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From the Executive Director

Ute Wartenberg Kagan

Dear Members and Friends,

In our summer issue of the ANS Magazine, we have again some fascinating feature articles, which illustrate the variety of objects in our collections and the knowledge of our members and staff. As an institution, the Society is blessed to have so many talented people involved in its many activities. Unfortunately, I have to announce that two of our staff members will be leaving the Society over the summer. Sylvia Karges, our Curatorial Assistant, will be leaving the ANS after almost 10 years at the Society, where she helped Dr. Elena Stolyarik and the curatorial staff with registering thousands of new acquisitions, moving the collections, exhibition work, and some specialized cataloguing. Many members and visitors will remember her as a wonderful assistant with their queries about the collection. She came originally as a summer intern and volunteer, before she started her full-time position in March 2007. Her expertise on German Talers, Meissen porcelain, and medals in general will be very much missed. Sylvia is in the process of submitting her PhD thesis on anti-Semitism on coins and medals in Berlin, and we wish her all the best for the future.

As if one staff member were not enough, it is with sadness that I have to report that our Francis D. Campbell Librarian, Elizabeth Hahn Benge, has decided to return to her husband to her home town Chicago. Elizabeth took over our Harry W. Bass Jr. Library from Frank Campbell at a difficult moment, when the ANS was about to move to its new location. It was already clear then that the new headquarters would offer efficient, but smaller space, and Elizabeth began to reorganize the thousands of volumes in the library. Under her leadership, the ANS replaced its older library catalogue, originally designed under Harry Bass’s guidance, with KOHA, an open source library catalogue, and converted all records. Today, DONUM, the ANS’s online catalogue, is an indispensable tool for researchers. Elizabeth also began to tackle the enormous task of cataloguing the many thousand uncatalogued items in our Rare Book Room. She oversaw the work of our part-time archivist, David Hill, and helped with the introduction of ARCHER, the new online database of the ANS archives. While all these activities would keep any librarian busy, she was always extraordinarily helpful to visitors to the ANS Library. Elizabeth became an active member and a Vice President of the Numismatic Bibliomania Society. We all hope that she will continue her association with our field through the NBS. All of us at the ANS wish her and her husband much success in their new life in Chicago. Some of our members might see her there more often than they did in New York City!

There is some good news to report, and I would like to close this with. The Society and the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World (ISAW) received a much coveted grant from the National Endowment of the Humanities to produce a full online catalogue of types of Roman Imperial Coins. Thanks to the tireless efforts of Andrew Meadows, Ethan Gruber, Gilles Bransbourg, and Sebastian Heath, the application for the project was successful, and ANS will be receiving $300,000 over the next three years. I am also most grateful to our former ANS Vice President and current Director of ISAW, Roger Bagnall, for his support of this important research project.

I hope you enjoy reading this issue of the ANS Magazine. Please also do join up for our eNews, which informs about the many activities at the ANS. All of us are very grateful to our members for their support and generosity.

Yours truly,

Ute Wartenberg Kagan
Executive Director

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The Cyclades dance around Delos in the Aegean sea between Greece and Turkey. For many, they conjure up images of sun-kissed beaches, tiny white and blue houses clinging to steep hill-sides, and the sun setting over the caldera at Santorini. Numismatists also think of the famous archaic square cross-reverse ("quadra-tum incusum") silver issues the islands produced: the ivy-wreathed cantharus issues from Naxos, the flying eagle issues from Siphnos, and, most numerous and acclaimed of all, the kneeling goat issues from Paros (figs. 1–3). Kenneth Sheedy identified no fewer than 286 kneeling goat specimens in his recent study, and ultimately considered Paros "[t]he most important mint in the Cyclades during the first two decades of the fifth BC century." Paros cannot claim that honor for the sheer quantity of silver it produced in the Hellenistic period (~323–31 BC), between the death of Alexander the Great and the future emperor Augustus' final defeat of Antony and Cleopatra at the Battle of Actium. Parian Hellenistic issues are, however, unparalleled in the region for their iconographic diversity and for the insight that they unlock into the political and economic life of the islands at the time.

The History of Paros
Paros is the third largest Cycladic island, after Naxos and Andros. It lies right at the geographical heart of the islands, between Siphnos and Naxos, Mykonos and Ios (fig. 4). As for most of the islands, its early history is controversial and shrouded in mist. The stories the ancient inhabitants told in historical times do, however, tell us a lot about the extent of their horizons, and about the connections they and others thought were important in the broader Mediterranean. For example: one foundation myth records that Paros of Parrhasia colonized the islands with Arcadians from the central Peloponnese. Another tells us that the Athenians sent out a colony of Ionians to settle the island. In these competing stories, we can probably trace some of the competition between the Athenians and the Spartans that dominates so much of our history of the region in the fifth and fourth centuries BC, including the work of Thucydides, which then leaves traces in ancient Greek and Roman literature throughout antiquity.

Two other myths relevant to numismatists record purported colonization by Paros itself: of Thasos in the northern Aegean, and of Parium on the Hellespont. The earliest known connection with Thasos is in the poetry of Archilochus, the Parian lyric poet who also appears on Parian tetradrachms (e.g., fig. 8), and who makes several references to Thasos in his poetry. He "laments the misfortunes of the Thasians, not the Magnesians", and claims that "the misery of all the Greeks has gathered in Thasos." It is now largely accepted that there was a close connection between Paros and Thasos, particularly in the mid-seventh century: the French excavators have identified archaic Cycladic pottery and commonalities in the Thasian and Parian calendars and festival cycles. Exactly what the connection was, however, remains much disputed. I personally prefer to see some of the later references to Archilochus’ father as founder of Thasos as ancient reconstructions based on references in Archilochus’ own poetry, rather than independent verifications of

2. Thassos: Thucydides 4.104; Thasos and Parium: Strabo 10.5.7 487.
3. Archilochus, fragment 20, from Strabo 14.1.40 647, and fragment 52, from Strabo 9.6.6 370.
modern hypotheses based on that same poetry. The connection between Parium and Paros has been less explored. The myth could reflect underlying movements of peoples, or it may be a later retrospec-
tion derived precisely from the similarity of names. A good analogy here is the case of Locri in Calabria, southern Italy (Locri Epizephyri, “Western Locri”). In that case, the stories are particularly confused because of the existence of two competing possible colonizing regions in Greece: Opuntian Locri, just across the channel from Euboea, and Ozalidion Locri, on the northern coast of the Corinthian canal. Our sources tie themselves into knots trying to explain how both could have been part of the colonization process, either together or in succession.

Excavation at Parium only started in 2005, and has yet to reach archaic layers. What is certain for now is the difficulty that the similarity in name has caused and continues to cause for modern collectors when it comes to attributing issues to the two cities, because the abbreviated ethnic ΠΑΡΙ was used by both cities. Only with the discovery of the hoard IGCH 13 on Paros in 1937 was the controversy over the origin of the kneeling goat archaic issues finally solved. Hoard evidence also makes the origin of the Hellenis-
tic issues discussed in this article reasonably secure: the few hoards known containing these issues have all been located in eastern continental Greece and Euboea. Some of the less common issues, however, remain difficult to place with certainty.

For historical times, our history of Paros is structured around its relationship with the great empires of antiquity and beyond. Herodotus tells us that Paros sided with the Persians in the first war between the Greeks and the Persians that ended at the battle of Marathon in 490 BC, and again in the second war that culminated in the battles of Salamis (480 BC) and Platea (480 BC). In the fifth century and fourth centuries it was a member of the Athenian empire and the Second Athenian Confederacy. In the Hellenistic period, Antigons from Macedonia and Ptolemies entered Rome’s orbit from the second century BC. Later still, Paros formed part of the Byzantine empire, the Cycladic Silver

or through their provision of an alternative currency of record. An example of one such attempt is the Athenian standards decree of the late fifth century BC (IG I’ 1453). It represents part of a longer Athenian policy of restricting allied and subject city coinage at that time, which is at least in part responsible for the absence of Parian coinage surviving from the mid-to late fifth century BC. At least for Greek antiquity, however, it is difficult to identify any positive external influence on the Parian specimens which do survive. Instead, detailed analysis of Parian Hellenistic silver rather emphasizes the regional and local context as important to understand both the iconography and the standard of the surviving issues.

The Coinage

The first issues Paros minted in the Hellenistic period, probably in the late third century, are a pair of didrachms (Di1) and drachms (D2). These issues share a common iconographic reverse: an ivy wreath with the ethnic (ΙΑΠΙ) in the middle (figs. 5–6). Ivy is common on Parian coinage, as throughout the Cyclades, because of its connection to Dionysus, who himself appears on many of the island coinages, including later Parian tetradrachms (T2.A, T2.B; e.g., figs. 8, 11). The images on the obverse are also paired, but in a different way: the larger didrachms, weighing ~7.8 g, have a veiled female head facing right with a corn wreath; the smaller drachms (~3.9 g) a similar female head, but without the veil. The pairing naturally encourages us to think of paired goddesses, and an obvious choice is Demeter, the Greek goddess of fertility, and Kore, her daughter whom Hadès famously kidnapped, giving rise to the yearly cycle of the seasons.

Both goddesses are also appropriate for Paros. The most prominent evidence is a story Herodotus tells about the downfall of Miltiades, the general who orchestrated the Athenian victory over the Persians at Marathon in 490 BC (citation?) After that victory, Miltiades persuaded the Athenians to attack Paros. While there, he secretly went to a sanctuary, but became scared and severely injured himself jumping back out over the wall; that injury then led to the abandonment of the expedition, and to Miltiades’ death. The story is full of wonderful twists and, as so often, Herodotus does not vouch for all of them. Similarly, where Miltiades claimed that he wanted to punish the Parians for supporting the Persians, 4. For a convenient summary of some of the issues, see Graham 2001 and Kivisto 2010.
5. The catalogue numbers, Di1, D2, D3, T2, etc., refer to the referencing system found in my die study of the coinage, see Tully 2014.

Fig. 1: Aegean Islands, Naxos. AR stater, c. 540–515 BC
(ANS 1944.100.27904, E.T. Newell bequest) 21 mm.

Fig. 2: Aegean Islands, Siphnos. AR stater, c. 540–525 BC
(ANS 1967.152.287, Adria M. Newell bequest) 19 mm.

Fig. 3: Aegean Islands, Paros. AR stater, c. 540–490 BC
(ANS 2008.63.133, John F. Lhotka bequest) 16.5 mm.

Fig. 4: Map of the Aegean region with a detail map of the Cyclades, in red.

Fig. 5: Aegean Islands, Paros. AR didrachm, c. 200–180 BC.
Tully 2014, D1 (ANS 1944.100.27938, E.T. Newell bequest) 21 mm.

Fig. 6: Aegean Islands, Paros. AR drachm, c. 200–180 BC. Tully 2014,
D2 (Athens Numismatics Museum, Empedocles collection) 21 mm.

Fig. 7: Funeral of Miltiades, 1782, by Jean-François Pierre Peyron,
1744–1815.

Fig. 8: Aegean Islands, Paros. AR tetradrachm featuring a portrait of
Archidamus, c. 75 BC. Tully 2014, T2.A (Berlin SMR 18207401) 30 mm.

Fig. 9: Ionia, Priene. AR didrachm featuring a portrait of Bias
on the reverse, c. 290–250 BC (ANS 1968.63.1) 20 mm.
Herodotus insists that he was motivated by a personal grudge against a Parian, Lysagoras, who had been undermining Miltiades’ position with the Persians (presumably before Miltiades had fled to Athens). Most important here, however, are that Demeter was the goddess whose sanctuary Miltiades entered, and that the priestess who accompanied Miltiades was a priestess of the underworld goddesses, Demeter and Kore in their infernal aspects (fig. 7).6

The second series of issues, from the early second century, is more complex. It consists of tetradrachms (T2.A, T2.B), as well as didrachms (Di2) and drachms (D3). Their shared magistrates, dies, and style point to a clear evolution in the types and issues produced: at first, the Parians seem to have produced just tetradrachms, before moving to tetradrachms and didrachms, and finally producing just didrachms and drachms. The first series of tetradrachms Paros produced (T2.A) are very rare: only three are known, all produced from a single obverse die. Dionysus is a plausible choice for the male head facing right on the obverse die: his wreath seems to be made of ivy (fig. 8).7 The seated figure on the reverse is another matter: his lyre encourages us to think of Paros’ most famous son, the archaic lyric poet Archilochus. Although Archilochus’ poetry only now survives in fragments, he is still celebrated for his inventiveness, for the variety of meters in which he composed, and for being one of the earliest known poets to present himself as drawing on personal experiences, such as the loss of his shield in battle. We also know that his memory was prominent on Paros at this time: there is evidence for cult from the fourth century BC.8 The identification is thus compelling, and also significant: until this time, the only humans to appear on coins seem to have been royal rulers, such as Philip of Macedon and his son Alexander. This Parian issue showing Archilochus would then be one of the earliest representatives of a new genre, depicting semi-mythologized great men. Other early examples from around this time include issues from Priene depicting Bias, the famous archaic philosopher associated with that town, and issues from Ios depicting Homer (figs. 9–10).

This first series of tetradrachms is connected to the second by a common magistrate, ANΑΞΙΚ (Anaxikles), and by the shared iconography of the obverse: both series have the same image of Dionysus facing right. Where they differ is in their reverse. The main type on the second series is a female facing left on what seems to be a cista (literally a “chest”), and holding two “tufts” in her hand (fig. 11). These are presumably wheat ears. If so, this figure could again be Demeter. Alternatively, we could point to the importance of cistas in Bacchic rites, and see the female figure as a resting bacchante holding ribbons of ivy in her hand. Either way, the series do, for now at least, seem to have been minted in swift succession, rather than contemporaneously: die wear indicates that ANΑΞΙΚ was the second of the two magistrates to mint the first series, and the first of the three magistrates who minted the second.

ANΑΞΙΚ is also represented in the didrachms which I associate with these tetradrachms (Di2). These didrachms are far more numerous than the tetradrachms: I identified sixty-nine in the course of my die study, and divided them into four groups based on die analysis and consideration of their style: two large groups, and two singletons. All four share the same iconography: a female head facing right on the obverse with a ribbon in her hair, and a goat standing right on the reverse. In the absence of a wheat-wreath or other distinguishing motif, the female head is less easy to identify than on other issues. Artemis and Kore (despite the absence of wheat wreath) would both be consistent with our knowledge of Parian religion: Artemis, as Apollo’s sister, was necessarily prominent in the Parian sanctuaries to Delphic and Delian Apollo, and is explicitly named alongside him in the so-called “reform law” from second-century Paros.9 The image could, however, represent a local god or nymph.

The first basis for my division of this series into two larger groups is a clear distinction in die use. The first group of didrachms, centered round the magistrate ANΑΞΙΚ (figs. 12–14), consists of seven obverses, and four magistrates: ΤΙΜΕΣΙΛ, ANΑΞΙΚ, ΠΙΑΣΕΟΣ, ΤΙΜΕΣΙΑ. Several dies are used by multiple magistrates, and the order of wear suggests that several magistrates were probably active at the same time. No die, however, was used by more than two of the four magistrates, no obverse die is linked with more than four reverse dies, and no die was used to exhaustion. All known specimens also have a die axis of either 12h or 1h.

The second group is very different: it involves only one obverse die, but that one die was used with no fewer than seven reverse dies. It was clearly recut on several occasions to enable it to continue to be used by the two magistrates represented, ΚΗΣΙΛΙ (l) and ΑΧΟΥ (fig. 15). Unlike the first group, where the die axis approxi-

7. One possible alternative is Apollo, the main god of the famous sanctuary on the nearby island of Delos, but he more commonly wears a laurel wreath.
mutes to 12h, these specimens also vary in their die axis: approximately half are 12h, half 6h.

The other two singletons are partly distinct simply by virtue of not forming part of these two clusters. They are, however, also stylistically distinct from the two larger groups. Two points of difference are the style of the hair on the obverse, and the neckline of the obverse. In the first group, the hair is bound by a single curving band of ribbon, and there is no sign of a necklace. The second group has a straight double ribbon in the hair, and a necklace. One singleton (Di2.C; fig. 16) has a compound ribbon, at times with two strands, at others with one. There may be a necklace, but certainty is impossible: the specimen is too worn at the appropriate part of the specimen but no clear. Finally, the other (Di2.D; fig. 17)) has a single straight ribbon, and almost certainly no necklace.

Two factors suggest that the above order of description above is also the most likely order of production. First, the letter forms develop from Di2.A to Di2.D: the Is become longer; the hasta ends become more drilled; the letter forms develop from Di2.A to Di2.D: the Πs above is also the most likely order of production. First, the letter forms develop from Di2.A to Di2.D: the Is become longer; the hasta ends become more drilled; the letter forms develop from Di2.A to Di2.D: the Πs.

The similarity between denominations also goes further: as with the didrachms, there is a significant drilling (fig. 19). The size of the didrachms, with four obverses in the first group, and five in the second. As such, we can possibly see a shift in the logic of the Parian silver production: where the early group focused on higher denominations, this later group is weighted towards smaller denominations.

The “Island Standard” and its Implications

In the past, it has been usual to understand Hellenistic Cycladic silver production as conforming to the Rhodian standard of ~3.6 g. My systematic collation of these Parian issues points to a different conclusion: that they were produced on a standard of ~3.9 g to the drachm. Individual specimens may weigh less than that amount, but each denomination’s leading edge points to this conclusion (fig. 20).

This standard is not unusual in a Parian context: the late classical fractions produced on Paros in the fourth century are consistent with this standard (fig. 21). It is also not unique in a Cycladic context: as Nicolet-Pierre recognized, it was also used on the nearby island of Naxos, which produced a series of didrachms and drachms which are found in the same hoards as these Parian specimens (figs. 22–23). It is, however, unknown outside the Cyclades at this time. Instead, the most common standards in the Greek world were the Athenian (~4.3 g) and Rhodian (~3.4 g).

Because it is confined to the Cyclades, a natural name for this standard would be the “Cycladic standard”. I prefer to call it the “Island Standard”. In doing so, I connect this standard with a cryptic text from first or second century AD Alexandria:

It does not escape me that there are many different kinds of drachma. The Aeginetan and the Rhodian [mina] are five times the Ptolemaic one, and the one called Neciotic (“island”) six times as great. The text is very confused. The ratio of 5:6 between the Rhodian and the island drachms is, however, striking: a Rhodian standard of 3.4 g implies an island drachm of ~4 g. These Parian and Naxian issues with their implied standard of 3.9 g, are remarkably close. Two further factors, moreover, make this standard particularly appropriate to be the “island standard”. First, as noted above, it seems to have been restricted to the islands: I know of no state outside the Cyclades that minted on this standard at this time. Second, it seems to have been the largest standard in the Cyclades at this time. Tenos probably produced more silver than


Fig. 20: Weight distribution of Hellenistic Parian and Naxian didrachms.

Fig. 21: Aegean Islands, Paros. AR diobol, c. 360–300 BC
(ANS 1944.100.27931, E.T. Newell bequest) 10 mm (images enlarged).

Fig. 22: Aegean Islands, Naxos. AR drachm, c. 270–130 BC
(ANS 1972 R2.1, gift of Burton Y. Berry) 21 mm.

Fig. 23: Aegean Islands, Naxos. AR drachm, c. 270–130 BC
(ANS 1972 R2.2, gift of Burton Y. Berry) 17.5 mm.
Naxos and Paros alone, but they cumulatively produced more. This little vignette illustrates nicely the power and importance of close numismatic analysis. This fragment has in the past made no sense, even though the issues in question have all long been known. Melville-Jones did suggest that the text could refer to a currency used by the Hellenistic Nesiotic League or League of the Islanders. He did not, however, then know of any standard or currency that would fit his hypothesis because the Naxian and Parian issues involved had yet to be studied in depth. Only focused work could unlock the text and confirm his intuition in slightly modified form. 12

To identify ancient evidence for the “Island Standard” is, thus, only part of the answer. It remains to consider why the Parians and Naxians would have wanted to mint on their own standard, and how we should contextualize their cooperation.

When it comes to understanding why the Parians and Naxians might have wanted to mint on their own standard, we only need to look at Egypt to understand the possible advantages. There the Ptolemies maintained a closed currency system, and benefited from a conversion charge on the silver brought into Egypt by traders for use in their territory. Naxos and Paros are very different from Ptolemaic Egypt, not least in that they clearly did not mint silver continuously. Nevertheless, an analogy offers a tantalizing possibility. Paros in particular was famous for its marble in antiquity, as it is now. Skopas, one of the great Greek sculptors from antiquity, was born there, and Parian marble was used in the Parthenon, the Nike of Samothrace, now in the Louvre (fig. 24), and the Hermes of Olympia (fig. 25). The physical landscapes of Paros and Naxos are also both scarred with the remains of quarries from antiquity (fig. 26). Just as Egypt exploited its position as a source of grain, so too Naxos and Paros could have relied on their position as sources of prime marble.

When it comes to the nature of the connection between Naxos and Paros, the numismatic evidence suggests that the connection, at least at certain times, may have gone far beyond merely coordinating the standard of their issues. Thus, one of the most prolific Parian magistrates was the man preserved as ΚΤΗ on Parian drachms, and ΚΤΗΣ on Parian dioboloi. Among the magistrates on the contemporary Naxian issues is ΚΤΗΣΙΦ, perhaps short for Ktesiphon (fig. 27). 13 It may be coincidence: several names that could be abbreviated KTH are attested in the Cyclades. The issues are, however, at least closely contemporary. It is tempting to envisage that the same man was involved, minting at one time Naxian issues, at another Parian, under a system of alternating production as is recorded for Mytilene and Phocaea in the fourth century. 14 Alternatively, the issues may even have been produced at the same mint on one of the islands. 15

My second example is still more intriguing, and comes from the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos. The sanctuary overseers maintained long, detailed records of the possessions of the temple on large stone tablets that were erected around the precinct. Large fragments of these records have been unearthed and painstakingly deciphered by the French archaeologists who have been working on Delos since 1877. 16

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14. An inscription (IG XII 2, 1) found at Mytilene and dated to the end of the fifth century records details of a cooperative minting arrangement between Mytilene and Phokaia. See Melville Jones no. 248.
15. Compare the discussion of fourth-century Peloponnesian production by Flament 2010.
Among the references to vases, rings, crowns, and many other dedications are references to what are clearly coins from different states. These references include palm-tree-bearers (“ψυκτοφόροι”), bull-bearers (“μουσοφόροι”), and grape-bunch-bearers (“βοτρυοφόροι”) which Louis Robert and others have identified as references to issues from Delos, Eretria, and Tenos respectively, where these images are promi-
nent among their iconography (fig. 29). These inventories also include entries referring to Naxian tetradrachms (“νάξια τέτραχμα”). Perhaps because the ethnic is clear, these entries have attracted far less attention. They are just as puzzling, however, because no issue of tetradrachms from Naxos is known. It is unlikely that these references point to coins of Sicilian Naxos: the other issues mentioned are all Aegean, and I know of no Naxian tetradrachm im-
printed on the Naxian standard. Instead, it should be much stronger: By analogy, the reference to the Naxian tetradrachm “προυσιακὸν τέτραχμον” can -
be) Naxian—even though to our modern city-state a reference to an issue that was precisely (believed to be) Naxian—ever-thought to be leading state of the Hel-
nistic world may well look very different.

Conclusion

This overview of the Hellenistic coinage of Paros en-
codes nicely the importance of the numismatic work that the ANS promotes. Close analysis of the surviv-
ing issues informs us about their order and structure, but also informs a broad range of ongoing debates about the Hellenistic period. The “island standard” identified between Paros and Naxos does not in itself falsify notions of a unified Aegean economic system structured around the Rhodian standard, but it does join with recent trends in scholarship to emphasize the local, the microregional, rather than the macro-
structural.

Similarly, the rich epigraphic evidence from Asia Mi-
nor has already encouraged us to remould our image of the Hellenistic world from one which was dominat-
ed exclusively by the large kingdoms to one in which the kings and city-states engaged in constant rene-
gotiation of their relative positions. This numismatic evidence pushes this realignment still further. Neither Naxos nor Paros was ever a leading state of the Hel-
nistic world, yet they seem still to have maintained their own production on their own independent standard. Once the many other coinages that await detailed analysis have been studied, our texture of the Hellenistic world may well look very different.

The idea of a close connection between Naxos and Paros minted on the same standard in the archaic period, and that they competed for prominence in the region. A fragmentary inscription from the second century BC refers to an arbitration by the Eretrians that nullified pre-existing disputes both between the two cities, and between their citizens. On one level, this inscription can simply be read as a standard example of interstate arbitration. On another, however, it combines with this numismatic evidence to provide a snapshot into a particularly fraught moment in their relationship.

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17 Note that Markholm, Grierson, and Westermark 1991 pl. 37:561–
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matic Society).
In Book 12 (line 127) of the Odyssey, Homer mentions an island, “Thrinakia,” which he describes as the island of the sun, home of Helios’ cattle. The island is commonly thought to have been Sicily since the name Thrinakia implies an island connected to the number three and the island’s triangular shape is defined by three promontories. As one of the earliest recorded mentions, Homer’s Thrinakia is the beginning of countless references to the island of Sicily. It also serves to underline the mythology that is tightly bound to the region. Both the mythology and the repeated symbolism of the three promontories are emphasized in the flag of Sicily today (fig. 1), with the Gorgon head of Medusa circled by the three-leg symbol, the triskeles, which is found in varying styles across a range of art forms over the centuries. Numerous writers, both ancient and modern, have taken an interest in Sicily, and elite European travelers found it to be a desirable destination during the peak of the Grand Tour in the eighteenth century (fig. 2). Today, the island is densely packed with monumental reminders of the past in the numerous archaeological remains that are scattered throughout (fig. 3); the looming presence of volcanic Mount Etna adds to the drama of the landscape (fig. 4). Although closely associated with southern Italy, the watery boundaries have kept the territory isolated from Italy, not only physically, but culturally as well.

The history of this “beautiful island” (isola bedda, in Sicilian) could easily be told through a survey of the numismatic evidence alone. The coinage is as varied as the different cultures that have occupied the island over the centuries: Phoenicians, Greeks, Sikels, Romans, Vandals, Goths, Muslims, Normans, Spanish, Bourbons, and more. But it is the coinage of the Romans and Greeks in Sicily that caught the eye of early students of numismatics. A special interest in the ancient coinage of Sicily can be seen in literature dating back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a time when travel to Italy was increasingly popular among Europeans embarking on their Grand Tour of western civilization.

Hubertus Goltzius and the Rise of Sicilian Studies
The earliest numismatic authors began writing in the sixteenth century fueled by the renewed discovery of the ancient world that epitomized the Renaissance. This is not to say that earlier authors did not comment on, or illustrate, coinage; Petrarch is the best known of these earlier authors.1 Later Renaissance numismatic literature follows two paths, that of Guillaume Budé, who wrote De asse et partibus eius, which first appeared in 1516, and Andrea Fulvio, who produced his Illustrum imagines in 1537. Budé’s work is considered one of the earliest books devoted to the study of ancient coins and while he takes a metrological approach, Fulvio is more concerned with iconography. The latter’s work includes some 204 woodcuts illustrating actual or supposedly ancient coins; in fact, only a few of the coins were ancient. The illustrations are accompanied by brief descriptions. The different approaches of the two authors are clear in the physical appearance of the pages—except for the decorative title page, Budé’s work is almost entirely text, while Fulvio relies more on images for the focus of his discussion.

While the earliest numismatic works of Budé and Fulvio focused on Roman coinage with their familiar Latin inscriptions, attention turned to the Greek world

1. Rerum familiarium libri, XIX.3, on Roman coins.
in more thorough studies after the first half of the sixteenth century. Although Roman coins had attracted a great deal of interest even by the fourteenth century, interest in Greek numismatics was less common, although not necessarily because of a more limited understanding of the Greek language. The lack of published Greek coins may be due to the limited nature of such early numismatic studies in general and a failure to publish by those with extensive knowledge. It is around this time more general histories of Sicily started to appear, with publication of De rebus praecelarum Syracusanis by L.C. Scobor in 1520 and Tommaso Fazzello’s 1558 publication, De rebus Siculis decades duae, which appeared in Italian translation first in 1557, and then reprinted in 1574 and 1628. Many of these early studies focused more on the architecture, inscriptions, or topography of the island with coins mentioned only in passing, if at all. Fazzello was primarily concerned with literary evidence as support for his descriptions of the island, whereas focused more on the architecture, inscriptions, or topography of the island with coins mentioned only in passing, if at all. Fazzello was primarily concerned with literary evidence as support for his descriptions of the Greek colonies of Sicily, but he did incorporate certain sources of physical evidence including inscriptions, architecture, and even sporadic discussion of coinage, within the larger context of his topographical survey of the island. Despite his exaggerations and embellishments, his collections he claims to have visited has been inflated. Numismatic interest in Sicily gained momentum after the first half of the sixteenth century and in 1576 Hubertus Goltzius (1526–1583) published Sicilia et Magna Graecia (fig. 3), the first concentrated study that specifically depicted the coinage of the island. Still, however, his discussion of the objects is lost amid his preference for historical digressions and citations from ancient authors. The coins are illustrated in 37 detailed engravings (fig. 4) and serve merely as accompanying illustration since they are not analyzed in the text. Various errors, intentional or by accident, appear throughout, especially with regard to inscriptions and size, although at the same time small details can appear quite accurate. Although Goltzius made two trips around Europe to visit hundreds of numismatic collections and reproduced many coins with generally accurate engravings, he appears to have exaggerated the details of the number of coin cabinets that he visited and was prone to embellish the coins in his engravings. The flawlessness of the engravings may have been an attempt to present the most attractive images possible in order to satisfy his patrons. In his 1563 book Iulius Caesar, Goltzius lists the collections of 978 coin cabinets that he claimed to have visited between 1556 and 1560. Goltzius did not travel to Sicily and seems to have only made it as far south as Naples. When mapped against his travel diary and other evidence, it appears likely that the number of collections he claims to have visited has been inflated. Despite his exaggerations and embellishments, his plates of coins of Sicily and Magna Graecia are important as they influenced the more extensive works of later authors such as Filippo Paruta, Vincenzo Mirabella, and others discussed below. The coin engravings are neatly arranged in each plate and include details that were generally ignored by other early authors, such as actual coin diameters. Though not drawn to scale, the size of each coin is identified by a Greek character that corresponds to a size chart, while the material of each coin is identified by an abbreviation, although the weights are not recorded.

The sixteenth century also saw the appearance of important numismatic works of influential thinkers in the field such as Jacopo Strada, Enea Vico, Sebastiano Erizzo, and Antonio Agustin. The scholarly interaction between these authors included important debates about the actual value that ancient coins had in antiquity. The Venetian Sebastian Erizzo championed the view that coins depicting the heads of the Caesars and noteworthy citizens were medaglie and had been struck as commemorative works of art. In contrast, Enea Vico observed the uniform weight of many coins and argued that this was evidence of a monetary value and function. It is within this context that Goltzius was working. Sicilia et Magna Graecia was the first volume of an ambitious project to produce a complete catalogue of the coins of ancient Greece. It was the only volume of the series that appeared in print during his lifetime, although he was productive in other areas of numismatic literature and was an accomplished printer and engraver. Goltzius’s first published work on the portraits of Roman emperors, Le vive imagini, appeared in 1557 and was subsequently published in Latin, German, Spanish, Italian, and French editions. Moreover, his “Officina Goltziana” in Bruges was the first private press established in the Low Countries and was in operation from 1563–1576. Although not always contemporary with the accompanying text, exquisitely detailed frontispieces often graced the opening pages of many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century numismatic works and many editions of Goltzius’s publications show off some of the best examples. The 1708 edition of Sicilia et Magna Graecia in the Harry W. Bass, Jr. Library contains a frontispiece with extraordinary detail (fig. 7). The engraving introduces many of the central figures of Sicily’s ancient history: Persephone, Demeter, Poseidon, Artemis, Skylla, and numerous symbols of the sea, and the triskeles. Many of the figures and symbols in this engraving crop up in various forms within other authors. The coins he mentions include those of Messana, Gela, and Segesta; see Cunnally 1999: 141–2.

3. The coins he mentions include those of Messana, Gela, and Segesta; see Cunnally 1999: 141–2.

Fig. 3 (above): Temple of Concordia, Agrigento, Sicily. Fig. 2: View of the Greek theatre at Taormina, Sicily. Created by De Wint and Wallis, printed by McQueen, publ. in London, 1821. Fig. 4 (above): Temple of Concordia, Agrigento, Sicily. Fig. 4 (right): Catania with Mount Etna in the background.

Isola Bedda
numismatic works and have helped to shape the popular image of the island. At the top of the page, a scene portrays the abduction of Persephone, which reportedly occurred near Syracuse (Diodorus Siculus 5.3.4), and incorporates the accompanying figures of Demeter and Hades. The imagery conveys Persephone’s terror: her mouth is wide agape and her arms wave wildly to either side in obvious resistance; upon close examination, it is possible to detect streams of tears squeezed from her eyes. Situated below is Skylla, a sea goddess that haunted the narrows between Sicily and Italy and devoured half a dozen of Odysseus’s men as he passed through (Odyssey 12.275ff). In classical art, Skylla was frequently depicted with a fish-tail and a cluster of canine fore-parts surrounding her waist, details which the title-page engraver has carefully included. She holds above her head a steering oar, which stood as a symbol of her wrath against sailors who passed her way. These attributes are repeated on some coins of Sicily and in parts of the Roman world (fig. 8). Although magnificently engraved frontispieces and title pages, such as this, did not necessarily reflect the contents of the book, it nonetheless offered a dramatic introduction to the scholarship that followed.

The Seventeenth Century: Paruta and Mirabella

The seventeenth century witnessed an expansion of historical research and coin collecting, which sparked an increase in the production of numismatic literature. However, the political and economic troubles that plagued Europe during the first half of the century resulted initially in a sharp decline in the number of numismatic books that appeared. Nevertheless, Filippo Paruta (1550–1629) and Vincenzo Mirabella (1570–1624) published the first analyses of Sicilian coinage in the opening decades of the seventeenth century. Paruta’s Sicilian corpus, Della Sicilia di Filippo Paruta descritta con medaglie, appeared in 1612 in Palermo, a popular book as evidenced in the expanded editions appearing through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One edition produced in 1649 included hundreds of additions by Lionardo Agostini (1593–ca. 1670) under the title La Sicilia di Filippo Paruta descritta con medaglie, e ristampata con aggiunta da Lionardo Agostini, and was printed in Rome. The specimens that were added by Agostini are clearly identifiable by a star that has been affixed to the coin image; the text was also significantly expanded. This edition was reprinted in Lyon in 1697 by Marc Maier, a local bookseller who had acquired the original copper plates used in the 1649 edition. Subsequently, a further expanded edition in Latin, Sicilia numismatica, was edited by Siegbert Havercamp (1684–1742) and published in 1723 (fig. 9) as part of J. G. Graevius’ extensive
fifteen volume *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Siciliae* (Leiden, 1723–5). The large folio goes beyond the Greek and Roman focus (fig. 10) of Paruta’s earlier work to include illustrations of coins up to contemporary times, including coins of Charles VI. Although the original 1612 edition of Paruta’s work includes the designation “Prima parte,” no other volumes were produced. The coins illustrated come from a variety of sources, including Paruta’s own collections, and he is careful to cite the provenance of each example.

Paruta was an important figure for bringing the study of Sicilian coins to the stage. The expanded editions of his work in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries coupled by the written praise by later authors, underscore the leading role he held among his contemporaries. In 1819, the Sicilian writer and lawyer Giuseppe Emanuele Ortolani (1758–1828) published a biography of important Sicilian men, in which he praises the numismatic achievements of Paruta. He describes Paruta as the first to really put Sicily in the spotlight of ancient numismatic studies and to extend the focus beyond that of the Roman Caesars. Ortolani identifies Paruta as a nobleman from Palermo who originally studied philosophy before moving to the study of theology, law, and ancient Greek and Latin texts. He was well liked and held various roles and delegations, although the position that occupied most of his time was in the role of Secretary of the Senate of Palermo. Even with all of these civic duties, the accomplishment for which Paruta was most admired by his contemporaries is his *Sicilia descritta con medaglie*. Of Secretary of the Senate of Palermo. Even with all of these civic duties, the accomplishment for which Paruta was most admired by his contemporaries was his *Sicilia descritta con medaglie*.

Paruta’s crowning achievement overshadows the more specialized focus of Vincenzo Mirabella (1570–1624), who was primarily concerned with Syracuse, where he was born. His work, *Dichiarazioni della pianta delle antiche Siracuse e di alcune medaglie di esse e dei principi che quelle possedettero*, was published in Naples in 1613. It includes exquisitely detailed maps of the city and surroundings of Syracuse (and Ortygia), which are spread out over nine engravings executed by Francesco Lomia and which occupy the first half of the work (fig. 11). The key points of the map are numbered and much of the discussion focuses on mythological topics. The second part of the work lists 38 “medaglie” of Syracuse with detailed engravings and enthusiastic discussion, much of which is also based around mythology (fig. 12). The engravings are quite artistically stylized although the orientation of many iconographical elements is flipped horizontally. Mirabella was many things, including a historian, a poet, an architect, and a musician, as well as a collector of antiquities. He was said to have guided the Italian Baroque artist Michelangelo Merisi, known more commonly as Caravaggio, through archaeological sites of the city during a visit in 1608. During the visit, the two are said to have coined the phrase “Ear of Dionysios” to describe the famous Grotta delle Latomie, which was used as a prison in antiquity and which has a physical likeness to an ear (fig. 13). The Syracusan tyrants favored the cave as a prison because the natural acoustic effects of the space meant they could hear everything that was being said by the prisoners.

The Eighteenth Century: D’Orville and Torremuzza In the eighteenth century, the cultural and political climate of Sicily was stressed and suffocating under an outdated feudal system. A series of volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, and bubonic plague had decimated the island in the seventeenth century and the island continued to suffer under a cloud of poverty, tragedy, and war. The island was handed to the House of Savoy in 1713 and subsequently passed to the Austrians in 1720. In 1734, Sicily was reclaimed by Spain under the rule of the Bourbon king Charles I, and it was not until the end of the century that the Bourbons were forced out under increasing pressure from Napoleon’s conquest of Naples in 1799. At the same time, growing public interest in Sicily in the eighteenth century is evident in the steady flow of Grand Tour travelers to the region who were fueled by a desire to see relics of the classical past. Although the Grand Tour began in earnest in the late sixteenth century, it was some time before Sicily became an essential destination. The attention paid to the island by foreigners brought an enhanced appreciation for the history of the region. Many travelers, such as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, recorded their adventures commenting on the antiquities and landscape of the island. Goethe’s *Italienische Reise* focused on southern Italy and Sicily, and as he observed during his 1787 Italian journey: “To have seen Italy without having seen Sicily is not to have seen Italy at all. For Sicily is the clue to everything.”

At the same time, the development of Sicilian numismatic literature also gained momentum. In tandem with the Greco-Roman orientation of the Grand Tour, the focus continued to be on ancient Greek coinage, with some exceptions. An increasing number of coin studies were nestled among larger studies of Sicilian antiquities, such as that by G.M. Pancrazi (*Siciliane spiegate colle notizie generali di questo regno*, 2 vols. Naples: 1751–1752). Two notable figures, however, stand out in this period for their specific contributions to the study of Sicilian coins: D’Orville and

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8. Kagan (2013: 66) speculates that this may be due to the contemporaneous appearance of Vincenzo Mirabella’s book on Syracuse, for which see below.
Torremuzza. Jacobus Philippus d’Orville (1696–1751) (fig. 14) produced *Sicula quibus Siciliae veteris rudera*, which was posthumously printed in 1764 (fig. 15). The volume includes numerous exquisitely detailed plates produced by the Sicilian Francesco Nicoletti, which are scattered throughout the text. The book is divided into three main sections: the first half (over three hundred pages) is devoted to an archaeological and architectural study of the different ancient sites in Sicily and includes several folded engravings (fig. 16–17), while the final section examines a variety of inscriptions. The middle section is devoted to a catalog of ancient Sicilian coins with a discussion that fills some 220 pages and 20 plates (fig. 18). Like Paruta, the numismatic commentary is arranged according to ancient site location, and each coin that is mentioned is illustrated with its obverse and reverse along with indications of material and size, using a chart that appears at the end of the section. D’Orville was familiar with the works of Goltzius, Mirabella, and Paruta and references to these authors, especially the latter, appear quite frequently in his numismatic commentary.

Another key figure in eighteenth-century Sicilian numismatic literature is Gabriele Lancillotto Castello (1727–1792), Prince of Torremuzza. Born in Palermo, he is frequently referred to simply as “Torremuzza”, which is a coastal region of northern Sicily located about halfway between Messina and Palermo. Torremuzza’s strong interest in antiquities stemmed from an impressionable event of his youth when, at the age of 19, a local farmer brought him to see a vase full of bronze coins that he had discovered in 1746. The event, along with many other aspects of his life, is recorded in a eulogy published in 1794, two years after Torremuzza’s death.\(^\text{11}\) A detailed autobiography, published by Giovanni D’Angelo in 1804, also sheds light on the life of Torremuzza.\(^\text{12}\) Besides his numismatic achievements, he was a strong force in ancient Sicilian antiquities. After being nominated to the position of Superintendent of Antiquities for Val di Mazara, he immediately turned his attention to addressing the state of ancient monuments around the island, including restorations of the temple of Segesta in 1781 and the temples of Juno Lucina and Concordia at Agrigento in 1787 and 1788.

Torremuzza produced over a dozen publications on Sicilian antiquities in his lifetime. He established his place among the cultural elite in 1753 with his work on the history of Alesa: *Storia di Alesa città di Sicilia col*
Another early publication, *Siciliae et abiacentum insularum veterum inscriptio-
um nova collectio prolegomenis et notis illustrata*, focused on inscriptions of Palermo and appeared in 1769. In 1774, Torremuzza was elected master of the mint of Palermo. He was as much a scholar as a collector and had accumulated a substantial assortment of coins, which were admired by Goethe when he passed through on his travels of southern Italy and Sicily. Torremuzza also engaged with the work of earlier Sicilian numismatists including Goltzus and Paruta. He published new examples and corrections of errors from the Havercamp edition (1723) of Paruta’s initial study under the title *Alla Sicilia Numismatica di Filippo Paruta correzioni, ed aggiunte*. These additions appeared as a series of five supplements between 1770 and 1774 and were published in volumes 11–15 of the *Opuscoli di autori siciliani*, an annual periodical produced in Palermo. An additional contribution to volume 16 (1775) of the Opuscoli series extended his focus beyond the ancient Greeks of the island to touch on more contemporary mints and denominations, recorded in his *Memorie delle zecche del Regno di Sicilia, e delle monete in esse coniate in vari tempi*.

In 1781, he published his fundamental numismatic achievement, the monograph *Siciliae poporum et urbi
rum regum quoque et tyrannorum veteres nummi Saracenorum epocham antecedentes*, which included 107 plates in the initial printing (fig. 19). This work was also succeeded by supplements in 1789 (*Auc-
tarium primum*) and 1791 (*Auctarium secundum*), which included additional plates. It was this work that Torremuzza was best known for and which solidified his place among the prominent numismatists of the century. Despite his great care in arranging the coins and drawing them to scale (fig. 20), there are inaccuracies and errors that still punctuate his publications, and for this reason modern scholars have remained divided about the value of his publications, some praising his use of coins as important sources of material evidence for the ancient world, others harping on his many errors.

It should be remembered, however, that Torremuzza was on the cusp of a major turning point in the development of both archaeology and numismatics as modern scientific endeavors. After Torremuzza, in the nineteenth century, there was an exponential growth in numismatic literature, with an equally significant spike in focused studies of Sicilian coins. The quality of the scholarship (by modern standards of accuracy) improved significantly, while the...
coins of Sicily continued to form part of larger studies of ancient coinage, or were the focus of dedicated studies themselves.

Conclusion
Early efforts at a systematized analysis of Sicilian coinage present admirable attempts to attribute and describe the disparate varieties in existence. Illustrations of coinage begin to appear in earnest in the second half of the sixteenth century, although the engravings often served illustrative purposes only. The beginning of the seventeenth century saw the veritable advancement of Sicilian numismatic studies with the works of Filippo Paruta and Vincenzo Mirabella, who were eager to address well-known ancient cities such as Syracuse. While the authors were clearly aware of each other, evident in frequent citations, they are also quick to copy without confirming actual coin types, leading to reproduced errors (compare figs. 23, 25, 26, and 27). Although Goltzius visited a number of coin collections and studied actual coin specimens, he occasionally infused his illustrations with embellishments that make the ultimate accuracy of his published books questionable. Although Paruta and Mirabella cite Goltzius as the source for several of their own examples, they do not question the accuracy of the representation but focus the discussion on interpreting the iconography. The authors seem to possess an educated perspective of the ancient world and make valiant efforts at cataloging the coinage of Sicily to varying degrees of completeness. Paruta, in particular, should be celebrated for the vast number of specimens he depicted as well as his efforts at accuracy (compare fig. 24 and 28). As Italians, Paruta and Mirabella may likely have had an advantage of proximity to the coins of Sicily that helped to bring in illustrations of actual coin types, but they were still not immune to copying the fantasy coins of Goltzius. Although different interpretations of the iconography arise, there remains a universal acceptance among the authors of the triskeles, which appears as a dominant coin image as well as a secondary device, as an identifying symbol of Sicily (figs. 25–28, 33). In Sicily, the triskeles as a central motif appears on the coinage with three variations after the initial appearance of three legs circling a central point (fig. 22), subsequently appearing with winged feet (fig. 24), then the addition of Medusa’s head at the joint of the legs, and finally with three ears of barley (fig. 21) (Wilson 2000: 38). The examples of Syracusan coinage that are depicted with variations of this motif allow us to observe the initial stages of the evolution of serious study of Sicilian coinage through the coin depictions, both real and imagined. Although
we continue to question the usefulness of such resources in modern times, it is clear that they remain important foundations of numismatic literature as much for their uniquely specific focus on Sicily as much as for the exquisite engravings that populate the pages.

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Fig. 24: Sicily, Syracuse. AE hemidrachm of Timoleon, c. 344–317 B.C. (ANS 1941.131.934, gift of George H. Clapp) 19 mm.

Fig. 25: Paruta, 1697. La Sicilia di Filippo Paruta descritta con medaglie e ristampata con aggiunta da Leonardo Agostini… Lione: Marco Maior: plate 76, no. 107.

Fig. 26: Milavello e Alonga, 1613. Dichiarazioni della pianta dell’antiche Siracuse… Naples: Lazzaro Scorriggio: coin no. 16.

Fig. 27: Torremuzza, 1781, plate LXXXI, no. 8.

Fig. 28: Paruta, 1697. La Sicilia di Filippo Paruta descritta con medaglie e ristampata con aggiunta da Leonardo Agostini… Lione: Marco Maior: plate 30, no. 13.

Fig. 29: Torremuzza. 1781, plate LXX, no. 8.

Fig. 30: Sicily, Syracuse. AR stater, c. 317–310 B.C (ANS 1997.9.98, estate of John D. Leggett, Jr.) 21 mm (images enlarged).

Fig. 31: Goltzius, 1708, plate 4, no. VII.

Fig. 32: Paruta, 1697. La Sicilia di Filippo Paruta descritta con medaglie e ristampata con aggiunta da Leonardo Agostini… Lione: Marco Maior: plate 48, no. 69.

Fig. 33: Milavello e Alonga, 1613. Dichiarazioni della pianta dell’antiche Siracuse… Naples: Lazzaro Scorriggio: coin no. 6.
During a recent visit to the ANS, I took the opportunity to look over the engraved gems in the collection. These are not coins or medals of course, but numismatists have traditionally collected them along with ancient coins, because of their similar sizes, their similar types, and even sometimes their shared engravers. Gems were engraved in antiquity, the medieval period, the Renaissance, and in modern times. Even the famed American sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens started his career as a cameo-carver (fig. 1). I knew that the ANS had a small holding of gems, as the late Frances and James Schwartz published four articles about them. Two of these papers are devoted exclusively to so-called magic/gnostic gems, a type of Roman apotropaic intaglios with powers against various ailments (fig. 2). I wondered how many more gems the ANS owns: indeed the collection contains a number of non-magic gems (fig. 3). There is no cameo in the collection, which is of unequal quality.

Amongst these ancient stones (of about 10 mm each), two gems stand out: they are much larger, and they are signed, which was an exceedingly rare occurrence in antiquity. Only one has a ticket: “modern copy”. Modern indeed (200 years old), inspired by ancient art indeed, but much more than “fakes”, these two stones deserve to be reconsidered and appreciated again. Both gems are signed in minuscule Greek letters with the name Gnaios. They can be recognized by their iconography and signature as belonging to the group of some 2,581 intaglios (and 20 cameos6) collected by Prince Stanisław Poniatowski in the early nineteenth century (fig. 4). Claudia Wagner and I succeeded to identify the subjects of the ANS’s two gems quite easily. One is an amethyst, 40.5 × 27.5 mm, which depicts the marine deities Nereus and Doris, parents of the Nereids, swimming on the waves (figs. 5–6). The other is a carnelian, 42 × 28 mm, which shows the enchantress Circe transforming Picus into a woodpecker (figs. 7–8). “Most of the Poniatowski gems betray their falsity by their large size alone”, and the ANS’s ones are large indeed—even by Poniatowski’s standards. The carnelian is unfortunately broken in two, and they are both unset—having

1. “Glyptic art” is the engraving of hardstones in relief (cameos) or in intaglio (usually called “seals”). A collection of engraved gem is called a dactyliotheca.
4. Schwartz-Schwarz 1979; Schwartz 1999; Guisaud-Schwartz 2001; Schwartz 2006. Schwartz published 82 magical gems, against 56 gems with male deities or heroes, and 25 with erotes (death sadly prevented him from finishing his publication project; see van Allen 2006 for his obituary). The Campbell Bonner Magical Gems Database now lists 98 items from the collection of the ANS.
5. In the early 21st century, the Poniatowski family sold a cameo with the head of Alexander (probably copied from a coin) and the pseudo-signature of Admon, but was unsure whether it actually came from the prince’s collection. Advertised online in March 2014 by Thomas Faerber S.A. (Geneva), inventory nr. 19221. Might this be the cameo Poniatowski [1830?]–1832, p. 102, no. 648, described as “Alexandre le Grand. tête couverte d’une peau du lion. Camée à deux couches”?
6. Lucia Pirizzi-Birolli Stefaneli is the only one who gives a precise date for the carving of the Poniatowski gems: 1803–1822, which is when the prince lived in Rome, before moving to Florence in December 1822 (Busiri Vici 171, pp. 411; Pirizzi-Birolli Stefaneli 1996, p. 186; Tassinari 1996, p. 161). In fact, drawings for gems by the engraver Calandrelli are dated 1816–1826, which indicates that the carving continued after the prince’s move.
9. The majority were unusually large, often 35 to 45 mm wide. Most are made of orange carnelian or brown sard, occasionally of amethyst or very pale blue chalcedony. Some very rare examples were also engraved on beryl, emerald, garnet, hematite, hyacinth, jasper, lapis lazuli, or nicolo.

THE GEM COLLECTION
OF PRINCE PONIATOWSKI

Hadrien J. Rambach
lost the Prince's original gold mounts (identifiable by a thin
enameled surround).10

Signatures on Gems
Of these “Poniatowski gems”, an incredible 1,737 are
signed stones, two-thirds of the entire collection. These
umerous “signatures” can be names of actual testi-
fied engravers (such as Gnaios), or names found in the
Classical literature (such as Apollonides—found in
Pliny’s Natural History, and Dioscorides—found in
Suetonius’ Life of Augustus), but even names of various
historical figures (some of them misspelt).11 Worldwide,
far less than a hundred genuine ancient intaglios and
cameos survive that bear the artists’ signatures, of
which some very rare ones are signed “Gnaios”. These
signatures are always in Greek capital letters, either in
the nominative or in the genitive (in the nominative, it
is implicitly followed by epotei, i.e. “Gnaios made [it]”).
Gnaios/Gnaios is the name of an actual engraver in
hardstones, of the late first century BC, whose biogra-
phy is still being discussed. Some unsigned gems have
been ascribed to him,12 but I can safely list here four
gems by this master.13 In London is preserved a
damaged head of Herakles in aquamarine, published as
early as 160614 (fig. 9). In Baltimore, one can admire a
standing athlete (after a statue by a follower of Polyklei-
tos), first published in 1736.15 In New York, the iden-
tity of a bust of a Ptolemaic queen (supposedly found
in Susa, under Augustus, see Rambach-Walker 2012).

Provenance Research
After Prince Poniatowski’s death, both the ANS’s gems
were offered for sale at auction at Christie’s in London:
the sale lasted from 29 April until 21 May 1839. Many
lots, including these two, were unsold and purchased
after sale by a certain John Tyrell. The ANS’s gems
reappeared in 1902, as part of an extensive collection
offered to the Charity Organization Society of the
City of New York, offered for sale by Tiffany & Co.16
This group “of about one thousand gems” includ-

10. Wagner 2007, p. 566. The 1839 auction catalogue was not il-
lustrated, and it is therefore not easy to study the gems’ original
mounts (many stones are unset nowadays, and many others
were obviously reset later). Most gems seem to have been set as
pendant, though there might have also been some brooches and/
or rings. It might be that the descriptions as “rings” (“medal-
liums” in the 1839 catalogue) simply be a size description
(small / big) rather than the indication that some were actually
set as rings (no ring is known with a black border). The gem
auction 1839, no. 544, was mistakenly described as set in a
“gilt metal clasp” (Charterhouse Auctioneers, 13 February 2014,
lot 252): the Poniatowski gems were set in gold.

11. For example Myrton (auction 1839, no. 1440) which should read
Myron (a sculptor whose work probably inspired a series of coins
under Augustus, see Rambach-Walker 2012).


13. The 16.5mm amethyst head of Mark Antony inscribed ΓNAIOC,
from the Rosanna collection (acquired by ConstantinAlex-
der Ionides, 1833–1900, and now J. Paul Getty Museum inv.
17 mm banded agate, in an ancient gold ring. Collection of

14. Chipped in the nineteenth century. The gem was acquired by the
Museo Kircheriano, according to Visconti (Visconti 1828, pp.
163–164) and Kohler (Koecher 1831, pp. 191 sqq.). Athanasius
Kircher had died in 1680, but the museum went on collecting:
I am grateful to Erica Zwierzlein-Diehl for informing me that
the museum bought Roman asses from the collection of Sylvile
Mertert-Schauffhausen (after 1856), and that Mertert-
Schauffhausen herself wrote in April 1849 that they had just
bought some bronzes. The fact that it would—at some point
—have been owned by the Este family was indicated by Gisela
Richter only (in 1956), and she did not give her source.

15. Garren intaglio by Gnaios (fl. 30–20 BC), signed TNAOY, 18
mm. Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore), inv. 42:109. Volkwein
1666, pl. 42–5; Platz-Horitzer 1993, Zweierlein-Diehl 2007, fig. 476.
Picasso-Birori-Stefanelli 2007, no. III-550. Originally from the
collection of the famed numismatist Apostolo Zenos (1669–1730),
it was later owned by Baron Philip von Stosch, the Earl of Bes-
borough, and the Marborough duk.

16. Chipped in the nineteenth century. The gem was acquired by the
Museo Kircheriano, according to Visconti (Visconti 1828, pp.
163–164) and Kohler (Koecher 1831, pp. 191 sqq.). Athanasius
Kircher had died in 1680, but the museum went on collecting:
I am grateful to Erica Zwierzlein-Diehl for informing me that
the museum bought Roman asses from the collection of Sylvile
Mertert-Schauffhausen (after 1856), and that Mertert-
Schauffhausen herself wrote in April 1849 that they had just
bought some bronzes. The fact that it would—at some point
—have been owned by the Este family was indicated by Gisela
Richter only (in 1956), and she did not give her source.

17. Garren intaglio by Gnaios (fl. 30–20 BC), signed TNAOY, 18
mm. Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore), inv. 42:109. Volkwein
1666, pl. 42–5; Platz-Horitzer 1993, Zweierlein-Diehl 2007, fig. 476.
Picasso-Birori-Stefanelli 2007, no. III-550. Originally from the
collection of the famed numismatist Apostolo Zenos (1669–1730),
it was later owned by Baron Philip von Stosch, the Earl of Bes-
borough, and the Marborough duk.

18. For example Myrton (auction 1839, no. 1440) which should read
Myron (a sculptor whose work probably inspired a series of coins
under Augustus, see Rambach-Walker 2012).

19. Garren intaglio by Gnaios (fl. 30–20 BC), signed TNAOY, 18
mm. Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore), inv. 42:109. Volkwein
1666, pl. 42–5; Platz-Horitzer 1993, Zweierlein-Diehl 2007, fig. 476.
Picasso-Birori-Stefanelli 2007, no. III-550. Originally from the
collection of the famed numismatist Apostolo Zenos (1669–1730),
it was later owned by Baron Philip von Stosch, the Earl of Bes-
borough, and the Marborough duk.

20. Garren intaglio by Gnaios (fl. 30–20 BC), signed TNAOY, 18
mm. Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore), inv. 42:109. Volkwein
1666, pl. 42–5; Platz-Horitzer 1993, Zweierlein-Diehl 2007, fig. 476.
Picasso-Birori-Stefanelli 2007, no. III-550. Originally from the
collection of the famed numismatist Apostolo Zenos (1669–1730),
it was later owned by Baron Philip von Stosch, the Earl of Bes-
borough, and the Marborough duk.
The last king and grand-duke of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (fig. 12), Stanisław August (1732–1795), was an attested collector, and his collection is documented by a catalogue of stones mounted and unset from 1782 (with 389 entries), and by a dactyliotheca of the king’s nephew prince Stanisław Poniatowski, an extensive and famous collection, since the content of its catalogue, published in print around 1830, differs completely.24 Osborne was a collector and specialist of glyptic, and he published in 1912 a book on engraved gems —published in c. 1830/32 and sold by Christie’s in 1839.27 The auctioneers at the time, and most scholarly articles about the collection, said that the prince’s first collection had been inherited from the king, and that it was later merged with the second collection.28 But, as already noticed, the royal inventory of 1782 proves that the engraved gems that belonged to Stanisław August were not incorporated, as one may assume, into the dactyliotheca of the king’s nephew Stanisław Poniatowski, an extensive and famous collection, since the content of its catalogue, published in print around 1830, differs completely.29

“His charm was legendary, his intellect sharp,” but above all Prince Poniatowski was for a while “the richest man in Europe” thanks to his Polish and Lithuanian estates.30 With surprisingly modern ideas, he freed his serfs, built modern manufactures, and reformed the treatment of peasants. The king of Poland (who reigned since 1764) had to abdicate in 1795, but the prince had expected this political evolution and had left his native country relatively young—having been well prepared by some time spent in Paris, and at Cambridge University in 1771. Prince Poniatowski had visited Italy in 1775–76, and again in 1785—when Angelica Kauffman painted his portrait (fig. 13), visiting ruins and collectors, taking detailed notes in a diary. He was known to enjoy the arts in general: music, antiquities, contemporary architecture, and he settled in Rome in 1791—remaining in Italy for the rest of his life.31 Writing in the 1860s, Charles William King said that the Poniatowski “gems of the original royal cabinet

24. Osborne 1912, p. 192. The collector’s widow, who died in 1912 in Florence, bequeathed an enormous £420,000 to the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York.
25. Osborne 1912, p. 192. The prices were rather high: the c. £2 per gem of the 1839 auction represented only ½ ounce of gold, whilst the 1902 prices were equal to some 5 to 7 ounces.
26. The ANS’s 538 ancient engraved gems (Schwartz-Schwartz 1979 and Schwartz 2006). S. Duffield Osborne bequested his catalogue of stones mounted and unset from 1782 (with 389 entries), and by a dactyliotheca of the Polish king from 1785 (with 292 entries).23 His nephew Prince Stanisław Poniatowski, son of his brother, was also a collector of gems, whose first collection (154 gems) was documented in the 1790s.24
27. Osborne 1912, no. 698; Auction 1851, no. 56 (unsold at £2.18); TIFFANY 1902, no. 985 ($125).
28. In 1822, Prince Poniatowski moved from Rome to Florence in order to have his five illegitimate children recognized: “Finally freed from so many worries in Russia, with Napoleon and with the priests, I preferred to establish myself in Florence, because I already had there a married girl” (Korzeniowski 1895, p. 531). In deed, the Pope would not approve of his intimacy with a certain Cassandra Benlochnée Luci, whilst the Grand Duke of Tuscany was more accommodating (Busiri Vici 1971, pp. 411–412 and p. 419): the prince finally married her in 1830, when her legitimate husband had died. According to his own memoirs, the prince had previously refused twice to marry: once in the mid-1780s when the Queen of Naples suggested that he might marry one of her daughters, and once in 1786 when Catherine the Great offered him the hand of the teenage grand-duchess Alexandra Pavlovna (Korzeniowski 1895, pp. 514, 520).
31. In 1822, Prince Poniatowski moved from Rome to Florence in order to have his five illegitimate children recognized: “Finally freed from so many worries in Russia, with Napoleon and with the priests, I preferred to establish myself in Florence, because I already had there a married girl” (Korzeniowski 1895, p. 531). In deed, the Pope would not approve of his intimacy with a certain Cassandra Benlochnée Luci, whilst the Grand Duke of Tuscany was more accommodating (Busiri Vici 1971, pp. 411–412 and p. 419): the prince finally married her in 1830, when her legitimate husband had died. According to his own memoirs, the prince had previously refused twice to marry: once in the mid-1780s when the Queen of Naples suggested that he might marry one of her daughters, and once in 1786 when Catherine the Great offered him the hand of the teenage grand-duchess Alexandra Pavlovna (Korzeniowski 1895, pp. 514, 520). He only moved for a few years to Austria because of his opposition to Napoleon.

The Gem Collection of Prince Poniatowski

Fig. 3: Unknown “Poniatowski engraver” (c.1810–1830), The Marine deity Nereus and Doris, parents of the Nereids, floating on the waves, carnelian intaglio with the signature of Gaius (ANS 0000.999.56796), 42 x 28 mm (image enlarged). Poniatowski (1830?–1832), Auction 1839, no. 2423 – Tiffany & Co. 1902, no. 918.
Fig. 4: Plaster impression of the Nereus and Doris carnelian intaglio. American Numismatic Society.
Fig. 5: Unknown “Poniatowski engraver”, The enchantress Circe transforming Picus into a woodpecker, amethyst intaglio with the signature of Gaius (ANS 0000.999.56797), 40.5 x 27.5 mm. PONIATOWSKI (1830?–1832), no. IV–302; Auction 1839, no. 2485 (unsold); Prenderville 1841, no. 699; Auction 1851, no. 36 (unsold at £2.18); Tiffany 1902, no. 1015 ($240).
Fig. 6: Plaster impression of the Circe and Picus carnelian intaglio. American Numismatic Society.
may be recognized by their peculiar setting, a band of blue enamel enclosing each in its ring, instead of the customary grooved moulding. 33 If this is true, then it would explain where Prince Poniatowski got the idea of surrounding his gems with a thin line of black enamel: from his uncle’s collection. But it is not attested, and I have only found one ring that seems to fit the description (fig. 14). 34

The prince reported that, just two days before she died, Catherine the Great (1729–1796) and he “spoke of a project to publish Homer with—on one side the text in Greek character and the translation in Russian language and characters. This edition would have been illustrated with engravings after the most beautiful ancient stones.” 33 It is a coincidence that so many of his gems in the “second collection” illustrate the Iliad and the Odyssey? It really does seem that Prince Poniatowski set himself to the task of carrying out the late Homer’s masterpiece, using his gems in the “second collection” to illustrate the Iliad and the Odyssey. 33

The subjects too were one more argument against the authenticity of the Poniatowski gems: for example, how could the engraver Admon (supposedly active around 450 BC) have chosen to illustrate a scene told by Virgil (born about 70 BC), “unless we at once take it for granted that Admon attained a patriarchal age, and engraved it when he was about 420 or 430 years old?” 33 The Poniatowski gems have been accused of depicting “some very unclassic attitudes in the figures . . . often in extravagant attitudes.” 33 But this attack is actually unfair and untrue. Some portraits are rather good—too good maybe, and some scenes do seem directly copied from classical reliefs. In fact, for example, the composition of a Roman mosaic found in Greece is not so different from that of some Poniatowski gems, such as Lycaon supplicating Achilles 34 (figs. 17–18). Altogether, the Poniatowski are excep-

33. King 1866, p. 268. King was often fickle, so too much weight should not be given to this source.
34. Prince Poniatowski did own a biblical intaglio (Auction 1839, no. 1781), signed “Solonos” with this iconography (Furtwängler recognized a pseudo-Cicero rather than Macenas) so it seems unlikely that his uncle the king would already have had an example, and this is a fairly common type (see Vollmeider 1966, pl. 99-5 for an agate signed “Solonos” in the Capitolium Museum, and Nereus, 1801, pl. 8-25 for another example in the Hermitage). The blue enamel band is probably coincidental.
36. Gertrud Platz-Horster was able to identify the precise sources for Calandrelli’s compositions: Henrik Voss’s Homers Odyss maxa (Hamburg 1781) and Homers Ilias (Hamburg 1783) for Homer, and Karl Philipp Moritz’s Götterlehre oder mythologische Dichtungen der Alten (in its second edition: Berlin 1795) for the general mythology. Calandrelli wrote himself a reference to the Odysseia di Omero traduzione di Giovanni Heinrich Voss (Hamburg 1793) for Homer, and from Moritz, which he noted at the back of his drawings. Of course the prince reported that, just two days before she died, Catherine the Great (1729–1796) and he “spoke of a project to publish Homer with—on one side the text in Greek character and the translation in Russian language and characters. This edition would have been illustrated with engravings after the most beautiful ancient stones.” 33 If this is true, then it

Fig. 10: Gnaisos, Bust of a Hellenistic queen (Cleopatra Solonef), carnelian intaglio signed Diasso, 66.6 x 13 mm. Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), inv. 10.110.1 (Rogers Fund 1910). Found in Rome near the Colosseum, acquired on 29 March 1867 by Alessio Giovanni Capponi (1836–1843). Visconti 1829, pp. 163–164, Richter 1956, no. 463; Vollmeider 1966, pl. 43/1-2/3; Uhaldtli 2001, no. 233; Zwierlein-Diirich 2007, fig. 477; Pirzio-Biroli-Stefanelli 2007, no. 1-1166.

Fig. 11: Attributed to Bernard Picart (1681–1733), Hercules and Iole, 175 x 110 mm red chalk drawing, to the plate LXVIII of Philip van Stasch’s book Pierre antiques gravures, sur lesquelles les graveurs ont mis leurs noms (Amsterdam 1724). Private collection, London. From the collection of François Vogel (1639–1746), and later in the “Northwick/Spencer-Churchill album,” later owned by Borrett Parrot (1808–2002), by whom bequeathed to the Royal College of Music. The gem illustrated is a 25mm-high amethyst intaglio, by Trasos (last quarter of the first century BC). Museo Archeologico, Florence. Formerly owned by Nicola-Claude Fabre de Petrois (1580–1637), the intaglio entered the collec-
tion of Pietro Andrea Andreini before being stolen and temporarily remaining with Antonio Maria Zanetti. Zwierlein-Diirich 2007, fig. 445.

Fig. 12: Elisabeth Louise Vigée-Le Brun (1755–1842), portrait of King Stanisław August Poniatowski (1732–1798), oil on canvas, 98 x 78 cm. Versailles, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, inv. MV 5878 RF 413 (photo © J. Le Hir / Réunion des musées nationaux).

Fig. 13: Angelica Kaufmann, Portrait of Prince Stanislaw Poniatowski (1794–1833), oil on canvas, 77 x 54 cm, painted in Rome in January 1796. Given by the sitter to Cavalier Luigi Vignetti (d. 1886), inherited by his sister Mrs Andrea Busiri Vici, then by descent. With Galerie Canesso at TEFAF (Maastricht) in March 2014.
tional amongst neoclassical gems in that they are not reproducing existing models. Quite fascinatingly, the prince himself wrote in his catalogue that two of his gems—instead—had inspired some of the best works by Antonio Canova (1757–1822).44 His Mars and Venus and his Hercules and Lichas.45 This seems impossible to believe, and it is known that Poniatowski’s Mars and Venus intaglio was designed by Calandrelli (see below)—it is the latter who was copying Canova! But it is true that, as often with neo-classical gems, parallels can be drawn between sculptures by Canova and engraved gems46 (figs. 19–22).

The Exposure of the Fraud

Late 1838, the London auction house of Christie started to advertise the forthcoming sale of the prince’s collection.47 It was consigned by the prince’s heirs: Carlo and Giuseppe. The sale took place in April–May 1839, but the auction was a disaster: the rumors of forgery were already too widespread by then. How could all the gems in the collection be genuine, considering that it contained over 2,600 pieces—of which over 1,700 were signed?48 Rumor had long since spread of Poniatowski gems to be forgeries blamed Italian engravers for having “got the better of a naïve northern enthusiast.”49 It is difficult to believe that Prince Poniatowski had really just been a fool: what makes the deuce so hard to believe is the sheer scale of it. But another huge fraud did take place some decades later, and in this case, it is attested that the principal owner of the fakes did believe that they were genuine, and he did lose what would now be several millions.50 The forger, a Frenchman named Denis Vrain-Lucas (1818–1862), created a quantity of handwritten documents, supposedly by the most famous names such as Blaise Pascal, Alexander the Great, or Mary Magdalene. These documents, from all periods of history, were all written on modern paper and in French. The highly respected mathematician Michel Chasles, recipient of the Copley medal in 1865, invested an absolute fortune in some 27,000 of these manuscripts, before being ridiculed when he gave scholarly communications about them: “Ye gods, annihilate but space and time. And make collectors happy.”51

Considering the numbers involved, there can be no doubt that several engravings contributed to the carving of the Poniatowski gems, but their identities remains uncertain. It is almost certain that Giovanni Giuseppe / Johann Joseph Pichler (c. 1760–1819) was part of the group. But a known name is that of Giovanni Calandrelli.

The German scholar who in 1832 denounced the Poniatowski gems to be forgeries blamed Italian engravers for having “got the better of a naïve northern enthusiast.”52 It is not yet clear when Bartolomeo (1757–1834) and Pietro Paoletti (1785–1844/45) made their glass stamps of various Poniatowski gems (from both collections).53 Is it not yet clear when Bartolomeo (1757–1834) and Pietro Paoletti (1785–1844/45) made their glass stamps of various Poniatowski gems (from both collections)?


45. Mars and Venus: marble statue, 210 cm high, now in London (Buckingham Palace), commissioned in 1815 and delivered in 1824 (Praz and Pauvann 1796, no. 307). The pretended model being the gem Auction 1839 no. 766 = Prendeville 1841 no. 112 = Auction 1861 no. 182. Hercules and Lichas: marble statue, 335 cm high, now in Rome (Galleria Nazionale d’Arte Moderna e Contemporanea), commissioned in March 1795 and finished in 1815 (Praz and Pauvann 1796, no. 131). The pretended model being the gem Auction 1839 no. 2303 = 27,000 of these manuscripts, before being ridiculed when he gave scholarly communications about them: “Ye gods, annihilate but space and time. And make collectors happy.”


51. Ogle 1842, p. 84.

52. Toelken 1832, p. 309. The gift was recorded in the Journal of the Antikenammlung Berlin, p. 26 of the entry at the date of 23 July 1832.


54. Over 140,000 francs—the equivalent of over 26,000 ounces of gold, Buerker 1998.

55. Ogle 1842, p. 84.
and an anonymous intaglio bearing a false Gnaios signature.62 The auction in 1839 of the Poniatowski gems was undoubted a fraud, as had been their publication as ancient a few years before, but the quality of their workmanship, the originality of their designs, and the attractiveness of their stones all remain, and this is what matters for real collectors. The market for engraved gems, which were the most valuable of objects from the time of Lorenzo de’ Medici to that of Lord Hamilton, never really recovered, and prices are still comparatively low. Few collectors look for cameos and intaglios anymore, despite the fact that they are in much better condition than antiquities, and more enjoyable than coins: they can be set and worn. In fact, the Poniatowski fraud provoked fear of being cheated in generations of collectors, but this is unfounded, as Poniatowski gems look in fact very different from ancient ones, and they are almost never mistaken for Greek or Roman stones (fig. 26).63 “Altogether the whole performance carries us beyond the realm of any reasonable line of explanation and one is driven to take refuge in a suspicion that Prince Poniatowski had simply become an unbalanced monomaniac on the subject.”64 The Poniatowski “collection … may be justly considered … a curious specimen of the taste of gem-engraving in the eighteenth [sic] century. Should an authentic list ever be obtained of the artists, the value of the collection as a whole would be greatly increased, and render them worthy of being deposited in some national museum.”65 Indeed, since we know that some of these gems are by Calandrelli, these are more sought-after. Many “Poniatowski gems” are nowadays preserved in many museums worldwide.66 And thanks to an anonymous donor, two of those (anonymous as well) gems are preserved at the American Numismatic Society.

Two important antiquities collectors, Edith and Alastair Martin, dedicated their catalogue (published by the Metropolitan Museum of Art): “To the fakers and counterfeiters without whom collecting would be considerably less challenging.67 As a conclusion to this article, and in order to place the concept of ‘forged gems’ into context, two collectors should be remembered. The first is Lorenzo de’ Medici (1449–1492), who wrote that a gem should be bought if it is good—whether it is ancient or not,61 and he commissioned drawings (figs. 24–25). Though he may have been working at much cheaper rates. Finding such stones would have been an expensive quest too: the stones used are unusually large, and most are of excellent color, which could not easily be found in Italy at the time.68 A great number were set in gold, and the color, which could not easily be found in Italy at the time.58 A great number were set in gold, and the color, which could not easily be found in Italy at the time.69. Two examples, acquired in 1818 from the Banks collection, in the British Museum: inv. D,2.42021 and inv. D,2.4204.


58. Steidlmayr 1999, p. 267, suggested that the prince might have had connections in Saxony, where these materials could have been found more easily. Ogle 1842, p. 83, ironically commented: “The Poniatowski ‘collection may boast of having a series of the first period of Etruscan art on amethysts, a stone very common in Etruria, or easily procured in those early days of steamers and railways from the East.”

59. Whether he commissioned them or bought them as ancient does not change: he had—directly or indirectly—to pay for their being made.

60. Rubin 1975, p. (their celebrated “Guermond likeness” (Rubin 1975, pp. 57–62) sold for over fifty million dollars at Sotheby’s on 5 December 2007, lot 30). The French literary critic Charles Augustin Sainte-Beuve (1804–1869) is said to have declared: “Le dernier mot de l’art, je le trouve dans la contrefaçon”.

61. Quoted in Rambah 2011, p. 140. “When something (i.e. an engraved gem) is good, even if it is modern, we should not let it go”.

62. Aquamarine intaglio, 23.5 x 15 mm. Trivulzio Palace, Milan (2007, fig. 477); onyx cameo, 23 mm (Dalton 1915, no. 118); crystal intaglio, 23 mm (Dalton 1915, no. 682). For a discussion of the various copies of this celebrated type, see Tassinari 2011, pp. 266–269.

63. It is interesting to notice the difference of wording between the titles of Auction 1839 and Auction 1853, where “antique gems” has been replaced with “exquisite gems.” It is actually remarkable that none of the clients in the 1839 auction seem to have ever tried to reclaim their money and even their precious objects, despite Christie’s having sold the Poniatowski gems as “antique”.

64. Osborne 1912, p. p. 192.

65. Ogle 1842, p. 91.


67. “‘Poniatowski gems’, ‘Poniatowski engraver’, ‘Lycidas suppliant Achilles who is about to pierce him with his spear, and is offered a ransom of 300 bulls. Some rushes mark the spot as the bank of the Xanthus, carnelian intaglio with the signature of Prilek. Lost. Poniatowski [1830?–1832], no. V.170 = Auction 1839, no. 825 (unsold) = Prendeville 1841, no. 861 = Auction 1851, no. 43 (sold £5 to L. Benjami).”

68. Ogle 1842, p. 91.

69. Prendeville 1841, no. T609 = Auction 1839, no. 354 = Prendeville 1841, no. 861 = Auction 1851, no. 43 (sold £5 to L. Benjami).
Acknowledgements

In Memoriam Oleg Neverov (1934–2014).
Our knowledge of Poniatowski’s gem collection would not be the same without the constant attention of Sir John Boardman and Claudia Wagner of The Beazley Archive. I would like to thank them both, as well as William Duke, Paweł Golyziak, Elizabeth Hahn Benge, Kenneth Lapatin, Lynda McLeod, Lucia Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, Gertrud Platz-Horster, Diana Scarisbrick, Jeffrey Spier, Gabriella Tassinari, Peter van Alfen, and Erika Zwierlein-Diehl, for their help and encouragement.

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1 A full bibliography will be provided in a forthcoming article.

Erika Zwierlein-Diehl kindly gave me access to the late Gertrud Sieimann’s reading notes on Seerower’s essay.

1 Market rumor at the time said that the gems nos 301-343 were from the Sangiorgi collection.

Fig. 22: Unknown “Poniatowski engraver” Theseus killing the Minotaur, carnelian intaglio with the signature of Leukos. Lost. Poniatowski [1830?]–1832, no. IV.197 = Auction 1839, no. 622. Berlin dactyliotheque, no. 158. (Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Photograph: Barbara Niemeyer).

Fig. 23: Set of 237 plaster impressions (casts) of intaglios in the collection of Prince Poniatowski, supposedly executed c. 1840 for John Tyrrell. Example sold at Christie’s (London), antique jewellery auction, 18 May 2004, lot 227 (photo kindly provided by Christie’s).

Fig. 24: Giovanni Calandrelli (1784–1853), Hector and Ajax exchanging gifts after combat in the presence of two heralds, drawing. After Johann Heinrich Voß, Homers Ilias. Hamburg 1793, song 7, verses 303 sqq. Antikensammlung Berlin SMPK, Gerhard’scher Apparat, Anhang Nr. 11, inv. nr. A III.14 (photo: from Platz-Horster 2005, pp. 64 and 70).

Fig. 26: Unknown “Poniatowski engraver”, head of Pittacus, carnelian intaglio with the name Pittakos, 18 mm long. Private collection, sold as ancient in Auction 2004, no. 150 (photo kindly provided by Christie’s). Formerly in the Tangible collection (Country Donegal, Ireland) in the 1930s, and with Rik Mitchell-Browning jewellers (London) in the 1960s. Poniatowski [1830?], no. VIII.1; Auction 1839, no. 605; Auction 1859, no. 605; Lang 2012, fig. 283.
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Visconti, E.Q. 1829. "Osservazioni sul catalogo degli antiichi incisioni in gemme." Toposellet ‘improte di antiche gemme rac-


ARCHIVES

Truth Comes to Light: Researcher Discovers Letters in the ANS Archives

Absolving Chapman Brothers of 1804 Dollar Mischief

David Hill

In the introduction to their landmark book The Fantastic 1804 Dollar, authors Eric Newman and Kenneth Bressett note how old fictions can sometimes harden into facts through retelling: "Stories about the 1804 dollar were fabricated over one hundred years ago and have been repeated so often that they have become ‘truths.’" In his new book, The Dollar of 1804: The U.S. Mint’s Hidden Secret, ANS member Mark Ferguson finds those numismatic heavyweights to be responsible for a bit of just that same sort of mythmaking. Working with the nineteenth-century records of the coin dealer firm S.H. and H. Chapman in the ANS Archives, Ferguson has uncovered evidence he says clears the brothers (figs. 1–2) and H. Chapman in the ANS Archives, Ferguson has uncovered evidence he says clears the brothers (figs. 1–2) and H. Chapman in the ANS Archives, Ferguson has uncovered evidence he says clears the brothers (figs. 1–2) of at least some of the charges of shady dealings that have been preserved and exaggerated in the numismatic press for well over a century.

Clouds of romantic conjecture and myth swirl around rarities of all kinds, but the story of the 1804 dollar can seem lost in a particularly heavy haze. The gist, however, is easy to grasp. In 1804 the United States Mint had, according to its own published records, coined 19,570 silver dollars. Yet there was no evidence of one actually existing until 1842 when it was illustrated in a Mint publication, A Manual of Gold and Silver Coins of All Nations. The following year, Matthew Stickney became the first collector to get his hands on the mysterious coins, dribbled into collectors’ hands, and as questions about the shadowy practices of the Mint went unanswered, decades of speculation, finger-pointing, and general confusion as to the coins’ origins followed.

As owning one of the treasured plums—there are only fifteen recognized specimens today—became “the stuff of which numismatic dreams are made,” in the words of Q. David Bowers, record-setting prices were fetched, generating headlines outside the numismatic press (fig. 3). Soon they were making appearances in plays, short stories, and popular magazines (fig. 4).

From the beginning, and down to the present day, fanciful yarns have been spun from the flimsiest threads to explain the absence of the nearly twenty thousand coins of 1804. One of the taller tales held that the coins were hastily shipped out of the country, and subsequently lost, after America’s Huguenot population rose in outcry over the obverse portrait’s resemblance to Martha Washington. Other colorful stories—featuring pirates, doomed voyages, ransoms, and typhoons—at least had the very real facts of the Barbary War (1801–1805) to back them up, as Ferguson points out. A widely accepted explanation today, one that he is not ready to accept without proof, is more prosaic. It is believed by many that the Mint did indeed coin the dollars in 1804, but they were given the date of the previous year.

Nevertheless, none of these stories explain the fifteen coins accepted today as having originated in the U.S. Mint. As they began to emerge in the nineteenth century, another story circulated. According to this one, the Andrew Jackson administration in the 1830s had sent a courier bearing gifts, including complete sets of American coins, to the royal rulers of distant Asiatic lands. He had managed to deliver just a couple of these, one to the palace of the King of Siam, before succumbing to dysentery in 1836. Because the silver dollar was said to have last been struck in 1804, the Mint, the story continued, had cut new dies to make the coins for the sets, and they were given that date. This tale—its exotic setting perhaps conjuring an image of Yul Brynner sashaying in Technicolor to the strains of “Shall We Dance”—had the same whiff of fanciful conjecture as other 1804 origin myths. And in 1962 Newman and Bressett were set to dismiss it as such in a chapter of their book entitled “The Diplomatic Gift Delusion.” This time, however, the story turned out to be true. The numismatic world found this out in a show-stopping moment of its own when, at the American Numismatic Association convention where the authors planned to discuss the findings detailed in their forthcoming book, it was announced that the actual, and previously unknown, King of Siam presentation set itself had been discovered! It had come into the possession of coin dealer David Spink, and—in what may be testimony to the coin’s inability to resist the germination of a good story—was said to have been purchased from two elderly ladies who were directly descended from Anna Leosnowens, the teacher played by Deborah Kerr in the movie version of The King and I. Printing of the book was immediately halted and the chapter rewritten.

Newman and Bressett’s 1962 book (updated in 2009) is an indispensable work justly hailed for the wide-reaching analysis and detailed documentation that brought clarity to so many areas of confusion regarding the 1804 dollars. Particularly useful are the descriptions and notes on the pedigrees of all known specimens. There are a couple of these that especially interested Ferguson. A coin dealer for over forty years and a coin grader for PCGS (Professional Coin Grading Service), he has a distant, yet personal connection to one of the dollars. His great-grandfather was friend and physician to H.O. Granberg, who in 1908 acquired one from William Idler. This Idler specimen currently resides in the collection of the American Numismatic Association. In 1983, Idler’s son, Q. David Bowers, bought the coin from Granberg, who had purchased it from a dealer in New York City.

2. Ibid., 71.
Ferguson bought Granberg’s home in Oshkosh, Wis- consin, acquiring also much of its contents, including some 1908 letters about the coin, which he subsequently transferred to Aubrey Bebee, donor of the coin to the ANS. Through Granberg’s son, Ferguson also came into possession of two framed works relating to a dif- ferent 1804 dollar, the one purchased by James Dexter from the Chapman brothers in 1885. The framed items had been commissioned by Dexter to celebrate the fact that his coin had been verified as genuine by officials of the U.S. Mint. One shows the dollar in a red display case along with a description. The other has facsimiles of documents supporting the legitimacy of the coin (fig. 5). These “certificates of genuineness,” rather than in- spire confidence, instead raise the question of how Mint officials could possibly have certified as genuine a type of coin no Mint official has ever explained the creation of in the first place.

It was the lingering mysteries surrounding the Dexter dollar, the main focus of his book, that had Ferguson boarding a plane to New York from Wisconsin in the hope of finding out more in the ANS Archives. Because it is thought to have been struck with the original batch made for the presentation sets in the 1830s, the Dexter dollar is considered an “original,” or “Class 1,” example. The other types, including the one in the ANS collection (fig. 6), were created in 1858 or later through differ- ent coining operations of U.S. Mint officials, who, it seems, were buying, trading, and selling coins in an effort to build their own private collections. None of the types were ever of- ficially sanctioned. Even the presidential backing of the diplomatic voyages didn’t automatically grant authori- zation for the production of backdated coins. The shady operations of the Mint, and the benign form of omertà that apparently kept its secrets from being revealed, can best be understood by considering its nepotistic staffing, a century of interwring generations of Eck- elds, Dukoses, Snowdens, and Patersons. That these and other coins were leaking to dealers and collec- tors under hand and undocumented means scandalized the nascent American numismatic com- munity that was coalescing around organizations like the American Numismatic Society and the Numismatic Society of Philadelphia (both formed in 1858) as well as publications such as the ANS’s American Journal of Numismatics and the magazines of collectors Ebenzer Lockee Mason and Edouard Frossard.

The questionable practices of the Mint provide the backdrop for understanding the air of duplicitous surrounding the Chapmans and the Dexter dollar. The earliest known listing of the coin for auction appears to have been in a catalog of the German dealer Adolf Weyl in 1884, which he sold for the record-setting price of $1,000. But the toxic dealings of the Mint, and the Chapman brothers’ close association with dealer John Haseltine, seemingly the conduit by which several of the coins found their way from the Mint into collectors’ hands, set tongues wagging. Before the Chapmans had even resold the coin, the feisty Frossard was questioning the legiti- macy of the Weyl sale, charging that the one shown in the German catalogue wasn’t really the coin at all, but rather an electrotype of a different coin. Newman and Bressett took this accusation and speculated further, suggesting that “the real truth about the mix-up of the photographs can be reconstructed,” adding the telling words, “with a little imagination.” The authors strongly suggested the Chapmans had possessed the coin all along, and to avoid bringing controversy and embar- rassment upon the officials of the Philadelphia Mint, which was assumed to be its direct source, the Chap- mans needed to invent a “fancy foreign pedigree” for it. And since they were nervous about sending the coin to Germany for the sham listing, Weyl used an electrotype instead.

Ferguson had long suspected the very foundation of this story was false. “It’s apparent to me that neither Eric Newman nor Ken Bressett ever saw a copy of the October, 1884 Adolph Weyl auction catalog,” he writes. He is the owner of one of the two or three surviving copies of the catalog and says the cover shows, not an electrotype at all, but a plaster cast. While he can’t say for certain why Weyl didn’t use a photograph for the actual coin, he does suggest good reasons for not having done so—such as the difficulty of photographing reflec- tive surfaces, or an unwillingness to entrust the valued piece to a photographer’s care—making it unnecessary to suppose the worst of the Chapmans to explain it. With this much of the story in doubt, Ferguson hoped to find more in the records of S.H. and H. Chapman in the ANS Archives.

Numismatic dealers Samuel Hudson Chapman and Henry Chapman flourished for half a century follow- ing their rapid rise in the 1870s. They began as philat- elists, their youthful quest for stamps bringing them under the wing of Haseltine, for whom they worked for two years before brashly striking out on their own in 1878. That year, Samuel, who went by “S.H.,” turned twenty-one and Henry nineteen, impossibly young, it was thought, to have ambitions in the insular world of sniping curmudgeons. But the loftiness of their goals and the quality of their work, seen in the pioneering 1878 Adolph Weyl auction catalog, brought immediate attention. But it really got the coin crowd buzzing when they emerged, seemingly out of nowhere, to capture the rights to the coveted Charles Ira Bushnell collection auction in 1882. (That Bushnell was the Chapmans’ uncle might have helped.) The old guard lashed out at the upstarts, and the care the brothers put into producing a high-quality physical catalog was turned against them, as critics ac- cused them of draping a book of errors in fancy dress. “Chapman Bros. apparently exhausted themselves on the plates and the mechanical part of the work,” sniffed Frossard, “unconscious of the fact that a proper use of English terms, an intelligible construction, also general accuracy in statements made, are of greater importance in a work of this kind than thick paper, new type, and gold letters.” The ANS acquired the bulk of its Chapman papers in 2002 from the estate of Mrs. Henrietta Chapman Judson, Henry’s daughter. For some of the years covered by the records there are only loose letters written to the Chapmans, without copies of replies, so the brothers’ voices go unheard. This is not uncommon with older documents, letters, particularly prior to the time before technology made it easy to produce copies of outgoing correspondence. However, as luck would have it, the efficient Chapmans had early on adopted one of the first solutions for retaining exact copies of outgoing letters, press copying, thus giving us an ac- 6. Newman and Bressett, Fantastic 1804 Dollar, 82.
7. Ibid., 68–69.
curate record of the Chapmans’ own words in the years
dating almost to the start of their business (fig. 7). The
process involved the use of a screw press, an appara-
tus not unlike early hand-turned devices used to mint
coins (fig. 6). Outgoing letters were written using a
special type of ink. The page was then pressed against
the underside of a moistened leaf of transparent tissue
paper that had been bound with others into a volume,
the other leaves carefully protected by an oilcloth. We,
who today waste not a single thought ensuring that our
outgoing messages are preserved, may shake our heads
at this archaic and burdensome process (and if you’re
like me, you will picture yourself looking like an ink-
stained paper-mâché dummy after a day spent wrest-
ling with wet tissue paper!), but it’s worth keeping in
mind that these books, composed of high-quality paper
manufactured before the use of unstable acidic copy
paper became commonplace, have a much better chance
of surviving the centuries in a readable form than our
electronic messages, which are not only at risk of disap-
ppearing with a few errant keystrokes, but also depend
on always-changing technology to be read. The Chap-
mans’ press books are a treasure, though the thin paper
and the quality of the transferred ink can make them a
challenge to read. For Ferguson, the effort paid off.

What he discovered was that rumors suggesting the
Chapmans planted the coin with the German dealer
and faked purchasing it from him do not hold up under
scrutiny. The Chapman letters, he writes, provide
“irrefutable evidence of what actually took place,” which
is that Weyl did indeed possess the coin, and the
Chapmans had purchased it along with others from
him at auction as they had claimed. The proof, he says,
is in a series of letters from 1884 and 1885, before and
after the sale. About a month before the sale, the Chap-
mans wrote to Weyl laying out the terms of their bid,
instructing him to be certain the coins were genuine,
and saying, based on new information they had gleaned
from the transcription of the Weyl catalog, that he
should try and obtain the 1804 dollar for less than their
maximum bid. After the auction, it took three months
and multiple letters to overcome confusion brought on
by the language barrier to arrange for the payment and
shipping. When the Chapmans finally received their
coins, they responded with a letter requesting that Weyl
“send if agreeable, what you may know of the history &
former ownership with dates, of the 1804 dollar.” This
confirms the later claim made in their own catalog
that they “have written to Mr. Weyl, the cataloguer,
for information on the previous ownership, but have
not yet received his reply,” a statement long doubted by
all this time. And we can assume Newman and Bressett
participate in Chapman’s project had he known that his
own name was also listed there among the condemned!

There is, of course, no doubt the Chapmans would be
pleased to find their names cleared on this matter after
all this time. And we can assume Newman and Bressett
also welcome the new discoveries. After all, they know
well the words of Horace, quoted in the opening pages
of their The Fantastic 1804 Dollar: “That which is the
Truth, however well it may be concealed, will at some
time come to light.”

16. JoAnne Yates, Control through Communication: The Rise of
System in American Management (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins
17. Ferguson, Dollar of 1804.
The American Numismatic Society benefited from the acquisition of a variety of numismatic objects in recent months, both gifts and purchases.

In January, by purchase from the Stack’s Bowers Auction held at the New York International Numismatic Convention, January 10–13, 2014, the Society obtained a group of important French medals. Among these is an 1890 membership medal of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts (SNBA) (fig. 1), designed by the renowned Alexandre-Louis-Marie Charpentier (1856–1909). Organized by two groups of French artists, the Société was first formed in 1862 for several exhibitions, and was reorganized in 1896, in conjunction with a series of annual exhibitions held since. This new “Salon” became a welcoming forum for younger Symbolist and Art Nouveau artists, even though the Société was not a marginal group. The first President of the new Société was Ernest Meissonier (1815–1891)—the first French artist to be awarded the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor—a classicist painter and sculptor famous for his historical and military themes. Among other founding members were such successful artists as Pierre-Cécile Deshaies, of 1824–1889; the second president of the Société and the famed sculptor Auguste Rodin. Our handsome medal features the images of Meissonier (with long beard) and Puvis de Chavannes on the obverse, and on its reverse, the name of its recipient, Ernest Carrière (1858–1908), a decorative artist who worked primarily as a painter of ceramics. These distinguished artists call to mind the glories of the Society and its important part in the development of French artistic movements and style.

Another bronze from the same sale is a beautiful 1905 medal presented as an invitation for the opening of Lalique’s gallery, by René Lalique, 1905. (ANS 2014.3.2, purchase) 66.5 mm.

Two other important Lalique medals acquired in the same sale relate to the First World War. One of them is a 1915 bronze medal, Day of the Soldier, showing a nude French soldier grabbing a huge (German) eagle by the throat, expressing a triumph over a powerful but inhuman enemy (fig. 3). The second example is Prisoner of War Day, Rouen, from 1916—a bronze displaying an angel with raised arms, showing severed chains (fig. 4). Another very rare medal acquired in the same sale is also devoted to World War I: a cast bronze uniface model for a smaller, struck medal simply called Soldier (fig. 5). The genderless facial features under the helmet could be those of a long-haired boy or the French national symbol Marianne. This beautiful work is by Henry Dropsey (1885–1969). Son of the medalist Émile Drosppy, this famous French sculptor and medalist studied at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, where he returned later in life to teach medallic sculpture.

Another interesting addition to our collection of French medals is a superb, mint-condition uniface parcel-gilt silver galvano, Universal Exposition in Paris, of 1900 (fig. 6). This extremely rare medal, with an image of a nude female inscribing a banner, is the work of Jacques Loyer (1867–1925), who had studied at the École des Beaux-Arts under the sculptors Henry Chapu and Antoine Mercié. Mostly known as a sculptor, Loyer himself received a medal at the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle, which may be supposed to have encouraged him to create more medallic works.

From Kent Ponterio, the ANS cabinet received a gift of a group of eleven Japanese medals not represented in our collection. Among these is a bronze medal of 1870 dedicated to the opening of the Osaka Mint, with an image of the mint’s façade (fig. 7), and a bronze gilt rectangular medal for a Contributor to the Kyoto Exhibition of 1875 (fig. 8). There is also a 1903 Osaka Industrial Exhibition gold medal with a uniformed bust of Prince Kan’in Kotohito (1865–1945) wearing military orders and decorations on the obverse, and the entrance to the Exhibition shown on the reverse (fig. 9). Another item in this gift is a silver medal dedicated to the hundredth anniversary of the birth of the Meiji emperor (1852–1912), showing a bearded, uniformed emperor (fig. 10).

Fig. 1: France. Membership Medal of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts by Alexandre-Louis-Marie Charpentier, 1890. (ANS 2014.3.1, purchase) 57.5 x 39.0 mm (images reduced).

Fig. 2: France. Uniface AE medal given as an invitation “card” for the opening of Lalique’s gallery, by René Lalique, 1905. (ANS 2014.3.2, purchase) 66.5 mm.

Fig. 3: France. Day of the Soldier, May 25, 1915. Gilt silver medal, by René Lalique. (ANS 2014.3.3, purchase) 55 mm (images reduced).

Fig. 4: France. Prisoner of War, Rouen. AE medal, by René Lalique, 1916. (ANS 2014.3.4, purchase) 45 mm (images reduced).

Fig. 5: France. Soldier. Cast AE uniface medal, by Henry Drosso. (ANS 2014.3.5, purchase) 129 mm

Fig. 6: France. Universal Exposition, Paris. Parcel-gilt AR uniface galvano, by Jacques Loyer, 1900. (ANS 2014.3.6, purchase) 55 mm.

Collections

New Acquisitions

By Elena Stolyarik

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Another bronze from the same sale is a beautiful 1905 medal presented as an invitation for the opening of Lalique’s new retail shop (fig. 2). Lalique (1860–1945) was a world-famous French decorative artist known for his elegant glass designs. In 1905, he opened his gallery in Paris’s elegant Place Vendôme, where he displayed both jewelry and a variety of glass objects manufactured at his workshop in Clairefontaine, situated on the outskirts of Paris. In this invitation “card”, with its gorgeous female head in high relief at the top, Lalique expressed his willingness to ignore the conventions of traditional medallic sculpture, while remaining within the medallic form. This innovative work strongly enriches the ANS’s collection of art medals.

Two other important Lalique medals acquired in the same sale relate to the First World War. One of them is a 1915 bronze medal, Day of the Soldier, showing a nude French soldier grabbing a huge (German) eagle by the throat, expressing a triumph over a powerful but inhuman enemy (fig. 3). The second example is Prisoner of War Day, Rouen, from 1916—a bronze displaying an angel with raised arms, showing severed chains (fig. 4). Another very rare medal acquired in the same sale is also devoted to World War I: a cast bronze uniface model for a smaller, struck medal simply called Soldier (fig. 5). The genderless facial features under the helmet could be those of a long-haired boy or the French national symbol Marianne. This beautiful work is by Henry Drosso. (1885–1969). Son of the medalist Émile Droisy, this famous French sculptor and medalist studied at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, where he returned later in life to teach medallic sculpture.

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From Kent Ponterio, the ANS cabinet received a gift of a group of eleven Japanese medals not represented in our collection. Among these is a bronze medal of 1870 dedicated to the opening of the Osaka Mint, with an image of the mint’s façade (fig. 7), and a bronze gilt rectangular medal for a Contributor to the Kyoto Exhibition of 1875 (fig. 8). There is also a 1903 Osaka Industrial Exhibition gold medal with a uniformed bust of Prince Kan’in Kotohito (1865–1945) wearing military orders and decorations on the obverse, and the entrance to the Exhibition shown on the reverse (fig. 9). Another item in this gift is a silver medal dedicated to the hundredth anniversary of the birth of the Meiji emperor (1852–1912), showing a bearded, uniformed emperor (fig. 10).

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Fig. 6: France. Universal Exposition, Paris. Parcel-gilt AR uniface galvano, by Jacques Loyer, 1900. (ANS 2014.3.6, purchase) 55 mm.
Another attractive item from this group is a bronze medal with an image of fans behind one another, surrounded by flowers, framed by a traditional Japanese decorative border. It was issued by the Japan Mint in celebration of the marriage of Crown Prince Yoshihito, who in 1912 succeeded the Meiji Emperor as the Emperor Taisho, with Sadako Kujo, known as the Empress Teimei (1879–1926), on May 25, 1900 (fig. 11).

As part of Kent Ponterio’s donation we also received a medal from 1921 commemorating Crown Prince Hirohito’s (1901–1987) visit to England, designed by S. Nakato. This piece shows a uniformed bust of the crown prince wearing orders on the obverse, and the battleship *Katori*, with doves to either side, imposed on a global map of Asia and Europe depicted on the reverse. Hirohito, who ascended to the throne in 1926 (known as the Showa Emperor), was the first Japanese crown prince to travel overseas—taking a six-month tour of Europe including the United Kingdom, France, Italy, the Netherlands, and Belgium. *Katori*, a pre-dreadnought battleship, was one of the last Japanese warships to be designed and built overseas in the United Kingdom (fig. 12).

Other items in Mr. Ponterio’s donation include a bronze medal commemorating Japanese naval maneuvers in 1930, which bears a view of a battleship from a shoreline (fig. 13), and a commemorative 1936 silver Meiji University graduation medal, issued in recognition of military arts. The latter was awarded to war artists sent out by the Japanese government to Pacific areas to paint scenes that were reproduced on “gunji yubin” (military postcards for troops) (fig. 14). Another fine addition is a bronze medal displaying crossed Japanese and U.S. flags above the trademark symbols of the Gorham Manufacturing Co. It was issued to honor the visit of a Japanese delegation to Gorham’s factory in Providence, Rhode Island, on October 22, 1909 (fig. 15).

We are grateful to have been given a 1951 bronze medal commemorating the New York University Law Center’s Vanderbilt Hall, a modern piece unrepresented in the collection. This medal, designed by Ralph J. Menconi (1915–1972), depicts the building named for Arthur T. Vanderbilt (Dean of the NYU School of Law, 1943–1948), which is considered the center of the NYU Law School campus; it was donated by long-time ANS member Mr. George N. Donas, an alumnus of the NYU Law School class of 1957 (fig. 16).
Our numismatist colleagues from Croatia donated a bronze medal issued in conjunction with the Seventh International Numismatic Congress in Croatia (INCC), September 27–28, 2013 (fig. 17), which took place at the beautiful landmark Villa Angiolina in Opatija. Built in 1844, the villa now serves as the Croatian Museum of Tourism.

The Central Bank of Brazil (Banco Central do Brasil) continues to enrich the ANS collection of modern world currency by donating specimens of its recent banknotes. The most recent gift consists a group of the new series of 2 reais and 5 reais issued July 29, 2013.

Current Exhibit
In February 2014, eighteen gold and silver coins from the Society’s ancient Greek and Roman departments formed an important part of an exhibit at the Joslyn Art Museum (Omaha, Nebraska), entitled Poseidon and the Sea: Myth, Cult, and Daily Life. Organized by the Tampa Museum of Art (Tampa, Florida), this exhibition explores the realm of Poseidon, the Greek god of the sea, which encompassed virtually every aspect of life in the ancient Mediterranean world. In addition to mythology and religion, the sea was the center of daily life in towns and cities along the coast of the Mediterranean. It provided food and other resources, and allowed for easy travel and trade. But the sea was also fraught with danger, and merchants plying the water were always on the alert for threatening weather, pirates, and the terrible dwellers of the deep. Allusions to the sea are found throughout ancient art, from cargo boats to warships, and dolphins, fish, and octopuses.

Among the more than 100 works of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman art on display at the Joslyn are striking black-figure (fig. 18) and red-figure pottery, as well as sculptures in marble (fig. 19), terracotta, and precious metals and extraordinary examples of ancient glass, mosaics, and carved gems. The coins from the ANS, with their images of Poseidon (fig. 20–21) and other sea creatures such as Amphitrite (fig. 22) and hippocamps (fig. 23) provide a rich picture of mythological iconography in the currency of the ancient world. Poseidon and the Sea offers an intimate look not only at the mysteries of the ancient world, but at the timeless beauty and wonder of the sea that continues to resonate with us in the present day. The exhibit is on view at the Joslyn through May 11, and will then travel to the Tampa Museum of Art where it will be on display until November 30, 2014.
Mid-Year Appeal

It is that time of year again when we ask our members and friends to exhibit their generosity. We hope you have received our appeal for donations and that you will join us in bringing many projects to fruition. As always, the ANS is committed to growing and enhancing its programs and services, but we can continue only with your help. If you have already made a donation to the Society this spring, we thank you. If you have yet to make one, however, we hope you will do so now. Every gift counts, no matter the size. Your participation sends an important message to other potential supporters and sponsors, demonstrating that our mission and the benefits we make possible have growing and enduring importance to a widening base of enthusiasts. To make the benefits we make possible have growing and enduring importance to a widening base of enthusiasts, To make a donation visit www.numismatics.org/Development/Development or call our Development Office at 212-571-4470 ext 117.

The Archer M. Huntington Award

On Saturday, April 26, John W. Adams received the American Numismatic Society’s 2014 Archer M. Huntington Award for excellence in numismatic scholarship. ANS Chairman Kenneth Edlow and Executive Director Dr. Ute Wartenberg Kagan presented the award at the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston, where Mr. Adams delivered the Silvia Mani Hurter Memorial Lecture, “A Recidivist Collector,” to an enthusiastic audience of over 70 friends and family. Mr. Adams has a long record of scholarship and publication. In the past 15 years he has focused his research primarily on European and American medals, and his books during that period range from The Indian Peace Medals of George III, or, His Majesty’s Sometime Allies (1999) to Medals Sometimes Lie (2010), written with Fernando Choa, in collaboration with Anne Bentley. In describing this year’s award recipient, the Society’s Huntington Committee Chairman, Dr. Jere Bacharach, said, “What distinguishes John Adams from other writers is his passion for history, a beautiful, academically correct writing style, and diligence in seeking out overlooked historical and numismatic sources.”

The Huntington Award is conferred annually in honor of the late Archer M. Huntington, in recognition of outstanding career contributions to numismatic scholarship. The medal was designed in 1908 by Emil Fuchs in honor of the late Archer M. Huntington, in recognition of outstanding career contributions to numismatic scholarship. The medal was designed in 1908 by Emil Fuchs in honor of the late Archer M. Huntington, in recognition of outstanding career contributions to numismatic scholarship.

National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) grant

The American Numismatic Society and the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World have received a $300,000 grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The grant was made as part of the Humanities Collections and Reference Resources program and will provide for the full implementation of the Online Coins of the Roman Empire (OCRE) project.

“The award of this major grant is exciting for the ANS,” notes Executive Director Ute Wartenberg Kagan, “and it pays tribute to the hard work and technical skill of the staff involved in the planning of the foundation stage of the project. We also owe a major debt to donors and members of the Society who have supported the project to this point.”

The 39th Annual Chicago International Coin Fair

The ANS was represented at the 39th Annual Chicago International Coin Fair by Adjunct Curator of Roman Coins, Gilles Bransbourg, who gave a well-received presentation on the Society’s Online Coins of the Roman Empire (OCRE), a groundbreaking reference and cataloguing tool. Ultimately, OCRE will provide full descriptions and illustrations of the 45,000 different types of Roman Imperial Coinage, as well as a union catalog of specimens held in major collections. Dr. Bransbourg was thrilled to greet so many ANS members over the weekend. And he was equally excited at meeting so many prospective new members at the ANS table during the fair itself. The ANS would especially like to thank Society Fellow and volunteer, Robert D. Leonard, for his extraordinary help throughout the fair, and Harlan J. Berk and Constantin A. Marinescu for their generous sponsorship of the ANS reception.

The Mark M. Salton Memorial Lecture

The Mark M. Salton Memorial Lecture on “Byzantine Gold and the Economy of the Empire” was given at the ANS on May 7 by Dr. Cécile Morrisson, Director of Research Emeritus at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (National Center for Scientific Research), Paris, and Advisor for Byzantine Numismatics, Dumbarton Oaks. Dr. Morrisson has written extensively on Byzantine coins and monetary history. The ANS would like to thank the evening’s sponsors, for their support of this lecture series. The ANS would like to thank the evening’s sponsors for their support of this lecture.

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Clara Sanchez is a sophomore at New York University’s College of Arts and Science, working toward a B.A. in Classics and Art History. During her time at the ANS, Clara has catalogued coinage of Alexander the Great, reorganized sections of the coin casts, and studied Greek and Roman coins to enhance her understanding of the information taught in her major’s courses. She is excited to use this new knowledge for further enrichment next semester in Florence.

Marlee Miller is a curatorial intern at the ANS currently working with Gilles Bransbourg on the Online Coins of the Roman Empire (OCRE) project. Originally from Pennsylvania, she received her Bachelor’s degree from New York University in Classics in 2013. While in school, she studied abroad in Rome and participated in excavations in Cyprus with Professor Joan Connelly and Ostia Antica with the American Institute for Roman Culture. This fall, Marlee will attend the Institute of Fine Arts entering the Master’s Program in Art and Archaeology with a concentration on Roman art and material culture. In the future, she hopes to attain her doctorate degree in Classical Archaeology and pursue a career in Roman archaeology.