

The Tournai Hoard (1911): A Numismatic Tragedy Revisited

Paul A. Torongo & Aimé Haeck

© 2017

In general, the reports on coin hoards to be found in old numismatic journals leave much to be desired. Usually superficial and often downright inaccurate, these reports are, more often than not, the only record we have of important coin finds made in the 19th and early 20th centuries (the coins themselves have a tendency to disappear from public view.) In other words: we have little or no useful information about several important coin finds. And yet, researchers continue to use these reports to this day, often without questioning their content.

We present here a report on an important coin hoard which was not properly nor accurately described, now lost to researchers forever. While we applaud the efforts of all previous researchers, we cannot condone the continued dissemination of misinformation, and we are therefore compelled to point out previous errors and attempt to correct them for the good of numismatics in general.

We have attempted to compile lists of the coins found in this hoard, and in particular the *gros au lion*, however, any such lists can only be as good as the source material from which they are made, and in this case, the source material is flawed and suspect. (See the Appendix, pp. 23-25 for the “correct” list of coins in the Tournai Hoard.)

The Tournai Hoard (1911)

Found June 1911

Unknown number of gold and silver coins (c. 1600 coins?)

c. 1180 coins examined by de Villiers.

Current location: unknown (dispersed? melted down?)

Deposited: ≥ 1363

The hoard was previously described (and we use that term very loosely), without illustrations, in: *Le trésor découvert à Runabat, en Tourc'h (Finistère)* by Viscount Édouard de Villiers du Terrage, published in *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Finistère* 39 in 1912 (pp. 155-160, ref. 16).

De Villiers refers to the find as the Runabat Hoard, although today is it generally known as the Tournai Hoard. Facsimiles of his report *in toto* are provided here, piecemeal.

The hoard was subsequently listed and superficially described by Nicholas Mayhew in his *Sterling Imitations of Edwardian Type* (ref. 10, n° 169, pp.188-189) and by Jean Duplessy in his *Les trésors monétaires médiévaux et modernes découverts en France, Tome II (1223-1385)* (ref. 6, n° 389, p. 152). The information in Mayhew's book was, in fact, supplied by Duplessy, based on de Villiers' original report. Duplessy used de Villiers' report as a basis, and then made some corrections, as well as some questionable omissions and alterations (see p. 16 below, Duplessy on the Tournai Hoard).

DE VILLIERS on the Tournai Hoard (Ref. 16)

Part One: Assertions About the Numbers and Types of Coins Present

En mois de Juin 1911, un cultivateur demeurant à Runabat, en Tourc'h, canton de Rosporden, découvrit en démolissant un vieux talus, un vase de terre cuite contenant quelques monnaies d'or et un nombre considérable de pièces d'argent et de billon (1). Le pot a malheureusement été complètement brisé et je n'ai pu même m'en procurer aucun fragment.

Les monnaies d'or furent immédiatement vendues ; M. de la Rogerie en a cependant vu quatre, et les frotis qu'il en a pris permettent d'identifier deux *Moutons d'or* de Jean le Bon. La troisième pièce était un Florin d'or, malheureusement l'empreinte trop effacée ne permet plus de lire la légende de cette monnaie d'un type fabriqué alors dans toute l'Europe occidentale. La quatrième devait être, d'après notre collègue une monnaie des rois d'Aragon.

Les pièces d'argent, la plupart de mauvais aloi, couvertes de vert-de-gris, de rouille et de terre, parurent d'abord sans valeur à ceux qui les découvrirent ; tout le monde en prit et beaucoup furent jetées.

Mon garde, qui eut l'occasion de soupeser le sac qui renfermait le trésor huit jours après sa découverte, évalua son poids à un peu plus de cinq kilos. Les pièces pesant en

(1) Avant de connaître exactement l'importance de cette trouvaille, j'ai publié en juin 1911, dans le *Bulletin* de notre Société, une petite note dont il n'y a plus lieu de tenir compte.

BSAF 39, p. 155 ^[16]

moyenne 3 grammes 10, la trouvaille se serait donc primitivement composée de plus de seize cents pièces.

Au bout de quelques jours, diverses personnes m'en apportèrent quarante-huit, et de son côté M. Massonneau put en recueillir trente-deux. Enfin, tout récemment, Mademoiselle de Lonlay, propriétaire de la ferme de Runabat, a bien voulu me permettre d'examiner à loisir les onze cent et une pièces que son fermier finit par lui remettre au bout de quelques semaines.

Ces onze cent soixante-dix-neuf pièces comprennent trente-cinq valeurs ou types différents.

BSAF 39, p. 156 ^[16]

De Villiers says that in June, 1911 a farmer discovered the hoard buried in an earthenware pot. The pot itself was damaged and was unrecoverable. The pot contained a number of gold coins, and a larger number of silver and billon pieces. The gold coins were sold almost immediately, but de Villiers managed to examine at least some of the silver pieces.

Based on the weight of the coins (eight days after their discovery, which may imply that the hoard was already incomplete), de Villiers estimated the total number of pieces at about 1600 coins.

De Villiers suggests that the coins were buried during the reign of John II of France (1350-1364), possibly in relation to the Battle of Auray, 27 September, 1364. This may not be far off, as we can date some of the coins to about 1362.

In the text on p. 156, de Villiers discusses the coins he examined, and gives the totals as:

48	various individuals
32	Massonneau
1101	de Lonlay
<hr/>	
1181	1179 (reported in the table on p. 156)

Also on p. 156, de Villiers provides a table, reporting the hoard as containing the following coins:

Monnaies royales de France ... 439 pièces renfermant 16 types principaux			
—	— d'Angleterre .	31	— 5 —
—	anglaises d'Aquitaine	4	— 1 —
—	de Bretagne	9	— 3 —
—	de l'évêché de Toul . .	1	— 1 —
—	des Pays-Bas	695	— 9 —
		<hr/> 1179	<hr/> 35

BSAF 39, p. 156 ^[16]

Before continuing further, it must be pointed out that the totals given here are suspect, as they do not match the “detailed” information subsequently provided by de Villiers’ in his text.

If one adds up the numbers given by de Villiers in his text, the total number of coins in the hoard comes to **1288**, not 1179, as shown in the table above (not to mention the 1181 given in the text on p. 156). This is no insignificant discrepancy. According to the text:

France	531 (not 439 as per the table)
England	31
English Aquitaine	4
Brittany	9
Toul	1
Low Countries	712 (not 695 as per the table)

Duplessy altered some of these numbers for his book, although we are not convinced he has done it correctly (see p. 16 below, Duplessy on the Tourch Hoard).

Either [some of] the totals in de Villiers’ table are incorrect, or [some of] the totals in his main text are incorrect, or both.

GOLD COINS

In his text de Villiers also mentions that an unknown number of gold coins were also present; these were sold almost immediately by the finders/owners of the hoard. Although these gold coins do not figure in his table on p. 156, de Villiers does describe the following pieces (if only superficially), based on rubbings made from the coins:

- 2 French *moutons d'or* of John the Good (1350-1364)
- 1 *florin d'or* of unknown origin
- 1 gold coin of Aragon

(Duplessy makes no mention at all of these gold coins.)

LOW COUNTRIES

Since we are primarily concerned with the *gros au lion*, we will begin with the Low Countries. De Villiers' text reads:

“*Louis I^{er} de Crécy* (1326-1346) et *Louis II de Male* (1346-1384). Comtes de Flandre.
Six cent quatre-vingt-seize Gros d'argent au type bien connu du lion de Flandre qui fut imité dans dix-neuf pays différents.”^[16]

By “...imitated in 19 different lands”, de Villiers means those regions where the *gros au lion* was imitated, including those without coins in the Tournai Hoard (there are in fact more than 21 regions). De Villiers has gotten this information from R. Serrure (p. 158):

“... le gros au lion Flamande fut copié dans dix-neuf pays.”^[12]

696	<i>gros au lion</i> of Louis of Nevers and Louis of Mâle	“six cent quatre-vingt-seize”
6	<i>gros [au lion]</i> of John III of Brabant (1312-1335 <i>sic</i>)	
2	<i>gros [au lion]</i> of Johanna of Brabant {incorrectly attributed to John III}	
1	<i>gros [au lion]</i> of William III of Hainaut (1337-1345)	
3	<i>gros [au lion]</i> of William V of Holland {incorrectly attributed to William IV}	
2	<i>gros [au lion]</i> of William I of Namur (1337-1391)	
1	<i>gros [au lion]</i> of Reinald III of Guelders (1343-1371)	
1	<i>gros [au lion]</i> of Arnold of Oreye, Lord of Rummen (1331-1364) (?)	

712 **695**

(Duplessy^[6] alters these numbers; see: p. 16 below, Duplessy on the Tournai Hoard)

The date de Villiers gives for the reign of John III are incorrect; Duplessy corrects them.

Since the primary focus of our investigation is the *gros au lion*, we have not taken the trouble to double-check either de Villiers' or Duplessy's references for the other types of coins, rather we list them here *verbatim* as given by those authors.

FRENCH ROYAL

1	<i>denier</i> of Philip II (?) FILLIP	
3	<i>deniers</i> of Louis IX (1256-1270)	(Boudreau 571)
1	<i>denier</i> of Philip IV (1285-1314)	(Boudreau 603)
1	<i>gros</i> of Philip VI (1328-1350)	
138	<i>gros</i> of Philip VI	(Boudreau 693) " <i>cent trente-huit</i> "
263	<i>gros</i> of Philip VI	(Boudreau 684) " <i>deux cent soixante-trois</i> "
1	<i>denier</i> of Philip VI	(Boudreau 699)
1	<i>double</i> of Philip VI	(Boudreau 709 var.)
1	<i>double</i> of Philip VI	
1	<i>maille blanche</i> of Philip VI	(Hoffmann 21)
5	<i>gros</i> of John II (1350-1364)	(Boudreau 777)
2	<i>gros blancs</i> of John II	(Boudreau 775)
100	<i>gros blancs</i> of John II	
5	<i>gros</i> of John II	(Boudreau 759)
3	<i>gros blancs</i> of John II	(Boudreau 791)
5	<i>maille blanches</i> of John II	(Boudreau 752)

531 **439**

Duplessy lists 530 coins (he lists the FILLIP *denier* separately), and lists the *denier* "of Philip IV" as a *double tournois* of Philip VI) ^[6]. In any case, de Villiers' p. 156 (table) total of 439 French coins is off by more than 90 coins, based upon de Villiers' own list on p. 157 ^[16]. (It is, of course, possible that de Villiers' own numbers on p. 157 are incorrect.) None of this inspires confidence in de Villiers' work.

De Villiers cites "catalogue Boudreau" for his reference numbers.

Monnaies françaises royales

Philippe Auguste (?)

Un Denier très fruste FILLIP... autour de quatre lettres.

Saint-Louis (1256-1270).

Trois Deniers Tournais (type 371) (1).

Philippe IV le Bel (1285-1314).

Un Denier Tournais (601).

Philippe VI (1328-1350).

Un Gros à la Couronne.

Cent trente-huit Gros à la fleur de lis (693), comprenant de grandes variétés dans la forme de la croix.

Deux cent soixante-trois Gros à la Queue (Couronnelles) (684).

Un denier Parisien (699).

Un Double Tournais (type 709 sans l'annelet).

Un Double Parisien F. R. A. N. entre deux fleurs de lis PHILIPPUS D.G. REX. Au revers Croix fleurdelisée à long pied, MONETA DUPLEX.

Une maille blanche (Hoffmann type 21).

Jean le Bon (1350-1364).

Cinq Gros blancs dit Poilevillains (777).

Deux Gros blancs (775).

Cent Gros blancs (la croix cantonnée d'un anneau).

Cinq Gros tournois à la queue, dit Poilevillain (739) avec ou sans boules aux branches latérales de la Croix).

Trois Gros blancs à la fleur de lis dit Patte d'oie (791).

Cinq Mailles blanches (752).

(1) Les numéros de renvoi se rapportent à ceux du catalogue Boudreau.

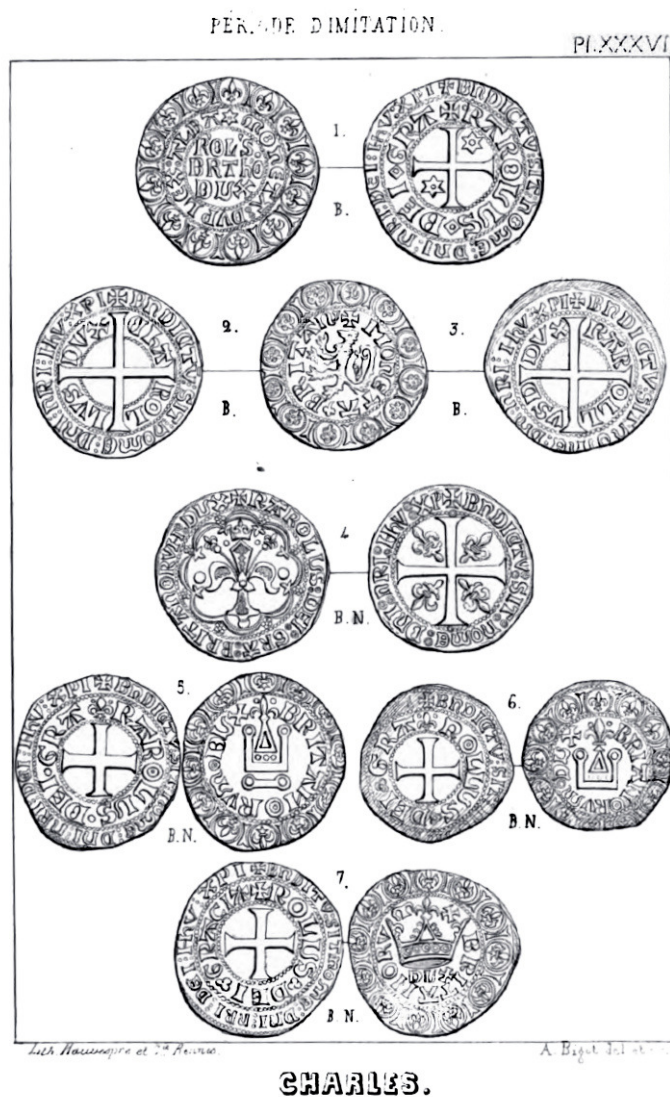
BSAF 39, p. 157 ^[16]

BRITTANY

2	<i>gros</i> of Charles of Blois (1341-1364)	(Bigot pl. 26, 2 <i>sic</i>)*
2	<i>gros</i> of Jean IV of Brittany (1335-1399 <i>sic</i>)	(Bigot pl. 20, 3)
1	<i>gros [au lion]</i> of Jean IV of Brittany	(Bigot pl. 20, 6) {Bigot 511}
3	<i>gros</i> of Jean IV of Brittany	(Bigot pl. 23 <i>bis</i> , 3)
1	<i>[demi-] gros</i> of Jean IV of Brittany	(Bigot pl. 26, 6 – which is <i>demi-gros</i>)

* Bigot plate 26 shows coins of John IV, not Charles of Blois; de Villiers' reference must be incorrect, and we cannot be sure exactly which type of coin he meant.

Duplessy made the obvious correction, changing 26, 2 into 16,2, and stated that de Villiers meant Bigot pl. XVI, 2 ^[1]. This may or may not be correct, however (see p. 16 below, Duplessy on the Tourch Hoard). Bigot's plates are erroneously numbered: 15, **36**, 17, 18 etc., (i.e. plate XVI is marked "plate XXXVI".) This is likely to be the origin of de Villiers' own reference numbering problem.



Bigot pl. XVI ("XXXVI") ^[1]

On p. 156, de Villiers writes:

"Quatre pièces au lion de Flandre fabriquées à Quimperlé et à Vannes, figurent dans la trèsoir de Runabat." ^[16]

There only seem to be 3 Breton *gros au lion*, however, not 4.



Bigot pl. XX, 3 (n° 489) ^[1]
“Deux gros (Bigot : pl 20, n° 3)” ^[16]
Quimperlé mint



Bigot pl. XX, 6 (n° 511) ^[1]
“Un gros (Bigot : pl 26, n° 6)” ^[16]
Vannes mint



Bigot pl. XXIII bis, 3 ^[1]
“Trois gros (Bigot : pl. 23 bis, n° 3)” ^[16]



Bigot pl. XXVI, 6 (n° 818) ^[1]
“Un gros (Bigot : pl. 26, n° 6)” ^[16]
demi-gros

Bien que la Cornouaille se trouve fort éloignée des Pays-Bas, près de soixante pour cent des monnaies découvertes à Runabat proviennent de Flandre. Les Gros fabriqués par Louis de Crécy et Louis de Male étaient d'ailleurs très répandus à cette époque et sans doute fort estimés puisqu'ils furent imités en beaucoup d'endroits, notamment en Bretagne par Charles de Blois et Jean IV. Quatre pièces au lion de Flandre fabriquées à Quimperlé et à Vannes, figurent dans le trésor de Runabat.

Les pièces les plus récentes sont celles de Jean II le Bon (1350-1364), du duc de Bretagne. Jean IV (1343-1399) et de Louis de Male (1346-1384). Le trésor de Runabat a donc été enterré sous le règne de Jean le Bon ; peut-être son propriétaire, compatriote de Jeanne de Flandre, épouse de Jean de Montfort, trouva-t-il la mort à la bataille d'Auray le 27 septembre 1364 ?

BSAF 39, p. 156 ^[16]

Monnaies de Bretagne

Charles de Blois (1341-1364).

Deux Gros (Bigot (1) : pl. 26, n° 2).

Jean IV (1335-1399).

Deux Gros (Bigot : pl. 20, n° 3).

(1) *Essai sur les monnaies de Bretagne.*

— 159 —

Un Gros (Bigot : pl. 20, n° 6).

Trois Gros (Bigot : pl. 23 bis, n° 3).

Un Gros (Bigot : pl. 26, n° 6).

BSAF 39, pp. 158-159 ^[16]

The dates de Villiers gives for the reign of John IV are incorrect; Duplessy corrects them.

ENGLAND / AQUITAINE

1	<i>groat</i> of Edward III (1337-1356 <i>sic</i>)	(London)
4	$\frac{1}{2}$ <i>groats</i> of Edward III	(London and/or Canterbury and/or Durham)
26	pennies of Edward III	(London and/or Canterbury and/or Durham)
4	<i>groats</i> of Edward III	(Aquitaine) (Poey d'Avant 2867/2870)

35

Monnaies d'Angleterre

Edouard III (1337-1356).

Un Groat (diamètre 28 ^m/_m, poids 3 grammes). Buste couronné de face EDWARD D. N REX ANGL E. FRANC HYB. POSUI DEUM ADJUTOREM MEUM CIVITAS LONDON (Croix).

Quatre demi-groats et vingt-six pennys du type Esterlin, frappés à Londres, à Cantorbury ou à Durham.

Quatre Gros d'argent frappés en Aquitaine.

ED' RE ANGLIE (autour d'une croix cantonnée d'une fleur de lis. — Rev. : DUX AQITANIE (Léopard sous une couronne).

Combinaison des types 2867 et 2870 de Poey d'Avant, pl. 52, nos 1 et 2).

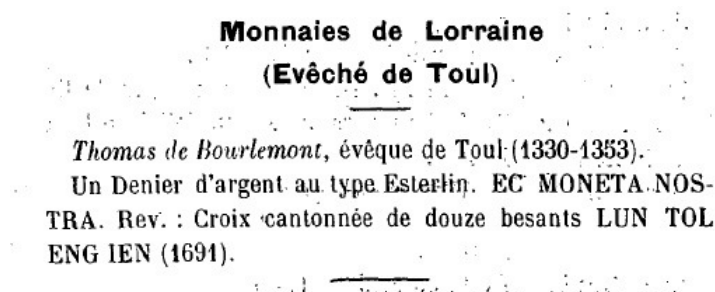
BSAF 39, p. 158 ^[16]

The date de Villiers gives for the reign of Edward III are incorrect; Duplessy corrects them.

TOUL (LORRAINE)

1 *denier (esterlin)* of Thomas de Bourlemont, Bishop of Toul (1330-1353)

Boudreau 1691



BSAF 39, p. 158 ^[16]

Duplessy changes this attribution to “anonymous (R. 1026)” ^[6]. Mayhew says of this type of coin:

“The attribution to Thomas of Bourlemont (1330-53) has been invalidated by the presence of this type in a number of hoards datable to the early or mid 1320s. {See for example Dolley on the two Neath finds BNJ 25 (1955-7), 297 and 557.} The Vouvant hoard may move this date even earlier.” ^[10]

See Mayhew Type 39, N° 311 ^[10].

De Villiers’ Text

Hoard TOTAL:

1288 **1179 (table p. 156)**

In fact, we cannot be sure exactly how many coins were in the Tournai Hoard, nor how many of each type were present.

DE VILLIERS on the Tournai Hoard

Part Two: Detailed Discussion of the *Gros au Lion* Types

Flanders

Louis I^{er} de Crécy (1326-1346) et Louis II de Male (1346-1384), Comtes de Flandre.

Six cent quatre-vingt-seize Gros d'argent au type bien connu du lion de Flandre qui fut imité dans dix-neuf pays différents.

Les Gros de Louis de Male — on estime qu'il en fit fabriquer soixante millions ! — se distinguent de ceux frappés par son prédécesseur par la croix qui remplace l'aigle avant MONETA. Quelques-unes de ces pièces portent un point au dessus de L. de LVDOVICUS.

BSAF 39, p. 159 ^[16]

“Six cent quatre-vingt-seize”, or 696, is already more than the 695 total coins listed for *les Pays-Bas* in de Villiers’ table on p. 156, so from the outset we are in trouble, long before we even reach Brabant, Namur, Hainaut, Holland and Guelders. (Louis of Mâle struck c. 57,877,311 *leeuwengroten*, so de Villiers’ 60 million estimate is not unreasonable.)

696 *gros au lion* of Louis of Nevers and Louis of Mâle, without further description – this is nothing short of tragic. Six hundred and sixty-nine *leeuwengroten*, not described, lost to numismatics forever (or whatever the correct total actually was).

De Villiers seemed aware of the fact that the coins of the two counts can be distinguished from one another by the initial mark (eagle or cross), Louis of Mâle’s Issue I notwithstanding (see ref. 9). This implies that his declaration that coins of both counts were present in the hoard must be accurate. But he fails to report how many of each type were present in the hoard. De Villiers does inform us that some of the Louis of Mâle coins had a pellet **L** in LVDOVIC (de Villiers adds the ‘US’ that does not appear on the actual coins), but does not report how many such pieces were present, nor does he make any mention of the expected pellet **L**’s in FLAND on the obverse. These Issue VII coins push the t.a.q. of the hoard to after December, 1361 (see ref. 14).

It would have been interesting to know how many coins of Louis of Nevers were found together in this hoard along with some of the latest *leeuwengroten* struck for Louis of Mâle. None of the other coin hoards with which we are familiar contain *leeuwengroten* from both counts. In fact, we are currently unaware of any hoards containing *leeuwengroten* from Louis of Mâle’s Issue II (24 November, 1346 – 27 May, 1351) and Issue VII (the pellet **L** coins) (4 December, 1361 – 27 September, 1362), let alone *leeuwengroten* of Louis of Nevers together with those of Louis of Mâle.

Brabant

Jean III (1312-1335) duc de Lorraine et de Brabant.
Six Gros : IO' DUX LOT' BRAB' — MONETA BRABAN.
Deux Gros : IO' DUX' LOT' BRAB' — MONETA FILFD'
(Vilvorde).

BSAF 39, p. 159 ^[16]

John III was Duke of Brabant until his death in December of 1355; de Villiers' "1335" is yet another error on his part. The second type listed was, in fact, struck for John III's daughter Johanna (Jeanne), who was Duchess of Brabant (5 December, 1355 – 1 September, 1406). De Villiers' transcription is incorrect, the legend reads: IO **DVC** LOT BRAB, not DVX (assuming, of course, he is not describing some otherwise unknown type).

De Villiers does not mention any pellet **L**'s on the Joanna coins, so we do not know if any were present. Nor does he give any other information about the John III coins (i.e. the mark after MONETA, number of border leaves, reverse, inner legend punctuation, etc.) and so we are once again little more enlightened than when we began. The John III *gros au lion* could have come from any number of known sub-types.

Hainaut and Holland

Guillaume (1337-1345) II^e comte de Hainaut, IV^e comte de Hollande.
Un Gros : COMES HANONIE — Rev. : MONETA VALENC' (Valenciennes).
Trois Gros : GUILLELM DUX COMES — Rev. : MONETA HOLAND.

BSAF 39, p. 159 ^[16]

The Hainaut coin is fairly rare. The Holland coins, reasonably common, were not, in fact, struck for William IV, but rather for William V (1354-1389), but based upon the information available to de Villiers at the time, this is an easily forgivable error.

Again, no mention of the marks after MONETA nor of any other details, so it is impossible for us to determine which sub-types of coins were present in the hoard.

Namur

Guillaume I^{er} (1337-1391) Comte de Namur.
Un Gros : GUILLEM COMES — Rev. : MONETA BOVINES (Bouvignes).

BSAF 39, p. 159 ^[16]

Un Gros : G. COMES NAMOUR — Rev. : MONETA NWILE (Neuveville) (1).

BSAF 39, p. 160 ^[16]

Once again, de Villiers' superficial descriptions of extremely rare coins leave us nothing to work with. No mention of the mark after MONETA, nor any of the other details necessary to classify these coins correctly.

Theoretically, the first coin mentioned would be Vanhoudt G 2266 ^[15] (R. Serrure 50 ^[12]; Chalon 156 ^[2]), of which there are several known sub-types:



*Vanhoudt G 2266 ^[15]
(Chalon 156; R. Serrure 50)*

Exactly which Bouvignes sub-type was present in the Tournai Hoard is impossible to say. This coin, with its outer border of 12 leaves and an initial eagle in the obverse legend, may be the oldest *gros au lion* described in the Tournai Hoard.

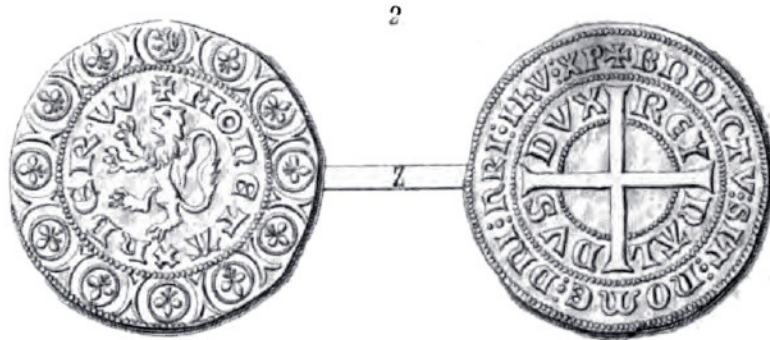
The second coin, as described by de Villiers, with NWILE / G COMES NAMOVR legends, does not actually match any known type. It is all but certain that de Villiers' G COMES NAMOVR should be NAMOVR COMES, making it likely to be Vanhoudt G 2272 var. ^[15]; R. Serrure 49 var. ^[12]; Chalon 159 var. ^[2].

Guelders

Renaud III (1343-1371) duc de Gueldre.
Un Gros : RENALDUS DUX — Rev. : MONETA H'
DER. W (Harderwyk).

BSAF 39, p. 160 ^[16]

And once more, de Villiers provides none of the relevant details necessary for the proper classification of this rare coin type. He is either describing v.d. Chijs pl. III, 2 ^[3]; Roest pl. XI, 65 ^[12] or some variant or sub-type thereof:



v.d. Chijs (Gelderland) pl. III, 2 ^[3]

Note: REYNALDVS, not the “RENALDVS” given by de Villiers.

Rummen (?)

Enfin un dernier Gros, fleur de coin, appartient à un type dont on ne connaît pas le lieu d'origine : DU' RO' VBC' X GOMIS — Rev. : MONETA NNANE.

On a parfois attribué ces pièces à Arnould d'Orey, seigneur de Rummen (1331-1364) « mais, dit M. Serrure, leur identification reste une énigme, elles appartiennent probablement à quelques feudataires limbourgeois. »

BSAF 39, p. 160 ^[16]

De Villiers used R. Serrure's attempted transcription of the {admittedly confusing} legends, which actually read (?):

**• ✠ MONETA ✠ NNANE'
 OV?B C?GO MU DV?B**

QVB CDO MU DVR
QVaerBeCke DOMinUs arnoldVs Rummen
Quaerbecke, Lord Arnold, Rummen

The obverse legend is indecipherable, and the reverse, inner legend is designed to look like a coin of Flanders. No one knows for certain that this type was struck in Rummen, whether for Arnold of Oreya or someone else. When de Villiers was writing in 1912, the NNANE type had already been published a number of times (Wolters pl. I, 7 ^[18]; Piot pl XX, 1 ^[11]; R. Serrure 42 ^[12]); v.d. Chijs (Leenen Brabant) pl. XXIII, 7 ^[3]).

France, England, Aquitaine & Toul

As we are currently only concerned with the *gros au lion*, we shall leave it to some other investigator to research the coins of these realms as reported by de Villiers in more detail. The totals for England, Aquitaine and Toul in de Villiers' work add up correctly, unlike France, listed by de Villiers as 439 coins in his table on p. 156, and 531 coins in his main text (p. 157), a massive discrepancy of 92 coins – one or the other is incorrect (or both).

As stated previously, the primary focus of our investigation in the *gros au lion*, and we have not double-checked the accuracy of the references given by either de Villiers or Duplessy for types of coins other than *gros au lion*, except for those determinations or references that are obviously problematic.

MAYHEW on the Tournai Hoard (ref. 10)

Hoard number 169 (pp. 188-189) ^[10].

The sections on coin hoards buried in France and the Low Countries in Mayhew's book are credited to Jean Duplessy. For the Tournai Hoard, de Villiers is cited as the source:

“Environ 1600 monnaies d'argent, dont 1179 examinées” ^[10].

(Mayhew and) Duplessy described the hoard as follows:

“Deniers tournois de Louis VIII–IX, maille blanche, gros à la couronne, gros à la fleur de lis, gros à la queue, doubles tournois et deniers parisis de Philippe VI, mailles blanches, blancs à l'épi, blancs au châtel trifolié, blancs aux petits quadrilobes et gros à la queue de Jean II. Gros au lion de Charles de Blois, gros au lion, gros et demi-gros de Jean IV, ducs de Bretagne. Gros au lion de Louis II de Flandre, Jean III et Jeanne et Wenceslas de Brabant, Guillaume II de Hainaut, Guillaume V de Holland, Guillaume I^{er} de Namur, Renaud III de Gueldre, Gros au leopard d'Edouard III, duc d'Aquitaine. 1 esterlin anonyme de Toul, et gros, demi-gros et 25 esterlins d'Edouard III d'Angleterre. Enfouissement: 1355–6.”

Despite their mention by de Villiers, no *gros au lion* of Louis I of Flanders (Louis of Nevers) are listed. De Villiers does not mention any *gros au lion* of Charles de Blois specifically; in Mayhew's book, Duplessy has listed such coins. There is also no mention of any gold coins. The anonymous denier of Toul type is discussed on p. 117-121 under Mayhew Type 39, N° 311.

DUPLESSY on the Tournai Hoard (ref. 6)

Hoard number 389 (p. 152) ^[6]

Duplessy, listed the coins in a different order than de Villiers, but we have retained the listing order of de Villiers (while placing the Low Lands first, for our own purposes).

“Environ 1600 monnaies d’argent, dont 1179 examinées” ^[6].

According to Duplessy (in 1983 and again in 1995), the hoard was deposited end 1355 - begin 1356. We are not sure why Duplessy chose a 1356 date, since he was well aware that Louis of Mâle struck *leeuwengroten* until 1364 (as he himself stated in his 1974 attempt at classifying the Flemish *leeuwengroten*, ref. 4).

Since Duplessy could not possibly have known which *leeuwengroot* issues were present in the Tournai Hoard (other than “pellet L” coins), the logical thing to do would have been to date the hoard c. 1364, after which no more *gros au lion* were struck in Flanders. In any case, we can now say that the hoard must be dated to Issue VII of Louis of Mâle, because of the pellet L coins mentioned by de Villiers as being present; Issue VII was produced 4 December, 1361 to 27 September, 1362 ^[14].)

According to Duplessy, there were only 680 Flemish *gros au lion* in the hoard of Louis of Nevers & Louis of Mâle, although he only cites Gaillard 219 (coin of Louis of Mâle) specifically as a reference ^[6]. Duplessy has apparently come to this conclusion by subtracting the coins of the Low Lands regions other than Flanders from the total 696 given {for Flanders} by de Villiers (p. 159) ^[16]:

696	<i>gros au lion</i> of Louis of Nevers and Louis of Mâle (Flanders)
- 6	<i>gros [au lions]</i> of John III of Brabant (1312-1355)
- 2	<i>gros [au lions]</i> of Johanna & Wenceslas of Brabant (1355-1383)
- 1	<i>gros [au lion]</i> of William III of Hainaut
- 3	<i>gros [au lions]</i> of William V of Holland
- 2	<i>gros [au lions]</i> of William I of Namur
- 1	<i>gros [au lion]</i> of Reinald III of Guelders
- 1	<i>gros [au lion]</i> of Arnold of Oreye, Lord of Rummen

= **680**

It all comes down to exactly what de Villiers was trying to say. His text reads (p. 159):

“*Louis I^{er} de Crécy* (1326-1346) et *Louis II de Male* (1346-1384). Comtes de Flandre.

Six cent quatre-vingt-seize Gros d’argent au type bien connu du lion de Flandre qui fut imité dans dix-neuf pays différents.” ^[16]

As far as we can tell, this says that there were 696 *gros d’argent* {*gros au lion*} of Louis of Nevers and Louis of Mâle (combined) in the hoard, and it does not say: 696 *gros d’argent* (*gros au lion*) of all of the Low Lands represented in the hoard put together (as Duplessy’s interpretation implies).

FRENCH ROYAL

3	<i>deniers</i> of Louis VIII (1223-1226) / IX (1256-1270)	(Duplessy 187)
1	<i>gros à la couronne</i> of Philip VI (1328-1350)	(Duplessy 262)
138	<i>gros à la fleur de lis</i> of Philip VI	(Duplessy 263)
263	<i>gros à la queue</i> of Philip VI	(Duplessy 265)
1	<i>denier parisis</i> of Philip VI	(Duplessy 273)
2	<i>doubles tournois</i> of Philip VI	(Duplessy 271)
	(1 listed as a “ <i>denier tournois</i> of Philip IV, Boudreau 601” by de Villiers)	
1	<i>denier parisis</i> of Philip VI	(Duplessy 275)
	(listed as a <i>double parisis</i> by de Villiers “F.R.A.N.”)	
1	<i>maille blanche</i> of Philip VI	(Duplessy 259)
5	<i>gros à l’epi</i> of John II (1350-1364)	(Duplessy 297)
2	<i>gros blancs au châtel</i> of John II	(Duplessy 298-298A)
100	<i>gros blancs au châtel</i> of John II	(Duplessy 298B)
5	<i>gros à la queue</i> of John II	(Duplessy 300D)
3	<i>gros blancs aux quadrilobes</i> of John II	(Duplessy 299)
5	<i>maille blanches</i> of John II	(Duplessy 296)

530

1	<i>denier</i> FILLIP	(?) listed separately by Duplessy ^[6] listed under France by de Villiers ^[16]
---	----------------------	--

Duplessy has examined de Villiers’ report and made several corrections, as well as replacing the Boudreau reference numbers with Duplessy numbers (from his *Les Monnaies Françaises Royales de Hugues Capet a Louis XVI*, ref. 5). Presumably, Duplessy was of the opinion that de Villiers would have been unable to tell apart the *deniers* of Louis VIII and Louis IX.

BRITTANY

Monnaies de Bretagne

Charles de Blois (1341-1364).

Deux Gros (Bigot (1) : pl. 26, n° 2).

Jean IV (1335-1399).

Deux Gros (Bigot : pl. 20, n° 3).

(1) *Essai sur les monnaies de Bretagne.*

— 159 —

Un Gros (Bigot : pl. 20, n° 6).

Trois Gros (Bigot : pl. 23 bis, n° 3).

Un Gros (Bigot : pl. 26, n° 6).

BSAF 39, pp. 158-159 ^[16]

According to Duplessy:

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| 2 | <i>gros [au lion]</i> of Charles of Blois | (Bigot pl. 16, 2, “correcting” de Villiers’ error)
(de Villiers: “Bigot pl. 26, n° 2”) |
| 2 | <i>gros</i> [“au lion”] of Jean IV of Brittany | (Bigot pl. 20, 3) Quimperlé |
| 1 | <i>gros [au lion]</i> of Jean IV of Brittany | (Bigot pl. 20, 6) Vannes |
| 3 | <i>gros</i> of Jean IV of Brittany | (Bigot pl. 23 bis, 3) |
| 1 | <i>demi-gros</i> of Jean IV of Brittany | (Bigot pl. 26, 2)
(de Villiers: “Bigot pl. 26, n° 6”) |

Charles of Blois

De Villiers made an error with his reference number of “2 *gros* of Charles of Blois (Bigot pl. 26, n° 2)”; Bigot plate 26 shows coins of John IV. Duplessy asserts that de Villiers meant this coin, Bigot pl. XVI, 2 (n° 425):



Bigot pl. XVI, 2 (n° 425) ^[1]

Bigot's plate XVI is mis-numbered as XXXVI. It is possible that de Villiers realized this, but simply failed to remove enough X's from the number when he corrected it to XXVI. It appears that Duplessy went the next step and made it XVI.



Bigot pl. XVI ("XXXVI"), 2 / 3 ^[1]

But is this correct? De Villiers states that 60% of the hoard consisted of Flemish coins, and that the *gros* {*au lion*} produced by Louis of Nevers and Louis of Mâle was widely imitated, also in Brittany, by Charles of Blois and John IV. He continues by saying that 4 such coins, with the Flemish lion, struck at Quimperlé and at Vannes, were included in the Tournai Hoard ^[16].

Gros au lion from Quimperlé and Vannes are coins of John IV. In other words, de Villiers is not mentioning any *gros au lion* of Charles of Blois, which would seem to imply that there were none present in the hoard.

Bien que la Cornouaille se trouve fort éloignée des Pays-Bas, près de soixante pour cent des monnaies découvertes à Runabat proviennent de Flandre. Les Gros fabriqués par Louis de Crécy et Louis de Male étaient d'ailleurs très répandus à cette époque et sans doute fort estimés puisqu'ils furent imités en beaucoup d'endroits, notamment en Bretagne par Charles de Blois et Jean IV. Quatre pièces au lion de Flandre fabriquées à Quimperlé et à Vannes, figurent dans le trésor de Runabat.

Les pièces les plus récentes sont celles de Jean II le Bon (1350-1364), du duc de Bretagne. Jean IV (1345-1399) et de Louis de Male (1346-1384). Le trésor de Runabat a donc été enterré sous le règne de Jean le Bon ; peut-être son propriétaire, compatriote de Jeanne de Flandre, épouse de Jean de Montfort, trouva-t-il la mort à la bataille d'Auray le 27 septembre 1364 ?

BSAF 39, p. 156 ^[16]

According to de Villiers' listing, however, there were only 3 John IV *gros au lion* present, not 4, including two coins which are not technically *gros au lion*, but must have been listed by De Villiers as such because they are the coins from Quimperlé specifically mentioned by him. If the Charles of Blois coins were indeed *gros au lion*, then there would have been 5 Breton *gros au lion* in total. So one way or another, de Villiers' totals are off somewhere.

We do not know for sure which type of Charles of Blois *gros* were in the Tournai Hoard.

John IV

Duplessy has corrected the final coin to a *demi-gros* (as reported by Bigot). However, for some reason, he has also changed the reference number, without indicating why. Duplessy never saw the actual coins himself, and we are at a loss to offer any explanation for the change in reference number.

Bigot XXVI, 2 (Duplessy's altered attribution):



Bigot pl. XXVI, 2
n° 632 ^[1]

632. **✠ IOHANNES BRITON DVX N** — Même type ;
il n'y a que 7 hermines, 2. 3. 2.
R. **✠ SIT NOMA DNI BENEDIC** — Croix pattée.
Demi-blanc de billon; 30 gr. Pl. XXVI, n° 2. (M. C.)

Bigot XXVI, 6 (De Villiers' original attribution):



Bigot pl. XXVI, 6
n° 818 ^[1]

818. **✠ IOHANNES BRITON DVX N** — Croix anglaise, cantonnée d'une mouchetur au 2^e, et d'un triangle formé de 3 besants aux 1^{er}, 3^e et 4^e.
R. **✠ SIT NOMA DNI BENEDIC** — Dans le champ, 7 mouchetures, 2. 3. 2.
Demi-gros de billon; 35 gr. Pl. XXVI, n° 6. (R. N., 1855, Pl. 1^{re}, n° 6; M. C.)

Bigot, p. 205 ^[1]

These are two completely different coin types. As we can see from Bigot's description, B. 818 is indeed a *demi-gros*, not the *gros* listed by de Villiers (Duplessy's B. 632 is a *demi-blanc*).

It is not clear why Duplessy has changed the reference; de Villiers provides neither a description nor a transcription of the legends. Even if Duplessy knows for certain that coin type "Bigot pl. XXVI, 6" does not actually exist, or must be dated to a later period, he still could still not know for certain what type of coin **was** in the Tournai Hoard, and neither can we. (For that matter, we have no way of knowing just how much of what de Villiers said is correct, but his report is really all we have to go on.)

ENGLAND

- 1 *groat* of Edward III (1327-1377) (London)
- 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *groats* of Edward III (1327-1377)
- 26 pennies of Edward III (1327-1377) (London, Canterbury & Durham)

AQUITAINE

- 4 *groats* of Edward III (1327-1362) (Elias 67)

Duplessy has corrected de Villiers' incorrect dates for Edward III.

TOUL (LORRAINE)

- 1 *denier (esterlin)* anonymous (R. 1026)

Duplessy has changed de Villiers' attribution for this coin (i.e. Thomas de Bourlemont, Bishop of Toul (1330-1353 ^[16]). As discussed earlier, Mayhew assigned Type 39, N° 311 ^[10] to this coin type.

Gold Coins

Duplessy makes no mention whatsoever of the gold coins also present in the hoard which de Villiers describes.

CONCLUSION

While we are certainly grateful for his efforts, the sad truth is that de Villiers did a rather bad job of describing this hoard in 1912. Many of the dates he gives for the reigns of various princes are incorrect (and inexplicably so). His legend transcriptions are poor, at least one of his references is incorrect, and at least two of his attributions are erroneous. His descriptions are vague, which at the time was the norm, unfortunately. But worst of all, the totals he gives for the various coin types do not add up, to the point where his total number of coins deviates by 109 coins! Which total is correct, 1179, 1181 or 1288, is impossible to say, but something is clearly off.

Duplessy makes some improvements to the hoard's description (1995), but also makes some inexplicable changes to de Villiers' description, further muddying the waters, as it were (e.g. changing de Villiers' reference numbers without further explanation). He also alters the totals, and, in all likelihood, got it wrong.

For our purposes of the greater investigation into the *gros au lion* of all regions, the poorly described coins and in particular the *gros au lion* (including almost 700 Flemish *leeuwengroten*) are a tragic loss of invaluable information. Although we would like to believe that the coins are now some of those to be found in collections around the world, public and private, there is in fact a good chance that many of these coins were melted down for their silver and are now gone forever.

At this point, we have only a vague idea as to the exact nature of the coins of the Tournai Hoard, and no way of gathering any further information about this important coin find..

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are extremely grateful to Theodoor Goddeeris for his kind assistance.

APPENDIX : THE COINS OF THE TOURCH HOARD

No one can now say for sure what types and how many of each were in the Tourch Hoard (1911). The best list that is it possible to create reads as follows:

Low Lands

696	<i>gros au lion</i> of Louis of Nevers and Louis of Mâle	FLAND
6	<i>gros au lion</i> of John III of Brabant (1312-1355)	BRABAN
2	<i>gros au lion</i> of Johanna of Brabant (1355-1383)	FILFD
1	<i>gros au lion</i> of William III of Hainaut (1337-1345)	VALENC
3	<i>gros au lion</i> of William V of Holland (1354-1389)	HOLAND
2	<i>gros au lion</i> of William I of Namur (1337-1391)	BOVINES / NVVILN
1	<i>gros au lion</i> of Reinald III of Guelders (1343-1371)	H'DER'W
1	<i>gros au lion</i> of Arnold of Oreye, Lord of Rummen (?) (c. 1331-1364)	NNANE

712

De Villiers says 695 coins (p. 156) and 696 (p. 157) for Flanders ^[16].
 Duplessy says 680 coins in total for Flanders ^[6].

French Royal

3	<i>deniers tournois</i> of Louis VIII (1223-1226) / IX (1256-1270) (Duplessy 187) ^[5]	
1	<i>denier tournois</i> of Philip IV (1285-1314)	(Boudreau 601) ^[16] *
1	<i>gros à la couronne</i> of Philip VI (1328-1350)	(Duplessy 262) ^[5]
138	<i>gros à la fleur de lis</i> of Philip VI	(Duplessy 263) ^[5]
263	<i>gros à la queue</i> of Philip VI	(Duplessy 265) ^[5]
1	<i>denier parisis</i> of Philip VI	(Duplessy 273) ^[5]
1	<i>double tournois</i> of Philip VI	(Duplessy 271) ^[5]
1	<i>double parisis</i> of Philip VI	(Duplessy 271) ^[5] **
1	<i>maille blanche</i> of Philip VI	(Duplessy 259) ^[5]
5	<i>gros blancs</i> of John II (1350-1364)	(Duplessy 297) ^[5]
2	<i>gros blancs</i> of John II	(Duplessy 298-298A) ^[5]
100	<i>gros blancs</i> of John II	(Duplessy 298B) ^[5]
5	<i>gros tournois à la queue</i> of John II	(Duplessy 300D) ^[5]
3	<i>gros blancs à la fleur de lis</i> of John II	(Duplessy 299) ^[5]
5	<i>maille blanches</i> of John II	(Duplessy 296) ^[5]

530

De Villiers says 439 French Royal coins in total (p. 156) ^[16].

* Listed by Duplessy as a *double tournois* of Philip VI ^[6].

** Listed by Duplessy as a *denier parisis* of Philip VI ^[6].

De Villiers reference numbers were taken from “catalogue Boudreau”. We cannot be certain Duplessy’s conversions to his own numbers were done correctly.

Unknown

1 *denier* FILLIP (?)

listed under France by de Villiers (as Philip II?)^[16].

listed separately by Duplessy^[6].

Brittany

2 *gros* of Charles of Blois (1341-1364) (?) *

2 *gros* of Jean IV of Brittany (1335-1399) (Bigot pl. 20, 3 - n° 489) ^[16]

1 *gros [au lion]* of Jean IV of Brittany (Bigot pl. 20, 6 - n° 511) ^[16]

3 *gros* of Jean IV of Brittany (Bigot pl. 23 *bis*, 3) ^[16]

1 *demi-gros* of Jean IV of Brittany (Bigot pl. 26, 6 - n° 818) ^[16] **

9

* de Villiers says Bigot pl. 26, 2 ^[16] (incorrect); Duplessy says Bigot pl. 16, 2 ^[6].
which may also be incorrect.

** Duplessy says Bigot pl. 26, 2 - n^o 632 ^[6].

ENGLAND

1 *groat* of Edward III (1327-1377) (London) ^[16]

4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *groats* of Edward III ^[16]

26 *sterlings* of Edward III (London and/or Canterbury and/or Durham) ^[16]

AQUITAINE

4 *groats* of Edward III (Aquitaine) (Elias 67) ^[6]

35

TOUL (LORRAINE)

1 *denier (esterlin)* Mayhew Type 39, N^o 311 ^[10]

De Villiers incorrectly says: Thomas de Bourlemont, Bishop of Toul (1330-1353), Boudreau 1691 ^[16]; Duplessy says (R. 1026) ^[6].

GOLD COINS ^[16]

2 *moutons d'or* of John the Good (1350-1364) (France)

1 *florin d'or* of unknown origin

1 gold coin of Aragon

Duplessy does not list any gold coins.

Hoard TOTAL:

1288 silver coins (incomplete)

De Villiers says c. 1600 coins in total, 1179 silver coins in examined (p. 156) ^[16].

Duplessy says c. 1600 coins in total, 1179 {silver} coins examined {by de Villiers} ^[6].

?? gold coins (at least 4 ^[16]).

It would seem that, based upon de Villiers' estimate of c. 1600 coins in the original find, that a great number of coins, gold and silver, went unrecorded.

In fact, we cannot be sure exactly how many coins were in the Tournai Hoard, nor how many of each type were present.

LITERATURE

[1]

Essai sur les monnaies du royaume et duché de Bretagne

Alexis Bigot

Paris, 1857

[2]

Recherches sur les Monnaies des Comtes de Namur

Rénier Chalon

Brussels, 1860

[3]

De munten der voormalige graven en hertogen van Gelderland, van de vroegste tijden tot aan de Pacificatie van Gend

P. O. van der Chijs

Haarlem, 1851-1866

[4]

Chronologie et circulation des gros au lion flamands (1337-1365)

Duplessy, Jean

Bulletin trimestriel du Cercle d'Études Numismatiques (BCEN)

vol. 11 (1974)

p. 97-105

[5]

Les Monnaies Françaises Royales de Hugues Capet a Louis XVI (987-1793)

Vol. I : Hugues Capet – Louis XII

Jean Duplessy

Maison Platt, Paris

Vanderdussen, Maastricht

1988

[6]

Les trésors monétaires médiévaux et modernes découverts en France. Tome II (1223-1385)

Jean Duplessy

Bibliothèque nationale de France

Paris, 1995

[7]

The Anglo-Gallic Coins

E. R. Duncan Elias

Spink & Son

London, 1984

[8]

Middeleeuwse munten van de vroegere Belgische vorstendommen en heerlijkheden in vondsten (751-1433)

Aimé Haeck

Dilbeek, 2012

[9]

Lodewijk van Nevers, Graaf van Vlaanderen.

Historische en numismatische studie van de muntslag in Aalst en Gent

Jean-Claude Martiny & Paul A. Torongo

Uitgeverij Snoeck

Ghent, 2016

ISBN: 978-94-6161-333-2

[10]

Sterling Imitations of Edwardian Type

N. J. Mayhew

Royal Numismatic Society

London, 1983

pp.188-189, n° 169

ISBN: 0-901405-20-5

[11]

Notice sur des Monnaies de la Seigneurie de Rummen

C. Piot

Revue de la Numismatique Belge, 1855

pp. 428 - 441

Plate XX

[12]

Essai de classification des monnaies du comté puis duché de Gueldre

T. M. Roest

Revue Belge de Numismatique

1891

pp. 370-404

Plates X & XI

pp. 516-562

Plates XI & XIII

[13]

L'imitation des types monétaires flamands : depuis Marguerite de Constantinople jusqu'à l'avènement de la Maison de Bourgogne

Raymond Serrure

1899

Liège: G. Genard; Maastricht: A.G. Van der Dussen, 1972

[14]

***A Preliminary Look at the Leeuwengroten of Louis of Mâle
Count of Flanders (1346-1384) : Issues VI - VIII***

Paul Torongo

Rotterdam, 2017

Academia.edu

[15]

Atlas der munten van België van de Kelten tot heden

Hugo Vanhoudt

Herent, 1996

ISBN 90-9009686

[16]

Le trésor découvert à Runabat, en Tourc'h (Finistère)

Éduard de Villiers du Terrage

in ***Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Finistère*** 39

1912

pp. 155-160

[17]

***Histoire monétaire des comtes de Louvain, ducs de Brabant et marquis du Saint Empire
Romain***

Alphonse De Witte

Veuve de Backer, 1894

[18]

***Notice historique sur la Commune de Rummen et sur les anciennes fiefs de Grasen, Wilre,
Biondevelt et Weyer, en Hesbaye***

Mathias Joseph Wolters

Ghent, 1846

[19]

Personal correspondence

Paul Torongo – Aimé Haeck

2017

[20]

Personal correspondence

Paul Torongo – Theodoor Goddeeris

2017

ADDENDA

It has been brought to our attention by T. Goddeeris^[20] that in *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Finistère* 38, 1911 (pp. XVII- XVIII) de Villiers published the following:

*
* *

M. de Villiers du Terrage nous communique la note suivante :

Au commencement du mois de juin de cette année, un cultivateur demeurant à Runabat en Tourc'h, découvrit, en démolissant un vieux talus, un vase contenant une soixantaine de pièces d'argent très minces plus au moins oxydées. Le pot, très curieux, d'après l'auteur de la trouvaille, a été

XVIII

malheureusement complètement brisé et je n'ai pu en voir aucun fragment. Une douzaine de pièces avaient été déjà données à différentes personnes, quand j'ai fait l'acquisition de 44 monnaies.

Elles appartiennent à plusieurs types :

1° Louis de Mâle, comte de Flandres.....	24
2° Jean II duc de Brabant.....	1
3° Edouard III d'Angleterre (esterlins) simples et doubles	5
4° Philippe IV ou Philippe VI de France. Plusieurs variétés dont quelques gros tournois, et des pièces portant une grande fleur de lys, ou presque illisibles.	9
5° Enfin une pièce qui appartient à la Bretagne.....	1

Cette pièce a été l'objet d'une surfrappe qui ne permet pas de lire le nom du duc, très probablement un des premiers princes français. Au revers, on lit facilement *Moneta nova britanniae*. Une croix, qui coupe la légende est cantonnée d'une hermine, un premier et quatrième canton, au second et au troisième d'un groupe de quatre besants.

Ces pièces datent de la première moitié du xiv^e siècle, et l'abondance de pièces flamandes, peut faire supposer que le propriétaire faisait partie des troupes auxiliaires recrutées par Jean de Montfort pour reconquérir son duché, avec l'aide des Anglais.

DE VILLIERS DU TERRAGE.