contained 18 specimens of this type and van Gelder classifies them under "Lower Rhine". Buchenau (Blätter f. Münzfreunde 1914 k. 5620) considered the imperial mint in Maastricht, but that does not concur with the weight. The similarities to the Utrecht and Lower Rhine types argue the correctness of Hävernick's Nijmegen hypothesis (p. 180), the small weight, however, proves a counter-argument.

In an article in De Beeldenaar (Drie middeleeuwse muntjes, 2 (1980), no. 10, p. 5), I suggested the text might be read ACIV (i.e. omitting the I's, which should be considered interruption marks). That would lead to believe that ARNHEM CIVITAS is meant, which, however, is impossible in this period. Wientjes: Twee 12e eeuwse penningen uit de muntvondst Arnhem", in: De Beeldenaar 6 (1982), p. 112, suggests Kaiserswerth, taking the shortened text (without the I's) to be VVERDA + Werda.

The final contribution is made by van Gelder in his article "De koninklijke munt te Nijmegen", in: Het Valkhof te Nijmegen, (Nijmegen 1980), catalogue of the art collection of the city of Nijmegen, part. 3. He comments as follows "Tegelijk wordt de aanmuntung in Nijmegen voortgezet (of begonnen). Koninklijke munten zijn bekend van een drietal typen, alle van hetzelfde gewicht als het naburige Utrecht, Gelre en Kleef, de beeldenaars vertonen echter meer aansluiting bij de zware penningen van Keulen en Aken".

This type reveals a prominent palm leaf. This is normally connected to crusades. On coins of lords that had returned from a successful crusade a palm leaf occurs. Frederick Barbarossa had set on a crusade, although he didn't see the end of it. Couldn't this type therefore have developed after he perished in Asia Minor in 1190?

- 1035 Penning. A: Crowned bust facing with standard and palm leaf, cross l. in field, R: Cross with one ring in each angle near the centre + I V + I C + I C + I A. vG: A. 0.548 gr. **R** Very fine 100,--

Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1979.

From Spink NC 1978, no. 12409.

cf. also no. 1034: the crowns of 1034 and 1035 are totally different.



1035



1034

HEINRICH VII (1220-1235)

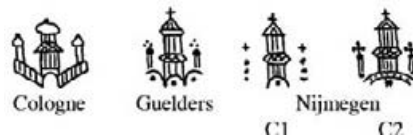


- 1036 Penning. A: Crowned figure with lis-topped sceptre and crosier (+ HENRICVS), R: Edifice with great portal between two towers NI(MAGEN)S. vG: C1, vdCh: 19.3. 0.409 gr. **R** Flan crack through the middle of the coin (two parts), very fine 100,--

Henzen - Amerongen 2003.

From list 143, no. 406.

The edifice on the reverse is a schematic, though basically accurate portrayal of the church that adorns Cologne coins. In Cologne, the church is always behind a wall with a gate in it, here a mere arch remains, which Van Gelder sees as a rudimentary Cologne wall. Furthermore, the reverse bears a high level of similarity to the coins of Gerard of Guelders. The similarities are the following:



Struck before 1229, the Nijmegen types between 1220 and 1235. The question of who imitated whom is therefore a hard one to answer. Van Gelder addresses the issue as follows "waarschijnlijk is in Arnhem het Nijmeegse type nagevolgd, maar het is niet uitgesloten dat de ontlening in omgekeerde volgorde verlopen is". Basing on the style we conclude that Arnhem minted first and Nijmegen was inspired by Arnhem. The three arches in the Arnhem type could depict a bridge, that was simplified into a single arch in Nijmegen (and thus, doesn't constitute a simplified Cologne wall).



- 1037 Penning. A: Count with cosier and orb facing, R: Incuus. vG: C1, vdCh: --. 0.451 gr. Very fine 150,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 2003.
 From list 137, no. 300.
 Found on the Heimerberg near the Rhine.
 The same as no. 1036, only with incuus on the reverse.

FRIEDRICH II (1212-1250)



- 1038 Penning - ca.1235. A: Crowned bust facing with sceptre and orb + C.....A, R: Church +.....A.....
 vG: C2, vdCh: 19.3. 0.341 gr. R A little uncentered, very fine 200,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 2004.
 From list 145, no. 520.
 The indication on this type (CESAR) can only allude to Emperor Frederick II himself, solely because this text was maintained until the end of the reign. This variety, without a proper name, seldomly occurs elsewhere, but the classical term CESAR for emperor made its appearance in Aachen with the legend FREDERICVS CESAR at the same time.



- 1039 Penning. A: Crowned bust facing with sceptre and orb (CESAR) REX, R: Cross with the limbs ending in pellets and A - V - E - * in the angles + NVM(AGEN). vG: C2, vdCh: 19.1. 0.394 gr. R Very fine 200,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1992.
 From find Leeuwarden (1983) no. 5 (JMP. 1984, p. 135, this coin is illustrated as fig. 5).



- 1040 Penning - imitation. A: Crowned bust facing with sceptre and orb ...VVE, R: Cross with the limbs ending in pellets and A - V - E - * in the angles EVEV (etc.). vG: D1, vdCh: --. 0.377 gr. R Weakly struck, otherwise very fine 250,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1992.
 From find Leeuwarden (1983) no. 5 (JMP. 1984, p. 135, this coin is illustrated as fig. 6).
 The hoard Leeuwarden contained 17 Nijmegen coins and 9 from Cleves (from 17, 11 are imitations, the 9 Cleves pieces are all imitations). They apparently come from the same moneyer's studio, perhaps an unofficial coinery in the vicinity of the cities of Nijmegen and Cleves, that are merely 20 km apart.
 That the deliberate imitation of known, circulating types of coins was common use, is shown by the regulations of the 12th and 13th century, as cited by Hävernich. Most interesting is a quote from Sloet: "Oorkonderboek der graafschappen Gelre and Zutphen", 1872 / 76, of a verdict in a dispute between Guelders and Cleves in 1266 (Sloet 896): "Eevenzo, wij zeggen dat als de graaf van Kleef ander geld laat slaan dan zijn eigen, dit een onrecht is. En dat hij zijn geld zal slaan met een zodanige beeldenaar dat het duidelijk onderscheiden kan worden van munten van andere heren en herkend kan worden" (Alike, we say that if the count of Cleves has struck another money than his own, this constitutes an injustice. And that he shall strike his money showing a device that distinguishes it from money from other lords and may be recognised).

WILLEM II (1234-1256)



- 1041 Penning. A: Crowned bust facing with orb WIL (REX), R: Cross with the limbs ending in pellets and A - V - E - + in the angles + NVMAGEN (CIVIS). vG: D2. 0.372 gr. Extremely rare. Weakly struck at the edge, very fine 500,--
- Henzen - Amerongen 1994.
From list March 1994, no. 292.
In 1982, a small hoard was found in Schagen, containing 4 specimens of this coin (all in the KPK).
Count William II of Holland was elected Roman king in 1247 and as such struck coin at the royal mint in Nijmegen. The same year, he ceded the city to his ally Otto II of Guelders, so Nijmegen coins in the name of William were only struck for a short period of time.
At the moment of finding the Schagen hoard, some coins of Frederick and William were known to read NVMAGEN. This for the first time adds CIVIS. The letters AVE + something else are not mentioned in the almanac.
On the 3rd of October 1247, William was elected Roman king and later that year Nijmegen went to Guelders. Therefore, minting must have been short-lived.

Municipal minting

The precise datum of commencement of municipal minting in Nijmegen is unknown. There are records on Arnt of Ochten's appointment to moneyer on 19th of January 1457 (therefore, municipal minting is generally believed to have started in 1457). Which coins he manufactured is unknown.

On the 30th August 1470, Johan of Huessen was appointed moneyer for a period of three years. He was to manufacture: coins in the value of 5 grootken, 4 grootkens (meeuwen) and grootkens (1/2 meeuwen). Which coins correspond with these values is also not known.

On the 19th December 1498, Sander of Batenborch was appointed moneyer, his contract was prolonged in 1499 for another four years. The range was then extended by double stuivers and muters.

Braemses, small uniface coins, were struck in the eastern half of the Netherlands, following Germany. Like is argued under Groningen (art. v. Gelder), they traveled northward in the course of time. The order would be: Nijmegen, Arnhem, Deventer, Groningen. The production of braemses is set in Groningen from around 1500, in Deventer we see 1492 and earlier. Based on this it seems probable that they were struck in Nijmegen during the second half of the 15th century.

They invariably display the double-headed eagle with an inescutcheon showing a lion (that faces either left or right).



- 1042 Braemse. A: Double-headed eagle with with shield on breast. Passon: 16A. 0.214 gr. Very fine 100,--
- Holleman - Enschede 1988.
Found in Nijmegen, together with 1028 and 1043.
The eagle of this mint is smaller than that of no. 1043.



- 1043 Braemse. A: Double-headed eagle with with shield on breast. Passon: 16A. 0.302 gr. Small edge fault, very fine + 100,--
- Holleman - Enschede 1988.
Found in Nijmegen, together with 1028 and 1042.



- 1044 1/2 Braemse (?). A: Double-headed eagle with with shield on breast. Passon: --. 0.125 gr.
 Holleman - Enschede 1988. Edge nicks, fine to very fine 10,--
 Found in the surrounding of Nijmegen.
 In view of the weight, a "half" might be considered.



- 1045 1/2 Stuiver - 1485. A: Crowned lion with shield of Nijmegen ○ MONETA * NOVA * NOVIMAGEN, R: Floriated cross ○ ANNO * DOMI * M * CCCC * LXXXV. Passon: 8 (B,c),
 vdCh: 1.10. 1.688 gr. **RR** Traces of corrosion, very fine 300,--
 Kölner Münzkabinett - Köln, Auction 33 (1982), no. 1064.



- 1046 1/8 Stuiver - ca 1500. A: Arms of Nijmegen + MONETA (NOVA NOVIO)MAG, R: Ornamented cross with cross of Guelders in the centre PAX SIT (SEP NOB). Passon: 19, vdCh: 2.21. 0.322 gr.
 Holleman - Enschede 1999. **R** Small flan, traces of corrosion, otherwise very fine specimen 75,--
 Mutterken.
 Found in Oosterbierum.



- 1047 1/8 Stuiver - ca 1500. A: Arms of Nijmegen + (MONETA) N(OVA NO)VIMA, R: Ornamented cross with cross of Guelders in the centre PAX SIT SEP NOB. Passon: 19, vdCh: 2.21. 0.444 gr.
 Holleman - Enschede 1988. **R** Traces of corrosion, fine 15,--
 Mutterken.
 Found in the surrounding of Nijmegen.



IJSSELSTEDEN DEVENTER

Before 776, Lebuinus erected a small chapel to undertake Saxon proselytisation from. It was devastated by Liudger, but rebuilt again.

Viking raids had prompted the Utrecht bishops to move their see to Deventer temporarily: St. Radbod († 917).

In 952, Otto I bestowed the estates in the *civitas* Deventer and around it, inherited from the Carolingians, on the Mauritius monastery in Magdeburg. First recorded use of the name Daventria was in 965. At the turn of the 10th century, the economy flourished, due to the decline of Dorestad, which the Vikings had laid in ruins, as a centre of trade. This boom is reflected in coinage (as it was in Tiel).

In 1046, Henry III granted bishop Bernoldus of Utrecht the right of mint and the county Deventer in fief. In this period the large Lebuinus Church was founded, and Deventer acquired city rights before the 12th century.

Deventer was one of the main Hanseatic cities.

In the 15th century, the right of mint passed from the bishop to the city council of Deventer, without a clear known reason. Starting 1466, an extensive series of large and small silver coins was struck, bearing the name and the eagle of Deventer; episcopal origins still showing in the arms of bishop David that was struck next to that of the city, for the last time in 1474.

Deventer in 1487 acquired the privilege to strike gold coins from Emperor Frederick III.

As the quality of episcopal coinage deteriorated steadily, the cities Deventer, Kampen and Zwolle united in the three cities' minting (see there).

Royal/Imperial minting

In the period from around 950 to 1046, the German emperors minted in Deventer. Minting here reached its apogee in the time of Henry II (of which time most coins are known).

OTTO I (936-980?)



1048 Denier. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + O ∴ D ∴ DO ∴ REX, R: Colonia monogram S / COIONI / A. 1.382 gr. **RR** Very fine

250,--

Henzen - Amerongen 1997.

Found in "De Vergt" in Waardenburg.

Ilisch (JMP 84-85 (1997/8)) discusses this type in § 8 (Colonia-Prägungen mit Dreieckskeilen). The word COLONI is not retrograde and the O's show a pellet at their centre, this coin most resembles 8.3. Ilisch attributes this to Otto I (936? – approx 980). This particular no 8.3 type was almost exclusively found in Silvolde, near Deventer. For its origin Ilisch provides a number of possibilities: the coins described in § 8 he attributes to the region Nijmegen-Tiel (the Betuwe). Neither Tiel nor Nijmegen apply. On p. 14, Ilisch considers Deventer, which would suggest that, in view of the fact that Cologne coinage was imitated, striking coin in Deventer could have started before 983. There would have to be evidence of it on the coins (pellet under the A, etc) and perhaps there is on the coin considered. The large weights militate in favour of Deventer and a period before 975, perhaps even in the middle of the 10th century. Because of its high weight (hoards of 8.3 near Deventer), this coin is listed under Deventer here.

OTTO III (983-996)



1049 Denier. A: Bearded crowned head facing OTTO . (REX), R: Cross with one pellet in each angle (DA)VENDR(IA). Dann: 560, FD: 1a, Ilisch: 1.3. 1.289 gr. **RR** Dark patina, very fine +

500,--

Berliner Münzkabinett – Berlin, Auction 18 (1983), no. 1499.



- 1050 Denier. A: Bearded crowned head facing O.....O, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle + . DAVENRE. Dann: 560, FD: 1a, Ilisch: 1.3. 1.410 gr. **RR** Very fine 400,--
- Münzen und Medaillen – Basel 1980.
 ODDO is saxonian, OTTO is franconian.
 This type differs slightly from Ilisch: 1.2 and 1.3 (it merely reads ODDO, besides, the crown on the centre triangle bears a cross instead of a ring)



- 1051 Denier. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + ODDO REX, R: In three lines S / RENVAD / A+. Dann: --, FD: 5b, Ilisch: 1.1.4 (but with retrograde S). 1.094 gr. **R** A little weakly struck, otherwise very fine + 300,--
- Peus – Frankfurt, Auction 308 (1983), no. 800.
 The legend on the reverse has to be read retrograde DAVNERA.
 This coin used to be referred to as the *REDNATHES* coin, because the text was never read retrograde. The Rustringen legal sources from the 14th century, provide the following passage on coins with *rednathes slachta*. *Rednath* was supposedly one of the first East Frisian die-sinkers. In the 19th century, Hooft of Iddekinge already indicated that *rednathes* should be read *redieuathes*, i.e. these coins would have been struck on the orders of a *redjeven* (judge). This all dates back to the 14th century or earlier (see Kappelhof, p. 90).

HEINRICH II (1002-1024)



- 1052 Denier. A: Alpha and omega between trident and S in the field (S HE)NRIC(VS), R: Cross with one pellet in each angle (DAVA)NTRIA. Dann: 562, FD: 7, Ilisch: 1.7. 1.094 gr. **R** Very fine 150,--
- Rauch - Wien, Auction 34, no. 1244.
 This denier and the following were imitated in Germany, also in the period of Heinrich II.



- 1053 Denier. A: Alpha . omega between trident and S in the field (H)ENRIC(VS), R: Cross with one pellet in each angle DAV(ANT)RIA. Dann: 562, FD: 7, Ilisch: 1.7. 1.103 gr. **R** Very fine 150,--
- Münzen und Medaillen - Stuttgart 1989.



1054

- 1054 Denier. A: REX around hand + HENRICVS IMRE PATO, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle + DAVANTRIA. Dann: 563, FD: 8, Ilisch: 1.8. 1.263 gr. Extraordinary well struck, very fine + Schulman - Amsterdam 1976. 250,--



1055

- 1055 Denier. A: RAX around hand . HE(INRI)CVS, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle + CTN...VC (first C retrograde). Dann: --, FD: --, Ilisch: --. 1.026 gr. Weakly struck at the edge, very fine Rietdijk - den Haag, Auction 347 (1990), no. 3131. 200,--
The E of REX looks like an A.
Between thumb and forefinger, the upper part of a crosier
Not in Dannenberg. There seems to be only one specimen, previously in the possession of Berghaus.



1056

- 1056 Denier. A: REX around hand, legend nearly invisible + H-II-....., R: Cross with one pellet in each angle + II II II II II. Dann: --, FD: --, Ilisch: --. 1.019 gr. Extremely rare. Extraordinary well preserved, extremely fine Münzauktion - Essen, Auction 67 (1994), no. 2783. 250,--
The wedges on the reverse reminding on the "Wendenpfennige/Sachsenpfennige".
This hand is very broad, normally it looks quite smaller.

HAND

In Deventer, we encounter a new type: that of the hand. Its prototype was the penny of Aethelred II in England, struck around 980. Formally, that had a predecessor in a penny of Edward the Elder's, but according to Archibald those two were not related (Archibald: Anglo-Saxon Coinage, Alfred to the Conquest in the Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art. London BM 1984, p. 170 et. seqq.).

The hand took on several shapes: most established were the hand emerging from the clouds (see the Annunciation from Naples) and the hand over the cross (see for instance no. 531 from Metz).

The coin under consideration shows a hand pointing down that is surrounded by letters. To the first Christians, the hand was the symbol of divine providence (see F. Friedensburg: Die Symbolik der Mittelaltermünzen, Berlin 1913-1922, p. 189). It occurs in two varieties:

- a.) The full hand, the gesture of blessing (3 Mos. 9), that applies to Christ as well (Luc. 24).
- b.) Index and middle finger stretched: the blessing hand sign, used in the catholic church, and a gesture of oath, when taken other than by placing a hand on the Bible.

Type b. is found on coins of Aethelred (N: 769, like type a.), among others. Type a. was much wider disseminated and is seen on coinage from the region Deventer, Bohemia (a practically identical imitation of the English type), Germany and other places. As the hand is regarded as the sign of divine providence, it is usually referred to as "the Hand of God". Yet, there is a significant difference:

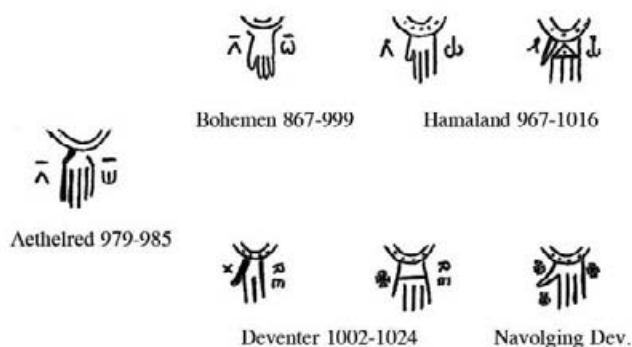
- a.) The hand, opened with the palm out, is surrounded by the letters $\Lambda \omega$, alpha and omega, the beginning and the end. As this combination designates God, it stands to reason that the hand indicates the Hand of God.

The symbols $\Lambda \omega$ were later replaced with a variety of symbols, corrupting the original sense.

- b.) The hand is surrounded by the word REX. This alludes to the kingdom of God or of Christ. The question remains whether the Hand of God is referred to or that of Christ.

Later the letters REX, just as the $\Lambda \omega$, were replaced by crosses.

At any rate, the two varieties alpha and omega on the one hand *and* REX on the other represent different notions. This has to be considered when interpreting coinage.



A similar phenomenon is observed with the "Holzkirche", that initially was surrounded by the letters Λ and ω , letters that later were replaced with a variety of symbols (see under Goslar).



1057 Denier. A: Head with wild hair and broad lips l., blundered + HEINRICVS IM legend, R: B o O n o A o around small cross DA..ANT... Dann: 564, FD: 11, Ilich: 1.9. 1.054 gr.

Magnificent portrait, weakly struck at the edge, very fine +

250,--

Hirsch - München, Auction 113 (1978), no. 945.

For BONA see Tiel and the comments with no. 181 (Charlemagne).

This coin was struck shortly before 1024 and was continued by Conrad II.

KONRAD II (1024-1039)



1058



- 1058 Denier. A: Head with wild hair l. CON(R)ADV(S), R: o B o O o N o A around small cross DAVANT... Dann: --, FD: --, Ilisch: --. 1.048 gr. Extremely rare, weakly struck at the edge, very fine 750,--
 Peus - Frankfurt, Auction 309 (1984), no. 681.
 This coin is of the same type as that of Henry II (see no. 1057). Perhaps it is a specimen from the first year of Conrad's reign.
 The B of BONA is retrograde, which corresponds with Ilisch 1.9.1 of Henry II.
 Presumably a unique.



1059



- 1059 Denier. A: Crowned and bearded head facing (C)ON.....SIN, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle + DV..... Dann: 566, FD: 13, Ilisch: 1.11. 1.130 gr. R Small scratches, very fine 200,--
 Münzzentrum - Köln 1978.
 This type has to be distinguished from the similar types of Otto III. Here the face is oblong, the eyes almond-shaped.
 The dies are more delicate than those of Otto III.
 For minting in the name of the bishops of Utrecht, see under Utrecht.

Municipal minting

The 15th century saw Deventer flourish, both in a commercial and a political sense. The municipal authority presumably had a necessity for an own mint, but there is no certainty as to when and how much such a mint was operated.

Although the episcopal arms of Utrecht were included in Deventer coinage up to 1474, effective municipal minting already started in 1466. Deventer ever having possessed minting privileges for silver coins is undocumented. Its silver coins were probably struck under a usurped right. Emperor Frederick III in 1486 did grant Deventer the right to strike gold coins, but there is no allusion to an "existing right to strike silver coin". Customary law was so wide-spread at the time, that the emperor presumably wanted to leave it intact.

Braemsen were small uniface coins circulated by church principals. In 1492, new braemsen were struck and the old were declared non-current. It is impossible to distinguish the braemsen before 1492 from those after 1492. The braemsen may be classified as follows: a. single eagle, b. eagle with the arms of the Oversticht beside it, c. eagle with the arms of the Oversticht underneath.

Eagle



1060



1061



- 1060 Braemse. A: Eagle l.. FD: 1, vdCh: --. 0.379 gr. Traces of verdigris, very fine 75,--
 Holleman - Enschede 1988.
 Found in Hattum.
- 1061 (Halve) Braemse (?). A: Eagle l.. FD: 1 (?),vdCh: --. 0.156 gr. Slightly corroded, very fine 75,--
 Holleman - Enschede 1988.
 Found in Elburg - Hattum.
 This coin, just as no. 1060, is classified under FD: 1. Yet, the head of the eagle is entirely different and the weight and the size indicate a half.



- 1062 Braemse. A: Eagle r.. FD: 8, vdCh: 11.13. 0.318 gr. Very fine 50,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 2000.
 From list 116, no. 1154.
 FD 8 has the head l.
 The structure of the stamp is rougher.
- 1063 Braemse. A: Eagle l., left wing like a standard. FD: --, vdCh: --. 0.381 gr. Slightly corroded, very fine 50,--
 Holleman - Enschede 1988.
 Found in Elburg - Hattum.
 This coin is not listed in FD. The question arises whether this presents a transition to the next group: the arms of the Oversticht to the right of the eagle.

Eagle with shield of Oversticht



- 1064 Braemse. A: Eagle with shield of Oversticht. FD: 3, vdCh: 11.8. 0.255 gr. Slightly corroded, very fine 50,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1990.
 Fortuyn Drooglever knows of another no. 4 (vdCh: 11.9), of which the difference with no. 3 (vdCh: 11.8) is unclear.
 With no. 3 there is mention of an eagle and with no. 4 of a schematic drawing of an eagle.

Eagle over shield of Oversticht



- 1065 Braemse. A: Eagle l. with shield of Oversticht in the claws. FD: 9, vdCh: 11.14. 0.187 gr. Very fine + 100,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 2004.
 From list 152, no. 747.
 This specimen is of much greater delicacy in style than is usual for Deventer.
- 1066 Braemse. A: Eagle r. over shield of Oversticht. FD: 9, vdCh: 11.14. 0.380 gr. Very fine 75,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 2000.
 From list 116, no. 1156.
 Here, too, the style is finer than that of the last groups. Perhaps the group featuring the arms between the talons represents 1492 coinage.
 Apart from the braemsen, the oldest known municipal coin of Deventer dates from 1458 ("Plak", FD: 12).



- 1067 Plak - 1466. A: Eagle l. over shield of Oversticht + MONE (* NOVA) DE * DAVENT', R: Long cross dividing legend ANNO DNI'M CCCC LXVI. FD: 13, vdCh: 12.17. 0.708 gr. R Small edge fault, almost very fine 125,--
 Bought 1989.
 Found in the Betuwe.
 FD knows only of specimens of this type struck in 1466, however, the coin at hand might show 1467 (there wasn't enough space for the second I, therefore it practically merges with the +).



1068

- 1068 1/2 Plak - 1466. A: Eagle l. over shield of Oversticht + MONE * NOVA DE * DAVENTI, R: Cross + ANNO * DNI' * M * CCCC * LXVI. FD: 14, vdCh: --. 0.388 gr. **RR** Very fine 250,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1999.
 From list August 1999, no. 1049.
 Found in Deventer.



1069

- 1069 Witpenning - 1472. A: Arms with eagle l. over shield of Oversticht + MONETA x NOVA DE x DAVNTRIA, R: Shield of Burgundy on long cross with rings in the angles ANNO DOMIN M x CCC LXXII. FD: 24, vdCh: 17.20. 2.224 gr. Very fine 200,--
 Schulman - Bussum, Auction 6 (1991), no. 476.



1070

- 1070 1/2 Witpenning - 1473. A: Eagle l. with the shields of Deventer and Oversticht in the claws + MONETA NOVA DAVENTRIE, R: Shield of Burgundy on long cross ANNO MILLE D.CCCC LXXIII. FD: 27a, vdCh: 18.22. 1.604 gr. **R** Almost very fine 125,--
 Holleman - Enschede 1991.
 From list 86, no. 390.
 In this collection, this is the last coin displaying the arms of David of Burgundy (the last was struck in 1474 FD 28).



1071

- 1071 Witpenning (?) - 1481. A: Eagle l. over shield of Oversticht + MONETA * NOVA * DE * DAVENTRIE, R: Shield of Oversticht on long cross ANNO DNI' * M * * CCC * LXXXI. FD: --, vdCh: --. 1.857 gr. Extremely rare, very fine 750,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1999.
 Found in Deventer.
 Witten were struck until 1474. Between 1474 and 1481 only 2 types (plak and half plak) were struck.
 In 1481, an attempt seems to have been made at reviving the old witten (the arms of David of Burgundy were replaced by the arms of the Oversticht). Apparently, it failed.
 Starting 1481, the stuiver - half stuiver - etc was introduced. Both reveal a cross fleury on their reverse, without a coat of arms. The half stuiver's obverse (FD: 32) is identical to that of the coin at hand, the text on both sides is also the same, except for the cross fleury on the reverse, that was imitated from the stuiver's (FD 31).



- 1072 Goudgulden. A: Saint Lebuinus on gothic throne with the shield of Deventer between his legs MON' * DE' * DAV ENTRIA, R: Orb in trefoil + FREDRIC' ROMANORV' * IMPER. Fb: 20, FD: 35, vdCh: 11.1. 3.097 gr. **RR** Well struck, almost extremely fine 1.250,--
 Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1972.
 This type o.D. is struck in the period 1486-1488.



- 1073 1/4 Stuiver - 1488. A: Shield with eagle l. and the shield of Oversticht between his claws (+ MON)ETA o DE o DAVENTRIA, R: Long cross with shield of Oversticht in the centre and D - A - V - E in the angles ANN O o DN' M o CC CC o 88. FD: 37, vdCh: 12.24. 0.811 gr. **R** Corroded, fine 50,--
 Holleman - Enschede 1988.
 Found in the surrounding of Elburg - Hattum.



- 1074 Plak - 1495. A: Eagle l. + M(ONET * DE) * DAVENTR *, R: Long cross with the shield of Oversticht in the centre ANN DNI MCC C(C95). FD: 41, vdCh: --. 0.357 gr. Slightly corroded, very fine 50,--
 Holleman - Enschede 1988.
 Found in the surrounding of Elburg - Hattum.
 The last part of the year (CC95) is not visible.
 The MONET is unclear, but in view of the gap, it must be ET, the letters of no. 1075, which are clear, support this reading. FD gives MON.



- 1075 Plak - 1495. A: Eagle l. + MONE(T * DE * DA)VENTR *, R: Long cross with shield of Oversticht ANN DNI (MCC CC9)5. FD: 41, vdCh: --. 0.423 gr. Slightly corroded, very fine 50,--
 Holleman - Enschede 1988.
 Found in the surrounding of Elburg - Hattum.
 In the legend is the 9 not visible.
 cf. no. 1075.



1076

- 1076 1/4 Stuver - 1503. A: Eagle l. + MONETA * D(E * D)AVENTR, R: Long cross with the shield of Oversticht in the centre and D - A - V - E in the angles ANN ODM CCCC CIII. FD: 49, vdCh: --. 0.598 gr. Small flan crack, very fine

75,--

Holleman - Enschede 1990.

In the description in FD (De Beeldenaar 2 (1978), no. 6, p. 10), the text is slightly different, and it is dated 1503. Difficult to tell on this specimen, I think it says III, there is too little space for 4 numerals. The weight provided by FD is considerably lower: 0.44 g



1077

- 1077 Lebuinusstuver - 1509. A: Saint Lebuinus standing with crosier and book SANCTVS * LE - BVI 1509, R: Eagle l. over shield of Oversticht + MONETA * NOVA * DE + DAVENTRIA. FD: 51, vdCh: 12.28. 2.110 gr. Very fine

150,--

Coin Investment - Lisse, Auction 54 (1999), no. 481.

OOST-NEDERLAND / EAST NETHERLANDS

ANONYMOUS - 11th century



1078

- 1078 Denier. A: Cross HLVDOVIC..., R: Three crosses around hand + NTM.....V I : I B I. Dann: 1961, Iisch: --. 0.894 gr. **R** Reverse a little off centre, very fine

150,--

WAG - Dortmund, Auction 23 (2003), no. 3715.

Imitation of the Deventer witten.

The I's in the legend on the reverse consist of two triangles pointing towards each other.

Dannenber comments: "Ohne Frage niederländischer Herkunft + LV . OVVICVS / + NTMOCII ... LA".

Exp. in K.M. There is reference to Weijl: B. Bl. 2129h.

There is no mention whatsoever of this piece in literature, even Iisch does not mention it.



DRIE STEDEN / THREE CITIES

In the second half of the 15th century, the economy of the Low Countries deteriorated severely. In addition, minting was chaotic (especially after the death of Charles the Bold). In a great number of mints, coin was randomly struck, lacking a common standard. To end this and stimulate trade, several city councils in the East Netherlands strove to issue a mutual coin of sound content.



Deventer



Kampen



Zwolle

In the arms of Deventer and Kampen, the small arms of the Oversticht still appear. This is not the case with Zwolle.

In 1479, an agreement to jointly mint was reached by the cities of Deventer, Kampen and Groningen (With the support and concession of Zwolle, which itself did not enjoy a right of mint and couldn't fully participate). Stuivers were struck in Deventer and Kampen and a half stuiver in Deventer. Minting in Groningen in this period is undocumented.

In 1488, a new agreement was effected, its parties now: Deventer, Kampen, Zwolle and Groningen. Zwolle had by then acquired the right of mint from Emperor Frederick III. Full, half and quarter stuivers were struck in Deventer, Kampen and Zwolle. Groningen did not participate in this minting either.

Year	Value	Mint
1479	stuiver	Deventer Kampen
1488	halve stuiver	Deventer
	stuiver	Deventer Kampen Zwolle
	kwart stuiver	Deventer Kampen Zwolle

After the revaluation of the Burgundian coin in 1489, agreements or treaties as those of 1488 were of little use.

KAMPEN



- 1079 1/2 Stuiver - 1488. A: Arms of Deventer, Kampen and Zwolle with C in the centre * MONE' * NOV' * * CAMP', R: Shield of Kampen on long ornamented cross ANN O DN M*CCCC*88. FD: 8, vdCh: 10.5. 1.881 gr. R Scratches on the reverse, very fine 200,--

ZWOLLE



- 1080 1/2 Stuiver - 1488. A: Arms of Deventer, Kampen and Zwolle with Z in the centre o MONE o NOV o ZWOL, R: Shield of Zwolle on long ornamented cross ANN O 8 DN M 8 CC CCo88. FD: 9, vdCh: 10.6. 1.746 gr. R Traces of encrustation, very fine 200,--
- Müller - Solingen, Auction 36 (1982), no. 1410.

DEVENTER



1081

- 1081 1/2 Plak - 1534. A: Ornamented cross with star in the centre MON NOV DAV ENT, R: Arms of Deventer, Kampen and Zwolle with C in the centre (AND) MCCC CC..(?). FD: 23b, vdCh: --. 0.415 gr.
 Holleman - Enschede 1988. Weakly struck, otherwise very fine
 Found in the surrounding of Elburg - Hattum.
 The numbers 34 are not visible, FD knows only of the year 1534 with the letter D (=Deventer).

25,--

ZWOLLE

Zwolle emerged from a minor settlement on an elevation near to water (Suolle). First documented in a charter from 1040, in which the bishop of Utrecht bestowed the church (on the site of present-day St. Michael's Church) on the parrish of Deventer.

In 1230, Zwolle acquired city rights from the Utrecht bishop Wilbrand of Oldenburg, as reward for the support in the battle against the Drents.

In 1324, the city was burnt down by Zweder van Voorst, as he was convinced Zwolle was undermining his authority.

Zwolle was rebuilt and its trade flourished due to the market right acquired in 1265. It rose to its apogee in the second half of the 14th century and the first half of the 15th. Zwolle became a hanseatic city in 1407.

Furthermore, Zwolle was a cultural centre: the *Devotio Moderna* of Geert Groote and Thomas à Kempis was very prominent.

In 1488, Zwolle received a general privilege of mint from Emperor Frederick III.



1082

- 1082 Goudgulden. A: The archangel fights with sword and shield the fallen devil o MON' . AV ZWOL', R: Orb in trefoil + FREDRIC ⊗ RO'AN' ⊗ IMPE'AT. Fb: 206, FD: --, vdCh: 17.2. 3.263 gr.
 Extremely rare, Small flan defect at the edge, very fine to extremely fine

2.000,--

Münzen und Medaillen - Deutschland, Auction 1 (1997), no. 1360.
 With the title emperor Frederick III.



1083

- 1083 Butgen - 1497. A: Shield of Zwolle * MONETA o NOVA o ZWOLL, R: Shield of Zwolle on long cross ANN' DNI MCC CC97. FD: --, vdCh: 17.6. 0.475 gr.
 Extremely rare, very fine

200,--

Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 9 (1987), no. 4671.



1084

- 1084 1/8 Plak - 1497. A: Shield of Zwolle + MON . NOV . ZWOL', R: Long cross with one rose in each angle + AN DM IN 4 97. FD: --, vdCh: --. 0.282 gr.
Extremely rare, a little weakly struck, otherwise very fine specimen
- Henzen - Amerongen 2000.
From list 115, no. 1481.
Found in Amersfoort.

250,--

KAMPEN

Its name used to be spelled Campen. First documented mention in a 1227 charter. Kampen must have already existed in the 11th century. Although, Kampen was governed as if it had city rights and all authorities involved approved of this, there is no evidence of these rights. Kampen probably finally acquired city status in the second half of the 13th century, by slowly usurping them or by the consolidation of a complex of rights it had acquired by that time. Emperor Wenceslas in 1397 granted Kampen a privilege that entitled the city to strike both silver and gold coins. There was no minting before 1397, neither was there directly after this date. Once minting started being developed, the city did, however, always invoke this old privilege and never strove for renewal of it.

Kampen played a vital role in Baltic trade and became a Hanseatic city in 1441. At the end of the Middle Ages, its significance as centre of commerce waned.

Kampen was the first city to issue own coins in the Oversticht. Around 1425, the first small coins were manufactured, probably used as small change. However, in the middle of the 15th century, Kampen began striking larger silver coins, with the arms and the name of the city. Deventer minting, in the same period, solely consisted of issues commissioned by the bishop of Utrecht.



1085

- 1085 Dubbele groot. A: Shield of Kampen in multilobe + MONET(A) : NOVA : OPIDI : CAMPENS, R: Cross with C - A - M - P' in the angles + BNDICTVS : QVI : VENIT : IN : NOB. FD: --, vdCh: 16 (Supplement). 2.453 gr.
R Test cut, otherwise extremely fine specimen
- Henzen - Amerongen 1998.

300,--



1086

- 1086 St Nicolaasstuiver - 1511. A: Saint Nicolaus standing with crosier and blessing hand SANT * NIC OLAVS * EP' * 1511, R: Shield of Kampen with small shield of Oversticht BEA TI.QI FACI' IVST'. FD: --, vdCh: 15.17. 2.760 gr.
RR Extraordinary well preserved for this type, very fine
- Henzen - Amerongen 1999.
V.d.Chijs knows only of one specimen in his times.

500,--



1087

1087 Plak - 1526. A: Shield + MONETA * NOVA * CAMPN, R: Long cross AN NA DNS 1526. FD: --, vdCh: -. 0.399 gr. **RR** Pressured in one part, very fine

50,--

Willems - Bennekom 1991.

In 1990 / 91, the KPK was shown several specimens of this type. The indication "plak" was derived from the name of a similar coin (with a short cross) in the hoard Arnhem.

MAASSTEDEN

OYEN

This small town, nowadays a part of the municipality of Lith, used to be a fiefdom (fief) within the land of Cuyk. Maria of Brabant was the widow of Duke Reinoud III of Guelders († 1371), and a daughter of Duke John III of Brabant. After her husband was captured (1361), Maria bought the fief from Dirk Meerhem and Maria of Boxtel. Minting didn't start until after the death of her husband in 1371. The oldest known charter, that bears any reference to minting is from the 24th October 1373. Puister attributed Maria's privilege of mint to her high nobility (neither before nor after Maria's days was there any minting in Oyen). 7 types of coins were struck, every one an imitation of existing types. Among them were two gold types, which constitutes something of a rarity for a 14th century "hagemunt" (mint striking below-standard imitations, that, however, bore the minting lord's name, see Puister: De muntslag in Noord-Brabant door de eeuwen heen, Beeldenaar 1977, no. 3, p. 18).

MARIA of BRABANT (1362-1399)



1088

1088 Rijnse goudgulden - Oyen. A: Duke with shield under canopy over shield of Guelders MARIA : DVC IS : GELREN, R: Two shields in multilobe (Shield of Guelders and double-headed eagle) + BENEDICT : QVI : VENIT : IN : NOMINE. Fb: 41, vdCh: 6.1. 3.439 gr. **RR** Slightly bent, otherwise extremely fine

2.000,--

Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1992.

From Spink - Zürich, Auction 43 (1992), no. 171.

Ex: "Veynau" collection (171).

The coins in the collection "Veynau" were in the possession of a Cologne collector. He wished to buy the castle of Veynau, situated in the North-Eifel, and arranged for his gold coins to be sold at an auction to raise the money. Hence, the auction was called "Veynau".

This coin is an exact copy of that of William I of Guelders (1379-1402). This raises the question as to who imitated whom? Most likely, William took the initiative and Maria followed (emulation of a current type). But the opposite is also conceivable: the coin is an imitation of a Cologne coin of Kuno von Falkenstein as co-adjutor (Benders identifies the bust as being St. Peter, but that's impossible, for St. Peter has a key, where St. Paul has the sword).

Bender distinguishes two types of this gold Gulden: one bearing the Brabant lion and the other the Guelders lion. Which one is oldest, is undeterminable. The difference would have to be in the weight, but the weights of both groups barely differ. Nevertheless, on 4th of December 1388 as well as on 29th of September 1390, there is mention of a "new Oyen Gulden" (cf. Benders: De muntslag van Maria van Brabant, in: De Beeldenaar 25 (2001), p. 99).



MEGEN

The seigniorship of Megen, situated by the Meuse between the duchies of Brabant and Guelders, is documented since the 12th century.

Counts of Megen were in office shortly before the turn of the 13th century. What makes matters awkward is that each count was called John. Not until John III did coins emerge, he left a great variety of them, every one an imitation of coins from the surrounding regions.

John III had only one daughter and when she died († 1420), the county briefly passed to Brabant until it was devolved to the House Dikbier in 1421. Under John V from this house, coinproduction ceased.

The same John V eventually sold the county to Gui de Brimeu et d'Humbercourt. He was the ancestor of Marie de Brimeu (1572 - end 16th century), who would play an important part in minting in Gorinchem.

JAN III (1359-1415)



1089 1/8 Groot. A: Helmet between to vertical lines + IOHANNES . (COM .) ME, R: Cross with A - B - C - D in the angles + MONETA NOVA DE.... Lucas: vz 16/kz 15, vdCh: --. 0.221 gr.

Henzen - Amerongen 2001.
From list 122, no. 1474.

This coin is not listed in Lucas. It is a kind of mixture of two types: Lucas 16 (billon de cuivre) displays a mantled helmet along with the same text, but the reverse is made up of a footed cross, its angles bearing the letters M E G N. The reverse at hand: a footed cross, A B C D in the angles, is seen as reverse on Lucas 15 (1/8 Groot). that, however, shows the bust of the count on the obverse, modelled after the coinage of William I of Guelders.

Modelled after the 1/8 Groot of William I of Guelders.

V.d.Chijns does not know of the letters ABCD.

The same coin with v.d.Chijns (3.16) with MEGN weighs 0.2 gr, Lucas 15 weighs 0.17 gr, but this weighs 0.220 gr, the original weight would have been higher, for parts are missing from the edge. Lucas 16 weighs 0.2 gr.(though it consists of copper)

RR Edge chipped, fine to very fine

200,--

SEIGNIORITY ARKEL

Arkel was a seigniorship in the county Teisterbant, between the rivers Lek and Merwede. It encompassed the towns of Gorinchem, Heukelom, Asperen, Leerdam among others.

The seigniorship was a possession of the Lords of Arkel. There were two castles: one by the Linge, across from the village Arkel, the other to the east of Gorinchem (destroyed in 1412 by Count William VI of Holland).

John I († 1264) is the first count named in a charter (1254). His son John II (†1297) acquired the villa Gorinchem. Of greater fame is John IV († 1358), who joined ranks with Count William V of Holland in the Hook and Cod Wars. His brother was the bishop of Utrecht, John of Arkel.

Known best is John V († 1428). He had always had his eye on Holland and became treasurer there, but not for long, as the future William VI (son of Albrecht) regarded him as an irreconcilable adversary.

Arkel was located at a highly strategic place. Holland and Guelders were separated by the diocese Utrecht, except in the Betuwe. Arkel, moreover, held control over the rivers, especially in Dordrecht.

1401 saw the outbreak of the Arkel War. William of Oosterbant (the later Count William VI) attacked Arkel, aided by the bishop of Utrecht, the city of Dordrecht, etc. The ensuing battle would last years and John of Arkel's position would grow increasingly intricate. When Holland occupied Gorinchem, the situation between Guelders and Holland came to head. In 1409, Gorinchem fell to Guelders. Eventually, a truce was called in 1412, and the Arkel War ended. John of Arkel lost everything, the seigniorship was annexed by Holland. His son William continued battling until 1417, when he was killed in a streetfight. John of Arkel then continued battle against the Bavarian House (as this was the lineage of William VI), but was eventually taken prisoner by Philip the Good. Shortly after that, he died.

It now seemed that that was the end of the Lords of Arkel, but in fact their role was far from being played. Apart from his Holland interests, John V had maintained close ties with Guelders (that had carefully kept to the background during the Arkel War. Duke William of Guelders had, however, assured Arkel of his aid in the battle against Albrecht, but William's demise thwarted these plans. Reinoud, too, tried reaching a truce), for he had been married to Johanna, duchess of Jülich and sister of Reinoud IV, duke of Guelders-Jülich.

This couple did not only have a son (William), but also a daughter Maria, who wedded John of Egmond. From this marriage, Arnold of Egmond, Duke of Guelders, was born. Thus, the House Arkel provided the link between the dukes from the House Guelders-Zutphen and those from the House Egmond (that was to be continued by Charles of Egmond).

The Lords of Arkel struck few coins. They are all in the name of John (which leaves two possibilities: John IV (1311-1355) and John V (1396-1428). All coins are imitations of Holland coins, of Albrecht of Bavaria's (1359-1404) to be precise, therefore, John V most probably was the minting lord. As the relations with Holland had been sound up to the Arkel War (1401), the coins were probably struck before that time, otherwise minting would have been started during the Arkel War (which could only have been done for lack of money, however, the coins are too insignificant for that). Van der Chijs knew of three different types (bearing two different texts). After van der Chijs' (1858), there have been no published studies on minting by the Lords of Arkel.

JAN V of ARKEL (1396-1428)



- 1090 1/8 Groot - Heukelom - Leerdam. A: Shield of Arkel + MON(ETA . NOVA . DE .) HOK, R: Cross + MON(ETA NOVA) LI. vdCh: 42.2. 0.322 gr.

Extremely rare, weakly struck at the edge, very fine specimen

400,--

Henzen - Amerongen 2001.

From list 121, no.1228.

Van der Chijs read the reverse as MONETA NOVA LI, and entertained the option LI = 51, but then had to acknowledge its impossibility. The coin under consideration clearly reads LI. Is this possibly a mistake in the die, should it have been LD? That would indicate Leerdam (see also no. 1091).

A combination of three places in one coin seems peculiar: Arkel, Heukelom and Leerdam.



- 1091 1/8 Groot - Leerdam. A: Shield of Arkel under helmet + IOh' DE ARKEL, R: Long cross + MON ETA NOVA ; LD. vdCh: 42.5. 0.452 gr.

Extremely rare, a little weakly struck, very fine

400,--

Henzen - Amerongen 2001.

From list 122, no. 1110.

Found in Nederhemert-Zuid.

Van der Chijs makes out an h at the end of the reverse text, but it clearly reads LD.

GORINCHEM

After the provinces of Holland and Zeeland, who had risen against royal authority in 1572, had successfully stood their ground, the Republic of United Netherlands gradually consolidated.

The volatile situation enticed many cities and noblemen to revive their historically justified privileges of mint. Thus, the mint Gorinchem emerged.

Minting started in Gorinchem in what seemed a justified manner: the magistrate granted several exiles, who had legitimate claims to the right of mint, to exercise these rights in Gorinchem. Thus, from 1580 to 1587, the Portuguese Don Antonio, from 1584 to 1585 the Groninger Ommelanden (districts surrounding Groningen) and from 1583 (?) to 1587, the counts of Megen minted (Marie de Brimeu).

But other ways were also sought to avoid dependence on the king of Portugal or the countess of Megen, leading to the imitations of the Royals of English King Edward IV (1461-1470). The Serooskerke hoard most notably shows the significance of these imitations of Engelse Ryals in Dutch circulation.

There are two varieties: the first is a direct imitation of the Royal (the texts are exact copies, except for an occasional faulty die) and the second that very modestly displays the Arkel coat of arms.



English



Gorinchem



Gorinchem with Arkel

Van Gelder notes that this second variety was rather marginal: a member of a distant branch, Lord John of Heukelom, struck a number of types with the Arkel coat of arms in the 15th century, that were immediately banned as counterfeits. We question this, for Gorinchem had long been part of Arkel before it was abandoned to Guelders and subsequently to Holland. Therefore, there was a history of ties between Arkel and Gorinchem (from approx. 1270 to 1409).

ANONYMOUS



- 1092 Imitation Royal Edward IV. A: King on ship with E on flag ED * * WARD' * DI * GRA * REX * ANGL' * Z * BRA' * DNS * TIB' *, R: Sun surrounded by lis and crowned leopards, Tudor rose in the centre ☽ IHD * AV'C' * TRANSIENS * PER * MEDIVM * ILLORV * IBAT. Fb: 80. 7.459 gr. Small flan crack, broad and well struck specimen, very fine + SKA - Zürich 1983.

1.000,--

ANONYMOUS - with the arms of ARKEL



1093

1093

- 1093 Imitation Royal Edward IV. A: King on ship with E on flag, shield of Arkel on the forward steven ED' ♣ ♣ WARD' ♣ DI' ♣ GRA REẀ ♣ ANGL ♣ Z ♣ FRAN ♣ DNS' ♣ IB' ♣, R: Sun surrounded by lis and crowned leopards, Tudor rose in the centre ☞ IHD ♣ AVC' ♣ TRANSIENS ♣ PER ♣ MEDIVM' ♣ ILLORV' ♣ IBAT. Fb: 80. 7.525 gr. **R** Extremely fine

1.250,--

Spink - London 1997.

Ex: Dadson collection (Spink, Auction 110 (1998), no. 828).
Struck 1583-1589.

LOTHARINGIA / LORRAINE

When Louis the Pious died in 840, the Carolingian realm was divided three ways - Treaty of Verdun (843). A long-stretched middle realm resulted, that reached from Friesland to Central Italy. At face value, a hard dominion to rule that, however, did contain the two foremost cities: Aachen and Rome. This middle realm devolved to Lothair I.

When Lothair died in 855, this realm was once more divided three ways, among his sons: the northern part (from Friesland to Burgundy) went to Lothair II, the southern part to Louis II and Charles received the Provence.

The problems were far from solved, however. Already during the days of Lothair II, Louis and Charles fought over his inheritance. When he finally died in 869, Charles usurped power and had himself crowned king (869). Soon, however, he yielded to the pressure his brother put him under and assented to a further division (Treaty of Meerssen 870).

Furthermore, in 882, negotiators between East en West Francia intended to reorganise these dominions. Arnulf of Corinthia won, restored Lothair's realm and appointed his son Zwentibold king of Lotharingia (in the following text called "Lorraine" - not the same as the Duchy of Lorraine from p. 175 on). He proved a weak adversary to nobility led by Gerhard and Manfrid. In 900, the Kingdom Lorraine ceased to exist.

Around 900, the Duchy Lorraine came into being. It never had fixed borders nor was it ever a unity, it was an artificial duchy. It rather served as the west buffer against attacks on the German Realm.

The beginning period was very chaotic. Gebhard was appointed duke of Lorraine by Louis the Child. As soon as 910, he died in battle against the Hungarians. A dukeless interim ensued. In the years between 911 and 928, Charles the Simple ruled Lorraine.

Within nobility, Reginar had played an important part. Thus, It came as no surprise that his son Giselbert in 928 became duke of Lorraine. After his death in 939, succession was as follows: Henry, duke of Bavaria (940), Henry (the son of Giselbert and Gerberge) who was still minor, in which period (940-944) Otto was associate duke, Conrad the Red (944-953) and finally the brother of Emperor Otto I, Bruno, archbishop of Cologne. The latter never bore the title, yet he did split Lorraine definitively into two parts in 959: Upper- and Lower Lorraine.



LOWER LORRAINE

The first duke of Lower Lorraine was a certain Godfrey, a servant of archbishop Bruno, who however, had approval of Emperor Otto I to exert full ducal power (959-964).

The ducal office was not always held by real dukes, it was on and off held by the emperor himself (or by servants of his) or there was no duke at all. Thus, the period 965 to 977 saw no ruling duke. Then, two Westfrankish Carolingians appeared: Charles I (976-991) and his son Otto (991-1005). From 1005 to 1012, the ducal seat was once again unoccupied.

In 1012, Emperor Henry II restored ducal dignity. The content of dukedom was redefined and figures capable of neutral politics were sought for the office. Thus, the Counts of Verdun from the House Ardenne were chosen, consecutive dukes of Lower Lorraine were: Godfrey I (1012-1023), his brother Gothelo I (1023-1044), his second son Gothelo II (1044-1046). Even though Godfrey II, first son of Gothelo I, claimed dukedom, he didn't attain it (he did become duke of Upper Lorraine). Then Frederick from the House Luxemburg followed (1046-1065), after who the House Ardenne returned in the person of Godfrey II, named the Bearded (1065-1070), who now did rise to power (as the first son of Gothelo I). He was succeeded by his son Godfrey III, named the Hunchback (1070-1076), when a new interim ensued in the person of Conrad, son of emperor Henry IV (1076-1088). With Godfrey IV of Bouillon (1088-1100), the House Ardenne returned anew. Throughout this period, ducal power was a vibrant political force.

This changed when in 1100, Godfrey of Bouillon died as King of Jerusalem. Ducal power diminished rapidly in significance. In the person of Godfrey V, the counts of Leuven entered (Godfrey was a greatgrandson of Lambert, count of Leuven, and Gerberge). In 1128, he was deposed for Walram III duke of Limburg, but in 1139 Godfrey V returned.

The end came when Godfrey VII died in 1190. The time had come for a new arrangement. The archbishop of Cologne claimed ducal dignity, but Frederick Barbarossa decided otherwise. At the "Hoftag" (national or imperial diet) in Schwäbisch Hall on 24th of September 1190, the duchy of Lower Lorraine was definitively discontinued. A decree was passed that the son of Godfrey VII, Henri I of Leuven hold dukedom only in those territories that effectively were under his authority, meaning the "Duchy Brabant". From that moment, the title Duke of Lower Lorraine was void, it however was borne a long time due to the archaic disposition of the dukes of Brabant.

GOTTFRIED I (1012-1023)



1094 Denier. A: Bust r. (Angel type) (GODE)VFRIDVS, R: Barbarized Victoria l. with wreath, legend not clearly visible, NM in exergue. 0.957 gr.

RR Possibly the only known specimen, fine to very fine

500,--

Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1986.

Despite all research, nobody (Grierson a.o.) has a clue as to where this coin should be placed. Experts do agree that it is of Lower Lorraine coinage.

Ilisch: presumably a unique, he knows of no other specimen. Kluge and Ilisch attribute it to Godfrey I.

Still, this coin is intriguing: the exergue clearly shows N M. Godfrey II with the Beard had been passed at the demise of his father in 1044. In 1045, he was imprisoned in Giebichenstein near Halle for opposing this decision, he failed for lack of support. At the diet in Aachen (18th of May 1046), he was released again, returning to his office of duke of Upper Lorraine. Henry III, after his imperial coronation in Rome in 1046, campaigned against Count Dirk of Holland in September 1047. This caused a major revolt. Godfrey joined forces with Baldwin V of Flanders and marched against Nijmegen, setting fire to the palatinate.

This raises the question of whether this coin has anything to do with this "victory". The Victory is a clear sign and the letters N M could allude to Noviomagus (thanks to Jos Benders for his great help in researching). However, this theory remains undocumented, therefore, the coin is attributed to Godfrey I, for the time being, concurrent with Kluge and Ilisch.

GOZELO I (1023-1044)



1095

- 1095 Denier - Herstal?. A: Bust r. with sceptre SCA MARIA, R: Duke r. with standard, 6 rings at his feet
GOZ(ELO) DVX. Dann: 129. 1.093 gr. Extremely rare, fine to very fine

500,--

Elsen - Brussel, Auction 41 (1993), no. 121.

Ex: Lanz - München, Auction 39 (1956), no. 11.

Dannenberg mentions 4 pellets on the reverse.

Chalon (RBN (1856), p. 271.10, Pl. XI.10) considers Herstal because that was probably Gothelo's place of residence and its main church is consecrated in Mary's honor.

GOTTFRIED II (1046-1065)



1096

- 1096 Denier - Mere. A: Head facing, three pellets l. GODE(FRI)DVS, R: Edifice between four V's and C H
within (+ MER)E CIVITAS. Dann: 305, Kluge: 231, Stoess: A3/1 a-b. 0.668 gr.
RR Weakly struck at the edge, very fine

750,--

Münzzentrum - Köln, Auction 96 (1998), no. 3660.

Two recent publications on this type are: Stoess, C.: Mere civitas, in: *Commentationes Numismaticae* 1988, p. 157-168 and Ilisch, P. in: *JMP* 84-85 (1997/8), p. 263-268, and *Die Salier* by B. Kluge, who devotes some attention to this coin type.

Nonetheless, opinions still differ. Issues are: where was the mint and who was its lord?

The minting lord is assumed to be Godfrey II the Bearded. He was duke of Lower Lorraine in the period 1065-1070. These coins, however, could not have been struck in this period, for several hoards show that the origins lie before 1060. Before this date, Lower Lorraine was not ruled by a Godfrey. Still, it is likely that between 1046 and 1065 Godfrey II is designated. Frederick was indeed duke of Lower Lorraine to that time, but he and Godfrey were then called *concurrentibus Lotharingis*. This would also explain the fact that the coins display no *dvx*.

The weight of this type varies between 0.47 and 0.71 (as found in the appraisal of Stoess of 30 specimens). This weight indicates Friesland/Groningen. Initially Dannenberg et.al. considered Meer by Neuss, later, though, Hooft of Iddekinge (Friesland en the Friezen, 1881) suggested Leer in East Frisia. Places with the name Mere or something similar are numerous, however, the aforementioned Meer as well as Leer are out of the question because of their location.

Ilisch adheres to between IJsselmeer and Ems. Stoess arrives at the coastal region, west of the Dollart (territory Fivelgo and Hunsingo). Grolle disagrees with Stoess' attribution.

Interesting is Hooft of Iddekinge's suggestion, that is supported by Grolle. Because the territory between Vlie and Lauwers in those days was wholly owned by the Brunonen, H.o.I. dismisses this possibility and considers the district Kinhem, of which Alcmere (Alkmaar) was the capital. Alcmere was a fief in the possession of the son of Godfrey II, Godfrey III the Hunchback. That, however, pertains to the period 1070-1076, which is too late for these coins. Therefore, he discards this suggestion, too, and suggests Leer. But the suggestion of Alcmere remains a rather interesting one, since Godfrey II holding estates there cannot be ruled out. Grolle further supports the Alcmere theory with his elucidation of the two letters in the edifice CH. The chapel of Alkmaar was a daughter of the church of Heiloo and therefore a Heiloo chapel: *Capella Heligeloniensis*.

The figure depicted is partly reminiscent of a secular figure (no. 1097), partly of a clerical figure (nos. 1096 and 1098). Could this possibly be St. Adalbert, the saint of the Egmond monastery. His name is most likely also the one on the denier of Rijnsburg struck by Count Dirk IV of Holland (with no name indication) in the period 1039-1047. Also see the blundered name on no. 1098.



- 1097 Denier - Mere. A: Head facing + GOD(EFR)IDVS, R: Edifice with two towers + MERE CIVITAS. Dann: 304 var, Stoess: B10/2a. 0.688 gr. **RR** Very fine 750,--
Elsen - Brussel, Auction 63 (2000), no. 1779.
- 1098 Denier - Mere. A: Head facing with three pellets l. + VSAOAWER, R: Edifice with two towers + MERE CIVITAS. Dann: 304 var, Stoess: A5/2a. 0.605 gr. **RR** Extremely fine and perfect piece. 1.000,--
Elsen - Brussel, Auction 63 (2000), no. 1780.
Note the special shape of the W on the obverse which looks like an omega.
The blundered name led the experts to believe Archbishop Adalbert of Bremen was indicated. Gaetgens (Fd. v. Ludwischze) reads it as follows ADAWER + VS = Adalbert. This attribution is wholly based on a mint near the Dollart. This cannot be right however.
For another suggestion, see no. 1096.

UPPER LORRAINE

The territory of Upper Lorraine encompassed a large number of counties, like Bar, Saarbrücken, Aprémont and others, and the three dioceses Metz, Verdun and Toul. The dukes of Upper Lorraine were never significant, they kept to resolving regional conflicts. From the division in 959 on, the counts of Bar bore the ducal title: Frederick I (959-984), his son Dietrich (984-1026) and his son Frederick II (1026-1033).

During the period 1033 to 1047, the dukes Gothelo I and Godfrey II of Lower Lorraine also bore the ducal title in Upper Lorraine.

In 1047, Emperor Henry III appointed Adalbert from the House Elzas duke, restricting his territory to present-day Lorraine (see under Elzas-Lorraine).

DIETRICH I (984-1026)



- 1099 Denier. A: Great S between two pellets in circle of pellets DE(ODERIC)VS, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle (SCS) D(EODA). Dann: 2. 1.130 gr. **RR** Corroded and cleaned specimen from a hoard, fine 75,--
WAG - Dortmund, Auction 25 (2004), no. 5120.
Dannenberg gives the legends DEODERIC / SCS DEODA.



- 1100 Denier - Andernach. A: Sceptre between two bearded busts + TH(EODERIC)VS . (DVX), R: Open cross with two anchors and two triquetras in the angles, cross-shaped ANDER / NAKA. CNG: 22.2.7. Dann: 439/440, Kluge: 228. 1.295 gr. **RR** Uncentered, very fine 300,--
Peus - Frankfurt, Auction 301 (1981), no. 2188.
From Frankfurter Münzhandlung, Auction 129 (1980), no. 280.
The sceptre between the heads is called „Palmettenstab“ with Kluge. Who these busts depict is unclear. Numerous names have been suggested (see Dannenberg p. 1810). Dannenberg himself surmises the emperor and the duke.



MARGRAVIATE of ANTWERPEN

In 980, Emperor Otto elevated Antwerp to margraviate. Antwerp became a *castrum*. In the 10th-11th century Antwerpen, just as Brussels (see under Chapitre the Bruxelles), belonged to the diocese Cambrai.

In the course of the 11th century, Antwerp became *portus* or *emporium*. Throughout the 11th century, the dukes of Lower Lorraine from the House Ardenne held sway over the margraviate Antwerp. In 1106, Emperor Henry IV granted Antwerp to Godfrey I of Leuven, who united it with his own estate.



- 1101 Denier - 1075-1100. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle * LVDOVV(ICV)S IM(P)ER, R: Two squares with three pellets within and MONETA between them ANTVVERPENSIS. Dann: 140a, Hatz: 2B, Vanhoudt: F 138. 0.838 gr. R Small scratches, otherwise extraordinary well struck, very fine

300,--

Gorny - München, Auction 47 (1989), no. 2066.

This type is extensively described in V. Hatz: Antwerpener Prägungen aus den schwedischen Münzfunde der Wikingerzeit, in: LAGOM (1981), p. 165-177.

Of this group 2B all (Hatz knows of nine) show a + instead of a sun (bold pellet with five rays). Hatz distinguishes 8 types and has not yet accomplished determining the exact dates. Minting started around 1000.

Kluge shows two: 175 (Hatz: type 6) clearly displaying the name of Emperor Henry IV (1056-1106) and 176 (Hatz: type 3) an anonymous.

COUNTS of LEUVEN

Leuven is the centre of the counts of Leuven. The first one is Count Lambert I who was count of Leuven in the district of Brabant (994-1015). The dynasty continued until the greatgrandson of Lambert I, Godfrey V in 1106 became duke of Lower Lorraine. The House of Leuven was now renumerated: Godfrey V became Godfrey I.

With the demise of Godfrey VII (III) in 1190, Lower Lorraine as a county ended (see under Lorraine) and his son Henry I became duke in a territory that became known as the Duchy Brabant. The counts Henry the Elder (1015-1038), Otto (1038-1040) and Lambert II (1040-1063) and the dukes Godfrey I to III (1106-1190) coined. In the literature, the coins in the name of Godfrey I to III are invariably classified under Brabant. We adhered to a classification under Leuven, because Henry I (son of Godfrey III) was the first to be allowed to call himself "Duke of Brabant" (see under Brabant). The following quote, taken from the Lexikon des Mittelalters (II, p. 529, translated) provides an overview of the development: "When the counts of Leuven ultimately assumed the Lower Lorrainian ducal dignity, it was no longer attached to a monopolistic claim to the rank of duke in the Lower Lorraine region. Godfrey VI (1139-1142) would occasionally be referred to as Duke of Leuven, before he was appointed such, and the Limburgers after 1139, were initially referred to as dukes of the Ardennes, later as dukes of Limburg. That in the 12th century the old *ducatus regni Hlotarii* was no longer regarded as a legal basis for the power of the Lower Lorraine dynasties, was expressed in the titles of the dukes of the House Leuven: Initially, the *dux Lotharingia* received the addendum *comes*, then *dux Lovaniae*, and eventually (in 1188) *dux Brabantiae*. What persuaded the dukes to alter their title, has not been convincingly established yet."

HENRY le VIEUX - OTTO (1015-1040)



- 1102 Denier. A: Cross with one pellet in each angle + IIIIOVVICVSTIIT, R: MONETA (retrograde) in the field between two crosses (BRVX CELLE). Dann: 142, Kluge: 289, Vanhoudt: F 155. 0.841 gr.

R Fine to very fine

150,--

Münzzentrum - Köln 1981.

The BRVXCELLE on the reverse is barely visible. In all other respects, it is a match.

Dannenberg (p. 101) attributes this type to Emperor Conrad's II days (1024-1039).

Comment in Kluge (Die Salier, p. 67): „Aus Brüssel kennen wir eine relativ umfangreiche in spätottonischer Zeit beginnende Serie nach Kölner Vorbild, die durch den (meist entstellten) Ortsnamen hinlänglich gesichert ist, aber keine Münzherren nennt. Als solche hat man die Grafen von Löwen angenommen. Gesichert ist dies keineswegs (Engel and Serrure, p. 566). Die Serie ist strukturell der älteren Antwerpener Prägephase verwandt. Der teilweise Rückgriff auf die aus den königlichen Münzstätten Antwerpen und Dortmund bekannte LVDOVVICVS IMP-Legende könnte für den König als Münzherrn sprechen.“

GOTTFRIED II-III (1140-1190)



1103



- 1103 Denier. A: Head with helmet r. (+ DV)X GEO..., R: Cross with one pellet in each angle + HL.....
dW: 1-3, Vanhoudt: --. 0.774 gr. **R** Nice patina, a little uncentered, very fine 200,--
Huizinga - Bennekom 1987.
Struck between 1164 and 1183.



1104



- 1104 Denier. A: Head with helmet r. DVX GOT..., R: Cross with one pellet in each angle, legend not visible. dW: 1-3, Vanhoudt: --. 0.835 gr. **R** Very fine 200,--
v.d.Dussen-Westerhof - Auction 5 (1986), no. 2201.
Struck between 1164 and 1183.



1105



- 1105 Denier. A: Dragon, R: Cross with two crosses and two rings with pellets in the angles + M + M + M + M. dW: Pl. A.4, Vanhoudt: --. 0.789 gr. **R** Very fine + 200,--
Tietjen - Hamburg, Auction 28 (1979), no. 734.
Struck between 1164 and 1183.

CHAPTER of BRUXELLES

In 1057, Lambert II, count of Leuven (1040-1063), founded a collegial church in the honour of St. Gudula. To yield revenues, the chapter issued coins.

In a charter of Lietbert's, bishop of Cambrai, of 1071 in favour of the Collegiale of Sainte Gudula, the description BRVCSELLENIS MONETA is found too.



1106



- 1106 Denier - about 1170. A: Cross with two triquetras and two pellets in the angles IOTG(ERVS) MSPT, R: Cross-shaped BRVOC / ELLA with S - G - E - P in the angles. Dann: 141, Kluge: 290. 0.938 gr. **RR** Nice patina, very fine 300,--
Elsen - Brussel, Auction 31 (1993), no. 118.
IOTGERUS MSPT = Otgerius Monetarius Sanctae Patronae, SGEP = Sancta Gudula Ecclesiae Patrona.
See: RBN (1940-1946), Pl. 1.4.
Kluge (Die Salier. p. 67) considers the name „Otgerus“ as moneyer insufficiently documented, Kluge, however, pays no attention to the letters MSPT.



DUCHY BRABANT

Brabant and Flanders differed in two significant aspects: Brabant was a fief of the German crown, Flanders of the French crown. Apart from that, Brabant came from the duchy of Lower Lorraine and retained the status of duchy, whereas Flanders had always been a county. They had a great influence on each other's development.

The origins of the district Brabant are shrouded in darkness. It is a territory on the outskirts of the German Empire and a part of the duchy Lower Lorraine (that was also marked by indistinct borders).

The counts of Leuven, however, were distinctly active in this territory. When in 1106, the House Ardenne was succeeded by the House Leuven in Lower Lorraine, this comital family came within reach of the ducal title. Emperor Henry V then bestowed the ducal title on Godfrey, Count of Leuven, which was not really significant, but did afford Godfrey the margraviate Antwerp. The title was acknowledged in 1140 by Emperor Conrad, but, as a ducal title had also been granted in Limburg, this only added to the confusion. When Emperor Frederick Barbarossa finally declared the duchy Lower Lorraine void in 1190, the "Duchy Brabant" came into effect and Henry I was its first duke (thus, Godfrey II-III are considered the last counts of Leuven). The dukes of Brabant (otherwise) never renounced their legitimate title; after the acquisition of Limburg (1283/88) it consistently was (in French) N.N. "par la grâce de Dieu, duc de Lothier, de Brabant, et de Limburg et marquis du saint Empire" in which the title "marquis" referred to the margraviate of Antwerp that was incorporated in Brabant in 1106. (from LdM. II, p. 529).

This House continued uninterrupted until 1355 when Jean III died without a male heir. His daughter Jeanne was married to Wenceslas of Luxembourg and he acceded to the Brabant throne: the beginning of Luxembourg lineage in Brabant. Jeanne died in 1404 without issue. The duchy devolved to the grandson of Jeanne's sister: Antoine of Burgundy, who would have two successors: his sons Jean IV and Philip St. Paul, after which the duchy would definitively pass to the Burgundian realm (Philip the Good). For the period from 1433 on, see Burgundian Netherlands.

Classification until 1406 was done along the lines of J. Ghijsens': *Essai de classement chronologique des monnaies brabanconnes*, Brussels, n.d.

The House of Leuven

HENRI I (1190-1235)

Henry I started expanding eastward to control the route from Cologne to the sea in particular. In 1198, Henry joined the Welfs, however, when their star began falling, he changed sides to the Staufers (1204). In return he received the imperial rights to Maastricht. But when Philip of Swabia was assassinated in 1208, Henry turned back to the Welfs. Liège remained Henry's main adversary, therefore he chose to rejoin the Staufers in 1213. As this proved unsuccessful he changed back to the Welfs, but they lost, prompting Henry to directly reconcile with the victors.

Henry considered himself the leader of Lower Lorraine and he was suzerain to Limburg, Namur, Holland, Gelre, among other places.



1107 Denier. A: Bust l. with helmet and banner, L above D V X, R: Lion r. over branch L E O above. dW: 17, Vanhoudt: G 9. 0.836 gr. Extraordinary well preserved, very fine to extremely fine

400,--

v. Alsenoy - Antwerpen, Auction 26 (1993), no. 369.

It is not impossible that preceding the L with the stroke there was an H. That would acknowledge attribution to Henry I. V. d. Chijs reads the L as the first letter of Lorraine. Struck before 1210.



- 1108 Denier - Antwerpen. A: Mounted knight with sword r. over cross of four pellets D V X, R: Cross of Brabant with a line in each limb and four pellets with ring in each angle. dW: 33, Vanhoudt: G 19. 0.531 gr. Very fine + 100,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1976.
Struck after 1210.
- 1109 Denier. A: Mounted knight with sword r., cross of four pellets before the horse, R: Cross of Brabant with striped limbs and one small and great ring in each angle. dW: 46, Vanhoudt: G 23. 0.555 gr. Very fine 100,--
Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 35 (1997), no. 876.
Ex: Münzen und Medaillen, list 583 (February 1995), no. 59.
Struck after 1210.



- 1110 Denier. A: Lamb with flag, R: Cross of Brabant with ring and pellet in two angles and three stripes ending in pellet in two angles. dW: 163, Vanhoudt: G 119. 0.585 gr. RR Very fine 500,--
Elsen - Brussel 1993.
From list 154, no. 362.
Struck after 1210.
De Witte and Vanhoudt still attribute this to Tirllemont.



- 1111 Denier. A: Three towers, R: Cross of Brabant with pellet and ring in two angles and pellet with rosettes in two angles. dW: 171, Vanhoudt: G 123. 0.520 gr. R Traces of verdigris, fine to very fine 100,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1974.
Struck after 1210.
De Witte and Vanhoudt still attribute this to Vilvoorde.
- 1112 Denier - Herstal. A: Head r. with helmet and sword + H EN C, R: Tower beneath tree. dW: 24, Vanhoudt: --. 0.766 gr. R Weakly struck, fine to very fine 100,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1976.
De Witte considered Maastricht for its mint, he took the tower for one of the towers in the city walls that were just being restored at the time of minting (charter 12-4-1229).

HENRI II - III (1235-1261)



- 1113 Denier - Brussel. A: Tower, R: Cross of Brabant with stripes, T and three pellets alternating in the angles. dW: 127, Vanhoudt: G 92. 0.578 gr. Fine to very fine 30,--
Hirsch - München, Auction 149 (1986,) no. 776.
- 1114 Denier - Antwerpen. A: Castle between two towers, R: Cross of Brabant with three lines in two angles and A / N in the other angles. dW: 86, Vanhoudt: G 61. 0.586 gr. Very fine + 20,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1967.
A N = Antwerpen.
The castle is the stilised version of the old Antwerp castle.



- 1115 Denier - Antwerpen. A: Double-headed eagle, R: Cross of Brabant with two rings and two branches in the angles. dW: 136, Vanhoudt: G 99. 0.512 gr. Weakly struck, very fine 25,--
Num. Kring - Rotterdam 1997.
- 1116 Denier - Antwerpen. A: Double-headed eagle, R: Cross of Brabant with stripes and O - L - E - Q in the angles. dW: 138, Vanhoudt: G 101. 0.533 gr. Very fine 50,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1974.
De Witte read the letters as GILO or GOLI.



- 1117 Denier - Brussel. A: Eagle l. with crescent above r., R: Cross of Brabant with T - E - N - I in the angles. dW: 185, Vanhoudt: G 131. 0.606 gr. Very fine 50,--
Elsen - Brussel, Auction 59 (1999), no. 1210.
Mintmaster TENI(erus).

HENRI IV (1261-1267)

The demise of Henry III revealed successional difficulties. His oldest son succeeded as Henry IV, but he was not yet of age and mentally deficient. Some figures came forward for the imminent regency, but his mother Aleyda of Burgundy finally took on guardianship for her son. This fiercely contested regency brought Brabant on the brink of civil war. In 1267, Henry IV abandoned his rights and his older brother acceded to the throne as Jean I (he had just come of age (15).

H DVCIS can be clearly discerned on the nos. 1118 and 1119. In my opinion, these types can impossibly be attributed to a period other than that from 1261 to 1267 (de Witte classifies them under Henry III, and Ghijskens under Henry II and III - Leuven). No. 1120 reads N V (=Nobilis Vidua) and belongs to the same group, in my opinion (De Witte classifies these under Aleida of Burgundy, and Ghijskens under Henry II et III - Leuven).



- 1118 Denier - Louvain. A: Lion r. in shield H DV CIS, R: Cross of Brabant with B - A - S - T in the angles. dW: 64, Vanhoudt: G 42. 0.531 gr. Very fine 30,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1973.
Mintmaster BAST(inus).



- 1119 Denier - Louvain. A: Lion l. in shield H DV CIS, R: Cross of Brabant with B - A - S - T in the angles. dW: 65, Vanhoudt: G 43. 0.533 gr. Very fine 30,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1974.
- 1120 Denier - Louvain. A: Lion l., in shield V N, R: Cross of Brabant with B / A / S / T in the angles. dW: 74, Vanhoudt: G 52. 0.597 gr. Very fine 40,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1967.
On the obverse N V (= Nobilis Vidua).

JEAN I (1267-1294)

After Henry IV had abandoned his rights, his younger brother Jean I became duke. In 1283, Jean I purchased the duchy Limburg from Adolf of Berg. This led to the Limburg Succession War (1283-1288), in which many parties fought, but in the end Jean I emerged victorious in the Battle of Worringen (a castle by the Rhine where the archbishop of Cologne charged toll) on the 5th June 1288, this victory marking his main feat. In 1289, his right to Limburg was acknowledged. He became protector of the trade route from Cologne to the sea and thereby broke the power of the Cologne archbishops over the Netherlands.

Jean was wedded to Margaret, daughter of the French King Louis IX the Saint. Nonetheless, he turned a watchful eye toward England.

Since 1266-1270, the gros tournois of Louis IX circulated in the surrounding lands. All countries joined in its use and they all, after a while, struck their own coin after this type. Brabant did not imitate directly, initially a 1/3 ($1/3 \times 4.22 = 1.40$) was struck and a more or less English Sterling type was chosen. Exact copies of the gros tournois weren't struck until 1285 (see no. 1125, 3.82 g) but to a lower standard than the coin modeling (4.22 g).



- 1121 Esterlin. A: Shield with lion of Brabant + DVX BRABANTIE, R: Doubled cross with W - A - L - T in the angles x I . DEI GRATIA x. dW: 241, Vanhoudt: G 159. 1.408 gr. Very fine + 50,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1969.
From find Alken.
Mintmaster WALT(erus).
Struck from 1277 on.



- 1122 Ange - Bruxelles. A: Archangel Michael standing with lance and three nails + MONETA § BRUXELLENCIS, R: Floriated cross + IOHANNES § DVX § BRABANTIE. dW: 262, Vanhoudt: G 169. 2.715 gr. Almost extremely fine 150,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1969.
From find Alken, no. 140.
Struck from 1277 on.



Nails from the cross on which Jesus Christ died



- 1123 Denier. A: Lion of Brabant l., R: Cross with I - D - V - X in the angles. dW: 201, Vanhoudt: G 170. 0.527 gr. Very fine 50,--
 Elsen - Brussel 1985.
 Struck from 1282 on.
- 1124 Denier - Leuven. A: Shield with lion of Brabant x / ID / VX, R: Cross with L - O - V - A in the angles. dW: 208, Vanhoudt: G 177. 0.506 gr. Nice patina, very fine + 75,--
 Spink - London 1979.
 Struck from 1282 on.
 Here x instead of . x . as in De Witte and in Ghijsens.



- 1125 Gros - Bruxelles. A: Castle of Brabant + MONETA : BRVXEL' within 12 arches containing three pellets, R: + BRABANTIE : DVX around cross, + NOMEN : DOMINI : NOSTRI : SIT : BENEDIC TVM. dW: 298, Vanhoudt: G 197. 3.824 gr. Small traces of corrosion, otherwise extremely fine 250,--
 Franceschi - Brussel 1966.
 Text reverse: Blessed be the name of our Lord.
 Struck from 1285 on.
 De Witte attributed this still to Jean II, Ghijsens, basing on hoards, to Jean I, but specifically notes "continuation du gros au ch \hat{a} tel entre 1294-1300 sous Jean II".



- 1126 Esterlin. A: Crowned head facing with roses + o I o DVX o LIMBVRGIE, R: Long cross dividing legend with three pellets in each angle DVX BRABANTIE. dW: 257, Vanhoudt: G 207-209. 1.271 gr. Cleaned, almost very fine 50,--
 Bought 1985 (Ex: Dekker collection).
 Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, d. d. 15-12-1953.
 Struck after 1290. In 1288, Limburg was conquered and henceforth the title *Dvx Limburg* was borne.
 The interpunction is different from no. 1127.
- 1127 Esterlin. A: Crowned head facing with roses + x I x DVX x LIMBVRGIE, R: Long cross dividing legend with three pellets in each angle DVX BRABANTIE. dW: 257, Vanhoudt: G 207-209. 1.145 gr. Nice patina, very fine 75,--
 Glendining - London, Auction 23 (1975), no. 313.
 Ex: Noble collection (Australia).
 The interpunction is different from no. 1126. The hair and the "chapel de roses" are entirely different from no. 1126.

JEAN II (1294-1312)

Jean II was married to an English princess, Margaret of York (daughter of King Edward I of England), which led to conflicts with France and England.

On the 27th September 1312, in his last days he decreed the Charter of Kortenberg (comparable to the Magna Carta), that heralded the new form of state. A council was installed (Council of Kortenberg) that exerted an extensive control on the government of the dukes.



- 1128 Esterlin - Antwerpen. A: Shield with the lions of Brabant (l.) and Limburg (r.) DVX BRAB ANTIE, R: Long cross with omega in each angle + MONETA ANT VVP'. dW: 281, Vanhoudt: G 237. 1.134 gr. Traces of encrustation, very fine
 Holleman - Enschede 1994.
 From list 100, no. 945.
 Struck from 1309 on.

75,--

JEAN III (1312-1355)

After Jean II died in 1312, his only son Jean III was not yet of age. Two regents assumed office, but were forced to resign in 1314, due to the opposition by the cities. From 1314 to 1320, the Estates executed full authority. From 1320 on, Jean III reigned independently. After 1329, several nations assembled under the leadership of the French King Philippe of Valois to attack Brabant. In the end, a tribute was imposed on Brabant, arranged in 1334 in Amiens. The French King, now feeling he held sway over the Netherlands, did not see English King Edward III coming, looking for allies (for what was to lead to the Hundred Years' War) in the Low Countries. Jean seized Mechelen, which was a Flemish possession. Louis of Maele, being married to one of Jean's daughters, could not but relinquish.

Emperor Louis of Bavaria granted Jean III the right to strike gold coins.

In 1336, Jean III signed an agreement with Guillaume I of Holland and Hainaut - „Ten jaer 1336 besloot John den III met Willem Graeve of Henegouw and Holland, te doen maken eene munt, die in hunne wederzydsche onderhoorige landen zoude loop hebben...“ (In the year 1336, John III decided to manufacture a coin with Count William of Holland and Hainaut, that would circulate in the lands under their respective sway) / Ordinance 9th January 1336 - and in 1339 with Louis de Crecy of Flanders: „Ten jaere 1339 wierd'er om meer gemak des koophandels in 't verband tussen Vlaenderen and Brabant beslooten of eene gemene munt te maeken, voor deze twee voors landen“ (In the year 1339, the manufacture of a mutual coin was decided upon, to accomodate trade between Flanders and Brabant) - minted in Gent and Leuven.

The three sons of Jean III all died before he did. He, therefore, appointed his oldest daughter Johanna heiress. However, he revoked this decision at the request of Louis of Maele who was after all married to his youngest daughter.



- 1129 Esterlin - Bruxelles. A: Castle of Brabant + . I . DVX : DE . BRABANTIA, R: Long cross dividing legend with three pellets in each angle MON ETA BRV XEL'. dW: 307, Vanhoudt: G 248. 1.454 gr. Extremely fine
 Franceschi - Brussel 1966.
 Struck from 1318 on.
 At de Witte under Jean II.

75,--



1130

- 1130 Demi gros - Brussel. A: Shield with the arms of Brabant (1st and 4th field) and Limburg (2nd and 3rd field) MONETA . BRVXELN', R: + SIGNVM : CRVCIS around cross, + IOHANNES : DVX : BRABANTIE. dW: 310, Vanhoudt: G 249. 1.662 gr. Very fine 125,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1997. From list August 1997, no. 621.
 SIGNVM CRVCIS = Sign of the cross.
 Struck in 1326.
 At de Witte under Jean II.



1131

- 1131 2 Esterlin - Leuven. A: Shield with the arms of Brabant (1st and 4th field) and Limburg (2nd and 3rd field) within branches + IOHES : DVX : BRABA : ET : LEMB, R: Lined cross with L - O - V - A in the angles + MONETA : NOVA . dW: 341, Vanhoudt: G 254. 2.013 gr. R Very fine + 200,--
 Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 35 (1997), no. 881.
 Struck between 1330 and 1337.



1132

- 1132 Esterlin - Leuven. A: Shield with the arms of Brabant (1st and 4th field) and Limburg (2nd and 3rd field) within branches DVX BRABANTIE, R: Floriated cross + MONETA : LOVANIES. dW: 349, Vanhoudt: G 256. 1.453 gr. Very fine 75,--
 Münzzentrum - Köln 1982.
 Struck between 1330 and 1337.



1133

- 1133 Esterlin - Bruxelles. A: Shield with the arms of Brabant (1st and 4th field) and Limburg (2nd and 3rd field) within branches DVX BRABANTIE, R: Floriated cross MONETA : BRVXELLEN. dW: 350, Vanhoudt: G 257. 1.383 gr. Extremely fine 75,--
 Franceschi - Brussel 1967.
 Struck in 1326.



1134



1135



- 1134 Gros - Antwerpen. A: MONETA x ANDWP' around castle of Brabant within 12 arches containing leaves, R: + IOH' x BRABAN x DVX around cross, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME . DNI : NRI : DEI : IHV : XPI. dW: 337, Vanhoudt: G 261. 4.040 gr. Irregular flan, very fine to extremely fine 300,--
 Elsen - Brussel 1995.
 From list 177, no. 23.
 Reverse legend: Praised be the name of God our Lord Jesus Christ.
 Struck May 1337.
 There is always mention of a „castle“, referring to the Tour castle on the gros tournois, however, the two flanking towers clearly bear a cross. Wouldn't a church have to be considered?
- 1135 Gros - Antwerpen. A: MONETA x ANDWP' around castle of Brabant within 12 arches containing leaves, R: + IOH x BRABAN x DVX around castle of Brabant, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME . DNI : NRI : DEI IHV : XPI. dW: 337, Vanhoudt: G 261. 3.835 gr. Very fine 250,--
 Romunt - Roermond 1996.
 Struck May 1337.



1136



- 1136 Chaise d'or - Antwerpen. A: Emperor sitting on gothic throne with shield (double-headed eagle) + LVDOVICVS x DEI * * GRA * * ROMANORVM x IMP, R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil + XPC : VINCIT : XPC : REGNAT : XPC : IMPERAT. dW: 375, Fb: 4, Vanhoudt: G 289. 4.470 gr. Small scratches at the edge, otherwise almost extremely fine specimen 750,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 2002.
 From list 128, no. 1627.
 Text reverse: Christ conquers, Christus reigns, Christus rules (Nicephorus VIII 32; „Laudis Regiae“, liturgical acclamation of the King.
 Struck in October 1338 in the name of Emperor Louis of Bavaria.
 In 1338, English King Edward decided to launch an attack on the French from the north. He landed in Antwerp on the 22nd of July 1338. Jean III was thereupon appointed vicar of the empire by the Emperor, a title that gave him sway over the seigneurs of the region. The English King stayed the winter in Antwerp. During his visit, these gold coins were struck: *Eduardus anglie rex ea tempestate vicarius Imperii constitutus, pecuniam Antverpia cudi jussit, imagine sua et imperatoris signatam* (Quote: De Witte, p. 128).
 There are two types: one with an open crown (dW: 374) and one with a closed crown (dW: 375)



1137



- 1137 Demi gros - Bruxelles. A: Crowned bust facing + MONETA x BRVXELLENSIS, R: SIG NVM CRV CIS around cross with three pellets in each angle, + BNDICTV' SIT NOMEN DNI NRI. dW: 354, Vanhoudt: G 266. 1.898 gr. R Extremely fine 250,--
 Franceschi - Brussel 1973.
 Struck in October 1338.



1138

- 1138 Demi gros - Antwerpen. A: Crowned bust facing + MONETA x NRA x ANTWERP', R: SIGNVM CRVCIS around cross with three pellets in each angle, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOMEN : DNI : NRI. dW: 376, Vanhoudt: G 267. 1.915 gr. **RR** Irregular edge, very fine. 500,--
- Elsen - Brussel 1993.
 NRA is the shortening of NOSTRA.
 Struck in October 1338.
 Van der Chijs suggests an associate mint with English King Edward III (He stayed on the continent for three years and allied with the duke of Brabant and his sister Aleonora wedded Duke Reginald III of Gelre). De Witte seconds this.



1139

1140

- 1139 Gros de compagnon. A: Lion rampant within circle of 12 arches enclosing leaves and one lion * MONETA * BRABAN, R: x LO' DVX . LOT . BRAB around cross, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI. dW: 359, Vanhoudt: G 269. 3.830 gr. Very fine 200,--
- Elsen - Brussel, Auction 32 (1993), no. 568.
 Struck December 1339.
 This is the first time a duke of Brabant calls himself DVX LOT(haringiae) again.
- 1140 Gros de compagnon. A: Lion rampant within circle of 12 arches enclosing leaves and one lion * MONETA * BRABAN, R: x IO' DVX . LOT . BRAB around cross, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : IHV : XP. dW: 359, Vanhoudt: G 269. 3.031 gr. Almost very fine 100,--
- Bought 1985 (Ex: Dekker collection).
 Struck December 1339.



1141

1142

- 1141 Demi gros. A: Shield of Brabant (1st and 4th field) and Limburg (2nd and 3rd field) in multilobe + MONETA : NOVA : RABANTIE, R: SACRI . IHPERN around cross, + I . LOT : BRAB : LEMB : DVX : ANCIO. dW: 348, Vanhoudt: G 274. 1.914 gr. **R** Dark patina, very fine 150,--
- Elsen - Brussel, Auction 32 (1993), no. 569.
 The B of BRABANTIE is missing.
 Struck October 1343.
 These coins were made of inferior material and then coated with silver. This coat has worn off completely, hence its black colour (saucé).
 On this coin Jean III indicates his old title *Dvx Lot(haringiae)* and *Marchio Sacri imperii*.
- 1142 Gros. A: Four lions (Brabant and Limburg) in quatrefoil, four rings around + MONETA : NOVA : BRABANCIE, R: + IOH : DEI : GRA : DVX around cross, + LOT : BRAB : LEMB : AC : MARCIO : IMPERN. dW: 344, Vanhoudt: G 276. 2.288 gr. Very fine 100,--
- Elsen - Brussel 1982.
 Here also the title of MARCIO IMPERII = Marquis of the Empire.



1143

- 1143 Gros - Leuven. A: Saint Peter with book and key over shield of Brabant and Limburg in multilobe + S
 ⚙️ PETRVS ⚙️ LO o o VANIENCIS, R: Floriated cross + . I . DVX : LOT : BRA : LEB : ET : ARCIO.
 dW: 357, Vanhoudt: G 280. 3.265 gr. Flan defect and slightly corroded, very fine 100,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1994, no. 375 (November).
 No date.



1144

- 1144 Demi gros - Leuven. A: Saint Peter with book and key over shield of Brabant and Limburg +
 SANTVS o o PETRVS, R: Ornamented cross with trefoils around rings in the angles . I . DVX BRAB.
 dW: 358, Vanhoudt: G 281. 0.999 gr. R Almost very fine 100,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1998, no. 489 (June).
 No date.



1145

- 1145 Esterlin - Maastricht. A: Castle over ring in quatrefoil + MONETA x TRAIECTEN, R: Cross with
 three rings in three angles and three pellets in one angle SIGNVM CRVCIS. dW: 339, Vanhoudt:
 G 282. 1.140 gr. RR Weakly struck, almost very fine 200,--
 Münzzentrum - Köln, Auction 33 (1978), no. 3100.
 No date.



1146

- 1146 Denier tournois de paiement - Haelen. A: Castle + DVX : BRABANTINE, R: Cross + MONETA :
 HALENS. dW: 372, Vanhoudt: G 285. 0.898 gr. R Very fine 150,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 2001.
 From list 125, no. 1507.
 Normally the legend on the obverse should be BRABANTIE (cf. no. 1147).
 Here, the real castle reappears, in my opinion, both towers crowned with a ring, just as on the original gros tournois.



1147

- 1147 Denier tournois de paiement - Haelen. A: Castle (+ DVX : B)RABAN(TIE), R: Cross (+ MONETA : HALENS'). dW: 372, Vanhoudt: G 285. 0.728 gr. **R** Corroded, fine 20,--
Elsen - Brussel 1982.
No date.

The House of Luxembourg

JEANNE and WENCESLAS (1355-1383)

Jean III died without a male descendant. Only after the issue was argued at length, was his oldest daughter Jeanne, wedded to Wenceslas of Luxembourg, made duchess. The succession met with fierce resistance. Especially Louis of Maele would not go along with it. He seized Antwerp, Mechelen, Brussels and Leuven and had himself acclaimed duke of Brabant. Wenceslas then turned to his brother, the German Emperor Charles IV for support (they together agreed to the Treaty of Maastricht in 1357, stipulating that, in case of a childless demise, Brabant fall to Luxembourg). The aid of Charles IV proved useless, however, and both Jeanne and Wenceslas acquiesced to the arbitration of William V of Holland in Ath: Mechelen and Antwerp fell to Flanders, Louis of Maele was allowed to bear the personal title "Duke of Brabant" and the Brabant lands could not be alienated without the assent of Louis of Maele.

Until 1375, the coins are invariably in one name, usually Jeanne's and sometimes Wenceslas'. After 1375, all coins are in both names.



1148

- 1148 Gros - Vilvorde. A: Lion rampant + MONETA ✠ FILFD' within circle of 12 arches enclosing leaves, R: * IO . DVC x LOT . BRAB around ling cross dividing legend, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : IHS : XPI. dW: 395, Vanhoudt: G 295. 2.987 gr. **R** Cleaned, very fine 100,--
Henzen - Amerongen 1999, no. 100 (August).
Struck in 1357.
dW 395 mentions 11 leaves and one lion on the obverse, but here is no lion visible.



1149

- 1149 Mouton d'or - Vilvorde. A: Lamb in multilobe, IOH / DVX in exergue + AGN' o DEI o QVI o TOLL o PCCA o MVDI o MISERERE o NOB', R: Floriated cross in multilobe with one lis in each angle and a star in the centre + . XPC' ✠ VINCIT ✠ XPC ✠ REGNAT ✠ XPC ✠ IMPERAT. Delm: 43, dW: 387, Fb: 8, Vanhoudt: G 296. 4.512 gr. A little weakly struck, very fine 750,--
Elsen - Brussel 1998.
From list 196, no. 628.
Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis = Lamb of God, which take away the sin of the world, have mercy on us (Joh. 1:29).
Struck in 1357.
The obverse reads IOH DVX., which caused numismatists to attribute this coin to Jean III. However, the first mouton d'or was struck in Flanders in 1355 (see under Flanders), after Jean's death.



1150

- 1150 Mouton d'or - Vilvorde. A: Agnus Dei in multilobe, WEN / DVX in field + AGN' o DEI o QVI o TOLL o PCCA o MVDI o MISERERE o NOB', R: Floriated cross in multilobe with one lis in each angle and a star in the centre + . XPC' : VINCIT : XPC : REGNAT : XPC : IMPERAT. Delm: 42, dW: 388, Fb: 9, Vanhoudt: G 297. 4.580 gr.

R Small traces of pressure, otherwise extremely fine specimen with pleasingly patina

1.500,--

Münzen u. Medaillen - Basel 1994.
From list 576, no. 53.
Struck in 1357.



1151

1152

- 1151 Gros - Vilvorde. A: Shield of Brabant and Limburg in multilobe with one pellet in each angle + MONETA ꝥ NOVA ꝥ FILFORDENS',. R: Cross with one pellet at the end of each limb and D - V - X - C' in the angles + IOHANA : DEI : GRA : BRABANTIE. dW: 397, Vanhoudt: G 298. 1.351 gr.

Henzen - Amerongen 2003.
From list 139, no. 516.

The groat with the pellets at the extremities of the cross is smaller than the one without the dots. Moreover, it is considerably lighter.
Struck in 1363.

Very fine

125,--

- 1152 Demi gros - Vilvorde. A: Shield of Brabant and Limburg in multilobe with one pellet in each angle + MONETA ꝥ NOVA ꝥ FILFORDENS',. R: Cross with one pellet at the end of each limb and D - V - X - C' in the angles + IOHANA : DEI : GRA : BRABATIE. dW: 399, Vanhoudt: G 299. 1.043 gr.

Bought 1985 (Ex: Dekker collection).
Struck in 1363.

R Small edge defect, very fine

75,--



1153

1153

- 1153 Double mouton d'or - Vilvorde. A: Lamb in multilobe, IOH / DVX in the bottom field + AGN' o DEI o QVI o TOLL o PCCA o MVDI o MISERERE o NOB', R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil with one lis in each angle and a rose in the centre + . XPC' : VINCIT : XPC : REGNAT : XPC : IMPERAT. Delm: 44, dW: 389, Fb: 7, Vanhoudt: G 301. 5.773 gr.

R Extremely fine specimen on broad flan

4.000,--

Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 35 (1997), no. 882.
Struck in 1366.

The double mouton d'or is in the name of Jeanne. The double does not weigh twice as much as the single (nos. 1149 and 1150), but is called „double“ solely because it weighs more.



1154

- 1154 Pieter d'or - Leuven. A: Saint Peter with book and key over shield of Brabant, Limburg and Luxemburg in multilobe + WENCELAVS ꝛ Z ꝛ IOHANA ꝛ DEI ꝛ GRA ꝛ BRAB ꝛ DVCES, R: Floriated cross with rose in the centre + XPC ꝛ VINCIT ꝛ XPC ꝛ REGNAT ꝛ XPC ꝛ IMPERAT. Delm: 45, dW: 390, Fb: 11, Vanhoudt: G 304. 4.064 gr. Extremely fine and perfect piece 1.000,--
Elsen - Brussel 1997.
Struck from July 1375 on.
From now on both names on the coins.



1155

- 1155 Nouvelle Tourelle - Leuven. A: Church over shield of Brabant, Limburg and Luxemburg MONETA x NOVA x x LOVANIEN, R: Floriated cross + WENCEL ꝛ Z ꝛ IOH ꝛ DEI ꝛ GRA ꝛ BRAB ꝛ DVC. dW: 403, Vanhoudt: G 312. 1.167 gr. Very fine 100,--
Grenswisselkantoren - Amsterdam 1982.
Struck in April 1380.
The church is St. Pierre in Leuven.



1156

- 1156 Demi gros. A: Lion rampant + MONETA x BRABA' . within circle of 12 arches containing 11 leaves and one lion, R: x IO DVC x LOT BRAB around cross, + WENCESL ꝛ DEI ꝛ GRA ꝛ LVCENB ꝛ BRAB ꝛ DVX. dW: 406, Vanhoudt: G 315. 1.128 gr. Small flan with defect, almost very fine 50,--
Spink - London 1989.
The title Luxemburg stands beneath Wenceslas.
Struck in January 1382.
De Witte suggests that this type has been struck in Leuven following the Coinage Act 6th June 1381.



1157

- 1157 Mite. A: WEN in field between rosette, trefoil and bugle + Z : IOH : BRABA : DVC', R: Cross + MONETA : BRABAN. dW: 412, Vanhoudt: G 317. 1.092 gr. Very fine 75,--
Henzen - Amerongen 2002.
From list 128, no. 1631.
No date.



- 1158 Bryman - Maastricht. A: Duke standing with sword and shield of Brabant, Limburg and Luxemburg + WENCELAVS : Z : IOHANA DEI : GRA : BRAB : DVCES, R: Ornamented cross with one pellet in the centre + MONETA ★ NOVA ★ GROSSI ★ TRAIECTENSIS. dW: 409, Vanhoudt: G 310. 3.137 gr. **R** Small flan crack, very fine 250,--
- Coin Investment - Lisse, Auction 36 (1990), no. 445.
 Bryman = dubbele groot.
 Struck in March 1377 (v. d. Chijs suggests christmas 1381 and 1383).
 Coin letter 1381: "Voirt hebben wy onsen voirc. Muntmeesteren georloft ende volcomen macht gegeven te slaen ende te doen slaen in onser voirc. Munte te Tricht silveren penninge, die heiten sullen brymannen" (We have authorised our moneyer and granted him full power to strike and have struck, in our mint in Tricht, silver coins that will be named brymans). An explanation of the name "Bryman" is not provided.
 De Witte designates the figure on the obverse a "guerrier".
- 1159 Bryman - Maastricht. A: Duke standing with sword and shield of Brabant, Limburg and Luxemburg + WENCELAVS : Z : IOHANA DEI : GRA : BRAB : DVCES, R: Ornamented cross with one pellet in the centre + MONETA ★ NOVA ★ GROSSI ★ TRAIECTENSIS. dW: 409, Vanhoudt: G 310. 2.838 gr. **R** Fine to very fine 75,--
- Henzen - Amerongen 2004.
 From list 151, no. 732.
 Struck in March 1377.
 The Bryman coins of Maastricht are often badly struck.
 Philip the Bold was very concerned about the effects of the Treaty of Maastricht from 1357, by virtue of which the duchy Brabant would fall to Luxembourg in the case of a childless marriage of Jeanne and Wenceslas. Jeanne nor the Brabanders looked forward to Luxembourg dominance. Jeanne conferred all her possessions on her niece Margaret, the wife of Philip the Bold and the only grandchild of her father Jean III. The associate coin was a powerful weapon in this struggle.

JEANNE veuve and PHILIP le HARDI (1384-1389)



- 1160 Gros Roosebeker. A: Two shields (Brabant - Limburg - Luxemburg - Bohemia l., Old and New Burgundy r.), garland of roses between two flowers above and one flower below + IOH' : DVC : BRAB : PHS : DVX : BORG : Z : COM : FLAND, R: Shield of Brabant in floriated cross with the limbs ending in dragonheads + MONETA : NOVA : BRABANTIE : ET : FLANDRIE. dW: 414, Vanhoudt: G 319. 2.152 gr. **R** Small flan defect at the edge, very fine 100,--
- Bought 1985 (Ex: Dekker collection).
 From find Zutphen.
 Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 233 (1960), no. 761.
 This coin is based on the Coinage Act between Brabant and Flandern, 16th July 1384.

JEANNE veuve (1392-1406)

In 1389, Jeanne and Philip the Bold reached an agreement in which Jeanne promised not to strike coin anymore. Apparently, Philip wanted the Brabanders to grow accustomed to the fact that he would succeed Jeanne.

As minting now no longer yielded any profit for Jeanne, Philip (to propitiate the Brabant Estates for his succession) in a letter of 28th April 1392 allowed Jeanne to strike coin again. On the 25th of June of the same year, Jeanne started executing her regained right. On the 1st October 1396, Jeanne ceded her privilege of mint to the cities Leuven, Brussels and Tienen.



1161

- 1161 Double gros Roosebeker - Leuven. A: Two shields (Brabant - Limburg - Luxemburg - Böhmen l., Old and New Burgundy r.), garland of roses between two flowers above and one flower below + IOH : DEI : GRA : DVC : LVCEMB : BRAB : Z : LIMB, R: Shield of Brabant in floriated cross with the limbs ending in dragonheads + MONETA : NOVA LOVANIENS : IN : BRABAN. dW: 421, Vanhoudt: G 329. 3.901 gr. Very fine + 200,--
- Bought 1985 (Ex: Dekker collection).
From find Zutphen.
Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 233 (1960), no. 763.
Struck June 1392 and July 1393.

ANTOINE of BURGUNDY (1406-1415)

On the 27th April 1404, Philip the Bold died. His wife Margaret inherited Brabant, which she immediately ceded to her son Antoine. He then became regent on the 19th May 1404, with Jeanne's assent. On 16th March 1405, Margaret died, yet Antoine wouldn't become duke of Brabant until the demise of Jeanne on the 1st December 1406. In 1411, Antoine acquired the title Duke of Luxembourg by marriage to Elisabeth of Gorlitz (see under Luxembourg). Antoine met his end in the Battle of Agincourt in 1415, fighting for the French.



1162

1163

- 1162 Double gros boddrager - Vilvorde. A: Lion with helmet sitting l. with BRABA' T in the bottom field ANTHONIVS : DEI : GRA : DX : BRABANTIE, R: Long cross dividing legend over shield of Brabant - Limburg - Burgundy MONETA DVX : BRABANTIE ET : LIMB. dW: 432, Vanhoudt: G 337. 3.830 gr. Nice patina, extremely fine 250,--
- Schulman - Bussum, Auction 24 (2000), no. 890.
- 1163 Double gros boddrager - Leuven. A: Lion with helmet sitting l. with LOVAN in the bottom field ANTHONIVS : DEI : GRA : DX : BRABANTIE, R: Long cross dividing legend over shield of Brabant - Limburg - Burgundy MONETA BVG BRABANTIE ET : LIMB. dW: 435, Vanhoudt: G 342. 3.437 gr. Very fine 100,--
- Peus - Frankfurt, Auction 337 (1993), no. 662.
Atop the helmet, a lis from the arms of the duke.
For an elucidation on the name "boddrager", see under Flanders.
In de Witte DVX instead of BUG (This coin clearly reads BUG).



1164

- 1164 Gros boddrager - Leuven. A: Lion with helmet sitting l. with LOVAN in the bottom field ANTHONIVS : DEI : GR : BVG : Z : BABANTIE, R: Long cross dividing legend over shield of Brabant - Limburg - Burgundy MONETA DVX : BRABANTIE ET : LIMB. dW: 436, Vanhoudt: G 343. 2.210 gr. R Very fine

200,--

Elsen - Brussel, Auction 56 (1998), no. 1237.



1165

- 1165 Double mite. A: Shield of Brabant - Limburg - Burgundy + ANTHONIVS : DX : BRAB, R: Cross + MONETA . BRABANT. dW: 438, Vanhoudt: G 340. 1.394 gr. Very fine

50,--

Henzen - Amerongen 1998.
From list December 1998, no. 884.

JEAN IV (1415-1427)

After Antoine's death, the ducal title devolved to his oldest son Jean IV, who was only 13 years old at the time. Eleven members of the Estates were appointed associate guardians. Three years later, at the age of 16, Jean IV married Jacoba of Bavaria (10 April 1418) and from that moment on he bore the titles of Holland, Zeeland and Henegouwen. Jacoba's uncle, the ambitious John of Bavaria, managed to suspend Rome's dispensation needed for the marriage. This marriage already ended two years later, when Jacoba married Humphrey of Gloucester (brother of King Henry V of England). In 1425, the victory of Jean IV in the Battle at Brouwershaven coincided with Rome ruling the marriage of Jacoba and Humphrey of Gloucester as bigamous. The tractate of Douai did assure Jean IV the possession of all the districts, yet he was totally unfit to rule. Hence Brabant chose his brother Philip of St. Paul (who was appointed regent ("ruwaart")) in 1420, and in that same year he had to relinquish Holland and Zeeland for a period of 12 years to John of Bavaria at the Treaty of St. Maartensdijk.

Of the drielanders of Jean IV, one was struck for Hainaut at the mint of Valenciennes (see under Henegouwen).



1166

- 1166 Double gros (double penninck Jans) - Vilvorde. A: Two shields (Burgundy l., Brabant r.) under helmet IOHANNIS : DI : GRA : DVX : BRABANTI : Z : LIMB, R: Cross with two lis and two lions in the angles + MONETA : NOVA : DVC : BRABANTI : ET : LIMBVR. dW: 443, Vanhoudt: G 345. 3.916 gr. Weakly struck, almost very fine

100,--

Bought 1985 (Ex: Dekker collection).

Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, d.d. 8-1-1952.

De Witte mentions GA instead of GRA and DX instead of DVX.

This type is an imitation of the same type of John the Fearless for Flanders.

Vanhoudt mentions hat this coin was struck in an unknown mint atelier.



1167



1168



- 1167 Double gros thuyne - Maastricht. A: Lion rampant with shield of Brabant-Limburg-Bavaria in fence IOH : DX : BRAB : Z : LIMB : COM : HA : HO : Z : ZE, R: Long cross dividing legend in quatrefoil with trefoils in the angles + MONET : NOV : FAC : IN DEN : VROHOE. dW: 444, Vanhoudt: G 349. 2.651 gr. Almost very fine 100,--
Hirsch - München, Auction 192 (1996), no. 2274.
Ex: Eglmeier collection.
The arms feature Bavaria, signifying his marriage to Jacoba, which dates this coin between 1418 and 1420.
- 1168 Double gros - drielande - Brussel. A: Two shields (Brabant-Burgundy l., Brabant r.) in multilobe over lis + IOH' : DX : BRAB : Z : LIMB : COM : HAN' : HOL' . Z . ZE', R: Cross with two lis and two lions in the angles, inner circle + MONETA : FCA : BRVXELLE, outer circle + SIT : NOMEN : DOMINI : BENEDICTVM. dW: 446, Vanhoudt: G 352. 2.632 gr. Very fine 150,--
Hirsch - München, Auction 192 (1996), no. 2272.
Ex: Eglmeier collection.
The Brabant lions in the left half of the arms face right.



1169



- 1169 Gros - 1/2 drielande - Brussel. A: Two shields (Brabant-Burgundy l., Brabant r.) in multilobe over lis + IOH' : DX' : BRAB' : Z : LIMB' : COM' : HAN' : HOL' : Z : Z', R: Cross with two lis and two lions in the angles, inner circle + MONETA : FCA' : BRVXEL, outer circle + SIT : NOMEN : DOMINI : BENEDICTVM. dW: 447, Vanhoudt: G 353. 2.151 gr. Well struck, almost extremely fine 150,--
Holleman - Enschede 1994.
From list 100, no. 779.



1170



1171



1170

- 1170 Gros - 1/2 drielande - Brussel. A: Two shields (Brabant-Burgundy l., Brabant r.) in multilobe over lis + IOH : DX : BRAB : Z : LIMB : COM : HAN : HOL : Z : Z, R: Cross with two lis and two lions in the angles, inner circle + MONETA : FCA : BRVXEL, outer circle + SIT : NOMEN : DOMINI : BENEDICTVM. dW: 447, Vanhoudt: G 353. 1.901 gr. Almost very fine 75,--
Holleman - Enschede 1990.
From list 82, no. 397.
- 1171 Demi gros - 1/4 drielande - Brussel. A: Two shields (Brabant-Burgundy l., Brabant r.) in multilobe over lis IOH DX . BRAB : Z : LIMB : COM : HANNO, R: Cross with one lis in the 2nd and one lion in the 3rd angle, inner circle MONET : FCA : BRVX, outer circle + SIT : NOMEN : DOMINI : BNEDICTV. dW: 448, Vanhoudt: G 354. 0.762 gr. R Almost very fine 200,--
Delmonte - Brussel 1976.

PHILIPPE of ST. PAUL, Ruwaart (1420-1427)

After the contention between Jean IV and Jacoba, an assembly was called at Vilvorde and Philip of St. Paul was appointed regent. Philippe was the second son of Antoine of Burgundy and Jeanne of Waleran de Luxembourg.



1172



1173



- 1172 Double gros - drielanders - Waelhem. A: Two shields (Brabant-Burgundy l., Brabant-Limburg r.) in multilobe over lis + PHS : BRAB : COM : LINEI : ET : SCTI : PAVLI, R: Cross with two lis and two lions in the angles, inner circle + MONETA : PHI : BRABATIE, outer circle + SIT ♣ NOMEN ♣ DOMINI ♣ BENEDICTVM. dW: 452, Vanhoudt: G 358. 2.303 gr. **R** Slightly cleaned, very fine 200,--
NMB - Amsterdam 1979.
From find Woerden 1972 (cf. JMP 58/59 (1971/72), p. 167).
- 1173 Double gros - Rumingen. A: Helmet over the shields of Burgundy and Brabant PHS : BRABAN : COM : LINEI : ET : SCTI : PAVLI, R: Cross with two lis and two lions in the angles + MONET : NOV : COMITIS : LINEI : ET SCTI : PAVLI. dW: p. 202, Vanhoudt: --. 4.396 gr. **RR** Dark patina, very fine 750,--
Elsen - Brussel, Auction 59 (1999), no. 1260.
PA: 6855, B: --.
De Witte mentions MONETA instead of MONET.
Struck between 1423 and 1424.
De Witte has no number with reference to RF (1890), p. 71-86.

PHILIPPE of ST. PAUL (1427-1430)

Philip was regent during the life of Jean IV. After the latter's demise in 1427, he became duke.



1174



- 1174 Chaise d'or - Leuven. A: Count on throne in multilobe with shield of Brabant-Burgundy + PHS ⚡ DVX ⚡ BRABANTIE ⚡ Z ⚡ LIMBVRG, R: Floriated Cross in quatrefoil + XPC ⚡ VINCIT ⚡ XPC ⚡ REGNAT ⚡ XPC ⚡ IMPERAT. Delm: 58, dW: 455, Fb: 22, Vanhoudt: G 361. 3.513 gr. **RR** Well struck, very fine 1.500,--
Elsen - Brussel 1994.
From list 164, no. 276.



1175



- 1175 Double gros cromsterd. A: Lion rampant with the shield of Brabant-Burgundy in the centre + PHS ⚡ DVX ⚡ BRABANTIE ⚡ Z ⚡ LIMB, R: Long cross dividing legend with B - R - A - B' in the angles + MONETA ⚡ NOVA ⚡ LOVANIENS. dW: 458, Vanhoudt: G 363. 3.343 gr. **R** Dark patina, very fine + 400,--
Elsen - Brussel 1998.
From list 196, no. 633.



ABBEY of NIVELLES

Monastery founded by St. Gertrude (626-659), daughter of Pippin the Elder, the Austrasian mayor of the palace (see under Merovingians). Later, the successors of Lambert I (997-1015), Count of Leuven, took Nivelles. In 1040, Emperor Otto III returned various possessions to the monastery and granted privilege of mint. The counts of Brabant, however, did not abandon their claim to the abbey of Nivelles. In the end, Henry I (1190-1235) received Nivelles in fief from Emperor Otto IV. After Henry's death, Nivelles was united with Brabant.

Under HENRI I of BRABANT (1190-1235)



- 1176 Denier - 13th century. A: Church with ring on column in the portal, R: Cross of Brabant with two branches and two rings with oval pellet in the angles. Vanhoudt: G 2324. 0.641 gr. Very fine
Franceschi - Brussel 1972.
RBN (1946) Pl.1, 7 à 9.

75,--

DUCHY LIMBURG

The roots of the Duchy Limburg lay in the royal fief Baelen that Frederick II of Luxembourg (the later duke of Lower Lorraine) inherited from his father. This property lay between the Meuse and Aachen and comprised several abbeys as well. With the exception of one abbey, this territory passed to Waleran-Udo, Count of Arlon, in 1065. His descendants would reign until 1283.

His son Henry I of Limburg-Arlon (1081-1119) was appointed duke of Lower Lorraine by Emperor Henry IV. In 1105, this dignity was revoked and instead bestowed on Godfrey (IV) of Leuven, sowing the seeds of a lasting contention between Brabant and Limburg.

In 1128, Waleran II, son of Henry I, was given back ducal dignity, at the expense of Brabant-Leuven. Emperor Conrad III in 1139 subsequently bestowed ducal dignity on Brabant as well. The counts of Limburg henceforth called themselves duke, which was acknowledged in 1165 by Frederick Barbarossa. The status of prince of the empire, however, proved out of reach. In 1136, Rolduc was acquired (original name was 's Hertogenrade, or in French: Rode-le-Duc, which was contracted to Rolduc). The fief Wassenberg was then acquired through marriage. Around 1200, Limburg was more or less consolidated.

Waleran III wedded Ermesinde (duchess of Luxembourg), the rise of the Luxembourg-Limburg House. Upon his death, he bequeathed his son Adolf with Berg, his younger son Waleran IV with Limburg.

When Waleran IV died (1280), the duchy went to his daughter Ermengarde, married to Reginald of Gelre. When he died in 1283, the Limburg Succession War broke out, in which Jean I of Brabant won the decisive Battle of Worringen and annexed Limburg to Brabant (1288). As far as is known, the counts resp. the dukes of Limburg did not mint, apart from an Sterling that was struck in Rolduc at the very last. For this sole type, see beneath.

WALERAN of LIGNY (1284-1286)



- 1177 Esterlin - Rolduc. A: Shield with lion WALR(AMVS), R: Long cross with R - O - D - E in the angles x W(ALRAM)VS x. Lucas: 1, Vanhoudt: G 597. 1.197 gr. Extremely rare, weakly struck, very fine
Peus - Frankfurt, Auction 328 (1990), no. 1294.
Engel and Serrure provide the following elucidation: RODE indicates Rolduc, in German Herzogenrath. They attribute this piece to Waleran IV of Luxembourg, but this attribution is equivocal. Recent research has shown that Waleran of Ligny was governor from 1284 to 1286, he was a brother of Henry VI of Luxembourg. Although the mint of Rolduc was not put into operation until 1282, this sterling, against better judgement, is

1.000,--



attributed to Waleran IV, duke of Limburg (1246-1280). In addition to this, the type that this coin was modelled after, the sterling of John I of Brabant, which showed indication of the mint in the angles of the cross on the reverse, was not struck until after 1282. It is, therefore, impossible that this sterling was manufactured during the life of Waleran IV. The incidents surrounding the succession to Limburg hold the key to this mystery. After his death in 1280, Waleran IV was succeeded by his daughter Ermengard, her rights were acknowledged in June 1282 by Rudolf of Habsburg. At her demise in June 1283, her husband Reginald of Guelders acquired usufruct of the duchy, notwithstanding the opposition of Adolf of Berg, the next of kin of Ermengarde, who claimed the duchy. As he proved no match for Reginald of Guelders, Adolf of Berg in September 1283 resolved to cede his rights to Limburg to John I, Duke of Brabant, against payment of more than 14.000 marks in silver, prompting Reginald to seek support with Luxembourg. In August 1284, he placed the duchy in the custody of Waleran of Ligny, the younger brother of Henry VI of Luxembourg. Waleran governed until 1286, when problems arose, concerning the costs of guarding the castles of Rolduc and Limburg. After he had compensated Waleran, Reginald turned to Flanders and ceded the castles of Rolduc and Limburg to his father-in-law Guy of Dampierre. Through his victory at Worryngen, the duke of Brabant got hold of Rolduc after all. This sterling was undoubtedly struck by Waleran of Ligny as governor of Limburg. He, too, died on the battlefield at Worryngen (See Elsen, J.: *L'atelier de Rolduc à la fin du 13th siècle*, in list 160 (1994), p. 3-15).

COUNTY of LOOZ

The county Looz was centred in Hasselt and Maaseik, and comprised of a few smaller towns as well. Looz lay in the old counties of Maasgau, Hasbania and Toxandria, mentioned in the Treaty of Meerssen (870).

With regard to the future, the ties with the diocese Liège were of vital importance. The feudal rights to Looz presumably passed to Liège along with the cession of the county Hasbania to Liège by Henry III.

The original counts had been related to Reginar I (see Hainaut). The first known count, is Gislebert (1015-1044/46). Minting commenced with Louis I (1138/41-1171). His son Gerard (1171-1194/7) succeeded and during his reign a major part of Looz was destroyed by the prince bishop of Liège. In 1180, peace was signed between Looz and Liège (bishop Rudolf of Zähringen (1167-1191)) and the count became a vassal of Liège.

Little is known of his successors, until Arnold IV came to power, and especially Arnold V (1279-1323). He fought on the Brabant side, in the Battle at Worryngen, among others (there was a short-lived monetary union between Arnold and Jean I).

Arnold's son Louis IV (1323-1336) died childless. The county passed to his nephew Dietrich of Sponheim-Heinsberg (1136-1376), a son of Mathilde, daughter of Arnold V, and Godfrey III of Heinsberg. He died a childless man too however, the county passing once again to Liège.

The county's principal city Hasselt was occupied by Engelbert van der Marck to acknowledge his rights. Dietrich's nephew, Godfrey of Heinsberg-Dalembroeck (1361-1362), grandson of Mathilde, daughter of Arnold V, and Godfrey III of Heinsberg, was captured. He sold his rights to Arnold d'Oreye, a grandson of Arnold V, Sire of Rummen (1361-1366). He, in turn, on the 8th October 1365, sold his rights to the diocese Liège and in 1367 bishop John of Arkel definitively united the county Looz and the Prince-Bishopric Liège.

ARNOLD V (1279-1323)



1178 Esterlin. A: Head facing (tête nue) + MO(NETE) CIOMIT DE LO, R: Long cross dividing legend with three pellets in the angles COMES ARNOLDVS. Mayhew: 78, Vanhoudt: G 616 var. 1.300 gr.

R Weakly struck at the edge, otherwise almost extremely fine

200,--

Glendining - London, Auction 23 (1975), no. 313.

Ex: Noble collection (Australia).

Chautard 144 (pl. XII.3 - COMIT instead of CIOMIT).

Mayhew p. 53: "It is possible that some or all of the varieties included in type 78 may be unauthorised copies. CIOMIT looks like a copying error. The tooled crown on 78 is worthy of a special note" (Baerten, CENB I (1964), 53-55).

In his report on the Marchienne-au-Pont hoard, De Coster suggested that issuing of the MONETA CIOMIT DE LO type may have just begun at the time of the hoard's concealing (c. 1297).



1179

- 1179 Baudekijn - Hasselt. A: Mounted knight l. with standard and shield + ARNOLC COES : LOSSESIE, R: + SIGNVM CRVCIS around cross, + MONETA : NOVA : ASSELETENSIS. Lucas: 24, Vanhoudt: G 609. 2.025 gr. **RR** Very fine + 1.000,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 2000.
From list 604, no. 71.



1180

- 1180 Denier. A: Head r. ⦿ ARNOLDVS : COES : LOS, R: Long cross dividing legend with one rose in each angle IN NOME DE DEI. Lucas: 75. 0.362 gr. **RR** Well and sharp struck, very fine + 400,--
de Geus - Eindhoven, Auction 11 (2001), no. 135.

RUMMEN

An old Roman settlement. The Franks, too, sojourned there (the castle is still called "Klein Vrankrijk" (little France)).

The first known seigneur (lord of the manor) is Guillaume de Montferrant (1240-1243), who received Rummen from the counts of Looz (for Montferrant, see the note with 's Heerenberg). His oldest son Adam (1256-1262), was wedded to Elisabeth of Geneffe, heiress of Oreye (in 's Heerenberg the name Adam is also encountered, a name somewhat unusual for this region). Their oldest son Guillaume (1268-1296) was sire of Oreye and Rummen. The territory would be divided among his two sons: Arnold became sire of Oreye and Jean sire of Rummen (1298-1332). Jean's oldest son, Guillaume, wedded Johanna of Looz, dame of Quaebeke and widow of Arnold of Wesemael, sire of Quaebeke and Bergen op Zoom.

Their oldest son was Arnold d'Oreye, guardian of the county Looz (1363-1365). He concerned himself with the disputes with the bishop of Liège on succession in Looz. He died childless. His sister Marie succeeded him, and was in turn succeeded by her daughter Johanna. Her two sons sold their rights to Rummen to bishop Engelbert van der Marck of Liège.

Engelbert ceded Rummen to Henry of Diest, the future husband of Johanna of Wesemael. After Henry of Diest's death, Rummen was the property of Jan II of Wesemael. He sold part of this property to Charles the Bold (around 1404) after which Rummen devolved to his sister Johanna, Henry of Diest's wife. After her demise, Rummen became property of the family de Mérode until 1594.

ARNOLD d'OREYE (1355-1370)



1181

- 1181 Leeuwengroot. A: Lion rampant + MONETA ⚡ RVMEN within circle of 12 arches enclosing 11 leaves and one lion, R: ARNO DVC' x DOMN'I . around cross, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : NRI : DNI : IHV : XPC. Lucas: 5, Vanhoudt: G 2007. 2.789 gr. **RR** Very fine + 400,--
Münzen u. Medaillen - Basel 1988.

JAN II of WESEMAEL (1415-1464)



- 1182 Groot. A: Shield of Wesemael + IOHANS : DE : WESMA : DS : RVM, R: Cross with two lis and two crowns in the angles + SIT : NOME : DNI : BENEDICTV. Lucas: 31, Vanhoudt: G 2031. 2.872 gr. Extremely rare, very fine 500,--
 Coin Inv. - Lisse, Auction 47 (1994), no. 310.
 From list Henzen May 1994, no. 400.
 Follower of the "blanc guénar" of Charles VI (cf. France royale).



- 1183 Dubbele mijt. A: Shield of Wesemael + IOHAN . DE . WESEMA, R: Cross + MONETA * DE . RVMME. Lucas: 37, Vanhoudt: G 2034. 1.204 gr. R Very fine 100,--
 Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 12 (1988), no. 3210.



- 1184 Mijt. A: Shield of Burgundy + IOHANNES DNS Q, R: Long cross dividing legend VRA VTM Lucas: 47, Vanhoudt: G 2028. 0.487 gr. R Very fine 75,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 2003.
 From list 141, no. 619.
 Q = Quaebeke.
 Imitation of the myten of John the Fearless.

JOHANNA of WESEMAEL (1464-1474)



- 1185 Dubbele mijt. A: Shield of Philip the Good + IOHANNA : DE : WESMAL, R: Cross with lis in the centre + MONETA o NOVA o RVMMENOR'. Lucas: 51, Vanhoudt: G 2038. 0.734 gr. R Small edge fault, very fine 100,--
 Elsen - Brussel, Auction 72 (2002), no. 1672.

GERDINGEN

Gerdingen is an old seigniory of Looz. In 1444, it belonged to John of Weert, husband of Margaretha Hoen of Hoensbroek.

Johanna of Merwede, dame of Stein, was also dame of Gerdingen. She struck imitations of Philip the Good's coins in Gerdingen and Nieuwstad.

JOHANNA of MERWEDE (1449-1467)



- 1186 Mijt - Gerdingen. A: Shield of Burgundy + BE(... : SIT) : NOMEN D, R: Long cross with lis in the centre MOII . (...) : II - EDNC. Lucas: 4, Vanhoudt: G 1724 (this specimen). 0.901 gr.
RR Small flan, very fine 150,--
 Elsen - Brussel, Auction 72 (2002), no. 1653.
 Ex: Ridder van den Bogaerde collection - Haaren.
 Imitation of the "Vlaamse mijt" of Philips de Goede (vGH: 17.2).
 This specimen is shown in Lucas, in: RBN (1882) 22,15 (this specimen).
 Johanna of Merwede in 1449 inherited the fiefs Gerdingen and Stein from her sister. She ceded all her rights to Stein to the Liège bishop John of Heinsberg. In the two mints of Gerdingen (Gerdingen and Nieuwstad), she had imitations of the Flemish, Brabant and French coins struck in large numbers, on Nieuwstad coins she is frequently indicated as dame of Stein.
- 1187 Maille tournois. A: Cross in quatrefoil ☙ IOHANNA . DE : GR, R: Lis in quatrefoil ☙ IOHAN...DE GER. Lucas: 5c, Vanhoudt: --. 0.496 gr. Fine 30,--
 Dombrowski - Münster 1983.



- 1188 Maille tournois. A: Lis in quatrefoil ☙ IOHANNA : DMA : D, R: Cross in quatrefoil ☙ NOMEN : DNI : NOB. Lucas: 5e, Vanhoudt: --. 0.679 gr. Traces of verdigris, very fine 75,--
 Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 12 (1988), no. 3211.
 cf. vdCh: 32 var.
 Lucas 5e provides the following texts: A: ☙ IOHANNA DOMINA D, R: NOMEN DNI NOS and refers to RF 1852, p. 37,6.
 What does the D signify?
- 1189 Mijt - Nieuwstad. A: Shield of Burgundy + IOHANNA : DNA : DE : GERDIN, R: Long cross with lis in the centre + MONETA : NOVA : CIVITA. Lucas: 23, Vanhoudt: G 1723. 0.619 gr. Fine to very fine 50,--
 Elsen - Brussel, Auction 72 (2002), no. 1655.
 Ex: Ridder van den Bogaerde collection - Haaren.
 Imitation of the "Vlaamse mijt" of Philips the Good (vGH: 17.2).
 This coin is shown in Lucas, in: RBN (1882) 22,14 (this specimen).
- 1190 Mijt - Nieuwstad - ca. 1460. A: Shield of Burgundy + ...NNA : DE : GERDIN..., R: Long cross MNE - DNEV - N Lucas: 10 var, Vanhoudt: G 1725 var. 0.855 gr. Weakly struck at the edge, very fine 50,--
 Elsen - Brussel, Auction 72 (2002), no. 1656.
 Imitation of the "Brabantse mijt" of Philips the Good (vGH: 20.1a).

UNKNOWN MAILLES

Charles VII struck obole tournois, lis in quatrefoil on the obverse and cross in quatrefoil on the reverse, in three emissions (Dupl: 533). The first emission took place on 28 January 1436, the last started in May 1447 (the reign of Louis XI started 1461, he did not strike this type anymore).

For a short period of time, small coins that were imitations of these French obole tournois were struck in a number of places in a relatively limited area in the northeastern part of present-day Belgian Limburg.

Some of these indicate a mint and are determinable, others provide a text that to date nobody has been able to interpret.

Several types of text can be distinguished (taken from Lucas):

MINT	REIGN	DATE	LEGEND OBERSE	LEGEND REVERSE
Gerdingen	Johanna van Merwede	1449-1467	IOHANNA DE GERD NOMEN DNI NOS IOHANNA DE GERD DOMINA DEIOH...MACOI ?AITDATCA - VEA TEO	MONETA NOVA DE GER IOHANNA DOMINA D M O N E T A N O V S I V MONETA NOVA SIV ...ICIA...XCI
Brogel	Jean de Bunde	1420-1456	IOHANNES DE BVI	TIVDA TDATVA MONETA NOVA BR
Kessenich	Jean II de Hornes	1456-1468	IOHA...DE HORN MILECVRN OICR	T...ADV//AVER VROCNI...
Rummen	Johanna van Wesemael	1464-1474	IOHANNA DE WSAMA	MONE NOVA RVME
Bicht	Nicolas van der Donck	1467-1489-1506	NICOL...D .G NI...A!N..E D	MONETA NOVA B MON..NOVA BI
Reckheim	Jean de Pymont	1514- ?	IOHAN... MARRA MATE DI MARRA MATE DI GV...M DEI G BV AVE MARIA... AVE MARIA GRAC AVE M...GR TVA SVHA DEI VSEI WILHEL...	MON...OVA REC LVDOVICVS DEI G MOMETA NOVA I V...MA C...EN MARIA MATER ORA OBOLVS CIVIS F PLE...DOMINV NOA...N TVAO ...VAV...XVS SVI
Onbekend				

Assuming that manufacture of this type in Bicht had already begun in 1467, all places are within the stated historical timeframe. That leaves Reckheim, which, however, needn't form an exception, as imitating continued such a long time there.

Rather remarkable is that all types, except Bicht, are in the name of either a John or a Johanna. The French example weighs 0.816 gr. The types at hand vary between 0.496 gr, 0.679 gr, 0.513 gr, 0.693 gr and 0.906 gr (only the last type is significantly heavier).



- 1191 Maille tournois. A: Lis in trefoil Φ MM : AhTD, R: Cross in quatrefoil + OVMEDBAE. 0.693 gr. Weakly struck, very fine 50,--
Henzen - Amerongen 2005.
From list 158, no. 921.



- 1192 Maille tournois. A: Lis in trefoil ND TOE VOEDAENIVD, R: Cross in quatrefoil Φ BARONE TOE BEIT. 0.906 gr. Very fine 50,--
WAG - Dortmund, Auction 23 (2003), no. 3786.
The O in the legend (VOE) can also be seen as G or something else.
This coin is heavier than comparable types.



BICHT

Gerard van der Marck was the seigneur of Reckheim - Bicht in the 14th century and he was an uncle of the Liège bishop Adolph van der Marck.

In the 15th century, Bicht separated into two branches: a Guelders branch (1429) with the family from Geldrop (this is the lineage of Nicolaas van der Donck) and a Brabant branch (1467), the family Pietersheim. In 1469, Nicolaas van der Donck united both branches.

This fief, situated in the Born region, was owned by the family Van der Donck since the beginning of the 15th century.

NICOLAAS v.d. DONCK (1489-1506)



- 1193 1/4 tournois. A: Lis in trefoilHANTE ♂ BI....., R: Cross in quatrefoil ☙ (MONETA) ♂ NOVA ♂ BI. Lucas: --, Vanhoudt: --. 0.513 gr. Extremely rare, fine to very fine 100,--
WAG - Dortmund, Auction 21 (2002), no. 5021.
cf. Lucas 14/15.
cf. RN 1852, pl. Iib.

RECKHEIM

At the beginning of the 12th century, Reckheim was an extensive fief, caught between Brabant, Liège, Looz and Jülich, with which they had nothing in common.

Until 1312, the fief was owned by the family Bronkhorst through the marriage of its first known seigneur Arnold of Redekem.

In 1317, the fief fell to the family of Stein - Diepenbeek for lack of successors. Louis of Diepenbeek wedded Margaret of Sombreffe and their son Henry (1350-1397) succeeded. He received the charter with the privileges to Reckheim from Charles IV in Nuremberg.

Henry had two childless marriages and his nephew William of Sombreffe (1397-1400) succeeded. The privileges to the imperial Barony Reckheim of William II were acknowledged by Frederick IV.

Reckheim remained the property of the family of Sombreffe until 1504.

LODEWIJK of STEIN-DIEPENBEEK († 1350)



- 1194 Mijt. A: Great L between two quatrefoils and two clovers + M(ON)ETA LE...DAI, R: Long cross LVD COM NI... - DNI. Lucas: 20, Vanhoudt: G 1806. 0.633 gr. Extremely rare, flan crack, fine 85,--
Elsen - Brussel, Auction 72 (2002), no. 1659.
Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 1911, no. 992.
Imitation of the "Vlaamse mijt" of Lodewijk van Nevers.
This specimen is shown in Lucas.

WILLEM II of SOMBREFFE (1400-1475)



- 1195 1/4 Groot (cokibus). A: Shield of Sombreffe between three stars ☉ WILHEL ☉ DE ☉ SOMERI, R: Eagle on long cross dividing legend MONETA NOVA REK. Lucas: 43 var, Vanhoudt: G 1847. 0.530 gr. RR Very fine 200,--
Elsen - Brussel, Auction 72 (2002), no. 1661.

WILLEM III de SOMBREFFE (1475-1484)



- 1196 Biljoen - Angevin. A: Shield + VVILhELMVS DE . S, R: Long cross with one star in each angle MO NE TA (RE). Lucas: 149, Vanhoudt: G 1857. 0.294 gr. **RR** fine
Henzen - Amerongen 1990.

125,--

MAASTRICHT

The ancient name for Maastricht is Traiectum ad Mosam or Traiectum superius (as opposed to Utrecht: Traiectum inferius).

Maastricht, situated on the route from Cologne to the sea, from Nijmegen to Tongeren, etc, has been an important junction since its earliest days: as well in its Roman as in its Merovingian period.

Maastricht is the city of St. Servatius. His roots lay in Tongeren, an old Roman settlement, the Civitas Tungrorum, where the remains of a church dated to the 4th century have been found. That is about the time Servatius was bishop there (342-359). Around 350, he received divine orders to leave Tongeren (its population was sinful) and go to Maastricht. Tongeren stayed a diocese however and Servatius is commonly referred to as bishop of Tongeren.

When Servatius died in 384 he was buried beside the road, conform to Roman custom. The St. Servaas Church would be erected on exactly that spot. After Servatius' demise, there was a long period without a bishop, but eventually Agricola became the first bishop of Maastricht. The diocese would exist until 687-688, when under St. Hubert the episcopal moved to Liège (see under Liège).

In the days of Servatius' death, the Onze Lieve Vrouwekerk, an episcopal church, already existed. The bishop kept the Onze Lieve Vrouwekerk as his church, even after he had moved to Liège.

The figure of Servatius is shrouded in legend (see Hendrik van Veldeke: Servatiuslegende). Servatius is not only venerated in Maastricht, but in many other places too. The most known is Quedlinburg, the only other city to possess relics of Servatius (see under Quedlinburg).

In Charles Martel's time, Servatius' remains were exhumed (*elevatio*), the relics were moved elsewhere (*translatio*) and subsequently the remains were interred anew (*depositio*). In the early Middle Ages, an *elevatio* was equivalent to sanctification. Henceforth, Servatius was venerated as St. Servatius in Maastricht and elsewhere.

The St. Servaas Church was led by Alcuin and Einhard, who evolved it into a canonical stift. In 889, it was bestowed on the church of Trier, but in 966, Otto I reclaimed the stift. Rivalry arose between the St. Servaas and the Onze Lieve Vrouwekerk. The latter had over 20 canons, however, neither a sovereign provost nor clerical immunity. Since 1087 the St. Servaas chapter did have a sovereign provost and clerical immunity.

Since that time an unwritten condominium of two sovereign powers (or actually three, for the St. Servaas was itself sovereign) prevailed.

This condominium had its impact on coinage. Under Otto II, the bishops of Liège acquired the privilege of mint for, among others, Maastricht (see under Liège). The German kings/emperors possessed right of mint for Maastricht themselves. This right had a significant aspect to it: the German kings were crowned in Aachen and an almost formal part of the solemnity consisted in visiting St. Servatius' grave. No king would set off on a pilgrimage to Aachen, without including Maastricht in his voyage. This establishes a clear relation between Maastricht and Aachen and their coins. On the other hand there was a close connection between Liège and Maastricht coins. Coinage reflects this triangular constellation.

The condominium ended in 1174, when Frederick Barbarossa granted the burgus Traiecti (with the exception of the prepositura Traiectensis and the abbey of Nivelles) to Rudolf of Zähringen, the bishop of Liège, to finance his war in Northern Italy. Thus, in 1174, Rudolf became the autocratic ruler of Maastricht and so did his successor. Condominial rule was not reinstated until 1193, when the elect of Liège, Simon of Limburg, ceded half of Maastricht to Henry VI.

1204 saw a definitive turn. The German King Philip of Swabia granted the duke of Brabant Henri I Maastricht in fief. Once again it was governed in condominium, that was chartered in 1284 in the so-called "Alde Caerte". After 1300, the dukes gained influence.

Minting until 1204 was characterised by great instability, with both the German empire and the Liège bishops striking coin in Maastricht. In the 14th century, matters stabilised, when the dukes of Brabant had coins struck in the Vroenhof and the bishops in the St. Pieter.

Underneath, the coins struck by German kings/emperors in Maastricht are listed. For Liège minting in Maastricht see under Liège, for Brabant minting in Maastricht see under Brabant and under Burgundian Netherlands.

In Maastricht "*The Key of St. Servaas*" holds a very special place.



Servaas Key, presumably manufactured in Trier (end of the 9th century)

The origins lie in the Servaas legend: Servatius went to Rome to ask forgiveness and protection for the inhabitants of Tongeren. St. Peter spoke to Servatius and said that God wouldn't forgive the sinful people of Tongeren.

Thereupon Servatius was given a precious key by St. Peter. With it, he bestowed the same power over life and death on Servatius as he had been given by Christ, and spoke: "The mercy and power vested in me by Christ you now possess too". The key, therefore, represents non-sacramental healing power.

The Servaas Key, apart from its healing power, also holds political significance and, thus, it is closely linked to a more worldly power as well. When the Emperor is depicted holding sword and key, the sword represents his legal authority and the key is the emblem of his sway over Maastricht. Sprenger (p. 61-62) believes the key, emphasised by the term "clavis", should be regarded as the emblem of the *ius fisci*: the right of the St. Servaas Chapter to the revenue of its own possessions.

HEINRICH V (1105-1125)



1197

1197 Denier. A: Bust facing with bird (sceptre?) on the right handICVS....., R: Head with tonsure facing (Saint Servatius?) SE..... 0.911 gr. **RR** Weakly struck, reverse off centre, fine

300,--

Spink - London 2005.

Ex Pimprez hoard (no. 514). For commentary on the Pimprez hoard, see no. 1207.

This, without a doubt, is Henry V, but it is unclear whether as king or as emperor (after 1111). The small head on the reverse must be St. Servatius', because he is Maastricht's patron saint. The small head in this period and region characteristically indicated a saint. Hence, the small heads on this specimen (of St. Servatius) and on no. 1207 (of St. Lambert) are virtually equal. Both saints are usually indicated in this manner, the style varies however. The depicting of the heads on the nos. 1207 and 1197 is typical for the Pimprez hoard.

The reference to Frère (1961), no. 52 (with HEINRICVS REX) is incorrect, as is that to Dann: 250.



- 1198 Denier. A: Crowned bust facing with orb and sceptre + MVOLOAC.... RVS, R: Cross with pellets in the limbs and one lis in each angle + THCRA..... Dann: 250 var. 0.842 gr.
RR Magnificent portrait, reverse a little uncentered, very fine

750,--

Westf. Münzauktion, Auction 9 (1997), no. 2273.

The obverse is a copy of a coin from Aachen (Men: 19), the reverse does not indicate Aachen. Perhaps the legend has to be read retrograde Dannenberg 250 shows an obverse much like this one, its reverse is altogether different however (Saint, text SCS SERVA), text obverse + HEINRICVS REX (retrograde).

Ilisch believes the coin under consideration is from Maastricht. There is another specimen in Berlin and one in Münster. It reads HENRICVS REX (Henry V was king from 1105 to 1111, then emperor). The text on the reverse may be ARCHTEA....

The shape of the cross is seen on various coins from this region. E.g. Dann: 205 (coin of Liège) where the obverse shows the mentioned head from the Pimprez hoard (with St. Lambert) and the reverse shows the same cross as this coin.

As for the legend on the obverse: HEINRICVS REX can be read neither directly, nor in retrograde. The legible letters (read directly) bring St. Monulfus to mind, the bishop of Maastricht who founded the first Liège church.



- 1199 Denier. A: Crowned bust facing with globe and palm leaf, R: Bust facing with tonsure MVNDMVND. 0.959 gr.
RR Reverse uncentered, very fine

750,--

Elsen - Brussel, Auction 84 (2005), no. 1349.

Ex: Find Comblain-au-Pont, in: RBN (2002), p. 122-123.

cf. also Tresor de Maastricht: I, pl.V.18.

v. Heesch-Ilisch: pl. IV. 1p.

In the description of this hoard, V. Heesch and Ilisch have attributed this coin to the period 1119-1123. They refer to Dann: 250 and to the successional problems ensuing the murder of bishop Otbert in 1119. The Investiture Controversy had the Liège diocese divided into two camps. One side led by Frederick of Namur, the other by Alexander. After the former's demise, a third pretender emerged, but eventually Alexander became bishop of Liège in 1129. This infers that "In view of the imperial character of this denarius, Van Heesch and Ilisch attribute it to the party of Alexander (p. 108-114)".

However, there is a resemblance between the small head on the obverse and those on the coins of Aachen (Men: 12 and 16a). The small head on the reverse is the characteristic Pimprez small head again (here, of course, referring to St. Servatius). Another interesting aspect of this reverse is that, instead of an indication of St. Servatius' name, it bears the rather vague MVNDMVND.

This MVNDMVND is deemed inexplicable to date, however, couldn't it be derived from *mundiburdiu*? (LdM 6:898/9). This word is a compound of "munt" and "beran", meaning bearer. The Franks referred to the power and the duty of the emperor to protect the whole church (*defensio ecclesiae*) as *mundiburdiu*. "Munt" is protection and was first used in that vein by Otfried von Weissenburg (863-871) and in the Lorscher Bienensegen, a 10th century German poem. Munt also means security. Couldn't MVNDMVND therefore mean that the German emperor protected the church (St. Servaas)?

In Kluge "Die Salier" under no. 215, a coin of Henry V of Aachen appears, with the same obverse, except for its crosier, which in this coin was replaced with a palm leaf.

FRIEDRICH I BARBAROSSA (1152-1190)



1200

- 1200 Denier - Key. A: Crowned head l., cross and letters IPR, branch behind, R: Key in quatrefoil CLAVIS. 0.850 gr. **R** Very fine +
v. d. Dussen - Westerhof, Auction 5 (1986), no. 2524.

300,--

To raise money Frederick Barbarossa in 1174 granted the city of Maastricht in fief to Rudolf of Zähringen, the bishop of Liège. A Maastricht coin and two Liège coins refer to this occasion. One of the Liège coins shows the emperor, the other one the key, repeating the word *clavis*. The Maastricht coin would have been struck before 1174, the two Liège coins after that date. Sprenger not only regards the repetitive use of a key on the Liège coin as expressing the bishop's sway over Maastricht, but also interprets the chest under it to be the exchequer, for the bishop now received the revenue. Sprenger even identifies the half figure to the right as a treasurer.

The Liège coins are of a finer cut than the Maastricht specimens, the Liège artists had a higher standard, expressed in the fact that the Liège coins show an emperor with beard (Barbarossa) and the Maastricht coins do not.



LIÈGE

MAASTRICHT

LIÈGE



1201

- 1201 Denier - Church. A: Crowned head r. with orb and branch, R: Church with two towers. 0.843 gr. **R** Nice patina, very fine to extremely fine
Spink - London, Auction 38 (1984), no. 347.
Ex: Carnegie Museum of Natural History collection, Pittsburgh.

250,--

HEINRICH VI (1191-1197)



1202

- 1202 Denier - Eagle. A: Crowned bust facing with sceptre, R: Eagle r.. 0.842 gr. **R** Weakly struck, very fine
Grenswisselkantoren - Amsterdam 1982.
Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 260 (1975), no. 1180.
No sign of IMPERATOR or anything of the sort.

250,--

This coin's style does not fit the period of Frederick Barbarossa. There is, however, a parallel to a coin of Albert of Rethel's (see Liège). The refinement in the cut of the die is similar. For this reason, the coin is no longer attributed to Frederick Barbarossa but to his successor Henry VI (emperor from 1191 to 1197). This means it must have been struck between 1193 (the cession of Maastricht to the emperor) and 1197 (the year of his demise).

Frère (1961) too, mentions this coin (under no. 83), places it under Rudolf of Zähringen and comments: "La tête de l' empereur rapelle celle the l'empereur Louis le Pieux sur le reliquaire du bras de Charlemagne, conservé à Aix-la-Chapelle et exécuté vers 1160".



PRINCE-BISHOPRIC LIÈGE (LUIK/LÜTTICH)

The original name for Liège is Leodium, after the small river Legia, that flows into the Meuse near Liège.

Just as Maastricht is the city of St. Servatius, Liège is that of St. Lambert. He was born approx. 635 in Maastricht, in the era of the Merovingian mayors of the palace. Lambert was raised and educated by the bishops of Maastricht (Landoald and Theodardus). Theodardus was assassinated (approx. 670) and Lambert succeeded. Then mayor of the palace Ebroin deposed Lambert because of his Merovingian ancestry. Lambert eluded to Stavelot and would stay there for seven years. By that time, Pepin of Herstal had seized power (Herstal is just north of present-day Liège, across the Meuse from Jupille, also a Merovingian possession) and restored Lambert to his episcopal office in Maastricht.

In those days, Liège was a mere hamlet, a few shacks and a chapel in the honour of the Saints Cosmas and Damianus (this chapel was founded by the Maastricht bishop St. Monulfus). Lambert stayed regularly in Liège, however, the reasons for his definitive move from Maastricht to Liège remain unclear. His murder, in 705 by Count Dodo, is yet another mystery. Lambert's body was transferred to Maastricht, to the St. Pieter. The whereabouts of Lambert's grave are unknown. Approx. 718, Lambert's remains are brought to Liège. He was then buried in the small chapel of Cosmas and Damianus, at the place where he was killed. Later, the great Gothic St. Lambert Cathedral would be erected there (destroyed in 1789). Lambert is venerated as St. Lambert (presumably starting approx. 718: the transfer to Liège).

That placed the residence in Liège in 722. Ecclesiastically, Liège belonged to the archbishopric of Cologne. Politically, Liège was part of Lorraine (since 925, part of the German Empire).

In 881, Liège (just as Maastricht) was devastated by the Vikings. Bishop Notker (972-1008) is, therefore, considered to be the second founder of the city of Liège.

The Prince-bishopric of Liège is among the most remarkable creations of the so-called "ottonisch-salisches Reichskirchensystem" (Ottonian-Salian Imperial Church System) in Lorraine. In the middle of the 10th century, the bishops possessed estates and privileges in the most important cities of the Meuse Valley (Liège, Tongeren, Maastricht, Huy, Namur, Dinant) rural estates as well as their own monasteries (St. Hubert, Lobbes). In 980, Bishop Notker acquired a comprehensive immunity privilege from Otto II, exempting all estates of the Liège church from comital jurisdiction. Even more momentous was the charter of 985 in which Otto III ceded bishop Notker the County of Huy; this secular power gaining Notker prince-bishop status.

The dominion was regularly expanded, on the basis of this status: 987 saw the cession of yet another large abbey, Gembloux, and a second county, "Brunnengeruut", situated between Jette and Dijle. A third county was gained in 1040, Haspinge, located between the Meuse and its tributary the Geer. The County Hainault had been a Liège church fief since 1071/76 and in 1096, Bishop Otbert acquired the castle and the title of Bouillon. These were the most significant stages of territorial expansion of the prince-bishopric and they took place at the expense of the County Namur and in constant rivalry with the House Brabant-Leuven. In the 13th and the 14th centuries, the larger territories acquired were the city St. Truiden (1227) and the County Looz (1366). After that, the borders of the prince-bishopric remained the same until its dissolving in 1793/95 (LdM 6.26-27).

From 1174 to 1193, the bishop of Liège temporarily held total authority over Maastricht (see under Maastricht).

Otto II granted the bishops of Liège the privilege of mint for Liège and for Maastricht (in 974 for Fosses and presumably for Huy and Maastricht as well (both last were confirmed by Otto III in resp. 985 and 988), in 1040 by Henry III for the County Haspingau and in 1070 by Henry IV for Dinant and in 1071 for the diocese Liège in general). Like everywhere in the German Empire, minting started in the German emperor's name. Later (usually around 1020-1030) the name of the bishop appeared next to that of the emperor. Sometimes the double indication was avoided by only mentioning a saint's name, like for instance in Liège. Bishop Reginard (1025-1037) was the first to have his own name appear exclusively on coins.

OTTO III (983-996)



- 1203 Denier. A: Head l. (O)T(TO)...REX, R: S / COLONIA / A monogram. Dann: 340. 1.083 gr. **RR** Small flan defect, very fine 400,--
- Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 271 (1980), no. 2309.
 Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 25-3-69, no. 724.
 Hävernick under no. 162 comments as follows: "Die Ähnlichkeit mit gesicherten Lütticher Prägungen (Dann. 192-194) begründet die Bestimmung auf die Münzstätte Lüttich. Allerdings wäre vielleicht auch Maastricht möglich (Dann. 239). Dies vorliegende Gepräge wurde früher für kölnisch gehalten, doch lässt sich diese Zuteilung wegen des völlig fremden Stils und des stark gesunkenen Gewicht nicht aufrecht halten."

EPISCOPAL MINTING (11th century)



- 1204 Denier - Maastricht. A: Head r. (SCS) LAMBE(RTVS EPS), R: Great A with alpha and omega at the limbs between two crosses T(RAIECTVM). Dann: 252, deCh: 8. 1.193 gr. **R** Weakly struck, fine to very fine 150,--
- Schulman - Amsterdam 1975.
 Frère RBN (1961), mentioned under no. 27.
 Dannenberg (252) ranks this under Maastricht, but in view of the fact that St. Lambert is indicated, it should be classified under Liège (but as struck in Maastricht).

REGINARD (1025-1037)



- 1205 Denier - Ciney. A: Head r. + REINARDVS, R: In three lines CEV / NACV / O .. deCh: --. 1.179 gr. **Extremely rare, fine** 1.500,--
- WAG - Dortmund, Auction 25 (2004), no. 5423.
 In the Rohe hoard, there is a similar specimen. See "Vondsten in Estland", p. 333, no. 9 (with picture).
 This is the first bishop to indicate his name on a coin, moreover it is the only Reginard coin.
 Of the mint Ciney few coins are known (Dannenberg mentions two (220 and 221), both of Bishop Dietwin's (1048-1075), nameless, De Chestret and Mignolet know of four (no. 25: a St. Lambert coin (Dann: 1219 a, b), no. 34 and 35 (Dann: 220 and 221) of bishop Dietwin's (1048-1075), nameless and no. 36 with a question mark (Dann: 1464) of bishop Dietwin's, nameless).
 After Reginard, the mint Ciney was not indicated anymore (no longer operational or no longer under the Diocese Liège?)
 The two letters in the text on the obverse are not very clear. In his opinion, it doesn't read GI. On the specimen from the Estonian hoard, Reginard is spelled in German: REINARDVS, which is also the case here.
 Mint spelled as CEVNVS.

HENRI of VERDUN (1075-1091)

Henri de Verdun was from the influential House Ardenne-Verdun. He was related to Duke Gottfried the Hunchback and thanks to the latter he became archdeacon of Verdun and later bishop of Liège. He was very loyal to the Emperor.

He endeavoured to establish the Peace of God of 27th March 1081, when he proclaimed a *Treuga Dei*, the first in the empire. This peace initiative sought to react to the chaos in Lower Lorraine and lay at the root of the "Liège Peace Tribunal".



- 1206 Denier - Maastricht. A: Head facing with crosier SERVATI, R: Church with two towers and portal. deCh: --. 0.945 gr. **RR** A little weakly struck at the edge, nice portrait, very fine + 1.500,--
v.d.Dussen - Maastricht 1978. Find of Tirwart, no. 17, 18, 20 and 23 RBN 1958. cf. Frère RBN 1961, no. 43. Couldn't the "rays" in the church symbolise Henry's peace endeavour? There was some discussion on whether there is an H preceding SERVATI (H = holy). However, here, there are no letters to the left of the crosier.
- 1207 Denier - Luik. A: Head facing SCS LAN(BERTVS), R: Church with two towers, cross on top of the towers and lis in the middle. deCh: --. 0.970 gr. **RR** Reverse uncentered, very fine 600,--
Spink - London 2005.
From NC 2005, no. MD0142.
Ex Pimprez hoard (no. 494). This hoard was concealed around 1140 and was discovered by coincidence in 2002 on the grounds of a house in the place Pimprez near Compiègne, 50 km north of Paris. The town was known as Pimprectic in 892 and in 1178 as Pimprez. In the 12th century, it was home to the Knights Templar. The hoard was made up of 12 silver ingots, 446 English pennies (374 of Henry I and 72 of Stephan) and 123 continental deniers, mainly from Metz, Liège, Maastricht, Trier and Zürich.
Meert: p. 134, ch. 67.
The small head on the obverse is the typical Pimprez small head (see also under Maastricht).
Is this not the Ch: 67, vacance du siege 1119? This denarius emerged in the hoard of Mirwart (concealed 1090) and is attributed to Henri de Verdun. Meert RBN 1961.

OTBERT (1092-1119)

The ancestry of this bishop is unknown. He was canon of the cathedral of St. Lambert and of the St. Simon and Judas in Goslar. With the aid of Emperor Henry IV he became bishop of Liège. He too was a stalwart of the emperor. After Henry IV (born in 1050 in Goslar) was deposed at a diet of princes on 31 December 1105 in Ingelheim and subsequently taken prisoner by his son, Otbert sought refuge in Liège, where he was murdered in 1106.



- 1208 Denier - Maastricht. A: Bearded bust r. with crosier + OBERTVS . EPISCOPVS, R: Church with lis on top T.AO.IECTVM. deCh: 58. 0.922 gr. Extremely rare and extraordinary well centered specimen, very fine 2.000,--
Henzen - Amerongen 1998.
Found 1992 in Andelst. Shown in: De Beeldenaar 17 (1993) on p. 385 at the coin hoards from the middle ages.
Frère (1961) under no. 53, the legend on the obverse is extraordinary detailed.

ALEXANDER I (1129-1135)

The origins of Alexander I are unknown, he was presumably from a Liège noble house. After several attempts, he finally became bishop on the 18th of March 1128. A stalwart of Lothair III, he defeated Gottfried of Leuven (who had lost his duchy by virtue of a royal decree) in 1129. In 1131, he arranged a meeting between Lothair III and Pope Innocent II in Liège.

He was accused of simony which led to his dismissal from office at the Council of Pisa in 1135.

- 1209 Obole. A: Armoured bust facing with sword (there is possibly an O of the legend visible), R: Two heads beneath tower, two birds above. deCh: --. 0.335 gr. Extremely rare, very fine 400,--
Henzen - Amerongen 1996. Found in Venlo 1993.
The two birds are most characteristic of this unknown coin. They are only seen on Alexander I and II coinage, where they are rendered similarly, standing on the two outer towers, however, faces are discernable in the towers here. For this reason it is listed under Alexander I.

HENRI II of LIMBOURG (1145-1165)



1210

- 1210 Denier - Huy. A: Bust l. HE(INRIC), R: Building with three palm-leaves on top. deCh: 101. 0.821 gr. **RR** Uncentered and weakly struck, very fine
WAG - Dortmund, Auction 16 (2000), no. 2791.

300,--

RUDOLF of ZÄHRINGEN (1167-1191)

Rudolf is a son of Conrad of Zähringen and Clementias of Namur and descendant of the House of the Zähringers.

After Archbishop Arnold of Mainz' demise, the citizens of Mainz elected Rudolf archbishop. Frederick Barbarossa did not acknowledge however. He was excommunicated at the Council of Lodi (1161). His brother Berthold of Zähringen then asked King Louis VII to plead with Pope Alexander III. Naturally, this was also unacceptable for Frederick Barbarossa. Around 1165, the relationship between the Zähringers and the emperor improved, which led to the appointment of Rudolf to bishop of Liège. He tried to expand his dominion, among other things by a campaign against Looz.

He attempted to help his cousin Conrad of Urach succeed in his office, but he failed. Frederick Barbarossa's lack of money prompted him in 1174 to collaborate with Rudolf (see under Maastricht). In 1188, the latter resolved to join his emperor in the 3rd crusade. After the siege of Acre he returned. During this voyage he died on the family estate of Herdern in 1191. Legend has it that Rudolf took a relic of St. Lambert with him from Liège, which was why St. Lambert became the patron saint of Freiburg.

The coins of Rudolf clearly display an great craftsmanship. Engel and Serrure concur on this: "La numismatique the Rudolf est d'une richesse exceptionnelle en témoigne d'un incontestable effort artistique". The 12th century marked the apogee of Liège metal artisanship. It commenced at the turn of the century, when in the years 1107-1118 the famous baptismal font of Reinier of Huy was built. These were the starting years of Roman sculpture of the Maasschool (Meuse School) that dominated for decades to come. In the course of time, new artistic schools developed (in the Meuse Valley limited to metal sculpturing, while at the same time Cologne developed a major school of stone sculptors). Godefroid of Huy was a member of the Maasschool, he worked in Liège for 27 years and then joined the monastery of Neufmoustier in 1273. He had a large studio in Liège.

This studio almost certainly spawned the die-sinker(s) that cut Rudolf's coins.



1211

1212

- 1211 Denier - Luik. A: Bishop with blessing hand, another person l. which holds a crosier ROF EPC, R: Falcon under canopy, below face with hand on rope which holds the falcon F A C V N. deCh: 118. 0.828 gr. Dark patina, very fine
Franceschi - Brussel 1969.

125,--

- 1212 Denier - Luik. A: Head r. with blessing hand, another person r. which holds a crosier ROF EPC, R: Lion under arched vault with two towers, head below. deCh: 121. 0.839 gr. Very fine
Winter - Düsseldorf, Auction 48 (1984), no. 2799.
The head is smaller than that of 1213.

125,--



- 1213 Denier - Luik. A: Head r. with blessing hand, another person r. which holds a crosier ROF EPC, R: Lion under arched vault with two towers, head below. deCh: 121. 0.891 gr. Very fine to extremely fine 150,--
Münzzentrum - Köln 1985.
- 1214 Denier - Luik. A: Bishop facing with blessing hand and crosier ROF EPC, R: Church shown from the side with head in portal r., below three lis in three bows. deCh: 122. 0.764 gr. R Very fine + 150,--
Schulman - Amsterdam 1971.



- 1215 Denier - Huy. A: Bishop with crosier l. ROT EPC, R: Church with cross and two palm leaves on top. deCh: 124. 0.762 gr. A little off centre, very fine 125,--
Münzauktion - Essen, Auction 46 (1983), no. 3801.
- 1216 Denier - Maastricht. A: Bishop with crosier, below r. a small head, R: (DI) VS (BV) RG in four circles, with cross in the centre. deCh: 130. 0.856 gr. RR Weakly struck at the edge, otherwise very fine 750,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1978.
Ex: de Ligne collection (1976), no. 214.
The allusion to Duisburg seems a bit peculiar. Sprenger believes Frederick Barbarossa copied this motif, Duisburg four pairs of two letters each in a circles, from the well-known coin from Duisburg. There is a known similar Frederick Barbarossa coin in Maastricht (Dann: 257). After 1174, Rudolf adopted this motif.
But why would Frederick Barbarossa, who worshipped St. Servatius, of all places choose to emulate Duisburg. Perhaps the reason may be found in the following. In 944, the St. Servaas Chapter complained about an intrusive count. To add momentum to their plea to Otto I, they took St. Servatius' remains with them to Duisburg (see Deeters: Servatiusstift und City Maastricht. Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Verfassung, in: Rheinisches Archiv 73 (Bonn 1971), p. 31 et seqq.).



- 1217 Denier - Huy. A: Crosier between bishop and another person R O F, R: "Perron", l. person with raised finger, r. figure with staff P E R V V O C, dragon in exergue. deCh: 119. 0.832 gr. Very fine to extremely fine 125,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1974.
On the reverse, we see the "perron": a cross elevated on three steps, at the base of which the decrees of the bishop were published. The Liège inhabitants considered it the symbol of their freedom (it reappears on several later Liège coins). The perron was first depicted on coins of the bishops in 1121.
De Chestret notes that underneath is a fish, but it is really a dragon. The dragon is often regarded as a symbol for heresy (There are statues of St. Servatius (see the Servaas legends) thrusting his staff in the opened throat of the dragon (in the other hand he holds the key). Nonetheless, it seems valid to connect the dragon to the notion of the crusades (for a commentary on this, see under Osnabrück). For this reason, we classified it at the end of the series of Rudolf.
Could the figure toward the right bear any connection to the crusade?



1218

- 1218 Denier - Maastricht. A: Bust with mitre, crosier and palm leaf facing ROF, R: Church with two towers S MAR. deCh: 126. 0.941 gr. **R** Very fine + 200,--

Elsen - Brussel 1993.

From list 155, no. 473.

In de Chestret and in Mignolet it says: "holding a crook" instead of the pastoral staff and palm leaf. Likewise "three towers" instead of two. For the obverse text they give ROF EPC, but EPC is not on this coin.

The bishop stands next to a palm leaf. This indicates a successfully completed crusade. As Rudolf never reached his diocese after the crusade, the question arises whether this coin was struck after completing the crusade, but prior to his demise. Hence, we placed it at the end of the series.

The reverse shows a clear reference to the Onze Lieve Vrouwekerk in Maastricht. Does this not imply the same?

ALBERT of RETHEL, prévôt (1191-1194)

His uncle Duke Henry I of Brabant used his influence to get Albert of Leuven appointed bishop. The people, however, chose Albert of Rethel, a cousin of Baldwin V of Hainault. They turned to Henry VI who at the diet of Worms in 1192 enunciated Konrad of Hochstaden, (which was sanctioned by Pope Celestine). Albert of Leuven resisted and was eventually murdered in 1191.



1219

1220

- 1219 Denier - Huy. A: Bust l. with book and great cross ALB P POSITV, R: Horse r. which is bound to a tree ECVS VANALS. deCh: 131. 0.824 gr. Very fine 125,--

Auktionones - Basel, Auction 27 (1996), no. 1107.

The provost of the cathedral has no mitre.

ECVS VANALS = Eqvvs vanals.

- 1220 Denier - Visé. A: Bust of the provost with sceptre ALBERT POSITV, R: Lamb r. on bridge, small building r. and fish under the bridge MVTV. deCh: 132. 0.834 gr. **RR** Very fine + 400,--

Elsen - Brussel 1993.

From list 155, no. 474.

The provost of the cathedral has no mitre.

ALBERT of CUYK (1194-1200)

Albert was the son of Herman II, Count of Cuyk (whose brother Andreas was bishop of Utrecht 1127-1138). Albert of Cuyk acknowledged the "libertates" of the Liège citizens.



1221

- 1221 Denier - Huy. A: Head with mitre facing, blessing l. hand and crosier in r. hand ALB EPS, R: Church with two towers, hand out of the clouds and between rings holds the centerpiece. deCh: 142. 0.849 gr. Partly pressured, nice patina, extremely fine 125,--

Bought 1985 (Dekker collection).

Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, d.d. 25-3-1955.

Chestret mentions a bird instead of the hand, but it is a hand with clouds (cf. the bows beneath it). It is surely the hand of God which protects the church.



- 1222 Denier - Maastricht. A: Bust facing with mitre, crosier and book ALB EPS, R: Church with cross between two towers and lis on top M A R I A. deCh: 143. 0.835 gr.
Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 267 (1977), no. 1319. **R** Weakly struck at the edge, very fine + 250,--
- 1223 Denier - Huy. A: Bust r. with mitre and crosier ALB EPS, R: Church with two towers crowned by a cross and two rings in the portal H O I. deCh: 144. 0.863 gr.
Peus - Frankfurt, Auction 321 (1988), no. 797. Reverse a little off centre, very fine to extremely fine 150,--

HUGUES of PIERREPONT (1200-1229)



- 1224 Denier - Huy. A: Bishop facing with crosier HUGO EP, R: Horse r. which is bound to a tree H O I. deCh: 171. 0.801 gr.
Peus - Frankfurt, Auction 379 (2004), no. 2037. **R** Very fine 250,--
There is a large degree of consistency of the reverse of this coin with that of no. 1219.

JEAN d'APS (1229-1238)



- 1225 Denier - Tongres. A: Bust l. with mitre and crosier I O H S, R: Eagle (EP)C (LEOD). deCh: 187. 0.801 gr.
Franceschi - Brussel 1969. **R** Very fine 100,--

Until bishop Henry of Guelders (1247-1274) small coins were circulated, using the Maasland standard. After 1274, when the Tournois groat was already introduced, coins with a higher international compatibility were turned to.

Not only minting changed, but the bishop's position did so too. The influence of the citizens steadily increased. The same development can be observed in Utrecht in this period. Initially, the bishops declined granting the people sufficient autonomy. In the middle of the 13th century, Hendrik of Dinant, as leader of the People's Party, is moderately successful, but what the people had been looking for was the victory of the guilds in Kortrijk (beginning of the 14th century). Grave insurgencies eventually provoked the signing of a treaty in 1316 in Fexhe, in which a form of estate assembly was agreed on (laying the foundation for the Liège State of the estates).

The first bishops Adolphe and Engelbert de la Marck resisted this, but their successors Jean d'Arkel and Arnold of Horn acquiesced.

The Liège constitution gradually became controlled by patricians. Under John of Bavaria (elect) matters came to a head and with the aid of John the Fearless he defeated his adversaries at Othée. His successor Jean de Heinsberg had really already accepted Burgundian supremacy (see further under Louis de Bourbon).



JEAN de FLANDRE (1282-1292)

Jean was the son of Gwijde of Dampierre, Count of Flanders and brother of Robert of Béthune. Between 1280-1282 he was bishop of Metz, then of Liège.



- 1226 Esterlin - Huy. A: Shield with lion rampant and sword which breaks through the border ☩ IOHANNES ☩ EPC ☩, R: Long cross with H - O - Y - I in the angles ☒ LE ODI EN SIS. deCh: 207. 1.131 gr.
 Elsen - Brussel, Auction 55 (1998), no. 1477. **RR** Very fine + 300,--
 This coin could be of Jean de Flandre, cf. Frère in: RBN 1962.

ADOLPHE of MARCK (1313-1324)

Descendant from the House of Mark. He is the brother of Engelbert II of Mark. In Liège, Adolphe was succeeded by a son of Engelbert II: Engelbert, bishop of Liège (1345-1364), after that archbishop of Cologne.

In 1316, Adolph de la Marck was obliged to assent to the "Paix de Fexhe" (rights and customs could only be altered by the episcopal chapter, knighthood, the cities and the bishop).



- 1227 Gros à l'aigle - Luik. A: Eagle over shield of la Marck in multilobe + ADVLPHVS ☩ DEI GRA LEOD EPS, R: MONETA ☩ LEODIEN around cross, BNDICTVS ☩ SIT ☩ NOME ☩ DNI ☩ NRI ☩ IHV ☩ XPI. deCh: 225. 3.993 gr. **RR** Nice patina, very fine 500,--
 Winter - Düsseldorf, Auction 42 (1981), no. 1725.
 The eagle on this coin is typical for Luik.
- 1228 Tiers de volant - Avroy. A: Eagle over pellet + ADVLPHVS ☩ EPVS ☩ LEOD, R: Floriated cross MONETA ☩ AVROTENSIS. deCh: 231. 0.782 gr. **RR** Flan crack, very fine 250,--
 Winter - Düsseldorf, Auction 42 (1981), no. 1727.

JEAN of ARKEL (1364-1378)

Bishop of Utrecht (see under Arkel and Utrecht).

Jean d'Arkel completed the "Paix de Fexhe" in the "Tribunal des vingt-deux" in 1373.



- 1229 Gros au S. Pierre - Maastricht. A: Bust of Saint Peter with book and key in multilobe over the shield of Arkel + MONETA ☩ SA o o NCTI ☩ PETRI, R: Floriated cross + IOHANNES ☩ EPS ☩ LEODIENSIS. deCh: 258. 2.860 gr. **RR** Extraordinary well preserved specimen with nice patina, very fine + 500,--
 Elsen - Brussel, Auction 54 (1998), no. 1747.

JEAN of HEINSBERG (1419-1455)

Jean was the son of Johann I, Lord of Dalenbrock-Heinsberg (see under Heinsberg). His children: Johann II (Lord of Heinsberg), Wilhelm I (Lord of Jülich) and Johann (bishop of Liège).



- 1230 Heaume - Hasselt. A: Shield of Heinsberg under helmet in quatrefoil * IOHES † EPC † LED † DVX † BVLO † C † LOSS *, R: Shield of Heinsberg over long cross in multilobe MONE NOVA FACTA HASSE. deCh: 315. 3.151 gr. **RR** Very fine 500,--
Elsen - Brussel, Auction 54 (1998), no. 1750.
This coin bears the first mention of the secular capacities of the prince-bishop: DVX BVLO (= Duke of Bouillon) and C LOSS (= Count of Looz).
- 1231 Petit brûlé - Luik. A: Shield of Heinsberg over long cross + O D HEIN E LEO, R: "Perron" * MONETA NO † FAC' LEOD. deCh: 321. 0.755 gr. **R** Very fine 75,--
Elsen - Brussel, Auction 59 (1999), no. 1671.

LOUIS of BOURBON (1456-1482)

Louis was the son of Charles I of Bourbon. Through his mother Agnes, he was related to the Burgundian house (Agnes was the daughter of John the Fearless). His uncle Philip the Good introduced Louis to the Burgundian court.

Similar to the ascent of Philip the Good's bastard son David to the episcopal see in Utrecht, Philip assured that the pope predestined 18-year-old Louis to become bishop of Liège. The latter had not been ordained priest, but became bishop in 1456 all the same (his ordinance did not take place until 1466), when his predecessor Jean de Heinsberg was forced to resign.

Louis' reign was extremely feeble, he was in constant conflict with bourgeoisie. Because the parties wouldn't be reconciled, Charles the Bold took Liège in 1468 and laid it in ruins. After the demise of Charles the Bold, the former rights and customs were restored.



- 1232 Blanc a l'L - Hasselt. A: Arms of Bourbon ☙ LVDO † ELEC † LEOD † DVX † BVL † COM † LOSS, R: Long cross dividing legend with one lis in each angle and L in the centre MONE † LV ELEC † LEO † FACTA † HASSEL. deCh: 345. 3.447 gr. **Very fine** 125,--
Peus - Frankfurt, Auction 326 (1989), no. 885.
Struck in 1456/66.
Once more the duke of Bouillon and count of Looz.
He was still elect on this coin, so it must have been struck before 1466.
- 1233 Patard - Hasselt - 1478. A: Lion sitting l. with shield of Bourbon * * MO' * EPI' * LEONDIEN * FACTA * HASSELT, R: Floriated cross cross of four lis BN'DIC * HEREDITATI * TVE LXXVIII. deCh: 352. 2.695 gr. **R** Extraordinary well struck and very fine specimen 250,--
Bought 1985 (Dekker collection).
Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, d.d.10-10-1958.



- 1234 1/2 Patard. A: Lion holding the shield of Bourbon tower LVDOVIC ⦿ EPS ⦿ LEODIENSIS, R: Floriated cross tower BENEDIC ⦿ HEREDITATI ⦿ TVE. deCh: 356. 1.814 gr. Small scratches, very fine 100,--
WAG - Dortmund, Auction 29 (2005), no. 2682.
- 1235 1/4 Patard. A: Two shields of Bourbon under sparks of fire + MONETA * EPISCOPI * LEODIE, R: Long cross with L in the centre and one lis in each angle BNC'TV SIT * NOME DNI. deCh: 359. 1.088 gr. Traces of corrosion, fine to very fine 50,--
Coin Investment, Auction 58 (2002), no. 372.

JEAN of HORN (1484-1505)

From the House Hoorne, Arnold, after having been bishop of Utrecht (1371-1378), had already been bishop of Liège (1378-1389). Jean, from the same house, also became bishop of Liège.



- 1236 Florin d'or. A: Arms of Horn in trefoil + IOHS' * DE * HORN * EPS' * LEODIE', R: Saint Lambert standing with crosier and blessing hand SANCTVS LAMBERTV'. deCh: 386, Fb: 300. 2.469 gr. Very fine 300,--
Münzzentrum - Köln, Auction 56 (1985), no. 2001.
Comment in Mignolet: "Cette monnaie est souvent de très mauvais aloi, avec quelquefois d'une monnaie d'argent".
The reverse text is preceded by two roses over each other.



- 1237 Brûlé. A: Arms of Horn * IOHS . DE . HORN . EPS . LEODIEN, R: Ornamented cross + MISER : NRI' : Q' : PAS' . ES . P' . NOB. deCh: 421. 1.457 gr. Very fine 150,--
Kricheldorf - Freiburg, Auction 46 (1998), no. 388.
Ex: Kirchheimer collection.
- 1238 Brûlé. A: Arms of Horn * IOHS . DE . HORN . EPS . LEODIEN, R: Ornamented cross + MISERE . NRI' . Q' . PAS' . ES . P' . NOB. deCh: 421. 1.045 gr. Fine 50,--
Elsen - Brussel 1982.

COUNTY FLANDERS

The difference between Flanders and Brabant is that Flanders was (predominantly) a fief of the French Crown, whereas Brabant was a fief of the German Empire. Moreover, Flanders was highly involved in the battle between England and France, where it also protected its own interests in the wool and cloth industry.

Originally, the territory between the Scheldt River and the sea consisted of a number of districts governed by counts. One was the district "Flanders" (= flooded land), a name that would later be used for the whole territory.

First documented count is Baldwin I with the Iron Arm (presumably from Upper Lorraine aristocracy), wedded to Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald. After the Vikings had retreated in 883, Baldwin II took control of the lands. The French king remained suzerain, but could execute authority only to a very low extent.

The richest abbeys lay in the south: St. Vaast in Atrecht, St. Bertijn in St. Omer and St. Amand. Main adversaries were the dukes of Normandy and the counts of Vermandois.

When Arnulf I (son of Baldwin II) died in 965, he had only a minor grandson. French king Lothair occupied the southern regions and around Ghent independent fiefs emerged, under the sway of the counts of Holland. Baldwin IV restored order. Local sovereigns in the north were ousted, but their southern counterparts remained untouched. The Scheldt was already of vital importance. The Saxonian emperors had built military posts on the right bank: Valenciennes, Ename and Antwerp. The Flemish counts then established themselves on the left bank. Thus, Flanders acquired a significant territory that actually belonged to the German Empire. This was known as Imperial Flanders and was a fief from the German emperor, the rest was called Crown Flanders, for which the count was a liege (i.e. party in a privileged allegiance, taking precedent in case of conflicting allegiances) to the French king. Under Baldwin IV, Flanders received Zeeland in fief from the German emperor.

The later history of Flanders is marked by the rise of the cities and its entangled position between England (its woollsupplier) and France (its suzerain). The history of Flanders is characterised by a virtually ceaseless series of wars and insurgencies.

BOUDEWIJN IV (989-1036)



1239

- 1239 Denier - St. Omer. A: Head r. with OIO in front of it, R: Cross with one triangle and pellet in each angle.....GRAT..... Dann: 1389, Vanhoudt: G 2333. 0.778 gr.

Dombrowski - Münster 1975.

See the appendix of Dannenberg (no. 1389), unknown, but attributed to Flanders. First occurrence in the hoard of Lübeck, period Conrad II (published in *Salletschen Zeitschrift*). Haeck (no. 19) merely refers to Dannenberg and mentions Baldwin IV or V.

Ilisch: knows of 13 specimens. Fd. Lübeck 4, Swedish hoards 13.

Struck around 1030.

Extremely rare, weakly struck, very fine

500,--



1240

- 1240 Denier. A: Cross with crescent and two pellets in the 1st and 4th angles, one pellet in the 2nd and one cross in the 3rd angles + BALDVIN....., R: Knot of four triangles with one pellet in each angle + BONVS DENA(RIVS). G: 15-16, Vanhoudt: G 2327. 0.681 gr. **RR** Irregular flan, very fine

Henzen - Amerongen 1997.

In Gaillard still attributed to Baldwin V (1056-1067) (G: 15 Museum Kopenhagen, G: 16 Coll.Thomson). Dannenberg, however, referring to the hoard of Egersund and Enner, conclusively demonstrated that it was struck by Baldwin IV and not by his son Baldwin V. (Dann: 145, Museum Kopenhagen, Dann: 145a, Thomson Collection, Dann: 146, Dannenberg Collection).

See Metcalf: Coinage and the rise of the Flemish towns. In: *Coinage in the Low Countries (880-1500)*, BAR Int. 54 (1979), p.1.

500,--



Baldwin V acquired the hand of Richildis, widow of the count of Hainaut, for his son Baldwin VI, forging a personal union between Flanders and Hainaut. However, Baldwin VI died as soon as 1070.

The brother of Baldwin VI, Robert the Frisian (1072-1092) (he was wedded to Gertrude, widow of Dirk of Holland), who was count of Holland from 1061 to 1072, in the Battle at Kassel in 1071 conquered Flanders, severing it from Hainaut (where Richildis ruled on).

The cities gained in significance. After the conquer of England by William of Normandy in 1066, the latter held on to his French fiefs. That caused a feud between England and France, with Flanders caught in the middle.

Robert the Frisian's son, Robert II (1092-1111) joined in the 1st crusade and earned the epithet "of Jerusalem". A daughter of Robert the Frisian's, Adela, was wedded to Charles the Good, who ruled Flanders from 1119 to 1127. In 1127, Charles was assassinated by the family Erembouds, viscounts of Bruges. Nevertheless, they did not manage to put through their candidate. The age of nobility was over. Power in Flanders was from that time on dominated by the kings of England and France and by the cities. The king of France put William Clito forward, but the citizens supported Dirk of the Alsace (1128-1168), married to Gertrude, daughter of Robert the Frisian.

DIRK of the ALSACE (1128-1168)

Under the reign of Dirk of the Alsace, many cities were granted special privileges. Thus, the bourgeoisie of St. Omer became organised in a merchant guild and subsequently acquired the privilege of mint.



1241

1241 Maille. A: Head facing ☉ ■ (I CIV TAS), R: Cross with with small circle, pellet and D - C - O - M in the angles. JG: --. 0.250 gr. **RR** A little off centre, very fine

200,--

Henzen - Amerongen 1997.

From list August 1997, no. 482.

Found in Rotterdam.

The legend on the reverse is D C O M, which would indicate Dirk of the Alsace (Philip of the Alsace reigned from 1168 to 1191). The first mailles were struck around 1140 (between 1137 and 1141). Each coin in the name of Philip begins with a Ph or an F, never with a P, and the coin at hand shows only one letter, which therefore must be a D.

The legend on the obverse reads: rose rectangle I C I V T A S. Could this rectangular D refer to Douai? The "Gros Brief" states the coins of Douai were worth exactly half a Flemish denarius (Ghyssens, p. 56).

PHILIP of the ALSACE (1168-1191)

Philip of the Alsace replaced the viscounts with bailiffs, who he could oust and move around as he pleased. The wealth and power of the Flemish counts was considerable.

Philip was wedded to the heiress of Vermandois. In 1180, Philip was appointed counsel of the French king Philip August.

In 1191, Philip died in the Siege of Acre in Palestina, which prompted the French king to try to seize Flanders, but Philip's brother-in-law, Baldwin V of Hainaut, had got the news a little earlier and thwarted the king's plans. Philip Augustus solely managed to lay hands on the dowry of Philip of the Alsace's wife: Artois.



1242

1242 Maille - 2nd period - Gent. A: Head l. with helmet in circle of pellets, one lis in the helmet + G A N T with four pellets between the letters, R: Ornamented cross, with one pellet in each angle + PH . COMES. JG: 251d. 0.409 gr. Very fine +

150,--

Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1978.



- 1243 Maille - 2nd period - Gent. A: Head l. with helmet in circle of pellets, one lis in the helmet + G A N T with four pellets between the letters, R: Ornamented cross, with one pellet in each angle + PH . COMES. JG: 251d. 0.536 gr. Very fine + 150,--
Gorny - München, Auction 20 (1981), no. 1550.
- 1244 Maille - 1st period - Lens. A: Cross-shaped rosette with one pellet in the centre + LEN o SIS, R: Cross with five cross-shaped pellets in the 1st and 4th angles and one lis in the 2nd and 3rd angles + FCO + MES. JG: 170. 0.438 gr. Very fine to extremely fine 200,--
Kölner Münzkabinett, Auction 70 (1999), no. 445.
Mailles from Lens have only occurred in the hoard Beveren-Waas (unknown number). See GhysSENS: p.57.
In these times, Flanders stood under suzerainty of France and was economically bound to England (wool), yearly visits to the Champagne fairs took place and Imperial-Flanders was a fief of the German emperor (and had trade relations with Cologne, among other things).

BOUDEWIJN IX (1194-1205)

Baldwin was wedded to Margaret of the Alsace, the sister of Philip of the Alsace. Baldwin was count of Hainaut (1195-1205) and took part in the 4th crusade (1202-1204), that ended with the occupation of Constantinople. Baldwin became the first emperor of the Latin Empire, a short-lived reign however, he died in the battle against the Bulgarians in 1205.



- 1245 Maille - 2nd period - Gent. A: Head l. with helmet in circle of pellets, one lis in the helmet + G + A ... T, R: Ornamented cross with one pellet in each angle B . C O M E S. JG: 253b. 0.333 gr. Very fine 100,--
Francheschi - Brussel 1973.
- 1246 Maille - 2nd period - Gent. A: Head l. with helmet in circle of pellets, one lis in the helmet + G + A sling with pellet N ☙ T, R: Ornamented cross with one pellet in each angle B . C O M E S. JG: 253b. 0.397 gr. Very fine + 100,--
BRED - Paris 1981.

MAILLES of FLANDERS

GhysSENS classifies the mailles in 4 periods: 1st period 1140-1180, 2nd period 1180-1220, 3rd period 1220-1253, 4th period 1253-1300. Of a number of coins, he isn't able to determine the period, of some he doesn't provide the mint.

These were coins struck by the cities, mostly with indication of the mint only, sometimes including the moneyer.

In the 3rd period the reign of Margaret of Constantinople (1244) commenced. She had normal denarii struck, while the cities continued minting mailles until approx. 1300.

ALOST



- 1247 2nd period - Moneyer Arnot. A: Head with sword r. ☙ A R N O T, R: Small cross with two pellets and two rings in the angles + . A . L . O . S . T .. JG: 213d. 0.400 gr. Traces of encrustation, very fine + 100,--
Franceschi - Brussel - 1971
- 1248 3rd period. A: Knight with standard l., ring with pellet over his r. shoulder, R: Cross with small circle and one pellet in each angle between the circle and the centre .o. .*. .o. .*.. JG: 301. 0.352 gr. Very fine 75,--
Bought 1985 (Ex: Dekker collection).



1249



- 1249 3rd period. A: Knight with standard l., ring with pellet over his r. shoulder, R: Cross with small circle and one pellet in each angle between the circle and the centre .o. .*. .o. .*.. JG: 301. 0.439 gr. Very fine
BRED - Paris 1976.

75,--



1250



1251



ARTOIS

- 1250 4th period. A: Escutcheon of Artois in circle of pellets, R: Long cross with the limbs ending in horizontal lines and lis, . A . - R - A - S in the angles. JG: 401. 0.378 gr. Traces of corrosion, very fine
Platt - Paris 1986.
Richebe (33) mentions that they could have been struck under Robert I (1237-1250) or Robert II (1250-1303).

100,--

- 1251 4th period. A: Escutcheon of Artois in circle of pellets, R: Long cross with two limbs ending in lis, A - R - A - G in the angles. JG: 402. 0.391 gr. Very fine
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1977.
This coin is drawn in Ghysens, which means none had been found. His drawing, therefore, was also published in De Beeldenaar 3 (1979), p. 177 ("Onbekende variant of een denarius of Artois").

50,--

BETHUNE



1252



1253



- 1252 2nd period. A: Three lis in triangle with one star in the angles, R: Cross with two pellets and two rings in the angles, the rings are tied together by a line + BETVNE. JG: 218. 0.360 gr. Very fine
Hirsch - München - Auction 149 (1986), no. 776.

75,--

- 1253 2nd period. A: Triangle with one ring and pellet at the end of each limb, lis in the angles, R: Cross with two pellets and two rings in the angles, B - E - T - U in the angles between the pellet and the ring. JG: 234. 0.247 gr. Very fine
Vinchon - Paris 1979.

75,--

BRUGGE



1254



1255



- 1254 2nd period. A: Knight with shield and sword r., R: Long cross with small circle of pellets and one pellet in each angle between the circle and the centre, two rings with pellet in each angle. JG: 242. 0.364 gr. Almost very fine
BRED - Paris 1981.

30,--

- 1255 4th period. A: Knight with sword and shield r., R: Floriated cross. JG: 416. 0.432 gr. Weakly struck, very fine
Holleman - Enschede 1982.

75,--



- 1256 4th period. A: Knight with sword and shield r., R: Floriated cross. JG: 419. 0.378 gr. Very fine 100,--
Gorny - München, Auction 20 (1981), no. 1550.
- 1257 4th period. A: Knight with sword and shield r, star before him, R: Floriated cross. JG: 423. 0.443 gr. Very fine 75,--
Bought 1985 (Ex: Dekker collection).



- 1258 4th period. A: Knight with sword and shield r., R: Cross with one rosette in each angle. JG: 430b. 0.411 gr. Very fine 50,--
Credit de la Bourse - Paris 1981.
- 1259 4th period. A: Knight with sword and shield r., R: Cross with one rose in each angle. JG: 437. 0.413 gr. Very fine + 50,--
Bought 1985 (Ex: Dekker collection).
Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, d.d. 3-2-1961.
The flamish lion is clearly visible on the shield.

DOUAI



- 1260 Uncertain period. A: Tree with ten branches over two rings, R: Cross over smaller cross with the limbs ending in two crosses and two lis. JG: 505. 0.347 gr. Extremely fine 75,--
Hirsch - München, Auction 149 (1986), no. 776.
This coin cannot be put in one of the four periods.
- 1261 Uncertain period. A: Tree with ten branches over two rings, R: Cross over smaller cross with the limbs ending in two pellets and two crosses. JG: 508. 0.356 gr. Very fine 50,--
Toderi - Florence 1981.
Ghyssens provides only a drawing = coin hadn't been found.

EENAME



- 1262 2nd period. A: Monogram with crosier and lis-topped sceptre . A with ring, A and A with 4 horizontal stripes, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle OIHVS (?) *I II. JG: 208. 0.510 gr. R Small flan, very fine 75,--

Franceschi - Brussel 1976.

Attribution to Eename is dubious (originally came from Serrure RBN 36 (1880), p. 223-224). Ghyssens on p. 100 (no. 208) writes that attribution took place on the basis of the cross (see Philip of the Alsace and Baldwin IX). The suggestion of Eename is adopted by Dannenberg.

The weight doesn't match that of the coins in the maille series. The arrangement and depiction of the crosier and the sceptre fleurdelisé shows a striking resemblance to those on the maille of St. Omer (see no. 1275).

This coin is also attributed to Osnabrück (Hälbling). Kennepohl: Die Münzen von Osnabrück, no. 17-18 (on no. 18, the middle A is not open at its base). Kennepohl's reading of the text on no. 17 is: OSNIHVGGGE and on no. 18 OI/IVG * / I of OIHVC * I (which approaches this coin's text). The weight of no. 17 is 0.72 gr. Of the type of no. 18, four specimens are indicated that resp. weigh 0.45 gr, 0.60 gr, 0.48 gr and 0.45 gr.(both first are from the Belgian hoard of Erweteghem, from around 1130).

Hävernich (Die Münzen von Köln) under no. 98 mentions Kennepohl no. 17 (same piece) and under no. 99 Kennepohl no. 18 (of which neither study provides a weight). Hävernich holds the text on no. 98 to be conclusive proof of the mint being Osnabrück.

This coin was classified under Eename, allowing for the fact that although Kenn: 17 constitutes a genuine Osnabrück coin, the (many) specimens Kenn: 18, considering the garbled texts and the lower weight, were imitations of it, struck at the Abbey of Eename.

GENT



- 1263 2nd period - Moneyer Gerolf. A: Head l. with helmet and lis in it + G ⚔ A ⚔ N ⚔ T, R: Cross with four pellets in the 1st and 4th angles and one pellet in the 2nd and 3rd angles + GEROLF. JG: 257b. 0.395 gr. **RR** Traces of encrustation, very fine 150,--
 Or Gestion Numismatique - Paris.
 Actually, Ghyssens does not really know this coin. On Number 257b, the four pellets also make up a square, but rather one standing on its corner. Of this type Ghyssens knows of only a single specimen: Brussels.
- 1264 3rd period. A: Head l. with helmet in circle of pellets, one lis in the helmet, pellet and ring behind him, R: Long cross with circle in the centre and two pellets in two angles of it, G - A - N - T in the outer circle. JG: 307. 0.322 gr. Very fine 50,--
 Elsen - Brussel 1983.
 From list 48b, no. 132.



- 1265 3rd period. A: Head l. with helmet in circle of pellets, one lis in the helmet, pellet and ring behind him, R: Long cross with circle in the centre and two pellets in two angles of it, G - A - N - T in the outer circle. JG: 310. 0.429 gr. Extremely fine 75,--
 Franceschi - Brussel - 1967
- 1266 4th period. A: Head l. with helmet in circle of pellets, three rings in the helmet, lis on top and cross behind, R: Open cross with bended limbs. JG: 468. 0.432 gr. Very fine 50,--
 Bought 1985 (Ex: Dekker collection).
 Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, d.d. 3-2-1961.



- 1267 4th period. A: Head l. with helmet in circle of pellets, three rings in the helmet, lis on top and cross behind, R: Open cross with bended limbs. JG: 468. 0.440 gr. Very fine 60,--
 Elsen - Brussel 1982.
- 1268 4th period. A: Helmet, R: Cross with bended limbs. JG: 484. 0.412 gr. **RR** Slightly pressured, very fine 300,--
 Credit de la Bourse - Paris, Auction 12-6-'97, no. 864.
 cf. RBN 66 (1910), p.222.

KORTRIJK



- 1269 4th period. A: Shield with three rosettes, three rings around it, R: Long cross with C - V - R - T in the angles. JG: 441. 0.420 gr. **RR** Very fine 200,--
 Credit de la Bourse - Paris, Auction 12-6-'97, no. 863.

LILLE



- 1270 2nd period. A: Triangle with the limbs ending in rings with one lis at each side, R: Cross with one pellet and L - I - L - A in the angles. JG: 266. 0.410 gr. Very fine 30,--
BRED - Paris 1981.
- 1271 3rd period. A: Lis with two stars, four rings and two crescents around, R: Cross with one pellet in the angles of a smaller circle and L - crescent - I - crescent in the outer circle. JG: 324. 0.401 gr. Very fine 30,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1973.



- 1272 3rd period. A: Lis in small circle with four rings and four crescents alternating, R: Cross with small circle of pellets and one pellet in each angle between circle and centre, L - I - L - A in the outer angles. JG: 333. 0.448 gr. Almost extremely fine 50,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1967.
- 1273 4th period. A: Shield with lis and one ring at each side, R: Cross with small circle and one pellet in each angle between circle and centre, L - I - L - A in the outer angles. JG: 489. 0.385 gr. Very fine 30,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1966.

MIDDELBURG



- 1274 Uncertain period. A: Crosier between two staffs and two rings, R: Long cross with the limbs ending in lis. JG: 515. 0.345 gr. **RR** Very fine 100,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1972.
Ex: Prince de Ligne collection.
Apart from being attributed to St. Omer, it used to be attributed to Tournai and Middelburg.
- 1275 Uncertain period. A: Two crosiers between two lises, R: Long cross with the limbs ending in lises. JG: 517. 0.339 gr. **RR** Very fine 100,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1973.
Ex: Prince de Ligne collection.
Both these are attributed to Middelburg, due to the fact that all known specimens were found there.

ORCHIES



- 1276 1st period. A: Alpha and omega in the field + ORCS(IET), R: Cross with one E in each angle + MOIESAT. JG: 173a. 0.447 gr. **RR** A little off centre, very fine 200,--
Kölnener Münzkabinett - Köln, Auction 32 (1982), no. 1218.

MONEYER SIMON



- 1277 1st period. A: Two lis, star above and crescent below, four rings around it, R: Small cross with staff and pellet in two angles and staff with crescent in two angles + S I M O N . F E C. JG: 102b. 0.439 gr. Very fine 50,--
 Franceschi - Brussel 1973.
- 1278 1st period. A: Two lis, star above and crescent below, four rings around it, R: Cross with pellet in two angles and crescent in two angles + S I M O N. JG: 105. 0.371 gr. Very fine 50,--
 Vinchon - Paris 1982.



- 1279 1st period. A: M E in the field, ring above and below, four crescents with three stripes in it around, R: Cross with one line in each angle ending twice in pellet and twice in ring + S I M O N. JG: 117. 0.423 gr. A little weakly struck, very fine 50,--
 Franceschi - Brussel 1976.
- 1280 1st period. A: ME in the field, ring above and below C C C C, R: Small cross in circle with two rings and two pellets in the angles + S I M O N. JG: 118a. 0.452 gr. Very fine 50,--
 Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1977.

ST. OMER



- 1281 1st period. A: Two figures standing and holding one staff ending in lis, R: Cross with one pellet in each angle + O M E S + O M E S. JG: 176. 0.453 gr. Extremely rare. A little off centre, very fine 300,--
 Vinchon - Paris 1979.

Ghyssens knows of only one specimen in the museum of Lille. The obverse of this coin brings to mind the coin of the English king Stephen (1135-1154, N. 922), who was originally from the French House of Blois. This English coin from York shows Stephen and his wife Mathilde on the obverse. Such an arrangement on coins was common and so was the ornamented reverse, which caused this type to be attributed to Stephen in his capacity of count of Boulogne (which was tentatively proposed by Deschamps de Pas in the *Revue Numismatique* (1885), p. 280-281 and fig. 7, however, Dieudonné (Manuel IV, p. 331) was not convinced and wrote "Etienne de Blois (= Stephen), trop occupé outre Manche, laissa son fils Eustache IV monnayer à Boulogne". In this period, Dirk of the Alsace, candidate of the Flemish cities, became count of Flanders (1128-1168) with the aid of the English king. St. Omer around the same time acquired rights and its bourgeoisie organised itself in a trade guild that was granted the right of mint (see Jansen, p. 81). Thus, it is very likely that Stephen's English penny was imitated in St. Omer and not altogether impossible, in view of the historical development, that Dirk of the Alsace and his wife Sibylle of Anjou are portrayed on the coin (a suggestion that Van Gelder thought might be possible, corr. juni 1979). Finally, Richebé mentions a coin from Lens, portraying a similar couple (no. 38), which he attributes to Etienne and Mathilde, struck in 1125-1136.



This development was discussed, in particular with regard to minting in England (York) in Seaby: Some coins of Stephen and Eustace and related issues of western Flandres. In: *Coinage in the Low Countries (880-1500)*, BAR Int. 54 (1979), p. 49 (the above drawings were taken from that article).



1282

- 1282 1st period. A: Crosier between two stars and two rings + o S O O o S O O o S O O o S O, R: Cross with one lis in each angle, four wheels dividing the letters S and M surrounded by two rings. JG: 197. 0.409 gr. **R** Corroded fine to very fine specimen 125,--
Kölnner Münzkabinett, Auction 70 (1999), no. 444.

ST. VENANT



1283

- 1283 1st period. A: Cross, the limbs ending in circle and pellet, one circle in the centre, R: Cross with one line in two angles and one pellet in two angles + V N A E N T O. JG: --. 0.438 gr. **RR** Slightly cleaned, very fine 125,--
Vinchon - Paris 1979.

YPRES



1284

1285

- 1284 1st period. A: Triangle in circle with T in the angles H . C . I B [.....] I . I . , R: Cross with one star in each angle + * I * P * R * E *. JG: 1106b. 0.299 gr. **R** Very fine 125,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1973.
Ex: Prince de Ligne collection.
Ghyssens mentions: Privé collection (= this coin).
Inédit - this coin is shown in Ghyssens.

- 1285 1st period. A: Shield with lion and one ring at each side, R: Long cross with the limbs ending in lis and I - P - R - E in the angles. JG: 1130. 0.373 gr. **R** Very fine 125,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1973.



1286

1287

- 1286 2nd period. A: Two triangles over eachother with the limbs ending in rings, four rings with pellet and four stars around, R: Cross with two pellets and two rings in the angles * I * P * R * A. JG: 295. 0.392 gr. **Very fine** 50,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1973.

- 1287 2nd period. A: Two triangles over eachother, with the limbs ending alternating in ring with pellet or lis, one ring in each angle, R: Cross with small circle, two pellets and two rings in the angles between the circle and the centre, I - P - R - A in the outer angles. JG: 2100. 0.400 gr. **Very fine +** 50,--
BRED - Paris 1981.



- 1288 2nd period. A: Two triangles over eachother, with the limbs ending alternating in ring with pellet or lis, one ring in each angle, R: Cross with small circle, one pellet in each angle between the circle and the centre, two rings with pellet in each angle of the outer circle. JG: 2121. 0.413 gr. Very fine 50,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1973.
- 1289 2nd period. A: Two triangles with curved sides over eachother, the limbs ending alternating lis or ring, R: Cross with small circle, one pellet in each angle between the circle and the centre, two rings with pellets in each angle of the outer circle. JG: 2153. 0.402 gr. Very fine 50,--
Coin Investment - den Haag, Auction 16 (1982), no. 910.



- 1290 3rd period. A: Shield with lion surrounded by three pellets, R: Cross with small circle and one pellet in each angle between the circle and the centre, I - P - R - A in the angles of the outer circle. JG: 339. 0.438 gr. Weakly struck, very fine 30,--
Willems - Bennekom 1986.
- 1291 4th period. A: Shield with lion in it, one ring between two pellets at each side, R: Long open cross with two circles of pellets and I - P - R - A in the angles between them. JG: 4100. 0.443 gr. Very fine 50,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1973.

NOT CERTAIN LOCALIZED



- 1292 1st period. A: Bust r. in circle of pellets, R: Small cross with one line in each angle ending in ring. JG: 128b. 0.307 gr. Fine 30,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1974.
Ex: Prince de Ligne collection.
- 1293 2nd period. A: Crowned head l., R: Cross with one pellet in each angle. JG: 203. 0.834 gr. **R** Very fine 75,--
Münzzentrum - Köln 1980.
The weight is considerably higher than is normal for mailles: it is about double as heavy, which corresponds with the weights that were current in other Belgian parts of the German Empire. Ghysens refers to this, when he notes that in 1173, an agreement was made with Frederick Barbarossa on the circulation of the imperial coin in Flanders (p. 53). He therefore considers the possibility that this type was struck in Imperial Flanders (p. 99).

In the period from 1205 to 1244 Jeanne (daughter of Baldwin VI) reigned, who was also countess of Hainaut (see under County Hainaut). Although she was only 5 years old in 1205, the French king Philip Augustus disposed of her in marriage to Ferrand of Portugal. Ferrand was captured by the French in 1214, in the Battle of Bovines. Aire and St. Omer would pass to France again. After 1214, Jeanne would be a will-less instrument of the French king.

MARGARETHA of CONSTANTINOPLE (1244-1280)

When Jeanne died in 1244, her sister Margaret is the lawful heir (she was named "of Constantinople" after her father, who was emperor of Constantinople). When Margaret was 10 years old, she was commended to Burchard of Avesnes, a 40-year-old Hainaut noble, who also married her. At the 4th Council of the Lateran in 1215, this marriage was annulled, yet, Margaret remained faithful to her husband for years to come (and bore him children). Later, she would marry William of Dampierre.

Thus, Margaret in 1244 became countess of Flanders and Hainaut. The Avesnes sought to arrange a succession granting them sovereignty in both counties. Louis the Saint, however, ruled otherwise: he granted the Avesnes Hainaut and the Dampierres received Flanders, sowing the seeds of a lasting feud.



- 1294 2/3 Gros - Alost. A: Double-headed eagle in quatrefoil + FLANDRIE ꝛ AC ꝛ HAYNONIE, R: Floriated cross with quatrefoil in the centre and at the end of each limb, A - L - O - S in the angles MARGARETA COMITISSA. G: 145, Vanhoudt: G 2529. 2.709 gr. Extremely fine and perfect piece 300,--
 Franceschi - Brussel 1969.
 From find Alken, no. 148.
 Struck from 1269 on, cf. for the dating P. Grierson: La date des baudekins de Marguerite de Constantinople, in: BCEN 12 (1975), p.7-8.

GWIJDE (GUY) DAMPIERRE (1280-1305)

The Avesnes posed a threat to Flanders from Hainaut and Holland. Therefore, Guy in 1297 withdrew from his fealty to the French king Philip the Handsome and allied with English king Edward I. A French army then assaulted Flanders and Guy and his son Robert were taken prisoner and locked up in Paris. Flanders came under French governor Jacques de Châtillon, Count of St. Pol. The cities opposed, Bruges in particular ("Brugse metten"). De Châtillon fled. The French king, however, sought revenge. On the 11th July 1302, the French army was confronted by the troops of the Flemish cities near Courtrai. The French suffered a devastating defeat and their captured spurs were hung in the Church of Our Lady in Courtrai ("The Battle of the Golden Spurs").

The French would return. In 1304, Flanders was vanquished and the ensuing Peace of Athissur-Orge was as humiliating for Flanders as it was important to safeguard its independence.



- 1295 Esterlin - Alost. A: Double-headed eagle + ꝛ G ꝛ COMES . FL ꝛ ANDRIE, R: Long cross dividing legend with three pellets in each angle ꝛ CIV ITA SoAL OST. G: 154, Vanhoudt: G 2533. 1.412 gr. 250,--
 Franceschi - Brussel 1967. R Nice patina, extremely fine
- 1296 Esterlin - Damme. A: Facing head + G ꝛ COMES ꝛ FLANDIE, R: Long cross dividing legend with three pellets in each angle SIG NVM CRV CIS. G: 155, Vanhoudt: G 2534. 1.248 gr. 300,--
 Peus - Frankfurt, Auction 234 (1989), no. 676. Extremely rare. Slightly corroded, very fine
 Esterlins with SIGNVM CRVCIS are made of inferior metal struck in Damme (that there was a mint in Damme is proven in a document of 3rd September 1299)
 Mayhew (no. 19) knows of only two specimens, both in BM. This specimen is finer than the ones shown in Mayhew. There are minor differences in the text, for instance a different interpunction. Mayhew mentions a total of 10 specimens, 7 in BM and 3 in priv.coll.

ROBERT of BETHUNE (1305-1322)

This count was severely affected by the outcome of the Treaty of Athis-sur-Orge and the high taxes that had been levied on Flanders. The cities rebelled as trade decreased and the country was struck by a famine.



1297

- 1297 Baudekijn - Alost. A: Mounted knight l. + ROBERTVS : COMES : FLADRIE, R: + SIGNVM CRVCIS around cross, + MONETA : VILLE : A : LOSTENSIS. G: 172, Vanhoudt: G 2559. 1.696 gr. Dark patina, small scratches, very fine 300,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1973.



1298

1299

- 1298 Esterlin - Alost. A: Crowned head facing + R ♣ COMES ♣ FLANDRIE, R: Long cross dividing legend with three pellets in each angle MON ETA ALO TEN. G: 174, Vanhoudt: G 2562. 1.290 gr. Very fine 125,--
Glendining - London, Auction 23 (1975), no. 313.
Ex: Noble collection (Australia).
- 1299 Esterlin - Alost. A: Crowned head facing + R ⚡ COMES FLANDRIE, R: Long cross dividing legend with three pellets in each angle MON ETA ALO TEN. G: 174, Vanhoudt: G 2562. 1.266 gr. Dark patina, very fine 125,--
Finn - Kendal 1998.
Ex: J.F. Chown collection.



1300

1301

- 1300 Esterlin - Gent. A: Crowned head facing + EDL ROBERTVS COMES, R: Long cross dividing legend with three pellets in each angle MON ETA GAN DES. G: 178, Vanhoudt: G 2561. 1.327 gr. Very fine 125,--
Toderi - Florence 1975.
EDL stands for "edel" (this is because of the resemblance to the english penis of Edward).
- 1301 Esterlin - Alost. A: Crowned head l. (so called "Schots type") + ROB : COMES : FLAND, R: Long cross dividing legend with three pellets in each angle MON ETA ALO STEN. G: 179, Vanhoudt: G 2560. 1.233 gr. RR Flan defect at the edge, slightly corroded, excellent portrait, very fine 750,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1971.

LODEWIJK of NEVERS (1322-1346)

Louis of Nevers, the grandson of Guy of Dampierre, was a puppet of the French kings. He ended the dispute between the Avesnes and the Dampierres. He agreed to a treaty with William III of Holland and Hainaut, in which he abandoned his rights to Flanders, in exchange for the cession of the manorial fief of Zeeland-bewester-Scheldt.

In 1325, peasants took Louis prisoner and Robert of Kassel became regent (ruwaard). The pope in Avignon took action and placed Flanders under an interdict. In 1328, Philip VI near Kassel vanquished the Flemish peasants. Louis could return, but had to remain loyal to France. In 1346, he died fighting with the French at Crécy (hence he is often called Louis de Crécy).

Louis, besides Flanders, owned the counties Rethel and Nevers (hence Louis of Nevers).



- 1302 Goudgulden - Gent. A: Saint John the Baptist standing + S . IOHA NNES . B . lions head, R: Fleur-de-lis of florentine L . FLAD COMES. Fb: 148, G: 183, Vanhoudt: G 2576. 3.519 gr.
 Henzen - Amerongen 1999. **RR** Small flan crack, very fine 1.500,--
 ca. 1335-1338.



- 1303 1/2 Gros - Gent. A: Lion rampant in multilobe + MONETA ꝰ GANDENSIS, R: Long cross dividing legend with two lions and two eagles alternating in the angles LVDOVIC' ꝰ COMES FLAD. G: 187, Vanhoudt: G 2573. 1.860 gr.
 Small flan defect at the edge, otherwise almost extremely fine specimen with pleasingly patina 125,--
 Franceschi - Brussel 1972.



- 1304 Mijt - Gent. A: Great L between two clovers and two trefoils + MONETA ꝰ GANDENSIS, R: Long cross dividing legend with G - A - N - D in the angles LVD COM FLA (DRI). G: 190, Vanhoudt: G 2587. 0.752 gr.
 Huizinga - Delft 1978. Small flan crack, very fine 50,--
 Ex: de Ligne collection (1976), no.171.
- 1305 Mijt - Gent. A: Great L between four clovers + MONETA ꝰ GANDENSIS, R: Long cross dividing legend LVD COM FLADRI. G: 193, Vanhoudt: G2575. 0.870 gr. Flan defect at the edge, very fine 50,--
 Huizinga - Delft 1978.
 Ex: de Ligne collection (1976), no. 171.



1306

- 1306 1/2 Gros - Alost. A: Lion rampant in multilobe + MONETA : ALOSTENSIS, R: Long cross with two lions and two eagles alternating in the angles LVDOVIC' : COMES FLAD'. G: 194, Vanhoudt: R Nice patina, very fine + 150,--
G 2570. 1.858 gr.
Spink - Zürich 1986.
Pay attention to the strange letters T and L.



1307

1308

- 1307 1/4 Gros - Alost. A: Lion rampant + MONETA : ALOSTENSIS, R: Cross LVDOVIC' o COMES o FLAD. G: 195, Vanhoudt: G 2571. 0.994 gr. R Flan crack, otherwise very fine + 150,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1972.
The obverse is G: 196 and the reverse looks like G: 195.
- 1308 Mijt - Alost. A: Great L between two clovers and two trefoils + MONETA : ALOSTS, R: Long cross dividing legend LVD COM FLA DRI. G: 197, Vanhoudt: G 2572. 0.856 gr. Very fine 50,--
Beckenbauer - München 1982.



1309

- 1309 Leeuwengroot - Alost. A: Lion rampant * MONETA x FLAND within 12 arches containing leaves, R: LVDOVIC x COMES around long cross dividing legend, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : DEI : IHV : XPC. G: 202, Vanhoudt: G 2578. 4.010 gr. Very fine + 125,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1972.
Benedictum Sit Nomen Domini Nostrī Dei Ihesv Christi = Praised be the name of God our Lord Jesus Christ (It is the first Flemish coin to bear a biblical proverb).
During the government of Louis of Nevers, starting 1338, Jacob of Artevelde acted as leader of the Ghent trade guilds. He held de facto sway in a Flanders that increasingly turned to England. The count left his country and fled. Jacob of Artevelde tempted Edward III to have himself solemnly acclaimed as king of France, which he did in 1340 (as grandson of Philip IV, he was nearer in line to the throne than Philip VI of Valois, who was from a side branch). Philip VI immediately sent a fleet, but was defeated at Sluis by the English and the Flemings.
Although Jacob of Artevelde could count on the support from the cities Bruges, Ieper and Ghent, others opposed. He was murdered in 1345.

LODEWIJK de MALE (1346-1384)

As the English king's attention was needed elsewhere, Louis of Nevers' son could take over authority, making a clean sweep of affairs. Louis de Male felt less bound to France.

In 1356, at the death of his father-in-law, Jean III of Brabant (see under Duchy Brabant) took Mechelen, Leuven and Antwerp.

From 1379 to 1385, Flanders burst out in flames, insurgencies being led capably by Philip of Artevelde (a son of Jacob). In 1382, Louis de Male suffered a defeat before Bruges. The help of France was needed once more. Philip of Burgundy conquered Ghent and Philip of Artevelde was slain (Battle at West-Rozebeke). But the rebellion would not be broken until his daughter Margaret and her husband Philip the Bold succeeded.

Louis de Male is the only Flemish count that struck a series of gold coins. Not only was a wealth of types struck (partly adopted from French gold coinage), but the coins were of exceptionally high content. It was a manifestation of his significance (that was only increased when he was bestowed upon ducal dignity), directed toward the French king.



- 1310 Gouden schild met adelaar. A: Count sitting on throne in multilobe, with sword and shield (double-headed eagle) + LVDOVICVS ꝛ DEI x x GRA x COMES ꝛ Z ꝛ DNS ꝛ FLAD, R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil + XPC ꝛ VINCIT ꝛ XPC ꝛ REGNAT ꝛ XPC ꝛ IMPERAT. Fb: 152, G: 207, Vanhoudt: G 2597. 4.419 gr. Extremely fine 1.000,--
 Peus - Frankfurt, Auction 349 (1996), no. 891.
 Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat = Christ vanquishes, Christ reigns, Christ rules (Necephorus VIII 32; "Laudes Regiae" liturgical acclamation of the king).



- 1311 1/2 Gouden schild met adelaar. A: Count sitting on throne in multilobe, with sword and shield (double-headed eagle) + LODOVICVS ꝛ DEI x GRA x COMES ꝛ Z ꝛ DNS : FLA, R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil + XPC ꝛ VINCIT ꝛ XPC ꝛ REGNAT ꝛ XPC ꝛ IMPERAT. Fb: 153, G: 208, Vanhoudt: G 2598. 2.219 gr. R Almost extremely fine 1.500,--
 Classical Num.Group - Lancaster, Auction 53 (2000), no. 2195.
 Struck: 1352-1353.
 Ex: Elsen - Brussel, Auction 59 (1999), no. 1848 (Antwerpse bankier collection).
 Ex: Münzzentrum - Köln, Auction 43 (1981), no. 2761.



- 1312 1/4 Gouden schild met adelaar. A: Count sitting on throne in multilobe, with sword and shield (double-headed eagle) + LVDOVIC ꝛ DEI x x GRA x COMES ꝛ FLA R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil + XPC o VICIT o XPC o REGNAT o XPC o IPERAT. Fb: 154, G: 209, Vanhoudt: G 2599. 0.927 gr. R Double struck, very fine 200,--
 Platt - Paris 1970.



1313

- 1313 Gouden Lam. A: Lamb with LVD CO F in the field + AGN : DEI : QVI : TOLL : PECA : MVDI : MISERERE : NOB, R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil with one eagle in each angle + : XPC : VINCIT : XPC : REGNAT : XPC : IMPERAT. Fb: 155, G: 210, Vanhoudt: G 2601. 4.591 gr. Extremely fine and perfect piece 1.500,--

SKA - Zürich 1993.

From list 60, no. 232.

Agnus Dei Qui Tollis Peccata Mundi Miserere Nobis = Lamb of God that take away the sins of the world, have mercy on us (Joh. 1:29).

The Gold Lamb was struck from 12/07/1356 to 04/03/1363 in Ghent and in Mechelen and from 24/07/1370 to 28/12/1370 exclusively in Mechelen. The content steadily decreased, apart from the last short emission, when it was brought up to the standard of the beginning of the emission.



1314

- 1314 Gouden Rijder. A: Mounted knight l. with lions on the horse-blanket LVDOVIC' o DEI : GRA : COMES : I : DNS : FLADRIE, R: Floriated cross + XPC : VINCIT : XPC : REGNAT : XPC : IMPERAT. Fb: 156, G: 212, Vanhoudt: G 2602. 3.851 gr. Extraordinary well struck specimen, extremely fine to uncirculated 2.000,--

Hess - Zürich, Auction 263 (1994), no. 2.

On top of the helmet are three rosettes with the flamish lion.



1315

1315

- 1315 Dubbele gouden leeuw. A: Lion with helmet in gothic canopy over FLANDRE in the bottom field LVDOVICVS : DEI : GRA : COM : Z : DNS : FLANDRIE, R: Floriated cross in multilobe with F - L - A - N - D in the angles and the centre + BENEDICTVS : QVI : VENIT : IN : NOMINE : DOMI NI. Fb: 157, G: 214, Vanhoudt: G 2604. 5.355 gr. R Well struck and extremely fine perfect piece 2.000,--

Künker - Osnabrück 1996.

From Künker, Auction 34, no. 1446.

Benedictus Qui Venit in Nomine Domini = Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord! (Pr. 118:269, Mat. 21:9, Luc. 13:356).



1316

- 1316 Gouden Flandre. A: Count standing in gothic canopy with lion on his breast and shield of Flanders over FLANDRES in the bottom field LVDOVIC' o DEI o G' o COM' o Z o DNS o FLANDRIE, R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil with lion in the centre and F - L - A - D in the angles + BENEDICTVS o QVI o VENIT o IN o NOMINE o DOMINI. Fb: 161, G: 217, Vanhoudt: G 2612-2613. 4.160 gr.

Credit de la Bourse - Paris, Auction 13-6-97 (1997), no. 869.
Struck between 21st April 1369 and 5th August 1370.

R Extremely fine + and perfect piece 2.000,--



1317

- 1317 Nieuw Gouden Schild. A: Count sitting on gothic throne with sword and shield of Flanders + LVDOVICVS o DEI x GRA x COM' x Z o DNS o FLAND', R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil + XPC o VINCIT o XPC o REGNAT o XPC o IMPERAT. Fb: 163, G: 218, Vanhoudt: G 2614. 4.473 gr.

SKA - Zürich 1983.

Extremely fine 1.000,--



1318

- 1318 Leeuwengroot. A: Lion rampant 1. + MONETA o FLAND' . within circle of 12 arches containing 11 leaves and one lion, R: LVD OVI C'CO MES around cross, + BNDICTV o SIT o NOME o DNI o NRI o IHV o XPI. G: 219, Vanhoudt: G 2596. 3.287 gr.

Künker - Osnabrück, auction 2 (1985), no. 2831.
Ex: Buller collection (Osnabrück).

Traces of encrustation and irregular flan, extremely fine

75,--



1319

- 1319 Leeuwengroot. A: Lion rampant l. + MONETA ♣ FLAND' within circle of 12 arches enclosing 11 leaves and one lion, R: LVDOVIC' COMES around cross, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI. G: 219, Vanhoudt: G 2596. 2.957 gr. Very fine 50,--



1320

- 1320 1/3 leeuwengroot. A: Lion rampant l. + . MONETA ⌘ FLAND' within circle of 12 arches enclosing leaves, R: LVD OVI C'xCO MES around cross, + BNDICT : SIT : NOM' : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI. G: 222, Vanhoudt: G 2600. 1.086 gr. R Small flan, very fine 100,--
Henzen - Amerongen 2000.
From list 111, no. 1167.



1321

- 1321 Dubbele Groot. A: Lion with helmet in multilobe LVDOVICVS : DEI : GRA : COMES : Z : DNS : FLANDRIE, R: + MONETA ♣ DE ♣ FLANDRIA around floriated cross, + BENEDICTVS : QVI : VENIT : IN : NOMINE : DOMINI. G: 225, Vanhoudt: --. 4.072 gr. Very fine to extremely fine 125,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1969.



1322

- 1322 Groot. A: Lion with helmet sitting in multilobe LODOVIC : DEI : GRA : COM : Z : D : FLANDRIE, R: MON ETA FLA DRIE around long cross dividing legend, + BENEDICT : Q : VENIT : I : NOMINE : DI. G: 227, Vanhoudt: G 2611. 2.258 gr. R Very fine 200,--
Münzen und Medaillen Deutschland, Auction 3 (1998), no. 715.



1323

- 1323 Groot - 2nd emission. A: Lion with helmet sitting in multilobe LVDOVIC : DEI : GRA : COM : Z : D : FLANDRIE, R: MON ETA FLA DRIE around long cross dividing legend, + BENEDICT : Q : VENIT : I : NOMINE : DI. G: 227, Vanhoudt: G 2611. 1.728 gr. R Very fine
 Henzen - Amerongen 2003. 200,--
 From list 139, no. 568.

PHILIPS de STOUTE (1384-1404)

Philip the Bold inherited a vast realm from his father and grandfather. He governed this from Paris and seldom was in Flanders.

Louis of Maele's will entitled Philip the Bold to Brabant and Limburg (Treaty of Ath 1357). In 1388, Philip forced Jeanne (of Brabant) to relinquish Limburg and the lands of Overmaze (for the other parts, see under Brabant).

Philip required a lot of money for his costly endeavours. He always regarded himself as a French prince, he held court in Paris and didn't speak a word of Flemish.



1324

- 1324 Gros de Convention - Mechelen. A: Shields of Burgundy l. and Brabant r., garland between two rosettes above and one rosette below + PHS : DVX : BORG : I : COM : FLAND : IOH : DVC : BRAB, R: Shield of Flanders on ornamented cross with the limbs ending in dragonheads + MONETA : NOVA : FLANDRIE : ET : BRABANTIE. DdP: 7.3, Vanhoudt: G 2642. 2.297 gr. Nice patina, a little off centre, very fine +
200,--



Franceschi - Brussel 1973.
 Minting in cooperation with Jeanne Veuve van Brabant.



1325

- 1325 Gouden schild - Mechelen. A: Count sitting on throne under canopy, holding sword and shield with lion + PHILIPPVS x DEI x x GRA x COM' x Z x DNS x FLAND, R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil with one rose in each angle + XPC : VINCIT : XPC : REGNAT : XPC : IMPERAT. DdP: 6.5, Fb: 165, Vanhoudt: G 2618. 4.393 gr. Very fine
1.000,--
 Elsen - Brussel, Auction 56 (1998), no. 1407.
 Coinage Act 18th April 1386.



1326

- 1326 Dubbele Gouden Helm. A: Star between the shields of Burgundy and Flanders under helmets + PHILIPP x DEI x G x DVX x BVRG x Z x COM x FLAND, R: Floriated cross in quatrefoil with quatrefoil in the centre + SIT x NOMEN x DOMINI x BENEDICTVM. DdP: 7.8, Fb: 166, Vanhoudt: G 2621. Extremely rare, very fine + 6.000,--



Vinchon - Paris, Auction 10-12-97 (1997), no. 539.

From find Zutphen.

Schulman, Auction 233 (1960), no. 777.

cf. Vernier collection, no. 24.

Sit Nomen Domini Benedictum = Praised be the name of the Lord (doxologie Ps. 113:2, Job. 1:21b, Dan. 2:20).



1327

1328

- 1327 Dubbele Groot Flandre. A: FLADRES over shields of Burgundy and Flanders + PHILIPP : DEI : GRA : DVX : BVRG : Z : COM : FLAND, R: + MONETA x DE x FLANDRIA around cross, + SIT x NOMEN x DOMINI x BENEDICTVM. DdP: 7.9, Vanhoudt: G 2629. 3.781 gr. Very fine 100,--
Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, d.d. 28-9-1956.
- 1328 Dubbele Groot met de adelaar. A: Eagle over the shields of Burgundy and Flanders + PHILIPP : DEI : GRA : DVX : Z : COM : FLAND, R: MONETA . DE . FLANDRIA around cross, + SIT : NOME : DOMINI : BENEDICTVM. DdP: 7.13, Vanhoudt: G 2622. 3.880 gr. Very fine 150,--
Schulman - Amsterdam 1973.



1329

- 1329 Groot met de adelaar. A: Eagle over the shields of Burgundy and Flanders PHILIPP' : DEI : G' : D' : BVRG' : Z' : COM' : FLAND', R: Long cross dividing legend with F - L - A - D in the angles + SIT : NOME : DNI BENEDICTVM. DdP: 7.14, Vanhoudt: G 2623. 2.177 gr. RR Very fine + 200,--
Bought 1985 (Ex: Dekker collection).
Ex: Find Zutphen.
Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 233 (1960), no. 786.



1330

- 1330 Gouden Nobel. A: Count standing in ship with shield of Burgundy PHS DEI ꝛ GRA ꝛ DVX ꝛ BVRG ꝛ COMES ꝛ Z ꝛ DNS ꝛ FLAND, R: Floriated cross in multilobe with four crowns and four lions in the angles + IHC ꝛ AVTEM ꝛ TRANSIENS ꝛ PER ꝛ MEDIVM ꝛ ILLORVM ꝛ IBAT. DdP: 8.15, Fb: 169, Vanhoudt: G 2632. 7.690 gr. **R** Almost extremely fine 2.000,--
 Elsen - Brussel 1997.
 The lions on the reverse are passant instead of rampant. And they are lions, of course, and not leopards as on the English nobles.
 cf. Vernier collection: 38 (mentions on the reverse MEDIV instead of MEDIVM).
 Coinage Act 1st October 1388.
 Ihesus Autem Transiens per Medium Illorum Ibat = But Jesus passed through the crowd and went on his way (Luc. 4:30). This text only features on nobles.



1331

1332

- 1331 Dubbele Groot - Botdraeger. A: Lion sitting with the banner of Burgundy on the back + PHILIPP : DEI : G : DX : BVRG : Z : COM : FLAND, R: Long cross over shield of Burgundy + SIT : NOME : DOMINI : BENEDICTVM. DdP: 8.18, Vanhoudt: G 2635. 4.093 gr. **Almost extremely fine** 250,--
 Coin Inv. - Lisse, Auction 52 (1997), no. 472.
 Coinage Act 20th December 1389.
 The name botdrager (pannier bearer) was derived from the fact that the sitting lion is bearing a banner or canopy on its back that was compared to a "bot" (= pannier).
- 1332 Dubbele Groot - Botdraeger. A: Lion sitting with the banner of Burgundy on the back + PHILIPP : DEI : G : DX : BVRG : Z : COM : FLAND, R: Long cross over shield of Burgundy + SIT : NOME : DOMINI : BENEDICTVM. DdP: 8.18, Vanhoudt: G 2635. 3.925 gr. **Very fine** 100,--
 Baldwin - London 1980.



1333

- 1333 Groot botdrager. A: Lion sitting with the banner of Burgundy on the back + PHILIPP : DEI : G . D : BVRG : Z : COM : FLAND, R: Long cross over shield of Burgundy + SIT : NOME : DNI : BENE DICTVM. DdP: 8.19, Vanhoudt: G 2636. 2.415 gr. **Very fine** 100,--
 Elsen - Brussel, Auction 54 (1998), no. 1903.
 From 1389 on.



1334

- 1334 Dubbele Mijt. A: F L under cross + PHS . D . B . COM . FLAND, R: Cross with one lis in the 2nd and lions in the other angles + MONETA . FLANDRIE. DdP: --, Vanhoudt: --. 1.041 gr. Fine 20,--
Huizinga - Delft 1978.
Ex: de Ligne collection (1976), no. 178.



1335

1336

- 1335 Dubbele Mijt. A: Shield of Burgundy + PHILIPP . DVX . BVRIG, R: Cross + MONETA FLANDRIS. DdP: 8.21, Vanhoudt: G 2638. 0.774 gr. Very fine + 40,--
Franceschi - Brussel - 1973
- 1336 Mijt. A: Shield of Burgundy + PHILIPP . DVX . BURIG, R: Long cross + MONETA FLANDRIE. DdP: Suppl. no. 1, Vanhoudt: --. 0.775 gr. Very fine 30,--
Léopard d'Or - Paris 1981.

JAN zonder VREES (1404-1419)

After the death of Philip the Bold and Margaret, John the Fearless inherited only Flanders, Artois and the Burgundian lands. The 3rd son received Rethel and Nevers. John signed a treaty of mutual assistance with his brother Anton of Brabant and his brother-in-law William VI of Holland in 1405.

Just as his father, John always saw himself as a French prince, though he did speak Flemish. Emperor Sigismund didn't wait for the Burgundian bark to turn into a bite and he allied with the Armagnacs to crush the power of Burgundy. Philip, faced with this enemy which revealed itself to be far superior, was in desperate need of a strong ally and found one in the English in 1414. In 1415, he acquiesced in the slaying of his brothers Anton and Philip in the Battle at Azincourt. In 1419, John was killed by the Armagnacs; the dauphin had been informed of this assassination (see also the introduction with The Burgundian Netherlands).



1337

- 1337 Dubbele Gros Braspenning. A: Shields of Burgundy and Flanders under helmet . IOHS : DVX : BVRG : Z : COMES : FLANDRIE ., R: Cross with two lions and two lis in the angles + MONETA : NOVA : COMETIS : FLANDRIE. DdP: 10.26, Vanhoudt: G 2651. 4.917 gr. Pleasingly toned, extremely fine 200,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1971.



- 1338 Gros Braspennig. A: Shields of Burgundy and Flanders under helmet ; IOHS : DVX : BVRG : Z : COM : FLANDRIE ; R: Cross with two lions and two lis in the angles + MONETA : NOVA : COMETIS : FLANDRIE. DdP: 10.27, Vanhoudt: G 2652. 2.705 gr. Very fine 150,--
Coin Investment - den Haag , Auction 16 (1982), no. 926.



- 1339 Dubbele Groot Kromstaert. A: Lion rampant with shield of Burgundy on the breast + IOHS : DVX : BVRG : Z : COMES : FLANDRIE, R: Long cross dividing legend with F - L - A - D' in the angles + MONETA : COMITIS : FLANDRIE. DdP: 11.31, Vanhoudt: G 2658. 3.510 gr. Almost extremely fine 150,--
Henzen - Amerongen 1997.
From September 1997, no. 662.
- 1340 Dubbele Groot Kromstaert. A: Lion rampant with shield of Burgundy on the breast + IOHS : DVX : BVRG : Z : COMES : FLANDRIE, R: Long cross dividing legend with F - L - A - D' in the angles + MONETA : COMITIS : FLANDRIE. DdP: 11.31, Vanhoudt: G 2658. 2.943 gr. Small scratches, very fine + 100,--
NMB - Amsterdam 1981.
From find Woerden.

PHILIPS the GOEDE (1419-1433)

The treacherous murder of his father rangled in Philip the Good's breast and he allied with the English. In 1420, the Treaty of Troyes acknowledged English king Henry V to be the successor of the French king Charles VI the Mad. Philip's daughter wedded Henry V.

After suffering several defeats against the French led by Jean of Arc, Philip finally captured Jean before the walls of Compiègne, it would be his last service to the English king. Philip spoke with Jean of Arc, but the chronicler Monstrelet who was present at this interview, provides no account of it. See further under The Burgundian Netherlands.



- 1341 Dubbele Groot Kromstaert. A: Lion rampant with shield of Burgundy on the breast + PHS : DVX : BVRG : Z : COMES : FLANDRIE, R: Long cross dividing legend with F - L - A - D' in the angles + MONETA : COMITIS : FLANDRIE. DdP: 11.35, Vanhoudt: G 2665. 2.871 gr. Flan defect at the edge and small scratches, otherwise almost extremely fine 100,--
NMB - Amsterdam 1981.
From find Woerden.



1342

- 1342 Groot Kromstaert. A: Lion rampant with shield of Burgundy on the breast + PHS ꝛ DVX ꝛ BVRG Z ꝛ COMES ꝛ FLANDRIE, R: Long cross dividing legend with F - L - A - D in the angles + MONETA ꝛ COMITIS ꝛ FLAND. DdP: 11.36, Vanhoudt: G 2666. 1.847 gr. Very fine 100,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1992.
 From list December 1992, no. 387.



1343

- 1343 Gouden Nobel. A: Count standing in ship with shield of Burgundy PHS ꝛ DEI ꝛ GRA ꝛ DVX ꝛ BVRG ꝛ COMES ꝛ Z ꝛ DNS ꝛ FLAND, R: Floriated cross in multilobe with four lions in the angles, and rose in the centre + IHC ꝛ AVTEM ꝛ TRANSIENS ꝛ PER ꝛ MEDIVM ꝛ ILLORVM ꝛ IBAT. DdP: 20.42, Delm: 483, Fb: 179, Vanhoudt: G 2675. 6.879 gr. **R** Very fine+ 1.500,--
 Elsen - Brussel 1997.
 Number of DdP is that of the illustration (42), textnumber is 44.
 cf. Vernier collection, no. 35.
 Coinage Act 7th November 1428.

DIOCESE TOURNAI

EPISCOPAL MINTING

In Tournai, Christianity started at the end of the 3rd century under St. Piat. However, the invasions in the 5th century were not survived by the Christians. After that, reconstruction began under a sovereign bishop. The episcopal see in Tournai was presumably founded before the turn of the 5th century by one Theodore.

In the 7th century, the diocese was united with the diocese Noyon (tot 1146). In the early Middle Ages, the diocese Tournai encompassed the main part of Flanders (the French part included). It contained three archdeaconries: Tournai, Ghent and Bruges and was a suffraganate to the archbishopric of Reims.

The cathedral chapter was the main ecclesiastical institution, particularly in the 2nd half of the 12th century (construction of the Notre-Dame cathedral).



1344

- 1344 Denier. A: Bust facing with long beard and crosier, crescent r., R: Cross with two pellets ꝛ two S in the angles. dM: 17. 0.395 gr. **RR** Very fine 150,--
 Platt - Paris 1984.
 De Mey says that this coin is unique.



COUNTY HAINAUT

Hainaut evolved from the Gallo-Roman civitas of the Nervier (the later diocese Cambrai), the centre of which, Famars, lay near Valenciennes. In early Middle Ages called pagus Fantomartensis. Not until the 8th century did the name Hainaut appear.

In the early Middle Ages, the House of the Reginare (Regnier Longneck) ruled in Hainaut, seated in Mons. The German kings divested Reginar III (958-959) and his son Reginar IV (974) of their offices. Although Reginar IV had already reconquered Mons from the German king by 976, Valenciennes, however, didn't return into their dominion until 1047 (under his grandson Herman).

Herman was married to the daughter of Reginar V (1013-1030) Richilde, and when Herman died, she remarried Baldwin I, Count of Flanders (called Baldwin VI there). A short personal union with Flanders ensued (1067-1071), but Richilde transferred the county Hainaut to the Liège bishops in fief, mainly to protect herself against her powerful brother-in-law Robert the Frisian. The agreement, that did not confer de facto power over Hainaut on the bishops of Liège, was reached under Godfrey the Hunchback, the duke of Lower Lorraine and stayed in effect until the beginning of the 15th century.

The territory was substantially expanded, which culminated under Baldwin V in 1190, when Frederick Barbarossa granted the cession of the county Namur and the acquisition of Flanders after Philip of the Alsace had died (Baldwin was wedded to Margaret of the Alsace, sister of Philip of the Alsace).

Baldwin VI in 1202 joined in the 4th crusade and was crowned emperor of Constantinople in 1204 (Latin Empire). After he vanished in 1204, his daughter Jeanne succeeded. With Jeanne, medieval minting in Hainaut commenced (a denarius and an obole by Reginar V (1013-1030) exist).

The history of Hainaut is marked by the struggles with Flanders (division Flanders - Hainaut), the union with Holland (and Zeeland), and finally, the merging into the Burgundian realm.

The classification of Lucas, which differs from that of Chalon, is applied in the beneath catalogue.

ANONYMOUS



- 1345 Maille muette. A: Monogram of Hainaut ending in two crescents, R: Cross with two crescents and two pellets in the angles. Ch: 4, Lucas: 30, Vanhoudt: G 430. 0.528 gr. Very fine 25,--
Willems - Bennekom 1986.
Chalon classifies this coin under Jeanne and considers Mons "dont les armes sont un château".

JEANNE (1205-1244)

Jeanne succeeds her father (Baldwin VI, Count of Flanders, and Emperor of the Latin Empire), in Hainaut as well as in Flanders. After her demise, her sister Margaret II of Constantinople succeeded her, also in both territories.



- 1346 Maille - Valenciennes. A: Monogram of Hainaut ending in two stars VA LE CE NE, R: Cross with one crescent in each angle. Ch: 10, Lucas: 35, Vanhoudt: G 434. 0.502 gr. Very fine 25,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1971.
- 1347 Maille - Valenciennes. A: Monogram of Hainaut ending in two stars VA LE CE NE, R: Cross with one hoof-iron in each angle. Ch: 10, Lucas: 35, Vanhoudt: G 434. 0.452 gr. Very fine 20,--
Willems - Bennekom 1986.
Ch: suppl. XIV (N and E ligatured).
Chalon mentions crescents instead of hoof-irons.



MARGARETHA of CONSTANTINOPEL (1244-1280)

Due to the fact that her father had been emperor of Constantinople, Margaret was called "of Constantinople", contrary to her sister Jeanne. In 1246, before her death, the struggle for power in both Flanders and Hainaut already ignited (see under John II of Avesnes). Margaret remained countess of Flanders until 1278 and countess van Hainaut until her death in 1280. The lands were then separated.



1348

- 1348 2/3 Gros. A: Mounted knight l. with sword and plume on horsehead + MONETA VALENCENENSIS, R: + SIGNVM + CRVCIS around cross, + MARGARETA + COMITISSA. Ch: 19, Lucas: 36, Vanhoudt: G 436. 2.606 gr. Very fine 200,--
BRED - Paris 1976.
This type 1 (to the left) is the oldest type.



1349

- 1349 2/3 Gros. A: Mounted knight r. with sword and plume on horsehead + MONETA VALENCENENSIS, R: + ☉ SIGNVM * CRVCIS ☽ around cross with one crescent in each angle, + MARGARETA . COMITISSA .. Ch: 18, Lucas: 39, Vanhoudt: G 435. 2.801 gr. Very fine + 150,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1969.
Ex: Prince de Ligny collection.
Type 4, the latest type.

The House of Avesnes

JEAN II of AVESNES (1280-1304)

Margaret had two children: John of Avesnes from her marriage to Bouchard of Avesnes and Guy of Dampierre from her marriage to William of Dampierre - they contested each other's inheritance. Finally, the French king settled the dispute (Dit de Péronne 1246, 1256): John received Hainaut (he died in 1256 and was married to Aleid, heiress of Holland - a sister of William III of Holland, the Roman king) and Guy was given Flanders. In 1280, his son John II succeeded his grandmother, which marked the rise of the House Avesnes and the uniting of Hainaut and Holland.

John II would not yet indicate his comital title of Holland (from 1299 on) on his coins.



1350

- 1350 Vieux Gros. A: Monogram of Hainaut within 12 arches enclosing trefoils o HAN ONIE o, R: + IOHANES o COMES around cross, + XPC ; VINCNIT ; XPC ; RENAT ; XPC ; INPERAT. Ch: 24, Lucas: 42, Vanhoudt: G 439. 4.035 gr. Pleasingly patina, almost extremely fine 150,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1969.



1351



- 1351 2/3 Gros au Cavalier. A: Mounted knight with standard and shield I. + IOHANNES COMES HAIN,
R: + SIGNVM CRVCIS around cross, + MONETA VALENCENENSIS. Ch: 27, Lucas: 47,
Vanhoudt: G 445. 2.285 gr. R Very fine 250,--
Schulman - Amsterdam 1976.
Ex: Defesche collection.



1352



1353



- 1352 Petit Gros - Valenciennes. A: Lion rampant + : IOHANES : COMES : HANOIE, R: Cross with three
pellets in each angle + MONETA : VALENCENENSIS. Ch: 30 var, Lucas: 51a, Vanhoudt: G 449.
2.086 gr. Nice patina, extremely fine 250,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1971.
- 1353 Esterlin. A: Lion rampant in shield x + H . x ANO x x NIE x, R: Long cross with one rosette in each
angle IOH ANE SCO MES. Ch: 20, Lucas: 56, Vanhoudt: G 454. 1.263 gr. Very fine 125,--
Schulman - Amsterdam 1976.
Ex: Defesche collection.



1354



1355



- 1354 Esterlin - Valenciennes. A: Crowned head facing with three roses + § I § COMES § HANONIE, R:
Long cross with three pellets in each angle VAL ENC HEN ENS. Ch: 36, Lucas: 58, Vanhoudt:
G 455. 1.416 gr. Very fine 75,--
Schulman - Amsterdam 1976.
Ex: Defesche collection.
- 1355 Esterlin - Mons. A: Crowned head facing with three roses + § IOHS § COMES § HANONIE, R: Long
cross with three pellets in each angle MON ETA MON TES. Ch: 37, Lucas: 60, Vanhoudt: G 456.
1.324 gr. Nice patina, very fine 75,--
Schulman - Amsterdam 1976.
Ex: Defesche collection.



1356

- 1356 Esterlin - Maubeuge. A: Crowned head facing with three roses + ✠ IOHS ✠ COMES ✠ HANONIE, R: Long cross with three pellets in each angle MEL BOD IEN SIS. Ch: 42, Lucas: 63b, Vanhoudt: G 457. 0.958 gr. Nice portrait, very fine + 100,--
Schulman - Amsterdam 1976.
Ex: Defesche collection.
The L of MEL has no dot.

GUILLAUME I (1304-1337)

In the dispute with Guy of Dampierre, John II had assured himself of the support of the German kings. His son William, however, sought a bond with France and England, hoping to expand the territory Hainaut and Holland into an important complex of power. In 1310, Guy of Dampierre's son, who was named after his father, ceded Zeeland to William I. William I neither used the title count of Holland on his coinage, nor later that of Zeeland. In Holland he was known as Willem III, but in Hainaut he was the first Guillaume.



1357

1358

- 1357 Petit gros au cavalier. A: Mounted knight l. with standard and shield, lis on helmet + GVILL : COMES : HANONIE, R: + SIGNVM CRVCIS around cross, + MONETA : NOVA : VALENCENENSIS. Ch: 45, Lucas: 68, Vanhoudt: G 468. 2.104 gr. Nice patina, very fine 200,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1971.
Ex: Prince de Ligne collection.
The coin is called "pilleville".
- 1358 Gros (Eskiélois). A: Monogram of Hainaut in quatrefoil . h A Y N' within circle of 12 arches containing clovers, R: + GVILLELM . COMES around cross, + IN : NOMINE : DNI : DEI : NRI : FACT : SVM. Ch: 47, Lucas: 74, Vanhoudt: G 474. 2.043 gr. Traces of corrosion, extremely fine 200,--
Angenor - Paris 2000.
From list October 2000, no. 467.
Between GVILLELM and COMES is a pellet as in Chalon, Lucas mentions three pellets.
Struck in 1311.



1359

- 1359 1/2 Gros aux quatre Lions. A: Four lions in quatrefoil + GVILLELMVS COMES HANONIE, R: + MONETA VALENC' around cross, + BNDICTVM : SIT : NOMEN : DNI : NRI. Ch: 55, Lucas: 75, Vanhoudt: G 475. 1.791 gr. Small flan, very fine + 200,--
Schulman - Amsterdam 1978.
The coin is called "durant".
This coins has been struck under Jean de Namur and Louis de Crecy, the counts of Flanders.
Struck after 1314.



- 1360 Esterlin - Valenciennes. A: Monogram of Hainaut in rhomb VAL ENC NEN ENS, R: Cross with three pellets in each angle G : COMES HANONIE. Ch: 52, Lucas: 77, Vanhoudt: G 477. 1.403 gr.
Franceschi - Brussel 1973.
"Esterlin a l'escielette" or "esterlin au losange".

Dark patina, very fine

125,--



- 1361 Obole blanche. A: Monogram of Hainaut in multilobe with four rosettes + GVILLELMVS COMES HANONIE, R: SIG NVM . CRV CIS . around long cross, MONE TA : VA LENC ENIS. Ch: 50, Lucas: 81, Vanhoudt: G 481. 1.589 gr.
Schulman - Amsterdam 1971.
The coin is called "penan".

Very fine

100,--

GUILLAUME II (1337-1345)

William II died childless. The three territories devolved to his sister Margaret.



- 1362 Gros tournois. A: Monogram of Hainaut with four lions and H - A - Y - N around, divided by rings, within circle of 11 arches enclosing lis, R: GVILELM o COMES around cross, * BNDICTVM : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : DEI. Ch: 67, Lucas: 89, Vanhoudt: G 489. 2.509 gr.

R Traces of verdigris and small flan crack, otherwise extremely fine specimen

200,--

Schulman - Amsterdam 1976.
Ex: Defesche collection.
On the L is a clover.



- 1363 1/3 Gros. A: Lion rampant * MONETA x VALENCEN, R: Long cross with one trefoil in each angle HAI ONI ECO MES. Ch: 74, Lucas: 94, Vanhoudt: G 495. 1.462 gr.

R Very fine

150,--

Schulman - Amsterdam 1976.
Ex: Defesche collection.

MARGARETHA II of AVESNES (1345-1356)

Margaret, sister of William II (Willem IV) was married to Emperor Louis of Bavaria from the House Wittelsbach. The rise of the House Wittelsbach in Hainaut.



1364

- 1364 Dubbele groot - Valenciennes. A: Monogram of Hainaut with HA - HO - ZE - FR in the angles + MARGARETA : COMITISA : HANOIE, R: Long cross with two lions and two eagles in the angles * MONE TA : VAL ENCEN ENSIS. Ch: 82, Lucas: 102, Vanhoudt: G 503. 4.113 gr. Very fine 300,--
Elsen - Brussel 1998.
From list 196, no. 649.
Lucas calls it a gros (appelé "vaillant" dans les comptes).
This coin constitutes the first instance in Hainaut of a coin bearing all four full titles: Hainaut, Holland, Zeeland and Friesland.



1365

- 1365 Gros. A: Eagle with monogram of Hainaut on breast + MARGARET . COM : HANON within circle of 13 arches enclosing lis, R: + MONETA * VALENCENESIS Cross with eagle in the 1st and lion in the 4th angle * BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : DI : IHV : XPI. Ch: 85, Lucas: 105d, Vanhoudt: G 506. 3.118 gr. R Very fine + 250,--
Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 260 (1975), no.1279.
Ex: Defesche collection.

The House of Wittelsbach (The Bavarian House)

GUILLAUME III (1356-1389)

As William III was declared insane in 1357, his brother Albrecht ruled in regency, starting 1357. William III still called himself *comes Hanonie*, but on his coins he sometimes had the monogram of Holland and Zeeland struck.



1366

- 1366 Grande Plaque. A: Great monogram of Hainaut with HA - HO - ZE - FR in the angles + GVILLELMVS : COMES : HANONIE, R: Long cross dividing legend with two lions and two eagles in the angles * MONE TA : VAL ENCEN ENSIS. Ch: 101, Lucas: 116, Vanhoudt: G 518. 3.213 gr. Very fine 200,--
Schulman - Amsterdam 1978.
This type has been copied by Pierre III, bishop of Cambrai (1368-1371).



1367

- 1367 Gros. A: Monogram of Hainaut in multilobe + GVILLELMVS : COMES : HANONIE, R: MONETA VAL CNS around cross, + BNDICTV : SIT : NOMEN : DNI : NRI. Ch: 107, Lucas: 122, Vanhoudt: G 524. 2.962 gr. RR Nice patina, very fine + 400,--
Vinchon - Paris 1978.
Lucas mentions VALENS, but here it is VALCNS.

ALBRECHT of BAVARIA (1389-1404)

During his father's reign, Albrecht's son William IV governed in association. Albrecht, just as his brother, had the title DVX struck on his coins, albeit only with reference to Hainaut.



1368

- 1368 Grande couronne d'or. A: Shield of Bavaria and Hainaut under great crown, 12 lions in the field + ALBERTVS ꝛ DVX ꝛ DEI ꝛ x x GRA ꝛ COMES ꝛ HANONIE, R: Floriated cross with eagle in quatrefoil in the centre and one lion in each angle + XPC ꝛ VINCIT ꝛ XPC ꝛ REGNAT ꝛ XPC ꝛ INPERAT. Ch: 116, Fb: 258, Lucas: 136, Vanhoudt: G 538. 5.236 gr. RR Extremely fine specimen 6.000,--
Vinchon - Paris, Auction 10-12-1997, no. 543.
Ex: Find Zutphen, Schulman, Auction 233 (1960), no. 790.
This coin does not weigh twice as much as the single crown, for: "de zwaerste diër wierden genoemd dobbele" (the heaviest of which were named double).
4th emission.



1369

1370

- 1369 Plaque. A: Shield of Bavaria and Hainaut over eagle + ALBVRTVS : DVX : DEI : GRA : COMES : HANONIE, R: Floriated cross + MONETA : NOVA : FACTA : IN : VALENCHENIS. Ch: 118, Lucas: 138a, Vanhoudt: G 540. 3.435 gr. R Extremely fine 300,--
Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 263 (1976), no. 1866.
From find Zutphen.
This is the only type that has been copied in Holland (see no. 765).
- 1370 Double Gros. A: Square with shield of Bavaria and Hainaut in multilobe ALBERTV' DVX ꝛ DEI GRA ꝛ COMS HANONIE, R: Floriated cross with two eagles and two lions in the angles, monogram of Hainaut in the centre + MONETA ꝛ NOVA ꝛ FACTA ꝛ IN ꝛ VALENCHIENNIS. Ch: 124, Lucas: 142, Vanhoudt: G 544. 3.654 gr. Extremely rare. Very fine. 1.000,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1979.
The text on the obverse, at the outline of the square, is interrupted by a pellet surrounded by three triangles. The initials cross on the reverse has a whole at the centre and broadens out substantially at its perimeter.
From a small hoard from the Trier area, containing a few specimens of this type.



Small faces

Moneys and/or die-sinkers of the Middle Ages leaving a personal mark on coins truly is rarely observed. Sometimes they would include a single sign and very seldom a full name (as in a few bracteates by Lutiger, see under Orlamünde). The following provides a fine example of such an exceptional mark.

A number of medieval letters has a closed form, as the O, but also the M and the A. In a few types of coin, apparently, these letters were used to frame small faces: moneys or die-sinkers leaving a trace of themselves. But why would a minting lord allow his moneyer or diesinker to include such a portrait (of himself) on coins by his lord? A sovereign portraying himself on his coins in this vein is out of the question nor could it be the moneyer, for this phenomenon is observed in three different places with different moneyers. Thus, we arrive at the conclusion that this was a die-sinker of considerable standing due to his exceptional artistry.

Three stages of these small faces in letters on coins may be distinguished:

The first stage is observed on a Hainaut coin (no. 1370):



obverse + ALBERTV - DVX : DEI - GRA : COMS - HANONIE, en

reverse + MONETA : NOVA : FACTA : IN : VALENCHENIS

Each underlined letter frames a small face. In Hainaut, these are the only instances.

The second stage can be observed on a Luxemburg coin:

obverse + IODOC MARCH DHS MORAVIE, en

reverse MONETA LVCLEB



Sometimes, several small faces appear next to each other. Only the gans (1388-1397) shows these small faces, on the smaller denominations of the same type there are no small faces. In Luxemburg, there are several later occurrences, though always as a single variation in a series that itself doesn't feature these small faces (1411-12 and 1419-24).

The third stage is seen on the coins of the archbishopric Trier:

The gold guilder of Oberwesel (1414-1417) provides the following texts:



obverse WERNER ARCP TRE

reverse MONETA NOVA WESAL

Furthermore, a small face is struck in the crescent moon to the feet of John the Baptist.

The gold guilder of Oberwesel provides the following texts:



obverse WERNHER ARCH TR

reverse + MONETA NOVA WESALENSIS

The first coin (that of Hainaut) was struck in the period around 1390 under Albrecht of Bavaria. The second coin (of Luxemburg) was struck between 1388-1402 under Jobst of Moravia. In Trier, several coins were struck bearing these small faces. They all are gold guilders from the mint Oberwesel and were all struck under the treaty of 1404 (Rheinische Münzverein). Struck in the period between 1404-1407 under Werner of Falkenstein. A second occurrence of this phenomenon is found in Trier, where the small face appears in a column supporting the throne St. Peter sits on, rather reminiscent of the way Lorenzo Ghiberti portrayed himself on one of the jambs of the gates to paradise in Florence's baptistry.

Although Chalon (suppl. 1, p. xxxvi) states that: "Cette petite tête, semblable à celle qui se trouve dans les lettres creuses, les O, les C, le CD, d'un gros de Josse de Moravie, comte de Luxembourg, est évidemment un différent monétaire, ou la marque du graveur des coins", we can't shed the impression that the die-sinkers at work were one and the same.

The order of manufacture of the coins is the following: Hainaut (approx. 1390) → Luxemburg (1388-1402) → Archbishopric Trier (1390-1410). The small faces even appear to be ageing through the years. It is, therefore, not inconceivable that this die-sinker took up his trade in Hainaut, worked in Luxemburg after that and then moved to Oberwesel for a longer period of time. At an old age he, perhaps, returned to Luxemburg, where current normal types sometimes featured a variety struck with one of these small faces.

GUILLAUME IV (1404-1417)

William IV, married to Margaret of Burgundy, was the brother-in-law of John the Fearless, Count of Flanders and Duke of Burgundy, who in turn was married to Margaret, the sister of William IV. After his demise, the three lands were left to his only daughter Jacoba.

William IV was the first Count of Hainaut, Holland and Zeeland, who deliberately pursued a monetary union of these three lands. The double golden angel and its related coins were the first attempt at this union, which, incidentally, miscarried (see under Holland). He was the first one to call himself Duke and Count of Holland, Zeeland and Hainaut.



- 1371 Tuin. A: Lion with shield of Bavaria and Hainaut in fence GVILM : DX : DEI : GR : COM : HANOIE : HOL : Z : ZE, R: Long cross over quatrefoil with one trefoil in each angle + MONETA : NOVA : FAC : IN : VALENC. Ch: 137, Lucas: 160, Vanhoudt: G 559. 3.089 gr. Nice portrait, very fine + 250,--
Angenor - Paris 2000.
From list October 2000, no. 468.



- 1372 Tuin. A: Lion with shield of Bavaria and Hainaut in fence GVILM : DX : DEI : GR : COM : HANOIE : HOL : Z : ZE, R: Long cross over quatrefoil with one trefoil in each angle + MONETA : NOVA : FAC : IN : VALENC. Ch: 137, Lucas: 160, Vanhoudt: G 559. 2.916 gr. Very fine 150,--
Léopard d'Or - Paris 1981.
- 1373 Tuin. A: Lion with shield of Bavaria and Hainaut in fence GVILM : DX : DEI : GR : COM : HANOIE : HOL : Z : ZE, R: Long cross over quatrefoil with one trefoil in each angle + MONETA : NOVA : FAC : IN : VALENC. Ch: 137, Lucas: 160, Vanhoudt: G 559. 2.983 gr. Almost very fine 100,--
Holleman - Enschede 1994.

JACOBA of BAVARIA (1417-1433)

At the demise of William IV in 1417, his sole heir Jacoba inherited the three lands Holland, Zeeland and Hainaut. John of Bavaria impeded her actual accession in Holland and Zeeland. In Hainaut, she was de facto countess in that period. Jacoba only left three types, among which the "tuin" (garden literally).

When during Jacoba's reign John of Bavaria died in Holland (1425), she particularly started feeling the influence of Philip of Burgundy and in 1428 Jacoba had to acknowledge Philip the Good as her heir (see under Holland). In 1433, Hainaut definitively merged into the Burgundian realm (Treaty of The Hague 12 April 1433).



1374



1375



- 1374 Tuin. A: Lion with shield of Bavaria and Hainaut in garden DVCISSA : IAQ : DI : GR : COI : HANOIE : HO : Z, R: Long cross over quatrefoil with one trefoil in each angle MONETA : NOVA : FAC : IN : VALENC. Ch: 143, Lucas: 164, Vanhoudt: 565. 2.476 gr. **R** Weakly struck, very fine

200,--

NMB - Amsterdam 1981.

From find Woerden.

Jacoba had these coins from Hainaut struck with her titles *Ducissa* and *Comitissa* for Holland, Zeeland and Hainaut.

JEAN IV of BRABANT (1418-1427)

In his capacity as Jacoba's husband, John IV of Brabant also minted in Hainaut (a Brabant type: the drielander (three-lander)) using his full titles: Brabant, Limburg, Hainaut, Holland and Zeeland.

- 1375 Dubbele gros - drielander. A: Two shields (Brabant-Burgundy l. and Hainaut r.) over lion in multilobe with trefoils in the angles + IOH : DX : BRAB' Z LIMB' : COM HAN HOL : Z : ZE, R: + MONETA : FCA : IN : VALENC around cross, + SIT :: NOMEN :: DOMINI :: BENEDICTVM. Ch: 148, Lucas: 172, Vanhoudt: G 573. 2.887 gr. **R** Very fine

150,--

Delmonte - Brussel 1976.

SEIGNIORY of BEAUMONT

Baldwin was the second son of Margaret of Constantinople and Bouchard d'Avesnes. Baldwin received this seignory as an apanage from Louis IX the Saint (1246 and 1256). He resided in Valenciennes and held great authority in Hainaut. He was married to Félicité de Coucy, had a son John who succeeded him as the seigneur of Beaumont and a daughter Beatrix, who wedded Henry, Count of Luxemburg, and was the mother of Emperor Henry VII.

BAUDOIN d'AVESNES (1246-1288)



1376



- 1376 Petit Gros au Cavalier. A: Mounted knight r. + . B . D' AVENIS DNS BELLIMOTIS, R: + * SIGNVM * CRVCIS * Cross with one crescent in each angle IN NOMINE : DOMINI : NRI : AME. B: 2154, Ch: 189. 2.171 gr. **RR** Dark patina, very fine

500,--

Schulman - Amsterdam 1976.

Ex: Defesche collection.

This is the only coin which is known from the Seignory de Beaumont.

ABBAYE de St. ALDEGONDE

Aldegundis is the first abbess of the monastery Maubeuge, founded by her in 623/39. Her parents and her upbringing had been very devout and she was initially buried next to them in Cousoire, until her cousin, Aldedrudis, who had succeeded her as abbess of Maubeuge, had her transferred to Maubeuge.

"Kleingeld" is money that is valid for all purchases, as opposed to "Betalpenningen" that could be used only for specified purchases. Lead tokens also were used as small change. The main source of circulation of lead small change into the Netherlands was the abbey of Maubeuge.

In an Antwerp tariff booklet from 1549, apart from gold, silver and copper coins, lead tokens are shown, that were only valid in the province (the county) Hainaut.



"Dit pennincxken van loode, ghemint by der abdisse van Maubeuge, en is niet ganckelijck dan in Henegouwe, ende is two mijten vlaems" (This small lead token, minted by the Maubeuge abbess, is not current but in Hainaut, and is (worth) two Flemish Myten).

A preserved invoice of 1388 accounts for the manufacture of a casting mold plus the casting of 450 lead tokens. In a document of the 16th April 1463, Philip the Good grants the monastery of Maubeuge permission to make new tokens (these tokens were worth 1/12 groat). This permission was limited to 32 Touraine pounds worth of tokens per annum and the lead tokens were only valid in the territory of Maubeuge.

That minting didn't cease in the 15th century can be derived from a document dated 8th of February 1542 that permits the manufacture of a new type of token, valid in entire Hainaut, at a rate of two myten. When complaints about counterfeits and people not accepting these tokens persisted, further manufacture was prohibited in 1562 (from Pelsdonk: Pennincxkens van Loode, Goudswaard, 2003, p. 39).



- 1377 Dubbele mijt. A: Female figure standing with crosier, star 1. SANCTA + ALDEGONDIS + VIRGO, R: Floriated cross + ORA + PRO + NOBIS + DEVM + AMEN. Ch: 194 (suppl. 1). 1.445 gr. Extremely rare. Almost very fine 75,--
 Schulman - Amsterdam 1976.
 Ex: Defesche collection.
 Text is exactly the same as Ch. pl. 3/XXIII, although the device on the obverse differs (no hood), as does the cross fleury.
 The text on the obverse is presumably preceded by a bird displayed (see Chalon).
 As this is a short cross, this coin being a myt is not inconceivable that.
- 1378 Dubbele mijt. A: Female figure standing with crosier between S / AL bird BEATA ALDEGVMDIS VIRGO, R: Cross with star in the centre ORA PRO MOPS DVEM. Ch: 192. 1.253 gr. Extremely rare. Almost very fine 75,--
 Schulman - Amsterdam 1976.
 Ex: Defesche collection.
 The text on the obverse has no interpunction. Is partly hard to read. The space is too tight to accomodate all these letters. The reverse text has MOPS instead of NOBIS and DVEM instead of DEVM.
 Is the same type as Ch. 192, yet another font and the text is garbled. A letter from the Brussels cabinet (9-12-1976) says that after ample research this specimen may be concluded to represent an unknown variety.
 On Ch. 193 there is a date 1562 (other than that it is globally the same).

DIOCESE of CAMBRAI

In Carolingian times, Cambrai was a comital town. At the territorial divisions of 843 and 880, it went to East Francia. In 926, it definitively came under the German empire and was then cut off from its neighbouring region Arras.

In 947 and 1007, the authority of the counts is conferred to the bishops. The first bishop was St. Gaugericus (beginning of the 7th century). In the early Middle Ages, Cambrai was a spiritual and musical centre and it rose to its apogee under bishop Gerhard I (1012-1051), who was also an influential politician. Prosperous times ended in 1060, when the counts of Flanders entered the battle for the episcopal see. Arras consequently became an independent diocese. Around 1076, Cambrai was part of Hainaut.

The diocese Cambrai knew a few famous bishops: Robert of Geneva (the later Avignon pope Clement VII) and Pierre d'Ailly. Its properties lay scattered across Brabant and Hainaut. In the 15th century, Cambrai was incorporated in the Burgundian realm. In 1559, Pope Paul IV elevated the diocese to archbishopric.

ANONYMOUS - 13th century



1379

- 1379 Denier. A: Bust of the bishop facing with crozier, M r. above, R: Cross in doubled circle of pellets with S - T - S - T in the angles. B: 2005, Rob: 302. 0.562 gr. **RR** Very fine

250,--

Münzzentrum - Köln, Auction 71 (1991), no. 2116.

NICOLAS III of FONTAINE (1248-1272)



1380

- 1380 Petit gros. A: Bearded (!) bishop facing with mitre + NICHOLAVS EPISCHOPVS, R: CA - ME - RA - CV around double-lined cross with three pellets in each angle, EVE MARIA GRATIA PLETA PL. B: 2008, Rob: 303. 2.509 gr. **RR** Very fine specimen

500,--

Schulman - Amsterdam 1975.

PIERRE III of MIREPOIX (1309-1324)



1381

- 1381 Petit gros. A: Bishop facing with mitre (angel type) + ∞ PETRVS ∞ EPISCOPVS ∞, R: CA - ME - RA - CV around double-lined cross + . AVE MARIA GRATIA PLE. B: 2015, Rob: 311. 1.964 gr. **R** Extremely fine specimen with nice patina

400,--

Schulman - Amsterdam 1975.

CHAPTER of CAMBRAI



- 1382 Baudekin. A: Mounted knight r. with sword + MONC V CAMR ...CASISA, R: + o * SIGNVM * CRVCIS * o around cross with one crescent in each angle, + MONA C NRISISA. B: --, Rob: --. 1.363 gr. Extremely rare on small flan and slightly cleaned 500,--
 Part - 1993.
 Found in the south of Frisia in 1993.
 Grierson is positive this is an unknown coin of the Cambrai chapter (which enjoyed its own privilege of mint).
 In view of the reverse (crescents): period of Margaret of Constantinople (1244-1250).
 There is a coin of this chapter in B: 2048 (Esterlin) with: MONETA CAPITVLI CAMERACENSIS.



SEIGNIORY of SERAIN

Little is known about Serain. It was a fief in the territory of Cambrai and was dependent on Crevecoeur. It is said to be an old apanage of the House Aubert and of Walincourt and before 1313 the seigneurs of this fief held the privilege of mint. Later it belonged to the lords of Ligny.

WALRAM of LIGNY II (1304-1353 and 1364-1366)

Henry I, Count of Luxemburg acquired Ligny. He was wedded to Margaret of Bar and died in 1281. His grandson Valéran II became lord of Serain.

- 1383 Sterling. A: Crowned head facing + G : DOMINVS : DE : LINI, R: Long cross dividing legend with three pellets in the angles MON ETA SERENE. B: 2072, Mayhew: 220. 1.358 gr. R Very fine 200,--
 Münzzentrum - Köln, Auction 98 (1999), no. 2336.
 Chaut: 234, PdA: 6917.

COUNTY of ELINCOURT and LIGNY

Minting in Elincourt and St. Pol coincided. First, the lords minted in St. Pol, later a mint was opened in Elincourt (approx. 1300).

Elincourt is situated in the Cambrai territory, at a larger distance from St. Pol. Around 1300, Elincourt was annexed by St. Pol, as Elincourt was part of the German empire and not of France.

Guy IV is the first one to strike coin. Minting was intended for Flanders and Hainaut.

Ancestry of its ruling dynasty traced back to the House Blois. Hugues V was count of Blois. His son John inherited Chartres, his other son Guido III received St. Pol. Guido applied the same division: his son Hugues VI became count of Blois, his other son Guido IV was given St. Pol, Elincourt and Alleux. His daughter Beatrix inherited only Alleux, however, she was married to John of Flanders, who owned Crèvecoeur.

GUI IV of SAINT-POL (1292-1317)

- 1384 Baudekin. A: Mounted knight l. with standard + GVIDO COMES : SCI PAVLI, R: + SIGNVM CRVCIS around cross, + MONETA : RECTA : DE : ELINCOURT. B: 2058, PdA: 6860. 1.876 gr. R Flan defect at the edge and small scratches, very fine 400,--
 Or Gestion Numismatique - Paris 1998.



SEIGNIORY of CRÈVECOEUR

The seignior of Crèvecoeur was a fief of the bishops of Cambrai. It belonged to the counts of Flanders. William was a son of Guy of Dampierre and brother of Robert of Béthune. He was lord of Dendermonde and Crèvecoeur (1305-1313) and married to Alice of Clermont (inherited Chateaudun, which went to William's second son). The first son John (1313-1325) became lord of Chateaudun in 1320, succeeding William II, and wedded Beatrix of St. Pol, heiress to Alleux. John of Flanders became lord of Crèvecoeur and Arleux. His widow traded both territories against Chauny-sur-Oise with the king. Dendermonde, Crèvecoeur and Alleux were sold to France in 1337 (Chateaudun had already been seized by France).

JEAN of FLANDERS (1313-1325)



1385

- 1385 Baudekin. A: Mounted knight l. with standard and shield IOHANNES DE FLANDRIA, R: + SIGNVM CRVCIS around cross, † MONETA † NOVA † CREPICORDII. B: 2075, PdA: 6924. 2.012 gr.
Elsen - Brussel 1993. **RR** Extremely fine specimen
From list 154, no. 274.
Ex: Credit de la Bourse, Auction 24-4-'93 (1993), no. 1102.
Duplessy, J.: Chronologie et circulation des "baudekins à cheval", in: RBN (1971), p. 198-199.

750,--

COUNTY NAMUR

In 907, one Berengar was married to a daughter of Regnier Longneck's, Count of Lommegouw. He is regarded as the founding father of the comital line of Namur. This county never came to full development, as it was under constant pressure of the large neighbouring territories of Brabant and Liège.

A direct descendant of this Berengar was Albert II. His grandson Godfrey was wedded to Ermesinde, heiress of Luxemburg. Hence, his son Henry the Blind ruled Namur, Stavelot-Malmedy and Luxemburg. Henry the Blind's marriage was childless and he appointed Baldwin VI of Hainaut as his successor in his dominion and starting 1191, for Flanders too. However, eight years before his death a daughter was born: Ermesinde and so he changed his will in favour of her.

His demise ignited a successional war eventually winning Ermesinde Luxemburg and a few minor territories (see further under Luxemburg) and the 2nd son of Baldwin V, Philips the Noble retained Namur as a fief from his oldest brother Baldwin VI).

The old battle between Namur and Luxemburg endured and in the end, the count of Namur sold his county in 1263 to Guy of Dampierre, Count of Flanders. He later appointed the son from his second marriage, John of Namur (who, among other things, fought in Courtrai - the "Battle of the Golden Spurs"). The House Dampierre ruled until 1421, when John III sold the county to Philip the Good for lack of money.

ALBERT II (1018-1064)



1386

- 1386 Denier - Dinant. A: Head l. ALBERTVS, R: Double-lined cross with ring in the centre and one crescent in each angle + DEONAM. Ch: 9, dM: 15. 1.132 gr.
Extremely rare, a little off centre, otherwise well struck specimen for this type, very fine
Ahlstrom - Stockholm, Auction 58 (1998), no. 1.

750,--

ALBERT III (1064-1102)



- 1387 Denier - Namen. A: Head r. ALBERTVS, R: MONETA cross-shaped in field + NA(MVCEN)SIS. Ch: 3-8, dM: 32. 1.053 gr. Extremely rare, a little off centre, otherwise well struck specimen for this type, very fine 750,--
Ahlstrom - Stockholm, Auction 58 (1998), no. 2.

PHILIPPE the NOBLE (1196-1212)



- 1388 Denier. A: Church with two towers + N A M V R, R: Cross with two crescents and two pellets in the angles + M A R C I S. Ch: 41, dM: 57. 0.734 gr. Traces of encrustation, very fine + 150,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1973.

GUI of DAMPIERRE (1263-1297)



- 1389 Esterlin. A: Shield of Namur MARCHIO NAMVR C, R: Long cross with three pellets in the angles : G : CO MES FLA DRE. Ch: 53, dM: 69. 1.110 gr. Very fine 150,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1973.
- 1390 Esterlin. A: Head facing + MARCHIO NAMVR C, R: Long cross with three pellets in each angle G CO MES FLA DRE. Ch: 56, dM: 73. 1.359 gr. Extremely fine 100,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1971.



- 1391 Esterlin. A: Head facing + MARCHIO NAMVR C, R: Long cross with three pellets in each angle G CO MES FLA DRE. Ch: 56, dM: 73. 1.323 gr. Very fine 75,--
Finn - Kendal 1998.
Ex: J.F. Chown collection.
- 1392 Esterlin. A: Head with two crosses beneath the neck + MARCHIO NAMVR C, R: Long cross with three pellets in three angles and one quatrefoil in the last angle G CO MES FLA DRE. Ch: 59, dM: 76. 1.264 gr. Very fine 75,--
Glendining - London, Auction 23 (1975), no. 313.
Ex: Noble collection (Australia).
This variety has an E (Flandre), for the normal type, see no. 278

JEAN I (1297-1331)



- 1393 Esterlin - Namen. A: Castle + . I . COMES . NAMVR CI, R: Long cross with three pellets in the angles MOA NAM VRC SIS. Ch: 78, dM: 98. 1.419 gr.
 Holleman munten - Enschede 2000. Extremely fine and perfect piece with pleasingly patina 200,--
 From list 125, no. 587.



- 1394 Cavalier - Viesville. A: Mounted knight I. with shield of Namur + IOHES COMES NAMVR, R: + SIGNVM CRVCIS around cross + MONETA : NOVA : VILLENSIS. Ch: 83, dM: 105. 2.023 gr.
 Hess-Divo - Zürich, Auction 268 (1996), no. 637. RR Weakly struck, nice patina, very fine + 300,--

MARIE of ARTOIS, Dame de Poilvache (1342-1353)

Widow of John I and regent for her four sons: John II, Gui II, Philip III and William I. Mary acquired the territory of Poilvache (Meraude) on her personal title. In 1353, she conferred the castle of Poilvache on Namur.



- 1395 Denier billon. A: Castle + M(ARI)A DCA ARTOSN, R: Cross + MONE(TA M)ERAVD. Ch: 101, dM: 133. 0.502 gr.
 Henzen - Amerongen 1989. Fine 50,--



- 1396 Billon Noir. A: NAM / VRC in two lines divided by stripe ✦ WILLEM ✦ COM ✦ NAM, R: Cross ✦ MONETA ✦ NOVA ✦ NAM. Ch: 130, dM: 194. 1.062 gr.
 Franceschi - Brussel - 1973 Very fine 30,--

GUILLAUME II (1391-1418)

- 1397 Dubbele myt. A: N A M in field with line above (+ GVIL)LELM(VS CO)MES, R: Four lis cross-shaped + MONETA : NAMENEN. Ch: 183, dM: 242. 0.731 gr.
 Huizinga - Bennekom 1987. Very fine 30,--

COUNTY - DUCHY LUXEMBOURG

The original name of Luxembourg is Lucilinburhuc. Luxembourg is a branch of the House Ardenne and its first known count was Sigefroi I in 963, from the Trier abbey St. Maximin. Under the House Ardenne little happened, the county was underpopulated and the soil was infertile.

With Conrad I (1059-1086), the first comital House of Luxembourg commenced, Conrad called himself *comes de Luclemburc*. The House Ardenne lasted until 1136, when Conrad II, married to Gisèle, died childless. The German emperor conferred the county on the cousin of Conrad II: Henry of Namur, son of Count Godfrey of Namur and his wife Ermesinde (daughter of Conrad I, from the House Ardenne), bringing the House Namur to power.

Under Henry (1136-1196) the promise of a great Walloon concentration of powers dawned for a brief moment, but all hope was soon shattered in the successional war at his demise.

Henry III was crowned German king in 1308 and emperor in 1312. His grandson Charles IV also assumed both offices, king in 1347, emperor in 1355 and finally, Charles' son Wenceslas became German king (1376).

Due to the attention Germany demanded of these rulers, Luxembourg was more and more neglected, this culminated in Wenceslas' mortgaging of Luxembourg to Jobst of Moravia and after whose death it devolved on Elisabeth of Gorlitz. She wedded twice (Antoine of Burgundy and John of Bavaria). At the demise of her second husband, she took total control of the mortgaged territory.

Before she died, she sold this right of mortgage to Philip the Good (1441) definitively and Luxembourg was incorporated in the Burgundian realm. The transfer came into effect at Elisabeth's demise in 1451.

House Namur (1136-1247)

ERMESINDE (1196-1247)

After Henry's death in 1196, his territory was divided: Luxembourg, a few minor properties and guardianship over Echternach and Stablo devolved to his daughter Ermesinde. Her both husbands, Theobald of Bar (+1214) and Walram III of Limburg (+1226), used the little room there was to expand the territory to the north. After 1226, Ermesindes' main aim was succession by her son Henry V (or, after the renumbering: Henry I) 1235/6-1281.



- 1398 Denier - Luxembourg. A: Countess standing l. with branch of lis in the hand LVSEN BOR, R: Shield of Luxembourg HA N RI. Weiller: 3. 0.719 gr. **RR** Very fine
 Vinchon - Paris 1975.
 The name of HANRI is that of her son.

200,--

House of Luxembourg-Limbourg (1247-1451)

HENRI I (1247-1281)



- 1399 Denier - Luxembourg. A: Mounted knight with sword l. HANRI S, R: Castle with head above LVSE NBOR. Weiller: 5. 0.699 gr. **R** Weakly struck, very fine
 Vinchon - Paris 1975.
 In Weiller under Henry V ("le Blondel").

200,--



1400

- 1400 Denier - Luxembourg. A: Mounted knight r., R: Cross + H . COMES . L(VCEB). Weiller: 8., 0.446 gr.
R Weakly struck, almost very fine
 Peus - Frankfurt, Auction 379 (2004), no. 2171.

200,--

As expansion to the north was the only real possibility, Henry II interfered in the Limburg succession war, but, unfortunately, he chose the wrong side. He died in the battle at Worringen. However, the ensuing loss of Limburg was made good by the successful integrational politics (nobility collaborating with the cities) of the Namurs.

Henry III (1288-1313) organised Luxembourg after Flemish example. He was crowned German king in 1308 and emperor in 1312. His reign was not very successful, except at the home front.

JEAN II (1309-1346)

The son of Henry III, John the Blind, was wedded to Elisabeth of Bohemia and was king of Bohemia (1310-1346). His loyal stance toward France assured him of the French backup he needed to challenge John III of Brabant (1324).



1401

- 1401 Esterlin - Luxembourg. A: Crowned head facing EIWANES D(NS Z) REX B, R: Long cross dividing legend with three pellets in each angle LOC ENB GEN SIS. Weiller: 46. 1.273 gr.
 Weakly struck at the edge, very fine

200,--

Vinchon - Paris 1975.

Chautard no. 171 (Pl.XIV,7) is a variant of no. 170 (LVC).

CHARLES IV (1346-1353)

After John of Bavaria's death, his son Charles IV attained power, he also as German emperor. Going against his father's explicit will, Charles granted the county to Archbishop Baldwin of Trier. Not until after the latter's death in 1354, did comital dignity pass to Wenceslas I, a half-brother of Charles. The county was then elevated to duchy, Wenceslas' enhanced significance now enabling him to marry Jeanne, heiress to Brabant. The intended union, however, was put off.



1402

- 1402 Gros Tournois - Frankfurt (?). A: Châtelle tournois TVRONVS CIVIS within circle of 12 arches enclosing lis, R: KHAROLVS REX around cross. dM: 130a. 3.240 gr.
R Very fine

250,--

Franceschi - Brussel 1973.

With no. 246 Lafaurie notes, in his *Les Monnaies de Rois de France*, part I (1951): "Les Gros, plus nombreux, qui ont Kharolus rex par un H, sans Fr, ils ne sont pas de Charles IV le Bel, mais ont été fabriqués, d'après des Philip-pus ou des Ludovicus, dont ils reproduisent le style et les différents, la plupart sous John le Bon, et se rapportent à Charles de Luxembourg, roi puis empereur; ils pèsent and général moins de 3.25 gr, ayant été taillés pour la plupart au marc de Cologne (229.456 gr) pour la même chiffre de taille que les autres".

Weiller classifies this coin under "Monnaies non Luxembourgeoises" and provides the following commentary (p. 244): "Certains numismates se voient parfois tentés d'attribuer au Luxembourg les gros tournois de Charles IV portant: Karolvs Rex ou Karolvs Imp (Curiously, Weiller does not discuss the H, that does appear on the images). Cette attribution n'est pas admissible. Charles IV fut élu roi des Romains le 11.7.1346 et investi du titre d'empereur le 5.4.1355. Les pièces qui portent le titre d'empereur n'ont pas pu être frappées au Luxembourg qui était and possession de Wenceslas I depuis le 19.12.1353. Quant aux pièces avec Karolvs Rex, l'identité de style et de fabrique dénote la même origine."

As nobody knows for certain where in the German empire this coin might have been struck (Weiller, too, remarks "Elles sortent donc d'un atelier d'Empire (à localiser)", we have ranked it under Luxembourg for the time being. Otherwise in Weiller, R.: *Les monnayages étrangers des Princes Luxembourgeois*. Luxembourg 1982, he mentions if this coin might be struck in Frankfurt (cf. p. 158).

Because it is impossible to ascertain whether the spelling KHAROLVS was used for Charles elsewhere too, we have listed this coin under Luxembourg without further indication, preferring the mint Frankfurt.

Duchy Luxembourg

WENCESLAS I (1353-1383)

Through his marriage to Jeanne of Brabant he was the most powerful man in the Low Countries. The war against his brother-in-law, Louis of Maele, was turning out to be disastrous and in the war against the duke of Jülich, he was taken captive after the battle at Baesweiler (1371).



1403

- 1403 Esterlin - Luxembourg. A: Shield of Bohemia (1st and 4th), Brabant (2nd) and Luxembourg (3rd) DVX BRAB ANTIE, R: Floriated cross + MONETA o LOCE'BGES'. Weiller: 145. 1.210 gr. Very fine + Schulman - Amsterdam 1979. Struck around 1370. 150,--



1404

- 1404 Blan - Gros - Luxembourg. A: Four V's cross-shaped + WENCEL x DEI x GRA x LVC x BRAB x DVX, R: Shield of Luxemburg and Bohemia under crown + MONETA x NOVA x LVCBVRGENS. Weiller: 147. 3.298 gr. Almost extremely fine specimen 200,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1973.
Struck at the end of his reign.

WENCESLAS II (1383-1388)

At the demise of Wenceslas I in 1383 (childless), the son of Charles IV, Wenceslas II, took over, he was already Roman king (since 1376) and king of Bohemia (since 1378).



1405

- 1405 Gans - Luxembourg. A: Eagle l. + WENCEL' . ROMANOR' . Z : BOEM'. REX, R: Shield of Luxemburg under great crown + MONETA : NOVA LVCENBVRGE. Weiller: 154. 3.075 gr. Almost extremely fine 200,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1973.

JOSSE of MORAVIE (1388-1411)

In 1388 Wenceslas mortgaged the duchy to Margrave Jobst of Moravia.



1406

- 1406 Gans - Luxembourg. A: Shield of Luxembourg and Moravia in trefoil + IODOC' o MARCH' o Z : DNS' o MORAVIE, R: MON ETA : LVC ENB' around long cross dividing legend, BNDICT' . SIT : NOMEN : DNI' : IHV' . XPI .. Weiller: 157. 2.838 gr. **R** Traces of encrustation, very fine + 200,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1973.
1ste emission (1388-1397).

Note the small faces in the letters (for an elucidation, see under Hainaut). Other Luxembourg types with small faces: Weiller: 169 (Wenceslas II, on the obverse only in the C of Wencel, and on the reverse only in the M of Moneta), Weiller: 182d/f (John de Bavière, only twice in the obverse O and twice in the reverse O), Weiller: 183 (John de Bavière, only once in the reverse C).



1407

- 1407 Gros / "nuwgroschen" - Luxembourg. A: Lion of Luxembourg with the shield of Moravia on the breast + IDOC . MARCH . Z : DNS . MORAV ., R: Cross with one star in each angle + MONETA : NOVA : FCA . LVCENB.. Weiller: 164. 2.816 gr. Extremely fine specimen with pleasingly patina 300,--
Glendining - London, Auction 13 (1977), no. 239.

ELISABETH of GÖRLITZ and ANTOINE of BOURGOGNE (1412-1415)

At the demise of Jobst in 1411, the duchy was mortgaged to his cousin Elisabeth of Görlitz. Sigismund's attempts at winning back power were to no avail, the most they did was leave the country in a state of confusion. In the end, the right of mortgage was retained by Elisabeth. Elisabeth wedded Antoine of Burgundy on the 27th of April 1409 in Prague. In the marriage certificate, the German king stated the possibility to jointly recover the right of mortgage. After Jobst's death, Elisabeth was the sole mortgage duchess, but it would take three campaigns by Antoine against the unwilling nobility for her to repossess the land (1411-1415). Both husbands, Antoine of Burgundy and John of Bavaria, struck coin in their own name, without a reference to Elisabeth on the coins (duc was mentioned, however).



1408

- 1408 Gros / "nuwe lewegroschen" - Luxembourg. A: Lion rampant with shield of Burgundy (1st and 4th field), Brabant (2nd field) and Luxembourg (3rd field) on the breast + ANTHO' . DI . GRA' . BRAB' . Z : LIMB' . DVX, R: Cross with two lis and two lions in the angles + MONETA : DVC' o BRAB o FCA' o LVCEMB' o. Weiller: 173. 2.750 gr. Very fine 250,--
Münzen u. Medaillen - Basel 1989.

ELISABETH of GÖRLITZ and JEAN of BAVARIA (1419-1425)

After the death of Antoine on the 25th October 1415 Elisabeth married John of Bavaria from the House of Wittelsbach. John was elect of the Prince-Bishopric Liège and mortgage count of Holland and Zeeland. He died childless on the 6th January 1425.



- 1409 Gros / "nuwgroschen" or "beyersgroschen" - Luxembourg. A: Griffon holding the shield of Bavaria and the Palatinate + IOH * DVX * BAVAR' * Z * FILVS * HOL', R: Shield of Luxembourg over long cross MONETA * NOVA FCA * LVCENB' *. Weiller: 182. 2.544 gr. Very fine + 300,--
Münzen u. Medaillen - Basel 1988.
1st emission (1419-1424).



- 1410 Gros / "nuwgroschen" or "beyersgroschen" - Luxembourg. A: Griffon holding the shield of Bavaria and the Palatinate + IOH * DVX * BAVAR' * Z * FILVS * HOL', R: Shield of Luxembourg over long cross MONETA * NOVA FCA * LVCENB' *. Weiller: 182. 2.324 gr. Very fine 300,--
Münzenauktion - Essen, Auction 78 (1999), no. 1432.
From a find near Trier.
1st emission (1419-1424).
On the obverse a face in the O's of IOH and HOL. In the O of MONETA on the reverse no face.



- 1411 1/2 Beyersgros - Luxembourg. A: Shield of Bavaria and the Palatinate + IOH o DVX o BAVAR' o Z * FILI o HO, R: Shield of Luxembourg over long cross MONETA o NOVA o FCA o LVC o B. Weiller: 183. 1.320 gr. Minor traces of encrustation, very fine 150,--
Münzenauktion - Essen, Auction 78 (1999), no. 1435.
From a find near Trier.
1st emission (1419-1424).
On the reverse a face in the C of LVC.

ELISABETH of GÖRLITZ (1425-1443)

In a 1417 treaty, King Sigismund acknowledged the mortgage rights of Elisabeth, however, he had the heritable rights of the Burgundian House expire. Johann did acquire lifetime usufruct.

In 1427, Elisabeth sold her mortgage right to Philip the Good, which, however, was not accepted by the Estates. After several attempts to sell the mortgage to the Trier archbishop Jakob of Sierck proved in vain, it was sold to Philip the Good eventually (Treaty of Hesdin 4th of October 1441).



1412

- 1412 Gros - Luxembourg. A: Crowned helmet over the arms of Bavaria and the Palatinate + ELIZAB Φ D Φ G Φ DVCIS Φ BAVAR Φ Z Φ LVCE, R: Shield of Luxembourg over long cross MONETA NOVA o LVCENBVRGENSIS. Weiller: 192. 2.429 gr. Nice patina, very fine 200,--
 Peus - Frankfurt, Auction 294 (1978), no. 1965.
 1st emission (1425-1433).



1413

- 1413 Gros - Luxembourg. A: Crowned helmet over the arms of Bavaria and the Palatinate + ELIZAB Φ D Φ G Φ DVCIS Φ BAVAR Φ Z Φ LUCE, R: Shield of Luxembourg over long cross MONETA NOVA o LVCENBVRGENSIS. Weiller: 192. 2.540 gr. Very fine to extremely fine 250,--
 Gans - Arnsberg 1999.
 From list 57, no. 9450.
 1st emission (1425-1433).



1414

- 1414 1/2 Gros - Luxembourg. A: Crowned helmet over the arms of Bavaria and the Palatinate ELIZAB o DVCIS o BAVAR' o LVCE', R: Shield of Luxembourg over long cross MONE NOVA . LVCENBVRG o. Weiller: 193. 1.118 gr. Very fine 150,--
 Winter - Düsseldorf, Auction 42 (1981), no. 1186.

1st emission (1425-1433).



- 1415 Gros / "Adelersgroiss" - Luxembourg. A: Shields of Bavaria-Palatinate (l.) and Luxembourg (r.) under eagle I. ELISAB' * D' * G * DV * BAVA' * Z * L, R: Double-lined cross with ornamented quatrefoil MONE NOVA LVCE BVRG. Weiller: 196. 2.634 gr. Nice patina, very fine +
Münzen u. Medaillen - Basel 1988. 2nd emission (1433-1443).

300,--

BURGUNDIAN NETHERLANDS

Through marriage, war and money, a new, powerful and, above all, wealthy state could spring from between the countries France, England and the Roman Empire in the 15th century: the Burgundian Realm. Its rise began in 1433 and its fall set in when Maximilian and Philip the Handsome of the Habsburg House came to power.

The roots of this powerful state lay in 1363 when the French King Jean II bestowed the duchy Burgundy on his youngest son Philip the Bold. This duke, from the House Valois, bore the triple bendlets of Burgundy in his coat of arms, and next to that a new arms with a single lis (girded by a striped bordure, sign of the youngest son, which, however, was maintained over the course of time). Philip the Bold was wedded to Margaretha, daughter of the Flemish Count Louis of Maele. After the latter's demise in 1384, Philip the Bold became count of Flanders. His son, John the Fearless, maintained the single lis in his arms, but added an inescutcheon, the arms of Flanders (small lion).

Even if Burgundian power hadn't reached its apogee yet, Emperor Sigismund suspected a storm brewing in Burgundy and considered John the Fearless a great threat. The Emperor combined forces with the Armagnacs, plotting to divide Burgundy among them. With nowhere else to turn, John the Fearless combined forces with the English. In 1419, he was assassinated by the Armagnacs on the Yonne-bridge at Montereau. The dauphin, the future King Charles VII, had been informed of this attempt. Thus was the state of affairs when Philip the Good took over in 1419, at the violent death of his father.

For the coins under the dukes of Burgundy, see under France féodale - Burgundy and for those under the counts of Flanders, see under Flanders. Burgundy's many wars left their marks on coinage and its coins display a multitude of biblical texts.

PHILIPS de GOEDE (1433-1467)

Philip the Good maintained a close relationship with the English and had his hand in the accession to the French throne of English King Henry V (Philip the Good's daughter married Henry V). Philip the Good first acquired the county Namur (through purchase) in 1429. Then in 1430, the duchy Brabant and Limburg (through the demise of Philip of Saint-Pol) and finally in 1433, the counties Holland, Zeeland and Hainaut (Jacoba of Bavaria had been forced to acknowledge Philip as regent and heir in 1428 at the Reconciliation of Delft - "de Zoen van Delft" - and had promised not to marry without his permission. When Jacoba did marry - in 1433, to Frank of Borselen - Philip immediately seized the districts).

In 1433, he had acquired so many lands that he decided to unify the monetary system for the four countries of Flanders, Brabant, Hainaut and Holland (hence the name "vierlander" - fourlander, literally - for the silver coins). Philip retained the coat of arms, but replaced the single lis with a triple lis.

In 1435, Philip withdrew from the Hundred Years' War and signed the Peace of Arras with France. Philip was on most intimate terms with the pope, which permitted him to appoint confidants to head the dioceses adjoining his realm.

This relationship and the defeat of his father at Nicopolis kindled Philip's desire to take up the cross and set out on a crusade. In 1430, he had founded the Order of the Golden Fleece and envisioned himself a Jason leading his Christian Argonauts east, hoping the ram's fleece, that he and his knights wore around their necks as an emblem, would inspire him with faith as it did Gideon. In 1454, plans were finally discussed, but in the end, the crusade was cancelled. Philip was deeply disappointed (many historians maintain Philip's motives were purely political, but they fail to recognise the force of the chivalric ideals within the Burgundian rulers).

1st emission - Coinage Act 23rd of January 1433



1416

- 1416 Cavalier d'or - Brabant. A: Mounted duke r. with x BRAB' x in exergue PHS ☿ DEI ☿ GRA ☿ DVX ☿ BVRG ☿ BRAB ☿ Z ☿ LIMBVRG, R: Shield of Burgundy over floriated cross + SIT ☿ NOMEN ☿ DOMINI ☿ BENEDICTVM ☿ AMEN ☿ fire-steel ☿. Fb: 27, vGH: 1.1. 3.621 gr. **R** Very fine 1.000,--

Bought 1985 (Dekker collection).

Ex: Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 233 (1960), no. 572.

Legend reverse: Praised shall be the name of the Lord (Ps. 113:2, Job. 1:21b, Dan. 2:20).

On the horse's cloak a pair of fire-steels. The fire-steel was the personal emblem of Philip the Good and later became a general Burgundian symbol.



1417

- 1417 Cavalier d'or - Flanders. A: Mounted duke r. with x FLAD' x in the bottom field PHS ☿ DEI ☿ GRA ☿ DVX ☿ BVRG ☿ Z ☿ COMES ☿ FLANDRIE, R: Shield of Burgundy over floriated cross + SIT ☿ NOMEN ☿ DOMINI ☿ BENEDICTVM ☿ AMEN ☿ fire-steel. Fb: 183, vGH: 1.2. 3.634 gr. **R** Extremely fine 1.000,--

Schulman - Amsterdam 1967.



1418

- 1418 Double gros - Flanders. A: Arms of Burgundy in field + PHS ☿ DEI ☿ GRA ☿ DVX ☿ BVRG ☿ Z ☿ COMES ☿ FLAND', R: Cross with lis in the centre, one lion in the 1st and 4th angles and one lis in the 2nd and 3rd angles + MONETA ☿ NOVA ☿ COMITIS ☿ FLAND'. vGH: 9.2. 3.271 gr. Very fine 100,--

Schulman - Amsterdam 1973.



- 1419 1/4 Gros - Holland. A: Arms of Burgundy in field + PHS : DEI : G : DVX : BVR : C : HOL, R: Cross with one lion in the 1st and 4th angles and one lis in the 2nd and 3rd angles (+ MO)NETA : NOVA : COMIT : (HOL Z). vGH: 12.4a. 0.537 gr. Almost very fine 50,--
Henzen - Amerongen 1990.
- 1420 Double mite - Flanders. A: Arms of Burgundy in field + PHS . D . G . D . B . C(OM . FLAN)D, R: Cross with lis in the centre + MONETA . NA . COM . FLAND. vGH: 15.2. 0.957 gr. Small scratches, very fine 50,--
Elsen - Brussel 1983.
vGH does not give the D for the text of the obverse.
It is very hard to tell from which emission the nos. 1420, 1421, 1422 and 1432 stem. We have now classified these under the coins with the same obverses that we do know the emission of. Thus, the nos. 1420, 1421 and 1422 were classified under the emission of 1433, as they show a field-filling coat of arms, which is also seen on no. 1418. Similarly, no. 1432 was classified under the emission of 1466, as its coat of arms is not field-filling, as with the nos. 1430 and 1431 (ref: v. Beek).



- 1421 Double mite - Flanders. A: Arms of Burgundy in field + PHS . D . B . G . COM . FLAND, R: Cross with lis in the centre + MONETA . NA . COM . FLAN. vGH: 15.2. 1.198 gr. Very fine 50,--
From Schulman - Amsterdam, d.d. 17-12-1951.
The letters in the text on the obverse are in the wrong order.
- 1422 Double mite - Brabant. A: Arms of Burgundy in field (+ PHS : DEI) : GRA : DVX : BVRG : Z : BR, R: Cross with shield in the centre + MONETA : NOVA : LOVANIE. vGH: 19.1b. 1.092 gr. Very fine 75,--
Elsen - Brussel 1986.
Struck in Leuven.
The text on the obverse as stated was taken from vGH, but it is correct. For the reverse text vGH provides F(ACT)A between NOVA and LOVANIE, but this isn't accurate.

2nd emission - Coinage Act 11th of June 1454

With his 2nd emission, Philip introduced the gold lion, an altogether new type at that moment, that was presumably issued by him because he desired his own Burgundian coin.



- 1423 Lion d'or - Brabant. A: Lion sitting under gothic canopy l. between two fire-steels PHS : DEI : GRA : DVX : BVRG : BRAB : DNS : ML, R: Shield of Burgundy over floriated cross + SIT : NOMEN : DOMINI : BENEDICTVM : AMEN : fire-steel : . Fb: 29, vGH: 3.1. 4.213 gr. Extremely fine 1.000,--
Elsen - Brussel 1993.
From list 155, no. 550.



1424

- 1424 Lion d'or - Flanders. A: Lion sitting under gothic canopy l. between two fire-steels PHS ꝛ DEI ꝛ GRA ꝛ DVX ꝛ BURG ꝛ COM ꝛ FLAND, R: Shield of Burgundy over floriated cross + SIT ꝛ NOMEN ꝛ DOMINI ꝛ BENEDICTVM ꝛ AMEN ꝛ fire-steel. Fb: 185, vGH: 3.2. 4.261 gr.
Small scratches on the reverse, otherwise extremely fine 1.000,--
v.d.Dussen - Maastricht, Auction 20 (1993), no. 833.



1425

- 1425 Lion d'or - Hainaut. A: Lion sitting under gothic canopy l. between two fire-steels PHS ꝛ DEI ꝛ GRA ꝛ DVX ꝛ BURG ꝛ COMES ꝛ HANOIE, R: Shield of Burgundy over floriated cross + SIT ꝛ NOMEN ꝛ DOMINI ꝛ BENEDICTVM ꝛ AMEN ꝛ fire-steel. Fb: 269, vGH: 3.3. 4.207 gr.
Slightly bent, very fine 500,--
v.d.Dussen - Maastricht, Auction 20 (1993), no. 828.



1426

- 1426 Lion d'or - Holland. A: Lion sitting under gothic canopy l. between two fire-steels PHS ꝛ DEI ꝛ GRA ꝛ DVX ꝛ BURG ꝛ COMES ꝛ HOL Z, R: Shield of Burgundy over floriated cross + SIT ꝛ NOME ꝛ DOMINI ꝛ BENEDICTVM ꝛ AMEN ꝛ fire-steel. Fb: 123, vGH: 3.4. 4.218 gr.
Slightly bent, otherwise almost extremely fine 750,--
Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 26 (1994), no. 1454.
Archives show that, due to a dispute with the council of Dordrecht, comital coin was temporarily struck at the operational mint of The Hague at the Grote Markt from the middle of 1454 to May 1456. That is where this coin was struck.
NOME instead of NOMEN.



1427

- 1427 2/3 Lion d'or - Flanders. A: Lion sitting under gothic dais l. between two fire-steels + PHS ꝛ DEI ꝛ G ꝛ DVX ꝛ BVRG ꝛ CO ꝛ FLAND', R: Shield of Burgundy over floriated cross + SIT ꝛ NOMEN ꝛ DNI ꝛ BENEDICTVM ꝛ AMEN. Fb: 186, vGH: 4.2. 2.758 gr. R Slightly bent, very fine 1.250,--
Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 19 (1991), no. 2965.



1428

- 1428 1/3 Lion d'or - Brabant. A: Lion sitting in multilobe + PHS x DEI x GRA x DVX x BURG x DNS x MECHL, R: Shield of Burgundy in multilobe + SIT x NOMEN x DOMINI x BENEDICTVM fire-steel. Fb: 30, vGH: 5.1. 1.361 gr. RR very fine 1.500,--
Elsen - Brussel, Auction 52 (1997), no. 2164.
Struck in Mechelen in 1454-1460.

3rd emission - Coinage Act 23rd of May 1466

In this third emission, Philip ordered a uniform manufacture of the Burgundian guilder (after the Rhinian guilder example). It would be struck until 1496, when it was replaced with the St. Philippus guilder.



1429

- 1429 Florin de Bourgogne - Flanders. A: Saint Andreas holding large cross SANCTVS ꝛ ANDREAS, R: Shield of Burgundy over great cross PHS ꝛ DVX ꝛ BVRG- ꝛ COMES FLAND. Fb: 188, vGH: 7.2. 3.368 gr. R Well struck, very fine + 1.000,--
Schulman - Amsterdam 1987.
St. Andreas (disciple, Marc. 1:16-18 and Joh. 1:40-42) was the patron saint of Burgundy. The large cross is the St. Andrew's Cross (also Saltire). St. Andreas is believed to have been crucified on a similar cross.



1430

- 1430 Double patard - Flanders. A: Shield of Burgundy + PHS ꝛ DEI ꝛ GRA ꝛ DVX ꝛ BURG ꝛ COMES ꝛ FLAND, R: Floriated cross with lis in the centre + SIT ꝛ NOMEN ꝛ DOMINI ꝛ BENEDICTVM ꝛ AMEN. vGH: 8.2b. 3.054 gr. Small flan, otherwise extremely fine specimen with nice patina 150,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1978.



1431

- 1431 Double patard - Holland. A: Shield of Burgundy in trefoil + PHS : DEI : GRA : DVX : BVRG : COM : HOLD : Z : Z, R: Floriated cross with rose in the centre + SIT : NOMEN : DOMINI : BENEDICTVM : AME. vGH: 8.4. 2.894 gr. **R** Small scratches, very fine 400,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1997.
 Ex: Elsen - Brussel, Auction 46, no. 953.



1432

- 1432 Denier de Hollande. A: Shield of Burgundy PHS : (DEI) : GRA : DVX : (HOLZ), R: Long cross dividing legend with pellet in the centre + MONETA : (COM) HOL : . vGH: 13.4b. 0.362 gr. **R** Traces of corrosion, very fine 50,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 2005.
 From list 161, no. 683.
 This type was struck in the period 1454-55 in The Hague and in the period 1466-67 in Dordrecht.
 It is preliminarily classified under the last emission.

KAREL de STOUTE (1467-1477)

Charles the Bold longed to restore the Carolingian Middle Realm of Lothair. The simultaneous conquests of Guelders and Lorraine in 1473 in particular, brought his dream within sight. The last tactical manoeuvre he had left was the marriage of his only daughter Maria to Maximilian, oldest son of Emperor Frederick III. Charles himself wanted to become Roman king and eventually succeed the emperor. In Trier, Frederick III assented the formation of the Kingdom of Burgundy, but Charles left Trier at the last moment (the German princes presumably wished no interference by the rich Burgundians). That was when his realm started crumbling. He was killed in a Lorraine insurgency on the 5th January 1477 in Nancy (see under Alsace-Lorraine).

Directly after his demise, the French king seized Charles' French properties, among which Burgundy. From that moment on, the Burgundian realm was solely made up of the Netherlands' districts. Still, the house would maintain the title Duke of Burgundy, Burgundy having become a mere family name.

During the reign of Charles the Bold, only the mints of Brabant (Leuven) and Flanders (Bruges) were operated. In 1474, a mint was established in Guelders (Nijmegen) too, perhaps to show that Guelders was then definitively a Burgundian property. The coat of arms remained unchanged during Charles' reign.

1st emission - Coinage Act 13th of October 1467 (1467-1474).



1433

- 1433 Double patard - Brabant. A: Shield of Burgundy + KAROLVS : DEI : GRA : DVX : BG : BRAB : Z : LIM : , R: Floriated cross with lion in the centre + SIT : NOMEN : DOMINI : BENEDICTVM : AN. vGH: 23.1. 3.156 gr. **R** Almost extremely fine 150,--
 Holleman - Enschede 1988.



- 1434 Double patard - Flanders. A: Shield of Burgundy + KAROLVS : DEI : GRA : DVX : BVRG : CO : FLA, R: Floriated cross with lis in the centre + SIT : NOMEN : DOMINI : BENEDICTVM : fire-steel. vGH: 23.3. 3.153 gr. Nice patina, very fine to extremely fine 100,--
Rauch - Wien, Auction 24 (1979), no. 344.



- 1435 Double gros - Brabant. A: Shield of Burgundy in field + KAROLVS : DEI : GRA : DVX : BG : BRAB : Z : LIM, R: Long cross dividing legend with lion in the centre, one lion in the 1st and 4th angles and one lis in the 2nd and 3rd angles + MONETA : NOVA : DVC : BRABANT : . vGH: 24.1. 2.812 gr. Very fine 75,--
Holleman - Enschede 1990.
From list 82, no. 399.

- 1436 Double gros - Flanders. A: Shield of Burgundy in field + KAROLVS : DEI : GRA : DVX : B'G' : COM : FL, R: Long cross dividing legend with lis in the centre, one lion in the 1st and 4th angles and one lis in the 2nd and 3rd angles + MONETA : NA : COMIT : FLAND. vGH: 24.3. 2.693 gr. Dark patina, very fine 100,--
Franceschi - Brussel 1973.



- 1437 Gros - Flanders. A: Shield of Burgundy in field + KAROLVS : DEI : GRA : DVX : BG : CO : FL, R: Long cross dividing legend with lis in the centre, one lion in the 1st and 4th angles and one lis in the 2nd and 3rd angles + MONETA : NOVA : COMITI : FLAD. vGH: 25.3. 1.820 gr. Small scratches, almost extremely fine 150,--
Spink - London 1980.



- 1438 1/4 Gros - Flanders. A: Shield of Burgundy in field + KAROL : DI : GRA : DX : BG : CO : FL, R: Cross with lis in the centre, two lis and two lions in the angles + MONETA : NVA : COMITI : FLA. vGH: 27.3. 0.590 gr. R Very fine 150,--
Elsen - Brussel, Auction 57 (1999), no. 75.



1439

- 1439 Double mite - Flanders. A: Shield of Burgundy in field + KAROL o D o G o D o B G o C O o F L A, R: Cross with lis in the centre + MONETA o N A o C O M o F L A D. vGH: 28.3. 1.144 gr. Very fine Franceschi - Brussel 1972. 50,--

2nd emission - Coinage Act 27th of October 1474 (1474-1477).

In this 2nd emission, a coin by the name of "Briquet" (fire-steel, Dutch: Vuurijzer) was introduced. The name did not directly refer to the fire-steel emblem of Philip the Good, but was rather the popular name for the coins that displayed the two facing lions, or a single lion, supporting the coat of arms, etc. On the double fire-steels, between the lions, the fire-steel was again indicated. The fire-steels were very popular coins that were struck up to 1485.

The fire-steel originally was the personal emblem of Philip the Good. He chose it for its reference to his father's emblem: a carpenter's plane with flying shavings (he, in turn, alluding to the knotty club emblem of the French King that he wished to reduce to shavings). It became the symbol of the Burgundian House and features on many coins and in the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece (Encyclopedie van munten and bankbiljetten).



1440

- 1440 Florin de Bourgogne - Flanders. A: Saint Andreas standing and holding large cross + SANCTVS x ⊗ x ANDREAS x, R: Shield of Burgundy over cross KAROLVS * DEI * GRA * CO * FLAN. Fb: 191, vGH: 32.1. 3.361 gr. Well struck and extremely fine specimen 750,--

Bought 1985 (Dekker collection).

From Schulman - Amsterdam, d.d. 17-2-1958.

I think this is the second emission. It should display a spur imprint as moneyer's sign (molette d'eperon). That would have to be the "small rose" then.



1441

- 1441 Florin de Bourgogne - Gelderland. A: Saint Andreas standing and holding large cross SANCTVS * * ANDREAS, R: Shield of Burgundy over cross KAROL DI x GRA DVX x BUR x GEL. vGH: 32.2.1, Fb: 62. 3.359 gr. Very fine 500,--

Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 80 (2003), no. 221.

Struck in Nijmegen.

Here, too, under St. Andrew a small cross (small rose). At the upper arm of the cross on the reverse, there is a star.



- 1442 Double briquet - Brabant - 1475. A: Two lions sitting and facing each other, fire-steel between them + KAROL : DEI : GRA : DX : BG : BRA : Z : LI hand, R: Shield of Burgundy over floriated cross . SALVV : FAC : PPLM . TVV : DNO : A : 1475. vGH: 34.1. 2.804 gr. **R** Weakly struck, otherwise extremely fine specimen with pleasingly patina 200,--
Bought 1985 (Dekker collection).
Legend reverse: SALVVM FAC POPVLVM TVVM DOMINE = Oh Lord, protect your people (Jer.31:7, Ps.28:9).



- 1443 Double briquet - Brabant - 1476. A: Two lions sitting and facing each other, fire-steel between them + KAROL : DEI : GRA : DX : BG : BRA : Z : LI hand, R: Shield of Burgundy over floriated cross . SALVV : FAC : PPLM . TVV : DNE : A : 1476. vGH: 34.1. 2.920 gr. **R** Very fine + 200,--
Henzen - Amerongen 2004.
From list 147, no. 670.



- 1444 Double briquet - Flanders - 1475. A: Two lions sitting and facing each other, fire-steel between them + KAROLVS : DEI : GRA : DVX : BVRG : CO : F : R: Shield of Burgundy over floriated cross . SALVVM : FAC : POPVLV : TVV : DNE 1475. vGH: 34.3. 2.945 gr. **R** Extremely fine specimen with nice patina 200,--
Delmonte - Brussel 1970.
In the exergue a wheel of a horseman's spur or mullet, sign of the moneyer Marc le Bungneteur.

- 1445 Briquet - Brabant - 1475. A: Lion sitting and holding the shield of Burgundy + KAROL : DEI : GRA : DVX : BG : BRA : Z : LI' hand, R: Cross within wreath of flowers and quatrefoil in the centre + BENEDIC : HEREDITATI : TVE : A : 1475. vGH: 35.1. 2.942 gr. **R** Nice patina, very fine to extremely fine 200,--
Kricheldorf - Freiburg, Auction 46 (1998), no. 385.
Ex: Kirchheimer collection.
Text reverse: BENEDIC HEREDITATI TVAE (DOMINE) = Bless Thy Heirs (O Lord).
Comparing the coins to the nos. 1445, 1452 and 1451 (both last of Maria) proves most interesting. The dies appear to be identical in the field. Although they actually aren't, they do have a few characteristics in common. The outline of the escutcheon (and perhaps its field) and the claw of the lion, for instance, were struck with the same punch. The same applies to the lion's head and his hind quarters. That means that a total of three punches was used to manufacture the die for this coin. It might even have been a single punch (which would have been a great gain of time for the die-sinker), although that is uncertain because a die consisting of a single punch couldn't attain enough depth (with thanks to van Beek for this analysis).



- 1446 Demi-briquet - Brabant - 1474. A: Lion l. + KAROL : DI : GRA : DX : BG : BRA : Z : LI hand, R: Floriated cross + BENEDIC : AIA : MEA : DNO : A 1474. vGH: 36.1. 1.619 gr. Small flan crack, very fine 100,--
 Galerie des Monnaies - Genève 1982.
 Text reverse: BENEDIC ANIMA MEA (DOMINO) = Praise (the Lord), my soul (Ps. 103: 1a, 2a, 22b, 104: 1a, 35b, 146: 1).

MARIA (1477-1482)

Already during Charles the Bold's reign, the best way of ending all wars once and for all was generally considered to be Maria's marriage to the dauphin. However, Louis XII was bent on enforcing his plans by the sword. That ruled out his candidacy and so Maria returned to her former fiancé, Maximilian of Austria (6 March 1476). A half year after her father's death, she wedded Maximilian (19 August 1477).

At her father's demise, Maria was not yet 20 years old and, as the French possessions were lost and the rest was at stake, she was in desperate need of support against the French King. To entice the Low Countries into providing this support, Brabant was granted its "Joyous Entry" and Holland and Zeeland their "Great Privilege".

After his marriage, Maximilian enjoyed a certain amount of popularity in the Low Countries and fear rose that the Burgundian inheritance would merge into the greater Habsburg dominion. The Northern Netherlands proved to be quite resistant and Maximilian was compelled to strike down hard on its population. When on 27 March 1482 Maria died in Bruges, she was only 25 years old. She left two children: Margaret, who was extradited to the French court (to be wedded to the dauphin) and Philip, who was only 3 years old. A very instable period was to follow.



- 1447 Florin de Bourgogne - Brabant. A: Saint Andreas standing and holding large cross SANCTVS ANDREAS, R: Shield over long cross MARIA DVCISS BG : BR Z : LI' castle. Fb: 35, vGH: 37.1. 3.404 gr. R Very fine 1.000,--
 Münzauktion Essen, Auction 72 (1996), no. 2979.



- 1448 Double briquet - Brabant - 1477. A: Two lions sitting and facing each other, fire-steel between them + MARIA : DEI : G' : DVCISS : BG : BR : Z : LI : hand, R: Shield of Burgundy over floriated cross SALVV : FAC : PPLM TVV : DNE A o 1477. vGH: 39.1a. 2.887 gr. Nice patina, very fine + 150,--
 Elsen - Brussel 1997.
 From list 190, no. 412.
 vGH provides a "molette d'eperon" (mullet) in the exergue (at the date 1477), but none such features here.



1449

- 1449 Double briquet - Brabant - 1478. A: Two lions sitting and facing each other, fire-steel between them + MARIA : DEI : G : DVCISS : BG' : BR' : Z : LI castle, R: Shield of Burgundy over floriated cross SALVV : FAC : PPLM : TVV : DNE A : 1478. vGH: 39.1b. 2.982 gr. Nice patina, very fine + 150,--
Bourgey - Paris 1973.
vGH gives a small hand after the text on the obverse. Here, instead, a small castle.



1450

- 1450 Double briquet - Holland - 1479. A: Two lions sitting and facing each other, fire-steel between them + MARIA : DVCISSA : BG : COMIT : HO., R: Shield of Burgundy over floriated cross + SALVV : FAC : PPLM : TVV : DNE 1479. vGH: 39.4b. 2.974 gr. Very fine 100,--
Künker - Osnabrück, Auction 11 (1988), no. 3265.



1451

- 1451 Briquet - Brabant - 1478. A: Lion sitting and holding the shield of Burgundy + MARIA : DEI : G : DVCISS : BG : BRAB : Z : LI hand, R: Floriated cross with pellet in the centre + BENEDIC : HEREDITATI : TVE : A : 1478. vGH: 40.1a. 3.053 gr. Nice patina, very fine 150,--
Elsen - Brussel 1997.
From list 190, no. 414.



1452

- 1452 Briquet - Flanders - 1478. A: Lion sitting and holding the shield of Burgundy + MARIA : DEI : G : DVCISS' : BG' : BRAB : Z : LI castle, R: Floriated cross with pellet in the centre + BENEDIC' : HEREDITATI : TVE : A : 1478. vGH: 40.1b. 2.877 gr. Weakly struck, very fine + 150,--
Bought 1985 (Decker collection).
From Schulman - Amsterdam, Auction 233 (1960), no. 577.
vGH mentions only a small hand after the text on the obverse.



1453

- 1453 Gros - Brabant - 1480. A: Great M in quatrefoil + MARIA ♠ DUCISSA ♠ BG ♠ BRAB ♠ Z ♠ LI' castle, R: Floriated cross + BENEDIC ♠ AIA ♠ MEA ♠ DNO ♠ A ♠ 1480. vGH: 41.1a. 1.821 gr. R Very fine 150,--
Romunt - Roermond 1996.



1454

- 1454 Gros - Flanders - 1479. A: Great M in quatrefoil + MARIA * DVCISSA * BG * CO * FL, R: Floriated cross + BENEDIC * AIA * MEA * DNO 1479. vGH: 41.3a. 1.760 gr. Small traces of encrustation, very fine 100,--
Elsen - Brussel 1982.



1455

- 1455 Gros - Holland - 1480. A: Great M in quatrefoil + MARIA * DVCISSA * BG * (CO) * HO, R: Floriated cross + BENEDIC * AIA * MEA * DNO 1480. vGH: 41.4a. 1.728 gr. Traces of corrosion, fine to very fine 50,--
Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1989.



1456

1457

- 1456 1/2 Gros - Flanders. A: Angular M ☩ MARIA * COMIT * FLAND, R: Floriated cross ☩ IN * NOMINE * DOMINI. vGH: 42.3. 0.930 gr. RR Weakly struck and traces of encrustation, very fine 300,--
Elsen - Brussel 1982.
Text reverse: In the name of the Lord (Amen) (Ps. 124:8a).
- 1457 Double mite - Flanders. A: Gothic M ☩ MARIA * COMIT * FLA, R: Cross ☩ IN * NOMINE * DOMINI. vGH: 46.3a. 0.899 gr. Almost very fine 50,--
Elsen - Brussel 1982.



- 1458 Double mite - Flanders. A: Gothic M ☙ IN ☘ NOMINS ☘ DOMINI, R: Cross ☙ MARIA ☘ COMIT ☘ FL . A. vGH: 46.3b. 0.579 gr. Small edge fault, very fine 50,--
Elsen - Brussel 1982.



- 1459 Double mites de Brabant - Brabant. A: Gothic M (Minuscule) hand MARIA ☘ DVCISS ☘ BG ☘ BR ☘ Z ☘ LI, R: Cross + PRO ☘ DEO ☘ DA ☘ PAVPERIBVS. vGH: 48.1. 1.178 gr. Very fine 75,--
Henzen - Amerongen 1997.
From list September 1997, no. 632.
Text reverse: Give to the poor in the name of God (Mat.19:21).

PHILIPS de SCHONE (1482-1506)

In Flanders, immediately after Maria's death, opposition rose against Maximilian. Four-year-old Philip was proclaimed count in 1483, under a regency council, from which Maximilian was flagrantly excluded. It was rather yet another attempt by Ghent at elevation to city state, after Italian example. The other districts were riled by this arbitrary behaviour. Thus, Maximilian in 1485 could march into Ghent (its leader, John Coppenhole, had to flee) and he got his hands on little Philip again.

On the 16th February 1486, Maximilian was elected Roman king and on 9 April of that year crowned in Aachen.

When Maximilian once again started building up a coalition against France, the districts had had enough. In Ghent, John Coppenhole (1487) returned and when Maximilian carelessly ventured into the city, he was taken prisoner and detained from February to May 1488. His father, Emperor Frederick III, had to free him, which, however didn't break Ghent resistance. Contrary, with the French king's assent own coin was struck, in Philip's name. This would last until 1491.

In the period around 1488, rebellion brewed particularly in the southern Netherlands, although there were also some episodes in the northern Netherlands. The Hook and Cod Wars blazed up anew (Jonker Fransen War). It would take until 1491 for things to settle down. Coinage reflects these troubled times very well. In 1492, Guelders was definitively lost.

Maximilian, of course, did act as young Philip's guardian again starting 1482. In 1482, Maximilian devised a coat of arms for Philip, incorporating the quarters of the archduchy Austria, the duchies Burgundy and Brabant and the counties Tirol and Flanders.

On 19 August 1493, Maximilian succeeded his father as emperor. Since Maximilian's immediate attention was now needed elsewhere, Philip was deemed of age in 1494 (he was 15 years old at the time) and gradually became accepted in the several districts (finally in Flanders in 1497).

On 20 October 1496 Philip wedded Spanish Joanna of Castile. After the demise of his mother-in-law, Isabella of Castile, he became king of Spain in 1504. This necessitated longer stays in Spain, where he, however, soon died on 19 September 1506.

Philip's minting is marked by 8 emissions:

The 1st emission ran from 1482 to 1487, shortly interrupted in 1485 (2nd emission). Only the name of Philip appears on the coins.

The 3rd emission (1487-1488) was arranged for the occasion of Maximilian's coronation (Roman king). On the large gold real his name appears in full, but on the later coins in this emission, he is merely indicated by an M, a portrait or a monogram. Philip's name is of minor importance.

The 4th emission (1488-1489) was a war emission. All coins read: Peace is a reformation of war (two types vary: Peace restore what was lost through war - no. 1479 - and Peace is a reformation after war - (no. 1480).

Its start coincided with that of the independent emission of Ghent, which, incidentally, would last until 1491.

In the 5th (1489-1492) and the 6th emissions (1492-1496) the name of Maximilian appeared, now with the title *pater* however (father of Philip?).

The 7th emission (1496-1499) and the 8th emission (1499-1506) were the emissions of Philip's maturity. Naturally, Maximilian's name no longer features.

1st emission - Coinage Act 31st of July 1482 (1482-1485) - 3rd of November 1485 (1485-1487)

As his father Maximilian was archduke of Austria, Philip was also entitled to this territory. On his coins, the title Archiduc Austria appears. The coat of arms was altered too: Austria and Tirol entered (for reasons of practicality this is always referred to as the coat of arms of Austria-Burgundy, though there are some variations).



1460

- 1460 Double briquet - Brabant - 1482. A: Two lions sitting and facing each other, fire-steel between them + MONETA : DVC : AVST : LOT : BRAB : LI : ZC, R: Shield of Austria-Burgundy over floriated cross + SALVV : FAC : PPLM : TVV : DNE : Ao : 1482. vGH: 52.1c. 2.566 gr. Very fine 100,--
Elsen - Brussel, Auction 74 (2003), no. 1471.



1461

- 1461 Double briquet - Brabant - 1483. A: Two lions sitting and facing each other, fire-steel between them + MON o AR o DV o AVSTRIE o BRABANCIE, R: Shield of Austria-Burgundy over floriated cross + SALVV : FAC : PPLM o TVV : DNE : A : 1483. vGH: 52.1b. 2.932 gr. Very fine 100,--
Henzen - Amerongen 1996.
From list August 1996, no. 314.
Shield: 1 = Austria, 2 = Brabant, 3 = Burgundy, 4 = Tirol and 5 = Limburg (lion with doubled tail).
vGH provides an obverse text as on IIa => b, a reverse text as on IIb => c.



1462

- 1462 Double briquet - Gelderland. A: Two lions sitting and facing each other, fire-steel between them, three roses below cross of Guelder MONETA * ARCHIDVCV * AVE * BG * GELR, R: Shield of Austria-Burgundy over floriated cross cross of Guelder NVM * ARGETEVS * GELE * IN * NOIE * XPI. vGH: 52.4. 3.112 gr. Nice patina, very fine

300,--

Elsen - Brussel, Auction 74 (2003), no. 1471.

1483-1485. Struck in Zaltbommel (between 1483 and 1491 coin was exclusively struck in Zaltbommel).

In the exergue three roses. In the years 1483 - 1485 the moneyer of Gelders was Bernard Proys (1480-1484?), who worked in Arnhem, Nijmegen and Zaltbommel.

Shield: 1 = Austria, 2 = Burgundy, 3 = Brabant, 4 = Tirol and 5 = Gelders.



1463

- 1463 Double briquet - Holland - 1485. A: Two lions sitting and facing each other, fire-steel between them, cross below + MO * ARCHIDVCV * AVST * BG * CO * HOL, R: Shield of Austria-Burgundy over floriated cross + SALVV * FAC * PPLM * TVV * DNE * 1485. vGH: 52.6. 3.026 gr. R Magnificent patina, extremely fine

300,--

Elsen - Brussel, Auction 74 (2003), no. 1475.

In the exergue a rose of sorts that vGH determines a "rosace". Moneyer from 1481 to 1496 (moneyer's sign: rose) was Antonius de Louckere.

Shield: 1 = Austria, 2 = Burgundy, 3 = Brabant, 4 = Tirol and 5 = Holland.



1464

- 1464 Gros - Brabant - 1484. A: Great M in quatrefoil + MON o AR o DV o AVSTRIE o BRABANCIE, R: Floriated cross + BENEDIC o AIA o MEA o DNO o A o 1484. vGH: 55.1. 1.710 gr. RR Very fine

200,--

Henzen - Amerongen 2000.

From list 112, no. 1217.



1465

- 1465 Gros - Gelderland. A: Great M in quatrefoil cross of Guelder MON * ARCHIDVC * AVE * BG * GE, R: Floriated cross cross of Gelders BENEDIC * AIA * MEA * DOMIN. vGH: 55.4. 1.578 gr. Very fine +

300,--

Henzen - Amerongen 2000.

From list 111, no. 79.

From Elsen - Brussel, Auction 59 (1999), no. 1152.



- 1466 1/2 Gros - Holland. A: Angular M fire-steel (MO o ARDVC) o AVST o BG o CO o HOL, R: Floriated cross fire-steel IN o NOMINE o DOMINI o AMEN. vGH: 56.6a. 0.778 gr. R Fine to very fine 75,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1997.
 From list November 1997, no. 492.
- 1467 1/4 Gros - Holland. A: Roman M ☙ MO : AR DVC : AVST : B : CO : HO, R: Cross ☙ IN : NOMINE : DOMINI : A. vGH: 57.6b. 0.543 gr. R Very fine 150,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 2002.
 From list 130, no. 1270.
 vGH gives an interpunction of a pellet, but this is clearly a double pellet.



- 1468 Double mite - Flanders. A: Lion rampant l. + MO ☙ ARCHIDV ☙ AVST ☙ BG ☙ CO ☙ F, R: Cross with lis in the centre + IN ☙ NOMINE ☙ DOMINI ☙ A. vGH: 60.5. 0.879 gr. R In this condition, very fine 150,--
 Credit de la Bourse - Paris, Auction 12-6-'97, no. 876.

2nd emission - Coinage Act 6th of August 1485 (1485)

In spring of 1485, Maximilian closed all mints and opened a new one in Mechelen. Hence, the coins struck there were called "Mechelaars". The 2nd emission only lasted a few months.



- 1469 Double patard - Brabant. A: Shield of Austria-Burgundy + MO' : ARCHIDVCV : AVST : BG : BR : DNS : ML, R: Floriated cross with lion in the centre + SIT : NOMEN : DOMINI : BENEDICTVM. vGH: 61.1. 3.036 gr. Very fine 100,--
 Elsen - Brussel 1997.
 From list 190, no. 415.
 Shield: 1 = Austria-Burgundy (new), 2 = Burgundy-Brabant, 3 = Burgundy-Brabant, 4 = Burgundy (new)-Austria and 5 = Limburg (lion with doubled tail).



1470

- 1470 Double patard - Flanders - 1485. A: Shield of Austria-Burgundy + MO : ARCHIDVCV : AVST : BG : CO : FLA, R: Floriated cross with lis in the centre + SIT : NOMEN : DNI : BENEDICTVM :. vGH: 61.5. 3.004 gr. Patina, very fine 150,--
Elsen - Brussel, Auction 59 (1999), no. 1913.
Shield: cf. no. 4123 with 5 = Flanders.

3rd emission - 20th April 1487 (1487-1488)

In 1485, Maximilian was crowned Roman king. The coins of the 3rd emission refer to this occasion. The name of Maximilian features on the coins, as well as the one-headed imperial eagle (one head for the Roman king and two for the Emperor). Two coins in particular were to add splendor to his coronation as Roman king: the large gold real and the silver real.



1471

- 1471 Réal d'argent - Brabant - 1487. A: King r. with sword and orb + CVSTODIAT o C'ATOR o OI'M o HVI' LE' o SW o SW o 1487, R: Monogram of Maximilian and Philipp fire-steel DET o TIBI ITRIS o V' fire-steel TVT o Z o ICEL' GLORIA. vGH: 67.1. 7.189 gr. Extremely rare, almost extremely fine specimen with nice patina 10.000,--



Elsen - Brussel 1991.

Texts: A: CVSTODIAT CREATOR OMNIVM HVMILEM SERVVM SERVVM = The creator of all save his humble servant, R: DET TIBI INTERRIS VIRTVTEM ET IN CELIS GLORIAM = He gives you virtue on the earth and glory in the heavens.

Contrary to the gold real, this coin features neither Maximilian's name nor Philip's. Maximilian is indicated with a royal portrait and both their monograms feature.

This coin comes immediately after the gold real, both express Maximilian's significance. The "Burgundian noble" didn't appear until later.



- 1472 Noble de Bourgogne - Holland. A: Crowned king in ship with sword and orb, on the ship between two fire-steels the monogram of Maximilian and Philipp M D G * RO * REX * ET * PHS * ARCHIDVCES * AV * BG CO' HO', R: Shield of Maximilian on floriated cross with crowns and eagles in the angles ☩ MO * AVRIA' * RO' * RFGIS * FT * PHI * ARCHID * AV * BG * CO * HOL. Fb: 130, vGH: 65.6. 7.375 gr. **RR** Small scratches on the obverse, very fine +

6.000,--



Henzen - Amerongen 2003.

From list 135, no.135.

Ex: Veynau collection (Spink - Zürich, Auction 43 (1992), no. 179).

Ex: Spink - Zürich (Auction 23 (1987), no. 689)

The M at the beginning of the obverse text is not the abbreviation of Moneta but of Maximilian. The monogram on the ship's side is the same as is found on the silver real (no. 1471). Coat of arms: left one-headed imperial eagle (not Tirol), right: upper: Austria, lower: Burgundy.

The reverse text contains several errors: The I in AVRIA should be an E, in the same word the V was an M that was changed to a V, the F in RFGIS as well as the one in FT should be an E.

The edge of the ship, that would display the leopards and the lis on a regular noble, here shows the monogram (of Maximilian and Philip) exactly as the reverse of the silver real, flanked by two crossed torches and a fire-steel.



Two different texts may be distinguished, distributed among several dies:

type A (vdCh: 17.3):

A: M * D * G * RO * REX * ET * PHS * ARCHIDVCES * AV * B * CO * HO

R: MO * AVREA * RO * REGIS * ET * PHI * ARCHID * AV * BG * CO * HOL

type B (vdCh: 17.4):

A: M * D * G * RO * REX * ET * PHS * ARCHIDVCES * AV * BG * CO * HO

R: MO * AVREA * RO * REGIS * ET * PHI * ARCHID * AV * BG * CO * HOL

This is a type B coin.

7 specimens are traceable: KPK (type A, inv. No. 2871), KPK (type B, inv. No. 2872), De Nederlandsche Bank (type A, from auction Helbing - München, March 1902, no.7 and from numerous auctions from Schulman: 19 January 1931, no. 1733, 5 October 1934, no. 517 (coll. Newcomer), 26 March 1935, no. 3, 18 March 1963 (Crone collection), Cabinet Brussel, BN Paris (type B) and a few in private collections (van der Chijs recorded two specimens in private collections, and there was one specimen in list 44 of Schulman (May 1906).

This gold Burgundian noble must be substantially rarer than the large gold real, because that features in the usual way in the Munttarief (coin tariff) of 1499 (with the appropriate weight), whereas the Burgundian noble does not. Both half nobles are listed in this coin tariff (nos. 1477 and 1480). For this Munttarief and the weights, see under "Coin Weights".



- 1473 Double griffin - Brabant - 1487. A: Two griffons holding fire-steel and flintstone ☞ M(O o A)RGT o RO o RG o Z o PHI' o ARDV o AV o BG o B, R: Shield of Austria-Burgundy over floriated cross * SALVV o FAC o DNE o PPLM o TVV o 1487. vGH: 68.1c. 3.511 gr.

RR Small scratches, very fine

500,--

Elsen - Brussel 1990.

Maximilian used the griffin as a personal emblem. The legendary creature is made up of the hind quarters and legs of a lion, the torso of an eagle and the ears of a horse. This emblem is often accompanied by Maximilian's slogan "Halt Mass", which is also observed on the gold real "Tene Mensvram".

The double and single griffons all support a similar same coat of arms as is displayed on the Burgundian noble. Maximilian's name is not on the double griffin, Philip's is.



- 1474 Double griffin - Holland - 1487. A: Two griffons holding fire-steel and flintstone ☞ MO * ARGTEA * RO * REG * Z * PHI * ARCHID * A' * B' * CO' * H', R: Shield of Austria-Burgundy on floriated cross ☞ SALVV * FAC * DOMINE * POPVLVM * TVV * 1487. vGH: 68.6a. 3.326 gr.

RR A little double struck, almost extremely fine specimen with magnificent patina

600,--



Verschoor - Strijen 1996.
The texts are very complete here.



1475

- 1475 Griffon - Brabant. A: Griffon with fire-steel and flintstone in the claws ☞ DENARIS SIMPLEX o NOMINATVS o GRIFON, R: Shield of Austria-Burgundy over cross DEVM o PLVS o AMA QVAM o ARGENTVM. vGH: 70.1. 3.261 gr. **R** End of the flan, nice patina, very fine + 300,--
 Elsen - Brussel 1990.
 Text reverse: Love God more than the silver (money).
 The text of no. 1475 and 1476 is not the same. The text of 1476 is exactly the same as Brabant 70-1. The text of 1475 is a mixture of obverse:
 Flanders and reverse: Brabant.
 Struck in 1487. The single griffin bears neither Maximilian's name nor Philip's.



1476

- 1476 Griffon - Brabant. A: Griffon with fire-steel and flintstone in the claws ☞ DENARI' SIMPLEX o NOIAT' GRIFON, R: Shield of Austria-Burgundy on cross DEV' o PLVS o AMA QVA o ARGENTV'. vGH: 70.1. 3.301 gr. Traces of corrosion, very fine + 150,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1992.
 The text of no. 1475 and 1476 is not the same. The text of 1476 is exactly the same as 70-1. The text of 1475 is a mixture of obverse : Flanders and reverse: Brabant.
 Struck in 1487

4th emission - Coinage Act 20th of October 1488 and 8th of December 1488 (1488-1489)



1477

- 1477 Demi-noble - Brabant - 1488. A: King in ship with sword, orb and shield of Austria-Burgundy ♣ MO' + RO' + RE' x Z x PH'I + ARDVC x AVS' + B'G' x BRA' + Z + LIM', R: Floriated cross with one crown in each angle and M in the centre (=Mechelen) ♣ REFORMATIO + GVERR + PAX + EST + ANNO + 1488. Fb: 39, vGH: 75.1. 3.246 gr. **RR** Almost extremely fine 2.000,--
 Verschoor - Strijen 2001.
 On this coin and the next, the coat of arms is on the obverse again (as on the English nobles), contrary to the Burgundian noble (no. 1472) that shows the arms on the reverse.
 Shield: 1 and 3 = Austria, 2 and 4 = Burgundy, 5 = Brabant.
 From hoard Brouwershaven, found in September 2000 (after a single coin had been found at the same place in September 1998). Article of D. Verschoor: Hoard Brouwershaven 2000, in: Kroniek van het land van de Zeemeermin (Schouwen-Duiveland), 2001, p. 5. This coin is locally registered under no. 68.
 Text reverse: Peace is a reformation of war.
 Struck by virtue of the ordinances 26-10-1488 and 8-12-1488. According to Spufford the accounts were lost. Van Beek too is not able to date this coin.



- 1478 Double patard - Gelderland - 1488. A: Shield of Guelders-Jülich ☙ MON * DVCIS * GELRIE * ET * COMIT * ZUT, R: Floriated cross with B in the centre ☙ REFORMACIO * GVERRE * PAX * EST * 88. vGH: 77.4. 2.929 gr. **RR** End of the flan, very fine 300,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1999.
 From list November '99, no. 841.
 Struck in Zaltbommel.
 As this coin shows the same text as the half noble (no. 1477) it is listed here, before the coins, the texts of which refer to the end of the war more directly.



- 1479 Quadruple patard - Brabant. A: Shields of Brabant and Limburg under helmets * MONETA + DVCIS + BRABACIE + Z + LIM', R: Floriated cross with shield of Mechelen in the centre + AMISSA + BELLO + PAX + RESTAVRET+. vGH: 76.1. 3.333 gr. **RR** Flan defect, very fine 500,--
 Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1989.
 Text on reverse means: Peace restore what was lost through war.



- 1480 Demi-noble - Holland - 1488. A: King in ship with shield of Austria-Burgundy * MO + RO + RE x Z x PHI' + ARDVC x AVS + BG x BR x CO + HO, R: Floriated cross with rose in the centre * REFORMACIO + POST + GVERRA + PAX + Ao + 1488. Fb: 131, vGH: 75.6.b. 3.394 gr. **RR** Small striking split, otherwise extremely fine 3.000,--
 Coin Galleries - New York, Auction 17-2-99 (1999), no. 938.
 Text reverse: The peace is a reformation after the war (on all others as well as the half noble it says: the peace is a reformation of the war)
 Struck by virtue of the ordinances 26-10-1488 and 8-12-1488. According to Spufford the accounts were lost. Van Beek is not able to determine the correct date of this coin (It was struck very shortly, in view of the *after* the war).
 This type was only struck in Holland.
 The same coat of arms as no. 1477.

Revolt of Gent (1488-1492)

The wealth in Ghent had been so enormous for years that 30 to 50 families could form an autonomous group that determined politics totally. The Burgundians, with their centralistic views, strongly opposed this system and Ghent regularly had to fight for its interests, as for instance in 1436, however, the greatest clash came in 1488: the insurgency against Maximilian. Allowing their discontent to blaze up into downright rebellion, the citizens of Ghent even struck their own coins. The conflict lasted until the Peace of Cadzand, which was mainly intended to humiliate Ghent.



1481

- 1481 Patard - 1st emission - 1488. A: Shield of Austria-Burgundy over long cross with G - A - N - D in the angles PHS * D G * D * B * CO * FLANDRIE, R: Lion rampant l. + EQVA * LIBERTAS * DEO * GRATA * 1488. vGH: 143a. 3.008 gr. **R** Almost extremely fine

400,--

Elsen - Brussel 1993.

From Credit de la Bourse, Auction 26-4-'93, no. 889.

Text reverse: A truthful peace pleases God.

Shield: 1 = Austria-Burgundy (new), 2 = Burgundy-Brabant, 3 = Burgundy-Brabant, 4 = Austria-Burgundy (new) and 5 = Flanders.

The lis are encircled by striae.



1482

- 1482 Double briquet - 2nd emission - 1489. A: Two Lions sitting and facing eachother, fire-steel between them and GANDA in the bottom field + PHS * DEI * GRA' * DVX * B * COMES * FLANDR, R: Shield of Flanders on floriated cross + FIAT * PAX * IN * VIRTUTE * TVA * ET * HAB 1489. vGH: 146a. 3.033 gr. **RR** In this condition, extremely fine

500,--

Elsen - Brussel 1991.

Text reverse: FIAT PAX IN VERTUTE TVA ET HABVNDANTIA = Peace be within thy walls and abundance (Ps.122:7).



1483

- 1483 Double briquet - 2nd emission. A: Two Lions sitting and facing eachother, fire-steel between them and GANDA in the bottom field + PHS ☿ DEI ☿ GRA ☿ DVX ☿ B' ☿ COMES ☿ FLA', R: Shield of Flanders on floriated cross + FIAT ☿ PAX ☿ IN ☿ VIRTUTE ☿ TVA ☿ ET ☿ H'. vGH: 146b. 2.943 gr. **R** Especially in this condition, very fine to extremely fine

200,--

Delmonte - Brussel 1968.



- 1484 1/2 Briquet - 2nd emission. A: Lion rampant with x x x in the bottom field + PHS * DEI * GRA * DVX * CO * FLA, R: Floriated cross with lis in the centre + FIAT * PAX * IN * VIRTUTE * TVA. vGH: 148a. 1.858 gr. **R** In this condition, very fine + 200,--
Elsen - Brussel 1982.



- 1485 Double mite - 2nd emission - 1489. A: Shield of Flanders + PHS * DEI * GRA' * DVX * B * CO * FL, R: Ornamented cross with lis in the centre + IN * DOMINO * CONFIDO * 1489. vGH: 151. 1.083 gr. **R** Very fine 125,--
WAG - Dortmund, Auction 25 (2004), no. 5118.
Legend reverse: In the Lord, I take refuge (Ps.11:1a).



- 1486 Double mite - uncertain emission. A: Lion rampant + PHS * DEI * GRA * DVX * B * C * FL, R: Cross with lis in the centre + IN * DOMINO * CONFIDO. vGH: 153a. 0.739 gr. Very fine 75,--
Elsen - Brussel 1986.
- 1487 Double mite - uncertain emission. A: Lion rampant I. + PHS * DEI * GRA * DVX * CO * FL, R: Cross with lis in the centre + IN * DOMINO * CONFIDO. vGH: 153a. 1.190 gr. Very fine 75,--
Elsen - Brussel 1982.



- 1488 Double mite - uncertain emission. A: Lion rampant + PHS * DEI * GRA * DVX * CO * FL, R: Cross with lis in the centre + IN * DOMINO * CONFIDO. vGH: 153a. 0.946 gr. Very fine 75,--
Elsen - Brussel, Auction 59 (1999), no. 1938.

5th emission - Coinage Act 14th of December 1489 (1489-1492)



- 1489 Quadruple patard - Brabant - 1489. A: Armoured duke with sword holding shield of Austria-Burgundy with his l. hand o PHI o ARCHIDUCIS o AVSTRIE o BVRGDIE o BRABA o hand o, R: Crowned shield with imperial eagle on floriated cross MAXIM'LIA o REX o o ROMAN' o PAT' o 1489. vGH: 82.1. 6.172 gr.

Extremely rare, a little weakly struck, otherwise almost extremely fine specimen, with nice patina

3.000,--

Spink - Zürich, Auction 38 (1991), no. 37.

Ex: de Ligne collection (385), Sotheby - London, Auction 17-6-1976, no. 385.

Legend reverse: PAT = PATER = Father of Philips de Schone.

Shield: 1 = Austria-Burgundy (new), 2 = Burgundy-Brabant, 3 = Burgundy-Limburg, 4 = Austria-Burgundy (new) and 5 = Brabant-Tirol.

The lis are encircled by striae.



- 1490 Gros - Brabant - 1489. A: Arms of Austria-Burgundy in field o PHI o ARCHIDVC o AVSTRIE o BVRG o B(RAB o hand), R: Floriated cross with two lions and two crowns in the angles and A in the centre o MAXIMILIAN o REX o ROMANO o (PAT o 1489). vGH: 85.1. 1.685 gr.

Almost very fine

75,--

Henzen - Amerongen 2000.

From list 112, no. 1218.

A = Antwerpen.



- 1491 1/2 Gros - Brabant. A: Arms of Austria-Burgundy in the field o PHI o ARCHIDVC o AVSTRI o BG o BR, R: Floriated cross with A in the centre o MAXIMILIAN o REX o ROMAN' o PAT'. vGH: 86.1b. 1.040 gr. **RR** Very fine

300,--

Elsen - Brussel 1997.

- 1492 1/2 Gros - Holland. A: Arms of Austria-Burgundy in the field o PHI o ARCHDV o AVST o BVR o CO o HO, R: Floriated cross with rose in the centre o MAXIMILIAN o REX o ROMA o PA. vGH: 86.6. 1.056 gr. **R** A little off centre, almost very fine

100,--

Henzen - Amerongen 2002.

From list 130, no. 1269.



- 1493 1/2 Gros - Holland. A: Arms of Austria-Burgundy in the field PHI o ARCHIDV (o AVST o BVR) o CO o HO, R: Long cross with rose in the centre, two lions and two lis in the angles MA(XIL)IA o REX o ROMA o PA. vGH: 88.6. 0.598 gr. **RR** Weakly struck, very fine 300,--
Henzen - Amerongen 1996 (October), no. 252.
Found in Rotterdam.
- 1494 1/4 Gros - Holland. A: Arms of Austria-Burgundy in the field PHI . ARDV . AVST . BVR . CO . HO, R: Long cross with rose in the centre, two lions and two lis in the angles MAXILIAN o REX o ROMA o PA. vGH: 89.6. 0.759 gr. **RR** Small flan, very fine 100,--
Kneinsberg - Amstelveen.



- 1495 Denier de Hollande - Holland. A: Crowned shield with eagle MAXIMILIAN o RE, R: Shield of Austria-Burgundy on long cross PHI - ARD - AVS - C o HO. vGH: 90.6. 0.350 gr. **RR** Small flan, very fine 100,--
Henzen - Amerongen 2003.
From list 137, no. 332.
Shield: 1st and 3rd field = Austria, 2nd and 4th field = Burgundy and 5th = Holland.
vGH mentions MAXIMILIAN o RO o REX as legend on the obverse. The RO is missing here.

6th emission - Coinage Act 16th March 1492 (1492-1496)



- 1496 Double briquet - Gelderland - 1492. A: Two lions sitting and facing eachother with fire-steel between them, cross of Guelders PHS + ARCHIDVX + AVSTRIE + BURG + Z + GEL, shield of Mechelen in exergue, R: Shield of Austria-Burgundy over floriated cross cross of Guelders SALVV + FAC + POPVLVM + TVVM + DNE + 1492. vGH: 97.4. 2.469 gr. **RR** Small flan, very fine 75,--
Henzen - Amerongen 2003.
vdCh: 14.3.
Struck at Mechelen.
Elucidation vdCh (14.3) p.106: In 1557, more than half a century after manufacture, this coin was worth four groat and one oort (2 1/2 stuiver).



1497

- 1497 Briquet - Flanders. A: Lion holding shield of Austria-Burgundy + PHS ♣ ARCHID ♣ AVST ♣ BVRG ♣ CO ♣ FLANDR, R: Floriated cross with lis in the centre + MAXIM ♣ REX ♣ ROMANORVM ♣ PATER ♣. vGH: 98.5a. 2.333 gr. Flan defect at the edge, very fine 150,--
 de Geus - Eindhoven, Auction 17 (2004), no. 526.
 From find Oirschot (This hoard of gold, but mainly silver medieval coins emerged around 1982 during the reconstruction of an old pubhouse in the centre of Oirschot).



1498

- 1498 Gros - Gelderland. A: Shield of Austria-Burgundy in field cross of Guelders PHS + ARCHIDVX + AVST + BURG + Z + G, R: Long cross with lis in the centre, two rings, lis and lion in the angles BENEDIC + AIA + MEA + DOMINO. vGH: 102.4. 1.403 gr. RR Almost very fine 150,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 2003.
 Struck in Mechelen.
 VdCh (15.8) on p. 107 provides: two lis on the reverse, instead of one lis and one lion, as here.

7th emission - Coinage Act 14th May 1496 (1496-1499)

From this moment on, Philip the Handsome started minting in his own name. Maximilian's name vanished.



1499

- 1499 Florin St. Philippe - Brabant. A: Saint Philippus standing with book and crosier * S * PHE * INTERC'D * * PRO * NOBIS *, R: Floriated cross with shield of Flanders, four shields around: Austria, Burgundy (new), Brabant, Burgundy (old) ♡ PHS * DEI * GRA' * ARCHID' * AVST' * DVX * BG' * B'. Fb: 44, vGH: 108.1. 3.302 gr. R Very fine 1.500,--
 Münzen und Medaillen - Basel 1990.
 St. Philippus (disciple) was the name saint of Philip the Handsome. Philippus guilders were introduced in 1496 to replace the Andrew's guilders (see no. 1429) and struck until 1520, in two types (no. 1499 and later no. 1504 et. seqq.).
 Text obverse: Sancte Philippe intercede pro nobis = Holy Philip be our intercessor.
 The lis are no longer indicated France, hence the edge was not striated anymore.
 Struck between 1496-1499. Without hand.



- 1500 Toison d'argent - Brabant - 1498. A: Crowned shield of Philips * PHS * DEI * GRA * ARCHID * AVSTE * DVX * BG * BRA *, R: The Golden Fleece under two fire-steels * INICIVM * SAPIENCIE * TIMOR * DOMINI * ANNO * 1498. vGH: 110.1. 3.387 gr. Very fine+ 200,--
Elsen - Brussel 1980.
Shield: 1 = Austria, 2 = Burgundy (new), 3 = Burgundy (old), 4 = Brabant and 5 = Brabant (arms of Philips).
Text reverse: Fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom (Ps. 111:10a, Spr. 1:7 and 9:10).



- 1501 Toison d'argent - Brabant - 1499. A: Crowned shield of Philips * PHS * DEI GRA * ARCHID' * AVSTRIE * DVX * B * B *, R: The Golden Fleece under two fire-steels * INICIVM * SAPIENCE * TIMOR * DOMINI * ANO * 1499. vGH: 110.1. 3.407 gr. Very fine 150,--
Elsen - Brussel 1990.



- 1502 Double patard - Flanders. A: Crowned shield of Philips in multilobe † PHS † ARCHID † AVST † DVX † BG † CO † F, R: Floriated cross with lis in the centre * OMNIS † SPIRITUS † LAVDET † DOMINVS †. vGH: 111.5. 2.947 gr. Small flan, very fine 75,--
Henzen - Amerongen 1998.
From list November 1998, no. 852.
Text reverse: Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord (Ps. 150:6).
- 1503 Patard - Holland. A: Crowned shield of Philips + PHS + DEI + GRA' + ARCID + AVST' + BG + CO + HOL, R: Ornamented cross in quatrefoil with rose in the centre SIT + NOMEN + DOMINI + BENET. vGH: 112.6. 2.701 gr. Very fine 75,--
Henzen - Amerongen 1997.
From list November 1997, no. 491.

8th emission - Coinage Act 20th of February 1500 (1499-1506)



1504

- 1504 Florin St. Philippe - Flanders. A: Saint Philippus standing with book and crosier, over shield of Philips S PHE ♣ INT'CEDE ♣ ♣ PRO ♣ NOBIS, R: Floriated cross with two lis and two crowns in the angles and lis in the centre ♣ PHS ♣ DEI ♣ GRA ♣ ARCHID ♣ AVST ♣ DV' ♣ BG ♣ CO ♣ F. Fb: 201, vGH: 115.5a. 3.250 gr. Very fine
- Coin Investment - Lisse, Auction 51 (1996), no. 466.
 Ex: Find Feerwerd - Groningen (1971).
 The S at the end of the obverse text is not mentioned in vGH.

500,--



1505

- 1505 Florin St. Philippe - Holland. A: Saint Philippus standing with book and crosier, over shield of Philips S PHE ♣ INTERCEDE ♣ ♣ PRO ♣ NOBIS ♣, R: Floriated cross with rose in the centre ⊗ PHS ♣ DEI ♣ GRA ♣ ARCID ♣ AVS ♣ DVX ♣ BG ♣ CO ♣ HOL. Fb: 136, vGH: 115.6a. 3.272 gr. Small flan crack, well struck, very fine to extremely fine
- Franceschi - Brussel 1971.
 vGH: 115.6a = "crosse longue" (but the legend doesn't match).

300,--



1506

- 1506 Florin St. Philippe - Holland. A: Saint Philippus standing with book and crosier, over shield of Philips SE ♣ PHE ♣ INTERCEDE ♣ PRO ♣ NOBI' ♣, R: Floriated cross with rose in the centre ⊗ PH'S ♣ DEI ♣ GRA' ♣ ARCID' ♣ AVS' ♣ DVX ♣ BG ♣ CO' ♣ HOL'. Fb: 136, vGH: 115.6b. 3.305 gr. Clear and sharp struck, very fine +
- vGH: 115.6b = "crosse courte".
 Ex: Decker collection, 1985.

300,--



- 1507 1/2 Florin St. Philippe - Brabant. A: Saint Philippus standing with book and crosier, over shield of Philips + S x PHE x INTCED x PRO x NOBIS x hand +, R: Floriated cross with lion in the centre, two crowns and two lis in the angles cross of Guelders PHS + DEI + GRA + ARCHID + AVS + DVX + BG + B + Z. Fb: 48, vGH: 116.1b. 1.634 gr. **R** Small scratches at the edge, very fine 600,--
 Elsen - Brussel 1998.
 From list 196, no. 636.
 vGH provides a reverse text ending with BZ, here B + Z. The text on the reverse begins with a Guelders small cross (vGH determines: croix).
- 1508 1/2 Florin St. Philippe - Namur. A: Saint Philippus standing with book and crosier, over shield of Philips SANCTE + PHE + IN + TCD + PRO + NOB, R: Floriated cross with fire-steel in the centre, two crowns and two fire-steels in the angles fire-steel PHS + DEI + GRA' + ARCHIDV + AVS + DVX + (B + C + N). Fb: 352, vGH: 116.7b. 1.652 gr. **RR** Small flan, very fine 800,--
 Elsen - Brussel 1996.



- 1509 Toison d'argent - Brabant - 1502. A: Crowned shield of Philips with the Golden Fleece PHS x DEI x GRA x ARCHI x AVST x DVX x BVRG x B x Z, R: Floriated cross with star in the centre MO x FACT x . x TRAIECT x . x IN x VROENHOF x 1502. vGH: 118.2a. 3.314 gr. A little weakly struck, very fine 150,--
 Henzen - Amerongen 1997 (December), no. 636.
 Struck in Maastricht.



- 1510 Toison d'argent - Holland - 1499. A: Crowned shield of Philips with the Golden Fleece PHS x DEI x GRA x ARCID x AVS x BG x C x HO x, R: Floriated cross with rose in the centre INICIVM SAPIECIE x TIMOR DNI x 1499. vGH: 118.6. 3.152 gr. **R** Weakly struck, very fine 250,--
 v. Stockum - Den Haag, Auction 11-77 (1977), no. 55.
 Ex: Hulshof Poll collection.



1511

- 1511 Double patard - Flanders. A: Crowned shield of Philips in multilobe + PHS : DEI : GRA : ARCHID : AVST : DVX : BG : CO : F, R: Floriated cross with lis in the centre * OMNIS : SPIRITS : LAVDET : DOMINVM †. vGH: 119.5a. 2.775 gr.

Small scratches, very fine

75,--

Grenswisselkantoren - 1975.



1512

- 1512 Double patard - Holland - 1499. A: Crowned shield of Philips in multilobe ☞ PHS + DEI + GRA + ARCID + AVS + DVX + B' + C + H' ☞, R: Floriated cross with rose in the centre ⊗ OMNIS + SPIRITVS + LAVDET + DNM + ANNO + 1499. vGH: 119.6a. 3.035 gr.

Very fine

100,--

Henzen - Amerongen 1996.

From list October 1996, no. 320.



1513

- 1513 Patard - Namur- 1499. A: Crowned shield of Philips PHS : DEI : GRA : ARCHIDV : AVST : DVX : BUR : CO : NA, R: Cross in quatrefoil with fire-steel in the centre SIT : NOMEN : DNI : BENEDICTV : 1499. vGH: 120.7. 2.656 gr.

Weakly struck, otherwise extremely fine

150,--

Huizinga - Delft 1978.

Spanish coin struck in the Netherlands



1514

- 1514 Real d'Espagne - Brabant - 1505. A: Crowned shield of Spain-Austria-Burgundy * PHS * ET * IOHANA * DEI * GRA * REX * ET * REGIN, R: Two crossed staffs over fire-steel with the Golden Fleece, around the shields of Castillia, Leon and Granada hand CATELLE * * LEGIONIS * Z * ARCHIDVC * AVSTRIE * Z * 1505. vGH: 165.1. 3.354 gr.

RR Dark patina, very fine

500,--

Elsen - Brussel 1997.

From list 187, no. 672.

In 1505, Philip the Handsome, since 1504 King of Castile, had these coins struck to finance his journey to Spain.



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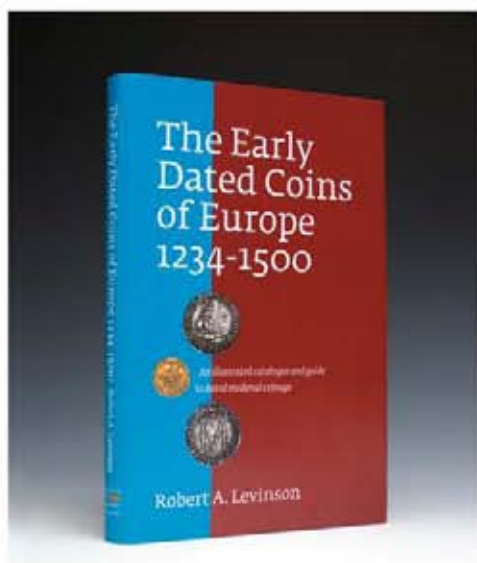


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NUMISMATISCHE AUSDRÜCKE EXPRESSIONS NUMISMATIQUES NUMISMATIC TERMS TERMINI DI NUMISMATICA

DEUTSCH	ENGLISCH	FRANÇAIS	ITALIANO
Abschlag	struck	frappe	coniazione
Am Rand	at the rim/border	en tranche	al bordo
Berieben	slightly polished	frotté	trattato
Blei	lead	plomb	piombo
Dezentriert	uncentered	decentré	non centrato
Doppelschlag	double struck	double frappe	ribattitura
Einfassung	frame	encadrement	cornice
Einseitig	uniface	uniface	uniface
Emailliert	enamelled	émaillé	smaltato
Erhaltung	condition/preservation	conservation	conservazione
Etwas	slightly	un peu	un poco
Exemplar	specimen, copy	exemplaire	esemplare
Fassungsspuren	trace of mounting	traces de monture	tracce di montatura
Fehlprägung	mis-strike	défaut de frappe	difetto di coniazione
Feld(er)	field(s)	champ	campo
Fundexemplar	specimen from a hoard	de trésor	da tesoretto
Gedenkmünze	commemorative coin	monnaie commemorative	moneta commemorativa
Geglättet	tooled	lissé	liscio
Gelocht	holed	troué	bucato
Geprägt	minted	frappé	coniato
Gewellt	bent	ondulé	ondolato
Goldpatina	golden patina	patine dorée	patina d'oro
Hübsch	attractive	joli	carino
Jahrh. = Jahrhundert.	century	siècle	secolo
Kl. = klein	small	petit	piccolo
Korrosionsspuren	traces of corrosion	traces de corrosion	segni di corrosione
Kratzer	scratch(es)	rayure	graffio(i)
Kupfer	copper	cuivre	rame
Legierung	alloy	alliage	lega
Leicht(e)	slightly	légère	leggero
l. = links	left	gauche	sinistra
Min. = minimal	minimal	minimal	minimamente
Nachahmung	imitation	imitation	contraffazione
Prachtexemplar	attractive, perfect piece	pièce magnifique	esemplare magnifico
Prägeschwäche	weakly struck	de frappe molle	conio stanco
Randdelle	edge nick	défaut sur la tranche	ammaccatura al bordo
Randfehler	edge faults	erreur sur la tranche	errore nel bordo
Randschrift	lettered edge	inscription sur la tranche	iscrizione sul bordo
r. = rechts	to right	droite	destra
Rückseite	reverse	revers	rovescio
Schriftspuren	traces of inscription	traces de légende	tracce di leggenda
Schrötling	flan	flan	tondello
Schrötlingsfehler	flan defect	Flan défectueux	errore di tondello
Schwach ausgeprägt	weakly struck	de frappe molle	conio stanco
Selten in dieser Erhaltung	rare in this condition	conservation rare	conservazione rara
Seltener Jahrgang	rare year	année rare	annata rara
Stempel	die(s)	coin	conio
Stempelfehler	mistake in the die	erreur de frappe	errore di conio
Überdurchschnittlich erhalten	extraordinary condition	conservation extraordinaire	conservazione straordinaria
Überprägt	overstruck	surfrappé	ribattuto
Unediert	unpublished	inédit	inedito
Unikum	unique specimen	pièce unique	pezzo unico
Vergoldet	gilt	doré	dorato
Von aller größter Seltenheit	extremely rare	très rare	di estrema rarità
Vorderseite	head	en face	diritto
Winz. = winzig	tiny	petit	veramente piccolo
Zain	flan	flan	tondello
Zierrand	ornamental border	tranche ornée	taglio ornato
Zinn	tin	étain	stagno
Ziseliert	chased	cisé	cesellato



VERSTEIGERUNGSBEDINGUNGEN

Die Versteigerung erfolgt im Auftrag und für Rechnung der Eigentümer unter Einhaltung der sich aus der Versteigerungsordnung (BGB I 1976, 1346) ergebenden und für Kommissionäre geltenden gesetzlichen Bestimmungen des BGB und HGB gegen Barzahlung des Kaufpreises in -Währung. Durch Abgabe eines Gebotes werden die Versteigerungsbedingungen anerkannt, dies gilt auch für die schriftlichen Gebote.

Der Zuschlagpreis ist Nettopreis im Sinne des Mehrwertsteuergesetzes und bildet die Berechnungsgrundlage für das vom Käufer zu zahlende Aufgeld in Höhe von 15 %. Auf den daraus entstehenden Gesamtpreis (Zuschlag + Aufgeld) wird die zur Zeit gültige, ermäßigte Mehrwertsteuer von 7 % erhoben. Papiergeld unterliegt ebenfalls dem ermäßigten Steuersatz. Goldmünzen, bei denen Zuschlagpreis und Aufgeld geringer ist als das zweieinhalbfache des Metallpreises, unterliegen dem normalen Mehrwertsteuersatz von zur Zeit 16%, ebenso historische Wertpapiere. Goldmünzen, die als Anlagegold gelten, sind mehrwertsteuerfrei.

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Ausländischen Münzhändlern aus Ländern der europäischen Gemeinschaft wird bei Nachweis der Umsatzsteuer-Identifikationsnummer (§ 27 a USTG) und der sonstigen Voraussetzungen gemäß § 4 Nr. 1 b USTG in Verbindung mit § 6 a USTG die Lieferung ohne Umsatzsteuer berechnet.

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for minimum offers		minimum increase rate
up to	100,--	5,--
up to	300,--	10,--
up to	1.000,--	20,--
up to	1.500,--	50,--
up to	3.000,--	100,--
up to	10.000,--	200,--
up to	20.000,--	500,--
above	20.000,--	1.000,--

Orders submitted in writing will be carried out diligently and without charge of an extra commission. Orders from collectors unknown to the auctioneer can only be accepted and carried out if a deposit or references to the satisfaction on the auctioneer are given. To be bindingly accepted, written bids need to be received at least 24 hours before auction. If necessary, the auctioneer is allowed to increase the bids by 3-5%. Should several bids be obtained in writing bidding the same

price or prices for a given lot, the bid first received by the auctioneer shall be given the award. Unlimited bids shall not oblige the auctioneer to consider, accept or carry out such order. Telephone bidding is generally an option for lots of substantial value only. The registration is required at the latest a day before auction.

Shipment (by mail or otherwise) of the goods shall be for the sole cost and risk of the purchaser or recipient, resp. The auctioned goods remain the sole and exclusive property of the vendor until full payment and settlement of any and all dues and claims in connection with the auction. In the event the purchaser is a merchant (in the sense of the German commercial laws) Osnabrück shall be the agreed and exclusive place of jurisdiction. The competence of the District Court (Amtsgericht) of Osnabrück is agreed in respect of summary proceedings for the collection of defaulted payments (Mahnverfahren) as well as in any and all other cases. Should the purchaser not be a merchant Osnabrück shall be the place of jurisdiction with the District Court of Osnabrück's competence, if only the auctioneer has his ordinary legal domicile in the Federal Republic of Germany or if claims are made by way of summary proceedings of collection (Mahnverfahren) or if the defendant has moved his ordinary legal domicile outside the jurisdiction of the Federal Republic of Germany or if the legal domicile of the defendant is unknown to the auctioneer at the time of filing a suit. **To the exclusion of any other legislation German law, as in force at the time, shall be applied for the settlement of any and all legal or judicial matters.**

The specifications and descriptions in the catalogue have been prepared diligently and in good faith do, however, not constitute the acceptance by the auctioneer of any warranty or liability in respect of defect in material or title. The state of preservation of items is strictly assessed in accordance with the grades accepted by the German coin trade and only represents an individual and personal assessment. Purchasers present at the auction acquire items strictly on the basis of "as is where is" and "as inspected".

In view of the opportunity of prior inspection to ascertain the state and condition of the auction lots, complaints and objections made after the sale will only be considered, if by obvious error or mistake loop or traces or mountings, traces of trimmings or settings, or the plugging of a hole (eyelet) have remained unnoticed. If and when auctioned in lots, the quantities of individual pieces given, only represent an approximate figure. An error in the allocation of individual pieces to a certain lot cannot be excluded. Such lots are, therefore, excluded from any complaints or objections after the lot is knocked down. In the event of disputes or complaints as to the quality of an item the auctioneer may call upon a generally sworn expert of the trade, which the auctioneer may choose at his sole discretion, for assessment and the rendering of a decision as to the justification of such dispute or complaint. The costs of such expert shall be borne by the party losing the dispute according to the expert's decision. Complaints or objections, if justified, will only be considered if made and received by the auctioneer within 8 days after the auction or after receipt of the lots, respectively.

The authenticity of the coins is warranted. Warranted up to the total purchase price. The prices set out in the catalogue are estimates only, which may be exceeded or undercut. Orders for less than 80 per cent of the estimated price cannot be accepted.

Purchasers from abroad will have to observe all applicable laws and regulations in respect of foreign exchange, customs duties and taxation of their country. The auctioneer will only discharge such formalities, which have to be observed, in the Federal Republic of Germany in connection with the export of the purchased item(s).

Unless stipulated otherwise herein, the general rules regulations for auctions applicable in Germany shall govern any transaction in respect of the auction; German Law shall also be applicable in relation to purchasers from abroad. Only the German text has legal force.

Shipment to foreign countries and shipment of books we charge upon expenses.

The prices realized will be published in the form of a list immediately after the auction.

THE AUCTIONEERS:

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ARNE KIRSCH
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ERHALTUNGS- UND SELTENHEITSGRADE

ERHALTUNGSGRADE/ GRADING TERMS	Polierte Platte Proof	Flan bruni Fondo specchio
DEGRÉS DE CONSERVATION GRADI DI CONSERVAZIONE	Stempelglanz Uncirculated	Fleur de coin Fior di conio
	Vorzüglich Extremely fine	Superbe Splendido
	Sehr schön Very fine	Très beau Bellissimo
	Schön Fine	Beau Molto Bello
	Gering erhalten Very good	Très bien conservé Bello
SELTENHEITSGRADE	R = Selten Von großer Seltenheit	RR = Sehr selten Von größter Seltenheit