

# A Preliminary Look at the *Leeuwengroten* of Louis of Mâle Count of Flanders (1346-1384) : Issues I, II, III and IV

by Paul Torongo © 2016



*Issue I, cat. I-3 / Haeck Type I-4*  
*private collection / 3.52 g.*



*Issue II, cat. II-4 / Haeck Type II-6B*  
*private collection*



*Issue III, cat. III-1 / Haeck Type III-9*  
*private collection / 3.56 g.*



*actual size*

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## List of Coin Types (change from previous type marked in red)

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## **Introduction**

The silver *leeuwengroot* was struck in Flanders, on and off, from 1337 until 1364. It circulated widely throughout the Low Countries and beyond, and was imitated in many places.

Existing records from medieval Flanders tell us that there were eight separate issues of *leeuwengroot* during the reign of Louis II of Mâle, Count of Flanders (26 August, 1346 – 30 January 1384), the first issue actually beginning under his father, Louis of Nevers (17 September, 1322 – 26 August, 1346).<sup>[1][2][4][13]</sup>

<b>1st issue I</b>	<b>mint</b>	<b>alloy</b>	<b>fine</b>	<b>weight</b>	<b>number</b>
20 Jan 1346 – 26 Aug 1346	<i>Ld Nev.</i>	7 d. 16gr.	0.612	3.708	?
26 Aug 1346 – 20 Nov 1346	<i>Ld Mâle</i>	7 d. 16gr.	0.612	3.708	?
20 Jan 1346 – 20 Nov 1346	Ghent	7 d. 16gr.	0.612	3.708	<b>719,994</b>
<b>Total coins Issue I</b>					<b>719,994</b>
<b>2nd issue II</b>	<b>mint</b>	<b>alloy</b>	<b>fine</b>	<b>weight</b>	<b>number</b>
24 Nov 1346 – 11 Aug 1347	Ghent	6d. 23 ½ gr.	0.558	3.71	3,565,782
24 Dec 1347 – 11 Sep 1348	Ghent	6d. 23 ½ gr.	0.558	3.71	3,754,806
24 Dec 1348 – 21 Feb 1349	Ghent	6d. 23 ½ gr.	0.558	3.71	720,060
				<b>Ghent</b>	<b>8,040,648</b>
5 Sep 1349 – 1 Aug 1350	Bruges	6d. 23 ½ gr.	0.558	3.71	4,317,456
7.Aug.1350 – 20 Apr 1351	Bruges	6d. 23 ½ gr.	0.558	3.71	1,384,680
21 Apr 1351 – 27 May 1351	Bruges	6d. 23 ½ gr.	0.558	3.71	128,040
				<b>Bruges</b>	<b>5,830,176</b>
<b>Total coins Issue II</b>					<b>13,870,824</b>
<b>3rd issue III</b>	<b>mint</b>	<b>alloy</b>	<b>fine</b>	<b>weight</b>	<b>number</b>
28 May 1351 – 1 Jan.1352	Bruges	6d. 12gr.	0.519	3.71	2,049,300
15 Jan. 1352 – 5 Sep. 1353	Bruges	6d. 12gr.	0.519	3.71	6,148,560
<b>Total coins Issue III</b>					<b>8,197,860</b>
<b>4th issue IV</b>	<b>mint</b>	<b>alloy</b>	<b>fine</b>	<b>weight</b>	<b>number</b>
7 Sep. 1353 – 24 Oct. 1354	Bruges	6d. 8 gr	0.506	3.71	<b>318,120</b>
<b>Total coins Issue IV</b>					<b>318,120</b>

*Table 1*

*Minting of leeuwengroten under Louis of Mâle, Issues I – IV*

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. The reduction in fineness was the single most important reason for marking the coins, so that the authorities could easily determine (for themselves) which coins were finer and which more debased.

The issues of *leeuwengroten* were marked by the mints through the use of special marks on the coins, for example an **L** with a pellet over the ‘foot’, the direction of the stem of the leaf-mark after MONETA, or the change from a long **O** to a round **●**, etc. Since these were “secret” marks for use by the authorities and not the general public, the medieval records do not relay which mint signs went with which issues, and numismatists must try and piece together the chronology from the information gathered from researching coin hoards.

All of the *leeuwengroten* struck for Louis of Mâle have the following, unchanging, reverse, outer legend:

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

## Previous Literature

In 2011, Aimé Haeck published an article entitled: *De leeuwengroten met het kruisje van Lodewijk van Male – Een proeve van (her)classificatie*<sup>[2]</sup>. In one fell swoop, this seminal work encompassed and superceded everything that had previously been written about the *leeuwengroten* of Louis of Mâle. Haeck’s system of classification was adopted by Jean-Claude Martiny in the first volume of his three-part *Het Munthuis in Gent*<sup>[4]</sup>, published in 2014. In 2016, the Issue I coins were re-examined in *The Leeuwengroten Types of Louis of Nevers, Count of Flanders (1322-1346): A Preliminary Overview* (Torongo/van Oosterhout, ref. 14) and *Lodewijk van Nevers, Graaf van Vlaanderen* (Martiny / Torongo, ref. 5).

While we may not be in complete agreement with everything proposed by Haeck in his article, his work was by far the most accurate, comprehensive and well-researched of any publication on the *leeuwengroot* to date, and there is no reason whatsoever not to use his system as the starting point for a thorough investigation into the *leeuwengroten* of Louis of Mâle.

Haeck proposed the following characteristics, with which we concur<sup>[2]</sup>:

<b>Issue I</b>	obverse: <b>no pellet</b> left or right of the initial cross: ✚ reverse: long <b>O</b> in COMES
<b>Issue II</b>	obverse: pellet <b>right</b> of the initial cross: ✚ • reverse: round <b>●</b> in COMES
<b>Issue III</b>	obverse: pellets <b>left and right</b> of the initial cross: • ✚ • reverse: long <b>O</b> in COMES

We can further report that all of the coins from these issues have ‘wedge’ L’s, ‘sharp’ C’s and N’s with ‘feet’ (see below)<sup>[13]</sup>.

The **T** of MONETA is always annuleted on Flemish *leeuwengroten*: **T**, and the **O** is always round (see p. 47).

The coins of Issues I - III have “normal” **L**’s (as opposed to pelleted **L**’s).

Issues I and III have a long **O** in COMES on the reverse, while Issue II has a round **O**. The **O** of LVDOVIC is always round.

### **The First Issues of *Leeuwengroten* Under Louis of Mâle**

The last issue of *leeuwengroten* under Louis of Nevers began c. January, 1346. After the count’s death in August of the same year, striking of these *leeuwengroten* continued uninterrupted. The new count, Louis of Mâle, was also wounded at Crécy and spent several months recovering from his injuries. During this time, striking of the *leeuwengroten* continued in Ghent (now the **first** issue of Louis of Mâle, yet in fact the same issue as the **last** of Louis of Nevers). There is no notation in the medieval mint records indicating the moment of change from one count to the next. This issue is always referred to as Issue I {under Louis of Mâle}.

After his recuperation Louis of Mâle turned his attention to the affairs of his county (mid-November, 1346), including the coinage. A new minting contract was arranged, and what we now refer to as Issue II began.

It appears that because of the new minting contract, new count and new administration, several coin-marking options were tested for viability. Some of these were rather short-lived, or in any case, it seems that they were only minted in small quantities. Whatever the reason for the unusual markings, these coins made it into circulation along with the rest.

About halfway through Issue II, the mint was moved from Ghent to Bruges.

### **Issue I (Ghent)**

Aimé Haeck assigned coins with no pellets by the initial cross to Issue I, and the available evidence seems to bear out this theory. The coins of Issue I were previously discussed in ref. 14 and in ref. 5.

Issue I coins are usually struck on large, round flans, and more often than not, they are in fairly nice condition. All of the coins of Issue I have 3-lobed border leaves, and they all have a long **O** in COMES on the reverse, as well as ‘sharp’ **C**’s and ‘wedge’ **L**’s:

**■VD OVI α&O MES**

There seem to be two main types of Issue I coin: those with **straight** leaf-mark stems and those with **curved** stems – although the coins of this issue are notorious for having leaf-marks that are unclear:





*straight stems or curved?*

Haeck described two types that we have been unable to verify ourselves, with obverse legends:

✠ MONETA ✚ FLA<sup>red</sup>ND'

✠ MONETA<sup>red</sup> ✚ FLAND'

Instead of the “usual” MONETA ✚ FLA<sup>red</sup>ND or MONETA<sup>red</sup> ✚ FLAND.

Issue I	MONETA	leaf	FLAND	border	status
Type 2	Ɱ	✚	Ɱ	✠	verified
Type 3	Ɱ	✚	Ɱ	✠	verified
Type 1	Ɱ	✚	FL <sup>red</sup>	✠	not verified
Type 4	FL <sup>red</sup>	✚	Ɱ	✠	not verified

*Table 2*

*Issue I Sub-Types*

- Type I-1 [?]



Haeck: I.1 / Martiny 33-1 / Torongo-v. Oosterhout 1.11 / Martiny-Torongo GE 27/1  
**TYPE NOT COMPLETELY VERIFIED**

✠ MONETA ✠ FLAND' ↓



*Haeck I-1 / Martiny 33-1*

Although the A of FLAND does not appear to have a crossbar, we have no other corroborating specimen of such a type for verification. (All of the Issue I coins we have seen have an A crossbar in FLAND). The leaf-mark after MONETA is unclear.

Haeck based this type on only 2 coins, 1 in a private collection and 1 in the Haarlem A Hoard.

Is this simply a **cat. Sub-Type 2** (Haeck I-2) coin with a weak crossbar in the A of FLAND?

- Type I-2



Haeck: I.2 / Martiny 33-2 / Torongo-v. Oosterhout 1.12 / Martiny-Torongo GE 27/2


✠ MONETA + FLAND' ↓



*Elsen 124-750 / 3.46 g.*



*private collection / 3.05 g.*

The serifs on the A's of this type are often weak: . The leaf-mark stem is curved:







*Elsen 108-890*



*private collection / 3.43 g.*

The last two coins have a similar T in MONETA: **T**.



- Type I-3



Haeck: I.4 / Martiny 33-4 / Torongo-v. Oosterhout 1.13 / Martiny-Torongo GE 27/3

The stem of the leaf-mark is straight:



✠ MONETA ✚ FLAND' ↓



*Elsen 106-660 / 3.57 g. (also Eeckhout 283)*



*Elsen 106-659 / 3.56 g.*



*private collection / 3.52 g.*

• Type I-4 [?]



Haeck: I.3 / Martiny 33-3 / Torongo-v. Oosterhout 1.14 / Martiny-Torongo GE 27/4

**TYPE NOT COMPLETELY VERIFIED**

✠ MONETA + FLAND' ↓



*Haeck I-3 / Martiny 33-3*

Haeck only knows of one example (Bergues find).

There does indeed appear to be a crossbar to the A of MONETA, but the lack of corroborating specimens is cause for concern. (All of the Issue I coins we have seen have no A crossbar in MONETA). The crossbar is not particularly strong, and it may be unintentional.



*The A of MONETA*

There are ‘footless’ N’s in the reverse, outer legend (see below).

✠ BꝛDICTV : SIT : ꝛOMΘ : DꝛI : ꝛRI : IhV : XPI

### Footless N (Issue I)

The ‘footless’ ꝛ (ꝛ) is usually encountered on coins from Issue V, where it is found in either the obverse legend, the reverse, outer legend, or both. We have also found a small number of coins from Issues I and II with ‘footless’ N’s, for which we have no explanation, other than a possible experimentation with minting marks. The Issue I coins have ‘footless’ N’s in the reverse, outer legend (only).

✠ BꝛDICTV : SIT : ꝛOMΘ : DꝛI : ꝛRI : IhV : XPI

↓





*private collection / 3.53 g. (cat. Type I-2 ?)*



*'footless' N's clearly visible*



*private collection / 3.53 g. (cat. Type I-2)*



**RI**





*Haeck I-3 / Martiny 33-3 (Bergues Find) (cat. Type I-4)*



**DOMES** – the footless ‘**Ń**’ is unmistakable

## **Issue II (Ghent / Bruges)**

Aimé Haeck assigned coins with a round **O** in COMES to Issue II, the current availability of these coins seems to confirm this theory<sup>[2]</sup>.

Haeck described 6 sorts of Issue II coins, his Types 5A, 5B, 6A, 6B, 7 and 8<sup>[2]</sup>. We ourselves have been unable to verify 3 of these types (see below).

In his text, Haeck makes no distinction between the two types of 3-lobed leaves (6A), but the ‘unusual’ leaf is clearly visible in the photographs used as illustrations in Haeck’s article (see below)..

Issue II coins are usually well-engraved, and well-struck on large flans, which often allow easy reading of the reverse, outer legend. All of these coins have a pellet to the right of the cross on the obverse; none of them have a crossbar to the **A** of MONETA.

The vast majority of Issue II (round **O**) coins have 5-lobed leaves in the obverse, outer border; a small number of them have 3-lobed leaves. It is not clear why the leaves were changed, but it seems reasonable to assume that they are some kind of intentional minting mark. Issue I coins have 3-lobed leaves in the border, while Issue 3 coins have 5-lobed leaves. It seems that the 3-lobed leaves of Issue I were carried over into Issue II, but only for a short time, and were then replaced with 5-lobed leaves. The use of 5-lobed leaves seems to have continued uninterrupted until Issue VII, when 3-lobed leaves made their return.

Issue II coins with 5-lobed border leaves and **straight** leaf-mark stems are not uncommon, while those with 5-lobed border leaves and **curved** leaf-mark stems are uncommon. Issue II coins with **3-lobed** border leaves are rare, and they all have straight leaf-mark stems.



**Nota bene:** It has thus far been assumed that the round **O** in COMES is the indication of the beginning of Issue II, and that the Issue I coins of Louis of Nevers and Louis of Mâle are indistinguishable from one another. However, the round **O** may in fact have been an indication of the change from Louis of Nevers as Count of Flanders to Louis of Mâle (during what we now term Issue I).

The change from Issue I to Issue II may actually be indicated by the appearance of the 5-lobed border leaves on the obverse. In other words: it is entirely possible that the round **O** coins with 3-lobed leaves were issued as part of Issue I (after August 26, 1346) and that those with 5-lobed leaves were issued under Issue II:

<b>I</b>	Louis I	20 Jan 1346 – 26 Aug 1346	Ghent	✚ / ✚	3 ✚	<b>COMES</b>
<b>I</b>	Louis II	26 Aug 1346 – 20 Nov 1346	Ghent	✚	3 ✚ / ✚	<b>C<b>O</b>MES</b>
<b>II</b>	Louis II	24 Nov 1346 – 21 Feb 1349	Ghent	✚	5 ✚	<b>C<b>O</b>MES</b>
<b>II</b>	Louis II	5 Sep 1349 – 27 May 1351	Bruges	✚	5 ✚	<b>C<b>O</b>MES</b>

*Possible alternate arrangement ?*

Table 4 below shows a likely chronological order of the variant types from Issue I to Issue III, although some rearrangement of the types might be necessary. For example, we cannot be sure if the type with COM•ES (II-1) should come before or after the ‘normal’ type (II-2a), nor can we be sure if the type with FLAND (II-3) should come before or after its ‘normal’ type (II-2b).

### Issue II





























Haeck	catalog	border	mark	obverse	reverse
Issue I	I-2	3 		FLÆND'	COMES
Issue I	I-2	3 		FLÆND'	COMES
Issue I	I-3	3 		FLÆND'	COMES
6 A var.	II-1	3 		FLÆND'	COM•ES
6 A	II-2a	3 		FLÆND'	COMES
6 A	II-2b	3 		FLÆND'	COMES
—	II-3	3 		FLÆND'	COMES
6 B	II-4	5 		FLÆND'	COMES
6 B	II-4	5 		FLÆND'	COMES
8	II-5 {?}	5 		FLÆND'	COMES
5 B	II-6	5 		FLÆND'	COMES
7	II-7 {?}	5 		FLÆND	COMES
Issue III	III-1	5 		FLÆND'	COMES

Table 4

The apostrophe mark  indicates a specific, identifiable punch used to make the dies. The ‘normal’ apostrophe has no ‘notch’:  (see below).

## **Round O coins With 3-Lobed Border Leaves**

The vast majority of Issue II (round **O**) coins have 5-lobed leaves in the obverse, outer border. While round **O** coins with 3-lobed border leaves certainly do exist, they are few and far between – every example of a 3-lobed, Issue II coin that we have seen is illustrated here. A number of the 3-lobe coins have other strange characteristics as well. All of the Issue II, 3-lobe coins have a leaf-mark after MONETA with a straight stem.

### **“Normal” Leaf / “Unusual” Leaf**

The 3-lobed leaf in the border of Issue I coins, and most of those of Issue II, is this type: ❄️, which resembles a holly leaf (the coin below, left).

A small number of 3-lobe, Issue II coins have an unusual leaf: ❄️ or ❄️ (the coin below, right) The difference is subtle, and may indicate nothing more than the hand of the engraver, but it is worth noting.



*‘normal’*



*‘unusual’*





### The Notched-Punch Apostrophe »

All of the Issue II, 3-lobe coins that we have seen bear the same distinctive mark: an apostrophe with a ‘notch’ on the right side, caused by a slightly defective punch that was used to make the die that was in turn used to make the coins.



*The apostrophe after FLAND, with a notch on the right side*

This same punch was used on the obverse after FLAND, and on the reverse after LVDOVIC.

### **Issue I Coins With The Notched Punch** »

We have also found examples of **Issue I** coins with the same notched apostrophe, as well as **5-lobe**, Issue II coins with this same mark. This is highly significant, because it allows us to place many coin types the correct, chronological order (see Table 4 above).



Here are some examples of Issue I coins with the notched apostrophe:



*Elsen 106-659 / 3.56 g. (also v-Eeckhout282)*



*Staple Hoard (2014) S-03*

Most of the Issue I coins we have found with the notched-punch apostrophe have a leaf-mark with a straight stem. Most of the coins are not in perfect condition, however, and it is not always easy to see the apostrophe in full.



*The apostrophes from a curved-stem coin. Notched punch or no?*

It is possible that all of the straight-stem, Issue I coins bear the notched-punch apostrophe – we have never seen one without. This might lead to the conclusion that use of the notched punch began during the curved stem period of Issue I.

The notched punch is not considered to be a minting mark of any kind, just an identifiable characteristic of some of the coins.

## Issue II, 3-Lobe Coins With 'Normal' Border Leaves: ❖

### • Type II-2a

Haeck's Type II-6A has the following legend: ❖ • **MONETA + FLAND'**

Although the illustration used by Haeck shows the 'unusual' border leaf, coins with the 'normal' leaf exist as well. (Haeck himself made no distinction between different types of 3-lobed leaf.)

The 6 coins shown here are the only examples of Issue II, 3-lobed ('normal') border leaf coins we have yet encountered, except for one other, of which we were unable to get a photograph. There must certainly be a few more out there in private collections or museums. Although we know of 6 examples of coins with the 'unusual' leaves, that leaf type is considered unusual because the Issue I coins all have the 'normal' leaf type.

In all, that is only 12 Issue II coins known with 3-lobed border leaves (of either sort), as opposed to the dozens and dozens of Issue II, **5-lobe** coins that are known.

All of these coins have the following legends:

❖ • **MONETA + FLAND'**  
**LVD OVI** ❖❖❖ **MES**  
↓



*private collection / 3.42 g.*



Issue II, 3-Lobe Coins With 'Normal' Border Leaves (cont.)



*CdMA-04 / 3.38 g.*



*CdMA-05 / 3.23 g.*



*CdMA-06 / 3.24 g.*

The notched-punch apostrophe is not visible on the obverse of this piece. On the reverse, however, it is:



*The **Ń** of **DŃI** is unusual*

*(CdMA-06)*



*Museum Rotterdam 55642-2 (ex. Collection van Rede) / 2.96 g.*

**Pellet in COM•ES**

• **Type II-1**

(Haeck —)

- Same as the previous coin, but with a pellet after the **M** in COMES.

There is, in fact, a sixth Issue II, 3-lobe coin with 'normal' leaves known to us, but it has a unique variation to the reverse, inner legend: **a pellet after the M in COMES on the reverse.**



*private collection / 3.367 g.*



✠ • MONETA + FLANDR  
LVD OVI C' \* C O M • ES

We have no explanation for this coin, other than the possibility that it was an experiment in mint marking. It appears that the notched punch was used for the reverse apostrophe (the obverse is unclear), making it unlikely that the coin is anything but a genuine, Flemish issue. Chronologically, it may come before or after cat. **Type II-2a.**



### 3-Lobe Coins With 'Unusual' Border Leaves: ❄️

- Type II-2b

We know of 6 specimens with the unusual border leaf, 4 (or 5) of which have the following legends:

✠ • MONETA + FLANDR  
LVD OVI C<sup>r</sup>DO MES

These 4 coins are Haeck Type II-6A, just as the coins with the 'normal' border leaves.



*CdMA-08 / 3.06 g.*



*Rietdijk 393-321*



*Gijs Henzen Catawiki-164*  
*Illustration for Haeck II-6A / Martiny 33-5, variant 3*  
*( cat. Type II-2b )*



*iNumis.com / 3.60 g.*



~~Haeck Type II-5A~~

This fourth coin, also with the ‘unusual’ border leaves, was classified by Haeck as his Type II-5A, with an obverse legend reading: **⌘ • ΜΟΝΕΤΑ + ΦΛΑΝΔ’** [*sic*].



*Haeck II-5A*  
*Martiny 33-5, variant 1*

Haeck based this type on 1 coin in the Haarlem A Hoard, and 1 in a private collection. We have only seen the photo published in Haeck's article, (and subsequently used by Martiny as well). (Note that Haeck makes no indication of the "unusual" border leaves type in his text, but they are clearly evident in the photograph.)

According to Haeck, the only difference between his Issue II, Types 5A and 6A is that his Type II-5A has a **curved** stem and Type II-6A has a **straight** stem. While we cannot comment on the specimen not illustrated by Haeck, we may well ask: is the stem of the coin shown above actually curved?



*this coin*



*'normal' Issue II, curved-stem leaves*

While there is certainly has a roundness to the right side of the stem (as viewed here, upside-down), it does not resemble the 'normal', curved-stem leaf-mark used for Issue II at all. The "blockiness" of the lobes does resemble the usual, **straight-stemmed** leaf, however.

We can only conclude that this coin is in fact another Haeck II-6A coin, and that the leaf-mark stem is, in fact, straight and not curved. We feel that this idea is corroborated by the 'unusual' border leaves, which place this coin squarely within the straight-stem coins, and by the resemblance of the leaf-mark to the standard, straight-stem leaf-mark (and not to the standard curved-stem mark).

**Haeck Type II-5A does not exist. (?)**

### • Type II-3 (Haeck —)



The sixth and final specimen known to us of an Issue II, 3-lobe coin with 'unusual' border leaves, seems to have an obverse legend that reads: **✠ • MONETA + FLAND**. The piece is a remarkably well-struck specimen, and is the only example of this type known:



*private collection (ex- CdMA-07) / 2.83 g.*

• Type II-3 (cont.)



✠ • MONETA + FLAND  
LVD OVI Q<sup>o</sup> MES



*The A of FLAND*

There is no sign of any crossbar in the **A** of FLAND, which is highly significant. This is one of only two Issue II coins we have ever seen without that crossbar, and this is the only one we have examined personally. Are we looking at a case of experimentation with minting marks, or did the die-sinker simply make an error and use the **A** punch that was only intended for MONETA instead of the correct one? (In fact, other than this coin, all of the verified types of Issues I - V have a crossbar in the **A** of FLAND.)

This type is not listed in Haeck's article, and this coin is previously unpublished. Although Haeck's Type II-8 {unverified} also has a ✠ • MONETA + FLAND' legend, it has **5-lobed** border leaves (see p. 35).



*private collection (ex- CdMA-07) / 2.83 g.*



## Round O coins With 5 -Lobed Border Leaves ❁

### Issue II Coins With Straight-Stem Leaf-Marks ❁

#### • Type II-4

Coins with a **straight** leaf-mark stem and 5-lobed border leaves are the most common type of Issue II coin seen today. These coins were classified by Haeck as his Type II-6B.

The **M**'s tend to look similar among these coins. The leaf-marks on these coins are rather “blocky,” and the stems are very short: ❁. Some of them bear the notched apostrophe, while others do not.

### 5-Lobed Border Leaf Coins With the Notched Punch ❁

❁ • **MONETA + FLAND** ❁

↓



*CdMA-01 / 3.33 g.*



*CdMA-02 / 2.97 g.*

The notched-punch apostrophe gives the illusion of a pellet left of the initial cross. The **N**'s seem to be bordering on the ‘mutilated’ type seen in Issue V.



Round O coins With 5 -Lobed Border Leaves (cont.)



*CdMA-03 / 3.10 g.*



*private collection / 3.57 g.*



*Schulman znv0059*



*Staple Hoard (2014) S-04*

Staple Hoard coin S-05, also an Issue II coin, does not have the notch.

Although there are numerous examples of Issue II, straight-stem coins **without** the notched apostrophe (with 5-lobe leaves), **we were unable to find any round O coins with a curved leaf-mark stem that showed the notched-punch apostrophe, nor did we find any such coins from Issue III.** The implication is that use of the notched punch had ceased before the end of Issue II (and before the change from a leaf-mark with a straight stem to one with a curved stem), presumably because the punch had worn out.

Issue	punch	border	leaf-mark	reverse	catalog
Issue I	’	3 ❁	✚	COMES	I-2 {I-1}
Issue I	’	3 ❁	✚	COMES	I-2
Issue I	’	3 ❁	✚	COMES	I-3 {I-4?}
Issue II	’	3 ❁ / ❁	✚	COMES	II-2 / II-3
Issue II	’	5 ❁	✚	COMES	II-4
Issue II	’	5 ❁	✚	COMES	II-4 {II-5}
Issue II	’	5 ❁	✚	COMES	II-6 {II-7}
Issue III	’	5 ❁	✚	COMES	III-1

*Table 5*

*The Notched Punch and Issues I - III*



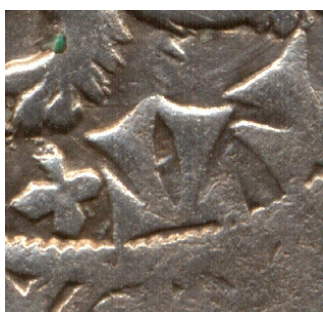
### 5-Lobed Border Leaf Coins Without the Notched Punch

We have seen dozens of specimens of Issue II, 5-lobe coins with no sign of the notched punch. Here are some examples:



*private collection / 3.43 g.*

There appears to be a weak crossbar to the A in MONETA, which is probably unintentional:



*private collection*

Footless N (Issue II) **Ń**



*private collection / 2.75 g.*

As mentioned, the ‘footless’ **Ń** (**Ń**) is usually found on coins from Issue V, although we have found a small number of coins from Issues I and II with ‘footless’ **N**’s. Unlike the Issue I coins, this Issue II coin has ‘footless’ **N**’s in the obverse legend (only).



✠ • **MONETA + FLAND'**  
**LVD OVI QDO MES**

✠ **B[ŃDICT]V : SIT : ŃOME : DŃI : ŃRI : IHV : XPI**

We have found at least one other example of an Issue II coin with what appear to be ‘footless’ **N**’s in the obverse legend, but the photograph that we have is poor.



Issue II, Haeck Type II-8 [?]

• \*Type II-5



✠ • MONETA + FLAND'  
 LVD OVI CDO MES  
 ↓



*private collection / 3.67 g.*



*crossbar?*

Although reasonably well-struck, this coin is not pristine around the A of FLAND'. While there does not appear to be any crossbar present, this is the only specimen of such a coin we have yet seen. According to Haeck: 1 in the Asper Hoard, 3 in the Haarlem A Hoard and 3 in private collections.

**We are unable to conclusively confirm or disprove the existence of this type at the present time.**

## Issue II, 5-Lobe Coins With Curved-Stem Leaf-Marks †

### • Type II-6

(Haeck Type II-5B)

Instead of being straight, the leaf-stem of these coins is **curved** toward the **F** of FLAND'. There are in fact two different sorts of leaf-mark stem: the thin type and the 'banana' type, which is much thicker (or wider). The difference is probably nothing more than the hand of the engraver. Issue II coins with a curved-stem leaf-mark are far more uncommon than those with a straight stem



✠ • MONETA † FLAND'

LDV OVI Q<sup>o</sup> MES

✠ BNDICTV : SIT : DOMB : DNI : ORI : IHV : XPI



*thin leaf-stem (private collection)*



*'banana' stem (private collection)*





*An even more extreme 'banana' stem*



*private collection / 3.27 g.*

This is one of the few specimens we have seen of a *leeuwengroot* (from any region) with a discernable tongue in the central lion's mouth.



*private collection / 3.45 g.*

## Issue II, Haeck Type II-7 [?]

### • \* Type II-7

According to Haeck, coins of this type would have a leaf-stem curved to the F and 5-lobed border leaves (as his Type II-5B, which is known to exist), but unlike his Type 5B, no A crossbar in FLAND. He based his determination on 2 specimens, 1 in the Haarlem A Hoard, and one in a private collection.

**THIS TYPE IS NOT COMPLETELY VERIFIED.**

✠ • MONET + FLAND'  
LVD OVI Q<sup>2</sup>Q<sup>2</sup> MES

✠ BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI

↓



*Haeck II-7*  
*Martiny 33-5, variant 5*

The photograph is simply too unclear in this to rely upon. While no crossbar is visible in FLAND, we cannot be certain. Furthermore, it is not altogether clear that the leaf-mark stem is indeed curved and not straight.

The only difference between Haeck Type 7 and Type 5B would be that the A crossbar is absent from FLAND' for Type 7. However, we have never seen any convincing specimen of such a coin, and **we have been unable to verify the existence of this type of *leeuwengroot* (Haeck Type II-7).**



### A Deceptive Imitation

*Deceptive Imitation* (a term borrowed from Susan Tyler-Smith) refers to medieval counterfeit coins (i.e. coins not officially issued by the mint) that look so much like the official issues that it is all but impossible to tell them from the real coins. Many such deceptive imitations of the French *gros tournois* are known to exist (see ref. 6).

Although it is likely that deceptive imitations of the *gros au lion* must have once existed as well, it is all but impossible to separate them from the real thing. That is, unless the counterfeiters make too many errors.

Here we have a rare example of a deceptive imitation of a Flemish *leeuwengroot* from Issue II:



CGB / 3.29 g.

✠ MONETA + FLAND'  
LVD OVI Q̄C MES

✠ BNDICTV : SIT : [QO]HE : DNI : QRHHV : XPI



*The characteristics of this coin do not match any other known specimen.*

- If there is a pellet right of the initial cross, it is not visible in the photograph.
- The **M** of MONETA is unusual.
- The central lion looks unusual.
- There is no crossbar in FLAND, which is unusual for Issue II.
- The leaf (?) between words is odd: †.

- The reverse **B** and **P** are downright strange: **IB IP**.
- The **M** of COMES appears to be **II**.
- There is no **:** after **QRI**.
- There is an odd line between **Q** and RI.
- The use of a Roman **M** in NOME is never seen on official, Flemish issues.

The lack of a crossbar in FLAND may (or may not) support the notion of the same on official Flemish coins. Was this coin a copy of an actual Flemish issue with FLAND instead of FLAND?



*CGB / 3.29 g.*

### The Move From Ghent to Bruges

The Flemish mint under Louis of Mâle during Issue II:

Location	Duration	Coins produced	Mintmaster
Ghent	c. 27 months	8,040,648	Jehan Pecheval (Ops)
Bruges	c. 21 months	5,830,176	Percheval de Porche

There are two main types of Issue II coins, those with a short, **straight** leaf-mark stem and those with a stem **curved** toward FLAND.

**Could it be so simple that the straight stems were struck at Ghent and the curved stems at Bruges?** Use of a stem curving toward the **F** of FLAND continued throughout Issue III (Bruges) and Issue IV (Bruges). It only changed for Issue V, which was at Ghent (now curving toward the **A** of MONETA). The idea that the curved-stem, Issue II coins were struck at Bruges does not seem unreasonable.

The only problem is that if this were the case, one would expect to see more curved-stem, Issue II coins today than we actually do. The ratio between coins struck at Ghent and at Bruges is about 1.37:1, while the ratio of coins we have seen during our investigation is more

like 4:1 (straight stem : curved stem). While this is, of course, not a very scientific comparison, it does help illustrate that there would seem to be “missing” curved-stem coins if the leaf-mark indicates the mint city. Nevertheless, the idea that the leaf-mark is an indication of the mint city remains a tempting one.

If the pellet right of the obverse cross and the round **O** on the reverse were indications of the “issue” and thus (more importantly) of the fineness of the coin, what was the reason for switching from the straight stem to the curved stem, if not the move from Ghent to Bruges?

### Issue III (Bruges)

For this issue, an extra pellet was added to the left of the initial cross on the obverse, while the round **O** in COMES on the reverse was replaced with a long **O** (the COMES round **O** never returned to the coins). Use of a leaf-mark with a stem curving toward the **F** of FLAND continued from Issue II, and did not change throughout Issue III.

Although the extra pellet and leaf-stem curving toward the **F** often cause coin dealers to get excited and ask a higher price, Issue III coins are in fact the third most common type of Louis of Mâle *leeuwengroot* available today, and examples are plentiful. (The “common type” has a pellet left of the cross [only] and a leaf-stem curving to the **A** of MONETA; Issue V.)

There seems to be very little variance between the Issue III coins – we know of no actual variant sub-types. The large majority of the Issue III coins have a leaf-mark with the ‘banana’ stem, although a few have a thin stem. Most of the coins have a ‘backwards D’ type **C** in the outer border: **Ⓒ**, but a small number have a more rounded **C**: **Ⓒ**.

#### • Type III-1 (Haack Type III-9)



• ✠ • **MONET** ✠ **FLAND**  
**LVD OVI C<sup>o</sup> MES**

✠ **BNDICTV : SIT : NOMB : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI**







*private collection / 3.53 g.*



*private collection / 3.54 g.*



*private collection*

The study of Issue III caused us a bit of trouble, due to the fact that some of the medieval accounts are written using the New Year's Method reckoning, while others are written using the Easter Method.

• \* Type III-2

Haeck Type III-10 (?)

**TYPE NOT COMPLETELY VERIFIED**

According to Haeck, his Issue III Type III-10 has an obverse legend reading:

• ✠ • **MONETA + FLAND'** .

...with a straight leaf-stem instead of curved. (Based upon 1 coin in the Asper Hoard, 3 in the Haarlem A Hoard, and 2 in private collections). But we ourselves have never found a convincing specimen of such a coin.

Haeck's article encountered a publishing problem with the illustration for this type, a problem that was carried over into Martiny's book as well: different photographs of the same coin were used as illustrations for both III-9 and III-10:



*private collection / 3.55 g.*

*Illustrations for Haeck III-9 and III-10*

*Illustrations for Martiny 33-6 var. 1 and 336-6 var. 2*





*straight stem or feeble curved stem?  
(private collection / 3.55 g.)*



*Gijs Hensen 1108H0861  
straight stem?*

It seems that on the rare occasion that we find a coin or a photograph of a coin from Issue III (pellet left and right of the cross) that appears to have a straight stem, the coin is unclear.



## Issue IV (Bruges)

### • Type IV-1

(Haeck Type IV-11)

Issue IV (7 Sep. 1353 – 24 Oct. 1354) was of short duration and ended with the murder of mintmaster Jehan Percheval on October 24, 1354. Only 318,120 coins were struck; they are extremely rare today. It is not clear what the cause of the murder was, or if it had anything to do with Percheval's duties as mintmaster.

Aimé Haeck tentatively proposed the following as a possible, obverse legend for this issue <sup>[2]</sup>:

### • ✠ MONETA + FLAND'

The only difference from Issue III is that the pellet right of the cross is gone.

The only difference from Issue V, Type 12 (the 'common' type) is that the leaf-stem curves towards the **F** of FLAND' instead of towards the **A** of MONETA. <sup>[13]</sup>

Since the publication of our article on the fourth and fifth issues of *leeuwengroten* under Louis of Mâle (ref. 13), new information has become available regarding Issue IV coins, including the good fortune of finding a nice specimen of a coin with an obverse legend as given above: Museum Rotterdam 59254-553 <sup>[14]</sup>. The coin is badly bent, but completely legible.



*Museum Rotterdam 59254-553 / 3.20 g. (photo: P. Torongo)*



*Museum Rotterdam 59254-553  
(photo: Museum Rotterdam)*



*(Museum Rotterdam 59254-553)*

In our article on Issue IV-V, we reported all of the available specimens that were then thought to possibly have come from Issue IV <sup>[13]</sup>:

Amsterdam Museum KA-17219  
Dokkum K211  
Dokkum K310  
Haeck IV, 11 <sup>[2]</sup> / Martiny 33-7 <sup>[4]</sup>

At this time, we are of the opinion that none of the coins listed above come from Issue IV.

Although it is not altogether clear in the photographs above, we have inspected the Museum Rotterdam coin personally; the leaf-mark stem curves toward the **F** of FLAND. None of the specimens listed in our Issue IV-V report was anywhere near as convincing as the Museum Rotterdam coin, which is in an excellent state, other than being bent.

If one compares coin **MR 59254-553** with the others listed above, the letter types do not “match”, nor do the rather unique border leaves seen on the Rotterdam coin match any other known Flemish *leeuwengroot*, except one:

### An Unusual, Anomalous Coin

The late Peter Woodhead once told me that even after all the years he had been collecting and studying coins, he was still learning new things about them every day. He said it was impossible to know everything that there is to know about medieval coins, and I think most researchers would agree with him.



*private collection / 2.90 g.  
ex- iNumis.com T01\_00604181*



**. ✠ MONETA [...] FL[Λ]ND'**  
**LVDO OVI ADO MES**  
**✠ BNDICTV : SIT : DOMB : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI**

This is the **one and only** Flemish *leeuwengroot* we have **ever** seen with a ‘normal’ **T** in MONETA, instead of an annulet **T**. (Dokkum Hoard, 1932: K-163 minting error excepted) <sup>[7]</sup>.

The coin looks like a genuine, Flemish issue, although the possibility that it is a “deceptive imitation” cannot be completely ruled out. The most likely option is that it is simply a mint error. It is conceivable that it is a new “type”, but the annulet **T** was used so very consistently on Flemish *leeuwengroten* that this seems the least likely theory. The leaf-mark after MONETA is illegible. This piece is previously unpublished.





(detail)

The obverse border leaves are unusual, with a large, central opening, as well as large lobes and axils. They do not match any other known specimen of Flemish *leeuwengroot* except one: Museum Rotterdam **59254-553** shown above (Issue IV).

Generally, the **F** of FLAND on Flemish *leeuwengroten* can be all but ignored; they are almost always of this type: **F**. On the coin shown above and the Issue IV coin, however, they are much more like: **F**. All of the other letters are similar to one another as well.

Missing annulet on the **T** notwithstanding, is this another Issue IV coin? Is the ‘normal’ **T** in fact a minting mark of Issue IV?

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### ‘Footless’ N’s (Issue V)

In our paper on the Issue IV and V *leeuwengroten* of Louis of Mâle (ref. 13), we noted the existence of coins with characteristics that seemed to warrant division of the Issue V coins into various sub-types, among them coins with ‘footless’ N’s (**N**) in the legends.

Whenever we have found an example of an Issue V coin, the “common type” for Louis of Mâle, we have been able to assign it to one of the sub-types described by us (assuming the coin is reasonably legible). However, it is equally true that on occasion we have found coins previous to Issue V with ‘footless’ N’s in the legends. Such instances are rare, and we are at a loss to explain them.

**N**

‘normal’ N with ‘foot’

**N N N**

mutilated punches used to make ‘footless’ N

**N**

new punch used to make ‘footless’ N

### The Reverse, Outer Legend C's (Issues I – III)

It is important to note that the style of the C in the reverse, outer legend (BNDICTV) follows its own course, so to speak, independent of the inner legend.

During Issues II and III, there seem to have been 2 types of C's in use: the 'rounded' type: **Ꝣ**, and a type that looks like a backwards D: **Ꝥ** (although similar to a 'sharp' C: **Ꝣ**, the right edge is very straight). The large majority of Issue III coins seem to have the 'backwards D' type C.

During Issue I, a C somewhere between the two was used, with a straight right side, and small, semi rounded serifs: **Ꝣ**.



*Issue I*



*Issue II sharp*



*Issue II rounded*



*Issue III sharp*



*Issue III rounded*

The reverse, outer legend of *leeuwengroten* is well-known for being illegible, thus good examples of letters can be difficult to find, making the study of them all the more difficult.

### The CdMA Coin Group

In late 2016, a group of 8 Louis of Mâle, Issue II *leeuwengroten* came up for individual sale at Comptoir des Monnaies. Although CdMA was unable to tell us where the coins had come from, it seemed clear to us that all of them had probably come from the same source, i.e. the same original find. All 8 of the coins showed use of the notched-punch apostrophe, but 4 of the coins had 3-lobed border leaves (numbers 04 - 07), while the other 4 had 5-lobed leaves (01-03, 08). Of the 3-lobe coins, 2 had 'normal' leaves and 2 'unusual' leaves – one of which was a unique (?) specimen of a type we had not seen before (no. 07). In all, a very interesting group of *leeuwengroten*. All 8 coins are illustrated in this report.

## Conclusion

Almost all of the *leeuwengroten* struck in Flanders up until Issue V under Louis of Mâle had ‘wedge’ L’s, ‘normal’ N’s with ‘feet’, and ‘sharp’ C’s (outer legend excluded). During Issue V, the use of variant letter forms began. That said, a number of unexplained coins have been found from Issues I and II with ‘footless’ N’s in the legends. Another piece with a ‘normal’ T in MONETA instead of an annulet T remains unexplained as well (Issue IV?).

All of the coins of Issue I have 3-lobed leaves in the obverse border. Use of these leaves continued on into Issue II, but at some point the use of the 3-lobed, border leaf was discontinued in favor of the 5-lobed leaf (directly after the ‘unusual’, 3-lobed leaf type?). 5-lobe, Issue II coins are far more common than 3-lobe coins, and we suspect that the change from 3 lobes to 5 happened fairly early in the issue (which lasted about 4 ½ years in all).

Use of 5-lobed border leaves continued uninterrupted for about 13 more years, until the return of the 3-lobed leaf for Issue VII.

All of the 3-lobe, Issue II coins have a leaf-mark after MONETA with a straight stem, as do most of the 5-lobe coins of that issue. At some point (late in the issue?), the short, straight stem was replaced with a long stem that curves toward the F of FLAND. We suspect that straight stems were never again used on the Flemish *leeuwengroot* leaf-mark. Use of the stem curving to the F continued through Issues III and IV.

It is possible that the change in leaf-mark stem indicates the moving of the mint from Ghent to Bruges, (although it should be noted that a leaf-stem curving to the F is not, in and of itself, a mintmark for Bruges).

A punch with a notch on the right side was used to make the apostrophes on the dies of a series of coins stretching from late Issue I through the 3-lobe coins of Issue II and ending in the 5-lobe coins of Issue II (with straight leaf-mark stems). This ‘notched’ punch allows us to get a better view of the progression of changes through late Issue I into Issue II.

We have found no specimens of an Issue II, 3-lobe coin that clearly show that an un-notched apostrophe punch was used. We have found Issue I coins both with and without the notched punch, as well as Issue II, 5-lobe coins with and without the notched mark. We have found no Issue II coins with **curved** leaf-mark stems that have the notched apostrophe.

We are remarkably lucky to have the notched punch as evidence, and lucky as well to have noticed its existence. It is an invaluable piece of information, which has enabled us to place the Issue II coins in what is likely to be the correct, chronological order.

Issue II seems to have been a time of experimentation with various forms of minting marks, and several variants exist that are known from only a single coin, an indication that they were struck in very small numbers and/or that most of them were melted down and reminted. Examples include fluctuations in the style of border leaf, the occasional A of FLAND without a crossbar, a pellet in COM•ES, and possibly the use of ‘footless’ N’s.

Issue III seems to have been somewhat more stable (as far as minting marks are concerned), and there seems to have been little or no variation between coins throughout the entire issue.



The author welcomes any and all comments or opinions regarding the contents of this paper. Any submissions of photographs of *leeuwengroten* (of any region or issuing authority) will be most appreciated.

### Louis of Mâle, Count of Flanders (1346 –1382)

#### Overview of Types, Issues I – V

Issue	Type	obv.	MONETA	leaf	FLAND	border	COMES	status
I	1	✚	Ɱ	✚	Ɱ	3 ✚	0	not verified
I	2	✚	Ɱ	✚	Ɱ	3 ✚	0	verified
I	3	✚	Ɱ	✚	Ɱ	3 ✚	0	verified
I	4	✚	Ɱ	✚	Ɱ	3 ✚	0	not verified
II	1	✚•	Ɱ	✚	Ɱ	3 ✚	COME•S	verified
II	2a	✚•	Ɱ	✚	Ɱ	3 ✚	0	verified
II	2b	✚•	Ɱ	✚	Ɱ	3 ✚	0	verified
II	3	✚•	Ɱ	✚	Ɱ	3 ✚	0	verified
II	4	✚•	Ɱ	✚	Ɱ	5 ✚	0	verified
II	5	✚•	Ɱ	✚	Ɱ	5 ✚	0	?
II	6	✚•	Ɱ	✚	Ɱ	5 ✚	0	verified
II	7	✚•	Ɱ	✚	Ɱ	5 ✚	0	not verified
III	1	•✚•	Ɱ	✚	Ɱ	5 ✚	0	verified
III	[2]	•✚•	Ɱ	✚	Ɱ	5 ✚	0	not verified
IV	1	•✚	Ɱ	✚	Ɱ	5 ✚	0	verified
V	-	•✚	Ɱ	✚	Ɱ	5 ✚	0	verified

Table 7

There are no known sub-groups of Issue III or Issue IV.

The numerous Issue V sub-groups have been discussed in ref. 13.

## **Acknowledgements**

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*Issue II / cat. II-4*  
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*Issue III / cat. III-1*  
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