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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.
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 Medalists 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 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
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 leon: 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.1

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,2 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.3

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 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 straightforward. 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.”4 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

2. Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae*, 2.90. The nomen Vipsanius is also used infrequently in sources we have relating to Agrippa (e.g., Seneca *Cato* 2.4.12–13 and Tacitus *Annales* 1.3.3).
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.
Octavian. Both aurei and denarii bear the reverse inscription M AGrippa COS DESIG. There are three variations of the obverse. The inscription on the obverse of the aurei (RRC 534/19 reads IMP DIVI IVLI F TER III VIR R P C and the type is a wreathed Caesar. 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. 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 would be voted into office, but during the Second Triumvirate the triumvirs decided the consuls themselves for future years. 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 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 indicated of the relationship between the two men. The obverses link the inscriptions 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 reference on a coin. As Vervaet notes, however, it was especially important for Octavian and Mark Antony to choose a loyal lieutenant for the office because, at least nominally, 37 BC was set to be the end of the first five-year term for the triumvirates and their positions would need to be renewed. Marcus Agrippa’s selection, despite his being only in his late 30s, tells us that he was trusted by Octavian. This is confirmed in the sources, demonstrating that he was already a friend and advisor of Octavian’s around the time of death of Caesar in 44 BC. 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 the only one to appear on coinage with Octavian. L. Cornelius Balbus and Q. Vibius Rufus appear on coins in 41 and 40 BC respectively (figs. 3–4).12 Both of these coins served similar functions: Balbus and Vibius 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 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 VIII13 of the De Bello Gallico was dedicated to him, and he was also defended by Cicero in the Pro Balbo. 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.15 He commanded six legions, aiding Octavian in the so-called Peruvian War.16 Previously given control of five additional legions, Salvidienus tried to defect to Mark Antony with 11 legions, but the pact to end the Peruvian War was already struck when Antony informed Octavian of his treachery. Upon hearing this Octavian put him death in late 40 BC.17 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 Peruvian 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 competence and loyalty.18 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 Nau- lochus 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.19 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

1. Appian, Civil Wars, 5.20–27, 35, 36.
2. There are also 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.
3. Banti and Simonetti 1975, 120–121. Simonetti and Banti (pp. 88–89) also mention two possibly spurious issues with the same inscription as this as, which had been recorded by Medinobara in the seventeenth century but have not been seen since.
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. 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 to 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. 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. Thus 37 BC seems the most plausible date.

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. 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). 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. 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. 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

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.
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. 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. 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 mimed 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 Bosporus region. The increase of coinage in the eastern provinces referring to Agrippa appears to coincide with Agrippa’s trip to the East in 23 BC. Gaderz (modern-day Cadiz, Spain) minted both sestertii and dupondii in the late 20s and 10s BC that recall the naval achievements of Agrippa, who is portrayed on the reverse in a similar style, with Augustus on one side and Agrippa as being close to equals. The inscription acrostolium, which is found on the reverse of these coins, offers 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. 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). 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 Trof(?) issued in 13 BC, depicts Agrippa and the domus Augusti (fig. 14). 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 capsas at their feet with an inscription of Roman judges with Agrippa and Augustus watching over the res publica. The image on the reverse also calls to mind the imagery of Roman judges with Agrippa and Augustus watching over the res publica.

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denote equality. The scrolls in their hands and the capsā 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.37 The inscription reads COSSVS LENT-VLVS. 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.38 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).39 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.40

Nicols connects the Gaian issues with the “family group” asses minted from AD 37–39.41 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 unhappy married to Julia after Agrippa’s death, issued aurei, denarii, and asses with the inscription TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVGVSIVS (fig. 19).42 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.

Bibliography


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. Veillius Paternolius II:61.

38. Simonetti and Banti 1975: 89.


40. Simonetti and Banti 1975, 134.


42. See RIC 1.2 Tibersius 1–36. All of these coins are some variation of the coin I describe here.
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. 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. 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.

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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.3

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 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 Dembourg, 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.4

The resulting plates were in turn sent to the printer. It should be stressed that Cartier fully acknowledged the importance of illustration for research.5 However, its

3. October 29, 1850.

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.
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.6

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,7 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 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.8 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.9 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).

Figures 7–8: Examples of the Cartier-La Saussaye letters held in the ANS’s archives.
the achievement of individuals they did not outlive.15 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,16 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.17 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 Saussayes’ 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.18

The genre of the scholarly journal dates back to the seventeenth century.19 The very first examples, the French Journal des sçavans and the British Philosophical Transactions, both launched in 1665 (figs. 10–11). Numerous initiatives followed, but the actual “Golden Age” of the genre was arguably the nineteenth century.20 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.21

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realistic perhaps, seemingly made attempts to extend the scope of the Revue beyond numismatics to general archaeology.²³ Cartier actually hoped to compensate for the dearth of numismatic literature. Cartier and La Saussaye, starting years before the foundation of the Revue, aptly reflects this kind of bond.

The Revue numismatique was also indicative of the reshaping of the scientific milieus in nineteenth-century France. Whereas earlier scholarly publications had been created and controlled by the Revue de Paris as a platform of all materials relevant 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. Cartier forty years after his death, was better connected to the numismatic society, was to bring together scientific groups at a time when the national fabric of cultural institutions was undergoing transformation.

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. 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.¹³⁶ In the absence of any overarching structure, however, these individualists constituted but an informal network made up of bilateral relationships.¹³⁷ 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 found a partner for exchange of coins and opinions on coins. From that time onward, they often received each other letters, and even on several occasions, 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. Consequently, Cartier, who often referred to himself as "l’Ambassadeur d’Amboise", La Saussaye, who was a sociable man and pursued a successful academic career in Paris, was better connected to his colleagues and often served as an intermediary in his diary 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, 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 of 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, to show their collections, research results, and local numismatic news through the Revue.¹³⁸ This initiative came at a moment when scholars were meeting prohibitive financial obstacles to the publication of their work, and the journal, as a new editorial form was meant to solve this problem.²⁵ 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. 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 considerable numismatic societies. In this respect, it paved the way for the Société française de numismatique created 30 years later in 1866.²⁶

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 other national numismatic societies in Belgium, Great Britain, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and as far as away as Russia. The French scholar expresses his concern to keep up with the progress made abroad in numismatic research.²⁷ Conversely, the Revue was distributed in foreign countries. In 1837 already it counted

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The Revue, indeed, represented an alternative model for the national organs of scholarly communication, as it was intended to be a platform of all materials relevant to forwarding the knowledge of numismatics. They intended to centrally organize the study of coins by calling all numismatists out of their cabinets, so to speak, to show their collections, research results, and local numismatic news through the Revue.¹³⁸ This initiative came at a moment when scholars were meeting prohibitive financial obstacles to the publication of their work, and the journal, as a new editorial form was meant to solve this problem.²⁵ 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. 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 considerable numismatic societies. In this respect, it paved the way for the Société française de numismatique created 30 years later in 1866.²⁶

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²³. A letter dated December 1844, a transcription of which is held by the ANS, Cartier firmly refuses to "mode in anything else than [his] old coin" « ne m’interdire autre chose que [ses] vieilles monnaies » on the pretext that he is "not an archaeologist." 
²⁵. May 23, 1832.
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 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.
³⁰. Lafaurie 1896, 19.
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 a member of the Académie de France, in 1846, and a member of the Académie impériale des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts.
The Cartier Papers

26 foreign subscribers.40 The Revue thus contributed to the development of the international cooperation between numismatists, another characteristic trend of nineteenth-century intellectual life.41

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.42 Numerous members of this network of French numismatics shared in the intellectual Zeitgeist of the years 1830, namely a revived curiosity for national history.43 This feature bore on the orientation of the Journal.44

‘Numismatics’ was the goal to contribute to the study of ancient numismatics.45 This feature bore on the orientation of the Journal.46

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.

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” (« évitez de contrarier Lenormant ») [the same Lenormant from whom Cartier was expecting the award of the medal of the Academy] because “we owe him a lot” (« nous lui devons beaucoup »).
48. Cartier is particularly harsh towards the republican Benjamin Viron 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.

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,46 or by accepting more easily the articles submitted by members of the Académie who could help his career.47 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.48 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.

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Bibliography
La Saussaye, J.-B. 1856. La Revue numismatique a 150 ans. « Revue numismatique, 6e série, tome 28: 7–50.

39. La Saussaye, J.-B. 1846, 34.
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 monuments historiques, created respectively in 1833 and 1834.
43. E. Cartier, Considérations sur l’histoire monétaire adresses aux congrès scientifiques 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”).
Currently 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. 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. 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. 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.

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, was Robert Hewitt Jr. (fig. 5), who was also behind the Lincoln books. Hewitt was a venerable old member of the ANS. In fact, when he died in 1913, only one person had been a member longer. 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. Hewitt was at one time a sugar and coffee merchant and wrote what might be the first book in English celebrating the history and pleasures of coffee (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. He collected coins and medals—particularly presidential medals—and had been doing so since at least the time when Lincoln was president. In 1918, his collection of Lincolnalia—over 1,200 medallions, plaques, medals, coins, tokens, and badges—was donated to the Smithsonian by his wife. The ANS had agreed to publish a catalog based on his collection, but he died before it could be done.
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. 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. De Kay was a founding member the National Sculpture Society, and that organization’s dedication to fostering a popular appreciation of sculptural arts is reflected in de Kay’s desire to ease the spread 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.”

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). 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, and the first two Circle of Friends medals, 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

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16. Charles De Kay, “Medals Issued by the Circle of Friends of the Medallion,” *Numismatist* 26, no. 3 (March 1913), 134. 
17. Luftschein, 236.
20. Miller, 74
from the metal ornamentation and into the productions of medals. Henri’s first customer for die reduction was Bela Lyon Pratt (fig. 10). The Deitsch Brothers began calling this part of their business Medallic Art Company in 1909, and apparently it was Hewitt who suggested the name. He also persuaded his friend to split the division from its parent company. Henri bought the rights to the name and began operating as Medallic Art Company in 1910 at 10 East 17th Street in Manhattan.

Henri struggled at first with his new company; Roiné would play a big role in its ultimate success. According to D. Wayne Johnson, Medallic Art Company’s corporate historian, without Roiné, “there may not have been a Medallic 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 medallic firms like Whitehead & Hoag and Gorham Manufacturing. Unsurprisingly, they were particularly close to Henri’s Medallic 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 Medallic Art Company afloat.

Henri Weil was born in the United States but to French parents who traveled back and forth to France (where


Jules Édouard Roiné was 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. He was awarded a gold medal at the Universal Exposition of 1900 for a plaque, Dawn of the Twentieth Century (fig. 12). 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. 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 (1889), Belgium (1901), and Hungary (1905). 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) and even in the rectangular shape of the Sullivan medal and others, a form that had been revived and popularized by Roty.

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’Illzach. 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. Roiné exhibited 27 pieces at the ANS.

Felix was born) for their ceramic business. 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. He was awarded a gold medal at the Universal Exposition of 1900 for a plaque, Dawn of the Twentieth Century (fig. 12). 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. 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 (1889), Belgium (1901), and Hungary (1905). 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) and even in the rectangular shape of the Sullivan medal and others, a form that had been revived and popularized by Roty.

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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.
35. Maier, 32, 129.
show, most of them galvanic casts (fig. 14). 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”).

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, 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”), 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.) 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.” 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. 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.

37. Johnson, “Felix Weil and His Partner.”
Rescuing American Heritage: The ANS Acquires the Archives of the Medallic Art Company

Ute Wartenberg

An email from Peter van Allen, 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 Wastet, 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 we 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,
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 Medallic 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 Medallic 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,
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).
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.
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 100º 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
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.
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. Evans 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 Fraise, 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 glycojenic 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 Oudenarde 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 medalllic 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 medalllic 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
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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). 55 mm.

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 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.

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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 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.

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.

AYS 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
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.

Current Exhibition

On October 1, 2018, Mount Vernon in Virginia, the home of the United States’ first president, George 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 Mal Wacks) 46 x 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 1952.65.3, gift of Mrs. F. W. Vogeler) 55 mm (images reduced).

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 Atheneum) 56 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 x 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 x 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.
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).
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 “tetarchry” (technically a quarter of the kingdom, but more accurately a portion of it) that included the Galilee, Peræa, and a heavily Jewish populated area of Transjordan.

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 the request of Antipas’ great-niece) pleased Antipas with a dance, he granted the request of Antipas’ great-niece) pleased Antipas with a dance, he granted the request of Antipas’ great-niece) pleased Antipas with a dance, he granted the request of Antipas’ great-niece) pleased Antipas with a dance, he granted the request.


In 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 the story of Antipas. Overall this 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 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 Antipas’ coins 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

When Pontius Pilate, prefect of Judæa, 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 the story of Antipas. Overall this 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 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).

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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 inscriptions 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 photos, they provide 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 listed, 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 coin, which provides some new insights, although it would have been improved with more photographs of the actual coins.

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 depots, starting with two contributions on coin deposits at Iron Age sanctuaries in Central Europe (Wigg-Wolf, Nick), followed by contributions on other coin finds in the Etruscan and Latin Antique bap- tablism fonts in southern Europe (Perassi), and two on specific ritual behaviors with coins: the folding of coins for offering (Keller) 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 phototaxies to coin depots in Scandinavia (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, social, and economic interpretations.

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, Keller), deposition in water or other places that deter recovery (Nick, Kemmers, Houlbrook, Nick, Kemmers, Houlbrook, Allen, Kemmers, Houlbeck, 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 anthropo- logy 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, Keller, 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’s idea that in making a gift, the giver become aチャー of the gift seems very relevant. 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, Keller), deposition in water or other places that deter recovery (Nick, Kemmers, Houlbrook, Nick, Kemmers, Houlbrook, Allen, Kemmers, Houlbeck, Ehrnsten), visibility of the gift (Wigg-Wolf, Naismith), and so on.

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 re- minder of the importance of context—not just archaeo- logical 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 chronologi- cal and economic interpretations.

—David Hendin


In 2011, Fleur Kemmers and Nanouska 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 inte- grated with the full range of information on religion, 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.

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By Brian Stickney

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