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on the cover: Actor John T. Raymond with Mark Twain. Raymond's coin collection was cataloged by Lyman Low and sold by Bangs & Co. in 1887.

DEPARTMENTS

FEATURES

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The American Numismatic Society, organized in 1858 and incorporated in 1865 in New York State, operates as a research museum under Section 501(c)(3) of the Code and is recognized as a publicly supported organization under section 170(b)(1)(A)(vi) as confirmed on November 1, 1970. The original objectives of the ANS, "the collection and preservation of coins and medals, the investigation of matters connected therewith, and the popularization of the science of Numismatics," have evolved into the mission ratified by the Society's Board in 2003, and amended in 2007.

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From the Executive Director

Ute Wartenberg Kagan

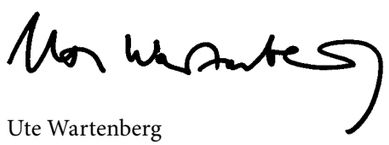
As the year draws to a close, we are in the midst of preparing for our big gala event, which allows us to honor some of our most faithful supporters. In 2017, we are celebrating Anthony Terranova, who has been a loyal friend and donor for many decades. Since this will be our last gala dinner at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel—which is being closed for renovation—the Board of Trustees decided to award a second Trustees' Award to the Eric Newman Educational Society for its efforts in digitizing significant portions of the holdings of the American Numismatic Society's library, primarily those dealing with American numismatics. This project will certainly revolutionize our field, perhaps in ways that we cannot begin to imagine yet. Research in American coins has been largely disseminated in privately published newsletters, bulletins, self-published books and auction catalogues. In an age where digitized materials dictate what people research, it is therefore vital that the extraordinary, often unique holdings of the ANS reach everyone. Although we lament that fewer people come to visit our library, the amount of research that is being carried out and published is actually increasing, and this is surely because most of the newly scanned material is put online under an open access policy. Here the foresight of the leaders of the Eric Newman Educational Society, primarily Eric, his children Andrew and Linda, is to be highly commended, and the Trustees Award will officially acknowledge the deep gratitude of the Society for this exemplary service to the field of numismatics.

Our second honoree's service to the Society is entirely different in nature but as serious and influential in its own way. Tony Terranova, a resident of Manhattan and well-known dealer in American coins and medals, has been a steadfast supporter of the Society's work for decades. His donations to the Society have enriched the collections enormously, since they acknowledge the importance of research and exhibitions. Through Tony's expertise on many different areas and its pulse on the market, the Society has often been able to acquire remarkable rarities in the medallic art field. Many of our recent purchases and donations of US gold medals, which are extremely rare, would not have been possible without the quiet work and generosity of Tony Terranova. The greatest gift of the last decade to the ANS was the spectacular Gobrecht dollar collection by Dr. Julius Korein, who was advised by Tony over many years. Our honoree has also generously contributed to the Society on an annually basis, while being a wonderful friend and advisor to the staff in a variety of issues. It is hard to imagine how much we rely on volunteer services at the Society, and here, too, Tony Terranova has helped with appraisals, expertise on counterfeit questions, and other matters for as long as most of us can remember. I hope that many of you will join us to celebrate his and the Newman Society's achievements on January 12th.

Events such as the gala and the annual fund, for which you will have received our annual appeal letter, are crucial for keeping the Society going and allowing us to provide so much online material and supporting the many other programs. We will need everyone's contribution, and if you have not already done so, please consider a donation. A small monthly contribution of $20 can be easily set up, or if you can give more, we would be so very grateful. Some of our members have left us legacies in their wills, and in our annual report for this year, available online, I have highlighted the legacy from our former member, Professor Frederick Armstrong, who on his death left the Society a legacy. As a specialist of nineteenth-century Canadian history, who taught for many years at the University of Western Ontario, he was a long-term member and donor. Many other members have helped the Society this year, and I can assure you that our small staff and I appreciate all the help we receive from our loyal members.

In closing, I wish you on the behalf of all of us at the Society a peaceful Holiday season and a Happy New Year!

Yours truly,



Ute Wartenberg

Facing page: Aleppo 1931 hoard. Photo: Alan Roche.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF MONEY in Achaemenid and Hellenistic Syria

Frédérique Duyrat

The battle of Mosul that started in October 2016 is the most recent episode in a five-year-long war that has led to the move of millions of people, the death of many others and the destruction of major remains of humanity's past. Syria has been the theater of one of the most barbarous wars of the last centuries, characterized by war crimes and persecution of civilians. Beyond the human aspect of this conflict, one of the distinctive features of the war in Syria has been the treatment of cultural heritage (fig. 1). It takes two different forms. The most obvious is the systematic destruction of historical artifacts and remains by ISIS, dubbed "cultural cleansing" by UNESCO's Director-General Irina Bokova (fig. 2). The list of the museums and archaeological sites destroyed, largely publicized by ISIS' propaganda, has reached an impressive length. The purpose is clear: to destroy the cultural heritage of any kind of "non-orthodox" culture, whether pre-Islamic, Christian, Muslim or any other. Northern Iraq and Eastern Syria have been severely damaged since the beginning of this campaign in 2014. But there is a second aspect to the "cultural strategy" of ISIS. This group is completely different from all the preceding forms of international terrorist organisations since it is only marginally dependent on foreign funding and has accumulated an impressive war chest. The traffic of antiquities has, among other activities, become an essential resource for the group. The income represented by looting and illegal traffic of antiquities has been estimated at around $200 million per year, and may represent the second largest source of income for ISIS. Moreover, the chaos caused by this multiparty war is beneficial to different groups of looters, whatever the cause they defend (fig. 3).

It is extremely difficult to identify objects that come from looting. If they have never been catalogued by a museum or in archaeological records, they have no established provenance. The sand or earth remaining on those artifacts is often the only sign of a recent archaeological discovery. Coins are even more difficult to trace to their source. Mass-produced in large numbers and often circulating over wide areas, they have an intrinsic value when struck in precious metal, as well as an artistic and historical interest. Moreover, they can be easily found with basic metal detectors. Official alerts regarding the looting of coins are extremely rare, although coins are often found in illegal commerce, or in military raids. If the recently publicized documents photographed by the Association for the Protection of Syrian Archaeology are authentic, it is noticeable that the licences for looting granted by ISIS to individuals cover "collecting antiquities and buried money." Moreover, the looters' interest in numismatics has been emphasized by the discovery, in June 2015, of an ISIS cache containing weapons and a book with articles on numismatics. As noted by Ute Wartenberg, it is an academic book probably stolen from a museum library, and it contains useful numismatic overviews on coinage issued in Syria from the fifth century BC to Byzantine times.

In such a context, the role of the historian of antiquity is particularly crucial: to gather all that can allow us to reconstitute this endangered past, to interprete the artifacts, to make them available for future generations in a future time of peace when people will be able to rediscover their roots. But how can numismatics be involved in such an important mission? Coins are tiny, scattered, and they require highly specialized skills to be interpreted. Even studied with care, they remain difficult to understand as a whole. One of the

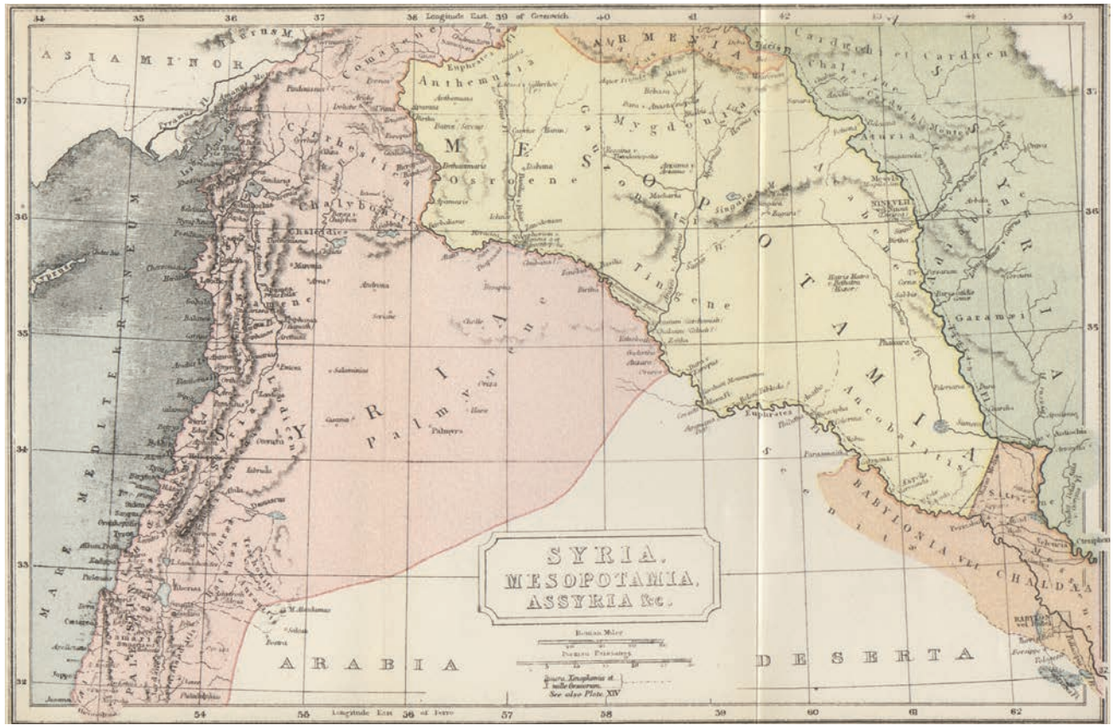


Fig. 1: Map of ancient Syria.

reasons why coins are such a difficult source is their number: issued in the millions, lost or hoarded in the tens of thousands, they form an ocean in which the non-specialist feels lost. To study the coinages of an entire region is a way to approach coins as a single source. Moreover, to study ancient Syria through this particular source sheds light on new aspects of the past of a region currently devasted by war. This is what I have tried to do in a book now published by the American Numismatic Society: *Wealth and Warfare. The Archaeology of Money in Ancient Syria*.

Ancient Syria as studied in this book includes the territory of several modern states: Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Israel, as well as the margins of Turkey with the region of Iskenderun and the Turkish-Syrian border. From the first coins, buried at the very end of the sixth century BC, under Achaemenid rule, to the beginning of the Roman Empire, this region produced millions of coins. If an individual study of each of these thousands of coins seems impossible, other approaches are possible. Coins are issued by mints of which the output can be evaluated as long as we possess a die study. Coins circulate, and their circulation can relatively safely be reconstructed, either through finds in archaeological context or through hoards. Coins in commerce or in museum collections have often lost their provenance, but as they are mass-produced objects, the missing data can partially be reconstructed. My first step was to gather all the coins possible through a careful exploration of publications of hoards—the *Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards, Coin Hoards*, individual publications, etc.—in a database that I then turned into a catalogue. I then repeated the same enquiry with publications of excavations.

What did I find? We can start by considering some numbers. For the hoards, the result is 355 hoards gathered and a total of 47,821 coins of all periods. This is only a rough figure, since many hoards were incompletely recorded in trade; but it is certainly a minimum: numerous finds have never been inventoried. Probably the vast majority of our coins in precious metal come from hoards. Better knowledge of the latter allows us partially to restore its archaeological dimension to a material that is otherwise chiefly an object in a display case. The reports of 58 archaeological sites I have been able to use have yielded a further 49,355 coins from all periods, of which the Hellenistic period represent a firm total of 13,976 coins.

Of course, these two sources—hoards and excavations—have very different features. Silver and gold coins are only rarely discovered in isolation and so form a tiny percentage of excavated finds. From this point of view, the example of coins from the Agora or markept-place of ancient Athens is quite illuminating: of the 14,604 coins from these excavations, 10,909 were of the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Two coins were of gold, one of electrum, and 177 of silver. These figures represent less than 2% of the total, even though the monetization of exchange was undoubtedly much more advanced in Athens than in Syria. Therefore we must consider that the vast majority of the coins in precious metal that survive today come from hoards, and that bronze hoards are relatively few while excavations overwhelmingly provide finds in this alloy.

So, while the corpus assembled for Syria is undoubtedly rich, it is based on two different categories of material of which a large part has lost its archaeological context. Furthermore, the area I have studied is or has been at war for significant parts of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. This in turn has an influence on our source that needs to be examined. We must start with a clear understanding of what hoards are and how to analyse them. Remarkably, this work began 250 years ago with a find from Syria. The first learned study of a recognized hoard is usually dated to 1765: the work of Joseph Pellerin, a passionate collector who gathered and catalogued some 35,500 Greek coins still in the Paris Coin Cabinet collection (fig. 4). He established the provenance of a hoard from Latakia in Syria, dated to the first half of the second century BC, with a good deal of precision based on the statements of the individual who sold it to an agent in Latakia and then disappeared. Next, he described the coins' physical appearance: they arrived in Paris without having been truly cleaned. The specimens carry the traces of clumsy cleaning that left the metal deeply scored, and some had been broken to verify the nature of the metal (silver) that was difficult to identify through the thick dark oxidization layer. Pellerin provided no list, as we would today; but there is discussion of each item thought to be interesting, with a historical commentary wherever possible. He comments on mints, periods, monograms, varieties, royal portraits, the history of kingdoms and cities, and the dating of the group, all with an erudition and keenness that compel admiration. Pellerin's investigation of this Syrian find opens the portals of modern numismatics: provenance, container, number of specimens, their physical condition— all were studied in detail. Three plates illustrate the chief coins, and their original mints are identified with considerable insight

Fig. 2: Destruction by ISIS.

Fig. 3: Satellite view of an archaeological site looted (Apamea).

Fig. 4: Portrait of Joseph Pellerin.

Fig. 5: Plate of the Latakia hoard in Pellerin 1863.

(fig. 5). Pellerin also asked and answered the question of the burial date for the first time in the history of the discipline. The approach he inaugurates still remains that of all those who deal with hoards.

An already old discipline, the study of hoards has a clear object: a hoard is made of any sort of wealth (even in bronze) hidden by its original owner and never recovered by him. Hoards can have a container, but we are generally very ill informed about them. Analysis of the Syrian material allows us to examine this phenomenon on a regional basis in the Greek world for the first time. We have an idea of the containers for only 30 out of 355 hoards (8.5%). In 70% of the cases, they are terracotta pots, vases, or jugs, editors' nomenclature being highly imprecise (fig. 6). They can be covered with palm, as in the famous hoard discovered at Khirbet Qumran, or simply with a terracotta lid. Metal containers are a good deal less frequent and much more varied: the oldest is a bronze box in the shape of an uninscribed Egyptian cartouche with a pivoting opening mechanism, discovered during excavations at Byblos and dated c. 450 BC. A small silver purse 6.7 cm high is probably the most valuable container among this small sample. At the time of discovery, at Al Mina, near Ugarit, it contained only 55 tiny fractions. They date this object's loss to c. 375 BC. Exactly at the other end of the value scale, 10 tetradrachms with types of Alexander the Great were rolled in a humble lead sheet found in the excavation of Ras el-Bassit. This malleable metal was also used to make six vases protecting the spectacular Saida hoard of 7,200 gold coins discovered during the nineteenth century. This material, usually considered base, was employed to bury the greatest hoard—both in value and number—ever found in Syria. However noticeable, all these containers hid the more modest linen or leather bags that were probably frequent but are almost never recorded (fig. 7).

Although, like excavations, they provide large numbers of coins, hoards, it turns out, are a source deeply influenced by modern history. 85% of the 355 gathered for this study come from commerce, where most of them were scattered, and have been reconstructed by numismatists. Since the eighteenth century, observing the market, from Beirut to the West, has been a major source of knowledge of hoards. Collectors had networks of informers and used them to identify the lots dispersed by dealers. Sadly, wars have deeply modified this landscape. No hoard that I have tracked down before 1951 comes from a totally unknown provenance. The scholars to whom we owe our knowledge always name the assumed country of origin. Thereafter matters change. Beginning in the

Fig. 6: Samaria before 1990 hoard. Jug, 39 coins, and jewelry. Samaria, mid-4th century BC. Collection of The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Photo © The Israel Museum by David Harris.

Fig. 7: Terracotta of an actor sitting on an altar with a purse in his hand (Louvre, Acquisition CA).

1970s especially, the general appellation "Near East" appears, so broad that it is tantamount to admitting in fact that the hoard's provenance is unknown. This habit became the norm in most cases with the 1980s. This habit matches the period of the Lebanon war, from 1975 to 1990. The war's destabilization of the region did not only entail an increase in illicit antiquities trafficking in Lebanon but also contributed to turning the country into a favored transit center for antiquities found throughout the area. The Lebanese War represents a sharp growth-spurt in the number of hoards sold on the antiquities market, all countries included. From 1974 to 1994, the number of new hoards discovered annually grows appreciably to reach 14 hoards in 1983. This is one example among others of the impact of local events on writing the history of a region. The number of hoards found in controlled excavations is minor (12%) compared with data from commerce.

Intensifying this context of endemic war since the 1960s is a close association between archaeology and the definition of national identities. Finding useful information on the archaeological policy of different governments is no easy matter, especially because of the large imbalance that exists between the countries concerned. Israeli archaeology is particularly active and rich in a team of field numismatists advertising their discoveries in specialized publications. The bias in our records is quite noticeable, and it must be borne in mind when drawing general conclusions from both hoards and excavations: Israeli territory is the most densely documented of the whole area.

Once aware of these limitations, the historian can try to extract information from the material asembled from the hoards and excavations, and place it alongside the evidence of the money that was produced in ancient Syria during five centuries. The first step is certainly to try to understand what was the monetary situation during the Persian period, before trying to draw any conclusions about Hellenistic times. The earliest hoard found in Syria is the Ras Shamra deposit dated c. 525–520 BC and entirely made of foreign silver coins mainly from Macedonia and Thrace, with the exception of six coins from Cypriot Salamis. The coins were found in a pot in the middle of a hearth, and some were partially melted. The case is interesting: Syria at the end of the sixth century used weighed metal (*Hacksilber*) and kept that practice at least until the second part of the 4th century BC, at which point there were numerous mints in the region and coins were no longer cut to be tested or divided into smaller weights. *Hacksilber* (fig. 8) is a kind of money that has to be weighed to establish its value, unlike coinage whose weight and worth are guaranteed by the issuing authority through the expedient of types placed on the coin's obverse and reverse. This information frees the user from systematically verifying the value and weight. The use of denominated money depends on trust. Accordingly, there is a distinction between weighed money (here, *Hacksilber*) and denominated, marked money (Greek coinage). In Syria, *Hacksilber* is no longer attested after the conquest of Alexander the Great.

The first mints to open in the East were those in the Phoenician cities, around the middle of the fifth century BC. The hoard evidence shows that their issues circulated with imported tetradrachms from Athens (fig. 9) and new local issues from Samaria, Judea, and Philistia in the fourth century. The mints of the southern Levant issued mostly fractions of drachms, specializing in very small coins characterized by numerous imitations of the Athenian type: Athena's head and owl (fig. 10). The Phoenician mints produced contrasted issues of large and tiny silver coins, as well as rarer bronze issues in the fourth century (fig. 11).

The period encompassing the Macedonian Conquest of the Persian Empire and the stabilization of the kingdoms of the Successors to Alexander the Great marks a monetary turning point. The traditional circulation of the Persian Empire continued until the 320s BC. If coinage were to be used to establish the frontier between the Achaemenid period and the Hellenistic Age, the latter would date from c. 325 BC on the basis of hoard contents: with or without Alexander's coinage, with or without fractions. Thereafter, the monetizing of the precious metal reserves of the Persian Great King swept out the old currencies and imposed the coinage in the name of Alexander the Great (fig. 12), their Attic weight standard, and the near disappearance of fractions. Gold issues produced in the region (fig. 13), massive and related to specific need, were probably meant for sizeable payments in other regions. The role of shifting military populations from east to west probably explains a great deal of this phenomenon: all throughout the period, fresh troops were sent to the East, even as demobilized veterans returned home with their pay. Some of these soldiers received silver tetradrachms, while others may have received gold coins. Soldiers probably contributed significantly, therefore, to the spread of Alexander's currency through the East and the Mediterranean.

After Alexander's death, the rivalry between his Successors led to 40 years of war until the stabilization of the new kingdoms around 280 BC. In Syria, the border

Fig. 8: Hacksilber.

Fig. 9: Athens. Silver tetradrachm, c. 430 BC (ANS 1968.34.40, gift of Burton Y. Berry) 25 mm. This coin has Semitic graffiti inscribed on the reverse indicating it had circulated in the Near East.

Fig. 10: Samaria. Silver obol, c. 400 BC (ANS 2010.77.257, gift of Abraham and Marian Sheuer Sofaer) 8.5 mm. This coin imitates the "owls" of Athens (cf. fig. 8) 8mm (images enlarged).

Fig. 11 : Phoenicia, Sidon. Silver double shekel of Sidon (ANS 1944.100.71290, bequest of E.T. Newell) 28 mm.

Fig. 12: Phoenicia, Tyre. Silver tetradrachm of Alexander III, c. 330 BC (ANS 1944.100.35337, bequest of E. T. Newell) 27 mm.

Fig. 13: Phoenicia, Aradus. Gold stater of Alexander III, c. 325 BC (ANS 1944.100.34548, bequest of E.T. Newell) 17.3 mm.

Fig. 14: Egypt, Alexandria. Silver tetradrachm of Ptolemy II, c. 275 BC (ANS 1944.100.75455 bequest of E. T. Newell) 27 mm.

Fig. 15: Syria, Antioch. Silver tetradrachm of Antiochus III, c. 210 BC (ANS 1944.100. 75151, bequest of E.T. Newell) 27 mm.

Fig. 16: Judea, Jerusalem. Bronze of Alexander Jannaeus, c. 100 BC (ANS 1952.142.377, gift of Christian G. Gunther) 15 mm (images enlarged).

Fig. 17: Phoenicia, Tyre. Silver tetradrachm, c. 55 BC (ANS 1944.100.72844, bequest of E.T. Newell) 28 mm.

Fig. 18: Phoenicia, Sidon. Silver tetradrachm, c. 105 BC (ANS 1944.100.71466, bequest of E. T. Newell) 28 mm.

Fig. 19: Phoenicia, Aradus. Silver tetradrachm, c. 64 BC (ANS 1944.100.70509, bequest of E T. Newell) 26 mm.

Fig. 20: Macedonia, Aegae? Gold distater of Alexander, c. 330 BC (ANS 1980.109.36, bequest of Arthur J. Fetch) 17 mm.

between the Seleucid kingdom, in the north, and the Ptolemaic kingdom centred on Egypt, followed more or less the modern border between Syria and Lebanon, north to Tripoli. Hoards and coins from excavations show that in the third century BC the monetary border between Seleucid Syria and Ptolemaic Syria and Phoenicia was completely closed. On either side, circulation responded to similar criteria on the whole, albeit on different weight standards: above all, the silver coinage was royal. While in the south this came solely from Ptolemaic mints issuing on a light standard (fig. 14), in the north in most cases it took the form of tetradrachms with the types of Alexander or of the Seleucid kings (fig. 15), all issued on the same Attic standard. Other royal currencies of Attic weight, mainly from Asia Minor, were also accepted, but they do not constitute the largest portion of the hoards. Excavations confirm this disposition, yielding predominantly Seleucid bronze coinage. The only "mixed" zone is the region held by the Ptolemies from 246–219 BC. During that period, a large Ptolemaic enclave was established around Seleuceia and Ras Ibn Hani following the brilliant campaign of Ptolemy III in 246 BC. Written sources only describe this occupation in broad strokes and do not permit us to discern its distinctive features. The presence of Ptolemaic bronzes on several sites around Seleuceia helps to sharpen this picture. The Fifth Syrian War (202–198 BC) altered this landscape partially. The bronze coinage then provided a monetary unity not found in the silver, since for this alloy the Ptolemaic system endured in Syria and Phoenicia after the reconquest by the Seleucids.

The second century confirms this situation. After the victory of Antiochus III and the conquest of Ptolemaic Syria and Phoenicia, the currency zones remained unaltered. Seleucid Syria and the eastern possessions continued to use the Attic standard; the southern Levant preserved a closed monetary system organized around the Ptolemaic standard despite the Ptolemies' defeat. The second century also witnessed the gradual weakening of the Seleucid dynasty, first, in confrontation with Roman might, and then through dynastic rivalries encouraged by powerful neighbors, chiefly the Ptolemies and Attalids of Pergamum in western Asia Minor. This political context fostered the development of civic autonomy and local powers. It also influenced the production and circulation of coinage. Thus the first Hasmonean Jewish coins found in a hoard date from 110/109 BC (fig. 16). The cities of Phoenicia established eras of autonomy between the end of the second century and the beginning of the first: in 126/5 at Tyre (fig. 17), in 111 at Sidon (fig. 18), in 102/101 BC at Byblos. Aradus, in the north, adopted a local standard before 138 BC.

Civic coinages appeared in the wake of the grants of freedom. The second century is the time when Syrian mints were most active, across all standards. The number of hoards buried is very high compared to the third and first centuries.

The fragmentation of monetary circulation increases during the first century and the two standard zones of the preceding centuries slowly disappear. Coins on the Aradian standard (fig. 19), those from Tyre, and Ptolemaic coins do not mix, or do so only slightly. The contrast with the second century and its two sharply differentiated zones, Attic standard in the north, Ptolemaic in the south, is clear. In terms of monetary practice, the reign of Alexander I Balas (150–145 BC) is a turning point, distinguished by an end to the flow of Attic weight tetradrachms from Asia Minor and a compensatory increase in royal issues. At the same time, royal coins produced on the Ptolemaic standard pour into Coele Syria and Phoenicia. The incessant rivalries between the dynasty's different branches, Hasmonean expansion, and the assertion of civic autonomy all led to a political partitioning of Syria that is reflected in increasing closure of currency zones. Strangely, the Armenian and subsequent Roman invasions and Syria's reduction to provincial status in 63 BC have not left numismatic traces matching their historical significance.

So much, then, we can say about the broad political and economic history of the region. But what about the experience of those who inhabited this war-torn region? The coins at the core of Wealth and Warfare are, first and foremost, objects lost by their owners, with all the chance characteristics that such an origin entails. Nevertheless, taken as a whole and submitted to critical inquiry, they form a corpus of sources ripe for exploration. The two catalogues that are the book's foundation rest on two contrasting actions: the amassing of riches (in the case of hoards), and the chance loss of coins, often of little value, in the case of isolated finds. Hoards come about only because some individuals were able to accumulate coinage that exceeded their other assets, which traditionally consisted of land, a workshop, tools, raw materials, or able-bodied slaves. In short, they had more than a subsistence level of production. The isolated coins found in excavations are, by contrast, the result of negligence: they went astray, and their owners did not think them worth looking for. The parable of the lost coin in St. Luke's Gospel (15.8–9) depicts what differentiates hoarded coins and those lost in isolation:

What woman having ten pieces of silver, if she lose one piece, doth not light a candle, and sweep the house, and seek diligently till she find it? And when she hath found it, she calleth her friends and her neighbors together, saying, Rejoice with me, for I have found the piece, which I had lost.

This woman's attitude is a literary archetype that accords with the available data. The 10 coins of silver could form a hoard, and one of them justifies a long search, which would not happen with a bronze piece. By bringing together 355 hoards with the coins from 58 excavated sites, we gain access to all levels of coin use, ranging from the accumulation of wealth, with hoards containing gold and silver, down to the contents of a modest purse, with small collections of bronze. The latter, like bronzes found in excavations, provide a window onto the daily use of currency. Combined with gold and silver hoards, they provide data for local, regional, or international circulation, depending on the case. The ability to accumulate coinage for hoarding signifies, in principle, one form of wealth. Since we do not know what percentage of fortunes consisted of coined money, it is impossible to evaluate them precisely.

Yet, for those questions on which written sources provide little assistance in Syria, hoards can be suggestive. Containers are usually quite unprepossessing, and the choice of a hoard's protective packaging shows no trace of luxury, whatever the hoard's value. In contrast, contents vary greatly, from extremely modest sums to princely riches. But they do not illustrate this wide range of fortunes equally. In fact, our data poorly illustrate both the very greatest fortunes and the smallest nest eggs. It appears, judging by both written and physical evidence, that the rich did not usually bury their fortunes in the ground but kept them in strongboxes. Therefore, hoards inform us most about a large, middle category extending from the piggy-bank to a safety-deposit box. Coined money probably served an intermediate level of exchange, and all transactional levels did not require it.

The most remarkable hoard in the collection is at the same time so exceptional that it cannot be a source about ordinary fortunes: the Saida hoard discovered in three trenches in 1829, 1852, and 1863. The find was so large that numerous specialist journals reported it. The six lead vases found fortuitously in the gardens of Saida contained at least 7,200 gold coins, including several hundred Philips and several thousand Alexanders. They held gold distaters (fig. 20) and staters, the equivalent of 144,000 Attic drachms. This considerable sum looks very much like an official treasury and is highly unlikely to represent private assets. The burial would have occurred c. 323/320 BC, right in the

midst of the wars of the Successors over Alexander's empire. The situation in Syria then was particularly confused, the region being disputed by the weak Laomedon, once satrap of the region, the armies of Perdiccas passing through, only to be removed by Ptolemy I, before Eumenes and then Antigonus Monophthalmus took control of Syria by turns in 318–316 BC. The considerable holding that the Saida hoard represents was not buried just anywhere. Despite the continuing debate on its precise role, Sidon seems to have had close relations with Persian power. Between the strategic importance of Sidon's port and its powerful navy, it is highly likely that Alexander himself paid the city close attention. In the troubled context of his conquest, the idea naturally occurs that this hoard may be an official fund. Alexander's gold staters almost never circulated in Syrian territory. In any case, none are buried there. The currency's limited time in circulation and the fact that it was quickly hoarded at Saida after being struck rule out a slow accumulation through the roundabout means of commerce and exchange. Thus it is very tempting to connect this enormous hoard with a military fund being transported to meet a payroll, only to be buried in an emergency to avoid an imminent danger. It is thus fascinating, but should not distract us from the overall pattern that emerges from the evidence as a whole.

And finally we may ask what the Syrian evidence can tell us about broader monetary patterns across the ancient world. What part did this crossroads at the end of the Mediterranean play in the movement to and fro of precious metal from east to west? Hoarding essentially involves large silver denominations, and that includes the Persian period when, however, small fractions also occupy a significant place. Gold remains the exception, no matter the period. Bronze appears in the fourth century and expands noticeably in the second, and especially the first, thanks to production by the Hasmonean kings. Thus silver has a dominant position in hoarding from the start, with concurrent use of *Hacksilber* and struck coin under the Achaemenids. The beauty of hoards is that they allow us to trace movement: we know the origins of the coins they content, and their dates of production, and we can often determine their date and place of burial.

From the Syrian hoards we can say that first the movement generally was from the Mediterranean towards the heart of the Persian Empire, where the price of silver and the Achaemenid taxation system immobilized sizeable metal reserves. This tendency reversed with the Macedonian Conquest and the Wars of the Successors. Following soldiers who were returning west, where the price of silver was probably higher, plentiful eastern issues in the name of Alexander were hoarded on the Mediterranean seaboard. These general tendencies tapered off in the second and first centuries BC as metal flows became regionalized with the appearance of reduced standards. Despite the amounts produced, coined silver never covered the totality of exchanges. Plated coins and especially imitations probably partially complemented monetary circulation. The role of gold is difficult to assess, for a large part of our information has been lost because the biggest fortunes were not hoarded in the ground. Bronze coinage, too, is probably underestimated. Less of a collectors' item, less studied, in circulation sometimes long after its issue, and used more readily than coins in precious metal, bronze travelled over greater distances than is generally believed. Close examination of the broad movements of silver highlights the variety of reasons for these flows: the local price of silver and the proximity of mining resources must be added to military troop movements, fiscal needs, especially of kingdoms, and the hoarding and non-hoarding practices of certain coins in the ground. In a context of strong silver flow, closed monetary systems may be seen as a way of countering the forceful current and of benefiting from returns on seigniorage on overvalued coinage. The investigation of wealth accumulation and monetary circulation through hoards and excavation coins therefore opens some new perspectives. If their further development requires rather weighty treatment, they are no less usable for that, especially thanks to abundant publications and the computer tools that have arisen in recent years.

The investigation of wealth accumulation and monetary circulation through hoards and excavations opens new perspectives. It shines a light on the behaviour of governments, and generals; soldiers and shopkeepers. It speaks to us of the hope and despair, of the careful saving and careless loss of individuals and communities who are in many senses our forebears. Most importantly, it preserves the history and heritage of a region that is sadly now at risk of losing its physical remains for good.

Order Wealth and Warfare: The Archaeology of Money in Ancient Syria *here: numismatics.org/store/duyrat.*

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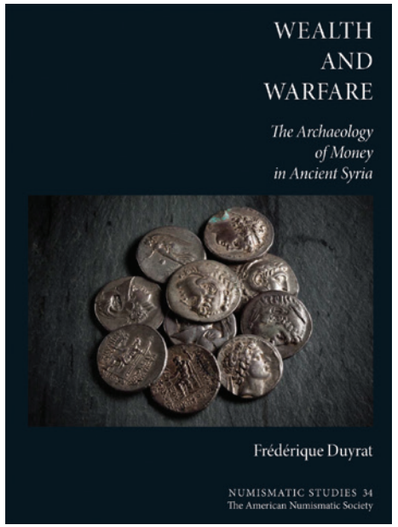

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Facing page: View from Mount Holyoke, Northampton, Massachusetts, after a Thunderstorm—The Oxbow (Connecticut River), by Thomas Cole, 1836.

BUT WAIT, THERE'S MORE!

A New Addition to the Corpus of Islamic and Related Coins in Colonial and Early Federal North America

Oliver D. Hoover

In a previous issue of the *ANS Magazine* (2014, vol. 3, pp. 22–33), a seventeenth-century Islamic silver coin from the Yemen previously unknown to have traveled to North America was presented. Since then, other examples found in Rhode Island have been reported.[1] Now we can expand the corpus of Islamic-style coins found in North America further thanks to a new discovery in an obscure periodical of the mid-nineteenth century.

An Unexpected Find

The well-known numismatic literature dealer and ANS Fellow, David Fanning, recently passed on to me an article from the April 1843 issue of *The American Pioneer*, an historical and antiquarian magazine published in Cincinnati from 1842 to 1843. In this particular issue,[2] a John S. Williams, Esq. reports the discovery of a mysterious copper coin on the banks of the Connecticut River.[3] The coin, illustrated by woodcut (fig. 1), is covered with a script (actually scripts, see below) that Williams could not decipher. A fanciful response from *The American Pioneer*'s editor suggested that the characters on the coin might be Punic and that the coin could be evidence that traders from Phoenicia and Carthage had reached the Americas in ancient times. Christopher Columbus, it would seem, was quite a latecomer.

Looking at the woodcut with the eye of a modern numismatist rather than that of a nineteenth-century American antiquarian, however, reveals that it can hardly represent any coin struck by a Phoenician or Punic issuing authority. As can be seen from coins known to have been issued by Punic forces fighting the Greeks for control of Sicily in the fifth century BC (fig. 2) and by the Phoenician city of Sidon in the second century BC (fig. 3), the script(s) depicted in the woodcut are clearly not derived from ancient Phoenician (see the last issue of the *ANS Magazine*, 2016 vol. 3, pp. 6–15, for discussion of Phoenician, Neo-Punic, and other scripts on ancient coins). Instead, the script(s) and the coin they appear on are of much more recent vintage. The legends are in fact written in three different languages: Urdu (on obverse and center reverse) using a Perso-Arabic script, Bengali (top reverse), and Hindi in a Gujarati script (bottom reverse).[4] The obverse legend reads, *Sana julus 37 Shah Alam badshah*, meaning "[Struck] in the 37th year of Emperor Shah Alam," while all three legends on the reverse name the denomination as "one *pai sikka*," literally a "one *pai* coin." *Sikka* is the Urdu (derived from Arabic) word meaning "coin" and *pai* was an Indian fractional denomination worth 1/64 of a silver rupee (fig. 4). In English the denomination was usually known as one-pice.

Shah Alam II and the Nadir of the Mughal Empire

The languages and scripts involved on this coin indicate its production in northeastern India during the reign of a Mughal Emperor named Shah Alam. This can only

1. See most recently J. C. Bailey, "Evidence of Red Sea Piracy: The Discovery of a Late 17th Century Arabian Coin in Southern New England," *C4 Newsletter* 24.3 (Fall 2016): 35–45.
2. *The American Pioneer* 2.4 (1834): 15–16.
3. Presumably the Massachusetts stretch of the river since Mr. Williams was from Gill, Massachusetts.
4. I am grateful to Michael Bates for discussing the legends with me, which permitted the identification of the coin depicted in the woodcut.

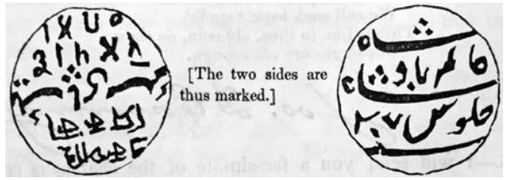


Fig. 1: Woodcut illustration from The American Pioneer *(April 1843).*

Fig. 2: Phoenicia. Sidon under Abd-Eshmun (410–400 BC). AR double shekel (ANS 1967.152.571) 26 mm.

Fig. 3: Siculo-Punic, c. 410-392 BC. AR tetradrachm (ANS 1944.100.79692) 25 mm.

Fig. 4: India. Awadh under Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula (AD 1754–1775). AR rupee in the name of Shah Alam II dated regnal year 4 (AD 1762). Balwantnagar mint (Classical Numismatic Gallery 24, lot 242) 22 mm.

Fig: 5. India. Mughal Empire. Shah Alam Bahadur I (AD 1707–1712). AE half-dam dated regnal year 5 (AD 1711). Macchlipattan mint. KM-339.2 (Classical Numismatic Gallery 6, lot 150) 18 mm.

be Shah Alam II (1759–1806) since his namesake, Shah Alam I (more commonly known as Shah Alam Bahadur I), only ruled for six years (1707–1712) and struck copper coins of a different style and fabric (fig. 5). The thirty-seventh regnal year of Shah Alam II was equivalent to 1795/6, which by any measure must be considered a low point in the history of the Mughal Empire, but to fully appreciate how low it is necessary to provide some general background.

The Mughal (derived from Mongol) Empire was founded in the early sixteenth century, when Babur (1562–1530), a dispossessed descendant of the Turco-Mongol conqueror Timur-i Lenk (Tamerlane in English), sought a new kingdom in northern India (fig. 6). At Panipat in 1562, Babur defeated and killed the Sultan of Delhi, Ibrahim Lodi (1517–1526), despite the numerically superior forces ranged against him by the Sultan (fig. 7). Building on this victory, Babur and his successors continued to expand deeper into India until almost the entirety of the subcontinent bowed before the Peacock Throne of the Mughal emperors (fig. 8). At its greatest extent, under Aurangzeb (1658–1707), the empire has been estimated to have covered some 3.2 million square kilometers, included roughly 100–150 million subjects, and yielded an annual tribute equivalent to £38,624,680 (fig. 9). Not for nothing did Aurangzeb assume the title of Alamgir ("Seizer of the Universe").

Unfortunately, at the very same time that Aurangzeb was stretching the empire to its greatest limits, he was also sowing the seeds for its decline. Although all of the Mughal emperors professed the Islamic faith, they managed to rule large swathes of India for more than a century by incorporating local non-Muslim elites into the machinery of imperial administration and through a frequently implemented policy of religious and cultural pluralism. The emperor Akbar (1556–1605) even went so far as to try to bind the peoples of the multi-ethnic and multi-faith empire more closely to himself by abolishing the jizya (tax on non-Muslims) and by proclaiming a new religious philosophy *Din-i-Ilahi* ("Godism") that embraced aspects of Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity (fig. 10). Aurangzeb openly broke with

Fig. 6: Sixteenth-century portrait of Babur.

Fig. 7: Miniature of the First Battle of Panipat (1562) from the Baburnama *(late sixteenth century).*

the pluralistic view of the empire and embraced a far less tolerant brand of Islam than that of his predecessors. His repressive policies antagonized and alienated his numerous non-Muslim subjects, igniting a series of Sikh and Hindu revolts and setting forces in motion that caused the rapid disintegration of the mighty Mughal Empire.

By the accession of Shah Alam II, only some 50 years after the death of Aurangzeb, the empire had broken up into its constituent parts, a host of virtually independent Hindu, Sikh, and Muslim states, but the vast majority still paid lip service to the Peacock Throne as an indisputable source of legitimacy. In 1758, Shah Alam II (then known as Crown Prince Ali Gauhar) fled the capital at Delhi to escape the control of his father's usurping vizier Imad ul-Mulk. Proclaiming himself the rightful Mughal emperor, he raised an army with the support of Shuja-ud-Daula, the Nawab of Awadh (fig. 11), and managed to reclaim parts of Bengal, Bihar, and Odisha before the English East India Company, which had great commercial interests in these regions, intervened. After a series of battles, in 1761, Shah Alam II was decisively defeated and forced to recognize Mir Qasim, the Company's preferred candidate as Nawab of Bengal, Bihar, and Odisha.

The Mughal emperor, who still had not reclaimed Delhi, was compelled to remain with Shuja-ud-Daula at Allahabad, but three years later they joined Mir Qasim—who had turned out to be far less pliable than the East India Company desired—in attempting to break its power. Together the three were defeated by the Company's private army at the battle of Buxar on 22 October 1764. Shah Alam II was again forced to bow to the will of the East India Company and made to sign the Treaty of Allahabad in 1765 (fig. 12). This document, which ultimately became the foundation of British colonial authority in India, granted *diwani* rights (including the right to collect taxes and decide civil suits) to the Company in Bengal and made the emperor its pensioner at Allahabad.

Despite having been brought so low, Shah Alam II

Fig. 8: The Peacock Throne in the Dewan Khas of the Red Fort. *Miniature by Ghulam Ali Khan (fl. 1817-1855).*

still commanded great respect among the Muslim and Hindu princes of the Indian subcontinent. Through the assistance of the Marathas, a Hindu warrior people of central India who recognized him as the rightful Mughal emperor, he was able to reclaim Delhi in 1771. His return to the old imperial capital under Maratha suzerainty began a struggle for survival against the neighboring Sikhs and Rohilla Afghans that dragged on through the 1770s and 1780s. At last, after a series of defeats, in the summer of 1788, Shah Alam II was compelled by the Sikhs to appoint the Afghan, Ghulam Qadir, as Grand Vizier (Prime Minister) of the Mughal Empire, which by this time was mockingly said to extend from Delhi to Palam (a suburb of Delhi). Qadir, however, took advantage of the old emperor and attempted to steal the 250 million rupees rumored to lie in the Imperial Treasury. When such fabulous riches could not be found, the Grand Vizier vented his rage by blinding Shah Alam II and abusing his family. These horrific events were only brought to an end later in 1788, when the Marathas intervened, killing Qadir and using the blind emperor to lend legitimacy to their growing empire. Whatever real power he once had was gone, but he was still quite valuable as a symbol for the many who still recognized the Peacock Throne as the true source of legitimate power in India.

The East India Company and Shah Alam II

Like the Marathas and other Indian rulers who issued coins in the name of Shah Alam II (fig. 13), the East India Company was very much aware of the continued symbolic importance of the emperor in the subcontinent and became concerned that if the competing French East India Company (Compagnie française pour le commerce des Indes orientales) defeated the Marathas or turned them from their sometimes rocky British alliance, the Mughal emperor would then become a legitimizing figurehead for its regime. This concern was further heightened by Shah Alam's correspondence with the French-allied Sultans of Mysore during the Anglo-Mysore Wars (1767–1799). When the relationship between the East India Company and the Marathas finally broke down and descended into the Second Anglo-Maratha War (1803–1805), the first objective for the Company was to capture Delhi and the blind emperor. On 11 September, 1803, the forces at the disposal of the East India Company defeated the Marathas near Delhi and entered the city as conquerors. Shah Alam II subsequently came under the Company's protection and served to legitimize its claims in India until his death in 1806 (and beyond).

Following the lead of the Marathas and other native rulers of India (fig. 14), the East India Company struck coins in the name of Shah Alam II as a means of showing that the right to rule was sanctioned by the highest authority in the land—the scion of the house of Babur—and perhaps also as a testament to the natural conservatism of people towards the appearance of their money (fig. 15). The coin found along the Connecticut River is in fact an East India Company issue naming Shah Alam II with a frozen year 37 date. Such one-pice coppers were struck for use in Bengal from 1795 to 1831, beginning when the emperor was only a ward of the Company's Maratha allies and ending almost three decades after his death. Despite the frozen date, it is possible to distinguish different issues by year of striking through the combination of weight and diameter.[5] Although the weight of the coin is not given by Mr. Williams in his enquiry to *The American Pioneer*, the 27 mm diameter of the accompanying woodcut tends to suggest an issue of 1817. Later issues have their diameters reduced to between 25.7 and 27.8 mm. The final emission is as small as 22.8–23.1 mm.

Fig. 9: Mughal Empire. Aurangzeb Alamgir (AD 1658-1707). AV mohur dated regnal year 22 and AH 1086 (AD 1675). Fr-810; KM-315.18 (Stack's Bowers & Ponterio, August 2016 ANA Auction, lot 22553) 18 mm.

Fig. 10: Mughal Empire. Akbar (AD 1556-1605). AV mohur dated AH 981 (AD 1573/4). Agra mint. BMC 50; Liddle G11 (ANS 1924.149.1) 19×33 mm.

East India Company Coins in North America

While one coin on the banks of the Connecticut River could easily represent the remnant pocket change or a souvenir brought back from India by an American trader or English soldier, the discovery of other, much more recent finds of one-pice coins in North America may suggest something bigger. One example was found in a controlled excavation at the Loretto Site (AgGs-326) in Niagara Falls (Canada), the location of Ontario House, a nineteenth-century hotel.[6] Judging from the 27 mm diameter of this piece (the weight is not given) it was most probably part of the 1817 one-pice emission.

Two other specimens were discovered independently by metal detectorists working fields in New Jersey. One was found by Don Hartman in Burlington County, New Jersey, "many years ago on an old stagecoach road leading to the ghost town of Martha Furnace...homesteads at the site had coins from KGIII to about 1840 large cents."[7] Judging from the reported diameter of 27 mm and weight of 89.5 grains (5.8 g) it, too, should

5. The technical details and dates of minting are provided online by Baldwin's at http://baldwin.co.uk/coins-of-india/CalcuttaMint/Milled/Pice1795.htm.
6. The coin is illustrated and interpreted on the ASI Featured Artifact page at http://asiheritage.ca/portfolio-items/international-mother-language-day/.
7. Personal correspondence (November 3, 2015).

Fig. 11: Shuja-ud-daula, Nawab of Oudh. *Painting by Tilly Kettle, c. 1769-1776.*

probably be considered an 1817 issue. The weight is perhaps a little low for the issue, which had an official weight of 6.47 g and observed weights hovering around 6.06 g, but 1817 is the only year when 27 mm planchets were used.

Wayne Shelby reports that the second piece (fig. 16) was found by a fellow metal detectorist at his Site #11 in Moorestown, New Jersey, off New Albany Road.[8] He notes that, "In the recent past, [the site] was a large farm field approximately 30 acres in size and a number of coins and artifacts were recovered over the years. My C4 article of Summer 2005 reveals 63 coins and approximately 150 buttons + were recovered over the years. About 12 years ago, 80% of the farm field was lost to a housing development and the remainder is still farmed."[9] The one-pice from Site #11 has a diameter of 27 mm and a weight of 7.61 g, which might also suggest an 1817 issue as well, although the weight is high.

Now that there seem to be four distinct finds of probable 1817 one-pice issues of the East India Company's Bengal Presidency from Ontario, Massachusetts, and New Jersey, the real question becomes what are they doing here?

In the online report by the archaeological consultant company ASI, it is suggested that the example from Niagara Falls may have come to North America as a souvenir in the pocket of a British soldier of the 46th Regiment of Foot, which had served in India between 1817 and 1833 before it was deployed to the United Province of Canada (modern Ontario and Quebec) in 1845.[10] This explanation seemed plausible when the Niagara Falls specimen appeared to be the only specimen known, not least since the apparent date of issue (1817) coincides perfectly with the arrival of the regiment in India. However it must be completely abandoned now in light of the other finds from Massachusetts and New Jersey (where the 46th Regiment was never stationed) and especially since the Connecticut River find was reported to *The American Pioneer* in 1843—two years before the Regiment was sent to Canada. There must be another explanation.

8. For the numbered sites in New Jersey worked by Shelby over the years, see W. Shelby, "Survey of Colonial Coins Recovered Metal Detecting in Southern NJ," *C4 Newsletter* 11.4 (Winter 2003): 7- and "Survey of Colonial Coins Recovered Metal Detecting in Southern NJ - Part II," *C4 Newsletter* 13.2 (Summer 2005): 6-.
9. Personal correspondence (November 3, 2015).
10. For the theory see http://asiheritage.ca/portfolio-items/international-mother-language-day/. The full deployment history of the 46th Regiment is presented online at http://web.archive.org/web/20071221233605/http://www.regiments.org/deploy/uk/reg-inf/046-1.htm.

Fig. 12: Shah 'Alam conveying the grant of the Diwani to Lord Clive. *Painting by Benjamin West, 1818 .*

Fig. 13: India. Maratha Confederacy. AR rupee in the name of Shah Alam II dated regnal year 21 (AD 1779). Ankus mint. M&W T4 (Classical Numismatic Gallery 22, lot 407) 22 mm.

Fig. 14: India. East India Company. AE one-pice in the name of Shah Alam II dated regnal year 37 (AD 1795). Calcutta mint. Todywalla Auctions 75, lot 1154. 27 mm.

Fig. 15: India. East India Company. AE one-pice in the name of Shah Alam II dated regnal year 37 (AD 1795) Calcutta mint. Found in New Jersey. (Image Courtesy of Don Hartman). 27 mm.

Fig. 16: India. East India Company. AE one-pice in the name of Shah Alam II dated regnal year 37 (AD 1795) Calcutta mint. Found in New Jersey. (Image Courtesy of Wayne Shelby). 27 mm.

Figs. 17: Canada. Province of Lower Canada. AE halfpenny token dated 1812. Imported from England for Canadian circulation by Joseph Tiffin in c. 1832. Breton 960. (ANS 1967.159.563, ex Norweb collection) 28 mm.

Fig. 18: Canada. Province of Lower Canada. AE Wellington halfpenny token. Imported from England for Canadian circulation. Breton 972, Courteau 27, Willey 523-524 (ANS 1920.147.475) 28 mm.

Fig. 19: Canada. Province of Lower Canada. AE Bust and Harp halfpenny token dated 1820. Imported from England for Canadian circulation. Breton 1012, Courteau 2, Willey 581-885 (ANS 0000.999.42187) 26 mm.

Fig. 20: Canada. Province of Lower Canada. AE Eagle halfpenny token dated 1814. Imported from England foor Canadian circulation. Breton 994, Courteau 28, Willey 520 (ANS 1949.65.298) 27 mm.

Fig. 21: Canada. Province of Lower Canada. AE "Blacksmith Copper." Willey 641; Wood 18. (ANS 0000.999.42446) 27 mm.

Fig. 22. Canada. Province of Lower Canada. AE VEXATOR CANADIENSIS token. Breton 558 (ANS 1949.65.6) 26 mm.

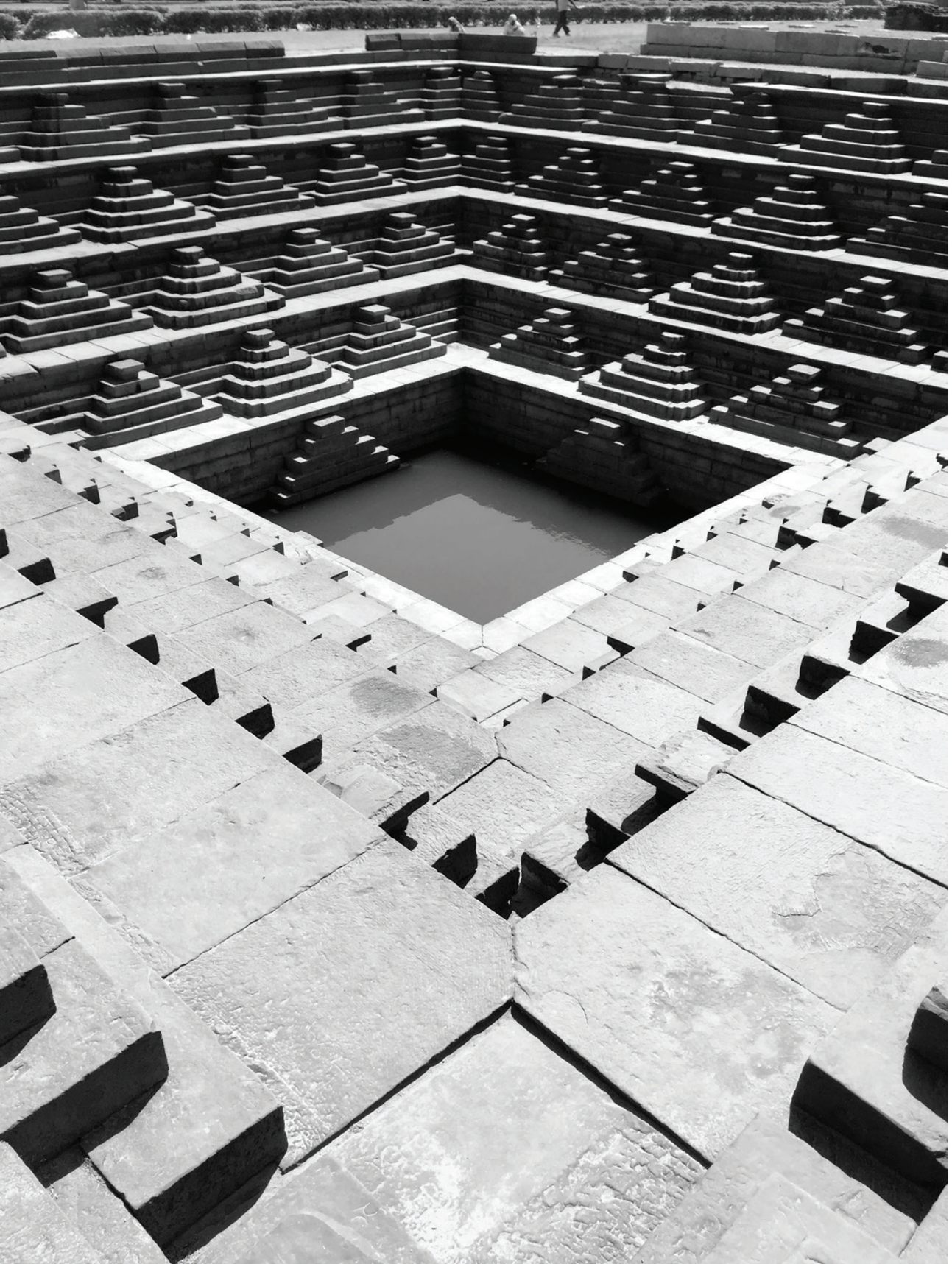
It might be tempting to associate the multiple finds with ongoing trade between the United States (and British North America) in the early nineteenth century. Mercantile contact with the Bengal Presidency of the East India Company was already important enough in 1789 for the United States Congress to include silver "rupees of Bengal" on the list of established rates for foreign coin.[11] John Kleeberg has also pointed out that trade between the United States and the Indian subcontinent was brisk enough at the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to warrant the formation of organizations like the East India Marine Society in Salem, MA.[12] Still, if simple trade was the mechanism that brought the one-pice coins from the Bengal Presidency to North America, we must ask ourselves why only 1817 issues seem to have come.

The preponderance of apparent 1817 one-pice coins (in our admittedly small data sample) might suggest that they were brought through trade before 1829, the next year in which they were struck. However, it is unclear why there are no earlier issues. One-pice coppers dated to year 37 of Shah Alam II were also struck in 1795, 1796, 1802, and 1809. As all of these varieties are considered common today it seems highly improbable that many were not still circulating in the East India Company's Bengal Presidency in the period between 1817 and 1829.[13] So why then does it seem that only 1817 issues appear in eastern North American find contexts?

The window for their arrival between the year of issue in 1817 and the 1843 date of Mr. Williams' report of the one-pice piece on the banks of the Connecticut River is tantalizing in that it covers the entirety of the period when Upper and Lower Canada suffered an acute shortage of small change. The situation was so bad that almost anything that looked remotely like a coin was accepted in commerce. Both Canadian and American entrepreneurs took the crisis as an opportunity for profit by routinely importing or producing unofficial copper tokens to use as money (figs. 17–20). The token detritus in the Canadian circulation pool only began to be cleaned up in 1837, when the worst of the tokens (figs. 21–22) started to be refused by the Bank of Montreal at face value, but the process continued into the 1850s. Bearing this historical context in mind together with the probability that all of the one-pice coins found in North America so far appear to belong to the same year of issue, it seems worth entertaining the possibility that some enterprising individual in northeastern North America had the idea to import a quantity of the 1817 issues in the hope of circulating them or, perhaps more likely, restriking them for profit as tokens for the Canadas.

Regardless of whether this somewhat speculative association of North American one-pice finds with the currency troubles of Upper and Lower Canada is correct, there can be no doubt that this East India Company one-pice naming the hapless Shah Alam II should now find a place alongside the seventeenth-century Yemeni silver *khums kabir*, and other coins with Islamic inscriptional types known to have circulated in Colonial and early Federal America. This is the second time in two years that an Islamic-style coin with a North American find context has come to the fore through the workings of serendipity. One wonders what else might be quietly sleeping beneath the earth of forgotten fields, on lonely banks of rivers, and in the pages of obscure old periodicals. The permanent sense of anticipation and never knowing what might appear next is one of the great joys of numismatics.

11. See P. Mossman, *Money of the American Colonies and Confederation* (New York, 1992): 257. The gold "pagoda of India" was also rated. A preferred version of this denomination was struck for the East India Company's Madras Presidency. It was also produced by Dutch and French colonial authorities in India as well as by several princely states, but from gold of a lesser fineness.
12. Personal correspondence (November 4, 2015).
13. A 1795 issue would have been in circulation for some 22–34 years while an 1809 issue for a mere 8–20 years.



Facing Page: Vijayanagara. Stepped Tank of chloritic schist in the Royal Center. Photo: Vivek Gupta.

THE DECCAN WATERSHED: The Potential of Numismatics for Peninsular India[1]

Vivek Gupta

Stone adorns every inch of the metropolis of Vijayanagara in Southern India. Vijayanagara, or "the City of Victory," flourished from 1336 to 1556 and was a site of rich cultural innovation (fig. 1). Stone decorates its palaces. It forms the sculpted body of gods. It narrates epics. In the royal center of Vijayanagara stands a stepped tank of chloritic schist—a smooth and dark stone (facing page).[2] The look and feel of it differs with the rougher surface of the gray granite that is used for most of the city. The stark contrast between the schist of the stepped tank and surrounding granite takes one's breath away.

The stepped tank at Vijayanagara was also the subject of Richard Eaton and Phillip Wagoner's latest research that shows how this stepped tank was removed from an earlier eleventh- or twelfth-century site stone-by-stone. This previous site likely belonged to the Chalukyas in the center of Dharwar. The Archaeological Survey of India excavated this tank in 1984. It bears locational inscriptions carved into its slabs indicating exactly how it fit together. The inscriptions' paleography, use of the Telugu language, and numbering system associates them with the sixteenth century when the tank was dismantled. The inscriptions also suggest that 12 more layers of stone would have been added to the top and it that was deeper in its original location. Stones from these additional courses were found scattered in the proximity of the tank.

The staging of the Chalukya tank at Vijayanagara supports one of the central arguments of Eaton and Wagoner's recent book, *Power, Memory, Architecture: Contested Sites on India's Deccan Plateau 1300–1600.* The relocated stepwell attests to the prestige of the Chalukya past for a Hindu empire. Such pains to bring the tank in Vijayanagara would not have been taken if it did not carry meaning. Not only Hindu dynasties, but their Muslim conquerors revered the memory of the Chalukyas just as well. Spolia and idioms from Chalukya temples became prominent in the architecture of the Muslim Deccani courts of South-Central peninsular India.

I would like to suggest that the arguments made for Deccani architecture and material culture should provoke scholars to reexamine the numismatic evidence, particularly during a period of transition from the fourteenth until the sixteenth century.[3]

One of my basic tasks as a curator at the ANS is to further research on the collection. While the ANS has had a tradition of Islamic curators such as George Miles and Michael Bates, there has been no position explicitly for South Asia. This does not mean that South Asian holdings of approximately 47,000 objects at the ANS have languished in our vault. Visitors, fellows, summer seminar students, and other ANS staff have researched on this area of the collection.

A major figure in the history of the ANS was Marie Martin (1942–2002) who wrote a dissertation at the University of Michigan (1980) on coinage of the Bahmani Deccan (1347–1538) (fig. 2).[4] Although Martin was an editor

1. The author acknowledges Pushkar Sohoni and Phillip Wagoner for their visits to the ANS during the summer of 2016. ANS colleagues Alan Roche, Bennett Hiibner, and David Hill also assisted with the preliminary research presented here.
2. For research on this stepwell see Eaton and Wagoner 2014: 106–113. For a recent response to this discovery see Flood 2015.
3. Methodological inspiration comes from Martin 1994.
4. Martin 1980.

Figure 1: India c. 1400. Map published with kind permission of Navina Haidar. After Haidar and Sardar 2015. © Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure 2: Marie Martin's Presidential Medal from the New York Numismatic Club, sculpted by John di Lorenzo, Bethel, CT, 1990–1991 (ANS 1992.47.1) 35 mm.

during her tenure at the ANS, her publications, and notes in the coin trays suggest that she was a key player in the field of South Asian numismatics. She established coin typologies for the Bahmani dynasty, the first major sultanate of the Deccan that was a close contemporary to the neighboring Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara. She determined the entire succession of Bahmani rulers using physical evidence in absence of a definitive catalogue. She also drew attention to the currency reform of Sultan Ahmad Shah Vali Bahmani (r. 1422–1436) with the expansion of copper coinage and new denominations. Today, references to Martin's typologies have been preserved in the ANS's database and are viewable online.

In the course of updating the ANS's database of its Deccani holdings, I have been surprised by how these works could build on current scholarship on South Asia if given their due. Much of this material was previously not photographed. With the help of Alan Roche, many difficult-to-capture details on coins are now presented here. These were also incorrectly categorized under regional designator of "Ahmadnagar." Even though Ahmadnagar (1490–1636) was indeed a Central Indian sultanate its reach was not the entire Deccan plateau. Consistent with other museum collections, I have introduced "Deccan" as a regional category for these coins (approx. 400 coins). Looking at the ANS's collection of Deccani coinage amidst the recent surge in scholarship on the region allows for new possibilities.

The Deccan Watershed

Simply put, the Deccan was a site of rich cultural exchange for centuries. Two of the greatest contributions to the fields have drawn attention to how Vijayanagara rulers fashioned themselves as "sultans" by adopting epithets such as "*Hindu-rāya-suratrāna*," or "Sultan among Hindu Kings," and Muslim sultans built pleasure city inspired by systems of Indian aesthetics (*rasa*) (fig. 3).[5] Many individuals during this period made crossings between multiple worlds.[6]

Because of its peninsular location with the Malabar and Coromandel coasts on either side, the Deccan was also integral to international trade networks. Iranian artists, Arab horse traders, Armenian merchants, Turkish gun casters, Abyssinian slaves-turned-rulers, East Asian travelers, Europeans—literally everyone imaginable—oiled the engine that made the Deccan move.[7]

With regard to the historiography of South Asia, it would be apt to call the last three decades a Deccan watershed. The early work of towering figures in the field such as George Michell, Mark Zebrowski, Richard

5. Cf. Wagoner 1996, and Hutton 2006.
6. Cf. Wagoner 2011.
7. Eaton 2005.
8. Eaton 1978; Zebrowski 1983; Michell 1986; Wagoner 1993; Sardar 2007, and Ali and Flatt 2012 are exemplary for later works. It is also important to keep in mind John F. Richards's work on the court of Golconda. See Richards 1975.

Figure 3: Nauraspur, "City of Nine Rasas (aesthetic emotions)" of Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II of Bijapur (r. 1556–1627). Photo: Vivek Gupta.

Figure 4: India, late 16th century. Map published with kind permission of Navina Haidar. After Haidar and Sardar 2015. © Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Eaton, and Phillip Wagoner was met with scores of dissertations and edited volumes exploring all kinds of terrain.[8] This moment reached a climax with the first international loan exhibition on the Deccan in 2015, *Sultans of Deccan India, 1500–1700: Opulence and Fantasy* at the Metropolitan Museum of Art co-organized by Navina Haidar and Marika Sardar.[9] As a research assistant for that exhibition I observed the many accomplishments made by a field to which I was a new initiate. It was not only the pragmatics of presenting undocumented material, but the methodological interventions and new questions on topics such as transculturation, circulation, trade, and connected histories that changed the field of South Asian and Islamic studies for good. My center of gravity as a student of Indo-Islamic culture was not the canonical history of the Mughals and North India; however, it was the Deccan.

Whereas studies of the Deccan previously took the backseat for the Mughal Empire (1526–1858), a study of Indo-Islamic topics through the lens of North India exclusively would now ignore a body of seminal scholarship. The rich cultural production of the Deccani sultanates challenges Marshall Hodgson's antiquated notion of the three main "gunpowder empires" of the Safavids (1501–1736), Ottomans (1299–1922) and Mughals, whose reigns overlapped during the early modern period.[10] To make these histories legible everything from course syllabi to museum installations are packaged with the "Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals"

Figure 5: Bronze fals minted at Bidar, c. 1482–1518, (ANS 1974.26.1993) 10.602 mm (images enlarged).

Figure 6: Bronze 2/3 gani probably minted at Bidar, c. 1482–1518 (ANS 1997.66.3489) 10.858 mm (images enlarged).

Figure 7: Bronze fals minted at Bidar, c. 1458–459, (ANS 1917.216.4015) 20.23 mm (images enlarged).

Figure 8: Bronze fals minted at Bidar, c. 1435–1436, (ANS 1921.54.989) 15.829 mm (images enlarged).

Figure 9: Bronze fals minted at Bidar, c. 1482–1518 (ANS 1981.79.3) 12.93 mm (images enlarged).

Figure 10: Bronze 3/4 gani probably minted at Bidar, c. 1482–1518 (ANS 1997.66.822) 20.0 mm (images enlarged).

paradigm. Scholars have now shown how Vijayanagara and the Deccani sultanates can be conceived as centers too, rather than peripheries.

Despite the growth in scholarship, numismatics has largely been ignored with a few exceptions since Marie Martin.[11] In practice, I have found it productive to think of Deccani coinage vis-à-vis scholarship on portable objects.[12] In the absence of inscriptions, Deccani

Figure 11: Plate from The Gampola Lārin Hoard (images enlarged).

9. Haidar and Sardar 2015.
10. Hodgson 1974.
11. Wagoner 2014, and Sohoni forthcoming.
12. Cf. Flood 2009.
13. Zebrowski 1997.

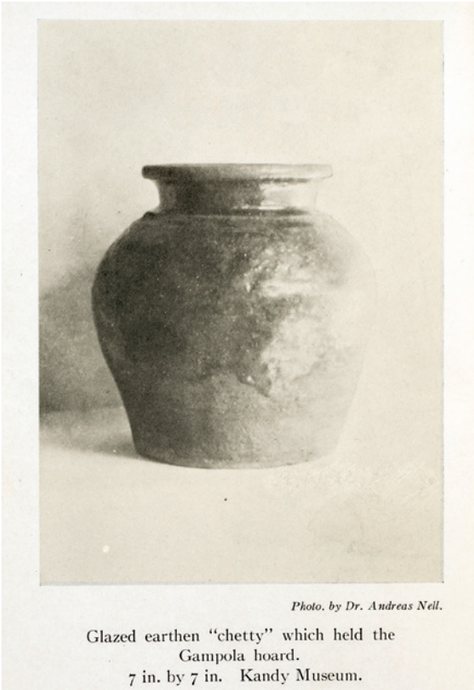


Figure 12: Plate from The Gampola Lārin Hoard.

portable objects and manuscripts can often be difficult to identify on the basis of style alone.[13] This is largely due to their tricky relationship with their Iranian and Mughal counterparts. Coins, however, offer us portable objects that do bear easily known dates and mint names. Using numismatic methods, such as identifying countermarks or working with hoards could compliment research on the Deccan. Objects from the ANS's collection presented here are only the surface layer of a very deep well into the material.

Decoding Edge Countermarks

Analogous to how Deccani architects reused the past, countermarked coins likely invoked the memories of proximate and distant pasts as well. A number of smaller splinter states emerged from the once unified Bahmani Empire inaugurated in 1347. The dominant narrative of how these states sprang up goes as follows: Bahmani governors would be asked to serve in a particular region, they gradually secured immense political control of a pocket of land, and finally they decided secede from the empire and launch their own sultanate. Such is the case of Sultan Quli who established Golconda, a Deccani sultanate right near modern-day Hyderabad (fig. 4).

Amidst these seceding territories and fledgling polities, what happened to coinage? If the Deccani sultanates had a history of an affiliation with the Bahmanis, would not these coins serve as an efficient mechanism of circulation between regions? While many of the major sultanates such as Bijapur and Golconda minted their own coins, these questions remain unresolved.

Early on at the ANS I looked at the Deccani trays that stored coins, which I would soon find out were countermarked. When Curator Peter van Alfen saw these coins, he noted the thickness of the bronze examples. Van Alfen unconsciously predicted a finding that would be illuminating for me. In the course of inviting scholars to come to view the collection and offer advice on how to manage such expansive holdings, Professor Phillip Wagoner inquired if any of the Bahmani coins had countermarks. Even though I had read a very short entry on this kind of countermark,[14] only when Wagoner shared images did I realize where to find these countermarks. Bahmani bronze coins in some cases bear countermarks on their edges likely attesting to their continued circulation beyond the reign of the ruler for whom it was struck.

I quickly reexamined the Bahmani coins and selected ones on which the edges bore some decipherable text and handed them off to ANS Photographer Alan Roche. Roche brilliantly captured the edges of many of these coins to allow me to begin deciphering the counter-inscriptions. Let us take the Bahmani bronze fals minted at Bidar (c. 1482–1518) during the reign of Mahmud Shah Bahmani II, a relatively late Bahmani ruler, as an example (fig. 5). On its edge I deciphered a circular marking that could be numbering, an inscription, or another kind of marking. If looked at it one way, the beginnings of the name ʿAlī seem plausible, and this would make sense given the sultanates' Shiʿi tendencies, though a satisfying reading is currently not available. On another coin, a bronze 2/3 gani attributed to the reign of Mahmud Shah (1482–1518), I found yet another countermark. Here, the marking looks as if it could possibly read as the beginnings of the word *ghāzī* or "conqueror", though again I am uncertain (fig. 6).

Several other coins in the ANS collection with edge countermarks have come to light over the course of my research and it seemed to be a popular trend among the later Bahmani sultans, particularly when more competitive splinter states emerged (figs. 7, 8, 9). It is for certain that there is a difference between an actual inscription and what looks like three ridges on the coin (figs. 10 and 11).

Gathering data from other collections would reveal patterns and the purpose of these markings.[15] Since most numismatic catalogues only provide obverse and

Figure 13: Plates from The Gampola Lārin Hoard.

reverse images, the edges may only be seen in person. These markings, nevertheless, can almost certainly be identified as a countermark, which means that they reasserted the coin's value after the point in time it was initially put in circulation. Like the Chalukya stepwell, the countermarks do indeed function as a way in which the past is reused.

Analyzing Hoards

Outside of the standard museum collections, hoards serve as another tool for numismatic research.[16] Hoards—or clusters of coins that are found in a specific location together, also known as their find-spot—often make juxtapositions between a range of coins that can carry a relatively reliable provenance.

The very notion of a hoard brings to mind the many problems of the history of collecting, whether it is in context of a single album of Persian calligraphies and paintings (*muraqqaʿ*) or treasuries of Indian and Islamic objects. The impulse to collect also occurred in texts in the form of a selection of poets, their biographies and works, such as in the Persian *tazkira*, or a compilation of Hindi poetry in a *sangraha*. When looking at collecting practices in a range of premodern material—drawing primarily on scholarship in art history—I have found that these collections quite often create points of convergence between unlikely materials. One can start to draw connections between different objects and start tracing a narrative. When the elements of the collection are homogenous, that too is noteworthy. One must be sensitive to inclusions and elisions.

The ANS holds a notable South Asian hoard found in the neighborhood of Gampola in central Sri Lanka.[17] This hoard is known for its *lārin*s or *lārī*s that circulated across the Indian Ocean to Arab/Ottoman (Basra, al-Hasa), Iranian (Hormuz), Indian (Dabul), and Sri Lankan ports (fig. 11). *Lārin*s supposedly trace their origins to the Iranian city of Lār, however this idea is yet to be fully confirmed. They are made of bent and

14. Reddy 2010.
15. Working in the Münzkabinett at the Bode Museum in Berlin in November 2016, I have been able to see this kind of a marking on a coin minted in the North Indian mint in Patna. The phenomenon therefore is not restricted to Bahmani coinage.
16. Gupta 1970 makes for an important source for Deccani hoards.
17. Wood 1934. Little has been published on the subject of *lārin*s and it forms a subject of my forthcoming research. Pushkar Sohoni refers to *lārin*s in a forthcoming article and has referred me to Husain 1967.
18. Husain 1967: 59.

Figure 14: Silver lārin minted at Dabul (c. 1656–1672) (ANS 1932.999.187) 46 mm (images enlarged).

flattened silver wire resembling a fishhook or tweezers. Early accounts claim that the *lārin* was a highly valuable currency particular to seafaring merchants, equal to three Indo-Portuguese *tanga*s plus one *dīnār*.[18] The Gampola hoard was found in 1925 in a glazed earthen pot, and Dr. Howland Wood assembled its 933 objects, 819 of which were silver *lārin*s (fig. 12). The majority of the *lārin*s in the hoard are associated with thirteenth-century Sri Lankan rulers with inscriptions in the Indic *devanāgarī* script, however there are some Persian examples as well. A far second to the *lārin*s are a number of 70 Indo-Portuguese colonial coins dating from 1631 to 1655 (fig. 13).[19] Twenty of these Indo-Portugeuse coins bear a 1655 countermark and eight a 1661 countermark by the Dutch East India Company (V. O. C.).[20] These Indo-Portuguese coins suggest the late seventeenth-century dating as the *terminus* ante *quem* for the hoard.

European descriptions so far have been the primary source of knowledge on the *lārin*s let alone the actual objects suggesting that these mobile individuals also made use of them in transactions with Indian, Persian, or Arab traders. In his prefatory essay about the Gampola hoard, Wood cites the accounts of a number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European military captains and merchants who witnessed the presence or use of *lārin*s. Gaspar Correia (1507), Duarte Barbosa (1518), Gasparo Balbi (1583), William Barret (1584), Pyrad de Laval (1602–1607), Pietro della Valle (1614–1626), Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1638–1663), and Sir John Chardin (1664–1674) are among them. Many of these figures have also served as key sources on our knowledge of the Deccani sultanates, most notably Tavernier.

Curiously absent from the Gampola hoard itself are Deccani *lārin*s. Did the Gampola hoard simply not make it as far north as the Deccani port of Dabul? One Deccani *lārin* in the ANS collection is dated c. 1656–1672 and is associated with the reign of ʻAli ʻAdil Shah II of the Bijapur sultanate (fig. 14). On one side, we have the name of this ruler, and on the other the metal is identified as a *lārī* and the mint name of Dabul is given.[21] Evidence of Deccan *lārin*s further inscribes the Deccan in the Indian Ocean networks of Iran, the Arab lands, and further Southern India. While isolating India-Iran connections has been a tremendously appealing and productive method of scholarship on the Deccan, these networks were far more open than a simplistic bidirectional flow suggests.[22] As the Gampola hoard contains a complete range of earlier Sri Lankan *lārin*s and some later Persian examples, why are the Deccani specimens absent from the hoard? Is it possible that given their rather idiosyncratic form they were immediately recognizable and mutually exchangeable no matter the issuing authority? Forthcoming research and collaborations will hopefully continue to pose questions of this material and arrive at more conclusive answers.

Suffice it to say, hoard analysis would expand the number of other coins in comparison to the very marginal evidence presented here. The forthcoming research of Phillip Wagoner and Pankaj Tandon on coins in the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies (IIRNS) in Nasik examines a hoard will likely shed further light on how to tackle this issue. Wagoner has created a spatial database of findspots and contents of all reported Deccani coin hoards with either Bahmani or Vijayanagara coins totaling to approximately 300 at present. His research has shown that the Vijayanagara *hon* had a wider circulation into Bahmani territories.[23] According to Pushkar Sohoni's experiences doing extensive fieldwork in the Deccan, there are literally hundreds of unexplored Central Indian hoards in private hands that await careful research.

Future research

Moving forward, paying attention to countermarks and hoard analysis are two productive methods proposed here. Being sensitive to arguments made for architectural and art history also allows us to see the numismatic evidence in fresh light. Thinking about the uses of the past is especially instructive when examining the countermarks on Bahmani coinage. The content of these countermarks, however, requires closer study to reach any further conclusions.

The Deccan watershed has certainly provoked a desire to keep digging through the Deccani archives and collections. A few months ago it was a pleasure to host Professor Pushkar Sohoni at the ANS to view sultanate and Bahmani coins. True to the spirit of a trailblazing researcher, Sohoni also requested we sift through many of the unidentified trays. In spite of the fact the inscriptions were barely visible, he was able to identify around ten of the coins, and some even from the Deccani court of Ahmadnagar. Those will soon be accessioned and added to the ANS's database. They provide further points of comparison to research on the Deccan. Who knows what the future holds for studies of the Deccan? At any rate, the past three decades of scholarship shows that it has truly left its mark on history for good and has ever more material to sustain research.

Upcoming Event

The American Numismatic Society will host a public lecture by Professor Phillip B. Wagoner of Wesleyan University, on May 1, 2017, and Professor Finbarr Barry Flood of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, will serve as his respondent. Please check numismatics.org for more information closer to the date.

Errata

From my previous contribution in ANS 3, 2016, "Revisiting George Miles's *The Numismatic History of Rayy*: A Tradition of Islamic Coinage at the ANS," I submit the following corrections: Renata Holod in fact never had the chance to excavate Rayy with Chahryar Adle. The photograph of George Miles and Erich Schmidt belongs to the Penn Museum (UPMAA), not the Philadelphia Museum of Art (PMA). I graciously thank Professor Holod for her feedback.

19. Wood 1934: 7.
20. Wood 1934: 8.
21. It is identified with BJ37 in Goron and Goenka 2001: 318. Obverses and reverses for *lārin*s are not standardized and capturing their physical characteristics often requires more than two (obv. and rev.) photographs.
22. For an important analysis of "cultural flows" see Chatterjee 2009.
23. Wagoner 2014.

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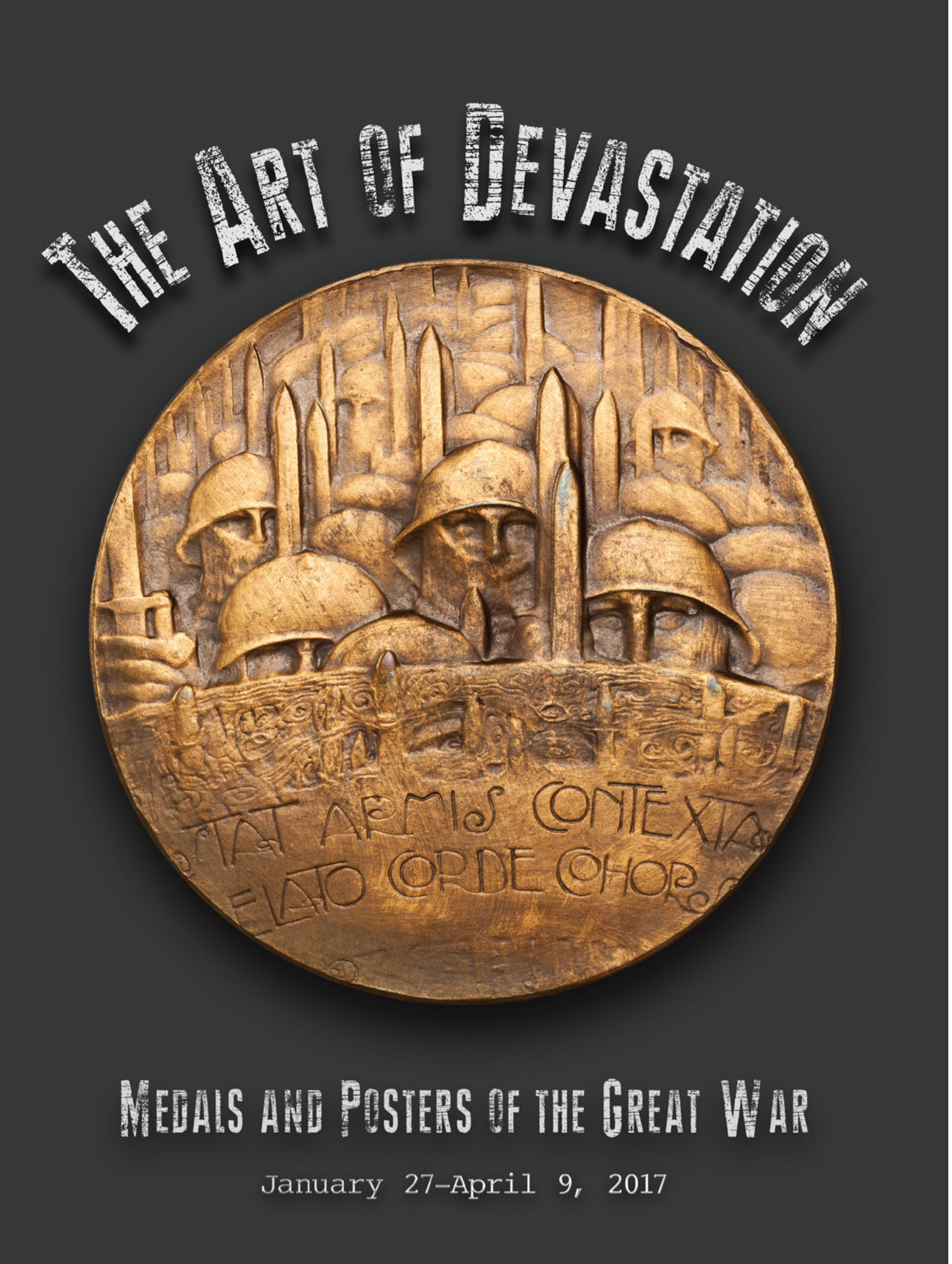


EXHIBIT PREVIEW: "The Art of Devastation: Medals and Posters of the Great War"

Peter van Alfen

On January 27, 2017, a wide-ranging exhibit of medallic art and posters from the First World War will open at the Frances Lehman Loeb Art Center at Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, New York, and will run through April 9, 2017. Co-curated by Patricia Phagan, the Philip and Lynn Straus Curator of Prints and Drawings at the Art Center, and myself, the exhibit coincides with the centennial of the declaration of war by the United States in 1917, which brought this country fully into the conflict nearly three years after it began in Europe. Drawing on the ANS's extensive collection of medallic art, posters held by the Art Center, as well as loans of posters from the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Dr. Phagan and I have assembled a collection of material that explores the way in which these two types of media both reflected the brutal and personal realities of the war and were actively used by governments and individuals as propaganda. While many of these themes have been explored before in WWI medallic art and posters, notably in a series of timely exhibits recently held in London, Berlin, and Munich, there the focus has been almost exclusively on the European perspective. In contrast, this exhibit considers the European context and use there of medals and posters before shifting the focus to the US, considering the ways in which the war began to tear at the fabric of US society even before the formal declaration of war and how this was expressed in these two media. These issues are also explored at length in a catalogue, jointly published by the Art Center and the ANS, with essays by the two curators, but also Ross Wilson, Thomas Hockenhull, and Bernhard Weisser. This book will be available from the ANS starting on the opening day of the exhibit. Here I provide a brief preview of some of the material and themes of the exhibit.

The War Begins

The United States formally entered the conflict on the side of the Entente on April 6, 1917, bringing new materiel, fresh troops, and a great deal of enthusiasm into a conflict that had been stalemated for years. Within the US, the declaration of war brought one chapter of internal angst and conflict to an end, but began a new one. Since August 1914, large groups of immigrants forming a significant proportion of the US population brawled with one another as they began to take sides in the European conflagration while at the same time trying to redefine what it meant to be an American. In enclaves within New York City and around the country, immigrants had maintained their languages, their culture, and their traditions, all while coming to terms with their new status as Americans. With the outbreak of the War in Europe, however, the struggle with these dual identities became that much more acute as people sought to balance sympathies for their homelands, where they often still had familial ties, with the social and political obligation to be loyal to their new country. This obligation had taken on new importance by 1915 as the loyalty of immigrants generally was being called into question; the War on the other side of the Atlantic was already polarizing US society. The threat of internal strife or subterfuge from resident aliens and disloyal citizens prompted calls by prominent politicians and others for immigrants to shed the vestiges of their former allegiances to show themselves to be 100% American. Americanization was no longer seen as a cultural nicety, but an imperative and one that was hitting hard on certain ethnic groups. Those hardest hit were German-Americans, who soon were campaigning vigorously for the US to maintain its neutrality and not to weigh into the conflict. Increasingly,

Fig. 1: Belgium. Bronze medal by Georges Petit for the Commission for Relief in Belgium, 1916 (ANS 0000.999.75868) 37 mm. The obverse of the medal depicts a ship sailing out of New York Harbor.

Fig. 2: United States. Bronze medal by Richard E. Brooks for the Commission for Relief in Belgium, 1915 (ANS 0000.999.38943) 35 mm. This medal, which features on the obverse the King and Queen of Belgium, and on the reverse an allegorical figure of America, was sold to raise funds for the CRB.

however, this became a losing battle as anti-German propaganda from overseas and an already strong positive bias in the US towards England especially began to take its toll. Continuing diplomatic incompetence by the Germans eventually turned the tide for good. When this happened in April 1917, those caught with the wrong kind of traditional loyalties—to Germany and Austria-Hungary—immediately had to reorient themselves or be declared traitors. German newspapers, businesses and other organizations were renamed or shut down after generations of proudly proclaiming their German-ness. In the meantime, newly formed security organizations, some officially sanctioned, many not so, began to hunt down anyone suspected of being disloyal to the US and its cause in the war. In some places, the results were tragic. By the war's end, the tenor in the US had changed: from a country tolerant if not wholly supportive of ethnic differences it had become one entirely contemptuous of anything un-American, although how that was defined remained fluid. But three long winters were to pass between August 1914 and April 1917 before all that came to pass, ample time for the struggle over identities and loyalties within the United States to reach fevered pitch.

This struggle in the US found comparatively limited expression in medals, tokens, and decorations, which stands in strong contrast to the widespread use of numismatic media in Belgium, France, and Germany throughout the war to convey both official propaganda and more personal messages of grief or disgust with the conflict. The contrast is curious given the great interest in and support of numismatic and medallic art in the US prior to 1914. Why US medalists did not engage with the war to the extent of their European counterparts probably had much to do with the late entry of the US into the conflict, the vast ocean separating them from the daily anguish of the war, as well as the expectations and taste of their American audience. Emotionally charged work like Paul Manship's *Kultur in Belgium* medal (fig. 22), which was produced as a direct response to this perceived artistic apathy, was not well received by critics in the US, whereas equally gruesome medals found more receptive audiences in Europe. Many US artists instead directed their skills towards more positive wartime tasks.

Foreign Aid: Bazaars, Committees and Conflict

Prior to US Doughboys being sent "over there," those in the US were already heavily involved in the conflict, primarily in the form of sponsoring and giving to charities, most of which were organized initially to help the victims of the war: women, children, refuges, and disabled or disfigured soldiers. Belgium especially became the focal point of several charities, particularly the Commission for Relief in Belgium (CRB), also known as the Belgian Relief Fund, which was formed in 1914 by concerned US citizens in England and chaired by future US President Herbert Hoover. Soon relocating its headquarters to New York City, the CRB was highly effective in soliciting donations, managing to ship almost 700 million pounds of flour to Belgium, thus staving off starvation for the bulk of the population that was denied access to food by the occupying German forces. In the US, the CRB along with other Belgian Relief organizations were, perhaps, the only charities that the entire populace could rally behind; among the fundraising efforts of the CRB was the sale of medals and decorations (figs. 1–2). Belgium's neutrality and status as victim of unwarranted aggression found sympathy in a country that was still, for the time being, neutral as well. The desire to help the victims of the war swelled throughout the US and other

Fig. 3: United States. Lithograph poster by Winold Reiss for the Charity bazaar for the widows and orphans of German, Austrian and their allied soldiers, held at Madison Square Garden, New York City, March 11–23, 1916 (Library of Congress LC-USZC4-9854) 103 x 70 cm.

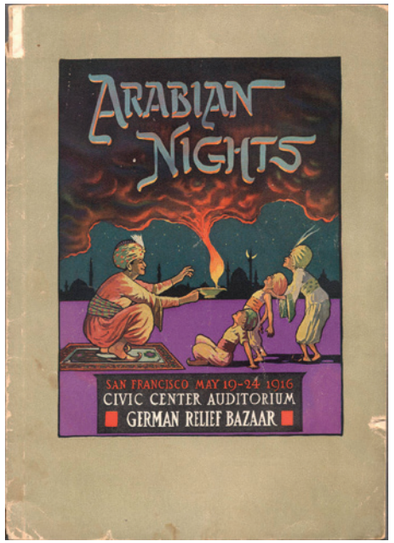


Fig. 4: Program cover for the German Relief Bazaar, "Arabian Nights", held in San Francisco, May 19–24, 1916.

Fig. 5: United States. Bronze medal struck for the Charity bazaar for the widows and orphans of German, Austrian and their allied soldiers, held at Madison Square Garden, New York City, March 11–23, 1916 (ANS 0000.999.41978) 35 mm.

Fig. 6: United States. Lithograph poster for the Allied Bazaar held in Boston, December 9–20, 1916 (Library of Congress LC-USZC4-9566) 106 x 72 cm.

Fig. 7: United States. Bronze decoration for the New York section of the Allied Bazaar held in Boston, December 9–20, 1916 (ANS 1951.52.4, gift of F. Sterns) 33 x 61 mm.

Fig. 8: United States. Bronze plaque by John Flanagan for the Allied Bazaar, held in New York City, June 1916 (ANS 0000.999.38946) 59 x 83 mm.

Fig. 9: France. Obverse of bronze medal by Charles-Louis Picaud and struck by the Monnaie de Paris, 1916, depicting the Cathedral at Reims on fire (ANS 1985.81.116, gift of Daniel M. Friedenberg) 50 mm.

Fig. 10: United States. Lithograph poster for Hero Land, held in New York City November–December 1917 (Library of Congress LC-USZC4-9456) 56 x 36 cm.

Fig. 11: United States. Bronze medal by E.B. Corey, 1915 (ANS 0000.999.38971) 33 mm.

Fig. 12: United States. Silver token issued by Thomas Elder, New York City, 1916 (ANS 0000.999.47862) 39 mm. Two days after RMS Lusitania was sunk, on 9 May 1915, former US President Theodore Roosevelt delivered a speech entitled "Murder on the High Seas," perhaps the inspiration for this token.

charities were organized to support one side or the other in the conflict. Scores of charities mushroomed in the US within the first year, many based in New York City, a major port for shipment of goods overseas, and which was home to some of the wealthiest philanthropists in the world. Operating primarily by direct appeal, these charities managed to raise millions of dollars to support European victims on both sides of the conflict and received as donations tons of clothes and other needed items. Already by the winter of 1914, however, the charities were trying different methods of fund raising, including a type of multi-day event that had been popular in the US for charitable purposes since the time of the Civil War in the 1860s. Styled as festivals, fairs, or more exotically as "bazaars", these events were often organized along a general theme, featuring performances by celebrities, displays of various things, and booths where food or hand crafts were sold. Proceeds from entrance ticket sales and from sales at the booths went towards the charities.

One of the very first wartime events was held at the 71st Amory in New York City in December 1914 organized by the newly formed German, Austrian, Hungarian War Relief Fund, which featured recreated German and Austrian streets, traditional German foods, and a parade of German-American Civil War Veterans. Both the Fund and the National German American Alliance helped to organize many subsequent bazaars across the country, particularly in 1916, in places that included New York City (again), Buffalo, Johnstown (PA), Milwaukee, San Antonio, and San Francisco (figs. 3–4), a few of which featured the display of replicas of German war materiel including "Big Bertha", a Krupp 42cm siege gun, one of the largest and most destructive weapons used during the war. In all these bazaars, the contributions of German-Americans to the US were stressed, as were their loyalties to America. Among the postcards and other trinkets offered for sale at the New York bazaar was a medal featuring a portrait of Wilhelm II, the Kaiser of Germany, on the obverse, and a quote from Horace (*Odes* III.2.13) urging young men to lay down their lives for their country, in this case Germany (fig. 5).

By the summer of 1915, the National Allied Relief Committee began to take the lead as the most effective charity supporting Allied causes and soon was acting as an umbrella organization for others. Not to be outdone by those supporting the Central Powers, this committee, along with the War Relief Clearing House and the CRB, in turn helped to organize a series of Allied Bazaars starting in New York City in June 1916, followed by similar bazaars in Boston (December)(figs. 6–7) and Chicago (January, 1917). Among the items offered for sale was a plaque by prominent US sculptor, John Flanagan (fig. 8). Flanagan's rather bizarre plaque illustrates a heroic nude male strangling a serpent representing Germany while a family of French (?) refugees watches on; in the background stands Reims Cathedral, which had been partially burned by German shelling in September, 1914 (fig. 9). Unfettered by the same self-censoring concerns that limited German-American expression, these bazaars were showcases of Entente victory and German defeat, featuring actual guns and combat machines that had been used overseas. A poster for the Boston Allied Bazaar showed a British tank attacking German soldiers (fig. 10); for a German bazaar to use a similar violent image in advertisement was unthinkable, indicating how far biases against the Germans had already swung in the US by the end of 1916.

Ersatz Neutrality

As supporters of both sides of the war in Europe rallied to their causes in the US, tensions began to mount within the country, with hostility towards German-Americans growing perceptibly year-by-year, first with the reports of German atrocities filtering out of occupied Belgium, but then especially following the sinking of RMS *Lusitania* by a German U-boat with great loss of life in May 1915, an event that rapidly galvanized public opinion in the US (figs. 11–12). A year later, in the summer of 1916, German-Americans welcomed a nominally private German cargo submarine, *Deutschland*, operated by the North German Lloyd line, that had been built specifically to run the blockade of German ports set up by the British. On its maiden voyage to America, *Deutschland* sailed empty with tons of pig iron as ballast; once docked safely in Baltimore, this iron was subsequently turned into souvenirs sold to support German-American charities (figs. 13–15).

In the months after the war broke out in 1914, supporters of the Central Powers in the US appealed to anti-British sentiment to garner support for Germany and Austria-Hungary, but found that such ploys did not get much traction outside of the German-American and Irish communities (figs. 16–17). Appeals for the country to remain neutral, however, found more support as it paralleled similar, broader desires within other communities and organizations across the US to let the Europeans deal with their own problems. President Woodrow Wilson, cognizant of how direct US involvement in the war could potentially split the country into factions, vowed to keep the US

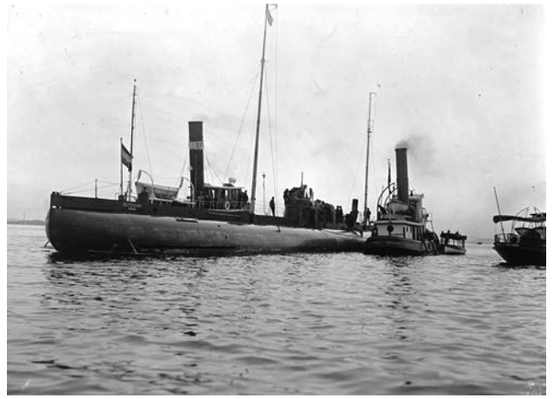


Fig. 13: Photograph of the submarine Deutschland *arriving in Baltimore on July 9, 1916.*

Fig. 14: United States. Bronze medal inserted within iron cross commemorating the voyage of the commercial submarine Deutschland *to the US in the summer of 1916 (ANS 1917.53.1, gift of F.G. Duffield) 72 x 74 mm (images reduced).*

Fig. 15: United States. White medal decoration given to the crew of the submarine Deutschland *by the German Historical Society of New York City in July 1916 (ANS 0000.999.56834) 29 mm.*

on the sidelines. But the clamor for neutrality from German-Americans and others was not just that the US stay out of the fighting, but that they also remain completely without bias towards either side. This was already a losing battle by 1915, the year that celebrations were organized in the US to mark a century of Anglo-American peace, buttressing the partiality that a great deal of the population, and more covertly the federal government, had towards the Entente anyway. Such favoritism, and its hypocrisy, was satirized by German-Americans (fig. 17). Long before the Americans entered the fight, it was growing patently obvious whose side they were on (fig. 18), although even at the eleventh hour, German-Americans, and their representatives in Congress, still hoped to avoid the inevitable.

Tensions Broken: the Joy and Hatred of War

With the US now in the fight, the tensions that had been building finally broke. The declaration was seen by many, including members of the ANS, as a cause for celebration (fig. 19), not one for somber reflection on what the country's young men would soon be subjected to. For German-Americans this was a period of growing fear and retreat. Even before the declaration of war, many had sensed the need to downplay their connections to the Homeland, seeking to Americanize their businesses, their publications, even their names to avoid backlash from their neighbors and colleagues. Even fierce firebrand publications like *The Fatherland* bowed before the mounting pressure. Founded in New York City in August 1914 by German immigrant and later Nazi apologist George Sylvester Viereck, *The Fatherland* (fig. 17) vehemently defended the German cause during the period of American neutrality. In February, 1917, two months before the declaration of war, Viereck changed the name of his publication to *New World*, and eventually to *American Monthly*, insisting that his wish was to avoid any misunderstanding about his own and his publication's "Americanism." The fear of being misunderstood had real consequences. German-Americans faced social and other expulsions, even violence, for speaking German or displaying anything that could be conceived of supporting the Central Powers. Long before the US entered the war, crusading citizens took it upon themselves to patrol for anti-Americanism. In December, 1914, in New York City, the National Security League (NSL) was formed, born of a concern that federal and city authorities were not prepared to defend against subversive aliens, especially those believed to live in the City. By 1915, over 40,000 people across the country had joined the NSL. While the NSL supported neutrality, a splinter group, the American

Defense Society (ADS), did not. Formed in New York in August 1915, the ADS campaigned for the US to go to war against Germany and its allies. Yet another organization, the American Protective League (APL), was formed in March, 1917, in Chicago with support from the United States Department of Justice to serve as a counterintelligence auxillary force. By the end of the War the APL had over 250,000 members in 600 cities. With members of the NSL, ADS, and APL all casting suspicious glances, or worse, at German-Americans, the newly formed Committee on Public Information (CPI; April, 1917), a federal organization based mostly in New York City, saw the need to issue the occasional pamphlet or advertisement extolling the virtues and loyalty of the German-American community. But this, of course, was done at the same time the CPI was issuing posters portraying Germans as barbarians in order to urge young men to join the fight. Given this hostile climate, there is little wonder that German-born engraver Adam Pietz, who worked at the US Mint in Philadelphia, felt compelled to undertake the design and striking of a medal on his own in 1917 wishing good luck and victory to the Allied forces (fig. 20). Pietz himself called this his "loyalty medal," which was meant to "ward off Teutonic demons and propagandists."[1] And he might have added, members of the NSL, ADS, and APL as well.

It was only once the US was fully committed to the war, that the first instances of medallic art appeared in the States conveying the same degree of emotion and brutality that had been commonplace in European medallic art almost since the war began. Two of the most striking examples were produced by the highly regarded sculptor Paul Manship in 1918, who, like most of his peers, maintained a studio in New York City. Like much medallic art produced in the early days of the war, Manship's medals were intended to help victims with proceeds from the sales. Among the charities Manship supported with his first medal were those that assisted French orphans and war wounded (fig. 21). One side of the medal depicts children under the protective watch of Liberty, a gentle and somewhat commonplace scene, while the other side shows two American soldiers charging into battle over the body of a fallen German combatant. Little in the tradition of US medallic art would have prepared viewers for the viciousness of Manship's composition. The sculptor's bile, however, reached its peak with a non-commissioned piece, his notorious *Kultur in Belgium* medal (fig. 22). Here

1. *Numismatist* vol. 31, October, 1918, p. 431. Pietz also claims in this brief note entitled "Pietz's sympathies with the U.S." that when confronted by strangers who question his loyalty, he passes out the medal. "This is the briefest argument that I can make."

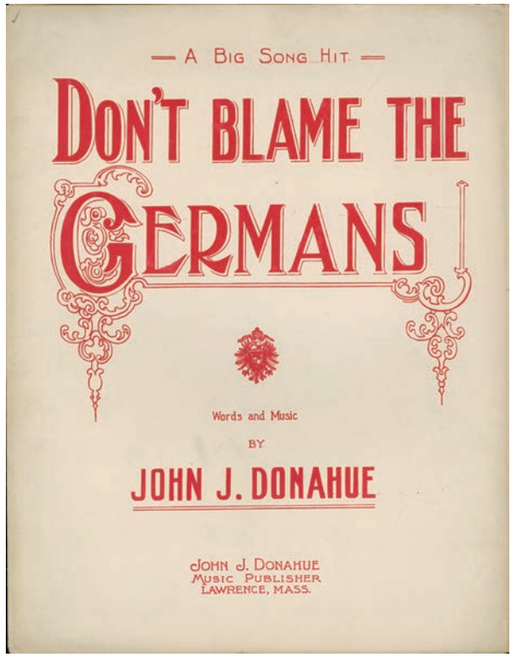


Fig. 16: United States. Sheet music cover for the song "Don't Blame the Germans" by the Irish-American composer, John Donahue, 1915. The song attempted to pin the blame for the War on the British.

Fig. 17: Cover of the 23 February 1916 issue of The Fatherland, *satirizing the special relationship between the US and Britain and the claimed impartial neutrality of the Wilson government.*

Fig. 18: United States. Pressed wood token issued by Thomas Elder, New York City, 1917 (ANS 0000.999.38977) 39 mm. This token was issued in silver, bronze and white metal as well.

Fig. 19: United States. Bronze medal by Eli Harvey issued by the American Numismatic Society, 1917 (ANS 1992.155.1) 90 mm.

Fig. 20: United States. Bronze medal by Adam Pietz, 1917 (ANS 1917.134.1, gift of Adam Pietz) 35 mm.

Fig. 21: United States. Bronze medal by Paul Manship, 1918, for the French Heroes Fund (ANS 1930.18.1, gift of A. Gallatin) 66 mm.

Fig. 22: United States. Bronze medal by Paul Manship, 1918 (ANS 1929.54.10, gift of A. Gallatin) 66 mm.

one side depicts a brutish German soldier rushing off with his war prize, a young mother to rape, crushing her infant underfoot; the other shows a caricature of Wilhelm II, the German Kaiser, bayonet at the ready, a rosary of skulls around his neck. It was billed by Manship himself as the "First American War Medal" intended for "patriotic Americans who have deplored the fact that our artists, sculptors and medalists have apparently derived so little artistic impulse from the war."[2] While this "wonderful bit of sculpted Hate" sold well, even at $10 (roughly $200 today), critics found little to admire in the piece. Leila Mechlin, for example, wrote: "This [medal]…puts into permanent form those things which if possible should not be remembered, but if remembered not visualized… The Kultur Medal neither preaches nor teaches but engenders hate, and places our own people on the low level of those who have committed these ghastly deeds. Evil does not excuse evil and if the fight for civilization is to be won we must not return our enemy measure for measure but prove to him that our ideals of life lead along 'a more excellent way.'"[3] In his desire to sculpt hate, Manship stood all but alone.

2. Quoted in R. Mueller 2012. "More on Manship's Kultur in Belgium Medal," The E-sylum 15.13, March 25, article 9 (http://www.coinbooks.org/esylum_v15n13a09.html, accessed 12 May 2015).
3. L. Mechlin, L. "Mr. Manship's Kultur Medal," *The American Magazine of Art*, 9.8: 336.

ARCHIVES
ANS Auction Catalogs: An Historic Collection goes Online

David Hill

It's astonishing, really, how many of the ANS library's American auction catalogs have now been scanned and made available onliine (fig. 1). The number, as of this writing, approaches 3,000. And there will be much more to come out of this project funded and administered by the Newman Numismatic Portal (NNP) as we continue to mine what NNP project coordinator Len Augsburger has called "the mother lode of American numismatic literature" at the ANS.[1] Nearly every one of the scanned catalogs have passed through my hands, as it is my job to update the records in the ANS library catalog, DONUM, and give each a proper title to replace the dates that were used as titles in the past. I then compile the metadata and pass it along to John Graffeo, who does the scanning.

When you're handling a few thousand auction catalogs, you begin to notice things. There are the interesting collectors, for example. I'd love to know more about John Guild, "The Man With Remarkable Memory" whose collection was sold by New York Coin and Stamp in 1904,[2] but when it comes to Guild, it seems the world has lost its memory; I couldn't find anything else on him. Not so the "eminent comedian" John T. Raymond. He made quite a name for himself on the American stage as Colonal Mulberry Sellers in Mark Twain's *Gilded Age* (fig 2).[3] His lackluster collection included an altered 1803 silver dollar that he had been duped into buying for $300, believing it to be one of the precious 1804s. It sold for $5.60.[4]

Occasionally it's the scribbled note or folded paper that catches your eye. A letter from Thomas Elder tucked into a 1921 catalog has him looking forward to the pending sale of the Lewis C. Gehring collection, featuring about 800 gold coins.[5] The estate's handlers weren't optimistic, which brought out some typical Elder bluster. "Let them worry," he wrote to collector Henry Hines, "you know if anybody can get them prices I can." Dealer Thomas Dowling, by contrast, could not always get the prices—or sometimes any prices. His 1880 catalog of 274 lots has the sad notation, "none sold, no buyers."[6] A news clipping inserted into the pages of an 1878 catalog shows that, even 20 years into America's first coin craze, the popular press was still grappling with the fact that the hobby of kings was now for plain folks, too. "It is very surprising how many people have a love for these things," the writer marveled, "persons who live in the country, farmers, &c., and in a small way, day laborers, who from their little means still find a way to secure a few pieces of rarity."[7]

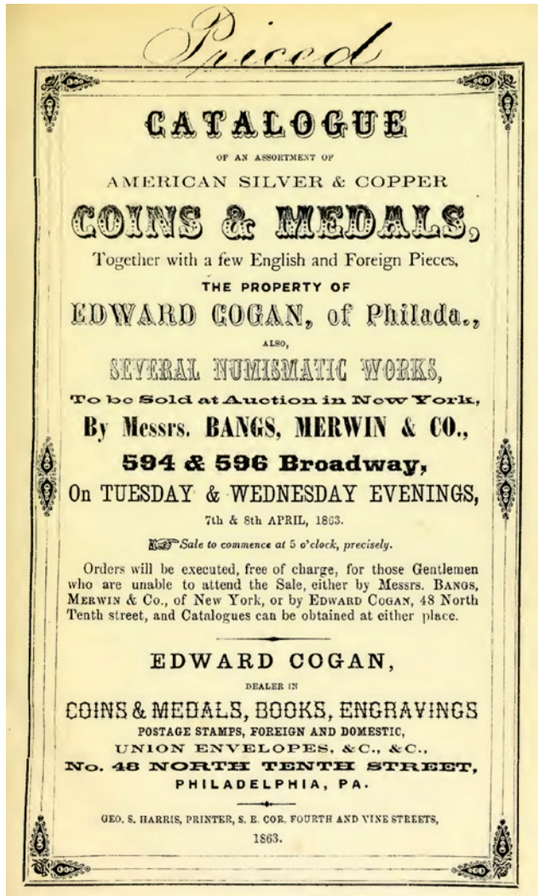
Other than the plates of coin photographs that began to appear in the late nineteenth century, there are very few illustrations to be found in the old catalogs. John Walter Scott put a picture of the building that housed his offices at 146 Fulton Street, New York City, on the back of some of those he issued (fig. 3). Lyman Low showed the Park Avenue Hotel where he held his sales for years (fig. 4).[8] When Low began having them at his house in New Rochelle, he included a photograph of that (fig. 5). Occasionally you'll find pictures of the consigners. The one Elder used of William Poillon looks like maybe he drew it himself the morning the catalog went to print (fig. 6).[9]

For over a century numismatists have wondered why the Chapman brothers (fig. 7) went their separate ways in 1906. Maybe they just disagreed over the spelling of the word *catalog*! After the split, Henry carried on as the two always had, using the traditional *catalogue*. His brother Samuel went with the sleeker, more modern *catalog*, a form long advocated by simplified spelling enthusiasts like Noah Webster and Melville Dewey. Either one is acceptable, though in the United States the shorter form would overtake the longer one in popularity sometime in the late twentieth century.[10] Personally, I prefer the simpler *catalog*. And this is a word that comes up quite a bit in my line of work. Anyone who has ever gone to battle over the finer points of grammar, punctuation, or spelling knows that these are not matters to be trifled with. Opinions can be firm and loyalties deep. Lucky for me, I have a great authority on my side. The Library of Congress uses the simpler form on its website.

Given my experiences with the cataloging at the ANS Library, I was not at all surprised to find that the previous work done on the auction catalogs was excellent. There were only two I discovered so far that had not been cataloged at all and had to be added to DONUM. And I found very few errors. I thought I had discovered one on an auction catalog itself, a misidentification of the consigner Nelson Pehrson as "Pearson" in a 1902 sale,[11] but it turns out he used both spellings himself, signing an 1884 letter, "Nelson Pehr. Pearson," for example.[12] I was anxious to set the record straight because Pehrson (as we know him today) played such an important role in the history of the ANS. He was its first full-time paid employee. Today you'll sometimes see him referred to as a janitor (and he has Howard Adelson to thank for that, since that's what Adelson called him in his the centennial history of the ANS[13]), but he would probably rather you know him as the superintendent of the Society's brand new building at Audubon Terrace. A member since 1884, Pehrson had done some committee work for the ANS and even volunteered as assistant curator.[14] In 1907 the Society put him on the payroll as the building superintendent.[15] Three years later the council voted to support his dog, too.[16] Sadly, Pehrson's personal problems led to his dismissal as superintendent in 1913, which compounded his existing money woes.[17] A few years later the Society raised funds through subscription to purchase over 2,500 of his coins.[18] After Pehrson's death, Thomas Elder agreed to sell his numismatic books. ANS secretary Sydney Noe told Elder he was hoping for "good prices for them for the family is financially embarrassed."[19]

Coin catalogs were among the first items acquired for the ANS library, according to an accession list kept

1. Len Augsburger, "Behind the Scenes at the Newman Numismatic Portal," *Asylum* 34, no. 1 (Spring 2016), 28.
2. New York Coin and Stamp, *Catalogue of American and Foreign Coins, Tokens, Paper Money, Etc.*, April 22–23, 1904.
3. Lyman Haynes Low, *Catalogue of Coins and Medals*, June 27, 1887.
4. "John T. Raymond's Coins Sold," *New York Times*, June 28, 1887.
5. Elder Coin & Curio Company, *Public Auction Sale*, August 26–27, 1921.
6. Thomas Dowling, catalog, May 12, 1880, no. 2, ANS U.S. Bound 157.
7. "Art Notes," *Commercial Advertiser*, March 1, 1878. Found in Scott Stamp and Coin, *Catalogue*, March 4–6, 1878.
8. Lyman Haynes Low, *Catalogue of American and Foreign Coins, Medals, Tokens, and Paper Money*, July 22, 1919.
9. Elder Coin & Curio Company, *Two Hundred and Twentieth Public Auction Sale*, June 1, 1918.
10. Corpus of Historical American English (http://corpus.byu.edu/coha/).
11. Lyman Haynes Low, *Catalogue of the United States and Foreign Silver Coins*, May 22, 1902.
12. Nelson Pehr. Pearson to William Poillon, November 26, 1884.
13. Howard Adelson, *The American Numismatic Society*, 1858–1958 (New York: ANS, 1958), 161.
14. ANS Council Minutes, May 20, 1907.
15. ANS Exectutive Committee Minutes, March 2, 1907.
16. ANS Council Minutes, June 3, 1911.
17. ANS Council Minutes, November 17, 1913.
18. Howland Wood, "Report of the Curator," *Proceedings of the American Numismatic Society* (New York: ANS, 1917), 38.
19. Sydney Noe to Thomas Elder, November 7, 1917.
20. David Yoon, "The First 'Catalogue' of the ANS Library," *Asylum* 33, no. 4 (October–December 2015), 100–110.

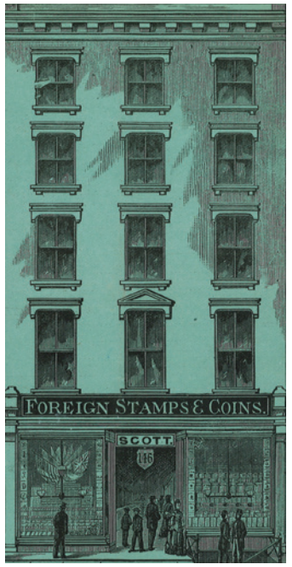

Priced

CATALOGUE
OF AN ASSORTMENT OF
AMERICAN SILVER & COPPER
COINS & MEDALS,
Together with a few English and Foreign Pieces,
THE PROPERTY OF
EDWARD COGAN, of Philada.,
ALSO,
SEVERAL NUMISMATIC WORKS,
To be Sold at Auction in New York,
By Messrs. BANGS, MERWIN & CO.,
594 & 596 Broadway,
On TUESDAY & WEDNESDAY EVENINGS,
7th & 8th APRIL, 1863.
Sale to commence at 5 o'clock, precisely.
Orders will be executed, free of charge, for those Gentlemen who are unable to attend the Sale, either by Messrs. BANGS, MERWIN & Co., of New York, or by EDWARD COGAN, 48 North Tenth street, and Catalogues can be obtained at either place.
EDWARD COGAN,
DEALER IN
COINS & MEDALS, BOOKS, ENGRAVINGS
POSTAGE STAMPS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC,
UNION ENVELOPES, &C., &C.,
No. 48 NORTH TENTH STREET,
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
GEO. S. HARRIS, PRINTER, S. E. COR. FOURTH AND VINE STREETS,
1863.

Fig. 1: Edward Cogan catalog, 1863. One of thousands from the ANS library that are now available on Internet Archive and the Newman Numismatic Portal.

Fig. 2: Actor John T. Raymond with Mark Twain. Raymond's collection was cataloged by Lyman Low and sold by Bangs & Co. in 1887.

Fig. 3: John Walter Scott of New York City put the building at 146 Fulton Street that housed his offices on the back of some of his catalogs.



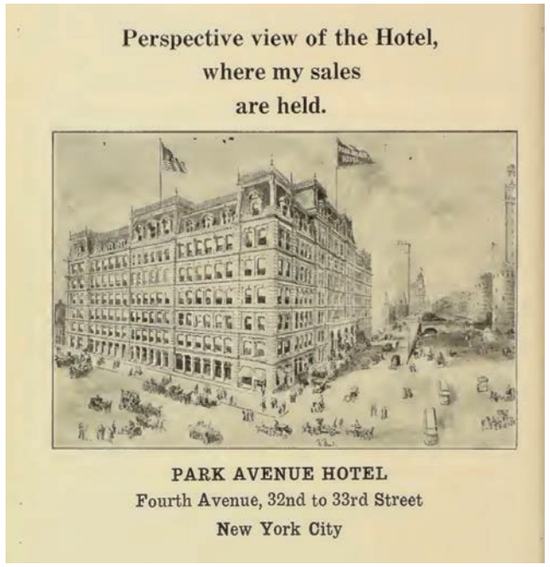


Fig. 4: Lyman Low conducted sales at the Park Avenue Hotel for years.

Fig. 5: When Low began having sales at his house, he included a photograph of it in his catalogs.

from 1858 to 1864.[20] The first official catalog of the library, compiled by Richard Hoe Lawrence in 1883, lists about 140 foreign auction catalogs, though, curiously, for U.S. catalogs readers are referred instead to an annotated copy of Emmanuel Joseph Attinelli's *Numisgraphics*.[21] By 1917, ANS secretary Bauman Belden could proclaim of the American catalogs, "We now have what is in all probability the most nearly complete set … in existence." [22] He also noted that many of them were priced, which only increased their utility and value. Auction houses often made catalogs with handwritten prices available for purchase after the sale.[23] Some of the catalogs in the ANS collection were hand priced by ANS staff.[24] The pricing and other annotations found on the catalogs make each one unique, so even multiple scans of catalogs from the same sale are useful. Several of the catalogs in the ANS collection have notes by Henry Chapman, for example, because he used them as bid books.[25]

In recent decades, the ANS auction catalogs have been

21. *Catalogue of the Numismatic Books in the Library of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society* (New York: ANAS, 1883), 5, 8.
22. Bauman Belden, "Report of the Governors," *Proceedings of the American Numismatic Society* (New York: ANS, 1917), 9.
23. See for example Ben G. Green, *Thirty-third Auction Sale*, October 18, 1907, which advertises priced catalogs at 40 cents each.
24. Sawyer Mosser, "Report of the Librarian," *Proceedings of the American Numismatic Society* (New York: ANS, 1943), 16.
25. See, for example, Elder, *Catalogue of the Forty-third Public Sale*, September 1-3, 1910, and ANS U.S. Bound Low 19080121.

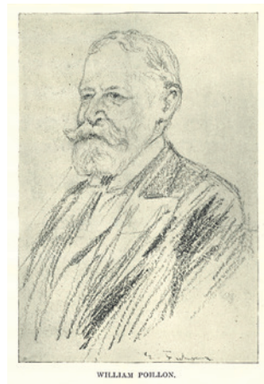


Fig. 6: Sometimes a picture of a consigner, usually a photograph, was included in a catalog. Is this the best Thomas Elder could come up with for a William Poillon sale of 1918?

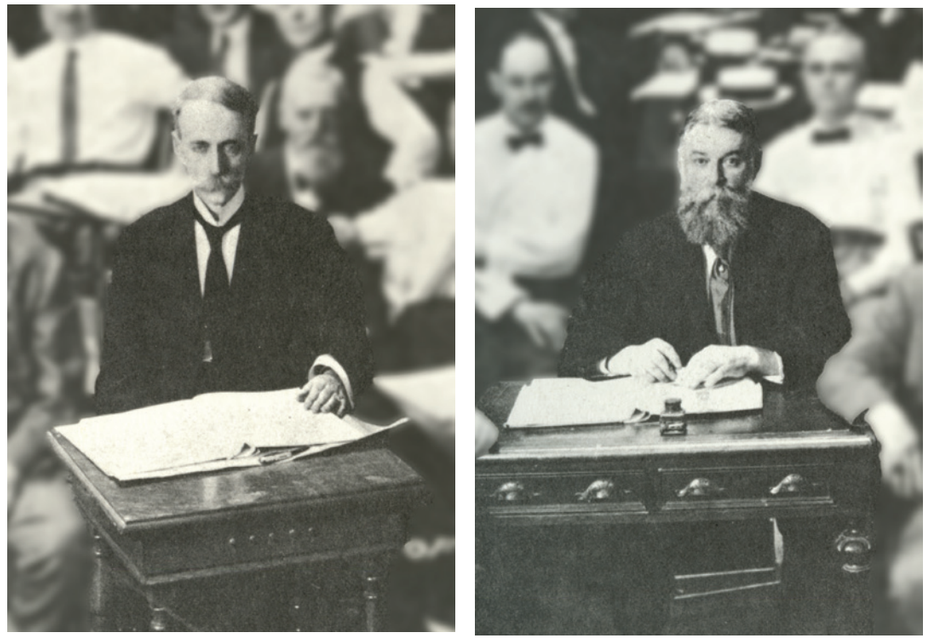


Fig. 7: The Chapman brothers: Samuel (l) and Henry. Was it spelling that drove them apart?

Fig. 8: Emmanuel Joseph Attinelli, author Numisgraphics, *who joined the ANS in 1885. His wife gave this photograph to ANS historiographer William Poillon after his death in 1895.*

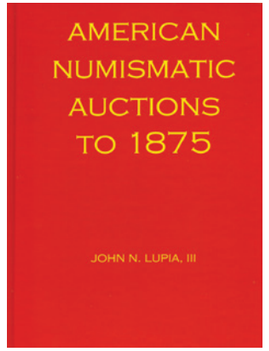


Fig. 9: American Numismatic Auctions to 1875 *by John Lupia III (2013), the latest book to build on Attinelli's work.*

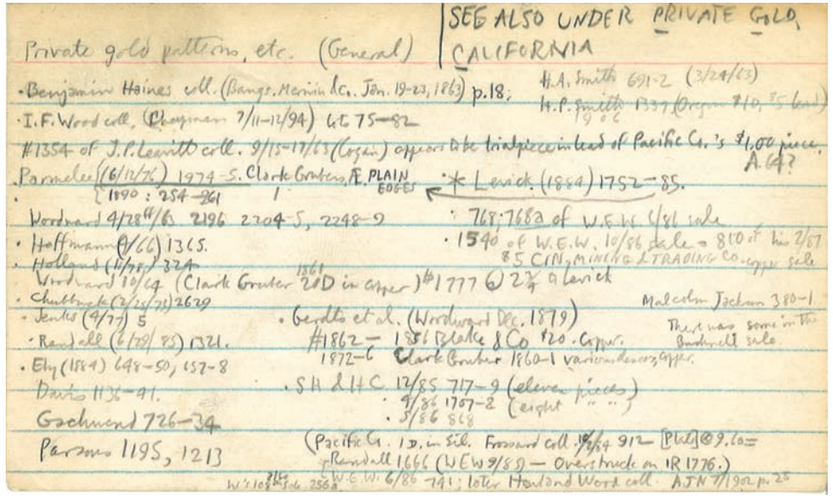


Fig. 10: A card from the aborted "Walter Breen Index to American Auction Catalogs."

a foundation for several reference works on the topic. John Adams made use of the ANS Library ("the very bastion of comprehensiveness") for his *United States Numismatic Literature*, the first volume of which appeared in 1982, followed by a second one in 1990. More than just a bibliographic checklist, Adams' work is readable and entertaining, with 36 biographical and historical sketches bringing to life a century-and-a-half's worth of numismatic characters, beginning with "our first coin dealer," Edward Cogan.[26] Adams documents some auction catalog series through the 1970s, giving them letter grades for strengths in specific areas, such as large cents, ancients, Washingtonia, and numismatic literature. Adams's work did much to elevate the status of "the humble auction catalogue,"[27] by that time virtually ignored for over one hundred years.

Before the 1980s, the last major work on the topic was Emmanuel Joseph Attinelli's *Numisgraphics* (fig. 8). (Of course, a title that pithy would never do in 1876, a time when titles would cascade down the length of a page, never knowing when to quit. Thus the full title: *Numisgraphics, Or, A List of Catalogues, in which Occur Coins Or Medals, Which Have Been Sold by Auction in the United States, Also, a List of Catalogues Or Price Lists of Coins, Issued by Dealers, Also, a List of Various Publications of More Or Less Interest to Numismatologists, which Have Been Published in the United States*. For the 1976 facsimile reprint, they scrapped the whole thing and went with *A Bibliography of American Numismatic Auction Catalogues, 1828–1875*.) The book is prized for, among other things, Attinelli's colorful descriptions of personalities and the ribbing of his friends. Hence the collector John F. McCoy is memorably portrayed with "an eye usually beaming with a smile, slightly inclined to be portly in size," and W. Elliot Woodward is lampooned as having the "Bostonian weakness of believing that city to be 'The Hub,' and the dome on the Capitol to be the centre, around which this world and the solar system revolves."[28] Much of the work published in *Numisgraphics* can be credited to Daniel Parish, Jr., ANS librarian from 1866 to 1869, who compiled a listing of coin auction catalogs for the first volume of the *American Journal of Numismatics* in 1866.[29]

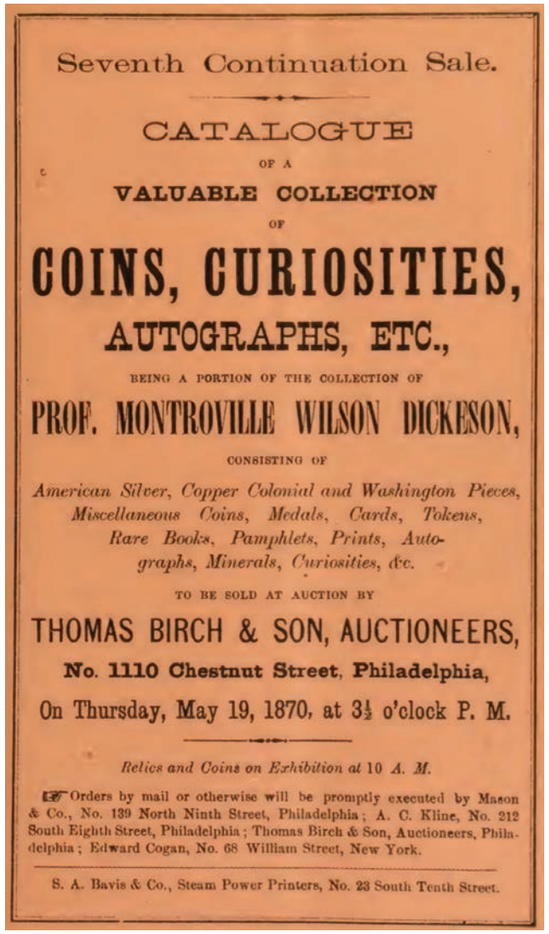
Original copies of Attinelli's book are today quite rare. According to Adams, 10 or so have been identified in various institutions, with only about eight having been sold in the 25 years prior to 2013.[30] The ANS has two copies: the one annotated by Lawrence referred to above and one from the library of David Bullowa, donated by his wife Catherine in 1955. The latter copy is also annotated, listing additional auction catalogs through May 1882 and giving prices for them and for some of the coins listed therein. Presumably these were the markings of the catalog's original owner, C. R. Palmer of Burlington, Vermont.

Attinelli no doubt wanted his listing to be complete, a tempting and admirable goal, but nearly always an elusive one. He fell short of it, but his work has held up remarkably well. John Lupia, who in 2013 published what is essentially a revision of *Numisgraphics*, also

started out with some lofty ambitions. He wanted to produce "an enormous tome filled with illustrations of every catalogue and variants and fuller analysis, discussions, bibliographies and so forth." He was talked down off that ledge by none other than John Adams, who himself had made no attempt at a complete listing in his work, considering time spent on less significant catalogs not worth the effort.[31] The result, in Lupia's opinion, is "a far more practical and handy edition" than would have otherwise been produced (fig. 9).[32] It managed to add dozens missed by Attinelli and offers a 1758 sale of Prussian medals as the earliest known U.S. catalog to include numismatic items, much earlier than the 1851 sale cited by Attinelli. Lupia also proposed a new candidate for earliest U.S. sale where coins were the main feature: the Phillip Price Jr. collection, Philadelphia, 1813.[33]

Adams' work wasn't the only bibliography of U.S. numismatic auction catalogs to appear in the 1980s. Another one, doomed by bad timing and unorthodox arrangement, was *Lorraine Durst's United States Numismatic Auction Catalogs: A Bibliography*, published in 1981.[34] Durst worked for two years on her project, compiling a list of 1,600 or so catalogs that she arranged in tables with dates, quantities, and content. It was rendered obsolete just a few years later with the appearance, in 1984, of Martin Gengerke's *American Numismatic Auctions*. In a later edition, Gengerke pointed out where Durst had gone wrong. She had listed the catalogs under auction house rather than by cataloger or numismatic firm, so that, for example, Chapman sales might be found under four different houses, but not under Chapman. This, Gengerke said, "can make it a pain for catalog collectors to use."[35] What Gengerke's book lacked in visual appeal (it was essentially a database printout) it more than made up for in utility. This

26. John Adams, *United States Numismatic Literature, Volume I: Nineteenth Century Auction Catalogs* (Mission Viejo: Calif., 1982), 17, 69.
27. John Adams, *United States Numismatic Literature, Volume II: Nineteenth Century Auction Catalogs* (Crestline: Calif., George Kolbe, 1990), v.
28. Attinelli, Emmanuel Joseph, *A Bibliography of American Numismatic Auction Catalogues, 1828–1875* [Numisgraphics reprint] (Lawrence, Mass.: 1976), 19, 37.
29. John Lupia, *American Numismatic Auctions to 1875, Volume 1* (Regina Caeli Press, 2013), 10.
30. John Adams, "Numisgraphics: The Flesh and the Spirit," *Asylum* 31, no. 2 (April–June 2013), 53.
31. Adams, *Numismatic Literature I*, xiii.
32. Lupia, *Auctions*, 2.
33. Joel Orosz, "John N. Lupia's Numismatic Bibliography Illuminates the History of the Coin Hobby," *Coin World* (August 25, 2014).
34. Lorraine Durst, *United States Numismatic Auction Catalogs: A Bibliography* (New York: Sanford J. Durst, 1981).
35. Martin Gengerke, "Recommended Reading," in *American Numismatic Auctions* (Jackson Heights, N.Y.: Gengerke, 1985).



Seventh Continuation Sale.

CATALOGUE
OF A
VALUABLE COLLECTION
OF
COINS, CURIOSITIES,
AUTOGRAPHS, ETC.,
BEING A PORTION OF THE COLLECTION OF
PROF. MONTROVILLE WILSON DICKESON,
CONSISTING OF
American Silver, Copper Colonial and Washington Pieces, Miscellaneous Coins, Medals, Cards, Tokens, Rare Books, Pamphlets, Prints, Autographs, Minerals, Curiosities, &c.
TO BE SOLD AT AUCTION BY
THOMAS BIRCH & SON, AUCTIONEERS,
No. 1110 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia,
On Thursday, May 19, 1870, at 3½ o'clock P. M.

Relics and Coins on Exhibition at 10 A. M.

☞ Orders by mail or otherwise will be promptly executed by Mason & Co., No. 139 North Ninth Street, Philadelphia; A. C. Kline, No. 212 South Eighth Street, Philadelphia; Thomas Birch & Son, Auctioneers, Philadelphia; Edward Cogan, No. 68 William Street, New York.

S. A. Bavis & Co., Steam Power Printers, No. 23 South Tenth Street.

Fig. 11: In the early years, coins were listed along with all kinds of curious items. This catalog (Mason & Co., May 19, 1870) included a mummified crocodile, "odoriferous matches" from China, and three boxes of asbestos among its offerings.

extremely useful checklist can be found today on the website of the Numismatic Bibliomania Society, which has hosted it since 2009.

It is worth mentioning another bibliography of auction catalogs, one that did appear in the century between Antinelli's book and 1980s and one I still find useful today. This is the *Auction Catalogue of the Library of the American Numismatic Society*, published in 1962, with later supplements, all part of a multivolume work containing facsimiles of ANS library catalog cards.[36] This trusty old set is still sometimes the best way to obtain a chronological list of series held by the ANS or to verify the existence an elusive catalog.

There was also, it turns out, a far more ambitious project undertaken around the time the *Catalogue* was published, one whose aim was to produce a complex tool to unlock the data stored in the ANS's thousands of auction catalogs. This I discovered one morning as I stood perched on a stool in my office, rummaging around in a high shelf, examining one of the curious piles that sometimes catch my eye. What I found were two sets of index cards, one of them handwritten, sometimes right to the edges in tiny script (fig. 10). Dividers indicated the categories: *Coins of the States, Bungtowns, Paper Money, Minor Denominations*, and so forth. With the cards was a single typed page summarizing the work done and giving examples of the kinds of questions the index could answer. Which collections contained a 1792 disme? Which had important series of private gold? Where did a particular specimen originate? When did a given specimen first appear on the American market? The summary was signed by its author: Walter Breen.

Later, I would see this referred to, in the ANS's 1963 annual report, as the "Walter Breen Index to American Auction Catalogues." While Breen did set some parameters for himself—he would forgo the "10¢-a-dozen things," for example—the project was ill-fated by unrealistic aspirations, leaving Breen in the end lamenting that "far less was done than anticipated."[37] Nevertheless, he managed to cram quite a bit of information onto the cards, claiming he had indexed the catalogs of Woodward, Haseltine, Cogan, Strobridge, and a few others, as well as the ANS's bound volumes numbered 1 through 120, all of this on perhaps four hundred or so cards. The work would serve as preparation for his encyclopedia of U.S. and colonial coins,[38] and his knowledge of the ANS's auction catalogs would no doubt come in handy later when he served as a proofreader for the Adams book.[39]

These mid-century efforts notwithstanding, there hadn't been too much interest in the auction catalogs from the time of Attinelli up until the 1980s. Attinelli's book, published in 1876, arrived as coin collecting had been thriving in the United States for a couple of decades,[40] going back to when elite collectors had gathered themselves into groups like the ANS in New York City (1858) and similar ones in Philadelphia and Boston. At this time, the majority of coins were bought and sold at auction. Clients would hire an expert—Ebenezer Locke Mason, for example—to catalog a collection, which was then sold through an independent auction house like Thomas Birch & Son of Philadelphia.[41] Coins at first shared space with all kinds of bric-a-brac and scientific specimens, objects to fill the fashionable "cabinets of curiosity" of the day—Indian relics, bird skins, eggs, guns, shells (fig. 11).[42] At first such catalogs were feverishly collected and shared among the early enthusiasts, but they gradually fell out of favor (despite innovations like the photographic coin illustrations that first made their appearance in United States auction catalogs in 1869[43]). The sales had become too common while at the same time the first generation of coin collecting guides had begun to appear in the U.S., obviating the need for catalogs as reference works.[44]

In 1884, collector Charles Whitman found himself stuck with thousands of duplicates to dispose of. "At this time there is no call for coin catalogues to amount to anything," he lamented, "and they bring comparatively nothing at auction."[45] That was certainly true. Six hundred of them sold for 60 cents in 1892.[46] The ANS also had duplicates, offering some for sale through Thomas Elder in 1915.[47] That year the ANS found another use for its duplicates. They would be cut up, the images pasted with descriptions onto index cards. It was the beginning of the ANS's Photofile, a massive index of pre-modern coinage, still used today.[48] Over the years the Society would find other uses for the catalogs, exhibiting some in the gallery's cases in 1950, for example.[49]

I find it immensely satisfying, especially as I look back on the history of the collection and think about those who saw long-term value where others saw only ephemera, to have a hand in making these catalogs instantaneously available throughout the world. Though inconceivable to the individuals who began assembling the collection over 150 years ago, I have no doubt they would have embraced this as a natural step in a project they initiated so long ago.

36. *Auction Catalogue of the Library of the American Numismatic Society* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1962).
37. Walter Breen, "Summary of Work Done on the Index to ANS's American Auction Catalogs" (single page kept with cards).
38. John Kleeberg, "Frank Campbell and the ANS Library: an Appreciation," *Colonial Newsletter* 28, no. 2 (August 2008), 3273.
39. Adams, *Numismatic Literature I*, vi.
40. Ibid., xi.
41. Q. David Bowers, *Adventures with Rare Coins* (Los Angeles: Bowers & Ruddy, 1979), 204.
42. Mason & Co., *Third Philadelphia Sale*, June 9, 1869; H.G. Sampson, *Catalogue of Several Consignments*, December 29–30, 1885.
43. Edward Cogan, *Catalog of Coins and Medals*, June 23, 1869. See David Fanning, "Off the Shelf: The Earliest Auction Catalogues Photographically Illustrating Ancient Coins," *Asylum* 34, no. 2 (Summer 2016), 27.
44. Adams, *Numismatic Literature I*, xi.
45. Charles Whitman to George Mason, December 3, 1884, Mason Correspondence, ANS Archives.
46. Adams, "Numisgraphics," 60.
47. "List of Bound Duplicates Sent for Sale by Auction to Thomas L. Elder," Early Library Correspondence, 1900–1918, ANS Archives.
48. Agnes Baldwin et al., "Report of the Committee on Ancient Coins," *Proceedings of the American Numismatic Society* (New York: ANS, 1915), 10.
49. Richard Breaden, "Report of the Librarian," *Proceedings of the American Numismatic Society* (New York: ANS, 1951), 14.

COLLECTIONS
New Acquisitions

Elena Stolyarik

Over the last several months, numerous donors have made important additions to the Society's collections.

The Medieval Department received the largest group of new acquisitions: 189 early Spanish billon coins from the kingdoms of Castile and León. These coins are all from the former collection of the Hispanic Society of America, which was formed by past ANS President Archer M. Huntington around the end of the nineteenth century. This very useful donation came from Kenneth L. Edlow, Chairman of the ANS Board of Trustees. Among the interesting coins in this donation are an Islamic-style dirham struck in Toledo in 1086, several months after the city was conquered by Alfonso VI of León (fig. 1); a dinero of Alfonso VII that is possibly the only published example of its type (fig. 2); a dinero from the brief reign of Sancho III of Castile (fig. 3); a bronze coin weight or test piece of Alfonso VIII of Castile (fig. 4) whose types resemble the central portion of the gold maravedí (fig. 5); and a large group of coins of Alfonso X the Wise, famous for his sponsorship of scholarship and the arts (figs. 6–7).

We are very grateful to our long-time member and Fellow, Dr. Edward Allworth, professor emeritus at Columbia University, who continues to enrich our Islamic collection. His most recent gift to the Society is a gold tilla of Shah Murad of the Mangit dynasty, struck at Bukhara in 1799 (1214 H) (fig. 8). Like his previous contributions to the cabinet, this donation reflects Dr. Allworth's research interests in the Central Asian region. For many years Allworth was head of the Center for the Study of Central Asia at Columbia University. He is an authority on the political, economic, and cultural life of this distinctive region and its tempestuous history.

The Society is always glad to build connections with our colleagues in other numismatic societies. This year Mr. Baolei/Barton Liu, director of the Coin and Medal Committee of the China Numismatic Society and China Art Medal Club in Beijing, visited the ANS Library and our Curatorial Department. During this visit he generously donated to the ANS a bronze medal, issued in 2016 by the China Art Medal Club (fig. 9). The beautiful high-relief image of an eagle on this medal is a splendid achievement in medallic art and a fine addition to our Medals Department.

Through José Eduardo de Cara, Director of Numismatics at the National Academy of History of the Republic of Argentina, the ANS received an interesting bronze medal. Founded in 1893 by the Argentine statesman Bartolomé Mitre, the National Academy of History was originally commissioned as the Junta de Historia y Numismática Americana, a learned institution devoted to the study of Argentine history and numismatics. In conjunction with the celebration of the bicentennial anniversary of Argentina's independence on July 9, 2016, the National Academy of History issued a commemorative bronze medal (fig. 10). This medal is based on a bronze medal issued in 1916 for the centennial anniversary of independence. The ANS received an example of this original medal (fig. 11) in 1933 as part of a large donation of medals from the estate of George F. Kunz. It commemorates the act of the Congress of Tucumán, which met in San Miguel de Tucumán and on July 9, 1816, declared the independence of the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata from Spain. The medal struck in 1916, and thus also the central design of our new medal of 2016, is the work of the famous Argentine engraver Constante Rossi, who followed the aesthetic of the Beaux-Arts style. The ANS is glad to add this excellent acquisition to our collection of Argentinian medals.

Current exhibitions

A special exhibition entitled *Roman Myth and Myth-Making*, featuring coins from the ANS collection, opened on September 17 in the Jundt Art Museum at Gonzaga University, a Roman Catholic university founded in 1887 in Spokane, Washington. This show explores how the Romans chose to interpret their mythical-religious past through iconographic representation on objects of daily and domestic use. Among the many coins from our Roman Department is a cast bronze as (fig. 12) used in central Italy during the 3rd century BC with the image of Janus, one of the most important gods in the archaic Roman pantheon, who represented time, because he could see into the past with one face and into the future with the other. Janus was worshipped at the beginning of harvest and planting times, as well as at marriages, deaths, and other beginnings. Also in the show is a Republican silver denarius (fig. 13) of the 2nd century BC, which depicts Roma, personification of the city of Rome, and a she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, the mythological twins connected

Fig. 1: Spain. Castile and León. Billon dirham. Toledo mint. 479 H = 1086–87. Ex Archer Huntington collection. (ANS 2016.23.1, gift of Kenneth Edlow) 22 mm.

Fig. 2: Spain. Castile and León. Alfonso VII (1116–1157). Billon dinero. Ex Archer Huntington collection. (ANS 2016.23.3, gift of Kenneth Edlow) 18 mm.

Fig. 3: Spain. Castile. Sancho III (1157–1158). Billon dinero. Toledo mint. Ex Archer Huntington collection. (ANS 2016.23.4, gift of Kenneth Edlow) 17.2 mm.

Fig. 4: Spain. Castile. Alfonso VIII (1158–1214). Bronze coin weight. Ex Archer Huntington collection. (ANS 2016.23.10, gift of Kenneth Edlow) 20 mm.

Fig. 5: Spain. Castile. Alfonso VIII (1158–1214) Toledo mint. Gold maravedí. Spanish era 1226 (= AD 1188). Ex Archer Huntington collection. (ANS 2014.9.2, purchase) 26 mm.

Fig. 6: Spain. Castile and León. Alfonso X (1252–1284). Billon dinero, 1270–1277. Burgos mint. Ex Archer Huntington collection. (ANS 2016.23.54, gift of Kenneth Edlow) 20 mm.

Fig. 7: Spain. Castile and León. Alfonso X (1252–1284), Billon dinero seisén, 1276–1286. Coruña mint. Ex Archer Huntington collection. (ANS 2016.23.155, gift of Kenneth Edlow) 18 mm.

Fig. 8: Central Asia. Mangit dynasty. Shah Murad, 1799 (1214 H). Gold tilla. Bukhara Mint. (ANS 2016.21.1, gift of Edward Allworth) 23.3 mm.

Fig. 9: China. China Numismatic Society and China Art Medal Club. Bronze medal. (ANS 2016.22.1, gift of Baolei/Barton Liu) 125 mm (images reduced).

Fig. 10: Argentina. National Academy of History. Bronze medal dedicated to the bicentennial anniversary of the independence of Argentina, 1816–2016; central design based on a 1916 medal by Constante Rossi. (ANS 2016.24.1, gift of José Eduardo de Cara) 74 mm.

Fig. 11: Argentina. Bronze medal dedicated to the centennial anniversary of the independence of Argentina, 1816–1916, by Constante Rossi (ANS 1933.64.93, gift of the estate of George F. Kunz) 64 mm (images reduced).

Fig. 12: Roman Republic. 225–217 BC. Rome. Bronze as. 275.97 g. C.36.1. (ANS 0000.999.556) 61 mm (images reduced)..

with the foundation of Rome. Allegorical depictions on some coins reinforce the importance of Roman beliefs, including the cult of the Romans' ancestors. A gold aureus of Antoninus Pius (fig. 14) bears the images of Aeneas, legendary defender of Troy, who fled with his father Anchises and his son Ascanius from the burning city after the Greeks destroyed it in the Trojan War. He and the Trojan survivors traveled to Italy, where Aeneas became the mythical progenitor of the Romans. The family of Julius Caesar clamed descent from Aeneas, whose son Ascanius was also called Iulus. Other ANS coins in the exhibit feature images of the major gods of the Roman pantheon as well as divine personifications that served to inspire in all aspects of everyday life. Among these are personifications of *Honos*, god of chivalry, honor, and military justice; *Virtus*, deity of bravery and military strength; *Providentia*, a goddess of forethought and representation of the ability to foresee (fig. 15); *Felicitas*, a goddess of good fortune (fig. 16); Securitas, a goddess of security and stability (fig. 17); and *Concordia*, who had been worshipped since the earliest days of Rome, a goddess of agreement and harmony, including harmony of the emperor (fig. 18), of the army, of the provinces, and in marriage.

Roman Myth and Myth-Making is a significant exhibit in Spokane since it fosters contact with and appreciation of ancient societies in a region of the country with relatively little access to the material culture of the ancient world. The exhibit will on display until December 17, 2016.

An exciting new exhibition entitled *Time and Cosmos in Greco-Roman Antiquity* opened in October in the exhibition gallery of the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World (ISAW) at New York University. It includes a large group of ANS coins, which are essential to the theme. The exhibit explores the ways time was conceived, organized, and recorded in the Greco-Roman world. More than 130 artifacts illustrate the technology of ancient timekeeping, the role of time in society, the perception of time, and its role in shaping

ancient observations of the universe, the environment, and human destiny. *Time and Cosmos in Greco-Roman Antiquity* also highlights the contrasting formative roles of indigenous Greek and Roman cultural practices and contact with the civilizations of Mesopotamia and Egypt as well as the peoples of northwest Europe.
An important section of the ISAW exhibit is devoted to the early Roman Empire, illustrated through astral imagery, which is strong linked with Julius Caesar's heritage. Among the items on display are a silver denarius of Augustus struck around 19–18 BC featuring the famous Caesar's comet on the reverse (fig. 19). This comet, which appeared some four months after the assassination of Julius Caesar, was interpreted by Romans as an omen for his deification and became a powerful symbol in the political propaganda of Augustus, Caesar's adoptive son and the first Roman emperor. Capricorn, a zodiacal sign associated with Augustus, is represented on a gold aureus struck at Pergamum (fig. 20). Capricorn was associated with the planet and god Saturn. According to Roman mythology, Saturn had come to live in Italy when his son Jupiter kicked him out of heaven, and the age in which Saturn ruled as king over Italy was a "golden age" of paradise on earth. Vergil took up this theme in his treatment of Augustus' reign as a return of the Saturnian age. Astronomical divinities also feature on large bronze drachms of Antoninus Pius issued around AD 144–45 at Alexandria, Egypt, including Capricorn and Saturn (fig. 21), Scorpio and Mars (fig. 22), Sagittarius and Jupiter (fig. 23), Virgo and Mercury, and Aquarius and Saturn (fig. 24). A full circle of the 12 signs of the zodiac surrounds the chariot of Astarte on a bronze coin of the Phoenician city of Sidon, struck in AD 219–220 (fig. 25). Another zodiacal ring, this time surrounding an image of Zeus enthroned, is shown on a bronze coin from the town of Anchialus in Thrace, struck under Maximinus I (AD 235–38) (fig. 26). Also on display are a group of gemstones from the Society's collection with zodiacal images of Gemini (fig. 27), Cancer, Leo, Aries, and Selene riding in a biga. All of these small objects illustrate the popularity of astrological themes in antiquity. *Time and Cosmos in Greco-Roman Antiquity* will be on display through April 23, 2017.

In September a group of coins from the ANS collection were requested for a long-term loan to Fairfield University Art Museum. The numismatic display was organized and curated by Linda Wolk, museum director and chief curator, in collaboration with ANS Executive Director Ute Wartenberg Kagan. Among this marvelous group of ancient coins are a silver drachm of Cnidos (fig. 28), a silver tetradrachm of Syracuse with a beautiful image of the nymph Arethusa (fig. 29) and a silver tetradrachm of Athens (fig. 30), all of the

Fig. 13: Roman Republic. Rome. Silver denarius. 137 BC. C.235.1c (ANS 1944.100.380, bequest of Edward T. Newell) 22.5 mm.

Fig. 14: Roman Empire. Antoninus Pius (AD 138–161). Rome. AD 143. Gold aureus. (ANS 1954.256.17, gift of Elizabeth A. Chalifoux) 20 mm.

Fig. 15: Roman Empire. Pertinax (AD 193). Rome. Rome. Gold aureus. (ANS 1967.153.166, from the estate of Adra M. Newell) 19.5 mm.

Fig. 16: Roman Empire. Geta (AD 209–211). Rome. Gold aureus. AD 211. (ANS 1954.256.28, gift of Elizabeth A. Chalifoux) 20 mm.

Fig. 17: Roman Empire. Caracalla (AD 198–217). Rome. Gold aureus. (ANS 1944.100.51518, bequest of Edward T. Newell) 20 mm.

Fig. 18: Roman Empire. Nero (AD 54–68). Rome. Gold aureus. AD 64–65. (ANS 1905.57.292, gift of Daniel Parish, Jr.) 20 mm.

Fig. 19: Roman Empire. Augustus (27 BC–AD 14). Spanish mint. Silver denarius. 19–18 BC. (ANS 1944.100.39033, bequest of Edward T. Newell) 20 mm.

Fig. 20: Roman Empire. Augustus (27 BC–AD 14). Pergamum. Gold aureus. 19–18 BC. (ANS 1944.100.39177, bequest of Edward T. Newell) 19.5 mm.

Fig. 21: Roman Provincial. Egypt. Antoninus Pius (AD 138–161). Alexandria. Bronze drachm. AD 144–145. (ANS 1944.100.60358, bequest of Edward T. Newell) 35 mm.

Fig. 22: Roman Provincial. Egypt. Antoninus Pius (AD 138–161). Alexandria. Bronze drachm. AD 144–145. (ANS 1944.100.60352, bequest of Edward T. Newell) 33 mm.

Fig. 23: Roman Provincial. Egypt. Antoninus Pius (AD 138–161). Alexandria. Bronze drachm. AD 144–145. (ANS 1944.100.60355, bequest of Edward T. Newell) 34 mm.

Fig. 24: Roman Provincial. Egypt. Antoninus Pius (AD 138–161). Alexandria. Bronze drachm. AD 144–145. (ANS 1944.100.60364, bequest of Edward T. Newell) 34 mm.

Fig. 25: Roman Provincial. Phoenicia. Julia Paula (AD 219–220). Sidon. Bronze coin. (ANS 1944.100.71806, bequest of Edward T. Newell) 30 mm.

Fig. 26: Roman Provincial. Thrace. Maximinus I (AD 235–238). Anchialus. Bronze coin. (ANS 1999.80.1, gift of Ben Lee Damsky) 37 mm.

Fig. 27: Carnelian seal/gem. Standing Gemini, each with star over head & holding inverted spears. (ANS 0000.999.33892) 17.5 mm.

Fig. 28: Cnidus. Silver drachm. 490–465 BC. (ANS 1944.100.47780, bequest of Edward T. Newell) 15.6 mm.

Fig. 29: Sicily. Syracuse. Silver tetradrachm. 460–440 BC. (ANS 1957.172.1853, bequest of Hoyt Miller) 26 mm.

Fig. 30: Athens. Silver tetradrachm. 5th century BC. (ANS 1941.153.547, bequest of W. Gedney Beatty) 23.2 mm.

Fig. 31: Rhodes. Silver didrachm 400–333 BC. (ANS 1909.999.110, gift of Joseph Stewart) 17.8 mm.

Fig. 32: Macedonia. Amphipolis. Alexander III (336–323 BC). Silver tetradrachm. (ANS 1947.98.73, purchase) 25.5 mm.

Fig. 33: Pergamum. Eumenes I (263–241 BC). Silver tetradrachm. (ANS 1975.218.13, gift of Burton Y. Berry) 29 mm.

Fig. 34: Syria. Seleucis and Pieria. Antiochus III (204–197 BC). Silver tetradrachm. (ANS 1944.100.75172, bequest of Edward T. Newell) 28 mm.

Fig. 35: Roman Empire. Nero (AD 54–68). Lugdunum. Bronze sestertius. AD 64–68 (ANS 1941.131.715, gift of George H. Clapp) 34 mm.

Fig. 36: Roman Provincial. Hadrian (AD 117–138). Alexandria. Bronze drachm. AD 136–137. (ANS 1944.100.58473, bequest of Edward T. Newell) 34 mm.

fifth century BC, and a didrachm of circa 400–333 BC from the famous ancient Greek trade center of Rhodes (fig. 31). Several tetradrachms represent the coinage of the Hellenistic kingdoms. Among them are a silver coin of Alexander the Great (336–323 BC) struck in Macedonian Amphipolis (fig.32), and coins with realistic images of the Pergamene monarch Eumenes I (263–241 BC) (fig. 33) and the Syrian ruler Antiochus III (204–197 BC) (fig. 34). Others coins in the exhibit include a Roman bronze sestertius of Nero (AD 54–68), who is associated with tyranny and extravagance, from the mint of Lugdunum in Gaul (fig. 35), and a drachm of Alexandria, issued around AD 136–37, with a beautiful portrait of Hadrian (AD 117–138) (fig. 36). A bronze coin of Constantine I (AD 306–337) (fig. 37), credited with converting the Roman Empire to Christianity, and a bronze follis (fig. 38) of Justinian I (AD 527–565), known for his efforts to restore the Roman Empire's former glory, are also on display. Visitors to the permanent exhibition gallery at the Fairfield University Art Museum have a great opportunity to see this exciting group of coins from the ANS.

Fig. 37: Roman Empire. Constantine I (AD 307–337). Thessalonica. Bronze coin. AD 316–317. (ANS 1944.100.10893, bequest of Edward T. Newell) 23 mm.

Fig. 38: Byzantine Empire. Justinian I (527–565). Constantinople. Bronze follis. 541–542. (ANS 1944.100.14825, bequest of Edward T. Newell) 38 mm.

An Autumn Journey through Poland

In September, our annual Sage Society trip brought a group of members to Poland, a country with a long, distinguished, sometimes painful history, which we were able to witness in its beautiful towns, palaces and museums. As on so many other journeys of the Sage Society, during which we try to get to know a country by experiencing art, culture, numismatics with good food and wine, Poland offered plenty in every respect. What set this trip apart from previous ones was the extraordinary kindness of our hosts.

The Renaissance Inner Courtyard of Wawel Castle, Krakow. Image and © by Tuco

We began our trip in Warsaw, the country's capital, where we visited the National Bank of Poland's newly opened Centre of Money. Here Marta Dulinicz, the head of the Education Department as well as a trained numismatist, gave us an insight into the economic history of Poland and its banking system. The next day, we went to the national numismatic collection of Poland with over 250,000 objects, which is housed in the National Museum and still undergoing a program of modernization, but our group was fortunate to still see a small display of coins, which closed the next week, and enjoyed a private tour of the cabinet. Although not strictly numismatic, we also greatly enjoyed the Farras Gallery, which displays the extraordinary group of Nubian paintings from an eighth-century cathedral, which were brought to Warsaw by Polish excavators as part of the Aswan damn rescue excavations. Over lunch in the restaurant Kafe Zielony Niedźwiedź , located in one of Warsaw's many beautiful parks, the Deputy Director of the Museum, Dr. Piotry Rypson, explained the challenges that Polish museums face today. While other European and US museums have been working on exhibitions and digitization, the national museum is still trying to catch up when it comes to cataloguing its enormous holdings of objects.

Another highlight of Warsaw was Wilanów, a beautiful residence and park. Built in the seventeenth century, the Baroque palace became the property of Aleksandra Potocka and her husband Stanislaw Kostka Potocki in 1799, who turned it into the first museum in Poland. The painting of the former owner, by Europe's most celebrated neo-Classical painter, Jean-Louis David, is one of the most famous pieces in this collection. We were also amazed by the beautiful display of inscriptions, Roman portrait busts and Greek vases in the so-called Etruscan Room of Wilanów Palace.

In recent years, Poland has focused on creating narrative exhibitions, which deal with its more recent history, and in particular the Second Word War and the Holocaust. Two contemporary museums illustrating the history of the Jews in Poland were part of our tour. The Polin Museum, which opened to major acclaim in 2013 and won the European Museum of the Year award in 2016, provides its many visitors (over 450,000 to date) with an extraordinary multimedia display, which illustrates the history of the Jewish community in Poland. Built on top of the area of the former Warsaw Ghetto, visitors learn about Shtetl culture of small Jewish towns all over Eastern Europe, the cosmopolitan art scene in Warsaw, the Holocaust and the treatment of Jews under Communism. We encountered a similar concept of a museum display in Oskar Schindler's Factory in Krakow, where the enamelware factory, now turned into a museum, provides the setting for a presentation of the fate of rescued Jewish workers and Jewish life, which was made famous by Steven Spielberg's 1993 film.

One of the highlights of our tour of Poland was our visit to at Nieborów Castle. While most tourists follow the tour guide through the famous baroque palace, built by one of Europe's great seventeenth-century architects, the Dutchman Tylman van Gameren, we were allowed to stay in the very rooms where the aristocratic family once lived. Renovated at multiple occasions over the centuries, we enjoyed a lavish dinner and after-dinner drinks in the grand rooms of this castle. We were most fortunate that the gorgeous autumn weather we enjoyed all week made our afternoon walk through Arkadia, the nearby eighteenth-century Romantic park at Nieborów, a most memorable experience.

On our visit from Nieborów to Krakow, we visited—alas briefly—Wrocław and the renowned Ossolineum, housed in a stunning Baroque palace on the Odra river, which was rebuilt after the second World War to its seventeenth-century original splendor. Today it is home to the Ossolineum Library—an important research center of Polish history and national archive. Founded by Józef Maksymilian Ossolinski, an avid collector, it was originally housed in Lvov (Lwów, today in western Ukraine), but during World War II, it was moved in parts to Krakow. It contains a wonderful numismatic collection, and its staff was able to show us some amazing highlights among their many coins. The curator of ancient coins, Adam Dengler, explained to us how he and his colleagues are trying to add to the collection by occasionally purchasing from local auctions.

Krakow was our final destination, and here we learned a great deal about earlier Polish history. Wawel Castle,

View from Wawel Castle into city of Krakow. Image and © by Tuco

the royal medieval residence built by Kasimir III (1333–1370) and occupied by Polish kings, is today Poland's most impressive historic site. After our guided tour, we visited the Museum of the Jagiellonian University Collegium Maius, a small but fascinating museum in the oldest university building in Poland, which dates to the fourteenth century. Here our group was particularly fascinated by the collections of scientific instruments, which also included the oldest known globes showing the Americas. For the numismatists on our tour, the visit to the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum was perhaps the most enjoyable part of our stay in Krakow. Here our colleague, Jarosław Bodzek and a full team of curators hosted us in this beautiful museum, which was recently renovated. All of us were most impressed by the display of ancient and Polish coins, books and other objects; all vitrines had touch screens, which provide important information about the coins on display as well as enlargement of obverse and reverse of both coins.

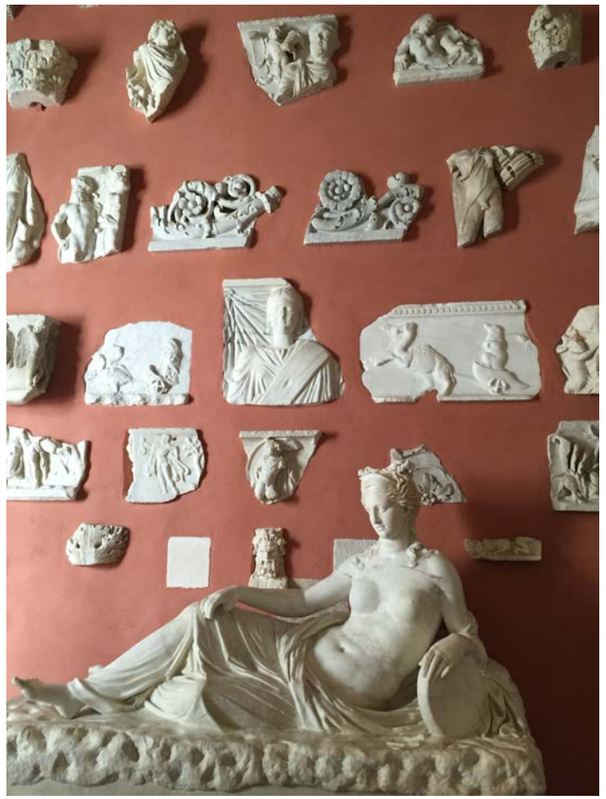
Our last vist in Krakow was to the Wieliczka salt mine, which consists of a labyrinth of tunnels, some 2,000

Our group in the courtyard of the Jagiellonian University, Krakow.
Image and © by Tuco

chambers and 178 miles of galleries carved out over seven centuries and distributed over 1,100 feet underground. Over two hours, our group climbed stairs to reach extraordinary spaces in which many famous artworks were all re-imagined as salt sculptures. People often visit the mine and its spa to cure respiratory diseases, as the salty air is supposed to cure them. Our visit ended with a memorable lunch underground.

As mentioned above, our group learned to love Poland and its people. We were most fortunate to have had our friend and colleague, Dr. Aleksander Bursche, as advisor and organizer without whom it would have been difficult to replicate this trip. However, his hospitality went beyond anything we have ever experienced before. On our first night in Warsaw, he and his family invited our big group to his home for a wonderful dinner of Polish delicacies. For us, this was the culinary highpoint of our trip, and although we enjoyed excellent food in some of Poland's finest restaurants, this first evening was special. Tomek Wiecek, an archaeologist and numismatic expert on Sicilian coins, traveled with us and, during our journey, he became our dear friend. In him we found a most charming young man and—very surprisingly—an expert of the American Civil War, Polish history, and almost any subject. When he left us after five days, many of us shed a tear, and we hope to see him again soon. The Sage trip through Poland opened a new world to us, in which a modern, young country builds proudly on its history.

Arkadia Park



The Etruscan Room at Wilanów Palace.

The Green Study Room at Nieborów Castle.

New Lecture Series

"Money Talks: Numismatic Conversations"
The ANS curators and fellows are pleased to announce a new lecture series, "Money Talks," that will begin in January, 2017. In this monthly interactive lecture series meant to appeal to specialists and non-specialists alike, attendees will have the opportunity to view relevant coins, banknotes, or medals owned by the Society and enjoy a light meal while learning about some aspect of the broader world of numismatics. On a few occasions, these numismatic conversations will take place at other venues. To ensure these events will be as accessible as possible to our members and non-members, several of them will take place on Saturdays. When taking place at the ANS, the fees will be $20 for ANS members, $50 for non-members. The following is a tentative schedule:

Peter van Alfen
"Art of Devastation: Medallic Art of the Great War"
This lecture is offered in conjunction with a new exhibit of First World War medals and posters at the Lehman Loeb Art Center at Vassar College co-curated by Drs. van Alfen and Patricia Phagan. Note that this lecture is sponsored by the New York Numismatic Club. Refreshments will not be offered and the fee will be limited to the admission for the New York International Numismatic Convention. Saturday, Jan. 14th, 2017, at 1PM. Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, 18th floor. Fee: TBA.

Peter van Alfen, Gilles Bransbourg,
Ute Wartenberg-Kagan,
"The Origins of Money"
This lecture will consider the beginnings of money and its various guises including cut silver in the ancient Near East, early electrum coinage of Asia Minor, early bronze objects, bars and heavy coins in Italy and the spread of cowries in the Indian Ocean area, Eastern Africa and South Asia, including China. Saturday, February 11th, 2017, at 1PM. American Numismatic Society. Lunch served at 1PM, followed by the lecture at 2PM, Q&A at 3PM. The ANS will remain open from 12 noon until 4PM.

Vivek Gupta
"The Beginnings of Islamic Coinage in India"
Mr. Gupta will consider the transition and reforms in India and South Asia at the time of their progressive Islamization. Date: March, TBA. American Numismatic Society.

David Hendin and Ute Wartenberg-Kagan
"Coin Counterfeit Recognition"
Date: April, TBA. American Numismatic Society.

Gilles Bransbourg
"Signs of Inflation"
Dr. Branbourg will look at how inflation translates into coinage debasement and banknotes bearing large denominations, from ancient Rome to modern Zimbabwe. Date: May, TBA. American Numismatic Society.

Alan Roche
"The Art of Photographing Coins"
Mr. Roche will consider the various aspects involved in the production of high resolution images of coins and banknotes. A hands-on photographic demonstration will be included. Date: June, TBA. American Numismatic Society.

Mark Tomasko
"The Engraving and Printing Process of American Bank Notes"
Date: July, TBA. American Numismatic Society.

Speakers: TBA
"Wine and Money"
In this lecture we will consider the strong relationships between coinage, banknotes and wine throughout history and cultures.
September, TBA. Venue: TBA.

David Hendin
"Jewish Ancient Coinage"
Mr. Hendin will discuss the origins and production of ancient Jewish Coinage from the Persian era until the time of the revolts against Rome.
October, TBA. Venue: American Numismatic Society.

Jonathan Kagan
"Book Collecting"
Mr. Kagan will talk on collecting early books, particularly those with a focus on numismatics.
November, TBA. Venue: American Numismatic Society.

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