

MEDIEVAL NUMISMATICS IN THE SOUTHERN NETHERLANDS

THE EARLY HISTORY OF NUMISMATIC SCHOLARSHIP in the northern Netherlands was surveyed a hundred and fifty years ago by Van der Chijs in one of his first publications (Van der Chijs 1833), and the subject is naturally included in Babelon's monumental survey of the history of numismatics (Babelon 1901, p. 66 ff.) and in a briefer notice by Engel & Serrure 1891-1905, I, p. XXII-XXIII). C.A. Serrure described early scholarship and collecting in the southern Netherlands in the preface to his account of the Prince de Ligne collection (Serrure 1880, p. II-LXXIX), and a sketch of collecting in the northern Netherlands was written by Van Kerkwijk, who took a particular interest in the history of the discipline (Van Kerkwijk 1928; some supplementary material for the sixteenth century in Van Gelder 1975 and for the eighteenth in Van Kuyk 1946). Most of the manuscripts Van Kerkwijk collected are now in the KPK (summary in 'Documentatie – Van Kerkwijk', *De Geuzenpenning* 8 (1958), p. 20-22), but his collection of nineteenth-century brochures and sale catalogues was included in a Utrecht sale and many were acquired by Grierson, thus contributing to this appendix. Van Kuyk's history of the KPK referred to later includes much of general interest, as do the various accounts of the CMB. Bethune (1891) produced a survey of the first half-century of the *Société royale de numismatique de Belgique* and its review for the Brussels meeting of the International Numismatic Congress in 1891. Tourneur celebrated the publication of the hundredth volume of the *Revue* in 1954 (Tourneur 1954), and de Callataÿ (2001) has studied the changes in its contents over the years. The history of the Society was recited in the course of its 125th anniversary celebrations in 1967 (*RBN* 1967, p. XII-XIV, LII-LIII, LXVII-LXIX), and Colaert produced a much fuller history for its 150th anniversary (Colaert 1991).

Some biographies of scholars, and more rarely of collectors, will be found in the standard biographical dictionaries, the *Biographie nationale de Belgique* of the Belgian Academy (Brussels, 1866-...), A.J. van der Aa's *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden* (21 vol. Haarlem, 1852-79) and the *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek* edited by P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok (Leiden, 1911-...). The obituary notices in the *RBN*, *TMP* and *JMP* are, with few exceptions, perfunctory and inadequate, but there are excellent accounts of nearly 20 Dutch scholars and their collections in the catalogue (*Geld en glorie* 1967) of an exhibition celebrating the 75th anniversary of the *Koninklijk Nederlands Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde*. Weiller did the same for numismatists in Luxemburg in an admirably illustrated study (Weiller 1976c).

Numismatists are not usually much concerned with the way in which their discipline developed, but they sometimes require information about the authors

of the books and articles they use. Equally interesting are the identities, interests and even limitations of the collectors whose names or initials figure on the title-pages of sale catalogues. The following sketch of the study of medieval numismatics in the Low Countries is necessarily both imperfect and one-sided. It is imperfect in that it has had to be written almost entirely from printed sources. A fully satisfactory account would have to use the surviving private correspondence of scholars, collectors and dealers, and such a study could only be carried out by residents of the countries concerned, with more time and better qualifications than either of us possesses. Reliance on printed sources notably does less than justice to collectors, for while the deaths of scholars are often followed by obituary notices in one or more of the periodicals to which they contributed, those of collectors are rarely noticed in the same way.

An account limited to the study of *medieval* numismatics in the Low Countries is also necessarily one-sided, for it does not take account of the work of many distinguished scholars and collectors in the fields of ancient and modern numismatics – J.P. Six (1824-99) of Amsterdam, for example, was a towering figure in the field of Greek numismatics in the nineteenth century – and, in the case of the northern Netherlands, of the many students of the medals and tokens which in wide variety proliferated in the northern provinces from the outbreak of the Eighty Years War onwards. But even a defective and one-sided sketch will help to place the study of the coinages covered in this volume in some sort of perspective.

THE BEGINNINGS

The study of the medieval coinage of the southern Netherlands began effectively in the 1830s, but its foundations were laid fifty years earlier in the 1780s. In 1739 Voltaire had described Brussels as a '*séjour d'ignorance*', and the entrenched conservatism and immense influence of the University of Louvain weighed heavily on intellectual and cultural life. Only in the 1760s did conditions begin to change, largely under the liberalizing influence of the Governor General Charles of Lorraine (1712-80; governor from 1744), and his Minister Plenipotentiary, Count Charles-Pierre-Jean de Cobenzl (1712-77; Minister from 1753), who between them made a sustained effort to import the ideas of the French Enlightenment. Artists and scholars were lavishly patronized and much was done for education. An attempt to modernize the courses at the university of Louvain came to little, but Cobenzl founded at Brussels the *Société littéraire* in 1768 which in 1771 was transformed by Kaunitz into the *Académie des sciences de Bruxelles*, the progenitor of the present *Académie royale de Belgique*. When the Jesuits were suppressed the colleges were replaced by the so-called *collèges thérésiens*, giving a much larger place to instruction in mathematics, history and geography.

It was against this background that the first publications on medieval Belgian numismatics began in the 1780s. The best remembered figure is Ghesquière, but two others, Heylen and Gérard, should not be overlooked. Two of the three were clerics and all of them can be regarded as professional scholars,

not amateurs, though numismatics formed in each case only one interest amongst many.

The abbé Joseph-Hippolyte Ghesquière (1731-1802; *BNB* VII, p. 719-725) received a good academic training as a Jesuit and was associated from the 1760s onwards with the Bollandists, adding to his specialised work in the field of hagiography an interest in archaeology and numismatics. The disputes accompanying and following the suppression of the Jesuits in the Austrian Netherlands and the fate of their property occasioned him many difficulties. Although he was able to continue his hagiographical work and edit the six volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum Belgii selecta* between 1783 and 1794, little came of his farsighted projects for a series of publications on the history and antiquities of the Low Countries. Even his oddly entitled *Mémoire sur trois points intéressans de l'histoire monétaire des Pays-Bas* (1786), on which his numismatic reputation rests, remained a fragment.

It is nonetheless an octavo volume of over 200 pages and five plates, essentially based on the important coin collection which with the help of his family he had managed to put together, for there were no public collections available. The 'three points' were a discussion of the mints in the Seventeen Provinces prior to 1450, a description of the coins and an enquiry into their denominations, and an attempt to estimate their values in terms of the money of his own day. Although rendered obsolete by the more detailed publications of the nineteenth century, it is an impressive piece of scholarship, and its author intended it to be only the first of six volumes, with the next one dealing with foreign coins circulating in the Low Countries before 1450 and then two pairs of volumes covering the local and foreign coins of the periods 1450-1600 and 1600-1700. These never appeared, and when the French invaded the Austrian Netherlands in 1794 Ghesquière took refuge in Essen beyond the Rhine, where he died in 1802. His coin collection and numismatic library (cf. Bordeaux 1905) were sold at Ghent ten years later (6 July 1812), the auction catalogue itself being a substantial work of over 300 pages.

Of the others, Georges-Joseph Gérard (1734-1814; *BNB* VII, p. 647-655), a distinguished public official, one of the founders of the *Académie royale* and its first permanent secretary, was one of the leading scholars in the country during the last decades of the *Ancien Régime* and in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods. But as a numismatist he was the least important of the trio, and although the title of the paper he read to the Academy in December 1786 suggested that it covered the coinage of the Burgundian period in general (Gérard 1787) it does little more than print and discuss four minting records of Philip the Bold and is long since superseded, better editions of the texts being now available elsewhere. Canon Adrien Heylen (1745-1802; *BNB* IX, p. 348-352), archivist of the great Premonstratensian abbey of Tongerlo in the southern Campine and much interested in local antiquities and archaeology, published a substantial memoir in Flemish (Heylen 1787) on the mints of the Low Countries in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is mainly concerned with the finenesses and the weights and values of the coins, and for these it is still occasionally useful.

Later tradition ascribed the great numismatic flowering in Belgium in the 1830s and 1840s mainly to two events, the dispersal of the Renesse collection and the settlement in Brussels of the Polish numismatist Joachim Lelewel, since the first greatly expanded the world of collectors and the second brought to Belgium the only numismatist then living whose numismatic interests and range covered the whole of Europe. But one must not forget the impulse given by the birth of the new state in 1830, the creation of a national coin cabinet in 1835, and the establishment of a numismatic society and periodical in 1841.

The influence of the creation of the new Belgian state goes without saying, for research into the cultural past of the country would go far to establish its credentials and its identity in the eyes of Europe, and perhaps of its own citizens. The others need to be further described.

The precise consequences of the dispersal of the Renesse collection are harder to trace. Clement-Wenceslas, comte de Renesse-Breidbach (1776-1833), was a member of the lesser nobility of Limburg (see *BNB* XIX, p. 96-101) who managed to build up an extraordinary collection of coins, manuscripts, charters, engravings and miscellaneous antiquities, many of them coming from secularized religious establishments or from the family treasures that came on the market in the aftermath of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. His coin collection, greatly expanded from one he had inherited from one of his uncles, a canon of Trier, was certainly one of the largest in Europe. He was not particularly distinguished as a scholar, though his monograph of 1830-31 on the coins of the prince-bishops of Liège was for a time regarded as authoritative, the high quality of its plates, specially commissioned by an artist from Koblenz, compensating for the misattributions of many of the coins. In 1831 he published a *Description abrégée* of his collections, which he had hopes of selling *en bloc* to some public authority, either the Prussian state, well established in the lower Rhineland since 1815, or the newly founded kingdom of Belgium of which he had become a citizen. It was unfortunate, indeed, that the latter transaction never took place, for it would have resulted in an immense increase in the artistic patrimony of the country. Instead his collections were dispersed after his death in eight huge sales at Antwerp over the years 1835-37. A preview of the last section, a catalogue of his collection of 37,000 coins, jetons and medals, was provided in a three-volume work published in 1835 by his son entitled *Mes loisirs. Amusements numismatiques*, the second and third volumes of which covered the medieval and modern periods. Unfortunately the coins are simply listed, with at most a couple of lines of description, so that unlike the catalogue of the very similar Thomsen collection at Copenhagen a generation later it never became a standard work of reference. Its dispersal was of value to collectors of the day, not to their successors in later times.

It was in 1833 that Joachim Lelewel (1786-1861) had settled in Brussels. He had come to the West two years earlier, as a refugee from the brutal Russian repression of the Polish rising of 1830. Prior to that event he had had an academic career of great distinction, alternating professorships in history at the University of Vilnius with the directorship of the public library at Warsaw and generally regarded as the most accomplished scholar in Poland. A man of his

eminence was inevitably drawn into politics. In 1830 he had become president of the Patriotic Society, and was thought of as a possible head of an independent Polish state, but with the fall of Warsaw to the Russians on 7 September 1831 he had to flee to the West. He settled first in Paris, but in 1833 the government of Louis-Philippe, alarmed at the spread of republican sentiment, expelled him from France. In Brussels he quickly built up a circle of friends and admirers, mingling Polish politics with indefatigable scholarly activity and living a life of austere poverty, gently refusing the financial assistance his friends pressed upon him and renowned for the way he thought little of going on foot from Brussels to Ghent or Antwerp when he had to consult libraries or archives. It was at Brussels that he spent most of the remaining 28 years of his life, returning only to Paris, in circumstances never fully explained, to die in 1861.

Lelewel's greatest work was his *Numismatique du moyen-âge, considérée sous le rapport de type*, published in three volumes, with an accompanying one of plates, at Paris in 1835 (Lelewel 1835A). It is an astonishing piece of scholarship, and for the next sixty years, till superseded by the *Traité* of Engel & Serrure (1891-1905), was the bible of all students of medieval numismatics. Lelewel was an accomplished artist, and the coins, monograms, details of types, and maps which fill the work were all drawn and engraved by himself. The densely packed and authoritative text fills three volumes, the Low Countries in the third (p. 257-296), and the supplementary *Atlas* includes chronological tables of rulers, together with admirably drawn and coloured maps as well as plates of coins. (The Low Country section was reprinted at Brussels (Lelewel 1835) as a separate brochure under a somewhat inelegant title *Observations sur le type du moyen-âge de la monnaie des Pays-Bas*). Lelewel was particularly interested in the evolution of coin-types – he was one of the earliest scholars, in another publication, to study and classify Celtic coins – and his attributions of the petty deniers of the Low Countries, some of which were published for the first time, are still worthy of attention. His knowledge of the details of European history never ceases to astonish the reader, and the role of the book, in stimulating the study of medieval numismatics in the Low Countries as elsewhere, can scarcely be exaggerated.

THE HEROIC AGE, 1835 – c. 1860

One can fairly term the twenty-five years between 1835 and c. 1860 an heroic age. They saw the creation of a national collection (1835) and a numismatic society with a journal of its own (1841). They saw the publication of two important coin cabinets, Den Duyts' catalogue of the collection of the University of Ghent, the first edition (1839) covering Flanders, Brabant and Hainault and the second (1847) adding Namur and Luxemburg, and Serrure's that of the Low Country coins in the private collection of the prince de Ligne (1847). The provision of draft catalogues of the coins of the Belgian principalities of the middle ages was a project of the newly formed numismatic society, and a series of these appeared in its periodical in the 1840s: ones on Hainault and Namur, both by Chalon, in 1845, and one on Luxemburg by de la Fontaine in

1849. Later, superseding the first two of these, came Chalon's separate monographs on Hainault (1848, with supplements in 1852, 1854 and 1857) and Namur (1860). There were also separate monographs, in the same period, on Flanders (Gaillard 1852, expanded 1857), Artois (Hermand 1843), and many fiefs of the Maas region (Wolters 1846-52). Poey d'Avant's catalogue of his private collection, published in 1853 and serving as the auction catalogue when his coins were sold in 1856, included the whole of the southern Netherlands, but this section was for the most part unfortunately not illustrated. Rouyer published important studies of the black money of Flanders and the petty states of the Maas region.

A national coin collection in the new capital of Brussels was a contributing factor to the rise of numismatics in Belgium, though its creation could scarcely be regarded by the new rulers as a matter of urgency. More important was the formation a little later, by a group of amateurs and collectors, of a numismatic society whose members could exchange views, discover each other's interests and publish a journal.

The national coin collection, today the *Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque royale Albert I^{er}*, goes back to 1835, when the government of the newly-formed state resolved to set up a '*Musée d'armes anciennes, d'armures, d'objets d'art et de numismatique*'. Three years later it was decided to follow the example of Paris and attach the numismatic section of this conglomerate to the national library. Unlike almost all other national collections, however, that of Belgium had behind it no great royal or ducal collection going back to the *Ancien Régime*, although it did soon acquire the substantial collection of the city of Brussels. Moreover the strong Belgian reluctance to enlarge the privileges of the state, and a determination to preserve as far as possible the rights of the individual, meant that it had to be formed with a minimum of legal assistance. In Belgium there is consequently no obligation on the Mint to provide specimens of newly-struck coins, no rights of pre-emption for the national collection at public auctions, and till recently even no claim by public authorities to treasure trove or indeed any provision for ensuring that a record of coin finds is preserved. The early development of the *Cabinet des Médailles* was in consequence a slow and halting one, and in the early stages of the development of medieval numismatics in Belgium its contributions to the subject were very small.

It did not acquire a proper constitution, or even a formal Keeper, until 1858. Initially the engraver at the Mint, J.P. Braemt, who might be supposed to know something of coins, was charged with the duty of starting the collection and given funds for doing so. By 1846, when it was moved from Braemt's house to quarters in the *Bibliothèque royale*, it consisted of no more than 7,500 items, a third of them coins from the city collection acquired in 1843. Since there was no member of the library staff capable of looking after it, the archivist Charles Piot, whom we shall meet with later and who had already a considerable reputation as a numismatist, was entrusted with the task of making a catalogue. In 1853 he was formally seconded to the *Bibliothèque* and in 1859 was given the honorary post of assistant keeper (*Conservateur adjoint*) in charge

of the coins. He held this post till the end of 1869, when he relinquished it on becoming archiviste-adjoint at the *Archives nationales*. But despite all his efforts the collection remained a small one; when his successor Camille Picqué took over it contained no more than 20,000 coins.

In default of a major national collection, students had to fall back on those of private individuals, and a glance through the names of recorded owners in the draft monographs on the coins of Hainault, Namur and Luxemburg which bulk so large in the first numbers of the *RBN*, and, rather later, those mentioned in the relevant sections of Poey d'Avant's three-volume monograph on French feudal coinage, gives one an idea of who these collectors were. The majority were persons who were themselves scholars and whose names appear again and again in the literature: C.P. Serrure, Renier Chalon, Louis De Coster, A.-J. Everaerts of Louvain, Théodore de la Fontaine. About others we often know very little, unless from the catalogues of their collections when these came on the market. This was the case for the Alexandre Piat collection (sold at Ghent 6/II/1882), whose rich holdings of coins of Liège even caused it to be reprinted in modern times (1986). Most of the owners seem to have been friends and ready to put their coins at the disposal of others, though there were exceptions. Count Maurice de Robiano (1815-69), who had an outstanding collection, published very little and had the reputation during his lifetime of concealing his treasures from prying eyes.

Fortunately these collectors did not work in isolation. The formation of numismatic societies and the publication of reviews specializing in numismatics, with sometimes an admixture of sigillography and heraldry, was very much in the air at the time. In Germany, Hermann Grote (1802-95), one of the greatest medieval numismatists of the nineteenth century, began to publish his *Blätter für Münzkunde*, with generous attention to the middle ages. In France, a group of scholars came together at Blois in 1836 and founded the *Revue numismatique*. In 1841 it was the turn of Belgium, though there are slightly divergent accounts of how what was to become the *Société belge de numismatique* – *Société royale* since 1866 – came into existence. The initiative seems to have come from Louis De Coster (1800-79), a collector of Carolingian and Brabantine coins and at the time burgomaster of Héverlé, a small town south of Louvain. Early in 1841 he and a few friends met for dinner and drew up plans for a new society. The secretary was to be L. Louis, principal of the main school at Thienen (Tirlemont) and erroneously believed by the others to be a competent administrator with some experience in publishing. Louis arranged a further meeting at Thienen, but eventually it took place at Brussels, where over dinner at the *Hôtel de Brabant*, on 10 July 1842, rules for the new society were formulated and plans for the publication of the *Revue de la numismatique belge* were drawn up.

The scholars active in this early period can best be grouped locally, for many though not all of them tended to concentrate their attention on the coins of their own region. At Ghent there were C.P. Serrure, F.B. Den Duyts, M.-J. Wolters and Victor Gaillard. At Brussels there were Joachim Lelewel, Renier Chalon, Charles Piot, and in a sense Louis De Coster. At Antwerp there was

Frederik Verachter, at Tongeren Antoine Perreau, and at Luxembourg Théodore de la Fontaine. In the south, beyond the modern Belgian frontier but either resident in or coming from areas that formed part of the Low Countries in the middle ages, there were Adolphe Dewismes, Alexandre Hermand and Louis Deschamps de Pas, all three living at Saint-Omer, Louis Dancoisne living at Hénin-Liétard, and Jules Rouyer, born in Artois but employed in eastern France. Further afield, less closely linked with the others, were two great French numismatists, Charles Robert and Faustin Poey d'Avant, whose Low Country interests are often forgotten by Belgian scholars. They form part of the story because the first wrote what is still the standard monograph on the coinage of Cambrai, the second because he included in his great monograph on French feudal coinage the many town mints in Artois and Flanders irrespective of whether they were in modern France or not. These scholars formed a galaxy of talent rarely found at any one time in the numismatic world, and their immense productivity set the pattern for all future work. It is true that while they were all active during the same decades, there were considerable differences between them. Lelewel, Den Duyts and Wolters were born in the eighteenth century and several others in the Napoleonic period, while others started much later, so that the younger ones tended to regard their older 'contemporaries' as their masters. But all belonged to what can fairly be called an heroic age.

The scholars working at Ghent have for a number of reasons a claim to be treated ahead of their Brussels counterparts. Ghent was to a considerable degree the cultural capital of the Belgian kingdom in its early days. It was the seat of one of its three universities; it had a wealthy middle class, French-rather than Flemish-speaking, with strong cultural traditions; and it could boast the presence of several serious collectors in addition to a small university collection looked after by Den Duyts. C.P. Serrure, a professor at the university and one of the outstanding Belgian scholars of the century, had perhaps the best private coin collection in Belgium and a well deserved reputation for generosity in making it available to others. His protégé Den Duyts was to produce a catalogue of the university collection which for long served as the only standard reference book covering all provinces of the Southern Netherlands, and his pupil Victor Gaillard wrote what is still the standard work on the coinage of Flanders prior to the Burgundian period. Nor were the interests of these scholars purely local; a friend of Serrure's, Wolters, wrote a series of handbooks on the secondary mints of the Maas region that remain in regular use today.

The leading figure amongst the Ghent numismatists was Constant Philippe Serrure (1805-72). Numismatics was only one of his many interests, and in that field his reputation is overshadowed by that of his far more prolific grandson Raymond. But Raymond had behind his work half a century of numismatic studies, while C.P. Serrure did not have this advantage. He had virtually to create the discipline for himself.

C.P. Serrure's career, of which an excellent sketch was contributed to the *Liber Memorialis* (I.81-94) of the University of Ghent (cf. also *BNB* XXII (1919), p. 251-264) was purely academic in character. His father was a diamond mer-

chant at Antwerp, and he always had sufficient means to gratify his collecting tastes. While a student at Louvain he developed the passionate interest in early Flemish literature that was largely to make his reputation. It also brought him to the attention of L.A. Warnkoenig (1794-1866), a German scholar who held a succession of academic posts in Belgium between 1817 and 1836 and who is rightly regarded as the founder of nineteenth-century Belgian historiography. It was Warnkoenig who secured Serrure's appointment as archivist at Ghent in 1833, at the early age of 28. In 1835 he added to this a professorship at the recently reorganized university of Ghent, where he was to give the main course in Belgian and medieval history from 1835 until his retirement and, during the decade 1854-64, the main course on Flemish literature as well. He also had two unhappy years (1854-55) as Rector of the University, a post for which he was little suited and from which he was eventually dismissed by the Minister of Education. His scholarly output, mainly in the fields of Flemish literature and philology, was prodigious. He built up during his life what was certainly one of the most important and largest private libraries in Belgium, a library which it took no fewer than 14 sales to disperse over the years 1872-74.

Serrure's numismatic work belongs to three decades 1827-58, its most substantial product being his *Notice* of the collection of Prince Eugène de Ligne, a grandson of the great eighteenth-century diplomat and wit and himself prominent in political life as ambassador and eventually president of the Senate (de Ligne 1940). The work (Serrure 1847) was only in part replaced by a second edition in 1880, for while the latter reproduces almost without change its author's survey of the early history of collecting and numismatic studies in Belgium, and adds Celtic and Frankish (Merovingian and Carolingian) sections which were not in the first edition, it reserved all the Belgian principalities other than Brabant and Limburg for a second volume that never appeared. The 1847 edition is a remarkable work, for although it appeared before the publications of Van der Chijs, Gaillard and Chalon it provides evidence of the author's learning, judgment, and familiarity with the material.

The same qualities are manifest in several other publications, effectively a long series of contributions to the *Messenger des sciences et des arts* and its successor the *Messenger des sciences historiques*, the main scholarly publications at Ghent, the *Vaderlandsche Museum* which he subsequently founded (1855) and directed, and the *Revue de numismatique belge* which he helped to found in 1842. He was a distinguished collector, and exceptionally generous in placing his material at the disposal of others. Van der Chijs, Chalon and Gaillard frequently cite his coins and acknowledge his help, and it was he who saw the expanded version of Gaillard's monograph through the press after its author's untimely death. But the variety of Serrure's scholarly preoccupations meant that although he played a leading role in the founding of the *Société belge* and its periodical, he never found time to produce the monograph on some major principality that his friends expected of him. His collection was sold during his lifetime in two parts, one in Paris (Hoffmann, 7/IV/1857) and the other anonymously in Amsterdam (Bom, 26/IV/1858, lots 1-130).

A more elusive character than Serrure was his friend Mathias-Joseph Wol-

ters (1793-1859). Professionally a civil engineer and architect who rose high in the administration of the *Ponts-et-Chaussées*, his hobbies were the history and archeology of Limburg, where he had been born and brought up (*BNB* XXVII, p. 396-397). In 1825 he settled in Ghent, where he became Inspector General of the *Ponts-et-Chaussées* in East Flanders and published a number of technical studies. Only in his fifties did he find the leisure for other activities dear to his heart. Between 1846 and 1855 he produced a series of some twenty monographs on Rekem, Gronsveld, Steyn and other localities in eastern Belgium, some running to several hundred pages and, where the localities had also been mints, with appendices on their coins written either by himself or supplied by Serrure or Chalon. Some of these monographs were published anonymously, for reasons that escape us, but they are included in the list of his works in the *Bibliographie nationale* IV (1910), p. 364-366, and still remain of value.

Related to Serrure's circle at Ghent, though not fully a member of it because of his lower social status, was F.B. Den Duyts (1792-1848), keeper of the university coin collection from 1833 to his death. After serving as a conscript in Napoleon's final campaigns and a period as a prisoner of war in Russia, he returned to Ghent in 1814. In 1821 he obtained a minor post in the university as secretary to the professor of physics. Although lacking in formal education his intelligence and organizing abilities attracted the attention of his superiors, so that in 1833 he was placed in charge of the university collection of coins and other antiquities. The limited funds at his disposal for acquisitions forced him to concentrate on the Belgian series, but he bought extensively at sales in the 1830s and early 1840s. In 1839 he published a catalogue of the medieval coins of Flanders, Brabant and Hainault in the collection (Den Duyts 1839), and in a second edition (Den Duyts 1847) added the coins of Namur and Luxemburg and expanded the number of plates from eleven to eighteen. This book was to become the standard reference work for collectors in the middle decades of the century, though it is now completely superseded and indeed, because of the absence of any explanatory text, effectively forgotten, though it was inexplicably reprinted in the United States in 1972. Den Duyts' efforts are commemorated in an appreciative if slightly condescending obituary notice by Serrure (1848).

Finally, a generation younger than the others but overshadowing them in both promise and remembered achievement, there was Victor Gaillard (1825-56). One can rightly speak of promise, because he died at the age of only 31 with only a third of his projected monograph on Flemish coinage completed, and of remembered achievement, because that third remains in regular use today and was still only one of several substantial publications to his credit.

Gaillard's father was a well-to-do businessman of cultivated tastes, and Victor himself took his doctorate in law at the relatively early age of 21. He intended to practise at the bar, but his main interests were in the history and antiquities of Flanders and he quickly found work in the Archives of East Flanders. In 1852 he was put in charge of classifying the judicial records, which included those of the Council of Flanders from its establishment by Philip the Bold onwards, and he had the good fortune of discovering and calendaring a long series of treasury accounts which had been either overlooked or set aside

as being of secondary importance when the Flemish administrative archives had been brought to Ghent from the castle of Rupelmonde in 1832. He likewise wrote widely on other topics. His honeymoon in 1847 had taken the form of a long voyage to Italy by way of Germany and Switzerland, returning via France, and during it he spent much of his time in libraries, collecting material on the trading connexions between Flanders and these countries, which formed the basis of a long series of articles on these and related subjects after his return. In 1854 he published a remarkable study on the contribution of *émigrés* from the Southern Netherlands, from the time of the duke of Alba onwards, to the civilization of neighbouring countries, that of the Northern Netherlands in particular.

Numismatics was thus only one of Gaillard's preoccupations, though it is for his *Recherches sur les monnaies des comtes de Flandre* that he is best remembered today. This was intended to form three volumes and run to 1758, when the mint of Bruges was closed under Maria Theresa, but only the first volume was written. The first edition of this (1852) ended with the reign of Robert of Béthune; the second, published by Serrure in 1857 with a memoir of the author, carried on for the reigns of Louis I and II, with continuous pagination and a massive complement of documents which Gaillard's researches had brought to light. The volumes came a decade after Chalon's monograph on Hainault (1848), which Gaillard took as his model, and for the classification of the denarial coinage he was able to use an important series of studies by Piot of the late 1830s and 1840s. Only for the earliest coinage, of the tenth and eleventh centuries, on which little material was then available, does his text require extensive revision. Gaillard's private coin collection, which was not of great importance, was sold at Ghent on 17 May 1881, long after his death.

The Brussels numismatists of the middle decades of the century were essentially Lelewel, Chalon, Piot, and de Coster, the achievements of Chalon and Piot far outweighing those of the others.

One cannot indeed attach much importance to the contributions of the individual who at the time was the most famous of the four. Lelewel was one of the greatest figures in nineteenth-century scholarship, knowing twelve languages and writing fluently in several of them, and his seniority in age was matched by his scholarly distinction. But numismatics was only one of his interests and in the 1840s it was pushed on one side by the researches for his great work on medieval geography, of which the first volume, that ranks him as the founder of a new discipline, appeared in 1851. In 1841 he produced his second numismatic masterpiece, a substantial study of nearly 500 pages on Celtic coins, with the customary accompaniment of illustrations and maps. In the early 1850s he had in contemplation a study of black billon coinage of the fifteenth century in the southern Netherlands, based in part on a hoard of over 2,000 such coins that came to light at Liège in c.1840 (Lelewel 1845), but he did no more than prepare thirteen fold-out engraved plates illustrating nearly 400 coins. These he handed over to the *Société*, in company with a few notes, in 1855, since he saw no hope of completing them. Four were published in the *RBN* in 1855, two in 1856, two in 1857, and the remaining two, with an expla-

nation of the circumstances but no accompanying text, in *RBN*⁴ v (1867), p. 450, pls. xv-xvi, accompanied by an article on the black money by Piot. The second centenary of his birth was celebrated by symposia in Warsaw and Brussels, the latter of which has been published and contains an appreciation of his numismatic career (Colaert 1987), and by an exhibition in the *Bibliothèque royale* of souvenirs and documents of the period (*Joachim Lelewel en Belgique : Commémoration 1786-1986*). A large number of accounts of his life in Brussels exist, notably by Picqué & van Bemmelen (1863), Sopocki (1934), Majkowski (1937), and Hoc (1961).

The best known today of the founding generation was in fact Renier Chalon (1802-89), for he was the author of standard works on the coinages of Hainault and Namur that are still in regular use and he was to dominate numismatics in Belgium for nearly half a century (*BNB* XXIX (1873), p. 434-440; *RBN* XLV (1889), p. 452-464; de Chestret 1900). He was professionally a civil servant, working first in the taxation office at Cuesmes in Hainault – he himself was born at Mons – and subsequently at Brussels, retiring in 1867. He was well educated, highly intelligent, immensely hard-working, and interested in all branches of archaeology, with numismatics quickly taking the first place in his affections. He was methodical and businesslike, and once he had taken over the *RBN* he made it a matter of pride to ensure that each issue appeared on time.

But he was also a man of violent prejudices and antipathies. Although purely French in culture, with no use for the Flemish movement of his day, he was strongly anti-French politically, particularly but not exclusively during the lifetime of Napoleon III. He was strongly critical of such French numismatists as Fillon and Poey d'Avant for daring to include parts of southern and western Belgium or the Rhineland in their surveys of the coinage of medieval 'France'; they were, he believed, trying to provide scholarly support for the real or supposed designs of the emperor on the independence of his country. He never visited Paris in his life, or even made serious use of the *Archives du Nord* at Lille, important as these were for his researches. In the last years of his life his quarrels with a number of outstanding scholars, from Piot to Raymond Serrure, inflicted great harm on numismatics in Belgium.

As an accomplished bibliophile, Chalon became most familiar in non-numismatic circles through having perpetrated in 1840 one of the great practical jokes of the century, the publication of an auction catalogue of the supposed comte de Fortsas collection of non-existent bibliographical rarities, all described in the minutest detail. It briefly deceived many of the most reputed librarians of the day and has even been reprinted, as a bibliographical curiosity, in our own day (J. Moran, *The Fortsas Hoax*, Arborfield Products Ltd., London, 1961). He occasionally carried his appetite for practical jokes into the numismatic field. In the hope of making a fool of the Emperor Napoleon III, a distinguished amateur archeologist, he 'salted' excavation material from Namur with a 'Gaulish' coin bearing the legend TOIAO, quickly interpreted as that of an unknown chieftain but in fact the name of a local antiquarian, Canon Fr. Cajot, then in charge of the coins at the museum at Namur, backwards. He also planted on Camille Picqué, curator of the national collection but whose numis-

matic scholarship he regarded with disdain, a denier of the eleventh-century Duke Gozelo of Lotharingia having for type a hand, the later badge of Antwerp and familiar to numismatists from its use as a mint-mark on coins of the Burgundian period.

But in the 1840s most of these activities were in the future, and Chalon was in the first stages of his enormous and for the most part admirable numismatic output, which over the years was to run to many hundred articles and three substantial monographs on the coins of Hainault (Chalon 1848) and Namur (1860A) and on the seals and coins of the seigneurs of Florennes (Chalon 1869). The first two of these were expanded from a series of articles in the opening volumes of the *RBN*, but these (Chalon 1845A, B) had been no more than coin catalogues; they were now expanded with lengthy historical and numismatic introductions and the inclusion of such relevant documents as he had found. His continuously paginated supplements to the first (Chalon 1852A, 1854, 1857) were completed after his death by a final supplement by A. de Witte (1891A), based largely on material Chalon had left behind, while for Namur a supplement appeared in 1870. These substantial works on Hainault and Namur were accompanied by a seemingly endless stream of brief notes on individual coins or rulers, as well as short monographs on such minor mints as Gronsveld (Chalon 1851) and Rekem (Chalon 1852A, 1853B), together with accounts of hoards, notably those of Saint-Aybert (Chalon 1853A) and Tillet (Chalon 1855). Only after 1860, when his monograph on the coinage of Namur was published and he quarrelled with Piot, did Chalon's amazing output lapse into trivialities.

The third of the great names is that of Charles Piot (1812-99), of whose work we have a long and balanced appreciation written long after his death (Cuvelier 1921). He was a better scholar than Chalon if one less known to numismatists and was indeed a man of the most diverse accomplishments: something of a painter, a good violinist, and one of the best informed authors of the day on the history of music, on which he wrote a book that still retains its value. In his youth, when he lived at Louvain, he was quite prepared to walk the 25 km to Brussels to hear a performance of *Fidelio* or *Robert le Diable*. But these qualities are cast into the shade by his stature as archivist and historian, for he is one of the major figures in Belgian historiography. He wrote a classic work on early medieval topography, *Les pagi de la Belgique* (1869) and edited an imposing series of texts – the cartulary of Saint-Trond (1870-75), a collection of Brabantine and Flemish chronicles (1879), two volumes continuing Gachard's *Voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, and vols. IV-XII of Granvelle's correspondence, besides preparing inventories of various collections of charters and dozens of registers which remain in manuscript for the use of workers in the archives. It was essentially in the *Archives nationales*, which he entered in 1840, that he made his career, mainly in the shadow of the long-lived and authoritarian *Archiviste Général* L.P. Gachard, whom he eventually succeeded. Even allowing for the fact that he had copyists and assistants at his disposal, his output was by any standards prodigious. A later generation of scholars was to criticize him for having worked too fast, and for not devoting more time to checking and proof-reading, but the services which he and Gachard rendered

to historical scholarship in nineteenth-century Belgium are beyond praise.

The works by which Piot is remembered by historians, however, date for the most part to the years after 1860. It was prior to that year that most of his numismatic publications belong. These are listed but not discussed in the memoir of Cuvelier, who was himself an archivist and did not regard himself as qualified to judge their quality. But Piot occupies a special place in the list of archivists who have rendered great services to numismatics, for he was as familiar with the coins as with documents. He seems to have become interested in them, and in other surviving tangible survivals of antiquity, through a close friendship with a certain Antoine Schauer, a Roman archeologist four years older than himself who died prematurely of typhoid in 1859. His interest antedated the foundation of the *Revue* in 1842, for he contributed a note on a coin hoard from Louvain to the *Messenger des sciences historiques* in 1840 (Piot 1840). Once the *RBN* was founded it became his major outlet, though one of his best studies, that on the Grand-Halleux hoard (Piot 1846G), was too long for it and appeared in the *Mémoires couronnés* of the Academy. Between 1842 and 1858 he was one of the *RBN*'s main contributors, with over a hundred articles in the space of sixteen years. His prominent role in the numismatic world was underlined, and his work greatly facilitated, when in 1846 he was seconded part-time from the *Archives nationales* to the *Bibliothèque royale* for the specific task of cataloguing its coins. Five years later Louis Alvin, head of the library, formally put him in charge of the *médailleur*, and in 1853 his transfer from the *Archives* became full-time. He remained formally head of the *Cabinet* until 1870, when he became *archiviste-adjoint* at the *Archives* and was succeeded in the *Cabinet* by Camille Picqué.

The titles of Piot's numismatic articles (see bibl.) testify to the great variety of his interests. The best are certainly those concerned with the last two centuries of the middle ages, for which he could use archival material, whether with regard to monetary organization in general (Piot 1842A) or minting history, notably that of Brabant under the Duchess Joan and Antony of Burgundy. These are usually accompanied by the texts of the relevant records. He also published a long series of hoards, notably Louvain 1840 (Piot 1840), Grand Halleux 1846 (Piot 1846G), Betekom 1849 (Piot 1850A), and Duffel 1849 (Piot 1850B). His description of the Grand-Halleux hoard is of exceptional quality, showing clearly how well he understood the importance of hoards as historical documents instead of treating them simply as sources of rarities, as so many of his contemporaries did. As an archivist he had had to acquire some knowledge of seals, and was the first to apply this systematically for identifying the mints of the petty deniers of Flanders and Brabant (Piot 1848A-C). He perceived the relevance of short-cross and long-cross reverses for the dating of Flemish petty deniers (Piot 1858A). Basing himself on earlier work by Lelewel he greatly extended our knowledge of the black money of the minor principalities in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, of some of which (Heinsberg, Rummen) he wrote extensive studies. His errors are remarkably few, especially in the light of the knowledge of the day, and although, unlike Chalon, he never produced a major work of reference, so that his name is less

familiar than that of Chalon to scholars and collectors of today, he was one of the most distinguished scholars who worked in the field, and in many respects a pioneer whose articles can still be read with profit.

Second only to Charles Piot in importance was (Pierre Alphonse) Louis de Coster (1800-79), one of the most active scholars and collectors in Belgium during the three decades 1830/60. He was a native of Heverlee, near Louvain, the seat of the Arenberg family, for which he worked as a rent collector. He became burgomaster of his village in the 1830s, holding the office till he moved to Mechlin in 1847. In the mid-thirties, after a spell in which he made a hobby of cultivating roses, he began an interest in coins, managing to visit antique dealers all over Belgium and building up a good collection, despite very modest means. He was one of the founders of the Belgian numismatic society and a regular contributor to its journal, his special interests being coins of the Carolingian period and of Brabant. He successfully established, against Longpérier, the attribution to Charlemagne of deniers with the *Karolus* monogram, and his publication of the Maastricht hoard (De Coster 1856) retains its value to this day. In 1862, when he retired, he sold his collection of Merovingian and Carolingian coins, and those of the tenth and eleventh centuries, to the Brussels cabinet, and three years later he did the same with his Brabantine coins; he left Brussels in 1866, though it was several years before he finally settled at Andenne. Since he had formally announced his intention of giving up numismatics he published little after 1862, though he lived another seventeen years and was always glad to see numismatic friends and discuss problems with them. His collection of jettons, the catalogue of which runs to over 300 pages with a preface by Picqué (Brussels, 1883), served as a sale catalogue when it was sold in Brussels in 1885. A blot on his reputation is his treatment of the rarities in the Maastricht hoard, for in order to increase their value he cut up many duplicates, sold them back to the money-changer at Maastricht from whom he had bought the hoard originally, and this person in turn melted them down after putting a few aside as souvenirs (note in *BMNA* 3 (1883/4), p. 114).

A colleague of Piot at the *Archives Nationales* but a much less considerable scholar was Alexandre Pinchart (1823-84), who worked for a year at Mons before being transferred in 1847 to Brussels, where he spent the rest of his life (Marchal 1889; *BCB* XVII (1903), p. 522-531). His main interest was the history of printing, but his curiosity extended to related subjects, architecture, sculpture, tapestry, and so on, including sigillography and die-cutting. He had a magpie-like interest in names, and the majority of his publications take the form of short notices on individuals whose names he had found in the documents, usually through the record of payments made to them but sometimes notices of their appointment or the settlement of expenses they had incurred. Since he published these notes in no sort of order, his bibliography consists mainly of hundreds of notes, two or three pages in length, recording each discovery as he made it. They vary greatly in importance; some represent substantial additions to our knowledge of the careers of great artists such as Roger van der Weyden and the van Eyck brothers, while others refer simply to minor figures, a certain Bette who cut dies under Louis of Male, an Arnold cited as a

die-sinker in 1413 under John the Fearless. A full bibliography will be found in the obituary notice by Marchal in the *Annuaire* of the *Académie royale* (Marchal 1889), and the specifically numismatic ones are more usefully listed in Engel & Serrure 1889, I, p. 214-219, nos. 5069-5126; only a selection appears in the bibliography here. Because of the difficulty in locating them they have often been overlooked by subsequent writers. Two of the most extensive and useful articles, his lists of monetary accounts in the *Archives générales du Royaume* (Pinchart 1850, 1860) are now superseded by Bautier & Sornay 1984. His passion for making lists served readers of the *RBN* in another fashion, for he compiled the indexes (1858, 1872) to its first four series, covering the years 1842-1876.

The corresponding work on the coins of Liège was contributed by A. Perreau. He was not the only scholar of the time to write on the subject, but the other, Ferdinand Henaux (1815-80), made no serious contribution to knowledge. An enthusiastic and prolific writer on local antiquities and author of a popular history of Liège which Kurth was later to regard as a disgrace to scholarship, he published several articles on the coinage of Liège which did little more than misunderstand already published material and whose conclusions were imbued more by local patriotism – a critic invented for him the epithet *leodissimus* – than by good sense. He believed that most of the coins of medieval Liège were struck by the city magistrates and not by the bishops.

Antoine Perreau (1806-68), a banker at Tongeren, was a much more serious scholar; see *BNB* XVII (1903), p. 43-46; bibl. in Engel & Serrure 1887-89, II, p. 198-200. His interests covered a wide range of local antiquities and during the last two decades of his life he was a prolific contributor to the *RBN*, the *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie*, and the *Bulletin of the Société scientifique et littéraire de Limbourg* which he founded and of which he was long president. He was invited to join the *Société belge de numismatique* in the year of its foundation and was one of its regular contributors from 1845 onwards, publishing much new material but mainly writing short monographs on the coinage of such local lordships as Herstal, Stein, and Petersheim. His more substantial studies are ones on the mint of Maastricht (Perreau 1846), the relevant portions of which are now superseded by Frère 1946, and a catalogue of the coins of Liège which appeared in two parts in the *RBN* over the years 1861-62, with a supplement in 1867 (Perreau 1861-62, 1867) which was intended to supersede Renesse's monograph of 1830-31 and is a substantial work, running to some 150 pages, with detailed coin descriptions and illustrations of a number of coins unknown to Renesse. Its contents were absorbed into de Chestret and it is now rarely consulted, but Perreau had a wide circle of friends and some of the coins in their collections which he describes have since disappeared from view. Perreau had no formal training as a scholar and was too apt to accept uncritically the traditions of local history, but he had a good knowledge of the coins and, although his work is now superseded, he has a claim to be remembered as the first scholar to show that Merovingian coins reading *Traiectum* were of Maastricht and not Utrecht. His collection, interesting for its coins of local mints, was in due course sold in Brussels in 1869.

Much more on the periphery was one isolated scholar, Frederik Verachter (1797-1870), who for long was an almost unknown figure in Belgian numismatics. He does not figure in the *Biographie nationale*, and neither Cumont nor Serrure, writing in the 1880s, could even discover when he died. We are now much better informed, for an autobiographical memoir, written in 1867/8 during his somewhat unhappy retirement, survives in manuscript and provided the basis for a published biographical sketch by Couvreur (1973). His memory has also been revived in two modern contexts, partly because he was responsible for preserving much detail regarding the striking of Lazare Carnot's obsidional coinage at Antwerp in 1814 (Jennes 1976), partly because in the 1840s he commissioned the Brussels artist L.J. Hart to strike a series of medals commemorating Queen Victoria's visits to Belgium in 1843 and 1845 (van Heesch 1992).

Verachter was a native of Antwerp and trained as librarian and archivist, working first, from 1826, in the city library but transferring to its archives, which were housed in the same building, in 1833. His professional life was passed in classifying and cataloguing the archives, but in addition he was a dedicated bibliophile and collector of engravings, medals and coins, especially those relating to the history and antiquities of Antwerp. He was interested in artistic techniques and was something of an artist himself, designing and apparently engraving the coin illustrations that accompany his articles. His numismatic interests were encouraged by his friendship with J.B. van der Straelen (1761-1847), a local collector whose coin cabinet was auctioned at Antwerp on 30 May 1853 and whose role in his education he was glad to recognize: "*c'est par lui que nous avons été instruits dans les vrais éléments de la science numismatique*".

Verachter's published work is effectively limited to a volume of 243 pages entitled *Documens pour servir à l'histoire monétaire des Pays-Bas* and dated 'Anvers 1840', but in fact appearing as five fascicules spread over the year 1840-46. An *Histoire monétaire de la ville et du marquisat d'Anvers*, in two stout, quarto volumes, was announced as complete in 1850 and on the point of going to press (*RBN* 1850, p. 352), but it never appeared; the manuscript came on the market later and was bought for the city archives, where it now is. Verachter also wrote a *Histoire métallique et histoire de la gravure d'Anvers*, the manuscript of which was owned by a certain M. Van Havre in 1883. It also was never published, but it provided the material for the introduction to a catalogue of the Ed. Ter Bruggen collection of coins, medals, prints and other objects relating to Antwerp which was published on the occasion of an international exhibition in 1867 (Cumont 1883, p. 349, no. 2112).

Verachter's *Documens*, which is paginated continuously, consists of a series of twelve unnumbered studies, one an 85-page history of the mint of 's-Hertogenbosch – this was published in 1845 as a separate brochure – but the others much shorter and generally deal with particular Brabantine coinages of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The coin descriptions are accompanied by editions of the relevant mint documents, many of these published for the first time. There are also a couple of studies on petty deniers of Brabant or

Flanders and one surprising excursion into the coinage of Kuinre, in the Northern Netherlands. They show the author to have been well-informed regarding both coins and documents, and to have been on good terms with a number of collectors who allowed him to publish their coins. Since many of the articles are of high quality and represent serious contributions to knowledge, one is left with the puzzle of why the series should have come abruptly to an end in 1846, when Verachter had still many years of life before him.

The problem is not one on which Couvreur's biographical sketch throws any light, presumably because Verachter does not explain it in his *Stamboom*. A possibility is that he was unduly sensitive to criticism. Certainly he was in many respects a prickly and difficult character. He appears on his own account to have been on bad terms with most of his colleagues; and had been politically an Orangist in the 1830s, so that he accepted with difficulty the existence of the Belgian state that, in the last resort, employed him. He certainly did not relish some of the criticisms of Piot, a far better scholar, who reviewed his fascicules as they appeared, first in the *Messenger* (1840, p. 256-259) and subsequently in the first volume of the *RBN* (I, p. 83-89, 133-136). Piot found much to praise and seems to have tried to encourage rather than offend, but he had no patience with Verachter's faults of judgment: his attribution of the **BAST** petty deniers of Brabant to a wholly fabulous Bastin, count of Louvain, of the Carolingian period 'or to some of his descendants', or to the equally absurd identification of the **GERVLVVS** on petty deniers of Ghent with a Lower Rhineland count Gerulf in the late ninth century. Verachter attempted a reply in his fourth fascicule (p. 148-151), but he was clearly too credulous of the inventions of late medieval and sixteenth-century chroniclers. His familiarity with archival material and his capacity to handle it, however, made him potentially capable of making important contributions to the subject; and if indeed it was Piot's criticisms that discouraged him, this can only be regarded as a misfortune for the development of medieval numismatics in Belgium.

The third group of scholars active in the 1840s were French, not Belgian, and came from the border area that in the middle ages had corresponded to Artois or southern Flanders. Two were born at the turn of the century, Adolphe Deswismes (1799-1873), and Alexandre Hermand (1801-58), with the two others, Louis Dancoisne (1809-92) and Louis Deschamps de Pas (1816-90), a few years younger. Three of them were very productive as scholars, but Deswismes was primarily a collector, though in 1866 he published a part of his collection with a substantial introduction and commentary. Three of them lived at Saint-Omer, and Dancoisne not far away at Hénin-Liétard.

Deswismes, the oldest by a few months, was the collector, but since he did not publish the Artois part of his collection till 1866 and its main catalogue belongs to 1875, he is best reserved for the next section. Here it is only necessary to say that the basis of the collection had been formed by the 1840s and over the next decades it seems to have been generously placed at the disposal of all enquirers. Since its owner had the reputation of having been ready to buy, at whatever price, any novelty or rarity that came on the market, it is not surprising that it was reputed to be the largest and finest collection of Flemish and

Artesian coins existing in the middle decades of the century, and to have been far superior to the cabinets of Brussels or Paris.

Both Hermand and Dancoisne began to publish in the 1830s. Hermand was a local official who developed very early a passionate interest in archeology, initially Roman – he had at one time a collection of Roman coins – but by the 1830s, after the fashion of the time, medieval, and in particular with the antiquities of Saint-Omer, every monument which he knew intimately (Deschamps 1858). He was the founder of the *Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie*, in the pages of whose *Mémoires* many of his articles were published and which in the century and a half of its existence has done so much for the archeology of northern France. His numismatics ranged from Gaulish coins, which were mainly to occupy his attention in the last years of his life, through medieval coins to obsidional coins and tokens, especially ecclesiastical, in the study of which he was one of the pioneers. But his main publications were in the medieval field and culminated in his *Histoire monétaire de la province d'Artois* (Hermand 1843), a substantial volume of over 550 pages, lavishly documented and illustrated. It included the coinages of the abbeys, the minor fiefs of Béthune, Fauquembergues and Saint-Pol, and even the counts of Boulogne, as well as the main ones of Flanders and Artois. It, and its author, were not free from faults, and Hermand was frequently involved in controversy, with Rouyer over his lengthy but frequently critical review of the book in the *RN* (1845, p. 471-483; 1846, p. 68-80), with Piot over the classification of the petty deniers, with Serrure and others over his attribution to Count Robert II of Artois of coins that are really ones of Robert the Frisian. He likewise attributed to Philip the Bold a *groot* of Alost that was minted by Philip of Chieti, three-quarters of a century earlier. Since in these controversies Hermand was usually in the wrong and invariably refused to give way, he was sometimes undervalued by his contemporaries, especially those on the other side of the Franco-Belgian border who resented his attribution to Artois of deniers and petty deniers they were accustomed to regarding as 'Flemish'. But his book was an extraordinary achievement for the time, and has still to be consulted today for its wealth of documentation and the quality of its illustrations.

Dancoisne had likewise a legal training, practising at his native Hénin-Liétard as a notary public and even for a time serving as mayor. His antiquarian and numismatic interests were not dissimilar to those of Hermand but ranged even wider. If Hermand's name is chiefly associated with the antiquities of St-Omer, that of Dancoisne is rather with those of Douai, Béthune and Arras. He also lived much longer, almost to the end of the century, and was thus active well beyond the 'heroic' age. But one of his most important publications, his monograph on the coins and tokens of Douai written in collaboration with a local doctor A. Delanoy (or de Lannoy), comes in 1836 at the very beginning of the latter and thus makes him one of its real pioneers. Since coins of Douai are limited to the denarial period in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, most of the volume is inevitably concerned with tokens, but the coins themselves, almost without exception anonymous, are correctly identified on the evidence of seals. But Dancoisne's subsequent numismatic papers were few

– he published some new Flemish types in 1842 – for he was a busy man – until in 1859 he produced a comprehensive monograph on the coins, tokens and medals of Béthune. The coins of Béthune, however, were few; it was not till nearly a hundred years later that the one gold coin of the mint, struck by a count of Namur who was also seigneur of Béthune, came to light (Hoc 1952).

Finally, there is Louis Deschamps de Pas, only a few years younger than the others and in the long run the best scholar of them all, though his training was that of a civil engineer; he was employed in the service of the *Ponts-et-Chaussées*, where he ended as *Ingénieur en chef* in the region of the Pas-de-Calais. He had the same interests as the others, and his competence was universally recognized, in Paris and Brussels as well as nearer home (biog. and bibl. in *MSAM* 22 (1890-2), p. 1-61; for his numismatic publications, R. Serrure in *ASEN* 1890, p. 241-244). Although he was born in Saint-Omer, much of his life in the late 1830s and early 1840s was passed at Rouen or elsewhere; it was only in 1847 that he returned to his native city, which was to be his home for the next forty years down to his death. His earliest important numismatic article was a study of the coins of the counts of Boulogne contributed to the recently founded *RN* in 1838, and in 1840 he and Hermand, whom he regarded as his master, collaborated on a *Histoire sigillaire de la ville de Saint-Omer*. But in the 1840s and 1850s his many publications tended to be antiquarian rather than numismatic, and it was not till 1860 that there began the series on which his fame rests.

Also in the early stages of his numismatic career was Jules Rouyer (1820-98), an official in the French postal service who spent most of his career in eastern France but was born at Carvin, half-way between Lille and Arras in the Pas-de-Calais. This fact determined many of his numismatic interests, which were as much Belgian as French. He was an assiduous collector, and interest and limited personal means led him to concentrate on objects of small monetary value: black money, tokens, jettons and coin-weights, on which he had become, by the second half of the nineteenth century, the leading expert in France. His major book, written in collaboration with Eugène Hucher, was a substantial but uncompleted *Histoire du jeton au moyen âge*, published in 1858, but the bulk of his published work took the form of dozens of substantial articles, or review articles, usually in the *RN*. They began with one in 1844 on the communal coinage authorized at Saint-Omer in 1127, and between 1847 and 1849 he published three on Flemish black money in the fourteenth century and during the Burgundian period which were so authoritative that they allowed Deschamps to leave black money on one side when he came to write his great survey of Burgundian coinage two decades later. Also, as was natural to someone with his interests, he studied the obols, deniers and doubles of the region which were imitated from those of the kings of France (Rouyer 1852).

DECLINE AND ACHIEVEMENT, 1860-1885

One is tempted to characterize the twenty-five years between the publication of Chalon's monograph on the coinage of Namur in 1860 and his formal resigna-

tion as president of the *Société royale* in 1885 as an 'age of folly', since it saw an almost complete trivialization of medieval numismatic studies in Belgium, but this would not take account of the substantial progress being made elsewhere.

It is true that in Belgium virtually nothing of consequence appeared. Chalon had established a complete and unfettered domination over the *RBN*, the scholarly contents of which declined sharply. He indeed continued to produce, but the title '*Curiosités numismatiques*', which he gave to the series of articles he published in it over the years 1860-77, is indicative of their quality. Of the other stalwarts of the previous period, Louis de Coster and Piot both virtually abandoned numismatics, Piot contributing nothing to the *RBN* after 1859 and publishing little of a numismatic character elsewhere. The same was the case with Pinchart. C.P. Serrure lived to 1872 but had ceased to work on coins, and C.A. Serrure was a lesser scholar than his father. De la Fons-Mélicoq, who filled many pages of the *RBN*, was like Chalon an accumulator of trivia. But outside Belgium there were good numismatists at work on the medieval coinage of the region, notably Dancoisne and Deschamps in northern France and Van der Chijs in the Netherlands. Deschamps' studies on Flemish coinage in the Burgundian period appeared in the early 1860s and Van der Chijs' monograph on Brabant in 1862. Artois and much of Flanders were included in the third volume of Poey d'Avant's great work on French feudal coins, which came out in 1862, and Robert's monograph on the coinage of Cambrai appeared in 1861. Two works not limited to the Low Countries but important for its coinage appeared in the 1870s, Chautard's monograph on sterling imitations in 1872 and, at a much higher scholarly level, the first volume of Dannenberg's great work on early German coinage in 1876. Decline in Belgium has thus to be seen against a background of achievement elsewhere.

The central numismatic institutions in Belgium were the *Cabinet* and the *Société royale*. Piot was Keeper of the first down to 1869, when he resigned because of his manifold commitments elsewhere and was succeeded by Camille Picqué (Keeper 1870-1902; d. 1910). Its holdings continued to expand. In 1862 it acquired De Coster's collection of Carolingian coins and those of imperial mints in the Low Countries, and three years later it added his still more important collection of Brabantine coins. But it remained small and access to it was not always easy. The *Société* and the *RBN* passed entirely under Chalon's control, mischievous as this was often recognized to be.

The major change in the *RBN* was the sudden disappearance from its pages of Piot, who had been one of its most valued contributors since its foundation. The lapse is the more striking in view of the fact that in the 1860s Piot was scarcely half-way through his immensely long life and that he remained an active scholar down to his death in 1899. The explanation is partly a greatly enhanced workload at the *Archives générales du Royaume*. He was appointed head of a section in 1859, archiviste adjoint in 1870, and, in succession to Gachard, *Archiviste général* in 1886. He retained this post till 1897, when at the age of 85 he resigned from it, and from the many other academic posts he had accumulated over the years, in a fit of pique at the reception of a ministerial circular reminding government employees that their retiring age was officially

67. He had inherited from Gachard an immense publishing programme, and it was the decades after 1860 that saw the massive series of publications by which historians remember him. In addition to these he contributed an endless series of shorter studies to appear in the *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'Histoire*, so that for thirty years his was one of the most familiar and respected names in Belgian historical scholarship.

No longer, however, in the field of numismatics. The disappearance of his name from the pages of the *RBN* was not due simply to his workload elsewhere, but to the fact that in 1859, for some unexplained reason, he and Chalon had quarrelled. Although he nominally remained a co-director of the *RBN* down to 1862, when he resigned, Chalon had acquired complete control of what went into its pages and what did not. The result was dramatic. In 1858 Piot had no fewer than seven articles in the three issues of the year, a figure that was high for him but not exceptional. In 1859 there were none, and there were none there-after. Ten years later the situation worsened. Piot published an article (Piot 1868) on some coins of Namur, or what he held to be such, in which he made no reference to Chalon's monograph of 1860 on the mint. Chalon took his revenge by instructing the editorial staff of the review not merely not to publish Piot's articles, but to make of him a non-person: and they were not even to mention his name! His letter on the subject fell subsequently into Raymond Serrure's hands, who gleefully published it (*BMNA* 3 (1883/4), p. 67-68). Piot's few numismatic works of these years had consequently to appear elsewhere, either as separate volumes, like his catalogue of the coin dies in the Mint museum (1861; second edn. 1880), or in provincial periodicals at Namur, 's-Hertogenbosch or elsewhere. The virtual elimination of this great scholar from medieval numismatics was a major misfortune.

Less serious was the virtual disappearance of Alexandre Pinchart, who had been a copious contributor to the *RBN* in the previous period. He remained active down to his death in 1885, but mainly in other fields, and, perhaps influenced by Piot, he contributed nothing to the *RBN* between 1861 and 1871 and little thereafter. The numismatic articles he did write remained of the same type as before, and although his individual discoveries represented real contributions to knowledge – information on die-sinkers at Tournai in the fifteenth century, a mint document of Rekem of 1383 – there are the customary problems over locating them. His only substantial work, a memoir of 92 pages on Belgian medallists between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, although published amongst the '*Mémoires couronnés*' of the *Académie royale* in 1870, was characterized by Raymond Serrure, fifteen years later, as being '*d'une grande faiblesse : si les documents qu'elle contient constituent souvent des révélations véritables, mais faciles à faire pour un archiviste de l'État, tout ce qui est du domaine de la critique d'art est erroné*'. The criticism is one that could be directed to his work as a whole.

The pages of the *RBN* had to be filled somehow, however, for it was a matter of pride to Chalon that its issues should appear quarterly and on time. He could help out himself. In 1860 he therefore began a series of '*Curiosités numismatiques*', sometimes sub-titled '*Monnaies rares ou inédites*', of which there were

eventually twenty-three, spread over the next seventeen years. They were a potpourri of new coins, jetons, or medals which came his way and succeeded each other in no logical order or system and which served no purpose other than that of filling its pages. Many of them, for what they were worth, were included in the Van Peteghem series of sales (Brussels, 14-21/XI/1889) of Chalon's collection and library after his death, but the contents of these were too miscellaneous to be of interest and the sales were a disappointment to collectors (A. de Witte in *RBN* 46 (1890), p. 325-326, and, in more detail, in *ASEN* 14 (1890), p. 100-104), though the books, from what was reputedly the finest numismatic library in Belgium, were eagerly snapped up at surprisingly low prices. Chalon had in fact sold his important Hainault series to the national collection in 1880, and his Namur series, shortly afterwards, to Baudouin de Jonghe. His French and oriental coins, not included in the Brussels sales, were auctioned in Paris the following January (Van Peteghem, 21/I/1890).

Chalon's *Curiosités numismatiques* had a counterpart in an equally confused and maddening series entitled *Documents pour servir à l'histoire des monnaies* of Antoine de la Fons, baron de Mélicocq, which are scattered through the *RBN* between 1860 and 1868. The baron (1802-67) belonged to a minor French noble family which had flourished in Picardy since the sixteenth century but been dispersed after the Revolution. He spent his early years at Noyon, where he was born and of which he wrote a history, but in the 1850s he moved to Lille and in 1857 bought a country house at Raismes, near Valenciennes, where he spent the last ten years of his life. His interests were at first equally divided between botany, on which he wrote extensively, and history, which in the end came to take first place. Since the minor government post that he held left him with plenty of time on his hands, he spent it going through the archives at Lille and Valenciennes collecting material that would throw light on living conditions in the past, and in particular in the later middle ages and the sixteenth century. This information he transmitted to the public mainly in the form of short notes, varying in length from two to ten pages, scattered over all the antiquarian publications of the region. A 34-page brochure published by one of his friends after his death (Desplanque 1869) is little more than a listing in small type of the thousands of such notes and documents which, interspersed with several substantial books, formed his subject's bibliography. The lack of system in his publications makes them difficult to use, and one may doubt if he always understood the texts himself, but they include valuable records of coin names and values and sometimes throw light on how coins were used in daily life. Only a selection of his numismatic articles is included in the bibliography here, for many deal with jettons or medals or are concerned with later centuries. A fuller though far from complete list is given in Engel & Serrure's *Répertoire* (II, p. 35-37: 27 items).

The malaise of numismatics in Belgium fortunately did not affect northern France. Hermand, indeed, was dead, but Deschamps de Pas and Dancoisne were still active. Dancoisne's work was the less important of the two and limited to Arras, with a monograph on the coins attributed to the abbey of Saint-Vaast (Dancoisne 1869) and briefer articles on its tokens and coin-weights, the former

interesting because some of them reproduced the types of the petty deniers. Deschamps on the other hand became universally recognized as one of the best numismatists of the time, and indeed one of the most remarkable scholars in France. His bibliography by Pagart d'Hermansart (in *MSAM* 22 (1890-92), p. 49-61) runs to nearly 200 listed items, omitting short notes and reports, and ranges over an extraordinary variety of topics: numismatics, sigillography, ecclesiastical monuments, epigraphy, jewellery, and the like, to say nothing of straightforward history: he published a 500-page history of Saint-Omer in 1880. He was secretary of the *Société des antiquaires de la Morinie* from 1873 onwards and consequently responsible for its *Mémoires* and *Bulletin*. All this had to be fitted into the spare time of a busy civil engineer, at least prior to the date of his retirement. He can fairly be ranked amongst the great scholars of nineteenth-century France.

Deschamps' major publication consists of a series of studies on the coinage and minting history of the counts of Flanders of the houses of Burgundy and Austria. They were envisaged as a continuation of Gaillard's great monograph, which had ended with the death of Louis II in 1384. The first stage, covering the years 1384-1482, took the form of six articles in the *RN* for 1861 and 1862, running to a total of 140 pages (Deschamps 1861-62) and reprinted separately in 1863 with a 55-page inventory of relevant documents from the archives of the *Chambre des Comptes* in the *Archives du Nord* at Lille. A 37-page supplement followed four years later (Deschamps 1866), and, more important, two continuations, the first (Deschamps 1869-74) of 91 pages running to 1506 and the second (Deschamps 1876) covering the reign of Charles V and published this time in the *RBN* as part of an effort to improve the quality of this journal. A further supplement appeared in 1877, and a separate reprint of the earlier articles, published at Brussels in 1875, includes a 33-page inventory of documents of the years 1482-1506. In 1877 the series was completed by a 116-page study of the coinage of the Time of Troubles down to the Pacification of Ghent (1576). Since each coin type is illustrated and the documents provide a key to their sequence, and from 1433 the monetary system of all the Burgundian provinces formed, with only a few exceptions, a unit, Deschamps' series of articles provided a survey of the coinage of the Burgundian and Austrian periods from 1384 to 1556 that has remained the standard work of reference down to quite recent years; it has indeed still to be consulted for the period 1384-1433 and for the many documents it prints. Two minor drawbacks, however, are that it does not usually describe or illustrate the black billon coins, which Rouyer had already dealt with in some detail (Rouyer 1847-48), and that it made no attempt to use the mint accounts that are preserved in the *Archives du Nord*.

Southern Flanders, Artois and the Cambrésis were also well-served in the 1860s by contributions from France. The earliest of the three essential monographs to appear was that of Charles Robert (1812-87) on the coinage of Cambrai. This volume is a stout quarto of nearly 400 pages and 56 plates, a third of the contents relating to the middle ages and the coin descriptions being followed by 60 pages of documents, some of them supplied by the local historian

and archivist A.J.G. Le Glay and previously unpublished. Robert, whose chief numismatic interests lay further east, in Lorraine and the coinages of the Three Bishoprics, had begun the work in 1842, when he had had occasion to spend some months in Lille, but its completion had been delayed by the author's other duties – he was a high treasury official – and by absences in Italy and the Near East. A few new coins were to be subsequently published by Serrure and others, and Victor Delattre (1886) subsequently rewrote the history of the episcopal petty denier in the light of coins that came to light during public works in the city in the 1880s, but in all essentials Robert's monograph still remains the authoritative work.

A year after Robert's book on Cambrai there appeared the third volume of Faustin Poey d'Avant's *Monnaies féodales de France*, which still, nearly a century and a half later, because of its detailed description of every coin and its abundant illustrations, remains the standard work on French provincial coinage (Poey d'Avant 1858–62). The volume covers on p. 391–443 the coins of Artois, including the minor mints in the region (Saint-Pol, Fauquembergues, etc.), and those of southern Flanders, mainly in the denarial period (Lille, Douai, Bergues-Saint-Winnoc, etc.). This represented a change from the coverage in the *Description* of Poey d'Avant's own collection of nine years earlier (Poey d'Avant 1853), which, despite a title describing its contents as *Monnaies seigneuriales françaises*, included (p. 405–436) the coins of Hainault, Flanders, Tournai, Namur, Looz and Brabant, i.e. of many principalities which had never been comprised in the medieval French kingdom and did not form part of the France of the author's own day. Although it contained a few rarities the collection was not remarkable, however, and because of the many gaps and the fact that few of the coins were illustrated, the catalogue never served as the work of reference that the *Monnaies féodales* was later to become. It was in any case the reaction of some Belgian scholars to what they regarded as the annexationist tendencies of the *Description* that led the author to restrict his Low Country coverage in the *Monnaies féodales*. Not that this allowed him to escape all problems, notably over the mints of the house of Ligny and Saint-Pol, and there remained a few geographical eccentricities to annoy Chalon and his more touchy colleagues. The text is in the main authoritative, though the author made the mistake of following Hermand in the acrimonious dispute over the attribution of Count Robert's coins. The *Description* served as a sale catalogue of the collection when it was sold (12 December 1853).

The third work, Adolphe Dewismes' *Catalogue raisonné des monnaies du comté d'Artois*, is essentially, as a sub-title indicates, a catalogue of the coins in the author's own unequalled collection; only occasionally are others included when Dewismes did not possess a specimen of a type. It covers the Gaulish and Frankish coins of Artois and those of the early modern period, but the bulk of its contents are medieval, and it includes the minor mints of the region as well as the coins of the counts. It was largely conceived of as a supplement to Hermand's monograph of 1843 but with much more material, and since it does not include the documents and the element of monetary history in Hermand's book it does not supersede the latter; both retain their value today.

Dewismes followed Hermand in the *Robertus* controversy, but was clearly unhappy about it. He hoped to continue the work by a further one that would cover Flanders, but he died in 1873 before more had been done than the preparation of 15 plates down to and including the coins of Philip the Bold. These, which like the ones in the 1866 volume, are of excellent quality, were included in the catalogue of his collection, prepared by Deschamps de Pas, when this was sold at Saint-Omer on 22 March 1875 (Deschamps 1875).

The first of the two works of the 1870s which included substantial sections on Low Country coins was Chautard's monograph on sterling imitations published at Nancy in 1871-72. Jules Chautard (1825-1901), a mathematician and physicist, was then on the staff of the university of Nancy – he subsequently migrated to Lille as dean of the *Faculté des sciences* in the newly founded *Université catholique* – and was basically an amateur. He had had an interest in coins since his boyhood, but did not publish his first article, on two sterling imitations found at Authon, near his family home at Vendôme, till 1862. His book on sterlings was only one of several devoted to imitations, the others cataloguing derivatives of the gros tournois or various coin types of Lorraine. Like most of his publications, apart from those recording coin finds, it is a work of compilation, not of original scholarship, but since it was based on extensive reading and a remarkable knowledge of the very scattered material it at once established itself as a work of reference, especially for hoard descriptions. Its sections on the Edwardine penny have been superseded by Mayhew 1983, but those dealing with the earlier Short- and Long-Cross *Henricus* types of sterling retain their value. Most Low Country imitations are Edwardine, the earlier ones being mainly German and predominantly from Westphalia, but a few came from Kuinre and other mints in the Northern Netherlands. After Chautard's move to Lille he ceased to occupy himself with medieval coins, turning to the study of jettons instead.

The second relevant work of the decade was Hermann Dannenberg's monograph on German coins of the Saxon and Franconian periods, to 1125 (Dannenberg 1876). Since it includes Lotharingia it covers the Low Countries and indeed trespassed into the kingdom of France, for it includes Flanders, Artois and even Boulogne. It is one of the major works of numismatic scholarship of the nineteenth century. Its Low Country section does not completely supersede Van der Chijs' corresponding survey of the early German period, but despite recent publications by Bernt Kluge and Peter Ilisch it remains the chief work one has to consult for the coinage of the Low Countries in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. It was in due course followed by three supplements (Dannenberg 1894, 1898, 1905). Today for a comprehensive survey one goes perhaps first to Albrecht 1959 and to the works of Kluge and Ilisch just referred to, but for most purposes 'Dannenberg' remains the dominant work on the subject.

It was also in the 1870s that Belgium first acquired a professional coin dealer in the person of Charles van Peteghem (1827-91), though one operating at a distance, for although van Peteghem was born at Bruges and retained throughout life his Belgian citizenship and close links with his native country,

his main place of business was Paris. It was generally assumed that Belgium was too small to support a full-time dealer. Coin dealing in Belgium had previously been a side-line activity of money-changers and bullion dealers, and occasionally of bookshops, while coin auctions were held by professional auctioneers, the catalogues being prepared by well-known collectors or scholars. Lelewel had produced many such auction catalogues in the 1830s and 1840s, and the Serrures and Louis de Coster in due course were only too happy to increase their knowledge and supplement their incomes in a similar fashion. Van Peteghem held his own auctions, usually in Paris but sometimes in Belgium, at Brussels or Ghent, or in northern France, Douai or Saint-Omer. He was a scholar in his own right, producing a number of articles on Flemish coins and jettons and planning a monograph on Flemish coins of which only 40 plates, engraved by Dardel, had been completed at the time of his death. When his great collection of Flemish coins was sold in Paris by Rollin and Feuardent (3/III/1894) after his death, the sale included the plates and the notes he had made for the work.

RECOVERY, 1885-1914

The three decades between 1885, when Chalon first resigned as president of the *Société royale de numismatique*, and 1914, when the Great War broke out, saw a signal revival of numismatic studies in Belgium. The *Revue* gradually recovered the reputation it had lost during Chalon's later years. A new president was found who was to hold office for almost as long as he had, but without the same ill-effects. Two international congresses of numismatics took place at Brussels, in 1891 and 1910. Three major monographs were published, on Liège, Brabant and Luxemburg, providing scholars with standard works still in regular use. Several outstanding coin collections were formed that came eventually into public hands, and for the first time Brussels acquired a coin dealer of some repute. The great *Traité* of Engel & Serrure was published between 1891 and 1905, and one of its authors, though finally domiciled in Paris, was a Belgian who spent the first half of his life in Brussels. The largest coin hoard ever to be found in Belgium came to light in 1908. But against these must be set Raymond Serrure's untimely death in 1899, a quarrel between de Witte and Cumont that made life difficult for scholars and collectors anxious to be friends of both, and a general failure to reach the level of the best numismatic scholarship in Germany and Britain.

In 1885 Chalon's proposal to retire was frustrated by his election as Honorary President for life. The resulting chaos was only ended by the election in 1887 as effective president of Alphonse de Schodt (1827-92), who had been secretary since 1872 and who worked in the Ministry of Finance. He was a distinguished civil servant, becoming by the close of his career *Directeur-Général de l'Enregistrement et des Domaines*. He had a special interest in jettons and tokens, of which he had a large collection and on which he had contributed a large number of articles to the *RBN*. But he was an administrator, not a scholar, and felt himself so ill-fitted for the post that he stepped down in 1889

in favour of Vicomte Baudouin de Jonghe, then 47 years of age and a wealthy collector and scholar of distinction, who was to hold the post for thirty years, down to 1919.

De Jonghe (1842-1924) had started life as a professional soldier but in his late twenties abandoned that career for one in business and finance. While still in his twenties he had made the acquaintance of de Coster and began to collect. His first article was published in 1866, and thenceforward few years went by without one or more articles appearing under his name. They are mostly devoted to the publication of new discoveries in the Low Country field. His ample means allowed him to put together one of the largest and most important collections of medieval and modern coins of the Belgian provinces ever formed. He showed great diplomatic skill in managing the affairs of the Society and assuaging the easily aroused susceptibilities of its members. It is true that old animosities were not forgotten and the Society had not entirely mended its ways. Raymond Serrure remained a non-person, so that the *Revue belge* was one of the few numismatic journals in the world to ignore his death in 1899. Georges Cumont was to be treated in the same way, as a result of his quarrel with de Witte, when he died in 1931. The excuse would perhaps have been that at the dates of their deaths both had ceased to be members, but Serrure was the best known living Belgian numismatist and Cumont was not only a distinguished scholar but one who had served the Society well for many years as its secretary and librarian.

The period is bridged, in the *Cabinet des Médailles*, by the successive keeperships of Camille Picqué in 1870-1902 and Frédéric Alvin in 1902-1919, neither a man of much distinction. Picqué was interested in medals and jettons (obit. and bibl. *RBN* 1910, p. 211-217), not in medieval coinage, and his last years of office were troubled by the vendetta between him and Raymond Serrure, who attacked his scholarly reputation as well as seducing his wife, who in due course became M^{me} Serrure. His period of office saw a substantial increase in the Cabinet's holdings, which were nearly three times as large on his retirement as they had been when he was appointed; it was indeed the acquisition of the Alberic du Chastel and Lucien de Hirsch collections of Greek coins, both in 1902, that placed Brussels amongst the great coin cabinets of Europe.

Frédéric Alvin (1864-1949; obit. and bibl. by Tourneur *RBN* 1949, p. 163-168) was of slightly higher quality. The year after his appointment as Keeper saw the acquisition of a great collection of papal coins, half of them medieval, as a bequest of the Brussels barrister Charles van Schoor. Alvin had entered the *Cabinet* in 1882 and remained in it over thirty years. His obituary notice describes him as a '*fonctionnaire ponctuel, serviable et distingué, ... entouré de l'estime générale*', but he lacked ambition and his publications were virtually limited to short notes on newly discovered coins and to articles of a semi-popular character. Only his revision of Chalon's attributions of the early coins of Namur shows critical ability. His articles are not always easy to consult, for in 1905 he took over the editorship of Dupriez's *Gazette numismatique*, retaining the post to the last issue of 1913/14, and often preferred to publish in this less accessible location than in the *RBN*.

If the *RBN* remained the most important numismatic periodical, it did not have a monopoly. Raymond Serrure published and largely wrote his *Bulletin mensuel de numismatique et d'archéologie*, of which five volumes appeared regularly between 1880 and 1886; a sixth volume covered the years 1886-90. The periodical contained a number of important articles on coins and hoards, though much space was sometimes taken up by trivial pieces of numismatic news and by running comments on his disputes with Chalon, Picqué and others, together with lists of coins for sale. After his move to Paris it was replaced by a *Bulletin de numismatique*, of the same character but with the specifically French element in its contents much enlarged. After Raymond Serrure's death this was continued by his widow to 1906.

Meanwhile, in Brussels, a new periodical, *La Gazette numismatique*, had been started by the dealer Charles Dupriez, appearing initially eight times a year. It lasted till 1914, though after 1905 its publication dates were rather less regular. Dupriez had succeeded his elder brother Raymond, as a part-time coin dealer, on the latter's death in 1893, and his own much more successful firm lasted till the 1940s, when it was taken over by Bartolomeo Franceschi; Dupriez himself died in 1952. He was a man with considerable but ill-founded pretensions to scholarship. His lavishly illustrated book on modern Belgian coinage (1949) met with a good deal of criticism and his sale catalogues are as confused in their numbering as they are inadequate in their coin descriptions, so that when unillustrated they are virtually useless. The important collections and hoards he often had for sale are in consequence very inadequately recorded. This is notably the case with his catalogues of the great Brussels hoard of 1908 (no. 99, of 29/X/1909) and of the Eekeren gold hoard of 1920 (no. 119^{bis} of 13/XI/1923). He bought for stock some 60,000 of the Low Country deniers from the Brussels hoard, and in the foreword to his Cat. No. 100, in which many were offered for sale, he records his having melted down some 55,000 'de conservation médiocre', presumably to maintain the market price of the rest. He was a prickly and difficult character, and his career was punctuated by ill-mannered articles or pamphlets directed at other scholars whom he delighted to insult, from Georges Cumont in the opening years of the century to a distinguished Liège historian, Paul Harsin, in the 1940s.

The chief public events of the period were the meetings in Brussels of the first and third International Numismatic Congresses in 1891 and 1910. That of 1891, the first ever to be held, was intended to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the *Société royale* and to reassure the scholarly world, and perhaps itself, that all was well with it and its recent troubles were at an end. The only surviving founder member, Monseigneur le chanoine baron Félix de Béthune (1824-1909), an elderly and much-liked collector from Bruges without scholarly pretensions, was retrieved from obscurity, dusted off, and charged with the duty of celebrating the first half-century of the society in his opening address. Since he had played no part whatever in its affairs, as he candidly admitted, he may well have been ignorant of much that had been going on. At all events, he acquitted himself of the task in a fashion that gave no offence at the time and provides no illumination to posterity (Béthune 1891).

The congress was in any case a success, and provided a precedent. Its proceedings, edited in somewhat unamiable collaboration by Cumont and de Witte, were published with admirable promptitude before the end of the year (*CIN Bruxelles* 1891). De Jonghe contributed to it in an excellent study on the gold *solidi* of Louis the Pious, but on medieval Belgian coinage there were only four papers, two of them by Belgians, de Witte and Picqué, and two by outsiders, Dannenberg and Caron. De Witte's, on the eleventh-century coins of Brussels and Nivelles, was the most interesting, but its contents were shortly to appear, more accessibly, in the first volume of his monograph on the coins of Brabant.

The date of the next Brussels congress, that of June 1910, like that of the second International Numismatic Congress at Paris in 1900, was determined not by the society's interests but by the holding of an International Exhibition at the capital city in question. Once again its activities were efficiently organized, and its proceedings (*CIN Bruxelles* 1910) were again published before the year ended. Medieval Belgian coinage did not get much greater coverage than on the previous occasion, but the general quality was somewhat higher, for it included an important revision by Alvin of the attributions of the earliest coins of Namur, a discussion by Tourneur of the denarial coinage in Flanders, and a survey by de Witte of monetary conventions in the region prior to the Burgundian period. A notable difference from 1891 was the formal extension of the subject matter of its *Comptes-rendus et Mémoires* to include contemporary medallic art, for this was a major interest of the two editors, de Witte and the young Tourneur.

Two conspicuous absentees from the 1891 congress were C.A. Serrure and his son Raymond. The first of these was still active – he died in 1898 at the age of 63 – but no longer in the medieval field. His work in preparing the revised edition (1880) of his father's *Notice* of the prince de Ligne collection, and his own cataloguing of the coin collection of a younger comte de Renesse-Breidbach which included an extensive Gaulish series for a sale at Ghent in the spring of 1885, had deflected his attention to Celtic coins and, less happily, to Gaulish language and grammar. From 1885 onwards all his publications were concerned with these themes. His last one on a medieval coin (Serrure 1885) was in fact devoted to a *cokibus* now in this collection (7,000).

The absence of Raymond Serrure (1862-99), at that time the best known and the most distinguished living Belgian numismatist (J. van Bommel in *BN* 6 (1899), p. 105-116; F. Mazerolle in *GNF* 3 (1899), p. 221-234; A. de Ceuleneer in *BNB* XXII, p. 265-272), was more serious. He neither presented a paper nor even attended. Meetings with former Belgian colleagues would perhaps have been embarrassing. He was by this time well established in Paris as a coin dealer, with his own shop in the *rue des Petits Champs* and somehow finding time for the great series of publications which has caused all subsequent generations of medieval numismatists to revere his memory. Although the pages of the *RBN* were apparently closed to him in 1880, his longer articles were welcome in the *Annuaire français de numismatique* until this ceased publication in 1896. For shorter articles he had his own *Bulletin de numismatique*, which

succeeded his Brussels *Bulletin mensuel* in 1890, and in the last two years of his life he had the *Gazette numismatique française*.

Serrure's move to Paris was made in 1882. The title-page of the first volume of the *BMNA* was published at Brussels only, but from volume 2 (1883/4) onwards the title pages bear the double imprint of Brussels and Paris. He had already begun to publish in Brussels, but his 32-page brochure *Éléments de l'histoire monétaire de la principauté épiscopale de Liège* (Serrure 1880), which appeared when he was only 18, is a survey of the coinage, not a '*histoire monétaire*', and is in any case simply a reprint, though nowhere described as such, of the 'Liège' entry in his *Dictionnaire* of the same year (Serrure 1880A). Subsequently, in the 1880s, he published a series of short articles (see bibl.) on the coinages of individual bishops, but they are no more than lists of types and make no attempt to study or date the coinages themselves. It was his move to Paris that brought him into relationship with the two scholars, Charles Robert and Arthur Engel, who were to change his life and do much to establish his reputation. His own father and grandfather had been excellent numismatists, but their interests and reputation had been virtually confined to Belgium and the kingdom of the Netherlands. Raymond Serrure was to take all European numismatics as his province.

The older of the two scholars was Charles Robert (1812-87), a senior Treasury official (*intendant général*) then nearing the end of his career and one of the most distinguished numismatists in France. His monograph on the coins of Cambrai has already been mentioned. Robert took him on as secretary, effectively as part-time assistant, giving him the run of his magnificent library and introducing him to the coinage of France and more especially to that of Lorraine and the Three Bishoprics, on which he himself was a specialist and the owner of the finest collection that has ever been formed. The younger man, Arthur Engel (1855-1935), was a member of a Strasbourg family which had settled in Paris after 1870. He had been trained in classics and archaeology at the French School at Rome, but was up to then chiefly interested in the numismatics of the Norman period in south Italy and in that of his native Alsace. Of the first he had written the first serious account (1882); on the second he had published a number of studies that culminated in 1887 in the standard monograph, written in association with a man of letters, Ernest Lehr, but of which he was in fact the effective author.

Serrure published nothing in association with Robert, though he did complete and publish a monograph on the coinage of the bishops of Metz on which Robert was working at the time of his death. But he and Engel joined forces in the late 1880s to publish a full and critical bibliography of French numismatics (Engel & Serrure 1887-89), based largely on the holdings of Robert's library. It remains to this day one of the most useful and informative reference books in the field. They went on in the 1890s to write their three-volume *Traité de numismatique du moyen âge* (Engel & Serrure 1891-1905) and their two-volume *Traité de numismatique moderne et contemporaine* (Paris, 1897-99). The two together are a wonderful achievement. Even if some sections had inevitably to be compiled from the works of other scholars, there are many, notably those

on the Merovingian Gaul and on France and the Low Countries, which involved much original research, and the general chapters are full of originality and justly esteemed for their clarity of presentation.

As if this were not enough to fill Serrure's time, he produced and largely wrote his bi-monthly *Bulletin de numismatique*, contributed a monograph on the numismatic history of Luxemburg (Serrure 1893) to the *Annuaire de la Société française de numismatique*, and when the latter ceased publication in 1890 – its index followed later (1896) – he joined with Fernand Mazerolle, archivist at the Paris mint, to found and edit the *Gazette numismatique française*, a sumptuously produced periodical that was to run from 1897 to 1914 and was limited to French numismatics, in contrast to the *Revue numismatique* which was thought of by some as allowing too much space to classical and oriental coinage. In addition to all this writing he carried on his business as a coin dealer and attended to his correspondence with innumerable friends and clients. The enormous workload eventually proved too much. In 1899 his health broke down and he died after a short illness at the age of 36. His death left an appalling gap in the world of numismatic scholarship. His widow carried on his business, with regular auctions and a considerable degree of success, to 1913, and his shop passed eventually to Clément Platt (1874–1952), founder of a firm that still exists. Engel saw the third volume of the medieval *Traité* through the press in 1905, but without the aid of Serrure it is much inferior to the first two. He seems thereafter to have abandoned scholarship and to have published nothing more. When he died at Geneva in 1935 he was a forgotten man, and not a single obituary notice appeared in the numismatic literature. Serrure's own private collection, or important elements in it, came eventually into the hands of the Brussels dealer Jeff Dillen and was gradually sold off.

Raymond Serrure's contributions to the medieval numismatics of the southern Netherlands are so varied and numerous – there are over 70 entries under his name in the bibliography – that it is impossible to categorize them briefly. Many deal with single coins or groups of coins, a few with hoards (Erweteghem, Thourotte, Herck-de-Stad), a few with the coinages of single principalities (Liège, Luxemburg) or substantial regions, one of the latter (Serrure 1880A) being a dictionary of mints and minting authorities in Belgium published when he was only seventeen, the other a geographical dictionary of a similar character for north-western France (Serrure 1887) of which only the first fascicule (Abbeville-Cambrésis) ever appeared. The immensity of his output – he must often have had a dozen or more publications in the press at the same time – meant that its quality sometimes suffered, but actual errors are astonishingly few. His Belgian numismatic geographical dictionary was severely criticized at the time, but the criticisms did little more than note trivial mistakes; the work was one well worth undertaking, and despite its occasional errors it still remains useful. His hoard descriptions, however, were inadequate, partly because he was apt to rush into print before all the evidence was available, but partly because he did not fully realise the importance of recording some of the details that we would now expect. In retrospect, however, we can only salute the extraordinary scope and quality of his achievement; no other writer has

ever equalled his knowledge of the coinage of the southern Netherlands, and this was, after all, only *one* of his numismatic interests.

Serrure's death in 1899 left as the leading figures in Belgian medieval numismatics the vicomte de Jonghe (1842-1914) president of the *Société royale*, Fritz Alvin (1864-1948), Keeper of the *Cabinet des Médailles*, Georges Cumont (1852-1931) and Alphonse de Witte (1851-1916), both specialists in the coinage of Brabant, and Édouard Bernays (1873-1940) and baron Jules de Chestret de Haneffe (1833-1909), specialists respectively in the coinages of Luxemburg and Liège. In the Grand-Duchy there was also Nicolas van Werveke (1851-1926). It seemed like a return to the 1840s and 1850s to have so many talented and productive numismatists active in a small country at the same time. The names of three of them, de Witte, Bernays and de Chestret, are still familiar, since each was author of a large-scale monograph still in regular use. De Jonghe is remembered for his services to the *Société royale*, for his great collection of coins, acquired by the *Cabinet des Médailles* in 1924, and for the many short articles in which, over more than half a century, from 1869 to 1923, he published the rarities of his collection more or less as he acquired them. But Cumont and Alvin rendered considerable services to Belgian numismatic scholarship in their day, and should not be forgotten.

Georges Cumont, cousin of the more famous Franz Cumont, was a man of independent means, who gave up a career at the bar in 1882 to devote himself to a variety of interests – archeology, numismatics, geology, anthropology, mountain climbing – that made him for nearly thirty years a considerable figure in the literary and scientific world of Brussels (*Nos contemporains* (1904), p. 231-233; Cumont 1913). He was a founder member of several of the learned societies of the capital, and in addition to the many articles he contributed to their publications he was always prepared to devote his time to their affairs, acting as member of council or librarian as circumstances required and being president of the *Société royale d'archéologie de Bruxelles* in 1895-96 and of the *Société d'anthropologie* in 1899-1901. Although numismatics was only one of his interests, he was persuaded to become secretary of the *Société royale de numismatique* in 1883 and a director of its *Revue* in 1885. During the next decade he played a major role in the Society's affairs.

Cumont's most substantial numismatic work is his bibliography of Belgian numismatics (Cumont 1883), arranged under authors and listing over 2,000 books and articles, with analyses of contents, notes of reviews, and other supplementary information. It includes a few sale catalogues of named collections, together with printed *placards* from 1487 onwards, and is a thorough and careful compilation, with subject indices sufficiently detailed to render it still useful for the period prior to 1883. (Dupriez published a supplement covering 1883-1900 in vols. 6-8 of the *Gazette Numismatique* which were consolidated into a single volume (Justice & Fayen 1904), but it is described as an *Essai d'un répertoire numismatique* and arranged under subject matter in a manner that renders it virtually useless.) Cumont's other writings, based on archive material as well as coin evidence, are mainly concerned with the coinage of fourteenth-century Brabant and the minor fiefs of the Maas region. The most valuable are a

series of articles on the coinage of Joan (Cumont 1901, 1902A, 1902B) and a lengthy study of Nicolas Chavre (d. 1397), master of the mint of Louvain in Joan's reign (Cumont 1897).

But Cumont's interest in the coinage of medieval Brabant made him something of a rival to de Witte and the two men quarrelled. In the summer of 1896 he abruptly resigned his offices, leaving de Witte to add the post of secretary to that of librarian which he already held and Count Thierry de Limburg-Stirum to take his place on the publication committee of the *RBN*. Although he remained a member of the society down to the Great War, his contributions to the *RBN* came abruptly to an end, and for the next ten years his numismatic articles, some of considerable importance, had to find homes elsewhere: in Serrure's *Bulletin de numismatique* and the *Gazette numismatique française*, in Dupriez's *Gazette numismatique*, in the Dutch *Tijdschrift*, or in the *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, the society in whose activities he took most interest. The war brought his scholarly career to an end and he published only a single numismatic article after it, a note in 1920 in the *Revue suisse de numismatique* on a sixteenth-century goldgulden of the petty lordship of Vauvillers in the Vosges. When he died in 1931 his services to Belgian numismatics had been forgotten, so that the editors of the *RBN* failed even to note the disappearance from the scene of a scholar who had done much to help pull the society together in the troubled years following Chalon's death half a century before.

Much more important, in the long run, was Alphonse de Witte (biog. and bibl. by de Jonghe in *RBN* 1919, p. 167-178; cf. also *BNB* XXVII, p. 367-372, by Vannérus, and XXXII, p. 776-784, by Tourneur). He was born at Ixelles, a suburb of Brussels, his father being a wealthy industrialist and his mother a member of a distinguished French family settled as sugar planters in Cuba. He studied as an engineer, but had no inclination towards a business career and his ample fortune allowed him to follow his own interests as a scholar, collector, and patron of art. His interest in numismatics derived from his friendship with C.-A. Serrure, and from the mid 1880s to his death in 1916 he played an active role in the *Société royale*, of which he became librarian in 1885, secretary and director of the *RBN* in 1897, and vice-president in 1912. He was immensely productive as a scholar, his *chef d'œuvre* being his great three-volume monograph, running to nearly 1,200 pages and 85 plates, on the coins of Brabant. For the period up to 1600 he had the use of Van der Chijs' massively documented volume of 1851, but de Witte had easier access to the records and his work is much better organized and easier to use. He was not wholly successful, it is true, in separating the coinages of the century 1268-1355, when there were in succession three counts named John, and he consistently failed to exploit hoard evidence as a key to dating. But taken as a whole the book is a masterpiece.

De Witte's book on the coinage of Brabant is only one of several that he wrote, besides over 150 articles. His practical turn of mind interested him in Belgian coin-weights and their history, on which he wrote an important study spread over the *RBN* in 1898 and 1899, and in 1912 he published the catalogue

of the coin-dies and punches in the possession of the mint. He was an efficient organiser, and largely responsible for much of the success of the two international numismatic congresses at Brussels. After 1900 he threw his energies into organising a society for the encouragement of the art of the medal, and his generous patronage was largely responsible for its revival in Belgium. But he did not entirely lose his medieval interests, writing an important study (de Witte 1910) on the monetary conventions of the later middle ages for the Congress of 1910, and another (de Witte 1911) on the Brabantine coins in the Brussels hoard of 1908. He died at Bruges on 1 August 1916 after a long and painful illness. His great collection of Brabantine coins was left to the Brussels cabinet, and other parts of his coin collection to Paris, Bruges, and Louvain. His large collection of coin balances and weights, which was exhibited at the Belgian *Exposition nationale* in 1910, had been tragically lost in a fire that broke out in the pavilion in which they were displayed. His immense and admirably organized numismatic library of nearly 2,000 volumes and brochures was left to Victor Tourneur, and after the latter's death passed to the *Académie royale de Belgique* (see *RBN* 1972, p. 221).

The second major publication of the 1890s was Baron Jules de Chestret de Haneffe's *Numismatique de la principauté de Liège et de ses dépendances*, published by the *Académie royale* in 1890, to which a 27-page *Supplément* (with two plates), published by a local printer at Liège and today not easy to find, was added ten years later.

The scholarly career of de Chestret (1833-1909) was almost independent of the numismatic group at Brussels, though he was on friendly terms with most of its members. He disliked making the journey to the capital, short as it was, and he had in any case no inclination for the politics and intrigues to which the numismatists there were so addicted. He is better known to us personally than the others, for he left a short autobiographical sketch which was incorporated almost in its entirety in the obituary notice published by the *Académie* (Bormans 1900; also *BNB* xxxi, p. 170-175), and he seems to have been the most sympathetic character amongst them.

De Chestret came of a distinguished family of landed gentry and had no need to work for a living, spending most of his life on his family estate at Blankenberg in Dutch Limburg and returning to Liège, where he was born, when he needed access to particular books not in his library. His scholarly activities date essentially from 1863, when after only five years of married life he was unexpectedly left a widower, with three small children to bring up. Under the guidance of Joseph Habets, a local cleric with a taste for antiquities and founder of the Historical and Archeological Society of Limburg and the museum of antiquities at Maastricht, he learned to handle archives, and de Coster, living not far away at Heverlee, helped over coins. His subsequent career was that of a hard-working and remarkably productive gentleman-scholar. He was the author of over eighty studies, more than half of them medieval and often based on newly discovered coins or archive material, on the petty lordships of the region. The most substantial, apart from his monograph on the coins of Liège, is one on the great family of The Mark in all its ramifications in the Rhineland

and the Low Countries (de Chestret 1898), but though invaluable for its detail it is totally unreadable. His book on the coins of Liège, on the other hand, is well-planned, well-written and comprehensive, with excellent plates. It is much shorter than that of de Witte, for Liège had nothing to compare with the rich archival sources of Brabant; less could in consequence be said about dating, mint-output, values, and the like. There are sections that need revision, notably those on the astonishingly varied coinage of the denarial period, and the sequences of issues in the later middle ages can be better established than de Chestret thought possible. But the book as a whole is a fitting counterpart to de Witte's great work.

Finally, a little after the others, came the third of the major monographs of the period, the *Histoire monétaire du comté puis duché de Luxembourg et de ses fiefs* by Édouard Bernays and Jules Vannérus, which appeared in 1910.

The perfunctory obituary which was all that Hoc devoted to Bernays (1873-1940) in the *RBN* (1940, p. 134-135) means that less is recorded of him than of the other scholars of the period. He was an Antwerp lawyer, comfortably off, and a devoted coin collector, particularly in the series of Namur and Luxembourg. At Antwerp he became friends with the archivist and historian Jules Vannérus (1874-1970), whose career and interests are much better documented (Rousseau 1970; Goedert 1970). Vannérus was born at Diekirch in the Grand-Duchy but made his career in Belgium, in Antwerp where he presided over the *Archives* from 1905 to 1919 and at Brussels where he made his home, though he never lost his links with Luxembourg. The partnership was ideal, with Bernays responsible for the purely numismatic sections, where he could include the many rarities he had acquired over the preceding decades and had often published in the form of short notes, and Vannérus for the written evidence, reprinting such documents relating to the mints as had been published by Van Werveke and adding a wealth of background information, more particularly of a genealogical character. The book is consequently much more discursive than those of either de Witte or de Chestret. It is indeed a major work of reference on the history of Luxembourg and its neighbourhood, not simply a comprehensive study of the coinage.

Vannérus himself was in any case not working in the void, for an older contemporary and close friend, Nicolas van Werveke (1851-1926), also a native of Diekirch though his family came originally from Flanders, shared his interests. Van Werveke had indeed prepared the way for him, having himself published a catalogue (Van Werveke 1880, supplement 1890) of the coins of Luxemburg in the Museum of *Section historique* of the *Institut Grand-Ducal*, the chief learned society in Luxembourg. He was a professional scholar, secretary of the *Section historique* 1884-1910, and was the leading historian in the country in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the opening years of the twentieth. His immense scholarly output ran to hundreds of articles and culminated in a three-volume *Kulturgeschichte des Luxemburger Landes* of which the last appeared in the year of his death. His knowledge of the archives was unrivalled. A bibliography of his work is included in the substantial fascicule (p. 509-616) entitled '*Hommage à Nicolas van Werveke*' forming *Cahier VII* (July 1925) of

vol. II of *Les Cahiers Luxembourgeois*, and a list of 19 of his specifically numismatic studies is included in his obituary notice by Vannérus in the *RBN* (1926, p. 228-231). Some of them are concerned with finds of Roman coins, but the 1880 catalogue just mentioned, several of his hoard descriptions (Beaufort, Arsdorf), the first of them important for establishing the chronology of Wenceslas II's coinage, and studies on the coinage of the years 1383-1412 and the identities and activity of several minor mints, are relevant to the medievalist.

Two exceptional private collections formed in this period have been mentioned, those of de Jonghe and of Bernays. Both were eventually to enter the Brussels *Cabinet*. Two others were put together in northern France, one by the wealthy lawyer Louis Théry (1864-1949), the other by the banker Achille Vernier (1834-1917). The Théry collection, which will be described in the next section, was eventually broken up. Théry was an antiquarian with a wide variety of interests, and the information in his papers has made possible a detailed inventory of archeological discoveries in the *Département du Nord* and elsewhere in the region (Revillion 1987). He had a particular interest in numismatics (cf. *RBN* 1950, p. 259-260) and was author of several studies on coins of Flanders or of minor mints in the neighbourhood (see bibl.). As for the Vernier collection, it was acquired in 1900, on very favourable terms, by the *Musée municipal* in the *Palais des Beaux-Arts* at Lille.

The numismatic section in this museum went back to 1823, but prior to the 1890s it consisted mainly of local jettons, tokens and the like, with relatively few coins. Its contents in 1860 are known to us from the general catalogue of the contents of the museum by Charles Verly (1794-1871), a professional architect who played a major role in the cultural life of the city and was virtually the creator of its museum. A great expansion occurred in 1892, when, after the death of Louis Dancoisne, his collection of coins of Artois was acquired *en bloc*. In 1900 there followed the gift of the even more spectacular Vernier collection of Flemish coins, superior at the time to that of the Brussels Cabinet. Vernier had put together the collection in the last three decades of the nineteenth century, first at Roubaix and subsequently at Lille, buying extensively at the Herry (1869) and Dewismes (1875) sales, as well as acquiring many coins by private purchase and exchange. In 1880 the collection was displayed in its entirety at the *Exposition nationale* at Brussels, and the *RBN* wrote of it that "*rien d'aussi considérable n'a jamais été rassemblé pour ces riches provinces*". A manuscript list of the coins in the collection in 1880 was made by Raymond Serrure when it was exhibited at Brussels, and two copies of the list exist, one in the *Cabinet des Médailles* at Brussels and another, given by Serrure to Alphonse de Witte, subsequently belonged to Tourneur and is now in the possession of the *Académie royale*. It formed the basis of a brief article on the rarities of the collection (Serrure 1881), followed in due course by one on its '*pièces uniques ou rares*' by de Meunynck (1902), but its treasures are still only very imperfectly known to scholars. Their misfortunes during the first World War, and the subsequent publication of the gold coins, will be described in the next section.

1914-45

The three decades 1914-45 correspond to the thirty years that are customarily regarded as forming a generation, but during a third of them Belgium, like most of Europe, was engulfed in war. Scholarly activity during them was thus effectively limited to the two decades 1919-39. Both wars, the first especially, cost many members of the *Société royale* their lives, though the roll of honour did not include the names of any prominent scholars. In the second, on the other hand, Henri Laurent, one of the two most promising of the younger numismatists of the thirties, was drowned when the *Aboukir*, carrying refugees to England in May 1940, was torpedoed, and the coin-dealer Jef Dillen, who had been financed by Dupriez and who was implicated in an attack on a Gestapo officer, died in a German concentration camp. In the first war the *Société royale* lost its coin collection, important mainly for its medals, which was pillaged and dispersed, and its investments, destroyed by inflation, so that when the *RBN* resumed publication it was on a much smaller scale than before, the volumes of the 1920s and subsequently appearing annually instead of three times a year. In this, however, it was not alone; the same happened to its sister publications in France and England.

The *Cabinet des Médailles*, more fortunate than the Vernier collection at Lille, survived both wars unharmed. Alvin was formally Keeper to 1919, but in fact only till 1914; he was in Italy when war broke out, and since he was past military age he stayed there till its end. By that time he had lost interest in numismatics, so on his return he was transferred to another section of the Library and, although he lived to 1949, published nothing more on the subject. His successor Tourneur was Keeper from 1919 to 1929, when he became *Conservateur en chef* of the *Bibliothèque royale*, and Hoc succeeded him as Keeper from 1929 to 1955. The main acquisitions in these years were both in the medieval field, the Baudouin de Jonghe collection by purchase in 1924 (*RBN* 1924, p. 209-211; 1925, p. 143-145) and the Bernays collection of coins of Namur, under the terms of its owner's will, in 1940. The Baudouin de Jonghe collection included over 350 Celtic, 120 Merovingian, and 150 Carolingian coins as well as over 5,000 Low Country ones.

Scholarly publications, as a result of the wars, were effectively limited to the decades 1919-40. A. de Witte died in 1916. Cumont lived to 1931, but, like Alvin, he had abandoned numismatics. Vicomte Baudouin de Jonghe lived to 1925, but his post-war articles, like his earlier ones, consist mainly of the occasional publication of rarities in his collection. Louis Thery was still active – he lived to 1949 – and published some brief notes of interest, but despite the care he took over noting the finding of coins and other archeological objects in his neighbourhood, his information was never properly published, a particular misfortune in the case of the great Lille hoard of over 800 petty deniers (cf. Ghysens 1971, p. 95-96). Bernays and Vannérus, who survived to 1940 and 1970 respectively, produced in 1934 a valuable *Complément* to their volume of 1910 on Luxemburg. Bernays' interest, however, had largely moved from the coins of Luxemburg to those of Namur, on which he published several studies

between 1920 and 1933. He also left behind an unfinished manuscript on the coinage of this county, though with its eleventh-century sections and the coinage of Maximilian-Emanuel of Bavaria (1711-44) still to be done. It was inherited by Hoc, who was supposed to complete it, but he did nothing and it is still unpublished at the time of writing.

The medieval field in Belgium was in fact dominated by Tourneur and Hoc. The output of the first of these was remarkable. Between 1919 and 1940 he published no fewer than 32 articles on the medieval coinage of the southern Netherlands. Some simply put on record newly discovered material, whether individual coins or hoards (Bébange, Marche-en-Famenne, Eekeren), or explain such mysteries as the sterlings of John I of Brabant struck at Bonn, or take the form of substantial discussions of such problems as the nature of the denarial coinage in Flanders and Brabant and the relations between French and Flemish coinage in the time of Philip the Fair. Their conclusions have not always proved acceptable – his attempt to accord priority to Brabant over Flanders in the introduction of the gold florin involved a whole series of misunderstandings – but they were based on an exceptional knowledge of both the coins and the written documents; he was one of the best read, as well as one of the most productive, numismatists of the day. Hoc, in contrast, published little. His first article, written jointly with Tourneur, dates from 1923, and it was only after he had entered the *Cabinet des Médailles* as assistant keeper in 1929 that his interest in the subject really developed. Even so, he remained more a bibliophile than a numismatist, and his few numismatic articles of the 1930s rarely run to more than a few pages and are limited to the coinage of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries.

In the 1930s, however, two new scholars of ability emerged, Paul Naster (1913-98) at Louvain and Henri Laurent (1903-40) in Brussels. Naster, who survived the war and became the outstanding Belgian numismatist of his generation, was to achieve distinction mainly in classical numismatics and in Near Eastern archeology and philology, not in the medieval field. Laurent's training, on the other hand, was that of a medieval historian. As a young professor at the University of Brussels he published, either alone or in collaboration with Fritz Quicke of Ghent, a series of excellent studies on the history of Brabant in the fourteenth century (obituary by F.L. Ganshof in *RBP* 1940, p. 398-403). In the numismatic field he was the author of an admirable volume on the monetary relations between Flanders and Brabant in the last decades of the fourteenth century (Laurent 1933A), besides examining the penetration of the economic ideas of Nicolas Oresme, adviser to Charles V of France and one of the most original thinkers of the later middle ages, into the Low Countries (Laurent 1933B). His tragic death in 1940 meant that his great promise remained unfulfilled.

If no single major work on medieval numismatics appeared during these years, there was much activity in the related field of monetary history. The oldest of the scholars involved, Georges Bigwood (1871-1930), was indeed interested in numismatics, though he did not write specifically on the topic. An eminent economic historian and a professor at the university of Brussels, he is

chiefly remembered for a massive two-volume work on silver and banking in medieval Belgium (Bigwood 1920). But he had been interested in coins since his boyhood, and was a member of the *Société royale* from 1906 and in due course its librarian and treasurer. He was exceptionally familiar with late medieval archives and author of many articles on the monetary history of the Low Countries, including one on the accounts of the mint of Tournai (bibl. in *RBN* 1930, p. 202–205). The two other scholars with similar interests, Hans van Werveke (1898–1974) and Raymond de Roover (1906–72), belonged to a different generation, starting their publications in the late 1920s or the 1930s and carrying on after the war into the 1960s. Van Werveke, a professor at the university of Ghent and one of the most eminent Belgian historians of his generation, published extensively on means of exchange in the later middle ages and, having had the good fortune to discover mint documents unknown to Gaillard, on the monetary policies of the counts of Flanders (see bibl.). De Roover, a native of Antwerp, had an apprenticeship in banking and subsequently turned the experience thus gained to the interpretation of late medieval business documents, on which he published a series of important studies in the early 1930s. In 1936 he married Florence Edler, an American economic historian specializing in late medieval Florence, and emigrated to the United States, where he was to have a distinguished professorial career in the post-war period (biog. *BNB* XL, p. 737–740). In 1932 a German scholar, Gottfried Pusch, wrote a monograph on the monetary policy in the Burgundian and Habsburg periods, but it dealt mainly with Charles V and had little to say on his Burgundian predecessors.

In other respects there is little to record. Only one International Numismatic Congress was held between the wars, that at London in 1936 when Tourneur argued (wrongly) against Edward III's minting of *schilden* at Antwerp but startled his English colleagues by pointing out (rightly) that the obverse design of the English groat was not original, as they had supposed, but was copied from a *groot* of John III of Brabant (Tourneur 1935). The only important auction sales were a Dupriez one (no. 119^{bis}) of 13/XI/1923, in which the Eekeren hoard of late fourteenth-century gold was dispersed, and that of an astonishingly rich collection of coins and medals of the southern Netherlands sold by Hans Nussbaum (Zürich) on 26/II/1934. The catalogue was uninformatively entitled *Vente Nomisma*, and the collection was that of a Captain Fürstenberg, of whom nothing seems to be known beyond the two facts that he died in 1932 and had largely formed the collection while stationed at Brussels in the first World War. It was suspected in Belgium that it might contain some of the rarities stolen at that time by German troops from the Vernier collection at Lille, but this was not the case; no improperly acquired material could be attributed to it, and the missing Vernier coins have never reappeared.

The main Belgian dealer in the inter-war period continued to be Dupriez, but he acquired competitors in the 1920s and 1930s in the persons of Léon Fuldauer, Albert Delmonte and Paul Tinchant. Fuldauer was a Dutchman who had learned his trade with Schulman – he and the old Schulman both came from Amersfoort – and had his own business in Amsterdam from 1902

to 1924, when he migrated to Brussels. He died four years later, but his business was continued by his stepson Delmonte, whose career was to be a much longer one and who was to leave a mark on the literature of Belgian numismatics. Tinchant was a member of a wealthy tobacco family who spent much of his early life in southern France. He set up as a coin dealer in Brussels in the 1930s more or less as a hobby, having been a collector of Roman coins since his childhood. His knowledge of medieval coins and his interest in them were slight, so that such rarities as eleventh-century deniers from the Maastricht hoard of 1856 and twelfth-century ones from the Saint-Aybert hoard of c. 1850 passed through his hands virtually unnoticed and often at derisory prices.

1945-2003

The last half-century of the history of medieval numismatics in Belgium, or relating to Belgium, cannot be summarized under a single rubric. In contrast to the preceding period, it has been one of conspicuous achievement. There have indeed been few substantial monographs apart from those of Hoc on Tournai, van Gelder & Hoc on the Netherlands in the Burgundian and Spanish periods, and those by Weiller on Luxemburg. But there has been a large, perhaps excessive, proliferation of *œuvres de vulgarisation*, and a remarkable output of scholarly articles, mainly concerned with the chronology of issues and their economic interpretation. These were subjects to which insufficient attention had been devoted earlier. It is only in this period that die-studies and adequate hoard analyses were seriously undertaken, though they had long been accepted procedures, if not always practised, elsewhere. Two scholars, Tourneur and Hoc, bridged the gap with pre-war days – so indeed, if not in the medieval field, did the much younger Naster – and so did several of the monetary historians who had occupied themselves marginally with numismatics in the 1930s. But a new and extremely productive generation began to publish in the 1940s and 1950s.

The *Cabinet des Médailles* survived the war without damage, and in 1971 was moved to new quarters in a largely rebuilt and modernized *Bibliothèque royale*. Marcel Hoc continued as keeper to 1955, combining the office with that of Chief Librarian from 1953. He was succeeded by Fernand Baillion (1901-68), a conscientious but undistinguished member of the department since 1926, who was keeper 1957-66. The post subsequently went into commission, authority being shared between Jan Lippens, a specialist in medals and decorations, with the title of ‘*Chef de section*’, and Jacqueline Lallemand, who worked by predilection in the field of Roman coins but was competent over a much wider area, with that of ‘*Chef de travaux*’. Despite its size – it was reckoned in 1967 to possess 200,000 coins and medals – serious reductions in funding and in the numbers of the staff were causing agitated protests from outside numismatists by the mid-1980s. Lallemand’s retirement in 1988, and the premature deaths of two assistant keepers, Marcel Thirion (1925-77) and André Van Keymeulen (1945-91), in fact combined by the 1990s to make the *Cabinet* for a time virtually inaccessible to visitors and greatly curtailed its services to scholarship.

In the post-war period the *Cabinet*, like similar institutions elsewhere, had begun to change its character. Instead of concerning itself primarily with rarities and coins of high value, it became interested in the building up of a collection that would include many 'duplicates', as older collectors would have termed them, and coins of low value. The former are essential for die-studies and the latter have normally formed a much higher proportion of the circulating medium than the traditional contents of coin cabinets would suggest. Since the 1970s they have also been more easily obtainable than in the past through the use of highly sensitive metal detectors, gadgets whose existence is deplored by archeologists but which have rendered great services to numismatics. These changes have been combined with a more careful study of hoards, which had traditionally been thought of mainly as sources of novelties and occasionally as guides to chronology but which now began to be studied in much greater detail and with other objects in mind.

These new interests, coupled with the presence on its staff of Naster, Lallemand, Thirion (from 1958), and Van Keymeulen (from 1962), resulted in a period of great publishing activity in the *Cabinet*. Naster, who was assistant keeper 1942-55, described a number of hoards and catalogued the Lucien de Hirsch collection of Greek coins (1959). Thirion and Lallemand inaugurated a series of brochures devoted to hoard descriptions under the title of *Études numismatiques*, four of which were published between 1960 and 1967, though only the fourth, with accounts of the Transinne and Ciney hoards by Jean Baerten and the Flostoy hoard by Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, contain medieval material. Thirion, like Lallemand, was essentially a Romanist and Van Keymeulen wrote mainly on the early modern period, but the latter's monograph, *Les trésors monétaires modernes trouvés en Belgique* (1973), starts with 1434.

The *Société royale* survived the second World War more successfully than it did the first, largely as a result of the energy and the formidable presence of Tourneur, whose command of fluent German gave him an advantage in dealing with the occupying authorities. The library was relegated to a garret in the *Palais des Académies* but lost nothing, and after the war it was transferred on indefinite loan to the library of the *Université libre de Bruxelles*. There it remained until the 1960s, when the society transferred it to the *Université catholique de Louvain* for Tony Hackens' newly inaugurated numismatic seminar. Meetings of the society and the publication of its review had been suspended in 1940, and vol. 92, covering the years 1940-46, appeared in 1946, since when annual publication has continued. Medieval numismatics has perhaps taken a larger place in its contents than it had since the days of Chalon, but classical numismatics has had its fair share and sometimes more: Desneux occupied almost the whole of vol. 95 (1949) with a prodigious monograph on the tetradrachms of Acanthus. The Society was unable, because of the war, to celebrate its centenary in 1941, but it gratified an aging Tourneur by celebrating its 125th birthday in 1966 and took the occasion, in 1991, to act as host to the 11th International Numismatic Congress, thus celebrating the centenary of the first such congress at Brussels in 1891.

Although the *Société royale* met monthly, the *RBN* appeared only annually,

and the need was widely felt for societies that would hold regular but less formal meetings and for a publication that would appear at more frequent intervals, like the French *Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique*, allowing for short articles in which collectors and scholars could publish new coins and discuss their significance.

A consequence of this was the formation of other numismatic societies. The earlier of the two main ones, but the less important for the scholar, was the *Alliance Numismatique Européenne*, or *Europees Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde*, founded in 1950 by collectors in Antwerp but rapidly acquiring members elsewhere. It began by publishing monthly an eight-page brochure, with no title other than the name of the society and consisting of short, elementary articles on general topics, often carrying on from issue to issue and without scholarly pretensions. The text was partly in French, partly in Dutch; initially, indeed, it was sometimes also in German to justify the presence of 'Europe' in the society's name, but this was quickly abandoned. The issues became in course of time longer and more scholarly, less frequent, and more predominantly Dutch, with a confusing succession of titles:

Alliance Numismatique Européenne – Europees Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde, Antwerp, 1950-55.

Bulletin – Tijdschrift: Alliance Numismatique Européenne – Europees Genootschap etc., Brussels, 1956-67.

In 1968 the A.N.E., while remaining a single society, started to publish two separate periodicals, one French and the other Dutch, each of which continued for four years:

Bulletin de l'Alliance Numismatique Européenne, Brussels, 1968-72.

Tijdschrift van het Europees Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde, Brussels, 1968-72.

In 1973 the societies and their periodicals became quite distinct, though like their predecessors each was numbered as if publication had begun in 1950. *La Vie numismatique* was formally a merger of the *Bulletin* of the A.N.E. with the *Jeunesse numismatique* of the complementary *Cercle d'Études Numismatiques*.

La Vie numismatique, bi-monthly, later ten issues a year, Brussels, 1973-.

Tijdschrift voor Numismatiek, Brussels, 1972-82, replaced by the *Jaarboek van het Europees Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde*, annual, Brussels 1983-.

Of more consequence than the A.N.E. was the *Cercle d'Études Numismatiques*, founded in 1964 at Brussels on the initiative of Paul Magain but with much assistance from Thirion and Lallemand. The *Bulletin* of the Cercle, initially appearing in ten issues a year, has in the event been the recipient of a regular flow of articles and reviews, and is essential reading for any numismatist concerned with the coins of medieval Belgium. In 1966 there was also published, for younger collectors, a brochure entitled *Jeunesse numismatique*, of the same kind but at a more elementary level. This continued for six years, but in 1972 merged with the French *Bulletin* of the A.N.E. as described above. The creation of the *Cercle*, like that of the *Alliance*, was regarded with some suspicion by the management of the *Société royale*. It was soon realized, how-

ever, that it usefully supplemented the latter's activities, and many numismatists in the country became, as a matter of course, members of several according to their choice.

Of the two eminent numismatists who formed a link with pre-war days, Tourneur was in 1945 three-quarters of the way through his long life, but he was to remain active in the *Société royale* for the next decade and was to play a major role in re-establishing international relations in the numismatic field in the post-war world. He had also ten articles still to go, mainly studies of minor mints – Nivelles, Dendermonde, Antwerp in the eleventh century – but a few devoted to the publication of newly-found coins. The Antwerp article, not among his best, is now superseded, but the others retain their value.

The other senior scholar, Tourneur's close friend and colleague Marcel Hoc (1890-1972), also lived into his eighties, and it was in the two decades after his retirement as chief librarian at the *Bibliothèque royale* that many of his numismatic notes and articles, including his two most important numismatic books, belong. One, his *Histoire monétaire de Tournai* (1970), is an immense monograph with a somewhat misleading title, for there is no continuity between the Merovingian and Carolingian coinage of Tournai and that of later centuries and the book is more about coins than monetary history. Although a few of its details require correction, it for the most part represents research that will never need to be done again. The other major work, *Les monnaies des Pays-Bas bourguignons et espagnols 1434-1713* (1960), which he published in collaboration with Van Gelder, is characterized by its sub-title of '*Répertoire général*' and as such it is of immense value. Its contents are mainly post-medieval, but it begins with Philip the Good's monetary reform of 1433/4 and thus covers most of the Burgundian period. The coinage of the fifteenth-eighteenth centuries is for the most part well documented, and as a '*répertoire*' it is deserving of the highest praise, but the introductions to each reign are too summary for it to be of easy use to the historian. Unfortunately Hoc's large output did not include the completion of Bernay's manuscript on the coinage of Namur which has been alluded to already and which would have formed a highly desirable replacement of 'Chalon'.

Hoc's name is commemorated in the *Séminaire de numismatique Marcel Hoc*, set up at the Catholic University of Louvain by Tony Hackens (1938-97), who was responsible for teaching numismatics in the university and was one of the most active numismatists in Belgium from the 1970s onwards. The *Séminaire* inaugurated in 1977 a series entitled *Numismatica Lovaniensia*, the volumes of which, although formally included in the more comprehensive *Publications d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie de l'Université catholique de Louvain*, are separately numbered. Although Hackens himself was a classical numismatist, many of its volumes are medieval in content, notably Frère's monograph on the Carolingian denier which inaugurated the series (Frère 1977), two of Weiller's books on the coinage of Luxembourg (Weiller 1977, 1989), and Dumas' monograph on the coinage of the dukes of Burgundy (Dumas 1988). The later volumes in the series were produced by René De Meester's firm *Cultura* at Wetteren, between Ghent and Alost, a printing house specializing

in scholarly publications and having at its disposal an unusually rich variety of typographical characters. Its move into the numismatic field, one that has now given Belgium a lead over most other countries in high quality numismatic publishing, was largely due to the initiative of the French scholar Pierre Bastien (1912-2010) who had in 1965 to find a publisher for his monograph *Le monnayage de Magnence* and with it inaugurated a sequence of imposing volumes of large quarto format which form a numbered series entitled *Numismatique romaine : Essais, recherches et documents* and are remarkable for the high quality of their text and plates.

In contrast to these new standard reference works are a profusion of *œuvres de vulgarisation*, for as the nineteenth century recedes further and further into the past, scholars and collectors have found the traditional works of reference have become more and more difficult to obtain. They have been mainly the work of two Brussels coin dealers, Albert Delmonte and Jean De Mey, but with some written by the collector Paul Lucas. Delmonte (1906-88) was of Dutch origin but had settled in Brussels in the 1920s, where he carried on business down to his death. His two publications are *Le Benelux d'or* (1964) and *Le Benelux d'argent* (1967, with a two-volume supplement 1985). Only the first, which provides a well-illustrated coverage of the gold coins of both the northern and the southern Netherlands during the later middle ages, concerns the medievalist. The contents of the second are modern, being confined to talers (ducats) and their fractions from Charles V onwards.

The second series of popular handbooks is that of small-format brochures published by the coin-dealer J.R. De Mey from 1966 onwards under the incongruous general title of *Numismatic Pocket*. Delmonte had in the 1930s planned a similar but less ambitious series, without illustrations and mainly interested in values, but only a single fascicule, on the duchy of Brabant, ever appeared (Delmonte 1936). By the 1990s the De Mey series ran to over sixty volumes, most of them devoted to the provinces of what is today Belgium, but a few to regions or localities elsewhere (Alsace, Comtat Venaissin, etc.). A few deal not with individual minting authorities but are grouped regionally (e.g. coins of the Ardennes), or list groups of coins, such as gros tournois imitations. Many also are concerned with such post-medieval materials as paper money or tokens of various kinds. The ones relevant to this volume are noted in the appropriate places. In each brochure the coins are listed, described and illustrated, usually with line drawings taken from some standard work.

Although De Mey's brochures are intended primarily for collectors they cannot be neglected by scholars, for they arrange under their proper headings material that is easily overlooked as a result of being scattered through supplements to standard works. Some of them, notably the volume by A. Haeck on the coins of Flanders to the end of the penny period, incorporate the results of original research. They are also easily accessible, which is not always the case with the standard works on which they are based. De Mey also produced a rather slighter series of the same character, continued from his periodical *Le Courrier numismatique*, originally *La Nouvelle information numismatique* (nos. 1-5; 1978) after a merger with *L'Information numismatique* (Villiers-sur-Marne,

France, 1971-78), published by the *Société numismatique de Paris et sa région*. It was edited by Pierre Magain, a collector who had been active in the *Alliance numismatique européenne*, and himself. The issues of this periodical, and nos. 1-18 (1975-) of the *Courrier numismatique*, are quarto in size and are varied in content. With no. 18 the dimension was reduced to A5, so that they are only slightly larger than the 'Pocket' series but with fewer pages, and each issue had a single topic, usually but not invariably Belgian (e.g. no. 21, by P. Lucas and J.R. De Mey, *Les monnaies du comté de Looz*).

The third series of popular works for collectors is one produced by Paul Lucas, a collector and an occasional contributor in the 1970s and 1980s to the *Courrier numismatique*, the *TN* and the *RBN*. Between 1983 and 1989 he published a series of 'atlases' (see titles in bibl.) which cover Hainault, Flanders (from 1244), Cambrai and Liège. They are of the same general type as De Mey's 'Pocket' series, but are of large format (A4) and have the illustrations and information (including weights) in tabular form. They were published privately and do not seem to have had much success. Lucas' earlier and much more substantial *Monnaies seigneuriales mosanes* (Walcourt, 1982), is on the other hand an extremely valuable reference book, since the material on these minor mints is often hard to trace and Lucas has added useful supplementary information on the history of the mints. Nor was Lucas the only numismatist in the same decade to render such services to his colleagues, for the coin firm of A.G. van der Dussen (Maastricht) published a work by the Liège antique and coin dealer A. Mignolet reproducing de Chestret's plates of coins of Liège with occasional corrections and cross references to subsequent literature (Mignolet 1973).

On a higher scholarly level is the remarkable output of a galaxy of new authors who now entered the field – Meert, Frère, Baerten, Duplessy, Ghysens, Cockshaw, Haeck – all but one of them Belgians and only three of them professional scholars. Duplessy is French, but can be included with the others since many of his publications are in Belgian periodicals. None of them is the author of a substantial monograph of the traditional kind – Baerten's small book on the coins of Looz comes closest to it – but each, in a long series of articles or brochures, has added greatly to our knowledge and understanding of the late medieval coinage of the region. A further scholar, Raymond Weiller, can be dealt with separately, since his work is concerned with Luxembourg and is different in nature. The list does not include the name of Paul Naster, who has been mentioned already, for his work in the medieval field was only marginal. As a numismatist he specialized in archaic and classical Greek coinage; much of his eleven years (1942-53) in the *Cabinet des Médailles* was spent in preparing the catalogue of the great Lucien de Hirsch collection, as noted already. But apart from the great impulse his work in the *Cabinet* and the *Société royale* gave to numismatic studies in general over the years, the medievalist is indebted to him for good descriptions of several hoards, notably that of Gheel (Naster 1949), and a study of the *Arnot* coinage of Alost (Naster 1952), in which he made use of techniques of die-study acquired and perfected in the field of Greek numismatics.

The two principal scholars active over the whole range of late medieval coinage in the region have been Joseph Ghyssens, professionally an accountant on the staff of one of the great Brussels banks, and Jean Duplessy (1929-), from 1962 a full-time member of the staff of the *Cabinet des Médailles* at Paris. Each is the author of some forty articles or books of great originality and importance, starting in Ghyssens' case in 1956 and in Duplessy's in 1962 (lists in bibl.). Both have been much concerned with the monetary functions of coinage and consequently with establishing the exact chronology of issues and the finenesses and weights of the coins. Ghyssens' most substantial monograph is his brochure on the Flemish and Artesian pennies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the chronology of which is carefully established, mainly on the basis of hoard evidence (Ghyssens 1971). He also put together a similar but less fully documented one on the arrangement of Brabantine coins between 1096 and 1406 (Ghyssens 1983). But these are only two studies amongst many and everything he wrote is of value, so that his decision in 1990 to abandon numismatics represents a major loss to scholarship.

Jean Duplessy fortunately remained still active after this date, though tending to become diverted from the Low Countries to France. It is true that his calendar of French coin hoards, the first volume of which (Duplessy 1985) covers the Carolingian and early Capetian periods (to 1223), is in part relevant to Belgium, for north French hoards often contain Low Country material, and since Low Country coins were often copied from French models his two-volume work, *Les monnaies royales françaises de Hugues Capet à Louis XVI* (1988), intended to supersede the unfinished reference book of Lafaurie and Prieur of forty years earlier, has to be consulted also. Duplessy's many articles on Low Country numismatics have been more concerned with individual coins than Ghyssens', but those dealing with imitations, such as his major study on the chronology and circulation areas of the *baudekins* (Duplessy 1971), throw light on the coinages of a number of provinces.

The number and importance of the studies by Ghyssens and Duplessy should not be allowed to eclipse those of Pierre Cockshaw, who worked briefly in the *Cabinet des Médailles* before being transferred to a more permanent post in the department of manuscripts and who subsequently (1992) became, as Tourneur and Hoc had done before him, *Conservateur en chef* of the *Bibliothèque royale*. His particular strength is his familiarity with the written sources of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the majority of his articles relate to the coinage of the Burgundian period. A potentially important one on a coin type of a century earlier, that of four lions in a quatrefoil (Cockshaw 1970), successfully showed that its assumed Brabantine origin could not be correct but was unfortunately unable to reach a definite conclusion as to where it did start.

Three other scholars active in the medieval field have been Jean Baerten, Christian Meert and Hubert Frère. Baerten was a medieval historian on the staff of the university of Brussels, initially at the *Université libre* but subsequently at the *Vrije Universiteit*. He was an early member of the Brussels *Cercle* and a frequent contributor to the pages of its *Bulletin* in the 1960s (see bibl.). His publications have been centred on the coinage of Brabant and its neigh-

bours in the later middle ages, often being concerned with placing these in their historical settings and relating them to other coinages of the time. The most important are his discussions of the role of the towns in minting in Brabant between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries (Baerten 1965B) and his monograph on the coinage of Looz (Baerten 1981), essentially a follow-up of his doctoral thesis on the history of this county (Baerten 1969). After the early 1980s, however, his scholarly interest was mainly concerned with the histories of the various provinces under the *Ancien Régime*.

The numismatic interests of Christian Meert, a Brussels businessman, and Hubert Frère (1920–99), a Liège notary, are closely related, being concentrated on the minting authorities in the Meuse region, principally Liège and Maastricht in the case of Frère, Namur and Dinant in that of Meert. The output of both scholars has been extensive, with several dozen articles each between the 1960s and the 1990s and with Frère more ready than Meert to reach into wider fields, for he has to his credit a substantial book on the Carolingian denier especially in Belgium (Frère 1977) and a briefer essay on the denier between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries (Frère 1973). The first is uneven in execution but has useful maps and plates of high quality. It concerns this volume only in so far as it covers the tenth century, for it concludes with the coins of Duke Gislebert of Lotharingia. The second work gives a useful survey of the various ways in which the denier evolved, especially in the regions of Belgium, the Lower Rhineland and Lorraine, but since it lacks references it is unhelpful for research purposes. Frère's most solid achievement is in fact his long series of articles on the coins of the bishops of Liège at their several mints, and of bishops and emperors at Maastricht. They revise many of de Chestret's attributions and provide new details and photographic illustrations of the coins. We also owe to him a number of excellent descriptions of coin hoards, notably one from Liège itself (Frère 1969) and a sterling hoard from Huy (Frère 1992). A contribution of special importance to our knowledge of the coinage of the late eleventh century is his reconstruction (Frère 1958; cf. also Meert 1961) of the Mirwart hoard of 1729 on the basis of the family papers of an eighteenth-century worthy, Baron de Crassier, and the relationships he could establish between its contents and those of the Maastricht hoard described by de Coster (1856). Another scholar, M. Hendrickx, has written usefully on black billon coins of the Maas region in the fifteenth century.

Frère and Meert were both concerned with the eastern provinces, but the western area was not neglected. Aimé Haeck's volume in De Mey's 'Pocket' series on Flemish coins of the denarial period has been referred to already. Haeck was also author of several articles on deniers of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, and of two substantial studies on the coins of Louis of Nevers. Artois in the feudal period (tenth-fourteenth centuries), including such minor coinages as those of Lens, Saint-Pol, and Fauquembergues, was the subject of an important monograph (Richebé 1963). The book grew out of a thesis at the *École des Chartes*, and its author belonged to a family whose members had in the past made occasional contributions to the monetary history and numismatics of medieval Flanders. Though the book does not solve all the problems,

especially in regard to the ecclesiastical coinages in the region, it is far superior to anything that had preceded it, notably in the quality and range of its plates and the use made of material from such provincial collections as Lille and Saint-Omer, which have not always been easily accessible to enquirers.

Richebé's book is only one of several studies published outside Belgium which contained material relevant to its medieval coinage. The largest group consists of ones which have greatly expanded our knowledge of the coins of the eleventh century, which are found for the most part in the Baltic region and Russia. The most comprehensive and systematic study, mint by mint, by a student of Walther Hävernack, is that of Albrecht 1959. It covers the whole of Lower Lotharingia, and consequently includes the northern Netherlands, the lower Rhineland, and part of Lorraine as well as the area that now forms Belgium and Luxembourg. It has to be supplemented by Salmo's detailed and fully illustrated repertory of finds in Finland (Salmo 1948), Gert Hatz's monograph on the trade between Germany and Sweden in the period, with its detailed analyses of the numismatic material (Hatz 1974), by the hoard analyses in successive volumes of the *Corpus nummorum saeculorum IX-XI qui in Suecia reperti sunt* (1961 ff.), and by monographs of Kluge (1991) and Ilisch (1998). A study of particular importance is that of Vera Hatz on the coins of Antwerp (Hatz 1981). Another work containing material relevant to the Low Countries is N.J. Mayhew's monograph on imitations of Edwardine sterlings, which for this type of sterling supersedes the old but more comprehensive monograph of Chautard and is of particular importance for chronology (Mayhew 1983). Two foreign scholars, Peter Spufford and John H. Munro, have also made substantial contributions to our knowledge of the Burgundian period, the first in his study of monetary problems and policy over the years 1433-96 (Spufford 1970) and the second in a series of articles on bullion flows and related topics that have been conveniently brought together in a single volume (Munro 1992). The proceedings of an Oxford symposium on coinage in the Low Countries 880-1500 was published in 1979 under Mayhew's editorship (Mayhew 1979).

The writings of other scholars besides Spufford and Munro on monetary history have often had important implications for the numismatist, notably H. van Werveke (1949A, B) and Blockmans (1979) for the reign of Louis of Male and these and a number of others, notably Van der Wee, Aerts, and again Blockmans, for the fifteenth century. Details will be found in the bibliography, and the publications involved are discussed in the text. A remarkable work, whose relevance to minting and coinage in the southern Low Countries has perhaps not been fully appreciated, is the massive volume (Bautier & Sornay 1984) dedicated to the archival records of the states of the house of Burgundy in the Low Countries, for it is not apparent from its sub-title, '*Les états de la maison de Bourgogne*', that it covers these prior to the Burgundian period. It is one of a French series entitled *Les sources de l'histoire économique et sociale du moyen âge*, inaugurated in 1968, and contains detailed lists of mint accounts and related documents, both published and unpublished, for Flanders (p. 202-209), Brabant (p. 467-470), Hainault (p. 622-624) and Namur (p. 700). They are mainly of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but a few go back to the

thirteenth. The less ambitious *Documentation numismatique de la France médiévale* (Kaiser 1982) is on the other hand limited strictly to France and mainly valuable for its analysis of material in the *Archives Nationales* and the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. Two professional archivists in Belgium, Christiane Piérard and Carlos Wyffels, devoted particular attention to coins referred to in documents they have published, Piérard notably in her edition of the earliest financial records of the town of Mons (Piérard 1971-73) and Wyffels writing on the early marks used in Flanders and Artois (Wyffels 1967).

A feature of the post-war years has been the holding of art exhibitions, often with sumptuous catalogues in which coins play a role. Usually it is a fairly restricted one, as in the splendid catalogues *Liège et Bourgogne* and *Rhin-Meuse: Art et civilisation 800-1400* of exhibitions at Liège in 1967 and at Brussels and Cologne in 1972. More important to the numismatist are exhibitions specially devoted to coins and mints, for these include coins from local collections, and their introductory or explanatory matter often includes information or ideas. Four are of particular importance. The earliest was that of one at Brussels in 1965 (*Mille ans de monnayage bruxellois 965-1965*), though the date of 965 proposed for the origins of minting in the city will not stand up to examination. Of comparable interest are Jan Crab's catalogue of an exhibition held in 1967 at Louvain (*Munt te Leuven tot het einde der 15^e eeuw*) and J. Taelmans' one of an exhibition of Burgundian coins held in the Gruuthusemuseums at Bruges in 1982 to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the death of Mary of Burgundy. The catalogue *Munt in Limburg* of an exhibition held in the local museum at Tongeren in 1981 illustrates with extensive commentaries a variety of coins from Brabant and the minor mints of the region.

Less important are *Hasseltse munten*, the catalogue of an exhibition held at Hasselt in 1980, and one of an exhibition of ancient and medieval coins in the museum at Valenciennes, the medieval element in the last being poorly represented and illustrated. The exceptionally rich series of gold coins of Flanders in the Vernier collection at the *Musée des Beaux-Arts* at Lille were published by P. Bastien & J. Duplessy (1975, superseding Bastien 1958). The collection had been unlucky in the first World War. On 17 October 1914 two German officers sequestered a number of objects, including 157 coins of which 155 were of gold, but they were quickly shown to have exceeded their authority and the objects were restored. Unfortunately they remained on exhibition, and the same coins were again stolen on 29 August 1916 by thieves who broke in during the night. They have never been recovered, and whether they have subsequently come on the market is uncertain owing to problems of identification, but the collection remains one of exceptional importance. The Low Country coins in the *Musée de Saint-Omer*, on the other hand, which were included in the catalogue of the museum's gold coins (Amandry *et al.* 1983) produced when the *Société française de numismatique* held its provincial meeting there in 1983, are on the other hand of little consequence; the catalogue is important mainly for the Celtic coins it describes. If the medieval silver and billon coins of the collection had been included it would have been quite a different matter.

There were only four outstanding sales of coins of the southern Nether-

lands in the period. The first was that of the Flemish coins of the Lille collector Louis Théry, which were sold at Paris (Vinchon 22/X/1963). Since the owner's death in 1949 they had been on deposit in the *Cabinet des Médailles*, where they had been accessible to scholars and extensively used in the publications of Duplessy. Some of the more important coins were pre-empted by the *BN*, either for itself or on behalf of other public collections in northern France, but the *Cabinet des Médailles* at Brussels and the *Banque Nationale de Belgique* acquired a number of rarities. The other two sales (Sotheby, London, 26/VI/1968 and 17/VI/1976) saw the dispersal of the great nineteenth-century collection of the Prince de Ligne, the contents of which had been made known to scholars through C.P. and C.A. Serrure's *Notices* of 1847 and 1880. The fourth was the *Crédit de la Bourse* (Paris) sale of 28/IV/1993 of an unidentified collection, in fact that of a wealthy stockbroker, Raymond Claoué, who died in the 1970s. Its contents were basically French but included an exceptionally full series of gold coins of Flanders, Hainault, and Cambrai. But private collections tend to be bought *en bloc* by dealers, usually after the owner's death, and disappear without leaving much trace. One deserving of mention is that of R.P. Pflieger (1896-1955), a Belgian businessman who had been educated in the United States, whither his father had emigrated in 1914, and who was equally at home in both countries (J. Desneux in *RBN* 1955, p. 191). A man of wealth and taste, Pflieger put together at various times three important collections. One, of medieval Belgian gold coins, was bought by the dealer Franceschi; the second, of French gold coins, formed the 'Gallia' sale at Christie's (London) on 6/X/1987 long after Pflieger's death; and the third, of Greek coins, the interest of Pflieger's last years, was sold anonymously by Vinchon at Monte-Carlo, as '*une exceptionnelle collection de monnaies grecques antiques*' on 13/IV/1965.

Of the four dealers active in Belgium in the late 1930s, one, Jef Dillen, as noted already, perished in a German concentration camp, but his widow carried on business down to her own death in the early 1950s. Dupriez also died in the 1950s at a great age, but he had already sold his business to the Italian Bartolomeo Franceschi († 1992), who was to become one of the main coin dealers in the country between the 1950s and the 1980s. The other ones were Paul Tinchant and Albert Delmonte. Tinchant retired in 1964 and died, in his nineties, at the end of the decade. His stock, his private collection of classical coins, and his library were bought by Schulman of Amsterdam and in due course disposed of, some of the ancient coins in Schulman's Auction 239 of 5/IV/1965 and the books in Auction 240 of the next day. Delmonte, who had great difficulty in re-establishing himself when in 1945 he returned to Brussels after five years' service in the Royal Dutch Navy, eventually became more interested in his *Benelux* publications than in actual coins and died in 1988. The most prominent of the next generation of dealers, who came to the fore in the 1970s, were Jean Elsen and Jean De Mey, the latter being responsible for the long series of '*Numismatic Pocket*' publications noticed already.

There remains the numismatic history of Luxemburg, which can be considered separately from that of Belgium. From the 1970s onwards it has been dominated by the huge scholarly output of Raymond Weiller (1938-), Keeper

for many years of the national collection in the *Musée d'Histoire et d'Art* at Luxembourg. He had indeed several predecessors in contributing to the subject in the immediate post-war years, notably two collectors, Maurice Campill (1899-1964) and Jean Harpes (1901-69), who collaborated in producing a catalogue of the coins of Luxemburg for collectors that went through two editions (1945, 1952) and prepared the way for a more scholarly catalogue (*Dix siècles de monnaies au pays de Luxembourg*, abbreviated *DSML*) published in 1970 by the local *Cercle numismatique* of which Harpes was effectively the founder. Harpes contributed a number of numismatic articles to the local periodical *Hémécht* ('Homeland') in the 1950s and 1960s, and his important private collection was acquired after his death by the *Cabinet des Médailles*.

Weiller's contribution to the numismatic history of Luxemburg is an altogether more substantial one. Much of it, and most obviously his studies on local finds of Celtic and Roman coins and of the medals of the Grand-Duchy, lies outside the middle ages. Even his impressive monograph on the coins of the archbishops of Trier prior to 1307 (Weiller 1988) is only marginally relevant to Belgium. His major publications in the medieval and modern fields are *Les monnaies luxembourgeoises* (Weiller 1977) and *La circulation monétaire et les trouvailles numismatiques du moyen âge et des temps modernes au Pays de Luxembourg* (Weiller 1989). The first is essentially a modernized and concise replacement of Bernays & Vannérus' great work, though the latter has still to be consulted for the documents it presents and its wealth of background information. Weiller's book is more 'modern' in its listing of details of weights, and of variations in design and lettering, and in its exhaustive reporting of find spots, but it is open to criticism in being sometimes too conservative in its acceptance of traditional views, notably in ruler attributions in the denarial period but occasionally elsewhere. Weiller's second book is chiefly valuable for its meticulous recording of documentary references and of hoards and site- and single-finds, of which it supplies splendidly detailed lists. A third book (Weiller 1982), on coins struck elsewhere by members of the house of Luxemburg who were kings of Bohemia, archbishops of Trier, and so forth, is on the other hand only occasionally relevant to the Low Countries. These volumes, however, form only a part of Weiller's huge scholarly output; he was one of the most productive numismatists of the post-war generation.

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ASAB	<i>Annales de la Société d'archéologie de Bruxelles</i>
ASAN	<i>Annales de la Société d'archéologie de Namur</i>
ASFN	<i>Annuaire de Société française de numismatique</i>
BAR	<i>British Archaeological Reports</i>
BCEN	<i>Bulletin (du) Cercle d'Études numismatiques (Bruxelles)</i>
BMNA	<i>Bulletin mensuel de numismatique et d'archéologie</i>
BN	<i>Bulletin de numismatique (Serrure)</i>
BNB	<i>Biographie nationale de Belgique (Bruxelles, 1866-)</i>
BSFN	<i>Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique</i>
CIN Bruxelles 1891	<i>Congrès international de numismatique, Bruxelles 1891. Procès Verbaux et Mémoires</i> , ed. G. CUMONT & A. DE WITTE, Bruxelles
CIN Bruxelles 1910	<i>Congrès international de numismatique, Bruxelles 1910. Procès-Verbaux et Mémoires</i> , ed. A. DE WITTE & V. TOURNEUR, Bruxelles
GNF	<i>Gazette numismatique française</i>
JMP	<i>Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde</i>
MSAB	<i>Mémoires de la Société archéologique de Belgique</i>
MSAM	<i>Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie</i>
PSH	<i>Publications de la Section historique de l'Institut royal grand-ducal de Luxembourg</i>
RBN	<i>Revue belge de numismatique (initially Revue de la numismatique belge)</i>
RN	<i>Revue numismatique</i>
RNS	<i>Royal Numismatic Society</i>
RBPH	<i>Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire</i>
TINC London 1936	<i>Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress, London 1936</i> , ed. J. ALLAN, H. MATTINGLY & E.S.G. ROBINSON (London, 1938)
TMP	<i>Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlands Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde (1893-1912; cont. by the JMP, q.v.)</i>
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
VN	<i>La vie numismatique</i>

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