

The *Leeuwengroten* of the County of Rethel: An Initial Overview (revised version)

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Louis of Mâle as Count Louis III of Rethel (26 August, 1346 – 30 January 1384)

On August 26, 1346, Louis I of Flanders (Louis II of Nevers) was killed fighting for the French at the battle of Crécy (for which he is often known as Louis of Crécy). In addition to being Count of Flanders and Nevers, Louis was also Count Louis II of Rethel (Ardennes, France). After his death, his son Louis of Mâle became Count Louis II of Flanders and Louis III of Nevers and Rethel.

On 14 April, 1357, Louis of Mâle commissioned Andrieu la Porcheto (André la Porche) to strike *moutons d'or* and *gros d'argent* at Mézieres in Rethel. Based on the document itself, it is clear that these *gros d'argent* were *leeuwengroten* (or *gros au lion*). As far as we know, this was the first time that *leeuwengroten* were struck in Rethel.

The coins are very rare, and to date we have only found 12 examples (although there are probably more out there). There are two main types of Rethel *leeuwengroot*, with two more unverified (and suspect) types reported by previous authors. One type (Type II) is almost identical to the Flemish coins of Louis of Male, differing only in the obverse legend of MONETA FLAND' z R' instead of MONETA FLAND'. The other type (Type I) has an obverse border of 12 eagles, which is very unusual for a *leeuwengroot* of any region. Such a border is only seen on one other *leeuwengroot*: a coin from Cambrai thought to have been struck for Peter IV d'Andre (1349-1368). Whether or not there is any particular relationship between the two is uncertain.



*Elsen 95-764 / 2.27 g.
leeuwengroot of Cambrai with a 12  border*

It is entirely possible that other Rethel *leeuwengroten* specimens have gone unnoticed and mistaken for Flemish coins, both in coin finds and the collections of private individuals or of museums and other institutions. This is more than mere speculation; of the known Rethel *leeuwengroot* specimens, 2 of those in private collections were misidentified by the coin dealer and were both sold as being coins of Flanders. (At the other end of the spectrum, at

least 2 different websites have misidentified Flemish *leeuwengroten* as having come from “the Rethel mint”).

The document of 14 April 1357, is an invaluable piece of evidence for our investigation into the *leeuwengroten* of all regions:

“...deniers blancs d’argent d’autre tel poys et aloy, et sur la meisme piet mue ne cangie comme sont les deniers d’argent que on appelle gros, qui on fet en nostre conté de Flandres à present, à entreseignes, que en la pille, entour le lyon, aura ensi : + **Moneta Flad. ⚡ R.**, ou cercle dehors : aiglettes.”

Gaillard, RBN 1851, p. 138^[5]

Gaillard, 1852, p. 110^[3]

This is the only instance where we have a dated, medieval document with a clear description of a *leeuwengroot* type (from any region). The document is dated:

“Donné à Bruges, le xiiij^e jour d’avril l’an de gracie mil CCCLVII”

Gaillard, RBN 1851, p. 139^[5]

Gaillard, 1852, p. 111^[3]

This literally says 14th day of April, not 13th. Although one might expect XIV instead of XIIIJ, in the Middle Ages XIIIJ was also used for 14. (The j is used instead of i to indicate that it is the last digit.)

In RBN 1851, Gaillard refers to the document being from 14 April, 1357 (p. 119)^[5]. But in his book on Flemish coins (1852), he says 13 April, 1357 (p. 178)^[3]. In both works, Gaillard’s transcription of the document itself reads “xiiij^e jour d’avril”, i.e. 14 April.

The Catalog

All of the Rethel *leeuwengroten* that we have thus far been able to find are included here. The coins are shown at approximately 2 ½ x life-size.



actual size

There seems to be a clear relationship between the *leeuwengroten* of Flanders and those of Rethel (see p. 13 below). For this reason, we have indicated the varying forms of the L’s in red, for the sake of future research.

On all of the coins, the reverse, outer legend reads:

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

CATALOG OF COINS

TYPE I

From April 14, 1357 onwards

Border of 12 ❁

Poey d'Avant — ^[2]

Gaillard (1851) 5 / IX, 6 ^[5]

Gaillard Type 231 ^[3]

R. Serrure Type 56 ^[7]

Descharmes 2 ^[3]

(Dewismes 235) ^[4]

CdMB 112 / 3.10 g.

FLAD

Elsen 119-1076 / 2.85 g.

FLAD

Private collection

FLAD

Private collection

FLAD

Private collection / 3.27 g.

FLAND



CdMB 112 / 3.10 g.

❁ MONETA + FLAD' Z R'
LVD OVI CꝰCO MES

No **Q** in FLAD, **L**'s of the 'wedge' type. The CdMB coin appears to be the model coin for Gaillard's 1851 drawing (6) ^[5]:



Gaillard plate IX ^[5]

Note the **IhV X** in the outer legend of the drawing; the missing **:** can clearly be seen on the CdMB coin – the drawings are incorrect.



Gaillard 231 ^[6]

Gaillard 231 ^[6], Poey d'Avant 6113 ^[2] and R. Serrure 56 ^[7] all show the same specimen as well.



Elsen 119-1076 / 2.85 g.



private collection



private collection

✠ MONETA + FLAD' 7 R'
LVD OVI CꝰCO MES



private collection / 3.27 g.

✠ MONETA + FLAND' R'
 LVD OVI CꝰCO MES

This coin is different from the four previous examples: there is an **Ń** in FLAND. The obverse **L** is of the 'narrow' type, the reverse **L** the 'wedge' type. (Gaillard IX, 6 var. ^[4]; Gaillard 231 var. ^[6]; R. Serrure 56 var. ^[7].)



another photo of the same coin

TYPE II

Border of 11♣ / 1♣

Poey d'Avant 6113 (pl. CXLII, 4) ^[2]

Gaillard 232 ^[6]

Gaillard (1851) 6 / IX, 7 ^[4]

R. Serrure — (Type 56 var.) ^[7]

Descharmes 1 ^[3]

(Dewismes 237) ^[4]

Elsen 104-374 / 3.24 g.

Elsen 106-574 / 3.50 g.

Dokkum Hoard (1932) K089 / 2.56 g

CdMB 111 / 3.03 g.

Descharmes, plate, 6 ^[3]

private collection

private collection / 3.62 g.

R. Serrure mentions this type in his text (p. 167), citing Gaillard, although it seems clear that Serrure never actually saw an example of this type. All of these coins are ostensibly “the same”, differing only in minor details that do not represent minting marks *per se*.



Elsen 106-574 / 3.50 g.

✠ MONETA ✠ F^{II}AND' Z R'
F^{II}VD OVI D^{II}CO MES



Dokkum Hoard (1932) K089 / 2.56 g

✠ MONETA + FLAND' R'
 LVD OVI QDO MES



CdMB 111 / 3.03 g.

✠ MONETA + FLAND' R'
 LVD OVI QDO MES

Bill



6

Descharmes, plate, 6^[3]



private collection





private collection / 3.62 g. (two photographs of the same coin)



Elsen 104-374 / 3.24 g.

✠ MONETA + FLAND' R'
 IV D OVI C D O M S

The last three coins shown above are extremely similar in style to the Flemish Issue V, Type 12, 'serif' L sub-group coins (see p. 13). (See also: ref. 8.)

TYPE III ?

Gaillard Type 233 ^[6] : border of 12 ♣

NOT VERIFIED

No known specimens

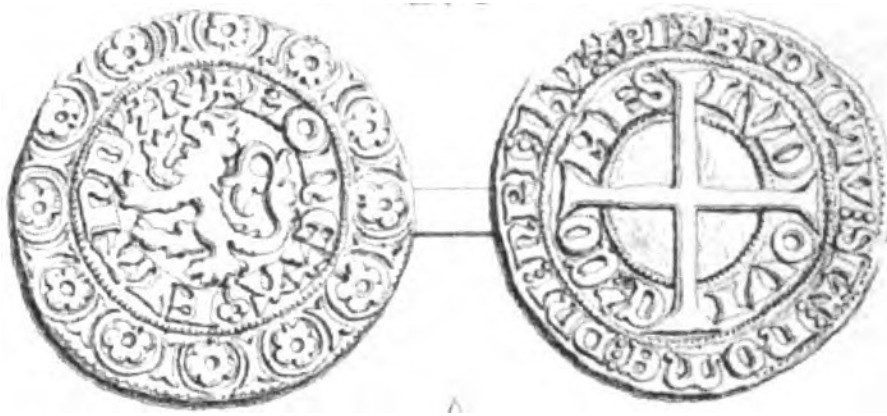
Poey d'Avant 6115 ^[2]

Gaillard (1851) — ^[4]

R. Serrure — ^[7]

Descharmes 4 ^[3]

(Dewismes 236) ^[4]



Gaillard 233 ^[6]

There is an extremely good chance that this type does not actually exist. A Louis of Mâle coin with 12 leaves in the border would be unusual (although the extant type with 12 ♣ is certainly unusual). Gaillard refers to the symbols as *rosettes*. We have not seen any such specimen, and Gaillard does not have a particularly good track record, so to speak. Was the artist trying to draw the type with an 11 ♣ / 1 ♣ border and a ‘serif’ L style? It certainly looks that way. Gaillard does not list this type in his 1851 article in RBN (ref. 5), but in his book on Flemish coins he states that the coin was in the Dewismes collection (St. Omer, Belgium) ^[6].

R. Serrure refers to this type in his text (p. 167, citing Gaillard) and once again calls it a variant of the 12 ♣ type. It seems clear that Serrure never saw an example of this type, and is simply relying on Gaillard being correct, which we are unwilling to do without further evidence. Poey reports this type as well, based solely on Gaillard’s information.

TYPE IV ?

Poey d'Avant 6112 ^[2]

Poey d'Avant (1853) Supplement 65, pl. XXVI, 13 ^[1] : border of 11♣ / 1✠
Descharmes 3 ^[3]

NOT VERIFIED

No known specimens

Gaillard (1851) — ^[4]

Gaillard — ^[6]

R. Serrure — ^[7]

There is an extremely good chance that this type does not actually exist. A Louis of Mâle coin with a 11♣ / 1✠ border would also be highly unusual. Such a type was only reported by Poey d'Avant, who claimed to have one in his collection:

6112. ✠ MORETA. Trèfle. FLAND' Z. R'. Lion debout. Bordure de onze feuilles et d'une aigle éployée. R. LVDOVIC' : COMES. Croix coupant la légende. 2^e légende : BNDICTV, &c.

BILL. Gros : 3,53. (POEY D'AVANT, *Suppl.*, n° 65, et pl. 26, n° 13.)

Poey d'Avant, p. 281 ^[2]

RETHEL

LOUIS III DE MALE, 1346.

65. MORETA. Trèfle. FLAND' Z. R'. Lion debout. Bordure de onze feuilles et d'une aigle éployée. — R. LVDOVIC' : COMES. Croix coupant la légende. En légende extérieure, + BNDICTV : SIT : ROME : DRI : RRI : IhV : XPI.

Gros de billon : 65 gr. Pl. XXVI, n° 13.

Ce remarquable et rarissime gros est une variété, jusqu'à présent unique, des deux autres publiés par M. Gaillard dans la *Revue belge (loco cit.)*, pl. IX, n° 6 et 7; il en diffère par la forme des feuilles de la bordure.

Poey d'Avant (1853) p. 465, n° 65 ^[1]

According to Poey, this coin is remarkable and rare (indeed), and is a unique example of a type unlike either of those shown in Gaillard (1851), and that the border leaves have a different form than those two coins. Problems arise immediately, however.

First of all, it would not be a good idea to use Gaillard's 1851 drawing as a comparison point for the forms of the border leaves, because the Gaillard drawing is untrustworthy. If the border leaf form were the only difference that Poey saw in the coins, we would not be able to concur with his conclusion that his n° 65 is in fact another type. But in his description, Poey states that the border also contains an eagle and 11 leaves. His drawing shows something quite different however: a border of 12 leaves:



Poey d'Avant (1853), pl. XXVI, 13 ^[1]

So we have a description and an illustration that do not match one another; both are suspect. Poey's drawing shows XRI in the outer legend, which is almost certainly incorrect as well. We have not seen any such specimen, and Poey does not have a particularly good track record either. It is not unlikely that the actual coin was much more unclear than the idealized (?) drawing would lead us to believe. The location of Poey's coin is unknown to us, although it might theoretically be in the Paris collection, perhaps alongside other Rethel *leeuwengroten*. Descharmes reports this type based solely on Poey's work.

Based on the evidence currently available to us, we cannot conclude that Type IV actually exists as described by Poey in his text for his n° 65. We have no matching illustration or photo, nor any matching specimen. Poey's own illustration does not show a 11♣ / 1♣ border, which is cause for concern, and we are not convinced that any Rethel type exists with such a border. If the coin in his collection actually matched his illustration and not the text, then it would be a Type III and not a Type IV at all, rendering Type IV non-existent. If it matched Poey's text, why does the illustration not show the same characteristics?

The Relationship of Rethel Coins to Flanders Coins

It appears that there may be some relationship between the sub-groups of Issue V in Flanders under Louis of Mâle and the Rethel *leeuwengroten*. These sub-groups are described in detail in ref. 8. The same changes to the L's on the Flemish coins may have occurred in Rethel as well; in any case, something similar does seem to be going on. Perhaps the Rethel dies were being made in Flanders along with the dies for the Flemish coins.

It is certainly true that a number of the Rethel Type II coins bear an uncanny resemblance to those of Flanders, specifically the 'serif' L sub-group (see p. 10 above). Minting proceeded as follows:

Flanders:	Issue V: 20 December 1354 - 18 October 1359
Rethel:	14 April, 1357: order to strike coins in Rethel (12 ♣)
Flanders:	Issue VI: 22 October 1359 - 4 December 1361

Rethel TYPE I : border 12 🍀 -- Flanders Issue V : border 11 🍀 / 1 🍀

. ✖ MONETIA + FLAND'	LDV OVI CꝛCO MES	(‘refined’ group?)
✖ MONETIA + FLAD' ꝛ R'	LDV OVI CꝛCO MES	Elsen 119-1076 CdMB 112 2x private coll.

. ✖ MONETIA + FLAND'	LDV OVI CꝛCO MES	(‘narrow’ L group)
✖ MONETIA + FLAND' ꝛ R'	LDV OVI CꝛCO MES	private coll.

Rethel TYPE II : border 11 🍀 / 1 🍀 -- Flanders Issue V : border 11 🍀 / 1 🍀

. ✖ MONETIA + FLAND'	LDV OVI CꝛCO MES	(‘rough’ group?)
✖ MONETIA + FLAND' ꝛ R'	LDV OVI CꝛCO MES	Elsen 106-574 Dokkum K098

. ✖ MONETIA + FLAND'	LDV OVI CꝛCO MES	(‘curvy’ L group)
✖ MONETIA + FLAND' ꝛ R'	LDV OVI CꝛCO MES	CdMB 111

. ✖ MONETIA + FLAND'	LDV OVI CꝛCO MES	(‘serif’ L group)
✖ MONETIA + FLAND' ꝛ R'	LDV OVI CꝛCO MES	Elsen 104-374 2x private coll.

The idea that dies were being made in Flanders and then sent to Mézieres in Rethel is not unreasonable. It would certainly be the best way to maintain a sort of uniformity between the coins of the two regions.

The so-called ‘serif’ L coins, with their distinctive L, large V’s and rough MES in the reverse, inner legend seem to show the hand of the engraver and/or die-sinker, as opposed to some kind of intentional minting marks. The reverse, central crosses are a bit wobbly, and the obverse always has a ‘curvy’ L in FLAND on the obverse. It would seem that the sub-group appears at the end of Issue V in Flanders, as we had previously proposed (see ref. 8). **At this point we can more or less confirm this hypothesis by the recent discovery of a Flemish Issue VI coin with the same set of ‘serif’ L characteristics.**

And as we can see from the two Rethel coins, similar *leeuwengroten* were being produced in Rethel (with the ‘serif’ L sub-group characteristics). We can conclude with a reasonable degree of certainty that the Rethel ‘serif’ L coins were being produced at the same time as the Flemish ‘serif’ L coins, at the end of Issue V and/or the beginning of Issue VI.



Flanders, Issue V (private collection / 3.62 g.)



Flanders, Issue VI (DNB VO-00097 / 2.327 g.)



Rethel / (private collection / 3.62 g.)

Issue VI began in Flanders on or about 22 October 1359, in both Ghent and Malines. Issue V had ended in Malines more than a year before it had ended in Ghent, however. Does this mean that the Issue V, ‘serif’ L coins were produced in Ghent?

Minting of *leeuwengroten* under Louis of Mâle (1346-1384) in Flanders:

Date	Mint	Alloy	Fine	<i>taille</i>	grams	Marks of alloy	Total coins
5th issue V	ARA 795						
20 Dec.1354 – 9 May 1355	Ghent	6d.4gr	0.492	69	3.547	22,350	1,542,150
9 May 1355 – 24 Nov. 1355	Ghent	6d.4gr	0.492	69	3.55	36,600	2,525,400
20 Feb 1356 – 31 Oct. 1356	Ghent	6d.4gr	0.492	69	3.55	59,050	4,074,450
31 Oct. 1356 – 18 Nov. 1356	Ghent	6d.4gr	0.492	69	3.55	1,100	75,900
22 Nov. 1356 – 3 Dec. 1356	Ghent	6d.4gr	0.492	69	3.55	1,452	100,188
10 Dec 1356 – 22 Jul. 1357	Ghent	6d.4gr	0.492	69	3.55	52,700	3,636,300
14 April, 1357 – ?	Mézieres					?	?
29 Jul 1357 – 4 Nov. 1357	Ghent	6d.4gr	0.492	69	3.55	27,700	1,911,300
4 Nov 1357 – 14 Apr. 1358	Ghent	6d.4gr	0.492	69	3.55	30,350	2,094,150
14 Apr. 1358 – 28 Apr. 1358	Ghent	6d.4gr	0.492	69	3.55	4,100	282,900
28 Apr 1358 – 20 Apr. 1359	Ghent	6d.4gr	0.492	69	3.55	39,150	2,701,350
20 Apr. 1359 – 29 May 1359	Ghent	6d.4gr	0.492	69	3.55	7,250	500,250
29 May 1359 – 18 Oct. 1359	Ghent	6d.4gr	0.492	69	3.55	26,050	1,797,450
8 Oct. 1357 – 12 Nov. 1357	Malines	6d.4gr	0.492	69	3.55	750	51,750
12 Nov 1357 – 17 Jun. 1358	Malines	6d.4gr	0.492	69	3.55	19,575	1,350,675
						328,177	22,644,213
6th issue VI							
22 Oct 1359 – 14 Mar. 1360	Ghent	6d.	0.479	70	3.496	22,400	1,568,000
14 Mar 1360 – 19 Sep. 1360	Ghent	6d.	0.479	70	3.50	46,500	3,255,000
19 Sep 1360 – 17 Mar. 1361	Ghent	6d.	0.479	70	3.50	21,950	1,536,500
17 Mar 1361 – 26 Jun. 1361	Ghent	6d.	0.479	70	3.50	10,200	714,000
27 Jun 1361 – 6 Sep. 1361	Ghent	6d.	0.479	70	3.50	2,100	147,000
16 Sep 1361 – 4 Dec. 1361	Ghent	6d.	0.479	70	3.50	14,100	987,000
22 Oct 1359 – 24 Jun. 1360	Malines	6d.	0.479	70	3.50	16,850	1,179,500
24 Jun 1360 – 28 Dec. 1360	Malines	6d.	0.479	70	3.50	3,400	238,000
28 Dec 1360 – 26 Jun. 1361	Malines	6d.	0.479	70	3.50	800	56,000
						138,300	9,681,000

Gaillard On Rethel

Histoire politique et numismatique de Comté de Rethel
RBN 1851

Basically, what Gaillard says in his 1851 RBN article on Rethel is:

1546. Louis III, surnommé *de Male*, du lieu de sa naissance, succéda aux diverses possessions de son père. Nous avons, de ce prince, un document précieux pour la numismatique retheloise. C'est l'ordonnance qu'il rendit à Bruges, le 14 avril 1557, et par laquelle il charge Andrieu dou Porche, de Lucques, de frapper, dans le comté de Rethel, des *moutons d'or* semblables, de poids et d'aloi, à ceux qu'on fabriquait en ce moment en Flandre, mais avec cette différence que sous le mouton doit se trouver : *Ludovicus*

comes Registensis, au lieu de : *Ludovicus comes Flandrie*, et que, au revers, les aigles dont la croix est cantonnée doivent être à deux têtes. Louis de Male charge encore le même André du Porche de frapper, dans le comté de Rethel, des deniers blancs d'argent, semblables aux gros fabriqués en Flandre, avec cette différence qu'autour du lion on lira : + *Moneta Fland' et R.*, et que, dans la bordure extérieure, se trouveront de petits aigles. C'est en exécution de cette ordonnance que furent frappées les monnaies suivantes :

5. + BENEDICT : SIT : NOMEN : DOMI : NRI
: IHV XPI. (Lég. ext.) LVD. — OVI — E' x
EO — MEIS. (Lég. int.) Croix coupant la légende
intérieure.

Rev. + MONETA FLAN' & R'. Lion debout : dans la
bordure douze aigles biface. — Gros. (Pl. IX, fig. 6.)

Collection de M. Everaerts, à Louvain.

(1) Bifaces et non biceps : les aigles n'ont pas deux têtes distinctes, mais une tête à deux becs.

6. Variété du numéro précédent : dans la bordure du revers, douze quintefeuilles et un lion. (Pl. IX, fig. 7.)

Collection de M. Everaerts.

Louis de Male réunit au comté de Rethel la seigneurie de Warth sur la Meuse. Par lettres patentes du 17 août 1547, ce comté fut, avec celui de Nevers et la baronnie de Donzy, érigé en comté-pairie en faveur de Marguerite de France, veuve de Louis II, et de son fils Louis III.



RBN 1851, Plate IX

Gaillard's transcriptions are sloppy and inaccurate. The obverse legend of his n° 5 (pl. IX, 6) reads FLAD, not 'FLA Ω '. He does not report the FLAND legend of his n° 6 (pl. IX, 7). The outer legend reads BNDICTV not 'BENEDICT', NOME not 'NOMEN'. The inner legend read COMES not 'COMES'. (The Ω 's in old numismatic works are almost always incorrectly transcribed.) All of the coins that we have seen read $\text{IhV} : \text{XPI}$, not ' IhV XPI ' (likely to be another of Gaillard's errors).

His description of the second type (n° 6, pl. IX, 7) is incorrect as well; it should read "...**onze** quintefeilles et un lion.". He makes no mention of any variant with 12 leaves and no lion (Gaillard's questionable n° 233 from his 1852 *Recherches sur les Monnaies des Comtes de Flandre*^[6]).

Gaillard's drawing of his n° 5 (n° 6 on the plate) erroneously shows FLA Ω instead of the correct FLAD. The drawing for his n° 6 (n° 7 on the plate) is reasonably accurate. While we are never in favor of using a drawing of one reverse for two different obverses, in this case Gaillard got lucky and the two reverses are, for all intents and purposes, indeed "the same".

Recherches sur les Monnaies des Comtes de Flandre (1852)

The only substantial difference between Gaillard's 1851 RBN article and his 1852 book with regard to Rethel is the addition of the suspect Type III with an obverse border of 12 leaves (or rosettes), Gaillard's n° 233. As for his numbering:

	<u>1851</u>	<u>1852</u>	<u>border</u>
cat. Type I	5 / pl. IX, 6	231	12 ✿
cat. Type II	6 / pl. IX, 7	232	11 ♣ / 1 ✿
cat. Type III (?)	—	233	12 ♣
cat. Type IV (?)	—	—	11 ♣ / 1 ✿

Descharmes On Rethel

In 1931, *Nouvelle Revue de Champagne et de Brie* published *Les monnaies du Rethélois et du Porcien* by H. Descharmes. On p. 224, Descharmes describes 4 types of Rethel *leeuwengroot* ^[3]:

Gros au lion

Fig. 6

(1) Leg. Intérieure : LVD OVI C' CO MES. .

Leg. Extérieure † BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI. Croix pattee coupant la legende intérieure.

Rev. † MONETA (trèfle à longue queue) FLANDZ R'. - Lion debout. Bordure composée de 11 grandes feuilles et un lion debout.

Ar. Coll. d l'auteur. Poids, 2 gr 90. Diam. 27 mm.

(2) Même pièce ; mais au reverse le trèfle qui suit le mot MONETA est beaucoup moins important et le Z qui suit le mot FLAND a une forme bizarre. La bordure est composée de 12 aigles bifaces.

Ar. Rev Belg de num., 1851 Pl. IX. fig 6. Coll. Everaerts, à Louvain.

(3) Même pièce ; mais la bordure est composée de 11 feuilles et d'un aigle éployé.

Ar. P.A., n° 6112, d'après sa propre Coll.

(4) Même pièce ; mais la bordure est composée de 12 rosettes.

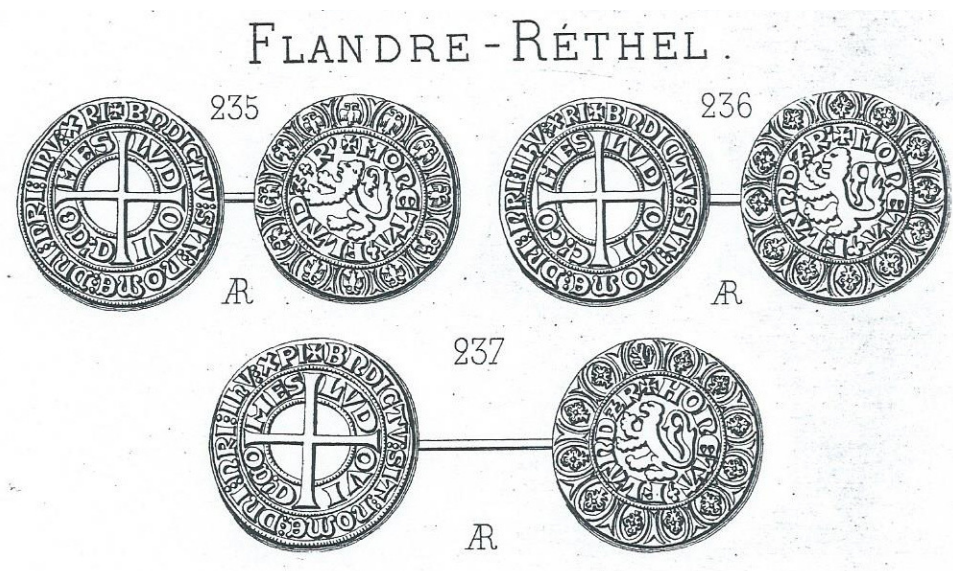
Ar. P.A., n° 6115, d'après Coll De Wismes.

Ces pièces constituent donc quatre variétés nettement différenciées entre elles par la composition de la bordure du revers, la seconde étant seule tout à fait conforme à l'ordonnance de 1357.

Descharmes Type I is ostensibly cat. Type II and his Type 2 is cat. Type I, although Descharmes reports slightly different characteristics (e.g. a lack of apostrophe after FLAD or FLAND). Descharmes Type 3 is based upon Poey's suspect n° 6112 ^[2], and is therefore itself untrustworthy (cat. Type IV). Descharmes Type 4 is based upon Poey's suspect n° 6115 ^[2], and is therefore itself untrustworthy (cat. Type III).

Dewismes On Rethel

Dewismes was working on a catalog of the coins of Flanders, which remained unfinished at the time of his death. He did manage to complete some of the illustrations, however, which were published by Deschamps de Pas (ref. 4), including this one:



Note that Dewismes' illustrations do not match those of Gaillard exactly, Dewismes showing XRI in the outer border (235-236) and a leaf or *trefoil* in place of the *z* for n° 235. No apostrophes after FLAD or FLAND are indicated. **These attributes are questionable and the illustrations are suspect.**

<u>Cat.</u>	<u>Descharmes</u>	<u>Dewismes</u>	<u>Gaillard</u>	<u>Gaillard (1851)</u>	<u>border</u>
II	1	237	* Gaillard 232	* 6 / pl. IX, 7	11♣ / 1♣
I	2	235	* Gaillard 231	* 5 / pl. IX, 6	12♣
IV	3	—	—	—	11♣ / 1♣
III	4	236	* Gaillard 233	—	12♣

Dewismes 235 probably tries to illustrate Poey 6114 ^[2], a coin with a 12♣ border, but with the “*z* replaced by a trefoil” – although in Dewismes' illustration we have both a *z* and a trefoil. This would also be Descharmes Type 2, which he describes as having a “bizarre” *z* that is likely to be an elaborate apostrophe after FLAD that has intertwined with the *z* (cf. the other coins illustrated in this report). In other words: we remain unconvinced that there are any Rethel *leeuwengroten* with a trefoil (or leaf) after FLAD or FLAND, regardless of whether a *z* is present or absent. If anyone can provide photographs to prove otherwise, we would very much like to see them.

Poey d'Avant On Rethel

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pascal ; au-dessous, LVD' GO: R'. R. ✠ XPC: VIRGIT ✠, &c. Croix fleuronée, cantonnée de quatre aigles ; huit trèfles dans les angles.

OR. Mouton. (*Revue belge*, 2^e série, tom. 1^{er}, pl. 9, n° 5 ; GAILLARD, *Monnaies de Flandre*, n° 230.)

Coll. Serrure. — Pl. CXLII, n° 3.

6112. ✠ MORETA. Trèfle. FLARD' Z. R'. Lion debout. Bordure de onze feuilles et d'une aigle éployée. R. LVDOVIC' ✠ GOMES. Croix coupant la légende. 2^e légende : BRDICTV, &c.

BILL. Gros : 3,53. (POEY D'AVANT, *Suppl.*, n° 65, et pl. 26, n° 13.)

6113. Mêmes légendes et types. Bordure de feuilles et d'un lion debout.

BILL. Gros. (*Revue belge*, 2^e série, tom. 1^{er}, pl. 9, n° 7 ; GAILLARD, n° 232.)

Coll. Everaerts, à Louvain. — Pl. CXLII, n° 4.

6114. Mêmes légendes et types. Un trèfle remplace le Z. Bordure d'aigles.

BILL. Gros. (*Ibid.*, n° 6 ; GAILLARD, n° 231.)

Coll. Everaerts.







6115. Variété. Bordure de douze rosettes.

BILL. Gros. (GAILLARD, n° 233.)

Coll. de Wismes.

C'est à M. Gaillard que nous devons la première connaissance de ces rares et précieuses monnaies. Il a mérité davantage encore la reconnaissance des numismatistes, en publiant le texte de l'ordonnance du 14 avril 1357, par laquelle Louis de Flandre et de Rethel donne à son monnayeur, André du Porche, l'ordre de faire battre à Rethel, ou dans toute autre ville qu'il voudra élire, des moutons d'or et des blancs d'argent appelés gros. L'ordonnance règle la légende que ces monnaies devront porter ; c'est précisément celle des espèces que nous avons.

Poey d'Avant, p. 281 ^[2]

<u>Cat.</u>	<u>Poey</u>	<u>Descharmes</u>	<u>Gaillard</u>	<u>Gaillard (1851)</u>	<u>border</u>
IV	6112	3	—	—	11  / 1 
II	6113	1	* Gaillard 232	* 6 / pl. IX, 7	11  / 1 
I	6114	2	* Gaillard 231	* 5 / pl. IX, 6	12 
III	6115	4	* Gaillard 233	—	12 

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The authors have developed their own, independent numbering system for the *leeuwengroten* in the collection of the Cabinet de Médailles, Brussels (CdMB), a department of the Koninklijk Bibliobliotheek van België (KBR).

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Plate IX

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Paul Torongo

Rotterdam, 2017

Academia.edu

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Personal correspondence

Paul Torongo – Theodoor Goddeeris

2017

II

Commission à Andrieu du Porche, de Lucques, pour fere monnoie d'or au mouton à Masières ⁽¹⁾.

Nous Loys, contes de Flandres, par la grâce de Dieu, duc de Brabant, contes de Nevers, de Rethel et sir de Maalines, faisons savoir à tous, que nous, désirans le commun profit de nostre pueple de nostre conté de Rethel, et des marcheans, habitans et venans en ycelle, regardans la grant diversité des monnoies d'or et d'argent qui y vient d'un pays et d'autre par laquelle le commun peuple y est souvent deceu, voellans à che et à tous autres périls qui venir en pourront pourveur a nostre pover, avons per bon avis volu et ordene, volons et ordenons que nostre bien amé Andrieu dou Porce, de Luques, face faire et ouvrer en nostre conté de Rethel, en quelle ville, ou lieu que ledit Andrieu vodra eslire, par conseil de nos gens gouverneur, receveur et bailliu de nostre dicté conté, depiers d'or à mouton, tels d'autre tel pois et aloy comme sont les deniers d'or au mouton que nous faisons a présent faire en nostre conté de Flandres, à entresengne où nostre nom est, sous le mouton que il y aura ensi : *Ludovicus comes registetensis*, et en la croys où les aigles sont, les dis aigles seront à deux testes : desquels deniers d'or au mouton que on fait en nostre conté de Flandres nous avons fait fondre wyt moutons en une pièce, laquelle est copée en deus, et en a ledit Andrieu une pièce pour prendre son piet de monnoie faire, et nous avons l'autre retenu devers nous sous son seel, pour sur ce faire assay à son compte : et auront li marchant de chascun marc d'or de Troyes lj des dessus dis moutons ou

⁽¹⁾ Extrait d'un registre intitulé : *Decrete van den grave Lodewyck van Vlaenderen*, p. 160 v^o. Arch. de la Flandre orientale.

mains; et nous, pour nostre seignourage, de cescun marc
 d'or fin demi, mouton d'or des dessus dis moutons. Item,
 avons volu et ordene, volons et ordenons que ledit Andrieu
 faice faire et ouvrer en nostre diette conté de Rethel, en ville
 ou lieu que il y eslira par le conseil en manière dessusdictie,
 deniers blancs d'argent d'autre tel poys et aloy, et sur
 le meisme piet muc ne cangie comme sont les deniers
 d'argent que on appelle gros, qui on fet en nostre conté de
 Flandres à present, à entresignes, que en la pille, entour
 le lyon, aura ensi : + *Moneta Flad.* § *R.*, ou cercle dehors :
 aiglettes. Desquels gros que on fet à présent en Flandres
 nous avons aussi fet prendre douze, sous le seel doudit
 Andrieu, et yceux tenus deviers nous, pour sur ce faire son
 assay à son compte. Et auront li marchant de cescun marc
 d'argent au marc de Troyes cent et dys et wyt des dessus dis
 deniers d'argent, et nous deus et demi des deniers dessus
 dis, dou marc d'argent pour nostre seignourage. Si don-
 nons en mandement à nos gouverneur, receveur et bailliu
 de nostre diette conté de Rethel que sans delay il eslisent un
 bon loyal préudomme et habile à estre wardain de nostre
 dite monnoie, et yceli faicent jurer et faire ce que y appar-
 tient, qu'il sera tenus d'or et d'argent faire assayer, ouvrer
 et mettre en boiste et la délivrance faire as marchans par
 manière deluwe; lequel Andrieu, ses fanilliers, mesnies
 et biens, avecques ce tous marchans venans et repairans à
 nostre diette monnoie, nous par ces présentes lettres avons
 pris et prendons en nostre sauve garde et segure protection;
 et yceux volons estre maintenus en toutes franchises et
 libertés, en manière que nostre gent et mesnies de nostre
 hosteil sont et doivent estre maintenus en nostre diette conté.
 Mandons aussi de rechief estreitement à tous nos gouver-
 neurs, receveurs, baillius, sous-baillius, justiciers,
 subjès et habitans de nostre conté et pays de Rethel que
 nos diettes monnoies prennent et facent prendre paisible-

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ment sans refus en toutes marchandises et receptes. Et
 tantost sans delay, par nostre bailliu, officiers, soit com-
 mandé et cryé par toute nostre diette conté de Rethel sur
 corps, avoir et tout ce que on puet meffaire deviers nous,
 que nuls que y soit face faire en nul lieu, dedens nostre conté
 de Rethel, monnoies auleunes, si ce n'est le diet Andrieu
 par nostre commission et en la manière dessus dictie. Et se
 aueuns le faisoit, que il soit tantost arrestés corps et avoir
 comme fourfait à nous, sans delivrance aueune ent faire se
 n'est par nous. Ces lettres durent en leur vertu jusques à
 nostre volenté et rappel, asquelles nous avons fait mettre
 nostre seel. Donné à Bruges, le xiiii^e jour d'avril l'an de
 grâce mil CCCLVII.

Gaillard RBN 1851, pp. 137-139