

A Preliminary Overview of the *Leeuwengroten* of Brabant

Part II: MONETA BRABAN

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Table of Contents

p. 1	Table of Contents
p. 3	Introduction
p. 5	Previous Literature
p. 5	BRABAN <i>Leeuwengroot</i> Sub-Types
p. 6	Large, Silver Coins in Mid-14th Century Brabant
p. 8	Unusual Characteristics of the BRABAN <i>Leeuwengroten</i>
p. 9	Stars
p. 9	The Brabant Mark
p. 10	Pierced Cross and X
p. 10	The Brabant Tail-Tuft
p. 11	12♣ / 1¤ Border
p. 12	Varying R in BRAB
p. 12	The Central Lion
p. 13	Catalog of Coins
p. 13	Type III : MONETA BRABAN
p. 14	Sub-Type III-a *
p. 17	Sub-Type III-b ♣ (3 x's)
p. 18	Sub-Type III-c ♣ (2 x's)
p. 19	Sub-Type III-d ♣ (1 x)
p. 19	Sub-Type III-? (Ghyssens Type IV f)
p. 23	Sub-Type III-e ♣ 12♣ / 1¤ BRAB
p. 25	Sub-Type III-f ♣ 12♣ / 1¤ BRAB
p. 27	Sub-Type III-g ♣ 11♣ / 1¤
p. 30	Type IV : GANDEN-LOVAIN
p. 32	Fractional GANDEN(SIS)-LOVAIN Coins
p. 33	de Witte 381 GANDENSIS
p. 34	de Witte 382 GANDEN
p. 35	Fractional Brabant <i>Leeuwengroten</i>
p. 37	de Witte 366
p. 38	de Witte 367

p. 40	de Witte 368
p. 41	The <i>Petit Blanc</i> of Flanders
p. 42	de Witte 369
p. 45	Counterfeit Brabant <i>Leeuwengroten</i>
p. 46	“Star” Type Counterfeits
p. 52	“Brabant Mark” Type Counterfeits
p. 53	“Coin of Convention” Type Counterfeits
p. 57	Previous Literature
p. 57	V.d. Chijs
p. 58	De Witte
p. 59	Dewismes
p. 60	Ghyssens
p. 60	1983
p. 61	1974
p. 63	Ghyssens Proposed Brabant Coin Types
p. 68	Ghyssens IV b (star)
p. 68	leaf marks
p. 70	Ghyssens IV c
p. 70	Ghyssens IV d
p. 71	Ghyssens IV a
p. 72	Ghyssens IV e
p. 72	Ghyssens IV f
p. 73	mark of Brabant
p. 74	Ghyssens IV g
p. 75	Ghyssens IV h
p. 76	De Mey
p. 77	Vanhoudt
p. 78	Previous Literature Regarding the Fractional Coins
p. 79	Previous Literature Regarding the GANDEN(SIS)-LOVAIN Fractional Coins
p. 83	Conclusion
p. 84	Acknowledgements
p. 84	Literature

INTRODUCTION

In the first part of our report on the *leeuwengroten* of Brabant, we discussed the MONETA BRVXELL(EN) coins struck at Brussels for John III, Duke of Brabant (1312-1355). In this second part, we will be discussing the remaining *leeuwengroten* struck for John III: the MONETA BRABAN / IO DVX LOT BRAB coins, as well as the GANDEN-LOVAIN “coins of convention” struck according to an agreement between Brabant and Flanders in 1339. Part Three will deal with the *leeuwengroten* struck for Jeanne (Johanna) and Wenceslas (1355-1383).

The state of the previous literature regarding the BRABAN *leeuwengroten* is, quite frankly, appalling. Until now, it has not been possible for a numismatic researcher to obtain a correct and comprehensive list of the extant BRABAN sub-types.

90% of the Brabant *leeuwengroten* seen today are of the BRABAN “common type” (**cat. III-g**), and yet this type is not correctly illustrated in either de Witte’s or Vanhoudt’s books (ref. 24 & 21 respectively). GhysSENS’ legend transcriptions for every sub-type contain errors, some of them fairly major (ref. 6). With our current reports on the Brabant *leeuwengroten*, we hope to rectify this situation with a correct and accurate cataloging of the Brabant *gros au lion* types.

Previous Literature

The main sources for information regarding medieval Brabant coins (including the *leeuwengroten*) are v.d. Chijs (ref. 2), de Witte (ref. 24) and GhysSENS (ref. 6).

Vanhoudt (ref. 21) and de Mey’s “quick reference” guides also come up as references.

Because we are attempting to disentangle fact from fiction, and create a correct, complete and comprehensive catalog of the Brabant *leeuwengroten*, we have had to be very critical of all of these works, because all of them “gloss over” the BRABAN *leeuwengroten* in a manner that does not serve to accurately present such a catalog.

If one is not interested in details, then one might argue that **v.d. Chijs IX, 24; de Witte 259-260; Vanhoudt G 269** all “represent the BRABAN *leeuwengroten*”. But for anyone who is interested in the correct and accurate details of the coins, the “star” type (for example) is not truly represented by any of these references, it is **v.d. Chijs — ; de Witte — ; Vanhoudt —**, and we have chosen to list the references in this manner, rather than as v.d. Chijs IX, 24 (var.); de Witte 259-260 (var.); Vanhoudt G 269 (var.), which would not serve to clarify the BRABAN *leeuwengroot* situation at all. Because none of the previous authors accurately describe all of the BRABAN *leeuwengroot* sub-types, we have had to be particularly strict with the previous literature. GhysSENS’ attempted cataloging of the BRABAN *leeuwengroten* (ref. 6) is so inaccurate that it is basically useless to the serious researcher.

BRABAN Leeuwengroot Sub-Types

There are at least 7 “sub-types” of John III, MONETA BRABAN *leeuwengroten* known. We are not completely sure about the correct, chronological order of all of the sub-types, but based on certain characteristics of the coins (e.g. the central lion), some sub-types can be placed before others with a relative degree of certainty. We have put them in the order that we believe is correct (subject to change based upon new information, should it become available).

Only the relevant, distinguishing characteristics are represented in the following table (**cat. I** and **II** are the MONETA BRVXELL(EN) coins; see ref. 28):

<u>Cat.</u>	<u>legend</u>	<u>mark</u>	<u>notes</u>
III-a	O•DV X★LO T•B <small>RE</small> AB•I	★	stars
III-b	O★DV X*xLO T•B <small>RE</small> AB*xI	+	leaf (3 x's)
III-c	O★DV X•LO T•B <small>RE</small> AB*xI	+	leaf (2 x's)
III-d	O•DV X•LO T•B <small>RE</small> AB*xI	+	leaf (1 x)
III-e	12♣ / 1♦ BRAB	↑	{ ‘mark of Brabant’ &
III-f	12♣ / 1♦ BRAB	↑	{ 13-item border
III-g	11♣ / 1♦ BRAB	↑	“common type”
always a pellet after LOT usually an x after BRAB			
IV-a	GANDEN LOVAIN		“coin of convention”

Large, Silver Coins in Mid-14th Century Brabant

A substantial number of types of silver *grotten* and $\frac{1}{2}$ *grotten* were minted in Brabant in the 14th century, many of them under John III. It is difficult to determine exactly when many of the Brabant coin types (including the *leeuwengroten*) were struck. The relevant medieval records (if any) are often unclear, and the similarity of some of the Brabant types can make connecting the coins with their “names” (if any) difficult. Modern researchers have to puzzle out exactly which coin type was a “*vlieger*”, “*labaye*” or “*lakengeld*” (etc.). Many Brabant coins feature a shield with the arms of Brabant (and sometimes Limburg as well).

The types changed in Brabant more often than they did in Flanders in the 14th century. In Flanders under Louis of Male (1346-1384), there were only two basic types of silver coin issued: the *leeuwengroot* and the *lion-with-helm* coins. Under his father, Louis of Nevers (1322-1346), the only types of (large) silver coin issued were the *grand blanc* $\frac{1}{2}$ *groot* and the *leeuwengroot*. During the tumultuous years under Louis of Nevers, the Flemish cities issued two other types of short-lived *grotten*, the *vieux gros* and the *Ghent groot*. (See ref. 20.)

In Brabant under John III (1312-1355), 8 or 9 different types of *groot* or half *groot* were issued (including the *leeuwengroten*). Some of these other coins types (those struck 1337-1355) must also be taken in account when attempting to study the *leeuwengroten* of John III of Brabant.

In theory, issues of *leeuwengroten* in Brabant followed those in Flanders with regard to silver content. It should therefore be possible, in theory, to “match up” the Flemish issues with those of Brabant. In practice, however, it is true that at times, Flanders was striking *leeuwengroten* while Brabant was striking some other type of *groot*. Therefore, as far as silver content is concerned, some of the Flemish *leeuwengroten* may “match up” with other types of Brabant coins altogether.

The *leeuwengroot* (*gros au lion*, *gros compagnon*, *gezel*, *socius*) was first minted c. May 1337, as a response to the devaluation of the silver money in France in January of that same year. There appears to have been at least some kind of informal (?) agreement between Flanders and Brabant (and Holland, Hainaut and Namur?) to strike a similar coin in each realm, a coin of community, a social, companion piece, hence the names *compagnon*, *socius*, *gezel*. The coins were first minted in Flanders (¤ 12♦), or perhaps in Brabant (see ref. 28), but any gap in time seems to have been minimal.

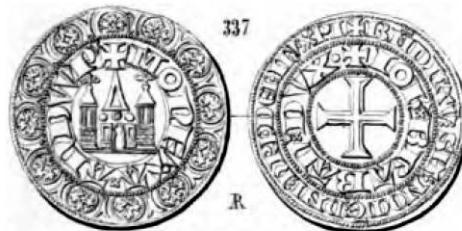
Probably around November 1338, minting of these coins stopped, due to an increase in the price of silver which may have been caused by a bullion shortage. In December 1339, Flanders and Brabant signed a monetary agreement, which caused the minting of the GANDEN-LOVAIN coins (**cat. IV**) late 1339-early 1340 at Leuven (only).

In early 1341, minting of *leeuwengroten* began anew in Flanders (¤ 11♦ / 1¤), continuing until c. October 1343. In January 1346, minting of *leeuwengroten* started up again in Flanders (+ 11♦ / 1¤), continuing on until March, 1364.

Leeuwengroten were almost certainly struck in Brabant after May, 1337 (**cat. I-II**), and again in late 1339-early 1340 (**cat. IV**). After that, it becomes somewhat fuzzier. We are left to rely on GhysSENS to some extent, although his works must be taken with a grain of salt. According to GhysSENS (1983) (ref. 7, pp. 12-13):

from May 1337

BRVXELL(EN) *leeuwengroten* (**cat. I-II**)
and *gros au châtel* (de Witte 337) and *esterlins*



from October 1338

$\frac{1}{2}$ gros "English type" (de Witte 354)



from December 1339

GANDEN-LOVAIN *leeuwengroten* (**cat. IV**)
and *esterlins*

from October 1343

$\frac{1}{2}$ gros [shield in a sexfoil] (de Witte 348)



from July 1344

gros with 4 lions in a quadrilobe (de Witte 343/345)
[ANTWERPIEN]

from December 1344

gros with 4 lions in a quadrilobe (de Witte 344/346)

[BRABANCIE]

"probable" *gros "lakengeld"* [BRABAN *leeuwengroot*]
(de Witte 359) [BRABAN 12♣ / 1♦]



Unbeknownst to GhysSENS, his basic catalog of the Brabant *leeuwengroten* was flawed, and he was therefore unable to create a completely accurate time-table.

The other Brabant types do not fall within our area of expertise, but as far as the *leeuwengroten* are concerned, based in large part upon minting of this type in Flanders, we feel that the following is likely to be correct:

from c. May 1337	BRVXELL(EN) <i>leeuwengroten</i> (cat. I-II) and <i>gros au châtel</i> and <i>esterlins</i>
from October 1338	$\frac{1}{2}$ <i>gros</i> “English type”
from December 1339	GANDEN-LOVAIN <i>leeuwengroot</i> (cat. IV) and <i>esterlins</i>
* from c. February 1341	* BRABAN / ♦ BRABAN <i>leeuwengroten</i> (cat. III a-d)
from October 1343	$\frac{1}{2}$ <i>gros</i> [shield in a sexfoil]
from July 1344	<i>gros with 4 lions in a quadrilobe</i> [ANTWERPIEN]
from December 1344	<i>gros with 4 lions in a quadrilobe</i> [BRABANCIE] <i>gros “lakengeld” [BRABAN <i>leeuwengroot</i>]</i>
* from c. January 1346	† BRABAN <i>leeuwengroten</i> (cat. III e-g)

* absent from GhysSENS’ list.

It is not clear when minting of the BRABAN *leeuwengroten* ended, but it may have been before John III’s death in 1355; did the cessation of *leeuwengroot* minting in Brabant coincide with the end/begin of an issue in Flanders? Thus: c. May 1351, September 1353 or January 1355?

Unusual Characteristics of the BRABAN *Leeuwengroten*

It seems likely that the fineness of the Brabant *leeuwengroten* declined at the same rate as the Flemish coins, otherwise the system of having an identical coin in multiple regions would not work. (That is, the *leeuwengroten* of Brabant could not be “better” or “worse” than those of Flanders, or they would either be removed from circulation (better coins) or refused in trade or valued at a lower tariff (worse coins).)

Nevertheless, the BRABAN coins did not follow the Flemish ‘model’ coins in the details and markings. The **cat. II** BRVXELL coins are very similar to the first Flemish *leeuwengroten* of 1337 in their markings, but from that point onward, the Brabant coins begin to deviate from the Flemish in the minor details.

Unlike in Flanders, the initial eagle in the obverse legend in Brabant never changed to a cross (January, 1346), pellets were never used as minting marks (November, 1346), there is no change from a long **O** to a round **O** (or *vice versa*) (November, 1346), the obverse border leaves never changed from 3 lobes to 5 (September, 1349?). (Bear in mind that we are only speaking here of the *leeuwengroten* of John III, and not those of Jeanne & Wenceslas.)

The border leaves of all Brabant *leeuwengroten* are 3-lobed, usually of this type:  (including those of Jeanne & Wenceslas).

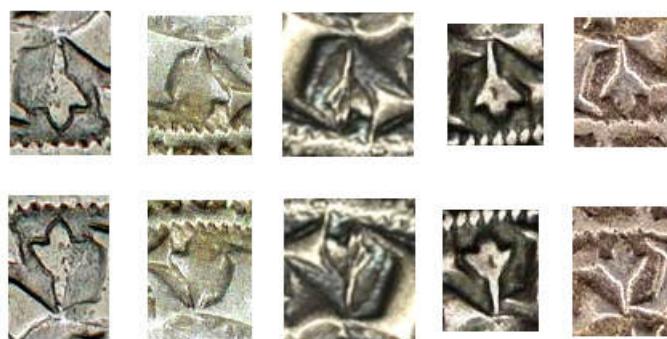
Several *leeuwengroot* characteristics are unique (or almost so) to the BRABAN coins:

Stars

Unlike Flanders, stars were used in Brabant on one issue of *leeuwengroot*:  on the obverse after MONETA and  on the reverse after DVX (**cat. III-a**). Stars were also used as marks on the *leeuwengroten* of Namur, but whether or not there is any relationship between the two is unclear. The Brabant “star” issue does not seem to have lasted very long, and the coins are rare today. Strangely, known counterfeits of this type far outnumber the official issue examples. Perhaps a wave of counterfeiting discouraged the official mint from proceeding with minting of this sub-type. Or maybe a scarcity of silver caused the official issue to die out and become replaced by poor-quality and/or counterfeit coins.

The Brabant Mark

A notable symbol, unique to Brabant, is one which we refer to as the ‘Brabant mark’: . It is not at all clear what the mark is supposed to represent (probably a leaf or a flower), but many previous researchers have had difficulty accurately describing and/or portraying this mark, often confusing it with this leaf mark: . GhysSENS (1974) seems to have used something like this: , de Witte this: .



*The ‘Brabant mark’
(Top row upside-down, as seen when a coin is properly oriented.)*

Pierced Cross and X ✧✧

The cross of the reverse, outer legend is pierced (voided) on some of the BRABAN coins, as is the X of XPI:



pierced X and cross

Ghyssens (ref. 6) postulates that the pierced cross and X may be the mintmark of Antwerp:

“Ces gros ne portent pas le nom de l’atelier qui les a émis. Mais du fait que l’on retrouve sur certaines variantes la croisette de la légende extérieure et le X de XPI percés d’un trou que seuls les esterlins frappés à Anvers (De Witte n° 367 et 368) possèdent, nous croyons pouvoir les attribuer à l’atelier de cette ville.”

– Ref. 6, p. 175

Many of the coins are partially illegible, but it appears that the “star” sub-type does not have a pierced X and cross, but the “leaf” and “mark of Brabant” sub-types do.

The Brabant Tail Tuft

On the *leeuwengroten* of Flanders, the back (underside) of the central lion’s tail has a cluster of fur, underneath which is another ‘hair’. This same basic pattern was copied on the *leeuwengroten* of other regions, sometimes with some slight alteration. On the Valkenburg coins, for example, there is a sort of “knob”. In Brabant, some of the coins have a curlycue ‘tuft’ at the very bottom:



Flanders



Valkenburg



Brabant



Brabant 'tail tufts'

This specific tail tuft is only seen in Brabant, and only on the BRABAN coins with the ♀ 'mark of Brabant' after MONETA. Whether or not there is any particular significance to the tail tuft is unclear.

12♦ / 1 ♪ Border

Brabant is one of the very few realms that ever struck *leeuwengroten* with 13 signs in the outer border instead of 12. Since this is not the 'norm' for *leeuwengroten*, and the extra symbol creates extra work, it seems likely that the 13-item border was an attempt to help prevent counterfeiting by adding a characteristic that most people (including would-be counterfeiters) would never notice. (**Cat. III-e and III-f**)



*private collection / 3.26 g.
12 leaves and a lion in the border
also Elsen 137-671 (lot of 3 coins)*

Varying R in BRAB

The **R** of BRAB in the reverse, inner legend changes from **R** to **R** between the “star” and “leaf” sub-types (**cat. III a** and **III b-d**), and again between the two 12♣ / 1♦ sub-types (**cat. III e** and **III f**). We cannot be completely certain that the **R** change represents a “minting mark” for the 13-border-item coins, nevertheless, we have created two different sub-types.

The Central Lion

Long-term study of the central lion on the *leeuwengroten* (of all regions) has shown that there are a number of fairly distinct types with specific, recognizable characteristics. In Flanders, the oldest lion was a squat, flat-headed type with large paws and ears. This same lion is seen on the early *leeuwengroten* of Brabant as well. In Flanders, minting of *leeuwengroten* ceased in the mid-1340’s, and was re-started in early 1346, with a different lion, with a long, slender torso and (eventually) smaller paws.

A new central lion also appeared in Brabant, with a smaller head, and which was longer and skinnier than the new Flemish animal, although the paws of the Brabant version never get very small. The new lion seems to lean back a bit more than the old. We believe that just as in Flanders, it is likely that there was a time-gap in the minting of *leeuwengroten* between the two types of central lion used in Brabant.



the old Brabant lion



*the new Brabant lion
(photo taken at an angle)*

– CATALOG OF COINS –

• TYPE III

MONETA BRABAN ODV XLO TBR ABI

III-a	O•DV X★LO T•BR AB•I	*
III-b	O*x DV X*x LO T•BR AB*x I	†
III-c	O*x DV X•LO T•BR AB*x I	†
III-d	O•DV X•LO T•BR AB*x I	†
III-e	12♣ / 1♦ BRAB	†
III-f	12♣ / 1♦ BRAB	†
III-g	11♣ / 1♦ BRAB	†

STARS

The initial crosses of the reverse, outer legend are not pierced on the “star” coins. On almost all of the known specimens, the X of XPI is illegible, but on the few readable specimens it does not seem to be pierced. This is the only BRABAN sub-type to have a pellet after BRAB on the reverse (instead of an x). There are no tail tufts on the central lions, the R of BRAB is always this type: **R**. The base of the T of MONETA is very wide: **X**. The central lion is the old, “squat, flat-headed” type, with large paws and large eye and ear. To date, we have only found 5 specimens. The M of NOME is always this type: **M**, never this: **D**.

• **Type III-a**

v.d. Chijs —^[2]

De Witte —^[24]

Roest 58 B^[31]

*Ghyssens Type IV-b

Plate V, 5^[6]

Vanhoudt —^[21]



private collection

MONETĀ * BRĀBĀN'
O'DV X★LO T'. BR AB'I
+ BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI



Elsen 109-887 / 3.73 g.
also MPO 950-811

III-a “star” type (cont.)



private collection

The **M** of NOME is highly unusual.



*Private collection / 3.69 g.
Elsen 137-671 lot of 3 coins
this coin was used for Ghyssens (1974) pl. V, 5*



CdMB 83.5 / 3.43 g.

LEAF

The initial cross and the X of XPI in the reverse, outer legend are pierced on the “leaf” coins. Some of the leaf-marks appear as: ♣ and others as a more ‘leafy’ mark: ♦, but we are of the opinion that there is no substantial difference between the two, and that the former mark is just a worn-away version of the latter. Close inspection of many of the marks reveals that they are indeed ‘leafy’, even if they do not appear to be so on first glance. The central lion is still the ‘squat’ type. The R in BRAB on the reverse switches from this sort: R (star type) to this: R, (leaf types). The M of NOME is always this type: M, never this: D.

• **Type III-b** (3 x's)

de Witte 360 (illustration only) [24]

Ghyssens — [6]

* Ghyssens IV c {with incorrect x [*sic*] leaf altered to leaf}

Vanhoudt — [21]



Elsen 118-736 / 3.79 g
also Warszawskie Centrum Numizmatyczne 58-48

MONETĀ + BRĀBĀN'
O' DV X LO T' BR AB' I
[★] BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : IHV : [‡] PI

This sub-type has 3 x's in the reverse, inner legend. The leaf-mark after MONETA is, in fact, “leafy”. This is the only example of this sub-type that we have found so far.

• **Type III-c** (2 x's)

Ghyssens Type IV d

Plate V, 6^[6]

de Witte —^[24] (dW 360 variant ?)

Vanhoudt —^[21]



Elsen 137-669 / 3.68 g.

MONETÆ + BRABANT'
O'DV X·LO T'·BR AB'·I
*BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : IHV : *PI

This type has 2 x's in the reverse, inner legend. This very specimen was used for Ghyssens (1974) Pl. V, no. 6, where Ghyssens transcribed ♦ as †.

This is the sole example of this sub-type that we have found to date.

• **Type III-d** (1 x)

de Witte —^[24] (dW 360 variant ?)

* **Ghyssens IV a**^[6] {incorrect legend transcriptions}

(also **Ghyssens IV e**)

Vanhoudt —^[21]



CdMB 083 / 3.906 g.

MONETA ♀ BRABAN'
O'DV X·LO T·BR AB'*I
[+]BNDIDTV : SIT : NOMEN : DNI : NRI : IHV : [+]PI

This, the most common of the “leaf” sub-types, has 1 x in the reverse, inner legend. The leaf-mark after MONETA on the example shown here is very “leafy”, but is that an indication of something significant, or is the mark “the same as” the “normal” leaf-mark: ♀ ? Are **Ghyssens IV a** and **IV e** actually “the same” as one another? (Yes.)

Many specimens that appear to have a ♀ mark can be shown, upon closer inspection, to have a ♀ mark. At this time, we are of the opinion that the “two” marks are indeed “the same” as one another.

The following coins all seem to be “the same” as the example shown above:

Private collection / 3.72 g.

Spink 16005-1682

Credit de la Bourse 1993, 950 / 3.75 g.

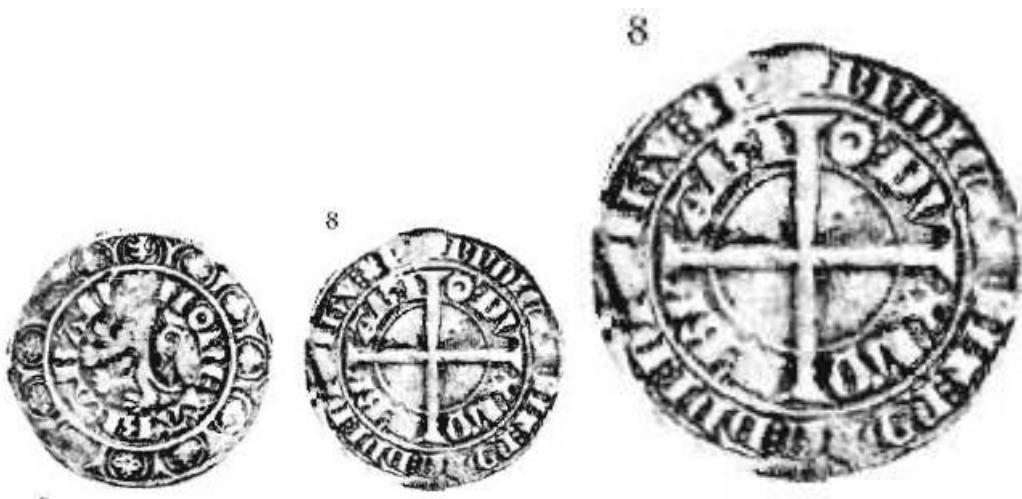
etc.

Type III ?? (No mark after DVX ?)

Ghyssens Type IV f **not verified**

(p. 177) ^[6]

Plate V, n° 8



Ghyssens 1974, Plate V, n° 8 ^[6] / 3.25 g. ^[6]
("vue chez MM. Franceschi")

MONETÀ (...) BRABAN'
O•DV XLO T•BR AB'xI

According to Ghyssens, there are no pellets after DVX nor LOT, but it is impossible to tell from his photo, and the pellet(s) may well be there. We have not seen a specimen that matches Ghyssens' description, and we are not sure just how much credence we should give this coin.

sic

MONETÀ + BRABAN'
O•DV XLO T•BR AB'xI
+ BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI

- no apostrophe after IO given (visibly present on the coin in the photo)
- no pellet after LOT given (suspect)
- no pellet after DVX given (suspect)

The only difference between this “sub-type” (?) and the most common type of “leaf” coin” (**cat. III-d**) is the lack of pellets after DVX and LOT. But it is impossible to tell from Ghyssens’ illustration if this is accurate. Ghyssens could have easily missed (or forgot to transcribe) the missing pellets (as he has done with several of his previous transcriptions). We do not trust Ghyssens’ identification abilities enough to take his word for it that this is a new “sub-type” based on whatever it was that he felt was the difference between this **Type IV f** and his other “sub-types”.

At this point, we are of the opinion that, until proven otherwise, this “sub-type” does not actually exist. However, since two of the “leaf” sub-types are known from single specimens, we cannot be 100% certain that this “sub-type” does not exist as well.

BRABANT MARK

1346 + (?)

As far as we can determine, there are two basic types of coins with the ‘Mark of Brabant’ after MONETA: those with a 12♣ / 1♦ border (**cat. III-e** and **III-f**) and those with an 11♣ / 1♦ border (**cat. III-g**). The reverses are identical (other than the R / R); we have seen no examples with variant marks between the inner legend words (i.e. a pellet after every word except BRAB, which has a following x). The M’s of NOME are always of this type: **¶**.

All of the preceding Type III BRABAN coins have the squat, flat-headed, central lion typical of the coins of Louis I of Nevers in Flanders (as do the BRVXELL **Type II** coins described in ref. 28). The following three sub-types have a long, slender lion, that is more typical of late, Brabantine *leeuwengroten*, slightly different in style to the coins of Flanders. This long, slender, Brabançon lion almost always has a “tail tuft”. The initial cross and the X of XPI in the reverse, outer legend are pierced.

Outer Border of 12♣ / 1♦

On the 12♣ / 1♦ coins, the R found in BRAB on the reverse seems to switch from this sort: R to this: R, although the significance of this is unclear, and the change may or may not indicate a “minting mark”. The R of BRABAN on the obverse always seems to be of the former sort.

A small group of coins, found together in a purse in northeastern France by a metal detector user, which included Flemish, Louis of Mâle, Issue I coins (1346), and John III,

Brabant coins with 12♣ / 1♦ borders, seems to indicate that these Brabant coins are a late issue – possibly 1346-1348 (?). (The last issue of *leeuwengroten* under Louis of Nevers was also the first issue under Louis of Mâle, and ran from about 20 January, 1346 to 30 November, 1346.)



*Flemish leeuwengroten of Louis of Mâle, Issue I (11♣ / 1♦)
and Brabant leeuwengroten (12♣ / 1♦)
found together (along with French gros tournois of Philip IV
somewhere in France
(find location and current whereabouts of the coins unknown)*

Note that the legend of the Flemish coin begins with ♣, the Brabant coin with ♦.



• **Type III-e** (Outer Border of 12♣ / 1♦ with R in BRAB)

(Previous authors did not distinguish between R and ♣)

V. d. Chijs IX, 24^[2]

De Witte 359^[24]

{Ghyssens Type IV h^[6]

Plate V, n° 9 (not n° 10 *sic*)}

Vanhoudt G 269^[21]

12♣ / 1♦

usually with tail tuft



BruSale 329594

MONETĀ ↑ BRABANT'
O'DV X·LO T'·BR AB'·I
★BNDICTV : SIT : NOBLE : DNI : NRI : IHV : #PI

III-e, “mark of Brabant” types (cont.)



private collection / 3.13 g.



private collection / 3.26 g.

Also: CGB 381575
Elsen 88-892 / 3.23 g.
Elsen 109-885 / 3.40 g.
Elsen 116-948 / 3.35 g.
Elsen 119-871 / 3.40 g.
private collection / 2.68 g.
various private collection pieces

• **Type III-f** (Outer Border of 12♣ / 1♦ with R in BRAB)

(Previous authors did not distinguish between R and R̄)

V. d. Chijs IX, 24 (var.)^[2]

De Witte 359 var.^[24]

Ghyssens Type IV h^[6]

Plate V, n° 9 (not n° 10 *sic*)

Vanhoudt G 269 var.^[21]



private collection

¶ MONETÀ † BRABAN'
O'·DV X·LO T'·R R AB'·I
★BNDICTV : SIT : NOODB : DNI : NRI : IHV : #PI

This sub-type seems to be less common than the previous, cat. III-e with R in BRAB. We cannot be sure which came first, cat. III-e or III-f, but we have tentatively placed this sort here because it has the same R as the next (?) sub-type.

III-f, "mark of Brabant" types (cont.)



private collection



private collection

Also: MPO-44-303

Outer Border of 11♣ / 1♦

• Type III-g (Outer Border of 11♣ / 1♦ with R in BRAB)

V. d. Chijs —^[2]

de Witte 360 (text only)^[24]

*Ghyssens Type IV g^[6]

Plate V, 10 (not n° 9 sic)

Vanhoudt —^[21]

R. Serrure 35^[32]

“Common Type”

This is far and away the most common sort of Brabant *leeuwengroot* seen today. We would estimate that 90% of all of the Brabant *leeuwengroten* we have ever seen are of this sub-type, and we have photographs of numerous examples in our database.

We have searched in vain for any kind of variant (other than the obvious 12♣ / 1♦ border of cat. III-e and III-f). But every specimen we have seen has a 11♣ / 1♦ border, ♦ after BRABAN, and pellets after every word in the reverse, inner legend except BRAB (x). The R of BRAB does not change, nor do any of the other letters.

If (if) the ‘Brabant Mark’, 12♣ / 1♦ border coins were contemporaneous with Issue I of Louis of Male in Flanders, then perhaps (perhaps) the 11♣ / 1♦ border coins were contemporaneous with Issue II in Flanders, which in turn may (may) mean that minting of *leeuwengroten* in Brabant under John III ended when Flemish Issue II ended, c. the end of May, 1351.

Issue II in Flanders was an enormous issue, with over 13,800,000 coins struck. It is possible that the enormous influx of *leeuwengroten* into the area satisfied the monetary needs of the general public (for the time being), and that further minting of the coins in Brabant became unnecessary. If the “saturation point” had already been reached in Brabant, then striking of the Brabançon coin may have ceased at some point before Flemish Issue II ended.

There does not seem to be any parallel Brabançon sub-type for Flemish Issue III (?), which followed closely on the heels of Issue II, and was also fairly large at over 8,000,000 coins minted.

III-g, “mark of Brabant” types (cont.)



private collection / 3.3 g.

*** MONETA ⋄ BRABANT'**
O'·DV X·LO T'·BR AB'·I
***BUNDIDTV : SIT : NOODS : DNI : NRI : IHV : #PI**



Elsen 137-670 / 3.70 g.

- same -

III-g, "mark of Brabant" types (cont.)



Elsen 109-886 / 3.36 g.



Elsen 287-488 / 3.37 g.



private collection

• **TYPE IV**

Gros of Convention

**GANDEN LOVAIN
LVD COM IOH DVX**

1340

A monetary agreement may have been made between Flanders and Brabant in 1337, but no document is known; there are no joint *gros au lion* and it is unlikely that any were ever struck. Researchers are always hoping to find a coin from this first agreement (?), and their hope has led many of them to see medieval counterfeits as genuine issues (see COUNTERFEITS below, p. 45).

Another (?) monetary agreement was signed in December 1339, and this time a joint coin was issued: the GANDEN-LOVAIN *gros* (**cat. IV**). Most researchers feel that the coin was only struck in Brabant (at Leuven) and not in Flanders (Ghent).

Because this type can be dated to shortly after December 3, 1339, most researchers feel that from (at least) this date forward, the 11♣ / 1♦ border replaced the older 12♣ border in Flanders, Brabant, and in turn, all (?) of the other regions striking *leeuwengroten*, e.g. Holland, Guelders, Namur, etc. The known coin specimens seem to bear out this theory.

At the same time (early 1340), the word DEI disappeared from the reverse, outer legend of the Flemish coins, and from most of the imitative coinages as well. In Brabant, however, the word DEI had not appeared on all of the 12♣ border coins; in fact, the word was not present on most of the Brabant 12♣ coin types. (**Cat. Type I**, DVX BRABANTIE legend with 5 sub-types and no DEI; **cat. Type II**, IOH DVX BRABAN legend with 2 sub-types and DEI present.)

We have only seen one type of this sort of *groot*, with no variants reported. The coins are rare, and only about a dozen examples are known. Most of these were shown in ref. 15 (pp. 128-131), a book that adequately covered this type of *leeuwengroot*.

Note that on the reverse, the rule of *1st O round, 2nd O long* has not been followed. On the other hand, the model **IOH** and **COM** of the Brabantine and Flemish *compagnon* (respectively) have. Or was the use of the round **O** a surreptitious method of putting John's name "first"?

• **Type IV-a**

Gaillard 206 ^[5]

De Witte 380 ^[24]

Dewismes 211 ^[4]

R. Serrure 32 ^[32]

Ghyssens p. 130, fig. 2 ^[6]

Vanhoudt G 291 & G 2590 ^[21]

Martiny 27 ^[14]

Torongo-van Oosterhout Type IV, cat. 1.15 ^[20]

Martiny-Torongo GE 21 ^[15]

11♦ / 1♦

type ♦ ♦ ♦

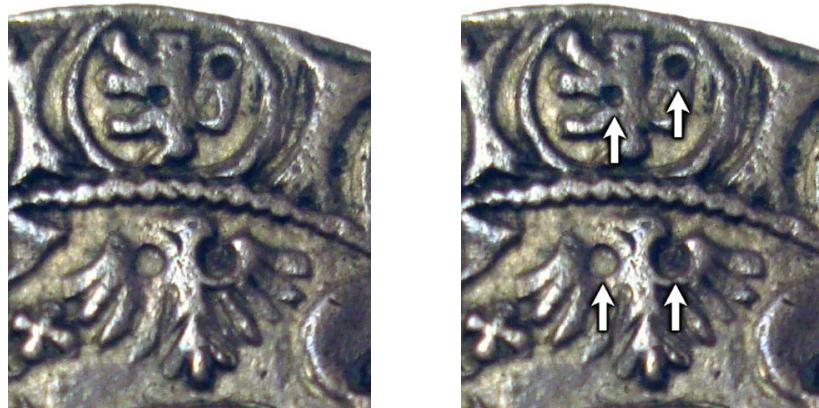


CdMB 105 / 3.60 g.

Listed in ref. 15 as illustration 8, but actually not shown

¶ GÅNDEN¶ LOVAM¶
•LVD' DOM' •IOH' DVX
¶ BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI

This piece appears to show some kind of extra punch marks on the obverse:



10 examples of the GANDEN-LOVAIN type were shown in ref. 15. Unfortunately, there were some photo credit attribution problems with the book:

- 01 KBR 104 / 3.68 g.
- 02 Vernier S 591 / 3.64 g.
- 03 private collection / 3.71 g. (ex- CGB; ex- Martiny; Elsen 139-550)
- 04 Elsen 118-996 / 3.64 g.
- * 05 NBB N 2035 (**not** NBB N 1479 *sic*) / 3.60 g.
- * 06 NBB N 1479 (**not** N 2355 *sic*) / 3.65 g.
- 07 DNB NM-11342 / 3.21 g.
- * 08 Noord-Brabants Museum 09833.0196 (**not** KBR [105] *sic*)
- 09 private collection / 3.68 g
- 10 CdLBourse 1993, lot 834 / 3.31 g. (also Künker, Summer 2018-411)

Fractional GANDEN(SIS)-LOVAIN Coins

The “coin of convention” fractionals were, in theory, struck under Louis of Nevers in Flanders and by John III in Brabant, following the agreement of December 3, 1339. In practice, however, it seems likely that none of the coins, full *grotten* or fractionals, were struck in Flanders at all, only in Brabant.

It is noteworthy that while the *tiers de gros* of 1337 (**de Witte 366 / Vanhoudt G 265**) had an eagle as an initial mark (like the full *groot*), these 1339 coins have a cross, which does not match the full *groot*.

GANDENSIS / LOVAIN Type (Short Cross)

De Witte 381

Haeck 35^[9]

Elsen 14^[6]

Vanhoudt G 2591 / G 293^[22]

Martiny —^[12]

Martiny / Torongo —^[13]



CdMB 135 / 0.70 g.
De Witte 381

✗ [GÀ...]EŃSIS ✗ LOVÀIN'
✗ LVDO[VIA...] IOH ✗ DVX

The O of IOH is illegible.

GANDEN / LOVAIN Type (Short Cross)

Struck c. Dec. 1339 – June 1340 (?)

De Witte 382 [23]

Haeck — [9]

Elsen — [6]

Vanhoudt — [22]

Martiny 28 [12]

Martiny / Torongo GE 22 [13]



CdMB 136 / 0.86 g.

De Witte 382

**‡ GAN[DEN × LO...NI]N' ×
[‡ L]VD‡ DOM‡ IOH[‡ DVX]**

Is this coin in fact a 1/3 *groot*, as per Martiny (following Elsen and Haeck)? The short cross on the reverse and the light weight would seem to indicate otherwise. Is this type actually a 1/2 *groot*, or even a 1/4 *groot* (as per Vanhoudt)?

FRACTIONAL BRABANT *LEEUWENGROTE*

(Including Previous Literature)

There are only a small number of John III, Brabant fractional *leeuwengroten* known today, giving the impression that they may never have been minted in any great quantities in the 14th century. There are only a few types (six), and of these, only a few known specimens. The far more common types with either a lion in a shield or 4 lions in a shield seem to have been more popular in Brabant, based upon the numbers available today.

The fractional Brabant *leeuwengroten* reported to exist are as follows:

De Witte	Vanhoudt	type	
366	G 265	tiers	BRVX 4 lion heads
367	G 270	long cross	Antwerp
368	G 271	short cross	Antwerp
369	G 272	short cross	DVX BRABAN
		no mark	de Witte —
		*	de Witte 369
		‡	de Witte —
381	G 293 / G 2591		GANDENSIS LOVAIN
382	—		GANDEN LOVAIN
383		prob. counterfeit	
384		prob. counterfeit	
385		prob. counterfeit	
386		prob. counterfeit	

According to GhysSENS (ref. 6, pp 12-13), the *tiers de gros compagnon* (**de Witte 265**) was struck c. May, 1337, which is probably correct (see ref. 33). GhysSENS further postulates that all the rest of the fractional Brabant *leeuwengroten*, including the counterfeit types, were all struck “*en décembre 1339*” [7]. The next date in his list in his list is “*en octobre 1343*”, which is a space of just under four years.

Clearly, the *tiers de gros compagnon* with 4 lion heads (**de Witte 366**) can be associated with the *groot* of 1337 (**cat. Type II ?**). The two types of GANDEN LOVAIN coins (**de Witte 381-382**) can be associated with the convention *groot* (December, 1339, **cat. IV**).

But the question is: with which *leeuwengroot* should **de Witte 367, 368 and 369** be associated? Why did GhysSENS drag these 3 types of fractional along with the December 1339 agreement that caused the striking of the GANDEN LOVAIN fractionals? Did he mean to say the Brabant mints were striking all 5 types of fractional at once, 2 at Leuven and 3 at Antwerp, or that these other 3 were struck at some point between December 1339 - October 1343 (at Antwerp)?

Since they have Antwerp legends, it seems unlikely that the fractionals are associated with **cat. Types I or II**, struck at Brussels. Could some or all of these fractional, Brabant *leeuwengroten* in fact have been associated with some of the **cat. Type III** (BRABAN) sub types? According GhysSENS, these coins were struck “*en décembre 1344, probable*”.

As mentioned above, GhysSENS (ref. 6) postulates that the pierced cross and X may be the mintmark of Antwerp:

“Ces gros ne portent pas le nom de l'atelier qui les a émis. Mais du fait que l'on retrouve sur certaines variantes la croisette de la légende extérieure et le X de XPI percés d'un trou (fig. 12) que seuls les esterlins frappés à Anvers (De Witte n° 367 et 368) possèdent, nous croyons pouvoir les attribuer à l'atelier de cette ville.”

– Ref. 6, p. 175

What GhysSENS does not do is make a direct connection between these fractional coins and the full *grotens* with a pierced cross and x (**cat. III**), he only wonders if the pierced marks are mintmarks for Antwerp.

The GANDEN(SIS) LOVAIN fractionals (**de Witte 381-382**) are discussed on pp. 33-34 above.

The photographs of the fractional coins shown here are not to scale.

Il nous reste à passer en revue toute une série de monnaies communes à la Flandre et au Brabant, et sur la nature desquelles, les avis sont partagés.

383. Lion en plein champ: + MORETTA : GARDENSIS.

Rev. Croix brève et pattée: + IOH.... : BRABANTI.

P. S. (Pièce saucée). DE COSTER, n° 262.

Collection Vernier.

Pl. XVII, n° 383.

de Witte p 133^[24]



*de Witte 383^[24]
one of the counterfeit fractionals*

de Witte 366 / Vanhoudt G 265

tiers de gros compagnon (with 4 lion heads), Brussels



de Witte 366^[24] / Vanhoudt G 265^[21]



CdMB 128 / 1.20 g.

**¶ MONETIA [BRV]XELLEN
IOH DVX• [BR]X BAN**

This is the rare *tiers de gros compagnon* issued in 1337, with 4 lion heads in the reverse quadrants, the same as the *tiers* of Flanders (see ref. 33). We know of no other specimens of this type.

de Witte 367 / Vanhoudt G 270

long cross, Antwerp



CdMB 129 / 0.85 g.

* MONETÀ : ANTWERPIEN'
DV‡:L OT:BR TBW · LEMB·

The name of the count does not appear, although his Limburg title does (is there anything to be learned from this?). The following example seems slightly different:



CdMB 130 / 0.81 g.

* MONETÀ : [ANTW]ERPIEN'
· BV‡:L OT:BR TBW · LEMB·



CdMB 130 (detail)



de Witte 367^[24] / Vanhoudt G 270^[21]

*** MONETAT : A[...]WERPIEN
DVX•L OT•BR ABAN •LEMB**

367. Lion brabançon: * HONETAT : ANWERPIEN.

Rev. Croix longue et pattée, coupant la légende: DVX • LI-OIT • BR-
ABAN- • LEMB.

A. Pds. = 0.90.

VAN DER CHIJS, pl. XXXIII, n° 7.

Cabinet de l'Etat belge.

Pl. XVI, n° 367.

— 125 —

Van der Chijs donne cette petite monnaie à Jean II; nous la croyons plutôt de Jean III, puisque c'est sous ce prince que les lions d'argent firent leur apparition.

de Witte pp 122-123^[24]

De Witte's description and illustration are quite far off the two specimens in the CdMB (neither of which weighs 0.90 g.).

de Witte 368 / Vanhoudt G 271

short cross, Antwerp



*Elsen 118-737 / 0.77 g.
De Witte 368; Vanhoudt G 271*

*** MONETA * ANW'PENSIS
* IOH'ANES * DVX * BRABANT'**



CdMB 133 / 1.00 g.



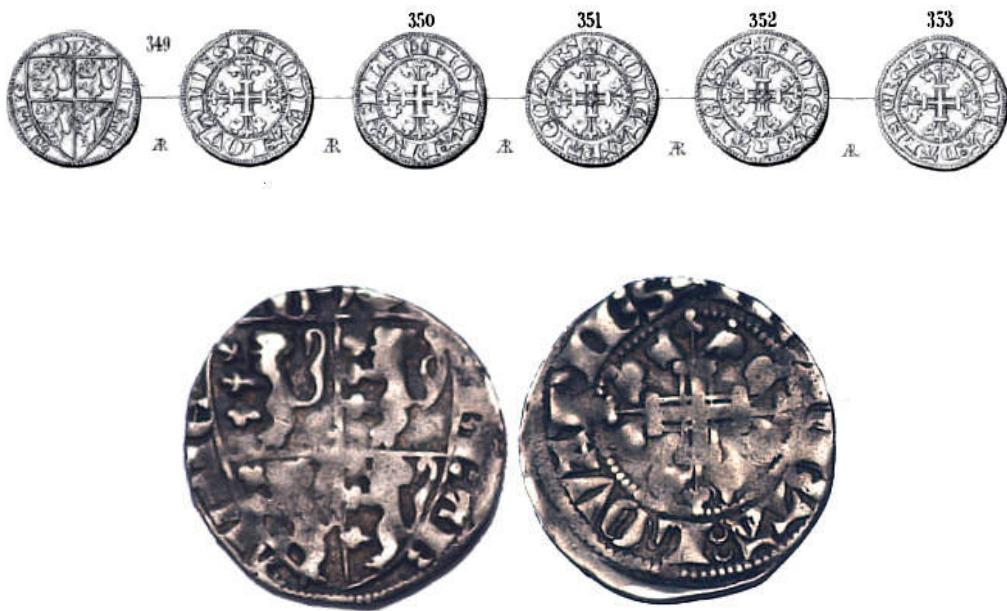
The reverse legend does not begin at "the top" (12:00).

The *Petit Blanc* of Flanders

“The Flemish $\frac{1}{4}$ gros coin known as a *petit blanc* could easily be mistaken for a fractional *leeuwengroot*, having all of the required characteristics. These coins were struck for Louis of Nevers before 1337, before any *leeuwengroten* were minted, and therefore fall outside the period under discussion. Similar coins were minted in Brabant (and elsewhere) during the same period.”

–Ref. 33, p. 3

The final statement of “similar coins were minted in Brabant... during the same period” is not exactly accurate. According to Ghyssens (ref. 7), the small, silver coins that were minted in Brabant up to 1337 were **de Witte 349 - 353**:



*private collection / 1.41 g.
de Witte 349, Leuven*

The problem (?) with which we are faced is that for all intents and purposes, the Flemish *petit blanc*, minted before 1337, is identical to the Brabant fractional *leeuwengroot* (?), minted after 1337. This may be nothing more than a coincidence, or a sort of *post facto* imitation in Brabant, but if one were to compare the Flanders and Brabant coins, the appearance (only) would give the impression that the two types were contemporaneous.



Flanders
petit blanc, Alost mint
< 1337
Elsen 118-991 / 0.93 g.
Martiny/Torongo GE 9 & AA 3

Brabant
 $\frac{1}{4}$ (?) leeuwengroot, Antwerp mint
> 1337
Elsen 118-737 / 0.77 g.
De Witte 368; Vanhoudt G 271

de Witte 369 / Vanhoudt G 272

short cross, Brabant

There appear to be at least 2 different variant sub-types for this sort of fractional, perhaps more, and none of them match de Witte's illustration exactly.

Variant a (?)



De Witte 369^[24]; Vanhoudt G 272^[21]

* IOHANES × DVX × BRABANT'
+ IOHANES × DVX × BRABANT'

Variant b



NK Noord Brabant

* Iohannes × DVX × BRABANT'
* Iohannes DVX BRABANT'

There is no sign of any marks between the words in the reverse legend, and no sign of a pierced cross in the obverse legend (but the cross is unclear), which is the opposite of de Witte's illustration, with its pierced cross on the obverse, but not on the reverse.

Variant c



CdMB 131 / 0.94 g.

* Iohannes × DVX × BRABANT'
* Iohannes × DVX × BRABANT'

On this piece the x marks between the words in the reverse legend are clear. There is a pierced cross at the beginnings of both legends, which is not what is shown in de Witte's illustration.

Variant d



CdMB 132

* IOHANES × DVX × BRABANT'

* IOHANES × DVX × BRABANT'

On this piece (CdMB 132), there is a double x mark after IOHANES in the reverse legend, and a pierced cross at the beginnings of both legends.

de Witte 381
GANDENSIS LOVAIN

de Witte 382
GANDEN LOVAIN

See pp. 33-34 above.

COUNTERFEIT BRABANT *LEEUWENGROTE*

There seem to be an inordinate number of Brabant counterfeit *leeuwengroten* known today, which may indicate that a fairly large number of them were produced in the 14th century. Numerous examples can be found in collections throughout Europe; many of them are very dark in color, sometimes black. **Almost all of these counterfeits have some kind of error somewhere in the legends, usually the reverse, outer text.** The errors are so common that one wonders if they were not intentional: a way for the counterfeiters to easily tell their own bad coins from the genuine article. In the 14th century, many of these counterfeits would have been coated with a thin layer of silver or tin.

Of the rare “star” type, no less than six counterfeits can be found in the Cabinet de Médailles, Brussels alone, and the counterfeits of this sub-type seem to outnumber the official coins (!). Large numbers of counterfeits often indicate that a large number of “genuine originals” were also struck, but this may not always be so. In the case of the infamous “round O in COMES” counterfeits imitating the coins of Louis of Nevers in Flanders, for example, there are at least 7 counterfeit pieces but only 1 genuine coin known. In Brabant, the “star” counterfeits far outnumber the genuine coins; is this because all of the {many} genuine coins were melted down again, or because only a small number were ever minted in the first place? Did the counterfeiters manage to produce a large number of “star” coins early on, to the dismay of the mint, who then changed the design of the coins after only a short period (and after only a small number were struck)? Or were large numbers of official “star” coins produced at the mint, which, in turn, caused active counterfeiting, resulting in so many counterfeits that the mint changed the coins (to the “leaf sub-types) and melted down all the “star” coins, making them rare today? (Or did a dearth of silver cause the official issue to run out, leaving a void that was quickly filled by counterfeiters?)

There are also a significant number of counterfeit “coins of convention”, for which no genuine originals are known. Numismatists who are eager to find the as-yet-unknown “coin of convention of 1337” often see such a coin in these counterfeits. Medieval counterfeiters seem to have seen an opportunity in the “coins of convention” by which they could pass off dubious coins that “seemed real” to those who did not know any better.

A number of counterfeit fractionals are known as well, some of them “coin of convention” types. Since the genuine fractional coins are already somewhat peripheral to our main investigation of the *leeuwengroot*, we did not bother too much with the fractional counterfeits.



Elsen 130-523
counterfeit Brabant *leeuwengroot*

“Star” Type Counterfeits:



*private collection / 2.47 g.
(also Elsen 137-671, lot of 3 coins)*



private collection / 2.91 g.

¶ MONETÀ * BRABAN'
O'DV X•LO T•BR B•IT
+ BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : IV : XHI

Note the erroneous inner legend: IAO DVX LOT BRB, and outer legend ending NRI IV XHI. The central lions on these coins have a fairly large “snout” and small bottom lip, unlike the genuine pieces. Are these two specimens in fact die-linked?



CdMB 086 / 6.710 g.

**MONET A BRABANT
O'DV X•LO T•BR B•IA
BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI**

This one has the same faulty IAO DVX LOT BRB inner legend, but the outer legend is correct. The weight is extreme; the erroneous legend makes it hard to accept that this piece is an official *piedfort*.

“star” type counterfeits (cont.)



CdMB 085 / 3.835 g.

¶ MONETÀ * BRABAN'
O'·DV X·LO T'·BR AB'I
¶ BNDICTV : SIT : NOMB : DNI : NRI : IHV : #PI'

BNDICTV and IHV are misspelled. This coin may be identical (even die-linked) to the following coin (CdMB 091).



CdMB 091 / 2.984 g.

“star” type counterfeits (cont.)



CdMB-089 / 3.640 g.

¶ MONETÀ * BRABAN
O'·DV X·L0 T'BR AB'I
‡ BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : D[NI] • DRI : DIVII

There is no pellet after LOT, the outer legend is incorrect.



private collection

¶ MONETÀ * BRABAN
O'·DV X·L0 T'·BR AB'·I
‡ BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : D[NI] : NRI : IHV : D]

The **N** of BRABAN on the obverse is quite similar to the preceding 3 coins: **N**. The outer legend is hard to read, but definitely does not end with the correct XPI.



CdMB 090 / 3.10 g.

¶ MONETA * BRABANT
O'DV X★LO T•BR TB'I
‡ BNDI[...]V : STI : NOME : DNI : NRI : IHV : [...]

This coin has “incorrect” Roman N’s in the reverse, outer legend, and SIT is misspelled. There is no pellet after IO in the inner legend.

Ghyssens IV i. (p. 177)

Plate V, 11

sic

11♣ / 1♦
¶ MONETA ★ BRABANT
O•DV XLO TBR TB
‡ BNDICTV : [...]T : [...]O [...] IHV : XPI

- one large star given after MONETA instead of the correct 2 small stars
- no apostrophe after IO given
- annulet after IO given instead of the correct pellet
- no star after DVX given
- 11♣ / 1♦ given instead of the correct 10♣ / 1♦



CdMB 091.5 / 2.61 g.

MONETĀ * BRABANT'
O·DV X★L0 TBR ABI
X BNDICTV : ST : NO[...] DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI

This is the coin (poorly) described by Ghyssens as his sub-type IV i, with a notation of "faux?".

This coin only has 10 leaves (and 1 lion) in the obverse border instead of 11, something Ghyssens failed to notice.



10♣ / 1♦ border

“Brabant Mark” Type Counterfeits:



CdMB-088 / 3.51 g.

¶ MONETAT⁹ BRARN
O·DV X·LO T·BR [AB'xI]
‡ RNDTV : STI : NOME : DNI : NRI : IHV : #PI

Note the extra spacer in the outer border, above the A of the misspelling BRARN.
This coin may be identical (even die-linked) to the following coin:



MPO 404

“mark of Brabant” type counterfeits (cont.)



CdMB 108 / 3.75 g.

¶ MONETAT⁹ BRABAN
O'DV X·LO T·BR πB[×]I
✿ BNDIDTV : SIT : NO[...] : NRI : IHV

BRABAN is misspelled and there is no XPI at the end of the reverse, outer legend.

“Coin of Convention” Type Counterfeits:

A number of “coins of convention” have turned up, and other than the well-known GANDEN-LOVAIN type (**cat. IV**), all of them appear to be made of very base metal. We have yet to see a specimen of a non-GANDEN-LOVAIN coin that does not appear to be a (medieval) counterfeit. In other words: no official, non-GANDEN-LOVAIN “coins of convention” are known to exist at this time.

1. ⚭ MONETA FLAND / IOH DVX BRABAN

Vanhoudt G 2589 & G 292^[21]

Torongo / van Oosterhout 1.21^[20]

Martiny / Torongo GE 18/1^[15]



Elsen 139-547 /



Künker Summer 2018, Lot 410 / 3.04 g.

See ref. 15, pp. 111-115 for more information.

Also: CdMB 087 / 3.120 g.

Elsen 106-653 / 3.03 g.

Elsen 80-1317 /

2. ♫ MONETA FLAND / IOH DVX BRABAN



private collection

♫ MONETA ♫ FLAND'
O'DV XL•O [YBR] AB*x'I
♫ BNDICT[...]OME:[...]*

This coin was found in France by a metal detector user; its current whereabouts are unknown, but it is presumably in a private collection (perhaps that of the original finder).

See ref. 29 for more information.

3. ⚰ MONETA BRABAND / LVDOVIC COMES

Torongo / van Oosterhout 1.22^[20]

Martiny / Torongo GE 18/2^[15]



PBA-Lille, collection A. Vernier, inv. S-592 / 3.11 g.

[**ℳ MONETA ⚰ BRABAND'**
LVD OVI [DQDO] MES
ℳ BQDICT[...] XPI

There is another example of this type in a private collection.

Martiny/Torongo (ref. 15)

The obverse border of the n° GE 18/2 specimens are, in fact, unclear and the top item is illegible, and the description of the coin should have reflected that. The “12 leaf border” was taken from the other (legible) counterfeits (GE 18/1, GE 18/3), but it could (in theory) be a lion on the GE 18/2 coins.

The obverse legend is incorrectly transcribed on p. 116. The extra R is a typo (BRABRAND); we should have seen this during the proofreading. There does not seem to be enough room for a final D.

The reverse, inner legend is incorrectly transcribed, and should read **LVDOVIC COMES**, not **LVDOVIC COMES**, which I should have noticed during proofreading as well^[27].

PREVIOUS LITERATURE

V.D. CHIJS (1851) (ref. 2)

V.d. Chijs only describes and illustrates the ♀ 12♣ / 1♦ type and the long cross fractional::



v.d. Chijs plate IX, 24 [2]

Cat. III-e

N°. 24. Vz. een klimmende leeuw, waar boven een kleine arend, omringd door eenen geborduurden rand van dertien schildjes; in het bovenste een leeuwte, in de overige een bloemversiersel.

MONETA BRABANT

Zoude deze arend eenig muntteeken zijn? heeft dezelve betrekking op Antwerpen? Den kleinen leeuw in den rand houden wij voor bloot sieraad of herhaling van den grooten leeuw.

Kz. een lang vierbeenig onopgesierd kruis, dat het binnenseitige opschrift in vier deelen splitst. Omrent dit laatste is hier op te merken, dat voor het eerst 's Hertogen eerste naamletters IO door het bovenste been des kruises van elkan-der gescheiden voorkomen, en wel als volgt:

O' DV | * · LO | IV · BR | TB' * I

Buitenste rand:

† · BENEDICTIV · SIT · ROMS · DNI · DRI · IHV · *PI.

Afgebeeld bij GHEQUIÈRE, Pl. IV, N°. 7; DEN DUYTS, Pl. 6, N°. 58; ook bij MERTENS en TORFS, *Geschiedenis van Antwerpen*, Deel III, bl. 148.

Z. weegt 3,52 w. SERRURE schat deze groot met den leeuw R^a.

v.d. Chijs pp. 86-87 [2]



v.d. Chijs plate XXXIII, 7 [2]

N°. 7 een *Denier of zilveren Penning*, heeft op de vz. den Brabandschen leeuw in een parelcirkel. Omschrift:

† MONETTA : ANTWERPIEN

(67)

Kz. een eenvoudig gevoet kruis verdeelt het veld der munt in vier gelijke deelen. Tusschen de beenen des kruises in den rand:

DVX · LI | OMT · BR | ABTAN | · LEMB

Z. weegt 1 w.

Afgebeeld bij MERTENS en TORFS, *Geschied. van Antw.* II^e deel (1846) bl. 147, die aldaar dit muntje aan Jan II of aan Jan III toeschrijven.

v.d. Chijs pp. 66-67^[2]

DE WITTE (1894) (ref. 23)

De Witte's *Histoire monetaire des comtes de Louvain, ducs de Brabant...* is an excellent work on the subject, despite a number of problems, not the least of which are the incorrect illustrations discussed in our report on the BRVXELL(EN) coins (ref. 28). Most of de Witte's illustrations have been "idealized".

A concordance of the current catalog and de Witte's works reads as follows:

cat. III-a	dW —	★
cat. III-b	dW 360 illustration only	† / 3 x's
cat. III-c	dW —	† / 2 x's
cat. III-d	dW —	† / 1 x
cat. III-e	dW 359 text & illustration	† / 12♣ / 1¤ BRAB
cat. III-f	dW 359 text only	† / 12♣ / 1¤ BRAB
cat. III-g	dW 360 text only	† / 11♣ / 1¤ BRAB
cat. IV	dW 380	GANDEN LOVAIN

De Witte 359

This is the sub-type with the unusual 12♣ / 1¤ border. The "common type" with the 11♣ / 1¤ border (cat. III-g) is not illustrated in de Witte's book.

De Witte 360

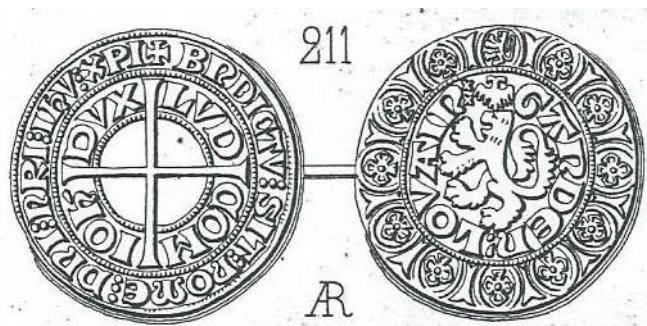
The text description of de Witte's n° 360 describes the "common type" (**cat III-g**), while his drawing illustrates the "leaf" sub-type with 3 x's (**cat III-b**).



De Witte 380

De Witte discusses the Flanders-Brabant monetary convention of 1339 and its product coins on pp. 131-133. His illustration is fairly accurate, but his text description suffers from the typical problems of 19th century transcriptions: correct forms of O's not reported, annulets given instead of pellets, small rosettes given instead of x's.

DEWISMES



¶ G^TNDEN[¶]. LOVAIN[¶] [sic]
LVD DOM IOH' DVX [sic]
¶ BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI

Dewismes' illustration of his n° 211 shows an otherwise "unknown variant", that is probably nothing more than an erroneous drawing (we have no reason to believe otherwise). Note that the pellets before LVD and IOH are missing (seen on every known specimen), and the apostrophes after LVD and COM are absent as well.

There is a good chance that the drawing was made from a coin in the Vernier collection (Palais des Beaux-Arts de Lille, S 591 / 3.64 g.), in which case the drawing is definitely incorrect.

GHYSSENS

The late Joseph GhysSENS wrote two major papers and two minor, in which he discusses the Brabançon *leeuwengroten* in detail. The first, GhysSENS (1974), is entitled ***Le monnayage d'argent en Flandre, Hainaut et Brabant...*** (ref. 6). The second, GhysSENS (1983, Elsen), ***Essai de classement chronologique des monnaies de Brabant...*** (ref. 7). is a short, tabular summary of his proposed chronology of the 14th century coinage in Brabant. The third, GhysSENS (BCEN 1983), bears the same title and description as the second, although it is more text than table (ref. 8).

The fourth paper, GhysSENS (1988), ***Les premières émissions monétaires de Jeanne et Wenceslas*** (ref. 10), deals specifically with the coinage of the rulers mentioned in the title. For the BRABAN *leeuwengroten*, our main focus will be GhysSENS' first paper (1974).

The basic problem with GhysSENS' works is that he did not really have "the eye" for looking at coins, and he missed many important details that, frankly, "cannot be missed" if one hopes to create a comprehensive and correct list of Brabant *leeuwengroten*. Once he had made an inaccurate framework of types and sub-types, it was no longer possible for him to build a correct overview of minting upon it.

Much of the history offered by GhysSENS is probably correct, but despite his best intentions, his descriptions of the coin types are not always accurate, and the illustrations in his reports are so poor as to be almost useless. GhysSENS made no effort to properly transcribe the O's, and they are all given as 0, whether long or round, and at times he overlooked certain key marks on the coins (in many cases he does not indicate the presence of an apostrophe).

And in some instances, GhysSENS has incorrectly transcribed coin legends, erroneously substituting the word DEI for the correct DNI (!). The end result is a mush of incorrectly described coins that is completely superceded by our current report and our 2 related reports on the BRXELL(EN) coins (ref. 28) and the *leeuwengroten* of Jeanne of Brabant and her husband Wenceslas (to be published), at least as far as the catalog of coins is concerned.

GHYSSENS 1983 (Elsen) (ref. 7)

GhysSENS list goes from "en décembre 1344" to the reign of Jeanne & Wenceslas. He does not make it clear what type of silver coins were being struck in Brabant for those 11 years, but presumably he intended to say that was the 4-lion coins and/or *leeuwengroten* (?).

GhysSENS 1974 (ref. 6, pp. 175-176) says that the BRABAN coins are *lakengeld*, mentioned in the Malines records 1342-1343, but in 1983, he says *en décembre 1344* (p. 13, item 10).

GHYSSENS 1974 (ref. 6)

Double-checking and verifying is very difficult in the case of GhysSENS' 1974 report on the coins of Brabant, as we are hampered by the poor photographic reproductions and GhysSENS' own faulty legend transcriptions. GhysSENS' article is a valuable work on the subject, yet the article is fraught with problems. At this point, it is almost impossible to determine what it was that GhysSENS was trying to say, because the errors that he published "cross over" onto one another. For example, GhysSENS provides examples from the CdMB collection but he mistranscribes the legends. If GhysSENS' CdMB photo example falls under one sub-type, but the legends he gives for it fall under another sub-type altogether; did he get the transcription wrong, or did he cite the wrong coin example for the transcription?

GhysSENS descriptions do not actually jibe with reality, and so it is impossible to make a proper concordance. However, after correcting GhysSENS work as best we could, we present the following:

<u>Catalog</u>	<u>GhysSENS</u>	<u>plate</u>	<u>de Witte</u>
III-a	IV b	V, 5	—
III-b	IV c	—	360 (illustration only)
III-c	IV d	V, 6	—
III-d	IV a/e	V, 4 & 7	—
[III-d2]	IV f <i>not verified</i>	V, 8	—
III-e	IV h	*V, 9	359 (text & illustr.)
III-f	IV h	*V, 9	359 (text only)
III-g	IV g	V, 10	360 (text only)
{CdMB 091.5}	IV i	V, 11	—
IV	pp.130-132	p. 130, fig 2	380

<u>GhysSENS</u>	<u>catalog</u>	<u>plate</u>	<u>De Witte</u>
IV a	III-d	V, 4	—
IV b	III-a	V, 5	—
IV c	III-b	—	360 (illustration only)
IV d	III-c	V, 6	—
IV e	III-d	V, 7	—
IV f	[III-d2] <i>not verified</i>	V, 8	—
IV g	III-g	V, 9	360 (text only)
IV h	III-e & III-f	V, 10	359
IV i	{CdMB 091.5}	V, 11	—

GhysSENS did not differentiate between the two types of R in BRAB for the 12♣ / 1♦ coins, and so he only has one sub-type (**GhysSENS IV h**) to our two (**cat. III-e and III-f**). His photograph is not clear enough to determine which R was used in BRAB, but it looks like R.

GhysSENS IV-i is, by GhysSENS' own admission, a medieval counterfeit (see pp. 50-51). We are not convinced that **GhysSENS IV-f** actually exists.

All three sets of photographs show the same specimen (originally from GhysSENS' own collection), and clearly the **RBN** reproduction is the worst of the three:



Elsen 137-669 / 3.68 g.



Haeck 095 [25]



GhysSENS 1974 Pl. V, n° 6 [6]

Ghyssens (1974) Proposed Brabant Coin Types^[6]:

Type I	a-f	Les gros au châtel d'Anvers	pp. 171-172
Type II		Les gros au lion de Bruxelles	
	A.	Gros avec JOh DVX BRABAN	pp. 172-173
	a-b		
	B.	Gros avec DVX BRABANTIE	pp. 173-174
	a-d		
Type III	a-d	Les demi-gros à tête couronnée	p. 174
Type IV	a-i	Les gros au lion de Brabant	pp. 175-178
[Type V]	[*], a-g	Les gros aux 4 lions dans le quadrilobe	pp 178-180
Type VI		Le gros au saint Pierre	p. 180

Only **Ghyssens Type IV** (and p. 130, fig. 2, the GANDEN LOVAIN type) are relevant to the current report. (**Ghyssens Type II** is the Brussels *leeuwengroot* discussed in Part 1 of this report.)

Regarding the coinage in Flanders and Brabant c. 1337 in general, Ghyssens says:

“L’examen comparatif des monnaies des trois provinces concernées par notre étude nous a permis de faire un ensemble d’observations qui doivent nous aider à proposer une datation approximative.

Il y a lieu tout d’abord de rechercher si une distinction peut être faite entre la première émission de *gros au lion* et celles qui se sont succédées depuis la fin de 1339. Nous disposons à cet effet de deux jalons. Le premier est le *gros* frappé par Philippe III de Namur (12 mars 1336 - septembre 1337) entre mai et septembre 1337⁽⁵¹⁾, c’est-à-dire à l’époque de la création du type au lion (fig. 1), le second, le *gros conventionnel* « GANDEN-LOVAIN » de décembre 1339 (fig. 2). Nous pouvons raisonnablement nous attendre à retrouver les principaux détails de gravure de ces deux monnaies sur celles qui ont été frappées simultanément dans les autres provinces.

Leur comparaison fait découvrir des différences essentielles:

- en 1337, la bordure est constituée de 12 feuilles au droit, le mot DEI apparaît dans l’invocation religieuse de la légende extérieure du revers; [sic]
- en 1339, la bordure est faite d’un lion et de onze feuilles au droit, tandis qu’au revers le mot DEI a disparu. [sic]

De nombreux autres détails sont communs tels que l’aigle au début de la légende du droit, les T annelés (fig. 3), la croix coupant la légende intérieure mais non la légende extérieure du revers.

Nous retiendrons les différences signalées comme étant les critères caractérisant les deux émissions.

Parmi les monnaies de Flandre portant la bordure de 12 feuilles, nous avons dénombré trois variantes principales auxquelles il faut ajouter un « accident » de frappe. Deux de ces variantes ont les A de MONETA et de FLAND munis d’un chevron (fig. 4), sur la troisième les A portent une simple barre (fig. 5). Les feuilles constituant la bordure sont différentes sur les trois variantes. Sur l’une elles ont cinq lobes (fig. 6), sur la deuxième elles n’en ont que trois (fig. 7), sur la troisième qui est aussi celle portant les A avec une simple barre, elles n’en ont aussi que trois, mais d’un aspect différent (fig. 8).

Les lettres A munies d'un chevron se voient aussi en Brabant sur les *gros anversois au châtel* et sur certains *gros bruxellois au lion* ainsi que sur les demi-gros à tête couronnée frappés à Anvers et Bruxelles. Ce type de lettre semble avoir été celui réservé aux premières émissions. Comme il est associé à deux sortes de feuilles, nous avons à discerner laquelle a été utilisée en premier lieu. L'examen des monnaies des provinces voisines nous a fait constater que la feuille à cinq lobes ne se voit qu'en Hainaut. L'autre sorte de feuille apparaît sur un des deux types de *gros au lion bruxellois*. C'est dans l'inventaire de la succession du sire de Naast, décédé en juillet 1337, que l'on trouve la première mention du *compagnon* en Hainaut.

D'autre part, comme la première charte brabançonne faisant allusion à cette monnaie est datée du 16 février 1338, nous sommes enclin à proposer le *gros* avec bordure de feuilles à 5 lobes comme étant celui émis en premier lieu. Ce sont évidemment ceux portant la lettre A à chevron et le deuxième type de feuilles qui leur ont succédé en premier lieu, suivis de ceux montrant le troisième type de feuilles.

Nous avons reconnu quatre variantes parmi les *gros* du deuxième type. Les feuilles qui apparaissent sur la bordure de l'une de ces variantes sont à 3 lobes du deuxième type. Cette circonstance nous donne à croire que cette variante serait la première au nouveau type. Le signe qui sépare les mots MONETA et FLAND est une sorte de feuille ou croisette au pied recourbé.

Les feuilles de la bordure des trois autres variantes sont d'un dessin différent de tous ceux déjà rencontrés (fig. 9). Le fait que le même type de feuille se voit sur les *gros de convention* « GANDEN-LOVAIN » donne à croire que ces derniers sont contemporains de la deuxième variante. Faut-il en conclure que la première variante serait apparue durant le second semestre de 1339 au moment du retour au rapport 12 ou bien que le *gros de convention* aurait été créé en février 1341, et non en décembre 1339? Le poids quelque peu déficitaire des *gros de convention* ferait pencher pour la deuxième solution.

(51) Duplessey [ref. 35]"

– Ghyssens (ref. 6), pp. 130-133

In the text quoted above, Ghyssens has drawn various {incorrect or suspect} conclusions based upon the assumption that his own basic catalog of the Brabant coins is correct – it is not. His conclusions are, therefore, a “house of cards” built upon an extremely unstable foundation. At the heart of his catalog’s problems is the fact that Ghyssens did not properly inspect the coins or transcribe their legends, to the point where he substituted the word DEI for the correct DNI for a number of his types (see ref. 28). This, in turn, makes what he says about the DEI in the legends (and its relationship to the 12♣ border in Brabant) spurious.

Ghyssens did not have “the eye” for determining what the different types of border leaf actually are, and his categories are faulty. He was (at times) unable to see (interpret) the difference between a 3-lobed leaf and a 5-lobed leaf.

Another relatively unique feature that could be added to Ghyssens’ list of “new” characteristics that the (Flemish) *gros au lion* had, is the round O in MONETA and LVDOVIC.

Speaking specifically about the *leeuwengroten* of Brabant (and Flanders and Hainaut), Ghyssens says:

“Le compagnon”

Il est permis de se demander si, dans l’optique de la Flandre, les conditions adoptées pour le *compagnon* en 1337 peuvent réellement être considérées comme un affaiblissement du *gros*. La création de cette monnaie coïncide avec un changement dans le rapport de valeur des métaux. Ce rapport baissait de 14 à 12. Les princes ont probablement désiré maintenir les cours de l’or. A cet effet, ils pouvaient soit augmenter le poids des monnaies d’or en conservant leur valeur nominale, soit abaisser le poids d’argent des monnaies blanches en maintenant leur valeur nominale. La première solution était irréaliste, d’autant plus qu’elle supposait une démonétisation des monnaies d’or en circulation, alors qu’on sait bien que ces pièces résistent à tous les décris. C’est tout naturellement que la seconde a été choisie. Le succès qu’a rencontré le nouveau *gros* montre bien que dans l’esprit du public c’était une excellente monnaie. Ce n’est qu’à partir du moment où il a fallu l’altérer que sa valeur a commencé à différer de celle du *vieux gros*.

(162) Voir les notes 112 et 116.

Le rapport de valeur du *compagnon* et du *vieux gros*, comme d’ailleurs de toute autre monnaie, se calcule par référence au cours du *florin* ou de l’*écu* en chacune de ces monnaies.

Le *gros au lion* a reçu le nom de *compagnon* dès 1337. C’est surprenant. On aurait plutôt cru que ce nom lui aurait été décerné au moment du traité d’alliance Flandre-Brabant à partir duquel ce *gros* a été frappé de « compaingnie » par les signataires du traité. En fait, un certain nombre de princes, dont le comte de Hainaut et le comte de Namur, l’ont émis dès 1337. Cette frappe était-elle déjà le résultat d’une convention? Nous l’ignorons, mais le nom de *compagnon* n’exclut pas cette supposition.

Les émissions

Le duc de Brabant le frappait aussi, mais à Bruxelles seulement. A Anvers il émettait un *gros* de valeur identique au type du châtel dont le succès en Brabant même semble avoir été aussi grand que celui du *compagnon*. Le rédacteur des collectories pontificales écrit en effet: « Et est sciendum quod dicti grossi in terra illa reputabantur tune quasi pro veteribus grossis regni ».

En 1338, toutes les émissions sont brutalement interrompues par une hausse du métal-argent. D’autres types sont créés en remplacement: un *gros* de poids réduit en Flandre, un *demi-gros* en Brabant, un *gros* léger en Hainaut. Ces nouveaux types se sont-ils maintenus jusqu’en décembre 1339? C’est possible, mais on ne pourrait l’affirmer catégoriquement. De toute manière, à cette dernière date réapparaît le *compagnon* mais avec un différent: un lion est gravé dans la bordure en remplacement d’une des feuilles. Son poids est légèrement diminué. En février 1341, ce poids est à nouveau abaissé et le titre probablement aussi, mais la différence de poids est trop faible pour que l’on puisse en faire un critère pour distinguer les deux émissions.

En octobre 1343 nouveau changement: le *gros au lion* est abandonné en Hainaut et peut-être aussi en Flandre et Brabant. En Hainaut commence l’émission du courtois qui durera jusque sous Marguerite d’Avesnes. Le Brabant émet soit le *gros au châtel*

brabançon, soit le *gros au lion* de poids faible. En juillet 1344, il crée le *gros aux 4 lions dans le quadrilobe* dont la frappe se prolongera aussi durant plusieurs années. C'est probablement ce *gros* que le Hainaut imite sous le nom *d'amourous* de juillet à novembre 1344. La Flandre quant à elle, frappe le « *gros des 3 villes* » au type non précisé. Est-ce le *gros au lion* au type du *compagnon* ou au type du numéro 185 de V. Gaillard? Au début de 1346, quand la frappe est reprise en mains par Louis de Crécy suite à l'assassinat de Jacques Van Artevelde, c'est à nouveau le *gros au lion* qui réapparaît mais avec un différent: l'aigle disparaît de la légende intérieure du droit et est remplacée par une croisette. Louis de Maele conservera ce nouveau coin.

Pour la facilité du lecteur nous avons dressé un tableau de ces émissions.”^[6]

– Ghyssens (ref. 6), pp. 186 - 188

Speaking specifically about the MONETA BRABAN coins, Ghyssens says:

Type IV: “*Les gros au lion de Brabant*”

“Les variantes de ce type de *gros* sont nombreuses, leur poids est très variable. Aucun indice ne permet de proposer un ordre chronologique. Faute de mieux, nous avons établi notre classement en nous appuyant sur les poids, les plus élevés étant placés en premier lieu. Les poids des deux variantes les plus abondantes (littéra **g** et **h**) sont nettement en dessous de ceux des *gros au lion* frappés en Flandre et en Hainaut. Du fait qu'ils portent la petite aigle au début de la légende du droit, on est normalement porté à les dater d'avant 1346. C'est d'eux qu'il est question aux pages 176 et 177 de notre exposé.

Ces *gros* ne portent pas le nom de l'atelier qui les a émis. Mais du fait que l'on retrouve sur certaines variantes la croisette de la légende extérieure et le X de XPI percés d'un trou (fig. 12) que seuls les esterlins frappés à Anvers (De Witte n° 367 et 368) possèdent, nous croyons pouvoir les attribuer à l'atelier de cette ville.

Le dépouillement des comptes de la ville de Louvain postérieurs à 1345 nous a fait constater l'existence d'un *gros* « *lakengeldt* » dont la valeur est presque invariablement fixée à 1/20^e d'*écu* et dont le cours en monnaie de compte fluctue en fonction du cours de l'*écu*. Ce *gros* ne servait donc pas de support à la monnaie de compte. Il n'est pas douteux. Qu'une autre pièce jouait ce rôle. On peut se demander si le *gros lakengeld* est une monnaie réelle ou simplement une unité de compte dont l'usage était limité au négoce des draps. Le contexte nous fait croire qu'il s'agit effectivement d'une monnaie réelle et qu'une autre pièce telle que le *gros aux quatre lions dans le quadrilobe* était frappée simultanément pour les transactions courantes. Les trouvailles de Walfergem et de Seraing ainsi que d'autres plus tardives contenaient simultanément ce type et les variantes **g** et **h** dont question plus haut (¹⁵⁷).

(157) Voir note 96 pour la trouvaille de Waliergem et H. FRÈRE, *Trois petits trésors monétaires à prédominance liégeoise*, II. *Gros du XIV^e siècle*, dans RBN, CXV, 1969, p. 349-354 et planches XII à XV.”^[6]

– Ghyssens (ref. 6), p. 176

“Ces deux variantes pourraient bien être le *gros lakengeld*. La petite aigle de la légende du droit rattache ce *gros* aux émissions du même type faites jusqu’en octobre 1343 et le distingue des *gros* à la croisette frappés à partir de 1346 en Flandre et courant pour un 22e *d’écu*. Ce nom de monnaie apparaît pour la première fois dans le compte de Malines de l’année 1342-1343. La valeur de *l’écu* ressort comme étant de 19 1/3 *gros lakengeld*, découlant de la valeur de 28 de ces *gros* attribuée au *double d’or*, pièce pesant les 3/2 de *l’écu*. La valeur de 19 1/3 était celle en usage en 1340. Nous en conclurons que c’est le *gros* frappé conventionnellement à partir de décembre 1339 qui a été choisi comme unité de compte dans le commerce des draps.

Ceci est donc la deuxième hypothèse que nous proposons pour tenter d’expliquer les variantes **g** et **h**. Les conditions que nous proposons pour ces monnaies à l’occasion de la première hypothèse envisagée, restent valables pour la deuxième. *L’écu* valant 20 *gros lakengeld* le marc d’or s’établit à 1080 *gros*. Le rapport 10 en usage dès 1346 fixe la valeur du marc d’argent à 108 *gros*, chiffre qui est bien celui que nous avons proposé. Signalons qu’en Flandre, on utilisait une monnaie de compte « *halle payment* » également réservée au négoce des draps. Il ne semble toutefois pas que des monnaies réelles aient été émises sur base de cette monnaie de compte.”^[6]

– Ghyssens (ref. 6), p. 175

Ghyssens is saying that the BRABAN coins are *lakengeld*, mentioned in the Malines records 1342-1343, and the Leuven records after 1345. But in 1983 (ref. 7), he says “en décembre 1344” (p. 13); on p. 15, Ghyssens says that at the beginning of the reign of Jeanne and Wenceslas (from 1355), *lakengeld* continued to be minted. He also refers to Jeanne’s FILFD *leeuwengroot* as *lakengeld* (“en 1357”).

Ghyssens catalog of the BRABAN *leeuwengroten* is flawed, which in turn means that his comments regarding his variants **g** & **h** are moot. Based upon the coins themselves, it seems highly unlikely that Ghyssen’s variants **g** & **h**, the ♠ 12♣ / 1♦ and ♠ 11♣ / 1♦ coins (**cat. III e-g**) were being minted as early as 1342-1343

“...les variantes **g** et **h** ... Ces deux variantes pourraient bien être le *gros lakengeld*. La petite aigle de la légende du droit rattache ce *gros* aux émissions du même type faites jusqu’en octobre 1343 et le distingue des *gros* à la croisette frappés à partir de 1346 en Flandre et courant pour un 22e *d’écu*.”

The initial eagle remained on the Brabant coins, regardless of what was being used in Flanders (from January, 1346: a cross), throughout the entire span of their minting under John III. The end-date of this minting is, in fact, unknown.

In the case of the BRABAN (**cat. III**) coins, all of Ghyssens' descriptions are flawed, some of them beyond repair (as discussed in the catalog above). In several cases, it is impossible to extricate an actual "sub-type" from Ghyssens' catalog (e.g. the leaf-mark sub-types)

Ghyssens' Star-Mark Sub-Type (IV b)

Ghyssens IV b (p. 176)

Plate V, 5

sic

¶ MONETA * BRABAN'
0·DV X·LO T' BR AB'I
X BENICTV : SIT : NOMEN : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI

- no apostrophe after IO given
- no pellet after LOT given
- no pellet after BRAB given

cites 3.79 g. and 3.58 g. (MM. Franceschi); 3.375 Seraing Hoard (illustrated)

Ghyssens' transcription is missing a number of important punctuation and minting marks. In this case, however, we can identify his "sub-type" by the star minting marks (i.e. despite his errors, we can see that Ghyssens intended to describe the "type with star-marks").

Ghyssens' Leaf-Mark Sub-Types (IV a, IV c – IV f)

Ghyssens' chronic observation and transcription problems are especially evident in the leaf-mark sub-types (which Ghyssens transcribes as: †). His sub-types **IV a**, **IV c**, **IV d**, **IV e** and **IV f** all slop over one another in a nightmare of misinformation. The bottom line is that only one of them matches an actual sub-type of a known leaf-mark coin (and yet it still has a minor transcription error).

* **Ghyssens IV a:**

Ghyssens’ transcription of the reverse, inner legend (2 x’s, in a combination unseen on any known specimen: IO• DV X~~x~~ LOT• BRAB~~x~~:), does not match the coin he gives as an example (CdMB 083), which has 1 x (i.e. **cat III-d**). “**Ghyssens IV-a**” does not exist as described (or in any case, we have never seen a specimen, and Ghyssens’ own cited “example” is incorrect).

If, however, we alter Ghyssens’ erroneous x after DVX (not seen on any known coin in this combination of marks) to a **pellet**, then he would have described the sub-type with 1 x in the reverse, inner legend (**cat. III-d**). What was Ghyssens actual intention? Presumably, it was to accurately describe coin CdMB 083 (Ghyssens’ cited example).

After correcting Ghyssens’ x mark to a pellet, **Ghyssens IV a** and **IV e** seem to be the same as one another, the only apparent difference being the form of the leaf-mark after MONETA (‘leafy’ or not). In our opinion, there is no difference (all of the marks were intended to be ‘leafy’), and therefore, **Ghyssens IV a** and **IV e** are the same as one another,

***Ghyssens IV b** is the sub-type with star marks (**cat III-a**).

* **Ghyssens IV c:**

Ghyssens states that he did not actually see this “sub-type”, citing “de Witte 360” as his source. Ghyssens obverse legend transcription reads MONETA * BRABAN, but no known specimen has this legend (x after MONETA). Ghyssens’ cited reference **dW 360** clearly shows a leaf, not an x, hence: “**Ghyssens IV c**” does not exist as described. Since there is no photograph or coin cited as a specimen – Ghyssens himself saying he never saw one – he seems to have simply pulled this “sub-type” out of thin air, for reasons unknown (!). Or he made yet another transcription error.

If we alter Ghyssens’ erroneous x after MONETA (not seen on any known coin) to a **leaf**, then he would have described the sub-type with 3 x’s in the reverse, inner legend (**cat. III-b**). What was Ghyssens actual intention? Was the change of mark simply a copying error? There does not seem to be any other logical explanation for his alteration of what de Witte stated.

***Ghyssens IV d** is the sub-type with 2 x’s (**cat. III-c**), although Ghyssens omits an apostrophe from the legend.

***Ghyssens IV e:**

This is the sub-type with 1 x (**cat. III-d**), although Ghyssens’ intention seems to have been to differentiate between the ‘normal’ leaf-mark: ♦ and the ‘leafy’ mark: ♦ (which Ghyssens calls a “feuille d’ache”, **Ghyssens IV a**). Ghyssens transcription errors for his **sub-type IV a** make his intentions unclear. Ghyssens omits two apostrophes and misspells NOME (NIOME) in his transcriptions for his **sub-type IV e**. We are of the opinion that all of the leaves are, in fact, “leafy” and that there is no significant distinction between them. **Ghyssens IV e** and **IV a** are the same as one another.

***Ghyssens IV f:**

This is a suspect “sub-type” with 1 x, but without any pellet after DVX or LOT (unlike any known specimen). Ghyssens’ photo is too indistinct to be sure one way or the other, but his “track record” does not persuade us to believe him without some kind of corroborating evidence.

* **Ghyssens IV c** (p. 177)

Cat. III-b

3 X's

sic:

¶ MONETA ✕ BRABAN'
0' ✕ DV X ✕ LO T' • BR AB' ✕ I
‡ BNDICTV : SIT : NOMEN : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI

– shows x after MONETA instead of the correct ¶

For some reason, Ghyssens has misinterpreted De Witte's ¶ as ✕, which makes his transcription incorrect, and his “sub-type” non-existent. Since his one and only source for this “sub-type” is **de Witte 360**, we can assume that the problem is a simple copying error on Ghyssens’ part.

Ghyssens IV d (p. 177)

Plate V, 6

Cat. III-c

TWO X's

sic:

¶ MONETA + BRABAN'
0' ✕ DV X • LO T' • BR AB' ✕ I
‡ BNDICTV : SIT : NOMEN : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI

– no apostrophe after LOT given

This is the closest Ghyssens comes to accurately describing a leaf-mark, BRABAN *leeuwengroot*.

Ghyssens IV a (p. 176)

Plate V, 4

Cat. III-d

TWO X'S [*sic*; ONE X]

sic:

MONETÀ BRABAN'
O'·DV X·LO T·BR AB·I
+ BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : IHV : [X]PI

- no apostrophe after LOT or BRAB given
 - x after DVX instead of the correct pellet given
- (Ghyssens' cited example CdMB 083)



*This is CdMB 083 / 3.906 g.
which only has one x*

Based upon the fact that we have ourselves inspected the very piece cited by Ghyssens as his example, it seems likely that the x instead of the correct pellet after DVX is the result of sloppy transcription on Ghyssens' part.

Ghyssens IV e (p. 177)

Plate V, 7

Cat. III-d

ONE X

sic:

¶ MONETA + BRABAN'
0·DV X·LO T·BR AB'·I
‡ BNDICTV : SIT : NIOME : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI

- no apostrophe after IO or LOT given
- gives NIOME instead of the correct NOME

cites 3.66 g. MM. Franceschi, pl. V, 7



7

After the appropriate corrections are made to Ghyssens’ legend transcriptions, it appears that the only actual difference between his Sub-types **IV a** and **IV e** are the forms of the leaf after MONETA, and we are not convinced that that is enough of a criteria to warrant another “sub-type”, since we are of the opinion that there is no difference in leaf-marks. **Ghyssens IV a** and **IV e** are likely to actually be “the same” as one another.

Ghyssens Type IV f not verified

(p. 177) ^[6]

Plate V, n° 8

cat. –

ONE X, but no pellets after DVX or LOT (?)

See pp. 13-14 above.

Ghyssens' "Brabant-Mark" Sub-Types (IV g – IV h)

The obverses (only) of two of Ghyssens' illustrations on Plate V have "switched places": **nº 9** and **nº 10**. Despite what it says in Ghyssens' text:

Plate V, 9

obverse illustrates Ghyssens Type IV h 12♣ / 1¤ [cat. III-e & III-f]

Plate V, 10

obverse illustrates Ghyssens Type IV g 11♣ / 1¤ [cat III-g]

***Ghyssens IV g** is the sub-type with the 'mark of Brabant' and a 11♣ / 1¤ border (cat. III-g), although Ghyssens omits apostrophes from the legend and incorrectly reports the T of LOT.

***Ghyssens IV h** is the sub-type with the 'mark of Brabant' and a 12♣ / 1¤ border (cat. III-e and III-f), although Ghyssens omits apostrophes from the legend and incorrectly reports the T of LOT. Ghyssens does not distinguish between the two forms of R in BRAB.



Elsen 287-488 / 3.37 g.
The very coin used for:
Ghyssens 1974 plate V, 9 reverse
Ghyssens 1974 plate V, 10 obverse
Type: Ghyssens IV g

Ghyssens IV g: 11 leaves
(**cat. III-g**)

sic

¶ MONETA ψ BRABANT'
O'·DV X·LO T·BR AB'·I
XBNDICTV : SIT : NOMIS : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI

- no apostrophe after LOT given
- ‘normal’ T in LOT instead of the correct annulet T given
- no indication given of the pierced X and + in the outer legend
- The obverses of Plate V, n° 9 & n° 10 have switched places; **pl. V, 9 *sic* [reverse only]**



V, 10
11 leaves [*sic*]

cites:

3.56 g. (CdMB) [**YES 3.57 g.**]

Cabinet de France : 3.39 g, 3.38 g, 3.27 g, 3.23 g, 3.16 g (broken)

“chez MM. Franceschi”: 3.46 g, 3.29 g, 3.26 g, 3.22 g, 3.21 g (2x), 3.16 g, 3.13 g (2x),
3.10 g, 2.85 g,

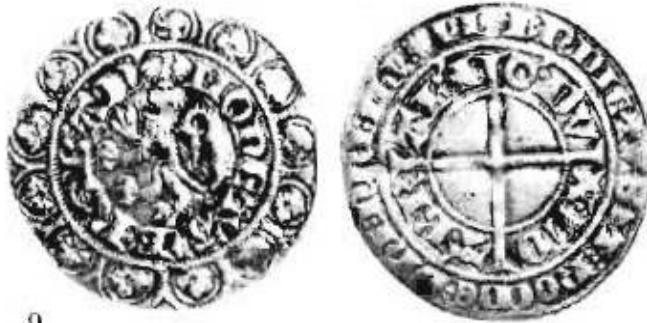
Seraing Hoard: 3.3365 g. item 40

Ghyssens IV h (p. 177): 12 leaves
(cat. III-e & III-f)

sic

¶ MONETA ¶ BRABANT'
O'·DV X·LO T·BR AB'·I
XBNDICTV : SIT : NOMIS : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI

- no apostrophe after LOT given
- ‘normal’ T in LOT instead of the correct annulet T given
- no indication given of the pierced X and + in the outer legend
- The obverses of Plate V, n° 9 & n° 10 have switched places; **pl. V, 10 *sic*** [reverse only]



V, 9 [sic]
12 leaves

cites:

3.35 g. (CdMB) [YES 3.353 g.]

“chez MM. Franceschi”: 3.41 g, 3.35 g, 3.32 g, 3.31 g, 3.27 g, 3.22 g, 3.19 g, 2.72 g.

Ghyssens’ GANDEN-LOVAIN Sub-Type (p. 130, fig 2)

Although Ghyssens does not include this type in his catalog, he does discuss it at length on pp. 130-132 (quoted above), and provides a photo (p. 130, fig 2).

DE MEY 1966 (ref. 3)

De Mey lumps all of the BRABAN coins under one number, regardless of the mark after MONETA (**dM 203**), and he does the same for both GANDEN(SIS) LOVAIN fractionals (**dM 219**). De Mey leaves out information and his transcriptions do not always match his cited source (de Witte). His book is, in fact, of little use to the serious researcher.

Cat. III : BRABAN

- *203** *gros [leeuwengroot]* BRABAN (cites **de Witte 359-360**)
 [de Mey does not report the ODV XLO TBR ABI reverse]

Cat. I : BRVXELL(EN) / DVX BRABANTIE

- 204** *gros [leeuwengroot]* BRVXELLN (cites **de Witte 361**)
***205** *gros [leeuwengroot]* BRVXELLN / DVX BRABANTIE
 (cites **de Witte 362-363**) [**de Witte 363 = BRXELL**]
***206** *gros [leeuwengroot] ♦* BRVXELLN (cites **de Witte 364**)
 [**de Witte 364 = BRXELLEN**]

Cat. II : BRVXELL / IOH DVX BRABAN

- *207** *gros [leeuwengroot]* BRVXELL / IO DVX (cites **de Witte 365**)

Fractionals

- 208** $\frac{1}{3}$ *gros [1/3 leeuwengroot]* (cites **de Witte 366**) [type with 4 lion heads]
209 $\frac{1}{3}$ *gros [1/3 leeuwengroot]* (cites **de Witte 367**) [type with long cross]
210 $\frac{1}{3}$ *gros [1/3 leeuwengroot]* (cites **de Witte 368**) [type with short cross]
211 $\frac{1}{3}$ *gros [1/3 leeuwengroot]* (cites **de Witte 369**) [type with short cross]

Cat. IV : GANDEN LOVAIN

- 217** *gros [leeuwengroot]* GANDEN. LOVAIN. (cites **de Witte 380**)
218 Flanders-Brabant counterfeit (cites **BdANE**, 1966-XVI n° 4)
219 $\frac{1}{4}$ *gros* GANDEN(SIS) LOVAIN' (cites **de Witte 381-382**)

VANHOUDT 1996 (ref. 20)

As mentioned in our report on the BRVXELL(EN) *leeuwengroten* (ref. 28, p. 33) Vanhoudt's book can only be used as a "quick-reference guide", and one of the two "BRABAN" coins listed does not actually exist:



Vanhoudt G 263
THIS COIN DOES NOT EXIST!

There are no Brabant *leeuwengroten* known with a combination of the two faces (obverse and reverse) shown above. This is an erroneous, hybrid illustration, made from the obverse of de Witte 359 and the reverse of de Witte 361-363. Vanhoudt's reference "DW 361-364" for this type is incorrect. The obverse of Vanhoudt's illustration has been borrowed from this coin:

For the current report, the relevant coins from Vanhoudt are:

G 263 : non-existent

G 269 : MONETA † BRABAN / IO DVX LOT BRAB 12♣ / 1♦

G 291 : de Witte drawing of n° 280 with GANDEN LOVAIN ♣

G 2590 : Dewismes drawing of n° 211 with GANDEN LOVAIN ♦
(we have never seen after ♦ LOVAIN)

Vanhoudt only provides illustrations and no descriptions, and so by using de Witte's n° 359 illustration for his n° **G 269**, Vanhoudt only lists the sub-type with a 12♣ / 1♦ border (cites de Witte 360), and no other BRABAN sub-types, including the "common type", are listed.

Vanhoudt G 269

One could certainly argue that **Vanhoudt G 269** represents all of the MONETA BRABAN *leeuwengroten*, which is confirmation that the book cannot be used as anything more than a (very) quick-reference guide. The "common type" (**cat III-g**) is not shown in Vanhoudt's book.



*Vanhoudt G 269^[21]
(de Witte 359^[23])
cat. III-e*

Vanhoudt G-263	—	(non-existent)
Vanhoudt —	Cat III-a	★
Vanhoudt —	Cat III-b	◆ (3 x's)
Vanhoudt —	Cat III-c	◆ (2 x's)
Vanhoudt —	Cat III-d	◆ (1 x's)
Vanhoudt G 269	Cat III-e	↑ 12♣ / 1¤ BRAB
Vanhoudt G 269 var.	Cat III-f	↑ 12♣ / 1¤ BRAB
Vanhoudt —	Cat III-g	↑ 11♣ / 1¤

For the GANDEN-LOVAIN *leeuwengroten*, Vanhoudt assigns two different numbers to the same type, and uses two different illustrations for them. He does not provide a cross-reference under Brabant nor under Flanders.

Vanhoudt G 291	illustration: de Witte 380
Vanhoudt G 2590	no text entry illustration: Dewismes 211

Previous Literature Regarding the Fractional Coins

Discussion of the previous literature regarding the fractional coins can be found in the relevant sections of the main text above (pp. 37-44).

Discussion of the previous literature regarding the Ghent-Leuven fractional coins can be found on the following pages.

Previous Literature Regarding the GANDEN(SIS)-LOVAIN Fractional Coins

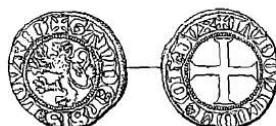
De Witte (ref. 23) reported one type with a GANDEN legend (**dW 382**) and another with a GANDENSIS legend (**dW 381**), as did **de Jonghe** (ref. 34). Subsequent authors seem to have omitted either one or the other, or mashed the two types together into one via cited reference numbers. **De Mey** seems to have been the only person after de Witte to list both types, but even then he lumped them together under one number (**dM 219**).

Although he discusses “*quart et blanc au lion*”, de Witte does not actually assign a denomination to the fractional coins, while all of the subsequent authors (except Vanhoudt) describe the type(s) as a *1/3 groot*. This does not seem likely, however, given the weights listed of 0.68 - 0.88 grams and the short cross on the reverse.

According to de Witte in 1886: both examples were in de Witte’s collection. According to de Jonghe in 1891, the GANDENSIS piece was in the de Witte collection and the GANDEN piece in his own collection. De Jonghe must have acquired the coin from de Witte, because it is clearly the same coin illustrated in both works.

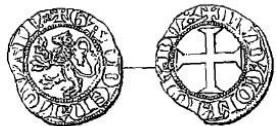


De Witte 380 - 382 [24]



*Droit. Lion rampant.
Légende. ♫ GANDENSIS ♫ LOVAIN ♫.
Rev. Croix pattée.
Légende. ♫ LUDOVICUS COM × IOHES DUX.*

Argent. Collection de M. A. de Witte.



*Droit. Lion rampant.
Légende. GANDEN ♫ LOVAIN ♫.*

De Jonghe in RBN 1891, p. 563 [34]

GANDEN(SIS)-LOVAIN Fractional Coins (cont.)

Rev. Croix pattée.

Légende. LVIOꝝ ELOMꝝ IOHꝝ DVꝝ.

Argent.

Notre collection.

De Jonghe in RBN 1891, p. 564^[34]

These same two specimens appear to be the only known examples:

GANDENSIS CdMB 135 0.70 g.
GANDEN CdMB 136 0.86 g.

Reported as follows:

De Jonghe p. 563-564 GANDENSIS & GANDEL (no weights given)

De Witte 381 GANDENSIS 0.88 g. [CdMB 135, 0.70 g.] *
De Witte 382 GANDEL 0.87 g. [CdMB 136, 0.86 g.]

Haeck 35 GANDENSIS (no GANDEL) (p. 93)

cites coins MPKB [KBR] 0.84 g.
but CdMB 136, 0.86 g.= GANDEL
0.68 g. [CdMB 135, 0.70 g]
does not cite de Witte

Elsen 14 GANDENSIS (text only) / GANDEL (illustration only)

cites **Haeck 35**
does not cite de Witte

Vanhoudt G 2591 GANDENSIS (no GANDEL)

also

Vanhoudt G 293 GANDENSIS (no GANDEL)
(same coin with two different numbers)

cites **de Witte 381-382** [sic], but **de Witte 382** is GANDEL

Martiny 28 GANDEL (no GANDENSIS)

cites **Elsen 14**, but **Elsen 14** is GANDENSIS
does not cite de Witte

* The weight given by de Witte does not match the specimen in the CdMB.

Martiny/Torongo GE 22 GANDEN (no GANDENSIS)

cites **Martiny 28**

cites **Vanhoudt G 2591** [sic] (but not **G 293**), but **Vh. G 2591** is GANDENSIS

cites **Haeck 35** [sic], but **Haeck 35** is GANDENSIS

does not cite de Witte

Martiny provides a photograph of coin CdMB 136 (also listed by Haeck), which clearly shows a GANDEN legend.

VANHOUDT 1996 (ref. 20)

Vanhoudt G 2591 and G 293 (“1/4 groot”, GANDENSIS)

cites de Witte 381-382



Vanhoudt G 293 (and G 2591)^[21]

The entry for **G 2591** is actually missing from Vanhoudt's text; he refers the reader to his “**G 272 – G 274**” [sic] for the “coins of convention” of Louis of Nevers and John III, but this is an error, and he meant his **G 291 – G 293**. Amusingly, Vanhoudt shows the lion side as the obverse for his **G 293**, but as the reverse for his **G 2591**.

Although Vanhoudt cites de Witte 381-382, he does not show any GANDEN legend coin (as de Witte 382).

MARTINY (ref. 14)

Martiny 28 (GANDEN LOUVAIN) (ref. 14)

(p. 133)

“1/3 *conventiegroot*”

Cites **Haeck 35; Elsen 14; Vanhoudt G 2591** (but no G 293)

and

MARTINY / TORONGO (ref. 15)

(p. 132; also p. 127)

Martiny/Torongo GE 22

“1/3 *conventiegroot*”

Cites **Haeck 35; Elsen 14; Vanhoudt G 2591** (but no G 293)

Martiny describes the “*tiers*” struck according to the 1339 Flanders-Brabant agreement, with a GANDEN legend, illustrated by the KBR 0.84 g. coin. Despite citing **Haeck 35** and **Vanhoudt G 2591**, both of which list/show a GANDENSIS legend, Martiny does not list any such legend. He does not cite de Witte as a source at all.

Martiny does not list a CdMB/KBR 0.68 g. coin (CdMB 135, 0.70 g.). Note that on p. 118, Martiny refers to similar (albeit counterfeit) coins as “1/4 *grotten*”.

Martiny states that there are 12 known specimens (4 in private collections, 8 in public collections), but does not list them specifically (ref. 15, pp. 127). This is, however, a printing error, and Martiny was actually referring to the full GANDEN-LOVAIN *grotten*, not the fractionals^[27].

CONCLUSION

Despite great deal of writing having been done on the subject, the BRABAN *leeuwengroten* (and associated fractionals) of Brabant have never before been accurately cataloged, due in large part to the general complacency that has always surrounded the *leeuwengroot* in the numismatic community. We hope to have rectified that situation with this current report, although as always, more research is still needed on the subject.

The known or reported BRABAN (and GANDEN LOVAIN) sub-types are as follows:

<u>Catalog</u>	<u>Ghyssens</u>	<u>de Witte</u>	<u>notes</u>
III-a	IV b (V, 5)	—	★
III-b	IV c (—)	360 (illustration only)	† xxx
III-c	IV d (V, 6)	—	† xx
III-d	IV a/e (V, 4 & 7)	—	† x
—	IV f (V, 8)		see pp. 19-20 above
III-e	IV h (*V, 9)	359 (text & illustr.)	† 12♣ / 1♦ R
III-f	IV h (*V, 9)	359 (text only)	† 12♣ / 1♦ R
III-g	IV g (V, 10)	360 (text only)	† 11♣ / 1♦
—	IV i(V, 11)	—	CdMB 091.5, (counterfeit)
IV	pp.130-132	380	GANDEN LOVAIN

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Cabinet de Médailles, Brussels (CdMB / KBR), the firm of Jean Elsen et ses fils, the late Joseph GhysSENS, Aimé Haeck, the firm of Fritz Rudolph Künker, Jean-Claude Martiny, David Mee, MPO (Heritage), Numismatische Kring Noord-Brabant, Palais des Beaux-Arts de Lille, Alain Renard, Christine Servais and Johan Van Heesch.

LITERATURE

[1]

Muntateliers in Brabant (einde 10^{de} eeuw-1795)

Eddy van Cauwenbergh & L. Verachten,

in: *De Gewestelijke en Lokale Overheidsinstellingen in Brabant en Mechelen tot 1795*, dl. I.
pp. 280-304.

R. van Uytven, Cl. Bruneel, H. Coppens en B. Augustyn

Algemeen Rijksarchief, Brussel, 2000

[2]

De munten der voormalige hertogdommen Brabant en Limburg, van de vroegste tijden tot aan de Pacificatie van Gent

P. O. van der Chijs

Erven F. Bohn, Haarlem

1851

[3]

Les monnaies des Ducs de Brabant I (1106-1467)

J.R. De Mey

Numismatic Pocket 1

Mevius

Amsterdam, 1966

[4]

Catalogue des collections de M. Dewismes

Deschamps de Pas, ed.

Saint-Omer (France), 1875

[5]

Recherches sur les Monnaies des Comtes de Flandre

Victor Gaillard

Ghent, 1852 & 1857

[6]

Le monnayage d'argent en Flandre, Hainaut et Brabant au début de la guerre de cent ans
(Silver money in Flanders, Hainaut and Brabant at the Start of the Hundred Years War)

Joseph GhysSENS

in *RBN* – CXX, 1974

[7]

Essai de classement chronologique de monnaies brabançonnes depuis Godefroid Ier (1096-1140) jusqu'à la duchesse Jeanne (1355-1406)

Joseph GhysSENS

Jeans Elsen et ses fils, 1983

[8]

Essai de classement chronologique des monnaies de Brabant depuis Godefroid Ier jusqu'à la duchess Jeanne (1096-1406)

Joseph GhysSENS

in *BCEN* 1983

pp. 55-59

[9]

De leeuwengroten van Lodewijk van Male

Joseph GhysSENS

in *JEGMP*, 1986

pp. 27-33

[10]

*Les premières émissions monétaires de Jeanne et Wenceslas**

Joseph GhysSENS

RBN – CXXXIV – 1988

pp. 129 - 140 + Plate V

[11]

De Muntsgag van de Graven van Holland tot de Bourgondische Unificatie in 1434

(3 volumes)

J.J. Grolle

De Nederlands Bank N.V.

Amsterdam, 2000

ISBN 90-804784-3-1

[12]

Muntende ministerialen in Over-Sticht en Holland gedurende de 13e en 14e eeuw : de muntslag van de heren van Kuinre, Voorst, Hekeren, Almelo, Coevorden, Selwerd, Arkel, Asperen en Egmond, alsmede de financiële paragraaf van het Friese Opstalboomstatuut uit 1323

J.J. Grolle
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