In the course of the second half of the fourteenth century there began a development which threw Westphalia into the worst period of her monetary history. Striking almost ceased at all the numerous Westphalian mints during the inflation of 1375/85. Various foreign coin types superseded the local antiquated Pfennige: namely the gold florin, the noble, the French gros tournois and its Dutch and Rhenish imitations, Bohemian and Thuringian, Flemish and Dutch groats and North German Witten. The fifteenth century made confusion worse confounded. Numerous types of Dutch and Flemish groats are found accompanied by French blancs, Rhenish Raderalbus, Rhenish and Dutch florins and other coins. Any Westphalian hoard of the fifteenth century, in fact, resembles a collection of contemporaneous coins.

Though English coins had been of importance for Westphalian currency
and coinage in the thirteenth century, ¹ English and Scottish groats can be shown not to have appeared in Westphalia before the middle of the fifteenth century. They occur in four Westphalian hoards, and one stray find is also recorded.

Esseler Loh, Kreis Recklinghausen. Deposit: c. 1490. Contents: c. 800 silver coins, mainly Dutch and Flemish groats, also 8 English groats and 6 half-groats (2 of Edward III, 12 of Henry VI) and 2 Scottish groats.²

Hassel, Kreis Lüdinghausen. Deposit: c. 1490. Contents: 78 gold and 1,370 silver coins, mainly of Dortmund, together with countermarked Bohemian groats, Dutch, Rhenish, and French groats and 30 English coins of Henry VI and Edward IV (?), apparently groats and half-groats, and a London groat of Edward III, countermarked by the city of Münster.³

Meckinghoven, Kreis Recklinghausen. Deposit: c. 1490. Contents: c. 800 silver coins, mainly Dutch and Flemish groats, together with 3 English groats and half-groats (1 of Edward III and 2 of Henry VI) and 1 Scottish half-groat.⁴

Isenberg, Ennepe-Ruhrkreis. Deposit: c. 1495. Contents: 1,047 silver coins, mainly Rhenish Hohlpfennige, together with 8 English and Irish coins of Henry VI and Edward IV.⁵


Westphalian documents of the late fifteenth century mention English groats and half-groats as well as numerous German, Dutch, and French coins. The groats are called Stoter, the half-groats halve Stoter. The coin list of the treaty of 1489 of the Westphalian coin convention is typical: ‘Item Engelsche unde Colsche Stoters teyn up den gulden, dat stucke xii penninge, Item de halven vi penninge’ (Stoters of England and Cologne ten to the florin, twelve pence a piece).⁷ English groats in this document are valued the same as Rhenish Blanken, and twice as high as Bohemian groats.⁸

Since the second half of the fourteenth century certain foreign coins had been countermarked by Westphalian cities. It began c. 1370 with the countermarking of inferior Rhenish imitations of the French gros tournois.⁹ Soon Bohemian groats were being countermarked by many Westphalian cities as well as by places in Southern Germany. The countermarking of Bohemian groats, referred to in numerous contemporary documents, was continued until the beginning of the late sixteenth century.¹⁰ Thuringian groats were

² Unpublished in the Recklinghausen Museum.
⁴ Unpublished in the Datteln Museum and other collections.
⁵ C. Reistorff, Der Isenberger Münzfund, Leipzig, 1866.
⁶ In the Ramsdorf Museum.
⁷ Zeitschrift für vaterländische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde, i, Münster 1838, 334.
⁸ Item bemessche krosschen . . . xx up den gulden, dat stucke vi penninge.
¹⁰ Krusy, Hassel, 24.
countermarked in Westphalia by the end of the fourteenth century, North German Witten c. 1410–30,1 Dutch groats c. 1420–1500,2 coins of Dortmund and Horde c. 1480–90.3 Sometimes a countermark occurs twice on a coin, obviously the sign for a certain valuation. Often, too, inferior coins were subjected to countermarking, to distinguish them from legal issues.

Westphalian countermarks on English groats are extremely rare:

1. **City of Munster**
   - Countermark: Head of St. Paul.
   - Munster, Landesmuseum, 3-32 grammes.
   - From Hassel (Kappenberg) hoard. Deposit: c. 1490.
   - Peus,5 p. 26, no. 11. (Pl. XXI, 1)

2. **City of Munster**
   - Countermark: Head of St. Paul (as on no. 1).
   - On obverse of Henry VI, Calais groat, annulet issue (1422–5).
   - Formerly Bonn, Kalenberg collection, present whereabouts unknown.
   - Peus, p. 26, no. 12. (Pl. XXI, 2)

3. **City of Munster**
   - Countermark: Head of St. Paul, different design.
   - On reverse of Henry VI, Calais half-groat, annulet issue (1422–5).
   - Purchased from a Viennese collector, who had acquired it in Amsterdam. (Pl. XXI, 3)

4. **City of Herford**
   - Countermark: Arms of the City.
   - Twice on obverse of Henry VI, Calais groat, Rosette-Mascle issue (1425–8).
   - Munster, Landesmuseum, 3-00 grammes.
   - From Freilaubersheim hoard (Kreis Alzey, near Mainz). Deposit: c. 1480.
   - From Joseph collection, part ii, Frankfurt 1912, lot 8101. (Pl. XXI, 4)

5. **City of Herford**
   - Countermark: Arms of the City (as no. 4).
   - Twice on obverse of Edward IV, London groat, light Coinage (1464–70).
   - Blunt/Whitton Class Vd.
   - London, British Museum, Department of Coins, 2-83 grammes.
   - From Lockett collection, part iv, London 1956, lot 1643. (Pl. XXI, 5)

6. **City of Paderborn**
   - Countermark: Arms of the City within a pearl border.
   - Berlin, Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen, 3-77 grammes. Pierced.
   - Formerly in the Kassel Museum. (Pl. XXI, 6)

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1 W. Jesse, *Der wendische Münzverein*, Lübeck, 1928, 97–98.
7. City of Lippstadt

Countermark: Two roses, overlapping each other.
On obverse of Henry VI, Calais groat, annulet issue (1422–5).
Berlin, Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen, 3.58 grammes.
From Kassel sale, Halle 1924, lot 2029. (Pl. XXI, 7)

The present writer would not venture to declare as genuine a further countermark on an English groat (Pl. XXI, 8). The specimen, a Calais groat of Henry VI, annulet issue (1422–5), 3.80 grammes in the Krusy collection in Witten, purchased at the Kress sale 90, Munich 1951, lot 2235, is countermarked by a star of eight points. The same countermark-punch occurs on various coins of the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries, some of them of types never found countermarked otherwise:

(a) France, Philip IV, 1285–1314, gros tournois.1
(b) France, Philip IV, 1285–1314, gros tournois.2
(c) Brabant, John II, 1294–1312, Brussels, gros tournois, de Witte 298.3
(d) Flanders, Louis de Male, 1346–1384, groat.4
(e) City of Korbach, pfennig, fifteenth century, Grote 28.5

A similar countermark has been found on seven further coins of the thirteenth–seventeenth (!) centuries, some of which again one would not expect to find countermarked:

(f) Bohemia, John I, 1310–1346, groat in excellent condition.6
(g) France, Louis IX, 1226–1270, gros tournois.7
(h) France, Philip V, 1316–1322, gros tournois. Imitation?8
(i) Flanders, Louis de Male, 1346–1384, groat.9
(j) City of Frankfurt, gros tournois, fifteenth–sixteenth centuries.10
(k) Bohemia, Ferdinand I, 1527–1564, groat.11
(l) Bohemia, Ferdinand II, taler (crown) 1633 of Kuttenberg.12

The nos. (c), (d), (i), (j), (k), and (l) can hardly be authentic examples of countermarking.

The countermarks of this series have never been recorded in a genuine hoard. The first specimens were sold in the Riechmann sale V, 1912, lot 31–38. The city of Korbach, to which these counterfeits have been attributed hitherto, used a different star as a countermark. It is rather doubtful if the countermark ‘star of eight points’ would have been used by another place in the county of Waldeck. Finally, it is most suspicious that the same countermark-

1 Kassel coll. from Riechmann sale V, 1912, lot 33.
2 Peus sale 255, 1956, lot 704, withdrawn as a forgery.
3 Kress sale 90, 1951, lot 2234, now in Krusy coll.
4 Frankfurt Museum from Riechmann sale V, lot 32.
5 Krusy coll. from Kress sale 90, lot 2236. A further specimen in Riechmann sale V, lot 31.
6 Krusy coll. from Riechmann sale V, lot 34 and Kress sale 90, lot 2231. Countermarked Bohemian groats are always in the poorest condition.
7 Krusy coll. from Kress sale 90, lot 2233.
8 Krusy coll. from Kress sale 90, lot 2239.
9 Krusy coll. from Kress sale 90, lot 2237.
10 Frankfurt Museum from Kress sale 90, lot 2238.
11 Kassel coll. from Riechmann sale V, lot 35.
12 Kress sale 90, lot 2232. Present whereabouts unknown. The author is indebted to Herr Hans Krusy for his kind advice in bringing together the notes 1–12 above.
punch should have been used for 300 years (fourteenth to seventeenth centuries).

Owing to the lack of contemporary documentation it is pure hypothesis to try to explain the significance of the Westphalian countermarks on English groats. Possibly the introduction of the light coinage of 1464 led to the countermarking in Westphalia, to distinguish the old groats from the new. Possibly the double countermark of the city of Herford may be explained as a mark for inferior specimens. Double countermarking had been used for such a purpose earlier. As a matter of fact, one of the specimens illustrated (no. 5) is of the light coinage and the other (no. 4) is heavily clipped.

Furthermore, it is characteristic that the city of Münster used two obviously different punches for countermarking to distinguish between groats and half-groats.

For comparison here are reproduced some similar Westphalian countermarks on other coin types of the fifteenth century. These are in the Münster collection (Pl. XXI, A–D).

A. City of Munster. Countermark ‘Head of St. Paul’ on double groat of Utrecht, Frederik of Blankenheim, 1394–1423, mint of Deventer, from the Sendenhorst hoard (deposit c. 1430). Similar countermarks also occur on North German Witten, Bohemian groats, and Dutch florins.

B. City of Herford. Counter-mark ‘Arms of the City’ on Bohemia, Wenceslaus IV, 1378–1419, groat, from the Sendenhorst hoard. Similar countermarks on North German Witten, groats of Hessen and Utrecht, Rhenish Albus, and Dutch florins.

C. City of Paderborn. Countermark ‘Arms of the City within a pearl border’ on Bohemia, Wenceslaus IV, 1378–1419, groat. Similar countermarks on North German Witten, groats of Hessen and Thuringia, and on groats of Utrecht.

D. City of Lippstadt. Countermark ‘Rose’ twice on Bohemia, Wenceslaus IV, 1378–1419, groat. The countermark ‘Two roses, overlapping each other’, also occurs on Bohemian groats. Similar countermarks on Rhenish gros tournois, North German Witten, and groats of Hessen and Thuringia.

Countermarks of the following Westphalian cities could also be expected to occur on English coins, since they are found on other coins of the fifteenth century: Soest (key), Warburg (fleur-de-lis), Werl (coat of arms), and Osnabrück (wheel).

For the permission to publish here their countermarked groats the author is indebted to the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum, to the Münzsammlung der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin, and to Herr Hans Krusy, Witten. Finally, he wants to express his sincere thanks to his friend Mr. R. H. M. Dolley, who has kindly given him his advice and prepared the typescript for the English printer.

1 Krusy, Hassel, p. 21.
2 Peus, pp. 23–27.
4 Krusy, Hassel, pp. 31–36 and nos. 31–33.
WESTPHALIAN COUNTERMARKS ON ENGLISH GROATS

Plate XXI