

A Preliminary Look at the *Gros au Lions* of Brittany

by Paul Torongo © 2017



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***Gros au Lions* Struck in France**

The *leeuwengroot*, or *gros au lion*, struck in Flanders under Louis of Nevers and his son Louis of Mâle were widely imitated across northwestern Europe. The farther away from Flanders that one journeys, the less direct, Flemish influence one finds on the coins (i.e. their style and characteristics). Relatively speaking, *the gros au lions* struck in France are some of the least comparable to the Flemish originals. *Gros au lions* struck in Brabant were also popular as currency in other regions, and on more than one occasion it was the Brabant copy that was re-copied somewhere else.

There are two main types of *gros au lion* that were struck in France: the Anglo-Gallic coins and the Breton coins. Other than all being *gros au lions*, and struck in France, the two series have little or nothing to do with one another.

The Anglo-Gallic coins were struck by King Edward III of England in his holdings in Aquitaine and Bordeaux, and by Henry of Grosmont, Earl of Lancaster, at Bergerac. The Breton coins were struck in Brittany by rival claimant-dukes Charles of Blois and John IV.

The Duchy of Brittany

The Dukes of Brittany:

Jean II (1286 - 1305)
Arthur II (1305 - 1312)
Jean III (1312 - 1341)
Jean de Montfort (1341 - 1345) *le Captif*
Charles de Blois (1345 - 1364)
Jean IV (1345 - 1399) *le Conquérant* or *le Vaillant*
Jean V (1399 - 1442)

John IV (born 1339) was the son of John of Montfort ("*Le Captif*"), and Jeanne of Flanders ("*La Flamme*").

This history of Bretagne during the period under scrutiny is fairly complicated. Any attempt to condense the story down to a manageable size for this paper will result in a rather superficial rendering of the tale, but this is unavoidable. And as is so often the case with history, the various sources we checked were not always in agreement as to the exact date upon which a given event occurred. Nevertheless:

On 4 June, 1337, Charles of Blois wed Jeanne of Penthièvre (daughter of Guy of Penthièvre, niece of John III, Duke of Brittany, granddaughter of Arthur II (Duke of Brittany 1305-1312)). The conditions of the marriage provided that Charles of Blois should receive the title and arms of the Duchy of Brittany, should Duke John III of Brittany die without male heir – which is exactly what happened on 30 April, 1341.

John III's half-brother, John of Montfort put himself forward as a candidate for the duchy, as did Charles of Blois. Charles was a nephew of Philip VI of Valois, King of France, and Charles' wife, Jeanne of Penthièvre, was the king's niece. Philip, of course, favored his relatives, and gave the duchy to Charles of Blois. A war ensued, known as the Breton War of Succession, which lasted for 23 years. The first part of this war is known as The War of the Two Jeanes, due to the names of the spouses of the principle combatants: Jeanne of Penthièvre and Jeanne of Flanders, wife of John of Montfort.

In November, 1341, John of Montfort traveled to Paris to plead his case to Philip VI of France, who, despite an order of safe conduct for Montfort, imprisoned him. Hostilities between the forces of Charles and John continued, however, with John's troops being commanded by John's wife, Jeanne of Flanders, sometimes known as *Jeanne la Flamme*. (This epithet, meaning 'the flame', might also involve some kind of pun on her Flemish origin).

We provide here a timeline of subsequent events relevant to Brittany and the *gros au lion*:

June	1342	Walter Manny relieves Jeanne of Montfort, beseiged at Hennebont
September	1342	English forces defeat Charles of Blois at Morlaix
19 January	1343	Treaty of Malestroit Edward III – Philip VI
1 September	1343	liberation of John of Montfort
?		John of Montfort imprisoned again
27 March	1345	John of Montfort escapes 2nd captivity
20 May	1345	John of Montfort does homage to Edward III for Brittany
26 September	1345	John of Montfort dies; his son John IV becomes Duke of Brittany under Edward III (John IV is c. 6 years old)
late	1345	Jeanne of Flanders in England 1346 – 1370+ a veritable prisoner of Edward III in Tickhill Castle but in charge of John of Montfort's forces
20 June	1347	Charles of Blois captured at Battle of Roche-Derrien (siege of Vannes)
March	1353	Arrangements made for release of Charles of Blois
{5 December	1355	Joanna of Brabant become Duchess of Brabant (with Wenceslas)}
10 August	1356	Charles of Blois released for ransom of 700,000 <i>florins d'or</i>
{20 December 1354 – 17 Jun. 1358		<i>gros au lion</i> Issue V Flanders / Louis of Mâle}
{4 June, 1357		peace treaty Flanders-Brabant / begin Brabant <i>gros au lions</i> ?}
	1360	peace treaty Charles of Blois – John IV (<i>Traité de Brétigny</i>)
Summer 1362		John IV returns to Brittany
{2 March	1364	last <i>gros au lion</i> struck in Flanders}
29 September	1364	Charles of Blois dies (Battle of Auray)
12 April	1365	1 st Treaty of Guérande (end of the War of Breton Succession)
September	1374	Jeanne of Flanders dies
10 September	1384	Jeanne of Penthièvre dies

(Compiled from various sources, including refs. 7 and 15.
Additions or corrections are most welcome.)

Previous Literature

Breton *gros au lions* have been previously described by **Poey d'Avant** (ref. 1), Alexis **Bigot** (ref. 2), Yannick **Jézéquel** (ref. 3) and Gildas **Salaün** (refs. 5-12). Of these, **Bigot** is far and away the best starting point for any modern investigation.

Alexis **Bigot's** transcriptions are remarkably accurate, although he never reports the form of the **O** (as is the case in almost all old coin books). His descriptions are usually correct, or nearly so, and he has made a valiant effort to correctly indicate the letter forms (except the aforementioned **O's**). Sadly, his text descriptions and illustrations sometimes do not match one another, and on at least one occasion he used the same drawing for two different coin types, which is never a good idea:



Bigot 425 and 428 / shared obverse drawing ^[2]

Even more irritating, is the fact that at least one of Bigot's illustrations is patently erroneous:



Bigot, Plate XX, 2 ^[2]

The coin from which this drawing was made (the very specimen in fact), clearly shows a round **O** in IOV on the reverse, not a long **O** as in the illustration.



round O

Musée Dobrée: N-5265-289 (detail)

Bigot was fairly careful about the legend transcriptions, but less so with the text descriptions, describing almost all of the Breton *gros au lions* as having an obverse border of 13 signs, although many types have only 12.

Despite these (and other) shortcomings, Bigot's work remains the best source for information about Breton *gros au lions*, and will be used as the basis for categorization in the current report. All of the literature regarding the Breton *gros au lions* published since Bigot's work seems to be little more than a re-hashing of Bigot's information, usually with some glaring omissions.

For the most part, **Poey** d'Avant's information comes directly from Bigot, including Bigot's illustrations. Poey's text descriptions sometimes deviate from those of Bigot, however, and in such cases are inaccurate, although on one occasion Poey has actually corrected one of Bigot's faulty illustrations by adding a pellet. Otherwise, there is nothing new in Poey's book at all regarding the *gros au lions* of Brittany, and Bigot remains a better source.

Yannick **Jézéquel** discards much of the information provided by Bigot (without explanation), including a number of types that in all likelihood actually exist (if only as variants from Bigot's descriptions). Jézéquel does not provide any photographs of actual coins, relying instead upon Bigot's somewhat flawed drawings. He transcribes the coin legends in a generic, capital-letter style, the end result of which is a loss of information regarding those letter forms that are so important to the study of the *gros au lion*. Jézéquel takes Bigot's carefully transcribed legends and reduces them to superficial and inaccurate renderings, for example:

Bigot:	✠ BNDICTV̄ : SIT : NO ME : DNI : NRI : HV : XPI
Jézéquel:	+ BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : HV : XPI

This is unacceptable from a high-standard research point of view; legends reading both **BNDICTV** *etc.* and **BNDICTV̄** *etc.* are known from various regions, and it is imperative that those who report on these coins report the legends correctly so that the rest of us can benefit from the information. At various points Jézéquel misinterprets **HV** as HV or HNV. In the final analysis, Bigot's work on Breton *gros au lions* remains the superior source for information for our current report on these coins.

Breton Gros au Lion Types

Breton *gros au lions* are rare, and a lack of specimens for study once again hampers our research, and we are neither able to verify nor refute several of Bigot's proposed types.

Varying leaf-marks after the word MONETA on the obverse were used in Flanders as minting marks; this does not seem to be the case in Brittany, where the mark is often simply this: †.

Since we only have a very few specimens for examination, it is entirely possible that there are more variants out there that we have not seen.

The known or reported types of Breton *gros au lion* are as follows:

<u>Bigot</u>	<u>obverse</u>	<u>reverse</u>
425	MON [†] TA BRITAN	CHA ROL LVS DVX
426	MON [†] TA BRITAN	CHA ROL LVS DVX
427	MON [†] TA BRITAN	CHA ROL LVS DVX
—	MON [†] TA BRITAN	CHA ROL LVS DVX
—	MON [†] TA BRITAN	CHA RRO LVS DVX
428	MON [†] TA BRITAN	KAR OLL VSD DVX
477	MON [†] TA GVERANT	IOH ANE DVX BRI
478	MON [†] TA GVERAN	IOH ANE DVX BRI
479	MON [†] TA GVRAN	IOH ANE DVX BRI
487	MON [†] ETA KEPE	IOH ANE DVX BRI
488	MON [†] ETA KEPE	IOH ANE DVX BRI †
—	MON [†] ETA 8 KEPE	IOH ANE DVX BRI
—	MON [†] ETA • KEPER	IOH ANE DVX BRI
511	MON [†] ETA VENET	IOH ANE DVX BRI †
—	MON [†] ETA VENET	IOH ANE DVX BRI
—	MON [†] ETA • VENET	IOH ANE DVX BRI
512	MON [†] ETA VENE	IOH ANE DVX BRI
513	MON [†] ETA VENEAT	IOH ANE DVX BRI
526	MON [†] TA BRITAN	HAN NES DVX IOV (DNS MICHI... legend)
Ap. 50	MON [†] TA BRITAN	OVH ANN OES DVXI (BNDICTV... legend)
—	MON [†] TA BRITAND'	ODV CLO †BR †II

See p. 72 for the same table with the catalog numbers from this report included.

For discussion purposes, the types listed on the previous page can be grouped into three sets; (I / II - IV / V - VII), each with sub-type variants (not listed here):

Charles of Blois (*Charles, duke*)

I. MONETA BRITAN CHAROLLVS (or CHARROLVS or KAROLLVS)

John IV (double-tailed lion & *mouchetures*)

II. MONETA GV(E)RAN(T) IOH ANE DVX BRI

III. MONETA KEPE(R) IOH ANE DVX BRI

IV. MONETA VENE(A)(T) IOH ANE DVX BRI

John IV ? (single-tailed lion, no *mouchetures*)

V. MONETA BRITAN HAN NES DVX IOV / DNS MICHI...

VI. MONETA BRITAN OVH ANN OES DVXI / BNDICTV SIT...

VII. MONETA BRITAND ODV CLO TBR ITII

CATALOG OF COINS

I. Charles of Blois

II – IV. John IV

V – VII. John IV ?

CHARLES OF BLOIS

(30 April, 1341 – 29 September, 1364)

Husband of Jeanne of Penthièvre

Speaking in general terms, the *gros au lions* of Charles of Blois follow the Flemish model far more closely than do those of John IV. They also seem to have been produced by better minters.

• CATALOG TYPE I (Bigot 425 – 428)

Bigot 425-427

For some reason, people seem to have had great difficulty reading Bigot's transcriptions of the legends on the coins represented by these three types. No author since Bigot has properly read or understood Bigot's intentions as to what the differences between these types are, which are as follows:

425 † • **MONETA † BRITAN'**
426 † • **MONETA † BRITAN'**
427 † • **MONETA † BRITAN'**

425. 1° **CHX** | **ROL** | **LVS** | **DVX** — 2° **† BRIDICTV: SIT:**
ROME: DRI: RRI: HV: XPI — Croix anglaise. ~
R. **† 'MONETA † BRITAN'** (2) — Dans le champ et non séparé par un grenetis, le lion de Flandre debout. Bor-

(1) Cat. Del., n° 102.

(2) Le point après la croix a été oublié sur le dessin.

426. **CHX** | **ROL** | **LVS** | **DVX**, etc.
R. **† 'MONETA † BRITAN'** — Même type.
Gros de billon; 72 gr. (C. Da.)
427. Même avers
R. **† 'MONETA † BRITAN'** — Même type.
Gros de billon; 67 gr. (C. de Fr.)

excerpted from Bigot pp. 137-138 ^[2]

Bigot further indicates that his type 425 reads CHAROLLVS, while 426-427 read CHAROLLVS. We question this, however; the A's or Λ's are notoriously hard to read on Breton *gros au lions*, and it is often difficult to determine if a crossbar was intended or not.

There are many examples of what are probably “Bigot 425” coins with a CHAROLLVS legend. It does not seem likely that the mint was using the A crossbars as any kind of minting mark. The annulet T, on the other hand, is a different matter.

• **Bigot 425** : Plate XVI-2 (XXXVI-2)

cat. I-A

* PdA 492 / Pl. XIV, 8 [cites Bigot 425]

* Jézéquel 159 c [cites Bigot 425 etc.]

* R. Serrure 77

→ (MONETA BRITAN)

11♣ / 1♣ border

✠ • MONETA ✚ BRITAN'
 CHA ROL LVS DVX
 ✠ BNDICTV : SIT : DOMB : DNI : NRI : HV : XPI

Bigot (pp. 137-138): [2]

425. 1° CHA | ROL | LVS | DVX — 2° ✚ BNDICTV : SIT :
 ROMB : DNI : NRI : HV : XPI — Croix anglaise. ~
 R. ✚ 'MONETA ✚ BRITAN' (2) — Dans le champ et
 non séparé par un grenetis, le lion de Flandre debout. Bor-

(1) Cat. Del., n° 103.

(2) Le point après la croix a été oublié sur le dessin.

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PÉRIODE D'IMITATION.

— dure de 13 lobes séparés par des I et contenant, le premier un lion semblable à celui du champ, les autres une quinte-feuille évidée avec son pétiole.

Gros de billon; 72 gr. Pl. XVI, n° 2. (M. C.)

Imitation des gros au lion de Louis de Crécy, comte de Flandre.

Publié par M. de Barthélemy (R. N., 1847, VIII, 2) d'après un exemplaire mal conservé, qui ne lui a pas permis de reproduire le lion qui commence la bordure.



Bigot, Plate XVI-2 (XXXVI-2) [2]

Bigot text:

+ • MONETA ✦ BRITAN'
CH~~A~~ ROL LVS DVX

Bigot illustration:

+ MONET~~A~~ ✦ BRITAN' [same obverse drawing as 428!]
CH~~A~~ ROL LVS DVX

Bigot's text description of "13 lobes" is incorrect; as shown in his own drawing, there are only 12 signs in the obverse border. There is no pellet to the right of the initial cross shown in Bigot's drawing, but Poey d'Avant added this pellet to his illustration.

Based upon the following coins, it would seem that Bigot's text description and illustration are incorrect (CHAROLLVS), and that the coins show CHAROLLVS. The A of MONETA is less clear, but we suspect in most cases that it is A and not Λ.

+ • MONETA ✦ BRITAN'
CH~~A~~ ROL LVS DVX
↓



*Monnaies d'Antan 8-247 / 3.97 g.
ex- collection A. Bigot*



*Monnaies d'Antan 8-248 / 2.99 g.
ex- collection A. Bigot*

Ostensibly the same as the previous coin (?). Is the MONETA crossbar missing or simply illegible?



*Monnaies d'Antan 8-249 / 3.17 g.
ex- collection A. Bigot*

Rather illegible, is this the same as the previous coin(s)?



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*Fitzwilliam CM.PG.13916-2006
© The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
ex- Phillip Grierson
ex- Grantley 4549 from Rollin*

also:

Salaün & Cariou, p. 10 ^[13]

• **Bigot 425 VARIANTS**

Minor variations in the reverse, outer legend (only), such as a missing letter (or even word) give the distinct impression of being mint errors made by the die-sinker, and not new “types” *per se*. This idea cannot be **proven**, of course, but our experience with *gros au lions* (of all regions) leads us to believe that this is the most likely explanation for such variant coins.



Thierry Sérot 17b / 3.20 g.

✠ . MONETA ✚ BRITAN'
CHR̄A ROL LVS DVX
BNDITV : SIT : N[...] XP[I]

The C of BNDICTV is missing; this is probably a mint error and not a “new type”.



(detail)



Musée Dobrée: N-3097 / 3.52 g.
© Musée Dobrée – Grand Patrimoine de Loire-Atlantique
Salain 323^[8] / p. 48^[9] / ex. coll. Soullard

✠ · HONET[Α] † BRITAN'
CHR̄A ROL LVS DVX
BNDICTV : SIT NO[ME:] DNI : RI : HV : XPI

The N of NRI is missing, which is likely to be a mint error and not a “new type”. The pellets of the double (?) pellet after BNDICTV are enormous; it is hard to imagine that a triple pellet stop : was intended here, although some of the other, visible stops are triple pellets. In fact, the mark looks very much like a double, pelleted annulet: ⦿. This, too might well be a mint error.



detail



*Musée Dobrée: N-5265-210 / 3.92 g.
© Musée Dobrée – Grand Patrimoine de Loire-Atlantique
Salaün 321^[8] / p. 48^[9] / ex. Coll. T. Dobrée*

✠ • HONET[Æ] † BRITAN'
CHR[IST]I ROL[AND]VS DVX
BND[ICT]VS SIT NOME: DNI: NRI: HV: XP

The I of XPI is missing; again, this is probably just a mint error.

• **Bigot 426** (not illustrated in Bigot)

cat. I-B

PdA — { * PdA 493 [cites Bigot 426-427] }

Jézéquel —

R. Serrure — { * R. S. 77 }

→ (MONETA BRITAN)

11♣ / 1♣ border

✠ • MONETA ✚ BRITAN'
 CHA ROL LVS DVX
 ✠ BNDICTV : SIT : NOMB : DNI : NRI : HV : XPI

Bigot (p. 138): ^[2]

426. CHA | ROL | LVS | DVX, etc.
 R. ✠ 'MONETA ✚ BRITAN' — Même type.
 Gros de billon; 72 gr. (C. Da.)

Bigot 426 ?



private collection / 3.77 g.

✠ MON[...]RITAN'
 CH[...] ROL LVS DVX
 [...] CTV : SIT : NOMB : DNI : NRI : [...]

Although the annulet T is clear in BRITAN', much of the legend is illegible. We cannot be 100% certain that this is a Bigot 426 coin, but if nothing else, it shows that coins with an annulet T in BRITAN, as per Bigot 426, do indeed exist.

• **Bigot 427** (not illustrated in Bigot)

cat. I-C

PdA — { * PdA 493 [cites Bigot 426-427] }

Jézéquel —

R. Serrure — { * R. S. 77 }

→ (MONE~~Y~~A BRITAN')

11♣ / 1♣ border

✠ • MONE~~Y~~A ✠ BRITAN'
 ✠H~~A~~ ROL LVS DVX
 ✠BNDICTV : SIT : NOMB : DNI : NRI : HV : XPI

Bigot (p. 138): ^[2]

427. Même avers.

℞. ✠ 'MONE~~Y~~A ✠ BRITAN' — Même type.
 Gros de billon; 67 gr. (C. de Fr.)



Gertbrolen 05 / 3.77 g.



*Gertbrolen 05 / 3.77 g.
another photograph of the same specimen*

Bigot 427 ?



CGB v05-0918

The T of MONETA is difficult to see, but might be annuleted.

• **Bigot 427 VARIANTS**

As with Bigot 425, minor variations in the reverse, outer legend are probably mint errors made by the die-sinker.



coll. Peter Woodhead 333 / Brittany 14

There does not seem to be enough room for the full XPI at the end of the outer legend.



*Musée Dobrée: N-5265-211 / 3.78 g.
© Musée Dobrée – Grand Patrimoine de Loire-Atlantique
Salain 321^[8] / p. 48^[9] / ex. coll. T. Dobrée*

✠ BNDICT[V : SIT :] NOME : DNI : NRI : HV : XP

The I of XPI is missing.

• Bigot —

(MONEꝚA BRIꝚAN)

cat. I-D

Poey d'Avant —

Jézéquel —

R. Serrure — { * R. S. 77 }

11♣ / 1♣ border



Fitzwilliam CM.PG.13917-2006
© The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
ex- Phillip Grierson
ex- Grantley 4549

+ • MONEꝚ[A] + BRI[ꝚA]N'
CR̄A ROL LVS DVX
[ÆBNDICTV] : SIT : DOM[ENI] : DNI : NRI : [...]

The T of BRITAN' is difficult to see, but we believe that it is annuleted.



Monnaies d'Antan 19-660 / 3.84 g.

[+ • MONB]TA+ BRITAN[']

The T of BRITAN on this specimen is even more convincing.

Other Authors On The Coins Bigot 425 - 427

Poey d'Avant 492-494 ^[1]

Vol. 1, pp. 82-83

- PdA 492** CHAROLLVS / BRITAN : Pl. XIV, 8 [cites Bigot 425]
PdA 493 CHAROLLVS / BRITAN' [cites Bigot 426-427]
PdA 494 KAROLLVS : Pl. XIV, 9 [cites Bigot 428]

492. $\text{C}^{\text{h}}\text{A}|\text{R}|\text{O}|\text{L}|\text{L}|\text{V}|\text{S}|\text{D}|\text{V}|\text{X}$. 2^e légende : $\text{B}|\text{R}|\text{I}|\text{T}|\text{A}|\text{N}|\text{:}|\text{S}|\text{I}|\text{T}$: &c. Croix anglaise.
 â. ✱ $\text{M}|\text{O}|\text{R}|\text{E}|\text{T}$. Feuille de trèfle. $\text{B}|\text{R}|\text{I}|\text{T}|\text{A}|\text{N}$. Le lion de Flandre debout, sans

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grenetis. Bordure de treize lobes séparés par des 1 et contenant, le 1^{er}, un lion debout, et les autres une quintefeuille évidée avec pétiole.

BILL. Gros : 3,90. (*Revue*, 1847, pl. 8, n° 2 ; BIGOT, pl. 16, n° 2.)
 Pl. XIV, n° 8.

493. Variété avec un apostrophe à la fin de la légende du â.

BILL. Gros : 3,90-84. (BIGOT, n° 426 et 427.)
 Cab. de France, et coll. Danjou.

494. Variété avec $\text{K}|\text{A}|\text{R}|\text{O}|\text{L}|\text{L}|\text{V}|\text{S}|\text{D}|\text{V}|\text{X}$. â. $\text{M}|\text{O}|\text{R}|\text{E}|\text{T}$ $\text{B}|\text{R}|\text{I}|\text{T}|\text{A}|\text{N}$.

BILL. Gros blanc : 3,42. (BIGOT, pl. 16, n° 3.)
 Coll. Denis Lagarde, à Cherbourg. — Pl. XIV, n° 9.



PdA, pl. XIV, 8-9 : n° 492 and 494 ^[1]

Note that Poey has {correctly} added a pellet to the right of the initial cross to the illustration which was not present in Bigot's drawing. He has also repeated Bigot's erroneous "bordure de 13 lobes"; the illustration and the known examples have only 12.

Poey has misunderstood the difference between Bigot 425, 426, 427. He has erroneously concluded that B. 426-427 have an apostrophe at the end of the legend and B. 425 does not, but Bigot clearly indicates an apostrophe for 425 as well.

Beyond that, Poey does not seem to have seen any difference between Bigot 426 and 427. Bigot's illustration did not help Poey see what was really going on, and Poey has left his own 493 (Bigot 426-427) unillustrated, while claiming that the drawing used (PdA pl. XIV, 8-9) illustrates a Bigot 425 coin, despite the clear apostrophe at the end of the legend. The end result is that **none of Poey's descriptions for his types 492-494 (i.e. Bigot 425-427) are accurate**. This same misunderstanding of Bigot's types was repeated by subsequent authors – including R. Serrure, who placed all of the CHAROLLVS / KAROLLVS coins under his number S. 77.

Jézéquel 159 (p. 97) ^[3]

ChA ROL LVS DVX

+ BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : HV : XPI *sic*

: + MONETA BRITAN' *sic*

<u>Jézéquel</u>	<u>Bigot</u>	<u>reverse</u>	<u>obverse</u>
159 a	B 428	KAR OLL VSD DVX	M ♣ B
159 b	private coll.	CHA RRO LVS DVX	M + B'
159 c	B 425	CHA ROL LVS DVX	• M ♣ B' (illustration)

(By B and B' Jézéquel wishes to indicate BRITAN and BRITAN', respectively.)

Jézéquel has chosen to use standard, Roman capital letters to transcribe the coin legends (except, inexplicably, for the **h** in CHAROLLVS), which immediately puts him at a disadvantage in terms of accuracy, e.g. misinterpreting **hV** as HV. All of the known Charles of Blois coins seem to have a pellet to the right of the initial cross, despite Jézéquel's {inaccurate} description of his types **159 a/b**.

We cannot explain Jézéquel's initial colon on the obverse (lion side); the correct legend is: + • MONETA BRITAN' . We are unaware of any Breton *gros au lion* with a colon (double pellet) in the obverse legend..

Furthermore, we are unaware of any CHAROLLVS coin with no mark after MONETA as Jézéquel describes for his number 159. He has probably simply repeated Bigot (as did Poey) describing a KAROLLVS coin with no mark after MONETA (Bigot 428, PdA 494), but it is likely that Bigot's description is erroneous and that no such type exists.

Jézéquel indicates that his number **159 c** is shown in the illustration in his book, But as he has used the flawed **Bigot 425** drawing as an illustration, and it does not match his text description of the coin, which shows a pellet right of the cross (PdA's illustration has been corrected). (Bear in mind that because Bigot used one obverse to illustrate two different coins, Bigot's illustration for his **425** does not even match his own text!)



Jézéquel 159 c ^[3]

The B indicates that the source of the drawing is Bigot

Note that the reverse (cross side) is not properly oriented with the outer legend cross at the top. Bigot's original drawing was correctly shown – there was no reason to re-orient it:



Bigot 425 and 428 / shared obverse drawing ^[2]

Jézéquel did not include Bigot 426 and 427, extant variants with an annulet **T** in BRITAN and MONETA respectively. A more accurate list might read:

<u>Jézéquel</u>	<u>Bigot</u>	<u>reverse</u>	<u>obverse</u>
159 a	B 428	KAR OLL VSD DVX	• M ♣ B...N'
159 b	B —	CHA RRO LVS DVX	• M ♣ B...N'
159 c	B 425	CHA ROL LVS DVX	• M ♣ B...N'
J —	B 426	CHA ROL LVS DVX	• MONETA ♣ B...N'
J —	B 427	CHA ROL LVS DVX	• M ♣ BRITAN'
J —	B —	CHA ROL LVS DVX	• MONETA ♣ BRITAN'

• Bigot —

(CHARROLVS)

cat. I-E

* Jézéquel 159 b

Poey d'Avant —

Salaün (only as counterfeits) ^{[5] [8] [9]}

11 ♣ / 1 ♣ border

This type was not listed by Bigot or Poey.

The “benefit” gained from a CHARROLVS legend (**RR** instead of **LL**), is that the **O** ends up directly next to the arm of the cross. At the time, this was apparently seen as a desirable characteristic, since it imitated the *gros au lion* of Flanders (and Brabant). Although there is no opposing **O** to balance it off, there is a **C**, which is a least another rounded letter. (This may also explain the “extra” **D** on the KAROLLVS D DVX coins). On several occasions, this practice resulted in odd legends that seem to have ‘extra’ letters.



Brittany



Flanders

Brabant

Bordeaux



Rummen

Looz

Horne

+ • MONETA • BRITAN'
CHARROLVS DVX
• BNDICTV : SIT : NOMINE : DOMINI : NRI : HV : XPI



Gertbrolen 07 / 3.55 g.



Gertbrolen 01 / 3.95 g.

Ostensibly the same as the previous coin ? CHARROLVS?



*Gertbrolen 01 / 3.95 g.
another photograph of the same specimen*



*Musée Dobrée: N-3098
© Musée Dobrée – Grand Patrimoine de Loire-Atlantique
ex. coll. Soullard / 2.99 g.
Salaün fig. 1^[5] / p. 49^[9] / 324^[8]*

According to Salaün, this is a counterfeit: “Monnaie rognée au droit entre 1h et 2h, puis entre 6h et 8h. Reflets cuivreux” (ref. 9, p. 49). If it is counterfeit, official dies must have been used; the central lion has the same ‘bumpy’ mane as seen on the other known specimens.

• Bigot —
VARIANTS

[cat. I-E var.]

As with the previous types, minor variations in the reverse, outer legend are probably no more than mint errors made by the die-sinker.



CGB v22-0030 (also CGB v33-1435 and CGB 171654)

+ • MO[NETA] + BRITAN'
 CHA RRO LVS DVX
 *B[EN]DICTV : SIT [: NO]M[C] : DNI : NRI : HV : XP

The I of XPI is missing.



another photograph of the same specimen



Musée Dobrée: N-5259 / 2.71 g.
© Musée Dobrée – Grand Patrimoine de Loire-Atlantique
Salaün fig. 2^[5] / p. 49^[9] / 324^[8]

The **I** of XPI is missing. According to Salaün, this is a counterfeit.

• **Bigot 428** : Plate XVI-3 (XXXVI-3)

cat. I-F

* Poey d'Avant 494 / Pl. XIV, 9 [cites Bigot 428]

* Jézéquel 159 a

* R. Serrure 77

11♣ / 1♣ border

Bigot (p. 138): ^[2]

428. **RÆR | OLL | VS D | DVX**, etc.

ʝ. **† MONETA BRITANNI** — Même type.

Gros de billon; 65 gr. Pl. XVI, n° 3. (C. Den. Lag.)



Bigot, Plate XVI-3 (XXXVI-3) ^[2]

Bigot text:

† MONETA BRITANNI
RÆR OLL VSD DVX

Bigot illustration:

† MONETA † BRITANNI [same obverse drawing as 425!]
RÆR OLL VSD DVX
BNDICTV : SIT : NOMB : DNI : NRI : HV : XPI



Musée Dobrée: N-3099 / 3.92 g.

© Musée Dobrée – Grand Patrimoine de Loire-Atlantique
Salain 325 ^[8] / p. 48 ^[9] / ex. coll. T. Dobrée

In ref. 9, Salaün repeats Bigot's erroneous BRITANI legend (p. 48), Jézéquel does not report any BRITANI legend (**J. 159 a**). At this point, there is no reason to believe any such legend exists.

• **INDETERMINATE COINS:**



Gertbrolen 02 / 3.38 g.

The all-important **T**'s are not particularly legible – Bigot 426 ?



private collection / 0.80 g.



Thierry Sérot 18b / 3.85g.

Bigot 427 ?

• *end Charles of Blois* •

• *begin John IV* •

JOHN IV (26 November, 1345 – 9 November, 1399)

Son of John of Montfort (*le Captif*) and Jeanne of Flanders (*la Flamme*)

There does not seem to have been any strict control over the legends on the John IV *gros au lions*, and in particular, the reverse, outer legend, which shows great variance between coins; even more so than the coins of Charles of Blois. These variations probably do not indicate different ‘types’ *per se*.

The lion of Montfort has a double tail, and more often than not with a large pellet in the obverse field, under the tail:



On the coins themselves, the double tail is often just a blur of lines.

Mark and Letter Forms

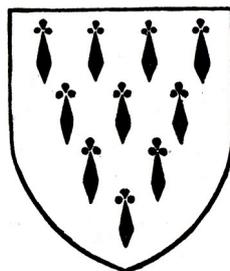
There are several unusual letter forms seen on Breton-John *gros au lions*, some of which are not found on coins from other regions:

A	✘ ✘
K	h R
N (n)	¶
(long) O	⊙
T	⋈

Unlike the *gros au lions* of Flanders (and most regions), the T of MONETA is not annuleted. There are unusual markings found of some of the Breton-John coins as well:

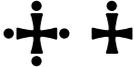
A *moucheture* instead of a lion in the obverse border: †

Three *mouchetures* instead of an initial cross: † † †



The arms of John of Montfort

The *mouchetures* represent the black tails of the ermine, which were sewn onto the white fur.

Some of the central crosses have a pellet or pellets at the ends of the arms: 

Some of the John IV, Breton *gros au lions* have 13 symbols in the obverse border instead of the normal 12 signs. One type has 2 large annulets superimposed on the pellet ring on both obverse and reverse (**cat. Type III-D**).

The coins are very rare, and we have very few specimens for comparison, and it is entirely possible that there are more variants out there that we have not seen. There seems to be little more than a general Flemish influence on the coins, and it is unlikely that the *gros au lions* of Flanders can be used to date the Breton coins of John IV, which were struck at Guérande, Vannes and Quimperlé.

- **CATALOG TYPE II** (Bigot 477 – 479)

MONETA GVERAN(T)

The Guérande coins are some of the few *gros au lions* (from any region) without a round **●** or gothic **ŉ** in MONETA, nor are there any stop marks in the legends. The basic differences between the sub-types are the GVERANT, GVERAN and GVRAN, obverse legends. The reverse, outer legends are very short, missing the IHV XPI.

- **Bigot 477** : Plate XX-4

cat. II-A

PdA 554 / Pl. XVI, 2 [cites Bigot 477]

Jézéquel 216 [cites Bigot 477/479 *sic*]

12♣ / 1†



Bigot (p. 149): ^[2]

477. 1° † IOH | ΠΝΕ | DVX | BRI — 2° † BNDICTV
SIT NOME DNI NRI DE — Croix anglaise.

Ɔ. † † † MONETA GVERTHT — Lion de Monfort-l'A-
maury; dessous, un besant. Bordure de 13 lobes séparés
par des I, contenant, le premier une moucheture, les autres
un trèfle évidé.

Gros de bas billon; 36 gr. Pl. XX, n° 4. (R. N., 1841,
XX, 9; C. D.; C. Da.)

Imitation du gros de Jean III de Brabant.



*Bigot, Plate XX-4 ^[2]
12 leaves and a moucheture*

Bigot text / illustration:

† † † MONETA GVERTHT
† IOH ΠΝΕ DVX BRI
† BNDICTV SIT NOME DNI NRI DE



*Musée Dobrée: N-5265-264 / 1.89 g.
© Musée Dobrée – Grand Patrimoine de Loire-Atlantique
Salaün 29 ^[11] / p. 65 ^[9] / 328 ^[8]
Ex- coll. T. Dobrée*



Musée Dobrée: N-5265-264 / 1.89 g.

‡‡‡ MONETA GVERAN[†]
IOH PDE DVX BRI
✠ BNDICTV SIT NOME D[...]

• **Bigot 478** (not illustrated in Bigot)

cat. II-B

PdA —

Jézéquel —

‡‡‡ DONETA GVERAH
IOH PDE DVX BRI
✠ BNDICTV SIT NOME DNI IRI DE

11♣ / 1 ‡



Bigot (p. 149): ^[2]

478. Variété. — ‡‡‡ MONETA GVERAN au revers.
Gros de bas billon; 40 gr. (C. D.)

There are no stop marks between any of the words on either face.



Musée Dobrée: N-5265-263 / 2.21 g.
© Musée Dobrée – Grand Patrimoine de Loire-Atlantique
Salain 28^[11] / p. 65^[9] / 327^[8]



Musée Dobrée: N-3131 / 2.48 g.
© H. Neveu-Dérottrie - Musée Dobrée – Grand Patrimoine de Loire-Atlantique
Salain 30^[11] / p. 65^[9] / 328 var.^[8]
Ex- coll. P. Soullard

• **Bigot 479** (not illustrated in Bigot)

cat. II-C

PdA —

Jézéquel — (J. 216 [cites Bigot 477/479 sic])

††† **DONET** GVRAN
 IOH ANNE DVX BRI
 ✕ **BN**[DICTV SIT **NO**] **ME DNI** **RI** DEI

Bigot (p. 149): ^[2]

479. ††† **DONET** GVRAN au revers.
 Gros de bas billon; 36 gr. (R. N., 1847, XIX, 4; C. D.)
 Le dessin de la *Revue* représente à tort le lion de Flandre.



Musée Dobrée: N-5265-265 / 1.42 g.
 © Musée Dobrée – Grand Patrimoine de Loire-Atlantique
 Salain 329 ^[8] / p. 65 ^[9] / 31 ^[11]

Probably the specimen seen by Bigot (“C. D.”)

Other Authors On The Coins Bigot 477 - 479

Poey d'Avant 554 ^[1]

Vol. 1
BRITTANY:

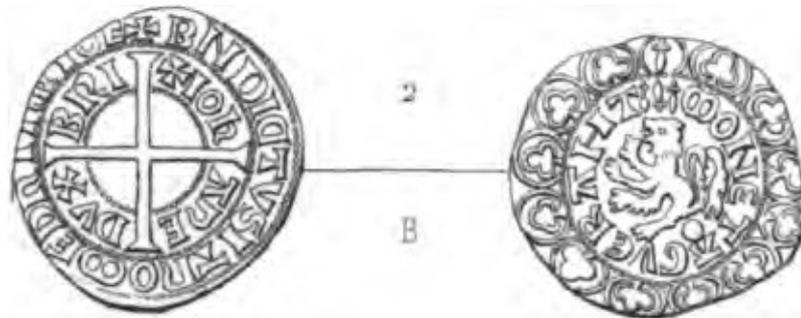
p. 90
554 / Pl. XVI, 2 [cites Bigot 477]

554. ✠ IOH | ANE | DVX | BRI. 2^e légende: BNDICTV, &c. ð. ††† MONETA
GVERANT. Lion de Montfort-l'Amaury; dessous, un besant. Bordure de treize
lobes séparés par des 1, contenant, le 1^{er} une moucheture, les autres un trèfle
évidé.

BILL. Gros : 1,95. (*Revue*, 1841, pl. 20, n° 9; BIGOT, pl. 20, n° 4.)
Coll. Dobrée et Danjou. — Pl. XVI, n° 2.

MONETA GVERANT sic
BNDICTV... sic

[incorrect]



*PdA, Pl. XVI, 2 : n° 554 ^[1]
12 leaves and a moucheture*

MONETA GVERANT
BNDICTV...

Poey's text and illustration (taken from Bigot) are not in agreement (the text is incorrect).
For some reason, Poey does not list 2 extant types (GVERAN, GVRAN) that were listed by
Bigot.

Jézéquel 216 (p. 122) ^[3]

+ IOH ANE DVX BRI
+ BNDICTV SIT NOME DNR NRI DE
‡‡ MONETA GVERANT

Following Poey (?), Jézéquel does not list 2 extant types:

GVERANT	Bigot 477	PdA 554	J. 216 [cites Bigot 477/479 <i>sic</i>]
GVERAN	Bigot 478	PdA —	J. —
GVRAN	Bigot 479	PdA —	J. —

• **CATALOG TYPE III** (Bigot 487 – 488)

MONETA KEPE(R)

Quimperlé

• **Bigot 487** : Plate XX-5

cat. III-A

PdA 572 / Pl. XVI, 13 [cites Bigot 487]

R. Serrure 80

Jézéquel 217b



12♣ / 1† border

Bigot (p. 151): ^[2]

487. 1° IOH | ANNE | DVX | BRI — 2° † BRDIA: SIT:
 RODE: DRI RRI: H — Croix anglaise.

R. † † † HONET REPE — Lion de Montfort; sous la queue un besant. Bordure de 13 lobes contenant, le premier une moucheture, les autres une feuille d'ache évidée.

Gros de bas billon; 45 gr. Pl. XX, n° 5. (R. N., 1841, XX, 10; C. D.; C. Da.; M. C.)



*Bigot, Plate XX-5 ^[2]
 12 leaves and a moucheture*

Bigot's text and illustration are in agreement with one another. However, we have never seen a specimen that appears to read RERE instead of hEPE. Assuming the 'h' (H) is intended to represent a K, and that the letter between the E's is in fact a P, the legend would read MONETA KEPE(R), which seems closer to 'Quimperlé' than REPE or RERE. Bigot may have also intended the legend to read KEPE, but the letter directly after MONETA does not seem to resemble the H on the coins. According to Bigot, there was at least one specimen in the Dobrée collection ("C. D."); neither specimen appears to read RERE, but rather hEPE(R), i.e. KEPE(R). Both Poey and Jézéquel interrupted the legend as MONETA KEPE.



The K (H) of KEPE

Presumably, the following piece is **Bigot 487** coin, despite the difference between Bigot's **R** and the **h** seen on the coins.



*Monnaies d'Antan 800721-600
also iNumis 35-2130*

[i i] MONET[π] **h**ERE
+IOh πI?E DVX BRI
✱ B[?D...]OM[? : DI?I ??RI : **h**

Although not specifically marked as being from Bigot's own collection, this coin was sold along with a number of other Breton *gros au lions* that were thusly marked (e.g. Monnaie d'Antan 8-247, etc.).

• **Bigot 488** (not illustrated in Bigot)

cat. III-B
Bigot 488
 PdA —
 *Jézéquel 217 c
 R. Serrure —
 Salaün 331 ^[8]

12♣ / 1†



*Musée Dobrée: N-5265-271 / 2.83 g.
 © Musée Dobrée – Grand Patrimoine de Loire-Atlantique
 Salaün 331 ^[8] / p. 66 ^[9]*

††† MOINET[π] hERE
 IOh [π]NE DVX BRI
 ✕ BNDIC : SIT : NOMB : DNI : QRI : I

There is a large pellet at the end of the top vertical of the central cross, which Bigot described as: “La croix est ornée à chaque extrémité d’un anneau placé sur le grenetis” ^[2] without illustrating the coin.

The question then becomes: did Bigot mean ✕ or † ? We have a coin illustrated here with † (N-5265-271), but we do not have a specimen with ✕ .

Jézéquel chose to interpret Bigot's meaning to be , as with Bigot 511, where Bigot uses the same text to describe a type with a specimen known to have  (cat. IV-A, coin M. d'A. 8-268).

In French, the text reads the same as in English, and is apparently open to interpretation: *The cross is ornamented at its extremity with an annulet [pellet] placed on the [pellet] border.* It does not specifically say: *The cross is ornamented at its extremities with annulets [pellets] placed on the [pellet] border.* Whether Bigot intended 1 pellet or 4 pellets is somewhat ambiguous, and the coins show two different things, both 1 and 4 pellets, (B. 488 and B. 511 respectively).



*Musée Dobrée N-5265-271 (detail)
cat. III-B*

Bigot (p. 151): ^[2]

**488. Variété. — La croix est ornée à chaque extrémité d'un
annelet placé sur le grenetis.
Bas billon; 40 gr. (C. de K.)**

According to Bigot, this coin was in the de Keranflec'h collection ("C. de K."). Although Bigot describes the mark as an annulet, this must surely be the same type, if not the very same specimen.

(see cat. III-C and cat. IV-A / Bigot 511 below)

• Bigot —

cat. III-C

PdA —

Jézéquel 217a

Salaün 334 ^[8]

BN 730 (R 1 907), Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France

3.29 g.



12♣ / 1† border

† † † MONETA ⚡ KEPE
+IOh ΠΠE DV⚡ B°RI
⚡ BΠDICTV : SIT : ΠOΩE : DΠI : ΠRI : IhV : I

?

This type is reported (but not illustrated) by Salaün and Jézéquel; we were unable to obtain a photograph from the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris and have therefore not seen this coin.

Salaün 334 ^[8]

Salaün does not provide a legend transcription, only this description (p. 126):

“Trois mouchetures à l’endroit MONETA ⚡ KEPE (annelet au-dessus du T). Bordure du treize lobes, le 1^e contenant une moucheture, accostée de deux points, puis douze trèfles. Annelet entre le dernier trèfle et la moucheture initiale. Pas de besant sous le lion de Montfort.” ^[8]

“fin atypique HI et lettre incompréhensible et annelet sont le H entre le B et le R de BRI)...” ^[8]

Jézéquel describes the coin as having “un anneau au dessus du I de BRI” ^[3] (p. 123, **J. 217a**).

The major difference between Salaün 334 (MONETA 8 KEPE, **cat. III-C**) and 335 (MONETA KEPER, **cat. III-D**) seems to be the obverse legends.

• **Bigot** —

cat. III-D

PdA —

Jézéquel —

Salaün 335 ^[8]



Musée Dobrée: N-24 / 3.40 g.

© Musée Dobrée – Grand Patrimoine de Loire-Atlantique

*Salaün 335 ^[8] / p. 66 ^[9] / ex- coll. Soullard



12♣ / 1† border

† † † MOINETA • HE[PER]
 IOH NRE DVX BRI
 X BNDICTV : SIT : NOMB : DNI : NRI : HV : I

There are large annulets on the pellet ring surrounding the obverse legend and the reverse cross; between **‡‡‡** and **M**, and after the **A** of **MONETA** on the obverse, and above the **R** of **BRI** and above the **N** of **ANE** on the reverse. No other type of *gros au lion* (from any region) is known to have such markings (except **cat. III-C** above).

The central lion is one of the crudest found on any *gros au lion* (of any region). There is no extra pellet in the field, which is unusual for John IV *gros au lions*. On the other hand, most of the other coins have no mark after **MONETA**, so perhaps the pellet has “moved” from beneath the lion into the legend.

Salaün 335 ^[8]

Salaün describes coin **N-24** (n° 335) on p. 126 as follows:

“**MONETA • KEPER**. Même description [as n° 334], bordure du treize lobes, le 1^e contenant une moucheture, puis douze trèfles. Annelet entre la moucheture et le premier trèfle, puis annelet sous le septième trèfle.”

“**BNDICTV : SIT** annelet entre **IT** et en dessous, etc.” ^[8]

In ref. 8, Salaün makes no mention of the second annulet on the reverse (cross side) above the **R** of **BRI** (under **IHV**), although he does in ref. 9 (p. 66).

Other Authors On The Coins Bigot 487 - 488

Poey d’Avant lists only one **MONETA KEPE** type (PdA 572 / Bigot 487).

Salaün’s comments on the two types with extra annulets have already been reported above (**cat III-C** / Salaün 334 ^[8] and **cat. III-D** / Salaün 335 ^[8]).

Jézéquel lists these coins under his type J. 217:

Jézéquel 217 (p. 123) ^[3]

According to Jézéquel:

MONETA KEPE
IOH ANE DVX BRI
 + **BNDIC : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : Ih** *sic*

According to Jézéquel:

Bigot —	217a	✚	BRI°		
Bigot 487	217b	✚			
Bigot 488	217c	✚			

“Variantes qui concernent la présence éventuelle d’un anneau au dessus du I de BRI et de points qui terminent de bras de la croix, la position des mouchetures initiales, de la légende et la présence éventuelle d’un point sous la queue du lion au revers”^[3].

J. 217a

Jézéquel 217a is the coin BN 730 (R 1 907) in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (i.e. Salaün 334^[8] / **cat. III-C**), which Jézéquel describes as having “un anneau au dessus du I de BRI”^[3]. Jézéquel further states that the pattern of *mouchetures* in the legend is ||| instead of |||; this same pattern is seen on coin **Musée Dobrée: N-24** / **cat. III-D** (Salaün 335^[8]).

J. 217b

Jézéquel’s description of his 217b is accurate, and is the source for his reverse, outer legend transcription (**cat. III-A**).

J. 217c

According to Bigot: “La croix est ornée à chaque extrémité d’un anneau placé sur le grenetis” (Bigot 488, p. 151)^[2], which Jézéquel seems to have interpreted as: ✚ instead of: ✚. Based on coin **cat. III-B** / **Musée Dobrée N-5265-271**, however, this would seem to be an error in Jézéquel’s part. (Cf. Bigot 511 / **cat. IV-A** below.)

A more accurate list might read:

Bigot —	217a	✚	BRI°			[cat. III-C]
Bigot —	J. —	✚	B°RI			[cat. III-D]
Bigot 487	217b	✚				[cat. III-A]
Bigot 488	217c	✚				[cat. III-B]

• **Bigot 489** : Plate XX, 3 (not a *gros au lion*)

Although similar to a *gros au lion*, this type does not conform to the characteristics of the *gros au lion*; it has no reverse, inner legend, and it has items in the quadrants of the central, reverse cross.

Cf. **Bigot 514-517** below (MONETA VENET)

Bigot (p. 151): ^[2]

489. † OORETAN IOHANNES DVX BRIT — Croix cantonnée aux 1^{er} et 4^e du lion de Montfort mouvant du centre de la croix, aux 2^e et 3^e d'une mouchetur mouvant la 1^{re} du grenetis, la 2^e de la croix.

R. † † † HORETAN REPET — Lion de Montfort; entre les pattes, 2 besants. Bordure de 13 lobes contenant, le premier une mouchetur, les autres un trèfle évidé.

Gros de bas billon. Pl. XX, n° 3. (Dess. com. p. M. R.)

Imité des gros de Jean III, de Brabant et du Prince Noir pour l'Aquitaine.



Bigot: Pl. XX, 3-489 ^[2]

• CATALOG TYPE IV (Bigot 511 – 513)

MONETA VENET



The coins of Vannes all appear to be rather “second-rate” in quality, and the outer legends show enormous variation between specimens. The coins are unusual in having 13 signs in the obverse border, as well as the word DEI, which had not been used on Flemish *gros au lions* during the time that John IV was Duke of Brittany.

• Bigot 511 : Plate XX-6

cat. IV-A
* Jézéquel 218b

12♣ / 1 † border



Bigot (pp. 155-156): ^[2]

511. 1° † IOH | ANNE | DVX | BRI — 2° † BRDIA: SIT:
NE: RRI: HV: XPI: P — Croix anglaise accompagnée à
chaque extrémité d'un anneau placé sur le grenetis.

156 PÉRIODE D'IMITATION.

B. † † † HONETA VENE — Lion de Monfort; sous la
queue, un besant. Bordure de 13 lobes contenant, le pre-
mier une mouquette, les autres une feuille d'ache évidée.
Gros de billon noir; 45 gr. Pl. XX, n° 6. (M. C.)



Bigot, Plate XX-6 (n° 511) ^[2]
12 leaves and a moucheture

Bigot text:

!!! MONETA VENE
+ IOH DUX BRI

Bigot illustration:

!!! MONETA VENET
+ IOH DUX BRI
+ BNDIC: SIT: QD: DNI: QRI: IHV: XPI: P

According to Bigot, the difference between his types 511 and 512 is the presence of pellets at the ends of the central cross arms (511) or absence thereof (512). For both types, Bigot transcribes the obverse legend as MONETA VENE. However, it would appear that Bigot has made an error in his description of his type 511, and that the correct transcription should read VENET and not VENE – an idea that seems borne out by Bigot's own illustration for his type 511 (Bigot 512 is not illustrated). This theory is further borne out by the following coin:



*Monnaies d'Antan 8-268 (also 800724)
ex- collection A. Bigot
13 signs in the outer border?*

[**†**†† **MO**NETA V]E**NET**
†IOh ANE [DVX BRI]
[**†** BNDIC: ... **NE**: DNI [...I: **P**]

This coin appears to be the same type as the specimen illustrated described by Bigot for his type 511. Note that this specimen was indeed in Bigot's own collection, while Bigot states that the coin he described was in his own collection as well ("M.C." = *ma collection*). Much of the outer legend is illegible; Bigot's **NE** may well be **ME**, and the final P might be I'.

Bigot described this coin as having annulets (*annelet*) at the ends of the cross arms, but they seem to be pellets. Large pellets are visible at 6:00 and 9:00, but the other two are illegible.

As with his n° 488, Bigot describes this coin as: "La croix est ornée à chaque extrémité d'un anneau placé sur le grenetis" ^[2]+ in this case, Bigot seems to have meant †.

• Bigot 511 variants

cat. IV-B
Bigot —



Gertbrolen 04 / 2.62 g.

ι ι ι ΜΟΝΕΤΑ VEΝΕ T
 +ΙΟΗ ΠΝΕ DVX BRI
 [ΧΒΝΔΙ...]: SIT : ΝΟΜΕ : ΔΝΙ : ΝΡΙ : ΔΕΙ

It appears that there is a large space before the T of VENET.



Musée Dobrée: N-5265-282 / 2.60 g.
 © Musée Dobrée – Grand Patrimoine de Loire-Atlantique

cat. IV-C
Bigot —



*Musée Dobrée: N-3146 / 2.68 g.
© Musée Dobrée – Grand Patrimoine de Loire-Atlantique
Salain 339^[8] / p. 67^[9] / ex. coll. Soullard*

[!!!] MONETA • VENET

[...]TV : [...] DNI : ORI : DEI

The central lion is very crude. Unlike the previous coins, there is clearly a pellet after MONETA on this piece. There seems to have been a problem at the end of the obverse legend, and it is not completely clear what is going on between VENET and MONETA.



Musée Dobrée: N-3146 (detail)

...IM°:†MO...
...IT†:†MO...
...IT† †MO...
... IT[†]†MO...
?

• **Bigot 512** (not illustrated in Bigot)

cat. IV-D
* Jézéquel 218 a



+ BNDICTV : SIT : NOMB : DNI : NRI : **DEI**

Bigot (p. 56): ^[2]

ʒ. †††HONETK VERE — Lion de Monfort; sous la queue, un besant. Bordure de 13 lobes contenant, le premier une mouchetur, les autres une feuille d'ache évidée.

Gros de billon noir; 45 gr. Pl. XX, n° 6. (M. C.)

512. 1° † IOH † KRE | DVX | BRI — 2° † BNDICTV: SIT:ROME:DRI:RRI:DEI — Croix anglaise, sans annelets.

ʒ. Mêmes légende et type.

Gros de billon noir; 49 gr. (P. D., V, 3; C. D.)

Le dessin de M. P. d'Avant représente à tort le lion de Flandre et la légende :BENEDICTV:SIT: etc.



Bigot's VENE is probably another incorrect transcription of VENET; he refers to a specimen in the Dobrée collection ("C.D."), but all of those legends read VENET. The transcription of the Flemish, outer legend is incorrect (BENEDICTV instead of BNDICTV). This time, Bigot's description of "13 lobes" is probably accurate.

• **Bigot 513** (not illustrated in Bigot)

cat. IV-E
Jézéquel —

Bigot (p. 156): ^[2]

513. 1° † IOH † KRE | RE DVX | BRI — 2° † BNDICTV: SIT:ROME:DRI:RRI:DEI — Croix anglaise sans annelets.

ʒ. †††HONETK VEREET — Même type.

Gros de billon noir. (Dess. com. p. M. R.)



‡‡‡ HONETK VENET
+IOhK QEDVX BRI *{sic}*
+ BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : DEI

Exactly what it is that Bigot is trying to indicate with the separation of the reverse (cross side), inner legend is unclear, as he has only indicated 3 quadrants. We have no actual specimen for comparison.

At this time, we can neither verify nor refute the existence of this type.

Other Authors On The Coins Bigot 511-513

Jézéquel 218 (p. 123) ^[3]

218
 MONETA VENE
 + IOH ANE DVX BRI
 +BNDIC : SIT : NE : NRI : HV : XPI : P *sic*

218a  Bigot 512

218b  Bigot 511

Jézéquel cites “Bigot 511/513” for the VENET types, and repeats Bigot’s description of a central cross thus: , although the coins seem to have: . He has repeated Bigot’s outer legend transcription, which is specific to a single known specimen once found in Bigot’s own collection.

All of the Vannes coins we have seen have a VENET legend (not VENE), yet Jézéquel makes no mention of any VENET legend.

Ref.: BN 730³ (Z 29 602)

BN = Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

• **Bigot 514 – 517** : Pl. XXI, 1-2 (not a *gros au lion*)



Bigot Pl. XXI, 1-2 : 514-515 ^[2]
Double tail

Although obviously similar, and probably related to the *gros au lion* proper, these 3 types cannot be considered as *leeuwengroten* because: a) there is no reverse, inner legend, and b) there are items in the reverse quadrants.

Cf. **Bigot 489** above (MONETA REPET)



Gertbrolen 03 / 1.77 g.





Musée Dobrée: N-3147
© Musée Dobrée – Grand Patrimoine de Loire-Atlantique



There does not seem to be a pellet under the central lion's tail. Unlike the previous coin (Gertbrolen 03), this coin has an annulet above the *moucheture* in both quadrants on the reverse. (Cf. **cat. III-C** and **cat. III-D**, also with annulets.)

Large annulets that appear under letters of the legend and interfere with the pellet ring below were also used as minting marks on French coins, e.g. those of Charles VI.

“John” Coins With Single-Tailed Lions

Bigot 526, Supp, 50 and Bigot — (B. 1483)

The Breton *gros au lions* struck for John IV that we have examined thus far all have the following characteristics in common:

- a *moucheture* as the top item in the obverse border ring instead of a lion or leaf
- double-tailed lion of Montfort central
- an obverse (lion side) legend reading MONETA followed by a city (mint) name
- an obverse legend beginning with 3 *mouchetures*
- a reverse legend beginning in quadrant 2, ending in quadrant 1
- **always** a reverse, outer legend reading BNDICTV... etc.
- fairly poor die engraving
- usually a pellet under the central lion's tail
- a reverse legend reading: IOH ANE DVX BRI

The following 3 types (V-VII), however, have **none** of the characteristics listed above (although 2 types do have a BNDICTV... legend). Unlike the previous coins, they have:

- a lion or leaf as the top item in the obverse border ring
- single-tailed lion central
- an obverse (lion side) legend reading MONETA followed by BRITAN(D)
- an obverse legend beginning with a cross
- a reverse legend beginning and ending in quadrant 1
- fairly good die engraving
- never a pellet under the central lion's tail

- a reverse, outer legend reading BNDICTV... or DNS MICHI...
- a reverse legend reading: IOVHANN(O)ES DVX or IO DVC BRITI

V. MONETA BRITAN
VI. MONETA BRITAN
VII. MONETA BRITAND

V. HAN NES DVX IOV (IOVHANNES DVX)
VI. OVH ANN OES DVXI (IOVHANN OES DVX)
VII. ODV CLO TBR ITII (IO DVC LOT BRITI)

V. DNS MICHI AIVTOR N TIMEBO Q FAC M H O
VI. BNDICTV SIT NOME DNI NRI DEI IHV XPI
VII. BNDICTV SIT NOME DNI NRI DEI IHV XPI

The lack of Montfort symbols on these coins may be of great significance (see p. 69).

• CATALOG TYPE V (Bigot 526)

• Bigot 526 : Plate XX-2

cat. V-A

PdA: Pl. XVIII, 4 / n° 621

R. Serrure 79

12♣ border



Musée Dobrée: N-5265-289 / 3.24 g.

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Salain p. 67^[9] / 340^[8] 3.36 g sic

✠ ΜΟΝΕΤΑ [Φ] ΒΡΙΤ[Α]Ν'

ΕΤΑΝ ΝΕΣ ΔΥΧ ΙΟΥ

✠ ΔΝΣ : ΜΙΧΗΙ : ΚΙΥΤΟΡ : Ν : ΤΙΜΕΒ[Ο : ρ : F] ΑΔ : Μ : Η : Ο

This appears to be the coin seen by Bigot and used for his illustration. We are unaware of any other specimens of this type. It does not have the usual BNDICTV *etc.* outer legend, nor does the central lion have a double tail. At first glance, the coin is very similar in appearance to a Flemish or Brabantine *gros au lion*.

Bigot (p. 159): ^[2]

526. 1° IOV | h̄n̄n | RES | DVX — 2° † DNS:MI-
 CHI:KIVTOR:R:TIMEBO:Q:FAC:MI:HO — Croix
 anglaise.

ʒ. † MONETA † BRITANN' — Lion de Flandre debout.
 Bordure de 12 cercles séparés par des I, et contenant cha-
 cun une quinte-feuille évidée, avec son pétiole.

Gros de billon; 62 gr. Pl. XX, n° 2. (C. D.)

(1) Cat. Del., n° 97.



Bigot, Plate XX-2 ^[2]

This illustration incorrectly shows a long O in IOV, and a round O in AIVTOR (also incorrect).

Bigot's text and illustration are in agreement:

† MONETA † BRITANN'
 IOV h̄n̄n RES DVX
 † DNS:MI:CHI:KIVTOR:R:TIMEBO:[Q:F] FAC:MI:HO

DomiNvS MICHI AdIVTOR Non TIMEBO Quid FACiat Mihi HOmo
 Dominvs MIHI adivtor non timebo quid faciat mihi homo

The Lord is my help. I will not fear what man might do to me
 Psalm 117 (118) vv. 6-7

There is no reason for a stop-mark between HO in the outer legend.

According to Bigot, the coins is in the Thomas Dobrée collection ("C.D.")

• **Bigot 526** var. [?]

Bigot (p. 160): [2]

160

PÉRIODE D'IMITATION.

Figuré Pl. V, n° 5, et décrit sous le n° 280 du Cat. P. D., avec une bordure de feuilles de houx et les légendes : IOV | hAN | DES — MONETA.

Imitation pure et simple des gros de Flandre.

(continuation of B. 526)

Bigot text:

✠ MONETA ✠ BRIT[AN]O'
 IOV hAN DES DVX
 ✠ DNS : MICHI : KIVTOR : R : TIMBO : [9 : F] AN : M : h : O

Bigot seems to have based this type solely on the description and accompanying illustration found in a catalog ("Cat. P. D." – Poey d'Avant). **There is an extremely good chance that no such variant actually exists.**

We have not seen the PdA catalog to which Bigot refers (and illustration PdA Pl. V, 5), Poey himself offers coins with **h/AN** under his number 621, while his pl. XVIII, 4 illustration shows **h/AN** [1]:

621. IOV | hAN | DES | DVX. 2° légende : ✠ DNS : MICHI : KIVTOR : R : TIMBO : Q : FAN : M : h : O. Croix anglaise. h. ✠ MONETA. Trèfle évidé avec son pétiole. BRITAN'. Lion de Flandre debout. Bordure de douze cercles séparés par des 1 et contenant chacun une quintefeuille évidée avec son pétiole.

BILL. Gros : 3,36. (POEY D'AVANT, pl. 5, n° 5; BIGOT, pl. 20, n° 2.)
 Pl. XVIII, n° 4.

PdA, p. 99



PdA: Pl. XVIII, 4 [1]

In his *Monnaies Feodales de France*, Poey shows no coin with Roman E's.

• **CATALOG TYPE VI** (Bigot Ap. 50)

• **Bigot Appendix 50**

cat. VI-A
 PdA: Pl. XVIII, 5 / n° 622
 Jézéquel 214
 R. Serrure 78

11♣ / 1♣ border

Bigot (p. 339-340): ^[2]

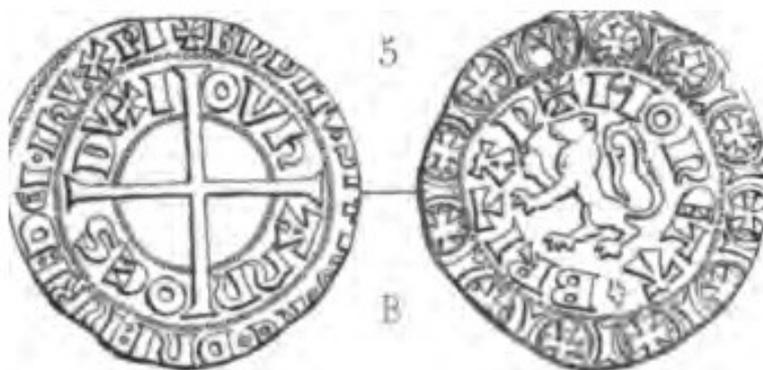
50. 1° I | OVh | **ANR** | OES | DVX — 2° † **BRDITV** :
SIT : ROMÆ : DNI : RRI : DEI : HV : XPI — Croix anglaise.

340 APPENDICE.

† **MORETAN + BRITAN** • autour du lion de Flandre debout. Bordure de 12 cercles séparés par des I et contenant le premier un lion debout, les autres une quinte-feuille évidée avec son pétiole.

Gros de billon; 55 gr. Voy. Pl. XX, n° 2. (C. Da.)

Bigot is offering the same illustration as his number 526 – this must be an error – the coin is not illustrated in Bigot’s book. Bigot reports a pellet left of the initial cross (after BRITAN’ with an apostrophe) which Poey neither reports nor shows in his drawing (no apostrophe either). (As always, Bigot does not properly report the forms of the O’s.)



PdA, Pl. XVIII, 5 : 622 ^[1]

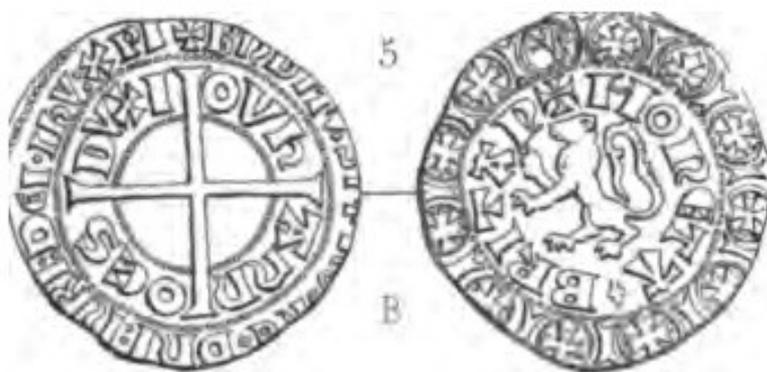
† **MORETA** † **BRITAN**
OVh ANR OES DVXI
 † **BR[DITV : SIT : ROMÆ ·] DNI : RRI : DEI · HV : XPI**

**622. I | OVh | ARR | OES | DVX. 2^e légende : BRDITV : SIT : &c. R. ✠ MO-
RETA. Feuille de trèfle avec son pétiole. BRITARR. Lion de Flandre debout.
Bordure de douze lobes séparés par des 1 et contenant, le 1^{er} un lion debout, les
autres une quintefeuille avec son pétiole.
BILL. Gros : 2,98. (BIGOT, *Suppl.*, n° 50.)
Coll. Danjou. — Pl. XVIII, n° 5.**

Poey d'Avant I, p. 99^[1]

Despite what is shown in the illustration, Poey (and Jézéquel in turn) transcribe the outer legend stops as : . once again, there is no double tail to the central lion. The obverse border leaves are very unusual (assuming that the drawing is anything close to accurate).

Having never seen any such coin, we can neither verify nor refute the description of this type as given by the previous authors, although we have no particular reason to doubt its existence. According to Bigot (and Poey), it was in the Danjou collection (2.98 g.).



PdA, Pl. XVIII, 5 : 622^[1]
cat. VI-A / Bigot Appendix 50

• **CATALOG TYPE VII** (Bigot — (B. 1483))

• **Bigot** —

cat. VII-A

[*B. 1483]

PdA —

R. Serrure —

Jézéquel 160 (under Charles of Blois) [cites BSAN 1919; MD N3 440]

11♣ / 1♣
 ❄️



*Musée Dobrée N-3440 / 2.57 g.
 © Musée Dobrée – Grand Patrimoine de Loire-Atlantique
 Salain 342 (p. 128) ^[8]*

**✠ MONET[?]A [✚] BRITANN[?]
 OBV[?]LO TBR ITII
 ✠ [BNDICTV : SIT : NO]CDE : DNI : N[RI] : DEI : IH[V : XPI]**

This rather puzzling coin has caused a great deal of confusion among numismatists, who are not in agreement as to the coin's origins (i.e. for whom the piece was struck). The reverse

legend seems to read: IO DVC LOT BRITI, or IOhanna DVCissa LOT BRITAnI. This is the only known example of this type.

There are annulet **T**'s used on both faces. The only legible stop mark in the reverse, outer legend appears to be a double pellet instead of a triple. Based upon all of the *gros au lions* we have ever seen, we must conclude that the legend does not begin with **C**, but rather with **I**. The coin was almost certainly struck for a John or Jeanne.

Jézéquel reports that Macé (BSAN 1919 8th p. 10), attributed this *gros* to Jeanne of Flanders (*la Flamme*), wife of John of Montfort and mother of John IV (IOHANNA). Jézéquel says that A. Blanchet attributed this coin to Charles of Blois (RN 1915/387), reading the reverse legend as BRITNO, thus removing the **I** of 'Iohanna'. Presumably, the legend would read: Carolvs LOT BRITaNO DVx. Although he reports the doubt surrounding the attribution, Jézéquel places the coin under Charles of Blois (p. 97^[3]), and transcribes the legends thusly:

DVC LOT BRITNO
(ODV CLO TBR ITII)
MONETA BRITAND

Clearly, no one is completely sure for whom this coin was struck. DVC often stands for DVCISSA (*duchess*, as opposed to DVX for *duke*) on medieval coins. This seems to clearly indicate a woman, although it is not proof positive, because DVC was sometimes used for men as well. Furthermore, DVCIS means *duchy*, and John IV struck other types of coins with a BRITORVM DVCIS legend (Bigot 498-502).

The word LOT remains unexplained. On the *leeuwengroten* of Brabant, it stands for *Lothier*, or Lower Lorraine (Lower Lotharingia). There seems to be no reason for its presence on the Breton coin, other than making it look like a Brabantine *leeuwengroot*.

The Brabant *leeuwengroten* could not have been struck until 1355, when Joanna became Duchess of Brabant. Hostilities between Brabant and Flanders broke out fairly quickly, and did not end until early June, 1357 (Treaty of Ath). It does not seem likely that Joanna would have struck coins copying those of Louis of Mâle while she was at war with him (although it is certainly possible). If she was not, the Brabant coins were likely struck after June, 1357 –by which time Charles of Blois had already been released from captivity.

In theory, it is possible that the IO DVC coin was imitating a coin of John III of Brabant, with its IO DVX legend. This seems less likely, however, since the obverse legend of the John III coins begins with an eagle, while the coins of Joanna of Brabant have a legend beginning with a cross, to the left of which is a pellet – the same as the Breton, IO DVC coin.



leeuwengroot of Joanna of Brabant (Elsen 118-750 / 2.66 g.)

ODV C²L⁰ TBR ∇ B^{*}I ↑
ODV C²L⁰ TBR ITH ↓



Coins With Single-Tailed Lions: For Whom Were These Coins Struck?

V.	HAN NES DVX IOV	DNS MICHI AIVTOR N TIMEBO Q FAC M H O
VI.	OVH ANN OES DVXI	BNDICTV SIT NOME DNI NRI DEI IHV XPI
VII.	ODV CLO TBR ITII	BNDICTV SIT NOME DNI NRI DEI IHV XPI

V.	IOVHANNES DVX
VI.	IOVHANN OES DVX
VII.	IO DVC LOT BRITI

In essence, there are four people who could theoretically have struck any or all of the 3 types of single-tailed lion coins (Charles of Blois can be left out because of the legends on the coins which do not contain his name): John of Montfort, John IV (his son), Jeanne of Flanders (Montfort's wife) and Jeanne of Penthièvre, wife of Charles of Blois.

It should be noted that it is entirely possible that these coin types have nothing more to do with one another than their shared characteristics. It is possible that all three type may not have been struck for the same person. Type VII stands alone for having a DVC legend instead of DVX, while type V stand alone for having a DNS MICHI... legend instead of the usual BNDICTV... legend. (Note that the Brabant coin shown on the previous page has an unusual WENCESLAS DEI GRA... legend.) We have no photograph of a Type VI coin, only of Types V and VII. All 3 types are known or described from unique specimens.

At first glance, **John IV** would seem to be the first logical conclusion, since we are fairly certain that he minted the *MONETA type gros au lions* with the double-tails. But in a war of succession, in which both factions are trying to get as many of the smaller, local barons on their side as possible, it seems odd that John IV would not continue to place Montfort signs on his coins to fulfill the usual propaganda function. Most of his other coins feature *mouchetures*, and those with lions have double tails.

Why would John IV strike coins with single tails and no *mouchetures*? Perhaps the coins were produced from designs made fairly directly from the Flemish model, designs that had not been approved by John IV and which were then discarded in favor of coins with Montfort symbols on them?

If these coins were indeed struck for John IV, were they minted when John was firmly in power, perhaps after 1365, when the need for Montfort symbols was less imperative (assuming that were even true)? Were they then quickly discontinued because minting of the *gros au lion* in Flanders had ceased (in 1364)? Could that explain the better workmanship, and that then imply that the cat. Type II-IV coins were struck in times of turmoil or instability, or is the shoddy workmanship no such indication?

On the other hand, *Mouchetures* are found on coins of John V (1399-1442), Francis I (1442-1450) and Francis II (1458-1488)... would John IV really have struck coins without these symbols?

It would seem that **John of Montfort** would have had precious little time to arrange the minting of *gros au lions* in Brittany, having enough on his mind either in captivity at the hands of the French king, or battling with Charles of Blois for the title to the duchy. In theory, it might have been possible for him to have struck such coins, however improbable that may seem. But of all the people who would have been likely to use the double-tailed lion and *mouchetures* of Montfort on his coins, John of Montfort is at the top of the list.

Until the beginning of 1346, Flemish *gros au lions* would have had an initial eagle in the obverse legend instead of a cross; how relevant this is to the Breton coins is hard to say. Brabant *gros au lions* struck before 1346 also had initial eagles; crosses were not used as initial marks in Brabant until after 1355.

The theory has been put forth that the cat. Type VII coin was struck for **Jeanne of Flanders** in her capacity as Duchess of Brittany, hence the IO DVC BRITI legend (see cat. Type VII). Jeanne fought for her husband's rights while he was in captivity and out, and later she fought for her son's rights as well. It seems plausible that she might have struck coins in her name, especially if her husband was a prisoner. On the other hand, she seems to have been a veritable prisoner in England for quite a number of years; how did this affect her ability to strike {theoretical} coins?

On the face of it, the Jeanne of Flanders idea seems to be a reasonable theory, until one begins to look a bit more closely at the dates involved (see the timeline on p. 3). It does not seem possible for Jeanne of Flanders to have struck any such coin, especially if the coin is a direct imitation of a Jeanne of Brabant *leeuwengroot*.

If Type VII is a Montfort coin, why the lack of Montfort propagandist symbols?

And finally, we have **Jeanne of Penthièvre**, wife of Charles of Blois, also known as Joan the Lamé. She, too, had to fight for her husband's rights while he was a prisoner. No previous author has ever suggested that she has anything whatsoever to do with the minting of these three types of *leeuwengroot* (nor any other type, for that matter). There is no evidence linking her to any of the 3 coins types in question (but there is no evidence linking them to anyone else, either).

What case can we make that the IO DVC coin was struck for Jeanne of Penthièvre?

- c. May 1341 – September 1384, Jeanne was entitled to call herself Duchess of Brittany, due in part to the terms of the 1st Treaty of Guérande
- the MONETA BRITAND legend matches Charles' MONETA BRITAN, but not John's MONETA {city name} legends
- no Montfort symbols on the coin
- annulet T's are found on Charles' *gros au lions* but not John's
- The IO DVC (instead of IO DVX) legend on the coin

Types V and VI

No one ever seems to have questioned the attribution of the two IOVHANN(O)ES coins to John IV, because it is completely logical. At the same time, no one seems to have ever questioned the lack of Montfort symbols on the coins, nor taken any particular note of them.

Why the unnecessary V (and O) in IOVHANNES / IOVHANN(O)ES?
Why the DNS MICHI... legend?

Why does the reverse, inner legend begin in quadrant 1? The usual reason for doing this on a *leeuwengroot* (of any region) is to position the O's directly next to the cross arms (see p. 25). But why then DVXI OVH ANN OES, and not VXI OVH ANO ESD, which would have

positioned the **O**'s perfectly next to the cross-arm, in addition to not requiring 4 letters in one quadrant (DVXI)?



Conclusion

Far more work is necessary on this series of coins before any sort of final conclusions can be drawn.

As is so often the case, our examination of the *gros au lions* of Brittany is hampered by a lack of available specimens. We have not seen had the opportunity to view any coins that might be in the national collections in Paris, nor in most of the museums in Brittany.

Alexis Bigot's 1857 work on the coins of Brittany remains the best source for information to this day; study of the coins subsequent to Bigot has been fairly superficial and inaccurate.

The *gros au lions* of Charles of Blois have a MONETA BRETON legend on the obverse. On the reverse, the legend is either CHAROLLVS, CHARROLVS or KAROLLVSD, followed by DVX. The motivation behind the change in legend is unclear, but may have something to do with placing **O**'s (and **D**'s) next to the arms of the central cross. In general, the coins are better made than those of John IV. Although they are rare, they also seem to be more common than John IV coins.

The coins of John IV have the name of a mint city after the obverse MONETA, either Vannes (VENET), Quimperlé (KEPET) or Guérande (GVERANT).

The origin of the MONETA BRITAN(D), single-tailed lion coins of John or Joanna remains a mystery, although without further information they must be placed under John IV for the time being. They may in fact have been struck for Jeanne of Flanders or even Jeanne of Penthièvre, especially type VII with its IO DVC LOT BRITI legend.

We are aware that we may have posed more questions than we have answered. But as we are unhampered by the fetters of academia, we feel no obligation to provide speculative "answers" without sufficient evidence, as is the habit of so many scientific and historical researchers (to the detriment of us all). Better to leave the questions open until such time as more information becomes available.

The known or reported types of Breton *gros au lion* are as follows:

<u>Bigot</u>	<u>catalog</u>	<u>obverse</u>	<u>reverse</u>
425	I-A	MON E TA BRITAN	CHA ROL LVS DVX
426	I-B	MON E TA BRITAN	CHA ROL LVS DVX
427	I-C	MON E TA BRITAN	CHA ROL LVS DVX
—	I-D	MON E TA BRITAN	CHA ROL LVS DVX
—	I-E	MON E TA BRITAN	CHA RRO LVS DVX
428	I-F	MON E TA BRITAN	KAR OLL VSD DVX
477	II-A	MON E TA GVERANT	IOH ANE DVX BRI
478	II-B	MON E TA GVERAN	IOH ANE DVX BRI
479	II-C	MON E TA GVRAN	IOH ANE DVX BRI
487	III-A	MON E TA KEPE	IOH ANE DVX BRI
488	III-B	MON E TA KEPE	IOH ANE DVX BRI †
—	III-C	MON E TA 8 KEPE	IOH ANE DVX BRI
—	III-D	MON E TA • KEPER	IOH ANE DVX BRI
511	IV-A	MON E TA VENET	IOH ANE DVX BRI †
—	IV-B	MON E TA VENET	IOH ANE DVX BRI
—	IV-C	MON E TA • VENET	IOH ANE DVX BRI
512	IV-D	MON E TA VENE	IOH ANE DVX BRI
513	IV-E	MON E TA VENEAT	IOH ANE DVX BRI
526	V-A	MON E TA BRITAN	HAN NES DVX IOV (DNS MICHI... legend)
App. 50	VI-A	MON E TA BRITAN	OVH ANN OES DVXI (BNDICTV... legend)
—	VII I-A	MON E TA BRITAND'	ODV CLO TBR ITII

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601 VENE (var.) [cites Bigot 512]

602 VENEAT [cites Bigot 513]

603 Pl. XVII, 8 (similar but not a *compagnon*) [cites Bigot pl. XXI, 1 514?]

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621 DNS MICHI outer legend : Pl. XVIII, 4 [cites Bigot 526]

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Plate XX [483]

425 : Plate XVI-2 (XXXVI-2) shared obverse with 428

426 (not illustrated)

427 (not illustrated)

428 : Plate XVI-3 (XXXVI-3) shared obverse with 425

477 : Plate XX-4

478 (not illustrated)

479 (not illustrated)

487 : Plate XX-5

488 (not illustrated)

511 : Plate XX-6

526 : Plate XX-2

Appendix **50** (not illustrated)

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— [Bigot 426]

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159 a [cites Bigot 428]

159 b

159 c [cites Bigot 425]

160 [Bigot — ; R. Serrure —]

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214 [cites Bigot Ap. 50; PdA 621]

p. 122

214 bis cf. 160

- 215** [cites Bigot 526; PdA 621]
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78 IOVANNOS

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80 KEPE

81 VENET

82 REPET (not a *gros au lion*)

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