A Preliminary Examination of the *Leeuwengroot* as Mentioned in Medieval Accounts Part Three: Florens van der Boechorst (I) and Gheret Heynen (II)

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Part of our ongoing investigation into the *leeuwengroot* (gros au lion, gros compagnon, gezel, socius) of all regions involves studying the accounting records made in the Middle Ages that pertain to this coin type. This is the second in a series of reports on that subject.

The *leeuwengroot* (*gros au lion, gros compagnon, socius, gezel*) was a (nominally) silver coin, struck in the 14th century in Western Europe, in particular, in the Low Countries. The type was first minted in Flanders (or perhaps in Brabant) in 1337, in response to the devaluation of silver coins in France earlier that same year. The type was quickly imitated in the regions around Flanders, sometimes as a "coin of convention" mandated by agreements between these regions.



leeuwengroot of Flanders Louis of Nevers (1322-1346) Elsen 132-523 / 3.46 g. shown actual size

Minting of this type ended in Flanders in 1364, and the imitations in other regions ceased as well. Minting of the *plak* series of lion-with-helm coins began in 1365 in Flanders, and was widely imitated in other places as the *leeuwengroot* had been before it. A short resurgence of *leeuwengroten* occurred in Brabant 1381-1383, with a few imitations in small regions such as Megen and Batenburg.

Our interest therefore lies in medieval records dating c. 1337 - c. 1364, while also keeping an eye out for records from c. 1381-1383 (especially those from Brabant).

This is Part Three of our report on the *leeuwengroot* as found in medieval documents. It is assumed that the reader has read (and understood) Part One (the accounts of Jan Meester Lams Zoon, ref. 68) and Part Two (the accounts of Heynric de Rode, ref. 73); we will not be repeating the basic information regarding medieval bookkeeping as given in previous reports.

It is important to note that medieval accounting was only consistent within a very specific framework. The manner in which the books were kept in one place was not necessarily the same manner used in another place. The manner in which the books were kept by one clerk was not necessarily the same manner used by another clerk (in the same place, at a different time), *et cetera*.

It is the inspection of coins and the study of their detailed characteristics that is our forté, not the study of medieval documents. To be perfectly frank, we are "in over our heads" when we attempt to decipher some of the medieval accounts. In effect, what we are trying is akin to trying to read *The Odyssey* in the original Greek, armed with nothing more than a meager knowledge of the language, and an Ancient Greek-English dictionary.

We are therefore highly dependent upon the works of previous researchers to aid us. Financial (and other) constraints also limit us to what we can find on the Internet; we have only seen facsimiles of any of the documents, none of the originals, and even some of the modern transcriptions were unavailable to us. Fortunately, new old things keep turning up on the Net every day, so in time, more medieval records are sure to become available to researchers.

Unfortunately, none of the "experts" in the field of medieval accounting that we contacted have responded to our messages as of yet, and so we are still on our own out in the wilderness.

We are going to continue our investigation into 14th century documents with two more "easy" ones: **I. The accounts of Florens van der Boechorst**, and **II. The accounts of Gheret Heynen**, both of which include only 1 entry recording transactions involving a clear indication of *leeuwengroot (socius, gezel)* coins. In addition, there are a number of other interesting entries from both accounts that we will also be examining.

We have taken these accounts from Hamaker, whose transcriptions are the only version available (as far as we know), without tracking down and inspecting the original, medieval documents. We are therefore relying on Hamaker's transcriptions to be accurate. We are unaware of any subsequent literature having been published regarding these particular accounts.

The "Value" of Money

In the real world of day-to-day life, the "value" of money is in its purchasing power. For the moment, we are less concerned with how much bread one *leeuwengroot* coin could buy, than we are with the relationships of gold and silver coins to one another. The purchasing power of a coin might change due to external factors that have to do with the making of bread (for example), such as the price of flour, but this apparent change in the "value" of a coin has nothing to do with the coinage itself.

When the "value" of the gold *écu* (for example) changes, in relation to the *denier tournois* (for example), it is due to one (or more) of four basic factors:

The current weight and fineness of the gold *écu* The current weight and fineness of the silver *tournois* The current price of gold bullion The current price of silver bullion

It is therefore often difficult to see <u>why</u> the value of the *écu* changes from 160 d *holland* to 144 d *holland* (for example). In many such cases, the answer would be that the "new" *écu* being minted contain less gold than the "old" *écu* previously minted. But in theory, if the king of France had begun striking "better, finer" *tournois* containing more silver per coin, it would take less of them to buy 1 gold *écu*, and the "value" of the *écu* would appear to drop.

Hamaker

Ref. 1

We pored through all of the FvdB account entries, looking for the word *socio*, *socios*, *socius*, *socii*, *sociorum*, *soc*., and/or anything else similar, as well as the word *gezel*, *ghezelle*, *gheselle*, *ghez*.), etc. In addition, we looked over the entries in general, looking for references to other coin types or anything else interesting of whatever nature.

Bear in mind the previously mentioned difference between *gezellen* coins and *gezellen* human companions (ref. 68, p. 4).

There is only 1 reference to the socius coin in the accounts; most of this report is taken up with a discussion of posts involving peripheral matters such as the gold *écu*, *the groot of 8 d holland*, the silver *gans*, and other things.

In this report:

Amounts that are <u>underlined</u> are taken *verbatim* from the original documents, while those that are not, are the calculations performed by ourselves and/or the medieval clerk(s), and the corresponding results.

Words in [square brackets] are absent from the original text, but have been inserted by us in order to clarify the text.

Words in red indicate something that is incorrect or suspect.

I. THE ACCOUNTS OF FLORENS VAN DER BOECHORST

EERSTE REKENING.

1342, Nov. 22 - 1343, Aug. 23.

ONTVANGSTEN.

Dit is innemen haren Florans van der Boechurst, van der rentemeesterscap ende van der baeliuscap van den lande van Aemstel ende van Waterlant, seder die tijt dat hi lest rekende, dat was in die Haghe, des vridaghes voer sinte Katerinen dach int jaer 42 tot des zaterdaghes op sinte Bartholomeus avont int jaer 43, dat maect 39 weken ende 1 dach.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 257 [1]

<u>The Friday before St. Katharine's Day, 1342 – The Saturday on St. Bartholomew's Eve, 1343</u> <u>39 weeks, 1 day</u>

The accounts of Florens van der Boechorst, *rentmeester & baljuw* of Amstelland, Waterland & Den Zevank, can be found on pp. 255-454 of the first volume of Hamaker's Holland transcription (ref. 1). The accounts cover the period 22 November, 1342 – 22 July, 1346. Note that William IV, count of Holland (*et al*) died 26 September, 1345, leaving no heir.

- I. November 22, 1342 23 August, 1343
- II. 23 August, 1343 18 August, 1344
- III. 18 August, 1344 30 May, 1345
- IV. 30 May, 1345 19 November, 1345
- V. 19 November, 1345 22 July, 1346

On pp. 257, 273, 302, 312, 359, 373, 453 (etc.), the name is given as: *Florans van der Boechurst*. On pp. 430 & 434, we find: *Florans van der Boechorst*, and at various other points he refers to himself simply as *haren* or *haer Florans* (p. 434: *haer Flarans*). On. p. 452 we find *Florys* and *Florise*.

Gezellen (Coins) and Ganzen (Coins)

In theory, we would expect the first period that Florens van der Boechorst was *rentmeester* to have included posts regarding *socius* coins (which were minted until October, 1343). In fact, the sole post involving *gezellen* is followed by over 30 posts involving *ganzen* ("geese"), which numismatists and historians have identified as the *grand blanc* ½ *groten* that were struck in Flanders before the *leeuwengroot* was ever minted; minting of the "gans" ended in April, 1337. That there should be so many posts involving such "old" coins is noteworthy, especially in view of the lack of posts involving the "newer" *leeuwengroot*. Clearly, the *gans* had not disappeared from circulation.

The Socius Entry

This is the **only post involving** *socius* coins:



Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 288^[1]

"...6 ghesellen, elc 6 d [holland] maect 3 β. [holland] ..."

<u>6 gezel x 6 d [holland] = 3 β [holland] = 36 d holland</u>

This is fairly straightforward.

The following posts, over 30 of them, all involve *ganzen* coins valued at $3\frac{1}{2}$ d *holland* each. 2 *ganzen* would therefore be worth 7 d *holland*, which was slightly more that 1 *gezel* (*groot*) coin.

"...8 ganse, dat stic 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. [holland] maect 3 β . [holland] ..."

"...12 ganse, elc 3 ½ d., [holland] maect 28 d. [holland] ..."

And second a sub-second and second and second second second second
Item noch wtgheven van opgheleyden ghelde, daer men
mijns deren goet verduerde.
Eerst van der molen op die westerzide in Aemstelredam,
6 ghesellen, elc 6 d., maect 3 sc.
Item van den Nyenbroec, 8 ganse, dat stic 31 d., maect
and and the dama and and and and and and and and and an
Item van den Ghier, 12 ganse, elc 31 d., maect 3 sc. 6 d.
Item van den 2 morghen ende van den lappen. 8 ganze.
ala 21 d maeet 28 d
Here was des 7 segmentes 5 supre maker 171 d
Item van den 7 raeweren, 5 ganse, maken 174 d.
Item van watergraeumere, 13 sc. 2 d.
Itom van den slusen in Aemstelredam, 12 ganse, ele stic
3½ d., maect 3 sc. 6 d.
Item van der sluse in Dyemerdamme, 2 ganse, maect 7 d.
Item van der Bindelmere 10 ganse, elc 31 d., maect 35 d.
Item van den Wael 9 ganse, elc 34 d., maect 314 d.
Item van der Silmere 2 ganze meest 101 d
Item van der Simere 5 ganse, maete 10 ⁴ d.
Item van der vierdermate in Aemsteiredam 3 ganse,
elc 3½ d., maect 10½ d.
Item van den smaltiende ter Ouderaemstel ende ter
Nywer 10 ganse, elc 3½ d., maect 35 d.
Item van den banken 3 ganse, elc 31 d., maect 101 d.
Item van den corentienden in Aemstelrelant.
Op Emenesse van den tiende binnen dijc 4 ganse, elc
31 d., maect 14 d. Item aldaer buten dijc 4 ganse.
maget 14 d
Item van den tiende ter Oudersemstel 6 gange maast
riem van den dende ter Ouderaemster o ganse, maeet
Item van den tiende te Doevendrecht 8 ganse, maeet 28 d.
Item van tiende in Aemsteireveen, van Komersdorp 4
ganse, maect 14 d.
Item van Middeldorp 4 ganse, maect 14 d.
Item van Smedeman 3 ganse, maect 10 ¹ / ₂ d.
Item van Legmeer ende Noertveen 4 ganse, maect 14 d.
Summa, 51 sc. 9 d.
the standard and a second manager I and make
Item noch ongheleit van Dyemen ende van Overdyemen
4 ganse ele stie 31 d maast 14 d
Item in Wasan you Battomana 9 mana masat 7 d
Item in Planne dela 9 serveratione 7 d.
Item in Bloemendale 2 ganse, maect 7 d.
Item van Bindelmere 6 ganse, maect 21 d.
Item van neffens Weesp over die Vecht 2 ganse, maect 7 d.
Item van Nichtevecht 6 ganse, maect 21 d.
Item van der westerzide van Muden 4 ganse, maect 14 d.
Item van Keveren 2 ganse, maect 7 d.
Item van Dorskerwaert 5 ganse, maect 174 d.
Item van Dorskerveen 16 ganse, maect 4 sc. 8 d.
Item van bi der Vecht 10 ganse, maert 35 d
Item van der gesterzide an den Sloet 4 ganza maast 14 d
and the doll of of a gange, macco IT u.

Hamaker (Holland) I, pp. 288-289 [1]

We could find no other references to *socius* (*gezel*) coins in the accounts of Florens v.d. Boechorst.

<u>Gezellen (Humans)</u>



Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 454 ^[1]

We only found a small number of posts referring to *gezellen* (human companions), that clearly have nothing to do with *gezel* coins since they use the word *gheselscap* (company).

<u>Rekenpond</u>

At the beginning of the Florens v.d. Boechorst accounts, it is not immediately clear which *rekenpond* is being employed. Most of the entries give only sum totals, and do not involve any conversions. Those conversions that do appear, do not relate the *rekenpond* being used (cf. the entry involving the *socius*). It is not until p. 284 that the word *holland* appears after the total, an indication that the amounts are being recorded in *pond holland*.



Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 284 [1]

On this page and the following page, there are some other posts that give *holland* as the qualifying factor. The word subsequently disappears again from the accounts.

Item noch bi mijns heren open brief Dirc Sayen van Cattendijc, 20 scilde, maect 12 ff. Ghegheven tot Broecele op den palmen zonnendach. Item noch bi mijns heren open brief Scerpine, mijns heren messelgier, 6 ff holl. Ghegheven tot Binch, des woensdaghes voer paesdach.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 285^[1]

The last mention of *pond holland*. Note that the gold *écu* would have been worth 144 đ *holland* at this point:

 $20 \text{ } \acute{e}cu = 12 \text{ } \pounds = 2,880 \text{ } \$$ holland = 144 \$ holland per $\acute{e}cu$

The *pond holland* indication returns on p. 299, with the value of the *écu* given at 144 d per *écu*:

Summa summarum van al haren Florans wtgheven, bi

brieven ende sonder brieven, mitten coste an thuus te Vredelant gheleit ende mitten afterstal van den jare van 42, daer hi die hele renten of gherekent heeft in sijn ontfanc, 3120 fg 6 sc. 4 d. 1 mite. Ende sijn ontfanc die loept 2381 fg 18 sc. 8 d. holl. Aldus die ene somme tieghens dandre gheëffent, so blijft min here heren Florens vors. sculdich bi deser rekeninghe 738 fg 7 sc. 8 d. holl. 1 mite, den seilt voer 12 sc. holl. Gherekent tordrecht vor min here van Biaumont, heren Willem van Duvenvorde, den here van der Merwede, heren Hairlair van Riede, heren Willem van Outsorne, heren Dierijc van Mathenisse, heren Goswin van Ress...., meester Clais Stuyc, heren Pieter van der Haye ende Ghert Alewijns s., up sente Bertelmeus avond int jaer 43.

Hamaker (Holland) I, pp. 298-299 [1]

The word *holland* immediately disappears again from the accounts. And so on.

Since the books "are being kept in" *pond holland*, based upon a gold *écu* of 144 d *holland*, we are at a loss to explain the "backwards" entries with totals expressed in "good money" (*goots ghelts, goeden ghelde*, etc.), which had a fluctuating "value" of 160, 162 or 164 d *holland*:

Item bi mijns heren open brief van Hollant, ghegheven te Tyele des donresdaghes na sinte Lucien dach, van mijns heren cost, deen hi te Naerden dede des woensdaghes na sinte Lucien dach, daer die summe of loept, alse die particule houden, daer die brief doersteken is, daer Ysebout of rekenen zal, 15 ft 10 sc. 8 d. holls., den scilt voer 13 sc. 8 d. gherekent, ende beloept in goeden ghelde, 13 ft 12 sc. 9 d.

Hamaker (Holland) I, pp. 332-333 ^[1]

The first amount is expressed in *pond holland* ($\acute{e}cu = 144 \text{ d}$ *holland*), the second in *goed geld* ($\acute{e}cu = 164 \text{ d}$ *holland*); this seems backwards.

See the following section: Errors in the Accounts: Goed Geld.

Errors in the Accounts: Goed Geld

We have not seen the original Florens v.d. Boechorst accounts (nor any facsimiles thereof). Since there are so few references to the *gezel* in these accounts, there was very little for us to double check. The few entries that we did double check all worked out properly – until we came to the errors pointed out by Hamaker. From this point on, many of the entries (involving "*goed geld*") did not seem to work out properly. The reason for this, as we subsequently learned, was that Hamaker led us astray by not noticing what was really going on.

In the following section, the math has a tendency to go of by a fraction of 1 *denier*, and sometimes by as much as $1\frac{1}{2} - 2 d$. Many of these occasions are examples of acceptable "rounding up", while others are what we consider to be "acceptable" minor errors, i.e. within the margin of error for someone doing their calculations on an abacus or counting table using fractions, and not a 21^{st} century calculator accurate to many decimal places. We are going to ignore such minor errors and adjustments. In many instances, for example, the clerks are dealing with a 36/41 fraction (or 41/36 if you prefer).

On p. 463 of his *Errata*, Hamaker corrects some of the clerk's arithmetic:



Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 463 ^[1]

• Hamaker: *Écu Goed Geld* of 160 đ *Holland* and *Rekenpond Goed Geld Schild* Not Pound

Hamaker found what are likely to be errors made by the clerk, whereby he recorded 800 <u>pounds</u> instead of 800 *écu* (and subsequently another 400, 400 and 200) in what was presumably 1344:



Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 320^[1]

1) In plaats van 800 😥 leze men hier 800 schilden. Het is eene schrijffont van den klerk. Ponden goeds gelds zijn er in dien tijd niet geweest, daar er geene munt geslagen werd van dien naam. Daarentegen komen schilden goeds gelds zeer dikwijls voor. Zij gelden 13 sc. 4 d. of 160 d. Deze som met 800 vermenigvuldigd maakt juist 533 😭 6 sc. 8 d. De klerk heeft dezelfde fout begaan in de artikels Diemen, Loosdrecht en Muiden.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 320^[1]

Item ter Loesdrecht 400 ff goets ghelts, maect anholls.266 ff 13 sc. 4 d.Item in Muden 200 ff goets ghelts, maect an holls.,133 ff 6 sc. 8 d.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 321^[1]

1) In plaats van 800 ff leze men hier 800 schilden. Het is eene schrijffout van den klerk. Ponden goeds gelds zijn er in dien tijd niet geweest, daar er geene munt geslagen werd van dien naam. Daarentegen komen schilden goeds gelds zeer dikwijls voor. Zij gelden 13 sc. 4 d. of 160 d. Deze som met 800 vermenigvuldigd maakt juist 533 ff 6 sc. 8 d. De klerk heeft dezelfde fout begaan in de artikels Diemen, Loosdrecht en Muiden.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 320^[1]

We need to examine what Hamaker is saying here very carefully.

1. He says that the clerk wrote 800 £ goed geld when he should have written 800 <u>schild goed geld.</u> As it turns out, Hamaker is probably correct on this point. (*Schild*is Dutch for*écu*, or 'shield')

2. Hamaker also says that [*reken*]*ponden goed geld* did not exist at the time, and that no coin with any such name was being minted. We believe, however, that the idea that a coin <u>must</u> have been struck in order for a *money of account* to have existed is probably a fallacy. Furthermore, as we shall see, there seem to be numerous other entries in the accounts that are indeed given in *pond goed geld*; Hamaker is silent about these entries.

3. Hamaker states that *écu* (*schilden*) *goed geld* are regularly seen in the accounts, as though this is somehow evidence that a *rekenpond* (for silver money) that was bound to these *écu* did not (could not) have also existed. As far as we can see, *rekenponden goed geld* are also regularly seen in the accounts. Hamaker seems to be blurring the lines between real money (coins) and *money of account*.

4. Hamaker makes a blanket statement that these *écu goed geld* were valued at 160 d *holland*, but as we shall see, entries involving *écu goed geld* valued at **164** d *holland* can also be found in the accounts. In fact, a large portion of the *écu goed geld* found in the accounts are reckoned at 164 d *holland*. Furthermore, there are many instances of entries where we are told that the *écu goed geld* is valued at **162** d *holland*.

As with so many terms used in medieval accounting, "goed geld" is not a hard-and-fast, universal description of anything, including "an *écu* of 160 d *holland*". Hamaker's blanket statement, such as it is, is incorrect much of the time.

• Hamaker: Schild Not Pound

Returning to whether the clerk should have written *schild* instead of £, it appears that Hamaker was indeed correct about the clerk's error, and the math for the entries on p. 321 works out as Hamaker says it would:

<u>533 £ 6 β 8 $\overset{\circ}{d}$ = 128,000 $\overset{\circ}{d}$ holland = 160 $\overset{\circ}{d}$ holland x 800 écu, as Hamaker says</u>

The Diemen (*Dyemen*). Loosdrecht (*Loesdrecht*) and Muiden (*Muden*) entries also work out correctly in the same manner (i.e. *écu* instead of pounds).

If Hamaker had been wrong, and the "800 £ goed geld" had been correct, then:

<u>800 £ goets ghelt</u> (sic) = 192,000 \mathring{d} goets ghelt

(exactly 1.5 x more than the total given in *pond holland*)

This would have required some kind of *groot goed geld* (*of account*) with a *denier* valued at 1.5 d *holland*. Such a *groot* would have had a value of 12 d *holland*. This would be the theoretical *pond groot holland*, of which we know of no example being used. The "groot of 8 d holland" seems to have been the norm.

8 đ holland x 1.5 = 12 đ holland

"groot of 8 d holland" x 1.5 = theoretical "groot holland" of 12 d holland

• Écu Goed Geld of 160 d Holland

As we have already seen, the *écu* was not always worth 160 d *holland* as Hamaker says, it was sometimes worth 144 d *holland*. Presumably, these are an "old" and a "new" *écu*, containing different amounts of gold. At many points in the accounts, there are conversions from one *écu* (value) to the other. Some of these entries do not invoke the term *goed geld*, but rather say that the *écu* is valued at 13 β 5 d [*holland*].

Here we see a conversion from *pond payments* (the *écu* of 144 d *holland*) to *pond goed geld* (the *écu* of 160 d *holland*), from the accounts of Gheret Heynen:

Summa, 92 22 15 sc. 5 d., maken, den seilt voir 12 sc., 83 22 9 sc. 104 d. Hieren jeghens quamen Gheraerde 2 brieve, die helden beyde 87 22 sc. 9 d. payments, maken, den seilt voir 12 sc., 78 22 sc. 6 d. Aldus ghebreken Gheret 5 22 164 d. goeds ghelts.

> Hamaker (Holland) II, p. 109^[2] (Accounts of Gheret Heynen)

 $1 \acute{e}cu = 12 \beta [holland] = 144 \text{ d} holland$

<u>92 £ 15 β 5 d</u> = 22,265 d [*payments*]

<u>83 £ 9 β 10.5 d = 20,038.5 d [goed geld]</u>

 $\begin{array}{l} 1.111111111111 = 1 \ 1/9 \\ 90\% \end{array}$

<u>87 £ 2 β 9 d payments</u> = 20,913 d payments

 $\underline{78 \pm 8 \beta 6 d} = 18,822 d [goed geld]$

1.11109 = 1 1/9 90%

 $5 \pm 16.5 \text{ d} \text{ goed geld} = 1,216.5 \text{ d} \text{ goed geld}$ (écu = 160 d holland)

20,038.5 d goed geld - 18,822 d goed geld = 1,216.5 d goed geld

1,216.5 d goed geld = 1,351 $\frac{2}{3} d$ payments (écu = 144 d holland)

 $= 5 \pm 12 \beta 7 \frac{2}{3} d payments$ (écu = 144 d holland)

This is a conversion from the *écu* of 144 đ *holland* to the *écu* of 160 đ *holland*. **Clearly, the** *rekenpond goed geld* **did exist, despite what Hamaker said.** The *rekenpond payments holland* was worth 90% of the *rekenpond goed geld*. The *rekenpond goed geld* was worth 1 1/9 the *rekenpond payments holland*. (That is, at the time that this and similar entries were booked.) Note that the final total is recorded in *goed geld*, not *pond holland*.

• Écu Goed Geld of 164 d Holland

Hamaker's comments regarding the *pond goed geld* can be found on p. 320. The very next post that includes the words *goed geld* (p. 329) contradicts what Hamaker said about the value of the *écu goed geld*. The entry involves an *écu goed geld* that was not valued at 160 d *holland*, but rather at <u>164</u> d *holland*, **something that the accounts themselves do not tell us (yet).**



Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 329^[1]

 $\underline{1 \ \acute{e}cu = 12 \ \beta} \ [holland] = 144 \ \mathring{a} \ holland$ $\underline{10 \ \pounds \ 17 \ \beta} \ [payments] = 2,604 \ \mathring{a} \ payments \ holland$ $(\acute{e}cu = 144 \ \mathring{a} \ holland)$ $= \underline{9 \ \pounds \ 10 \ \beta \ 5.5 \ \mathring{a} \ goed \ geld} = 2,285 \ \frac{1}{2} \ \mathring{a} \ goed \ geld$ $(\acute{e}cu = 164 \ \mathring{a} \ holland)$

This math will not work out using an *écu goed geld* valued at 160 *d holland*. The calculations only work out properly with an *écu goed geld* valued at 164 *d holland*.

This is a conversion from a *rekenpond* with an *écu* worth 144 d *holland*, as stated in the entry itself, to "*goed geld*" with an *écu* worth 164 d *holland* (not the "blanket" 160 d *holland* value given by Hamaker).

The end result works out to c. 2,603 d *holland*, which is off by about 1 d *holland*, but "close enough".

 $(164 \div 144) \times 2,285 \frac{1}{2} \text{ d} \text{ goed geld} = c. 2,603 \text{ d} \text{ holland} *$

Are we not looking at those very *ponden goed geld* that Hamaker said did not exist on p. 320?

The next post, and those on the next page of Hamaker's transcription (p. 330) contain nothing relevant to our purposes.

The posts thereafter take us off on a tangent regarding the *groot* of 8 d *holland* (discussed in ref. 73, p. 16.).

• The Groot of 8 d Holland



Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 331^[1]

<u>835 £ 6 β + 1 hallinc holland</u>

<u> $100 \pm groot$ </u> [tournois] = 800 \pm holland

(because 1 groot = 8 d holland)

<u>100 £ groot tournois</u> = 800 £ holland

= 2,435 £ 6 β ½ đ holland

All of this adds up correctly, using a *groot* worth 8 d *holland*. The inescapable conclusion, however, is that the "*hallinc hollands*" mentioned is a $\frac{1}{2}$ denier holland.

Note that the clerk has given us a name for the "groot of 8 d holland" discussed in ref. 73, referring to it as a "groot tournois". This will not suit our purposes, however. By definition, a "groot tournois" would be worth 12 d tournois. This would be a 4:3 ratio with the denier holland. In fact, the groot under discussion, worth 8 d holland, was likely to be worth 16 d tournois, meaning that 2 d tournois = 1 d holland. This "groot of 16 d tournois" will be discussed in more detail in a later report.

Continuing through the account entries:

Item bi mijns heren open brief van Hollant, ghegheven te Dordrecht op den twaelften dach in Meye int jaer 44, Bicout heren Goodscalcs zoen, poerter te Dordrecht, 282 seilde, maect an holls. 169 tf 4 sc. Item bi mijns heren open brief van Hollant, ghegheven tot sinte Gheertrudenberghe satersdaghes na onser vrouwen dach assumptio, Jan van Montfoerde, 36 sc. grote, den seilt voer 18 grote gherekent, maect an holls. 14 tf 8 sc.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 331^[1]

<u>12 May, 1344</u>

<u> $282 \ \acute{e}cu = 169 \ \pounds \ 4 \ \beta \ holland} = 40,608 \ \texttt{d} \ holland = 144 \ \texttt{d} \ holland \ per \ \acute{e}cu$ </u>

Saturday after Assumption of the Virgin Mary, [1344]

<u> $36 \beta groot = 14 \pm 8 \beta holland = 3,456 \ d h</u>$

= 96 d holland per β groot = 8 d holland per groot

This is the "groot of 8 d holland".

<u> $1 \acute{e}cu = 18 \text{ groot} [of 8 \texttt{d} holland] = 144 \texttt{d} holland per \acute{e}cu$ </u>

Item bi mire vrouwen open brief van Hollant, ghegheven tot sinte Gheerdenberghe op sinte Bartelmeus dach, bi heren Olexus hant 25 scilde, maeet 15 të holls. Item bi mire vrouwen open brief van Hollant, ghegheven te Binch sdonresdaghes voer sinte Lucas dach, Crabbendike, mire vrouwen garsoen van hoerre boutelrie, 1 voeder Hamburger biers, coste 8 pauwelione, maeet 5 të 6 sc. 8 d. Summa, 203 të 18 sc. 8 d.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 332^[1]

25 écu = 15 f. holland = 144 d. holland per écu

<u>8 pavilion = 5 £ 18 β 8 đ [holland]</u> = 1,424 đ holland = 178 đ holland per pavilion

Here we are also provided with a value for the gold pavilion.

• Écu Goed Geld of 164 d Holland and Rekenpond Goed Geld

We have wandered far afield from the original topic: *goed geld* and Hamaker's associated errors. But with the following posts, we are once again confronted with "pounds *goed geld*", which Hamaker says did not exist. And this time, the entry itself tells us that 1 *écu goed geld* is worth 164 d *holland*, not 160 d *holland*:

Item bi mijns heren open brief van Hollant, ghegheven tot Aemstelredamme sdinghesdaghes na sinte Lucien dach, van coste, die mijn here aldaer dede des avonts, betaelt alse die particule houden, daer die brief doerghesteken is ende Ysebout of rekenen zal, 29 ff 5 sc. 7 d. holls., enen scilt voer 13 sc. 8 d. gherekent, maect an goe-25 ff 14 sc. 2 d. den ghelde, Item bi mijns heren open brief van Hollant, ghegheven tot Tyele des donresdaghes na sinte Lucien dach, van alrehande haveren, biere ende sciphuere, alse van mijns heren provancie van Aemstelredamme tot Naerden te voeren, alse die particule houden, daer dese brief doersteken is, daer die summe of loept 4 ff 7 sc. 6 d. holls., enen scilt 13 sc. 8 d. gherekent, ende maect an goeden ghelde, 3 ft 16 sc. 10 d.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 332^[1]

$\underline{1 \ \acute{e} cu} = \underline{13 \ \beta \ 8 \ \texttt{d} \ [holland]} = 164 \ \texttt{d} \ holland$	(= goed geld)
<u>29 £ 5 β 7 đ holland</u> = 7,027 đ holland	$(\acute{e}cu = 144 \text{ d} holland)$
<u>= 25 £ 14 β 2 đ goed geld</u> = 6,170 đ goed geld	$(\acute{e}cu = 164 \text{ d} holland)$

This is a conversion from a *rekenpond* with an *écu* worth 144 d *holland*, to "*goed geld*" with an *écu* worth 164 d *holland* (not the "blanket" 160 d *holland* value given by Hamaker).

The math works out correctly. The second entry works out as well:

$\underline{1 \ \acute{e}cu = 13 \ \beta \ 8 \ \texttt{d} \ [holland]} = 164 \ \texttt{d} \ holland$	(= goed geld)
$4 \pm 7 \beta 6 $ d holland = 1,050 d holland	$(\acute{e}cu = 144 \text{ d} holland)$
<u>= 3 £ 16 β 10 ₫ goed geld</u> = 922 ₫ goed geld	$(\acute{e}cu = 164 \text{ d} holland)$

Hamaker makes no comment about these entries.



alse die particule houden, daer die brief doersteken is, daer Ysebout of rekenen zal, 15 ff 10 sc. 8 d. holls., den scilt voer 13 sc. 8 d. gherekent, ende beloept in goeden ghelde, 13 ff 12 sc. 9 d. Summa, 283 ff 3 sc. 9 d.

Hamaker (Holland) I, pp. 332-333 ^[1]

<u> $1 \acute{e}cu = 13 \beta 8 \texttt{d}$ </u> [holland] = 164 \texttt{d} holland = goed geld

<u>15 £ 10 β 8 đ *holland* = 3,728 đ *holland*</u>

= 13 £ 12 β 9 ₫ goed geld = 3,273 ₫ goed geld

(164 ÷ 144) x 3,273 d goed geld = c. 3,727.6 d holland *

The math works out basically correct (there is a discrepancy of about $\frac{1}{3}$ d which we can ignore because it was "rounded up").

• Hamaker: *Écu Goed Geld* of 160 d *Holland* and *Rekenpond Goed Geld Schild* Not Pound

Here follow a number of posts expressed in an *écu* of 144 đ *holland* and converted into *pond holland* (Hamaker I, pp. 333-335). In the middle of p. 335, we are informed that 1 *écu* [*goed geld*] = 160 đ *holland*, and Hamaker points out another error on the clerk's part:

Item noch den leenluden bi horen brieven, den scilt 13 sc. 4 d. gherekent.
Berst der abdyssen van Elten bi horen brieve van den renten wt Goyland van den jare 44, 25 ft goets ghelts '), maect
16 ft 13 sc. 4 d. holls.
Item den canoniken van Elten bi haren Hermans brief van Arnem, canonic tElten, uten tinze van Goylant van den jare 44, 28 ft goets ghelts, maect 18 ft 13 sc. 4 d. holls.
Item bi haren Dircs brief van Benthem van sinen renten van den jare 44, 25 ft cleynre penninghe, maect
12 ft 10 sc. holls.
Summa, 47 ft 16 sc. 8 d. ende beloept in goeden ghelde, den scilt voer 12 sc. gherekent, 43 ft 12 sc.

1) Hier en in het volgende artikel is onbegrijpelijker wijze dezelfde fout begaan, waarop wij blz. 320 den lezer opmerkzaam maakten; de klerk heeft *ponden* geschreven, waar *schilden* had moeten staan.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 335^[1]

<u> $1 \acute{e}cu = 13 \beta 4 \acute{d}$ </u> [holland] 160 \acute{d} holland = goed geld

<u>25 écu goed geld</u> x 160 \oplus holland = 4,000 \oplus holland (i.e. 25 écu, not 25 \pm)

 $= \underline{16 \pm 13 \ \beta \ 4 \ \text{d} \ holland} = 4,000 \ \text{d} \ holland$

 $28 \, \acute{e}cu \times 160 \, \texttt{d} \, holland = 4,480 \, \texttt{d} \, holland$ (i.e. $28 \, \acute{e}cu$, not $28 \, \texttt{f}$)

 $= \underline{18 \pm 13 \ \beta \ 4 \ d \ holland} = 4,480 \ d \ holland$

Hamaker's notation about the clerk's *schild* / pound error is correct.

• Écu Goed Geld of 158 d Holland ?

Summa, 47 ff 16 sc. 8 d. ende beloept in goeden ghelde, den scilt voer 12 sc. gherekent, 43 ff 12 sc.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 335^[1]

In the entry on Hamaker I, p. 335, the Elten Abbey items listed (expressed in *pond holland*) correctly add up to the final total (expressed in *pond holland*):

<u>Total: 47 £ 16 β 8 đ [*holland*] = 11,480 đ *holland* x 0.90 = 10,332 đ goed geld = 43 £ 1 β *</u>

However: when the total given in the entry (expressed in *pond holland*) is multiplied by 0.90, it does not give the total given in the account entry (expressed in *goed geld*), for an *écu* of 160 d *holland*:

<u>Total: 43 £ 12 β goed geld</u> = 10,464 d goed geld

<u> $1 \acute{e}cu = 12 \beta$ </u> [holland] = 144 d holland

So something is wrong. The total given is off by 132 d *goed geld*, or 11 β too high.

The math just does not work out properly, even if we try an *écu goed geld* valued at 164 or even 162 d *holland*. Nothing makes the two totals, expressed in two different *valuta*, come out as the "same amount" – **nothing except an** *écu goed geld* valued at <u>158</u> d *holland*.

The math only works out with an *écu goed geld* valued at 158 d *holland*.

 $(158 \div 144) \times 10,464 \text{ d} \text{ goed geld} = \text{c. } 11,481 \frac{1}{3} \text{ d} \text{ holland } *$

(144 ÷ 158) x 11,480 *d* holland = 10,462.78 *d* goed geld *

Too high by c. $1 \frac{1}{3}$ đ *holland*, but close enough. Too low by c. $1 \frac{1}{4}$ đ *goed geld*, but close enough.

But is this what happened in the 14^{th} century? Did the clerk do his calculations using an *écu* worth 158 d *holland*? Or was some aspect of the amounts recorded incorrectly in the entry? Is there a clerical error, or did Hamaker make an error in his transcription?

• Écu Goed Geld of 160 d Holland and Rekenpond Goed Geld

Here follow a number of posts with only the totals given (in *pond holland*), until the *summa*, which once again mentions *goed geld*:

Summa, 62 ff 8 d. ende beloept in goeden ghelde, den scilt 12 sc. gherekent, 55 ff 16 sc. 7 d.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 336^[1]

<u>62 £ 8 đ [holland]</u> = 14,888 đ holland

 $55 \pm 16 \beta 7 d [goed geld] = 13,399 d goed geld$

<u> $1 \acute{e}cu = 12 \beta$ </u> [holland] = 144 d holland

This math works out correctly as a conversion from an *écu* worth 144 d *holland*, to an *écu goed geld* worth 160 d *holland*.

(We have not added up the individual items to double-check this total for accuracy.)

• Gold Pavilion (?)

The subsequent pages (pp. 336-340) contain posts for travel costs incurred:

Item op die selve tijt, op onser vrouwen avont, tot sinte Gheerdenberghe gaf haer Florans bi mijns heren behiet van Hollant Iestgin, mijns heren paedze, 1 pauwelioen, maect 13 sc. 4 d.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 337^[1]

<u>1 pavilion = 13 β 4 \underline{d} [holland] = 160 \underline{d} holland</u>

The entry says *pavilion*, not *écu* (*schild*), but the value is the same 160 đ *holland* as the *écu goed geld*. The *pavilion* was previously worth 178 đ *holland*; this is quite a shift in value, when the ["old"] *écu* was only changing in value by 2 đ *holland*, up or down.

Is it possible that the clerk should have written *écu* here instead of *pavilion*? Or was there a "new" *pavilion* minted?

• Écu Goed Geld of 164 d Holland and Rekenpond Goed Geld

The posts for travel costs continue. There is a *summa*, after which the travel cost posts begin anew:

Item noch wtgheleit van coste in mijns heren reysen van Hollant ende in sire oerbaer.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 338^[1]

There is another *summa*, after which the travel cost posts begin anew, without any new heading. Only the final total includes any reference to *goed geld*, and at no point is there any indication of the current value of the *écu*.



Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 340^[1]

<u>5 £ 16 β [holland] = 1,392 d holland</u>

 $5 \pm 22 \text{ d} \text{ goed geld} = 1,222 \text{ d} \text{ goed geld}$

This is a conversion from the *écu* of 144 d *holland* to the *écu goed geld* of 164 d *holland* (not 160 d *holland*).

The last time that we encountered *goed geld*, it was an *écu* worth 160 d *holland*. There is no specific indication in the accounts of this change to an *écu goed geld* worth 164 d *holland*.

(164 ÷ 144) x 1,222 d *goed geld* = c. 1,391.7222 d *holland* rounded up to 1,392 d *holland*

> Summa, 68 ff 5 sc. 4 d., ende beloept in goeden ghelde, den scilt 12 sc. gherekent, 57 ff 16 sc. 6 d.

> > Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 341^[1]

 $57 \pm 16 \beta 6 d = 4,641 d goed geld$

<u> $1 \acute{e}cu = 12 \beta$ </u> [*holland*] = 144 d *holland* per $\acute{e}cu$

This is another conversion from the *écu* of 144 d *holland* to the *écu goed geld* of 164 d *holland*.

Summa, 22 ff 6 d., ende beloept in goeden ghelde 19 ff 6 sc. 9 d.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 343^[1]

 $22 \pm 6 \text{ d}$ [holland] = 5,286 d holland

<u>19 £ 6 β 9 đ goed geld</u> = 4,641 đ goed geld

This is another conversion from the *écu* of 144 d *holland* to the *écu goed geld* of 164 d *holland* (not 160 d *holland*).

As we can see, the *écu goed geld* was often worth 164 d *holland*. This confirms our previous suspicion that Hamaker was paying close attention at some points in his transcription, but less so at other points.

All of these posts are conversions from the *écu* of 144 d *holland* to the *écu goed geld* of 164 d *holland* (not 160 d *holland*):



Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 344^[1]

The subsequent posts concern costs for various services performed. Only the final totals include any references to *goed geld*, and at no point in between is there any indication of the current value of the *écu*. Over and over, we have seen that *ponden goed geld* did indeed exist.

Summa, 38 ff 13 d., ende beloept in goeden ghelde 33 ff 8 sc. 4 d.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 345^[1]

Summa, 9 th 9 sc. 9 d., ende beloept in goeden ghelde 8 th 6 sc. 7 d.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 347^[1]

Summa, 4 ff 10 sc. 8 d., ende beloept in goeden ghelde 3 ff 19 sc. 7 d.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 347^[1]

Item noch wtghegheven bi Willaem Otten s. van coste, gheleit ant voghelhuus te timmeren van Bindelmeerbroec, den scilt 13 sc. 8 d. gherekent.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 348^[1]

Here, at last, we are told that the \acute{ecu} [goed geld] = 164 d holland.

Summa, 26 ff 9 sc. 7 d., ende beloept in goeden ghelde 23 ff 4 sc. 111 d.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 349^[1]



Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 349^[1]



Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 350^[1]



Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 351 [1]

Here we are told that the \acute{ecu} [goed geld] = 160 d holland.

• Écu Goed Geld of 160 d Holland and Rekenpond Goed Geld



Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 352 ^[1]

<u>16 £ 16 β 8 \mathring{d} </u> = 4,040 \mathring{d} *holland*

<u>15 £ 3 β </u> = 3,636 d goed geld

This is a conversion from the *écu* of 144 d *holland* to the *écu goed geld* of 160 d *holland*.

• Écu Goed Geld of 164 d Holland and Rekenpond Goed Geld



Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 353 ^[1]

 $1 \acute{ecu} = 13 \beta 8 \acute{d}$ [holland] = 164 \acute{d} holland

<u>12 £ 15 β 4.5 d</u> = 3,064.5 d *holland*

<u>11 £ 4 β 4.5 đ goed geld</u> = 2,692.5 đ goed geld

This is a conversion from the *écu* of 144 d *holland* to the *écu goed geld* of 164 d *holland*, as indicated in the accounts at the beginning of this section.

The total is of by c. 1.5 d *goed geld* (or one of the amounts was incorrectly recorded, or Hamaker made and error in his transcription...):

(144 ÷ 164) x 3,064 đ *holland* = c. 2,690.7805 đ *goed geld* * rounded up to 2,691 đ *goed geld*, is still 1.5 đ *goed geld* short of the total given in the entry

There follow more posts, some of which indicate that the ["new"] *écu* is valued at 144 đ *holland*. On p. 358 is a final summation, which is followed by the Appendices, listing various expenses. The total of these expenses is once again given in *goed geld* (for some reason):



Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 367^[1]

<u> $1 \acute{e}cu = 13 \beta 8 \texttt{d}$ </u> [holland] = 164 \texttt{d} holland

The *summa* is a conversion from the *écu* of 144 d *holland* to the *écu goed geld* of 164 d *holland*, as are the subsequent "*goed geld*" *summae*:



Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 371 [1]

Note that the final summation is given in pond holland.



Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 373 ^[1]

The Fourth Accounting goes on for a great many pages, giving transactions expressed in *pond holland*, before there is any mention of *goed geld*. We are occasionally informed that the écu is valued at 144 d *holland* (e.g. pp. 392-393).

• Écu [Goed Geld] of 160, 162 & 164 d Holland and Rekenpond Goed Geld

There are several references to an *écu* of 164 d *holland*, or even 162 d *holland*, but term *goed geld* is not used. Most of these entries involve converting from the *écu* [*goed geld*] to the *écu* of 144 d *holland*.

Item bi mijns heren open brief van Hollant, ghegheven voer Utrecht des zonendaghes voer sinte Jans dach, van 62 beesten die haer Florans ghelevert heeft tot mijns heren provanchie in sinen oerloghe voer Utrecht, die costen overmids alrehande cost, die daerop ghegaen is, als die particule houden, daer dese brief doersteken is, ende die clerke gheen rekeninghe of en doen, 200 ff 19 sc. ende 8 d. holls., enen scilt voer 13 sc. 4 d., maect, enen scilt voer 12 sc., 180 ff 17 sc. 8 d. holls. Summa, 1080 ff 17 sc. 8 d.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 393 [1]

<u>1 écu [goed geld] = 13 β 4 \mathring{d} [holland] = 160 \mathring{d} holland</u>

This is a conversion from the écu of 144 d holland to the écu [goed geld] of 160 d holland.

Item bi mijns heren open brief van Hollant, ghegheven voer Utrecht des dinghesdaghes voer sinte Jans dach, van 47 beesten, die haer Florans ghelevert heeft mijn here haren Willaem van Outshoerne, ende hi voert ghelevert heeft mijns heren ghewapende volke van Noerthollant tot Maersen, tieghens mijns heren oerloghe op die van Utrecht; die costen alse die partikele houden, daer dese brief doersteken is ende die clerke enne gheen rekeninghe of en doen, 112 ff 3 sc., enen seilt voer 13 sc. 6 d., maect, enen seilt voer 12 sc., 99 ft 13 sc. 9 d. holls. Item bi mijns heren open brief van Hollant, ghegheven in die Haghe sdonresdaghes na sinte Peters dach ingaende oest, 400 scilde van goude, daer Jannes van Nederhem of rekenen sel, maect an holls. 240 ft holls.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 393^[1]

<u>1 écu [goed geld] = 13 β 6 \underline{d} = 162 \underline{d} holland</u>

This is a conversion from the écu of 144 d holland to the écu [goed geld] of 162 d holland.

The value of the *écu* in the second post is 144 d *holland*.

Item bi mijns heren open brief van Hollant, ghegheven in die Haghe des vridaghes na sinte Bartolomeeus dach, van coste, die mijn here van Holland dede tot Naerden des manendaghes savonts 8 daghe in Oestmaent, daer die summe of loept alse die partikele houden, daer dese brief doersteken is ende Ysebout of rekenen sel, 4 fft 12 sc. 6 d., enen scilt voer 13 sc. 8 d., maect, den scilt voer 12 sc., 4 fft 14¹/₄ d.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 394^[1]

<u>1 écu [goed geld] = 13 β 8 \underline{d} = 162 \underline{d} holland</u>

This is a conversion from the écu of 144 d holland to the écu [goed geld] of 164 d holland.

• Écu Goed Geld of 160 d Holland and Rekenpond Goed Geld

On p. 399 the term *goed geld* finally returns to the accounts:

Item noch mijns heren leenluden bi horen brieven, den seilt 13 sc. 4 d. gherekent. Eerst der abdisse van Elten bi horen brieven van den renten wt Goylant van den jare 45, 25 scilde goets ghelts, maect 16 ft 13 sc. 4 d. holls. Item den canoniken van Elten bi haren Harmans brief van Aernem, canonic tElten, uten tinze van Goylant van den jare 45, 28 scilde goets ghelts, maect 18 ff 13 sc. 4 d. holls. Item den heren van den doem tUtrecht bi haren Robrechts brieve van Ghiessen, canonic ende cameraer ten doem tUtrecht, van horen renten uter heerscap van Aemstel alse uten tinze te Dyemen, 5 scilde goets ghelts, maect 3 tt 6 sc. 8 d. holls., alse van den jare 44. Item noch den heren van den doem tUtrecht bi haren Robrechts brief van Ghiessen, canonic ende cameraer ten doem tUtrecht, van horen renten uter heerscap van Aemstel uten tinze van Dyemen van den jare 45, 5 scilde goets ghelts, maect 3 ft 6 sc. 8 d. holls. Summa, 42 ft, enen scilt voer 13 sc. 4 d. gherekent, maect, enen scilt voer 12 sc., 37 ft 16 sc.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 399^[1]

These posts are all conversions from the *écu* of 144 d *holland* to the *écu goed geld* of 160 d *holland*.

<u>1 écu [goed geld] = 13 β 4 \oplus holland = 160 \oplus holland (= goed geld)</u>

Everything works out properly; the items add up correctly to the total given, and the amounts in *pond holland* ($\acute{e}cu = 144$ d *holland*) or 90% of those in *goed geld* ($\acute{e}cu = 160$ d *holland*), as expected.

These are the sort of posts that Hamaker focused on, with the number of *écu* given, not the amount in *pond goed geld*.

• Écu Goed Geld of 162 d Holland and Rekenpond Goed Geld

There follow several pages of posts involving *pond holland* and/or the *écu* of 144 d *holland*. The *summae* of some of them are given in an *écu* of 13 β 6 d *holland* or 162 d *holland* (pp. 401 (2), 406, & 407), all without using the term *goed geld*, which only returns on p. 440:



Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 440^[1]

 $22 \pm 7 \text{ d}$ [holland] = 5,287 d holland

<u>19 £ 11 β 7 d goed geld</u> = 4,699 d goed geld

(162 ÷ 144 = 1.125) x 4,699 đ goed geld = 5,286.375 đ holland rounded up to 5,287 đ holland

This is a conversion from the écu of 144 d holland to the écu goed geld of 162 d holland.

These posts are all conversions from the *écu* of 144 d *holland* to the *écu goed geld* of 162 d *holland*:

Summa, 19 ff 15 sc. 10 d. ende maect in goeden ghelde 17 ff 11 sc. 10 d.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 441^[1]



Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 442^[1]

Summa, 14 ff 18 sc. 2½ d., ende maect in goeden ghelde 13 ff 5 sc. ½ d.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 445^[1]

Summa, 4 ff 9 sc. 11 d., ende maect in goeden ghelde 3 ff 19 sc. 11 d.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 446^[1]



Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 446^[1]

<u>1 pavilion = 13 β 4 \mathring{d} [holland] = 160 \mathring{d} holland</u>

Summa, 8 th 10 sc. 10 d., ende maect in goeden ghelde, 7 th 11 sc. 10 d.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 448^[1]

These posts are all conversions from the *écu* of 144 d *holland* to the *écu goed geld* of 162 d *holland*.

In theory, this post is a conversion from the *écu* of 144 d *holland* to the *écu goed geld* of 162 d *holland*:

Summa, 51 ff 15 sc. 8 d., ende maect in goeden ghelde 46 ff 17½ d.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 449^[1]

 $51 \pm 15 \beta 8 d$ [holland] = 12,428 d holland *

<u>46 £ 17.5 đ goed geld</u> = 11,057.5 đ goed geld

(162 ÷ 144 = 1.125) x 11,057.5 d goed geld = 12,439.6875 d holland rounded up to 12,440 d holland

This does not add up properly. The total given expressed in *goed geld* is 12 d *holland* too high.

The math only works out with an *écu goed geld* valued at an unlikely c. 161.85 d *holland*.

(161.85 ÷ 144) x 11,057.5 d goed geld = 12,428.16927083333333 d holland rounded down to 12,428 d holland

It seems probable that one of the amounts was incorrectly recorded in the accounts, or that Hamaker made an error in his transcription.

These posts are conversions from the *écu* of 144 d *holland* to the *écu goed geld* of 162 d *holland*:



Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 450^[1]



Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 451 [1]

There are no more references to *goed geld* in the Florens v.d. Boechorst accounts.

Redaction of the Accounts

At several points in his transcriptions, Hamaker decided to leave out what he considered to be "repetitive" information. While we are not convinced that this was a good idea (in general), it does not seem to have affected anything relevant to our *leeuwengroot* study, insofar as the Florens v.d. Boechorst (or Gheret Heynen) accounts are concerned. (More on this in our upcoming reports on the Zeeland accounts, to be published.)

Item ontfaen in den eersten van afterstallighen renten van Aemstelrelant van den jare 42, die haer Florans overleverde in sire lester rekeninghe, 137 28 14 sc. 2 d.

Zie de Eerste rekening, blz. 296. De naamlijsten der achterstallige schuldenaars in de rentmeesterschappen laat ik voortaan achterwege.

[...]

In Muden 1).

Zie de Eerste rekening, blz. 296. Het rontsoen was toen 1 d. meer, overigens is er geen verschil. De summa bedraagt 6 🔁 4 sc. 5 d.

 Waar ik, even als hier, naar het gelijknamige artikel van een der vorige rekeningen verwijs, bedoel ik daarmede niet dat de tekst woord voor woord overeenkomt of dat de verpachte renten in de handen derzelfde personen gebleven zijn. Ik wil alleen zeggen dat de prijzen niet veranderd zijn. Waar het verschil onbeduidend was, heb ik wel naar de voorgaande rekening verwezen, maar tevens de verandering aangegeven. Alle artikels, die zoo als Naarden, Weesp en anderen, meer afwijken, zijn geheel geplaatst.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 303^[1]

Penalty Fines

In Purmer.
Hannetgin Herdijns s., omdat hi zwane sloech,
4 ft 10 sc.
Item Hanneke Zobeke, van sijns wijfs misdaet. 40 sc.
Item Colyn, omdat sijn wijf eens joncwijfs roc haelde
buten den rechter, 1 ff.
Item Bersel, van sire broke, 30 sc.
Item Brodertgin van sijns wijfs ende sijns zoens mis-
daet, 50 sc.
Item Didde Truden zoen, omdat hi goet haelde buten
rechte, dat him ghestolen was, 15 sc.
Item Syman Taske, van sire broke, 30 sc.
Item Anderic, die smeder, omdat hi enen onrechten
tuuch dede, 6 ff 10 sc.
Item Beerde Coppen s., van sire broke, 1 ff.
Summa, 22 ft 5 sc.
optimization i many paylog and a
In Randorp.
In Randorp. Jabbout Leyden s., Peter Leyden s., Jan Leyden ende
In Randorp. Jabbout Leyden s., Peter Leyden s., Jan Leyden ende Jacob Peters s., omdat si enen dam ghesleghen hebben
In Randorp. Jabbout Leyden s., Peter Leyden s., Jan Leyden ende Jacob Peters s., omdat si enen dam ghesleghen hebben over die leet buten Holensloot buten den here, dat
In Randorp. Jabbout Leyden s., Peter Leyden s., Jan Leyden ende Jacob Peters s., omdat si enen dam ghesleghen hebben over die leet buten Holensloot buten den here, dat eene banwateringhe is. 18 ff 10 sc.
In Randorp. Jabbout Leyden s., Peter Leyden s., Jan Leyden ende Jacob Peters s., omdat si enen dam ghesleghen hebben over die leet buten Holensloot buten den here, dat eene banwateringhe is, 18 ft 10 sc. Item Coppijn Hevnen s. van sire broke. 1 ff.
In Randorp. Jabbout Leyden s., Peter Leyden s., Jan Leyden ende Jacob Peters s., omdat si enen dam ghesleghen hebben over die leet buten Holensloot buten den here, dat eene banwateringhe is, 18 ff 10 sc. Item Coppijn Heynen s. van sire broke, 1 ff. Item Alfaert, omdat hi een zegghen wederzevde, dat
In Randorp. Jabbout Leyden s., Peter Leyden s., Jan Leyden ende Jacob Peters s., omdat si enen dam ghesleghen hebben over die leet buten Holensloot buten den here, dat eene banwateringhe is, Item Coppijn Heynen s. van sire broke, Item Alfaert, omdat hi een zegghen wederzeyde, dat hi verpeent hadde te houden. 5 fb.
In Randorp. Jabbout Leyden s., Peter Leyden s., Jan Leyden ende Jacob Peters s., omdat si enen dam ghesleghen hebben over die leet buten Holensloot buten den here, dat eene banwateringhe is, Item Coppijn Heynen s. van sire broke, Item Alfaert, omdat hi een zegghen wederzeyde, dat hi verpeent hadde te houden, Item Noppetgin, van sire misdaet, omdat hi Hanne
In Randorp. Jabbout Leyden s., Peter Leyden s., Jan Leyden ende Jacob Peters s., omdat si enen dam ghesleghen hebben over die leet buten Holensloot buten den here, dat eene banwateringhe is, 18 ff 10 sc. Item Coppijn Heynen s. van sire broke, 1 ff. Item Alfaert, omdat hi een zegghen wederzeyde, dat hi verpeent hadde te houden, 5 ff. Item Noppetgin, van sire misdaet, omdat hi Hanne Wijntgins zoens wijf ontvoerde, 4 ff.
In Randorp. Jabbout Leyden s., Peter Leyden s., Jan Leyden ende Jacob Peters s., omdat si enen dam ghesleghen hebben over die leet buten Holensloot buten den here, dat eene banwateringhe is, 18 ft 10 sc. Item Coppijn Heynen s. van sire broke, 1 ft. Item Alfaert, omdat hi een zegghen wederzeyde, dat hi verpeent hadde te houden, 5 ft. Item Noppetgin, van sire misdaet, omdat hi Hanne Wijntgins zoens wijf ontvoerde, 4 ft. Item Gheyman, omdat hi zoden dalf, daer hi onghe-
In Randorp. Jabbout Leyden s., Peter Leyden s., Jan Leyden ende Jacob Peters s., omdat si enen dam ghesleghen hebben over die leet buten Holensloot buten den here, dat eene banwateringhe is, 18 ff 10 sc. Item Coppijn Heynen s. van sire broke, 1 ff. Item Alfaert, omdat hi een zegghen wederzeyde, dat hi verpeent hadde te houden, 5 ff. Item Noppetgin, van sire misdaet, omdat hi Hanne Wijntgins zoens wijf ontvoerde, 4 ff. Item Gheyman, omdat hi zoden dalf, daer hi onghe- waert was, 40 sc.
In Randorp. Jabbout Leyden s., Peter Leyden s., Jan Leyden ende Jacob Peters s., omdat si enen dam ghesleghen hebben over die leet buten Holensloot buten den here, dat eene banwateringhe is, 18 ff 10 sc. Item Coppijn Heynen s. van sire broke, 1 ff. Item Alfaert, omdat hi een zegghen wederzeyde, dat hi verpeent hadde te houden, 5 ff. Item Noppetgin, van sire misdaet, omdat hi Hanne Wijntgins zoens wijf ontvoerde, 4 ff. Item Gheyman, omdat hi zoden dalf, daer hi onghe- waert was, 40 sc. Item Coppe Nannen s. van een toeloep van vrede, 3 ff.
In Randorp. Jabbout Leyden s., Peter Leyden s., Jan Leyden ende Jacob Peters s., omdat si enen dam ghesleghen hebben over die leet buten Holensloot buten den here, dat eene banwateringhe is, 18 ff 10 sc. Item Coppijn Heynen s. van sire broke, 1 ff. Item Alfaert, omdat hi een zegghen wederzeyde, dat hi verpeent hadde te houden, 5 ff. Item Noppetgin, van sire misdaet, omdat hi Hanne Wijntgins zoens wijf ontvoerde, 4 ff. Item Gheyman, omdat hi zoden dalf, daer hi onghe- waert was, 40 sc. Item Coppe Nannen s. van een toeloep van vrede, 3 ff. Item Coppe Elle, omdat hi den scoute wederzeide, 3 ff.
In Randorp. Jabbout Leyden s., Peter Leyden s., Jan Leyden ende Jacob Peters s., omdat si enen dam ghesleghen hebben over die leet buten Holensloot buten den here, dat eene banwateringhe is, 18 ff 10 sc. Item Coppijn Heynen s. van sire broke, 1 ff. Item Alfaert, omdat hi een zegghen wederzeyde, dat hi verpeent hadde te houden, 5 ff. Item Noppetgin, van sire misdaet, omdat hi Hanne Wijntgins zoens wijf ontvoerde, 4 ff. Item Gheyman, omdat hi zoden dalf, daer hi onghe- waert was, 40 sc. Item Coppe Nannen s. van een toeloep van vrede, 3 ff. Item Coppe Elle, omdat hi den scoute wederzeide, 3 ff. Item Pilgrym Moys, van sire broke, 1 ff.
In Randorp. Jabbout Leyden s., Peter Leyden s., Jan Leyden ende Jacob Peters s., omdat si enen dam ghesleghen hebben over die leet buten Holensloot buten den here, dat ene banwateringhe is, 18 ff 10 sc. Item Coppijn Heynen s. van sire broke, 1 ff. Item Alfaert, omdat hi een zegghen wederzeyde, dat hi verpeent hadde te houden, 5 ff. Item Noppetgin, van sire misdaet, omdat hi Hanne Wintgins zoens wijf ontvoerde, 4 ff. Item Gheyman, omdat hi zoden dalf, daer hi onghe- waert was, 40 sc. Item Coppe Nannen s. van een toeloep van vrede, 3 ff. Item Coppe Elle, omdat hi den scoute wederzeide, 3 ff. Item Pilgryn Moys, van sire broke, 1 ff.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 280^[1]

Some of the most interesting entries in the FvdB accounts are those involving money received for fines levied as penalties for various crimes and misdeeds, including fighting and non-payment. I must admit that I have been unable to translate a number of them, but some of the entries are rather interesting.

Apparently, if I am understanding these posts correctly, for example, in Purmer, Hanneke Zobeke paid for his wife's infractions, as did Brodertgin, who also paid for his son's crimes, all undescribed, and Colyn's wife seems to have stolen a gown. In Randorp, 4 men were fined for building an unauthorized dam, while Noppetgin seems to have been found guilty of kidnapping the wife of Hanne Wijntgins son.

<u>Hamaker</u>

This is what Hamaker had to say about the Florens v.d. Boechorst accounts in general:



Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 255^[1]

zoo ver mij bekend is, het eenige voorbeeld aanbiedt van de vereeniging van het baljuwschap met het rentmeesterschap; dat vroeger zeer gewoon was, maar reeds ten tijde van Philips van Leyden in onbruik raakte¹). Ten gevolge hiervan worden in deze rekeningen niet alleen de gewone renten opgesomd, maar volgt daarop een hoofdstuk met de boeten onder den baljuw in strafzaken verbeurd; ook worden onder de Uitgaven het geld aan gevangenen te koste gelegd en het loon van den beul berekend.

Wat den tekst betreft ben ik hier, evenmin als bij de vorige rekeningen, van het oorspronkelijk afgeweken, alleen onmiskenbare schrijffouten zijn hier en daar verbeterd. Doch er is iets anders. Het spreekt van zelf dat de bronnen, waaruit de renten van den graaf voortvloeiden, in deze rekeningen doorgaans dezelfden zijn, daar de lasten van dezelfde landschappen geheven en dezelfde tienden of andere venten verpacht worden. Dit heeft vele herhalingen ten gevolge, die de rentmeester onmogelijk vermijden kon, maar die voor ons onvruchtbaar zijn en onze kennis niet vermeerderen. Om aan dit bezwaar te gemoet te komen, heb ik de artikels, welke reeds in eene oudere rekening voorkwamen en onveranderd gebleven waren, niet voor de tweede maal in de uitgave opgenomen, maar den lezer eenvoudig naar de eerste plaats verwezen. Bij aanzienlijk verschil heb ik echter gemeend niets te mogen weglaten en zulk een artikel geheel geplaatst. Ook bij de opgaven van den achterstal zullen wij tot eene aanzienlijke bekorting kunnen overgaan. De rentmeesters plegen

1) Phil. de Leyden, de Cura Reip. Cas. 32. p. 93. Nota similiter quod ad duas militias, antiqua consuetudine conjunctas, quis sufficere potest. Nam etsi hic diversitas, nulla tamen adversitas reperitur, ul verbi gratia, quod capellanus principis ejusdem sit eleëmosynarius, quare ista connexa sunt, vel qui receptor sit in aliquibus partibus eo ipso balivus habeatur in certo loco, ut esse consuevit de receptore Northollandiae, qui esse balivus eo ipso consuevit in Haga, licet temporibus nostris guandoque illa duo secta sint et separata.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 256^[1]

in de afdeeling Ontvangsten aan te nemen, dat alle renten geheel zijn voldaan en daaraan niets meer ontbreekt. Doch het is er verre van daan, dat dit in waarheid zoo wezen zou: vele personen hebben, als de tijd der verantwoording daar is, hunne schuld niet of slechts gedeeltelijk betaald. De rentmeesters zijn dus verplicht van dit te kort rekening te doen, en wel onder de Uitgaven, om op die wijze het verschil tusschen de geboekte ontvangsten en hetgeen werkelijk voldaan is, in het gelijk te brengen. Natuurlijk moeten zij bij die gelegenheid van elken schuldenaar den naam en het te kort opgeven, om in het volgend jaar hun aanspraak niet te verliezen. Deze lijsten zijn echter voor ons van alle belang ontbloot, en wij mogen ze gerust achterwege laten: het is genoeg dat wij de summa van den achterstal kennen, en in staat zijn, zoo het ons belieft, den rentmeester in zijne rekening op den voet te volgen. Niet te min heb ik de opgaven van den achterstal in de eerste rekening in haar geheel overgenomen, om een voorbeeld te geven van de wijze, hoe de rentmeester dit punt pleegt te behandelen.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 257^[1]

TWEEDE REKENING.

1343, Aug. 23 - 1344, Aug. 18.

Tot onze spijt is van deze rekening slechts een klein gedeelte bewaard gebteven. De afdeeling Uitgaven is geheel verloren gegaan, en van de Ontvangsten bezitten wij slechts twee hoofdstukken, de achterstallige renten van Amstelland in 1342, en de geheele renten van 1343. Al wat verder bij deze afdeeling behoort, zoo als de achterstallige renten van Waterland en den Zevanc in 1342, de halve renten van beide landschappen in 1343, de gelden door den rentmeester als baljuw ontvangen en wat er nog meer van dien aard wezen mag, is spoorloos verdwenen.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 302^[1]

DERDE REKENING.

1344, Aug. 18 - 1345, Mei 30.

ONTVANGSTEN.

Dit is innemen haren Florans van der Boechurst, van der rentemeesterscap ende van der bailiuscap van den lande van Aemstel ende van Waterlant, seder die tijt dat hi lest rekende, dat was tot sinte Ghertruden berghe des donresdaghes na onser vrouwendach assumptio int jaer 44, voer heren Willem van Duvenvoerde, den here van der Merwede, heren Willem van Outshoerne, heren Jan den Muelnare, heren Herbaren van Riede, heren Jan van Pollanen, meester Clais Stuyc, heren Peter van der Haye ende Ghert Alewijns, tot des manendaghes na des heylighen sacraments dach int jaer 45.

In den eersten van der afterstalle, dat haer Ghert van Heemskerke him overleverde van den renteu in Aemstelrelant van den jare van 37, 38, 39, daer of niet ontfaen. Item van afterstallighen renten van Aemstelrelant van den jare 40, daer die summe of liep 70 🛱 5 sc. 14 d. Van dezen achterstal heeft de rentmeester in het jaar 41 ontvangen 60 👯 17 sc. 9 d., later niet meer, zoodat de graaf thans nog eene som te kort komt van 9 🎇 7 sc. 44 d.

Hamaker (Holland) I, p. 302^[1]

CONCLUSION

The *socius* is only mentioned once in the accounts, with a value of 6 d *holland*, while the *écu* was worth 12 β *holland* (i.e. 144 d *holland*). The *gans* (i.e. the *grand blanc*), on the other hand, is mentioned on the same page and the page thereafter over 30 times, which is noteworthy. The *socius* entry was made at some point between 22 November, 1342 and 23 August, 1343.

Hamaker's blanket statement that the *écu goed geld* was worth 160 đ *holland* is incorrect; the *écu goed geld* was sometimes worth 162 or 164 đ *holland*. Hamaker's statement that the *rekenpond écu goed geld* did not exist does not seem to be correct either, as numerous entries give the final totals in this very *rekenpond*.

I.

II. THE ACCOUNTS OF GHERET HEYNEN

VII.

TWEE REKENINGEN

VAN

GHERET HEYNEN ZOON,

RENTMEESTEE VAN NOORDHOLLAND.

EERSTE REKENING.

1343, Aug. 23 - 1344, Aug. 20.

ONTVANGSTEN.

Dit is Gheret Heynen s. innemen, rentemeesters van Noirthollant ende van den lande van Woerden, seder den dach dat hi lest rekende, dat was des saterdaghes up sinte Bertelmees avonde int jair 48, tot des vridaghes na onser vrouwen dach assumptio int jair 44.

Hamaker (Holland) II, p. 3^[2]

Hamaker (Holland) II, p. 7^[2]

¹⁾ Toen ik Dl. I, blz. 156, in de Inleiding voor de rentmeestersrekeningen van Amstelland en Waterland, zeide dat Florans van der Boekhorst de eenige mij bekende rentmeester was, die tevens het baljuwschap had waargenomen, schoot mijn geheugen te kort. De rentmeester van Noordholland wordt hier en in de volgende rekening wel niet baljuw van sHage genoemd, maar dat hij die betrekking vervuld heeft, zoo als volgens Phil. van Leyden gebruikelijk was, blijkt uit den aard der verboernessen, die hij daar beurde. Het zijn boeten wegens moord, vechten en dergelijken. Ook zijn voorganger Enghebrecht was in 1316 schout of baljuw te sHage geweest. Zie Dl. I, blz. 14. Eindelijk vergelijke men nog Dl. I, blz. 135, waar men het bewijs vindt dat Jan heren Gillys zoon, de rentmeester van Zuidholland, tevens baljuw te Strienemonde moet geweest zijn.

The accounts of Gheret Heynen, *rentmeester* of Noordholland, *baljuw* of 'sHage, can be found on pp. 3-221 of the second volume of Hamaker's Holland transcription (ref. 2). The accounts cover the period 23 August, 1343 – 20 August, 1344.

On p. 7, the name is given as: *Gheret Heynen zoon* and as *Gheret Heynen s*. On other pages he refers to himself as *Gherets* or *Gheret*.

As with the FvdB accounts, we searched through every page looking for references to *socius* or *gezel* (etc.). The Gheret Heynen accounts contain only 1 clear reference to *socius* coins.

This is the only post involving *socius* coins:

Item Clazekijn, den coc van Dordrecht, om die haver mede te voeren in Heynegouwen, 42 scilde, facit 28 ff. Item 24 gheselle, facit 14 sc. Item 18 ganse, facit 6 sc. Item Jan midden hoifde mid sinen ghezellen, om die haver van den solre in die Haghe op waghen te dreghen, van 47 hoede, van den hoede 2 d., doet 8 sc.

Hamaker (Holland) II, p. 109^[2]

<u> $24 \text{ gezel} = 14 \beta$ </u> [holland] = 168 d holland = 7 d holland per socius

This is fairly straightforward. Note that the *socius* is now valued at 7 d *holland* instead of 6 d *holland* (cf. the Florens v.d. Boechorst accounts above). In addition, the *écu* used is not the "new" *écu* of 144 d *holland*, but rather the "old" *écu* {*goed geld*}, valued at 160 d *holland*:

<u> $42 \text{ } \acute{e} cu = 28 \text{ } \pounds \text{ } [holland] = 6,720 \text{ } \$ holland = 160 \text{ } \$ holland \text{ per } \acute{e} cu$ </u>

<u> $18 \text{ ganse} = 6 \beta$ </u> [holland] = 72 d holland = 4 d holland per gans

The word *ghezellen* in the second post is referring to human companions, as are all of the other references in the Gheret Heynen accounts to *gezellen*:

Jan den zagher ende sinen ghezelle van 4 daghen hairlijc 2 sc. sdaghes, doet 16 sc.

Hamaker (Holland) II, p. 50

Gheret die decker van 9 daghen mid sinen ghezelle sdaghes 32 d., doet 24 sc.

Hamaker (Holland) II, p. 54

Item Claes Allaert s. ende sinen ghesellen van loeghen, van den laste 4 d., doet 28 sc. 8 d.

Hamaker (Holland) II, p. 59

Item Jan midden hoifde mid sinen ghezellen, om die haver van den solre in die Haghe op waghen te dreghen, van 47 hoede, van den hoede 2 d., doet 8 sc.

Hamaker (Holland) II, p. 109

Item Jan den zagher mid sinen ghezelle van 22 daghen, sdaghes 32 d., doet 58 sc. 8 d.

Hamaker (Holland) II, p. 176

We could find no other references to *socius* (*gezel*) coins in the accounts of Gheret Heynen.

The Lion(s)

One of the most interesting and unusual set of entries seems to relate to something that we had never heard of from any other source; it appears that William IV, the count of Holland, Hainaut (William II), and Zeeland had one or more **lions**. (If the words were modern Dutch, it would be lions, but we are unsure of how the language went in the 14th century.)

There are a large number of posts relating to the construction of a *lewen huys* ("lion house"), i.e. costs for lumber, iron and workmen. There are posts for 2 locks, for a collar and for leather straps, followed by large number of posts regarding money paid out for sheep and sheep's bellies to feed said lion(s) ("...*scaepsbuyc die de lewen verteert hebben*.")

Item van enen halsbande - 8 d.

Hamaker (Holland) II, p. 176^[2]

Item Syman Wennen van lederen banden 82 d. Item om scaepsbuyc, die de lewen verteert hebben. Eerst om 6 scaepsbuyc, die de lewe verteerden die wile dat mijn heer ende mijn vrouwe in die Haghe waren voir kersavond, bi Florekijn, tstic 3 sc. 5 d., doet 20 sc. 6 d.

Hamaker (Holland) II, p. 177^[2]

Here is the complete set of entries regarding *de lewe*:

Item uytghegheven om der lewen huys te maken ende om thout te hemelen, datter ghevallen was int bosch omtren sente Michiels dach, dair die hoep of ghebezicht was an der lewen huys. Bi Michiel om hout ghecoft. Jan die Witte van 100 ende een sticke waghenscots, 46 sc. 31 d. tstic 51 d., doet Item Michiel selve 30 sticke waghenscots, tstic 51 d., doet 13 sc. 9 d. Item Michiel 97 sticke sparhouts, tstic 6 d., doet 48 sc. 6d. Item Michiel van 425 latten, thondert 32 d., doet 11 sc. 4 d. Item Michiel van 22 planken, tstic 2 sc., doet 44 sc. Item Michiel van 68 boeken borden, tstic 2 d., doet 11 sc. 4 d. Tander hout ghenomen van mijns heren provanche. Item dair an ghewrocht Michiel 29 daghe, sdaghes 14 d., doet 33 sc. 10 d. Heyn Top 12 daghe, sdaghes 16 d., doet · 16 sc. Claes Jan s. 24 daghe, sdaghes 10 d., doet 20 sc. Jacob Michiel s. 29 daghe, sdaghes 6 d., doet 14 sc. 6 d. Jan Denghels 2 daghe, sdaghes 10 d., doet 20 d. Claes Betten s. 3 daghe, sdaghes 10 d., doet 2 sc. 6 d. Tonijs 2 daghe, sdaghes 10 d., doet 20 d. Heyn Coelman 3 daghe, sdaghes 10 d., doet 2 sc. 6 d. Gheret Doede 2 daghe, sdaghes 10 d., doet 20 d. Dirc van Alken 2 daghe, sdaghes 10 d., doet 20 d. Jan Claes Hazen s. een dach 10 d. Aernd Reynaer s. een dach 10 d. Hannekijn Hondebroet s. een dach 10 d. Jan Scot 3 daghe, sdaghes 10 d., doet 2 sc. 6 d. Backer Clazekijn s. een dach 10 d. Florekijn Kielen s. een dach 10 d. Willem Ermeghaerde s. 20 daghe, sdaghes 14 d., doet 23 sc. 4 d.

Hamaker (Holland) II, p. 175^[2]

Hoeninc 17 daghe, sdaghes 14 d., doet 19 sc. 10 d.
Aerna van wassenser 23 asgne, sasgnes 4 a., doet
Hornshiin mooston Hughon arashan 19 dagha sda
shee 14 d doot
gnes 14 d., doet 15 sc. 2 d.
Item Jan den zagner mid sinen gnezelle van 22 dagnen,
sasgnes 32 a., doet 58 sc. 8 a.
Item dair an ghemaetset
Meester Hughe 11 daghe, sdaghes 16 d., doet
14 sc. 8 d.
Catwyc 11 daghe, sdaghes 10 d., doet 9 sc. 2 d.
Item Dirc den smit van yserwerc, 59 pond weghens an
ankers, tpond 3 d., doet 14 sc. 9 d.
Item 58 pond weghens an groten spikeren, tpond 4 d.,
doet 19 sc. 2 d.
2400 middelysers, thondert 20 d., doet 40 sc.
2300 lascysers, thondert 10 d., doet 19 sc. 2 d.
1700 scospikeren, thondert 5 d., doet 7 sc. 1 d.
2200 latysers, thoudert 4 d., doet 7 sc. 4 d.
Item 2 paer hangheles 2 sc.
Item 24 yseren bande, tstic 6 d., doet 12 sc.
Item een yseren haec an die doere 6 d.
Item een yseren raecse ten lewe mit 2 crammen 5 sc.
Item Vrederic den slotemaker van 2 sloten 2 sc.
Item van enen halsbande - 8 d.
Item dit huys te decken.
Gheret den decker van 3700 snoers, thondert 2 d., doet
overmids enen penninc van voeringhe 6 sc. 8 d.
Item Oudsierkijn van 3 voeder riets te vluychten, tvoe-
der 14 d., doet 3 sc. 6 d.
Tander riet ghenomen van mijns heren provanche.
Item Slaeplaken van 3 wede bast mede te stegheren
2 sc. 6 d.
Item Gheret den decker mit sinen naver van 15 daghen,
sdaghes 32 d., doet ' 40 sc.

Hamaker (Holland) II, 176^[2]

Item Florijs Hazekijn s. van opperen van 15 daghen, sdaghes 10 d., doet 12 sc. 6 d. Item Aernd Colijn s. om dit huys onder mid houte te tralien, van 10 daghen, sdaghes 20 d., doet 16 sc. 8 d. Jacob Michiel s. 10 daghe, sdaghes 8 d., doet 6 sc. 8 d. Item Dirc den smit van 200 middelysers, thondert 20 d., doet 3 sc. 4 d. Item om dit huys te zoden in die weke voir pinxteren, Gheret die decker 2 daghe, sdaghes 16 d., doet 32 d.

Mathijs sijn stiepsoen 2 daghe, sdaghes 10 d., doet 20 d. Florijs veren Hazekijn s. 2 daghe, sdaghes 10 d., doet 20 d.

Item van der lewen cost.

Bi Jan den panetier ghegheven bi behiete van mijns heren weghen Hannekijn van Staden, die weder keerde te landewairt, ende Vos alliene dair bi te bliven, enen 13 sc. 4 d. scilt, maect 32 d. Item Syman Wennen van lederen banden Item om scaepsbuyc, die de lewen verteert hebben. Eerst om 6 scaepsbuyc, die de lewe verteerden die wile dat mijn heer ende mijn vrouwe in die Haghe waren voir kersavond, bi Florekijn, tstic 8 sc. 5 d., doet 20 sc. 6 d. Ghizebrecht Heynekijn s. 4 scape, tstic 7 sc., doet 28 sc. Willem Reynod s. 3 scaepsbuyke, tstic 3 sc., doet 9 sc. Dirc Wouter 16 scape, tstic 7 sc. 4 d., doet 5 to 17 sc. 4 d. Claes Ymmen s. 8 buyke, tstic 5 sc. 4 d., doet 42 sc. 8 d. Hanne Croet 8 scape, tstic 8 sc. 8 d., doet 3 gg 9 sc. 4 d. Item Florijs die vleyschouwer 9 buyke, tstic 6 sc. 8 d., doet 3 28. Jonijs Jans swagher 7 scape, tstic 6 sc., doet 42 sc. Wiggher 3 scaepsbuye, tstic 4 sc. 8 d., doet 14 sc. Jan van Walgheren een scaep, 6 sc. Philips Banioens zwagher 2 scape, tstic 6 sc. 8 d., doet 13 sc. 4 d. 5 sc. 6 d. Andries van Wijc een scaepsbuyc

Hamaker (Holland) II, 177^[2]

Coppijn Gale een buyc	5 sc. 6 d.
Jan die vleyschouwer 2 buye, tstic 6 sc., d	oet 12 sc.
Pieter Pawes s. 7 scape, tstic 8 sc., doet	56 sc.
Dammes van Leyden 18 scape, tstic 6 sc. 8 d.	, doet 6 艘.
Vranke Croet 10 weders, tstic 8 sc., doet	4 88.
Pieter Pawes s. 9 scape, tstic 9 sc., doet	4 28 12 d.
Jan Poirtier 9 scape, tstic 9 sc., doet	4 tt 12 d.
Claes Syman s. 1 buyc	5 sc.
Ruyske 8 scape, tstic 7 sc. 10 d., doet 3 @	8 2 sc. 8 d.
Item noch scape ghecoft te Leyden up asce	nsien dach.
Jacob Willem s. 6 scape, tstic 6 sc. 8 d.,	doet 40 sc.
Willem Meus s. 7 scape, tstic 6 sc., doet	42 sc.
Claes Boechout een scaep 1	0 sc. 10 d.
Florijs Pieter Iden s. 6 scape, tstic 10 sc.	8 d., doet
	3 28 4 sc.
Claes Gheret s. een scaep	7 sc. 4 d.
Syman Gronewout 2 scape, tstic 6 sc. 8 d.,	doet
	4000
,	18 sc. 4 d.
Item van Florekijn cost	13 sc. 4 d. 12 d.
Item van Florekijn cost Item van goodspenninc ende litcoep	13 sc. 4 d. 12 d. 2 sc.
Item van Florekijn cost Item van goodspenninc ende litcoep Item van driven tot in die Haghe	13 sc. 4 d. 12 d. 2 sc. 14 d.
Item van Florekijn cost Item van goodspenninc ende litcoep Item van driven tot in die Haghe Item bi Florekijn van 22 calveren den goo	13 sc. 4 d. 12 d. 2 sc. 14 d. dshuyze in
Item van Florekijn cost Item van goodspenninc ende litcoep Item van driven tot in die Haghe Item bi Florekijn van 22 calveren den goo die Haghe, elc 2 sc., doet	13 sc. 4 d. 12 d. 2 sc. 14 d. dshuyze in 44 sc.
Item van Florekijn cost Item van goodspenninc ende litcoep Item van driven tot in die Haghe Item bi Florekijn van 22 calveren den goo die Haghe, elc 2 sc., doet Item Dirc den smit van enen paer mess	 13 sc. 4 d. 12 d. 2 sc. 14 d. dshuyze in 44 sc. e bi Vos,
Item van Florekijn cost Item van goodspenninc ende litcoep Item van driven tot in die Haghe Item bi Florekijn van 22 calveren den goo die Haghe, elc 2 sc., doet Item Dirc den smit van enen paer messe tvleysc mede te houwen,	 13 sc. 4 d. 12 d. 2 sc. 14 d. dshuyze in 44 sc. e bi Vos, 4 sc.
Item van Florekijn cost Item van goodspenninc ende litcoep Item van driven tot in die Haghe Item bi Florekijn van 22 calveren den goo die Haghe, elc 2 sc., doet Item Dirc den smit van enen paer mess tvleysc mede te houwen, Item bi Vos Clazekijn den vleyschouwer va	 13 sc. 4 d. 12 d. 2 sc. 14 d. dshuyze in 44 sc. e bi Vos, 4 sc. n 12 pond
Item van Florekijn cost Item van goodspenninc ende litcoep Item van driven tot in die Haghe Item bi Florekijn van 22 calveren den goo die Haghe, elc 2 sc., doet Item Dirc den smit van enen paer mess tvleysc mede te houwen, Item bi Vos Clazekijn den vleyschouwer van kaersen, tpond 7 d., doet	 13 sc. 4 d. 12 d. 2 sc. 14 d. dshuyze in 44 sc. e bi Vos, 4 sc. n 12 pond 7 sc.
Item van Florekijn cost Item van goodspenninc ende litcoep Item van driven tot in die Haghe Item bi Florekijn van 22 calveren den goo die Haghe, elc 2 sc., doet Item Dirc den smit van enen paer mess tvleysc mede te houwen, Item bi Vos Clazekijn den vleyschouwer va kaersen, tpond 7 d., doet Item Slaplaken van bezem ende baste bi Vo	 13 sc. 4 d. 12 d. 2 sc. 14 d. dshuyze in 44 sc. e bi Vos, 4 sc. n 12 pond 7 sc. s 5 sc.
Item van Florekijn cost Item van goodspenninc ende litcoep Item van driven tot in die Haghe Item bi Florekijn van 22 calveren den goo die Haghe, elc 2 sc., doet Item Dirc den smit van enen paer messe tvleysc mede te houwen, Item bi Vos Clazekijn den vleyschouwer van kaersen, tpond 7 d., doet Item Slaplaken van bezem ende baste bi Vo Item Vos van sinen wedden, van jairsdaghe i	 13 sc. 4 d. 12 d. 2 sc. 14 d. dshuyze in 44 sc. e bi Vos, 4 sc. n 12 pond 7 sc. s 5 sc. int jair 44,
Item van Florekijn cost Item van goodspenninc ende litcoep Item van driven tot in die Haghe Item bi Florekijn van 22 calveren den goo die Haghe, elc 2 sc., doet Item Dirc den smit van enen paer mess tvleysc mede te houwen, Item bi Vos Clazekijn den vleyschouwer va kaersen, tpond 7 d., doet Item Slaplaken van bezem ende baste bi Vo Item Vos van sinen wedden, van jairsdaghe i dat mijn vrouwe uter Hage voir, tote beloken	 13 sc. 4 d. 12 d. 2 sc. 14 d. dshuyze in 44 sc. e bi Vos, 4 sc. n 12 pond 7 sc. s 5 sc. int jair 44, pinxteren
Item van Florekijn cost Item van goodspenninc ende litcoep Item van driven tot in die Haghe Item bi Florekijn van 22 calveren den goo die Haghe, elc 2 sc., doet Item Dirc den smit van enen paer mess tvleysc mede te houwen, Item bi Vos Clazekijn den vleyschouwer van kaersen, tpond 7 d., doet Item Slaplaken van bezem ende baste bi Vo Item Vos van sinen wedden, van jairsdaghe i dat mijn vrouwe uter Hage voir, tote beloken toe int jair 45, dats van 19 weken, heft 2	 13 sc. 4 d. 12 d. 2 sc. 14 d. dshuyze in 44 sc. a bi Vos, 4 sc. bi Vos, 4 sc. n 12 pond 7 sc. s 5 sc. nt jair 44, pinxteren d. enghels
Item van Florekijn cost Item van goodspenninc ende litcoep Item van driven tot in die Haghe Item bi Florekijn van 22 calveren den goo die Haghe, elc 2 sc., doet Item Dirc den smit van enen paer messe tvleysc mede te houwen, Item bi Vos Clazekijn den vleyschouwer van kaersen, tpond 7 d., doet Item Slaplaken van bezem ende baste bi Vo Item Vos van sinen wedden, van jairsdaghe i dat mijn vrouwe uter Hage voir, tote beloken toe int jair 45, dats van 19 weken, heft 2 sdaghes, doet 3 £ 3 sc. 4 d., den scilt voir 15	 13 sc. 4 d. 12 d. 2 sc. 14 d. dshuyze in 44 sc. a bi Vos, 4 sc. bi Vos, 4 sc. n 12 pond 7 sc. s 5 sc. int jair 44, pinxteren d. enghels 2 sc., ma-

Summa, 96 2 11 sc. 8 d. maken 86 2 18 sc. 6 d.

Hamaker (Holland) II, 178^[2]

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