

The Anglo-Gallic *Gros au Lion*: A Preliminary Examination

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Table of Contents

p. 4	Introduction
p. 6	Edward III, King of England (1327-1377)
p. 8	Henry of Grosmont, Lord of Bergerac (1347-1361)
p. 8	Types of Anglo-Gallic <i>Gros au Lion</i>
p. 9	Edward III
p. 9	Henry of Grosmont
p. 10	Concordance
p. 10	Characteristics of the Flemish (etc.) <i>Gros au Lion</i>
p. 11	Characteristics of the Anglo-Gallic <i>Gros au Lion</i>
p. 12	The <i>Two O's By the Cross Arms</i> 'Rule'
p. 13	Lettering on the Anglo-Gallic <i>Gros au Lion</i>
p. 15	The Obverse, Outer Border
p. 16	The Reverse, Outer Legend
p. 16	The Reverse, Medium Cross
p. 16	Sub-Types
p. 19	Table 1: <i>Gros au Lion</i> Types and Sub-Types (Edward III)
p. 20	Table 2: <i>Gros au Lion</i> Types and Sub-Types (Henry of Grosmont)
p. 21	Table 3: <i>Gros au Lion</i> Fractional Types
p. 21	Dating the Anglo-Gallic <i>Gros au Lion</i>
p. 21	The Treaty of Brétigny
p. 22	When Were the Anglo-Gallic <i>Gros au Lion</i> Minted?
p. 25	Catalog of Coins
p. 25	Edward III
p. 26	Type I: DVX AQUITANIE (WF 82; E 73a)
p. 26	I-a ♠ / ⬤ / ⬤
p. 27	I-b ♠ / E / ⬤
p. 28	I-c E / E / ⬤
p. 30	I-c var.
p. 31	Type II: MONETA BVRD (WF 84; E 74)
p. 33	EDOVARDVS / Round O's
p. 34	II-a ♣ / ⬤ / ⬤ / ⬤ / M / D'
p. 35	II-b ♣ / ⬤ / ⬤ / ⬤ / M / D'
p. 36	II-c ♣ / ⬤ / E / ⬤ / M / D'
p. 39	EDOVARDVS / Long O's
p. 40	II-d ♣ / ⬤ / E / ⬤ / M / D'
p. 41	II-e ♣ / ⬤ / E / ⬤ / M / D'
p. 46	EDOVARDOS / Long O's

Table of Contents (cont.)

p. 46	II-f	. † / O / E / O / M / D'
p. 49	II-f var.	
p. 50	II-g	. † / O / E / O / M / D
p. 51	XED OVA RDO SRE / Long O's	
p. 51	II-h	. † • O / E / O / M / D'
p. 54	II-h var.	
p. 55	II-i.	* † • O / E / O / M / D
p. 56	II-j	* † • O / E / O / M / D
p. 57	Indeterminate coin	
p. 57	Type III: MONETA RVPELLE (WF 85; E 75)	
p. 57	III-a	
p. 59	III <i>piedfort</i>	
p. 60	Type IV: MONETA AGEN (WF 83; E 76)	
p. 61	Henry of Grosmont	
p. 61	Type V: DVX O LANCAIIE (WF 324; E —)	
p. 63	Type VI: MONETA BRAG (etc.) (WF 325; E 138)	
p. 65	VI-a	† BRAII
p. 67	VI-b	† BRA.I
p. 68	VI-c	† • BRA.I
p. 70	VI-d	† • BRAGI.I
p. 71	VI-e	† BRAG' (unconfirmed)
p. 72	VI-f	† • BRA.G'
p. 74	Fractional Coins	
p. 75	Type VII: DVX AQITANIE (WF 86; E 77)	
p. 77	Type VIII: MONETA BVRD (WF 87; E 78)	
p. 79	Type IX: MONETA R[VPELLE] (WF 88; E 79)	
p. 82	Conclusion	
p. 82	Acknowledgements	
p. 83	Literature (Bibliography)	
p. 87	Appendix: Previous Literature	
p. 89	Elias: Errata	
p. 88	Withers/Ford: Errata	
p. 89	Rarity	
p. 90	Cataloging Methods Elias & Withers/Ford	
p. 91	Notes on Withers/Ford	
p. 91	Photos	
p. 91	Lettering	
p. 93	V/U	
p. 93	<i>Gros Au Lion</i>	
p. 94	The Known Readings of the Anglo-Gallic <i>Gros au lion</i> According to Withers/Ford	
p. 96	Previous Literature Type by Type	
p. 96	cat. Type I (DVX AQITANIE)	
p. 97	Ainslie Pl. 3, 19	
p. 99	Hewlett N° 1	
p. 100	Poey d'Avant 2851	
p. 100	Elias 73a	

Table of Contents (cont.)

p. 103	Withers/Ford 82
p. 104	cat. Type II (MONETA BVRD)
p. 105	Elias 74
p. 107	Withers/Ford 84
p. 110	cat. Type III (MONETA RVPELLE)
p. 111	cat. Type IV (MONETA AGEN)
p. 112	cat. Type V (DVX O LANCAIIE)
p. 113	cat. Type VI (MONETA BRAG etc.)
p. 113	Elias 138
p. 115	Fractional Coins
p. 115	cat. Type VII (DVX AQITANIE)
p. 115	cat. Type VIII (MONETA BVRD)
p. 116	cat. Type IX (MONETA R[VPELLE])
p. 117	Elias & R. Serrure
p. 117	Elias: Aquitaine
p. 117	Elias: Bergerac
p. 120	R. Serrure
p. 121	One Final Observation

List of Tables

p. 19	Table 1: <i>Gros au Lion</i> Types and Sub-Types (Edward III)
p. 20	Table 2: <i>Gros au Lion</i> Types and Sub-Types (Henry of Grosmont)
p. 21	Table 3: <i>Gros au Lion</i> Fractional Types
p. 26	Table 4: cat. Type I / WF 82 DVX AQITANIE
p. 32	Table 5: cat. Type II / WF 84 MONETA BVRD
p. 64	Table 6: cat. Type VI / WF 325 MONETA BRAI (etc.)
p. 103	Table 7: WF 82 DVX AQITANIE
p. 104	Table 8: WF 84 MONETA BVRD
p. 113	Table 9: WF 325 DVX O LANCAIIE

Introduction



*Elsen 132-523 / 3.46 g.
Gros au lion of Flanders
Louis of Nevers (1322-1346)
shown actual size*

Silver *gros au lion* (*gros compaignon*, *leeuwengroten*) were first struck about May 1337, in Flanders (or Brabant), and were soon copied in other Low Lands principalities. They were struck in Flanders, on and off, until the mid-1340's. Minting restarted in 1346, and continued more or less uninterrupted until 1364, when they were replaced by the *lion with helm* coin series (*plaks*). Throughout this period, imitation in other regions continued as well.

Gros au lion were also issued in France by the King of England and by the Duke of Lancaster, but the coins are fairly rare today. The lack of available pieces for study, and the fact that the Anglo-Gallic series requires an in-depth knowledge of coins that are different from the Low Lands types that we are used to dealing with, force us to rely heavily upon the previous literature for information about the Anglo-Gallic coins.

Gros au lion were also issued in France in Brittany, by Charles of Blois and by John of Montfort. These coins are not considered to be part of the Anglo-Gallic series, because they were not issued by the King of England nor by his direct vassal. Most Anglo-Gallic coins follow the basic English model and are “part of” that series, even though they were struck in France, while coins of Charles of Blois and John of Montfort would (generally) follow the French (feudal) series (in theory). In both cases, however, the *gros au lion* follows the Flemish / Brabançon model, and has only been “artificially” inserted into the French or English series in Brittany or Aquitaine (so to speak). The *gros au lion* was a coin that was, technically, “foreign” to both England and France. (See our report on the *gros au lion* of Brittany, ref. 19).

In this report, text in **red** indicates something noteworthy to which we would like to draw the reader's attention.

The coins in this report are shown at the largest size that the original resolution and the size of the paper would allow.

Previous literature

The Anglo-Gallic coin series has been dealt with in detail by E.R. Duncan-**Elias** and more recently by Paul & Bente **Withers** and S. D. **Ford**. Many of the specimens used by Elias for his work were also viewed by Withers/Ford, who were also able to study other pieces not seen by Elias (although they did not see all of the coins seen by Elias either). Most of the coins that we ourselves have seen have been previously viewed by Withers/Ford, and in fact many of the photographs at our disposal came directly from those authors (to whom we are most grateful).

Some of the Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* have also been discussed by G. **Ainslie**, F. **Poey d'Avant**, R. **Chalon**, L. **Hewlett**, and R. **Serrure**. For all intents and purposes, however, these works have been superseded by Elias and then again by Withers/Ford. (See Previous Literature, p. 87 below.)

Although outdated, Elias' book (*AGC*) remains an excellent reference work, and it can be found in the libraries of many collectors and institutions, and we therefore provide cross-references, *errata* and *addenda* to Elias' catalog in this report. All of the Elias reference number in the current report refer to his *Anglo-Gallic Coins* (*AGC*, ref. 10), unless otherwise indicated (i.e. *Bergerac*, ref. 8; or *Aquitaine*, ref. 9.)

In essence, Elias' work has been superseded by that of Withers/Ford (ref. 24). Any reader with only a casual interest in the Anglo-Gallic series would be well served to have the Withers/Ford book, as would most readers with a more detailed interest in the series. For our purposes, the study of the *gros au lion* specifically, a bit more information is required than can be found in the Withers/Ford book, hence, this current report.

The Withers/Ford catalog is the most up-to-date, and so we will be using it as a basis for our own, with all of the necessary additions, corrections and commentary included. A detailed discussion of the previous literature relating to the Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* can be found in the Appendix.

None of the previous authors were looking at the coins from a "*gros au lion* point-of-view", so to speak, they were looking at them from an "Anglo-Gallic standpoint" which means that some of the details that are specifically relevant to the study of the *gros au lion* went unnoticed and unrecorded.

The Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* are copying an essentially Flemish(/Brabançon) type, and so an awareness of certain aspects of the Flemish coins is necessary to fully understand the coins struck in France. At the same time, the Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* must also be viewed within the complete framework of Anglo-Gallic coins of which they are a part, and not separate from it. The current report is, therefore, more than a simple re-hashing of information provided by previous researchers, it is an examination of the coins from said "*gros au lion* point-of-view", with an eye on the details relevant to this coin type. (For example, previous authors did not report the forms of the **O**'s on the coins, something that is important to the study of the *gros au lion* in general.) To be clear: the *gros au lion* (in general) are our specialty, the Anglo-Gallic coins (in general) are not.

Our first task was to translate what the previous works had to say about the Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* into something more easily read and understood. Since our own catalog is "based upon" that of Withers/Ford, who used a '**1-9 / a-k**' method of categorization (useful for Anglo-Gallic coins in general, but not for categorizing the *gros au lion*), it is that work that requires "translation". Step one, therefore, was to transcribe all of Withers/Ford's combinations of "known" legend readings out in full, including the reverse, outer legends. (Elias' 'same as' cataloging method also required "translation".)

Step two was to inspect photographs of the known coin specimens, and place them into the “slots” provided by Withers/Ford, and see how things worked out. Step three was to consolidate and arrange the Withers/Ford readings into various “sub-types”, based upon the actual legends on the coins, and upon our interpretations of them. The resulting catalog is contained in this current report.

What we have therefore done, in essence, is to transcribe all of the Withers/Ford readings out in full, correct any errors, provide missing information about the (important) forms of the **O**’s, and consolidate the readings with different (unimportant) **M**’s (not **ᵹ**) reported by Withers/Ford into one. The results were then divided into what we feel are the “sub-types”.

Illustrations

We must apologize to the reader for the absence of illustrations for some coins. It has always been our policy to make our research as transparent as possible, and to always provide photographs of the coins under discussion. Until now this has almost always been possible, the first real exception being our report on the coins of the Schoo Hoard (1927). Although all of the information given in our reports is correct, to the best of our knowledge, we (almost) never ask the reader to take our word for anything (unlike so many previous authors), rather, we provide the photos of the coins themselves, so that the reader can clearly see for him or herself and make his or her own final decisions.

For the current report, we are unable to publish several of the photographs that we used for study, because they are in the collections of private individuals or institutions from whom we were unable to obtain permission to reproduce the photos.

Regrettably, we must therefore ask the reader to “take our word for it” on some of the coin descriptions in this report, which is never the optimum situation.



This does not mean that we were unable to study a photo of this type ourselves, rather, that we are unable to publish a photo here

Edward III, King of England (1327-1377)

The complete tale of Edward III, King of England and how he came to own land in France, and the Hundred Years War is far too long and complicated to be retold here. The reader is referred to one of the many publications on Edward and on the Hundred Years War (and the Withers/Ford book). Lucas’ *The Low Countries and the Hundred Years’ War, 1326-1347* (ref. 13) is highly recommended as a good overview of the situation.

For our purposes, it should suffice to say that Edward III had inherited large tracts of land in France (Aquitaine, etc.) from his predecessors. A situation had arisen whereby where the King of England had to pay homage to the King of France for Gascony, something that the

English kings were not particularly interested in doing. Add to this heated situation the fact that Edward III felt that he himself had claims to the French throne through his mother's bloodline, and we end up with a war between Edward and Philip VI (1328-1350), the former attempting to secure control of his lands (and more), independent of the French king, and perhaps even the French crown itself, and the latter attempting to rid himself of the English once and for all, at the same time regaining control of large portions of land in France for himself and his descendants.

Neither plan worked out, and the war dragged out over successive kings into what we now call the Hundred Years War. (In the end, of course, the kings of France eventually prevailed.) By the time Edward III was striking *gros au lion* in Aquitaine (c. 1360-1361), John II was King of France (1350-1364), and *gros au lion* had been in circulation in the Low Countries, on and off, for over twenty years.

Why would the King of England issue *gros au lion* (albeit as Duke or Lord of Aquitaine)?

We can only speculate as to the answer to this question, and no clear and obvious answer is apparent. The *gros au lion* is "foreign" to both the French and English coinage systems. Do the Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* have something to do with the propaganda aspect of coins?

During the 1350's (and before), the *gros au lion* (struck on and off from 1337 onwards) had become the primary, large silver coin in use in the Low Lands and the surrounding areas. By the time Edward III began striking *gros au lion* (early 1360's), the type enjoyed a large circulation (and imitation) throughout the Low Countries, into western Germany, and probably into northeastern France as well. Even Jeanne of Brabant, defeated in the recent war with the Flanders, was minting them (from 1357). Although *leeuwengroten* were struck in Flanders until 1364, the peak of minting under Louis of Male (1346-1384) was November 1346 – June, 1361, a period of just over 13 ½ years (Issues II - VI). Edward III began minting the *gros au lion* type in what could be termed its "twilight" in Flanders.

King John II of France had been captured by the English at the Battle of Poitiers (19 September, 1356), and had been their captive ever since. Minting of the Aquitaine *gros au lion* began shortly before the Treaty of Brétigny/Calais (mid-1360), continuing until perhaps November, 1361. This same treaty effected the release of John II.

Why the choice for the *gros au lion* type for Edward III at this time? Was the type the perfect coin type for Edward to imitate, in order to show a "pro-Low Lands" affiliations and an "anti-king of France" stance? Did the choice have anything to do with John II, his captivity, etc.?

Was the Aquitaine minting purely economically motivated? Did Edward simply wish to take advantage of the *leeuwengroot's* popularity and wide range of circulation? Coin hoard evidence does not seem to support a theory that *gros a lion* were already circulating to any great extent in Aquitaine, so why would Edward begin minting them there? (Not that hoard evidence proves everything...)

Were the Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* were struck specifically for making payments to people in the Low Lands? We are unaware of any evidence to support this theory, although we ourselves have very little knowledge about Edward III's financial dealings late 1360 - early 1361. Certainly by this date, he had long since abandoned his earlier policy of attempting to buy allies in the Low Countries.

Henry of Grosmont, Lord of Bergerac (1347-1361)

Henry of Grosmont, Earl of Derby, was a cousin of Edward III of England. In August of 1345, Henry successfully captured the town of Bergerac in France (according to Elias (p. 151), it was on 24 August). On September 22 of the same year, Henry's father (also called Henry), the Earl of Lancaster, died and his son inherited his title. In 1347, Henry was made Lord of Bergerac by King Edward, and 1 June, 1347 given the right to strike coin there. On 6 March, 1351, Henry was raised to Duke of Lancaster by Edward. Henry died 23 March, 1361. [10] [15] [24]

Henry's "French" coinage seems to have been limited to copying whatever coins were minted by his liege lord. **According to Withers/Ford, almost all of the coins minted for Henry at Bergerac were imitations of coins minted for Edward III in Aquitaine** [24]. Only one unique Bergerac type is known (**WF 326**) without Aquitainian model, and it is thought that the inspirational Aquitaine version probably once existed as well [24] [26]. As for Elias:

"He was unaware of the prototype from Aquitaine for **E 131**, speculated about the prototype for **E 136**, was incorrect about the prototype for **E 130** and only probably assigned the prototype for **E 132 bis** to Aquitaine (it is in fact as listed his text in the section for "French Coins of Edward III of Uncertain Origin")." [26]

Types of Anglo-Gallic *Gros au Lion*

There are 6 basic types of Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* known to us:

The DVX AQITANIE type

The Duke of Lancaster type (DVX O LANCAIIE)

The MONETA BVRD type (Bordeaux mint)

The MONETA AGEN type (Agen mint)

The MONETA RVPELLE type (La Rochelle mint)

The MONETA BRAI / BRAG type (Bergerac mint)

All of which were struck for Edward III of England, except the Duke of Lancaster type and the MONETA BRAI / BRAG types (both struck in imitation of Edward's types). The AGEN type is "known" from a sole *piedfort* (see ref. 22); examples of real coins have not been found.

Under some of these main types are sub-types with different obverse or reverse, inner legends. Several of these sub-types are not listed in the Withers/Ford book, because they did not report some of the differences in letter type (e.g. the **O**'s). There are further variations in the reverse, outer legend, which are probably of less significance than variations in the inner legend.

Edward III, King of England (1327-1377)
Duke / Lord of Aquitaine:

I. DVX AQUITANIE (WF 82 / E 73 a)

- I-a**
- I-b**
- I-c**
- I-c var.**

II. MONETA BVRD (WF 84 / E 74)

- II-a**
- II-b**
- II-c**
- II-d**
- II-e**
- II-f (1)**
- II-g**
- II-h**

III. MONETA RVPELLE (WF 85 / E 75)

IV. MONETA AGEN (WF 83 / E 76)

Henry of Grosmont, Lord of Bergerac (1347-1361):

V. DVX O LANCAIIE (WF 324 / E —)

VI. MONETA BRAG (etc.) (WF 325 / E 138)

- VI-a**
- VI-b**
- VI-c**
- VI-d**
- VI-e**
- VI-f**

Concordance

<u>Catalog</u>	<u>Withers/Ford</u>	<u>Elias</u>	<u>obverse legend</u>
I	WF 82	E 73	DVX AQITANIE
II	WF 84	E 74	MONETA BVRD
III	WF 85	E 75	MONETA RVPELLE
IV	WF 83	E 74	MONETA AGEN
V	WF 324	—	DVX O LANCAIE
VI	WF 325	E 138	MONETA BRAI (etc.)
VII	WF 86	E 77	frac. DVX AQITANIE
VIII	WF 87	E 78	frac. MONETA BVRD
IX	WF 88	E 79	frac. MONETA R(VPELLE)

Characteristics of the Flemish (etc.) *Gros au Lion*

The *gros au lion* of Flanders was, directly or indirectly, the model for all other *gros au lion*.

The obverse has a rampant lion as a central type, surrounded by the obverse legend, which is itself surrounded by a pearl ring, and then an obverse border consisting of 12 items, each enclosed in a partial circle. These items are usually leaves, although the top item (12:00) may be a small lion or something else.



The obverse legend on a *gros au lion* usually (but not always) reads MONETA, followed by some kind of minting mark (often a leaf), and then the name of the minting region or city (in this case FLANDriae). (Note the pellet to the left of the initial cross, a minting mark, on the coin shown here. This example has an 11♣ / 12🐉 border.)

The reverse has a medium cross as a main type, the arms of which intersect the inner legend (but not the outer). These legends run between three concentric ‘pearl rings’, the outermost of which is often missing or illegible on the actual coins. With only a few notable exceptions, the reverse, outer legend is almost always some (abbreviated) form of *benedictum sit nomen domini nostri (Dei) Ihesv Christi*, the last word being spelled with a Greek *chi* and *rho*, which look like the Latin XP. On most later coins, the word DEI is absent.



LVDOVICVS COMES
(No DEI on the example on the left.)

Differing forms of (some of) the letters were used as minting marks, while other letters seem to have had little or no importance. Other marks (leaves, pellets, annulets, stars etc.) were also used as minting marks in various regions.

Characteristics of the Anglo-Gallic *Gros au Lion*

Because the places at which they were minted in Aquitaine were so far removed from the direct Flemish/Brabançon sphere of influence, the Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* are, in several respects, unlike those of any other region. In one sense, the Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* are simply another type of coin in a large series of coins struck by the English in France, and should perhaps be viewed first and foremost from the standpoint of Anglo-Gallic coins rather than from the standpoint of *gros au lion* or Low Lands coins in general. However, as previously stated, they cannot be viewed from a completely “Anglo-Gallic standpoint” with no regard for general *gros au lion* characteristics, either. The *gros au lion* was imported into the Anglo-Gallic series, it was not a “natural” piece of it..

The Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* do not follow the usual *Flemish model* very closely at all, and there is little point in comparing the detailed characteristics of the coins of the two regions directly (for example, the border leaves or the leaf-mark after MONETA). There is, however, some point to comparing the Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* types to one another, and to other contemporary, Anglo-Gallic coins, as well as comparing the Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* to those of other regions in a more general way (without getting too caught up in minor details).

We felt that it would be best to observe and report on the Anglo-Gallic coins as we would any other *gros au lion*, even though they do not always “fit in” with the *gros au lion* of other regions. (In a very real sense, they do not “fit in” with the other Anglo-Gallic coins either.)

There seems to have been far less quality control at the Anglo-Gallic mints than there was at the mints in Flanders. There are many variations to Anglo-Gallic coin legends in general, including those on the *gros au lion*. At the time, in English-held France, spelling variations are more likely to have been due to the whim of the die-sinker than to any kind of official mandate (marks which typically would have appeared as some sort of symbol or other control mark in the legend or field of the coin^[26]), whereas in Flanders any such changes to the legend are likely to be an indication of something significant. This is especially true of the reverse, outer legend: BNDICTV SIT NOME DNI NRI DEI IHV XPI. In Flanders, letters never “went missing” (except through unintentional mint errors). In Aquitaine (as in

Brittany), the outer legend is never complete, and it is unlikely that missing letters indicate a new “sub-type”.

The Two O's By the Cross Arms ‘Rule’

Imitation of a previously successful coin type was a method often used by minters of money to promote the general acceptance of a new coin by the public at large. Empirical study of the coins themselves has shown that in almost all regions where *gros au lion* were produced, the mints tried to facilitate an arrangement whereby there were two **O**'s under the horizontal arms of the reverse, central cross in the reverse, inner legend. This pattern stems from the original, Flemish and Brabant models of Louis of Nevers and John III, respectively. Although certainly not a “hard and fast rule”, if it was possible to arrange a legend in this way, it was done, even if it meant awkward, oddly-spelled texts that included superfluous **O**'s. The medieval population was largely illiterate, and it seems that the two **O**'s were something recognizable to the general public.



*An **O** under the end of both horizontal cross arms.
Having a **V** in quadrant 4 was an added bonus.*

It is rare to find a *gros au lion* (from any region) that does not have at least one **O** in the inner legend (usually two), found next to the arm of the central cross. This point is clearly illustrated by the fact that almost all of the coins of Edward III, including the Anglo-Gallic series, give his name in the legend as some form of EDWARDVS; there is almost never an **O** present, **except on the gros au lion**, where an **O** was necessary to fit the standard *gros au lion* pattern... and the ED**Q**VAR**D**VS legend was born! And eventually, to fit the pattern even better, the ED**Q**VAR**D****Q**S legend, with two **O**'s (shown above) appeared. For the latter legend, it was necessary to “begin” the legend with **X**, the last letter of REX, in order to get the **O**'s to their “correct” positions next to the cross arms. This led to a rather awkward XED

OVA RDV SRE legend (EDOVARDOS REX). (Note that in the illustration above, the Bordeaux coin is the only one not following the *first* **O** round, *second* **O** long ‘rule’ also employed on the *gros au lion* of most regions.)

The plan did not always work out completely – in Holland and Hainaut for example – but “close enough” was apparently better than nothing:



And even in Hainaut it could sometimes be arranged:



Two O’s by the cross arms, and First O round, second O long.

Lettering on the Anglo-Gallic Gros au Lion

Despite reporting **some** of the letter forms, neither Elias nor Withers/Ford reported **all** of the variant letter forms seen on the coins. (Elias in particular was not all that careful about properly transcribing his **E/Ɔ**’s.) Some of these letter forms are important to the study of the *gros au lion*, however, and cannot simply be “glossed over”.

The Letter T

In Flanders, home of the original (if distant) model for these coins, the **T** of MONETA was always annuletted: **⚭**. Most of the coins of the imitating regions have annuletted **T**’s in MONETA as well, but the Anglo-Gallic coins all have ‘normal’ **T**’s of these types: **⚭ ⚭ ⚭**.

According to Ford, the annulet **T** had “gone out of fashion” in Aquitaine by the time the *gros au lion* was struck^[26]. “It began to fall out of favor in the in the mid-late 1350’s and disappeared entirely by 1361.”^[24] (Withers/Ford, p. 12). Despite the trouble gone to in order

to make the reverse, inner legend similar to the Flemish or Brabançon coins, it was apparently less important to copy the round **O** and annulet **T** (and gothic **Θ**) in MONETA on the opposite face.

The Letter O

Most (but not all) of the **O**'s found on the Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* are long, and usually of the 'split' type: **⦿** or **⦿**. Where round **O**'s are seen, we strongly suspect that they have been used on purpose. Despite the realistic possibility of "whimsical" engravers, we find it hard to believe that the use of round **O**'s, much more difficult to engrave than long ones, was anything but intentional. As a rule, people do not make extra work for themselves when it is not necessary. The *first O round, second O long* 'rule' seen in many regions does not seem to have been employed on the Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion*, however.

A quick perusal of Withers/Ford's book in search of round **O**'s on Anglo-Gallic coins shows that there are almost none. Besides the *gros au lion*, the only round **O**'s we could find were **WF 20** (*gros tournois*) and **WF 356-366** (*guénars* and *florettes*), all of which are direct copies of French coins which themselves also have round **O**'s. In other words: **the only round O's to be found on Anglo-Gallic coins are those copied from other regions.** (Ainslie reports some Edward I *deniers* of Ponthieu with round **O**'s as well; see pp. 97-98 below.)

The Letter M

There is a notably wide **M** seen on many of the Anglo-Gallic coins: **M**. Withers/Ford noted various other **M**'s that were used in the inner and outer legends: **M M H H H**.

While they certainly do bear mentioning, we feel that all of these letter forms represent the hand of the engraver and/or die-sinker, and nothing more (i.e. they are not minting marks). We do not feel that they should be used to determine [sub-] classifications, other than the basic difference between a Roman **M** and a gothic **ᛞ**. In this current report, we have treated all of the Roman **M**'s as though they are "the same" as one another, regardless of what they look like.

Other Letters and Marks

Only gothic **Ų**'s are used on the Aquitaine *gros au lion*, and many of them are of this same type: **Ų**.

Although all of the **X**'s all seem to be of this type: **X** or **ᚥ**, we have elected to indicate all of them simply as **X**, for legibility's sake, because there do not seem to be any real changes in the form of this letter on the coins.

Although the pellets (and other marks) to the left of the initial cross on many of the Bordeaux coins could be considered to be at the **end** of the MONETA BVRD legend, we have transcribed such legends as: **•✚ MONETA BVRD** and not as: **✚ MONETA BVRD •**, in order to remain consistent with our other reports on the *gros au lion* of all regions, where we report on pellets positioned to the left and/or right of the initial cross, and not at the "beginning" or "ending" of the legend.

The lettering used in this report is as follows:

A = barred A
A = unbarred A
C = Gothic / Lombardic / round C
E = Roman or square E
E = Gothic / Lombardic / round E
H = specific **M** reported by Withers/Ford that resembles an **H**
M = Roman or square M
M = Gothic / Lombardic / round M
M M = specific **M**'s reported by Withers/Ford
N = specific **M** reported by Withers/Ford that resembles a retrograde N
N = Roman or square N
(or specific **M** reported by Withers/Ford that resembles an N)
N = Gothic / Lombardic / round N
O = long O
O = long O ('split' type)
O = round O
ABCDEFGHIOPRSTVX = generic or indeterminate letters

The Obverse, Outer Border

All of the known Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* have an obverse border of 12 leaves, which is not seen on any of the contemporary, Flemish *leeuwengroten* of Louis of Male (1346-1384), but only on the earliest issues of *leeuwengroten* struck for his father, Louis of Nevers (1322-1346), c. 1337 - 1339.

In the Low Lands, the form of the border leaf can be significant. In Anglo-Gallic France, however, this does not seem to be the case. Nevertheless, we have reported on the forms of the border leaves as best we could. Almost all known Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* have 3-lobed border leaves, the only exceptions being two of the sub-types of the DVX AQITANIE coins, which have 5-lobed leaves.

From about 1350 to about 1362, the Flemish *gros au lion* had a border with 5-lobed leaves, while the border leaves of (almost) all of the Brabant *gros au lion* (on and off, 1337-1383) had only 3 lobes.

Note that if we were to compare the 12-leaf border to the Flemish/Brabançon coins, it would seem to indicate that the Anglo-Gallic coins must be very early (c. 1337-1339), which is not the case at all. This is further evidence that the minute details of the Anglo-Gallic coins cannot be compared to those of the *gros au lion* of other regions in any meaningful way. By the time the 12♣ border coins were minted in Aquitaine, an 11♣ / 1♣ border had been in use for many years almost everywhere else.

The Reverse, Outer Legend

The Anglo-Gallic, *gros au lion* outer legend is always some abbreviated version of: *Benedictum sit nomen domini nostri Dei Ihesu Christi*, or BNDICTV SIT NOME DNI NRI DEI IXV XPI, including the word DEI, despite the fact that this word had disappeared from Flemish *gros au lion* (and most of the imitations thereof) by about 1340. (Once again, the details of the Anglo-Gallic coins and the *gros au lion* of other regions do not “match up”.)

There does not seem to have been much importance placed upon the exact wording of the reverse, outer legends in Aquitaine; most of them end at DEI and do not contain the words IHV or XPI at all, unlike the *gros au lion* of most other regions. The word DEI never appeared on any of the *gros au lion* minted for Louis of Male as Count of Flanders (1346-1384), only on the earliest issues of his father, Louis of Nevers (1322-1346). One gets the distinct impression that the outer legend variations in Aquitaine have less to do with different “sub-types” than with a general indifference or lack of control at the Aquitaine mints.

Elias did not lavish much attention on the outer legend, and his transcriptions are fairly imprecise. Nevertheless, we have noted differences between his writing and the actual coins known.

The Reverse, Medium Cross

A medium cross, one that breaks the inner legend but not the outer, is not particularly “English”, and is not found on any English, medieval coins. It seems to have made its first major appearance in Europe on the *gros á la couronne* of Philip VI of France, issued January, 1337. It was subsequently copied in the Low Lands on the Flemish/Brabançon (etc.) *gros au Lion* and other contemporary coin types.

A medium cross is also rare on the Anglo-Gallic coins. Other than the *gros au lion*, the only other medium cross, Anglo-Gallic coins are: **WF 62** (*gros á la couronne* of Edward III), **WF 66** (*gros* with walking lion, Edward III), **WF 300** (*gros á la couronne* of Henry of Grosmont). All of the others have a short or a long cross (with the occasional, rare Latin cross included as well).

Sub-Types

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

For our purposes, then, a “sub-type” is a group of coins that have some kind of significant variation(s) from the main type, while remaining largely “the same” as the main type. Examples include varying, intentional minting marks. **Minor, unintentional variations caused by “the hand of the die-sinker” do not constitute new sub-types.** They may, however, indicate new “sub-sub-types”, which are not new “issues” intended by the mint, but rather a group of coins that we can identify as having come from about the same time period. The same can be said of recognizable, accidental features (such as a broken punch used to make the dies).

The coins of the various *gros au lion* issues under Louis of Male in Flanders are “sub-types” of the main *gros au lion* type; they are distinguished by differing minting marks. Under these sub-types can be found even more “sub-sub-types”, with other minting marks; for example, the Louis of Male “sub-type” Issue II is distinguished by the round **O** in COMES, while the “sub-sub-types” of Issue II are distinguished by 3 or 5-lobed border leaves: ❁ ❁, and by a straight or curved leaf-mark stem (after MONETA): ✚ ✚. In most cases, the reason behind different sub-types of a medieval coin type cannot be determined, although in some cases the reason is probably an “issue” of coins. In some cases, the weight or fineness (silver content) of the coins changed, and this was somehow indicated with minting marks.



COMES; 3-lobed border leaves; ✚ after MONETA
(Flanders, Louis of Male, Issue II)



COMES; 5-lobed border leaves; ✚ after MONETA
(Flanders, Louis of Male, Issue II)



COMES; 5-lobed border leaves; ✚ after MONETA
(Flanders, Louis of Male, Issue III)

The exact reason for the different border leaves and leaf-marks on the Flemish *gros au lion* is unknown (the reason for the round **O** in COMES, i.e. a new issue, is also really just an educated guess). Many authors arbitrarily assign “issues” to different sub-types without enough evidence. (For Louis of Male in Flanders, we have 14th century minting documents at our disposal, showing 8 separate “issues” from 1346-1364, with which we can attempt a concordance with known coin “types” and “sub-types.”)

Withers/Ford do not speak of “sub-types” nor of “issues”. Instead, they number the main types (DVX AQITANIE, MONETA BVRD, etc.), and subdivide the coins into groups of combinations of obverse and reverse legends (“readings”), without further interpretation. These readings are based upon:

- minting marks in the obverse legend: • ♣ * ★ and possibly ’
- the content and arrangement of the reverse, inner legend
- the content of the reverse, outer legend
- the forms of the **E** / **Ɔ**’s in all words
- the form of the **ᵹ** / **M** / **ᵹ** / **ᵹ** / **H** / **N** / **ᵹ**’s (i.e. **M**) in MONETA and NOME

As for the last category, although certainly interesting, we feel that the form of the **M** in MONETA is in fact, largely immaterial for classification purposes. We feel that in every case the letter **M** was intended by the mint, and that the specific letter forms are simply “the hand of the engraver or die sinker” and nothing more. We always read the Legend as MONETA, even if the **M** resembles an **H** or **N**.

For this report, we have divided the main types into sub-groups, based upon significant differences in the obverse legend, and in the reverse, inner legend: variations in spelling or interpunction, the forms of the letters **E**, **N** and **O**, differences between **M** and **ᵹ** (including the reverse, outer legend), and the form of the obverse border leaves. Differences in the wording of the reverse, outer legend are considered to be variants (not sub-types), as are variances in the form of Roman **M**’s (appearing as **N**, **H**, **ᵹ** etc.) anywhere in the legends.

The Withers/Ford ‘**1-9 / a-k**’ method of categorization may be useful for Anglo-Gallic coins in general, especially when attempting to maintain some brevity in a large catalog of many coins, but we do not find it conducive to categorizing the *gros au lion*. We have therefore taken all of the Withers/Ford “readings”, transcribed them out in full, and then assigned them to the “sub-types” that we feel can be distinguished from one another.

Departing somewhat from the Withers/Ford categorization then, basing our own categorizations on our own observations of the same coin photos as used by Withers/Ford, and assuming that all of the Roman **M**’s on the coins are {were intended by the mints as being} ‘the same’, and that variations in the reverse, outer legend wording are largely unimportant, the characteristics of what we feel are the known types and sub-types of Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* are as follows:

Edward III (Table 1)

* indicates an intended type with a faulty description

cat.	Withers Ford	Elias	obverse	reverse
I-a	82 1/a	* 73 a	✠ DVX † AQITANIE	ED○ VTR DVS REX NOME
I-b	82 2/a	* 73 a	✠ DVX † AQITANIE	ED○ VTR DVS REX NOME
I-c	82 3/a	* 73 a	✠ DVX † AQITANIE	ED○ VTR DVS REX NOME
I-c var.	82 4/a	* 73 a	✠ DVX † AQITANIE	ED○ VTR DVS REX BNDICTV NOME
II-a	84 3/d	* 74	✠ MONET† † BVRD'	ED○ VTR DVS REX NOME
II-b	84 5/b	* 74	✠ MONET† † BVRD'	ED○ VTR DVS REX NOME
II-c	84 5/a 84 5/h	* 74	MON[E]T† † BVRD' (E unclear and questionable)	ED○ VTR DVS REX NOME
II-d	84 4/a	* 74	✠ MONET† † BVRD'	ED○ VTR DVS REX NOME
II-e	84 5/c 84 5/d 84 5/e	* 74	✠ MONET† † BVRD'	ED○ VTR DVS REX NOME
	[84 5/d]		✠ MONET† † BVRD' sic (E unclear and questionable)	
II-f	84 2/g	* 74	. ✠ MONET† † BVRD'	ED○ VTR DOS REX NOME DEI
II-f var.	84 1/g	* 74	. ✠ MONET† † BVRD'	ED○ VTR DOS REX NOME IHV
II-g	84 1/f	* 74	. ✠ MONET† † BVRD	ED○ VTR DOS REX NOME
II-h	84 7/k	* 74 e	. ✠ • MONET† † BVRD'	XED OVT RDO SRE NOME DEI
II-h var.	84 6/l	* 74 e	. ✠ • MONET† † BVRD'	XED OVT RDO SRE NOME D
II-I	84 8/i	— (74 var.)	. ✠ • MONET† † BVRD	XED OVT RDO SRE NOME
II-j	84 9/j	74 f	* ✠ • MONETA † BVRD	XED OVA RDO SRE NOME
III-a	85 1/a	75	✠ MONET† † RVPALLE	ED○ VTR DVS REX NOME
IV (?) (not seen)	83 (not seen)	76 b (not seen)	. † MONET† † AGEN'	ED○ VTR DOS REX NOME

Henry of Grosmont (Table 2)

cat.	W / F	Elias	obverse	reverse
V-a	324 1/a	—	✠ DVX O LΛNQTIIH	ENQ VRI CVS DNS
VI-a	325 1/e	138 var.	✠ • MOŊETA † BRAH	ENQ VRI COS DIS (?)
VI-b	325 2/a	138 b (var.)	✠ MOŊETΛ † BRΛ.I	ENQ VRI COS DNS ŊOMΘ
VI-c	325 2/a var. (not seen)	* 138 b (not seen)	✠ • MOŊETΛ † BRΛ.I	ENQ VRI COS DNS ŊOMΘ
VI-d	325 2/b	— 138 var.	✠ MOŊET † BRΛGI★I	ENQ VRI COS DNS ŊOMΘ (?)
VI-e (not seen)	325 2/c (not seen)	138 c	✠ NOŊETA † BRAG'	ENQ VRI CVS DNS
VI-f	325 2/d	* 138 a	✠ • MOŊETΛ † BRΛ.G	ENQ VRI COS DNS ŊOMΘ

* Many of Elias' descriptions of legends or letter forms do not match the actual coins, although it is usually clear which of his types Elias "intended" to indicate

In the table above, "A" and "O" indicate an A or O of unknown type (i.e. \mathfrak{A} / \mathfrak{A} , or \mathfrak{O} / \mathfrak{O})

cat. VI-e; WF 325 2/c; E 138 c

Elias stated that the coin described as his n^o 138 c was in the KBR, Brussels; however, the KBR staff has been unable to find the coin in the current collection^[27], and we have not seen it ourselves.

In addition to the *gros* coins listed above, there are 3 fractional *gros au lion* types (*demi-gros*?) known:

Fractionals:

[cat. VII]

[cat. VIII]

[cat. IX]

VII	WF 86 1/a	E 77	✠ DVX ✚ ΠQITANIE	ED' REX ΠQG LIE
VIII	WF 87 1/a	E 78	✠ 'MONETA ✚ BVRD'★	XED OVA RDO SR
IX	WF 88 1/a	E 79	[...]QETΠ ✚ R[...]	✠ ED[O...X]

Table 3: Fractional gros au lion

Cat. Type IX presumably reads MONETA RVPELLE or something similar.

(Table 3)

Dating the Anglo-Gallic Gros au Lion

The Treaty of Brétigny

The Treaty of Brétigny between John II of France (1350-1364) and Edward III of England had a marked effect on the situation in {Anglo-Gallic} France. Drafted on 8 May, 1360 and ratified 24 October, 1360 (as the Treaty of Calais), the treaty provided Edward with an “enlarged and sovereign Aquitaine in return for his renunciation of the French throne” [Le Patourel, p. 20]. Included in the arrangement was Edward’s acquisition of the Agenais and the town of La Rochelle (among others).^[15]

The Battle of Poitiers took place on 19 September, 1356, with the result of King John II of France (and his son) being taken captive by Edward the Black Prince, son of Edward III. Negotiations for the king’s release began, and by 23 March, 1357, a truce had been reached. [Le Patourel, p. 19].

With this treaty, Edward dropped the title Duke of Aquitaine (which implies fealty to the King of France) in favor of Lord of Aquitaine (which does not). Exactly when this titular change actually occurred is not completely clear. The *dux* title appears on some of the *gros au lion* coins, which can therefore be dated to “before” the Treaty of Brétigny, while those without the title can be dated to “after” the treaty (i.e. October, 1360?)^[24]. While it is certainly clear that Edward could not have struck *gros au lion* at Agen or La Rochelle before they were in his possession, the exact date of transfer of physical possession from French to English hands is unknown.

When Were the Anglo-Gallic *Gros au Lion* Minted?

Withers/Ford p. 10:

“1360 A preliminary peace treaty was concluded at Brétigny, which was later confirmed by the treaty of Calais. Aquitaine would be substantially enlarged and be given to Edward III in full sovereignty. Consequently he changed his title from *Dux* to *Dominus* and abandoned his claim to the French throne. La Rochelle was immediately handed over to the English and a mint was opened there. Jean le Bon was to pay 3 million écus for his ransom.

1361 Poitou, Limosin, Quercy, Perigord, Agenais and Bigorre came under English administration. A currency reform took place with the creation of a new ‘strong’ coinage. Mints were opened at Agen, Figeac, Limoges and Poitiers...”^[24]

The wording regarding the events of 1361 seems to say that the mint at Agen was opened after the currency reform (November 10, 1361), which was not the case at all. This text also states that the mint at La Rochelle was opened in 1360, while the mint at Agen was opened in 1361. According to Ford, the events of each particular year are not necessarily listed in chronological order^[26].

The relevant events are as follows:

8 May, 1360	drafting of the Treaty of Brétigny
22 May, 1360	John II writes letter accepting terms of treaty
8 July, 1360	John II, Edward III's prisoner, arrives at Calais
9 September, 1360	Edward III arrives at Calais for the negotiations
24 October, 1360	ratification of the Treaty of Brétigny (as Treaty of Calais) “La Rochelle was openly resisting” (Le Patourel, p. 38)
March 23, 1361	Henry of Grosmont dies, possibly of the plague
November 10, 1361	Edward III coinage reform

[13] [15] [24]

Le Patourel (ref. 15) cites Delachenal II, p. 240 as the source for his statement that “La Rochelle was openly resisting”. Delachenal says:

“Mille causes entravaient ou ralentissaient l’envoi des fonds nécessaires à la rançon; **des résistances locales ne permettaient pas que la remise de la Rochelle aux Anglais eût lieu dans le délai convenu** ; enfin, les otages désignés pour se rendre à Calais montraient beaucoup de mauvais vouloir, différant leur départ ou même refusant d’obéir¹. Toutes les difficultés s’aplanirent cependant, et d’autant mieux que le roi d’Angleterre consentit à faire certaines concessions indispensables.

1. Froissart, VI, 25 : « ... car li aucun hault baron de France, qui esleu et nommé estoient pour estre ostagiier et entrer en Engleterre, refusoient et ne voloient venir avant et en faisoient grant dangier ».^[7]

– Delachenal II, p. 240

Where did Delachenal get **his** information?

We were unable to find any precise, definite dates for the actual transfer of control of La Rochelle and Agen into English hands and/or the opening of mints at either location.

The “bottom line” seems to be that with the information currently available to us, it does not seem possible to date the MONETA ____, Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* much more precisely than “not before May, 1360” (all), and “not after March, 1361” (BRAI etc.) / “not after November, 1361” (BVRD, RVPELLE, AGEN).

The characteristics of the Anglo-Gallic coins do not match up to the model *gros au lion* of Flanders (and Brabant) in any meaningful way. Little or nothing about the coins themselves help us to date them, except for the presence of Edward’s title “Duke of Aquitaine” before the Treaty of Brétigny (1360). The coins with DVX were struck before the treaty, those without, after the treaty. Exactly when {certain provisions of} the treaty went into effect, upon drafting (May) or upon ratification (October), is not completely apparent. (Withers/Ford are of the opinion that the *gros au lion* with the DVX title were struck “shortly before the treaty”.)

Clearly, minting of the coins of Henry of Grosmont ceased upon his death (23 March, 1361). According to Withers/Ford (whom we have no reason to doubt on this matter), minting of Edward’s own Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* ended with Edward’s coin reform (10 November, 1361).

As discussed above, the terms of the Treaty of Brétigny/Calais are of some help in dating the MONETA ____ coins. It is, of course, entirely possible (probable) that the mints at La Rochelle and Agen were not opened on the very same day as one another. It is also possible (probable) that the Burgundy mint, already operating for many years, did not begin producing the MONETA BVRD *gros au lion* on the very same day as minting of these coins began at La Rochelle and Agen (i.e. probably before these two mints).

It seems that there was some concern on the part of both kings that the other would not follow thorough on the agreement, which ended up as a codicil to the main treaty, about the “renunciations”, that is, that Edward would renounce his claim to the throne of France, and John would renounce his rights to the regions and towns that had been agreed upon (for our purposes, La Rochelle and Agen being the “interesting” places). What this means is that Edward was unwilling to make his renunciations before John, and *vice versa*. The renunciations had to occur at the exact same moment, basically, and exactly when this moment should take place seems to have been a sticking point in the negotiations, neither side willing to undertake the renunciations before the other, lest the other party fail to comply with the full arrangement.^[15]

For our own investigations, this begs the question: Would Edward have given up his *dvx aqitanie* title before he had actually received at least some reasonable portion of John’s

ransom money and/or at least some reasonable portion of the lands in question (i.e. in May, 1360)? On the other hand, ditching the title that implied fealty to John in favor of the title that did not, may have, itself, held some attraction for Edward. Le Patourel (ref. 15, pp. 36-39) gives the impression that there was some hesitation by both parties to honor their part of the treaty, lest the opposing party not honor theirs.

The dating of the Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion*, based upon the currently available information:

DVX AQITANIE / O LANCAIIE

Late 1359 ? Early 1360 ? – 8 May, 1360 ?
Late 1359 ? Early 1360 ? – 24 October, 1360 ?
Early 1360 only ?
mid 1360 – October, 1360 ?

MONETA BVRD / RVPELLE / AGEN (?)

c. some time after 8 May , 1360 – c. November 10, 1361 (?)
or
c. 24 October, 1360 – c. November 10, 1361 (?)

MONETA BRAG (etc.)

c. some time after 8 May , 1360 – c. March 23, 1361 (?)
or
c. 24 October, 1360 – March 23, 1361 (?)

CATALOG OF COINS

Edward III, King of England (1327-1377) as **Duke** of Aquitaine (1325 - 1360)

DVX AQITANIE Type

Exactly when the minting of this type of coin began in Aquitaine is uncertain, but according to Elias (p. 85), they were probably struck in 1360. Minting must have ceased “after” the Treaty of Brétigny (drafted 8 May, 1360 / ratified 24 October, 1360) ^[15], because after the treaty Edward dropped the title of duke (DVX). Ford is of the opinion that minting began shortly before the treaty ^[26].

The obverse legend is a departure from the “standard” legend of most *gros au lion*, which bore the word MONETA followed by a region or city name. It seems clear that the need for a coin with a strong Duke of Aquitaine legend far outweighed any need to copy the standard *gros au lion* from Flanders or Brabant (*et al*).

In the following text, “but here” refers to what is on the actual coins, as opposed to what has been written by Elias (or Withers/Ford). On the known specimens of this type, the **O** of EDO is always round.

Poey d’Avant 2851

Elias 73

Withers/Ford 82

(E73a; B — ; Pd’A2851; D1078)

Withers/Ford, p. 73:

82: GROS AU LION (DVX AQVITANIE)

Withers/Ford 82 1/a

Elias 73 a * (but here round **E**’s and extra **I**)

Withers/Ford 82 2/a

Elias 73 a * (but here a round **E** and a final **D**)

Withers/Ford 82 3/a

Elias 73 a * (but here a Roman **M**)

Withers/Ford 82 4/a (W/F’s **D** in BNICTV is a typo ^[26])

Elias 73 a * (but here a Roman **M** and missing **D**)

cat. Type I

Withers/Ford 82

cat.	rev. inner	W/F	obv	rev
I-a	EDO VAR DVS REX	82 1/a	✠ DVX ✠ AQITANIE	NO ME DEI
I-b	EDO VAR DVS REX	82 2/a	✠ DVX ✠ AQITANIE	NO ME D
I-c	EDO VAR DVS REX	82 3/a	✠ DVX ✠ AQITANIE	NO ME
I-c var.	EDO VAR DVS REX	82 4/a	✠ DVX ✠ AQITANIE	BNDICTV NO ME

Table 4

• I-a

Withers/Ford 82 1/a

Elias 73 a * (but here round E's and extra I)



*private collection / 2.97 g.
(photo by P. Withers)*

✠ DVX ✠ AQITANIE
 EDO VAR DVS REX
 ✠ BNDICTV : SIT : NO ME[: DN]I : NRI : DEI

12 

This unusual border leaf is particular to Aquitaine, and is the only 5-lobed border leaf seen on the known Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* (cat. **Types I-a** and **I-b** only). The leaf mark after MONETA is also fairly unique, with a long stem with a bulbous end. A round **●** in NOME is very unusual on a *gros au lion* (of any region). This coin was used by Withers/Ford as an example of their **WF 82 1/a**.

• I-b

Withers/Ford 82 2/a

Elias 73 a * (but here round a **E** and a final **D**)



CGB t02 0503

† DVX * AQUITANIE
 ED● VTR DVS REX
 ✕ BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : DRI : D

12 

The major change from the previous sub-type is the Roman **E** in REX, as well as in NOME, unlike the gothic **Ɔ**'s on the previous sub-type. The word DEI is not spelled out in full, and so we cannot see what type of **E** the word “would have had”.

• **I-c**

Withers/Ford 82 3/a

Elias 73 a * (but here Roman **M**)



*Withers/Ford 82 3/a
British Museum / 3.19 g.
(photo by P. Withers)*

+ DVX [✱] RQITRQIE

ED○ VTR DVS REX

✱ BNDICTV : SIT : NOM[✱] DNI : DRI : DEI

12 ✱

The border leaves are radically different than those of the previous 2 coins, now having 3 lobes instead of 5. The **E** of EDO is now Roman, and the **O** of NOME is now long. On this coin, the long **O** and wide, Roman **M** in NOME (unlike the previous round **O** and gothic **ℳ**) are clear. Ainslie (ref. 1), using this very specimen as his guide, mistakenly thought that the central lion's head was facing forward. This piece was used by Withers/Ford as an illustration for their **W/F 82 3/a**.



*ex- Elias collection / 3.158 g.
photo credit: Spink (Elias AGC 73a (ref. 10, pp. 114-115))*

† DVX * ACITANIE
ED◊ VTR DVS REX
✠ BNDICTV : SIT [NOM]E : DNI : NRI : DEI

12 ✠

Same as the previous coin (?). The ◊ of EDO is weak, but probably ◊. The ◊ of NOME is illegible. The border leaves are slightly different than on the previous coin, but still have 3 lobes. On this and the preceding example, it is easy to see how someone might misread the obverse legend as ACITANIE.

Both of these coins were used by Withers/Ford as examples of their WF 82 3/a

• **I-c var.**

Withers/Ford 82 4/a

Elias 73 a * (but here Roman **M** and missing **D**)



Elsen 80-1067 / 2.84 g.

† DVX † ΠQITΠQIE
ED○ VTR DVS **REX**
 ✠ B**Q**ICTV : SIT : **QOM**[**Θ** : D]QI : QRI : DΘI

12 ✠

Withers/Ford 82/4 a: ✠ B**Q****Θ**ICTV : SIT : **QOM****Θ** : DQI : QRI : DΘI [*sic*]

The only real difference from the previous coins is a missing **D** in BNDICTV, which is probably a die-sinker's error. The coin shown above is the specimen upon which **WF 82 4** is based; W/F's **D** in BNICTV is a typo ^[26].

Edward III
King of England (1327-1377)
as Lord of Aquitaine

MONETA BVRD Type

Struck c. 24 October, 1360 - November, 1361 ?

Based on the BVRD coins themselves, it is not immediately evident when they were struck. The MONETA RVPELLE and MONETA AGEN (assuming they existed) coins can be dated to after the Treaty of Brétigny, because it was that very treaty that put the towns of La Rochelle and Agen into Edward's hands. Theoretically, the Agen and La Rochelle coins must have been struck after 24 October, 1360. On p. 10, Withers/Ford state ^[24]:

“1360 ...La Rochelle was immediately handed over to the English and a mint was opened there...”

“...1361 Mints were opened at Agen...”

Although the mint at Bordeaux had been operating throughout Edward's reign, Elias and Withers/Ford are of the opinion that the MONETA BVRD coins were not minted until about the same period as the RVPELLE and AGEN coins (although the Bordeaux coins are far more common), because they are of the same basic type as the La Rochelle and Agen coins (i.e. MONETA followed by the mint name). Perhaps even more importantly, the reverse legend EDOVARDVS REX is the same as on the pre-treaty DVX AQITANIE coins. In other words, the reverse stayed basically the same, while the obverse legend was altered from DVX AQITANIE to a MONETA-mint place legend.

But the title of *dominus* was not added to the *gros au lion*. Edward's only title on the coins is REX, which must be referring to England.

For whatever reason, the MONETA BVRD coins are the most common type(s) of Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* seen today (which is still not very many coins). Under this main type some fairly major variations are seen:

EDOVARDVS REX (and round ●'s)
EDOVARDVS REX (and long ○'s)
EDOVARDOS REX (and long ○'s)
XED OVA RDOS SRE (and long ○'s)

The most probable reason for the last, unusual (and hard to read) legend was the aforementioned *two ○'s by the cross arms* 'rule'.

cat. Type II

Withers/Ford 84

There are 15 readings / combinations of legends listed by Withers-Ford (no indication of the forms of the O's or A's).

cat.	W/F	Elias	obv	rev
II-a	84 3/d	* 74	✕ MO ^o Q ^e ET ^o + BVRD'	ED ^o V ^o TR DVS REX Q ^o OM ^e
II-b	84 5/b	* 74	✕ MO ^o Q ^e ET ^o + BVRD'	ED ^o V ^o TR DVS REX Q ^o OM ^e
II-c	84 5/a 84 5/h	* 74	MO ^o Q ^e [E]T ^o + BVRD' (E unclear and questionable)	ED ^o V ^o TR DVS REX Q ^o OM ^e
	[84 5/h]		✕ MO ^o Q ^e ET ^o + BVRD' <i>sic</i>	
II-d	84 4/a	* 74	✕ MO ^o Q ^e ET ^o + BVRD'	ED ^o V ^o TR DVS REX Q ^o OM ^e
II-e	84 5/c 84 5/d 84 5/e	* 74	✕ MO ^o Q ^e ET ^o + BVRD'	ED ^o V ^o TR DVS REX Q ^o OM ^e
	[84 5/d]		✕ MO ^o Q ^e ET ^o + BVRD' <i>sic</i>	
II-f	84 2/g	* 74	. ✕ MO ^o Q ^e ET ^o + BVRD'	ED ^o V ^o TR D ^o S REX N ^o OM ^e DEI
II-f var.	84 1/g	* 74	. ✕ MO ^o Q ^e ET ^o + BVRD'	ED ^o V ^o TR D ^o S REX N ^o OM ^e I ^h V
II-g	84 1/f	* 74	. ✕ MO ^o Q ^e ET ^o + BVRD	ED ^o V ^o TR D ^o S REX Q ^o OM ^e
II-h	84 7/k	* 74 e	. ✕ . MO ^o Q ^e ET ^o + BVRD'	XED O ^o V ^o TR RD ^o SRE Q ^o OM ^e DEI
II-h var.	84 6/l	* 74 e	. ✕ . MO ^o Q ^e ET ^o + BVRD'	XED O ^o V ^o TR RD ^o SRE Q ^o OM ^e D
II-i	84 8/I	— (74 var.)	. ✕ . MO ^o Q ^e ET ^o + BVRD	XED O ^o V ^o TR RD ^o SRE Q ^o OM ^e
II-j	84 9/j	74 f	* ✕ . MO ^o Q ^e ETA + BVRD	XED O ^o VA RD ^o SRE Q ^o OM ^e


Table 5

(Table 5)

M H N  are all “the same”

(i.e. are all considered to be renderings of “**M**” and are shown as such in our chart.)




The **E** of MONETA of cat. **Type II-c** is questionable (might be ).

The **E** of MONETA of the specimen used for **WF 84 5 d** is questionable (might be 
(cat. **Type II-e**)

The final letter of the outer legend of cat. **Type II-d** is unclear; W/F give: **D**.
(**WF 84 4/a**)

EDOVARD**S** **ROUND** **'s**

The first group of BVRD coins have no pellets by the initial cross of the obverse legend, and the king's name is spelled with a **V**: EDOVARD.

The first part of this group has **round** **'s in both the obverse and reverse inner legends**. The  of the reverse, outer legend is long, however. The use of two different **'s on the same face of the coin is a strong indication of a deliberate act. Note the Roman** **M** in NOME on most of the coins.

• II-a

Withers/Ford 84 3/d



*ex- Peter Woodhead collection / 3.12 g.
(photo by P. Withers)*

✠ **MONETA** ✠ BVRD'
ED **○** VTR DVS REX
✠ BNDICTV : SIT : **NO****ME** : DNI : NRI :

12 ❁

Unlike the following sub-types, this coin has **NO****ME** instead of **NO****M****E**, and the outer legend is very short and ends at the word NRI due to wide spacing. This coin was used by Withers/Ford as an example of their **WF 84 3/d**.

Withers/Ford reading: **MONETA**

• II-b

Withers/Ford 84 5/b

Elias 74 (round O's not noted by Elias; Roman M in NOME not listed in Elias *per se*.)



*private collection / 3.114 g.
(photo by S. Ford)*

✠ **MONETA** ✠ BVRD'
ED **O** VTR DVS REX
✠ BŃ[ICTV]: SIT: **NOME**: DŃI: DŃRI: DŃI

12 ✠

This is perhaps the most well known of all the Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* specimens, having made its way from Elias' own collection to those of de Wit, Joffre and Ford. It was illustrated in Elias' *Aquitaine* article (ref. 9), his *Anglo-Gallic Coins* book (ref. 10), the Spink auction catalog of the Elias collection (ref. 25, n° 148), the Künker auction catalog of the de Wit collection (ref. 23, n° 412), and the CNG auction catalog of the Joffre collection. The piece was used by Withers/Ford as an example of their WF 84 5/b.

From the photo, the coin appears to read: **MONETA**. No one who has published this specimen felt that there may be an intended pellet right of the cross, or even left:



pellet right?



pellet left?

• II-c

Withers/Ford 84 5/h

Withers/Ford 84 5/a

The question of whether these two Withers/Ford readings are the same as one another comes down to the form of the **E** in **MONETA** of the coin used for **WF 84 5/h**, reported by Withers/Ford as **Ⓔ**, while we are not 100% convinced that it does not read **E** (in which case **WF 84 5/a** and **WF 84 5/h** are no different from one another.)

Unfortunately, we are working from (photos of) two coins only; there is no third specimen of either Withers/ Ford reading for comparison.

Withers/Ford 84 5/h



private collection

✠ M○Ŋ[**E**]TA † BVRD'
 ED○ VŦR DVS REX
 ✠ BŊDICTV : SIT : ŊOMŊ : DŊI : ŊRI : DŊI

W/F: ✠ N○Ŋ**E**TA † BVRD' (*sic*)

There is only one example of this “reading” known: the specimen from which Withers-Ford formulated their legend type **h**,

According to Withers/Ford the word MONETA has a gothic **Ŋ** ^[24] ^[26]. Having inspected a photograph of the very same coin, we are of the opinion that the **E** is Roman. (An illustration of the problems inherent in using photographs instead of actual coins for identification.) If Withers/Ford are correct, however, then this would actually be a **cat. II-b** coin.

We were only allowed to see a redacted version of the photographs, and the only letter that we were allowed to see from the outer legend was the **Ŋ** of MONETA; the rest of the outer legend transcription comes directly from Ford ^[26].

This piece is in a private collection and we were unable to obtain permission to publish any part of the photos.

Withers/Ford 84 5/a



*private collection / 2.62 g.
(photo by S. Ford)*

✠ [HONETA ✠ BVRD']
[EDON VTR DVS REX]
✠ B[NDICTV : SIT :] NOMES DNI : [NR]I : [D]EI

The O's of MONETA and EDO are not clear, but appear to be round (?). There appears to be a tiny pellet left of the initial cross, which may not be an intentional mark at all (Withers/Ford did not interpret it as such.) The E of MONETA seems to be Roman (square), but it is far from clear. This coin was used by Withers/Ford as an example of their WF 84 5/a (E).

Same as the previous coin? I.e., are WF 84 5/a and WF 84 5/h “the same”?

Are WF 84 5/a and WF 84 5/h Identical? (Cat. II-c)

Cat. Type II-c described above has the following letter combination:

		MONETA EDO	MONETA	NOME	legend ends
II-c	84 5/a	●	E	M	DEI
	84 5/h	●	E	M	DEI

We feel that the **E** of MONETA for **WF 84 5/h** is Roman, while Withers/Ford feel that it is gothic: **Ɔ**. If they are indeed correct, then **WF 84 5/h** (i.e. the “photoless” coin listed above) would not be a **cat. II-e** coin, it would be a **cat. II-b** coin, with an **●** / **Ɔ** / **M** combination. We apologize for leaving the reader unable to make his or her own decision about the questionable letter.

EDOVARDVS (all LONG **O**'s)

The second part of the first group of BVRD coins (no pellets by the initial cross) have **no round O's on either face**. The Roman **M** still appears in NOME on most of the coins.

• II-d

Withers/Ford 84 4/a

Elias 74 (Square E in MONETA and this outer legend not listed in Elias *per se*.)



*private collection / 2.75 g.
(photo by S. Ford)*

✠ H[O]NETA ✠ BVRD'
EDO VTR DVS REX
✠ BNDICT[V : SIT :] NOME[ε : DNI : NRI : [D] W/F sic

12 ✠

The O's are long, but not of the 'split' type. NOME has a gothic **Ϣ**. This coin was used by Withers/Ford as an example of their WF 84 4/a.



Is this a D?

• II-e

Withers/Ford 84 5/c
[Withers/Ford 84 5/d]
Withers/Ford 84 5/e



*Withers/Ford 84 5/e
private collection / 3.00 g.
(photo by S. Ford)*

✠ M^oŊ^eTA ✚ BVRD'
EDO V^oTR DVS REX
✠ BŊDICTV : SIT : Ŋ^oM^e : [DŊI] : ŊRI : D^eI

12 ✚

The O's of the inner legends are long, but not of the 'split' type. The outer legend O is a 'split' O. This coin was used by Withers/Ford as an illustration for their WF 84 5/e.

Withers/Ford 84 5/e

(also **WF 84 5/c** see Previous Literature, p. 108 below)

Withers/Ford reading: **MONETA**

Elias 74 (Square **E** in **MONETA** and Roman **M** in **NOME** not listed in Elias *per se*.)



*British Museum / 2.50 g.
(photo by P. Withers)*

[✠ **MONETA** ✠ **BVRD**']
EDO VTR DVS REX
[...CTV...**ME**:DNI:RI:DEI]

Same as the previous coin? This coin was used by Withers/Ford as an example of their **WF 84 5/c**.

Withers/Ford 84 5/c

Elias 74 (Square E in MONETA and Roman M in NOME not listed in Elias *per se*.)



*Bibliothèque nationale / 3.41 g.
(photo by P. Withers)*

✠ ΜΟΝΕΤΑ ✠ ΒΥΡΔ'
ΕΔΟ ΥΠΕΡ ΔΥΣ ΡΕΧ
[...ΟΜΕ: ΔΝΙ: ΔΡΙ...]

Same as the previous coins? This coin was used by Withers/Ford as an example of their **WF 84 5/c**.

Withers/Ford

84 5/e = E

or

84 5/d = ⚡ (according to Withers/Ford ^[24] ^[26])

Same as previous coin?



*British Museum / 3.03 g.
(photo by P. Withers)*

⚡ MON**E**TΛ + BVRD'
EDO VΛR DVS REX
⚡ [...V : SIT : Λ**O**⚡:] DΛI : ΛRI : D⚡I

This is the coin used by Withers/Ford as an example of their **WF 84 5/d**. Withers/Ford were of the opinion that the ⚡ of MONETA is gothic, in which case it is the only BVRD “sub-type” with long O’s (only) and a gothic ⚡ in MONETA. All of the others (long O’s only) have Roman E’s. We feel that the letter is likely to be an E, in which case **WF 85 1/d** and **WF 84 5/e** are identical.



British Museum / 3.03 g. (detail)
MONETA: E or Ɔ?

Are WF 84 5/d and WF 84 5/e Identical? (Cat. II-e)

Cat. Type II-e described above has the following letter combination:

		MONETA	MONETA	NOME	legend ends
II-e	84 5/c	0	E	M	DEI
	84 5/e	0	E	M	DEI
	84 5/d	0	E	M	DEI

We feel that the **E** of MONETA for **WF 84 5/d** is Roman, while Withers/Ford feel that it is gothic: **Ɔ**. If they are indeed correct, then **WF 84 5/d** (i.e. the 3.03 g. coin shown above) would not be a **cat. II-e** coin, it would belong to a separate “sub-type”, as we have listed no **0 / Ɔ / M** combination sub-type in our catalog.

If this E is square (Roman), then THERE IS NO EXTANT EXAMPLE of the reading WF 84 5/d and the “reading” does not exist (~~WF 84 5/d~~). Although the right edge of the letter is indeed curved, this is also true of other examples with **E** (not **Ɔ**). (Bear in mind that unlike Withers/Ford, we are viewing all Roman **M**’s as being “the same” as one another.)

Withers/Ford reading (**WF 84 5/d**): **MONƆTA**

EDOVARDOS (all LONG O's)

The second group of BVRD coins have a pellet to the left of the initial cross. There are no round O's on either face, but the name of the king is spelled with an O instead of a V: EDOVARDOS. (There are now two O's in the inner legend, like most *gros au lion* of any region, but one of them is not adjacent to the arm of the central cross.)

There seems to be a general tendency on the *gros au lion* of most regions, that the inner legend tends to move closer to the original, Flemish model as time goes on. If this was true in Bordeaux as well, then the oldest coins should be those with only one O in the legend, followed by those with 2 O's but not properly positioned, followed by those with 2 O's in the correct positions (i.e. the third group, the XED OVA RDO SRE coins, **cat. II h-j**).

• II-f (WF 84 1/g and WF 84 2/g)

• II-f (WF 84 1/g)

Withers/Ford 84 1/g

Elias 74 (Square E in MONETA and Roman M in NOME not listed in Elias *per se*.)



*private collection / 2.39 g.
(photo by S. Ford)*

• ✠ MONETA [♣] BVRD'
EDO VTR DOS REX
✠ B[NDICT]V : SIT : NOM : DNI : DRI : DEI

12 ❁

This coin (2.39 g.) was used by Withers/Ford as an example of their **WF 84 1/g**. The mark after MONETA is unusual:



The mark after MONETA



*private collection / 2.87 g.
(photo by S. Ford)*

• ❁ MON**E**TΛ + BVRD'
EDO VΛR DOS REX
❁ BΛDICTV : S[IT : Λ**O**M**E** : DΛ]I : ΛRI : DΛI

Same as the previous coin. This coin was used by Withers/Ford as an example of their **WF 84 1/g**.



*British Museum / 2.590 g.
(photo by P. Withers)*

Same as the previous coins.



*Bibliothèque Nationale / 2.45 g.
(photo by P. Withers)*

Same as previous coins. These two coins were also used by Withers/Ford as examples of their **WF 84 1/g**.

• **II-f (var.)**

Withers/Ford 84 2/g

Neither a square E in MONETA nor this outer legend listed in Elias *per se*.



*private collection / 2.087 g.
(photo by P. Withers)*

• ✠ **MON**E**T[Λ...BV]RD'**
EDO VTR DOS REX
 ✠ **BND[ICT...RI : DEI :] IHV**

Withers/Ford: ✠ **BNDICTV [...]** **NR****I : DEI : **Ih**V** *sic*

Basically the same as the previous coins (cat. sub-type II f), but the reverse, outer legend ends with IHV instead of DEI. This ending is only apparent difference between **WF 84 2/g** (ending IHV) and **WF 84 1/g** (ending DEI). We do not feel that this warrants a separate “sub-type”, however.

This coin was used by Withers/Ford as an example of their **WF 84 2/g**. Withers/Ford transcribe the reverse, outer legend with : interpunction, but the coin itself is unclear, and the marks are most likely to be the standard : .

• II-g

Withers/Ford 84 1/f

Elias 74 (var.) (Square E in MONETA and Roman M in NOME not listed in Elias *per se*.

No apostrophe at end of legend not listed in Elias.)



private collection / 2.43 g.

(photo by S. Ford)

• ✠ MONETA ✠ BVRD
EDO VTR DOS REX
✠ BNDICTV : [SIT : NO] ME : DNI [NRI :] DEI

12 ✠

This coin was used by Withers/Ford as an example of their WF 84 1/f. Compare the E of MONETA to that of the coin WF 84 5/d:

WF 84 1/f



WF 84 5/d

XED OVA RDO SRE (all LONG O's)

The third group of BVRD coins has two pellets by the initial cross, left and right. The king's name is still spelled with an **O**, but the arrangement of the legend (i.e. where the legend begins) has changed. Beginning in quadrant 2 like the previous coins, the legend now reads: XED OVA RDO SRE. In other words, the legend now begins "at the end" of quadrant 1, not the "beginning" of quadrant 2: ED OVA RDO S RE X, or EDOVARDOS REX.

The reverse, inner legend is unusual, and hard to read. But many people in the 14th century could not read, and it seems that in the Low Lands, what they did was to look for two **O**'s by the cross arms on a *gros au lion*. This habit appears to have been carried over onto the Edward III coins as well, as evidenced by the unusual legend on this *gros au lion*, with its 2 **O**'s in the correct positions (at last). It was, apparently, more important to have *Two O's By the Cross Arms* than to have an easily readable "Edward, king" legend. (The *First O* round, *second O* long 'rule' was not followed on the Bordeaux coins.)

The previously mentioned tendency of the *gros au lion* of most regions to move closer to the Flemish model as time went on, leads us to believe that the XED sub-types are the newest of the BVRD coins.

- **II-h** (Withers/Ford 84 7/k and 84 6/l)

- **II-h**

Withers/Ford 84 7/k

Elias 74 e (Square E in MONETA and Roman M in NOME not listed in Elias *per se*.)



Fitzwilliam Museum 2507413 / CM.23-1956 / 3.05 g.

(photo by P. Withers)

Reproduced with the kind permission of The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Fitzwilliam 2507413:

• ✠ • MO^QET^Q ✠ BVRD^Q
 XED OV^Q RDO SRE
 ✠ BNDICTV : SIT : QOM^Q : DNI : QRI : DEI

12 ✠

This coin was used by Elias as an illustration for *Aquitaine* 5a.



*British Museum / 3.26 g.
 (photo by P. Withers)*

Same as the previous coin.



*private collection / 3.30 g
(photo by S. Ford)*

Same as the previous coins.



Withers/Ford 84 7 k
also Spink Lot 150^[25]
not shown in Elias' book (AGC)
but Elias pl. 21, 6 (Aquitaine)
(photo credit: Spink)

Same as the previous coins.

These four coins were all used by Withers/Ford as examples of their **WF 84 7/k**.

• **II-h (var.)**

Withers/Ford 84 6/l



*private collection / 2.205 g.
(photo by P. Withers)*

• ✠ • **HOQETK** ♣ **BVRD'**
XED OVTK RDO SRE
✠ **BQD[...]**

(Withers/Ford 84 6/l)

The outer legend is all but illegible. The only difference between this variant and **cat. II-h** is the ending of this legend: DEI (**WF 84 7/k**), or **D** (**WF 84 6/l**) respectively. Based solely upon the photo, the metal looks very coppery. This coin was used by Withers/Ford as an example of their **WF 84 6/l**.

• II-i

Withers/Ford 84 8/i

Elias —



*private collection / 2.71 g.
Dix Noonan Webb 21 March, 2013, lot 1023
(photo by S. Ford)*

✠ • MON[ET]Λ ✚ BVRD
XED OVTΛ RDO SRE
✠ BNDICT[...] : NOM[ET] DNI [: N]RI : DEI

12 ✠ ?

Instead of a pellet left of the initial cross, there is another mark, perhaps a *trefoil*. This is the only example known of this sub-type.

The E of MONETA is unclear, but there is a Roman E in DEI. Based solely upon the photo, the metal does not look particularly good. This coin was used by Withers/Ford as an example of their WF 84 8/i.

Withers/Ford reading: **HONETΛ**

• II-j

Withers/Ford 84 9/j

Elias 74 f (Square E in MONETA and this outer legend not listed in Elias *per se*.
(Elias' 'same as' cataloging implies an apostrophe after BVRD.)



Withers/Ford 84 7 j
British Museum / 3.74 g.
(photo by P. Withers)

* ✠ • MONETA ✠ BVRD
XED OV̄R RDO SRE
✠ BNDICV : SIT : NOM̄E : DNI : NRI : DEI : I

Withers/Ford reading: **HONETA**

There is a Roman E in DEI. There does not appear to be an apostrophe after BVRD (compare the right side of the preceding R). This coin was used by Withers/Ford as an example of their WF 84 9/j.

INDETERMINATE:



private collection

This coin has been severely clipped, and may have been circulating as a *demi-gros* in the 14th century

cat. TYPE III

MONETA RVPELLE Type

Struck c. 24 October, 1360 - November, 1361 ?

• III-a

The La Rochelle *gros au lion* are extremely rare, and known only from 2 specimens (although a third was previously reported).



Withers/Ford 85
Elias: Aquitaine^[9], Pl. 21, 7
(reported as 3.01 g.)
Bibliothèque Nationale / 2.89 g.
(photo by P. Withers)

† MONET[✱] RVPELLE
 EDO VTR DVS REX
 [✱ BN] DICTV : SIT : NOMINE : DNI : NRI : DE[1]

R's of this type: **R**.

12 ✱

The central lion is thin and fine. This coin was used by Withers/Ford as an example of their **WF 85 1/a**.

Withers/Ford 85 1/a (illustrated; this coin)
Elias 75



3.13 g.

✠ M~~O~~ETA ✠ RVP~~E~~LL~~E~~
 EDO VTR DVS REX
 ✠ BNDICTV : SIT [...]EI

12 ❁

The second example seems to be basically identical to the previous specimen. This coin was used by Withers/Ford as an example of their **WF 85 1/a**.

(We were unable to obtain permission to publish a photo of this specimen.)

Type III *piedfort*

Withers/Ford —

Elias 75/a

piedfort of E 75 / 23.40 g.

Caron 246 from the Rousseau collection

Elias, *Aquitaine* p. 69, n° 6a

246. ✠ EDO WAR DVS REX. Croix anglaise coupant la légende intérieure et en 2^e légende *Bndictum, etc.* R. MOR~~E~~TA RVP ~~E~~LL~~E~~. Lion debout. bordure de trèfles.
 Pied-fort unique. Poids 23^e.40.
 (*Catalogue Rousseau, Pl. II, n° 11*). Poey d'Avant, Pl. LXII, n° 9.

E. Caron Monnaies féodales françaises, 1882 ^[5]
 p. 163

EDOWARDVS instead of EDOVARDVS?

Withers/Ford dispensed with listing specific *piedforts* in their book, although they do discuss them on p. 13.

cat. TYPE IV (?)

MONETA AGEN type (?)

- * Ainslie *Supplement*, pl. I, 6 (*piedfort*)^[2]
 - * Poey d'Avant 2794; pl. LXII, 5 (*piedfort*)^[3]
 - * Hewlett 2; pl. IV, 5 (*piedfort*)^[12]
 - * Elias 76 a (*piedfort*)^[10]
- see: Withers/Ford n° 83 (“not seen”; not described as a *piedfort*)^[24]



piedfort
Bibliothèque Nationale, 19.9 g.

As far as we can tell, no modern researcher has ever actually seen an example of a MONETA AGEN *gros au lion* coin. The piece shown above is a *piedfort*, weighing almost 20 grams (far above an expected 2 - 4 g. for a *gros au lion*). A presumption is made by numismatists that this *piedfort* was copied from an actual coin, although no original is known to exist. The *piedfort* seems to have a leaf, or perhaps a *quatrefoil* after MONETA on the obverse, but the area is unclear.^[22]

Several authors appear to have lost track of the fact that the example described is a *piedfort*, and reported it as if it were a real coin, while others reported the *piedfort* alongside a “real” coin without really making it clear enough that no such coin has yet been seen. (See pp. 111-112 below.). See ref. 22 for more information about the previous literature regarding the AGEN *piedfort*.

HENRY OF GROSMONT

**Earl of Lancaster 1347-1351
as Lord of Bergerac (1 June, 1347- March 23, 1361)**

According to Withers/Ford, Henry struck no *gros au lion* in France as Earl of Lancaster^[24].

as Duke of Lancaster
(6 March, 1351 – 23 March, 1361)
and as Lord of Bergerac
(1 June, 1347 – March 23, 1361)

**Duke of Lancaster Type
DVX O LANCAIIE**

TYPE V

• V-a

Withers/Ford 324

Elias —

Boudeau —

PdA —

Duplessy —

R. Serrure —

Struck c. mid-1360 - 24 October, 1360 (?)



*private collection / 3.18 g.
(photo by S. Ford)*

✠ DVX O LANCAIE
 EO VRI QVS DNS
 ✠ BNDICTV : SIT : DOMB : DNI : DRI : DQ

12 ❁

Withers/Ford 324 1/a

Elias —

This type was unknown to Elias, and was first published by Withers/Ford. The border leaves have 5 lobes. We have not seen the 2nd known specimen ourselves.

The presence of the O in the obverse legend seems odd and unnecessary; perhaps it was intended to vaguely imitate the Q on the model Edward III coins.

Typographical error Withers/Ford: LANCAIE [sic] ^[26]

According to Withers/Ford, this extremely rare type (2 examples known) was most likely struck in 1360 immediately prior to the Treaty of Brétigny (ratified 24 October, 1360), because at that date Edward III ceased striking coins in Aquitaine with the title DVX ^[26]. Since almost all of Henry's Bergerac coins are imitations of Edward's Aquitaine coins, Henry must have stopped striking coins bearing the title DVX around this date as well.

cat. Type VI

HENRY OF GROSMONT

as Lord of Bergerac (1 June, 1347 – 1361)

MONETA BRAG/BRAI Type

Struck c. 24 October, 1360 - 23 March, 1361 (?)

According to Elias and Withers/Ford, this type was struck after the Treaty of Brétigny (ratified 24 October, 1360), and minting ceased when Henry died on 23 March, 1361, a period of only five months^[24].

On the coins themselves, no mention is made of Henry's status in Lancaster (earl or duke). On Edward's *gros au lion*, there is no mention of his status in Aquitaine (duke or lord), but the La Rochelle and Agen coins can be precisely dated to after the treaty.

According to Elias and Withers/Ford, the MONETA BRAI (etc.) type must have been struck after October, 1360 like the RVPELLE / AGEN coins, because the legends are similar to one another. In fact, only the La Rochelle and Agen coins can be dated with any certainty. For Elias and Withers/Ford, the similarity between the legends of these two types and the MONETA BVRD coins was enough to propose that the Bordeaux coins were struck after the treaty as well. Since the Bergerac coins are always imitations of the Aquitaine coins, the MONETA BRAG (etc.) coins must have also been struck after the treaty. This may well be true, and without any actual evidence one way or the other, we must defer to Elias and Withers/Ford; that all of the MONETA-mint name, Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* were struck after the Treaty of Brétigny, c. October 1360.

TYPE VI

p. 145

Withers/Ford 325

cat.	W / F	Elias	obverse	reverse
VI-a	325 1/e	138 var.	✠ • MONETA ✚ BRAII	EŊO VRI COS DIS (?)
VI-b	325 2/a	138 b (var.)	✠ MONETΛ ✚ BRΛ.I	EŊO VRI COS DŊS ŊOMΘ
VI-c	325 2/a var.	* 138 b	✠ • MONETΛ ✚ BRΛ.I	EŊO VRI COS DŊS ŊOMΘ
VI-d	325 2/b	— 138 var.	✠ MONET ✚ BRΛGI★I	EŊO VRI COS DŊS ŊOMΘ (?)
VI-e (not seen)	325 2/c (not seen)	138 c	✠ NOŊETA ✚ BRAG'	EŊO VRI CVS DŊS
VI-f	325 2/d	* 138 a	✚ • MONETΛ ✠ BRΛ.G	EŊO VRI COS DŊS ŊOMΘ

Table 6

NO EXAMPLE OF Withers/Ford 325 2/c (missing at CdMB)

This seem to be a rather large number of variant “sub-types” for a type that was only minted for 5 months. Whether the variations are minting marks mandated by the authorities, or simply examples of the “whim of the die-sinker” is difficult to say, but some of the changes are rather “strong” (i.e. the use of a star, **cat. VI-d**), implying an intentional minting mark. The missing **A** of MONETA (same coin), on the other hand, looks more like a die-sinker’s error. At this point we can only report the known coin examples.

BRAI / BRAG etc.

On these coins, there is always a large, rather awkward space after the first four letters of MONETA: ✠MONΘ TΛ

For the outer legend of his number 138, Elias gives:

✚BŊDICTV : SIT : ŊOMΘ : DŊI : ŊRI : DΘI : IŊV [sic]

There are indeed known specimens with a Roman **M** in NOME (and no legible specimens known with a gothic **𐌺**). But we have yet to see an example with a Roman **E** in DEI (when the word is even present on the coin).

For the same coin (WF 325), Withers/Ford give:

†BŲDICTV : SIT : 𐌺OM**E : DŲI : 𐌺RI : D**E**I : IĥV** “or similar”.

• VI-a

Withers/Ford 325 1/e

Elias — (E 138 var.)



*private collection / 1.95 g.
(photo by S. Ford)*

✠ • NO[𐌺**E**TA ♣ BRAII]
E𐌺O VRI 𐌸OS DI**S**
[✠ BŲDICTV] : SIT : [𐌺O**M**E] : DŲI : 𐌺RI : D**E**I :

12 ♣ ?

This coin was used by Withers/Ford as an example of their **WF 325 1/e**. The **DIS** is almost certainly a die-sinker's error for **DN̄S**. This coin is not clear enough to be sure whether any other pellets are in fact present.



detail

• VI-b

Withers/Ford 325 2/a (illustrated; this coin)

Elias 138 b (var.) (Here no pellet right of the cross (?), and different outer legend?)



*private collection / 2.48 g.
(photo by S. Ford)*

✠ MONET + BRAN
ENQ VRI QOS DNS
[✠ BNDIC]TV : SIT : N[OM]E : DNI : NRI : DI

12 ✠

This coin was used by Withers/Ford as an example of their WF 325 2/a.

Withers/Ford reading: NOME

Is there a faint pellet to the right of the cross?



• VI-c (?)

Chalon pl. XIV, 1 (*RBN* 1851, pp. 258-261, plate XIV) ^[6]

V.d. Chijs pl. XXIII, 1 (different drawing)

(under Bree / Rummen, Arnold of Oreye in *Leen Brabant*, hence the mis-filing in Brussels.)

(*De munten der leenen van de voormalige hertogdommen Brabant en Limburg, enz. van de vroegste tijden tot aan de pacificatie van Gend*, F. Bohn, 1862)

R. Serrure 91 (same drawing as v.d. Chijs, but under Henry of Grosmont) ^[16]

* Elias 138 b (Elias incorrectly gives a gothic **Θ** in *MONET sic.*) ^[10]

Withers/Ford 325 2/a var. (outer legend), coin not seen by W/F ^[24]

See: Torongo/van Oosterhout *The Elusive gros...* ^[18]



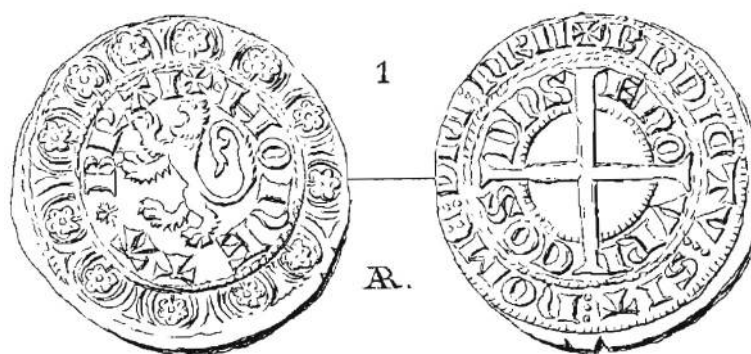
*CdMB 070 / 2.70 g.
(ex- collection B. de Jonghe)
(photo by P. Torongo)*

✠ • MONET ✠ BRAT.
ENQ VRI COS DNS
✠ BNDICT[V : SI]T : NO[ME : DNI : NRII]

12 ✠ (?)

The coin is strikingly similar to the previous coin; in fact, the only difference seems to be the pellet right of the initial cross, which is visible on this piece but not on **cat. VI-b**. Are these two coins in fact the same as one another? (Outer legends notwithstanding...)

This coin was first reported by Chalon (ref. 6), who incorrectly attributed it to Arnold of Oreye, and proposed *moneta braiensis* as the legend, indicating Bree, as did v.d. Chijs after him. R, Serrure corrected the error, which did not keep the coin from being misfiled under Rummen/Bree in the KBR collection for several years. See Torongo/van Oosterhout (ref. 18).



Chalon, pl. XIV, 1 ^[6]

• VI-d

Withers/Ford 325 2/b ^[24]

*Elias 138 ^[10]

Elias *Bergerac* 13.1.1 ^[8]



*ex- Peter Woodhead collection / 3.53 g.
(photo by P. Withers)*

✠ NOME + BRAGI ✠

ENO VRI COS DNS

[✠ BNDI]CTV : SIT : N[OME :] DNI : NRI : DEI : IHV

12 ✠ or ✠

This coin was used by Withers/Ford as an example of their **WF 325 2/b**. The **M** of NOME is unclear, but gives the impression of being gothic.

• **VI-e (?) *unconfirmed***

Withers/Ford 325 2/c ^[24]

Elias *Bergerac* 13.2.1 ^[8]

Elias *AGC* 138 c ^[10]

This piece was reported by Elias in 1979 as being in the KBR collection, but it was not seen by Withers/Ford, and when we attempted to locate the coin in the CdMB, we could not find it, nor could the KBR staff ^[27]. According to Elias, the legends read (p. 71, *sic*):

NOŊETA ✱ BRAG
ENO VRI OVS DŊS
✱BŊDICTV : SIT : ŊOMŊ : DŊI : ŊRII

Withers/Ford 325 2/c (*sic*)

✱ NOŊETA ♣ BRAG'
ENO VRI COS DŊS
✱ BŊDICTV : SIT : ŊOMŊ : DŊI : ŊRI : DEI : IŊV "or similar"

The Withers/Ford variations from Elias' transcription are typographical errors ^[26].

This sub-type remains unconfirmed, and we cannot be sure of what the actual legends read. It appears that Elias saw the piece himself, and he is a reasonably trustworthy source. But all too often he was rather careless with his legend transcriptions, and in any case, we cannot know what forms the **O**'s (nor of any of the other letters) had without actually seeing the coin.

• VI-f

Withers/Ford 325 2/d ^[24] (reverse legend not specifically provided.)

Elias 138 a ^[10] (according to Elias, the outer legend ends with **D**EL.)



*private collection / 2.20 g
(photo by S. Ford)*

† • ΜΟΝΕΤΑ ✱ ΒΡ[Α].Γ
ΕΝΘ [V]ΡΙ ΘΟΣ ΔΝΣ
[† Β]ΝΔΙCΤ[V : ΣΙ]Τ : ΝΘ[ΜΕ : ΔΝΙ ...]

12 ✱ or ✱

This coin was used by Withers/Ford as an example of their **WF 325 2/d**.



used by Elias to illustrate **E 138a**
(photo credit: Spink)

✠ • MON**E**T**A** ✠ BR**A**.G
E**N**O VRI COS D**N**S
✠ B**N**DICTV : SIT : D**O**M**E** : D**N**I : D**R**I : **DEI** [...]

12 ✠ or ✠

The 2nd known example of this sub-type was also used by Withers/Ford as an example of their **WF 325 2/d**. The piece is “the same” as the previous example (except for the reverse, outer legend?). This is the same specimen illustrated in Elias’ *AGC* on p. 160 (**E 138 a**).

Unmentioned by Elias (*AGC*) or Withers/Ford, there is clearly an extra letter (**D**?) after DEI. See Elias, *Bergerac*, n° 13.3.1, where the last, illegible letter is mentioned (p. 71). (A photo is also provided in *Bergerac*, but it is far less legible than the *AGC* photo).



FRACTIONAL COINS

The study of fractional *gros au lion* (of all regions) is no easy undertaking. The coins are rare, and often not in the best of condition. The coins do not relay their denominations in their legends. Minting records for places other than Flanders are all but non-existent, and the fineness of most fractional *gros au lion* are not known. This makes it difficult to directly compare the weights of given specimens of different type or region to one another.

At various times and places, there were two different systems of currency running concurrently, one based on the English *sterling* and the other based on the French *gros tournois*, *denier parisis*, etc. The coins following the French system were subject to disruption due to the constant French debasement of the coinage during the Hundred Years War. The result of these two different systems was that fractional Low Lands *gros* were sometimes struck in denominations of 1/2, 1/4 and 1/8 *gros* following the French system, and 2/3, 1/3 and perhaps 1/6 *gros* to match the English *sterling*. There may have been 1/12 *gros* struck as well.

Determining the denomination of a given fractional *gros au lion* is not as easy as one might imagine. Some of the coins are smaller, possibly indicating a 1/2 *gros*, 1/4 *gros*, or even smaller denomination (c. 17 mm.). But the diameter of a 2/3 *gros*, and 1/3 *gros* and some 1/2 *gros* are all similar or identical (c. 21 mm.).

There are 3 basic types of fractional *gros au lion*: the “mini-*gros au lion*” (with a medium cross), the long-cross type and the short cross type. The first type has all the same characteristics as a full *gros au lion*, but is slighter smaller in diameter, while the other two types have no outer border or legend. The latter two types are often much smaller in diameter than the full *gros* (c. 21 and 17 mm. respectively). Some of these coins (long- and short-cross) are likely to be something other than “fractional *gros au lion*”, and bear only a superficial resemblance in that they have a rampant lion as their type. Such coins would not have been struck as part of an issue of *gros au lion*, rather some other type, but it is difficult to separate these coins from true, fractional *gros au lion*. They are small, silver (billon) coins with a rampant lion as a main type. The “mini-*gros au lion*” are clearly fractional *gros au lion*, but are they 1/2 *gros* or 1/3 *gros*?

Perhaps even more importantly, most of the previous authors commenting on these coins were viewing them as belonging to one of many sets of feudal French coins. Hence, they tended to give them names such as *double* or *demi-gros* as they tried to fit them in with the usual, “French” denominations. Since the fractionals are “foreign” coins along with the full *gros au lion*, it is difficult to say what the “correct names” of the coins would be.

There are 3 known types of fractional, Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion*:

VII	DVX AQITANIE	med. cross	20-22 mm.	corresponds to cat. I
VIII	MONETA BVRD	med. cross	20-22 mm.	corresponds to cat. II
IX	MONETA RVPELLE (?)	short cross	20 mm.	corresponds to cat. III

• VII

PdA 2852

Elias 77 (AGC)

Elias 9 (Aquitaine)

Withers/Ford 86

Withers/Ford 86 1/a (illustrated; this coin) “*demi-gros*”
(E 77; B – ; PdA – ; D1080)



demi-gros / 1.36 g.
(photo by S. Ford)

✠ DV[X ✚ ΠQ]ITΠQIE
ED' REX ΠQG LIE
✠ BQD[...]TV : [SIT : QOME : DQ[I : QRI]

10(?) very odd border leaves, similar to: ✠

This is a “*mini-gros au lion*”. Similar coins were struck in Flanders under Louis of Male in the mid-1350's. Note the round **O** in NOME. If there is a mark after DVX, it is unclear. Elias and Withers/Ford feel that this coin was struck shortly before the Treaty of Brétigny (ratified October, 1360).

Withers/Ford listed this coin as “PdA –”, but it appears to be **PdA 2852** (which Poey calls a *gros*). Poey's “10 leaf border” also implies a fractional coin and not a full *gros*.



*Bibliothèque Nationale / 1.01 g.
(photo by P. Withers)*

✠ DVX ✠ ΠQ[IT]ΠQIE
ED' [REX] ΠQG LIΘ
✠ BNDIC[TV : SIT : Q]OQ[Θ :] DQI : QR[I]

This coin was used by Withers/Ford as an example of their WF 86 1/a.

Poey d'Avant

2852. ED' REX ARGIE. Croix coupant la légende. 2^e légende : : SIT : ROME :

— 96 —

DRI : &c. q. ✠ DVX. Trèfle avec pétiole. ACITARGIE. Dans le champ, lion debout. Bordure de dix feuilles.

BILL. Gros.

Coll. de Puiferrat.

PdA, pp. 95-96^[3]

Elias 77

Elias gives **ΛCITΛNIΘ**, **REX** and **ΒΝΔICTV** in his text transcriptions, but his illustration (drawing) shows **ΛQITΛNIΘ**, **RΘX** and **ΒΝΔITV**. Elias' drawing does not seem to show either of the two known specimens, and was taken from **Caron 251**. Elias knew of 2 specimens: the *Bibliothèque Nationale* piece shown below, and the example from which the Caron drawing was made (Lalanne collection, 1.85 g.)

• VIII-a

Elias 78 (*AGC*)

Elias 10 (*Aquitaine*)

WF 87



*British Museum / 1.368 g.
(photo by P. Withers)*

[✠ •MO]NΘTA ✠ [BVRD]P ★
XΘD OVA RDΘ SRΘ
✠ [...] SIT : NΘMΘ : DNI : NRI : DEI]

This is clearly a “mini-*gros au lion*”. The border leaves might be unusual. Is the **O** of **MONETA** long or round? This is the only known example of this type; it was in Elias’ own collection, and was subsequently purchased by the British Museum. Elias pointed out that it corresponds to his **E 74 f** (**cat. II j**; **WF84 7 j**).

Elias and Withers/Ford feel that this coin was struck after the Treaty of Brétigny (ratified October, 1360) ^[24].

Withers/Ford 87 1/a (illustrated; this coin) “*demi-gros*”

Diameter 20-22

E 78; B – ; PdA – ; D1081

Elias (*Aquitaine*, p. 69) noted that the types shown above resemble the *tiers de gros* of Flanders, struck for Louis of Male. Withers/Ford say nothing about the leaf-count in the obverse border, while Elias (*AGC*, p. 117) incorrectly states that the border of **E 78** consists of 10 leaves (like the Flemish *tiers*); there are actually 11 on the Anglo-Gallic coin:



Elias was of the opinion that the weights of the Anglo-Gallic coins clearly implied a $\frac{1}{2}$ *gros* and not a *tiers* (*Aquitaine*, p. 69), but he was working with only a tiny sampling of coins. We cannot imagine that he knew very much about the average weight of a Louis de Male *tiers* for comparison.

According to Martiny (ref. 14, pp 160-161), the “target weight” of the Flemish *tiers de gros* of Louis of Male was 1.26 g., which is only 0.10 g. lighter than the 2 known (unbroken) specimens of Anglo-Gallic “mini-*gros au lion*” “*demi-gros*” shown above, and 0.04 g. lighter than the coin shown below (**cat. IX**). (The alloy of the Flemish *tiers* was 6d 12gr, the fineness was 0.519 AG; actual weights of known, Flemish *tiers* coins are 0.67 g. - 1.40 g. and everything in between.)

• IX

Ainslie —

Poey d'Avant 2806, pl. LXII, 11 ^[3]

(Fillon p. 79)

Elias 79 (not seen) (*AGC*) ^[10]

(PdA 2806, pl. LXII, 11)

Elias 11 (*Aquitaine*) ^[9]

Elias 152 (Spink 1977) ^[25]

Withers/Ford 88 (illustrated; this coin) ^[24]

“*demi-gros* ?

(E 79; B – ; PdA 2806 ; D1090; S8074)”



British Museum / 1.30 g. / 20 mm.
(photo by P. Withers)

[...Ω]ϸΤΑ ✱ [...]
✱ ED[O...REX]

This coin does not “match” the other “*mini-gros au lion*” fractionals shown above, rather, it is a “short-cross” type. Unlike the *gros au lion*, the central lion’s tail curves away from his back.

Elias had not see an example when he wrote his book (*AGC*), and stated that he reports this type based solely on Poey d’Avant 2806, pl. LXII, 11 (*AGC*, pp. 117-118). He wondered if this coin even existed (since proven) and if it might be a clipped-down *gros* (it is not). Although the legends are partially illegible in Poey’s illustration, Elias claims that the legends read:

✱ EDOϸRDVS REX
[✱MO]ΩϸΤΑ ✱ RVPELLE

Elias subsequently obtained the only known example himself, and stated that had he seen the coin, he would have classified it as a *double* ^{[11] [25]}.

Elias was puzzled by the short cross and lack of outer legend and border, and stated that the

“...with the exception of the gros of van Artevelde – all the coins of the Flemish series as well as the imitations, including those of Aquitaine, have a cross that intersects the inner legend.” ^[10]

– *AGC*, p. 118

By “coins”, Elias must have meant “full *gros* coins”. There are a number of short-cross fractionals known, including the Flemish *petit blanc*, $\frac{1}{4}$ *gros* of Louis of Nevers, and several examples of imitation, fractional *gros au lion* from other regions as well.



County of Holland, William V (1354-1384)
short-cross fractional gros au lion ($\frac{1}{8}$ gros?)
MPO 52-1287 (weight unknown)

By “*gros* of van Artevelde”, Elias must have meant one or the other of these coins:



vieux gros
Elsen 106-654 / 3.45 g.



Ghent groot
Elsen 139-555
(ex- Martiny collection)

Elias 79 (AGC)

Elias “*Demi-Gros or Double*” (NC, 1985; ref. 25, p. 190)

Withers/Ford 88 (illustrated; this coin)

“*demi-gros ?*”

“E 79; B – ; PdA 2806 ; D1090; S8074”^[24]



PdA, pl. LXII, 11^[3]
(N° 2806)

2806. ✠ EDO... EX. Croix. ♂. ✠ ... RETARV... Lion debout.
BILL. Demi-gros. (*Ibid.*, pag. 79, vignette.)
Coll. Ledoux, à la Rochelle. — Pl. LXII, n° 11.

PdA, p. 89^[3]
the British Museum coin

CONCLUSION

The *gros au lion* was a “foreign” type, compared to the bulk of the Anglo-Gallic coins of Edward III and Henry of Grosmont, and the coins do not “fit neatly” into either the Anglo-Gallic catalog or the Flemish-Brabançon *leeuwengroot* catalog.

The sheer volume of types, sub-types and variants in the Anglo-Gallic coin series prevented Elias or Withers/Ford from listing every detail of every coin in their respective books (despite the high quality of their works). Some of these details, in particular the difference between a long 0 and a round ● in the legends, are important to our own study of the *gros au lion* of all regions. Publication of the current report was therefore a necessity, in order to provide the reader with a more complete description of this particular type, as well as to provide photographs so that readers can make their own decisions regarding the attributes of the Anglo-Gallic, *gros au lion* coins under discussion.

We hope that this report is a useful addition to the numismatic canon of Anglo-Gallic coins.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are extremely grateful to Steve Ford for his invaluable assistance in organizing and understanding the Anglo-Gallic issues of *gros au lion* and other coins. We would also very much like to thank Rita Ariete (Spink London), the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), the British Museum, the firm of CGB France, Emma Darbyshire (Fitzwilliam Museum), Jean Elsen et ses fils SA, the Fitzwilliam Museum, the Koninklijk Bibliotheek Belgium (KBR), Vincent Lecourt (Musée Dobree), David H. Mee, the Munten en Postzegel Organisatie (Heritage Auctions), Raymond van Oosterhout, G. Andy Singer, the Spink (London) firm, the late Peter Spufford, Johan Van Heesch, Bente Withers, Paul Withers, the late Peter Woodhead, and various collectors who wish to remain anonymous.

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APPENDIX: PREVIOUS LITERATURE

The Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* have been fairly well documented by E.R. Duncan-**Elias** in *The Gros au Lion of Bergerac 1346-1351* (1979) (ref. 8), *The Gros au Lion of Aquitaine* (1981) (ref. 9), *The Anglo-Gallic Coins* (1984) (ref. 10) and the auction catalog of his personal coin collection (Spink 77, 1990) (ref. 25), and more recently (and more thoroughly) by Paul & Bente **Withers** and S. D. **Ford** in the excellent *Anglo-Gallic Coins* (2015) (ref. 24). (We should also mention the older works of **Hewlett** (ref. 12), **Ainslie** (ref. 1) and **Caron** (ref. 5), although we did not really rely upon them all that much, having the works of Withers/Ford and Elias at our disposal.)

For all intents and purposes, Elias' book has been superceded by that of Withers/Ford, which is not to say that Elias' book is no longer valid as a reference work. We have attempted to list all of the information provided by both sets of authors, and make corrections where necessary. This means providing all of the legends transcribed out in full.

On p. 66 (*Aquitaine*, ref. 9), Elias repeats R. Serrure's incorrect assertion that the *gros au lion* was imitated in 19 places; there were at least 21, with at least another 12 minting fractionals (only). We are not completely in agreement with his statement that "a map of the mints where these coins were struck coincides for a good part with a map of the hoards of Flemish gros [au lion]...".

ERRATA

ELIAS: Errata

There are many minor errors in Elias' transcriptions, usually brought about by his "same as" method of cataloging. Most of these are discussed on the following pages. A few "hard and fast" errors are corrected here:

AGC (ref. 10)

cat. I-c	Elias 73 a	ΑQITΑΝIE (not ΑCITΑΝIE <i>sic</i>) ...DΘI (not...DEI <i>sic</i>) (p. 115)
cat. VI-c	Elias 138 b	ΜΟΝΕΤΑ (not ΜΟΝΕΤ <i>sic</i>) (p. 161)
cat. II	Elias 74	"as 73 a" (not "as 73" <i>sic</i>) (p. 115)
cat. IX	Elias 77	ΑQITΑΝIE (not ΑCITΑΝIE <i>sic</i>) (p. 117)

Aquitaine (ref. 9)

p. 67, n° 2	...DΘI (not...DEI <i>sic</i>)
-------------	--------------------------------

The same problem as *AGC*, p. 115, but here Elias got the Q in AQITANIE right.

[cat. Type I c

Elias 73 a (*AGC*)

Withers/Ford 82 3/a]

WITHERS/FORD: Errata

The following typographical errors in the Withers/Ford book must be corrected:

Withers/Ford *errata* ^[26]

cat. I-c var.	WF 82 4/a	ΒΘICTV (not ΒΘDICTV <i>sic</i>) (p. 73)
cat. VII-a	WF 324 1/a	ΛΑΝΔΑΠΗΘ (not ΛΑΝΔΑΠΗΕ <i>sic</i>) (p. 145)
cat. VI-e	WF 325 2	ΕΘΟVRICVS (not ΕΘΟVRICOS <i>sic</i>) * ΝΟΘΕΤΑ (not ΝΟΘΕΤΑ <i>sic</i>) (p. 145) *

* No one has found a specimen of this sub-type for confirmation, but Withers/Ford's text differs from Elias' through typographical errors ^[26].

RARITY

Elias and Withers/Ford list the rarity of the various Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* (and associated fractionals) as follows:

WF 82	R4	E 73	RR	DVX AQITANIE
WF 83	—	E 74	RRRR	AGEN (in fact, 0 specimens known)
WF 84	R2	E 74	R	BVRD
WF 85	R5	E 75	RRRR	RVPELLE
WF 86	R5	E 77	RRRR	frac. DVX AQITANIE
WF 87	R5	E 78	RRRR	frac. BVRD
WF 88	R5	E 79	RRRR	frac. R(VPELLE)
WF 324	R5	—		DVX O LANCAIE
WF 325	R4	E 138	RRRR	BRAI (etc.)

Elias:

R = Rare

RR = Very Rare

RRR = Extremely Rare

RRRR = Only one or a few specimens known

– Elias *AGC*, p. 23 ^[10]

Withers/Ford:

R5 = 1-4 specimens known

R4 = 5-9 specimens known

R3 = 10-19 specimens known

R2 = 20-39 specimens known



R = 40-79 specimens known

– Withers/Ford, p. 24 ^[24]

CATALOGING METHODS: ELIAS & WITHERS/FORD

As previously mentioned, our first task was to translate what the previous works had to say about the Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* into something more easily read and understood.

Both Elias and Withers/Ford viewed the cross side as the obverse, and the lion side as the reverse, which is the opposite of the method that we employ. For the sake of clarity (and uniformity), we have unilaterally translated the Elias and Withers/Ford systems to our own. **What we refer to as “Withers/Ford reverse reading” is Withers/Ford’s own “obverse” reading and vice versa.**

	<u>Torongo</u>	<u>Withers/Ford & Elias</u>
	obverse	reverse
	reverse	obverse

This means, of course, that W/F numbers (e.g. **WF 84 9/j**) list the reverse (cross side) first (“9”), followed by the obverse (lion) side (“j”).

ELIAS

Elias’ 1984 book, (herein referred to as **Elias AGC**) includes the information from his previous articles *The Gros au Lion of Aquitaine* (ref. 9) and *The Gros au Lion of Bergerac* (ref. 8). It should be noted, however, that there were some problems in transferring data from the articles to the book, e.g. incorrectly transcribed legends (cf. **Elias 138 b**). What’s more, some information in the articles (e.g. which collections the coins were in, some photographs of Elias’ own coins, etc.) was not repeated in the book (cf. *Aquitaine*, pl. 21, 4-6).

Regrettably, Elias chose the outmoded ‘*same as*’ method of cataloging for **Elias AGC**, which forces the reader to constantly check back to previous catalog entries to attempt to determine the characteristics of the piece in question. A description is given, and subsequent sub-types or variants as described with “same as n° 73” (for example). This method easily lends itself to error and misinterpretation, on the parts of both the author and the reader.

Elias makes some attempt to indicate the forms of the **A**’s (barred or unbarred) and of the **N** / **Ń**’s and **E** / **Ǝ**’s, but he does not always get it completely right, despite an excellent discussion of lettering styles on pp. 17-20 (**AGC**). Elias shows several forms of **A**, **E** (**Ǝ**), **Q** and **T**, but he ignores the **O**’s completely. He never indicates the forms of the **O**’s, and he does not give the reverse, outer legend sufficient attention for our purposes.

WITHERS/FORD

Withers/Ford chose for a ‘**1-9 / a-k**’ method of cataloging, which forces the reader to compare lists of obverse (1-9) and reverse legends (a-k), and then match them up to one another using yet another list of “known combinations”. This cataloging method also easily lends itself to error and misinterpretation, and we much prefer complete legend transcriptions, written out in full.

NOTES ON WITHERS/FORD

Photos

Withers/Ford provide photographs of their readings:

WF 82 3/a	[cat. I-c]
WF 84 5/e	[cat. II-e]
WF 84 7/k	[cat. II-h]
a modern forgery of 84 7/k	[cat. —]
WF 84 9/j	[cat. II-j]
WF 85 1/a	[cat. III]
WF 86 1/a (fractional)	[cat. VII]
WF 87 1/a (fractional)	[cat. VIII]
WF 88 1/a (fractional)	[cat. IX]
WF 324 1/a	[cat. V]
WF 325 2/a	[cat. VI-b]

Lettering

While the authors did not indicate the forms of the A's, T's and O's, they did note N/Ϟ, as well as specific types of M, which they used to differentiate between "readings", for example, their **Type 84** (MONETA BVRD). If one considers all the forms of a Roman M to be "the same" as one another (M/N/H/M/M/Ϟ), as do we, then the Withers/Ford n° 84 readings break down as follows:

		MONETA EDO	MONETA	NOME
[cat. II-a]	84 3 d (NRI)	⦿	Ϸ	Ϟ
[cat. II-b]	84 5 b (DEI)	⦿	Ϸ	M
[cat. II-c]	84 5 a (DEI)	⦿	E	M
	84 5 h (DEI)	⦿	E (Ϸ)	M (we think)
[cat. II-d]	84 4 a (D?)	⦿	E	Ϟ
[cat. II-e]	84 5 d (DEI)	⦿	E (Ϸ)	M (we think)
	84 5 c (DEI)	⦿	E	M
	84 5 e (DEI)	⦿	E	M

(The E or Ϸ of W/F readings 5/d & 5/h are in question.)

Withers/Ford wished to indicate the forms of the **M**'s as an aid to identification, but do not state that the differing **M**'s were intended as any kind of minting mark, rather that they probably simply indicate the hand of the die-sinker (not the punch engraver) ^[24] ^[26]. Other than the **M**'s, the coins are "the same" – as far as we can tell from the descriptions and photos.

In other words:

we would consolidate W/F readings **84 5/c** , **84 5/d**, and **84 5/e** into a single "sub-type" **[cat. II-e]**

we would consolidate W/F readings **84 5/a** and **84 5/h** into a single "sub-type" **[cat. II-c]**

Alternatively, if Withers/Ford are correct about the **E**'s being **Θ**'s:

II-a	84 3 d (NRI)	○	Θ	ᵹ
II-b	84 5 b (DEI)	○	Θ	M
	{ 84 5 h (DEI)	○	Θ (E)	M (W/F think)
II-c	84 5 a (DEI)	○	E	M
—	{ 84 5 d (DEI)	○	Θ (E)	M (W/F think) see cat. II-e
II-d	84 4 a (D?)	○	E	ᵹ
II-e	84 5 c (DEI)	○	E	M
	84 5 e (DEI)	○	E	M

(The **E** or **Θ** of **W/F readings 5/d & 5/h** are in question.)

Note that **WF 84 5/h** would become a **cat. II-b** instead of a **cat. II-c** coin.

Withers/Ford provided all of the legend readings known to them, but they do not classify the variations into "sub-groups" *per se*.

We feel that there are far too few specimens of Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* to bother too much with stylistic differences caused by the "hand of the engraver or die-sinker", as is possible, for example, with the very common Issue V *leeuwengroten* of Louis of Male in Flanders.

On the other hand, we are of the opinion that the forms of the **O**'s (i.e. round or long), in all of the words (not noted by Elias or Withers/Ford), are very important and are, in fact, likely to be some sort of minting mark. Withers/Ford did note the **ᵹ**'s used, but these letter forms remain static on the Aquitaine coins and do not signify differing "sub-types".

V / U

On p. 12, Withers/Ford state:

“A single V is used for the sound now represented by the letter U, which is not seen on coins or in print until ca. 1740.”^[24]

Whether or not this statement is “correct” depends on how one wishes to look at it. By the 14th century, two different forms of the letter V had developed, and both were (at times) used to represent the letter, regardless of “v” or “u” sound: **V** and **U**. The second, rounded form is arguably a U. For the Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* this V/U point is irrelevant, but for the *gros au lion* of some other regions it is not:



*Lordship of Valkenburg / 2.21 g.
Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acc. 1927/85
Photo by Christian Stoess*

The reverse, inner legend reads: **O'•MI' DUX• GUL'• VIL'[:]**

Are the two U's in the places where they would be pronounced as “u”, while the V is positioned where it would be pronounced as “v”?

GROS AU LION

On p. 21, Withers/Ford describe the *gros au lion* as follows:

“Depicting a rampant lion, this is a copy of the Low Countries gros first issued by Louis de Crécý around 1337. *Demi-gros* of the same design were also issued.”^[24]

“Louis de Crécý”, that is, “Louis of Nevers”, was Count of Flanders (1337-1346). The *gros au lion* was first issued by him May-June, 1337. (He is called Louis of Crécý because he died in the battle there on August 26, 1346.)

No “*demi-gros de lion*” were issued in Flanders, only $\frac{1}{3}$ gros (*tiers de gros*) in 1337. His son Louis of Male (1346-1384) also issued *tiers* 1350-1352. See ref. 20 for more information.

Fractional *gros au lion* coins, some of which were probably “*demi-gros*”, were issued in other regions, e.g. Brabant, Holland, Hainaut, Namur, Guelders etc, at some time 1337-1364 / 1381-1384.

The Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* types and associated legend combinations listed by Withers/Ford are:

82 DVX AQITANIE

1 / a | 2 / a | 3 / a | 4 / a

1-4 are different combinations of the reverse, inner and outer legends.
a is the (static) obverse legend.

83 MONETA AGEN

84 MONETA BVRD

1 / f
2 / g
3 / d
4 / a
5 / a | 5 / b | 5 / c | 5 / d | 5 / e | 5 / h
6 / l
7 / k
8 / i
9 / j

1-9 are different combinations of reverse, inner and outer legends.
a-l are different obverse legends.

324 DVX O LANCAIIE

1 / a

1 is the reverse, inner legend.
a is the sole known obverse legend.

325 MONETA BRAG (etc.)

1 / e
2 / a | 2 / b | 2 / c | 2 / d

1-2 are different reverse, inner legends.
a-e are different obverse legends.

In other words, for the type **WF 325** (for example), Withers/Ford say that there are coins known with an obverse legend **1** and a reverse legend **e**, but none with an obverse **1** legend and an **a**, **b**, **c** or **d** reverse legend (and so on).

(Note that the W/F numbers list the reverse first, because they are listing the cross side and then the lion side.)

The fractional *gros au lion* (*demi-gros*) listed by Withers/Ford are (all “**1 / a**”):

86 DVX AQITANIE

87 MONETA BVRD

88 MONETA R[...]

The following is a list of the Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* reported by Withers/Ford, that is, all of the obverse/reverse legend combinations that they wished to report, cross-referenced with the numbers from the current (Torongo) catalog. The page numbers refer to the Withers/Ford book.

DVX AQITANIE	(p. 73)
WF 82 1/a	[cat. I a]
WF 82 2/a	[cat. I b]
WF 82 3/a	[cat. I c]
WF 82 4/a	[cat. I c var.]
 MONETA AGEN	 (p. 73)
WF 83 (?)	[cat. IV]
 MONETA BVRD	 (p. 73)
WF 84 1/f	[cat. II g]
WF 84 2/g	[cat. II f]
WF 84 3/d	[cat. II a]
WF 84 4/a	[cat. II d]
WF 84 5/a	[cat. II c]
WF 84 5/b	[cat. II b]
WF 84 5/c	[cat. II e]
WF 84 5/d	[cat. II e *]
WF 84 5/e	[cat. II e]
WF 84 5/h	[cat. II c *]
WF 84 6/l	[cat. II h var.]
WF 84 7/k	[cat. II h]
WF 84 8/I	[cat. II i]
WF 84 9/j	[cat. II j]

MONETA RVPELLE (p. 74)
WF 85 1/a [cat. III]

DVX O LANCAIE (p. 145)
WF 324 1/a [cat. V]

MONETA BRAG (etc.) (p. 145)
WF 325 1/e [cat. VI a]
WF 325 2/a [cat. VI b]
WF 325 2/a var. [cat. VI c]
WF 325 2/b [cat. VI d]
WF 325 2/c [cat. VI e]
WF 325 2/d [cat. VI f]

Fractionals: (p. 74)

WF 86 1/a [cat. VII]
WF 87 1/a [cat. VIII]
WF 88 1/a [cat. IX]

* The coins that determine these two readings have a questionable **E** / **Θ** in MONETA.

Previous Literature Type by Type

cat. TYPE I

DVX AQITANIE

Ainslie Plate 3, 19 (pp. 60-62) ^[1]
Poey d'Avant 2851 (pp. 95-902) ^[3]
Hewlett N° 1 (p. 294) ^[12]
Elias 73 (pp. 114-115) ^[10]
Withers/Ford 82 (p. 73) ^[24]

Ainslie Pl. 3, 19 [cat. I]

Ainslie describes this type on pp. 60-62 ^[1]:

EDWARD I. II. OR III.

GROAT—BILLON.*

OBVERSE. A cross patée, extending through the inner

* I have some difficulty to which of the Edwards to assign this coin, rare even among the rare Anglo-French,—in fact, I believe it is unique.

That Edward the First struck the first English groat, admits of no doubt; that he improved the English coinage is no less certain; that he altered that of Aquitaine is also evident from the Gascon Rolls, in the 10th, 13th, and 17th years of his reign. (See Rymer's *Fœdera*.)

The O in this coin, so equal in its circumference, differs much in form from

ANGLO-FRENCH COINAGE. EDW. I. II. OR III. SILVER. 61

legend to the second of three concentric circles, which contain the following

LEGENDS. Inner. EDOVARDVS REX.

Outer. BNDICTV : SIT : NOME : DNI : NRI : DEI :

REVERSE. A lion rampant to the right, gardant, tail very long and coiled in towards his back, surrounded by the legend, which is encircled by a handsome border of twelve double arches: in each a trefoil.

REVERSE LEGEND. DVX + AQITANIE.

WEIGHT. 48 Troy, or about 58½ Paris marc grains.

FINENESS. 7 parts fine silver, and 5 of alloy.

MINT MARK. None.

any of the many published and unpublished coins of his grandson, in my cabinet; neither does the name of the latter ever appear written with an O.

On all his Aquitaine money in billon his style is ED : REX : ANGLIE : even on the most minute, except on one, which is to me, on that very account, doubtful; whereas, on those of the grandfather, in no instance does ANGLIE appear, either on his Aquitaine or Ponthieu money; indeed, on the latter, in two out of the four deniers generally assigned to him, his Christian name has the same formed O.

It perfectly resembles, however, a gros of Louis the First or Second, Count of Flanders, and the weight is nearly the same: to no other piece of money that I know does it bear an equal resemblance; hence it may be one of those struck by Edward the Third, at the instigation of Artevelle, during his residence at Antwerp, in imitation of that of his mortal enemy the Count of Flanders, and which coins have entirely disappeared.

This imitation was frequently practised in the age under review by sovereign princes; hence the quantity of what is called "counterfeit sterlings," of which, at least fifty types are known.

A great proportion of these proceeded from mints in the Low Countries, and adjoining states; indeed, this is the sole cause that prevents my assigning it at once to Edward the First.

If for circulation in Aquitaine, it could not have represented more than three deniers or pennies of Billon, which weighed sixteen troy grains each.

62 ANGLO-FRENCH COINAGE. EDW. I. SILVER.

PRIVATE MARK. None, except the sort of cross between the X and A of the legend be such, which is not improbable.

Pl. III. No. 19.

Ainslie, pp. 60-62 ^[1]



Ainslie, pl. III, 19^[1]

Ainslie viewed the lion side as the obverse. He uses all capital letters for his legend transcriptions, and his version of the reverse, outer legend (NRI) does not match his own illustration (NI). The artist must have been working from a specimen with an illegible central type (i.e. British Museum coin BM-A270), and incorrectly assumed that the lion was facing forward and not left. Poey d'Avant's drawing is almost identical.

The most interesting thing about Ainslie's description is the footnote (most of his text is written as footnotes), where he points out the round **●** in EDOVARDVS, an observation that seems to have been completely ignored by subsequent researchers.

He states that a round **●** is also found on two types of Edward I (1279-1290) *denier* from Ponthieu. Withers/Ford 332 (pp. 148-149) shows photographs of coins with long **●**'s (only). Some of the coins are illustrated with drawings which may indeed depict round **●**'s, but all old drawings are suspect and untrustworthy. In any event, the Ponthieu *deniers* show Edward I's name spelled with an unnecessary **●** (EDOARDVS) that has nothing to do with the **●**'s of the *gros au lion* of Edward III, and its EDOVARDVS / EDOVARDOS legends. Was this simply an attempt at emulating the French Eduard{us}?

Ainslie felt that the "cross" after MONETA (in fact a leaf: **✻**), may have been a minting mark, and in many other realms it would have been, but not on the Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion*. On the other hand, the round **●** noticed by Ainslie may well have been a minting mark of some kind.

On p. 12, Withers/Ford say:

"There are standard numismatic conventions about the way things are described. Left is always on the observer's left."^[24]

It should be noted, however, that in many older numismatic works, these "standard numismatic conventions" are not followed, rather, the heraldic system is used, described from the point of view of someone holding a shield with a design painted onto it: left is on the observer's right. Ainslie has described the central lion as "a lion rampant to the right", not to the left, as a later researcher might.

Whether described as "rampant left" or as "rampant right", the central lion of every *gros au lion* from every region faces to the observer's left.

Hewlett N° 1 [cat. I]

(ref. 12)

Hewlett discusses the various Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion*, but since his work has been superceded by that of Elias and again by Withers/Ford, we have not paid too much attention to it. He describes the DVX AQUITANIE (cat. I) type as follows:

SILVER COINS.

We now pass on to the silver coins, which I will describe according to their denominations, as already explained, dividing them only into the two classes of those struck before the Treaty of Brétigny, and those subsequent to the treaty.

SILVER COINS STRUCK BEFORE 1360.

Lion gros.

1. No mint-name.

Obv.—EDO | VNR | DVS | REX | . + BNDICTV : SIT :
NOMI : DNI : NRI : DEI. In two concentric circles. Cross pattée dividing inner legend. Beaded inner circle.

Rev.—✠ DVX · AQUITANIE. Stop, trefoil. Leopard rampant to l., no inner circle. The whole enclosed in an ornamental border of twelve arches, enclosing trefoils.

Wt. 47·5 grs. British Museum.

Illustrated in Grueber's *Handbook*, Pl. viii. 249.

Hewlett, p. 294 ^[12]

Note that Hewlett uses the “same as” cataloging method. On p. 13, Withers/Ford discuss (in no uncertain terms) the so-called “leopard”, which is actually a lion. Hewlett’s description of the coin is not completely accurate, specifically the “circles” he describes, which we call “pearl rings”:

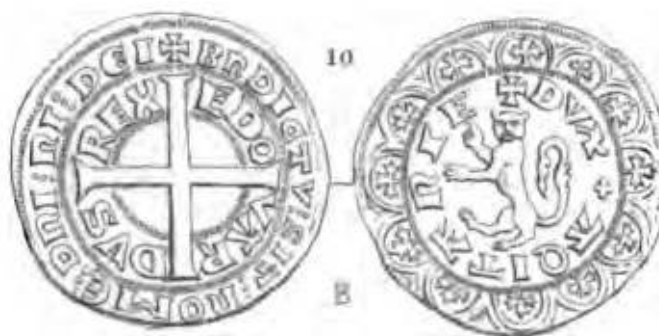


Poey d'Avant 2851 [cat. I]

— 95 —

2851. EDO | VXR | DVS | REX. Croix anglaise. 2^e légende : BRDICTV, &c. R. ✠
DVX ACITARIE. Léopard debout. Bordure de feuilles.
BILL. Blanc. (AINSWORTH, pl. 3, n° 19.)
Pl. LXII, n° 10.

Poey says “Ainsworth”, but he meant Ainslie. Poey’s description and drawing are basically identical to Ainslie’s, the drawing the incorrectly showing the central lion’s head facing forward.



Poey d'Avant, pl. LXII, 10 (n° 2851) ^[3]

Elias 73a [cat. I]

Round **Θ**'s in REX and EDO, Roman **M** in NOME and variant outer legends are not listed in Elias *per se* (but the outer legend is always given insufficient attention by Elias). Regarding the reverse, inner legend, Elias says:

“One may wonder why the ANGLIE was omitted. The consequence is the rather peculiar spelling of the name, as clearly the legend had to be “filled up” so it would contain 12 letters like the Flemish example.” ^[10]

– Elias *AGC*, p. 115

Elias did not know enough about the Flemish (etc.) examples to truly understand the peculiar spelling of the name on the Anglo-Gallic coins. The legend could just as easily have been EDO REX ANGLIE (but for the **O**'s...). While most *gros au lion* certainly do have 12 letters in the inner legend, it wasn't necessarily about having 12 letters, it was about having **O**'s by the cross arms.



gros au lion of William V of Holland: 16 letters
(4 in each quadrant instead of 3)
'Two O's by the cross arms' rule not well followed, however

Elias 73 a

† DVX † ΠCITΠNIE [*sic*]
 EDO VTR DVS REX
 † BNDICTV : SIT : NOMΕ : DNI : NRI : DEI

The **C** of AQITANIE must be a typo (cf. Elias' *The Gros au Lion of Aquitaine*^[9], p. 67):

2.

† DVX † ΠQITΠQIE
 EDO VTR DVS REX
 † BNDICTV : SIT : NOMES : DNI : QRI : DEI *[sic]*

“3.19 g.
Elias collection (**Pl. 21, 3**)
Hewlett, p. 57,1; PdA 2581 (LXII, 10)”^[9]



Elias 73a
(photo credit: Spink)

† DVX † RQITRQIE
EDO VTR DVS REX
† BNDICTV : SIT [: RQRM]E : DRI : RRI : DRI

12 ❖

Presumably EDO.

Withers/Ford 82

p. 73

“E 73a; B — ; PdA 2851; D 1078”

1	EDO VAR DVS REX	a	✠ DVX ✚ AQITANIE	NO ME DEI
2	EDO VAR DVS REX	a	✠ DVX ✚ AQITANIE	NO ME D
3	EDO VAR DVS REX	a	✠ DVX ✚ AQITANIE	NO ME DEI
4	EDO VAR DVS REX	a	✠ DVX ✚ AQITANIE	BNDICTV NO ME

Table 7

82 1 [cat. I a]

✠ DVX ✚ AQITANIE

EDO VAR DVS **REX**

✠ BNDICTV : SIT : **NO**ME : DNI : **NO**RI : DEI

Elias 73a var. (round E's, extra I)

82 2 [cat. I b]

✠ DVX ✚ AQITANIE

EDO VAR DVS REX

✠ BNDICTV : SIT : **NO**ME : DNI : **NO**RI : D

Elias 73a var. (round E, Roman E, short outer legend)

82 3 [cat. I c.]

✠ DVX ✚ AQITANIE

EDO VAR DVS REX

✠ BNDICTV : SIT : **NO**ME : DNI : **NO**RI : DEI

Elias 73 a var. (Roman M)

82 4 [cat. I c. var.]

✠ DVX ✚ AQITANIE

EDO VAR DVS REX

✠ BNDICTV : SIT : **NO**ME : DNI : **NO**RI : DEI (sic)

Elias 73 a var. (Roman M)

On the coin **WF 82 4**, the **D** of BNDICTV is missing, but the letter was included in Withers/Ford's transcription through typographical error^[26].

cat. TYPE II

MONETA BVRD

Elias 74
Withers/Ford 84

15 combinations of legends listed by Withers-Ford

Note: Withers/Ford did not indicate the forms of the **O**'s or **A**'s, but we have provided them in the table below (based upon the very same coin specimens). Marks found to the left of the initial cross are listed **after** BVRD by Elias and Withers/Ford, and are so indicated in the table.

W/F		rev	obv	obv	rev
84 1/f	1	EDO VTR DOS REX	f	MONETA + BVRD.	DEI
84 1/g	1	EDO VTR DOS REX	g	MONETA + BVRD'.	DEI
84 2/g	2	EDO VTR DOS REX	g	MONETA + BVRD'.	DEI : IhV <i>sic</i>
84 3/d	3	EDO VTR DVS REX	d	MONETA + BVRD'	QRI
84 4/a	4	EDO VTR DVS REX	a	HONETA + BVRD'	QRI : D <i>sic</i>
84 5/a	5	ED[O] VTR DVS REX	a	H[O]NETA + BVRD'	DEI
84 5/b	5	EDO VTR DVS REX	b	MONETA + BVRD'	DEI
84 5/h	5	EDO VTR DVS REX	h	NONETA + BVRD' <i>sic</i>	DEI
84 5/c	5	EDO VTR DVS REX	c	MONETA + BVRD'	DEI
84 5/d	5	EDO VTR DVS REX	d	MONETA + BVRD' <i>sic</i>	DEI
84 5/e	5	EDO VTR DVS REX	e	MONETA + BVRD'	DEI
84 6/l	6	XED OVT RDO SRE	l	NONETA + BVRD'	D
84 7/k	7	XED OVT RDO SRE	k	'MONETA + BVRD'	DEI
84 8/i	8	XED OVT RDO SRE	i	'HONETA + BVRD.	DEI
84 9/j	9	XED OVT RDO SRE	j	'HONETA + BVRD'★	DEI : I

Table 8

The **Θ**'s of MONETA of **WF 84 5/d** and **WF 84 5/h** are questionable (might be E).

The final letter of the outer legend of **WF 84 4/a** is unclear.

The double-pellet stops **•** of the outer legend of **WF 84 2/g** are likely to be triple-pellets **•••**.

Elias 74 [cat. II]

Elias was not particularly careful in correctly reporting the letter forms, which caused Withers/Ford to correct his errors. This, in turn, means that some of Elias' varieties are not listed in Withers/Ford, which is to say that the 'sub-types' do not actually exist (as described by Elias). As mentioned previously, the Withers/Ford book supercedes that of Elias (we have therefore dispensed with attempting to provide our own catalog numbers for this section).

Elias (p. 115) says that E 74 is "as 73", but in fact he meant "as 73a".

✠ MONETÆ † BVRD'
EDO VAR DV^S REX
† BNDICTV : SIT : QOM^E : DNI : QRI : DEI

Elias 74 a *piedfort* of E 74 (WF —)

Elias 74 b (WF —)

✠ MONETÆ † BVRD'
EDO VAR DO^S REX

[No DOS + BVRD' combinations listed in Withers/Ford.]

Elias 74 c (* WF 84 1/f)

✠ MONETÆ † BVRD'
EDO VAR DOS REX

[• ✠ MONETÆ † BVRD']

Elias 74 d (WF —)

✠ MONETÆ † BVRD'
XED OVA RDO SRE

[• ✠ MONETÆ † BVRD']

[No XED coins with a gothic **E** in MONETA listed in Withers/Ford.]

Elias 74 e (* WF 84 7/k)

✠ • MONETÆ † BVRD'
XED OVA RDO SRE

[• ✠ • MONETÆ † BVRD']

Elias 74 e var. (WF —)

✚ BŲDICTV : SIT : ŲOŲE : DŲI : ŲRI : DEI : IHV

[Variant unreported by Withers/Ford, with IHV in the legend.]

Elias 74 f (* WF 84 9/j)

✚ • MOŲETŲ ✚ BVRD'★ [★ ✚ • MOŲETŲ ✚ BVRD']
XED OVA RDO SRE

According to Withers/Ford, Elias mis-read the apostrophe, and the legend should read: ✚ • MOŲETŲ ✚ BVRD★ [i.e. ★ ✚ • MOŲETŲ ✚ BVRD].

Withers/Ford 84 [cat. II]

p. 73

“E 74; B 494; PdA 2815-16; D 1079”

WF 84. Round Θ in MONETA**WF 84 3 d; Elias 74 var. [cat. II a]****✠ ~~M~~ONETA ✠ BVRD'****EDO VAR DVS REX****✠ BNDICTV : SIT : NOM Θ : DNI : NRI :**

No DEL.

WF 84 5 b; Elias 74 var. [cat. II b]**✠ MONETA ✠ BVRD'****EDO VAR DVS REX****✠ BNDICTV : SIT : NOM Θ : DNI : NRI : D Θ I****Elias 74** (round O's not noted by Elias; Roman M in NOME not listed *per se*.)**WF 84. Unclear E / Θ in MONETA****[cat. II-c]****Withers/Ford 84 5/a: ✠ HONETA ✠ BVRD'****Withers/Ford 84 5/h: ✠ NONETA**

The E's on these coins are unclear. We suspect that “WF 84 5/h” has an E, making it the same as WF 84 5/a (i.e. ~~WF 84 5/h~~ does not exist). Certainty is impossible without additional specimens coming to light for study.

WF 84. Square E in MONETA

There is no square E listed in Elias' book under his number 74, but such coins do exist. Elias himself differentiated between square and round E's in the Spink 1977 auction catalog (cf. Lots 148 and 149). Both of these coins had been used as illustrations in *The Gros au Lion of Aquitaine* (although the E was not mentioned in the text), but neither was used as illustration for *The Anglo-Gallic Coins*. We are at a loss as to why Elias did not include square (Roman) E's, when he clearly had 2 such coins in his own collection.

WF 84 5/c; *Elias 74 [cat. II e]

✠ MONETA ✚ BVRD'

EDO VAR DVS REX

✠ BNDICTV : SIT : NOMES : DNI : NRI : DEI

Withers/Ford 84 5/e: ✠ MONETA ✚ BVRD' (illustrated)

Withers/Ford 84 5 d: ✠ MONETA sic

Square E in MONETA and Roman M in NOME not listed in Elias *per se*, but ostensibly Elias 74.

WF 84 4/a; *Elias 74 var. [cat. II d]

✠ HOETA ✚ BVRD'

EDO VAR DVS REX

✠ BNDICTV : SIT : NOMES : DNI : NRI : D

Square E in MONETA and this outer legend not listed in Elias *per se*.

WF 84 1/f [cat. II g]

✠ MONETA ✚ BVRD.

[• ✠ MONETA ✚ BVRD]

EDO VAR DOS REX

✠ BNDICTV : SIT : NOMES : DNI : NRI : DEI

Withers/Ford 84 1/g: BVRD'. [*Elias 74 c]

[• ✠ MONETA ✚ BVRD']

Square E in MONETA and Roman M in NOME not listed in Elias *per se*. End pellet without apostrophe not listed in Elias.

WF 84 2 g [cat. II f]

✠ MONETA ✚ BVRD'.

[• ✠ MONETA ✚ BVRD']

EDO VAR DOS REX

✠ BNDICTV [...] NRI : DEI : IhV [sic]

Neither square E in MONETA nor this outer legend listed in Elias.

WF 84. Different reverse legend (XED)

Elias 74 d; Withers/Ford —

✠ MON**E**TA † BVRD' . [. ✠ MON**E**TA † BVRD']
XED OVA RDO SRE

Withers/Ford list no XED coins with a gothic **E** in MONETA.
see: WF 84 7/k (illustrated); *Elias 74 e [cat. II h] listed below

WF 84 6/l [cat. II h var]

✠ · NO**E**TA † BVRD' . [. ✠ · NO**E**TA † BVRD']
XED OVA RDO SRE
✠ BNDI[...] D

WF 84 7/k (illustrated); *Elias 74 e [cat. II h]

✠ · MO**E**TA † BVRD' . [. ✠ · MO**E**TA † BVRD']
XED OVA RDO SRE
✠ BNDICTV : SIT : NO**E** : DNI : NRI : DEI

Square **E** in MONETA not listed in Elias *AGC*. Elias himself called this coin **E 74 e** (1 pellet), but Withers/Ford have determined that it should have been **E 74 e** instead (2 pellets).

Spink auction lot 150 (this coin): The Roman **E** in MONETA is mentioned, but the pellet left of the initial cross is not. Reference number cited: **Elias 74 d** (i.e. as having only a pellet right of the cross) ^[25].

Elias 74 e var.; Withers/Ford —

✠ · MO**E**TA † BVRD' . [. ✠ · MO**E**TA † BVRD']
XED OVA RDO SRE
✠ BNDICTV[...] DEI : **IhV**

Elias lists two weights: 3.25 g. and 3.05 g. (p. 116).

WF 84 8/i; Elias — [cat. II i]

✠ · HO**E**TA † BVRD' · [· ✠ · HO**E**TA † BVRD']
XED OVA RDO SRE
✠ BNDICT[...] NOM[...] DNI [...] RI : DE**I**

Modern Counterfeits (WF 84)

Withers/Ford report that there are modern, cast counterfeits known of their **WF 84 5/e** (cat. II e) and **WF 84 7/k** (cat. II h), and they provide a photo of one such fake (p. 73).

cat. TYPE III
MONETA RVPELLE

Withers/Ford 85 (85-1/a)
Elias 75
PdA 2805, pl. LXII, 9

Poey d'Avant:



PdA 2805, pl. LXII, 9^[3]

2805. EDOVARDVS REX. Croix anglaise. 2^e légende : **BENEDICTVS**, &c. **RVPELLE**. Lion debout. Bordure de trèfles.
MONETA RVPELLE. Lion debout. Bordure de trèfles.
 BILL. Blanc. (B. FILLON, *Etudes*, pag. 79, vignette.)
 Cab. de France; coll. Ledoux, à la Rochelle. — Pl. LXII, n° 9.

Poey d'Avant's illustration (which may not be accurate) shows **DEI**, **ED** and **NO[ME]**:

† MONETA ♠ RVPELLE
ED NO VTR D[...] REX
✠ B[...] NO[...] NI : NRI : DEI

The mark after MONETA is unusual as well; it may simply be a poorly drawn leaf, as found on the known RVPELLE specimens. Presumably this is the Ledoux collection example (current location unknown) ?

Elias, *Aquitaine* (p. 69):

6. As no. 2 but legend on reverse is

✠MONET✠RVPALL

3.01 g. [*sic*]

Bibliothèque Nationale (Pl. 21, 7)

Another specimen is illustrated by Poey d'Avant (pl. 62, 9) (fig 1).

- 6a. As no. 6 but piedfort.

23.4 g.

Caron 246 from the Rousseau

collection”^[9]

Note that Elias’ *same as* method requires the reader to be aware that **✠ MONET ✠ RVPALL** is intended here (not MONETA •). Note as well that unlike the 2 known specimens of this type, Poey d’Avant’s illustration (which may not be accurate) shows **DEI**, **ED** and **NO[ME]**.

The Paris specimen weighs 2.89 g. Withers/Ford state that the average of the weights of the 2 known examples (3.13 g. for the second) is 3.01 g. (**WF 85**).

Withers/Ford —^[24]

Elias 75 a^[10]

piedfort of E 75 / 23.4 g.

Caron 246 from the Rousseau collection

See cat. Type III-a *piedfort* (p. 57 above)

cat. TYPE IV

MONETA AGEN

As stated in the text on p. 60 above, this “type” is known only from a *piedfort*, but no actual coins. Some previous authors reported it as if it were a real coin, or reported the theoretical “original” as though someone had actually seen it.

See ref. 22 for more information about the previous literature regarding the AGEN *piedfort*.

{Torongo/van Oosterhout} **Catalog Type IV** (Anglo-Gallic)

* **Ainslie *Supplement*, pl. I, 6** (*piedfort*) ^[1]

* **Poey d'Avant n° 2794; pl. LXII, 5** (*piedfort*) ^[3]
~~n° 2795; pl. LXII, 6~~ ^[22]

* **Hewlett 2; pl. IV, 5** (*piedfort*) ^[12]

~~n° 2 var. (his note p 295)~~ ^[22]

~~Elias n° 76~~ ^[22]

* **n° 76 a** (*piedfort*) ^[22]

n° 76 b (theoretical and unconfirmed) ^[22]

Withers/Ford n° 83 (theoretical and unconfirmed) ^[24]

cat. TYPE V

DVX OLANCAIIE

Elias —
WF 324 1 a

This rare type was unknown to Elias, and Withers/Ford were the first to publish it, albeit with a typo in the legend transcription: **L~~A~~ŲC~~A~~II~~E~~** (not **L~~A~~ŲC~~A~~II~~E~~** *sic*).

cat. TYPE VI

MONETA BRAI, BRAG etc.

p. 145

Withers/Ford 325

1	EŃO VRI COS DIS	e	•NOŃETA ♣ BRAII	
2	EŃO VRI COS DŃS	a	MOŃETA ♣ BRA.I	
2	EŃO VRI COS DŃS	b	NOŃET ♣ BRAGI★I	* Elias 138
2	EŃO VRI COS DŃS	c	NOŃETA ♣ BRAG'	
2	EŃO VRI COS DŃS	d	•MOŃETA ♣ BRA.G	
-	EŃO VRI COS DŃS	-	•MOŃETŦ ♣ BRŦ.I	Elias 138 b

Table 9

* Elias 138

Elias *Bergerac* 13.1.1
Withers/Ford 325 2/b
cat.VI-d

Elias 138

✦ NOŃET ✕ BRŦCII [sic]

EŃO VRI COS DŃS

✦ BŦDICTV : SIT : ŃOMŦ : DŢI : ŢRI : DEI : IŦV [sic]

Elias *Bergerac* 13.1.1

✦ NOŃET ✕ BRŦCII [sic]

EŃO VRI COS DŃS

✦ [...]ICTV : SIT : ŃO[...] DŢI : ŢRI : DEI : IŦV

In fact, the obverse legend reads:

✕ NOŃET ♣ BRŦGI★I

***ELIAS 138 a**

Withers/Ford 325 2/d [cat. VI f]

Elias 138 a

✠ • MONET ✠ BRΛ.G

ENQ VRI QOS DQS

✠ BNDICTV : SIT : QOMΘ : DQI : QRI : DEI

The reverse (cross side) is not properly oriented in Elias' picture, and should be rotated 45° counter-clockwise. Unmentioned by Elias or Withers/Ford, there is clearly an extra (but illegible) letter after DEI in the reverse, outer legend.

***ELIAS 138 b**

cat. VI-c

* **Elias 138 b** (Elias incorrectly gives a gothic Θ in MONETA)
 ("outer legend ends QRII")^[10]

Withers/Ford 325 2/a var. (outer legend) coin not seen by W/F

Chalon XIV, 1 (*RBN* 1851, pp. 258-261)^[6]

V.d. Chijs XXIII, 1 (different drawing)

(Under Bree / Rummen, Arnold of Oreye in *Leenen Brabant*, hence the mis-filing in Brussels.)

(*De munten der leenen van de voormalige hertogdommen Brabant en Limburg, enz. van de vroegste tijden tot aan de pacificatie van Gend*, F. Bohn, 1862)

Serrure 91 (same drawing as v.d. Chijs)^[16]

2.750 g.

CdM, Brussels (ex- collection B. de Jonghe)

See: Torongo/van Oosterhout *The Elusive gros...*
 (ref. 18)

***ELIAS 138 c**

("outer legend ends QRII")^[10]

FRACTIONAL COINS

Much of our commentary on the previous literature regarding the fractional, Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* can be found in the section on fractionals in the text above (pp. 74-81).

cat. TYPE VII

“mini-*gros au lion*”

with DVX title

PdA 2852 ^[3]

Elias 77 ^[10]

Withers/Ford 86 ^[24]

Withers/Ford 86 1/a (illustrated; this coin) “*demi-gros*”

“(E 77; B – ; PdA – ; D1080)” ^[24]

It is not exactly clear what Poey is describing for his n° **2582** (which Poey calls a *gros*); although it appears to be the “mini-*gros au lion*”, fractional coin **cat. VII / WF 86 1/a** (see pp. 75-76 above). Withers/Ford listed this coin as “PdA — .

Elias never saw any such coin, and based his **E 73** solely upon **PdA 2852**, which Elias says is likely to be a ½ *gros* (**Elias 77**). Poey’s “10 leaf border” also implies a fractional coin and not a full *gros*.

2852. ED' REX ANGLIE. Croix coupant la légende. 2^e légende : **! SIT ! ROME !**

— 96 —

DR! : &c. **! DVX.** Trèfle avec pétiole. **ACITANIE.** Dans le champ, lion debout. Bordure de dix feuilles.

BILL. Gros.

Coll. de Puiferrat.

PdA, pp. 95-96 ^[3]

cat. TYPE VIII

“mini-*gros au lion*”

without DVX title

Elias 78 ^[10]

WF 87 ^[24]

Withers/Ford 87 1/a (illustrated; this coin) “*demi-gros*”

“Diameter 20-22

E 78; B – ; PdA – ; D1081” ^[24]

cat. TYPE IX

short-cross type

Ainslie — ^[1]

Poey d'Avant 2806, pl. LXII, 11 ^[3]

(Fillon p. 79)

Elias 79 (*AGC*) (not seen) ^[10]

(PdA 2806, pl. LXII, 11)

Elias 152 (Spink 1977) ^[25]

Elias *Demi-Gros or Double?* in *NC*, 1985 p. 190 ^[11]

Withers/Ford 88 (illustrated; this coin) ^[24]

“*demi-gros ?*”

“Diameter 20 mm.

(E 79; B – ; PdA 2806 ; D1090; S8074)” ^[24]



PdA, pl. LXII, 11 ^[3]
(N° 2806)

2806. ✠ EDO... EX. Croix. R. ✠ ... RETARV... Lion debout.

BILL. Demi-gros. (*Ibid.*, pag. 79, vignette.)

Coll. Ledoux, à la Rochelle. — Pl. LXII, n° 11.

PdA, p. 89 ^[3]
the British Museum coin

Elias & R. Serrure

Elias *Aquitaine*

Numismatic Chronicle

ref. 9

In his *Aquitaine* article, Elias employs the “[same] as” method, which causes confusion when trying to determine the correct and exact legend transcriptions. Furthermore, some of his transcriptions are simply erroneous; for example, his n° 4 & 5 (Pl. 21, n° 5 & 6) clearly show **MOÑETΛ** and not the **MOÑETΛ** of his text transcription.

On p. 65, Elias discusses the *gros au lion* of Flanders. Most of the information he provides is correct, however, in the middle of his discussion he states:

“A demi-gros was struck (258,750 pieces) in the period 21 April 1369 - 5 August 1370, but no specimen has survived.”^[9] [*sic*]

Whatever it is that Elias was trying to say, this statement is not accurate. Minting of the *gros au lion* in Flanders ceased in early 1364, and the coins struck in Flanders during this period given by Elias had nothing to do with the *gros au lion*; they were the *half zilveren leeuw*, or “lion with helm” *groot*, which was, in fact, a full *gros*, and the *zilveren leeuw*, which was a *dubbelgroot*, or *double gros*, often called a *plak* or *plaque*). Many examples of both are known today. See **Martiny 45** (ref. 14, pp. 208-211). Far fewer examples are known of the ¼ *plaks* and ⅛ *plaks*, but they do exist.

If Elias was trying to indicate the associated fractional *gros*, the *kwart plak* or half “lion with helm” *groot*, (**Martiny 47**, p. 215), minted 22 September, 1369 - 25 May, 1370), there are examples known today, although Elias may not have been aware of this. The same can be said of the rare, fractional *leeuw van twee sterlingen* (**Martiny 42**, p. 202) or “lion with helm, 2 *sterling*” piece.

Elias *Bergerac*

BNJ

ref. 8

Elias 13. GROS AU LION (1361)

Elias *Bergerac* 13.1.1

† NOÑET ✕ BRΛCII [*sic*]

ENO VRI COS DÑS

† [...]ICTV : SIT : NO[...] DÑI : DRI : **DEI** : IHV

In fact, the obverse legend reads:

✠ NOŇET ✠ BRŦGI★I

Elias *Bergerac* 13.2.1

cat. VI-e

Withers/Ford 325 2/c ^[24]

Elias *AGC* 138 c ^[10]

Unverified / missing at KBR

Elias *Bergerac* 13.3.1

cat. VI-f

Withers/Ford 325 2/d ^[24]

*Elias 138 a ^[10]

Elias *Bergerac* 13.4.1

cat. VI-c

Withers/Ford 325 2/a var. (outer legend) coin not seen by W/F ^[24]

* Elias 138 b ^[10]

✠ . MOŇ★TŦ ✠ BRŦI ^[sic]

EŇO VRI COS DNS

✠ BŇDICTV : SIT : ŇOM★ : DŇI : ŇRII

“This coin is described and illustrated by R. Serrure. No specimen is known to me.” ^[8] (p. 71)

Elias is referring to R. Serrure n° 91 (ref. 16).

Elias *AGC* n° 138 b:

†.MONET BRÆI [sic]

“legend ends **NRII**”^[10]
p. 161

The actual legends read:

✠ • MONET ♣ BRÆI
ENQ VRI COS DNS
✠ BNDICT[V : SI]T : QO[ME : DNI : NRII]

“Amongst the coins stolen from the Musee du Perigord in 1978 there was, according to the catalogue, a *gros au lion*, formerly belonging to the Muller and Lespinas collections with the reverse legend MONETA BRAG. This could be a specimen of varieties Elias 13.2 or Elias 13.3.”^[8]

Bergerac, p. 71

“This type is an imitation of the *gros au lion* of Aquitaine, which is in turn an imitation of the *gros au lion* of Flanders, which was created by Louis de Nevers (1322-1346) and struck by his successor, Louis de Male, as late as 1370 [sic].”^[8]

Bergerac, p. 72

Minting of the *gros au lion* ceased in Flanders in 1364.

R. Serrure

ref. 16

By keeping his descriptions fairly superficial, R. Serrure's work has managed to stand the test of time with fairly accurate (if undetailed) information about the coins imitating Flemish types. At times, however, he relies a bit too much on information provided by P.O. van der Chijs, or in the case of Aquitaine, on Poey d'Avant. Serrure lists the following types of Anglo-Gallic *gros au lion* (pp. 179-182):

85	BVRD	DVS	
86	BVRD	DOS	
87	AGEN	✚	
88	AGEN	⊙	(fabricated by Poey d'Avant)
89	RVPELLE		
90	DVX AQITANIE		
91	BRAI		

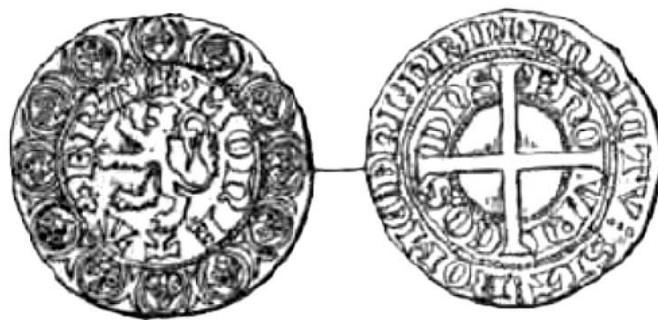


Fig. 91.

One Final Observation

On p. 7, Withers/Ford state:

“Ducarel made the mistake of copying the earlier engravings without having seen the original coins, and as a result included several coins that may have existed only in the imagination of their author, certainly they have never been seen since.”^[24]

We feel that every numismatist should read and ponder these words very carefully.



Agen, unseen by any modern researcher



Holland, unseen by modern researchers



Brabant, a modern concoction



Megen, unseen by any modern researcher