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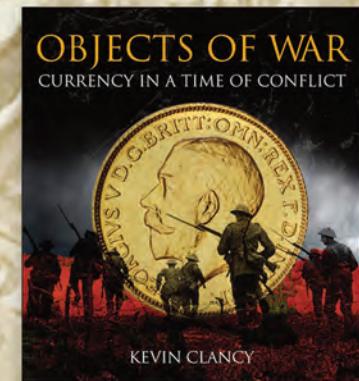
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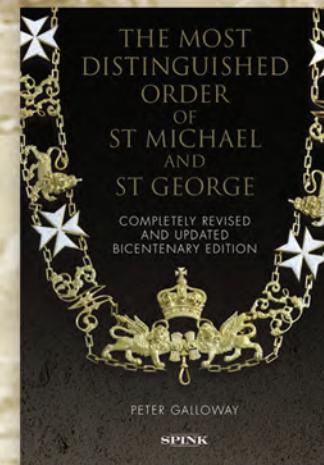
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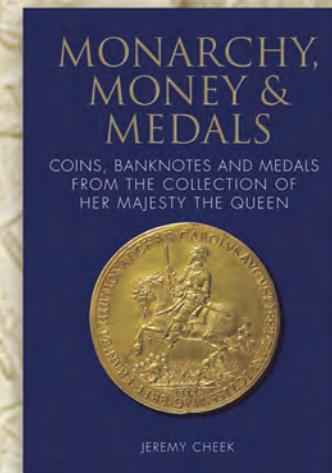
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on the cover: Obverse die by John Flanagan of the U.S. Congressional Medal for Captain Arthur Henry Rostron for his rescue of survivors of the sinking of the RMS Titanic. The medal was struck in 1913 by the Medallic Art Company.

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*Image of President Clinton (facing page) courtesy of the White House Collection/White House Historical Association*

## From the Executive Director

### Ute Wartenberg Kagan

Dear Members and Friends,  
Over the last few months, my main preoccupation has been with medals, big and small, by great artists and by totally unknown ones, on all sorts of subjects. Most importantly I have been looking at thousands, even tens of thousands of medals. As I discussed in an earlier issue of *ANS Magazine* this year, the holdings of the Medallic Art Company (MACO) were part of the bankruptcy proceedings involving the Northwest Territorial Mint, and in June 2018, the American Numismatic Society successfully purchased the entire holdings. How monumental this project actually is became only clear once I began to organize packing of what turned out to be some 200,000 pounds of medals, dies, galvanos, paper archive, and all sorts of other materials. In the article in this issue of the *ANS Magazine*, I described in more detail why the famous private mint went out of business and what it took to pack up and move some 50,000 or more items.

The huge diversity of objects that were produced by MACO over the last hundred years is striking. While famous medals such as the Pulitzer Prize medal with Benjamin Franklin's portrait by Daniel Chester French or the series of the Society of Medallists are well known, the many plaques, often of portraits, of company anniversary campaigns, and so much else show that the Medallic Art Company's reputation as America's premier private mint is justified but clearly poorly understood. The number of artists, both famous and lesser known, is staggering, and it will take a lot of time to catalogue all this material, to fully understand the various production processes, and to get a picture of the variety of customers that ordered from Medallic Art. We now own early plaques for Pepsi or a truly extraordinary design for Abbott Laboratories from 1935. In this respect, the MACO Archives will provide a new look into many aspects of corporate America, universities and colleges, and clubs, but also many individuals whose spouses or children wanted to commemorate a special birthday. Much will depend on ANS raising enough money for this monumental project, and we are grateful for any contributions and suggestions for foundations or individual that could help help rescue this important part of our American heritage.

Another unusual addition to the ANS's collections will be the sample collection of well over 5,000 Challenge Coins. These small medals, given out originally by military units, show the insignia of an organization and are exchanged among its members. While many numismatic dealers and certainly museums like the ANS have largely ignored this field, it is undoubtedly time to catalogue these pieces, which are extremely popular among collectors. I have been intrigued by these objects since I learned about them almost 20 years ago when I was told by a US Senator that the then-President Bill Clinton was an avid collector of Challenge Coins. A picture proves it: Clinton's official presidential portrait in the White House Collection, painted by Simmie Knox, depicts a framed collection of Challenge Coins on the Resolute Desk in the background.



Let me close by wishing all our members and friends happy holidays and a prosperous and healthy New Year!

Yours truly,

Ute Wartenberg



Facing page: Portrait of M. Vipsanius Agrippa from Gabii. Marble, ca. 25–24 BC. (Louvre Ma 1208) H. 46 cm.

## AMICUS TO DOMUS: Analyzing Agrippa's Relationship to Augustus Through Coinage

Thomas Foster

### Introduction

In the last few decades interest has increased in the life of Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa. One of the most important recent works in terms of scope, Ilaria Romeo's *Ingenuus leo: L'immagine di Agrippa* (1998), has made significant contributions to our understanding of the iconography regarding Agrippa. In her review of Romeo's work Emma Dench writes:

*The importance of the book lies in the collection of all available material, and in the detailed analysis of its form and of individual contexts. The carefully compiled catalogue that forms the second part (pp.161–218) will in itself be useful for reference.<sup>1</sup>*

Romeo's inclusion of the posthumous material through the reign of Claudius (r. AD 41–54) further enhances the utility of the catalogue by considering the totality of Agrippa's image up to and after his death. However, a closer look focusing specifically on the numismatic evidence will be beneficial to our understanding of Agrippa's relationship with Augustus. Agrippa is unique among all the other major figures of the Late Republican and early Imperial periods. Born into an unimpressive family,<sup>2</sup> Agrippa became a friend, advisor, general and family member of Augustus. In his biography of Agrippa, Meyer Reinhold highlights both his friendship with Octavian, calling Agrippa's career "inseparably linked" with Augustus', and his ambiguous origins.<sup>3</sup>

The objective here is to establish a chronology of the coinage featuring Agrippa and to relate what these coins can tell us about Agrippa's relationship to Augustus as he progressed from a military commander in the 30s BC to a member of the imperial *domus* in the 10s BC. I will not reference every coin or even every issue, but use the coins in a purposeful and informed manner to understand the distinctive trajectory Agrippa's life followed. The coinage bearing Agrippa's portrait or inscription does not perfectly reflect the major events and incidences that one might expect or hope. This is not to say that there are not issues that relate to those events but it is certainly not always straight-forward. C. H. V. Sutherland has stated of the coinage of the early Empire, "[i]t was an official gazette of past acts or future programme."<sup>4</sup> We might expect there to be issues related to Agrippa after the battles of Naulochus and Actium in 36 and 31 BC, during the Augustan settlements of 27 and 23 BC, and in 21–17 BC when Agrippa married Julia, received tribunician powers and Augustus adopted Agrippa's sons as his own heirs. In some instances, there are coins where the link between Augustus (Octavian) and Agrippa is clear and in some there are not. In these gaps in the chronology I have chosen to look to the provincial coinages which can be informative when imperial coin issues are not, and to Augustan coins as well for allusions to Agrippa.

### The Coinage

38 BC is the starting point for this discussion. In this year Agrippa's name first appeared on coins with

1. Dench 2001, 227.

2. Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae*, 2.90. The nomen Vipsanius is also used infrequently in sources we have relating to Agrippa (e.g., Seneca *Contr.* 2.4.12–13 and Tacitus *Annales* 1.3.1).

3. Reinhold 1933, 1–12 (esp. 1 and 8–12).

4. Sutherland 1940, 65–80, esp. p. 76. Sutherland goes on to say coinage provides an "invaluable commentary." For a detailed analysis, see Mattingly 1922.



Figure 1: Silver denarius of Octavian, 38 BC. RRC 534/2 (ANS 1944.100.6004, E. T. Newell bequest) 20 mm.



Figure 2: Silver denarius of Octavian, 38 BC. RRC 534/3 (ANS 1944.100.6005, E. T. Newell bequest) 18.5 mm.



Figure 3: Silver denarius of Octavian, 41 BC. RRC 518/1 (ANS 1937.158.349, gift of J. C. Lawrence) 19 mm.



Figure 4: Silver denarius of Octavian, 40 BC. RRC 523/1a (ANS 1944.100.4818, E. T. Newell bequest) 19 mm.

Octavian. Both aurei and denarii bear the reverse inscription M AGRIPPA COS DESIG.<sup>5</sup> There are three variations of the obverse. The inscription on the obverse of the aurei (RRC 534/1) reads IMP DIVI IVLI F TER III VIR R P C and the type is a wreathed Caesar.<sup>6</sup> The denarii (RRC 534/2) bear the inscription DIVOS IVLIVS DIVI F and show a wreath portrait of Julius Caesar to the right and a portrait of Octavian to the left (fig. 1).<sup>7</sup> The obverse for the second type of denarii (RRC 534/3) (fig. 2) features a bearded Octavian facing right with the inscription IMP CAESAR DIVI IVLI F. In discussing the dialogue of power between Antony and Octavian, Robert Newman points out that Octavian's usage of DIVI IVLI F not only evoked Octavian's adoption by the deified Caesar. It also suggested Octavian's goal of succeeding Julius Caesar as the sole ruler.

The inscription on the reverse of the coins tells us that Agrippa was designated as one of the two consuls for the year. Under the Republican system the consul was voted into office, but during the Second Triumvirate the triumvirs decided the consuls themselves for future years.<sup>8</sup> The aurei and denarii both connect Octavian to Julius Caesar. On the aureus the wreathed image of Caesar combined with the inscription calling Octavian the the son of deified Julius makes the connection clear, namely that Octavian is the rightful heir to Caesar. This is further typified with the denarii obverses. On the first variant both Julius Caesar and Octavian appear together (fig. 1), with the bearded Octavian on the second variant (fig. 2) striking a mournful tone indicative of the relationship between the two men. The obverses link the incriptions of Divus Julius and Octavian's role as his heir. The appearance of Agrippa's name on the coin also puts him in the orbit of the deified Julius and Octavian. Normally, this alone would not constitute such a strong parallel between a triumvir and a subordinate referenced on a coin. As Vervaeet notes, however, it was especially important for Octavian and Mark Antony to choose a loyal liuetenant for the office because, at least nominally, 37 BC was set to be the end of the first five-year term for the triumvirate and their positions would need to be renewed.<sup>9</sup> Marcus Agrippa's selection, despite his being only in his late 30s, tells us that he was trusted by Octavian.<sup>10</sup> This is confirmed in the sources, demonstrating that he was already

5. Translation: "Marcus Agrippa Consul Designatus."

6. Translation: "Imperator, son of Divus Julius, for the third time a triumvir for the preservation of the Republic."

7. Translation: "The deified son of Divus Julius."

8. Vervaeet 2010, 85–86.

9. Vervaeet 2010, 86.

10. Agrippa's age can be reckoned fairly accurately. The date of his death is assigned to March of 12 BC in Dio 54.28. Pliny the Elder (*Historia Naturalis* 7.26) places his death in his 51st year, which means that his birth could be dated March 64 BC to March 62 BC. In his biography of Agrippa, Reinhold (see pp. 2–4) references a calendar with the month of November named after Agrippa. This could potentially mean that Agrippa was born in that month. At any rate, Agrippa became consul at a younger age than the requisite 41 noted in the *Lex Vibia annalis* of 180 BC.



Figure 5: "The Battle of Actium" by Lorenzo A. Castro (1672) (United Kingdom National Maritime Museum) 108 × 158 cm.

a friend and advisor of Octavian's around the time of death of Caesar in 44 BC.<sup>11</sup> Of course, Octavian's selection of Agrippa in itself is more important to note than Agrippa's age at that time, and this issue is but the first of several that is indicative of the fruitful partnership between these two men.

Agrippa's name was not the only one to appear on coinage with Octavian. L. Cornelius Balbus and Q. Salvidienus Rufus appear on coins in 41 and 40 BC respectively (figs. 3–4).<sup>12</sup> Both of these coins served similar functions: Balbus and Salvidienus were named the consuls for the following year. These two examples make an interesting case study. Both coins feature a bust of Octavian and an inscription C CAESAR III VIR R P C, stating Octavian's role as one of the triumvirs. Balbus was a close advisor to Julius Caesar and served as consul in 40 BC. Book VIII<sup>13</sup> of the *De Bello Gallico* was dedicated to him, and he was also defended by Cicero in the *Pro Balbo*.<sup>14</sup> Unlike Agrippa, we know virtually nothing after this point regarding Balbus and are unsure of when he died. Q. On the other hand, Salvidienus Rufus advised Octavian alongside Agrippa.<sup>15</sup> He commanded six legions, aiding Octavian in the so-called Perusian War.<sup>16</sup> Previously given control of five additional legions, Salvidienus tried to defect to Mark Antony with 11 legions, but the pact to end the Perusian War was already struck when Antony informed

Octavian of his treachery. Upon hearing this Octavian put him death in late 40 BC.<sup>17</sup> In many ways, Agrippa can be seen as a successor to Salvidienus. Agrippa took the legions under his command and went to Gaul, as had been Salvidienus' original command after the Perusian War; Agrippa then served as consul the following year as had been Salvidienus' intention.

As a subordinate, Agrippa's appearance on coinage therefore is not unique, although he alone continued to appear on coins no doubt due to his competency and loyalty.<sup>18</sup> Agrippa aside, the only Romans to appear with Octavian on multiple issues of coins at this time were the triumvirs and Julius Caesar.

The next series featuring Agrippa and Octavian is generally considered to date to the period after the Battle of Actium in 31 BC (fig. 5), but there are reasons to believe that it could date as early as 37 BC prior to Nauclochus and Mylae. In *Corpus Nummorum Romanorum* vol. VIII, Simonetti and Banti offer as a possible date 37 BC for an apparently unique *as* with a portrait of Agrippa on the obverse inscribed M AGRIPPA ORAE [MARITTIMAE ET] CLASS PRAE C that may have been struck at Puteoli.<sup>19</sup> The reverse features a gorgon and the inscription AR III VIR RPC. An issue of bronze coinage of this date and from this mint would make sense historically. Agrippa received the title of

11. Velleius Paterculus. *Compendium of Roman History. Res Gestae Divi Augusti*. 2.59.

12. RRC 518/1 and RRC 523/1a.

13. Book VIII was likely written at least partially, if not completely, by Hirtius but the dedication nevertheless is still indicative of his relationship to Caesar.

14. See Cicero's *Pro Balbo* and *Letters* (esp. 7.7) for Balbus' relationship to Julius Caesar. See also Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 81.

15. Velleius Paterculus 2.59 and Cassius Dio 48.

16. Dio, 18 and 33.

17. Appian, *Civil Wars*, 5.20–27, 35, 66.

18. There are to be sure other coins inscribed COS DESIG, PRO PR, and PRO LEGE, naming other individuals such as Publius Carisius, who appears as PRO LEGE on a coin from Emerita in 25. These, however, lie outside the scope of our interest here.

19. Banti and Simonetti 1975, 120–121. Simonetti and Banti (pp. 80–81) also mention two possibly spurious issues with the same inscription as this *as*, which had been recorded by Mediobarba in the seventeenth century but have not been seen since.



Figure 6: Silver denarius of Augustus, 29–27 BC. RIC I Augustus 271 (ANS 1937.158.448, gift of J. C. Lawrence) 20.5 mm.



Figure 7: Silver denarius of Augustus, 28 BC. RIC I Augustus 275B (ANS 1944.100.39163, E. T. Newell bequest) 19 mm.



Figure 8: Bronze as of Nemausus, 20s BC? RIC I Augustus 160 (ANS 1919.233.4, gift of C. P. Jones) 26.5 mm.



Figure 9: Bronze coin of Parium, after 23 BC. Cf. RPC 2260. 4.92 g (ANS 1944.100.43106, E. T. Newell bequest) 21 mm.



Figure 11: Fresco from the House of Augustus, Palatine Hill, Rome.



Figure 12: Gold aureus of Augustus, 13 BC. RIC I.2 Augustus 409 (British Museum) 19 mm.



Figure 10: Augustus of Prima Porta. Marble (Vatican Museum) H. 204 cm.

Prefect of the Seas and Shores, akin to fleet commander, in 37. Puteoli was a naval base, and a bronze coinage to pay for the fleet is not out of the question. If this were the case, it would seem that this coinage was a precursor to Mark Antony's fleet coinage. Sextus Pompey also issued a similar coin with the same title around this time.<sup>20</sup> The inscription on the reverse is not necessarily what we would expect from Octavian in 37 BC but this alone is not strong enough evidence to dismiss the argument. We might, in fact, expect an allusion to his status as the son of the deified Julius, as suggested by Newman, who argues that Octavian was shifting toward the nomenclature found on this coin, rather than that pertaining to the office of *triumvir*, as a response to the threat posed by Sextus Pompey.<sup>21</sup> The iconography of the coin also gives credence to a date of 37 BC, since it does not align with the later coins commemorating victories. The rostral crown, voted to Agrippa in 36, does not appear on this coin, nor does the prow of a ship, the two most common motifs on coinages that refer to naval victories.<sup>22</sup> Thus 37 BC seems the most plausible date.<sup>23</sup>

The Battle of Actium proved to be a pivotal point in Roman history, making it possible for Octavian to seize sole power and define his authority with the settlements of 27 and 23 BC. As the military architect of the victory, we might expect Agrippa to be featured on the coins celebrating the victory. However, this is not the case. While there are no explicit mentions of Agrippa, one can look for implicit allusions of his deeds to fill this

gap. One such example is RIC Augustus 271 (fig. 6), the reverse of which has several references to naval victories. First, there are the prows, a common enough motif on Roman coins since 225 BC.<sup>24</sup> The prow was also used in Mark Antony's fleet coinage among other notable issues. The pedestal also has two anchors, which can be considered to be symbolic of the victories at Naulochus (overcoming Sextus Pompey) and Actium (overcoming Antony).<sup>25</sup> Thus, there might be oblique references to Agrippa on this coin.

#### A Shift to Provincial Coinage

The majority of the coinage featuring Agrippa from the 30s BC until his death in 13 BC is almost exclusively bronze and almost exclusively from the provinces. Nemausus in Gaul is one of the most prominent issuers of coinage featuring Agrippa during the 20s and 10s BC. The dating of the Nemausus asses has been the subject of debate in the past. It seems best to take Kraay's view on the *terminus ante quem* of the coinage.<sup>26</sup> Citing the similarity with the *Aegypto Capta* types (28–26 BC), Kraay suggested a date in the late 20s BC. It is probable that Nemausus issued the first group of coins in 26–25 BC after the first Augustan settlement and copied the type from the recently minted *Aegypto Capta* issues (fig. 7). Those in Nemausus also had good reason to honor Agrippa who had showered them with beneficence.<sup>27</sup> The Nemausus coinage (fig. 8; compare with fig. 7) is also of particular interest because Augustus appears with Agrippa on the obverse of the coinage, which is reminiscent of the Augustan coinage of the late 30s BC when then-Octavian

20. Banti and Simonetti 1975, 232–240.

21. Newman 1990, 57–58.

22. Velleius Paterculus, 2.81.

23. This date is even more likely if Grant's assertion that the "C" relates to Agrippa's consulship is correct.

24. See RRC 35.

25. Of the 21 specimens in the Online Coins of the Roman Empire database (numismatics.org/ocre), 14 have the anchors present.

26. Kraay 1955, 85.

27. Reinhold 1933, 90.

appeared on coins with Divus Julius. Wallace-Hadrill also notes that the increase of Augustus-centric themes after Actium makes the coinage of 13–12 BC, confusing at first glance since it seems that Agrippa was raised to “virtual parity” with Augustus.<sup>28</sup> The Nemausus coinage of the 20s, should we accept that date, also reflects this “virtual parity” but more than a decade earlier. This is the first instance that Agrippa appears in portrait with Augustus on the same side of a coin. The inscription emphasizes Augustus’ connection to the deified Julius Caesar and the return of IMP signifies the power of Augustus and the recalls the powers voted to him in the first Augustan settlement.<sup>29</sup>

Parium also struck coins featuring Augustus and Agrippa (fig. 9), most likely after 23 BC when Agrippa was sent to the East. The obverse depicts Augustus facing right with the inscription IMP CAESAR DIVI F G C I P. The reverse features Agrippa facing right and is inscribed M AGRIPPA. The core message is the same for both this coin and that of Nemausus: Augustus and Agrippa are portrayed as being close to equals. Romeo mentions three other issues of Parium that are minted in a similar style, with Augustus on one side and Agrippa on the other; one comes from Cnossos and two others (both aurei) come from the Bosphorus region.<sup>30</sup> The increase of coinage in the eastern provinces referring to Agrippa appears to coincide with Agrippa’s trip to the East in 23 BC.<sup>31</sup>

Gadez (modern-day Cadiz, Spain) minted both sesterces and dupondii in the late 20s and 10s BC that recall the naval achievements of Agrippa, who is portrayed on the obverse of the coins with a variety of inscriptions, while an *acrostolium* is found on the reverse.<sup>32</sup> These coins offer some contrast to those of Nemausus and Parium showing that not all coins featuring Agrippa from the time of the first settlement in 27 BC down to his marriage to Julia in 21 BC dealt with the same themes, but that these could vary geographically.

#### Issues of 13–12 BC: Agrippa and the *Domus Augusti*

The few years between 21 and 17 BC were eventful for Agrippa.<sup>33</sup> After his marriage to Julia, Augustus’ daughter, in 21, he was given tribunician powers by Augustus in 18, and in 17 his sons Gaius and Lucius were adopted by Augustus to be his heirs. It is on the coinage of 13–12 BC that we find representations of the events of 19–17

BC. Through the lens of coinage we have already seen Agrippa’s changing role vis-à-vis Augustus, from friend and advisor to general, to partner with near-equal power. In the coinage of 13–12 BC elements of all of these roles can be found but a new one appears as well: he has become a member of the *domus Augusti*, the house of Augustus (figs. 10–11).<sup>34</sup>

We consider first the coins struck by C. Sulpicius Platorinus. In 13 BC, he struck an aureus that shows a portrait of Augustus on the obverse and Agrippa wearing a rostral crown on the reverse (fig. 12). The iconography of the coin and the presence of the rostral crown again relates to Agrippa’s exploits at Naulochus and the portrait of Augustus are reminiscent of those on earlier Imperial issues. This coin seems like a logical continuation of the coinage from the late 20s BC.

One of the denarii issued in 13 BC with a new reverse depicts the implied equality between Agrippa and Augustus in a new and different way (fig. 13). The two seated togate figures represent Agrippa and Augustus; the platform they sit on has three prows, which relate to the naval victories at Mylae, Naulochus, and Actium. The image on the reverse also calls to mind the imagery of Roman judges with Agrippa and Augustus watching over the *res publica*.

The coinage of G. Marius Tro(?), issued in 13 BC, depicts Agrippa and the *domus Augusti* (fig. 14).<sup>35</sup> The obverse is similar to the other coins issued in 13 but on the reverse Julia, the wife of Agrippa and daughter of Augustus, appears as Diana, an appropriate deity to represent a Roman woman and an image that the Imperial *domus* would want to put forth regarding Julia, despite her infamous scandalous behavior. Diana, originally a virginal goddess of the hunt, also became associated with childbirth. The connection between Agrippa and Augustus is implicitly made by showing Augustus on a coin with his daughter. The other reverses found on the issues of 13/12 BC that accompany this coin form a set that encapsulates the *domus Augusti* and, as a result, shows Agrippa’s role within it. Another of Marius’ issues of 13 BC features two togate men holding a scroll with *capsa* at their feet with an inscription reading C. MARIVS, up, C. F., at top, TRO, r. down, III VIR in the exergue.<sup>36</sup> Again, Agrippa and Augustus appear together in a manner that seems to



Figure 13: Silver denarius of Augustus, 13 BC. RIC I.2 Augustus 407 (ANS 1937.158.392, gift of J. C. Lawrence) 17.5 mm.



Figure 14: Silver denarius of Augustus, 13 BC. RIC I.2 Augustus 403 (ANS 1955.22.8, purchase) 18 mm.



Figure 16: Silver denarius of Augustus, 13 BC. RIC I.2 Augustus 405 (ANS 1937.158.390, gift of J. C. Lawrence) 18.5 mm.



Figure 17: Bronze as of Gaius/Caligula, AD 37–41. RIC I.2 Gaius/Caligula 58 (ANS 1937.158.461, gift of J. C. Lawrence) 30 mm.



Figure 18: Bronze as of Titus, AD 80–81. RIC II.1 Titus 470 (ANS 1944.100.41822, E. T. Newell bequest) 27 mm.



Figure 19: Gold aureus of Tiberius (Lugdunum), AD 14–15. RIC I.2 Tiberius 1 (ANS 1948.19.1041, gift of Archer M. Huntington) 19 mm.

28. Wallace-Hadrill 1986, 72–74.

29. Plutarch, *Life of Augustus*, 26–27.

30. Romeo, 29. Cnossus: RPC 976.

31. For further discussion on Agrippa’s trip to the East see Magie 1908.

32. See *RPC Consolidated Supplement*, vols. I–III, 2015, p. 15.

33. Dio 54.18; Velleius Paterculus 2.90.

34. Fullerton, 1985, 473–83. There has, of course, been some debate concerning the dating of these coins, but here I accept Fullerton’s chronology.

35. RIC I.2 Augustus 403. Cf. Fullerton 1985, 475.

36. RIC I.2 Augustus 400.

denote equality. The scrolls in their hands and the *capsa* at their feet relate to something written, most likely an illusion to the laws that were codified during the reign of Augustus. The coin itself does not give the observer any clues as to any specific law or code, however.

Of the several reverses issued by Marius, figure 15 displays the *domus Augusti* most clearly. The image on the reverse shows the head of a woman flanked by the heads of two young males with the inscription III VIR, above the wreath, C. MARIVS.TRO, below. Those depicted are Julia, wife of Agrippa, and their sons Gaius and Lucius, the adopted heirs of Augustus. In this one coin then Marius references the entire *domus* of Agrippa.

Cossus Lentulus issued a coin in 12 BC (fig. 16) depicting a posthumous honor voted to Agrippa, an equestrian statue, one of the highest public honors he could have received.<sup>37</sup> The inscription reads COSSVS LENTVLVS. The iconography aligns with that found on other coins related to Agrippa and Augustus. The statue stands on a pedestal with two prows, which once again refer to the naval battles won by Agrippa at Actium and Naulochus. The alternative obverse of this coin also references the naval crown awarded to Agrippa.

If one considers the issues in 13 and 12 BC together it is clear that Agrippa is now firmly part of the *domus Augusti*, the culmination of a numismatic legacy that traces his trajectory from *amicus* to member of the *domus*.

### Legacy and Conclusion

The large number of posthumous issues referring to Agrippa underscores his important role in the formation of Augustus's imperial ambitions and the legacy he left behind. Augustus was the first to issue coins remembering Agrippa, which are distinguished by reverses featuring either a thunderbolt or eagle perched on the globe.<sup>38</sup> However, as John Nicols has concluded, most of the asses featuring Agrippa were in fact much later, dating to the reigns of Gaius and possibly Claudius (fig. 17). Gaius was not the only emperor to strike coins in memory of his grandfather Agrippa. The Flavian emperors Titus and Domitian also honored Agrippa with a similar coin that features a similar portrait (fig. 18).<sup>39</sup> In fact, there are even a few coins that can be dated to

the reign of Trajan (AD 98–117) that feature both Agrippa and Augustus.<sup>40</sup>

Nicols connects the Gaian issues with the “family group” asses minted from AD 37–39.<sup>41</sup> It seems that Gaius referred back to Agrippa proudly in this coinage but then abandoned this idea later. There are a large number of Gaian specimens but most if not all belong to this family group coinage. Tiberius, who was unhappily married to Julia after Agrippa's death, issued aurei, denarii, and asses with the inscription TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVGVSTVS (fig. 19).<sup>42</sup> In effect, Tiberius connected himself to Augustus in the very same way that Gaius did to Agrippa initially. Gaius' choice to feature his grandfather on his coinage reminds viewers of the privileged position that Agrippa held as a member of the *domus Augusti*. His inclusion in the *domus* is the reason that successive emperors sought to connect themselves to him through coinage.

In conclusion, it is not difficult to see how rich the numismatic evidence is for the life and legacy of Agrippa. The lifetime issues allow us to trace Agrippa's path from friend to general to nearly equal partner to family member. The posthumous imperial issues show that even in death Agrippa continued to play an important role in legitimizing subsequent emperors.

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40. Simonetti and Banti 1975, 134.

41. Nicols 1974, 83–84.

42. See RIC I.2 Tiberius 1–36. All of these coins are some variation of the coin I describe here.

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37. There are two obverses: type A is a laureate head of Augustus and type B is a portrait of Agrippa wearing a rostral crown. Cf. Velleius Paterculus II.61.

38. Simonetti and Banti 1975, 89.

39. RIC II Titus 470. Obv: M AGRIPPA L F COS III: Head of Agrippa, wearing rostral crown, right. Rev. IMP T VESP AVG REST S C: Neptune standing left.

## THE CARTIER PAPERS: The Birth of a Numismatic Journal in Nineteenth-Century France

Sarah Busschaert

In the past two decades, countless voices have announced the death of scholarly journals. Beyond the dramatic tone of such statements, it is undeniable that the development of electronic and open-access publication is inducing major changes in the model of scholarly communication.<sup>1</sup> These times of transition seem like the appropriate moment to look back on the emergence of scholarly journals and understand how this medium played a crucial part in the constitution and professionalization of our disciplines.

In the library of the American Numismatic Society lies a box enigmatically labelled « Cartier Papers ». This treasure trove is an archive of fascinating first-hand documentation relevant to the field of numismatics. The box (fig. 1) contains a collection of letters sent by Étienne-Jean-Baptiste Cartier (fig. 2), one of the co-founders of the French *Revue numismatique*, to the other co-founder of the journal, Jean-François de Paule-Louis Petit de La Saussaye (fig. 3). The relationship between the two men began in 1830. Essentially epistolary in nature (fig. 4), for they lived miles apart—Cartier in Amboise (fig. 5) and the neighboring village of Lussault (fig. 6); La Saussaye in Blois, Paris, then Poitiers—this relationship was only interrupted by Cartier's death in 1859. The letters from the ANS archives are dated between January 13, 1848 and January 30, 1858, spanning exactly 10 years of the two men's collaboration on what was then, and remains to this day, one of the major publications specializing in the field of numismatics.

The creation of the *Revue*, a pioneering endeavor in nineteenth-century Europe, represents an important step in the history of numismatics as a discipline. Unfortunately

the history of the *Revue*, especially the first decades of its nearly 200-year existence, can only be reconstructed from meager and indirect sources, as much of the archives have been destroyed.<sup>2</sup> The preserved correspondence between Cartier and La Saussaye therefore represents an invaluable (and entirely unexploited) mine of information (figs. 7–8). In this brief article, I can only give an introduction to the fascinating insights into the history of numismatics that can be gained from the investigation of this exceptional set of documents.

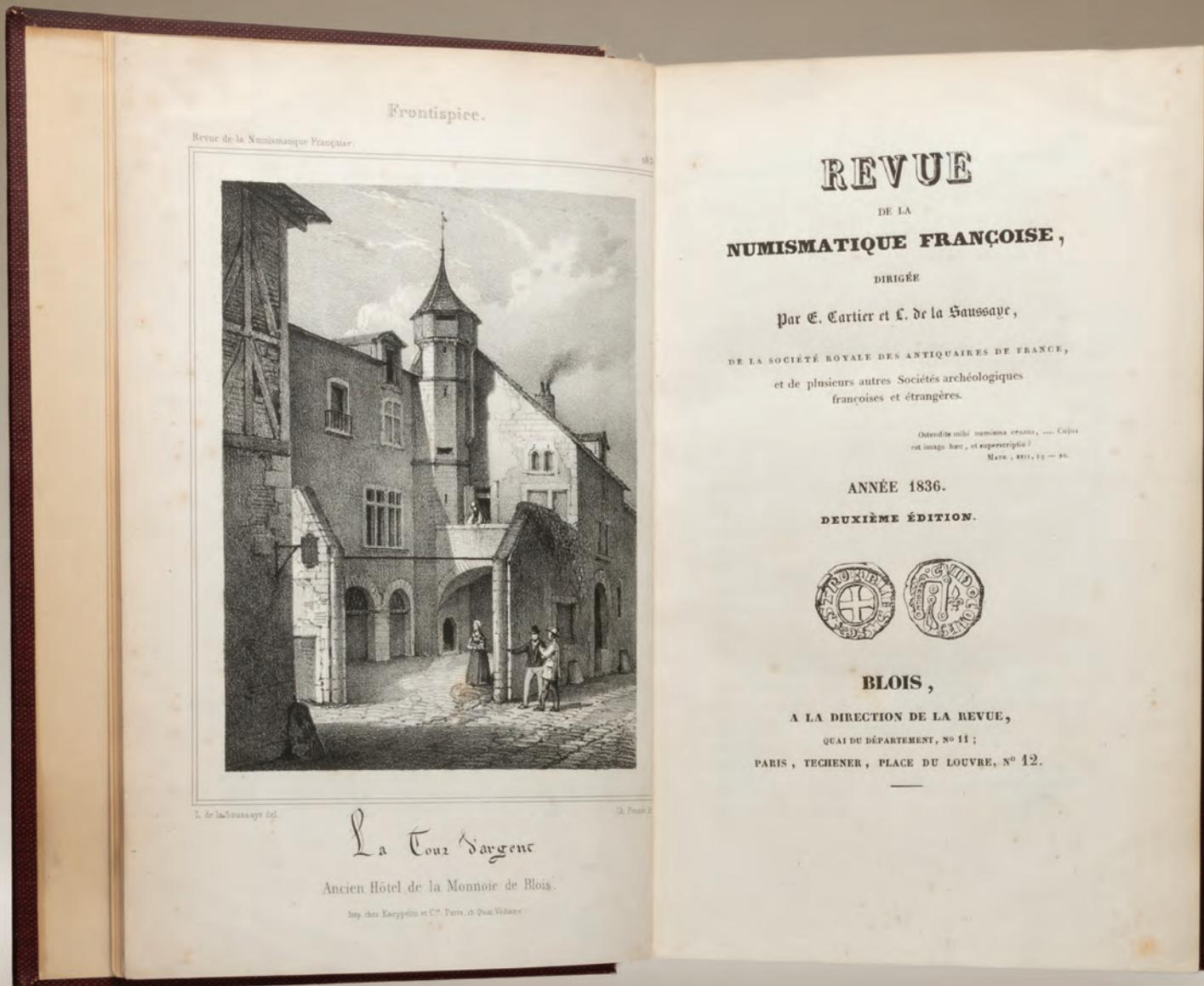
### Publishing a Scholarly Journal in the Nineteenth Century

Cartier and La Saussaye started the *Revue numismatique* in 1836 and remained its directors until they jointly chose to retire in 1855. As directors of the *Revue*, the two men did not merely monitor the editing of the journal: they played a prominent part in all stages of the preparation of every issue, delegating only a few technical tasks. As a consequence, their correspondence touches upon many aspects of the management of the *Revue*, and offers precious insights into the little-studied processes of production and dissemination of science journals in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The preparation process of a journal's issue started with collecting materials. Contributors typically mailed more or less formalized articles to either Cartier or La Saussaye. While in most cases numismatists spontaneously offered their research, the two directors also occasionally reached out to ask for contributions, but not always successfully. As is reflected in the letters, Cartier and La Saussaye often found themselves in need of materials and consequently chose to loosen their criteria

1. Pierssens 2005.

2. Lafaurie 1986, 8.



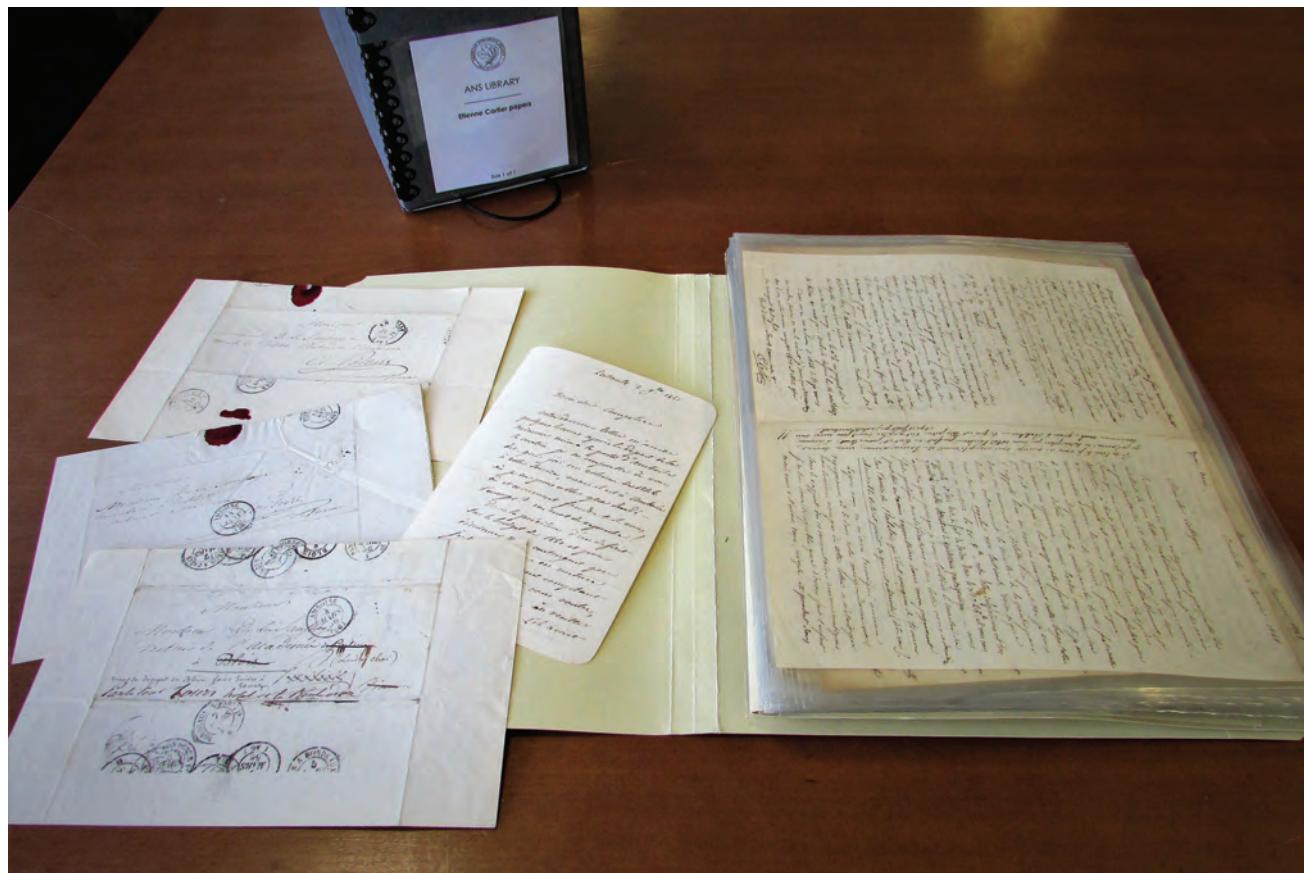


Figure 1: The Cartier papers in the ANS library (photo: the author).

of selection. Sometimes they compensated with articles of their own: in October of 1850, for example, after La Saussaye apparently expressed his “distress” at the shortage of materials for the forthcoming sixth issue of the year, Cartier responded with an article hastily written in order to “fill in” the pages.<sup>3</sup>

Upon receipt of the papers, Cartier and La Saussaye reviewed and sorted them. Selected manuscripts were edited when necessary, then mailed to the printer. For the sake of convenience, as they initially both resided in the region of Touraine, the associates chose to have the *Revue* printed in Blois by the independent printer Eugène Dézairs until 1854, and then by Olivier Lecesne. For the articles considered most meaningful, the printer was asked to produce proof sheets and return them for further correction by Cartier, La Saussaye, and/or the author. However, since proof sheets represented an additional cost, Cartier generally avoided them when he considered the article of secondary importance. The directors always had the last word on the definitive version of the text. All details in the layout—font and pagination for instance—were also decided by Cartier and La Saussaye who, in

3. October 29, 1850.

this as in other matters, as the letters teach us, did not always see eye to eye.

As for the illustrations, the directors commissioned engravings based on drawings that the authors provided along with their text (fig. 9). Renowned figures such as Adrien Dembour, in the first years, and Léon Dardel from 1848, signed the plates of the *Revue*. The letters, interestingly, also reveal the involvement of a previously anonymous protagonist. Cartier’s son (also named Étienne), between 1848 and 1855, probably served as an intermediary between the authors and the engraver, or produced at least some of the plates himself. He worked in Paris and reported for duty to La Saussaye.<sup>4</sup> The resulting plates were in turn sent to the printer. It should be stressed that Cartier fully acknowledged the importance of illustration for research.<sup>5</sup> However, its

4. I am grateful to Dominique Hollard for sharing with me his interpretation of the conflicting clues contained in the letters and the plates themselves.

5. In the foreword to the second edition of the first volume of the *Revue*, the directors promised to provide illustrations of the coins as often as needed: « Nous publierons, aussi souvent que ce sera utile, les empreintes des monnaies » (RN 1836, xiv). When illustrations could not be provided directly, the articles systematically gave references to illustrations in other publications.



Figure 2: Portrait of Etienne Jean-Baptiste Cartier by his son, Etienne Cartier. Engraving, 1830 (image source: Lafaurie 1986).



Figure 3: Portrait of Jean-François de Paule-Louis Petit de La Saussaye, between 1860 and 1870. Bibliothèque nationale de France (image source: Wikimedia Commons).



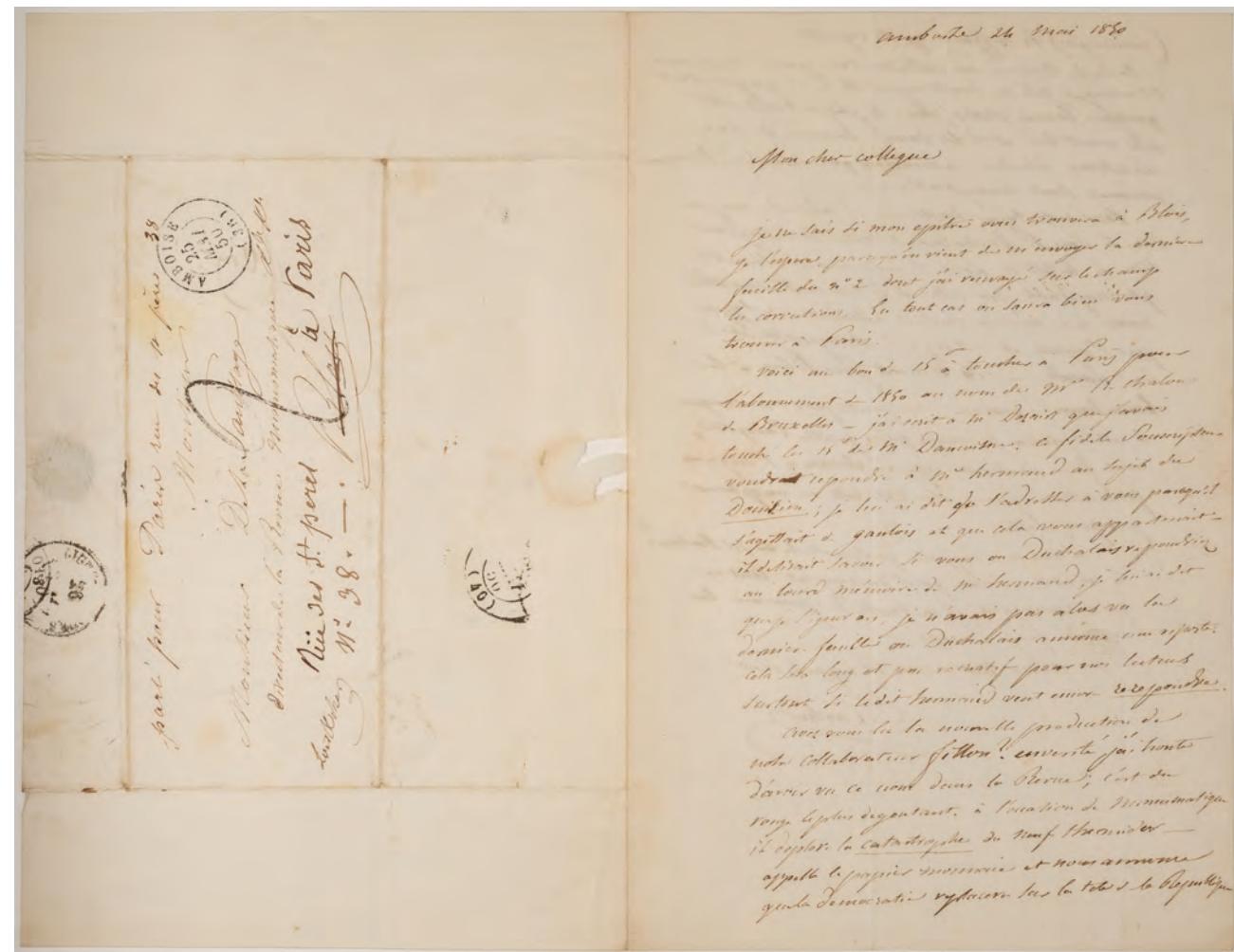
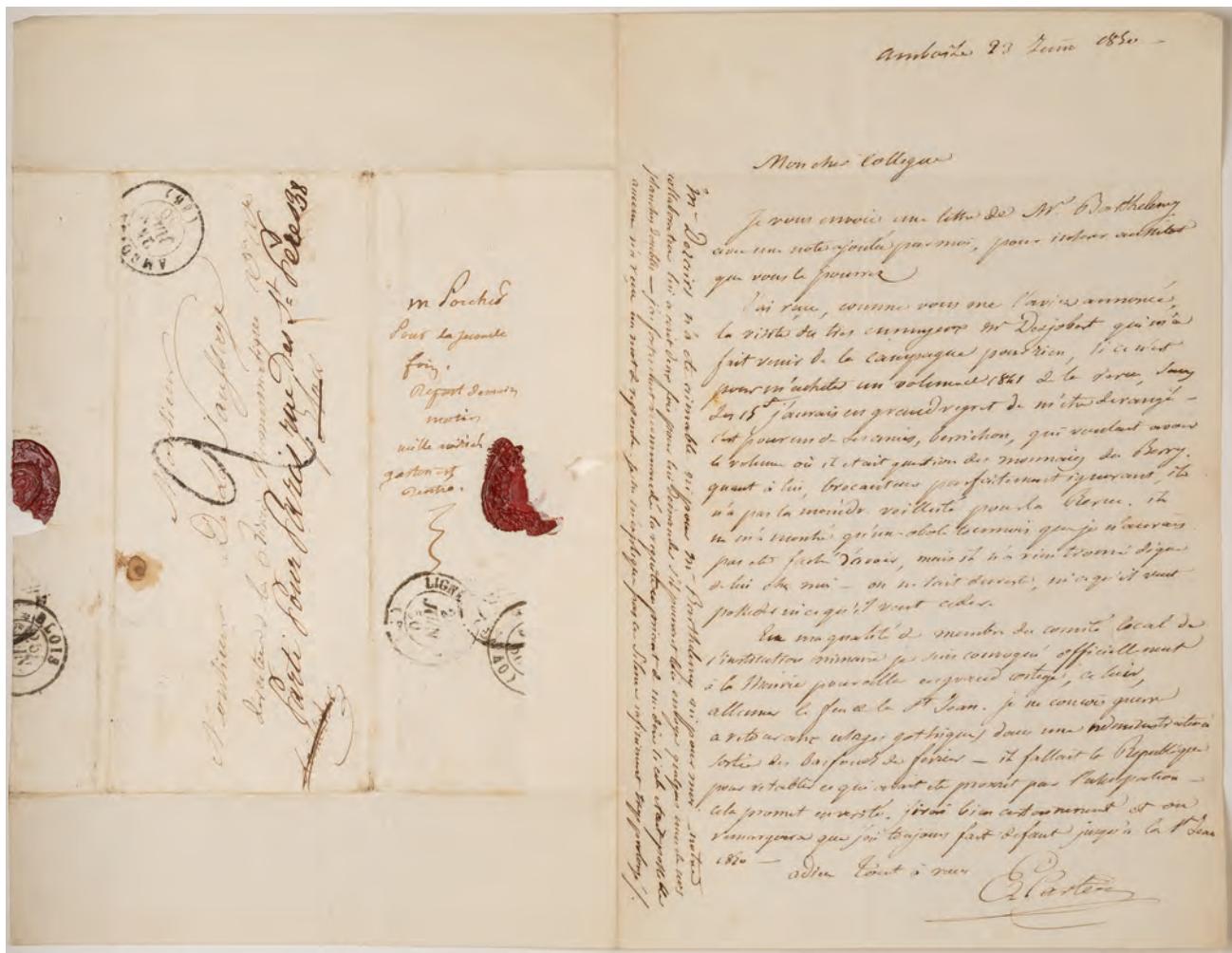
Figure 4: The postal service in the nineteenth century: mail coach in the region of Amboise in the early 1900s.



Figure 5: View of Amboise in the middle of the nineteenth century (image source: Région Centre-Val de Loire, Inventaire général, Bibliothèque municipale de Tours).



Figure 6: The small village of Lussault-sur-Loire, where Cartier retired from Parisian life. View of the village in the early 1900s. On the church’s wall a graffiti records—just like Cartier does in his letters—the highest rise of the Loire river in 1856.



Figures 7–8: Examples of the Cartier-La Saussaye letters held in the ANS’s archives.

high cost—30 francs a plate, twice the price of one volume of the *Revue*—emerges as a major concern of his, and often prompts him to deny plates to the authors. Moreover, interestingly enough, the letters are absolutely silent on photography, which had been created and improved in the 1820s–30s. It does not seem that Cartier and La Saussaye considered at all turning to the new technology as a medium of illustration. In spite of the methodological flaws of engraving—the length and cost of the process, the scarcity of skilled engravers, the variability of the results—the comparative advantages of photography seem to have eluded the directors of the *Revue* the whole time.<sup>6</sup>

6. In fact, numismatists on the whole did not prove to be visionaries in this area. While the new format quickly came to be adopted by art amateurs, only in the mid-1860s did some numismatists start using it. Numismatic journals caught up from the 1870s on, and the *Revue* was even more tardy, which started using photography in 1884 and abandoned engraving altogether only in 1912. For further details, see Hollard 1991.

All articles of the *Revue* were thus printed one-by-one as they were submitted, and each author could request offprints of their article to publish separately. It fell to La Saussaye, in his position of «directeur-gérant» (director-manager) of the *Revue*, to put together the contributions and set the agenda for the forthcoming issue. Cartier restricted himself to providing occasional directions as to which articles he wanted published in priority. Each issue was composed of an introduction followed by dissertations, book reviews and a news column. The serendipities of mail, the technical imperfections of printing processes, the independence of the printer and the engraver which Cartier regularly complains about,<sup>7</sup> led to an irregular rhythm of publication. Either four or six issues of the *Revue* were released every year at variable dates. These generally amounted to about 500 pages in total and

7. For instance, the last issue of 1850 was delayed because the engraver had gone to Rome for a month without notice (September 12, 1850).

were assembled in an octavo volume with a table of contents at the end of the year.

The *Revue* was distributed either in the form of separate issues or of assembled volumes (a yearly volume cost 15 francs). In 1847, one issue was printed in 400 copies, of which 350 were sold, a figure that Cartier deems satisfying.<sup>8</sup> Since the potential market for the journal was small, it was paramount to ensure close control over the distribution. The directors, therefore, judiciously opted for the system of subscriptions.<sup>9</sup> After giving a certain amount of money, the readers received new issues automatically—even though subscribers ceaselessly reported failures in the delivery. Aside from this system, the journal could also be purchased issue by issue. The distribution was entrusted to intermediaries:

8. March 27, 1848.

9. This system of distribution was still fairly new, as it had started to be adopted in the second half of the eighteenth century (Beaudry 2011, 134–35).

bookstores, or meeting places such as the coin dealer Camille Rollin’s shop in Paris. But Cartier and La Saussaye again played a major role in the distribution of the journal. Both of them received a predetermined number of issues that they could sell around them or give to their respective contacts as a courtesy.

Cartier and La Saussaye were thus much more than the founders—Cartier writes “fathers”<sup>10</sup>—and administrative directors of the *Revue numismatique*. Every issue was carried out almost entirely by the two.<sup>11</sup> The undertaking of two men, the *Revue* distinguishes itself from most nineteenth-century publications, which were generally collective initiatives. In this respect it harks back to the tradition of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century numismatic periodicals, which were essentially

10. December 1844.

11. The early decades of the nineteenth century saw the emergence of the autonomous figure of the editor in France; however, only a few major scholarly journals were run by editors. See Tesnière 1993.

Figure 9: A plate from the 1853 volume of the *Revue numismatique* (image source: [hathitrust.org](http://hathitrust.org)).



the achievement of individuals they did not outlive.<sup>12</sup> Incidentally, Cartier often refers to the journal as “our work” or “our property.” What is more, as soon as he started discussing his retirement as director and the selling of the *Revue*,<sup>13</sup> Cartier made it very clear that the *Revue* was not to outlive him, and insisted that the title be changed after new directors took over the business. He suggested the alternative titles *Mélanges de numismatique* or *Nouvelle revue*.<sup>14</sup> In fact, the subsequent directors were to keep the title *Revue numismatique*, but started a “second series” of the journal. In this intrinsic bond between the journal and two personalities, as in many other respects, the project of the *Revue* reveals itself a fascinating mix of old and modern.

### The *Revue* in a Larger Context: Numismatic Science in the Nineteenth Century

The “Cartier Papers” also contribute to understanding the tableau of numismatics in France and, more generally, Europe in the years 1830–1850. An instrument of connection between two learned collectors, the letters indeed constitute primary evidence for the existence of networks of amateurs. Further, as Cartier and La Saussaye’s relationship developed into a collaboration on a journal, the letters are perhaps most rewarding in that they echo the founding debates at the time when the genre of the scholarly journal was emerging, and reflect the evolution of a numismatic discipline that was establishing itself on scientific bases.<sup>15</sup>

The genre of the scholarly journal dates back to the seventeenth century.<sup>16</sup> The very first examples, the French *Journal des sçavans* and the British *Philosophical Transactions*, were both launched in 1665 (figs. 10–11). Numerous initiatives followed, but the actual “Golden Age” of the genre was arguably the nineteenth century.<sup>17</sup> Not only did an unprecedented number of new titles flourish in France in the course of the century, but these periodicals also became quite different in nature from what they had been before: governed by distinctly scientific ambitions, they set new goals and codes for themselves.

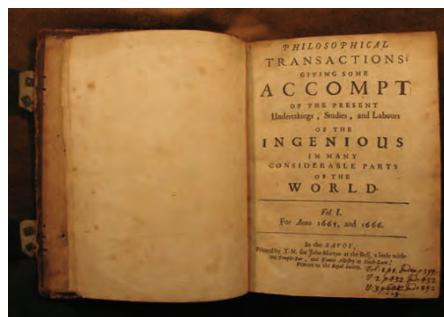
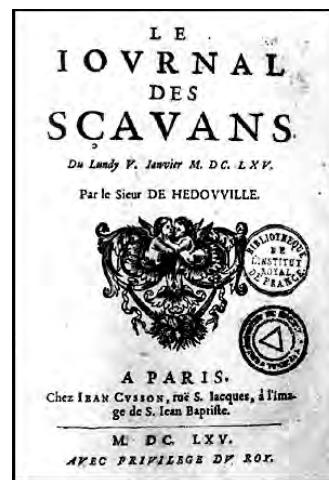
Cartier himself, though strikingly reactionary in more than one respect, perceived and championed this trend. Most tellingly, he refers to his century as the « siècle des

lumières » (“the Age of Enlightenment”), a phrase that in his lifetime already usually applied to the eighteenth century, not the nineteenth.<sup>18</sup> The creation of the *Revue* can be best understood in this context. The journal has been rightfully acclaimed as a major agent in the fashioning of numismatics as an autonomous, scientifically rigorous discipline in France.

One distinctive evolution in nineteenth-century scientific communication was the development of a stream of increasingly specialized journals structured on a periodical basis. As opposed to earlier journals which were multidisciplinary in scope, many new titles began to narrow their focus to one area of expertise. The *Revue*, with its intentional focus on numismatics rather than general history and archaeology, is symptomatic of this change. It was the first journal of this kind in France. Its modest output of just a few hundred copies for each issue aligns well with the average caliber of specialized journals at the time.<sup>19</sup> On the larger European scale, the *Revue* belongs to a generation of new periodicals dealing for the first time with numismatics alone. Other titles founded in the same years include the German *Numismatische Zeitung* (1834), the British *Numismatic Journal* (later *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1836) (fig. 12), and the Belgian *Revue belge de numismatique* (1842).<sup>20</sup>

Cartier and La Saussaye’s ambition was bold indeed: maintaining the *Revue*’s strong specialization was economically very challenging. The directors had to cover the expenses of every issue themselves, but their personal wealth was far from sufficient to support the undertaking. A private initiative, the journal did not receive public funding. As a result, the financial health of the project relied heavily on subscriptions. But by focusing exclusively on numismatics, the directors targeted only a restricted audience, and deprived themselves of a significant source of income even as the nationwide competition between periodicals grew ever more fierce; less specialized publications generally turned out to be economically more sustainable.<sup>21</sup> Cartier often had to struggle with personal financial difficulties, and from the autumn of 1850 he frequently expressed his wish to put an end to the *Revue*.<sup>22</sup> Yet he always defended the journal’s specialization, while La Saussaye, more

Figures 10–11: The first scholarly journals: *Journal des sçavans* and *Philosophical Transactions*, both launched in 1665 (image sources: [classes.bnf.fr](http://classes.bnf.fr) and [ansp.org](http://ansp.org)).



12. Lafaurie 1986, 9–10.

13. Cartier began thinking about selling the journal to new directors in autumn of 1850. He made his decision official in a solemn letter of October 11, 1855. The subsequent exchanges with his associate deal with practical aspects of the operation.

14. September 23, 1854.

15. I will not detail here the steps of creation of the *Revue*, which are now well known thanks to articles by Jean Lafaurie (Lafaurie 1986) and Françoise Dumas (Dumas 1987).

16. Beaudry 2011.

17. Tesnière 1993, Yon 2010.

18. Venurino 2002.

19. Tesnière 1993.

20. To be fair, numismatic periodicals had appeared as soon as 1689 in Europe. However, those were sporadic and ephemeral. Lafaurie 1986, 9–10.

21. Tesnière 1993; Yon 2010.

22. Over the year 1839, for instance, the directors had a loss of over 200 francs (April 9, 1940). Cartier first suggested shutting down the journal in his letter of September 27, 1850.

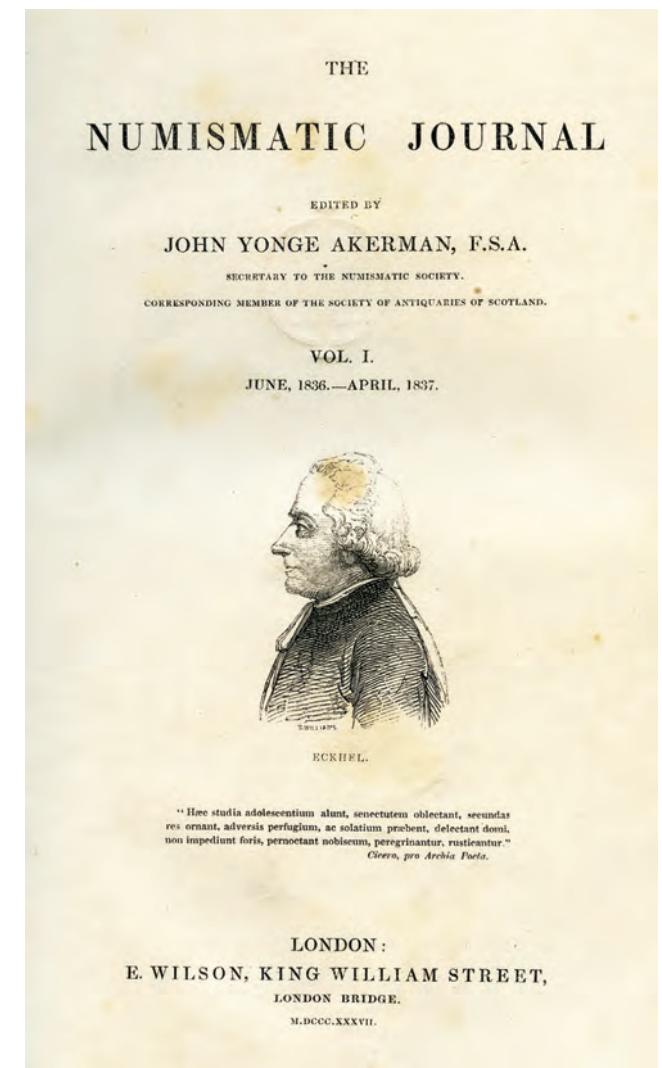


Figure 12: The first volume of the *Numismatic Journal*, 1836 (image source: [Royal Numismatic Society](http://Royal Numismatic Society)).



Figure 13: La Saussaye spent most of his time in Paris where he was a member of the prestigious Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (image source: Wikimedia Commons).

realistic perhaps, seemingly made attempts to extend the scope of the *Revue* beyond numismatics to general archaeology.<sup>23</sup> Cartier actually hoped to compensate for the restricted scope of the journal by advocating easily accessible contents in order to reach the ever more numerous<sup>24</sup> public of non-specialist readers of science. In May of 1852, for instance, he refused contributions by Pétigny and Waddington on the grounds that their erudition would bore the “simple readers.”<sup>25</sup> Thus, a balance always had to be found between scientific ambition and popularization.

The *Revue numismatique* is also indicative of the reshaping scientific milieu in nineteenth-century France. Whereas earlier scholarly publications had been created and controlled by seventeenth-century *académies*, such as the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (fig. 13), most of the new periodicals starting in the early nineteenth century came from a different background. Almost all of them initiated from the bottom up. They were mostly put out by learned societies, a kind of association that grew exponentially in those years in France. As a rule, learned societies were inherently provincial and brought together a community of erudite men who concerned themselves with local history. These associations developed precisely in opposition to the model of seventeenth-century academies and their control over the organization and dissemination of research. They fostered decentralization and defended their autonomy from national institutions, primarily by publishing their own journals.<sup>26</sup> The *Revue* was affiliated to none of these

23. In a letter dated December 1844, a transcription of which is held by the ANS, Cartier firmly refuses to “meddle in anything else than [his] old coins” (« se mêler d’autre chose que [ses] vieilles monnaies ») on the pretext that he is “not an archaeologist.”

24. Tesnière 1993.

25. May 23, 1852.

26. Chaline 1995; Pierssens 2005, 10.

societies, but was undeniably rooted in the same milieu, as both of its directors were members of such groups<sup>27</sup> and shared similar concerns.

As a matter of fact, Cartier’s writing is pervaded by aggressive anti-Parisianism. Thus, in a letter dated December 1844, he opposes La Saussaye’s attempts to involve members of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in the administration of the journal and gives the following justification for his position: he conceives of the *Revue* as “one of the major bastions of provincial science against the Parisians” (« une des meilleures places de la science provinciale contre les Parisiens »).<sup>28</sup> Although Cartier reads like he is making a case for provincial science, his hostility is actually not devoid of personal grudge. Indeed, his hatred against the intellectual and political milieu of the capital arose after the revolution of 1830, when Charles X whom Cartier saw as the rightful king of France was deposed, while Cartier himself, on the grounds of his legitimist views, was evicted from his position at the Monnaie de Paris and forced into exile to his hometown of Amboise. His resentment increased over the years as the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres never awarded him a medal in recognition of his contribution to the advancement of the numismatic science, in spite of his repeated attempts<sup>29</sup> to earn the distinguished honor. In any case,

27. The cover of the first volume presents Cartier and La Saussaye as “members of several French archaeological societies.”

28. Although the ANS only holds letters sent between 1848 and 1858, some earlier letters including this one are known through partial transcriptions by their previous owner.

29. Cartier submitted a paper every year for the Concours des antiquités nationales, and regularly solicited La Saussaye to mobilize his Parisian contacts, in particular Charles Lenormant, a member of the Académie, in support of his application. Every year between the opening date of the competition in January and its conclusion in August, Cartier makes incessant allusions to the precious reward.

however non-scientific the reasons for Cartier’s opposing the Parisian milieu, his journal did play a role in the conversation between Parisian and provincial scientific groups at a time when the national fabric of cultural institutions was undergoing transformation.

The *Revue*, indeed, represented an alternative model to the national organs of scholarly communication, as it was inherently an initiative from the bottom up. The purpose of the journal, and one of its chief contributions to the numismatic science, was to bring together and crystallize a nation-wide network of French scholars with ties to other European countries.<sup>30</sup> At the time when the journal was created, in 1836, the study of coins was attracting an increasing number of new enthusiasts in France, specialists and amateurs alike.<sup>31</sup> In the absence of any overarching structure, however, these individuals constituted but an informal network made up of bilateral relationships.<sup>32</sup> The correspondence between Cartier and La Saussaye, starting years before the foundation of the *Revue*, aptly reflects this kind of bond.

Cartier got in touch with La Saussaye on July 4, 1830, with a letter expressing his wish to find a partner for exchange of coins and opinions on coins. From that time on, the two friends frequently visited each other to show their collections, comment on their respective research, exchange coins, books, and news, in particular information about recent archaeological finds and the state of the coin market. Contrary to Cartier, who often refers to himself as “l’hermite d’Amboise”, La Saussaye, who was a sociable man and pursued a successful academic career in Paris,<sup>33</sup> was better connected than his friend and often served as his intermediary for various purposes. In a letter dated December 8, 1830, for example, Cartier complains about his isolation and asks La Saussaye to purchase coins from the dealer Boileau in Tours on his behalf, and to keep an eye open on the antiquities market.

The *Revue* in its early years bore the trace of this pre-existing fabric of relationships between isolated individuals. Amateurs and scholars alike were welcome to contribute to the journal. Not only were contributions submitted directly to Cartier or La Saussaye by mail,

30. Lafaurie 1986, 19.

31. Veillon 2008.

32. Following the Renaissance model of the Republic of Letters (Beaudry 2011, 119–21).

33. La Saussaye became a member of the Société royale des Antiquaires de France in 1836 and a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in 1845. He was later named superintendent of the Académie de Poitiers in 1855, then of the Académie de Lyon in 1856. From 1857, he was a member of the Académie impériale des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts.

but actually, countless dissertations presented themselves as a letter addressed to an acquaintance—hence the frequency of article titles such as « lettre à... à propos de... » (“a letter to... about...”)—even though this is sometimes just pure formality.

The journal, however, took contacts between numismatists to another level. Cartier and La Saussaye originally designed the *Revue* as a platform to pool all materials relevant to bringing forward the knowledge of numismatics. They intended to centrally organize the study of coins by calling all numismatists out of their cabinets, so to speak, and encourage them to systematically share their collection, research results, and local numismatic news through the *Revue*.<sup>34</sup> This initiative came at a moment when scholars were meeting prohibitive financial obstacles for the publication of their work, and the journal as a new editorial form was meant to solve this problem.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, Cartier and La Saussaye’s initial call was met with enthusiasm. The journal counted 234 French subscribers as soon as 1837, just a year after it was launched.<sup>36</sup> Plans were even made right from the beginning to create a numismatic society alongside the journal. Even though the idea was soon abandoned, the pioneering initiative of the *Revue* nonetheless played a prominent part in bringing together a community of French numismatists. In this respect, it paved the way for the Société française de numismatique created 30 years later in 1866.<sup>37</sup>

The emerging network of numismatists also stretched beyond national borders. Cartier was a member of several foreign learned societies, such as the *Numismatic Society of London* founded in 1836. The letters contain allusions to his ongoing contacts with colleagues from Belgium, Great Britain, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and as far away as Russia. The French scholar expresses his concern to keep up with the progress made abroad in numismatic research.<sup>38</sup> Conversely, the *Revue* was distributed in foreign countries. In 1837 already it counted

34. Cartier and La Saussaye outlined their project in a leaflet entitled « Considérations sur l’histoire monétaire » distributed to attendees of the Third Congrès Scientifique de France in Douai, in 1835. The ideas were stated again in the introduction to the second edition of the first volume in 1838.

35. Beaudry 2011, 146. However, while looking back on the life of the journal after his retirement, Cartier felt with unconcealed bitterness that some scholars had abused the advantage.

36. Lafaurie 1986, 34.

37. “La Société Française de Numismatique des origines à nos jours.” *Société française de numismatique*. <http://www.sfnumismatique.org/un-peu-dhistoire/#fs-tabbed-11>.

38. Cartier thus writes on September 23, 1850: « Notre revue [...] se trouve arriérée, et [...] souvent voit dans la *Revue belge* l’analyse de numéros des deux autres revues qui nous sont tout inconnus. » (“Our journal is backwards, and oftentimes one can read in the *Revue belge* reviews of other journals’ issues we don’t even know about.”)

26 foreign subscribers.<sup>39</sup> The *Revue* thus contributed to the development of the international cooperation between numismatists, another characteristic trend of nineteenth-century intellectual life.<sup>40</sup>

The vast majority of readers and contributors to the *Revue*, however, remained French. The purposes of the *Revue* inevitably reflected the interests of this basis.<sup>41</sup> Numerous members of this network of French numismatics shared in the intellectual *Zeitgeist* of the years 1830, namely a revived curiosity for national history.<sup>42</sup> This feature bore on the orientation of the *Revue numismatique*. At the heart of Cartier and La Saussaye's initial project<sup>43</sup> was the goal to contribute to the study and publication of French numismatic heritage: hence the original title of the journal, *Revue de la numismatique française*. Numismatics enthusiasts were urged to compose a national mosaic where every individual would contribute by studying the numismatic history of their own region. Cartier, for example, considered himself the chief authority for the history of the region of Amboise, “[his] field” (« mon domaine »).<sup>44</sup> The scope of the *Revue* nonetheless rapidly expanded far beyond the initial wish of its authors. After just two years of its existence, and upon request from many contributors, the directors were forced to open their journal to ancient and foreign numismatics: as soon as 1838, the journal therefore took on its definitive name *Revue numismatique*. Still, Cartier never lost sight of the original purpose. He fought to the end to keep French medieval and modern numismatics the major focus of the journal, and lamented the fact that La Saussaye gave ever greater importance to ancient numismatics.<sup>45</sup>

Even though the *Revue* was inherently grounded in a community of scholars and amateurs, Cartier and La Saussaye strove to take numismatic studies beyond a mere cooperation between enthusiasts and to professionalize the relationship between members of the network.

In his letters, Cartier strongly asserted principles of

scientific impartiality. He banned from the pages of the journal any expression of non-scientific views, and proved particularly unforgiving against contributors who expressed political views in their articles; when addressing his friend La Saussaye, however, he could not conceal his deep political anxiety, in those decades when France was shaken by an instability of political regimes and the French people divided between royalists, Bonapartists, and republicans. Cartier also tried to prevent personal enmities from interfering with science, and categorically refused that the *Revue* be used as a battleground for *ad hominem* attacks. In the same way, he demanded that peer reviews be impartial. For example he sometimes refused to personally review publications by authors he disliked.

However, he revealed himself an opportunist in the application of his rules. Oftentimes he gave priority in the *Revue* to his personal interests over scientific values—for example by using it as a tribune for his political opinions,<sup>46</sup> or by accepting more easily the articles submitted by members of the Académie who could help his career.<sup>47</sup> Cartier's letters thus prove him far from exempt of partisan mentality; what is worse, his elevated principles appear on occasion as tools to silence the expression of opposing views.<sup>48</sup> In any case, his inconsistency must not detract from the fact that he recognized and promoted a set of rules that should ideally govern scientific publication and guarantee scientific impartiality—rules that we regard as self-evident today, but that we should never take for granted.

The Cartier Papers held at the ANS have a lot to contribute not only to the history of the *Revue numismatique*, but more generally to that of scholarly journals. The letters also testify to the sociology of intellectual life in France and Europe in the nineteenth century. Finally, because the *Revue* was so foundational in taking numismatics from a hobby for collectors to an established scientific discipline, the letters also remind us that our scientific values and obligations have a history.

39. Lafaurie 1986, 34.

40. Charle 2004.

41. Dumas 1987, 232. See also « La Société Française de Numismatique des origines à nos jours. » *Société française de numismatique*. <http://www.sfnnumismatique.org/un-peu-dhistoire/#ffstabbed-11>.

42. Veillon 2008. La Saussaye was a case in point: he was a member of the Société de l'histoire de France and an inspector for the Société française pour la conservation et la description des monuments historiques, created respectively in 1833 and 1834.

43. E. Cartier, *Considérations sur l'histoire monétaire adressées au congrès scientifique de France*, Tours, 1835.

44. June 30, 1852.

45. In a letter dated March 26, 1855: « On croule sous les Grecs et les Romains » (“We are weighed down under the Greeks and the Romans”).

46. On October 29, 1850, Cartier announces a letter that is going to be “a tiny bit political” (« un tantinet politique »).

47. On January 31, 1848: “let us avoid upsetting Lenormant” (« évitons de contrarier Lenormant » ) [the same Lenormant from whom Cartier was expecting the award of the medal of the Académie] because “we owe him a lot” (« nous lui devons beaucoup »).

48. Cartier is particularly harsh towards the republican Benjamin Fillon because he personally hates republicanism. When discussing political affairs with La Saussaye, he proves incredibly inventive in degrading puns to express his contempt for the republican régime.

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Facing page. Galvano, Algernon Sydney Sullivan Medallion, George Peabody College for Teachers. Acquired by the ANS from Medallic Art Company, 2018.

## JULES ÉDOUARD ROINÉ, Medals in Books, and the Birth of the Medallic Art Company

David Hill

Recently I was poking around the Library's rare book room, looking at some old ANS publications, when one book in particular caught my eye. On the spine it said *Algernon Sydney Sullivan*, a name I did not recognize. How had I missed the fact that the ANS had published a whole book about this person? I really should have remembered him. A prominent and active late-nineteenth-century member, Sullivan was frequently front and center at ANS events. He had, for example, represented the Society at one of its more public occasions of the early era, the official reception celebrating the placement of Cleopatra's Needle, a 3,000-year-old Egyptian obelisk erected in New York's Central Park in 1881.<sup>1</sup> And, as it turns out, this is no ordinary book. The bulk of it is actually a medal, mounted in a cardboard holder and bound together with about 74 pages of text, mostly biographical, along with some florid tributes to Sullivan, a New York City lawyer (fig. 1).

I really shouldn't be too hard on myself for not recognizing it. After all, the whole package had only a slight connection to the ANS to begin with. It was conceived by Sullivan's son and law partner, George, who wanted to establish an award in his father's name to be given to young attorneys excelling at the bar exam. He thought that as many as five medals bearing his father's likeness might be given out each year. He had the books with the medals made, and in 1913 gave them to the ANS along with sufficient funds to carry out his plan. The project then died. No group could be found to select the recipients.<sup>2</sup> The books went into storage at the Society's

Audubon Terrace headquarters, and there they sat for seven decades before being hauled out and sold for \$75 a pop in 1984.<sup>3</sup> George, meanwhile, went ahead and set up a foundation in his father's name, which to this day confers service awards to college students in the American South. The award, a uniface medallion, has nothing to do with the original purpose of honoring young lawyers, but it does use a modified version of the original medal's reverse (facing page). The money that George gave to carry out the original plan was converted at the ANS to a medal purchase fund.

I found all of this very interesting, but what I really liked was the innovative combining of two of my favorite things at the ANS, books and medals—well, that and the lovely medal itself, by Jules Édouard Roiné, with its obverse depicting a dignified Sullivan in profile and its reverse showing Sullivan himself passing a flame to a younger man, both figures cloaked in Classical drapery (fig. 2). In spirit and design it is typical of the medallic art that proliferated during this period under the influence of French sculptors like Jules-Clément Chaplain and Louis-Oscar Roty. So off I went to see what else the ANS had by Roiné. The first thing I found were more medals by him bound in books. I was also introduced to a small cast of characters (all ANS members, by the way, including Roiné) who were crucial to the formation of the Medallic Art Company, the recently closed private mint whose historical materials—medals, dies, galvanos, plaques, and paper and digital archives—were just acquired by the ANS.

1. Scott Miller, *Medallic Art of the American Numismatic Society, 1865–2014* (New York: ANS), 16–17.  
2. Howard Adelson, *The American Numismatic Society, 1858–1958* (New York: ANS, 1958), 187.

3. "Early ANS Medals Offered By Society," *ANS Newsletter* (Summer 1984), 5.



Figure 1. Algernon Sydney Sullivan book with medal, 1911.



Figure 2. United States. Algernon Sydney Sullivan. Bronze medal by J. E. Roiné, 1908. Miller 20 (1940.100.450, gift and bequest of Sadie and Robert Eidlitz) 66 × 88 mm (images reduced). ANS Medal.

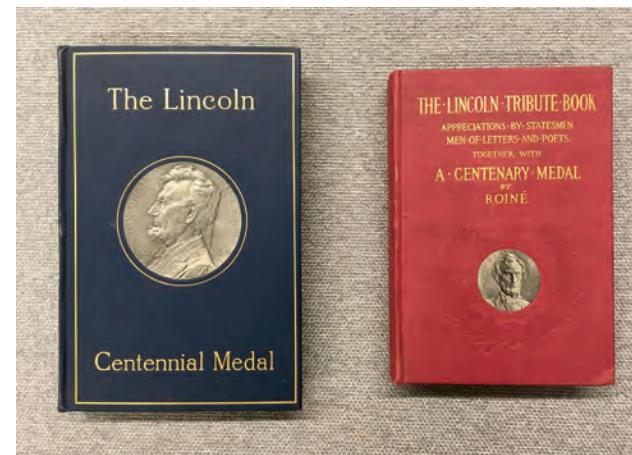


Figure 3. Two books containing medals, both for the centenary of Abraham Lincoln's birth, celebrated in 1909. On the covers are photographs of the medals inside.



Figure 4. United States. Circle of Friends of the Medallion, Lafayette. Bronze medal by J. E. Roiné, 1911. Alexander 5 (1985.81.165, gift of Daniel M. Friedenber) 48 × 77 mm (images reduced). The Circle of Friends series of medals were also housed in books.

The first of Roiné's medals to be incorporated into books were done for the centenary of Abraham Lincoln's birth, which was celebrated in 1909 (fig. 3). One book is entitled the *Lincoln Centennial Medal* and was published in 1908. Its medal shows the president's face in profile, and the accompanying text has sections on the planned centenary events and the origin and symbolism of the medal, along with Lincoln's "certain characteristic utterances," like the Gettysburg Address and the Emancipation Proclamation. The other one is called the *Lincoln Tribute Book* (1909). Its medal shows the president in full face. The text consists of republished tributes and poems honoring the slain leader. A couple of years after the publication of the Lincoln books, in 1911, another Roiné medal was issued in book form. This was *Marquis de Lafayette* (fig. 4), and it was one of 12 issued between 1909 and 1915 by a group calling itself the Circle of Friends of the Medallion.

One of the founders of the Circle of Friends of the Medallion, and a chief financial backer,<sup>4</sup> was Robert Hewitt Jr. (fig. 5), who was also behind the Lincoln books.<sup>5</sup> Hewitt was a venerable old member of the ANS. In fact, when he died in 1913, only one person had been a member longer.<sup>6</sup> Back in the 1860s he had been part of a group of numismatists that had breathed new life into the Society, which was then feeling the strains of the American Civil War that had broken out just three years after

its founding. With the ANS's future far from certain, a separate group, the New York Numismatic Society, had begun meeting at Hewitt's home on West 21st Street. That society petered out after five meetings, however, and its members, and property, were subsumed by the ANS.<sup>7</sup>

Hewitt was at one time a sugar and coffee merchant<sup>8</sup> and wrote what might be the first book in English celebrating the history and pleasures of coffee<sup>9</sup> (fig. 6). He eventually moved into large-scale cold storage, erecting and managing warehouses throughout New York City, including in what would become Manhattan's fashionable Meatpacking District.<sup>10</sup> He collected coins and medals—particularly presidential medals—and had been doing so since at least the time when Lincoln was president.<sup>11</sup> In 1918, his collection of Lincolnalia—over 1,200 medallions, plaques, medals, coins, tokens, and badges—was donated to the Smithsonian by his wife.<sup>12</sup> The ANS had agreed to publish a catalog based on his collection, but he died before it could be done.<sup>13</sup> He had dedicated the *Lincoln Centennial Medal* book to ANS

4. Susan Luftschein, "Charles de Kay and the Circle of Friends of the Medallion: Aesthetic Taste in America," *Coinage of the Americas Conference, November 8–9, 1997* (New York: ANS, 1999), 236.  
5. Horatio Sheafe Krans, *The Lincoln Tribute Book* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909), v.  
6. Thomas Elder, *Catalogue of the Public Auction Sale of the Rare Coins, Medals, Tokens, Pamphlets, of Robert Hewitt, Esqr.*, March 21, 1914.

7. Adelson, 41–44.  
8. Jay Shockley, *Gansevoort Market Historic District Designation Report* (New York: New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, 2003), 96.  
9. Robert Hewitt, *Coffee: Its History, Cultivation, and Uses* (New York: D. Appleton, 1872).  
10. "Death of Robert Hewitt," *New York Produce Review and American Creamery* 36, no. 24 (October 1, 1913), 1108.  
11. Alfred Satterlee, *An Arrangement of Medals and Tokens, Struck in Honor of the Presidents of the United States* (New York: Alfred Satterlee, 1862). The 357 medals listed were mostly from the collections of Satterlee and Hewitt, according to the title page.  
12. Charles Walcott, *Report of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution*, June 30, 1918, 17.  
13. ANS Council Minutes, February 15, 1913.



Figure 5. Robert Hewitt Jr., 1863 (ANS Archives).

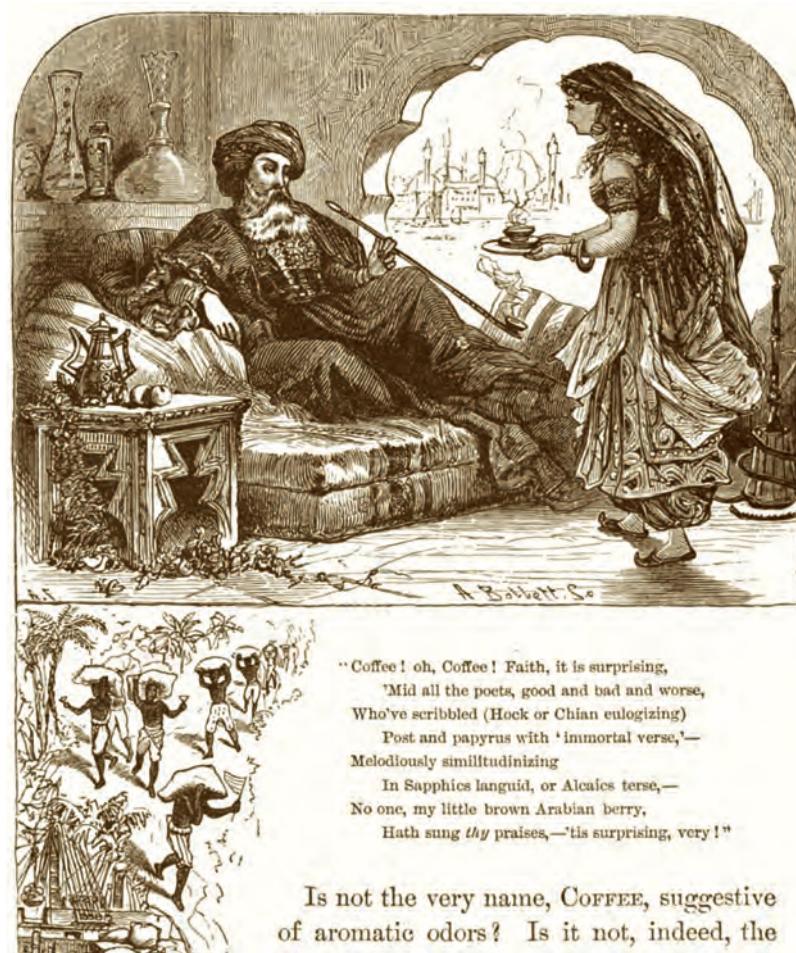


Figure 6. Illustration from Hewitt's book, *Coffee: Its History, Cultivation, and Uses* (1872).



Figure 7. United States. Lincoln Centennial. White metal medal by J. E. Roiné, 1909. King 310 (1909.45.1, gift of Medallic Art Co.) 62 mm. The die for the Lincoln Centennial Medal was ceremoniously canceled using the centenary date of his birth. It was donated to the ANS and used to strike this medal.

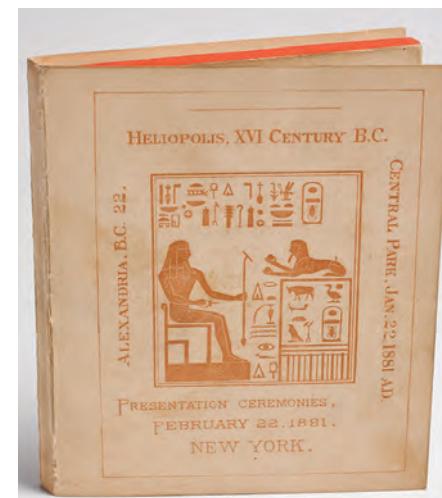


Figure 8. The ANS's Cleopatra's Needle medal was issued in a small, book-like holder.

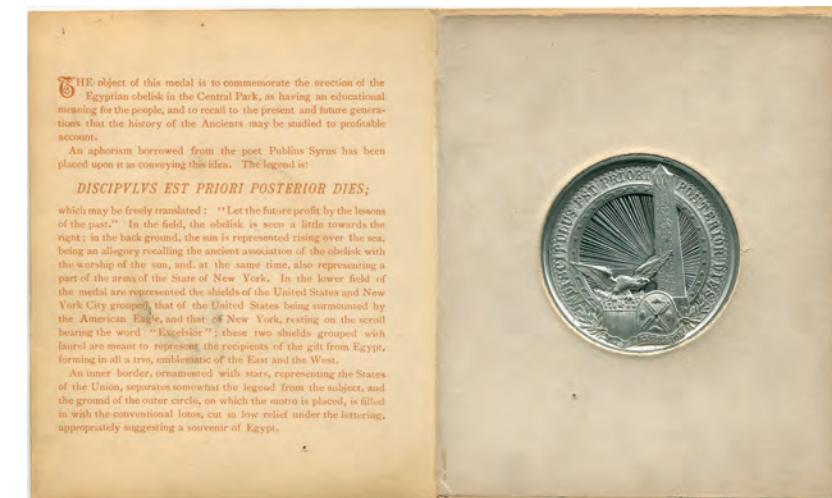


Figure 9. United States. Cleopatra's Needle. White metal medal by Charles Osborne and Gaston Feuardenet, 1881. Miller 5. (1977.51.1, purchase) 41 mm (image reduced). The medal's holder contains little text but can perhaps be seen as a precursor to the book-and-medal combinations of the Circle of Friends and the Lincoln Centenary. ANS Medal.

president Archer Huntington and had suggested to him that the ANS might present a version containing a gold medal, placed in a box made from the wood of Lincoln's house, to King Victor Emmanuel III of Italy (an honorary member since 1901), but the Society's council rejected the idea on the grounds that the medal was not one issued by the ANS.<sup>14</sup> The dies were ceremoniously canceled and given to the Society (fig. 7).<sup>15</sup>

It was Hewitt's partner in the Circle of Friends, Charles de Kay, who took credit for the idea of marrying the book and medal into one package.<sup>16</sup> A poet and for nearly two decades the literary and art critic of the *New York Times*, de Kay wrote most of the text for the books while Hewitt handled the funding.<sup>17</sup> De Kay was a founding member of the National Sculpture Society, and that organization's dedication to fostering a popular appreciation of sculptural art through medals. He knew that most collectors didn't have specialized furniture to house medals properly, making efficient storage and retrieval difficult. "The book-container solves the problem well," he explained, "for [the medal] is handy on the shelf and along with it goes a brief essay on the person or the event it celebrates."<sup>19</sup> In other

words, the bound book and medal could simply be added to any collector's library. To be sure, this was not exactly a radical concept. Medals had long been issued in cases with accompanying text. Take, for example, the ANS's Cleopatra's Needle medal of 1881 (the first at the ANS that Hewitt was involved with<sup>20</sup>). Housed in a case with an illustration on its cover, it is small but very book-like (figs. 8–9). Admittedly it has only a couple of "pages" of text. Then again, the Lafayette book has only about 11 pages of writing.

To make the Lincoln medals,<sup>21</sup> and the first two Circle of Friends medals,<sup>22</sup> Hewitt turned to his friend Henri Weil. Weil was a craftsman who had built up the metal-working division of a company called Deitsch Brothers, which made leather goods, such as pocketbooks, that were sometimes adorned with ornamental silver fixtures. Learning that similar metal work was being done more cheaply overseas, Henri went to France to find out how they did it. He discovered that they were using the Janvier reduction machine, the newest type of pantograph, the device that had ignited the era's explosion in the medallic arts. The company began importing and distributing the machines, with Henri as the expert who trained the buyers, and the company began moving away

14. ANS Council Minutes, January 16, 1909.

15. "New Lincoln Medals," *American Journal of Numismatics* 43, no. 1 (July, 1908), 22–23.

16. Charles De Kay, "Medals Issued by the Circle of Friends of the Medallion," *Numismatist* 26, no. 3 (March 1913), 134.

17. Luftschein, 236.

18. F. W. Ruckstull, "Origin and Early History of the National Sculpture Society," 1929, [1], unpublished, NSS Archives.

19. Charles de Kay, "Medals Issued," 135.

20. Miller, 74.

21. D. Wayne Johnson, "Felix Weil and His Partner Jules Edouard Roiné," *Medalblog: Medal Making History*, medalblog.wordpress.com, May 21, 2012, 10.

22. David Alexander, *American Art Medals, 1909–1995* (New York: ANS, 2010), 5.



Figure 10. United States. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Bronze medal by Bela Lyon Pratt, 1907. (0000.999.6005) 63 mm (images reduced). This was Henri Weil's first die reduction job using the Deitsch Brothers's Janvier pantograph. Weil would later buy the Janvier machine and the Medallie Art Company name and begin his independent operation in 1910.



Figure 11. Statue of Justice, Jules Édouard Roiné, Bronx County Courthouse, 1910.



Figure 12. Dawn of the Twentieth Century, Jules Édouard Roiné, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Wikimedia Commons).

from the metal ornamentation and into the productions of medals.<sup>23</sup> Henri's first customer for die reduction was Bela Lyon Pratt (fig. 10). The Deitsch Brothers began calling this part of their business Medallie Art Company in 1909, and apparently it was Hewitt who suggested the name.<sup>24</sup> He also persuaded his friend to split the division from its parent company. Henri bought the rights to the name and began operating as Medallie Art Company in 1910 at 10 East 17th Street in Manhattan.<sup>25</sup>

Henri struggled at first with his new company; Roiné would play a big role in its ultimate success. According to D. Wayne Johnson, Medallie Art Company's corporate historian, without Roiné, "there may not have been a Medallie Art Company had it gone under during those early lean years." Roiné had known Henri Weil and his brother, Felix,

for a while. The Weils were sculptors' assistants who over the years had honed their skills on various jobs—from the small metal work of the pocketbooks to the large-scale ornamentation for new buildings like the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. Roiné also had fine technical skills. His specialty was the making of electrogalvanic casts, the reproducible plaques he had been offering as art objects since at least 1894. In 1908, Roiné and Felix formed Roiné, Weil, and Company, enjoying immediate success doing contract work for medallie firms like Whitehead & Hoag and Gorham Manufacturing.<sup>26</sup> Unsurprisingly, they were particularly close to Henri's Medallie Art Company. In fact, even though Henri's company was nominally independent, the three men worked together on all commissions, regardless of who received them. The Weil brothers split their earnings down the middle, and this arrangement allowed Henri to keep the struggling Medallie Art Company afloat.<sup>27</sup> Henri Weil was born in the United States but to French parents who traveled back and forth to France (where



Figure 13. United States. Joseph K. Davison's Sons. Baxter 296, King, 908, 929. Bronze medal by J. E. Roiné, 1910. (0000.999.57426) 51 mm (images enlarged). On Roiné's medal are the reducing and engraving machines that were so crucial to the proliferation and innovation in the medallie arts during his lifetime.

23. D. Wayne Johnson, "A Brief History of the Medallie Art Company," medallieartcollector.com.

24. D. Wayne Johnson, "Medallie Art Company: Founding Date Inconsistency," Medallieblog: Medal Making History, medallieblog.wordpress.com, May 31, 2010, 3–4.

25. D. Wayne Johnson, "Medallie Art Co Management Over the Years," Medallieblog: Medal Making History, medallieblog.wordpress.com, May 21, 2010.

26. Johnson, "Felix Weil and His Partner."

27. D. Wayne Johnson, "A Brief History of the Medallie Art Company," medallieartcollector.com.



Figure 14. Roiné's works as displayed at the International Medallic Exhibition of the American Numismatic Society, 1910 (ANS Archives).



Figure 15. Blue Nude (1907) by Henri Matisse was just one of the works that shocked Americans at New York's famous Armory Show of 1913. Not all of the art at the show was so unsettlingly modern. Roiné had a few of his medals on display.



Figure 16. United States. Centennial of the Catholic Diocese of New York. Silver medal by J. E. Roiné, 1908. Johnson 17, Miller 21. (0000.999.4356), 76 mm. ANS Medal.

Felix was born) for their ceramic business.<sup>28</sup> Roiné was also French. Born in 1857 in Chantenay, a town on the Loire River that later became part of the sprawling industrial city of Nantes. He was about 20 when he left for Paris, where he studied under the sculptor Léopold Morice. In 1881 he went to New York, and some of his sculptural works would be woven into the fabric of that city: bas reliefs at Grant's Tomb, panels for an open-air pulpit at Grace Church, a statue of Justice for the Bronx County Courthouse (Fig. 11). Roiné returned to Paris in 1894, exhibiting yearly and taking prizes at the salons of the *Société des Artistes Français* and elsewhere.<sup>29</sup> He was awarded a gold medal at the Universal Exposition of 1900 for a plaque, *Dawn of the Twentieth Century* (fig. 12).<sup>30</sup>

It was a golden age for medallic art, and Paris was at its center. The rigid formalism and neoclassical designs of the past had given way to freer styles as a generation of sculptors discovered that they could work up large models of innovative and lively designs and then use machines like the Janvier to reduce them.<sup>31</sup> Artists who studied under the masters of the new style, like Chaplain and Roty, got international exposure in a number

of exhibitions that in turn received expansive coverage in the art press. Societies devoted to medallic art were founded in France (1899), Belgium (1901), and Hungary (1905).<sup>32</sup> Roiné's work was characteristic of the period. It can be seen in the free mixing of classical and modern elements in his Joseph K. Davison's medal (fig. 13)<sup>33</sup> and even in the rectangular shape of the Sullivan medal and others, a form that had been revived and popularized by Roty.<sup>34</sup>

These *nouveau* styles reached the shores of the United States, too, and can be seen in the works of Victor David Brenner, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Frederick MacMonnies, and other artists who trained in Paris. In 1893, the Grolier Club in New York mounted an exhibition devoted exclusively to medals, with works by Roty, Chaplain, and Ringel d'Ilzsch.<sup>35</sup> The ANS played its part. In 1910 the Society brought together the works of many contemporary medalists—the French, of course, along with those of other countries, such as Hans Frei (Switzerland), Stefan Schwartz (Hungary), and Henri Kautsch (Austria)—for its International Exhibition of Medallic Art.<sup>36</sup> Roiné exhibited 27 pieces at the ANS

28. D. Wayne Johnson, "The French Influence on World Medallic Art," medallicartcollector.com.

29. L. Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, v. 5 (London: Spink, 1912), 195–96.

30. This work is called *France and Paris* in the catalog *International Medallic Exhibition of the American Numismatic Society, Contemporary Medalists* (New York: ANS, 1910). See the photograph album of the exhibit, ANS Archives.

31. Mark Jones, *The Art of the Medal* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1979), 119.

32. Nicolas Maier, *French Medallic Art, 1870-1940* (Munich: Nicolas Maier, 2010), 16–17, 20–21, 31–34, 43–44, 128.

33. Alan Stahl, "The American Industrial Medal," *Numismatist* 97, no. 10 (October, 1984), 2069.

34. Barbara Baxter, *The Beaux-Arts Medal in America* (New York: ANS, 1987), 72.

35. Maier, 32, 129.

36. *International Medallic Exhibition of the American Numismatic Society, Contemporary Medalists* (New York: ANS, 1910).



Figure 17. United States. Grover Cleveland Memorial. Gold medal by J. E. Roiné, 1908. Miller 22 (0000.999.4384), 36 mm (images enlarged). ANS Medal.



Figure 18. United States. Abraham Lincoln Centennial. Uniface gold medal by J. E. Roiné, 1909. Johnson 21, Miller 24. (1909.325.1, gift of Archer Huntington), 78 × 100 mm (image reduced). ANS Medal.



Figure 19. United States. Society of Beaux Arts Architects. Bronze medal by J. E. Roiné, 1914. Baxter 304. (1940.100.1961, gift and bequest of Sadie and Robert Eidlitz), 55 mm.



Figure 20. France. Exposition Universelle 1900. Bronze medal by J. E. Roiné, 1900. (1985.81.76, gift of Daniel M. Friedenber), 55 × 68 mm (images enlarged).

show, most of them galvanic casts (fig. 14).<sup>37</sup> A few years later, Roiné's works showed up (somewhat unexpectedly, given its place in history) at the International Exhibition of Modern Art. This was the famous Armory Show of 1913, where America was first exposed to the Europeans' curious tastes in modern art. It's unlikely that Roiné—or his fellow medalists at the show, Chester Beach and James Earle Fraser—made much of an impression on a public now confronted with such shockers as Matisse's *Blue Nude* (burned in effigy when the show left New York) (fig. 15) and Duchamp's *Nude Descending a Staircase* (famously derided as an “explosion in a shingle factory”).<sup>38</sup>

By the time of the ANS's exhibition, the Society's own medal program, which began in 1866 with a memorial to Lincoln, was thriving. Thirty-five medals would be issued under its auspices between 1893 and 1926,<sup>39</sup> including examples by Brenner, Adolph Weinman, Daniel Chester French, and Gutzon Borglum. Roiné did four: the Sullivan, the Centennial of the Catholic Diocese of New York, U.S. President Grover Cleveland, and yet another Lincoln (figs. 16–18).

In marked contrast to the hagiographic treatment Roiné got from Hewitt for his *Lincoln Tribute Medal* (“how choice, how admirably selected, how harmonious are

all the details which combine to form this little masterpiece of finished art”),<sup>40</sup> the Cleveland medal has come up for some criticism. Howard Adelson, in his mostly flattering history of the ANS, wrote that “the design itself cannot be considered one of the best to have been issued under the auspices of the Society.” (He wasn't much impressed by Roiné's Catholic Diocese medal either.)<sup>41</sup> Barbara Baxter, in her book on the *beaux-arts* medal in America, said of the Cleveland medal, “the overabundance of decorative detail and the awkward anatomy of the figures . . . detract from the effectiveness of the design and indicate some of the weaknesses of this style of medallic art.”<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, Roiné's talents can readily be seen in his other works, like those for the *Exposition Universelle* of 1900 (fig. 19) and the Society of Beaux-Arts Architects (fig. 20).

For seven years or so, Roiné and Felix Weil carried on with their productive and profitable partnership, and perhaps would have continued that way for years to come. But in 1915, Roiné became ill with kidney disease, greatly curtailing his productivity. He returned to France with his family and died the following year at the age of 58.<sup>43</sup> At that point Felix joined his brother at the Medallic Art Company. The two brothers would run the company until 1929, when they sold it to Clyde Curlee Trees.<sup>44</sup>

37. Johnson, “Felix Weil and His Partner.”

38. Association of American Painters and Sculptors, *Catalogue of International Exhibition of Modern Art* (New York: Vreeland Advertising Press, 1913).

39. Baxter, 87.

40. Krans, 5.

41. Adelson, 181–82.

42. Baxter, 72.

43. Johnson, “Felix Weil and His Partner,” 4.

44. Johnson, “Medallic Art Co Management.”



## RESCUING AMERICAN HERITAGE: The ANS Acquires the Archives of the Medallic Art Company

Ute Wartenberg

An email from Peter van Alfen, ANS Chief Curator, arrived in my inbox on February 1, 2018. “Hi Ute,” it read:

*Apparently at the end of the year MACO dba Northwest Territorial Mint closed its doors and declared bankruptcy. The NYNC, as you can see from this thread, is seeing what can be done to recover the dies and possible plasters held by them. As far as I know, MACO ended up with some ANS dies as well, including those for Weinman’s Saltus Award.*

A number of concerned artists and institutions, among them the artist Heidi Wasteet, Brookgreen Gardens, and the New York Numismatic Club (NYNC) were already on the case trying to negotiate the returns of plasters or dies with one of the few remaining staff members at the Northwest Territorial Mint (NWTM) in Nevada. Less than five months later, the American Numismatic Society became the proud owner not just of its own dies for its famous medals, but all dies, galvanos, die-shells, plasters, artwork, databases, and rights to works produced before 1998, which were bought for \$420,000, in a bankruptcy court in Seattle. How did this happen?

Before the flurry of emails in late January, few of the regular customers of the Medallic Art Company (MACO), a private mint founded in New York City in 1907 and owned since 2009 by Northwest Territorial Mint, were aware of the serious situation in which the company found itself during its last two years. In March 2016, the company sought bankruptcy protection in a Seattle court, and a Trustee was appointed. Attempts to revive the business—said to have lost around \$50,000,000—failed, and by late 2017 the

decision was taken to close and move towards a bankruptcy auction of all inventory. Once this became clear to me, I researched the name and cell number of the Trustee, Mark Calvert, whom I decided to call immediately and launch into a longer tirade about ANS dies, copyright, and all sorts of other issues. Perhaps it was the early hour at which I called him, but he simply offered the ANS the chance to buy all of the dies and the rest of the material he had that was still for sale. This was all followed up an email, in which the CEO Paul Wagner explained that there were tens of thousands of objects, dies, and more. After the initial surprise, ANS Trustee, Mary Lannin, and I flew to Reno, rented a car and drove to Dayton, in the middle of February where were received by a skeleton staff of the Northwest Territorial Mint (figs. 1–3). Our main host, Rob Vugteveen (fig. 6), took a long afternoon to show us the entire remaining operation, the huge collection of well organized galvanos, the tens of thousands of dies, and the small museum.

During this first visit, we heard some of the story behind the collapse of this once impressive company where so many of the most revered artists in America had their medals minted. A dispute with the landlord of the plant had gone to court over environmental issues, which the owner of the property won. Ross Hansen, the owner of NWTM, was so upset that he launched a rather inflammatory website likening the landlord to Bernard Maddoff. The origin of this website was discovered, at which point Hansen and his landlord, Bradley S. Cohen, a Los Angeles real-estate investor, faced each other again in court in a now legendary libel lawsuit, which lasted five years. Hansen lost in February 2016. He was fined \$38 million and,



Figure 1: The former headquarters of MACO in Dayton, Nevada (photo: Lou Manna).



Figure 2: The former headquarters of MACO in Dayton, Nevada (photo: Ute Wartenberg).



Figure 3: ANS Trustee Mary Lannin at the former offices of MACO in Dayton, Nevada (photo: Ute Wartenberg).

unable to pay, he declared bankruptcy a few months later, on April 1st. Hansen, who had used similar tactics against other businesses in Nevada, appeared to have met his Waterloo. It was about to get worse. In April 2018, after an extensive FBI investigation, Ross Hansen and his girlfriend Diane Erdmann, who had worked as Vault Manager at NWTM, were indicted for fraud charges. The indictment alleges that both defrauded customers in a massive Ponzi-like scheme, in which at least \$25,000,000 went missing. The case is ongoing.

Under Hansen's ownership, NWTM, which ran Medallig Art Company, developed a flourishing business, with over 300 employees producing medals, challenge coins, and a variety of other medallic products, with a retail shop in the Pentagon and annual sales around \$200 million. The extent of this operation was clear from the ca. 110,000 square foot building the company occupied on Air Park Vista Boulevard in Dayton, Nevada, some 40 miles from Reno (figs. 1–2). When we visited the facility for the first time, we were able to inspect state-of-the-art minting equipment alongside some historical printing presses, two Janvier machines, and endless shelves and drawers of dies (figs. 4–5). Under Ross Hansen, the Northwest Territorial Mint began to buy defunct mints, with thousands of dies for tokens, some clearly of considerable age. The dies of the Medallig Art Company, which were arranged on long shelves, some as high as 12 feet tall, were all carefully numbered (figs. 6–9). The same is more or less true for the extraordinary collection of die-shell and electrotype galvanos (figs. 10–13). Those large galvanos particularly impressed us. Ultimately all 15,000 galvanos, including those produced after 1998 to the present day—either the old electrotype casts in copper or other medal or the later copies made from rubber or epoxy—were finally acquired by the ANS.

The next couple of months found the Society and its attorneys beginning to work out how to prepare the court documents to purchase the assets in a bankruptcy court, and began to get a better understanding of what was being purchased. Thanks to the considerable efforts of Rob Vugteveen and Cathy Swinburg, who both previously worked in the archives at Northwest Territorial Mint, the ANS received all computer-stored records, which included a full checklist completely illustrated with images, along with many thousands of digitized photos, records, articles, and more (figs. 14–24). By March 2018, it was clear that the Society should do its utmost to buy this material to preserve this invaluable archive of American medallic history. A second,



Figure 4: German-made Sack & Kieselbach 1000-ton minting press at the former headquarters of MACO in Dayton, Nevada (photo: Ute Wartenberg).



Figure 5: One of the two Janvier reducing machines acquired by MACO in the early part of the twentieth century (photo: Ute Wartenberg). Compare with figures 18–19 (next spread), which show the machines in use in the middle of the twentieth century. One of the Janvier machines is also illustrated on a medal on the introductory page to this article.



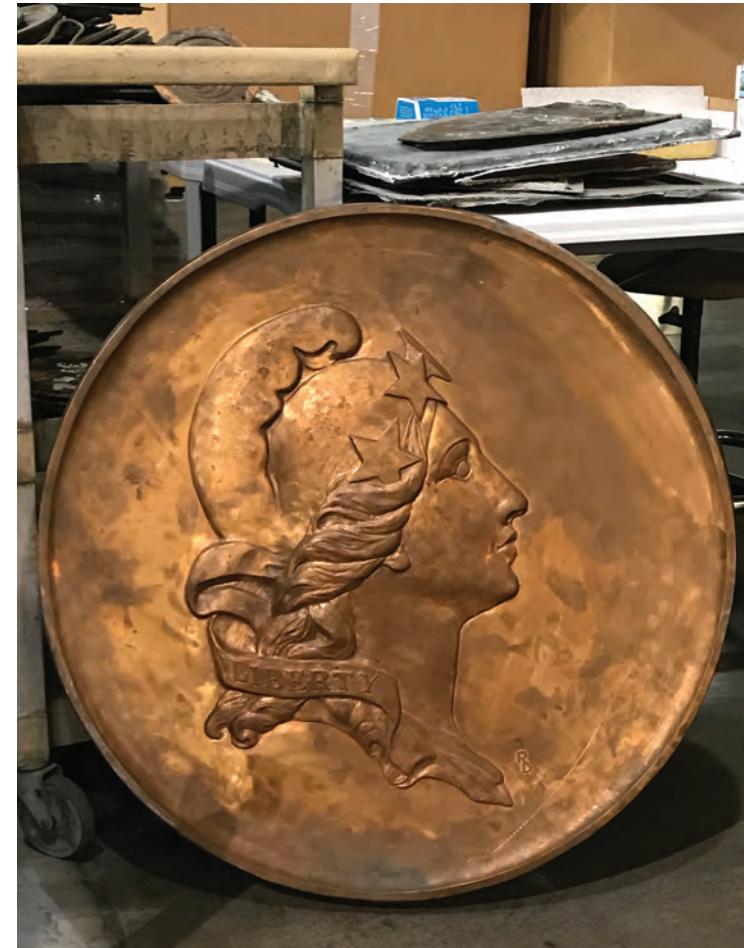
Figure 6: Rob Vugteveen standing in front of shelves storing galvanos and dies at the former headquarters of MACO in Dayton, Nevada (photo: Ute Wartenberg).



Figures 7–8 (below): Dies stored at the former headquarters of MACO in Dayton, Nevada (photo: MACO).



Figure 9: Dies stored at the former headquarters of MACO in Dayton, Nevada (photo: Lou Manna).



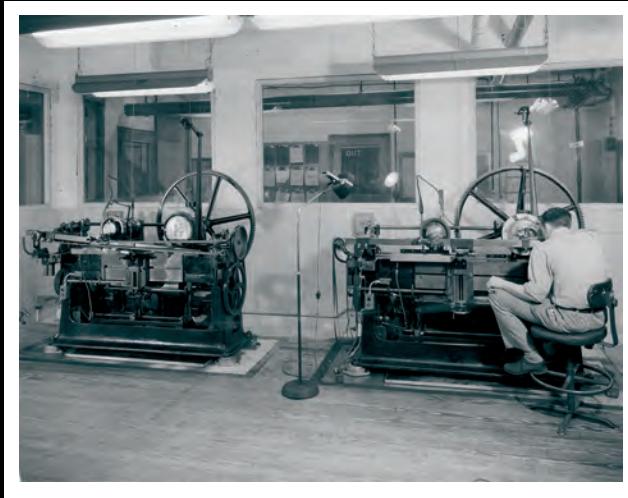
Figures 11-13: Examples of galvanos acquired by the ANS from the MACO acquisition (photos: Lou Manna).



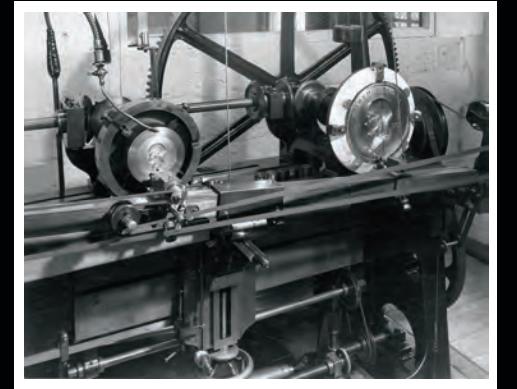
Figure 10: Ute Wartenberg inspecting galvanos stored at the former headquarters of MACO in Dayton, Nevada (photo: Lou Manna).

equally serious consideration was to prevent this material from leaving the United States where it might have been used by enterprising companies to start an extensive reminting program.

When the Society embarked on this project in February, the process of buying museum objects in a bankruptcy court was new to everyone at the ANS, although it seemed straightforward enough with the help of our attorneys. The entrepreneurial aspect was appealing, and we hoped that the Society's purchase of all materials (dies, galvanos, paper records, medals, copyrights, and all sorts of other objects prior to 1998) would happen by April or May. All other materials, in particular the dies for post 1998-medals were sold eventually to Medalcraft, Inc., a former competitor of NWTM, which has now taken over the market share of this company. In the end, the court proceedings were delayed by continued objections of various stake-holders, in particular artists who worried about their dies being misused. They were given an opportunity to recover their dies through purchase, and some institutions such as Brookgreen Gardens



Figures 14–24: Photographs acquired by the ANS depicting MACO's offices and the production of medals in the early and middle part of the twentieth century, and the awarding of MACO produced medals (photos: MACO).





Figures 25–26: Preparing the cabinets containing the medals archive in Dayton, Nevada, for shipment to the ANS's headquarters in New York City (photos: Ute Wartenberg).

bought all their dies directly. While these court proceedings were ongoing, the clock kept ticking since the building in Dayton was still full of assets, while money was running out to pay the remaining staff and the rent. When the ANS finally received court approval for its sale on June 13, 2018, only a few weeks remained in which to move the huge haul of what had then become ANS property.

Although the ANS has moved its collection twice in the last 15 years, packing and moving the Medallic Art Company materials was unprecedented. In principle, there were different groups of materials: some 15,000 dies, 15,000 galvanos and die-shells (including those post-1998, which were left by Medalcraft for the ANS to take), an uncertain number of medals in the sample archives (totaling easily 15–20,000 pieces), some 100 boxes of archival papers of NWTM and MACO, pieces of sculpture, and a lot of other material. We estimate that the material weighed over 200,000 pounds. Luckily ANS was able to negotiate

an agreement with Medalcraft and its CEO Jerry Moran in which all dies were being shipped to their headquarters in Wisconsin. ANS allows Medalcraft to use all dies still used for current customers, such as some of the famous ANS awards created in the early twentieth century, but has agreed to remove ca. 20% of the total holdings on an annual basis.

The archive of medals posed its own issues. In principle, all medals were organized by year with sequential numbers within each year, which allowed for a great system that was largely followed. What made packing difficult was that many medals were not packed in drawers but were instead in some state of re-organization or were simply orders which had not shipped. During two visits, I spent nine long days packing boxes that were then put on pallets ready for shipping to New York (figs. 25–29). There was something sad about dismantling such a great company since much was lost in process: many interesting archives of company documents appear to have ended up in boxes



Figures 27–29: The arrival of the cabinets containing the medals archive at the ANS's headquarters in New York City (photos: Alan Roche).

for the ongoing FBI investigation against Hansen and Erdmann. Knowing that someone had left a desk just before Christmas and then never being allowed back was also disconcerting. But all in all, the few remaining MACO staff members were incredibly helpful. Without people like Edgar Chacon, Paul Wagner, Jennifer Baker, and a few others, packing c. 50,000 items in less than a month would have been impossible.

Perhaps the most difficult task was undoubtedly the massive collection of galvanos, die-shells and plasters. Rob Vugteveen took over this operation during which all objects were barcoded, photographed, packed, and stored in c. 1,000 large boxes (Fig. 30). The photography operations were undertaken in a highly streamlined production line with a dozen students working eight hours a day. I was fortunate that Fred Holabird introduced me to Lou Manna, a photographer famous for his food pictures, who had set up and supervised the young group (Fig. 31). All of them worked hard in the un-air-conditioned halls of MACO in late June when that part of Nevada has temperatures of over 100° F. After nearly

three weeks, all 15,000 objects were barcoded and packed, and over 10,000 were photographed in high-resolution. Rob Vugteveen and Fred Holabird located a warehouse space nearby where this part of the collection is now housed on a temporary basis.

The third part of the archival materials contained over 10,000 medals and around 6,000 challenge coins as well as wall plaques, not to mention fifty or more boxes of archival material such as artwork, invoices, and letters from customers. The most important consideration of the move initially was placing all the material in a secure, climate-controlled location.

Back at the ANS, we are still unpacking, trying to figure out what we actually acquired. A full-time curatorial manager has been hired, Taylor Hartley (Fig. 32), who wrote a Master's thesis on Italian sculpture of the 1930 and 1940s. In an ideal world the American Numismatic Society would want to keep everything and only sell the actual duplicates, but this might be too ambitious a goal. For now, the checklist of dies



Figure 30: Some of the boxes containing the galvanos ready to be moved out of the Dayton, Nevada MACO facility (photo: Lou Manna).

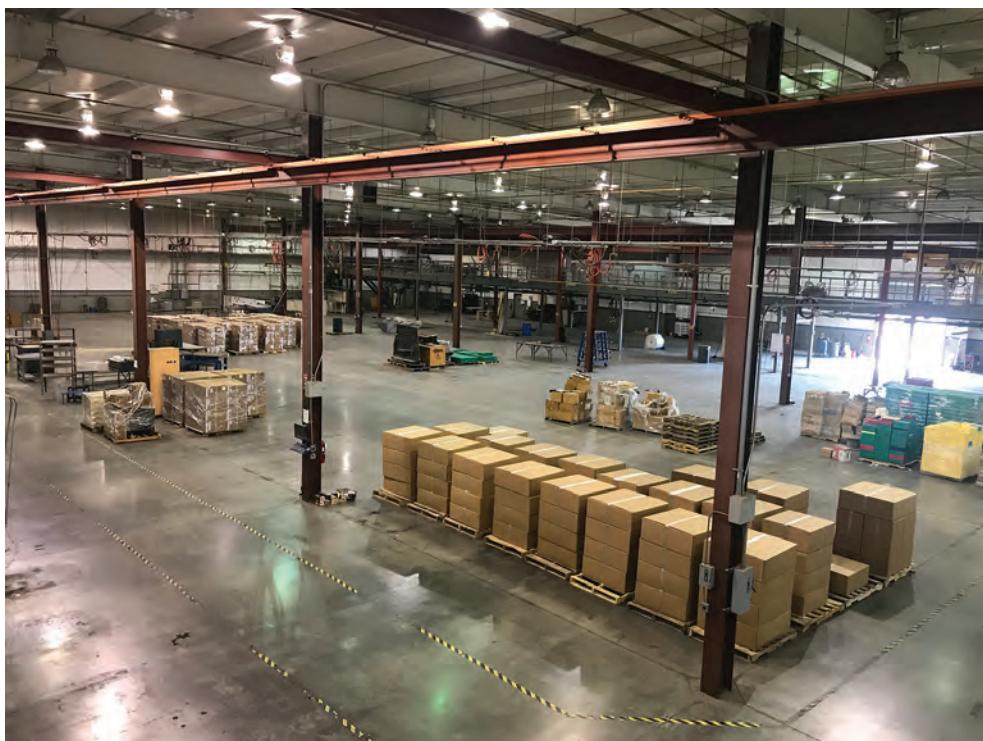


Figure 31: Students under the supervision of Lou Manna and Rob Vugteveen photographing the galvanos before packing them into boxes (photo: Lou Manna).



Figure 32: Taylor Hartley at work on the MACO collection (photo: Emma Pratte).

and medals prepared by the Medallic Art Company staff, including their former archivist Dick Johnson, will serve as a guide. This illustrated list will be published shortly by the ANS as a 3-volume paperback set. What comes next will be discussed in greater detail at a later stage when the extent of the historic and artistic value of the ANS holdings can be assessed in greater accuracy. I shall be preparing a second article for the next *ANS Magazine* in which the history of the company and actual objects will be discussed in greater detail.

# COLLECTIONS

Elena Stolyarik

## New Acquisitions

During the past season our collections continued to be improved by new donations and purchases. From a Numismatica Ars Classica sale, the Roman Department acquired a gold aureus of Faustina II, the wife of Marcus Aurelius and daughter of Antoninus Pius (fig. 1). This beautiful coin bears a draped bust of the empress with her hair curved on top of her head on the obverse and an image of a dove on the reverse, in high relief. This great example came from the famous Oscar E. Ravel collection.

Another important purchase is a lead trial strike of the 1814 Indian peace medal of George III in the smallest size (38 mm). The obverse of this medal bears a laureate, mantled bust of George III to right; the reverse has the royal arms with the date 1814 below (fig. 2). British authorities gave these medals to Native Americans with whom they had treaties or alliances. The United States produced and distributed similar peace medals featuring the portraits of American presidents. This lead trial piece is extremely rare. It is just the second known example for these dies.

From our long-time Fellow Scott Miller, the ANS received a 1932 bronze plaque of Charles Gordon Heyd Evans by Helen G. Sahler (1877–1950), a talented artist (fig. 3). She was born in Carmel, New York, and studied at the Art Students League in New York City with Hermon MacNeil and Enid Yandell. Her sculptures were exhibited in famous shows, such as the National Society of Contemporary American Sculpture and at the California Palace of the Legion of Honor in San Francisco. She was a member of many art organizations, including the Art Alliance of Philadelphia in Pennsylvania and the American Federation of Art in Washington, DC, as well as the American Numismatic Society.

Our extensive holdings of medals relating to World War I have been enriched with a new example donated by ANS Fellow Jay M. Galst. His latest gift includes a commemorative medal dedicated to France's Association of Blind Veterans of World War I, who returned from the trenches blinded by gas attacks, bullet or shrapnel wounds, or other trauma. The medal was issued in 1968, the 50th anniversary (1918–1968) of the end of

the war. This medal's evocative design expresses the tragic losses brought by World War I to the many who survived it (fig. 4).

From Dr. Galst the Society also received a bronze commemorative medal from France designed by Claude Fraisse, dated 1950 (fig. 5). This medal commemorates the launching of a ship named for the famous French physiologist Claude Bernard (1813–1878), who is known for his discoveries concerning the function of the pancreas, the glycogenic function of the liver, and the regulation of blood flow by the vasomotor nerves. Bernard's most influential contribution was his concept of the internal self-regulation of the organism's vital processes, now called homeostasis. On his death, he was given a state funeral in France, the first for a scientist.

Another interesting group donated by Dr. Galst consisted of souvenir medals from the Carl Zeiss Museum of Optics in Jena, Germany. These medals copy designs from historic coins and medals depicting eyeglasses: a medal issued by the Sea Beggars (Watergeuzen) in 1572 commemorating the capture of Brielle (fig. 6), thalers of Julius of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (fig. 7), and a siege klippe of Oudenaarde of 1582 (fig. 8). The Zeiss Museum has a remarkable collection of microscopes, cameras and eyeglasses documenting the development of optical science and technology.

The ANS collection of contemporary medallic art received a medal from João Duarte commemorating the 40th anniversary of his professional career as a medalist (fig. 9). Born in 1952 in Lisbon, Duarte studied at the School of Fine Arts and after graduation focused his career primarily on sculpture and medallic art. In addition to his teaching work as a professor of the Fine Art faculty of the University of Lisbon, he has continued to focus his talents and energy on the design of public art monuments and also has designed commemorative coins for the Portuguese national mint. His medallic work has become well known among collectors and museum curators, winning him various prestigious awards. In 2011, for example, Duarte was the recipient of the J. Sanford Saltus Award for Distinguished Achievement in the Art of the Medal from the ANS. The Society is glad to receive this medal



Figure 1: Roman Empire. AV aureus, Faustina, Rome, AD 145–161. Ex Oscar Ravel collection. (ANS 2017.34.1, purchase) 18.5 mm.



Figure 2: United States. Lead trial strike of Indian peace medal of George III, by Thomas Wyon, Jr., 1814. (ANS 2018.25.1, purchase) 37.7 mm.



Figure 3: United States. AE plaque of Charles Gordon Heyd Evans, by Helen G. Sahler, 1932. (ANS 2018.17.1, gift of Scott Miller).



Figure 4: France. AE commemorative medal for the 50th anniversary of the Association of Blind Veterans of World War I, 1918–1968. (ANS 2018.15.5, gift of Jay M. Galst) 68 mm.



Figure 5: France. AE commemorative medal for the launching of a ship named for the physiologist Claude Bernard (1813–1878), by Claude Fraisse, 1950. (ANS 2018.15.4, gift of Jay M. Galst) 50 mm (images reduced).



Figure 6: Germany. AE medal from the Zeiss Museum of Optics, reproducing designs from a medal issued by the Sea Beggars (Watergeuzen) in 1572 commemorating the capture of Brielle. (ANS 2018.15.1, gift of Jay M. Galst) 44 mm (images reduced).

Figure 7: Germany. AE medal from the Zeiss Museum of Optics, reproducing designs from the thalers of Julius of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. (ANS 2018.15.2, gift of Jay M. Galst). 55 mm.



Figure 8: Germany. AE medal from the Zeiss Museum of Optics, reproducing the design of a siege klippe of Oudenaarde of 1582. (ANS 2018.15.3, gift of Jay M. Galst) 40 mm.



Figure 9: Portugal. White metal and plastic medal commemorating the 40 year (1978–2018) artistic of the medal's designer João Duarte. (ANS 2018.16.1, gift of João Duarte).



Figure 10: Italy. AE medal commemorating the XV International Numismatic Congress, Taormina, Sicily, September 21–25, 2015, by Gionatan Salzano. (ANS 2018.20.1, gift of Mariangela Puglisi) 73 × 146 mm.

commemorating his career milestone and wishes him many more prosperous years.

We are always glad to receive interesting gifts from our foreign numismatic colleagues. One such came from the Visiting Scholar for this year's Eric P. Newman Graduate Summer Seminar in Numismatics, Professor Mariangela Puglisi of the University of Messina. It is a beautiful bronze medal issued in 2015, in commemoration of the 15th International Numismatic Congress in Taormina, Sicily, designed by Gionatan Salzano, a recent graduate of the School of the Art of the Medal (fig. 10). The medal represents the continuity of the art of engraving art in Sicily from the masters of classical Greece to the production of the medieval and modern time. The Congress was organized by the professors of numismatics at the University of Messina, and Prof. Puglisi was Secretary of the organizing committee of the Congress, which was an outstanding event for the ANS staff and members who participated.

The Society also received, from William L. Esposito, an interesting group of paper money lacking from our collection. Among these items are 100 dong and 500 dong banknotes issued by the National Bank of South Vietnam between 1964 and 1966. Esposito's gift also includes two military payment certificates, used to pay U.S. military personnel in certain foreign countries.

Our new examples of this series are a twenty-five cents (fig. 11) and a one dollar (fig. 12) issued for circulation in South Vietnam between August 1969 and October 1970. These certificates were produced under the authority of the Department of Defense rather than the Department of the Treasury, but they were fully convertible to U.S. dollars upon leaving a zone of circulation. Since these payment certificates were not commitments of the U.S. Treasury, they are no longer useable, but they remain important artifacts of military and financial history.

ANS Fellow and devoted friend, Alan Helms has continued to expand the ANS's collection of African exchange valuables with another interesting and unusual group. His latest gift includes a bundle of 101 Kissi pennies (fig. 13). These thin, twisted iron rods with flattened ends were used in trade in West Africa, especially Sierra Leone and Liberia, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Helms also presented to the ANS two examples of hoe-shaped exchange objects (fig. 14) produced by the Chamba of eastern Nigeria.

In June a group of Augustus B. Sage Society members traveled to the Republic of Georgia, a country in the Caucasus region of Eurasia. There they encountered the distinctive culture of ancient Georgia and visited numerous historic sites and museums. ANS Trustee Mary N. Lannin brought back a current uncirculated

Figure 11: United States. Military payment certificate for 25 cents, issued for circulation in South Vietnam, 1969–70. (ANS 2018.14.3, gift of William L. Esposito) 110 × 54 mm.



Figure 12: United States. Military payment certificate for 1 dollar, issued for circulation in South Vietnam, 1969–70. (ANS 2018.14.4, gift of William L. Esposito) 110 × 67 mm.



set of eight coins of the Republic of Georgia for donation to our Modern Department. This set contains 1, 2, 5, 10, and 20 tetri coins dated 1993 and 50 tetri, 1 lari, and 2 lari coins dated 2006. Mary Lannin also donated to our collection a commemorative silver proof 5 lari of 2017, dedicated to Georgian wine-making traditions, produced by the Japan Mint (fig. 15). The obverse of this coin bears a schematic illustration of a *qvevri*, a large earthenware vessel used for the fermentation, storage, and aging of traditional Georgian wine. The wine in the *qvevri* is depicted in dark red and a stylized image of a vine surrounds it. The reverse shows the Cité du Vin museum of wine culture located in the city of Bordeaux, France. The coin celebrates an exhibition at the Cité du Vin featuring Georgia's ancient wine-making tradition.

The Jewish-American Hall of Fame selected Hedy Lamarr (1914–2000) to appear on the 49th issue of the organization's ongoing medal series. The ANS received

this new plaque (fig. 16), designed by Eugene Daub, as well as a plaster model of its obverse from Mel Wacks, one of the founders of the Jewish-American Hall of Fame. Born Hedwig Kiesler to a Jewish family in Vienna, she was cast in a variety of film roles in the early 1930s, before starring in 1933's *Ecstasy*. She changed her name to Hedy Lamarr after emigrating to London and then the United States in 1938. She starred in many films from the late 1930s into the 1950s. Advertised as "the world's most beautiful woman," she was not only a movie star but also as an inventor. Her work with composer George Antheil on radio guidance systems during World War II involved a technique for frequency-hopping spread-spectrum radio signals, which have found use in present-day wireless technologies.

#### Current Exhibition

On October 1, 2018, Mount Vernon in Virginia, the home of the United States' first president, George



Figure 13: Sub-Saharan Africa. Bundle of 101 iron kissi pennies, West Africa. (ANS 2018.18.1, gift of Alan Helms).



Figure 14: Sub-Saharan Africa. Iron exchange valuable in the form of an agricultural tool, Chamba people. (ANS 2018.18.3, gift of Alan Helms).

Washington, and now a museum, opened a special temporary exhibition in its Donald W. Reynolds Education Center: *War and Peace in Miniature: Medals from the American Numismatic Society*. This exhibition features 30 rare medals from the American Revolution and the early years of the Republic. It highlights the remarkable heroes and events of the Revolutionary War and the new nation's diplomatic accomplishments. At the center of the display are eleven silver, bronze, and copper examples of medals awarded by the Continental Congress to honor military commanders who defeated their British opponents. Known as the *Comitia Americana* ("American Congress") series, these medals were produced by the leading French engravers. They created complex images with classical allegories and vivid battle scenes (figs. 17–20). The very first of these medals went to George Washington for relieving the British siege of Boston in March 1776, three months before the Declaration of Independence (fig. 21).

Another group of medals in the display represents the new nation's peacetime diplomacy and trade. Six Indian Peace Medals from George Washington's administration exemplify his efforts to adapt monarchical precedents to republican ideals. Instead of the king's portrait featured on English medals, the first United States Indian Peace Medals featured images of a Native American leader sharing a peace pipe with a Roman goddess (fig. 22), which later was replaced by a figure of a President (fig. 23). Near the end of Washington's presidency, he directed Secretary of War James McHenry to order new Peace Medals. The designs of these extremely rare so-called Seasons Medals explicitly promoted the adoption of European-style agricultural life, depicting a farmer sowing seed (fig. 24), a herdsman and his stock (fig. 25), and two women spinning and weaving beside a fireside (fig. 26). During Thomas Jefferson's presidency, American Peace Medals returned to the monarchical model: a profile portrait of the head of



Figure 15: Georgia. AR proof 5 lari dedicated to Georgian wine-making traditions by Nino Gongadze, 2017. (ANS 2018.22.1, gift of Mary Lannin) 32.8 mm.



Figure 16: United States. AE medal of the Jewish American Hall of Fame, commemorating Hedy Lamarr (1914–2000) by Eugene Daub, 2018. (ANS 2018.23.1, gift of Mel Wacks). 46 × 46 mm.



Figure 17: United States. AE medal of the Continental Congress honoring Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates for the Battle of Saratoga, 1777 (restrike from original dies). (ANS 1951.65.1, gift of Mrs. F. W. Vogeler) 55 mm (images reduced).



Figure 20: United States. AE medal of the Confederation Congress honoring Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene for the Battle of Eutaw Springs, 1781. (ANS 1940.80.2, gift of M. M. Greenwood) 55 mm (images reduced).

Figure 21: United States. AE medal of the Continental Congress honoring Gen. George Washington for the Siege of Boston, 1776. (ANS 1940.100.366, gift of Mrs. Robert James Eidlitz) 68 mm (images reduced).



Figure 22: United States. AR Indian Peace Medal, George Washington, 1789. (ANS 1916.999.197, gift of George W. Kunz). 137 × 106 mm (images reduced).



Figure 23: United States. AR Indian Peace Medal, George Washington, 1793. (ANS 1915.138.4, gift of S.H.P. Pell). 175 × 127 mm (images reduced).



Figure 24: United States. AR Indian Peace Medal, "The Farmer." George Washington "Seasons" series, by John Trumbull, 1797. (ANS 1915.140.1, gift of J. W. Ellsworth) 47.5 mm.



Figure 18: United States. AE medal of the Continental Congress honoring Maj. John Stewart for the assault on Stony Point, 1779 (cast copy). (ANS 0000.999.38318) 49 mm (images reduced).



Figure 19: United States. AE medal of the Confederation Congress honoring Brig. Gen. Daniel Morgan for the Battle of Cowpens, 1781 (struck from 1830s copy dies). (ANS 1967.225.523, gift of the Wadsworth Athenaeum) 56 mm (images reduced).



Figure 25: United States. AR Indian Peace Medal, “The Shepherd.” George Washington “Seasons” series, by John Trumbull, 1797. (ANS 1915.141.1, gift of H. Walters) 47.5 mm (images reduced).



Figure 26: United States. AR Indian Peace Medal, “The Family.” George Washington “Seasons” series, by John Trumbull, 1797. (ANS 1915.139.1, gift of John Pierpont Morgan, Jr.) 47.5 mm (images reduced).



Figure 27: United States. AR Indian Peace Medal, Thomas Jefferson, 1801. Ex Walter C. Wyman collection. (ANS 1923.52.11, purchase) 103 mm (images reduced).



Figure 28: United States. Lead obverse die trial of the Diplomatic Medal of the United States, 1790. (ANS 1935.126.23, purchase) 69.1 mm.



Figure 29: United States. Lead reverse die trial of the Diplomatic Medal of the United States, 1790. (ANS 1935.126.24, purchase) 68.6 mm (image reduced).



Figure 30: United States. AR medal, Libertas Americana. (ANS 1912.104.4, gift of Samuel P. Avery) 47 mm/



Figure 31: Mount Vernon’s Donald W. Reynolds Education Center. View of the special exhibition War and Peace in Miniature: Medals from the American Numismatic Society.



state, symbolically confirming a personal connection to the president (fig. 27).

When Jefferson was Washington’s Secretary of State, he initiated a gold medal to be presented to retiring diplomats from European nations. The design of this medal features the arms of the United States: an eagle holding an olive branch for peace and bundle of arrows for war on the obverse (fig. 28). The reverse features an allegory of peace and commerce, with the Roman god Mercury presenting a cornucopia to an “Indian queen”, an allegorical image of America (fig. 29).

The crucial victory at Yorktown in October 1781 encouraged Benjamin Franklin, the American minister

to France, to commission a medal commemorating the Declaration of Independence and the victorious French-American alliance—the *Libertas Americana* medal. This medal features an allegorical bust of Liberty on the obverse and the Roman goddess Minerva, holding a shield with the arms of France, to protect an infant Hercules (symbolizing the new American nation) from an attacking lioness (symbolizing Great Britain) on the reverse (fig. 30).

*War and Peace in Miniature: Medals from the American Numismatic Society* will be on display at Mount Vernon through March 31, 2020 (fig. 31).

## Book Reviews

**Review: *The Coinage of Herod Antipas: A Study and Die Classification of the Earliest Coins of Galilee.* Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity Vol. 102, 2018. Brill, Leiden/Boston. \$114.**

Herod Antipas is today the best known of Herod I's (the Great) three sons.

He was called "that fox" by Jesus (Luke: 13:32) and is the "Herod" most frequently mentioned in the New Testament. His official title, used in ancient inscriptions, including coins, was "Herod the Tetrarch." Antipas inherited from his father the "tetrarchy" (technically a quarter of the kingdom, but more accurately a portion of it) that included the Galilee, Peraea, and a heavily Jewish populated area of Transjordan.

John the Baptist preached and lived in the Galilee, and protested the marriage between Antipas and his own niece Herodias (daughter of Antipas' half-brother Aristobulus). The Synoptic Gospels report that Herodias convinced Antipas to imprison John for these subversive activities. After Salome, a daughter of Herodias from a previous marriage (and also therefore Antipas' great-niece), pleased Antipas with a dance, he granted her a wish. She requested John's head on a platter (Matt. 14:8). "Antipas became distressed after hearing Salome's request, but he nonetheless honoured his oath. John was beheaded in prison and his head was bought on a platter" (pp. 4–5).

When Pontius Pilate, prefect of Judaea, learned Jesus was a Galilean he sent him to Antipas—who promptly sent him back to Pontius Pilate. Although Antipas and Pilate agreed that Jesus did not deserve to be killed, Pilate had him executed to appease the "crowd" (e.g., Matt. 27:22–26, Mark 15:12–15).

In *The Coinage of Herod Antipas: A Study and Die Classification of the Earliest Coins of Galilee*, Aaron Kogon and John-Philippe Fontanille have created a studious and readable retelling of the story of Antipas. Overall this is a well-done overview of the historic Herod Antipas, using coins as a primary source of information, as well as contemporary written sources, excavation data, and inscriptions. The authors remind us that ancient

sources, such as Josephus, may not have been fully accurate, and relevant ongoing discussions are cited.

The coins of Antipas, struck only in bronze, as were those of his Hasmonean and Herodian predecessors, have previously been well documented as to denominations and dates by Meshorer (2000) and Hendin (2010). Kogon and Fontanille say that they "tentatively accept that Antipas' coins were struck in Roman denominations. If Antipas' denominations had non-Roman names, there probably was an equivalence with Roman denominations, as outlined by Meshorer (15)." This is somewhat counter-intuitive considering that Roman coins from this period (as opposed to Roman provincial coins) are scarcely present in the Antipas territory.

Antipas coins circulated almost exclusively in and near his territories. Further, "It is doubtful that Antipas' coins caused a significant impact on Galilean monetization" (19) because they were issued in relatively small numbers compared to other coins in circulation. The authors point out that only one in around 20,000 coins found in excavations in Jerusalem were struck by Antipas. On the other hand, we see that Jerusalemite coins of the Hasmoneans and Herod arrived in Galilee in great numbers. A certain level of trade with Jerusalem was a necessary byproduct of the triannual Jewish pilgrimages. "One does not see this reflected by finds of Antipas' coins in Jerusalem ostensibly since the temple tax was generally paid in silver (59)."

That final sentence, however, does not make logical sense, since the Tyrian silver needed to pay the Jerusalem Temple tax would most likely have been received by exchange from money changers near the Jerusalem Temple. If that was the case, more coins of Antipas should be found in Jerusalem. Why are they not? Perhaps the money changers put a special exchange penalty on non-Jerusalemite coins, thus fewer were brought by Galileans. It is also possible that the money changers returned the Antipas coinage promptly to Tiberias, where it was struck and it would have held its strongest value.

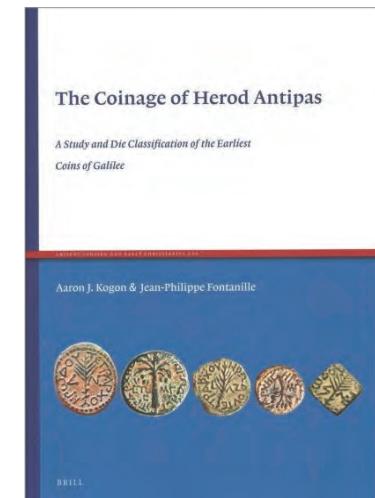
Similarly, numerous Judean prutot have been found in Cyprus, but only a single coin of Antipas has been found there (58), perhaps his coins had a lesser value

there as well. And finally, no coins of Antipas were discovered among the 2,734 coins recovered in excavations at Caesarea Maritima, although at least two coins of Antipas are said to have been found by collectors in the nearby sand dunes (58).

A unique coin of Antipas was probably struck at Sephoris, his first capital (21), and all of the remainder of his coins were dated and struck at Tiberias, which was named on all but the latest series of 4 denominations dated to the year 43 (39/40 CE), all four of which mention Caligula, who Antipas admired (5).

The iconography on the coins of Antipas "depict traditional Jewish themes and symbols, while bearing some innovations in Jewish numismatic symbolism" (39). It is somewhat logical that Antipas' coins, struck in the vicinity of the Sea of Galilee, were often decorated with local plants such as reeds, a single grain, palm trees, palm branches, and dates. Although every one of the coins of Antipas was aniconic, thus consistent with biblical bans on graven images (Exodus 20:3, Lev. 26:1), "It is difficult to discern the extent this law was followed during the Herodian era" (39). And the authors conclude, correctly, that "It is tempting to believe, as many have done, that Judaism as practised (sic) in the Second Temple period was aniconic *in toto*....It is...imprudent to view Judaism as wholly iconic or aniconic" (39). The coins suggest, however, that during his lengthy reign from 4 BCE to 39 CE, Herod Antipas clearly went out of his way to avoid iconic images on his coins, which seems to make a clear statement about either policy or intent. Antipas' brother Herod Philip with a similar span of reign, 4 BCE–34 CE, ruled in territories where very few Jews resided, and he was quick to put his own portrait, and portraits of Augustus and Tiberius on his bronze coins.

All of the motifs on the coins of Antipas are discussed in detail, with their connections to either geography or literature fully established. Perhaps the most remarkable discovery documented in this book is a clear cornucopia on examples of the largest coin struck in the year 34, or 30/31 CE (47). In studying many examples of poorly preserved coins for creating his well-known composites, Fontanille discovered a clear cornucopia to



the left of the palm branch. Further there may also be a still unidentified design to the right of the branch of the largest denomination of year 34. On the obverse of many examples of the same coin type, they have discovered what appears to be a star over the name "Tiberias" within a wreath.

These symbols are somewhat mysterious, since as the authors note "Few events of significance occurred to Antipas around or slightly before 33/34 CE, according to the literary sources" (48). On the other hand, it is unlikely that after minting nearly identical coins for several cycles, it does seem mysterious that Antipas would add these symbols. The cornucopia had already appeared frequently on coins of Antipas' brother Archelaus, his father Herod I, and all of the high priests and kings of the Jews from the previous Hasmonean dynasty.

A bright feature of this book are Fontanille's well-known and useful composite images, which were created using images of 854 coins, 788 in acceptable condition on both sides, 81 obverse and 222 reverse dies were identified (23). The composites, however, also provide some problems. On one hand, it is wonderful to see Fontanille's clear composite images throughout the study plates, they represent a majority of the images in this book. On the other hand, one who has seen many hundreds of Antipas coins cannot help but wonder how precise the composites really are. Is it possible

that several composites (e.g., p. 90, R3-R-6, p. 91, R13 and R15, or p. 93 all of the various reverses altogether, among others) are really all depicting the same die which has been altered by corrosion, die usage, deterioration and/or re-cutting, chemical, or mechanical cleaning, or crude tooling of the metal? Certainly a large number of Antipas coins in the market and in collections have been affected by one or more of these alterations. It is clear, for example, that the single example of the cornucopia design on the large denomination of year 34, shown on p. 47, has been heavily cleaned and coated, and it is simply not clear whether any part of the motifs or inscriptions have been altered. In fact, only on page 26 “How a composite picture is created” where we can see a number of examples of a single coin type. (Photos of forgeries and suspected forgeries are also shown on pages 66–67.) Otherwise, most of the coin images are composites. The authors do admit this when they state that “The die study was complicated by high degrees of tooling and forgery” (24). They add that “The composite images are reconstructions of the dies and therefore are, to some degree, our interpretations of the images. We have therefore taken great care to preserve as many details of the original coins as possible” (23). Nevertheless, when studying coins based on photographs, a great deal of information is simply not knowable and since such a large part of this book depends on the die study, numerous questions remain. Another reason for caution is that the die studies are based almost completely with images, which themselves are often deceiving because of angle of light, exposure, quality of image, and manipulation of images.

Examination of the few actual photographs of coins (as opposed to composites) is clear evidence that in a book such as this one the reader needs to see multiple exact images of several coins from each die, each date, and each denomination. It is also evidence that the most accurate way to analyze coins, especially those in poor condition or heavily cleaned, is in hand and not by photograph.

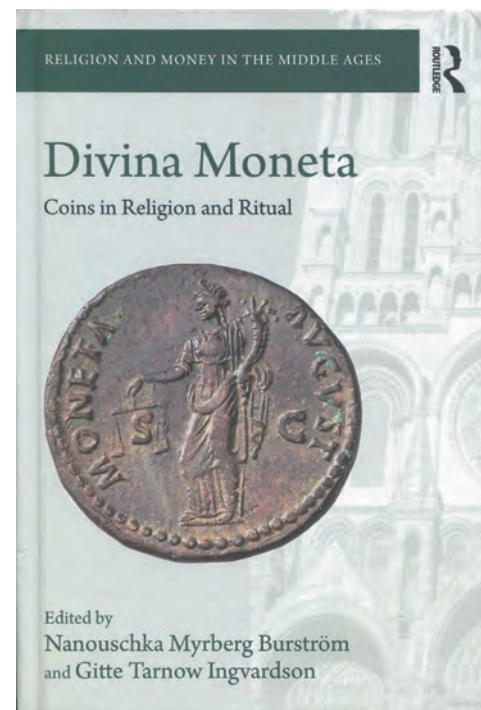
It is also somewhat unusual that this book does not contain a catalog of the coins of Herod Antipas. Each series has received a letter A through F. Each denomination is cited. But there is no consistent listing where the technical details, obverse, and reverse of each coin is described, as one expects in numismatic monographs.

The die studies absolutely establish the correct descriptions of “obverse” and “reverse” on these coins. The obverse of a coin represents the side struck in the lower or “anvil” die and the reverse is the side struck with the mobile die. Since the anvil die was more

stable, it was less prone to breakage and, therefore, more reverse dies are needed. Kogon and Fontanille prove clearly that the wreathed side of the Antipas coins is the obverse.

Overall this book is a valuable addition to the bibliography of ancient Judean coins, which provides some new insights, although it would have been improved with more photographs of the actual coins.

–David Hendin



**Nanouska Myrberg Burström and Gitte Tarnow Ingvardson, eds. *Divina Moneta: Coins in Religion and Ritual*. London and New York: Routledge, 2018. ISBN 978-1-4724-8592-2. xviii, 257 pp., color illustrations.**

In 2011, Fleur Kemmers and Nanouschka Myrberg published an essay calling for numismatics to be more fully integrated with other aspects of archaeology. In particular, they urged that the study of coins be integrated with the full range of modern archaeological theory, rather than being limited mostly to questions of chronology and economics. This book, in which both are participants, provides excellent examples of how this can be done.

Comprising 13 case studies plus a short introduction by the first editor, this book offers a range of examples of how coins have been used in ways that are not strictly “economic” but rather directed by religious beliefs and ritual practice. The specific chapters begin with studies of ritual practices that form coin deposits, starting with two contributions on coin deposits at Iron Age sanctuary sites in Central Europe (Wigg-Wolf, Nick), followed by one on coin finds in the drains of Late Antique baptismal fonts in southern Europe (Perassi), and two on specific ritual behaviors with coins: the folding of coins for offering (Kelleher) and the insertion of coins in trees (Houlbrook). The next section addresses the meaning of coins in religious contexts, considering the ways Roman coins were used in Iron Age Denmark (Horsnæs), theological associations of religious iconography on Anglo-Saxon coins (Gannon), the transformation of potentially ambiguous money into demonstrative gift in early medieval Europe (Naismith), coin offerings at shrines in medieval England (Allen), and religious aspects of mints and minting (Travaini). The final section returns to the concept of coins as money, but with an emphasis on the social meanings of money: whether locally made imitations of Roman coins in the Low Countries were especially suitable for offerings (Kemmers), the role of women in the giving of monetary offerings in medieval Scandinavian churches (Gullbekk), and the role of differences between official religion and folk religion in the increased loss of coins in churches in Finland after the Reformation (Ehrnsten).

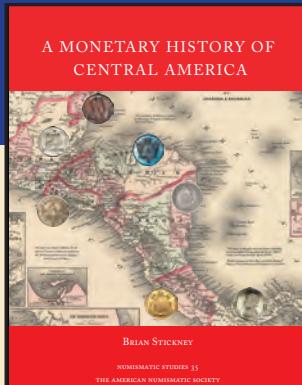
Despite the wide range of topics addressed by the contributors, this book is unified by a number of recurring themes. Although a few of the chapters (particularly Allen and Travaini) are mainly concerned with historical sources, all of them make a relevant contribution to the archaeology of ritual behavior and religious places. Most of the chapters rely on the archaeological context of coin finds for at least part of their interpretations. Stratigraphic evidence is presented by Perassi and Kemmers, while several chapters (Wigg-Wolf, Horsnæs, Allen, Gullbekk, Ehrnsten) make use of intra-site spatial patterning, something that has been all too rare in numismatics. At the same time, most chapters also address the particular qualities of coins—as material objects and as social actors—and the effects these may have had on their uses, something that archaeologists have done all too rarely. A few noteworthy examples include Houlbrook on how coins are convenient for conferring a sense of permanence on an offering, Kemmers on the act of making the coins as part of the creation of social meaning, and Travaini on the resemblances between coins and communion hosts.

The contributions to this book are all situated in Europe, ranging from the late Iron Age to the present. Consequently, they include both pre-Christian and Christian environments. It is very welcome that several of the themes considered by the authors span this divide, such as alteration of coins as part of the act of dedication (Wigg-Wolf, Kelleher), deposition in water or other places that deter recovery (Nick, Perassi, Houlbrook, Horsnæs), preference for offering coins of the lowest value (Perassi, Houlbrook, Allen, Kemmers, Gullbekk, Ehrnsten), visibility of the gift (Wigg-Wolf, Naismith), and so on.

The topics discussed range widely, and the cited literature too, but there are (inevitably, in a collection of short papers) some gaps. Surprisingly, the anthropology of ritual gets very little mention in this volume, except in Houlbrook’s contribution. For example, the work of anthropologists such as Stanley Tambiah and Michael Lambek on how material acts can potentiate the performative aspects of ritual seems very relevant to several pieces here, including Wigg-Wolf, Kelleher, and Ehrnsten as well as Houlbrook. The anthropology of gift and exchange is also little mentioned, except by Naismith. Again, the work of social theorists such as Marcel Mauss and Jonathan Parry on the social importance of and moral issues in the giving of things would be very relevant to many of the uses of coins discussed throughout this book.

A short review cannot possibly convey the depth and breadth of this book. It should be clear, though, that this will be essential reading for all those interested in how coins are actually used by people in their daily lives. For numismatists, it serves as an important reminder of the importance of context—not just archaeological context of coin finds, but also the social contexts within which coin-using people live. For archaeologists, it should serve to show how much more can be done with the evidence of coin finds beyond just chronological and economic interpretations.

–David Yoon



# A MONETARY HISTORY OF CENTRAL AMERICA

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By BRIAN STICKNEY

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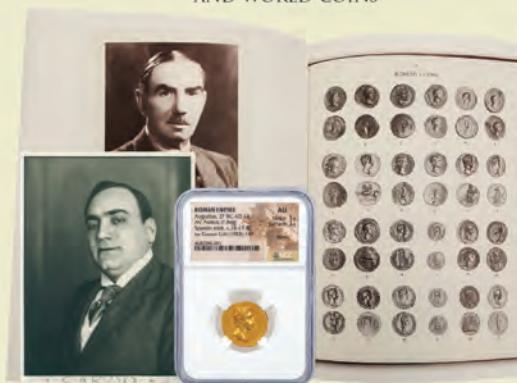
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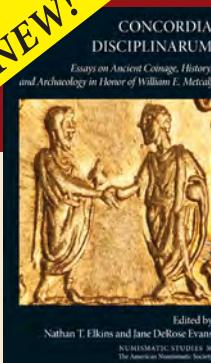
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NUMISMATIC STUDIES No. 38

EDITED BY NATHAN T. ELKINS AND JANE DEROSE EVANS

*William E. Metcalf* is a prominent name in Roman and Byzantine numismatics. This volume of essays by former students and colleagues working in North America, Britain, and Europe, is an overdue tribute to a generous scholar. Metcalf's interest in Roman coins—especially Roman Provincial coinage—has helped shape a generation of scholars, some of whom are represented in this volume.

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AE sestertius, Rome 181 AD  
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Obv. Three conjoined hearts below Celestial clouds with the name of Jehovah in Hebrew.  
Legend: · ♣ · IVNCTA · ♣ · CORDA · ♣ · FIDELIVM ( The hearts of the faithful united )  
Rev. Crowned fleur-de-lis and rose above Belgic Lion.  
Legend: ♣ · CONTRA · ♣ · VIM · ♣ · TIRANNORVM · ♣ · 1609 ( Against the violence of Tyrants )  
v.L.II 50.4; M.I. I, 198/25; JMP 1953.92; TMP 1901 page 130; silver, 50.06 grams, 51.5 mm.

Medals like this were struck in gold by order of the separate States, City governments or the States General and attached to a chain they served mostly as rewards or gifts to military commanders or foreign dignitaries respectively.  
Lit. Fred.Muller Ned. Portretten 2249a, 2252d.

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