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# The circulation of Dutch leeuwendaalders in 17<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Palestine: New evidence from two unpublished hoards

ROBERT KOOL

## introduction

The coin collection of the Israel Antiquities Authority contains fifty-three silver lion dollars ('leeuwendaalders') of the Low Countries dating to the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century. These coins belong to two hoards, which were deposited at the Rockefeller Museum in the late 1920's but have never been properly identified and studied.

Despite their wide circulation in the Eastern part of the Ottoman Empire during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, few finds of leeuwendaalders have been recorded in detail. The publication below of two provenanced hoards therefore constitutes a valuable addition to our knowledge about the role this particular coinage played in the Eastern Mediterranean during the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century.

## lion dollars

Lion dollars of the United Netherlands were introduced as currency in the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century by Dutch traders before official diplomatic relations existed between the Republic and the Ottoman empire (1612).<sup>1</sup> During the 17<sup>th</sup> century these Dutch *aslandi* or *esedi* (lion) replaced the indigenous *akce*. It became the predominant silver currency used in foreign commerce with the Ottomans until the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> With the introduction of a 'heavy' Ottoman standard silver coinage (*grush* or *piastre*) under Suleiman II (1687-91) it was eventually ousted by the Austrian Maria Theresa thaler and the Spanish pillar dollar during the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

1 POL (1980) 22.

2 HASLUCK (1921) 39-71 painted an incorrect picture when he suggested the Leeuwendaalders replaced the Venetian silver *matapani* and *vesilliferi* coins which had enjoyed since the 13<sup>th</sup> century a monopoly position over silver coinage in the Ottoman territory. In fact, Ottoman Treasury reports showed that the Ottoman *akce* constituted the bulk of silver currency circulating till the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. See SAHILLIOGLU (1983) 275-281.

The lion dollar was originally introduced as a war currency at the start of the Eighty Year's War between the Northern Dutch provinces and Spain.<sup>3</sup> In 1575 the Province of Holland issued the silver *Leeuwendaalder* for the first time to mobilize funds against the invading Spanish armies threatening to crush their rebellion against Spanish overlordship. To underline the break with Spanish sovereignty the Provinces replaced the portrait and coat of arms of the Spanish monarch, Philip II, with a knight in armor (obverse) and lion rampant (reverse). This type was based on the popular *joachimstaler* from Schlick in Bohemia.<sup>4</sup> Initially the new Dutch coin minted with 75% silver content was overvalued by decree above its intrinsic value, allowing the United Netherlands a profit of 10% to finance their war efforts.

During the last two decades of the 16th century the coin gained a dominant position in the Netherlands. For the first time new issues were struck specifically for trade with the Baltic sea states, but were soon replaced by the *Rijksdaalder* as trading currency in this region.<sup>5</sup>

Lion dollars were also extensively used in the developing trade of the Dutch provinces with the Ottoman Empire from the 1590's onwards.<sup>6</sup> Simultaneously with their retraction from circulation in the United Netherlands territory after 1620, large quantities of lion dollars were minted nearly exclusively for export to the Middle East. The peak period of production lay between 1630-1690 when the coin began to be extensively used by Dutch, French and English trading companies throughout the Mediterranean region. The demand for the coin was so large that it gave rise to numerous imitations: more than forty-three Italian and Northern European cities minted imitations of the type during this period.<sup>7</sup> Although historical sources corroborate their widespread circulation in the Ottoman Empire few reliable reports exist of lion dollar finds.<sup>8</sup> Below a list of hoards published during the last seventy years is presented. These finds are located within the historical boundaries of the Ottoman Empire. They can be divided into two main groups of finds: from the Balkans and from the Eastern Mediterranean (Asia-Minor, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine).

3 VAN GELDER (1958) 13-16.

4 DAVENPORT (1977) 54-55.

5 NORTH (1991) H.

6 HEERINGA (1910-17). See also POL (1980) 22-25.

7 GAMBERINI DI SCARFEA (1977) lists approximately 22 Italian mints and 8 north European cities imitating and counterfeiting lion dollars. For an update of Gamberini's list see also: SIETZ (1992) 57-63; (1993) 14-18; 159-161.

8 While finalizing this article a large hoard of *leeuwendaalders* of 420 pieces was unearthed near the town of Qabatiyah during an archaeological survey conducted jointly by the Palestinian Authority and the University of Leiden Holland (for details see below). I would like to thank Drs. A. Pol of the Koninklijk Penningkabinet at Leiden, responsible for the publication for this information.

## List of Hoards

### Balkans and Greece.

**Pechakovo, 1963** (Bulgaria), deposit date unknown: 260 European and Ottoman coins

27 leeuwendaalders 1576-1688 Van Keymeulen (1964), 52-53.

**Nevestino, 1972** (Bulgaria), 17<sup>th</sup> century: several hundred European and Ottoman silver coins.

6 leeuwendaalders 1632-1651. Youroukova (1977), 67-73.

**Roudnik, 1971/2** (Bulgaria), 17<sup>th</sup> century: 52 Polish and Austrian silver coins  
6 leeuwendaalders

reportedly discovered during earth-moving Youroukova (1977), 67-73.

**Sestrino 1978** (Romania), 17<sup>th</sup> century: several hundred European and Ottoman silver coins.

8 leeuwendaalders. CH 7, 388, No.602.

**Morunglav 1955** (Romania), deposit date after 1657: a hoard of 24 silver coins.

18 leeuwendaalders. CH 7, 412, No.701.

**Perieni 1958** (Romania), deposit date after 1688: the hoard contained exclusively 38 leeuwendaalders.

Found in a pot during agricultural work. CH 7, 413, No.704.

**Viile 1964** (Romania), deposit date after 1672: a hoard of 97 European and Ottoman silver coins.

13 leeuwendaalders.

Found in a pot. Custurea and Murat (1979), 207-219.

**Taraco 1970** (Romania), deposit date after 1632: a hoard of 141 European and Ottoman gold and silver coins.

3 leeuwendaalders. 1576-?

**Sapoca 1970** (Romania), 17<sup>th</sup> century: size unknown. The hoard contained European silver coins, including Spanish eight and four reals and Polish grossi. 142 leeuwendaalders and 1/2 leeuwendaalders.

**Corod 1971** (Romania), deposit date unknown: size unknown. The hoard contained Polish, Hungarian, Moldavian coins and Spanish eight-reals.

Unknown number of leeuwendaalders and 1/2 leeuwendaalders.

Found in a pot during agricultural work. Stirbo (1978), 90.

**Branistea 1973** (Romania), deposit date after 1666: a hoard of 12 European silver coins.

1 leeuwendaalder. Circea and Lupu (1980), 153-161.

**Enisala 1978(?)** (Romania), deposit date after 1618: a hoard of 126 silver coins mostly from Eastern Europe. Found in a pot.

- 1 leeuwendaalder. Custurea (1978), 531-536.
- Raikou Kourention 1936** (Greece), deposit date after 1694: 5 gold and 70 silver coins (all European).
- 8 leeuwendaalders 1576-1674. pers. Comm. P. Kokkas, 2002; NM Athens.
- Moni Penteles 1950** (Greece), deposit date after 1689: 7 gold and 9 silver coins (all European).
- 2 leeuwendaalders 1617-1623. pers. Comm. P. Kokkas, 2002; NM Athens.
- Edessa 1937** (Greece), deposit date after 1655: 17822 silver coins (15653 Ottoman and 2169 European).
- 29 leeuwendaalders 1575-1648. Kokkas *Obolos* 2000: ...-...; NM Athens.
- Epeirou 1921** (Greece), deposit date c. 1720: 20 gold coins and 720 silver coins (279 Ottoman and 461 European).
- 8 leeuwendaalders 1617-1677. pers. Comm. P. Kokkas, 2002; NM Athens.
- Fortezza Knossou 1932** (Greece), deposit date c. 1650: 64 silver coins (all European, mostly Spanish).
- 2 leeuwendaalders 1575-1629. pers. Comm. P. Kokkas, 2002; NM Athens.
- Drama 1987** (Greece), deposit date c. 1650: 1 gold coin and 25 silver coins (3 Ottoman and 23 European).
- 2 leeuwendaalders 1617-1636. pers. Comm. P. Kokkas, 2002; Kavalla Archaeological. Department.
- Metsovo 1971** (Greece), deposit date after 1669: 49 silver coins (38 Ottoman and 11 European).
- 1 leeuwendaalder 1669. pers. Comm. P. Kokkas, 2002; Museum Ionnina.

### Eastern Mediterranean

**Alanya unknown** (Turkey), deposit date after 1685: size unknown. Composition unknown. The hoard also contained an unknown number of Habsburg Thalers. 25 leeuwendaalders and 1/2 leeuwendaalders.

*CH* 6: 169, No.497.

**Aintab 1906** (Turkey), deposit date after 1692: a hoard of c.1300 coins.

122 leeuwendaalders 1608-1624. Erlanger 1964: 245-250.

Reportedly found in a large iron pot; contained a Lotharingian teston. The hoard dispersed upon its arrival in the United States.

**Saida 1925** (Syria), deposit date unknown: size and composition unknown.

19 leeuwendaalders 1622-1644 De Schactzen 1925: 239.

Reportedly found in a faience vase; also contained coins from Lorraine and was inventoried in the Beirut Museum.

**Beirut 1949** (Lebanon), deposit date after 1669: a hoard of 146 coins (142 Leeuwendaalders and 2 Lotharingian testons).

142 leeuwendaalders 1576-1669      Van Gelder 1949: 175-76.

**Jordan 1966** (Jordan), deposit date after 1676: a hoard of 44 coins.

44 leeuwendaalders 1576-1676      Evers 1965/1966: 66-67.

28 of the leeuwendaalders were discovered to be forgeries.

**Israel c.1970**

30 leeuwendaalders 1590-1620, several silver plated forgeries

offered for sale in the Old city.      pers. Comm. A. Berman. 1995.

**Qabatiyah 1999** (Palestinian Authority), deposited c.1615: 420 European coins

330 leeuwendaalders and 1/2 leeuwendaalders 1575-1612

found in two pots.      pers. Comm. A. Pol. 2000.

## the hoards

A search in the files of the Coin Department dating back to the British Mandate period allowed a reconstruction of the details surrounding the provenance of the two hoards. The first hoard comprised of thirty-one coins and was found in December 1927 by villagers among a small heap of stones in an open valley near the Arab village of Tarshiha, in the Western Galilee.<sup>9</sup> The second hoard comprised of twenty-four coins and was reportedly concealed in a sealed pot discovered in September 1928 by two Arab workmen in a cave at the artificial mound of Tel el-Jarisha near the coastal city of Tel-Aviv which was then being excavated.<sup>10</sup>

### Tarshiha hoard

This hoard consists of 31 leeuwendaalders. The earliest coin dates from 1589, the latest to 1653. The vast majority of the coins (21) were minted after 1630 concurring with the period of massive inflow of these coins into the Ottoman Empire up to the 1690's. The hoard contains two unpublished specimens: a

9 The Mandate-period report (File ATQ 192, IAA Archives) mentioned the site Khallet el-Fareis which is to be identified with Khallat Faris (Israel Grid 174.5-269.4) located 0.5 km SW of the village of Mi'ilya and 1.5 km NW of Tarshiha. Presently the area is occupied by the Israeli town of Tarshiha-Ma'alot. The coins (IAA Reg. Nos 56610-56640) entered the collection of the Coin Department on the 2nd of March, 1928.

10 The artificial mound of Tel-el-Jarisha or 'Napoleon's Hill' adjoins the Yarkon river, 4 km east of the Mediterranean coast. It presently resides within the municipal boundaries of the Israeli city of Ramat Gan, north of Tel-Aviv. In the summer of 1927 E.L. Sukenik carried out the first excavations at the site. In a letter dated September 19th, 1927 Sukenik requested from the Director of the Department of Antiquities to warn the nearby Arab villagers to refrain from illegal digging on the tell (IAA file ATQ/95). The coins (IAA Reg. Nos. 56645-56666) entered the collection of the Coin Department on the 5th of January, 1929.

half-leeuwendaalder of the Utrecht mint dated 1641, and a leeuwendaalder minted in Friesland, ca.1607-53.

#### Jarishe hoard

This hoard contains 23 coins, 20 leeuwendaalders, 1 real de a cuatro, and 2 ortstalers from Poland and Brandenburg. Seven of the coins are pierced and were probably strung to a necklace or similar piece of jewelry. The earliest coin dates to 1576, the latest to 1691 showing that some of these coins remained in circulation over relative long periods of time (hundred years). Also here the majority of the coins (13) belong to the period 1620-1690 when export of these coins to the Ottoman Empire peaked. Their appearance together with other European silver currencies – Spanish four-reales and North European talers is a regular feature of these types of silver coin hoards (see tables above). These coins were part of the vast quantities of bullion, which found their way from the Spanish Americas to Europe and the Baltics and the Near East.<sup>11</sup>

#### the use of lion dollars in the Ottoman empire

Until the introduction of the large silver *ghurush* in 1687 the leeuwendaalder constituted one of the main silver currencies circulating in the 17<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman empire.<sup>12</sup> These large silver pieces imported from Western and Central Europe began to occupy an important place in Ottoman currency circulation after the 1584-86 devaluation of the *akce* – the indigenous Ottoman silver coin of which weight had spiralled downwards from 1,2 g to barely 0.683 g over the century and a half between 1425-1584.<sup>13</sup> This devaluation had resulted in the closure of most of the Empire's mints and a growing dependency on large foreign silver coins to meet circulation demands in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>14</sup> This demand was fed by the intensive exploitation of silver mines like Potosi from the 1570's onwards which resulted in a massive flow of silver from the Spanish Americas towards Europe and Asia.<sup>15</sup> In fact, Spanish eight-reales pieces

11 NORTH (1991). For the appearance of Polish coins see MIKOLAJCZYK (1985) 196-204. For the circulation of leeuwendaalders and german talers in Romanian territory under Ottoman suzerainty see STRIBU and VELTER (1993) 54-57; STRIBU and VELTER (Berlin 2000) 1219-1229.

12 PERE (1968) 176.

13 SAHILLIOGLU (1983) 271-282.

14 SAHILLIOGLU (1983) 285-287.

15 SUBRAHMANYAM (1991) 395-397 estimated that during the 16th century 17 million tonnes of silver were produced in mines in the New World; BARADON (1990) 11-18 date the peak period of Potosi silver production between 1570 and 1630 after which Mexican silver mines became prominent.

even flowed directly from the Americas through the hands of Italian bankers to the Ottoman empire.<sup>16</sup> By the 1600's the Dutch leeuwendaalders began to appear in increasing numbers in the Ottoman empire and by the second half of the 17th century Leeuwendaalders counted among the main trade-currencies used by West European merchants in their economic contacts with the Ottoman empire.<sup>17</sup>

Significantly, relatively large quantities of these coins, including the Tarshiha hoard, were found in the area that currently constitutes the Northern part of Israel, Syria and Lebanon. This region played an important role as supplier of cotton for Western Europe during the 17th-18th century, in particular to France. It was during the reign of Louis XIV (1648-1720) that the use of cotton for clothing disseminated widely among the privileged classes of Western Europe. Between 1700 and 1789 consumption of cotton rose almost 500%.<sup>18</sup> Palestinian cotton was very highly regarded and exported with great profits in particular to France. The best quality cotton came from the Galilee and was known in Europe as '*Coton D'Acre*'.<sup>19</sup> During this period the bulk of Palestinian cotton trade was handled by French and Dutch traders from Acre. Growing competition between these two nations pushed traders to establish direct control over cotton production around the villages of the Western Galilee, instead of through the Ottoman authorities in Sidon and Acre. In this process large amounts of leeuwendaalders must have been deposited in this area as traders made direct cash advances to the farmers of cotton-producing villages like Tarshiha, in return for sureties to supply stipulated amounts of cotton.<sup>20</sup> Possibly, reasons of trade also played a role in the deposit of leeuwendaalders at Tel-el-Jarishe. The site, near the Arab village of Jarishe, was situated on the banks of the Yarkon river and served till the 18th century as the area's major port for small trading vessels.<sup>21</sup> Several kilometers upstream at the khan of Ras al-'Ayin – which had been repaired by the Ottomans in 1571 – it linked up with the principal Ottoman trade route connecting Cairo with Damascus and Jerusalem.<sup>22</sup> Excavation material from other sites like Ottoman period Meiron (Galilee) shows that these coins circulated often with low denomination money substitutes like Nuremberger jetons.<sup>23</sup> The latter manufactured in

16 ILISCH (1981) 315-326.

17 HASLUCK (1921) 39-71; For the Dutch trade with the Ottoman empire see HEERINGA (1910-17).

18 ROCHE (1994) 126-150.

19 COHEN (1973) 9-19.

20 COHEN (1973) 12-13.

21 AVI-YONAH (Jerusalem 1975-78) 359-360.

22 COHEN (1990) 300-308. Cotton was also shipped out of the Lydia-Ramle area whereas Jerusalem was a main supplier of soap for Egypt.

23 KOOL and ARIEL (2002) 109-114.

the late 16th and early 17th century, presumably reached Ottoman Palestine through commerce with Western Europe.<sup>24</sup>

The two hoards deposited within the first half of the 17th century illustrate an interesting chapter in the monetary history of rural Palestine during this period. Until recently some researchers assumed that the rural economy of Ottoman Palestine was based to a large degree on exchanges in kind.<sup>25</sup> These two hoards and other finds indicate the existence of a rudimentary money economy, which utilized both large silver dollars and smaller brass denominations. This is also borne out by Ottoman legal and administrative sources. An imperial 'firman' or decree from 1578 revealed that already in the late 16th century large foreign silver coins were collected by the Ottoman administration in Palestine.<sup>26</sup> And more contemporary records from the 'Sigil', the protocols of the Jerusalem Shari'a court, document the widespread circulation of 'foreign' currencies in particular lion dollars in the 'urban' districts of Jerusalem and Nablus during the 17th century.<sup>27</sup> The provenance of our two hoards in conjunction with the accumulated evidence presented below indicate that lion dollars circulated on a much wider scale in the rural hinterland of 17th century Ottoman Palestine than was previously thought.

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24 HASLUCK (1921) 73.

25 HÜTTEROTH and ABDUL FATTAH (1977) 104. The authors claim that taxes were paid mostly in kind.

26 HEYD (1960) 120, note 7. The imperial firman discussed the collection of revenues from the province of Damascus (under which the Sanjak of Safad resorted). It mentioned the difficulty of exchanging the collected silver, consisting of Ottoman akshes and gurush, large silver coins of foreign mint, into gold coins for the imperial treasury.

27 DROR (1997).

## CATALOGUE

### *Introduction*

The northern provinces of the Netherlands created in the war against the Spanish king Philip II a loose federation of semi-independent provinces. Each province retained its sovereign rights, e.g. its right to mint coins although many of the provinces applied common (uniform) mint-regulations.

The leeuwendaalder was minted for the first time in the province of Holland in 1575. Shortly thereafter this coin type was introduced in other provinces and cities each abiding by local mint laws, heraldry and inscriptions. Coin metrology frequently followed the example of Holland (AD VA HOL or VALOR HOL). In 1606 the leeuwendaalder became an officially sanctioned coin of the United Netherlands. As a result the inscription of the coins no longer referred to the individual province (ORD) as the issuer of the coins but to the United Netherlands (CONFOE BELG) followed by the sovereign province where the coin was issued (e.g. HOL). West-Friesland remained the exception since it was not an independent province but still minted in its own name. In addition, there were a number of cities in the eastern Netherlands (Deventer, Kampen, Zwolle) which had separate minting rights.

Mint regulations set the standard weight of the leeuwendaalder at 27,68 g and of the 1/2 leeuwendaalder at 13,84 g. Obverse and reverse types were highly standardized. The obverse displayed a warrior standing behind a shield on which provincial arms appear. On the reverse a lion rampant was depicted.

A variety of mint and mintmaster signs were inserted in the obverse or reverse inscriptions. Below is a list of the marks appearing on the leeuwendaalders.

---

| Province/city | mint/privy mark  |
|---------------|--|
| Holland       | mintmark "rose" (mint at Dordrecht)  |
| Westfriesland | privy mark "rose" (mintmaster Caspar Wijntgens 1589-1625)                                  |
| Westfriesland | privy mark "fleur-de-lis" (mintmaster Nicolaas Wijntgens 1631-1649)                        |
| Zeeland       | mint mark "castle" (mint at Middelburg)  |
| Utrecht       | mint mark "coat of arms" (mint at Utrecht)   |
| Gelderland    | mint mark "recrossed cross" (mint at Harderwijk)   |
| Gelderland    | privy mark "fleur de lis" (mintmaster Johan Wijntgens 1635-1653)                           |
| Overijssel    | mint mark "tower in roseate frame" (mint at Kampen)  |
| Overijssel    | privy mark "fleur de lis" (mintmaster Johan Wijntgens 1611-1653)                           |
| Kampen        | mint mark "tower in roseate frame" (mint at Kampen)  |
| Kampen        | privy mark "fleur de lis" (mintmaster Johan Wijntgens 1613-1653)                           |
| Zwolle        | privy mark "rowel" (mintmaster Johan van Romunde 1629-1646 or Arent van Romunde 1646-1671) |
| Friesland     | mint mark "lion" (mint at Leeuwarden)  |

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| nr   | date   | inscription  | weight | reference                         |
|--|--|--|--------|-----------------------------------|
| Netherlands – leeuwendaalder or half leeuwendaalder<br>(types: see introduction to catalogue). |  |  |        |                                   |
| Holland  |  |  |        |                                   |
|  |  | MO NO ARG ORDIN HOL<br>CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR               |        |                                   |
| 1  | 1589   |  | 27,05  | vGelder 264.I; Delmonte 831       |
|  | interpunction: rosettes and crosslets  |  |        |                                   |
| Westfriesland  |  |  |        |                                   |
|  |  | MO NO ORD WESTFRIS VALOR HOL<br>DEVS FORTITVDO ET SPES NOSTRA  |        |                                   |
| 2  | 1603   |  | 26,79  | vGelder 266.II; Delmonte 834      |
| 3  | 1604   |  | 26,43  | vGelder 266.II; Delmonte 835      |
|  |  | MO ARG PRO CONFOE BELG WEST(FRIS)<br>CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR |        |                                   |
| 4  | 1617   |  | 27,11  | vGelder 266.III; Delmonte 836     |
| 5  | 1638   |  | 27,05  | vGelder 267; Delmonte 836         |
| 6  | 1640   |  | 27,19  | vGelder 267; Delmonte 836         |
| 7  | 1641   |  | 27,10  | vGelder 267; Delmonte 836         |
| 8  | 1644   |  | 27,10  | vGelder 267; Delmonte 836         |
| 9  | 164...   |  | 27,11  | vGelder 267; Delmonte 836         |
|  | the last digit of the date is illegible; this type was struck in all years in the 1640's |  |        |                                   |
| Zeeland  |  |  |        |                                   |
|  |  | MO ARG PRO CONFOE BELG ZEL<br>CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR        |        |                                   |
| 10   | 1631   |  | 27,20  | cf. vGelder 268-269; Delmonte 839 |
| Utrecht  |  |  |        |                                   |
|  |  | MO ARG PRO CONFOE BELG TRAI<br>CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR       |        |                                   |
| 11   | 1606   |  | 27,09  | vGelder 270 III; Delmonte 843     |
| 12   | 1614   |  | 26,35  | vGelder 270 III; Delmonte 843     |
| 13   | 1617   |  | 27,17  | vGelder 270 III; Delmonte 843     |
| 14   | 1641   |  | 14,48  | Delmonte 878-79                   |
|  | 1/2 leeuwendaalder; unpublished variety; pierced.  |  |        |                                   |
| Gelderland   |  |  |        |                                   |
|  |  | MO ARG PRO CONFOE BEL GEL<br>CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR         |        |                                   |
| 15   | 1634   |  | 27,18  | vGelder 272 II                    |
| 16   | 1652   |  | 26,62  | vGelder 272 II                    |
|  | unknown variety with recrossed cross mint mark at end of the inscription.                |  |        |                                   |

28 The following catalogue nos. refer to their IAA reference numbers:

1 (56616), 2 (56610), 3 (56611), 4 (56621), 5 (56627), 6 (56628), 7 (56631),  
8 (56633), 9 (56632), 10 (56623), 11 (56618), 12 (56620), 13 (56615), 14 (56638),  
15 (56626), 16 (56622), 17 (56629), 18 (56630), 19 (56635), 20 (56637), 21 (56617),  
22 (56639), 23 (56624), 24 (56640), 25 (56619), 26 (56625), 27 (56612), 28 (56636),  
29 (56634), 30 (56613), 31 (56614).

| nr         | date   | inscription   | weight | reference                    |
|------------|--|---|--------|------------------------------|
|            |  | MO ARG PRO CONFOE BELG GEL<br>CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR       |        |                              |
| 17         | 1640   |   | 26,79  | vGelder 273                  |
| 18         | 1641   |   | 26,95  | vGelder 273                  |
| 19         | 1647   |   | 26,93  | vGelder 273                  |
| 20         | 1651   |   | 26,69  | vGelder 273                  |
| Overijssel |  | MO NO ORD TRS-ISL VALOR HOL<br>CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR      |        |                              |
| 21         | 1591   |   | 26,66  | vGelder 274; Delmonte 855    |
|            |  | MO ARG PRO CONFOE BELG TRAN(S)<br>CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR   |        |                              |
| 22         | 1629   |   | 13,35  | vGelder 274 II; Delmonte 855 |
|            | 1/2 leeuwendaalder   |   |        |                              |
| 23         | 1633   |   | 26,88  | vGelder 274 II; Delmonte 855 |
| 24         | 1640   |   | 13,23  | vGelder 275; Delmonte 855    |
|            | 1/2 leeuwendaalder   |   |        |                              |
|            |  | MO ARG PRO CONFOE BELG TRAN(S)<br>CONFIDENS NON MOVETVR       |        |                              |
| 25         | 1629   |   | 27,01  | vGelder 274 II; Delmonte 855 |
|            | unpublished variety with DNO lacking in reverse inscription.   | MO ARG PRO CONFOE BELG TRAN(S)<br>CONFIDENS DON NON MOVETVR   |        |                              |
| 26         | 1633   |   | 27,04  | vGelder 274 II; Delmonte 855 |
|            | variety with DON on reverse inscription. See also No.46. A similar mistake in the die-cutting has been registered for 1628 and 1637 (information by courtesy of A. Pol). |   |        |                              |
| Kampen     |  | MON ARG R P IMP CAMP VA HOL<br>CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR      |        |                              |
| 27         | 1593-95<br>undated.  |   | 26,59  | vGelder 278; Delmonte 861    |
|            |  | MON ARG CIVI IMP BELG CAMPEN<br>CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR     |        |                              |
| 28         | 1649   |   | 26,87  | vGelder 279; Delmonte 862    |
| Zwolle     |  | MON ARG CIVITA ZWOLL A L IMPER<br>DA PACEM DO IN DIEBVS NOSTR |        |                              |
| 29         | 1646   |   | 27,07  | vGelder 281; Delmonte 866    |
| Friesland  |  | MON NOVA ARG ORDIN FRIS<br>CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR          |        |                              |
| 30         | 1615-17<br>undated.  |   | 27     | vGelder 277; Delmonte 853    |
| 31         | 1607-53<br>undated.  |   | 26,81  | vGelder 276-7; Delmonte 852  |

| nr  | date    | inscription   | weight | reference                     |
|---|---------|---|--------|-------------------------------|
| Netherlands – leeuwendaalder or half leeuwendaalder                         |         |   |        |                               |
| Holland MO NO ARG ORDIN HOLL<br>CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR                   |         |   |        |                               |
| 32  | 1576    |   | 26,55  | vGelder 264.I; Delmonte 831   |
| 33  | 1576    |   | 26,34  | vGelder 264.I; Delmonte 831   |
|   |         | interpunction: rosettes. No.33 is pierced.          |        |                               |
| 34  | 1589    |   | 12,62  | vGelder 264.I; Delmonte 870   |
|   |         | 1/2 leeuwendaalder; pierced.                        |        |                               |
| West-Friesland MO ARG PRO CONFOE BELG WESTFRIS<br>CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR |         |   |        |                               |
| 35  | 1617    |   | 26,49  | vGelder 266; Delmonte 836     |
| 36  | 1622    |   | 26,85  | vGelder 266; Delmonte 836     |
| 37  | 1691    |   | 12,49  | Delmonte 873.                 |
|   |         | 1/2 leeuwendaalder; unpublished date.               |        |                               |
| Zeeland MO ARG PRO CONFOE BELG ZEL<br>CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR             |         |   |        |                               |
| 38  | 1616    |   | 12,90  | vGelder 268; Delmonte 876     |
|   |         | 1/2 leeuwendaalder; pierced.                        |        |                               |
| 39  | 1623    |   | 26,66  | vGelder 268-269; Delmonte 839 |
| Gelderland MO ARG PRO CONFOE BELG GEL<br>CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR          |         |   |        |                               |
| 40  | 1638    |   | 26,66  | vGelder 273                   |
|   |         | pierced.  |        |                               |
| 41  | 1643    |   | 26,66  | vGelder 273                   |
|   |         | pierced.  |        |                               |
| 42  | 1648    |   | 27,26  | Delmonte 826                  |
|   |         | irregular shape of right hand on obverse type.      |        |                               |
| 43  | 16...6  |   | 12,66  | vGelder 272; Delmonte 869     |
| Overijssel MO ARG PRO CONFOE BELG TRAN(S)<br>CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR      |         |   |        |                               |
| 44  | 1610-19 |   | 26,22  | vGelder 270 III               |
|   |         | pierced.  |        |                               |
| 45  | 1633    |   | 24,56  | vGelder 274 II                |
| 46  | 1641    |   | 26,88  | vGelder 275                   |
| MO ARG PRO CONFOE BELG TRAN(S)<br>CONFIDENS DON NON MOVETVR                 |         |   |        |                               |
| 47  | 1639    |   | 24,56  | vGelder 275                   |
|   |         | variety with DON on reverse inscription. See No.26. |        |                               |

29 32 (56650), 33 (56652), 34 (56665), 35 (56658), 36 (56660), 37 (56666), 38 (56661), 39 (56656), 40 (56645), 41 (56646), 42 (56647), 43 (56664), 44 (56649), 45 (56638), 46 (56654), 47 (56648), 48 (56653), 49 (56659), 50 (56657), 51 (56655), 52 (56662), 53 (56663).

|   |                   |   |                                |
|---|-------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| Kampen  |                   | MO ARG CIV IMP BELG CAMPEN<br>CONFIDENS DNO NON MOVETVR               |                                |
| 48  | 1654              | 26,97   | vGelder 279; Delmonte 862      |
| 49  | 1668              | 23,70   | vGelder 279; Delmonte 862      |
|   | unpublished date. |   |                                |
| Zwolle  |                   | MO ARG CIVI ZWOL A L IMP<br>PACEM DOMINE IN DIEBVS NOSTR              |                                |
| 50  | 1633              | 26,61   | Cf.vGelder 280.I; Delmonte 864 |
| <b>Spanje</b>   |                   |   |                                |
| Philips III 1598-1621 or Philips IV 1621-1665 – 4 reales, Seville (?) |                   |   |                                |
|   |                   | PHILIPPVS D G HISPANIARVM ET INDIARVM REX                             |                                |
| 51  |                   | 13,35   | Vicenti 463-599, 864-1021.     |
| <b>Poland</b>   |                   |   |                                |
| Sigismund III 1587-1632 – 1/4 Thaler, Cracow or Bromberg              |                   |   |                                |
|   |                   | SIGIS III D G REX POL M D LI PRVS M<br>SAM LIV NEC SVE GOT VANQ HRI R |                                |
| 52  | 1623              | 6,82  | Gumowski 1171; Czapski 5448.   |
| <b>German Empire: Brandenburg</b>                                     |                   |   |                                |
| Georg Wilhelm 1619-1640 – 1/4 Thaler, Brandenburg                     |                   |   |                                |
|   |                   | GEORG WILHELM V G G M Z BRAN<br>D H R R ERTC V CHVRF I P Z G C B H    |                                |
| 53  | 1622              | 6,44  | Bahrfeldt 9637; Czapski 1453.  |

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