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## From the Executive Director

Ute Wartenberg

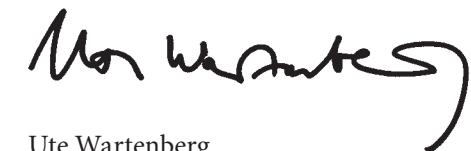
Dear Members and Friends,  
Numismatics is one of the oldest scholarly disciplines. With its origins in the Renaissance, it has produced a impressive body of research and publications. What makes it so different from related disciplines such as history or archaeology is the involvement of a wide group of people, many of whom cannot be described as academically trained. While the lack of a doctorate or some other qualifications is often a handicap for those who want their research published in peer-reviewed journals, this is not the case in numismatics. In our field, we find work by people, who describe themselves as amateurs, which is truly outstanding. They are often coin collectors, who have dedicated years, sometimes decades of their lives, to a specific project. Many focus on very specific, small subjects, but occasionally one encounters a project so monumental that one simply cannot comprehend that anyone would ever start them in the first place.

In this issue of the *ANS Magazine*, our readers will find an article on one such project, which is truly awe-inspiring. Richard "Dick" Schaefer, a long-time ANS Fellow, has been working for decades conducting a die study of Roman Republican coins. This truly voluminous coinage, which was catalogued by type by Michael Crawford in the 1970s, is one of the most beloved series for collectors of ancient coinage. Since the moneyers in this period often chose subjects reflecting the glory of their ancestors, these coins depict historical scenes from Roman history. Dick has identified all extant obverse dies, which he has organized in over 150,000 clippings of coins, all carefully organized and individually described. Thanks to the initiative of ANS Member Liv Yarrow and ANS Assistant Curator Lucia Carbone, the entire holdings were digitized earlier this year and will soon be available on ARCHER, our ANS platform for archival holdings.

What I found so remarkable is Dick's generosity in donating this material to the ANS, in facilitating its digitization, and thus making it available to everyone. The online publication will bear his name as lead author. We are sometimes approached with offers of interesting archives of our members, but they are sadly often for sale at prices that the ANS simply cannot afford. The other good work of collectors is sometimes simply lost when members die. There are several such important archives that come to mind that simply vanished or were thrown out. So thank you, Dick!

As this is my last letter in the *ANS Magazine*, at least as Executive Director, I would like to take this opportunity to salute the many collectors, who have dedicated their time, resources, and emotions to numismatic research. So many are dear friends, colleagues, ANS supporters, and I can easily say that without them the last 20 years at the helm of this organization would have been impossible and certainly less enjoyable. The time has now come to focus on other numismatic projects, and as of November 1st, I will be a full-time Research Curator at the Society. So much research, some half-finished, some barely begun, has accumulated. One of them is my very first numismatic subject, a study of the coinage of Pherai in Thessaly, which I began almost 35 years ago. As part of my research, I then encountered my first coin collector, arguably one of the greatest of all time, who helped me generously and taught me that numismatics as a subject is more than academic research.

I look forward to writing more about coins, new discoveries, and the many ways in which they touch our lives.



Ute Wartenberg



Facing Image: A page from Richard “Dick” Schaefer’s binders. The specimens here collected are part of RRC 426/3, one of the issues of 56 BCE under the name of Faustus Cornelius Sulla, son of the dictator.

## OPENING ACCESS TO ROMAN REPUBLICAN DIE STUDIES

*Lucia Carbone and Liv Mariah Yarrow*

*The practical problem is that counting all the dies used to strike during the Republic would be the work of several lifetimes. (M. H. Crawford, Roman Republican Coinage = RRC, 641)*

With these words, M. H. Crawford authoritatively stated the virtual impracticability of comprehensive die studies encompassing the whole of Roman Republican monetary production. About 25 years ago Richard “Dick” Schaefer began to collect systematically images of all struck Roman Republican issues included in Crawford’s *Roman Republican Coinage*. The final result of his Promethean task, an archive including statistically relevant die studies for all these coinages, seems to refute Crawford’s statement. His archive proves that it is indeed possible, even if extremely challenging, to create reliable quantitative data for the monetary production of the Roman Republic. The ANS has now partnered Dick Schaefer in the Roman Republican Die Project (RRDP), aiming at making available to the public what is likely to be the largest die study ever undertaken.

### The Die Study Turns 150!

A hand-carved die leaves a unique and recognizable impression. However, the first systematic analysis of coin specimens at the level of the die was not conducted until 1869 when Sylvester Sage Crosby in collaboration with the collector Joseph N. T. Levick studied the American half cents and cents of 1793. Their initial findings regarding the 1793 issues were published by the *American Journal of Numismatics* in 1869 (figs. 1–3).<sup>1</sup> Remarkably,

the famous Swiss numismatist Friedrich Imhoof-Blumer separately developed the same technique and completed and published his own die study of the coins of Acarnania in 1878 (figs. 4–5).<sup>2</sup> Since the work of Crosby and Imhoof-Blumer the die study has become an essential part of the numismatists’ tool kit and the gold standard for identifying a coin is at the level of the die. Whereas typologies represent a subjective, even if expert judgement about what details construe meaningful intentional differences in design, correct die-identification is always replicable and verifiable by any trained numismatist.

Besides this inherent veracity of identification, there are two major ways that die studies are used by numismatists: 1) to reconstruct striking processes at a mint, especially the sequence in which dies were used and how many work-stations a mint employed, and 2) to quantify the number of dies used to strike an issue. The first is widely accepted; the latter remains controversial.<sup>3</sup> Even those who accept that quantification is possible and useful bemoan the fact that die studies are so laborious that it would be impossible to complete enough die studies of large enough issues to say anything

Boston in 1897 by Crosby himself. Both publications are now in the public domain and fully digitized online at HathiTrust and other digital repositories. On the publication of the first numismatic plate ever for this article on the *American Journal of Numismatics* of 1869, see J. Neiswenter, 2008, “Levick, Crosby, and the Plate,” *American Numismatic Society Magazine* vol. 7, no. 2, 60–69.

2. F. Imhoof-Blumer. 1878. *Die Münzen Akarnaniens*. Vienna: Manz. Although 202 pages and exceptionally detailed, it only includes three plates. This also is now in the public domain and fully digitized online at HathiTrust and other digital repositories.

3. For an introductory overview, see C. Howgego. 1995. *Ancient History from Coins*. London: Routledge, esp. pp. 28–33.

1. S. S. Crosby and J. N. T. Levick. 1869. “Types and varieties of the U.S. Cent 1793,” *American Journal of Numismatics* 3, 93–97. Two hundred copies of a final version, *The United States Coinage of 1793, Cents and Half Cents* (36 pages, 3 plates) were printed in

Figure 1: Sylvester Sage Crosby (1831–1914). A watchmaker and a collector, he published the first die study ever performed on the US cents of 1793, published in April 1869. He further expanded this study into a fuller treatment of the cents and half cents of 1793 in a monograph published in 1897, *The United States Coinage of 1793, Cents and Half Cents*. Crosby's second major numismatic work, *The Early Coins of America*, was a study of the pre-federal coin issues in what is now the United States, published from 1873 through 1875, which remains an essential source today.



Sylvester S. Crosby

Figure 2: Joseph N. T. Levick (1828–1908). Treasurer of the ANS from 1867 to 1875, Levick helped found the Society's successful publications program in 1866 when he championed the effort to launch the first American numismatic journal—*The American Journal of Numismatics*.



Joseph N. T. Levick



Figure 3: Type II of the plate included in the Crosby-Levick original publication of 1869. The photographer's oval shaped trademark, "ROCKWOOD / PHOTOGRAPHER / 839 B'WAY NY," is only found on Type 2 plates that came from this original run. This trademark is embossed at the bottom of the plate, between obverse 11 and reverse K. However, it's hard to see unless you tilt the plate so the light hits it at just the right angle (see Neiswinter 2008, Figure 7).

particularly meaningful about the ancient money supply, let alone the ancient economy. Some have sought means of using machine vision or computer-aided measurement akin to facial recognition to speed the die study process. To date no computer-aided die study has been published, although the future possibility cannot be ruled out.<sup>4</sup> Human observation and human verifiable comparisons remain the most reliable means of completing a die study.

### The Largest Die Study to Date: Richard Schaefer's Archive and the RRDP at the ANS

Now, 150 years after Crosby's first study, the ANS's Roman Republican Die Project makes available to the public Dick Schaefer's archive, likely the largest die study ever undertaken (figs. 6–7). Schaefer's study encompasses all struck Roman Republican issues included

4. <http://numismatics.org/pocketchange/cads/>.

in Crawford's *Roman Republican Coinage* with a few logical exceptions, such as the large issue of C. Piso L.f. Frugi (RRC 408, c. 61 BCE re-dated based on the Mesagne hoard) for which Charles Hersh had already produced a complete die study.<sup>5</sup> The goal of this project has been to collect enough images and identify enough dies to achieve 90% or better coverage. Coverage is a

5. C. A. Hersh. 1976. "A Study of the Coinage of the Moneyer C. Calpurnius Piso L. F. Frugi," *Numismatic Chronicle* 16:136: 7–63. C. A. Hersh and A. Walker. 1984. "The Mesagne Hoard," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 29: 103–34. Some alternate assignments and a useful appendix of different proposed dates is provided by Hollstein, Wilhelm. 1993. *Die stadtrömische Münzprägung der Jahre 78–50 v. Chr. zwischen politischer Aktualität und Familienthematik: Kommentar und Bibliographie*. Munich: Tuduv; see esp. pp. 380–82. Likewise, some alternate interpretations are proposed for the moneyers of the years 58–50 BCE by H. B. Mattingly. 1995. "The Mesagne Hoard and the Coinage of the Late Republic," *Numismatic Chronicle* 155: 101–08.



Figure 4: Friedrich Imhoof-Blumer (1838–1920).



Figure 6: RRDP in action. Richard "Dick" Schaefer's working station.



Figure 7: RRDP in action. One of Schaefer's drawers with clippings.

statistical means of quantifying something most of us can easily intuit: once you've seen lots of coins it is less likely that the next coin you see will surprise you with something new. Coverage gives us a prediction of that likelihood. Schaefer regularly explains the principle by using a classic application: "Coverage is the best statistic for analyzing a random sample from a population consisting of types of unequal size. Expressed as a percentage, it is the probability that the next example will be of a type already known." When the New York City school system was first developing programs for English as a Second Language students, Schaefer explains,

*they needed to know when students learning English had read enough introductory books. The population was the body of English words; each type was a word (including all forms of the word); each word in the book was an example. When coverage became high enough, the students were*

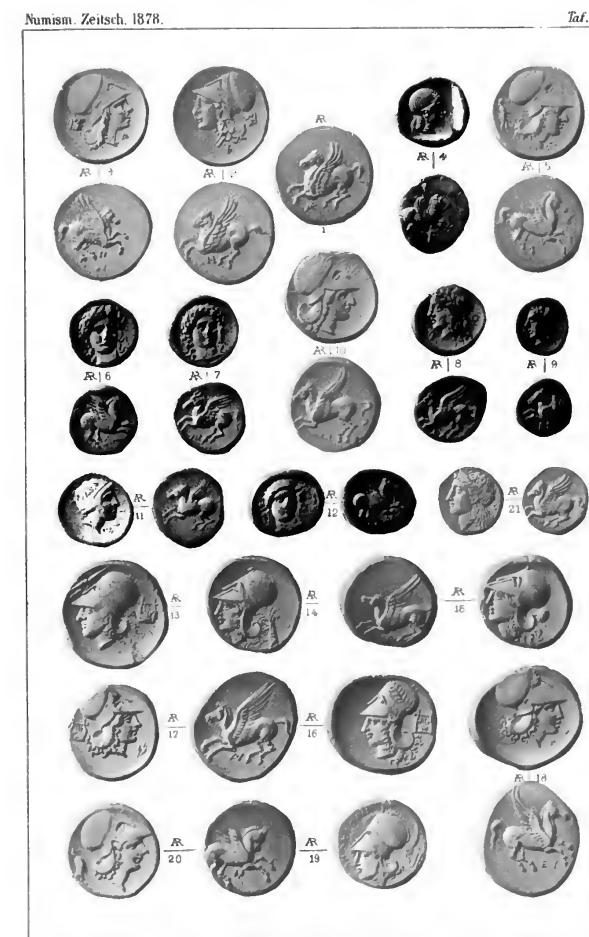


Figure 5: A plate from F. Imhoof-Blumer's *Die Münzen Akarnaniens* of 1878.

deemed proficient in English and could then read normal books. In numismatics, the population is a coinage; the types are the dies; each coin is an example.

The first part of the RRDP, supervised by Dr. Lucia Carbone (ANS) and Prof. Liv Yarrow (Brooklyn College and Graduate Center, CUNY) consisted in the digital preservation of Schaefer's prodigious archive, which was completed in June 2019.<sup>6</sup> While we don't yet have a precise final count, it is estimated that Schaefer has documented and analyzed some 300,000 specimens in the RRDP. Since 1995 he has given the project on average one to two hours of his time each day. This means he has spent more than 13,000 hours collecting and analyzing all this material. For each issue of struck coins, Schaefer determines the die links for either obverse or

6. <http://numismatics.org/rrdp/>.

reverse. Die links for the other die are also noted when observed. He prioritizes the obverse or reverse for an issue by choosing the die easier to identify. For struck AE, for example, the reverse die is usually much easier to identify than the obverse. Colleagues have sent him images from far-flung museums, and he has systematically sought out all illustrated auction catalogues, including those not (yet) digitized by online systems such as coinarchives.com and acsearch.info. Schaefer's meticulous notations on each clipping record the image source, as well as any and all information in the source such as weight, axis, diameter, and his assigned die identifier (a number or a letter) (figs. 8–9).

Schaefer has always been generous in sharing his analyses and images with scholars of all ranks, ages, and affiliations. The goal of the authors and the ANS is to perpetuate this generosity by preserving, sharing, and eventually expanding his Herculean intellectual feat. His master collection of die-sorted image clippings from diverse sources on different paper types in a carefully designed storage system presented a unique archival challenge. Moving the papers risked disturbing the precious order for loose clippings, and would have halted (at least for a time) Schaefer's every constant work expanding RRDP. To overcome these challenges, Schaefer agreed to host full-time image capture in his home. Dr. Erin Richardson, a master archivist with extensive experience in paper conservation and collection digitization for both museums and private holdings, was recruited by the ANS. She devised a scanning system that has meticulously documented Schaefer's work at 600 pixels per inch (ppi). For context, glossy publications (like the one you're reading now) typically print at 300 dots per inch (dpi). For this project, Richardson temporarily relocated to Pennsylvania to spend two months working full-time at image capture with a specialty scanning and computing set-up at the Schaefer residence.

What does this master collection of die-analyzed images look like? Imagine 14 three-inch three-ring binders. These hold at minimum the two best examples of all known dies for all issues covered by RRDP and on occasion additional specimens. Of course, the binder only has one example in cases where a die is only known (so far) from a single coin. Richardson scanned each binder page, often twice if images were overlapping or folded. Further examples of the known dies represented in the binders are stored in die order in small drawers, the kind you might use to sort and store your spare nuts and bolts or other hardware. One drawer can hold up to four hundred images. Richardson laid out the image clippings from the drawers in their precise order in batches typically of about 100 specimens (figs. 6–8).

The same type of drawers and the same organization

is used to store a special sub-set of 35 types of particular interest to those interested in the statistical analysis and quantification of surviving dies versus the original number of dies. These types make up a collection called ODEC for short (One Die for Every Control Mark). As Schaefer says, in around 2000 he "realized the ODEC issues could tell us how many dies we know out of the original total; inversely, they tell us how many dies we still have not found. For example, if an ODEC issue has control numbers 1 to 150, the missing numbers give us the number of dies still not found." Readers familiar with the importance of Theodore "Ted" Buttrey's study of the P. Crepusius denarii will already be acquainted with this type of evidence and how it has taken center stage in debates over quantification.<sup>7</sup> ODEC only includes issues that are large enough to be statistically meaningful; thus it excludes the smaller issues which are treated in the binders as ordinary types (RRC 376, 398, and 399) and issues like RRC 350A/3, which is huge but the control letter is too often off the flan and thus the current number of specimens in RRDP is statistically too small. Schaefer has also documented that not all of the 35 types believed to have only one control mark per die by Crawford actually fit that description; of these, quinarii issued by a P. (Vettius?) Sabinus in c. 99 BCE (RRC 331) (fig. 10) have by far the most symbols repeated on different dies. Another curiosity that Schaefer discovered is the issue of serrated denarii by C. Naevius Balbus (c. 79 BCE, RRC 382); control numbers 1–25 are all represented by two dies, but numbers 26–226 are only represented by one die. Schaefer's work on ODEC will prove invaluable for testing and verifying new and existing statistical models for quantification.

Currently underway, the second part of the RRDP project will deal with the digital transcription of the scanned materials. The focus of this transcription is to record the number of observed dies for all issues and the number of documented specimens for each die. Each Crawford type and subtype included in the RRDP database will then be linked to the Coinage of the Roman Republic Online (CRRO, numismatics.org/crro) and Coin Hoards of the Roman Republic (CHRR, numismatics.org/chrr) databases. This will allow anyone accessing them to immediately see and compare die-counts for each type. It also will allow all users to visually confirm these die links and die counts through the images themselves. Those images clearly capture Schaefer's

7. T. V. Buttrey. 1976. "The denarii of P. Crepusius and the Roman Republican Mint Organization," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 21: 67–108. For the importance of this study and its positive and negative impact on quantification studies, see discussion below and W. W. Esty 2011. "The Geometric Model for Estimating the Number of Dies" in *Quantifying monetary supplies in Greco-roman times*, edited by F. de Callataÿ. Bari: Edipuglia, pp. 43–58.



Fig. 8: RRDP in action. Example of scanned clippings of RRC 39/4.



Fig. 9: L. Papius' issue (c. 79 BCE, RRC 384/1) is an example of an ODEC type. These are two die-linked clippings from this issue from ODEC, which is also die linked. This control mark is a cooking pot and the hook used to suspend it over a fire. Schaefer's definitive collection of Papius control marks is an invaluable resource for understanding Roman everyday objects and also how Romans conceptualized 'pairs'. Schaefer's work documents 21 control mark pairs not listed in Crawford.



Fig. 10: Two examples from the Schaefer's binders. RRC 331 with the same control letter, G, on all four sides. Notice that the obverses are not die linked.

die naming conventions and his use in the binders of two double lines to connect die linked specimens (fig. 11).

The initial transcription is scheduled for completion in late October. Necessary query-checking and creation of a web interface means that a public release is likely to happen late 2019 or early 2020. The synergy of these three online databases—CRRO, CHRR, and RRD—will provide users with an as-of-yet unknown amount of precise quantitative data for the period of time considered. Therefore, once RRD goes live anyone interested in a specific issue can consult not only his die analysis but also compare the unanalyzed input specimens to ensure as complete coverage as possible. Likewise Schaefer has kept images of all observed brockages for future study so that potential patterns in that data may also be studied.

RRDP is ripe for further development and expansion. Transcription of the die axis information would allow for an expansion and testing of the work done already being done in this area.<sup>8</sup> Likewise, the transcription of weights for observed specimens could greatly expand the coverage of the metrology data available in CRRO. For this type of information, the project could perhaps use collaborative transcription adapting models used by The National Archive as part of its Citizen Archivist project.<sup>9</sup> A Citizen Numismatist initiative may be just the way to get numismatics into classrooms around the globe. Likewise, as numismatists undertake full die studies of RRD issues we will need to develop robust means of incorporating that data. These full dies studies—wherein all links between obverse and reverse dies are mapped—can be produced at much swifter speed because of Schaefer's 25 years of meticulous image collection, analysis, and documentation.

### Questionable Quantification?

Will the numbers produce any historically meaningful data? Yes, but all data, numerical or otherwise, demands interpretation. The “holy grail” of numismatists and economic historians would be to reconstruct the exact size of any coin issue and then be able to say something about changes in the volume of production over time. Our ability to estimate this information with any degree of meaningful statistical probability is disputed. The common process for reaching such an estimate involves first calculating the number of original dies used to produce a coinage and then estimating the output of each die. The accuracy and utility of such calculations has remained hotly debated in numismatic circles. In the 1970s and 1980s, a series of statistical

approaches to the problem were proposed; these all sought to estimate the total number of original dies based on the number of dies observed in a die study, taking into account the frequency of their observations in the study. By far the most influential works were those by Carter and Esty.<sup>10</sup> Today Esty's formulae as refined in later publications are the most-widely used.<sup>11</sup> Buttrey's die-study of the denarii of P. Crepusius mentioned above with its numbered reverse dies up to 519, was critical as a primary test of the accuracy of any of the proposed methods (figs. 12–13). A few numbers appear to have been accidentally inscribed on more than one die, but nevertheless the numbering system and the die study give our most-accurate die count of any ancient issue. RRD, especially ODEC, will play a key role in future testing of statistical models and thus help refine and make them yet more accurate.

The output of a single obverse die, i.e., how many coins could be produced by each obverse die, has been for decades a hotly debated issue for numismatists and economic historians. If a fixed number of coins could be expected to have been produced from a certain die, then an almost exact quantification of monetary production could be made possible. In the 1990s, two strong voices emerged in numismatic scholarship on the subject of the calculation of ancient coin production—Buttrey and de Callataj—the former holding to a basically pessimistic position on the speculative nature of such quantification, the latter remaining largely optimistic.<sup>12</sup> These debates culminated in two conferences with corresponding proceedings published just over a decade apart.<sup>13</sup> The forcefulness of the voices in the debate has led many to a conservative “wait and see” perspective on using numismatic quantification in historical studies. Others, while optimistic, see the problem as one of processing a large enough amount

- G. F. Carter. 1983. “A simplified method for calculating the original number of dies from die link statistics,” *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 28: 195–206, and W. W. Esty. 1986. “Estimation of the size of a coinage. A survey and comparison of methods,” *Numismatic Chronicle* 146: 185–215.
- W. W. Esty. 2006. “How to estimate the original number of dies and the coverage of a sample,” *Numismatic Chronicle* 146: 185–215. Esty 2011, cited above no. 7.
- T. V. Buttrey. 1993. “Calculating ancient coin production: I. Facts and fantasies,” *Numismatic Chronicle* 153: 335–51; “Calculating ancient coin production: II. Why it cannot be done,” *Numismatic Chronicle* 154 (1994): 341–52; and “Quantification of ancient coin production, the third element.” In *Quantifying monetary supplies in Greco-Roman times*, edited by F. de Callataj, 105–13. F. de Callataj, 1995. “Calculating Ancient Coin Production: Seeking a Balance.” *Numismatic Chronicle* 155: 289–311 and his introduction to *Quantifying monetary supplies in Greco-Roman times*. 2011. Bari: Edipuglia.
- Respectively, a special journal issue of *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* 1997 and de Callataj 2011 volume cited in no. 7.

8. C. Parisot-Sillon, A. Suspène, and G. Sarah. 2014. “Patterns in Die Axes on Roman Republican Silver Coinage,” *Numismatic Chronicle* 174: 91–109 with references to earlier studies.  
9. <https://www.archives.gov/citizen-archivist>.



Figure 11: RRD in action. A scanned binder page for RRC 415/1 (Paulus Lepidus, supposedly dated to 62 BCE). Notice the double-line connecting die linked specimens (either obverse or reverse dies).



Fig. 12: RRC 361/1c, denarius, 82 BCE (ANS 1944.100.557); obverse: Laureate head of lightly bearded youth (?Apollo) r., off-flan letter control mark and scepter behind; control mark worn away before; dot border.reverse: P.CREPVSI - Horseman r., brandishing spear; dot border.

Figure 13 (right): Excerpt from T. V. Buttrey's study on the coinage of P. Crepusius.

T. V. BUTTREY					
Letter	Number	Reference	Letter	Number	Reference
T	105	"O" H*	V	106	H
5. Grasshopper					
N	42	H	R	85	CH
H	47	H	T	85	H*
O	49	ANS	N	86	H*
E	62	H*	(None)	87	H*
E	64	H	I	92	H*
N	66	H*	(None)	98	H*
I	67	H*	I	99	H*
N	69	H	T	99	ANS
L	74	H*	(None)	105	Villa Potenza hoard
K	76	H*	(None)	108	CF-1233
O	76	H*	X	110	CH
S	76	D-3986	X	113	H
T	78	H*	T	117	H*
N	81	H	T	117	H*
(None) <sup>9</sup>	81	H*	A	[ ]	G. Hirsch sale (1 April 1974), 446
S	82	CH			
T	84	H*			
6. Grapes					
A	82	H	L	113	H*
E	82	H	N	116	H*
F	90	H*	K	117	H*
I	92	Copenhagen	S	125	H*
I	94	H*	X	127	CF-1278
K	104	H*	X	132	H*
R	104	H*	T	135	H
M	107	H*	H	[ ]	ANS
P	111	H*	O	[ ]	Berlin
V	111	H*			

<sup>9</sup> The engraver accidentally omitted the control letter. What it ought to have been is uncertain; however it was not E, I, K, N, O, S or T.



Fig. 14: RRC 282/5, Narbo, serrated denarius, c. 118 BCE (?)(ANS 1944.100.567, E. T. Newell bequest); obverse: head of Roma in a Phrygian helmet, LICI X (crossed) behind, L-PORCI before; reverse: naked Gallic warrior with shield, spear, and carnyx (Gallic dragon-shaped war trumpet) driving a biga, L-LIC-CN-DOM in exergue; Moneyers: L. Porcius Licinius, perhaps grandson of cos. of 184 BCE, L. Licinius Crassus, cos. 95 BCE, and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, cos. 96 BCE.



Figure 15: Map showing location of Narbo and Rome, drawn using The Antiquity À-la-carte Application produced by Ancient World Mapping Center (AWMC) at The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Figure 16: Silvestre David Mirys (1742–1810). *Figures de l'histoire de la république romaine accompagnées d'un précis historique*. Plate 127. Gaius Gracchus, tribune of the people, presiding over the Plebeian Council.



of data to produce meaningful results.<sup>14</sup> RRDP's scale and completeness directly addresses this last point.

The most important take-away from the current state of the debate is that we know far more than we did forty years ago, and that we are likely to have even better data in the years to come, especially thanks to Schaefer and RRDP. Based on new data, Esty has revised and improved the available formulas for estimating the original number of dies, and as further studies are produced the validity of our models will continue to be tested.<sup>15</sup> It is very telling that Buttrey's contribution to the most recent conference was primarily a rebuttal of the assumptions behind Crawford's approach from the 1970s, not of the present state of scholarship. He is absolutely correct to highlight the danger of enshrining any one such estimation as a new historical truth. Likewise, as with many data sets, non-randomness can make the evidence look more reliable than it is, say if there are far more of one die represented because of its over representation in a particular hoard. Esty himself has regularly advocated for

the thoughtful review of the raw data and in cases where judged necessary the application of data smoothing. He also recommends that die estimates be reported alongside the 95% confidence interval—the smaller the interval, the more likely the estimate is reliable. Readers of such results need a robust measure by which to judge the evidence they are being presented. There is always an onus on the historian to interrogate the logic behind any such estimate before integrating it into any new hypothesis.

In what follows, the quantitative data deriving from RRDP and Crawford's estimates have been combined with contextual evidence, the so-called 'third element' named by T.V. Buttrey in his 2011 rebuke of de Callatay's quantification approach. In both the case studies here proposed, the data derived from RRDP are closely linked to events well documented in ancient sources.

#### Case Study no. 1: Narbo, Funding a Roman Colony

The Narbo issue (RRC 282) is one of the earliest issues where historians and numismatists agree that specific coins can be linked to specific event (fig. 14). What is not agreed upon is the exact year the colony was founded, but 118 BCE is likely (fig. 15).<sup>16</sup> To understand the popular

16. Key pieces of evidence include: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 17.2, 294 (suggestive of a date before 120 BCE), Vellius Paternu-

RRC nos.	Dies	Coins	Singles	Die Estimated	plus 95	minus 95	Coverage
282/1	48	127	7	77	94	64	94%
282/2	45	129	15	69	83	58	88%
282/3	42	129	13	62	74	52	90%
282/4	61	230	20	83	93	74	91%
282/5	46	132	14	71	84	59	89%
All together	242	747	69	358	385	333	91%
Sum of separate estimations					362	428	307

Table 1: Narbo issue (RRC 282/1–5). Formulae based on Esty 2006 and 2011. Die counts based on RRDP (denarii).

Possible Outputs	RRDP Die Estimates	Plus 95 (highest)	Minus 95 (lowest)
10,000	3.58 million	3.85 million	3.33 million
20,000	7.16 million	7.7 million	6.66 million
30,000	10.74 million	11.55 million	9.99 million
40,000	14.32 million	15.3 million	13.32 million

Table 2: Possible production output in denarii of RRC 282

RRC nos.	RRDP Dies Observed	RRDP Die Estimates	RRC Die Estimates
282/1	48	77	85
282/2	45	69	37
282/3	42	62	32
282/4	61	83	103
282/5	46	71	48
Total	242	358 (362)	305

Table 3: Comparison between Production Estimates according to RRC and RRDP

dimensions of the foundation of the colony of Narbo, we need to understand how politically fraught issues of food and land were in these years. In 119 BCE Marius, usually assumed to be a popular politician, as tribune of the plebs vetoed a grain distribution bill, and likely that same year a *lex Thoria* discontinued Gracchan land distributions and substituted cash payments instead.<sup>17</sup> Cicero explicitly tells us that Crassus, the future consul of 95 BCE, vigorously supported the foundation of this colony against senatorial opposition and that he did so, at least in Cicero's mind, in order to be seen to champion a popular cause.<sup>18</sup> Other Ciceronian testimony seems to characterize the foundation as primarily a defensive outpost against the Gallic threat, as does the rather fearsome reverse design.<sup>19</sup> As we'll see the volume of coinage suggests significant monetary investment, alongside the land distributions expected with the foundation of any colony. The only precedent for a citizen colony was set by C. Gracchus less than five years

earlier (fig. 16). The Gracchan foundations are often interpreted as an acknowledgment that there were insufficient land resources in Italy to meet demand.<sup>20</sup> The handling of the funds associated with colonization was certainly a very politically sensitive matter.

In 1988 Garnsey reported that Crawford estimated that some 9,000,000 denarii were struck as part of the Narbo issue.<sup>21</sup> In RRC, Crawford had estimated a total of 305 dies were used to strike the issue, so his number of 9 million suggests he was assuming a little less than 30,000 coins per die. The counts of observed dies, observed individual coins, and dies only known from a single specimen as recorded in RRDP when entered into Esty's formulae suggest Crawford wasn't far off. Instead, we can just be much more confident in the accuracy of our estimates. The biggest improvement is not on the size of the overall issue, but instead of the individual subtypes within the issue. RRDP suggests a much more even distribution of dies over the subtypes, but with RRC 282/4 and 282/1 still have more than the other subtypes, just to a much less extreme degree.

However, the numbers are only really historically meaningful if we can have contextual evidence, the so-called "third element" named by T. V. Buttrey in his 2011

14. C. Howgego. 2009. "Some numismatic approaches to quantifying the Roman economy," in *Quantifying the Roman economy: methods and problems*, edited by A. K. Bowman and A. I. Wilson, 287–95. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

15. See Esty 2011 cited in no. 7.

lus 2.7.8 (118 BCE), Cicero, Brutus 158 (cf. *pro Cluentio* 51 and *de Oratore* 2.223; suggestive of date after 113 BCE). This ambiguity affects how the relative chronology of the Republican coin series in this period is aligned with an absolute chronology. H. B. Mattingly. 2004. *From Coins to History*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 130–51 and 210–11; B. M. Levick. 1971. "Cicero, Brutus 43.159 ff., and the foundation of Narbo Martius." *Classical Quarterly* 21: 170–79.

17. Appian, *Civil Wars* 1.27; Plutarch, Marius 4. On agrarian legislation in this period, S. T. Roselaar. 2010. *Public land in the Roman Republic: a social and economic history of ager publicus in Italy*, 396–89 B.C. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 261–78.

18. See Cicero references in no. 16.

19. Cf. Cicero, *Pro Fonteio* 13.

20. Roselaar 2010 (cit. no. 17), 243.

21. P. Garnsey. 1988. *Famine and food supply in the Graeco-Roman world: responses to risk and crisis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 121.



Figure 17: RRC 326/2, quinarius, c. 101 BCE (?) (Bertolami e-auction 68, 16 March 2019, lot 943). Obv.: laureate head of Jupiter, control mark (P) behind. Rev.: Victory crowns a Gallic trophy before which a naked Gallic prisoner of war kneels, C-FUNDA right, Q in exergue. Moneyers: C. Fundanius an otherwise unknown quaestor. Mattingly would redate to c. 97 BCE.



Figure 18: RRC 331/1, quinarius, 99 BCE (Numismatica Ars Classica 92, 23 May 2016, lot 1781). Obv.: laureate head of Jupiter, control mark (S with a dot above and below) behind. Rev.: Victory crowns a Gallic trophy, P-SABIN between figures, Q in exergue, control mark (S with a dot above and below) right. Moneyers: P. (Vettius?) Sabinus is an otherwise unknown quaestor. Mattingly concurs with Crawford on dating.



Figure 19: RRC 332/1a, quinarius, 98 BCE (Bibliothèque nationale de France REP-8606). Obv.: laureate head of Jupiter right with a dot below; behind, control-mark. Border of dots. Rev.: T-CLOVLI. Victory right, crowning trophy, beside which stands a carnyx and before which kneels a captive; between Victory and trophy, inscription. Line border.



Figure 20: RRC 333/1, quinarius, 97 BCE (Rauch E-Auction 27, 2018, lot 244). Obv.: C-EGNATVLEI-C-F-Q. Laureate head of Apollo right. Border of dots. Rev.: Q. Victory left, inscribing shield attached to trophy; beside trophy, carnyx; between Victory and trophy, inscription. Border of dots.

rebuke of de Callataj’s quantification approach. One point of comparison to begin to think about scale might be the state expenditure on grain in 62 BCE after Cato’s controversial proposal. Plutarch in his *Lives* suggests this was considered a very large expenditure and reports it as “twelve hundred and fifty talents” (*Cato the Younger* 26) or “seven million five hundred thousand drachmas” (*Caesar* 8). On the most conservative die output estimates the Narbo issue would represent at least half this amount, most probably was in fact a bit greater, and just might (if our die output estimates are far too low) represent double this amount but certainly not much more.

It would be more meaningful to compare the Narbo die estimates not against literary testimony but about other issues likely associated with colonization. Thus, in future publications we will use RRD and Esty’s formulae to estimate dies used to strike the quinarii of c. 100 BCE, long associated with the establishment of Marian veteran colonies in the Po Valley (figs. 17–20; RRC 326/2, 331/1, 332/1a–c, and 333/1). Do these issues represent a greater investment in colonization than the Narbo issue? Soon we will likely be able to answer this question.

### Case Study no. 2: Emergency Funding for Rome’s Grain Supply

In April of 56 BCE Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus met at Luca (approximately 12 miles [19 km] northeast of Pisa in Etruria) to re-affirm their alliance (the so-called First Triumvirate) with some 200 senators attending. The same fated meeting decided the election of Pompey and Crassus to the consulship for the following year, the extension of Caesar’s command in Gaul for another five years, and the assignment of Pompey to Spain and Crassus to Syria. Pompey completed his extraordinary command overseeing the grain supply and opened his lavish theater temple complex dedicated to Venus Victrix (fig. 21). On April 8, 56 BCE, Cicero wrote to his brother Quintus about an emergency measure voted by the Senate in order to provide Pompey with the funds necessary for the *annona*, the public grain supply:

*On the 5th of April, by a decree of the senate, a sum of money amounting to 40 million sestertii was voted to Pompey for the business of the grain supply. [...] The shortness of money and the high price of grain increased the exasperation. (Cicero, Letters to his Brother 2.5; Shuckburgh trans., modified)*

According to Crawford in a normal year, the senate would authorize the *quaestor urbanus* to have a certain amount of bullion struck and distributed for specific purposes. The *quaestor urbanus* (“quaestor of the city”) had oversight of the treasury in Rome. The quaestorship was the first step on the *cursus honorum* (literally,

“course of honors”, but better translated “series of public offices”); in the late Republic being elected to this office gave admission to the Senate.<sup>22</sup> Most quaestors were assigned to a senior magistrate, a high office-holder such as a *praetor* or consul to manage their finances and other affairs. The *quaestor urbanus* would turn the bullion over to the *triumviri monetales* (moneyers) for striking, and then he would distribute the funds as instructed (fig. 22). These moneyers were young men at the very beginning of their political careers, three a year, probably elected to the position as a precursor to seeking higher office. On this model, the S-C issues would then be from years where this initial allocation proved insufficient and a special *senatus consultum* was required to authorize a magistrate, usually a moneyer, to strike a sufficient supplement.<sup>23</sup>

The year 56 BCE proved to be one of these years. Faustus, Sulla’s son, struck four coin types, two with no S-C and designs related to his family, presumably prior to April 5, and two others with S-C and with types relating to Pompey, presumably after April 5.<sup>24</sup> The Pompeian coin types nearly all refer to the building and dedication of Pompey’s major complex on the Campus Martius (“Field of Mars”) in name a sanctuary for Venus Victrix (“Venus the Victory-Bringer”) and in practice Rome’s first stone theater with an elaborate integrated portico containing gardens, galleries, and meeting space, including the Curia Pompeia, the senate building in which Caesar would be stabbed on the Ides of March 44 BCE (fig. 23).<sup>25</sup> It seems reasonable to connect the decree to at least the Faustus issues, and, as we shall see, perhaps also to the other two other issues with S C and Pompeian themes

22. J. R. W. Prag. 2014. “The quaestorship in the third and second centuries B.C.”, in J. Dubouloz, S. Pittia, and G. Sabatini (eds.), *L’imperium Romanum en perspective*. Paris: Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, 193–209.

23. RRC, 606–609.

24. No S.C.: RRC 426/3–4; SC: RRC 426/1–2.

25. John W. Stamper. 2005. *The Architecture of Roman Temples: The Republic to the Middle Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 84–90.

(figs. 24–25).<sup>26</sup> If this is the case, we should expect at least part of the 40 million sestertii mentioned by Cicero as exceptional funding for the *annona* expenditure to be minted in the years of this senatorial decree and in the year immediately following. Since the introduction of the *denarius*-based monetary system, the sestertius was one-fourth of a denarius.<sup>27</sup> Thus if Faustus’ S C issues correspond to the decree mentioned by Cicero then we’d anticipate it have been 10 million denarii. Tables 4 and 5 show die estimates and possible issues sizes for Faustus’ issues.

In sum, here’s what we know: there was a *senatus consulta* in April of 56 BCE authorizing the equivalent of 40 million sestertii for the *annona*. Table 4 demonstrates that Faustus’ SC coinage is insufficient on its own to represent that amount, at most it could represent a third to a half of that amount.

So where did the other one-half to one-third come from? One answer would be already-struck coinage, either struck by Faustus or another money of 56 BCE as part of the original annual allocation of bullion or older

26. Crawford’s chronology for these years has been updated on the basis of the Mesagne hoard, including 5,940 Republican denarii and whose burial is dated to approximately 58 BCE. C. A. Hersh and A. Walker. 1984. “The Mesagne hoard,” *American Numismatic Society Monographs and Notes* 29, 103–34.

27. Varro, *On the Latin Language* 5.173: “In silver, there are coins called *nummi*, this word from the Sicilians: *denarii*, because they were worth *deni aeris* ‘ten asses of copper’; *quinarii*, because they were worth *quini* ‘five asses each’; and the *sestertius* ‘sesterce,’ so called because it is *semis tertius* ‘the third half-as.’ For the old-time sesterce was a *dupondius* and a *semis*” (transl. Roland G. Kent, adapted). The *sestertius* was then valued at one-fourth of a *denarius* right from the introduction of the *denarius*-based monetary system back in the course of the Second Punic War. After the retariffing of the denarius from 10 to 16 asses in 141 BCE, the sestertius became equivalent to four asses, instead of the previous 2-½, but it remained one quarter of a denarius. On the retariffing of the denarius in 141 BCE, most recently: P. Kay. 2014. *Rome’s Economic Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 103–04 (with bibliography).

RRC nos.	Dies	Coins	Singles	Die Estimated	Plus 95	Minus 95	Coverage
426/1 (non SC)	55	113	19	88	112	70	89%
426/2 (non SC)	26	57	6	35	48	27	89%
426/3 (SC)	60	125	22	99	124	79	82%
426/4 (SC)	19	82	4	24	29	20	95%
Total	160	377	51	246	313	196	89%

Table 4: Faustus’ issues (RRC 426/1–4). Formulae based on Esty 2006 and 2011. Die Counts based on RRD (denarii).

Possible Outputs	RRC Die Estimates	RRDP Die Estimates	Plus 95 (highest)	Minus 95 (lowest)
10,000	0.63 million	1.23 million	1.53 million	0.99 million
20,000	1.26 million	2.46 million	3.06 million	1.98 million
30,000	1.89 million	3.69 million	4.59 million	2.97 million
40,000	2.52 million	4.92 million	6.12 million	3.96 million

Table 5: Possible production output in denarii of just SC types of RRC 426

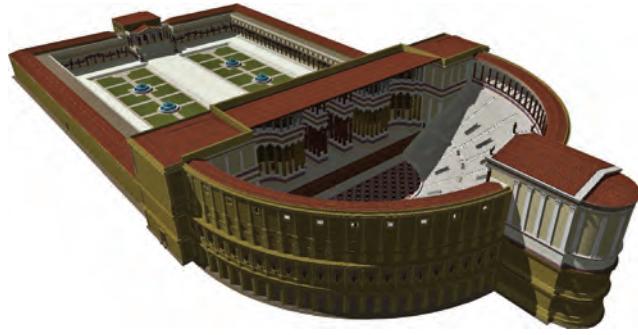


Figure 21: Model of Pompey's Theater Complex by Lasha Tskhondia.



Figure 22: The Temple of Juno Moneta, the first mint of Rome, as it may have appeared in Rome in AD 312. After a section of a panoramic painting of Rome created by Professor J. Bühlmann and Alexander Wagner and published in leporello, or fold-out, book-form in Munich, 1892, titled *Das Alte Rom mit dem Triumphzuge Kaiser Constantin's im Jahre 312*. The first temple of Juno Moneta was dedicated on the Arx, one of the two rises on the Capitoline Hill in the center of Rome in 344 B.C. Moneta derives from the Latin verb "to warn" and the sacred geese at the temple warned the Romans of Gallic invaders. In time, the mint was located next to the temple and the epithet "moneta" came to mean "money" and is the root of the English word "money."



Figure 23: RRC 426/3, denarius, 56 BCE (Münzkabinett Berlin 18201847); obverse: laureate bust of Venus Victrix wearing stephane (a tiara-like crown) and necklace, S-C behind; reverse: three trophies, flanked by jug and lituus (augur's staff), FAVSTVS in ligature in exergue; moneyer: Faustus Cornelius Sulla, son of the dictator, quaestor in 54 BCE. Reverse imitates a Sullan type and probably represents one of Pompey's signet rings.



Figure 24: RRC 424/1, denarius, 56 or 57 BCE (Yale 2001.87.1837); obverse: laureate bust of Venus Victrix wearing stephane (a tiara-like crown) and necklace, C-CONSIDI-NONIANI behind, S-C before; reverse: Temple on top of a mountain surrounded by a wall with a gate, ERVC above gate; moneyer: C. Considius Nonianus is not otherwise known. The reverse shows the sanctuary of Venus at Eryx. In Rome, Venus Erycina had two temples. Mattingly follows Hersh and Walker and dates to 56 BCE; Hollstein follows Crawford and dates to 57 BCE.



Figure 25: RRC 430/1, 55 (or 56?) BCE, denarius, 3.99 g., Classical Numismatic Group e-auction 385 (26 November 2016), lot 462. Obv.: laureate bust of Venus Victrix wearing stephane (a tiara-like crown) and necklace, S-C behind. Rev.: Amazon holding spear and reins of her horse, cuirass under horse's torso, shield leaning against Amazon's left leg, P-CRASSVS-M-F around. Moneyer: P. Licinius Crassus, younger son of the triumvir, M. Licinius Crassus, cos. 55 BCE. The type celebrates Pompey, his father's co-consul this year.

struck coin on deposit in the treasury. However, if this is the case it would throw into question a tight connection between the *senatus consultum* and the number of coins issued. This would make the SC on certain coin issues overall less meaningful, saying more about a shortage of coin on deposit in the treasury to meet the Senate's financial authorizations than that all of the money authorized was represented by the issue.

Another answer is that that missing money wasn't ever coin, but instead another type of money, possibly credit. Hollander has documented that a vast amount of the late

republican monetary economy operated with monetary instruments other than coin.<sup>28</sup> We could imagine that Pompey was in effect authorized to demand transportation services or even grain itself from private contractors with state accounts and that credit and banking transactions made up the money that Faustus did not coin.

Still another answer is that 40 million sestertii were coined and did have SC on them and our assumptions regarding the college of moneyers for 56 BCE needs

28. Hollander, David B. 2007. *Money in the Late Roman Republic*. Leiden: Brill, 31–57.

RRC nos.	Dies	Coins	Singles	Die Estimated	Plus 95	Minus 95	Coverage
424/1 (SC)	38	100	20	72	92	57	80%
430/1 (SC)	49	127	13	69	83	57	90%
Total	87	227	33	141	175	114	85%

Table 6: C. Considius Nonianus (RRC 424/1) and P. Licinius Crassus' issues (RRC 430/1). Formulae based on Esty 2006 and 2011. Die counts based on RRDP (denarii).

Possible Outputs	RRC Die Estimates	RRDP Die Estimates	Plus 95 (highest)	Minus 95 (lowest)
10,000	1.36 million	2.64 million	3.28 million	2.13 million
20,000	2.72 million	5.28 million	6.56 million	4.26 million
30,000	4.08 million	7.92 million	9.84 million	6.39 million
40,000	5.44 million	10.56 million	13.12 million	8.52 million

Table 7: Possible production output in denarii of just SC types of RRC 426, 424, and 430

RRC nos.	RRDP Dies Observed	RRDP Die Estimates	RRC Die Estimates
426/1 (non SC)	55	88	< 3
426/2 (non SC)	26	35	< 30
426/3 (SC)	60	99	< 30
426/4 (SC)	19	24	33
424/1 (SC)	38	72	< 10
430/1 (SC)	49	69	63
Complete Total	247	387	196

Table 8: Comparison between Production Estimates according to RRC and RRDP

tweaking. There are two other SC coin issues around the same years, namely the ones produced by C. Considius Nonianus (RRC 424/1) and P. Licinius Crassus' issues (RRC 430/1), presented in Table 6 (figs. 24–25). Like Faustus' SC types, those of Nonianus and Crassus also have Venus Victrix on the obverse. Hersh and Walker, as well as Mattingly, would all move Nonianus to 56 BCE. Crassus is usually placed in 55 BCE because that is the year his father was consul, but that type of reasoning can be circular. If we add their issues to Faustus' SC issues we get closer to 10 million denarii (Table 6). This doesn't mean that this is the "true" answer, it just means that it is one possible, even plausible, answer. As far as we can tell from Schaefer's die study, it is possible to convincingly argue that the SC issue of Faustus, Nonianus and Crassus were indeed related to the extraordinary expenditure for the *annona* mentioned by Cicero.

As in the first case study, it is striking to notice that in the cases in which Crawford had at his disposal sufficiently reliable hoard evidence (as in the case of RRC 430/1, Licinius Crassus' issue) his estimates are very close to the data offered by RRDP. However, for RRC 426 and 424 Crawford's estimates were hampered by the lack of available evidence (Table 8). The high sample coverage vouchsafes now for most issues the reliability of the study. For RRC 424/1 (80% coverage) and 426/3 (82% coverage), we know that we have more work to do to increase the accuracy of

the estimates and narrow the confidence interval. RRDP data, derived from Schaefer's invaluable work, allow us to interrogate in new ways the figure offered by Cicero for the extraordinary funding of 56 BCE for the *annona*. It also gives us new ways to think about the production estimates deriving from de Callatay's quantification approach (20,000–30,000 coins per obverse die) and whether they are the ones most likely to represent the reality of monetary output, as they come closer to the figures in ancient sources. At the same time, the limited evidence provided by these two initial case studies suggests that, when the hoard evidence is reliable enough, Crawford's estimates are not so distant from the ones verified by the obverse die studies in RRDP.

### Conclusions

The die studies realized by Richard "Dick" Schaefer and now digitized and organized in ANS Roman Republican Die Project (RRDP) are an invaluable asset to the study of Roman Republican history. They could prove instrumental to show 1) the accuracy of the figures provided by ancient sources, as in the two case studies provided in this article, and 2) the reliability (or not) of Crawford (and later) production estimates based on hoard counts. Finally, RRDP also offers an important contribution to the debate about quantification, since it suggests that de Callatay's quantification approach is the one most likely to tackle the actual monetary output per obverse die.



Facing page: J. J. Crew (after Lewis John Wood (1813–1901)).  
“Rodez Cathedral.” *Picturesque Europe*, 1872.

## FRENCH MEDALLIC ARTIST RAYMOND GAYRARD

*Jai K. Chandrasekhar*

Raymond Gayrard (1777–1858) was one of the most prominent French medallic artists during a flourishing era of French medals in the first six decades of the nineteenth century, and he contributed to elevating medal engravers from workmen who executed designs drawn by others to artists who designed their own works. His works were stylistically conservative in the neoclassical style that dominated French medals and sculpture in his time, but by drawing portraits from life and working as both a medallist and a sculptor, he helped prepare the way for the blossoming of Art Nouveau medals in the decades after his death.

Gayrard also lived honorably during difficult political times, including three revolutions, two coups d'état, and two foreign invasions that overthrew his country's government. Medallic art in France during Gayrard's lifetime was often political, depended largely on government commissions, and was censored except during the short-lived Second Republic of 1848–1851. Gayrard was a Legitimist, that is, a monarchist supporter of the Bourbon dynasty, and his political beliefs remained consistent throughout the turmoil of his era. But to the extent that his works were political, they almost (but not quite) always conformed to the official symbolism of whichever government was in power. Gayrard was willing to portray France's shifting official images in metal and stone because he was both a patriotic Frenchman and a working artist supporting a family.

### **Childhood and Youth Under the Bourbons, the First Republic, and Napoléon**

Gayrard was born on October 25, 1777, in Rodez, a small city in southern France (facing page), under the Bourbon monarchy. His father was a cloth

manufacturer, and his ancestors had been part of the town's bourgeoisie since at least the 1500s. The Gayrard family had owned and lived in the same house for centuries and continued to do so at least until the time of Raymond Gayrard's death.<sup>1</sup>

In 1789, when Gayrard was 11 years old, the French Revolution began. The revolutionaries initially tried to establish a constitutional monarchy, but this effort failed in the face of opposition from many aristocrats, military attacks by other monarchies, a failed attempt by King Louis XVI to flee to join the counterrevolutionaries, and increasing radicalism among the revolutionaries. In 1792, the Bourbon monarchy was abolished, and the First Republic was established. During the Jacobin Reign of Terror in 1793, Louis XVI and Queen Marie Antoinette were executed. The Revolution also took a violently anticlerical turn, as Catholicism and monarchism were then closely associated with each other. Gayrard's parents, who were monarchists and devout Catholics, sheltered a fugitive priest and a fugitive nun during the Terror at the risk of their own lives, and they were dismayed by the execution of the king and queen. Gayrard held the same religious and political views as his parents to the end of his life.<sup>2</sup>

Amidst the political turmoil of his teenage years, young Gayrard faced the choice of a career. His father wanted him to go into the family cloth-making business. But the boy was interested in drawing and engraving, and his mother persuaded his father to let him become an apprentice of a relative who was a goldsmith in Rodez.<sup>3</sup>

1. Jules Duval, *Raymond Gayrard: Graveur et Statuaire* (Rodez: E. Carrère, 2d ed. 1866) (1859), pp. 1–2, 85.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

3. *Ibid.*



Figure 1: Louis-François Lejeune. "The Battle of Marengo," 1801. (Versailles, Musée national du château).

(Another source states that Gayrard became a goldsmith's apprentice because the Revolution destroyed his father's fortune.<sup>4</sup>) Gayrard left school to serve as an apprentice goldsmith in his hometown from around the age of sixteen until he turned nineteen, when he enlisted in a French army unit stationed in Paris rather than waiting for imminent conscription.<sup>5</sup> By this time, the Jacobins had been overthrown and replaced by less radical revolutionaries, but the French Republic remained at war with Europe's monarchies.

In Paris, Gayrard initially received permission from the army to work for a gem engraver. But Gayrard was then ordered to rejoin his unit, and he served from 1796 to 1802 in Napoléon Bonaparte's campaigns against the Austrians in Italy and Switzerland—the campaigns that made Napoléon famous. During these campaigns,

Gayrard was promoted to sergeant; was taken prisoner in Switzerland by the Austrians but escaped, thanks to his captors' having given him an Austrian uniform to wear because his French uniform was in rags; and was wounded at the Battle of Zurich in 1799. (That was also the year when Napoléon seized power as First Consul in a coup d'état.) Gayrard again fought and was wounded in 1800 at the Battle of Marengo, one of Napoléon's most important victories in Italy (fig. 1).<sup>6</sup>

Gayrard was happy to be discharged from the army in 1802, when the Peace of Amiens briefly ended France's wars with Europe's monarchies. He returned to Paris to become an apprentice of a leading goldsmith, Jean-Baptiste-Claude Odiot, who made dinner services for Napoléon's palace and campaign tent (fig. 2).<sup>7</sup> (The House of Odiot is still in business

4. Germain Sarrut and B. Saint-Edine, *Le Plutarque de 1847: Biographie des hommes du jour* (Paris: Imprimerie de L.-B. Thomassin et Cie., 1847).

5. Duval, pp. 3-4.

6. Ibid., p. 5.

7. <http://odiot.com/en/category/history/>.

in Paris.) Odiot taught Gayrard engraving on precious metals and gems. Gayrard's fellow apprentices initially disliked what they considered his aristocratic manner, but he won their respect and friendship because he was dignified but never proud and worked long hours to learn drawing and engraving.<sup>8</sup> During his time with Odiot, Gayrard considered seeking work in Russia, but was prevented from doing so by poor health.<sup>9</sup>

Gayrard's fellow apprentices' initial perception of him as aristocratic reflects how unusual his bourgeois family origins were for an aspiring engraver in early nineteenth-century France. Most engravers, including medallists, were then sons of the working class; many were sons of engravers; and many started their careers working for weapon or button factories or, like Gayrard, silver or goldsmiths. For example, Jean-Jacques Barre (1793–1855), the Engraver General of the Paris Mint from 1842 to 1855, was apprenticed at the age of twelve to a carver, foundry worker, and gilder;<sup>10</sup> Antoine Bovy (1795–1877), a prominent Swiss medallist and coin designer who was also active in France, was the son of a jeweler and learned engraving from childhood.<sup>11</sup> As the son of a factory owner, Gayrard was exceptional among medal engravers.

In 1804, when Gayrard had been Odiot's apprentice for two years, Napoléon proclaimed himself emperor. (Odiot made his coronation sword and scepter).<sup>12</sup> That year, Gayrard returned to his hometown, where he remained for three years working for goldsmiths until his father's death in 1807, when he returned to Paris and began to study medal engraving.<sup>13</sup> Gayrard may have been motivated to move back to Paris not only by his father's death but also by his first child's birth in 1807. All sources agree that Raymond Gayrard's best-known son, the sculptor Paul Gayrard, was born in 1807,<sup>14</sup> but Raymond married his wife only in 1816.<sup>15</sup> Thus, Paul was apparently born out of wedlock, but his father accepted responsibility for him and became a devoted father and husband.

**Beginning a Career in Medallic Art Under Napoléon**  
During his student years, Raymond Gayrard was "[p]oor,

8. Duval, pp. 5-6.

9. H. Affre, *Lettres sur l'histoire de Rodez* (Rodez: Imprimerie H. de Broca, 1874), p. 536.

10. *Benezit Dictionary of Artists*, vol. 1 (Paris: Gründ, 2006), p. 1197.

11. L. Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, vol. 1 (London: Spink & Son Ltd., 1904), p. 124.

12. <http://odiot.com/en/category/history/>.

13. Duval, pp. 6-7; Affre, p. 536.

14. E.g., Stanislas Lami, *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs de l'école française au dix-neuvième siècle*, vol. 3 (Nelden/Liechtenstein: Klaus Reprint, 1970) (1919), p. 39.

15. Duval, p. 17.



Figure 2: Robert Jacques François Lefèvre (1755–1830). "Jean-Baptiste-Claude Odiot," 1822. (Detroit Institute of Arts).



Figure 3: France. Bronze medal commemorating the Battle of Montenotte (1796); obverse by Raymond Gayrard, reverse by Romain-Vincent Jeuffroy, 1807. (ANS 1920.147.768, gift of W. R. Powell) 40 mm.



Figure 4: France. Bronze medal commemorating the beginning of construction of a road from Nice to Rome; obverse by Bertrand Andrieu, reverse by Raymond Gayrard, 1807. (ANS 1920.147.1066, gift of W. R. Powell) 40 mm.



Fig. 5: France. Snuffbox with gilt copper medallions by Raymond Gayrard commemorating the wedding of Napoléon Bonaparte and Archduchess Marie-Louise of Austria, 1810. (private collection).



Figure 6: France. Silver gaming token by Raymond Gayrard, 1812 (probably later restrike). (ANS 0000.999.70818) 30 mm.



Figure 7: France. Silver gaming token by Raymond Gayrard, 1812 (probably later restrike). (ANS 0000.999.70820) 30 mm.



Figure 8: France. Silver gaming token by Raymond Gayrard, 1812 (probably later restrike). (ANS 0000.999.70831). 30 mm.

but stronger than poverty . . .”<sup>16</sup> He lived in a small fifth-floor apartment at the top of a building in the Île Saint-Louis in the center of Paris.<sup>17</sup> Poor people lived on the upper floors of apartment buildings in nineteenth-century Paris, while wealthier people lived on the lower floors. Gayrard once sold his hat to buy the engraving tools called burins, and he sometimes lacked money to buy firewood in winter and accepted gifts of firewood from a friendly, wealthier downstairs neighbor.<sup>18</sup> He later advised a wealthy young man who asked him how to become a good sculptor to “spend your fortune” on a vast studio, so that “having become poor, you will be forced to devote all your time to the study of art; the best teacher is necessity.”<sup>19</sup>

Despite his poverty, Gayrard was befriended and taught, formally or informally, by some of the most prominent sculptors and medallists of the day. At the age of 30 in 1807, Gayrard was too old to become a formal apprentice again. He studied medal engraving on his own but received informal advice and training from his friends Auguste-Marie Taunay (1768–1824), a sculptor and member of the national School of Fine Arts, and François-Joseph Bosio (1768–1845), Napoléon’s court sculptor. He then studied with the sculptor Louis-Simon Boizot (1743–1809), who had been prominent since before the Revolution, and with Romain-Vincent Jeuffroy (1749–1826), who held a chair in medal engraving at the School of Fine Arts.<sup>20</sup>

Despite his Legitimist beliefs, Gayrard’s career started strongly under Napoléon. In 1807, his first year as a medallist, Gayrard made a portrait of the young Napoléon for the obverse of a medal with a reverse by Jeuffroy celebrating the 1796 Battle of Montenotte, Napoléon’s first major victory in Italy (fig. 3).<sup>21</sup> Charles

16. C. Lévêque, “Études sur l’histoire des beaux arts au dix-neuvième siècle: De la gravure en médailles—Raymond Gayrard,” *Journal Général de l’Instruction Publique et des Cultes*, vol. 28, no. 21 (March 12, 1859), p. 163. All translations from French in this article are by the article’s author.

17. Duval, pp. 12–13.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13.

19. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 121.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 7–9; L. [Leonard] Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, vol. 2 (London: Spink & Son, 1904), p. 224. On Taunay, see *Benezit Dictionary of Artists*, vol. 13 (Paris: Gründ, 2006), p. 722; on Bosio, see *Benezit Dictionary of Artists*, vol. 2 (Paris: Gründ, 2006), p. 914; on Boizot, see *ibid.*, p. 749; on Jeuffroy, see L. [Leonard] Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, vol. 3 (London: Spink & Son, 1907), pp. 71–74.

21. Writers often incorrectly date the Montenotte medal to 1796, the year of the battle, which appears on the medal, and identify it as the first medal depicting Napoléon. But Gayrard had not begun making medals in 1796; he made this medal in 1807. Duval, p. 9; Forrer, vol. 2, p. 225. Many other medals of Napoléon were issued before this one, but confusion about this medal’s date began during Gayrard’s lifetime. The numismatist Michel Hennin wrote about this medal in 1826 that “[h]ere appears for the first time in a numismatic illustration that extraordinary

Lévêque (1818–1900), a professor of Greek and Roman philosophy at the Collège de France, wrote that Gayrard’s portrait has “an imposing simplicity”: “the profile of the young conquering general . . . has all of its subject’s expression and character.”<sup>22</sup> In the same year, Gayrard also made the reverse of another Napoléon medal that commemorated the beginning of construction of a highway from Nice to Rome by depicting the Roman goddess Vibia, the patroness of highways, with an obverse portrait of the emperor by Bertrand Andrieu (1761–1822), an established artist (fig. 4).<sup>23</sup> Gayrard’s reverse, showing the goddess holding a wheel and resting one foot on a rock and the other on the sea at a difficult, rocky portion of the coast to be crossed by the road, was inspired by coins of the Emperor Trajan representing the Trajan Road, but Gayrard’s bare-breasted Vibia is less modestly dressed than his ancient model.<sup>24</sup>

The Montenotte and Nice–Rome medals were a promising beginning for the medallist career of Gayrard, who was an obscure student artist until then. Indeed, the medals scholar Leonard Forrer wrote that Gayrard was among the artists whose medals were “the best productions of the First Empire,”<sup>25</sup> and the numismatist Ernest Babelon placed Gayrard with Jeuffroy, Andrieu, and others in “the first rank” of “the best artists of the time” who engraved Napoleonic medals struck at the Paris Mint “under the capable direction of Vivant Denon.”<sup>26</sup>

Baron Dominique Vivant Denon (1747–1825), a painter and engraver and Napoléon’s director of the Louvre and the Paris Mint, was famous—or notorious—not only for supervising Napoléon’s medals but also for helping Napoléon select artistic masterpieces from all over Europe to loot and bring to the Louvre.<sup>27</sup> Napoléon’s

man who was destined to fill the earth with his renown, and for whom so many monuments of this kind have since been struck.” M. H. [Michel Hennin], *Histoire numismatique de la révolution française* (Paris: J. S. Merlin, 1826), p. 504. Similarly, Frédéric de Mercey wrote in 1852 that the Montenotte medal was issued in 1796 and was the first medal of Napoléon. F. B. de Mercey, *Études sur les beaux-arts, depuis leur origine jusqu’à nos jours*, vol. 3 (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1855), p. 57. (The relevant chapter was first published as “La gravure en médailles en France,” *Revue des Deux Mondes*, new period, vol. 14 (1852), pp. 401–33.)

22. Lévêque, p. 164.

23. Duval, p. 9. On Andrieu, see Forrer, vol. 1, pp. 22–24.

24. Edward Edwards (ed.), *The Napoleon Medals: A Complete Series of the Medals Struck in France, Italy, Great Britain and Germany, from the Commencement of the Empire in 1804, to the Restoration in 1815, Engraved by the Process of Achilles Collas, with Historical and Biographical Notices* (London: Henry Hering, 1837), p. 83.

25. Forrer, vol. 1, p. xxxii.

26. Ernest Babelon, *Les médailles historiques du règne de Napoléon le Grand, empereur et roi* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, Éditeur, 1912), p. xvi.

27. Peter Brooks, “Napoleon’s Eye,” *New York Review of Books*, November 9, 2009.



Figure 9: France. Silver gaming token by Raymond Gayrard, 1812 (probably later restrike). (ANS 0000.999.70819). 30 mm.



Figure 10: France. Silver gaming token by Raymond Gayrard, 1812 (probably later restrike). (ANS 0000.999.70833). 30 mm.



Figure 11: France. Silver gaming token by Raymond Gayrard, 1812 (later restrike). (ANS 0000.999.70828). 30 mm.



Figure 12: France. Silver gaming token by Raymond Gayrard, 1812 (probably later restrike). (ANS 0000.999.70826). 30 mm.



Figure 13: France. Silver gaming token by Raymond Gayrard, 1812 (probably later restrike). (ANS 1920.147.1253, gift of W.R. Powell). 30 mm.

medals were an important form of propaganda and were distributed in large numbers to dignitaries and the general public, and Napoléon personally examined and approved the designs of the medals to be struck for him under Denon's direction.<sup>28</sup> Whether or not the emperor personally approved the Montenotte medal's portrait of his younger self in 1807, Gayrard would soon come to Denon's and Napoléon's personal attention.

But first Gayrard found a way to gain publicity and income from the emperor's second wedding. In 1810, Napoléon married Archduchess Marie-Louise of Austria, and the imperial couple appeared in a wedding procession down the Champs Élysées in Paris. Gayrard modeled them from life in lumps of clay stuck on a board while watching the procession from a perch on a chestnut-tree branch overlooking the Champs Élysées. He immediately sold the clay portraits to a manufacturer for 6,000 or 7,000 francs—a huge sum for an artist at the time—to be made into medallions, which featured his name prominently, to decorate the lids of commemorative snuff boxes celebrating the imperial wedding (fig. 5).<sup>29</sup> Government commissions for medals and even marble busts were then typically 1,200–2,500 francs, so Gayrard's two private medallions earned him more than he might have been paid for four or five official medals.<sup>30</sup>

One evening between 1810 and 1812, Gayrard attended an artists' dinner at which a man made a joke at his expense. Gayrard took this as an insult and began a heated argument, which in those days could have led to a duel, but the two men's friends intervened and reconciled them. One of the men at the dinner was Denon's secretary, who was impressed by Gayrard's spirit and introduced him to Denon.<sup>31</sup>

Denon also liked Gayrard and introduced him to Napoléon and to Princess Pauline Borghese, one of Napoléon's sisters, who was famous—or notorious—for her beauty and her love affairs. She also enjoyed playing cards, and she commissioned a set of octagonal gaming tokens through Denon from Gayrard for use at the imperial palace.<sup>32</sup> Napoléon and his family and courtiers

used tokens in games at their soirées because Napoléon did not allow people to gamble for cash in his palace.<sup>33</sup> The tokens for his court followed the shape convention of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century gaming tokens, which were often made octagonal to prevent their being confused with coins,<sup>34</sup> but the designs were sometimes restruck for sale to the public on round planchets.

When Gayrard submitted his designs for the tokens to Denon's secretary, the secretary offered him 500 francs as payment, which was more than Gayrard expected. Gayrard looked startled by the large sum; the secretary misunderstood and increased the payment to 750 francs, which was far more than Gayrard expected. Upon returning to the apartment building where he lived in a garret, the artist delighted and astonished the building's concierge by giving her a gold Napoléon coin.<sup>35</sup>

The tokens made by Gayrard for Napoléon's court all feature a Janus-faced allegorical female head of Fortune and Misfortune on one side (fig. 6). The other sides feature different allegorical images. Some prefer invitations to games and pleasure, such as "Let's not wait for the return of dawn," illustrated by Aurora in her chariot scattering petals over the world; "Disciple of Ceres, I spread her gifts" (fig. 7); "Night brings back games and pleasures" (fig. 8); "Happy is he who can foresee" (fig. 9); and "The more bizarre the trick is, the happier she [Fortune] is" (fig. 10). Other tokens similarly illustrate the power of Fortune and Cupid: a blindfolded Fortune leading a blindfolded Cupid, with two moles whose blindness makes them emblems of Fortune (fig. 11); "Whoever you are, here is your master. He is so, he was so, or he will be so" (fig. 12); and Fortune with a wheel and Misfortune with a broken wheel (fig. 13). Other tokens present philosophical or esthetic themes: "Art directs nature" (fig. 6); "I worked, and now I harvest" (fig. 14); the three muses of the arts (fig. 15); "My reign is that of the laws" (fig. 16); "Always faithful" (fig. 17); "Ruses cannot save him" (fig. 18); and "The weak saves the strong," inspired by a fable of La Fontaine in which a rat that was once spared by a lion rescues the lion from a hunter's net (fig. 19). A token that was sometimes reproduced by medical societies depicts Apollo and Hygeia, the goddess of health, "United to cure our ills and to prolong our life" (fig. 20).<sup>36</sup> Other tokens illustrate cautionary proverbs, such as "There's no rose without thorns," illustrated by putti picking roses and getting pricked by thorns; "Fear the deceitful snares of vain

33. Sir Walter Scott, *Life of Napoleon Buonaparte*, vol. 3 (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1843), p. 247.

34. Scott Miller, private communication.

35. Duval, p. 12.

36. Jay M. Galst and Peter G. van Alfen, *Ophthalmologia Optica et Visio in Nummis* (New York: J.-P. Wayenborgh Verlag and American Numismatic Society, 2013), p. 523, no. XIV.77.



Figure 14: France. Silver gaming token by Raymond Gayrard, 1812 (probably later restrike). (ANS 0000.999.70817) 30 mm.



Figure 15: France. Silver gaming token by Raymond Gayrard, 1812 (probably later restrike). (ANS 0000.999.70816). 30 mm.



Figure 16: France. Silver gaming token by Raymond Gayrard, 1812 (probably later restrike). (ANS 0000.999.70830). 30 mm.



Figure 17: France. Silver gaming token by Raymond Gayrard, 1812 (probably later restrike). (ANS 0000.999.70822). 30 mm.



Figure 18: France. Silver gaming token by Raymond Gayrard, 1812 (probably later restrike). (ANS 0000.999.70823). 30 mm.



Figure 19: France. Silver gaming token by Raymond Gayrard, 1812 (probably later restrike). (ANS 0000.999.70824). 30 mm.



Figure 20: France. Silver gaming token by Raymond Gayrard, 1812 (probably later restrike). (ANS 0000.999.70815). 30 mm.



Figure 21: France. Silver gaming token by Raymond Gayrard, 1812 (probably later restrike). (ANS 0000.999.70814). 30 mm.



Figure 22: France. Silver gaming token by Raymond Gayrard, 1812 (probably later restrike). (ANS 0000.999.70821). 30 mm.

pleasure" (fig. 21); and "The most vigilant is deceived," illustrated by Mercury playing a pipe to put Argus to sleep while Argus is supposed to be guarding Io, a beautiful woman who has been transformed into a cow as Hera's behest to keep Zeus away from Io (fig. 22). (Jean-Pierre-Casimir de Marcassus Puymaurin (1757–1841), whose name appears on some of the tokens, succeeded Denon as director of the Paris Mint from 1816 to 1830).<sup>37</sup> Gayrard once said, "It takes as much knowledge and intelligence as imagination to compose an allegorical figure."<sup>38</sup> His gaming-token designs reflect his knowledge of classical symbols and his humor and

37. [https://data.bnf.fr/15018328/jean-pierre-casimir\\_de\\_marcassus\\_puymaurin/](https://data.bnf.fr/15018328/jean-pierre-casimir_de_marcassus_puymaurin/).

37. Duval, p. 121.

intelligence. The tokens were often restruck for sale to the public. The German numismatist Heinrich Eduard Bolzenthall wrote in 1840 of the "very successful tokens" made by Gayrard "for the use of the imperial court . . ." <sup>39</sup> Lévêque called Gayrard's gaming tokens "masterpieces of ingenious invention and fine execution."<sup>40</sup> William Tasker Nugent, describing Gayrard's gaming tokens in 1891 in the *American Journal of Numismatics*, wrote that "[t]he style is good, artistic and classical in treatment while preserving features of the School of David."<sup>41</sup>

39. Heinrich Eduard Bolzenthall, *Skizzen zur Kunstgeschichte der modernen Medaillen Arbeit: 1429–1840* (Berlin: Heymann 1840), p. 296. I thank Désirée Baron for translating this quote.

40. Lévêque, p. 164.

41. William Tasker Nugent, "Napoleonic Silver Jeton," *American Journal of Numismatics*, vol. 25, no. 3 (Boston, January 1891), p. 63.



Figure 23: France. Bronze medal commemorating a visit by King Frederick William III of Prussia to the Mint of Medals in Paris, by Raymond Gayrard, 1814. (ANS 1920.147.1285, gift of W. R. Powell). 40 mm.



Figure 24: France. Silver medal commemorating a visit by Emperor Francis I of Austria to the Mint of Medals in Paris, by Raymond Gayrard, 1814. (ANS 1927.22.1105, gift of W. R. Powell). 40 mm.

Figure 25: France. Bronze medal depicting the Duke and Duchess of Berry and celebrating the birth of their son, the Duke of Bordeaux, by Raymond Gayrard, 1820. (ANS 1940.100.2376, bequest of R. J. Eidlitz) 50 mm.



Figure 26: France. Bronze medal celebrating the birth of the Duke of Bordeaux, by Raymond Gayrard, 1820. (ANS 1940.100.2380, bequest of R. J. Eidlitz) 38 mm.



Figure 27: France. Bronze medal with an obverse portrait of Louis XVIII by Bertrand Andrieu and a reverse commemorating a Franco-American commercial treaty by Raymond Gayrard, 1822. (ANS 1923.53.56, gift of Mrs. H. Weil) 50 mm.

### Success and Fame Under the Bourbon Restoration

The theme of good luck and bad luck was apt for a set of tokens that were made for Napoléon by a veteran of the Italian campaigns that brought Napoléon his initial glory, but were made in 1812, the year he disastrously invaded Russia. In 1814, Napoleon was defeated by an alliance of Austria-Hungary, Britain, Prussia, and Russia and was exiled to Elba. The Bourbon monarchy was restored under Louis XVIII, the older of two brothers of Louis XVI. (The pretender Louis XVII had died in a revolutionary prison.) In 1815, Napoléon returned from Elba, rallied the army to his side, but lost the battle of Waterloo to the British and Prussians and was exiled for good to St. Helena. Louis XVIII again returned to the throne.

In 1814, after Napoléon's first downfall, the Prussian, Austro-Hungarian, and Russian monarchs all came to Paris. Among other triumphal doings, they all visited the Paris Mint, where they met Denon and Gayrard. Gayrard engraved a portrait medal of King Frederick William III of Prussia (fig. 23), who liked Gayrard and asked him to become director of his medal cabinet in Berlin, but Denon persuaded Gayrard to remain in France.<sup>42</sup> Gayrard also made portrait medals of Emperor Francis I of Austria (fig. 24) and Tsar Alexander of Russia when he met them. Gayrard's biographer wrote that "[t]hese monarchs were charmed by the artist's personal distinction, his easy skill, his conversation, which was as delicate as it was witty, and his respectful and dignified knowledge of life."<sup>43</sup>

Gayrard had not completed school because of his teenage apprenticeship to a goldsmith in Rodez and his military service. But he was able to hold his own as an adult in conversation with monarchs and other sophisticated people because in his early days in Paris, he spent many hours studying French, Latin, and Greek in a café with an old scholar for whose meals he paid in exchange for lessons. He continued to read the classics throughout his life, and he befriended many artists, scholars, politicians, and other educated people and learned from their conversation.<sup>44</sup> His circle of friends included the painter François Gérard (1770–1837) and the art historian Quatremère de Quincy (1755–1849).<sup>45</sup> The Bourbon Restoration suited Gayrard's political opinions and benefitted his career. In 1814, he won a second-prize gold medal at the Salon, the important annual official art exhibit in Paris, for a series of portrait medals of the royal family.<sup>46</sup> His professional success

42. Duval, p. 15.

43. Ibid., p. 16.

44. Ibid., pp. 28–29.

45. Lévêque, p. 163.

46. Duval, p. 16.



Figure 28: France. Bronze medal commemorating the consecration of Charles X, by Raymond Gayrard, 1825. (ANS 0000.999.50916) 41 mm.

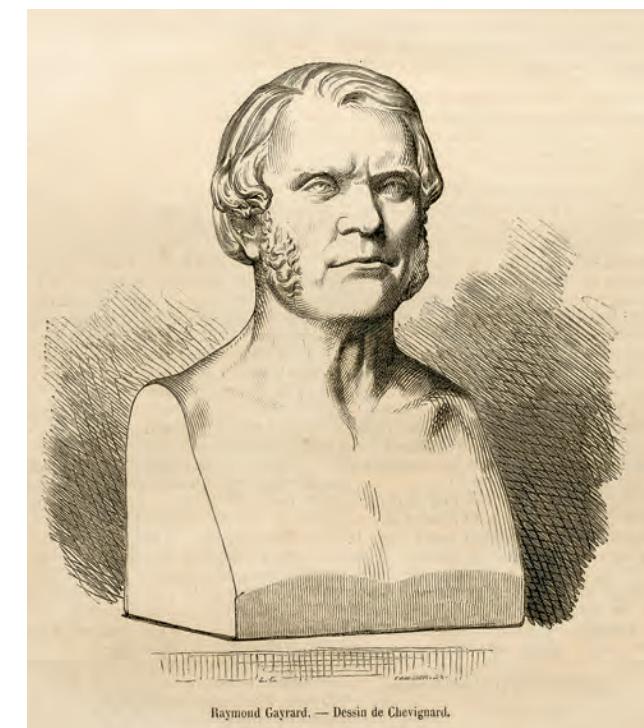


Figure 29: Edmond Lechevallier Chevignard (1825–1902), drawing of a bust of Raymond Gayrard. *Magasin Pittoresque*, 1860. (Private collection).



Figure 30: France. Medallion Gallery of Great Frenchmen. Bronze portrait medal of Marie Rabutin de Sévigné (1626–1696), by Raymond Gayrard, 1816. (Private collection) 41 mm (images reduced).



Figure 31: France. Medallion Gallery of Great Frenchmen. Bronze portrait medal of Molière (1620–1673), by Raymond Gayrard, 1816. (Private collection) 41 mm (images reduced).



Figure 32: France. Medallion Gallery of Great Frenchmen. Bronze portrait medal of Pierre Abélard (1079–1142), 1817. (Private collection) 41 mm (images reduced).



Figure 33: France. Medallion Gallery of Great Frenchmen. Bronze portrait medal of Héloïse (ca. 1090–1164), by Raymond Gayrard, 1819. (Private collection) 41 mm (images reduced).



Figure 34: France. Bronze portrait medal of Johannes Gutenberg (1400–1468), by Raymond Gayrard, restruck in 1863 for the L. Daniel printing company, Lille. This medal was originally issued as part of the Numismatic Series of Universally Illustrious Men in 1818. (Private collection) 42.5 mm (images reduced).



Figure 35: France. Numismatic Series of Universally Illustrious Men. Bronze portrait medal of Christophe Gluck (1714–1787), by Raymond Gayrard, 1818. (Private collection) 41 mm (images reduced).



Figure 36: France. Bronze medal depicting Charles X and celebrating the French capture of Algiers on July 5, 1830, by Raymond Gayrard and Armand-Auguste Caqué (1793–1881), 1830. (Private collection) 50 mm (images reduced).



Figure 37: Prague. Bronze portrait medal of the Bourbon pretender, “Henri de France,” by Raymond Gayrard, 1842. (ANS 1927.38.137, estate of Rachel T. Barrington) 36 mm (images reduced).

also enabled him to officially start a family. In 1816, Gayrard married a Mademoiselle Camboulas, with whom he had three daughters and three sons.<sup>47</sup> One daughter died when she was two years old, and another, Gabrielle, when she was 19.<sup>48</sup> One of the sons also died before their father, although this son, Paul, lived into adulthood and was a successful sculptor. The other sons became a priest and a senior railroad engineer and survived their parents, as did one daughter.<sup>49</sup>

In keeping with his Legitimist opinions, Gayrard made a portrait medal of Louis XVIII in 1817 that was used as an entrance token given to members of the Chamber of Deputies.<sup>50</sup> In 1820, Gayrard gained fame for widely sold medals commemorating the knife assassination of the Bourbon heir, the Duke of Berry. The Duchess of Berry was one month pregnant when her husband was stabbed to death. She gave birth eight months later to the Duke of Bordeaux, who was later the Bourbon pretender, Henri V; Gayrard made widely sold medals celebrating the royal heir’s birth (figs. 25, 26).<sup>51</sup> The image of a baby strangling two serpents alludes to Hercules, the son of Jupiter and Alcmena, a mortal woman; the jealous Juno sent two serpents to kill the baby Hercules in his cradle, but he strangled them.

In 1822, Gayrard and Andrieu made a medal commemorating a Franco-American commercial treaty (fig. 27). In an 1878 review of J. F. Loubat’s *The Medallion History of the United States of America, 1776–1876*, the *New York Evening Post* wrote that this medal was “of the highest artistic excellence.”<sup>52</sup> In 1823, the Interior Minister gave Gayrard a studio at the Institute—the building housing the School of Fine Arts—where the Bourbon government had already given him an apartment some time earlier. In 1824, Gayrard was appointed as Louis XVIII’s medal engraver, responsible for organizing the king’s medal collection.<sup>53</sup>

In 1818, at the age of 40, Gayrard had begun making sculpture while continuing to make medals. He hoped that making sculpture would put less strain on his eyes and chest than making medals and would bring him wider popular recognition.<sup>54</sup> In 1824, he exhibited a monumental marble bust of Louis XVIII at the Salon.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 17.  
 48. *Ibid.*, p. 77.  
 49. *Ibid.*, p. 84.  
 50. Edmond Launay, *Costumes, Insignes, Cartes, Médailles des Députés 1789–1898* (Paris: Motteroz, 1899), p. 143.  
 51. Duval, p. 21.  
 52. Quoted in J. F. Loubat, *The Medallion History of the United States of America, 1776–1876*, vol. 1, appendix (New York: J. F. Loubat, 1878), p. 8.  
 53. Duval, pp. 23–24.  
 54. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Louis XVIII died later that year, and Gayrard made the official medal for the anointing of Louis XVIII’s younger brother, Charles X, as the new king (fig. 28).<sup>55</sup> Forrer called this medal “one of the artist’s best works.”<sup>56</sup>

At some point after beginning to make sculpture, Raymond Gayrard made a marble self-portrait bust.<sup>57</sup> A drawing published shortly after his death that presumably depicts this bust depicts him as a man of strength and character (fig. 29).

Upon Charles X’s accession, several artists, including Gayrard’s teacher Bosio and his friend Gérard, were ennobled as barons, and the new king instructed the government to offer Gayrard the opportunity to be among them. Gayrard consulted his wife, however, and they agreed that they preferred to maintain a simple, modest lifestyle and not have to adopt the manners of the nobility, so he declined the honor.<sup>58</sup> He once said, “I never wanted anything but a happy household and work that would give me enough to live and to give some alms.”<sup>59</sup> Charles X remained friendly toward Gayrard and gave him 1,000 francs in 1826 to pay for him to visit his hometown when his mother died.<sup>60</sup>

During the Restoration, in addition to numerous political medals, Gayrard made many medals for two series of medallion portraits of great French and other historical figures, including Madame de Sévigné, a seventeenth-century writer, who is frequently mentioned in Marcel Proust’s *In Search of Lost Time* as the narrator’s mother’s favorite writer (fig. 30); Molière, a seventeenth-century comic playwright and actor, who died on stage while playing the lead role in his play *The Man Who Imagined He Was Ill* (fig. 31); Abélard and Héloïse, medieval lovers and love-letter writers whose physical affair ended when Héloïse’s uncles castrated Abélard (figs. 32, 33); Johannes Gutenberg, the fifteenth-century printer (later restruck for a printing company) (fig. 34); and Christophe Gluck, an eighteenth-century opera composer, whose *Orphée et Eurydice* is still often performed (fig. 35).

In 1827, Gayrard won a first-prize gold medal at the Salon and was named a knight of the Legion of Honor,<sup>61</sup>

55. *Ibid.*, p. 24.  
 56. L. [Leonard] Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, vol. 7 (London: Spink & Son Ltd., 1923), p. 43.  
 57. Lami, p. 34.  
 58. Duval, pp. 24–25; Lévêque, p. 163.  
 59. Duval, p. 117.  
 60. *Ibid.*, p. 25.  
 61. *Ibid.*, p. 31.



Figure 38: Prague. Plaster medallion of the pretender Henri V and Henri IV, by Raymond Gayrard, 1842. (Private collection) 190 mm.



Figure 39: France. Bronze restrike of a design for twenty-franc gold coins submitted in the Second Republic's 1848 coin-design competition by Raymond Gayrard. (Private collection) 21.5 mm.



Figure 40: France. Gilt bronze restrike of a legislative entry token by Raymond Gayrard based on one of his designs submitted in the Second Republic's 1848 coin-design competition. (Private collection) 52 mm.

which was established by Napoléon to replace the aristocratic titles abolished by the Revolution. The Bourbons disliked the Legion of Honor's Bonapartist origins, but they continued it so as not to anger the thousands of notables who had been awarded this honor by Napoléon.<sup>62</sup>

### Loss of Favor Under the Bourgeois Monarchy

In mid-July 1830, Gayrard personally presented Charles X with a medal he had made celebrating the French conquest of Algiers earlier that month, which began France's 132-year colonization of Algeria (fig. 36).<sup>63</sup> Just one week later, Charles X was overthrown in the three-day Paris street revolution celebrated in Eugène Delacroix's painting "Liberty Leading the People." Charles X's cousin, Louis-Philippe d'Orléans, became king in what was called the July Monarchy or Bourgeois Monarchy, which was (at least initially) more liberal than the Bourbon Restoration. The Bourbons' downfall ended Gayrard's period of royal favor.

As a Legitimist, Gayrard opposed the 1830 revolution, and it cost him his position as the king's medallist. His biographer described Gayrard's acceptance of his changed fortune:

*He understood that since his burin and his chisel had made an alliance with politics from which he had reaped profits and honors, he must endure the injuries of politics. Wrapping himself silently in his dignity, he henceforth claimed only the common right not to be forgotten in the public works that are consecrated to the country's glory and decoration and are therefore the legitimate patrimony of artists, rather than the political patronage of a ministry.<sup>64</sup>*

Gayrard refused to engrave a medal celebrating the 1830 revolution because of his loyalty to the Bourbons. He engraved a proposed portrait of Louis-Philippe for the new king's coinage, but he deliberately submitted an incomplete design that he knew would be rejected.<sup>65</sup> Yet a striking of Gayrard's unsuccessful Louis-Philippe coin design that appears to have been used as an entrance token for the Bourgeois Monarchy's Chamber of Deputies in 1830 has appeared on the market; it is not included in Launay's work on French parliamentary entrance tokens. If confirmed, it would further demonstrate the artist's willingness to adapt to changed political circumstances.

62. Pierre Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*, vol. 10, first part (Geneva-Paris: Slatkine, 1982) (1873), p. 328.

63. Duval, p. 33.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

65. *Ibid.*, pp. 36–37.



Figure 41: France. Bronze medal mourning the killing of Denis Auguste Affre, Archbishop of Paris, during an insurrection in June 1848, by Raymond Gayrard, 1848. (ANS 0000.999.57536) 26 mm.



Figure 42: France. Bronze medal celebrating the return of Pope Pius IX to Rome after the French army suppressed a republican rebellion there, by Raymond Gayrard, 1850. (Private collection) 60 mm (images reduced).

Figure 43: France. Bronze medal celebrating Louis-Napoléon's December 1851 coup d'état and plebiscite, by Raymond Gayrard, 1852. (Private collection) 51 mm (images reduced).

Before the 1830 revolution, Charles X's government had commissioned Gayrard to sculpt Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette ascending to heaven for the Church of la Madeleine in Paris; this Legitimist commission was cancelled by the Bourgeois Monarchy. Charles X's government had also commissioned Gayrard to sculpt a bas relief of saints to go over the entrance to Paris's Church of Sainte-Geneviève, which had been changed into a secular Pantheon during the Revolution and was then again used as a church under the Restoration. This commission was also cancelled by the new government after the 1830 revolution, when the building was returned to serving as a secular Pantheon. A senior official of the Administration of Fine Arts visited Gayrard to inform him of this decision and said, "You have the right to compensation; set the price, and I will let the minister know." Gayrard refused to accept any payment, declaring that "The only right way to compensate an artist for cancelled commissions is to give him other work to do."<sup>66</sup>

But Gayrard was not entirely at odds with the new royal

66. *Ibid.*, pp. 31–32, 37.

family. He had become friendly with Louis-Philippe's mother, the dowager Duchess of Orléans, after meeting her at a costume ball before 1830. She was the great-granddaughter of Louis XIV, the Sun King revered by Legitimists. The first time they went walking in her garden and she gave Gayrard her arm to hold, he trembled, and she asked why. He answered, "How could I not be moved by thinking that I am giving my arm to the closest living relative of Louis XIV?"<sup>67</sup>

Gayrard did produce a number of medals and busts of Louis-Philippe during that king's eighteen-year reign.<sup>68</sup> Gayrard's willingness to produce works promoting governments he did not personally support was typical of French medallists and coin designers working under France's successive regimes. For example, Jean-Jacques Barre engraved coins for Louis-Philippe, the Second Republic, and Napoléon III, and Joseph-François Domard (1792–1858) engraved coins for Louis-Philippe and the Second Republic. Similarly, Gayrard's student Armand-Auguste Caqué (1793–1881) produced many medals for the Bourbon Restoration, the Bourgeois Monarchy, and

67. *Ibid.*, pp. 35–36.

68. Forrer, vol. 2, p. 226.



Figure 44: France. Marble statues of “Legal Force” and “Universal Suffrage,” by Raymond Gayrard, installed in the Court of Honor of the National Assembly in 1860. (Photograph by akg-images/Laurent Lecat.)



Figure 45: France. Marble statue of “Universal Suffrage,” by Raymond Gayrard, installed in the Court of Honor of the National Assembly in 1860. (Photograph by akg-images/Laurent Lecat.)

the Second Empire.<sup>69</sup> Most nineteenth-century French artists were probably republicans,<sup>70</sup> but most artists—especially medallists, who depended largely on official commissions—adjusted to the requirements of successive monarchical, republican, and imperial regimes.<sup>71</sup> There were notable exceptions among the most successful artists, such as the painter Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825), a Jacobin and then a Bonapartist who went into exile after Napoléon I’s downfall, and the writer Victor Hugo (1802–1885) and the sculptor and medallist David d’Angers (1788–1856), both republicans who went into exile after Napoléon III’s 1851 coup d’état. But most artists, like Gayrard, adapted to France’s changing governments in order to be able to work and make a living.

Gayrard nevertheless remained a Legitimist and became something of a dissident under the Bourgeois Monarchy. In 1842, he visited the Bourbon pretender, Henri V, whose birth in 1820 he had celebrated in medals and who was then in exile in Bohemia. Gayrard spent three weeks with Henri V in Prague and made a medal of the pretender (fig. 37). Gayrard also produced a plaster medallion of the pretender and his sixteenth-century namesake Henri IV, one of France’s most renowned kings (fig. 38). This medallion was secretly distributed among Legitimist aristocrats in France and was sought by the Bourgeois Monarchy’s police as a seditious emblem.<sup>72</sup> These are the only known instances of Gayrard’s defying the official imagery of the French government in power at the time of any of his works. Gayrard’s signature on the pretender images that he made in Prague indicates that he did not fear being persecuted for making them upon his return to France, even though they were illegal there. Patrice Cahart, “Préface” in *Jean-Pierre Collignon La Médaille Française au XIXe Siècle et l’histoire* (Jean-Pierre Collignon, 1989), p. 6.

#### Adjusting to the Second Republic

In February 1848, when Gayrard was seventy years old, France had another revolution, which overthrew the Bourgeois Monarchy and established the Second Republic. Gayrard did not sympathize with the 1848 revolution, but since it turned out to be less tempestuous than the first Revolution that he had witnessed as a youth, he agreed to do official commissions for the new government.<sup>73</sup> Gayrard probably accepted the Second Republic all the more readily because the 1848 republicans deliberately avoided the anticlericalism of their Jacobin predecessors. One of the first acts of the new government of the

69. Forrer, vol. 1, pp. 342–44.

70. Marie-Claude Chaudonneret, “1848: La République des Arts,” *Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 10, no. 1 (1987), p. 60.

71. Jean Babelon, *La médaille en France* (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1948), p. 94.

72. Duval, p. 57.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

Second Republic was to announce a competition, open to all engravers, for allegorical female images of the Republic for gold, silver, and copper coins to replace the coins depicting Louis-Philippe. Gayrard submitted several designs in this competition but did not win (fig. 39). Although Gayrard’s designs were not accepted for the Second Republic’s coinage, one of his designs from the competition was used for the National Assembly’s entrance tokens during the Second Republic and again after his death for the Third Republic’s Chamber of Deputies from 1876 to 1889 (fig. 40).<sup>74</sup>

This design alludes to the myth of Omphale, a queen who made Hercules her slave for a year, wore his Nemean lion skin, and made him do women’s work. Frédéric de Mercey, the head of the division of fine arts in the Ministry of State under Napoléon III, wrote about the 1848 competition submissions that “[t]he best of these types is certainly the one adopted by Mr. Gayrard. His Republic is crowned with laurels and is coiffed and half-dressed in a lion’s skin. The profile has all the purity of an ancient bronze, and there is sovereign power in the eye and mouth.”<sup>75</sup>

Thus, Gayrard’s legislative-token designs were used by the Bourbon Restoration, perhaps briefly by the Bourgeois Monarchy, and by two republics. The Third Republic replaced Gayrard’s design when the legislators realized that it was not a suitable image of the Republic.<sup>76</sup> Perhaps they belatedly recognized a subversive royalist irony in Gayrard’s design featuring a queen who subordinated Hercules, who was a prominent symbol of the Republic in the famous “Union and Strength” coin design by Augustin Dupré (1748–1833) that was issued by the First, Second, and Third Republics.

The Second Republic began in a mood of national unity but soon descended into civil strife. The February 1848 revolution was provoked in part by an economic crisis and widespread unemployment, and the Republic established national workshops for unemployed workers immediately after the revolution but then abolished them in June 1848. Workers in Paris promptly rebelled against the government. The Second Republic’s army and national guard crushed the rebellion in heavy fighting, foreshadowing the Third Republic’s even bloodier suppression of the Paris Commune in 1871. During the June 1848 fighting, Denis Affre, the archbishop of Paris, went to the rebel barricades to try to negotiate a

74. Launay, pp. 216, 234–35.

75. De Mercey, *Études sur les beaux-arts, depuis leur origine jusqu’à nos jours*, vol. 3, p. 96.

76. Launay, pp. 234–35.

ceasefire and was fatally shot by an undisciplined rebel. Affre came from Gayrard’s hometown and had become a friend of his when Gayrard sculpted a marble bust of the archbishop for the 1842 Salon.<sup>77</sup> As the archbishop was dying on the street in 1848, he asked that a drawing of Jesus that Gayrard had done and given to him several years before be returned to the artist.<sup>78</sup> Gayrard made a medal commemorating his friend as a “martyr of Christian charity” (fig. 41).

Also during the June 1848 rebellion, one of Gayrard’s sons, Gustave, was serving in the national guard, and Gayrard was told that Gustave’s unit was about to be sent to fight the rebels. The seventy-year-old veteran of Napoléon’s wars was determined to save his son’s life; he went to his son’s unit and demanded to replace Gustave in the battle but was not allowed to do so. Gustave survived the fighting and outlived his father.<sup>79</sup>

The Second Republic’s suppression of the June 1848 rebellion marked the start of a rightward shift that Gayrard found congenial. At the end of 1848, Napoléon Bonaparte’s nephew, Louis-Napoléon, was elected president of France by universal male suffrage with the support of many property-owners and monarchists who believed, correctly as it turned out, that despite having made socialist noises as a young man, he would govern as a conservative protector of property rights and social order. The year 1848 saw revolutions in almost every European country, and a republican revolution in the Papal States drove Pope Pius IX out of Rome. In 1850, Louis-Napoléon violated the French Second Republic’s constitution, which forbade using the army in support of foreign monarchies, by sending the French army to Rome to restore the Pope to power. Gayrard, as a staunch Catholic monarchist, supported this action and made a medal celebrating Pius IX’s return to Rome “as a pastor, not as an avenger” (fig. 42). De Mercey considered “this beautiful medal” perhaps Gayrard’s “masterpiece”;<sup>80</sup> Lévêque wrote that its portrait “breathes all of the charity and all of the evangelical mercy of [Pius IX]’s soul” and that “nothing is more poetically touching” than the reverse, which is “the perfection of the genre.”<sup>81</sup> Two French priests who knew Gayrard presented the dies of this medal to the Pope, who said, “It is a magnificent work. The portrait is admirably engraved and is a perfect likeness.” The Pope praised Gayrard’s piety and sent him a gold medal from the Pope’s own collection.<sup>82</sup>

77. Duval, p. 53.

78. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

79. *Ibid.*, pp. 67–68.

80. De Mercey, p. 97.

81. Lévêque, p. 164.

82. Duval, p. 69.



Figure 46: France. Bronze medal of Antoine Jean Baptiste Robert Auget de Montyon (1733–1820), by Raymond Gayrard. Restrike issued by the French Academy as a prize for virtuous acts, 1926. (Private collection) 52 mm (images reduced).

In 1851, King Victor-Emmanuel of Sardinia invited Gayrard to Turin to make the king's medallion portrait. The seventy-three-year-old Gayrard crossed the Alps between France and Italy on foot in memory of doing so half a century earlier as a young soldier.<sup>83</sup>

### Final Years Under Napoléon III

In 1851, Louis-Napoléon defied term limits on his presidency in a coup d'état that was ratified in a plebiscite, again with universal male suffrage. Gayrard made a medal of Louis-Napoléon commemorating his proclamation as prince-president after his coup d'état (fig. 43). De Mercey wrote that Gayrard's medal commemorating Louis-Napoléon's proclamation was "certainly the best that that event inspired":

*The Renown [on the reverse] has excellent movement; she does not fly as usual; she is standing on her left foot, and her right leg is bent back. This pose, combined with the floating drapery that the wind pushes backward, gives her a singular lightness. The folds of the robe, which is shaped on the body, are studied with a delicacy and precision that have no feeling of improvisation and would allow one to believe that Mr. Gayrard, gifted with a sort of divination, had composed his figure in advance.*<sup>84</sup>

Then in 1852, Louis-Napoléon declared himself emperor as Napoléon III. (Napoléon Bonaparte's son, the pretender Napoléon II, had died in exile.)

Gayrard adapted to the Second Empire in his work, as he had adapted to prior changes of régime. Two statues that he completed under the Second Empire and that still stand outside the French National Assembly exemplify the vicissitudes of politics for nineteenth-century French sculptors. Gayrard was commissioned by Charles X's government in 1829 to make statues of female allegories of the "Bourbon Restoration" and of "Hereditary Monarchy." Then the 1830 revolution prevented Gayrard from completing them. In 1834, he agreed to a request by Louis-Philippe's Interior Ministry to redo the statues as "Constitutional France" and "Liberty," respectively. They were completed just before the 1848 revolution, after which they were no longer politically acceptable. After Napoléon III seized power, Gayrard transformed "Constitutional France" into "France Voting by Universal Suffrage," and he transformed "Liberty" into "Legal Force" (figs. 44, 45).<sup>85</sup> Thus, allegorical neoclassical female figures

83. Ibid., p. 73.

84. De Mercey, p. 97.

85. Duval, pp. 33, 42–43. Although Duval states that the Second Republic rejected these statues, Lami states that the Second Republic agreed to pay for them before they were ultimately installed under the Second Empire. Lami, p. 38. In either case, their history demonstrates the ideological fluidity of allegorical female political images.

proved to be symbolically adaptable to the varying demands of conservative monarchy, liberal monarchy, and Bonapartist imperialism—and remained acceptable to France's subsequent Third, Fourth, and Fifth Republics. On the ideological fluidity of 19th-century allegorical French female images, see Albert Boine, *La statue de la Liberté: une icône vide*, *Le Débat*, no. 44 (1987), pp. 126–143.

Gayrard's reputation remained high in his old age. De Mercey wrote in 1852 that Gayrard "is at once a distinguished sculptor and one of our best engravers. Above all, he has ideas, which is not common. Each of his productions is distinguished by a thought that is often striking, always ingenious. [His] fecundity is altogether youthful . . ." <sup>86</sup> And Gayrard retained his youthful enthusiasm for life and work. In 1857, when Gayrard turned eighty, he told his biographer: "I feel as young, as eager for work, as when I was twenty. I continue to come [to my studio] at 6:00 in the morning. So as not to waste time, I prepare my breakfast myself, and then I work the rest of the day, going from the burin to the chisel, from the chisel to the book."<sup>87</sup>

But the artist's final years were marked by loss. Raymond Gayrard's son Paul, defying his father's advice to pursue a career more stable than art, had become a successful sculptor, but in 1855, Paul predeceased his father.<sup>88</sup>

The loss of this son was soon followed by another loss that led to the artist's death. Raymond Gayrard's wife of forty-two years, who was much younger than he, died in 1858; he was heartbroken and died only twenty-nine days afterward.<sup>89</sup>

According to Forrer, "Gayrard was a modest man, and died beloved by all his surroundings."<sup>90</sup> Lévêque, who seems to have known Gayrard, wrote of him that "[o]f the true artist, he had none of the pettiness, but to the contrary, most of the great qualities: the precocious and ardent vocation, the generosity, and the passion for masterpieces in all genres and for studying masterpieces. His life proves this."<sup>91</sup> Shortly after Gayrard's death, the Rodez city council renamed in his honor the street where the Gayrard family's house stood, and that street name remains to this day. Jules Duval, a friend of Gayrard's and fellow native of Rodez, wrote his biography, which was published in 1859 and sold well enough to justify a second edition in 1866. A portrait medal by Gayrard of

86. De Mercey, p. 96.

87. Duval, p. 81.

88. Ibid., p. 76.

89. Ibid., pp. 81–83.

90. Forrer, p. 229.

91. Lévêque, p. 163.

the philanthropist Baron of Montyon (1733–1820) remained in use by the French Academy into the twentieth century for an annual prize for virtuous acts (fig. 46).

Gayrard had begun writing poetry when he was 60 years old, and he was planning to publish his poems when his unexpected final illness struck. Near the end of his life, he summarized his experiences in verse:

*Some flatterers have told me that I gave life to clay,  
That steel was always docile under my burin,  
And that marble trembled under my chisel.  
Without believing these speeches, my heart delighted in them . . .*

*Ah! I must confess, praise inflames me,  
It is she who seduces, who subjugates my soul!  
For praise, when still young, I abandoned repose;  
Until the Peace of Amiens, I followed our flags.  
After war, I demanded glory from the arts.  
Yes, I preferred you, peaceful victory!  
"Invent," I cried to myself, "invent and you will live";  
And then I said to heaven: "Lord! You will help me."  
But, alas! all is extinguished, and cold old age  
Comes to whiten my hair and calm my intoxication;  
I am an old fighter, weary of combats;  
By God! Do not judge my arm by what it is now.  
To anyone who would wish to do me that outrage  
I invoke my works and recall my age."<sup>92</sup>*

### Faith and Works

Like his parents, Gayrard was a devout Catholic. He made many statues of the Virgin Mary, Saint Mary Magdalene, and angels for churches, including a Virgin Mary in the Church of Saint Louis d'Antin in Paris (fig. 47). Gayrard often modeled his statues of the Virgin Mary after his daughter Gabrielle, who had died at the age of nineteen.<sup>93</sup>

It was customary in nineteenth-century France to give newlywed couples silver medals celebrating the virtues of Christian marriage, and Gayrard made at least two of this kind of medal (e.g., fig. 48).

As an artist who drew his own designs, often from life, Gayrard used female models. As was usual in nineteenth-century Paris, many of these models were prostitutes. Gayrard and his wife tried, sometimes successfully, to persuade them to leave that way of life and go into convents or charitable relief homes.<sup>94</sup>

92. Duval, pp. 105–06; Forrer, vol. 2, pp. 229–30.

93. Duval, p. 77.

94. Ibid., pp. 39–40.



Figure 47: France. Marble statue of the Virgin Mary and Jesus, Church of Saint Louis d'Antin, Paris, by Raymond Gayrard. (Photograph by Sylvain Renard.)



Figure 48: France. Silver medal celebrating Christian marriage, by Raymond Gayrard. (Private collection) 46.5 mm.

Gayrard began to make statues of children when he was in his sixties.<sup>95</sup> He often used the many children of a poor Jewish family as models, and he persuaded the family to convert to Catholicism.<sup>96</sup> His 1845 statue of the “Pilgrim Girl of Guatemala” (fig. 49) was perhaps modeled on a child from that family.<sup>97</sup> French Jews had generally enjoyed equal legal rights and freedom of worship since the First Republic, so Gayrard’s proselytizing was not aimed at victims of official persecution.

#### Gayrard’s Style and Influence on Other Medallists

Throughout his career, Gayrard’s medals were in the neoclassical style that dominated French medallic art during the first half of the nineteenth century. The famous painter David, who was a Jacobin revolutionary, proclaimed in the National Convention in 1792 that French medallists should commemorate the events of the Revolution in the style of ancient Greek and Roman medals, and the medals of the First Republic and especially the First Empire adopted the neoclassical style promoted by David.<sup>98</sup> The only prominent exception during Gayrard’s lifetime was the medals of David d’Angers, a prominent sculptor who also made medals and who worked in a freer style in keeping with Romanticism, making him “one of the first to again apply sculpture to medallic art” and “the forerunner of the modern school.”<sup>99</sup>

Although Gayrard was trained in the neoclassical style and remained faithful to it, his talent made him one of the French engravers who laid the foundation for the

blossoming of a new, more fluid style of Art Nouveau medals later in the nineteenth century. Roger Marx, a prominent late-nineteenth-century French art critic and promoter of medals, considered the neoclassical First Empire an “age of decadence,” but he praised Gayrard as one of the artists who “proclaim[ed] the unity, the solidarity of art” by making both medals and sculpture and who offered “the hope of an imminent renewal.”<sup>100</sup> And the American artist Francis Davis Millet, an associate of Augustus Saint Gaudens, wrote in 1908 that Gayrard was one of a number of “notable French medallists” whose art “strongly influenced our own artists in the United States,” noting that Victor David Brenner studied in Paris for several years with artists of the generation after Gayrard’s.<sup>101</sup>

Leonard Forrer praised Gayrard’s own work but assessed his influence on other artists less highly than Marx or Millet:

*Gayrard cannot be said to have influenced medallic art to a great extent; he is not the master of a school, and although a good portraitist, he adhered in his style to the old principles of the eighteenth century; nevertheless he is worthy to occupy an honorable place amongst the most eminent artists of his time.*<sup>102</sup>

As noted above, Gayrard modeled many of his medals as portraits from life. “He almost always composed from live inspiration and modeled almost without hesitating.”<sup>103</sup> He rejected, however, any facile “realism”:

100. Marx, pp. 9–10.

101. F. D. Millet, “Victor D. Brenner: America’s Foremost Medallist,” *Mehl’s Numismatic Monthly*, vol. 1 no. 7, (Fort Worth, July 1908), p. 108; see also F. D. Millet, “Foreword,” in *Catalogue of Medals and Plaques by Victor D. Brenner Exhibited at the Grolier Club, March 7 to March 23, 1907* (New York: The Grolier Club, 1907), p. 4.

102. Forrer, vol. 2, p. 224.

103. Lévêque, p. 163.

95. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

96. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

98. Roger Marx, *Les médailleurs français depuis 1789* (Paris: Société de Propagation des Livres d’Art, 1897), pp. 1, 6–7.

99. Forrer, vol. 1, p. xxxii. On David d’Angers, see David and Constance Yates, “The Renaissance of the Cast Medal in 19th Century France,” *ANS Magazine*, spring 2003.



Figure 49: Edmond Lechevallier Chevignard (1825–1902), drawing of a statue of a “Pilgrim Girl of Guatemala” made by Raymond Gayrard in 1845. *Magasin Pittoresque*, 1860. (Private collection).

*The living model is only material for the artist, who must also have a model in his thought. . . . One must study nature as a philosopher, with one’s mind and heart rather than one’s eyes, which see only things’ surfaces and form. The artist who invents is not one of those clever men who grasp small, subtle resemblances; he is one of the elevated geniuses who know how to make visible each quality of the soul, each movement of the heart.*<sup>104</sup>

Gayrard’s ability to draw his own designs and to model portraits from life is notable because most French medal engravers in the early nineteenth century executed designs drawn by other artists. Eugène-André Oudiné (1810–1889), a prominent medallist artist who also designed a famous allegory of the Republic as

104. Quoted in *ibid.*

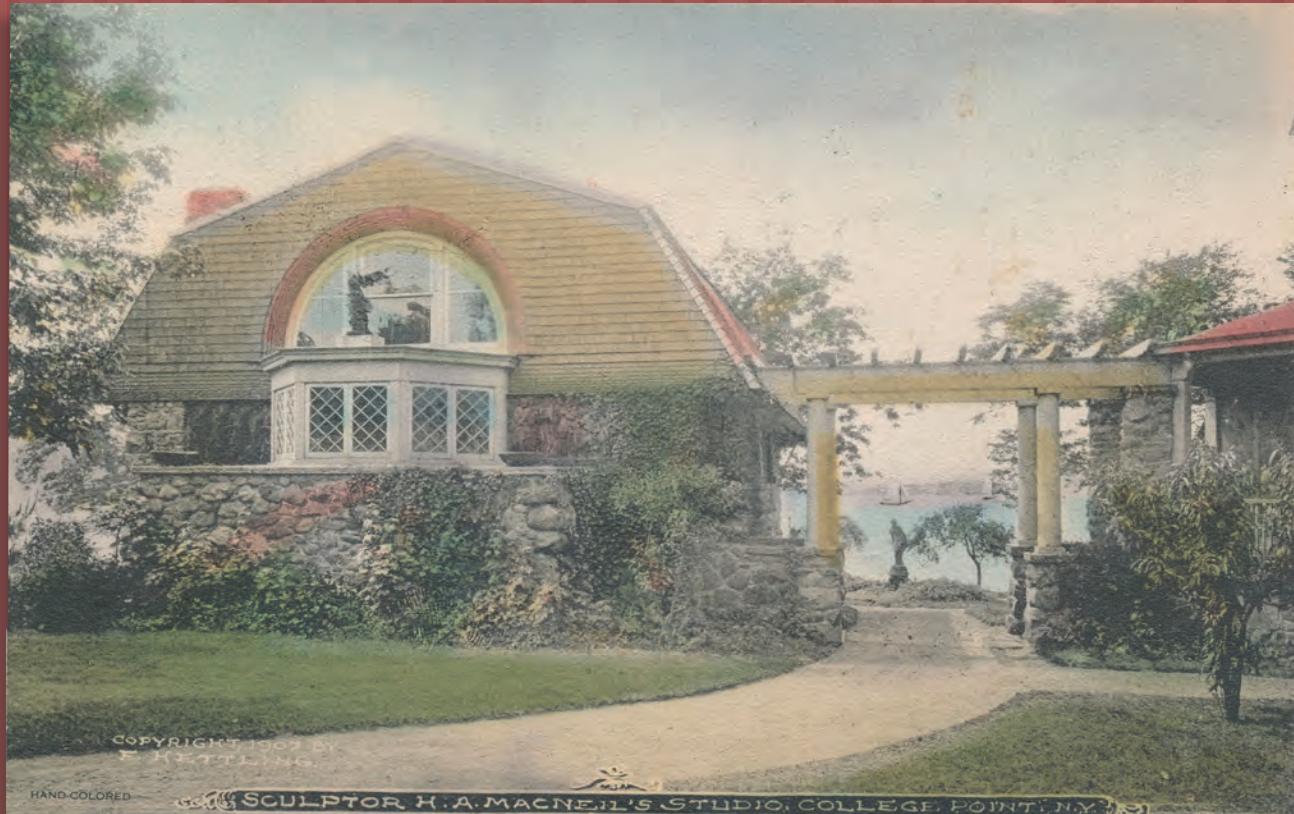
Ceres that appeared on coins of the Second and Third Republics, was the most influential figure in teaching nineteenth-century French medal engravers to draw their own designs.<sup>105</sup> Gayrard also contributed to this important shift in artistic practice. In this way, and by producing both medals and statues, he helped open the path for the creative flourishing of the next generation of French medallist artists. His character and talent deserve to be remembered.

105. Maurice Albert, “La gravure en médailles contemporaine,” *L’Art*, vol. 39, no. 2 (Paris: Librairie de l’Art, 1885), pp. 63–64. On Oudiné, see L. [Leonard] Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, vol. 4 (New York: Burt Franklin, 1970) (1909), pp. 346–51.

Facing page: Postcard of MacNeil's home and studio at College Point, Queens, New York City (photograph courtesy Daniel Neil Leininger, webmaster, hermonatkinsmacneil.com).

## HERMON MACNEIL'S MEDAL MARKED THE END OF AN ERA AT THE ANS

David Hill



In 1924, the ANS asked Hermon MacNeil to design a medal commemorating the tercentenary of the European settlement of New York. By that time the Society's medal program had been thriving for decades. Twenty-seven medals had been issued in the previous 20 years alone—as many as four or five in some years. The medal MacNeil eventually produced in 1926 (fig. 1) would be the last of that fruitful run. With deep-pocketed and enthusiastic boosters like J. Sanford Saltus now dead, the Society's members alone couldn't keep the issues going. It would be 13 years before the Society did another medal, and then almost 20 more until the next one. And, in the end, MacNeil's medal would prove to be a financial failure.<sup>1</sup>

Despite all that, it can at least be considered aesthetically successful—a “telling, beautiful medal” in the words of sculptor and medallic researcher Georgia Stamm Chamberlain.<sup>2</sup> And the correspondence generated during its development, from conception to completion, provides a fascinating glimpse at the process, as an artist with a vision contends with a committee and its own ideas. While the clashing interests of patrons and artists can sometimes erupt into frustration and bitterness, in his letters, MacNeil comes off as affable and accommodating, an eager participant every step of the way.

Hermon Atkins MacNeil (1866–1947) was an established and successful artist by the 1920s. Born in

1. Scott Miller, *Medallic Art of the American Numismatic Society, 1865–2014* (New York: ANS, 2015), 126.
2. Georgia Stamm Chamberlain, “Tercentenary of New York Medals,” *Hobbies* 58, no. 10 (December 1953), 125–26; in *American Medals and Medalists* (Annandale, Va.: Robert Chamberlain, 1963), 138–40.

Massachusetts, he trained as a sculptor in Boston and then taught modeling and drawing at Cornell University. After a few years of study at the Académie Julian and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, he returned to the United States, serving as a sculptural assistant at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. He remained in that city to teach at the Art Institute,<sup>3</sup> where he met his first wife, Carol, also a sculptor.<sup>4</sup> At the turn of the century he built a home and studio overlooking the East River in New York City at College Point, Queens (facing page), a peaceful retreat for the ever-youthful artist. (One visitor commented how even a beard looked out of place on the boyish 40-year-old).<sup>5</sup>

Numismatists today know MacNeil as the designer of the quarter dollar struck in the United States from 1916 to 1930 (fig. 2). He was no stranger to the ANS. The Society had an active interest in the redesign of United States coinage taking place at the beginning of the century. In fact, ANS curator Howland Wood and others went up to Queens to have a look at MacNeil's designs as he worked on the quarter, and MacNeil submitted some biographical information for a profile that would appear in the *American Journal of Numismatics*,<sup>6</sup> along with a photograph of himself (figs. 3–4). In 1917, the ANS invited MacNeil and Adolph Alexander Weinman,

3. Barbara Baxter, *The Beaux-Arts Medal in America* (New York: ANS, 1987), 81–82.

4. Robert R. Van Ryzin, “An Artist's Written Word: The Letters of Hermon A. MacNeil Bring His Brilliant Career in Sculpture to Life,” *Coins* 35, no. 7 (July 1988), 68.

5. Jean Stansbury Holden, “The Sculptors MacNeil: The Varied Work of Mr. Hermon A. MacNeil and Mrs. Carol Brooks MacNeil,” *World's Work* 14 (May–October 1907), 9418.

6. “The Designers of the New Silver Coinage,” *American Journal of Numismatics* 49 (1915), 210.

Figure 1: United States. Manhattan Tercentenary. Silver medal by Hermon MacNeil, 1926. Miller 46. (0000.999.4471) 63 mm. This medal was jointly issued by the ANS and the New-York Historical Society.



Figure 2: United States. AR 25 cent, 1916, Hermon MacNeil. (1938.94.5, bequest of George Kunz) 24 mm.



Figure 3: United States. AR 50 cent, Huguenot-Walloon Tercentenary, 1924, George Morgan. Breen 7459. (1924.999.40) 30 mm.

designer of a new half-dollar and dime, to speak about the new coinage, at an event where MacNeil's quarter was shown for the first time.<sup>7</sup> In 1923 the ANS bestowed upon MacNeil its Saltus award, given for achievements in the medallic arts, just as it had honored other artists who had produced new coinage: James Earle Fraser (designer of the “buffalo” nickel), 1919; Weinman, 1920; and Victor David Brenner (designer of the Lincoln cent), 1922. The Society's secretary, Sydney Noe, tried to get MacNeil to join the ANS and even sent him an application. “Of all the artists who have worked on the designs for our improved coinage,” he told him, “I think you are the only one not a member of our Society.”<sup>8</sup> He didn't take Noe up on the offer, but in 1935 MacNeil was elected a fellow of the ANS, his dues covered by income derived from the Saltus medal fund.<sup>9</sup>

MacNeil wasn't the Society's first choice to design the tercentenary medal (which was to be jointly issued with the New-York Historical Society). They had first approached Fraser.<sup>10</sup> When he turned them down, they

asked MacNeil, telling him it was because he had been the latest recipient of the Saltus medal. Noe played a bit of good news/bad news with MacNeil. The bad: it paid “only one thousand dollars.” The good: it used to be eight hundred.<sup>11</sup> (Later, when MacNeil's bill came and it was for more than a thousand dollars, an alarmed Noe said he hoped it was just an error—a “typewritographical” one—sending him copies of their earlier correspondence as evidence of what he considered to be their prior understanding).<sup>12</sup>

MacNeil was enthusiastic and got started on a design right away, but from the beginning there was confusion, particularly about precisely what was to be commemorated. The original idea, according to Noe, had been to celebrate “the coming of the ship *New Amsterdam* in 1624” to New York's harbor. (The ship was actually the *New Netherland*, which would, in fact, be depicted in 1924 on a U.S. commemorative half dollar marking the tercentenary of its arrival [fig. 5]).<sup>13</sup> The medal committee had heard the vessel had arrived in New

York's harbor in early May, and, though it was already February, they hoped that the medal could be ready that spring, a tight deadline.<sup>14</sup> None of this would matter. They would soon give up on the year 1624. For one thing, it appears that they wanted to highlight the settlement of Manhattan itself, not the New Netherland colony generally, and there was little evidence supporting a permanent settlement on the island dating from that year. In fact, a group of historians had gathered at the College of the City of New York to resolve that very question and had settled on 1626 as the proper year for the island's settlement.<sup>15</sup> A bigger problem was that MacNeil was about to head out west for an extended trip,<sup>16</sup> making the completion of a medal in 1924 unlikely anyway.<sup>17</sup>

One factor working against the medal's success was that it was a bit of a retread. New York City had already recognized a tercentenary 10 years earlier, in 1914. In fact, back then, the planners had faced many of the same uncertainties. They, too, had hoped to commemorate the island's European settlement, but, unable to reach a consensus on exactly when that might have occurred, they instead chose to honor a historically documented event: the commencement of chartered commerce. It would thus be known as the “New York Commercial Tercentenary.”<sup>18</sup> An ambitious roster of celebratory and educational activities was planned for 1914, but most of it had to be canceled when not only did the mayor of New York City die but war broke out in Europe, diverting attention and resources. Nevertheless, a medal and badge were issued by a committee chaired by George Kunz of Tiffany, an active and influential member of the ANS (figs. 6–7).<sup>19</sup> Kunz was president of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, a promoter of both tercentenaries, which may help explain the ANS's interest in producing the 1926 medal. (To add to the confusion, the Circle of Friends of the Medallion issued their own medal in 1914 honoring a different tercentenary: the founding of the New Netherland colony by the Dutch West India Company [fig. 8]).<sup>20</sup>

Despite the uncertainty regarding historical dates,

14. Sydney Noe to MacNeil, February 28th, 1924, General Correspondence.
15. American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report* (1922–23), 145.
16. MacNeil to Sydney Noe, April 15, 1924, General Correspondence.
17. Sydney Noe to MacNeil, May 20, 1924, General Correspondence.
18. American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, *Nineteenth Annual Report* (1914), 134–36.
19. American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, *Twentieth Annual Report* (1915), 503–20.
20. David Alexander, *American Art Medals, 1909-1995: The Circle of Friends of the Medallion and the Society of Medalists* (New York: ANS, 2010), 28–29.



Figure 4: In 1916, MacNeil sent in this photograph along with some information for a biographical sketch on the designers of the new silver coinage that appeared in the *American Journal of Numismatics*.

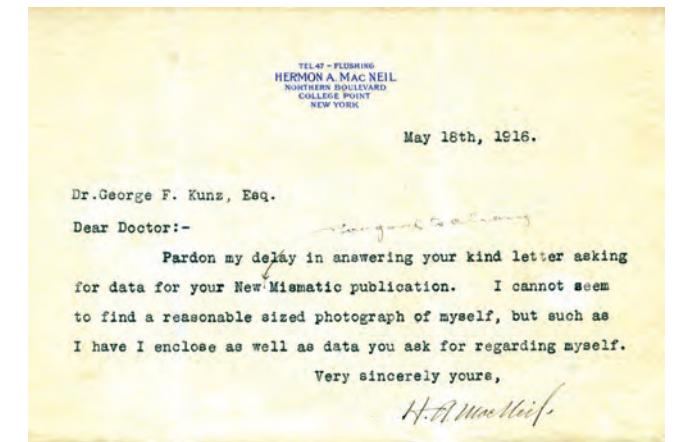


Figure 5: MacNeil's letter to George Kunz contained a humorous error by his typist, a reference to “your New Mismatic publication.” His handwritten note says, “too good to change.”

7. David Hill, “George Kunz and the Redesign of United States Coinage,” *ANS Magazine* (2017, issue 1), 34.  
 8. Sydney Noe to MacNeil, January 26, 1920, General Correspondence.  
 9. Sydney Noe to MacNeil, April 16, 1935, General Correspondence.  
 10. ANS Minutes, February 8, 1924, 3.

11. Sydney Noe to MacNeil, January 24, 1924, General Correspondence.  
 12. Sydney Noe to MacNeil, March 24, 1926, General Correspondence.  
 13. Sydney Noe to MacNeil, January 24, 1924, General Correspondence. Spelled *Niew Amsterdam* in the letter.

MacNeil continued to work on his design. The medal, he said, might depict “the island itself with its characteristic profile of the fort, windmill, small houses and tents,” with a ship in the distance “perhaps being loaded by the Indians and traders.” But even he got bogged down in historical detail, his letters questioning the extent of Walloon settlement on Manhattan in the 1620s, for example.<sup>21</sup> He asked Noe to “designate as clearly as possible the epoch you would like represented.”<sup>22</sup> Noe said to forget about the settlement of the island as a theme. They could avoid a lot of confusion about dates by instead focusing on “its purchase,” which offered “a much more attractive subject for medallion treatment” anyway.<sup>23</sup>

The event they decided to commemorate, Peter Minuit’s purchase of Manhattan in 1626 from its native inhabitants for \$24 worth of beads and baubles, is a story deeply imprinted on the nation’s consciousness by generations of textbooks and the often comical depictions of popular media. Today we have become so accustomed to debunking such tales that it may actually come as a surprise to discover that there is evidence supporting at least a kernel of the story. Minuit, director of the colony of New Netherland, did talk about his intentions to buy Manhattan in a letter that survives from 1626. In another letter from that year, a West India Company official reported that he had been told that the colonists had “purchased the Island Manhattes from the Indians for the value of 60 guilders,” a figure that by the mid-nineteenth century had become the mythical \$24. While that is about it for the surviving evidence, the general idea isn’t far-fetched. A copy made of the deed for the purchase of Staten Island by Minuit and others in exchange for some tools, wampum, and other items does exist.<sup>24</sup> (Then again, what such transactions actually meant to the native inhabitants is still a matter of historical debate.)

From these few scraps of evidence the story grew, details concocted as needed. Depictions of the event have shown little concern for historical accuracy. Native Americans have been portrayed in a wide variety of dress—nearly naked, for example, or outfitted in elaborate leggings and tunics, even in feathered headdresses, as if they were Plains Indian warriors.<sup>25</sup> Today there is

a movement to set the record straight when it comes to depictions of historic events left over from other eras. Last year, the American Museum of Natural History in New York City put new labels on a diorama from 1939, a depiction of “Old New York” similar to the traditional Manhattan-purchase scene. In this one, Lenape representatives are portrayed as if they were Dutch subjects paying tribute. They wear very little, though in reality as diplomats they would have been outfitted in fur robes signifying a high status (fig. 9).<sup>26</sup>

MacNeil had experience depicting Native Americans. They were the subjects of the sculptures that first brought him recognition in the 1890s. Striving for accurate and honest ethnographical depictions and eschewing caricature, he made his first trip west of the Mississippi in 1895, determined to capture what he and other white observers saw as the vanishing traditions of a herded people disappearing through assimilation. He lived among the Hopi in Arizona, attending their famous snake ritual. “The sensation received by me from this dance,” he would say, “was without doubt the deepest I had received.” The result was his acclaimed sculpture *The Moqui Prayer for Rain* (1895) (fig. 10),<sup>27</sup> a subject reappearing decades later on a medal he did for the Society of Medalists (fig. 11).<sup>28</sup>

MacNeil had pretty much abandoned American Indians as a subject for his sculptural works by 1910,<sup>29</sup> but they would make an appearance on his ANS medal. By the beginning of 1925, there was some concern at the ANS that MacNeil had forgotten about his obligation to them.<sup>30</sup> He assured them he hadn’t. In fact, he had prepared some sketches in wax.<sup>31</sup> Noe went up to Queens to have a look, and MacNeil sent in a couple of photographs of the designs (fig. 12).<sup>32</sup> Having seen what MacNeil had in mind, Noe sent him a rubbing of a medal from 1914, “to show that someone else has had an idea not dissimilar from your own.”<sup>33</sup> This was likely of the Tiffany commercial tercentenary medal.

Meanwhile, MacNeil was becoming increasingly dissatisfied with his own design, longing to broaden its

26. R. Mickens, “Old New York Diorama,” American Museum of Natural History, [www.amnh.org](http://www.amnh.org)  
 27. Andrew Walker, “Hermon Atkins MacNeil and the 1904 World’s Fair: A Monumental Program for the American West,” in *Shaping the West: American Sculptors of the 19th Century* (Denver: Petrie Institute of Western American Art, 2010), 55–58.  
 28. Alexander, 50–51.  
 29. Van Ryzin, 68.  
 30. W. Gedney Beatty to MacNeil, January 15, 1925, General Correspondence.  
 31. MacNeil to Sydney Noe, May 4, 1925, General Correspondence.  
 32. MacNeil to Sydney Noe, June 10, 1925, General Correspondence.  
 33. Sydney Noe to MacNeil, June 9, 1925, General Correspondence.

21. MacNeil to Sydney Noe, April 15, 1924, and September 25, 1924, General Correspondence.  
 22. MacNeil to Sydney Noe, September 25, 1924, General Correspondence.  
 23. Sydney Noe to MacNeil, October 3, 1924, General Correspondence.  
 24. Peter Francis, “The Beads that Did *Not* Buy Manhattan Island,” *New York History* 78, no. 4 (October 1997), 416–19, 424.  
 25. Peter Douglas, “Illustrating the Manhattan Purchase,” New Netherland Institute, [www.newnetherlandinstitute.org](http://www.newnetherlandinstitute.org).



Figure 6: United States. Commercial Tercentenary of New York. Gold medal by Tiffany & Co., 1914. (1914.245.1, gift of J. Sanford Saltus) 32 mm.

Figure 7: United States. Commercial Tercentenary of New York. Bronze badge made by Tiffany and Co., 1914. (1914.229.3, gift of J. Sanford Saltus) 43 mm.



Figure 8: United States. New Netherland Tercentenary. Bronze medal by Paul Manship, 1914, for the Circle of Friends of the Medallion. Alexander COF 11. (0000.999.70688) 70 mm.



Figure 9: In 2018, new interpretive labels were added to this diorama at the American Museum of Natural History in order to address historical inaccuracies. Dating from 1939, it depicts a 17th-century meeting between Dutch settlers and the Lenape, a scene similar to the one portrayed on MacNeil's tercentenary medal (photograph courtesy Grace Hill).



Figure 10: The Moqui Prayer for Rain, Hermon MacNeil, 1895-96 (this cast circa 1897, photograph courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978.513.6).



Figure 11: United States. Hopi Prayer for Rain. Silver medal by Hermon MacNeil, 1931, for the Society of Medalists. Alexander SOM 3. (1988.124.3, gift of Stack's) 71 mm (images reduced).

scope. "Rather than making too much of a feature of the puny bargain for the island," he said, he wanted to express 300 years of progress. He envisioned a reverse illustrating Manhattan in 1626, and an obverse showing the city of 1926, "the punch + force + power that we see about us today—maritime + commercial—as well as things that pertain to the 'higher life.'"<sup>34</sup> The committee did not approve. They liked the original idea, which emphasized what they felt was central: "the purchase of the island,"<sup>35</sup> though they did have some critiques: the wampum didn't look quite right, one of the crouching Indians seemed like a shadow of the other, and shouldn't Minuit be wearing spurs?<sup>36</sup>

MacNeil was taken aback by the rejection of his new ideas and appealed to the committee to change its mind. In fact, he had considered his new concept so obviously preferable to the original that he almost forgot to submit it for approval.<sup>37</sup> At first the committee wouldn't give an inch. The decision, he was told, was unanimous—and final.<sup>38</sup> At this point MacNeil wrote to say that he had seen another medal showing the purchase of Manhattan, "and curiously enough this composition is not very dissimilar to my own design," pointing out that such similarities might "tend to negate enthusiasm on the part of purchasers of your medal." He didn't name the medal, but it must have been the Tiffany. He apologized for not knowing about it before, though it seems likely this was the one Noe had told him about months earlier. He submitted photographs of his new sketches (fig. 13). The obverse showed a Dutch ship, already approved by the committee, but now it also had a (significantly smaller) depiction of the Minuit transaction in the foreground. The reverse now had an allegorical scene representing the "tremendous force, power, and imagination of New York City today," with two striding figures, a male representing commercial progress and a female embodying intellectual pursuits, "the higher life toward which we are all striving."<sup>39</sup>

Though the committee surely had always known about the Tiffany medal, for some reason, at this point they were swayed by MacNeil's reasoning, the ANS council agreeing that "it would be a mistake to issue a medal having a design so much like the one struck in 1914." They

34. MacNeil to Sydney Noe, August 27, 1925, General Correspondence.  
 35. Sydney Noe to Hermon MacNeil, September 15, 1925.  
 36. Sydney Noe to Hermon MacNeil, September 15, 1925, General Correspondence, and undated document with Robert Eidlitz's suggestions.  
 37. MacNeil to Sydney Noe, September 16, 1925, General Correspondence.  
 38. Sydney Noe to MacNeil, September 23, 1925, General Correspondence.  
 39. Sydney Noe to MacNeil, October 27, 1925, General Correspondence and Manhattan Tercentenary Medal circular, 1926.



Figure 12: Photographs of wax sketches of the first design for the Manhattan Tercentenary Medal, sent to the ANS by MacNeil. He soon grew dissatisfied with his original concept, feeling it made too much of the "puny bargain for the island." At first, the Society's medal committee refused to consider any new design.



Figure 13: The ANS later came around to MacNeil's way of thinking, generally approving the designs in these photographs but asking that the bargaining scene be made larger. There was also concern that the garland looked too much like a bird's neck, which, in combination with the wings of the striding couple and the small figure being held aloft, gave the whole composition a somewhat ostrich-like appearance. With a few changes, the effect was greatly diminished in the final medal.

still had questions, though, like, "why the helmeted male figure?" and, "to which figure do the wings belong?"<sup>40</sup> MacNeil happily made changes, increasing the size of the bartering figures of Minuit and the Indians, for example. He also altered a garland, to diminish its similarity to a bird's neck.<sup>41</sup> A miniature winged figure in his sketch became a glowing orb in the final version.

The medal was manufactured by the Medallic Art Company (whose historical stock, including medals,

40. Sydney Noe to Hermon MacNeil, November 18, 1925, General Correspondence.  
 41. MacNeil to Sydney Noe, November 11, 1925, General Correspondence.



Figure 14: Die shell, Manhattan Tercentenary Medal obverse. Acquired by the ANS from Medallic Art Company, 2018.

dies, and galvanos were recently acquired by the ANS [fig. 14]). A limited number were offered for sale by May 4, 1926, to mark the date that Minuit's ship had arrived in New York's harbor 300 years earlier. Bronze copies sold for five dollars and silver for 30.<sup>42</sup> The Society still had specimens in both metals available in 1953, nearly three decades after they were first struck.<sup>43</sup>

42. Circular for Medal Commemorating the Tercentenary of the Purchase of Manhattan Island, 1626-1926.  
 43. Miller, 126.

# COLLECTIONS

Elena Stolyarik

## New Acquisitions

During the past few months, thanks to our generous benefactor, ANS Chairman of the Board of Trustees Kenneth Edlow, over 1,360 Iberian, Celtiberian, and Hispano-Punic coins from the former collection of the Hispanic Society of America have been added to the ANS's cabinets. Among these are various issues produced before, during, and after the Roman conquest, by various peoples and cities in the Iberian Peninsula. This extensive gift includes second-century BC bronze coins from the ancient Phoenician colony Gadir (modern Cádiz). On the obverse of this issue is an image of Melqart's head in a lion skin, the guardian god of the Phoenician city of Tyre. The reverse bears a dolphin transfixing a trident with an inscription in Phoenician (fig. 1). The image of Melqart also characterizes a coin type of Sexsi, another ancient Phoenician colony, located at present Almuñécar in the province of Granada (fig. 2). The head of Vulcan/Hephaestus appears on coins issued by Malaca in the second and first centuries BC (figs. 3–4). Numerous cities—Arekorata, Belikiom, Bilbilis, Osca, Sekia—struck bronze denominations with a bearded head on the obverse and a galloping horseman holding a spear on the reverse (fig. 5). The galloping horseman on the reverse of another group of coins—from Alaun, Eustibaikula, Kelse, Saetabis, and Seteisen—holds a palm branch (fig. 6). Inscriptions in the Iberian writing system accompany all coins of the horseman type. Among the interesting examples of coins of Castulo, located at Cazlona in the province of Jaén, are a half denomination struck prior to 212 BC (fig. 7) and an As of the mid-second century BC, both bearing a laureate male head with *infulae* on the obverse and a bull with crescent on the reverse, as well as the Iberian ethnicon of the city (fig. 8). One of the largest series bears a female head with a distinctive striped hairstyle on one side and a plow, a wheat stalk, and an Iberian inscription on the other. It was issued in the third and second centuries BC by Obulco, located at current Porcuna in Jaén province (fig. 9). Among the several issues of the first century BC from Carteia, located near modern San Roque, province of Cádiz, is an interesting bronze semis which shows a female head with mural crown on the obverse and a club, arch, and quiver on the reverse (fig. 10). A rare quadrans of Carteia has a dolphin transfixing a trident on one side and a steering oar on the other (fig. 11). The coinage of these different locations in Hispania is important evidence of the process of

cultural exchange between indigenous groups and the Punic and Roman states, offering some of the best examples of their cultural patterns.

This summer the ANS purchased, thanks to a gift from ANS Fellow Frank Kovacs, an interesting group of American military medals and society badges heretofore lacking from our pre-World War II collection of US medals and decorations, some of which may be singled out for special mention. Among them is an Army Civil War Campaign Medal (fig. 12). It was first authorized in 1905 for the 40th anniversary of the Civil War's conclusion and was designed by sculptor, Francis Davis Millet. This example is presented in its original box and is complete with pin and blue and gray ribbon, symbolizing the particular uniform colors of the U.S. and Confederate troops. A rare example from our new acquisition is an Indian Wars Campaign Medal (fig. 13) from the last private contract of Northern Stamping (1936), of which probably no more than 100 were made. There are perhaps 10 known in collections today. Established in 1907 by the War Department, this decoration was awarded to soldiers of the U.S. Army who participated in campaigns against the Native Americans between 1865 and 1891. It also was designed by Francis Davis Millet. When first issued, the ribbon was all red; later, in December 1917, two black stripes were added because it was too similar to a ribbon used by the French for the Legion of Honor. Another interesting piece in the group is an Army Puerto Rican Occupation Medal, issued to the members of the U.S. Army who served in Puerto Rico in 1898 following the close of the Spanish-American War (fig. 14).

Several military decorations in this purchase were produced by a private contractor, Bailey, Banks & Biddle. Among them is a Navy Spanish Campaign Medal, which was awarded to any Navy or Marine Corps member who served on active duty between May 1 and August 16, 1898 (fig. 15). This medal shows on the obverse a typical coastal Spanish fortification, possibly intended to be Havana's Morro Castle, a symbol of the war. The reverse bears the image of an eagle alighting on an anchor. Interestingly, the original red and gold colors of the medal ribbon were changed to blue and yellow in 1913 after an agreement was made with Spain no longer to use their national colors on U.S. service medals.



Figure 1: Hispania. Gadir. Bronze coin, second half of 2nd century BC. Ex Archer Huntington collection, HSA 7751. (ANS 2019.2.477, gift of Kenneth L. Edlow) 15 mm.



Figure 2: Hispania. Sexsi. Bronze coin, first third of 2nd century BC. Ex Archer Huntington collection, HSA 21319. (ANS 2019.2.1226, gift of Kenneth L. Edlow) 26.5 mm.



Figure 3: Hispania. Malaca. Bronze coin, 2nd century BC. Ex Archer Huntington collection, HSA 21314. (ANS 2019.2.883, gift of Kenneth L. Edlow) 17.5 mm.



Figure 4: Hispania. Malaca. Bronze coin, 1st century BC. Ex Archer Huntington collection, HSA 24288. (ANS 2019.2.93, gift of Kenneth L. Edlow) 21 mm.



Figure 5: Hispania. Belikiom. Bronze coin, first third of 2nd century BC. Ex Archer Huntington collection, HSA 57.24833. (ANS 2019.2.41, gift of Kenneth L. Edlow) 23 mm.



Figure 6: Hispania. Kelse. Bronze coin, after 143 BC. Ex Archer Huntington collection, HSA 57.24812. (ANS 2019.2.797, gift of Kenneth L. Edlow) 31 mm.



Figure 7: Hispania. Castulo. Bronze coin, issued prior to 214/212 BC. Ex Archer Huntington collection, HSA 57.25068. (ANS 2019.2.414, gift of Kenneth L. Edlow) 20.5 mm.



Figure 8: Hispania. Castulo. Bronze As, mid-2nd century BC. Ex Archer Huntington collection, HSA 10355. (ANS 2019.2.322, gift of Kenneth L. Edlow) 24 mm.



Figure 9: Hispania. Obulco. Bronze coin, last third of 2nd century BC. Ex Archer Huntington collection, HSA 23895. (ANS 2019.2.1034, gift of Kenneth L. Edlow) 27 mm.



Figure 10: Hispania. Carteia. Bronze semis, 1st century BC. Ex Archer Huntington collection, HSA 21439. (ANS 2019.2.182, gift of Kenneth L. Edlow) 21 mm.



Figure 11: Hispania. Carteia. Bronze quadrans, 1st century BC. Ex Archer Huntington collection, HSA 21422. (ANS 2019.2.166, gift of Kenneth L. Edlow) 18.5 mm.



Figure 12: United States. U.S. Army Civil War Campaign bronze medal, #2322. Northern Stamping, 1937. (ANS 2019.17.1, purchase) 33 mm.



Figure 13: United States. U.S. Army Indian War bronze medal, #2228. Northern Stamping, 1938. (ANS 2019.17.2, purchase) 33 mm.



Figure 16: United States. U.S. Navy Cuban Pacification bronze medal, #1931. Bailey, Banks & Biddle Co., 1908. (ANS 2019.17.11, purchase) 33 mm.

Figure 17: United States. U.S. Navy Haitian Campaign bronze medal, #1835. Bailey, Banks & Biddle Co., 1915. (ANS 2019.17.12, purchase) 33 mm.



Figure 14: United States. U.S. Army Puerto Rican Occupation bronze medal, MNo. 538. Philadelphia mint, 1898. (ANS 2019.17.5, purchase) 33 mm.



Figure 15: United States. U.S. Navy Spanish Campaign bronze medal, #4613. Bailey, Banks & Biddle Co., 1898. (ANS 2019.17.10, purchase) 33 mm.



Figure 18: United States. U.S. Navy Mexican Service bronze medal, MNo.15535. Philadelphia mint, 1911-1917. (ANS 2019.17.14, purchase) 32.5 mm.



Figure 19: United States. Gold and enamel delegates badge of the Society of Colonial Wars, 1899. Ex Lee E. Bishop Jr. collection. (ANS 2019.17.15, purchase) 74 x 45 mm.



Another example of the United States Navy decorations is a Navy Cuban Pacification Medal (fig.16). This was given for distinguished service during the withdrawal of the U.S. military from Cuba and awarded for service in Cuba between September 12, 1906, and April 1, 1909. In the center of this bronze medal is a female figure, personifying America, offering an olive branch as a symbol of peace to a seated Cuban peasant. On the reverse, the American bald eagle is shown upon an anchor with draped chain, emblem of the U.S. Navy. The same reverse type is seen on the Navy military award of the Haitian Campaign. That medal, given to U.S. Navy and Marine Corps personnel serving ashore in Haiti and on ships of the U.S. fleet from July 9 through December 6, 1915, was given to recognize the protection of life and property during the revolution in Haiti (fig.17). Another medal in this group is a rare example of a Mexican Service Navy Medal, produced by the United States Mint (fig.18). This decoration was awarded to members of the U.S. Navy who served aboard U.S. naval vessels patrolling Mexican waters between April 21 and November 26, 1914, or between March 14, 1916, and February 7, 1917.

Figure 20: United States. Ancient Heraldic and Chivalric Order of Albion, No. 44. Bailey, Banks & Biddle Co., 1905. (ANS 2019.17.16, purchase) 44.45 x 31.75 mm.



Figure 21: United States. Silver medal of the 7th Regiment State of New York National Guard to Lt. Byron W. Green, 1875. Ex Lee E. Bishop Jr. collection. (ANS 2019.17.17, purchase) 30 mm.

In the same purchase we also acquired an interesting group of society badges. Among them is a small uni-face example in gold and blue enamel from the Society of Colonial Wars. It is inscribed with the name of the delegate from Rhode Island to the Society's General Assembly in Baltimore in May 1899 (fig.19). The Society of Colonial Wars is a hereditary society for descendants of colonial-era military and civil leaders, dedicated to preserving the memory of the colonial period in Britain's Thirteen Colonies (1607–1775). It provides financial assistance for the preservation of colonial-era sites and buildings and erects memorials and markers, and it also provides funding for archives and institutions preserving documentation of the colonial period.

We also obtained through the same purchase a very rare badge of the Ancient Heraldic and Chivalric Order of Albion, which was instituted in America in 1643 by Sir Edmund Plowden, Lord Earl Palatine of New Albion, a failed colonial enterprise whose grant included parts of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland (fig. 20). Membership in this Order is limited to lineal descendants of Plowden, other original members of the Order, and signers of the Declaration of Independence. The Order was re-created in 1883 as a gentlemen's society with limited heritable membership; it was re-organized again in 2011. The badge bears on one side the tri-colored Seal of the Order of Albion. The outer black border bears the inscription *DOCEBO · INIQUOS · VIAS · TUAS · ET · IMPII · AD · TE · CONVERTENTUR*. The inner ring is red with twenty-two gold heads surrounding a yellow center featuring the heraldic device of the Order. The

ANS badge is an example from the Order's 1883 re-incarnation, made by Bailey, Banks & Biddle around 1905.

A further valuable addition to the US cabinet is a unique pair of medals of the 7th Regiment of the New York National Guard, known as the "Silk Stocking regiment" due to its wealthy and socially prominent members. Both medals bear the name Lt. Byron W. Green. The first (fig. 21) is for the regiment's visit to Boston for the 1875 commemoration of the Battle of Bunker Hill. The letter "V" in the pendant of this medal indicates the status of veteran. The second medal in this pair (fig. 22) was given for Green's service in President Benjamin Harrison's Honor Guard in 1889 at the celebration of the centennial of the inauguration of George Washington in New York City. The Park Avenue Armory, a military facility and social club, was designed by Regiment veteran and famous New York architect Charles W. Clinton. It has been designated a National Historical Landmark. For many years this prestigious facility was used by the New York Numismatic Club for its monthly meetings and presentations.



Figure 22: United States. Bronze medal of the 7th Regiment State of New York National Guard to Byron W. Green. Tiffany & Co., 1889. Ex Lee E. Bishop Jr. collection. (ANS 2019.17.18, purchase) 34 mm.

Also, for our collection of World War I medals and decorations, we acquired a curious rectangular 14-karat gold medal of the "Forty and Eight" Society. This example includes a fancy brooch, with a small badge of the American Legion attached (fig. 23). The official name of this fraternal organization, established in 1920 for veterans of World War I and members of the American Legion, was "La Société des Quarante Hommes et Huit Chevaux," which translates as "The Society of Forty Men and Eight Horses." It was named for the French railroad boxcar—"40 & 8"—used during World War I to transport the troops to the front. The obverse of the medal features a boxcar, two soldiers and a horse, and a clearly readable inscription on the wagon: "40 Hommes 8 Chevaux" (40 men 8 horses). The reverse bears the engraved name of a member of this Society: *James M. Brown, Grand Chef de Gare, Grande Voiture of Arizona, 1922–1923*.



Figure 23: United States. Gold badge of the "Forty and Eight", fraternal organization for veterans to James M. Brown. International Jewelry Workers Union, 1922–1923. (ANS 2019.17.19, purchase) 28 x 34 mm.

A gift of great rarity came from former ANS President and Honorary Trustee, Roger S. Siboni: a Sommer Islands (present-day Bermuda) shilling of the large sail variety, one of the first British coins struck for use in the Americas (fig. 24). The design of this issue features a standing hog on the obverse and a ship under sail on the reverse. This coin type is connected with historical background of this British colony. In 1609, a ship carrying colonists to the new colony of Jamestown in Virginia was shipwrecked on the coast of Bermuda, stranding the passengers there. The passengers, however, were greeted by an abundance of wild hogs, supposed to have descended from a group left by Juan Bermúdez, a Spanish explorer who discovered the islands more than 100



Figure 24: Bermuda. Brassy copper Large Sail Sommer Islands shilling, ca. 1615. (ANS.2019.19.1, gift of Roger S. Siboni) 32 mm.



Figure 25: United States. Plaster relief of a woman by Salathiel Ellis, ca. 1850, in contemporary frame. (ANS 2019.13.1, gift of Scott and Roslyn Miller) 200 × 180 mm (image reduced).



Figure 26: Finland. Bronze medal commemorating Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), in three interlocking parts, by Kauko Räsänen, 1974. (ANS 2019.1.1, gift of Jay M. Galst) 60 mm.



Figure 27: United States. Nickel-silver medal honoring Peter van Alfen, the 49th President (2017–18) of the New York Numismatic Club, by Eugene Daub (obv.) and Joel Iskovitz (rev.). Produced by the Medalcraft Mint, Green Bay, Wisconsin, 2018. (ANS 2019.12.3, gift of Peter van Alfen) 30 mm.



Figure 29: People's Republic of China. Group of aluminum, plastic, and porcelain badges and pins with images of Chairman Mao Zedong, 1960s–70s. (ANS 2019.15, gift of Adron Coldiron).

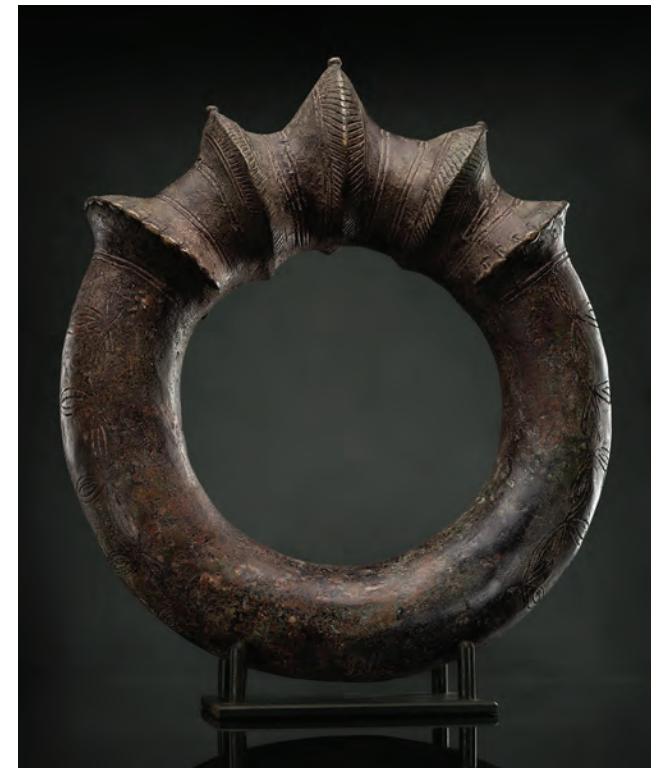


Figure 28: West Africa. Nigeria. Brass exchange valuable in the form of a knobbed ring decorated with geometric and floral motifs, ca. late 19th–early 20th century. Ex Mark Clayton collection. (ANS 2019.18.1, gift of Alan Helms).

years earlier. In 1610, the islands were named “Somers Islands” after the death of the Sir George Somers, one of the passengers who had been stranded. On June 29, 1615, the Somers Isles Company was established to colonize these islands and received the right to strike coins. They were struck on thin planchets of brassy copper in four denominations: twopence, threepence, sixpence, and shilling. Because of the obverse design these coins are called “hogge money” by collectors. The surviving examples are circulated and corroded, in many cases with pieces missing along the rim, but they remain unquestionably rare historical artifacts of the earliest series of British-American colonial issues.

ANS Fellow Scott H. Miller and his wife Roslyn Miller again enriched our medal collection with an interesting new donation. Their latest gift is a beautiful plaster relief, in contemporary frame, ca. 1850, of an unknown woman (fig. 25). The portrait is by Salathiel Ellis, acclaimed sculptor, cameo engraver, medalist, and painter. Ellis was born in November 1803 in Wethersfield, Vermont. In 1809 his family moved to Potsdam in Saint Lawrence County, New York, where he was educated at the Potsdam Academy. From 1828 he worked in Canton, New York, at a chair shop, painting chairs

made of local hardwood. Later, until 1838, he operated a picture shop, producing a dozen or more paintings. He was also employed as a cameo cutter. Ellis moved to New York in 1842 with his apprentice and later business partner, Joseph Willson. The Ellis-Willson team collaborated on numerous commissions, including modeling the portraits of four United States presidents—Fillmore, Pierce, Buchanan, and Lincoln—for the Indian Peace Medal series. Ellis also modeled two medals for the military series produced in the Philadelphia mint and created the medals for the American Art Union lottery in New York City and a Taylor campaign medal. In 1858, Treasury officials chose Ellis to model Emanuel Leutze’s design for the first United States life-saving medal. This collaboration was so successful that another important medal, the Cornelius Vanderbilt medal of 1865, designed by Leutze, also was modeled by Ellis. In 1869 Ellis moved to San Jose, California, where he established a sculpture studio and exhibited his works at the San Francisco Mechanics Institute and the California State Fair. He died at the home of his son on October 28, 1879, in San Jose, California.

From ANS Fellow Jay M. Galst, the Society received a bronze medal commemorating Leonardo da Vinci



Figure 30: United States. Gold 10 dollars, Philadelphia mint, 1795. (ANS 1908.93.60, from AMNH, Ex John Pierpont Morgan, Sr., collection) 32.9 mm.



Figure 31: Great Britain. Gold 5 guineas, Anne (1702–1714), 1706. (ANS 1914.264.1, purchase) 39 mm.

(1452–1519), made of three interlocking parts (fig. 26), by the Finnish medalist and sculptor Kauko Räsänen (1926–2015). Räsänen studied at the Fine Arts Academy of Finland and won his first prize at the age of 25, in 1951, for his design for the memorial medal for the Olympics in Helsinki. Over the years he won several more prizes in various competitions and exhibitions, and in 1963 he was awarded the Pro Finlandia medal. In 1986 he was awarded the ANS's J. Sanford Saltus Award for Outstanding Achievement in the Art of the Medal. Räsänen's medallic work often tests the boundary between traditional medallic forms and a wider range of sculpture. In the 1970s and 1980s he pioneered a new type of medal made of multiple, interlocking pieces, which can be separated to reveal themes and dimensions hidden within the piece, such as in his Leonardo da Vinci medal. The obverse of the first piece of this medal presents multiple views of Leonardo's portrait. The inner side shows a man in space suit standing with arms outstretched; in the field to the left is a raised circle with an image of Vitruvian Man. On the second (inner) piece of the medal each side has a raised square upon which there is a repeated profile portrait of da Vinci on one side and the images of numerous inventions and objects from the artist's drawings on the other. The third piece of this medal bears a face overlaid on a skull in profile on the inner face and a nude male with arms askew on a galloping horse on the reverse. The Society is very pleased to have received this wonderful masterwork from a renowned artist for our Medals cabinet.

In the spring the ANS received examples of the most recent New York Numismatic Club presidential medal, honoring ANS Chief Curator Peter van Alfen, the 49th president (2017–18) of the NYNC. The medals of this group include silver and bronze examples with the club's traditional reverse image by Victor Brenner, and a special nickel-silver offstrike with a reverse designed by Joel Iskowitz. All of these medals bear on the obverse a finely executed portrait of Dr. van Alfen by the prominent medallic sculptor Eugene Daub (fig. 27). This issue is an excellent addition to our collection of New York Numismatic Club presidential medals, most of whom have been closely associated with our Society.

From ANS Fellow and good friend Alan Helms we received a marvelous addition to the Society's collection of traditional African exchange objects. It is a large and heavy brass ring, used in Nigeria around the late nineteenth to early twentieth century. The body of this unusual example is decorated with five raised, integrated disc forms that project from one side and incised motifs that appear both geometric and floral (fig. 28).

From long-time member Adron Coldiron, the Society received a generous donation of over 670 pins, badges, and



Figure 33 (left): United States. Silver medal of the Army of the James, issued by Benjamin F. Butler, 1864. (ANS 0000.999.52621) 41 mm.



Figure 34: Visitors viewing an exhibition at Virginia Museum of History and Culture (VMHC) in Richmond.

buttons with images of Mao Zedong (fig. 29). Produced during China's Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), these political objects are historically significant icons of the tragic decade that many Chinese call “the ten lost years.” Some of them depict famous scenes and events from the Chinese Revolution and an iconographic explanation of the official history of the Chinese Communist Party. But all of them reflect Mao's personality cult, which effectively became China's religion during the Cultural Revolution. To some Chinese these numerous artifacts continue to be a historical symbol of loyalty and revolutionary dedication, but for others they are reminders of the insanity that gripped China in the Cultural Revolution era.

#### Current Exhibitions

At the end of the April, an exhibit opened at the Heritage Museums and Gardens in Sandwich on Cape Cod, the oldest town in Massachusetts, founded 380 years ago. The exhibit is dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the museum, which was founded to honor Josiah K. Lilly, Jr., by his son, J. K. Lilly III. J. K. Lilly, Jr., was a collector and philanthropist whose collection of rare books and manuscripts forms the core of the Lilly Library at Indiana University, Bloomington. His famous collection of over 6,000 gold coins from ancient to modern times was acquired the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. His military miniatures, vintage automobiles, and American firearms became a part of the collections of the Heritage Museums and Gardens, and now a group of exquisite gold coins from the ANS collection (figs. 30–31) similar to those collected by J. K. Lilly, Jr., are being shown together with

these collections in a special exhibition at the museum, which will be on display until October 14, 2019 (fig. 32).

In June the Virginia Museum of History & Culture (VMHC) in Richmond opened an exhibit entitled *Determined: The 400-Year Struggle for Black Equality*. The ANS example of the Army of the James Medal (fig. 33), also known as the Butler Medal, is a crucial part of a section of this exhibition that explores the experience of black soldiers in the Civil War. It includes the story of Corporal Miles James, an enslaved Virginian who ran away from his owner and enlisted in the U.S. Colored Troops (USCT). He fought in the Battle of New Market Heights in 1864 and was awarded the Army of the James Medal for his achievements. It was the heroism of the USCT at this battle that inspired Maj. Gen. Benjamin F. Butler to commission the Army of the James Medal to honor the black soldiers fighting for the United States of America. The obverse of this medal shows African American troops moving forward in battle with an inscription reading FERRO IIS LIBERTAS PERVENIET (“Freedom will be attained by them with the sword”). The Society's example provides museum visitors with evidence of the contribution of the USCT in winning the war and abolishing slavery. This medal also allows people to imagine the pride that Miles James and other medal recipients felt in getting recognition for their military service—recognition that was particularly important given the obstacles and discrimination that black soldiers faced. The exhibit will be on display in Richmond until March 1, 2020, and later will travel to several other venues (fig. 34).

## BOOK REVIEW

**Anna-Maria Kasdagli. *Coins in Rhodes. From the Monetary Reform of Anastasius I until the Ottoman Conquest (498–1522)*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2018. Pb. vi+444 pp., 139 figs., 154 b/w plates and 7 color plates. ISBN 9781784918415. £60. Also available as an electronic publication. 437 2018. Available both in printed and e-versions. Printed ISBN 9781784918415. Epublication ISBN 9781784918422.**

A full study of the Byzantine and Hospitaller coin finds on Rhodes, a significant naval base for projecting military and economic influence into mainland Asia Minor and Syria, has long been lacking. Indeed, the primary published source for finds of the Hospitaller period has often been Gustave Schlumberger's 1882 supplement to *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin* (1878). Anna-Maria Kasdagli's *Coins in Rhodes. From the Monetary Reform of Anastasius I Until the Ottoman Conquest (498–1522)*<sup>1</sup> fills a very real void, cataloguing and discussing 3,354 Byzantine and Medieval coins found on Rhodes and entered into the database of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese up to 2014.

Kasdagli provides an account of modern archaeological enquiry in Rhodes for the Byzantine and Hospitaller periods in a brief introduction (1–13). Here she also emphasizes the importance of comparing the data from different contexts (e.g., site vs. chance finds, hoards vs. chance finds, finds in secular vs. sacred sites, finds in urban vs. rural sites, etc.) to arrive at a fuller picture of circulation on the island.

The first and largest chapter (17–68), “The Period of the Imperial Mints (498–1204)” is subdivided into four sections detailing “The 6th and 7th Centuries,” “Late 7th Century–969,” “The Period of the Anonymous Folles (969–1029),” and “From the Monetary Reform of Alexius I (969) to 1204.” Using the data from coin finds, the author attempts to reconstruct an economic history for Byzantine Rhodes, often correlating changes in circulation pattern to known historical events. For example, based on the scanty finds of post-reform coins of Anastasius I and their spatial distribution, Kasdagli argues that the ancient city of Rhodes was already in deep economic

decline before the great earthquake that damaged the city late in his reign and that a drastic drop in coin finds under Justinian I was caused by the debilitating effects of the Justinianic plague. Many of the correlations between the numismatic data and historical textual evidence seem very plausible if not virtually certain, such as the spikes in coin finds under Heraclius that seem tied to the importance of Rhodes as a transshipment point for troops and supplies used in offensives first against the Sasanian Persians and then the Islamic Arabs in Syria (30–31). However, a few, like the suggestion that increased finds under Justin II may represent improvements in the collection of local taxes seem somewhat less unequivocal. It is also difficult to assess the interesting suggestion that reduced circulation under John II and Manuel I—despite their development of the Byzantine fleet and use of the Rhodian harbor—indicates the effects of the decentralizing *pronoia* system. This new system replaced direct payments by the state with a type of feudalism that placed responsibility for provisions, men, and equipment required by the state on local land magnates (*pronoiaroi*). In the second chapter (69–81), “The 13th Century (1204–1309),” Kasdagli closely analyzes the inscribed issues of Leo Gavalas, the virtually independent Lord of Rhodes and the Cyclades (c. 1204–1240), and his anonymous successors found on the island. In addition to the author organizes the latter into six major typological groups, which can be roughly dated through the relationship of the types to those employed on coins of the Nicaean Empire, the restored Palaeologan Emperors in Constantinople, and the Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus. The author also makes a good case for attributing the types of several anomalous issues that do not easily fall into these groups to the unexpected influence of coins of Salerno (78). Kasdagli is admirably cautious about dating, noting that the type of at least one coin in her Group 4 seems to appear on local Rhodian coins half a century before it was employed on imperial Byzantine coins (78). Although she does not address it further, one wonders what might account for this peculiar situation since, as she notes, it seems more reasonable for imperial issues to have provided models for local coinage. Particularly important in the discussion of local coinage and relative chronology of issues are two overstruck coins (nos. 1556 and 1627), which suggest chronological overlap between several typological

groups. In addition to treating local Rhodian copper coinage, the author also addresses an apparent Rhodian countermark found on a dirham of Mas'ud II, the last Seljuq Sultan of Rum. Although there had been some original skepticism regarding the possible countermarking of the coin in Rhodes, find evidence adduced by the author shows that Seljuq dirhams could and did indeed circulate on the island.

The third chapter (85–128) deals with “The Hospitaller Period (1309–1522),” the last numismatic period on Rhodes before the conquest of the island by Suleyman the Magnificent. It reflects a break with the preceding periods in which the island looked primarily to the Byzantine Empire for its coinage and/or typological models. With the capture of Rhodes by the displaced Knights of St. John in 1309, gave up its former status as a peripheral Byzantine settlement and became a capital and important central mint for a growing trade empire that took many of its typological cues from Genoa and Naples. Using surviving documentary evidence for the operation of the Hospitaller mint, Kasdagli reconstructs the contracting and minting process for gold and silver, but notes that the process and profit margins may have been different for petty coins—the real focus of interest in the chapter.

Two large hoards of petty coins found on Rhodes in the first half of the twentieth century (the Kamiros and Italian hoards) are discussed at length (94–120) to shed light on the circulation of petty coins (i.e., billion *deniers* and *oboles*) in the fourteenth century. The content of the hoards, both dominated by anonymous Hospitaller *oboles* and including a significant proportion overstruck once or even twice, leads the author to suggest that the hoards represent coins recalled for recycling. From the hoard material Kasdagli convincingly deduces three distinct recalls. The first brought in *deniers* for overstriking as *oboles*, second recalled *oboles* for overstriking (and presumably revaluation) with “clumsy” types, while the third and final recall, appears to have brought in *oboles* and *deniers* that had escaped previous overstriking as well as the overstruck pieces and contemporary foreign coins. Based on undertype and stylistic evidence, the first can be associated with Juan Fernández de Heredia as Grand Master of the Hospitallers (1377–1396), the second with Philibert de Naillac (1396–1421) while the third should probably be connected to a monetary reform early in the tenure of Anton Flavian de Ripa as Grand Master (1421–1437). The hoard discussion is also very important for its validation of Schlumberger's nineteenth-century periodization of *obol* types and especially its detailed listing and close analysis of legend varieties for fourteenth-century Hospitaller *oboles*. However, a tabulation of foreign coins present in the hoards and in other site finds raises

difficult questions (125–127): Why is the coinage of Venice represented by only four coins (three of which were struck after the Ottoman conquest) when it was already such an important power in the Aegean in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries?

A final chapter (129–144) summarizes the author's conclusions drawn from the preceding chapters and takes the opportunity to compare the Rhodian finds of the Byzantine period with the finds of numerous other sites, including Amorium, Antioch, Athens, Corinth, Cypriot Constantia, and Sardis.<sup>2</sup>

The catalogue (205–281) describes the Byzantine and Medieval coins entered into the database of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese up to 2014. This includes the material from the two Hospitaller hoards that play such a crucial role in Kasdagli's discussion of minor coins in the fourteenth century and account for almost half of the coins listed. It is extremely laudable that the vast majority of the catalogued coins are illustrated in the plates, except in a few cases where “technical problems” (205) prevented their illustration. In total, 1,465 Byzantine coins (including Latin imitative trachea), 146 local issues of the thirteenth century (nos. 1511–1657), 1,475 Hospitaller coins (nos. 1658–3133), and 220 foreign Medieval coins (nos. 3134–3354) are listed. A set of appendices and maps (145–204) place the coins in their find contexts.

Despite the occasional typographical error (e.g., “Glass B” for “Class B” anonymous folles in Fig. 40), *Coins in Rhodes* represents a great step forward in the study of the post-antique coinage of the island. This is especially true for the Hospitaller material, which has long been an area of close interest for Kasdagli. Her treatment of the Hospitaller coins as well as the preceding local issues of the thirteenth century will almost certainly become the foundation for all future study of these coinages. Likewise, the study of the Byzantine finds and comparison with the published evidence of other sites is an invaluable addition to the growing picture of Byzantine coin circulation in the eastern Mediterranean world. We hope that *Coins in Rhodes* will stimulate further detailed publication of post-antique coin finds from Mediterranean sites and especially that it will push future publications to reach for a similar high caliber of analysis and discussion.

—*Oliver D. Hoover*

1. The published version of her 2016 University of Athens PhD dissertation of the same name.

2. Georges Abou Diwan, “Base-Metal Coinage Circulation in Byzantine Beirut (491–641 CE),” *AJN* 30 (2018), 163–218, appeared when *Coins in Rhodes* was in press and therefore is not included in the Kasdagli's site comparanda.

### 65th Eric P. Newman Summer Graduate Seminar in Numismatics

Between June 3rd and July 26th, the ANS held the 65th Eric P. Newman Summer Graduate Seminar in Numismatics under the direction of Dr. Peter van Alfen. The Visiting Scholar was Dr. Evangeline Markou of the National Hellenic Research Foundation's Institute for Historical Research in Athens, Greece. In addition to sessions taught by staff members Dr. Ute Wartenberg, Dr. Gilles Bransbourg, Dr. Lucia Carbone, David Hill, Andrew Reinhard, Alan Roche, and David Yoon, sessions were also taught by former staff members Robert Hoge, Dr. Michael Bates, and Dr. Peter Donovan. Guest speaker Dr. Paul Keyser taught a session on metallurgical analysis. This year's eight students included: Anna Accettola, a PhD candidate in Ancient History from the University of California Los Angeles, who worked on a die study of a series of coins of Southern Arabia; Zineb Askaoui, an MA candidate in Archaeology from the City University of New York, who worked on cursive script qirats minted in Cordoba; Joshua Benjamins, a

PhD candidate in Classics at the University of California, Berkeley, who studied the salus coinage of Magnentius; Tal Ish-Shalom, a PhD candidate in Classical Studies at Columbia University, who worked on the autonomous era bronze coinage of Sidon; Yih-chuen Liao, an MA candidate at New York University, who studied ancient foreign coins found in Chinese tombs; Tine Rassalle, a PhD candidate in Religious Studies from the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, who laid the groundwork for an online typology of Byzantine coinage; Gregory Thompson, a PhD candidate in Classics from the University of Oxford, who reexamined hoards of Boiotian coinage; and Georgios Tsolakis, a PhD candidate at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World (New York University), who undertook prosopographical work on ancient Greek coins inscribed with names and monograms.

Additional information on the Seminar can be found at [numismatics.org/seminar](http://numismatics.org/seminar).



The 2019 class photo shot by Alan Roche. Left to right: Yih-chuen Liao, Georgios Tsolakis, Tal Ish-Shalom, Evangeline Markou, Tine Rassalle, Zineb Askaoui, Joshua Benjamins; standing: Gregory Thompson, Anna Accettola.

### Nominations

Below are the nominations for Trustees, Officers, and Fellows. All ANS Fellows (currently 216 out of a possible 225) are invited to vote for the nominated Trustees at the ANS Annual Meeting on October 19, 2019. Nominations were posted online in early August (<http://numismatics.org/2019-nominations/>). Pursuant to Article V, Section 12(B) of the ANS Bylaws, at any time prior to sixty (60) days before the Annual Meeting, additional nominations for positions as Fellows, Trustees and Officers and Honorary Life Fellows to be voted on at such Annual Meeting may be submitted in writing to the Executive Director by at least ten (10) Fellows. The Executive Director shall include in the notice of the Annual Meeting the report of the Nominating and Governance Committee and also a complete list of any other nominations duly filed. No nominations shall be made from the floor at the Annual Meeting or at any other meeting, except upon the unanimous consent of the Fellows in attendance.

The Nominating and Governance Committee, pursuant to Art. V Sec. 12 of the ANS By-Laws approved for publication all of the nominees as follows:

The following candidates for Trustee have been nominated for a one-year to three-year term (until the relevant annual meeting of Fellows and until his or her successor shall have been elected and qualified), for vote by the Fellows of the Society:

### Class of 2020

**Ms. Beth Deisher**, of Sylvania, OH, became an ANS Member in 1983, and was elected a Fellow in 1991. From 1985–2012 she was editor of *Coin World* and from January 2017 to September 2019 was Director of Anti-Counterfeiting at the Anti-Counterfeiting Educational Foundation. She is the author or primary editor of 10 books in the numismatic field, and is the recipient of the 2010 ANA Farran Zerbe Memorial Award; the Numismatic Literary Guild's Clemy Award (1995); the Burnett Anderson Memorial Award for journalistic excellence (2006); and was inducted into the Numismatic Hall of Fame in 2013. First elected to the ANS Board of Trustees in 2013, Ms. Deisher has served on the Strategic Planning Committee and the MACO committee, and is a supporter of the ANS Appeals, most recently to the campaign to endow the Chair of the Executive Director.

**Mr. Jonathan Kagan**, of New York, NY, joined the ANS in 1982, was elected a Fellow of the Society in 1985, became a Life Fellow in 2000, was elected to the ANS Board of Trustees 1995–2000, and held the position of Treasurer from 1998–2000. An investment banker by training, he is the Managing Principal of Corporate

Partners in New York. Previously, Mr. Kagan was a Managing Director of Corporate Partners I, which he joined in 1990, and of Centre Partners Management LLC. He began his career in the investment banking division of Lazard in 1980 and became a General Partner in 1987. At Lazard, Mr. Kagan helped head the corporate finance and capital markets areas. He has been a director of public companies and is a director of several private companies. He received a D.Litt and M.A. (1st Hon.) from Oxford University and an A.B., summa cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa, from Harvard College. He is also a Fellow of the Royal Numismatic Society and the Society of Antiquaries. His academic interests include early Greek coins and the history of numismatics.

### Class of 2021

**Mr. Scott E. Buck**, Allentown, PA, became a Full Associate Member in 2018. He earned his BS in Accounting from Albright College, and an MS in Taxation from Widener University. With more than 33 years in public accounting, Mr. Buck has been with the firm Morey, Nee, Buck & Oswald, LLC since 2011. His coin collecting interest began at age seven when his grandfather gave him a 1971 mint set from the State of Israel. After a hiatus from coin collecting during college, he was bitten by the bug again at a local coin show where he found a 3 Gros Groschen/Groszy Trojak of Sigismund I from Danzig. He specialized in coins and paper money from Danzig. In 2003 he sold his Danzig collection through a Stack's auction. His recent focus has been on Ancient Judaea and the Roman Emperors who ruled at that time. He is a member of the ANA, Geshet Galicia and the Lehigh County Historical Society. Scott and his wife have six children (two boys, four girls).

**Prof. Kenneth W. Harl**, of New Orleans, LA, was a 1975 Eric P. Newman Graduate Summer Seminar student and joined the Society that same year. A Fellow since 1991, he was first elected to the Board Trustees in 2001, held the office of Second Vice-President annually 2013–2016, and serves on the Collections Committee. A Professor of History at Tulane University, Prof. Harl has written extensively about Roman provincial coins and in particular Asia Minor.

**Prof. Noel Lenski**, of Woodbridge, CT, joined the ANS in 1993 when he participated in the Eric P. Newman Graduate Summer Seminar. A professor of Classics and History at Yale University, he studied Classics at The Colorado College (BA 1989) and Classics and Ancient History at Princeton (MA, PhD 1995). Prof. Lenski focuses on Roman history and particularly the history of the later Roman Empire. He is interested in power relations as these played themselves out at all levels of society, from emperors to slaves. His research ranges

broadly across Late Antiquity and includes studies in political, military, social, economic, religious, cultural and art history. His two monographs, on the emperors Valens and Constantine, explore the limits of imperial power in light of reader response theory and life-worlds theory. He has also published extensively on the history of slavery in antiquity and is currently working on a monograph on slave law in the later Empire.

#### **Class of 2022**

**Dr. Keith M. Barron**, of Haute-Nendaz, Switzerland, is an entrepreneur and exploration geologist in the mining sector. He holds a Ph.D. in geology from the University of Western Ontario and is an Adjunct Professor there. He is Chairman and CEO of Aurania Resources Ltd., the founder and a Director of South American uranium explorer U3O8 Corp., and President and CEO of Firestone Ventures, and owns and operates a sapphire-ruby-gold mine in Montana, USA. Dr. Barron is a member of the Getty Council in Los Angeles. He received the Thayer Lindsley International Discovery Award at the PDAC 2008 convention, for his role in the discovery of the Fruta del Norte gold mine, and he was jointly named the Northern Miner's Mining Man of the Year 2008. A generous contributor to the ANS including the Library Scanning Project, and the campaign to endow the Chair of the Executive Director, Dr. Barron was first elected as a Trustee in 2013, and serves on the Executive, and Nominating & Governance Committee.

**Mr. Michael Beall**, of Richmond, VA, joined the ANS as a Full Associate in 2017, became a Life Member in 2019, and has been a generous donor. He earned his B.S. and M.S degrees in accounting from the University of Virginia. He entered the investment profession nearly 40 years ago and is currently Chairman of the Investment Policy Committee for Davenport & Co. LLC, which manages approximately \$7 billion in client assets. He regularly interacts with and advises investment and finance committees, a number of which oversee the financial matters and invest assets of not for profit organizations. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the Community Foundation for Greater Richmond and Chairman of the Board of Directors of Good Samaritan Ministries, a faith-based rehabilitation program that has been in operation for over 30 years. Mr. Beall collects Biblically related coins and historically significant ancient Greek and Roman material. He often writes, speaks, and exhibits for Church and Civic clubs on numismatic topics.

**Dr. Andrew M. Burnett**, of London, UK, was Deputy Director of the British Museum from 2002–2013, studied Ancient History and Philosophy at Balliol College in Oxford; received his MA from Oxford (1979), and his PhD at the University of London. He is author,

co-author or editor of more than 25 books and more than 100 articles and book reviews principally in the field of Roman and Roman Provincial numismatics, and has been an ANS Member since 1982. Among his many distinctions is the ANS's 2007 Archer M. Huntington Award for excellence in Numismatic Scholarship, was appointed a CBE in the New Year's Honors of 2012, and from 2013–2018 was President of the Royal Numismatic Society. Dr. Burnett was first elected as a Trustee in 2013, Second Vice President 2017–present, and serves on the Executive Committee.

**Mr. Daniel G. Cohen**, of New York, NY is Chairman of the Board of Directors of Cohen & Company Inc. and of the board of managers of Cohen & Company's majority owned subsidiary, Cohen & Company LLC. Mr. Cohen is Chief Investment Officer of Cohen & Company's Asset Management Business, President and Chief Executive of Cohen & Company's European Business, and President, director and Chief Investment Officer of Cohen & Company's indirect majority owned subsidiary, Cohen & Company Financial Limited. Mr. Cohen also currently serves as Executive Chairman of The Bancorp, Inc. and Chief Executive Officer of FinTech Acquisition Corp III. In these capacities, Mr. Cohen has overseen the financing, acquisition and placement of billions of dollars of ABS, commercial mortgage-backed securities, corporate and financial technology related assets. Mr. Cohen is a member of the Academy of the University of Pennsylvania, a member of the Visiting Committees for the Humanities of the University of Chicago, and a member of the board for the Institute for Ideas and Imagination in Paris. Mr. Cohen is also the Chairman of the Board of the Paideia Institute, which promotes classical studies, and a Trustee of the Arete Foundation. Mr. Cohen holds a B.A. in East Asian History from University of Chicago.

**Mr. David Hendin**, of Nyack, NY, has been an ANS Member since 1976, a Fellow since 1992, a Life Fellow since 2001, a member of the ABSS since 2009, was an ANS Adjunct Curator from 2010 until his election to the Board of Trustees in 2016, and has held the position of First Vice President since 2017. He currently serves on the Executive, Nominating & Governance, Finance, and Collections Committees. A specialist in weights and currency of the ancient Levant, especially Judaeian and biblical, local Roman provincial and Nabataean numismatics, Mr. Hendin is the author of *Cultural Change: Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Coins of the Holy Land* (2011), *Guide to Biblical Coins* (2010), now in its fifth edition, *Ancient Scale Weights and Pre-Coinage Currency of the Near East* (2007) and 14 other books, as well as more than 45 articles in scholarly journals and book chapters. With Andrew Meadows he edited

Ya'akov Meshorer's, *Coins of the Holy Land: The Abraham and Marian Sofaer Collection at the American Numismatic Society and the Israel Museum*. Hendin was the principal curator of the ANS's exhibit *Cultural Change: Coins of the Holy Land* at the New York Federal Reserve Bank Museum in 2010/11. He has received numerous honors including in 2013 the Gunnar Holst Numismatic Foundation Medal of the Swedish Numismatic Society at University of Gothenberg, Sweden, and has been a trustee of The Scripps Howard Foundation, The Kinsey Institute, and the American Friends of the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem. He lectures frequently on Biblical-related numismatics at educational institutions and conventions worldwide.

**Ms. Mary N. Lannin**, of New York, NY, is a noted editor of numismatic works, collaborating with authors from across the United States, Canada, and Europe. Her particular interest is in ancient Greek and Hellenistic coinage, and she actively supports the ANS's Seleucid coins digitization project. In 2014 she became a member of the Citizens Coinage Advisory Committee at House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi's recommendation, becoming chairperson of the Committee in 2015. Ms. Lannin is a former public-television producer and director (KTCA-TV 1968–1978), California winery representative (Winery Associates 1982–2000), and founding partner of Murphy-Goode Estate Winery. An ANS Member since 2010, she became a Life Member in 2012, was elected Fellow in 2015, Trustee in FY2017, chaired the MACO Committee, and serves on the Personnel Committee. She is also a life member of the American Numismatic Association, a member the New York Numismatic Club, the Royal Numismatic Society, the Swiss Numismatic Society, the Royal Numismatic Society of Belgium, the Austrian Numismatic Society, and former president of the San Francisco Ancient Numismatic Society.

**Mr. Lawrence Schwimmer**, of New York, NY, is a software engineer. An ANS Life Member since 2011, he was first elected to the Board of Trustees in 2013. Mr. Schwimmer is a supporter of ANS programs and is a generous contributor—notably to the campaign to endow the chair of the Executive Director. He serves on the Executive Committee, the IT Committee, and chairs the Collections Committee.

**Mr. Mark D. Tomasko**, of New York, NY, a retired corporate attorney, joined the ANS as a Full Associate in 2005, was voted Fellow in 2015 and elected to the Board of Trustees in 2016. He currently serves on the Executive Committee, and chairs the Audit Committee. Mr. Tomasko has donated to the ANS collection and is a generous donor to the general and annual Appeals. Mr. Tomasko is a collector, writer, and researcher on bank

note engraving, and has written many articles, given talks (including for the ANS Money Talks series), and done museum exhibits on the subject, most recently at the Grolier Club in 2017, "Images of Value: the Artwork Behind U.S. Security Engraving 1830s–1980s" with an extensive accompanying catalogue. In 2012 the ANS published the 2nd edition (revised and expanded) of his book, *The Feel of Steel: the Art and History of Bank Note Engraving in the United States*. Mark is also a book collector and long-time member of the Grolier Club where he served on the Council for three terms and still serves on many committees.

Pursuant to Article III, Section 1, of the ANS By-Laws, the Nominating and Governance Committee nominates the following one (1) Individual to serve as Honorary Life Fellow, beginning in FY2020 for vote by the Trustees at their regular annual meeting on October 19, 2019:

**Mr. Jerry Moran**, of Green Bay, WI, owner and CEO of MedalCraft Inc., in recognition for his engagement on behalf of the ANS and medallic art.

Pursuant to Article III, Section 1, of the ANS By-Laws, the Nominating and Governance Committee nominates the following five (5) individuals to serve as Fellows of the Society beginning in FY2020 for vote by the Trustees at their regular annual meeting on October 19, 2019:

**Ms. Elizabeth Hahn Benge**, of Chicago, IL, joined the ANS in 2014. A former ANS Librarian from 2008–2014, she holds the position Collection and Exhibition Manager in the Department of Ancient and Byzantine Art, The Art Institute of Chicago from 2014–present.

**Mr. Christopher R. McDowell**, of Cincinnati, OH, is the Editor of the ANS's *Journal of Early American Numismatics* (formerly *Colonial Newsletter*). A member since 2016, Mr. McDowell holds a law degree from Western Virginia University. He has written many numismatic articles and in 2015 authored *Abel Buell and the History of the Connecticut and Fugio Coinages*.

**Mr. Robert Rodriguez**, of Zepher Cove, NV, became a member in 2014 and a Life Member in 2016. He is an investor, collector and researcher of Colonial and early US coinage, and a generous donor to the ANS.

**Dr. Scott Rottinghaus**, of New London, CT, is a pharmaceutical executive and practicing physician. He became a Full Associate Member in 2007, is a supporter of ANS Appeals, and holds an interest in ancient Greek and Roman numismatics.

**Mr. Donald R. Simon**, of NYC and Portland, OR, has been a member of the ANS since 1971 and Sage Society

since 2017. He has been a coin collector since the early 1950s. His expertise is in US coinage and grading and also collects ancient coins of the Levant. His grandchildren are the two youngest members of the ANS.

Pursuant to Article VI Sections 1 and 2 of the ANS By-Laws, the Committee nominates the following individuals to serve as Officers of the Board of Trustees, for a one-year term (FY 2020), and until his or her successor shall have been elected and duly qualified, for vote by the Trustees at their regular annual meeting of October 19, 2019, or as soon thereafter as is practicable:

*Chairman of the Board:* Kenneth L. Edlow  
*President:* Sydney F. Martin  
*First Vice President:* David Hendin  
*Second Vice President:* Andrew M. Burnett  
*Treasurer:* Jonathan Kagan, Trustee Elect  
*Assistant Treasurer:* Kenneth L. Edlow  
*Secretary:* Gilles Bransbourg,  
 independent Executive Director  
*Assistant Secretary:* Kenneth L. Edlow

Submitted respectfully,  
 Robert A. Kandel, Chair,  
 Nominating and Governance Committee

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### New Library Intern

Leah Carlson-Downie, a student at the Pratt Institute School of Information, began helping us out in the library this summer, developing her cataloging skills while processing books, auction catalogs, and pamphlets. Leah has undergraduate and graduate degrees in art history and comes to us with experience working in the libraries of the Whitney Museum of American Art and Baruch College.

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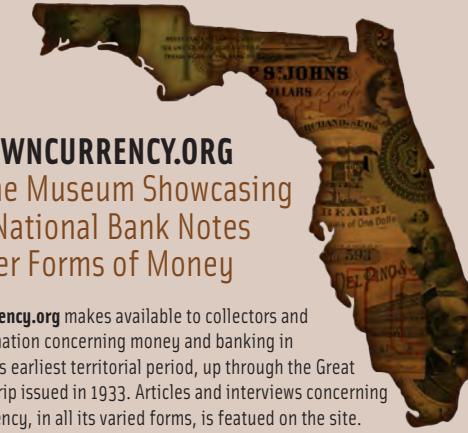
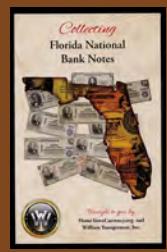
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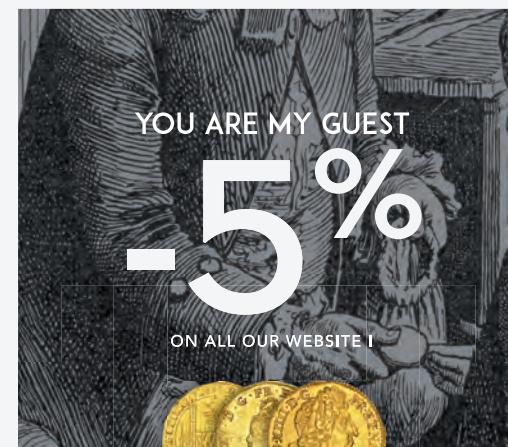
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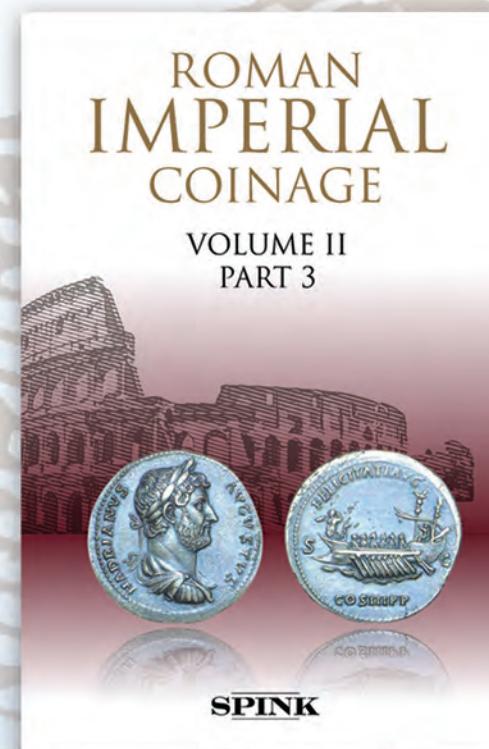


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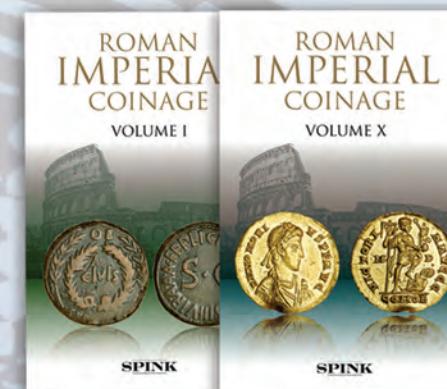
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