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Dear Members and Friends,

Napoleon is arguably the most famous Frenchman in history. Far fewer people know he was born Genovese, therefore Italian. Corsica, his island birthplace, had belonged to the Republic of Genoa for many centuries, until given to the French King Louis XV in 1768 to administer. It was effectively occupied the following year, the same year Napoleon was born. France only officially declared sovereignty in 1789. It is a true pleasure to feature in this issue a fascinating contribution by ANS Fellow Prof. Clive Foss on the coinage of Napoleon in Italy.

Jumping ahead a little over a century and across the ocean to America, long-time ANS editor Oliver D. Hoover explores the complicated and sometimes tragic links between money and famed science-fiction author H. P. Lovecraft. In this issue, David Hill, our Archivist and Librarian, also tells us the story behind the digitization of the letters of legendary coin dealers Harry and Hudson Chapman, thanks to the generosity of the Newman Numismatic Portal. As always, you will be pleased to learn about our recent acquisitions presented by ANS Collections Manager Dr. Elena Stolyarik and to hear that among them are new holdings from the Abraham Sofaer Collection, as well as from the former collection of Archer M. Huntington and of the Hispanic Society of America.

Most importantly, ANS Chief Curator Dr. Peter van Allen offers a profile on Dr. Ute Wartenberg and a sincere appreciation of her extraordinary achievements during her 20 years at the helm of the ANS.

I would like to add some personal thanks: first of all, to our estimable Trustees, to whom I gratefully owe my unanimous appointment as the new Executive Director of the Society, and to Ute, who has provided all of us with such a model of accomplishment and stewardship. My move into this position would not have been possible without the strong support of the ANS staff. I wish to thank them all tremendously.

To our members goes my unreserved gratitude: without you there would simply be no ANS. I have been traveling across the country for several years now, meeting many of you not just in New York, but in Baltimore, Scottsdale, Dayton, Philadelphia, and Chicago, a list of places that continues to grow with each new year. It is a constant pleasure discussing and exchanging views about our common love for numismatics, and its related fields of finance, economics, visual arts, political and cultural history.

Finally, let me add words of thanks for my adopted home. I began my profession career in economics and finance and came to numismatics relatively late in life, as a result of academic research on the Roman economy. In Europe, there is, too often, a general lack of acceptance for people who wish to take a different path at some point in their professional life. Changing course is frequently viewed as the result of failure. I have experienced nothing but support for my change of path here. It may sound like a cliché, but in my experience the United States of America remains a land of opportunities. I feel truly grateful for this country’s open culture and acceptance of foreigners, which ultimately has given me the privilege of serving you.

I hope that together we will move ahead building on what has been accomplished during the Society’s long history, and most notably under Ute’s outstanding leadership. Thank you for your support. As a not-for-profit institution, we belong to you. You are the ANS.

Gilles Bransbourg

Gilles Bransbourg
THE COINAGE OF NAPOLEON’S ITALY: From Autocracy to Liberty and Back Again

Clive Foss

Napoleon, who created the greatest empire in Europe since the fall of Rome, is famed for his battles—in Egypt, Central Europe, or Russia—as well as his civic reforms: the law code, and the reorganization of France, and the conquered territories. Yet his success and reputation derived from his lightning victories of 1796 in Italy. They led to French domination of the peninsula that lasted until the fall of his Empire in 1814. This brief epoch had long-range effects in terms of the role of church and state, law, politics, public works, and general reorganization of society. It falls into three parts: the Revolutionary (1796–1799) when radical ideas flourished; the Consular (1799–1804), a time of consolidation when Napoleon had achieved supreme power; and the Imperial (1804–1814), grandiose, oppressive, and standardizing. Each period was a time of division as Italy continued to consist of varying numbers of distinct states. Most of them struck coins that reflect changing regimes and ideologies, from the exuberance of the Revolutionary to the unvarying Imperial. This article will attempt to put the complex coinage into an historic context, and to hope to resolve some natural confusion, for example: what is the difference between Cispadane and Transpadane, Cisalpine and Subalpine, Italian and Roman republics? Each one has a distinct meaning, reflected in the coinage.

On March 2, 1796, the young but experienced general Napoleon Bonaparte was given charge of the Army of Italy, to lead a diversionary attack through northern Italy against France’s chief antagonist, Austria. Napoleon arrived in his headquarters, on March 23, to find a dispirited, underpaid, and underfed force. He rapidly reorganized troops and supplies and proceeded against the allied forces of Austria and its ally, the north Italian state of Piedmont (whose ruler bore the title of King of Sardinia). Napoleon crossed the Apennines west of Genoa and within a month defeated the Piedmontese so badly that they withdrew from the war. He now moved against the Austrians who controlled Lombardy, the center of the north Italian plain, which he conquered by mid-May (fig. 1).

Meanwhile, the French government ordered an attack on the Papal States. Napoleon rapidly took Bologna (June 19, 1796) and forced Pope Pius VI (fig. 2) to consent to French occupation of the papal Legations of Bologna and Ferrara (the part of his territories north of the Apennines, so called because they were ruled by cardinals sent out as legates by the Pope) and to pay a huge indemnity of 15,000,000 lire in gold and 100 masterworks of art. More fighting in the north (January 1797) marked the end of effective Austrian resistance in Italy. Napoleon now resumed his attack on the Pope, who signed a new treaty (February 19, 1797) that officially surrendered the Legations. The next month, the French forces crossed the Alps, descending on Austria whose emperor had little choice but to make a preliminary peace (April 18, 1797) that obliged Austria to recognize Napoleon’s conquest of Lombardy.

Napoleon’s rapid victories gave him control of the Austrian Duchy of Milan, which in August 1796 became the General Administration of Lombardy, essentially a French military occupation. In October, Napoleon turned it into the Transpadane (“Beyond the river Po”) Republic, a civil regime, with its headquarters in Milan, the largest and richest city of Italy. Despite its size and wealth, the Transpadane issued no coins.
The conquests created new states and brought new coinages that reflected the policy and propaganda of the revolutionary regimes. They began in Bologna, which Napoleon proclaimed as a republic when he occupied it in June 1796. He restored the ancient autonomy that the city had lost to the Popes and put its senate in charge. Bologna, which had a long history of prolific coin production (second in the Papal states only to Rome), struck a full range in silver and base metals.

The silver 10-paoli (or scudo) had the following type (fig. 3):

**Obv.:** POPVLVS ET SENATVS BONON P10 1796 or 1797. Arms of the city with alternating quarters of LIBERTAS and a cross.

**Rev.:** PRAESIDIVM ET DECVS, Madonna and child on clouds over the cityscape.

This was a very unusual coinage. It was less “revolutionary” than the other Napoleonic issues, being the only one to bear a religious image. In that, its reverse seems a compromise with the papal tradition while the LIBERTAS of its obverse proclaims reform, with the Senate figuring prominently. The name of the Pope is conspicuous by its absence. These coins were struck in large quantities over a longer period than their dates indicate, hence their many varieties.

On October 16, 1796, at Napoleon’s urging, Bologna joined with Ferrara, Modena and Reggio, which had also proclaimed their independence, in proposing a Cispadane (“On this side of the Po”) Confederation of all four. In January 1797, this was formalized as the Cispadane Republic, an independent Italian state, with a democratic constitution much like the French, an army, and a novel flag of three broad stripes—red, white, and green—modeled on the French revolutionary banner (this is still the Italian flag) (fig. 4).

The Cispadane did not have an easy life. A complicated electoral system undermined the democratic constitution, while severe conflict between conservative landlords and clerics and the liberals and revolutionary masses became endemic (as in most of these states). The situation was made much worse by the French who were aggressively secular and who systematically looted everywhere they went. Napoleon was so incensed by the results of the elections of April 1797, manipulated by the aristocracy and clergy, that he transferred Modena and Reggio to the Transpadane and suspended the Cispadane parliament, calling another to meet in Milan. The Cispadane did not issue any coins.

Napoleon soon decided that a strong independent state in northern Italy would best serve as a buffer against neighboring enemies and a base for French power. He therefore created a new Cisalpine Republic on June 29, 1797. The Transpadane and Cispadane joined it in July, becoming part of a state that stretched from the Alps to the Adriatic. The new state had the usual French-style republican constitution and French civil law that established equality of all citizens and abolished aristocratic titles and privileges. The Cisalpine had its own army, whose officers, like the civil officials, were all Italian. It was recognized by the Pope and even the Austrians. Unfortunately, it suffered from social and economic problems, made worse by a treaty imposed by Paris in February 1798 that increased financial and military demands. Despite its size and importance, the Cisalpine Republic issued no coins in this period.

During the last stages of the campaign in northern Italy, Venice abandoned its neutrality and actively joined the Austrians. No sooner had he made peace with Austria than Napoleon turned his fury on the republic, whose ancient oligarchic regime surrendered on May 31, 1797, on terms that stripped the state of much of its wealth, fleet and works of art. In the definitive treaty of Campo Formio (17 October 1797), however, Napoleon turned Venice over to Austria whose troops entered the city on 18 January 1798. This was some compensation for conceding the west bank of the Rhine to France, and recognizing the Napoleon's Cisalpine and Ligurian republics (fig. 5).

The Ligurian Republic, based in Genoa, traditional rival of Venice, was another of Napoleon's creations. He had intervened in a revolutionary situation in Genoa to impose a democratic regime on June 9, 1797. In September, after further troubles, French troops occupied the city, establishing a provisional government that became the Ligurian Republic on January 17, 1798. In a little over a year, Napoleon had completely transformed the map of Italy and brought France's most powerful foe to its knees.
During Napoleon's absence, new troubles had arisen in Italy when a riot in Rome killed a French general. The Directory sent the Army of Italy which entered the Holy City on November 12, 1798 (fig. 9), and proclaimed the Roman Republic, sending Pope Pius VI into exile in France, where he died on August 29, 1799. The French looted Rome mercilessly, carting off paintings, sculptures, manuscripts, and books, and stripping the wealth of the churches. The relentlessly secular Republic provoked widespread misery since so much of the population had depended on the Church for its livelihood. The resulting riots and revolts shook the French hold on the city. On November 26, 1798, Rome fell to the armies of Naples, who did more looting before French forces returned on December 10, restoring the republic that was to last another year, till September 29, 1799, when the eternal city was taken by an allied coalition that included Austria and Russia.

The numismatics of the Roman Republic (February 1798–September 1799) are complicated because of the large number of mints involved. The Republican issues followed an outburst of papal coinage in at least 17 new mints, especially in 1796 and 1797. Many of them suffered from an acute shortage of small change exacerbated by the constant movement of troops who, like the population, needed coins for their daily transactions.

Further complication comes from the political situation. In January 1798 French troops overran the papal lands and set up provisional municipal governments, which maintained a local autonomy till they joined the Roman Republic, at varying times after it was proclaimed on February 15. In this period, a few cities (Fermo, Foligno, Gubbio, Macerata, and Pergola) issued their own coinage, for example, Fermo (fig. 10): Obverse: REPUBBLICA ROMANA, figure of Liguria seated left, holding spear and shield. Reverse: Denomination and name of mint, with or without date, usually in wreath.

Subsequently, under the Republic, Rome and ten smaller mints produced copper coins, most of them of the 2-baiocchi denomination, sharing common images and inscriptions (figs. 11–12):

Obverse: REPUBBLICA ROMANA, often in wreath, fasces with liberty cap
Reverse: Denomination and name of mint, with or without date, usually in wreath.

In addition, Rome and two other mints (Ancona and...
The coinage is remarkable for the absence of any reference to religion, the Church or the Pope. Toward the end of 1798, when France was under attack from Austria, Britain, and Russia, the Directory asked for support from the King of Sardinia. When he refused, French forces occupied Piedmont, forcing the king to take refuge in Sardinia.

Piedmont, like Venice, was a special case, having only a provisional government under French military control. Established in December 1798 and lasting until May 1799, it produced two denominations in silver, a half and a quarter scudo, dated to 1799. They give no indication of the region’s status (fig. 14):

- Obverse: LIBERTA VIRTU EGUAGLIANZA, Liberty holding the fasces crowned by a cap of liberty, mountains in the background
- Reverse: ANNO VII REP I DELLA LIBERTA PIEMONTESI around MEZZO SCUDO (QUARTO DI SCUDO) in wreath.

Only the South, ruled from Naples by the Bourbon Ferdinand IV, remained independent, but not for long. Late in 1798, the king renewed war against France. He managed to take Rome, but was soon driven out, only to face a revolt and civil war in Naples. On December 21, he rushed off to Sicily, leaving the radicals in charge. After a confused period of civil war, the French entered the city and on January 23, 1799, proclaimed a republic. With that, French control of Italy seemed assured.

The Republic of Naples issued a bimetallic coinage in two types in 1799, silver 6- and 12-carlini (fig. 15):

- Obverse: REPUBLICA NAPOLETONA, Liberty with staff, cap and fasces
- Reverse: ANNO SETTIMO DELLA LIBERTA around CARLINI DODICI (QUATTRO DI SCUDO) in wreath.

The coinage was not destined to last long. People celebrating the seventh (or first) year of liberty in 1799 might have believed that the liberal regimes supported or installed by the French were there to stay. If so, they were in for a sudden disappointment as the whole edifice of Liberty collapsed faster than it had been built. War began again on Christmas Eve 1798 with the formation of a new coalition led by Austria and Russia.

The rapid successes of Napoleon and the creation of new republics obscured the reality that the French were seriously overextended. They controlled the major cities, but even there had to face popular resistance—especially led by the Church and traditional ruling classes—as well as economic problems made worse by the looting and indemnities the French extracted. The network of republics rapidly succumbed to a determined foe.

Between March and August 1799, the allied armies drove out the French. They took Milan on April 27, and a month later Turin. In northern Italy, only the powerful fortress of Mantua held out. Blockaded since April, the French defenders finally surrendered on July 31. During the siege, the city had issued an emergency coinage in billon in 10- and 5-soldi denominations (fig. 17):

- Obverse: ASSEDIIO DI MANTOVA ANNO VII R around fasces with liberty cap
- Reverse: X SOLI DI MILANO in wreath

Elsewhere, on June 19, the last French defenders of the Neapolitan republic surrendered to King Ferdinand. The French evacuated Rome on September 19, leaving their rule to the allies, who held it until July 2, 1800 when a new pope, Pius VII, resumed control of the papal domain. By then, in April 1800, the allies had begun a blockade of Genoa, the sole surviving republic. Its French defenders surrendered in
June. The entire Napoleonic edifice had collapsed; the brief age of the revolutionary republics was at an end.

The allies had not counted on Napoleon who rapidly turned the tables. In May 1800, he brought his army across the high frozen Alps and advanced on Milan (fig. 18), which he took on June 2. On the 14th, his decisive victory at Marengo determined the fate of northern Italy. Turin fell on the 20th and Genoa on the 29th. A truce after Marengo recognized the new situation. In the north, France controlled Piedmont, Milan and the Legations, while Austria ruled the former territories of Venice. In the center and south, the Papal States were reinstated, because Napoleon wanted to reconcile the church, and Naples returned to its king whose friendship with Russia dissuaded Napoleon from further aggression. In the treaty of Luneville (February 9, 1801), the Austrian emperor specifically recognized the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics.

Consular
From 1799 till 1804, Napoleon ruled France as First Consul; his image began to appear on the French coinage in 1802 but it was absent from the Italian issues, where some of the republics continued their precarious existence, maintaining the images of liberty and independence, images that were increasingly meaningless. Nevertheless, although Liguria issued the same types as before, the Cisalpine and Piedmont produced some real novelties.

The Cisalpine Republic, restored after Marengo, was run so badly that Napoleon summoned a constituent assembly which met in Lyons and transformed the Cisalpine into the Italian Republic on January 26, 1802, with Napoleon as its president By that time, it had issued two curious coin types, both in silver:

Scudo (1800) (fig. 19):
Obverse: ALLA NAZ FRAN LA REP CISAL RICONOSCEN TE, figure of the Republic standing before a seated France
Reverse: SCUDO DI LIRE TRE 27 FRATILE ANNO VIII in wreath

3 soldi (1801) (fig. 20):
Obverse: REPUBLICA CISALPINIA SOLDI 30 around allegorical female bust
Rev: PACE CELEBRATA FORO BONAPARTE FONDATO ANNO IX

These are very rare examples of commemorative coins in this series. The first (fig. 19), inscribed “to the French nation, the grateful Cisalpine republic” celebrates the armistice that followed the battle of Marengo, dated by the French revolutionary calendar (in its Italian incarnation) 27 Prairial yr. 8 = June 14, 1800. Its neo-classic personification of the Republic and France is probably the most elegant of the whole Italian series.

The smaller piece (fig. 20) commemorates the peace of Luneville (February 1801) and the foundation of the Forum of Napoleon, a vast open square in the heart of Milan, with a stadium and—a typical Napoleonic touch—a triumphal arch (figs. 21–22). These two types usually appear in excellent preservation, raising the question of whether they circulated as a regular coinage.

The Cisalpine’s successor, the Italian Republic, probably the richest and best-run state in Italy at the time, never issued coins at all, but only a series of patterns in all three metals and a range of proposed denominations.

The Ligurian republic, which had been occupied by the allies for less than a month, showed the greatest continuity. Under the new constitution Napoleon granted in October 1801, the city’s traditional ruler, the doge, was still nominally in charge though the French commissioner really ran the state. Coinage in three metals continued with the unchanged types of 1798. However, a new copper denomination, a very small 3-denari, was struck in 1802:

Obverse: R L A V [repubblica Ligure anno V] 1802 around large 3 D
Reverse: a cross, no inscription.

The Austrian emperor had to recognize the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, but no mention was made of the Piedmont, under military occupation since the fall of Turin on June 20, 1800. Its numismatic history is curious, consisting of one type each of gold, silver and bronze:

20 francs gold (1801, 1802) (fig. 23):
Obverse: L’ITALIE DELIVREE A MARENGO, helmeted female bust
Reverse: LIBERTE EGALITE ERIDANIA around 20 FRANCS and date in wreath

5 francs silver (1801, 1802) (fig. 24):
2 soldi bronze
Obverse: GAULE SUBALPINE, figures of Liberty and Equality embracing
Reverse: LIBERTE EGALITE ERIDANIA around 5 FRANS L’AN 9 (or 10)

2 soldi bronze (1801) (fig. 25):
Obverse: NAZIONE PIEMONTESE around SOLDI DUE in circle
Reverse: LIBERTA EGUAGLIANZA around archipendolo (a level) crowned with liberty cap, L’AN 9 below
The gold coin, familiarly called the “Marengo,” commemorated Napoleon’s decisive victory. It makes no mention of Napoleon, but employs only the unusual designation Eridania, based on the Latin name for the river Po. The silver also bears this name as well as the equally novel Subalpine Gaul. Both have further peculiarities: their inscriptions are in French (not Italian) and they are struck to a French standard, using francs instead of local currency. These are the first decimal coins struck in Italy. The scudo evidently saw some use, for it commonly appears in very fine condition, but is rare in the higher grades. The bronze, though, enjoyed heavy circulation, for it often turns up badly worn.

On July 8, 1800, just weeks after the occupation, the French commissioner decreed that all acts of the state should be in the name of the “Nazione Piemontese.” On November 12, the government ordered the striking of five million copper 2-solidi pieces (fig. 26). They are the only ones that bear the official name of this puppet state.

“Subalpine Gaul” never had any real independence or international recognition. In April 1801 it was placed under direct military rule and on September 11, 1802 annexed to France, the first of the Italian regions to be absorbed by the metropolis. Turin, Piedmont’s capital, became a mint for the standard French coinage.

Imperial
Napoleon’s image, absent from the Italian coinage, first appears on the French coins in 1802. At that time, he was First Consul, but everything changed after May 18, 1804, when he was proclaimed Emperor. The imperial era brought fundamental change to Italy—and to its coinage, where the word “Liberta” and the abstract figures that represented disappear. Not content with only the imperial title, Napoleon put on the ancient iron crown of Lombardy on May 26, 1805. With that, the Italian Republic became the Kingdom of Italy, and Napoleon, its king, had an official place in the Italian hierarchy, so far dominated by republics where he held no office. Napoleon entrusted the Kingdom to his stepson, Eugene Beauharnais, who ran it successfully until the end of the Empire in April 1814. The kingdom was prolific in its coin production, which began in 1807 and consisted of 12 denominations struck in large quantities at Milan and Bologna. Like the other coins of this period, they revert to the traditional type, with the ruler on the obverse and the arms of the state on the reverse.

The gold and silver shared a common type (figs. 27–28):

Obverse: NAPOLEONE IMPERATORE E RE and date around bare-headed bust r.
Reverse: REGNO D’ITALIA and denomination around coat of arms
Fractional silver and copper displayed a crowned instead of arms on the reverse, while the billion 10 centesimi had a crowned N as its device.

Napoleon won his greatest victory at Austerlitz on December 2, 1805, among the results was the cession of Venice and its territories to the Kingdom of Italy, for which Venice became a mint

The remaining years are marked by nepotism and consolidation, with many of Napoleon’s numerous siblings named to rule the Italian states that remained after major areas were annexed directly to France.

In 1804, the Ligurian senate requested annexation to France. Napoleon agreed; on the day of his coronation in 1805, the Ligurian Republic ceased to exist. It became a department of France and Genoa a mint for regular French coins.

Central and northern Italy also contained three small states (Modena, Parma, Lucca) and one substantial one (Tuscany), all under Austrian rule or influence until Napoleon arrived. Modena was the first to go, joined to the Caspadian Republic in 1797. Parma followed when its grand duke died in October 1801. Lucca maintained a precarious independence during the wars in Italy, when it had been periodically occupied and consistently exploited. On June 29, 1805, Napoleon, responding to the city’s request for a ruler from his family, appointed his sister Elisa and her husband Felice Baciocchi. They ruled successfully until the emperor’s abdication in 1814 and struck silver and copper from 1805 to 1808 (figs. 29–30):

Obverse: FELICE ED ELISA PP DI LUCCA E PIOMBINO, conjoined busts right.
Reverse: PRINCIPATO DI LUCCA E PIOMBINO around denomination in wreath, date below.

Tuscany’s independence lasted longer than Lucca’s. Austria gave it up by the treaty of Lunéville (February 1801) in favor of the Spanish Bourbons who ruled nominally (with the usual French garrisons and looting) until Napoleon imposed direct French rule on December 10, 1807. The Bourbons issued an abundant coinage with the name and image of their rulers.

Napoleon had left King Ferdinand in control of Naples, but when he openly sided with the English, Napoleon sent an army which entered Naples on February 14, 1806, bringing with them its new king, Napoleon’s elder brother Joseph (fig. 31). Two years later, on July 7, 1808, Joseph was transferred to be king of Spain, replaced in Naples by his brother in law, the successful...
general Joachim Murat, who was obliged to take the name Napoleon (fig. 32). He proved to be an able ruler, distinguished by his colorful dress and coiffure—he was called the “dandy king.” On January 11, 1814, seeing the handwriting on the wall, he deserted Napoleon and joined the allies, but during Napoleon’s Hundred Days, returned to his old loyalty, hoping at the same time to lead an Italian nationalism. This lacked support and he was finally executed by King Ferdinand on October 13, 1815.

Joseph struck only silver (fig. 33):

Obverse: JOSEPH NAPOLEON D G VTR SICIL REX, head l.
Reverse: PRINC GALLIC MAGN ELECT IMP around arms; date and denomination below

Murat’s coins were issued in nine denominations and several types from 1809 to 1813 (figs. 34–36). The 5-lire piece bore his head and coat of arms:

Obverse: GIOACCHINO NAPOLEONE, head r., date below
Reverse: REGNO DELLE DUE SICILIE, arms, 5 LIRE below
The gold and minor coins had on the reverse the name of the denomination in a wreath

Napoleon had kept Pius VII in power after his Italian victories of 1800, and even brought him to Paris to officiate at his coronation in 1804, but relations soon deteriorated, culminating when French troops entered Rome on February 2, 1808. They took over of the government, arrested the Pope and sent him into exile. Finally, on May 17, 1809 the papal state was annexed directly to France. Rome became a mint for French coins.

The map of Italy in 1810 was very different from what it had been when Napoleon arrived on the scene. Now, there were fewer states and the Emperor and his family had them firmly under control. Piedmont, Genoa, Tuscany, and Rome formed parts of France. Lombardy and Venice were under Napoleon’s own Kingdom of Italy, administered by his stepson. His brother-in-law Murat ruled the large kingdom of Naples, his sister Elisa the preceding, culminating when French troops entered Rome on February 2, 1808. They took over of the government, arrested the Pope and sent him into exile. Finally, on May 17, 1809 the papal state was annexed directly to France. Rome became a mint for French coins.

The Coinage of Napoleon’s Italy

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One of the small states, Parma, had a kind of Napoleon-onic afterlife when the victorious allies of 1814 assigned it—as the duchy of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla—to Napoleon’s second wife, the Austrian princess Marie-Louise (fig. 38). She reigned until 1847 and struck coins in ten denominations and three metals on the French standard: silver 5-lire (figs. 39–41):

Obverse: MARIA LUIGIA PRINC IMP ARCID
D’AUSTRIA and date, bust facing l.
Reverse: PER LA GRAZ DI DIO DUCH DI
PARMA PIAC E GUAST and denomination around coat of arms, which on the gold is in a circle.

Imperial rule brought order and standardization. The multiple Italian denominations, with their varying weights and sizes, yielded to a universal French decimal system adopted in the annexed territories, the Italian kingdom and Lucca and finally spreading to Naples in 1811. Not surprisingly, though, it was not popular with Napoleon’s successors whose states mostly reverted to their traditional standards. The notable exception was the house of Savoy in Piedmont which used the decimal sys-
tem consistently from 1816, as did Marie-Louise’s Parma. The government of Rome finally switched to it in 1866, and the revolutionary regimes of 1848 in Venice and Lombardy struck on the French standard as part of their politi-
cal message. For most rulers of Italy, though, the memory of Napoleon and his reforms was not a happy one.
MONEY AND MYTHOS: Coins and Currency in the Works of H. P. Lovecraft

Oliver D. Hoover

Endless Opportunities
I was recently given the great opportunity to work on the catalogue indices for the Medallic Art Company (MACO) medals purchased by the American Numismatic Society late last year (Fig. 1). This involved many hours looking over thousands of medal types with the associated information about artists, cities, and the institutions and individuals who ordered their production from the MACO. When faced with a large project of this kind, the first response of most serious numismatists is to pull up a favorite playlist on iTunes (most commonly involving Mozart or AC/DC), and dive right in. This time, however, I took a different tack and decided to listen to audiobooks in the background for a slight change of pace. After listening to the Histories of Herodotus and the majority of Plutarch’s Parallel Lives I discovered that it was possible to find audiobooks of more obscure modern authors that I recalled from my youth, but had not really read since my teens and early twenties. One such author was Howard Phillips Lovecraft (August 20, 1890–March 15, 1937), whose short stories are not really like anything else before or since in terms of their style and content (Fig. 2). I thought I was just going to hear some memorable stories, but as the reader moved through Lovecraft’s complete works I discovered that a number of the stories made specific references to money—something I had never noticed before since the last time I read them I had not yet fallen into a career in numismatics. Since it would surely be wrong to keep such a discovery to myself, the following pages present the monetary references and attempt to offer a numismatic literary analysis, considering what coin information may or may not have been available to Lovecraft.

About the Author
Although I have discovered over the years that there are more than a few numismatists with a taste for Lovecraft stories, some readers will perhaps be unfamiliar with the reclusive Rhode Island author. He wrote on a variety of literary and scientific subjects in his youth, but H. P. Lovecraft is best known for his weird fiction—a somewhat murky subgenre of speculative fiction often combining elements of mystery, horror, fantasy, and science-fiction. The subgenre is commonly considered to have been pioneered in the United States by Edgar Allan Poe (1809–1849). In Lovecraft’s own words, 

The true weird tale has something more than secret murder, bloody bones, or a sheeted form clanking chains according to rule. A certain atmosphere of breathless and unexplainable dread of outer, unknown forces must be present; and there must be a hint, expressed with a seriousness and portentousness becoming its subject, of that most terrible conception of the human brain—a malign and particular suspension or defeat of those fixed laws of Nature which are our only safeguard against the assaults of chaos and the daemons of unlimbed space.1

Beginning in 1916, and picking up pace in 1919 and the years that followed, Lovecraft’s fiction was published in a variety of amateur press journals and pulp magazines like Weird Tales and Astounding Stories in the 1920s and 1930s (Fig. 3). His most enduring contribution to weird fiction, in addition to his generous encouragement of numerous other young writers—most notably Robert E. Howard (the creator of Conan the Barbarian) and Robert Bloch (the author of Psycho)—is the

creation of the Cthulhu Mythos. This term, coined only after Lovecraft’s death, refers to a series of stories often set in and around the fictional Massachusetts city of Arkham (a fictionalized version of Salem) and usually featuring the discovery of plots to restore various alien god-like beings, known as the Great Old Ones, who had once held power in times before the advent of human-kind, but were subsequently imprisoned in the lonely places of the earth, at the bottom of the sea, and in the vastness of space. Trademark features of these stories are the verbose descriptions, often archaic language and spelling (e.g., “shew” for “show”), the bizarre and well-nigh unpronounceable names of the Great Old Ones (e.g., Cthulhu, Yog-Sothoth, Shub-Niggurath, Azathoth, Nyarlathotep), and the mention of the Necronomicon—a fictional medieval grimoire containing forbidden knowledge about the Great Old Ones and their minions still at work in the world.

The Cthulhu Mythos, which Lovecraft himself jokingly described as “Yog-Sothothery,” had a way of taking on a life of its own, with many of his literary correspondents (“the Lovecraft Circle”) writing their own stories building on the themes and especially the outré names and books that populated his own work. The best illustration of this development is probably the literary “duel” between Robert Bloch and H. P. Lovecraft. In 1935, Bloch published “The Shambler from the Stars,” a story culminating in the death of a “mystic dreamer” after Lovecraft’s works began to slowly shed their cult status and develop more general literary credibility. The gradual emergence of Lovecraft as a legitimate figure in modern American literature continued in the 1960s and 1970s, Lovecraft’s alien deities, particularly the octopoid Cthulhu (Fig. 4), from whom the Mythos derives its name, have been seeping into popular American culture. At present, one may purchase plush toys or children’s coloring books related to Cthulhu from mainstream retailers while simultaneously reading academic articles about what this may mean (Fig. 5). During the 2016 U.S. election the cynically minded could join a movement fueled by filmmaker Guillermo del Toro calling for the election of Cthulhu as president on the speciously grounds that voting for the greater evil should be given a chance for a change. Most recently, Cthulhu was mentioned in an opening sketch for The Late Show with Stephen Colbert (first aired September 5, 2019), presumably with the expectation that the bulk of the viewing audience would be familiar with the name.

Show Me the Money

H. P. Lovecraft’s personal relationship with money was complicated and perhaps even tragic. He was born into a wealthy and aristocratic family in Providence, Rhode Island, on August 20, 1890. However, the various business interests of his grandfather, Whipple Van Buren Phillips—the source of the family wealth—began to fail in 1904. Phillips himself died of a stroke soon after. This was a serious blow to the financial security of young Lovecraft and his mother...
Sarah Susan Phillips since his father had already died in a psychiatric hospital in 1898 and it was not an age when respectable women took employment. A further blow came from the mismanagement of Sarah Susan’s inheritance ($5,000), by her ne’er-do-well brother, Edwin Everett Phillips, in 1911. Until the death of Sarah Susan Phillips in 1921, mother and son survived on what remained of their inheritances (H. P. Lovecraft had received $2,500 from his grandfather’s estate). After her death, Lovecraft’s inheritance continued to decline and he attempted to eke out an existence by selling stories to the pulp magazines and by revising or ghostwriting for other authors. His failure to complete high school due to bouts of atypical depression and chorea had prevented him from gaining a higher education and made it difficult for him to find more lucrative employment. Lovecraft’s peculiar personal character also worked against his ability to better his financial situation: In 1923, the publisher of *Weird Tales* offered to hire him as editor, which should have been Lovecraft’s dream job, but the 34-year-old author declined to accept because it would have required him to move to Chicago, pointing out “the tragedy of such a move for an aged antiquarian” like himself. The job subsequently went to Farnsworth Wright, who later habitually refused first submissions of Lovecraft’s work. This development damaged both the author’s tenuous finances and his frail sense of self-worth. Lovecraft’s finances continued to deteriorate through the 1920s and 1930s and at times he found himself forced to choose between the price of a meal and the price of postage to maintain contact with his many correspondents. He chose the postage. At last, on March 15, 1937, he died from intestinal cancer, his inheritance all but used up.

Notwithstanding these lifelong difficulties in relation to money, coins, and currency (most frequently old) are mentioned in several of Lovecraft’s stories as an integral part of the plot, a device to build unsettling atmosphere, or simply as part of the detail-oriented narrative style. A review of the instances in which money is mentioned can raise interesting questions regarding the level of Lovecraft’s numismatic knowledge and his potential sources.

“*The Terrible Old Man*” (1921)

Not generally considered one of Lovecraft’s finest early works, “The Terrible Old Man” was written on January 28, 1920, and was published in the July 1921 issue of the amateur press publication *The Tryout*. This very short story tells of the attempted robbery of a mysterious “very old and very feeble man” of Kingsport (a fictionalized version of Marblehead, Rhode Island) “who has no account at the bank, and who pays for his few necessities at the village store with Spanish gold and silver minted two centuries ago.” The robbery goes...
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5. Santiago de Chile began its milled coinage in 1751, Lima in 1752, Guatemala City in 1754, Santa Fe de Bogota in 1759, and Potosi in 1767.


awy and the bodies of the criminals are later found by the seashore, wounded “as with many cutlasses.” The implication here is that the old man was really a pirate as old as his gold who had extended his life through supernatural means.

The description of “Spanish gold and silver minted two centuries ago” combined with the pratical themes in the story would lead any numismatist to immediately think of the gold eight-escudos and silver eight-reales—the respective doubloon and piece-of-eight of traditional pirate lore. Likewise, the numismatist would most probably think first of the cob coinages produced at the Spanish-American mints to be carried back to Spain aboard the Treasure Fleets if they could avoid plunder by pirates (Figs. 6–7). Spanish-American cob coinage is distinguished by the irregular shapes of the flans obtained by cutting the end (cabo in Spanish, from which the English word “cob” is derived) off a gold or silver bar and by the imperfectly hammer-struck types. However, in 1732, the mint of Mexico adopted the screw press to produce circular and well-struck milled coins, including the popular “pillar dollar” eight-reales (Figs. 8–9). Gradually the other Spanish-American mints followed until all cob coin production came to an end in 1767.

Although someone with numismatic background would probably be aware that Spanish-American cob coins were the primary booty carried off by English and Anglo-American pirates plying their dubious trade in the Atlantic in the so-called Golden Age of Piracy (1650–1720), it is not so clear that this would have been well known to an individual outside of numismatic circles in 1920. There is no indication that Edwin Everett Phillips, who included coin dealer among his various odd jobs, passed on any numismatic knowledge to his nephew. Likewise, Lovecraft’s personal library, which was catalogued only after his death in 1937, contained no titles dedicated to any aspect of numismatics.

In 1841, a little less than 60 years before “The Terrible Old Man,” they seem somewhat more plausible to the newspaper reporter in 1841 would have had them difficult to pass as money, particularly after 1857, when a new Coinage Act repealed the status of foreign gold and silver coin—especially the Spanish dollar—as legal currency in the United States. milled Spanish-American coins, which had similar size, regular round shape, and mechanized production process to U.S. gold and silver coins of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century presumably would have made them somewhat more likely than cobs to pass in commerce in 1920. Evidently there were still one or two eighteenth-century milled coins floating around when improvements made since the days of our fathers, in the coinage of money.” Whatever cobs had circulated in the Anglo-American colonies in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century must have disappeared fairly quickly after July 1, 1793, when they ceased to be recognized as legal tender in the young United States. They were clearly beyond the memory of newspaper reporters in Maine 48 years later. Thus one tends to suspect that cob coinage would have been largely beyond to ken of the average person in the early twentieth century as well.

Taking this evidence into consideration, it seems somewhat more likely that Lovecraft was thinking of Spanish-American milled silver and gold. New England was no stranger to the pillar dollar, which circulated widely in the eighteenth century. The ubiquity of the coin may be gauged by an Act of January 26, 1749/50 that established the value of the pillar dollar in relation to the paper money issued by the Province of Massachusetts Bay and by the deposit of dollars to back the 1750 emission of New Tenor Massachusetts paper money. The new notes are denominated both in English pence and in dollar fractions. Likewise, the December 23, 1758 Act for the issue of paper Lawful Money by the Colony of Rhode Island gives the total value of the issue in both English pounds and dollars. Indeed, the popularity of the pillar dollar in North America was not limited to New England alone. The Spanish-American milled denomination ultimately became the model for the U.S. silver dollar first struck in 1794 (Fig. 10).
Lovecraft was writing. A hoard of U.S. paper money and gold coins sealed into the wall of a house in Seymour, Connecticut, in 1932, and found in 1950 is said to have included gold coins dated 1750. Since a date this early shows that the coins in question cannot have been from the U.S. Mint at least part of the find is likely to have consisted of Spanish-American milled pieces.

A third possibility is that Lovecraft was entirely unaware of both cob and milled Spanish-American coins and that the coins of the Terrible Old Man are less specific imaginings based on general pirate lore. Stories of English pirates and the plunder of the Spanish Main were a staple of adventure literature of the late nineteenth century, most notably Robert Louis Stevenson’s classic Treasure Island (1883), and Rhode Island had its own local history as a hotbed of piracy in the seventeenth century, both of which could have contributed to the formulation of the “Spanish gold and silver minted two centuries ago.” However, none of the Rhode Island historical works in Lovecraft’s library touch on piracy in the colony, nor does he seem to have owned a copy of Treasure Island, although he had Stevenson’s Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde (1886) and a variety of collections including Stevenson’s stories. Of course, there is no way to tell what he may have read from the Providence public library.

One wonders whether the entry for “Numismatics” in the ninth edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica—a reference work that he is known to have mined for elements in other stories—might have provided a visualization for the Terrible Old Man’s coins. It notes that, “During the 18th century—amidst centuries of other centuries was one of the most widely circulating currencies in the West” and provides a plate illustration depicting a milled 1660 eight-reales of Philip IV from the mint of Segovia in Spain (Fig. 1). If the encyclopedia entry served as a source, then the “Spanish gold and silver minted two centuries ago” imagined by Lovecraft was rather historically inaccurate. Eight-reales like that illustrated in the encyclopedia were produced at Spanish mints primarily for use in Spain and Europe and were not commonly found on ships plying the Atlantic, unlike the cob eight-reales and pillar dollars of the Treasures Fleet that were regularly targeted by English and Anglo-American pirates. They likewise do not appear in recorded North American finds. The only European Spanish coins that traveled to the New World with any frequency were the debased two-reales known in the Anglo-American colonies as “pieces” (Fig. 12)—and no pirate was looking for them. When they first arrived in Massachusetts in 1750, they were held almost three years before they were permitted to enter circulation as a form of small change. “Their debased silver guaranteed that they would not be hoarded and would continue to circulate.”

“The Dunwich Horror” (1929)

The element of sinister old money from “The Terrible Old Man” returns almost a decade later in “The Dunwich Horror” (1933) of the core stories of Lovecraft’s Cthulhu Mythos. It was written in 1928 and published in the April 1929 issue of Weird Tales. The tale is often considered one of Lovecraft’s best due to its rich atmosphere and skillful building of tension towards a shattering climax. It tells the story of a degenrate rural Massachusetts family composed of Lavinia Whateley; her unmarried father, simply known as Old or Wizard Whateley; and her monstrous children, the humanistic Wilbur Whateley and an invisible behemoth kept alive behind the closed doors of their modified farmhouse. Old Whateley buys cattle from surrounding farms in order to secretly feed the monstrousity, always paying “in gold pieces of extremely ancient date.” Wilbur continues to expend these coins for buying cattle and to hush up enquiry about mysterious disappearances in the area after the death of his grandfather. Later investigative work reveals the mysterious gold coin. The already disturbing situation comes to a head after Wilbur is killed while attempting to steal a copy of the Necronomicon from the library of Miskatonic University, a fictional institution probably based on Brown University in Providence and no one is left to feed his brother. The hungry creature at last bursts from its prison and runs amok among the neighboring farms. The monster is killed but it is only revealed and is banished from human reality through the arcane knowledge of Dr. Henry Armitage, the chief librarian at Miskatonic University.

With respect to the money mentioned in the story, it is necessary to ask what would have been considered an “extremely ancient date” in 1928? On June 30, 1841, the Castine deposit of the seventeenth-century coins was described in the Worcester (MA) Palladium “as a quantity of ancient coin.” If roughly 200 years is the gauge for antiquity in a New England context, as seems to be the case for the lovecraftian “Old Man,” then it seems probable that Old Whateley was buying his cattle with Spanish-American milled gold coins of the eighteenth century. On the other hand, one could imagine the earliest U.S. gold $10 eagles and $5 half-eagles (Fig. 12) and perhaps even the preceding issues of 1779-1804 (Fig. 14) as having an air of antiquity in 1928. In this year the most current U.S. gold coins were the highly artistic quarter- and half-eagles designed by Bela Lyon Pratt (Fig. 15) and double eagles designed by Augustus Saint-Gaudens (Fig. 16). Old U.S. gold might have had a better chance of acceptance early than old Spanish-American gold by petty sellers of cattle in 1828, given the fact that foreign gold coins ceased to have legal tender status in the United States in 1857. Of course, if Old Whateley’s gold “of extremely ancient date” was being accepted in payment solely on the basis of its bullion value, then there is little to bar his use of Spanish-American milled gold coins, or even cobs, although as we have seen, there is no indication that Lovecraft would have been aware of the distinction.

“The Shadow over Innsmouth” (1936)

Money is also briefly mentioned in “The Shadow Over Innsmouth,” a novella written by Lovecraft over the course of November–December 1931, but which did not see publication until 1936. Initially rejected by Weird Tales, it was first published in book form by William L. Crawford’s Visionary Publishing Company in 1936. Weird Tales later reprinted the story in the May 1942 issue (Fig. 17). Like “The Dunwich Horror,” “The Shadow Over Innsmouth” is a core Cthulhu Mythos story. As the tale unfolds, the narrator, Robert Olmstead, travels through parts of West Massachusetts into a pact with an ancient race of humanoids undersea beings known only as the Deep Ones. In return for sacrifices and interbreeding with the human population, the Deep Ones provide the people of Innsmouth with plentiful fish and peculiarly formed gold jewelry in order to support them. The hybrid children of the town are born with a fully human appearance, but over time they develop bulging eyes, greyish skin and, at last, coldness in middle age. At this point they abandon their lives on land and enter the ocean to join their non-human parents and relatives.

Whereas old coins are tools for setting the mood in “The Dunwich Horror” and integral to the piratical atmosphere of “The Terrible Old Man,” when money appears in “The Shadow Over Innsmouth” it is from born inn- dane. In order to reach Innsmouth from Newburyport, Olmstead, pays 60 cents to take a lonely bus, “extending the bus driver a dollar bill and murmuring the single word ‘Innsmouth.’ He looked curiously at me for a second as he returned 40 cents change without a word.”

9 Klieberg, Numismatic Finds, no. 871.


Figure 20: United States of America. Silver quarter-dollar. Philadelphia mint, 1892. (ANS 0000.999.6295) 24.3 mm.

Figure 23: United States of America. Silver dime. Philadelphia mint, 1916. (ANS 0000.999.4849) 17.9 mm.


Figure 25: United States of America. Cupronickel five-cent. Philadelphia mint, 1916. (ANS 1944.49.64, gift of H. E. Gillingham) 21.2 mm.
Money and Mythos

The price paid for the skull of Ibidus combined with the year of the purchase is very interesting. The silver guilder (from Dutch guilder) denomination only began to be struck continuously by the Dutch provinces of Holland and West Friesland in precisely 1680. This new coin featured an obverse depiction of Athena holding in her right hand a lance resting on a bible and topped by a liberty cap while resting her left hand on a shield emblazoned with the lion of the Dutch Republic (Fig. 29). It is possible that Lovecraft here uses “guilder” merely as a Dutch unit of money without having any familiarity with the actual coin—previously the guilder had been a unit of account, except for the period 1544–1558, when it had been struck as a coin. As a denomination, the guilder may have been known to Lovecraft from his historical interest in colonial America. After all, Manhattan Island was famously purchased from its indigenous inhabitants for the value of 60 guilders in 1626, more than five decades before the introduction of the silver guilder. However, the coincidence of the 1680 date of the transaction between the Dutch trader and the Pequots in “Ibid” seems to imply that Lovecraft had some knowledge of the silver coin.

Unfortunately, there is little evidence to suggest that silver guilders of 1680 or even later date actually circulated in New England or North America. They have not been reported by archaeologists or metal detectorists, nor are they listed in valuation schedules of the Colonial period. Indeed, the 1680 guilder is a very rare coin anywhere today. In contrast, several multiples of the guilder did see circulation in North America: ducatones of three guilders (Fig. 30), rijksdaalders and ducats of two and one-half guilders, and debased leuwenudaalders (Fig. 31). This last denomination may have passed at times as two guilders since its value tended to fluctuate with values ranging between 36 and 42 Dutch stuivers. Forty stuivers made up two guilders. While there seems little probability that Lovecraft was aware of any of these Dutch multiples, his apparent knowledge of the first year of the silver guilder is tantalizing. Presumably he must have obtained this information from a numismatic publication, although precisely what (a sale or collection catalogue) and the means by which it came into his hands is very much unclear.

Conclusion

Coins and texts have long gone hand-in-hand for the study of the ancient world. The present brief foray into what might be justly described as “weird numismatics” serves to show (shew!) that coins and currency may also potentially open new avenues for literary criticism, raising questions about sources and authorial knowledge, as well as providing added context.

“lbid” (1938)

Perhaps the most remarkable mention of money in a Lovecraft story occurs in “Ibid,” a spoof college paper written in 1927 or 1928. However, it was only published a year after Lovecraft’s death, in the January 1938 issue of O-Wash-Ti-Nong, a Michigan amateur publication. The “paper” recounts the life and posthumous adventures of the well-known and oft-cited Ibid, which turns out not to be the usual abbreviation of Ibidem (“in the same place”) used to indicate a work already cited in a footnote or endnote, but rather the cognomen of the fictional Late Roman rhetorician Canus Ancius Magnus Furius Camillus Emilianus Cornelius Valerius Pompeius Julius Ibis. In the Middle Ages, his exhumed skull was treated as a saintly relic, and in later times it traveled to New England as a family heirloom. It subsequently passed into the possession of the Pequot tribe who sold it to a Dutch fur trader for two guilders in 1680.

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12. Previously the guilder had been a unit of account except for the period 1544–1558 when it was struck as a silver coin.

In 1983, the children of legendary coin dealer Henry Chapman Jr. paid a visit to the ANS (fig. 1). His daughters, Helen, Henrietta, and Jane, and his son, Joseph, came up from Pennsylvania to see an exhibit of materials relating to their father, mostly items they had donated the previous year. A highlight was the original manuscript, galley proofs, page proofs, and bid book for the celebrated John Story Jenks collection, Henry’s “magnum opus.” When the Society first learned that the family was thinking of making the donation, director Leslie Elam and librarian Frank Campbell wasted no time and went right down to the greater Philadelphia area to meet them. A genial exchange of letters followed, and the whole experience must have left a positive impression on Henrietta, because in 2002, after her death, the Society received a substantial set of early Chapman Brothers correspondence from her estate.

At various times over the years, these letters, now filling about 12 large boxes, have been straightened, organized, alphabetized, and otherwise processed in various attempts to improve access. Unfortunately, as long as the letters were kept in envelopes, they remained difficult to use (facing page). Researchers had to guess which ones might be worth looking at, unfold them to find out, and then refold them before moving on. But now, thanks to work being carried out at the ANS on behalf of the Newman Numismatic Portal, the correspondence is finally being made fully accessible. Lara Jacobs, a technician with the Internet Archive, has not only been rehousing the letters, making them easier to use in person, but has also been scanning and putting them online, where they become instantly available to researchers throughout the world. Lara finds many items of interest as she goes about her work, and I am indebted to her for letting me know about all of the fascinating things she finds.

The letters mostly begin in 1878, the year Henry Chapman Jr. (fig. 2) and his older brother Samuel Hudson (“S. H.”) Chapman (fig. 3) started their coin business, and the bulk of them end about the time the two went their separate ways businesswise in 1906. It’s always fun to rummage around and get lost in old correspondence. There are all kinds of interesting things to discover, including photographs (fig. 4). Sometimes it’s the little details that transport you to a different time—like when a doctor uses cocaine to treat S. H.’s wife’s afflicted toenail. Sometimes it’s the unique characters you encounter, like the vaudevillian Al Emmett Fostell, who wrote to the Chapmans about some medals and other collectibles (fig. 5). You learn a lot of new things, too, for example that the Chapmans’ employed the noted photographer Edward Bierstadt—brother of the Hudson River School painter Albert Bierstadt—to print some of the plates for their catalogs (fig. 6).

Lara hasn’t processed all of the letters yet, but she has reached the letter C, and this is where you will find the correspondence filed under “Chapman.” These were mostly generated as the brothers, along with their

2. ANS Chapman accession records.
3. S. H. Hudson to Henry Chapman Jr., undated (ca. 1899?), letter begins “Mr. and Mrs. Jayne came over.”
mother and father, wrote to each other, with the occasional aunt, uncle, and cousin thrown in. They give us a more intimate look at the Chapman family than anything else available. The first thing you notice are the mannerisms associated with their Quaker heritage, like the use of “thee” and “thou” in their letters to each other and the use of numbers instead of names for days of the week—“last fifth day” instead of “last Thursday,” for example. The other thing that stands out is how the family addressed the brothers. Professionally, the two were always S. H. and Henry Chapman Jr., but to their family, they were Hudson and Harry.

Their father, Henry Chapman Sr. (1827–1907), is well represented in the letters. Numismatic researcher John Lupia has suggested that it was Henry Sr. who first got into the coin business. He arrived in the United States from Dublin, Ireland, in 1848 and at some point went into tea packing. He later became a money broker, making him “more or less a coin dealer,” according to Lupia, who wonders if a correspondent signing off as “H. C.” in Mason’s Coin and Stamp Collectors’ Magazine might have been Henry Sr., perhaps showing an interest in coins as early as 1868. Firmer evidence of his early numismatic activity is a patent for a coin cabinet filed under his sons’ names in 1872. The cabinet seems to have been Henry Sr.’s modification of a printer’s case designed by his half brother. The boys would have been only 14 and 12 at the time.6

Henry Sr.’s business concerns would remain entangled with those of his sons. He sometimes borrowed money from their company to fund his other ventures.7 In the 1870s, Henry Sr. filed patents for a centrifugal machine used to dry grains, again under the names of his young sons.8 He sold these machines but also worked them himself, drying the leftover grains of brewers to resell as animal feed (fig. 7). Much of the earliest family correspondence, dating from 1880, was sent by him from New York City, where he had factories doing this work and where he was trying to put together deals with brewers. He had been told by one of them, George Robinson of Yuengling, that if he wanted to crack the market in the Northeast, he needed the blessing of Henry Clausen, founder of the U. S. Brewers’ Association.9 He eventually got it,10 but the endless ups and downs tore at him. One week he would wire home, “all

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fixed, all settled, no more doubts or fears.11 Then later, when the brewers failed to show up for a demonstration of his grain operation, he would be anguish: “I wish the struggle was over.”12 But overall, it appears his business thrived. Five brewers paid $10,000 for stock in his company and for the use of his machines.13 Orders were coming in for hundreds of bags of grain,14 and his centrifugal machines were also selling.15

Unfortunately, Henry Sr.’s wife, Jane, comes off as a rather tragic figure in the letters. There are many reports of her fluctuating health and of the effects of different climates on her condition as the family traveled around, Jane often confined to a “rolling chair.”16 She adored her sons, and when Henry Jr. was getting ready to come back from an extended business trip in 1889 his mother could barely contain herself, becoming “almost overcome with the excitement” contemplating his return.17 So when Henry decided to stay overseas a little longer, it did not sit well with his older brother: “I do not approve of it and am astonished given the circumstances of mother’s ill health.” S. H. let Henry know that when their mother heard the news, “her face fell.”18 In the letters, there is talk of lumps and pains in her chest, but when S. H. described her condition to a doctor in Boston, he was assured it likely wasn’t cancer, giving her husband hope that she “will come all round right again.”19 Jane Chapman did hold on for a couple more years, but she died in 1891 at the age of 63.20

11. Henry Chapman Sr. to Jane Chapman, April 6, 1880.

The Chapman brothers made a name for themselves.
numismatically in June 1882 with their work on the Charles Ira Bushnell collection, which, they claimed, had their rivals “driven frantically jealous by the success of the catalogue and the sale.” 21 S. H. had visited Bushnell two years earlier, writing to tell his brother about having examined 50 trays of his medals and coins as well as two safe boxes full of rarities, which included a Good Samaritan shilling and a Brasher doubloon. S. H. asked the venerable old collector how much he thought it all might be worth. Bushnell told him that he once had considered it to be worth $15,000. He estimated that with about $3,000 of that coming out in auction expenses, he stood to clear $12,000, an amount far less than he would have considered selling it for in the past. He told S. H. that he preferred to sell it privately rather than at auction, unless it was sold first and then listed as having been formerly his property. The Chapmans already had a buyer in mind: collector and multimillionaire George Parsons of Columbus, Ohio. 22 But Bushnell died three months later before any progress could be made. The collection was then acquired by Lorin Parmelee, who consigned it to the Chapmans.

Apparently the Chapmans and Parmelee began discussing the terms of the sale pretty much as soon as Bushnell died, and the Chapmans took no chances when it came to their own interests in these negotiations. When a misunderstanding about fees arose with Parmelee, Henry carefully made a transcription of their conversation. The gist was that Parmelee claimed S. H. had told him he would catalog the collection for a 15% commission. “He never said that,” Henry told him. “So as I know he always said 20% and he would never think of doing it for that.” S. H. later confirmed that Henry was right. 23 There was also some trouble when it came time for Bushnell’s son to turn over his father’s collection. When the Chapmans and Parmelee examined the rarities, they found two to be missing, pieces worth about $700. Bushnell refused to either deduct the figure from the total or supply the coins, leading S. H. to conclude that they meant to “cheat us out of them.” 24 Bushnell said if they didn’t like it, they could simply forgo the collection entirely, offering them a $50 reimbursement for expenses. They refused, grumbling, “a bigger fraud we never experienced.” Parmelee blamed his rivals in Boston, particularly dealer William Elliot Woodward, who he suspected was conspiring with Bushnell. Parmelee ultimately decided that the matter wasn’t worth losing the whole collection over, 26 and S. H. agreed. The brothers concluded that at $9,000, the amount Parmelee was paying, he would do all right even without the missing rarities. 27

Henry’s 1889 trip abroad had him bouncing around dealers in all the big European cities—London, Paris, Amsterdam, Cologne, Frankfurt, Dublin. He sold coins he brought with him and acquired others to send home for resale. And he became so overzealous with his purchases that his brother had to apply the brakes, telling him to “stop buying foreign coins or ancient coins altogether.”

But some coins he sent back generated excitement. One was a 1625 Spanish 2Pence (faro) (lot number 223) from their Bushnell sale (fig. 8).30 Sydney Martin, in his book on Rosa Americana coins, lists up to 12 currently known specimens of the 1724 twopence.31

For secrecy and as a way to save money (since telegram fees were tallied by the word) the brothers had worked up a code to be used during Henry’s travels (fig. 9). It substituted the names of fruits, colors, and furniture for other words and phrases. It irritated S. H. when Henry Jr. neglected to use the code when he ran out of money. “You had the code and could have telegraphed for six words,” he scolded.32 Some of the code words related to his travels were quite specific. The word “Grey” for example, meant, “Dr. Andrew said [she] is losing ground and you had better prepare to return.”33

Henry’s 1889 trip wasn’t about coins. There are numerous references to an oil painting he was trotting around trying to get authenticated, for example. In fact, the Chapmans’ dealings with paintings is a landmark, “and it is infinitely more enjoyable.”42

Earlier that same year, S. H. wrote to tell his brother that he had purchased a portrait of Washington by Charles Willson Peale only to learn later that it was actually painted by Jacob Eichholtz.38

The Chapman brothers had other kinds of collectibles, too. In August, 1889, he bought a 1796 five-cent piece (silver dollar) including two 1804 dollars (one of which is now part of the ANS collection), turned to the Chapmans when he wanted a section of a Revolutionary War-era chain that had once been stretched across the Hudson River to protect against British incursion, asking them, “Can you not get me two pieces of three links each, or at least one piece of three links?” Ellsworth got into a bit of a row with the brothers over another piece of memorabilia, a broadside, he bought from them. He had been led by their description of it to believe that it would come with a signed letter from Theodore Roosevelt. When that turned out not to be the case, he told them, “If I am going to do business with you, I expect to get something that I don’t have to bargain about and I don’t have any transactions whatever with you.”

Henry had more to do with business than his mind during his 1889 trip. He was also looking for a wife. One prospect was the vivacious and worldly Mammie Charles, who was staying in Paris at the time, growing bored of it, and making plans to escape to London. She had a “love of a picture,” and the letters show she was in Paris for the boy’s parents, but also for herself. The words “no my darling, never.”54 Henry Sr., who lived with the grandmother, referring to her “horrendous temper.”44 “So the girls are concerned as the younger man gave incessantly repeated

Henry Jr. was pushy. At the end, saying his son “will act as he has never acted before.”55 He promised to continue his practice of sending “liberal cigarette boxes” to his customers, who, he wrote, “can expect the same quality as the “many other firms” who were in similar businesses in the old company’s letterhead, crossing out references to the old company name.56

The Chapman brothers split their business—with mutual consent—in 1906. Henry Jr. wrote up a multiple circularness with the same number, spelling “different than preceding years,” noting that it was “no my darling, never.”54 Henry Sr., who lived with the grandmother, referring to her “horrendous temper.”44 “So the girls are concerned as the younger man gave incessantly repeated

Henry Jr. suffered a great loss during the period covered by the letters, the death of his only son at the time, Henry Chapman III, who died at the age of three in 1901. The only mention I’ve seen so far regarding his death came from Henry Sr., who talked about how hard it had been for the boy’s parents, but also for himself. The words “frightens me for his mental capacity,” he told S. H. "He nearly fainted," the store's president told the mother when she asked if her son had had of course no idea you would send him a lot of coins representing more than he would make in a year.”

S. H. Chapman has been credited as a pioneer in the production of photographic plates for the Chapman auction catalogues. There are letters in which he expresses his excitement about acquiring and experimenting with photography. In August, 1889, he wrote to S. H. that he had recently gone up in a balloon at the World’s Fair in Paris held that year. It went “100 feet higher than the Eiffel Tower,” she said, referring to the city’s new landmark, “and it is infinitely more enjoyable.”

When Henry reported back home that he was no longer interested in Miss Charles, his brother was relieved. She was another woman, Florence, and when things didn’t work out with her, S. H. was again pleased, this time referring to her “horrendous temper.”44 “So the girls are concerned as the younger man gave incessantly repeated

Henry Jr. even took it to the beach at the New Jersey shore, hiding the camera in his bathing suit and snapping pictures of “bathers in the surf.” His subjects remained unaware, but the noise of the hidden contraption did startle those near him.56

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On October 31, 2019, Ute Wartenberg ended her tenure as Executive Director of the American Numismatic Society, a position she held for over two decades, overseeing two monumental relocations, a fundamental revitalization of the ANS, and the serious expansion of the Society’s innovative online initiatives. Her decision to step away from ANS administration had been years in the making as she had long wanted to return to research, one of her primary passions. As former Deputy Director Dr. Gilles Bransbourg now takes the helm of the ANS, Dr. Wartenberg will continue to stay on as a full-time Research Curator, while also serving as Curator of the Amastris Collection, a private collection of Greek coins.

Prior to joining the ANS, Dr. Wartenberg had already built an academic reputation, with a focus on ancient Greek coinage. After her education in Saarbrücken, Germany, she went to Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar and was awarded a doctorate in papyrology. Subsequently, from 1991 to 1998, she worked as Curator of Greek Coins in the British Museum in London. Her publications to date include over 50 books and articles on papyrology and numismatics, including Coins Hoards VIII and Coin Hoards IX (with Andrew Meadows), After Marathon: War, Society and Money in Fifth-Century Greece; and The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Vol. LXIV. Among her many honors and academic awards are the Ehrenpreis der Gesellschaft für Internationale Geschichte and being elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.

Dr. Wartenberg came to the ANS in 1998 hired initially as Assistant Director. The following year in 1999 she was named Executive Director during a period of severe financial crisis for the Society. At the time, the ANS had purchased a building at 140 William Street, near Wall Street, where it planned to move from its nearly century-long residence at Audubon Terrace in the Washington Heights neighborhood of northern Manhattan. Before the move could take place, however, the Society had to undertake the gut-renovation of its new William Street headquarters, and simultaneously was forced to deal with an annual deficit of $1 million and the inescapable necessity of cutting its staff roster in half. “This was the hardest task I faced in my two decades at the Society, and it undoubtedly had a huge impact in my subsequent commitment to the staff going forward,” Dr. Wartenberg said. Delayed in part by the 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York City, the move to William Street eventually took place in 2004, a colossal undertaking requiring over a year of logistical preparation. Only a few years later, in 2007, the Society’s Trustees decided to sell the Williams Street building, which helped put the ANS on a positive financial footing going forward, but necessitated another arduous move in 2008 to its present home on Varick Street.

During her tenure, Dr. Wartenberg carried out a rigorous program of modernization, which was based on the concept of maximizing the limited resources of the ANS to focus on a few discrete goals. “It would be an understatement to say that these early years as Director were straightforward,” Dr. Wartenberg said, “but I benefited enormously from the advice and friendship I received from ANS Presidents Donald Partrick, Roger Siboni, and more recently Sydney Martin.”

Among many efforts to secure the Society’s future, Dr. Wartenberg engaged in extensive fundraising from members outside New York City. She also developed
partnerships with other institutions, such as the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, which provided its magnificent ground-floor space for a museum. In 2001, Alan Greenspan opened Drachmas, Doubloons and Dollars: A History of Money. The exhibit highlighted many of the ANS’s treasures and was viewed by more than 400,000 visitors over the course of the decade it was open.

Over the past 20 years, Dr. Wartenberg has steadily built the ANS into an institution of both national and international renown, and she leaves her post with the Society in a far more secure position. Today, the endowment is at approximately $43 million. Since 1999, over 45,000 coins and other objects have been donated to the Society’s collection, including the Julius Korein Collection of Gobrecht Dollars, the Abe and Marian Scheuer Sofaer collections, and the Richard B. Witschonke Collection of provincial coins of the Roman Republic. In 2018, Dr. Wartenberg was able...
to purchase for the Society in a bankruptcy court the archives of dies, medals, and die-shells of the Medallic Art Company, the largest private mint in US history, and thus save this invaluable treasure for the nation and for future scholarship.

One of her most important legacies will no doubt be the strong presence the ANS now has in the numismatic world online. Thanks to the visionary efforts of former ANS President Harry W. Bass, Jr., the Society’s internet identity and its collection databases were already in place when Dr. Wartenberg took over in 1999, but she championed this program by adding staff and funding, and in recent years has directed an ever-increasing share of the Society’s resources to online activities. Now, more than 500,000 coins, some 80,000 books and pamphlets, and 450 archival collection records are available online. The Society also supports collaborative efforts with other major coin cabinets both in the US and around the world in order to create Linked Open Data (LOD) numismatic resources, such as Online Coins of the Roman Empire (numismatics.org/ocre) and Hellenistic Royal Coinages (numismatics.org/hrc), which have largely been funded by grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Additionally, the Society has revived its numismatic publishing department, which is again one of the significant publishers of serious numismatic research in print and digital formats.

Dr. Wartenberg served on many committees during her term, including as first Chairperson of the Citizen Coinage Advisory Committee in Washington, D.C., and she continues her roles as a member of the International Numismatic Council and of the Anti-Counterfeiting Educational Foundation, Inc. She was also recently appointed Chairperson of the International Committee for Money and Banking Museums.

Through Dr. Wartenberg’s two decades of leadership, the ANS has been transformed from a financially precarious organization into one that is considerably more healthy with a stellar reputation as one of the finest numismatic institutions of its kind in the world. Today the Society can boast not just of a magnificent and world-renowned collection, but also of significant scholarship and research, a thriving publications department, and an expanding digital presence, all supported by a healthy endowment. Dr. Wartenberg’s own rigorous scholarship and her incredible charisma have transformed the Society into the flourishing institution that we are proud to be a part of today.
New Acquisitions

During the past summer and into the fall the ANS acquired numerous impressive objects. Abraham and Marian Scheuer Sofaer continue to enrich the ANS collection with another portion of their important coins from the ancient Holy Land. The primary Sofaer collection was published by the ANS as the two-volume book Coins of the Holy Land. From that remarkable group, the Sofaers donated the Roman provincial coins to the Israel Museum, and the Judean and Nabataean coins to the ANS. This year the Sofaers gave the ANS more than 600 bronze and silver coins from the cities of Judea, Samaria, Phoenicia, and the Decapolis, during the Greek and Roman provincial periods (figs. 1–2), as well as numerous rare and scarce Judean coins from the Hasmonaean, Herodian, Jewish War, and Bar Kokba Revolt. Also in the current donation was a remarkable and very rare group of 11 pre-coinage balance weights (nine of stone and two of bronze) from the Israelite Iron Age, around the eighth to seventh centuries BCE. Among these examples were weights of 4, 2, and 1 shekel as well as numerous fractions of the ancient shekel (which was approximately 11.4 g) (fig. 3). Later items in this gift included a group of Arab-Byzantine coins (fig. 4), Umayyad bronze coins (fig. 5), and a medieval lead seal impression of the Knights Hospitaler (fig. 6).

By purchase from Stephen Album Rare Coins (Auction 34, May 23–26, 2019, lot 106), the ANS acquired a very rare anonymous silver tetradrachm of Barce in Cyrenaica, ca. 485–475 BCE (fig. 7). This coin came from the remarkable Asyt Hoard (IGCH 1644). Found in 1969 in central Egypt, this hoard contained coins from all over the Archaic Greek world. Its composition highlights the wide-ranging trade connections that brought coins from as far away as Sicily, southern Italy, and Thracian tribes to Persian Egypt in the Late Archaic and Early Classical period.

After the extremely important donation that the Islamic Department received at the end of last year, of coins from the former collection of Archer M. Huntington and the Hispanic Society of America, the Medieval Department received 1,227 Castilian coins, mostly billion dineros novenes of Henry II (1366–1379). This group includes much little-studied variation in details; examples include pieces from Santiago de Compostela (fig. 11), Burgos (fig. 12), and Cuenca (fig. 13).

An extremely important gift to the Medieval and Modern Departments comprised 340 French coins from the former collection of Archer M. Huntington and the Hispanic Society of America. The majority of the coins in this donation are late medieval écus d’or of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (figs. 14–15). These large gold coins were issued by France to pay the extraordinary costs of the Hundred Years’ War, and their fluctuating standards of weight and fineness reflect the ups and downs of France’s fortunes in that long struggle. Also included in the same gift are some later coins, including unusual pieces such as fantasy coins of the Bonapartist pretenders Napoleon II (fig. 16) and Napoleon IV.

The Medieval Department also acquired by purchase a rare gold tremissis of the Suevian kingdom, which was based in what is now northern Portugal and northwestern Spain in the fifth and sixth centuries (fig. 17). This coin, previously in the John W. Garrett collection and Johns Hopkins University, has the obverse legend LATINA EMERI MVNITA. The interpretation of this legend is debated: some scholars consider it to be evidence for Suevian minting at Emerita (modern Mérida in Spain), otherwise not known to have been ruled by the Suevians in the sixth century, while others have proposed possible alternative identifications in Galicia or northern Portugal.

Also from the former collection of Archer M. Huntington and the Hispanic Society of America, a very rare anonymous silver tetradrachm in memory of Dr. Yaakov Meshorer, in memory of Dr. Yaakov Meshorer 24 mm.

The Medieval Department also acquired by purchase a very rare silver coin of Alfonso X, 1254–1284 (fig. 18). This coin came from the remarkable Hoi Kmint collection in the United States. The composition of this hoard, which included more than 2,000 Islamic coins, is described in detail by Dr. John W. Garret in the American Numismatic Society Bulletin (1981), volume 13, page 217. Also from the former collection of Archer M. Huntington and the Hispanic Society of America, a very rare silver tetradrachm of Barce in memory of Dr. Yaakov Meshorer 24 mm.

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Long-time ANS member Adron Coldiron continued to expand our Medals Department with new interesting donations. His latest gift includes an Austro-Hungarian lead medal from the time of World War I, designed by Anton Grath. It is dedicated to Austria’s 24th Infantry Regiment from Vienna. The obverse shows a soldier advancing and a farmer sowing; below it refers to the *Weltkrieg* (World War). The reverse has an inscription in blackletter on a scroll over crossed swords, referring to the regiment as wine-growers of beautiful Lower Austria (fig. 18).

Also from Mr. Coldiron we received a fine group of Portuguese medals. Among them is a high-relief bronze example by David Oliveira celebrating the election in 1975 of the constituent assembly following the decision in 1975 of the constituent assembly following
the 1974 revolution, with an allegorical bust of the Portuguese Republic on the obverse and on the reverse an image of the São Bento Palace in Lisbon, along with the symbols and numbers of seats of the political parties in the assembly (fig. 19). Another medal in the group is an art medal by José de Moura (1915–??). This bronze medal shows curious images of a man flying under the burning sun on one side and a woman in a turban on the other (fig. 20). Also represented in Coldiron’s gift are medals of the Portuguese sculptor, painter, and medalist Irene Vilar (1930–2008). The figurative expressionism of her work includes dramatic, irregular forms, as seen in the examples newly added to the ANS collection, such as a bronze plaque showing traditional women’s headgear from various regions in France. This series was the artistic work of the French sculptor and medalist Ernesta Robert-Mérignac (1859–1933) and was produced by the Paris Mint. Among our new items is a bronze plaque with an attractive obverse image of a woman from the Bourbonnais, a historic province in the center of France, and a pastoral scene of folk dances on the reverse (fig. 23). Another example of this series shows a woman in the regional clothing of the Boulonnais, a coastal area of northern France. The reverse of this plaque shows a view of the Calvary of the Fishermen, a shrine near Boulogne-sur-Mer (fig. 24).

Another portion of Adron Coldiron’s donation is dedicated to the medallic art of the Soviet Union. The monumental artistic style of the Soviet epoch was not only manifested in sculptures, paintings, and posters, but also in the art of medals. Soviet medals were mainly produced by the Leningrad and Moscow State Mints. One obligatory theme was to glorify the October Revolution, for example by commemorating the cruiser Aurora, which reportedly fired the first shot, signaling the beginning of the attack on the Tsar’s Winter Palace (fig. 25). The most important symbol in Soviet medallic art was the image of Vladimir Lenin, founder of the Bolshevik Party and architect of the Soviet state. Official Soviet propaganda held that Lenin’s ideas and leadership should live forever in the

Figure 20: Portugal. Bronze medal, by José de Moura, 1981. (ANS 2019.15.9, gift of Adron Coldiron) 90 mm (images reduced).

Figure 21: Portugal. Bronze commemorative medal of Camilo Castelo Branco (1890–1990), by Irene Vilar, 1990. (ANS 2019.15.2, gift of Adron Coldiron) 83 × 73 mm (images reduced).

Figure 22: Portugal. Bronze commemorative medal of Guilhermina Suggia (1885–1950), by Irene Vilar, 1990. (ANS 2019.15.3, gift of Adron Coldiron) 78 × 58 mm.

Figure 23: France. Bronze plaque showing traditional women’s headgear of the Bourbonnais, Coiffes de France series, by Ernesta Robert-Mérignac (1859–1933). (ANS 2019.15.6, gift of Adron Coldiron) 62 × 52 mm (images reduced).

Figure 24: France. Bronze plaque showing traditional women’s headgear of the Boulonnais, Coiffes de France series, by Ernesta Robert-Mérignac (1859–1933). (ANS 2019.15.6, gift of Adron Coldiron) 62 × 52 mm (images reduced).
memory of the Soviet people, and this was reflected in numerous iconic images (figs. 26–27). Various Soviet medals were dedicated to the economic accomplishments of the Five-Year Plans. Industrial development and electrification were crucial to transforming the peasant basis of the country into a large-scale industrial economy. Among the medals dedicated to these achievements are ones with images of the great wonders of the Soviet industrialization program, like the Dnieper Hydroelectrical Station (fig. 28). Some medals proclaimed the brotherly friendship of the Soviet republics in connection with anniversaries of the foundation of the Soviet Union (fig. 29). Others were celebrated the establishment of Soviet power in these republics (fig. 30). However, this multi-nation union did not stand the test of time and upon the disintegration of the USSR in 1991, the fifteen Soviet republics declared their independence.

This year the Chicago Coin Club, organized in 1919, celebrated its 100th anniversary. In conjunction with this milestone the club has issued oval-shaped medals, produced by Mint Masters Inc. A copper example of this issue was donated to the Society by our long-time member and Life Fellow, Anthony Terranova. We also received an additional example enhanced with gold and platinum highlights, contributed by another ANS Fellow, Harlan J. Berk (fig. 31).
of the medal features Chicago’s famed Buckingham Fountain, constructed in 1927 in rococo style with multiple tiers and elaborate bronze sculptures. The reverse depicts a vertical view of Chicago’s iconic Water Tower. Built in Gothic style in 1869, this impressive construction was a rare survivor of the Great Fire of 1871. It became a Chicago landmark, symbolizing old Chicago and its recovery from the fire. The image on the reverse is surrounded by 100 stars representing the 100 years of the Chicago Coin Club’s existence.

The ANS collection of modern European coins has been expanded by a group of recent Portuguese issues, minted by the Imprensa Nacional–Casa da Moeda in Lisbon. The coins were donated to the Society by their designer, João Duarte, the recipient of the Society’s J. Sanford Salinas Award for Outstanding Achievement in the Art of the Medal in 2011. Among these are a cupronickel commemorative 2.5 euro, dedicated to the traditional Portuguese vocal music Cante Alentejano to the 450th anniversary of the foundation of Malta’s capital city, Valletta. In 1980, Valletta with its impressive fortifications and, outstanding buildings and monuments was added to UNESCO’s list of World Heritage Sites.

In October the Society received an anonymous donation of a 2016 United Kingdom 2 pence with the counterstamp PEOPLES VOTE (fig. 37). This gift was sent by “Minty McFarthing,” as she calls herself, a British artist who lives and works in Bristol. Since June she has hand-stamped thousands of coins. This work was inspired by the pennies stamped “Votes for Women” by suffragists in the early twentieth century. Her peaceful protest by stamping a message on small change is intended to support the campaign for a public vote on the final Brexit deal between the United Kingdom and the European Union.
The author posits that the numismatic evidence, both that of finds and typology, can be used to develop a fresh picture of Nerva's reign that challenges the traditional scholarly view (informed by late literary sources like Cassius Dio) of the emperor as “weak” and primarily the "Senate’s man." In so doing, over the course of three chapters, he shows that the coinage was broadly communicative, reaching and attempting to speak to specific segments of Roman society at Rome, in Italy, and in the larger empire.

In the first chapter, “Nerva as Supreme Military Commander” (24–51), the emperor’s difficult relationship with the army is viewed through a numismatic lens. Although the CONCORDIA EXERCITVM issues struck by later emperors with clasped hands type have a long history as a numismatic emblem of reconstitution extending back through the Civil War of AD 69 and into the late Republican period, further problematizing its interpretation as a message to the army.

At the same time that Elkins reinterprets the meanings and audiences of Nerva’s early types, he also roots out coins that have unjustly contributed to the numismatic reading of his reign. After careful consideration, he condemns as false the rare PAX AVGVS TI denarius depicting the emperor clasping hands with a helmeted figure variously described as a soldier, Mars, or even Trajan(!), and which has sometimes been used to underline the Nerva’s supposed desperation to gain the approval of the army. A peculiar artistic style and improper titulature cries out for the removal of this type from the corpus of Nerva’s authentic coins (38–39).

Chapter 2, “Nerva, the Senate and People of Rome, and Italy” (52–101), surveys the reverse types of Nerva’s coinage (excluding personifications of imperial “virtues”) and moves away from the traditional readings focused primarily on the senatorial point of view. Through find evidence, the use of specific types for precious metal and base metal denominations, and typological relevance, Elkins convincingly argues for the targeting of specific audiences at Rome and in Italy. Coins advertising the congruia, anonna, and frumentum clearly target the urban plebs of Rome since they were the beneficiaries of these imperial public welfare programs, while others, like those referring to the remission of the vehiculatio (the much-abused requirement of municipalities to provide vehicles, guides, and lodging for imperial couriers) were aimed at the Italian cities.

The typological targeting of specific audiences at Rome and in Italy is often considered to have targeted a military audience and therefore, as Elkins points out, the sun that is Trajan, but instead takes a close look at the coinage of Nerva (AD 96–98), the adoptive father and predecessor of Trajan seemingly forever cast in his shadow. The typological relevance, Elkins convincingly argues, neither the temporary abolition of the Jewish tax nor the removal of the "insult" associated with its collection. Instead, Elkins again makes good use of the literary and legal sources to show that the sestertius actually advertise the end of false accusations (callunnia) of tax evasion that had been used to seize property under Domitian, thereby contrasting Nerva’s mode of rule with that of his hated predecessor (84–87).

The challenge to the traditional “weak” characterization of Nerva’s reign again returns in the discussion of the ROMA RENASCENS type (88–89). Elkins rightly doubts suggestions that the seated depiction of the city-goddess or a conflation with Minerva. Noting the host of examples of a similar Roma type struck by emperors of the second century AD, including the bellissimo Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and the later “soldier emperors,” the author sensibly concludes that, “it would be inordinately subtle” if Roma was considered differently on the coinage merely “because her knees were covered.”

The typological targeting of specific audiences is also very sensitive to economic factors that could impact the distribution of particular types. A notable example is the concentration of Nerva’s sestertii and the rare NEPTVNO CIRCENS CONSTITVT assae found in England despite the fact that their types were clearly aimed at in Italian, if not specifically urban Roman audience. The author discounts the suggestion that the types were cast to. The author discounts the suggestion that the types were cast to.

Elkins reviews the catalogue of imperial virtues (Aequitas, Fortuna, Justitia, Libertas, and Pietas) depicted on the coins of Nerva in Chapter 3, “Nerva and the Roman Empire” (102–136). Here he connects their usages to tropes in contemporary panegyric and rhetoric, which often focus on pointing out the positive qualities of “good” emperors and condemning the negative features of preceding “bad” emperors. As part of the discussion, the author argues against the tendency of modern scholarship to privilege Roman coins as a source, instead attempting to associate the consignment with the foundation of Colonia Nerva Glevensium (modern Gloucester) in AD 97 (61–64). While such a block transfer of coin in support of the new colony seems eminently plausible, it still begs the question as to why the Neptuno assae seem to have been singled out for export. Could it be that they were indeed rendered obsolete at Rome by Nerva’s reported austerity measures that ended chariot racing in the Circus Maximus? Elkins doubts obsolescence as a motivator for the removal of the coinage from the city, but does not seem to consider the possibility that the colonial foundation may have provided a convenient solution for a coin type rendered problematic in Rome by changes in policy.

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In this case, it then becomes unclear what need there was for targeting individual social groups with specific types. One imagines that the emperor would have received the flattery of the coinage regardless of whether issues featuring the annona reached the hands of the urban plebs or those announcing the end of calamnia or the return of iustitia entered the purses of the senatorial elite. There are almost certainly further avenues of exploration with respect to the coinage of Nerva, but Elkins has provided a more secure base for striking out into the unknown than there has ever been before. The Image of Political Power in the Reign of Nerva, AD 96–98 is a welcome addition to the growing body of modern numismatic studies devoted to the “Five Good Emperors” who followed Domitian.

The text is illustrated by numerous black-and-white enlargements of the coins under discussion and supplemented by four important appendices. Appendix I tabulates the use of types across denominations for the six emissions of Nerva’s coinage. The tables in Appendix 2 provide the dates of issue for each type while Appendix 3 give the relative frequencies for denarius types by emission. Appendix 4 details the regional distribution of base metal coins based on hoard and excavation finds.

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Oliver D. Hoover

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In understanding the Aequitas coinage of the emperor, Elkins makes a strong case for associating this type with the archetypal emperor. As Elkins demonstrates, the Libertas type of Nerva’s accession issue, which is common across precious and base metal denominations and which occurs in finds from Rome, Italy, and the empire at large, must have been intended for a wide audience, rather than focused on the senatorial elite (133–134).

A recurrent theme throughout the book is that the types and legends of the coins are drawn from the same ideological pool as contemporary imperial panegyric and rhetoric. This case is supported through frequent comparison with contemporary literary sources—most commonly the works of Martial, Frontinus, and the younger Pliny—and fully articulated in the Conclusion, “The Visualization of Political Rhetoric” (137–153). Elkins would see the coins and their types as hand-held metallic versions of the laudatory words of the silver-tongued panegyrist, even going so far as to suggest that they “reinforced positive expectations and perceptions of Nerva and his regime in an infinitely more effective way than Martial’s or Frontinus’s scrolls ever could” (154). We would tend to agree with this assessment since surely the coin-handling populations in Rome, Italy, and the Empire must have been vastly greater than the population of Latin literati or of a public assembly capable of witnessing performed panegyric.

Elkins’ contextualization of the coin types in contemporary elite literary culture is masterful. However, one cannot help but feel some tension between the view that the types were developed at the mint without imperial involvement as a means of praising the emperor and the numerous clear cases of audience targeting through type and distribution that he adduces throughout the book. If the coin is really a panegyric struck in gold, silver, or bronze, then the primary consumer of the type must be the emperor.

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UNESCO World Heritage site Hal Saflieni Hypogeum, which consists of three levels of ritual and burial chambers and a “hall of holes.” The Hypogeum, from the Greek for “underground,” was painstakingly dug out from the rock around 4000 BCE and was discovered by accident in 1902 when workers were cutting cisterns for a new housing development. The Hypogeum is one of Europe’s only known such Neolithic structures and is remarkably well preserved. To ensure that it remains in this condition, the site’s microclimate is strictly controlled, and visitors limited to only 80 per day. The Sage group was fortunate to be among those allowed to enter and explore.

Much of the history for which Malta is most famed comes from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The 1565 Siege of Malta, which pitted the Sovereign Military Order of Malta against the Ottoman Turks, is evidenced by numerous towers and other fortifications along the coast. This four-month siege devastated both sides and led to the necessary rebuilding by the Grand Master Jean Parisot de La Valette, who laid the foundation stone for Valletta, Malta’s capital, in 1566.

The glorious St. John’s Co-Cathedral, which was begun in 1572, is the burial place for many of the Knights 

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The group travels to Mdina by vintage bus.

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The Gigantija Temples (the Place of the Giants), among the oldest and best-preserved sites on the Maltese Islands dating back to 3500 BCE.
Visiting the Central Bank of Malta Coin Museum

Wine and olive oil tasting at San Niklaw Wine Estate.

Mdina.

Crossing the Harbor on the Barklori.

Gozo.

Xlendi Tower.

St. John’s Co-Cathedral.

of the Order of St. John and Malta’s Grand Masters. The Sage group had the privilege of a private tour of the Cathedral with the Cathedral’s curator, allowing uninterrupted views of the art, including the Caravaggio painting of The Beheading of St. John the Baptist, the only painting ever signed by the artist and completed in 1608. The painting was commissioned by the Knights of Malta as an altarpiece. (Caravaggio himself briefly served as a knight before he found himself forced to flee to escape imprisonment for an unrecorded crime. He was defrocked in absentia as a “foul and rotten member” by the Order about six months after his induction; the ceremony took place in the Oratory, before this very painting.) His St. Jerome Writing hangs in the same chapel.

As would be expected in a place with such a long history, Malta has a rich numismatic legacy. Coinage began with the Carthaginians in 218 BCE and continues today with the Euro, adopted in 2009. The National Bank of Malta’s collection provided Sage members with an extensive overview of all the times in between, with coins from the Roman occupation, and the successive rule of Arabs, Normans, Swabians, Angevines, and Aragonese, as well as that of the Order of St. John. The short French occupation of 1798 brought unique gold and silver ingots, while the British rule of the island introduced currency that lasted, albeit with many changes, through 1972.

As with many other Sage trips, the tour was greatly enhanced by meeting with local coin experts and authors Emmanuel Azzopardi, author of The Coinage of the Crusaders and the World of Islam, and Remy Said, who published the Said Malta Coin and Banknote Catalogue along with such publications as the “History of the Coinage in Malta” and the renowned 1977 numismatic reference book, The Coinage of the Knights in Malta. They joined the group for museum tours, followed by continued numismatic conversations over lunch.
The 2019 J. Sanford Saltus Award for Excellence in Medallic Art

Mashiko is the recipient of the ANS’s prestigious 2019 J. Sanford Saltus Award for Signal Achievement in the Art of the Medal.

Mashiko grew up in her father’s home city of Kyoto, Japan. In 1962 she moved to the United States, and in 1964 to New York City. There, in 1993, she founded Media Rep - Rack and Hamper Gallery, a showplace for contemporary medallic art. Seven years later she founded New Approach, Inc., a nonprofit organization that promotes emerging artists and curators and serves as a contemporary medallic-art research center.

As a prolific sculptor and medallic artist, Mashiko has received numerous awards, including the American Numismatic Association’s Excellence in Medallic Sculpture Award and the Grand Prix at the XXXV Fédération Internationale de la Médaille d’Art (FIDEM) Congress. Her stone sculptures, medallic art, silkscreen prints, and drawn illustrations are in numerous public collections around the world, including the Cincinnati Art Museum, the National Museum of Taiwan, Kyoto City Hall, the Queens Museum (New York), the American Numismatic Society, the American Numismatic Association, and the British Museum. Her many commissions, from organizations such as the British Art Medal Society and the New York Numismatic Club, include one for a memorial granite headstone for the feminist activist and author Betty Friedan. She has also been invited to submit designs to the U.S. Mint.

In addition to her extensive creative endeavors, she has also been a tireless teacher of her craft, offering courses in medallic and stone sculpture at The University of the Arts, Philadelphia, for two decades (1993–2013). Since 2001 she has also conducted private book-art, medal and urushi workshops.

“Mashiko is unquestionably deserving of the Award,” noted Saltus Committee Chairman Donald Scarinci, “not only for her wonderfully creative medallic art, but for all that she has done to teach and promote the medal as well. We are especially pleased to present the Award to her this year, the centennial year of the Award.”

The award was created with a grant to the American Numismatic Society by J. Sanford Saltus in 1913 to recognize and encourage excellence in the art of the medal. The first Saltus Award was presented in 1919; the silver award medal was designed by the prominent German-born numismatic and architectural sculptor Adolph Alexander Weinman.

Mashiko joins the ranks of other significant artists who have been awarded the medal including, among dozens of others, James Earle Fraser (1919), Victor D. Brenner (1922), Paul Manship (1925), Lee Lawrie (1937), Donald DeLue (1967), Kauko Räsänen (1986), Gustaaf Hellegers (2001), João Duarte (2011), and Bogomil Nikolov (2017).

New Library Interns

We would like to welcome two new volunteer interns to the ANS Library.

Hilary Wang is a student at the Pratt Institute School of Information, where she is pursuing a degree in library information science with a concentration in archives and special collections, particularly focusing on digitization. She obtained a bachelor of fine arts from the Rhode Island School of Design and has worked at several art studios. She also served as a records coordinator for the conservation division of the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Nicole Buchler is also a library information science student at Pratt. She earned her bachelor’s degree in applied music from Kansas State University and has worked as a music instructor. She has also worked in several libraries, including the Derby Public Library in Kansas, Yeshiva University in New York, and the New York Public Library. She was also student library ambassador at her college. Nicole plans to concentrate on cataloging while pursuing her degree, and she will have plenty of opportunities to practice at the ANS.

Obituary

Peter P. Gaspar

Peter Gaspar passed away on July 27, 2019, at the age of 84. He was Professor Emeritus of Chemistry at Washington University in St. Louis, where, after earning his BS from the California Institute of Technology and his Ph.D. from Yale, he taught and conducted his research from 1963 until his death. His specialty was the field of organosilicon chemistry, and among his many awards was the Frederic Stanley Kipping Award from the American Chemical Society. He was also a highly respected lecturer and served in this capacity for numerous organizations, including NATO and the French Ministry of Culture.

Professor Gaspar first joined the ANS in 1970 and became a Fellow in 1975. He was elected to the Board of Trustees in 2000 and served until 2010, helping during that time to articulate a vision for the future of the Society. He was the recipient of many numismatic honors, including the ANA’s Heath Literary Award in 1980, when he also presented the Stack Memorial Lecture, entitled “The Machine Comes to the Mint.” That topic reflected just one of his numismatic interests, which encompassed many aspects of metallurgy and technological innovation in minting. He was also fascinated by early English coinage and the British hammered series in particular. But his curiosity and his contributions to numismatic literature were substantial and wide-ranging, and his many contributions to the field were significant. As a learned colleague and a longtime friend of the Society, he will be greatly missed.
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