

The *Leeuwengroten* of the County / Duchy of Luxembourg: A Preliminary Overview (REVISED VERSION)

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CdMB / 127 3.82 g.

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

The earliest *leeuwengroten* of 1337 were minted in Flanders and Brabant, and probably in Holland and Namur as well. Later imitations in Hainaut, Guelders, Cambrai and other places made an appearance. The type was abandoned around October, 1343, but minting restarted in Flanders in January, 1346, and the imitations soon followed once again. Minting continued until 1364, when the type was replaced by the *plak* series of lion-with-helm coins (also widely imitated).



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

There is one type of *leeuwengroot* known to have been struck in Luxembourg, minted for John the Blind, King of Bohemia and Count of Luxemburg (1309-1346). This coin was produced at Méraude (Poilvache) (**cat. XIII; Weiller 64**). There are a number of sub-types known.

A second type was struck as a “coin of convention” for John the Blind of Bohemia & Luxembourg, William I, Count of Namur (1337-1391), and Adolf of the Marck, Prince-Bishop of Liège (**cat. XII; Weiller 94**). There is only 1 example known.

Finally, there is a fractional *leeuwengroot* (1/3 *groot*?), struck in Luxembourg for Wenceslas, Duke of Brabant (1355-1383) and Duke of Luxembourg (1354-1383) (**cat. XIV; Weiller 125**). There is only 1 example known.

A fourth type, a medieval counterfeit, Flanders-Luxembourg “coin of convention” fractional has also been reported (see p. 25 below).

The primary source for information regarding the Luxembourg *leeuwengroot* types is Weiller’s *Les monnaies Luxembourgeoises* (1977, ref. 75). All things considered, Weiller did a good job describing the various sub-types of the John the Blind *groot* (**Weiller 64; cat. XIII**), and his catalog is “correct” for the most part. It is, however, difficult to use.

Weiller chose an unhandy “a/a” style of legend transcription, whereby he provides lists of obverse and reverse legends that the reader must pair up with one another based on yet another list of legend combinations. This, coupled with the fact that Weiller viewed the lion side of the coins as the reverse, makes his cataloging system rather incompatible with our own. We have nevertheless done our best to adapt to Weiller’s system (insofar as is possible, without forsaking accuracy). In order to be able to combine the two catalogs, when referring to the “Weiller sub-types”, we have used ✚ / ✞ to indicate the respective faces of the coins to keep them straight.

However, since Weiller’s system is so confusing, we found it best to simply number the “sub-types” that he reports (i.e. combinations of reverse and obverse legends) as **Weiller 64, I – IX**, instead of attempting to refer to the sub-types as “a/a”, “d/c”, etc. “**Weiller X-XI**” are sub-types that were unknown to Weiller.

a.	✚ MONETA ✚ MERAVD'
b. ✚ ✚..D
c. ✚+ ✚'
d. ✚° ✚°

Weiller, p. 36 ^[75]


What mark comes after MONETA for **legend b**? Is it **x** (i.e. “no change from previous”) or no mark at all? (The answer is **x**.) We find this system potentially confusing. Note that we have added **legend e** to Weiller’s list:

e. ✚° ✚°

Sub-Types of John the Blind *Leeuwengroot* (cat. XIII)






There is only one main type of *leeuwengroot* struck at Méraude for John the Blind, under which there are 6-10 sub-types (depending upon what criteria one wishes to employ to determine what a “sub-type” is, and on how accurate Weiller’s descriptions of the coin that we were unable to view ourselves is).

The following are the known or reported sub-types of John the Blind (Méraude) *leeuwengroten* (Weiller 64) The left-hand column shows the extant combinations of Weiller’s reverse and obverse legends, the middle column shows the numbers that we have assigned to these combinations to make things easier. The right-hand column shows the catalog number from our current report. The final two sub-types were unknown to Weiller (X-XI).

Weiller ✚ / 	[Weiller]	cat.	
a / a	[I]	XIII a	
b / a	[II]	XIII b	<i>not verified</i>
c / b	[III]	XIII c	
d / c	[IV]	XIII d	
e / b	[V]	XIII e	
e / d	[VI]	XIII f	
f / d	[VII]	XIII g	
g / d	[VIII]	XIII h	
h / d	[IX]	XIII i	
e / [e]	[X]	XIII j	
f / [e]	[XI]	XIII k	

Just as we would have done, Weiller separated the coins based upon:

- the presence or absence of the word DEI in the reverse, outer legend
- the marks employed before and after MONETA on the obverse
- the forms of the letters A, E, M and N {and O} used

We ourselves always differentiate between Roman and gothic letters, but Weiller also differentiated between the forms of the gothic (round, uncial) E’s:  /  and the gothic M’s:  / . Weiller ignored the O’s, which are all round on the coins (outer legend aside), incorrectly transcribing them as O (or rather as .

It is not clear, however, whether or not these different forms of the gothic letters (E and M) show anything more than “the hand of the engraver”. It should be noted that in Flanders and Brabant, the “main” minters of *leeuwengroten* in the early 1340’s, these letters do not change form and are not used as minting marks, which may indicate that the changes in Luxembourg were deliberate. On the other hand, they may be nothing more than the whim of the die-sinker(s). Are these all truly sub-types, or are some variants of other sub-types?

Known John the Blind / MERA VD Sub-Types:

Weiller	cat.	obverse	rev.	rev.	rev.	Notes
I	XIII-a	* MERA VD'	hAN	NONDE	DEI	
II	XIII-b	* MERA VD'	hAN	NONDE	DEI	not verified (private coll.)
III	XIII-c	+ MER TVD	hAN	NONDE	DEI	
IV	XIII-d	[+] MERA VD'	hAN	NONDE	DEI	DNI : NONDE
V	XIII-e	* MER TVD	hAN	NONDE	—	
VI	XIII-f	o MER TVD o	hAN	NONDE	—	
VII	XIII-g	o MER TVD o	hAN	NONDE	—	
VIII	XIII-h	o MER TVD o	hAN	NONDE	—	
IX	XIII-i	o MER TVD o	hAN	NONDE	—	
[X]	XIII-j	o MERA VD o	hAN	NONDE	—	
[XI]	XIII-k	o MERA VD o	hAN	NONDE	—	

All with 12♣ borders

All with initial ♠

All with BHDIQTV and DHI

Always MONETA & MERA VD or MONETA & MERA VD

The Central Lion

Some of the central lions are unclear, but as far as we can tell, they all have a double tails, as well as crude crowns on their heads made of 3 pellets.



3-pellet crowns

DEI and the 12♣ Border

All of the *leeuwengroten* struck for Louis of Nevers (1322-1346) in Flanders that have a 12♣ obverse border have the word DEI in the legend. Those with an 11♣ / 1🦁 border do not (Louis of Nevers and/or his son, Louis of Male 1346-1384)). On the John the Blind MERAVD coins, there is always a 12♣ border, but the word DEI is not always present.

Lettering on the Luxembourg *Leeuwengroten*

All of the **O**'s are round, but there is only one **O** on each face, so in effect, the coins are following the *First O round, second O long* 'rule' usually employed on imitation (i.e. not Flemish or Brabançon) *leeuwengroten*. With only one **O**, it was not possible to completely follow the *Two O's by the cross arms* 'rule', but by adding an unusual cross to the inner legend, the sole **O** ended up by the arm of the central cross.

The **M**'s vary between **M**, **ᵹ** and **ᵹ**; the **E**'s between **E**, **Ḃ** and **Ḃ**, and the **N**'s between **N** or **H** and **ᵹ**, the **A**'s between **Ἀ** and **Ἀ**. Only one sub type has an **Ἀ**, and only one has an **Ṛ** (as opposed to **R**).

Dating the Luxembourg *Leeuwengroten*

All of the MERAVD *leeuwengroten* struck for John the Blind have a 12♣ obverse border, but only 4 of the 11 reported sub-types have the word DEI in the legend.

In theory, the 12♣ border means that all of the coins were struck before 1340 (when the border in Flanders and in Brabant changed to 11♣ / 1🦁 and the DEI disappeared from those coins). We would therefore expect all of the John the Blind coins to have the word DEI in the outer legend (like the Flemish originals), which most of them do not.

Either the word DEI does not correspond to the Flemish model, of the use of the 12♣ border does not. But which was it?

We have a bit of extra information to help us date the John the Blind *leeuwengroten*, because the obverse legends tells us that they were struck at Méraude (Poilvache), and we know when Méraude was in the hands of John the Blind, and when it was not.

May 1337 – 10 April 1342 (c. 5 years)

From 1st compagnon in Flanders, to the sale of Méraude

John the Blind in possession of Méraude

10 April, 1342 – 13 July, 1343 (15 months)

From the sale of Méraude to Marie d'Artois, to repossession by John the Blind

Marie of Artois, mother of the count of Namur, in possession of Méraude

13 July 1343 – 14 August, 1344 (13 months)

From repossession by John the Blind, to repossession by Marie d'Artois

John the Blind in possession of Méraude (again)

14 August, 1344 – 26 August, 1346 (and thereafter)

From repossession by Marie d'Artois, to the death of John the Blind

Marie of Artois, in possession of Méraude

In October 1343, minting of *leeuwengroten* effectively ceased in all regions, due to a change in the price of silver, which rendering minting of the type cost-inefficient. Minting did not restart until c. late 1345 or early 1346. It seems unlikely that John the Blind struck any *leeuwengroten* during the second period that he was in possession of Méraude.

This leaves us with the “first wave” of *leeuwengroot* production in Flanders and Brabant (*et al*) c. May, 1337 – December, 1339, followed by the “second wave” c. 1340 – October, 1343. The first is characterized by the 12♣ border (and DEI), the second by the 11♣ / 1♣ border (and no DEI). The John the Blind coins do not fit neatly into either of these two categories, having a 12♣ border (always) but either DEI or no DEI.

John the Blind was a famous *personage* of the 14th century, and a great deal of literature has been written about him. Most of this literature, however, does not include mention of Méraude (Poilvache) or his *leeuwengroot* coinage. The history relevant to our purposes goes something like this:

30 August, 1310

John the Blind weds Elizabeth Přemysl of Bohemia and becomes king of Bohemia

24 August, 1313

Henry VII of Luxembourg dies, making John the Blind count of Luxembourg.

10 April, 1342

John the Blind sells Méraude to Marie of Artois for 30,000 '*petits florins*'. From now on she is *Dame de Poilvache*.^[6]

13 July, 1343

John the Blind retakes possession of Méraude as per agreement with Marie d'Artois.^[6]

14 August, 1344

Marie d'Artois takes final possession of Méraude.

26 August, 1346

John the Blind is killed at the Battle of Crécy, fighting for the French.
His son Charles becomes king of Bohemia etc.

1353

Charles gives Luxembourg to his brother, Wenceslas I

1354

Charles raises Luxembourg to the status of a duchy

5 December, 1355

John III of Brabant dies, leaving his daughter Jeanne as duchess
and Wenceslas as duke of Brabant

7 December, 1383

Wenceslas dies

• CATALOG OF COINS •

The catalog begins with **XII** so as to coincide with our report on the *leeuwengroten* of Namur (ref. 60); **cat. Types I-XI** are the Namur *leeuwengroot* types (many of them also struck at Méraude/Poilvache).

• {Namur } TYPE XII:

John the Blind, king of Bohemia / count of Luxemburg (1309-1346)

William I of Namur, count of Namur (1337-1391)

Adolf of the Marck, prince Bishop of Liège (1313-November 3, 1338)

R. Serrure 53 ^[8]

Weiller 94 ^[75]

Vanhoudt G 2286 & G 1464 (same coin. diff. illustration) ^[74]

12 ♣ border



COL-008-34 / 3.80 g.

Cabinet numismatique François Cajot, Société Archéologique de Namur

✠ **MONETA** [.] **NR** • **N** **MVR**

SIG **QVM** **CRV** **SIS**

IOH'S : REX : BOEM : DVLPH' : EP[US : GV]IL' L : COM

This coin is very similar in style to the John the Blind MERA VD *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 of Namur has a horizontal line running through it: **GVHLL**.^[60]

This coin could not have been struck after November 3, 1338; what relevance does this have for the John the Blind MERA VD coins? Were all of the other coins subsequent to this type, chronologically?

See ref. 60 for more information about the previous literature regarding this coin.

• {Namur } TYPE XIII:

John the Blind

King of Bohemia / Count of Luxemburg (1309- 26 August, 1346)

Méraude (Poilvache)

R. Serrure 54^[8]

Weiller 64^[75]

Vanhoudt G 1434^[74]

Probst L 78-1

12 ♣ border



MONETA MERA VD
IOHANNES REX

WITH DEI:

• **TYPE XIII-a:**

[Weiller 64-I]

Weiller † a / ♁ a



Nationalmuseet København KP 635.21

Denmark KMM 299734

Nationalmuseet / photographer Rikke Sekkelund, CC-BY-SA

✠ MONETA ✕ MERAVD'


✠ IO hA N NES REX

✠ BHDICTV : SIT : NO DE : DHI : ORI : DEI : IHV : XPI

There is an x after MONETA on the obverse, and a chevron A in IOHANNES on the reverse. This is the only known example of this sub-type.

• **TYPE XIII-b:**

[Weiller 64-II]

Weiller † b /  a

not verified



 **MONETA * MERAVD'**

✠ IO HAN NES REX

✠ BHDICTV : SIT : NOMA : DHI : ORI : DEI : IHV : XPI ^[75]

Weiller reported that that this piece was in a private collection, but we have seen no such examples ourselves, with an x after MERAVD and a straight A crossbar in IOHANNES. The rest of Weiller's transcriptions, as difficult to read as they are, are correct, and so we have no particular reason to doubt his description of this piece.

• **TYPE XIII-c:**

[Weiller 64-III]

Weiller ⚔ d / ⚔ c



CdMB 127 / 3.82 g.

✠ ΜΟΝΕΤΑ [+] ΜΕ**Ρ**ΑΥΔ'

✠ ΙΟ **Η**ΤΩ ΝΕΣ REX

✠ ΒΗΔΙΚΤΥ : ΣΙΤ : ΝΟ**Μ**Ε : ΔΗΙ : ΝΡΙ : ΔΒΙ : [ΙΗΥ] : ΧΡΙ

There is a Roman **M** in NOME, which is unusual. This appears to be the only sub-type with this type of **R** in ΜΕΡΑΥΔ: **Ρ**. This sub-type is known from 2 examples.



DNB NM-11844

[Weiller 64-IV]



MNHA 0006229

 MONETARY MERIT
 THE KING OF THE REX
 THE BIDDICTV : SIT : DNI : ROMAN : ORI : DEI : HV : XPI

Two of the words in the reverse, outer legend are not in the correct order; this is almost certainly a die-sinker error and not an intentional change by the mint. The crossbars have disappeared from the obverse A's. This is the only known example of this sub-type.




no mark after MONETA ?

From this point onwards, the word DEI seems to have disappeared from the outer legend.

WITHOUT DEI:

• TYPE XIII-e:

Weiller 64-V

Weiller ✚ e /  b



*Bibliothèque Nationale FRBNF449931891 / 3.55 g.
btv1b11342783z*

✚ MONET ✚ MERITVD

✚ IO hAN NES REX

✚ BHDICTV : SIT : NOM : DHI : ORI : HV : XPI

The horizontal arms of the cross in the reverse, inner legend seem to have been scratched out.

• **TYPE XIII-f:**

[Weiller 64-VI]

Weiller † d / e

✠ MONET † • MER † VD •

✠ IO h † N DES REX

✠ BHDICTV : SIT : NOME : DHI : NRI : HV : XPI



CdMB 125 / 3.66 g.



MNHA 0006230

On this coin, the marks after the words on the obverse appear as **pellets**; are they pellets, or “mashed” annulets?



*Bibliothèque Nationale FRBNF44993188 / 3.17 g.
btv1b11342782h*

On this coin as well, the marks after the words on the obverse appear as **pellets**; are they pellets, or “mashed” annulets?



MNHA 0006228

Either the final annulet has gone off into the “pearl ring” above, or the final mark is a crescent.

The **Ω** of NOME is questionable:



MNHA 0006228 (detail)

• **TYPE XIII-g:**

[Weiller 64-VII]

Weiller **+** f / **☿** d



Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin / 3.325 g. (Acc. 1905/71)
Photo: Christian Stoess

☿ MON**ET** **+** M**ER** **+** VD **+**
✠ IO **h** **+** **Ω** **Ω** ES REX
✠ BHDICTV : SIT : **Ω** **+** **Ω** : DHI : **Ω** RI : [**h** V :] XPI



*Bibliothèque Nationale FRBNF449931907 / 2.89 g.
btv1b11342784d*



MNHA 0006231

On this coin, the mark after MERAVD on the obverse appears as a **pellet**; is it a pellet, or a “mashed” annulet?

• **TYPE XIII-h:**

Weiller 64-VIII

(✚ g / ⚔ d)




CdMB 126 / 3.58 g.

✚ MONET ✚ MERTVD ✚
 ✚ IO hAN NES REX
 ✚ BHDICTV : SIT : NOME : DHI : ORI : HV : XPI

The difference between this sub-type and the last is the Roman N in NOME. This is the only known example of this sub-type.

• **TYPE XIII-i:**

[Weiller 64-IX]

Weiller ✚ h /  d



Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin / 3.45 g.

Acc. 1879 Grote / ex. Grote collection

Photo: Christian Stoess

✚ MONET[] ◦ MER~~A~~VD ◦

✚ IO h~~A~~N NES REX


✚ BHDICTV : SI[...NOME:] DHI : NRI : ~~h~~V XPI

There is no : after IHV. Otherwise, the difference between this coin **cat. XIII-g** is the form of the gothic E in NOME.



Elsen 109-976 / 3.87 (also Elsen 135-926)

• **TYPE XIII-j:**

Weiller † e /  — [e]



Elsen 132-485 / 2.54 g.

✠ MONETA ◦ MERAVD ◦

✠ IO hTQ NES REX


✠ [BH]DICTV : SIT : NOMÆ : DHI : Q[RI : H]V : XPI

Weiller listed no coins with a combination of annulet interpunction, and an A with a crossbar in either MONETA or MERAVD. Two such sub-types exist: **cat. XIII-j** with **Æ** in NOME and **cat. XIII-k** with **Ⓢ**, both unknown to Weiller.



Künker Summer 2018-756 / 2.95 g.

• **TYPE XIII-k:**

Weiller ✚ e /  — [f]



private collection

✚ MONETA • MERAVD •

✚ IO HAN NES REX

✚ BHDIC[TV]: SIT:  DHI: ORI: HV: XPI

Weiller did not list any such “sub-type” (i.e. combination of legends), but continuing on with his method of classification, this coin has a different **M** in NOME than the previous sub-type.



Elsen 133-816 / 2.83 g.

Same as the previous coin?

Wenceslas

Count of Luxembourg (1353 – 13 March, 1354)

Duke of Luxembourg (13 March, 1354 – 7 December, 1383)

Duke of Brabant (10 December, 1355 – 7 December, 1383)

John III 27 October, 1312 – 5 December, 1355 †

Jeanne 5 December, 1355 – 1 September, 1406 †

Wenceslas 5 December, 1355 – 7 December, 1383 †

• TYPE XIV:

Bernays & Valléus 136

R. Serrure 55

De Mey 482

Weiller 125

11♣ / 1♣ border



CdMB 147 / 0.90 g.

✱ MONETA ✱ LVCEB.

ODO MBO VR·D VXL

✱ BNDICTV · SIT · DOMB · DNI · NRI · HV XPI

With the coin properly oriented with the initial cross of the outer legend at the top, the inner legend is likely to read: LOCEMBOVR DVX.

The County of Luxembourg was raised to a duchy in 1354 by Emperor Charles IV (for his half-brother Wenceslas). Wenceslas subsequently became Duke of Brabant with the death of his father-in-law, John III in December of 1355. Wenceslas' name does not appear on the coin at all, but the title of duke indicates that it must have been struck for him.

This is the only known example of this fractional *groot* of the “mini-*leeuwengroot*” type. Although the obverse border leaves are similar to those found on the fractional BRABA *groot* of Brabant (and Megen, Gennep and Batenburg), they are not exactly the same.

136. ✠ MONET × LVCEB entourant un lion rampant. Le tout dans une bordure formée de onze feuilles de trèfle et d'un petit lion, chacun de ces ornements étant compris dans un petit cercle encadré de deux arceaux. La bordure est enfermée entre deux grènetis.

✠ · D · VXL · CCC · MO · VR en légende intérieure entre deux grènetis.

✠ BNDICTV · SIT · NO · ME · DNI · NRI · H̄VXPI en légende extérieure, entre deux grènetis, dont l'inférieur est le grènetis supérieur de l'autre légende.

Grande croix grêle, coupant le grènetis intérieur et la première légende.

A. — Poids : gr. 0,89. Tiers de gros.

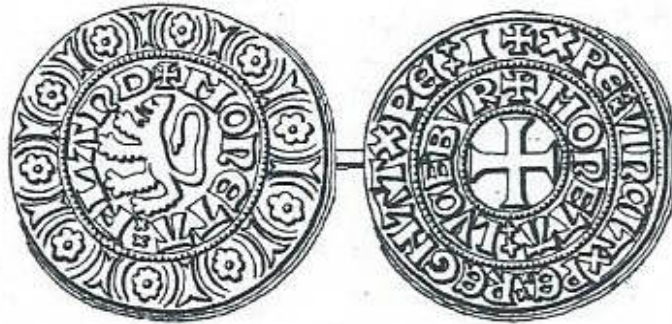
PL. X, FIG. 136.

Unique : Collection du V^{te} de Jonghe.

Bernays/Vannérus, p. 218^[1]

Other than the usual inattention to the round **O**'s, the transcriptions are basically correct.

Medieval counterfeit “coin of convention”



Dewismes 213 ^[3]

Dewismes 213 ^[3]

Engel & Serrure I, pl. LXXII ^[4]

R. Serrure, *RBN* 1880, p. 342 ^[7]

Weiller faux 111(p. 238), **plate XXXVI, 7** ^[75]

Weiller refers to this as a “*tiers de plaque*”, and he correctly attributes the model Flemish coin to Louis of Male (1346-1382), saying that Dewismes’ attribution to Louis of Nevers (1322-1346) was incorrect. According to Weiller, the reverse (cross side) is copying a coin of Charles IV, count of Luxembourg (26 August, 1346 – 19 December, 1353). We believe that the Flemish *tiers de gros au lion* was struck c. 1350 to 1352, meaning that this copy could not have been made before this period. We do not know where this coin can currently be found.

Some numismatists remain unconvinced that the “mini-leeuwengroot”, *tiers de gros de lion* of Flanders was struck for Louis of Male (1346-1384) and not for Louis of Nevers (1322-1346). The fact that the reverse (cross side) of this hybrid (albeit counterfeit) coin is a type minted only after the death of Louis of Nevers (and John the Blind) at Crécy, may well be an indication that the obverse type, the official *tiers de gros de lion* of Flanders, was indeed minted for Louis of Male and not for Louis of Nevers, since it is unlikely that an obverse would have been chosen that was not concurrent in time with the reverse type.

Les collections renferment, pour toutes les époques, de nombreuses monnaies, œuvres de faussaires du temps ; ce sont des pièces de cuivre ou d'argent dorées pour simuler l'or, des pièces de cuivre blanchies ou de bas alliage, pour simuler l'argent. C'est surtout dans les moments de trouble, à la faveur des révolutions ou des guerres, que les faux-monnaieurs exercent avec sécurité leur industrie : les temps mérovingiens et la première moitié du ^{xiv}^e siècle sont les deux époques pour lesquelles le plus de pièces fausses sont parvenues jusqu'à nous.

Il s'en faut que les fausses monnaies soient toujours la copie correcte de monnaies existantes. Ignorants ou peu soucieux de l'exactitude de leurs copies, destinées qu'elles étaient à circuler chez des gens qui ne savaient pas lire, souvent les faux-monnaieurs *mêlèrent* leurs coins de manière à produire des pièces hybrides impossibles, où un avers et un revers complètement disparates sont accouplés.

Nous citons à la p. 129 un triens mérovingien faux du temps qui porte deux noms de lieu **CRENO CASTOM** et **NOVO VICOLO**. Parmi les *mélanges de coins* du ^{xiv}^e siècle, nous rappellerons un *gros au cavalier* de Guillaume d'Avesnes, comte de Hainaut, dont le revers reproduit le coin d'un *gros* d'Alost ; les *gros* aux noms de Louis de Crécy, comte de Flandre, et de Jean l'Aveugle, comte de Luxembourg ; les *tiers de gros* avec les noms de Gand et de Halen ; les *esterlins* de Jean l'Aveugle, comte de Luxembourg, ayant au revers le nom d'Aix-la-Chapelle ; le *gros à l'aigle* de son successeur Charles IV portant au revers l'indication de l'atelier de Bonn ; le *gros au portail* d'un seigneur de Hornes ayant au revers, la légende **MONETA MERAVIDE**, etc., etc.². Ces pièces, sans aucune valeur historique, ont parfois, à leur découverte, donné naissance à de savantes, mais bien inutiles dissertations. Lorsque le

1. Abot de Bazinghen donne du *billonnage* une définition très complète en neuf articles. En Allemagne, les billonneurs s'appelaient *Kipper* et *Wipper*, c'est-à-dire ceux qui *rognaient* les monnaies et ceux qui les *pèsent* pour refondre les pièces lourdes et remettre en cours les légères.

2. Cf. une note de M. R. Serrure dans laquelle un certain nombre de pièces analogues sont signalées, *Revue belge de numism.*, 1880, p. 341.

numismate est mis en présence d'un monument historiquement inexplicable, dont le métal trahit une fraude, la plus grande prudence est nécessaire.

Engel & Serrure, pp. LXXII-LXXIII ^[4]

PREVIOUS LITERATURE

R. SERRURE (ref. 8)

cat. XII	R. Serrure 53	NRA NAMVR
cat. XIII	R. Serrure 54	MERAVID
cat. XIV	R. Serrure 55	LVCEB (<i>tiers</i>)

(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).

On ne possède pas de gros au lion de l'évêque de Liège seul. Le type ne se prêtait pas aisément à un monnayage épiscopal ; mais on connaît les émissions du comte de Luxembourg, faites avant 1344, à Poilvache :

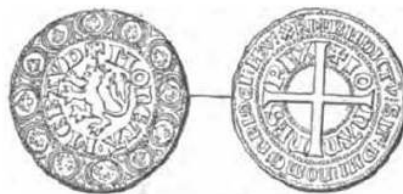


Fig. 54.

(Aigle) **MONETA MERAVD.** Lion couronné debout. Bordure de douze feuilles. — *Rev.* : BNDICTV : SIT : DNI : NOME : NRI : DEI : IHV : XRI en légende extérieure et + IO-HAN-NES-REX en légende intérieure. Croix coupant cette dernière légende (Voyez fig. 54).

Il est probable qu'on retrouvera d'autres *gros au lion* luxembourgeois. Le fait que cette monnaie fut longtemps en faveur dans ce pays résulte du *tiers de gros* suivant :

Wenceslas I^{er}, duc de Luxembourg (1354-1383). + **MONETA**

LVCEB. Lion debout. Bordure de onze trèfles et d'un lion. — *Rev.* : + BNDICTV.SIT.NÔME.DNI.NRI.IHV.XPI en légende extérieure et





Fig. 55.

WEILLER (ref. 75)



cat. XII	Weiller 94	NRA NAMVR
cat. XIII	Weiller 64	MERAVD
cat. XIV	Weiller 125	LVCEB (<i>tiers</i>)
cat. —	Weiller <i>faux</i> 111	MONETA FLAND / MONETA LVCEBVR

Weiller's descriptions of his **n° 94**, **125** and ***faux 111*** are all basically correct, and there is little more to be said about them. Because of the numerous sub-types known, **Weiller 64** warrants some discussion.

Weiller 64

Weiller's antiquated "a/a" method of describing coins comes directly out of the 19th century, and it is unnecessarily difficult to read. He provides a list of 4 obverse (lion side) legends (a – e), and a list of 8 sets of reverse (cross side) legends (a – h). Only legends "a" are transcribed in full; thereafter, only the changing letters or marks are listed. Weiller then provides a list of obverse/reverse transcriptions (a/a), or rather, reverse/obverse transcriptions, ( / ), leaving the reader to determine just what legends go together.

The bottom line is that a lot of deciphering is necessary on the part of the reader in order to determine what 9 "sub-types" Weiller is reporting (Weiller does not use the term "sub-type" himself).

Weiller  / 	[Weiller]	cat.	
a / a	[I]	XIII a	
b / a	[II]	XIII b	<i>not verified</i>
c / b	[III]	XIII c	
d / c	[IV]	XIII d	
e / b	[V]	XIII e	
e / d	[VI]	XIII f	
f / d	[VII]	XIII g	
g / d	[VIII]	XIII h	
h / d	[IX]	XIII i	
e / [e]	[X]	XIII j	<i>(not listed by Weiller)</i>
f / [e]	[XI]	XIII k	<i>(not listed by Weiller)</i>

There are no "b/c" or "e/a" or "d/b" or "g/c" (etc. etc.) coins known, and there is no reason for us to attempt to keep track of all of the possible combinations of legend readings that could exist, when only a very small number of combinations are actually known from extant coin examples. This is another reason that we find the "a/a" method of cataloging cumbersome and inefficient, and why we much prefer simply listing the known "sub-types" instead of legend combinations.

Despite devoting a great deal of attention to the various letter forms, Weiller does not properly convey the forms of the **O**'s used on the coins, distinguishing only between the following letter forms:

W	A	Π
E	Ɔ	Ɔ (i.e. Ɔ)
M	Ɔ	Ɔ (i.e. Ɔ)
H	N	Ɔ

Because Weiller viewed the lion side as the obverse (unlike ourselves), referring to his obverse-reverse combinations quickly becomes confusing. For this reason, we have indicated the central lion of the obverse and the central cross of the reverse when referring to the legends. In the end, it was simply easier and less confusing to adapt to Weiller's **+** / **+** method instead of using our usual **+** / **+** method.

Weller (**n° 64**) gives the following legends ^[75]:

+ Reverse (cross side)

All with **BHDICTV** (never **BNDICTV**)

All with **DHI** (never **DNI**)

DEI

+_a

✠IO hAN NES REX

✠ BHDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : DEI : HV : XPI

+_b

✠IO hAN NES REX

✠ BHDICTV : SIT : NOME : DHI : NRI : DEI : HV : XPI

+_c

✠IO hAN NES REX

✠ BHDICTV : SIT : DNI : NOME : NRI : DEI : HV : XPI

+_d

✠IO hAN NES REX

✠ BHDICTV : SIT : NOME : DHI : NRI : DEI : HV : XPI

NO DEI

†_e

✠ IO h**AN** NES REX

✠ BHDICTV : SIT : **NO** **AN** : DHI : **NR**I : **HN**V : XPI

†_f

✠ IO h**AN** NES REX

✠ BHDICTV : SIT : **NO** **AN** : DHI : **NR**I : **HN**V : XPI

†_g

✠ IO h**AN** NES REX

✠ BHDICTV : SIT : **NO** **AN** : DHI : **NR**I : **HN**V : XPI

†_h

✠ IO h**AN** NES REX

✠ BHDICTV : SIT : **NO** **AN** : DHI : **NR**I : **HN**V XPI

Obverse (lion side)

✠_a

✠ MON**ET**A × MER**AVD**'

✠_b

✠ MON**ET****A** × MER**AVD**

✠_c

✠ MON**ET**A + MER**AVD**'

✠_d

✠ MON**ET****A** ◦ MER**AVD** ◦

✠_e

(not reported by Weiller)

✠ MON**ET**A ◦ MER**AVD** ◦

KNOWN EXAMPLES:

Weiller lists the following examples, all but one of which is illustrated in this current report:

Weiller

[I]	a / a	K (1)	Copenhagen [KP 635.21]
[II]	b / a	CP (1)	private collection [not seen]
[III]	c / b	L (1)	Luxembourg [MNHA 6229]
[IV]	d / c	Br (1); DH (1)	Brussels [CdMB 127 / 3.82 g.] ; Den Haag [NM-11844]
[V]	e / b	P (1)	Paris [3.55 g.]
[VI]	e / d	Br (1); L (2); P (1)	Brussels [CdMB 125 / 3.66 g.] ; Lux. [MNHA 6230 & 6228] Paris [3.17 g.]
[VII]	f / d	Be (1); L (1); N (1); P (1)	Berlin [3.325 g.] ; Lux. [MNHA 6231] ; Namur [3.44 g.] ; Paris [2.89 g.]
[VIII]	g / d	Br (1)	Brussels [CdMB 126 / 3.58 g.] illus.
[IX]	h / d	Be (1)	Berlin 3.45 g.

2	Be	Berlin
3	Br	Brussels
1	CP	private collection [not seen]
1	DH	Den Haag / Koninklijk Penningkabinet
1	K	København, Nationalmuseet, Den kongelige Mont- og Medaillesamling
4	L	Luxembourg, Musée d'Histoire et d'Art, Cabinet des Médailles
1	N	Namur, Musée archéologique
3	P	Paris

= 16 total

To which we can add:



h / d	Elsen 109-976 / 3.87 g. (also Elsen 135-926);	Weiller IX / cat. XIII-i
e / [e]	Elsen 132-485 / 2.54 g.;	Weiller X / cat. XIII-j
e / [e]	Künker Summer 2018-756 / 2.95g.;	Weiller X / cat. XIII-j
f / [e]	Elsen 133-816 / 2.83 g.;	Weiller IX / cat. XIII-k
f / [e]	private collection	Weiller IX / cat. XIII-k

= 21 total examples known (we have not seen 1 of them)

Weiller “Sub-Types”

In order to make everything easier, we have numbered Weiller’s “sub-types” as I – IX, and paired up the obverse and reverse legends. These are the obverse/reverse combinations listed by Weiller:

Weiller 64 [I]

[Cat. XIII-a]

✠ a / ☚ a

✠ MONETA * MERAVD'

✠ IO hAN NES REX

✠ BHDICTV : SIT : NOOE : DNI : ORI : DEI : HV : XPI

Weiller 64 [II]

[unverified]

[Cat. XIII-b]

✠ b / ☚ a [not verified]

✠ MONETA * MERAVD'

✠ IO hAN NES REX

✠ BHDICTV : SIT : NOMA : DHI : ORI : DEI : HV : XPI

Weiller 64 [III]

[Cat. XIII-c]

✠ c / ☚ b

✠ MONETA MERAVD

✠ IO hAN NES REX

✠ BHDICTV : SIT : DNI : NOMA : ORI : DEI : HV : XPI

Weiller 64 [IV]

[Cat. XIII-d]

✠ d / ☚ c

✠ MONETA + MERAVD'

✠ IO hAN NES REX

✠ BHDICTV : SIT : NOMA : DHI : ORI : DEI : HV : XPI

Weiller 64 [V]

[Cat. XIII-e]

✚ e / 𐌺 b

𐌹 MONET * MERVD

𐌹IO hTQ NES REX

✚ BHDICTV : SIT : QOMG : DHI : QRI : Hv : XPI

Weiller 64 [VI]

[Cat. XIII-f]

✚ e / 𐌺 d

𐌹 MONET ◦ MERVD ◦

𐌹IO hTQ NES REX

✚ BHDICTV : SIT : QOMG : DHI : QRI : Hv : XPI

Weiller 64 [VII]

[Cat. XIII-g]

✚ f / 𐌺 d

𐌹 MONET ◦ MERVD ◦

𐌹IO hTQ NES REX

✚ BHDICTV : SIT : QOG : DHI : QRI : Hv : XPI

Weiller 64 [VIII]

[Cat. XIII-h]

✚ g / 𐌺 d

𐌹 MONET ◦ MERVD ◦

𐌹IO hTQ NES REX

✚ BHDICTV : SIT : NOG : DHI : QRI : Hv : XPI

Weiller 64 [IX]

[Cat. XIII-i]

✚ h / 𐌺 d

𐌹 MONET ◦ MERVD ◦

𐌹IO hTQ NES REX

✚ BHDICTV : SIT : NOG : DHI : QRI : Hv XPI

Weiller Addenda

Weiller does not list a **✠ MONETA • MERAVD •** legend (A's with crossbars), as some of the known examples clearly have. We have therefore added “Weiller X-XI” to the catalog (and obverse legend **✠** [e]):

Weiller — [Weiller 64 X]

[Cat. XIII-j]

✠ e / **✠** [e]

✠ MONETA • MERAVD •

✠ IO hAN NES REX

✠ [BH]DICTV : SIT : NOMA : DHI : N[RI : H]V : XPI

Weiller — [Weiller 64 XI]

[Cat. XIII-k]

✠ f / **✠** [e]

✠ MONETA • MERAVD •

✠ IO hAN NES REX

✠ BHDICTV : SIT : NOMA : DHI : NRI : HV : XPI

CONCLUSION

Weiller’s catalog is basically correct, if incomplete. Weiller differentiated between several different forms of several different letters (while ignoring the O’s). Are the differences between these letter forms important?

H / N	N
¶ / ¶	E
M / M	M

We are of the opinion that the differences between the forms of the letters in the left and right columns are significant and important. Whether or not the variations between the letter forms in the left-hand column (only) are important is a matter for discussion.

We are of the opinion that the difference between **H** & **N** is relatively unimportant (unlike the difference between **N** & **N / H**); the letter intended by the mint was a (Roman) **N**. We are also not convinced of the importance between differences in **¶** & **¶** and **M** & **M**, but we have included Weiller’s distinctions nevertheless.

In other words: the distinction between Roman and gothic letters is important, but we are not convinced that differences in style among gothic letters is any kind of a minting mark.

Assuming that Weiller's distinctions are correct (which may or may not be the case), then there would seem to be about 11 different sub-types of the John the Blind *leeuwengroot*, known from some 21 specimens:

Weiller	cat.	obverse	rev.	rev.	rev.	Notes
I	XIII-a	* M E R A V D '	h A Q	QO D E	D E I	
II	XIII-b	* M E R A V D '	h A Q	QOM E	D E I	<i>not verified</i>
III	XIII-c	+ M E R A V D	h A Q	QOM E	D E I	
IV	XIII-d	[+] M E R A V D '	h A Q	QOM E	D E I	DNI : QOM E
V	XIII-e	* M E R A V D	h A Q	QOM E	—	
VI	XIII-f	◦ M E R A V D ◦	h A Q	QOM E	—	
VII	XIII-g	◦ M E R A V D ◦	h A Q	QO D E	—	
VIII	XIII-h	◦ M E R A V D ◦	h A Q	NO D E	—	
IX	XIII-i	◦ M E R A V D ◦	h A Q	QO D E	—	
[X]	XIII-j	◦ M E R A V D ◦	h A Q	QOM E	—	
[XI]	XIII-k	◦ M E R A V D ◦	h A Q	QO D E	—	

Table of Known Sub-Types


All with 12♣ borders

All with initial ♠

All with **BHDIQTV** and **DHI**

Always MONETA & MERA~~V~~D or MONETA~~A~~ & MERA~~A~~V~~D~~

The concordance between Weiller's legend readings and the current catalog is:

Weiller ✚ / 	[Weiller]	cat.	
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
a / a	[I]	XIII a	
b / a	[II]	XIII b	<i>not verified</i>
c / b	[III]	XIII c	
d / c	[IV]	XIII d	
e / b	[V]	XIII e	
e / d	[VI]	XIII f	
f / d	[VII]	XIII g	
g / d	[VIII]	XIII h	
h / d	[IX]	XIII i	
 e / [e]	 [X]	 XIII j	 <i>(not listed by Weiller)</i>
f / [e]	[XI]	XIII k	<i>(not listed by Weiller)</i>

What if the differences between gothic M's and E's are meaningless?

Weiller	cat.	obverse	rev.	rev.	rev.	Notes
I	XIII-a	* MĖRÆVD'	h𐌹𐌺𐌹	𐌺𐌴𐌳𐌸	D𐌸I	
II	XIII-b	* MĖRÆVD'	h𐌹𐌺𐌹	𐌺𐌴𐌳𐌸	D𐌸I	<i>not verified</i>
III	XIII-c	+ MĖR𐌹VD	h𐌹𐌺𐌹	𐌺𐌴𐌳𐌸	D𐌸I	
IV	XIII-d	[+] MĖRÆVD'	h𐌹𐌺𐌹	𐌺𐌴𐌳𐌸	D𐌸I	DNI : 𐌺𐌴𐌳𐌸
V	XIII-e	* MĖR𐌹VD	h𐌹𐌺𐌹	𐌺𐌴𐌳𐌸	—	
VI	XIII-f	◦ MĖR𐌹VD ◦	h𐌹𐌺𐌹	𐌺𐌴𐌳𐌸	—	
VH	XIII-g	◦ MĖR𐌹VD ◦	h𐌹𐌺𐌹	𐌺𐌴𐌳𐌸	—	<i>would not exist</i>
VIII	XIII-h	◦ MĖR𐌹VD ◦	h𐌹𐌺𐌹	N𐌴𐌳𐌸	—	
IX	XIII-i	◦ MĖR𐌹VD ◦	h𐌹𐌺𐌹	𐌺𐌴𐌳𐌸	—	<i>would not exist</i>
[X]	XIII-j	◦ MĖRÆVD ◦	h𐌹𐌺𐌹	𐌺𐌴𐌳𐌸	—	
{X}	XIII-k	◦ MĖRÆVD ◦	h𐌹𐌺𐌹	𐌺𐌴𐌳𐌸	—	<i>would not exist</i>

Table of Known Sub-Types If Letter Differences Are Meaningless

Weiller	cat.	obverse	rev.	rev.	rev.	Notes
I	XIII-a	* MĖRÆVD'	h𐌹𐌺𐌹	𐌺𐌴𐌳𐌸	D𐌸I	
II	XIII-b	* MĖRÆVD'	h𐌹𐌺𐌹	𐌺𐌴𐌳𐌸	D𐌸I	<i>not verified</i>
III	XIII-c	+ MĖR𐌹VD	h𐌹𐌺𐌹	𐌺𐌴𐌳𐌸	D𐌸I	
IV	XIII-d	[+] MĖRÆVD'	h𐌹𐌺𐌹	𐌺𐌴𐌳𐌸	D𐌸I	DNI : 𐌺𐌴𐌳𐌸
V	XIII-e	* MĖR𐌹VD	h𐌹𐌺𐌹	𐌺𐌴𐌳𐌸	—	
VI	XIII-f	◦ MĖR𐌹VD ◦	h𐌹𐌺𐌹	𐌺𐌴𐌳𐌸	—	
VIII	XIII-h	◦ MĖR𐌹VD ◦	h𐌹𐌺𐌹	N𐌴𐌳𐌸	—	
[X]	XIII-j	◦ MĖRÆVD ◦	h𐌹𐌺𐌹	𐌺𐌴𐌳𐌸	—	

Table of Known Sub-Types If Letter Differences Are Meaningless

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