

**The *Leeuwengroten* of the Zutphen Hoard (1958) Part One (A)**

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**PART A**  
**(part 1 of 4)**

## The *Leeuwengroten* of the Zutphen Hoard (1958) Part One

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Unless otherwise indicated

Hoard deposited: c. 1410-1412

NUMIS 1034839

In mid-1958, a large hoard of gold and silver coins was found in the city of Zutphen in The Netherlands. The find had been previously studied and described (albeit superficially) by H. Enno Van Gelder <sup>[2]</sup>, with further information being provided by Arie Rietdijk <sup>[7]</sup>. Most of the coins were sold off at auction in March 1960, making the catalog for the sale another source of information <sup>[6]</sup>. The hoard was also mentioned in *De Geuzenpenning* 9 (1959), p. 7 <sup>[3]</sup>, and *Vakblad voor Nederlandse Spaarbanken* 41 (1959), p. 81-86 <sup>[2]</sup>.

Most of the coins are now beyond the reach of study, and at this point, we can do little more than present the *leeuwengroten* that can still be found in the Stedelijk Museum Zutphen (hereafter referred to as **SMZ**). 68 of the original 226 Flemish *gros au lions* are gone, as are most of the fractionals and almost all of the Holland and Brabant *leeuwengroten*. **No one knows for sure how many coins were in the hoard when it was found.**

**The original contents of the hoard** (according to *De Vondst Zutphen (1958)*): <sup>[2]</sup>

**2546 total coins:**

**188 gold coins**

**2358 silver coins**

226 Flanders *leeuwengroten* [68 whereabouts unknown = 29 %]

3 Flanders *1/3 leeuwengroten* [2 whereabouts unknown = 66.6 %]

8 Holland *leeuwengroten* [7 whereabouts unknown = 87.5 %]

5 Brabant *leeuwengroten* [5 whereabouts unknown = 100 %]

27 Brabant *½ leeuwengroten* [26 whereabouts unknown = 96 %]

2089 silver coins unrelated to the *leeuwengroot*

1 silver clasp

The lion's share of the hoard contents has long ago been dispersed, and the **current state of the Zutphen Hoard** is as follows (according to *Waar blijft toch de vondst Zutphen (1958)?*) <sup>[7]</sup>:

**931 total coins:**

**31 gold coins**

**900 silver coins**

currently in the collection of the Stedelijk Museum Zutphen,  
Zutphen, The Netherlands (SMZ)

of which: 159 *leeuwengroten* and 2 fractionals thereof



See **Appendix A** for a list of the *leeuwengroten* in the SMZ collection, and their weights. See **Appendix B** for van Gelder's list of the "complete" hoard contents and important notes about the actual number of coins in the hoard (in his report on the find, Van Gelder made several errors regarding the total number of coins). See **Appendix C** for a catalog of the 84 semi-legible, Flemish *leeuwengroten* in the SMZ collection.

*Part One* of the current paper deals with the hoard and its contents. *Part Two* is Appendix C, which catalogs the 84 partially illegible, Flemish *leeuwengroten*. The non-existent *Part Three* would be a discussion of the now-unaccounted-for *leeuwengroten* and fractionals thereof from the Zutphen Hoard. It is doubtful that there will ever be a *Part Three*, since the "missing" coins are not likely to turn up at any time in the foreseeable future.

As we ourselves are only concerned with the *leeuwengroot* and its fractionals, we have made little or no effort to determine the whereabouts of the remaining 2,089 silver and 188 gold coins originally in the hoard (some of which are currently in the SMZ collection). We have neither the time nor the inclination to go running about looking for coins that are most likely "unfindable". Furthermore, we have not investigated the remaining 739 silver (and 31 gold), non-*leeuwengroot* coins which are said to be housed in the SMZ collection<sup>[7]</sup>, in any way, nor have we confirmed that these are the correct totals (see ref. 7).

Despite being one of the largest and most important medieval coin hoards ever found in The Netherlands, the hoard was never adequately documented before the majority of the coins were sold at auction by a private firm, only two years after the coins were uncovered. In addition, a number of the coins were given away to employees of the company that owned the ground where the find was made; a few were even illicitly taken by the construction workers when the find was made. Another tragic (but sadly, typical) tale of a coin hoard being dispersed without having been properly recorded or researched – a wealth of information now lost to us forever.

### **Partially Illegible Coins**

All 158 of the Flemish *leeuwengroten* remaining in the SMZ from the Zutphen Hoard were struck for Count Louis II of Mâle (1346-1384). 84 of these coins are partially or completely illegible on one face or the other, or both. Most of these 84 coins are likely to have come from Issue V (the most common coins seen today), but some of them may be from Issue VI, which differs from the previous issues only by its lack of A crossbars on the obverse<sup>[5]</sup>. If the A's on a coin are illegible, differentiating between Issues V and VI can be difficult. In such cases, the best thing to do is to compare the visible characteristics of the coins (and in particular, the lettering) to the known Issue VI specimens. In this manner, it is often possible for an expert to rule out Issue VI in favor of Issue V, even if the A's are illegible.

The 84 semi-legible coins are presented separately in **Appendix C**, which can be found in **Part Two** of this paper.

## GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE COINS <sup>[7]</sup>

The obverse of the *leeuwengroten* found in Zutphen is a rampant lion left, surrounded by a clockwise legend that begins with an initial cross, followed by the word MONETA. This is followed by a leaf-mark, and then the word FLAND' (or HOLAND'). Circling this legend 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.

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 159 *leeuwengroten*:

**✠ BNDICTV : SIT : NOMES : DNI : NRI : IHS : XPI**

BeNeDICTV<sup>m</sup> SIT NOMEn DomiNI NostRI IHSV CHRIsTi

*Blessed be the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ*

The reverse, inner legend differs from region to region; on the Flemish coins it reads LVDOVIC<sup>vs</sup> COMES, and on the sole Holland coin: GVILLEM<sup>vs</sup> DVX COMES.

We know from existing records from medieval Flanders that there were eight separate issues of the *leeuwengroot* (Gaillard Type 219) during the reign of Louis II of Flanders (Louis of Mâle), the first of which actually began under his father, Louis of Nevers (1322-1346) c. January, 1346. Each successive issue was struck from either silver of a fineness reduced from that of the previous issue, or with a reduction in the weight of the coins, or both. Such debasement of the currency was common practice in the Middle Ages.

These issues of *leeuwengroten* were marked by the mint through the use of special characters on the coins, for example: an A without a crossbar, an L with a pellet over the 'foot', the direction of the stem of the leaf between MONETA and FLAND, etc. These were "secret" characters for the authorities and not for the general public, and the records do not indicate which marks went with which issues. Numismatists must try and determine the chronology themselves, from the information gained from researching coin hoards and collections. <sup>[4]</sup>

## THE ZUTPHEN HOARD (1958)

The coins were found on 2 August, 1958, fused into what was basically a solid mass in the shape of an earthenware pot; the remains of said pot were found along with the coin mass. Several hundred silver coins had been deposited in the pot, followed by all of the gold coins (which did not fuse together with one another and remained loose over the centuries), after which the rest of the silver coins were placed inside. The implication is that the coins were all put into the pot at one time and not over a long period. A few loose coins were also found. <sup>[2]</sup>



*The Zutphen Hoard before separation and cleaning  
Photo credit: unknown*

Van Gelder states that the youngest coins are the two pieces of Duke Anthony of Brabant (his nos. 115 and 116), struck in 1410, and the two Batenburg coins of Gijsbert van Brederode, who came to power in 1408 (v. Gelder no. 82). Van Gelder notes the absence of any coins from the corresponding and plentiful issues from Flanders in 1410 and Holland in 1411, as well as any coins from the second half of the reign of Duke Reinald IV of Guelders, which led him to conclude that the hoard must have been deposited 1410-1412. Van Gelder says that he could find no information about the 15th century owner of the land where the hoard was found, nor any clear historical reason that such a large hoard might have been deposited around that time. Van Gelder reports that the find was made during construction of a new building for the *Spaarbankvereniging Zutphen*. <sup>[2]</sup>

According to van Gelder the hoard consisted of 188 gold coins, 2358 silver coins and 1 silver clasp, as described on p. 1 above (he provides photographs of 33 of the coins, but no *leeuwengroten*). Unfortunately, van Gelder was not consistent in his categorizations, and he made several numeration errors, which muddle up his list of the hoard's contents. (Van Gelder's complete list of the types of coins in the hoard can be found in **Appendix B**.)

As for the *leeuwengroten* (and fractionals) present, van Gelder states [items in square brackets added by us]:

**H. Enno van Gelder: *De Vondst Zutphen (1958)***

**JMP 45 (1958), pp. 110-143** <sup>[2]</sup>

p. 130, item 42

Holland:

William V (1350-1389): 8 coins

Struck 1354-1365

42. *Leeuwengroot* vdCh. VI, 18; van Gelder 8

✚ • 3 coins [1 sold by Schulman 1960, item **705**]

✚ 3 coins [1 sold by Schulman 1960, item **705**]

no issue mark 2 coins [1 sold by Schulman 1960, item **705**] [see below]

p. 139, items 104-106

Brabant:

Johanna (1355-1406): 1 coin

104. de Witte 395: 1 coin [not sold by Schulman 1960]

Johanna & Wenceslas (1355-1383): 4 coins

105. de Witte 405: 1 coin [sold by Schulman 1960, item **759**]

106. ½ groot: 3 coins (de Witte 406) [1 sold by Schulman 1960, item **759**]

p. 140, item 117

Flanders:

Louis of Mâle

Gaillard 221 [*sic*]: 226 coins

Well worn

Fineness of 1 example: 0.465

[unknown number sold by Schulman 1960, item **774**]

Item 118

1/3 *groot* (G. 222): 3 coins [1 sold by Schulman 1960, item **775**]

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Van Gelder's erroneous "Gaillard 221" should in fact be Gaillard Type 219.

## Jacques Schulman Auction

### **Jacques Schulman Auction 233** <sup>[6]</sup>

(28-31 March, 1960)

nrs. 668-884

On p. 29 is photo of the hoard before separation and cleaning, as well as a brief description of the hoard, taken from van Gelder <sup>[2]</sup>:



*The Zutphen Hoard before separation and cleaning  
photo: © 1960 Jacques Schulman*

Schulman does not provide a total number of coins from the hoard being offered for sale, although he states that his firm has the pleasure of being able to offer “almost all of the hoard” (*“le presque totalité de ce trésor”*) at auction.

We attempted to go through the catalog and add up the total number of coins, but we gave up after being presented with too many instances of “several examples” or “several pieces”. **It is not clear how many silver coins from the Zutphen Hoard were sold in 1960.**

As for the *leeuwengroten*, Schulman states:

### **Jacques Schulman Auction 233** <sup>[6]</sup>

p. 31, item 705.

Holland / William V (1350-1389)

*leeuwengroot*, 3 pieces

vd Ch. 6.18 / v. Gelder 8 / Wittlsb. 3239 / [ v. Gelder item 42 ]

3 var.

1 with pellet before MONETA ✚•

1 with pellet above the cross after MONETA ✚

1 without pellet ✚ [see below]

p. 34, item 759.

Brabant / Wenceslas & Jeanne

*Gros au lion* (De Witte 405) / [ v. Gelder item 105 ]

$\frac{1}{2}$  *gros au lion* (De Witte 406) / [ v. Gelder item 106 ]

*Tourelle* or *schuerken*, Louvain (De Witte 403; Harpes 71-73) / [v. Gelder item 108]

p. 35, item 774.

Louis of Mâle (1346-1384)

*Gros au lion* (Gaillard 221 *sic*) [repeating van Gelder's error; actually G. 219]

/ [ v. Gelder item 117 ]

Double *gros botdrager* (*sic*) (Gaillard 223) / [ v. Gelder item 119 ]

*Gros botdrager* (*sic*) (Gaillard 227) / [ v. Gelder item 120 ]

"several examples", 3 pcs.

[ i.e. several lots of three coins each ]

p. 35, item 775.

$\frac{1}{3}$  *gros au lion* (Gaillard 222) / [ v. Gelder item 118 ]

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The incorrectly named *botdragers* are, in fact, *lion-with-helm* coins. Once again, we have added the information in square brackets ourselves.

The copy of the Schulman catalog that we have has handwritten notations in the margins, indicating the prices that the coins sold for, and in many cases, who the purchaser was. Several of the Brabant and Flanders coins ended up in the Puister collection, including Schulman item 775, a  $\frac{1}{3}$  *groot* from Flanders. In the subsequent years, several *leeuwengroten* (and fractionals) from the Puister collection have been sold by the firm of Jean Elsen et ses fils, Brussels, including this piece, which may (or may not) have come from the Zutphen Hoard:



*Elsen Auction 92 (9 June, 2007), item 960*  
 *$\frac{1}{3}$  leeuwengroot from the Puister collection / 0.82 g.*  
*Is this coin from the Zutphen Hoard ?*

### Current Locations of the Zutphen Hoard *Leeuwengroten* & Fractionals

158 Flanders *leeuwengroten* (of 226) are still in the SMZ collection, an unknown number were sold off by Schulman (item 774), **leaving 68 coins sold or unaccounted for ( = 30 % )**.

1 Flanders 1/3 *leeuwengroot* (of 3) is still in the SMZ (03263), 1 was sold off by Schulman (item 775), **leaving 1 coin completely unaccounted for ( = 33 % )**.

0 Brabant *leeuwengroten* (of 5) are still in the SMZ, 1 was sold off by Schulman (item 759), **leaving 4 coins completely unaccounted for ( = 80 % )**.

1 Brabant ½ *leeuwengroot* (of 27) is still in the SMZ (03247), 1 was sold off by Schulman (item 759), **leaving 25 coins completely unaccounted for ( = 92.5 % )**.

1 Holland *leeuwengroot* (of 8) is still in the SMZ (03141), 3 were sold off by Schulman (item 705), **leaving 4 coins completely unaccounted for ( = 50 % )**.

This is several dozen *leeuwengroten* (or fractionals thereof) not currently housed in the museum but also not sold in the 1960 auction (the percentages per type are truly shocking). What happened to these coins?

According to Rietdijk, some of the hoard coins were given out to employees of the bank (the owner of the hoard) <sup>[7]</sup>. As far as we know, no photographs exist of the “missing” coins. We were unable to determine exactly how many coins were distributed in this fashion, or what types of coins they were (*leeuwengroten* or otherwise).

On a more disturbing note, it appears that a number of the construction workers on site simply helped themselves to some of the coins before ever turning the find over to the owners (presumably some of the loose coins) <sup>[23]</sup>. **This means no one knows how many coins were actually present when the find was made.**

Rietdijk was little more successful in finding any of the “missing” coins than we. In his article (ref. 7) he says that each of the bank’s employees was given 2 silver coins, and one person was even given a gold coin. How many employees (and thus how many coins) is unknown. Rietdijk also states that he has seen “coins from the hoard that are now parts of ladies necklaces”. <sup>[7]</sup>

Personal correspondence with Rietdijk (via Ab Wassink) reveals that the members of the bank’s board of directors were each allowed to choose one golden coin for themselves. Wassink himself reports to us that the widow of one of the board members is still in possession of an English *noble* from the hoard <sup>[23]</sup>.

In his article Rietdijk states that the bank’s board of directors donated 10 gold and 66 silver coins to the *Koninklijk Munten- en Penningenkabinet*. <sup>[7]</sup>

In theory, these 76 coins are now in the collection of *De Nederlandsche Bank*, but at this time their exact whereabouts are not known. We were unable to obtain any information about these coins from DNB.

A quick check through the Schulman catalog shows that 72 gold coins from the Zutphen Hoard were auctioned off in 1960. Rietdijk accounts for another 42 gold coins in his article, which is **114 gold coins accounted for and 74 gold coins unaccounted for**, including the unknown number given to the board of directors members.

It is likely that the “best” coins (i.e. the most commercially viable) were chosen for the auction, leaving the “worst” (i.e. least legible) coins to end up in the SMZ collection. It is equally likely that the employees who were given a choice of coins to take for their own would have chosen “nicer”, more attractive coins, over well-worn pieces.

Rietdijk: <sup>[7]</sup>

31 gold and 900 silver coins in SMZ

10 gold and 66 silver to KPK

1 gold coin to an employee

? silver coins to employees

[ ? gold coins to board of directors ] <sup>[23]</sup>

**= 42 + ?? gold / 966 + ?? silver**

Schulman: <sup>[8]</sup>

72 gold coins offered for auction

?? silver coins offered for auction

**= 114 gold accounted for, between SMZ collection and Schulman auction**

**= 966 + ?? silver accounted for, between SMZ collection and Schulman auction**

**= ?? gold & silver given to the bank employees and board of directors**

**188 gold - 114 = 74 gold coins given away and/or unaccounted for**

**2358 silver - 966 = 1392 silver coins auctioned, given away and/or unaccounted for**

In theory, it would be possible to track down the former board of directors or their surviving families, in order to find out what happened to the gold coins, but since our particular interest lies with the silver *leeuwengroten*, we shall leave that endeavor to some other numismatic researcher.



## The Zutphen Hoard Lost to Posterity

According to van Gelder:

“Of course, the find consisted of a number of coins that are extremely rare or even completely unknown. But just as important is the fact that the normal types are found here in great numbers – as many as 300 of one type of Flemish or Guelders coins – so that trustworthy measurements of weight and fineness can be made. In addition, the large numbers create a better basis for statistical investigation than small finds, and can be seen as significant in determining the frequency with which these types appeared in general circulation.”

- van Gelder in *De Geuzenpenning* <sup>[3]</sup>

Despite these lofty words, the majority of the coins were sold off without being properly photographed or recorded, there was very little analysis of the coins present in the hoard, there was no recording of the weights of all of the coins, no statistical investigation of the so-called “normal” types. The hoard in its entirety was not purchased by the *Koninklijke Penningenkabinet*, nor did the Dutch government simply declare the hoard to be a “monument” (thereby assuming ownership under Dutch Law). The lack of coins in the hoard from medieval Zutphen itself made the find uninteresting to the modern City of Zutphen, which did not purchase the hoard for the city. The larger relevance of the hoard to The Netherlands and the numismatic community worldwide was apparently of little importance in the face of academic shortsightedness and the lure of pure profit (bearing in mind that the hoard’s “owner” was a private company, not the Dutch Government). But such a story is, sadly, more the rule than the exception. Most of the major hoards ever found that contained *leeuwengroten* in substantial number were dispersed without any detailed record being made of the types of coins present.

It is regrettable, and somewhat paradoxical, but the larger a coin hoard is, the less likely it is that photographs will be made of the coins. A small number of coins: easy to photograph, not much work. But several hundreds of coins – too much work (which is ridiculous and lazy, of course). This is especially true of coin finds made back when the costs of film and developing were something that had to be considered. Given the expenses inherent in photography in 1958, it is obvious that there was just no way that photographs of every coin from the Zutphen Hoard were going to be made, despite the consequences that not making them would have for numismatists.

What a sad and inauspicious ending for one of the most important coin hoards ever found in The Netherlands. The Dutch have a saying: *Onbekend maakt onbemind* which roughly translates as “unfamiliar is unloved”. With the *leeuwengroot*, it is more along the lines of: *Onbekend maakt onbemind en onbemind wordt ongekend* – “unfamiliar is unloved and unloved becomes unknown”. Decade upon decade of apathy toward this type of coin has led to literally thousands of specimens being dispersed or destroyed without any record whatsoever of the specific characteristics of the coins having been made. The deplorable attitude among numismatists that *it’s just another Louis of Mâle leeuwengroot* has caused countless numbers of coins to disappear from availability for in-depth study. And now it is too late. It is clear that the Zutphen Hoard (and the majority of the other hoards found in The Netherlands over the years) were not seen as part of the Dutch National Heritage and as something that should be preserved for citizens of The Netherlands (and the world) for generations to come.

The lamenting title of Rietdijk’s 2008 article, *Waar is toch de muntschat 1958*

*gebleven?*<sup>[7]</sup>, which roughly translates as: *Where, oh where, did the coin treasure of 1958 go?* reflects the general tone of his piece, which mourns the dispersion of this important hoard into the mists of ambiguity. Rietdijk states that the SMZ had 31 gold and 900 silver coins from the find in its collection in 2008 (we doubt that those numbers have since changed). According to Rietdijk, this is just 37% of the original hoard remaining in the SMZ.<sup>[7]</sup>



*Louis II of Flanders (Louis of Mâle)*  
*Illustration from **The Chronicles of Sir John Froissart***

The following 158 Flemish *leeuwengroten* from the Zutphen Hoard are currently found in the collection of the Stedelijk Museum Zutphen, along with 1 Holland *leeuwengroot*, 1 Brabant  $\frac{1}{2}$  *groot* and 1 Flemish  $\frac{1}{3}$  *groot*:

## CATALOG of COINS:

All photographs: © 2015 / 2016 Stedelijk Museum Zutphen  
Unless otherwise indicated

*(The numbers given are those used by the Stedelijk Museum Zutphen; the prefix M is for 'munt', which is Dutch for 'coin'... and 'mint'.)*

### HOLLAND

Van Gelder mentions 2 Holland *leeuwengroten* of William V (1350-1389) with no “issue mark” (i.e. no pellet left or right of the initial, obverse cross?): p. 130, item 42<sup>[2]</sup>, 1 of which is said to have been sold by Schulman (item 705)<sup>[8]</sup>. **We have only ever seen one example of a MONETA HOLAND *leeuwengroot* with no pellet left or right of the cross, and that coin is suspect.** We feel that it is possible, in fact likely, that van Gelder (and Schulman) “missed” a pellet to the left of the cross that was indeed present. We are, in any case, unable to simply accept van Gelder’s description on blind faith without a photograph or an actual specimen.

Van Gelder describes 1 Holland *leeuwengroot* with a pellet right of the initial cross, which is said to have been sold by Schulman (item 705)<sup>[8]</sup>. **We have never seen an example of a MONETA HOLAND *leeuwengroot* with a pellet right of the cross (only).** The only examples we have ever seen either have a pellet left (only) or a pellet left **and** right. We can only assume that van Gelder (and Schulman) again “missed” a pellet to the left of the cross. (Grolle correctly lists no types with a lone pellet to the right of the cross, see ref. 4.) The pellet left of the cross is often hard to see on Holland *leeuwengroten*; it is sometimes overlooked because it is tiny, or because it may lie well below the main line of letters.

Van Gelder also mentions 2 Holland *leeuwengroten* with “a pellet above the cross after MONETA”. Contrary to statements made in previously published works, we believe that **there are no Holland, MONETA HOLAND *leeuwengroten* with crosses or X's as marks after MONETA, only leaves.** Coins with a pellet above the mark after MONETA are not listed in Grolle’s book at all<sup>[4]</sup>, although they definitely do exist. Van Gelder does not mention the pellet to the left of the initial cross that was almost certainly present on these two coins. It would appear the sole remaining Holland *leeuwengroot* in the SMZ collection is one of these coins (i.e. with a pellet-over-leaf mark after MONETA).

{See our forthcoming paper on the Holland *leeuwengroten* for more information.}



*An example of a leaf-with-pellet mark after MONETA, in this case: ❧*



*M 03141/ 1.90 g.*

Of the original 8 Holland *leeuwengroten* from the Zutphen Hoard, this is the only one now in the SMZ collection. From the photograph, it is difficult to see the **T** and **A** of **MONETA**. There is a pellet above the leaf-mark before **HOLAND**.

• ✠ **MONETA** ✠ **HOLAND**  
**GVIL** **LELM** **DVX** **OMES**



*M 03141: the pellet left of the initial cross*



*M 03141: pellet above the leaf mark*



## BRABANT

This is the only Brabant *leeuwengroot* (or fractional) remaining from the Zutphen Hoard: a  $\frac{1}{2}$  *groot* of Johanna and Wenceslas (1354-1389):



M 03247 / 1.1 g.

Vanhoudt G 315

$\frac{1}{2}$  *groot*

1 lion / 11 ☙

✠ MONETA + BRABAN'

ODV CLO TBR ABXI

✠ WENCES[L : DE]I : GRAT : LVCENB' : BRAB' : DVX

## FLANDERS

This is the only Flemish fractional *leeuwengroot* remaining from the Zutphen Hoard: a 1/3 *groot* of Louis of Mâle (1346-1384):



*M 03263 / 0.8 g.*

[✠ • MONETA ✠ FLAN]D'

LVD OVI C[✠] M[ES]  
[✠ BND... T : NO...]

The border leaves are illegible, but they probably have 3 lobes. The reverse, outer legend is also illegible. There is little or nothing to be learned from this specimen.

The full *leeuwengroten* of Louis of Mâle remaining in the SMZ collection from the Zutphen Hoard are as follows:

## L's WITHOUT PELLETS: 136 coins

**Issue III :** { 28 May, 1351 – 5 September, 1353 }  
**Haeck Type 9**

2 examples: M 02861 / 3.5g.  
M 02868 / 3.0 g.



*M 02861 / 3.5g.*

• ✠ • **MONETA** ✠ **FLAND'**  
**LVD OVI** **CD** **MES**

On this coin the curved leaf-stem is clear. Unlike all of the other *leeuwengroten* in the hoard (except coin **M-02868** below), the stem curves toward the **F** of **FLAND** and not the **A** of **MONETA**.

The coin has 'wedge' **L**'s on both faces. There is an indent **D** and 'sharp' **C**'s in the reverse, inner legend.

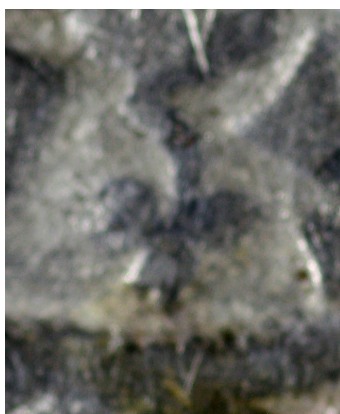




*M 02868 / 3.0 g.*

•✠• **MONET** ✠ **FLAND'**  
**LVD OVI** **CD** **MES**

This coin also has 'wedge' L's on both faces. The **D** appears to be 'normal', and there are 'sharp' C's in the reverse, inner legend. Although it appears from the photograph that the leaf-stem is straight, it is in fact curved:



*M 02868 (detail)*



**Issue V : { 20 December, 1354 – 17 June, 1358 }**  
**Haeck Type 12**

128 examples: (see Appendix A for weights)

|     |                     |
|-----|---------------------|
| OBV | • ✠ MONETA + FLAND' |
| REV | LVD OVI COMES       |

This is in fact the most common type of *leeuwengroot* existing today, and not surprisingly, comes from the issue with the greatest number of coins produced (over 22 million).

Among the known coins of Issue V, Type 12 are found several sub-groups that seem to show similarities in the dies, or in the punches used to make the dies. Some of the characteristics seem to be intentional changes to the style of the coins, perhaps as some kind of internal, mint administration mark, while others seem to indicate nothing more than a change in engraver. (See our paper *A Preliminary Look at the Leeuwengroten of Louis of Mâle (1346-1384): Issues IV and V*<sup>[15]</sup> for a detailed description of the various Issue V sub-groups.)

To date, we have identified six seemingly distinct sub-groups, which currently bear the following (admittedly vague) names<sup>[15]</sup>:

- the 'refined' style group
- the 'footless' N group
- the 'rough' style group
- the 'narrow' L group
- the 'curvy' L group
- the 'serif' L group

All of the known Louis of Mâle *leeuwengroten* from Issue V fall into one of the categories listed above, and the Zutphen Hoard coins are no exceptions.

**'Refined' Style (3 coins)**

Identification of the 'refined' style of coins is fairly subjective, and based in large part on the appearance of the leaf-mark after MONETA, which on many of the Zutphen coins is illegible. This mark tends to show a very 'leafy' leaf, often with a round, hook-like stem. Coins of this group have 'wedge' L's on both faces and 'sharp' C's in the reverse, inner legend. The T of MONETA tends to be small, with a small annulet. The space inside the long O in COMES tends to be straight-sided.

Coins with 'curvy' L's on either face or 'rounded' C's in the reverse, inner legend can be eliminated as potential 'refined' style pieces, even if the leaf-mark after MONETA is unclear. The following 3 coins seem to belong to the 'refined' style group; many of the semi-legible coins may belong to this group as well.



*'sharp' C, long O (M 02856)*



*M 02852 / 2.6 g.*



*M 02856 / 2.6 g.*





*M 02864 / 2.6 g.*

### **'Footless' N (8 coins)**

The sub-group characterized by a 'footless' **N** on the obverse: **N**, is represented in the SMZ collection by at least 8 coins. Some of the coins of this group have 'footless' **N**'s in the reverse, outer legend as well, while others have **N**'s that seem to show a mutilation of the dies from 'normal' letters to 'footless'. Coins of this group also have 'wedge' **L**'s on both faces and 'sharp' **C**'s in the reverse inner legend.



*M 02859 / 2.9 g.*





*M 02871 / 3.0 g.*



*M 02901 / 2.1 g.  
mutilated N*



*The obverse N's of M-02901 (detail)*





*M 02909 / 2.6 g.*



*M 02953 / 2.7 g.*



*M 02955 / 2.9 g.*





*M 02966-o / 2.1 g.*



*M 02980 / 2.6 g.*

### **‘Rough’ Style (9 coins)**

Identification of the ‘rough’ style of coins is as subjective as the ‘refined’ style group, and based again in large part on the appearance of the leaf-mark after MONETA, which on many SMZ coins is unclear. This mark tends to show a very ‘rough’, crude leaf, with a fairly short stem.

Coins of this group have ‘wedge’ L’s on both faces and either ‘sharp’ or ‘rounded’ C’s in the reverse, inner legend. Sometimes the N’s of the reverse, outer legend are ‘footless’ (presumably a “hold-over” from the previous sub-group). ‘Rounded’ C’s (inner legend) and/or ‘footless’ N’s (outer legend) may be found on ‘rough’ style coins but not on ‘refined’ style coins.

The long O in COMES on many of the ‘rough’ style coins is a ‘keyhole’ type:



*‘Keyhole’ long O’s in COMES*

Although it can be difficult to separate ‘refined’ style coins from ‘rough’ style coins if the leaf-mark is illegible, if ‘rounded’ C’s are visible in the reverse, inner legend then the coins cannot be from the ‘refined’ style group. The following 9 coins are all thought to belong to the ‘rough’ style group, based upon their ‘wedge’ L’s and ‘rounded’ C’s:



*M 02835 / 2.4 g.*





*M 02836 / 2.8 g*



*M 02845 / 2.4 g.*



*M 02878 / 2.1 g.*





*M 02888 / 2.7g.*



*M 02897 / 2.7 g.*



*M 02914 / 2.9 g.*





*M 02915-o / 2.3 g.*



*M 02958 / 2.2 g.*

### **'Narrow' L (1 coin)**

Recognition of a 'narrow' L coin is dependent on legible L's in FLAND (either 'narrow' or 'curvy') and in LVDOVIC ('wedge'). Coins of this group can have either have 'sharp' or 'rounded' C's in the reverse, inner legend.

We found only 1 coin of this sub-group in the Zutphen Hoard coins, whether due to their general absence from the SMZ collection, or the fact that any specimens present are not completely legible and not recognizable as 'narrow' L coins. The fact that either 'sharp' or 'rounded' C's can be found in the reverse, inner legend precludes us from using these letters



as identifiers for the less-legible coins. Having said that, 2 of the 23 coins categorized as illegible may be from the ‘narrow’ L sub-group: **M-02951** (‘sharp’ C’s) and **M-02945** (‘rounded’ C’s) (see **Appendix C**).



*M 02869 / 2.8 g.*

#### **‘Curvy’ L (13 coins)**

Recognition of a ‘curvy’ L coin is, in part, dependent on legible L’s in FLAND (‘curvy’) and in LVDOVIC (also ‘curvy’). Coins of this group have ‘rounded’ C’s in the reverse, inner legend – semi-legible coins with ‘sharp’ C’s can thus be eliminated as possible ‘curvy’ L group coins. We found at least 13 ‘curvy’ L pieces in the SMZ Zutphen Hoard coins.



*M 02848 / 2.3 g.*





*M 02857 / 2.5 g.*



*M 02873 / 2.6 g.*



*M 02887 / 2.5 g.*





*M 02903 / 2.5 g.*



*M 02904 / 2.7 g.*



*M 02907 / 2.80 g.*





*M 02908 / 2.4 g.*



*M 02916 / 2.5 g.*



*M 02946 / 2.2 g.*





*M 02948 / 2.5 g.*



*M 02981 / 2.2 g.*



*M 02984 / 2.8 g.*



**‘Serif’ L (10 coins)**

There are at least 10 coins present in the collection from the ‘serif’ L group. These coins have a ‘curvy’ L on the obverse, and in the reverse, inner legend: an L with a distinct, large serif, unusually large V’s, the letters MES often somewhat “jumbled up”, and ‘rounded’ C’s. The central cross is often rather wobbly. Another likely ‘serif’ L coin can be found in Appendix C (M-02967).



*M 02839 / 2.6 g.*



*M 02844 / 2.6 g.*





*M 02849 / 2.9 g.*



*M 02890 / 2.6 g.*



*M 02894 / 2.8 g.*





*M 02896 / 2.8 g.*



*M 02913 / 2.8 g.*



*M 02919 / 2.4 g.*





*M 02969 / 2.8 g.*



*M 02976 / 2.6 g.*