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If you are an advanced collector in search of a professional, fiduciary relationship, I look forward to the opportunity to speak with you.

- Joe O’Connor

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Ute Wartenberg

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The American Numismatic Society, organized in 1858 and incorporated in 1865 in New York State, operates as a research museum under Section 501(c)(3) of the Code and is recognized as a publicly supported organization under section 170(b)(1)(A)(vi) as confirmed on November 1, 1970. The objectives of the ANS have evolved into the mission ratified by the Society’s board in 2003 and amended in 2007 and 2016: “The mission of The American Numismatic Society shall be to promote and advance the study, research, and appreciation of numismatics”.

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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 moneys 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

From the Executive Director
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 Prometheus 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).1 Remarkably, 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, 5 plates) were printed in 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. Neiswinter, 2008, “Levick, Crosby, and the Plate,” American Numismatic Society Magazine vol. 7, no. 2, 60–69.

F. 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).2 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.3 Even those who accept that quantification is possible and useful bemoan the fact that die studies are so labious that it would be impossible to complete enough die studies of large enough issues to say anything


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

particularly meaningful about the ancient money supply, let alone the ancient economy. Some have sought 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 Coinage is a coinage; the types are the dies; each coin is an example.

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 deemed proficient in English and could then read normal books. In numismatics, the population is a coinage.
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 searchinfo.com. 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.

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 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. 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 350/A, 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 381) (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.

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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 RRDP—will provide users with an as-of-yet unknown amount of precise quantitative data for the period of time considered. Therefore, once RRDP 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. 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. A Citizen Numismatist initiative may be just the way to get numismatists into classrooms around the globe. Likewise, as numismatists undertake full die studies of RRDP issues, we will need to develop robust means of incorporating that data. These full die 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. Today Esty’s formulation as refined in later publications are the most widely used.8, 9 Buttery’s die-study of the denarii of P. Crepusus 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 accidently 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. RRDP, 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—Buttery and de Callatay—the former holding to a basically pessimistic position on the speculative nature of such quantification, the latter remaining largely optimistic.10, 11 These debates culminated in two conferences with corresponding proceedings published just over a decade apart.12 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 of data.


Figure 11: RRDP in action. A scanned binder page for RRC 415/1 (Paulinus Lepidus, supposedly dated to 62 BCE). Notice the double-line connecting die linked specimens (either obverse or reverse dies).
of data to produce meaningful results.14 RRDPS’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 RRDPS. 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.15 It is considerable 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 RRDPS and Crawford’s estimates have been combined with contextual evidence, the so-called ‘third element’ named by TV. Buttrey in his 2011 rebuke of de Callataigne’s quantification approach. In both the case studies here proposed, the data derived from RRDPS 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).16 To understand the popular 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 voted a grain distribution bill, and likely that same year a lex Thoria discontinued Granan land distributions and substituted cash payments instead.17 Cicero explicitly tells us that Crassus, the future consul of 93 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.18 Other Ciceroan testimony seems to characterize the foundation as primarily a defensive outpost against the Gallic threat, as does the rather fearsome reverse design.19 As well as 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 G. 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. The handling of the funds associated with colonization was certainly a very politically sensitive matter.

In 1988 Garnsey reported that Crawford estimated some 9,000,000 denarii were struck as part of the Narbo issue.20 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 RRDPS 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. RRDPS 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 actually really historically meaningful if we can have contextual evidence, the so-called “third element” named by T. V. Buttrey in his 2011

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15. See Esty 2011 cited in no. 7.
16. Key pieces of evidence include: Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum 17.2, 294 (suggestive of a date before 120 BCE), Veullius Patruco-
17. Appian, Civil Wars 1:72; Plutarch, Marius 4. On agrarian legisla-
18. See Cicero references in no. 16.
15. Roman Republican Die Studies
Of course, honors, but better translated “series of public offices”; in the late Republic being elected to this office gave admission to the Senate. Most quaestors were as-signed to a senior magistrate, a high office-holder such as a praetor or consul, and manage finances and other affairs. The quaestor urbicus would turn the bullion over to the triumviri monetales (monetary) for striking, and then he would distribute the funds as instructed (fig. 22). These monerey were young men at the 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 when this initial allocation proved insufficient and a special senatus consultum was required to authorize a magistrate, usually a moneyer, to strike a sufficient supplement.13

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 5.14 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 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).15 It seems reasonable to connect the decree at least to the Faustus issues, and, as we shall see, perhaps also to the other two issues with S-C and Pompeian themes.

On the 5th of April, by a decree of the senate, a sum of 40 million sesterii was voted 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.16 Thus if Faustus’ S-C issues correspond to the decree mentioned by Cicero then it would have to have been minted in the years 56 and 57 BCE. 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 consultula in April of 56 BCE authorizing the equivalent of 40 million sesterii for the annona. Table 4 demonstrates that Faustus’ S 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 moneyer of 56 BCE as part of the original annual allocation of bullion or older...

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

27. Varro, On the Latin Language 5.173: “In silver, there are coins called nummus, this word from the Sicilians: sestertius, because they were worth den auriis ‘ten asses of copper’, quinarius, because they were worth quin quin asses each; and the sestertius ‘sesertius’, so called because it is semis; sesertius half assay; the ‘sesertius half-ass’.” (figs. 24–25).17 If this is the case, we should expect at least part of the 40 million sesterii 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.18 Thus if Faustus’ S-C issues correspond to the decree mentioned by Cicero then it would have to have been minted in the years 56 and 57 BCE. 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 consultula in April of 56 BCE authorizing the equivalent of 40 million sesterii for the annona. Table 4 demonstrates that Faustus’ S-C coinage is insufficient on its own to represent that amount, at most it could represent a third to a half of that amount.

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and dates to 56 BCE; Hollstein follows Crawford and dates to 57 BCE. The reverse shows the sanctuary of Venus at Eryx. In Rome, ERVC above gate; moneyer: C. Considius Nonianus is not otherwise known. 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 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. Buhlmann and Alexander Wagner and published in leporello, or fold-out, book-form in Munich, 1892, titled Das Alte Rom mit dem Triumphkranz Kaiser Constantins im Jahre 312. The first temple of Juno Moneta was dedicated on the Aera, one of two platforms 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 placed next to the temple and the epithet “moneta” came to mean “money” and is the root of the English word “money.”

Figure 21: Model of Pompey’s Theater Complex by Leisha Tikhonda.

Figure 23: RRC 426/3, denarius, 56 BCE (Mitchellhut Berlin 18201847); obverse: laureate bust of Venus Victrix wearing staphane (a tiara-like crown) and necklace, scepter over shoulder, 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 staphane (a tiara-like crown) and necklace, C-CONDINI NONIAN, S.C. above head; reverse: Temple on top of a mountain surrounded by a wall with a gate, ERKC above gate; moneyer: C. Considius Nonianus is not otherwise known. The reverse shows the sanctuary of Venus at Styra. In Rome, Venus Erycina had two temples. Mattingly follows Hersch 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, 3.89 g. Classical Numismatic Group auction 383 (26 November 2016), lot 462. Obv.: laureate bust of Venus Victrix wearing staphane (a tiara-like crown) and necklace, S.C behind. Rev.: Amazon holding spear and bow of her horse, cuisses under horse’s torso, shield leaning against Amaz- on’s left leg. PC ARSSEVM M. P. around. Moneyers: P. Licinius Crassus, younger son of the triumvir, M. Licinius Crassus, co. 55 BCE. The type celebrates Pompey, his father’s co-consul this year.

Figure 26: RRC 424/1, 55 (or 56?) BCE, denarius, 3.89 g. Classical Numismatic Group auction 383 (26 November 2016), lot 462. Obv.: laureate bust of Venus Victrix wearing staphane (a tiara-like crown) and necklace, C-CONDINI NONIAN, S.C. above head; reverse: Temple on top of a mountain surrounded by a wall with a gate, ERKC above gate; moneyer: C. Considius Nonianus is not otherwise known. The reverse shows the sanctuary of Venus at Styra. In Rome, Venus Erycina had two temples. Mattingly follows Hersch and Walker and dates to 56 BCE; Hollstein follows Crawford and dates to 57 BCE.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RRC nos.</th>
<th>Dies</th>
<th>Coins</th>
<th>Singles</th>
<th>Die Estimated</th>
<th>Plus 95</th>
<th>Minus 95</th>
<th>Coverage</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>424/1 (SC)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>430/1 (SC)</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>424/1 (non SC)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>430/1 (non SC)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (denarius).

Possible Outputs | RRC Die Estimates | RRDP Die Estimates | Plus 95 (highest) | Minus 95 (lowest) |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>1.36 million</td>
<td>2.84 million</td>
<td>3.38 million</td>
<td>2.31 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>2.72 million</td>
<td>5.28 million</td>
<td>6.84 million</td>
<td>4.26 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>4.08 million</td>
<td>7.60 million</td>
<td>9.14 million</td>
<td>5.66 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>5.44 million</td>
<td>10.56 million</td>
<td>13.12 million</td>
<td>8.52 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RRC nos.</th>
<th>RRDP Die Observed</th>
<th>RRDP Die Estimates</th>
<th>RRC Die Estimates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>424/1 (non SC)</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>424/2 (non SC)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>424/3 (SC)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>424/4 (SC)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>424/1 (SC)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>430/1 (SC)</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, but just that it means that there 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, allows 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 Callataj’s quantification approach (20,000–30,000 coins per obverse die) and whether they are the ones most likely to repre- sent 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) is 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 Callataj’s quantification approach is the one most likely to tackle the actual monetary output per obverse die.

Struck coin on deposit in the treasury. However, if this is the case it would throw into question a tight connection between the senate’s 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.28 We could imagine that Pompey was in effect authorized to demand transportation services or even gain 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. Money in the Late Roman Republic. Leiden: Brill, 31–57.
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.1

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.2

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.3

2. Ibid., p. 3.
3. Ibid.
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 medalists, were 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 (1793–1877), 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;10 Antoine Bovy (1795–1877), a prominent Swiss medalist and coin designer who was also active in France, was the son of a jeweler and learned engraving from childhood.11 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.)12 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. 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 1807,13 but Raymond married his wife only in 1810.14 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**

6. Ibid., p. 5.
15. Duval, p. 17.

French Medallic Artist Raymond Gayrard

French Medallic Artist Raymond Gayrard
but stronger than poverty . . . .”24 He lived in a small fifth-floor apartment at the top of a building in the Île Saint-Louis in the center of Paris.25 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.26 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.”27

Despite his poverty, Gayrard was befriended and taught, formally or informally, by some of the most prominent sculptors and medalists 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 Drat (1749–1826), who held a chair in medal engraving at the School of Fine Arts.28

Despite his Legitimist beliefs, Gayrard’s career started strongly under Napoléon. In 1807, his first year as a medal artist, Gayrard made a portrait of the young Napoléon for the obverse of a medal with a reverse by Jefreyroux celebrating the 1796 Battle of Montenotte.29 Gayrard also made the reverse of another Napoléon subject’s expression and character.”30 In the same year, Gayrard was among the artists whose medals were “the best productions of the First Empire,”31 and the numismatist Ernest Babelon placed Gayrard with Jefreyroux, and others in “the first rank” of “the best artists of the time” who engraved Napoléonic medals struck at the Paris Mint “under the capable direction of Vivant Denon.”32

The Montenotte and Nice–Rome medals were a promising beginning for the medallic 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,”33 and the numismatist Ernest Babelon placed Gayrard with Jefreyroux, and others in “the first rank” of “the best artists of the time” who engraved Napoléonic medals struck at the Paris Mint “under the capable direction of Vivant Denon.”34

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.35 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 Mercy wrote in 1852 that the Montenotte medal was issued in 1796 and was the first medal of Napoléon. F. B. de Mercy, Études sur les beaux-arts, depuis leur origine jusqu’à nos jours, vol. 3 (Paris: Arthur Bertrand, 1855), p. 57. The relevant chapter was first published as “La gravure en médailles en France.” Re- nue des Deux Mondes, new period, vol. 14 (1852), pp. 401–33.)

22. Lévêque, p. 164.

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.”30 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 Vibilia, the patroness of highways, with an obverse portrait of the emperor by Bertrand Andrieu (1761–1822), an established artist (fig. 4).31 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 Vibilia is less modestly dressed than his ancient model.32

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22. Lévêque, p. 164.
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.28 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).29 Government commissions for medals and even marble busts were then typically 1,200–2,500 francs.30

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.31

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.32 Napoléon and his family and courtiers used tokens in games at their soirees because Napoléon did not allow people to gamble for cash in his palace.33 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,34 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.35

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 prof er 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 wise, 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 a sick child (fig. 20). Other tokens illustrate cautionary proverbs, such as “There’s no rose without thorns,” illustrated by putting picking roses and getting pricked by thorns; “Fear the deceitful snares of vain 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 at 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 in 1824; Gayrard once said, “It takes as much knowledge and intelligence as imagination to compose an allegorical figure.”36 His gaming-token designs reflect his knowledge of classical symbols and his humor and intelligence. The tokens were often restruck for sale to the public. The German numismatist Heinrich Edu ard Bolzenth wrote in 1840 of the “very successful tokens” made by Gayrard “for the use of the imperial court . . . .”37 Lévêque called Gayrard’s gaming tokens “masterpieces of ingenious invention and fine execution.”38 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.”39


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. 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.”

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. His circle of friends included the painter François Gérard (1770–1837) and the art historian Quatremère de Quincy (1755–1849). 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.

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. Woll) 50 mm.

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 Cherignard (1825–1902), drawing of a bust of Raymond Gayrard. Magasin Pittoresque, 1860. (Private collection).

Figure 30: French Medallic Artist Raymond Gayrard

French Medallic Artist Raymond Gayrard

28

French Medallic Artist Raymond Gayrard

29
French Medallic Artist Raymond Gayrard

also enabled him to officially start a family. In 1816, Gayrard married Mademoiselle Camboulas, with whom he had three daughters and three sons.49 One daughter died when she was two years old, and another, Gabrielle, when she was 19.48 One of the sons also died before their father, although this 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.49

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.50 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).51 The image of a baby strangling two serpents alludes to Hercules, the son of Jupiter and Alcmena, a mortal woman; the legend of a baby strangling two serpents also enabled him to officially start a family. In 1816, Gayrard married Mademoiselle Camboulas, with whom he had three daughters and three sons.49 One daughter died when she was two years old, and another, Gabrielle, when she was 19.48 One of the sons also died before their father, although this 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.49

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.50 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).51 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 Numismatic History of the United States of America, 1776–1876, the New York Evening Post wrote that this medal was “of the highest artistic excellence.”52 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.53

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.54 In 1824, he exhibited a monumental marble bust of Louis XVIII at the Salon.

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).55 Forrer called this medal “one of the artist’s best works.”56 At some point after beginning to make sculpture, Raymond Gayrard made a marble self-portrait bust.57 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 Rosio 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.58 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.”59 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.60

During the Restoration, in addition to numerous political medals, Gayrard made many medals for two series of medallic 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); Abelard and Héloïse, medieval lovers and love-letter writers whose physical affair ended when Héloïse’s uncles castrated Abelard (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,61

47. Ibid., p. 17.
48. Ibid., p. 77.
49. Ibid., p. 84.
53. Duval, pp. 23–24.
54. Ibid., p. 19.
55. Ibid., p. 24.
57. Lami, p. 34.
58. Duval, pp. 24–25; Lévêque, p. 163.
59. Duval, p. 117.
60. Ibid., p. 25.
61. Ibid., p. 31.
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.

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). 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. Gayrard refused to engrave a medal celebrating the 1830 revolution because of his loyalty to the Bourbons.

Gayrard did produce a number of medals and busts of Louis-Philippe during that king’s eighteen-year reign. Gayrard refused to engrave a 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).

Gayrard’s period of royal favor.

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 brass 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.”

But Gayrard was not entirely at odds with the new royal family. He had become friendly with Louis-Philippe’s mother, the dowager Duchess of Orleans, 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?”

Gayrard did produce a number of medals and busts of Louis-Philippe during that king’s eighteen-year reign. 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 Auguste Caqué (1793–1881) produced many medals for the Bourbon Restoration, the Bourgeois Monarchy, and

French Medallic Artist Raymond Gayrard

63. Duval, p. 33.
64. Ibid., p. 34.
65. Ibid., pp. 36–37.
66. Ibid., pp. 31–32, 37.
67. Ibid., pp. 35–36.
the Second Empire. Most nineteenth-century French artists were probably republicans, but most artists—especially medalists, who depended largely on official commissions—adjusted to the requirements of successive Bourbon, republican, and imperial regimes. 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 medalist 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 gov-
ernments 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 Monarch-
chy. In 1842, he visited the Bourbon pretendent, Henri V, whose birth in 1820 he had celebrated in medals and made a medal of the pretender (fig. 37). Gayrard also produced a plaster medallion of the pretendent 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 Monarchist’s police as a seditious em-
blem. These are the only known instances of Gayrard’s defying the official imagery of the French government in a more palpable time of any of his works. Gayrard’s signa-
ture on the pretender images that he made in Paris 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 Duval, p. 57.

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. Gay-

ard preferred to work for public 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 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 to 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). 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 Mercœur, 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 coffined and halff-dressed in a lion’s skin. The profile has all the pu-

rity of an ancient bronze, and there is sovereign power in the eye and mouth.”

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 Repub-

lic.74 Perhaps they belatedly recognized a subservient, royalist irony in Gayrard’s design featuring a queen who subordinated Hercules, who was a prominent sym-

bol 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 but soon descended into civil strife. The February 1848 revolution was provoked in part by an economic crisis and widespread unemployment, and the Republic es-


stablished 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 fight-


ing, forcing the Third Republic to unilaterally suppress 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 ceasefire and was fatally shot by an undisputed 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.75 As the archbishop was dying on the street in 1848, he asked the prefet-


ting of Jesus that Gayrard had done and given to him several years before he returned to the artist. 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 Gus-

tave in the battle but was not allowed to do so. Gustave survived the fighting and outlived his father.76 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 monar-


dists 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 French 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 re-

turn to Rome “as a pastor, not as an avenger” (fig. 42). De Mercœur considered “this beautiful medal” perhaps Gayrard’s “masterpiece”;77 Lévéque wrote that its por-
trait “breathes all of the charity and all of the evangeli-
cal mercy of [Pius IX’s] soul” and that “nothing is more poetically touching” than the reverse, which is “the perfection of the genre.”78 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 ad-

mirably engraved and is a perfect likeness.” The Pope praised Gayrard’s piety and sent him a gold medal from the Pope’s own collection.79

74. Launay, pp. 216, 234–35.
76. Launay, pp. 234–35.
77. Duval, p. 53.
78. Ibid., p. 68.
79. Ibid., pp. 67–68.
80. De Mercœur, p. 97.
81. Lévéque, p. 164.
82. Duval, p. 69.
In 1851, King Victor-Emmanuel of Sardinia invited Gayrard to Turin to make the king’s medallistic 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.43

Final Years Under Napoléon III
In 1851, Louis-Napoléon defined 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 Mercery 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.44

Then in 1852, Louis-Napoléon declared himself emperor as Napoleon 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 Minister 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).45 Thus, allegorical neoclassical female figures 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 Boïne, 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 Mercery 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 . . . .”46 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.”47

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.48

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.49

According to Forrer, “Gayrard was a modest man, and died beloved by all his surroundings.”50 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.”51 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 today. Gayrard’s friend of thirty years, the painter of the arts 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 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:

But, alas! all is extinguished, and cold old age comes to whiten my hair and calm my intoxication; I invoke my works and recall my age.52

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 statue of the 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.53

It was customary in nineteenth-century France to give newlyweds 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 portrait medallists, he used many of the models as perquisites. Gayrard and his wife tried, sometimes successfully, to persuade them to leave that way of life and go into convents or charitable relief homes.54

83. Ibid., p. 73.
84. De Mercery, 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.
86. De Mercery, p. 96.
87. Duval, p. 81.
88. Ibid., p. 79.
89. Ibid., pp. 81–83.
90. Forrer, p. 229.
91. Lévêque, p. 163.
93. Duval, p. 77.
Gayrard began to make statues of children when he was in his sixties. He often used the many children of a poor Jewish family as models, and he persuaded the family to convert to Catholicism. His 1845 statue of the “Pilgrim Girl of Guatemala” (fig. 49) was perhaps modeled on a child from that family. 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 revolutionist, 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. 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.”

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 it and remained faithful to it, his talent made him one of the eminent artists of his time.

Gayrard’s Style and Influence on Other Medallists
Gayrard’s Style and Influence on Other Medallists
Gayrard cannot be said to have influenced other artists less highly than Marx or Millet:

Although Gayrard modeled many of his medallists as portraits from life, “He almost always composed from live inspiration and modeled almost without hesitating.” He rejected, however, any facile “realism.”

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.

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 medallic artist who also designed a famous allegory of the Republic as 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. 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 medallists. His character and talent deserve to be remembered.

90. Ibid., p. 50.
94. Lévêque, p. 163.
95. Ibid., p. 48.
96. Ibid., p. 50.
97. Ibid., p. 48.
100. Marx, pp. 9–10.
103. Lévêque, p. 163.
104. Quoted in ibid.
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 Salus 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.1

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.2 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 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 École 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,3 where he met his first wife, Carol, also a sculptor.4 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).5

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,6 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.
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. 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 recruit 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.”

MacNeil wasn’t the Society’s first choice to design the tercentenary medal (which would, in fact, be depicted in 1924 on a U.S. commemorative half dollar marking the tercentenary of its arrival in New York’s harbor). The (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 recruit 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.”

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].) The medal committee had heard the vessel had arrived in New Amsterdam, which would, in fact, be depicted in 1924 on a U.S. commemorative half dollar marking the tercentenary of its arrival [fig. 5].

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].) The medal committee had heard the vessel had arrived in early May, and, though it was already February, they hoped that the medal could be ready that spring, a tight deadline. 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. A bigger problem was that MacNeil was about to head out west for an extended trip, making the completion of a medal in 1924 unlikely anyway.

One factor working against the medal’s success was that it was a bit of a retreat. 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.”

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). 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 Medalion 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].)

Despite the uncertainty regarding historical dates,

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8. Sydney Noe to MacNeil, January 26, 1920, General Correspondence.
10. ANS Minutes, February 8, 1924, 3.
11. Sydney Noe to MacNeil, January 24, 1924, General Correspondence.
16. MacNeil to Sydney Noe, April 15, 1924, General Correspondence.
17. Sydney Noe to MacNeil, May 20, 1924, General Correspondence.
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 1626, for example.21 He asked Noe to “designate as clearly as possible the epoch you would like represented.”22 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 medallic treatment” anyway.23

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 Manhattan 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 of what Minuit and others in exchange for some tools, wampum, and other items does exist.24 (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, detailed accounts concocted as needed. Depictions of the deed for the purchase of Staten Island by 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 Manhattan 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 of what Minuit and others in exchange for some tools, wampum, and other items does exist.24 (Then again, what such transactions actually meant to the native inhabitants is still a matter of historical debate.)

Meanwhile, MacNeil was becoming increasingly dissatisfied with his own design, longing to broaden its focus. By the beginning of 1925, there was some concern at the ANS that MacNeil had forgotten about his obligations to them.25 He assured them he hadn’t. In fact, he had prepared some sketches in wax.26 Noe went up to Queens to have a look, and MacNeil sent in a couple of photographs of the designs (fig. 12).27 Having seen what MacNeil had in mind, Noe sent him a rubbing of 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 they would have been outfitted in fur robes signifying a high status (fig. 9).28

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 hobbled 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. 11).29 A subject reappearing decades later on a medal he did for the Society of Medalists (fig. 11).30

MacNeil had pretty much abandoned American Indians as a subject for his sculptural works by 1910,31 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 obligations to them. He assured them he hadn’t. In fact, he had prepared some sketches in wax. Noe went up to Queens to have a look, and MacNeil sent in a couple of photographs of the designs (fig. 12). 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.”32 This was likely of the Tiffany commercial tercentenary medal.

21. MacNeil to Sydney Noe, April 15, 1924, and September 23, 1924, General Correspondence.
22. MacNeil to Sydney Noe, September 25, 1924, General Correspondence.
23. Sydney Noe to MacNeil, October 3, 1924, General Correspondence.
25. Peter Douglas, “Illustrating the Manhattan Purchase,” _New Netherland Institute, newnewtherlandinstitute.org_.
Hermon MacNeil’s Medal


Figure 10: 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 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 8: The Moqui Prayer for Rain, Hermon MacNeil, 1895-96 (this cast circa 1897, photograph courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978.513.6).

Hermon MacNeil’s Medal


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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 transfixed by a trident with an inscription in Phoenician (fig.1). The image of Melqart also characterizes a coin type of Sexi, 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—Arcorokata, Belkiom, Bibilis, 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 Alcaun, Euстиhiakula, Kelse, Saetales, and Seteisken—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 Castlona 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 infusorata on the obverse and a bull with crescent on the reverse, as well as the Iberian ethnikon 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 present 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 transfixed by 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 a Army Civil War Campaign Medal (fig.12). It was first authorized in 1895 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.

Collections

Elena Stolyarik

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. Sexi. 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. Belkiom. 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. Osbila. Bronze coin, last third of 2nd century BC. Ex Archer Huntington collection, HSA 23895. (ANS 2019.2.1084, 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) 25 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 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 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 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 enamels delegates badge of the Society of Colonial Wars, 1899. Ex Lee E. Bishop Jr. collection. (ANS 2019.17.15, purchase) 74 × 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, 1896, 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.

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 American 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 DOCERO · INQUOS · VIAS · TUAS · ET · IMPHI · 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 in 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.

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.

A gift of great rarity came from former ANS President and Honorary Trustee, Roger S. Siboni: a Sommer Island enamel medallion. In 1609, a ship carrying colonists to the new colony of Jamestown in Virginia was shipwrecked on the coast of Bermuda. 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
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. From 1809 his family moved to Potsdam in Saint Lawrence County, New York, where he was educated at the Potsdam Academy. 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 (1452–1519), in three interlocking parts, by Kauko Räätänen, 1974. (ANS 2019.1.1. gift of Jay M. Galst) 60 mm.
Collections

(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 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. The obverse of this medal shows African American troops moving forward in battle with an inscription reading FERRO IIIS 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 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).

A full study of the Byzantine and Hospitaler 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 Hospitaler 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) fills a very real void, cataloguing and discussing 3,354 Byzantine and Medieval coins found on Rhodes and referring to 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 Hospitaler 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 Follis (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 scarcity of finds that have prompted scholars to draw conclusions about 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 counterfeit 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, evidence adduced by the author shows that Seljuq dirhams could and did circulate on the island.

The third chapter (85–128) deals with “The Hospitaler 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 previous 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 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 Hospitaler 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., billets, deniers and oboles) in the fourteenth century. The content of the hoards, both dominated by anonymous Hospitaller oboles and including a significant proportion of imperial coins, for even twice, leads the author to suggest that the hoards represent coins recalled for reworking. From the hoard material Kasdagli convincingly deduces three distinct ratios. The first brought in deniers for overstricking as oboles, second recalled oboles for overstricking (and presumably revaluation) with “chummy” 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 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.

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 Hospitaler material, which has long been an area of close interest for Kasdagli. Her treatment of the Hospitaler 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 valuable, especially that of Athens. Kasdagli’s catalogue 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 in Rhodes and Cyprus. It is especially important that it will push future publications to reach for a similar high calibre of analysis and discussion.


The catalogue (205–281) describes the Byzantine and Medieval coinages found in the database of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese up to 2014. This includes the material from the two Hospitaler hoards that play such a crucial role in Kasdagli’s discussion of minor coin issues of the fourteenth century and account for almost half of the coinage. It is extremely laudable that the vast majority of the hoarded 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 tracheae), 146 local issues of the thirteenth century (nos. 1151–1167), 147 Hospitaller coins, and 224 foreign Medieval coins (nos. 3134–3354) are listed. A set of appendices and maps (145–204) place the coin finds in their contexts.

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 comparable.
NEWS

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 the Study of the Ancient World, from the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, who directed the study of a series of coins of Southern Arabia; Tine Rassalle, 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 Oxford, who reexamined hoards of Boiotian coinage; and Georgios Tsolakis, a PhD candidate at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient Word (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.

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(6) 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 B.A. 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 Study of Antiquities. 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 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 Judea and the Roman Emperors who ruled at that time. He is a member of the ANA, Gesher Galicia and the Lehigh 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 1995 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 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 late antiquity and life-worlds of religious 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

Mr. David Hendin, of Nyack, NY, has been an ANS Adjunct Curator from 2010 until his election to the Board of Trustees in 2016, and has held the position of President since 2017. He currently serves as Executive Chairman of The Cohen & Company Financial Limited. Mr. Cohen is Chief Investment Officer of Cohen & Company's indirect majority owned subsidiary, Cohen & Company LLC. Mr. Cohen is a member of the Academy of the Sciences, a member of the Board of Directors of Cohen & Company and serves on the Executive Committee.


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 MedaCraft 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 Bengston, of Chicago, IL, joined the ANS in 2014. A former ANS Librarian in 2015-2016, 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 of the ANS since 1971, he began his PhD work at the University of Virginia. He has written many numismatic articles and in 2015 authored Abel Buell and the History of the Connecticut and Pogo 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 U.S. coinage, and a generous donor to the ANS.

Dr. Scott Rutte, of New Haven, CT, is a pharmacetical 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 NY, and Portland, OR, has been a member of the ANS since 1971 and Sage Society 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–1890s" 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.

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News

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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In 2014, with a very generous seed grant from ANS Trustee and Life Fellow Dr. Howard Minners, the American Numismatic Society began its efforts to endow the curator position for Medieval and Renaissance numismatics. Today the endowment stands at approximately $562,000.

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This is a great opportunity to support the significant work already being done in this area of numismatics and for the work planned for the future. Medieval and Renaissance coinage is an exciting and too often overlooked part of the magnificent ANS collections, and we are thrilled that some of our most passionate supporters have taken up its banner.

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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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Obv. Three conjoined hearts below Celestial clouds with the name of Jehovah in Hebrew.

Legend: ♦ VINCTA ♦ CORDA ♦ FIDELVM (The hearts of the faithful united)

Rev. Crowned fleur-de-lis and rose above Belgic Lion.

Legend: ♦ CONTRA ♦ VM ♦ TIRANNVM ♦ 1609 (Against the violence of Tyrants)

v.Lit. 50.4.M.I.1, 1982/2, JMP 1953, T.M.P 1901 page 130, silver, 50.06 grams, 51.5 mm.

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