

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

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Due to the file size limitations of Academia.edu, we have been forced to artificially split this paper, originally in two parts, into four parts.

PART B
(part 2 of 4)

Issue VI : {22 September, 1359 – 4 December, 1361}
Haeck Type 16

6 examples:

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

The only difference between these coins and those of Issue V is the crossbar, here absent from both A's.

Note that the L's are once again 'wedge' L's, while the C's of the reverse, inner legend remain 'rounded'.



M 02834 / 2.6 g.



M 02842 / 2.6 g.



M 02851 / 2.4 g.



M 02885 / 2.7 g.



M 02906 / 2.5 g.



M 02982 / 2.4 g.

L's WITH PELLETS: 22 coins

According to Haeck ^[3], if there is a pellet over the foot of the **L** in both **FLAND** and **LVDOVIC**, then the coin is from Issue VII: **LV**. Haeck further subdivided this type into VII-17 (two **A** crossbars) and VII-18 (**MONET**).

Both 'wedge' and 'curvy' **L**'s are seen with pellets. Most (but not all) of the coins of Issue VII have distinctive, 'bow' **A**'s, which are only seen during this issue: **A**. Not all of the pellet **L**'s are visible on the Zutphen Hoard coins. However, the presence of 3-lobed border leaves, 'bow' **A**'s, and the distinctive Issue VII leaf mark with a loose stem: **♣**, allow us to be reasonably confident that these are indeed "pellet **L**" coins.

Most, if not all, of these coins have a "keyhole" long **O** in **COMES**, as previously seen in some of the Issue V coins: **O**. This same **O** is seen on some (but not all) of the Issue VI coins as well.

The reverse, inner legend **C**'s of Issue VII are once again 'sharp'. Evidence of the two punches used to make this letter can often be seen on the coins of this issue: **C** **C**.

Leeuwengroten of Issue VII are the only ones present in the SMZ Collection with an obverse, outer border of 11 leaves with 3 lobes: **♣** (as opposed to 5 lobes): **♣**.

Issue VII : {4 December, 1361 – 27 September, 1362}
Haeck Type 17

22 examples: (see Appendix A for weights)

OBV	• ✠ MONETA + FLAND'
REV	LD OVI CD DO MES

With 'normal' **Æ**'s:



M 02867 / 2.9 g.



M 02882 / 2.6 g.



M 02902 / 2.1 g.



M 02933 / 3.1 g.



M 02956 / 2.5 g.



M 02978 / 2.3 g.

With 'bow' s:



M 02838 / 2.9 g.



M 02841 / 2.2 g.



M 02843 / 2.5 g.



M 02879 / 2.8 g.



M 02881 / 2.4 g.



M 02886



M 02892 / 2.7 g.



M 02911 / 2.5 g.



M 02921 / 2.7 g.



M 02934 / 2.6 g.



M 02939 / 2.9 g.



M 02941 / 2.3 g.



M 02957 / 2.4 g.



M 02963 / 3,0 g.



M 02975 / 2.8 g.



M 02977 / 2.5 g.

CONCLUSION

It is simply impossible to draw too many far-reaching conclusions about the *leeuwengroten* in the hoard, since so many of the coins originally present are now beyond the reach of accurate description and categorization. But we are pleased that, if nothing else, we are able to provide photographs of the remaining Zutphen Hoard *leeuwengroten* to the general public. (We are grateful to the staff of the Stedelijk Museum Zutphen for their cooperation in this endeavor.)

It is interesting to find so many *leeuwengroten* in a hoard deposited some forty to fifty years after their minting had ceased in Flanders (1364), a testament to the longevity of circulation enjoyed by this type of coin. Even more surprising is the presence of two Issue III coins (c. 1351-1353) alongside the later issues V, VI and VII (c. 1354-1364).

Whoever deposited the Zutphen Hoard was far from poor. The numbers of gold and large silver coins present clearly indicated a person (or persons) with some wealth. The reasons for hiding this money will forever remain unknown, but it is noteworthy that so many various and also previously unknown types were found together in one trove.

Since we have focused our attention solely on the *leeuwengroten* (and fractionals) in the hoard, we shall refrain from discussing the other types of coins present. Van Gelder dated the deposition of the hoard to c. 1410-1412, and we have no reason to disagree with his conclusion.

All of the *leeuwengroten* in the SMZ collection are Flemish coins, struck for Louis II of Mâle except one: a coin of Holland. A $\frac{1}{2}$ *leeuwengroot* of Brabant is also present (as is a Flemish $\frac{1}{3}$ *groot*).

The *leeuwengroten* and fractionals currently in the collection the Stedelijk Museum Zutphen can be divided as follows:

158					Flanders : Louis of Mâle (1346-1384) <i>leeuwengroten</i>
		136			without pellet L's:
			2		Issue III, Type 9
			128		Issue V, Type 12: ("common type")
				3	'refined' style sub-type
				8	'footless' N sub-type
				9	'rough' style sub-type
				1	'narrow' L sub-type
				13	'curvy' L sub-type
				10	'serif' L sub-type
				84	semi-legible, various sub-groups
			6		Issue VI, Type 16
		22			with pellet L's:
			22		Issue VII, Type 17
	1				$\frac{1}{3}$ <i>leeuwengroot</i>
1					Holland : William V (1354-1389) <i>leeuwengroot</i>
	1				Brabant : Johanna (1354-1389) $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>leeuwengroot</i>
1					Flanders : Louis of Mâle <i>leeuwengroot</i> Issue V, 'footless' N (not part of Zutphen Hoard)
	2				Total fractional <i>leeuwengroten</i> in SMZ collection
160					Total <i>leeuwengroten</i> in SMZ collection

Table 1

All of the coins have a similar appearance, as though they all come from the same original source. Many of the coins were either struck on irregular flans, and a few specimens seem to have been clipped to harvest silver. The edges (and indeed the faces) of most of the coins seem to be fairly worn and smooth, which is not surprising, considering how long these coins had been in circulation before they were secreted away. Bear in mind that the remaining coins are probably the “worst” coins, the “best” coins having been previously auctioned off or given away.

The majority of the coins weigh under 3 grams; only 7 coins out of 158 have a weight of 3 grams or more. At only 1.9 grams, the sole Holland *leeuwengroot* is remarkably light in weight.

It is possible, if unlikely, that Issue II coins were once present as well. It is not unthinkable that some rare type (e.g. Issue IV or Issue VIII) was also present in the original find. For all we know, the very coins that could have led us to be able to identify the characteristics of these elusive issues were found in the Zutphen Hoard – we shall never know.

The Zutphen Hoard displays all of the common characteristics of a late hoard containing *leeuwengroten*: numerous Issue V coins alongside Issue VII coins, and in this case a number of Issue VI coins as well. Early and late Issue V sub-groups are well-represented. The Issue III coins are unexpected – a tantalizing hint as to what may once have been in the hoard.

As with previous *leeuwengroot* hoards studied, the percentage of coins thought to have been struck during Issue VII (those with pellet L’s, 22 coins present in Zutphen) far outweighs those thought to have been struck during Issue VI (A’s without crossbars, 6 coins present, possibly one or two more). This is in conflict with the expected ratio, based upon the numbers of coins struck:

Zutphen Hoard VII : VI	4.85 : 1
Total coins struck VII : VI	1 : 3.66

Once again, as with previous hoards studied, the amounts seem to be the **opposite** of what one would expect. The numbers struck would have us expect more Issue VI coins, when in fact more Issue VII are found. (See p. 16 of our paper on the Flanders Hoard (1914), ref. 12). **Bear in mind that since so many of the *leeuwengroten* that were once present in the Zutphen Hoard are not counted here, these figures may not be particularly accurate.**

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	28 May 1351 – 5 Sep. 1353	(c. 15 months)	8,197,860	Bruges
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

Table 2

* striking began under Louis I of Nevers (1322-1346)

Table 2 above is based upon the information in *Het munthuis in Gent*^[4], further updated from personal correspondence between the authors and Jean-Claude Martiny^[12] and Theodoor Goddeeris^[20]. Note how many more coins were minted during Issue VI than Issue VII.

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 minting contract was signed for production of coins to actually begin.

Another *Leeuwengroot*

Although this coin is not part of the Zutphen Hoard, it is part of the SMZ collection. The coin appears to belong to the Issue V, ‘footless’ N sub-group (‘footless’ N’s also on reverse).



M 01478 / 2.45 g. – not from the Zutphen hoard

NOTES

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The photographs of the various *leeuwengroten* in the SMZ collection were made at different times by different individuals, most of whom were volunteers working at the museum. It should therefore not be surprising that the photos may differ from one another in several respects, e.g. quality, lighting or sharpness of focus. We are grateful for the work of the photographers – sometimes done specifically on our behalf – although we do not know their names.

Conclusions as to which mintmarks correspond to which issues for Flemish coins have been drawn based in part on Aimé Haeck's *De leeuwengroten met het kruisje van Lodewijk van Male – Een proeve van (her)classificatie*^[3], as well as the authors' own expertise, including our *A Preliminary Look at the Leeuwengroten of Louis of Mâle: Issues IV and V*^[15].

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APPENDIX A:

The *Leeuwengroten* in the Stedelijk Museum Zutphen Collection Including Coins From the Zutphen Hoard (1958)

The coins were weighed by the museum staff to one decimal place (x.x).

The number in parentheses is the page number where the coin can be found in the text. Coins marked “see Appendix C” are partially illegible, but are likely to have been struck during Issue V (page number also indicated). The coins are listed in order of SMZ number.

M 01478	2.45	Flanders	V-12	not from Zutphen Hoard (p. 52)
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count	NUM	GRAMS	REALM	CLASS	REMARKS
1	M 02828	2.8	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 75
2	M 02829	3.1	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 75
3	M 02830	2.6	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 76
4	M 02831	2.7	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 98
5	M 02832	3.0	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 88
6	M 02833	2.5	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 88
7	M 02834	2.6	Flanders	VI-16	• † Π Π (p. 37)
8	M 02835	2.4	Flanders	V-12	(p. 24)
9	M 02836	2.8	Flanders	V-12	(p. 25)
10	M 02837	2.2	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 76
11	M 02838	2.9	Flanders	VII-17	• † U U (p. 42)
12	M 02839	2.6	Flanders	V-12	(p. 33)
13	M 02840	2.8	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 76
14	M 02841	2.2	Flanders	VII-17	• † U U (p. 43)
15	M 02842	2.6	Flanders	VI-16	• † Π Π Π (p. 37)
16	M 02843	2.5	Flanders	VII-17	(p. 44)
17	M 02844	2.6	Flanders	V-12	(p. 33)
18	M 02845	2.4	Flanders	V-12	(p. 25)
19	M 02846	2.7	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 89
20	M 02847	2.5	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 98
21	M 02848	2.3	Flanders	V-12	(p. 28)
22	M 02849	2.9	Flanders	V-12	(p. 34)
23	M 02850	2.5	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 98
24	M 02851	2.4	Flanders	VI-16	• † Π Π (p. 38)
25	M 02852	2.6	Flanders	V-12	(p. 19)
26	M 02853	2.7	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 99
27	M 02854	2.7	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 77
28	M 02855	2.6	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 77
29	M 02856	2.6	Flanders	V-12	(p. 19)
30	M 02857	2.5	Flanders	V-12	(p. 29)
31	M 02858	2.6	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 99

count	NUM	GRAMS	REALM	CLASS	REMARKS
32	M 02859	2.9	Flanders	V-12	(p. 20)
33	M 02860	2.5	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 89
34	M 02861	3.4	Flanders	III-9	✚ • U U (p. 16)
35	M 02862	2.8	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 99
36	M 02863	2.3	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 77
37	M 02864	2.6	Flanders	V-12	(p. 20)
38	M 02865	2.7	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 100
39	M 02866	2.4	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 74
40	M 02867	2.6	Flanders	VII-17	• ✚ U U (p. 40)
41	M 02868	3.0	Flanders	III-9	✚ • U U (p. 17)
42	M 02869	2.8	Flanders	V-12	(p. 28)
43	M 02870	2.9	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 78
44	M 02871	3.0	Flanders	V-12	(p. 21)
45	M 02872	2.7	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 90
46	M 02873	2.6	Flanders	V-12	(p. 29)
47	M 02874	2.0	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 100
48	M 02875	2.7	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 90
49	M 02876	2.9	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 78
50	M 02877	2.8	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 78
51	M 02878	2.1	Flanders	V-12	(p. 57)
52	M 02879	2.8	Flanders	VII-17	• ✚ U U (p. 43)
53	M 02880	2.9	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 100
54	M 02881	2.4	Flanders	VII-17	• ✚ U U (p. 43)
55	M 02882	2.6	Flanders	VII-17	• ✚ U U (p. 40)
56	M 02883	2.6	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 91
57	M 02884	2.8	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 101
58	M 02885	2.7	Flanders	VI-16	• ✚ U U (p. 38)
59	M 02886	2.8	Flanders	VII-17	• ✚ U U (p. 44)
60	M 02887	2.5	Flanders	V-12	(p. 29)
61	M 02888	2.7	Flanders	V-12	(p. 26)
62	M 02889	2.9	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 101
63	M 02890	2.6	Flanders	V-12	(p. 34)
64	M 02891	2.6	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 105
65	M 02892	2.7	Flanders	VII-17	• ✚ U U (p. 44)
66	M 02893	3.5	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 101
67	M 02894	2.8	Flanders	V-12	(p. 34)
68	M 02895	2.8	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 79
69	M 02896	2.8	Flanders	V-12	(p. 35)
70	M 02897	2.7	Flanders	V-12	(p. 26)
71	M 02898	2.8	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 79
72	M 02899	2.2	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 79
73	M 02900	2.8	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 80
74	M 02901	2.1	Flanders	V-12	(p. 21)
75	M 02902	2.1	Flanders	VII-17	• ✚ U U (p. 41)
76	M 02903	2.5	Flanders	V-12	(p. 30)
77	M 02904	2.7	Flanders	V-12	(p. 30)
78	M 02905	2.3	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 97

count	NUM	GRAMS	REALM	CLASS	REMARKS
79	M 02906	2.5	Flanders	VI-16	•✚ ⅈ ⅈ (p. 38)
80	M 02907	2.8	Flanders	V-12	(p. 30)
81	M 02908	2.4	Flanders	V-12	(p. 31)
82	M 02909	2.6	Flanders	V-12	(p. 22)
83	M 02910	2.5	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 80
84	M 02911	2.5	Flanders	VII-17	•✚ ⅈ ⅈ (p. 45)
85	M 02912	2.8	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 80
86	M 02913	2.8	Flanders	V-12	(p. 35)
87	M 02914	2.9	Flanders	V-12	(p. 26)
88	M 02915	2.3	Flanders	V-12	(p. 27)
89	M 02916	2.5	Flanders	V-12	(p. 31)
90	M 02917	2.8	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 91
91	M 02918	2.1	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 92
92	M 02919	2.4	Flanders	V-12	(p. 35)
93	M 02920	2.7	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 108
94	M 02921	2.7	Flanders	VII-17	•✚ ⅈ ⅈ (p. 45)
95	M 02922	2.6	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 102
96	M 02923	2.4	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 106
97	M 02924	2.5	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 102
98	M 02925	2.7	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 81
99	M 02926	2.3	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 106
100	M 02927	2.5	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 81
101	M 02928	2.6	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 81
102	M 02929	2.8	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 82
103	M 02930	2.4	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 82
104	M 02931	2.5	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 82
105	M 02932	2.7	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 83
106	M 02933	3.1	Flanders	VII-17	•✚ ⅈ ⅈ (p. 41)
107	M 02934	2.6	Flanders	VII-17	•✚ ⅈ ⅈ (p. 45)
108	M 02935	2.6	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 92
109	M 02936	2.8	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 83
110	M 02937	2.9	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 93
111	M 02938	2.8	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 93
112	M 02939	2.9	Flanders	VII-17	•✚ ⅈ ⅈ (p. 46)
113	M 02940	2.6	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 102
114	M 02941	2.3	Flanders	VII-17	•✚ ⅈ ⅈ (p. 46)
115	M 02942	2.5	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 84
116	M 02943	2.5	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 84
117	M 02944	2.3	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 84
118	M 02945	2.2	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 107
119	M 02946	2.2	Flanders	V-12	(p. 31)
120	M 02947	2.8	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 85
121	M 02948	2.5	Flanders	V-12	(p. 32)
122	M 02949	2.5	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 103
123	M 02950	2.4	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 103
124	M 02951	2.7	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 94
125	M 02952	2.5	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 94

count	NUM	GRAMS	REALM	CLASS	REMARKS
126	M 02953	2.7	Flanders	V-12	(p. 22)
127	M 02954	2.2	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 85
128	M 02955	2.9	Flanders	V-12	(p. 22)
129	M 02956	2.5	Flanders	VII-17	•✚ ũ ũ (p. 41)
130	M 02957	2.4	Flanders	VII-17	•✚ ũ ũ (p. 46)
131	M 02958	2.2	Flanders	V-12	(p. 27)
132	M 02959	2.7	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 103
133	M 02960	2.8	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 95
134	M 02961	2.9	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 104
135	M 02962	2.8	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 104
136	M 02963	2.0	Flanders	VII-17	•✚ ũ ũ (p. 47)
137	M 02964	2.4	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 95
138	M 02965	2.3	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 104
139	M 02966	2.1	Flanders	V-12	(p. 23)
140	M 02967	2.7	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 108
141	M 02968	2.5	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 85
142	M 02969	2.8	Flanders	V-12	(p. 36)
143	M 02970	2.3	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 105
144	M 02971	2.7	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 86
145	M 02972	2.6	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 86
146	M 02973	2.8	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 86
147	M 02974	2.8	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 96
148	M 02975	2.8	Flanders	VII-17	•✚ ũ ũ (p. 47)
149	M 02976	2.6	Flanders	V-12	(p. 36)
150	M 02977	2.5	Flanders	VII-17	•✚ ũ ũ (p. 47)
151	M 02978	2.3	Flanders	VII-17	•✚ ũ ũ (p. 42)
152	M 02979	2.5	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 87
153	M 02980	2.6	Flanders	V-12	(p. 23)
154	M 02981	2.2	Flanders	V-12	(p. 32)
155	M 02982	2.4	Flanders	VI-16	•✚ ũ ũ (p. 39)
156	M 02983	2.5	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 87
157	M 02984	2.8	Flanders	V-12	(p. 32)
158	M 02985	2.7	Flanders	V-12	see Appendix C: p. 96
1	-	n/a	Holland	-	✚
2	-	n/a	Holland	-	✚
3	-	n/a	Holland	-	✚
?	M 03141	1.9	Holland	(p. 13)	One of the 3 listed here above
4	-	n/a	Holland	-	✚•
5	-	n/a	Holland	-	✚•
6	-	n/a	Holland	-	✚•
7	-	n/a	Holland	-	“no mark”
8	-	n/a	Holland	-	“no mark”
1	M 03247	1.1	Brabant	(p. 14)	½ groot / broken
1	M 03263	0.8	Flanders	(p. 15)	1/3 groot

APPENDIX B: The “Complete” Contents of the Zutphen Hoard (1958)^[2]

On pp. 112-114 of his paper, van Gelder lists all the coins in the find.

On p. 114 he presents a table of all 2546 (?) coins in the hoard.^[2]

On pp. 123-143 he gives detailed descriptions of the coins, beginning with the gold and followed by the silver.

ERRATA VAN GELDER^[2]

By all accounts, the late Dr. H. Enno van Gelder was a numismatist of great repute. That notwithstanding, his report on the Zutphen Hoard contains numerous errors. The purpose of reporting these errors here is not to besmirch van Gelder, but rather to provide a correct and accurate description of an important medieval coin hoard.

Van Gelder was not completely consistent in his categorization of the smaller regions. For example, he lists Waalwijk under **Flanders etc.** on p. 113, while in his detailed descriptions Waalwijk comes after **Guelthers** (item 102, p. 138). This in turn makes adding up his totals far more difficult.

In his table on p. 114, van Gelder shows 188 gold coins; however, the total number of gold coins present in his detailed lists adds up to **189** (2547 then being the correct total for the hoard?).

This is because in the detailed descriptions, on p. 130, van Gelder describes 12 gold coins for England, while in the p. 114 table, England only shows 11 gold coins.

Van Gelder has also made an omission error, whereby the silver coins listed on pp. 112-114, add up to **2357** (not 2358, as shown in his table on p. 114). A *sterling* of Chiny is missing from the lists (see **Liège etc.** below for an explanation).

Further discrepancies arise in van Gelder’s total number of coins for Brabant, Holland and Flanders (see below).

Liège etc.^[2]

As mentioned above, the total number of silver coins in the lists on pp. 112-114, adds up to **2357** (not 2358, as stated in the table). The problem lies with **Liège etc.**, where the total number of silver coins listed is 18. But in his table on p. 114, van Gelder gives the number as 19 – **there is thus 1 coin “missing” from his lists pp. 112-114.**

Despite listing Luxemburg and Schoonvorst under the heading **Liège etc.** on p 113, in his detailed descriptions van Gelder describes the realms in this order:

pp. 133-137

Kessel, Bergh, Baternburg, Cleves, Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), **Schoonvorst**, Trier, Limburg, Hannover, Hamburg

p. 138

Liège, Luxemburg, Chiny, Waalwijk, Brabant

The total number of silver coins for these realms, as given in van Gelder's detailed descriptions, is **18**, divided as follows:

p. 137 Schoonvorst (11)

p. 138 Liège (2), Luxemburg (5)

= 18 silver coins from **Liège etc.**

The “missing” coin is van Gelder's Item 101 (p. 138), a *sterling* of Chiny, which was not listed under **Liège etc.** on p. 113 (nor anywhere else in the lists, pp. 112-114), but must be 1 of the 19 total coins for **Liège etc.** in the table on p. 114.

= 19 silver coins from **Liège etc.** [i.e. Liège, Luxemburg, Schoonvorst & Chiny]**Brabant**^[2]

In his list on p. 113, van Gelder reports “21 *rozebekergroten* of Johanna and Philip”. The detailed description entry for these coins (p. 139, Item 109) lists only 1 coin. Based upon the totals for Brabant and the entire hoard, 21 must be the correct number, and the 1 must have simply been a typographical error.

Holland^[2]

In his table on p. 114, van Gelder shows 273 silver coins in total for Holland, while his detailed listings (pp. 130-132) actually describe **275** coins – **there is a discrepancy of 2 coins.**

Since the table on p. 114 shows 2358 total silver coins for the entire hoard, the only conclusion to be drawn (assuming that 2358 is indeed the correct, total), is that **273 must be the correct number of *groten* for Holland**, not 275.

We can determine that the error lies within items 44-50, and not items 42-43, although it is impossible to be sure exactly which item or items must be incorrect. On p. 112, van Gelder lists:

8 *leeuwengroten* and **22** *plakken* of William V { .42 – .43 }
243 *groten* of William V & Albert { .44 – .50 }

= 273 coins, which is the correct total

8 leeuwengroten en 22 plakken van Willem V
 243 groten van Willem V en Albrecht

van Gelder, p. 112 ^[2]

In his detailed descriptions on pp. 130-132, Van Gelder describes item numbers 42-43 as 8 *leeuwengroten* and 22 *plakken* of William V, respectively (= 30 coins). This matches what he had stated on p. 112 precisely.

He then describes item numbers 44-50, several different kinds of *groot*, in quantities of: 118, 18, 2, 21, 60, 23 and 3 pieces – which adds up to **245**, not the correct total 243 as given on p. 112 – **there are 2 too many coins, somewhere in items 44-50.**

Van Gelder must have made an error in the number of *groten* in his detailed descriptions (pp. 130-132), by “adding in” 2 non-existent coins somewhere in items 44-50, inclusive, so to speak. Alternatively, it is possible that there were actually 2360 silver coins in total.

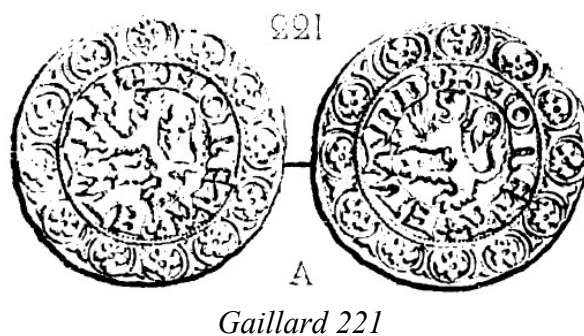
Flanders^[2]

In his list on p. 112, van Gelder reports “80 *plaks* of Louis and Philip”. His detailed description entries for these coins (p. 140, Items 119 & 122) give only 79 coins:

- 75 *plaks* (*leeuw met helm*) of Louis of Mâle (1346-1384) (Gaillard 223) {.119}
- 4 *plaks* (*leeuw met helm*) of Philip the Bold (1384-1404) (D.d.P. 6,7) {.122}

Based upon the totals for Flanders and the entire hoard, 80 must be the correct number (again assuming that 2358 is the correct, total number of silver coins in the hoard). **Either there must have been 76 *plaks* of Louis, or 5 *plaks* of Philip.**

Even more relevant to our current study, van Gelder gives Gaillard 221 as a reference for the *leeuwengroten* of Louis of Mâle, which is incorrect. The correct reference is Gaillard 219; Gaillard 221 is a medieval counterfeit with two obverses (lions), which should never be used as a reference (and yet, very often is):



England^[2]

In his table on p. 114, v. Gelder lists 11 gold coins under England, while his detailed list on p. 130 shows 12 gold coins (items 37, 38 & 41). The short-list on p. 114 shows 11 coins for England as well. In the first column of his table, van Gelder shows 188 gold coins, and the numbers in the column indeed add up to 188 (including 11 for England). Based upon van Gelder’s detailed descriptions on p. 130, it seems likely that either:

- a) there were indeed 12 gold coins from England in the Hoard, making the correct (?) total **189** gold coins in all.

- b) there were only 2 *nobles* from either London or Calais (items 37 and 38, respectively), both types of which were listed as having 3 coins on p. 130 of van Gelder's article.

If there were indeed 189 gold coins, then there would have been 2547 coins in total; or possibly even 2549 coins, if there were also 2 extra silver, Holland coins (see note **Holland** above, p. 61).

The Contents of the Zutphen Hoard (1958) ^[2]

(Au/Ag numbers in parentheses are the totals given by van Gelder in his table on p. 114. ^[2])

The reference numbers in parentheses after the descriptions are those provided by van Gelder in his table on p. 114 of his article on the Zutphen Hoard. ^[2]

{Numbers in brackets are van Gelder's item numbers from his detailed lists pp 123 - 143. ^[2]}

According to van Gelder ^[2] (pp. 112-114 and pp. 123-143), the find consisted of the following coins (all coins are silver unless otherwise stated):

Duchy of Guelders, etc. (Au 51 / Ag 806)

Guelders:

- 47 gold *guldens* of William I (1371-1402) (vdCh. 6,1-2) {9.}

- 11 *plaks* of Edward (1361-1371) – Arnhem (vdCh. 5,2-3) {63.}
- 1 *plak* of Mechteld (1371-1379) (vdCh. 5,1-2) {64.}
- 3 *groten* of William I (1371-1402) – Arnhem (vdCh. 7,10) {65.}
- 27 *groten* of William I – Arnhem (vdCh. 7,12) {66.}
- 1 *groot* of William I (vdCh. 8,5) {67.}
- 1 half *groot* of William I (vdCh. 8,5) {68.}
- 312 double *groten* of Reinald IV (1402-1423) – Arnhem (vdCh. 9,8) {69.}
- 80 *groten* of Reinald IV – Arnhem (vdCh. 9,10) {70.}
- 49 half *groten* of Reinald IV – Arnhem (vdCh. 9,12-13) {71.}
- 27 half *groten* of Reinald IV – Arnhem (vdCh. –) {72.}
- 1 double *groot* of Reinald IV – Nijmegen (vdCh. 9,7) {73.}
- 192 *groten* of Reinald IV – Nijmegen (vdCh. 9,9) {74.}
- 57 half *groten* of Reinald IV – Nijmegen (vdCh. 9,9) {75.}
- 1 ¼ *groot* of Reinald IV – Nijmegen (vdCh. 9,9) {76.}
- 3 *groot* of Reinald IV – Nijmegen (vdCh. –) {77.}

= 766 silver coins

= 47 gold coins

LISTED BY VAN GELDER UNDER TOTALS FOR GUELDERS ON P. 112:

- 4 gold *crowns* Lordship of **Oyen** – Maria of Guelders (1362-1399)
(RBN 1874, p. 372) {10.}
 - 14 double *groten* Duchy of **Kessel** – Reinald of Guelders (1394-1402)
Venray (vdCh. 9,5) {78.}
 - 16 *groten* Lordship of **Bergh** – Frederick III (1384-1416) (vdCh. 16,1-2) {79.}
 - 6 half *groten* Lordship of **Bergh** – Frederick III (vdCh. 16,3) {80.}
 - 1 half *groten* Lordship of **Bergh** – Frederick III (vdCh. 23,2) {81.}
 - 2 half *groten* Lordship of **Batenburg** – Gijsbert II (1408-1432) (vdCh. 8,3) {82.}
 - 1 double groot County of **Limburg** – William (1401-1459) (RBN 1986 –) {95.}
 - [listed on p. 114 under **German Empire**, on p. 137 after **Cleves**]
- = 40 silver coins
= 4 gold coins
= 806 total silver coins for **Guelders etc.**
= 51 total gold coins for **Guelders etc.**

County of Cleves (Au 0 / Ag 92)

- 12 *plaks* Adolf I (1368-1394) (Noss 66) {83.}
 - 1 *groot* Adolf I (Noss 67-79) {84.}
 - 11 half *groten* Adolf I (Noss 80) {85.}
 - 1 double *groot* Adolf I (Noss 88) {86.}
 - 5 double *groten* Adolf I (Noss 107) {87.}
 - 56 double *groten* Adolf I (Noss 109-110) {88.}
 - 4 half *groten* County of Cleves – Adolf II (Noss 114) {89.}
 - 2 ¼ *groten* Adolf I (Noss –) {90.}
- = 92 silver coins

Diocese of Utrecht (Au 1 / Ag 87)

- 1 gold *écu* of Bishop Floris van Welinkhoven (1379-1383) (vdCh. 12,1) {8.}
- 1 *plak* of Bishop John of Vernenburg (1364-1371) – Salland (vdCh. 11,1-7) {51.}
- 1 *plak* of Arnold of Hoorne (1371-1379) – Kampen (vdCh. 12,1) {52.}
- 2 *groten* of Arnold of Hoorne – Kampen (vdCh. 12,3) {53.}
- 30 *plaks* of Bishop Floris (vdCh. 12,5 - 13,13) {54.}
- 3 *groten* of Bishop Floris (vdCh. 13,16) {55.}
- 12 double *groten* of Bishop Frederick of Blankenheim (1393-1423)
Deventer (vdCh. 13,16) {56.}
- 11 *groten* of Bishop Frederick – Deventer (vdCh. 13,7-9) {57.}
- 3 half *groten* of Bishop Frederick – Deventer (vdCh. 14,11) {58.}
- 1 ¼ *groten* of Bishop Frederick – Deventer (vdCh. 14,12) {59.}
- 15 double *groten* of Bishop Frederick – Hasselt (vdCh. 14,14-16) {60.}

Utrecht (cont.)

- 5 *groten* of Bishop Frederick – Hasselt (vdCh. 14,18) {61.}
- 3 double *groten* of Bishop Frederick – Rhenen (vdCh. 14,21) {62.}

= **87** silver coins

= **1** gold coins

County of Holland (Au 42 / Ag 273*)

- 1 gold double *lamb* of William V (1350-1389) (vdCh. 5,1) {1.}
- 27 gold *guldens* of William V (vdCh. 5,7-8) {2.}
- 2 gold *écus* of William V (vdCh. 5,4) {3.}
- 4 gold *guldens* of Albert (1389-1404) (vdCh. 7,4) {7.}
- 3 gold *leeuwenschilden* of Albert (vdCh. 7,3) {5.}
- 4 gold *écus* of Albert (vdCh. 7,2) {6.}
- 1 gold *crown* of Albert (RBN 1923, p. 235) {4.}

8 *leeuwengroten* of William V (vdCh. 6,18) {42.}

22 *plaks* of William V (vdCh. 5,9) {43.}

118 *groten* of William V (vdCh. 6,25-26) {44.}

18 *groten* of William V (vdCh. 6,23) {45.}

2 *groten* of William V (vdCh. 6,24) {46.}

21 *groten* of Albert (vdCh. 7,5) {47.}

60 *adelaarsgroten* of Albert (vdCh. 8,12) {48.}

23 *groten* of Albert (vdCh. 7,7) {49.}

3 *groten* of Albert (vdCh. 7,8) {50.}

= **245** silver coins

= **275** total silver coins for **Holland [incorrect]**

* = **273** total silver coins for **Holland after correction**

= **42** gold coins

(see note p. 61 regarding Holland: some total(s) for item(s) 44-50 must be incorrect.)

County of Flanders, etc. (Au 23 / Ag 963*)

- 2 gold *leeuwen* of Louis I of Mâle (1346-1384) (Gaillard 214) {20.}
- 7 gold *écus* of Louis (Gaillard 218) {21.}
- 4 gold double *helms* of Philip the Bold (1384-1404) (D.d.P. 7,8) {22.}
- 2 gold *angels* of Philip (D.d.P. 7,11) {23.}
- 6 gold *nobles* of Philip Ghent (D.d.P. 8,15) {24.}
- 1 gold $\frac{1}{4}$ *noble* of Philip Ghent (D.d.P. 8,17) {25.}

1 gold *écu* of the County of **St. Pol** – Walram of Luxemburg (1371-1415) {26.}

Flanders (cont.)

226 *leeuwengroten* of Louis (Gaillard 219**) {.117} ** corrected reference number
3 1/3 *leeuwengroten* of Louis (Gaillard 222) {.118}
112 half *plakken* (*leeuw met helm*) of Louis (Gaillard 227) {.120}

75? *plaks* (*leeuw met helm*) of Louis (Gaillard 223) {.119}

4? *plaks* (*leeuw met helm*) of Philip the Bold (1384-1404) (D.d.P. 6,7) {.122}

(see note p. 62 regarding Flanders: the total must be 80 *plaks*.)

= 80 *plaks* in total

40 *rozebeker groten* of Philip the Bold and Johanna of Brabant (D.d.P. 6,3) {.121}

42 double *adelaarsgroten* of Philip the Bold (D.d.P. 7,13) {.123}

6 *adelaarsgroten* of Philip the Bold (D.d.P. 7,14) {.124}

305 double *groten* (2 shields) of Philip the Bold (D.d.P. 7,9) {.125}

6 *groten* (2 shields) of Philip the Bold (D.d.P. 7,10) {.126}

111 double *groten* (lion) of Philip the Bold – Ghent (D.d.P. 8,18) {.127}

4 double *groten* (lion) of Philip the Bold Valkenburg {.129}

24 *groten* (lion) of Philip the Bold – Ghent (D.d.P. 8,19) {.128}

1 *groot* (lion) of Philip the Bold – Valkenburg {.130}

= **959** silver coins [incorrect]

* = **960** total silver coins *after correction* = 80 *plaks* in all

= **23** gold coins

LISTED BY VAN GELDER UNDER THE TOTALS FOR FLANDERS ON P. 113:

County of St. Pol

1 half *plak* of **St. Pol** – Guy VI of Luxemburg (1360-1371)
Elincourt (P.d'A. 6875) {.131.}

1 half *plak* of **St. Pol** – Walram III of Luxemburg (1371-1415)
Seraing (P.d'A. –) {.132.}

[listed on p. 113 and p. 142 under **Flanders etc.**]

Lordship of Waalwijk

1 double *groot* of **Waalwijk** – John of Brederode (1390-1415) (RBN 1929, p. 17)
{102.}

[listed on p. 113 under **Flanders etc.**, on p. 138 after **Liège**]

= **3** silver coins

= **962** total silver coins for **Flanders etc.** [incorrect]

* = **963** total silver for **Flanders etc.** coins *after correction*

[as shown for **Flanders etc.** in the v. Gelder, p. 114 table]

Duchy of Brabant (Au 11 / Ag 57)

- 11 gold *pieters* of Wenceslas and Johanna (1355-1382) (De Witte 390) {19.}

- 7 *grooten* of John III (1312-1355) Antwerp (De Witte 343) {103.}
- 1 *leeuwengroot* of Johanna (1355-1382) (De Witte 395) {104.}
- 1 *leeuwengroot* of Johanna and Wenceslas (1355-1382) (De Witte 405) {105.}
- 3 half *leeuwengrooten* of Johanna and Wenceslas (De Witte 406) {106.}
- 6 double *grooten* of Johanna and Wenceslas – Maastricht (De Witte 408-409) {107.}
- 1 *groot* of Johanna and Wenceslas (De Witte 403) {108.}
- 21 *rozebekergrooten* of Johanna and Philip the Bold (De Witte 414) {109.}
- 1 ½ *rozebekergroot* of Johanna and Philip (De Witte 415) {110.}
- 5 double *grooten* of Johanna (1355-1406) Vilvoorde (De Witte 422) {111.}
- 6 double *grooten* of Johanna (1355-1406) Leuven (De Witte 421) {112.}
- 2 *grooten* of Johanna (1355-1406) Leuven (De Witte 425) {113.}
- 1 double *groot* of Johanna – Maastricht (De Witte 423) {114.}
- 1 double *groot* of Anthony (1406-1415) (De Witte 435) {115.}
- 1 *groot* of Anthony Leuven (De Witte 436) {116.}

= 57 silver coins

= 11 gold coins

County of Hainaut (Au 14 / Ag 38)

- 2 gold *crowns* of William III (Wm. V in Holland) (1356-1389) (Chalon 133) {27.}
- 1 gold *crown* of Albert (1389-1404) (Chalon 117) {29.}
- 11 gold double *crowns* of Albert (Chalon 116) {28.}
- 36 double *grooten* of Albert (Chalon 118) {133.}
- 1 *groot* of Albert (Chalon 119) {134.}
- 1 half *groot* of Albert (Chalon –) {135.}

= 38 silver coins

= 14 gold coins

Diocese of Liège, etc. (Au 4 / Ag 19)

- 2 gold *guldens* of bishop Arnold of Hoorne (1378-1389)
Tongeren (Chestret 268) & St. Pieter (Chestret 267) {16. / 17.}
- 2 gold *crowns* of bishop John of Bavaria (1389-1410) (Chestret suppl. 25) {18.}

- 1 *groot St. Peter* of bishop John of Arkel (1364-1378) (Chestret 258) {98.}
- 1 *groot* of bishop John of Bavaria (1389-1418) (Chestret 287) {99.}

Lordship of Schoonvorst

- 10 *groten* of the Lordship of **Schoonvorst** – Reinhard II (1369-1396)
(Menadier 14-16) {92.}
- 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ *groot* **Schoonvorst** of Reinhard II (Menadier 9) {93.}
[listed on p. 137 after **Guelders**]

Duchy of Luxemburg

- 5 *groten* of the Duchy of **Luxemburg** – Wenceslas of Bohemia (1383-1388)
(Bernays 165) {100.}
[listed on p. 138 after **Liège**]

County of Chiny

- 1 *sterling* of the County of **Chiny** – Gaucher de Châtillon (1303-1329)
(P.d'A. 141,19) {101.}
[listed on p. 138 after **Liège**]
[p. 113: not listed under totals for **Liège**, but 1 of the 19 coins]

(Liège, Schoonvorst and Luxemburg are included in van Gelder's 19 silver coins for **Liège etc.** Chiny is not listed, but is in fact included in van Gelder's total 19 coins for **Liège etc.**)

= **19** total silver coins for **Liège etc.**

= **4** total gold coins for **Liège etc.**

Kingdom of France (Au 25 / Ag 3)

- 2 gold *écus* of Philip VI (1328-1350) (Lafaurie 262) {30.}
- 1 gold *agnel (lamb)* of John II (1350-1364) (Lafaurie 294) {31.}
- 1 gold *franc à cheval* of John II (Lafaurie 297) {32.}
- 8 gold *francs à pied* of Charles V (1364-1380) (Lafaurie 371) {33.}
- 7 gold *crowns* of Charles VI (1385-1422) (Lafaurie 378) {34.}
- 3 gold *francs* of Provence – Joan of Naples (1345-1382) (Rolland 93) {35.}
- 3 gold *francs* of Provence – Louis I of Anjou (1382-1384) (Rolland 102) {36.}

- 1 *blanc guénar* of Charles VI (Lafaurie 381) {136.}
- 1 *demi-blanc guénar* of Charles VI (Lafaurie 382) {137.}
- 1 *groat* of Edward the Black Prince (1355-1375) (P.d'A. 64,18) {138.}

= **3** silver coins

= **25** gold coins

Kingdom of England (Au 11* / Ag 15)

- 6? gold *nobles* of Edward III (1327-1377):
 3? London (Brooke 25,6) & 3? Calais (Brooke 26,2) {37. / 38.}
1 gold half *noble* of Edward III – London (Brooke 28,4) {39.}
3 gold $\frac{1}{4}$ *nobles* of Edward III – London (Brooke 27,7) {40.}
2 gold *nobles* of Richard II (1377-1399) – London (Brooke 26,4) {41.}
- 4 *pennies* of Edward I (1277-1307) – London (Brooke pl. 33) {139.}
1 *penny* of Edward I – Lincoln (BNJ 1910, pl. 3,13) {140.}
1 *penny* of Edward I – Bury-St.-Edmund (BNJ 1912, pl. 8,9) {141.}
1 *groat* of Edward III – London (Brooke 30.1) {142.}
2 half *groats* of Edward III – London (Brooke 31.1) {143.}
2 *pennies* of Edward III – London (BNJ 1910, pl. 31,13) {144.}
2 *pennies* of Edward III – Durham (NC 1929 p. 165; 1933 p. 26) {145.}
1 *penny* of Edward III – York (Brooke 23,28) {146.}
1 *penny* of Richard II (1377-1399) – York (Brooke 32,3) {147.}

= 15 silver coins

= 12 gold coins

(see note pp. 62-63 regarding **England**: some total(s) for item(s) 37-38 must be incorrect.)

Holy Roman Empire / Germany (Au 6 / Ag 5)

- 2 gold *guldens* Archdiocese of Cologne – Frederick of Saarwerden (1371-1414)
 Riel (Noss 197) & Bonn (Noss 238) {11. / 12.}
2 gold *guldens* Archdiocese of Trier – Kuno von Falkenstein (1362-1388)
 Koblenz, Noss 67-68 {13.}
1 gold *gulden* Archdiocese of Mainz – Konrad von Weinsberg (1390-1396) {14.}
1 gold *gulden* Archdiocese of Mainz – Johan von Nassau (1397-1419) {15.}
- 2 *groschen* of the City of Aachen /Aix-la-Chapelle, 1375 (Menadier 95) {91.}
 [listed on p. 113 under **German Empire**, on p. 137 after Guelders]
- 1 *groschen* Archdiocese Trier – Kuno von Falkenstein, c. 1372 (Noss 165) {94.}
 [listed on p. 114 under **German Empire**, on p. 137 after Guelders]
- 1 *hohlpfennig* City of Hannover, c. 1350-1400 (Jesse 128) {96.}
 [listed on p. 114 under **German Empire**, on p. 137 after Guelders]
- 1 *hohlpfennig* City of Hamburg, c. 1350-1400 (Jesse 174) {97.}
 [listed on p. 114 under **German Empire**, on p. 137 after Guelders]

= 5 silver coins

= 6 gold coins

	goud			zilver			totaal	
	aantal	grooten	%	aantal	grooten	%	grooten	%
Gelre enz.	51	966	16,0	806	1026	34,4	1992	22,0
Kleef	—	—	—	92	140	4,7	140	1,6
Utrecht	1	38	0,6	87	100	3,4	138	1,5
Holland	42	1233½	20,3	273	181	6,1	1414½	15,6
Vlaanderen	23	967½	16,0	963	1386	46,4	2353½	26,0
Brabant	11	423½	7,0	57	59	2,0	482½	5,3
Henegouwen	14	586	9,7	38	55	1,9	641	7,1
Luik, enz.	4	121	2,0	19	21	0,7	142	1,6
Frankrijk	25	893	14,7	3	2	0,1	895	9,9
Engeland	11	635½	10,5	15	10	0,3	645½	7,1
Duitse Rijk	6	195	3,1	5	5	0,2	200	2,2
	188	6059		2358	2985		9044	

Van Gelder, JMP 1958, p. 114 (our highlights)

Only columns one and four are relevant to our current investigation of the coins themselves. Column one shows *aantal {gouden munten}*, i.e. number of gold coins present (total 188). Column four shows *aantal {zilveren munten}*, i.e. number of silver coins present (total 2358).

The other columns all have to do with various calculations made by van Gelder regarding the value of the coins “in money”, e.g. how many silver *grooten* the gold coins were worth (column two), or the percentages of the whole made up by each type (columns three, six and eight). For our purposes, these additional columns are not particularly relevant, and only serve to confuse the issue at hand.

Van Gelder’s table on page 114 shows 188 gold coins and 2358 silver in total in the hoard (a total of 2546 coins in all). As previously mentioned, the table shows only 11 gold coins for England in the table, while 12 are given in the detailed lists (p. 130 ^[2]), making a total of **189** gold coins, and **2547** coins in all. At this point, we cannot say for certain which totals are correct.

Clearly, van Gelder should have been a bit more careful, whether initially or in his subsequent proofreading. Somewhat more disturbing is the fact that in all these years, no one else seems to have noticed the many inconsistencies in van Gelder’s report on this coin hoard. Apparently no one ever questioned the accuracy of the report, or bothered to simply add up the totals given, which would clearly show that something is not quite right.

We leave the reader to track down van Gelder’s cited references for him or herself.

APPENDIX C: Illegible and Semi-Legible Coins

A large number of the *leeuwengroten* in the SMZ collection are partially or completely illegible on one face or both. Although many of these specimens add little or nothing to our knowledge of the *leeuwengroot per se*, it is our intention to provide photographs of all of the remaining coins from the Zutphen Hoard, regardless of condition. Rather than bog down the main text with numerous, unnecessary photos, we felt it better to place these 84 coins in a separate appendix.

Most of these coins will have come from the common Issue V, Type 12. However unlikely, it is possible that some of them are missing the crossbars from the A's on the obverse, and would therefore be classified as Issue VI coins ^[5]. A comparison of the still-visible aspects of the coins with known examples from Issue VI helps eliminate certain pieces as being possible Issue VI coins. This can be difficult, however, since the lettering of Issue VI coins is very similar to that of some of the Issue V, 'rough' style coins.

SEE: *The Leeuwengroten of the Zutphen Hoard (1958) Part Two*
for Appendix C.