

A Preliminary Overview of the *Leeuwengroten* of Brabant

Part One: Brussels

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INTRODUCTION

Those readers with a working knowledge of the history of the *leeuwengroot* (*gros au lion*, *gros compaignon*) may well have been wondering: where is the “Brabant Report”?

The expected order of things might seem to be: Flanders, followed by Brabant, and then Holland, Hainaut, Namur, Guelders etc. in whatever order one might prefer. But the study of the *leeuwengroten* struck in the Duchy of Brabant is far more difficult than one might expect, and many unanswered questions remain. So, as anyone would, we did the “easy” reports first.

Leeuwengroten were struck in Brabant under John III (1312-1355). Minting of Brabançon *leeuwengroten* began while Louis of Nevers was Count of Flanders, and continued on and off into the reign of Louis of Mâle in Flanders. There are three basic, “main” types: two rare sorts with a MONETA BRVXELL(EN) obverse legend and either DVX BRABANTIE or IO DVX BRABAN on the reverse (respectively), and the third type, the relatively common MONETA BRABAN / IO DVX LOT BRAB coins.

On two occasions (1337 and 1339), arrangements were made for a unified coinage to be produced in both Flanders and Brabant, consisting of similar *leeuwengroten*. It appears that although *leeuwengroten* were struck in both Flanders and in Brabant in 1337-1338, no actual Flanders-Brabant coins were produced until 1339 (the GANDEN-LOVAIN coins), and even then, it appears that none were struck in Ghent. This dual coinage was short-lived, although separate *leeuwengroten* continued to be struck (on and off) in both regions for years to come.

Leeuwengroten were also struck in Brabant for John III’s daughter Jeanne (Johanna) (1355-1406) and her husband Wenceslas (1355-1383), who was also Duke of Luxembourg.

Brabant *Leeuwengroten*

Speaking generally, Brabant *leeuwengroten* are not rare; they are the second most common region, after Flanders. But like the Flanders coins, the availability of specific types varies wildly, and 90% of the Brabant *leeuwengroten* seen are of the John III “common type”, all other types being far less common, many of them even “rare”. The “common type” has an 11♣ / 1♣ obverse border, and a MONETA ↑ BRABAN obverse legend. (Note that there are also rare sub-types that are very similar in appearance to the “common type”.)

Having studied the Brabant *leeuwengroten* for several years now, it seemed that the best plan would be to divide the region over a number of separate reports, beginning with the MONETA BRVXELL(EN) types, the oldest Brabant *leeuwengroten*, which are all very rare, and known only from a tiny number of specimens (the current report). Most of the known coins are found in the collection of the Cabinet de Médailles, Brussels (CdMB).

There is a wealth of previous literature written about the coins of Brabant, including the *leeuwengroten*. Unfortunately, this literature is full of errors and omissions, and some of it is difficult to decipher because of the poor photographic reproductions and faulty legend transcriptions. The three main sources for our purposes are **De Witte** (ref. 23), **Ghyssens** (ref. 5 - 9), both of which have serious flaws and are, at best, partially accurate, and **Van der Chijs** (ref. 2), which is also incomplete.

Throughout our investigation of the *leeuwengroten* of all regions, it has always been our policy to double-check everything stated by previous authors, and not to assume that their information is correct without first verifying it (time and time again this policy has proved its value.) This is especially difficult in the case of the Brabant *leeuwengroten*. We are grateful for the work of all previous numismatic researchers, but we have been confronted with quite a bit of erroneous or suspect information. All of the previous authors' works are missing types that are now known to exist, which is easily forgivable, obviously. But they all provide incorrect data as well. De Witte's descriptions are accurate for the most part, but some of his drawings are clearly incorrect – making some of the information he provides suspect as well.

Ghyssens' legend transcriptions and photographs are so poor that it is often difficult to determine: a) what it is that Ghyssens intended to say, and b) which of Ghyssens poorly-described "types" actually exist and which are figments of his imagination and poor eye for detail. Fortunately for us, Ghyssens used the same CdMB specimens to which we also have access, and we can compare the coins to Ghyssens published works.

By mixing the obverse and reverse of two different illustrations, Vanhoudt introduces a "type" that does not exist at all, while at the same time not properly listing or illustrating a single one of the 7 known Brussels *leeuwengroot* types (!).

We have had to sift through the muddle of "information" that has been offered regarding the Brabant *leeuwengroten*, and based on the relatively small number of specimens available to us, try and determine exactly what is fact and what is fantasy. (To repeat: 90% of the known Brabant *leeuwengroten* are of the "common type", the other types are all uncommon or rare.)

Hoard evidence for Brabançon *leeuwengroten* is all but non-existent. Although Brabançon *leeuwengroten* have been found in many coin hoards, few of them were properly recorded, and the details of the coins were never properly noted. The few hoards that were reasonably accurately described cannot help us date the Brabant *leeuwengroten* (Schoo, 1927; Dokkum, 1932; Delft, 2004, etc.)

How wonderfully convenient it would be if all of the minting records from Brabant existed from the period under scrutiny, but sadly, they do not. This means that determining exactly when the various types of Brabant *leeuwengroot* were minted is a matter of speculating and puzzling various bits of information together, based on the characteristics of the Flemish and Brabantine *leeuwengroten*, the Flemish minting records, the interconnected histories of Flanders and Brabant (including minting agreements made between the two realms), the few Brabant minting records that do exist, and the other types of Brabantine coins struck before, during and after minting of *leeuwengroten* in Brabant (and Flanders) (not to mention the dealings with Holland, Hainaut, Guelders, etc.). This is no small task, and a proper investigation would in fact require a study of all of the silver coin types struck in Brabant during the entirety of the reigns of John III and his daughter Jeanne, i.e. 1312-1406. Unfortunately, such a thorough study is far beyond the scope of our resources, and for the most part, we are forced to limit ourselves to the *leeuwengroot* types, insofar as this is possible. In Brabant, it is especially true that the *leeuwengroten* were not minted "in a vacuum", and unlike Flanders, several other types were minted before, during and after the

periods of minting Brabantine *leeuwengroten*. These coin types cannot be ignored in any thorough *leeuwengroot* investigation, and yet each type is its own little “nesting doll” and requires a specific investigation into its type, which is beyond our resources. It would be helpful if we could turn to some other researcher(s) for their knowledge of the “other” Brabant coin types, but as far as we know, there are no numismatists currently busying themselves with researching the coinage of Brabant in the 14th century.

Because there are insufficient mint records for the period under investigation, there can be no discussion of “issues”, only sets of characteristics found on the coins themselves, which may (or may not) imply different “issues”. The lack of records further prevents us from knowing exactly when striking of the various *leeuwengroot* types began and ended in Brabant; there are no fixed dates known and only approximate periods of time can be proposed.

There are various, obvious differences in the details of the Flemish *leeuwengroten*, such as the number of obverse, border leaves (either 12, or 11 with a lion). There are also a number of subtler differences including different forms of **A**, different **types** of border leaf on the obverse, and the use of **N** or **Ń** in certain words in the reverse, outer legend, and so on. The study of *leeuwengroten* is the study of small details. Most of these differences were almost certainly the result of the mint(s) marking the coins for some reason, whether to indicate “issue”, die-engraver, or something else. (See ref. 19)

Like the Flemish coins, variations in style and lettering (and minting marks) can be found on the Brabant *leeuwengroten* as well. But the *leeuwengroten* of Brabant are infinitely more difficult to classify than those of Flanders, due in no small part to the fact that there are only a very few medieval minting records from the period under investigation, and little (if any) useful hoard information. The variations of the Brabançon *leeuwengroot* are many and subtle, and the fact is that we have no way of knowing what the correct chronological order of the various types is. Our arrangement is tentative at best, and is based for the most part on the appearance of the coins themselves, which may seem a bit subjective.

Brussels *Leeuwengroten*

The earliest Flemish *leeuwengroten* (c. May, 1337) were well-made, consistent coins. The Brabançon BRVXELL(EN) / DVX BRABANTIE coins do not “match” with the style of the Flemish coins, and seem much sloppier and more haphazard, unlike the BRVXELL / IOH DVX BRABAN coins, which are much more “in line” with their Flemish counterparts.

Were the “BRVX / DVX” coins minted previous to the first Flemish *leeuwengroten* (May, 1337)? Did the first response to the January, 1337, money devaluation in France occur in **Brabant**, not in Flanders, sometime between January and May, 1337? And were the BRVX / IOH coins minted after *leeuwengroot* minting began in Flanders (which is why they “match” better)?



*Elsen 107-840 (also 117-1356 & 112-873) / 3.97 g.
Leeuwengroot of Louis of Nevers, Count of Flanders (1322-1346)
The very oldest Flemish leeuwengroot*

In Flanders, all of the *leeuwengroten* struck for Louis of Nevers had 3-lobed border leaves; although two or three different **types** of border leaf are known, they all have 3 lobes. Under Louis of Mâle, the first issue also had 3-lobed leaves, but at some point during Issue II, the leaves changed to 5-lobed leaves (also in a couple of different “styles”). All of the Flemish *leeuwengroten* Issues III-VI had 5-lobed border leaves. For Issue VII (1362), the leaves changed back to having only 3 lobes, for some reason.

In Brabant, on the other hand, all of the *leeuwengroot* border leaves have 3 lobes. No 5-lobed border leaf *leeuwengroten* were struck in Brabant at all.

In the early Middle Ages, the silver *denier* that was the common coin featured the names of the issuing ruler, mint city and mintmaster. Over time the mintmaster’s name disappeared from the coins. As even more time passed and the coins became larger, the mint city name was often omitted as well, replaced with the name of the larger realm. The main Flemish coins that preceded the *leeuwengroten* (until 1337) were the *grands* and *petits blancs*, which were $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ *groten*, respectively. These coins bore the name of the mint city, but the *leeuwengroten* did not, and subsequent coin types only said Flanders (no city) on them.

In Brabant, however, the practice of naming the mint city on the coins continued for longer than it had in Flanders, and the earliest (?) *leeuwengroten* still bore the name of the mint city (and not even the name of the duke). This changes on the BRVXELL / IOH coins, where the duke’s name appears but the minting city does not. It is not until the reign of Jeanne and Wenceslas that the name of the mint city returns to the *leeuwengroot* (Vilvoorde), and this may (or may not) have something to do with the animosity between Jeanne and Wenceslas, and Louis of Male, Count of Flanders.

Is the change from the naming of the mint city on the coins another indication that the “BRVX / DVX” coins are the earliest Brabant *leeuwengroten* (and that they preceded the Flemish coins)?

Unusual Characteristics of Brussels *Leeuwengroten*

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

12♣ Border / No DEI

Unlike in Flanders (and other regions), most of the *leeuwengroten* struck in Brabant with a 12♣ obverse, outer border do **not** have the word DEI in the reverse, outer legend. In fact, the word DEI is almost unknown on Brabançon *leeuwengroten*; only the 2 **cat. Type II** types, have the word DEI in the legend, no other Brabançon *leeuwengroot* does (despite what Ghysens says).

Ghyssens, who pointed out the problems in comparing the Flemish and Brabançon coins himself, became distracted by this word DEI, and published several grave errors regarding the Brabançon *leeuwengroot* outer legend (reverse) and border (obverse). Ghysens even went so far as to let his beliefs overwhelm his eyesight, and he erroneously substituted DEI for the correct DNI in a number of his legend transcriptions.

12♣ Border / Initial ✕

Another highly unusual combination seen on Brabantine *leeuwengroten* is a 12♣ border and an initial cross in the obverse legend (**cat. Type I-a**). In almost every case, coins with a 12♣ border have an eagle as an initial mark, not a cross. The only other reported 12♣ border / initial cross combination is a suspect coin from Holland, known only from a 19th century drawing, which may not even exist at all (see ref. 18, p. 16).

Double Colon (not triple) :

Almost all *leeuwengroten* (of every region) have triple-pellet stops in the reverse, outer legend, ∴, but 3 of the 5 known “BRVX / DVX” types have double-pellet stops (colons). These are almost the only such *leeuwengroten* known (from any region).

Concordance of the BRVXELL(EN) Types:

There are 7 types of MONETA BRVXELL(EN) *leeuwengroten* known. One of these was unknown to Ghyssens, the rest were improperly described by him. We do not actually know the correct, chronological order of the types. Only the relevant, distinguishing characteristics (and not the actual letter forms) are represented in the following table:

<u>Cat.</u>	<u>obverse</u>	<u>reverse inner</u>	<u>reverse outer</u>
I-a	BRVXELLE N	DVX BRABANTIE	BNDICTV : SIT etc.
I-b	BRVXELL N	DVX BRABANTIE	BNDICTV : SIT etc.
I-c	BRVXELL N	DVX BRABANTIE :	BNDICTV : SIT etc.
I-d	BRVXELLE E	DVX BRABANTIE :	BNDICTV : SIT etc.
I-e	BRVXELL	DVX BRABANTIE	BNDICTV : SIT etc.
II-a	BRVXELL	IOH DVX BRABAN	with DEI
II-b	* BRVXELL	IOH DVX BRABAN	with DEI

<u>Catalog</u>	<u>Ghyssens</u>	<u>plate</u>	<u>CdMB</u>	<u>de Witte</u>
I-a	II-B c	IV, 11	093.5	364
I-b	II-B a	IV, 9	092	361-362
I-c	II-B b	IV, 10	093	—
I-d	II-B d	IV, 12	096	— (362 nota re. variant)
I-e	—	—	Elsen 124-504	— (363? var.?)
II-a	II-A a	IV, 7	094	365
II-b	II-A b	IV, 8	095	— (365 var.)

CATALOG OF COINS

• TYPE I

MONETA BRVXELL[EN]
DVX BRA BAN TIE

• Type I-a

BRVXELLEN

CdMB 093.5 / 3.72 g.
de Witte (1886) pl. VII, n° 2
de Witte (1894) pl. XVI, n° 364
Ghyssens Type II-B c (p. 173)
Plate IV, n° 11 / 3.72 g. (CdMB 093.5)
Vanhoudt —

12 



*CdMB 093.5 / 3.72 g.
Photo: Alain Renard*

✠ MONET[TA] • BRVXELL[EN]
DVX BR[AN] BAN TIE
✠ B[EN]DICT[US] : SIT : NO[MI]NE : D[OM]I : N[OST]RI : I[ESU] : XPI

This is a unique and puzzling Brabant *leeuwengroot*. The combination of a 12♣ border and an initial cross is not seen in Flanders, nor anywhere else, except on a single coin of Holland known only from a suspect 19th century drawing and description ^[18].

The border leaves themselves are quite unusual and do not match any of the other BRVXELL(EN) coins. There are clearly double pellet stops instead of the normal triple pellets. It is difficult to tell, but the T of MONETA does not seem to be annuletted.

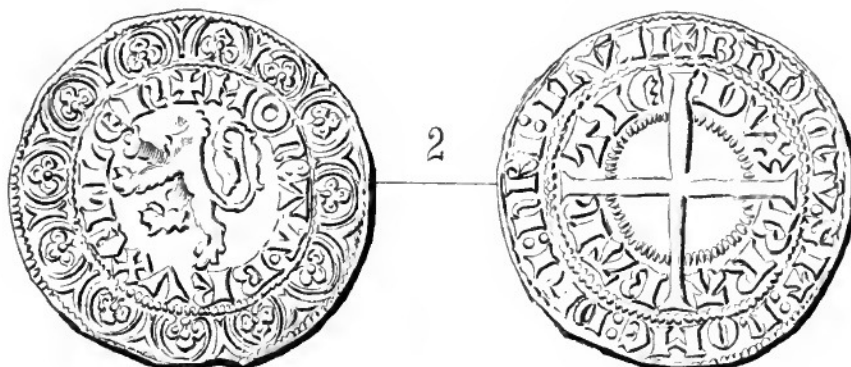
Since this is the only type of *leeuwengroot* with an initial cross struck in Brabant until the reign of Johanna (beginning 1355), we have no idea where to put in it the chronological order. It seems certain, however, that the subsequent coin must have had an initial eagle. Whether or not this type is the first type of *leeuwengroot* struck in Brabant is uncertain at this time. We have tentatively placed it first in line, based upon the initial cross, and the longest spelling of BRVXELLEN, which could have conceivably become shorter on the different types as time went on. The primitive (?) double pellets add weight to this theory.



CdMB 093.5 (detail)

De Witte (1886)

In 1886, Alphonse de Witte published his article *Variété de gros au lion forgée à Brussel*, in which he described the **cat. Type I-a** coin, which he illustrated thusly:



*De Witte (1886) plate VII, 2
the same specimen as coin CdMB 93.5
this drawing, however, is incorrect*

For his larger work on the coins of Brabant in 1894, de Witte's illustration had been idealized:



De Witte (1894) Plate XVI, 364

The single pellet after BNDICTV in the illustrations is an error, as is the lack of **A** crossbars, which are clearly present on the actual coin. According to de Witte, the coin was in the collection of B. de Jonghe.

Ghyssens (1974)
Type II-B c; pl. IV, 11
p. 173

sic:

✚ M**ON**ET**A** • BRVXELL**EN**
DVX BR**A** B**A** TI**E**
✚ BNDICTV : SIT : **DN**OM**E** : **DEI** : **DN**I : I**H**V : X**P**I

Contrary to what Ghyssens transcribes, **there is no DEI in the outer legend**. He has substituted DEI for the correct DNI. Furthermore, he has mistranscribed the double-pellet stop marks and the **A**'s.

• **Type I-b**

BRVXELLN (:)

v.d. Chijs (Braband) pl. IX, 25

Ghyssens II-B a (p. 173)

Plate IV, 9 (CdMB 092)

CdMB 092 / 3.784 g.

de Witte 361-362? 363?

Vanhoudt —

12♣



MPO 46-306

✠ **MONETA • BRVXELLN**

DVX BRÆ BÆN TIÆ

✠ **BŊDICTV : SIT : **ŊOMĒ** : DŊI : ŊŊI : IHV : XPĪ**

Note the double pellet stops instead of triple. The border leaves appear almost 5-lobed, but the two lower *axils* are in fact very small. Only 3 or 4 specimens are known.



CdMB 092 / 3.784 g.



Künker, Summer 2018, Lot 108 / 3.63 g.

De Witte (1894): n° 361



De Witte 361 ^[23]

✱ BNDICTV : SIT : NOMB : DNI : NRI : IHV : ✱PI

Ostensibly the same as the coins shown above, but according to de Witte, a different type of border leaf (as seen in the drawings). Note that the drawing shows triple pellet stops and pierced cross & X – is the drawing is inaccurate? We have never seen an example of this type of coin... or have we?

De Witte 361, 362, 363

De Witte made the unfortunate decision to use one reverse image for three different obverses, which is never a good idea.



361. Dans un entourage de 12 feuilles de trèfle, le lion brabançon. Au-dessus une petite aigle, tout autour la légende: **MONETA • BRV*ELLN**.

Rev. Croix longue et pattée, coupant la légende intérieure: **DV*BRABANTIE**. Lég. ext: **+ BNOICTV : SIT : NOME : NI : NRI : IHV : *PI**.

A. VAN DER CHIJS, pl. IX, n° 25.

Pl. XVI, n° 361.

362. Même pièce. Le lion dans un entourage de 12 feuilles d'ache. Le nom de l'atelier est écrit: **BRV*ELN** ou **BRV*ELLN**.

A. Pds. = 3.87.

Collection du vicomte B. de Jonghe.

DE COSTER, n° 235.

Pl. XVI, n° 362.

Il existe au cabinet de l'État une autre variété avec **BRV*ELLE**.

De Witte p. 123 ^[23]

The obverse transcription for n° 361 should read: **MONETA • BRVXELLN** (pellet instead of de Witte's annulet •), as shown in de Witte's own drawings.

The only difference between the types 361-362 seems to be the form of the of border leaves, and the variant spelling included under n° 362. (We ourselves have never seen a BRVXELN coin.) Neither the descriptions nor the illustrations show the correct • instead of the usual : in the reverse, outer legend.

Is de Witte's n° 361 based solely on v.d. Chijs' illustration and description, as the text seems to imply?



v.d. Chijs (Braband) pl. IX, 25 ^[2]
CdMB 092 ?

This is the only MONETA BRVXELL[EN] / DVX BRABANTIE type of coin reported by v.d. Chijs (in this case BRVXELLN), the drawing for which seems to have been made from coin CdMB 092. It therefore represents all of the BRVXELL[EN] coins, which we now classify as different [sub-] types. What did the border leaves on the model coin actually look like? How accurate is v.d. Chijs' drawing? Should de Witte have created an entirely new type based on the leaves in this drawing? Is there any actual difference between **dW 261** and **dW 262** at all, or are they the 'same' coin?

De Witte 363

363. Même pièce se différenciant de la précédente par les feuilles de la bordure et par la leçon: **BRV*ELL**.

A. Pds. = 3.80.

Collection du vicomte B. de Jonghe.

DE COSTER, n° 233.

Pl. XVI, n° 263.

de Witte p. 123 ^[23]

Many (most? all?) of the de Jonghe coins ended up in the CdMB collection, but there is no such coin as described by de Witte for his **363** to be found there.

According to de Witte, the coin weighed 3.80 g.; the only coins in the CdMB with similar weights are 093 (BRVXELLN, 3.875 g.) and 096 (BRVXELLE, 3.896 g., i.e. **de Witte 362 nota re. variant**).

This means that “dW 363” must be CdMB 093 (?), although the drawing resembles CdMB 092... (See also cat. Type I-e below.) Both of these, however, have BRVXELLN legends: we have never seen a BRVXELL / DVX coin.

Ghyssens (1974)

Type II-B a

Pl. IV, 9

(p. 173)

sic:

✠ **MONETA • BRVXELL**

DVX BRAT BATA TIE

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

Contrary to what Ghyssens reports, **there is no DEI in the outer legend**. Ghyssens has not transcribed the **N** after BRVXELL (obverse), nor the double pellet stops (reverse). Ghyssens’ double :: after NRI, and Roman **N** in NOME are errors. Ghyssens’ description of the Brussels specimen is incorrect; we have not seen the Paris specimen, and so we do not know if Ghyssens’ description matches it or not.

• Type I-c

BRVXELLN (:)

Ghyssens Type II-B b

Pl. IV, n° 10 (CdMB 093)

CdMB 093 / 3.875 g.

de Witte — (361-362 var.)

12♣



*CdMB 093 / 3.875 g.
Photo: Johan Van Heesch*

✠ **MONETA • BRVXELLN**

DVX BRABANTIE :

✠ **BNDICTV : SIT : DOME : DNI : DRI : IHV [: XP] I**

In most respects, this type seems the same as the previous type, except for the triple pellet stops instead of double. Note the triple pellet after BRABANTIE on the reverse. De Witte does not specifically list this type.

Ghyssens (1974)

Type II-B b

(p. 173)

sic:

✠ **MONETA** BRVXELL
DVX BRABANTIE
✠ BNDICTV : SIT : DOMI : DNI : DRI : IHV : XPI

Ghyssens' description is (once again) incorrect; there is a single pellet after MONETA and a triple pellet stop after BRABANTIE, both missing from Ghyssens' description.

• **Type I-d**

BRVXELLE

CdMB 096 / 3.90 g.
de Witte — (dW 362 nota re. variant)
Ghyssens (1974) Type II-B d
Plate IV, n° 12 (CdMB 096)



CdMB 096 / 3.896 g.

✠ **MONETA** ✠ BRVXELLE
DVX BRABANTIE :
[✠ BNDICTV : SIT : D]OMI : DNI : DRI : IHV : XPI] ?

This is another unique and puzzling Brabançon *leeuwengroot*, and once again, we have no certainty about where to put this type in the chronological order. (Our apologies for the poor photograph.)

The mark after MONETA is a small **x**, while the **T** is not annuletted, and appears as: **⚡**. The **X**'s have a unique form: **⚡**, and the annuletted **L** is unusual. The obverse border leaves are hard to see. The triple pellet stop after BRABANTIE is difficult to see, but it is there on the coin. De Witte does not describe this coin in detail, but mentions a BRVXELLE legend as a note to his **n° 362**.

Ghyssens (1974)
Type II-B d
(pp. 173-174)

sic:

⚡ MONETA * BRVXELL'G
DVX BRX BTK TIG
[+ BNDICTV : SIT : N]OMG[: DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI] ?

Once again, Ghyssens' transcriptions are inaccurate. He has omitted the triple pellet stop after BRABANTIE, and mistranscribed the Roman **M** of NOME on the reverse.

• Type I-e

BRVXELL

de Witte — (363 ?)
Ghyssens —
Vanhoudt —

12 **⚡**



Elsen 124-504 / 3.36 g.

• Type I-e (cont.)



Elsen 124-504 / 3.36 g.

✠ MONET~~A~~ * BRVXELL'
DVX BR~~A~~ B~~A~~Q TI~~E~~
■ [B]NDICTV : D~~NI~~ : D~~RI~~ : SIT : D~~OM~~E : [IHV] : XPĪ

This is yet another unique and puzzling Brabançon *leuwengroot*, of a type unknown to de Witte and Ghyssens. As far as we know, this type of coin has never been published before (other than the Elsen catalog, where its characteristics were not noted), and it is the only known example. It has many unusual features for a *gros au lion*, not the least of which being the unique order of the words in the reverse, outer legend (die sinker's error?) There are double pellets (colons) as stops instead of triple pellets, which might indicate that it comes before **cat. Type I-c** chronologically. The tail of the initial eagle is striking. The initial cross of the reverse, outer legend seems to be missing its horizontal 'arm'. The T of MONETA is annuletted. The possibility that this piece is a *deceptive imitation* cannot be ruled out.



obverse eagle



reverse cross

Is this **de Witte 363**? The obverse legend seems to match, but de Witte says nothing about a strange reverse, outer legend.

363. Même pièce se différenciant de la précédente par les feuilles de la bordure et par la leçon: **BRV*ELL**.

A. Pds. = 3.80.

DE COSTER, n° 233.

Collection du vicomte B. de Jonghe.

Pl. XVI, n° 263.

De Witte, p. 123 ^[23].

- **TYPE II**

**MONETA BRVXELL
IOH DVX BRA BAN**

Ghyssens (1974) Type II-A

12♣

From this point onwards, the coins are much more “in line” with the style of the Flemish coins, right down to the annulet **T** and chevron **A**’s, and the word **DEI** in the outer legend (the only 2 Brabant *leeuwengroten* with **DEI**). Are these coins **contemporaneous** with the earliest Flemish coins of May, 1337? Were the **BRVXELL(EN) / DVX BRABANTIE** listed above coins minted previous to the Flemish (i.e. between January and May, 1337)? Did the first response to the devaluation in France (January, 1337) occur in **Brabant**, not in Flanders? If not, when were the **DVX BRABANTIE** coins minted, and why do they not “match” the other types in Brabant and Flanders?

- **Type II-a**

MONETA BRVXELL

CdMB 094 / 4.06 g.

Ghyssens Type II-A a (pp. 172-173)

Plate IV, n° 7 (CdMB 094)

v.d. Chijs (Brabant) pl. XXXIII, 4

de Witte 365 variant

Vanhoudt G 262

12♣



CdMB 094 / 4.06 g.

• Type II-a (cont.)



CdMB 094 / 4.06 g.
Photo: Alain Renard

⚔ MONETA BRVXELL
IOH['] DVX BRVX B[']N[']
⚔ BN[']DICTV : SIT : NOMINE : DNI : R[']RI : DEI : IHV : XPI

Note the A's with chevron crossbars. Unlike the previous coins, most of the N's in the outer legend are Roman, The O of IOH is a mess, but appears to have been intended as round. The T of MONETA is annuletted. This is one of only two Brabant *leeuwengroot* types with the word DEI in the outer legend.

This is almost certainly the same piece illustrated by v.d. Chijs (from the de Coster collection):



v.d. Chijs (Brabant) pl. XXXIII, 4 ^[2]

De Witte (1894): n° 365



De Witte 365^[23] / Vanhoudt G 262^[20]

Does not show DEI; de Witte's drawing is flawed.

De Witte's illustration (which was reused by Vanhoudt), shows **IOh** instead of **IOH**. We have never seen a Brabant *leeuwengroot* with a long **O** in IOH. With the sole exception of the GANDEN-LOVAIN type, all of the *leeuwengroten* struck in Brabant follow the *First O round, second O long* rule. The illustration does not show the word DEI in the reverse, outer legend, which is clearly visible on the coin above (9:00). We are of the opinion that the drawing is inaccurate, and that de Witte was **not** illustrating some otherwise unknown sub-type.

365. Dans un entourage de 12 quintefeuilles à une tige, le lion braban-
 çon; au début de la légende, une petite aigle: **HONESTA BRVXELL**.
 Rev. Croix longue et pattée, coupant la légende intérieure: **IOH**-
OVX-BRA-BAN. Lég. ext.: **BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : ORI :**
IHV : XPI.
 A. Pds. = 4.08. *Cabinet de l'État belge.*
 VAN DER CHIES, pl. XXXIII, n° 4. *Pl. XVI, n° 365.*

de Witte, p. 124^[23]

Ghyssens (1974)
 Type II-A a
 Pl. IV, n° 7
 (pp. 172-173)

sic:

✠ MONETA BRVXELL
IOh DVX BRX BAN
✠ BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : ORI : [...]: IHV : XPI

Ghyssens' transcription is about as close as he ever gets to correct.

• **Type II-b**

MONETA * BRVXELL

CdMB 095 / 3.62 g.

de Witte — (365 var.)

Ghyssens (1974) Type II-A b (pp. 173)

Plate IV, n° 8

Vanhoudt —

12♣



CdMB 095 / 3.62 g

Photo: Alain Renard

✠ **MONET** * **BRVXELL**

IOH' DVX BR **B**

✠ **BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : [ORI] : DEI : IHV : XPI**

Basically the same as cat. Type II-a but with an x after MONETA. This type is not specifically listed by de Witte.

Ghyssens (1974)

Ghyssens II-A b

Plate IV, n° 8

(p. 173)

sic:

✠ **MONET** * **BRVXELL**
IOH DVX BR **B**
✠ **BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : ORI : DEI : IHV : XPI**

Ghyssens' transcription is again about as close as he ever gets to correct.

• Fractional (1/3 *gros*)

There are several types of Brabant fractional *gros* known with a rampant lion as a type, but only one reported with a Brussels legend.

de Witte 366

Vanhoudt G 265



Vanhoudt G 265 ^[20] / *de Witte 366* ^[23]

✠ **MONET** **BRVXELL**
IOH DVX BR **B**

We have yet to find an actual specimen of this type ourselves. Perhaps there is an example in the CdMB that we have thus far overlooked.

The similarity of the reverse to that of the 1/3 *gros* of Louis of Nevers in Flanders (and of William II in Hainaut) cannot be ignored:



*NBB N879 / 1.40 g.
1/3 gros of Flanders; Louis I (1322-1346)*



*Vanhoudt G 494
1/3 gros of Hainaut; William II (7 June 1337 – 26 September, 1345)*

Brabant First?

As discussed in our report on the *leeuwengroten* of Holland (ref. 18), it is possible that the very first *leeuwengroten* ever minted were struck in Brabant, not Flanders. We are still in the process of investigation this possibility, and “the jury is still out”, so to speak. For the time being we provide the reader with some of the relevant information on the subject.

Current thinking holds that the silver *leeuwengroot* (or *gros au lion*, *gros compaignon*) was first struck in Flanders c. late May or early June 1337 for Louis of Nevers (1322-1346), in response to the devaluation of the coinage in France in January that same year. Within a short time, these coins were being imitated in Namur and in Brabant, and possibly in Holland and Hainaut (and Cambrai?). Eventually, the coins were imitated in many other regions as well. But how much of this story can we actually prove? What are the actual facts?

In January 1337, Philip VI of France issued the silver *gros à la couronne*, which, in the simplest of terms, represented a devaluation of the silver money (the same occurred with the gold coins). In May of the same year, Louis of Nevers issued the *gros compaignon* Flanders, which also represented a devaluation of the silver money. The implication is that the devaluation in Flanders was a direct result of the devaluation in France, although it seems to have taken over 4 months for the change in Flanders to occur. Why the delay? Simply the machinations of the administration arrangements?

At some point, the *gros compaignon* was imitated in the regions around Flanders. The presumption (beginning with Ghyssens, 1974?) is that Brabant followed suit c. May 1337. None of the imitations (?) can be dated with much precision; Holland, Hainaut, Brabant, Cambrai (these seem to be the places that imitated the original, Flemish *compaignon* of 1337).

But in fact, there is no evidence that Flanders was the first to issue the *compaignon*. It has long been rumored that there was an agreement between Flanders and Brabant (and Namur? Hainaut? Holland?) in 1337 to mint the *compaignon*, although no actual document has ever been found. Is it possible that discussions were held as to the new coin's design, and that afterwards the mint(s) in Brabant simply went ahead with the striking of *compaignon*, before Flanders began, if only sporadically?

There is one document, an agreement between John III of Brabant and William IV of Holland (William II of Hainaut), in which the two noblemen declare their friendship and arrange for an economic union, including the striking of a common coin (Grolle II, p. 16: Doc. 6, dated April 6, 1337^[10]). According to Grolle, this is a *grand blanc ½ groot* not a *leeuwengroot*, but his mixed use of terms (including 'leeuwengroot') can be problematic (see ref. 18). The contents of this document are reproduced *verbatim* from Grolle on p. 39 below.

As mentioned in our report on the *leeuwengroten* of Holland (ref. 18), in his three-volume book on the coins of Holland (ref. 10), Grolle stated (or strongly implied) that Brabant had been the first to strike *leeuwengroten*.

According to Grolle:

1339 Eternal Union Agreement between John III of Brabant and Louis I of Flanders promising economic and military support and a common coinage.

1340 (25 March) Edward III of England joins the Eternal Union Agreement as “King of France”, including the common coinage.

(2 April) William [IV] of Holland – Hainaut [II] joins the Eternal Union Agreement.

(July) Assembly of Vilvoorde: Edward III of England/France, John III of Brabant, Jacob van Artevelde, William IV of Holland (II of Hainaut), Reinald II of Guelders, Dirk of Looz, *et al* confirm the Eternal Union Agreement, including the minting of the *gezel* (“*aloye's ou compaignons*”).

– Grolle I, p. 97^[10]

According to Grolle:

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

...their new convention coin became the *gezel* or *compagnon* (*nummus socius*, ‘common coin’) following this same Brabant type. On 23 March 1340, Edward III of England became part of this monetary union, and subsequently Reinald II of Guelders and his puppet John of Diest (Bishop of Utrecht) joined as well ³. In April 1340, William IV [of Holland] joined the union, although he had probably already been striking imitative *gezellen* in Hainaut and Holland.”

– Grolle I, p. 97 ^[10]

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

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

– Grolle I, p. 101 ^[10]

Grolle is incorrectly referring to the *grand blanc* of 1334-1337 as a *groot* here (it was a ½ *groot*).

As written, the text above seems to state that the Brabantine *leeuwengroot* (1337) is somehow an imitation of the Flemish *grand blanc* (1334-1337), and not an imitation of the Flemish *leeuwengroot* (1337). Either a subtle implication is being made that Brabant issued full *leeuwengroten* **before** Flanders did, or the Flemish *grand blanc* ½ *groot* and the full Flemish *leeuwengroot* have been completely muddled up by Grolle.

Perhaps Grolle meant to say something more along these lines:

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

or perhaps

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

In theory, it is possible that *leeuwengroten* were struck in Brabant before they were struck in Flanders, but no one but Grolle has ever said this – if that is indeed what he did say. If this

was indeed Grolle's intention, he does not back this idea up with any evidence or references. If *leeuwengrooten* were struck in Brabant before Flanders, then it can only have been the MONETA BRVXELL(EN) types.

– Ref. 18, pp. 92-93 ^[18]

In *Muntende ministerialen in Over-Sticht en Holland*, Grolle seems to also say that the *leeuwengroot* was first struck in Brabant (thus not in Flanders). According to Grolle (p. 34): the “groot with the lion” (*groot met de leeuw*) of *gros au lion* was introduced in May 1337 (**Vanhoudt G262**) [MONETA BRVXELL / IOH DVX BRABAN] by John III of Brabant at the same value as the Flemish ‘grant blanc’, with a silver content of 3.484 gram, struck since 1332 (**Vanhoudt G2584**) ^[11].

Grolle does not mention the “DVX / BRVX” coins (**cat. I**), and his “grand blanc” is in fact the so-called *vieux gros* (see ref. 19, p. 33), which was not likely to have been struck “since 1332”, so something is wrong with Grolle's ideas.

According to Grolle (p. 34): At the end of May 1337, Louis I of Flanders adopted this Brabant type, with a reduced fineness of 16% to 2.9075 gram, with a value of 1/18 of a French, golden *écu*. The Brabant type was also devalued in accordance, to the point that a lion was added to the obverse border ^[11].

Instead of the theory that the *leeuwengroot* was first issued in Flanders in May 1337, as a response to the French devaluation, Grolle is saying that the type was first issued in Brabant (also in May, 1337) as an answer to the Flemish *grand blanc* ½ *groot* that had already been circulating for 15 years (since 1332). Why would Brabant issue such a coin at that time (only to drastically reduce the fineness just a few weeks (?) later)? When were the Brabant coins that look like *grands & petits blancs* issued?

Why would the little border lion signify a reduction in Brabant to the new Flemish standard? Is Grolle trying to say that the border lion appeared in Brabant in 1337, but not until 1339 in Flanders? And that Flanders (once again) copied Brabant in adding the border lion?

On p. 34, Grolle says that the reverse bears a “single” (‘*enkel*’) cross to denote the fact that the coin was intended as a 3-*sterling* piece, and that the obverse type was, however, borrowed from the so-called *klaauwke*, the “*groot* without the name of the count”, with the rampant Flemish lion, struck in Ghent 1302-1305 (**Vanhoudt G2553**) ^[11]. This is not at all in line with Grolle's contention that the Flemish copied the Brabantine *leeuwengroot* type.

Grolle continues with: In December of 1339, the Brabant type was entered into the mutual defense / trade / minting agreement between the Flemish cities and Duke John III of Brabant, the *Eeuwigdurend verbond*. Minting of the *nummus* / *socius* / *gezel* / *compagnon* occurred in Ghent, Louvain and perhaps Brussels (**Vanhoudt G269, G291, G2582, G2589, G2590**) ^[11]. Grolle's use of the term “Brabant type” reiterates his claim (?) that the type is Brabançon in origin.

Vanhoudt ^[20]:

G 269 : MONETA † BRABAN / IO DVX LOT BRAB

G 291 : a different drawing of **G 2590** with GANDEN LOVAIN ‡

G 2582 : ♣ MONETA FLAND / LVDOVIC COMES (11 ♣ / 1 ♣)

G 2589 : MONETA FLAND / IO DVX BRABAN (a **counterfeit**)
(also Vanhoudt **G 292**)

G 2590 : a different drawing of **G 291** with GANDEN LOVAIN ✕
(which we have never seen)

Grolle does not mention the coin **de Witte 360**: MONETA † BRABAN / IO DVX LOT BRAB (similar to Vanhoudt **G 269**, but with a leaf after MONETA instead of the ‘Brabant mark’).

Grolle calls the coins of 1337 a *leeuwengroot*, that of 1339 a *gezel / socius / compagnon*, those of 1343 and 1346, *leeuwengroot* (p. 35) ^[10].

If, for the sake of argument, *leeuwengroten* were struck first in Brabant before Flanders, then it would seem likely that the *gros of Brussels*, i.e. the coins with some form of MONETA BRVXELL(EN) as an obverse legend, would have been the first coins struck, based mainly upon the appearance of the coins themselves (as well as their rarity today) (**cat. Type I**).

These earliest (?) Brabant *leeuwengroten* do not “match” the earliest (?) Flemish coins in style or execution. They do not give the impression that they are “imitations” of the Flemish coins, but rather that they are of their own “type” of coin, with little relation to the Flemish coins. They are very rare, which seems to indicate that they were never struck in any great quantities. This all gives rise to the idea that perhaps the Brabant *leeuwengroten* existed first, and were copied by the Flemish (or the type had been previously agreed upon by both parties), who needed a new type for the devalued *groot* that they wished to issue in place of the old *grand blanc ½ groot*.

Yet another source gives us the following:

“Ten tijde van hertog Jan III waren muntateliers actief in Antwerpen, Brussel, Leuven, Maastricht, Halen en waarschijnlijk ook in Dalhem. De muntpolitiek volgde duidelijk de wisselende coalities en samenwerkingsverbanden. Op 1 maart 1337 sloot de hertog een muntovereenkomst met Willem II, graaf van Henegouwen. Uit een aantal documenten blijkt dat er reeds voordien afspraken bestonden. De Brabantse hertog zou zelfs een tijdlang de muntslag in Henegouwen georganiseerd hebben.

Zodra de kansen gekeerd waren werden op 2 december 1339 afspraken gemaakt tussen de Vlaamse graaf Lodewijk van Nevers en de Brabantse hertog Jan III. In Gent en in Leuven werd eenzelfde Leeuwengroot geslagen waarop de namen van beide vorsten werd aangebracht. De overeenkomst hield ook een wederzijdse controle in. Vertegenwoordigers van Vlaanderen controleerden in Leuven en vertegenwoordigers van Brabant waren aanwezig in Gent.

Reeds in de 13de eeuw waren al een aantal schuchtere pogingen ondernomen om duidelijkheid te scheppen in het muntsysteem. De imitatie van de Engelse ‘sterling’ of van de Franse ‘gros’ kunnen in dit kader verklaard worden. Duidelijkheid was echter ver te zoeken in een periode dat er zo veel verschillende munttypes circuleerden zowel

binnenlandse als buitenlandse en waar de intrinsieke waarde van eenzelfde munttype sterk kon variëren van emissie tot emissie.

De overeenkomst tussen Vlaanderen en Brabant was echter van korte duur en in de loop van de veertiende eeuw groeide de Vlaamse en de Brabantse munt opnieuw uit elkaar door de verschillende devaluatiepolitiek die in beide vorstendommen werd gevoerd.”

– ***Muntateliers in Brabant***

Cauwenberghe & Verachten (ref. 1)
p. 3

“- Bronnenpublicaties beperken zich tot de uitgave van de muntordonnanties door Brants V., *Les ordonnances monétaires du XVIIe siècle*, Brussel, 1914 en COECKELBERGS A., *Ordonnances monétaires sous Philippe II de 1563 B 1598*, Brussel, 1984.

- Er kan natuurlijk ook verwezen worden naar ANSELMO A., et al., *Placcaeten ende ordonnantie van de hertoghen van Brabant, princen van dese Nederlanden*, Antwerpen, 1648. en naar de reeks *Recueil des ordonnances des Pays-Bas* waar allerhande ordonnantie aangaande monetaire aangelegenheden, privileges voor het personeel, ... gepubliceerd werden.”

– ref. 1, p. 17 ^[1]

All of this requires further investigation.

PREVIOUS LITERATURE

De Witte (1894) (ref. 23)

De Witte's *Histoire monétaire 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 above. Most of his illustrations have been “idealized”.

Some of de Witte's illustrations of BRVXELL(EN) coins show a pierced cross and X (XPI) in the reverse, outer legend. Such things are only found on the later MONETA BRABAN coins, however, and not on any of the BRVXELL(EN) coins that we have seen. We can only assume that de Witte erroneously included the pierced mark and letter based upon the other types of Brabant *leeuwengroten* (MONETA BRABAN types).

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...*. The second, Ghyssens (1983, Elsen), *Essai de classement chronologique des monnaies de Brabant...*, 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. The fourth paper, Ghyssens (1988), *Les premières émissions monétaires de Jeanne et Wenceslas*, deals specifically with the coinage of the rulers mentioned in the title ^[24].

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 seems to have 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 (!).

GHYSSENS 1974 (ref. 5)

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 poor legend transcriptions. Ghyssens' article is a valuable work on the subject, yet the article is fraught with problems. Both sets of photographs show the same specimen:



Ghyssens (1974) Brabant Coin Types:

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

Ghyssens (1974) Type II: “*Les gros au lion de Bruxelles*”

“Ces gros se répartissent en deux grandes séries, l’une avec légende IOh DVX BRABAN, l’autre avec DVX BRABANTIE, lesquelles connaissent chacune des variantes. En principe, les émissions de ce gros devraient être parallèles à celles du gros au châtel d'Anvers.

Le type de feuille qui forme la bordure des pièces de la première série nous autorise à présenter cette série comme étant effectivement la première. En effet, ce type de feuille est celui utilisé en Flandre pour la deuxième variante de la première émission.”

– Ghyssens (1974), p. 172

It would be interesting to know if the issues of *gros au châtel* of Antwerp do indeed parallel the issues of *leeuwengroten* in Brussels, as Ghyssens postulates in his first paragraph. Ghyssens’ second paragraph regarding the border leaves should be taken with a grain of salt.

GHYSENS 1983

In early 1983 Ghyssens made an attempt to construct a new chronology of the Brabantine coins from the period 1096-1406, based upon the existing literature and his own research. This chronology was published by the firm of Jean Elsen et ses fils in 1983 (Ghyssens 1983, Elsen), under the title *Essai de classement chronologique de monnaies brabançonnnes depuis Godefroid Ier (1096-1140) jusqu’à la duchesse Jeanne (1355-1406)*.

Two discussion evenings were organized by the CEN (Cercle d’études numismatiques), after which Ghyssens was asked to prepare a report on the subject. This report was published in the CEN bulletin under the same title as the previous article (Ghyssens BCEN 1983)^[24].

GHYSSENS 1983 (Elsen) (ref. 6)

In this article, Ghyssens states that the *gros compaignon* was struck “en mai 1337” at Brussels, citing de Witte 361-365 (p. 12, entry 5) ^[6]. On p. 13, entry 7 he states that the *gros compaignon* was struck “en décembre 1339” at unknown mints, citing **de Witte 359, 360, 380** and the Ghent, Seraing and Walfergem hoards ^[6].

GHYSSENS BCEN 1983 (ref. 7)

For the most part, Ghyssens 1983 BCEN article contains the same information as the Elsen article, correct or otherwise.

According to Ghyssens’ BCEN summary (p. 57) ^[7]:

“La première série est apparue vers Mai 1337 à l’atelier de Bruxelles (de W. 361-63). Elle est distinguée par une bordure de 12 feuilles et par la présence de mot DEI dans la invocation religieuse du revers. La seconde série émise à la suite du traité de décembre 1339 entre la Flandre et la Brabant, porte un petit lion en lieu et place de la première feuille de la bordure, et le mot DEI n’apparaît plus au revers (de W. 359-60).”

In other words, the first series of Brabançon *gros au lions*, or *compaignon*, struck at Brussels, began in May, 1337 [?] can be recognized by the obverse border of 12 leaves [correct], and by word DEI in the reverse, outer legend [**incorrect**].

The word DEI is all but unknown on the *leeuwengroten* of Brabant. While the comparison of the 12♣ borders is accurate, the word DEI is not a useful comparison point between Brabant and Flanders. De Witte neither describes nor shows any Brabant *leeuwengroten* with DEI in the reverse, outer legend at all (because his information and illustrations are incorrect). **Most of the Brabançon leeuwengroten with a 12♣ border do not have the word DEI in the reverse, outer legend. Only the IOH DVX coins have the word DEI on them (cat. II).**

Ghyssens goes on to say that the second series, from December 1339 onwards, can be recognized by the small lion in the outer border [correct] and the absence of the word DEI from the reverse, outer legend [**incorrect**].

DE MEY (ref. 3)

With all due respect, the serious researcher has no use for De Mey’s attempted cataloging of the Brabant *leeuwengroten* whatsoever. It is not even worth the time or effort necessary to describe its contents here.

VANHOUDT (ref. 20)

Vanhoudt's book is generally useful as a "quick-reference guide", but not a single one of the 7 known types of BRVXELL(EN) *leeuwengroot* is actually listed or illustrated (!). Vanhoudt's book contains some serious errors regarding the various *leeuwengroten* that are pictured, for example, this horrifying entry:



~~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:



Vanhoudt-G 269 ^[20]
(*de Witte 359* ^[23])

This is the unusual type with an obverse border of 12♣ / 1♁.

For his item **G 262**, the BRVXELL / IOH type(s), Vanhoudt used de Witte's faulty drawing that does not show the word DEI as it should (**dW 365**).

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LITERATURE

[1]

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

Eddy van Cauwenbergh & L. Verachten,

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Alphonse De Witte

Veuve de Backer, 1894

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2016 - 2018

APPENDIX A: Medieval Documents

44. Overeenkomst tussen Vlaanderen en Brabant tot het slaan van een conventiemunt

From:

A. VERKOOREN, *Inventaire des chartes et cartulaires des duchés de Brabant et de Limbourget des Pays d'Outre-Meuse*, tome II (ref. 21).

Bruxelles, 1911, nr. 621 bis, p. 71

3 december 1339.

Art. V. Item, hebben wy gheordonneert, omme die Coopmanschepe ende neeringe te houden binnen de voorsz. twee landen, dat men ordoneren ende slaen sal eene gemeene munte goet ende weerdich, die haeren loop hebben sal in beyde de landen, voorsz. De welcke sal blyven staende in een point sonder verwandelen t'eeuwelycken daghe, ofte het ne waere by gemeene; consente ende overeendraghen van beede de Princen, ende van beede de gheheele landen boven gheseyt. Ende daer toe salmen nemen ende kiezen twee personen van elcks Heeren weghe voorseyt, ende eenen persoon uyt elck van de drye goede steden van Brabant voornoemt, dats te wetene Leuvene, Bruessel ende Antwerpen. Ende van Vlaenderen, dats te weten, Ghendt, Brugghe en Ypre, die waerdyne daer af wesen sullen, dat te wetene die Waerdeyne uyt Brabant ghecoren, die Vlaemsche Munte tei waerderene, ende die Waerdeyne uyt Vlaenderen ghecoren, die Brabantsche Munte te waerderene, de welcke Waerdeyne uyr: Brabant commen sullen in de Stede van Ghendt, ende die Waerdeyne uyt Vlaenderen sullen commen in de Stede van Leuvene, t'elcken drye maenden oft corter, by alsoo dat hen orboor ende profijt dunct, t'eewelijcke daghe gheduerende. Ende sullen haer assaye doen loyalyk ende in goeder trouwe, ende op den eedt, die zy daer af doen sullen, tallen tyden dat mense vermaken of verniewen sal. daerby is te wetene, dat 'alle andere munte, sonder dese, die loop hebben sullen binnen de voorsz. twee landenr gepryst ende gewardeert sullen wesen naer haere rechte weerde ende pryse van der ghemeener munte voornoemt'.

From:

J.J. GROLLE, *De Muntslag van de Graven van Holland tot de Bourgondische Unificatie in 1434* (ref. 10, vol. II).

Grolle II, p 16

Document 6

**“6 Concept-overeenkomst tussen Willem III van Holland en Jan III van Brabant
6 april 1337, inzake invoering van een gemeenschappelijk zilverstuk, de zgn. petit blanc
ter waarde van een halve groot. ***

[RA Lille, B 1583 f01302V-303r; Gérard 161-64, Van Mieris II 575 (met foute datum 9 jan 1336); Van der Chijs (1858) 165-166 (met foute datum); Chalon (1848) 1186; Prevenier en Smit nr 60)

Nous Guillaumes, cuens de Haynnau, de Hollande & sire de Frize, & nous Jehans, par le grace de Dieu dux de Lothier, de Brabant et de Lembourg, faisons savoir à tous, que nous rewardant ¹ au commun proffit de notre pays pour ce que toutes marchandises puissent plus prouffitablement aler et venir de l'un des pays à l'autre et que tout marchant et autres gent puissent et sachent leur danrées vendre et achater à une monnoye en nos dits pays, par grant conseil et par grant deliberation, que nous avons sour chou eu, maïement ² par l'assent et l'accort des nobles et des bonnes villes de nos pays, nous sommes an doy ³ assenty, et accordé ensan[b]le, assentons et accordons à faire une certaine monnoye ensan[b]le, la quelle doit estre et sera tout d'un poix, d'une loy, et d'une enseigne.

C'est tl savoir que li diae monoye doibt iestre blanc denier d'argent de dix soá et quatre deniers de compte à marc de Troyes et a neuf deniers d'argent le roy ⁴ et courroit cil blanc denier par tous nos pays les deux pour un gros.

Et vaurra cascuns blancs deniers ens es pays de Haynnau, de Hollande & de Zeelande wit ⁵ deniers tournoys et en pays de Brabant douze deniers de Brabant cascuns et ferons cascuns faire no monnoye en cascun pays là u bon nous semblera pour le proufit de nous & de nos pays. Et voulons & à ce nous accordons, que tous li conquens, li profis et li avantaiges, qui venre, sera, istera et naistra desdiaes monnoyes tant de l'un pays comme de l'autre soit rapportez par compte loyalement & quil soit party a chacun de nous autant à l'un comme à lautre.

Et voulons aussy que chacun de nous sil nous plaist puist envoyer & establir une warde 6 en le monnoye de lautre, toutes fois quil plaira cascun de nous, laquelle y sera aveque la warde 6 que cascuns de nous ara tl sa monnoye. Laquelle monnoye dessus dicte, nous voulons que elle soit bien et souffisamment gardé et maintenue dou piet et dou cours dessus dicte par maniere, que nous le puissiens hauchier et amenrir ⁷ toutes fois quil nous plairoit, si nous y voyons le proffit ou le dommaige de nos pays, saulf ce que nous ne devons ne poons le dit piet de la dicte monnoye cangier, ny muer, se nous le faisons de no accort ensemble et volons ossi, que ciluys accors et celle monnoye tl faire, ensemble dure dou jour de la date de ces lettres le cours de trois ans continuels ensinans apres.

Et que tout li menant et habitant en nos dessusdis pays prengnent et aliuwent la dite monnoie ou cours devant dia sans nul contredia.

Et promectons loyalment & en bonne foy et avons encouvent pour nous, pour nos hoirs et pour nos successeurs toutes les coses dessusdiaes tl tenir, garder et accomplir sans nul aller encontre.

En tesmoingnage desquels choses nous en avons ces presentes lettres sceUées de nos propres sealz.

Données le jour dou repus dymence ⁸, l'an MCCCVI.

* Afchrift; opgesteld naar aanleiding van een vriendschapsverdrag tussen Jan III van Brabant, Lodewijk I van Vlaanderen en Willem III van Holland-Henegouwen tijdens de dagvaart te Dendermonde van 1-6 april 1337. Waarschijnlijk is deze overeenkomst concept gebleven en later vervangen door de muntconventie van het zgn. Eeuwigdurend verbond van 1339; zie br 3 dec 1339. Mogelijk heeft Jan III van Brabant naar aanleiding van deze dagvaart te Dendermonde in mei 1337 de Brabantse leeuwengroot ingevoerd op Vlaamse muntvoet (3.484 grf, hetgeen een revaluatie inhield met 0,647 grf; zie noot 4), waarop Lodewijk I op 25 mei voor Vlaanderen het zelfde type invoerde doch devalueerde tot een zilverinhoud van 2,9075 grf of 3,04 gr AGR.

1 Regardant: lettende op.

2 Moyennant: op voorwaarde.

3 Ensemble: gezamenlijk.

4 1 mark Troois = 244,7528 gr.; het gewicht is derhalve $244,7528 : 124 = 1,9738$ gr. Het gehalte is 9 penning AGR = $9/12$ à $0,9583 = 0,7187$.

Het fijngewicht is $1,9738 \times 0,7187 = 1.4186$ grf. De koers van de 1/2 groot (petit blanc denier) wordt gesteld op 8 d tournois (4 d Holl) of 12 d Brab. De zilverinhoud van de Hollandse penning is $1,4186 \text{ grf} : 4 = 0,35465 \text{ grf}$ [cat 15.2.1]; die van de Brabantse penning (de mijt) is $1,4186 \text{ grf} : 12 = 0.118 \text{ grf}$. De hele (Brabantse) groot zou derhalve bevatten $2 \times 1.4186 \text{ grf} = 2,837 \text{ grf}$. De daarop ingevoerde Brabantse leeuwengroot revalueerde waarschijnlijk echter met 22,8% tot 3.484 grf; zie noot *.

5 Huit: acht.

6 Garde: waardijn.

7 Amoindrir: verminderen.

8 Plaats van uitvaardiging is niet vermeld doch moet wel Dendermonde zijn.”