

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

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What do we **really know** about the $\frac{1}{3}$ *gros au lion*, or *tiers de gros*, of Flanders, said to have been struck for Louis of Nevers (1322-1346) or Louis of Male (1346-1384)?

For many decades it has been the policy of most numismatists to blindly accept the information provided by previous authors with little or no question. Obviously, there are a great many exceptions to this statement; nevertheless, the statement itself remains valid. Time and time again, when we go back through the old literature to double-check things, we find that previous works are inaccurate, and sometimes wildly so, due either to forgivable human error, or to unforgivable laziness, apathy, arrogance or complacency. And perhaps most disheartening of all, this is not solely a problem from the 19th century, it is true of {some} literature written right up to and including this year. (See Previous Literature, p. 26).

This general problem has been disastrous for the study of the fractional *leeuwengroot* coins of Flanders.

A bit of basic, objective research clearly shows that almost all of what we “know” about the fractional *leeuwengroten* of Flanders turns out to be nothing more than the opinions of various previous authors.

To date, not a single author has completely and accurately described the 14th century, fractional *leeuwengroot* coins of Flanders.

Fractional *Leeuwengroten*

As we attempted to explain in our report on the *leeuwengroten* of Holland and the associated fractional coins (ref. 19), the study of fractional *gros au lion* (of all regions) is no simple task. Determining the denomination of a given fractional *gros au lion* is not as easy as one might think, and we prefer to proceed with caution when approaching the fractional *leeuwengroten* of all types and regions.

The coins are rare, usually not in the best of condition, and they do not relay their denominations in their legends. Minting records for anywhere other than Flanders are all but non-existent, and when they do exist, they refer to the coins as *esterlins* or *petits deniers*. In addition, the fineness of most fractional *gros au lion* are not known, making it difficult to directly compare the weights of given specimens of different type or region to one another. The lack of specimens for study also makes the weights of individual examples much less useful than they would have been given a larger data sampling. The diameters of different denominations are often similar or even identical, so size is not always the key, either.

At various times and places, there were two different systems of currency running concurrently in the Low Lands, one based on the English *sterling* and the other based on the French *gros tournois*, *denier parisis*, etc. This resulted in two different “sets” of fractional Low Lands *gros*, struck in denominations of $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$ *gros* following the French system, and $\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{1}{3}$ and perhaps $\frac{1}{6}$ *gros* to match the English *sterling*. (There may have

been 1/12 *gros* struck as well.) Some of these *gros* were *leeuwengroten*, many were other types altogether.

There are 3 basic types of coins that may be fractional *leeuwengroot* coins, which is to say that there are 3 basic types with a rampant lion as the main type on one face (without a surrounding multifoil) and a plain cross *patée* on the other. Under these main types are found many variations.

The type which we refer to as a “mini-*leeuwengroot*” (for lack of a better term), has all the characteristics of a full *leeuwengroot*, although there may be less than 12 items in the obverse, outer border ring. This type of coin is definitely a fractional *leeuwengroot*, possibly a 1/3 *groot*.

The other two types have a lion as a main type, but no obverse outer border or reverse, outer legend. One has a **long cross** which intersects the legend, the other has a **short cross** which does not. Versions of these two main types are found with different diameters and weights, possibly indicating different denominations (probably 1/2, 1/4 and 1/8 *grotens*). These coin types may or may not be fractional *leeuwengroten*, specifically; they may only resemble the *leeuwengroot* superficially with their rampant lion types, without actually having been struck as part of a *leeuwengroot* series *per se*. Such coins would not be true, fractional *leeuwengroten*, rather they are simply small, silver (billon) coins with a rampant lion as a main type. (The rampant lion was used as a sigil by many Low Lands principalities.)

Obviously, the size (diameter) of a given piece is only relevant if the flan is whole or almost so. Based upon the known specimens, the (intended) size of the Flemish fractional *leeuwengroten* seems to be 20-21 mm.

The Flemish coins under discussion in this report, whatever their intended denominations, are as follows:

Cat. I	Long cross with lion heads in quarters	FLANDRIE	confirmed
Cat. II	Long cross with lion heads in quarters	FLAND	not confirmed
Cat. III	“Mini- <i>leeuwengroot</i> ”	FLAND	confirmed
Cat. IV	Short cross	BRGVENSIS	not confirmed

Right or wrong, the two confirmed types are almost always referred to by numismatists as *tiers de gros*, or 1/3 *gros*, and we have adopted that convention in the current report.

There are no other fractional *leeuwengroten* known to have been struck in Flanders 1337-1364, the period when the full *leeuwengroot* was being minted (on and off) for both Louis of Nevers and for his son Louis of Male.

There are two other types reported by previous authors, of which we have been unable to locate any specimens. We can therefore neither confirm nor refute the existence of these types (**cat. II, cat. IV**).

(Cat. II: Long cross, MONETA FLAND: De Mey 152^[16]; Vanhoudt G 2579^[22]. and cat. IV: short cross with MONETA BRGVENSIS: C.A. Serrure, Plate II, 2^[16]; De Mey 172^[16], Vanhoudt G 2592^[22].)

And yet another “type” (cat. —), seems to have been inadvertently fabricated by previous authors attempting to make sense of semi-illegible coins.

(“*Mini-leeuwengroot*” with 10 or 11 or 12 ♡ border: **Dewismes 227** [4]; **Vanhoudt G 2600** [22], cf. **Gaillard 222** [7]).

There is no actual evidence that any such coin exists. (See p. 30.)

And finally, it must be pointed out that, following the agreement between Flanders and Brabant (December 3, 1339), at least one, possibly two types of fractional *leeuwengroot* were minted, with a GANDEN(SIS) LOVAIN legend (**De Witte 381**, GANDENSIS; **De Witte 382**, GANDEN).

In all likelihood, the GANDEN LOVAIN *leeuwengroten* were never actually struck in Flanders, only in Brabant, and it is likely that the same is true of the associated fractional coins. For this reason, we have decided to ignore these fractional coins for the time being, and leave them for our yet-to-be-published report on the Brabant *leeuwengroten* and associated fractional coins

All of the large coins with the same, basic type (a central lion surrounded by a border of leaves or other items) could be termed *leeuwengroten*, or *gros au lion*. The *leeuwengroot* of 1337 (and perhaps 1339 as well) are *gros compagnon*, or *gezel* or *socius*, specifically, but these terms are now often used interchangeably with *leeuwengroot* or *gros au lion*. At this time, there is little point in attempting to keep the “*gros compagnon*” of 1337/1339 separate from the “*leeuwengroot*” of 1341 (?) - 1364. (In Holland, use of the term *gezel* seems to have continued for many years, and been used for *leeuwengroten* in general.)

The fractional coin with 4 lion heads, however, was only minted for a short time in 1337-1338, and was indeed the *tiers de gros compagnon*.

Petit Blanc

The Flemish $\frac{1}{4}$ gros coin known as a *petit blanc* could easily be mistaken for a fractional *leeuwengroot*, having all of the required characteristics. These coins were struck for Louis of Nevers before 1337, before any *leeuwengroten* were minted, and therefore fall outside the period under discussion. Similar coins were minted in Brabant (and elsewhere) during the same period.



petit blanc ($\frac{1}{4}$ groot), Alost mint
Elsen 118-991 / 0.93 g.



grand blanc ($\frac{1}{2}$ groot), Alost mint
Elsen 118-990 / 2.05 g

During the period 1330-1337, the *grand blanc* was the “main” silver coin of Flanders, and no full *grotten* were struck [13]. In 1337, the king of France reduced the fineness of his silver coins, which in turn caused Flanders to cease minting of the *grand* and *petit blanc* and begin the minting of the *leeuwengroot* (*gros compagno*). And, for a short period, the *tiers de gros compagno*.

CATALOG OF COINS

Louis of Nevers (1322-1346)

Cat. I	Long cross with lion heads in quarters	FLANDRIE	confirmed
Cat. II	Long cross with lion heads in quarters	FLAND	not confirmed

Louis of Male (1346-1384)

Cat. III	“Mini-leeuwengroot”	FLAND	confirmed
Cat. IV	Short cross	BRGVENSIS	not confirmed

Louis of Nevers (1322-1346)

- I - *Tiers de gros compagnon* with 4 lions

4 LION HEADS / FLANDRIE Type (Long Cross)

c. Ø 21 mm.

Struck c. 25 May, 1337 – 26 October, 1337
for Louis of Nevers (1322-1346)

Gaillard — [7]

Dewismes — [4]

C. A. Serrure: *BMNA*, 1881-1882, Plate II, 1 [16]

Boudeau — [1]

De Mey 148 [14]

* Haeck 30 [9]

* Elsen 10 [6]

Vanhoudt G 2580 [22]

Lucas — [11]

Schutyser — [15]

Martiny 21 [12]

Martiny/Torongo GE 13 [13]



NBB N879 / 1.40 g.

Ø 19 mm.

¶ MONETIA × FLANDRIC
LVD OVI DGD MES

also: KBR 0.85 g.

Vernier S 546 (PBAL)

The first type of Flemish, fractional *leeuwengroot*, or *tiers de gros compagnon*, with no outer legend or border, and a lion's head in each reverse quadrant, is very rare and was unknown to a number of previous authors (Gaillard, Boudeau, Dewismes). It was almost certainly minted for Louis of Nevers, and is likely to be the “*petits deniers blancs*” struck c. 25 May, 1337 – 26 October, 1337, mentioned in the medieval document now numbered ARA 791. The type is not to be confused with the pre-1337 *petits blancs* mentioned above.

This type was first reported by C.A. Serrure in **BMNA** 1881 (**Plate II, 1**; ref. 16), and again by De Mey (n° 148; ref. 14), who cites Bull. Num. Ser. pl. II / 1 (i.e. **BMNA** 1881), and by Vanhoudt [20] (n° G 2580). Vanhoudt cites De Mey and Bull. Num. Ser. pl. II / 1 as his sources, and provides a fairly crude drawing copied from De Mey (?). The type was also reported by Haeck (n° 30, ref. 9), Elsen (n° 10, ref. 6), Martiny (n° 21, ref. 12) and Martiny/Torongo (n° GE 13, ref. 13).

According to Martiny:

minted 25 May, 1337 – 26 October, 1337
weight 1.35 g.
alloy: 9d
fineness: 0.719
total coins struck: 72,963
document: ARA 791

– pp. 86-87 [13]

date	coins struck
7 June, 1337	7,805
15 June, 1337	2,904
21 June, 1337	2,178
23 June, 1337	4,356
28 June, 1337	1,815
12 July, 1337	13,068
14 August, 1337	32,670
14 October, 1337	8,167

– p. 120 [12]

The coins are {probably} referred to in the medieval document as “*petits deniers blancs*”.



The corresponding full *groot* of Flanders (Louis of Nevers)
 Elsen 132-523 / 3.46 g.
 Martiny/Torongo GE 12/1

Note that the central lion of the *tiers* and the full *groot* match one another, i.e. they are similar in style, with a flat head and large paws. The obverse legend of both coins begins with an eagle.

OTHER REGIONS

The same type of fractional coin was struck in Brabant and in Hainaut, where the *gros compagnon* of 1337 was also minted:

William II, Count of Hainaut (also William IV, Count of Holland)
 (7 June, 1337 – 26 September, 1345)



Hainaut 1/3 *groot* [22]
 Chalon 72; Vanhoudt G 494



The corresponding full *groot* of Hainaut (William II)
Elsen 136-779

John III, Duke of Brabant
(27 October, 1312 – 5 December, 1355)



Brabant 1/3 *groot*^[22]
De Witte 366; Vanhoudt G 265



The corresponding (?) full *groot* of Brabant (John III)
CdMB 095 / 3.62 g (Photos: Alain Renard)

This type was probably minted in Holland as well, where the original *leeuwengroot* of 1337 was also struck, but with trefoils instead of lion's heads (?):

William IV, Count of Holland (also William II, Count of Hainaut)
(7 June, 1337 – 26 September, 1345)



DNB-00970 / 090 g .



NM-02721 / 3.87 g.
The corresponding full *groot* of Holland (William IV)

What implication these coins have for the chronological order of the Holland *leeuwengroten* is unclear. Is the MS GERT in fact the oldest Holland type (not the MONETA HOLANDIE type(s)?) (see ref. 19). Or is there a 4-lion-head, HOLANDIE (?), fractional coin “missing” (i.e. currently unknown)?

The absence of photographs of Brabant and Hainaut *tiers* will not have escaped the astute reader’s attention; the coins are so rare that we have indeed been unable to find any specimens for study. We are forced to rely upon information provided by de Witte and Chalon.

• II - *Tiers de gros* with 4 lions / FLAND
NOT VERIFIED

4 LION HEADS / FLAND Type (Long Cross)

De Mey 152^[14]
Vanhoudt G 2579^[22]
cites de Mey 152

No specimens known.

A similar type of fractional *leeuwengroot* is reported by Vanhoudt as his n° **G 2579**, with a faulty drawing depicting cloverleafs instead of lions, the error of which can be seen by comparing De Mey's drawing (n° **152**), which shows lion heads:



Vanhoudt G 2579^[22]

De Mey 152^[14]

MONETA [•] FLAND
LVD OVI D[?][D]O MES

De Mey states that the coin was found in a private collection. The obverse legend reads FLAND instead of FLANDRIE; we have never seen any such coins. Is this a different type? Is it a {medieval} counterfeit? Or is it an inaccurate drawing of **Vanhoudt G 2580 / De Mey 148** (i.e. cat. I)?

De Mey's text transcription does not match his illustration, the transcription reading MONETA • FLANDRIE, so that according to the text (only) there is no difference between this and his n° **148**; both descriptions give MONETA • FLANDRIE (unlike the drawing for n° **152**). We can only assume that de Mey's intention was to report his n° **152** as a coin different from his n° **148** (otherwise he is simply duplicating coins needlessly). Therefore, we must assume that the differences shown in the drawing (i.e. FLAND instead of FLANDRIE, possibly preceded by a leaf instead of a pellet) are "correct" and that the text is "incorrect".

No other author reports this type, Vanhoudt seems to have based his entry solely on de Mey, and De Mey does not give any references. The mark after MONETA is unclear;

Vanhoudt shows a pellet (perhaps based upon de Mey's text, not the drawing), De Mey's illustration seems to show a leaf.

At this time, we are unable to confirm the existence of this type.

Louis of Male (1346-1384)

• III - *Tiers de gros “mini-leeuwengroot”*

“MINI-LEEUWENGROOT” Type (Short Cross)

c. Ø 20 mm.

9♣ / 1✉

Struck 7 August, 1350 – 1 January, 1352
for Louis of Male (1346-1384)

*Gaillard 222 [7]
*Dewismes 200 [4]
~~*Dewismes 227~~ [4]
Boudeau 2231 [1]
*De Mey 214 [14]
*De Mey 215 [14]
*Haeck 40 [9]
*Elsen 15 [6]
*Vanhoudt 2583 [22]
~~*Vanhoudt 2600~~ [22]
*Schutyser A 73 [15]
*Martiny 30 [12]
*Martiny 30-1 [12]
*Martiny/Torongo GE 24/1 [13]
*Martiny/Torongo GE 24/2 [13]
*Martiny/Torongo GE 24/3 [13]
*Martiny/Torongo GE 24/4 [13]

⊕ • MONETΠ ♫ FLAND'

⊕ • MONETΠ ♫ FLAND'

⊕ • MONETΠ ♫ FLAND'

Most of the known specimens are illegible, or partially so, making exact readings of the legends difficult or impossible. This, in turn, means that determining the presence of absence of a crossbar on the A's is also difficult or even impossible. In many cases, one letter is

clearly visible, while the other is not; we can say with certainty that several “half legends” exist: MONETA, MONET Δ , FLAND, FL Δ ND, but the correct combinations remain somewhat elusive.

Many of the {partially} illegible coins do not seem to suffer from wear, rather, they seem to have come from the mint in such a state. In the 14th century, it was often the case that less attention was paid to the minting of small coins than large, and the fact that many of these coins were not very readable does not seem to have bothered the mint very much, as long as the coins weighed out correctly.

We are always skeptical of theories that say hard-to-read letters, such as the A's, were ever used by the mints as minting marks. If the coins are leaving the mint in an illegible state, how can these letters be used as minting marks? On the other hand, it is impossible to deny that different types of A's were being used on these coins. The question then becomes: are the differing letters meant as minting marks, with some kind of meaning, or are they simply done at the whim of the die-sinker or engraver? At this point, we can do little more than report the known specimens as we find them. (See p. 54 for a discussion of the legends on the known specimens, and what the legends are likely to read).

SUB-TYPE A

Martiny/Torongo GE 24/1

‡ • MONET Δ FL Δ ND'
LVD OVI Q \ddot{A} DO MES
‡ BNDDAM : SIT : NOM : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI

Sadly, we have no specimens that show a clear MONET Δ FLAND legend. Many of the semi-legible specimens do seem to show such a legend, however, although we cannot be certain. We have specimens with a clear MONET Δ , or a clear FLAND, but not with both. At this point, we are inclined to believe that coins with such legends do indeed exist, even if we cannot (yet) prove it.

SUB-TYPE B

Martiny/Torongo GE 24/2

‡ · MONETΛ FLAND'
LVD OVI C&D MES
‡ BNDAM : SIT : NOM : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI



De Wit / Künker I, 1320; G. Henzen 111-1167 / 1.09 g.

This coin is clear, and seems to show a MONETΛ FLAND legend.



Elsen 137-463 / 0.99 g. (ex-Haeck collection)

This coin also seems to show a MONETΛ FLAND legend.

SUB-TYPE C

Martiny/Torongo GE 24/3

‡ • MONETA FLAND'
LVD OVI Q&DO MES
‡ BNDAM : SIT : NOM : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI



Elsen 078-1772

Unfortunately we do not have a better photograph of this coin to work with, however, it does seem to show a MONETA FLAND legend.

SUB-TYPE D

Martiny/Torongo —
[Martiny/Torongo GE 24/2 *sic*]

‡ MONETA FLAND'
LVD OVI C'DO MES
‡ BNDAM : SIT : NOM : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI



Collection Achille Vernier S 565 / 1.41 g.
Palais des Beaux Arts, Lille

There is no sign of a pellet to the right of the initial cross. Other than de Mey (**dM 214**), no previous author seems to have specifically reported a variant without a pellet by the cross, but on the other hand, most previous authors make no mention of any pellet right of the initial cross at all, even though almost all of the known specimens have such a pellet. Whether the missing pellet is intentional or a mistake on the part of the die-sinker is difficult to say. It is also possible that a pellet is indeed “present” but not visible.

This specimen was used by Martiny (ref. 13) as an example of a **GE 24/2** coin, with a • + MONETA FLAND legend. No sub-type was listed without a pellet by the initial cross.

SUB-TYPE ?

Inconclusive, Illegible, Unknown Type

No matter how clear the letter, one legible A is not enough to properly attribute a coin to one sub-type or another if the other A is indecipherable.



Elsen 136-553 / 1.25 g.

Wishful thinking is not science. This coin has illegible A's, and despite the best intentions of any given numismatist, no determination can be made from this coin as to the correct, obverse legend. This is a typical *tiers de gros*, not an unusual one.

The second, confirmed, Flemish fractional type is also quite rare, although far less so than the types discussed thus far, and looks much more like a *gros au lion*, with an **outer border of 9 leaves and an eagle** on the obverse and a shortened BNDICTVM outer legend on the reverse... like a sort of “mini-*leeuwengroot*”, if you will. There are no known specimens with an obverse border of only leaves (no eagle).

There are no known border variations at all. Most specimens seem to have a pellet right of the initial cross in the obverse legend, a tiny number do not. There are definite variations of a present or absent crossbar for the A's of MONETA and FLAND, although most of the known coins are partially illegible. And some of the coins seem to have pellet (or annulet?) A's:

There has been a great deal of confusion regarding the attribution of this *tiers de gros*, and the cataloging of this type.

Beginning with Dewismes (?), two different versions of the coin were thought to exist, when there is, in fact, only one (as far as we can tell). This has led to a number of misunderstandings, including some authors assigning two different numbers to what is, in fact, likely to be the same type. Other authors report only one sort, but incorrectly attribute it to Louis of Nevers, some of them ignoring the *tiers* of 1350-1352 mentioned in the medieval records. It has become common to attribute one “sort” of coin to Louis of Nevers and the “other sort” to Louis of Male.

Most researchers are relying upon Gaillard’s description of his n° 222 (♣ only border) to be correct, and Dewismes’ drawing of his n° 200 (♣ / ⚰ border) and n° 227 (♣ only border) to both be accurate as well. These researchers apparently assume that the reason Gaillard only reports one type of *tiers* is that the 9♣ / 1⚰ border type was unknown to him. But we believe that this is not the case: the reason Gaillard only reports one type is that there is only one type (even if his description is flawed). The extant 9♣ / 1⚰ border type was indeed “known” to Gaillard, but the specimen(s) with which he was familiar must have been partially illegible (as are most known specimens), and he probably never saw the eagle in the outer border.

Again: there are no known specimens with an obverse border of leaves only (no eagle); **Gaillard 222** is, quite literally, the sole basis for the “existence” of the (sub-)type “with a leaf-only border”. There is good reason to be skeptical: Gaillard’s book is simply not trustworthy when it comes to the finer details of the coins, as we have shown many times in our work.

The “mini-*leeuwengroot*” *tiers de gros* of Louis of Male was reported by previous authors as follows (errors in red):

*Gaillard 222 [7]	Louis of Male	12♣ ; 11♣
*Dewismes 200 [4]	Louis of Nevers	10♣ / 1⚰
*Dewismes 227 [4]	Louis of Male	11♣
Boudeau 2231 [1]	Louis of Male	—
*De Mey 214 [14]	Louis of Male	— ; 10♣ / 1⚰
*De Mey 215 [14]	Louis of Male	[10♣ / 1⚰]
*Haeck 40 [9]	Louis of Nevers	9♣ / 1⚰
*Elsen 15 [6]	Louis of Nevers	10♣ / 1⚰
*Vanhoudt 2583 [22]	Louis of Nevers	10♣ / ⚰
*Vanhoudt G-2600 [22]	Louis of Male	— ; 11♣
*Lucas G 222 [11]	Louis of Male	— ; 11♣
*Schutyser A 73 [15]	Louis of Nevers	10♣ / 1⚰
*Martiny 30 [12]	Louis of Nevers	9♣ / 1⚰
*Martiny 30-1 [12]	Louis of Nevers	9♣ / 1⚰
*Martiny p. 162 [12]	Louis of Male	[12♣ ; 11♣] (cites Gaillard 222)
*Martiny/Torongo GE 24/1 [13]	Louis of Nevers	9♣ / 1⚰
*Martiny/Torongo GE 24/2 [13]	Louis of Nevers	9♣ / 1⚰
*Martiny/Torongo GE 24/3 [13]	Louis of Nevers	9♣ / 1⚰
*Martiny/Torongo GE-24/4 [13]	Louis of Nevers	9♣ / 1⚰

The asterisks represent types that are not accurately described by the authors in question; note that with the exception of Boudeau (whose superficial description kept him “safe”), not a single author to date has managed to correctly describe this type of coin.

We are of the opinion that **Dewismes** n° 200 and n° 227 both represent the same coin (i.e. **Dewismes** 227 probably does not actually exist); the same is true of **Vanhoudt** n° 2583 and n° 2600.

De Mey 215 is a variant (⊕•) of his n° 214 (⊕), **Martiny** 30-1 is a variant (FLAND) of his n° 30 (FLAND). The sub-types of **Martiny/Torongo** GE 24 were not accurately reported, and are superceded by the catalog contained in this report (see p. 40). Lucas simply gives **Gaillard**’s n° 222, without actually reporting on the border leaves, thus implying that the border is 12♣ as per **Gaillard**’s description. Lucas provides **Gaillard**’s faulty drawing, which erroneously shows an 11♣ border.

Louis of Male (yes) or Louis of Nevers (no)?

All of the known coins have a 9♣ / 1¤ border. Almost all of the coins have a pellet right of the initial cross; pellets as minting marks are used on Louis of Male *leeuwengroten*, but not on those of his father, Louis of Nevers. Barless A’s in the legend are all but unknown on *leeuwengroten* of Louis of Nevers, while they are common on those of Louis of Male. The obverse legend begins with a cross, which is not the initial mark of the 1340-1343, Louis of Nevers *leeuwengroten* (which was an eagle). The central lion on the “mini-*leeuwengroot*” is slender and has small feet, like those found on Louis of Male *leeuwengroten*, and unlike the squat-headed, large-footed lions of the Louis of Nevers coins.

The eagle in the obverse border is not specifically seen on any other Flemish *leeuwengroot*, Louis of Nevers or Louis of Male, and at first glance may seem especially unusual on a coin of Louis of Male. This eagle almost certainly helped lead previous authors to believe the coins were struck for Louis of Nevers, who sometimes had an eagle as an initial mark in the legend, unlike Louis of Male, who only had a cross. (As it turns out, it is the primary reason for **Martiny**’s continued belief that these are coins of Louis of Nevers^[26].) Eagles are not unknown on coins of Louis of Male, however; compare the *leeuwengroot* struck for Louis of Male as Count of Rethel, per the order of 14 April, 1357, with an unusual, obverse, 12¤ border (see ref. 21):



leeuwengroot of Rethel, struck for Louis of Male
Elsen 119-1076 / 2.85 g.

Admittedly, the eagle in the border is odd for either of the counts of Flanders, and especially so for Louis of Male. But in the face of all of the rest of the evidence presented here, is it

really enough upon which to base an attribution of this type to Louis of Nevers? We say no, it is not.

Minting records exist for the striking of “*petits deniers blancs*” 10 June, 1337 – 14 October, 1337, in Flanders under Louis of Nevers (document ARA 791), and most authors correctly (?) attribute the “*tiers with 4 lions*” to this issue. There are no more “*petits deniers*” mentioned in the documents until the “*esterlins*” in 1350-1351 (ARA 773), (see ref. 12, pp. 338-339), or the “*petis blans qu'on dit esterlin*” of 1351-1352 (ARA 771, (see ref. 12, pp. 340-341) during the reign of Louis of Male.

Those authors who attribute the “*mini-leeuwengroot*” to Louis of Nevers invariably place the coin c. 1340-1343, but the minting records for that period are missing... if any ever existed. Minting records do exist for the period of 7 August, 1350 – 1 January, 1352, which falls within the minting of Issue II *leeuwengroten* in Flanders; *grotens* with a pellet to the right of the initial cross on the obverse, just like the “*mini-leeuwengroot*”. This time period also runs over into *leeuwengroot* Issue III, with pellets left and right of the initial cross.

The presence of 3 examples of “*mini-leeuwengroten*” in the Zutphen Hoard (1958) makes an attribution to Louis of Nevers seem highly unlikely; the oldest Flemish *leeuwengroot* in that hoard came from Louis of Male’s Issue III (28 May, 1351 – 5 September, 1353), and no coins of Louis of Nevers were present at all (see ref. 17). 266 (or more) *leeuwengroten* of Louis of Male from Issues III-VII, and no coins of Louis of Nevers at all.



Zutphen Hoard (1958) M-03263 / 0.8 g.
Collection Stedelijk Museum Zutphen

We are being asked to believe that c. 1341, during the count’s absence from the county and the “governance” in Flanders (Ghent) of Jacob van Artevelde, fractional coins were struck (see ref. 13, p. 119 etc.). Bear in mind that no one profited from the striking of small coins, not the mint, not the count, not the cities. In fact, small coins were just a nuisance to the makers of money. But the coins were a necessity for the daily life of the people, and so they were occasionally minted, if rather grudgingly. How does one buy a single loaf of bread that costs less than a *groot*, if no one can make change?

Furthermore, c. 1341, van Artevelde was struggling with serious money problems and debts and attempting to keep his head above water (see ref. 13, p. 133). It seems highly unlikely that he would bother himself about fractional coins at such a time. It seems equally as unlikely that Louis of Nevers would bother himself about striking fractional coins at this period either; he had other things on his mind as well.

1353, under Louis of Male, was a completely different story. A count fully in charge of his county and in a position to easily have struck fractional coins... and the minting records of 1353 state that fractional coins **were struck**. Until new evidence surfaces, does Occam's Razor not compel us to believe that these coins must be the known "mini-*leeuwengroten*" that in fact resemble the coins of Louis of Male c. 1351? Initial cross, pellet right of this cross, the same central lion, the same lettering in the legends... border eagle not notwithstanding.

How could it be possible that the other "van Artevelde-period" coins, the full *grot*, the *vieux gros* (M/T GE 20) and the Ghent *groot* (M/T GE 25) are so very, very rare, while a fractional "van Artevelde-period" coin is so much more common?

And finally, albeit rather subjectively, the coins do not "look like" coins of Louis of Nevers, they look like coins of his son, in the central lion and the lettering, as well as in the admittedly unusual border leaves, which resemble the so-called "odd" leaves of Louis of Male's *leeuwengroot* Issue II:



gros au lion, Louis of Male, Issue II
with the "odd" border leaves



tiers de gros
Elsen 136-552 / 1.25 g.

All of which adds up to a type struck for Louis of Male but not for Louis of Nevers.



L's from “mini-*leeuwengroot*” tiers coins

These do not resemble the L's of a Louis of Nevers *leeuwengroot*, while they do resemble those of a Louis of Male *leeuwengroot*. In fact, all of the letters look more like those on Louis of Male coins than Louis of Nevers coins:



Elsen 137-463 / 0.98 g.
ex-Haeck collection



private collection / 2.47 g.
Louis of Male, *leeuwengroot*, Issue V

Frankly, the lettering on the “mini-*leeuwengroot*” looks more like a Louis of Male, Issue V *leeuwengroot* than an Issue II or III coin. This may be slightly problematic, but in any case, the *tiers* lettering looks very little like the lettering on a Louis of Nevers coin.

The same is true for the central lion:



private collection / 3.61 g.
Louis of Nevers, *leeuwengroot*, “common type”
Squat-bodied, flat-headed central lion with large paws



Elsen 137-463 / 0.98 g.
ex-Haeck collection
Central lion with small paws and a long, slender body
Not the flat head of the Louis of Nevers lion

According to Martiny (who thinks he is talking about some other coin type):

Minted: 07 Aug 1350 – 1 Jan 1352

Weight: 1.26 g.

alloy: 6d 12gr

fineness: 0.519

total coins struck:

documents: ARA 771; ARA 773

date	total coins	document
07 Aug 1350 – 20 Apr 1351 (Issue II part 2 in Bruges)	979,875	ARA 773
21 Apr 1351 – 27 May 1351 (Issue II part 3 in Bruges)	292,500	ARA 773
28 May 1351 – 1 Jan 1352 (Issue III part 1, Bruges)	409,500	ARA 771

– pp. 160-161 [12]

The coins are {probably} referred to in the medieval documents as “*petis blans qu'on dit esterlin*” and “*esterlins*”. As far as we can tell, minting of these “*esterlins*” in Flanders took place under Louis of Male during minting of the following *leeuwengroten* (indicated in bold type):

Leeuwengroot Issue II: 24 November, 1346 – 27 May, 1351

24 November, 1346 – 11 August, 1347 in Ghent

24 December, 1347 – 11 September, 1348 in Ghent

24 December, 1348 – 21 February, 1349 in Ghent

5 September, 1349 – 1 August, 1350 in Bruges

tiers → **7 August, 1350 – 20 April, 1351 in Bruges**

tiers → **21 April, 1351 – 27 May, 1351 in Bruges**

Leeuwengroot Issue III: 28 May, 1351 – 5 September, 1353

tiers → **28 May, 1351 – 1 January, 1352 Bruges**

15 January, 1352 – 5 September, 1353 Bruges

Apparently, no *tiers* were struck in Ghent, and minting of these coins only began after the mint was moved to Bruges.

OTHER REGIONS

Unlike the *tiers* with 4 lion heads (**cat. I**), this type (**cat. III**) does not seem to have been {specifically and directly} imitated in other regions c. 1351-1352 (or if you wish, c. 1341-1343, either).

As far as we can tell, the next “mini-*leeuwengroot*” type to make an appearance was over twenty years later, in Brabant, c. 1376, under Johanna (Jeanne) (1355-1406) and Wenceslas (1355-1383), which was followed by imitations in Luxemburg, Megen, Batenberg, Gennep etc.

• IV - Fractional *leeuwengroot* / BRGVENSIS (?) **NOT VERIFIED**

Gaillard — [7]
Dewismes — [4]
C.A. Serrure, Plate II, 2 [16]
Boudeau — [1]
De Mey 172 [14]
Haeck — [9]
Elsen — [6]
Vanhoudt G 2592 [22]
Lucas — [11]
Schutyser — [15]
Martiny — [12]
Martiny/Torongo — [13]

BMNA, 1881-1882, **Plate II, 2** [16]

C.A. Serrure reports an otherwise unknown type (**cat. IV**), without revealing the location of the piece he describes:

Un esterling de Louis de Male (1346-1384).

— + MONETA - BRGVENSIS (*sic*). Lion.

Rev. — + LVDVICVS : COMES. F'. Croix pattée.

Cette monnaie est indubitablement celle dont on en émit pour 9,065 marcs, ainsi qu'il résulte du compte de la monnaie de Bruges, du 7 août 1350 au 6 août 1353.

Les lettres de commission données par Louis de Male à Percheval du Porche, le 10 novembre 1350, ordonnent de frapper des *tiers de gros* ou *esterlings* 6 deniers 12 grammes d'aloï et de 26 sous 3 deniers de taille au marc de Troie (1).

Cela donne par exemplaire un poids de 0,77 grammes en moyenne. Or, le spécimen retrouvé pèse 0,73 grammes. L'identité est donc établie.

Gaillard a confondu le *demi-gros* qu'il connaissait avec le *tiers de gros* qu'il ne connaissait pas; voulant rapporter le texte à la fabrication de la première de ces monnaies, il a supposé une erreur de copiste; il n'y a d'autre erreur que la sienne.

BMNA, p. 18

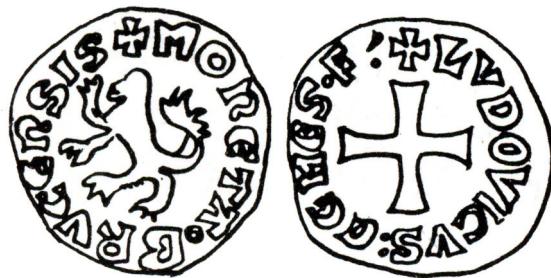


BMNA, Plate II, 2 (De Mey 172) / 0.73 g.

[+]MONETA • BRGVENSIS
+LVDVICVS:COMES•F?

No examples of this BRGVENSIS type are currently known to us. C. A. Serrure attributes it (and “indubitably” so) to the period covered in the document of 7 August, 1350 – 6 August, 1353, and specifically the mint master commission of 7 August, 1350. We are of the opinion that said document actually refers to the “mini-leeuwengroot” type (**cat III**). Whether or not this type (**cat IV**) was an associated $\frac{1}{2}$ (?) *groot* is impossible to say at this point.

The type was also reported by Vanhoudt as his n° G 2592, with a fairly crude drawing copied from De Mey (?). Vanhoudt cites **De Mey** (n° 172) as his source, and De Mey cites Gaz. num. Ser. I/pl. II / 2 (i.e. **BMNA** 1881), calling the coin a $\frac{1}{4}$ *gros*. Vanhoudt states that the coin is possibly a contemporary forgery, but his drawing is far more crude than C. A. Serrure’s. In addition, Vanhoudt’s legend reads BRVCENSIS, not BRGVENSIS (as Serrure).



Vanhoudt G 2592

Clearly, Serrure was reporting *something*, but what? If the coin is a genuine, Flemish issue, it is likely to be a half or even quarter *groot*. Is it a $\frac{1}{4}$ *groot* because it has a short cross?

At this time we cannot confirm the existence of this type, and we are inclined to believe that the coin is a {medieval} forgery, especially in light of the misspelled obverse legend, but without further evidence, this remains an unconfirmed opinion.

PREVIOUS LITERATURE

GAILLARD (ref. 7)

Gaillard 222 (“mini-*leeuwengroot*”)

The *tiers de gros compagnon* of Louis of Nevers (with 4 lion heads, **cat. I**) was unknown to Gaillard.

On p. 176, he describes a “mini-*leeuwengroot*” *tiers de gros* (**cat. III**) from his own collection, which he correctly attributes to **Louis of Male**^[7]:

N° 222. ♀ MONÈMIA & FLANDR'. Lion debout ; dans la bordure douze trèfles.
 R' LVD — OVI — C & GO — MES. (Lég. int.) ♀ BENOICIT :
 SIM ; NOM' ; DNI ; NRI ; IHV ; SPI. (Lég extér.).
 Croix coupant la légende intérieure.
 A. gr. 1,20. (Tiers de gros) Cabinet de M. Gaillard.

Gaillard p. 76^[7]

Gaillard's legend transcriptions are not accurate, and do not match his own illustration, which is typical of Gaillard. He describes a type with a 12♣ border, while showing an 11♣ border in his illustration, but neither is correct. Gaillard's coin probably had an illegible 9♣ / 1¶ border, like all of the currently known specimens.

The known examples read:

‡ • MONETAT‡ FLAND‡' (et al)
LVD OVI C‡DO MES
‡ BNDCLM : SIT : NOM : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI

Compare this to Gaillard's text [*sic*]:

‡ MONETAT‡ FLAND‡'
LVD OVI C‡DO MES
‡ BNDICT : SIT : NOM' : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI

...and to Gaillard's illustration [*sic*]:

‡ MONETAT‡ FLAND‡'
LVD OVI C‡DO MES
‡ BHDICT : SIT : NOM : DHI : NRI : IHV : XPI

Ignoring for the moment the barless A's in **FLAND**, which may well be correct, Gaillard's **BNDICT**, **BNDICT**, **NOM** and **DNI** are simply erroneous (**BNDCLM**, **BNDCLM**, **NOM** and **DNI**), and any pellet by the initial cross is unmentioned.

Subsequent authors, other than, perhaps, Dewismes, make no mention and apparently attach no importance to these anomalous outer legends. This is typical of the "cherry picking" done by poor researchers, including those numismatists who wish to convince us that another (sub-)type of *tiers* exists, with a leaf-only outer border (no eagle), based solely upon Gaillard's faulty description or drawing (one must "cherry pick" between Gaillard's drawing and description of course, since they do not match one another).



Gaillard 222, 1/3 gros
 (Plate XXVII)^[7]
 Border of 11 leaves [*sic*]

This drawing is almost certainly inaccurate; it does not match the known examples. Gaillard states that these coins have a 12♣ border, his illustration shows an 11♣ border, but the border on all of the known specimens has only 10 items: 9♣ / 1¤ (or is illegible).

Gaillard's drawings are notoriously inaccurate, and the apparently perfect state of the coin shown, unlike any known example, leads us to believe that the drawing must have been made from a poorer specimen but has been idealized, the implication being that an illegible spot at the top of the outer border was "read" as another leaf instead of what was almost certainly an eagle. The **number** of items in the border, 10, was also miscounted for the drawing, which shows 11 items; this is strong evidence that the actual specimen was far more illegible than the drawing would have us believe. Alternatively, you can choose to believe in the existence of "magical mystery coins" (see below).

Although we cannot say with 100% certainty that no such coins exist, we are unwilling to take Gaillard's word for it based on his inconsistent description and illustration, especially in light of the fact that Gaillard does not actually describe the known type with an eagle in the border at all (rather, he **does**, just not correctly), not to mention Gaillard's "poor track record". Occam's Razor says that we must assume that no such coin exists (until proven otherwise). There is certainly no reason to "create a new sub-type" at this time, based solely upon what Gaillard published.

Is it not odd that not only does Gaillard's unique coin (in the drawing) have no eagle in the border, it also has 11 items in the outer border (instead of 10), it has Roman N's in the outer legend (unlike any known specimen), and it has BNDICT instead of the BNDCM found on all of the known coins? ***What a marvelous coin this must be! So rare, so unusual!***

Amazing!

Or is it **ridiculous**? As always in these situations, the known type is not listed in Gaillard's book at all, while this unique "magical mystery coin" is, which should be an immediate "red flag" to any good researcher. And why is it that subsequent authors simply ignore the anomalous reverse outer legend, while accepting the obverse border description as holy writ? Or rather...*part* of the obverse description; the **number** of leaves in the border is apparently of no importance to these people. Gaillard says 12 leaves... shows 11 leaves... so what? He is still somehow right about the "all-leaf border"... even though all known specimens have 10 items (9 leaves, 1 eagle) in the border.... it's fine, don't worry about it. Gaillard **meant** 10 leaves... really, he did.

With all due respect, this is terrible "science". It is "cherry picking from the Poisonous Tree".

Gaillard's descriptions and illustrations of *leeuwengroten* are **known to be inaccurate in almost every case**. We are, for example, asked to simply ignore Gaillard's shortcomings and just accept that "he meant the type with a 12♣ border" when we read Gaillard's poor description of his n° 202, a *leeuwengroot* of Louis of Nevers, which contains **ten errors** and doesn't really describe any extant coin at all (see p. 5 for an example of this coin). (Again: "cherry picking" out things that they want to believe must be accepted in broad terms, while other "cherries" are to be accepted in strict detail.)



Gaillard, pl. XXIV, 202^[7]: **a non-existent coin**
purporting to be a Louis of Nevers, 12♣ border *leeuwengroot*

Even Gaillard's illustration for his n° 202 is wrong. It was made from an altered drawing of an 11♣ / 1♦ coin, and it does not show the word DEI in the reverse, outer legend, as found on the actual coins. This drawing should never be reproduced as an illustration of a *leeuwengroot* of Louis of Nevers, as it so often has been in the past (e.g. de Mey n° 147, p. 45 *et al*).

Most of the known “mini-*leeuwengroten*” are partially illegible, and a small number have an illegible item at the top in the border. One could easily argue that any one of these coins might have a leaf instead of an eagle. Who could say it was not true?



DNB/NNC NM-11357

This could be a 12 ♣ border... no one can say with certainty that it is not. Does Occam's Razor dictate that we should believe that it has a leaf as the top item, unlike any known coin, or that it has an eagle, like 12+ known, legible coins?

DEWISMES (ref. 4)

Dewismes 200 (“mini-*leeuwengroot*”, 9♣ / 1♦ border, *sic*)

Dewismes 227 (“mini-*leeuwengroot*”, 10♣ border, *sic*)

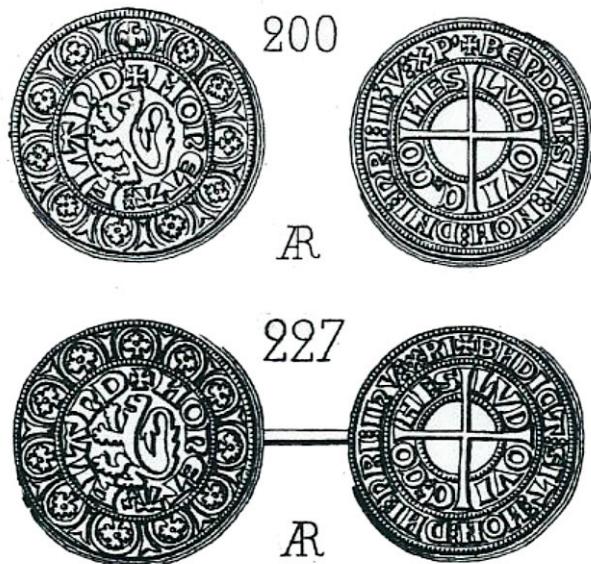
Dewismes created a number of illustrations of Flemish coins, which were published posthumously by Deschamps de Pas (ref. 4).

The 4 lion head *tiers de gros compagnon* of Louis of Nevers (**cat. I**) was apparently unknown to Dewismes, or in any case, he did not illustrate it.

Gaillard only reports one type of *tiers de gros*, his n° 222, described above, while Dewismes reports a second “type”, which he incorrectly attributes to Louis of Nevers. This “new” type has a border consisting of leaves an eagle, and a slightly different reverse, outer legend. Otherwise the two “types” are basically the same as one another.

What has in all likelihood occurred is that Dewismes accepted Gaillard’s description on faith, and when he came across what appeared to be a different type of coin, he created a “new” type that was, in fact, simply a more accurate description of the same type that Gaillard had already reported. Dewismes’ mistake was to assume that Gaillard got it right, and Dewismes’ efforts to correct the problem, as he saw it, only made matters worse (we presume).

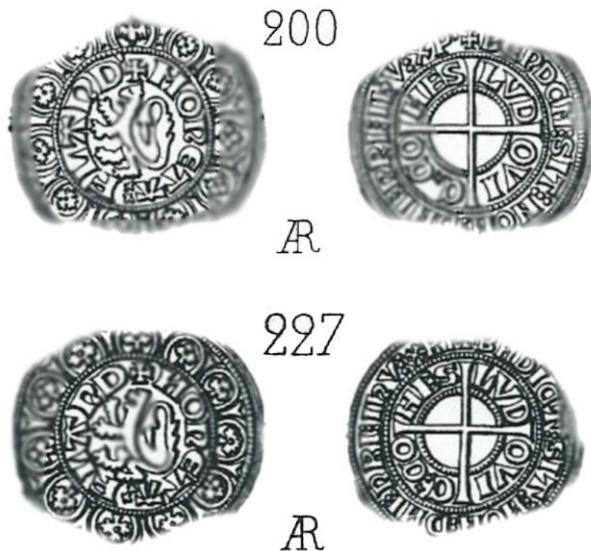
Again: there **may** be “mini-*leeuwengroot*” *tiers de gros* with a ♣-only border, but no specimens are currently known to us. Until proven otherwise, the evidence seems to lean more toward transcription and illustration errors “creating” a type that does not actually exist.



Dewismes 200 (Gaillard —) and Dewismes 227 (Gaillard 222)^[4]

We are rather skeptical of these drawings. Based on the known specimens, we find it hard to believe that Dewismes had access to such perfect coins, and it is almost certain that these drawings have been idealized (as is common in old numismatic reference works). Both drawings erroneously show borders with 11 items (instead of 10), which would seem to support the idea that Dewismes’ drawings are not based on completely legible specimens.

Suppose the coins in question looked more like this (a reasonable assertion)?



Based upon these “specimens”, one could not say that the two coins were any different from one another. How can we be sure of what Dewismes (and Gaillard) saw or did? By following and adding to Gaillard’s catalog instead of correcting it properly, did Dewismes unwittingly help create a non-existent sub-type? Feasting upon the Fruit of the Poisonous Tree, as it were?

All three of the drawings (**Dewismes 200**, **Dewismes 227 / Gaillard 222**) show \ddagger after LVDOVIC on the reverse instead of the \ddagger found on the known specimens. All three drawings show Roman N’s in the reverse, outer legend, which are not found on any of the known specimens. The drawing for **Dewismes 200** shows a 10♣ / 1✉ border, the drawings for **Dewismes 227 / Gaillard 222** show a 11♣ border, but all the known specimens have 9♣ / 1✉ borders. In other words: **none of the known coin specimens actually match any of the drawings and vice versa. Why?** (21 examples seen by us, 5 not seen.)

Are the drawings showing new {unknown} sub-types, or are they simply inaccurate? Based on our experience with old literature, the latter seems the most probable; all of the known specimens show one main type, not two. Should we place our trust in 25+ extant coin specimens, or in 1 line drawing from the 19th century (and, of course, a second line drawing which is based on the first)?

We feel that it is likely that **Dewismes 200** (eagles and leaves border) is based upon a real coin, while **Dewismes 227** (all leaf border) is based upon Gaillard’s flawed description of his n° 222, but both are in fact the same type, with a 9♣ / 1✉ border. **Dewismes 200** and **Dewismes 227** actually represent the same coin (despite the inaccurate number of border items), but from this point on, apparently based upon Dewismes’ drawings and identifications, everyone seems to have believed that there were two different (but nearly identical) types of *tiers de gros au lion*, one struck for Louis of Nevers, the other for Louis of Male. We do not believe that this is correct; other than Dewismes’ say-so, there is no evidence whatsoever that two different types exist.

BOUDEAU (ref. 1)

Boudeau 2231 (“mini-*leeuwengroot*”)
cites Gaillard 222

As previously mentioned, Boudeau’s description is quite superficial, and therefore not inaccurate.

HAECK (ref. 9)

Haeck 30 (4 lion heads, **cat. I**)

“Van de 1/3 groot weten we dat hij werd geslagen vanaf 7 juni 1337 en dat deze munt niet neer in smaak moet zijn gevallen (lees: weinig obracht aan sleischat) want reeds vier maand later werd de slag ervan gestopt.
Wij zijn volledig eens met J. GhysSENS waar hij zegt dat gedurende deze vier maanden de 1/3 groot met de leeuwenkoppen in de kwartieren moet zijn geslagen.”^[9]

– p. 85

“30. 1/3 Groot
Vz. Klimmende leeuw met omschrift er omheen :

¶ MONETÀ FLANDRIE [sic]

Kz. Lang gevoet kruis met in elk kwartier een leeuwenkop en het omschrift :

LVD OVI Cꝝ CO MES

MPKB (8.85 g) ; BMNA 1881-82, pl. II, 1.”^[9]

– pp. 92-93

Haeck does not report the **x** after MONETA.

Haeck 40 (“mini-*leeuwengroot*”, cat. III)

“G. Muntplaats Gent, uitgifte van 16 April, 1343 – 17 October, 1343 (eventueel reeds aangegeven in 1341).

36 – 39. Grotten

Zie hiervoor J. GhysSENS in RBN 120, 1974, p. 133-34, 2a - d, pl. I, 5 – 8

40. 1/3 Groot

Vz. Klimmende leeuw met er omheen het omschrift. Alles in een bord van 10 cirkelbogen waarin een hulsteblad en 1 cirkelboog in dewelke een arend.

+ MONETAT• FLAND’ [sic]

Kz. Gevoet kruisdat het binneneschrift snijdt :

Binnenomschrift : **LVD OVI C•CO MES**

Buitenomschrift : **SIT • NOM DNI • IHV • XPI BNDEM [sic]**

MPKB (1.26 g).”^[9]

– p. 93

Despite incorrectly ascribing the coins to Louis of Nevers, Haeck seems to be the first author to correctly describe the ♡ / 1 obverse border of the “mini-*leeuwengroot*”. He gives “16 April, 1343 – 17 October, 1343” without much explanation, but these are the dates of minting of the Louis of Nevers *leeuwengroten* with the ♡ / 1 border, although there is no mention of a fractional coin in the minting records (ARA 792).

Because Haeck’s article only covers Louis of Nevers, it is not clear what he thought of the Louis of Male *tiers* of 1350-1352 (mentioned in the medieval documents). But because Haeck has “used up” the two extant coin types and there are no others (other than the unconfirmed and suspect types cat. II and cat. IV), it would seem that Haeck was painting himself into the same corner in which Martiny found himself: faced with fractional coins that were described in the medieval records but which are “without extant examples known”, after

having described extant coins for which there are no medieval records and ascribing them elsewhere.

At the present time, Haeck (one of the finest researchers I know of), while continuing to assert the **possibility** that these coins were minted c. 1341-1343, is also of the opinion that the “mini-*leeuwengroot*” coins were likely to have been struck for Louis of Male, not for Louis of Nevers [25].

DE MEY (ref. 14)

De Mey 214 (“mini-*leeuwengroot*”, no pellet by cross)

De Mey 215 (“mini-*leeuwengroot*”, pellet by cross)

Tiers de gros compagnon



De Mey 214 [Dewismes 200]
cites **Gaillard 222** (but not Dewismes)

With all due respect, De Mey’s works are not known for their accuracy. De Mey, giving a superficial “same as the *groot*” description for the “mini-*leeuwengroot*”, does not mention what the outer border consists of, but he uses Dewismes’ flawed 10♣ / 1♦ border [*sic*] drawing, which is almost accurate, but does not actually match **Gaillard 222** (cited by De Mey). According to De Mey, there are sub-types with and without a pellet right of the initial cross, but his transcriptions are so sloppy that they are basically useless.

⊕ MONCTA + FLAND'
IVD OVI D*DO MES
⊕ BNDIDT : SIT : NOM' : DN : NRI : IH : XPI
sic

De Mey 215
cites Gaillard —

⊕ • MONCTA + FLAND'
sic

ELSEN (ref. 6)

Elsen 10 4 lion heads (as “*tiers de gros compagnon*”) (p. 72)
cites Gaillard — ; **Haeck 30**

Despite accurately reporting the round **O** in LVDOVIC on the reverse, Elsen fails to do the same for MONETA on the obverse and he does not report the **x** after MONETA.

Elsen 15 “mini-leeuwengroot” (as “*tiers de gros compagnon*”) (p. 74)
cites Gaillard — ; **Haeck 40**

Elsen incorrectly attributes this type to Louis of Nevers “Ghent, 1340-1343” and incorrectly describes a 10 ♦ / 1 ♦ border. He does not give the ♫ after MONETA on the obverse, and his reverse, outer legend transcription omits the initial cross and the word NRI (although Elsen does give BNDEM instead of the usual, erroneous BNDET). Elsen does not mention **Gaillard 222**.

At the present time, Elsen, while conceding that our theories regarding this coin type may well be correct, does not seem to want to commit to having an opinion one way or the other as to whether this type was struck for Louis of Male or for Louis of Nevers [27].

VANHOUTD (ref. 22)

Vanhoudt G 2583 (“mini-leeuwengroot”, 9♦ / 1♦ border)
Vanhoudt G 2600 (“mini-leeuwengroot”, 10♦ border)

Vanhoudt’s catalog is, at best, a quick-reference guide, with information extracted from Gaillard, Dewismes and de Mey, and only serves to propagate the “mini-leeuwengroot” problems created by these authors. We propose that the coin represented by **Vanhoudt G 2600** does not actually exist at all, while **Vanhoudt G 2583** is inaccurately illustrated.

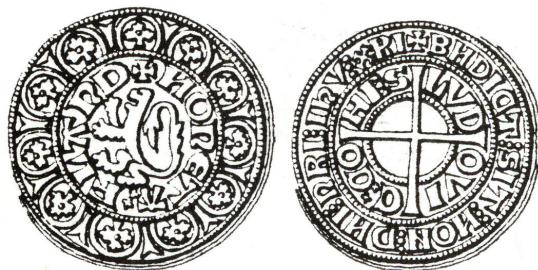


Vanhoudt G 2583 (Dewismes 200)

as Louis of Nevers

“Ghent 1340-1343”

cites **Dewismes 200**



Vanhoudt G 2600 [Dewismes 227]

as Louis of Male

“Ghent 1346? Brugge 1350-1352”

cites **Gaillard 222; De Mey 214-215** (but not **Dewismes 227**)

SCHUTYSER (ref. 15)

Schutyser A 73 (“mini-leeuwengroot”)

“1/3 leeuwengroot compagnon. Ghent 1340-1343” sic

For his n° A 73, (p. 32) Schutyser erroneously attributes the “mini-leeuwengroot” of Louis of Male to Louis of Nevers, incorrectly stating that the border is 10♣ / 1¤. He inexplicably gives “Gaillard —” as a reference (instead of the correct Gaillard 222), and “DM —” instead of De Mey 214 / 215. The *tiers de compagnon* with 4 lions of Louis of Nevers is not reported by Schutyser, and he makes no mention of Dewismes. Schutyser’s legend transcriptions are fairly accurate for this type, and he illustrates his entry with a photo of a private collection coin (0.97 g.).

Cites:

Gaillard — {ignores **Gaillard 222**}

De Mey — {ignores **De Mey 214-215**}

cf. **RBN** 1995, n° 15 [i.e. O. Elsen]

cf. **JEGMP** 1985, n° 40 [i.e. A. Haeck]

Vanhoudt G 2583 {ignores **Vanhoudt G-2600**}

DE WIT (ref. 24)

De Wit (Künker) I-1320 (“mini-*leeuwengroot*”)

Cites **Gaillard 222, Vanhoudt G-2600**

In 2007, the De Witt collection of medieval coins was auctioned off by F. R. Künker Münzenhandlung in Germany. The catalogs for these sales, edited by De Wit himself, contained detailed descriptions of the coins in the collection, including a Flemish “mini-*leeuwengroot*” *tiers de gros*.

Although De Wit repeats Gaillard’s incorrect description of “12 arches enclosing leaves”, he does add the pellet right of the cross to his legend transcription. Many of the obverse border leaves are missing on the coin; De Wit could not possibly have counted them on this piece. On this specimen, the outer legend is almost completely illegible, and De Wit has accepted the incorrect BNDICT on faith.



De Wit I-1320 / 1.086 g.

MARTINY (ref. 12)

Martiny 21 (4 lion heads, cat. I)

“1/3 leeuwengroot compagnon”

Cites Haeck 30; Elsen 10; Vanhoudt G 2580

On p. 120, Martiny describes the *tiers* with 4 lions (his n° 21), and he carries on Haeck's and Elsen's transcription error of omitting the x after MONETA.

Martiny 30 (“mini-leeuwengroot”, cat. III)

“1/3 leeuwengroot compagnon”

Cites Haeck 40; Elsen 15; Vanhoudt G 2583

On p. 135, Martiny describes the “mini-leeuwengroot” (**n° 30** and **30-1**), although his legend transcriptions are slightly incorrect:

30

✠ • MONETAT FLAND'
LVD OVI C'XCO MES
✠ BNDEM : SIT : NOM : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI

30-1

✠ • MONETAT FLAND'

Martiny (correctly) assigned the “*tiers* with 4 lions” to the recorded issue of “*petits deniers blancs*” struck 10 June, 1337 – 25 May, 1338, (ARA 791). He (incorrectly) assigned the ♣/¶ “mini-leeuwengroot” to Louis of Nevers and a minting c 1340-1343, for which no records exist. The existence of this issue is inferred from the existence of the 11♣ / 1¶ border *leeuwengroten* coins of Louis of Nevers.

According to Martiny:

“Derde groot compagnon

Toen het munthuis in Gent naar Brugge verhuisde, werd aan het vervaardigen van de gouden en zilveren munten niets veranderd [574]. De aanmunting van de derde groot (ook sterling genoemd) werd hervat in Brugge volgens een ordonnantie van 10 November 1350 [575]. Met een gehalte van 6 d. 12 gr. (0.519 fijn), dus met een minder gehalte dan

de groot die gelijktijdig werd aangemaakt met een snede van 195 exemplaren per mark (1.26 g).

De ordonnantie van 10 November 1350 vermeldde een snede an 26 s. 3 d. per mark (315 sterlingen per Troyse mark) wat een theoretische massa geeft van 0.78 g. Wellight is dit een transcriptiefout. Een sterling van 0.78 g is amper 1/5 van de groot! Indien men stelt dat de snede 16 s. 3 d. (195 munten) is, dan is de theoretische massa (1.26 g) conform de massa van de bewaarde sterlingen (1.10 tot 1.20 g).

De verlaging van het gehalte bracht de selischat op 4 groot oer mark koningszilver, of het dubbele van de sleischat voor de groot. De remedie was 2 gr. (dit is amper 0.0007 of 0.7 %). De munten hadden dus een minimaal gehalte van 6 d. 10 gr. Het derde groot had een tolerantie van 16 *fevles* en 16 *fors* stukken per mark [576].

Het derde groot (Gaillard 222) van Lodewijk van Male werd in Brugge aangemaakt.”^[12]

– p. 162

Martiny is speaking here about a coin type that is not included in his catalog, a “1/3 *gros compagnon*” of 1350, struck at Bruges for Louis of Male, for which he cites **Gaillard 222** [*sic*].

In fact, this text describes the “mini-*leeuwengroot*” struck for Louis of Male, which is actually **Martiny’s own n° 30**, erroneously ascribed to Louis of Nevers (**cat. III**).

Martiny has ascribed extant fractional coins to some “fantasy issue” 1340-1343 – which may or may not have taken place and for which there are **no records**, solely because there is an eagle on the coins. This left him without extant coins for a “real” issue for which there are records (1350-1353), causing him to fall back on the non-existent 10◆ border (or 12◆ or 11◆) coins (“Gaillard 222”) to fill the empty place of the c. 1351-1353 fractional coins mentioned in the medieval documents. Martiny does not mention Gaillard in the references for his **n° 30**.

At the present time, despite all of the evidence to the contrary, Martiny remains unconvinced that the “mini-*leeuwengroot*” coins were struck for Louis of Male, not for Louis of Nevers. He is of the opinion that it would be “bizarre” for a Louis of Male coin to have an eagle in the obverse border (while offering no explanation for the 12◆ border coins of Louis of Male in Rethel). He offers no explanation for the presence of an initial cross (and pellet) in the legend of a Louis of Nevers coin from c. 1341, which does not match the full *groot* of the period^[26].

Martiny feels that the unpopularity of the 1/3 *gros* type(s) in the 14th century (and rarity today) means that it is possible for the known *tiers* to have been struck c. 1341 and the “as-yet-unknown-to-us *tiers* with the all-leaf border” (Gaillard 222), unknown to us because it was unpopular then and is now rare, to have been struck c. 1351. His reasoning for the lack of specimens is that “they were all melted down”^[26].

MARTINY / TORONGO (ref. 12)

Martiny / Torongo GE 13 (4 lion heads)
Martiny / Torongo GE 24 (“mini-*leeuwengroot*”)
(ref. 13)

Jean-Claude Martiny’s first book covering the *leeuwengroten* of Flanders, *Het Munthuis in Ghent Vol. I* (ref. 12), contained a number of errors, some of which were purely publishing problems, while others were the result of carrying over information from the works of previous authors, which were themselves flawed, without double-checking the data.

I was invited to assist Martiny with his next project, *Lodewijk van Nevers* (ref. 13), and was assigned the *leeuwengroten*, *vieux gros*, and *Ghent groot* coin types, while Martiny himself authored the sections on the other coins, including the two *tiers de gros* types. I now cannot help but regret not assuming responsibility for the *tiers* myself (but hindsight is indeed a wonderful thing). At that time, I should have inspected the fractional coins more closely, and realized that the “mini-*leeuwengroot*” was a coin of Louis of Male. With this current report, I hope to rectify the errors previously made by myself and by Mr. Martiny.

Martiny was of the opinion that the 4-lion type was struck for Louis of Nevers c. 1339 (correct), and that the “mini-*leeuwengroot*” type (with a 9♦ / 1♦ border) was struck for the same count c. 1340-1343 (incorrect).

In his *Munthuis in Ghent*, Martiny assigned the “non-existent” **Gaillard 222**, with a 10♦ border (or 12♦ or 11♦ according to Gaillard’s flawed description or illustration, respectively), to Louis of Male c. 1350, without providing a single example as evidence, which he was of course unable to do... because no such coins exist.

If we ignore Martiny’s incorrect attribution of any “mini-*leeuwengroot*” type to Louis of Nevers, then his story of the c. 1341 *tiers* [sic] quoted above (Martiny p. 162) correctly applies to the 1350-1352 *tiers* of Louis of Male, which is indeed Martiny’s referenced “**Gaillard 222**”, but also “**Haeck 40, Elsen 15, Vanhoudt 2583, Martiny 30**” as referenced in *Lodewijk van Nevers* (ref. 13).

As for the coins themselves, Martiny divided Type **GE 24** into 4 sub-types, based upon his interpretation of the varying letter forms and the interpunction marks of the legends. Based solely upon Martiny’s own descriptions, we are now of the opinion that one of these sub-types (**GE 24/4**) does not actually exist (i.e. is the same as type **GE 24/2**)

According to Martiny, the sub-types are as follows:

pp. 145-146 [13]

GE 24/1	+ ° HONETAN ♫ FLAND'
GE 24/2	+ ° HONETAN ♫ FLAND'
GE 24/3	+ ° IIONETAN ♫ FLAND'
GE 24/4	+ ° HONETAN ♫ FLAND'

(corrected from + ° HONETAN ♫ FLAND' *sic*)

The coins are often partially illegible, and the presence or absence of A crossbars is, more often than not, questionable.

Errata

1.

p. 97

The obverse legend for n° GE 13 should read ~~¶ MONETÀ~~ × FLANDRIE
(not ~~¶ MONETÀ~~ FLANDRIE).

2.

All of the n° GE 24 obverse legends should read + • MONETA instead of + ° MONETA. All of the reverse legends should read BNDAM (not BNDEM).

3.

As it now stands, there is no apparent difference between sub-types GE 24/1 and GE 24/4. However, there was an error in the transcription of the legends of sub-type GE 24/4, and it should read FLAND' and not FLAND'.

But after this correction is made, sub-types GE 24/2 and GE 24/4 are exactly the same.
Sub-type GE 24/4 does not exist.

GE 24/1	+ ° HONETÀ : FLAND'
GE 24/4	+ ° HONETÀ : FLAND'
	<i>sic</i> (uncorrected)
GE 24/2	+ ° HONETÀ : FLAND'
GE 24/4	+ ° HONETÀ : FLAND'
	corrected

3.

The illustration on p. 144 is incorrect.

The coin shown at the very bottom is the same specimen used by Martiny to illustrate his type GE24/4 (p. 146), which, in the book has a MONETÀ FLAND legend, but, according to the cited reference of **Martiny 30 (Het Munthuis in Gent)**, should have a MONETÀ FLAND legend (see *erratum* 3 above).

However, on p. 144, Martiny has used this same coin as an illustration of a MONETA FLAND legend (i.e. GE 24/3, while calling it “GE 24/4”), which matches neither the flawed GE 24/4 text as it stands in *Lodewijk van Nevers*, nor the correct version of Martiny’s transcription (n° 30, *Het Munthuis in Gent*). As it turns out, type “GE 24/4” does not even exist, and in any case, the coin shown is fairly illegible and should never have been used as an example at all.

4.

The text on p. 127 stating that there are 12 known specimens (4 in private collections, 8 in public collections) of the Flanders-Brabant “coin of convention” (GE 22) is actually referring to the full groten, not the fractional coins [26].

5. (?)

As stated above on p. 15, we believe that the coin used by Martiny as an illustration for **GE 24/2** does not have a pellet to the right of the initial cross, and is therefore not a **GE 24/2** coin. We are working from a photograph and not the actual coin, so we cannot be completely certain.

This leaves the following, possible (corrected) sub-types, as proposed by Martiny:

GE 24/1	⊕ • MONET A ☈ FLAND'
GE 24/2	⊕ • MONET A ☈ FLAND'
GE 24/3	⊕ • MONETA ☈ FLAND'

Note that the differences come down to combinations of **A** or **AN** in the two words. The theoretically “missing” combination of **⊕ • MONET~~A~~ ☈ FLAND'** has not been reported as having been seen.

Do all three of these sub-types exist? The **A**’s on the coins are often illegible, and no determinations can be made from them. Martiny conveniently lists the specimens he used for study, but upon close inspection, many of them prove to be unreliable unclear; many of them are so unreadable that they cannot be used for categorization at all. Only two Martiny “sub-types” can be verified based on the available specimens.

GE 24/1	⊕ • MONET A ☈ FLAND'	not verified (but likely to exist)
GE 24/2	⊕ • MONET A ☈ FLAND'	verified
GE 24/3	⊕ • MONETA ☈ FLAND'	verified
—	⊕ MONET A ☈ FLAND'	verified (?) (Vernier S 565)

Conclusion

Everyone's opinions on a given subject are always based upon the information available to them at the time. New, better information can change a person's opinion, often radically so. Based upon the information currently at our disposal, we believe the following, subject to change should new specimens come to light:

We believe that the *tiers de gros* with 4 lion heads and a MONETA FLANDRIE legend (**cat. I**) was struck for Louis of Nevers in 1337. We are unconvinced that the variant with MONETA FLAND (**cat. II**) actually exists, but we cannot really say, one way or the other. If the piece does indeed exist as described, it may be a {medieval} counterfeit.

We believe that the “mini-*leeuwengroot*” (**cat. III**) was struck for Louis of Male, from c. 1350 to 1352. We are unconvinced that the BRCVENSIS coin (**cat. IV**) is a genuine Flemish issue, but again, we cannot really be sure.

We believe that most of the published descriptions / illustrations of the “mini-*leeuwengroten*” are incorrect. Most authors do not correctly describe the obverse border of 9 leaves and 1 lion. We believe that coins described by previous authors as having any other borders (10♣ / 1¤; 11♣ / 1¤; 10♦; 11♦; or 12♦) do not actually exist, and that all of the coins have a border of 9♣ / 1¤.

There appears to be a sub-type without a pellet right of the initial cross, based upon a single, clear specimen. We would, of course, be far more comfortable if we could find more legible specimens without this pellet for confirmation.

IF any fractional *leeuwengroten* were struck in Flanders during the period 1340-1343, it is those coins that are unknown to us, not the *tiers* of 1350-1352.

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Osnabrück, Germany

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Personal correspondence
Paul Torongo – Aimé Haeck
2018

[26]

Personal correspondence
Paul Torongo – Jean-Claude Martiny
2018

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Personal correspondence
Paul Torongo – Olivier Elsen
2018

APPENDIX: The Known Specimens

In order not to bog down the main text, we included only one or two specimens in the catalog (in theory, the most legible specimens). We provide here all of the remaining photographs in our possession, of all of the other known specimens, for which we have permission to reproduce said photos.

We do not have photographs of all of the known specimens, and several of the photographs that we do have are not of a particularly good quality, for which the reader has our apologies. We are also in possession of a small number of photos for which we have no permission to publish.



A. Haeck 545, ex- EGMP veiling 212
MONETA (MONET~~A~~?) / FLAND ?



DNB / NNC NM-11357
MONETA ? / FLAND ?



DNB / NNC NM-11358
MONETA / FL?ND



Elsen 091-988
MONET? / FL?ND



Elsen 92-960
MONET? / FLAND



Elsen 93-1323
MONET? / FLAND



Elsen 106-656 / 1.25g (also Elsen 136-552)
MONET? / FLAND ?



Elsen 116-1108 / 1.01 g.
MONETA? / FLAND ?



Elsen 118-1000 / 1.12 g.
MONET? / FLAND



Elsen 59-1843 / 1.25 g. (also Elsen 136-553)
MONET? / FL?ND



Elsen 136-554 / 0.92 g. (ex-Martiny collection)
MONET? / FL?ND



Elsen 137-465 (ex-Haeck collection)
(part of a coin lot)



Fleur de Coin 1612489
MONET? / FL?ND



Künker Summer 2018, lot 407
MONET? / FL?ND

Legibility of the known specimens

specimen	Martiny	It is	photo	comments
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π π	-	-	-	NOT VERIFIED (probable)
1.26g KBR	GE24-1	GE24-1 ?	x	Fairly clear not completely
Elsen 59-1843	GE24-1	?	NO	Not seen
Elsen 73-1042	GE24-1	?	NO	Not seen
Elsen 84-1381	GE24-1	?	NO	Not seen
Elsen 93-1323	GE 24/4	GE24-1 ?	X	Unclear
Elsen 116-1108	-	GE 24/1 ?	X	unclear
DNB NM-11357	-	GE24-1 ?	X	Very unclear

π α	GE 24/2	GE 24/2	-	VERIFIED
EGMP 212 / AH 545	-	GE 24/2 ?	X	Fairly clear MONET π FLAND
De Wit I-1320	-	GE 24/2	X	Very clear MONET π FLAND
Elsen 67-1500	GE 24/4		NO	Not seen
AH 436 Elsen 137-463	-	GE 24/2	X	clear MONET π FLAND
O. Elsen 15	-	GE24/3 ?	X	MONET π maybe, prob. FLAND
VERNIER S565	GE 24/2	GE 24/2	X	Very clear MONET π FLAND But no pellet visible

α π	-	-	-	VERIFIED
Elsen 78-1772	GE24/3	GE24/3 ?	X	Fairly clear MONET α FLπND

ILLEGIBLE	-	-	-	-
DNB NM-11358	-	?	X	MONET π maybe, FLAND gone
Elsen 91-988	GE24-1	?	x	Completely illegible
Elsen 92-960	-	?	x	MONETA unclear, definitely FLπND
Elsen 106-656 Elsen 136-552	GE 24/4	?	X	MONETA gone, maybe FLπND
Elsen 118-1000	-	?	X	MONETA gone, def. FLAND
Elsen 136-553	n/a	?	X	Completely illegible
Elsen 136-554	n/a	?	X	Completely illegible
FDC-1612489	-	?	X	Completely unclear
AH 421 Elsen 137-465	-	?	X	Very unclear
private 1.20	GE24-1	?	x	MONETA unclear, FLAND gone
Zutphen M 03263	-	?	X	Completely illegible

KBR Brussels:

❀ 1.26 g. 1/3 groot
[+] MONETATÆ FLAND
LVD OVI C^ÆDO MES
037
CdMB-E376-005

❀ 0.84 g. broken 1/3 groot
[+ ·] MONETATÆ FLAND'
LVD OVI C^ÆDO MES
038
CdMB-E376-006