

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

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Introduction

The Flemish *leeuwengroten* of Count Louis I of Nevers (1322-1346) and his son, Louis II of Mâle (1346-1384), struck on and off from 1337 until 1364, circulated widely throughout the Low Countries (and beyond) and were imitated in many places, among them the County of Holland. This imitation consisted of copying the weight, fineness, and general characteristics of the coin.



*A Flemish leeuwengroot of Louis of Nevers
Elsen 107-841 / 3.88 g.*

Although the existing records from medieval Flanders are relatively complete, at least for count Louis of Mâle, we cannot say the same for Holland. Each successive Flemish issue was struck from either silver of a fineness reduced from that of the previous issue, or with a reduction in the weight of the coins, or both. This practice was followed closely in Holland; as the fineness of the coins in Flanders dropped, so did the fineness of the Holland coins.

The issues of Flemish *leeuwengroten* were marked by the mints through the use of special marks on the coins, for example an L with a pellet over the ‘foot’ or the direction of the stem of the leaf after MONETA. Since these were “secret” marks for use by the authorities and not the general public, the medieval records do not relay which mint signs went with which issues, and numismatists must try and piece together the chronology from the information gathered from researching coin hoards^[22].

Variations in the Holland *leeuwengroten* are present as well, the implication being that the mint in Holland (usually at Dordrecht) followed the Flemish example in marking the successive issues in some way or another. However, the evidence seems to show that the ‘Flemish Model’ (i.e. the exact markings of the Flemish coins) was not exactly followed in Holland, although certain aspects were broadly adopted, e.g. the presence of pellets left or right of the initial cross.

There are four types of Holland *leeuwengroot* known to exist, of which three are extremely rare and the other relatively common. A fifth type is listed in the previous literature, but to date we have been unable to verify its existence.

The study of the Hollander *leeuwengroten* is difficult, far more difficult than studying those of Flanders. Lack of medieval records, lack of available coins and lack of accurate, modern literature are the most daunting hindrances to the study of these coins. Of the few pieces that are available for investigation, many of them have illegible marks that make complete identification impossible (a common problem with *leeuwengroten* of all regions).



*private collection, 1.85 g.
unclear initial cross area*



*private collection, 1.85 g.
unclear pellet (?) L*

There were probably other types minted which are unknown to us today. Variant types, not listed in this paper, are almost certainly lurking in the collections of private individuals, museums or universities, or somewhere in the ground. And although several types are known from the coins themselves, the correct, chronological sequence of their issue is still far from certain. Since this paper is merely a preliminary look at the Holland *leeuwengroten*, we have not chosen for a ‘hard and fast’ numbering system. Certain noteworthy sections of the text have been highlighted in red, as have individual letters or marks of interest.

The coin we are calling a *leeuwengroot* is also known as a *gros au lion*. It is also known as a *gros compaignon* (French), *gezel* (Dutch/Flemish) and *socius* (Latin).

PLEASE SEND US PHOTOGRAPHS OF ANY HOLLAND LEEUWENGROTEN THAT YOU HAVE.

A Note About The Illustrations

The size of a *leeuwengroot* is approximately 27-28 cm. The Flemish coin on page 2 is shown at actual size, most of the other illustrations in this paper are presented at a size as large as would fit onto a standard piece of paper, in order to show as much detail as possible, thus far larger than ‘life size’. We have made little or no effort to ensure that the coins are to scale with one another. While we realize that the standard practice is to show coins at actual size, we feel that the benefits to the reader of large photographs far outweigh this tradition. The study of *leeuwengroten* is the study of fine details on the coins, and the larger coin here is simply easier to see (private collection):



shown at actual size

Previous Literature

Until now, the two main sources of information for medieval Holland coins, and specifically the *leeuwengroten*, have been **Van der Chijs** (*De munten der voormalige graafschappen Holland en Zeeland...*^[21]) and **Grolle** (*De Muntslag van de Graven van Holland tot de Bourgondische Unificatie in 1434*^[8]), both of which are written in Dutch. The former work (one of nine volumes) is long out of print, but is currently available in digital form on the Internet. The latter work (three volumes) is also out of print, but can still be found if one makes a bit of effort. Although both works are still useful for the medieval documentation they provide, the categorizations of Holland *leeuwengroten* set forth in these two publications can be completely distilled down to one table (see Table 1 on the following page),.

Discussion of Holland *leeuwengroten* can also be found in **R. Serrure**: *L'imitation des types monétaires Flamands au moyen-âge...*^[22] and **Post**: *Op Zilver Gemunt*^[18]. In 1988, the Dutch numismatic periodical *De Beeldenaar* published **Ghyssens**: *De Hollandse leeuwengroten van Willem V: een poging tot rubricering*^[7]. (The titles of these works indicate the languages in which they are written.)

Van Gelder discusses Holland *leeuwengroten* in his paper on the Dokkum Hoard (1932)^[5], but only in the most superficial manner, and his paper has been completely superseded by ours (ref. 18). In *De Nederlandse Munten*^[6], van Gelder gives a succinct and accurate description of the Flemish *leeuwengroot*'s history (pp. 42-44), but no information specific to the Holland *leeuwengroten*.

Holland *leeuwengroten* are, of course, mentioned in several other papers by various authors, but most of these are of little consequence. A previously unknown type of ¼ *leeuwengroot* that was not included in Grolle's book was published in an article by **van Herwijnen and van de Koppel**^[12].

Experience has taught us that it is best not to blindly rely upon the information provided by previous authors, but rather to double-check everything before proceeding further. All previous numismatic researchers are to be praised for their endeavors, but as it turns out, none of the previously published works accurately report all of the various sorts of Holland *leeuwengroten* currently known to exist, and they cannot be used to accurately identify the various sorts of Holland *leeuwengroten* in any more than the most superficial manner. (See **Appendices B** (v.d. Chijs & Serrure) and **C** (Grolle *et al*) for further explanation.)

Types of Holland Leeuwengroot

The types of Holland *leeuwengroot* that will be discussed are as follows:

* MONETA HOLLANDIE cross type	Grolle 16.1.1	v.d. Chijs VI, 18-B
MONETA HOLLANDIE eagle type	Grolle 16.2.1	v.d. Chijs IV, 4
MS GERT type	Grolle 16.3.1	v.d. Chijs XXVI, 3
MONETA HOLAN & Z type	Grolle 17.2.2 f	v.d. Chijs —
MONETA HOLLAND type	Grolle 17.2.2	v.d. Chijs VI, 18

obverse legend	Grolle	van der Chijs	R. Serrure	Post
✚ HOLANDIE	16.1.1	VI, 18-B	66	16, 3
🦅 HOLANDIE	16.2.1	IV, 4	66 b	16, 1
🦅 MS GERT	16.3.1	XXVI, 3	67	16, 2
✚ HOLAN & Z	17.2.2 f	—	—	—
✚ HOLAND	17.2.2	VI, 18	68	17, 1

Table 1

* The existence of the ✚HOLLANDIE type has not been verified at this time.

Medieval Counterfeit Coins

Medieval, counterfeit Holland *leeuwengroten* in base metal are known (or at any rate, suspected) to exist as well:



private collection / 2.28 g.



Amersfoort (1991) A0004 / 2.16 g. ^[29]



Amersfoort (1991) A0012 / 2.02 g. [29]

Based upon style and general appearance, the 3 coins shown above are among the suspected medieval, counterfeit, Holland *leeuwengroten* known to the authors.

Counts of Holland

Like its neighbor the Duchy of Brabant, the medieval County of Holland was a fief of the German Empire, unlike the County of Flanders, most of which was held as a fief of France.

We are primarily concerned with those Counts of Holland who held power during the period in which *leeuwengroten* were struck in Flanders (and thus in the neighboring regions as well), a period that runs from the last weeks of William III's reign through that of William V (including the *ruwaardschap* of his brother Albert).

In the 14th century, the Count of Holland was also the Count of Hainaut (and of Zeeland), and it is important to note that William III of Holland was William I of Hainaut (and so on). Because *leeuwengroten* were struck in Hainaut but not in Zeeland, we shall be ignoring the latter, while keeping a close eye on the issues of *leeuwengroten* in Hainaut (a fief of France).

Problems arose after the death of William IV of Holland, who died without heir. His sister, Margaret d'Avesnes inherited Hainaut outright, and was named as Countess of Holland and Zeeland by her husband Lewis the Bavarian, who was Holy Roman Emperor. Margaret thus received the counties as the eldest surviving relative of William IV and by right of grant from the liege lord of the counties, the Emperor (Hainaut aside). Margaret eventually sent her young son William (V) to oversee Holland for her and in time he was named as Count.

When the annuities that Margaret had arranged should be paid to her in exchange for the county were not forthcoming, she reclaimed her rights to Holland back from her son. The plot becomes thicker and thicker as the conflict known as the *Hoekse en Kabeljauwse Twist* began to unfold, between supporters of William and Margaret, the details of which are too complicated to go into here. Suffice it to say that William finally and officially became Count William V of Holland in 1354. But within a few short years he began to show signs of increasing mental instability, which culminated in the murder of one of his own, loyal

followers in a fit of uncontrollable rage. Some two years after this event William became so unstable that he was finally declared insane and confined to La Quesnoy castle in Hainaut. Although he had been removed from power, William V was still the Count of Holland, and when his brother Albert took over *de facto* control of Holland it was with the title of *ruwaard*, which is more or less a sort of regent. Only after William died in 1389 did Albert become Count of Holland, long after minting of *leeuwengroten* had ceased. (Note that Margaret remained Countess of Hainaut until her death in 1356.)

The Counts of Holland and Hainaut

HOLLAND	Holland	HAINAUT	Hainaut	Initial mark in Flanders *
William III	1304 - June 1337	William I	1304 - June 1337	-
William IV	June 1337 - Sep. 1345	William II	June 1337 - Sep. 1345	✠
Margaret I d'Avesnes	Jan. 1346 - 1354	Margaret II d'Avesnes	1345 - 1356	✠
William V	1354 - 1389	William III	1356 - 1389	✠
Albert I as 'regent'	1358 - 1389	Albert I as 'regent'	1358 - 1389	✠
Albert I	1389 - 1404	Albert I	1389 - 1404	-

Table 2

* i.e. if *leeuwengroten* were being struck in Flanders at the time.

The Mint in Holland

Throughout most of the Middle Ages, the Holland mint was situated in Dordrecht. At some point during the reign of William IV, the mint was moved to Geertruidenberg, which, in the mid-14th century was in Holland, although the border later shifted so that it was (and is) in Brabant. (The mint was later returned to Dordrecht.)

Geertruidenberg (or Saint Geertruidenberg) was named after St. Gertrude of Nivelles (c. 621 (or 628) - 659), patron saint of travelers, gardeners and cats. Although today she is generally depicted with a cat, in the Middle Ages she was often called upon against rats, and so she is seen in the company of one or more of these rodents.

We were unable to find any evidence whatsoever as to exactly *when* the mint was moved to Geertruidenburg during the reign of William IV, or when it was returned to Dordrecht thereafter.

According to Grolle ^[8], it was in 1342, according to van Gelder ^[6] and Puister ^[19]: 1340. But none of these authors provide us with a source for these dates. We could find no record anywhere as to when the mint was moved; in fact, the only proof that we have at all for the striking of *leeuwengroten* (and fractionals) in Geertruidenberg is the legends on the coins themselves.

According to van Gelder ^[6], the mint had always been at Dordrecht from the mid-11th century to the mid 14th, except that:

“Under Floris V a second, temporary mint house in Medemblik was in service, and under William V a second mint in Middelburg. (see 8b).

On a few occasions, the mint was temporarily moved from Dordrecht to Geertruidenberg or Zevenbergen (see 9c).”

– van Gelder ^[6], p. 220

“8. Zeeland

b. Counts of Holland

Under William V (1354-1389) there was a second Hollander mint in Middelburg in 1366-1367.”

– van Gelder ^[6], p. 223

“9. North-Brabant

c. Counts of Holland

On a few occasions, the Hollander mint at Dordrecht was temporarily moved from the then-in-Holland, now-in-North-Brabant places:

Geertruidenberg	under William IV c. 1340
	under Albert 1391-1393
Zevenbergen	under Philip the Good 1428-1430”

– van Gelder ^[6], p. 224

Van Gelder does not provide us with the source(s) for his information regarding the relocation of the mint to Geertruidenberg, but in any case places it two years before Grolle.

There seems to be some evidence that a Jan van Nederhem submitted a bill to Margaret d’Avesnes in 1350 in his capacity as warden of the mint at Geertruidenberg. Although no one seems to have expressly stated any such thing, perhaps the mint remained in Geertruidenberg until 1354, when a new issue of *leeuwengroten* began in Dordrecht (presumably the HOLLAND type), under William V.

The small numbers of MS GERT and  MONETA HOLLANDIE coins known would seem to indicate that they were never produced in enormous number.

A Fractional Groot From Geertruidenberg

Grolle —



21 mm., 0.80 grams
photo: Hans Denis (VIOE) ^[17]

✠ MONETA [NOV]A • M S GERTRVDIS

✠ G • COMES : HOLLAND'

✠ BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : DEI

In 2006, Frans De Buyser & Jan Pelsdonk published *Een middeleeuwse munt uit Geertruidenberg* in the Dutch coin periodical *De Beeldenaar* ^[17]. The article described the coin shown above, which was therein described as both a $\frac{1}{4}$ *groot* and a $\frac{1}{2}$ *groot*. The coin was found in Puurs in Belgium. As this is the only known specimen of this type, it is not listed in Grolle's book, which was published before the piece was unearthed.

The coin was originally reported in:

Rapport archeologisch onderzoek Puurs-Pullaer II

Bourgeois I., De Maeyer W. & Jacobs B.

Provinciebestuur Antwerpen Dienst Cultureel Erfgoed

Antwerp, 2006

unpublished report

De Buyser and Pelsdonk conclude that:

“It is a half groot *{sic}* from the County of Holland, struck in Geertruidenberg for William IV in the period 1344-1345.”

Although they summarize that:

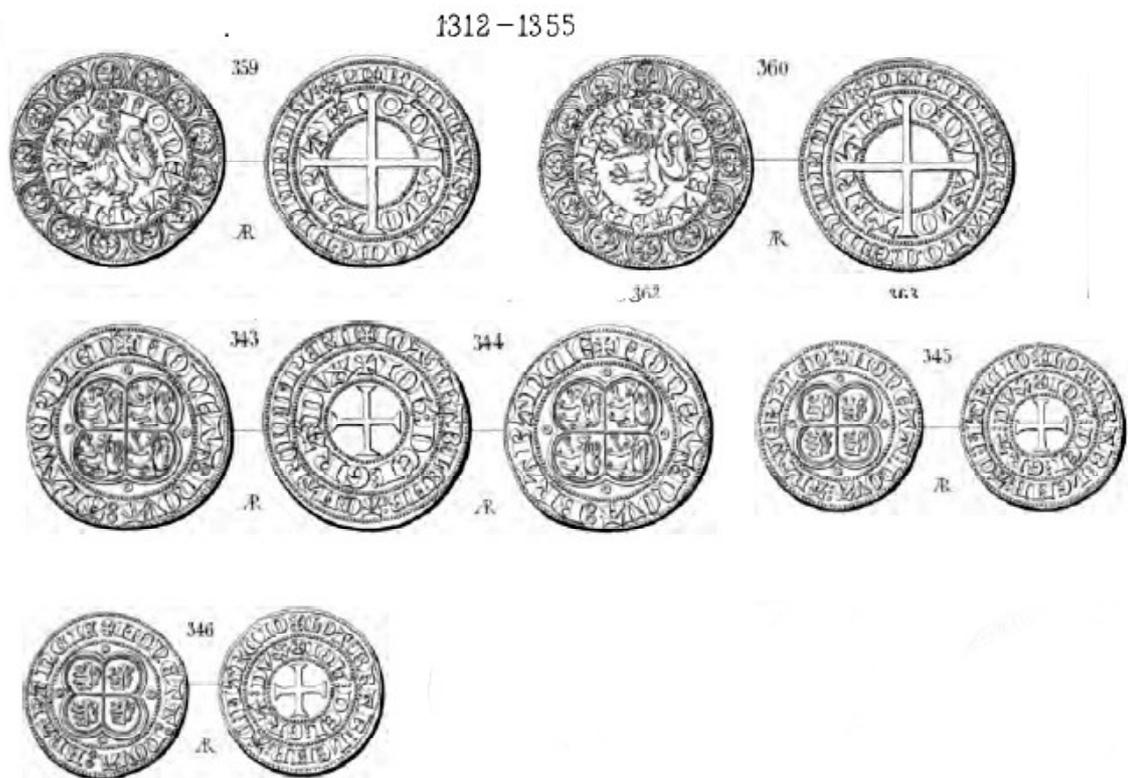
“Summary: Holland, quarter groot *[sic]* William IV (1337-1345), struck at Geertruidenberg 1344-1345.”

Although the coin was clearly struck at Geertruidenberg, there is no more evidence that the coin was struck in 1344-1345 than there is that it was struck in 1340-1342. We simply do not know when this coin was struck (nor did de Buyser and Pelsdonk).

According to de Buyser and Pelsdonk, similar coins were struck in Brabant 1344 (it is from this date that they conclude the Holland coin was struck 1344-1345). Our research has not indicated that the Brabant coins can be dated to 1344 *per se*, but we are not yet finished with our investigation.

In any case, these similar, Brabant coins are: Vanhoudt G 277 / de Witte 345 and Vanhoudt G 278 / de Witte 346.

SIZE COMPARISON de Witte:



de Witte Plates XV & XVI ^[31]

It would appear that if DW 359-360 (3.95 g. / 3.56 g.) are full *grotten*, then DW 343-344 (2.55 g. / 2.40 g.) must be half *grotten* (i.e. *grands blancs*). DW 345-346 (0.95 g. each) must be quarter *grotten* (*petits blancs*).

At 21 mm. and 0.80 grams, it seems that the Holland coin must be a $\frac{1}{4}$ *groot* (*petit blanc*).

Dating the Holland Leeuwengroten

Van der Chijs does not make any attempt to place the Holland *leeuwengroten* in any kind of chronological order, while Grolle does, at least to some extent. But other than by the presence or absence of the word DVX, there is no way to place the Holland *leeuwengroten* in chronological order with any certainty. Most of the relevant, medieval documents have long since disappeared.

Coins of the MS GERT, †HOLANDIE and ♁HOLANDIE types all bear the title of **count** but not **duke**. Medieval rulers were fond of placing their “highest” title on their coins, and duke is a “higher” title than count. The fact that DVX is missing from the first three types is a clear indication that they must have been struck for William IV, who was not a duke.

William V was Duke of Bavaria *before* he was Count of Holland. The fact that he was Duke of Bavaria and not Holland was irrelevant; he was a duke, and the word DVX appears on his Holland coins, including the HOLAN & Z and HOLAND *leeuwengroten*. He simply would not have struck coins with COMES alone, and no DVX.

Or... were the †MONETA HOLANDIE (if they exist) coins struck at some point 1346-1347, before William was a duke, having been sent to Holland by his mother to oversee the county (as *verbeider*)? Although not yet entitled to call himself count, striking such coins may have been some kind of political, propaganda move, made with or without his mother’s consent.

Unlike Flanders under Louis II of Mâle, we do not have an unbroken sequence of medieval records available for the County of Holland. We do not have a list of *leeuwengroot* issues to match up against the known types of coins.

In the early part of the 14th century (and before), it had been the tradition in Holland (and Brabant) to place the name of the mint city after the word MONETA and not the name of the realm, as was the case on coins from the mid-14th century and later. At first glance it would therefore seem likely that the MS GERT *leeuwengroten* should be the oldest, followed by the other type with an initial eagle, the ♁ MONETA HOLANDIE coins. The idea that the MS GERT *leeuwengroten* come first is in direct opposition to Grolle’s classification of the coins. Neither theory is supported by hard evidence, and either theory might be correct, we simply do not know for sure. Alternatively, the mention of Geertruidenberg on the coins may have been a clear statement that the coins were not struck at Dordrecht; the reasoning behind the need for such a statement is too complicated to go into here.

If the MS GERT coins were indeed the first type, and the ♁HOLANDIE second, we would expect the †HOLANDIE coins (if they actually do exist), to come next in the sequence, based upon that initial cross (and the obverse border of 12 leaves). In Grolle’s sequence the †HOLANDIE coins are the first issue, not the last, and once again, there is no actual evidence either way.

It is important to note that the combination of an initial cross with a 12 ♣ border as found on the †HOLANDIE coins is not seen in Flanders, nor anywhere else, except for one rare Brabant type (MONETA BRVXELLEN, de Witte 364). This, along with the fact the only one specimen of a † MONETA HOLANDIE coin was ever recorded (whereabouts currently unknown), in a 19th century book which is not particularly known for its accuracy, make us question the existence of this type. No photograph exists, only a drawing.

The available, helpful hoard evidence is minimal. The only HOLAN & Z ½ *groot* known was found in the Arnhem Hoard (1957), the only 2 known corresponding full *groten*, one in the Dokkum Hoard (1932) and the other as a loose find in The Netherlands. The provenances of

most of the other rare Holland specimens are unknown, as are the exact characteristics of most of the Holland *leeuwengroten* found in coin hoards or as loose finds over the years.

Comparison of the relevant details visible on the known Holland *leeuwengroten* yields the following table (the chronological order at this point merely tentative):

↓ <i>old to new?</i> →	hOLAŅDIƆ †	hOLAŅDIƆ ‡	MS GERT	hOLAŅD
‡	-	‡	‡	-
†	†	-	-	†
12 ♣	12 ♣	12 ♣	12 ♣	-
11 ♣ / 1 ⚔	-	-	-	11 ♣ / 1 ⚔
BNDICTV	BNDICTV	BNDICTV	BNDICTV	-
BŅDICTV	-	-	-	BŅDICTV
DEI	DEI	DEI	-	-
DƆI	-	-	DƆI	-
NOMƆ	NOMƆ	NOMƆ	-	-
NOMƆ	-	-	NOMƆ	-
ŅOMƆ	-	-	-	ŅOMƆ
DŅI	-	-	DŅI	-
DŅI	DŅI	DŅI [*]	-	DŅI
DVX	-	-	-	DVX

Table 3

* V.d. Chijs' illustration shows **DŅI**, 3 of the 4 known coins show **DŅI** (the fourth is unclear).

Although not shown in the table, the MONETA HOLAN & Z coins conform to the characteristics of the MONETA HOLLAND coins as shown in Table 3 above.

If our proposed chronological order is correct, than the table above should “flow” from the top left to the bottom right, as it indeed does for the change from **M** to **Ņ** in NOME, and the change from **E** to **Ɔ** in DEI initial eagle/cross and borders of 12 ♣ and 11 ♣ / 1 ⚔, and for the N's of BNDICTV and NOME. DŅI, on the other hand, goes from **Ņ** to **N** and back to **Ņ** – an unsatisfying sequence.

The change from **†** to **‡** and back again is strange also and unexpected. The “normal” course of events would be to go from eagle to cross, with no return to the eagle. Nevertheless, Table 3 represents the most satisfying arrangement (i.e. that with the least amount of apparent irregularities).

No possible arrangement ends up with a perfect ‘down and to the right’ table – an indication that some of the characteristics on the coins must have changed back to an older form, and thereafter once again into the newer form.

SEE APPENDIX C for an analysis of Grolle’s proposed types

The Reverse, Outer Legend

On the reverse, the inner legend of the Holland coins varies from type to type, while the outer legend remains much the same:

BeNeDICTV^m SIT NOMEn DomiNI NostRI DEI IHesV CHRIsTi
Blessed be the Name of Our Lord God Jesus Christ

On the coins of William V, the word DEI disappears from the legend, as it eventually did in Flanders (and elsewhere). The forms of the letters E, M and N in the outer legend are also of interest, and their usage in Holland does not seem to conform to the contemporary coins of Flanders (or Brabant). Holland legends:

✠ BNDICTV : SIT : NOM~~E~~ : D~~NI~~ : ~~Q~~RI : DEI : IHV : XPI

✠ BNDICTV : SIT : NOM~~E~~ : DNI : ~~Q~~RI : D~~E~~I : IH’V : XPI

✠ B~~ND~~ICTV : SIT : ~~Q~~OM~~E~~ : D~~NI~~ : ~~Q~~RI : IHV : XPI

The order in which the types are listed in the following catalog may or may not be the chronological order in which these types were issued in the County of Holland in the 14th century.

The *Leeuwengroten* of the County of Holland

CATALOG of COINS

William III, Count of Holland

(22 August, 1304 - 7 June, 1337)
also Count of Hainaut and Zeeland

– no *leeuwengroten* struck –

William IV, Count of Holland

(7 June, 1337 - 26 September, 1345)
also Count of Hainaut and Zeeland

leeuwengroten as follows:

Gros HOLLANDIE + cross

Grolle 16.1.1 (a) [according to Grolle: 1st issue 1337]

R. Serrure Type 66 (as William IV)

v.d. Chijs VI, 18-B (as William III)

NOT VERIFIED

Initial cross, 12 leaves

5 lobes ❁



❁ **MONETA HOLLANDIE**
GVI LEL MxCO MES

❁ **BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : DRI : DEI : IHV . XPI**

We have not seen a specimen of this type of coin, and the whereabouts of the only recorded example are currently unknown. This type was reported by v.d. Chijs, and then again by R. Serrure, Grolle and Post. Of these, v.d. Chijs was the only one to actually see the coin (then in the Fokker collection), with the possible but unlikely exception of R. Serrure.

The unusual combination of a 12❁ border and an initial cross is cause for healthy skepticism – this type may well exist, but then again, it may not. See **Appendices B** (v.d. Chijs & R. Serrure) and **C** (Grolle) for a detailed explanation of the problems regarding this coin.

If this type of *leeuwengroot* does indeed exist, it is likely that the pellet before XPI on the reverse is in fact a triple pellet stop like the other marks. Furthermore, if it is correctly described and illustrated, it would be the only Holland *leeuwengroot* without a mark after MONETA.

Gros HOLLANDIE + eagle

Grolle Type 16.2.1 (a) [according to Grolle: 2nd issue 1340-1341]

R. Serrure 66b

V.d. Chijs IV, 4 : 2.65 g. (damaged)

12 leaves

5 lobes ❀



DNB-00968 / 3.71 g

[formerly DNB 996.9; ex. L Schulman 23-213]

❀ **MONETA** * **HOLLANDIE**
GVI LEL M^o MES

✠ **BNDICTV** : **SIT** : **NOME** : **DNI** : **QRI** : **DEI** : **IHV** : **XPI**



Museum Simon Van Gijn 5585



private collection / 2.81 g.; ex Agora 238

Reverse legend with **DNI** ?



DNB (KPK) NM-02715 / 3.738 g.

3 lobes ❀

The **X** after **MONETA** is present but feeble. Unlike the previous 3 coins, the border leaves only have 3 lobes.



Bonatiele-detmid471

- same as previous coin -

Although more specimens probably exist somewhere, the 5 coins show above are the only examples we have found of this type of coin. There is an unmistakable difference between the border leaves of the first three coins and those of the last two. The Roman **E** in DEI is unusual for a *gros au lion*, and is different from the MS GERT coins. The Roman **N**'s and **M** are usually seen on early *leeuwengroten* (from any region). Note the **Ń** in DNI, however.

The central lion on these coins seems more like the longer, leaner Brabant lion than the squat, flat-headed lion of the early Flemish coins. The fringe on the right side of the tails is made up of many small strokes, instead of fewer, large strokes as on the Flemish coins and the Holland MS GERT coins. (These observations are fairly subjective, of course, and must not be construed as any kind of hard evidence.)

The similarity of the  HOLLANDIE *leeuwengroot* to this **Hainaut** *leeuwengroot* cannot be ignored:



ELSEN 87-442 / 3.76 g.

✠ MONETA * HAINONIE
GVI LEL MꝰO MES

✠ BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : DEI : IHV : XPI

3 lobes 

✠ MONETA * HOLANDIE
GVI LEL MꝰO MES

✠ BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : DEI : IHV : XPI

3 lobes  / 5 lobes 

The only difference between these two types is the word after MONETA (and perhaps the border leaves). The Hainaut coin was also struck for William IV (as William III of Hainaut), and the obvious implication is that the two coins are concurrent with one another.

Gros Geertruidenberg (MS GERT)

Grolle 16.3.1 (a) [according to Grolle: 3rd issue 1342-1345]

C.P. Serrure 1

R. Serrure 67

V.d. Chijs XXVI, 3 (3.48 g.)

12 leaves

5 lobes 

MONETA Montis Sanctae GERTrudis

Coin of St. Geertruidenberg (i.e. Mount St. Gertrude)

Examples of a corresponding MS GERT 1/3 *groot* are known as well (see Appendix A: Fractional Coins, **Grolle 16.3.3**).



DNB NM-02721 (formerly KPK 2721) / 3.874 g.

❁ **MONETA** *M*S'*GERT'
 GL'*C OME S*ho LAD'

✠ **BNDICTV** : SIT : **NOME** : **DNI** : **QRI** : **DEI** : **Ih'V** : **XPI**

A finer example you will never see. The *macron* bars are clearly visible above the words in the reverse, outer legend. If there is an apostrophe in IHV, it is not visible. The **E** of **MONETA** is Roman, which is unusual for a *leeuwengroot*. There are three Roman **N**'s in the reverse, outer like, much like the earliest *leeuwengroten* of Louis of Nevers in Flanders (they look like **H**'s). A Roman **N** in **DNI** is very rare; even on coins with Roman **N**'s, it is usually **DN**.

The **A**'s have a legible, straight crossbar. The ascenders “poke out” over the top crossbar; similar **A**'s are seen on the earliest *leeuwengroten* in Flanders as well: ❁.

A photograph of this specimen appeared on the front cover of the Dutch periodical *De Beeldenaar* 1977-1. Although the apostrophe in IHV is unclear, it is visible on the following specimen:

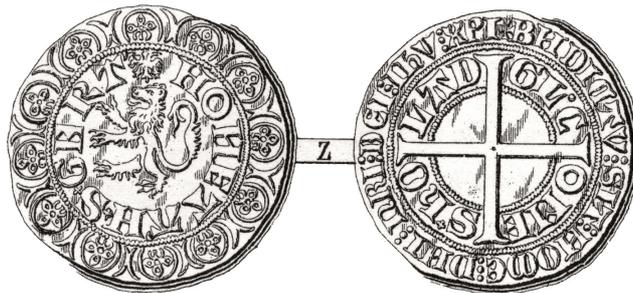


*DNB-00969 (formerly DNB 994.8) / 3.45 g.
(ex. L. Schulman 22-147)*

MONETA *M*S*GERT'
GL'C OME S'RO LAD'

The **A**'s have the same, long ascenders as coin NM-02721 above, but this coin differs from the previous example in that **the A's have chevron crossbars**. Note the unusual pellet by the central lion's belly, which may be no more than a die-sinker's centralizing mark. The small **x** following **GL** on the reverse has ended up above the 'foot' of the **L**: **GL'C**. The **R**'s are this type: **R**.

Take note that although the gothic **n**'s of **MONETA** are clearly visible in the photographs, as are the annuletted **B** and the **A** with crossbar, R. Serurre and v.d. Chijs' illustrations clearly show **MOHETA**. (See Appendix B.) We have never seen any such specimen.



V.d. Chijs Plate XXXVI, 9



*Saint Gertrude of Nivelles – note the rats in the room with her.
(source: Book of Hours, Albrecht van Brandenburg 1522-1523)*

Margaret of Avesnes

Countess of Holland and Zeeland (15 January, 1346 – December, 1354)

Countess of Hainaut (26 September, 1345 – 23 June, 1356)

26 September, 1345

William IV, Count of Holland / William II of Hainaut, is killed
his sister, Margaret of Avesnes, wife of Lewis the Bavarian, HRE,
becomes Countess of Hainaut

15 January, 1346

Lewis, as Emperor and liege-lord, gives his wife Margaret the fiefs of Holland and Zeeland

July, 1346

Margaret sends their 13-year-old son William (V) to Holland to run the county.

1 June, 1350

Margaretha rescinds William's rights and reclaims Holland and Zeeland for herself.

December 1354

William V & Margaret make peace over Holland.

– no *leuwengroten* struck –

William V, Count of Holland

(27 September, 1345 – 15 April, 1389)

Duke of Bavaria after 11 October, 1347
(death of father Lewis the Bavarian, HRE)

(uncontested) **Count of Holland**
December 1354 - 1389
(Albert *de facto* ruler 1358-1389)

Count of Hainaut (as William III) after 23 June 1356
(death of mother Margaret d'Avesnes)

Gros HOLAN & Z

Ghyssens 1988 (Holland) 7
Grolle 17.2.2 f
v.d. Chijs —
R. Serrure —



Dokkum (1932) K190
2.48 g.

[. ✠] MONETA [✠] **HOLAN' F' F'**
GVIL L[LM] DVXD OM[ES]

MONETA HOLLANdie & Zelandie

For almost eighty years, the coin shown on the previous page, from the Dokkum Hoard (1932), was the only known example of this type of *leeuwengroot*. The coin was found long after v.d. Chijs' book was published, and so it is not listed there. Grolle (and Ghysens) incorrectly transcribed the legend as: **HOLAD**, when in fact it is: **HOLAΩ**. (The ½ groot of this type also has a **MONETA HOLAΩ** legend; see Appendix A, **Grolle 17.2.3 h.**) There may be an apostrophe after one or both of the **Z**'s.

Unfortunately, the area around the initial cross is illegible, and confirmation of the presence or absence of a pellet (or two?) is simply not possible.

Perhaps the most striking and unusual of all of the features of this type: the reverse, outer legend does not begin at the top (12:00), but rather at the bottom (6:00). This is the only type of *leeuwengroot* (from any region) we have seen with legends oriented in this way (counterfeit pieces notwithstanding).



private collection / 2.0 g.

The photograph above shows a Holland *leeuwengroot*, found in The Netherlands by a fortunate metal detector user (2011). The coin is a second example of the rare **MONETA HOLAN & Z** type. As on the Dokkum coin K-190, the reverse, outer legend does not begin at 12:00 but rather at 6:00. There is definitely a pellet left of the cross, but no sign of one to the right,



detail

Although very similar to the MONETA HOLAND *leeuwengroten*, the different obverse legend sets this coin apart from the rest. Why is this the only type of Holland *leeuwengroot* to mention Zeeland? We cannot say if this type belongs here chronologically or not (i.e. before the HOLAND coins). It may in fact be the very *last* issue, and should come *after* the HOLAND coins. The type of *groot* that was minted in Holland after the *leeuwengroot* (the *lion with helm groot*) mentions Zeeland in the legend; is that relevant to the coin shown here?

Gros HOLAND

The “common type”

By far, the most common type of Holland *leeuwengroot* seen today is the MONETA HOLAND type struck for Count William V. The combination of 11♣ / 1♣ obverse border and an initial cross in the obverse legend, conforms to the *Flemish Model* of the time (under Louis II of Mâle), as does the reverse, outer legend:

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

without the word DEI. But unlike in Flanders (and most other regions), the T of MONETA on the obverse is only rarely annuletted on Holland HOLAND *leeuwengroten* – an annulet A is far more common. The M’s of the HOLAND coins look like: **M**.

The word GVILLELM seems to use the following letter forms: **GVIL UELM**. The different L’s may have more to do with the shape of the following letter than with any sort of intentional minting mark.

The pellet L's that appear on some HOLLAND coins are often rather vague as to their exact form, and the pellet is often merged with the L itself: **L L**, while some coins have an L that was almost certainly not intended to be pelleted, yet with a rather curvy 'foot' to it: **L**

The pellet left of the initial cross is often quite small, and often well below the line of letters. Sometimes it is under the **D** of HOLLAND and accommodation has been made: **D. D**, while other times it almost looks like the nose of the central lion:



The Leaf Mark

The mark between MONETA and HOLLAND is usually reported as being either a leaf or an X.

Close examination of the coins seems to show that in fact the stop mark is always a leaf.

The authors searched in vain for a HOLLAND *leeuwengroot* that would disprove this theory. But in fact, every coin examined turned out to have a mark that looked more like a leaf than an X, and in most cases it was possible to identify one of the four 'arms' as the leaf stem, and the other three as the leaf lobes. We were unable to find a single MONETA HOLLAND *leeuwengroot* where one could definitively state that the mark was an X and not a leaf.

Unlike Flanders, the stem of the leaf does not change direction from issue to issue. In Holland, the entire leaf was rotated around a central pivot point. Whether the direction of the stem was meant as a distinctive mark in Holland or not is not completely clear, but the evidence seems to suggest that it was. The use of this 'rotating' leaf as a mark may have been copied (?) in Guelders as well. The stem is sometimes straight, sometimes curved.



(The characters shown above are just possible options; not all of these marks are necessarily seen on the actual coins.)

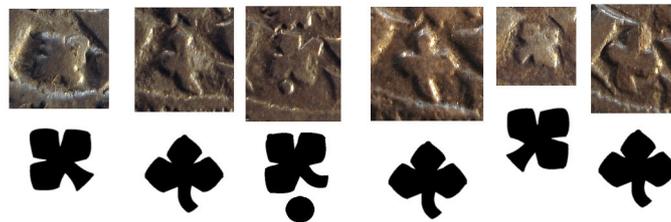


*Examples of leaf-marks on Holland leeuwengroten
(shown with the coins properly oriented)*

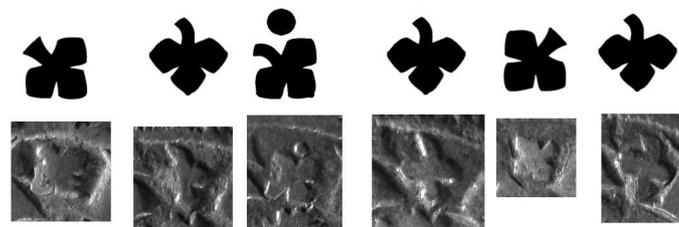
Sometimes there is a pellet over the leaf-mark: ❁ ❁ ❁ .



*Examples of leaf-marks with pellet above, on Holland leeuwengroten
(shown with the coins properly oriented)*



Marks upside-down, as seen when a coin is oriented properly



Marks right-side-up, as seen when a coin legend is transcribed onto paper

HOLAND Sub-Groups

The HOLAND *leeuwengroten* can be further sub-divided into several sub-groups, based on various characteristics that change from coin to coin (issue to issue?). The differences are so distinct, that any interpretation other than as specific minting marks seems almost impossible.

These differences include: normal or annuletted T's and A's, A's with 'normal' or chevron crossbars, presence or absence of a double pellet (colon) after DVX, presence or absence of a pellet right of the cross, 'normal' or pelleted L's, the direction of the leaf stem (i.e. the orientation of the leaf-mark itself), presence or absence of a pellet above the leaf-mark.

There is always a pellet to the left of the cross on HOLAND coins – or rather, we have never seen one without this pellet.

An attempt to group the appropriate characteristics, results in the following table:

<i>type</i>	<i>Grolle type</i>	<i>obverse</i>	<i>reverse</i>	<i>leaf</i>	L	T	T	A	A	A
A	d	•✚	XC	♣	L	T	-	-	A	-
B	d	•✚	XC	♣	L	T	-	-	-	A
C	-	•✚	X:C	♣	L	T	-	-	-	A
D-2	-	•✚	X:C	♣	L	-	T	-	A	-
D	-	•✚	X:C	♣	L	-	T	-	A	-
E	-	•✚	X:C	♣	L	T	-	A	-	-
F	-	•✚	X:C	♣	L	T	-	-	A	-
F-2	-	•✚	X:C	♣	L	T	-	-	A	-
G	h *	•✚•	X:C	♣	L	T	-	-	A	-
H	i *	•✚•	X:C	♣	L	T	-	-	A	-
H-2	i *	•✚•	X:C	♣	L	-	T	-	A	-
I	c *	•✚•	XC	♣	L	?	?	-	?	?

Table 4

Table 4 shows the currently known sorts of HOLAND *leeuwengroten*.

* (For Grolle's types c, h and I: his x stop mark must be corrected to a leaf.)

Table 4 clearly shows that there is no clear-cut and simple method of classifying these coins. The most obvious division seems to be along the lines of using either one or two pellets by the initial cross as criteria, and then classifying by the presence or absence of a colon after DVX, and thereafter by the forms of the letters A, L and T. Whether or not this represents the actual, chronological order in which the coins were issued is impossible to say.

The large number of variations between the MONETA HOLAND coins which can be found in the relatively small sample of specimens we have been able to find, would seem to be an indication that yet more types are likely to exist of which we are currently ignorant.

We would be most interested in hearing about any other types of which the reader might be aware that are not shown here.

MONETA HOLLAND *leeuwengroten*:

The following sub-types are not presented in any kind of chronological order, but rather grouped together based firstly on the **pellets by the initial cross** of the obverse legend on the coins, and secondly upon the presence or absence of a **double-pellet (colon) after the word DVX** on the reverse.



NO PELLETS DOES NOT EXIST (?)

Grolle 17.2.2 g

Not verified

Grolle's **17.2.2 g** shows no pellet left or right of the initial cross (and **DVX:C**).

The authors have never seen a MONETA HOLLAND *leeuwengroot* with **no pellet**, left or right of the cross, and have been unable to verify the existence of any such type. Grolle does not provide an example as an illustration, and we are unwilling to simply accept his proposal that this type of coin exists, without actually seeing a specimen.



[PELLETT RIGHT ONLY] DOES NOT EXIST (?)

Neither v.d. Chijs nor Grolle reported any Holland *leeuwengroten* with a pellet to the right of the cross (only). In our original report on the Dokkum Hoard (1932), we stated that coin K-047 had a pellet right only, but "there may be a pellet to the left of the cross as well" ^[23]. Based on comparisons with on the rest of the available specimens of MONETA HOLLAND coins, we are now of the opinion that coin K-047 has pellets right and left of the cross, the latter being a bit battered, and just touching the central lion's nose:



Dokkum (1932) K-047

There are thus no Holland *leeuwengroten* known with a pellet right of the cross (only).

• +

PELLET LEFT ONLY

NO COLON after DVX

Grolle 17.2.2 a:

. + MONETA x HOLLAND
GVIL LELM DVXC OMES
sic

The authors have never seen a coin with x marks. Grolle's 17.2.2 a is ostensibly the same as his 17.2.2 d. Cf. cat. Type A below.

(See Appendix C.)

• + / DVX

TYPE A ('normal' T & A)

*Grolle 17.2.2 d



• ✠ MONETA ✠ HOLLAND'
GVIL LELM DVXD OMES
↓



Dokkum K-173 / 2.69 g.



Dokkum K-222 / 2.73 g.



Dokkum K-086 / 2.45 g.

The leaf mark on the 3 Dokkum Hoard coins shown above seems to be: ❁.



private collection / 3.37 g

❁ MONETA ❁ HOLLAND
GVIL LELM DVXD OMES

This central lion is similar to Type F below. This coin has different border leaf (5 lobes) than the 3 preceding coins from the Dokkum Hoard (3 lobes):





detail

• + / DVX

TYPE B (annulet A)

*Grolle 17.2.2 d



private collection / 3.10 g.

• ✠ MONETA ✠ HOLLAND' ✠
GVIL IELM̄ DVXD OMES

The unusually large *macron* over the *M* of GVILLELM obliterates part of the pellet ring.



pellet right of the cross?

The only difference between this and the previous coins (Type A) is the annulet **A** in **MONETA**. The central lion is similar to that of Type D below.

WITH COLON after DVX:

• + / DVX:

Type C (annulet A)

Grolle —



*DNB NM-02736 / 3.214 g.
(formerly KPK 2736)*

• ✠ MONETA ✠ hOLLAND'
GVIL LBLM DVX:D OMES

The only difference between this coin (DNB NM-02736) and the previous type (Type B) is the double-pellet after DVX.

Also: De Wit (Künker) I, 745
MPO 46-836

• ✠ / DVX:

Type D (annulet T, pellet L)

Grolle —



private collection / 3.31 g

• ✠ MONETA ✠ hOLLAND'
GVIL LBLM DVX:D OMES

Although the T appears more like **T** than **T** in the photograph, close inspection of the coin itself reveals that the letter is, in fact, annuletted. The central lion's head is fairly clear, and is similar to the Type B coin shown above, with a wavy upper lip.



detail

To date, this is the only example of this type that we have seen.

Type D-2 (annulet T, 'normal' L)



private collection / 3.44g.

• † MONETA [♣] HOLAND' GVIL LELM DVX: D OMES

The L of GVIL is highly unusual; was it meant to have a pellet: **L**?:



Otherwise, the only difference between this coin and the previous type (Type D) is the lack of a pellet L in **HOLAND**.

To date, this is the only example of this type of coin that we have seen.

• + / DVX:

TYPE E (chevron A's)

3 lobes ?



Elsen 109-829 / 2.31 g.

• ✠ MONETA [✠] HOLAND'
GVIL LELM DVX:O OMES

To date, this is the only specimen we have seen of a **MONETA HOLAND leuwengroot** with chevron crossbar A's. The V of DVX is enormous. The leaf-mark after MONETA is rather unusual.

• † / DVX:

PELLET ABOVE LEAF (colon after DVX)

Note the similarity between the central lions of the following three coins, all having a large, angular mouth.

• † / DVX:

TYPE F ('normal' T & A)

Grolle —



Dokkum K-340 / 2.69 g.

• † MONETA [†] HOLLAND'
GVIL LELM DVX:G OMES



Dokkum K-087 / 2.21 g.

**. ✠ MONETA ✠ HOLLAND'
 GVIL TELM DVX: C OMES**



detail

- same as previous coin -



Teylers Museum TMNK 05625

TMNK 05625:

• ✠ MONETA ✠ HOLAND'
GVIL LELM DVX:O OMES

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

The stem of Dokkum K-340 is unclear, the Teylers coin and Dokkum K-087 have curved stems; nevertheless, probably all the same (stem up towards A).

TYPE F-2 (?)



Karel de Geus 38-116

• ✠ MONETA ✠ HOLAND'
GVIL LELM DVX:O OMES

The straight leaf-stem points down towards the A. This is different than previous coins, but is it significant?



Sneek MP-027-b

- same as previous coin -

•+•

TWO PELLETS (right / left)

WITH COLON after DVX:

•+• / DVX:

TYPE G ('normal' T & A)

* Grolle 17.2.2 h

Grolle: "0x Dokkum" *sic*



Dokkum K-047
2.75 g.

[.] ✠ • MONETA ✠ hOLAND'
GVIL LELM DVX: D OMES

The L of HOLAND does not seem to have a pellet above the 'foot'.

• ✠ • / DVX:

TYPE H ('normal' T & A, pellet L)

* Grolle 17.2.2 i

The L of HOLAND is now pelleted. The leaf-stem on these coins seems to consistently point upwards to the H of HOLAND.

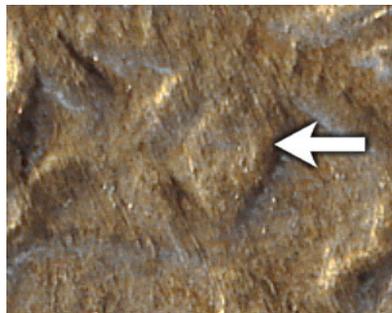
• ✠ • MONETA ✠ hOLAND'
GVIL LELM DVX: D OMES

↓



Dokkum K-200 / 3.04 g.

.✠[.] MONETA ✠ hOLLAND'
GVIL IELM DVX:D OMES



Dokkum K-200
pellet right of the cross



Dokkum K-090 / 2.93 g.

• ✠ • **MONETA** ✠ **HOLLAND'**
GVIL LELM DVX: D OMES

- same as previous coin -



DNB-00972 (formerly DNB 9611.7)

- same as previous coin -



DNB-00971 (formerly DNB V 145) / 2.73 g.

Also:

Sneek Hoard (1955) MP-027
Museum Rotterdam 56068 / 3.07 g.
Museum Rotterdam 56041 / 3.40 g.



Museum Rotterdam 56041 / 3.11 g.



private collection / 2.90 g.

• ✠ . MONETA ✠ hOLLAND
GVIL LELM DVX: C OMES

Probably the same as the previous coins. The O of COMES is not particularly round. There is no sign of an apostrophe after HOLLAND, which may be a simple oversight on the die-sinker's part.



detail

Type H-2



Flanders 1914, F-02^[26]

**. ✠ . MONETA ✠ HO[L]LAND'
GVIL LELM DVX:O OMNES**



F-02 (detail)

As with the previous Type H coins, this piece has a pellet left and right of the initial cross, a pellet over the L of *HOLLAND*, and a double pellet after *DVX*. Unlike the previous coins however, the *T* of *MONETA* is annuletted, and the leaf mark is different. In fact, the leaf resembles the other coin with an annulet *T*, type D:



cat. Type D

The major difference between this Type D coin and the Type H-2 coin shown above is the absence of a pellet right of the initial cross.

• † •

NO COLON after DVX

• † • / DVX

TYPE I

Grolle 17.2.2

b / e & c

• † • but no colon after DVX

Grolle 17.2.2 b (with an x after MONETA):

The authors have never seen a Holland *leeuwengroot* with an x after MONETA.

Grolle 17.2.2 e (with a leaf after MONETA):

The authors have never seen a • † • / DVXC combination on a coin with a 'normal' L; furthermore, the only • † • / DVXC combination we have seen is suspect (see **Flanders F-03** below).

Grolle 17.2.2 c (with an x after MONETA and L):

The authors have never seen a Holland *leeuwengroot* with an x after MONETA. If, however, this 'x' were to be changed to a leaf, then Grolle 17.2.2c would be the following coin:

*Grolle 17.2.2 c



Flanders (1914) F-03 ^[26]

. ✠ • MONETA ✠ HOLLAND'
 GVIL LBLM DVXC OMES

This is the only specimen that the authors have ever seen of a MONETA HOLLAND coin with two pellets (obv.) and no colon (rev.).

Unfortunately, all we have to work with is the photo above, as the whereabouts of coin itself are unknown. But it does seem that there is indeed no colon present after DVX. It is unclear if either the T and/or A of MONETA are annuletted. The L appears to be pelleted, but it is a typical HOLLAND coin where the pellet has merged with the ‘foot’ of the letter. While we would much prefer another, more legible specimen as verification, this is the only coin we have yet seen of this type.

Note the unusually crooked right, hind leg of the central lion, and its enormous foot, compared with the relatively straight leg of the other *leeuwengroten*. It almost looks as if the punches for the legs have been switched, left used for right and *vice versa*. The head of the lion is also unusual when compared to the other specimens. Counterfeiting was rampant in the Middle Ages, and the possibility exists that this coin is not a genuine, Holland issue. It is also possible that the coin is an official issue that was made by a rather inept die-sinker, in which case the anomalous nature of the coin may be attributable to “die-sinker error”.

Conclusion

Perhaps the only real conclusion to be drawn is that our knowledge of the Holland *leeuwengroot* is severely limited by a lack of specimens available for study.

The authors welcome any and all comments or opinions regarding the contents of this paper. Any submissions of photographs of *leeuwengroten* (from Holland or any other region or issuing authority) will be most appreciated.

Acknowledgements

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APPENDIX A: Fractional Coins

The study of the fractional *leeuwengroten* coins (of all regions) is seriously hampered by a lack of both accurate literature and actual coins, even more so than the study of the full *groten*. Much of what has previously been written about the small coins is inaccurate or incomplete, and the assignments to various rulers often seem rather haphazard. In both v.d. Chijs' and Grolle's books, the text descriptions and illustrations are not in agreement with one another (within the same book), leaving the reader to wonder which is meant to be correct: text or illustration? But no serious study of the full *leeuwengroot* can ignore the fractional coins, and so we must make do with what we have.

While it is tempting to believe that the characteristics of the small coins can be used to pair them up with the appropriate large coins, it seems clear that the fractionals do not match the full *groten* in all aspects. For example, the *leeuwengroten* of William V have an obverse legend of MONETA HOLAND and the words DVX and COMES on the reverse. But some of the $\frac{1}{2}$ *groten* of William V have a MONETA HOLLANDIE (or HOLLANDIE) legend, which does not correspond to the full *groot* (yet they must be coins of William V because of the word DVX on the other side.) Some of the coins of William IV also have a MONETA HOLLANDIE legend, but no DVX, only COMES.

Fortuitously for us, there are known fractional coins of both the MS GERT and MONETA HOLAN & Z types of William V.

It is not always easy to tell if a specific coin was intended as a $\frac{1}{2}$ *groot*, $\frac{1}{3}$ *groot*, $\frac{1}{4}$ *groot* or some other fraction ($\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{12}$). Mention should be made here of the fact that the Flemish (and other Low Lands) coins followed both the French and English models, resulting in issues of both $\frac{1}{2}$ *groot* - $\frac{1}{4}$ *groot* coins and $\frac{1}{3}$ *groot* - $\frac{1}{6}$ *groot* coins, to match up with the appropriate French or English systems of *deniers parisis* or *pennies sterling*, respectively.

In order to complete his proposed structure of the fractional coins, Grolle has assigned numbers to several types, while at the same time admitting that no examples of coins of these types have ever been found (e.g. his type **16.2.2**, a theoretical $\frac{1}{2}$ *gezel*, or his type **16.2.3**, a theoretical $\frac{1}{3}$ *gezel*).

We do not have a large number of fractional coins at our disposal to compare with one another, which in turn means that we cannot make a thorough analysis of the fractional *leeuwengroot* coins, nor can we properly analyze v.d. Chijs' and Grolle's categorizations of these coins. We are not sure if most of the types as described by Grolle or v.d. Chijs actually exist or not, and we can do little more here than list the types asserted by these two authors, along with whatever information we are able to provide regarding those types whose existence we can indeed verify. We present Grolle's list of fractional *gezellen*, *verbatim* (Table 5 below).

We have no idea if Grolle is correct in his assertion that, with the exception of the MONETA HOLAN & Z $\frac{1}{2}$ *groot* (**Grolle 17.2.3 h**), **all of the fractional Holland coins that mention Zeeland in the legend were struck for William VI (1404-1417)**.

Examples include v.d. Chijs IX, 12 = **Grolle 19.3.10** or v.d. Chijs IX, 15 = **Grolle 19.3.11**. The styles of the coins themselves do not necessarily seem to bear out the assertion. In any case, we have not included any such coins in our catalog.

In 2014, the Dutch, numismatic periodical *De Beeldenaar* published an article by Herwijnen and van de Koppel, entitled: *Tekstvariant op kwart leeuwengroot van Willem V van Holland*^[12], which described a previously unpublished Holland ¼ leeuwengroot. This article was written with the assumption that Grolle's book is accurate (which it is not). The authors of the piece opted to follow Grolle's numbering system, and gave the 'new' coin the number "Grolle 17.2.4 c" (see below).

Grolle Errata

The following errata in Grolle's book^[8] regarding the fractional *leeuwengroten* should be noted:

17.2.3 c : the photograph used as an illustration of:

HOLANDIE (*sic*)

shows a coin with a legend that in fact reads:

HOLANDRIE (ostensibly **17.2.3 d**).

17.2.3 d : the photograph used as an illustration of:

DVX x COMES (*sic*)

shows a coin with a legend that in fact reads:

DVX • COMES.

17.2.3 g : the photograph used as an illustration of:

• † MONETA x HOLAND' and DVX • COMES (*sic*)

shows a coin with legends that in fact read:

• † MONETA ‡ HOLAN & Z and DVXC OMES (ostensibly **17.2.3 h**).

The following table (Table 5) was constructed directly from the information provided in Grolle's book (ref. 8), **whether correct or otherwise**, with the exception of **17.2.4 B c**^[12].

Table 5: Fractions of *leeuwengroten* / *gezellen* according to Grolle¹⁸¹:

★ *Warning! This table contains incorrect information!* ★

William IV

16.2.2	½ <i>gezel</i>	no coins known	
16.2.3	1/3 <i>gezel</i>	no coins known	
16.2.4	1/6 <i>gezel</i>	no coins known	
16.2.5 (a)	1/12 <i>gezel</i>	✚MONETA HOLLANDIE	GVILELM . C [...] vdCh IX, 16
16.3.2	½ <i>gezel</i>	no coins known	
16.3.3 (a)	1/3 <i>gezel</i>	[...] MONETA x M x S GERT'	GL' x C OME S x HO LAD vdCh IV [I]
16.3.4	1/6 <i>gezel</i>	no coins known	
16.3.5	1/12 <i>gezel</i>	no coins known	

William V

17.2.3 ½ *leeuwengroot*

a	✚MONETA : HOLLANDIE :	GVIL LELM DVX C OMES	vdCh IX, 9
b	✚MONETA : HOLLANDIE :	GVIL LELM DVX : C OMES	vdCh IX, 8
c	✚MONETA . HOLLANDIE .	GVIL LELM DVX . C OMES	vdCh —
d	✚MONETA . HOLLANDRIE .	GVIL LELM DVX x C OMES	vdCh IX, 10
e	✚MONETA . HOLLANDIE x	GVIL LELM DVX x C OMES	vdCh —
f	✚MONETA . HOLLANDIE :	GVIL LELM DVX . C OMES	vdCh —
g	✚MONETA x HOLLAND'	GVIL LELM DVX . C OMES	vdCh IX, 11
h	✚MONETA ♣ HOLLAN Z Z'.	GVIL LELM DVX C OMES.	vdCh —

17.2.4 ¼ *leeuwengroot*

A no coins known

B

a	✚MONETA . HOLLAN :	✚GVILLELMVS : DVX : COMES :	vdCh IX, 13
b	✚GVILLELMVS : DVX : COM	✚MONETA : HOLLANDIE	vdCh IX, 14
c	✚GVILLELMVS : DVX : COM	✚MONETA : DE H'LANDI[E]	vdCh — (Grolle —; Herwijnen / v.d. Koppel ^[12])

17.2.5 *Hollandse penning*

A

a	✚GVILELM'S DVX COM'	MON ETA HOL AND	v.d. Chijs XXXVI, 16
---	---------------------	-----------------	----------------------

B

a	✚MONETA . HOLLANDIE :	GVILELM' DVX : COME	v.d. Chijs XXXVI, 17
b	✚MONETA . HOLLANIE	GVIL[ELM' D]VX : COME	R. 164 / 0.295 g. William I of Guelders

Table 5 (cont.): Fractions of leeuwengroten / gezellen according to Grolle ^[8]:

[Albert I]

William VI

19.3.10 $\frac{1}{4}$ groot

a †GVILM:DX:HOL:ZE HOL LA ZE LA v.d. Chijs IX, 12

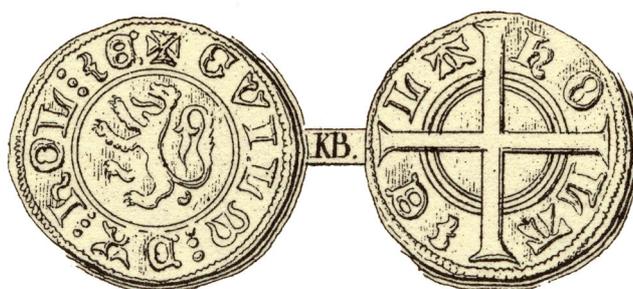
19.3.11 $\frac{1}{8}$ groot

a †GLM:DX:HOL:ZEL † HOLAD:ZE:ZELAN v.d. Chijs IX, 15

Table 5

★ Warning! This table contains incorrect information ! ★
(see the text below for details.)

Grolle:
William VI (1404 - 1417)



v.d. Chijs IX, 12 / Grolle19.3.10



v.d. Chijs IX, 15 / Grolle19.3.11

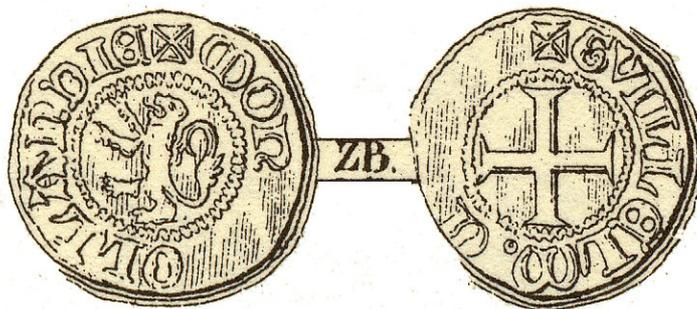
Fractions of *leeuwengroten* according to Grolle & v.d. Chijs including examples of known coins

William IV

Grolle 16.2.5 (a) 1/12 *gezel*

†MONETA HOLLANDIE

GVILELM • C [...]



v.d. Chijs IX, 16

† MON [...] OLLANDIE

† GVILLELM • [C...]

† MONETA • HOLLANDIE

v.d. Chijs text, p. 317

† GVILLELM • DVX • COME

v.d. Chijs text, p. 317

We presume that Grolle attributed this coin to William IV because of the C (for COMES) which would have theoretically have been preceded by DVX if the coin had been struck for William V.

V.d. Chijs says that his **IX, 16** and **XXXVI, 17** are the same (p. 317), except that **IX, 16** has 2 L's in GVILLELM', but Grolle attributes v.d. Chijs **XXXVI, 17** to William V. (V.d. Ch. XXXVI, 17 = Grolle 17.2.5 B a.)

The annulet after GVILLELM may have been intended as a double annulet or as 2.

At this time, we cannot verify the existence of this type.

Grolle 16.3.3 (a) 1/3 gezel



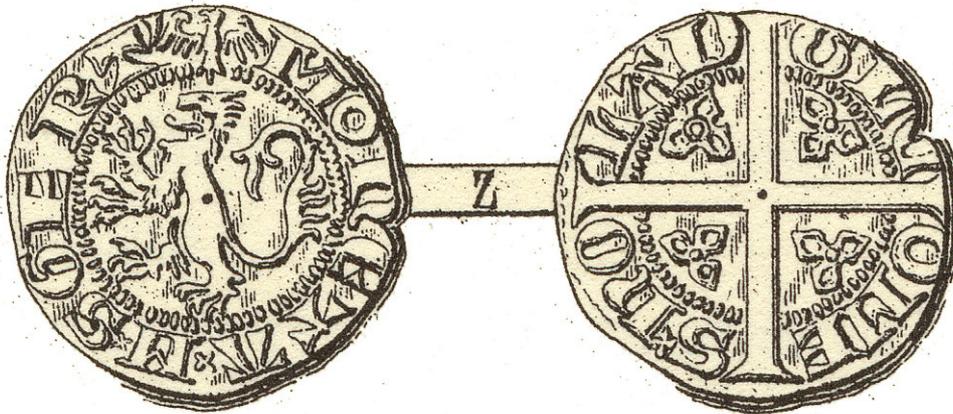
DNB-00970 / 0.90 g.



NM-02720 / 0.99 g.



private collection



v.d. Chijs IV, I

✻ MONETA * M * S * GERT'
GL'D OME S*HO LAD

This is the 1/3 *groot* that corresponds to the rare MS GERT type in the catalog, struck at Geertruidenberg instead of Dordrecht. **It also appears to be the only sort of Holland fractional *leeuwengroot* with an eagle as an initial mark instead of a cross.** The black dots in the center of both faces in v.d. Chijs' drawing are probably the artist's compass marks. V.d. Chijs' illustration does not show an apostrophe after the S on the obverse, but the known coins do. The trefoils in the reverse quadrants are unusual for a fractional *leeuwengroot*.

The leaf-marks after MONETA on the HOLLAND full *grooten* are often mistaken for X's. The x following the S on the MS GERT coin NM-02720 looks very much like a leaf, raising the question: are some (or all) of the x's on the MS GERT coins actually intended as leaves? What about the other fractional coins?



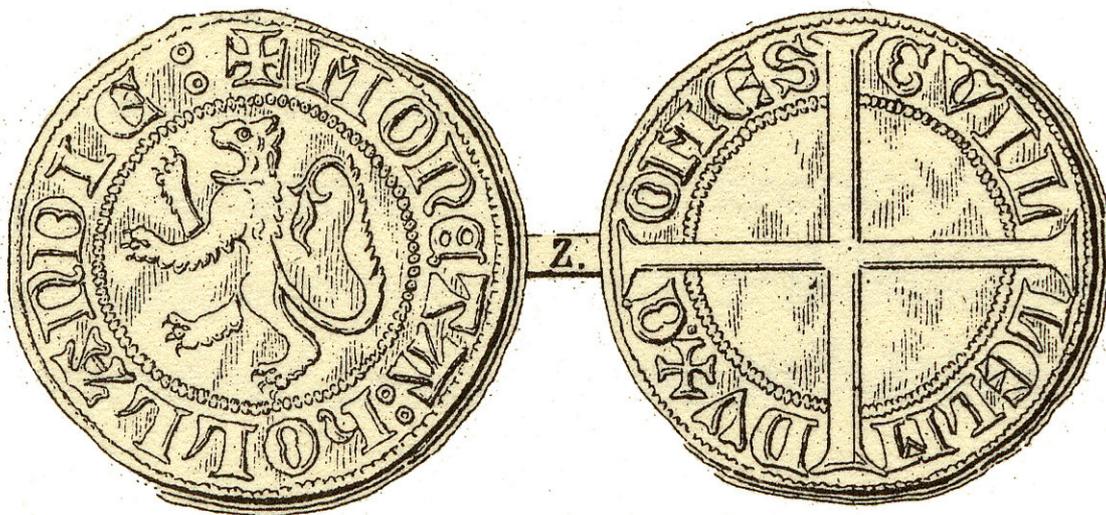
NM-02720 (detail)

William V

Grolle 17.2.3 a ½ leeuwengroot

†MONETA : HOLLANDIE :

GVIL LELM DVXC OMES



v.d. Chijs IX, 9

† MONETA : HOLLANDIE :

GVIL LELM DVX . D OMES

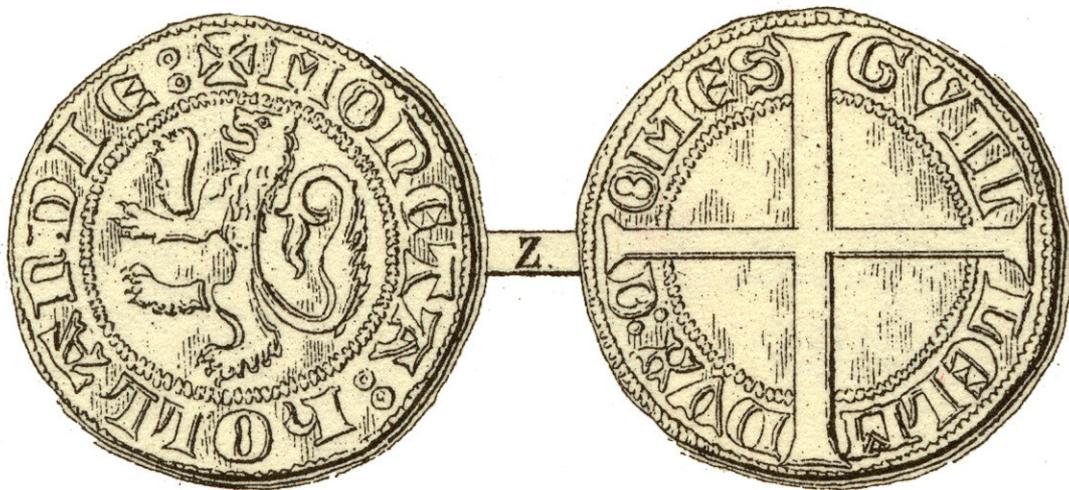
GVIL LELM DVX : D OMES

v.d. Chijs text

According to v.d. Chijs' text, Plate IX 9 and 8 are the same, but his drawing of 9 shows a single pellet after DVX (which Grolle has ignored) and the drawing of 8 shows a double-pellet (colon).

At this time, we cannot verify the existence of this type.

Grolle 17.2.3 b $\frac{1}{2}$ leeuwengroot
 †MONETA : HOLLANDIE :
 GVIL LELM DVX : C OMES



v.d. Chijs IX, 8

† MONETA : HOLLANDIE :
 GVIL LELM DVX : C OMES

According to v.d. Chijs' text, **Plate IX 9** and **8** are the same. In this drawing of number **8**, the double pellet after DVX is clear. But Grolle has decided that **vdCh IX, 9** has no colon after DVX, while **vdCh IX, 8** does have a colon.

Ostensibly, both of these types represent the $\frac{1}{2}$ *grotten* with a MONETA HOLLANDIE obverse (and long cross reverse).



Museum Simon van Gijn 5591

**+ MONET[Æ: H]OLLANDIÆ:
GVIL LELM [DVX:]C OMES**



Museum Simon van Gijn 5590

**+ MO[N]ET[Æ . H]OLLANDIÆ:
GVIL LELM DVX:C OMES**

Are the two coins shown above in fact the same?



Delft (2004) D-025 / 1.64 g. ^[28]

**+ MONETA 8 h[...]:
G[VII L]ELM [...][OM]S**

Appears to have annulets and double pellets on the obverse.



private collection / 1.04 g

**+ MONETA 8 hOLL[A]NDIE:
GVII LELM DVX:D OMES**

- same as previous coin ? -

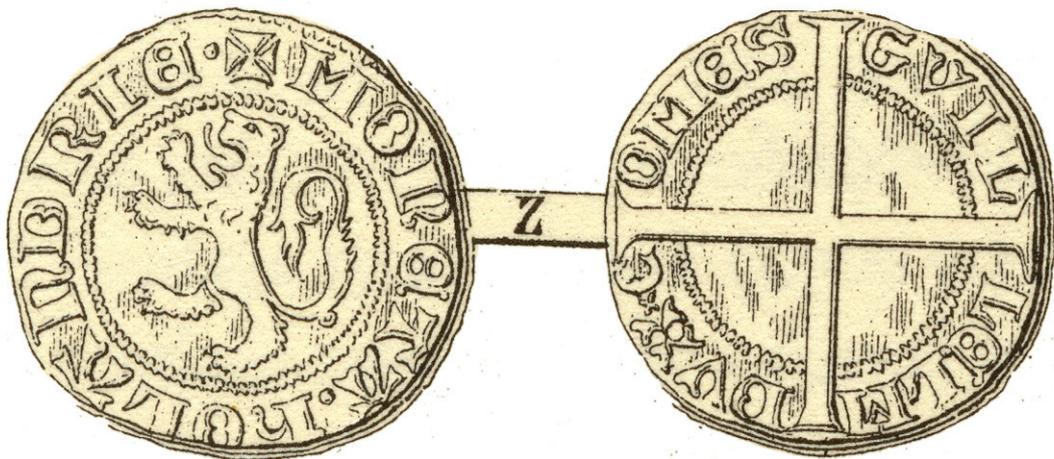
Appears to have annulets and double pellets on the obverse. This coin was found in Zeeland, The Netherlands, by a metal detector user.

Grolle 17.2.3 c ½ leeuwengroot
†MONETA . HOLANDIE .
GVIL LELM DVX . C OMES

V.d. Chijs —

At this time, we cannot verify the existence of this type.

Grolle 17.2.3 d ½ leeuwengroot
†MONETA . HOLANDRIE .
GVIL LELM DVX x C OMES



v.d. Chijs IX, 10

• † MONETA . HOLANDRIE
GVIL LELM DVX x C OMES

† MONETA ◦ HOLANDRIE ◦ v.d. Chijs text, p. 315
GVIL LELM DVX ◦ C OMES v.d. Chijs text, p. 315

V.d. Chijs does not actually give a transcription of the reverse legend, rather he states that he coin is *dito* to IX, 8. He makes no mention of the x after DVX in the drawing.

At this time, we cannot verify the existence of this type, as described by Grolle or V.d. Chijs. If one chooses to categorize all HOLLANDRIE coins under the number *Grolle 17.2.3 d, then the following variants would be placed here:

Grolle 17.2.3 d var. ½ leeuwengroot
vdCh IX, 10 var.



DNB-00974 / 1.13 g.

**[+] MONE[T] : HO[L]NDRIE
 GVIL LELM DVX • D OME[S]**



private collection

**+ MONE[...] HO[L]NDR[IE]
 [GVIL] LELM DVX • D O[M]ES**

- same as the previous coin? -

Grolle 17.2.3 d var. $\frac{1}{2}$ leeuwengroot
vdCh IX, 10 var.



DNB-00973 / 1.09 g.

**[† MONET]TA : H[OL]A[ND]RIE
GVIL LELM DVX • C OMES**

Although at first glance this seems to be the same as the [two] previous coin[s], note, however, the unusual, round O's in the obverse and reverse legends.

Grolle 17.2.3 e $\frac{1}{2}$ leeuwengroot
**†MONETA • HOLANDIE x
GVIL LELM DVX x C OMES**

V.d. Chijs —

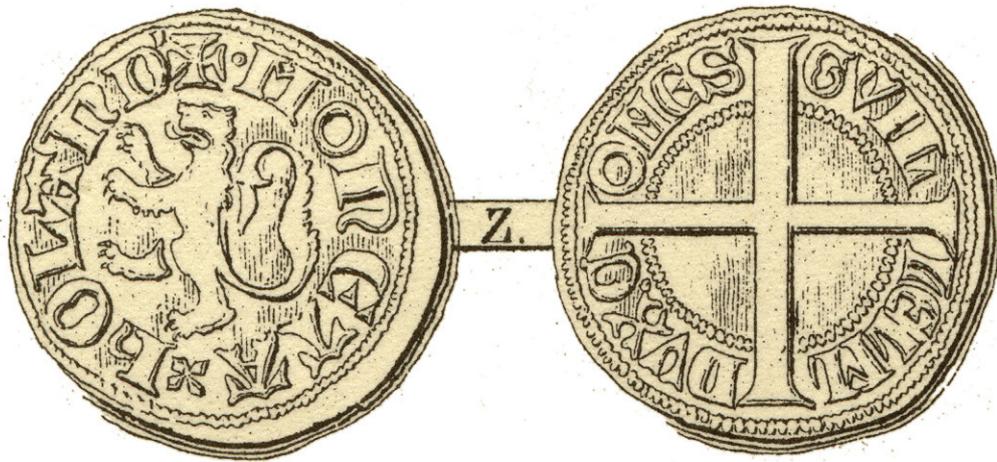
At this time, we cannot verify the existence of this type.

Grolle 17.2.3 f ½ leeuwengroot
 †MONETA .HOLANDIE :
 GVIL LELM DVX .C OMES

V.d. Chijs —

At this time, we cannot verify the existence of this type.

Grolle 17.2.3 g ½ leeuwengroot
 †MONETA x HOLAND'
 GVIL LELM DVX .C OMES



vdCh IX, 11

† . MONETA x HOLAND'
 GVIL LELM DVX .C OMES

† MONETA † HOLAND' v.d.Chijs text
 GVIL LELM DVX x C OMES v.d.Chijs text

The mark after MONETA looks like a leaf (stem upwards to the A). It is possible that the actual legend is DVX : C.

At this time, we cannot verify the existence of this type.

Grolle 17.2.3 h $\frac{1}{2}$ leeuwengroot
†MONETA ♣ HOLAN Z Z'.
GVIL LELM DVXC OMES.

V.d. Chijs —
v.d. Meer: Arnhem 4 ^[14]



KPK 1960-0113 / 1.26 g.

[.] † MONETA ♣ HOLAN Z Z'
GVIL LELM DVXC OMES

This is the $\frac{1}{2}$ *groot* that corresponds to the rare HOLAN & Z in the catalog, bearing the title of Z(eeland). The specimen shown here is the only known example, and was found in the Arnhem Hoard (1957) ^[14], which was discovered long after publication of v.d. Chijs' book. Like the full *groot*, the obverse legend is MONETA HOLAN & Z.

When v.d. Meer reported on the hoard in 1959, she stated that there was no known full *groot* with a corresponding legend, although the full *groot* had in fact been found in Dokkum in 1932 ^[23]. However, no one had bothered to describe the Dokkum Hoard until 1970 ^[5], so for v.d. Meer, the full *groot* was indeed unknown. When van Gelder finally did report on the existence of the sole HOLAN & Z *groot* in the Dokkum Hoard, he made little fanfare about the unusual legend and made no mention of the corresponding $\frac{1}{2}$ *groot* from the Arnhem Hoard at all.

We can see no sign of a pellet after COMES, as reported by both Grolle and v.d. Meer. On the other hand, there does appear to be a vague pellet left of the initial cross.



KPK 1960-0113 (detail)

Grolle 17.2.4 A $\frac{1}{4}$ leeuwengroot with long cross
no coins known

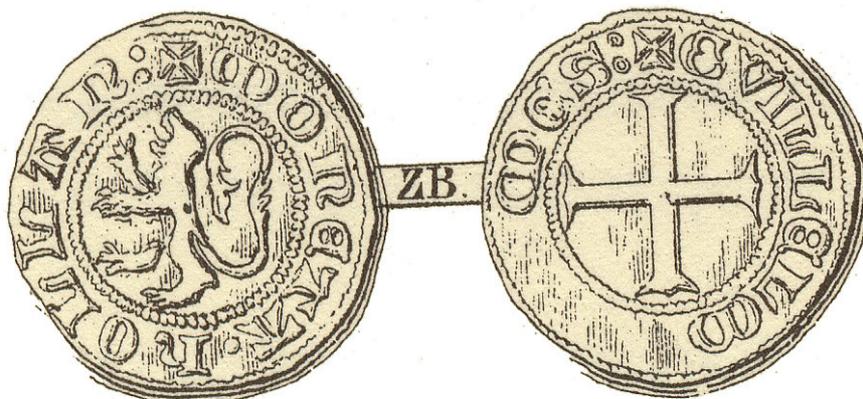
Grolle presumes that because there was a long-cross $\frac{1}{12}$ groot (*Hollandse penning*, 17.2.5 A), there must have been a long-cross $\frac{1}{4}$ groot as well, although by his own admission no such coin has ever been seen.

Grolle 17.2.4 B $\frac{1}{4}$ leeuwengroot with short cross

a.

†MONETA . HOLLAN :

†GVILLELMVS : DVX : COMES :



v.d. Chijs IX, 13

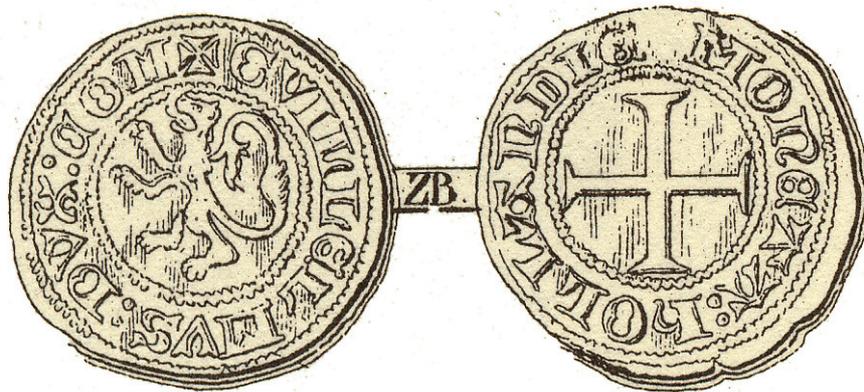
† **M**ONETA . HOLLAN :
GVILLELM [...] M ES :

† MONETA ◦ HOLLAN ◦ v.d.Chijs text, p. 316
GVILLELM...MS v.d.Chijs text, p. 316

From the illustration, it is not possible to determine the reverse legend. Grolle gives GVILLELMVS DVX COMES, but there is clearly not enough room for all those letters. It must either be GVILLELM DVX COMES or GVILLELMVS COMES, which would likely make it a coin of William IV not William V. Note the unusual, uncial **M**'s.

At this time, we cannot verify the existence of this type.

Grolle 17.2.4 B b *¼ leeuwengroot*
†GVILLELMVS : DVX : COM
†MONETA : HOLLANDIE



v.d. Chijs IX, 14

† GVILLELMVS : DVX : COM
[. †] MONETA : HOLLANDIE

† GVILLELMVS ◦ DVX ◦ COM v.d.Chijs text, p. 316
† MONETA ◦ HOLLAN ◦ v.d.Chijs text, p. 316

Grolle's first proposed **Type 17.2.4 B** *¼ groot* (a), has an obverse MONETA HOLLANDIE legend and a reverse GVILELLMVS, using **ᵹ**'s. His second proposed **Type 17.2.4 B** *¼ groot* (b), has an obverse GVILELLMVS legend and a reverse MONETA HOLLANDIE, using **M**'s.

Frankly, it is difficult to see much reason for categorizing these two coins under the same number.

At this time, we cannot verify the existence of this type.

“Grolle 17.2.4 B c” ¼ *leeuwengroot*
(Herwijnen & v.d. Koppel^[12])

†GVILLELMVS : DVX : COM
†MONETA : DE : H’LANDI[E]

Grolle —
vdCh —



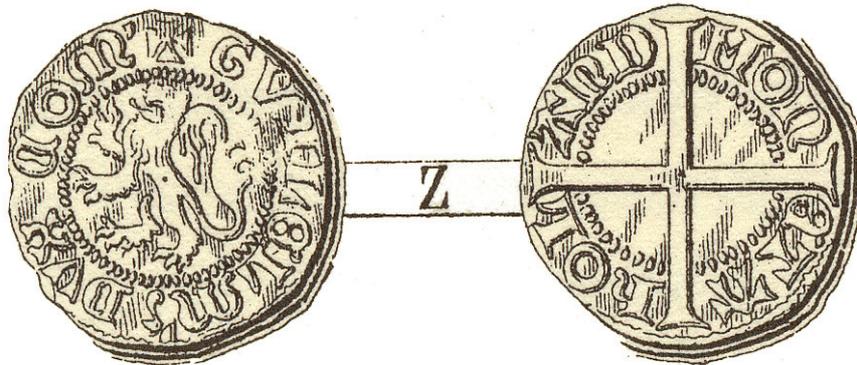
Van Herwijnen & v.d. Koppel: “Grolle 17.2.4 B c” / 0.45 g.

† GVILL[ELMVS :] DVX : [COM]
† MONETA [: DE] : H’LAND[...]

This coin does not appear in Grolle’s book^[8], but was reported by van Herwijnen & v.d. Koppel in *De Beeldenaar* in 2014^[12], and given a number using Grolle’s system. Like Grolle before them, the authors of the article used a standard typeface for their legend transcriptions.

The coin is not completely legible, and we have difficulty in reading COM on the obverse. Van Herwijnen & v.d. Koppel pointed out that MONETA DE HOLAND legends appeared on the *grotten* during the time of the *lion with helm* types, after striking of the *leeuwengroot* had ceased.

Grolle 17.2.5 A a *Hollandse penning with long cross*
 †GVILELM'S DVX COM'
 MON ETA HOL AND



v.d. Chijs XXXVI, 16

GVILELM'S DVX [:] COM'
MON ETÆ HOL AND

GVILELM' : DVX : COM'
MON ETÆ HOL AND.

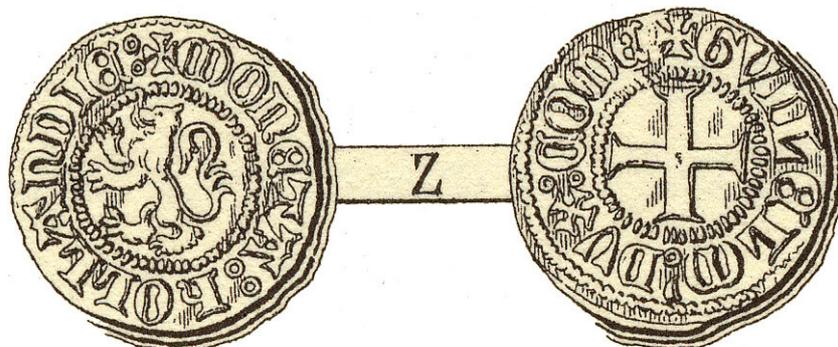
v.d. Chijs text, p. 316

v.d. Chijs text, p. 316

Note the use of uncial **Ϟ**'s and round **⦿**'s. The **S** after **GVILELM** has an unusual shape and might actually be a distorted double pellet (colon), and not an **S** at all. In the illustration there is no sign of a pellet after **HOLAND**, nor of a double-pellet after **DVX** or **GVILELM**. The obverse legend clearly says **GVILELM** and not **GVLELM**, as in *v.d. Chijs'* text transcription.

At this time, we cannot verify the existence of this type.

Grolle 17.2.5 B a *Hollandse penning with short cross (1/12 leeuwengroot) (I, p. 115)*
 †MONETA. HOLLANDIE:
 GVILELM' DVX : COME



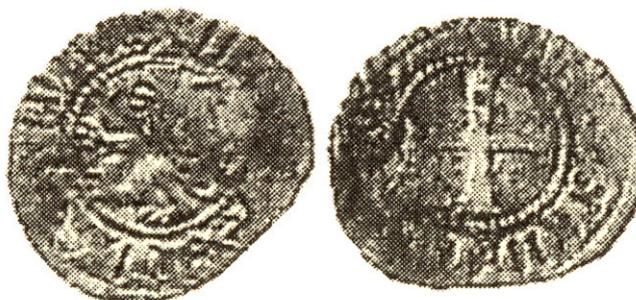
v.d. Chijs XXXVI, 17
(collection R. Serrure, 0.45 g.)

† MONETA ⁂ HOLLANDIE ⁂
 † GVILBELM⁂ DVX ⁂ COME

† GVILBELM ◦ DVX ⁂ COME v.d. Chijs text, p. 317

V.d. Chijs says that his **IX, 16** and **XXXVI, 17** are the same (p. 317), except that **IX, 16** has two L's in GVILLELM' (V.d. Ch. IX, 16 = Grolle 16.2.5), but Grolle attributes to **IX, 16** William IV. (V.d. Chijs' illustration for **IX, 16** does not show annulets after the obverse legend.)

Grolle also offers L. Schulman 19.209 as an illustration, but it is next to impossible to see any detail in the tiny photograph in Grolle's book.



Grolle 17.2.5 B a (LS 19.209)

Although we cannot verify the existence of this type at this time, the variant here below clearly does exist:

Grolle 17.2.5 B a var. *Hollandse penning (1/12 leeuwengroot)*
vdCh XXXVI, 17 var.



Elsen 127-699 / 0.37g.

† MONETA [TA ⁂] HOLLANDE ⁂
 † [GVILBELM⁂] DVX [⁂ COME]

Although the legends are hard to see, the obverse clearly reads HOLLANDE and not HOLLANDIE.

Grolle 17.2.5 B b *Hollandse penning* (I, p. 115)

✠MONETA. HOLLANIE

GVIL[ELM] DVX : COME

“R. 164 incorrectly ascribed to William I of Guelders”



Grolle 17.2.5 B a (R. 164)

Looks more like:

✠ MONETA [T...IT] ANIE
GVIL [...] VT : COME

Grolle decided that this coin was not from Guelders, but rather from Holland, without offering further explanation. According to Roest (RBN, 1873)^[20]:

N° 164. (*Ibid.*) Croix pattée dans un cercle perlé.
✠ GVILM T : COME.

Rev. Lion rampant à gauche dans un cercle
perlé. ✠ MONETA · VTFANIE.

* Huitième (?) de gros de Zutphen, gr. o. 295. Pl. XI, n° 164.

Voyez encore *Revue belge*, 1874.

Roest, RBN 1871 p. 535

(Grolle used Roest's drawing in his book, which was made by G. Lavalette, while putting the lion face as the obverse. For Roest, the lion was the reverse.)

We have never seen any such coin and can therefore not offer an informed opinion about this piece. All we can say is that William I of Guelders generally used WILHELM and not GVILLELM on his coins. But in our opinion, it is not possible to read Grolle's version of the

obverse (lion face) legend from this drawing alone. This is not to say that Roest was correct; his proposed legend cannot be read from the drawing either.

At this time, we cannot verify the existence of this type, nor accurately describe it, if it does indeed exist.

APPENDIX B: Van der Chijs and Serrure

R. Serrure

By virtue of its very superficiality, Raymond Serrure's book on the imitations of Flemish coins has managed to remain fairly accurate up to this day, although it is far from complete. For the Holland *leeuwengroten*, much of his information comes directly from v.d. Chijs.

Van der Chijs

Although van der Chijs has long been regarded as the leading authority on the medieval coins of the Northern Netherlands (and rightly so), that does not negate the fact that much of what he said about the *leeuwengroten* is erroneous (or suspect) and must be corrected (with all due respect to the late Mr. v.d. Chijs). His attribution of two types of Holland *leeuwengroten* to Count William III is almost certainly incorrect – William III died less than a week after striking of the very first *leeuwengroten* began in Flanders (June, 1337).

The illustrations in v.d. Chijs' works are also problematic. They tend to show minor variations that are not seen on any of the coins that are known today, which then begs the question: **Are v.d. Chijs' illustrations inaccurate, or do they indeed depict unknown variant coins?**

This is no small problem; one of the types depicted by v.d. Chijs is known **only** from his illustration and description, made from an apparently unique specimen, whose whereabouts are currently unknown. This type of coin was re-reported by R. Serrure, Grolle and Post in turn, none of whom had actually *seen* any such coin – *if v.d. Chijs said it exists, it must exist*. This is exactly the type of thinking we wish to avoid in our current investigation; we do not believe the coin exists just because v.d. Chijs said it exists, especially in light of its unusual characteristics. We have ourselves been unable to verify the existence of this type of *leeuwengroot*. (see †HOLANDIE below.)

Gros Holandie + cross

R. Serrure Type 66 (as William IV)
Grolle Type 16.1.1
v.d. Ch VI, 18-B (as William III)

NOT VERIFIED

5 lobes ❁

❁ MONETA HOLANDIE
GVI LEL M:CO MES

❁ BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : DRI : DEI : IHV . XPI

↓



Grolle 16.1.1 (also v.d. Chijs VI-18B)

The combination of a 12❁ border and an initial cross in the legend is strange. Such a combination is not seen in Flanders.

V.d. Chijs states that the ❁ MONETA HOLANDIE coin (v.d. Ch. VI, 18B) weighs 3.6 grams, and is to be found in the collection of Mr. Fokker (i.e. Anthony Herman Gerard Fokker (1809-1874)) (ref. 2, p. 157). **This is the only example of this type of coin ever recorded.**

The Fokker collection was auctioned off by the firm of G. Bom in Amsterdam on 19 June, 1876 (or thereafter) ^[1] (see below).

No author since v.d. Chijs has seen an example of this type of coin, and everything subsequently written about this type is based directly or indirectly on what v.d. Chijs said about the coin.

This piece poses some problems. Assuming that the drawing is accurate, this Holland *gezel* has a border of 12 leaves, a **cross** as an initial mark, and the word DEI in the reverse, outer legend. Such a combination is not found on any known *compagnon* from Flanders (or anywhere else, for that matter, except for a one type from Brabant with the obverse legend:

✦ MONETA BRVXELLEN; de Witte 364).

The use of Roman **E**'s, **N**'s and **M**'s in the reverse, outer legend is unusual, although the legend is identical to that of the previous type listed (Grolle 16.2). In fact, the entire coin is identical to the previous type except for the initial cross. A small dot marks the center of both obverse and reverse in v.d. Chijs' drawing, although these are probably simply compass marks made by the illustrator.

This coin does not follow the "Flemish Model", and if the drawing and description are accurate, it may indicate the use of an initial cross **before its appearance in Flanders**. We are left with the following, puzzling questions:

Is the v.d. Chijs drawing accurate?

Or was a semi-illegible eagle mistaken for a cross?

Was there in fact a weakly-struck spot on the coin before the word MONETA, which was 'filled in' on the drawing as a cross?

Is the coin properly described?

Is the coin a medieval counterfeit?

Was the initial cross used on this coin in Holland before its use in Flanders?

If the drawing is indeed incorrect and the initial mark was actually an eagle, then it means that ✦HOLANDIE (Grolle 16.1, vdCh. VI, 18-B) does not exist, and the Fokker coin was in fact another Grolle Type 16.2 coin (✦HOLANDIE).

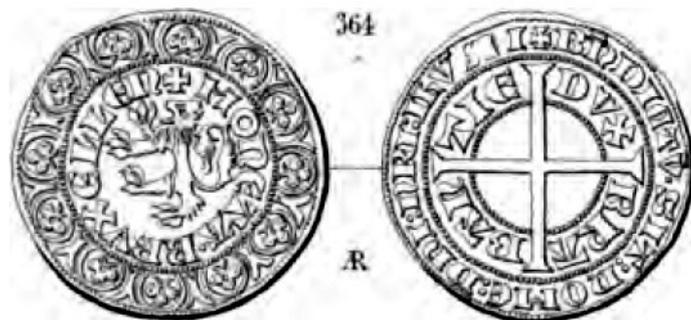
Another, fairly unlikely, option exists: according to Duplessy and Ghyssens (and in turn Elsen, Martiny and Haeck), the last issues of Louis of Nevers (beginning January 26, 1346) had an initial cross. This idea is based on the fact that the issue was continued uninterrupted on into the reign of Louis II of Mâle, whose first issue coins are thought to have an initial cross (thus the last issue Louis of Nevers coins must have had a cross – it was the same issue).

According to Martiny, the striking of actual coins for this issue probably started some time **previous** to January, 1346, since it was at this time that a *pyx* was checked for quality control ^[13]. If, for example, this minting in Flanders had begun as early as August 1345, it is possible that the Holland coin was struck in August or September of that year, before William IV died on 26 September, 1345.

This would mean, however, that while the cross was copied from Flanders in Holland, the obverse 11✦ / 1✦ border was not, nor was the removal of the word DEI and the use of only **Ń**'s in the reverse, outer legend and not **N**'s. The entire theory seems a bit far-fetched.

Brabant

The only other *leeuwengroot* known with a combination of a 12✦ border, an initial **cross** in the obverse legend, and DEI in the reverse, outer legend is the previously mentioned Brabant coin, de Witte 364 ^[31], the existence of which has been verified by the authors. This coin is a very unusual *leeuwengroot*, as it has double-pellet stop marks (colons) in the reverse, outer legend instead of the normal triple-pellets. In addition, it has a Roman **M** in **ŃOME**.



De Witte 364

The only differences between this drawing and the known example of this type in the CdMB are the single pellet after BNDICTV and the barless A's. The CdMB coin has a double pellet and barred A's.

Van der Chijs ^[2]

Assuming for the sake of argument that the ✚ MONETA HOLLANDIE coin exists, v.d. Chijs incorrectly ascribed it to William III as well (the error long since rectified by re-assigning the piece to William IV). V.d. Chijs' description of this coin appears on p. 156 of his Holland volume, where he says that on plate VI, the 1st coin in the 3rd row (which we have named 18B) is a coin that he should have placed with the others from William III (*sic*) (Grolle 16.1.1).

He describes this coin as being the same as the previous coin (his *zwart tournois*), except that the eagle has been replaced by a four-armed cross. He further states that the mark after GVILLELM, on the previous coin at the top, is now at the bottom.

V.d. Chijs' transcription of the reverse, outer legend is correct, other than the pellet after IHV which must certainly have been intended as a triple colon.

✚ BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : ORI : DEI : IHV • XPI (*sic*)

Once again, the illustration shows a black dot in the center of both faces. V.d. Chijs does not transcribe the obverse legend, but the illustration shows no mark after MONETA.

V.d. Chijs thus clearly states that the coin has a cross instead of an eagle, as though he had seen the coin himself and it was clear and legible. But was this in fact the case? It is possible that either an eagle was misread as a cross, or a lion in the outer border was misread as a leaf (the word DEI remaining a problem). Although the illustrations in v.d. Chijs' books are well-executed, it has been proven time and again that old illustrations can be untrustworthy.

Another possibility is that v.d. Chijs described the coin correctly, but that the piece was in fact a medieval counterfeit, (or for that matter, a modern counterfeit). The heavy weight does not immediately lead one to the conclusion that the coin is a medieval forgery, but the fact that this coin flies in the face of the Flemish Model for the *leeuwengroot* is cause for concern. Medieval counterfeits that do not seem to conform to the official coins are not unknown:



*A medieval counterfeit Louis of Nevers leeuwengroot
with a round O in COMES
private collection, 2.82 g.*



*Another medieval counterfeit Louis of Nevers leeuwengroot
with a round O in COMES, probably from the same illicit workshop
private collection, 3.81 g. (quite heavy)*

Official Flemish issues of Louis of Nevers with a round O in COMES have never been seen, yet for some reason these counterfeits were made in this fashion.

Fokker

According to v.d. Chijs, the † MONETA HOLLANDIE coin (**VI, 18B**) was to be found in the collection of Mr. Fokker (i.e. Anthony Herman Gerard Fokker (1809-1874)). The Fokker collection was auctioned off by the firm of G. Bom in Amsterdam on 19 June, 1876 (or thereafter) ^[1]. According to the catalog of the sale:

Item 2433: William III 1305-1337 [*sic*], *groot*

HOLLAND.

Graven.

				Pl.	Nº.
2420.	1122-57.	DIRK VI? Deniers. 2 stuks	<i>Van der Cléys,</i>	I.	1.
2421.	1157-90.	FLORIS III. Deniers. 10 sts. <i>Verschildend</i>		—	1,3,4,6.
2422.	1190-1218.	DIRK VII en WILLEM I. Deniers. 4 stuks		—	1.
2423.	1222-1235.	FLORIS IV. Deniers. 4 stuks. <i>Verschildend</i>		II.	1,3,4.
2424.	1256-58.	FLORIS V, <i>als voogd</i> . Deniers 2 stuks.		—	1,3.
2425.		Toarsche groot		III.	2.
2426.	1266-96.	FLORIS V. <i>Meerderjarig</i> . Denier. 4 sts.		—	8.
2427.		Als voren. 2 sts.		—	9.
2428.		Als voren. 9 sts.		—	10,11.
2429.	1296-99.	JAN I. Denier te Dordrecht geslagen. 3 sts.		IV.	2.
2430.		Als voren		—	2.
2431.	1299-1305.	JAN II. Groot. Te Dordrecht geslagen.		—	1.
2432.		Als voren, met den leeuw. <i>Zeer zelds.</i>		—	2.
2433.	1305-37.	WILLEM III. Groot		—	1.
2434.		Deniers. 3 sts.		—	6.
2435.	1346-59.	WILLEM V. Gouden schild of klinkkaart. <i>Köhler, D. C. 2361. Goud. W. 3,7 gr.</i>		V.	4.

Bom catalog, 19 June, 1876, p. 120

The coin is not illustrated in the catalog, and what happened to this item after the auction is not known. If this piece is in fact a Grolle 16.1 (with a cross), its current whereabouts are unknown. If this piece is in fact a Grolle 16.2 (with an eagle), it may have since merged back into the general coin population, so to speak, now properly identified, in which case the coin that “was” Grolle 16.1.1 has simply “disappeared” (never having actually existed).

R. Serrure ^[22]

R. Serrure’s description is even more puzzling:

“*Guillaume IV, comte de Hollande* (1337-1345). + MONETA. HOLLANDIE. Lion debout. Bordure de douze feuilles de persil. – *Rev.* : + BNDICTV: SIT : NOME: DNI : NRI : DEI : IHV : XPI en légende extérieure et GVI - LEL - M' CO - MES en légende intérieure. Croix coupant la légende intérieure (Voyez fig. 66).

Van der Chys donne une variété plus ancienne où la croix qui précède la légende de l'avers est remplacée par une aigle, comme sur les *gros au lion* de Louis de Crécy.”

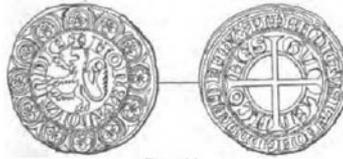


Fig. 66.

Guillaume IV, comte de Hollande (1337-1345). + MONETA .
HOLANDIE. Lion debout. Bordure de douze feuilles de persil. —
Rev. : + BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : DEI : IHV : XPI en
légende extérieure et GVI - LEL - M' CO - MES en légende inté-
rieure. Croix coupant la légende intérieure (Voyez fig. 66).

Van der Chys donne une variété plus ancienne où la croix qui
précède la légende de l'avvers est remplacée par une aigle, comme
sur les *gros au lion* de Louis de Crécy.

L'atelier monétaire principal des comtes de Hollande se trouvait
à Dordrecht. Guillaume IV ouvrit une officine à Sint Geertruiden-
berg où fut frappé le *gros au lion* suivant retrouvé par C. P. Ser-
rure.

R. Serrure, p. 171 ^[22]

The vague (if unintended) implication is that the coin with the cross exists, while the coin with the eagle may or may not. In fact, the opposite is true. (The coin mentioned at the bottom is the MS GERT type.)

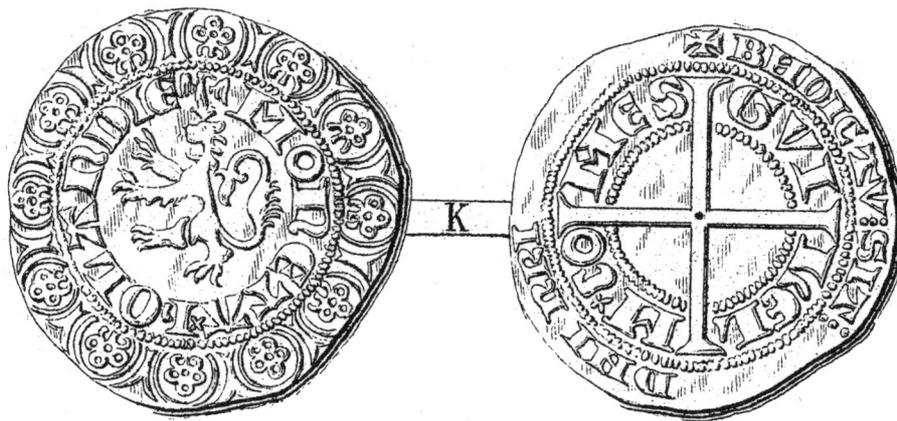


Fig. 66.

R. Serrure's Figure 66 is clearly another drawing of the exact, same coin as v.d. Chijs'. R. Serrure is the only author other than v.d. Chijs who described this type of coin and who had any possibility of actually seeing it for himself. We do not know whether Serrure ever saw Fokker's coin or not, but we must assume that he based his Type 66 solely on v.d. Chijs' description and that he made his drawing by copying v.d. Chijs'. The center marks on both faces are not seen here.

Gros HOLLANDIE + eagle

V.d. Chijs incorrectly ascribed the  MONETA HOLLANDIE coin to William III (1305-1337), an error which has long since been rectified by assigning this piece to William IV (1337-1345). V.d. Chijs' description of this coin (G. 16.2.1) begins on p. 156 of his volume on Holland, where he describes what he calls a *zwart tournois* ('black tournois'), by which he means this coin (Plate IV, 4):



v.d. Chijs plate IV, 4

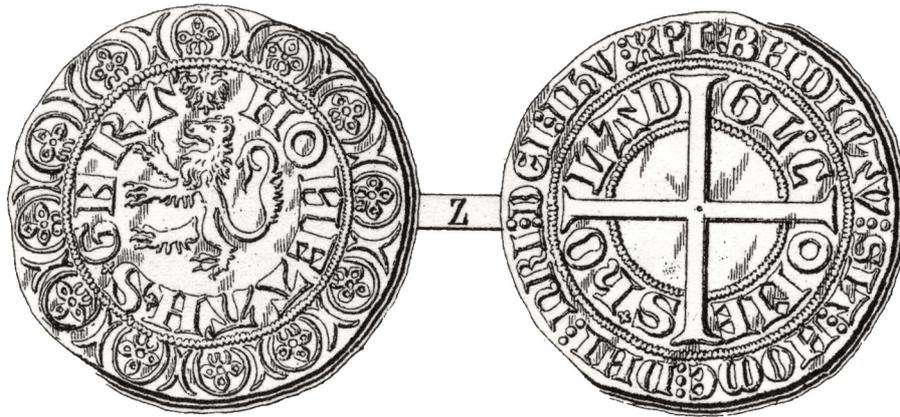
For the most part, v.d. Chijs describes the coin correctly, but he makes no mention of the **x** after the word **MONETA**, clearly visible in the illustration (as well as on known examples of this type). As was common in old books, the round **O**'s of **MONETA** and **COMES** are not properly indicated in the transcription. As for the drawing, although the Roman **N** in **BNDICTV** is correct, known examples of this type of coin have **Ń** in **DNI**, which is not what is shown in v.d. Chijs' illustration. (His text transcription also says **DNI** and not **DŃI**.) V.d. Chijs has illustrated the 5-lobed variety, and the coin he used as a model is clearly not one of the four coins shown in our Catalog above. V.d. Chijs' coin is either another variant of this type, or his description and illustration are inaccurate. (Again, what are the implications of an erroneous drawing by v.d. Chijs for the questioned existence of Grolle 16.1, the **† MONETA HOLLANDIE** coin?)

Gros MS GERT

C. P. Serrure 1
 R. Serrure 67
 V.d. Chijs XXXVI, 9
 Grolle 16.3.1



R. Serrure 67



*V.d. Chijs Plate XXXVI, 9
(and Grolle 16.3.1)*

shows **MOHETΛ GL•C**

shows **hOLΛD**

V.d. Chijs refers to this coin as a ‘dubbelgroot’ and the fractional (vdCh IV, I) as a ‘1/4 groot’ (pp. 169-170).

The **A**’s in v.d. Chijs’ drawing are both barless and do not look like those on the DNB coins, which have crossbars. V.d. Chijs shows **H** instead of **Q** in **MONETA** and a ‘normal’ **T**, and no apostrophe after **HOLAD** on the reverse. His drawing shows **GL•C** instead of **GL’*C** as the DNB coins have. These are all fairly major differences.

Neither of the two coins currently held in the DNB and illustrated above, seem to have been the model for v.d. Chijs’ illustration (which was subsequently re-used by Grolle). According to v.d. Chijs, the coin he saw was in R. Serrure’s own collection, and it is indeed clear that Serrure used the same coin as v.d. Chijs a model for his own illustration. The two coins in the DNB are exceedingly clear and legible. But because we know that v.d. Chijs and R. Serrure both saw the same example of an apparently different sort of coin with their own eyes, we can conclude that there is a strong possibility that another variant does indeed exist (see, however, C.P. Serrure below).

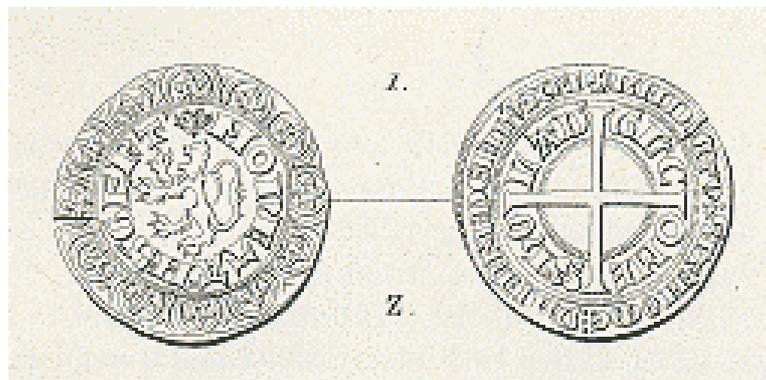
V.d. Chijs’ drawing clearly show the central lion having a protruding tongue, which is strange because most *leeuwengroten* lions have no tongues. In fact, we could find only three or four specimens of a lion with a tongue in our database of over one thousand photographs:



lions with tongues on Brabançon & Flemish leeuwengroten

In R. Serrure's drawing, the tongue looks more like a loose mark in front of the lion's mouth, which may in fact be part of its claw.

C.P. Serrure ^[21]



C. P. Serrure 1

C.P. Serrure's drawing shows the apostrophe after HOLAD, as well as **MONETA**; this is different from the v.d. Chijs and R. Serrure drawings but consistent with the known DNB specimens. C.P. Serrure states that the coin was in his own collection; is this the same piece that R. Serrure (his grandson) and v.d. Chijs have illustrated, despite the differing legends? This, in turn, leads us to question our statement about another possible variant with a Roman N in MONETA on the previous page.

C.P. Serrure's drawing shows **H** for the **M** of M S GERT, which differs from the known DNB coins.

Gros HOLAN & Z

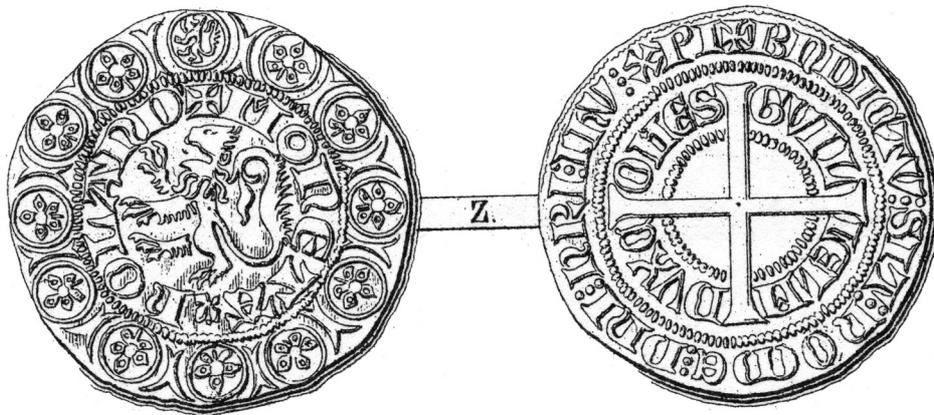
Van der Chijs —
Grolle 17.2.2 f

The first known specimen of this type was discovered in 1932 ^[22], and could therefore not possibly be listed in v.d. Chijs' or Serrure's books.

Gros HOLAND

Some references (e.g. Grolle 17.2.2) are meant to indicate a certain, general type of coin, while others (e.g. Grolle 17.2.2 f) denote a more specific type, where the characteristics are said to match exactly. Often a designation with a lowercase letter indicates an actual specimen, and thus the characteristics of that specific coin.

Van der Chijs VI, 18 is meant to represent all of the MONETA HOLAND *leeuwengroten*, regardless of the specific details. Thus, there will be many specimens that do not completely match v.d. Chijs' illustration or description. We would, however, expect v.d. Chijs' illustration to correctly illustrate at least one of the sub-groups known for this type of *leeuwengroot*.



v.d. Chijs plate VI, 18

Grolle 17.2.2
(according to Grolle = **17.2.2 a** *sic*)

V.d. Chijs' drawing shows a 'normal' T & A, no pellet left or right of the obverse, initial cross and no double-pellet after DVX on the reverse.

The authors have never seen a MONETA HOLAND *leeuwengroot* without a pellet left of the cross, and are currently of the opinion that such coins do not exist (until proven otherwise, of course). We suspect that v.d. Chijs' illustration is simply incorrect on this point (no pun intended). (Once again, what are the implications of an erroneous drawing by v.d. Chijs for the questioned existence of Grolle 16.1, the † MONETA HOLLANDIE coin?)

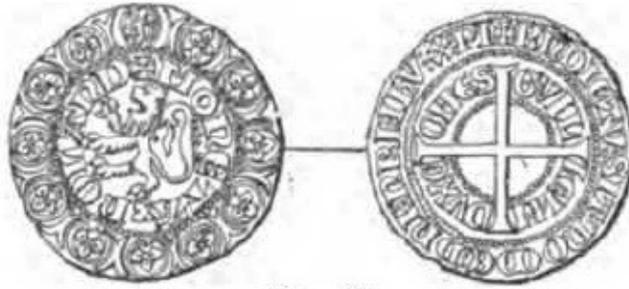


Fig. 68.

R. Serrure 68

It seems that once again, Serrure has copied v.d. Chijs' illustration, which shows no pellet left or right of the initial cross.

APPENDIX C: Grolle *et al*

Ghyssens

The 1988 article: *The Holland Leeuwengroten of William V: An Attempt at Classification*^[7] by Joseph Ghyssens adds little or nothing to our knowledge of these coins. The tiny sample used by Ghyssens (only 17 coins, 14 of them from the Dokkum Hoard) did not include many of the variants known to us today. Of course, we applaud Ghyssens' efforts to classify these coins, but to be completely frank, Ghyssens just did not have "the eye" for identifying *leeuwengroten* (of any region), and much of what he wrote is simply incorrect. There is no particular reason to go into any great detail as to the article's shortcomings, suffice it to say that the entire paper can be safely ignored (with all due respect to the late Mr. Ghyssens).

Post

Although it is certainly commendable that Post published his own self-illustrated book on the coins of the [Northern] Netherlands (ref. 12), this work too, adds little or nothing to our knowledge of the Holland *leeuwengroten*. The information provided is simply repeated from other sources, and the book is only of use as a quick-reference guide.

Grolle

Grolle's book (ref. 7) is invaluable as a source for raw data (i.e. the medieval documents in volumes II and III). Beyond that, when it comes to the *leeuwengroten*, the book is of little use other than as a quick-reference guide (see Table 1).

Grolle writes in an authoritative style, giving the reader the impression that he knows his subject well. Unfortunately, his book suffers from a number of structural and factual errors which render it useless for identifying the Holland *leeuwengroten*. Furthermore, Grolle does not distinguish between facts and his own opinions, and the incautious reader may well be misled by some of Grolle's less accurate statements.

Structural Problems in Grolle's Book

For the transcriptions of coin legends, Grolle uses the book's standard typeface, and he does not provide additional information regarding the letter forms. By doing this, his categorization of the MONETA HOLAND *leeuwengroten* is doomed to failure from the very outset; the important forms of the **T** and **A** of the word MONETA are ignored, as are those leaf stops that have a pellet above.

Worse still, some of Grolle's transcriptions are simply erroneous, and the types of coins that they are said to represent are probably non-existent.

A number of illustrations (photographs, and drawings taken from v.d. Chijs) are not properly placed, so that they do not illustrate the coins that they are intended to illustrate; the legends in the illustrations clearly do not match the associated transcriptions.

Grolle 17.2.2 a

. + MONETA x HOLAND
GVIL LELM DVXC OMES

- erroneously shows v.d. Chijs' drawing from plate VI, 18 as an illustration.
- erroneously shows coin DNB-00972 as an illustration.
- erroneously gives KPK-2736 (now NM-02736) as a reference.

Ignoring for the moment that MONETA HOLAND coins with an **x** stop mark (and therefore Grolle Type **17.2.2 a**) coins do not actually exist, the legends on the coins Grolle has used as illustrations for his Type **17.2.2 a** do not match his own transcription.

V.d. Chijs' drawing from plate VI, 18 does not have a pellet left of the initial cross, and in fact, v.d. Chijs' illustration does not conform to anything listed in Grolle's book at all. At best, **vdCh. VI, 18** is **Grolle 17.2.2**.

DNB-00972 is in fact a Grolle Type **17.2.2 i** with **L** and **. + •** and **DVX:C** (see cat: Type V. sub-type H).

KPK-2736 (now NM-02736) is not actually listed in Grolle's book at all, having a 'normal' **L**, **. +** and **DVX:C**. (Grolle lists no coins with a **. +** and **DVX:C** combination.) (See cat: Type A).

According to Grolle, 4 of these coins (i.e. **17.2.2 a**) can be found in the Dokkum (1932) and Sneek (1955) Hoards, but we found no such coins (see references 23 and 24, respectively).

Grolle's **x** stop must be corrected to leaf, making his Type **a** the same as his Type **d**.

Grolle 17.2.2 b

. + . MONETA x HOLAND
GVIL LELM DVXC OMES

- erroneously shows coin DNB-00971 (formerly DNB V 145) as an illustration.

Ignoring for the moment once again that MONETA HOLAND coins with an x stop mark (and therefore Grolle Type **17.2.2 b**) coins do not actually exist, DNB-00971 (formerly DNB V 145) is actually yet another Grolle Type **17.2.2 i** coin as described above.

Grolle's x stop must be corrected to leaf, making his Type **b** the same as his Type **e**. That said, we do not believe that coins of Grolle's types **b** or **e** in fact exist, never having actually seen any such coins ourselves; all of the • † • coins with no colon after DVX seem to have a pellet **L** in HOLAND.

Grolle's Use of Terms:

Both now and in the 14th century, several different names are/were used to describe the coin under discussion, in all of its various forms. Technically the communal Flanders-Brabant coin, agreed upon in 1339, was then termed a *compagnon*, *gezel* or *socius*. A dual-issue coin was struck in Brabant (the GANDEN LOUVAIN type), but it is likely that no such coins were ever struck in Flanders.

At that point in time, a Flemish *leeuwengroot* / *gros au lion* (or by whatever name one wishes to employ) was already circulating in the area, and it is likely that Brabantine *leeuwengroten* were circulating as well. Although difficult to prove, it is not unlikely that Holland *leeuwengroten* were also in circulation before 1339.

Are the earlier and later issues, (also those struck under Louis of Mâle), **not** *compagnons*, *gezellen* or *socius*? Technically, they may not be. There are only two options: use all of the terms interchangeably, or use them specifically and correctly in all cases and at all times. We have chosen to take the former course of action, using *leeuwengroot*, *gros au lion* and sometimes *compagnon* (while avoiding *gezel* and *socius*) for all of the coins with the same, basic characteristics.

Grolle uses the terms *leeuwengroot* and *gezel* as if they were two different types of coin, which would be perfectly acceptable if he were consistent in his usage, which he is not. He refers to the striking of *leeuwengroten* (in Flanders and Brabant), and then *gezellen* in Holland (**16.2.1** & **16.3.1**) and then *leeuwengroten* (**17.2.2**) again, without any real indication of why the name had changed, when the coins themselves are so similar. If, as Grolle implies, the term *gezel* was used for the coin common to Flanders and Brabant (and Holland), then his use of the term *leeuwengroot* for the Flemish-Brabant *groot* of 1339 (Vol. I, p. 102) is puzzling.

At one point, Grolle refers to the half *groot* (*grand blanc*) which preceded the *leeuwengroot* in Flanders, as a 'leeuwengroot'.

According to Grolle ^[8]:

- gezel** **16.2.1; 16.3.1**
- leeuwengroot** **17.2.2; also**
- Flemish *leeuwengroot* of 1334-1337 (so-called ‘grand blanc’) [i.e. $\frac{1}{2}$ *groot*] (I, p. 101)
 - “and the Brabantine imitation thereof since May, 1337” (*sic*) (I, p. 101)
 - Flemish-Brabançon *groot* of 1339 (I, p. 102)
 - *groot* of Louis II of Flanders (I, p. 112)
 - 1330 *leeuwengroot* of Louis I of Flanders [i.e. *grand blanc* $\frac{1}{2}$ *groot*] (III, p. 218 Table IA)
 - 1331-1332 *leeuwengroot* of Louis I of Flanders [i.e. *grand blanc* $\frac{1}{2}$ *groot*? Or *Ghent groot*?] (III, p. 218 Table IA)
 - 1332-1337 *leeuwengroot* or ‘grand blanc’ (III, p. 218 Table IA) [i.e. *grand blanc* $\frac{1}{2}$ *groot*? Or *Vieux Gros*?]
 - 1351-1353 Louis II of Flanders (III, p. 218 Table IA)
 - 1355-1358 Louis II of Flanders (III, p. 218 Table IA) or ‘blanc denier’ [i.e. *grantz blancz deniers le pieche d’un gros*, see Martiny, p. 116 ^[x]]
 - 1359-1361 Louis II of Flanders (III, p. 218 Table IA)
 - 1361-1362 Louis II of Flanders (III, p. 218 Table IA)
 - 1363-1364 Louis II of Flanders (III, p. 218 Table IA)
- compagnon** – 1343 Louis II of Flanders (III, p. 218 Table IA)
- 1346 Louis II of Flanders (III, p. 218 Table IA)
 - 1346-1351 Louis II of Flanders (III, p. 218 Table IA)

Grolle was, of course, free to do as he wished. But we find this constant switching of names unnecessary and potentially confusing for the reader.

Grolle Table 1A (III, p. 218) ^[8]

On p. 218 of Volume III, Grolle exacerbates his nomenclature problem with his Table 1A: **Silver Content of the Flemish Groot of 12 Deniers Parisis.** We advise the reader interested in correct information to avoid this table completely.

This table is a monument to wishful thinking. Grolle lists the Counts of Flanders from Guy of Dampierre to Philip the Good, and uses J.R. de Mey’s Numismatic Pocket books on the coins of Flanders (2 volumes) as references. But it is not possible to match up the known issues of Flemish *leeuwengroten* to the types proposed by de Mey, if for no other reason than de Mey’s categorization of the *leeuwengroot* types is inaccurate (to put it mildly). A quick look at the legends as listed by de Mey show that they simply do not match the actual coins. Attempting to pair such descriptions up with the known Flemish issues is like comparing apples and unicorns.

Under Louis I of Nevers in Grolle’s Table 1A, we find the following three entries:

1330	vgl M 123	‘leeuwengroot’
1331-1332	M 153	‘leeuwengroot’
1332-1337	M 145	‘leeuwengroot’ or ‘grant blanc’

(‘vgl’ is not listed under Grolle’s *Abbreviations Used* on pp. 212-214 of volume III.)

If one compares this information to De Mey’s book on Flemish coins (ref. 15), it does not match what Grolle is asserting at all:

dM 123	<i>grand blanc</i> (½ <i>groot</i>)
dM 153	<i>Ghent groot</i>
dM 145	<i>Vieux Gros</i>

Half *grotten* were struck in Flanders from 1330-1337, when striking of the first Flemish *leeuwengrotten* began. In 1334, the oldest surviving Flemish mint records referred to these half *grotten* as *grand blancs*, and the quarter *grotten* as *petits blancs*. **No full *grotten* were struck in Flanders at all during the period 1330-1337.** The specific dates of minting for the *Ghent groot* and the *vieux gros* are not known.

Although similar to the *leeuwengroot* / *gros au lion* / *compagnon* / *gezel* / *socius*, the other Flemish coins indirectly (but not specifically) mentioned by Grolle in Table 1A (referred to by him as ‘leeuwengroot’ and alluded to by his use of de Mey numbers), have strong differences from the coins which we term *leeuwengrotten*. Although Grolle was certainly free to use whatever terms he wished for *grotten* with lions on them, in our opinion using the same term for so many different coins is asking for trouble. (Grolle’s reference to the ½ *groot* (*petit blanc*) as a *groot* (‘leeuwengroot’) is simply incorrect.) We provide here illustrations of the other coins in question:

**The GRAND BLANC half groot
(Gaillard 194 = Alost; 187 = Ghent)**



Elsen 118-990 / 2.05 g.

The *PETIT BLANC* quarter groot
(Gaillard 195 / 196 = Alost; 189 = Ghent)



ELSEN 118-991 / 0.93 g.

The *GHENT GROOT*
(Gaillard 186)



Elsen 106-657

The *VIEUX GROS*
(Gaillard 184)



Elsen 106-654 / 3.45 g.

Grolle Table 1A (III, p. 218) (cont)

Returning to Grolle's Table 1A, the next three entries under Louis I of Nevers are:

1337-1338	M 147	<i>compagnon, gezel or socius</i> *
1343	M 149	<i>compagnon</i>
1346	M 150	<i>compagnon</i>

“ * Coin of convention agreement with Brabant initiated... 3 December, 1339 (socius)...”

It is patently impossible for coins struck “1337-1338” to have been issued under an agreement made in 1339. The years 1339-1342 are not listed in Grolle's table at all.

Note that de Mey does not refer to any of these coins as *leeuwengroot*: **De Mey 147** is a *gros compagnon au lion* with a 12♣ border. **De Mey 149** is a *gros compagnon au lion* with an 11♣ / 1♣ border and ♣ after MONETA. **DM-150** is a *gros compagnon au lion* with an 11♣ / 1♣ border and no mark after MONETA. There is no actual evidence that these two types correspond to the dates proposed in Grolle's Table 1A.

Under Louis II of Mâle, Grolle has seven entries, the dates of which do not necessarily correspond to the actual dates of minting in Flanders:

1346-1351	M 206	'leeuwengroot'
1351-1353	M 207	'leeuwengroot'
1354-1358	M 208	'leeuwengroot' or 'blanc denier'
1359-1361	M 209	'leeuwengroot'
1361-1362	M 210	'leeuwengroot'
1363-1364	M 211	'leeuwengroot'
1369-1370	M 210 [sic]	'½ leeuw'

The second **dM-210** must be an error; Grolle probably meant **dM-223**, a 'lion with helm' *groot*, incorrectly termed a 'gros botdrager' by de Mey. If Grolle is calling this a '½ leeuw', then the double groot of the same type must be a full 'leeuw' for him.

De Mey's descriptions of the *leeuwengroten* in his book numbered 206-211 are inaccurate and do not match any actual coins. Therefore, it is not possible to match up the types proposed by de Mey with the known issues of Flemish *leeuwengroten*, as Grolle has attempted to do in his Table 1A.

Grolle lists one more 'leeuwengroot' in his table, this time under John the Fearless:

1407	M 292	'leeuwengroot'
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Vanhoudt G 2644; de Mey 292

The Grand Blanc and Grolle's Table 1A

Grolle describes his Type 16.1 *leeuwengroot* as follows:

“1st Issue 1337 (16.1) – in imitation of the Flemish *leeuwengroot* 1334-1337 of 12 *parisis*, so-called ‘grand blanc’ ... and the Brabantine imitation thereof since May, 1337”

– Grolle vol. I, p. 101

How, exactly, does this bizarre statement correspond to his Table 1A?

Is this ‘Flemish *leeuwengroot*’ supposed to be:

- the *grand blanc* listed in Table 1A under 1330?
(based on the name, as used by Grolle in the p. 101 quote above)
- the *vieux gros* (i.e. De Mey 145), listed in Table 1A under 1332-1337?
(based on Grolle’s dates in the p. 101 quote)

Grolle’s Table 3: Silver Content of the Holland *Groot* Since 1337 (III, p. 223)

This table purports to show the various issues of Holland *leeuwengroot* and their silver fineness. There is no point in going into detail about this table; suffice it to say that it is “fruit of the poisonous tree”, as it were. Grolle’s classification of the Holland *leeuwengroten* is simply inaccurate, hence, any table of the coins must be inaccurate as well.

Brabant first?

At various places in his book, Grolle gives the reader the impression that *leeuwengroten* were first issued in Brabant, before their issue in Flanders. This is in conflict with the current, conventional wisdom which states that the *leeuwengroot* was first struck in Flanders (as a reaction the devaluation of coins in France). Whether or not this is what Grolle intended to say is not completely clear.

According to Grolle:

“At first, Willem IV in Holland followed the Brabantine *leeuwengroot*, issued in May, 1337 with a first issue at Dordrecht (Grolle 16.11). On 3 December 1339, John III of Brabant and Louis I of Flanders signed an agreement in Ghent for a military and economic union, including a common coin...”

– Grolle vol. I, p. 97

It is entirely possible that the Holland *leeuwengroot* of 1337 (?) was copied directly from the Brabantine coins (which had themselves been copied from the Flemish), and not directly from the Flemish coins themselves. But the fact that Flanders goes unmentioned in Grolle’s first sentence gives the reader the impression that the *leeuwengroot* of 1337 was first issued in Brabant (not in Flanders), which may or may not have been Grolle’s intention. Furthermore, a reader who knew nothing about these types of coins might even infer that *leeuwengroten* were not struck at all in Flanders in 1337, and only from 1339 onwards.

“1st Issue 1337 (16.1) – in imitation of the Flemish *leeuwengroot* 1334-1337 of 12 *parisis*, so-called ‘grand blanc’ [*sic*] of 4.2566 g. @ 0.8185 = 3.484 grf and the Brabantine imitation thereof since May, 1337 [*sic*]”

– Grolle vol. I, p. 101

Grolle is incorrectly referring to the *grand blanc* of 1334-1337 as a *groot* here (it was a $\frac{1}{2}$ *groot*).

As written, the text above seems to state that the Brabantine *leeuwengroot* (1337) is somehow an imitation of the Flemish *grand blanc* (1334-1337), and not an imitation of the Flemish *leeuwengroot* (1337). Either a subtle implication is being made that Brabant issued full *leeuwengroten* **before** Flanders did, or the Flemish *grand blanc* $\frac{1}{2}$ *groot* and the full Flemish *leeuwengroot* have been completely muddled up by Grolle.

Perhaps Grolle meant to say something more along these lines:

“...in imitation of the Flemish *leeuwengroot* and the Brabantine imitation thereof since May, 1337”

or perhaps

“...in imitation of the Flemish *grand blanc* half *groot* 1334-1337 of 12 *parisis*, and of the Flemish *leeuwengroot* (and the Brabantine imitation thereof) since May, 1337”

In theory, it is possible that *leeuwengroten* were struck in Brabant before they were struck in Flanders, but no one but Grolle has ever said this – if that is indeed what he did say. If this was indeed Grolle’s intention, he does not back this idea up with any evidence or references. If *leeuwengroten* were struck in Brabant before Flanders, then it can only have been the MONETA BRVXELL(EN) types.

Analysis of Grolle's Proposed Types

[† MONETA HOLLANDIE]

Grolle 16.1.1

Grolle assumed that v.d. Chijs' description of this type was accurate, which may or may not be the case. We have been unable to prove the existence of this type of coin (see discussion of †HOLLANDIE coins above, p. 75).

Grolle did not see this coin, and based his type 16.2.1 on v.d. Chijs (and perhaps R. Serrure as well). If v.d. Chijs was wrong about this coin, then Serrure and Grolle are wrong as well and there is insufficient evidence for the existence of this type of coin. (This coin was listed by Post in his *Op Zilver Gemunt*, but personal conversation between him and the authors reveal that he had not seen any such coin himself, rather had relied upon the accuracy of the works of previous authors (i.e. v.d. Chijs).)

✠ MONETA HOLLANDIE

Grolle 16.2.1

MS GERT

Grolle 16.3.1

According to Grolle, this was the last type struck for William IV, and that minting began after the mint was moved from Dordrecht to Geertruidenberg in 1342 (ref. 8). As previously mentioned, Grolle does not name any source for this information, and try as we might, we were unable to find any evidence that the mint was moved in 1342. In fact, the only evidence that we have for the striking of *leeuwengroten* in Geertruidenberg is the legends on the coins themselves. Therefore, Grolle may be right and the mint was indeed moved in 1342, or he is wrong and the mint was moved at some other time.

MONETA HOLLAN & Z

Grolle 17.2.2 f : MONETA HOLLAN & Z

As previously mentioned, Grolle incorrectly transcribed the legend of this type (based on the Dokkum Hoard specimen) as: HOLLAD instead of the correct HOLLAN (or rather, HOLLAN).



*Dokkum K190
(detail)*

Ŋ not D

MONETA HOLAND

Grolle 17.2.2

In the transcriptions in his book, Grolle did not indicate the actual forms of the letters, including the all-important A's and T's in MONETA, nor does he make any mention of coins with a pellet over the leaf mark after MONETA (cat. Type F). For several of his types, Grolle incorrectly interpreted the leaf-mark as an X, which caused a sort of duplication of types, and Grolle Type a should be dropped in favor of Type d.

Type 17.2.2 according to Grolle:^[8]

<i>Catalog Type V</i>	<i>Grolle type</i>	<i>pellets</i>	<i>reverse</i>	<i>HOLAND</i>	<i>interpunction</i>
-	a	• †	XC	L	x
-	b	• † •	XC	L	x
-	c	• † •	XC	L	x
D & E	d	• †	XC	L	♣
-	e	• † •	XC	L	♣
Type IV	[f]	• †	XC	HOLANŊ Z Z	♣
-	g	†	X:C	L	x
(H)	h	• † •	X:C	L	x
(I)	i	• † •	X:C	L	x

Table 6

★ *Warning! This table contains incorrect information !* ★

Grolle 17.2.2 a & d

in reality, these two are ostensibly the same type (type **d** having a leaf).

Grolle 17.2.2 b / e & c

all have two pellets obverse, but no colon reverse

*We have only seen **one** coin with these characteristics, ostensibly a*

*Grolle 17.2.2c but with a leaf mark, not an **x**. (see cat.: Type I)*

Grolle: III, p. 92

Entry 1358 = 17.2.2 b

In the first place, Grolle **17.2.2 b** does not exist (having an **x** mark) and must be replaced with his **17.2.2 e**, with a leaf mark.

Grolle 17.2.2 f

is the unusual type with a different obverse legend: Holland & Zeeland,
which we have cataloged as a different type.

Grolle 17.2.2 g

has no pellet left or right of the initial cross.

We have never seen a coin with these characteristics.

Grolle 17.2.2 h & i

as described by Grolle do not exist (with a **x**), but in fact have a leaf
(ostensibly sub-groups **H** and **I**, respectively).

Grolle —

Extant sub-groups: **A**, **B**, **C** (all with **•✚ / X:C**) and **F** (with **✚**)
are not listed in Grolle's book at all.

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