THE COINAGE OF BERGERAC 1347-1361

E. R. DUNCAN ELIAS

On 1 June 1347, when he was besieging Calais, Edward III granted to Henry, Earl of Lancaster, ‘in gratitude for his victorious deeds in Aquitaine’ the castle, town, and castellany of Bergerac, then called Bragairac, with the privilege of striking money there and enjoying all the profit thereof, on the condition that the money should be as good as, or better than, the king’s money.¹ This grant was extended on 14 March 1349 by the power of assaying and of punishing offenders against his money.²

It was a remarkable decision because no king of England ever granted to a vassal the right of coinage in his own name. Of course, it did not happen in England and the king also happened to be—or at least claimed to be—King of France. But for a French king the decision would have been no less remarkable, as for a long time the kings of France had been aiming to restrict the coinage activities of their vassals as much as they could.

The grant given to Lancaster was not inspired by any need for the creation of new money in Bergerac. As a centre of commerce it could not be compared with Bordeaux or Bayonne. There were no troops to pay with Bergerac money, because Bergerac formed part of the Aquitanian military system and the constable of Bordeaux would pay for all its military expenses. At best Lancaster would need some coin for the administration of his seigneurie. Above all, however, Edward III wanted to give his friend and cousin a good income and coining money was a profitable business. According to Capra³ the profit on coining in Aquitaine amounted to 50 per cent in the years before 1354 to decline steeply to around 5 per cent in 1361.

Which kind of coins was the new lord of Bergerac supposed to strike? Like any other small feudal lord he would make imitations of the coins of his more powerful neighbours. Due to the illiteracy of the population these imitations could easily pass for the originals. As Bergerac had only one neighbouring territory, the duchedom of Aquitaine, the coins of Henry of Lancaster are, with the exception of the gros à la fleur de lis, imitations of Aquitanian coins. The Aquitanian coins in turn were often adaptations of French coins, but they were usually designed in such a way that the Aquitanian identity was clearly preserved by a long cross, an Aquitanian form of castle or a leopard. With the Bergerac coins no such considerations exist. They are, with a single exception, just faithful copies of Aquitanian coins. Which gives a special significance to the condition in the grant of Edward III that the coin should be as good as or better than the king’s.

The fact that the Bergerac coins are imitations of Aquitanian coins can be of help

² Thomas Rymer, Foedera, iii. 42.
in determining some of the dates of the latter. For instance, the denier with the leopard between two straight lines has been attributed to Edward I since Ainsley. There are other reasons to doubt this attribution, but the clinching evidence, that these coins should be attributed to Edward III, is given by a similar denier of Henry of Lancaster. Perhaps we may also draw some conclusions from the fact that several coins which are rather common in the Aquitanian series were not imitated in Bergerac.

With the exception of the gros au lion and the double, all the coins of Bergerac have the Lancastrian title, which may be of further help in dating these coins. On 6 March 1351 Lancaster was elevated to the rank of duke. Consequently the coins with the title of earl must have been struck before that date, those with the title of duke after that. Of the first period (1347-51) we know ten different types, of the far-longer period 1351-61 only four. This may indicate a far higher coining activity in the first four years, which would be consistent with Capra’s observation that the profit of coining was high in that period and was to drop sharply after 1354.

It is unfortunate for the collector that the coins of Bergerac are so very rare. By far the largest collection is in the Musée du Périgord at Périgueux: twenty-three pieces. The British Museum has thirteen pieces, all the other public collections, including the Bibliothèque Nationale, only a few. I have tried to give a description of all the known types and varieties. If there are more I would be grateful to receive the information.

To identify the types of the coins I have adopted names, not generally used so far, that indicate their main characteristics. These names are fully French, which, for French coins, seemed to be more logical than linguistic mixtures like ‘gros tournois with embattled towers’. Furthermore I have referred to all the larger coins as ‘gros’, which is a general term. To use the specific name ‘demi-gros’ a better justification is needed than the mere size of a specimen that happens to be available. It may be that in some cases ‘blanc’ or ‘gros blanc’ would be more appropriate terms, but we have no evidence to support any specific definition.

The coins are numbered according to a decimal system, in which the first number indicates the type of the coin, the second number the variety, and the third number the actual specimen described.

CATALOGUE OF COINS

I. With the title ‘Earl of Lancaster’ (1347-1351)

I. GROS TOURNOIS À LA CROIX LONGUE

Apart from the legends this coin is an exact imitation of an Aquitanian coin. The reverse—the most spectacular side—is similar to that of the French royal example with a traditional châtel tournois with annulet-topped towers, but with a border that has

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5 In the night of 30 Apr. 1978, three coins of Bergerac were stolen from the Musée du Périgord, which until then possessed twenty-six pieces.
6 I have followed the tradition of calling the obverse the side with the ruler’s name. I am, however, of the opinion that the other side, which bears the real characteristics of the coin, should be called the obverse, which is in conformity with the placement of the dies as recorded in royal French mint accounts.
twelve (strawberry) leaves instead of twelve fleurs-de-lis. The obverse shows its Aquitanian character by having a long 'English' cross dividing both legends. The type is described by Hewlett on page 86 from the description of Ainsley, but not illustrated because clearly Hewlett never saw a specimen.

The coins of this type are of comparatively good quality. The weight is the highest of all the Bergerac coins we know, and the workmanship is reasonably good. On all of them there is a mark on the upward serif of the L and on some also a mark between the A and the N of LANCE. I think this is interesting, because on several contemporary Aquitanian coins there is likewise a mark between the A and the N (of ANGLIE as well as of AQITANIE). This suggests that that particular place must have a special significance. Similarly we find on various Aquitanian coins a mark of some kind on the upward serif of the L. This, however, is no Aquitanian speciality, because we find it also on many French coins of the period. Of this type six coins and one piedfort are known, each representing a different variety.

1.1.1.  
Obv. | heN | C0M | L7 | N0C | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] |
     | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] |
Rev. *DnSBRGTIRU
Wt.: 2.39 g.  
Elias collection

1.2.1.  
Obv. | heN | COm | L7 | N0C | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] |
     | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] |
Rev. *DnSBRGTIRU
Wt.: 3.20 g.  
Elias collection

1.3.1.  
Obv. | heN | COm | L7 | N0C | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] |
     | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] |
Rev. *DnSBRGTIRU
Wt.: 2.80 g.  
Elias collection

1.4.1.  
Obv. | heN | COm | L7 | N0C |
     | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] |
Outer legend illegible.  
Annulet on L, rosette between A and N, round 0's.  
Annuletted T
Rev. *DnSBRGTIRU
Wt.: 3.10 g.  
British Museum

1.5.1.  
Obv. | heN | COm | L7 | N0C |
     | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] |
Hammerhead on L, not clear whether there is a mark between A and N, round 0's.
Rev. *DnSBRGTIRU
Wt.: 2.15 g. (broken).  
Musée du Périgord

THE COINAGE:

1.6.1. Obv. | HEN | COM | LTB | NCE |
    | BNDIIVTE | SITNUM | EININIII | DEIIINVXPI |
Pellet on L, small B between Ν and Π, square E's. Annuletted T

Rev. +DRS:BRAGAIRACII
Pellet at end of legend.
Wt.: 2.30 g. Musée du Périgord

1.7.1. Obv. | HEN | COM | ESL | NCE |
    | BNDIIVTE | SITNUM | EININIII | DEIIINVXPI |

Rev. +DRS:BRAGAIRACII
Piedfort. Present whereabouts unknown.
Ainslie, Supp. pl. ii. 21 from the De Gourgues collection. Ainslie does not describe it as a piedfort, but the Comte de Gourgues in the Revue Numismatique Française, 1841, p. 195, says that it is and that it is very worn, which makes one wonder how much of the above description is guesswork. Poey d’Avant⁸ (2691) describes the same piedfort (according to the illustration, pl. lviii. 1). It is impossible to say whether there are special marks on this specimen.

2. Gros Tournois à la Couronne

This type is similar to the former with the difference that the castle contains a crown. It may have been inspired by a contemporary coin of Philip VI of France, the gros à la queue, which has a crown above the castle and was issued 27 December 1348 and 15 January 1349. It is curious to note that the corresponding Aquitanian coin only exists as a piedfort (Hewlett, p. 259, pl. xvii. S). It is, of course, possible that ordinary Aquitanian coins of this type still may come to light.

All the coins of this type have a very neat fleur-de-lis on the upward serif of the Ν and a small B between the A and the N of LANCE. The marks are different but the places are the same as on the preceding type. There is in fact, apart from the crown and the fleur-de-lis a similarity with 1.6.1. Of this type two varieties exist. Of one variety six specimens and a piedfort are known. Hewlett described both varieties on p. 262.

2.1.1. Obv. | HEN | COM | LTB | NCE |
    | BNDIIVTE | SITNUM | EININIII | DEIIINVXPI |
Fleur-de-lis on L, small B between Ν and Π.

Rev. +DRS:BRAGAIRACII
Wt.: 2.68 g. Elias collection

2.1.2. Obv. | HEN | COM | LTB | NCE |
    | EININIII | DEIIINVXPI |
Fleur-de-lis on L, small B between Ν and Π.

Rev. +DRS:BRAGAIRACII
Wt.: 3.08 g. Elias collection

2.1.3.  

**Obv.**  
\[\text{HEN}\mid \text{COM}\mid \text{\textsuperscript{AB}}\mid \text{NCE}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{TV.}}\mid \text{\textsuperscript{SHR}}\mid \text{\textsuperscript{DIN}}\mid \text{\textsuperscript{TXV}}\mid \text{\textsuperscript{LHV.XII}}\]
Fleur-de-lis on U, small B between \(\text{A}\) and \(\text{N}\).

**Rev.**  
\[\text{\textsuperscript{N}}\mid \text{BRAGAIRACHII}\]
Wt.: 2.58 g.

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2.1.4.  

**Obv.**  
\[\text{HEN}\mid \text{COM}\mid \text{\textsuperscript{AB}}\mid \text{NCE}\]
Outer legend illegible.
Fleur-de-lis on U, small B between \(\text{A}\) and \(\text{N}\).

**Rev.**  
\[\text{\textsuperscript{DNS}:BRAGAIRACHII}\]
Wt.: 3.41 g.

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2.1.5.  

**Obv.**  
\[\text{HEN}\mid \text{COM}\mid \text{\textsuperscript{AB}}\mid \text{NCE}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{TV.}}\mid \text{\textsuperscript{SHR}}\mid \text{\textsuperscript{DIN}}\mid \text{\textsuperscript{TXV}}\mid \text{\textsuperscript{LHV.XII}}\]
Fleur-de-lis on U, small B between \(\text{A}\) and \(\text{N}\). Annulléted \(\text{T}\)

**Rev.**  
\[\text{\textsuperscript{DNS}:BRAGAIRACHII}\]
Wt.: 3.40 g.

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2.1.6.  

**Obv.**  
\[\text{HEN}\mid \text{COM}\mid \text{\textsuperscript{AB}}\mid \text{NCE}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{TV.}}\mid \text{\textsuperscript{SHR}}\mid \text{\textsuperscript{DIN}}\mid \text{\textsuperscript{TXV}}\mid \text{\textsuperscript{LHV.XII}}\]
Fleur-de-lis on U, small B between \(\text{A}\) and \(\text{N}\). Annulléted \(\text{T}\)

**Rev.**  
\[\text{\textsuperscript{DNS}:BRAGAIRACHII}\]
Wt.: 3.40 g.

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2.1.7.  

**Obv.**  
\[\text{HEN}\mid \text{COM}\mid \text{\textsuperscript{AB}}\mid \text{NCE}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{TV.}}\mid \text{\textsuperscript{SHR}}\mid \text{\textsuperscript{DIN}}\mid \text{\textsuperscript{TXV}}\mid \text{\textsuperscript{LHV.XII}}\]
Fleur-de-lis on U, small B between \(\text{A}\) and \(\text{N}\).

**Rev.**  
\[\text{\textsuperscript{DNS}:BRAGAIRACHII}\]
Piedfort. Wt.: 21.81 g.

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2.2.1.  

**Obv.**  
\[\text{HEN}\mid \text{COM}\mid \text{\textsuperscript{AB}}\mid \text{NCE}\]
Outer legend illegible.
Fleur-de-lis on U, small B between \(\text{A}\) and \(\text{N}\).

**Rev.**  
\[\text{\textsuperscript{DNS}:BRAGAIRACHII}\]
0 on each side of spire.
Small flan.
Wt.: 1.94 g.

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In the catalogue of the Lespinas collection I found a description of a further specimen with the legends | HEN | COM | ESL | NCE | and DNS BRAGAIRACHII. This coin became—with the whole collection—the possession of the Musée du Périgord, but was stolen in 1978. No mention was made of special marks. According to the legends it must be a further variety.

3. **GROS AU CHÂTEL AQUITANIQUE**

On this type the obverse is similar to the French example: a cross pattée within the inner circle, therefore not dividing the legends. On the reverse the castle has embattled towers, which is a speciality of Aquitaine. It is an exact copy of an Aquitanian coin.
Four varieties are known, each represented by one specimen.

3.1.1. **Obv.**  *

*ohen:omeslan*

Pellet at beginning of legend.

Outer legend illegible except for **ni:nri**

**Rev.**  *

*odns:bra6na7ro7*

Pellet at beginning of legend.

Wt.: 2.73 g.

Illustrated by Hewlett, pl. vii. 15.

3.2.1. **Obv.**  *

*ohen:omeslan*

Annulet at beginning of legend.

*odns:bra6na7ro7* Annuled: **t**

**Rev.**  *

*odns:bra6na7ro7*

Annulet at beginning of legend.

Wt.: 2.16 g.

Elias collection

3.3.1. **Obv.**  *

*ohen:omeslan*

Outer legend illegible except for **bn:dei**

**Rev.**  *

*odns:bra6na7ro7*

Annulet at beginning of legend.

Wt.: 2.06 g.

Elias collection

3.4.1. **Obv.**  *

*ohen:omeslan*

Outer legend illegible.

**Rev.**  *

*odns:bra6na7ro7*

Wt.: 2.30 g.

Musée du Périgord

4. **GROS TOURNOIS AU LÉOPARD AU-DESSUS**

The obverse is similar to the original French gros tournois with a cross pattée within the inner circle. The castle is a ‘French’ castle with annulet-topped towers. The Aquitanian character is indicated by a leopard passant guardant to left above the castle. It is an exact copy of an Aquitanian coin and, just like the example, often of poor quality. The flans are small and of irregular shape and the weights are, with one exception, low. The number of arches on the reverse is, as far as can be established, 9, 10, or 11. This, together with the low weight and the small flan, might suggest that these coins are the counterpart of the royal French mailles blanches of Charles IV, Philip VI, and John the Good. Specially the last ones, struck in 1351, were often of a similar poor quality. We have to be careful, however, because not all these Bergerac coins are of low weight. Several are considerably heavier than the mailles blanches.

There are varieties of many kinds such as differences in the legends as well as in the size of the castle, and there is a great variety of added symbols. The II is adorned with a cross, a trefoil, or a pellet, the castle is ‘furnished’ with ooo or oo, the spire is topped by a cross, a pellet, or an annulet, and the reverse legend is preceded by a cross, a crescent, or a saltire. Altogether there are at least eleven varieties. One may really wonder what the significance of this abundance may have been.

With twenty-three specimens known it is the least rare of the Bergerac coins.
4.1.1. *frenRaotfm7cnnmnsT
On LI: cross.
Outer legend illegible.

Rev. *DNS BRAGREA
On spire: cross, in castle: not clear, before DNS: crescent, number of arches:
uncertain, medium-sized castle.
Wt.: 296 g. British Museum

4.2.1. *frenRaotfm7cnnmnsT
On LI: cross.
Outer legend illegible.

Rev. *DNS BRAGREA
On spire: cross, in castle: ooo, before DNS: cross, number of arches: 11, small
castle.
Wt.: 220 g. Elias collection

4.3.1. *frenRaotfm7cnnmnsT
On LI: not clear.
*BRND[DM:]NOMA:DN[DM:]NEI

Rev. *DNSBRAGREA
On spire: pellet, in castle: ooo, before DNS: crescent, number of arches: 10,medium castle.
Wt.: 255 g. Brand collection

4.4.1. *frenRaotfm7cnnmnsT
On LI: trefoil.
*BRNDIATV:SIT:NOMA:DN[DM:]REI Annuleted T

Rev. *DNSBRAGREA
On spire: annulet, in castle: ooo, before DNS: saltire, number of arches: uncertain,
small castle.
Wt.: 134 g. British Museum

4.4.2. *frenRaotfm7cnnmnsT
On LI: trefoil.
[DM:]T:ROMA:DN[DM:]REI Annuleted T

Rev. DNSBRAGREA
On spire: annulet, in castle: ooo, before DNS: not clear, number of arches: un-
certain, small castle.
Wt.: 130 g. Musée du Périgord

4.5.1. *frenRaotfm7cnnmnsT
On LI: cross.
Outer legend illegible.

Rev. *DNSBRAGREA
Wt.: 142 g. Ashmolean Museum
4.6.1. **Obv.** [Image]
On I: cross.
Outer legend illegible.

**Rev.** [Image]
On spire: cross, in castle: not clear, before DNS: crescent, number of arches: uncertain, small castle.

Wt.: 2.16 g. British Museum

4.6.2. **Obv.** [Image]
On I: cross.

**Rev.** [Image]
On spire: cross, in castle: not clear, before DNS: crescent, number of arches: uncertain, small castle.

Wt.: 1.90 g. Musée du Périgord

4.6.3. **Obv.** [Image]
On I: not clear.

**Rev.** [Image]
On spire: cross, in castle: o o o, before DNS: crescent, number of arches: 10, small castle.

Wt.: 2.16 g.
Fitzwilliam Museum, ex Lockett (291), ex Hewlett (84), Hewlett, pl. vii. 16.

4.7.1. **Obv.** [Image]
On I: pellet.

**Rev.** [Image]
On spire: cross, in castle: o o o, before DNS: crescent, number of arches 10, small castle.

Wt.: 1.61 g. Bibliothèque Nationale

4.7.2. **Obv.** [Image]
On I: pellet.

**Rev.** [Image]
On spire: cross, in castle: o o o, before DNS: crescent, number of arches: uncertain, small castle.

Wt.: 1.70 g. Woodhead collection

4.7.3. **Obv.** [Image] Annuletted T
On I: not clear. Outer legend illegible.

**Rev.** [Image]
On spire: cross, in castle: o o o, before DNS: crescent, number of arches: uncertain, small castle.

Wt.: 1.75 g. Musée du Périgord
4.7.4. Obv. *henraomst*
On Li: not clear.
Outer legend illegible.
Rev. +DNSBRAG*
Wt.: 0.84 g.

4.8.1. Obv. *henraomulanoast*
On Li: pellet.
*BDMDTV:SIT:NO* Annuletted T
Rev. +DNSBRAG*
On spire: cross, in castle: ◆◆◆ before DNS: crescent, number of arches: 9, small castle.
Wt.: 1.62 g.

4.8.2. Obv. *henraomulanoast*
On Li: not clear.
*CATVISI:NONI:DNI* Annuletted T
Rev. +DNSBRAG*
On spire: cross, in castle: ◆◆◆ before DNS: crescent, number of arches: 9, small castle.
Wt.: 1.57 g.

4.8.3. Obv. *henraomulanoast* Annuletted T
On Li: pellet.
Outer legend illegible.
Rev. +DNSBRAG*
Wt.: 1.65 g.

4.8.4. Obv. *henraomulanoast* Annuletted T
On Li: not clear.
Outer legend illegible.
Rev. +DNSBRAG*
On spire: cross, in castle: ◆◆◆ before DNS: crescent, number of arches: 9, small castle.
Wt.: 1.65 g.

4.9.1. Obv. *henraomulanoast*
On Li: cross.
Outer legend illegible.
Rev. +DNSBRAG*
On spire: not clear, in castle: ◆◆◆ before DNS: crescent, number of arches: uncertain, medium castle.
Wt.: 1.20 g.
4.9.2. Obv. *THENCOMULANACT
On II: cross.
*BNDICTVISIT:NOMEDNJ:HRIDAI Annuletted T
Rev. vDNS BRGERACI
On spire: cross, in castle: not clear, before DNS: crescent, number of arches: 10, medium castle.
Wt.: 1.85 g.
Musée du Périgord

4.10.1. Obv. *THENCOMULAN
On II: pellet.
Annuletted T
Rev. DNSBRAGERACI
On spire: cross, in castle: ooo, before DNS: no mark, number of arches: uncertain, large castle.
Wt.: 1.57 g.
Brand collection

4.10.2. Obv. *THENCOMULAN
On II: pellet.
Outer legend illegible.
Rev. DNSBRAGERACI
On spire: cross, in castle: ooo, before DNS: no mark.
Wt. 1.34 g.
Kon. Bibliotheek Albert I, Brussels

4.11.1. Obv. *THENCOMULAN
On II: pellet.
Annuletted T
Rev. vDNSBRAGERACI
On spire: cross, in castle: ooo, before DNS: crescent, number of arches: uncertain, large castle.
Wt.: 1.61 g.
Elias collection

4.11.2. Obv. *THENCOMULAN
On II: pellet.
Annuletted T
Rev. vDNSBRAGERACI
On spire: cross, in castle: ooo, before DNS: crescent, number of arches: uncertain, large castle.
Wt.: 1.55 g.
Blunt collection

5. GROS À LA COURONNE

Although this coin may have been inspired by the gros à la couronne of Aquitaine, it is not a faithful copy of it. The crown is of a different design and the cross is an ordinary short cross, whereas the one on the Aquitanian coin is a cross calvary, the lower limb extending to the edge of the coin. Ainslie thought—and Hewlett with him—that the coin was an imitation of the Gros blanc à la couronne of John the Good (Lafaurie 306), but that coin was struck in 1357, six years after Henry was created Duke of Lancaster.
5.1.1. **Obv.** *HEN:COMESLAN
   +BND[...][...]DEI
   Cross within the inner circle.

   **Rev.** *DNS:BRAGAIRA
   Crown in centre, o below crown, annulet to left of crown, tressure of arches containing leaves.
   Wt.: 1.50 g. *Musée du Périgord

5.2.1. **Obv.** *HEN:COMESLAN

   **Rev.** *DNS:BRAGAIRA
   o below crown.

   Ainslie (Supp. ii. 19) and Poey d'Avant (2686) both describe it as a demi-gros in the Cabinet des Médailles where—if it ever was there—it is not to be found now.

5.3.1. **Obv.** *HEN:COMESLAN
   +BCTV[...][...][EDN]

   **Rev.** *DNS:BRAGAIRA[...]
   Piedfort. Wt.: 17.8 g. *Musée du Périgord

   This is the same piedfort described by Ainslie (Supp. ii. 18) from the Norblier collection and by Poey d'Avant (2685) from the Morel-Fatio collection.9

6. **GROS À LA FLEUR DE LIS**

   There is one specimen known of this coin, which is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in a poor state of preservation. The whole appearance of the coin is such that sincere doubts as to its authenticity may be raised.

6.1.1. **Obv.** *HEN:COMASLAN
   Second legend illegible. Cross patee.

   **Rev.** *DNS:BRAGAIRA
   Fleur-de-lis.

   It may be an imitation of the gros à la fleur de lis of Philip VI of France. There is no corresponding coin known of Aquitaine. It would have been curious if there was because the fleur-de-lis is principally the symbol of the opposite party.

7. **GROS AU LÉOPARD**

   This coin is similar to a coin of Aquitaine of which one, badly broken, specimen is to be found in the British Museum (Hewlett, pl. vi. 4), and two specimens recently found at Pardies (Peyrehorade, Landes).

7.1.1. **Obv.** |HEN|COM|UX|NC
   Outer legend illegible. Cross patee dividing inner legend only.

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8. DENIER AU LÉOPARD

Aquitanian coins of this type are known from specimens in the British Museum and Elias collections. They belong to the group of deniers with a leopard between two straight lines which by Ainslie and Hewlett have been attributed to Edward I. This attribution is evidently wrong, which is proved also by the special characteristics of these coins.

8.1.1. **Obv.** *DN:HR:COM*  
Leopard passant to left between two straight lines, voided quatrefoil below.

**Rev.** *DN:BR*  
Cross.

Wt.: 1.1 g.  
Elias collection

9. DENIER AVEC B ET P

This coin is the same as the preceding one, except that there is a B above and a P below the leopard. It is hard to imagine what the meaning of these letters may be. In this respect it is interesting to note that the corresponding type of Aquitaine is known with the following combination of letters: Q above and E below, A above and G below, B above and G below.

9.1.1. **Obv.** *HR:COME*  
Leopard passant to left between two straight lines, B above, P below.

**Rev.** *DN:BR*  
Cross.

Published by Emile Lalanne, ‘Quelques pièces inédites de ma collection’. Present whereabouts of any specimen unknown.
10.2.1. **Obv.** ♠EN:DNS | BRAG
Outer legend illegible.

**Rev.** LANQAI | IEDVUX
Wt.: 1.40 g.

Musée du Périgord

10.3.1. **Obv.** ♠EN:DNS | BRAGIE

**Rev.** LANQAI | IEDVUX
Wt.: 1.28 g.
Fitz William Museum, ex Lockett (293), ex Boyne (123)

10.4.1. **Obv.** ♠EN:DNS | BRAGIE

**Rev.** LANQAI | IEDVUX
Wt.: 1.70 g.
Musée du Périgord

10.5.1. **Obv.** ♠EN:DNS | BRAGIE
Outer legend illegible.

**Rev.** LANQAI | IEDVUX
Wt.: 1.51 g.
Woodhead collection

10.6.1. **Obv.** ♠EN:DNS | BRAGIE

**Rev.** LANQAI | IEDVUX
Wt.: 2.64 g.
Brand collection

10.6.2. **Obv.** ♠EN:DNS | BRAGIE
Outer legend illegible.

**Rev.** LANQAI | IEDVUX
Wt.: 1.75 g.
Musée du Périgord

A further specimen was reported to me with an annulet at either side of IEDVUX (Singer collection, U.S.A.), of which I have not been able to acquire more details.

Hewlett also mentions a similar coin with a leopard passant guardant (p. 90). He refers in this respect to an illustration in the *Revue Numismatique Française*, 1841, pl. xi. 4, copied by Poey d’Avant (pl. LVII. 2. 21). However, this illustration was made from the same coin in the British Museum that Hewlett portrayed as pl. vii. 18 (10.1.1 above).

With its large leopard this is clearly an Aquitanian type of coin. It is therefore highly remarkable that we know of no corresponding specimen of Aquitaine. Still there may have been an Aquitanian prototype. Ducarel, Duby, and Ruding all describe a coin of Aquitaine, similar to this one of Bergerac. (Ruding even refers to a specimen in the British Museum.)

The type as such is undoubtedly the Aquitanian counterpart of a French coin of

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John the Good, the gros à la couronne, which has on the obverse a cross calvary fleurdelisée, and on the reverse a large crown over (in two lines) FRANCO: RV:REX. The coin was issued in 1358.

Just as with several other types (type 4 and type 11 specially) there are large differences in the weights of the surviving coins which shows once more how cautious we must be to draw conclusions from the weight (and the size and the general appearance) of a coin of which only a few specimens exist.

11. GROS TOURNOIS AU LÉOPARD

The obverse is similar to that of the French example with a short cross pattée. The castle on reverse is French also, with a crown within and a leopard to left above. There is a corresponding Aquitanian coin of which it is a faithful copy up to the quatrefoil stops and the closed C’s and E’s.

11.1.1. Obv. ☞EN:DNS:BR7GIIIA
♀CONNIVS TIT:ROMM DNI VR:REX
Stops: quatrefoils
Rev. ♦DVX:LANCAIA
Wt.: 1-60 g. Elias collection

11.2.1. Obv. ☞EN:DNS:BR7GIIIYA
Outer legend ends DEI-II
Rev. +DVX:LANCAIA
Pellet under castle.
Wt.: 1-44 g. Elias collection

11.2.2. Obv. ☞EN:DNS:BR7GIIIA
Outer legend illegible.
Rev. ♦DVX:LANCAIA
Pellet under castle.
Wt.: 1-92 g. British Museum

11.3.1. Obv. ☞EN:DNS:BR7GIIIA
♀BNDICTV SIT:ROMM DNI NR:DI
Rev. ♦DVX:LANCAIA
Border of 12 arches.
Wt.: 2-67 g. British Museum

11.4.1. Obv. ☞EN:DNS:BR7GIIIA
Outer legend undescribed.
Rev. ♦DVX:LANCAIA
Border of 14 arches.
Except in the outer legend the above coins have closed Gothic 6's and 0's. Some of these coins, especially the ones in my collection, are of poor quality. The metal is base and the flan is very thin. In comparison with the corresponding coins of Aquitaine this looks like an example of Bergerac coins that are evidently not ‘as good as or better than’ the king’s money.

12. STERLING

The type of this coin is the same as that of the very rare Aquitanian sterlings struck in Bordeaux and Dax.

12.1.1. *Obv.* PHEN:DVX:LANCAST Annuleted T

Bearded crowned head facing, cross on crown.

*Rev.* | DNS | BR7 | G7T | R7G |

Long cross pattée extending to edge of coin, crown in first and fourth angles, 3 pellets in second and third angles.

Wt.: 1·40 g. Musée du Périgord

12.2.1. *Obv.* [Image of coin design]

Cross on crown.

*Rev.* | DNS | BR7 | G7T |

Three pellets in first and fourth angles, crown in second and third angles.

Wt.: 1·10 g. Musée du Périgord

12.3.1. *Obv.* [Image of coin design]

Lis on crown.

*Rev.* | DNS | BR7 | G7T |

Three pellets in first angle, crowns in the other angles, annulet below crown in the fourth angle.

Wt.: 0·90 g. Musée du Périgord

12.3.2. *Obv.* [Image of coin design]

Lis on crown.

*Rev.* | DNS | BR7 | G7T |

Three pellets in first angle, crowns in the other angles, annulet below crown in the fourth angle.

Wt.: 0·85 g. Musée du Périgord

12.3.3. *Obv.* [Image of coin design]

Lis on crown.

*Rev.* | DNS | BR7 | G7T |

Three pellets in first angle, crowns in the other angles, annulet below crown in the fourth angle.

Wt.: 0·71 g. British Museum

12.3.4. *Obv.* [Image of coin design]

Lis on crown.

*Rev.* | DNS | BR7 | G7T |

Three pellets in first angle, crowns in the other angles, annulet below crown in the fourth angle.

Wt.: 1·03 g. British Museum
12.4.1. **Obv.**

Lis on crown.

**Rev.**

Three pellets in first angle, crowns in the other angles.

Wt.: 0.75 g.

Musée du Périgord

12.5.1. **Obv.**

Lis on crown.

**Rev.**

Not clear what is in fourth angle, crowns in the other angles.

Wt.: 0.90

Musée du Périgord

Note: A coin, according to the description similar to 12.4.1, was stolen from the Musée du Périgord in 1978.

### III. Without Lancastrian title

13. **GROS AU LION**

13.1.1. **Obv.**

Cross pattée dividing inner legend.

**Rev.**

Lion rampant to left. Tressure of 12 arches enclosing trefoils.

Wt.: 3.53 g.

Woodhead collection

13.2.1. **Obv.**

**Rev.**

Woodhead collection

13.3.1. **Obv.**

**Rev.**

When I was in Paris in February 1980 this coin had recently been offered. I was not able to trace it any more but I acquired a photograph. The present whereabouts as well as the weight are unknown.

13.4.1. **Obv.**

**Rev.**

This coin is described and illustrated by Raymond Serrure. No specimen is known to me.

Amongst the coins stolen from the Musée du Périgord 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 13.2 or 13.3.

Raymond Serrure, *La imitation des types monétaires flamands*, Bruxelles, 1899.
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 (1322–46) and struck by his successor, Louis de Mâle, as late as 1370. It has been imitated in some twenty other places, mainly in the southern Low Countries and northern France.

The Aquitanian gros au lion can be divided into two main categories, those without and those with the mint name. The reverse legend of the first category is DVX AQUITANIE that of the second category MONETA BVRD, MONETA RVPELLE, or MONETA AGEN. It is clear that the Bergerac gros, the reverse legend being MONET BRAGII or MONETA BRAG, is an imitation of the coins of the second category. As La Rochelle came into English hands immediately after Brétigny, December 1360, and Agen in the summer of 1361, the coins of the second category must have been struck as late as 1361. Those of Bordeaux could of course have been struck earlier, but they would still be current in 1361, assuming that the new mints of La Rochelle and Agen would coin what was current elsewhere. Consequently it may be assumed that the gros au lion of Bergerac was struck at the end of the life of Henry of Lancaster, who died 23 March 1361, probably in his last year.

14. DOUBLE

In the catalogue of the Lespinas collection, now in the Musée du Périgord, a double is mentioned (L. 413 quat.) with the following description:

14.1.1. *Obv.* **BRAGAIRACIE**
Crown surmounted by a fleur-de-lis.

*Rev.* Cross calvary fleurdelisée

The coin was bought by M. Lespinas from the Muller collection. Unlike the other coins of the Lespinas collection it is not in the Musée du Périgord.

It is clear that this coin is an imitation of a double of Aquitaine (Hewlett, vi. 14) which in turn has some similarity to a double of Philip VI of 1348 (Lafaurié 275). It might therefore be dated in the period when Henry was still Earl of Lancaster.

**Conclusion**

One cannot study a series like this without being left with some questions, the first one being: is this all or has there been more? Entering the field of conjecture we may safely assume—from the extreme rarity of some pieces—that coins have been struck of types that have not survived. We must therefore be aware that we have an incomplete picture which compels us to draw our conclusions with some reserve. Of fourteen known types thirteen were imitated from Aquitanian prototypes. Nine of these must be situated in the period 1347–51, which leaves the far longer period 1351–61 with only four types. At least two of these were produced at the end of that period: the gros au léopard couchant after 1358 and the gros au lion in 1361. A third one, the gros tournois au léopard may also be of the late 1350s as it has certain elements of style, amongst them the non-annuletted T, that are normal after Brétigny but unusual before it. This justifies the second question: can the mint have been idle for a while? In view of the—admittedly
incomplete—evidence it looks indeed as if after the rather hectic first four years there has been a period of strongly decreased activity, if any at all, to be followed by a modest resumption of business in the second half of the ducal period.

What is suggested by the use we, gratefully, make of the Bergerac coinage as a tool to determine the approximate date of the coins of Aquitaine? In other words what can we say about Aquitanian coins of which no Bergerac counterparts have been found? To begin with, Aquitanian coin may have been struck so long before 1347 that it was no longer current at that time. This is undoubtedly the case with the Hibernie demi-gros (Hewlett, v. ii) of which we have, thanks to an unpublished work which Mr. John Brand has made accessible to me, reasons to believe was struck at the end of the reign of Edward II and the beginning of his son’s reign.

But even if a coin was struck in the period 1347–61 we must not forget that the Bergerac mint certainly would not have copied all Aquitanian coins of that period. Black coins for instance may have been copied only incidentally as the profits thereon would have been considerably lower. Still there are coins that have been struck abundantly in Aquitaine in the period 1347–61 without having left a trace in the Bergerac coinage, for example the fairly common blanc au léopard sous couronne (Hewlett, vi. 2). I think the reason for that is not that minting would not have been attractive, as the coin was intensively used, but that it was struck in Aquitaine in the period of more or less complete inactivity of the Bergerac mint, which I assume must have been in the first half of the ducal period (1351–6). It is a supposition to be handled with caution but I think that if used carefully it can help us fill a gap in the interpretation of the often so baffling coinage of Aquitaine.