

A Preliminary Examination of the *Leeuwengroot* (*Socius, Gezel*) as Mentioned in Medieval Accounts

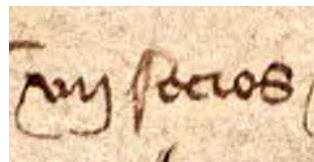
Part Five: The ILV Den Bosch

by Paul A. Torongo

© 2021

This is Part Five of our report on the *leeuwengroot* (*gros compagnon, gros au lion, socius, gezel*) 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. 103), Part Two (the accounts of Heynric de Rode, ref. 104), Part Three (the accounts of Florens van der Boechorst and of Gheret Heynens, ref. 105), and Part Four (the accounts of Jan Symons Zoon van Bisanten, ref. 106); we will not be repeating the basic information regarding medieval bookkeeping as given in previous reports.

This report concerns the accounts of the *Illustere Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap* in Den Bosch, The Netherlands. An (incomplete) transcription of these accounts was published by **Oldewelt** (ref. 32), and a discussion the ILV accounts and the coins found therein was published by **van Hengel** (ref. 22).



“vij socios”
(1232-116-024v P63) [122]

• *Mea Culpa*

We must apologize to our readers for some of our language use in our four previous reports of medieval accounts and the *leeuwengroten* found therein. We realize now that we have been blurring the lines between real (physical) coins, “money of account”, and market prices that were expressed in *leeuwengroten* in the accounts.

For example:

Item ghecoft jeghens Jan Aerndts 14 plancken, tptic om
3 ghesellen, ende 1 plancke om 2 ghesellen, maken 44
ghesellen, dat comt in holl., den gheselle voer 7½ d. holl.,
27 sc. 6 d.

Hamaker 3, p. 463 [19]

“After a long list of payments made for lumber, all of which are simply recorded in $\text{d}\text{ holland}$, there appear 4 transactions that were apparently **paid out** in *leeuwengroten* (*gezellen*). All four are found on p. 463 of Hamaker’s transcription (ref. 3). The price paid for wooden planks is given in *ghesellen*, we are told that 1 *gheselle* = $7 \frac{1}{2} \text{ d}\text{ holland}$, and we are given the transaction total (expressed in $\text{d}\text{ holland}$). **We are even told exactly how many *gheselle* coins were involved (!)**, which is not the norm for medieval accounting.”^[103]

Part One: Jan Meester Lams Zoon, p. 6

In fact, we do not actually know if any (physical) *leeuwengroot* coins were involved in this transaction at all. The transaction has been expressed in the accounts in terms of *ghesellen* (*leeuwengroten*) and then converted into *deniers holland*. But actual *leeuwengroot* coins may or may not have been used for the payment.

The accounts are being “kept in” *deniers holland*, as evidenced by the final conversion from *ghesellen* into $\text{d}\text{ holland}$. The market price of wooden planks was being expressed in *ghesellen*; why this should be so is not clear, although the likely answer is that the *gezel* was the “common coin” of the time and that purchase prices were therefore expressed in *gezellen*. How one did one’s bookkeeping was one’s own problem.

It was incorrect of me to state that *leeuwengroten* coins must have been used in this (and similar) transactions.

• The *Leeuwengroot* in the ILV Accounts

There are only a very few entries in the ILV accounts that mention the *leeuwengroot* (*socius*), all from 1354 (when John III was still duke of Brabant). Because there is so much peripheral discussion regarding these accounts, the *leeuwengroot* entries tend to disappear in the mass. These are the entries that mention the *socius*:

• Oldewelt p. 63 [1232-116-024v]

- item in Assumptione pro beate Marie officia deservientibus, cantoribus et Hyeme 7 **socios**.
- item in Nativitate eiusdem **predictis similiter tantum**.
- item in Conceptione beate Marie **predictis similiter tantum**.
- item in Purificatione beate Marie **predictis tantum**,
- item in Annunciatione Marie **predicte supradictis similiter tantum**,

• Oldewelt p. 66
[1232-116-025v]

- item 7 **socios** de prima missa filii Henrici Cortken.

Oldewelt p. 66
[1232-116-025v]

- item in die Assumptionis presbytero et deservientibus 7 **socios**.
- item deservientibus in exequiis magistri Goedefridi 2 **socios**.
- item in Nativitate Marie virginis presbytero et deservientibus 4 gr. 3 **socios**
valent 8 st. 10 d.

• Oldewelt p. 67
[1232-116-025v]

- item in exequiis Elizabet Coelvars 2 **socios** deservientibus in missa.
- item 4 gr. 8 d. pro spaens groen et pro hers 2 **socios**.

• Oldewelt p. 67
[1232-116-026r]

- item in exequiis Johannis Lit deservientibus 2 **socios**.

Only one of the entries gives us any opportunity to determine the value of the *socius* at the time.

$$4 \text{ groten} + 3 \text{ socios} = 8 \beta 10 \text{ d}$$
$$= 106 \text{ d}$$

We are going to have to skip ahead a bit, and inform the reader that 1 *groot* = 16 d (information gleaned from the ILV accounts themselves). Therefore:

$$64 \text{ d} + 3 \text{ socios} = 106 \text{ d}$$
$$3 \text{ socios} = 42 \text{ d}$$

$$1 \text{ socius} = 14 \text{ d}$$

• Coins

One of the problems that arises is the fact that many researchers who study (or have studied) the medieval accounts have an insufficient knowledge of the coins and coin types that were minted in the Middle Ages. This has led many a researcher to attempt to match up the real coins with the coins mentioned in the medieval accounts, with varying degrees of success (and failure). These attempts have, in turn, caused many headaches for us in our research.

Furthermore, the line between real coins and “monies of account” is often blurred, leading to incorrect conclusions on the parts of researchers who have muddled up the two (see our previous *mea culpa* note here above).

Not All From Brabant

In the case of the *leeuwengroot*, there seems to be a prevailing fallacy that all of the *leeuwengroten* recorded in a given transaction in a given place were coins minted in that same region (i.e. only Brabant coins in Brabant, only Holland coins in Holland, etc). However, the “international nature” of the *leeuwengroot* makes it unlikely that this idea is correct, and furthermore, hoard evidence seems to show that it is not true. We question whether anyone would sift through 500 *leeuwengroten*, separating the Flemish from the Brabançon and the Hollandais, etc. In theory, there would have been little reason to do so, other than to weed out the “inferior” coins from small regions like Rummen or Horne. While it is certainly possible, even likely, that a given amount of *leeuwengroten* in Brabant, for example, would have contained a majority of Brabant coins, hoard evidence seems to bear out the idea that a large enough number of coins would also have contained coins from other regions as well.



*leeuwengroot of John III (1312-1355), Duke of Brabant
Elsen 137-669*

Minting of the *leeuwengroot* had effectively ceased in Flanders in September of 1362, with the end of Issue VII. No more *leeuwengroten* were struck in Flanders until over a year later in December of 1363, when a short run until March, 1364 produced a relatively small number of coins (c. 456,300). It would seem that the type was already “dying out” by late 1362. Over the years, the silver content of the Flemish *leeuwengroot* had dropped from 0.75 in 1337 to 0.479 in 1364 (about 3 g. pure silver in 1337 to about 1.5 g AG in 1364).



*leeuwengroot of Jeanne (1355-1406), Duchess of Brabant
Elsen 141-536*

Despite the fact that the *leeuwengroot* had been minted in Brabant (on and off) since 1337, it did not appear in the ILV accounts until 1354, disappearing after a meager 12 entries over 3 ms. pages.

Other than the initial issues in 1337 (and 1338?), and the Ghent-Louvain “coin of convention”, we do not actually know when the various Brabant *leeuwengroten* were minted. Our current theory states that the minting of the ‘leaf’ coins ceased around October, 1341. The ‘star’ coins were minted late 1343 - early 1344. Presumably, no more *leeuwengroten* were minted in Brabant until some time in 1346, when the ‘mark of Brabant’ coins made an appearance. It is unknown whether production of these coins continued until 1355, when John III died, or whether minting had ended earlier; we simply do not know. At this point, we are presuming that production of Jeanne’s FILFD *leeuwengroten* began in mid-1355, after the Treaty of Ath with Flanders.

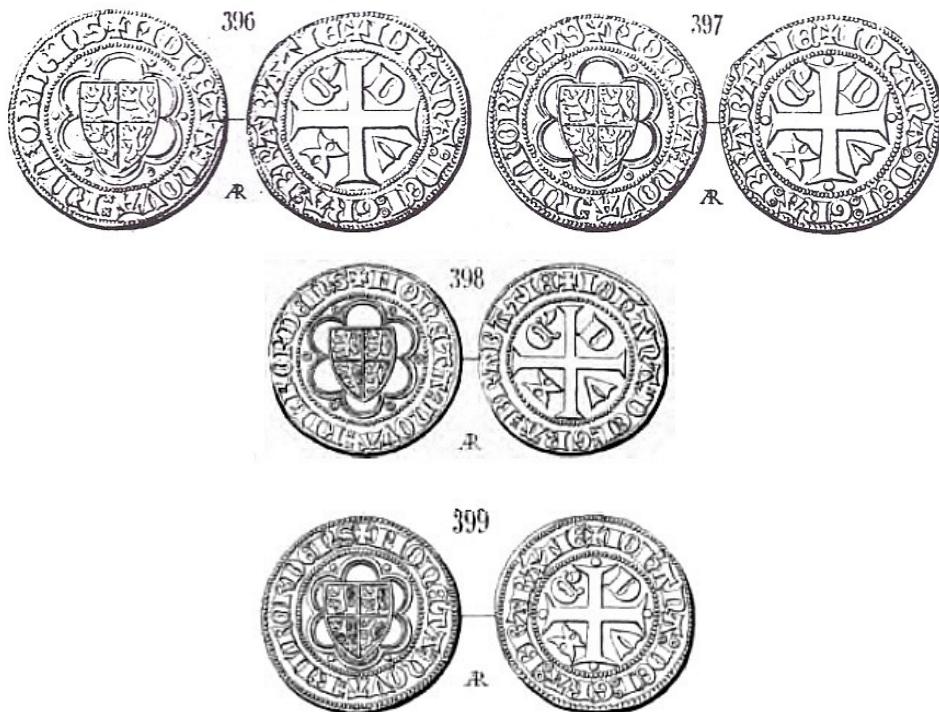
The *leeuwengroot* was the prevailing large, silver coin in circulation in Flanders for almost 30 years. Its arrival in 1337 caused an eventual change in the manner in which transactions were conducted and recorded (“money of account”). In the same way, when the *leeuwengroot* had run its course of usefulness, and was replaced by the lion-with-helm *plak* series, things changed again, and these coins, often referred to as *Flemish groten* in the accounts of various places, became one of the “standard accounting units”.



Elsen 145-192 / 2.13 g., half plak

- *Vlieghuit*

In Brabant, minting of the *leeuwengroot* under Jeanne (1355-1406) ceased in 1363, and the type was replaced by the mysteriously-named *vlieghuit*. The reason that this coin is referred to by a name that would appear to have something to do with flying is not apparent from the coins themselves:



The vlieghuit (dW 396-397) and the fractional thereof (dW 398-399)

No one has yet come up with a good reason that these coins would be referred to as *vlieghuits*.

The *vlieghuit* makes its appearance in the ILV accounts in 1367, and about this same time the ILV account entries are often expressed in *vlieghuits* or in (gold) *moutons*. There is sometimes an indication of the values (e.g. “one *vlieghuit* reckoned at 12 d”).

Minting of the *vlieghuit* began in Brabant in mid-1363, but for some reason, it was not until 1367 that the ILV brothers began using the type in their accounting (as a “money of account”).

Let us pause here for a moment to consider this more carefully: the *vlieghuit* makes its appearance in the ILV accounts **3-4 years after it was first minted**.

“In verband met deze Brabantse nabootsing is te noteren dat men voor het eerste maal van een groot spreekt die men explicet Brabantse groot noemt en welke 4 stuiver payment waard was, in rekening van 1359-60 van de stad Mechelen. Men kan er bijna met zekerheid uit afleiden dat de Brabantse nabootsing ten vroegste van einde 1359 dateert” [14]

– GhysSENS 1986, p. 31

(Ghyssens was not speaking about the *vlieghuit* here.) The imitations (*nabootsingen*) that Ghyssens was speaking about are the FILFD *leeuwengroten*, struck for Jeanne of Brabant (1355-1406). Ghyssens says that because the “*Brabant groot*” (which at the time, Ghyssens believed to be the extant FILFD *leeuwengroot*), first appeared in medieval records in 1359, it was first minted in 1359. The undeniable fact that this was not true in similar instances, i.e. the ILV account mentions of the *vlieghuit*, with a 3-4 year gap from minting to appearing in medieval bookkeeping, or the *socius* gap of some 17 years (!) from minting to accounting, puts Ghyssens’ assertion about the “*Brabant groot*” of 1359 into question. The FILFD coins could easily have been minted from 1357 (or, for as far as we actually know, from 1355).

As it turns out, the situation with the “*Brabant groot*” becomes even worse with Ghyssens, because in a subsequent publication, he assigns the name “*Brabant groot*” to another coin type altogether, while still using the citation above as “proof” that the FILFD *leeuwengroten* were struck from 1359 onwards (RBN 1988, p. 132, ref. 15).

Let us pause again, and take another moment to understand the ramifications of all of this. What Ghyssens has done here is not science, it is alchemy. First he says that the *Brabant groot* is the FILFD *leeuwengroot*, and that because the *Brabant groot* was first mentioned in medieval accounts in 1359, that the *Brabant groot* (i.e. the FILFD *leeuwengroot*) was first struck in 1359. Later, Ghyssens says that the *Brabant groot* is some other kind of coin, but maintains that the FILFD *leeuwengroten* were struck from 1359, even though he has himself removed his own “proof” of this being so (!). Ghyssens has, in fact, left himself with no manner of dating the FILFD coins and no reason to say that they were struck from 1359 onwards, and yet he continues to do just that.

Worse still: subsequent researchers, who blindly quote Ghyssens without question, will state (as though it is some kind of established fact) that the FILFD *leeuwengroten* were struck from 1359 onwards... because Ghyssens said so.

This is **not** science.

• *Ghelderse*

In 1351, there are entries in the ILV accounts that refer to *moneta dicta Gheldersen*, or “current money of Guelders”. Van Hengel gives no further information about what coin type *moneta gheldrense* might have been, but provides these coins as illustrations (with no references), both struck for Edward of Guelders:



[v.d. Chijs IV, 1]

[v.d. Chijs IV, 2]

Edward, *jonkheer* (1350-1361), Duke of Guelders (23 May, 1361 - 24 August 1371)

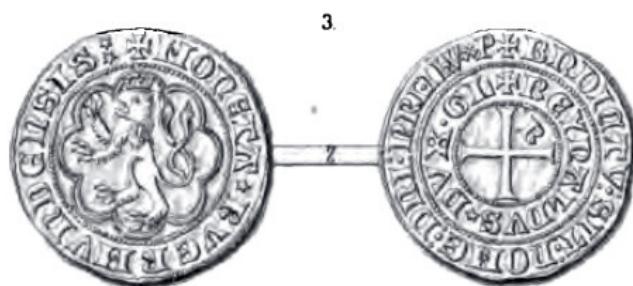
The coin on the left is clearly a *leeuwengroot*, but the whereabouts of the specimen illustrated (the only “known example”) are currently unknown. We have therefore been unable to confirm the accuracy (or inaccuracy) of the v.d. Chijs drawing. It is the only known *leeuwengroot* type attributed to Edward of Guelders, although a possible variant type has been described as well (whereabouts also unknown).^[85]

Simply because v. Hengel put that *leeuwengroot* in his article, we must now address the *ghelderse*. The question is, of course: what was the “current money” of Guelders in 1351? What coin type(s) was the *moneta dicta Gheldersen* listed in the ILV accounts? Would it have been coins struck for Edward as claimant, or coins of his brother, Reinald III, Duke of Guelders & Count of Zutphen (12 October, 1343 - 23 May, 1361)? Was it more than one type of Guelders coin? Were they *leeuwengroten* at all?

Although v. Hengel does not directly state any such thing, the implication is that the coins shown in the illustrations are the (only) coins being referred to by v. Hengel in his text. But in fact, they are just **some** of the (many) possible types of coins that may have been those being listed by the Brotherhood in the accounts. Several types of *leeuwengroot* were struck for Reinald III that are not shown in v. Hengel’s report.

We have absolutely no way of knowing whether the *moneta dicta Gheldersen* listed in the ILV accounts were Guelders *leeuwengroten* or not. However, as discussed above, it seems unlikely that anyone was separating the Flanders / Brabant / (Holland / Hainaut / etc.) *leeuwengroten* out from one another, and therefore unlikely that *leeuwengroten* from Guelders would have been separated out and referred to as “*ghelderse*”. In the accounts, it is seems that the “*ghelderse*” only came up one time, in the amount of 9 £, when a single payment was made using these coins (whatever they were). In such a situation, it is conceivable that all or most of the coins used for this specific payment were *leeuwengroten* from Guelders. We have our suspicions, however, that the coins were not *leeuwengroten*.

The coin that was not minted in most other regions, certainly not in Flanders or Brabant, and could therefore have stuck out as something “different” that could possibly be called *moneta dicta ghelderense*, was Reinald’s *Roermond groot*:



v.d. Chijs plate III, 3
Roermond groot

But any mention of the coin that is most likely (?) to be the *moneta dicta ghelderense* of the ILV accounts is missing from v. Hengel’s article.

• *Engelschen, Menglen, Quartes*

There are a number of coins types mentioned in the early ILV accounts that v. Hengel does not discuss in his article, and for which the identities are unclear. V. Hengel has decided that the *engelschen* mentioned are *sterlings* (pennies), which is a perfectly reasonable assumption.

On one of the same pages there are mentions of *menglens* (or *menglins*) and *quartes* (or *quarts*; written *qrte* and *qrt* in the original ms.). What are these coin types? Is *menglen* just another word for *engelschen*?

It is also theoretically possible that these are not coin types at all...

• Oldewelt p. 19 [1232-116-003r]

item in Assumptione den pape 1 quarte ende den dyaken ende subdyaken elken 1 menglen.

item Arde van Neysel 6 d.

item Marie Magdalene herren Janne Sceivel 1 quarte ende den subdyaken 1 menglen.

item Arde van Neysel 1 enghelscen.

item Marie Magdalene smarghens aten die ghesellen te samen daer gaut elc 1 quart ende daer ghebrac 9 st die hieten mi die ghesellen betalen.

item in Nativitate heren Janme Sceivel 1 quart ende den subdyaken 1 minglen.

item Arde van Neysel 1 enghelschen.

(The *ghesellen* mentioned here are humans, not coins; see the next section.)

• Coins or People?

If you grab some dictionaries, and look up *socius* in Latin, *compagnon* in French and *gezel* in Dutch, none of these books will tell you about a 14th century coin from Flanders, Brabant etc. Instead, they will tell you about **humans** (companions, associates, etc.) These terms, used for a type of coin, can only be found in a numismatic dictionary.

Medieval accounts recording transactions, coins, prices, and/or monies of account that involve the *leeuwengroot* (a modern term), will use the words *compagnon*, *gezel* or *socius*, depending on the language in which the account is written (occasionally the coins are termed *lakengeld*). These same accounts might also use these words to mean human companions or associates; the trick is to determine the difference.

When we have sought help among those scholars who know Latin, but do not particularly know 14th century coins, we have at times encountered rather a great deal of resistance from people who do not seem to wish to believe that *socio* or *socius* could ever have been used to refer to coins.

Numismatists have been discussing references in medieval accounts to the *socius* or *gezel* (coins) for well over one hundred years, and we see no point in reinventing the wheel needlessly.

**De balivo de Brouwershavene, scilicet Johanne de Steyne,
per litteram domini, datam apud Bruxellam feria quarta
post nativitatem Johannis baptiste anno 41^o, per dominum
de Haemstede 36 scuta minus 6 sociis, fac. ut expositi
sunt per eundem, 54 sc. 5 d. gr. 2 ster.**

Summa, 54 sc. 5 d. gr. 2 ster.

De lombardis in Hollandia et Zelandia.

**De Johanne de Ponte et sociis suis lombardis in' Mid-
delborch oistov¹⁾, quas praestiterant per litteram domini,**

Hamaker III, p. 6 [19]

...36 scuta [écu] minus 6 sociis [coins]

...et sociis suis lombardis... [...and his Lombard companions...]

Here, from another set of medieval accounting records, we have both coins and humans referred to as *sociis*.

(From: The accounts (*thesauriersrekeningen*) of Jan Philips Zoon van Leiden (February 25, 1340 – September 25, 1341); pp. 3-70 of the third volume of Hamaker's transcription (ref. 19).)

Note that any account entries (from any medieval account) posted 1337-1364 that refer to “*Flemish groten*”, must, in theory, be referring to *leeuwengroten*, because there were no other Flemish *groten* minted during this period. This is, however, a complicated issue that does not actually come up in a discussion of the ILV accounts.

I.

Illustrious Brotherhood (Den Bosch) (Oldewelt, van Hengel, the original documents)

In the case of the accounts of the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Dear Lady of Den Bosch, we have 3 references to work from, one of them being facsimiles of the accounts themselves (available online) (ref. 122). The other two are a 1925 transcription of (most of) the accounts (**Oldewelt**, ref. 32), and a 1995 article in a numismatic magazine about the accounts and the coin types that could be found therein (**van Hengel**, ref. 22). A third publication of part of the accounts (**Smijers**, ref. 36) is based directly upon Oldewelt's transcription, and need not concern us here.

The *Broederschap* accounts are the records of payments made and received by the ILV Brotherhood. Some of the payments include remunerations for services rendered by individual brothers, or purchases by the Brotherhood of goods such as parchment or candles. Others include payments by non-brothers to the Brotherhood for various religious or legal services (e.g. wills and testaments). Oldewelt gives an interesting explanation of the brotherhood and the account entries on pp. 3-12 (ref. 32).

The accounts span many years, and are written in a number different hands, some of which are far easier for modern readers to decipher than others. The same sort of entry is written with different wording by different brothers over the years, which can make comparing "similar" entries difficult. Numerous abbreviations are used in the registers, many of which are transcribed out in full by Oldewelt (ref. 32).

Fortunately for us, the accounts of the ILV Brotherhood have been digitized and placed on the Internet (ref. 122). Unfortunately, the index provided on the website is of little assistance, and we were quickly forced to abandon it and simply download all of the pages and look through them one by one (no easy task). A great deal of detective work is required of anyone wishing to compare the original medieval documents with Oldewelt's transcriptions.

The ILV accounts are written in both Latin and in Diets (medieval Dutch), sometimes in both on the same ms. page.

Apparently, transactions were recorded on small slips of paper as they occurred, and then at the end of the year, everything was double-checked and then recorded in the main accounting book, which is what we are now referring to as the "ILV accounts"^[32].

Unlike some of the other medieval accounts, the ILV accounts do not involve a lot of converting from one type of currency to another (at least, when compared to other accounts from other places), although there are more conversions in the entries from later years (i.e. after minting of *leeuwengroten* had ceased in 1364). In fact, many of the posts seem to be written as though anyone reading them would already know the value of the specific coins mentioned.

It is unclear exactly which *rekenpond* was being used in the ILV accounts. Van Hengel implies (if not states outright) that the *d* used in the accounts is the *denier tournois*, which is a good probability, but the word *tournois* does not appear in the accounts (nor does the word *payement*). "Small money" in the accounts appears as *parata pecunia*, *parata pecunia et legali*, or *parata peccunia*.

The basic relationship of the terms pounds, shilling, pence is: **1 £ = 20 β = 240 d.**

$$\begin{aligned}1 \text{ £} &= 20 \beta = 240 \text{ d} \\1 \beta &= 12 \text{ d}\end{aligned}$$

A *pond groot* is basically 12 pounds (a *shilling groot* is 12 *shilling*, a *denier groot* is 12 *deniers*). There are actually more complications involved, but since there are so few entries regarding any *pond groot* in the ILV accounts (and none of those involve the *socius*), there is no need for us to go into much more detail here. There are only a small number of ILV entries that read “ β groot” or something similar.

item 6 ½ st. gr. vestibus concessis Heinerico de Dordraco.

6 $\frac{1}{2}$ β would be 78 d, which must be multiplied by 12 to get 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ β *groot* (or 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ β^{gr}), which is 936 d.

(Oldewelt p. 66; 1232-116-025v)

During the approximate period that *leeuwengroten* were minted in Flanders (and elsewhere), the ILV account entries are fairly rudimentary. There are few, if any, conversions from one currency to another, and very few indications of how much any type of coin was “worth”, which is a usual feature of medieval accountings. Most of the early entries do not report what kind of money was actually involved in the transaction, only the “value” on the books in £ β d. The entries will be going along, recording amounts in pounds, shillings and deniers, and all of a sudden there will be an entry recorded in *grotten*, without any indication as to what a *groot* was worth in £ β d [*tournois*]. It is only after about 1367, when entries regarding *socios* have long since disappeared, that the entries begin to look like “normal” medieval accounting, with clearer indications of what coins were worth compared to “link monies” (e.g. a gold *écu*).

Proper Names

Unsurprisingly, the names of people mentioned in the accounts are not spelled the same way every time. For example, v. Hengel discusses Aleyda Densers (see p. 20 here below), to whom he also refers as Alida and Aleyda (p. 199). In the ms., she is referred to as Aleidi, Aleydis, Aleydi, Aleyde, Aleit, and Aleyten. Her surname is listed as Densers, Denser, and even Ghensers.

Oldewelt refers to Jueten van Herwynden (p. 13); in the ms. she is only called that once, all of the other entries give her surname as van Herwinen, and her first name as Jutta, Jute, Juta or Jutte.

And so on.

Oldewelt

Ref. 32

Van Hengel states that his article is based upon Oldewelt's transcriptions of the ILV registers in *De rekeningen van de O.L.V. Broederschap (sic)* (1925) (and that the accounts had also been used by G.C.M. van Dijck for his *De Bossche Optimaten* (Tilburg, 1973)). Oldewelt's transcription was also used by Smijers (ref. 36)

We, too, have used Oldewelt's transcription as the basis for our search for entries regarding the *leeuwengroot (socius)* in the ILV accounts. We subsequently verified Oldewelt's version by comparison to the ms. facsimiles.

It is far beyond our capabilities to search through all of the ms. pages directly looking for references to the *socius* and *gezel*, and we must therefore rely heavily upon Oldewelt's transcription.

Oldewelt describes the history of the Brotherhood, as well as giving a per page, physical description of the ILV registers, which are bound into one volume. But the majority of his book is a transcription of the ILV accounts, with some footnotes as to various issues that Oldewelt found, e.g. blank pages or redacted entries.

A number of things must be pointed out about Oldewelt's book:

1.

The first is that Oldewelt does not indicate which page of the manuscript he is transcribing, nor when there is a transition from one ms. page to another. This makes matching up Oldewelt's transcription with the original manuscript fairly difficult.

2.

The second point is that it is not always clear what year is being represented in the transcript. It would have been so much easier for us if Oldewelt had only clearly indicated the year in his transcript, which he did not do.

The accounts seem to jump from 1330 to 1336, with no explanation from Oldewelt as to what happened to the years 1331-1335. There are also entries from 1357-1358 written on the bottom half of these same pages from 1330 and 1336. While Oldewelt does inform us of this fact, he does not specifically indicate which entries go with which year. By examining the original ms. (facsimiles), it is possible to determine which entries are at the bottom of the page and therefore from 1357-1358. But Oldewelt does not make it clear in his transcript which year is being represented by many of the entries.

In fact, the nightmare begins quite early on, because the first pages of Oldewelt's book are not the oldest pages from the ILV accounts, they are from 1358. The pages are in the order that one finds them in, in the bound volume of the ILV accounts, but they are not in complete chronological order.

See Oldewelt's Introduction in the Appendix below (p. 91) for the details. This is what we can extract from said Introduction:

“Het eerste blad bevat een lijst der cijnsen tot 1358...”

1232-116-001r	1357-1358
1232-116-001v	1357-1358

“De twee volgende bladen bevatten dan de oudste rekening...”

1232-116-002v	1329-1330
1232-116-002r	1329-1330
1232-116-003r	1329-1330
1232-116-003v	1329-1330

“Direct onder het slot der rekening over 1329/1330 volgt de rekening over 1335/1336.”

1232-116-004r	1335-1336
1232-116-004v	blank

“Hierop volgen vier bladen waarop slechts fragmenten van kladrekeningen...”

1232-116-005r	<i>year?</i>
1232-116-005v	<i>year?</i>
1232-116-006r	<i>year?</i>
1232-116-006v	<i>year?</i>
1232-116-007r	<i>year?</i>
1232-116-007v	<i>year?</i>
1232-116-008r	<i>year?</i>
1232-116-008v	<i>year?</i>

“Vanaf het dienstjaar 1341/1342 beginnen dan de rekeningen volledig...”

1232-116-009r	1341-1342
1232-116-005r	(1357-1358) <i>part</i>
1232-116-005v	(1357-1358) <i>part</i>
1232-116-008v	(1357-1358) <i>part</i>
1232-116-028r	(1357-1358) <i>part</i>
1232-116-028v	(1357-1358)

[1232-116-029r]	[1358-1359]	<i>this page says 1359 on it</i>
[1232-116-029v]	[1357-1358]	

[1232-116-030r]	[1358-1359]
[1232-116-030v]	[1358-1359]
[1232-116-031r]	[1358-1359]
[1232-116-031v]	[1360]

<i>absent</i>	1364-1365	<i>(i.e. never entered in the accounts)</i>
?	1365-1366	<i>incomplete?</i>

1232-116-164r	“1366/67?” <i>notation in pencil on ms. page</i>
1232-116-164v	“1361” <i>notation in pencil on ms. page</i>

“Vanaf het dienstjaar 1341/1342 beginnen dan de rekeningen volledig en in behoorlijken vorm ingeschreven te worden. Tot en met het jaar 1351/1352 zijn ze alle van de hand van den proost G. Graet, met uitzondering evenwel van die over 1345/1346 en 1349/1350. Deze laatste is waarschijnlijk van H. Crabbart afkomstig evenals de laatste rekening (1357/1358) van het geheele register.”

– Oldewelt, p. 10

Oldewelt says that the last year of this particular register is 1358 (1232-116-028v).

Oldewelt also says that the last year of this particular register should have been 1364-1365, but it is missing. He then says that he thinks the posts for 1365-1366 are incomplete, but he does not say where these posts can be found.

Oldewelt glosses over 1359 - 1364 here. Where are these pages?

Oldewelt continues by saying that the first reckoning of the third register is seven pages of fragmental reckonings from 1366-1367. Where are the posts for 1365-1366? Here:

[1232-116-040r] *page itself says 1366*
[1232-116-040v]
[1232-116-041r]

“Op deze eerste rekening van het derde register volgen in het handschrift een zevental bladzijden met fragmenten kladrekening over 1366/1367, waarop dan de netrekening zelf volgt, daarom zijn die kladaanteekeningen hierachter niet afgedrukt.”

Oldewelt says that the first reckoning of the third register is seven pages with fragmental reckonings from 1366-1367, and that since this information is then repeated, those notes are not printed in Oldewelt’s transcription. The rest of the pages are included, however. (This all makes it very hard to match up the ms. Pages with the Oldewelt transcript).

Apparently, Oldewelt did not see the need to clearly indicate the years in his transcript, instead leaving the reader to fend for him or herself, and to struggle through this Introduction in an attempt to determine what year is being represented.

3.

The third point is that Oldewelt’s transcriptions of the ILV Brotherhood accounts are **not complete**:

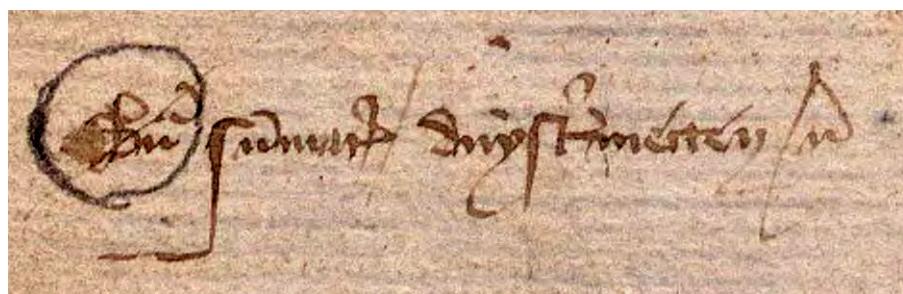
“Van de latere rekeningen heb ik met het oog op de drukkosten de lijsten van geïnde cijnsen benevens de lijsten van achterstallige cijnsen (z.g. foutlijsten) niet gespecificeerd overgenomen maar alleen de totaalsommen daarvan.”^[32]

– Oldewelt, p. 3

In order to save printing costs, Oldewelt omitted many of the detailed accountings, giving only the sum totals for these entries (specifically the property lease payments, or *cijnsen*). These omissions are **not indicated** in Oldewelt's text, however, and one finds them only when comparing the original medieval documents with Oldewelt's text (which is no simple task).

One of the results of these omissions by Oldewelt, for our own particular purposes, is the fact that there may have been more mention of *leeuwengroten* (i.e. *socios*) in the accounts than we are currently able to find. Medieval documents are not our area of expertise, and poring through all of the relevant years of the manuscript facsimiles in search of the hard-to-find words “*socio*” or “*gesel*” is beyond the scope of our investigation into the *leeuwengroot* coin type. It was difficult enough matching up the facsimile pages to the pages in Oldewelt's book.

Furthermore, there seem to be many points where there is text on a ms. page that is not transcribed by Oldewelt; these are not sections that have been moved by Oldewelt so that they are in the “correct place”, they just seem to be missing. We have no explanation.



1232-116-044v
should be on Oldewelt, p. 92 but is not

4.

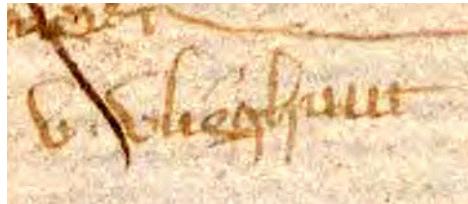
“De ontvangsten en vooral de uitgaven geschiedden in allerlei muntsorten waarvan de waarde voor elke rekening op zich zelf dient berekend te worden aangezien zij zeer veranderlijk blijkt te zijn. De afkortingen door mij gebruikt zijn: lb. (libra), st. (**stuiver** [sic]), d. (denier), gr. (groot), m. (myt), sc. (scild), pl. (plak), **1. (labay)** en vl. (**vlieger** [sic]).”^[32]

p. 12.

The fourth point is that Oldewelt's transcriptions are not completely *verbatim*. Oldewelt transcribed many words out in full that are abbreviated in the manuscript, which on the one hand is convenient for those readers not familiar with all of the medieval, Latin abbreviations. But on the other hand, the reader is being asked to trust Oldewelt to have gotten it right every time.

Conversely, Oldewelt abbreviates words that are written out in full in the ms., and this ends up causing some problems. For example: Oldewelt states that he uses the abbreviation vl. for *vlieger*, but the ms. facsimiles makes it clear that he correct word is *vlieghuit* (spelling

variations in the manuscript aside). A *vlieger* ('flyer') is another coin altogether, minted in the 1400's, with an eagle as its main type. (It is unlikely that Oldewelt was numismatist at all.)



“v. vlieghuut”
1232-116-041v^[122]

Van Hengel vacillates between *vlieger* and *vlieghuit* without explanation, but the original ms. says *vlieghuit* (only).

We were unable to find any reference in the ILV accounts whatsoever to a *labay(e)*; the abbreviation **I.** never comes up anywhere in Oldewelt's transcription.

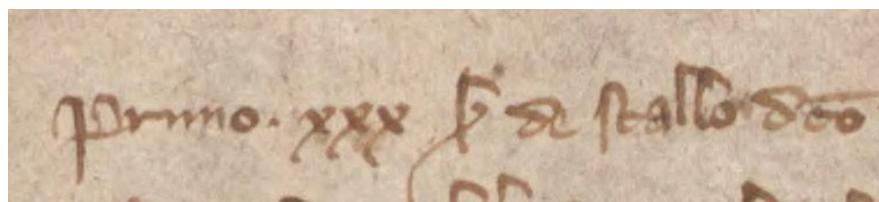
The original ms. gives numbers in Roman numerals, Oldewelt has translated these into modern Hindu-Arabic numerals.

• Shillings and “Stuivers”

One of the problems that we have encountered while studying medieval accounts is that previous authors tend to drag modern terms into discussions of older coins. For example, the word *stuiver* refers to a newer type of Low Countries coin, but is in fact irrelevant in any discussion of 14th century coins. *Stuiver* as a word remained in use right into the 21st century, having been the nickname of the 5 {gulden} cent coin still in circulation in The Netherlands until 2002.

For some reason, Oldewelt decided to transcribe the β of the ms. as *stuiver*, abbreviated to *st.*, but as far as we can see there is no reason whatsoever to do this. (Van Hengel seems to have taken issue with this transcription as well. As we will see later, GhysSENS also used the term *stuiver* for *shilling* – or rather – his translators did.)

The β is referring to a *shilling* (or *schelling*), which is to say an amount equal to 12 d. This has nothing to do with a “*stuiver*”.

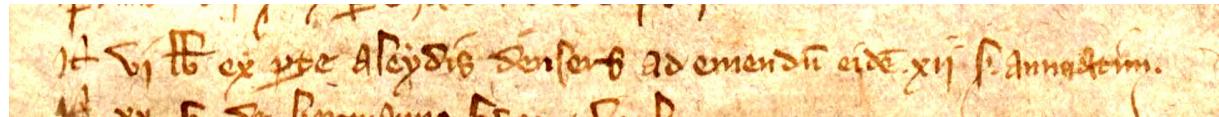


1232-116-009r^[122]
“Primo. xxx β de stallo dto...”

Oldewelt p. 29^[32]

• Capitalization

Most of the proper names are not capitalized in the ms. but Oldewelt has added his own capitals. For example:



1232-116-009r^[122]

“item 6 lb. ex parte Aleydis Densers ad emendum eidem 12 st. annuatim.”

Oldewelt p. 29^[32]

The ms. says “aleydis densers”, Oldewelt’s transcription says “Aleydis Densers”. (Note as well the abbreviations in the ms. that Oldewelt has transcribed in full, e.g. “parte”, or “pte” in the ms.) In theory this should not be too much of a problem... assuming that Oldewelt got it right every time and did not capitalize any non-proper nouns.

5. Relocations

“1) Het volgende gedeelte dezer rekening, dat hierboven is afgedrukt, is in ’t hs. op verschillende voorafgaande pagina’s, waar zich nog onbeschreven gedeelten bevonden, ingeschreven. Men zie hierover nader de Inleiding.”^[32]

– Oldewelt, p. 74

At certain points in his transcriptions, Oldewelt has gathered together account entries that are from the same year and therefore “belong together”, even though the actual entries are scattered about on different pages of the original manuscript. On the face of it this is actually helpful, because all of the account entries for a given year should be together in the transcription. It does, however, cause problems for anyone trying to match up Oldewelt’s transcription with the original ms. pages. One ends up with notations reading “where does this piece of text go?” And, as stated above, Oldewelt does not clearly mark his transcript with the year in which the given entries were recorded.

The Realities of the Modern, Digital World

Our source for Oldewelt’s transcript is a .pdf file that we retrieved off the Internet. We then selected the entire text, copied it, and pasted it into a word processor document. Anyone who has ever done this will know that in such a situation, a great many characters do not come back out the way they were in the original .pdf file. For example, 2 ½ often comes

out as 2M, *fili*i comes out as *fili*i, etc. etc. We used the original .pdf file to correct these errors in the main file.

It is possible, however, that we might have missed such an error and failed to correct it in the pieces of Oldewelt's text that are presented here in this report. Our apologies in advance if this is indeed the case. To give a quick, random example (p. 18):

Isti tenentur adhuc de pactu:

Walterus de Bladel 6 gr.

Tilmannus de Son 6 gr.

Isti sunt qui adhuc debent de confessis in anno preterito quod erat anno M.CCC.XXX:

Godescalcus de Bladel debet1). [debet¹)]

Gherardus Top 14 st. et 4 d. item non contessus de duobas [duobus]

annis solvit 18 d. item 5 st. item 9 st.

Van Hengel

Ref. 22

In 1994, the Dutch numismatic publication ***De Beeldenaar*** published an article by the late Cees van Hengel entitled: ***The Accounts of the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Dear Lady and the Coins Found Therein*** (ref. 22). The article was based upon a lecture given by v. Hengel for the Koninklijk Nederlands Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde on 17 June, 1990.

Van Hengel was a well-respected Dutch numismatist, who is perhaps best known for his contributions to ***The Gros Tournois*** (N.J. Mayhew, ed., ref. 29), among other publications, and for his work on the medieval coins of Holland. Van Hengel had a well-deserved reputation as an excellent numismatist, but for some reason, his article on the ILV accounts displays a shocking level of carelessness that is not at all in keeping with his usual work method. **The article is full of misinformation.** So much so that in the end we decided that it would be best to abandon any detailed discussion here of what v. Hengel says about the *leeuwengroot* (despite having examined v. Hengel's article thoroughly and in great detail).

In his ***Beeldenaar*** article, van Hengel gives an overview of the medieval ILV accounts, with a specific eye for the coin types mentioned within (i.e. the parts of the accounts that might be of interest to a numismatist).

Our particular interest in v. Hengel's article is, of course, the coin type known as a *leeuwengroot*, or as a *gros au lion*, *gros compagnon*, *socius* or *gezel*, and the problems we have found in v. Hengel's article are, for the most part, specific to what he says about this type of coin (by which we mean that we did not investigate the accuracy of v. Hengel's article any further than was necessary for our own ends).

The problems in v. Hengel's article include basic transcription errors from his source material (i.e. from Oldewelt), and misreading some of the Latin account entries, mistaking 'associates' (humans) for *socius* coins, and misreporting the value of certain types of money.

The (over)simplified wording of some of v. Hengel's text causes him to make seemingly innocuous but factually incorrect statements about a number of subjects, which, in turn, create some significant difficulties for his readers and for subsequent researchers. In particular, the

line between actual (physical) coins and “monies of account” becomes very blurred in v. Hengel’s article, and it is not clear if he himself was confused about the difference between the two, or simply unclear in his explanations.

The problems, in turn, caused v. Hengel to reach many incorrect conclusions. Sadly, the end result is that there is nothing of any use regarding the *leeuwengroot* in v. Hengel’s article at all.

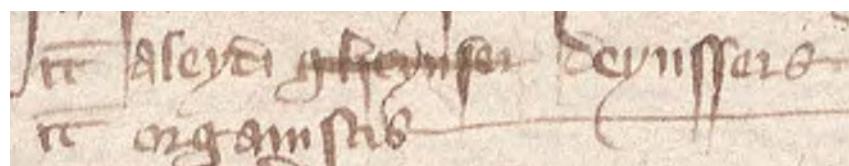
Although the underlying work performed by van Hengel was probably quite detailed, the *Beeldenaar* article itself is fairly superficial (understandably so, due the nature of the subject matter and the limits of printing space). This superficiality leads to an unfortunate level of inaccuracy in the article as a whole. Van Hengel does not provide us with any insight into his calculations, everything must be inferred from what he says in his text. In fact, many of v. Hengel’s errors only become apparent if one looks at Oldewelt’s transcriptions or the original ILV Brotherhood documents.

• Aleyda Densers

Van Hengel’s descriptions of the accounts, and the general workings of the Brotherhood are actually quite interesting. As an illustration, he chooses the story of one Aleyda (or Aleydi) Densers, who is also referred to by different but similar names at various points in the registers. Aleyda was the housekeeper and/or concubine of brother Theodericus Apothecarius.

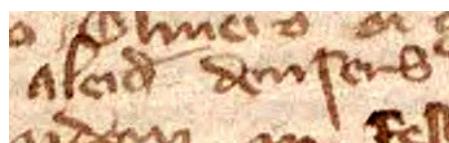
As it turns out, Aleyda is a good example to use, because her name is easy to find in the original, handwritten accounts. This in turn, helps us determine which ms. pages go with which pages from Oldewelt’s book.

Aleyda received a pension (*lijfrente*) of 144 d, which was later raised to 174 d.



“Item aleidi gheynser deynssers”

1232-116-037r^[122]
(Oldewelt p. 86)



“aleid densers”

1232-116-032v^[122]
(Oldewelt p. 81)

• *Vacatiegeld*

According to v. Hengel, one of the types of payments made by the ILV Brotherhood was a payment to certain members, which v. Hengel calls *vacatiegeld*. V. Hengel says that this money was not being given out as “wages” as we understand the term, but rather as a payment for being present at a religious service (*zitgeld, presentiegeld*).

It is difficult to find medieval references to *vacatiegeld*. In some cases, it seems to have been more of remuneration for costs incurred (such as expenses for food, *teerkosten*), or what appears to be a sort of “reward” for performing certain civic or communal duties.

According to Oldewelt, some of the payments received by the ILV were penalties for being absent from a particular meeting or service (*defectus*). In other words, some men were paid to be present, and fined for being absent. (*Vacatiegeld* is not mentioned by Oldewelt specifically).

But some of the “*vacatiegeld*” (?) payments described by v. Hengel as recorded in the ILV accounts seem to be associated with some kind of work, rather than with simply being present at a service, begging the question as to what the exact nature of these payments was.

There appear to be three different sorts of what are actually “the same” kinds of account entries: one type lists “occupations” and the other two do not. The second type of entry says *sociis* (associates, i.e. humans) or something similar, while the third type says nothing about people at all, simply giving the name of the holy day in question. (The reason for the difference is that different brothers at different times were writing in the registers, which span many years.)

If a priest, deacon, sub-deacon and singers (as listed in the first type of entry) were paid money for a particular religious service, were they really being paid simply for their attendance, or were they being paid to perform their duties? Is it not the implication that the singers were being paid to sing, and that the others were performing some kind of rite, not just “being present”? Is that really “*vacatiegeld*” then?

item dyacono et subdyaconis pro cerviciis 10 st. 8 d. [32]

– Oldewelt, p. 76

Here we have a deacon and sub-deacon being paid for their services.

Whatever these payments were, much of what v. Hengel says about them is incorrect. Details can be found below in the discussions of specific account entries.

• *Deservientibus*

One of the words that comes up fairly often in the ILV accounts is *deservientibus*:

item in Assumptione Marie presbytero et deservientibus 5 st. 10 d.

On this occasion, a priest and the *deservientibus* (plural) were paid 5 β 10 d (i.e. 70 d) between them. But who are the *deservientibus*? It is a rather difficult word, one that we had certainly never heard before. Van Hengel makes no mention of the *deservientibus*, but as it turns out, they would have been very relevant to his discussion of the *vacatiegeld*.

“En als we “*deservientibus*” ook opzoeken in de liturgische zin dan zijn het de personen die op het genoemde uur, officie of mis, misdeel geen dienst hebben.” [121] [37]

It seems that the *deservientibus* are those brothers who did not actually perform any duties during the service in question, but who were apparently present at the service (in the example above, the Assumption of the Virgin Mary). This sounds very much like the *vacatiegeld* described by v. Hengel in his article.

V. Hengel speaks of the *vacatiegeld* paid out per man, but the accounts actually always give the amount paid out per service, not per man. Even from the sole entry given here above, it seems fairly obvious that it is not possible to determine how many were paid the 70 d, nor how much each man received, nor whether they all received the same amount as one another or not (v. Hengel assumes they all always received the same amount each).

If one believes that the *vacatiegeld* payment was 14 d per man, then one might say that there must have been 5 men present for 70 d to have been paid out. But what if the priest received more than the *deservientibus*? Entries such as this cannot be used to “prove” that the *vacatiegeld* was 14 d per man without some kind of external evidence that proves that the *vacatiegeld* amount was the same for each man.

• Inflation, Wages etc.

On pp 200-201, v. Hengel discusses inflation and *moneta veterum* (also *antiqua pecunia*), or “old money”, which is also mentioned in the ILV accounts.

“In 1349 verschijnt een nieuwe tijns, *in veterum* of *audts* (oud geld) ofwel in de oorspronkelijk tournosen (Tourse deniers).” Deze tijns, ter grootte van 1 pond tournosen (240 stuks), blijkt in 1349 op 336d payement gewaardeerd te worden, dus met een agio van 40%. In 1353 blijkt ook een in 1336 gekochte tijns a 20s van Valkeneers *oud* te zijn en moet hij 32s betalen, dus 60% meer in payement.

Tabel 1 geeft het verloop weer voor alle tijnsen *in Veterum*.

Het pensioen van onze Ida werd in 1357 met 21% verhoogd en daarmee bleef zij waarschijnlijk achter.

Als de oorspronkelijke groot 16d was, was het agio dus reeds in 1330 25%; blijkbaar werd pas in 1349 behoefte van een nieuwe aanpassing gevoeld. **De vaste beloning van de officianten (uitvoerenden van de mis) bedraagt in 1348 twintig groten en dit bedrag wordt in 1359 aangepast. Tussen 1348 en 1355 krijgen de koster en de custodi (bewaker) 36s samen. Omdat deze functies later zijn samengevoegd zijn de bedragen samen genomen.”** [22]

Without going into too much detail, we suspect that there is a great deal wrong with much of what v. Hengel is saying here. In fact, it would probably have been better had he avoided this entire subject.

Moneta veterum appears in the ILV long before 1349. *Moneta antiquorum* and *audts* first appear on Oldewelt p. 13 (1330). There are no other mentions of the word *audts* in the ILV accounts.

Posting for the year 1349 begins on Oldewelt p. 44, but there are no *veterum* posts. The second appearance of *veterum* is in 1352 (Oldewelt p. 54). We have no idea where v. Hengel got his “1349” from.

Van Hengel also discusses the “wages” (*beloning*) of the “officers”, i.e. those persons who perform the mass, saying that in 1348 the amount was 20 *grotten*, changed in 1359 to some other amount. Would this not be the priest, deacon and sub-deacon discussed above? Is v. Hengel saying that these men received “wages” **and** *vacatiegeld* for being present?

In the entire ILV accounts, we could only find one entry for 20 *grotten* (1356):

item de hereditate Hermanni de Stupa 20 gr.

– Oldewelt, p. 70
[1232-116-026v]

This has nothing to do with performing a mass.

V. Hengel’s statements about the *koster* and *custodi* do not bear out either. There is no evidence in the accounts of these two men receiving 36 β together (432 d).

<i>item 16 st. custodi pro pulsatione.</i>	p. 42	1232-116-016v	1348
<i>item 16 st. custodi.</i>	p. 45	1232-116-018r	1348
<i>item 16 st. custodi.</i>	p. 52	1232-116-020v	1351
<i>item te Kersavonde den coster van luden 6 gr.</i>	p. 19	[1232-116-003r]	1330
<i>item den koster 16 d.</i>	p. 24	[1232-116-006r]	1336
<i>item den koster te Korssavondde 8 st.</i>	p. 25	[1232-116-006r]	1336
<i>item den koster 8 st.</i>	p. 25	[1232-116-006r]	1336
<i>item den koster van den beiarden ende van sinen dinst 4 lb. 16 st.</i>	p 97	[1232-116-047v]	1368

The *custodi* received 32 β (384 d) himself in 1348; there are no mentions of the *koster* from 1336 until 1368.

And so on.

We have no idea where v. Hengel got the information contained in his Tables 1 & 2. We were unable to find any *tijns* in 1349 paid in *moneta veterum* worth 336 d or any other amount. We could find no evidence of the *koster* and *custodi* receiving 36 β together between 1348-1355.

We have absolutely no idea what v. Hengel is talking about, nor why.

• Van Hengel's Coin Types

1. GROOT
2. ENGELSCHE (current name: *sterling*)
3. NIGER (current name: *denier tournois*)
4. LAM (current name: *agnel*)
5. REAEL (current name: *royal*)
6. GULDEN HELLING (current name: *fiorino*)
7. MIJT (current name: *mite*)
8. LAKENS DOEK (not a coin type) [literally: cloth]
9. BRABANSCHE (current name: *brabantinus*)
10. SCILDA of SCUTATA (current name: *écu*)
11. PAVELIOEN (current name: *pavilion*)
- 12. GHELDERSE (?)** (i.e. money of Gelre or Guelders)
- 13. SOCIO of GHESEL** (current name: *compagnon*)
14. MOTTOEN (current name: *agnel*)
15. VL (IGUTE), VL (IEGER) or FLIEGER ? (current name: *vlieghuit*)
16. VLEMSE GROOT (current name: *dubbele groot* or *plak* ?)
17. PLAK (current name: *dubbele groot* or *plak* ?)
18. FLORENO (current name: *fiorino*)
19. BONE MONETE (not a coin type) [“good money”]
20. DOBBEL (current name: *double agnel*)
21. FRANCK (current name: *franc à cheval* or *franc à pied*)^[22]

Missing from the list are the *menglen* / *menglins* and *quartes* / *quarts* discussed above.

• Socio / Gezel

The coin type of interest to us is v. Hengel's **nº 13**, the *socius* or *gezel*. The word *gezel* basically translates as “companion”. The *leeuwengroot* was intended as a “friendly” type of coin that was to be minted in several regions, e.g. Flanders, Brabant, Holland etc., hence the names *compagnon*, *gezel* and *socius* (cf. “associate” and “social”).

When poring through the accounts of the ILV brotherhood, one comes across the word *ghesellen* on several occasions. In these particular cases, the word is referring to actual, human companions, and not to *gezellen* (*leeuwengroten*) coins. In fact, despite v. Hengel's use of the term for a coin type, we could find no example of the word *gezel* (or *gesel*) anywhere in the ILV accounts (or rather, in the Oldewelt transcriptions) referring to **coins** and not humans. We suspect that v. Hengel, coming from the Netherlands, was simply in the habit of referring to what we call *leeuwengroten* as *gezellen*, since this is a common practice in modern-day Holland. (A Dutch collector once provided us with photos of the *leeuwengroot* coins in his collection – and then asked if we wanted photos of the *gezellen* as well, as though they were somehow different coins.)

As far as we can tell, only the word *socio* or *sociis* was used in the ILV accounts to refer to the *leeuwengroot* / *compagnon* / *gezel* / *socius* type of coin (or money of account). It is, of course, entirely possible that we have missed something in the original manuscript (since we were using Oldewelt's transcriptions as our source).

It also appears that on several occasions in the accounts, the word *sociis* was used to refer to human “associates” (companions), and not to *socius* coins. V. Hengel seems to have misread some of these *associates* as *socius* coins, which in turn causes some of his calculations and assertions to go wrong.

V. Hengel himself admits that he does not know the coins of Brabant well enough to match them to the coin types mentioned in the ILV accounts, and that he has relied heavily upon GhysSENS’ catalog. V. Hengel does not mention De Witte (ref. 117), but it is clear that v. Hengel also used De Witte’s catalog as a reference.

V. Hengel seems to think that because no mention is made in the ILV accounts of any “foreign aspect” to the *socios*, that they (all) must have come from Brabant itself. Despite what v. Hengel’s text seems to imply, **we cannot actually be certain that all of the *socius* coins mentioned in the ILV records were struck in Brabant.** Some of them could easily have come from Flanders, Holland, Guelders or any number of other places. The *socius* was, after all, an “international” type of coin.

THE *SOCIUS* IN THE ILV ACCOUNTS

The following are all the specific reports of *socius* (*leeuwengroot*) coins (or money of account) that we could find in the ILV accounts, based firstly upon Oldewelt’s transcriptions and then verified using the ms. facsimiles. As mentioned previously, it is far beyond our capabilities to search through all of the ms. pages directly looking for references to the *socius*, and we are therefore heavily dependent upon Oldewelt’s transcription. We have also included the *socio* / *socii* / *sociorum* and *ghesellen* entries that refer to humans and not to coins.

In many cases, entries directly before and/or after the relevant entry are also provided. (This makes it easier to find the relevant passages in the original ms. or its facsimiles.)

Additionally, a few interesting entries that do not pertain to *leeuwengroten* have also been included, e.g. examples of posts regarding the *vlieghuyt*, Aleda Densers, the *groot* and its value, gold coins, etc. We have also included several posts that simply indicate the date (year).

Both the **Oldewelt page number** and the **ms. facsimile number** are given.

Our redactions are indicated by \equiv .

Words that we feel are noteworthy or of importance are presented in (our) **boldface** (standard typeface in Oldewelt’s book). Most of the capital letters are Oldewelt’s interpretations, and are uncapitalized in the original ms.

Since we are also providing some “less relevant” entries, those entries that specifically mention the *gezel* or *socius* (coin or human), are marked with a red dot: •. These dots do not appear in the original ms., of course, nor in Oldewelt’s transcription.

All of the references to *socius* coins in the ILV accounts are listed again in the Conclusion below.

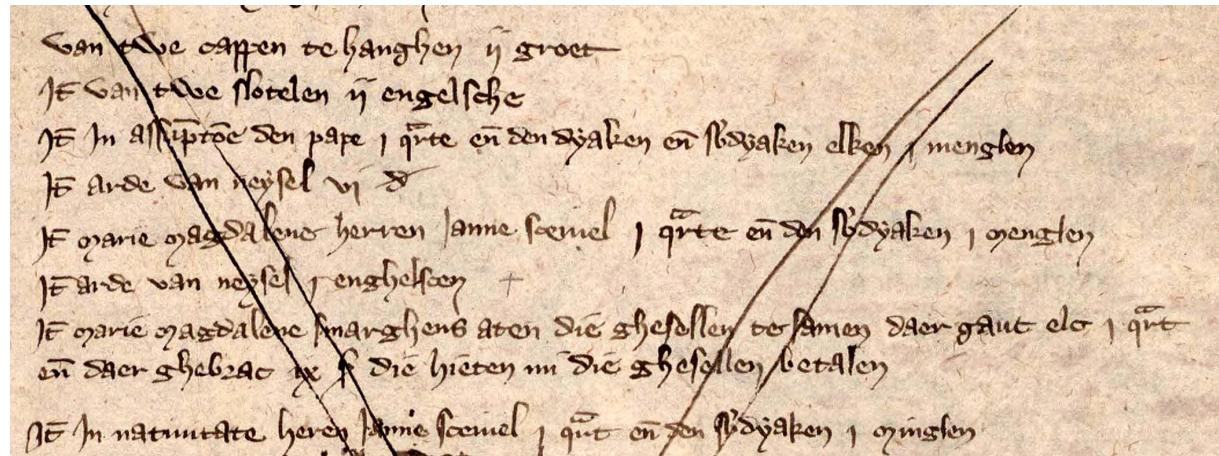
• Oldewelt p. 19

[1232-116-003r]

- item in Assumptione den pape 1 **quarte** ende den dyaken ende subdyaken elken 1 **menglen**.
item Arde van Neysel 6 d.
item Marie Magdalene herren Janne Sceivel 1 **quarte** ende den subdyaken 1 **menglen**.
item Arde van Neysel 1 **enghelscen**.
item Marie Magdalene smarghens aten die **ghesellen** te samen daer gaut elc 1 quart ende
daer ghebrac 9 st die hieten mi die **ghesellen** betalen.
item in Nativitate heren Janme Sceivel 1 **quart** ende den subdyaken 1 **minglen**.
item Arde van Neysel 1 **enghelschen**.
item Arde van Neysel 6 d. van 1 kersen van Willem Nellen soens wive.
item van coverturen 12 d.
item 3 st. van parcement.
item doe men onse jaergoetide dede aten die **ghesellen** te samen doe goud ic 5 st. 4 d.
min. voer vier papen.
item tien selven male Arde van Neysel 12 d. van omgaen.
item Gilise van Gheel 8 st. hadde hi te voel ghegheven meester Janne Basyn.
item verloren aen 2 **lammer** 4 **enghelsche**.
item van parcement 18 d.
item omme 5 st. sjars Heinen van Molle 1 **gulden hellinc**.
item van Jans Weders doet 10 d. van omgaen.
item Arde van Neysel 1 **engelschen** van 1 kersen van Janne den Weder,
item van parcement 5 st.

These *ghesellen* are humans. Presumably, these posts are from 1330, some seven years before any *socius* coins were ever minted.

Note the mentions of golden *lambs* (*lammen*) or *agnels*, and *gulden hellinc*, which is a *fiorino* according to v. Hengel, who also says that the “English” (*enghelschen*) is a *sterling* (*penny*). Note as well the mentions of the *menglen* and *quartes*.



1232-116-003r [122]

Computatione facta per Theodricum Apotecarium et dominum Heinricum Stempel,
prepositos confraternitatis clericorum de Buscho, **anno Domini M.CCC.XXX** in die
Processi et Martinianis), mansit dicta confraternitas dictis prepositis 10 lb. et 19 st.

[1330]

Inde solvit dicta confraternitas quas dictus Heinricus Stempel recepit et levavit 45 st.
item Theodricus recepit de cera 11 gr. item recepit de
Johanne Scolleken 8 st. item 2 st.
item de Menfroet 16 st. item 30 st. de Arnoldo Hake.

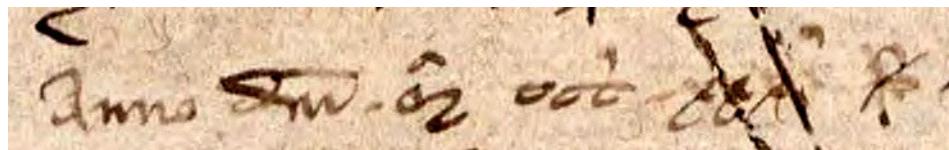
Anno domini M.CCC.XXVI Sabbato ante festum beati Johannis Baptiste.
Recepta Theoderici Apothecarii et Egidii de Ghele. prepositorum confraternitatis beate
Marie, in ecclesia beati Johannis Ewangeliste in Buschodus.

[1336]

anno dñi. m. cc. xxxvi. sabbato in festa beati iohannis baptiste	1336.
Item recipio de theoderici apothecarii et egidi de ghele positi confraternitatis te midime in ecclesia beati iohannis baptiste in Buschodus. In summa. xxviii. st ex paxide. Et in f. id est de pax deo bretre. vi. gr. id est de arnotto. Ryskout. vi. f. id est. vi. gr. van den organe id est in organe vuchten. x. f. id est. vi. f. id est de denghen van Willeme Scampde. id est. xxvij. id van vense id est. id est de piaco de neyse. id est. xxx. id est de iohne de eender. id est. vii. id de dno gerardo de gema. id est. vii. id est de organe id est. xxx. id est de scellemo id est vij. f. id est de facino lombardo. id est. xvij. id est ex paxide	37 gr 6 gr -2 st. gr 10 st. gr 10 st. gr 12 st. gr 30 gr
Summa totius. xvij. p. id est. vii. min. id est. 6.	6. id est. 6.
10 st. gr. id est. vii. min. 2. d.	10 st. gr. id est. vii. min. 2. d.
1336.	1336.
¶ ista p. exposita theodrici apothecarii et egidi positi anno dñi. m. cc. xxxvi. In pma magistro valto script. id est. id est de motetis. id est. vi. id est de cdo et gta. id est hymne. xvj. id est. xvj. id est de candlella. id est. vii. id est de postmeno. id est dno ja. vink. vi. id est de dno. h. stenell. id est. id est.	12 gr 6 gr -2 st. gr 10 st. gr 10 st. gr 12 st. gr 30 gr

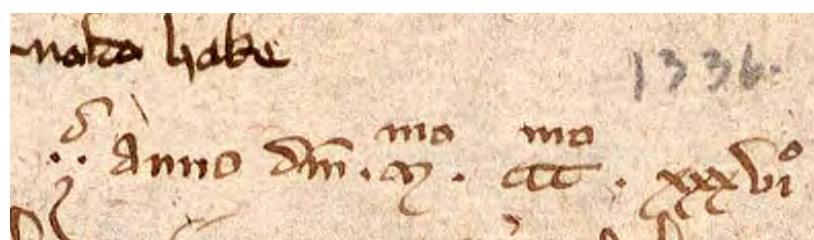
1232-116-004r [122]

Oldewelt p. 21
[1232-116-004r]
cont.



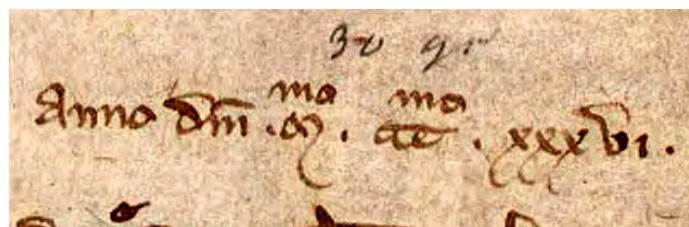
A fragment of a handwritten manuscript in brown ink on aged paper. The visible text begins with "Anno Domini" followed by some illegible characters and a large, stylized letter "P".

1232-116-004r^[122]
anno Domini M.CCC.XXX



A fragment of a handwritten manuscript in brown ink. At the top left, it says "nata habe". To the right, the year "1336" is written. Below this, there is more handwritten text that appears to be "anno Domini mo. mo. xxvi".

1232-116-004r^[122]
anno Domini M.CCC.XXXVI



A fragment of a handwritten manuscript in brown ink. Above the main text, there is a small note that looks like "30 gr". Below that, the text reads "anno Domini mo. mo. xxvi".

1232-116-004r^[122]
anno Domini M.CCC.XXXVI

The second two dates, reading 1336, are clear and legible. The first date, however, which according to Oldewelt reads 1330, is far less clear.

The small words above the dates (*mo?*) are examples of some of the tiny notations that do not appear in Oldewelt's transcription, because he has spelled out the abbreviations in full.

Unlike so many other ILV account pages, on this page the items are not on separate lines, but rather mashed all together in one "paragraph".

Oldewelt p. 22

item de Arnoldo Hysbout **2 st. gr.**
item 6 gr. van den orghenen.
item in aggere Vuchtense 10 st.
item 5 st. up. de Donghen van Willelme Scamparde.
item 18 d. van cense.
item 12 st. de Jacobo de Neysel.
item 30 gr. de Johanne de Eenode.
item 6 st. de domino Qerardo de Gravia.
item 3 gr. de organis.
item 30 gr. de Scollekino.
item **4 st. gr.** de Facino Lombardo.
item 14 gr. ex pixide.

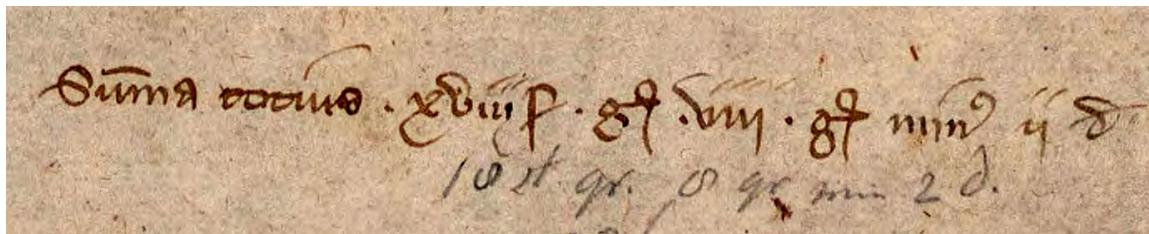
Summa totius **18 st. gr. 8 gr. minus 2 d.**

Ista sunt exposita Theoderici Apothecarii et Egidii predictis **anno Domini
M.CCC.XXXVI.**

[1336]

≡

Another date giving 1336 as the year. Note the entries (and the *summa totius*) in β^{gr} (*shillings groot*).

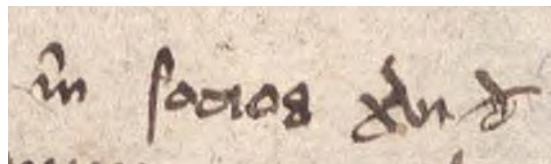


1232-116-004r^[122]

- As it turns out, if we add up all of these items (and the two on the preceding page of Oldewelt's transcription, which are also part of this *summa*), we are able to determine that **the value of 1 groot is 16 d.**

• Oldewelt p. 25
[1232-116-006r cont.]

- item van kerssen te maken 12 d.
- item domino quod monuit in **socios** 16 d.



in socios xvi d
1232-116-006r [122]

item Fissi Borchgreven van der cappen te maken ende te frangien 30 st. 8 d.

item Maes Meelman van coeveleer 6 st. 8 d.

item Yems pro candela Scollekind 8 d.

item Yems pro den jaerghetied 8 d.

item van 2 kerssen te maken ende van was te vergieten 16 d.

• item herren Everart 2 gr. van cundden ende van **ghesellen** te ban te hauden.

item herren Wouter 16 d.

item Henric Jacop Neelkens 7 st. de vino.

≡

Note the use of both Latin and Diets. The *ghesellen* mentioned are humans. What about the *socios*? At first glance, it is unclear if the *socios* here are coins or people.

Quod monuit means ‘be advised’, or even ‘look out!’ If one does not know Latin, it is easy to think that “...be advised in *socios*” must be referring to coins, but it is not always that simple. Without any reference to what a *socius* coin was worth “on the books”, it seems difficult to understand how and why this entry would be expressed “in *socius* coins”. Some other entries are worded in a similar fashion, for example: “...*in parata pecunia*”(‘in small currency’).

Perhaps we are “being advised” that this payment was for the associates of lord Everardo, and not simply for himself.

Based upon Oldewelt’s transcription, it appears that these posts are for the year 1336, which is the last date given before these posts appear. There are several pages that have the bottom half filled with posts from 1357-1358 (according to Oldewelt).

“4) De rest van deze bladz. van ’t hs. gevuld met een stuk van de rekening 1357/1358.”

– Oldewelt, p. 23

“5) De rest van deze bldz. van ’t hs. is gevuld met een stuk van de rekening 1357/1358.”

– Oldewelt, p. 24

“De eerste en de laatste dezer posten zijn doorgehaald. De rest dezer bldz. van ’t hs. is gevuld met een stuk van de rekening 1357/1358.”

– Oldewelt, p. 28

The subsequent date given in the ms. is 1342 (Oldewelt, p. 28).

The *socius* was first minted in 1337; if these items were posted before that, they cannot possibly be referring to *socius* coins. And as we saw with the *vlieghuyt*, it is highly unlikely that the *socius* appeared in the ILV accounts immediately after its initial minting in 1337.

The *socios* reported here are probably humans.

• **Oldewelt p. 26**

ego dabo 19 st., item 11 st.¹⁾

[END 1232-116-006r]

[1232-116-006v blank]

1) Hierna volgt in ’t hs. een onbeschreven bladzijde [1232-116-006v] en daarna een fragment van een pagina waarop de volgende doorgehaalde posten staan:

[1232-116-007r]

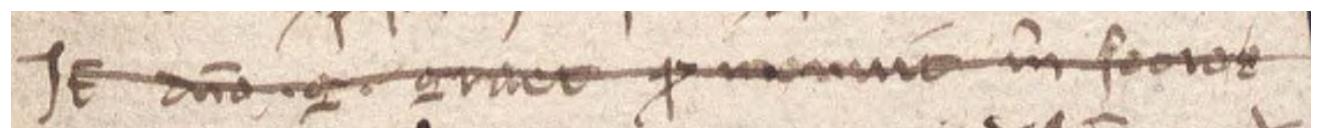
Tantum exposui:

In primo pro custodi 8 st.

• item domino Gerardo Graet quod monuit in **socios**.



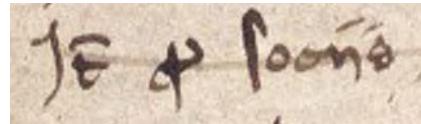
in socios
[122]



item domino Gerardo Graet quod monuit in socios.
[1232-116-007r] [122]

Are these coins (or money of account), or humans? (Cf. the previously discussed entry.) Either way, no actual amount of money is given in the post, which has been excised.

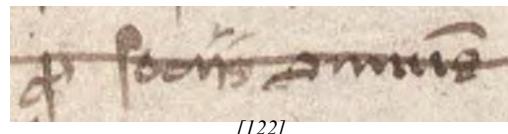
- item de candelis componendis 12 d. item 12 d.
• item pro **cociis** [sic] communis 12 d. ad Ghoedefridi.



item pro sociis
[1232-116-007r] [122]

There is a typo in Oldewelt's transcription, *cociis* instead of *sociis*. These are humans; the *pro* ('for') makes this easier to understand. Continuing (Oldewelt p. 26):

- item pro licop 8 d.
item Goedescalco de Bladel 4 st.
item Egigio scriptori 2 gr.
item Hyeme 8 d. 12 d. de anniversario.
item fratri Arnoldo de Ghorikem 16 d.
item Hueskino Screinmaker 3 st.
item Arnoldo Steenman 20 d.
item Yems de domino Heinrico Stempel 12 d.
• item in Conceptione beate Marie pro **sociis** communis 6 st.



pro sociis communis

item Henrico Staes 12 d.

[END 1232-116-007r]

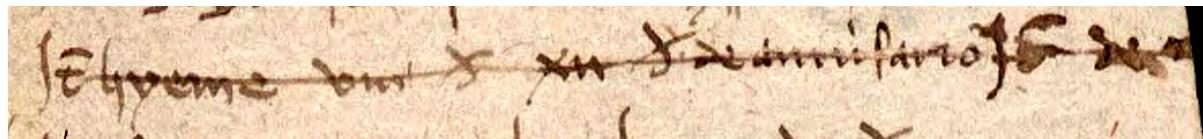
These *sociis communis* are more humans. Note that Oldewelt is capitalizing the names of people, which are not capitalized in the original ms.

• **Hyeme**

Let us take a moment to consider this post:

item Hyeme 8 d. 12 d. de anniversario.

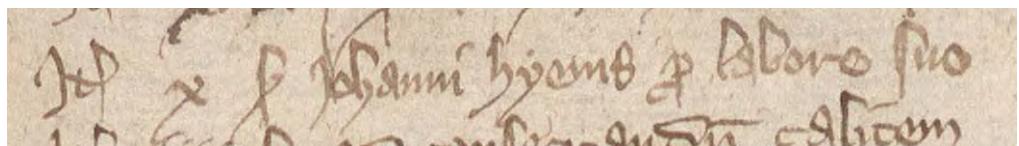
First of all, why would they write “8 d 12 d”? That is not the usual way of doing things (and it makes no sense). Something more like “8 β 12 δ” would be expected; this is almost certainly a mistake on the clerk’s part.



1232-116-007r [122]

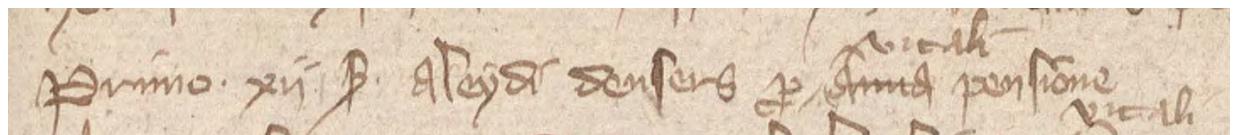
“8 d 12 d” is indeed what the ms. says. Did the clerk make an error? (All of the entries on this ms. page have been excised.)

Secondly, the word *hyeme* means ‘winter’ in Latin. Here, Oldewelt has capitalized the word as though it is a proper (sur)name. Based upon other entries in the ms. it is almost certain that this post refers to a Johannes Hyems, who is mentioned at many other points in the accounts, often simply as *hyems* (per Oldewelt: Hyems). For example, Oldewelt p. 39:



1232-116-015r [122]

“item 10 st. **Johanni Hyems** pro labore suo.” (Oldewelt)



1232-116-015r [122]

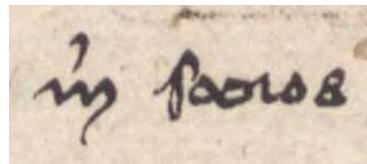
Aleydi Densers’ pension from the same page

The reason that any of this matters to us, is that the question of “Johannes Hyems, or *hyeme* meaning ‘winter’?” will come up again later in regard to a post mentioning the *socius*.

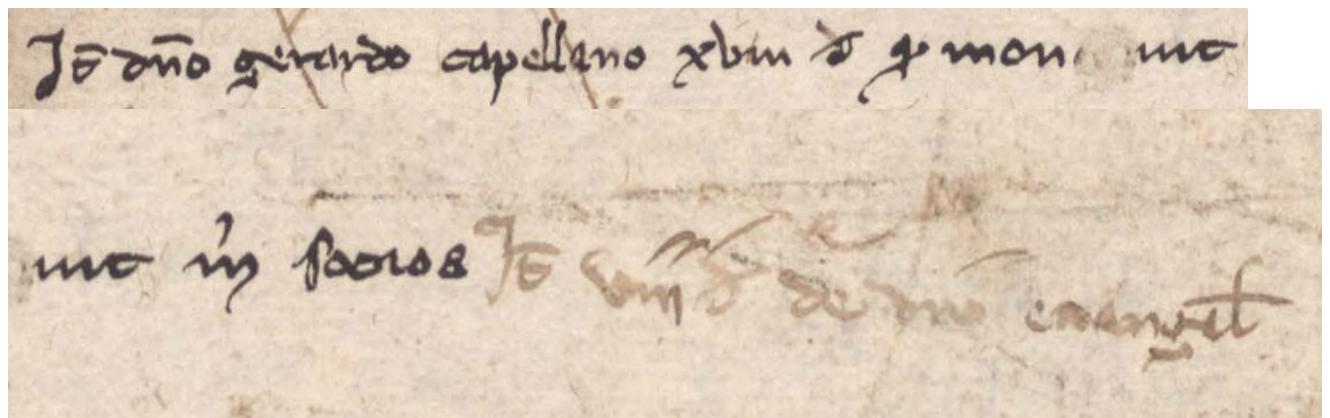
• Oldewelt p. 27
[1232-116-008r]

item custodi nostro 8 st.

- item domino Gerardo capellano 18 d. quod monuit in **socios**, item 8 d. de domino ewangelista(?)



in socios
1232-116-008r [122]



1232-116-008r [122]

Presumably, this is the same (but unexcised) entry we have previously seen regarding Gerardo Graet (p. 31 above). The entry is unusual, in that there is an item, followed by a second item on the same line. Are the two connected? Note that the ink of the second item is much lighter, which would seem to indicate that it was added at some later time (?). The comma between the two items was added by Oldewelt.

The entry reads basically the same as the previously-discussed entries that we think are referring to humans. It is not really possible to make the 18 d reported in the entry with a *socius* worth 14 (or 12) d.

The subsequent entry mentions J. Hyems:

item Hyems habuit 12 d.

≡

Oldewelt p. 28
[1232-116-009r]

Hec sunt recepta in annuis redditibus Gerardi Graet presbyteri et Theoderici Apotecarii,
prepositorum confraternitatis beate Marie virginis, sub **anno nativitatis Domini M.CCC.**
quadrageshno secundo.

[1342]
≡

We have no idea what happened to the years 1337-1341.

Oldewelt p. 30
[1232-116-010r]

Hec sunt recepta in annuis redditibus Gherardi Graet presbyteri et Theoderici Apotecarii,
prepositorum confraternitatis beate Marie virginis, sub **anno Nativitatis Domini**
M.CCC.XLIII.

[1343]
≡

Oldewelt p. 33

≡
Hec sunt recepta in annuis redditibus Gerardi dicti Graet presbyteri et Theoderici
Apotecarii, prepositorum confraternitatis beate Marie virginis, sub **anno nativitatis**
Domini M.CCC.XLIII.

[1344]
≡

Oldewelt p. 35
[1232-116-012v]

≡
Ista sunt recepta in annuis redditibus Gerardi dicti Graet presbyteri et Theoderid
Apotecarii, prepositorum confraternitatis beate Marie virginis, sub anno nativitatis
Domini M.CCC.XLV videlicet Sabbato ante Natrvitatem Johannis Baptiste.

[1345]
≡

Hierna ontbreekt in het h.s. een blad waarop de uitgaven over het jaar 1344/1345 voorkwamen.

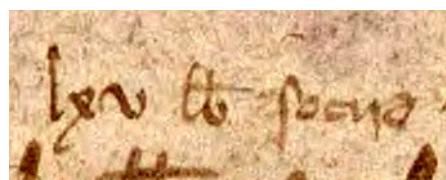
Oldewelt says that the entries for payments made 1344-1345 are missing from the ms. As far as we can see, there are many other years missing as well. We seem to have jumped from 1330 to 1336, and from there to 1342.

• Oldewelt p. 36
[1232-116-013r]

≡

- item debet Theodericus Apothecarius 65 lb. **sociis** predicte confraternitatis computatus in vigilia Nativitatis Johannis Baptiste anno et die predictis.

≡



65 lb. sociis
[122]

65 £ = 15,600 d

This entry is almost certainly referring to humans.

[1232-116-013v blank]

[1232-116-014r]

Hec sunt recepta domini Wolteri Denkini presbyteri et Henrici de Arkel, prepositorum confraternitatis beate Marie virginis, **anno Domini nativitatis M.CCC.XLVI** videlicet Sabbato ante festum Nativitatis beati Johannis Baptiste.

[1346]

≡

• Oldewelt p. 37

1) Op de keerzijde van dit blad van 't hs. vangt hierna onmiddellijk een nieuwe rekening aan zoodat de uitgaven over 1355/1356 blijkbaar nimmer in dit register aangetekend zijn.

The entries for payments made 1355-1356 are missing from the ms.

[1232-116-014v]

Hec sunt recepta in annuis redditibus Gerardi dicti Graet presbyteri et Theoderici Apothecarii prepositorum confraternitatis beate Marie virginis **anno nativitatis Domini M.CCC.XLVII** Sabbato ante Nativitatem beati Johannis Baptiste.

[1347]

Hec sunt exposita dictorum prepositorum in vitalibus pensionibus et aliis diversis negociis dicte confraternitatis.

Primo 16 st. ende 8 d. pro vino potato in die computationis anno preterito.

item 16 st. custodi pro pulsatione.

item 13 st. ende 4 d. pro thure.

• item 5 st. domino Henrico cappellano exequendis mandatis contra **socios** debitores.

≡

These *socios* are human associates.

Oldewelt p. 40

[1232-116-015v]

≡

Item **pecunia restans** de obitu fratrum nostrorum anni predicti:
primo Willelmus de Zonne, item debet idem Willelmus 16 st. de **pecunia neglecta** in
anno quo moriebatur.

item Leonius de Erpe item idem Leonius 8 st. de **pecunia neglecta**.

≡

[1232-116-016r]

≡

Hec sunt recepta in annuis redditibus Gerardi dicti Graet presbyteri et Theodrici Apothecarii, prepositorum confraternitatis beate Marie virginis, **anno nativitatis Domini M.CCC.XLVIII** Sabbato ante Nativitatem beate Johannis Baptiste.

[1348]

≡

Note the *pecunia restans* and *pecunia neglecta* entries. Clearly, these are not coins types, but rather money that is “left over” or “neglected”.

Oldewelt p. 44

[1232-116-017r]

≡

item deliberaverunt dicti prepositi ni **parata pecunia** 3 lb. 6 st. in die computationis.
item 5 lb. 19 scilda minus 2 ½ st. existentia penes Theodericum Aposthecarium **anno XLVIII** Sabbato ante festum Johannis Baptiste. ¹⁾

[1348]

≡

¹⁾ Hierachter staat in 't hs. doorgehaald: „van den kersen te maken”.

[1232-116-017v]

Hec sunt recepta in annuis redditibus Gerardi dicti Graet presbyteri et Theoderici Apothecarii, prepositorum confraternitatis beate Marie virginis, anno nativitatis Domini M.CCC.XLIX Sabbato ante Nativitatem beati Johannis Baptiste.

[1349]

≡

• Oldewelt p. 46
[1232-116-018r]

item 5 st. in Assumptione beate Marie virginis presbytero, dyacono, subdyacono et cantoribus.
item 5 st. in exequiis Sophie de Deventer presbytero, dyacono, subdyacono et cantoribus.
item 5 st. in Nativitate beate Marie virginis presbytero, dyacono, subdyacono et cantoribus.
item 32 d. presbytero pronuncianti anniversarium dicte confraternitatis.
item 32 d. **Johanni Hyems** misso in exequiis domini Staeskini de Brakel militis.
item 32 d. **Johanni Hyems** misso in exequiis domini Heinrici de Aemstel.
item 5 st. in die Conceptionis beate Marie virginis presbytero, dyacono, subdyaco et cantoribus
item 5 st. in die beati Johannis Ewangeliste presbytero, dyacono, subdyacono et cantoribus.
item 3 st. **Johanni Hyems** ad emendum liquorem dictum harse.
item 5 st. in die Purificationis beate Marie virginis presbytero, dyacono, subdyacono et cantoribus.
item 5 st. in Annuntiatione beate Marie virginis presbytero, dyacono, subdyacono et cantoribus.
item 5 st. in die Johannis ante portam latinam presbytero et cantoribus.
item 5 st. in missa sancti Spiritus presbytero et cantoribus.
• item 4 st. presbytero ad exequenda mandata contra **socios**.
item 16 st. de candelis factis in isto anno.
item 23 st 4 d. **Johanni Hyems** de labore suo.

≡

These *socios* are human associates. Note the other entries regarding the previously-mentioned Johannes Hyems.

Oldewelt p. 47
[1232-116-018r]

item 10 st. de hereditate Scamparts supra Duhghen item 5 st. de anno precedente.
item 5 st. de hereditate Roeskini de pluribus annis.
item 2 st. de hereditate Henrici Palc.

[1232-116-018v]

item 4 st. 4 **myten** de hereditate Tedekini ultra Forum Piscium de pluribus annis.
item 2 st. de hereditate Ottonis Scipmakers ultra Forum Piscium.¹⁾
item 5 st. de hereditate Doppers in Maelstrem.

Summa 44 st. 1 d. 1 m. ²⁾

Oldewelt p. 47
[1232-116-018v]
cont.

item 10 st. de hereditate Scamparts supra Duhghen item 5 st. de anno precedente.
item 5 st. de hereditate Roeskini de pluribus annis.
item 2 st. de hereditate Henrici Palc.

[1232-116-018v]

- Dit is dat innemen heren Wouters Deenkens soen ende Heinen Crabbarts proefsten van der broederscap onser Vrouen ende ghecoeren van den **ghesellen in den jare van XLIX.**

[1349]

In den iirsten van Heinken Steenwech als dat hi tot sinen ghetyden niet en coemt 8 st.
item van Gheenken Eelkens soens soen als van den orghelen 8 st.
item van veren Oeden³⁾ der Vlocmaecster omdat si suster wart 20 st.
• item van den ghemeynen **ghesellen** ontfaen van sunte Jansdaghe tot Korsdaghe 9 st. 4 d.
item van der uitvarde des abts van den Werde 3 lb. 15 st.
item van der uitvarde der joncfrouen van Werdenberch 2 **pavelioen** maken 3 lb. 8 st.
item van Art van der Cloet als voer siin defecte 8 st.

≡

- 1) Hierna volgt in 't hs. de volgende doorgehaalde post: „Item 5 ½ st. inde solvitur census domini ducis de hereditate Goeswini Steenweechs debet de quatuor annis”.
- 2) Eerst stonden er in 't hs. andere getallen welke gedeeltelijk weggeradeerd zijn, zoodat de bovenstaande overbleven.
- 3) Eerst stond er in 't hs. „item van Art.”

The *ghesellen* mentioned are humans.

Note the mention of the *mite* (*myt*):

item 4 st. 4 myten de hereditate Tedekini ultra Forum Piscium de pluribus annis.

The value of 1 *mite* (or *mijt*) is not made clear. The *mite* had a different value at different places and times, but was often reckoned at $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ d. According to v. Hengel....

“7. MIJT

In 1342 komen wij voor de eerste maal de mijt tegen, als een tijns is bedongen van 4s 4m. Voor de broeders komt dit ongelukkig uit; meestal verwaarloosden zij de mijten bij de summa of de computatie. De ene keer dat zij hem nauwkeurig berekenen blijkt hij $\frac{2}{3}$ d waard.”

– v. Hengel, p. 204

Unfortunately, V. Hengel does not indicate where the brothers have accurately reckoned the value of the *mite* to be $\frac{2}{3}$ d. We have no desire to add up all of the posts before a *summa* when one of the posts mentions the *mite*, over and over, until we find the one post we seek. Especially in light of v. Hengel's poor track record in this particular *Beeldenaar* article.

"In 1349 verschijnt een nieuwe tijns, *in vetermn of audts* (oud geld)

– v. Hengel, p. 201

**Oldewelt p. 13
[1232-116-001r]**

item Ghenen Velkeners huse tot sunte Merttensmisse 20 st audts.

**Oldewelt p. 14
[1232-116-001r]**

item ane Teedkens huse onner die Visghemercht 4 st. 4 m.

V. Hengel is saying that Oldewelt p. 13 is 1349 and p. 14 is 1342. As far as we can see, both of these pages are from 1336.

• **Gold Coins**

item van der uutvarde der joncfrouen van Werdenberch 2 pavilioen maken 3 lb. 8 st.

Here we are told that 2 gold *pavilion* coins were valued at 3 £ 8 β, which equals 816 d; therefore 1 *pavilion* was worth 408 d (in 1349).

2 x pavilion = 3 £ 8 β = 816 d [tournois]

1 *pavilion* = 408 d [tournois]

• Oldewelt p. 48
[1232-116-018v]

≡

item van der joncfrouen van der Aa als van den tve cledere 3 **scilde** maken 3 lb. 18 st.

≡

Here we are told that 3 gold *écu* (*scilde*) coins were valued at 3 £ 18 β, which equals 936 d; therefore 1 *écu* was worth 312 d (in 1349).

$$3 \times \text{écu} = 3 \text{ £ } 18 \beta = 936 \text{ d } [\text{tournois}]$$

$$1 \text{ écu} = 312 \text{ d } [\text{tournois}]$$

• Aleida Densers

[1232-116-019v]

≡

item van een aud wiif, die tot Didderic Specyre plegt te wesen, die **Aleit Densers** heit 6
st.

≡

This is half of Aleida Densers' pension, 6 β (72 d). She is described here as an "old woman, who is apparently associated with Didderic Specyre" (i.e. Theodericus Apothecarius).

• Oldewelt p. 49
[1232-116-019v]

• item in die Concepci onser Vrouwen den priester, dyaken ende dat die **ghesellen** te
voeren hadden te gansen 12 st.

item Yems ter selver tiit 11 d.

item in die Korsdaghe op sunte Jansdaghe Ewaenghelist den dyaken, subdiaken ende die
tve cantores 4 st.

item heren Jan Scuewart van Korssavont als van luden 8 st.

item den **tve cantores** ende den orghelier als van Corsavont 24 st.

item Yems van sinen dienst als van Corsavont 10 st.

• Oldewelt p. 49

[1232-116-019v]

cont.

item Peter den Scuut als van yserwerc ten sulre 30 st.

item **Aleyten des Densers** als van tinse die men haer tot Korssavont ghilt 6 st.

• item in die Purificaci onser Vrouwen heren Alarde Loef tot behoef der **ghesellen**, Yems ende om stro 4 st. 6 d.

item in die uitvaert Bertouts van Meghen heren Wouters,

• heren Alarts Loef ende van1 enen omganc die **ghesellen** tonbieden 3 st.

≡

The *ghesellen* mentioned are humans. Here we can see the second half of Aleida Densers' pension being paid out.

It appears that a deacon, sub-deacon and 2 singers received 4 β (48 d):

item in die Korsdaghe op sunte Jansdaghe Ewaenghelist den dyaken, subdiaken ende die tve cantores 4 st.

Presumably, that is 12 d (1 β) per man (if they all received the same amount). Unlike this post, most of the ILV entries do not indicate the number of singers, saying only "singers" instead.

Oldewelt p. 50

[1232-116-019v]

≡

ghelevert den proefsten 10 lb. 13 st. 6 d.s) in **den jare van 50.**

[1350]

≡

[1232-116-020r]

Hec sunt recepta in annuis redditibus et in **parata pecunia** Gerardi dicti Graet presbyteri et Theoderici Apotecarü, bone memorie, prepositorum confraternitatis beate Marie virgfeiis, **anno nativitatis Domini M.CCC.LI** Sabbato ante festum Nativitatis beati Johannis Baptiste.

[1351]

≡

- The *Gheldorfse* Entries

These posts refer to “(current) money of Guelders”.

Oldewelt p. 54
[1232-116-021r]

item 5 st. in hereditate Goeswini Steenweechs de duobus annis de anniversario Jacobi de Neysel.

item 8 st. in hereditate Bodekini de Tyele.

Item deliberata in **parata peccunia et legali** 11 lb. 11 st. 9 d. item **9 lb. in moneta dicta gheldorfse** anno predicto existentibus domino Gherardo Graet presbytero et Goesuino Steweche prepositis.

[1232-116-021v]

Hec sunt recepta in annuis redditibus et in **parata peccunia** Gerardi Graet presbyteri et Ghosuini Stewecht, prepositorum confraternitatis beate Marie virginis, **anno nativitatis Domini M.CCC.LII** Sabbato ante festum beati Johannis Baptiste.¹⁾

[1352]

- 1) Hierna volgt in 't hs. de volgende doorgehaalde post: „Primo 11 lb. 11 st. 10 d. item 9 lb. in **moneta gheldorfse** per dominum Graet deliberatas”.

Oldewelt p. 55
[1232-116-021v]

≡

Summa 14 lb. 11 st.

Item recepta dictorum prepositorum in **parata peccunia** videlicet Gerardi et Ghosuini: primo 11 lb. 11 st. 9 d. in parata peccunia deliberatas Gerardo et Ghosuino.

item **9 lb. in moneta gheldorfse** simili modo deliberatas.⁴⁾

- 4) Hierna staat in 't hs. doorgehaald „item recepta dictorum prepositorum in parata peccunia videlicet Gerardi et Ghosuini.”

Oldewelt p. 56
[1232-116-022r]

≡

item 39 st. pro reparatione calicis et appularum reparandarum.

item **9 lb. ghelderensis** emendo apullas argenteas reparandas et calicem cum auro
reparandum.

• **Old Money**

Oldewelt p. 57
[1232-116-022v]

≡

Domini **M.CCC.LII** Gerardo Graet presbytero et Ghosuino Stewecht anno predicto
prepositis qui dederunt in

[1352]

Oldewelt p. 58
[1232-116-022v]

parata peccunia 21 lb. Heinrico Boe presbytero et Johanni de Roesmalen prepositis,
Sabbato Nativitatis beati Johannis Baptiste, electis.

Hec sunt recepta prepositorum in annuis redditibus et in **parata pecunia** videlicet
Heinrici de Aggere et Johannis de Roesmalen **anno Domini M.CCC quinquagesimo**
tercio Sabbato ante fes turn Johannis Baptiste.¹⁾

[1353]

1) De ontvangsten over dit jaar, waarvan vele posten doorgehaald zijn, zijn met
diagonale streepen doorgehaald en daarnaast op dezelfde pagina van 't hs. opnieuw
ingeschreven. Deze laatste redactie is hier opgenomen, terwijl enkele belangrijke
woorden, die wel in de oude, maar niet in de nieuwe redactie vóórkwamen, hier
tusschen haakjes ingevoegd zijn.

Primo in hereditate Margarite de Asperen 15 st.

item 20 st. in hereditate Hermanni de Stupa.

item 10 (st.) in hereditate Johannis de Hyen de anniversario Goeswini Stewich.

item 5 st. in hereditate Heinrici de Mol.

item 36 st. 8 d. de stallo, dicto vac, (supra domum pannorum).

item 20 st. **veterum** in hereditate Hadewigi Stripen valent 32 st.

item 10 st. in hereditate Beckerkini.

≡

item 20 st. veterum in hereditate Hadewigi Stripen valent 32 st.

20 β “old money”... whatever that is. But it was worth 32 β *pagement (tournois)*. This is one of the few account entries in this period that presents some sort of conversion.

20 β veterum = 32 β [tournois]

240 d *veterum* = 384 d *tournois*

1 β *tournois* = 0.625 β *veterum* or 5/8

1 β *veterum* = 1.6 β *tournois* or 1 ½

(the same ratios apply to the d)

To be honest, we suspect we are not going to end up with enough information from the ILV accounts to determine what type of money this “old money” is, and speculation with so little information is pointless.

Oldewelt p. 61
[1232-116-023v]

Omnibus computatis **anno Domini M.CCC quinquagesimo tercio**, Heinrico de Aggere et Johanne de Roesmalen prepositis, qui dederunt pecuniam domino Arnoldo Meelman et predicto, *Johanni* Roesmalen 33 lb. 21 d.¹⁾

[1353]

1) Hierachter staat in 't hs. doorgehaald „et dimidium modium siliginis”.

Hec sunt recepta prepositorum in annuis redditibus et in **parata pecunia** videlicet Arnoldi Meelman et *Johannis* de Roesmalen **anno Domini M.CCC. quinquagesimo quarto** Sabbato ante festum *Johannis* Baptiste.

[1354]

≡

• FIRST MENTION OF *SOCIUS* COINS - 1354

• Oldewelt p. 63

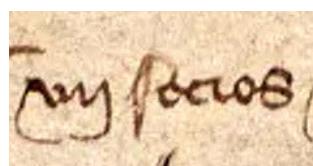
[1232-116-024v]

≡

item **Aleydi Densers** pro sua pensione 12 st.

item pro clave ad pixidem 16 d.

- item in Assumptione pro beate Marie officia deservientibus, cantoribus et Hyeme 7
socios.



vij socios
[122]

- item in Nativitate eiusdem **predictis similiter tantum**.

- item in Conceptione beate Marie **predictis similiter tantum**.

- item in Purificatione beate Marie **predicti s tantum**,

- item in Annunciatione Marie **predicte supradictis similiter tantum**,

item pro turibulo reparando triginta duos st. [= 2 st. ?]

item in vigilia commemorationis fratrum presbyteris et deservientibus 30 st. [360 d]

[*similiter tantum* = similar size or amount, i.e. 7 *socios*.]

predicte = previous, previously

supradictis = said above]

The first item is once again the 144 d pension of Aleida Densers. The third item contains the word *socios*.

This third post is one of the entries that caused a difference of opinion among the scholars of Latin, some of whom were of the opinion that these *socios* are people. (There was a further discussion as to the meaning of *hyeme* as ‘winter’ or the surname of Johannes Hyems; Oldewelt capitalized the word in his book, an indication that he felt it to be a proper name.)

item in Assumptione pro beate Marie officia deservientibus, cantoribus et Hyeme 7 socios.

In our opinion these are *socius* coins (or money of account), not humans (making this the first mention of *socius* coins in the ILV accounts, 1354). It is followed by four more entries giving “the same amount as previously mentioned”.

As far as we can see, this entry says that the *deservientibus* (plural), singers and Johannes Hyems were given 7 *socios* between them, either in coin or in value (but in some sort of coin(s) other than *leeuwengroten*). The subsequent entries say that the same 7 *socius* amount was given out for four other holy day services, to persons unknown.

Why were these *socio* coins (or money of account) not converted into *deniers [tournois]*? This would only be possible if the value of the *socius* at the time was common knowledge to anyone who might read or keep the accounts. The normal practice would be to indicate the value in some other money of account, in this case *tournois* (?).

We will eventually learn that the value of a *socius* coin (and money of account) was 14 d:

$$7 \text{ socios} \times 14 \text{ d} = 98 \text{ d tournois}$$

If, however, these *socios* were humans, then this is not an accounting post at all, because there is no amount of money recorded, which would be odd, and unlike any of the other posts in the accounts (except the subsequent four posts, which would suffer the same problem).

At this time (1354), the *socius* had been minted in various regions (primarily Flanders) on and off from 1337-1343, and again from 1346-1354 and beyond. Cf. the previous discussion of the *vlieghuyt* (p. 6 above). Why did it take so long for the *socius* to appear in the ILV books? (Part of the answer probably has to do with the fact that the brothers simply did not record the coin types of most of the transactions in the first half (or so) of the accounts at all.) In any case, GhysSENS assertions about coins that first appear in medieval accounts in 1359 having been first minted in 1359 seems even more like nonsense at this point.

Note that we are still uncertain as to the exact dates of minting of the *leeuwengroot* in Brabant, and we have no idea whether or not these coins were still being struck in Brabant at that point or not.

**Oldewelt p. 64
[1232-116-024v]**

- item in missa presbyteris deservientibus cantoribus et **sociis** specialibus pro expensis factis 24 st.

≡

The *sociis* mentioned in the next post are almost certainly humans, apparently some kind of specialists in something or another. Again: it was the final amount that was important for the ILV accounts, not the details.

Omnibus computatis et amputatis in domo habitato domino Gerardo Grate **anno
nativitatis Domini M.CCC.LIII** Sabbato ante Nativitatem beati Johannis Baptiste...

≡

[1354]

[1232-116-025r]

Hec sunt recepta prepositorum in annuys redditibus et in parata pecunia videlicet domini Gherardi Graet et Arnoldi Meelman presbyterorum **anno Domini M.CCC.LV** Sabbato ante festum Johannis Baptiste.

[1355]

Primo in hereditate Margarite de Asperen 15 st.
item 20 st. in hereditate Hermanni de Stupa.
item 10 st. in hereditate Johannis de Hynen de anniversario Goeswini Steenwich.
item 5 st. in hereditate Heinrici de Mol.
item de stallo dicto vac 3 lb.
item 20 st. **veterum** in hereditate Hadewigi Stripen valent 32 st.
item 10 st. in hereditate Beckerkini.

≡

The value of *moneta veterum* has remained the same.

Oldewelt p. 65

[1232-116-025r]

item 40 d. in hereditate Willelmi de Angulo.
item 9 gr. de anniversario Willelmi de Zon.
item in hereditate Cocxkens 2 st.
item in hereditate Johannis Duppens 5 st,
item dimidium modium siliginms ex parte Johannis de Os et sue uxoris valent 21 st.
item in hereditate Goeswini Steenwich 4 st. 6 d.
item in hereditate Theoderici Tedekens 4 st. **4 m.**
item in Wordraghen 10 st.
item 5 st. de anniversario Cristine uxoris Arnoldi Haec.
item de anniversario Jutte domicelle de Herwinen 13 st. in Orten.
item in hereditate Scampars 10 st.
item in hereditate Velkenerei 20 st. **veterum valent** 32 st. 8 d.
item 20 st. de anniversario domini Johannis de Keklonc.
item 5 st. de hereditate Ghodefridi Proper,
item 8 st. in hereditate Bodekini de Tyla prope Stupam.
item 5 st. in hereditate Roeskens.
item 2 st. prope hereditatem Palken.
item 2 st. in hereditate Ockens.
item 10 ½ st. in hereditate Amelii de Roesmalen.
item 40 st. in hereditate Henrici filii Thome de Hynen.
item 3 st. hereditate Arnoldi Moddars.
item 20 st. in hereditate Johannis de Rachghelinia.
item 20 st. **veterum valent** 32 st. 8 d. in hereditate Scollekini.

Oldewelt p. 65
[1232-116-025r]
cont.

Summa 20 lb. 9 st. 10 d.

Item recepta in **pecunia parata** dictorum prepositorum primo.
item 32 st. de morte magistri Ghodefridi.
item 40 st. de morte ¹⁾ mulieris Johannis de Malsen.

1) Eerst stond er in 't hs. „exequis“,

item 3 st. 6 d. de cera Petri de Gherwen.
item 20 st. dc candela vendita Crabberdo.
item **unum scutum** valet 30 st. 8 d. de defectu Willelmi Vranc.

A number of noteworthy things happen on this page. There are mentions of *mites*, of *grotens*, and of the value of a gold *écu* (*scutum*):

1 écu = 30 β 8 d = 368 d [tournois]

The value of one *écu* had previously been 312 d.

Additionally, the value of *moneta veterum* has changed:

*item in hereditate Velkenerei 20 st. **veterum** valent 32 st. 8 d.*
*item 20 st. **veterum** valent 32 st. 8 d. in hereditate Scollekini.*

20 β veterum = 32 β 8 d [tournois]

240 d *veterum* = 392 d *tournois*

1 β *tournois* = 0.612244898 β *veterum*

1 β *veterum* = 1.633333333 β *tournois*

• SECOND MENTION OF *SOCIUS* COINS - 1354

• Oldewelt p. 66

[1232-116-025v]

≡

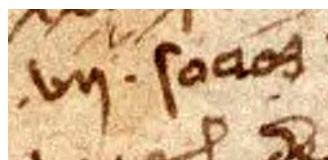
- item 7 **socios** de prima missa filii Henrici Cortken.
- item 6 gr. de prima missa cognati domini Leonii.
- item 6 gr. de prima missa cognati Petri de Waderen.

These *socios* are almost certainly coins (or money of account). Otherwise, it would be a “post” recording no amount of money. Since this is a record of money received, followed by two posts in *grotens*, it does indeed seem likely that this amount was paid with *socius* (*leeuwengroot*) coins... or the brothers simply wanted to indicate 98 d.

The value of the *socius* is still not made clear, but if we skip ahead a bit, we will find that it is 14 d. Therefore:

$$7 \text{ socios} \times 14 \text{ d} = 98 \text{ d}$$

$$6 \text{ grotens} \times 16 \text{ d} = 96 \text{ d}$$



“*vij socios*”
[1232-116-025v] [122]

- item 6 gr. de prima missa cognati domini Leonii.
- item 6 gr. de prima missa cognati Petri de Waderen.
- item 32 st. de receptione Thome Meelman,
- item 39 st. de morte Henrici Arnoldi de Porta.

Summa 34 lb. 16 st. 4 d.

Hec sunt exposita predictorum prepositorum.

In primo **Aleidi Denser** 12 st. pro vitali pensione.

item 5 gr. pro thure.

item 4 st. Johanni Hyems.

- item in die Assumptionis presbytero et deservientibus 7 **socios**.

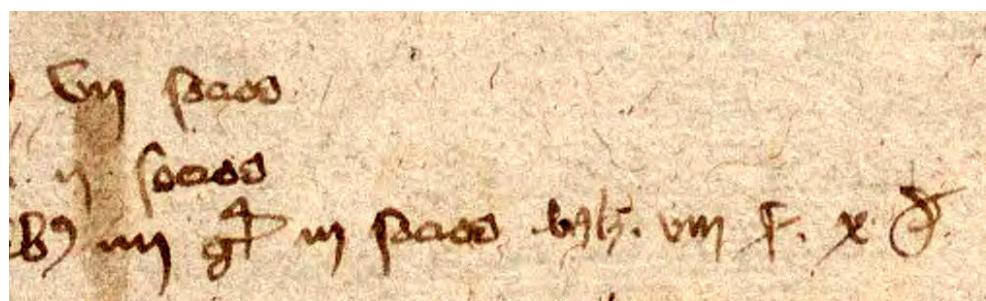
- item deservientibus in exequiis magistri Goedefridi 2 **socios**.

- item in Nativitate Marie virginis presbytero et deservientibus 4 gr. 3 **socios** valent 8 st.
10 d.

• Oldewelt p. 66

[1232-116-025v]

cont.



vij socios

ij socios

iiij gr iij socios valent viij β s x d
[122]

These are *socius* coins. And here, at last, we are told, albeit indirectly, what the value of a *socius* is.

$$4 \text{ groten} + 3 \text{ socios} = 8 \beta 10 \text{ d} = 106 \text{ d} [\text{tournois}]$$

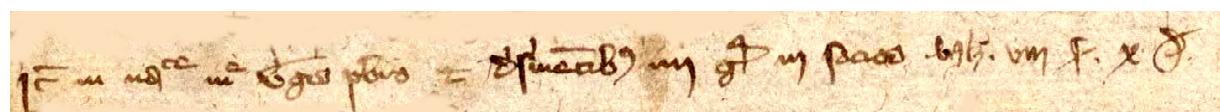
if 1 *groot* is indeed 16 d

and 1 *socius* indeed worth 14 d

then 4 *grotten* 3 *socios* = $64 + 42 = 106 \text{ d}$

The math works out correctly.

The post gives a strong impression of recording a transaction that must have actually involved *socius* (*leeuwengroot*) coins, otherwise there would be little reason not to simply express the amounts in *payement* (*tournois*) like most of the other account entries.



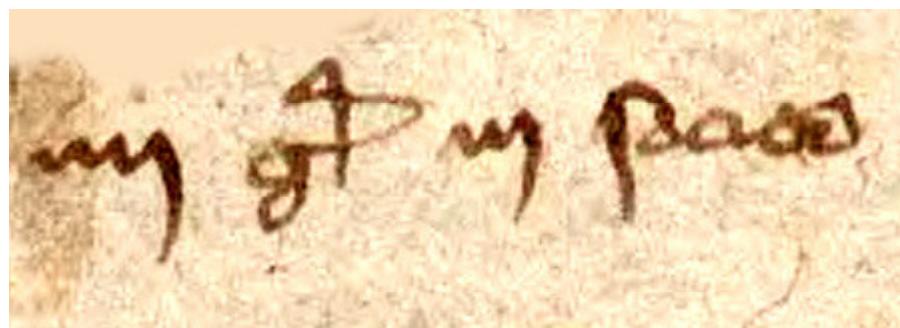
item in Nativitate Marie virginis presbytero et deservientibus 4 gr. 3 socios valent 8 st. 10 d

1232-116-025v [122]

• Oldewelt p. 66

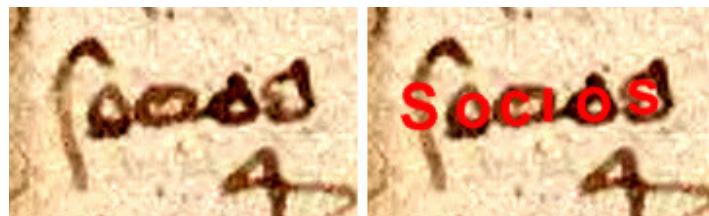
[1232-116-025v]

cont.



iiij gr. iij socios
(i.e. 4 gr. 3 *socios*)
[122]

For those readers who, like myself, are not particularly adept at reading 14th script, and who are having difficulty in seeing the word “*socios*” here, we give you the same word from the line above on the same page, which is slightly easier to read:



The initial S of the word is a medieval version of the letter (only used at the beginning of a word), which to modern eyes resembles a lowercase f. The final s does not resemble a modern s very much either.

This is the entry that v. Hengel mistranscribed as “3 *grotten*, 4 *socios*”. V. Hengel’s article is telling us that 104 d were paid out, when in fact, 106 d were paid out.

$$(3 \times 16) + (4 \times 14) = 104 \text{ d}$$

$$(4 \times 16) + (3 \times 14) = 106 \text{ d}$$

v. Hengel

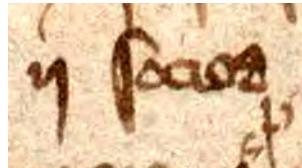
Oldewelt and the ILV .ms

This 2 d may seem like a minor difference, but it is important, especially when v. Hengel is using this as “evidence” of how much *vacatiegeld* was being paid out.

- Oldewelt p. 67
[1232-116-025v]

≡

- item in exequiis Elizabet Coelvars 2 **socios** deservientibus in missa. [funeral]

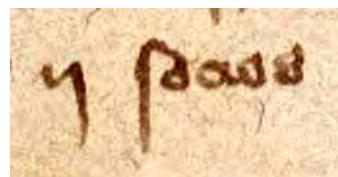


vij socios
[122]

- item 4 gr. 8 d. pro spaens groen et pro hers 2 **socios**.
item Elizabet de Arena 3 gr. pro cera reparanda.
item in Conceptione Marie virginis deservientibus 7 gr.
item in die Johannes Ewangeliste 4 gr. deserventibus.
item domino Theoderico Gheghel 18 gr.
item domino Arnoldo Scindel 18 gr.

≡

2 *socios* = 28 d for resin
4 gr. 8 d. = 72 d for Spanish green



vij socios
[122]

- Oldewelt p. 67
[1232-116-026r]

≡

- item in exequiis Johannis Lit deservientibus 2 **socios**.



ij socios
[122]

FINAL MENTION OF *SOCIUS* COINS

These posts from 1354 above seem to be the final mentions of any *socius* coins or money of account in the ILV registers. From this point onwards, all of the *socios* (or *gesellen*) are humans.

What changed at this point so that the brothers stopped recording entries expressed in *socios*? Was it the death of duke John III in October, 1355, and the subsequent cessation of minting of *leeuwengroten* in Brabant? (In fact, we are not certain when minting of John's *leeuwengroten* ended; it may well have been earlier, while the duke was still alive.)

Or was any mention of *socios* so offhand that it simply ceased as effortlessly as it began?

• Oldewelt p. 68

[1232-116-026r]

Omnibus computatis et amputatis in camera mansionis domini Gerardi Orate Domini M.CCC.LV Sabbato ante domini Gerardi Grate **anno Domini M.CCC.LV** Sabbato ante Nativitatem beati Johannis Baptiste,¹⁾ domini Gerardus predictus et Arnoldus Meelman habuerunt et servaverunt octoginta libras communis pagamenti prepositi reelecti.

[1355]

≡

1) In 't hs. staat „Domini“ hetgeen waarschijnlijk een vergissing is.

• [1232-116-026v]

Hec sunt recepta in annuis redditibus et in **parata pecunia** videlicet domini Gherardi Graet et Arnoldi Meelman presbyterorum **anno Domini M.CCC.LVI** Sabbato ante festum Johannis Baptiste.

[1356]

≡

Oldewelt p. 72

≡

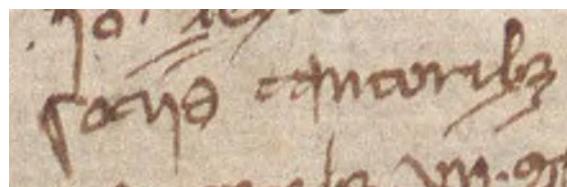
- item 8 gr. quod custodivit diem nostram contra Willelmum Scampart et tres **socios** domino

≡

These 3 *socios* are humans.

Oldewelt p. 73

item 7 gr. in Annunciatione beate Marie.
item eadem nocte 2 ½ gr.
item unum gr. Henrico Pricken quod fecit mandatum super Scampart.
item Hyemi 8 d.
item Johanni Leydecker 8 d. ad erras.
• item **sociis** cantoribus in domo domini Theoderici Gheghel 5 gr.
≡



sociis cantoribus
1232-116-026v [122]

These *sociis* are humans.

Oldewelt p. 74 [1232-116-028r]

≡

Omnibus computatis et amp(ut)atis in camera mansionis domini Gerardi Graet, **anno Domini M.CCC. quinquagesimo septimo Sabbato** ante festum beati Johannis Baptiste, a dominis Gerardo dicto Graet et Arnoldo Meelman, prepositis confraternitatis beate Marie virginis, (restabant) 18 lb. 9 st. 4 d. quas dicti domini Gerardus et Arnoldus porrigerunt Egidio de Ghele et Henrico Grabbart nunc prepositis electis ad opus eiusdem confraternitatis.

[1357]

Hec sunt recepta prepositorum in **anno LVIII** videlicet

[1358]

≡

Oldewelt p. 75
[1232-116-028v]

≡

Summa 55 lb. 16 st. 4 d. ¹⁾)

- 1) Het volgende gedeelte dezer rekening, dat hierboven is afgedrukt, is in 't hs. op verschillende voorafgaande pagina's, waar zich nog onbeschreven gedeelten bevonden, ingeschreven. Men zie hierover nader de Inleiding.

[END 1232-116-028v]

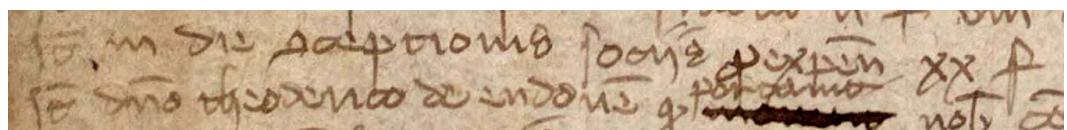
This is an indication of Oldewelt moving things around.

Oldewelt p. 76
[1232-116-005v]

≡

- item in die Conceptionis **sociis** pro expensis 20 st.

≡



item in die conceptionis sociis pro expensis xx β
1232-116-005v [122]

These *sociis* are humans. Note that we have jumped from ms. p. 28 back to ms. page 5.

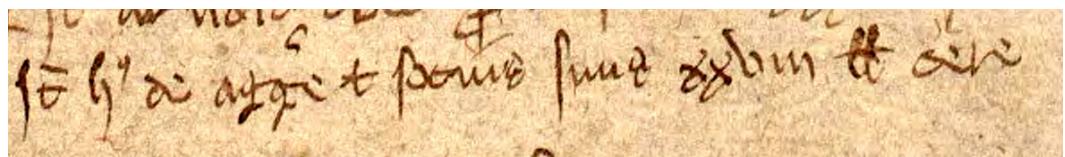
• **Oldewelt p. 77**
[1232-116-008v]

≡

- item Henricus de Aggere et **socius** suus 28 tb. cere.

≡

These *sociis* are humans.



item Henricus de Aggere et socius suus 28 tb. cere.

1232-116-008v^[122]

[1232-116-029r]

Hec sunt recepta in annuis redditibus et in **parata pecunia** domini Gerardi Graet presbyteri et Ghyselberti Lysscap prepositorum confraternitatis beate Marie virginis anno a nativitate Domini M.CCC. **quinquagesimo nono** in vigilia Nativitatis beati Johannis Baptiste.

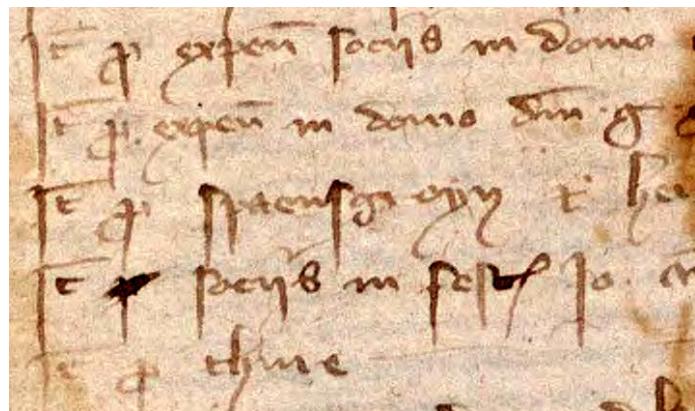
[1359]

Oldewelt p. 81

[END 1232-116-032r]

[1232-116-032v]

- item pro expensis **sociis** in domo Agneta Bruébs factis scilicet in festo Conceptionis Marie
≡
- item **sociis** in festo Johannis ante portam latinam datum 9 st
≡



item expon sociis in domo
item expon in domo sumptuoso
item expon sociis in festo Johannis ante portam latinam datum 9 st
item expon sociis in festo Johannis ante portam latinam datum 9 st

1232-116-032v^[122]

• Oldewelt p. 84

[1232-116-034v]

Computata exposita per prepositos prenominatos in **anno prescripto scilicet sexagesimo primo** et die pretacto.

[1361]

In primis pro pictura ymaginis beate Marie Magdalene et ceterum 40 st.
item pro formatione duorum superpliciorum novorum et ad conficienda eadem 24 st.
item thure 5 st. 4 d.
• item **sociis** in Assumptione beate Marie virginis 8 st.
item latori novi calicis de Colonia 6 st
• item **sociis** in Nativitate beate Marie virginis 8 st.
item domino Theoderico Gheghel de uno instrumento 8 st.
• item **sociis** in Conceptione beate Marie virginis 8 st.
• item **sociis** aliis de expensis in domo Willelmi Scilder eodem die factis 18 st. 8 d.
item in commemoratione animarum confratrum nostrorum 13 st.
item **Aleidi Densers** de vitali pensione 14 st. 6 d.
item de exequiis domini Robberti dicti van den Scaec presbyteri 16 st.
item mense sancti Spiritus de duobus annis 5 st.
item latori census de Oerle 4 st.
• item **sociis** in Purificatione beate Marie virginis 8 st
• item **sociis** in Annunciatione beate Marie virginis 8 st.
item pro spaens groyn et hersa et ad conficiendas candelas pro totum annum per Hertgherum
24 st.
item latori tortysie de Os 2 st. 4 d.
item pulsatoribus campanarum per totum annum 32 st.
item dyacono et subdyacono 3 lb. 4 st.
item cantoribus 3 lb. 4 st
item organistis 32 st.
item custodi dicte confraternitatis 40 st.
item Phliippo de Vucht latori pecurde de Henrici Thome de Hyen 4 st. 8 d.
item domino Mathie Scilder de uno instrumento 8 st.
item domino Theoderico Qheghel de uno instrumento 8 st.
• item **sociis** in festo Johannis ante portam latinam 8 st.

Summa 24 lb. 18 d. ¹⁾

1) Hierachter ontbreken in 't hs. twee bladen zoodat het slot dezer rekening en het grootste gedeelte der volgende ontbreken. Hetgeen hierboven volgt is het slot der uitgaven over het jaar 1361/1362.

[END 1232-116-034v]

All of these *sociis* are humans. Note the difference between these posts and the earlier *vacatiegeld* (or *beloning*, whichever) payments: these posts do not list the “occupations” of anyone.

- Van Hengel's Coin/Human Problem

“Hierna wordt enkele jaren geen vacatiegeld uitbetaald tot in 1361 weer **8 sociis** [sic] per dienst worden uitgegeven, waarschijnlijk aan zes officianten elk 1 groot.”

“After this, no *vacatiegeld* was paid for a number of years until 1361, when **8 sociis** [sic] per service were again given out, probably to six officials, 1 *groot* each.”

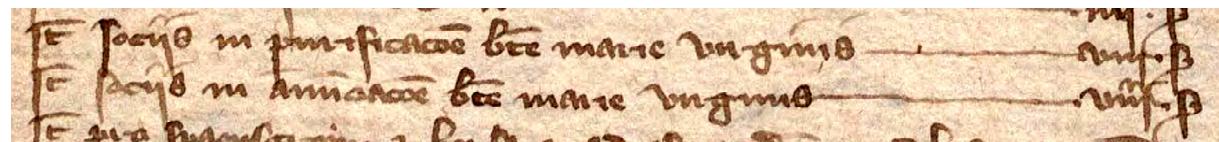
– v. Hengel, p. 206^[22]:

As we can see from the account entries given above (Oldewelt, p. 84), Oldewelt did **not** say that 8 *socios* per service (i.e. 8 *socius* coins) were paid out, he said **8 s(t)**, or **8 stuivers** (i.e. *schillings*).

“...item sociis in Assumptione beate Marie virginis 8 st.
 item sociis in Nativitate beate Marie virginis 8 st.
 item sociis in Conceptione beate Marie virginis 8 st.
 item sociis in Purificatione beate Marie virginis 8 st.
 item sociis in Annunciatione beate Marie virginis 8 st...”

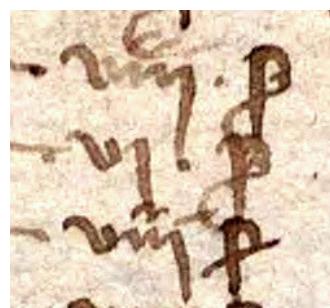
(As mentioned above, there is some discussion in v. Hengel's article (p. 201) about whether the “s” in the handwritten accounts is to be read as *stuivers* or *schillings*; in either case, *solidi* is meant, i.e. 1/20 of a pound.)

The ms. is in agreement with Oldewelt:



*item sociis in purificatione beate marie virginis 8 β
 item sociis in annunciatione beate marie virginis 8 β*

1232-116-034v^[122]



viiij β (i.e. 8 β)

These posts have nothing to do with *socius* coins (or money of account), which is to say that there is nothing in these posts that specifically indicates *socius* coins (as opposed to humans). V. Hengel has confused the *sociis* humans reported in the account entry with *sociis* coins.

Everything that v. Hengel says about these posts, insofar as the *leeuwengroot*, and the amount of *vacatiegeld* is concerned, is incorrect. The entries are expressed in what we presume is *payement tournois*, as are most of the other entries in the accounts around this date (1354).

$8 \beta = 96 \text{ d} [\text{tournois}]$

$8 \text{ socius} = 8 \times 14 \text{ d} = 112 \text{ d} [\text{tournois}]$

Van Hengel's article is telling us that that 112 d were paid out, when in fact only 96 d were paid out. This in turn causes v. Hengel's calculations regarding the *vacatiegeld* to go wrong.

The reason for pointing these things out is neither to impugn v. Hengel's reputation, nor to be "pugnacious". The reason is to make it clear that v. Hengel's ***De Beeldenaar*** article on the ILV accounts should not (can not) be used as a viable reference for any serious study of the ILV accounts.

Numismatic research should not be done by reading old books and simply repeating the information therein without the additional use of one's own brain along the way.

**Oldewelt p. 90
[1232-116-040v]**

per dominum Mathiam dictum Scilder et Ghoeswinum dictum Steenwech, prepositos clericorum beate Marie, in camera Ghiselberti dicti Lisscap, ipsi prepositi resignaverunt prepositis ibidem tune temporibus electis videlicet domino Gerardo dicto Graet en Heinrico dicto Grabbaert

26 lb. 16 st. 1 d., **anno a nativitate Domini M.CCC.LXIII** Sabbato ante festum beati Johannis Baptiste. ¹⁾

[1364]

1) Hierna volgt een onbeschreven pagina, terwijl de rekening over 1364/1365 ontbreekt

[1232-116-039v blank]

Oldewelt p. 90
[1232-116-040r]

Hec sunt computata et recepta de annuis redditibus sitis in Buschoducis et extra
Buschoducis confraternitatis clericorum beate Marie virginis, per dominum Geraerdum
Graet presbyterum et Geraerdum Wisseller dicte confraternitatis prepositos, **anno a
nativitate domini M.CCC.**

LXVI Sabbato ante festum beati Johannis Baptiste.

[1366]

≡

Oldewelt p. 91
[1232-116-040v]

≡

- item a Willelmo de Mulsen ex parte **sociorum** de Sconen ¹⁾ 4 st. gr. den mot. pro 28 gr.
valent 3 lb. 9 st. 4 d.

≡

[END 1232-116-040v]

These are humans, not coins.

This is another uncommon entry that is expressed in *shillings groot*. The value of a *mottoen* (*mouton*) is given as 28 *grotten*, presumably 448 d.

$$\begin{aligned}4 \beta^{\text{gr}} &= 576 \text{ d} \\3 \text{ £ } 9 \beta 4 \text{ d} &= 832 \text{ d}\end{aligned}$$

We are now encountering something we have not previously seen in the ILV accounts: a conversion from an amount expressed in one *mouton* to an amount expressed in a different *mouton*, by which we mean a different issue with a different amount of pure gold per coin.

The difference between the two values is quite large. We seem to be looking at a *mouton* worth 448 d and another worth c. 310 d.

We need to go back to the previous page of Oldewelt's transcript for more information:

item de vestibus domini Roveri 4 lb. 10 st. 1 mot. pro 26 gr. valent 5 lb. 2 st. 4 d.

item a fratre Henrico de Megen de una cappa 2 ½ mot. valent 5 lb.

item de mantello Elisabeth Ludings 5 mot. valent 9 lb.

item a domino Johanne Neve de arrastantibus 3 ½ mot. valent 7 lb.

As it turns out, things have only gotten worse. Here we are confronted with 4 more values for the *mouton* (!). One of these entries contains another conversion from one to another.

Lord Roveri *1 mouton = 26 groten = 416 d [tournois?]*

4 £ 10 β = 5 £ 2 β 4 d [tournois?] *mouton of 416 d / mouton of c. 365.86 d*
1,080 d = 1,228 d [tournois?]

Henrico de Megen *2.5 mouton = 5 £ = 1,200 d [tournois?]*
1 mouton = 480 d [tournois?]

Elisabeth Ludings *5 mouton = 9 £ = 2,160 d [tournois?]*
1 mouton = 432 d [tournois?]

Johanne Neve *3.5 mouton = 7 £ = 1,680 d [tournois?]*
1 mouton = 480 d [tournois?]

We are unable to provide any further insight.

Oldewelt p. 92
[1232-116-045r]

≡

Uutghegeven van Gheryt Groy ende Arnt van Beke proest int jaer van LXVII. [1367]

Primo Aleydi Ghensers de sua pensione de festo Nativitatis beati Johannis 8 vl.

item den diaken ende subdiaken van horen dienstjair LXVI 32 st. [1366]

item den cantoribus in den selven jair 32 st.

item herren Art Meelman van den orghelen van 2 jaren 29 st.

item van Roffijns caperoen, Herman Ketelers ende Tielmans van Zon 58 st. van 2 ellen,

item den papen die misse zonghe van 2 broderen ende Alrezielendach 4 vl.

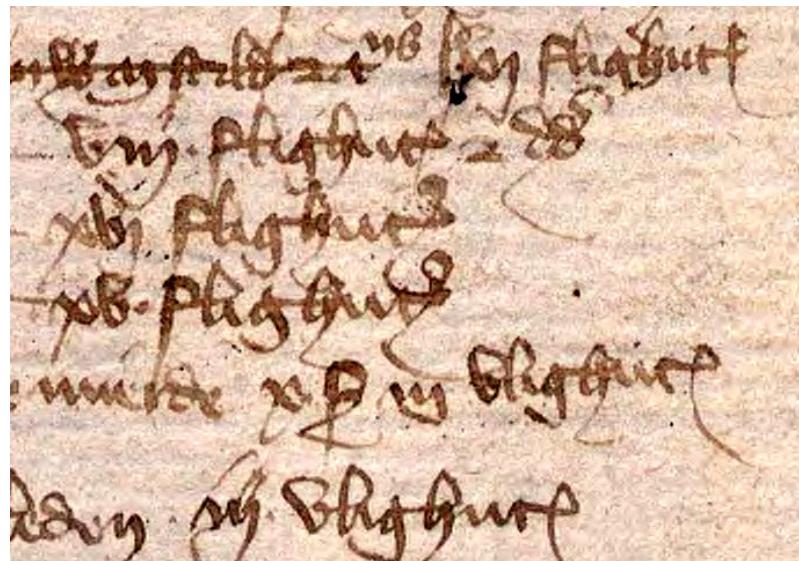
≡

Another change occurs on p. 92 of Oldewelt's transcription; many of the entries are now expressed in terms of *vlieghuit*. For example, Aleyda Densers' pension, which had previously been reported at 14 β 6 d (174 d) is now reported as 8 *vlieghuit*. We are not told what the value of 1 *vlieghuit* is, but we will later (p. 94) be informed that it is 10 d (and even later, 12 d

(p. 101)). At 80 d for 8 *vlieghuit*, it seems likely that this post indicates only a portion of Aleyda's pension.

We had previously encountered posts with totals given in *socios* (and *grotens*) with no indication of the value of 1 *socius* (or 1 *groot*); here we have a similar situation with the *vlieghuit*.

On this page of the ms., *flighute* and *vliughute* are written out in full several times:



1232-116-045r [122]

Oldewelt has transcribed them all as “vl.”.

Strangely, the totals (*summa*) are now expressed thusly:

Summa 42 lb. 9 st. 2 d. 3 vl. (p. 95)

Summa 26 lb. 17 st. 6 d. 3 fl. (p. 96)

Summa summarum 151 lb. 8 st. 8 d. 3 fl. (p. 96)

Why is there an extra amount of *vlieghuit* at the end? And why is that amount 3 each time? This is something generally seen with *mites*, which are fractional *deniers*. It is also sometimes seen with *sterlings*. But why *vlieghuits*?

At other points, we are told very clearly what the *vlieghuit* was reckoned at:

enen fliegt. voer 10 d. gherekent. (p. 95)

enen vl. gherekent voer 12 d. (p. 95)

Oldewelt p. 93

≡

item **Aleydi Ghensers** de sua pensione 8 vl.
item pro straminibus et thure plurium festivitatum 16 vl .
item pro pallio lineo ad altare 15 vl.
item pro pergamento et scriptura de novo „Et in terra pax” etc. Johanni de Mierde 10 st.
in vl.
item uutghegeven tot linen laken onse luchters mede te cleden 3 vl .
item van tolle van onsen dorde dele ons vaecs opt ghewant huys **3 vlemsche gr.**
item van enen blocscreynen brieve in te legghen ende ander juwele 3 lb. 6 st. 3 vl .
item Heyn Pricken van luden ende Gerenneken van keren 8 vl .

≡

Here we have the second half of Aleyda Denser's pension. This is the final mention of her in the ILV accounts, although there are subsequent mentions of *domicelle Aleydis de Macharen* and *Aleydi (Begute) de Os*.

In 1367, a “Flemish groot” would presumably have been a lion-with-helm coin (*half plak*), the successor to the *leeuwengroot*.

Presumably, this means “10 β in *vlieghuit* coins”:

Johanni de Mierde 10 st. in vl.

It could, however, just as easily mean “10 β expressed in *pond vlieghuit*”, which would be something else altogether. However, all of the other ILV posts lead us to believe that this latter interpretation is not the case here.

[END 1232-116-045r]

Oldewelt p. 94

item Theoderico de Loet de rata ¹⁾ sui servicii et pulsatione 30 st.

1) rata = loon.

Summa 38 lb. 18 st., **vl. ad 10 d. computato.**

Ghecoft bi Gheryt Groy ende Arnt van Beke als proest onser Vrouwen 4 lb. tsairs teghen Jan Piken Heyn Boeken soen om 16 lb., **den mot. voer 26 gr.** des sal men sente Jans misse naest comende 40 st. ende voer meer tot sente Jans misse ende Corsavont.²⁾

- 2) Hierna staat in het hs. doorgehaald: „Summa summarum expositorum 104 lb. 9 st. item 3 lb. 19 st.

[END 1232-116-045r]

Some rather unusual things happen at this point in the accounts. The “old pound” (ƒ *veterum*) makes its appearance in the next posts, although there are no conversion from one pound to another, and no values given. There are also items expressed in ƒ and in ƒ *was.*, whatever that means. After the *summa*, the ƒ *veterum* and the ƒ *was.* disappear from the ILV accounts.

Since these seem to be corrections to the accounts of previous years, it is possible that the brothers were trying to indicate that the amount should be expressed in the then-current money of those previous years, i.e. “old money” at this point.

There are entries for e.g. “20 vl.”, but also for “40 st. vl.”, which would normally be read as “40 β expressed in *pond vlieghuit*”, but there is no conversion rate given; is this then “40 β in *vlieghuit* coins”?

The item for 1 *mouton* does not give the value of a *mouton*. There are two entries with no amount given. Clearly, the ILV accounts were very “internal” and never intended to be read by outsiders.

[1232-116-045v]

Dit sijn die fauten die after staen van onser Vrouwen tijnse van desen jair ende anderen jaren.³⁾

- 3) In het hs. ontbreekt de summa.

Dit sijn ander fauten van testament ende anderen zaken:

item van testament herren Jans Rovers end syn beste cleet 10 lb.

item van Roesmonts beste clede **1 mot.**

item van joffrouwen Mechtelden van Waderen hair beste cleet of **1 lb. vet.**

item van Henric Steenwech 1 lb. vet. voer syn cleet.

item van herren Jan van Tule syn cleet⁴⁾

- 4) Hierna volgt in ’t hs. deze doorgehaalde post: item van herren Wouter van Bladel heb wy 1 rocke.

van Gielys van Qheel hebben wi roe ende caproen 40 **st. vl.**

van Lambrecht Baten soons testament.

[no amount]

item van Jans wive van Breda 20 vl.

item van Heinrics wive van WisChel 1 kers.

Oldewelt p. 94

[1232-116-045v]

cont.

item van Jans wive van Gorle 32 vl.
item van Peter Steenwech beste clede 1 **lb. vet.**
item van Johannes Lydecker beste clede heb wi pand tenemur....
item van Steven Haecs beste clede 1 **lb. vet.**
item van breder Arnts beste clede van Gorkem. [no amount]
item van Gheerborgh van Bordens 1 **lb. vet.**

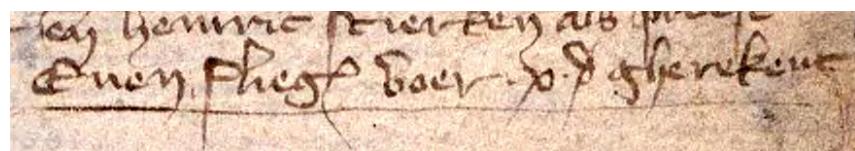
Oldewelt p. 95

item Theodericus van Os 1 **lb. was.**
item Johannes van Vlederacken 1 **lb. was.**
item van Arts moder van Dyest 12 gr.
item Hertghere die kersmekker al gherekent blyft hi ons 6 gr.
item die persoen van Hees de presbytero et beneficio primo 10 **st. vet.**
item her Willeme van Herzei de sua permutatione 10 **st. vet.**
item her Gerarde Stripen de presbytero et beneficio item 10 **st. vet.**
item her Braecman van onsen ornament 10 st.
item her Melys van Drunen van orghelen 10 **st. vet.**
item van herren Heinric Rover van Dorne de organis et or... ta 20 st.

[1232-116-046r]

Dit is die rekeninghe ende ontfaen van den jaerrenten der cleric broederscap onser
Vrouwen in Tshertoghenbossche bi her Mathijs Scilder ende Heinric Stierken als proest
der selver broederscap in **den jaer van LXVIII**, enen **flieger** [sic] voer 10 d. gherekent.

[1368]



ene fliegt voer x d gherekent

Summa 82 lb. 3 st. **enen vl. gherekent voer 12 d.**

- {And now, dear reader, we must admit that by this point (1368) we had stopped comparing the manuscript facsimiles to Oldewelt's transcript, because the *socius* coin had not been minted for a number of years now. Our apologies, but if you wish to know what ms. pages these entries are from, you will have to figure it out for yourself.}

Oldewelt p. 96

≡

item die timmerluden die dat werc op die mercht maecten ende van naghelen 22 st. 6 d.

- item Henneken en Eymbrecht sijn **ghesel** diet hout droghen 10 st.

item van bier dat in die capel ghedroncken wart 10 st.

This *ghesel* is a human.

Oldewelt p. 98

≡

Stierken van haren jaer owerleveren van onsen jaerrenten.

Summa 14 lb. 11 st. 6 d. 3 v 1.¹⁾

Hec sunt computata et recepta de annuis redditibus confraternitatis presbyterorum et clericorum beate Marie virginis in Buscoducis per dominum Mathyam Scilder presbyterum et Adam de Mierd dicte confraternitatis prepositos **anno Domini M.CCC. septuagesimo.**

Summa 71 lb. 12 st. 10 d. valent den vl. pro 12 d. computato 95 lb. 10 st. 4 d.

[1367]

≡

1) Uit het feit dat in het hs. het slot van 1367/1368 en het begin van 1369/1370 op hetzelfde blad staan, blijkt, dat de rekening over 1368/1369 nooit in dit register is opgenomen geworden.

Oldewelt p. 103

≡

- item **sociis** pro expensis in predicto festo factis 43 st.

≡

Oldewelt p. 104

≡

- item **sociis** pro expensis 50 st.
in die Purificationis beate virginis pro carbonibus 4 st.
item pro straminibus 2 st.
- item **sociis** pro expensis tune factis 42 st.

≡

Oldewelt p. 107

≡

- item deservientibus **sociis** in choro pro expensis 56 st.

≡

Oldewelt p. 108

- item **sociis** deservientibus ibidem 3 lb.
item Bertoldo Raet de quodam instrumento 14 st.
item Zeelkino de quodam suo servicio 2 st.
item cuidam magistro qui reparavit organa nostra 40 st
item pro thure 3 st.
- item deservientibus **sociis** in Conceptione beate Marie virginis 3 lb.
- item aliis **sociis** secularibus 14 pl. qui faciunt 53 st.
item cuidam loterci pro locione superpliciorum 2 st.
item domino Mathie Scilder pro quodam instrumento 16 st.
item pro quadem patellula in thuribuli nostro argenteo existenti 4 st.
item in die Purificationis beate virginis Marie pro thure 3 st.
item pro cera 42 st.
- item deservientibus **sociis** ad potandum 56 st.
- item deservientibus **sociis** ad potandum 56 st.

≡

All of these *sociis* are humans.

Oldewelt p. 110

Dit is onfaen van her Mathijs Scilder ende van Peter van den Steenwech proest onser
Vrouwen broederscap in Tsertogenbossche van den jaerreynten, 38 vl. vort pont
gherekent, des Saterdaghes vour sunte Jans dach in den **jaer ons Heren**
M.CCC.LXXIII.

[1373]

≡

In theory, 38 *vlieghuit* per pound = c. 6.316 δ per *vlieghuit*. The value of the *vleughuit* seems to have dropped considerably.

Oldewelt p. 111

≡

- item die **ghesellen** vertert 32 st.

≡

These *ghesellen* are humans.

FINAL MENTION OF *SOCIUS* or *GEZEL* HUMANS

- These posts from 1373-1374 are the final mentions of any *socius* or *gezel* humans in the ILV registers, and from this point onwards, we could find no more usage of these terms (either for humans or for coins).

Use of the terms for coins in the accounts had ceased years ago.

CONCLUSION

As far as we can tell, these are the only ILV account entries to specifically mention the *socius* coin (or money of account...), all from 1354:

- **Oldewelt p. 63**

[1232-116-024v P63]

[1354]

- item in Assumptione pro beate Marie officia deservientibus, cantoribus et Hyeme **7 socios**.
- item in Nativitate eiusdem **predictis similiter tantum**.
- item in Conceptione beate Marie **predictis similiter tantum**.
- item in Purificatione beate Marie **predictis tantum**,
- item in Annunciatione Marie **predicte supradictis similiter tantum**,

- **Oldewelt p. 66**

[1232-116-025v]

- item 7 **socios** de prima missa filii Henrici Cortken.

Oldewelt p. 66

[1232-116-025v]

- item in die Assumptionis presbytero et deservientibus **7 socios**.
- item deservientibus in exequiis magistri Goedefridi **2 socios**.
- item in Nativitate Marie virginis presbytero et deservientibus 4 gr. 3 **socios** valent 8 st.
10 d.

- **Oldewelt p. 67**

[1232-116-025v]

- item in exequiis Elizabet Coelvars **2 socios** deservientibus in missa.
- item 4 gr. 8 d. pro spaens groen et pro hers **2 socios**.

- **Oldewelt p. 67**

[1232-116-026r]

- item in exequiis Johannis Lit deservientibus **2 socios**.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would very much like to thank the following people and firms:

Jean Elsen et ses fils, s.a., Herman Gerritsen, Aimé Haeck, David Mee, Raymond van Oosterhout, and Bouke Jan van der Veen.

LITERATURE

[1]

“*Cijnzen*”

Andrea Bardyn & Bram Vannieuwenhuyze
pp. 9-33

[2]

De middeleeuwse Gelderse stadsrekeningen als bron voor sociaaleconomisch historisch onderzoek. Kenmerken, mogelijkheden en problemen

Rudolf A.A. Bosch

[3]

Glossarium Mediae et Infrirmae Latinitatis

Tomus Quartus

D.P. Carpenterii
1854

[4]

De munten der voormalige hertogdommen Brabant en Limburg, van de vroegste tijden tot aan de Pacificatie van Gend

P. O. van der Chijs
Erven F. Bohn, Haarlem
1851

[5]

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

P. O. van der Chijs
Erven F. Bohn, Haarlem
1852

[6]

De munten der voormalige graafschappen Holland en Zeeland, alsmede der heerlijkheden

Vianen, Asperen en Heukelom

P. O. van der Chijs

Haarlem, 1858

[7]

Oudste kameraars-rekeningen der stad Deventer, loopende van het jaar 1337 tot 1347

J. van Doorninck

[8]

Recherches sur les Monnaies des Comtes de Flandre

Victor Gaillard

Ghent, 1852 & 1857

[9]

Het Hollandse muntwezen onder het huis Wittelsbach

H. Enno van Gelder

Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde XXXIX

1952

pp. 1 – 26

Plates I & II

[10]

De Nederlandse Munten

Dr. H. Enno van Gelder

Het Spectrum B.V.

Utrecht, 1966 (reprinted 2002)

ISBN 90-274-69679

[11]

Le monnayage d'argent en Flandre, Hainaut et Brabant au début de la guerre de cent ans

(Silver money in Flanders, Hainaut and Brabant at the Start of the Hundred Years War)

Joseph GhysSENS

in *RBN* – CXX, 1974

[12]

Essai de classement chronologique de monnaies brabançonnes depuis Godefroid Ier (1096-

1140) jusqu'à la duchesse Jeanne (1355-1406)

Joseph GhysSENS

Jean Elsen et ses fils, 1983

[13]

Essai de classement chronologique des monnaies de Brabant depuis Godefroid Ier jusqu'à la duchess Jeanne (10946-1406)

Joseph GhysSENS

in BCEN, 1983

pp. 55-59

[14]

De leeuwengroten van Lodewijk van Male

J. GhysSENS

In *Jaarboek van het Europees Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde*, 1986

p. 27-34.

[15]

Les premières émissions monétaires de Jeanne et Wenceslas

Joseph GhysSENS

in RBN, 1988 (CXXXIV)

pp. 129-140, Plate V

[16]

De Muntslag van de Graven van Holland tot de Bourgondische Unificatie in 1434

(3 volumes)

J.J. Grolle

De Nederlandsche Bank N.V.

Amsterdam, 2000

ISBN 90-804784-3-1

[17]

De rekeningen der grafelijkheid van Holland onder het Henegouwsche Huis

Deel 1

Hendrik G. Hamaker

Werken van het Historisch Genootchap te Utrecht, n° 21

Kemink & Zoon

Utrecht, 1875

[18]

De rekeningen der grafelijkheid van Holland onder het Henegouwsche Huis

Deel 2

Hendrik G. Hamaker

Werken van het Historisch Genootchap te Utrecht, n° 24

Kemink & Zoon

Utrecht, 1876

[19]

De rekeningen der grafelijkheid van Holland onder het Henegouwsche Huis

Deel 3

Hendrik G. Hamaker

Werken van het Historisch Genootchap te Utrecht, n° 26

Kemink & Zoon

Utrecht, 1878

[20]

De rekeningen der grafelijkheid van Zeeland onder het Henegouwsche Huis

Deel 1

H.G. Hamaker

Werken van het Historisch Genootchap te Utrecht, n° 21

Kemink & Zoon

Utrecht, 1875

[21]

De rekeningen der grafelijkheid van Zeeland onder het Henegouwsche Huis

Deel 2

H.G. Hamaker

Werken van het Historisch Genootchap te Utrecht, n° 30

Kemink & Zoon

Utrecht, 1880

[22]

Computationes Buscoducis 1330-1375: De rekeningen van de Illustere Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap en de daarin voorkomende munten

Cees van Hengel

in ***De Beeldenaar***, September / October 1994

18th edition, n° 5

pp. 198-209

This article was based upon a lecture given by v. Hengel for the Koninklijk Nederlands Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde on 17 June, 1990.

[23]

Iets over het bepalen van Ponden en Munten

A. Hollestelle

in ***Tijdschrift voor Munt- en Penningkunde (TMP)***

1900

pp. 201-214

[24]

Iets over het bepalen van Ponden en Munten (vervolg)

A. Hollestelle

in *Tijdschrift voor Munt- en Penningkunde (TMP)*

1901

pp. 169-184

[25]

De Graven van Vlaanderen (861-1384)

Edward De Maesschalck

Davidsfonds Uitgeverij

Leuven, 2012

ISBN 978 90 5826 901 0

[26]

Het Munthuis in Gent

Deel I Karel de Grote – Lodewijk van Mâle (768 –1384)

Jean-Claude Martiny

Uitgeverij Snoeck

Ghent, 2014

ISBN: 978-94-6161-135-2

[27]

De eerste grote zilveren munten in Vlaanderen 1269-1322

Jean-Claude Martiny

Uitgeverij Snoeck

Ghent, 2016

ISBN : 978-94-6161-301-1

[28]

Lodewijk van Nevers, Graaf van Vlaanderen.

Historische en numismatische studie van de muntslag in Aalst en Gent

Jean-Claude Martiny & Paul A. Torongo

Uitgeverij Snoeck

Ghent, 2016

ISBN: 978-94-6161-333-2

[29]

The Gros Tournois

N.J. Mayhew, ed.

Royal Numismatic Society

Special Publication N° 31

Cambridge University Press, 1997

[30]

Mint Policies, Ratios, and Outputs in the Low Countries and England, 1335-1420: Some Reflections on New Data

John H. Munro

in ***The Numismatic Chronicle***, Vol. 141 (1981)

pp. 71-116

The Royal Numismatic Society

[31]

Deflation and the Petty Coinage Problem in the Late-Medieval Economy: The Case of Flanders, 1334-1484*

John H. Munro

in ***Explorations in Economic History*** 25, (1988)

pp. 387-423

University of Toronto

[32]

Rekeningen van de Illustere Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap (1330-1375)

W.F.H. Oldewelt

Prov. Gen. voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen in Noord Brabant, 1925

[33]

Bijdrage tot de muntgeschiedenis van Holland

August Sassen

in ***TMP***, 1908

pp. 344-347

[34]

Bijdrage tot de muntgeschiedenis van Holland

August Sassen

in ***JMP***, 1909

pp. 123-125

[35]

L'imitation des types monétaires Flamands au moyen-age depuis Marguerite de Constantinople jusqu'à l'avénement de la Maison de Bourgogne

Raymond Serrure

1899

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

[36]

De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch. I. Archivalia bijeengebracht

A. Smijers

in *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis*, Deel 11, 4^{de} Stuk (1925)

Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis

pp. 187-210

[37]

De ordinarius van de collegiale Onze Lieve Vrouwekerk te Maastricht volgens een handschrift uit het derde kwart van de veertiende eeuw

J. Tagage

Assen, 1984

Maaslandse monografieën 39

pp. 414-419.

[38]

The Coins of the Albecq Hoard (1995)

Paul Torongo & Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2015

Academia.edu

[39]

The Coins of the Flanders Hoard (1914-1918)

Paul Torongo & Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2015

Academia.edu

[40]

The Coins of the Staple Hoard (2015)

Paul Torongo & Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2015

Academia.edu

[41]

The Coins of The Delft Hoard (2004)

Paul Torongo & Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2015

Academia.edu

[42]

A Preliminary Look at the Leeuwengroten of Louis of Mâle (1346-1384): Issues IV and V

Paul Torongo & Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2015

Academia.edu

[43]

The Leeuwengroten of the Rotterdam (“Vlaardingen”) Hoard (2005)

Paul Torongo & Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2015

Academia.edu

[44]

The Leeuwengroten of the Amersfoort Find (1991)

Paul Torongo & Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2015

Academia.edu

[45]

Catalog of the Sneek Coin Hoard (1955) Leeuwengroten

Paul Torongo & Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2015

Academia.edu

[46]

The Leeuwengroten of the Zutphen Hoard (1958)

Paul Torongo & Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2016

Academia.edu

(in 4 parts)

[47]

The Elusive Gros au Lion of Bergerac, Elias 138 b

Paul Torongo & Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2016

Academia.edu

[48]

The Zutphen Hoard (1958) Addenda: DNB Coins

Paul Torongo & Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2016

Academia.edu

[49]

Leeuwengroten in the Collection of the Museum Rotterdam

Paul Torongo & Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2016

Academia.edu

[50]

A Preliminary Look at the Leeuwengroten of the County of Holland Including the Fractional Coins

Paul Torongo & Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2016

Academia.edu

[51]

The Leeuwengroten Types of Louis of Nevers, Count of Flanders (1322-1346): A Preliminary Overview

Paul Torongo & Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2016

Academia.edu

[52]

A Previously Unpublished Leeuwengroot of the Lordship of Rummen

Paul Torongo

Rotterdam, 2016

Academia.edu

[53]

A Preliminary Look at the Leeuwengroten of Louis of Mâle : Issues I, II, III and IV

by Paul A. Torongo with Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2016

Academia.edu

[54]

The Leeuwengroten of Louis of Mâle (1346-1384), Issues I, II, {III and IV} Addenda: The CdMA Group Coins

Paul Torongo

Rotterdam, 2016

Academia.edu

[55]

A Preliminary Look at the Gros au Lion of Brittany

Paul Torongo

Rotterdam, 2017

Academia.edu

[56]

A Preliminary Look at the Leeuwengroten of Louis of Mâle (1346-1384): Issues VI – VIII
Paul Torongo
Rotterdam, 2017
Academia.edu

[57]

A Previously Unknown and Unpublished Leeuwengroot Type [MONETA LIRAN]
Paul A. Torongo
Rotterdam, 2017
Academia.edu

[58]

An Extremely Rare, Previously Unknown and Unpublished Leeuwengroot Type Struck for Louis of Nevers, Count of Flanders (1322-1346)
by Paul A. Torongo
in *Bulletin de Cercle d'études numismatiques*, 55/1, 2018, p. 32-33.

[59]

The Touarch Hoard (1911): A Numismatic Tragedy Revisited
Paul Torongo & Aimé Haeck
Rotterdam, 2017
Academia.edu

[60]

A Previously Unknown and Unpublished Leeuwengroot Type: MONETA FCADB
Paul Torongo
Rotterdam, 2017
Academia.edu

[61]

The Leeuwengroten of the County of Rethel: An Initial Overview (revised version)
Paul A. Torongo & Raymond van Oosterhout
Rotterdam, 2017
Academia.edu

[62]

The Leeuwengroten of the Hollandsche Rading Find (2016)
Paul Torongo
Rotterdam, 2018
Academia.edu

[63]

A Preliminary Look at the Rare Leeuwengroot of Groningen (REVISED)

Paul A. Torongo (with Raymond van Oosterhout)

Rotterdam, 2018

Academia.edu

[64]

The Leeuwengroten of the Wittmund Hoard (1858)

Paul A. Torongo & Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2018

Academia.edu

[65]

A Previously Unpublished Half Leeuwengroot of the County of Holland

by Paul A. Torongo (with Raymond van Oosterhout)

Rotterdam, 2018

Academia.edu

[66]

A Preliminary Look at the Tiers de Gros au Lion of Flanders

Paul A. Torongo

Rotterdam, 2018

Academia.edu

[67]

A Preliminary Look at the Tiers de Gros au Lion of Flanders: ADDENDA

Paul A. Torongo

Rotterdam, 2018

Academia.edu

[68]

A Preliminary Look at the Enigmatic NNANE Leeuwengroten

Paul A. Torongo

Rotterdam, 2018

Academia.edu

[69]

The Coins of the Amsterdam Hoard (1897)

Paul A. Torongo

Rotterdam, 2018

Academia.edu

[70]

A Preliminary Overview of the Leeuwengroten of Brabant Part One: Brussels

Paul A. Torongo & Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2018

Academia.edu

[71]

Another Previously Unpublished Flanders-Brabant “Coin of Convention” Counterfeit

Leeuwengroot

Paul A. Torongo

Rotterdam, 2018

Academia.edu

[72]

A Preliminary Look at the Fractional Leeuwengroten of The Lordship of Megen

Paul A. Torongo

Rotterdam, 2019

Academia.edu

[73]

MONETA AGEN: The Gros au Lion No One Has Ever Seen

Paul A. Torongo

Rotterdam, 2019

Academia.edu

[74]

The Leeuwengroten of Arnold of Oreye, Lord of Rummen: A Preliminary Overview

Paul A. Torongo with Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2019

Academia.edu

[75]

Five Extremely Important Leeuwengroten You Have Never Seen Before: Coevorden, Rekem, Namur and Guelders

Paul A. Torongo

Rotterdam, 2019

Academia.edu

[76]

The Leeuwengroten of the Arnhem Coin Hoard (1957) Part One

Paul A. Torongo

Rotterdam, 2019

Academia.edu

[77]

A Preliminary Look at the Leeuwengroten of the County of Holland Including the Fractional Coins: ERRATA

Paul A. Torongo & Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2019

Academia.edu

[78]

The Extremely Important Leeuwengroten of the Schoo Hoard (1927)

Paul A. Torongo with Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2019

Academia.edu

[79]

The Leeuwengroten of the Lordship of Horne: A Preliminary Overview

Paul A. Torongo with Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2019

Academia.edu

[80]

The Leeuwengroten of the Lordship of Horne: A Preliminary Overview: ERRATA

Paul A. Torongo with Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2019

Academia.edu

[81]

Some Unusual Leeuwengroten from the County of Holland

by Paul A. Torongo

Rotterdam, 2019

Academia.edu

[82]

A Preliminary Overview of the Leeuwengroten of Brabant Part II: MONETA BRABAN

Paul A. Torongo with Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2019

Academia.edu

[83]

A Unique, Unpublished Leeuwengroot Struck For the Bishop of Utrecht

Paul A. Torongo with Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2019

Academia.edu

[84]

Previously Unpublished Leeuwengroten of Brabant

Paul Torongo and Raymond van Oosterhout

[85]

The Leeuwengroten of the Duchy of Guelders: A Preliminary Overview

Paul Torongo and Raymond van Oosterhout

[86]

Previously Unpublished Fractional Leeuwengroten of John II of Kuinre (1337 -c. 1360

Paul A. Torongo with Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2019

Academia.edu

[87]

Previously Unpublished Fractional Leeuwengroten Struck For the Bishop of Utrecht at Vollenhove (and Zwolle ?)

Paul A. Torongo with Raymond van Oosterhout

Rotterdam, 2019

Academia.edu

[88]

The Anglo-Gallic Gros au Lion: A Preliminary Examination

Paul A. Torongo

Rotterdam, 2020

Academia.edu

[89]

The Malines Coin Hoard (1847)

Paul A. Torongo (with Raymond van Oosterhout)

Rotterdam, 2020

Academia.edu

[90]

The Leeuwengroten of the Byvanck (Beek) Hoard (c. 1835?)

Paul A. Torongo (with Raymond van Oosterhout)

Rotterdam, 2020

Academia.edu

[91]

A Strange and Unusual “Deceptive Imitation” Flemish Leeuwengroot, Previously Unknown and Unpublished

by Paul A. Torongo

Rotterdam, 2020

Academia.edu

[92]

The Leeuwengroten of the County of Namur: A Preliminary Overview (Revised Version)

by Paul A. Torongo (with Raymond van Oosterhout)

Rotterdam, 2020

Academia.edu

[93]

The Leeuwengroten of the County of Hainaut: A Preliminary Overview

Paul A. Torongo (with Raymond van Oosterhout)

Rotterdam, 2020

Academia.edu

[94]

A Preliminary Look at the Rare Leeuwengroten of Valkenburg (Fauquemont)

by Paul A. Torongo (with Raymond van Oosterhout)

Rotterdam, 2020

Academia.edu

[95]

The Leeuwengroten of the Diocese of Cambrai: A Preliminary Overview

by Paul A. Torongo (with Raymond van Oosterhout)

Rotterdam, 2020

Academia.edu

[96]

The Leeuwengroten of the Diocese of Cambrai: A Preliminary Overview: ERRATA

by Paul A. Torongo (with Raymond van Oosterhout)

Rotterdam, 2020

Academia.edu

[97]

Another Impressive “Deceptive Imitation” Flemish Leeuwengroot, Previously Unknown and Unpublished

Paul A. Torongo

Rotterdam, 2020

Academia.edu

[98]

Errata: Lodewijk van Nevers, Graaf van Vlaanderen. Historische en numismatische studie van de muntslag in Aalst en Gent, By Jean-Claude Martiny & Paul A. Torongo (2016)

Paul A. Torongo
Rotterdam, 2020
Academia.edu

[99]

The Unique Leeuwengroot of Pietersheim (Revised Version)

Paul A. Torongo
Rotterdam, 2020
Academia.edu

[100]

The Unique (But Missing) Leeuwengroot of Élincourt

Paul A. Torongo
Rotterdam, 2020
Academia.edu

[101]

The Malines (“Ghent”) Hoard (1891): Another Numismatic Tragedy

Paul A. Torongo
Rotterdam, 2020
Academia.edu

[102]

A Preliminary Look at the Leeuwengroten of the Lordship of Serain

Paul A. Torongo with Raymond van Oosterhout
Rotterdam, 2020
Academia.edu

[103]

A Preliminary Examination of the Leeuwengroot as Mentioned in Medieval Accounts

Part One: Jan Meester Lams Zoon

Paul A. Torongo
Rotterdam, 2020
Academia.edu

[104]

A Preliminary Examination of the Leeuwengroot as Mentioned in Medieval Accounts Part

Two: Heynric de Rode

Paul A. Torongo
Rotterdam, 2020
Academia.edu

[105]

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

Paul A. Torongo
Rotterdam, 2020
Academia.edu

[106]

***A Preliminary Examination of the Leeuwengroot as Mentioned in Medieval Accounts
Part Four: Jan Symons Zoon van Bisanten***

Paul A. Torongo
Rotterdam, 2020
Academia.edu

[107]

Complete Catalog of the Coins of the Dokkum Hoard (1932) Part One

Paul A. Torongo & Raymond van Oosterhout
Rotterdam, 2020
Academia.edu

[108]

Complete Catalog of the Coins of the Dokkum Hoard (1932) Part Two

Paul A. Torongo & Raymond van Oosterhout
Rotterdam, 2020
Academia.edu

[109]

Complete Catalog of the Coins of the Dokkum Hoard (1932) Part Three

Paul A. Torongo & Raymond van Oosterhout
Rotterdam, 2020
Academia.edu

[110]

Complete Catalog of the Coins of the Dokkum Hoard (1932) Part Four

Paul A. Torongo & Raymond van Oosterhout
Rotterdam, 2020
Academia.edu

[111]

Previously Unpublished Bishop's Head Groten Struck for Jan van Arkel, Bishop of Utrecht (1342-1364), From the Hollandsche Rading Coin Find (2016)

Paul A. Torongo
Rotterdam, 2021
Academia.edu

[112]

A Fractional Leeuwengroot from Schüttorf, struck for Otto of Bentheim (1347-1364)

Paul A. Torongo

Rotterdam, 2021

Academia.edu

[113]

Another Previously Unpublished Short-Cross, Fractional Leeuwengroot of the County of Holland

Paul A. Torongo

Rotterdam, 2021

Academia.edu

[114]

“Deceptive Imitation” MONETA FLAND Leeuwengroten (Revised Version)

Paul A. Torongo

Rotterdam, 2021

Academia.edu

[115]

Another Previously Unpublished Bishop’s Head Groot Struck for Jan van Arkel, Bishop of Utrecht (1342-1364)

Paul A. Torongo

Rotterdam, 2021

Academia.edu

[116]

Atlas der munten van België van de Kelten tot heden

Hugo Vanhoudt

Herent, 1996

ISBN 90-9009686

[117]

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

Alphonse De Witte

Veuve de Backer, 1894

[118]

Personal correspondence

Paul Torongo – Aimé Haeck

2019

[119]

Personal correspondence
Paul Torongo – David Mee
2019

[120]

Personal correspondence
Paul Torongo – Bouke Jan v.d. Veen

[121]

Personal correspondence
Paul Torongo – Herman Gerritsen

[122]

ILV manuscript digital facsimiles

<https://www.bhic.nl/onderzoeken/rekeningen-illustre-lieve-vrouwe-broederschap>

APPENDIX: Oldewelt's Foreword and Introduction

Oldewelt refers to a *blad* (page), by which he means a physical page of the register, i.e. *recto* and *verso*. A *bladzijde* is one side of a page, i.e. *recto* or *verso*.

p. 3

VOORWOORD.

Bij de bewerking dezer rekeningen heb ik mij zooveel mogelijk gehouden aan de „Regels voor het uitgeven van historische bescheiden vastgesteld door het bestuur van het Historisch Genootschap”.

Men zal daarom van mij geen historische beschouwing over en historische toelichting van den inhoud van den uitgegeven tekst mogen verwachten, immers dit is de taak van anderen niet die van den uitgever. Deze wil slechts het materiaal voor het historisch onderzoek toegankelijk maken door een zuivere tekstuitleg te bezorgen.
Door middel van voetnoten heb ik dien tekst zelf hier en daar waar het mij noodig scheen op beknopte wijze toegelicht.

Het oudste register bevattende de rekeningen tot en met 1357/1358 heb ik gemeend onverkort te moeten laten afdrukken. Van de latere rekeningen heb ik met het oog op de drukkosten de lijsten van geïnde cijnsen benevens de lijsten van achterstallige cijnsen (z.g. foutlijsten) niet gespecificeerd overgenomen maar alleen de totaalsommen daarvan.
De inleiding die voorafgaat bevat behalve de geschiedenis van het handschrift, een overzicht van de ontwikkeling der administratie van de Broederschap om zodoende een inzicht in

p. 5

INLEIDING.

De rekeningen dér Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, welke van 1330 tot op heden bijna zonder hiaten bewaard zijn gebleven, werden omstreeks 1839 aangekocht door het Provinciaal Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen in Noordbrabant te 's-Hertogenbosch van een voddenkoopman op de Markt aldaar aan wien het bestuur der Broederschap ze zal hebben verkocht, toen het zijn oorspronkelijk gebouw afbrak.

In 1861 schonk dit Genootschap de geheele verzameling met uitzondering van den bundel rekeningen over de jaren 1330—1399 aan de Broederschap terug.
De collectie rekeningen die het Genootschap behouden had werd ingebonden, behalve de rekeningen over de jaren 1330—1358, welke blijkens een aantekening op den band van de ingebonden collectie bij de pretiosa bewaard werden.

Toen nu in 1918 ter bestuursvergadering van 2 December van genoemd Genootschap besloten werd ook de indertijd teruggehouden collectie rekeningen aan de Broederschap over te dragen en dit zijn beslag gekregen had, wilde de Broederschap deze verzameling in eenzelfden band laten binden als waarin al haar rekeningen gebonden waren.

Zich in deze om advies tot den Rijksarchivaris in Noordbrabant, Mr. J. P. W. A. Smit, wendend, bemerkte deze dat alvorens tot herbinding over te gaan het noodig zou zijn de

gansche verzameling en vooral het oudste gedeelte opnieuw te ordenen, daar talrijke bladen op geheel verkeerde plaatsen lagen. Op diens verzoek belastte ik mij daarmede en al doende rees bij mij de overtuiging dat een uitgave dezer rekeningen alleszins gewettigd zijn zou. Ik deed een aanbod in bedoelde zin aan het bestuur der Broederschap, dat bereid bleek om aan mij de bewerking op te dragen.

p. 6

Daarop werd in de bestuursvergadering van het Provinciaal Genootschap d.d. 22 September 1924, nadat het manuscript door de Commissie voor het bibliotheekwezen van dat genootschap alleszins een uitgave waardig was gekeurd, tot de gedeeltelijke uitgave besloten welke thans het licht ziet, terwijl mijn copy van de rekeningen van 1376—1399 in het archief der L. L. V. Br. werd geplaatst.

In 1318 hechten Adolf van der Mark, bisschop van Luik, met zijn aartsdiaken Neapoleo de filius Ursi en Wilhelmus, pastoor der kerken van Orthen en 's-Hertogenbosch, hun goedkeuring aan de oprichtingsakte van een vereeniging geestelijken en leeken die in het pas gebouwde zij-choor der St. Janskerk te 's-Hertogenbosch op gezette tijden wilden bijeenkomen om ter eere van de moeder Gods te lezen, te zingen en de Goddelijke diensten te verrichten. Die oprichtingsakte welke ons in een vidimus van 29 Mei 1417 is bewaard gebleven bevat een nauwkeurige omschrijving van de verplichtingen van de broeders en zusters. Enkele daaronder zijn voor de kennis van de administratie dier Broederschap van belang. Vooreerst moesten alle te 's-Hertogenbosch aanwezige leden op verbeurte van boete elk jaar op Zaterdag voor de vigilie van St. Jan Baptist (24 Juni) twee proosten verkiezen zonder dat zij hiertoe zullen worden opgeroepen.

Deze beide proosten die aanvankelijk om niet maar sedert 1387 tegen betaling de financiële administratie zouden voeren, legden in het volgend jaar weder op de vigilie van St. Jan rekening en verantwoording af van hun beleid. Was een der proosten afwezig dan kon hij uit de leden een plaatsvervanger voor zich verkiezen.

Elke proost kon de te 's-Hertogenbosch wonende leden ter vergadering oproepen die op boete verplicht waren op te komen. De inkomsten van de Broederschap bestonden uit de intredegelden van de nieuwe leden (introitus) en hetgeen verschuldigd was bij uitreden.

p. 7

Bij het overlijden van een lid moest een doodschuld betaald worden naar evenredigheid van zijn vermogen, afkoopbaar met zijn beste overkleed.

Wie tot priester gewijd werd, meester in eenige faculteit werd of het bestuur der scholen erlangde, wie in een kloosterorde trad of trouwde of van ambt veranderde, moest een zekere som betalen.

Ten slotte vielen onder de inkomsten nog de verschillende door de leden te betalen boeten wegens het niet aanwezig zijn in het koor op de voorgeschreven feestdagen (defectus), wegens wangedrag in het koor e.d.

Uit de rekeningen blijkt dat deze boeten in een bus (pixis) verzameld werden, waarvan misschien elke proost een sleutel bezat.

Al deze inkomsten moesten door de proosten ten algemeenen nutte aangewend worden vereenkomstig het verlangen van de meerderheid van de leden. Aangezien de onvangsten zoo gering waren en dus de uitgaven ook niet groot konden zijn, gaf de financiële administratie natuurlijk zeer weinig zorg.

Vermoedelijk zullen de proosten in de eerste jaren hun rekening en verantwoording dan ook mondeling met behulp van enige kladaanteekeningen hebben afgelegd.

Toen echter inkomsten van geheel anderen aard nl. cijnsen uit verschillende landerijen en huizen (¹) door schenking of aankoop verkregen, langzamerhand de oude begonnen te overvleugelen, werd door enkele proosten de behoefte gevoeld aan een schriftelijke administratie.

De loop van zaken heeft men zich dan ongeveer als volgt voor te stellen:
Op den dag van de afrekening kwam men in het koor bijeen tot het voldoen aan de voorgeschreven godsdienstige verplichtingen waarna men zich aan een maaltijd vereenigde. Daarna werden uit de door de proosten gemaakte kladaanteekeningen de officiële rekeningen samengesteld en werden deze op denzelfden namiddag

1) Deze cijnsen werden blijkens een rekeningpost in een saccus bewaard.

p. 8

onderzocht en gesloten. Als eerste post van de uitgaven worden dan ook bijna steeds de onkosten van dien maaltijd vermeld. Dat de rekeningen gecopieerd werden naar kladden meen ik te mogen afleiden uit zekere meermalen voorkomende verschrijvingen. Bijvoorbeeld in de rekening 1349/1350 staat onder de inkomsten een post aanvangende met de woorden: „item van veren Oeden”. Eerst heeft er gestaan: „item van Art”, welke de eerste woorden zijn van een post die pas enige regels later komt. De schrijver is dus blijkbaar in zijn copieerarbeid gestoord en daarna enige regels te ver weer doorgegaan. Dit soort van verschrijving komt herhaaldelijk voor hetgeen vermoeden steun geeft.

Dat de uitgaven, behalve dan de onkosten van afrekening, naar gelang ze gedaan werden, werden opgeteekend, wordt waarschijnlijk gemaakt door het feit dat de onkosten op de feestdagen van de heilige Maagd gemaakt, steeds in dezelfde volgorde op elkander volgen als die feestdagen zelf, n.l. Assumptio Marie (15 Aug.), Nativitas Marie (8 Sept.), Conceptio Marie (8 Dec.), Purificatio Marie (2 Febr.) en Annunciatio Marie (25 Mrt.). Zodoende zijn dus ook de tusschen die posten liggende uitgaven eenigermate dateerbaar. De onkosten van het Anniversarium van de Broederschap vallen bijvoorbeeld steeds tusschen die van Nativitas en Conceptio Marie.

De eersten die dus, zooals gezegd, tot het opstellen van een schriftelijke rekening overgingen, waren Meinryc Stempel en Didderyc Specyer (Theodorus Apothecarius). Zij kochten blijkens een post in de oudste rekening (item pro isto libro 20 d.) enige vellen papier ¹) aan waarvan een register werd gevormd thans bestaande uit een 28 tal bladen van ongeveer 23 ½ x 31 cm. Aan den tekst ontbreken nauwlsbaar slechts 2 bladen. De talrijke andere uitgesneden bladen hebben mogelijk als quitanties of kladpapier gediend.

¹) Dr. Hermans geeft in de Handelingen van het Prov. Genootschap voor K. en W. in Noord-Brabant te 's-Hertogenbosch over het jaar 1847 als zijn meaning te kennen, dat dit het oudste bekende papier in Nederland en België is.

p. 9

Het eerste blad bevat een lijst der cijnsen tot 1358 en is dus als een voorloper van een latere cijnsrol, die op zijn beurt in 1368 overgeschreven is, te beschouwen. Deze laatste cijnsrol werd weder in 1388 vervangen door een cijnsboek dat blijkens een post in de rekening van 1394/1395 (item Jannes den coster van onsen tynsboec te verscriven 12 pl.) toen vernieuwd moest worden.

Tot en met de cijns door joncfrouwe Jueten van Herwynden te betalen, is deze cijnslijst met uitzondering van de latere toevoegsels aan en doorhalingen in den oorspronkelijken tekst geschreven met de hand die ook de oudste rekening heeft geregistreerd.

Dit stemt overeen met het feit dat de rente door joncfrouwe Jueten van Herwynden als betaald in de rekening over 1329/1330 voorkomt, maar die van Willem Scampart, welke in de cijnslijst op die van genoemde joncfrouwe volgt, pas voor het eerst in die over 1335/1336.

Bovendien blijkt uit het register, bevattende afschriften van eigendomsbewijzen, dat zich in het archief der Broederschap bevindt, dat de rente op het huis van Didderic Roeskens is gevestigd op 24 April 1336 en in de oudste rekening treffen we ook nog deze post aan:

„item 8 lb. 8 st. de libra una empta in domo Gerardi dicti Valkenérs”. Al deze renten die dus van latere dagtekening zijn volgen in de cijnslijst dan ook na de rente van joncrouwe Jueten-van Herwynden.

Voor zoover de doorhalingen en het grootendeels uitgewischte schrift het toelaten, zou ik de volgende inschrijvingen van de cijnsen afwisselend aan H. Grabbart en G. Graet willen toeschrijven. Mogelijk loopen er echter nog enkele tusschen door die van anderen afkomstig zijn.

Blijkens het bovengemelde register is de rente op het land van Johannes Neve gevestigd op 14 Mrt. 1357 (men zie ook de post in de rekening over 1356/1357 sub „uitgaven” dienaangaande). De cijnsen die daarin komen zullen dus mogelijk nog iets jonger zijn, hetgeen ook mogelijk is, daar de laatste rekening in dit register over 1357/1358 loopt. In de rekening over 1358/1359 komt dan ook onder de uitgaven nog de aankoop van de in de cijnslijst vermelde

p. 10

rente in Zeelst in hereditate Henrici Wolteri quondam de Oerle voor.

De twee volgende bladen bevatten dan de oudste rekening waarvan het opschrift, dat door een streep van de rest gescheiden is, m.i. de mededeeling bevat, wie proosten in het dienstjaar 1330/1331 zijn zullen, terwijl uit het slot der rekening dat bovenaan op het vierde blad staat, blijkt, dat deze rekening zelf over 1329/1330 loopt en door dezelfde proosten is afgelegd. Deze opvatting vindt steun in de lijst der proosten van M. Q. ’s-Heeren, welke zich in het archief der Broederschap bevindt en die ook voor beide dienstjaren dezelfde proosten opgeeft. Direct onder het slot der rekening over 1329/1330 volgt de rekening over 1335/1336. Hieruit blijkt dus onomstootelijk, dat de rekeningen over de tusschen liggende jaren niet verloren zijn, zooals wel beweerd is. maar er nooit zijn geweest, althans nooit in dit register zijn ingeschreven geworden. Deze rekening met een geheel andere hand dan de voorgaande geschreven, beslaat slechts de rest van blad 4 recto, terwijl de keerzijde van dat blad blanco is gebleven.

Hierop volgen vier bladen waarop slechts fragmenten van kladrekeningen voorkomen vermoedelijk van de hand van H. Crabbart. Mogelijk was Th. Apothecarius zijn collega als proost in die jaren. De lijst van proosten bovengenoemd en enkele rekeningsposten geven eenig vermoeden hiertoe.

Vanaf het dienstjaar 1341/1342 beginnen dan de rekeningen volledig en in behoorlijken vorm ingeschreven te worden. Tot en met het jaar 1351/1352 zijn ze alle van de hand van den proost G. Graet, met uitzondering evenwel van die over 1345/1346 en 1349/1350. Deze laatste is waarschijnlijk van H. Crabbart afkomstig evenals de laatste rekening (1357/1358) van het geheele register.

Aangezien voor die allerlaatste rekening nog slechts anderhalve bladzijde beschikbaar was van het indertijd aangekochte papier, heeft Crabbart de rest van de rekening op de hier en

daar onbeschreven gebleven gedeelten van voorafgaande bladzijden aangetekend. We vinden deze rekening, welke hierachter in de juiste volg

p. 11

orde is afgedrukt, zoodoende verspreid over gedeelten der bladzijden 28 recto en verso, 5 recto en verso en 8 verso van het handschrift.

Blijkens een post van de rekening 1358/1359 (item pro papyro empto 16 d.) heeft men toen een nieuwe voorraad papier opgedaan. Dit papier verschilt behalve in watermerk ook in uiterlijk van het vroegere. Voelt het oudere eenigszins vettig aan en vertoont het niet de lijnen van het vormraam, het nieuwe is eerder eenigszins ruw en het vertoont die lijnen duidelijk. De laatste rekening die in dit tweede register had behooren te staan n.l. die over 1364/1365, ontbreekt of is er misschien nooit geweest. Mogelijk heeft daarin de kostprijs voor papier voor het derde register gestaan, want in de eerste rekening van dit nieuwe register is niets hieromtrent te vinden. De uitgaven in die rekening 1365/1366 lijken mij echter toe niet volledig te zijn aangetekend.

Op deze eerste rekening van het derde register volgen in het handschrift een zevental bladzijden met fragmenten kladrekening over 1366/1367, waarop dan de netrekening zelf volgt, daarom zijn die kladaanteekeningen hierachter niet afgedrukt. Aangezien het slot van de rekening 1367/1368 en het begin van 1369/1370 op hetzelfde blad staan, blijkt de rekening over 1368/1369 nimmer te zijn aangetekend. Met de rekening 1371/1372 vangt dan weder een nieuw register aan, hetgeen blijkt uit deze post onder de uitgaven vermeld: „Item pro quodam panpyro in hoe libro existenti 6 st.”

Zoo gaat het regelmatig voort. Het geheele handschrift bestaat uit veertien tot een band vereenigde registers, alle herkenbaar aan hun eigen watermerk.¹⁾ Bij scherp toezien kan men ook in de grootte der bladen en in de soor van papier verschillen ontdekken. Of en, zoo ja, wanneer deze registers oudtijds ook reeds bijeen gebonden zijn geweest is niet meer na te gaan.

1) Deze watermerken zijn afgedrukt in de Handelingen van het Provinciaal Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen in Noord-Brabant te 's-Hertogenbosch over het jaar 1847.

p. 12

Men schijnt later weleens nieuw papier gekocht te hebben nog voor dat het oude register vol was. We zien dan in zoo'n geval de laatste rekening van een register overloopen op de eerste bladzijde van het nieuwe. De aanschaffingskosten zijn dan in de laatste rekening van het voorafgaande register te vinden.

De laatste bladen van het veertiende register zijn blijkens het watermerk overgebleven van een vroeger register. Wat de taal waarin de rekeningen zijn gesteld aangaat, deze is afwisselend nederlandsch of latijn.

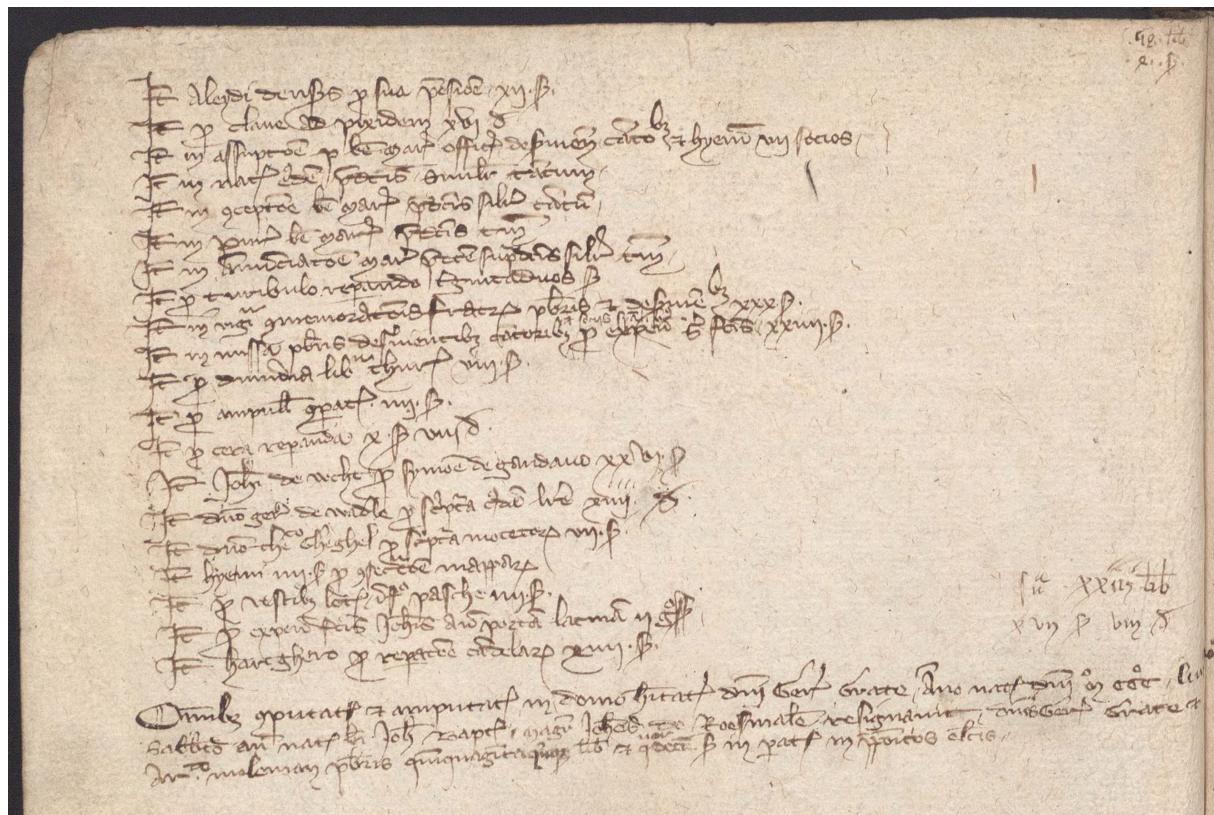
De ontvangsten en vooral de uitgaven geschiedden in allerlei muntsorten waarvan de waarde voor elke rekening op zich zelf dient berekend te worden aangezien zij zeer veranderlijk blijkt te zijn. De afkortingen door mij gebruikt zijn: lb. (libra), st. (stuiver), d. (denier), gr. (groot), m. (myt), sc. (scild), pl. (plak), l. (labay) [sic] en vl. (vlieger) [sic].

Ten slotte zij nog gememoreerd dat van deze rekeningen indertijd gebruik is gemaakt door Dr. C. B. Hermans voor zijn „Geschiedenis der Illustré Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch”, van wiens weinig pieteitvolle behandeling het handschrift nog de

duidelijke sporen draagt, en door J. C. A. Hesemans VOOT zijn „de Illustré Lieve Vrouwe broederschap in den Bosch” d.d. 1876.

Beide werken zullen echter na de thans tot stand gekomen nieuwe ordening der rekeningen eenigszins herzien dienen te worden.

W. F. H. OLDEWELT.
's-Hertogenbosch, Dec. 1924.”^[32]



1232-116-024v^[122]

An example of a page from the ILV manuscript
(the remainder of the page is blank)
This page mentions the socius coin

17. viii. b. f. m. d. de leon qo. astoghen
17. xx. m. f. de moraz elyitzig coitudo
17. xl. f. de moraz hystoire de berlal
17. xl. vij. f. de beste concorde genere domine de quael
17. vij. f. de bestiz grifis hercero de doradros
17. x. v. af se dona quaelz bendit sua misericordia de ranciglen
17. x. v. af de dona ostendit bendit qo. zoray
17. x. v. af de una quaelz bendit et aplice de blased
17. vij. f. de moraz qo. de leon
17. vij. f. de dona mycholop galate de pined missa
17. xxx. v. f. de moraz qo. de popel
17. x. v. af de moraz et aplice de medina
17. x. v. af de moraz et alde
17. xxx. f. de sancho medio filius
17. vij. facias de p. missa felix herca coitudo
17. vij. af de p. missa genere dñi leonis
17. vij. f. de p. missa genere peior de lindoren
17. xxx. vij. f. de receptio etiam medicina
17. xxx. vij. f. de moraz herca somes ar. de peior
An. xxx. vij. f. de xij. f. m. d.

xx. mith
xvi f my 3

1232-116-025v [122]

*An example of a page from the ILV manuscript
This page mentions the socius coin*