

The *Leeuwengroten* of the County of Namur: A Preliminary Overview (Revised Version)

by Paul A. Torongo with Raymond van Oosterhout
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Leeuwengroot of William I of Namur (1337-1391)
Elsen 108-975 / 3.44 g.

The *leeuwengroot* (*gros au lion*, *gros compagnon*) was a (nominally) silver coin, struck in the 14th century in Western Europe, in particular, in the Low Countries. The type was first minted in Flanders (or perhaps in Brabant) in 1337, in response to the devaluation of silver coins in France earlier that same year. It was quickly imitated in the regions around Flanders, sometimes as a “coin of convention” mandated by agreements between these regions.

The earliest *leeuwengroten* of 1337 were minted in Flanders and Brabant, and probably in Holland as well. Namur was also one of the realms that seem to have been minting *leeuwengroten* from the very beginning (1337).



leeuwengroot of Flanders
Louis of Nevers (1322-1346)
Elsen 132-523 / 3.46 g.
shown actual size

Most of the early to mid-14th century coins from Namur seem to be imitations of the coins of the neighboring regions (Flanders, Brabant, Hainaut, etc.). *Leeuwengroten* were struck in the County of Namur at several mints and there are a number of different varieties, all but 2 of which were struck under count William I “the Rich” (1337-1391), whose long reign spans almost the entire period of *leeuwengroot* minting in Flanders (and Brabant).

One Namur type was struck by count Philip (12 March, 1336 – September, 1337). Another type was struck as a coin of convention between William I of Namur, Adolf of the Marck, prince Bishop of Liège, and John the Blind, King of Bohemia & Luxembourg (who also struck his own *leeuwengroten* (see our report on the Luxembourg *leeuwengroten*, to be published).

When we say that “there are a number of different varieties” of Namur *leeuwengroot*, we mean that there are **many** different varieties (as many as 16). There are also a large number of varieties of fractional *leeuwengroot* coins that were struck in Namur (also about 16 of them). This is more *leeuwengroot* types and sub-types (and fractionals) than most other regions have to offer us.

The coins themselves, however, are quite rare, and there are only a very few examples available for study. Many of the known (sub-) types are known from single specimens only. Even worse, several of them are “known” only from 19th century drawings, which is never the optimal situation for modern numismatic researchers.

If any readers have any specimens, or photographs of specimens of Namur *leeuwengroten*, please contact us and send us photos.

Edward III of England and Philip VI of France

Most of the “imitation” *leeuwengroten* minted (i.e. not Flemish) were struck by princes who could either be considered to have been “allies” of Edward III of England, or at least, not considered to have been his enemies (for the most part); the rulers of Brabant, Holland, Hainaut, Guelders, Horne, Brittany (John of Montfort), Bergerac and of course, Edward’s own Aquitaine *gros au lion*. Flanders was, in principle, allied to Philip VI of France, but in practice it was only the count (Louis of Nevers) who sided with Philip; the powerful cities were far more inclined to back Edward, their main supplier of wool for the cloth industry.

Namur and Luxembourg are the two places that stand out as having sided with Philip VI in the Hundred Years War, and yet struck *leeuwengroten* in quantities great enough so that a number of the coins survive today (with several sub-types). In fact, William I of Namur and John the Blind of Luxembourg were on the field at Crécy (August 26, 1346), fighting with Philip’s forces against those of Edward. The third person named on the “coin of convention” *leeuwengroot* mentioned above (**cat. XII**), Adolf of the Marck, was also at Crécy, but he left the field before the battle began. John the Blind died in the fighting, along with Louis of Nevers, count of Flanders.

John the Blind was a staunch supporter of the French crown, and William I of Namur was a supporter of John the Blind. Without the influence of Luxembourg upon Namur, things may have been different. It appears, however, that despite any kind of political considerations that may have come up, Namur and Luxembourg both struck *leeuwengroten* as early as 1337.

Previous Literature

The Namur *leeuwengroten* have never been properly described or cataloged. To date, the best reference work on the subject remains Chalon's *Recherches sur les Monnaies des Comtes de Namur* (ref. 5) despite its various errors and omissions, and despite the fact that a number of subsequent articles on specific mints (e.g. Bouvignes) have been published. We have thus far found 17 different types and sub-types of Namur *leeuwengroot*, which is 9 more than Chalon listed. (Chalon was, of course, not specifically concerned with the finer details of the Namur *gros au lion*, and some types or sub-types only came to light long after Chalon's works were published.)

Several of Chalon's drawings do not match the comparable coin examples known to us, which begs the question: **are Chalon's drawings inaccurate, or do they portray otherwise unknown (sub-) types?** Bear in mind that in these cases, the known variants are not described by Chalon. In some (but not all) instances, we can determine with reasonable probability that the drawings are inaccurate.

Types and Sub-Types of Namur Leeuwengroten

Technically speaking, the *leeuwengroot* (*gros au lion*) is the **type**, and every different sort from every region is a **sub-type**. For the sake of convenience, however, we prefer to skip this "first tier", and refer to the main "sub-types" as "types". For example: in Flanders, we refer to the "type" with a 12♣ border (and initial eagle in the obverse legend), another "type" with a 11♣ / 1🦁 border (initial eagle), and yet another "type" with a 11♣ / 1🦁 border and an initial cross instead of an eagle. Under all of these "types" can be found several "sub-types", with variances in specific details, such as the forms of the letters used (**N** or **Ń** etc.).

Almost all numismatists separate coins firstly along the lines of issuing noble, which is obviously the first step towards placing the coins in chronological order (the desired catalog order). In practice, however, determining the correct chronology is often impossible. Our usual method is to group the "sub-types" together based on certain criteria (e.g. the obverse or reverse inner legends), and hope that this works out to the proper, chronological order. In most cases, this policy seems to have been reasonably successful (for as far as we can tell).

For the Namur *leeuwengroten*, one of the first distinctions that appears is that there are two "sets" of coins: **those with the name of the count and those without** (reverse, inner legend). Dividing the coins along these lines can only result in the correct chronological order if the two sorts were minted **one after the other** at all mints. If different sorts (with and without the count's name) were minted **at the same time** at different mints, (or for that matter, at the same mint), this method of cataloging might fail to show the correct, chronological order. (Bearing in mind that for any given medieval coin type, it might simply not be possible to determine the proper chronological order of the issues at all.)

Our final decision was to first divide the Namur coins according to the following criteria (and in this order):

- issuing ruler (Philip / William I / William I, John, Adolf)
- obverse border (12♣ border followed by 11♣ / 1🦁)
- William's name in reverse legend (present followed by absent)
- mint place
- obverse legend variations

We must inform the reader that we are not certain about why the usage of **N** or **Ń** in the outer legend is different on the Namur coins (compared to other regions). In most regions (e.g. Flanders), some **N**'s appeared in the outer legend that were eventually replaced with **Ń**'s, but this does not seem to have been the case in Namur (especially at Bouvignes).

We are of the opinion that certain changes in the characteristics of the coins are “more important” than others. The change from a 12♣ border to an 11♣ / 1♣ border, for example, is fairly significant compared to the used of **N** / **Ń** in the outer legend. Thus, we presume that the 12♣ Namur coins are older than the 11♣ / 1♣ coins, as they are in Flanders, Brabant (and everywhere else), and that the continued use of **N** in Namur is anomalous (when compared to the coins of Flanders *et al*, where the **N**'s disappeared from the outer legend during the 12♣ border phase).

Types of Namur *Leeuwengroten*

The types of Namur *leeuwengroot* with which we are currently familiar as are follows:

<u>cat.</u>	<u>Chalon</u>	<u>Vanhoudt</u>	<u>R. Serrure</u>	<u>Obverse</u>
I	—	G 2201	—	NAMVRE
II	105	G 2215	48	NAMVRC
III	152	G 2259	51	VETVIL
IV	156	G 2266	50	BOVINES
V	—	—	—	MERAVD (CdMB 043)
VI	162	G 2276	52	EMERAD (CdMB 049)
VII	—	G 2260	—	VVILLE
VIII	—	—	—	BVUINC (Suhle 66)
IX	106	G 2216	47	NAMVR
X	159	G 2272	49	NVVILN
XI	159 var.	—	—	NVVILE
XII	171	G 1464 / G 2286	53	NRA NAMVR (convention)
{XIII	—	G 1434	54	MERAVD (John the Blind)}

Note that most of the reference numbers only “represent” the coins listed in the current catalog, which is to say that previous descriptions and illustrations may not always be completely correct.

The Luxemburg / Méraude *leeuwengroten* (of John the Blind) are covered by Weiller (ref. 29), who did a fairly good job of cataloging the various sub-types. (see ref. 25).

Hainaut

Anonymous coins similar to the Namur series (BVUINC, NAMVR, NVVILN, NVVILE) were struck in Hainaut (MONETA VALENC), for which there are no known parallel Holland *leeuwengroten*. The earlier MONETA HANONIE *leeuwengroten* bear the name of the count, but the later VALENC coins do not.

At this point in time, we are uncertain about the correct dating of the Hainaut types, but it is possible that the VALENC coins were struck from about 1340 (i.e. c. December, 1339 – October, 1341 ?).

Were the “sets” of Namur and Hainaut in any way related to one another? Were they contemporaneous with one another? Is it possible to date the Namur coins by a comparison to the Hainaut coins? (We should also note that we currently have no idea why the anonymous coins, which are slightly unusual, were struck at all.) Chalon gives the distinct impression that the coins of Namur and Hainaut were in some way connected, or in any case, that the Namur coins often imitated those of Hainaut (and other places).

There are far too few Namur *leeuwengroten* available to us for study to be able to determine what happened to the coins in Namur when the coins in Hainaut (and Holland, Brabant *et al*) suffered from an “**enfeblement**” at the end of the minting periods for both the HANONIE and VALENC coins (this phenomenon is discussed in detail in our reports on the Hainaut *leeuwengroten* (ref. 27) and on the Malines Hoard (1847, ref. 26), to be published). However, a perusal of Chalon’s book gives the impression that in Namur, minting of given types simply ended without any “enfeblement” (which is to say that Chalon does not list numerous “*cuivre saucé*” coins under Namur, as he does in his Hainaut catalog).

We have seen no examples of ‘poor’ Namur *leeuwengroten*, such as are found among the HANONIE and VALENC(N) series of Hainaut coins and the HOLLANDIE Holland coins (but then again, most of the Namur coins are known from single specimens). We have seen no examples of medieval Namur, *leeuwengroot* counterfeits, other than the infamous MONETA FLAND / GVILELM COMES counterfeit (CdMB 062, 3.83 g.), which is pretending to be a “coin of convention” between Flanders and either Namur, Hainaut or Holland.

Viesville / Neuve-Ville-lez-Namur

Namur *leeuwengroten* were minted with VETVIL and VVILLE legends, and later with NVVILN and NVVILE legends. Where were they minted? According to Chalon:

Neuveville:

Il existe quelques monnaies des comtes de Namur avec la légende : MONETA DE NOVA VILLA OU NOVE VILLE, abrégée de diverses manières, d'autres avec MONETA VILLE OU VILLENSIS. En écartant ces dernières, qui peuvent être attribuées à Vieuville, toujours restait-il à trouver une localité du nom de Neuveville ou Neuville où les comtes de Namur auraient battu monnaie. M. Ch. Piot a judicieusement établi que cette localité n'était autre que la partie nouvelle de la ville de Namur, incorporée, dans la quatrième enceinte, au quatorzième siècle, et qui conserva sa juridiction et ses magistrats particuliers jusqu'à l'invasion française. Dans la basse Neuveville se trouvait une maison nommée la *Vieille Monnaie*, que Jacques du Pont prit à rente en 1428¹. C'est évidemment dans cette maison que les comtes de Namur avaient établi l'atelier de Neuveville.

Cette proximité de deux ateliers monétaires ne doit pas étonner ceux qui

¹ *Revue de la numismatique belge*, t. III, 2^{me} série, p. 310.

sont quelque peu familiarisés avec les institutions du moyen âge, et elle doit moins étonner à Namur que partout ailleurs, puisqu'elle se rencontre également dans la plupart des villes voisines situées sur les bords de la Meuse : Maestricht et Vroenhof, Liège et Avroye, Hui et Statte.

Dans un *Répertoire aux rentes du grand hôpital de Namur*, manuscrit du quinzième siècle reposant aux archives de l'État, à Namur, on trouve le passage suivant, folio 80 verso : « Outremouze.... maison séant sur Mousse, » *encontre le monoie*. » Outre-Meuse doit s'entendre de Jambe, commune séparée de Namur par la Meuse et qui appartenait, par indivis, au comte de Namur et à l'évêque de Liège, sous la souveraineté du comte. On aurait tort d'en conclure qu'il existait un atelier monétaire à Jambe. Le mot *encontre*, qui ordinairement veut dire *auprès*, doit se traduire ici par : *en face, vis-à-vis*; et, en effet, la monnaie de Neuveville se trouvait sur la rive gauche de la Meuse, en face d'une partie de la commune de Jambe.

Chalon, pp. 9-10

ATELIER DE LA NEUEVILLE LEZ-NAMUR.

N° 159. Lion. Bordure des gros tournois de onze feuilles (de vigne?) et d'un petit lion.

Au-dessus du lion une petite aigle : MONETA ꝛ NVVILN.

— Croix pattée coupant la légende intérieure : NXM | OVR | G · GO | MES. Légende extérieure : ꝛ BNDICTV : SIT : NOMES : ONI : NRI : IHV : XPI.

A. 3.40.

Même collection.

Variété avec : NVVILE.

Collection de la Société archéol. de Namur.

Chalon, p. 87

Viesville:

Le château de Viesville ou Vieuville existait, dit Gramaye, avant l'invasion des Normands. Cette assertion aurait besoin de preuves. La plus ancienne mention authentique que nous connaissons de cette localité date de 1161 : c'est la donation que fait Henri l'Aveugle de la cure de Vieuville à l'abbaye de Floreffe.

Le château de Vieuville fut ruiné et détruit par les Liégeois, en 1431 ⁴.

¹ Acta SS., t. II, p. 198.

² Lacomblet, *Urkundenbuch*, I, p. 308.

³ *Cumque placuisset dominis qui praeerant loco, scilicet Henrico episcopo et comiti Alberto Namucensi*, dit une charte de 1080, à propos de la construction du pont de Dinant. (Miræus, t. I, p. 267.)

⁴ Il existe encore quelques ruines du château de Viesville sur le sommet d'un monticule, dans la commune de ce nom, aujourd'hui province de Hainaut, arrondissement de Charleroi.

Les comtes de Namur avaient, à Vieuville, un atelier monétaire assez actif pendant le quatorzième siècle.

Dans le compte du domaine de 1355-1356, il est fait recette d'une somme de 36 sols pour le loyer d'une partie de *le maison de le monnoie monseigneur à Viesville*. Ce qui ferait croire que, à partir de cette date, l'importance de l'atelier de Vieuville avait diminué, puisqu'on pouvait donner à une partie des bâtiments une autre destination.

Chalon, pp. 8-9

ATELIER DE VIESVILLE.

Les pièces portant : *moneta Vilecs*, *moneta nova Villensis*, *moneta Villensis*, *moneta Villsis*, pourraient également être attribuées à l'atelier de la Neuve-Ville-lez-Namur. Mais comme aucune monnaie de Jean I^{er} ne porte positivement l'indication de cette localité, tandis que sa monnaie de convention avec Louis de Crécy prouve à l'évidence que l'atelier de Viesville fonctionnait sous son règne, nous avons préféré classer toutes les monnaies de *Ville* dans une seule catégorie.

N° 82. Château à trois tours, ou portail brabançon. Bordure des gros tournois de douze fleurs de lis : IOH²S : EO²S : NTOR.

— Croix pattée au centre. Légende intérieure : ✠ DONE² : VILECS. — Légende extérieure : (*Surfrappée*) SIT NOMEN DOM. NRI BENEDICTVM.

Collection de M. le comte de Robiano.


A. 5.80.


Chalon, p. 62


Dating the Namur *leeuwengroten*

Minting of *leeuwengroten* in Flanders (and elsewhere) began and ended (over and over) because of various external factors, usually having something to do with the price of silver (and its relationship to the price of gold) as set by the king of France, or by other prevailing economic factors (such as a shortage of bullion for the mints to coin) and/or socio-political factors (war, social unrest or revolt, the death of a prince, etc. etc.).

Numismatists have been reasonably successful in dating *leeuwengroten* (of any region) to three periods: from 1337-1340, from 1340-1346, and from 1346-1364. There has, however, been far less success with dating the coins to any more specific periods within these date ranges (other than the issues I-VIII in Flanders under Louis of Male, 1346-1364). For the past few years, we have been working on our own theory of a “*leeuwengroot* timeline”, but absolutely evidence is lacking, and much of the theory remains unproven, and possibly not provable (at this time). Nevertheless, at the current time, we feel that production of the *leeuwengroten* went something like this:

In early 1337, Philip VI of France changed the silver price and debased his silver coinage, with the issue of the *gros à la couronne*. This caused the minting of the Flemish *grand blanc* ½ *groot* to end and minting of the first *leeuwengroten* (12♣ border, initial ) to begin (Flanders, Brabant); imitation of the type in other regions soon followed. Minting of these *leeuwengroten* ended around October, 1338, because of an increase in the price of silver.

Minting of the *leeuwengroot* began anew (in Brabant only) after the December 1339 signing of the agreement between Flanders and Brabant that resulted in the 11♣ / 1🦉 border, initial  GANDEN LOVAIN coins. This round was short-lived, however, and ended c. February, 1341 because of an increase in the price of silver. Imitations, if there were any, are difficult to identify.

Minting of the *leeuwengroot* began once more (in Flanders) in early 1341 (11♣ / 1🦉 border, initial ). Minting also started in Brabant (and other regions). Minting ended because of a coin reform in France (October, 1343). There may also have been a shortage of silver at this time; in any case, there seems to have been wave of either poor coins produced at some mints, or of counterfeit coins in “argented” copper (Hainaut, Holland, Brabant etc.). This is the aforementioned “enfeeblement”, which is not to be confused with an official debasement of the coinage for the financial gain of the ruling prince.

Minting of *leeuwengroten* restarted in Flanders in late 1345 or early 1346 (January), again with an 11♣ / 1🦉 border, but now with an initial cross instead of an eagle. Imitations in (many) other regions quickly followed.

As far as we can tell, minting of *leeuwengroten* in Namur ceased c. October, 1343, as it did in Flanders, Brabant, Hainaut and Holland. From about 1344 to mid 1345 or early 1346, no more *leeuwengroten* were minted anywhere (?). It appears that Namur did not participate in the renewed minting of *leeuwengroten* c. January, 1346.

Apparently, all of the Namur *leeuwengroten* date from before November, 1343.

Méraude

Méraude, also known as Poilvache, is a rather unusual case. “Ownership” (such as it was in the Middle Ages) passed back and forth between various princes of Namur and Luxembourg. During the period relevant to the *leeuwengroot*, Méraude was in the hands of John the Blind, count of Luxembourg (and king of Bohemia).

That is, until 10 April, 1342, when John the Blind sold Méraude to Marie of Artois (the mother of William I of Namur). This arrangement involved Méraude returning to John’s possession for a period of time (13 July, 1343 - 14 August, 1344), after which it reverted back to Marie of Artois again (*Dame de Poilvache*).

Presumably then, all of the John the Blind MERAUD *leeuwengroten* (12♣ border) were struck before 1340 (end of the 12♣ border in Flanders and Brabant), and all of the William I Méraude *leeuwengroten* (11♣ / 1♣ border) were struck April, 1342 - 13 July, 1343 (When Méraude was “in Namur”). No *leeuwengroten* would have been struck for William I after c. 14 August, 1344 (return of Méraude to Namur once more), because minting of the type had ceased in the Low Countries c. October, 1343 (restarting January, 1346, with the introduction of the initial ✚ in Flanders et al.).

Minting of the Méraude *leeuwengroten*, then, would have occurred at some point during the periods:

John The Blind	June 1337 - October, 1338
William I	April, 1342 - 13 July, 1343

The only other “matching” coin is the VVILLE type of Viesville (**cat. VII**), presumably also struck 1342-1343. (By “matching” we mean with an 11♣ / 1♣ border and showing the name of William, like the Méraude coins.) Note that the presence or absence of the word DEI in the outer legend is not relevant, as one type of Méraude coin has the word and the other does not, but they both have an 11♣ / 1♣ border. (More on this later.)

May 1337 – 10 April, 1342	Méraude in Luxembourg (John the Blind MERAUD coins)
10 April, 1342 – 13 July, 1343	Méraude in Namur (William I Méraude coins)
13 July, 1343 – 14 August, 1344	Méraude in Luxembourg (no <i>leeuwengroten</i> minted)
14 August, 1344 –	Méraude in Namur (no <i>leeuwengroten</i> minted)



Luxemburg (Méraude) leeuwengroot of John the Blind
CdMB 125 / 3.66 g.

Tentative Timeline of the Namur *Leeuwengroten*

I.

c. 1 June, 1337 - 8 October, 1337

NAMVRE with 12♣ border (Philip)

II. - IV.

c. September, 1337 - c. 7 November, 1338

NAMVRC / VETVIL / BOVINES with 12♣ border (William)

{XIII.

c. June 1337 - October, 1338

MERAVD with 12♣ border (John the Blind / Lux.)}

XII.

1338 ?

NRA NAMVR SIGNVM CRVCIS with 12♣ border (William/John/Adolf)

—

1339-1340 nothing ?

V. - VI.

c. 10 April, 1342 – 13 July, 1343

MERAVD / EMERAD with 11♣ / 1♣ border (William)

VII.

early 1342 – mid 1343 ?

VVILE with 11♣ / 1♣ border (William)

VIII. - XI.

? - October, 1343

BVUINC' / NAMVR / NVVILN / NVVILE with 11♣ / 1♣ border
(William / anonymous)

—

c. November, 1343 no more Namur *leeuwengroten* (?)

And again in more detail:

c. 1 June, 1337

I Chalon — NAMVRE PHILIPP COMES DEI 12♣

c. 8 October, 1337

(news of Philip's death reaches Namur)

c. September, 1337

II Chalon 105 NAMVRC GVILELM COMES DEI 12♣

III Chalon 152 VETVIL GVILLEM COMES DEI 12♣

IV Chalon 156 BOVINES GVILLEM COMES DEI 12♣

c. 7 November, 1338

(October, 1338: increase in silver price)

1338 ?

XII Chalon 171 NRA NAMVR SIGNVM CRVCIS n/a 12♣

c. 10 April, 1342 (?)

V Chalon — MERAVD GVILLELMVS CO **DEI** 11♣ / 1♠

VI Chalon 162 EMERAD GVILELM COMES no 11♣ / 1♠

c. 13 July, 1343

(return of Méraude to John the Blind)

1342- July, 1343 ?

VII Chalon — VVILLE GOVILELM COME ? 11♣ / 1♠

c. July, 1343 ??

VIII Chalon — BVUINC NAMORIE COMES no 11♣ / 1♠

IX Chalon 106 NAMVR NAMOIIRC COMES no 11♣ / 1♠

X Chalon 159 NVVILN NAMOVRC COMES no 11♣ / 1♠

XI Chalon 159 var. NVVILE NAMOVRC COMES no 11♣ / 1♠

XI v. Chalon 159 var. NWILE NAMOVRC COMES no 11♣ / 1♠

c. October, 1343 ?

(coin reform in France)

This is a rather unsatisfying list, as the anonymous coins would have to have been minted in only 3-4 short months. On the other hand, the coins are rare, possibly indicating minting in small quantities (and a short minting period). Another (unsatisfying) option is that the anonymous coins were minted alongside the coins with William's name at some point.

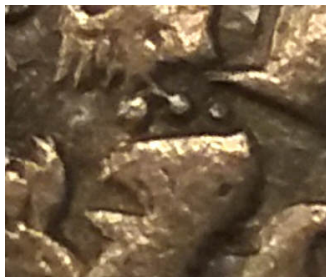
Unusual Characteristics of Namur *Leeuwengroten*

The Namur *leeuwengroten* do not slavishly copy the attributes of the Flemish originals; the Namur coins retain Roman N's and the word DEI in the reverse, outer legend for some time after these disappeared from the Flemish coins. The Namur coins also have their own additions to the obverse, central lion and to the initial eagle above it.

The Crowned, Barred Lion

Several *leeuwengroot* characteristics are unique (or almost so) to Namur coins. Perhaps the most notable of these is a central lion with a crown on his head found on some (not all) of the Namur *leeuwengroten*.

The crown is often very subtle, sometimes no more than 3 pellets.



triple-pellet crown

Sometimes (but not always), the lion has a thin bar behind him, running from upper left to lower right as the lion is viewed (the opposite of heraldic terms).



barred but no crown

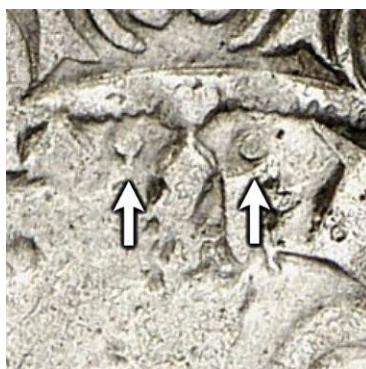
The bar is often very subtle as well; both the line and the crown are easy to miss (if present at all). The line and crown are also present on lions on other types of Namur coins (i.e. non-*leeuwengroten*) from the same era.

Most of the Namur central lions seem to have a fairly consistent 4 hairs on the underside of the tail (on the right):



The Pelleted Eagle

Some of the initial eagles on Namur coins have a (loose) pellet over each shoulder, which is not seen on the *leeuwengroten* of any other region (cf. the MERAVD *leeuwengroten* of John the Blind, however, with their similar ‘pellety’ wings). The coins are often semi-illegible, so it is sometimes difficult to determine if any pellets are present or not. To the best of our knowledge, this attribute has never been reported by any previous author (although the pellets are clearly visible in some of Chalon’s drawings).



The eagle is not clear, but the two pellets are



Pelleted Namur eagles

11 Item Border

Unlike any other known (official) *leeuwengroot* from any region, **cat. Type IV a var.** has only 11 leaves in the obverse border (no lion). It is unclear whether this was done on purpose or by accident (the “sub-type” is known from a single specimen only), but the excessive spacing, progressively wider with the clock around the border, leads us to believe the missing leaf was a mistake on the die-sinker’s part (note the large gap between leaves “10” and “11”). This attribute has never been reported by any previous author, despite this very specimen having been used as an example.



cat. Type IV a var.

Stemless Border Leaves ❁

In Namur, unlike other regions, some of the BOVINES coins (**cat. IV**) have 5-lobed border leaves that seem to be stemless:



cat. Type IV b

11♣ / 1🐉 Obverse Border / E in MONETA DEI on Reverse

The **cat. Type V**, MERAVD coin has an 11♣ / 1🐉 border, but it also has the word DEI in the reverse, outer legend. This does not follow the Flemish model, and is unusual for a *leeuwengroot* of any region.

This type also has a Roman **E** in MONETA, unlike most *leeuwengroten* of any region (including Flanders and all of the other Namur *leeuwengroten* types).

Outer Legend N's

As mentioned above, some of the Namur *leeuwengroten* seem to show the retained use of **N**'s in the reverse, outer legend long after they were discontinued in Flanders (late 1337-1338?).

In Flanders, the **N**'s eventually disappeared from the legend during the 12♣ border phase, replaced by **Ń**'s. In Namur, all of the coins have at least one **N** (usually in DNI), even the coins with 11♣ / 1🐉 borders. Note that most of said Namur **N**'s are retrograde on the coins themselves: **↺**.

Outer Legend O's

The inner space of the **O**'s in NOME on the later, *anonymous* coins is very rectangular: **⓪**.



CATALOG OF COINS

Philip III

(12 March, 1336 - September 1337)

Philip became count when his brother Guy was killed in a tournament. It appears that Philip spent very little of his c. 18 months as count actually residing in Namur, but information is scarce. Minting of the first *leeuwengroten* began in Flanders or Brabant c. May-June, 1337. Within a few months of this, Philip and his companions were murdered in Famagusta, Cyprus, because they had caused so much of disturbance in the town. His younger brother William I then inherited the county.

• TYPE I:

NAMVRE

Chalon —

R. Serrure —

Duplessy, *BCEN* 1968

Vanhoudt G 2201

12 leaves ♣



(crown)



Duplessy, BCEN 1968 / 4.14 g.

❧ MONETA * N[AMV]RE

PHI LIP P[RO] M[AGN] MES

✠ BNDICTV : SIT : NOM[IN]E : D[OM]I : N[OST]RI : DEI : I[ESU] : XPI

This type is known from a single specimen only, which the authors have not seen themselves; only a plaster cast (CdMB) and some fairly poor photos of the actual coin.

The characteristics of this coin are basically the same as those of the very first Flemish *leeuwengroten* from mid-1337, although the pattern of **N/Ɔ** in the reverse, outer legend does not match (it never does in Namur). The central lion's tail seems to have an extra line at its base that may be a die-sinker's error. Or was this intended to be a double tail, similar to the lion of Luxembourg? Vanhoudt's illustration erroneously, shows an **Ɔ** in BNDICTV.



CdMB 039, plaster cast

This type was first described by Duplessy (ref. 9), who reports the weight as 4.14 g. and states that the coin was in a private collection. Duplessy says that Philip of Namur led an adventurous life and had only a short reign. He says that Philip was the 3rd son of John I of Namur and Marie of Artois, and that he succeeded his brothers John II (1331-1335) and Guy II (1335-1336) as count of Namur. When Guy died on 12 March, 1366, Philip was in Prussia (according to some sources) or in Sweden (according to others). In September, 1337, Philip and his men behaved so badly in the town of Famagusta (Cyprus) that the townspeople murdered them. News of Philip's death reached Namur on 8 October, 1337, at which time John I's fourth son William I became count of Namur. ^[9] Duplessy does not mention the crown on the central lion's head (nor does he give the source of his information).

The possible minting period for this type is very short, and rather tight. Minting of *leeuwengroten* began in Flanders on or about 1 June, 1337, and minting in Namur began at some point after this. Minting in Namur must have ended 8 October, 1337 (when news of Philip's death reached Namur). This is only 3-4 months during which the NAMVRE coins could have been struck (c. 1 June - 8 October, 1337). Furthermore, it also seems possible (likely?) that during this entire period, Philip was not in Namur at all.

William I The Rich, Count of Namur
(September, 1337 - 1 October, 1391)

When William became count after the murder of his brother Philip, he was only 13 years old and was therefore still a minor. He was under guardianship of his mother, Marie d'Artois, who had coins struck in Namur (none of which were *leeuwengroten*, nor fractionals thereof). William I's long reign spanned the entire history of *leeuwengroot* minting in Flanders and Brabant, although Namur seems to have abandoned the *leeuwengroot* type completely by late 1343.

There seem to be two basic series of (William) Namur *leeuwengroot*, one anonymous, the other with William's name. (**Cat. Type XII** is the NRA NAMVR "coin of convention" of William, Adolf and John).

c. Sept. 1337 (?) - c. Dec. 1339 (?)

II	Chalon 105	NAMVRC	GVILELM COMES	DEI	12♣
III	Chalon 152	VETVIL	GVILLEM COMES	DEI	12♣
IV	Chalon 156	BOVINES	GVILLEM COMES	DEI	12♣

1338 ?

XII	Chalon 171	NRA NAMVR	SIGNVM CRVCIS	n/a	12♣
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c. Dec. 1339 (?) - February, 1341 (?) (rise in silver price)

c. 10 April, 1342 (?) - c. 13 July, 1343 (return of Méraude to John the Blind)

V	Chalon —	MERAUD	GVILLELMVS CO	DEI	11♣ / 1♣
VI	Chalon 162	EMERAD	GVILELM COMES	no	11♣ / 1♣
VII	Chalon —	VVILLE	GOVILELM COME	?	11♣ / 1♣

c. July, 1343 (?) - c. Oct. 1343 (?) (rise in silver price)

VIII	Chalon —	BVUINC	NAMORIE COMES	no	11♣ / 1♣
IX	Chalon 106	NAMVR	NAMOIIRC COMES	no	11♣ / 1♣
X	Chalon 159	NVVILN	NAMOVRC COMES	no	11♣ / 1♣
XI	Chalon 159 var.	NVVILE	NAMOVRC COMES	no	11♣ / 1♣
XI v.	Chalon 159 var.	NWILE	NAMOVRC COMES	no	11♣ / 1♣

With sub-types included:

12♣					
II	Chalon 105	NAMVRC	GVIL EL M COME S	Vanhoudt G 2215	
III a	Chalon 152 var.	VETVIL'	GVILLEM COMES	Vanhoudt G 2259	
III b	Chalon 152	VETVIL ³	NO ME GVILLEM COMES NO ME	var. Vanhoudt G 2259	
IV a	Chalon 156 var.	BOVINES'	GVILLEM COMES N N N Q	Vanhoudt G 2266 var.	
IV a v.	Chalon 156 var.	BOVINES' 11♣	GVILLEM COMES N N N Q	Vanhoudt G 2266 var.	
IV b	Chalon 156 var.	BOVINES'	GVILLEM COMES Q N N Q	Vanhoudt G 2266 var.	
IV b v.	Chalon 156 var.	BOVINE'S'	GVILLEM COMES Q N N Q	Vanhoudt G 2266 var.	
IV c	Chalon 156 var.	BOVINES'	GVILLEM COMES Q Q N Q	Vanhoudt G 2266 var.	

12♣					
XII	Chalon 171	NRA NAMVR	SIGNVM CRVCIS	Vh. G 2286 & G 1464	

11♣ / 1♠					
V	Chalon —	MERA VD	GVILLELMVS CO	Vanhoudt —	
VI a	Chalon 162 var.	EMERAD	GVILELM ³ COMES	Vanhoudt G 2276v	
VI b	Chalon 162	EMERAD	GVILELM [?] COMES	Vanhoudt G 2276	
VII	Chalon —	VVILLE	GOVILELM COME	Vanhoudt G 2260	

11♣ / 1♠					
VIII	Chalon —	BVUINC	NAMORIE COMES	Suhle 66	
IX a	Chalon 106 var.	NAMVR	NAMOII RC ² COMES MO ET A ² Q OME	Vanhoudt G 2216 var.	
X	Chalon 159	NVVILN	NAMOVRC COMES	Vanhoudt G 2272	
XI	Chalon 159 var.	NVVILE	NAMOVRC COMES	Vanhoudt —	
XI var.	Chalon 159 var.	NWILE	NAMOVRC COMES	Vanhoudt —	

WITH THE COUNT'S NAME:

Types II - VII

12♣ border: **II - IV**

11♣ / 1🦁 border: **V - VII**

DEI: **II - V**
no DEI: **VI - VII**

Due to a lack of specimens for study, it is difficult to say if the different spellings of William's name per mint have any significance:

GVILELM	Namur, Méraude
GVILELMVS	Méraude
GOVILELM	Viesville
GVILLEM	Viesville, Bouvignes

NAMUR

• TYPE II:

NAMVRC with DEI

1337-1339? ?

Namur

Chalon 105

R. Serrure 48

Vanhoudt G 2215

12 🦁

Lion crowned & barred 🦁



CdMB 040 / 3.956 g.

✠ MONETA * NAMVRO
 GVI LEL M'CO MES
 ✠ BHDICTV̄ : SIT : NOHE : DNI : NRI : DEI : IHV : XPI

On the obverse, a border of 12 leaves and an initial eagle in the legend, on the reverse, the word DEI in the outer legend. This is the only type with gothic **Œ**'s in the reverse, inner legend (other than the unusual **cat. VII** type). This coin bears a strong resemblance to the MERAVD *leeuwengroten* of John the Blind. This is the only specimen of this type known to us, and we believe it is the oldest type of William I *leeuwengroot* from Namur.

This is the only Namur type with an **x** after MONETA, which is the mark on most of the Flemish *leeuwengroten* of this period. In Namur, the **x** seems to have been replaced by a large pellet, and after that, by two stars. Note that Chalon's drawing, made from coin CdMB 040, is fairly accurate:



Chalon 105 (Vanhoudt G 2215 / R. Serrure 48 (same drawing))

VIESVILLE

• TYPE III:

1337-1339??

VETVIL with DEI

Chalon 152

R. Serrure 51

Vanhoudt G 2259

12 ♣

Lion uncrowned & unbarred




*CdMB 043 / 3.454 g.
ex. Coll. B. de Jonghe*

❧ MONETA [...] VETVIL'
GVI LLE MIO MES
✠ BNDI[CTV : SIT : Q]OMES DNI : QRI : DEI : [IHV : X]PI

Similar to the coin shown above (12 ♣ border, the word DEI), but the reverse, inner legend has Roman E's instead of gothic E's. If there is a mark after MONETA (a pellet? crescent?), it is unclear. This is the only VETVIL specimen known to us at this time. Chalon (152) reports an IH XPI outer legend, but this specimen is unclear.

• **TYPE III-b:**

Chalon 152

Lion crowned (?) & unbarred 



COL-008-13 / 3.53 g.

Cabinet numismatique François Cajot, Société Archéologique de Namur

 **MONETA VETVIL**
GVI LLE MIO MES
✠ BNDICTV : SIT : NOCDE : DHI : ORI : DEI : IIXPI

This specimen differs from the previous example in a number of significant ways: the mark after VETVIL, the gothic **Ń** in BNDICTV, the gothic **Ɔ** in NOME, and the defective ending of the outer legend.

The area above the central lion's head is unclear, but there appear to be the three pellets of a crown present:



This coin, the only known example of this sub-type, is clearly the coin described by Chalon (Collection [R.] Serrure / 3.50 g.):

ATELIER DE VIESVILLE.

N° 152. Lion. Bordure des gros tournois de onze fleurs de néflier. Au-dessus du lion une petite aigle : **MONET VETVIL**.

— Croix pattée coupant la légende intérieure : **GVI | LLE | MCO | MES**.
Légende extérieure : **✠ BNDICTV : SIT : HOCDE : DHI : NRI : DEI : IH XPI**.

Collection de M. Serrure.

A. 3.50.

Chalon p. 85^[5]



Chalon 152 / Namur (original drawing)

R. Serrure 51 (same drawing)

Vanhoudt 2259 (same drawing)

BOUVIGNES

There are 3 sub-types (and 2 variants) of the Bouvignes *leeuwengroot* known to us, none of which match the drawing for **Chalon 156 (cat. VII-d)** exactly:

- a ✕ **BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : QRI : DEI : IhV : XPI**
- a var. ✕ **BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI [: QRI : DEI] : IhV : XPI**
(11 item border!)
- b ✕ **BQDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : QRI : [DEI : IhV] . XPI**
- b var. ✕ **BQDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : QRI : DEI : IhV : XPI**
- c ✕ **BQDICTV : SIT : QOME : DNI : QRI : [DEI : IhV :] XPI**
- [d] ✕ **BQDICTV : SIT : HOME : DNI : NRI : DEI : IhV [: XPI]**
does not match any known specimen (**Chalon 156**)
cf. cat. IV-b var.

BNDICTV: changes N / Q

NOME: changes N / Q

DNI: always N

NRI: always Q (only **Chalon 156** (suspect) has N)

a	N N N Q	3 N's
b	Q N N Q	2 N's
c	Q Q N Q	1 N
[d]	Q N N N	(3 N's) Chalon 156

All of the BOVINES coins seem to have a 12♣ border of stemless leaves. None of the central lions have a bar behind them. Some have a definite crown, some are illegible, and some appear to be crownless (but we cannot be certain). All of them have a large pellet after MONETA.

All of the BOVINES examples known to us are shown here below. We have only seen a poor photo of the BOVINES coin in the Seraing Hoard (1952). Most of the sub-types are known from single specimens only.

• TYPE IV-a:

BOVINES with 3 Roman N's (and DEI)

1337-1338 ?

Chalon 156 var.

12 ☼



crowned, no bar



CdMB 044 / 3.836 g.

☼ **MONETA • BOVINES**
GVI LLE MCO MES
 ✠ **BH**DICTV : SIT : **HO**DE : **DH**I : **NR**I : **DE**I : IHV XPI

Listed by Meert (3.84 g.) as “Chalon 156 / Meert fig. 1” (Chalon’s drawing)^[15], but it is in fact a variant, with a Roman N in BNDICTV and a gothic **Ń** in NRI. This coin was not the model for Chalon’s drawing (i.e. Meert fig. 1).



*Elsen 135-870 / 3.65 g.
ex- collection Nef*

Same as the previous coin except **IhV . XPI.**



Elsen 132-484 / 2.68 g.

MONETA • **BOVINES**
GVI LLE MIO MES
✠ BHDICTV : SIT : HOCDE : D[HI : N]RI : DEI [...]

This piece appears to have an annulet after **MONETA**, and the end of the reverse outer legend seems odd. Does this coin represent a new “sub-type”, or just the inconsistencies of medieval minting?

• **TYPE IV-a var. :**

**BOVINES with 11 Border Items
(3 Roman N's and DEI)**

1337-1338 ?

Chalon 156 var.

11 ❀



CdMB 046 / 2.664 g.

❀ **MONET[Λ] • BOVINES**
GVI LLE MDO MES
❀ **BNDICTV : SIT : NOCDE : DNI [: ORI : DEI] : IHV XPI**

This is the coin with an odd 11-item border discussed on p. 15 above, known only from this specimen. The T of MONETA seems to be a pellet **T**. There are no pellets visible above the initial eagle's wings.

Presence of the illegible word DEI on the reverse is inferred by the amount of space between the legible DNI and IHV; the form of the E in DEI is unknown. There are no pellets visible between IHV and XPI in the outer legend.

Listed by Meert (2.66 g.) as “Chalon 156” ^[15], but this is in fact a variant with an 11-item obverse border.

• **TYPE IV-b:**

BOVINES with 2 Roman N's (and DEI)

1337-1338 ?

Chalon 156 var.

12 ☿



Künker Summer 2018, Lot 674 / 3.49 g.

[☿] MONETA • BOVIN[ES']
 GVI LLE M^o MES
 ✠ BNDICTV : SIT : HOCDE : DNI : NRI : DEI : IHV [. XPI]

The only major difference from the previous type seems to be the gothic **Ń** in BNDICTV. The single pellet (not triple) after IHV is likely to be the result of the die-sinker running out of space, and not some kind of intentional alteration of the mark.

• **TYPE IV-b var.:**

2 Roman N's (and DEI), extra apostrophe in BOVINES

Chalon 156

Vanhoudt G 2266

R. Serrure 50

Chalon 156

Meert 1

12 ❁



COL-008-20 / 3.86 g.

Cabinet numismatique François Cajot, Société Archéologique de Namur

❁ **MONETA • BOVINE'S'**

GVI LLE MCO MES

❁ **BNDICTV : SIT : NOCDE : DNI : NRI : [...]: XPI**

This specimen differs from the previous in its unusual apostrophe after the E of BOVINE'S'. Whether this mark is a die-sinker's "error", or some kind of minting mark is impossible to say. We know of no other examples of this sub-type.

Chalon 156

Despite the idealized drawing, this coin is almost certainly the very specimen described by Chalon for his n° 156. However, Chalon did not report any apostrophes (text description nor illustration), and he reported the outer legend as reading **NOME** instead of **NAME**, which is an **NNN****Ɔ** pattern (not seen on any known specimen).



Chalon 156 / Namur (orig. drawing)

Vanhoudt G 2266 (same drawing)

R. Serrure 50 (same drawing)

We are of the opinion that the problem stems from the unclear initial letter on the coin, which we believe to be an **Ɔ** and Chalon interpreted as an **N**:



Ɔ or **N** ?



Chalon claims that his description matches **two** specimens, one of which belonged to the Count of Robiano (the other to C.P. Serrure; one of the coins weighed 3.76 g.^[5]). Many of the count's coins are now in the CdMB collection, but none of the CdMB BOVINES coins match Chalon's description.

N° 156. Lion rampant; au-dessus une petite aigle. Bordure des gros tournois de douze roses quintefeuilles : **MONETA · BOVINES**.

— Croix pattée coupant la légende intérieure : **GVI | LLE | MCO | MES**.
Légende extérieure : **✠ BNDICTV : SIT : NOBIS : DNI : HRI :
XPI**.

Collections de **MM.** le comte de Robiano et
C. P. Serrure.

A. 3.76.

Chalon p. 87^[5]

Since Chalon did not report the apostrophes on the obverse, and incorrectly described the **Q** on the reverse (in our opinion), it would seem that this sub-type is in fact previously not described and unpublished, despite the fact that it is probably the specific **Chalon 156** coin. All of the previous authors (see the associated reference numbers) simply followed Chalon's lead without accurately describing this coin at all.



• **TYPE IV-c:**

BOVINES with 1 Roman N (and DEI)

Chalon 156 var.



CdMB 045 / 3.946 g.

MONETA • BOVINES'
GVI LLE MIO MES
✠ B[NDICT]V : SIT : NOCDE : DHI : NRI : D[...]PI

There is now only 1 Roman N in the outer legend.

INDETERMINATE

cat. IV-a or IV-b or IV-d



CdMB 047 / 3.372 g.



crowned, no bar (?)

12 ♣

MONETA • BOVINES
[GVI] LLE MCO MES
[...] SIT : **HO**[**COB** : **DH**...]I : **DEI** : IH[V : X]PI

Listed by Meert (3.38 g.) as “Chalon 156”^[15], but in fact, the all-important N’s (or **Ń**’s) of BNDICTV and NRI are illegible. Pellets are present above the eagle’s wings.

11 ♣ / 1 🦁 BORDER

Up until this point, all of the Namur *leeuwengroten* had 12 ♣ borders, but from here on they all have 11 ♣ / 1 🦁 borders.

MÉRAUDE (POILVACHE)

• TYPE V:

MERAVD with DEI

1342 ? 1343 ?

Chalon —

CdMB 048

Meert, *RBN* 1989, 7 var.; Plate I, 7

Lion barred 

11♣ / 1♣



*CdMB 048 / 2.85 g.
used as Meert 7 (illustration only)*

✠ MONETA ✠ MERAVD'
GVI LLE LMV S'IO'
[✠ B]NDICTV : SIT : NOMB : DNI : NRI : DE[I : ...]

The Roman E in MONETA is unusual. It is also unusual to find a *leeuwengroot* with a 11♣ / 1♣ border on the obverse and DEI in the reverse, outer legend; and 1342 is very late for the word to appear on a *leeuwengroot* (compared to Flanders *et al*). We are presuming that the

DEI indicates that the MERAVD coins come before the EMERAD coins. Four N's in the outer border is also unusual.

On this type, William's name is longer than on the other types, and the word COMES is abbreviated. It is the only type with this particular inner legend.

Does the double star mark have any connection to the same mark used on some Brabant *leeuwengroten* (thought to have been struck mid- to late 1343)?

This coin is the only MERAVD example known to us at this time; the type was not reported by Chalon.

The **Type V-VI** coins have a Roman N in NRI, which is unusual for a *leeuwengroot* (of any region). On most of the other coins, the **Ń** of NRI is gothic, regardless of the forms of the N's in the other words. For the most part, it is always **ŃRI** (for some reason) in almost all regions.

To date, the authors have only seen a scant 2 EMERAD specimens, and 1 MERAVD example.

• **TYPE VI-a:**

EMERAD no DEI

1343 ?

Méraude (Poilvache)

11 ♣ / 1 ♣



Vanhoudt G 2276 var.

R. Serrure 52 var.

Chalon 162

Meert, *RBN* 1989, 7

Lion barred



No crown (?)

Type VI-a
EMERAD no DEI:



CdMB 049 / 2.22 g.

✠ **MONET[Æ]** ✠ **EMERAD'**
GVI LEL M^o MES
✠ **B[...]**V : SIT : **QOCD** : **DNI** : **HR**[I : I]hV : XPI

As we shall repeat so many times, this is the only specimen of this type known to us at this time. The **T** of **MONETA** does not appear to be pelleted.

Note the mark(s) after **GVILELM** in the reverse, inner legend. There is no **DEI** in the outer legend. The Chalon / Serrure / Vanhoudt drawing does not accurately represent this sub-type.

• **TYPE VI-b:**

EMERAD

Obverse border and reverse, outer legend are illegible.



*ex- Grote collection / 2.49 g.
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1879 Grote
photographs by Christian Stoess*

[✠] **MONETA** [...] **EMER[A]D'**
[GVI] **LEL M^oDO MES**
[...]

There is no sign of a mark after MONETA, but the coin is not well made, and the surface may well be hiding two weak stars (or some other mark).

The reverse, outer legend is completely illegible, but the mark after GVILELM is clear, and it does not match coin CdMB 049. The Chalon / Serrure / Vanhoudt drawing does not accurately represent this sub-type.



COL-008-24 / 1.94 g.

Cabinet numismatique François Cajot, Société Archéologique de Namur

[✠] MONETA [...] EMERAD]
 GVI LEL M[']O MES
 ✠ BNDICTV : SIT : NO[...]HI : NRI : IHV [: XPI]

The mark after MONETA is unclear, as is the mark after GVILELM. The **Ń** of NRI is clear, so this example cannot be a cat. **VI-a coin**. It is difficult to see if there is an apostrophe after EMERAD or not.

• TYPE VI-c: ?

Chalon 162 (No specimens known?)

Chalon's illustration differs from the known Méraude, EMERAD specimens in a number of ways, and it was clearly not made from coin CdMB 049 or COL-008-24. Either Chalon was describing an otherwise unknown sub-type, or his drawing is erroneous.



Vanhoudt G 2276
Chalon 162 / Namur (orig. drawing)
R. Serrure 52 (same drawing)
3.78 g. collection R. Serrure

✠ MONETA EMERAD
 GVI LEL MCO MES
 ✠ BNDICTV : SIT : NOCDE : DNI • NRI • IHV • XPI

- shows 12♣ instead of 11♣ / 1♣ (possible illegible specimen)
- shows • instead of :: (possible illegible specimen)
- no mark after MONETA (possible illegible specimen)
- gothic B in GVILELM (possible illegible specimen)
- annulets after GVILELM (possible difference of interpretation)

We know of no specimen matching this sub-type; either the drawing is wrong, or this is yet another sub-type. Where did the R. Serrure coin, 3.78 g. coin, whatever its attributes, end up?

• **TYPE VII:**

V'VILLE

11♣ / 1♣

Chalon —
R. Serrure —
Vanhoudt 2260



CdMB 052 / 2.887 g.

✠ MONETA ✠ V'VILLE
ME'G OVI LEL M'CO
[...]ME:[DNI:N]RI: IH[V:XPI]

This is the only V'VILLE specimen known to us at this time. The reverse, outer legend is barely readable. It does not appear that there is enough space for a DEI, but we cannot be certain:



The GOVILELM legend is unusual, and the presence of a seemingly unnecessary **O** and the odd “starting point” probably have something to do with the two **O**’s by the cross arms “rule” used by those regions that imitated the Flemish/Brabantine *leeuwengroot*. However, the two **O**’s are not in the “correct” position in relation to one another:



leeuwengroot of Flanders

Chalon and R. Serrure were unaware of this type. Vanhoudt’s drawing is inaccurate, showing a 12♣ border, ✱ instead of ✦, no apostrophes in the reverse, inner legend, and the entire reverse needs to be rotated 90° clockwise.

WITHOUT THE COUNT'S NAME:

Types VIII - XI

12♣ border:	—
11♣ / 1🐉 border:	VIII - XI
DEI:	—
no DEI:	VIII - XI

We suspect that this series comes after that with the count's name, for a number of reasons:

- 11♣ / 1🐉 border (admittedly found of some of the GVILELM coins)
- no 12♣ coins known
- a similar “name at first / no name later” situation in Hainaut
- the successful placing of two **O**'s, **●** / **○**, by the reverse cross arms

This last characteristic seems to fall in line with the general tendency of imitation *leeuwengroten* to become more like the original Flemish/Brabantine models over time. In the case of Namur, it seems likely that the coins with only one **O** by the cross arm came first, while those with **O**'s two came later (following the *Two O's by the cross arms* “rule”). Note as well that these later (?) coins also follow the *First O round, second O long* “rule” usually employed by imitators.

Apparently, the use of ✠ after MONETA continued on the anonymous coins.

• TYPE VIII:

BVUINC

Chalon —

R. Serrure —

Suhle 66 (this specimen)

Schoo Hoard (1927) [cites “zu Chalon 156”]

Berghaus p. 52 [incorrectly listed as “Chalon 156”]

De Mey (imitations) —

Meert —

Vanhoudt —

Dengis —

Torongo (ref. 20; 23)



*Schoo Hoard (1927) / 2.53 g.
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85
Photo: Christian Stoess*

✠ MONET ✠ BVUINC
 NPM ORI B✠O MES
 ✠ BNDICT[...M]E: DNI: ORI: IHV ✠PI

Despite having been discovered in 1927, this unique *leeuwengroot* seems to have gone completely unnoticed by most researchers, possibly because Berghaus (1958, ref. 2) incorrectly described it as “Chalon 156” instead of “zu Chalon 156”, as Suhle (1931, ref. 18) had done. Or perhaps it is because Suhle made little or no fanfare about this unique piece in his report on the Schoo Hoard (1927) (also providing no photographs). The only thing that this coin really has in common with **Chalon 156** is the Bouvignes mint.

The obverse legend may have been intended to read BVUING and not BVUINC’. Note, however, the wedge-like apostrophe, also found on the BOVINES coins, but not on the other types, leading us to believe that BVUINC’ is the correct interpretation.

• **TYPE IX-a:**

NAMVR

July – October, 1343 ?

Chalon 106

R. Serrure 47

Vanhoudt G 2216

11♣ / 1♣



CdMB 041 / 3.20 g.

MONETA * NAMVR
Q[☉]CO MES NAM OIR
[...SIT...]

There is no sign of a central lion crown or bar, nor of pellets by the eagle. The other known examples are illegible and therefore unhelpful in this respect.

There was a cut-half example of this type in the Schoo Hord (1927), **Suhle 67** (ref. 18).



CdMB 042 / 2.994 g.

[E] MONETA * NPMVR
 NPM OIR CDO MES
 * BNDICT[V : SIT :] NOME : DNI : N[RI] : HV : XPI

The stars after MONETA are upside-down: is this important? The eagle might have pellets above its wings. The inner space of the O of NOME is very rectangular.



Elsen 108-975 / 3.44 g.

Same as the previous specimen(s).



COL-005-20 / 2.49 g.

Cabinet numismatique François Cajot, Société Archéologique de Namur

There is no particular reason to believe that this specimen is any different from the previous examples, however, there are many illegible areas of the legends, so certainty is impossible.

Chalon 106

Once again, Chalon's illustration differs from the known specimens in a number of fairly significant ways, and since his given weight matches COL-005-20 exactly, it seems likely that his drawing is erroneous. Note the blank area before XPI that matches coin COL-005-20:



Chalon 106 / R. Serrure 47 / Vanhoudt G 2216

✠ ΜΟΝΕΤΑ ✱ ΝΑΜΥΡ
 ΝΑΜ ΟΙΗΡ CCO MES
 ✱ BNDICTV : SIT : ΝΟΜΕΝ : ΔΝΙ : Ν[RI : ΙΗV :] ΧΡΙ

- shows 1 star after MONETA instead of 2
- shows **NONEN** instead of **NON**
- shows no mark after NAMOIIRC instead of ✠

All of these discrepancies occur in areas of the coin that are illegible. In other words, it is possible (likely) that Chalon or his illustrator were filling in details that were simply not there.

• TYPE X:

NVVILN (Neuveville)

Chalon 159
R. Serrure 49
Vanhoudt G 2272

11 leaves / 1 lion



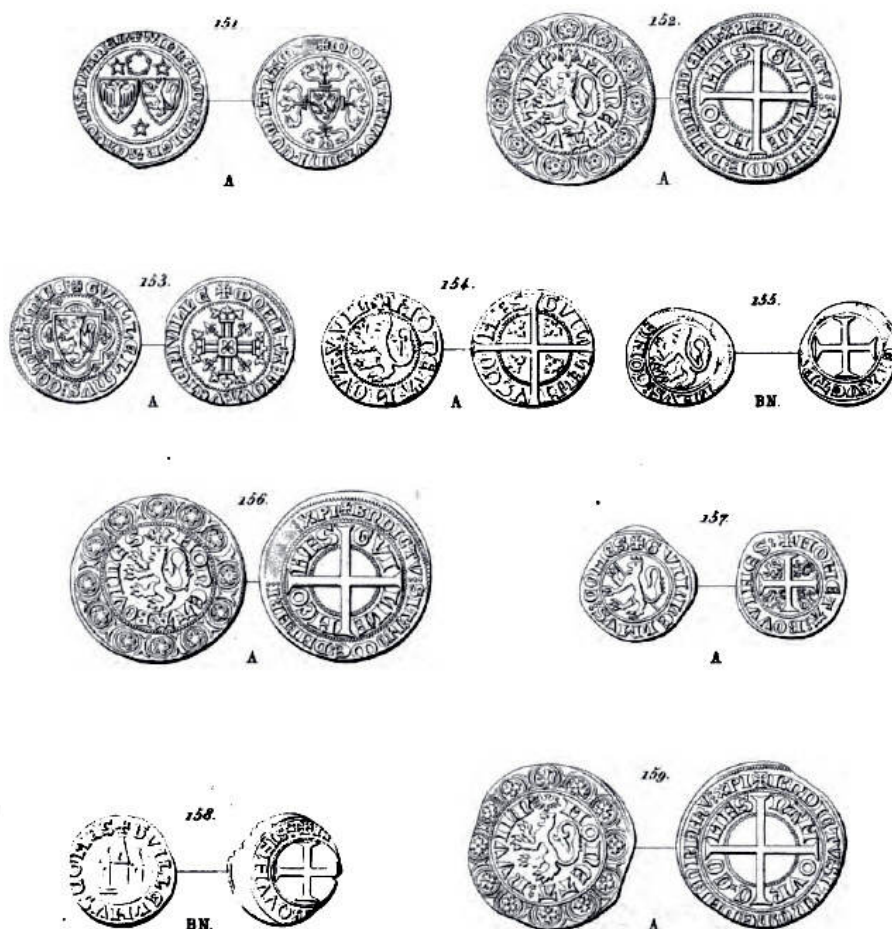
CdMB 051 / 2.944 g.

[✠] MONETA [✠] NVVILN
NONEN OVR C[✠]CO MES
✠ [BN]DICTV [: SIT :] NONEN DNI : NRI : [IHV : X]PI

This is the only known example of this type. The mark after NAMOVRC is unclear. The drawing for **Chalon 159** was clearly made from this coin:



Chalon 159 / R. Serrure 49 / Vanhoudt G 2272



Chalon plate X^[5]

• **TYPE XI:**

NVVILE (Neuveville)

Chalon 159 var. (p. 87 note)

Vanhoudt —

11♣ / 1♣
♣



crowned, no bar



*CdMB 050 / 2.953 g.
(photographed at an angle)*

❧ MONETA [...] NVVILE
 NPM OVR AIO MES
 ✠ BNDICTV [...ME:] DNI : NRI : HV : XPI

We cannot be certain, but it appears that this is the only anonymous type with a crowned central lion. Chalon (p. 87) reports a specimen in the collection of the *Société Archéologique de Namur* (3.40 g. *sic*), which is presumably this example:

• **TYPE XI var.:**



COL-005-19 / 3.18 g.

Cabinet numismatique François Cajot, Société Archéologique de Namur

[✠ MONETA ... OWILC']
 OAM OVR A[...]AO MES
 ✠ BNDICTV : SIT : OME : DHI : ORI : HV : XPI

The obverse border leaves are a different type than the previous example. Although the obverse legend of this coin is very difficult to read, it appears to read: ✠MONETA ... OWILC' (mark between the words illegible). Whether or not the pellet in the O of MONETA is intentional is unclear (the T of the same word is illegible). Another pellet (?) appears in the voided area in the border leaf at 6:00:



It is equally unclear if the central lion is crowned and/or barred, or if the eagle has pellets above its wings.

OTHER TYPES:

Types XII - XIII

12♣ border

Namur, Liège, Luxembourg	XII
Luxembourg	XIII

• {Namur } TYPE XII:

NRA NAMVR

William I of Namur (1337 - 1391)

Adolf of the Marck, prince Bishop of Liège (1313 - 3 November, 1344)

John the Blind, King of Bohemia / Luxemburg (1309 – 26 August, 1346)

“coin of convention”

Weiller 94

Vanhoudt G 2286 & G 1464 (same coin, same illustration)



The three princes responsible for the minting of this “coin of convention” were friends of neither Edward III of England nor of John III of Brabant. All three of them showed up at Crécy in 1346 to fight for Philip VI of France against the English. Adolph of the Mark left the field before the battle began to deal with problems back home in his own realm, and John the Blind was killed in the ensuing battle (as was Louis of Nevers, count of Flanders).



COL-008-34 / 3.80 g.

Cabinet numismatique François Cajot, Société Archéologique de Namur

⚔ MONETA • NR • NAMVR
 SIG NVM CRV SIS
 XIOH'S : REX : BOEM : ADVLPH' : GP[S : GV]ILL : COM

This coin is very similar in style to the John the Blind MERAVD *leeuwengroten*. The central lion has a crown on his head that is barely visible. The inner space of the O of MONETA, which we would expect to be round, seems rather oblong.

The obverse legend reads *money of our Namur* (NRA = NostRA). The abbreviated name of William has a horizontal line running through it: **GVHLL**.



Chalon 171 (orig. drawing)
R. Serrure 53 (same drawing)
Vanhoudt G 2286 & G 1464 (same drawing)

N° 171. Type du blanc au lion : **MONETA · NRA · NAMVR.**

— Croix pattée coupant la légende intérieure : **SIG | NVM | CRV | SIS.**

Légende extérieure : **✠ IOH' S : REX : BOEM : ADVLPH' : EPS :
GVILL : COM.**

Collection de M. Serrure.

A. 3.75.

Chalon / Namur, p. 91 ^[5]

Chalon's drawing, although idealized and missing the central lion's crown, is basically accurate. According to Chalon, this piece was in [R.] Serrure's own collection; it is now in the *Musée Archéologique de Namur*.

According to R. Serrure (ref. 17):

Entre les années 1337 et 1345, Guillaume I^{er}, comte de Namur, Adolphe de la Mark, évêque de Liège, et Jean l'Aveugle, comte de Luxembourg, conclurent une convention qui eut pour effet la fabrication de monnaies en commun. Le gros suivant fut émis dans ces conditions :

— 166 —

(Aigle) **MONETA.NRA.NAMVR.** Lion debout. Bordure de douze feuilles. — *Rev.* : **✠ IOHS : REX : BOEM : ADVLPH' : EPS : GVILL :**



Fig. 53.

COM en légende extérieure et SIG-NVM-CRV-SIS en légende intérieure. Croix coupant la légende intérieure (Voyez fig. 53).

R. Serrure, pp. 165-166 ^[17]

This coin is almost certainly from 1337 and not from 1345.

According to de Witte (ref. 30):

D'un côté, le comte de Flandre et le duc de Brabant, ayant la main forcée par leurs peuples, prennent ouvertement parti pour le roi d'Angleterre, avec le comte de Hainaut, Guillaume II, beau-frère d'Édouard; de l'autre, l'évêque de Liège, les comtes de Namur et de Luxembourg semblent se rapprocher de la France.

La monnaie reflète exactement cette division. Avant l'arrivée d'Édouard à Anvers, un traité monétaire daté du 1^{er} mars 1337, intervenait entre Jean III et le comte de Hainaut, alors Guillaume I^{er}. Moins de deux ans après, au moment où une monnaie de convention est frappée à Anvers, par le duc et le roi d'Angleterre, l'émission d'une monnaie commune à la Flandre et au Brabant, contresignée par les grandes villes Gand et Louvain, est décidée, le 3 décembre 1339, par Jean III et le comte Louis de Crécy.

Il est presque certain que l'évêque d'Utrecht, Jean de Diest, le comte de Gueldre Renaud II et le comte de Hollande Guillaume ont adhéré aussi à la convention flandro-brabançonne. D'autre part, l'évêque de Liège, Adolphe de la Marck, le comte de Namur Guillaume I^{er} et le comte de Luxembourg, Jean de Bohême, à la suite d'une triple alliance monétaire, frappent des espèces à la légende : **IOHES REX BOEM, ADVLPH EPS, GVILL.COMES**; mais pour pouvoir écouler plus facilement leur numéraire, ils sont forcés d'imiter la monnaie anversoise ou gando-louvaniste de leurs adversaires plus riches et plus puissants.

C'est là un curieux exemple de l'influence de la politique générale sur le monnayage des partis en cause ⁽¹⁾. Nous étudierons, dans un chapitre spécial, les monnaies de convention forgées par Jean III.

(1) A. DE WITTE. *Les relations monétaires entre la Flandre et l'Angleterre*.

de Witte, p. 112 ^[30]

The Portrait Half-Groten

These same three princes also struck another coin, presumably at some point in 1338, and this coin is a direct imitation of what is believed to be a sort of convention coin struck for Edward III of England and John III of Brabant (Antwerp), and its companion piece from Brussels (John III):

Chalon 170

Vanhoudt G 2287 & G 1465 (same coin, different illustration)

✠ MONETAR * NRAR * RAR MVRCDEN *
SIG RVM CRV SIS
✠ I : REX : BOEM : RAR : EPS : LEOBOD : GVILL : RAR *



Chalon 170 / Vanhoudt G 2287



Vanhoudt G 1465

Edward III, King of England (1327-1377)
John III, Duke of Brabant (1312-1355)

Compare the William / John / Adolf coin to the original (?), anonymous coin struck for Edward III of England (?) and John III of Brabant (?):



Spink 01680
Photo credit: Spink

✠ MONETA * NR * ANTWERP'
SIG RVM CRV SIS
✠ BNDICTV : SIT : NOMEN : DNI : NRI

Vanhoudt gives “1388-1389”, but this cannot possibly be correct, since John the Blind died in 1346 at the Battle of Crécy.



Elsen 118-735

Chalon, citing Froissart (and Divaeus, Gramaye and Le Roy), places minting of this type in 1337, calling a coin of convention between Emperor Lewis the Bavarian and Edward III as “imperial vicar west of the Rhine” (a title he was granted on 5 September, 1337):

En 1337, Édouard III, roi d'Angleterre et vicaire de l'Empire, tint ses quartiers d'hiver au château de Louvain. Il fit faire alors, à Anvers, dit Froissart, « monnoye d'or et d'argent à moult grant foison ¹. » Divaeus, Gramaye et Le Roy ajoutent que ces monnaies portaient son image et celle de l'Empereur. C'étaient donc des monnaies de convention de l'empereur Louis de Bavière et du roi d'Angleterre. On attribue généralement à cette émission le *half groat* à la tête de face couronnée, type anglais, avec la légende : *moneta nra Antwerp*.

Le duc de Brabant fit aussi frapper, à Bruxelles, une pièce au même type; mais la légende : *moneta Bruzellensis*, ne paraît pas indiquer qu'elle ait été faite en vertu d'une convention.

Les deux monnaies suivantes portent les noms réunis de Guillaume I^{er} de Namur (1337-1391), d'Adolphe de la Marck, évêque de Liège (1313-1345), et de Jean de Bohême, duc de Luxembourg (1309-1346). Elles ont donc été frappées entre les années 1337 et 1345. La monnaie commune de l'Empereur et du roi d'Angleterre avait donné au comte de Namur et à ses voisins de Liège et de Luxembourg l'idée de se réunir entre eux pour faire également une monnaie de convention.

Le *half groat* est une copie servile, sauf les légendes, de la pièce d'Anvers; l'autre pièce, un *blanc au lion*. Un *blanc* semblable a très-probablement été frappé à Anvers par le roi Édouard; mais il n'a pas été retrouvé, non plus que les monnaies du même genre faites par le duc de Luxembourg et l'évêque de Liège, non plus que la convention elle-même.

¹ Premier volume, fol. xxv verso. Édition d'Anthoine Verard, in-4° goth.

Chalon p. 190 ^[5]

Edward III did not arrive at Antwerp until 16 July, 1338, and it is unlikely that minting of the Antwerp *demi-gros* could have begun before this date (at the very earliest). Note that the Brussels coin does not have a *nostra* legend.

This type has puzzled numismatists for many decades, in part because the portrait on the obverse strongly resembles that found on the well-known English *groat*, which was not issued in England until 1351. The Antwerp coin thus predates the English, which has been a cause for consternation among the (generally Anglo-centric) numismatists in the U.K. Note that Chalon says that the bust is that of the Emperor, which would mean that, in effect, the king of England copied the Emperor's bust for his own use, so to speak. (Of course, a long discussion could be had about Edward I's portrait on the English *sterling* and how it came to be used as a sort of “standard” on the continental *esterlins* and similar coins.)

Anglo-centrism among U.K. numismatists was especially evident in 1945:

“Few members of this Society will ever have imagined that the design of the English medieval groat and half-groat was anything but English. It certainly came as a surprise to me when I recently found what seems conclusive proof that it was copied from Flanders. We are accustomed to think that in the Middle Ages it was our coins which were copied

on the other side of the Channel, but on this occasion we must recognize that it is we who did the copying.”^[1]

– Allen, p. 125

“It is worth examining the design of the coins in detail with this* in mind. While there is superficially a very close resemblance between the coins and the English half-groat, there are nevertheless differences. There is no feature about them which could not have been copied from one or other of the contemporary coins of France or Flanders, some of which themselves were copies of the English sterling. Indeed, to anyone who is familiar with the minute differences in expression between the faces on the various imitations of the sterling, it will be noticeable that the face on the half-groats has more in common with that on, say, the sterlings of John the Blind at Luxembourg than it has with that on the half-groats of Edward III. Further, the bust wears a shirt and has a star on the breast, common features on the sterlings of Flanders, and unknown on the early groats or half-groats of Edward III. The reverse consists of an English sterling enclosed in an outer circle containing a familiar French and feudal coin legend. It is not the same as the reverse of the English half-groat, where the cross cuts the outer legend as well as the inner.”^[1]

– Allen, p. 127

* “Everything suggests that the coins of Antwerp and Brussels are contemporary with those of Namur and thus also antedate Edward III’s half-groat.”^[1], p. 126.

It is perhaps best to read Allen’s “Flanders” here as “the Low Countries” since, for example, Antwerp was in the Duchy of Brabant, not the County of Flanders.

• **TYPE XIII:**

John the Blind

King of Bohemia / Count of Luxembourg (1309-1346)

Méraude

c. June 1337 - October, 1338

R Serrure 54

Vanhoudt G 1434

Weiller 64

Probst L 78-1

John the Blind also struck *leeuwengroten* at Méraude with a MONETA MERAVD legend. There are several sub-types known.

See LUXEMBOURG report (ref. 25)

(To be published.)

FRACTIONAL COINS

We will be reporting on the Namur fractional *leeuwengroten*, including the *double tiers* (**Meert 2**), in an upcoming report (to be published).

Previous Literature

We have never actually obtained a copy of J. R. De Mey's Numismatic Pocket 11, *Les monnaies de Namur (946-1714)*, simply because we have never made much effort to do so. We can therefore not comment on its contents. (Our experience is that De Mey's books add nothing to our knowledge of the *leeuwengroot* of any region, and usually only serve to muddle the situation up worse than it already is.)

Jean-Luc Dengis' 2005, *Gros au lion de Bouvignes* report (ref. 8), is fairly superficial, and does not add anything to our knowledge of this coin type.

Suhle (1931, ref. 18) is the only author to report the BVUINC' type (cat. VIII), known from a sole example found in the Schoo Hoard (1927) (see ref. 18; 23)

Chalon (1860) (ref. 5)

On pp. 12-15, Chalon discusses a number of named coin types known by name from medieval records; the *gros au lion* (*compagnon*, *gezel*, *socius*) does not figure among them.

On pp. 15-17, Chalon discusses the Namur monies of account, but the oldest account of the city of Namur begins in 1362, long after Namur had ceased striking *leeuwengroten*.

Much of what Chalon said regarding the specific types has been covered in the text above. This is what he said about the Namur *leeuwengroten*:

“...collection comte de Robiano”

- N° 105. Lion couronné avec le bâton péri en bande. Bordure des gros tournois de douze trèfles. Au-dessus du lion une petite aigle : **MONETT * NAMVRQ'**.
— Croix pattée coupant la légende intérieure : **GVI | LEL | M : CO | MES.**
Légende extérieure : *** BNDICTV : SIT : NOMEN : ONI : NRI : DEI : IHV : XPI.**
A. 3.88. Même collection.

- N° 106. Lion. Bordure des gros tournois de onze feuilles (de vigne?) et d'un petit lion. Au-dessus du lion, une petite aigle : **MONETT * NAMVR.**
— Croix pattée coupant la légende intérieure : **NAM | OIR | COO | MES.**
Légende extérieure : *** BNDICTV : SIT : NOMEN : ONI : N..... XPI.**
A. 2.49. Exemple usé. Collection de M. Serrure.

Chalon, p. 74 ^[5]

- N° 152. Lion. Bordure des gros tournois de onze fleurs de néflier. Au-dessus du lion une petite aigle : **MONETT VETVIL'.**
— Croix pattée coupant la légende intérieure : **GVI | LLE | MCO | MES.**
Légende extérieure : *** BNDICTV : SIT : HOMEN : ONI : NRI : DEI : IHV XPI.**
A. 3.50. Collection de M. Serrure.

Chalon, p. 85 ^[5]

N° 158. Lion rampant; au-dessus une petite aigle. Bordure des gros tournois de douze roses quintefeilles : **MONETT · BOVINES**.

— Croix pattée coupant la légende intérieure : **GVI | LLE | MCO | MES**.
Légende extérieure : **✥ BNDICTV : SIT : NODS : DHI : HRI :**
XPI.

Collections de MM. le comte de Robiano et
C. P. Serrure.

A. 3.76.

N° 159. Lion. Bordure des gros tournois de onze feuilles (de vigne?) et d'un petit lion. Au-dessus du lion une petite aigle : **MONETT ✥ NVVILN**.

— Croix pattée coupant la légende intérieure : **NAM | OVR | C · CO | MES**. Légende extérieure : **✥ BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : IHV : XPI**.

Même collection.

A. 3.40.

Variété avec : **NVVILC**.

Collection de la Société archéol. de Namur.

Chalon, p. 87^[5]

N° 162. Lion. Bordure des gros tournois de douze feuilles (de vignes?). Au-dessus du lion une petite aigle : **MONETT EMERTD**.

— Croix pattée coupant la légende intérieure : **GVI | LEL | M : CO | MES**.
Légende extérieure : **✥ BNDICTV : SIT : NODS : DNI : NRI : IHV · XPI**.

Collection de M. Serrure.

A. 3.78.

Chalon, p. 88^[5]

N° 171. Type du blanc au lion : **MONETT · NR · T · NPMVR**.

— Croix pattée coupant la légende intérieure : **SIG | NVN | GRV | SIS**.
Légende extérieure : **✥ IOH'S : REX : BOEM : TDVLPY' : EPS : GVILL : COM**.

Collection de M. Serrure.

A. 3.75.

Chalon, p. 91^[5]

R. Serrure (1899) (ref. 17)

R. Serrure lists the following Namur *leeuwengroten*:

47	NAMVR	IX	
48	NAMVRC	II	
49	NVVILN	X	
50	BOVINES	IV	
51	VETVIL	III	
52	EMERAD	VI	
53	NRA NAMVR	XII	
54	MERAVD	XIII	(John the Blind / Luxembourg)

Frère (1969) (ref. 10)

Frère reported a BOVINES (**cat. IV**) coin in the Seraing Hoard (1952), weighing 2.83 g. Frère barely describes the coin at all, and provides a rather poor photo of the coin:

“NAMUR
GUILLAUME I^{er} (1337-1391) : 1 gros.
38. Blanc au lion de Bouvignes, Chalon 156.”^[10]

– Frère, p. 351



Frère 38

Meert (TEGMP 1963) (ref. 14)

On p. 147 of Meert's 1963 *TEGMP* article on the coins of the Namur mints (and again on p. 148), the author says that William I of Namur imitated the Flemish *gros au lion* of Louis of Nevers (correct) and Louis of Male (incorrect). On p. 148, Meert refers to the Neuville-lez-Namur mint (Chalon's Neuveville lez-Namur).

On p. 148, Meert says:

“Comme Marie d'Artois était la mère de Guillaume I^{er} de Namur, celui-ci hérita en 1353 de territoire de Poilvache et l'engeloba dans ses, c'est alors qu'il monnaya à Méraude des gros au lion du type flamand...”^[14] [*sic*]

As stated above, we do not believe that any Namur *leeuwengroten* were struck after about November, 1343. All of them have initial eagles, none have initial crosses (like the coins of Louis of Male). Actual evidence one way or the other is, of course, lacking. The fact that one of the two William types from Méraude has the word DEI in the outer legend is an indication that the type was struck long before 1353. The fact that both types have William's name on them indicate coins from c. July, 1343 - October, 1343 (?).

Meert (1989) (ref. 15)

Unfortunately, Meert's 1989 article on the coins of the Bouvignes and Méraude mints displays a distinct lack of attention to detail and an over-reliance on previous literature.

Like so many authors before him, Meert does not indicate the forms of the **O**'s found on the coins. Meert does not list the sub-types (or variants, if you prefer) of the Bouvignes *leeuwengroten*, some of which are the same CdMB coins that Meert listed as examples under one, main, incorrectly described “type” (**Meert 1**). The Bouvignes BVUINC' coin from the Schoo Hoard (1927), a description of which had been available since 1931 (ref. 18), goes unreported in Meert's article. Meert also failed to properly distinguish between the 2 different types of Méraude *leeuwengroten*, EMERAD (**Meert 7**) and MERAVD (**Meert 7 var.**), listing one type as a “variant” of the other, even though the reverse legends are different, and one has DEI in the outer legend and the other does not (points not noted by Meert); Meert does not provide correct transcriptions of the legends for either type.

Meert seems to have failed to properly inspect the very coin specimens that he claimed to be describing and cataloging. In the end, not a single one of the extant Bouvignes or Méraude *leeuwengroten* is properly or accurately described in Meert's article (!). With all due respect, the “bottom line” is that the only thing Meert's article really has to offer the numismatic community is his reporting of the previously unpublished *double tiers* (**Meert 2**).

The items in Meert's article relevant to the *leeuwengroten* and their associated fractionals are:

Meert	1	<i>gros ou blanc au lion</i> , Bouvignes (Chalon 156 <i>sic</i>)
Meert	2	double tiers (Chalon —)
Meert	3	tiers (Chalon 157)
Meert	4 - 6	n/a
Meert	7	<i>gros au lion</i> , Méraude (Chalon 162 <i>sic</i>)
Meert	8	tiers (Chalon 163)
Meert	9	tiers (Chalon 164)
Meert	10 - 19	n/a

Meert n° 1 / Bouvignes

Meert's text description for his **n° 1** (p. 35) has some slight alterations from **Chalon 156**:

MONETA	Chalon
MONETA	Meert
NRI : ...XPI	Chalon
NRI : DEI IHVXPI	Meert

Meert cites **Chalon 156** and the following coin examples:

CdMB 3.84 g.	[CdMB 044; cat. IV-a]
CdMB 3.50 g.	[CdMB 045; cat. IV-c / 3.946 g.]
CdMB 3.38 g.	[CdMB 047; cat. IV indeterminate]
CdMB 2.66 g.	[CdMB 046; cat. IV-a var.]
<i>Namur Musée Archéologique</i>	3.70 g. <i>sic</i>
<i>RBN</i> , 1969, p. 351 (Frère), <i>trouvaille de Seraing</i> ,	2.83 g.

According to Meert ^[15]:

MONETA • BOVINES	<i>sic</i>
GVI LLE MCO MES	<i>sic</i>
+ BNDICTV : SIT : NOMES : DHI : NRI : DEI : IHVXPI	<i>sic</i>

Of the 3 known examples of **cat. Type IV a** coins, 1 coin has nothing after IHV, 1 coin has • and 1 coin is illegible. 1 **Cat. Type IV b** coin has • after IHV, the other is illegible. The **cat. IV c** coin is illegible. In other words, only one of Meert's 4 cited CdMB coins actually matches his transcription (insofar as the IHV XPI goes).

The odd coin with an 11♣ border (**cat. IV a var.**) seems to have **𐌹** in MONETA, all of the others have **𐌹**, so Meert correction of Chalon's transcription is appropriate. Meert did not indicate the forms of the **O**'s or the annulet **T** (in MONETA), nor did he mention anything about the deficient obverse border on the **cat. IV a var.** coin.

The **E** of DEI on most of the known examples is illegible, but one **cat. IV-b** example shows a clear gothic **𐌸**. This sub-type is known from a sole example that came onto the market in 2018, and was therefore possibly unknown to Meert. The variant of this sub-type (COL-008-20), with an extra apostrophe in BOVINE'S', goes unreported by Meert. Meert gives the weight of this piece as 3.70 g, but according to the museum staff, it is 3.86 g.

With regard to the **N/𐌹**'s in the outer legend, Meert's transcription follows Chalon's example, which does not match any known specimen:

a	N N N 𐌹	3 N's
b	𐌹 N N 𐌹	2 N's
c	𐌹 𐌹 N 𐌹	1 N
[d]	𐌹 N N 𐌹	(3 N's) Chalon 156 and Meert 1

The end result is that Meert's transcriptions of the "BOVINES *gros au lion*" legends are not quite accurate.

The MONETA BVUINC' type, first reported in 1931, goes unmentioned by Meert (**cat. VIII**).

Meert n° 7 / Méraude

EMERAD	CdMB 049 2.22 g.	Meert 7
MERAVD	CdMB 048 2.85 g.	Meert 7 var.

Meert's text description for his **n° 7** (p. 36) comes directly from **Chalon 162**. Meert does not indicate the forms of the **O**'s found on the coins. According to Meert^[15]:

𐌹 MONETA 𐌸 EMERAD *sic*
GVI LEL M : CO MES *sic*
+ BNDICTV : SIT : 𐌹OMΘ : DHI : NRI : IḥV . XPI *sic*

cites: Chalon 162, CdMB 2.21 g. (*sic*)

In fact, the legends on this coin (CdMB 049) read:

 **MONETA** * **EMERAD**
GVI LEL MCO MES
*** B[...]V : SIT : NOMES : DHI : HR[I : I]hV : XPI**

Meert was apparently unaware of the Berlin EMERAD specimen (**cat. VI-b**), with its slightly different legend.

Meert n° 7 var. / Méraude

Despite the differing reverse legends (inner and outer), Meert has listed the MERAVD type (which has DEI in the legend, something not reported by Meert) as a “variant” of the EMERAD Type (which has no DEI).

Meert gives a rather cryptic “M D” (only) as the “variant” legend, instead of the full, clear and legible MERAVD found on the piece in question (cites: CdMB 2.86 g.; pl I, 7). The implied transcription is thus ^[15]:

 **M [?] D** *sic*
GVI LEL M : CO MES *sic*
+ BNDICTV : SIT : NOMES : DHI : NRI : IhV . XPI *sic*

When, in fact, the legends on the coin CdMB 048 read:

 **MONETA** * **MERAVD**
GVI LLE LMV S'CO
[* B]NDICTV : SIT : NOME : DHI : NRI : DE[I : ...]

Meert has failed to report the reverse, inner legend of GVILELMVS CO found on the MERAVD coin (and visible in his own illustration on Plate I). Meert does not report the Roman E and annulet T in MONETA, the double star after the same word, the word DEI, or the Roman N in NOME.

The end result is that Meert’s transcriptions of the “Méraude *gros au lion*” legends are inaccurate.

Meert on the Word DEI

Meert (understandably) became distracted by Ghyssens' misinformation, and ended up paying far too much attention the presence/absence of the word DEI in the outer legend, instead of focusing on the obverse border of 12♣ (up to c. 1340) or of 11♣ / 1♣ (c. 1340 and thereafter). The use of DEI (everywhere except Flanders) was too erratic to be able to count on it for accurate and reliable dating of the coins, but the previously published literature could easily lead someone to believe otherwise.

On the *leeuwengroten* of John the Blind in Luxembourg, for example, all of the coins have a 12♣ border (and were therefore theoretically struck before 1340), but only 2 of the 11 reported sub-types have the word DEI in the legend (another 2 "DEI sub-types" are reported by Weiller, but have yet to be confirmed). The 11♣ / 1♣ border, initial ✚, VESMN coins of Horne, not minted until at least 1357, also have the word DEI in the outer legend. This is, admittedly, highly unusual for such a "late" coin, but it does go to show that it is simply not true that "all coins with DEI were struck before 1340".

"Le gros au lion

...M. J. Ghyssens a fait remarquer que les premiers gros au lion, ceux de 1337, imitaient étroitement la légende du prototype royal français qui portait le mot DEI dans la légende extérieure du revers. Les gros issus de la convention Flandre - Brabant de décembre 1339 ne portent plus le mot DEI. Il a donc suggéré que les gros antérieurs à cette convention le portaient et les ultérieurs non ⁽⁹⁾. Nous estimons que Namur et Viesville frappent dès avant 1339 des gros avec DEI, car les localités sont situées près de la frontière avec le Brabant qui émettait déjà de ces gros *sous* Jean III. Pour Bouvignes, le cas nous paraît différent ⁽¹⁰⁾, car l'atelier a été ouvert suite à une intention bien arrêtée: prendre pied à Méraude. La date d'ouverture doit être postérieure à 1340 ⁽¹¹⁾.

(9) J. DUPLESSY, *Chronologie et circulation des gros flamands 1337-1365*, dans *BCEN*, 1974, p. 99; J. GHYSSENS, *Le monnayage d'argent en Flandre, Hainaut et Brabant au début de la guerre de cent ans*, dans *RBN*, CXX, 1974, p.128 et suiv., p. 188: *e* après 1346 la petite aigle du gros disparaît et est remplacée par une croisette». Le gros de Bouvignes a une petite aigle.

(10) R. CHALON, c.c., p. 9, en 1860, a la même opinion. Ed. BERNAYS, *Marie ... o.c.*, p. 64, fit la même remarque. Ed. BERNAYS, dans *Bulletin de Numismatique et d'Archéologie*, Paris, 1898, p. 57, pense que Bouvignes a- peu frappé à cause de Dinant, ville avec laquelle elle était toujours en conflit. Nous voyons la situation tout autrement. Contrairement à l'avis de certains numismates du siècle passé, Méraude, de son côté, d'après M. Weiller, frappe des gros entre 1337 et 1339 avec DEI et entre 1342 et 1344 sans DEI ⁽¹²⁾. Bouvignes a eu une certaine activité, vu le nombre de monnaies et variantes que les collections publiques et privées possèdent. Ce n'est pas le cas des monnaies de Méraude sous Guillaume 1; à part le tiers de gros, elles sont rarissimes.

(11) H. FRÈRE, *Trois petits trésors monétaires à prédominance Liégeoise*, dans *RBN*, CXV, 1969, p.345-359, décrit une trouvaille de gros dans la région de Seraing. Il propose une date d'enfouissement analogue à celle du trésor de Marche, pour lequel V. Tourneur suggérait 1350. La trouvaille de Seraing contenait un gros de Bouvignes de Guillaume 1.

(12) R. WEILLER, *O.C.*, p.35, n° 64, date le gros au lion de Méraude de 1337-1339 avec DEI et de 1342-1344 sans DEI (pour notre part, plutôt de 1340-1342, parce que la terre appartenait encore à Marie d'Artois, ainsi que nous le verrons à la partie Méraude). Et p. 201 «Type créé par Louis de Crécy, comte de Flandre (1322-1346), le 25 mai 1337 première émission avec DEI en 1337. Après 1339, continuation de la frappe sans DEI a. L'auteur se réfère à J. Ghysens, *O.C.*, dans *RBN*, CXX, 1974, p. 109-191, pl. II, 6, p. 118 et p. 130 et ss.» ^[15]

– Meert *RBN* 1989, pp. 27-28

Meert made the traditional numismatist error of assuming that everything previously written (especially by Ghysens) was correct (it is not), and furthermore, Meert does not seem to have bothered double-checking Ghysens' work (or anyone else's, for that matter), or even to have inspected the actual coins properly.

Ghysens was not paying attention to whether or not the word DEI appeared on the early coins in Brabant (it is absent from the DVX BRABANTIE coins). He even went so far as to incorrectly transcribe the word DNI (*domini*) as DEI for some Brabant *leeuwengroten* (!).

As far as we can tell, the earliest Brabant *leeuwengroten* of 1337 (DVX BRABANTIE) did not have the word DEI in the legend at all. At some point before December of 1339, possibly as early as 1337, the word DEI began to appear on the Brabant coins (IO DVX). After December 1339, the word disappeared forever.

In Flanders, on the other hand, the word DEI appeared on the coins from the very beginning (c. May or June, 1337) and remained until the October, 1338 increase in the silver price (when minting of the 12♣ border coins ceased and the DEI disappeared forever). In other words: all of the Flemish *leeuwengroten* with a 12♣ border have the word DEI in the outer legend. The same can be said of the *leeuwengroten* of Holland and Hainaut, but not of Brabant or Luxembourg (Méraude), or of Namur. ("The jury is still out" on the coins of Cambrai, and there are no known 12♣ border coins from Guelders, Horne, Rummen, Valkenburg, Looz, etc. We would be remiss in not mentioning that the Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* of 1360-1361 have 12♣ borders, but they also have the word DEI, and are not following the "current" characteristics of the Low Lands *leeuwengroten* of the same period.)

All of the BOVINES *leeuwengroten* have a 12♣ border, and were therefore theoretically struck before 1340, despite what Meert says:

“Pour Bouvignes, le cas nous paraît différent ⁽¹⁰⁾, car l'atelier a été ouvert suite à une intention bien arrêtée: prendre pied à Méraude. La date d'ouverture doit être postérieure à 1340 ⁽¹¹⁾.” ^[15]

Since Meert has muddled up the EMERAD and MERA VD types together, everything he says about them (Meert's "*gros au lion frappés à Méraude*") and the word DEI (and the 12 ♣ border) wanders further and further from the truth:

“Les gros au lion frappés à Méraude au nom de Guillaume I sont au type sans DEI⁽¹⁴⁾ et c’est d’ailleurs ce type qui était déjà frappé à Méraude pour Jean l’Aveugle et seul le nom du seigneur devait être modifié.

(14) Nous verrons plus loin que **Méraude a frappé sans DEI** de 1340 à 1342 pour Jean l’Aveugle, comte de Luxembourg, tandis que de 1342 et 1343 c’est sous le comte de Namur Guillaume I.”^[15]

– Meert *RBN* 1989, p. 28

Vanhoudt (1999) (ref. 28)

Vanhoudt’s book is, at best, a “quick-reference” guide, listing the following Namur *leeuwengroten* and fractionals:

G 1434	MERA VD / John the Blind
* G 1464	(also G 2286) coin of convention William / John / Adolf
G 2201	NAMVURE / Philip III
G 2215	NAMVRC / GVILELM
G 2216	NAMVR / NAMOIIR
G 2222	fractional
G 2259	VETVIL
G 2260	VVILLE
G 2262	fractional
G 2266	BOVINES
G 2267	fractional (<i>tiers</i> , <i>RBN</i> 1989 p. 35 (Meert n° 2 ; pl. I, 2))
[—]	BVUINC]
G 2268	fractional
G 2269	fractional
G 2272	NVVILN
G 2275	fractional
G 2276	EMERAD
[—]	MERA VD]
G 2277	fractional
G 2278	fractional
* G 2286	(also G 1464) coin of convention William / John / Adolf

Conclusion

cat.	border	obverse	obverse	obv	rev. inner	rev.	outer
I	12♣	ΜΟΝΕΤΑ	ΝΑΜVRE'	*	PHILIPP	DEI	ΝΝΜΝΝ
II	12♣	ΜΟΝΕΤΑ	ΝΑΜVRC'	*	GVIL EL M COMES	DEI	ΝΝΜΝΝ
III a	12♣	ΜΟΝΕΤΑ	VETVIL'	•?	GVILLEM COMES	DEI	ΝΝΜΝΝ
III b	12♣	ΜΟΝΕΤΑ	VETVIL 3		GVILLEM COMES	DEI	ΝΝΜΝΝ
IV a	12♣	ΜΟΝΕΤΑ	BOVINES'	•	GVILLEM COMES	DEI	NNNN
IV a var.	11♣	ΜΟΝΕΤΑ	BOVINES'	•	GVILLEM COMES	DEI	NNNN
IV b	12♣	ΜΟΝΕΤΑ	BOVINES'	•	GVILLEM COMES	DEI	ΝΝΝΝ
IV c	12♣	ΜΟΝΕΤΑ	BOVINES'	•	GVILLEM COMES	DEI	ΝΝΝΝ
IV d	12♣	ΜΟΝΕΤΑ	BOVINES'	•	GVILLEM COMES	DEI	ΝΝΝΝ
V	11♣ / 1♠	ΜΟΝΕΤΑ	MERAUD'	✱	GVILLELMVS • CO'	DEI	NNNN
VI a	11♣ / 1♠	ΜΟΝΕΤΑ	EMERAD'	✱	GVILLEM 3 COMES	—	?ΝΝΝ
VI b	11♣ / 1♠	ΜΟΝΕΤΑ	EMERAD'	?	GVILLEM 2 COMES	—	?
VI c	11♣ / 1♠	ΜΟΝΕΤΑ	EMERAD'		GVIL EL M 8 CO MES	—	ΝΝΝΝ
VII	11♣ / 1♠	ΜΟΝΕΤΑ	V'VILLE	✱	GOVIL EL M' COM E '	—	??ΝΝ
VIII	11♣ / 1♠	ΜΟΝΕΤΑ	BVUINC'	✱	ΝΑΜORIE 2 COMES	—	Ν?ΝΝ
IX a	11♣ / 1♠	ΜΟΝΕΤΑ	ΝΑΜVR	✱	COMES ΝΑΜΟΗRC 2	—	ΝΝΝΝ
IX b	11♣ / 1♠	ΜΟΝΕΤΑ	ΝΑΜVR	✱	COMES ΝΑΜΟΗRC	—	ΝΝΝΝ
X							
XI	11♣ / 1♠	ΜΟΝΕΤΑ	ΝVVLN'	✱	ΝΑΜOVRC 2 COMES	—	ΝΝΝΝ
XII	11♣ / 1♠	ΜΟΝΕΤΑ	ΝVVIL E '	[✱]	ΝΑΜOVRC 2 COMES	—	Ν?ΝΝ
XIII	12♣	—	—	—	—	—	—
XIV	12♣	—	—	—	—	—	—

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APPENDIX

John I of Namur † 1 January, 1330

Marie of Artois, † 22 January, 1365

their children:

John II, † 2 April, 1335

Guy, killed in tournament, † 12 March, 1336

Henry, clergyman, † 1333

Philip III, killed in Cyprus, † September, 1337

(Blanche)

(Marie)

(Margaret)

William I, † 1 October, 1391

Robert

Louis

Elizabeth

Philip III, Count of Namur (March, 1336 - September, 1337)

It is not particularly easy to find information on Philip III of Namur. Chalon (ref. 5) does not say much about Philip III, and the *leeuwengroot* (cat. I) was unknown to him:

PHILIPPE III.

1336-1337.

Le troisième fils de Jean I^{er} n'eut également qu'un règne très-court. Au mois de septembre 1337, il fut tué par les habitants de Famagouste, en Chypre, qu'il avait exaspérés par ses excès.

N° 96. Châtel des tournois : ✠ PHS : COMES : N^oTMVR.

— Croix pattée dans un cercle : ✠ OONET^o : N^oTMVRC.

Collection de M. le comte de Robiano.

B.B. 0.90.

Ce denier, au type français, offre quelque analogie d'aspect et de fabrication avec les monnaies des princes croisés, établis alors dans la Grèce et les îles d'Ithaque, de Céphalonie, de Corfou, etc. N'y a-t-il pas là toute une mine à exploiter pour les amateurs de systèmes et de romans numismatiques?

N° 97. Écu au lion couronné : PHS : COMES : N^oTMVR.

— Croix pattée dans un cercle en grènetis : ✠ OONET^o : N^oTMVRC.

Collection de S. A. le prince de Ligne.

B. 0.60.

Chalon, p. 68 ^[5]

William I “the Rich”, Count of Namur (September, 1337 – 1 October, 1391)

William was the 5th son of count John I (1269 - 31 January, 1330), and would not necessarily have been expected to have become count of Namur at all. But John I's sons 1 - 4 (one of whom had been a clergyman anyway) had all died by late 1337, and William inherited the county after all. When William I received Namur in October of 1337, he was a minor, and therefore under the guardianship of his mother, Marie of Artois. (Meert erroneously calls William the “fourth son”, p. 25⁽¹⁴⁾)

William I was married (13 February, 1348) to Jeanne of Hainaut († 1350), daughter of John of Beaumont and Margaret of Soissons. William was remarried (March, 1352) to Catherine of Savoy, daughter of Louis II of Savoy, baron of Vaud, and Isabella of Châlon. They had 3 children: William II (born 1355-1418), John III (?-1429), and Marie (?-1412). William also had several illegitimate children.

Meert (p. 25), citing Bernays (ref. 4, p. 22) says that William I died 1 Oct, 1391, aged 67 and 3 months^[15].

If this is correct, it would mean that William was born early July, 1324 (?), and that he would have been 13 years old in July, 1337 (*leeuwengroten* minted in Flanders for c. 1 month), about 13 and 3 months when news of Philip's death reached Namur and William I became count, and 14 (no longer a minor?) in July 1338. The period that Marie d'Artois was actually in charge in Namur would have only been about 9 months (in theory). (Chalon, p. 70, says that William was 13 when he inherited the county.)

Il en est des ménages unis comme des peuples heureux, aussi les vingt années durant lesquelles Jean et Marie vécurent ensemble sont-elles pour l'annaliste d'une désespérante pauvreté.

De nombreux enfants, sept fils et quatre filles, qu'il n'est malheureusement pas possible de citer par rang d'âge, furent le fruit de leur bonne entente. Jean fut l'aîné des garçons, Blanche paraît avoir été la plus âgée des filles.

Croonendaël, copiant Gérard de Jauche, les énumère dans l'ordre suivant : Jean, Guy, Henri, Blanche, Philippe, Guillaume, une fille née en 1322 (Marie?) une autre en 1323 (Marguerite?) Robert, Louis, et une dernière fille (Élisabeth?) née en 1329, mais cette énumération est fantaisiste, Marie ayant eu certainement plus de 14 ans lors de son mariage en 1336, et Guillaume mort le 1^{er} octobre 1391 à 67 ans et 3 mois ayant dû venir

au monde en 1323, ce qui exclut pour cette même année la naissance d'une fille¹.

¹ PAUL DE CROONENDAEL : *Cronique du pays de Namur*. Édition de Limminghe (Bruxelles 1878, J. Olivier) p. 502. Le manuscrit de Gérard de Jauche est perdu.

Bernays, pp. 22-23 ^[4]

1391 minus 67 years = 1324 (not 1323).

Subtract the 3 months mentioned from the 1 October mentioned, and we get (c.) 1 July, 1324 as a birth date for William

According to Chalon (ref. 5):

GUILLAUME I^{er}.

1337-1391.

Ce prince n'avait que treize ans lorsqu'il succéda à son frère sous la tutelle de sa mère, Marie d'Artois. Son long règne fut en même temps l'un des plus prospères. L'acquisition de la prévôté de Poilvache, faite par sa mère en 1342, rendit au comté une grande partie du territoire que lui avait enlevé le désastreux traité de Dinant, de 1199. Par un acte en date du 12 novembre 1361, Guillaume racheta de Wenceslas, duc de Luxembourg et de Brabant, les terres et châteaux de Mirwart, Orchimont, Longprez, Nassoigne, etc. Ces terres avaient déjà été acquises de Jean de Bohême, par Marie d'Artois, en 1344; mais le comte de Namur avait été forcé de les abandonner au duc de Luxembourg par l'accord du 6 février 1357.

La terre de Beaufort, qu'il avait achetée pour son frère Robert, lui revint par succession. Il augmenta, en outre, son domaine de la terre de Walcourt, que Wery de Rochefort lui vendit en 1363 ¹.

En 1391, l'année même de sa mort, il échangea la seigneurie de l'Écluse, qu'il céda à Philippe le Hardi, comte de Flandre, contre la terre de Béthune, dont il ajouta le nom à ses titres.

¹ En 1390, cette terre fut revendue par le comte Guillaume à Albert, comte de Hainaut; mais elle fut de nouveau annexée au comté de Namur par Philippe le Bon, en 1438.

Chalon, p. 70 ^[5]

Méraude (Poilvache)

According to Piot (ref. 16):

Jean, roi de Bohême et comte de Luxembourg, ayant besoin de fonds, vendit, en 1342, à Marie d'Artois, comtesse de Namur, le château de Poilvache pour la somme de 3,500 florins de Florence. Par acte du 10 avril de la

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même année, il promit, à la comtesse, de faire ratifier la vente par son fils aîné. En même temps, et par lettres datées du même jour, Marie permit au comte de racheter la forteresse endéans les trois ans. Le rachat devait déjà être opéré en 1345, puisque, par acte du 15 juillet de cette année, Jean déclara qu'en exécution du réméré, il avait reçu de la comtesse toutes les lettres qu'il lui avait remises.

Le comte de Luxembourg n'en retint pas longtemps la possession. Le samedi, veille de l'Assomption 1344, il fit acte de déshéritance, en faveur de Marie d'Artois, du château et de la prévôté de Poilvache qu'elle avait achetés. En conséquence de cet acte, il déclara, le 5 septembre suivant, que tous ses hommes eussent à reconnaître la comtesse de Namur comme leur vraie dame.

Celle-ci autorisa encore le comte de Luxembourg, par acte du 20 avril 1347, à racheter ces possessions endéans deux ans; mais elles restèrent pour toujours unies au comté de Namur⁽¹⁾.

Après avoir essuyé différentes vicissitudes, le château fut détruit par les Français, en 1554. Il en existe encore aujourd'hui quelques ruines.

Dans le flanc de la montagne de Poilvache, à l'entrée du ravin, se trouve l'emplacement d'une ancienne tour, nommée par les habitants : *Tour de la monnaie* ⁽²⁾, et au bas de la montagne un endroit qui s'appelle encore aujourd'hui : *Porte de la monnaie*.

(1) Ces détails sont tirés des analyses des actes mêmes faits par Godefroid. On ignorait si l'acquisition du château de Poilvache avait été faite par Marie d'Artois ou par son fils Guillaume I.

(2) *Annales de la Société archéologique de Namur*, t. II, p. 86.

C'est probablement dans cette tour que les possesseurs de Poilvache, appelé aussi Méraude, firent frapper monnaie. Henri, comte de Luxembourg, établit, par acte du 13 août 1298, quatre-vingts nouveaux ouvriers et vingt-deux monnayeurs « pour ovrer et moner à noz monnoies à Poilvache et en quelconques lieux par toute nostre terre. » Il leur accorda, pour eux et pour leurs descendants, différents privilèges, qui furent ratifiés par Philippe le Bon, le 14 février 1448, quoique l'atelier monétaire de Poilvache fût déjà fermé depuis longtemps. Les descendants des monnayeurs y existaient encore sous Philippe II, qui anéantit entièrement leurs privilèges (1).

Malgré les preuves fournies par de cette chartre, aucune monnaie au nom de Poilvache ne fut connue; mais il en existait qui, frappées par des comtes de Luxembourg et par des comtes de Namur, portaient le nom de *Meraud*, *Esmeraud*, ou *Emeraud*, ou *Merad*, etc. Grande fut la perplexité des numismates pour retrouver un atelier monétaire de ce nom, lorsqu'enfin M. Würth-Paquet découvrit un acte de 1265, par lequel Engorant de Bioul déclare avoir repris « ligement de noble homme monseigneur Henri, comte de Luxembourg, en fiez et warde et en hommaige, tout ceu qu'il ai à Herux, et cet fiex li doie-il faire à tous jours en warde à *Méraude*, son chastiaul, que on nomme communément Poilvache (2). »

L'éveil donné, la chronique de Philippe Mouskés fut consultée. Le poète chroniqueur dit, en effet, que les ancêtres

(1) Nous avons publié ces chartes dans la *Revue de la numismatique belge*, 2^e série, t. II, p. 438.

(2) *Ibid.*, 1^{re} série, t. VI, p. 555.

According to Bernays (ref. 4):

Mais elle voulut faire davantage et mieux : il y avait une occasion unique de fermer la vulnérable frontière méridionale du comté en acquérant la puissante enclave luxembourgeoise de Poilvache, d'où l'on dominait la rive droite de la Meuse. Son propriétaire, Jean l'Aveugle, cet incorrigible gaspilleur, se débattait précisément dans d'inextricables difficultés financières; aussi la comtesse d'Artois lui vint-elle obligeamment en aide, le 14 août 1344, avec 27400 écus philippes, moyennant lesquels la belle prévôté de Rendarche et la splendide forteresse de

Poilvache avec son florissant atelier monétaire passèrent entre ses mains ¹.

¹ LAHAYE, *Poilvache*, dans les *Annales de la Société archéologique de Namur*, 1895. T. XXI.

Parmi ces villages : Sorinne, Assesse, Yvoi (commune de Maillen), Leignou, Ohey, Schaltin, Falmagne, etc.

Un premier achat avait été conclu le 10 avril 1342 pour 33000 petits florins, mais le roi de Bohême avait fait usage de son droit de réméré le 13 juillet 1343. — L'aliénation du 14 août 1344 fut définitive.

Bernays, pp. 62-63 ^[4]