

The *Leeuwengroten* of the Duchy of Guelders: A Preliminary Overview

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DNB 00047 / 2.79 g.

The region of Guelders (Gelre, Gelderland) was a county that was raised to a duchy on 19 March, 1339 (ref. 5, p. 80). The realm was made up of other, smaller regions that had been more or less absorbed into the whole: the quarters of Arnhem (Veluwe), Nijmegen (Betuwe), Roermond (Overkwartier) and the County of Zutphen. Some regions had not been completely incorporated, however, and small enclaves existed, ruled by powerful, semi-independent lords known as “Banner knights”, who belonged to various local families (Bronkhorst, Bergh, Wisch, Bahr) ^[5].

The *leeuwengroten* of Flanders were the “standard” which other regions imitated, either directly, or indirectly through the coins of other places (e.g. Brabant or Holland). *Leeuwengroten* were minted in Flanders, on and off, from 1337-1364, and therefore this is the basic time period to which the coins of other realms are compared. It is a basic assumption that *leeuwengroten* were struck in places other than Flanders during approximately this same time period. This idea is more or less confirmed by the imitations in other regions of the Flemish coin types from before and after the *leeuwengroot*: the *grand blanc* and the lion-with-helm *plak* coins respectively; the neighboring regions imitated the current money of Flanders. When Flanders ceased the striking of *leeuwengroten*, so did the other regions.

(Having said all of that, it appears that Brabant began a “second wave” of *leeuwengroot* minting c. 1381 or 1382, followed by imitations in some small baronies, for which there are no Flemish counterparts.)

Based upon this 1337-1364, *leeuwengroot* date range, the (Counts and) Dukes of Guelders that concern us are as follows:

★ **Reinald II, The Black (1326-1343)**

Count of Zutphen (1326-1343)

Count of Guelders (1326-1339)

Duke of Guelders (1339-1343)

(9 October, 1326 – 12 October, 1343)

Eleonora of England (12 October, 1343 – 12 March, 1344) († 22 April, 1355)
(Widow of Reinald II)

★ **Reinald III**

Duke of Guelders & Count of Zutphen (12 March, 1344 – 23 May, 1361)

(declared to be an adult at age 11, Pelsdonk (Ref. 9), p. 230)

★ **Edward**

jonkheer (1350-1361)

Duke of Guelders (23 May, 1361 – 24 August 1371)

Count of Zutphen (1361 – 1371)

★ **Reinald III, The Fat (again)**

Duke of Guelders & Count of Zutphen (24 August, 1371 – 4 December, 1371)

Mathilda (Mechteld; daughter of Reinald II)
1371-1379

Maria (daughter of Reinald II)
1361 ? -1369

William, Duke of Jülich, *momboir*
1372-1377

William I, Duke of Guelders (1377-1393)
Duke of Guelders & Jülich (1393-1402)

The history of Guelders around this period is far too complicated for us to attempt to explain here in a paper on the *leeuwengroten* of the region. A few basic details are necessary, however.

When Reinald II died in 1343, he left behind two minor sons: Reinald III, born 1333 (10) and Edward, born 1336 (7). His widow, Eleonora of England, was their guardian, but almost immediately, various factions in Guelders began interfering, which resulted in an inevitable brother-against-brother conflict that lasted for many years, each brother backed by various nobles from the minor regions in and around Guelders. In theory, Reinald was the “official” Duke of Guelders, but in practice, Edward had the support of many important nobles and “banner knights”.

“Eleonora van Engeland (1318-1355) was de oudste dochter van koning Edward II (1307-1327). Zij werd in 1331 op dertienjarige leeftijd uitgehuwelijkt aan de ongeveer vijftientwintig jaar oudere Reinoud II, sinds 1326 graaf van Gelre. Twee jaar eerder was zijn eerste vrouw overleden: de rijke Mechelse erfdochter Sophie van Berthout.”^[9]

– Pelsdonk, p. 229

Reinald III was wed to Maria of Brabant, which immediately embroiled him in the conflicts of his new father-in-law, John III of Brabant, including a war with the Bishop of Liège, and choosing the side of Edward III of England against France in the Hundred Years War. Reinald became further involved in conflicts with the Bishop of Utrecht and one of his own banner knights, which ended up also involving the Count of Holland and even more Guelders vassals. Inevitably, this created an atmosphere whereby some of the Guelders vassals began supporting Edward as a replacement duke for Reinald III. The situation escalated to a clash of arms, and hostilities continued on and off for several years. All the while Edward was proving to be a capable leader, while Reinald was becoming lazier and fatter. Eventually Reinald began losing supporters, and after a final battle in 1361, Edward became the Duke of Guelders, while Reinald was locked in a tower for ten years.

When Edward died in August, 1371, his brother Reinald III, now extremely overweight after ten years in captivity, once again became Duke of Guelders, until his own death in December of that same year^[5]. Neither of the brothers had any children, and so a power struggle ensued between two of their sisters (the third sister was an abbess), Mathilda, widow of the County of Cleves, and Maria, wife of William II, Duke of Jülich.

Leeuwengroten from Guelders are extremely rare. So rare, that only **cat. Type V** is known {to us} from 2 examples, while 9 other types are known from single examples, and the final type is known only from 19th century descriptions and a drawing. (There are rumored to be other Guelders *leeuwengroten* in private collections as well.)

We ask the reader to take note of the word preliminary in the title of this paper. All of the types and specimens of Guelders *leeuwengroot* known to us are listed here. Rumors of other specimens (and perhaps even other types or sub-types) continue to circulate, however.

The primary goal of our research is to properly catalog the *leeuwengroten* of all regions. We ask anyone with any information about Guelders *leeuwengroten* (or the *leeuwengroten* of any region) to contact us for the good of the worldwide numismatic community and the improvement of numismatic literature and knowledge.

The Coins Themselves

Leeuwengroten were first struck in Flanders in 1337, at which time Guelders was still a county. These first Flemish coins had a 12♣ border and an eagle as an initial mark in the obverse legend, and the word DEI in the reverse, outer legend, as did most of the imitations from other regions. In late 1339, the border changed to 11♣ / 1🦁, but the initial eagle remained the same until early 1346. On most of the imitative *leeuwengroten* of most regions, this pattern was followed as well.

There are no Guelders *leeuwengroten* known with a 12♣ border, nor any with the word DEI in the legend. It is possible that no *leeuwengroten* were struck in Guelders at all before c. the beginning of 1340.

The known *leeuwengroten* of Guelders give no indication that they are not following the same patterns as the rest of the imitations from other places. Therefore, we can be reasonably certain that the **cat. Type I** coins can be attributed to Reinald II (1326-1343) because they have a 11♣ / 1🦁 border, and an **eagle** as an initial mark like the Flemish model coins minted 1339-1346. The title of duke appears on the coins, so in any case they must have been struck after 19 March, 1339. The agreement for a unified coinage between Flanders and Brabant was signed 3 December, 1339, and the GANDEN LOVAIN coins produced thereafter had a 11♣ / 1🦁 / 🦁 pattern. Theoretically then, the **cat. Type I** Guelders coins were struck c. 1340 or later (up to October, 1343).

The anonymous **cat. Type II** coins have a 11♣ / 1🦁 border and an initial **cross**, which should mean that they were struck after January 1346 (based upon the Flemish *leeuwengroot* attributes), which means that they cannot be attributed to Reinald II (1326-1343). Again: we have no reason to believe that the Guelders coins are not copying the general pattern of the other regions, originating with Flanders (but probably in Guelders via Holland).

Cat. Type III – IX all have the same 11♣ / 1🦁 / ✚ pattern, but they bear the name Reinald, and so they must have been struck for Reinald III. The coins of **cat. Type X** have Edward's name on them.

Reinald III became an adult (at 14) in 1347 and Edward in 1350. Either of them could have struck *leeuwengroten* during the following periods:

anonymous **cat. II** for minor Reinald III (1343-1347) ?
Reinald III (1347-1361)
Edward (1350-1371) i.e. 1350-1364

Mathilda struck small coins with a rampant lion that could be termed “fractional *leeuwengroten*”, but they were struck at a time when no *leeuwengroten* were being struck in any region (**V.d. Chijs pl. VI 4, 5**). In theory these are not “fractional *leeuwengroten*”, unless, perhaps, one wishes to view them as: “the only *leeuwengroten* struck anywhere after 1364, fractional or otherwise, until c. 1381 in Brabant”.

Reinald III, Mathilda and Maria all struck lion-with-helm coins (*plaks*). But Eleonora and Reinald III struck something else, a type not struck in Flanders: the rampant lion in an octofoil coins ((V.d. Chijs pl. III, 3; pl. IV, 7-9), sometimes known as a *Roermond groot*:



Teylers Museum TMNK 06051

Numerous Sub-Types From Regions Minting Fewer *Leeuwengroten*

At this time, there are 10 known types of *leeuwengroten* from Guelders, all of which are known from only one or two specimens. Another 1 (or 2) types are reported in previous literature but unconfirmed at this time. *Leeuwengroten* from Guelders are even more uncommon than those of Hainaut (which are rare, but include far fewer types) so once again there are too few coins to study the entire Guelders series properly, and it is likely that other variants exist which are not listed here. Most of the drawings that appear in the previous literature were made from coins that are now housed in the Teylers Museum in Haarlem, The Netherlands. Only a very few new specimens have come to light since these drawings were made in the 19th century. Of course, there may be more examples undiscovered in private collections.

On the face of it, it may seem odd that there are 11 different types known from less than 20 coin specimens. Generally speaking, a small number of coins known in modern times indicates a (relatively) small number minted in the Middle Ages, but this is of course subject to a large number of variables, and the words “generally speaking” are important. Nevertheless, one might therefore expect to find only a small number of types and sub-types in a small sampling of coins. But with the *leeuwengroten* of many regions, this does not seem to be the case at all. The enigmatic MONETA NNANE coins, for example, struck at an unknown mint, are currently known from 5 specimens and show 5 different sub-types. *Leeuwengroten* from small regions such as Valkenburg display a wide range of variation, and far more sub-types than one might expect to find, but the coins are rare. *Leeuwengroten* from Namur are very rare, and yet there are a fairly large number of types and sub-types known. Weiller listed 16 specimens of John the Blind, Méraude *leeuwengroot*, from 9 different sub-types. When we looked up the additional 5 specimens we had found, 4 of them did not match any of Weiller’s sub-types, creating an additional 2 sub-types: 21 coins known, 11 sub-types.

Over and over, we find that smaller regions from which we know only a handful of specimens, including Guelders, display a ratio of 1:1 or 2:1 known coins to known types or sub-types. In other words, every specimen displays a new type or sub-type, or every other specimen does. This seems to indicate that either the numbers of coins struck were higher than we might have imagined, and/or that the smaller mints were perhaps “overmarking” their coins “needlessly”. The coins of Flanders, struck over almost three decades, had several kinds of markings on them. The coins of these smaller regions were struck for only a few years each. Were they trying to make their coins look more “official” by marking them like the model coins from Flanders? Some of the marks are obviously minting marks, but what were the minting marks indicating, and why are there so many of them?

At this point, all we can do is catalog the known specimens, in the hope of being able to sort everything out at some point in the future.

Numerous types and sub-types of fractional, Guelders *leeuwengroot* are also known, some of which were not struck in connection with any full *groten* (e.g. the coins of Matilda). These coins will be covered in a separate report to be published.

Previous Literature

Although no full and complete catalog of Guelders *leeuwengroten* has ever been published, the coins of the region have been covered by v.d. Chijs (ref. 3), who was writing a catalog of Guelders coins, and by Roest (ref. 10, 11), who was describing coins in the KPK collection (then in The Hague). Some mention of coins relevant to our study was also made by C.P. Serrure (ref. 13 ,14), R. Serrure (ref. 14), and van Gelder (ref. 4).

Roest and v.d. Chijs attributes some ✚ coins to Reinald II. Many of the coins described by Roest as being the “Cabinet The Hague” have ended up in the collection of the Teylers Museum in Haarlem, although the important Edward coin has disappeared (**cat. X**).

The previous literature will be dealt with coin-by-coin in the main body of text below.



*DNB-NM-00180 / 0.353 g.
One of the small coins struck for Matilda*

The Known Types of Guelders *Leeuwengroten*

These are the currently “known” types of Guelders *leeuwengroten*:

cat.	initial mark	obverse legend	reverse legend
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Reinald II (1326-1343)

I a		MONETA GELRIE	RENO DVX CO SVT
I b		MONETA GELRIE	RENO DVX• CO SVT

Reinald III (1343-1361) ?

II		MONETA GELRENS	MONETA GELRES
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Reinald III (1343-1361)

III		MONETA GELRENS	REINOLD DNOS GR
IV		MONETA GELRNS	REINOLD DNOS GR
V		MONETA GELRENS	REYNALDVS DV O
VI		MONETA ELRORGH	REYNALDVS DVX
VII		MONETA ELRORGH	REYNALDVS DV O
VIII		MONETA HDERW 	REYNALDVS DVX
IX		MONETA HDERW 	REYNALDVS DVX

Edward (1350-1371)

X		MONETA RENLES	ADEWARD D GELR	<i>unverified</i>
X var.?		MONETA VENLOC	ADEWARD D GELR	<i>unverified</i>
XI?				

(The Edward coins have not been seen for many years, their whereabouts are unknown and their characteristic unverified.)

Anonymous medieval coins like those of **cat. Type II** are always a bit puzzling, since it was the tendency of most rulers to place their names on the coins (at least by the 14th century it was). Anonymous *leeuwengroten* are also known from many other regions (e.g. Hainaut, Brabant, Namur etc.), but these coins are earlier and all have an initial eagle in the obverse legend. In a region such as Guelders, where the right to rule was contested between two brothers, it seems that the minter of money would have had even more reason to strike coins with his name on them – unless there was a reason not to. This reason sometimes turns out to be: striking money without having the complete, legal right to do so (e.g. Reinald striking coins while still a minor?).

Even stranger are the “Reinold *dominus*” coins. Why would Reinald, proud Duke of Guelders, strike coins that do not proclaim his ducal title, but rather legends referring to him (only) as “Lord of Guelders”? (Reinald striking coins while still a minor?) Or does the legend read REINOLDVS DVX NOSTRI GELRENSIS as V.d. Chijs proposed (*Reinald, Duke of Our Guelders*)? (Which still would not account for the absence of a simple DVX.)

Or were these *dominus* coins in fact struck for Edward as *jonkheer* c. 1350-1361, certainly the “prime years” for striking *leeuwengroten* in the Low Lands? But if this were the case, why not put his own name on the coins? If Edward had these coins struck, did he not feel that his position was strong enough to claim the title of duke? Edward had other types struck with vague EDEWARDVS DE GELRE or ADEWARD D GELRE legends. On his lion-with-helm coins, struck no earlier than 1365 (beginning of the model coins in Flanders), Edward uses the title of DVX.

Dating the Known Types of Guelders *Leeuwengroten*

All we have to date the Guelders *leeuwengroten* are the coins themselves and a comparison of their characteristics with the coins of other regions. In addition we have the general history of the *gros compaignon* into which we can (theoretically) fit the Guelders coins. Our knowledge of this history is constantly increasing based upon new information that we discover. As with any opinion, it is based upon the information currently at our disposal; new information might alter the situation, perhaps drastically so.

The 11♣ / 1🦉 obverse border of the **cat. I** coins tells us that they were struck from early 1340 onwards (as in Brabant), the initial eagle in the legend tells us that minting is likely to have ended in October, 1343, as it did in every region.

All of the other coins are likely to have been struck from about mid-1345 or early 1346, based upon the initial cross in the obverse legend (like Flanders). Holland did not begin striking *leeuwengroten* at this time (as far as we know, unless this infamous and possibly anecdotal ✚ HOLANDIE coins were minted at this time), but from around 1354 onwards, large numbers of them were minted (end minting date unknown). If the Guelders coins with rotating leaf marks were copying those of Holland, it stands to reason that they were minted from 1354 onwards as well. (It is, of course, theoretically possible that the Holland rotating leaf-mark copied that of Guelders and not the other way around, but we feel that this is unlikely to be the case.)

Unusual Characteristics of Gelders *leeuwengroten*

There are no Gelders *leeuwengroten* known with a 12♣ border, which implies that none were struck previous to December, 1339 (when the 11♣ / 1♣ border made its debut in Flanders and Brabant). Of course, we may be missing some coins that once existed. Several characteristics are unique (or almost so) to Gelders *leeuwengroten*.

The Crowned Lion

One notable characteristic is a central lion with a crown on his head (also seen in Namur, among others). The crown is often very subtle, sometimes nothing more than 3 little pellets (easy to miss).



The Double-Tailed Central Lion

Some of the central lions of Gelders *leeuwengroten* have a double tail (most do not). We have found no double-tailed, central lions without a crown (but we only have a very small data set for study).



The Double-Tailed Border Lion

The small lion in the outer border also has a double tail, which may be present on every type (many of them are illegible). There are specimens with a definite double-tailed lion in the border and a single-tailed lion as the central type, but we have found no specimens with a clearly single-tailed lion in the border (regardless of the central lion's tail type) at all. There is no sign of a crown on the little border lion, but then again, they are very small.



Annulets by the Initial Cross (Reverse)

Many regions seemed to have added their own, unique marks to the *leeuwengroten*, for example, the pellets over the wings of the obverse eagle on the Namur coins. In Guelders, some of the initial crosses in the reverse, outer legend have an annulet to each side, something not seen on *leeuwengroten* from any other region:



Rotating Leaf-Marks

Just as in Holland, the entire leaf-mark after MONETA on Guelders *leeuwengroten* was sometimes rotated: ♣ ♣, as opposed to having a stem that changes direction (while the leaf itself remains static), as in Flanders: ♣ ♣ ♣. This implies an imitation of the Holland *leeuwengroten* in Guelders, and not a direct imitation of the Flemish coins.

The Letter Y

The letter Y is not common on medieval coins, although it does appear on the *sterlings* of England in the word HYBernia (for example) On the Guelders *leeuwengroten*, the name of Reinald is spelled REINOLDvs, REYNALDVS or REVNALDVS; in the latter version the V is to be read as a Y.

CATALOG of COINS

Reinald II The Black

Count of Zutphen (9 October, 1326 – 12 October, 1343) and
(Count of Guelders: 9 October, 1326 – 19 March, 1339)
Duke of Guelders: 19 March, 1339 – 12 October, 1343)

TYPE I:

GELRIE / RENO DVX CO SVT

1 lion, 11 leaves with 3 lobes ❁



Lion with double tail and crown

Struck from early 1340 ?

1340-1343 ?

• TYPE I-a:

No pellet after DVX

V.D. Chijs — ^[3]

Roest 43 (illustration only) ^[11]

R. Serrure 72 ^[15]



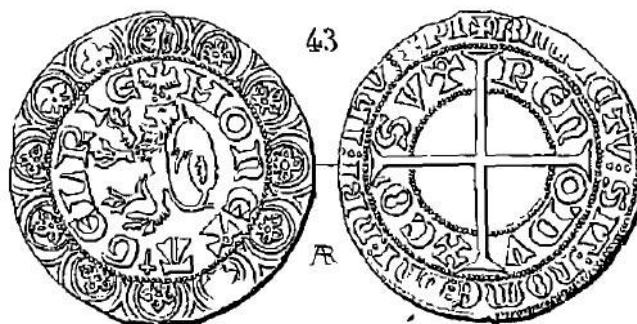
DNB 00047 / 2.79 g.

❁ MONET ❁ GELRIE

RENO DVX CO SVT

[❁ BNO]DICT[V] : SIT : NOMES : DNO[I] : NRO[I] : IHV : XPI

There is no pellet after DVX. The central lion has a double tail, the small lion in the border is unclear. **Type I** is the only type known with an eagle, all of the others Guelders *leeuwengroten* have an initial cross. The stem of the leaf after MONETA is very long. The SVT in the legend refers to Zutphen (Sutphen). This is the only known example of this sub-type.



Roest 43 ^[11]

“Cabinet of The Hague / 3.855 g.”
also R. Serrure 72 ^[15]

If Roest’s illustration and given weight are anything close to accurate, then this is some specimen other than coin DNB 00047. Where is this coin? (And should the illustration have shown a pellet after DVX? See **cat. I-b** below.) On the other hand, the blank spots shown in Roest’s drawing all appear on the coin, although there are some on the coin that are not in the drawing. Coin DNB 00047 may have been the model for Roest’s drawing after all; but if it is, some aspects of the drawing are downright fraudulent (e.g. the **V** of BNDICTV, invisible on the coin). The weights do not match at all, however, indicating that they are two different coins. In the drawing, there is no crossbar to the **A** of MONETA, and no pellet after RENO. Note, however, the pellets of the central lion’s crowned vaguely indicated.

• **TYPE I-b:**

Pellet after DVX•

V.D. Chijs — ^[3]

C. P. Serrure Plate IV, 1 (var.?) ^[13]

Roest 43 (text only) ^[11]

11♣ / 1♣ border ♣



TMNK 06016 / 3.572 g.

♣ MONET[Λ] † GELRIE

REO O'DV X•O' SVT

✠ B[NDICT]V : SI[T : N]OMES : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI

Very similar to the previous sub-type, but there is a pellet after DVX on the reverse. On the obverse, the A of MONETA is unclear, the X of DVX is fairly poorly executed. Both lions have double tails. The leaf-mark after MONETA has the same long stem as on the previous coin. This is the only known example of this sub-type.

This does not appear to be the coin that appeared in C.P. Serrure's article (ref. 13):



*C. P. Serrure Vaderlandsch 3
Plate IV, 1^[13]*

✠ **B**EDICTV : SIT : **Q**OM**E** : **D**NI : **Q**RI : **I**h**V** : X**P**I

According to C. P. Serrure in the Geelhand Collection (Brussels).

N° 43. Croix coupant la légende intérieure :
REN — O'DV — X · QO' — SVT. Légende exté-
rieure: ✠ BNEDICTV : SIT : QOM**E** : DNI :
QRI : Ih**V** : XPI.

Rev. Lion à simple queue rampant à gauche :
✠ MONETA + GELRIE, le tout dans un encadre-
ment de douze écussons, dont le premier est orné
d'un lion à queue fourchue et les autres de fleurs
de nèfle.

Gros, gr. 3.855, pl. X, n° 43.
Cabinet royal de La Haye.

Roest p. 393^[11]

In his text description, Roest (**n° 43**) gives a pellet after DVX (and **B**NEDICTV), but this pellet does not appear in his illustration (the 'pellets' after SVT and XPI are the periods at the end of the sentences). Since Roest was only describing one specimen... text or illustration, one or the other must be wrong (despite the fact that there do indeed seem to be 2 different sub-types, one with pellet and one without). We cannot determine if Roest was describing a **cat I-a** or a **cat I-b** coin (or even some third sub-type unknown to us). We suspect that Roest's BNEDICTV was a misinterpretation of an unclear legend and did not actually appear on whatever coin he was studying (cf. Roest's own drawing).

The current theory holds that the *leeuwengroot* was abandoned in Flanders, Hainaut and Brabant after October, 1343, until January, 1346, when minting of the 11♣ / 1🦁 / ✚ pattern type began in Flanders.

The death of Reinald II in October, 1343 would certainly have brought an end to *leeuwengroot* production in Guelders (**cat. Type I**), if it had not already ceased before that time, and both the political situation in Guelders and the fact that the coin type had been discontinued in the other regions would have made it unlikely that any more *leeuwengroten* were minted in Guelders (or anywhere else) until 1346 (or mid-1345) at the earliest.

The upside-down leaf mark after MONETA made an appearance in Holland c. 1354, and since it was presumably copied in Guelders, this pushes the date even farther forward for the Guelders ✚ *leeuwengroten*.

Reinald III, Duke of Guelders

Duke of Guelders & Count of Zutphen (12 March, 1344 – 23 May, 1361)

• TYPE II:

GELRENS / MONETA GELRES

Anonymous

V.D. Chijs — ^[3]

Roest Plate X, 42 ^[11]

R. Serrure 69 = Reinald II *sic* ^[15]

11♣ / 1🦁 border



Lion with single tail and no crown



TMNK 06015 / 2.801 g.

[✠] MONETA ✠ GELRENS[']
 MON ET[Λ] GEL RES
 ✠ BN[dictv :] SIT : NOMES : DNI : [NR]I [: hV : X]PI

The initial cross on the obverse points toward an attribution to Reinald III. On this coin it would appear that just as in Holland, the stop mark on the obverse is an inverted leaf, in this case a fairly distinctive leaf: ✠. The central lion very much resembles the lion of the Holland *HOLAND leeuwengroten*, with its wavy upper lip. (This same lion is also found on the coins of Looz.) These similarities imply that the Guelders types with an initial cross were not struck until 1354 or thereafter.

We are not at all certain about pellets (or lack thereof) by the initial cross:

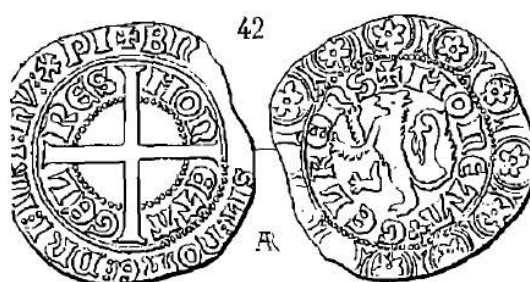


Both Roest and R. Serrure have illustrated this very piece (Roest gives 2.802 g. as a weight, the same as coin TMNK 06015), although they got the obverse border wrong:



Fig. 69.

R. Serrure 69; drawing made from coin TMNK 06015 ^[15]



Roest Pl. X, 42; drawing made from coin TMNK 06015 ^[11]

We are of the opinion that this is a **lion** in the border, not a leaf and that the drawings are incorrect. As far as we have seen, there are no Guelders *leeuwengroten* with 12♣ borders. Even the Guelders coins with an initial eagle in the obverse legend have an 11♣ / 1♣ border. There is no reason to believe that the drawings are accurate, especially in light of the fact that there were obviously made from what is clearly an illegible specimen.

The importance of this problem cannot be underemphasized; Roest's illustration is incorrect. If nothing else, he should have shown a blank spot, not a leaf that he could not actually see (and was never there). Over and over, numismatists are asked to have faith in old drawings, and over and over these same drawing can be shown to be inaccurate. Why would any reasonable person continue to accept such flawed "information" purely upon blind faith, without bothering to check the accuracy of said "information"?

We are pleasantly surprised, however, to see that in the drawings (and in Roest's text description), the mark after MONETA is an inverted leaf (!):

N° 42. Croix coupant la légende intérieure :
MON — ETT — GEL — RES. Légende exté-
rieure : †BN SIM : NOMÆ : ORI : ORI :
hV : XPI.

Rev. Lion rampant à simple queue, tourné à
gauche : † MONETA & GELRENS', dans une
bordure de douze écussons ornés de fleurs de nêfle.

* Gros, gr. 2.802, pl. X, n° 42.

Roest, p. 393 ^[11]

The notable “rotating leaf mark”, also seen on the *leeuwengroten* of Holland, has gone unnoticed by most numismatic researchers studying these coins.



Huis van Hilde, 5281-0220 / 2.98 g.

Note that this type is anonymous, and does not give the rank of any issuing authority. We know of no examples of this type other than the two shown here.



pellet right of the cross?

• **TYPE III:**

GELRENS / REINOLD DNOS G

V.d. Chijs Plate III, 1 ^[3]

R. Serrure 70 = Reinald II ^[15]

Roest — ^[11]

11♣ / 1♣ border ♣



Lion with single tail and no crown



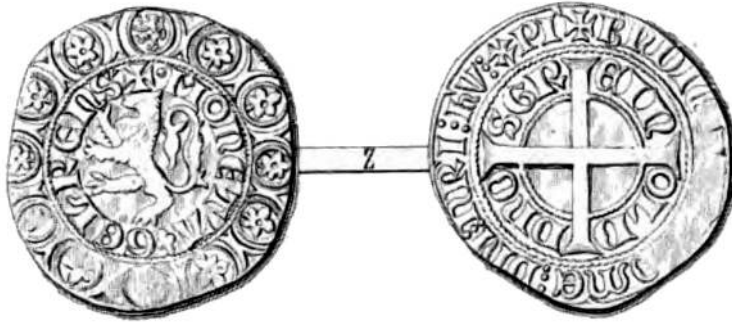
TMNK 06014 / 2.73 g.

✠ • MONETA ✠ GELRENS'
 EIN OLD DNO SGR
 ✠ BNDIC[TV : SIT : N]OME : DNI : NR'I : DEI : **h'V** : XPI'

REINOLDvs DomiNOS Gelrensis

This is the sole known example of this type. The central lion resembles that of Holland (and Looz), and the little lion in the border has a double tail, unlike the large central lion.

Note that the **I** is missing from IHV. There seems to be an apostrophe after XPI. It appears that once again, the stop mark is an inverted leaf. The strange spelling of *dominus* was undoubtedly used to facilitate the desirable two **O**'s by the cross arms configuration. Was this enough of a reason to use *dominos* instead of *dvx*? V.d. Chijs translated the legend as REINOLDvs, Dvx NOster GelRensis.



V.d. Chijs Plate III, 1 (also R. Serrure 70) ^[3]
Drawing made from coin TMNK 06014

REINOUD III.

(1343—1371.)

Onder dezen Hertog beginnen de munten zeer in omvang toe te nemen.

N°. 1 is een Groot, waarop de leeuw het kerkportaal vervangen heeft, terwijl de als 't ware geborduurde rand behouden is. Het is de type der Brabandsche en Vlaamsche munten (van Jan III en Lodewijk van Creçy) uit die dagen.

Vz. De klimmende leeuw (enkelstaartig), omringd door het opschrift:

✠ MONETA GELRENSIS

binnen een parelrand, die besloten is tusschen een uit twaalf schildjes gevormden, als geborduurd, rand. Op het bovenste dier schildjes vertoont zich een leeuw; op de elf overige ziet men bloemen.

(33)

Op de kz. vertoont zich een Karolingisch kruis, tusschen welks beenen het opschrift:

R | EIN | OLD | DNO | SG.

Eigenlijk wordt de lettergreep REI door een been des kruises in de deelen R en E | verdeeld, even als zulks met den naam van Hertog Jan III op de Brabandsche munten (zie in *De Munten van Brabant en Limburg*, Pl. IX, N°. 24) het geval is. Dit opschrift moet waarschijnlijk gelezen worden:

Reinoldus Dux (of *Dominus?*) *noster Gelrensis.*

Inderdaad eene zonderlinge wijze van titelomschrijving.

In den buitenrand leest men:

✠ BNDIC OMES DNI : NRI : h'V : ✠PI'

Z. weegt 3,1 w. Z^g. Is ons alleen in de verzameling des Heeren VAN DER NOORDAA te Dordrecht voorgekomen.

V.d. Chijs pp. 32-33 ^[3]

• **TYPE IV:**

GELRNS / REINALD DNOS G

VdCh. — ^[3]

Roest — ^[11]

R. Serrure — ^[15]

Suhle 77 ^[16]

Torongo pp. 11-14 ^[56]

Torongo pp. 86-87 ^[59]

11♣ / 1♣ border ♣



(?)

Lion with single tail, and no crown ?



*Schoo Hoard (1927) / 1.99 g.
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85
photograph by Christian Stoess*

. [✠] MONETA ♠ GELRNS'

EN OLD DNO SGR

[✠] BNDICTV : SIT : **NOME : DNI [...]V : X[...]**

On the obverse, the little lion in the border has a double tail, unlike the large central lion. The legend read GELRNS (no **E**), which is the reason that we cataloged this coin as a new sub-type and not as “III-b”... along with the unusual Roman **M** in NOME on the reverse. The stem of the leaf-mark after MONETA is long and curved. This is the sole known example of this type.

Note that these coins (**cat. III & IV**) give the name Reinald, but the rank of ‘lord’. Reinald was Duke of Guelders all of the time that he was in power; why would he put ‘lord’ on his coins instead of ‘duke’? Were these coins, in fact, struck for his brother Edward as *jonkheer* (1350-1361)? What of the anonymous type (**cat. II**)?

388

été la cause, ils furent tels que Renaud II s'empara du gouvernement et mit son père en prison. Quoiqu'il se fût abstenu, du vivant de son père, de prendre le titre de comte et qu'il se fût intitulé dans tous ses actes « *fihs du comte de Gueldre*, » nous croyons pourtant, surtout à cause de ce titre, devoir lui donner le gros, figuré par M. Van der Chijs (pl. III, n° 1), et attribué par lui à Renaud III. Ce gros a pour légende **REINOLD DROS G**, ce que cet auteur traduit par Dux ou Dominus Gelrensis. Ne voulant pas prendre le titre de comte, il semble tout simple qu'il ait pris celui de Dominus. N'était-il pas d'ailleurs le véritable seigneur de la Gueldre, puisque son père était en prison et qu'il gouvernait le pays?

Roest, RBN 1891, p. 388 ^[11]

• **TYPE V:**

GELRENS / REVNALDVS DVO

VdCh. Pl. XXIX, 4 ^[3]

R. Serrure — ^[15]

Roest — ^[11]

11 ♣ / 1 🦁 border 🌿



Lion with single tail and no crown



*DNB-00057 / 2.69 g.
NUMIS 1013756*

✠ • MONETA 🌿 GELRENS'

REV NAL DVS DVO

✠ BNDICTV : SIT : NOMINE : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI

On these coins, one can see two unmistakable annulets framing the initial cross of the reverse, outer legend: 🦁. This is unique to Gelderse *leeuwengroten*. On the obverse, the little lion in the border has a double tail, unlike the large central lion. And again, the stop mark is an inverted leaf.



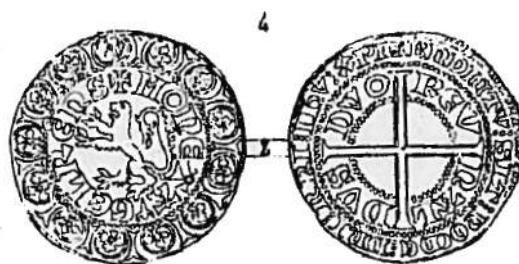
CdMb 121 / 2.60 g.

✠ • MONETA ✠ GELRENS'
 REV RAL DVS DVO
 ✠ BNDICTV : SIT : NOMI : DNI : RRI : IHV : XPI

Same as the previous coin?

There appears to be a tiny pellet under the lion in the border of coin CdMB 121, which may be unintentional:





V.d. Chijs Pl. XXIX, 4 ^[3]

The DVO (instead of DVX) legend is odd (cf. **cat. Type VII**). The only reason for the superfluous **O** would seem to be an attempt to conform to the *[Two] O's by the cross arms* 'rule' used by most imitators of *leeuwengroten*. In this case the other letter is a "O-like" **D**.

• TYPE VI: Elborgh

ELRORGH / DVX REVNALDVS

V.D. Chijs — ^[3]

Roest 44 ^[11]

R. Serrure 71* = as **Reinald II** ^[15]

11♣ / 1♣ border ♣



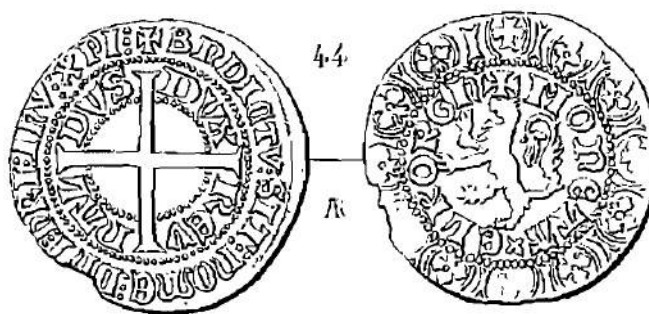
Lion with single tail and no crown



TMNK 06017 / 2.605 g.

✠ [•] ΜΟΝΕΤΑ ✠ ΕΛΡΟΡΓΗ'
 DVX ΡΕΥ ΝΤΛ ΔVS
 [✠ ΒΝΔΙCΤ]V : SI[T : Ν]ΟΜΕ : ΔΝΙ : ΝΡΙ : ΙΗV : ΧΡΙ

R. Serrure has used this piece for his illustration. We are at a loss to explain the cross in the obverse, outer border in the drawing – it is clearly a lion on the coin. Roest's text description says it is a lion (i.e. "same as the previous coin"). As far as we know, this is the only example known of this type.



Roest 44 ^[1]



Fig. 71.

R. Serrure 71 ^[15]

drawings made from coin TMNK 06017

Note that the **O** of MONETA is not particularly round in the drawings, while the **O** of ELRORGH is. The cross in the obverse border is simply incorrect.

• TYPE VII: Elborgh

ELRORGH / REVNALDVS DVO

V.d. Chijs — ^[3]

Schulman JMP 1926 ^[12]

Roest — ^[11]

R. Serrure — ^[15]

NKF nieuwsbrief 4, 2011

11♣ / 1♣ border ♣



Lion with single tail and no crown



DNB/NNC 1926-0252 / 2.999 g.

✠ • MONETA ✠ ELRORGH

REV **ŃÆL** DVS DVO

✠ BŃDICTV : SIT : ŃŃM[Ń : DŃI] : ŃRI : IHV : XPI

Although obviously very similar to the previous piece, we feel that this coin warrants a separate type because the reverse, inner legend is different.

The ascender of the **H** (**h**) in IHV on the reverse is very short. Clearly, this type “matches” **cat. Type V**, with its DVO legend.



pellet L



cross flanked by annulets

JMP 13 (1926), Schulman ^[12] illustrates this same coin. According to Schulman, the reverse inner legend reads REYNALDVS Dominus Vollenovensis (as would the legend for **cat. Type V** above). We know of no other examples of this type.

• **TYPE VIII: Harderwijk**

HDERW / REYNALDVS DVX

Double-tailed lion

V.d. Ch. Plate III, 2 ^[3]

Roest 65 ^[11]

R. Serrure 74 = Reinard III ^[15]

11♣ / 1♣ border ♣



Lion with double tail and crown



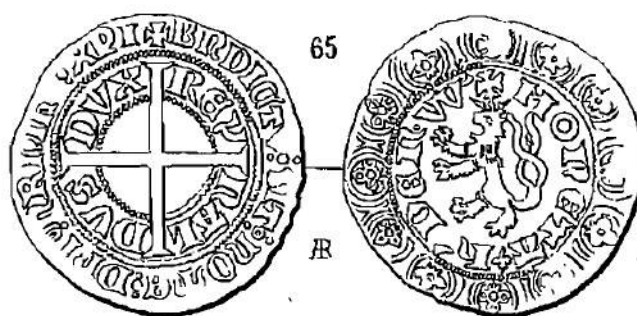
DNB NM-00117 / 3.099 g.

✠ MONET ♣ h[.] DER·VV'

REYNAL DVS DVX

✠ BNDICT[V : SIT : NOMA : DNI : NRI : IHV] : XPI

The central lion's crown is fine and thin. This is clearly the model coin for the drawing provided by Roest (and again by R. Serrure). The obverse border leaves only have 3 lobes, unlike **cat. Types II - VII**.



Roest 65 ^[11]



Fig. 74.

R. Serrure 74 ^[15]

N° 65. Croix pattée coupant la légende intérieure : RÆY — NTL — DVS — DVX. Légende extérieure : ✠ BNDIETV ð SIT ð NOMÆ ð DNI ð NRI ð IH ð XPI.

Rev. Dans une bordure de douze écussons à fleur de nèfle, le lion couronné à queue fourchue. Légende : ✠ MONETA & h^oDER · W^o.

Gros de Harderwijk, gr. 3,101, pl. XI, n° 65.
Cabinet royal de La Haye.

Roest, p. 401 ^[11]

Roest gives the interpunction marks as: ð and leaves out the (admittedly illegible) V of IHV.



Stadsmuseum Harderwijk 0206-O-05485

✠ MONET ♣ h[.] DER·VV'
 RÆꝝ ðÆL DVS DVX
 ✠ BNDICT[V : SIT : ðOMÆ : DNI : ðRI : Ihv] : XPI

Same as the previous coin?

• TYPE IX: Harderwijk

HDERW / REVNALDVS DVX

Single-tailed lion

V.d. Chijs Plate III, 2 ^[3]

11 ♣ / 1 ⚔ border ⚔

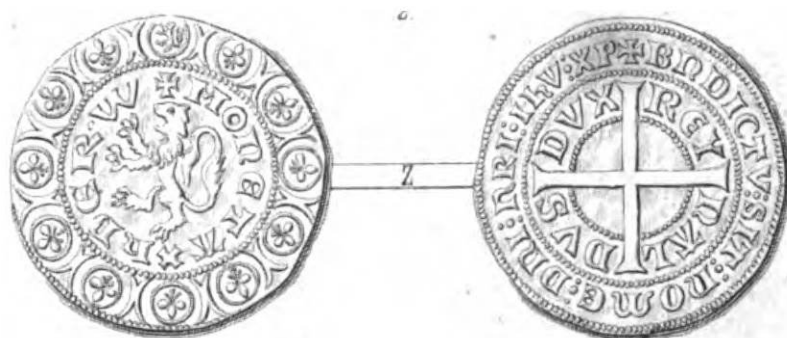


Lion with single tail and no crown



private collection (metal detector find)

✠ MONETA ✠ H'. DER VV'
 REX NAL DVS DVX
 ✠ BNDICTV SIT : NOMI : DNI : NRI : IHV XP'I



V.d. Chijs Plate III, 2 / 11 leaves

Van der Chijs' illustration shows IHV : XP instead of IHV XPI like the known specimens. According to v.d. Chijs, it is based on a drawing provided to him by A. Justen of Venlo; the location of this coin is now unknown (unless it is the Stadsmuseum Harderwijk coin, and the drawing is wrong).

Neither of the Harderwijk types show any attempt to follow the *Two O's by the cross arms* 'rule' employed on most *leeuwengroten*.

N°. 2, ons welwillend in teekening door den Heer A. JUSTEN, geboortig van Venlo, medegedeeld, verschilt alleen in omschriften van de vorige. Op de vz. leest men:

✠ MONETA ✠ HERW

d. i. *Moneta (de) Herderwich* of misschien ook te lezen *Herderwicensis*.

Kz. tusschen het kruis:

REY | NATL | DVS | DV✠

In den buitenrand:

✠ BRIDICTV : SIT : NOMS : ORI : ORI : HV : ✠P

Deze munt is alzoo tot dus verre van Z^e.

V.d. Chijs p. 33 ^[3]

Edward, Duke of Guelders (1361-1371)

Edward, claimant (1353-1360)

• TYPE X:

RENLES / ADEWARD D GELR

Edward as claimant (1353-1360) ?

Not Verified

V.d. Chijs Plate IV, 1 ^[3]

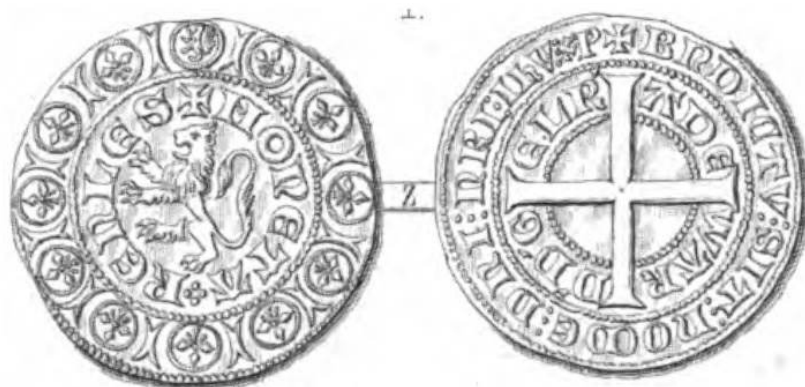
R. Serrure 73 ^[15]

Roest 91 ?? ^[11]

11♣ / 1♣ border



Lion with single tail and no crown (?)



V.d. Chijs Plate IV, 1 ^[3]

✠ MONETA ✠ RENLES
 AD E WTR D'D'G ELR'
 ✠ BNDICTV : SIT : DOME : DNI : DRI : IHV : XPI

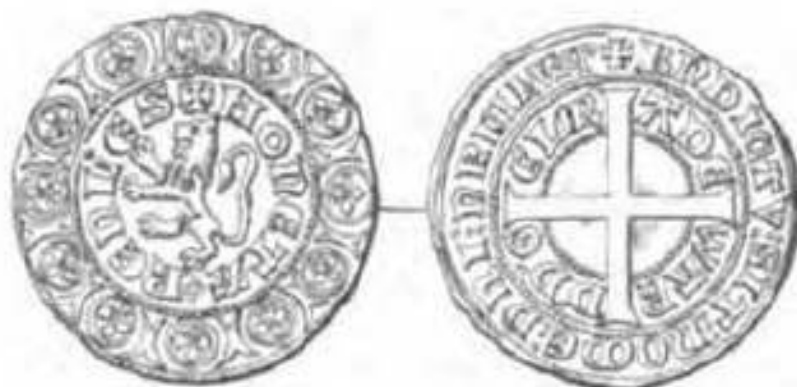


Fig. 73.

R. Serrure 73 ^[15]

R. Serrure's illustration seems to show a pellet **L** in RENLES on the obverse.

At this time, this type is known only from these 19th century drawings, as the coin itself has disappeared from public view, and we have been unable to verify its existence or reported characteristics. It is not in the NNC/DNB collections (or, in any case, has not yet been found there). **The location of this coin, apparently the only reported specimen, is now unknown.**

This type was reported by v.d. Chijs in 1852 ^[3] and again by R. Serrure ^[15] (based upon v.d. Chijs). V.d. Chijs' knowledge of the type is based solely upon a drawing provided to him by

A. Justen of Venlo, in whose collection the coin was found ref. 3, p. 38). V.d. Chijs believed that the obverse legend was an error for VENLES (i.e. Venlo). If this is true, then a VENLES variety might exist as well. Note that like the other Justen collection coin (v.d. Chijs pl. III, 2), the outer legend ends XP.

EDUARD ALS JONKHEER.

(1350—1361.)

Het twistvuur, dat sinds lang had gesmeuld, en zich vertoond in bijzondere veeten tusschen sommige aanzienlijke geslachten, sloeg omstreeks 1348 over tot het ganeche gewest. Zóó ontstond de burgerkrijg, die onder den naam van

(. 38)

den oorlog der Heeckerens en Bronkhorsten bekend is, en Gelderland jaren lang beroerde.

Het is voor ons oogmerk genoeg, te doen opmerken dat de Numismatiek aan denzelfden de munten van Eduard te danken heeft.

Onder deze munten, geslagen tusschen 1350 en 1371, komt het eerst in aanmerking een *groot of zilveren schild*, met Eduards naam geslagen, tijdens zijnen opstand tegen zijnen ouderen broeder Reinoud III, en dus na het jaar 1350, in allen gevalle vóór het jaar 1361, toen hij zich den Hertogelijken titel verwierf. Wij hebben die munt afgebeeld onder N°. 1.

Op de vz. ziet men den klimmenden leeuw, en verder de zelfde sieraden als boven beschreven onder N°. 2, de groot van Reinoud III. Het omschrift is thans:

✠ MONETT ÷ RENLES

Waarschijnlijk eene fout voor VENLES, en alzoo: *mint van Venlo*.

Op de kz. staat, tusschen de beenen van het kruis:

ADG | WTR | D'D'G | ELR'

Hetgeen zal moeten beteekenen:

Adewardus de Gelre, of: Eduard, Jonkheer van Gelre.

In den buitenrand staat, even als op den laatst beschreven groot van Hertog Reinoud:

✠ BRDICTV : enz.

Weegt even als deze. Z^o: Is ons alleen bekend door eene medegedeelde teekening der munt, toenmaals in het bezit van den Heer A. JUSTEN.

v.d. Chijs pp. 37-38^[3]

We see here the use of a typical sort of flawed “logic” sometimes employed by numismatists and other researchers. Although he had previously interpreted the **cat. Type II** legend as REINOLDvs, **Dvx** NOster GelRensis, here v.d. Chijs translates the **cat. Type IX** legend as ADEWARDvs **De** GELRensis. How does he know that it is not ADEWARDvs **Dvx** GELRensis?

The following 3 coins (2-4) described by v.d. Chijs are coins with a helm as a type, some of which had an *Edward de* legend and other an *Edward d* legend.

V.d. Chijs' logic is that Reinald III was duke, so the **D** on his coin must stand for DVX. Because he has helm coins with both *d* and *de* legends, v.d. Chijs assumes that the **d** of the *leeuwengroot* legend must also stand for *de*.

But for all v.d. Chijs (or anyone else) knows, the **D** on the Edward coin stands for DVX, and the coin was struck 1361-1365. In theory, the Reinald **cat. Type II** coin is the precedent for such a possibility.

V.d. Chijs uses the “**D** for *de*” on the Edward coin as **evidence** that the coin **must** have been struck during Edward's rebellion against Reinald, i.e. 1350-1361.

The fact of the matter is: we cannot date the Edward *leeuwengroot* with any certainty to any particular point after 1346 (the introduction of the initial cross in Flanders and elsewhere), especially when we are unable to inspect an example for ourselves and study its characteristics. V.d. Chijs' assertion that the Edward *leeuwengroot* was struck during his rebellion period may well be true, but then again, it may not.

V.d. Chijs states “*Weegt even als deze*”, which presumably means that the coin weighed the same as the previous Reinald coin that he is discussing, i.e. 3.1 g.:

Z. weegt 3,1 w. Z^s.

v.d. Chijs, p. 33^[3]

This is obviously not the same as Roest's 2.395 g. (see **Type IX var.** below). V.d. Chijs also calls the Edward *leeuwengroot* a *zilveren schild*.

• **TYPE X var. ? XI ?:**

VENLOC / ADEWARD D GELR (?)

In 1871, Roest (ref. 11, p. 516) reported a similar coin with a MONETA VENLOC legend, citing “[v.d. Chijs] plate IV, n° 1” (i.e. the RENLES coin described above). Roest does not provide the reverse (cross side) legends.

ÉDOUARD, DAMOISEAU (1359-1361).
N° 91. (Pl. IV, n° 1.) Rev. ✠ MONETA ✠
VENLOC.
Gros au lion, gr. 2.395.
Cabinet royal de La Haye.

Roest n° 91, p. 516^[11]

According to Roest, the coin weighed 2.395 g., and was found in the collection “Royal cabinet of The Hague”, which, as far as we can tell, should mean the Koninklijk Penningkabinet, which moved from Leiden to The Hague (and is currently closed). The coins from the KPK collection are those now found in the collections of the Nationale Numusmatische Collectie (NNC) and De Nederlandsche Bank (DNB). Sadly, we have been unable to locate this coin in the collections^[82]. The alternate possibility, the Teylers Museum in Haarlem, does not have the coin their collection either.

Roest does not provide an illustration, nor any reference to an earlier publication, and his description does not match v.d. Chijs’. V.d. Chijs’ drawing gives the impression that the coin he described was a near-pristine example, which may not be the case at all. In fact, v.d. Chijs himself states that he never saw an example of this type, only a drawing he received from someone else.

Is it possible that the VENLOC and RENLES coins were one and the same, and that the obverse legend is (partially) illegible? Or should we say **VENLOC** and **RENLES**, which are even closer to one another? What if the “the coin” read something like: ...**ENL[OE]...** ?

The assumption being made is that because these coins do not bear the word DVX, they must have been struck while Edward was not in power in the duchy, but rather when he was merely a claimant (described as “*damoiseau*” or “*ruwaard*”). In effect, the coins are no different from the REINOLD DNOS GR coins (**cat. III** and **IV**), also without DVX; the ADEWARD D GELR legend could be read as either **Dominvs** GELRensis or as **Dvx** GELRensis (or, as v.d. Chijs would have it, **De** GELRensis).

R. Serrure says this about the Gelre *leeuwengroten* in general:

“Pour le classement des *gros au lion* de Gueldre, je m’en suis rapporté au mémoire de M. Roest, publié dans la *Revue belge de numismatique* de 1891 ; je dois cependant faire mes réserves sur ce classement, car à mon avis le *gros* avec le petit aigle au commencement de la légende de l’avers — copie des pièces de Louis de Crécy — est plus ancien que les autres où la légende débute par une croix, comme sur les pièces flamandes de Louis de Male.”

– R. Serrure, p. 174 (ref. 15)

FRACTIONAL COINS

There seem to be an enormous number of fractional Guelders coins with a rampant lion as a main type, some of which were struck for Mathilda, although it is debatable whether these coins are “fractional *leeuwengroten*” or not. Even Reinald III and Edward’s mother Eleonora struck some of these small coins (although some of Eleonora’s coins have a more “English” lion *passant* as a type). V.d. Chijs and Roest ascribe many of the fractionals to Reinald II (1326-1343). All of them have a long cross on the reverse. The coins are difficult to study because there are only a few specimens known, and many of those are in a poor, semi-illegible state.

One gets the impression that in Gelderland, the fractional *leeuwengroten* may have been more popular than the full *groten*, based upon the sheer number of types. There are so many Guelders fractional *leeuwengroten* known that we have decided that the best plan is to deal with them in a separate report.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to thank the following persons and institutions for their kind assistance: Jos Benders, DNB/NNC, Martin Damsma, Huis van Hilde, CdMB/KBR, the Münzkabinett of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Bode Museum), Jan Pelsdonk, Provinciaal Depot voor Archeologie, Noord-Holland, Alain Renard, Stadsmuseum Harderwijk, Valentine Schröder, Christian Stoess, Teylers Museum, Johan Van Heesch, Martin Veen, and Bas Völlink.

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Die ostfriesischen Münzfunde

Peter Berghaus

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in ***Friesisches Jahrbuch***

Number 32

1958

pp 51-52

Item 36. Schoo

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

Rudolf A. A. Bosch

pp. 1-25

[3]

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

P. O. van der Chijs

Erven F. Bohn, Haarlem

1852

[4]

De Nederlandse Munten

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Utrecht, 1966 (reprinted 2002)

ISBN 90-274-69679

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Gerben Graddesz Hellinga

ISBN-10: 9057308312

ISBN-13: 9789057308314

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Nr. 4, 2011

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[8]

Monnaies rares au cabinet royal de la Haye

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pp. 281-320

Plate X, 41-46

[9]

Engelse leeuwen in Gelre

J. Pelsdonk

in ***De Beeldenaar***, 2016-5

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[10]

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T. M. Roest

in ***RBN*** 1871

pp. 268- 284

Plates IX – XI

[11]

Essai de classificationes monnaies du comté puis duché de Gueldre

T. M. Roest

in ***Revue Belge Numismatique***, 1891

pp. 370-404

Plates X & XI

pp. 516-562

Plates XI & XIII

[12]

Onbekende Leeuwengroot van Reinoud II van Gelderland, heer van Vollenhove, te Elborgh in 1336 geslagen [sic]

André Schulman

in ***RBN*** 13, 1926

pp. 91 - 95

[13]

Vaderlandsch museum voor Nederduitsche letterkunde, oudheid en geschiedenis
Deel 3

C. P. Serrure

H. Hoste, Gent 1859-1860

Plate IV

p. 405

[14]

Vaderlandsch museum voor Nederduitsche letterkunde, oudheid en geschiedenis
Deel 5

C. P. Serrure

H. Hoste, Gent 1863

Plate I

p. 401

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

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1899

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