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SRNB – KBGN

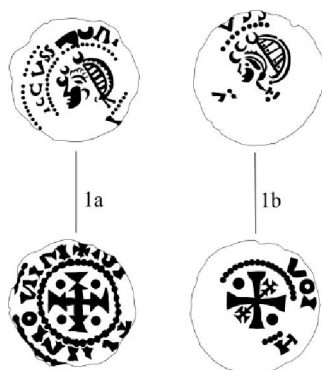
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SOME RARE OR UNPUBLISHED SALIAN COINS FROM LOWER LORRAINE AND FLANDERS

THE PUBLICATION OF THE SECOND PART OF *Die Münzprägung im Herzogtum Niederlothringen* by Peter Ilisch in the special centennial issue of the *Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde* in 2014 was a milestone for everyone interested in coins produced on the territory of modern Belgium during the 10th-12th centuries. For his paper its author studied and systematized a large number of coins kept in numerous European public and private collections. However, a number of private collections assembled during recent decades in the former Soviet Union were out of reach for Ilisch. In this article, we will discuss a few rare and unpublished coins from Lower Lorraine and Flanders kept in private collections in Russia, Ukraine, Estonia and Latvia.

1. Cambrai (?), period of Libertus, bishop of Cambrai (1051-1076)



Obv.: English looking diademed bust to the left with three crescents in front
Legend between two dotted circles: //CVSS

Rev.: a. Ornate cross with pellets in each quarter
Legend between two beaded circles: + S//ΛΙΟΝΙΑΙ
b. Cross *pattée*, in the quarters 1 and 3 a dot and in 2 and 4 a cross *passion* resting on the center of the cross *pattée*
Legend between two (?) beaded circles: //VOI/H//

Diam.: 17-18 mm

Mass: a. 0.61 g
b. 0.56 g

Prov.: a. a hoard found in Novgorodskaya oblast, Marevskii rajjon, *tpq* 1068
b. a hoard found in the Baltic region, *tpq* 1059

Ref.: a. Trostyanskiy & Van Laere 2012, p. 144-146; Ilisch 2014, 1-16
b. Ilisch 2014, 1-15 (?)

Several types of Flemish denars^[1] from the 11th century imitate English pennies, some of which have been attributed by Ilisch 2014 such as 4.6 to Eustace I, count of Boulogne (c. 1020-1049), minted in Lens about 1025, and 5.5 to Baldwin IV, count of Flanders (988-1035), minted in Saint-Omer around 1030. But most types remain without precise attribution, such as Ilisch 2014, 1-10-1-17 and 5-6-5-10.

Numismatists trying to attribute Flemish coins with an 'English head' on the obverse are faced with several obstacles. The low quality of coinage and the small number of available specimens complicate both the reconstruction of the legends which are often distorted or completely blundered, as well as attempts to make die studies. Furthermore, the designs of the reverses rarely share specific elements with other, well identified coins.

The Marevsky hoard (*tpq* 1068) included a Flemish denar from a type previously not described (1a). Later, a denar with a similar obverse but a different reverse was discovered in the Baltic region (1b).

The bust on the obverse wears an unusual diadem or a nimbus which seems to bear one or more crescents at the front. Unfortunately, the face of the bust is not altogether clear. However, the bust seems to be inspired in one way or another by English pennies with a diademed bust, minted from 1017 onwards. This type of bust was especially popular from 1029 till 1053. The closest parallels are found on the coins of Harold I Harefoot (1035-1037/1037-1040) and his successor Harthacnut (1035-1037/1040-1042)^[2]. The letters **CVSS** that can be distinguished at the end (?) of the legend on the obverse of both coins are possibly remainders of a meaningful legend that mentions the issuer or the patron saint of a town or city.

The design of the reverse is as unusual as that of the obverse. The ornate cross reminds us of some intricate crosses on Anglo-Saxon coins without however offering an exact parallel. A cross similar to the one on the reverse of 1a is associated with Saint-Omer (?) (Ilisch 2014, 5.3.2) and with Arras (*ibid.*, 6-13 and 6-14). The legends on the reverses of both coins seem to be severely distorted and make no sense. The legend of 1a probably starts with a lying **∞** and has an unusually shaped **Λ**. Therefore, alternative readings to the one suggested here can't be excluded. Even in retrograde the reverse legend doesn't make much sense. The remainders of the legend on 1b do not offer much help to solve the problem.

Apparently, no parallel exists for this intriguing coin. It shows elements that can be expected on Flemish coins such as the English influence, but its general appearance rather points to an origin in the East or the South of Belgium, e.g. Namur or Huy, or Northern France suggesting economic ties with both areas. Engel & Serrure attribute two anepigraphic *petits deniers* with a head on the obverse and an intricate cross on the reverse to the bishops of Cambrai

[1] Although there is a perfectly good English word for this kind of coins, which is *penny*, we prefer to call the continental coins of this period denars.

[2] E.g. North 1994, p. 171 gives an interesting series of drawings of comparable busts.

without giving a precise date^[3]. In 2000, a similar coin with a head to the right was offered in an auction by CGB^[4] where it was hesitatingly dated in the 12th century and attributed to Cambrai. This coin makes a strong argument to attribute the new coins also to Cambrai.

The treaty of Verdun (843) gave Cambrai to Lotharingia. In 925, the area devolved to the Holy Roman Empire. In 948 Otto I gave the temporal powers over the town to the local bishop and in 1005 Henry II extended these powers over the neighbouring countryside. From the middle of the 10th century onwards, but especially during the 11th and 12th centuries, Cambrai proved to be an unruly city that more than once revolted against its bishop.

At the end of the 10th century Otto III (983-1002) appears on coins from Cambrai which were strongly inspired by denars from Cologne^[5]. Afterwards the coinage was thought to have come to a standstill until its reappearance in the 12th century. The newly discovered coins, that were probably minted during the third quarter of the 11th century, fill the existing chronological gap perfectly and illustrate how the bishop took over the initiative of the emperor and introduced a new monetary type. Although the names of the successive bishops don't seem to appear on the coins of this period, the introduction of the new – episcopal – type can probably be linked with saint Li(et)bertus who occupied the episcopal see from 1051 till 1076. This fits with the dating of the other coins of the hoard in which it was included, since only 20 coins of the more than 500 in this hoard date from the first half of the 11th century, while the overwhelming majority date from between 1050 and 1070.

The attribution to Cambrai allows us to suggest that the bust on the obverse is probably that of saint Gaugericus (c. 586 – c. 625), who transferred the episcopal see from Arras to Cambrai. At one point he was a very popular saint whose reputation widely transcended the region of Cambrai^[6]. With some goodwill, his name can be recognised in the remaining letters of the legend of the obverse S[anctvs gaugeri]CVS^[7]. If this interpretation is correct, the ornate cross on the reverse probably refers to the fragment of the Holy Cross given by saint Gaugericus to the cathedral chapter of Cambrai. At the end of the 11th century, a new chapter dedicated to the Holy Cross was founded as a subsidiary to the cathedral chapter for the benefit of the Holy Cross church that was probably built around the middle of the 9th century. In 1074 this new chapter was well endowed by bishop Li(et)bertus which makes him the best-placed candidate to inaugurate a coin type that combines both religious motives.

[3] Engel & Serrure 1894, p. 583, fig. 1059. During the 12th century, the bare-headed bust is transformed into a crowned bust. Engel & Serrure (*loc. cit.*) suggest that this crowned bust represents the emperor.

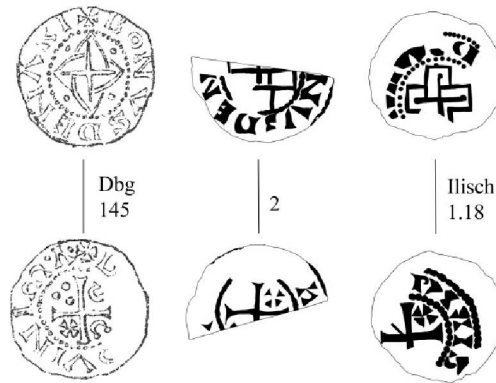
[4] Compagnie Générale de Bourse, 36 rue Vivienne, 75002 Paris; auction of 16th June 2000 lot 1088; see also <http://www.cgb.fr/monnaies/vso/v08/v080136.html> (26/3/ 2011).

[5] E.g. Kluge 1991, p. 130, no. 22.

[6] Chatelet-Lange 1994, L. col. 352-353.

[7] For the name of saint Gaugericus on Carolingian coins of Cambrai see e.g. Depuyrot 1998, p. 143, nos. 235-237 with coins from Pepin the Short (752-768) till Charles the Fat (884-887).

2. Arras, Balduin V, count of Flanders (1035-1067)



Obv.: 'Braided' cross coupé

Legend between two beaded circles: // / NVSDEN ///.

Potin 1963B, 14: +BONV///NAR/

Rev.: Cross *pattée*, in one of the quarters a small cross composed of triangles

Legend between two beaded circles: // / N///

Diam.: 19 mm

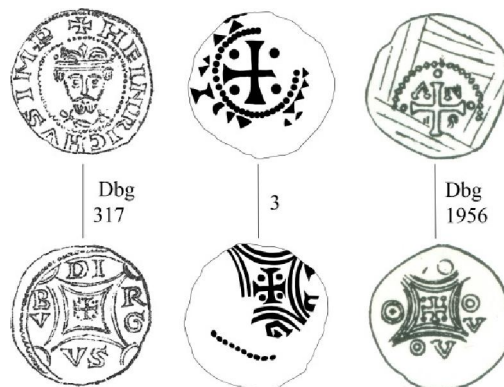
Mass: 0.43 g

Prov.: a hoard found in the Baltic region, *tpq* 1068

Ref.: Gaetgens 1934, 9; Potin 1963B, 14; Ilisch 2014, 1-18

Ilisch attributes this coin type to an unknown mint of Flanders and dates it *c.* 1035/1040. The fragment of the legend on the obverse of the new halved coin – NVSDEN – is undoubtedly part of a **BONUS DENARI** legend found on Arras coins of Baldwin IV, count of Flanders (988-1035) (Ilisch 2014, 6-5-6-8). The 'braided' cross is also found on the Arras coins, on which it however has a slightly different shape. Most likely, Ilisch 2014, 1-18 was derived from Ilisch 2014, 6-5-6-13 and minted in Arras during the mid-1030s or early 1040s.

3. Flanders (?), unidentified mint, *c.* 1060



- Obv.:** Cross coupled with dots in the four quarters and surrounded by a beaded circle
 Legend: unidentified traces
- Rev.:** Small cross *pattée* with dots in the four quarters and surrounded by a cartouche of four double arcs. Between the arcs and a beaded circle the letters D (?) and G (?)
- Diam.:** 19 mm
- Mass:** 0.67 g
- Prov.:** a hoard found in the Baltic region, *tpq* 1059
- Ref.:** –

This denar has several features which are characteristic for Flemish coins of the 11th century. The coin is very light and made with a thin flan. Deep, clearly noticeable notches on the edge of the coin are deforming the flan. The letters are composed using triangular punches.

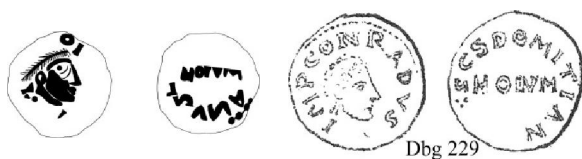
A similar specimen from a hoard *tpq* 1092 was published by Menadier^[8] and Dannenberg 1956 on whose drawing it is possible to distinguish traces characteristic for a flan which was prepared in advance of the actual minting process as often seen on coins of the bishopric of Liège and neighbouring mints.

The image on the obverse probably copies the Cologne denars of archbishop Anno (1056-1075). Given the obvious similarity between the new coin and Dannenberg 1956, it can be dated with certainty around the 1050s-1060s.

The reverse of the coin imitates the design of the denars of emperor Henry III (1046-1056) minted in Duisburg such as Dannenberg 317 which means that it cannot have been minted before the end of the 1040s.

It is however possible that the new coin is not a direct imitation of the Duisburg coins, but of some denars minted in the bishopric of Liège such as Ilisch 2014, 34.24, which also copied the design of the Duisburg issues. Indeed, in view of the obvious similarity between the obverse of the new coin and the reverse of Ilisch 2014, 34.38, a possibility remains that it was not minted in Flanders but rather somewhere in the region of Liège.

4. Huy, Conrad II, emperor (1027-1039)



Dbg 229

- Obv.:** Diademed head to the right
 Legend: ////ON (?)//
- Rev.:** In the middle: HOIVM
 Legend: /////ANVS
- Diam.:** 14 mm

[8] Menadier 1898, p. 229, no. 111.

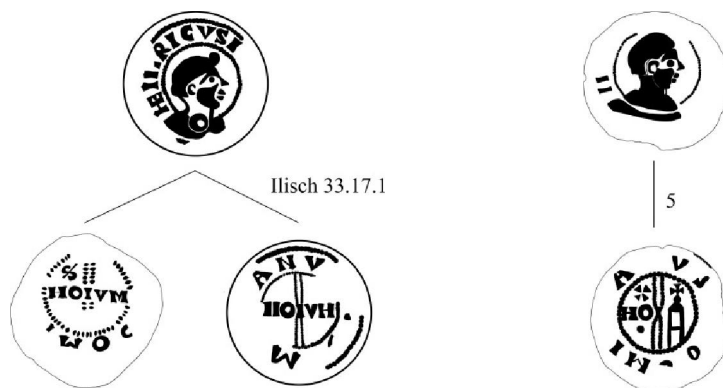
Mass: 0.56 g (obol)

Prov.: hoard found in the Leningradskaya oblast, *tpq* 1035

Ref.: Trostyanskiy & Van Laere 2014, p. 209

Dengis^[9] published an obol from Huy with the name of saint Lambertus on the reverse, copying denars from the type Dannenberg 230. The new obol imitates denars from the type Dannenberg 229 with the name of saint Domitianus on the reverse. Both obols were minted on behalf of emperor Conrad II (1027-1039). To date, no other types of obols of the 11th century from Huy are known.

5. Huy, Henry III, emperor (1046-1056)



Obv.: Bust to the right breaking a beaded circle

Legend beginning at 8 o'clock: H/////VS IMPE(?)R

Rev.: Two parallel vertical beaded lines in the centre; to the left HOI topped by a letter S and a dot below; to the right a two-storeyed tower topped by a cross

Legend between two beaded circles and beginning at 5 o'clock: DOMITIANVS

Diam.: 19 mm

Mass: 1.07 g; 1.10 g; 1.25 g

Prov.: a hoard found in the Leningradskaya oblast, *tpq* 1059

Ref.: CNS 4·1·5·385

This coin type was known to numismatists by a single example from the Wichmjaz hoard, published in 1963 by Potin^[10]. This new specimen differs from it by the 'correct' image on the reverse: a tower on the right, letters HOI on the left. Most likely a die for the reverse of the denar from the Wichmjaz hoard was mirrored from this reverse.

^[9] Dengis 2016, 120.

^[10] Потин 1963А р. 46, по. 3.

6. Huy, anonymous issue, period of Dietwin, bishop of Liège (1048-1075)



Obv.: Bust of a clergyman with a book in his left hand and with a crosier in his right hand

Legend between two beaded circles: $\text{+}///\text{MI} / \text{ANVS}$

Rev.: Two parallel vertical beaded lines in the middle with a two-storeyed tower topped by a cross to the left of the lines and to the right OH and a cross composed by four triangles below

Legend between two beaded circles and beginning at 10 o'clock: DOMIT//NVS

Diam.: 19 mm

Mass: 0.83 g; 1.32 g

Prov.: a hoard found in the Baltic region, *tpq* 1059

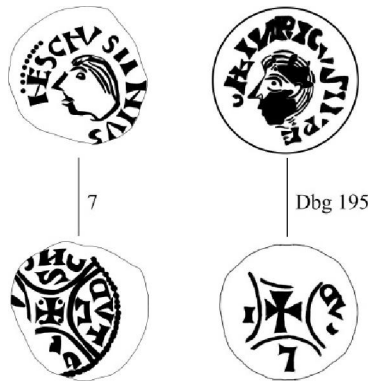
Ref.: Потин 1963в, no. 9; Ilisch 2014, 33-19; Dengis 2016, 172

This type, as well as the previous one, was only known by a single specimen from the Wichmjaz hoard, published in 1963 by M.V. Potin^[11]. Our specimen is from the same obverse and reverse dies as the Wichmiaz coin. This makes it possible to reconstruct the dies so that both images and most parts of the legend can be completed. Ilisch 2014, 33-18 = 33-20 and our denar, however, seem to have been made with very similar but altogether different reverse dies.

Our coins 5 and 6 help us to pinpoint the moment when the emperor's name disappeared from the coins in Huy. Since coin type 6 is extremely rare, and only two single-die coins are known so far, it can be assumed that they were minted in a small edition in honour of some important but currently unknown event for the city or the bishopric.

^[11] *Ibid.*, no. 4.

7. Liège, Henry III, emperor (1046-1056)



Obv.: Head to the left

Legend: NESCNI(?)I(?)NIVS with NE and NV in ligature

Rev.: Small cross *pattée* with a dot in each quarter, within a cartouche of four arcs. Between the arcs and a beaded circle: /H/ S// / CVTC(?)

Diam.: 18-20 mm

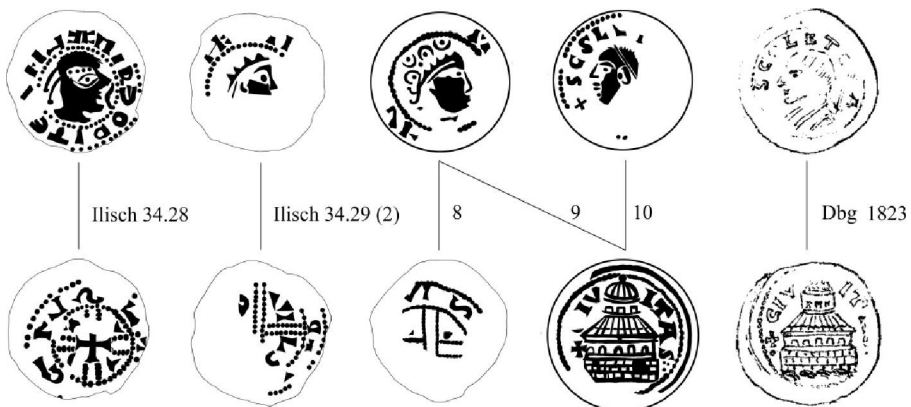
Mass: 0.71 g

Prov.: a hoard found in the Baltic region, *tpq* 1059

Ref.: Dannenberg 196; Ilisch 2014, 34-23; Dengis 2016, 71

This coin differs from the best known specimens of Dannenberg 196 by its style. The head on the obverse is linear without indication of its volume, in contrast to other specimens of Dannenberg 196. The cross on the reverse has dots in its quarters which lack on other copies of Dannenberg 196.

8. Liège, Henry III, emperor (1046-1056)



Obv.: Head with the radiate 'Roman' crown to the left and topped by semi-circles and dots; everything within a beaded circle

Legend: **///M(?) / / / HV//**
Rev.: Double coupé and beaded cross with traces of letters in the quarters
 Legend between two beaded circles: **////AS////**
Diam.: 20 mm
Mass: 1.31 g
Prov.: a hoard found in Leningradskaya oblast, *tpq* 1059
Ref.: Dannenberg 286; Ilisch 2014, 34·29 (2); Dengis 2016, 59

9. Liège, Henry III, emperor (1046-1056)

Obv.: As coin no. 8 above
Rev.: Rotunda with a small dome, breaking the legend: **†CIV ITAS**; three dots at the end of the legend. A double beaded circle encloses all
Diam.: 20 mm
Mass: 1.29 g
Prov.: a hoard found in Leningradskaya oblast, *tpq* 1059
Ref.: Gaettens 10; Dengis 2016, 106

10. Liège, Dietwin, bishop of Liège (1048-1075)

Obv.: Diademed head to the left
 Legend: **† SCS LETGIA**
 A beaded circle encloses all
Rev.: As coin no. 9 above
Diam.: 20 mm
Mass: 1.06 g; 1.07 g
Prov.: a hoard found in Leningradskaya oblast, *tpq* 1059
Ref.: Dannenberg 1823; Ilisch 2014, 34·23; Dengis 2016, 105

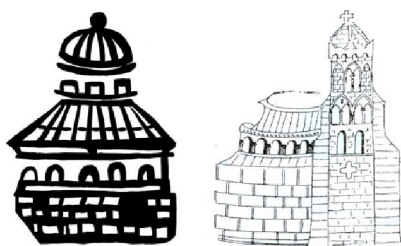
Coins of types 8, 9 and 10 have been published several times but the new specimens allow us to propose die links which offer the possibility for some interesting conclusions.

The type of the head with the radiate crown was the last issue minted in Liège with the name of the emperor, and the type with the rotunda was the first in a series of anonymous denars minted by the bishops of Liège. The similarity of the design between type 8 from Liège and the type 5 from Huy suggests that the transition from imperial coinage into the anonymous minting occurred in both cities at about the same time. The radiate crown probably denotes the imperial dignity of Henry III (1046-1056). Accordingly, we suggest that the anonymous minting in Liège started not earlier than the end of the 1040s.

The image on the reverse of the types 9 and 10 seem to confirm this date. The building on the coin clearly shows similarities with the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre^[12]. The reconstruction of the Jerusalem rotunda was completed by the Byzantine emperors during the spring of 1047. However, the 'Liège rotunda', unlike the Jerusalem one, has a small dome on the roof and not an

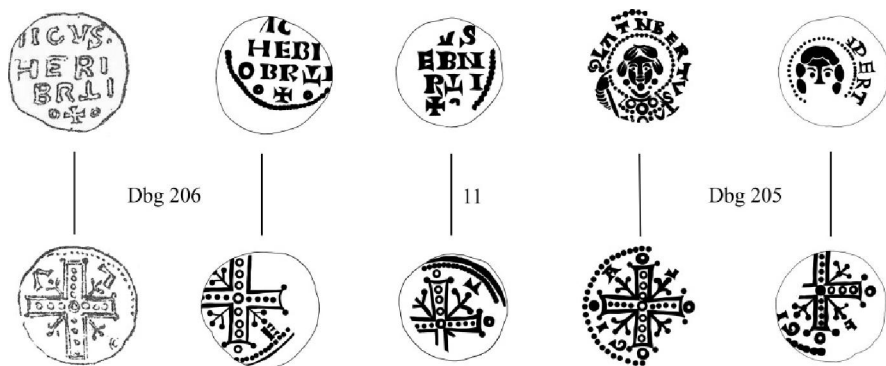
[12] Picture 1 is taken from Williams 1963, p. 53.

opening serving as an *oculus*. A rougher but also recognizable image of the same rotunda is known on Dannenberg 87, a coin of Bruno, bishop of Toul (1026-1051). This type was found in hoards with *tpq* 1047 (Kluge 1999A, Teil 2, S. 281, No. 8-7). Perhaps the reconstruction of the rotunda of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem prompted the appearance of rotundas in Western Europe, in which, unlike the prototype, the *oculus* was covered by a small dome due to the peculiarities of the local climate.



Picture 1.

11. Liège, anonymous issue, period of Theoduin (1048-1075) or Henry of Verdun (1075-1091), bishops of Liège



Obv.: Text on three lines: / VS | EBN | RTI | + surrounded by a beaded circle

Rev.: Decorated cross with a floral motif in the quarters

Legend: L // // surrounded by a double beaded circle

Diam.: 14 mm

Mass: 0.78 g

Prov.: a hoard found in Leningradskaya oblast, *tpq* 1089

Ref.: Trostyanskiy & Van Laere 2014, p. 203-204; Ilisch 2014, 34-43-1.

Dengis^[13] reads the obverse as + | RICVS | HERI | OBRTI | + and accordingly attributes this type to Otbert, bishop of Liège (1091-1119), following Frère who claims that the coin was without any doubt minted during the reign of

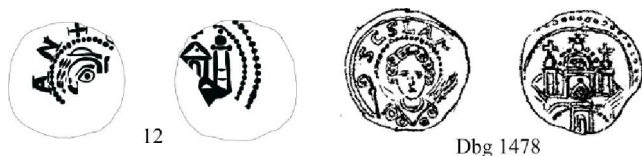
^[13] Dengis 2016, 212.

emperor Henry IV (1056/1084-1105)^[14]. Although not explicitly mentioned, one gets the impression that Frère would have liked to interpret the legend as the blundered remains of both the names of emperor *Heinricus* and bishop *Otbert*. The new coin, however, does not confirm such an interpretation since the second line clearly reads **HEBN** and not **HERI**, so that the inscription has to be read as **N(?)CVS/HEBN/OBRTI/°†°**. Unfortunately, no coin shows the complete legend and even the juxtaposition of all known specimens is insufficient to provide the complete text. Since all specimens clearly do not belong to the same dies, the best we can suggest is that the inscription in one way or another probably stands for *sanctus Lantbertus*, the patron saint of Liège, since his name often appears blundered on coins of that period. If this should prove to be correct, one may wonder if this type succeeded Dannenberg 205 by replacing the image of the saint by his name.

The reverse as illustrated by Dannenberg 206 shows letters **L, E, A** that clearly suggest a clockwise reading of **LE(GI) A**.

The date suggested by Dengis seems too late for the new type, which was well-worn at the time it was included in a hoard concealed after 1089. The rather intricate cross on the reverse is already used during the reign of Henry of Verdun on a coin from Liège (Dengis 2016, 190; Dannenberg 205), found in the hoard of Lieto that was concealed later than 1060, but it also appears on a coin from Huy issued during the reign of Otbert (Dengis 2016, 234). One can only suggest that if Dengis 2016, 212 has been read and dated correctly, the coin that is published here served as its model while being minted by one of the predecessors of Otbert, e.g. Theoduin or Henry of Verdun.

12. Liège, anonymous issue, period of Henry of Verdun, bishop of Liège (1075-1091)



Obv.: Tonsured head to the right with a staff or a crosier in front of it and enclosed by a beaded circle

Legend: **† S(?)///AN**

Rev.: Between two beaded circles, part of a lower central building topped by a cross and flanked by two towers of which only one is visible

Diam.: 15-16 mm

Mass: 0.91 g

Prov.: a hoard found in Leningradskaya oblast, *tpq* 1089

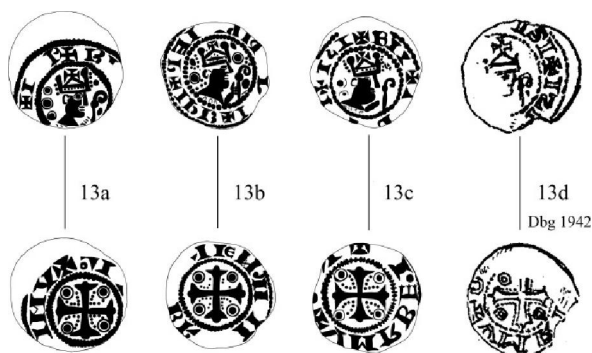
Ref.: Trostyanskiy & Van Laere 2014, p. 204-205

^[14] Frère 1963, p. 63, no. 35.

The general aspect of this coin suggests an origin in (Lower) Lorraine at the end of the 11th century, but the fragmentary character of the effigy on both obverse and reverse makes an attribution difficult. The obverse shows the tonsured head of a cleric, probably a monk or a saint represented as such. In front of his face traces of a staff or a crosier can be distinguished. Since the remaining letters of the legend are clear and well-shaped, one expects the legend to be meaningful and not blundered. The traces of the first letter after the crosslet can be interpreted as *S*. The last letters – *AN* – are amply spaced suggesting that the legend would count only 6 or 7 letters at most. Since there are no Latin names or words that end on *AN*, one is tempted to look for a name either ending on *ANVS* such as Stephanus or Domitianus, or a name in which the element *AN* is present, such as Lambertus in its variant Lantbertus. The name of saint Stephen would fit perfectly well and would place the coin in Metz, but both the crosier on the obverse and the iconography of the reverse seem to contradict such a hypothesis. Theoretically, the abbey of Sint-Truiden, that depended from Metz during this period, would also be a possibility, but on coins of Sint-Truiden saint Stephen is usually, in one way or another, associated with the local saint Trudo. That leaves us with saint Lambert, patron saint of Liège and saint Domitian, who was the patron saint of the collegiate church of Huy where he was buried^[15].

The reverse of the coin is rather atypical, not only because of the double circle of beads which surrounds the effigy for which it is hard to find parallels on coins of the bishops of Liège, but also because of the building itself. The cross above the central nave indicates that a church or another religious building is represented. The closest parallel is to be found on a denar from Henry of Verdun minted in Maastricht^[16]. However, the church on the Maastricht coin is placed within the city wall. On later coins, the central naves of the churches are usually higher than the flanking towers. We, therefore, suggest to attribute this new denar either to Liège or Huy where it was probably minted during the reign of Henry of Verdun.

13. Liège area (?), period of Otbert, bishop of Liège (1091-1119)



^[15] See e.g. Van Molle 1974.

^[16] Dengis 2016, 195.

- Obv.:** Crowned head to the right with a crosier in front of it
Legend between two beaded circles:
- +** B///// **+** I(?) / B(?)
 - (retrograde) **+** IEP **+** IPB **+** I(?) /// PI/
 - +** BII **+** ///// I(?) **+** ISI
 - /// ISI **+** IS /////
- Rev.:** Cross *pattée* with bulging ends and a beaded circle in each quarter.
The cross is doubled by beaded lines
Legend between two beaded circles:
- (retrograde) **+** VM/////
 - ///// BR /// IRNE (?)
 - +** R(?) // **+** VMRBE I/
 - /// O(?) **+** VMR /////
- Diam.:** 15 mm (13c)
Mass: 1.00 g (13c)
Prov.: 13c from a hoard found in Leningradskaya oblast, *tpq* 1090
Ref.: Menadier 1895, p. 88; Dannenberg 1942; Ilisch 2014, 15-8

Ilisch attributes Dannenberg 1942 as well as his related types 15.6 and 15.7 to Flanders, primarily because of their design^[17]. The beaded circles on the reverses are indeed characteristic of Flemish coins of the late 11th-early 12th centuries^[18], but a similar design can also be seen on denars from Maastricht^[19], Liège^[20] and even Holland^[21], all minted around 1100. One possible explanation is that a group of die engravers or mint masters, making tools in the same style, moved from one mint to another. There is also a possibility that the dot within a circle design was inspired by the reverse of some English pennies from Cnut (1016-1035)^[22] which however would place our coins after 1024.

The image of a head with a royal or imperial crown is not typical for Flemish coins during the 11th and early 12th centuries. Since local rulers were mostly depicted with a helmet or an uncovered head, the figure represents undoubtedly a German emperor who unfortunately has to remain unidentified for the moment.

The legends are obviously distorted. On the obverse the repeated combinations of three letters are separated from each other by four crosses: IEP, IPB, ISI, etc. The legends on the reverse look more meaningful, such as the fragment **+**VMRBE on the prototype^[23]. The legend on the reverse of this coin looks like N//BI·I·IBIEI·T. Given the omissions and rearrangements of the letters, it seems quite possible that the original legend read LANBERTVS or LAMBERTVS.

[17] Ilisch 2014, p. 77-78.

[18] See e.g. Ilisch 2014, 13-17, 13-18 and 13-21.

[19] Ilisch 2014, 39-16.

[20] *Ibid.*, 34-47, 34-48 and 34-50.

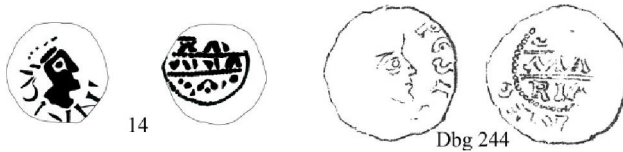
[21] Ilisch 2000, 13-4.

[22] E.g. the 'pointed helmet' type from Cnut, see North 1994, p. 168, nos. 787-789.

[23] Ilisch 2014, 15-11.

At the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries, the image of the crowned emperor is typical for Maastricht denars^[24]. If we assume that Ilisch 2014, 15·6 was not made in Flanders but in Maastricht, then Ilisch 2014, 15·7 and 15·8 might well be imitations originating in the area of Liège.

14. Maastricht, Henry II, king (1002-1014)



Obv.: Diademed head to the right

Legend: //INRICV/

Rev.: Epigraphic type; between three lines ... /.../MA/..IA within a beaded circle

Diam.: 13-14 mm

Mass: 0.54 g (obol)

Prov.: a hoard found in Leningradskaya oblast, *tpq* 1024

Ref.: Dannenberg 1738; Trostyanskiy & Van Laere 2014, p. 205-206; Ilisch 2014, 40·10; Dengis 2016, 37(?)

This obol is closely related to a denar and an obol mentioning the royal title of Henry that were last discussed by Dengis^[25]. He reads the central text on the reverse as .../ MA / RIA, which can probably be completed as SA / MARIA / or TRA / MARIA / . The reference to the Virgin Mary clearly points to that part of Maastricht which depends from the bishops of Liège. But it remains unclear if that means that this coin and similar ones were necessarily minted under episcopal authority as stated by Frère^[26] who claims in a rather subjective manner all these coins for Notger, the iconic bishop of Liège (972-1008). Accordingly, Dengis proposes to date the coin between 1002, the advent of Henry II as king, and 1008, the death of Notger. Curiously enough, neither Dengis nor Frère seem to be aware of the ill-preserved obol published by Dannenberg^[27] which seems to be very similar to the coin published here and should be taken into account when studying this type of obol.

[24] See *ibid.*, 39·16-39·19, 39·21 and 40·28.

[25] Dengis 2016, no. 36 for the denar and no. 37 for the corresponding obol.

[26] Frère 1996, especially p. 109, no. 16.

[27] Dannenberg, p. 718, no. 1738 n plate 93 is unable to distinguish clearly the traces of the text which he identifies as Arabic.

15. Maastricht, anonymous issue, about 1030



Obv.: Head to the right, breaking the circular legend

Legend: ///R(?)TVS

Everything is enclosed by a beaded circle

Rev.: Tetrastyle building with a cross inside

Legend: TRAIE(?)///

Diam.: 15 mm

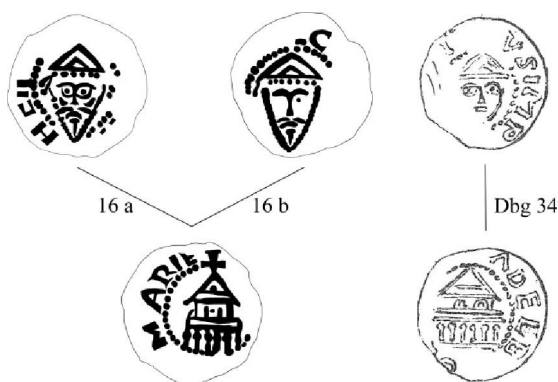
Mass: 0.59 g; 0.53 g

Prov.: a hoard found in Leningradskaya oblast, *tpq* 1035; the Konotop hoard (Ukraine), *tpq* 1047

Ref.: Trostyanskiy & Van Laere 2014, p. 208-209

These obols, as well as the denars of the type Dannenberg 253, are known from hoards concealed after the mid-1030s. In our opinion, the proposed dating of the denars as 'about 1030' by Ilisch is also acceptable for the obols. At some unknown date in the 1030s, the minting of obols in the bishopric of Liège was interrupted and resumed only during the reign of bishop Otbert (1091-1119).

16. Maastricht, Henry III, emperor (1046-1056)



Obv.: Frontal crowned head within a beaded circle

Legend (from 7 o'clock): HEIN(?)//CVS IMP

Rev.: Two-storeyed tower with a triangular roof topped with a cross which breaks a beaded circle

Legend: ADELB//MARIE

Diam.: 18 mm

Mass: 1.07; 1.10; 1.12; 1.30; 1.32; 1.36; 1.43 g which gives an average of 1.24 g

Prov.: a hoard found in Leningradskaya oblast, *tpq* 1059

Ref.: Dannenberg 34; Weiller 1988, p. 568, no. 412; Kluge 1999, 9-21

The coin type Dannenberg 34 is traditionally attributed to bishop Adalbert III of Metz (1047-1072) and the reign of emperor Henry III (1046-1056)^[28] with as main argument the legends **HEINRICVS IMP** on the obverse and **ADELB** / / / on the reverse. However, Dannenberg 34 differs fundamentally from contemporary coins from Metz not only because of its a higher average mass – 1.26 g instead of 1.15 g – but also because of its rough coin flans that have an irregular shape. Furthermore, the names of the German emperor disappear from the coins of Metz no later than 1014 (Dannenberg 19) and their crowned portraits are not used at all on coins of Metz during the 10th and 11th centuries.

The hoard of the Leningrad region *tpq* 1059 includes two specimens of the Dannenberg 34 type made with the same reverse die. On the left side of the reverse one can distinguish in the legend (part of) the word **MARIE**. The reverse of this coin is close or even of the same die as the specimen from the Berlin Museum with the letters **ADELB** in the right part of the reverse legend^[29]. The legend **ADELB** / / / **MARIE** points into two directions with **MARIE** standing for Maastricht and **ADELB** suggesting the bishop of Metz. Perhaps, these coins and Dannenberg 34, which are very similar to each other, simply differ by the arrangement of the legend on the reverse or even have different legends. The letters **ADELB** are the only feature indicating a link with Metz. The other characteristics, including the legend **MARIE**, are typical for Maastricht. With this in mind, we suggest that Dannenberg 34 was probably minted in Maastricht on behalf of emperor Henry III (1046-1056).

17. Maastricht, Henry III, emperor (1039-1056)



^[28] Dannenberg, p. 77; Kluge 1999, p. 355, no. 9-21, Weiller 1988, p. 568, no. 412 and Flon 2002, p. 183 who also accepts this attribution and refers for his point of view to a specimen kept in Copenhagen of which he unfortunately does not provide any more details.

^[29] Kluge 1999B, p. 354, no. 9-21:2.

- Obv.:** Head to the right
 Legend: //INRI///
 All enclosed by a beaded circle
- Rev.:** Crosier
 Legend between two beaded circles: TR(?) / / / / C(?)
- Diam.:** 18 mm
- Mass:** 1.23 g
- Prov.:** a hoard found in the Baltic region, *tpq* 1068
- Ref.:** –

This coin proves that Dannenberg 251 or Ilisch 2014, 40.22 was first minted under Conrad II (1024-1039), but continued to be coined in Maastricht under Henry III (1039-1056).

18. Maastricht or Aachen, Henry II, king (1002-1014)



- Obv.:** Head with a pointed nose to the left
 Legend: HE/////////EX
- Rev.:** in the centre of the coin: / / / MA/ topped by a short line
 Legend: / / / / CHE////
- Diam.:** 14 mm
- Mass:** 0.53 g
- Prov.:** old find of the Baltic region
- Ref.:** –

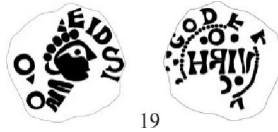
Denars from Lower Lorraine of the end of 10th and the beginning of 11th centuries with the name of the Virgin Mary, such as Dannenberg 239-245, 1872 and others, are traditionally considered to be minted in Maastricht. On the reverse of one of the coins belonging to this group, Ilisch^[30] reads the legend as AQ(US) GRANI, which allows him to reattribute several similar coin types from Maastricht to Aachen^[31]. Unfortunately, most of these coins are struck carelessly, which makes it impossible to read the legend on the reverse of the vast majority of specimens known at this moment.

The new obol is similar to the denar Dannenberg 1872 attributed by him to Maastricht, and Ilisch 2014, 50.4 attributed by him to Aachen. Unfortunately, the legend on the reverse cannot be reconstructed for the moment neither on the denars nor on the obols so that the final word on the identification is not yet said.

^[30] Ilisch 2014, 50.5.

^[31] *Ibid.*, 50.1-50.7.

19. Unidentified mint, Maas valley (?), Theoduin (1048-1075), bishop of Liège and Godfrey III (1050-1076), duke of Lower Lorraine



Obv.: Head to the right

Legend (retrograde): ...DIED(?)////S / . P(?)S

Rev.: (in the centre and retrograde)•O•/VIRH /•O

Legend: GODEF//D/S

Diam.: 17-18 mm

Mass: 0.87 g; 1.28 g

Prov.: a hoard in Kovrov district, Vladimirskaya oblast, *tpq* 1065

Ref.: Trostyanskiy & Van Laere 2014, p. 211; Ilisch 2014, 37-5

This coin represents a unique example of joint minting by Theoduin, bishop of Liège, and Godfrey, duke of Lower Lorraine. The denar was minted between 1050 and 1065. The bishop of Liège and the duke of Lorraine had no joint possessions for which coins with both their names should be minted. However, there was one important event in which both participated. In 1057, pope Stephen IX, who was the younger brother of Godfrey II with the Beard and the uncle of Godfrey III the Hunchback, offered the bishop of Liège a particle of the True Cross. Godfrey III the Hunchback accompanied the relic from Bouillon to Liège. On the 3rd of May 1058, the relic arrived in Liège and was solemnly welcomed by its inhabitants^[32]. It is highly probable that this type of coin was struck at this precise occasion, that would have caused a lot of expenses. Most likely, the engraver used coins of Theoduin and Godfrey as models because the legend on the obverse and the text in the centre of the reverse are mirrored. The reverse is inspired by Dannenberg 131, but instead of Mary's name, the engraver put the name of Godfrey. Although we cannot be altogether certain, we assume that Godfrey III the Hunchback is intended, since his father Godfrey II was probably still in disgrace in 1058.

20. Unidentified mint, Henry II, king or emperor (1002/1014-1024)



Obv.: Bust to the left surrounded with a beaded circle

Legende: //NR//VS ///

^[32] Dengis 2006, p. 79.

Rev.: Cross *pattée*, in the quarters • / S / • / G; the whole surrounded by a beaded circle

Legend: ////E(?)N////

Diam.: 18 mm

Mass: 1.19 g

Prov.: a hoard found in Leningradskaya oblast, *tpq* 1024

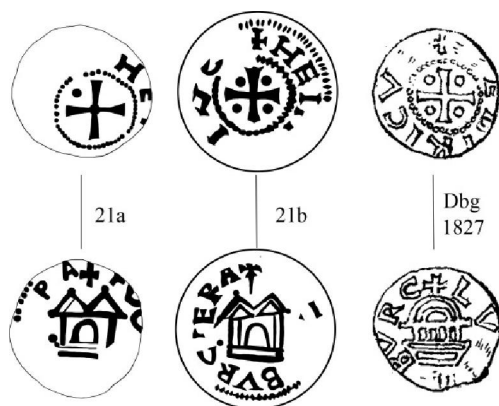
Ref.: Trostyanskiy & Van Laere 2014, p. 209-210; Ilisch 2014, 5-10

The general appearance of this denar points to Lorraine, but neither the obverse nor the reverse yield sufficient clues for an irrefutable attribution.

The traces of the legend on the obverse seem to agree with *Henricus* but give no clue as to the title of king or emperor.

The only letters that can be read with certainty on the reverse are the S and G in the quarters of the cross. Although it is uncertain how these letters should be interpreted, one possibility is that they are the initials of the patron saint of the place where the coin was minted. The names of several saints start with a G. The most common on coins of this period are George and Gertrude^[33]. However, if this coin was minted in Lorraine, saint George seems rather improbable, which leaves us with saint Gertrude of Nivelles, whose name is mentioned on coins from the abbey of Nivelles. But it seems highly improbable that coins were minted by the abbey in the name of the emperor. Furthermore, we know that the right to mint was only granted to the abbey in 1040 by Henry III. If there is any relation between Nivelles and this coin, then one has to assume that the coin was minted at the town of Nivelles before the right to mint was granted to the abbey. Although this is not altogether impossible since we know that from the 9th century onwards there was a small but thriving market in Nivelles with international links with e.g. London, such a hypothesis lacks sufficient proof.

21. Luxemburg, Henry II, count of Luxemburg (1026-1047)?



Obv.: Cross *pattée* with a dot in each quarter

^[33] Kluge 1991, p. 116.

Legend between two beaded circles: **† HEIN(?)//H(?)VS**

Rev.: Gate with two towers whose pointed roofs are topped with a ball

Legend: **† //VC//BVRCIERA**

Around everything a beaded circle

Diam.: 18-19 mm

Mass: 0.87 g (cleaned); 1.01 g; 1.12 g

Prov.: 21a. a hoard Dobrzyn Wisla (Poland), *tpq* 1060

21b. a hoard found in Latvia, *tpq* 1059 (2)

Ref.: 21a –; 21b FMaP III, 31:27

The drawing 21b is based on two coins of the same dies. Both have significant defects: one was double struck, the other strongly bent, which makes it impossible for now to provide an absolutely correct reconstruction; 21a is only known from a drawing of the specimen in the Dobrzyn Wisla hoard that seems to be lost at present.

The denars of type 21b share similar features with denars from several cities of Lower and Upper Lorraine during the 11th century. These are minted on a flan with an almost square shape with rounded corners. The gate with two towers with triangular roofs on the reverse first appears on coins from Trier during the reign of Henry II (1002-1024), where it seems to represent the famous *Porta nigra*^[34]. Later a similar gate can be seen on coins from Thuin^[35] and Verdun^[36].

The die for both 21a and 21b was cut roughly, and the image is simplified. The tops of the two towers look almost like a single gable. The authors of the publication of the Dobrzyn Wisla hoard place their no. 31, which is of the same type as our type 21, among the indeterminate issues from Lower Lorraine in the Cologne area^[37], but these coins also have great similarities with coins of Upper Lorraine and, above all, with the denars of the bishops of Metz^[38]. The shapes of the letters on type 21 are also typical for the issues of bishops of Metz and Verdun. The denars 21 make it clear that the issuer was someone called Heinrich, and that the mint place has **BURG** in its name. The dating of the hoard indicates that the coins were issued before the early 1060s. There is one obvious possible combination of Heinrich and [...]burg for Upper and Lower Lorraine before 1060, *viz.* of a Henry in Luxembourg. Because the coin does not mention the title of the issuer, king/emperor Henry III (1039-1056) seems to be excluded, so that Henry II, count of Luxemburg (1025-1047), remains the sole candidate.

A denar from Luxembourg minted in the first half of the 11th century was tentatively identified by Dannenberg^[39], but in this he was challenged by Kluge who, with others, suggests to attribute that same coin to Dietrich II, bishop of

[34] Dannenberg 462.

[35] *Ibid.* 263.

[36] *Ibid.* 1427.

[37] FMaP III, 2015, p. 116.

[38] Dannenberg 24-33, 104, 105 and Flon 2002, *e.g.* p. 176-185.

[39] Dannenberg 1827.

Metz (1005-1047)^[40]. The new coin not only brings us arguments in favour of Dannenberg but also supports Weiller^[41] when he argues in favour of the identification of another coin of Henry II that seems to have escaped Dannenberg.

22. Unidentified mint in the Maas valley, Frederick, duke (1046-1065)



Obv.: Diademed head to the left with a spear behind the head

Legend from 9 o'clock: **FREDERICVS DVX**

Everything within a beaded circle

Rev.: Temple with four or five columns

Legend: on the left // I, on the right PRI, below //II/

Diam.: 19 mm

Mass: 1.09 g; 1.11 g; 1.12 g; 1.22 g; 1.35 g

Prov.: a hoard found in Latvia, *tpq* 1059 (2 – 22a, b), a hoard found in Leningradskaya oblast, *tpq* 1059 (1 – 22a).

Ref.: Dannenberg 1234, 1234 a

Dannenberg^[42] attributes this coin type to Frederick II (III), duke of Upper Lorraine (1026-1033), and minted in Andernach. The reverse is undoubtedly related to the coinage of Andernach. However, in his recent catalogue of coins of Upper Lorraine during the period 880-1140 Kluge does not mention issues of duke Frederick II^[43]. According to him, coins of Andernach with an 'antique' temple have been minted from the late 1020s to the 1050s, but the type with the temple and this arrangement of the legend is only known from hoards with a *tpq* from before 1047^[44]. Since denars of Frederick, duke of Upper Lorraine cannot have been minted later than 1033, the prototype of the reverse should

[40] Kluge 2000, p. 125. Flon 2002, p. 179-180 seems to ignore Dannenberg 1827.

[41] Weiller 1977, p. 6, nr 1.

[42] Dannenberg, p. 597.

[43] Kluge 2001, p. 169-180, p. 177, no. 22.14.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 170.

have appeared earlier than that date. Until now, coins of Frederick are only known from hoards, concealed not earlier than 1050s.

The inaccuracies of the image on the reverse seem to indicate that these coins were in fact not minted in Andernach. For the moment, we can only guess why coins of Andernach became a model to be emulated. Anyhow, a similar type of coin with an 'antique' temple was struck earlier on by the dukes of Lower Lorraine^[45].

The Wichmjaz hoard (*tpq* 1068) included 14 coins of the type Dannenberg 1234a. As the end of the name is illegible on all specimens, we can assume that the die used for all 14 coins suffered from the same – intentional (?) – degradation. It seems unlikely that coins minted in small quantities at the turn of the 1020-1030s would stay or come together in a compact group in a Russian hoard 40 years after being minted. We should also remember that in the huge Wichmjaz hoard, there were not many coins of secular or ecclesiastic rulers from Upper Lorraine in the first third of the 11th century. It is equally important to mention that these coins are poorly struck and roughly made on irregular flans. Likewise coins of the Dannenberg 1234 type are not similar to the neat coins struck on round flans such as other denars from Andernach in the 1020-1030s. The style of duke Frederick's denars is close to that of the coins of the dukes of Lower Lorraine of the first half of the 11th century, especially, Gozelo I (1023-1044)^[46]. That is why we think we can suggest that the Dannenberg 1234 type coins were produced on behalf of Frederick, duke of Lower Lorraine (1046-1065), in a location in the Maas valley as yet unidentified.

23. Ciney, Theoduin (1048-1075), bishop of Liège



- Obv.:** Frontal head of a clergyman breaking a beaded circle
 Legend, retrograde beginning at 5 o'clock: **DI///NVS**
 Potin 1963B, no. 7: **DIED(?)VI///** within a beaded circle
- Rev.:** Head of a clergyman to the right, a crosier in front of it

^[45] Dannenberg 1391.

^[46] Ilisch 2014, 37·6-37·13.

Legend between two beaded circles and beginning at 3 o'clock: ✚
//S//NTBE(?)//S

Potin 1963B, no. 7: /////ERTVS

Diam.: 19 mm

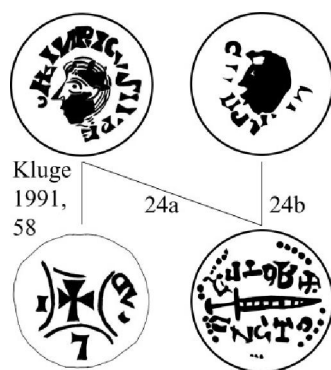
Mass: 1.00 g; 1.04 g; 1.18 g

Prov.: a hoard found in the Baltic region, *tpq* 1068 (1)

Ref.: Potin 1963B, no. 7, Dengis 2016, 176

The die link between type 23 and Dannenberg 1219 indicates that it was minted at Ciney. Denars of type Dannenberg 1219 were included in the hoards with the earliest *tpq* 1051^[47], which means that both types have been minted in Ciney at the very beginning of the reign of the bishop Theoduin.

24. Herstal (?), Henry III, emperor (1046-1056)



Obv.: 24a Head to the left

Legend beginning at 9 o'clock: HEINRICVSIN(?)PE with H and E in ligature

24b Head to the left

Legend: unidentified traces

Rev.: Sword with the blade to the right, underneath C(?)NCTO and above C(?)L(?)LO✚ with T and R inverted. All enclosed by a beaded circle

Diam.: 19 mm

Mass: 24a 1.22 g

24b 1.12 g; 1.16 g

Prov.: 24a a hoard in the Kovrov district, Vladimirskaya oblast, *tpq* 1065

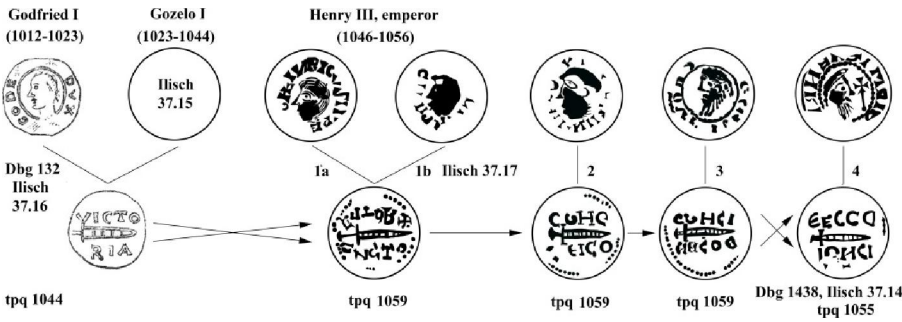
24b a hoard found in the Baltic region, *tpq* 1059 (2)

Ref.: Trostyanskiy 2014, p. 231-242

The die connection between denars of the type Victoria/Sword with a distorted inscription and imperial denars of Henry III (1046-1056) of Liège suggests that their coinage did not start before the end of the 1040s, as the Liège obverse is connected with a reverse on which the word VICTORIA is the least distorted.

^[47] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

Table. 1 Die links of the coins from the Victoria/Sword group



One can imagine that a coin with a portrait or maybe even a die from the mint of Liège inspired a local engraver to cut new obverse dies when it was planned that the coining of denars of the Victoria/Sword type would be resumed. For the reverse dies the engraver imitated denars of Godfrey I or Gozelo I minted about two decades earlier. Since the die engraver was clearly inexperienced, the new dies only roughly corresponded to the models whose images were mirrored. After a relatively short period, the inscription on either side of the sword degraded even more and became completely illegible (Tab. 1, No. 1a-4).



The assumption of Ilisch that the denars of Dannenberg 132 with the correct **VICTORIA** inscription were minted later than Dannenberg 1438 with a distorted inscription does not seem to be very logical^[48], since in the vast majority of similar cases inscriptions on coins of the 10th-11th centuries were distorted over time, but did not improve. Furthermore Dannenberg 132 appears more often in earlier Scandinavian hoards, while Dannenberg 1438 is more typical for later hoards, *e.g.* East Baltic and Russian ones.

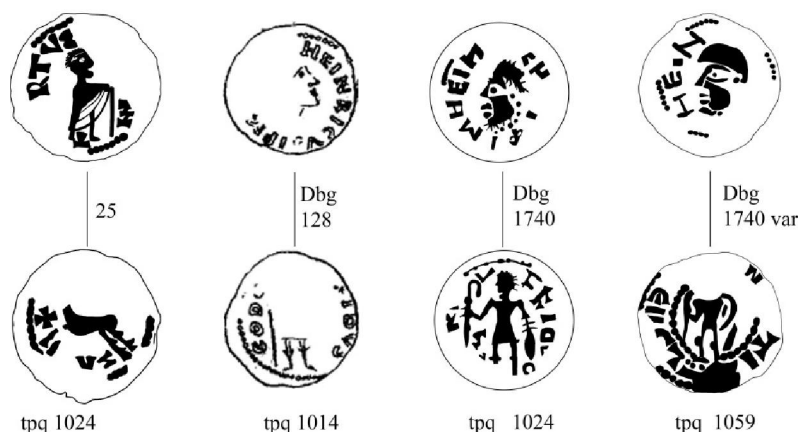
^[48] *Ibid.*, p. 292-293.

In our opinion, the coinage of the Victoria/Sword group started under duke Godfried I after 1017 and continued into the beginning of the reign of Gozelo I (1023-1044): Ilisch 37-15 and 37-16.

In the late 1040s, the production of denars of this type was resumed on behalf of emperor Henry III. On the imperial coins the word **VICTORIA**, as well as the legends, quickly degraded, as most dies seem to have been made by low-skilled engravers. For this reason, we suggest to exclude Liège from the list of possible mints and propose as an alternative a small neighboring town such as Herstal.

25. Visé, anonymous issue, about 1020

Henry II, emperor and duke Godfrey II
(1014-1023)



Obv.: A standing man in a cape or toga to the right with a crozier in his right hand (?)

Legend: **////A(?)NT//RTVS**

All enclosed by a beaded circle

Rev.: Running deer to the left

Legende beginning at 9 o'clock: **+ ///ZA**

Diam.: 19 mm

Mass: 0.97 g

Prov.: Tervolovo hoard, Leningradskaya oblast, *tpq* 1024

Ref.: –

The legible part of the legend on the reverse leaves no doubt that this coin was minted at Visé. The obverse depicts saint Lambert, one of the patrons of the city. The denar was part of a large hoard found in Termolovo (*tpq* 1024) which allows us to date it no later than the mid-1020s. This is probably the earliest type of Visé coins featuring a deer, which became later on iconic for that city.



Picture 4.
Dbg 1740.1



Picture 5.
Dbg 1740.2



Picture 6.
Dbg 1740 var.

The die engraver has a very peculiar and recognizable style, especially in dealing with the head. The same engraver probably cut dies for the denars Dannenberg 1740, on which the reverse shows saint Martin, another patron saint of Visé, holding a crozier and a sword^[49]. The Tervolovo hoard included one denar Dannenberg 1740 on which the reverse legend can be read as //FRID/S, possibly to be completed as GODFRIDVS.

An interesting variant of Dannenberg 1740 comes from the Jekabpils hoard (*tpq* 1059). That coin is of a different style and the lettering is more consistent with the middle of the 11th century, which leads us to believe that it was minted during the reign of Henry III.

26. Unidentified mint in the Maas valley, Henry IV (1056-1106), end of the 11th century



26



Ilisch
35.17



Obv.: Frontal standing warrior with a pointed helmet and wearing a chain mail. He has a sword in his right hand and a spear in his left. At both sides of his neck there is a six-pointed star, and between his legs one can distinguish a beaded circle or a letter O
All enclosed by a beaded circle

[49] Trostyankiy 2014, p. 238-239.

Rev.: A city gate between two two-storeyed towers topped with a cross. The gate itself is topped by a frontal head – of the patron saint ? – and a cross in the gate

Legend: / / / **VS**

All enclosed by a beaded circle

Diam.: 15 mm

Mass: 0.76 g

Prov.: single find in Baltic region

Ref.: Ilisch 35.17 (diam. 12 mm, mass 0.,58 g)

The design of the warrior is stylistically close to Dannenberg 1474 and 1475, both from Liège during the reign of Otbert (1091-1119). Like the Liège coins, the new coin was undoubtedly minted at the turn of the 11th-12th centuries. It shares features with Ilisch 35.17 dated by him^[50] at about 1080 and situated in the Maas valley.



Picture 7. Ilisch 35.17

The image of the head of the patron saint above the gate is fairly common on German coins from the 12th century onwards and does not help us with the identification of the Mint. The letters to the right of the gate can be read as **VS** or **SA** and offer no clear solution. Nevertheless, they suggest an attribution to Visé since they can be completed as (VAIO)SA(Z), VIOZA or VESATVM.

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^[50] Ilisch 2014, p. 265.

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Plate I



Plate II



17



18



19



20



21b.1



21b.2



22a.1



22a.2



22b



23



24a



24b



25



26

