

The Coins of the Delft Hoard (2004)

Part One

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Hoard Deposited: after 1363

Town of Delft

Currently in the collection of the Archeologische Dienst Delft

Delft, The Netherlands

Research viewing: 16 April, 2014

The hoard was discovered in late 2004, during a routine archeological excavation by the Geerweg near the Kantoordracht, in the vicinity of the 14th century horse market within the walls of the medieval town of Delft^[1]. During the excavation, a ceramic jug was uncovered; subsequent cleaning of this jug revealed the ninety-five silver coins hidden inside.

The hoard consisted almost entirely of 14th century *leeuwengroten* from Flanders, Holland and Brabant, as well as Rummen (Rumigny) and Looz.



The container in which the Delft Hoard was found

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The find had been previously studied and reported by Bult & de Bruin ^[1] in 2005, although it was a third party who actually identified the coins, since Bult and de Bruin are archeologists, not numismatists ^{[12][13]}.

At some point after the discovery of the hoard, the coins were put on exhibition. It was felt that in order to safeguard the hoard, it would be wise to separate 7 coins from the rest, and keep these 7 coins out of the exhibition. The oldest and newest coins were chosen, as well as five coins “representative of the hoard” ^[13]. These 7 coins were subsequently misplaced in the depot of the Archeologische Dienst Delft, in part due to two location changes for the depot itself. The location of the 7 coins remained unknown for almost ten years, hence the 88 coins available for viewing in 2014. In 2013, a student at the University of Leiden cleaned, weighed and photographed the 88 coins then present, and wrote another report on the find (unpublished) ^[11]. All 88 coins were inspected by author Torongo on 16 April, 2014.

In September of 2014, the 7 misplaced coins were found in the depot and reunited with the rest of the hoard ^[13]. However, we have since been able to obtain neither photographs of the 7 coins, nor any details as to their identities (see Afterword), and are therefore only able to report here on 93% of the coins of the Delft Hoard (hence the Part One of the title).

Bult & de Bruin reported the find as:

“95 coins... silver *grooten*, half *grooten* and quarter *grooten* of fine silver. 63 silver *grooten* from different issues from Flanders of Louis I and II of Male, struck between 1346 and 1365. The most recently-struck coin dates from the period 1404 and 1417, being a $\frac{1}{4}$ *groot* of Willem VI of Holland.” ^[1]

Since the 7 misplaced coins are no longer missing, we shall refrain from speculation here as to their identities. A list of the 88 available coins and their weights can be found in the Appendix.

The original find was comprised of:

— **95 silver (or billon) coins** divided as follows:

7 coins, type currently unknown *

88 *leeuwengroten*, *gros au lions* or *gros compagnons* or fractionals thereof:

1 Looz : Diederik van Heinsberg (1336-1361)

3 Rummen : Arnold of Oreya (1355-1377)

8 Brabant : 1 John II (1312-1355)

7 Joanna (1355-1406)

14 Holland : William V (1350-1389)

10 *leeuwengroten*

4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *leeuwengroten*

62 Flanders : Louis II of Mâle (1346-1384)

* I.e. unknown to authors Torongo & van Oosterhout (see Afterword)

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE COINS ^[6]

The obverse of the *leeuwengroten* in the hoard is a rampant lion left, surrounded by a clockwise legend that begins with an initial cross*, followed by the word MONETA. Circling this is a border of 1 small lion and 11 leaves, each itself enclosed in a partial circle. Between the legend and the outer border is a ring of oblong pellets.

The reverse has an outer and an inner legend. The central type is a cross, the arms of which break into the inner legend. The legends are separated by a ring of oblong pellets, and there is another ring of oblong pellets beneath the inner legend. There are rings of pellets along the outer edges of both faces as well, but these are quite often not visible on the coins themselves. The Delft Hoard has quite a number of coins where the outer pellet ring is at least partially visible.

Take note that some numismatists prefer to view the lion side as the reverse and the cross side as the obverse. The approximate diameter of a *leeuwengroot* is 27-28 mm.

The reverse, outer legend is the same for all 88 coins:

REV ✠ BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : IhV : XPI

BeNeDICTVm SIT NOMEn DomiNI NostRI IHsV CHRisti

Blessed be the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ

The obverse legend differs from region to region, as does the reverse, inner legend.

The $\frac{1}{2}$ *leeuwengroot*, of which there are four in the hoard (all from Holland), is similar in design to the full *groot*, but the outer, obverse border of leaves and the reverse, outer legend are absent. Fractional *leeuwengroten* were struck in several Low Lands regions, and it is often difficult to tell a *half-groot* from a *third-groot* or *quarter-groot*.

Sadly, most of the coins in the Delft Hoard are marred by serious corrosion and encrustation. Because of this, many coins are illegible when it comes to the specific and important details with which we are concerned, such as the crossbars of the A's or the presence or absence of pellets near the initial, obverse cross. Many of the individual Delft Hoard coins are thus rendered all but useless for broader research into the *leeuwengroten* of all regions.

This does not mean that the coins of the Delft Hoard are irrelevant. Quite the contrary; the hoard as a whole certainly has great numismatic significance. It is noteworthy that so many early coins (22 examples, Issue II, round O in COMES) were found together with some of the latest issues (4 examples, Issue VII, Pelleted L's). These two issues are separated in time by some fifteen years.

Many details are discernable on the coins, and they are all at least partially identifiable. By some good fortune, all of the O's in COMES on the reverses of the Flemish coins are visible (and thus identifiable as long or round), and a great many of the A crossbars are legible even when much of the area around the letter is not.

* The single *leeuwengroot* struck for John III of Brabant (1312-1355) is the only one of the 88 coins present in 2014 with an eagle as an initial mark in the obverse legend instead of a cross. The eagle was an earlier stop mark, used in Flanders by Louis I of Nevers and by his contemporaries in other regions (e.g. John III of Brabant). The coin, the oldest of the 88 coins present in 2014, could also be termed a *gros compaignon* or *gezel*.

CATALOG of COINS:

All photographs © 2013 Archeologische Dienst Delft

Numbered according to Wessels' 2013 system ^[11]: D-00 b/a

a = cross side, b = lion side

Shown approx. 2 ½ x life-size (250%)

Images marked with * are of a lower resolution than the other photos.

County of Looz (Loon)

Diederik van Heinsberg, Count of Looz

(1336-1361)

Vanhoudt Type G 644 var.

1 coin

OBV [• ✠ MONETA + LOSEN']
REV [THE ORI DꝀDO MES]

MONETA LOSEN
THEORIC COMES

Coin of Looz
Diederik, Count



D-01 (3.20 g.)

This type of coin is quite uncommon, and this example is unusual because the reverse legend for coins of this type usually reads THEORVC, not THEORIC.

The obverse border leaves are difficult to see, but appear to have 5 lobes

Lordship of Rummen (Rumigny)

Arnold of Oreye, Lord of Rummen
(1355-1377)

Vanhoudt Type G 2008 var.

3 coins

OBV [• ✠ MONETA + FRAND']
REV [OI ✠ RNO L' DE • RVM' •]

MONETA FRAND
ARNOLDvs DE RVMenensis

Coin of "Rummen"
Arnold of Rummen

Whatever machinations one might employ to make FRAND read as *Rummen* (FRvmeND?), the bottom line is that the obverse legend is a blatant attempt to deceptively copy the Flemish legend MONETA FLAND. There may be more variations on the Delft coins that are not visible.



D-02 (3.06 g.)

There appears to be an annulet ✠ in MONETA.



D-03 (3.08 g.)

Note the very prominent pellet left of the obverse cross.






D-04 (2.89 g.)



Duchy of Brabant

John III, Duke of Brabant
(27 October, 1312 – 5 December, 1355)
Vanhoudt G 269
3-lobed leaves

1 coin

OBV [ MONETA + BRABANT']
REV O'DV X·LO T'·BR AB'·I
[ BNDICTV : SIT : NOMES : DNI : NRI : IHS :  PI]

MONETA BRABANTie
Iohannes DVX LOTier BRABantie

Coin of Brabant
John, Duke of Lotier, Brabant

'Lotier' being Lower Lorraine (Neder-Lotharingia).



D-05 (3.19 g.)

Note the pierced cross and X in the reverse, outer legend (only the X is visible on the coin).

Joanna, Duchess of Brabant
(5 December, 1355 – 1 November, 1406)
Vanhoudt Type G 295
3-lobed leaves

7 coins

[OBV] [. + MONETA + FILFD']
[REV] [O'DV CLO T'BR AB'xI]

MONETA FILForDensis
Iohanna DVCissa LOTier BRABantie

Coin of Vilvoorde
Johanna, Duchess of Lotier, Brabant



D-06 (3.17 g.)



D-07 (3.08 g.)



D-08 (3.31 g.)



D-09 (2.79 g.)



D-10 (3.12 g.)





D-11 (3.08 g.)



D-12 (3.30 g.)



County of Holland

William V, Count of Holland and Zeeland
(1350-1389)

Duke of Bavaria from 11 October, 1347

10 *leeuwengroten* (Grolle Type 17.2.2)

4 ½ *leeuwengroten* (Grolle Type 17.2.3, see pp. 15-16)

Leeuwengroten:

Grolle Type 17.2.2

OBV [✠ MONETA ✠ HOLAND']
REV [GVIL LELM DVX:COMES]

MONETA HOLANDiae
GVILELMvs, DVX, COMES

Coin of Holland
William, Duke, Count

All of the Holland *leeuwengroten* have 5-lobed border leaves on the obverse. The colon between DVX and COMES is visible on most (but not all) of the coins. Some Holland *leeuwengroten* do not have this mark, and some of the illegible coins in the Delft Hoard may not have it either. The O's of COMES are always round on Holland *leeuwengroten*. Either the T or the A of MONETA can be annuleted or plain on Holland *leeuwengroten*: **T T A A**.

Between the words MONETA and HOLAND is a leaf, sometimes with a pellet above it. This leaf is often mistaken for an X. Furthermore, the stem of this leaf mark is not always facing downwards: **✦ ✧ ✦**.



D-13 (3.43 g.)



D-14 (3.19 g.)



D-15 (3.20 g.)



D-16 (3.26 g.)

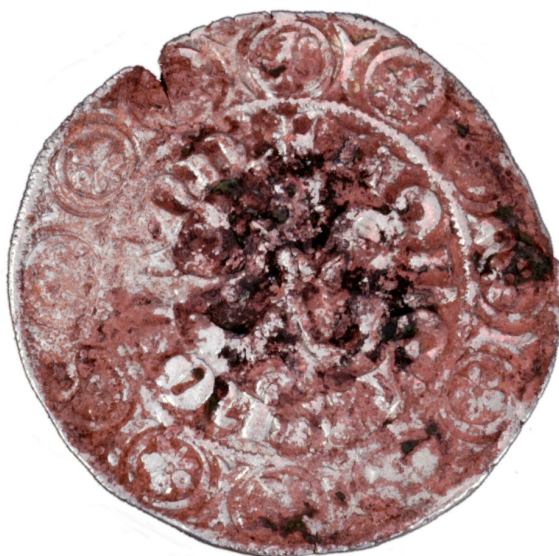




D-17 (3.43 g.)



D-18 (3.36 g.)



D-19 (3.29 g.)






D-20 (3.37 g.)



D-21 (3.22 g.)



D-22 (3.14 g.)

Annulet  in MONETA



Half leeuwengroten:

Grolle Type 17.2.3

OBV	[✠ MONETA ꝥ HOLLANDIA ꝥ]
REV	[GVIL LELM DVX:Ꝉ OMES]

Grolle Type 17.2.3a: **DVXꝈ**Grolle Type 17.2.3b: **DVX:Ꝉ**

Grolle lists several varieties of legends, obverse and reverse^[3]; we provide here what we feel to be the most likely transcription. A more accurate attribution is not possible due to the poor state of the coins.

**D-23** (1.63 g.) ½ leeuwengroot**D-24** (1.56 g.) ½ leeuwengroot



D-25 (1.64 g.) $\frac{1}{2}$ *leeuwengroot*



D-26 (1.31 g.) $\frac{1}{2}$ *leeuwengroot*



County of Flanders

Louis II of Mâle, Count of Flanders and Rethel
(26 August, 1346 – 30 January 1384)
All Gaillard Type 219 / Vanhoudt Type 2596

MONETA FLANDriae
LVDOVICvs COMES

Coin of Flanders
Louis, Count

The specific details of the legends differ from issue to issue. The details relevant to identification of the *leeuwengroten* of Louis II of Flanders are as follows:

Obverse:

The initial cross of the legend:

(pellets present to the left •✚ and/or •✚• to the right ✚•, or absent ✚)

The A of MONETA (crossbar present **A** or absent **A**)

The A of FLAND' (crossbar present **A** or absent **A**)

The leaf between the two words (stem pointing to A ✚, F ✚, or straight down ✚)

The L of FLAND' (pellet present **L** or absent **L**; other forms of the L are currently under investigation.)

The N of FLAND' (various forms of the **N** are currently under investigation.)



Reverse:

The O of COMES (round **O** or long **O**)

The L of LVDOVIC' (pellet present **L** or absent **L**; other characteristics known as well)

The N's of the outer legend (various forms of the **N** are currently under investigation.)

The form of the leaves in the obverse, outer border is another identifying characteristic. The leaves are said to have either 3 or 5 lobes to them. There are in fact several other rather subtle details regarding these leaves, but for the current discussion it will suffice to simply identify the leaves as having 3 or 5 lobes.

3 lobes:  

5 lobes:   

Conclusions as to which mintmarks correspond to which issues have been drawn based on Aimé Haeck's *De leeuwengroten met het kruisje van Lodewijk van Male – Een proeve van (her)classificatie*^[4].

Issue II : {24 Nov. 1346 – 27 May 1351}

ROUND O in COMES

22 coins, all with 5-lobed border leaves

OBV	[✠ • MONETA + FLAND']
REV	[LVD OVI CACO MES]

These appear to be the oldest coins of Louis II of Mâle of the 88 coins viewed in 2014. The poor state of the coins makes it impossible in most cases to determine if the leaf-stem is straight (Type 6B), or if it curves toward the F of FLAND (Type 5B). It is also impossible to be certain whether an A crossbar is present in FLAND or not. We have given the most common and therefore most likely legend above, i.e. Issue II, Type 6B.



D-32 (3.40 g.) Round O



D-34 (3.59 g.) Round O



D-35 (3.24 g.) Round O



D-43 (3.29 g.) Round O



D-45 (3.56 g.) Round O





D-46 (3.41 g.) Round O



D-49 (3.21 g.) Round O





D-52 (3.32 g.) Round O



D-54 (3.23 g.) Round O





D-55 (3.48 g.) Round O



D-58 (3.23 g.) Round O



D-59 (2.99 g.) Round O





D-63 (3.33 g.) Round O



D-64 (3.54 g.) Round O



D-66 (3.66 g.) Round O





D-67 (3.43 g.) Round O



D-72 (3.04 g.) Round O



D-74 (3.34 g.) Round O





D-80 (3.23 g.) Round O



D-84 (3.51 g.) Round O





D-86 (3.45 g.) Round O



D-88 (3.40 g.) Round O



Issue III : { 28 May, 1351 – 1 January, 1352
15 January, 1353 – 5 September, 1353 }

Leaf-stem to F, pellets left and right of cross

5 coins

OBV	• ✠ • MONETA + FLAND'
REV	LVD OVI C ^o MES

The leaf-stems on four of these coins are clearly curving toward the **F** of FLAND. Pellets left and right of the initial cross are plainly visible on D-31, the crossbar in FLAND is present, in MONETA it is absent; the coin is from Issue III-9. The same can be said for D-33, however the pellet left of the cross is not really visible, therefore the attribution of Issue III-9 is tentative (although likely).

D-50 has a pellet left of the cross, but on the right it is uncertain. Unfortunately, the low resolution of this photo prevents us from drawing too many conclusions about the A's. Little or nothing can be seen of the area around cross on D-65 and the A's are in bad shape as well. Attribution of these two coins to Issue III-9 can only be tentative. (Issue III-10 has a straight leaf-stem.)

D-27 appears to have stem curving to the **F** and pellets on both sides of the cross, but it is difficult to be sure. (See the Conclusion for an important note about Issue III.)



D-27 (3.39 g.)



D-31 (3.50 g.)



D-33 (3.18 g.)





D-50 (3.54 g.)



D-65 (3.50 g.)



Issue V : {20 December, 1354 – 18 September, 1359}

Illegible and/or Type 12

32 coins ?

OBV

• ✠ MONETA + FLAND'

REV

LVD OVI CACO MBS

All 34 of these coins are too illegible to be able to determine with 100% certainty that they come from Issue V, Type 12 (the “common type”). However, as Issue V was the issue with the largest number of pieces struck (22,644,213 coins), chances are good. It is easily possible that some of these coins do not belong to Issue V at all.



D-28 (3.39 g.)



D-29 (2.87)





D-30 (3.41 g.)



D-36 (3.28 g.)



D-37 (3.47 g.)





D-38 (3.40 g.)



D-40 (3.30 g.)



D-42 (3.45 g.)





D-44 (3.40 g.)



D-47 (3.55 g.)



D-48 (3.48 g.)





D-51 (3.35 g.)



D-53 (3.50 g.)

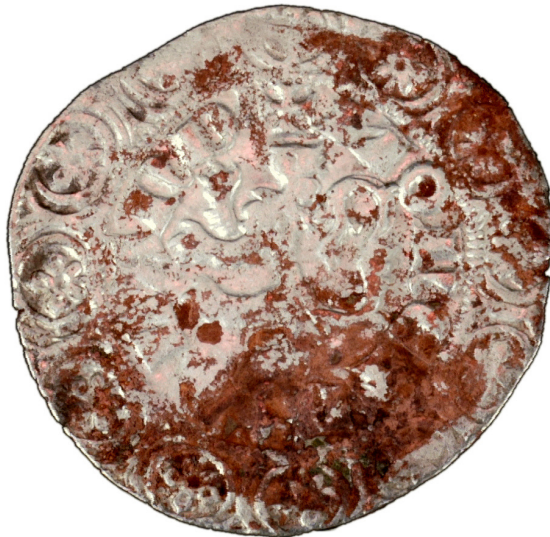


D-57 (3.49 g.)





D-60 (2.83 g.)



D-61 (3.28 g.)



D-62 (2.97 g.)





D-68 (3.59 g.)



D-69 (3.29 g.)



D-70 (3.53 g.)





D-71 (g.)



D-73 (3.14 g.)



D-75 (3.30 g.)





D-76 (3.17 g.)



D-77 (3.52 g.)



D-78 (3.33 g.)





D-79 (g.)



D-81 (3.41 g.)



D-83 (3.07 g.)





D-85 (3.07 g.)



D-87 (3.14 g.)



Issue VII : {4 December, 1361 – 27 September, 1362}

Type 17 or 18

Pellet L's

4 coins

• **† MONETA † FLAND'** (Type 17)

• **† MONETA † FLAND'** (Type 18)

LVD OVI CACO MES (both)



D-39 (2.70 g.) Pellet L's
Type 17/18



D-41 (3.01 g.) Pellet L's
Type 17



D-56 (3.02 g.) Pellet L's
Type 17



D-82 (3.14 g.) Pellet L's
Type 17/18



CONCLUSION

The coins of the Delft Hoard (2004) are divided as follows:

	88				Total coins in Hoard (in 2014)
		1			Looz : Diederik of Heinsberg (1336-1361)
		3			Rummen : Arnold of Oreya (1355-1377)
		8			Brabant :
			1		John III (1312-1355)
			7		Joanna (1355-1406)
		14			Holland : William V (1350-1389)
			10		<i>leeuwengroten</i>
			4		$\frac{1}{2}$ <i>leeuwengroten</i>
		62			Flanders : Louis II of Mâle (1346-1384)
			58		without pellet L's:
				0	Issue I, Types 1 – 4
				22	Issue II, Types 5 – 8
				5 ?	Issue III, Type 9
				0	Issue III, Type 10
				0	Issue IV, Type 11
				31 ?	Issue V, Type 12 “common type”:
				0	Issue V, Type 13
				0	Issue VI, Type 14
				0	Issue VI, Type 15
				0	Issue VI, Type 16
			4		with pellet L's:
				2	Issue VII, Type 17
				2	Issue VII, Type 17 or 18 (crossbars unclear)
95					Total coins in Hoard (original)
	88				Total coins present (in 2014)
		84			Total <i>leeuwengroten</i> present (2014)
		4			Total $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>leeuwengroten</i> present (2014)
	7				unknown coins *

* i.e. unknown to authors Torongo & van Oosterhout

Given the generally poor state of the coins, and the fact that 7 coins from the hoard are not available for identification, it is not possible for us to do a complete and accurate analysis of the hoard at this time. The oldest and newest coins in the hoard were expressly removed from the group, making dating of the find impossible. Speculation here as to the identities of the 7 separated coins would be pointless.

The single *leeuwengroot* of John III (1312 - 1355) from Brabant is the oldest of the 88 coins that were present in 2014. Based on the Flemish coins with pelleted **L**'s, the hoard could not have been deposited before the beginning of December, 1361 (or the end of October, 1359; see our comments in *The Coins of the Flanders Hoard (1914-1918)* ^[9], and below, p. 50).

Minting of the *leeuwengroot* ceased completely in Flanders by mid-1364, and it is unlikely that Arnold of Oreye (1355-1377) would have continued to strike them in Rummen for any great length of time after this date.

Leeuwengroten from Looz are fairly uncommon, and the single example in the hoard is unusual for having a reverse legend reading THEORIC instead of the more common THEORVC.

It may be noteworthy that the only ½ *leeuwengroten* in the hoard were struck in the county in which the town of Delft stood and in which the hoard was originally hidden (Holland).

Brabant

As mentioned, the single *groot* of John III (27 October, 1312 – 5 December, 1355) is the only coin in the hoard with an eagle as an initial mark in the obverse legend instead of a cross, making it the oldest coin of the 88 coins present in 2014.

Joanna was Duchess of Brabant from 5 December, 1355, until her death on 1 November, 1406. Her husband ruled at her side until his death on 8 December, 1383. The earliest issues of *leeuwengroten* for the pair (“gros of Vilvoorde”) bear only Joanna’s name; these are the type of *groten* present in the Delft Hoard.

Later issues (the “gros of Brabant”) had obverse legends reading MONETA BRABA, and reverse, outer legends reading WENCESL DEI GRA LVCENB BRAB DVX (Vanhoudt Type G 314). This type of coin is absent from the Delft Hoard.


Flanders

In total, there are 62 *leeuwengroten* from Flanders in the group of 88 from the hoard (all Gaillard Type 219 / Vanhoudt Type 2596); 4 with pellet **L**'s and 58 without (i.e. with normal **L**'s).

Of the 58 coins without pellet **L**'s, 22 of them have a round **O** in COMES on the reverse. All 22 of these coins have 5-lobed leaves in the obverse border.

A further 4 (perhaps 5) coins have a leaf-stem curving toward the **F** and long **O**'s in COMES. 1 coin clearly has a pellet to the left and right of the cross, while the other 4 are less certain.

The remaining 31 coins are all partially illegible. It is likely that most of them are from Issue V, Type 12 (the “common type”), but even when all the characteristics of that issue are visible on a coin, it is usually impossible to completely rule out other issues. For example, there may be a pellet visible to the left of the cross, but encrustation prevents us from saying with certainty that there is not a pellet to the right of the cross as well.

All 4 of the coins with pellet **L**'s have 3-lobed border leaves on the obverse, and seem to have the distinctive **A**'s sometimes seen in this issue: . It is certainly not inconceivable that some of the 31 illegible coins might have pellet **L**'s as well, but it is unlikely.

22 round **O** in COMES (Issue II)

5 leaf stem to **F** (Issue III?)

31 illegible and / or “common type” (Issue V-12 or 13)

4 pelleted **L**'s (Issue VII)

Minting of leeuwengroten in Flanders under Louis II of Mâle

The following table shows the minting of *leeuwengroten* in Flanders under Louis II of Mâle:

Issue	Period	Duration	Coins minted	Mint(s)
* I	20 Jan. 1346 – 20 Nov. 1346	(c. 10 months)	719,994	Ghent
II	24 Nov. 1346 – 27 May 1351	(c. 54 months)	13,870,824	Ghent / Bruges
III:		(c. 15 months)	8,197,860	Bruges
III a	28 May 1351 – 1 Jan. 1352	(c. 7 months)	2,049,300	
no coins	2 Jan. 1352 – 14 Jan. 1353	(c. 12 months)	0	
III b	15 Jan. 1353 – 5 Sep. 1353	(c. 7.5 months)	6,148,560	
IV	7 Sep. 1353 – 24 Oct. 1354	(c. 14 months)	318,120	Bruges
V	20 Dec. 1354 – 17 Jun. 1358	(c. 42 months)	22,644,213	Ghent / Malines
no coins	18 Jun. 1358 – 21 Oct. 1359	(c. 15 months)	0	
VI	22 Oct. 1359 – 4 Dec. 1361	(c. 14 months)	9,681,000	Ghent / Malines
VII	4 Dec. 1361 – 27 Sep. 1362	(c. 10 months)	1,989,000	Ghent
no coins	28 Sep. 1362 – 30 Nov. 1363	(c. 14 months)	0	
VIII	1 Dec. 1363 – 2 Mar. 1364	(c. 3 months)	456,300	Malines

This table is based upon the information in *Het munthuis in Gent*^[5], further updated from personal correspondence between the authors of the current paper and Jean-Claude Martiny^[16].

From the table, one can see that *leeuwengroten* (with an initial, obverse cross) were struck for in Flanders for almost 15 years, during a period of just over 18 years.

Short “pauses” in minting of a month or so can be ignored, as all the dates given are only approximate and probably not accurate down to the day; minting began before the first audit was held, and no one knows how long it took once a contract was signed for production of coins to actually begin

* striking began under Louis I of Nevers (17 September, 1322 – 26 August, 1346)

Louis of Mâle *leeuwengroot* Issue III

In 2014, we published *The Coins of the Dokkum Hoard* (1932) ^[6] which included descriptions of Flemish Issue III coins. Our current paper is the first that has since appeared in which Flemish Issue III *leeuwengroten* are again reported.

It has recently come to our attention that more often than not, the dates for Flemish Issue III as reported by numismatists are not completely accurate.

As noted on page 27 above, the duration of *leeuwengroot* Issue III under Louis of Mâle was:

28 May, 1351 – 1 January, 1352 (III a)
1352 – no *compagnons* minted
15 January, 1353 – 5 September, 1353 (III b)

The 1352 pause in minting has generally gone unnoticed by researchers until now, almost certainly due to the somewhat coincidental (and potentially confusing) end of a minting contract in January and the start of another, again in January, but in the **following year**.

Although Gaillard's specific classifications of the various types of *leeuwengroot* leave much to be desired, his transcriptions of 14th century, Flemish court documents and accounts are invaluable aids to the modern, numismatic researcher ^[2].

These transcriptions were reported anew in Martiny's *Het munthuis in Gent* ^[5], for which we are most grateful.

The first part of Issue III (III a) ran from **28 May, 1351 – 1 January, 1352**:

(**ARA 771**: Gaillard XXXIII, pp. 83-84 ^[2]; Martiny pp. 340-341 ^[5]
Dated: 31 December, 1351
Runs: 28 May, 1351 – 1 January, 1352)

The second part of Issue III (III b) ran from **15 January, 1353 – 5 September, 1353**.

(**ARA 775**: Gaillard pp. 85-88 ^[2]; Martiny p. 342 ^[5])
Dated: 7 September, 1353
Runs: 15 January, 1353 – 1 September 1353)

A careful reading of Gaillard pp. 85-88 ^[2] shows that these are the correct dates, and since there are no missing records for the period under scrutiny, the only explanation is that there must have been a pause in minting for the entire year 1352.

N° XXXVI.

1353. — 24 Septembre.

*Che est le compte de la monnoye de Bruges d'or et d'argent fait par le main
Ops, dit Jehan Percheval, depuis le xv^e jour de Jenvier l'an LII jusques
au quint jour de Septembre l'an LIII, que il fist sa boiste. Et est assavoir
qu'il ne fu maistres de la monnoye d'or, fors que du xv^e jour de Jenvier
l'an LII jusques au xxiiii^e jour de Septembre ensivant en la dicte année que
Monseigneur fist maistre de l'or Bernard Priem.*

Gaillard p. 88 ^[2]

Line 2:

“... depuis le xv^e jour de Jenvier l'an LII jusques au quint jour de Septembre l'an LIII...”

“... from the 15th day of January of the year '52 to the 5th day of September of the year '53...”

Line 4:

“...du XV^e jour de jenvier l'an LII jusques au XXIII^e jour de septembre ensivant en ladicte
annee....”

“...of the 15th day of January the year '52 to the 24th day of the following September of the
next year...”

– Gaillard, p. 88

Gaillard, always quoting directly from the medieval records (*comtes*), gives these same dates on pp. 85 and 87 as well ^[2].

It is well known that a 14th century date of January 1352, must be adjusted to a modern date of January 1353, since the medieval year did not start on January 1 in Flanders (or most places in Europe, for that matter). In fact, the first day of the year at the time was Easter, which in 1353, fell on 24 March.

Gaillard does not make the date adjustments for us, he simply quotes the medieval *comtes* verbatim. The correct readings for modern interpretation are therefore:

“... from the 15th day of January of the year ’53 to the 5th day of September of the year ’53...”

i.e. **15 January, 1353 – 5 September, 1353.**

and

“...of the 15th day of January the year ’53 to the 24th day of the following September of the [same] year...”

i.e. **15 January, 1353 – 24 September, 1353.**

The necessary adjustments were carried out by modern scholars for all of the dates in Gaillard’s book except this one for 1353, the sole exception being Martiny (p. 158): ^[5]

Martiny p. 158:

The dates given for Issue 3 (b) are CORRECT (15.01.1353 – 05.09.1353.).

Martiny p. 342:

The dates given for ARA 775 are INCORRECT and should read:

15.01.1353 – 27.09.1353 ^[15].

(Bear in mind that these are European dates, and 05.09 stands for 5 September, not 9 May.)

N° XXIII.

1346. — 20 Novembre.

Che sont les comptes de le monnoye de Gand, fait par le main Ops dit Jehan Percheval du Porce ⁽¹⁾, commenchant le jour que ledit Jehan compta de sa boiste, che fu le xx^e jour de Jenvier l'an de grâce M CCC XLV jusques au xx^e jour de Novembre l'an XLVI.

Gaillard p. 62 ^[2]

Compare, for example, Louis of Mâle's Issue I, where the date adjustment was properly carried out by previous researchers:

(ARA 793: Martiny p. 330 ^[5]; Gaillard XXIII, pp. 62-63 ^[2]
Runs: 20 January, 1346 – 20 November, 1346)

Line 3:

“...XXe jour de janvier MCCCXLV jusques au XXe jour de novembre l'an XLVI ...”

“...20th day of January 1345 to the 20th day of November the year '46...”

– Gaillard, p. 62

Adjusted to modern dating, this becomes: 20 January **1346** – 20 November 1346, which are indeed the dates that are given by numismatists for the First Issue of Louis of Mâle *leeuwengroten*.

The problem of the easy-to-overlook 1352 pause in minting is only exacerbated by a misleading table on page 164 of Gaillard's book ^[2]:

DATES.	POIDS.	ALOI.
Du 24 novembre 1346 au 27 mai 1351 (2) .	66 au marc.	7 den. moins 1/2 gr.
Du 28 mai 1352 (3) au 15 janvier 1352 . .		6 den. 12 gr.
Du 15 janvier 1352 (4) au 20 décembre 1354.	66 3/16 »	6 den. 12 gr.
Du 20 décembre 1354 (5) au 22 octobre 1359.	69 »	6 den. 4 gr.
Du 22 oct. 1359 (6) au 1 ^{er} déc. 1363 (V—S).	70 »	6 den.
Du 1 ^{er} décembre 1363 (7) au 25 mai 1370 (8).	78 »	6 den.
Du 24 juin 1370 (9) au 28 décembre 1370.	70 »	6 den.

Gaillard p. 164 ^[2]

24 November 1346 – 27 May 1351	(Issues I and II)
28 May, 1352 – 15 January, 1352 <i>sic</i>	(?)
(i.e. 28 May, 1351 – 15 January, 1352)	(Issue III a - Gaillard's table corrected)
15 January 1352 – 20 December 1354	(Issues III b and IV)
20 December 1354 – 22 October 1359	(Issue V)
22 October 1359 – 1 December 1363	(Issues VI & VII)
1 December 1363 – 25 May 1370	(Issue VIII and beyond)
24 June 1370 – 28 December 1370	(post- <i>leeuwengroot</i> minting)

The second line of Gaillard's table is simply incorrect, with May preceding January; he can only have meant May **1351** instead of 1352.

But the third line lists 15 January 1352, when it should, in fact, list January **1353**. Gaillard probably just continued on from the previous January 15 in his table... erroneously.

Note that Gaillard's dates (set down in 1852), have since been updated and refined (e.g. by Martiny^[5]), which is why they do not necessarily coincide (to the day) with the dates currently used by numismatists.

Louis of Mâle leeuwengroot Issues VI and VII

The presence of 'pellet L' *leeuwengroten* in the Delft Hoard warrants mention of the "pellet **L**' = Issue VI" theory at this time (see: *The Coins of the Flanders Hoard (1914-1918)*, p. 16^[9]).

According to medieval records, approximately five times more *leeuwengroten* were struck in Flanders during Issue VI as were struck during Issue VII (as shown in the table above). Yet 'pellet **L**' coins (Haeck VII type) are far more common today than Haeck VI type coins (perhaps even five times more common). The disparity has led to a theory that 'pellet **L**' coins may in fact be from Issue VI, and coins with a **• + MONETA** legend from Issue VII (i.e. pellet left of cross, no crossbar in **A** = Haeck VI type). More research is required to determine which theory is more likely to be correct.^[9]

AFTERWORD

Despite the initial cooperation we received from the Archeologische Dienst Delft, our e-mails now go unanswered, and thus far, our requests for photographs of the 7 no-longer-missing coins have been ignored. The last communication that we received informed us that a report on the hoard would be forthcoming from their department at some time in the future^[14].

For those readers who would like to contact them directly, their e-mail address is:

archeologie@delft.nl

We would very much appreciate seeing the photo's if anyone manages to obtain them.

NOTES

Conclusions as to which mintmarks correspond to which issues for Flemish coins have been drawn based on Haeck's *De leeuwengroten met het kruisje van Lodewijk van Male*^[4].

The authors wish to thank J. De Bruin, E. J. Bult, J. Pelsdonk, F. Theuws, Bram Wessels and the Archeologische Dienst Delft for their assistance.

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[16]

private correspondence

Bram Wessels – Paul Torongo

APPENDIX: The Weights of the Coins of the Delft Hoard (2004) ^[11]

The weights given have been here reduced from three decimal places to two.

The coins are numbered according to Wessels' 2013 system: D-00 b/a (a = cross side, b lion side) ^[11]. The 7 misplaced coins must therefore be numbered D-89 – D-95. We have no idea whether or not the Archeologische Dienst Delft intends on retaining this system or renumbering the coins.

Arranged by Issue:

GRAMS	NUM.	REALM	CLASS	REMARKS
3.20	D-01	Looz	-	Vanhoudt G 644 var.
3.06	D-02	Rummen	-	Vanhoudt G 2008 var.
3.08	D-03	Rummen	-	Vanhoudt G 2008 var.
2.89	D-04	Rummen	-	Vanhoudt G 2008 var.
3.19	D-05	Brabant	-	John III / Vanhoudt Type G 269
3.17	D-06	Brabant	-	Vanhoudt Type G 295
3.08	D-07	Brabant	-	Vanhoudt Type G 295
3.31	D-08	Brabant	-	Vanhoudt Type G 295
2.79	D-09	Brabant	-	Vanhoudt Type G 295
3.12	D-10	Brabant	-	Vanhoudt Type G 295
3.08	D-11	Brabant	-	Vanhoudt Type G 295
3.30	D-12	Brabant	-	Vanhoudt Type G 295
3.43	D-13	Holland	-	Grolle Type 17.2.2
3.19	D-14	Holland	-	Grolle Type 17.2.2
3.20	D-15	Holland	-	Grolle Type 17.2.2
3.26	D-16	Holland	-	Grolle Type 17.2.2
3.43	D-17	Holland	-	Grolle Type 17.2.2
3.36	D-18	Holland	-	Grolle Type 17.2.2
3.29	D-19	Holland	-	Grolle Type 17.2.2
3.37	D-20	Holland	-	Grolle Type 17.2.2
3.22	D-21	Holland	-	Grolle Type 17.2.2
3.14	D-22	Holland	-	Grolle Type 17.2.2
1.63	D-23	Holland	½ groot	Grolle Type 17.2.3
1.56	D-24	Holland	½ groot	Grolle Type 17.2.3
1.64	D-25	Holland	½ groot	Grolle Type 17.2.3
1.31	D-26	Holland	½ groot	<i>Broken coin</i>
3.40	D-32	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.59	D-34	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.24	D-35	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.29	D-43	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.56	D-45	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.41	D-46	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.21	D-49	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.32	D-52	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.23	D-54	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES

GRAMS	NUM.	REALM	CLASS	REMARKS
3.48	D-55	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.23	D-58	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
2.99	D-59	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.33	D-63	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.54	D-64	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.66	D-66	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.43	D-67	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.04	D-72	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.34	D-74	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.23	D-80	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.51	D-84	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.45	D-86	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.40	D-88	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.39	D-27	Flanders	III ?	Leaf-stem to F?
3.50	D-31	Flanders	III-9	Leaf-stem to F, •+•
3.18	D-33	Flanders	III-9	Leaf-stem to F
3.54	D-50	Flanders	III ?	Leaf-stem to F
3.50	D-65	Flanders	III ?	Leaf-stem to F
3.39	D-28	Flanders	V-12	
2.87	D-29	Flanders	V-12	
3.41	D-30	Flanders	V-12	
3.28	D-36	Flanders	V-12	
3.47	D-37	Flanders	V-12	
3.40	D-38	Flanders	V-12	
3.30	D-40	Flanders	V-12	
3.45	D-42	Flanders	V-12	
3.40	D-44	Flanders	V-12	
3.55	D-47	Flanders	V-12	
3.48	D-48	Flanders	V-12	
3.35	D-51	Flanders	V-12	
3.50	D-53	Flanders	V-12	
3.49	D-57	Flanders	V-12	
2.83	D-60	Flanders	V-12	
3.28	D-61	Flanders	V-12	
2.97	D-62	Flanders	V-12	
3.59	D-68	Flanders	V-12	
3.29	D-69	Flanders	V-12	
3.53	D-70	Flanders	V-12	
3.39	D-71	Flanders	V-12	
3.14	D-73	Flanders	V-12	
3.30	D-75	Flanders	V-12	
3.17	D-76	Flanders	V-12	
3.52	D-77	Flanders	V-12	
3.33	D-78	Flanders	V-12	
3.56	D-79	Flanders	V-12	
3.41	D-81	Flanders	V-12	
3.07	D-83	Flanders	V-12	
3.07	D-85	Flanders	V-12	
3.14	D-87	Flanders	V-12	
2.70	D-39	Flanders	VII-17/ 18	pellets over L's
3.01	D-41	Flanders	VII-17	pellets over L's

GRAMS	NUM.	REALM	CLASS	REMARKS
3.02	D-56	Flanders	VII-17	pellets over L's
3.14	D-82	Flanders	VII-17 / 18	pellets over L's
?	D-089	?	?	<i>not available</i>
?	D-090	?	?	<i>not available</i>
?	D-091	?	?	<i>not available</i>
?	D-092	?	?	<i>not available</i>
?	D-093	?	?	<i>not available</i>
?	D-094	?	?	<i>not available</i>
?	D-095	?	?	<i>not available</i>

Arranged by Delft number:

GRAMS	NUM.	REALM	CLASS	REMARKS
3.20	D-01	Looz	-	Vanhoudt G 644 var.
3.06	D-02	Rummen	-	Vanhoudt G 2008 var.
3.08	D-03	Rummen	-	Vanhoudt G 2008 var.
2.89	D-04	Rummen	-	Vanhoudt G 2008 var.
3.19	D-05	Brabant	-	John III / Vanhoudt Type G 269
3.17	D-06	Brabant	-	Vanhoudt Type G 295
3.08	D-07	Brabant	-	Vanhoudt Type G 295
3.31	D-08	Brabant	-	Vanhoudt Type G 295
2.79	D-09	Brabant	-	Vanhoudt Type G 295
3.12	D-10	Brabant	-	Vanhoudt Type G 295
3.08	D-11	Brabant	-	Vanhoudt Type G 295
3.30	D-12	Brabant	-	Vanhoudt Type G 295
3.43	D-13	Holland	-	Grolle Type 17.2.2
3.19	D-14	Holland	-	Grolle Type 17.2.2
3.20	D-15	Holland	-	Grolle Type 17.2.2
3.26	D-16	Holland	-	Grolle Type 17.2.2
3.43	D-17	Holland	-	Grolle Type 17.2.2
3.36	D-18	Holland	-	Grolle Type 17.2.2
3.29	D-19	Holland	-	Grolle Type 17.2.2
3.37	D-20	Holland	-	Grolle Type 17.2.2
3.22	D-21	Holland	-	Grolle Type 17.2.2
3.14	D-22	Holland	-	Grolle Type 17.2.2
1.63	D-23	Holland	½ groot	Grolle Type 17.2.3
1.56	D-24	Holland	½ groot	Grolle Type 17.2.3
1.64	D-25	Holland	½ groot	Grolle Type 17.2.3
1.31	D-26	Holland	½ groot	<i>Broken coin</i>
3.39	D-27	Flanders	III ?	Leaf-stem to F?
3.39	D-28	Flanders	V-12	
2.87	D-29	Flanders	V-12	
3.41	D-30	Flanders	V-12	
3.50	D-31	Flanders	III-9	Leaf-stem to F, • + •
3.40	D-32	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES

GRAMS	NUM.	REALM	CLASS	REMARKS
3.18	D-33	Flanders	III-9	Leaf-stem to F
3.59	D-34	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.24	D-35	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.28	D-36	Flanders	V-12	
3.47	D-37	Flanders	V-12	
3.40	D-38	Flanders	V-12	
2.70	D-39	Flanders	VII-17/ 18	pellets over L's
3.30	D-40	Flanders	V-12	
3.01	D-41	Flanders	VII-17	pellets over L's
3.45	D-42	Flanders	V-12	
3.29	D-43	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.40	D-44	Flanders	V-12	
3.56	D-45	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.41	D-46	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.55	D-47	Flanders	V-12	
3.48	D-48	Flanders	V-12	
3.21	D-49	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.54	D-50	Flanders	III ?	Leaf-stem to F
3.35	D-51	Flanders	V-12	
3.32	D-52	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.50	D-53	Flanders	V-12	
3.23	D-54	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.48	D-55	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.02	D-56	Flanders	VII-17	pellets over L's
3.49	D-57	Flanders	V-12	
3.23	D-58	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
2.99	D-59	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
2.83	D-60	Flanders	V-12	
3.28	D-61	Flanders	V-12	
2.97	D-62	Flanders	V-12	
3.33	D-63	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.54	D-64	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.50	D-65	Flanders	III ?	Leaf-stem to F
3.66	D-66	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.43	D-67	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.59	D-68	Flanders	V-12	
3.29	D-69	Flanders	V-12	
3.53	D-70	Flanders	V-12	
3.39	D-71	Flanders	V-12	
3.04	D-72	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.14	D-73	Flanders	V-12	
3.34	D-74	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.30	D-75	Flanders	V-12	
3.17	D-76	Flanders	V-12	
3.52	D-77	Flanders	V-12	
3.33	D-78	Flanders	V-12	
3.56	D-79	Flanders	V-12	
3.23	D-80	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.41	D-81	Flanders	V-12	
3.14	D-82	Flanders	VII-17 / 18	pellets over L's
3.07	D-83	Flanders	V-12	

GRAMS	NUM.	REALM	CLASS	REMARKS
3.51	D-84	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.07	D-85	Flanders	V-12	
3.45 D-	D-86	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
3.14	D-87	Flanders	V-12	
3.40	D-88	Flanders	II	Round O in COMES
?	D-089	?	?	<i>not available</i>
?	D-090	?	?	<i>not available</i>
?	D-091	?	?	<i>not available</i>
?	D-092	?	?	<i>not available</i>
?	D-093	?	?	<i>not available</i>
?	D-094	?	?	<i>not available</i>
?	D-095	?	?	<i>not available</i>