

A Unique, Unpublished *Leeuwengroot* Struck For the Bishop of Utrecht

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Perhaps one of the greatest joys that a numismatist can know is to discover a previously unknown coin type. Over the past few years, our investigation of the 14th century *leeuwengroot* (*gros au lion*, *gros compagnon*, *gezel*, *socius*) has afforded us several opportunities to make such discoveries: the MONETA LIRAN and MONETA FCADB types, the Louis of Nevers, **COMES** and MONETA ♣ FLAND sub-types, the Rethel FLAND (not FLAD) sub-type (all-eagle border), and numerous unreported Holland, Rummen, Horne, Vollenhove and Valkenburg sub-types (etc.). We have also “rediscovered” several important pieces, including the BVUINC coin of Namur, the two REDEK types from Rekem, the FAUCN Valkenburg types, a coin from Guelders, etc. We have discovered a large number of previously unreported characteristics, such as the eagle-pellets on the Namur coins, the cross annulets on the Guelders coins, the strange, Namur 10♣ / 1♣ obverse border, the extra, large pellets on the Brittany and NNANE coins, the star countermarks on some Flemish coins found in Friesland, etc. We have helped confirm the unique nature of some new finds, including previously unknown fractional *leeuwengroten* from Kuinre and Cuijk. And sadly, we have uncovered the countless errors and fallacies endemic in the previous literature regarding the *leeuwengroten* of all regions.

Our latest new “discovery”, the *leeuwengroot* of Salland was, in fact, made by someone else. And as it turns out, it is a perfect illustration of how a unique piece can “slip through the cracks of the systems”, however well-intentioned those systems may be. The coin under discussion was actually found some 28 years ago, but no report was ever published about this unique and unusual piece, and you are only hearing about it now.

The *leeuwengroot* was a (nominally) silver coin, struck in the mid-14th century in Western Europe, and in particular, in the Low Countries. The type was first minted in Flanders (or perhaps in Brabant) in June 1337, in response to the devaluation of silver coins in France

earlier that same year. The type was quickly imitated in the neighboring regions, on occasion as a “coin of convention” mandated by agreements between multiple realms.

The earliest *leeuwengroten* of 1337 were minted in Flanders and Brabant, and probably in Holland, Namur and Guelders as well. The type was abandoned around October, 1343, but minting restarted in Flanders in January, 1346, and the imitations soon followed once again. Minting continued until 1364, when the type was replaced by the *plak* series of lion-with-helm coins.

It is often the case that *leeuwengroten* struck as imitations of the Flemish or Brabançon originals have reverse, inner legend that have been artificially manipulated so that they resemble the Flemish or Brabançon originals. For example, almost all imitation *leeuwengroten* have *Two O's by the cross arms*, as well as a *First O round, second O long* situation (on both faces).

Discovery and Rediscovery

This amazing piece had been found by Wijk-bij-Duurstede (the former Dorestad), near Utrecht in The Netherlands, in 1991. It was subsequently reported to the NUMIS system (as NUMIS 1033630), which is intended to function as a database of coin finds in The Netherlands. No photo was added to the entry, which, as it turns out, was a fairly large failure of the system. When we came across the entry, listing a “*leeuwengroot* of Jan van Arkel, Bishop of Utrecht”, we paid it little attention, assuming that the coin must be either a fractional *leeuwengroot*, or the entry was simply incorrect in some way, because *leeuwengroten* of Jan van Arkel were completely unknown to us (or anyone else) at the time. The “*leeuwengroot*” of Utrecht had been the famous “bishop’s head *groot*”, with the central lion replaced by a mitered bust of the Utrecht bishop (itself based upon coins of Cologne).

From 1991, when the coin was found, right though whatever date the coin was entered into the NUMIS system, and beyond, no one seems to have taken any notice whatsoever of this unique piece. Not until late 2019 did we become aware of its existence.

We (re)discovered the coin during one of our usual searches across the Internet for “*leeuwengroot*” and similar words. At some point, someone seems to have taken photographs of the coin, and added them to the online database of objects in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden (The Netherlands). Only a few months ago, the photos were not there, but they are there now (and we are very excited about that fact).

We are thankful for the existence of the NUMIS system and grateful to those people who maintain it. Although the fact that photos were not provided in 1991 when this unique and important coin was found can be seen as a shortcoming of the system, the fact that photos eventually did appear is certainly a very welcome case of “better late than never”.

Salland, situated in the modern Netherlands province of Overijssel between the rivers IJssel and Twente, was one of the quarters of the Oversticht. The capital was at Zwolle, other towns in the region being Deventer and Kampen.

The Salland *Leeuwengroot*

Jan van Arkel (John of Arkel)
Bishop of Utrecht (1342-1364)

Van Mieris — ^[5]

V.d. Chijs — ^[1]

Grolle 2.1.1 [unseen by Grolle and listed as unretrieved] ^[3]



*Rijksmuseum van Oudheden WD 798.3.107a / 3.22 g.
NUMIS 1033630*

✠ MO[NETA] ✠ I[AN] L[AN]D'
IOH' E PCO T'IE CT' [...] I
✠ BNDICTV : SI[...] NRI : IHV : XPI

MONETA ZALAND'
IOH EPCO T'IECT'
BNDICTV SIT NOME DNI NRI IHV XPI

MONETA ZALANDia
IOHannes EpisCOpvs TraIECTensis
BeNeDICTVm SIT NOMEn DomiNI NostRI IHesV XPIsti

*Coin of Salland
John, Bishop Utrecht
Blessed be the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ*

Unlike most *leeuwengroten* from other regions, there is no sign of an annulet **T** in MONETA: **T**. The A's are unclear, but the letter in MONETA appears to have a chevron crossbar. It is possible that the crossbars are actually straight.

The mark after MONETA is an upside-down leaf, similar to that used on the *leeuwengroten* of Holland and Guelders. Current thinking holds that the MONETA HOLLAND coins, some of which have such an upside-down leaf-mark, were struck c. 1354 onwards, making it unlikely that this Salland coin could have been struck before that time. The sole pellet left of the initial cross is also "in line" with a date of c. 1355, as is the general style of the central lion.

On the reverse, the 'rule' of *Two O's by the cross arms* has been followed in the inner legend, but the *First O round, second O long* 'rule' has not. There appears to be a gothic **Q** in DNI, but the letters of NOME are unclear.

The marks after TIECT in the inner legend are unclear, and we are not certain what they represent... is it a defective double annulet: **8** ? "Horseshoes": **8** ?

The leaves of the obverse border have 5 lobes. The 12:00 position, usually occupied by a leaf or a lion on the *leeuwengroten* of other regions, displays elements of the van Arkel crest:



detail of a Jan van Arkel bishop's head groot, showing the family arms

PREVIOUS LITERATURE

A surprising amount had been written over the Salland *leeuwengroot*, although no one had ever seen one. Information about the known Salland fractional has also been published.

Grolle (Ref. 3)

Grolle was unaware of this coin's discovery, made 11 years before the publication of his book *Muntende ministerialen...* in part due to the failure of the NUMIS system when photographs are not provided.

Grolle has a habit of mixing his opinions in with facts without informing the reader of the difference, and of sometimes failing to provide source references for his information. Despite the irritation that these habits can cause, subsequent research on our part often reveals that

Grolle had been right after all. Had he only provided references, we could have been saved an enormous amount of work, only to arrive back at the same place Grolle started us at, so to speak.

In the case of the Salland coins, Grolle speaks authoritatively (as he always does) about a group of coins, most of which he, nor anyone else, had ever seen. Only his n° 2.1.3, a $\frac{1}{4}$ *leeuwengroot*, was known at the time of publication. (That is to say: besides the full *leeuwengroot* languishing unnoticed wherever it was at the time.) Grolle writes as if he knows exactly what happened, but does not provide the source for this information. He describes, as per his usual habit, a series of an expected full *groot*, $\frac{1}{2}$ *groot*, $\frac{1}{4}$ *groot*, and $\frac{1}{8}$ *groot*. (Grolle did not seem to feel that there were regions that struck only $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ *groten*, or only full *leeuwengroten*.)

Despite all of these shortcomings, most or all of what Grolle says may well be correct, even if Grolle does not inform us as to how he himself knew. We now have the full ZALAND *groot* to study.

We have come to the conclusion that the known Vollenhove fractional *leeuwengroten* (v.d. Chijs IX / XXVIII) may have been struck for Jan van Arkel and not for Jan van Diest as is usually asserted, and when we finally got around to checking Grolle's book, it would seem that Grolle had already come to the same conclusion many years ago.

This is what Grolle says about the Salland *leeuwengroot* and associated fractionals:

“2.1 EMISSIE ca 1348-ca 1350

navolging van de leeuwengroot 1346 met 2.067 g AG van Lodewijk II van Vlaanderen (Vh G2596); aansluitend bij de gezel van Jan van Arkel, geslagen te Vollenhove sinds 1346 met ca 2.03 g. AG (vgl. vdCh IX.1 en XXVIII en dM (1991) 206) en de groot van Willem V van Holland uit 1347 met ca 2.06 g. AG (HOL 17.1.1); vermoedelijk gebaseerd op de dubbele tournois 1340 à 0.254 g AG (Du 271B), dwz. Een rekontournois van 0.126 g AG en een rekenparisis van 0.163 g. AG, evenwel licht afgezet

2.1.1 LEEUWENGROOT

16 tournois, 12 parisis, $\frac{2}{3}$ groot Vl ¹; ca 1.952 g AG; 26 mm
Niet teruggevonden

2.1.2 HALVE LEEUWENGROOT

8 tournois, 6 parisis, $\frac{1}{3}$ groot Vl ¹; ca 1.92 g AG; ca 21 mm
Niet teruggevonden

2.1.3 KWART LEEUWENGROOT

zgn brabantse; 4 tournois, 3 parisis, 1/6 groot VI; ca 0.96 g AG; 16 mm ²
 vz klimmende leeuw naar links binnen omschrift
 lz lang gevoet kruis. Gekantonneerd met een kruisje, omschrift doorbrekend

a +MONETA:I SALLAND // DE'H/EKER/[S]ALL/AN[D]
RBN (1873) X.14* [*sic*]; *KPK* 8182 (0.728 g)

2.1.2 ÉÉN-ACHTSTE LEEUWENGROOT

zgn hollandse; 2 tournois, 1 ½ parisis, 1/12 groot VI; ca 0.24 g AG; ca 13 mm ³
 Niet teruggevonden

¹ *Nl.* 2/3 Vlaamse leeuwengroot 1337 à 2.9075 g AG (*Vh* G2578) = 1.938 g AG

² Gewicht (0.728 g) en afmeting (16 mm) wijzen op een denominatie van ¼ van een groot van 3.7 g. ter waarde van 4 tournois. Ter onderscheiding van de ⅓ gezel van Jan van Arkel ter waarde van 4 parisis (*vdCh* IX.1 en XVVIII) is het kruis op de kz gekantonneerd.

³ Waarschijnlijk had de hollandse van 1/8 groot (2 tournois) van Frederick van Hekeren een afmeting van 13 mm en een single kruis op de kz en de penning koopmansgeld van 1/12 gezel (1 parisis) van Jan van Arkel een afmeting van 11 mm en een Kort kruisje op kz.”

– Grolle, p 160 ^[3]

The reference under **2.1.3 a**: “*RBN* (1873) X.14*,” is a typo, the correct number is **41** (see below, p. 10). The “*groot van Willem V van Holland uit 1347*” is this coin, of which only 1 example is known:



Grolle HOL 17.1.1 ^[2]

It should be mentioned that we are not completely convinced of the accuracy of Grolle’s Holland catalog in general, and at this point, we have no opinion regarding whether or not this coin (*Grolle*, **HOL 17.1.1**) should be described as Grolle has done or not.

If (IF) Grolle is correct in his assertion that the ZALAND *leeuwengroot* is “an imitation of the *leeuwengroot* of 1346, with 2.067 g. AG of Louis of II of Flanders (i.e. Louis of Male)”, then he would be speaking of Louis of Male’s Issue II (started 24 November, 1346 in Ghent), struck at 2.07018 g. AG, and not of Issue I, started under Louis of Nevers (1322-1346) on January 20, 1346 (continued on into the reign of Louis of Male), at 2.6993 g. AG. (We are not convinced that Grolle had always been working with the correct figures regarding the Flemish *leeuwengroten*.)

Despite the vague source(s) from whence Grolle got his information, we now have the ZALAND *leeuwengroot*, which falls right into the slot Grolle had waiting for it (so to speak). Whether or not the information provided by Grolle about the coin is correct or not remains to be seen (further research is required).

EMP

According to the *Encyclopedie van Munten en Papiergeld* (EMP), maintained by the *Stichting Nederlandse Penningkabinet* (our bold typeface):

“Tijdens Jan van Nassau [1267-1290] werd de bisschoppelijke munt in Utrecht gesloten. Hij opende een atelier in Zwolle, doch moest toestaan dat zijn ambtmannen in Vollenhove en Salland, de heren van Kuinre en Voorst, op eigen naam de bisschoppelijke muntslag gingen aanvullen met sterlingen en dergelijke. Spoedig demonstreerde ook de muntslag van de drosten van Drenthe (burggraven van Coevorden) en de prefecten van Groningen (heren van Selwerd) de verminderde wereldlijke macht van de bisschoppen wier muntslag geheel tot stilstand was gekomen.

Pas Frederik van Blankenheim wist rond 1395 aan deze ongewenste inbreuk op het bisschoppelijke muntrecht door de leenmannen een eind te maken. **Inmiddels had waarschijnlijk reeds Jan van Diest (1322-1341) de aanmuntingen hervat te Vollenhove. Jan van Arkel (1342-1364) heropende de munt van het Nedersticht en muntte waarschijnlijk te Deventer leeuwengroten met het ongebruikelijke ZALANDIA [sic] (Salland, bedacht als vervanging van FLANDRIA [sic] op het voorbeeld) in het omschrift en vervolgens te Utrecht en Deventer een reeks groten en onderdelen volgens het vz-type van de Keulse tournose uit 1343 van aartsbisschop Walram van Gulik (1332-1349): op de vz het gemijterde borstbeeld van de bisschop boven het Arkelse wapen.**

Jan van Verneburg (1364-1371) verplaatste de Utrechtse munt naar De Weerd buiten de stad hetgeen op de munten tot uiting komt door het omschrift MONeta INSVLE TRAiectensis (munt van de Utrechtse Weerd). Behalve Weerdse groten met onderdelen die van hetzelfde type ook in Amersfoort werden aangemunt, werden in het Oversticht o.a. plakken geslagen in navolging van de Vlaamse zilveren leeuw (plak van 2 groot) uit 1365 met het omschrift MONETA DE ZALANDIA, waarschijnlijk geslagen te Kampen. De reeks plakken en Weerdse groten werd voortgezet door Arnold van Horn (1371-1378) die echter als pandheer van de Veluwe sinds 1375 ook te Harderwijk aanmuntte volgens het portrettype van Jan van Arkel. De stad Utrecht vervaardigde in aanvulling hierop kleingeld; Utrecht, stad.”

“Utrechtse bisschoppen die op eigen naam hebben gemunt en hun muntplaatsen

Jan van Diest (?)	1322-1341	V[ollenhove]
Jan van Arkel	1342-1364	U[trecht], D[eventer]”

This bit of uncredited text states (paragraph 2, in bold):

In the meantime, it was probably Jan van Diest (1322-1341) that restarted the minting in Vollenhove. Jan van Arkel (1342-1364) reopened the mint of the Nedersticht and, probably at Deventer, struck *leeuwengroten* with the unusual ZALANDIA [*sic*] (Salland, thought up as a replacement for the FLANDRIA [*sic*] on the example in the legend. Following this, in Utrecht and Deventer, he struck a series of *groten* and fractionals following the obverse type of the Bishop of Cologne’s *tournoise* of 1343 of Archbishop Walram of Juliers (1332-1349): on the obverse the mitred bishop’s head bust above the arms of Arkel.

How on Earth could anyone possibly know that the Salland *leeuwengroot* legend reads ZALAND[IA] (which it does) without ever seeing one? Presumably the idea was based upon the known legend of the *plak (zilveren leeuw)* of Jan van Verneburg, discussed in the paragraph following (?). The source for the idea that the ZALAND *leeuwengroot* was “probably struck at Deventer” is not given.

Technically speaking, the coin itself says ZALAND’, not ZALANDIA, and the Flemish model reads FLAND’, not FLANDRIA).

The following literature is cited:

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idem, *Oostnederlands geld omstreeks 1400*, *JMP* (1980) spec. 55-64;

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COINS OF UTRECHT (THE STICHT)

Bishop's Head *Groten*

Until the ZALAND coin appeared, no (full) *leeuwengroten* from anywhere in The Sticht were known at all, which was not the least bit surprising, since the Bishops of Utrecht preferred their own version of the *leeuwengroot*, with the central lion replaced by a bust of the bishop wearing his mitre (struck for Jan van Arkel at Deventer and at Utrecht):



*Utrecht, bishop's head groot of Jan van Arkel, Utrecht mint
Obverse: no outer border, multifoil around the bishop (unlike the leeuwengroot)
Reverse: basically the same as a leeuwengroot
private collection*

The bishop's head *groten* of Cologne were even closer to the *leeuwengroten* in appearance:



*Cologne, bishop's head groot of Walram of Juliers (1332-1349), Bonn mint
Obverse: outer border, words around the bishop (like the leeuwengroot)
Reverse: basically the same as a leeuwengroot
private collection*

FRACTIONAL *LEEUWENGROTEN* OF SALLAND



Meijer, plate X, 41 / 0.75 g. ^[4]
(i.e. NM-08182 / 0.728 g.)

As we are still awaiting receipt of the photos of DNB coin NM-08182, we will defer discussion of the Salland, fractional *leeuwengroot* (**Grolle 2.1.3**) to a subsequent report.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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J.J. Grolle

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(4)

Monnaies rares au cabinet royal de la Haye

J.F.G. Meijer

in ***RBN*** 1873

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Plate X, 41-46

(5)

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Frans van Mieris

Leiden, 1726

(6)

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An online encyclopedie of information about coins and paper money, specifically those of the Low Countries. Although source references are given for the subjects discussed, no authors are credited for the texts on the website, and we cannot verify any of its accuracy.

<http://wiki.muntenenpapiergeld.nl/>