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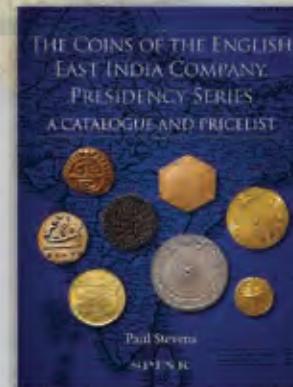
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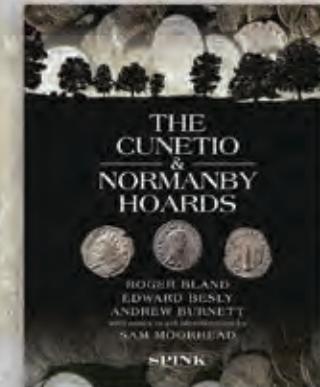


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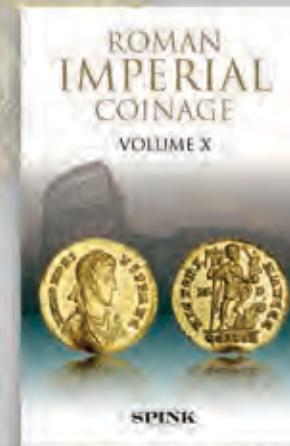


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DEPARTMENTS



on the cover: Photo by Felix Bonfils,
from Remembrances of the near east:
the photographs of Bonfils, 1867–1906.
International Museum of Photography
at George Eastman House.

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The *American Numismatic Society Magazine* is published four times a year by the American Numismatic Society. Annual subscription rate is \$72. Copies are mailed to all members of the ANS. Single copy is \$18. Overseas airmail is an additional cost. A membership in the ANS includes a subscription to the magazine. To inquire about a subscription please contact: ANS Magazine Subscription Dept. (212) 571-4470 ext 117, orders@numismatics.org. All rights reserved. No part of this magazine or its cover may be reproduced without written consent of the copyright proprietor. Opinions expressed by contributors are not necessarily those of the ANS. Printed in Canada.

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 objectives of the ANS have evolved into the mission ratified by the Society's board in 2003 and amended in 2007 and 2016: "The mission of The American Numismatic Society shall be to promote and advance the study, research, and appreciation of numismatics".

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From the Executive Director

Ute Wartenberg Kagan

Dear Members and Friends,
Over the last year, the American Numismatic Society has increased its outreach programs to reach a more diverse audience. For many years, our programs have focused on digital initiatives, which have been very successful. We know that tens of thousands of people from almost every country use our databases and that more numismatic collections are using the systems that our staff has developed over the last two decades. In all of this online activity, the personal connection with our members and the public at large can be lost. Numismatic collecting and scholarly research is so rewarding because such activities often lead to friendships and lifelong enjoyment, something that I personally have experienced. Although scholarly lectures take place on a regular basis, more general events where our members and others can learn basic numismatic knowledge have not been on the ANS agenda until recently.

Over the last year, we have stepped up our efforts to organize monthly *Money Talks*, which have been very popular with our local members. The idea behind this particular series, organized by our Deputy Director Gilles Bransbourg, is to encourage discussions and hands-on engagement with our collections. Since this is not a lecture but a seminar, it is much more difficult to capture these lectures on video and post them on our YouTube channel (use this link: www.youtube.com/channel/UCe5glhVu8GGliqPFmhrMffw). Many of our members are also not keen to be in online video presentations, which is only too understandable since discussions and comments are very much like being back in the classroom. This is how one learns, and we encourage this. An example from our most recent *Money Talk*, in which our Trustee Professor Jere Bacharach, a specialist in Islamic history and numismatics, made all participants, including myself, read Arabic. It felt like we were all back in 3rd grade. I am explaining this in more detail to our members who are unable to attend, and I know that quite a few of you have written or called to complain, sometimes bitterly, why these *Money Talks* are not online as videos. The reason is that the seminars would not work if people knew that they were being watched by a public audience. We will commit to tape some more general



Money Talks participants handle counterfeit coins at the ANS.

events, such as our Summer Seminar lectures, which members are allowed to audit.

Other outreach efforts have been spearheaded by our Assistant Curator of Roman Coins, Dr. Lucia Carbone, who has brought in monthly school and university groups, of all ages. Here the youngest are being introduced to history by looking at coins and learning about their context. These events will increase over the next year, as we partner with other organizations in New York.

In closing, I want to assure you that we are trying our best to reach all our members, but our resources are limited. However, we are raising more money every year, and here I would like to extend my warmest thanks to Andy Newman, President of the Eric P. Newman Numismatic Education Society, for a most generous gift towards the endowment of the Eric P. Newman Graduate Summer Seminar, which will help improve our most prestigious teaching program. Many of our other members have already contributed most generously this year, both to our endowment drives and annual giving, which help promote the programs of our Society and numismatics. Thank you all!

Yours truly,

Ute Wartenberg



Facing page: The obelisk called Cleopatra's Needle in its original position at Alexandria, Egypt in 1880.

GIOVANNI DATTARI AND HIS FABLED COLLECTION of Alexandrian Coins

Lucia Carbone

Questa serie, mancando dell'arte raffinata che distingue le sue consorelle, le monete romane, fu fin qui poco apprezzata e per questa ragione d'estetica il numero dei suoi cultori restò limitatissimo. Pure se il lettore vorrà seguirmi nell'esame del Catalogo, e delle Tavole che l'accompagnano, sono persuaso che potrà convincersi come tale disistima per parte di dotti e collezionisti, non sia giustificata,

This series, lacking the refined art that distinguishes its sisters, the Roman coins, was little appreciated until now and for this aesthetic reason the number of its lovers remained very limited. However, if the reader is amenable to follow the examination pursued in this catalog, and the accompanying tables, I am persuaded that he will be able to convince himself that such disregard on the part of scholars and collectors, is not justified. (G. Dattari, *Numi Augusti Alexandrini*)

With these words Giovanni Dattari, a Cairo-based Italian collector and author of the first catalogue of Alexandrian provincial coins, summarized the study of the subject up to that moment. *Numi Augusti Alexandrini*, the catalogue of the Dattari collection including 6,580 entries dated between 30 BCE and CE 297, was published in 1901, three years before the publication in 1904 of *Ta nomismata tou kratous ton Ptolemaion* by I. Svoronos, for generations the most comprehensive catalogue of the coinage of the Ptolemies, the Macedonian dynasty ruling over Egypt between 323 and 30 BCE. In spite of Dattari's fear, Alexandrian provincial coinage received the honor of a comprehensive scientific cataloging and the Dattari catalogue, even after the dispersion of the collection in 1970s, still represents the standard reference.

As already recognized by G. Dattari, this coinage has some unique features that make it stand apart from any other provincial coinages. The mint of Alexandria, for example, struck coins longer than any other provincial mint. Provincial coinage in the West ended with the reign of Caligula in CE 41 and in the East with that of Gallienus in CE 263.¹ However, the provincial mint of Alexandria was still active during the joint reign of Diocletian and Maximian (fig. 1). The generally agreed end date for its production is CE 297, but the most recent acquisitions of ANS show that the last series was struck in CE 298 (fig. 2).²

One of the reason for the longevity of the Alexandrian minting activity should be ascribed to the fact that no Roman imperial currency, the "sisters" mentioned by Dattari, circulated in Egypt until Diocletian. Egypt was the paradigmatic example of a "closed currency system."³ This system, initiated by Ptolemy I and maintained by the Romans until Diocletian, implied the presence of an overvalued local currency and the prohibition of the circulation of any foreign currency. As confirmed by several papyri and by the lack of hoards containing foreign currency, all foreign coins had to be exchanged at the borders, where, for example, the Ptolemaic tetradrachm of ca. 14 g was exchanged 1:1 with the internationally circulating Attic standard tetradrachma of ca. 17.3 g (fig. 3). This advantageous system, which provided a 25% gain on any foreign commercial transaction and prevented silver coinage from hemorrhaging out of the country, was maintained by the Romans (fig. 4).⁴ Octavian, by then Augustus,

1. Burnett 2005.

2. Staffieri 2005.

3. Lorber 2018: 22–32.

4. Geissen 2012 with bibliography.



Fig. 1: Bronze coin of the Latin series issued by Diocletian. 295 CE. RIC VI Alexandria 16b. (ANS 1944.100.1209, E. T. Newell bequest) 25.5 mm.



Fig. 2: Billon tetradrachm of the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian I. Probably 298 CE. cf. Dattari 5618. cf. Staffieri 2017, no. 268 (ANS 1944.100.68405, E. T. Newell bequest) 19.5 mm.



Fig. 3: Silver Tetradrachm of Ptolemy I. 305–285 CE. (ANS 1944.100.75811, E. T. Newell bequest) 27 mm.



Fig. 4: Billon tetradrachm of Emperor Tiberius. 20–21 CE. Dattari 78. (ANS 1944.100.69590, E. T. Newell bequest) 27 mm.



Fig. 5: Bronze coin of Diocletian. 301 CE. RIC VI Alexandria 33b (ANS 1944.100.1357, E. T. Newell bequest) 27.5 mm.

had every reason to maintain the currency system of Egypt, the main provider of wheat for Rome, as insular as it was under the Ptolemies. Alexandria, the capital city of the province of Egypt, was then entrusted with the production of the coinage for the entire province. While closed currency systems are attested in other provinces, the peculiarity of Egypt—and of Alexandrian provincial coinage—consists in the fact that this insularity was retained until CE 298.⁵ By the Augustan Age—and probably from the Age of the Civil Wars—Roman currency had otherwise penetrated the rest of Roman Empire.⁶

On the other hand, no Roman currency is attested in Egypt until the monetary reform of Diocletian in CE 294–295 and the mint of Alexandria consistently minted tetradrachms of billon, a silver alloy, and smaller denominations in bronze.⁷ One tetradrachm equaled 4 drachms in bronze that equaled 6 obols each. In the course of the first century CE, the Egyptian tetradrachm weighed ca. 13 g and had a silver content around 20–30%. The weight and the fineness of the tetradrachm were gradually reduced in the course of the third century CE until reaching the weight of 7–8 g, with virtually no silver content.⁸ As already mentioned, only after CE 298 the currency coinage of Egypt will be fully Romanized (fig. 5).

Lastly, Alexandrian coinage, the only one dated according to the regnal year of the ruling Emperor, maintained an extraordinary number of types until the end of its production, as already remarked by Dattari. As it will become clear in the next few pages, the history of the studies of Alexandrian coinage is tightly entwined with Dattari, his trading activities, and his collection.

Giovanni Dattari

Dattari was born in Livorno sometime between 1853 and 1858 into a family of the well-off local bourgeoisie that specialized in hotel administration.⁹ His father, Luigi, had been the administrator of the most important hotels in Livorno, which specialized in an English-speaking clientele in the years 1850–1860.¹⁰ Giovanni followed his father's footsteps and in 1882 he was in Boston as a tour guide for a group of pioneering Italian globetrotters (fig. 6).¹¹ In 1883 he was in Milan as a courier, assisting Mary Adelaide, cousin of the Queen

5. Andreu 2005.
6. Burnett 2005.
7. Billon tetradrachms: Savio 2007. Bronze: Christiansen 1988, II: 8–10. Gölitzer 2004: 61–69.
8. Monetary reform of Aurelian (CE 274); Metcalf 1998. Christiansen 2004: 120–122. Haklai-Rotenberg 2011.
9. Savio 2015b: 15–16.
10. Savio 2015b: 17.
11. Ballou 1885. Lucchelli 2009.



Fig. 6: Livorno and the Scali d'Azeglio in a postcard of the 1890s. The first building on the right is the hotel Aquila Nera, administered by Luigi Dattari, Giovanni's father, in the 1850s.



Fig. 7: Princess Mary Adelaide von Teck (1833–1897), nee Princess of Cambridge, in 1897. She was Queen Victoria's cousin and Queen Mary's mother.



Fig. 8: Cruising the Nile by sail in Egypt 1894.



Fig. 9: Panels from the Thomas Cook Building in Leicester, displaying excursions offered by Thomas Cook and Son.

Victoria, in her Italian tour, during which she was received by the Italian King Umberto and by his wife Margherita (fig. 7).¹² Dattari, the future numismatist, therefore began his career as a tour (and not only) guide of the highest profile and as such he was entrusted by the travel agency Thomas Cook and Son to lead an expedition to Egypt around 1881 (figs. 8–10).¹³ In 1884–1885 Dattari was still in Egypt as an employee of the same travel agency, finding great success as a guide due to “his elegance, good knowledge of English, outstanding services and companionship.”¹⁴ In spite of these prolonged professional sojourns in Egypt, he maintained his official residence in Florence until at least 1887, when he accompanied a group of American tourists to London. At some point in the 1890s he moved to Cairo, attracted by the professional opportunities and by the cultural life of this cosmopolitan city which besides the opera, the casino, the Western style hotels, and the *cafés chantant*, offered the additional perk of a blossoming and educated Italian community of over 18,000 people (figs. 11–12).¹⁵ Italians were easily integrated in the Egyptian cultural life. Lord Cromer, who compiled in 1908 a list of foreigners residing in Egypt, stated that there were “some middle-class Italians, who, with their families, have been long resident in Egypt, and who may, as a class, be considered representative Levantines [...] The Transition from being Italian to being Levantine is, in these cases, easier than in the case of the Englishmen or the German.” We cannot be sure if this was intended as a compliment (probably not) on Lord Cromer’s part, but it is certain that Italians—and Dattari among them—turned this alleged affinity with Egyptian culture to their advantage.

Right after moving to Cairo, he married a Greek woman, Eudisia Zifadà, and had two children, Marco Aurelio and Maria, the latter born in 1896.¹⁶ The family moved to a colonial style residence called Villa Maricca, where Giovanni had his studio and quickly gathered an impressive collection of Egyptian art pieces, Greek and Roman coins, and papyri (fig. 13). He was considered among the most important private collectors in Egypt and, by his own admission, held the monopoly in the trade of Alexandrine coins.¹⁷ His family residence, Villa Maricca, was a gathering point for archaeologists and numismatists from all over the world. J. G. Milne and C. T. Currelly, who later were to become respectively Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford and Director of the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, were also in Cairo in the same years (figs. 14–17).¹⁸

In spite of his lack of a proper historical and numismatic training, Dattari’s enthusiasm and curiosity enabled him to write numismatic articles of a high level and to engage in academic discussions with the foremost scholars of his time.¹⁹ In the words of E. T. Newell, the future President of the ANS, “Thanks to his longer residence in Egypt, his

keen numismatic ardor, his consequent close touch with Egyptian coin-market, and his wide acquaintance among the dealers and the native merchants, Sig. Dattari is in a unique position to ascertain the facts concerning whatever finds may come to his notice in Egypt”²⁰ (fig. 18). Dattari’s preeminence in the Egyptian numismatic market was instrumental to the creation not only of his own private collection, but also of the major museum collections of Alexandrian coins in the world, as the next pages will show.

The Dattari Collection

Published in 1901, the catalogue of the Dattari Collection included 6,580 entries for Alexandrian coins and was distinguished by a virtual lack of duplication.²¹ This catalogue, however, represented only a fraction of his collection, since in 1903, two years after the publication of the catalogue, Dattari wrote that it included 6,835 Alexandrian coins, 91 Archaic Greek coins, 230 coins of Alexander the Great, 19,320 Roman coins, and 630 leaden and glass objects.²² The number of Alexandrian coins was at least doubled before his death in 1923, since Dattari stated that his collection included over 13,000 specimens.²³

Allegedly lacking funds for the publication of a catalogue of the Egyptian coins from the Nomes included in his collection, Dattari himself sold part of it during his life, first in 1909 to the Washington-based antiquarian Charles Lang Freer, then in 1912 in Paris through the mediation of the art dealer Dikran Kelekian²⁴ (figs. 19–22). The lot sold in the US, including 1,388 glass pieces, 22 vases from the XVIII and XIX dynasties, and four Greek vases, is now part of the collection of the Smithsonian Institute.²⁵ The Paris lot comprised 622

12. Duchess of Teck 1900.
13. Santoni 2005. Lucchelli 2009: 539 no. 12.
14. Green 1889.
15. Rainero 1991b: 136. Savio 2015b: 18–19.
16. Source: Anagrafe (Registry Office) of Rome, where Maria died on 27 January 1981.
17. Savio 2015b: 22–23.
18. Currelly 1956: 162–163, 232.
19. For the scientific production of Dattari see Lucchelli-Cavagna 2015.
20. Newell 1911: 195.
21. Metcalf 2002.
22. Gneccchi 1903: 597.
23. Dattari 1913: 353.
24. Washington sale: Auth 1983, pp. 160–163. For the relationship between C. Lang Freer and Egypt see Gunter 2002. Paris sale: Collections de feu M. Jean P. Lambros, d’Athènes et de M. Giovanni Dattari, du Caire: antiquités égyptiennes, grecques et romaines : vente à Paris, Hôtel Drouot ... le lundi 17, mardi 18 et mercredi 19 juin 1912, Paris 1912. For the obituary of Dikran Kelekian’s son, major art dealer in New York see <https://www.nytimes.com/1982/01/18/obituaries/chalres-dikran-kelekian-82-major-dealer-in-ancient-art.html>
25. Savio 2015b: 33 no. 112.



Fig. 10: Thomas Cook and Son’s Nile flotilla in the 1880s.



Fig. 11: Sheppard’s hotel, Cairo in 1931.



Fig. 12: Opera House and the Monument to Ali Pasha in 1910.



Fig. 13: Giovanni Dattari in his studio in Villa Maricca.



Fig. 14: Abbot Étienne Drioton, Director of the Department of Antiquities of Egypt; Marianne Doresse and Jean Doresse outside Villa Maricca, Giovanni Dattari’s home.



Fig. 15: Joseph Grafton Milne (1867–1951), prolific author of numismatic publications, was Deputy Keeper of Coins at the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford from 1931 to 1951.



Fig. 16: Charles Trick Currelly (1876–1957) was Director of the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology between 1914 and 1946.



Fig. 17: C. T. Currelly in Egypt in the 1920s.



Fig. 18: E. T. Newell, President of the American Numismatic Society from 1916 to 1941. Undated.



Fig. 19: C. Lang Freer (1854–1919) was an American industrialist, art collector, and patron. His collection was entirely donated to US Federal government and is now hosted at the Freer Art Gallery of Art at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC.

Fig. 20: Charles Lang Freer and colleagues in a photography studio in Cairo Egypt, 1909. (Charles Lang Freer Papers. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington).



Fig. 21: Dikran Kelekian (1868–1951) was a notable collector and dealer of Islamic art.



Fig. 23: King Farouk I of Egypt and US President Franklin D. Roosevelt aboard the USS Quincy, anchored in the Great Bitter Lake, north of the Suez Canal in 1945. King Farouk was deposed by a coup in 1952.



Fig. 22: Auction catalogue for the sale of part of the Dattari Collection in Paris (1912).



Fig. 24: The Numismatic Museum in Athens, where part of the Dattari Collection was hosted in 1970s.



Fig. 25: Francis W. Kelsey (1858–1927), a classics scholar, professor, and archaeologist, led the archaeological expeditions to the Near East organized by the University of Michigan. The findings from these expeditions constitute the core of the Collection of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology.

Egyptian, Greek, and Roman pieces of great interest, but was almost immediately dispersed on the market.²⁶

It is also known that Giovanni Dattari donated almost 2,000 coins from his collection to the Museo Nazionale Romano in Rome, probably in the hope of being granted the honorific title of “Cavaliere del Regno d’Italia” (Knight of the Italian Kingdom).²⁷

In 1923, after the death of Giovanni, the collection passed in the hands of Eudisia Zifadà, his widow, and his children Maria and Marco Aurelio.²⁸ As it is known from the official correspondence in the years 1950–1952 between Maria Dattari and the Italian Ministry of Culture, the daughter of the late collector intended to donate her father’s entire collection, consisting at this point of more than 13,000 Alexandrian coins, to the Italian State. The donation would have also included the unpublished manuscript of the catalogue for the second part of the Dattari Collection, the one acquired after the publication of the first catalogue in 1901.²⁹ However, in 1953 the deteriorating political situation in Egypt (and possibly the maddening bureaucracy of the Italian Ministry) lead Maria to abandon her original idea, depriving the Italian State of a world-class collection (fig. 23).³⁰

After 1952, since all Egyptian antiquities were nationalized and could not be legally exported, Maria Dattari decided to smuggle them to Europe.³¹ The collection was then handed over to C. Michalitzes, possibly her family physician, who was supposed to entrust them to the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. Unfortunately, C. Michalitzes put the coins in a safe, instead of handing them to the Museum.³² In 1972, Giorgos, C. Michalitzes’ son, sold 8,000 coins from the Dattari Collection, allegedly because of his dire financial situation.

A trial followed. G. Michalitzes was sentenced to 10 months for the illegal subtraction and subsequent sale of the coins belonging to Maria Dattari and the remainder of the collection (ca. 5,000 coins) was returned to Maria Dattari, thanks to Mando Caramessini-Oeconomides, then Director of the Numismatic Museum of Athens (fig. 24).³³ The coins sold by G. Michalitzes were never retrieved. After this date and until Maria’s death in 1981, the coins returned to Dattari’s heir were presumably dispersed on the market and Giovanni Dattari’s manuscript, containing an updated inventory of the collection, was never published. The famed Dattari collection, considered by far the best collection of Alexandrian coins ever assembled, met an inglorious end. All the coins and Dattari’s unpublished manuscript seem to have vanished into thin air.

The story of the retrieval of the lost manuscript starts off as a scholarly fairy tale. In the words of Adriano Savio, Professor of Ancient Numismatics at the University of Milan, who curated the new edition, “[i]n 1998, the lost inventory of the Dattari Collection emerged from the dust of a forgotten library.”³⁴ The documents

26. On two pieces from this lot: Parlasca 1999.

27. Savio 2015b: 44, based on a letter of Roberto Paribeni, Royal Superintendent to the Museums and Excavations of the Province of Rome (dated 10 December 1920).

28. Obituary on l’Imparziale, one of the Cairoite Italian newspapers, February 28–March 1, Year 38: 50, p. 2.

29. Savio 2015b: 45–46, based on a letter of Roberto Paribeni to prof. Adriani, then Director of the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities in Cairo (dated 18 August 1951)

30. Egyptian political events: Campanini 2005. For the possible reasons of Maria Dattari’s decision: Savio 2015b: 48–49.

31. Savio 2015b: 49 no. 162.

32. Savio 2015b: 50 no. 168. Source: Al-Ahram 16 May 1972.

33. Savio 2015b: 50 nos. 169–170, 52–53.

34. Dattari-Savio 2007: IX.



Fig. 26: The Kelsey Museum of Archaeology in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

No.	Form of Coins	Class	Weight	Value
12	Form of Coins	Class	Weight	Value
13	Form of Coins	Class	Weight	Value
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47	Form of Coins	Class	Weight	Value
48	Form of Coins	Class	Weight	Value
49	Form of Coins	Class	Weight	Value
50	Form of Coins	Class	Weight	Value

Fig. 27: E. T. Newell's notebook with the list of the coins included in the Egyptian hoard of the Tetrarchic Age, the "Hassan Find" sent to him by Hassan Abd-el-Salem, September 1909.

January 17th, 1921.

Comendatore Giovanni Dattari,
Cairo,
Egypt.

Dear Sir:-

It gives me especial pleasure to inform you that, at the meeting of the Council of The American Numismatic Society held on January 16th, you were unanimously elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Very respectfully yours,

Secretary.

Fig. 28: E. T. Newell's letter of January 17, 1921 to G. Dattari conferring him his status of Corresponding Member of ANS. (ANS Archives).

Fig. 29 (facing page): G. Dattari letters to E. T. Newell, thanking him for his book on the Alexander's hoard and proposing the publication of a hoard of Roman coins in his possessions with the types of the Society. (ANS Archives).

Fig. 30 (following page): Draft of E. T. Newell's reply to G. Dattari, enthusiastically accepting Dattari's proposal. (ANS Archives).

Fig. 31 (following page): A part of the inventory of the hoard drafted by Dattari. (ANS Archives).

were contained in a box (cassa in the Italian original), orderly divided in six different folders, possibly by Maria Dattari.³⁵ Out of these folders emerged the inventory of the remainder of the Dattari Collection, from no. 6,581 (the last specimen included in the catalogue of 1901) up to no. 10,845, a coin of Domitianus Domitianus.³⁶ This was the inventory referred to by Giovanni Dattari already in 1909 in his letters to the US antiquarian Charles Lang Freer and to J. G. Milne.³⁷ This inventory represent the core of the reviewed edition of the catalogue of the Dattari Collection, published by A. Savio in 1999. This new edition added 323 plates and 7,000 coins to the original catalogue of 1901.³⁸

Other treasures were buried in the "box from the dusty and forgotten library," among which was the Catalogue of the Coinage from the Egyptian Nomes, still unpublished.³⁹ Another chapter was added to the quest for the lost Dattari documents when the supplement to the inventory of the collection was found in a stationery shop in Cairo.⁴⁰ This supplement consisted of 326 pages and 701 pencil rubbings, which bring the total number of the specimens included in the Dattari Collection to

35. Savio 2015b: 54-72.

36. Savio 2015b: 66-68.

37. Savio 2015b: 36 (letter to J. G. Milne of 27 August 1920).

38. Dattari-Savio 1999. Metcalf 2002.

39. Savio 2015b: 56-58.

40. This is the definition given by A. Savio (cartoleria in the Italian original) in the introduction to the Second Edition of his revised Catalogue of the Dattari Collection (Trieste 2007: IX, no.3).

Dear Mr. E. T. Newell

Cairo 2nd June 1921

I received your interesting, Alexander Hoard for which please accept my best thanks.

By the same mail I received also the proceedings of the A. N. S. and this also interested me very much as I had not the idea of its composition and immense work it is performing. Our London Society is simply nothing in front of your Society.

This last day I got hold of a small find of Alexander Tetra. 44 pieces in all with the exception of two with Zeus antefix seated all the others are with Athena.

During the War I did get hold of a find composed of 45296 pieces of brass of Constantinus and his family. As you may imagine amongst that lot are many interesting pieces.

I have prepared the catalogue and I am sending you specimen of one page in the event that you (I presume the A. N. S.) would like to publish it.

The whole catalogue occupy 326 pages on the specimens I am sending you, plus there are 701 rubbings and comments. As regards the number to give a good idea of the coins are of small size good number of them (of course) as the plates.

As you are aware this hoard studied in Europe specially France and England and will publish the catalogue. Any how it would be best published of one I shall wait an answer either to the Italian or to the American Society.

In this very moment conditions that we are coins turning a his head, the Government incompetent and

Sincerely yours,
G. Dattari

Sidney P. Noel Esq.
Secretary
American Numismatic Society
Broadway at 156th Street
New York U. S. A.

VILLA MARICCA
GARDEN-CITY
KASR-EL-DOUBARA
CAIRO 17 July 1921

Dear Sir

I beg to acknowledge with many thanks, the receipt of your favour of the 17th January advising me of my election as a Corresponding Member of the Society and would request that you convey to the Officers and members of the Society my thanks and assurance of my deepest appreciation of this great honour conferred upon me.

Very respectfully yours,
G. Dattari

Draft of Letter sent Aug 10⁵
to Mr. G. Dattain

--- That is a most extraordinary find you describe of the 45296 Roman coins and we should very much like to publish it. If you have not already sent it elsewhere please forward us the MSS by registered Mail, provided you still are desirous of our Society publishing it. Would you object, if we should publish it for you, if I translated the text into English, so in that case we would have a far greater sale for it in the U.S. and Canada. This is not absolutely necessary. --- How many coins would you like to have illustrated? The cost now - a - days of making good heliotype plates is very high and so our funds for publications is none too much we have to be careful in the number of plates we print. For your information I may state that our rules for reprints for the author are the following: we undertake to send 50 copies to whatever address the author sends us, and in addition we send 10 to the author for his own personal use. Of course if the author desires more copies than these he can have them at the price we have to pay for printing them. Please let me know

NT	NOMINE	DIRITTO	ROVESCO
7	P.B.	CONSTANTI NVSMARAVG Busta lauro - diadematata, paludata e corazzata a destra.	Vittoria seduta sopra una base a sinistra. Sono con me il coccodrillo, davanti a una simbole con un piede in posizione nel campo, eccetera. CONSTANTINI ANADARNE A LONE (2)
12	P.B.R.	CONSTANTI NVSMARAVG Busta laureata, paludata e coraz- zata a destra.	Due insegne militari fra due militari laureati di fianco a fianco. GLOR IAEXERC IVVS SMKT (1) Δ (1) SMKT (2) Δ
13	P.B.R.	CONSTANTI NVSMARAVG Busta lauro - diadematata, paludata e corazzata a destra.	Come il precedente. RQP (14) RSP (9) RRP (14) RFP (14) RQT RQP PLG * PLG (2) TRP TRS (4) PCNST PCNST (10) PCNST (2) PCNST (2) PCNST (10) PCNST (2) PCNST (2) PCNST (2) MALA (10) H (10) HUS (10) AGIS (8) SMANA (10) B (10) F (10) Δ (10) H B SMRB E SMRA F SMRA (10) B (10) F (10) Δ (10) E (10) S (10) SMRA (2) B (2) F (2) Δ (2) E (2) S (2) SMNA (10) B (10) F (10) Δ (10) E (10) S (10) SMNA (10) B (10) F (10) Δ (10) E (10) S (10) SMNA (10) B (10) F (10) Δ (10) E (10) S (10) SMNA SMNA (10) B (10) F (10) Δ (10) E (10) S (10) CONIA (10) B (10) F (10) Δ (10) E (10) S (10) CONIA (2) B (2) F (2) Δ (2) E (2) S (2) PCNST (2) H (2) F (2) Δ (2) E (2) S (2)
14	P.B.R.	CONSTANTI NVSMARAVG Busta diadematata, paludata e corazzata a destra.	Come il precedente. P AQS PCNST PCNST PCNST S PCNST S SMNA (2) B (2) F (2) Δ (2) E (2) S (2) SMNA SMNA SMNA
15	P.B.R.	CONSTANTI NVSMARAVG Busta lauro - diadematata, paludata e corazzata a destra.	GLORI AEXER CIVIS CAMEA (12)
16	P.B.R.	CONSTAN TINOPOLIS Busta di laureato, paludata e corazzata a destra.	Vittoria in piedi di fianco a sinistra sopra una base e porta la corona sopra una base. Anepigrafo. SMNA E SMKT SMTEG (1) E (1)
17	P.B.R.	CONSTAN TINOPOLIS Come il precedente, con il caso del diadema.	Come il precedente. PCNST (1) PCNST (2) S (2) AQS RQP (2) S PLG (10) SMTEG (1) E (1) TES (2) TRP (2) S TRP TRS TRS SMTEG (1) E (1) S (2)
18	P.B.R.	CONSTANTI TINOPOLIS Busta come il precedente.	Come il precedente. RDE (10) RRE (10) RBE (2) RFE (1)
19	P.B.R.	CONSTAN TINOPOLI Busta come il precedente.	Come il precedente. SMNA (10) B (10) F (10) Δ (10) E (10) S (10) SMNA (10) SMNA (10) SMNA (10) SMNA (10) SMNA (10) B (10) F (10) Δ (10) E (10) S (10) SMNA (10) F (10) Δ (10) SMNA SMNA (10) B (10) F (10) E (10) S (10) CONIA (2) CONIA (10) CONIA (10) CONIA (10) CONIA (10) IA CONIA (10) IA S (10) SMNA (10) SMNA (10) B (10) F (10) Δ (10) SMNA (10)
20	P.B.R.	CONSTANTI NAPOLI Busta come il precedente, con il caso laureato.	Come il precedente. RRE (10) RRE (10) RRE (10)
21	P.B.R.	VRBS ROMA Busta da Roma a sinistra con il caso ornato di un pannello. Sono le sculture sulla spalla a destra.	La figura a circoscritta alla destra e Roma sulla base. Anepigrafo. AQT AQT (2) S RRE (10) RRE (10) PCNST PCNST PCNST (10) PCNST PCNST (10) PCNST PCNST PLG (10) S SMNA (10) B (10) SMNA (10) F (10) Δ (10) S (10) SMNA SMNA SMNA SMNA SMNA (10) SMNA (10) B (10) F (10) SMNA (10) SMNA (10) SMNA (10) SMNA (10) SMNA (10)



Fig. 32: Billon tetradrachm of Hadrian. 118–119 CE. Ex Dattari. RPC 5159, pl. 252 (this coin only). Dattari-Savio, pl. 70, 7480. (ANS 2017.11.7) 20 mm.

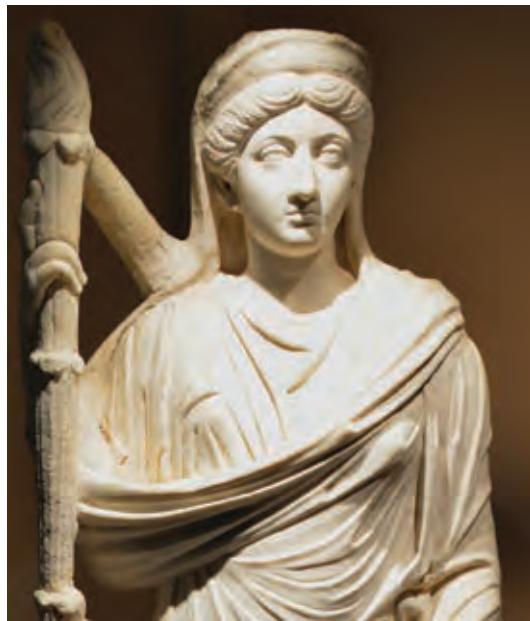


Fig. 33: Statue of Lucilla (right), consort of Roman emperor Lucius Verus, depicted as the goddess Ceres. 150–200 CE. Bardo National Museum, Tunisia.

more than 13,200 specimens. These figures are perfectly in line with the ones given by Dattari himself in 1913, when he stated that his Alexandrian collection included over 13,000 coins.⁴¹

While the coins included in the Dattari Collection cannot be retrieved as a whole, the publication in 1999 and then in 2007 of the complete catalogue, including the later and previously unpublished supplements, represented an invaluable contribution to the study of this specific coinage.

G. Dattari and the Major Collections of Alexandrian Coins in the World

The ANS Collection of Roman provincial coins from Alexandria, comprising 15,238 coins, is one of the best in the world. By comparison, the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford, in spite of the acquisitions fostered by J. G. Milne, Deputy Keeper of the Museum from 1931 to 1951, has 5,469 Alexandrian coins, in addition to others acquired since.⁴² Only the huge specialized collections of the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) in Toronto and the Kelsey Museum in Ann Arbor (about 25,000 coins each) stand in comparison.⁴³ Since G. Dattari once proudly stated that “two thirds of the coins found in Egypt during the recent years passed through my hands,” it is not surprising to find out that the Italian coin dealer and collector looms large in the collections of these museums. With the partial exception of the collection at ANS, which I will explain next, the collections of these three major museums⁴⁴ are all hugely indebted to him.

The Alexandrian Collection of the Ashmolean Museum was acquired through the years by J.G. Milne, who was in epistolary contact with Dattari from 1903 until Dattari’s death in 1923.⁴⁵ Given Milne’s specific interest in hoards (later to be published in his Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins in 1933), Dattari’s unrestrained access to stray finds and excavations represented an irreplaceable aid. The correspondence between the two shows that the Italian was instrumental in the acquisition of 32,000 Alexandrian coins, later divided between London and Toronto.⁴⁶ Equally indebted to Dattari is the outstanding collection of the ROM, acquired by C. T. Currelly, first Curator of the Royal Museum of Egyptology in 1907 and then Director from 1914. Through the intermediation of Milne, Currelly received from Dattari over 27,000 Alexandrian coins between 1906 and 1911.⁴⁷

Concerning the Collection of the Kelsey Museum, the acquisition of over 4,000 Roman and Alexandrian coins began with a cablegram of July 30, 1909, sent from Alexandria by the US-based dealer Charles L. Freer to Professor Francis W. Kelsey of the University of Michigan. In it Freer asked: “Will University accept as gift from gentleman here four thousand Roman and Alexandrian coins?” The bequest was promptly accepted by the University, which acquired what then was the greatest collection of Alexandrian coins in the US⁴⁸ (figs. 25–26). Dattari was then directly or indirectly responsible for the constitutions of the some of the most outstanding collections of Alexandrian coins in the world.

Less clear, however, is the relationship between Dattari and the ANS Collection of Alexandrian Coins. The bulk of the Alexandrian Collection at ANS was created under the auspices of Edward T. Newell, who donated to the Society 10,532 Alexandrian provincial coins as a part of his collection of Greek coins of 87,000 specimens (fig. 26). The provenance of the Alexandrian coins included in Newell’s collection is unfortunately unknown. As already mentioned, Dattari was one of Newell’s principal sources of information on the Demanhur Hoard of 1905, a hoard composed by over 8,000 Alexandrians, the largest ever known for the Greek world.⁴⁹ The pivotal role played by Dattari in that occasion is explicitly mentioned by Newell.⁵⁰ However, in one of Newell’s undated notebooks, it is clearly stated that a hoard of 64 Roman bronze coins dated to the Tetrarchy was “sent [me] from Egypt by Hassan Abdel-Salem, Sept. 1909” (fig. 27).⁵¹ Therefore, Dattari did not have anything to do with the acquisition of this specific hoard. Moreover, a note written by Newell on *The Numismatist* of 1924 let us know that “practically inexhaustible would seem to be the supply of ancient coins coming to the market [of Egypt].” This suggests that he acquired at least part of his collection after 1923, the year of Dattari’s death.⁵² However, it is at least likely that the Italian coin dealer sold Newell part of the Alexandrian coins that became then part of the ANS Collection, since he was said to have “virtually monopolized the trade of coins, including hoards, in Egypt from 1891 to his death in 1923⁵³ (figs. 27–31).” The correspondence between Newell and Dattari continued until Dattari’s death. The Italian became Corresponding Member of the ANS on January 17, 1921. In a letter of June 14, 1921, Dattari thanked Newell, then President of ANS for the book on the Alexandrians Hoards he received. In the same letter, he also proposed the publication with the types of the Society of a hoard of 45,296 Roman bronze from the Age of Constantine and his successors. The ANS’s Archives preserve the draft of the then President



Fig. 34: Bronze drachm of Lucilla under Marcus Aurelius. 167–168 CE. Ex Dattari. Dattari-Savio pl. 205, 3818 (this coin). Emmett 2476/8. RPC 14560 (ANS 2017.11.16) 32 mm.



Fig. 35: Bronze drachm of Lucilla under Marcus Aurelius. 168–169 CE. Ex Dattari. Dattari-Savio pl. 205, 3822 (this coin). Emmett 2481/9 (R4, citing our Dattari coin. RPC 14561. (ANS 2017.11.38) 31 mm.



Fig. 36: Billon tetradrachm of Lucilla under Marcus Aurelius. 168–169 CE. DS 9533, RPC IV 14515. (ANS 1944.100.61618, E. T. Newell bequest) 19 mm.



Fig. 37: Bronze drachm of Lucilla under Marcus Aurelius. 168–169 CE. Possibly ex Dattari. Dattari-Savio pl. 206, 9535 and a second, unnumbered, specimen, which is our coin. Emmett 2479/9 (R5, citing Dattari 9535), RPC 1453 (ANS 2017.11.39), 31.5 mm.



Fig. 38: Bronze diobol of Maximinus I. 235–238 CE. Possibly ex Dattari. (ANS 2017.11.21) 23 mm.

41. Dattari 1913:353.
42. Acquisitions of Alexandrian coins by the Ashmolean Museum: Milne 1945.
43. Metcalf 2002:173.
44. Dutilh 1900: 96 no. 3.
45. Christiansen 2008:256–266.
46. Christiansen 2008:259–270.
47. Christiansen 2008: 268–270.
48. Visonà 2004-2005: 64–67.
49. Newell 1911. Newell 1923. Zervos 1980. On the relationship between Newell and Dattari: Lucchelli - Cavagna 2015: 159–162.
50. Newell 1911: 195.
51. <http://numismatics.org/archives/ark:/53695/nnan188043>
52. Newell 1924.
53. Christiansen 1988: 30.



Fig. 39: Billon tetradrachm of Maximinus I. 237–238 CE. RPC VI 10740. Dattari 4585. 20 mm.



Fig. 40: Billon tetradrachm of Diocletian. 295–296 CE. Unpublished, cf. Dattari-Savio pl. 285, 5824 and pl. 289, 6030 and 10751. (ANS 2017.11.28) 18 mm.



Fig. 41: Billon tetradrachm of Galerius as Caesar. 295–296 CE. Emmett 4221.4 (R5—citing this coin); Staffieri, *Alexandria In Nummis* 249 (this coin). Ex CNG Triton XXI (9 January 2018), lot 250. 20 mm.



Fig. 42: Bronze nummus of Diocletian, Alexandria. 295–296 CE. RIC VI Alexandria 18a. (ANS 1944.100.1219, E. T. Newell bequest). 26 mm.



Fig. 43: Aureus of Diocletian. 294–296 CE. C 177. Lukanc 2. RIC VI Alexandria 4 var. (arrangement obverse legend). Depeyrot 6/1. (Ex *Numismatica Ars Classica* 105 [9 May 2018], lot 101).

of ANS Newell's reply, who welcomed the proposal. The hoard, however, was never published by the Society and only one loose sheet of the inventory of this hoard is testimony of the fact that Newell ever sent the letter and of the fact that Dattari indeed replied. The continued contacts between Newell and Dattari and the explicit mention of the Italian's superior expertise on the Egyptian coin market on Newell's part make it extremely likely that Dattari was the main provider for the Alexandrian part of Newell's personal coin collection. Therefore, it is safe to say that Dattari helped to create (to his own advantage, of course) the major museum collections of Alexandrian coin in the world.

New Acquisitions

The collection of Alexandrian coins at the American Numismatic Society, in spite of its size, includes only 31 coins that were originally part of the fabled Dattari collection. With the exception of a bronze diobol of Pescennius Niger dated to CE 193–194 (ANS 1977.227.2, ex Auctiones AG 7, 7 June 1977, 461), all the other coins attributed to the Dattari collection have been acquired in the last two years.

The Alexandrian Collection from the Art Institute in Chicago

The first group of Dattari coins came from a lot from the Art Institute of Chicago auctioned by Gemini on April 6, 2017. These coins were originally donated by Robert L. Grover between 1978 and 1984 and 139 of them are classified as "ex Dattari Collection."⁵⁴ Out of the 64 coins bought by the Society, 27 were originally part of this collection, an impressive number. A few coins among the ones acquired from the Dattari collection deserve a specific description because of their inherent rarity or historical significance. Among these, a billon tetradrachm of the Emperor Hadrian stands out (fig. 32). This coin, dated to the year 3 of the reign of Hadrian (CE 118–119), has on the obverse the goddess Tyche (destiny), holding a rudder and cornucopia. This type symbolizes a well-guided (rudder) and prosperous (cornucopia) future and, as such, is a rather common type on Hadrian's coinage. However, this coin is unique, as it is the only specimen recorded for this year in RPC III 5159 and DS 7480.

Also particularly fortunate is the acquisition of two bronze drachmae of Lucilla, daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the Younger, granddaughter of Antoninus Pius and sister of Commodus (figs. 33–35).⁵⁵ She was only 16 when she married Lucius Verus, Marcus Aurelius' co-regent, in CE 164. The marriage conferred her a first-rank position in the Antonine family as co-empress with her own mother Faustina the Younger. However, the death of Lucius Verus in CE 169 deprived

her of this privileged position and caused her to lose the title *Augusta*. Eager to ascend to the imperial throne, she organized a plot in CE 182 against her brother Commodus, after the death of their father Marcus Aurelius. The failure of the plot led to her execution. The relative short length of her tenure as *Augusta* (CE 164–169) makes her coins quite rare. Dattari recorded only 11 types for Lucilla's coins in his catalogue of 1901 (D. 3815–3825).⁵⁶ The new acquisitions enrich the splendid collection at ANS of 17 coins of Lucilla, which already included four reverse types not recorded by Dattari in 1901. With the just mentioned exceptions, all Lucilla's coins come from the former Newell collection. Among the reverse types not included in the original Dattari catalogue, the rarest ones are the bronze drachms with the representation of standing Asclepius holding *pathera* over lighted altar and the one of sitting Tyche, wearing a *kalathos* and resting her hand on a rudder while holding a cornucopia. While these types are *per se* fairly common for the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, RPC knows of only two specimens with these types for Lucilla (fig. 36).⁵⁷ Concerning the reverse type with Isis suckling baby Harpokrates, the specimen acquired by ANS in 2017 is not included among the ones recorded in RPC IV (fig. 37).

A unique diobol of Maximinus (fig. 38) is another welcome addition to the ANS collection. Maximinus the Thracian, a lowly-born provincial possibly with Gothic ancestors, ruled over the Roman Empire for four years only (CE 235–238).⁵⁸ Said to be ex Dattari, but not recorded in the Dattari-Savio Catalogue, this coin is only the second Alexandrian bronze coin known for the reign of Maximinus I, after a unique bronze drachm of Year 1 that appeared in Sotheby's Jungfleisch Sale of 9 March 1972, and is now in the collection of John Aiello (Emmett 3309/1). The reverse type with the seated Nike appears on

54. The author of the Gemini Auction Catalogue is convinced that even the "ex Dattari Collection" coins that are not included in any Dattari Catalogue (i.e., Dattari 1901 and Dattari-Savio 1999 and 2007) were genuinely part of the Dattari Collection, only acquired after the compiling of the rubbings. The ANS is grateful to Dr. Andrew Burnett who helped identify the most significant lots.

55. A third drachma of Lucilla was acquired in the same lot (ANS 2017.11.39), but it is not ex Dattari.

56. Asclepius holding *pathera* over lighted altar (CE 168–169, ANS 1944.100.61618. DS 9533, RPC IV 14515). Triptolemus in biga (CE 167–168. ANS 1944.100.61626, ANS 1944.100.61627. DS 9534. RPC IV 14562). Sitting Tyche, wearing a *kalathos* and resting her hand on a rudder while holding a cornucopia (CE 167–168. ANS 1944.100.61619. RPC IV 14516). Temple with two columns and rounded pediment, in which disk, horns, and uraei, enclosing statue of Isis (CE 167–168: ANS 1944.100.61629, 1944.100.61628, 2017.11.39. DS 9535 and no number on pl. 206. RPC IV 14563).

57. Asclepius: RPC IV 14515. Tyche: RPC IV 14516

58. *Historia Augusta*, *Life of Maximinus*, 1.6.



Fig. 44: Argenteus of Diocletian, 295–296 CE. RIC VI Alexandria 9b (ex *Roma Numismatics* 15 [5 April 2018], lot 622) 18 mm.



Fig. 45: Billon octadrachm of Domitius Domitianus. 297–298 CE. Dattari 6187. (ANS 1944.100.62011, E. T. Newell bequest) 22 mm.



Fig. 46: Billon tetradrachm of Domitius Domitianus. 297–298 CE. Dattari 6183. (ANS 1944.100.62006, E. T. Newell bequest) 19.5 mm.



Fig. 47: Billon octadrachm of Diocletian. 298 CE. Staffieri 2005, fig. 3 (this coin). Staffieri 2017 no. 269 (this coin) (ANS 2018.7.3) 22mm.



Fig. 48: Billon octadrachm of Maximian I. 298 CE. Dattari (Savio) 10692 (this coin). Emmett 4167 (R5—this coin cited). Staffieri 2005, fig. 4 (this coin). Staffieri 2017, no. 270 (this coin). (ANS 2018.7.4) 23 mm.



Fig. 49: Billon tetradrachm of Diocletian. 298 CE. Emmett 4090 (R5). Geissen 1976, p. 284 and pl. XVI, 19. Staffieri 2005, fig. 5 (this coin). Staffieri 2017, no. 271 (ANS 2018.7.5) 18 mm.



Fig. 50: Billon didrachm of Diocletian. 298 CE. Emmett 4090 (R5). Staffieri 2005, fig. 7 (this coin). Staffieri 2017, no. 273 (this coin) (ANS 2018.7.6) 17 mm.



Fig. 51: Bronze drachm of Hadrian. 123–124 CE. RPC III 5466/1 (this coin, illustrated on pl. 270). Staffieri 1996. Staffieri 2017, no. 63 (this coin). (ANS 2018.7.1) 34 mm.

Maximinus' billon tetradrachms on year 4 (CE 237–238) (fig. 39).⁵⁹

Though not originally included in the Dattari Collection, the unique billon tetradrachm issued by Diocletian in the year 12 of his reign (CE 295–296) (fig. 40) is another welcome addition to the ANS collection. While this coin is absent from standard publications, the reverse type, a cuirassed and helmeted bust of Rome with a Nike as a decoration, finds clear parallels in the coins issued by Maximilianus I and Galerius as Caesar for the same year (CE 295–296) and by Constantius I as Caesar for the preceding year (fig. 41).⁶⁰ It is difficult to overvalue the historical significance of this coin, as it represents not only the last of the provincial issues of Diocletianus in Alexandria, but also in the Roman world altogether. In the course of the previous year, Diocletian had introduced in Alexandria and in the rest of the Roman Empire his fiscal and monetary reform.⁶¹ Concerning Egypt specifically, the Greek monetary system with its peculiar denominations and its regal years was replaced by the Latin system, based on the Latin new bronze *nummus* of ca. 10 g and the reverse legend GENIO POPVLI ROMANI, issued together with undated *aurei* and *argentei* (figs. 42–44).⁶² This meant the end of the closed currency system that had been in place since the fourth century BCE (cf. Introduction) and of all the advantages deriving from it.

Scholars agree on the direct relationship between the reforms of Diocletian and the revolt of Domitius Domitianus, which took place in 297–298 CE.⁶³ Stationed in Egypt during the early years of Diocletian's tetrarchy, Domitius Domitianus offered the Alexandrian population, wary of changes which were at its disadvantage, a

partial return to the Greek system, while partly retaining the Roman denominational system introduced by Diocletian the previous year.⁶⁴ By late 296, the new octadrachm and didrachm were introduced to the Alexandrian public. The octadrachm, set upon a value standard similar to the early Roman *antoninianus*, averaged approximately 23–24 mm in diameter; the tetradrachm remained its well-known 19–20 mm size; and the didrachm was slightly smaller at a 17–18 mm diameter.⁶⁵ A final coinage reform would take place in the production of a gold aureus featuring Victory and a bronze follis featuring the Roman Genius already introduced by Diocletian.⁶⁶ It is likely that *aurei* and follis were used as a source of payment for external trade. In a way, the monetary system introduced by Domitius Domitianus represented the best of the Greek and of the Roman system for Alexandria (figs. 45–46). Since it retained the drachma-based billon denominations, it allowed these overvalued currencies to keep circulating in Egypt. At the same time, the *aurei* and the bronze follis could serve in external trade.⁶⁷ The favor encountered by these reforms in Alexandria explain why the city resisted for over a year Diocletian's attempt to regain control over Egypt, finally capitulating in May of CE 298.

The Staffieri Collection

Earlier this year, the ANS purchased seven coins from the Giovanni Maria Staffieri Collection, auctioned by CNG (Triton XXI, 9 January 2018).⁶⁸ Three of these coins were originally part of the Dattari Collection and deserve special mention. However, each of the coins acquired from the Staffieri Collection deserves to be briefly commented here, as they all have invaluable historical significance.

Included in this lot are coins of the so-called “uncirculated series,” issued by Diocletian and Maximian in CE 298 and destined to revive the Alexandrian provincial coinage previously suppressed by the same Emperors in 294–295 CE.⁶⁹ These coins, briefly issued for only three months between June and October 298, can be considered an attempt on the Diocletian's part to a reconciliation with the population of Alexandria, as they continue the coinage produced during the rebellion of Domitius Domitianus (cf. previous section). The existence of these coins, already known to Dattari, means that the date of the official end of Roman provincial should be postponed to CE 298 from the previous date of 297, even if these coins might have never actually circulated.

As it was the case under Domitius Domitianus, the denominational system is based on a billon octadrachm with a diameter of 20–22 mm, a tetradrachm of 19–20 mm, and a didrachm of 17–18 mm. The obverse of the coins of these series invariably bears the portrait of the Emperors Diocletian and Maximianus, while the reverse types changed according to the denominations. The octodrachms issued in the name

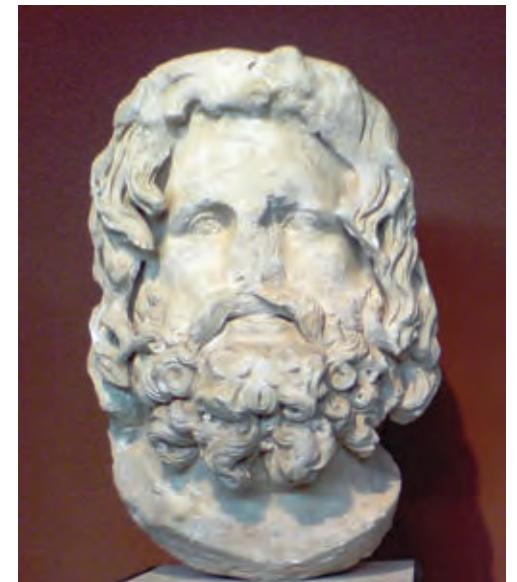


Fig. 52: Head of Sarapis. 150–200 CE. (Archeological Museum of Thessaloniki).

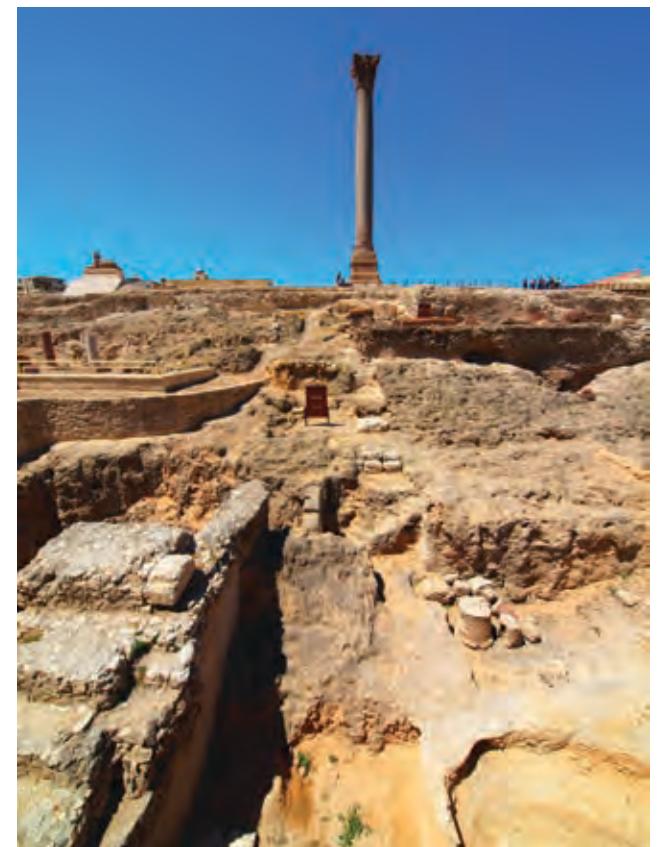


Fig. 53: Ruins of the Serapeum of Alexandria with the so-called Column of Diocletian.

59. D. 4632.RPC VI 10756. Emmett 3291 and 3326.

60. Maximianus: DS pl. 285, 5824. Galerius as Caesar: Staffieri 2017 no. 249. Emmett 4221. Costantius as Caesar: DS pl. 289, 6030 and 10751.

61. Ermatinger 1996. Williams 1997.

62. Geissen 2012: 576–7 with bibliography. On the passage to the Latin system, among others: Metcalf 1987. Weder 1987. For an overview of the production of the mint of Alexandria in 296 CE see Geissen 1976: 281–282. Aurei (294–296 CE, ca. 5.5 g cf. Augustus' aurei of ca. 8 g) RIC VI Alexandria 2–6. Argentei (294–296 CE, ca. 3.7 grams, same fineness and weight of Early Imperial denarii): RIC VI 9b.

63. Geissen 2012: 577 with bibliography. Papyrological evidence for the date of the revolt: Mitthof 2002: 122–124.

64. Staffieri 2005: 938–939 with bibliography.

65. Octadrachm: D.6181 (ANS 1944.100.62002, 1944.100.62003), D. 6183 (1944.100.62004, 1944.100.62005), D.6187 (ANS 1944.100.62010, 1944.100.62011, 1944.100.62012, 1974.26.3940), D.6187v. (ANS 1935.117.792, 1973.56.960) Tetradrachm: D.6183 (ANS 1944.100.62006), D.6185 (ANS 1944.100.62007, 1944.100.62008, 1944.100.62009, 1973.56.959, 1974.26.3938, 1974.26.3939). Didrachm: DS 10806–10810. Alexandrian in Nummis 266 (no specimen at ANS).

66. Bronze follis: RIC VI Alexandria 19 (ANS 1984.146.456), 20 (ANS 1935.117.6, 1944.100.1225, 1974.26.31, 1984.146.457). Aurei: RIC VI Alexandria 5–6.

67. K. R. Kline, Lucius Domitius Domitianus: Egypt's Roman Savior. http://www.forumancientcoins.com/Articles/Domitius_Domitianus.htm

68. Giovanni Maria Staffieri, a longtime Fellow of the American Numismatic Society, has recently published the Catalogue of his Collection, complete with bibliographical references and comments by the author (Staffieri 2017).

69. Staffieri 2005, pp. 939–942 with bibliography.



Fig. 54: Billion tetradrachm of Domitian. 86–87 CE. M.482 (ANS 1944.100.53866, E. T. Newell bequest) 26.9 mm.

of Diocletian and Maximian (figs. 47–48) have Sarapis Soter on the reverse, a typical Ptolemaic divinity and a perfect counterbalance for the Roman style portrait of the Emperors, here represented with the radiate crown. The coin of Maximian comes from the Dattari Collection and only three examples are known: a specimen sold in *Numismatica Ars Classica* AG 51, lot 411; this coin, which is Dattari-Savio 10692; and Dattari-Savio 10693. The octadrachm in the name of Diocletian, absent from the Dattari-Savio Catalogue, is known in two other specimens.⁷⁰

The tetradrachm and the didrachm of this series, issued in the name of Diocletian (figs. 49–50), have a standing Isis-Tyche as reverse type. Parallel issues for Maximian are also known.⁷¹ Once again, it is worth highlighting the historical value of these coins lays in the fact that they represented a last (failed) attempt to revive the provincial coinage not only in Alexandria, but in the Roman world altogether.

Absolutely illuminating for the religious history of the city is a unique drachm with Zeus-Sarapis, radiate, standing facing on column on the reverse, issued in year 8 of the Emperor Hadrian (CE 123–124, fig. 51).⁷² Zeus Sarapis was a syncretistic divinity deriving from the conflation between Osiris, the Egyptian god ruling in the Underworld, Apis, the ox which represented the fertility brought by the Nile, and Zeus (fig. 52). This divinity was introduced by Ptolemy I Soter, founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty, back in the fourth century BCE. Even in Roman times, this deity was extremely popular in Egypt, as also shown by the presence of a lavish sanctuary dedicated to it, a Serapeum, in Alexandria (fig. 53).⁷³ As a consequence of this popularity, the representation of Zeus-Sarapis is very common on Alexandrian coins. However, in the case of this unique bronze drachma, the noteworthy elements are represented by the radiate crown Sarapis is wearing and by the fact that the statue of the god is standing on a column. The presence of the radiate crown suggests an identification with Helios, the Sun-God, which is always represented crowned by his own rays. In Alexandria, the tight relationship between Helios and Sarapis is suggested by the fact that Osiris was a son of the Sun-god, as also suggested by the fact that the Serapeum was oriented so that the rays of the Sun (Helios) on the birthday of the city of Alexandria (21 January) could enter the naos of the temple and “kiss” the face of the statue of Sarapis, his son.⁷⁴ The association between Helios and Sarapis was represented for the first time on coins by a tetradrachm issued in the years 6 and 13 of Domitian (CE 86–87 and 92–93)(fig. 54).⁷⁵ Therefore, the representation of Zeus-Sarapis on the coin now at ANS, dated to the reign of Hadrian, though

unique, has an historical precedent. The same representation also appeared on a diobol of Commodus in the year 20 of Marcus Aurelius (CE 179–180) and on a tetradrachm issued by Maximianus in the year 2 and 4 of his reign (CE 286–287 and 288–289).⁷⁶

The other noteworthy element on this reverse type, the column, is usually ascribed to a restoration of the Serapeum at the times of Diocletian.⁷⁷ The presence of this column on a coin of Hadrian shows that the column, still visible in the area of the Serapeum, was already there at the times of Hadrian, roughly 150 years before Diocletian.⁷⁸ In sum, this unique coin not only bears a very rare representation of Helios Sarapis, but also greatly contributes to the knowledge of the archaeological development of the Serapeum in Alexandria.

Originally from the Dattari Collection, a unique lead tessera representing Antinous, Hadrian’s unfortunate favorite, is now part of the ANS Collection (figs. 55–56).⁷⁹ This specimen, dated to year 20 of Hadrian (CE 135–136), is also the only known example of dated tessera.⁸⁰ It is then dated to the years immediately following the death of Antinous in 130, who is said to have drowned in the Nile.⁸¹

Lastly, the ANS also acquired another specimen from the Dattari collection, a billion tetradrachm of Septimius Severus with Julia Domna, Caracalla and Geta on the reverse (fig. 57). This tetradrachm, dated the Year 9 of Septimius Severus (CE 200–201) is very rare, with only two known specimens.⁸² The reverse is entirely dedicated to the dynastic propaganda of the Imperial family. The figure of highest relevance is certainly Julia Domna, the Empress, represented



Fig. 55: Bust of Antinoüs (117–138 CE) known as the Antinoüs of Ecoeuën. Marble, 18th century copy from an original coming from the villa Adriana, now in the Prado Museum.



Fig. 56: Lead Tessera. Possibly 136–137 CE. Dattari (Savio) 2092 (this piece, illustrated on pl. II). Staffieri 2017, no.100 (this piece). (ANS 2018.7.7) 17 mm.



Fig. 57: Billion tetradrachm of Septimius Severus. 200–201 CE. Dattari (Savio) 3985 bis (this coin—not numbered on pl. 215). Emmett 2665.9 (R5—this coin cited); Staffieri 2017, no. 194 (this coin) (ANS 2018.7.2) 24 mm.



Fig. 58: Gold aureus of Septimius Severus. 201 CE. RIC IV Septimius Severus, 175. BMC 255. Ex Dattari. (ANS 1959.228.33 gift of Elizabeth A. Chalifoux) 20 mm.

70. One of these is described in Weder 1997: 13 (fig. no. 1), 14 and 18. The other is the one from the Staffieri Collection now at ANS.
71. Tetradrachm: Emmett 4166. Staffieri 2017 no. 272. Didrachm: Asta Tradart (Geneva, 8 November 1992) no. 246.
72. Staffieri 1996. RPC III 5466 (this coin).
73. Ammianus Marcellinus, History 5.23.16,2. Fraser 1972.
74. Plutarch, On Isis 12. Staffieri 1996, pp. 257–258 with bibliography.
75. Tetradrachm of Domitian: M. 482. ANS 1944.100.53866 (year 6). BMC 284 (year 13).
76. Diobol of Commodus: D. 3839. Tetradrachms of Maximianus: D. 5983/5984.
77. Handler 1971: 64–88.
78. Staffieri 1996: 260–262.
79. D. 2092. Staffieri 2017 no.100 (same coin).
80. D. 2092. Staffieri 2017 no.100.
81. On Antinous’s importance and on the details of his mysterious death: Lambert 1984:128–134. Vout 2005.
82. This coin (D. 3985 bis, plate 215) and the one appeared on Sternberg XII (1982), lot 659.

holding wreath with her right hand and scepter with her left. Her two children, Geta, to the left, and Caracalla, on the right, are only participating in their mother's power as they share with her the insignia of her power, the globe and the scepter. The dynamism of this scene finds no comparison in the representations of Severus' family on imperial coinage, where the figures are reduced to busts (fig. 58).⁸³ Of course, the tragic irony of this representation of shared power is that Caracalla murdered his younger brother Geta in CE 211, right after the death of their father.⁸⁴ Their mother was quite certainly present when the murder took place. The representation of shared power shown on the reverse of this Alexandrian coin proved then to be purely utopian.

Conclusion

For what has been said up to now, it is difficult to understate the historical importance of Giovanni Dattari. A self-taught collector and trader of Egyptian, Greek and Roman antiquities, he monopolized the trade of Alexandrian coins in Egypt for decades. At the same time, he put his expertise to the service of the foremost scholars of his time, who greatly benefitted from his first-hand knowledge of the territory. Moreover, Dattari was directly involved in the acquisition of the most important museum collection of Alexandrian coins in the world. His fabled collection of over 13,000 coins, dispersed on the market after 1972, can now be reconstructed in its entirety thanks to the publication by A. Savio of the manuscripts with the supplements to the Catalogue. In the course of the last two years, the ANS was able to acquire 30 coins which were originally part of this fabled collection. These Dattari coins, all specimens of invaluable historical significance, further add to the already outstanding ANS collection of Alexandrian coins that, with over 16,000 coins, is one of the best in the world.

83. RIC IV 159, 175, 181a–c.

84. Historia Augusta, Life of Caracalla 2.4.

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THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS at the Ancient Town of Akrai in Southeastern Sicily

Roksana Chowaniec and Tomasz Więcek

(Editor's note: Since 2017, the Polish excavations at the ancient Sicilian town of Akrai have been sponsored in part by the American Numismatic Society. Here the excavators present some of their discoveries and research of the site.)

Sicily has always been an ideal place for human relocation, owing to its excellent position and an abundance of fertile land. This island, which is the largest in the Mediterranean, remained for a long time a destination for people in search of a new place to live, new markets for buying and selling goods, a new land to conquer, and as a part of the Mediterranean cultural system. Moreover, the island, with its standing ruins of ancient architecture, charming landscape and curious habits, has always attracted and fascinated travelers, collectors, antiquaries, as well as poets, painters, and archaeologists.¹

When the Greeks arrived in here in 734 BC, shortly after the Phoenicians, they initially settled only the central and eastern parts of the island.² But very quickly they conquered and dominated the local tribe, the Sicels, and came into possession of huge territories for many centuries. One of the towns founded as part of this expansion was the sub-colony of Akrai (Greek Ἀκραι, Latin *Acrae*, *Agris*, *Acrenses*, modern Palazzolo Acreide), located in the southeastern part of the island (figs. 1–2). The town was founded around 664/663 BC by colonists from Syracuse, as Thucydides reports in his *History of the Peloponnesian War* (Thuc. 6.5.2) and developed in the shadow of the mother town (*metropolis*), one of the most important cities of the ancient Greek world. Akrai was located on flattened hill in the Hyblaean Mountains (fig. 3), 770 m above sea level,

between the valleys of minor streams: Anapo (*Anapus*) to the north and Tellaro (*Helorus*) to the south. The town had ideal panoramic views over the entire surrounding area³ guarding access to Syracusan territories (fig. 4). Thanks to the town and rivers, Syracuse could control the southeastern part of the island and build its power.⁴ Later on, the name Akrai (or *Acrae*) appeared in the works of Diodorus Siculus (Diod. 23.4.1), Pliny the Elder (Plin. Nat. 3.8.91) and Livy (Liv. 24.35–36), as well as on the maps of Claudius Ptolemy (Ptolemy Claudius 3.4.14), on the “*Tabula Peutingeriana*” and “*Itinerarium Antonini*.”⁵ But the written sources only partly preserved the memory of ancient Akrai, especially the history of town after the Roman conquest and before the hill was abandoned by the last inhabitants. These gaps are completed by archaeological artifacts and monuments. Interestingly, the discovery of Akrai and interests in this ancient urban center occurred in several stages through the centuries, and perfectly illustrate the evolution of the European attitude toward its ancient heritage, from antiquary and historical studies to modern archaeology.⁶

The most recent step in the exploration of Akrai was taken by archaeologists from the University of Warsaw, working in collaboration with the Soprintendenza dei Beni Culturali e Ambientali di Siracusa (2009–2015) and Polo Regionale di Siracusa per i siti e musei

1. Chowaniec and Rekowski 2013.

2. Cooney and Kolb 2007.

3. Di Vita 1987: 77–87.

4. Anello 2002: 67.

5. *Tabula Peutingeriana* (Agris); *Itinerarium Antonini* 89.8 (Acrae, Agris, Acris).

6. Chowaniec 2015: 43–78 (with previous bibliography).

archeologici Museo Paolo Orsi (since 2016) (figs. 5–6). Using state-of-the-art tools, equipment, and methods of archaeological research, the excavators have been making substantial contributions to our knowledge about this ancient town. In the course of non-invasive investigations in 2009–2010, including among others survey, geophysics, aerial photographs, digital terrain models, etc., rich, interesting data were gathered. These preliminary stages resulted in the precise reconnaissance of the site and its vicinity, which allowed for the selection of areas for future excavation.

In the course of these excavations a Late Hellenistic–Roman household complex, whose basic plan was created in the Late Hellenistic period, with very visible Late Roman and Byzantine layers, was unearthed (fig. 7). This work has delivered splendid archaeological material, which demonstrates a vigorous and productive town life over the course of centuries. It is also discernable that the residential complex went through various phases of rearrangement, redesign, and reuse (fig. 8). The original house plan, consisting of rooms surrounding three sides of a courtyard with scant remains of the portico and a cistern, began to be remodeled most probably as early as the late third century BC/beginning of second century BC, already under formal Roman administration. At that time, new divisions of the domestic spaces, along with the addition of new and statelier

rooms (with mosaic of *opus signinum*) (figs. 9–10), and, consequently changes in painting decoration (fig. 11) and rearrangement of the existing parts took place. The complete organization of the space is still not entirely clear, and will be explored as part of subsequent studies, but it would seem that originally the courtyard was larger, with a series of rooms only on the west and east sides, and later was reduced due to the creation of additional rooms on the south wing (figs. 12–16).

The complex fulfilled its residential function until the mid-fourth century AD, when it was drastically damaged by a natural disaster in town, most probably by an earthquake. This period and region are characterized by intensive seismic activity. The most significant earthquakes were noticed around the '50s–'70s of the fourth century AD, which resulted in great devastation in many places not only in Sicily, due to the varying locations of epicenters.⁷ As Zosimus writes, “earthquakes likewise happened in many places” (IV.18). It should also be kept in mind that the region of the Hyblaean Mountains could have had its own small earthquakes (e.g., we need to take into account the micro-seismicity of the Monte Lauro volcano). The characteristic deformation of architecture, collapse of structures in one direction as a consequence of oscillation, and fractures in the walls could be all be taken as evidence for a natural disaster in town.

At the end of the fourth century AD, after a few decades of stagnation, the rubble of the house was adopted for household and other activities, and was reorganized by the new inhabitants. The previously documented Late Roman and Byzantine periods at the site are marked by sloppiness of construction and careless choice of re-used elements—often using not only architectural details, but also whole fragments of stone olive presses (*mortaria*). These secondary structures (wall constructions and dismembered spaces) roughly followed the original orientations of the Late Hellenistic–Roman walls. Secondary adaptation is also exemplified by blocking prior entrances with former cornerstones or lintels, as well as reusing a cistern originally located in the central part of a small courtyard. In Late Antiquity the function of this place appears connected with domestic craft production based on the large amount of various objects and semi-finished products (e.g., bone hairpins, bronze needles, a terracotta mold, pigments, slags, recast bronze items), as well as numbers of tools (e.g., hand pestles, tongs/pincers made of iron, punches, chisels) that were found there. The intensive manufacture activity is also confirmed by small furnaces and a lime kiln.⁸

For a comprehensive understanding of a site like Akrai, a multidisciplinary approach needs to be employed that includes paleoenvironmental and geomorphological as well as traditional archaeological approaches.⁹ This allows us to try to understand the holistic changes that have taken place in the region, particularly after the fall of Syracuse in 212 BC, a period for which we have many lacunae in our understanding. It is also worth noting that Akrai, like other towns, was composed not only of walls and mosaics. An assemblage of artifacts, boundaries, forests, streams, soils, roads, and imported and exported goods also describe and indicate the role of the town; therefore, archaeological research cannot be limited only to the traditional focus of excavations.

One of the key steps toward understanding daily life of an ancient town’s inhabitants is analyzing their diet. The way in which food was processed not only indicates culinary preferences but first and foremost serves as a valuable source of information about the local environment, including fauna and flora, availability of goods, trade, and breeding. It is also crucial for the interpretation of culture, the development of the material aspects of life, and the social standing of consumers.

7. Bottari et al. 2009.

8. Chowanec et al. 2015.

9. It is interesting to note that landscape and environmental archaeology have not enjoyed great success in the Mediterranean compared to other parts of Europe; cf. Walsh 2016.



Fig. 1: Map of Sicily showing the location of the ancient town of Akrai/Acrae in relation to other ancient cities. (Photo courtesy of R. Chowanec).



Fig. 2: The location of the archaeological site on the southwestern side of modern town of Palazzolo Acreide. (Google Earth).



Fig. 3: The Hyblaean Plateau and the surroundings of the ancient town. (Photo courtesy of M. Murawski).



Fig. 4: Mount Etna from the site. (Photo courtesy of M. Murawski).



Fig. 5: Aerial photograph of the archaeological site with the main architectural remains and excavated area. (Photo courtesy of M. Bogacki; enhanced by R. Chowanec).



Fig. 6: The view on the eastern part of the town with visible ancient structures. (Photo courtesy of R. Chowanec and Ł. Siadkowski).

Fig. 7: Aerial photograph of the archaeological trench. (Photo courtesy of R. Chowaniec and E. Siadkowski).

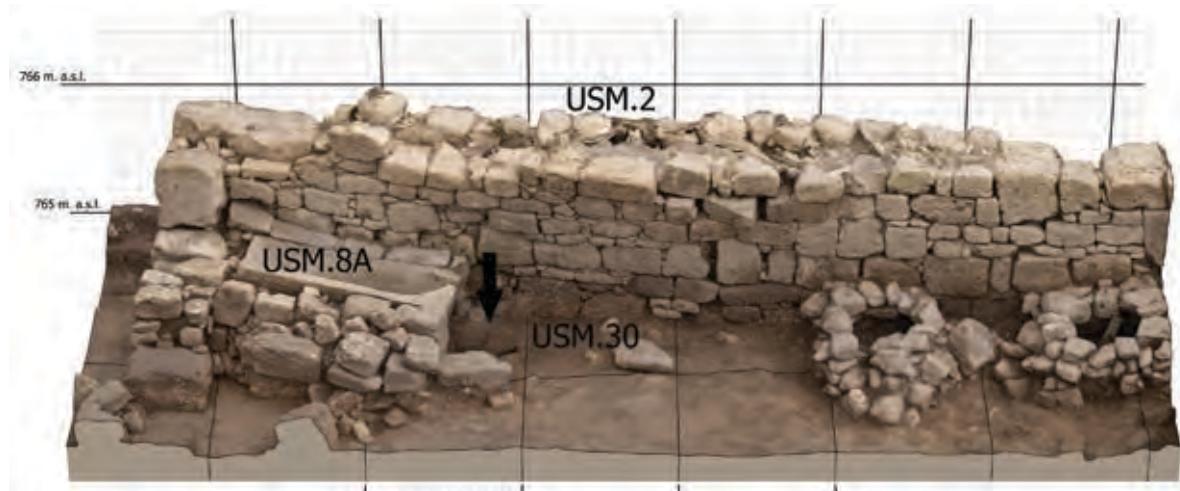


Fig. 8: The western face of wall no. 2 with a re-used stone slab and secondary construction no. 8A above the cistern. (Photo courtesy of M. Bogacki; 3D modelling by J. Kaniszewski).



Fig. 9: Aerial photograph of the mosaic opus signinum (Photo courtesy of M. Bogacki).



Fig. 10: Conservation work performed by conservators from the Department of Art Conservation and Restoration of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw. (Photo courtesy of R. Chowaniec).



Fig. 11: Fragments of an imitation-marble fresco painting. (Photo courtesy of M. Bogacki).



Fig. 12: Fragment of terracotta head soon after discovery. (Photo courtesy of R. Chowaniec).

Reconstruction of diet allows for drawing conclusions regarding health or dietary habits. Sicily may be a perfect area for such studies, because despite the local landscape having been modified to some extent since antiquity, it still has an impressive potential for studies on antique diet and landscape. Ancient authors such as Strabo, Livy, or Cicero describe the island as rich in fertile land, supplying Rome with great amounts of grain thanks to its fecundity, which was fostered by good air circulation and insolation. The mountainous area also provided good conditions for animal breeding and grazing.

The long-term studies of osteological material at Akrai indicate that ca. 90% of the animal bones belong to mammals (mostly domesticated mammals like cattle, sheep, goat, and pig). Among mammal bones only ca. 5% belong to a few wild species (red deer, fallow deer, rabbit, and wild boar). Other species are represented by ca. 2% bird bones (including domesticated chicken, goose, rock partridge, pigeon, song thrush, and quail), 0.50% fish bones (fig. 17), and isolated remains of

bivalves (oysters, turtles, and land snails, the latter served as a terrestrial equivalent of seafood). About 95% of the bones are post-consumption residues, because of the majority of bones having traces of portioning, thermal processing, skinning, cutting, and chopping visible on all parts of the animal skeletons.¹⁰ We have also observed changes in the intensity of the consumption of certain animal species between particular chronological periods. As a matter of fact, the statistics obtained from the compilation of animal bones from Akrai fits with the osteological material typically found at Roman sites elsewhere.¹¹ The prevalence of bones of mature animals in the osteological record indicates that the inhabitants of Akrai probably consumed different kinds of milk, including donkey or mule milk, as well as eggs. The milk was used also for the production of other

10. Chowaniec and Gręzak 2016: 287–98.

11. Michael MacKinnon (2004: 212) concluded that the diet of inhabitants of towns surrounded by a hinterland of villages consisted of 88% of domestic animals and 12% of wild species. In case of large towns, the share of domestic animals amounted to 98% against only 2% of wild game.



Fig. 13: Lead-seal with a helmeted head of a warrior to right. (Photo courtesy of M. Murawski).



Fig. 14: Almandine gem with a depiction of a bee in profile pollinating a flower cup. (Photo courtesy of M. Murawski).



Fig. 15: A krater of Italian Sigillata with figural relief decoration. (Photo courtesy of M. Bogacki).



Fig. 16: Lead-seal with facing Medusa head. (Photo courtesy of M. Murawski).



Fig. 17: Vertebrae of fish from the Tunidae family and shells of Helix genus. (Photo courtesy of A. Gręzak).



Fig. 19: Fragment of a stone press. (Photo courtesy of M. Murawski).



Fig. 18: Archaeobotanical remains. (Photo courtesy of R. Chowaniec).



Fig. 20: Lead-seal with image of a bee. (Photo courtesy of M. Murawski).

dairy products, such as, for instance, curd cheese. Our image of the diet at Akrai is enhanced as well by archaeobotanical material, particularly burned stones of olives (*Olea europaea* L.) and plums, hulls of walnut, and cereal seeds (fig. 18). Some of the archaeobotanical data are corroborated by other evidence. For example, the consumption of olives, as well as olive oil, is confirmed by the discovery of the bottom parts (mortarium) of lever presses with clearly visible small outlets carved into rock, or by fragments of stone presses (fig. 19), as well as the results of the lipid analysis done on these stones. Similarly, grain residues were detected in the course of the lipid analysis of cooking pots and its consumption by even wild animals is confirmed by isotopes studies of the bones of deer and fallow deer.

Although not strictly part of the diet, we have also discovered evidence of health-related and cosmetic products that were used in the Akrai, including, for

example, honey and beeswax (fig. 20). For the Romans, since already in the Republican period, the Hyblaean Mountains were a main source of excellent thyme honey. Pliny the Elder writes (11.13.32) that “the honey is always best in those countries where it is to be found deposited in the calix of the most exquisite flowers, such, for instance, as the districts of Hymettus and Hybla, in Attica and Sicily respectively”. More advanced stages of archaeobotanical, lipid, and palynological analyses are now underway for the site, but in the meantime, additional evidence for the reconstruction of food processing methods in Akrai is provided by other artifacts, mainly kitchen accessories like the remains of iron grates, fire hooks, spoons, and large knives for different types of meat, as well as clay and glass vessels (fig. 21).

These holistic studies also provide clear evidence that from the mid-seventh century BC increased activity in and around the Hyblaean Mountains, and thus the



Fig. 21: Examples of cooking pottery from Akrai. (Drawings and photo courtesy of U. Wicenciak).

vicinity of Akrai, brought urban and rural expansion, and thereby also changes in the environment surrounding the town. We can observe this in the creation of new fields, extra muros sanctuaries, quarries, and necropolises as well as in the steadily exploited natural sources of ground water and stones. From the sixth century BC onward, artisanal activity, including metallurgy, was intensified, which was followed by further exploitation of local raw resources including the wood that was indispensable for firing pottery, smelting, woodcarving, and so on.¹² The Romans used natural resources with much more panache than their Greek predecessors. Technical advancements in plows allowed for deeper soil penetration and cultivation of land previously unfit for growing crops. At the same time, environmental annihilation intensified as well. Better agriculture changed the quality of domesticated plants and resulted in the introduction of new species such as emmer wheat, followed by sesame, lucern, and oats (fig. 22).

Of course, one of the most important sources for the history of ancient Akrai is numismatic evidence (fig. 23). The excavated material falls into eight chronological periods, which are arbitrary and adopted for the purely practical reasons of documentation and study processing: 1) Greek coins (down to the third century BC, but excluding Syracusan issues from 214–212 BC and later, which were assigned to the next group); 2) Republican and Syracusan coins (from the time of Roman administration); 3) Early Imperial coins (first–third centuries AD); 4) Roman coins from the second half of the third century AD; 5) antoniniani and their imitations (barbarous radiates); 6) coins struck under the Tetrarchs; 7) those issued through the death of Constantine I in AD 337; and 8) fourth century AD coins, excluding the previous groups and Byzantine coins.¹³ The excavated

12. Chowaniec 2016.
13. Więcek et al. 2013.

Fig. 22: Hypothetical reconstruction of the countryside surrounding Akrai. (Photo courtesy of R. Chowanec; illustration by J. Zero).



numismatic material is abundant; to date 1,600 coins have been catalogued. They consist mainly of various bronze denominations, including large and heavy ones. Silver is rare—two litrae, some republican denarii with fractions, and antoniniani, number approximately 20 specimens in total. Gold is represented only by a single specimen of Hieron II. Among the coins we find pieces that were halved, perforated, overstruck on previous issues and others with additional traces of other secondary treatments. Greek coins belong mainly to the mint of Syracuse, whereas some other mints of Eastern Sicily, such as Leontinoi, Katane, Messina, and Menaion have also been noticed. There are no recorded coins from beyond Sicily so far, with the exception of Rhegion, a city located on the opposite side of the Straits of Messina. Worth noting, too, is the discovery of an issue from the mint of Akrai, probably only the 25th specimen known, and the first from an assured archaeological context. Roman coins are represented by various denominations from the Republican period in silver and bronze. From the Imperial period there are many bronze coins, including asses, dupondii and sestertii of almost every issuer, with only few exceptions down to the reign of Philip I. From the later periods we also found a large number of antoniniani, mainly debased ones, from the 260s and early 270s AD. Coins of the Tetrarchy are rare, but those issued ca. AD 330–360 are very common, consisting of AE 3/AE 4 denominations from various mints of the eastern and western parts of the Empire. Byzantine coins, struck between the reigns of Maurice Tiberius and Michael II, are composed of folles, half-folles and dekanummia, reaching a peak in the period of the reigns of Heraclius/Constans II, another one under Constantinus V. All these numismatic finds allow us to investigate with some precision coin circulation in Eastern Sicily during the Greek, Roman, and Byzantine periods, almost without any major gaps.

Further excavations and study should bring more light to bear on the functioning of the ancient town, the role

of the Akrai in Syracusan politics, the mutual relations of the two cities in the stormy period of the Punic wars, and later in the time of Roman domination and extending into the Byzantine period.

Acknowledgements

The excavation campaigns are subsidized by the Polish National Science Center (no. UMO-2016/21/B/HS3/00026) and the Ministry of Science and Higher Education (no. 4815/E-343/SPUB/2015/1).

Since 2017 the excavations at Akrai have been sponsored as well by the American Numismatic Society. We are grateful for both the support and the opportunity to present some of our research here.

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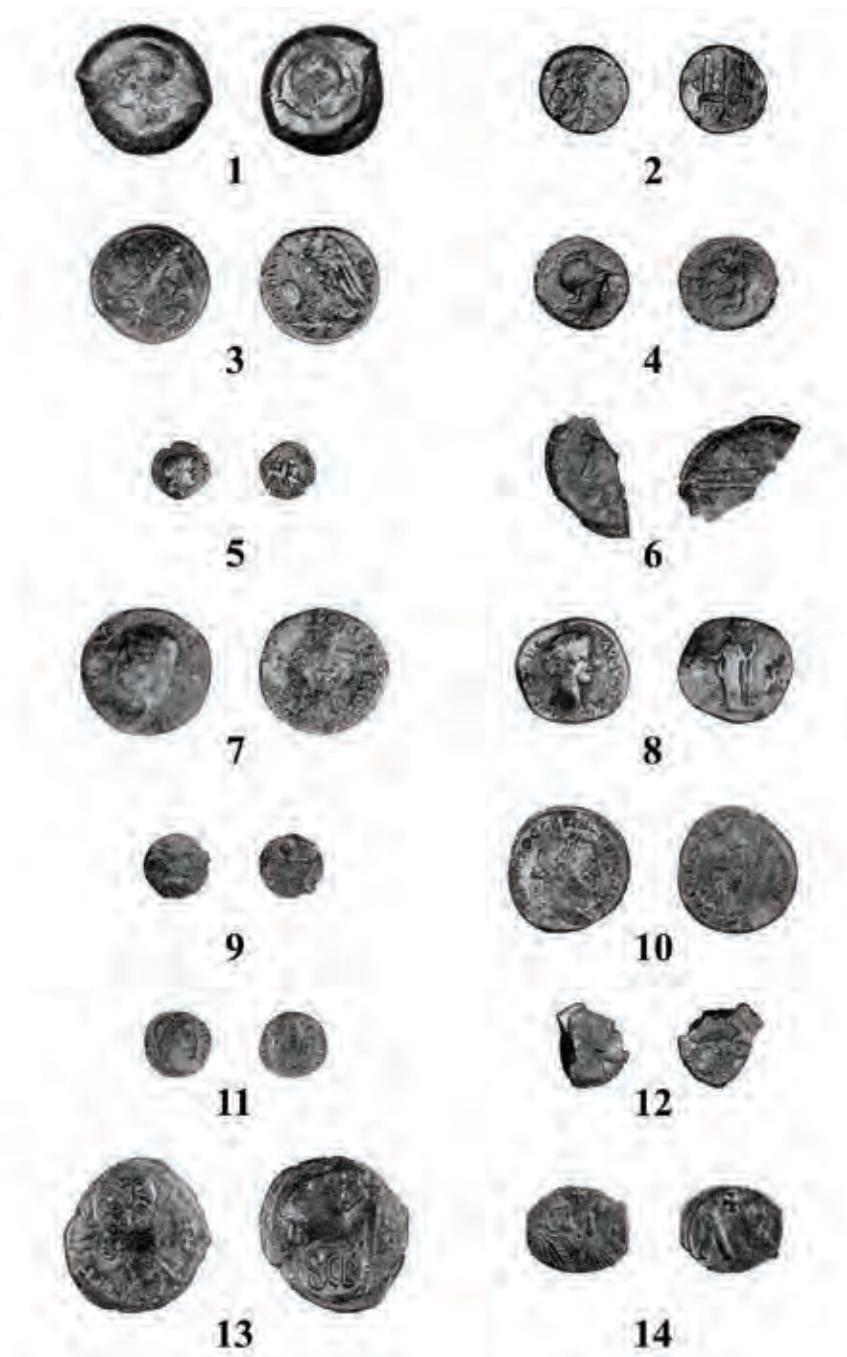


Fig. 23: Examples of Greek, Roman, and Byzantine coins found on the site.

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Facing page: Illustration from
Conjectures upon the British and Saxon Coins etc.

NOTES ON A NUMISMATIC MANUSCRIPT from the Trivulzio collection in the ANS Library

Hadrien J. Rambach

As I was conducting research on the Trivulzio collection of coins and engraved gems recently, I realized that a number of purchases by members of the Trivulzio family—including numismatic books—were clearly not the property of the celebrated collector Don Carlo Trivulzio (1715–1789) (fig. 1), but rather that of his heirs, notably his great-grand-nephew Giorgio Teodoro Trivulzio (1803–1856). One example is Georg Zoega’s study of the Egyptian coins in the Borgia collection: *Numi Aegyptii Imperatorii Prostantes in Museo Borgiano Velitris*, Rome 1787. Don Carlo would die a mere two years after the book was published, and it was apparent that he was not the first owner: the Trivulzio copy, which was sold in an auction by George A. Leavitt & Co. (New York, 6–11 February 1888, lot 1040), was bound for Pope Pius VI (1775–1799).

Another intriguing numismatic publication was purchased by the ANS from a Kolbe & Fanning auction, in New York on 12 January 2013 (lot 38—now ANS, rare book room, shelfmark C667) (figs. 2–3). It is a well calligraphed—and nicely illustrated—manuscript, a codex dated 1720 and titled *Conjectures upon the British & Saxon Coins &c.* The ANS purchase was reported in this magazine by Elizabeth Hahn (Spring 2013, pp. 40–41), but no additional research has been done since. The catalogue entry by Kolbe & Fanning described the volume as follows:

Small square quarto [178 by 145 mm.], contemporary dark blue crushed full morocco; sides bordered in double gilt fillets, intricately paneled and decorated in a gilt floral motif, with a crown surmounting gilt floral sprigs in the centers; spine with five raised bands, with

resulting panels richly decorated in gilt; board edges decorated in gilt; gilt inner dentelles; all page edges gilt; marbled endpapers. 7 blank leaves; hand-colored coat of arms drawn on recto of following leaf; leaf with ink panel on recto; manuscript title within ink panel, ruled; 1–11, 11–29, (1), 30, 30–64, 64–65, 65–72, (2), (73)–89, (1) pages [page numbering begins on title verso]; leaf paneled and ruled in ink on verso; 2 blank leaves; 3 manuscript leaves; 4 blank leaves. Accomplished throughout in black ink. 136 pages in all, comprising: 1 page depicting a coat of arms within a double panel, hand-colored; 42 manuscript pages, comprising a main title, a supplementary title, an addenda page, an index page, and 38 pages of descriptive text; 6 pages comprised solely of double panels, 3 of them additionally ruled; 56 blank pages; 31 hand-drawn pages in ink depicting coins and a few medals, including 7 plates of coins all or partially heightened in colors (some of the illustrations on 2 further plates are heightened by a brown wash).

The volume includes the pasted engraved heraldic bookplate of Robert Stearne Tighe (1760–1835), and it was listed as lot no. 1272 in the anonymous catalogue of his library-auction by William Richardson in London on 22 January 1800 (and over the following six days). It then reappeared in the collection of William Simonds Higgs (d. 1829), a collector renowned for having owned one of the 12 original Petition Crowns, as well as an aureus of Allectus. At his estate-auction by Sotheby & Son, in London on 26–28 April 1830, it was catalogued as lot 714. It sold for 3l. 19s. to the bookdealer John Cochran, who then offered it in his fixed-price catalogue of 1837, listed as lot 660 for only 2l. 12s. 6d. (fig. 4). One must assume that he had lost the hope of a profit by then.

Fig. 1: Don Carlo Trivulzio.
Portrait by Donigi Sadis,
1789 (Private Collection)
98 × 72 cm



The fate of the manuscript after 1837 is not clear. It reappeared as lot 176 in the so-called “second Trivulzio book-auction,” which refers to two auctions held by George A. Leavitt & Co. in New York, on 27 November 1886 and on 6–11 February 1888. The catalogue-description of that sale is still glued in the volume. The contents of these two sales were consigned by the Italian book-dealer Ulrico Hoepli, who had acquired these books and manuscripts in 1885 from the daughter of the famous pro-revolutionary Cristina di Belgioioso d’Este, née Trivulzio (1808–1871), who at the same time also sold a number of antiques to the dealer Giuseppe Baslini. Who had owned the volume between 1837 and 1885? Hoepli bought it from Maria Trotti Bentivoglio (1838–1913), née di Belgioioso (fig. 5), but she had little money and is not believed to have added to any of the family collections. Maria’s grand-father had died in 1812, long before the manuscript was sold in England. Therefore, it would seem that it was previously owned by her mother, Cristina di Belgioioso, but it is surprising as she faced financial difficulties in the 1830s. This remains nevertheless the most plausible provenance, unless this numismatic manuscript entered the Trivulzio family collection through the wedding of Cristina to Emilio di Belgioioso, or by that of Maria to Ludovico Trotti Bentivoglio.

Back to the manuscript itself: the codex is anonymous, being simply signed “by T. C. A.M. &c.”, and it was sold without an author’s name in both 1830 and 1837. In 1888, the cataloguer suggested the name of the British Museum keeper Taylor Combe (1774–1826) (fig. 6), not realizing that he was born more than 50 years after the redaction of the manuscript. Similarly, George Crabb’s *Universal Historical Dictionary* (London 1833, vol. II) indicates the existence

of a “MS. Account of Saxon and English coins by him, with drawings by Mr. Hodsol, of which the Rev. Mr. Ruding availed himself in his late *History of the Coinage of Great Britain*”, written by George North (1707–1772) and Edward Hodsoll (d. 1794), but the date “Anno D. MDCCXX” on the title page of the ANS volume prevents its from being the same. Moreover, the signature does not fit.

The seller in 2013 was Jim Foster—of Liberty Coin LLC in Signal Hill, CA, who kindly wrote that, “I acquired the manuscript in an old coin collection about 20 years ago. The owner told me he purchased it many years earlier at an old book store. He did not say if it was in Europe or America.” At the time of its purchase by Foster, c. 1995, the volume had been studied by John F. Bergman (1944–2000), and later by Harry Manville (1929–2015) and Hugh Pagan, who understood that a critical piece element of information can be found in the volume’s frontispiece (fig. 7): a full-page armorial in red and gold with the Latin motto *Quis Clarior Fulget?* (i.e., “Who shines more distinguished?”) and *Virtutis Intaminatæ hæc sunt munera* (i.e., “These are the gifts of unblemished virtue”). Manville and Pagan identified these arms as those of the Compton family. Unfortunately, their correspondence with Foster was lost after the Kolbe & Fanning auction. Following this remarkable discovery, in his *Biographical Dictionary of British and Irish Numismatics* (London 2009, p. 61), Manville ascribed the volume to a certain Thomas Compton, as did Kolbe & Fanning.

Thomas Compton (1698–1761) was a clergyman, Rector of Great Holland in Essex. He left a 300+ page manuscript diary, which was offered and partially quoted by its owner, John Taylor, in the *Essex Review*,



Fig. 2: Pages from *Conjectures upon the British and Saxon Coins etc.*

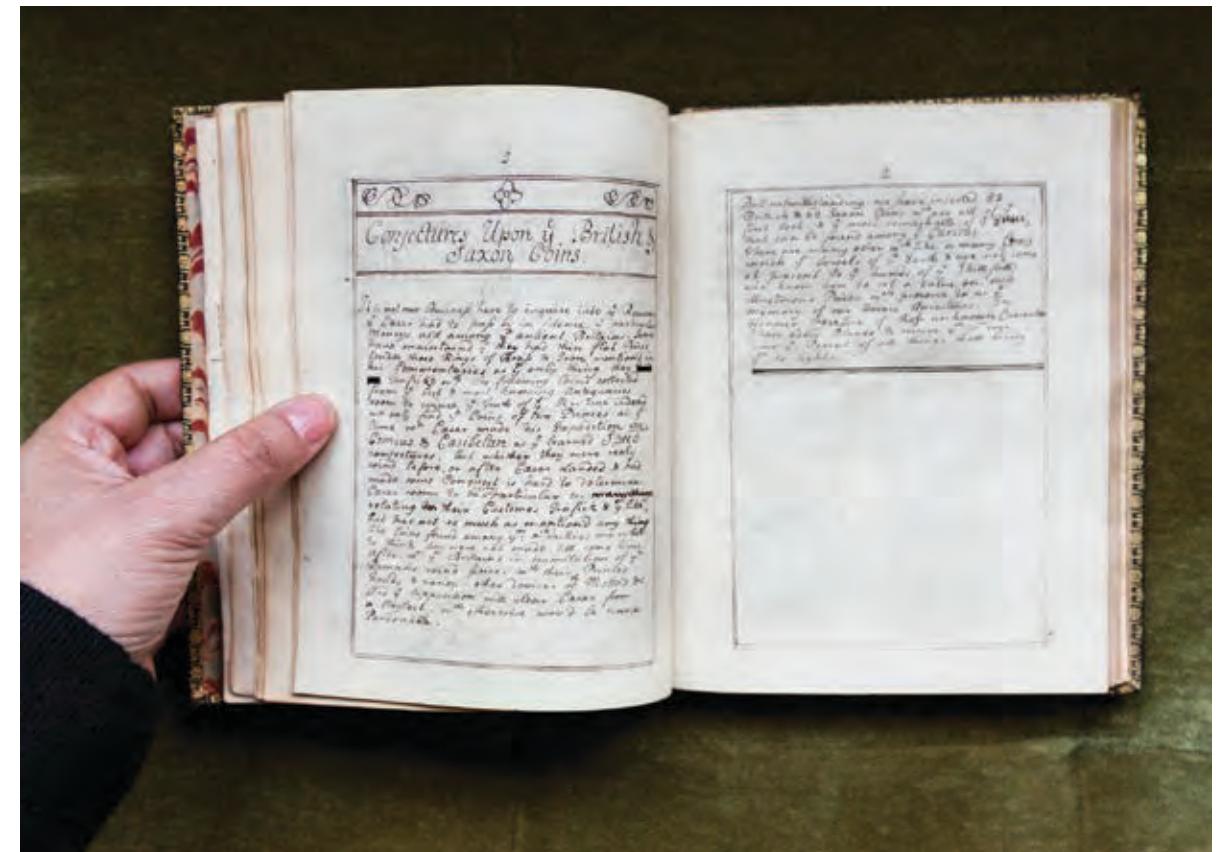


Fig. 3: Pages from *Conjectures upon the British and Saxon Coins etc.*



Fig. 5: Maria Trotti Bentivoglio.



Fig. 6: Portrait medal of Taylor Combe by William Joseph Taylor after Benedetto Pistrucci (Baldwin's 70, 28 Sept. 2011, lot 519) 45 mm.

Fig. 4: Cover of an 1829 fixed price list of John Cochran, the first-ever illustrated antiquarian book catalogue.

vol. IX-33 (January 1900), pp. 33–37. This manuscript is now lost, so a comparison of the handwriting has not been possible. Taylor's text does not give us any suggestion of what "A.M. &c" could mean: certainly not an aristocratic-title, nor a scholarly-membership. In fact in his diary, Thomas Compton refers to two manuscripts he wrote: *Poems and Translations* in 1718, and *Articulatorum Ecclesiae Anglicanae* in 1723, so it seems unlikely at first that he did write this beautiful codex in 1720. But his autobiography did contain references to a « Charles Smith, Esq., in the Tower of London, a collector of English coins »,

who remains unidentified, and to a "Mr. Richmond, alderman of Harwich, some coins by him, no collector," so Compton's numismatic interest is attested. Moreover, the autobiography also included a "Catalogue of gold, silver, and copper coins, collected from 1719 to 1735, with their cost and worth; all Roman, four columns (sic)." And he did own a small coin-collection, Greek-Roman and English coins, which were auctioned by Whiston Bristow in London on 10–11 February 1763. It is therefore plausible that Thomas Compton is indeed the author of the 1720 codex now owned by the ANS.



Fig. 7: Frontispiece of *Conjectures upon the British and Saxon Coins etc.* with Compton family armorial.

I am grateful to Edward Bigden, David Fanning, Jim Foster, Jean-Baptiste Giard, David Hill, Monique Kornell, Mary Lannin, Douglas Saville, and Alessandra Squizzato for their assistance and advice in this research. Some of my research on the Trivulzio collection of coins and engraved gems was published in the proceedings of the XV international Numismatic Congress, held in Taormina in September 2015, and in the Polish journal *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization*, vol. 21 (2017).

DAVID BULLOWA: A Short Life, but an Early and Lasting Association with the ANS

David Hill

A couple of years ago, I was chatting with a friend at a meeting of the New York Numismatic Club, when suddenly my companion leaned in and motioned toward the entrance where a stooped figure was being wheeled in. “Catherine Bullowa Moore,” he whispered, his hushed tone imparting an air of respectful awe, which seemed appropriate. This was a legendary name, not only because of her own achievements, but also given the connection to her first husband. One of the first collections I worked on as ANS archivist was a box of David Bullowa’s papers (fig. 1), and to me he’ll always be the genial high-school senior pictured in the 1930 yearbook found there (fig. 2), a bygone personality from the days of Edward Newell and Archer Huntington. After all, Bullowa died nearly 70 years ago. Yet here was a living link to that time. I had one other encounter with Catherine, a brief telephone conversation, and what struck me most that time was her warm and steady voice, one that betrayed none of the debilitating effects that time had inflicted on her body. When she died at 97, a few weeks after we spoke, it had me thinking again about her husband. So I returned to his papers, and did some other digging around, to see what I could find out about him.

David Bullowa’s association with the ANS began about the time that yearbook photograph was taken. He made his first donation, a Japanese 10-sen coin (fig. 3), in 1929 when he was 17 years old and became a member the following year. Clearly stricken with collector’s fever, he had reached the “joining” stage. He began attending coin club meetings in Westchester County and the Bronx. He joined the American Numismatic Association.¹ He would have joined the New York Numismatic Club but wasn’t old enough, so he was allowed to attend meetings until he turned 21 and could make it official.²

Bullowa began attending the University of Wisconsin in 1930, so he missed the Society’s big event that fall: the grand opening of its expanded Audubon Terrace headquarters.³ His mother was there, though, and she spent a few moments chatting with curator Howland Wood.⁴ While Bullowa was mostly off in the hinterlands studying, he continued to maintain connections with the coin community back east. Abe Kosoff, then a New York University student and a budding dealer in coins and antique jewelry working out of a shop

on the Bowery, remembered making some of his first coin sales to the young Bullowa home on breaks from school.⁵ Bullowa had barely settled in Wisconsin when he began writing to Wood, asking him for a list of medals needed by the ANS so that he might obtain them for the Society.⁶ Bullowa would remain in close contact with the ANS for the rest of his life, making steady donations to its cabinet and library.

“I really don’t know just how it started,” Bullowa would later say of his interest in numismatics, “but as far back as I can remember, I have been collecting coins, and allied items.” He figured he got really interested when he was about 10 years old, traveling in Europe.⁷ He was born in 1912 into a family with recent immigrant roots—Czech on his father’s side and German on his mother’s⁸—and began life comfortably ensconced on Manhattan’s Upper East Side (fig. 4).

His paternal grandfather, Moritz, had left Prague at 18, setting up a dry goods store in lower Manhattan and then going into wholesale groceries before eventually purchasing a flour company.⁹ We may associate the stuff with cupcakes and happy bakers, but flour can be dangerous. When scattered as dust in the air it can ignite and explode. This is precisely what happened in the summer of 1886 at 809 Washington Street, a tenement housing sixteen families—and Moritz’s milling operation in the basement (fig. 5). There was \$10,000 in damages,¹⁰ but aside from a wheezing bookkeeper who nearly suffocated as he tarried to secure the cash drawer, it appears that nobody was seriously hurt.¹¹

The next year’s calamity, however, ended tragically. That summer, Moritz and his family were boarding in a farmhouse near Newburgh in upstate New York, part of a long Bullowa tradition of escaping the sweltering city for the fresher breezes to the north. (His fourth son, Ferdinand, had been born at Newport, Rhode Island, when the family summered there in 1872.)¹² Four of his sons, including David Bullowa’s father, Arthur, were cooling off in the waters of what the locals called Murderer’s Creek,¹³ when suddenly Moritz realized that two of the boys had been carried out and were struggling in deep water. He dove in after them, but his legs cramped and he went under. The boys made it to safety; Moritz’s

body was discovered an hour later. He left behind a wife, Mary, and 11 children.¹⁴

This big brood—David’s uncles and aunts and his father—went on to do pretty well for themselves, some enrolling, as so many other successful second- and third-generation New York Jews did,¹⁵ at “Harvard on the Hudson”: New York’s City College.¹⁶ One of these was Moritz’s son Jesse, who became a physician specializing in pulmonary medicine.¹⁷ Brothers Ferdinand and Alfred formed the law firm Bullowa & Bullowa. When Alfred died in 1910, his sister Emilie and another brother, Ralph, became principles in the firm.¹⁸ Another sister, Alma, was a pioneer in the area of speech education.¹⁹ A Boy Scout camp in Rockland County, New York, is named in her honor, having been funded through the efforts of her sister Grace and the physician Addisone Boyce (fig. 6).²⁰

This generation of Bullowas may have found success, but, sadly, they weren’t a particularly hardy bunch, a

1. Jack Ogilvie, “David Marks Bullowa, LM No. 55,” *Obituaries, Numismatist* 66, no. 11 (November 1953), 1191.
2. John Kleeborg and David Alexander, *An Island of Civility: The Centennial History of the New York Numismatic Club, 1908/09–2008/09* (New York Numismatic Club, 2009), 307.
3. Held on November 13, 1930. See Edward Newell, “President’s Address,” *Proceedings of the American Numismatic Society for the Seventy-Third Annual Meeting* (1931), 122.
4. Howland Wood to David Bullowa, November 17, 1930, Wood curator correspondence.
5. Abe Kosoff, *Abe Kosoff Remembers . . . : 50 Years of Numismatic Reflections* (New York: Sanford J. Durst, 1981), 10, 276.
6. David Bullowa to Howland Wood, September 23, 1930, general correspondence.
7. Columbus Army Flying School radio interview transcript, July 1, 1942, David Bullowa Papers.
8. His mother’s parents, Leontine and David Marks, were born in Prussia. United States Census, 1880, ancestry.com.
9. *Menorah* 3, no. 2 (August 1887), 134; Death Certificate, Arthur M. Bullowa, 1924, ancestry.com.
10. *Northwestern Miller* 22 (August 27, 1886), 210.
11. “Flames in the Flour,” *New York Times*, August 20, 1886.
12. Emilie Bullowa, “Memorial of Ferdinand E. M. Bullowa,” *New York County Lawyers’ Association Year Book*, 1919, 247.
13. Officially known as Moodna Creek.
14. “A New Yorker Drowned,” *New York Times*, July 19, 1887; *Menora*, 1887, 133–34. His wife’s name was also spelled Marie.
15. Stephen Steinberg, “How Jewish Quotas Began,” *Commentary* 52 (September 1971), 67–76.
16. City College of New York, “Our History,” www.ccnycunyu.edu/about/history
17. Duncan Neuhauser and M. Diaz, “Jesse GM Bullowa (1879–1943),” *JLL Bulletin: Commentaries on the History of Treatment Evaluation* (2006).
18. Emilie Bullowa, 248.
19. “Dr. Alma Bullowa, 62, Dies Suddenly,” *New Castle Tribune* (Chappaqua, N.Y.), April 12, 1946.
20. *Dedication of Camp Bullowa* (Stony Point, N.Y.: Rockland County Council, Boy Scouts of America, 1949), 17–19.



Fig. 1: The David Bullowa Papers in the ANS Archives contain letters, certificates, and Army service documents, as well as personal effects such as military insignias, dog tags, and awards. The materials were donated by his wife, Catherine.



Fig. 3: Japan. CN 10 sen, 1927. (ANS 1929.132.1, gift of David Bullowa), 22 mm.



Fig. 2: David Bullowa’s senior photograph (1930) from the yearbook of the Lincoln School, a progressive laboratory school for Columbia University’s Teachers College.



Fig. 4: David Bullowa, age 3, 1915. (David Bullowa Papers.)

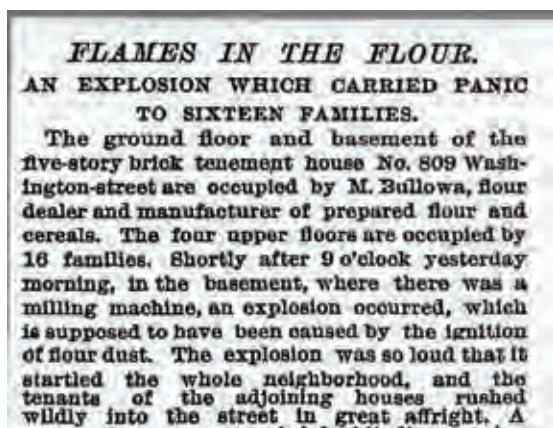


Fig. 5: One of David's grandfathers was in the flour business, a surprisingly dangerous occupation. (New York Times, August 20, 1886.)

failure to outlive their 40s and 50s being a common thread. When Ferdinand died of a heart attack at 46, an obituary spotlighted the frailty of him and his siblings: "Never of a robust physique, his continuous sacrifices through the years of serious and protracted illness of brothers and sisters undermined his own health."²¹ His brother Alfred also died around age 46. Another brother, Arthur, David Bullowa's father, died of a cerebral hemorrhage at 56.²² Unfortunately, David was destined to follow in this grim family tradition.

David's father went into real estate, though he and his wife, Sylvia, were still living at her mother's house on East 94th Street when their first child, Arthur Jr., was a baby.²³ Sylvia Marks had also been born into comfortable circumstances, her family accustomed to cooks and servants doing the work of the house.²⁴ Her father made his money in the clothing trade, having established the firm David Marks & Sons in 1877.²⁵ One of these sons, David Bullowa's uncle Marcus Marks, was a Manhattan borough president (1914–1917) and the leading advocate in the United States for Daylight Savings Time.²⁶ Arthur Jr., like his brother David, would grow up to be a collector. A lawyer who mostly represented artists and art world figures, he would amass one of the largest private collections of pre-Columbian art, eventually donating over 80 pieces to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.²⁷

In 1918, David began attending first grade at the Lincoln School on Park Avenue, a laboratory for Columbia University's Teachers College that had opened the previous year and cost \$300 annually when he was in grade school (comparable to about \$4,500 today). The school, with its ever-changing curriculum, described itself as "frankly experimental in spirit, purpose, and method."²⁸ It's hard to say if this made any difference at all to the students, their yearbook featuring the usual mix of sports teams, theater groups, and valiant stabs at poetry and humor. Bullowa's resume was also blandly ordinary: glee club, orchestra, yearbook committee. He graduated in 1930.²⁹

Bullowa completed his bachelor's degree in 1934 and later took classes in business administration at Columbia University.³⁰ By 1936 he was a professional coin dealer, having joined the New Netherlands Coin Company (founded that year),³¹ where he handled the buying, classifying, and appraising of rare coins, books, currency, and medals while overseeing the work of two other employees.³²

He published numerous articles in the *Numismatist* and *Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine*, and in 1938 the ANS published his only book, an update to Howland Wood's

Commemorative Coinage of the United States (1922). (Wood died the year Bullowa's book was published and it is dedicated to him.) There are numerous fascinating letters in Bullowa's papers regarding his research on commemoratives, some from the designers of the coins, such as Fred Harris (Wisconsin Centennial, 1936) (fig. 7) and William Marks Simpson (Norfolk, Virginia, Bicentennial, 1936) (fig. 8), and others from the local boosters who sponsored the coins—including the irrepressibly boastful Kentuckian C. Frank Dunn, who felt his "[Daniel] Boone coin [1934–1938] [was] the only one that, in all respects, succeeded in achieving a worthwhile purpose" (fig. 9),³³ and Thomas Melish, backer of the Cincinnati Music Center commemorative (1936), a coin criticized by the United States Mint because the coins wouldn't stack properly (fig. 10). ("Who cares!" was Melish's response, "No one will have enough to stack anyway!")³⁴

The most interesting letters are from the Mint. At one point, Bullowa was trying to nail down the particulars of the United States' first commemorative, done for the World's Columbian Exposition (1892–1893) (fig. 11). Today it is credited to Mint engravers Charles Barber (obverse) and George Morgan (reverse),³⁵ but Wood, in his book, had attributed the overall design solely to Barber, noting the presence of the letter B in Columbus's collar on the obverse. Bullowa, aware of what appeared to be the letter M among the sails of the ship on the reverse (fig. 12), wrote to the Mint to ask about it. Remarkably, he was told by acting director Mary Margaret O'Reilly that "the device . . . is not the initial of the designer" and that "both sides of this coin were

21. *City College Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (June 1919).
22. Death Certificate, Arthur M. Bullowa, 1924, ancestry.com.
23. United States Census, 1910, ancestry.com.
24. United States Census, 1880 and 1910.
25. J. Pfeffer, *Distinguished Jews of America*, volume 1 (New York: Distinguished Jews of America Pub. Co., 1917), 311.
26. "Marcus M. Marks," *New York Times*, April 28, 1934.
27. Wolfgang Saxon, "Arthur Bullowa, 83, Longtime Collector and Patron of the Arts," *New York Times*, June 11, 1993.
28. *The Lincoln School of Teachers College: A Descriptive Booklet* (1922), 7–8, 80.
29. *The Lincolnian* (yearbook), 1930, 103.
30. Army Separation Qualification Record, David Bullowa Papers.
31. John Adams, *United States Numismatic Literature*, volume 2 (Crestline: California: Kolbe, 1990), 193.
32. Army Separation Qualification Record, David Bullowa Papers.
33. C. Frank Dunn to David Bullowa, April 21, 1938, David Bullowa Papers.
34. Thomas Melish to David Bullowa, August 25, 1936, David Bullowa Papers.
35. Kenneth Bressett, *A Guide Book of United States Coins*, 71st ed., 2018 (Pelham, Alabama: Whitman, 2017), 292. See also *Walter Breen's Complete Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial Coins* (New York: Doubleday, 1988), 582. Barber's obverse was from a model by Olin Levi Warner.

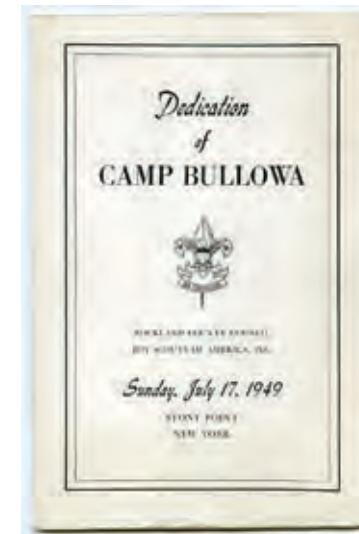


Fig. 6: A Boy Scout camp in Rockland County, New York, is named in honor of David's aunt Alma. (David Bullowa Papers.)



Fig. 7: United States. AR 50 cent, 1936, Wisconsin Territorial Centennial (commemorative), by David Parsons and Benjamin Hawkins. (ANS 1936.101.4), 30 mm. Civic boosters Fred Harris and Charles Brown sketched out this coin's design before submitting it to the artists for modeling. Brown said they "had to fight a bit to get the badger on it." (Letter, November 7, 1937, David Bullowa Papers.)



Fig. 8: United States. AR 50 cent, 1936, Norfolk, Virginia, Bicentennial (commemorative), by William Marks Simpson and Marjorie Emory Simpson. (ANS 1937.121.1), 30 mm. William Marks Simpson discussed in detail the design of this coin in a letter to Bullowa.



Fig. 9: United States. AR 50 cent, 1937, Daniel Boone Bicentennial (commemorative), models prepared by Augustus Lukeman. (ANS 1937.88.1), 30 mm. There are numerous letters in the David Bullowa Papers from C. Frank Dunn of the Daniel Boone Bicentennial Commission regarding the production and issuing of this coin.



Fig. 10: United States. AR 50 cent, 1936, Cincinnati Music Center (commemorative), by Constance Ortmyer. (ANS 1936.101.5), 30 mm. The United States Mint complained because these coins were struck so high they wouldn't stack properly.

designed by Mr. Charles E. Barber.³⁶ Bullowa then turned to the Mint's chief engraver, John Sinnock, for his opinion, suggesting to him that perhaps the "letter M" was just a flourish in the design. Sinnock shot that theory down: "It has been my impression all along that Mr. Morgan executed the reverse of the Columbian half dollar, and I have no doubt that the letter M to which you refer is Mr. Morgan's initial."³⁷ Sinnock was sufficiently uncomfortable about bucking the "official" position, however, to request that he not be quoted in print on the matter. Bullowa had no such qualms. In his book he credits the reverse to Morgan and notes the presence of the M.

There were similar questions regarding the design of the half dollars and quarter eagles (\$2.50) for the Panama-Pacific Exposition (1915) (figs. 13–14). Again, today these are credited to Barber (obverse) and Morgan (reverse).³⁸ But in her letter to Bullowa, O'Reilly quotes at length from a source at the Mint who—though this person could find no records regarding the design of the coins—did have a firm opinion on the matter. The writer rejected the idea "as Mr. Bullowa suggests that one took one side and one took the other," and asserted that "Mr. Morgan's technique in the handling of the details is very obvious on both sides of both coins." Since the effort was obviously collaborative, the anonymous writer concluded, the overall design should be credited to both men.³⁹ Bullowa followed this advice and didn't specifically attribute the obverses and reverses in his book.⁴⁰ (This all ran contrary to what Sinnock, who had worked with Morgan, believed. When discussing the Columbus coin, he said, "I know it was the general custom on both medals and coins for Mr. Barber to execute the obverse and Mr. Morgan the reverse.")⁴¹

Bullowa continued his work with New Netherlands until his induction into the army in 1942.⁴² He began his service at the Columbus Army Flying School in Mississippi, and after only a couple of months there, Private David Bullowa was on army radio being interviewed about his favorite topic. He gave a general overview of



Fig. 11: United States. AR 50 cent, 1893, World's Columbian Exposition Half Dollar (commemorative), by Charles Barber, from a model by Olin Lewis Warner (obv.), and George Morgan (rev.). (ANS 0000.999.35561), 30 mm.

numismatics and talked about his personal experiences, adding a bit of color by telling about the time a well-known collector was talking to a bunch of school kids about John Hull, the minter of pine tree shillings, who had supposedly given his daughter's weight in the coins as a dowry, information that prompted one lad to declare, "Gee, Mister, I bet she must have fed up good, before she was weighed." Asked if he thought he would be able to pursue his numismatic interests during the war, he was emphatic. No, he said, "it is my desire to give my entire attention to the Army."⁴³

This turned out not to be the case at all, but his first coin project had nothing to do with collecting. After completing his training, Bullowa was stationed in Africa, near the city of Oran, Algeria. "Numismatically the country is dead," he proclaimed. The hoarding of coins for any reason was illegal, and nearly all transactions were done with paper money. This caused problems for his fellow servicemen who lacked small change for newspapers, candy, and the like. Bullowa was naturally pressed into service to secure a ready supply of coins. He began by breaking 20-franc notes with local vendors, but the Americans hoarded the change as souvenirs and the supply dwindled quickly. At a bank, he was able to obtain 2,000 shiny new half francs, but these too were gone in a few weeks. What he really needed were silver 20-franc pieces. So he asked around the city, eventually finding a boy to lead him through the bustling markets, past the exotic mosques (he said the servicemen usually had little to do with the "native Arabs"), to a little private bank, where he broke all his cash into coins. He told them he would be back the next day for more, but when he returned, the supply had vanished. The boy, having witnessed the favorable (and illegal) exchange rates the day before, had returned with his father and scooped up the remaining coins. Bullowa was never able to buy from there again.⁴⁴

In the fall of 1943, Bullowa shipped out of Algeria and arrived in Naples, which he described as "dirty, terribly shaken, and a completely disrupted metropolis"—"chaos

with bombs." Nevertheless, he managed to make friends with a local bookseller, choosing what he wanted from a card file and then watching as the proprietor, candle aloft, tottered off with an assistant to locate his selection, the two chattering and barking at each other as they rummaged around. Bullowa got his hands on a 20-year-old numismatic directory, and out of 17 dealers listed there he was able to find four. He also got a name off an old coin catalog and plied a youngster with crackers and candy to lead him to the address. Once there, and struggling with the language to make his intentions clear, he found himself surrounded by a gaggle of terrified men, women, and children. They thought this Allied soldier was there to requisition their house. And he had interrupted a funeral for the brother of the numismatist he had come to see. He excused himself but returned a couple of weeks later, at which time was able to obtain some books.⁴⁵

Some of these he probably sent to the ANS. During the war Bullowa continued to write to the Society and donate materials. At one point the packages of books, medals, and coins were being received at such a rapid rate it was causing confusion—and awe.⁴⁶ "It demonstrates once more," wrote ANS Secretary Sydney Noe, "that you cannot keep an active numismatist quiet."⁴⁷ In conjunction with its annual meeting in 1945, the Society exhibited the coins he had sent in. Once again, Bullowa's mother made the trip uptown, this time to have a look at her son's finds.⁴⁸

Bullowa, who served with the 38th Air Depot Group as chief clerk in a unit orderly room, was awarded battle stars for the Rome-Arno and the Naples-Foggia



Fig. 12: The letter M, for Morgan, appears within the sails on the reverse of the Columbian coin. Howland Wood did not mention it in his 1922 book on commemoratives, so when Bullowa was updating the book, he wrote to the U.S. Mint to ask about it. Remarkably, he was told by the Mint's acting director that it was not Morgan's initial and that both sides were done by Barber.



Fig. 13: United States. AR 50 cent, 1915, Panama-Pacific International Exposition (commemorative), by Charles Barber (obv.) and George Morgan (rev.). (ANS 1919.28.1, gift of J. Sanford Saltus), 30 mm. Officials at the mint also rejected the notion that Barber and Morgan each took a side on the Panama-Pacific half dollar and quarter eagle (\$2.50) coins. Chief engraver John Sinnock disagreed.



Fig. 14: United States. AV 2-1/2 dollar, 1915, Panama-Pacific International Exposition (commemorative), by Charles Barber (obv.) and George Morgan (rev.). (ANS 1937.61.6, gift of A. E. Goodhart), 18 mm.

36. Mary Margaret O'Reilly to David Bullowa, March 4, 1936.
37. John Sinnock to David Bullowa, March 18, 1936, David Bullowa Papers.
38. Kenneth Bressett, *A Guide Book of United States Coins*, 71st ed., 2018 (Pelham, Alabama: Whitman, 2017), 294–95.
39. Mary Margaret O'Reilly to David Bullowa, June 16, 1936, David Bullowa Papers.
40. David Bullowa, *The Commemorative Coinage of the United States* (New York: ANS, 1938), 31–32.
41. John Sinnock to David Bullowa, March 18, 1936, David Bullowa Papers.
42. Ogilvie, "David Marks Bullowa."
43. Columbus Army Flying School radio interview transcript, July 1, 1942, David Bullowa Papers.
44. David Bullowa, "Numismatic Experiences Overseas," Philadelphia Coin Club talk transcript, April 9, 1946, David Bullowa Papers.
45. Ibid.
46. Sydney Noe to David Bullowa, February 25, 1944, ANS correspondence.
47. Sydney Noe to David Bullowa, January 5, 1944, ANS correspondence.
48. Sydney Noe to David Bullowa, February 17, 1945, ANS correspondence.



Fig. 15: David Bullowa's store in Philadelphia, which he opened after the war. His wife Catherine remembered it as "a little Dickens shop." Some of the books are recognizable as those on the ANS Library's shelves today. (David Bullowa Papers.)



Fig. 16: David and Catherine were married in 1953. He died the following year.

campaigns in Italy. He served for about three and a half years, attaining the rank of sergeant.⁴⁹ By the fall of 1944, he could see that the war would soon be over and was convinced that it would be a great opportunity to grow the hobby. There would be hundreds of thousands of servicemen with experience handling foreign money, and many of them would be bringing the currency home as souvenirs. "It is up to the now organized numismatic societies to prepare themselves for this influx," he said. "The world is literally full of potential collectors, and it is the mission of the numismatist societies to convert them into numismatists."⁵⁰ He was right. After the war, popular interest in coin collecting in the United States took off at a rate not seen in a hundred years.

Bullowa was discharged from the army in November 1945 and returned home determined to set up his own business.⁵¹ He bought out coin dealer Ira Reed, got his hands on some of what remained of Henry Chapman's stock, and set up shop in Philadelphia. Catherine (Elias at the time) would remember it as "a little Dickens shop" (fig. 15). It was her mother who set them up, over tea at the home of coin dealer Hans Schulman. David was smitten and began making regular trips from Philadelphia to New York to see her, but she was by no means sold. He, however, said he would one day marry her. "Poor guy," she thought. But he was right. The two were married in May 1952, when he was 40 and she was 32 (fig. 16). Catherine, who had a degree in zoology, had been teaching and conducting research at several medical colleges but left that world to take up numismatics full time, with David as her mentor.⁵² Their partnership was brief. On September 12, 1953, not much more than a year after they were married, David died of pulmonary edema, respiratory failure brought on by Hodgkin's lymphoma.⁵³

The last letters from David Bullowa to the ANS came in the summer of 1953 as he was looking to see if the Society was interested in purchasing some electrotypes of ancient coins that had been consigned to him. This particular piece of business was left unresolved with his death, so it was up to Catherine to conclude that matter.⁵⁴ She was responsible for all of the work of the firm from that point on, and she issued auction catalogs under the name David Bullowa until 1958.⁵⁵ In 1959 she married autograph and manuscript dealer Earl Moore and soon after renamed her business Coinhunter.⁵⁶

It was rare at the time to find a woman so deeply involved in the nuts and bolts of the coin business, but she wasn't the only one that David brought into the fold. Another name appearing on letters from the firm in the years following his death was Ruth Bauer. She began working in his shop when she was 17. At first it was just clerical, but soon she moved deeper into professional

numismatic work. "David Bullowa taught me the rare-coin business from the ground up," she would later say. She stayed with Catherine for several years, eventually leaving to join Harry Forman in what would become the firm Forman & Bauer.⁵⁷

Catherine, who became a member in 1955, picked up where David left off when it came to forging a personal connection with the ANS. (David's brother, Arthur, wanting to stay in touch with the Society, also joined, though his membership card states emphatically: IS NOT A NUMISMATIST.) She invited ANS curatorial assistant Henry Grunthal and ANS librarian Richard Breden to stay at her Philadelphia home so they could select books for her to donate to the library.⁵⁸ Grunthal was getting married at the time, and Catherine insisted on buying him and his wife, Berta, a wedding present of their choosing—a mahogany magazine rack, as it turned out.⁵⁹ After the business of book selecting was accomplished, she sent him off with some apples. Grunthal happily munched on some; the rest his mother made into applesauce.⁶⁰

Catherine gave over a thousand books from David's library to the ANS in those years, most of which have a special bookplate made for the occasion (fig. 17).⁶¹ The donations would keep coming in the decades that followed. In 1975, she gave more than 400 books, most finely bound, and these were kept together in the ANS director's office at Audubon Terrace as the David M. Bullowa Numismatic Library.⁶² Today David Bullowa's books line the shelves of the Society's rare book room, and many others are interspersed throughout the collection. They include some of the library's most prized volumes, such as an annotated copy of Emmanuel Joseph Attinelli's *Numisgraphics* (1876), a beautifully bound corpus of Russian coins once belonging to the Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich, and one of the 10 special Moroccan-bound editions of Robert Eidlitz's *Medals and Medallions Relating to Architects* (1927).

Aside from the books, Catherine supported the ANS over the years with donations of time and money, much of it aimed at preserving her first husband's legacy, including the funding of a regular lecture series given as a memorial to David beginning in 1978.⁶³ We also have her to thank for preserving the David Bullowa papers, which served as my own introduction to his work. Catherine found great success and built a high-profile career for herself in the world of numismatics over the course of many decades, ensuring that she will not be forgotten. Thanks largely to her efforts, the memory of her husband David will also endure.

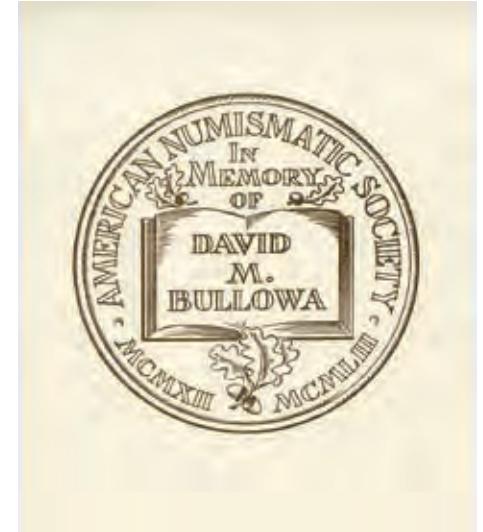


Fig. 17: The ANS had special bookplates made for the books from David's library, which Catherine began donating after his death.

49. Army Separation Qualification Record, David Bullowa Papers.
50. David Bullowa, "Numismatic Preparations for the Future," paper prepared for the Numismatic Society of South Australia, October 17, 1944, David Bullowa Papers.
51. Honorable Discharge, November 21, 1945, David Bullowa Papers.
52. Marcy Gibbel, "The Coinhunter: Catherine Bullowa-Moore Celebrates Her Golden Anniversary," *COINage* 38, no. 8 (August 2002), 102–03.
53. Certificate of Death for David Marks Bullowa, 1953, ancestry.com.
54. Catherine Bullowa to George Miles, September 23, 1953.
55. Martin Gengerke, *American Numismatic Auctions*, 2009, www.coinbooks.org.
56. Gibbel, 103.
57. Ed Reiter, "Ruth Bauer: A Rare Gem in the Rare Coin Market," pcgs.com (December 3, 1999).
58. Henry Grunthal to Catherine Bullowa, September 17, 1955 and October 4, 1955.
59. Henry Grunthal to Catherine Bullowa, September 13, 1955 and October 13, 1955.
60. Henry Grunthal to Catherine Bullowa, October 13, 1955.
61. Henry Grunthal to Catherine Bullowa, January 27, 1955.
62. Unrestricted Gift of Tangible Personal Property, the David M. Bullowa Numismatic Library, November 8, 1975; Frank Campbell, "The Library," *Annual Report of the American Numismatic Society*, for the period ending September 30, 1976, 35.
63. From 1966 to 1977, this lecture, presented during the ANS's fall membership meeting, was known as the Mortiz Wormser Memorial Lecture.

COLLECTIONS

Elena Stolyarik

New Acquisitions

During the past several months, the American Numismatic Society added to the cabinet a number of interesting gifts and purchases.

The ANS Greek Department has received, from our member Jeffrey H. Kalmowitz, a small fractional silver coin (1.18 g) of early fifth-century BC Athens (fig. 1). This example is a great addition to our vast collection of ancient Athenian currency.

The ANS collection of the series of medals issued by the British Art Medal Society (BAMS) grew by four new examples designed by British artists in 2017. Among these is the interesting bronze medal “For Love, Life and Eternity”, by Andrew Logan (fig. 2), cast by Lunts Castings. Andrew Logan is a well-known sculptor, jeweler, and performance artist. There is a museum devoted to his sculpture in Berriew, Wales. Logan’s heart-shaped medal carries a personal message from the artist, that the world is in need of healing and that his medal addresses this dilemma in a small way.

The artist and writer Edmund de Waal is the designer of another new medal in the BAMS series. This famous ceramic artist has been on the Advisory Committee for The Royal Mint since 2012, and is also a trustee for the Victoria and Albert Museum. His best-selling family memoir has won several literary awards, including the Ondaatje Prize. De Waal’s silver medal “Vale” (fig. 3), created for BAMS, is inspired by the mythological Charon’s obol, the coin given to Charon as payment for being transported at death across the river Styx. On one side is an image taken from an ancient Greek lekythos of the prow of Charon’s boat (fig. 4) and the single word vale, Latin for “farewell”. The words on the reverse include the sentence “This is Charon’s obol”, and the worn and abraded appearance similarly references mortality.

Also among the new BAMS items is a bronze medal called “Swanpool: Weather Station”, by Nicola Kerslake (fig. 5). This artist was introduced to the designing of medals in 2014, when she was awarded a prize for her entry in the BAMS Student Medal Project. She has studied with the medalists Bogomil Nikolov and Ron Dutton, the former being the 2017 recipient of the

J. Sanford Saltus Award for Distinguished Achievement in the Art of the Medal from the ANS, the latter being the 2008 recipient of the same award. Kerslake’s BAMS bronze medal is inspired by her participation in the OSR Projects series of artistic events called “Weather Station.” In this project, Kerslake dared the force of an incoming tide while enclosed in a plastic sphere on a beach in southern England. The medal expresses her experience of this event.

In the same purchase from BAMS is a cast bronze medal called “Family Secret”, designed by Vaughan Grylls (fig. 6). His sculpture often makes use of words. In his remarks on this piece, the author explains, “The name Vaughan derives from the Welsh word *bychan*, meaning ‘small,’” and the name “Grylls is said to derive from the Old English word *Gryllan*, meaning ‘to gnash the teeth in rage.’” He explains, however, that this work is humorous rather than serious.

Also at the beginning of the year the Society’s Medals Department received an interesting piece from ANS Fellow Dr. Jay M. Galst. It is a curious uniface cast bronze medal, with a satirical image of a man and a woman on a donkey, possibly from the Netherlands around the eighteenth century (fig. 7).

A bronze portrait medal commemorating Francis Maxwell Rainey was presented to the ANS by our member Dr. John F. Rainey (Fig. 8). Francis Maxwell Rainey (1921–2010) was a plastics engineer in Northern Ireland, who was awarded an OBE (Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire) in 1981 for his contributions to economic development in Northern Ireland. The medal was designed by a Polish-born British sculptor and medallist artist, Danuta Solowiej. For this medal the artist received an award from the foundry Hean Studio, as well a nomination for the Goldsmiths’ Craft and Design Council Senior Award. Silver examples of this medal are awarded to outstanding engineering students working on polymer products at Queen’s University Belfast.

An impressive donation to the US Department came from ANS Trustee Keith M. Barron. This bill of exchange for 1,231 livres tournois was issued on April 24,



Fig. 1: Athens. AR fraction (1.18 g), early fifth century BC. (ANS 2018.2.1, gift of Jeffrey H. Kalmowitz) 9 mm.



Fig. 2: United Kingdom. British Art Medal Society. AE medal “For Love, Life and Eternity” by Andrew Logan, 2017. (ANS 2018.3.1, purchase) 65 × 63 mm.



Fig. 3: United Kingdom. British Art Medal Society. AR medal “Vale” by Edmund de Waal, 2017. (ANS 2018.3.2, purchase) 59 mm.

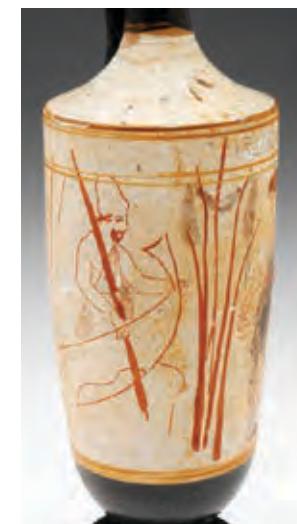


Fig. 4: Greece. Oil flask (*lekythos*). Terracotta, white-ground, 420–400 BC. Attributed to the Reed Painter. Scene of the ferryman Charon waiting to transport a deceased woman across the river Styx. (RISD Museum, Providence, RI, Museum Appropriation Fund 25.082) height, 238 mm.



Fig. 5: United Kingdom. British Art Medal Society. AE medal "Swanpool. Weather Station" by Nicola Kerslake, 2017. (ANS 2018.3.3, purchase) 96 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 7: Netherlands. AE cast uniface satirical medal, ca. eighteenth century. (ANS 2018.5.1, gift of Jay M. Galst) 56 mm.



Fig. 8: United Kingdom. AE commemorative medal of Francis Maxwell Rainey, by Danuta Solowiej, 2017. (ANS 2017.36.1, gift of Dr. John F. Rainey) 62 mm.



Fig. 6: United Kingdom. British Art Medal Society. AE medal "Family Secret" by Vaughan Grylls, 2017. (ANS 2018.3.4, purchase) 80 mm.

1792, in Gallipolis on the Ohio River, in what was then the Northwest Territory (fig. 9). It was sent by A. B. Duc to Joseph Duc, a merchant in Fribourg, Switzerland. Gallipolis (city of the Gauls) is the third-oldest Euro-American settlement in Ohio, founded in 1790 by the Scioto Company for royalist emigrés fleeing the French Revolution. The Scioto Company soon collapsed, making its land certificates valueless, but the French settlement persisted, receiving a land grant in 1795, and in 1825 the Marquis de Lafayette visited this French-American community during his American tour. We are exceedingly glad to get this note, an important example of the early financial history of the United States,

as it developed business ties to European countries such as Switzerland.

ANS Executive Director Dr. Ute Wartenberg Kagan donated to the Society's collection a silver medal (fig. 10) struck in recognition of the 75th anniversary of the Nevada State Museum in Carson City. The Museum opened on October 31, 1941, in the building of the nineteenth-century former U.S. Mint; from that time it has been a preservation center of Nevada history and heritage. On one side of the medal are shown the museum's building and the skeleton of a Columbian mammoth, found in the Black Rock Desert and exhibited in the

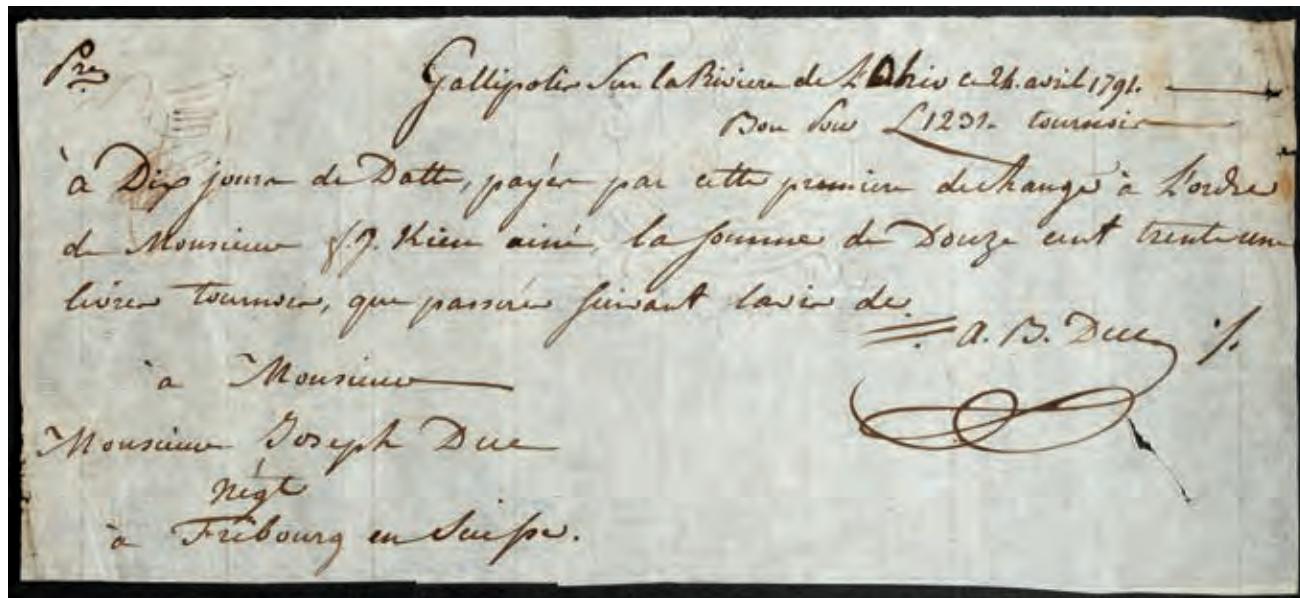


Fig. 9: United States. Bill of exchange, from A. B. Duc at Gallipolis on the Ohio River, to Joseph Duc, merchant in Fribourg, Switzerland, April 24, 1792. (ANS 2018.6.1, gift of Keith M. Barron) 230 × 120 mm (image reduced).



Fig. 10: United States. AR commemorative medal, “75th Anniversary of the Nevada State Museum in Carson City,” Carson City, 2017. (ANS 2018.4.1, gift of Ute Wartenberg Kagan) 30 mm.



Fig. 11: Germany. “Planet Earth”: set of five cupronickel and plastic 5 euros, Berlin, Munich, Stuttgart, Karlsruhe, and Hamburg, 2016. (ANS 2018.8.1–5, gift of Mary N. Lannin) 27 mm.

museum. The other side bears the image of the historic Coin Press No. 1, which was originally installed in the Carson City mint in 1869 and struck coins from 1870 to 1893. Since its return to the Nevada State Museum in 1958, it has manufactured commemorative medals, including our new example, which is struck from 1 troy ounce of Nevada silver.

An interesting set of five German 5 euro coins of 2016 was generously donated by ANS Trustee Mary N. Lannin (fig. 11). This new commemorative issue entitled “Planet Earth” was struck at the German mints in Berlin (mintmark A), Munich (mintmark D), Stuttgart (mintmark F), Karlsruhe (mintmark G), and Hamburg (mintmark J). It is the first coin series to feature a new composition—a translucent blue polymer ring between a metal center and a metal outer ring. The obverse, designed by Stefan Klein, displays in center a pixel-grid

representation of the Earth, while the surrounding ring represents outer space. The blue plastic ring symbolizes the Earth’s atmosphere around our planet, and each mint uses a different shade of blue. The reverse features a German eagle designed by Alina Hoyer.

Current Exhibitions

In February the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York opened a new exhibition called *Dangerous Beauty: Medusa in Classical Art*. Beginning in the middle of the fifth century BC, mythical female composite beings, such as sphinxes, sirens, and gorgons, especially Medusa, underwent a visual transformation from grotesque to beautiful. Comprising about 60 artworks, this exhibit explores the “beautification” of these terrifying mythical figures in the context of the idealized humanism of Classical Greek art. The connection between beauty and horror, exemplified by Medusa, has endured



Fig. 12: Macedonia. Neapolis. AR stater, 510–500 BC. (ANS 1941.153.278, bequest of W. Gedney Beatty) 21.6 mm.



Fig. 13: Ionia. Chios. AR drachm, 490–440 BC. (ANS 1941.153.837, bequest of W. Gedney Beatty) 17 mm.



Fig. 14: The exhibition hall featuring *The Horse in Ancient Greek Art*, at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Virginia.



Fig. 15: The exhibition hall featuring *The Horse in Ancient Greek Art*, at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Virginia.



Fig. 16: Sicily. Syracuse. AR tetradrachm, 500–485 BC. (ANS 1997.9.12, bequest of John D. Leggett, Jr.) 25 mm.



Fig. 17: Sicily. Messana. AR tetradrachm, 450–446 BC. (ANS 1967.152.142, bequest of Adra M. Newell) 29 mm.



Fig. 18: Sicily. Himera. AR didrachm, fifth century BC. (ANS 1957.172.572, bequest of Hoyt Miller) 22 mm.



Fig. 19: Egypt. AR tetradrachm, Sabaces, 338–333 BC. (ANS 1944.100.75462, bequest of E. T. Newell) 26 mm.



Fig. 20: Egypt. AR tetradrachm, Artaxerxes III, 350–300 BC. (ANS 2008.15.41, gift of Jonathan Kagan) 22 mm.



Fig. 21: Athens. AR tetradrachm, 400–350 BC. (ANS 2008.15.61, gift of Jonathan Kagan) 24 mm.



Fig. 22: Egypt. AV octadrachm, Ptolemy II (285–246 BC) with Arsinoe II, Alexandria, 260–240 BC. (ANS 1977.158.112, bequest of Robert F. Kelley) 29 mm.



Fig. 23: Egypt. AV octadrachm, Ptolemy III (246–222 BC) posthumous issue under Ptolemy IV, Alexandria, 221–204 BC. (ANS 1974.26.3995, purchase) 27 mm.



Fig. 24: Egypt. AR tetradrachm, Ptolemy VI (180–145 BC). (ANS 1959.254.66, gift of Burton Y. Berry) 28 mm.



Fig. 25: Roman Empire. AR denarius, Octavian, 28 BC. (ANS 1944.100.39163, bequest of E. T. Newell) 21 mm.

to modern times in the form of the femme fatale, the image of the seductive but dangerous woman. Among the significant objects on display are two pieces from the Society's collection, currently on loan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. These coins—a silver stater of Thracian Neapolis with a gorgoneion (fig. 12) and a silver didrachm of Chios with a sphinx (fig. 13)—serve as examples of the widespread use of these figures in the Greek culture across media. This exhibit will be on display until January 2019.

Seven ANS objects from the Society's collections were incorporated into the exhibition entitled *The Horse in Ancient Greek Art*, at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts in Richmond. The exhibit features over 78 Greek vases, sculptures, and coins from the eighth through the fourth centuries BC, some of which are on public view for the first time. These objects represent the Greeks' fascination with an animal that served as a symbol of wealth, power, and status in ways that are recognizable and familiar even today. Myth and legend are included, with representations of fantastical horses and horse-hybrids such as Pegasus, the famous winged horse (fig. 14), as well as satyrs and centaurs, two creatures that combined human and equine elements. The horse in war is depicted in scenes of ancient cavalry and chariots, as well as hunting, which was considered good training for both war and competitive events. Finally, vases (fig. 15) and coins showing horse-riding sports, including chariot racing (figs. 16–17), reveal the significance of competition in the ancient Greek world and highlight the skills and accomplishments of riders (fig. 18). The exhibit was accompanied by the symposium *The Horse in Ancient Greek Art*. During this conference, ANS Executive Director Dr. Ute Wartenberg Kagan presented the paper "Horses on Ancient Coins." The exhibition will remain on view until July 8, 2018.

On March 27, 2018, the J. Paul Getty Museum opened the exhibition *Beyond the Nile: Egypt and the Classical World*. This significant show explores the cultural and artistic connections between the cultures of Egypt, Greece, and Rome from the Late Bronze Age (about 2000 BC) until the Late Roman period (around AD 300). Highlights of the exhibit includes Egyptian objects sent to Crete and Mycenaean Greece; early Greek figurative sculpture created under Egyptian influence in the sixth century BC; a series of portrait sculptures of Ptolemaic kings and Egyptian officials; Roman portraits attached to mummies; sculpture evoking Egyptian style that adorned temples of the goddess Isis at Pompeii, Benevento, Rome, and elsewhere in the Roman Empire; and luxury objects inspired by Egypt that decorated villas in Rome and around the Bay of Naples. An important part of exhibition is a

group of twelve coins from the collection of the American Numismatic Society. These include tetradrachm of Sabaces (fig. 19) and Artaxerxes III (fig. 20), the earliest coins minted in Egypt, which show a reliance on the Athenian tetradrachm (fig. 21) as a model. Those of Artaxerxes are further indicative of the Egyptian adaptation of Greek coinage by using the demotic script to write the ruler's name. ANS coins of the Ptolemaic kings in the exhibition (figs. 22–23) show fully Greek self-presentations on their coinage in Egypt (fig. 24), and exemplify how their coin portraits have often been used to identify uninscribed images of the Ptolemaic rulers in other media. A silver denarius of Augustus (fig. 25) displays a crocodile with the caption *Aegyptio Capta*, commemorating his victory over Marc Antony and Cleopatra VII and announcing Egypt's subjugation as a new province of the Roman Empire. This coin is important evidence of Augustus' imperial iconographic program and marks a major turning point in Egyptian history. The exhibit and ANS coins will be on display through September 9, 2018.

BOOK REVIEWS

***Jewish Coinage During the First Revolt Against Rome 66–73 CE* by Robert Deutsch. Archaeological Center Publications 2017, Old Jaffa. \$120.**

We owe a debt to Robert Deutsch for his journeyman's job in converting his 2009 PhD dissertation into the first book on the coins of the Jewish War since Leo Kadman's 1960 volume.¹ For the first time in book form Deutsch offers a die study of the silver coins of the Jewish War as well as fresh information on the metallurgy and a report on a laboratory study intended to reproduce their minting methods. He corrals much of the major literature on the subject and related issues, and offers it in a single volume.

Deutsch also discusses the bronze coins of the Jewish War. He reviews earlier literature and in this context he reviews symbols, inscriptions, and the language used for both the bronze and silver coins.

One of his theories is that the design historically described as a branch with three stylized pomegranates, is more likely three pomegranate flowers or buds "and not actual pomegranates whether realistic or stylized" (p. 27). In fact, a careful study of botany references shows that these designs are certainly neither flowers nor mature pomegranates, but young pomegranate buds—the stage after the flowers, when the young fruit is just starting to mature.

Deutsch posits his previously published theory that the full object with the pomegranate buds is not a branch, but "appears to be a straight, hand-made staff, with a large pommel at its end" (p. 27). Deutsch writes that "A staff of this type which was actually kept in the Temple of Jerusalem, also connects neatly with the inscription around it: 'Jerusalem the Holy.'" Unfortunately, Deutsch provides no reference to the citation regarding such a staff being kept in the Temple. There are numerous small rods and pomegranates that have been discovered. However, none to my knowledge have been shown to have been directly related to the Jerusalem Temple. A small pomegranate bud, 1.7 inches tall, made of hippopotamus bone and inscribed in paleo-Hebrew script "Belonging to the house of --h, holy to the priests," was purchased in 1988 by the Israel Museum from an

anonymous French collector for \$550,000. In 2004 a committee of experts in Israel reversed course and said it believed that the inscription on the object was a modern forgery. The matter has been controversial ever since, with a few scholars declaring authenticity and others forcefully denying it. The object is no longer displayed at The Israel Museum.

In general, however, it is agreed that the pomegranate itself is genuine and may have been used as a cultic object in ancient times, although the use of the pomegranate was not limited to the worship of the Jewish god. Similar un-inscribed pomegranates of metal, bone, and glass have been discovered in Israel and elsewhere. These objects are somewhat critical to Deutsch's central point here, but he does not discuss them or reference them.

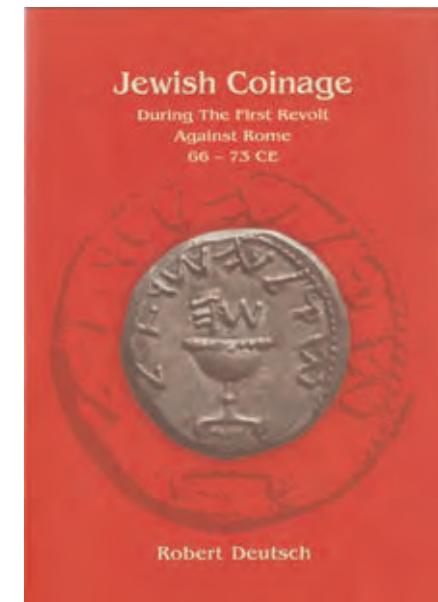
This book presents a metallurgical study of 38 randomly selected shekels and half-shekels—half from the Kadman Coin Pavilion in the Land of Israel Museum in Tel Aviv, and half from private collections—by Dr. Shimon Ustilovsky of the Israel Institute of Metals, at the Haifa Technion. Deutsch reports the study used a non-invasive scanning electron microscope (SEM) method, and showed that the average silver content of the shekels is 98.17% and the half-shekels 97.98%. (Deutsch does not mention the detector used with the SEM for the elemental analysis, but presumably this was an energy dispersive X-ray detector.) Deutsch uses this data in part to re-litigate Meshorer's long-discussed and not-widely-accepted theory that the late series Tyre shekels were struck in or near Jerusalem instead of Tyre.² Deutsch agrees that the Tyre coins were not minted in Jerusalem.

Deutsch's die study is certainly more complete than a similar study by Goldstein and Fontanille,³ who studied a database of 704 coins, while Deutsch was able to study 1,223 Jewish shekels, half-shekels, and quarter-shekels. He concluded that "at least 520 dies for the production of silver coins were prepared" during the Jewish War. Deutsch discusses the estimation of production per die in ancient mints, but oddly, Deutsch does not make any production number observations about the Jewish shekels or half-shekels.

Deutsch devotes a chapter to die link studies in general as well as to his study in particular. In Mildenberg's monumental die-link study of Bar Kokhba coins⁴ he was able to determine without doubt the sequence of the Bar Kokhba bronze and silver coins and prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that the undated Bar Kokhba coins were struck in the third year. Deutsch's study, however, discovered "no consistent sequence of die links for the silver coins of the Revolt . . . neither have links between the coins of different years in Years 1 to 4 been discerned" (p. 81).

All sides of the authenticity issue of the famous "London group" of 14 Year 5 shekels, which are irregular in design, are discussed. One of these coins was bought by the British Museum in 1887 (BM p. 271, 20), and the other 13 were kept in the safe of Baldwin's, London, and labeled as "suspected forgeries." Baldwin's 13 coins had all been fully cleaned, but the British Museum specimen appears not to have been cleaned, and is covered with a thin layer of silver chloride, common in most "as found" Jewish War silver coins. Deutsch, however, claims that "examination of the (British Museum) coin reveals that the chloride appears to be smeared, particularly on the obverse of the coin . . ." (We note here another editing error, since the pomegranate side is the reverse of this coin, struck from the upper die, and the BM shekel has almost no encrustation on its obverse, chalice side.)

This author's multiple examinations of the British Museum coin did not reveal such a "smear" and an enlarged photograph of the British Museum coin accompanies this article. It is certainly somewhat problematic that all 14 coins from a single die set appeared together, albeit in the 1880s. On the other hand, Deutsch notes that two irregular Year 4 shekels with no known die links, are quite similar in design, especially the form of the chalice, and are accepted as genuine. Deutsch also notes that the silver content of the Baldwin's group averages 99.26% versus 98.17% silver in the coins he studied. However, we are not informed if this difference is statistically significant; there is certainly a great deal of overlap in the range of silver content in the two groups. And if the Baldwin Year 5 shekels are indeed an "irregular" group, then it is quite possible they were created in one location very late in the war and never entered into circulation. ("There are a number of irregular coins . . . and these seem to be copies produced outside the central mint," (p. 43.) Deutsch is correct in concluding that excavation data of another coin from this die set would be needed to fully accept the group as genuine. Of course, the British Museum could also subject its coin to analysis (e.g., by XRF or XRD) and it should be relatively easy to determine the validity of the significant silver chloride deposits on this specimen.



This book also reports on a laboratory simulation of Jewish War silver coin production by Yeshu Dray, but this provides little significant new information. One observation seeks to explain why the Jewish War silver coins sometimes appear to have very slightly concave surfaces. ". . . Where an excessive number of hammerblows were used to mint the coin, the metal became elastic and the resultant coins had concave surfaces, despite the fact that the dies to mint them were quite flat" (p. 52). There is an error in this statement, however,

1. Kadman, L. *The Coins of the Jewish War of 66–73 C.E.* Corpus Nummorum Palaestinensium 2nd Series, Vol. III (Tel Aviv-Jerusalem: Schocken Publishing House). 1960.
2. Levy, B, 1993. "Tyrian Shekels and the First Jewish War," in T. Hackens and G. Moucharte (eds.) *Proceedings of the XIth International Numismatic Congress, Organized for the 150th Anniversary of the Société Royale de Numismatique de Belgique*, Vol. I (Louvain-la-Neuve): 267–74, and A. Burnett, M. Amandry, and P. P. Ripollès, 1992. *Roman Provincial Coinage*, Vols. I–II (London/Paris: British Museum Press/Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, among others).
3. Goldstein, I. and J. P. Fontanille. "A New Study of the Coins of the First Jewish Revolt Against Rome, 66–70 C.E." *ANA Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 2: 9–32.
4. Mildenberg, L. *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War* (Aarau/Frankfurt am Main/Salzburg: Sauerländer).

because the scientific fact is that metals become less elastic as they are hammered (this well-known phenomenon is called “work hardening”) so the conclusions here are not at all clear.

Deutsch also partially explains why some of the Jewish war silver coins have hollows, sort of trenches, around the inscriptions and symbols. This, he reports, “shows that the dies were not polished” (p. 53). This is indeed a likely explanation, but there is no explanation of why they appear in the first place. The phenomenon is due to the engraving tool cutting a letter or design in the die, thus pushing up the die metal’s surface around the edges of the engraving. When the die is finished properly, these burr-like projections are polished away. The phenomenon of the “hollows” appears in all 5 years and all three denominations and, as Deutsch notes “the reasons for this are unclear” (p. 53).

Deutsch’s coin hoard lists as well as a compilation of coins recovered from archaeological excavations are helpful tools, including a distribution map of Jewish War coins in Jerusalem and its environs.

Unfortunately Deutsch’s book suffers from some poor editing with regard to grammar, spelling, and explanations (not uncommon in numismatic books where funds for copyeditors and proofreaders are scarce).

Oddly omitted from this book is any reference to the single largest contributor to die studies of ancient Judean coins; the decade-plus work of the Menorah Coin Project, created by J. P. Fontanille and now administered by the Israel Numismatic Society (of which Deutsch is president). Also conspicuous by its absence is any reference to the book or proceedings of the September 13–14, 2010 London conference *Judaea and Rome in Coins 65 BCE–135 CE*.⁵ Deutsch attended and presented a paper.

All told, Deutsch reviews the corpus of knowledge regarding coins of the Jewish War from diverse sources, but the new information is mostly limited to the metallurgical analysis, test striking, and die study. Unlike Mildenberg’s Bar Kokhba die study; this one does not clarify any significant chronology issues.

– David Hendin

(David Hendin is vice president and an adjunct curator at the American Numismatic Society.)

5. Kokkinos, N. and D. Jacobson (eds). *Judaea and Rome in Coins 65 BCE–135 CE*. Spink & Son, London 2010. The conference was co-sponsored by the Institute of Jewish Studies at University College, London and Spink & Son.

John S. Deyell, *Treasure, Trade, and Tradition: Post-Kidarite Coins of the Gangetic Plains and Punjab Foothills*. New Delhi: Manohar, 2017. Hardcover. 228 pp., 77 figs., 3 graphs, 16 maps, 37 tables. 3500 Rupees.

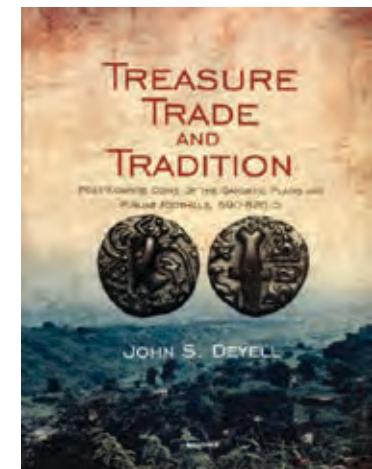
In this captivating book, John Deyell, the eminent numismatist and monetary historian of India, sets out to investigate a poorly understood coin series of late classical India, the so-called post-Kidarite electrum dinars. Of uncertain date and provenance, these coins had long been assigned to the Karkota dynasty (600–782 CE) of Kashmir. Yet, there was only one documented find of these coins from the valley of Kashmir proper, and all other findspots for these post-Kidarite coins are located in the Punjab foothills or the Ganga-Yamuna plains. It was Deyell’s growing sense of dissatisfaction with the traditional attribution to Kashmir that convinced him of the need for a thorough reassessment of these coins. Research like this often results in little more than putting in place another small piece of the vast puzzle that is Indian numismatics. In this case, however, Deyell’s investigations have produced something far more momentous—they have enabled him to tentatively identify, for the first time, the “missing” coinage of the north Indian empire of Harshavardhana (r. 606–647). The presumed lack of coinage issued by Harsha has often been taken as yet another indicator of the onset of the “medieval” that attended the collapse of the Gupta empire, a development supposedly marked by a decline in long-distance trade and the emergence of a largely cashless feudal economy. Deyell’s cautious identification of Harsha’s coinage thus joins a number of other numismatic studies that are changing our understanding of the nature of the early medieval Indian economy, especially as it relates to trade and monetization. When the numismatic and hoard evidence is properly considered, it becomes clear that the medieval economy was anything but stagnant, and that the amount of coinage in circulation was actually far greater than had been the case in the earlier classical period.

Deyell did not set out to find Harsha’s missing coinage; to the contrary, his goal was the far more modest one of better understanding the post-Kidarite electrum dinars. The discovery of Harsha’s coinage was an unanticipated bonus. As he puts it in the preface, “the technical analysis came first, the conclusions later” (p. 15). While it is the larger conclusions that will likely be of primary interest to historians and to specialists in Indian numismatics, it is Deyell’s emphasis on explaining and documenting every part of that technical analysis that will make the book such a compelling read for anyone interested in the methods of numismatic research. Deyell’s 1990 book, *Living without Silver: The Monetary*

History of Early Medieval North India contained an often-cited methodological appendix that remains one of the most useful statements on the theory and method of hoard analysis in the South Asian context. In the present book, he has taken that methodological concern and expanded it, thus giving the reader a rare behind-the-scenes view of the numismatist/monetary historian at work. Indeed, with chapters on stylistic evidence and typology, iconography, palaeography and epigraphy, die link analysis, metrology, metallography, the study of minting methods, and hoard provenance and circulation patterns, the book would serve quite well as a lucid and accessible introduction to numismatic methods, whatever one’s specific region and period of interest.

The post-Kidarite coins under investigation here share three broad characteristics. First, typologically and stylistically, they can be demonstrated to have been derived from a gold dinara type of the Kushan king Kanishka II, featuring a standing image of the ruler on the obverse and a seated image of the Iranian goddess Ardoksho on the reverse. This coin type was emulated by the Kidarites, a group of nomadic pastoralists that migrated from Central Asia into northwest India and became first subordinates of and then successors to the Kushans. The name derives from their eponymous ancestor “Kidara.” The post-Kidarite coins follow this typology but the design motifs have undergone a significant degree of abstraction, and the goddess has been shifted to the obverse, with the king on the reverse. Second, although the original Kushan prototypes had been gold, the post-Kidarite coins have undergone a debasement, mixing gold and silver—in some cases, in the form of naturally occurring electrum—with copper. Third, denominationally, they are suvarnas or dinaras weighing between 7 and 8 grams, which made them significantly larger than almost all other coins circulating at the same time in northern India.

Deyell’s point of departure is his healthy skepticism toward everything written about these coins in the numismatic literature—from dating and attribution to area of circulation and manner of use. He begins instead with stylistic and typological analysis, and on that basis recognizes two different groupings of the post-Kidarite electrum dinars. One, he dubs for convenience the “DNVVY” series, on the basis of the alphabetical order of the names inscribed on these coins—Durlabha-deva, Namvihaksha, Vighrahatunga, Vinayaditya, and Yasovarman—and the other, the “Sri Pratapa” series, inscribed with this title or the variant “Sri Ja Pratapa.” Although both belong to the broader post-Kidarite electrum tradition, the two groupings differ significantly in several ways. Perhaps most critically, their spheres of circulation—indicated by the



geographic locations of their respective findspots—are clearly separated from each other, the coins of the DNVVY series circulating within the Punjab foothills, from Peshawar and Sialkot in Pakistan down to Jammu in India, while those of the Sri Pratapa series circulated broadly in the Ganga-Yamuna plains to the south and east, which is precisely the area covered by Harsha’s territories. Deyell goes on to suggest that the “Sri Pratapa” legend of these coins may be a reference to Harsha’s father Prabhakaravahana, who was also known by the title “Pratapasila.” This evidence of provenance and epigraphy is largely corroborated by other characteristics of these coins, leading Deyell to suggest cautiously that the Sri Pratapa series represents the previously unrecognized coinage of Harsha’s empire.

As for the DNVVY series, Deyell suggests that these coins were issued in succession by a single mint serving the local rajas of the Punjab hill region. These rulers were likely descended from the Kidarites, thus explaining the formal developmental continuity between Kidarite coinage and its post-Kidarite descendants. Although this coinage may have been less important in the larger scheme of things, Deyell is able to offer a much more finely grained account of its historical parameters and of how it would have functioned in the economy. By collating the evidence of stylistic development, epigraphy, metrology, and metal content, he arrives at a convincingly argued chronological sequence for these coins, in the direction Yasovarman

1. See especially John S. Deyell, *Living without Silver: the Monetary History of Early Medieval North India* (Delhi: Oxford, 1990); K. K. Maheshwari, *Imitations in Continuity: Tracking the Silver Coinage of Early Medieval India* (Mumbai: IIRNS Publications, 2010), and Shailendra Bhandare, “Space for Change: Evaluating the ‘Paucity of Metallic Currency’ in Medieval India, in *Negotiating Cultural Identity: Landscapes in Early Medieval South Asian History*, ed. Himanshu P. Ray (Delhi: Routledge, 2015), pp. 159–202.

> Durlabhadeva > Vighrahatunga > Vinayaditya > Namvihaksha. He suggests that two of these figures are not the issuers of the coinage, but rather contemporary rulers of adjacent Kashmir, who were being cited on the coins as overlords by their unnamed issuers. Thus, Durlabhadeva is identified as Durlabha Pratapaditya of Kashmir (r. 665–715), and Vinayaditya as Jayapida Vinayaditya of Kashmir (r. 776–807). This leaves the other three rulers, who would have issued their coins at a time when the influence of nearby Kashmir was not being felt so powerfully. They would have been located in the mid-seventh century (Yasovarman), the mid-eighth century (Vighrahatunga), and the early ninth century (Namvihaksha). These three names remain uncorroborated outside of the numismatic sources; perhaps future research will uncover further evidence shedding light on them.

Two of Deyell's overarching themes have to do with the role played by these coins in the thriving long-distance horse trade with western Asia, much of which was routed through the Punjab hills region, and in the economy of religious pilgrimage in this same area. The region of the Punjab foothills was a major crossroads, where the trade route from Tokharistan and Western Central Asia—a major source of horses for South Asia—connected with the old Uttarapatha or “northern road,” along which luxury products manufactured in India were channeled northward. A third road, leading along the upper reaches of the Indus River, continued on into China, via the oasis cities of the Tarim basin. The post-Kidarites would appear to have occupied this region at least in part because of its potential for generating wealth—both by imposing tariffs and tolls on passing caravans, and by mining the rich submontane deposits of gold, silver, and copper, and coining this alloy to make the electrum dinars of the DNVVY series. By monetizing these metal resources, the post-Kidarites were able to facilitate the trade that flowed through the region, integrating local and long-distance commerce. This is indicated by the physical evidence of the coins themselves, which suggests that they would have circulated as a token coinage, carrying a fiat value above their intrinsic metal value. Since overvalued local coins “do not travel beyond the authority of the issuing state, or beyond the merchant network that has agreed to honor them . . . this was an effective means of assuring adequate local money for towns closely linked to the busy international trade” (p. 205).

Deyell's other compelling theme relates to the religious content of the coins, and especially their role in the ritual economy of pilgrimage. It has been noted above that the earliest progenitor of the post-Kidarite dinaras was a Kushan coin type of Kanishka II, featuring the

king worshipping at a fire altar on the obverse, with a seated image of the Iranian goddess Ardoksho on the reverse. Deyell notes a subtle shift in this iconography as the coins evolve into the post-Kidarite series: in the first place, the goddess migrates to the obverse, which still retains the legend of the ruler's name, and the image of the sacrificing king is moved to the reverse. Additionally, he shows that the goddess herself undergoes a transformation, picking up certain iconographic features that ally her more closely with Indian goddess figures, from the Vaishnava Lakshmi and the Saiva Durga to “Bhagavati” as she is identified on some of Namvihaksha's coins—the great Goddess herself. This shifting emphasis on the Goddess, and her apparent Indianization from the original Iranian Ardoksho, make sense in the light of two other notable features. For one thing, many of the post-Kidarite electrum coins have been found encrusted with offertory vermilion powder (sindhura) suggesting that these coins on which the goddess's image appeared were being used for ritual purposes in addition to strictly monetary ones. For another, they have often been found in hoards that appear to have originated as repositories for temple offerings at well-known pilgrimage sites. Deyell's nuanced investigation and account of both the ritual and the monetary dimensions of these coins' use is a particularly compelling part of his larger study.

There is much more of value and interest in this book, to which a short review simply cannot do justice. It has much to recommend it, and will be appreciated by anyone interested either in this specific coin series, or in a balanced and detailed overview of different methods of numismatic and hoard analysis.

– Phillip Wagoner

OBITUARY

The American Numismatic Society mourns the loss of our member Stephen H. Corn.

Stephen Herald Corn passed away on April 17, 2018, at the age of 75. Mr. Corn became a member of the ANS in 2009 and in 2017 joined the Augustus B. Sage Society, when he and his wife, Dr. Andrea Corn, joined members of this group on a 10-day trip to Spain. Members traveling in this group were so pleased to have had the opportunity to develop a warm friendship with Stephen and Andrea, one which they all expected would continue to develop and deepen with time. We were all deeply shocked at Mr. Corn's sudden passing and are truly saddened by his loss.

Sydney Martin, ANS President of the Board of Trustees, noted, “I enjoyed getting to know Stephen during the SAGE trip to Spain and learning of his broad numismatic interests, including building an impressive collection of Swiss shooting medals. He showed an emerging interest in becoming more involved with the ANS, and we will be the lesser for his inability to do so.”

ANS Trustee Mary Lannin, who was also on the trip to Spain, remembered that Stephen told her he enjoyed collecting Athenian tetradrachms and loved traveling with Andrea. Mary felt privileged to have gotten to know Stephen and Andrea on this trip and hope it was a fulfilling and enjoyable one that will provide lasting memories for Andrea as well as for the members of this Sage group.

Stephen Corn attended Vanderbilt University for two years before enlisting in the Navy where he served from 1960–1965 on the aircraft carrier *USS Coral Sea* (CRA 43) as an electronics technician. After the Navy, he returned to Florida and joined his father at Corn Construction Corporation, becoming one of the youngest general contractors in the state. He later became President and oversaw the construction of thousands of single-family homes, apartment buildings, and shopping centers across Broward and Palm Beach counties. He was an active member and served on the board of the Associated Builders and Contractors. Additionally, Stephen served on the Broward Legislative Committee, Broward County Board of Rules and Appeals, and

Palm Beach Code Enforcement Board. After Hurricane Andrew, Governor Jeb Bush appointed Stephen to the Florida Building Commission, where he was instrumental in helping to rewrite the Florida Building Code. Stephen was active politically within the State of Florida and served on numerous committees, with a strong focus on Lauderdale Lakes, where he received numerous city awards for exemplary dedication and commitment.

Dr. Andrea Corn, Stephen's widow, notes that he was a meticulous, thorough, and studious coin collector, with an interest in collecting antique Greek coins, Swedish plate money, and Swiss Shooting Medals. During the latter years of his life coin collecting became a very serious hobby, something that consumed him and became an integral part of his daily existence. As with all he did, he approached his task with passion and scholarship, becoming more and more knowledgeable throughout the years through reading, studying, and attending conferences.

He will be sorely missed by his many friends and colleagues, both old and new.



Stephen Corn (left), ANS President Sydney Martin (right) and ANS Trustee Jeroen de Wilde in Spain.

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Obv. A corps in a winding sheet and head covering is recumbent upon the lid of a sarcophagus, his head resting upon a roll of cloth. The lid supported by two skeletons, between them is a cartouche with the engraved inscription: D.O.M. *Bid voor de Ziele van 't / Zeer Eerw.Pater Geldol / phus van Overbeke d8 Ap. / 1728, 't Amsterdam overl: / R.I.P.* Above, two putti blowing trumpets carrying a banderole with the inscription: *Christus is u Leven Sterven is u gewin*
Rev. The sun shining on a tree with dense foliage, next a withered one being pulled over by a skeleton. (Death)
Below a cloth that reads: *Strijt eenen Goeden Strijt / des Geloofs greijpt na het / Ewighe Leven 1Tim Cap 6 V12.*
Edge stamped with the letter "B" and essay mark of Amsterdam. Cf. Beeldenaar 2002-4 page 168-172.; cf. auction Fred.Muller 18-21 March 1907 nr. 383 Pl.X. Lit. Voet. Dutch silversmiths and their marks, page 15, nr. 80.
Bem.816; obv.B20; rev.B14var; silver, 70 x 64 mm., 69.02 grams.

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