

APPENDIX I

SURVEY OF WERGELDS IN MEDIEVAL FRISIA

In this Appendix the wergeld hypothesis is tried out tentatively in a number of cases found in the documents. For each case the silver equivalence of the wergeld amount is calculated, taking aggravating circumstances into account. The result is to be compared with the normal wergeld as mentioned in the wergeld hypothesis; see Excursus 1.1: 'On the wergeld hypothesis'. In a number of cases, however, the silver equivalence of the wergeld could not be inferred, so - for comparison - it is calculated by applying the hypothesis. It should be taken into consideration that small wergeld = half normal wergeld.

NB1. In this survey, amounts between square brackets [] are calculated by using the wergeld hypothesis.

NB2. It should be noted that the silver equivalencies in this survey are mostly multiples of uncertain values; therefore, the resulting amounts are at best approximate. For the sake of legibility I have chosen not to indicate this with a 'c.' symbol, but a degree of inaccuracy should be taken into account.

NB3. The multiplier in this survey stands for the application of rules aiming to account for aggravating circumstances. Before c.1375 the total wergeld amount of each case was 'the' wergeld, as mentioned in the survey, enhanced by the multiplier; 'the' wergeld, then, can be compared with the normal wergeld in the wergeld hypothesis. After c.1375 the small wergeld (*litik yeld*) was 'the' wergeld as basis for calculation.¹ The small wergeld was the wergeld of the rider or the common man. It amounted to half the wergeld of a free Frisian = a freeholder = a *husman*. Moreover, after 1417 (imperial privilege), the kin's share was usually included in the compensation for manslaughter; so the total compensation was the (small) wergeld + kin's share, enhanced by the multiplier.

NB4. Multiplication refers to aggravating circumstances of manslaughter. The multiplication was an element of the wergeld institution itself. The evolution of this institution in medieval Frisia is described in Excursus 1.1. Aggravating circumstan-

¹ Excursus 1.1: 'On the wergeld hypothesis', see (d).

ces, of course, could differ from one region to another, though in general they were rather similar. The rules governing the multiplier for aggravating circumstances in the high and late Middle Ages are given in table H

NB5. In addition to these rules there were explicitly formulated multipliers that were used, for instance, in cases that might provoke either internal war between regions in Frisia or war with other countries.

Table H Rules of the wergeld multiplication

These rules are applied in the survey in cases where the multiplier is greater than 1. However, deviations have occurred and I have therefore indicated the elements of the multiplier used in each case: 2 = 2 wergelds; +1 = additional wergeld; 2 x = doubling, and so on.

	<u>until c.1375</u>	<u>after c.1375</u>
- victim is rider	: -	1
- victim is <i>husman</i>	: 1	2
- victim is judge	: 2	4
- on secure road	: + 1	
- in polder jurisdiction	: + 1	-
- in water board jurisd.	: + 1	*)
- to/in/from court	: + 1	2 x (or +3)
- under peace of God	: 2 x sum	-

*) The survey includes several examples of compensations for manslaughter within the jurisdiction of a water board. The rules used by these authorities in cases with aggravating circumstances did vary. I found two systems in use in the 15th century.² One was based on a compensation for *homicide* of 30 old *schilden*; the other was based on a compensation for *homicide* of 10 English marks. The first system had a

² A probably corrupted compensation for ordinary manslaughter is found in a copy of the statutes of the Vredewold Oosterzijlvest of 1425 (RAG MANUSCRIPTS: 13b, 1029), having 15 score of Groningen marks for ordinary manslaughter, *i.e.* (15 x 20 x 12 =) 3,600 old *vleemse groten* (see Chapter 12, 'On the history of the measure of value') and 90 old *schilden*, *i.e.* (90 x 30 =) 2,700 old *vleemse groten* in cases where the victim was summoned by the court. The last case being apparently worse, it should have been compensated by a larger instead of a smaller amount than the first case. As the latter amount (90 old *schilden*) is also found elsewhere in the same system, the former amount (15 score Groningen marks) was probably an error. The error might have been made by copying the compensation from the same case in the Vredewold Westerzijlvest of 1425 (RAG MANUSCRIPTS, 13b, 1035), which includes that compensation but uses the alternative multiplication system.

multiplication of (probably) 2 in cases of ordinary manslaughter (60 old *schilden*), of 3 in cases where the victim was summoned by the court of the board (90 old *schilden*) and of 4 in cases where the victim was a judge (120 old *schilden*). The other system had a multiplication of 4 in ordinary cases (40 marks English) and of 8 in cases of attending the court, no matter whether the victim was a common man or a judge (80 marks English).

In the following survey, the figures between brackets () refer to the wergeld multiplier as explained in table H.

Primeval situation until c.1250

Year : 7th century
 Source³ : *Lex Frisionum*
 Victim : freeman (1)
 Conditions : in Mid-Frisia and East Frisia
 Money/acnt : (gold) *solidi*
 Wergeld : $\frac{2}{3} \times 53 \frac{1}{3} = 35 \frac{5}{9}$ *solidi* (kin's share excluded)
 Silver eq. : $35 \frac{5}{9} \times 12 \times 3.9\text{g} = 1,664\text{g}$ (ratio silver:gold = 12)
 Multiplier : 1
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,664g

Year : c.790
 Source⁴ : *Lex Frisionum*
 Victim : freeman (1)
 Conditions : in East Frisia
 Money/acnt : *veteres denarios* (bullion coins?)
 Wergeld : $5 \frac{1}{2}$ pounds
 Silver eq. : $5 \frac{1}{2} \times 240 \times 1.3\text{g} = 1,716\text{g}$ (less 3% cost: 1,664g)
 Multiplier : 1
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,716g/ (1,664g)

³ Excursus 3.3: 'On the silver equivalence of the wergeld in the *Lex Frisionum*'.

⁴ Ditto.

Year	: c.1000?; incorporated c.1077-1166.
Source ⁵	: Mid-Frisian <i>landriocht/skelta riocht</i>
Victim	: a man (1)
Conditions	: -
Money/acnt	: ‘old-Frisian’
Wergeld	: 8 pound 10 ounces 13 $\frac{1}{3}$ pennies
Silver eq.	: 8 $\frac{8}{9}$ x 240 x [0.78g = 1,664g]
Multiplier	: 1
S.eq/mltpl	: [1,664g]
Year	: c.1086?
Source ⁶	: <i>XVII Kesten</i> (15th)
Victim	: a raped woman (1)
Conditions	: -
Money/acnt	: ‘old-Frisian’
Wergeld	: 8 pounds 10 ounces 13 $\frac{1}{3}$ pennies
Silver eq.	: 8 $\frac{8}{9}$ x 240 x [0.78g = 1,664g]
Multiplier	: 1
Seq/mltpl	: [1,664g]
Year	: c.1086?
Source ⁷	: <i>XXIV Landriochten</i> (23rd)
Victim	: a pregnant woman (1)
Conditions	: -
Money/acnt	: ‘old-Frisian’
Wergeld	: 7 x 8 pound 8 ounces 8 pennies
Silver eq.	: 8.7 x 240 x [0.80g = 1,664g] (H7)
Multiplier	: 7 (multiplier explicit, but not argued in the law)
S.eq/mltpl	: [1,664g]

⁵ Excursus 5.1: ‘On the genesis of the wergeld in ‘old-Frisian’ money in the 11th century’.

⁶ Only in version ms. ‘Jus’. See Excursus 5.1: ‘On the genesis of the wergeld in ‘old-Frisian’ money in the 11th century’. See Chapter 5, ‘The history of the measure of value’ for the dating.

⁷ Except Ommelanden versions. See Excursus 5.1: ‘On the genesis of the wergeld in ‘old-Frisian’ money in the 11th century’.

Year	: c.1100?
Source ⁸	: general register of compensation tariffs
Victim	: blinding of an eye (= $\frac{1}{3}$ body)
Conditions	: -
Money/acnt	: ‘old-Frisian’
Wergeld ⁹	: 15 pounds or $22\frac{1}{2}$ marks (reconstructed ¹⁰)
Silver eq.	: $15 \times 40 \times [0.46\text{g} = 1,664\text{g}]$
Multiplier	: 1
S.eq/mltpl	: [1,664g]
Year	: early 12th century?
Source ¹¹	: compensation register of Ferwerderadeel etc.
Victim	: a man (1)
Conditions	: -
Money/acnt	: ‘old-Frisian’
Wergeld	: 15 pounds 4 ounces $13\frac{2}{3}$ pennies ¹²
Silver eq.	: $(15 \times 240 + 4 \times 20 + 13\frac{2}{3}) \times [0.45\text{g} = 1,664\text{g}]$
Multiplier	: 1
S.eq/mltpl	: [1,664g]
Year	: early 12th century?
Source ¹³	: compensation register of Wonseradeel etc.
Victim	: a man
Conditions	: -
Money/acnt	: ‘old-Frisian’
Wergeld	: 15 pounds $13\frac{1}{3}$ pennies ¹⁴
Silver eq.	: $(15 \times 240 + 13\frac{1}{3}) \times [0.46\text{g} = 1,662\text{g}]$
Multiplier	: 1
S.eq/mltpl	: [1,662g]

⁸ Nauta, *Die altfriesischen allgemeinen Bußtaxen*, 99.

⁹ A wergeld amount of 15 pounds + 4 ounces (= 3,680 pennies = 23 marks of 160 pennies) is also found in a number of Mid-Frisian registers of compensation tariffs, recorded in the next items.

¹⁰ 3 x compensation of 100 shillings

¹¹ Buma, *Westerlauwersches Recht I*, 446-447 (§103).

¹² The text has converted $13\frac{2}{3}$ pennies in 7 *grate* less $\frac{1}{3}$ rd penny according to the Mid-Frisian conversion directive.

¹³ *Ibidem*, 532-533 (§304).

¹⁴ The text has converted $13\frac{1}{3}$ pennies in 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ *grate* + 2 white pennies, according to the Mid-Frisian conversion directive.

Year : early 12th century
 Source¹⁵ : compensation register of Leeuwarderadeel
 Victim : a man
 Conditions : -
 Money/acnt : 'old-Frisian'
 Wergeld : 15 pounds 4 ounces
 Silver eq. : $(15 \times 240 + 4 \times 20) \times [0.45 = 1,664\text{g}]$
 Multiplier : 1
 S.eq/mltpl : [1,664g]

Year : first half 12th century?
 Source¹⁶ : compensation register of Emsingo
 Victim : cutting off 2 ears (= $\frac{1}{3}$ body)
 Conditions : -
 Money/acnt : 'old-Frisian'
 Wergeld¹⁷ : 36 marks (reconstructed¹⁸)
 Silver eq. : $36 \times 160 \times [0.29\text{g} = 1,664\text{g}]$
 Multiplier : 1
 S.eq/mltpl : [1,664g]

Year : middle 12th century?
 Source¹⁹ : general register of compensation tariffs
 Victim : blowing out an eye (= $\frac{1}{2}$ body)
 Conditions : -
 Money/acnt : 'old-Frisian'
 Wergeld : 40 *ieldmarks* (reconstructed²⁰)
 Silver eq. : $40 \times 144 \times [0.29\text{g} = 1,664\text{g}]$
 Multiplier : 1
 S.eq/mltpl : [1,664g]

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, 550-551 (§108).

¹⁶ Buma, *Das Emsiger Recht*, 66-67 (§27). *Ibidem*, 110-111 (§ 38); 172-173 (§57).

¹⁷ 6 marks in the first Old Frisian version of the compensation register of Emsingo, $\frac{1}{3}$ rd normal wergeld in both the other Old Frisian versions of this register.

¹⁸ = 3 x compensation of 12 marks.

¹⁹ Excursus 5.2: 'On the silver equivalence of the wergeld in Frisia in the general register of compensation tariffs'.

²⁰ = 2 x compensation of 20 *ieldmarks*.

Year : second half 12th century?
 Source²¹ : 2nd Hunsingo register of compensation tariffs
 Victim : a man (1)
 Conditions : -
 Money/acnt : ‘old-Frisian’
 Wergeld : 40 marks
 Silver eq. : 40 x 144 x [0.29g = 1,664g]
 Multiplier : 1
 S.eq/mltpl : [1,664g]

Year : first half 13th century?
 Source²² : Riustringen register of compensation tariffs
 Victim : a man (1)
 Conditions : -
 Money/acnt : ‘old-Frisian’?
 Wergeld : 45 *skillinga wichtgoldis* (reconstructed²³)
 Silver eq. : 45 x 39g = 1,755g²⁴
 Multiplier : 1
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,755g

Year : first half 13th century?
 Source²⁵ : 3rd Hunsingo register of compensation tariffs
 Victim : a man (1)
 Conditions : -
 Money/acnt : ‘old-Frisian’
 Wergeld : 80 marks? (reconstructed²⁶)
 Silver eq. : 80 x 144 x [0.14g = 1,664g]
 Multiplier : 1
 S.eq/mltpl : [1,664g]

²¹ Buma, *Das Hunsingoer Recht*, 66-67 (§ 20).

²² Buma, *Das Rüstringer Recht*, 72-73 (§9b).

²³ Compensation for laming an arm 15 *skillinga wichtgoldis*; usually $\frac{1}{3}$ rd wergeld, so wergeld 45 *skillinga wichtgoldis*.

²⁴ Excursus 5.5: ‘On the *skilling wicht goldis* in the judges’ books of Riustringen’: 1 *skilling wicht goldis* æ c.4,872g of gold. At a silver:gold ratio = 8 the silver equivalence of a *skilling wicht goldis* would be 39g.

²⁵ Buma, *Das Hunsingoer Recht*, 76-77, §§11 and 12; see also note 198.

²⁶ Compensation for (cutting off) a hand: half a wergeld or 40 marks. According to the following clauses the compensation for a thumb and the following pairs of fingers was 20 marks, this being $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the compensation for a hand. As this amount does not match the foregoing, Buma and Ebel have emended the hand compensation to 60 marks.

²⁷ Date suggested: after about the time when English pennies became current on the continent (c.1220), but before the declaration of the so-called peace of God in Frisia (c.1250. Excursus 5.4: ‘On the peace of God in Frisia’).

Year : between c.1220 and c.1250²⁷
Source²⁸ : statutes of Humsterland
Victim : a man (1)
Conditions : in the open field
Money/acnt : English
Wergeld : 8 marks
Silver eq. : $8 \times 160 \times 1.35\text{g} = 1,728\text{g}$
Multiplier : 1
S.eq/mltpl : 1,728g

Year : between c.1220 and c.1250²⁹
Source³⁰ : Mid-Frisian register of compensation tariffs
Victim : a man (1)
Conditions : -
Money/acnt : English
Wergeld : 8 marks (or $7\frac{1}{2}$ marks) (reconstructed³¹)
Silver eq. : $8 \times 160 \times 1.35\text{g}^{32} = 1,728\text{g}$ ($7\frac{1}{2} \times 160 \times 1.35\text{g} = 1,620\text{g}$)
Multiplier : 1
S.eq/mltpl : 1,728g (or 1,620g)

Year : c.1250
Source³³ : treaty between Emsingo and Brokmerland
Victim : a man (1)
Conditions : under accorded peace or at the door of a monastery, peace or no peace
Money/acnt : sterling
Wergeld : 30 marks
Silver eq. : $30 \times 144 \times 1.2\text{g}^{34} ? = 5,184\text{g}?$
Multiplier : 3^{35}
S.eq/mltpl : 1,728g?

²⁸ RQ, 358; the text is a copy, found in a manuscript in Low Saxon made in 1479.

²⁹ Date suggested: between c.1220, when English pennies became current on the continent and before the so-called peace of God in Frisia (c.1250. See Excursus 5.4: 'On the peace of God in Frisia').

³⁰ Buma, *Codex Aysma*, 494-495 (§§11 and 12).

³¹ A differentiation is made in the compensation for cutting off a hand or a foot: it was 30 ounces English money if cut off up to the joint and 32 ounces including the joint. Usually cutting off a hand or a foot was half a wergeld, hence normal wergeld was 60 ounces English money = $7\frac{1}{2}$ marks English, or 64 ounces = 8 marks English.

³² Chapter 6, 'The history of the measure of value'.

³³ Buma, *Die Brokmer Rechtshandschriften*, 139-142.

³⁴ Chapter 6, 'The history of the measure of value'.

³⁵ In Emsingo as well as in Brokmerland the wergeld in case of homicide in the churchyard was 3-fold (Buma, *Das Emsingoer Recht*, 224-225, §§66-67; Buma, *Das Brokmer Recht*, 44-45, §42).

Under the peace of God (c.1250-c.1375)

Year : 1250
Source³⁶ : statutes of Langewold
Victim : a man (1)
Conditions : not mentioned; probably peace of God
Money/acnt : 'old-Frisian'?
Wergeld : 100 pounds
Silver eq. : $100 \times 240 \times [0.14\text{g} = 3,328\text{g}]$
Multiplier : $2 \times (1) = 2$
S.eq/mltpl : [1,664g]

Year : c.1250 or shortly after?
Source³⁷ : statutes of Vredewold
Victim : a man (1)
Conditions : in his house (4H³⁸); probably peace of God
Money/acnt : 'old-Frisian'?
Wergeld : 400 pounds
Silver eq. : $400 \times 240 \times [0.14\text{g} = 13,440\text{g}]$
Multiplier : $2 \times (4 \times 1) = 8$
S.eq/mltpl : [1,680g (1,664g)]

Year : 2nd half 13th century
Source³⁹ : so-called 1st register of compensation tariffs of Hunsingo
Victim : inner phalanx of a finger (= 1/12th body⁴⁰)
Conditions : not mentioned, presumably peace of God
Money/acnt : 'old-Frisian'?
Wergeld : 180 marks (reconstructed⁴¹)
Silver eq. : $180 \times 160 \times [0.12\text{g} = 3,328\text{g}]$
Multiplier : $2 \times (1) = 2$
S.eq/mltpl : [1,664g]

³⁶ RQ, 366-369.

³⁷ Johnston, *Codex Humercensis*, 388.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, 388 (§1a); 478, also note 3.

³⁹ Buma, *Das Hunsingoer Recht*, 54-55 (§§40-46).

⁴⁰ Compensation for the inner phalanx of a finger 15 marks; compensation for 2 fingers or a thumb $\frac{1}{3}$ rd the compensation of a hand; compensation for the loss of a hand $\frac{1}{2}$ wergeld.

⁴¹ $= 2 \times 3 \times 2 \times 15$ marks = 180 marks.

Year : 2nd half 13th century?
 Source⁴² : procedure to offer a wergeld (Mid-Frisia)
 Victim : a man (*her D.*) (1)
 Conditions : not mentioned, presumably peace of God
 Money/acnt : worthwhile silver⁴³ (presumably *lodiges silver*⁴⁴)
 Wergeld : $16\frac{1}{2}$ marks
 Silver eq. : $16\frac{1}{2} \times 15/16 \times 234\text{g} = 3,620\text{g}$ uncoined $\approx 0.97? \times 3,620\text{g} = 3,511\text{g}$
 coined (3% minting costs).
 Multiplier : $2 \times (1) = 2$
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,755g

Year : 2nd half 13th century
 Source⁴⁵ : treaty between Emsingo and Brokmerland
 Victim : a man (1)
 Conditions : not mentioned, presumably peace of God
 Money/acnt : sterling
 Wergeld : 20 marks (reconstructed)⁴⁶
 Silver eq. : $20 \times 144 \times 1.2\text{g}? = 3,456\text{g}?$
 Multiplier : $2 \times (1) = 2$
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,728g

Year : second half 13th century?
 Source⁴⁷ : old statutes of Riustringen
 Victim : a man (1)
 Conditions : the perpetrator is a have-not; peace of God?
 Money/acnt : not mentioned
 Wergeld : 20 marks
 Silver eq. : if English marks $20 \times 144 \times 1.2? \text{g} = 3,456\text{g}?$
 Multiplier : $2 \times (1) = 2$
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,728g?

⁴² Buma, *Das Westerlauwersches Recht I*, 396-401.

⁴³ The Old Frisian text has in the manuscript *with tegis sel wens*, which is emended by Buma to *wichtigis selweris* and translated into *vollwichtigen Silbers*.

⁴⁴ 15/16 fine; see GENERAL REMARK ON FINENESS OF SILVER, page xix.

⁴⁵ Buma, *Die Brokmer Rechtshandschriften*, 137-139.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, 138: Mutilation of foot or hand or eye: compensation 10 marks; usually this was compensated by half a wergeld.

⁴⁷ Buma, *Das Rüstinger Recht*, 80-81 (§12).

Year : 1252
Source⁴⁸ : statutes of Hunsingo
Victim : a man (1)
Conditions : peace of God
Money/acnt : white silver (*lodiges silver*, 15/16 fine⁴⁹?)
Wergeld : 16 marks
Silver eq. : $16 \times 234\text{g}^{50} \times 15/16 = 3,510\text{g}$
Multiplier : $2 \times (1) = 2$
S.eq/mltpl : $1,755\text{g uncoined } \times 0.97? \times 1,755\text{g} = 1,702\text{g coined}$

Year : 1258
Source⁵¹ : treaty between Groningen and Fivelingo
Victim : inhabitant of Fivelingo or Groningen (1)
Conditions : a given area in Groningen and Fivelingo
Money/acnt : new English
Wergeld : 10 marks
Silver eq. : $10 \times 144 \times 1.2\text{g}? = 1,728\text{g}?$
Multiplier : 1⁵²
S.eq/mltpl : 1,728g?

⁴⁸ Buma, *Das Hunsingoer Recht*, 118-119 (§1).

⁴⁹ Sprandel, *Das mittelalterliche Zahlungssystem*, 33.

⁵⁰ 1 mark Cologne weight = 233.75g.

⁵¹ OGD1: 126.

⁵² Compare the treaty between Groningen and Oostergo in 1318.

Year : c.1270⁵³
 Source⁵⁴ : compensation register of Wymbritseradeel
 Victim : blowing out an eye or cutting off a foot or a hand
 Conditions : *onwerdelick* (= infamously), peace of God?
 Money/acnt : ‘old-Frisian’
 Wergeld : 200 pounds⁵⁵ (reconstructed)⁵⁶
 Silver eq. : 200 x 240 x [0.07g = 3,328g]
 Multiplier : 2 x (2 x $\frac{1}{2}$) = 2
 S.eq/mltpl : [1,664g]

Year : 2nd half of 13th century
 Source⁵⁷ : compensation register of De Hemmen
 Victim : blowing out an eye or cutting off a foot or a hand
 Conditions : *onwerdelick* (= infamously), peace of God?
 Money/acnt : ‘old-Frisian’
 Wergeld : 200 pounds = 333 marks (reconstructed)⁵⁸
 Silver eq. : [3,328g⁵⁹]
 Multiplier : 2
 S.eq/mltpl : [1,664g]

⁵³ Excursus 5.3: ‘On the analysis of the Fivelingo wergeld tradition’.

⁵⁴ Buma, *Westerlauwerssches Recht I*, 412-415 (§§66 and 68).

⁵⁵ The first clause mentions an amount of *hunderda pundem and thine pennic ti xiiij* (= 13 $\frac{1}{3}$). It has an addition stating that this amount would be equivalent to 15 marks. Perhaps this should be read as 100 pounds = 24,000 pennies; 24,000 pennies A : 13 $\frac{1}{3}$ = 3,600 pennies B = 15 x 120 pennies B = 15 marks of 120 pennies B each. The addition (quoted in pennies B) possibly refers to English money to be dated in the 15th century: 15 x 120 x 0.9g = 1,620g (see Excursus 8.1: ‘On the marks mentioned in the rhymed statutes of Sewenwalden’).

⁵⁶ According to the treaty between Oostergo, Westergo, Bornego and Wymbritseradeel of 1276 (see below), the compensation for blowing out an eye *onwerdelicken* was 8 marks, whereas the wergeld in this treaty was 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ marks. Hence this compensation in the manuscript was almost $\frac{1}{2}$ wergeld. Therefore the compensation of 100 pounds 13 $\frac{1}{3}$ pennies must also have been $\frac{1}{2}$ wergeld. Thus the wergeld must have been 200 pounds, which is equal to 300 marks of 13 $\frac{1}{3}$ shillings (or 333 marks of 12 shillings) and almost in accordance with the 7th stage of the Fivelingo wergeld-tradition.

⁵⁷ Buma, *Westerlauwerssches Recht I*, 470-471 (§§54 en 56). See also register of compensation tariffs of Wymbritseradeel.

⁵⁸ Conforming with previous case in Wymbritseradeel.

⁵⁹ Ditto.

Year : 1271 or after⁶⁰
Source⁶¹ : treaty between Fivelingo and Oldambt
Victim : a man in the other country (1)
Conditions : not mentioned, presumably peace of God
Money/acnt : English
Wergeld : 16 marks
Silver eq. : $16 \times 160 \times 1.35\text{g} = 3,456\text{g}$
Multiplier : $2 \times (1) = 2$
S.eq/mltpl : 1,728g

Year : 1276
Source⁶² : treaty between Oostergo, Westergo, Bornego and Wymbritseradeel
Victim : a man from a participating *go* or district (1)
Conditions : not mentioned, presumably peace of God
Money/acnt : English
Wergeld : 17 marks, probably to be read as $16\frac{1}{2}$ marks⁶³ (or 16 marks⁶⁴)
Silver eq. : $16\frac{1}{2} \times 160 \times 1.35\text{g} = 3,564\text{g}$ (or 3,456g)
Multiplier : $2 \times (1) = 2$
S.eq/mltpl : 1,782g (or 1,728g)

Year : 1282
Source⁶⁵ : statutes of Langewold
Victim : a man (1)
Conditions : outside his house; presumably peace of God
Money/acnt : 'old-Frisian'?
Wergeld : 100 pounds
Silver eq. : $100 \times 240 \times [0.14\text{g} = 3.328\text{g}]$
Multiplier : $2 \times (1) = 2$
S.eq/mltpl : [1,664g]

⁶⁰ Dating according to Buma, *Das Fivelgoer Recht*, 7, taking doubling of wergeld (because of the peace of God around 1250) into account.

⁶¹ Buma, *Das Fivelgoer Recht*, 184-185 (§2).

⁶² Buma, *Westerlauwersches Recht I*, 484-485 (§§2 and 6)

⁶³ Excursus 5.3: stage 8 sub (b).

⁶⁴ Buma, *Westerlauwersches Recht I*, 484-485 (§4): compensation for blowing out an eye, or cutting off a hand or a foot 8 marks; this is usually half a wergeld.

⁶⁵ RQ, 369-372.

Year : c.1290
 Source⁶⁶ : statutes of Brokmerland
 Victim : a man (1)
 Conditions : -
 Money/acnt : possibly English
 Wergeld : 8 marks (reconstructed)⁶⁷
 Silver eq. : if English marks: $8 \times 160 \times 1.35\text{g} = 1,728\text{g}$
 Multiplier : 1
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,728g

Year : 1292
 Source⁶⁸ : statutes of Stavoren
 Victim : a man (1)
 Conditions : in Stavoren, presumably peace of God
 Money/acnt : *lodig* silver (15/16 fine?)
 Wergeld : $16\frac{1}{2}$ marks
 Silver eq. : $16\frac{1}{2} \times 234\text{g} \times 15/16 = 3,620\text{g}$
 Multiplier : $2 \times (1) = 2$
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,810g in bullion, in coin $0.97? \times 1,810\text{g} = 1,756\text{g}$ (3% minting costs)

Year : between 1250 and 1350?⁶⁹
 Source⁷⁰ : treaty between Westergo and Oostergo (*Enigha*)
 Victim : a man (1)
 Conditions : peace of high court (3 x) + presumably peace of God
 Money/acnt : English marks, according weight of Cologne
 Wergeld : threefold $16\frac{1}{2}$ marks
 Silver eq. : $3 \times 16\frac{1}{2} \times 160 \times 1.35\text{g} = 10,692\text{g}$
 Multiplier : $3 \times \{2 \times (1)\} = 6$
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,782g

⁶⁶ Buma, *Das Brokmer Recht*; English money 22-23 (§6b).

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, 104-107 (§§ 182, 184, 194): Compensation for cutting off each of the 4 fingers $\frac{1}{2}$ mark; compensation for cutting off a thumb $\frac{1}{4}$ th wergeld; compensation for cutting off a hand $\frac{1}{2}$ normal wergeld; so cutting off 4 fingers must be equal to the difference between cutting off a hand and a thumb, hence $\frac{1}{2} - \frac{1}{4} = \frac{1}{4}$ wergeld $\approx 4 \times \frac{1}{2}$ mark = 2 marks. It follows that the normal wergeld must be 4×2 marks = 8 marks.

⁶⁸ Chbk1, 126.

⁶⁹ The document is undated. The authors prefer the 14th century to the 15th. Because the use of the mark English based on 160 pennies and the weight of Cologne, which was not usual - as far as we know - after the middle of the 14th century, I date this treaty after 1250 and before 1350.

⁷⁰ De Bruin, "Enigha", 77-88.

Year : 1312
Source⁷¹ : 'dooms' of Emsingo
Victim : a man (1)
Conditions : in the court (+1), presumably peace of God
Money/acnt : old pennies (English long-cross?)
Wergeld : 40 marks Silver eq. : $4 \times (10 \times 144 \times 1.2g?) = 6,912g?$
Multiplier : $2 \times (1 + 1) = 4$
S.eq/mltpl : 1,728g?

Year : 1317
Source⁷² : statutes of the new polder of 't Zandt
Victim : a judge (2)
Conditions : peace of the polder (+1), presumably peace of God
Money/acnt : sterling
Wergeld : 60 marks
Silver eq. : $60 \times 144 \times 1.2g? = 10,368g?$
Multiplier : $2 \times (2 + 1) = 6$
S.eq/mltpl : 1,728g?

Year : 1317
Source⁷³ : statutes water board of Drie Delfzijlen
Victim : a man, workman or judge, no difference (1)
Conditions : jurisdiction water board (+1), presumably peace of God
Money/acnt : sterling
Wergeld : 40 marks
Silver eq. : $40 \times 144 \times 1.2g? = 6,912g$
Multiplier : $2 \times (1 + 1) = 4$
S.eq/mltpl : 1,728g?

⁷¹ Buma, *Das Emsiger Recht*, 136-143 (§1).

⁷² MGron: XXXIII, 87-82.

⁷³ OGD1: 255.

Year : 1318
 Source⁷⁴ : treaty between Oostergo and Groningen
 Victim : a man (1)
 Conditions : in one of both the countries
 Money/acnt : sterling
 Wergeld : 7 major marks
 Silver eq. : $7 \times 192 \times 1.35\text{g} = 1,814\text{g}$ or $7 \times 192 \times 1.2\text{g} = 1,613\text{g}$?
 Multiplier : 1^{75}
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,814g or 1,613g?

Year : c.1323
 Source⁷⁶ : statutes of the water board of Winsum
 Victim : a judge or his helper (2)
 Conditions : jurisdiction water board (+1), to/in/from the court (+1), presumably peace of God
 Money/acnt : English
 Wergeld : 80 marks, of 12 shillings.
 Silver eq. : $80 \times 144 \times 1.2\text{g} = 13,824\text{g}$?
 Multiplier : $2 \times (2 + 1 + 1) = 8$
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,728g?

Year : 1323
 Source⁷⁷ : treaty of the Upstallisbam
 Victim : a layman (1)
 Conditions : peace between the 7 sealands
 Money/acnt : sterling
 Wergeld : 60 marks
 Silver eq. : 12,480g
 Multiplier : 7 (although not explicitly mentioned)⁷⁸
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,783g ($8 \times 160 \times 1.35\text{g} = 1,728\text{g}$)

⁷⁴ OGD1: 258.

⁷⁵ Compare the treaty between Groningen and Fivelingo in 1258.

⁷⁶ OGD2: 1230 (275).

⁷⁷ Worp, *Chronicon I*, 178-179 (§12 and §7).

⁷⁸ Compensation for killing a layman was 7 normal wergelds; compensation for killing someone from another sealand was 60 marks. It follows that the compensation for killing a layman was $1/7 \times 60$ marks = 8.5 marks or less (probably 8 marks).

Year : 1338
Source⁷⁹ : treaty between Mid-Frisians, Ommelanden, Drenthe and Groningen
Victim : a man (1)
Conditions : without purpose, presumably peace of God
Money/acnt : sterling
Wergeld : 16 marks
Silver eq. : $16 \times 160 \times 1.35\text{g} = 3,456\text{g}$
Multiplier : $2 \times (1) = 2$
S.eq/mltpl : 1,728g

Year : around 1350?⁸⁰
Source⁸¹ : treaty between Fivelingo and Oldambt
Victim : a man in the other country (1)
Conditions : presumably peace of God
Money/acnt : English
Wergeld : 16 marks (see remark in footnote on the dating)
Silver eq. : $16 \times 160 \times 1.35\text{g} = 3,456\text{g}$
Multiplier : $2 \times (1) = 2$
S.eq/mltpl : 1,728g

Year : around 1350?⁸²
Source⁸³ : treaty between Fivelingo and Hunsingo and all the other Ommelanden districts *in den vredeval*⁸⁴
Victim : a man (1)
Conditions : peace of God (explicitly)
Money/acnt : English
Wergeld : 16 marks
Silver eq. : $16 \times 160 \times 1.35\text{g} = 3,456\text{g}$
Multiplier : $2 \times (1) = 2$
S.eq/mltpl : 1,728g

⁷⁹ OGD1: 354.

⁸⁰ This Low Saxon document is apparently a renovation of the 13th century Old Frisian treaty between these two districts, made in or after 1271 (see above). The wergeld amount, however, is not adapted. The statutes mention *hovetlinge*, known only after c.1340.

⁸¹ RQ, 298-301.

⁸² The treaty in this Low Saxon document is similar to the treaty of Fivelingo and Oldambt in Low Saxon mentioned in the footnote just before (RQ, 298-301). The wergeld amount seems 13th century, but the document under view mentions *hovetlinge*, known only after c.1340.

⁸³ RQ, 301-303.

⁸⁴ This expression is explicated: 'the districts falling under the peace'; I assume that this refers to the peace of God. This would imply that this document, like the previous one, is a renovation of a treaty made a century before.

Year : 2nd half 14th century?⁸⁵
 Source⁸⁶ : statutes high court (*ouerrecht*) of Hunsingo
 Victim : a high court judge (*ouerrecht*) (2)
 Conditions : peace of the court (+1), presumably peace of God
 Money/acnt : white silver
 Wergeld : 48 marks
 Silver eq. : $48 \times 234\text{g}^{87} \times 15/16 = 10,530\text{g}$
 Multiplier : $2 \times (2 + 1) = 6^{88}$
 S.eq/mltpl : $1,755\text{g}$ in bullion, in coin $0.97? \times 1,755\text{g} = 1,702\text{g}?$

Year : 1361
 Source⁸⁹ : treaty between Frisian sealands
 Victim : a man (1)
 Conditions : the perpetrator has fled to one of the other sealands (2x?), presumably peace of God
 Money/acnt : old money (English money?)
 Wergeld : 40 marks, to be paid by the hider
 Silver eq. : $40 \times 144 \times 1.2\text{g}^{90} = 6,912\text{g}?$
 Multiplier : $2 \times (2 \times 1) = 4$
 S.eq/mltpl : $1,728\text{g}?$

Year : 1366
 Source⁹¹ : treaty between Humsterland and Groningen
 Victim : participant of official punitive expedition
 Conditions : presumably peace of God
 Money/acnt : current money, presumably sterlings
 Wergeld : 20 marks
 Silver eq. : $20 \times 144 \times 1.2\text{g} = 3,456\text{g}$
 Multiplier : 2
 S.eq/mltpl : $1,728\text{g}$

⁸⁵ The statutes mention *hovetlinge*, which are known only after c.1340. But the document might be a Low Saxon copy, made in the 2nd half of the 14th century, after an original 13th century document, like treaties between Hunsingo and Fivelinge mentioned above.

⁸⁶ RQ 348-351 (§15).

⁸⁷ 1 mark Cologne weight = 233.75g.

⁸⁸ The cited manuscript has 2 wergelds of 16 marks each, but, according to Richthofen, other manuscripts have 3 wergelds instead. This last multiplier must be the right one, for the first clause of the statutes has also a triple wergeld for killing a high court judge (without money amount).

⁸⁹ OGD1: 509.

⁹⁰ The silver equivalence of the genuine English penny was 1.08g (Chapter 6, 'The history of the measure of value'), but the fossilised value of 1.2g of the old sterling might still be valid.

⁹¹ OGD1: 543.

Year	: 1368
Source ⁹²	: treaty between Groningen and Ommelanden
Victim	: a judge
Conditions	: peace of the court, presumably peace of God
Money/acnt	: Groningen money?
Wergeld	: 200 marks, each mark 24 old <i>groten</i>
Silver eq.	: $200 \times 24 \times 2.4\text{g} = 11.520\text{g}$
Multiplier	: 7? (like in the treaty of 1323) ⁹³
S.eq/mltpl	: 1,646g?

Peace of God disappearing; small wergeld of rider (common man) emerging occasionally as calculation basis

Year	: 1378
Source ⁹⁴	: treaty between Humsterland and Groningen
Victim	: a man (1)
Conditions	: on the road to/from Groningen (+1) ⁹⁵
Money/acnt	: Groningen money
Wergeld	: 60 marks
Silver eq.	: $(60 \times 144 \times 0.4\text{g}) = 3,456\text{g}$
Multiplier	: $1 + 1 = 2$
S.eq/mltpl	: 1,728g

⁹² Emmius/Reeken, *Friesische Geschichte II*, 209.

⁹³ An obvious division of the amount of 200 marks according to the usual rules seems not to be conceivable. In the statutes of Hunsingo of 1252 the wergeld for a judge under the peace of the court and under the peace of God had a $2 \times (1 \frac{1}{2} \times 2) = 6$ -fold wergeld. The multiplier 7 was often used to prevent conflicts between political units, which was an issue of the treaty.

⁹⁴ OGD2: 661.

⁹⁵ Although in Groningen the wergeld was 30 marks by daytime and 60 marks at night, apparently concerning small wergeld to be used for the common man, I hesitate to assume that this rule was also applied in the treaty of 1378, so an extra wergeld would be valid on a 'secured' road. A verdict in 1446 for manslaughter on the road from the market had a similar compensation, but in the treaty between Groningen and the Ommelanden in 1448 this compensation was general, not limited to a secured road.

Year : 1382
 Source⁹⁶ : statutes of the Aduard water board
 Victim : a man (1)
 Conditions : jurisdiction water board (+1), peace of the court (+1)
 Money/acnt : old *schilden*
 Wergeld : 60 old *schilden*
 Silver eq : $60 \times 13 \times 4.0\text{g} = 3,120\text{g}$ or $60 \times 30 \times 1.4\text{g} = 2,520\text{g}$ ⁹⁷
 Multiplier : $1 + 1 + 1 = 3$ ⁹⁸
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,040g or 840g ? (small wergeld)

Year : 1387
 Source⁹⁹ : statutes of Vredewold (a)
 Victim : a man (presumably a *husman*, still 1)
 Conditions : outside his house with a sharp weapon ($\times 2$?¹⁰⁰)
 Money/acnt : usual money/ and English money?
 Wergeld : 100 marks/ and 20 marks
 Silver eq. : $20 \times 144 \times 1.2\text{g}$ ¹⁰¹ = 3,456g (= $100 \times 144 \times 0.24\text{g}$)
 Multiplier : $2 \times (1) = 2$
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,728g

⁹⁶ OGD2: 704.

⁹⁷ OGD1: 593: In 1371 a genuine old French *schild* was rated at 13 genuine *tornoyse groten*, which itself had a silver equivalence of $0.96 \times 4.22\text{g} = 4.0\text{g}$ (Spufford, *Money*, 405). But there is an alternative valuation. In 1382 the old *schild* may already have been a multiple unit of 30 old *vleemse groten* in the Ommelanden. At least since 1397 an old *schild* was valued at 30 old *vleemse groten* (OGD2: 948). In 1394 an old *vleemse grote* was equivalent to 1.37g of silver (see Excursus 12.2: 'On the meaning of a lot of silver in Groningen'). Compare the case of 1416.

⁹⁸ See introduction to this Appendix sub *); before 1417 the kin's share was not yet included, so the wergelds in the system in view were based not on a wergeld of 30 old *schilden* but on a wergeld (for the common man) of 20 old *schilden*. See also the treaty of 1416 in this Appendix.

⁹⁹ OGD2: 768.

¹⁰⁰ For manslaughter with a sharp weapon I have assumed a doubling of the wergeld (compare Fivelingo statutes Johnston, *Codex Hummercensis*, 309 (§13a)). This may have been the usual wergeld during the peace of God (Buma, *Das Emsiger Recht*, 142-143; 208-209: Dooms of Emsingo, §11 has 21 (English) marks for this case). The new townbook of Groningen (De Rhoer, *Het Stadboek*, 43 (III/ §15) of 1425/1446 has a double compensation for injuries with a long knife).

¹⁰¹ The silver equivalence of the genuine English penny was 1.08g (Chapter 6, 'The history of the measure of value'), but the fossilised value of 1.2g of the old sterling might still be valid.

Year : 1387
Source¹⁰² : statutes of Vredewold (b)
Victim : a man (presumably a *husman*, still 1)
Conditions : outside his house
Money/acnt : usual money
Wergeld : 84 marks
Silver eq. : $84 \times 144 \times 0.24g^{103} = 2,903g$
Multiplier : ?
S.eq/mltpl : incongruous¹⁰⁴

Year : between 1388 and 1394?¹⁰⁵
Source¹⁰⁶ : old Groningen town-book
Victim : a man by accident (1/1 body); blowing out an eye, cutting off a hand or foot ($\frac{1}{2}$ body)
Conditions : at daytime; not under a peace of the town
Money/acnt : Groningen money
Wergeld : 60 marks (reconstructed: 2×30 marks¹⁰⁷)
Silver eq. : $60 \times 144 \times 0.2g^{108} = 1,728g?$
Multiplier : 1
S.eq/mltpl : 1,728g

¹⁰² OGD2: 768.

¹⁰³ Chapter 9, 'The history of the measure of value'.

¹⁰⁴ The source is found in a 16th century manuscript, hence a copy. The amount of 84 marks is written in roman style. It may be erroneous.

¹⁰⁵ Gosses, *De Groninger prefect*, 156-157.

¹⁰⁶ Telting, *Stadboek van Groningen*, 27-33 (§61).

¹⁰⁷ However, the case is not clear. It is in accordance with another clause in the same townbook (§80): it has a wergeld of 60 marks in cases where someone is killed by accident by a horseman, and the perpetrator does not have to pay with his neck. It is not in accordance with another clause (§74): that has a wergeld of 40 marks in case of manslaughter, apparently on purpose, but in this case the perpetrator is to be beheaded.

¹⁰⁸ Chapter 12, 'The history of the measure of value'.

Year : 1414
 Source¹⁰⁹ : verdict by *hovetling* in Esens
 Victim : a man
 Conditions : -
 Money/acnt : guilders
 Wergeld : 210 guilders¹¹⁰
 Silver eq. : $210 \times 17.8\text{g}?$ ¹¹¹ = 3,740g?
 Multiplier : 2?
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,870g, that is 12% over 1,664g¹¹²

Year : between 1390 and 1417?
 Source¹¹³ : rhymed statutes of Sewenwalden
 Victim : a man (likely a *husman*)
 Conditions : -
 Money/acnt : old marks (sterlings) and new marks (*butkens*)
 Wergeld : 7 x 12 old marks or 7 x 15 new marks
 Silver eq. : $7 \times 12 \times 120 \times 1.2\text{g} = 7 \times 15 \times 120 \times 0.96\text{g} = 12,096\text{g}$
 Multiplier : 7 (explicitly mentioned)
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,728g

Year : between 1390 and 1417?
 Source¹¹⁴ : Mid-Frisian conversion directive
 Victim : a man in Bornego (likely a *husman*)
 Conditions : -
 Money/acnt : unnamed (English money/*butkens*)
 Wergeld : 15 marks
 Silver eq. : $15 \times 120 \times 0.96\text{g} = 1,728\text{g}$
 Multiplier : 1
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,728g

¹⁰⁹ Sundermann, “Acht unveröffentlichte ostfriesische Urkunden”, 140-141.

¹¹⁰ As *rins*guilders are not explicitly mentioned, it is most likely that the usual light guilders (*arnse*guilders) were referred to, mentioned for instance in a charter in 1408 regarding the value of a horse in Aurik (OFU1: 214).

¹¹¹ Appendix II: in 1414 in Groningen 1 guilder æ 13 *korte groten* = $13 \times 1.37\text{g} = 17.8\text{g}$.

¹¹² The amount may be the result of negotiation. Also, the silver equivalence of the guilder might have been lower.

¹¹³ De Bruin, “De rymwilker fan Sawnwalden”, 95-113.

¹¹⁴ Buma, *Westerlauwersches Recht I*, 428-429 (§21). See also Excursus 7.1: ‘On the Mid-Frisian conversion directive: a survey’.

Year : between 1390 and 1417?
Source¹¹⁵ : Mid-Frisian conversion directive
Victim : a man in Wymbritseradeel (likely a *husman*)
Conditions : -
Money/acnt : unnamed (English money/*butkens*)
Wergeld : 30 marks
Silver eq. : $30 \times 120 \times 0.96\text{g} = 3,456\text{g}$
Multiplier : 2?
S.eq/mltpl : 1,728g

Year : between 1411 and 1417?
Source¹¹⁶ : Mid-Frisian conversion directive
Victim : a man in Leeuwarderodeel, [Ferwerderodeel, Dantumadeel, Tietjerksterodeel, Idaarderodeel] and Dongerodeel (likely a *husman*)
Conditions : -
Money/acnt : unnamed (English money?¹¹⁷)
Wergeld : 27 marks
Silver eq. : $27 \times 144 \times 0.9\text{g} = 3,499\text{g}?$
Multiplier : 2?
S.eq/mltpl : 1,749g?

¹¹⁵ Buma, *Westerlauwerssches Recht I*, 426-429 (§17). See also Excursus 7.1: 'On the Mid-Frisian conversion directive: a survey'.

¹¹⁶ Buma, *Westerlauwerssches Recht I*, 428-429 (§19). See also Excursus 7.1: 'On the Mid-Frisian conversion directive: a survey'.

¹¹⁷ The case is problematic. If we follow the directive, the mark is 12 shillings and each shilling is 6 *grathe*; that is, it would be an English mark of 144 pennies. Apart from the resulting silver equivalence, which is a little too high, it would be the only 15th century example of English money found in Oostergo. If we ignore the directive, the wergeld would be 27 marks Oostergo money, resulting in small wergeld of 875g of silver, as in the next case.

Year : between 1411 and 1417?
 Source¹¹⁸ : Mid-Frisian conversion directive
 Victim : a man in Oostergo
 Conditions : -
 Money/acnt : Oostergo money
 Wergeld : 27 marks, small wergeld
 Silver eq. : $27 \times 120 \times 0.26g = 842g$ ¹¹⁹
 Multiplier : 1
 S.eq/mltpl : 842g (small wergeld)

Year : 1416
 Source¹²⁰ : treaty Westerkwartier, Achtkarspelen and Groningen
 Victim : a man
 Conditions : in case of no aggravating conditions
 Money/acnt : old French *schild*
 Wergeld : $7 \times 20 = 140$ old *schilden*
 Silver eq. : $140 \times (30 \times 1.37g?) = 5,754g?$
 Multiplier : 7 (explicitly mentioned)
 S.eq/mltpl : 822?g (small wergeld)

Year : between 1417 and 1422
 Source¹²¹ : Mid-Frisian conversion directive
 Victim : a man in Wonseradeel, the ' Fyf Delen and De Hemmen (likely a *husman*)
 Conditions : -
 Money/acnt : unnamed (English money/*butkens*)
 Wergeld : 22 marks
 Silver eq. : $22 \times 120 \times 0.96g? = 2,534g?$ ¹²²
 Multiplier : 1
 S.eq/mltpl : 2,534g, presumably kin's share already included¹²³ and 1,689g kin's share excluded

¹¹⁸ Buma, *Westerlauwerssches Recht I*, 428-429 (§20). See also Excursus 7.1: 'On the Mid-Frisian conversion directive: a survey'.

¹¹⁹ In this calculation the supposition that the *grate* would be an imperial *gross* of 1.8g of silver is not taken into consideration, as it is doubtful whether the author would have gone so far as to change the legal wergeld amounts to adapt these to the imperial money. Thus *grate* is still old *vleemse grote*. The silver equivalence of the old *vleemse grote* estimated at 1.3g; in 1421 the silver equivalence of this coin was 1/11th of 1 lot of silver = c.14.6g : 11 = c.1.32g (Chbk1, 425-427).

¹²⁰ GAG STAD: P8 RvR 118.

¹²¹ Buma, *Westerlauwerssches Recht I*, 426-427 (§16). See also Excursus 7.1: 'On the Mid-Frisian conversion directive: a survey'.

¹²² The Mid-Frisian conversion directive defines this mark to 2 *sceldan* (in the exegesis of Buma & Ebel), which in this context would imply a mark of 120 pennies.

Year	: 1420
Source ¹²⁴	: treaty Ocko to Broke, Groningen and Vetkoper-party in Mid-Frisia
Victim	: a rider (1)
Conditions	: -
Money/acnt	: old <i>schilden</i>
Wergeld	: 20 old <i>schilden</i> ¹²⁵
Silver eq.	: $20 \times (30 \times 1.37\text{g?}) = 822\text{g?}$
Multiplier	: 1
S.eq/mltpl	: 822g? (small wergeld)

From 1422 onwards: kin's share included

Year	: 1422
Source ¹²⁶	: treaty between all Frisian sealands (a)
Victim	: a rider
Conditions	: between sealands
Money/acnt	: old <i>schilden</i> at 30 old <i>vleemse groten</i>
Wergeld+ks	: 30 old <i>schilden</i>
Silver eq.	: $30 \times (30 \times 1.37\text{g?}) = 1,233\text{g?}$
Multiplier	: 1
S.eq/mltpl	: 1,233g? (small wergeld + kin's share)

¹²³ The case is problematic. In the other districts of Westergo and Sewenwalden, also using English money, the wergeld was 15 marks single or 30 marks double, marks of 120 pennies. If, here too, the same English marks were used the wergeld would be about 3/2 times the single wergeld just mentioned. This might indicate that in this wergeld the kin's share has been included, and hence that it was adapted already to the privilege of the Emperor Sigismund. Perhaps De Hemmen was a part of Westergo where the privilege was welcomed and applied very quickly; see Excursus 7.1: "On the Mid-Frisian conversion directive: a survey".

¹²⁴ Chbk1, 416-418.

¹²⁵ Wergeld for a freeholder (*husman*): 500 old *schilden*.

¹²⁶ GAG STAD: P16 RvR 135.

Year : 1422
 Source¹²⁷ : treaty between all Frisian sealands (b)
 Victim : a *husman* (2)
 Conditions : between sealands
 Money/acnt : old *schilden* at 30 old *vleemse groten*
 Wergeld : 80 old *schilden*
 Silver eq. : $80 \times (30 \times 1.37\text{g}) = 3,288\text{g}$
 Multiplier : $2\frac{2}{3}$?¹²⁸
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,644g? (822g) kin's share not yet included?

Year : 1425
 Source¹²⁹ : statutes of the Vredewold Oosterzijlvest (a)
 Victim : a man (1)
 Conditions : jurisdiction water board
 Money/acnt : Groningen *payement*
 Wergeld+ks : 300 marks
 Silver eq. : $300 \times 12 \times 1.37\text{g} = 4,932\text{g}$
 Multiplier : 4 (see footnote 2, Table H)
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,233g (small wergeld + kin's share)

Year : 1425
 Source : statutes of the Vredewold Oosterzijlvest (b)
 Victim : a man (1)
 Conditions : jurisdiction water board; peace of the court (Table H*)
 Money/acnt : old *schilden*
 Wergeld+ks : 90 old *schilden*
 Silver eq. : $90 \times 30 \times 1.37\text{g} = 3,699\text{g}$
 Multiplier : 3
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,233g (small wergeld + kin's share)

¹²⁷ GAG STAD: P16 RvR 135.

¹²⁸ A curious case; see Excursus 1.1: 'On the wergeld hypothesis'.

¹²⁹ RAG MANUSCRIPTS: 13b (Convolutum Wittewierum), 1029-1032.

Year : 1425
Source : statutes of the Vredewold Oosterzijlvest (c)
Victim : a judge
Conditions : jurisdiction water board; peace of the court (Table H*)
Money/acnt : old *schilden*
Wergeld+ks : 120 old *schilden*
Silver eq. : $120 \times 30 \times 1.37\text{g} = 4,932\text{g}$
Multiplier : 4
S.eq/mltpl : 1,233g (small wergeld + kin's share)

Year : 1425
Source¹³⁰ : statutes of the Vredewold Westerzijlvest (a)
Victim : a man (1)
Conditions : jurisdiction water board
Money/acnt : Groningen *payement*
Wergeld+ks : 300 marks
Silver eq. : $300 \times 12 \times 1.37\text{g} = 4,932\text{g}$
Multiplier : 4 (see footnote 2, Table H)
S.eq/mltpl : 1,233g (small wergeld + kin's share)

Year : 1425
Source : statutes of the Vredewold Westerzijlvest (a)
Victim : a judge
Conditions : jurisdiction water board; peace of the court (Table H*)
Money/acnt : English money
Wergeld+ks : 80 marks
Silver eq. : $80 \times 144 \times 0.9\text{g} = 10,368\text{g}$
Multiplier : 8
S.eq/mltpl : 1,296g (small wergeld + kin's share)

¹³⁰ RAG MANUSCRIPTS: 13b (Convolutum Wittewierum), 1035-1038.

Year : 1427
 Source¹³¹ : statutes of the town of Groningen
 Victim : a man (1)
 Conditions : at day / at night
 Money/acnt : old French *schilden*
 Wergeld+ks : 30 / 60 old French *schilden*
 Silver eq. : $30 \times 30 \times 1.37\text{g} = 1,233\text{g} / 30 \times 60 \times 1.37\text{g} = 2,466\text{g}$
 Multiplier : 1 / 2
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,233g (small wergeld + kin's share)

Year : 1428
 Source¹³² : treaty between Groningen and Westerkwartier
 Victim : a man (likely *husman*, 2)
 Conditions : -
 Money/acnt : old *schilden* at 30 old *vleemse groten*
 Wergeld+ks : 60 old *schilden*¹³³
 Silver eq. : $60 \times 30 \times 1.37\text{g} = 2,466\text{g}$
 Multiplier : 2
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,233g (small wergeld + kin's share)

Year : 1428? (extended 1434, 1436) (a)
 Source¹³⁴ : statutes Schouwerzijlvest
 Victim : a man (1)
 Conditions : jurisdiction water board
 Money/acnt : sterling
 Wergeld+ks : 40 marks
 Silver eq. : $40 \times 144 \times 0.9\text{g} = 5,184\text{g}$
 Multiplier : 4
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,296g (small wergeld + kin's share)

¹³¹ Telting, *Stadboek*, 1; De Rhoer, *Het Stadboek*, 66.

¹³² GAG STAD: O 19 RvR 161.1.

¹³³ Chapter 9, 'The history of the measure of value'.

¹³⁴ WAH SCHOUWER ZIJLVEST: 1; RAG KEISER: 128.

Year : 1428 (extended 1434, 1436) (b)
 Source : statutes Schouwerzijlvest
 Victim : a man (1)
 Conditions : jurisdiction water board; peace of the court (Table H*)
 Money/acnt : sterling
 Wergeld+ks : 80 marks
 Silver eq. : $80 \times 144 \times 0.9\text{g} = 10,368\text{g}$
 Multiplier : 8
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,296g (small wergeld + kin's share)

Year : 1431
 Source¹³⁵ : statutes Niekerk zijlvest
 Victim : a judge
 Conditions : jurisdiction water board; peace of the court (Table H*)
 Money/acnt : old *schilden* at 30 old *vleemse groten*
 Wergeld+ks : 120 old *schilden*
 Silver eq. : $120 \times 30 \times 1.37 = 4,932$
 Multiplier : 4
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,233g (small wergeld + kin's share)

Year : 1444
 Source¹³⁶ : treaty of Groningen with (parts of) Oostergo
 Victim : *hovetling* (12?)
 Conditions : -
 Money/acnt : old marks, each mark at 29 old *vleemse groten* (Oostergo major marks?)
 Wergeld+ks : 400 old marks¹³⁷
 Silver eq. : $400 \times 29 \times 1.3\text{g}^{138} = 15,080\text{g}$
 Multiplier : 12
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,257g? (small wergeld + kin's share)

¹³⁵ RuG UB: ms. PEIP 33, 391.

¹³⁶ Chbk1, 524.

¹³⁷ Small wergeld in Oostergo between 1411/1417: 27 marks of 120 pennies = $22 \frac{1}{2}$ marks of 144 pennies; after 1417 kinship share was included, so the compensation would become: $1 \frac{1}{2} \times 22 \frac{1}{2}$ marks = $33 \frac{3}{4}$ marks. In this case $12 \times 33 \frac{3}{4}$ marks = 405 marks, rounded to 400 marks; this rounding might compensate for the fact that the Oostergo mark was not 29 but 28.8 old *vleemse groten*: $28.8/29 \times 405$ marks = 402 marks. See Chapter 13, 'The history of the measure of value'.

¹³⁸ The old *vleemse grote* is valued at the legal rate of 1.14g silver equivalence that it had from 1435 in Groningen, where the treaty was made. See Excursus 12.2: 'On the meaning of a lot of silver in Groningen'.

Year : 1445
Source¹³⁹ : statutes water board Drie Delfzijlen (a)
Victim : a man (1)
Conditions : jurisdiction water board
Money/acnt : old *schilden* at 30 old *vleemsen*
Wergeld+ks : 90 old *schilden*
Silver eq. : $90 \times 30 \times 1.37g^{140} = 3,699g$
Multiplier : 3
S.eq/mltpl : 1,233g (small wergeld + kin's share)

Year : 1445
Source : statutes water board Drie Delfzijlen (b)
Victim : a man (1)
Conditions : jurisdiction water board; peace of the court (Table H*)
Money/acnt : old *schilden* at 30 old *vleemsen*
Wergeld+ks : 120 old *schilden*
Silver eq. : $120 \times 30 \times 1.37g = 4,932g$
Multiplier : 4
S.eq/mltpl : 1,233g (small wergeld + kin's share)

Year : 1446
Source¹⁴¹ : verdict Oosterwarf (eastern high court Ommelanden)
Victim : a man (likely *husman*, 2)
Conditions : not mentioned
Money/acnt : old *schilden*
Wergeld+ks : 60 old *schilden*
Silver eq. : $60 \times 30 \times 1.37g = 2,466g$
Multiplier : 2
S.eq/mltpl : 1,233g (small wergeld + kin's share)

¹³⁹ RAG ZIJLRECHT VAN DE DRIE DELFZIJLEN: 23.

¹⁴⁰ Excursus 9.1: 'On the fossilisation of the silver equivalence of the old *schild* in the Ommelanden between 1435 and c.1465'.

¹⁴¹ WARVEN 19.

Year : 1446
Source¹⁴² : verdict Oosterwarf (eastern high court Ommelanden)
Victim : a man (likely *husman*, 2)
Conditions : on the road from the market¹⁴³
Money/acnt : old *schilden*
Wergeld+ks : 60 old *schilden*
Silver eq. : $60 \times 30 \times 1.37g? = 2,466g?$
Multiplier : 2
S.eq/mltpl : 1,233g? (small wergeld + kin's share)

Year : 1448
Source¹⁴⁴ : treaty of Groningen, Hunsingo and Fivelingo
Victim : a man (likely *husman*, 2)
Conditions : -
Money/acnt : old *schilden* at 30 old *vleemsen*
Wergeld+ks : 60 old *schilden*
Silver eq. : $60 \times 30 \times 1.37g? = 2,466g?$
Multiplier : 2
S.eq/mltpl : 1,233g? (small wergeld + kin's share)

Year : 1464
Source¹⁴⁵ : statutes Winsum water board
Victim : a judge or his envoy
Conditions : jurisdiction water board; peace of the court (Table H*)
Money/acnt : English marks
Wergeld+ks : 80 marks
Silver eq. : $80 \times 144 \times 0.9g = 10,368g$
Multiplier : 8
S.eq/mltpl : 1,296g (small wergeld + kin's share)

¹⁴² WARVEN 21.

¹⁴³ Compare treaty between Groningen and Ommelanden in 1448.

¹⁴⁴ RQ, 315-324.

¹⁴⁵ RAG ADUARD ZIJLVEST: 33, 110-137. This document is a copy made in 1534.

Year : 1473
Source¹⁴⁶ : treaty between Groningen and Ommelanden (a)
Victim : a man (1)
Conditions : -
Money/acnt : old *schilden* at 30 old *vleemsen*
Wergeld : 60 old *schilden*
Silver eq. : $60 \times 30 \times 1.37\text{g} = 2,466\text{g}$ (fossilised)
Multiplier : 3 (explicitly mentioned)
S.eq/mltpl : 822g (small wergeld)

Year : 1473
Source : treaty between Groningen and Ommelanden (b)
Victim : a man (1)
Conditions : peace of the court (H2)
Money/acnt : old *schilden* at 30 old *vleemsen*
Wergeld : 120 old *schilden*
Silver eq. : $120 \times 30 \times 1.37\text{g} = 4,932\text{g}$ (fossilised)
Multiplier : 6 (explicitly mentioned)
S.eq/mltpl : 822g (small wergeld)

Year : 1478
Source¹⁴⁷ : verdict by burgomasters and council of the town of Groningen on
homicide in Rasquerd
Victim : a man (a *husman*?: 2)
Conditions : not mentioned
Money/acnt : Groningen money?
Wergeld+ks : 300 *arnseguilders*
Silver eq. : $300 \times 10 \times 0.9\text{g} = 2,700\text{g}$?
Multiplier : 2
S.eq/mltpl : 1,350g? (small wergeld + kin's share, explicit)

¹⁴⁶ GAG STAD: O 25 RvR 222.

¹⁴⁷ RAG FARMSUM: 850.

Year : 1479
Source¹⁴⁸ : arbitral verdict by *hovetling* in Riustringen
Victim : a man from Riustringen (a *husman?*, 2)
Conditions : perpetrator came from and died in Wursten (2 x ?)
Money/acnt : *rins*guilders, 32 *krumsterten* for each guilder
Wergeld+ks : 180 *rins*guilders
Silver eq. : $180 \times 32 \times 0.85\text{g} = 4,896\text{g}$?
Multiplier : 4? (compare 1361)
S.eq/mltpl : 1,224g? (small wergeld + kin's share?)

Year : 1482
Source¹⁴⁹ : treaty between Groningen and Ommelanden (a)
Victim : a man (1)
Conditions : -
Money/acnt : old *schilden* at 30 old *vleemsen*
Wergeld : 60 old *schilden*
Silver eq. : $60 \times 30 \times 1.37\text{g} = 2,466\text{g}$ (fossilised)
Multiplier : 3 (explicitly mentioned)
S.eq/mltpl : 822g (small wergeld)

Year : 1482
Source : treaty between Groningen and Ommelanden (b)
Victim : a man (1)
Conditions : peace of the court (2 x)
Money/acnt : old *schilden* at 30 old *vleemsen*
Wergeld : 120 old *schilden*
Silver eq. : $120 \times 30 \times 1.37\text{g} = 4,932\text{g}$ (fossilised)
Multiplier : 6 (explicitly mentioned)
S.eq/mltpl : 822g (small wergeld)

¹⁴⁸ OUB6: 249.

¹⁴⁹ GAG STAD: O 25 RvR 222.

Year : 1483
Source¹⁵⁰ : arbitral award in Leeuwarden
Victim : a man
Conditions : not mentioned
Money/acnt : *rins*guilders (æ 30.5g of silver?¹⁵¹)
Wergeld : $3 \times 27 = 81$ *rins*guilders
Silver eq. : $81 \times 30.5\text{g} = 2,471\text{g}$
Multiplier : 3 , explicitly mentioned
S.eq/mltpl : 824g (small wergeld¹⁵²)

Year : 1490
Source¹⁵³ : arbitral award in Leeuwarden
Victim : a man
Conditions : not mentioned
Money/acnt : *enckel rins*guilders (æ 30.5g of silver?¹⁵⁴)
Wergeld : $3\frac{1}{2} \times 27 = 94.5$ *enckelde rins*guilders
Silver eq. : $94.5 \times 30.5\text{g} = 2,882\text{g}$
Multiplier : $3\frac{1}{2}$, explicitly mentioned
S.eq/mltpl : 823g (small wergeld kin's share conceivably not included)¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁰ OFO1: 328.

¹⁵¹ Jesse, *Der wendische Münzverein*, 219.

¹⁵² The perpetrator in this case was a *haedling*, and apparently he was not insolvent, so according to the rule he had to pay the kin's share as well. The amount of 3 times a small wergeld may in fact mean: a compensation of 2 small wergelds + a third small wergeld as the kin's share.

¹⁵³ OFO1: 376.

¹⁵⁴ Jesse, *Der wendische Münzverein*, 219.

¹⁵⁵ In this case it was the town Leeuwarden itself, entering into the obligation of paying wergeld for manslaughter perpetrated by one of its inhabitants. It is assumed that neither the perpetrator nor his kin was able to pay the compensation, so the town had to stand up for its inhabitant, though only to the extent of $\frac{2}{3}$ rd of the wergeld, as - according the general rule - an insolvent criminal had to pay the rest with his neck (See Excursus 1.1: 'On the wergeld hypothesis', (d).

Year : 1491 (september)
 Source¹⁵⁶ : treaty between Groningen and Oostergo (a)
 Victim : a freeholder (2)
 Conditions : -
 Money/acnt : old *schild* at $2\frac{1}{2}$ *arnseguilders*
 Wergeld+ks : 200 old *schilden*
 Silver eq. : $200 \times 2\frac{1}{2} \times 5.16g^{157} = 2,580g$
 Multiplier : 2
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,290g? (small wergeld + kin's share)

Year : 1491 (september)
 Source¹⁵⁸ : treaty between Groningen and Oostergo (b)
 Victim : a tenant farmer (1)
 Conditions : -
 Money/acnt : old *schild* at $2\frac{1}{2}$ *arnseguilders*
 Wergeld+ks : 100 old *schilden*
 Silver eq. : $100 \times 2\frac{1}{2} \times 5.16g^{159} = 1,290g$
 Multiplier : 1
 S.eq/mltpl : 1,290g (small wergeld + kin's share)

¹⁵⁶ PG: 47.

¹⁵⁷ Chapter 11, 'The history of the measure of value'. The *arnseguilder* in Groningen æ *arnseguilder* in Oistvriesland, which was equivalent to 5.16g of silver before the monetary reform in December 1491.

¹⁵⁸ See the previous case of the same treaty.

¹⁵⁹ Ditto.

APPENDIX II

**SURVEY OF EXCHANGE RATES OF GOLD-BASED MONEY
IN LATE MEDIEVAL FRISIA**

NB. This survey has not the pretension being a complete list of all known rates in Frisia. Items without virtual varying information are omitted.

Year	Place	Rate in silver money	Source
+ = possibly of old date			* = provisional inventory

Rates of 1 (Old) (French) *schild* (*écu*)

NB. g = gold *schild* and f = French *schild* explicitly mentioned.

1358	Larrelt (g)	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>sol. bone monete scilicet Monasteriensis</i>	OFU1: 84
1360	Larrelt (g)	5 <i>sol. bone monete</i>	OFU1: 92
1362	Groningen	30 <i>olde corte grote</i>	OGD1: 514
1371	Ommelanden (f)	13 <i>turonensibus</i>	OGD1: 593
1394	Groningen (g)	29 <i>korte grote</i>	OGD2: 867
1397	Uskwerd	30 <i>flemesk</i>	OGD2: 948
1397	Kantens	15 <i>placken</i>	OGD2: 966
1407	Groningen	1 $\frac{1}{5}$ <i>gulden</i> + 1 $\frac{8}{15}$ <i>scillingh</i>	GAG STAD: RvR869
1421	Frisia	30 <i>olde vlaemsche</i>	Chbk1, 439
1422	Frisia	30 <i>olde flamesche grote</i>	GAG STAD: RvR135
1425	Opsterl/Gron.	30 <i>olden vleemschen</i>	GAG STAD: RvR137
1428	Westrkw/Gron.	30 <i>olde vlamescen grote</i>	GAG STAD: RvR161
1431?	Langewold	30 <i>olde vlemschen</i>	RuG UB: PEIP 33, 390
1435	Paddepoel	30 <i>olde vlemsche grote</i>	RAG SEL: 7 r36
1442	Groningen (f)	35 <i>olde vleemsche</i>	GAG PK: 363 r90
1444	Small.land/Grn	30 <i>olde vleemsche</i>	PG: 9
1445	Fivelingo	30 <i>olde vleemschen</i>	RAG DLFZ: 23
1448	Huns.go+Fiv.go	30 <i>olde vleemsche</i>	RQ, 315-324
1458	Achtk./Gron.	30 <i>olde vleemschen</i>	PG: 16
1457	Humsterland	30 <i>vleemschen</i>	RAG DIJKRECHT HUMSTERLND: 3, f49
1462	Humsterland(f)	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>gold.ryns.gld</i>	RAG FAR: 692 r128
1466	Groningen (f)	32 <i>vleemsche</i>	GAG HGG: 77 r154

1466	Humsterland(f)	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>rinske gulden</i>	RAG FAR: 690 r149
1467	Kollumerland	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>Arnemschen gld</i> or 30 <i>olde vleemsche</i>	PG: 19
1473	Ommel./Gron.	30 <i>olde vleemschen</i>	GAG STAD: RvR222
1477	Rinsumageest	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>arnemschen gld</i>	PG: 29
1482	Ommel./Gron.	30 <i>olde vleemschen</i>	GAG STAD: RvR236
1483	Coevorden	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>enckeden golden rynnssche g</i>	GAG STAD: RvR836
1488	Achtk/Gron.	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>arnemschen gld</i>	PG: 42
1491	Oostergo	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>aernsgulden</i>	Chbk1, 748
1492	Groningen (f)	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>golden rynsen g</i>	GAG STAD: RvR287
1492 ¹	Groningen (f)	36 <i>stuver</i>	GAG: RF ms.in f° 21, 301 ^v
1494	Oostergo/Gron.	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>aenemscheng.</i>	PG: 47
1495	Coevorden (f)	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>rynschen gulden</i>	GAG STAD: RvR836
1495	Bolsward (g) ²	29 <i>stuueren</i>	OFO1: 417
1496	Langezwaag (g)	29 <i>stuueren</i>	OFO1: 424
1496	Westergo/Gron.	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>arnemsche gld</i>	PG: 143
1500	Leeuwarden	20 <i>stuuers+1philippus</i>	Telting, <i>De Friesche stadrechten</i> , 261-262

Rates of 1 Clinckert (Holland *schild*)

1434	Husum	24 <i>butken</i>	OFO2: 64
1439	Ameland	17 <i>flamschen</i>	OFO2: 214
1447	Westergo	17 <i>flaemsche</i>	OFO1: 99
1452	Berlikum?	24 <i>butken</i>	OFO3: 3
1455	Remswerd	12 <i>hwyte stuuers</i> or 16 " <i>flaemsch</i> "	OFO4: 19
1456	Sneek	16 <i>vlaems</i>	Telting, <i>De Friese stadrechten</i> , 134
1467	Engwerd	12 <i>stuvers=144scubben</i>	Chbk1, 618
1477	Sneek	16 <i>flaemsck</i>	OFO2: 276
1478	Leeuwarden	24 <i>buttijen</i>	OFO2: 293
1479	Sneek	16 <i>fleems</i>	OFO3: 11
1485	Bozum	24 <i>bottyens</i>	OFO2: 345
1492	Sneek	12 <i>karolus stuueren</i>	SRB: 114
1494	Sneek	12 <i>karolus stuueren</i>	SRB: 196
1495	Sneek	12 <i>karolus stuueren</i>	SRB: 228

¹ Enclosure in a 16th century copy of the new Groningen town-book.

² The document has *klinckerden* instead of *scilden*.

Rates of 1 Rinsguilder (Rhine guilder, Overlandse guilder, koerfursten gulden)

NB. g = gold guilder and/or *enckelde* guilder explicitly mentioned

1417	Leeuwarden	16 <i>grossis imperialis</i> or $\frac{2}{5}$ -th <i>nobilione</i>	Chbk1, 399-401
1419	Langen (g)	$1\frac{1}{2}$ <i>marc.mon.civ.Hamburgensis</i>	OFU1: 269
c.1440	Aduard	35 <i>krumsterte</i>	RAG ADU: 33, 18-20
1450	Dornum	32 <i>krumpstert</i>	OFU1: 632
1454	Groningen (g)	32 <i>krumsterte</i> or $1\frac{1}{3}$ <i>postulatus</i> guilder	GAG VMC: 24 r44
1454 ³	Groningen	12 (<i>olde</i>) <i>iagers</i> or 24 <i>vliegers</i>	GAG: RF ms. in f° 21, 301
1458	Rottum	$1\frac{1}{2}$ <i>fl.Rodolphi</i>	SAM DOMKAPITT.: 3W21
1462	Humsterland	$\frac{2}{3}$ <i>olde Franckr.schilde</i>	RAG FAR: 692 r128
1465	Marssum	20 <i>stuuers</i>	OFO2: 177
1466	Humsterland	$\frac{2}{3}$ <i>olde fransche schyld</i>	RAG FAR: 690 r149
1474 ⁴	Groningen (g)	32 (<i>Matheus</i>) <i>vliegers</i>	GAG: RF ms. in f° 21, 301
1478	Groningen	12 <i>olde iaghers</i>	RAG SEL: 1 f38 r321
1478	Leeuwarden	40 <i>buttien</i>	OFO2: 293
1479	Mid-Frisia	(‘a bad guilder’) 1 <i>schild</i>	Chbk1, 681
1479	Knyphusen	32 <i>krumsterten</i>	OUB6: 249
1481	Grouw	20 <i>stuueren</i>	OFO2: 310
1482	Dornum	46 <i>krumsterten</i>	OFU2: 1091
1482	Sneek	20 <i>stuivers</i>	OFO2: 110
1482	Kollumerland	$3\frac{1}{2}$ <i>gul[den]</i>	RAF LK: 18
1483	Leeuwarden	20 <i>stuweren kaepmans paymenten</i>	OFO1:329
1483	Groningen	12 <i>antiquos iagheros</i>	GAG STAD: RvR881
1483	Coevorden (g)	$\frac{2}{3}$ <i>olde schilde</i>	GAG STAD: RvR836
1485 ⁵	Groningen (g) ⁶	48 <i>eenvolde vleemschen</i>	GAG: RF ms. in f° 21, 301
1488	Klaarkamp (g)	30 or 28 <i>stuuers</i> ⁷	OFO1: 359
1488	Groningen (g)	24 <i>swarte stuvers</i> ⁸	GAG STAD: RvR250
1488	Leermens (g)	27 <i>gronnynger stuvers</i>	RAG HJK: 306 r18
1489	Emden (<i>coepmansgld</i>)	24 <i>groeten</i>	OFU2: 1256

³ Enclosure in a 16th century copy of the new Groningen town-book.

⁴ Enclosure in a 16th century copy of the new Groningen town-book.

⁵ Enclosure in a 16th century copy of the new Groningen town-book.

⁶ *ende die gulden seer cleyn*

⁷ 38 golden guilders reckoned at 30 *stuvers* and $2\frac{1}{2}$ gold guilders *wr dan haep*; the latter expression might imply ‘included in the whole’; if so the rate would be $(30 \times 38) : (38 + 2.5) = 28.15$.

⁸ = *gron.vliegers*

1490	Walsetum (g)	50 <i>Emder groten</i>	OFU2: 1272
1491 ⁹	Groningen (g) ¹⁰	24 <i>stuver</i>	GAG: RF ms. in f°21, 301 ^v
1491	Emden (g)	36 <i>nye Krumstert</i>	Kappelhoff, <i>Münzen</i> , 238
1491	Walsetum (g)	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>Arenggulden</i>	OFU2: 1279
1491	Sneek	20 <i>karolus stuueren</i> or 12 <i>fyoeyrsen</i> or 16 <i>dauids Jaghers</i>	SRB: 44
1492	Groningen (g)	24 <i>Gronynger stuuers</i>	GAG STAD: RvR287
1492	O-hesselen(g)	36 <i>guede Gron.krumst.</i>	RAG ESSEN: 11 r105
1492	Sneek	20 <i>karolus stuueren</i> or 'den enckel voer xxij stuuers' <i>off dauids Jaghers voer en braspennigh'</i>	SRB: 102
1492	Sneek	22 <i>stuueren</i>	SRB: 109
1493	Emden (g)	36 <i>krumstert</i>	OFU2: 1347
1493	Sneek (g)	25 <i>stuuers</i>	SRB: 181
1494	Westergo	16 <i>penninck</i>	Chbk1, 767
1495	Coevordn/Gron.	$\frac{2}{3}$ <i>olde Franckr.schilde</i>	GAG STAD: RvR836
1495	Bolsward (g)	29 <i>stuueren</i>	OFO1: 417
1495	Sneek (g)	22 <i>stuueren</i>	SRB: 257
1496	Langeswaag (g)	29 <i>stuweren</i>	OFO1: 424
1497	Emden (g)	38 <i>kromsterten</i>	OFU2: 1571
1498	Leeuwarden	20 <i>Brab.stuivers</i>	Chbk1, 785
1498	Sneek (g)	20 <i>swaere stuuers</i> or 30 <i>vlaemsche</i>	Chbk1, 783
1499	Groningen (g)	39 <i>krumsterte</i>	GAG STAD: RvR402
199	Appingedam (g)	26 <i>gron.stuvers</i>	RAG HJK: 146 f7v r38
1500	Erle, Nesse ¹¹	32 <i>grote</i>	OFU2: 1661

Rates of 1 *arnseguilder* (Guelders guilder or Arnoldus Arnhem guilder or Reinaldus Arnhem guilder or Arnhem guilder or just guilder)

NB. a = the guilder is explicitly denoted as an arnhem guilder/*arnse* guilder &tc.; G = a guilder denoted as a Guelders guilder;¹² A = a guilder denoted as an Arnoldus guilder;¹³ R = a guilder denoted as a Reinaldus guilder; k = the guilder is denoted as a *kaepmans-/coepmans*guilder or equivalent.

⁹ Enclosure in a 16th century copy of the new Groningen town-book.

¹⁰ *dien gulden was seer cleyn besneden.*

¹¹ *1 freyssche rins.g*

¹² Struck by Duke William of Guelders (1371-1402); gold weight 2.4g declining to 1.2g and by Duke Reinald of Guelders (1402-1423) gold weight 2.5g declining to 2.3g (calculated by using Van Gelder, *Coins*, 207).

¹³ Struck by Duke Arnold of Guelders (1423-1473); gold weight 2.3g to 1.4g in 1445; see previous note.

1395	Groningen (G)	16 <i>schillinghe in Gron.</i>	GAG KFH: 42 r2
1400	Groningen (G)	15 <i>schell.paym.yn Gron.</i>	Brouwer, <i>Chronicon</i> , 114
1403	Zuidwolde (G)	13 <i>grossos Frandrenses</i>	OGD2: 1166
1407	Groningen (G)	13 <i>vlemschen</i> or 10 <i>vlemsschen plaeckken</i>	GAG AHS: 324* r14
1407	Groningen(2x)	15 <i>scillinghe</i>	GAG STAD: RvR869
1407	Groningen	10 <i>scillinghe</i>	GAG STAD: RvR869
1408	Groningen	13 <i>korte grote</i>	GAG PO: RF 1408.9
1408	Groningen	13 <i>korte grote</i>	GAG HGG: 120 r53
1411	Ten Post	13 <i>Corte grote</i>	RAG FAR: 2 r30
1412	Groningen	13 <i>curte groete</i> or 12 <i>lelyers</i> or 10 <i>vleemsche placken</i>	RAG SEL: 1 f47v r10
1413	Groningen	13 <i>corte groten</i>	RAG OCG: 13 r2
1413	Groningen	13 <i>corte grote</i>	RAD ASSEN: 54 r35
1414	Groningen	13 <i>korte grote</i>	GAG PK: 518 r52
1415	Groningen	13 <i>corte grote</i>	GAG PO: (RF 1415.9)
1416	Groningen	13 <i>corte grote</i>	GAG HGG: 79 r65
1422	Jemgum (G)	14 <i>blancken</i>	OFU1: 313
1422	Groningen	10 <i>olde vlemesche grote</i>	GAG KFH: 152 r17
1424	Groningen	10 <i>olde vleemsche grote</i>	GAG VMC: 18 r27
1424	Groningen	10 <i>olde vlemesche</i>	GAG HGG: 103 r80
1425	Groningen	10 <i>olde vleemsche</i>	BAM FRH: U1429 r54
1425	Groningen	9 <i>olde vleemsche grote</i>	GAG AHS: 263* r32
1426	Groningen	13 <i>buttekyns</i>	GAG KFH: 154 r21
1427	Groningen?	10 <i>olde vlemesche grote</i>	GAG VMC: 18 r29
1427	Groningen	9 <i>olde vleemsche grote</i>	GAG PK: 514 r60
1427	Groningen (G)	13 <i>grossis flandrensis</i>	GAG JAG: 2 r2
1428	Groningen	10 <i>olde vlemessche grote</i>	RAG OCG: 20 r5
1428	Groningen	12 <i>olde buttkens</i> or 9 <i>olde vleemsche korte groote</i> or 6½ <i>vlemesch krumstart</i> or 5 <i>olde iohannes burgoensch</i>	RAG SEL: 1 f47 r25
1429	Ter Apel	9 <i>olde vlemeschen</i> or 12 <i>buyttickens</i>	GAG TER APEL: 1 f107 r198?

1429	Groningen	9 <i>olde vleemsche grote</i>	GAG KFH: 19 r29
1429	Groningen	9 <i>olde flemessche</i>	GAG AHS: 263* r36
1429	Nesse	6 <i>solidis Ockonis</i>	OFU1: 379
1429	Groningen	13 <i>buttekyn</i>	GAG STAD: RvR869
1430	Groningen	13 <i>korte gr.= olde vl</i> ¹⁴	RAG SEL: 1 f49v r27
1431	Groningen	9 <i>olde vlemesche grote</i>	GAG AHS: 263*
1431	Groningen (A)	18 <i>olde vlemsche grote</i>	GAG PK: 392 r67
1431	Selwerd (A)	14½ <i>vlemsche krumstaert</i>	RAG SEL: 1 f7 r33
1433	Groningen (A)	14 <i>krumstarte</i>	GAG KFH: 153 r33
1434	Groningen	6½ <i>olde vleemsche grote</i>	GAG HGG: 84 r92
1437	Groningen (a)	12 <i>vleemsche grote</i>	RAG FAR: 845 r65
1438	Nesse (a)	15 <i>krumstert</i>	OFU1: 502
1438/53	Gron. (a)	7 <i>braspenningen</i>	GAGRF ms. in fo.21, 300 ^v
1438	Groningen (A)	7½ <i>onser nyer pennyngh</i> ¹⁵	GAG PK: 295 r78
1438	Groningen (A)	15 <i>stad krumsterte</i>	GAG PK: 382 r79
1439	Groningen (A)	7½ <i>stad braspenninge</i>	GAG PK: 218 r81
1439	Groningen	10 <i>olde vlemesche grote</i>	GAG PK: 431 r82
1439	Groningen (a)	15 <i>Gron.krumsterte</i>	GAG PK: 257 r83
1439	Groningen (a)	15 <i>Stad krumsterte</i>	GAG PK: 256 r84
1441	Groningn (A)	15 <i>stad krumsterten</i> or 8 <i>olde Iohannes bergoenschen braspenn.</i>	GAG PK: 313 r88
1443	Groningen	10 <i>olde vleemsche</i>	GAG AHS: 207* r55
1443	Groningen (a)	16½ <i>gron.krumstert</i>	GAG KFH: 27 r43
1443	Saaksum (a)	15 <i>krumsterten</i>	RAG SEL: 1 f130 r57
1444	Groningen	15 <i>krumsterten</i>	GAG PK: 37 r99
1444	Groningen	12 <i>olde vleemsche</i>	GAG PK: 388 r102
1445	Groningen	12 <i>olde vleemsche</i>	GAG PO: RF 1445.18
1445	Oosterwarf	8 <i>vlaamse</i>	Feith, <i>Warfsconstituties</i> , 14
1446	Groningen	17 <i>buttekens</i>	GAG PK: 122 r110
1446	Groningen	7 <i>brasspeningen</i>	GAG PK: 528 r116
1446	Noorddijk	7 <i>stad braspenningen</i>	GAG PK: priest arch. RF 1446.18
1446	Groningen	10 <i>olde vleemsche</i>	GAG AHS: 225* r61
1446	Groningen (a)	7½ <i>nyebras penninghen</i>	RAG SEL: 1 f75 r71
1446	Assen (a)	17 <i>olde buttekens</i>	RAD ASSEN: 36/I
1447	Groningen	7 <i>stad braspenningen</i> or 17 <i>buttekens</i>	GAG PK: 515 r120

¹⁴ *dertyn korte groete dat olde vleemschen gehieten sint*

¹⁵ Probably the *braspenning* struck in Groningen since 1438.

1448	Groningen	7 stad braspenningen	GAG VMC: 38 r34
1448	Groningen:	17 buttekens	GAG HGG: 122 r109
1448	Ruinen (A)	17 buttikens	VNW B Heft 1: O35**
1449	Larrelt (a)	15 krumster	OFU1: 619
1450	Uttum (a)	15 krumsterte	OFU1: 633
1450	Groningen	7 stad braspenningen or 13 olde Vleemsche	GAG HGG: 66 r111
1450	Groningen	7 stadbrespenninge or 1 loet fynes ghebrandes zilvers	GAG PK: 517 r131
1450	Groningen	17 buttekens	GAG HGG: 69 r112
1451	Groningen	17 buttekens	GAG PK: 242 r133
1452	Groningen	10 olde vleemsche + 1 wyttten stuver	GAG PK 39 r144
1452	Sneek	12 flaemsch	OFO2: 129
1452	Groningen (a)	17 butkens or 8½ witten stuver	RAG OCG: 6 r17
1452	Groningen (a)	10 swarte stuyvers or 8½ witte stuver	GAG PK: 31 r142
1452	Groningen (a)	7 stad braspenninge	GAG PK: 15 r140
1453	Groningen (a)	7 stad braspenninge	GAG PK 21 r148
1453	Essen (a)	17 butkens	RAG ESSEN: 2 r43
1453	Groningen (a)	8½ wyttten stuver or 10 olde vleemsche + 1 wyttten stuver	GAG PK: 366 r150
1454	Groningen (a)	15 krumsterte ¹⁶	RAG OCG: 9 r19
1454	Groningen (a)	10 stad vlegghers	GAG PK: 16 r153
1454	Groningen (a)	10 Philippus Burgoensche braspenninge now called zwarte stuver	GAG AHS: 188 r80
1454	Achtkarsp.	12 vlaamsen	Chbk1, 548-549
1455	Groningen	10 olde vleemschen + 1 wyttten stuver	GAG HGG:38 r119
1455	Groningen	13 olde vlaemsche	GAG HGG: 79 r120
1455	Selwerd	8½ witten stuver	GAG SEL: 1 f64v r144
1455	Groningen	10 zwarte stuyvers	GAG AHS: 142* r81
1455	Oosterhusen(a)	15 krumstert	OFU1: 688
1455	O&W Hamrik (a)	10 groninger vlegers	RAG HJK: 2328, f14 ^v .
1455	Selwerd (a)	10 olde vleemsschen + 1 witten stuver or 8½ witte stuyvers	RAG SEL: 1 f49 r145
1456	Groningen? (a)	8½ witte stuver	RAG SEL: 1 f61 ^v r152

¹⁶ ende achte grotckens voer den krumstert gherekent.

1456	Groningen	10 <i>stad vlegers</i>	GAG HGG: 124 r123
1456+	Groningen	13 <i>butkens</i>	GAG KFH: 20 r64
do.		10 <i>olde vleemsche</i>	do.
1457	Groningen (a)	5 <i>stad jagers</i>	GAG PK: 245 r171
1457	Groningen (a)	10 <i>stad vlegers</i>	RAG OCG: 12 r26
1458	Loqwerd (a)	15 <i>krumsterte</i>	OFU1: 738
1458	Groningen (a)	5 <i>stadjagers</i> or 10 <i>stad vlegers</i>	GAG PK: priest arch. RF 1458.4
1458	Groningen (a)	10 <i>stad vlegers</i>	RAG OCG: 28 r7
1458	Groningen	10 <i>stad vlegers</i>	GAG HGG: 121 r128
1459	Groningen	5 <i>Stad iagers</i> or 10 <i>Stad vliegers</i>	GAG SEL: 1 f59 r199
1459	Groningen	13 <i>vleemsche grote</i>	GAG PK: 476 r172
1459	Groningen (a)	5 <i>onsr stad jagers</i>	RAG EWSUM: 137 r50
1459	near Gron.(a)	10 <i>stad vliegers</i>	RAG SEL: 1 f67 r190
1460	Groningen (a)	5 <i>stad iaghers</i> or 10 <i>stad vlegers</i>	GAG PK: priest arch. RF 1460.?
1460	Groningen	5 <i>stad jaghers</i>	RAD ASSEN: 64 r72
1461	Groningen	10 <i>vleemschen</i>	GAG KFH: 155 r77
1461	Groningen	17 <i>olde buttekens</i>	GAG PK: 421 r181
1461	Groningen	10 <i>stad vlegers</i>	GAG PK: 53 r185
1461	Groningen	5 <i>stad jaghers</i> or 10 <i>stad vlegers</i>	GAG PK: 362 r184
1461	Groningen	10 <i>stad vlegers</i> or 10 <i>zwarte stuvers</i>	GAG AHS: 209 r94
1462	Groningen	5 <i>stad jaghers</i>	GAG VC: 15 r50
1462	Humsterland(a)	13 <i>vleemsche</i> or 10 <i>vleemsche placken</i>	RAG FAR: 692 r128
do.		13 <i>olde vleemsche</i>	do.
1462	Borger (a)	15 <i>krumsterten</i>	RAG ESSEN: 2 r57
1463	Groningen	10 <i>stad vlegers</i>	GAG PK: 38 r195
1463	Groningen	5 <i>stad jgers</i>	GAG VMC: 40 r52
1464	Gieten	5 <i>groninger jaghers</i>	GAG KFH: 91 r104
1464	Groningen	10 <i>stad vlegers</i>	GAG PK: 418 r204
1465	Groningen	5 <i>stad jaghers</i> or 10 <i>stad vlegers</i>	GAG PK: 75 r209
1465	Groningen	12 <i>olde vleemschen</i>	RAD ASSEN: 66 r82
1465 ¹⁷	Groningen (a)	5 <i>stadt jagers</i>	GAG PK: 376r426
1466	Groningen (a)	5 <i>stad iaegers</i>	RAG SEL: 1 f6v r246

¹⁷ The charter is dated in 1495.

1466	Groningen	5 <i>stad jaghers</i> or 10 <i>stad vlegers</i>	GAG PK: 77 r218
1467	Groningen	10 <i>stad vlegers</i>	GAG PK: 141 r225
1467 ¹⁸	Groningen	5 <i>iagers</i>	GAG KFH: 24 r158
1467	Tammingalnd(a)	10 <i>stadt vlegers</i>	GAG AHS: 57* r102
1467	Kollumerlnd(a)	$\frac{2}{5}$ -th <i>old schilt</i> or 12 <i>olde vleemsche</i>	PG: 19
1468	Tjabdeweer	10 <i>stad vlegers</i>	GAG HJK: 1427 r8 ?
1468	Groningen	10 <i>stad vlieghers</i>	RAG SEL: 1 f51 r260
1469	Groningen	10 <i>stad vlegers</i>	GAG KFH: 146 r140
1469	Groningen (a)	10 <i>stad vlegers</i> or 15 <i>krumsterte</i>	GAG KFH: 33 r139
1470	Groningen (a)	10 <i>stadt vlegers</i>	GAK: II A 361, p. 9 ^v
1470	in de Marne	10 <i>stad vlegers</i>	GAG AHS: 57* r112
1471	Groningen	10 <i>stad vlegers</i>	GAG PK: 179 r257
1471	Groningen	10 <i>vlegers</i>	RAG OCG: 34 r49
1471	Ter Apel (a)	10 <i>olde vleemsche</i> or 15 <i>krumstart</i>	GAG TERAPEL: 25 r22
1471	Groningen (a)	10 <i>vlegers</i>	GAG KFH: 24 r158
1471	Emden (a)	15 <i>krumsterte</i>	OFU2: 895
1471	Ter Apel (a)	15 <i>krumsteert</i>	DWK1: 185
1472	Woltersum (a)	10 <i>philippus/stuvers</i>	GAG TER APEL: 1f.28 ^v r26
1472	Drenthe? (a)	10 <i>swaerte stuvers</i>	RAG FAR:652 r159
1472	Groningen	10 <i>stad vlegers</i>	GAG AHS: 201* r116
1472	Groningen	10 <i>zwarte stuvers</i>	GAG PK: 422 r261
1473	Groningen	10 <i>stad vlegers</i>	GAG AHS: 229* r117
1473	Obergum	10 <i>stad vlegers</i>	GAG AHS: 57* r120
1474	Groningen	10 <i>stadt vlegers</i>	GAG TER APEL: 1 r33
1474	Warffhusen	10 <i>stad vliegers</i>	RAG SEL: 1 f129 r283
1474	Groningen (a)	10 <i>stad vlegers</i>	GAG AHS: 228* r121
1474	Emden (a)	15 <i>krumstert</i>	OFU2: 940
1475	Groningen (a)	10 <i>stad vlegers</i>	GAG AHS: 247 r125
1475	Aduard (a)	3 $\frac{1}{3}$ <i>stad vlegers</i>	BAM FRH: U148 r176
1475	Saaksumhusen	10 <i>stad vliegers</i>	RAG SEL: 1 f137 r290
1476	Groningen	10 <i>stad vlegers</i>	GAG AHS: 269* r128
1477	Groningen	10 <i>stad vliegers</i>	RAG SEL: 1 f59 ^v r311
1477	Boykeme (a)	10 <i>stad vlegers</i>	RAG FAR: 843 r178
1477	Gershuizen (a)	10 <i>gron.stad vliegers</i>	RAG SEL: 1 f74 r314

¹⁸ The charter is dated in 1471.

1477	De Gaast (a)	$\frac{2}{5}$ <i>schild</i>	PG: 29
1478	Groningen (a)	10 <i>stad vlieghers</i>	RAG SEL: 1 f38 r321
1478	Umenborch (a)	15 <i>krumsterte</i>	OFU3: 582
1479	Groningen (a)	10 <i>stad vlegers</i>	GAG VMC: 20 r59
1479	Groningen (a)	5 <i>stad jaghers</i>	GAG PK: 240 r300
1479	Baarderadeel	18 <i>buttien</i>	OFU4: 52
1480	Groningen (a)	10 <i>stat vlegers</i>	GAG TER APEL: 1 f42v r49
1480	Witholt (a)	15 <i>krumsterte</i>	RAG FAR: 833 r184
1481	Emden (a)	15 <i>krumsterten</i>	OFU2: 1058
1481	Ewsum (a)	10 <i>stad vliegers</i>	RAG EWSUM: 80
1481	Groningen?	17 <i>butkens</i> (old?)	RAG FAR: 699 r185
do.	do.	10 <i>stad vlegers</i> (old?)	do.
1482	Groningen (a)	10 <i>stad vlegers</i>	GAG AHS: 232 r146
1482	Essen (a)	10 <i>groninger stuver</i>	RAG ESSEN: 9 r82
1482	Kollumerland	2/7 <i>rynß gul</i> or 1/10 <i>hal .sw nobelen</i>	RAF LK: 18
1483	Groningen	40(XL) <i>groet vlemssch</i>	GAG STAD: RvR1118
1483	Groningen (a)	15 <i>krumsterten</i>	GAG AHS: 215transfix
1483	Schermer (a)	5 <i>groninger jagers</i> or 10 <i>vlegers</i>	GAG TER APEL 1 f33v r56
1484	Groningen (a)	12 <i>olde vleemsche</i>	RAO SIBCULO: Cartularium I f14r253
1484	Groningen (a)	10 <i>stadt stuyvers</i> , 6 <i>stad placken</i> each	GAG HGG: 106 r184
1484	Emden (a)	10 <i>grote</i>	OFU2: 1142
1484	Groothusen (a)	11 <i>groten</i>	OFU2: 1138; 1139
1484	het Nyland	12 <i>flaemisk</i>	OFU2: 339
1485	Groningen (A)	10 <i>stad vliegers</i>	RAG SEL: 1 f60 r354
1485	Groningen (a)	5 <i>nye stad jagers</i>	GAG KFH: 155 r193
1485 ¹⁹	Groningen (a)	12 <i>vleemschen</i>	GAG: RF ms. in f°21, 301
1485	Groningen (a)	10 <i>stad stuver</i> (6 <i>stad placken</i> each)	GAG PK: 420 r345
1485	Dorkwerd (a)	12 <i>stad vleemschen</i>	RAG SEL: 1 f23 ^v r357
1485	Emden (a)	11 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>grote</i>	OFU2: 1156
1486	Groningen (a)	15 <i>antiq.krumstartos gron.</i>	GAG PK: 371 r352
1486	Dorkwerd (a)	12 <i>stad vleemschen</i>	RAG SEL: 1 f23 ^v r357
1486	Groningen (a)	10 <i>stad stuyvers</i> , 6 <i>stad placken</i> each	GAG PK: 194 r353

¹⁹ Enclosure in a 16th century copy of the new Groningen town-book.

1486	Groningen (a)	12 <i>stad vleemsschen</i> , 5 <i>placken</i> each	GAG PK: 222 r351
1487	Groningen (a)	15 <i>krumsterte</i> , 4 <i>placken</i> each	RAG FAR: 771 r199
1487	Noordhorn (a)	12 <i>stad vleemsschen</i>	GAG PK: 410 r357
1487	Emden (a)	10 <i>groten</i>	OFU3: 626
1488	Groningen (a)	14 <i>kromstert</i>	GAG STAD: RvR896
do.		12 <i>olde vleemsschen</i>	do.
do.		10 <i>stad vlegers</i>	do.
1488	Enumatil (a)	12 <i>stad vleemsche</i>	RAG SEL: 1 f86 ^v r374
1488	Enumatil (a)	6 <i>dubbelde stad vleemsche</i>	RAG SEL: 1 f86 r372
1488	Groningen (a)	15 <i>krumsterten</i> , 4 <i>placken</i> each	GAG PK: 113 r371
1488	Emden (a)	10 <i>emder grotenn</i>	OFU2: 1206; 1211
1488	Wyvelsum (a)	10 <i>emder groten</i>	OFU2: 1238
1489	Groningen (a)	12 <i>stat vleemsschen</i> 5 <i>placken</i> each	RAF GRK: 158 r43
1489	Groningen (a)	10 <i>groninger stuvers</i>	GAG AKERK: (RF 1499.1)
1490	Groningen (a)	10 <i>stadt vlegers</i>	RAD ASSEN: 69 r106
1490	Groningen (a)	5 <i>eemder jagers</i>	GAG PK: 358 r389
1490	Coevorden (a)	15 <i>crstn</i>	RAD DROSTEN: 050
1490	Walsetum (a)	10 <i>Emder groten</i>	OFU2: 1272
1491	Groningen(a)	10 <i>Gronynger stuvers</i>	RAG HJK: 242 r25
1491	Groningen? (a)	6 <i>dubbelde gron.vleemschen</i>	GAG PK: 247 r392
1491	Emden (k)	15 (<i>nye</i>) <i>krumstert</i>	Kappelhoff, <i>Münzen</i> , 238
1491	Walsetum (a)	2/11 <i>enckele golden Rinsche g</i>	OFU2:1279
1492	Groningen (A)	12 <i>Gronynger stuuers</i>	De Rhoer, <i>Het stadboek</i> , 212-216
1492	Groningen (A)	12 <i>stuver</i>	do.
1492	Groningen (R)	18 <i>stuvers</i>	do.
1492	Groningen (a)	5 <i>stad iaegers</i> or 10 <i>stad stuvers</i>	RAG SEL: 1 f54 r393
1492	Groningen (a)	5 <i>Gronynger Yaghers</i> or 10 <i>stuuers</i>	De Rhoer, <i>Het stadboek</i> , 213
1492?	Aduard (a)	16 <i>krumstert.e</i>	RAG ADU: 33p78
1493	Groningen (a)	10 <i>stad stuvers</i>	RAG HJK: 26nr35
1493	Aduard (a)	10 <i>stadt stuvers</i>	GAG AHS: 119 ^{viii*} r193
1494	Damsterdiep(a)	10 <i>stad stuvers</i>	RAG SEL: 1 f98 r403
1494	Groningen (a)	10 <i>stadt stuvers</i>	GAG AHS: 219* r197

1495	Nykerke (a)	10 <i>stad st.</i>	GAG AHS: 57 f11 ^v * r201
1495	Groningen (a)	10 <i>stadt stuvers</i>	GAG PK: 426 r422
1496	Lydenser k.(a)	10 <i>stadt st.</i>	GAG AHS: 57 f.10 ^v * r202
1496	Groningen (a)	10 <i>stadt stuvers</i>	BAMFRH: 269 U 1620
1497	Groningen (a)	10 <i>gronynger stuvers</i>	GAG PK: 424 r444
1497	Garmewolde(a)	10 <i>groninger stadstuvers</i>	GAG PK: 103 r445
1498	Groningen? (a)	10 <i>stad stuvers</i>	GAG PK: 501 r455?
1498	Uskwerd (a)	10 <i>albos</i>	OFU2: 1617
1499	Appingedam (a)	10 <i>Groninger stuvers</i> , 26 æ 1 <i>enckelden goldenn Rinsen gulden</i>	RAG HJK: 146 f7 ^v r38
1499	Stedum (a)	10 <i>stuvers offie vlegers</i>	GAG KFH: 60 r226
1499	Groningen (a)	10 <i>stadt stuvers</i>	GAK KAMPEN: II A 361 p.16 ^v
1500	Groningen (a)	10 <i>stad stuvers</i>	GAG PK: 195 r469
1500	Emden (a)	15 <i>krumstert</i>	OFU2: 1669

Rates of 1 *postulatus* guilder

1443	Leeuwarden	19 <i>alde flaemsche</i> + 1 <i>scheisken</i>	OFO2: 91
1454	Groningen	24 <i>krumsterte</i> or $\frac{3}{4}$ <i>rinssche gulden</i>	GAG VMC: 24 r44
1458	Rottum	$\frac{2}{3}$ <i>fl.Reno Elect.Imp</i>	SAM DMK: 3W21
1475	Wirdum	28 <i>butties</i>	OFO2: 262
1478	Huisum	17 <i>stuieren</i>	OFO2: 286
1479	Nes	13 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>stuiver</i>	Chbk1, 693
1485	Leeuwarden	16 <i>philippus</i>	OFO2: 343
1492	Groningen	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>arnh.g.</i> + 1 <i>kromstert</i>	GAG STAD: RvR287
1492	Groningen	23 $\frac{1}{2}$? <i>krumstert</i>	RAG ms. 13b, f439

Rates of 1 Beyers guilder

1456	Sneek:	28 <i>buttghies</i>	Telting, <i>De Friesche stadrechten</i> , 134
1492	Groningen	16 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>stuiver</i>	GAG STAD: RvR287