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DEPARTMENTS



on the cover:
Germany, Saxony, New Year's plaquette, 1926.
One of only 100 issued. (ANS 1949.112.2, gift of
Louis H. Schroeder), 167x171 mm.

5 **From the Executive Director**
Ute Wartenberg Kagan

48 **New Archives Accessions**
David Hill and Elena Stolyarik

54 **From the Collections Manager**
New Aquisitions
Elena Stolyarik

62 **Library News**
Elizabeth Hahn

64 **Book Reviews**
Oliver D. Hoover

FEATURES



6
White Gold:
An Enigmatic Start to Greek Coinage
François de Callataÿ



18
City Coins and their Symbolism:
A View from the Sofaer Collection
David Hendin



28
The Louis H. Schroeder Collection of
Meissen Porcelain Coins and Medals
Sylvia Karges



36
Collaboration and Conflict:
The 1949 Philippine Presidential Election
David Thomason Alexander

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From the Executive Director

Ute Wartenberg Kagan

Dear Members and Friends,

In this issue of the *ANS Magazine*, you will find articles on very different topics: our Huntington winner and dear colleague, François de Callataÿ, has written an overview of current scholarship on the earliest coins ever produced. This field has seen some fundamental changes in the last decade, and new research currently underway will probably alter our picture even more. The question why coins were invented, relatively late in history, will probably take much more research and indeed numismatic and archaeological data before we can get closer to an answer. The ANS will hold a conference for members and others interested in this field on the weekend of 15 November in New York City. Look for more information in our next issue.

Our cover image, a striking owl made out of Meissen porcelain, will lead our readers into a little-known area of numismatic objects. The ANS’s collection of almost 2000 so-called Meissen medals from the Schroeder collection represents an amazing story in ANS collection history, which has been researched in detail by our curatorial assistant Sylvia Karges. Alongside the collection, Schroeder also donated his archive of correspondence with employees of the Meissen factory, which vividly illustrates how he collected these objects, almost always in exchange for CARE parcels, which contained food and other commodities needed in the late 1940s in Soviet-occupied Germany.

Longtime readers of the *ANS Magazine* will notice the absence of Robert Hoge’s column, whose dispatches about life at the ANS with its frequent discoveries or interesting visitors have become one of the much beloved cornerstones of this publication. On 1 April, Robert retired from his active curatorial duties to become a Curator Emeritus. He started at the ANS in the autumn of 2001 after a long career as curator at the American Numismatic Association. The small ANS staff will be very sorry not to have him around on a daily basis for the many enquiries, which Bob can answer in almost any area of numismatics. His life recently changed when he married Immaculada Socias i Batet, an art historian and professor at the University



of Barcelona in Spain. ANS staff and members of the New York Numismatic Club attended a very New York wedding at the City Clerk’s office, which was followed by a small reception at the Pakistani Tea House. Recently the couple celebrated their marriage again with family and friends in Barcelona. We all wish Robert and Imma all happiness in their life together. The ANS will miss Robert, but he has promised to come in and continue many of his important projects. One of the future issues of the *ANS Magazine* will have an article about Robert’s numismatic career and achievements. We are also planning events in his honor over the next year, of which we will keep members and his many friends informed. Over the next few months, the ANS will begin the search for a new North American Curator, and we hope that by early 2014, Robert will have a new colleague whom he can help explore our amazing collections of the Americas.

Ute Wartenberg Kagan
Executive Director



Facing page: A selection of early electrum coins in the ANS collection.

WHITE GOLD: An Enigmatic Start to Greek Coinage

François de Callatay

On 26 June 2012, the Israel Museum opened a spectacular exhibit of early electrum coinage entitled “White Gold,” and, in the days before, hosted an important academic conference reexamining the many economic, political and numismatic problems associated with these early coins. The papers of the academic conference are to be published this year under the auspices of Haim Gitler, Catherine Lorber, and Koray Konuk. What follows is the keynote address from the exhibit opening summarizing the results of the conference and where we now stand in our understanding of the earliest western coinages.

Some call it an *evolution* since ancient societies had been accustomed to settling transactions in precious metals for many centuries—even millennia—in some parts of Mesopotamia. But what happened in Asia Minor in the last third of the seventh century BC (the date is debated) is best called a *revolution*, one that shaped the world of money forever. It was indeed a revolution if the current view holds: an issuing authority was powerful enough to impose a forced currency of standardized stamped lumps of metal priced well above their intrinsic value. Compared with the ingots or nuggets that were traded before (fig. 1), the main difference is simple: money was no longer just weighed, anonymous lumps, but was now an object linked to a specific authority. This is, in fact, the very definition of what a coin is: a small blank of metal whose alloy and weight are guaranteed by the impression of an official stamp or seal. Implicit at the very heart of this revolution is the principle of fiduciary money, opposed to simple commodity money. People were convinced to accept a means of exchange whose intrinsic value was determined legally, not by the market, and archaic white gold coins are likely to have been priced considerably above their intrinsic value.

We know where it happened: ancient Asia Minor, now western Turkey (fig. 2). The distribution of recorded electrum coin finds, isolated or not, does not go beyond the territory controlled by the Mermnad rulers, that is the Lydian Empire, which came to an end with its last king Croesus. This mainly enveloped the areas of Lydia with its capital Sardis, and Ionia with the city of Ephesus; it also extended to some parts of Mysia to the north and Caria to the south. The distribution pattern of coins within the boundaries of the Lydian Empire strongly limits any explanation that ties these first coins to long-distance trading purposes.

What we don’t know for sure is: 1) when the revolution first happened, 2) who the issuing powers were and, most, critically 3) for what purpose were these white-gold coins produced? But before we delve into these questions, let us remind ourselves of some basic facts. The common name for this type of coinage, “electrum”, is derived from a word that, in ancient Greek, first designated “amber” and only later “white-gold coins”, that is an alloy of gold and silver. “White gold” (Λευκός χρυσός) are the words of Herodotus (1.50.2), describing the electrum offerings of Croesus at Delphi. While some of these electrum coins were long ago recognized as having been produced with a man-made alloy, with low percentages of gold and a stable composition, it has long been thought that others—possibly the oldest ones—were issued using a natural alloy, with great variations from one specimen to another, as has been stressed for the electrum coinage attributed to Samos (cf. Konuk 2005). An ambitious French program of analyses confirms and amplifies the results already presented in a work on electrum finds from Sardis (Ramage & Craddock 2000). In these analyses,

Fig. 1: Silver hoard, Eshtamoa, Iron Age II, 9th–8th century BC. Silver and pottery. Weight: 1.090 kg, the equivalent of 500 shekels. Staff Archaeological Officer in the Civil Administration of Judea and Samaria. Accession number: K2754. Photo ©The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Neta Dror

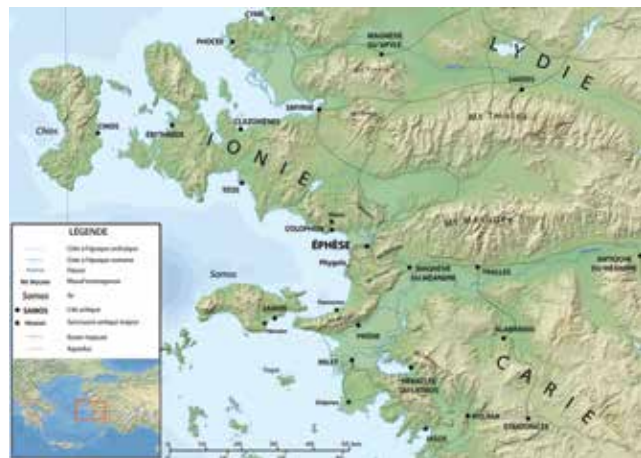


Fig. 2: Map of Ionia and the western portion of the Lydian Empire.

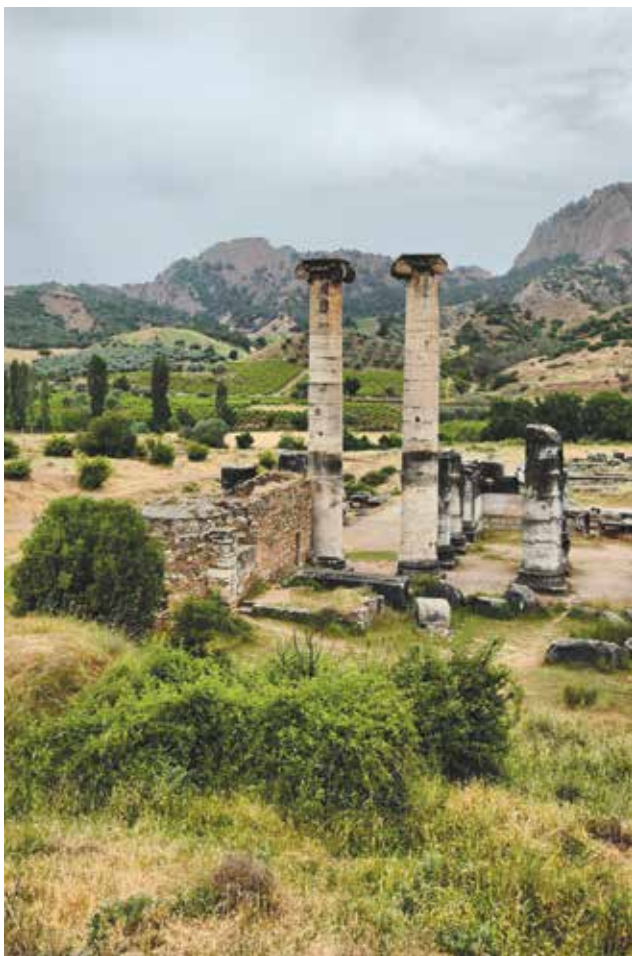


Fig. 3: Overview of Sardis. Photograph by Ahmet Tolga Tek.

the percentage of gold is often well under the minimum of 65% found in native electrum, but copper is present nearly everywhere in too great a proportion not to have been intentionally added. Turning to trace elements, this statement is reinforced by high results obtained for lead (which comes with silver). There are two possibilities: either silver was added to natural electrum, or it was added to gold. Both Craddock, on the one side, and Maryse Blet-Lemarquand and Frédérique Duyrat, on the other, favor the second hypothesis. Therefore, it is likely that all electrum coins, whatever their gold percentages, were produced from non-natural alloys; we also are now certain that cementation was in fact known before 550 BC. If correct, these conclusions are seriously damaging to the idea constantly repeated over the last three decades that it was the variability of natural electrum ores which gave rise to coinage, with owners trying to overcome users' natural distrust in the metal by creating a forced currency. In response to the question—where does the metal come from?—the answer seems less and less reliant on the legendary Pactolus River flowing by Sardis (fig. 3), whose capacities were well below supporting this massive phenomenon. Thus we need to be looking elsewhere for gold sources, and the Troad seems the likeliest suspect.

Another aspect of prime importance not well taken into account in earlier literature was evoked by the conference. Before coinage, Asia Minor and more precisely the Lydian Empire had not transacted in electrum. Previous practice was to use gold and silver as the means of exchange and units of account. And it still remained the case after the birth of coinage, as proved by the lead accounting tablet discovered at Ephesus (IEph 1; fig. 4) dating to c. 550 BC, which was discussed by John Kroll (cf. Kroll 2008). But then, if issuing authorities were powerful enough to impose a forced currency, why not immediately issue it in gold and silver? Why push the limits of trust of those using the new coins even farther by making them in a new and adulterated alloy?

Because of their metal content, electrum coins were of high value whatever the denominations. Staters are thought to have been worth one month's salary while even the smallest denomination, a 1/96th stater (a coin of 1/192th has even been recorded; fig. 5), could possibly have fed a laborer for a week by contemporaneous Babylonian standards. As stated by François Velde in his paper: "the largest electrum coins could only be used in large commercial transactions but the smallest coins were not out of range of weekly or monthly purchases." In any case, even these miniscule 1/96th staters would have been reserved for comparatively

large purchases and would not have been easily negotiable in smaller transactions, like for a loaf of bread.

Velde, an economist working for the US Federal Reserve Bank, who has recently and brilliantly ventured into ancient numismatics, has built a large database of electrum coins dated before 520 BC, amounting to nearly 3,000 examples (a high number in itself which to my mind likely accounts for around half of all the existing coins). The commonest fractions are the thirds (trites) and the sixths (hektes). Both fractions were worth several sheep, again indicating the comparatively high value of the transactions in which these coins were used. But the most surprising fact—again never highlighted before—concerns the large set of denominations for each individual obverse type. Many types are now known by five denominations, and some by seven; the range of denominations is a common proxy for the level of monetization. Significantly very few later Greek series reached this same level of denominational spread, and the same holds true for the Middle Ages and early modern Europe. To take these numbers at face value, it implies levels of monetization not reached until many centuries later. But a further question: do we have to take these numbers at face value?

Despite the pioneering work of Liselotte Weidauer (1975), we still lack a true die study for this large body of material. However, let us suppose that, out of the 3,000 coins recorded by Velde, we recognize 500 obverse dies (implying thus a high survival ratio of 6 coins per obverse) and that the median weight of these obverses equals 2.4 g, that is, the weight of a hekta. It is clear enough then that this would have been a massive striking, likely corresponding to a couple thousand silver Attic talents at the very least and possibly well above that conservative estimate. In other words, we can no longer hide behind our ignorance by assuming that electrum coins were the result of a discrete and restricted phenomenon about which it is futile to speculate.

While their metal content may have differed a great deal both between and within individual series, electrum coins were produced with an exceptionally high level of control. Their weights were adjusted with great precision: where we are able to judge, variations are only a couple of centigrams, a fact that is not observed with any recorded sample of Hacksilber. Moreover, as was nicely observed by Weidauer, great care was taken to hold reverse dies in the same orientation with every strike. This is all the more remarkable since these reverses are simple square or rectangular punches with no definite type and that, in order to obtain a good impression of the obverse type, it didn't matter how the

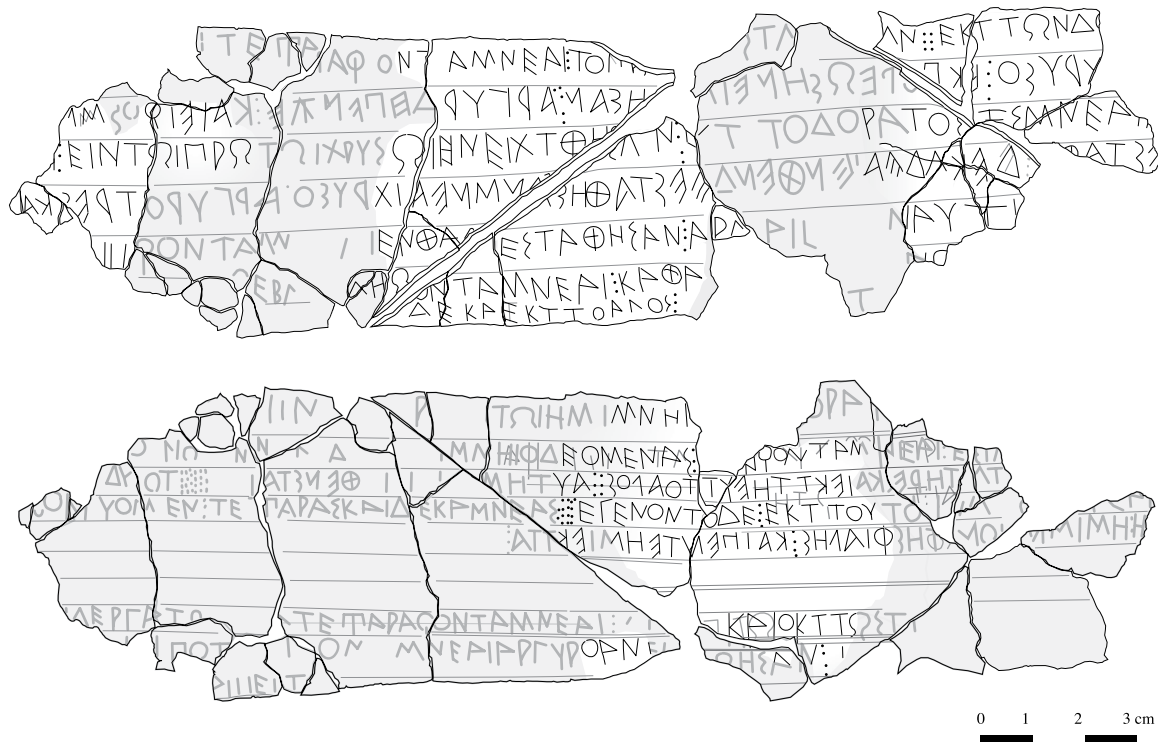


Fig. 4: Inscription (IEph. 1) written on a lead sheet found in excavations at the Temple of Artemis (“Artemision”) at Ephesus dated c. 550 BC. The text lists various sources of income for the temple, including nearby salt pans, and the amounts paid in weights of gold and silver (bullion?), but significantly not in electrum. Drawing courtesy of John H. Kroll.



Fig. 5: Unknown Ionian or Lydian mint, c. 560 BC. Electrum 1/192 (?) stater (0.06 g). (ANS 1944.100.44630, E.T. Newell bequest) 3mm (images enlarged).



Fig. 6: Ionia, Miletus, c. 575 BC. Electrum stater (14.03 g) Weidauer 1975, no.126. (ANS 1957.138.1) 20.5mm.



Fig. 7: Ionia, unknown mint, c. 575 BC. Electrum stater (13.86 g) Weidauer 1975, no. 54. (ANS 1967.152.433, bequest of Adra Newell) 18mm.



Fig. 8: Ionia, Ephesus (?), c.560 BC. Electrum stater (14.02 g), with the inscription “I am the seal of Phanes” (British Museum, BNK,G.950). Image © Trustees of the British Museum (images enlarged).

punch was placed. This great care is best understood as an attempt to deceive forgers, giving credit *à rebours* to the idea of a substantial price difference between legal and intrinsic value.

In terms of the weights, we should note that nearly all fit within a couple of weight standards, among which the so-called Milesian weight-standard is largely predominant, encompassing approximately 70% of all known coins. This unified metrological landscape again points to a superior level of supervising power.

Among all of the early electrum coinages known, scholars have observed at least 100 different obverses types, but, as first established by Weidauer, some of these must have originated from the same workshop since they are linked together by ornate reverse dies (figs. 6–7). It is often assumed that the number of issuing authorities is roughly equal to the number of obverse types, and, impressed by the variety of the types, some have argued that this number exceeds the number of city-states in Asia Minor that could have produced the coins. Thus springs the notion that electrum coins were issued by private individuals. This argument, however, lacks strength. The types, mostly animals, have been interpreted in a rather mechanical way with later monetary developments in mind. Stags were thus given to Ephesus, seals to Phokaia, tunny-fish to Cyzicus, and the lion, the king of animals, to Sardis. None of these attributions can be taken absolutely guaranteed, however.

Some rare issues have an inscription, which have elicited much discussion. The most spectacular example is in Greek and says: “I am the seal of Phanes” (fig. 8). This Phanes is unrecorded by any other historical sources, and thus some scholars have thought he was not a ruler, but rather a merchant. Regardless, most commentators have struggled to explain the beautiful grazing stag that appears on the coins, which seems to refer to the city of Ephesus, and how it was that a private individual usurped the badge of the city. Either Phanes and the stag on the coins had nothing to do with Ephesus or an unknown ruler had temporarily taken control of the city.

Two other inscriptions are in Lydian and engraved on lion-head types: one is read “Walwet[as]” which is taken for the name of the king Alyattes, Croesus’ father (fig. 9). The other refers to a certain Kukas (Kukalim) (fig. 10), identified more hesitatingly with Gyges, the founder of the Mermnad dynasty (cf. Wallace 2006), who reigned until 644 BC at the latest, an identification which presents chronological problems with the archaeological record.

Also, some 80 coins described as royal Lydian have been repeatedly punched (fig. 11). These marks have been interpreted to date as the work of bankers or money-changers. Their purpose remains obscure, however. To see them as test marks, meaning a control over the quality of the alloy, is hardly reconcilable with the number of these marks, up to twenty on a single coin. Whatever their purpose they do certainly attest to real circulation for the coins.

With these facts in mind, we may now turn to the three basic questions I asked earlier: 1) when did the revolution first happen, 2) who were issuing powers, and 3) for what purpose were these coins produced? The answers to them are interconnected and—as is hardly surprising—partly determined by modern cultural preconceptions. More sensitive to mainstream economics, for example, our American colleagues have favored explanations giving a leading role to private individuals in the production of the earliest coins. The role of the State, even if never precisely defined, has found greater empathy with our continental European colleagues. So who then were the true heroes? Those who invented coinage, were they entities, whether private or public, trying to maximize their profits, as argued by Sture Bolin (1958), or was it the State trying to gain benefits in order to promote democracy, a notion developed by Georges Le Rider (2001)?

Let’s first consider the question of when. The accepted truth has changed twice during the last few decades. When I discovered Greek numismatics as a student of Tony Hackens at the very beginning of the 1980s, the big name was Lygdamis (Dugdamme), the Cimmerian ruler who devastated Lydia and the city of Ephesus (Strabo 1.3.21). Electrum coins found in the temple of Artemis (the “Artemision”; figs. 12–14) at Ephesus were supposed to have been recovered in a layer of destruction, giving us a *terminus ante quem* of 630 BC for the birth of coinage. Subsequent excavations made by Anton Bammer (1988) altered this vision, lowering the same *terminus* down to as far as 560 BC. In the nine-ties, some numismatists went on to date the first Greek coins to around 585 BC while others remained attached to a high date in the seventh century. Reexamining the Artemision context, Michael Kerschner has more recently defended a high chronology, going against Bammer’s conclusions for two reasons: first, he identifies several grouping of coins as foundation deposits (i.e., the coins existed already by 630–620 BC, when the new temple was built), and second he dates associated material to the second half of the seventh century BC. This looks to be strong evidence indeed, especially since 17 electrum coins were found in a jug beneath the ground



Fig. 9: Lydia, Sardis (?), c. 570 BC. Electrum, 1/6 stater (with inscription “Walwet[as]”). (private collection) 9mm (images enlarged).



Fig. 10: Lydia, Sardis (?), c. 570 BC. Electrum, 1/3 stater (with inscription “Kukalim”). (private collection) 12mm (images enlarged).



Fig. 11: Lydia, Sardis (?), c. 560 BC. Electrum, 1/3 stater (punch marked). (ANS 1955.147.4) 12mm (images enlarged).



Fig. 12: Overview of the remains of the Temple of Artemis (“Artemision”) at Ephesus. Photograph by Ahmet Tolga Tek.

in the southwest corner of Temple B (fig. 15). Unfortunately, the Ephesus context continues to be the only one that truly nurtures the chronological debate, despite interesting new discoveries such as the ones reported at the conference for Miletus by Bernhard Weissner and for Sardis by Nicholas Cahill.

Even if some doubts can be cast about the evidence from the Artemision, the more recent trend has been a return to a high chronology, with the start of coinage sometime before 630 BC. In a way, this is corroborated by another important archaeological context. The American team excavating at Sardis has found two fractions of Croesus in a layer dated to the destruction of the city by the Persians (ca. 547 BC). Therefore we have also a high chronology for the so-called “croeseids,” which started to be struck under Croesus’ reign, and not later under Persian rule as some have recently suggested (figs. 16–17). François Velde too has implicitly argued for a high chronology. Studying weights and wear, he writes: “The tentative conclusion is that lower mean weights for smaller denominations are typical of circulating coinage, and can be accounted for by annual weight loss due to increased circulation for smaller denominations.” Possibly, but it could also be argued that it was common practice with ancient coinages, as with more modern ones, that the smaller the denomination, the greater is the deviation from the theoretical weight. This is not due to wear but to the combination of two basic facts: first, whatever their size, coins were calibrated with the same degree of precision in absolute terms (typically one or two grains above or below theoretical weight), and secondly, astute mintmasters have always looked to “chatouiller le remède,” that is to work as much as possible towards the lower limits of allowance. This said, we cannot deny that some electrum coins seem to show considerable traces of circulation.

As for the questions who and why, the two current main reconstructions agree on profit as a major impetus. The main problem lies in the variety of the gold content of natural electrum, a matter of natural distrust for the users, as noted above. The owners of electrum, so the argument goes, would have cornered the market, imposing a standardized monetary form (i.e., coinage), with each coin valued at a fixed and advantageous (for them) price set at a level above the market price of the gold contained within the coin. This hypothesis has then been linked to the presumption that the cementation process, which allowed the separation of gold from silver, was invented only ca. 550 BC, that is at the time when the first coins of pure gold or silver, the so-called “croeseids,” were struck. This hypothesis is seductive but has its difficulties. The general tone is rather modernist, particularly the focus on profit and rationality,

seemingly derived from neo-classical economics, an approach that has its detractors among ancient historians who seek more distance between modern and ancient practices. This is not a counter-proof in and of itself, but an additional viewpoint that ought to be fairly recognized. Beyond this, the expected benefit is also questionable. As argued by Paul Craddock (2000) and others, ancient Greeks were separating gold from silver well before the mid-sixth century BC, effectively negating the role that natural alloys may have played in the origins of coinage. But even if we admit, for the sake of argument, that the very first electrum coins were all produced from natural alloys of variable contents, why then did the great owners (kings or merchants) take pains shortly thereafter to produce coins with an artificial and controlled content? And—what is not made explicit—by what mechanisms do we imagine that these electrum coins of great value were put into circulation, if not by state payments? What kind of transactions were these whose average value (a *trite*) corresponded to ten days salary or several sheep? Another difficulty with the private merchants hypothesis is to explain why they were in such a dominant position at the beginning of the process, but soon thereafter disappeared and are not heard from again for centuries.

The arguments developed by Georges Le Rider (2001) are rather different. He starts with the fact that the Greek city-states were poor compared to palatial economies. They were constantly short of funds, unable to cope with any unexpected event, and were characterized by a comparatively low rate of taxation on overall economic activity (likely to be below 20% compared with the c. 50% in Mesopotamia, Persia, or Egypt). Necessity, aided by two favorable circumstances—the ores of electrum and the commercial reputation of the Lydians—prompted this innovation that shaped the world.

Neither of these scenarios, however, is totally satisfying. It is better to recognize that the general pattern of electrum coins defies what are supposed to be sound economics, otherwise how do we explain that the weights were carefully adjusted while the alloys were not? To pretend that users may have been abused by the last and not by the first looks hopelessly indefensible. As we have seen, the very idea of profit is at odds with the possibility that electrum coins were all and from the very beginning produced from an artificial alloy.

Moreover, a problem only recently tackled by John Kroll is to explain how one passed from a supposedly highly profitable system with significantly overvalued electrum coins, during the first half of the sixth century, to a far less advantageous system with the “croeseids” and their higher intrinsic value. How can

Early structures within the sekos of the dipteral marble temple of Artemis:
temples and contemporaneous altars and bases (second quarter 7th century BCE until second quarter of the 6th century BCE)

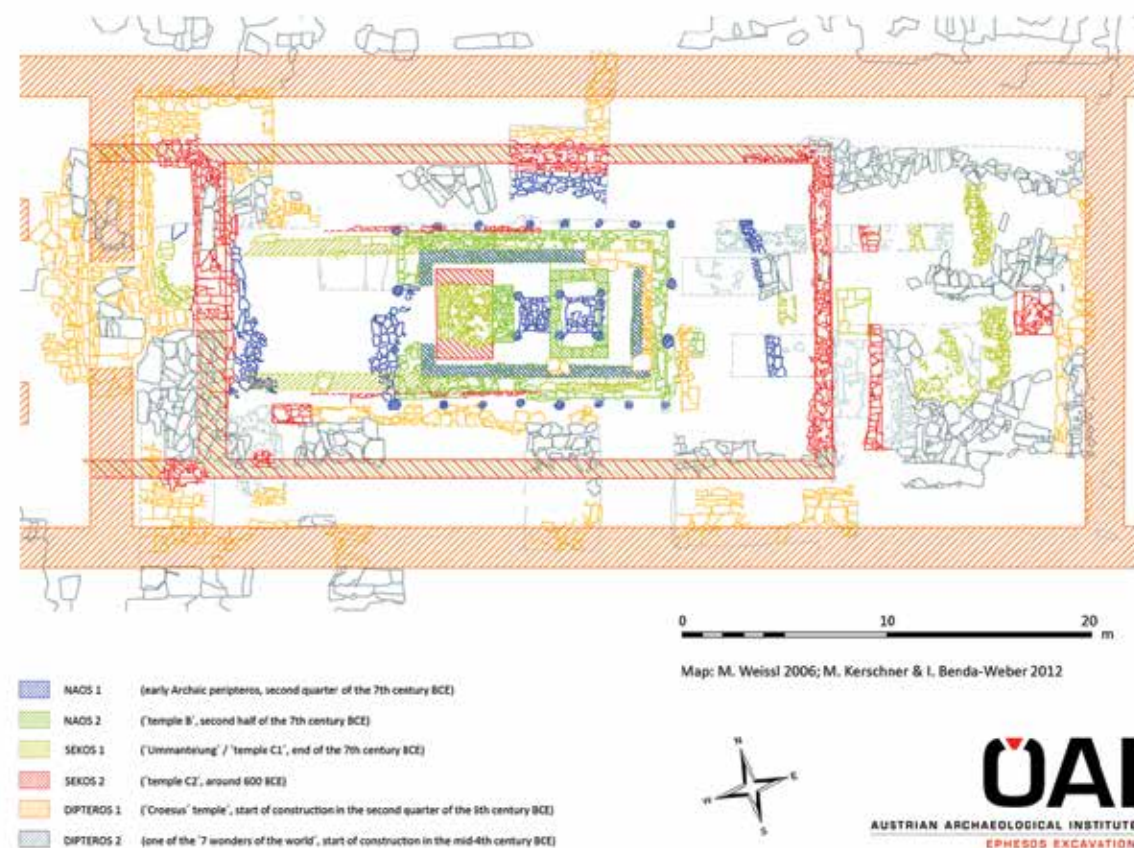


Fig. 14: Excavation of the Central Basis, Temple B (Naos 2). Image courtesy of the Austrian Archaeological Institute.

we sustain that profit was the motor of invention with electrum coinage and that the Lydian kings, now at the summit of their power, decided to renounce these benefits, while, as convincingly argued by Ute Wartenberg Kagan, the Greek cities continued to strike electrum coins after the Lydians ceased to do so? In his elegant paper, Peter van Alfen attempted to tackle these problems, starting by denouncing the ideal type of the State. Indeed, the Lydian reality of state-ness may have been something different, a competing society where elites were likely to have negotiated with emerging rulers. Referring to the works of political scientist Margaret Levi (1988), he hypothesizes that “if electrum coinage had been used to generate revenue through overvaluation, the long-term effects of this tax may eventually have been politically detrimental. Increased political stability would, in Levi’s model, see a correlating lowering of discount rates, and a subsequent change in internal taxation policies”. In this model, possibly a bit too irenic, rulers would have no choice, first to be rapacious to establish their powers, then later to offer concessions to keep it. Whatever the reality may have been, this progressive model, with its emphasis on political constraints and the necessity of negotiation between the rulers and the ruled, is well in step with current and dominant NIE (new institutional economics) perspectives.

Another fresh look at the problem, also borrowing hugely from neo-institutional economics and its focus on transaction costs, was put forward by Alain Bresson who tried to answer the question: why did coinage appear in Asia Minor around 600 BC, and not elsewhere, and why electrum? He also plays down the role attributed to the supposed favorable circumstance of disposing of natural electrum. What really made a difference was the emergence of markets for the first time (cf. Hdt. 1.94.1, 1.153.1), a place to negotiate over commodities. This created, Bresson suggests, a favorable environment for making use of coins.

And so: who and why? Was it for trade or for state payments? The trade hypothesis, with the pivotal role of private individuals, is sustained by two great voices: Aristotle (*Politics* 1257a-b), who clearly states that coinage was an invention superseding barter, and Herodotus (1.94.1), that sympathetic liar, who reports that the Lydians were the first retail traders. Facts, however, give little support to the commercial hypothesis. Electrum coins were not well suited for either retail trade or daily transactions because of their high value, nor for wider-scale trade because of their limited circulation. Above all, one is at pains to explain the mechanisms of how the coins entered circulation. For which commodities or services did the issuers exchange these coins? And

for what reason did users accept what appears to be a very bad deal? Even the large set of denominations rather militates against the commercial hypothesis, since it implies an anachronistic level of monetization.

If for state payments, the natural target was the army, by far the greatest expense in any ancient society. Robert M. Cook (1958) and Martin Price (1983) already argued along these lines, suggesting that electrum coins were a form of bonus payment to soldiers. The soldier hypothesis is less difficult to admit in terms of the coins’ denominational values and ranges, as well as their circulation. Also it nicely softens the distinction between the state and private individuals: Phanes may have been another Timotheus, with the means to enroll fighters, no differently than Alyattes, king of Lydia. Indeed, the first mention of Lydian staters, in the work of the archaic poet Alceus (fr. D11), concerns a military payment dated to around 580 BC. Not forgetting that teleological explanations are naturally welcomed with caution, this explanation fits with the main purpose of later Hellenistic royal coinages, which were mainly struck to pay the army. Unfortunately, we know very little about armies in the archaic period. What we think we know about later periods is that military coinages were often produced on a large scale in a short span of time. In the absence of a general die study of electrum coinages, any parallel scenarios must remain hypothetical, but it should encourage us to consider a more concentrated production process than is commonly assumed.

To conclude, debates about when, who, and why are not settled. Tomorrow might bring critical new information and reverse some of our beliefs. A die study is eagerly expected and new archaeological contexts could also shake our presumptions. But, due to the common efforts of all the speakers gathered in Jerusalem, we can claim to have greatly improved our knowledge. In short, “we are still confused but on a higher level!”

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Fig. 15: The pot hoard from the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, c. 630 BC. According to the terms of the excavation permit granted by the Turkish government, the pot came to the British Museum, while the original coins are kept in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul. The coins on display in the British Museum are electrotype copies. Image © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 16: Lydia, Sardis. AV “croesid” stater (10.34 g), c. 550 BC (ANS 1977.158.438, estate of Robert F. Kelly) 17mm



Fig. 17: Lydia, Sardis. AR “croesid” stater (10.73 g), c. 550 BC (ANS 1975.218.51, gift of Burton Y. Berry) 21mm.

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Facing page: Detail of a bird's eye view of the Holy Land, c. 1890, with radiating light shining on Jerusalem (Library of Congress LC-DIG-pga-00079).

CITY COINS AND THEIR SYMBOLISM: A View from the Sofaer Collection

David Hendin

The curators and staff of the ANS are celebrating the recent publication of *Coins of the Holy Land: The Abraham and Marian Sofaer Collection at the American Numismatic Society and The Israel Museum*. The late Ya'akov Meshorer, the principal author, delivered his manuscript for the book to the ANS around 1999. Some time later, the Sofaers delivered their collection for long-term loan to the ANS, which they eventually donated to both the ANS and the Israel Museum, Jerusalem. The unusually long gestation of the book was due to a number of unforeseen events.

As the manuscript moved through stages of initial editing the Sofaers decided to add several hundred coins not previously cataloged. Meshorer became ill, and died in 2004, before he was able to catalog the additional coins. The ANS subsequently invited Gabriela Bijovsky, one of Meshorer's students and a top numismatist at the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA), to come to work at the ANS on the project for several months, during which she completed the cataloging of the additional coins. At the same time, Bijovsky also superbly rewrote all of the text on the city coins, adding extensive information about recent archaeological discoveries. During the same period, Wolfgang Fischer-Bossert added considerable thought and expertise to the classification of the Samaritan coins in the Sofaer Collection.

More than 25 different curators, editors, and collectors eventually worked on the project, which by 2008 had been delayed further by the two major moves the ANS undertook that year and in 2004. Taking control of the project in 2010, Andrew Meadows and I quickly learned that during the early period of typesetting, all of Meshorer's original hand-written Hebrew, Aramaic, and Nabataean scripts had been garbled. It took me more than a

year to re-read and correct and transcribe the legends; at the same time Meadows reviewed and corrected descriptions of all of the Roman provincial coins, while Michael Bates did the same for the coins with Arabic legends.

In working with the Sofaers' collection, I had a particular advantage since I have known the collection from its inception. I first met Abraham Sofaer in 1981 when I was at the Jewish Museum in New York, where I was chairman of the Jewish Museum's numismatic committee and was working with the late Ya'akov Meshorer on creating an exhibit of ancient biblical coins entitled *Coins Reveal*. The museum's chairman, Richard J. Scheuer—Sofaer's father-in-law—had wanted us to meet since we shared an interest in ancient Jewish coins.

Abe Sofaer and I would become close friends and in the course of that friendship he would spend more than 30 years building one of the best private collections of coins of the ancient Holy Land ever assembled. It was therefore a great pleasure for me to act as curator of *Cultural Change*, the first exhibit based on this wonderful collection, which ran for nearly a year at the New York Federal Reserve Bank in 2011. In what follows, I review why the Sofaer collection is so important.

Sofaer's passion for these coins stems from his interest in the Holy Land, both ancient and modern. As an accomplished and well-regarded judge and legal scholar, he has been involved in recent events in the region. In the foreword to *Coins of the Holy Land*, he notes: "I was privileged as the U.S State Department Legal Adviser to have served as principal negotiator of the agreement between Egypt and Israel that settled their boundary at Taba. Peace agreements must be achieved between Israel and all of its neighboring peoples."



Fig. 1: The Treasury or “khamsa” at Petra, one of the Decapolis cities. In fact the building was named “treasury” only in modern times; it was most likely a funerary monument. Photo by David Hendin.



Fig. 2: The colonnaded forum at Gerash (Gerasa), Jordan, another Decapolis city. Photo by David Hendin.



Fig. 3: Overview of ancient Scythopolis (today known as Beit Shean) showing the cardo and the amphitheater. Photo by David Hendin.

City Coins of the Holy Land

The city coins of ancient Israel and Transjordan are a fascinating series of the Roman provincial coinage. Hundreds of types and varieties of city coins exist and the Sofaer collection contains clear and bold specimens of most of them, as well as superb Judaeen, Samaritan, Nabataean, Islamic, and Crusader coins. The collection’s greatest strength, however, lies in its city coins. Until now the standard references for city coins have been the *British Museum Catalogue: Palestine*, the four-volume collection of Meir Rosenberger, and Fr. A. Spijkerman’s book *Coins of the Decapolis and Provincia Arabia*. Now *Coins of the Holy Land (CHL)* will no doubt move to the front as the key reference for this group of coins.

Even before the Jews struck the first Hasmonean coins in ancient Israel in the second century BCE, a few important cities in the area had issued their own coins. But the vast majority of city coins were issued after Augustus, when Roman authorities gave minting privileges to certain cities. Such powers were granted to promote both loyalty to Rome and commerce in the area. City coins also developed as a means of local economic, political, and cultural expression.

Meshorer has observed, “coins which are passed from hand to hand and from region to region are a highly efficient means of spreading information rapidly over extensive areas...the coins became a most important source of information.”¹ Because of their key roles as the mass media of the time, Meshorer adds, “the city coins are an incomparable mine of information...affording insight into the character of the inhabitants, their religion and their economy,”² not to mention the public and private buildings, sources of wealth, religious beliefs, and other interests.

The city coins circulated in ancient Israel together with other coins of the area. Since there was a general shortage of coinage in ancient Israel, it is apparent that along with the city coins, Roman coins and even Hellenistic coins continued to circulate. City coinage came to an end during the reign of Gallienus, about 268 CE, when the economy changed so much that the value of the bronze was greater than the nominal value of the coins.

The Decapolis, a league of important Syrian-Greek cities in Transjordan and the northern Jordan Valley during the Roman and Byzantine periods, were the major issuers. Josephus, Pliny, and the New Testament all mention the Decapolis. Pliny lists the member cities as Damascus, Philadelphia, Petra (fig.1), Raphana, Gadara, Hippos, Dium, Pella, Gerasa (fig. 2), Scythopolis (fig. 3), and Canatha. This, however, is not an absolute list,

and Pliny explains that there were as many as 14 to 18 other cities sometimes listed as members. For example, in the early second century, Abila was also a member of the league. While most of the Decapolis cities date their eras from the time of Pompey’s conquest of the area in 63 BCE, some believe that Pompey himself founded the Decapolis when he freed the cities that had been conquered earlier by the Jewish King Alexander Jannaeus. It is known that large Jewish and Christian communities existed in the Decapolis cities, and some of the Jews may have descended from people who had been captured and converted to Judaism by Alexander Jannaeus.

All in all, at least thirty-eight cities of ancient Israel and Transjordan issued coins. This is not a large number compared to more than 350 cities in Asia Minor and around 90 more in Greece and its islands which issued Roman provincial coinage. *Coins of the Holy Land* contains representative examples of most types of coins of each of the cities.

The Sofaer collection has hundreds of outstanding coins, but here I will focus on just a few which have been of special interest to me, and which nicely illustrate how the coins can be used as primary evidence along with archaeology and contemporary sources. (Gabriela Bijovsky’s text introducing each city in *CHL* provide a survey of what is known historically and archaeologically for the cities)

Sepphoris and Tiberias are both cities in the Galilee while Neapolis is in Samaria. According to Alla Kushnir-Stein, the recipient of the 2014 Neapolis Numismatic Prize, the early coinages of each of these cities reflect “the religious sensitivities of the majority of their respective populations: Samaritans in Neapolis and Jews in the two Galilean cities, Sepphoris and Tiberias.”³ Kushnir-Stein’s assumption “is based on the total absence of human or animal representation on some of the earliest series of these cities’ coins, while a few subsequent series show the portrait of a ruling emperor on the obverses, but are consistent in avoiding human or animal representation on the reverses.”⁴

Sepphoris in the Galilee

Sepphoris (fig. 4), four miles northwest of Nazareth, has a unique place in the Judeo-Christian tradition. It is also a site that I intimately know, having served as the numismatist for the Joint Sepphoris Project with Duke University (Drs. Eric and Carol Meyers) and Hebrew University (Dr. Ehud Netzer) in 1985 and 1986, and more recently with Duke University’s 2011 excavations. The history of Sepphoris goes back to the period of the First Temple, circa 1000 to 586 BCE, although little is known about it in those times since few remains of

Fig. 4: The Jewish population occupied domiciles on the Western slope of Sepphoris from the Hellenistic period to the third century CE. This photograph shows that area, excavated mainly by Eric and Carol Meyers of Duke University, who noted many ritual baths and a total absence of pig bones, underlining the Jewish nature of this area. Photograph by David Hendin.



Fig. 5: Panoramic view of Tiberias, c. 1890, with Sea of Galilee in the background (Library of Congress LC-DG-ppmsc-05910).



that period have been found. For the Hellenistic and Roman periods, in contrast, the Sepphoris excavations have been more fruitful.

When Pompey captured ancient Israel in 64 BCE, Sepphoris became a capital, and its importance continued to increase. It was also a temporary capital of Herod Antipas until 19 CE, when Antipas moved his capital to Tiberias (fig. 5). Roman provincial coins were struck at Sepphoris for around 200 years. The earliest coins naming the city are dated to the year 14 of Nero (67/68 CE), and were struck early in the reign of Agrippa II, but unlike most coins of Agrippa II, they do not carry a graven image of his or the emperor's portrait, only wreaths and cornucopias (*CHL* I: 264, nos. 173–174). The inscriptions on these coins provide three names for the city: Sepphoris, Irenopolis (city of peace), and Neronias (after the emperor Nero). The “city of peace” title was given to Sepphoris because during the Jewish War of 66–70 CE, Sepphoris opened itself to the Roman army, and declared itself against the war and in favor of détente. Agrippa II opposed the war against Rome, and the Sepphoreans followed his viewpoint. The legend on the obverse of these coins provides another unique twist, since it refers to “in the time of Vespasian,” thus significantly referring to Vespasian while he was still only a general under Nero, and at least a year (and four emperors) before he was proclaimed emperor!

The next series of four coins of Sepphoris were minted some 30 years later during the reign of Trajan (98–117 CE) and these too tell a fascinating story (*CHL* I: 68, nos. 1–4). Each coin shows an obverse portrait of Trajan, and the reverses are uniquely symbolic of its position as the foremost Jewish city in the Galilee: laurel wreath (fig. 6), palm tree, caduceus, and ears of grain.

Another remarkable aspect of Trajan's coinage of Sepphoris is the obverse inscription, unique in ancient coins: ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΕΛΘΩΚΕΝ (“the Emperor Trajan gave [or permitted]”). It is possible that this means simply that Trajan permitted the local council of Sepphoris to issue coins. This was noteworthy because these were the first coins of Sepphoris except for the unusual issue during Nero's reign, discussed above. Meshorer claims that this “amazing addition, apparently [reflects] the relations between the municipality of Sepphoris (the *boulē*) and the Roman authorities, relations that enabled the people of Sepphoris to mint almost ‘real’ Jewish coins.”⁵ It is also possible that the word “gave” can be read literally, suggesting that Trajan may have given Sepphoris the metal to use for striking these coins. There are few parallels from this period for such an action at this time; it is known that some rulers in the Hellenistic period funded local silver coins from tax revenue.⁶

Incidentally the excavations at Sepphoris bear out the information about the Jewish population. In the domiciles our group excavated on the Western acropolis of the hill, we found no fewer than 25 Jewish ritual baths. And while excavators found thousands of animal bones—many of them clearly found in food preparation areas, near ovens—the animals consisted of sheep, goats, cattle, and birds, but no pigs even though pig bones were found at other sites in Israel from this period.

Sepphoris discontinued minting coins after Trajan's rule, and Meshorer suggests it may have been “a punishment for the city's support of the rebellion of the Jews under Trajan in 115–117/18 CE, called the ‘War of Quietus.’ Although this rebellion occurred in the Diaspora, there are some indications that it had supporters, and perhaps even participants, among the Jewish population of this country, though no hard evidence is available.”⁷

Coins were struck again at Sepphoris during the reign of Antoninus Pius (138–161 CE) but they ceased to have a Jewish character (fig. 7). The name Sepphoris had disappeared, and the city was now called “Diocaesarea,” a name combining the nomenclature of Caesar and Zeus (*Dio-* in Greek). The general inscription can be translated as “Diocaesarea the holy, autonomous city of asylum” and the motifs include various temples, the Tyche of the city, Zeus, and the Capitoline Triad of Zeus, Hera, and Athena (*CHL* I: 68, nos. 5–12).

At this time it seems that a major Jewish presence continued at Sepphoris, but was joined by Romans, who constructed the kinds of temples, roads, and shops one usually associates with a Roman city (fig. 8).

Under Caracalla (193–211 CE) and Elagabalus (218–222 CE), a fascinating series of large coins, some of which are clearly intended as medallions, were struck apparently to commemorate the concept that the people of Sepphoris and the Senate and the Roman people were “friends and allies” (*CHL* I: 68, nos. 14, 16) (fig 9).

The Talmud contains many embellished stories about the relationship between a Roman emperor named Antoninus (a name used by both Caracalla and Elagabalus) and Rabbi Judah the Patriarch, who moved to Sepphoris around 200 CE and lived there for 17 years, during which time he was the principal compiler of the Mishnah. One story, for example, suggests that the emperor waited on the Rabbi with food or drink.⁸ Meshorer notes that even though there is evidence that Caracalla and his father Septimius Severus preferred the East over the other Roman provinces, and apparently acted favorably to the Jews,⁹ the fanciful



Fig. 6: Sepphoris. Trajan (98–117 CE). AE coin (13.42 g, 26.8 mm) with obverse legend stating “The Emperor Trajan gave” and the reverse legend “of the people of Sepphoris” in a wreath. (CHL 1). Photo by Alan Roche. Gift of Abraham and Marian Sofaer to the American Friends of the Israel Museum.



Fig. 7: Sepphoris-Diocaesarea. Antoninus Pius (138–161 CE). AE coin (9.49 g, 22 mm) depicting Hera and beginning the use of the name Diocaesarea (City of Zeus) without the name Sepphoris. (CHL 8). Photo by Alan Roche. Gift of Abraham and Marian Sofaer to the American Friends of the Israel Museum.



Fig. 8: Sepphoris-Diocaesarea. Antoninus Pius (138–161 CE). AE coin (11.2 g, 23 mm) depicting a local temple with the City Goddess within. (CHL 6). Photo by Alan Roche. Gift of Abraham and Marian Sofaer to the American Friends of the Israel Museum.



Fig. 9: Sepphoris-Diocaesarea. Elagabalus (218–222 CE). AE coin (8.59 g, 24 mm) with Greek legend in a wreath referring to the people of Sepphoris-Diocaesarea as “friends and allies” of the holy Senate and people of Rome. (CHL 16). Photo by Alan Roche. Gift of Abraham and Marian Sofaer to the American Friends of the Israel Museum.



Fig. 10: Umayyad coin (circa 7th century CE) with the name Saffuriya. AE coin (3.05 g, 21.2 mm). (CHL 20). Photo by Alan Roche. Gift of Abraham and Marian Sofaer to the American Friends of the Israel Museum.



Fig. 11: Tiberias. Elagabalus (218–222 CE). AE coin (13.99 g, 26.7 mm) depicting Asklepios, patron god of medicine (left), and Hygieia, goddess of health. The coin is a promotion for the city’s health industry based on its natural hot springs. (CHL 19). Photo by Alan Roche. Gift of Abraham and Marian Sofaer to the American Friends of the Israel Museum.



Fig. 12: Tiberias. Domitian (81–96 CE). AE coin (12.80 g, 24 mm) depicting crossed cornucopias with the Greek legend “of the people of Flavian Neapolis, year 15” = 86/87 CE. Photo by Alan Roche. Gift of Abraham and Marian Sofaer to the American Friends of the Israel Museum.

Talmudic stories “were used by scholars as a background against which they aggrandized the house of Rabbi Judah.”¹⁰

After the reign of Elagabalus no further coins were struck at Sepphoris until the rare issue of the Umayyad period (using the city name Saffuriya) in the 7th century CE (CHL I: 69, no. 20) (fig. 10).

Tiberias in the Galilee

Herod Antipas (4 BCE–34 CE) was the founder of Tiberias, and struck the first coins there (he may have struck his own first issue in his first capital, Sepphoris, in 1 BCE / 1 CE).¹⁰ All of the Antipas coins are without graven images, and carry reeds, branches, trees, bunches of dates, and wreaths (CHL I: 260–261, nos. 87–109). Antipas’ final series carries the name of Caligula, which is the first time the coins of a Jewish ruler carried the name of a Roman emperor (CHL I: 261, nos. 110–116).

A coin struck at Tiberias by Agrippa II commemorates the “Victory of Augustus” in the Jewish War with a palm branch motif (CHL I: 265, no. 183) (fig. 13).

The city coinage of Tiberias began under Trajan, and all coins carry imperial portraits. They depict Tyche and Hygieia (fig. 11) as well as crossed cornucopias (fig. 12) and an anchor. Hygieia was the goddess of health in the Greco-Roman pantheon, and Tiberias was (and still is) known for its hot springs and spas. This coin and others of Tiberias featuring Hygieia and Asklepios (CHL I: 72, no. 19) show how the cities used their coins to advertise their own commerce, gods, and sites. Tiberias, nestled on the east side of the Sea of Galilee, also refers its maritime heritage, with depictions of Poseidon with a galley in full sail (CHL I: 72, nos. 21, 24–26).

Neapolis in Samaria

One of the strongest series represented in the Sofaer collection are the coins of Shechem in Samaria, struck while the city was a Roman colony called Neapolis. The earliest coins of Neapolis, which became a “polis” in 72/3 CE under Vespasian, were struck under his son Domitian. This series depicts an inscription in wreath, crossed cornucopias within wreath, palm tree, two ears of grain, and vine branch (CHL I: 50–51, nos. 2–13), thus resembling the Sepphoris coins minted under Trajan. Later issues struck under Antoninus Pius and subsequent emperors offer a variety of reverses featuring various gods and goddesses, with the holy site of Mt. Gerizim, rising above the town (fig. 14), common to many. The Arabic name for Mt. Gerizim is Jebel et-Tur, and it stands to the south, opposite another mountain with which it was paired in the Bible, Mt. Ebal, rising above the town to the north. Between the

mountains lies the fertile Valley of Shechem, named for the ancient city that stood nearby, and today the Arab-populated town is called Nablus, a name clearly derived from the Roman Neapolis. The best depictions of Mt. Gerizim on the coins of Neapolis show a clear view of the mountain, along with a Temple and shrines above it.

Once the children of Israel crossed the Jordan River, they were commanded to build an altar of stone on Mt. Ebal, and to engrave upon it “all the words of this law” (Deut. 27: 4–8). They were also commanded to “set the blessing upon Mt. Gerizim, and the curse upon Mt. Ebal” (Deut. 2: 12–13).

This was the spot where Joshua, on the return from Egypt, commanded the Israelites to stand—some of them on Mt. Gerizim to bless the people, and some on Mt. Ebal to curse them. Martin Price has noted that “it is tempting to view the altar which caps the right hand spur of the mountain as the successor to the altar which Joshua himself set up on Mt. Ebal opposite Mt. Gerizim.”¹²

After Hadrian defeated Bar Kokhba in 135 CE, he ordered a temple to Zeus Hypsistos built on the top of Mt. Gerizim, and this is the main complex seen on the coins of his successors. It is said that the original bronze gates from the Jerusalem Temple were carried to Mt. Gerizim to adorn it. (Much later, during the time of the emperor Julian II, the Samaritans reportedly destroyed the sanctuary to Zeus and used the holy bronze gates as the doors to their synagogue, also built in Neapolis.) *Coins of the Holy Land* contains nearly a dozen of these large coins depicting Mt. Gerizim, including the largest medallion known to ever have been struck in the Holy Land, weighing 53.59 grams and measuring 52 mm in diameter (CHL I: 51, no. 19) (fig. 15).

The coins of Neapolis showing Mt. Gerizim, according to Price and Trell, “furnish details which the archaeologists can use to supplement the meager remains of the monuments on the site. A conflation of all the varieties minted during the second and third centuries CE gives the following details: A peripteral temple on the top of Mt. Gerizim, standing on a large platform; an upright male cult image with arms raised between the central columns of the left façade of the temple; a horned altar to the right of the temple; an elaborate stairway descending from the temple to a colonnade at the foot of the mountain; several one-storied buildings on both sides of the stairway; a path with arches at both ends winding up the valley between the spurs of Mt. Gerizim; the right-hand peak crowned with an altar.”¹³



Fig. 13: Tiberias. Agrippa II (56–95 CE). AE coin (5.84 g, 16.8 mm) around the palm branch is the legend “Victory of Augustus, King Agrippa” struck in Agrippa’s year 15, which corresponds to either 69/70 or 74/75 CE, either the end of the Jewish War or the immediately after Masada fell to the Romans. (CHL 83). Photo by Alan Roche. Gift of Abraham and Marian Sofaer to the American Friends of the Israel Museum.



Fig. 14: Mt. Gerizim in Neapolis (Library of Congress LC-DIG-ppmsca-02727)



Fig. 15: Neapolis. Antoninus Pius (138–161 CE). AE medallion (53.59 g, 42.7 mm) is the largest medallion known to have been struck by the cities of the ancient Holy Land and depicts Mt. Gerizim with its associated colonnades, temple, shrines, stairways, and altars. (CHL 19). Photo by Alan Roche. Gift of Abraham and Marian Sofaer to the American Friends of the Israel Museum.



Fig. 16: Neapolis. Philip I (244–249 CE). AE coin (9.79 g, 27 mm) depicts a figure (l.) standing r. with hands raised to lips; facing her a figure stand l. holding a kneeling figure and a sword or knife, to r., a fourth figure advancing l. and raising hand and at side, ram. l. This scene apparently depicts the binding of Isaac by his father Abraham. Photo by Alan Roche. Gift of Abraham and Marian Sofaer to the American Friends of the Israel Museum.



Fig. 17: Neapolis. Otacilia Severa (wife of Philip I) AE coin (15.15 g, 25.8 mm) depicts a Dekanos. There were 36 Dekanoi who were the “anonymous righteous people are the saviors of the world, the most important of whom is the Messiah” according to Meshorer. Photo by Alan Roche. Gift of Abraham and Marian Sofaer to the American Friends of the Israel Museum.

Two of the most interesting biblical or religion-related ancient coin types are among the Neapolis coins of the Sofaer collection. The first coin shows the biblical story of the binding of Isaac (Gen. 22). This story “became a symbol of devotion and submission to God’s will on the one hand and of the sacrifice of the innocent on the other,”¹⁴ according to Meshorer. He also notes that depiction of this scene has been popular in Jewish and Christian art throughout history and it can be found in mosaics in ancient churches and synagogues, on Jewish and Christian amulets, in illuminated manuscripts, and even as a subject for painters such as Caravaggio, Rembrandt, and Rubens.

A Neapolis coin of Philip I is the only numismatic portrayal of this scene (CHL I: 59, no. 179) (fig. 16). It is quite logical for this scene to appear on a coin struck in the city that was the home of the ancient Samaritans, since according to Samaritan tradition the sacrifice took place on Mt. Gerizim, which stands next to the city. (In Jewish tradition it took place on Mt. Moriah in Jerusalem.) The Sofaer specimen of this coin is one of only three known examples. The coin shows “two phases of the binding of Isaac: at the center, Abraham offers his bound son to Zeus-Hypsistos (the syncretistic god of the Samaritans—a combination of Jehovah and Zeus). On the right, a ram is offered instead; above the figures, Mt. Gerizim,”¹⁵ as Meshorer describes it.

The second remarkable coin is also from Neapolis in the name of Otacilia Severa, Philip I’s wife. This is an astrological coin (CHL I: 59, no. 190). Meshorer provides some background: “The final scheme of the zodiac wheel as we know it today was crystallized in the second century CE, during the Roman period. It describes the astrological concept of the structure of the universe consisting of 360 degrees, and divided into 12 sections of 30 degrees each. Each section was given the name of a constellation and since most of them are animals they were called the zodiac (from the Greek *zoos*—animal). This astrological concept is based on the connection between fate and the star map.”¹⁶ While the symbols of the zodiac and the wheel itself were pagan creations, the convention was syncretistically adopted by Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Mosaic synagogue floors excavated in Israel show the zodiac along with symbols of the four seasons, and they seem to be related to the agricultural cycle. The Sofaer collection coin is again one of only three known examples of this coin (fig. 17). The reverse shows a male figure walking to his right, carrying a lily and an altar, Mt. Gerizim on his left. Upwards along his back is his name in Greek, “Dekanos.” There were 36 dekanoi, each in charge of 10 degrees of the zodiac. In Jewish and Samaritan tradition, “these dekanoi are the 36 anonymous righteous people who are the saviors of the world, the most important of whom is the Messiah.”¹⁷

(*Coins of the Holy Land: The Abraham and Marian Sofaer Collection at the American Numismatic Society and The Israel Museum*, a two-volume set is available for \$190—a 30% discount for ANS members, at the ANS website. A very limited group of books is available with a bookplate with Ya’akov Meshorer’s original signature in volume I for \$250).

End notes:

- 1 Meshorer 1985: 6.
- 2 Meshorer 1985: 7
- 3 Kushnir-Stein 2008: 125
- 4 Kushnir-Stein ibid.
- 5 Meshorer 1979: 164
- 6 Howgego 1985: 86
- 7 Meshorer 1979: 165
- 8 Babylonian Talmud, ‘Abodah Zarah 10b
- 9 Meshorer 1979: 170–171
- 10 Mehorer 1979: 167
- 11 Hendin 2002–2006
- 12 Price 1975: 8
- 13 Price and Trell 1977: 173
- 14 Meshorer 2000: 40
- 15 Meshorer 2000: 41
- 16 Meshorer 2000: 62
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Facing page: Germany, Saxony, Collage of Meissen porcelain medals and coins ranging from 1920s to the 1950s.

THE LOUIS H. SCHROEDER COLLECTION OF MEISSEN PORCELAIN COINS AND MEDALS

Sylvia Karges

The Meissen Porcelain Factory, located in Saxony, Germany, is widely considered the birthplace of European hard-paste porcelain. Famous for producing luxury porcelain products like dinner services or figurines, it also has a history of manufacturing porcelain coins and medals. The ANS is home to a very large collection of these Meissen coins and medals (fig. 1) spanning a timeframe from the early 1920s up to 1956. The collection includes objects made out of both white and brown hard-paste porcelain. The primary donor of this collection was Louis H. Schroeder (fig. 2), who gave close to 1,800 pieces. Besides giving his Meissen material, he also donated his enormous collection of Thailand porcelain tokens and Arabic glass weights, which seem to have been his other main numismatic interests. Befitting the scope of his gifts, in 1946 Schroeder was honored with a plaque on our ANS Benefactor Wall.

Schroeder was born in 1893 or 1894 in Roslyn Heights, Long Island (the date of his birth remains uncertain). He attended Pratt Institute in Brooklyn and was a pioneer in the field of corrugated paper machines. His business moved him to Richmond, Virginia where he passed away in 1956. At the time of his passing he was president of three companies: Progressive Corrugated Paper Machinery Company, Corrugated Container Corporation, and the Dixie Container Corporation.

When he gave his Meissen coins and medals, Schroeder also donated documents, mostly letters and inventories, detailing his Meissen collection and how it was formed. These documents reveal Schroeder's connection to Germany, in particular to his German liaison Warnfried Wilhelm, who played a major role in securing the por-

celain objects. It is astonishing to notice that even after Mr. Schroeder had already donated his entire Meissen collection to the ANS, he continued to search for missing pieces for the Society. Before I continue with the story of this collection and how it was put together, I'll first give a short history of the invention of European porcelain and the Meissen Factory.

A stable formula for porcelain was first discovered in 1708, and was initially attributed to Johann Friedrich Böttger (fig. 3). But it was more likely based on the discoveries of Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus. Both men worked together, although Böttger did so on an involuntary basis. In fact, he was held captive by August II of Saxony (fig. 4) as a result of a chain of events that Böttger seemed to have started himself. During his apprenticeship in Berlin, where he worked for a pharmacist named Zorn, he developed a keen interest in alchemy. He conducted many experiments in the pharmacy's laboratory and in 1701 he claimed that he'd succeeded in turning silver coins into gold. What really happened at this publicly demonstrated experiment is unknown, but it is more than possible that Böttger might have invented a sort of tincture that at least temporarily changed the color of the objects. Whatever happened at this demonstration, it attracted a lot of attention. Monarchs including Frederick I of Prussia and August II of Saxony started to show interest in Böttger's claim of "making" gold. He was offered work by Frederick I but declined it, which led to his persecution. As a consequence, Böttger fled Berlin and found refuge in Wittenberg, where he was soon captured by troops of August II and brought to Dresden. At the Palais Fürstenberg,



Fig. 2: Germany (Soviet Occupation Zone/ German Democratic Republic), Saxony, Louis H. Schroeder, 1949, Weigelt 3.319. (ANS 1950.75.2, gift of Louis H. Schroeder), 103 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 3: Germany, Saxony, Johann Friedrich Böttger, no date (probably 1918–1926). (ANS 0000.999.56646) 66 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 4: August II with his son August III, depicted on the “Procession of Princes” in Dresden; a 335-foot-long procession mural to commemorate the 800th anniversary of the ruling Wettin dynasty of Saxony. Originally painted in 1871, but from 1904–07 transferred to ca. 23,000 hand-painted Meissen porcelain plates.



Fig. 5: Germany, Saxony, Leipzig Trade Fair (Spring and Autumn), 1925. (ANS 0000.999.56647) 35 mm.



Fig. 6: Germany, Saxony, Meissen, Must-Festival, 1933. (ANS 1949.102.3, gift of Louis H. Schroeder), 37 mm.

he was forced to work in a laboratory to fulfill his claims of being able to make gold.

In 1704, Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus, a mathematician and physicist, became Böttger’s supervisor. Both men worked together in an effort to manufacture ceramic materials, where von Tschirnhaus believed he was close to an answer. Finally, in 1708, one of the many experiments must have proven successful, but von Tschirnhaus suddenly died that year, bringing all production of porcelain to a halt. It was only in the following year, in 1709, that the invention of European hard-paste porcelain was officially announced to August II of Saxony—by Böttger himself. It seems that von Tschirnhaus’ death allowed Böttger to seize the moment and claim the invention as his own. Today, it is widely accepted that Böttger did not solely invent European hard-paste porcelain. Perhaps by claiming the invention, Böttger thought he could regain his freedom. But in order to keep the formula a secret, Böttger was not allowed to leave Saxony. He was to stay under steady surveillance for the rest of his life. Already in 1709 the first glazed and unglazed porcelain objects were exhibited at the famous Leipzig Trade Fair (fig. 5), the first mention of which dates to 1165 and which continues to this day. A year later, in 1710, the empty Albrechtsburg, a castle majestically overlooking the town of Meissen (fig. 6), was chosen for the production of porcelain goods. And so it was on January 23, 1710, that the “Porcelain Manufactory of the King of Poland and the Electoral Prince of Saxony” was officially founded.

It did not take long for the secret recipe to spread all over Europe and for other factories to start producing porcelain. By 1718 the Vienna Porcelain Factory was founded. The arrival of the chemist Samuel Stöltzel, who worked at the Meissen Factory and had fled Meissen, helped the production of Viennese porcelain.

Early products of the Meissen factory very much resembled Asian-style porcelain objects in shape and decoration. The large and magnificent collection of Chinese and Japanese porcelain objects established by August II may very well have served as model for these first objects (figs. 7–9). Products produced at the factory include, but are not limited to, dinner sets, centerpieces, cups, plates, vases, bowls, plates, tea and coffee pots, candle holders, miniatures with metal framings, pipe bowls, framed paintings on porcelain plates, and last but not least the famous Meissen figurines. With the establishment of the Meissen factory August II started his own Meissen collection, giving many commissions to the factory. Meissen products also served August II and his successors in political affairs. The relationship between the Electors August II and his son August III,

who were both Kings of Poland, and the Russian Empire for example, included many of these as diplomatic gifts.

The first porcelain coins and medals were produced in the late 18th century. They were mostly reproductions of rare coins, which were of interest and value only to collectors in order to fill gaps in their collections. It was not until the 1920s that a coin department was established and “real” coins were produced, many of which served as emergency currency issued in the Weimar Republic during the time of inflation. To this day the factory still produces medals.

The earliest written correspondence found in the Schroeder papers dates from 1937 and the paper trail ends in 1950. Unfortunately, not much can be said about Schroeder’s contacts to Germany predating World War II, since there are only two letters from that period. Nevertheless, they reveal that Schroeder had in fact visited Dresden and therefore perhaps even the factory and its coin department. There are two letters from 1937 sent to Schroeder by Arno Eckard—who was a coin dealer in Dresden (fig. 10a & b). In a letter dated July 29, 1937, Eckard thanks Schroeder for his visit to Dresden and reminds him of their agreement: “First of all I thank you very much for your visit and I beg to ascertain [*sic*] you that I am willing to help you to complete your collection.” After a second letter from October 1937, the paper trail does not pick up again until 1947, which leaves a ten-year gap, more or less the time frame of World War II.

Not much is known about what happened at the factory once the Nazis assumed power in 1933. There are, however, two names connected with the factory during that time period. On the one hand we know that the famous General Director Max Adolf Pfeiffer (1875–1957) (fig. 11) was first suspended as early as 1933 and then fired in 1934. Pfeiffer started working at the factory in 1913 and became General Director by 1926. His time working at the factory is also known as the “Pfeiffer-Zeit” or “Pfeiffer Period”. The second name that comes up during this period, especially in connection with the coin department of the factory, is Emil Paul Börner (1888–1970). He worked during the 1910s and ’20s as a sculptor and painter. From 1930 to 1937 he was director of the Art Department, when he was appointed professor at the Dresden Academy of Applied Arts and in 1942 at the Dresden Academy of Fine Arts.

Looking at the objects of the Schroeder donation, it is evident that the coin department of the factory was certainly up and running during the war. There are many medals commemorating “victorious campaigns.” But it is unknown at this point what else might have been



Fig. 7: Germany, Saxony, Meissen, coffee pot with cover, Böttger stoneware, ca. 1710–13. Copyright the Frick Collection, with many thanks to the Henry H. Arnhold Collection.



Fig. 8: Germany, Saxony, Meissen, mounted figural group, Meissen porcelain with gilt-bronze mounts (probably French), ca. 1728–30, model attributed to George Fritzsche, H. 152 mm (6"), L. 247 mm (9 ¾"), Copyright the Frick Collection, with many thanks to the Henry H. Arnhold Collection.



Fig. 9: Germany, Saxony, Meissen, One of a pair of birdcage vases, Meissen porcelain, after 1730, H. 514 mm (20 ¼"), Copyright the Frick Collection, with many thanks to the Henry H. Arnhold Collection.



Fig. 10a: Germany, Saxony, Dresden, Arno Eckard, Coin Dealer, 1926. (ANS 0000.999.56648), irregular shape.

Fig. 10b: Germany, Saxony, Dresden, Arno Eckard, Coin Dealer, no date (1920s). (1949. 31.2, gift of Louis H. Schroeder), 36 mm.

produced or who worked in the factory at this time. The latter must be asked specifically with regard to forced labor, widely practiced by the Nazi regime. We know that Schroeder inquired about Meissen porcelain medals predating 1945 in his letters. Warnfried Wilhelm gave the following answer: “The moulds of all the medals manufactured before 1944 are all destroyed” (Wilhelm to Schroeder August 17, 1948). Furthermore it is stated in another letter to Schroeder, that: “... all the factory books are burned” (Wilhelm to Schroeder August 27, 1948).

After the defeat of Nazi Germany in 1945 (fig. 12) the factory found itself located within the Soviet Occupation Zone and under the authority of the Soviet Military Administration of Germany. On orders of the Soviet Military Administration and on grounds of reparation demands, significant parts of the factory, including its collection, machinery, production equipment and tools, were disassembled and shipped to the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, production must have been able to resume, as products of the factory were on display at the reopened Leipzig Trade Fair in the spring of 1946. On August 1, 1946, the factory was transformed into a Soviet joint-stock company, making it a nationalized company under the direct authority of the Soviet Union. Soviet joint-stock companies were part of the system put in place to overlook and control reparation efforts. With the founding of the German Democratic Republic in 1949 these companies were then transformed into state-owned companies, which were an integral part of the new socialist economic system.

The first letter in the Schroeder archives dated after the war was sent to Schroeder in 1947 by Vernon L. Brown, the Curator of the Chase National Bank Collection of Moneys of the World. It explains that Eckard had contacted Vernon with the request that he forward a message to Schroeder. According to Brown, Eckard wanted to offer Schroeder Meissen porcelain coins and medals “... [in] exchange for commodities rather than money.” It appears that Schroeder and Eckard had lost touch and Eckard was trying to renew their relationship. There are no further direct correspondences between Schroeder and Eckard found in the archives after that. Sometime in 1948, Schroeder engaged Warnfried Wilhelm to attempt to acquire Meissen coins and medals still missing in his collection. In a letter of November 22, 1948, to ANS curator of medals Richard Kenney, Schroeder refers to Wilhelm as his “connection”; in another letter of February 8, 1949, to Sydney P. Noe, he calls him his “agent.” From the correspondence between Schroeder and Wilhelm we know that Eckard and Wilhelm knew each other. In their first correspondence Wilhelm states that Eckard is “...working now in the Meissen porcelain factory

every month a few day[s]...” (Wilhelm to Schroeder, June 11, 1948). In the same letter Wilhelm also informs Schroeder about the re-opening of the medal and coin producing facilities at the factory, and mentions the first porcelain medal produced after the war: a commemorative medal celebrating the 30th anniversary of the Russian Revolution (fig. 13).

Schroeder was interested in both newly produced and still-available porcelain pieces. Most of these objects, certainly the ones acquired in the Soviet Occupation Zone, Schroeder did not pay for in the traditional sense. Even if he had wanted to, it would have been impossible. Rather, it was the above-mentioned “exchange of commodities” which was the preferred method of payment. The Schroeder papers offer a glimpse into monthly shipments of parcels, which Wilhelm used to purchase Meissen numismatic products. The number of parcels shipped from New York to Dresden, where Wilhelm lived, varied from month to month. The letters, dealing with shipment issues during 1948 and 1949, state monthly shipments of between two and seventeen packages. Not all the packages for a month were sent at once and not all were directly addressed to Wilhelm; some were addressed to his wife and some had to be collected in Berlin. The latter was mentioned in a letter with an interesting historical side note: “Being in Berlin I am [the] happy-receiver of the first care parcel shipment coming over the air-bridge to us” (Wilhelm to Schroeder, December 14, 1948) (fig. 14).

Unfortunately, the exact contents, size, and weight of these parcels are unknown. Nevertheless, the number of monthly shipments was impressive. It is unclear how many objects Schroeder obtained this way, but we are surely not just talking about a small number, but about many hundreds. In a letter to Wilhelm, Schroeder mentions a “... monthly mailing CARE food parcel list...” next to sending “... other parcels by parcel post US mail...” (Schroeder to Wilhelm, September 22, 1948). If this refers to a CARE (Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe) parcel, these commonly contained contents worth ca. \$10–15 and weighing around 17–22 lbs. They generally included cans of food and other necessities like meat broth, corned beef, lard, margarine, fruit preserves, milk powder, coffee, sugar, soap, etc. There is no direct evidence in the letters whether the parcels were indeed sent through the CARE package program. One has to bear in mind that this program was officially only in effect in the Western Occupation Zones of Germany, not the Eastern Occupation Zone, which is where Schroeder’s business was conducted. But shipments of such parcels are known to have arrived there too. And one of the letters seems to suggest this: “We all are very glad that this shipment comes to us too as we have heard so many rumors that the parcels



Fig 11: Germany, Saxony, Max Adolph Pfeiffer, 1925, (ANS 1949.25.3, gift of Louis H. Schroeder), 147 mm x 140 mm (image reduced).

mailed in November are not transferred to the East Zone” (Wilhelm to Schroeder, December 28, 1948). Perhaps Schroeder alternated between both the CARE program and privately sent parcels. In addition to the purchase of ready-made parcels, he sent “extra” items, which by the account of Wilhelm helped to acquire certain pieces: “In all cases the people are far more willingly [*sic*] to give away these coins instead by offering money for which nothing of extra food value is obtainable” (Wilhelm to Schroeder, October 13, 1948).

The last year of correspondence in the Schroeder archives is 1950. Wilhelm explains the success of producing a medal with Schroeder’s likeness (fig. 2). The artist working on this medal was the aforementioned Emil Paul Börner, who seemed to have been back working at the factory, although it is unknown in what capacity. It is evident in the letter that this medal, of which only ten were pressed, appears to be a thank-you present to Schroeder. Wilhelm and his son Alwin, who had joined his father working for Schroeder, wrote: “Alwin and myself were very pleased that we had the possibility to have these plaquettes prepared and we ask you to accept them as a personal gift from our part, as an everlasting remembrance” (Wilhelm to Schroeder, February 28, 1950).

The relations between Schroeder and his German liaisons, brought to life in their correspondence, offer a rare glimpse into the building of a unique collection and offer a picture of an avid and determined collector. From the content of the letters it is obvious that Schroeder was a generous and thoughtful man, who, besides his goal of purchasing Meissen coins and medals, seemed also to have truly cared about the people he worked with. Here I can only offer a brief summary of his endeavor, but one should keep in mind the point

in time when he was making these efforts: Europe lay in ruins, the Cold War was in effect, and the economic situation of the majority of people was dire. From the letters it appears that Schroeder did not take any undue advantage of the situation, specifically in regards to the economic situation in the Eastern Zone. There is, however, one question that remains above all: does Schroeder’s collection of Meissen numismatic objects, running from the 1920s to the 1950s, contain examples of everything that was produced during this period? At this stage of research it is impossible to say. But what can be said with certainty is that Schroeder’s collection represents by far the largest private collection of Meissen numismatic objects ever donated to a museum.

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Fig. 12: Germany (German Democratic Republic), Berlin-Treptow, commemorating tenth anniversary of end of WWII, 1955, Weigelt 3.041. (ANS 1955.56.1, gift of Louis H. Schroeder), oval, holed, 40 mm x 33 mm.



Fig. 13: Germany (Soviet Occupation Zone), St. Petersburg, commemorating 30th anniversary of Russian Revolution, 1947, Weigelt 3.293. (ANS 1948.143.1, gift of Louis H. Schroeder), 105 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 14: Germany (Allied Occupation Zone), Berlin, commemorating the Berlin Airlift, 1948. (ANS 1950.24.5, purchased), 93 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 1: Gilbert S. Pérez Medal of the Philippine Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, 1952. Bronze silverplate (ANS 1967.203.261, gift of Mrs. Eleanor Pérez Niles) 30mm.



Fig. 3: Jorge B. Vargas (to right in white) and General Masaharu Homma (facing).



Fig. 2: José Paciano Laurel.

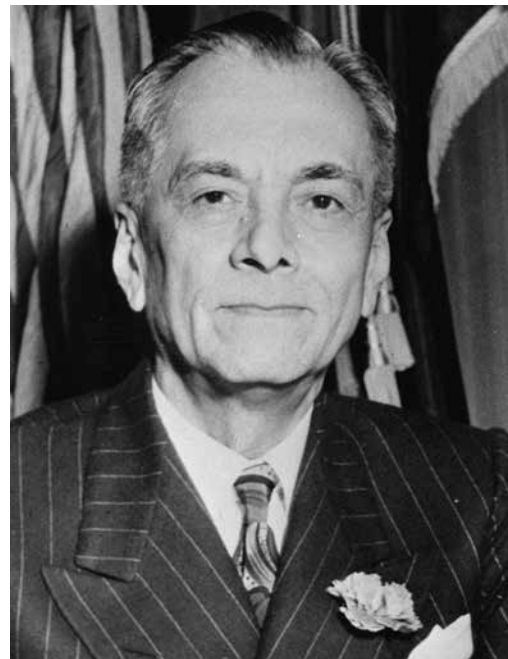


Fig. 4: Manuel Luis Quezón.



Fig. 5: Manuel Luis Quezón–Franklin D. Roosevelt Commonwealth Inauguration peso, 1936-M. Silver (ANS 1936.141.27, purchase) 35.7mm.

based on War Plan Orange that envisioned Fil-American withdrawal to the Bataan peninsula and the heavily fortified island of Corregidor in the event of invasion, there to await relief by the US Navy. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, and the assault on Clark Field and other Philippine bases derailed this plan, and rapid Japanese invasion, the capture of Manila, and the ultimate surrender of Bataan and Corregidor followed. Shortly thereafter medals were struck by Crispulo Zamora over small-size silver pesos for Japanese commander General Masaharu Homma (fig. 3). The illustrated example (fig. 8) is a thin, crudely cast copy with post-war ribbon by José Tupaz.

President Quezón and a few high Commonwealth officials were evacuated with MacArthur, leaving their colleagues in place to deal with the Japanese. A primary split now opened between those going overseas to form a government in exile and those remaining at home under the Japanese. This split would yawn wide in 1944–1947 and some of its after-effects are still felt today.

Japan established military rule, declaring the Commonwealth abolished. It now needed to create a local authority that could be made to appear independent and become a unit of the planned Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere advancing the declared goal of “Asia for the Asians.” Coins were an immediate casualty of the occupation. No metal was available for continuing coinage and nearly all existing US-Philippine and Commonwealth coins were confiscated by the occupation or hoarded by civilians. An abundance of new paper money soon appeared, beginning with non-redeemable fiat money inscribed THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT, known as JIM, Japanese Invasion Money (fig. 9), along with a bewildering flood of notes issued by guerrilla resistance units in the name of the exiled Commonwealth government (fig. 10). Medals alone would record the rocky path of new government in the islands. A first step for General Masaharu Homma’s Japanese Military Government was to co-opt former Commonwealth officials to form the Philippine Executive Commission (*Sanguniang Tagapagpaganap*). The Commission was chaired by President Quezón’s former executive secretary Jorge B. Vargas, appointed by the departing President as first mayor of Greater Manila. Despite his almost embarrassing enthusiasm for the Japanese, they soon realized that Vargas’s prominence was due solely to his association with Quezón rather than to past political leadership. Vargas came to esteem the Commission as “an admirable extension of himself,” but the Japanese now searched for a more politically connected leader. They found him in former Supreme Court Chief Justice José Paciano Laurel, sometime Yale graduate student,



Fig. 6: Douglas MacArthur Peso, 1946-M. (ANS 1948.56.2, gift of David M. Bullowa).



Fig. 7: Crispulo Zamora Medal, 1912. Bronze silverplate. (ANS 1967.203.295, gift of Mrs. Eleanor Pérez Niles) 30mm.



Fig. 8: Capture of Bataan and Corregidor Medal, 1942. Bronze cast, red ribbon possibly a later addition. Originals were struck by Crispulo Zamora over small-size silver pesos for Japanese commander General Masaharu Homma. This example is a thin, crudely cast copy with post-war ribbon by José Tupaz. Basso 150. (ANS 1967.30.739, gift of Mrs. Eleanor Pérez Niles) 35.4mm.



Fig. 9: Philippines-Japanese 500 pesos note, no date .
(ANS 1984.52.336, gift of R. Trenholme) 67 × 157mm.

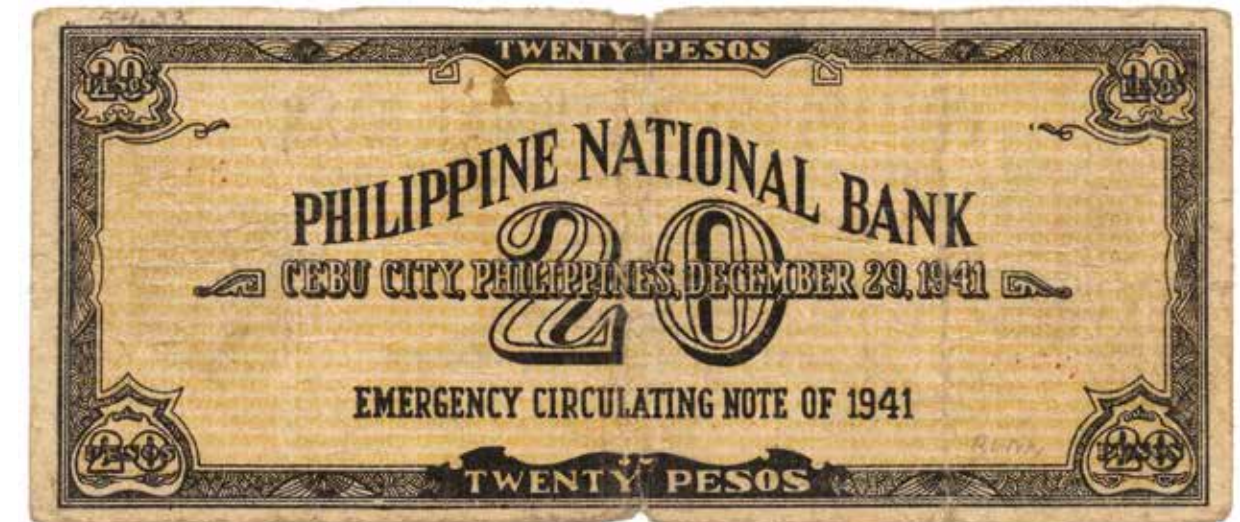
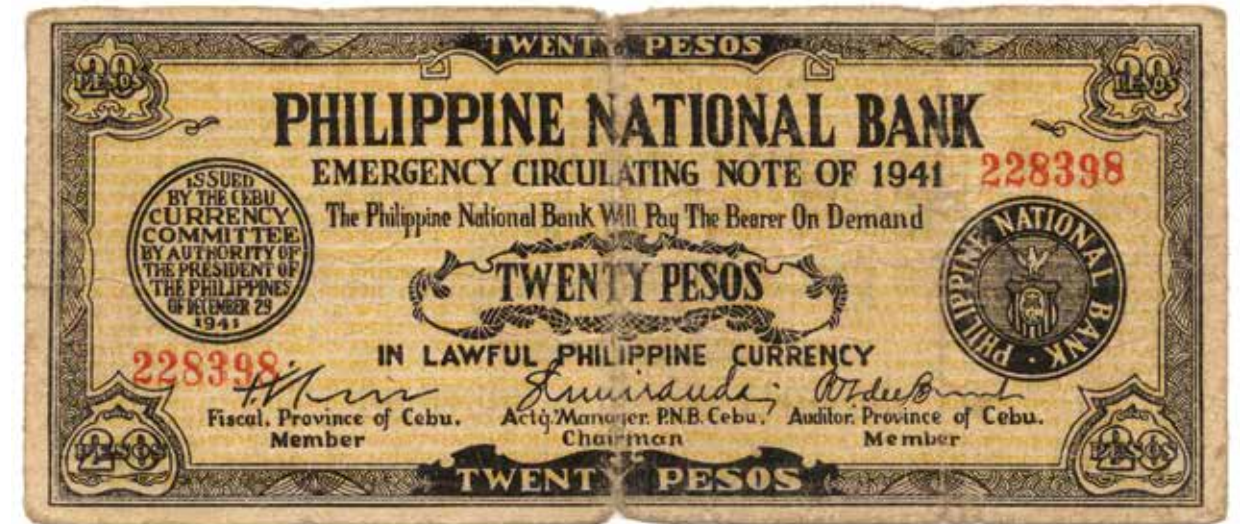


Fig. 10: Philippines "guerilla" 20 pesos note, 1941.
(ANS 1954.33.53, gift of H.L. Freeman) 68 × 157mm.

cabinet secretary under American rule, brilliant jurist and ardent nationalist.

Vargas was elbowed aside although both men were portrayed on the 44mm Bronze Executive Commission Medal of 1943, struck by the Manila engraving firm of Crispulo Zamora (fig. 11). Its reverse bore the triangle and sun of the 19th-century revolutionary organization Katipunan with its "3 K" motto, *Kalayaan, Kapayapaan, Katarungan* (Liberty, Peace, Justice). The second medal appeared almost immediately in the same size, hailing the proclamation of the new Republic of the Philippines (*República ng Pilipinas*) on October 14, 1943, with Dr. Laurel as president. The obverse bore the bust of Dr. Laurel alone in suit and bow tie, the reverse depicting the revolutionary flag of 1898 (and 1946 to present) streaming in the breeze (fig. 12). Research by the author

in the 1980s revealed several varieties of both these medals, a remarkable circumstance given the scarcity of die steel and bronze needed to strike even a single variety. The last 44mm commemorative of the Laurel regime was the 1944 First Anniversary Medal, whose similar obverse joined a reverse bearing a five-line commemorative inscription (fig. 13). Mintages dwindled until only 500 First Anniversary Medals could be struck by cannibalizing examples of the first two issues. The Anniversary Medal was released just before MacArthur returned with Commonwealth President Sergio Osmeña (fig. 14), who had succeeded Quezón upon the latter's death of tuberculosis at Lake Saranac, N.Y., in August 1944. The only other Laurel issue was the rare Tirad Pass Medal, named for Insurrectionary "Boy-General" Gregorio de Pilar (1875–1899), killed in the "Battle above the Clouds" in the mountains of central Luzon,



Fig. 11. Executive Commission Medal, 1943. Bronze. Alexander II, Basso 166. (ANS 1967.30.669, gift of Mrs. Eleanor Pérez Niles), 44.2mm.



Fig. 12. Proclamation of the Republic Medal, 1943. Bronze. Alexander I:A, Basso 165. (ANS 1967.30.672, gift of Mrs. Eleanor Pérez Niles) 44.3mm.

Fig. 13. First Anniversary of the Republic Medal, 1944. Bronze. Alexander I, Basso 167. (ANS 1967.30.675, gift of Mrs. Eleanor Pérez Niles) 44.2mm.

Fig. 14: General Douglas MacArthur lands at Leyte with Sergio Osmeña (in pith helmet), October 20, 1944.



Fig. 15. Order of the Tirad Pass, 1944. Bronze, Second Republic, General Gregorio del Pilar. Basso 168. (ANS 1967.30.743, gift of Mrs. Eleanor Pérez Niles) 43.65mm.



Fig. 16: Manuel Roxas.

covering Aguinaldo's escape from American pursuers in December 1899. Only 15 of these bronze medals with their red ribbons were awarded to members of the regime's Philippine Constabulary (fig. 15).

These comprise the numismatic relics of the wartime republic. The medals were all that most American numismatists would ever hear of either man. Recent research in the ANS cabinet, however, has brought to light a rich trove of hitherto unknown medals and political items relating their later careers, significantly expanding understanding of their larger roles in Philippine history.

As World War II came to a close, a spirit of vengeance swept formerly occupied nations in Europe and Asia. Fascist dictator Benito Mussolini was killed and strung up in Milano, French Marshal Philippe Pétain was sentenced to death for collaboration, modified to life imprisonment on a desolate island in the Bay of Biscay, former Premier Pierre Laval was condemned to death in a uproarious trial, Norway's Major Vidkun Quisling and the Netherlands' Anton Mussert went before firing squads, and thousands of lesser lights fled abroad or

perished in acts of private vengeance. In almost every case, the accused who were able to do so argued motive, many asserting that they had cooperated with *force majeure* to shield the helpless population, secretly worked for the Allies of some level, or had told the occupier what he wanted to hear while doing the opposite or occupied an office to keep out someone worse. In every case the great puzzle was how to accurately or reasonably judge someone else's motives, especially in the emotional aftermath of brutal enemy occupation.

The Philippine case proved impossibly convoluted, defying any fast and easy "hang the traitors" solution. To begin with, the close inter-relationship of the elite families linked leaders and servants of both Commonwealth and Laurel Republic through ancestry or the intimate religious-based relationship of *compadrazgo*. MacArthur's personal friend General Manuel Roxas (fig. 16) was perceived to have received preferential treatment though he had worked with Laurel. Roxas was ostentatiously planning a run for the presidency when the exhausted Osmeña's term expired. Typifying family involvement in the vexed collaboration issue, two of Osmeña's sons were among some 6,000 Filipinos



Fig. 17. Wounded Soldiers' Medal Pattern, Oct. 6, 1947. Bronze, heavy goldplate. Third Republic. General Gregorio de Pilar. Struck by J. Tupaz, "El Oro." (ANS 1967.203.707, gift of Mrs. Eleanor Pérez Niles) 37mm.



Fig. 18. Wounded Soldiers' Medal, Oct. 6, 1947. Bronze and enamel. Third Republic. General Gregorio de Pilar. Green enamel leaves in angles, integral loop, white-purple-white ribbon, EL ORO/ J.P. TUPAZ JR. (ANS 1967.30.714, gift of Mrs. Eleanor Pérez Niles) 37.4mm.



Fig. 19. President Manuel Roxas Inaugural Reception Medal, 1946. RECEPTION header, r-w-b ribbon. Rev incuse G. VALDEZ. Basso 846. (ANS 1967.203.772, gift of Mrs. Eleanor Perez Niles).



Fig. 20. Elpidio Quirino Second Anniversary of the Republic 1948. By Crispulo Zamora. 423 Sales... header 'EL ORO' / J. TUPAZ JR. Basso 855. (ANS 1967.203.781, gift of Mrs. Eleanor Pérez Perez Niles).

accused of collaboration. The most strident calls for vengeance came from the US, distant from the scene. Franklin D. Roosevelt died and his successor Harry S. Truman was utterly ignorant of Philippine realities. Walter R. Hutchinson of US Attorney General Tom Clark's staff stigmatized accused collaborators as "America's Quislings" and demanded condign punishment. Long-time New Deal spokesman Harold Ickes praised those Filipinos "who refused to cringe before the samurai sword of their momentary invader," forgetting that occupation had lasted more than three years. Ickes contrasted these with "those few timid, craven, and opportunistic helots who basely collaborated with the cruel enemy who sought to enslave their people." (See David Joel Steinberg, *Philippine Collaboration in World War II*, University of Michigan, 1967, pp. 125–126.) Arrested in Japan by the American military, Laurel was remanded to Muntinglupa Prison, charged with 132 counts of collaboration and treason, while Vargas was indicted on 115 counts. By now, however, time had passed; politics and the approach of independence set for July 4, 1946, had hopelessly confused the collaboration issue. Meaningful help in preparing prosecution was not forthcoming from the US military, and the urgent demands of reconstruction and the outbreak of a full-fledged Communist insurgency in central Luzon led by the Communist Hukbalahap now took center stage. The third Republic of the Philippines drew on the same revolutionary history and symbols as the Laurel regime. The memory of General Gregorio del Pilar was again honored, now on the Wounded Personnel Medal instituted October 6, 1947, with his facing bust at the center of a Greek cross (figs. 17–18).

Unable to dislodge Osmeña from leadership of the Nacionalista Party, Roxas bolted the long-dominant party of Quezón with much of its leadership, forming a new Liberal Party and leaving only a hollow shell to Osmeña. He was triumphantly elected, becoming last President of the Commonwealth and first of the new Republic of the Philippines proclaimed July 4, 1946 (fig. 19). Now President, Roxas declared a sweeping amnesty of accused collaborators, including Laurel and Vargas. Only 160 of the 6,000 accused were ever convicted and most quickly resumed active participation in the new republic's political life. Roxas died in office and was succeeded by Elpidio Quirino (fig. 20).

Testifying to the speed with which the collaboration issue was forgotten, Laurel rejoined the weakened Nacionalista Party and was its nominee for the presidency in the 1949 election. Only yesterday stigmatized as "puppet, Quisling, collaborationist," he made a creditable showing. Virtually unknown is the bronze medalet bearing his facing head and relief legend LAUREL FOR



Fig. 21. LAUREL FOR PRESIDENT medalet (1949). Bronze uniface. Nearly facing head with legend LAUREL FOR PRESIDENT within outer laurel border, evidently made for mounting in brooch of some description. (ANS 1967.30.677, gift of Mrs. Eleanor Pérez Niles) 20.2mm.



Fig. 22. FOR PRESIDENT JOSE P. LAUREL button, 1949. Steel. Blue lithographic imprint on white, Photo facing bust in Barong Tagalog. (Alexander collection) 24.9mm.



Fig. 23. WE SUPPORT PRES. QUIRINO medal (1949). Bronze uniface. Clothed bust 3/4 l. Rev. Two screw mounts, incuse slot inscribed ZAMORA. (ANS 1967.30.689, gift of Mrs. Eleanor Pérez Niles) 18.6mm.



Fig. 24. FOR PRESIDENT QUIRINO button (1949). Celluloid and steel. Facing blue imprint bust in business suit, (style of Laurel button above). (ANS 1967.203.270, gift of Mrs. Eleanor Pérez Niles) 25.1mm.



Fig. 25. WE SUPPORT PRESIDENT QUIRINO button (1949). Celluloid and steel. No maker. (ANS 1967.203.277, gift of Mrs. Eleanor Pérez Niles), 25.1mm.



Fig. 26. RE-ELECT QUIRINO PRESIDENT button (1949), Celluloid and steel. Red, white, blue stripes. Complex maker's mark like scissors-T NO on back (ANS 1967.203.264, gift of Mrs. Eleanor Pérez Niles) 22.3mm.



Fig. 27. RE-ELECT QUIRINO/ PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES button (1949). Celluloid and steel. Complex maker's mark like scissors-T NO on back. (ANS 1967.203.268, gift of Mrs. Eleanor Pérez Niles) 22.4mm.



Fig. 29, 30. Birth Centennial 2-piso Coins. Jose P. Laurel and Elpidio Quirino. Copper-nickel, 10 sided. (Alexander Collection) 29.8mm.



Fig. 28. Ramon Magsaysay-Carlos Garcia Inaugural Badge, 1953. Bronze goldplate, red-white-blue and amaranth ribbon, pinback header GILBERT S. PEREZ. Struck by Crispulo Zamora, advertising label on back of ribbon. Basso 879. (ANS 1967.203.795, gift of Mrs. Eleanor Pérez Niles) 37.5mm.

Fig. 31: Jorge B. Vargas, President Boy Scouts of the Philippines Medal, 1954. Bronze, Facing bust in BS uniform and lemon squeezer. Rev. Boy Scouts fleur de lis with Katipunan sun at center FIRST NATIONAL JAMBOREE QUEZON CITY, PHILIPPINES * APRIL 23-30, 1954, tiny "EL ORO." Struck by El Oro. (ANS 1967.30.696, gift of Mrs. Eleanor Pérez Niles) 64.5mm.



PRESIDENT, all within a laurel-leaf border (fig. 21). This well-made piece was evidently intended for mounting in some form of brooch or badge. At this time, Philippine political campaigns still used many American accoutrements, including steel and celluloid pinback political buttons inscribed in English. The ANS collection includes a lithograph blue-and-white steel button presenting a facing bust and legend FOR PRESIDENT JOSE P. LAUREL (fig. 22). Political buttons of Elpidio Quirino in the ANS cabinets are more numerous (figs. 23–24). This was a hard-fought campaign, replete with electoral fraud on a grand scale. Statesman Carlos P. Rómulo called it the dirtiest election in Philippine history, ending in a somewhat tainted victory for Quirino. Laurel later served as senator, refused another presidential bid in 1953, but helped elect Ramon Magsaysay as president (fig. 28). Near the end of his career, Laurel represented the Philippines in the US, where he successfully negotiated the Laurel-Langley trade agreement. He was received by and reconciled with General Douglas MacArthur during this historic US visit.

The most amazing testimony to the settling of the collaboration issue and post-war rivalries came in 1990–1991 with the issue of a pair of coins celebrating the birth centenaries of Quirino and Laurel (figs. 29–30). The Laurel piece bore his bust and the circular seal of his wartime republic, complete with its triangle, sun, and motto KALAYAAN, KAPAYAPAAN, KATARUNGAN. To form an idea of this design's impact, European and American collectors might try to imagine a coin of the fifth French Republic portraying of Marshal Philippe Pétain, with his emblem of double-bladed axe and name ÉTAT FRANÇAIS!

The post-war life of Jorge B. Vargas was less dramatic. He sought no political office but as early as 1946 was appointed to the National Planning Commission (1946–1954) and served as a regent of the University of the Philippines (1961–1965). In 1949 he was elected president of the Boy Scouts of the Philippines. That part of his career was commemorated by a bronze medal struck by the Manila firm of "El Oro" (fig. 31). Vargas's role in the greater world of sport included service on the Philippine Olympic Committee. Another high-relief bronze medal hailed him as President of the Asian Games Federation in 1954 (fig. 32).

Both Laurel and Vargas died after long and tumultuous careers, memorialized by public statuary, street names, and learned societies such as Laurel's Ateneo de Manila, dedicated to preservation of Spanish language and culture in the islands. Numismatists, of course, can point to the coin and medal record to chart the role played in Philippine history by both men.



Fig. 32. Jorge B. Vargas, President Asian Games Federation Medal, 1954. Bronze. Facing bust in Barong Tagalog PRESIDENT, ASIAN GAMES FEDERATION. Rev. Flaming Sun- EVER ONWARD logo, SECOND ASIAN GAMES. MANILA. * MAY 1-9, 1954 * Tiny "EL ORO." (ANS 1967.203.697, gift of Mrs. Eleanor Pérez Niles) 64.7mm.

Vladimir and Elvira Eliza Clain-Stefanelli.
Photograph courtesy of Alex Clain-Stefanelli.



Fig. 2: Vladimir's papers relating to his work
on the coins of Callatis.



New Archives Accessions

David Hill and Elena Stolyarik

With the donation of several important collections, the ANS Archives finds itself once again greatly enhanced through the generosity of several supporters. As mentioned in the last issue of this magazine, we are grateful to Anthony Terranova for donating, and Kolbe & Fanning Numismatic Booksellers for helping to acquire, some of the rare and unique notebooks, scrapbooks, unpublished writings, photographs, and other research materials produced by numismatic scholars Vladimir and Elvira Eliza Clain-Stefanelli. These include Vladimir's groundbreaking work the coinage of the ancient Greek colony of Callatis, and Elvira's detailed notebooks relating to the Roman Republican collection of Count Alessandro Magnaguti. Mr. Terranova also donated a remarkable collection of Washingtonia formed by Jack Collins and featuring the photography of Robert J. Myers. We would also like to thank Scott Miller for his contribution of over thirty sketch drawings and a photograph that provide insight into the fascinating life and works of sculptor and medalist Wheeler Williams.

Vladimir and Elvira Eliza Clain-Stefanelli (fig. 1) formed one of the more remarkable husband-and-wife teams in the field of numismatics. Elvira, born in Bucharest in 1914, met her future husband at the age of fourteen while a student at the University of Cernăuți, located in the city of the same name (now part of Ukraine), where Vladimir had been born, also in 1914. The two were married in 1939, Elvira having the year before earned a masters degree with her thesis on the French Revolution. Vladimir had just completed his doctorate, with an emphasis on the coins of Callatis, a Greek colony on the western coast of the Black Sea (modern Mangalia in the Romanian Dobruđa) originating from Pontic Heraclea, located on the southern shore of the Black Sea, itself founded by colonists from Megara. Included among the numismatic papers are his doctoral thesis, *Monete Inedite din Callatis cu o Contributie la Teoria Contramarcarii Monetelor Antice* (Universitatea Cernăuți, 1938), as well as typewritten and manuscript notes from his research on the Callatis mint (fig. 2). In his thesis, Vladimir used numerous examples from public and private collections and publications to present a significant study of the types and magistrate monograms of the coins of Callatis, including an interesting examination of the posthumous

issues of Alexander the Great and Lysimachus. His investigation of the monograms and his die studies—as well as stylistic comparisons with the types issued by Byzantium, Tomis, and the Bosporan and Pontic kingdoms—were the basis of his chronological interpretation of the Callatis issues of the 3rd–1st century BC.

Another facet of his research had to do with countermarked coins and test marks, with special attention given to the quasi-autonomous bronze coins of Callatis issued under Roman administration. The first Callatis coin with a portrait of a Roman emperor dates from the time of Nero (AD 54–68), and this coin type has the image of the emperor on the obverse and an inscription within a wreath on the reverse. According to his observations, this is similar to the quasi-autonomous issues with the veiled head of Demeter and the inscription KAA-ΛATIA-ΝΩΝ within a wreath. One coin of this quasi-autonomous type is countermarked with the letters TPA. Dr. Clain-Stefanelli connected this with a group of coins issued in Callatis under the Roman emperor Trajan (98–117 AD) and noted that the counterstamp with the abbreviated name of the emperor was an excellent device for announcing a new ruler until dies could be prepared to show his portrait on the coins. The donated papers relating to this research provide a fundamental resource for better understanding the coinage of Callatis in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Dr. Clain-Stefanelli's scrupulous scientific analyses have remained little known because his work was unpublished, but the materials can provide significant inspiration for future generations of historians and numismatists.

In 1946, Vladimir, with Elvira as his assistant, was hired by Ernesto and Alberto Santamaria to catalog the collection of Count Alessandro Magnaguti in Rome. She would later say she was almost completely ignorant about coins at this time and traces her start in numismatics to the years spent “sitting in front of a window facing the Piazza di Spagna” weighing and recording the thousands of Roman coins in the collection. Anyone familiar with this remarkable woman will be unsurprised to learn that she proved to be a quick study. Within a year she had resolved to undertake a complete revision of the Babelon classification of the series, eventually filling ten notebooks with the mate-

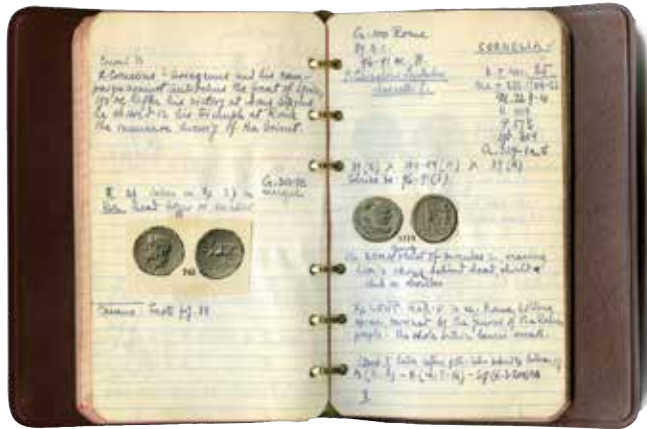


Fig. 3: One of the notebooks from an unpublished project that Elvira said seemed to beckon to her for decades, asking to be put to good use.



Fig. 5: Wheeler Williams with a clay model of his *Venus and Manhattan*. Photograph by Hal Phyfe, courtesy of the National Sculpture Society.

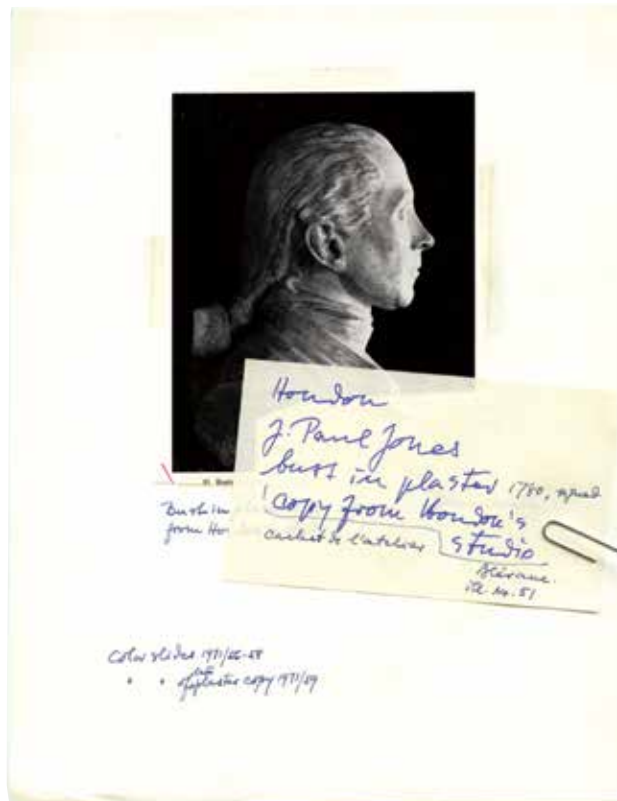


Fig. 4: A page from the Clain-Stefanelli's research notes on the John Paul Jones Comitia Americana series medal.



Fig. 6: *Cold Warrior* Williams liked art that was direct and representational. In this sketch, for a presumably unexecuted piece, the symbolism of the disarmed bear dropping its sickle is hard to miss.



Fig. 7: *United States. Peace on Earth, Society of Medalists, #44. Bronze medal, 1951, by Wheeler Williams, Medallie Art Co. Noble.223ff. (ANS 1951.169.1, gift of the Society of Medalists). 71 mm (images reduced).*

rial that was to form a new manual. In the meantime, a new chronological rearrangement by H. Mattingly and E.A. Sydenham had been introduced, and the Santamarias declined to publish her work as it didn't conform to the new standard. As she would remark fifty years later, those ten notebooks and others, included among the donated materials (fig. 3), "still seem to wink to me asking me what I intend to do with them."

With Vladimir then accepting a proposal from Robert Hecht to assist him in opening and managing a coin firm in the United States—to be christened *Hesperia Art*—the Clain-Stefanellis arrived in New York City in 1951. By 1953 Vladimir had joined the coin firm Stack's, with his wife once again as assistant. In 1956 he became curator of the Division of Numismatics at the Smithsonian Institution, and they both became United States citizens that same year. She joined him as assistant curator in 1957 (becoming full curator in 1965) and together they formed a staff of two. Vladimir became a member of the American Numismatic Society in 1951, and a fellow in 1957; Elvira joined the ANS as a fellow in 1963. Vladimir passed away in 1982, and in 1984 Elvira became the first executive director of the Smithsonian's National Numismatic Collection.

As naturalized Americans with responsibility for the largest coin collection in the United States, they had reason to reflect on and study the country's numismatic heritage. Their interests would turn to American medals, for example, resulting in their joint 1973 publication *Medals Commemorating Battles of the American Revolution*. Included with the acquired materials are research files and photographs the two compiled on early United States medals, particularly as related to the Comitia Americana series (fig. 4). Elvira once said that the United States had "the most outstanding and unique coins in the world," and it was clear that she had a great love for traditional, simple forms, professing a particular fondness for large cents and the Lincoln penny. Her thoughts on the use of contemporary styles on coins seemed more ambiguous. When asked if American coins should have more modern art she responded, "My feeling is yes, very strongly so." But when it came to abstract art, she seemed hesitant: "realism is something that the masses can associate with. The masses will always understand realistic art. Seldom will they approach something abstract. It is not something that speaks to every person."

It certainly didn't speak to Wheeler Williams (fig. 5). The sculptor not only didn't like abstract works, he found them illegitimate, concluding that if pieces were "not representations of living form they cannot, correctly, be considered sculpture." His conservative impulses

so evident in his artistic tastes also found expression in politics, and it was there that he would make a name for himself fighting battles along the artistic front in the Cold War (fig. 6).

Born in Chicago in 1897, Williams had served in the Army Balloon Corps during World War I before graduating from Yale in 1919 and taking a masters degree in architecture from Harvard in 1922. After a time spent in Paris at the École des Beaux-Arts, he returned to the United States in 1928, where he would work in both in New York City and California. His medallic work includes *Peace on Earth* for the Society of Medalists in 1951 (fig. 7) and a medal for the Prudential Insurance Company, with a reverse featuring a grouping of figures based on his fountain at the company's headquarters in Houston and an obverse showing the headquarters building itself. The building—hailed by some as a prime example of 1950s modernism—was demolished last year (2012), though the fountain was saved (figs. 8 and 9). The newly donated materials include numerous sketches relating to the competition to create a National Sculpture Society medal of honor, which would ultimately be designed by Henry Kreis (1940) (fig. 10).

Williams produced many pieces of public sculpture, including the relief *Flight of the Arrow* (1937) for the United States Post Office building on Canal Street, located several blocks from the American Numismatic Society's headquarters (fig. 11), and included in the accession are preliminary sketches for the sculpture (fig. 12). Another was *Venus and Manhattan* (1949), done for the facade of the Parke-Bernet Galleries building at 980 Madison Avenue on Manhattan's Upper East Side (fig. 13). Upon completion, his *Venus* would be declared in violation of the building code, extending eighteen inches further from the facade than permissible, an occupation of New York City space that could not be ignored. The offending foot-and-a-half projection was slapped with a rent of \$25 per year, now over \$3,000, a rate of inflation that might seem reasonable to other Manhattan renters. Williams would attribute the New York City Art Commission president's "ribald" comments at the unveiling—"You are now about to see not only the most expansive, but the most expensive bosoms in New York"—for making him "almost famous overnight."

But it was as a critic not only of the aesthetics of certain kinds of modern art but of the uses to which he felt those materials were being pressed into service for the subversion of the United States where he really made a name for himself in the 1950s, both inside and outside of the art world. For many years an outspoken critic of abstract art—in 1958 he and fellow jurists had shocked trustees of the Louis Comfort Tiffany Foundation when they declared publicly that the entrants competing



Fig. 8: United States. The Prudential Insurance Company of America. Bronze medal, 1952, by Wheeler Williams. (ANS 1959.79.1, gift of H. Dunscombe Colt). 77 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 9: Preliminary sketch for the Prudential medal.

Fig. 10: One of Williams's ideas for a National Sculpture Society medal of honor. He served as president of the NSS from 1951 to 1954.



Fig. 11: Flight of the Arrow, 1937, United States Post Office, Canal Street, New York, N.Y.

Fig. 12: Sketches of Flight of the Arrow. He also produced a version in the round, calling it Indian Bowman.



for the foundation's grants were "so lacking in beauty, craftsmanship and integrity" that they declined to recommend a winner and suggested that an "appreciation of living form [be] a fundamental requirement for jury consideration"—he as president and spokesman for the National Sculpture Society and the American Artists Professional League also actively fought "against socialized art bills in Washington." The most high-profile of these battles had to do with the opening in Moscow of the American National Exhibition in July 1959 as it came under attack by the House Un-American Activities Committee, which accused it of featuring artists

the quality of the paintings—a "childish doodle," "a design which my wife would not accept for a linoleum for a kitchen floor," etc.—as well as the social and political dangers of the Communists' use of "art as a weapon." He would later say in a statement read into the committee's record that "[f]ew realize the importance they give to destruction of a nation's faith in its heritage of art and culture as a preliminary to subjugation." President Eisenhower, suddenly fielding press questions on the exhibit, downplayed it entirely, saying "the art is really a relatively minor sector...occupying two fairly small rooms" and refusing to act as a "censor." Nevertheless, within a week the administration had announced that nineteenth-century paintings, some depicting Abraham Lincoln and George Washington, would be added and exhibited among the disputed works, and that was that.



Fig. 13: Venus and Manhattan, 1949, over the entrance of 980 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

Williams the acerbic art critic would find the tables turned a few years later when his war memorial, *Airman*, was listed among "the world's worst sculpture" by the *New York Times*' art critic, John Canaday (himself not particularly known for his "progressive" views on modern art), who dismissed such artists as among "the least imaginative, most sterile, esthetically most tightly hidebound and reactionary stone-hackers at work today."

Rounding out our recent Archives donations is the collection of Washingtonia research materials formed by Jack Collins. Featuring the photography of Robert J. Myers, it includes prints and negatives of Washington coins, medals, and tokens; five printing dies for a 1991 fixed price list of Washingtonia from the Frederick C.C. Boyd collection; invoices relating to Collins's own collection; and a card index of Washington pieces (fig. 14).

Elvira Eliza Clain-Stefanelli, "Autobiography," in *Italian Fato Profugi Hesperinaque Venerunt Litora: Numismatic Studies Dedicated to Vladimir and Elvira Eliza Clain-Stefanelli* (1996), xxi.

Mark Van Winkle, "An Interview with Elvira Clain-Stefanelli," *Legacy* 2:2 (Summer 1989), 30, 53.

Congressional Record, 86th Cong., 1st sess., 1959, 1.

"Parke-Bernet Galleries: A Blocky Base for Proposed Towers," *New York Times*, Dec. 10, 2006, J11.

Wheeler Williams, "Address by Wheeler Williams," April 26, 1958, Archives of the National Sculpture Society, New York, N.Y., 2.

"Jury Withholds Sculptor Prizes," *New York Times*, Oct. 7, 1958, 37.

Wheeler Williams, "Address," 4.

House Committee on Un-American Activities, The American National Exhibition, Moscow, July 1959, 86th Cong., 1st sess., 1959, 914-915.

Congressional Record, 86th Cong., 1st sess., 1959, 1.

"U.S. Exhibit Adds Traditional Art," *New York Times*, July 8, 1959, 31.

"Our National Pride: The World's Worst Sculpture," *New York Times*, July 25, 1965, X10.



Fig. 14: Photographs by Robert J. Myers from the collection of Washingtonia research materials compiled by Jack Collins.

From the Collections Manager New Acquisitions

By Elena Stolyarik

Incoming loans

Between May and July 2012, over 19,000 objects from the former collection of the Hispanic Society of America (nearly half of Archer M. Huntington's great collection) came back home to the ANS on long-term loan thanks to a generous benefactor. Among these are rare Visigothic gold, ancient Roman silver and bronze coins, Iberian and Celtiberian coins, Islamic and Christian Spanish medieval coins, hundreds of gold and silver French issues, and English medals celebrating Admiral Vernon.

Now, thanks to another anonymous benefactor the ANS has received a new group of coins from the Huntington collection, also on long-term loan. The latest loan consisted of 7,493 pieces. Among these are various issues of ancient Iberian and Celtiberian coins of the pre-Roman period (fig. 1), as well as bronze coins of the early Roman emperors (fig. 2–3) struck by Roman provincial mints in Spain and issues from the medieval Spanish kingdoms. The largest component consists of thousands of Dutch jetons from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (fig. 4), as well as many German (fig. 5) and French jetons. It will take several months for the ANS to sort and put the coins in their original boxes, update computer records, and reorganize this collection that had been on our premises for more than six decades. However, this process is a welcome task for the ANS team. Thank to our benefactors these long-term loans will make this priceless historical resource accessible to researchers.

New Acquisitions

In addition to the loans from the former Huntington collection, the Society purchased several important items of this collection not represented in the ANS cabinet from the Jesús Vico auction of October 2012 (through Classical Numismatic Group). This group includes a second-century BC *as* from Tirsos (one of only two known examples, fig. 6, an exceptionally rare *as* from Cilpe of the mid-first century BC (fig. 7), a unique bronze *as* from Libiakos (fig. 8), which can be traced back to the first half of the nineteenth century, from the famous collection of José García de la Torre.

Through this sale the ANS also obtained several rare regal Spanish specimens, including a gold ½ ral d'or of

Peter IV the Ceremonious (1336–1387) of Aragon, Barcelona, Valencia, and Mallorca (fig. 9); a gold *dobla de la banda* of King John II (1406–1454) of Castile and Leon (fig. 10); and a gold ½ principat of Charles and Johanna (1516–1555) minted in Barcelona (fig. 11).

Among the highlights of the former Huntington coins purchased are two extremely rare silver 8-reales pieces of Philip V (1701–1746), from the mint of Seville and dating from 1701. These pieces constituted an opportunity to acquire two of the greatest modern Spanish rarities in the former HSA-Huntington collection. Still another fine coin is a 5 escalins emergency issue from Oudenaarde, struck during the siege of the city in 1582 (fig. 12). This curious piece, with an image of eyeglasses, is a generous donation of Dr. Jay M. Galst, ANS fellow and Augustus B. Sage Society member, and ophthalmological numismatics collector. We are happy to welcome back into our cabinets all these former Huntington coins!

The ANS purchased for the Greek department twelve rare and important fifth- to fourth-century BC coins of the Thessalian mint of Larissa from the BCD collection: drachms (fig. 13) and hemidrachms; trihemiobols (fig. 14), obols (fig. 15) and a hemiobol (fig. 16). These varieties were all lacking from the ANS collection

A very advantageous purchase came from the CNG e-auction (January 16, 2013). From this sale our Greek department acquired a group of rare fifth-century BC Sicilian tetradrachms from Himera, Messana, and Syracuse (figs. 17–19). These coins are from the famous Diez collection. Professor Dr. Robert Diez (1844–1922) and Julius Diez (1870–1957) started collecting Greek coins at the beginning of the twentieth century, and a large group of their collection was obtained at that time from notable European auction houses such as Brüder Egger and Dr. Jacob Hirsch. The new ANS purchase is a useful addition to the cabinet, since the Society did not have coins of these die combinations.

We are quite grateful to have received for the Medieval collection an example of the silver bracteate of Hermann I (1190–1217), from the Landgraviate of Thuringia (fig. 20). This beautifully preserved artifact was donated by Christina and Saskia Höhn, from the



Fig. 1. Spain. Untikesken. 2nd century BC, AE coin. Ex Archer Huntington collection. (ANS 1001.1.11189, on loan to the ANS) 27 mm.



Fig. 2. Roman provincial, Spain. Tiberius (AD 14–37). Turiaso. As. RPC.413. Ex Archer Huntington collection. (ANS 1001.1.11975, on loan to the ANS) 28 mm.



Fig. 3. Roman provincial, Spain. Caligula (AD 37–41). Caesaraugusta. As. Ex Archer Huntington collection. (ANS 1001.1.7416, on loan to the ANS) 26 mm.



Fig. 4. Netherlands. Philip II. 1584. Dordrecht. AE jeton. Ex Archer Huntington collection. (ANS 1001.1.4781, on loan to the ANS) 28.9 mm.



Fig. 5. Germany. Nuremberg. 1586–1635. AE jeton. Ex Archer Huntington collection. (ANS 1001.1.6244, on loan to the ANS) 28.2 mm.



Fig. 6. Spain. Tirsos. Second half of the 2nd century BC. AE As. Ex Archer Huntington collection. (ANS 2013.9.10, purchase) 22 mm.



Fig. 7. Spain. Cilpe. Circa 50 BC. AE coin. Ex Dos Santos collection, ex Archer Huntington collection. (ANS 2013.9.5, purchase) 27 mm.



Fig. 8. Spaine. Libiakos. As. AE coin. Unique. Ex José García de la Torre collection, ex M. Lagilardaie collection, ex Alvarado (Salamanca) collection, ex José del Hierro (Madrid) collection, ex Archer Huntington collection. (ANS 2013.9.7, purchase) 26 mm.



Fig. 9. Spain. Mallorca. AV. Peter IV the Ceremonious (1336–1387), king of Aragon, Barcelona, Valencia, and Mallorca. AV ½ ral d'or. Ex Archer Huntington collection. (ANS 2013.9.23, purchase) 23 mm.



Fig. 10. Spain. Castile and Leon. John II (1406–1454). AV *dobla de la banda*. Ex Archer Huntington collection. (ANS 2013.9.17, purchase) 32 mm.



Fig. 11. Spain. Barcelona. Charles V and Johanna (1516–1555). AV ½ principat. Ex Archer Huntington collection. (ANS 2013.9.28, purchase) 16 mm.



Fig. 12. Belgium. Oudenaarde. 1582. Tin 5 escalins. Ex Archer Huntington collection. (ANS 2013.13.1, gift of Dr. Jay M. Galst) 20 mm.



Fig. 13. Thessaly. Larissa. Ca. 460 BC. AR drachm (5.12 g.). Ex BCD collection. (ANS 2012.83.4, purchase) 17 mm.



Fig. 14. Thessaly. Larissa. Ca. 440–400 BC. AR trihemiobol (1.40 g.). Ex BCD collection. (ANS 2012.83.8, purchase) 13 mm.



Fig. 15. Thessaly. Larissa. Ca. 479–460 BC. AR obol (0.78 g.). Ex BCD collection. (ANS 2012.83.2, purchase) 11 mm.



Fig. 16. Thessaly. Larissa. Ca. 479–460 BC. AR hemiobol (0.33 g.). Ex BCD collection. (ANS 2012.83.3, purchase) 8 mm.

Heidrun Höhn Leipziger Münzhandlung und Auktion (Germany), during their visit to the ANS at the time of the 2013 New York International Numismatic Convention. The ANS had not acquired any specimens of this issue's varieties since a purchase in 1957.

In the US department, we received gifts of some rather important coins. These include a 1812 Capped Bust silver half dollar, the finest known example of its date and variety given by Dorette Sarachik (fig. 21); an 1832 Capped Bust silver half dollar of one of the boldest die varieties in the entire series, and in extraordinary preservation (fig. 22); and an 1846 Liberty Seated half dollar believed to be a hitherto-unreported proof (fig. 23).

Another significant gift, from Rita Shulak, is an 1841 Liberty Seated silver quarter, one of only four proof examples known (fig. 24). Other pieces in this same worthy donation are a proof-like 1843 Liberty Seated silver half dime (fig. 25) and a proof doubled-date 1848 Liberty Seated Silver quarter. The mirror field of this coin complements its jewel-sharp devices, making it a visual treat (fig. 26).

Other important donations to our American cabinet came from Barbara Phillips. The first is an 1802 Draped Bust-Heraldic Eagle dollar. This coin was nearly perfectly struck on a fully round planchet with none of the adjustment marks often found on early dollars. It must rank among the finest examples existing today of its variety (fig. 27). Among Ms. Phillips' contribution is a gleaming proof-like 1856 Type III gold dollar of exceptional quality (fig. 28), as well as an extremely attractive example of the 1916 Walking Liberty half dollar, the first date of Adolph Alexander Weinman's remarkable new design (fig. 29). A further interesting addition in Barbara Phillips gift is a 1921 Morgan silver dollar of the variety called "Zerbe Proof" in the numismatic world. It has been believed that these issues were specially minted for Farran Zerbe (1871–1949), American Numismatic Association celebrity and promoter (ANA President, 1908–1910), when the new Peace dollars, which he and the ANA had helped to instigate, were not yet ready. This coin, which seems to have escaped into circulation for a brief time, has many characteristics of the weakly struck "Zerbe" pieces and could be a fascinating piece for further research (fig. 30).

In the US department, we have received from Michael Wierzba an historic gift of 26 coins found near Rehoboth, Delaware (on "Coin Beach"), in the 1930s by Dr. Charles S. Horn. Twenty-five of the coins are believed to be part of the cargo of "hardware" (privately manufactured coinage) from the September 2, 1785, shipwreck of the *Faithful Steward*. Published by Roger



Fig. 17. Sicily. Himera. Ca. 440–430/25 BC. AR tetradrachm. Ex Robert and Julius Diez Collection. (ANS 2013.2.1, purchase) 28 mm.



Fig. 18. Sicily. Messana. Ca. 480–478 BC. AR tetradrachm. Ex Robert and Julius Diez Collection. (ANS 2013.2.2, purchase) 24 mm.



Fig. 20. Germany. Landgraviate of Thuringia. Hermann I (1190–1217). 1213. AR bracteate, (ANS 2013.1.1, gift of Christina and Saskia Höhn) 44 mm.



Fig. 19. Sicily. Syracuse. Second Democracy. 466–405 BC. AR Tetradrachm. Unsigned dies in the style of Phrygillos. Struck circa 413–405 BC. Ex Robert and Julius Diez Collection. (ANS 2013.2.3, purchase) 27 mm.



Fig. 21. United States. Capped Bust AR half dollar, 1812. Overton 105a. (ANS 2013.3.1, gift of Dorette Sarachik) 32.8 mm.



Fig. 22. United States. Capped Bust AR half dollar, 1832, large letters reverse. Overton 101. (ANS 2013.3.3, gift of Dorette Sarachik) 32 mm.



Fig. 23. United States. Liberty Seated AR half dollar, 1846, large date, doubled. Proof. (ANS 2013.3.4, gift of Dorette Sarachik) 30 mm.



Fig. 24. United States. Liberty Seated AR quarter, 1841. Proof. Breen 3944. (ANS 2013.4.1, gift of Rita Shulak) 23.7 mm.



Fig. 25. United States. Liberty Seated AR half dime, 1843. Proof-like. Breen 3031. (ANS 2013.4.2, gift of Rita Shulak) 15 mm.



Fig. 26. United States. Liberty Seated AR quarter, 1848, doubled date. Proof. Breen 3974; Briggs 1848/48. (ANS 2013.4.3, gift of Rita Shulak) 24 mm.



Fig. 27. United States. Draped Bust, Heraldic Eagle AR dollar, 1802. Bolender 6; Borckardt-Bowers 241. (ANS 2013.6.1, gift of Barbara Phillips) 39 mm.



Fig. 28. United States. Type III AV dollar, 1856. Proof-like. Breen 6047. (ANS 2013.6.2, gift of Barbara Phillips) 14.8 mm.



Fig. 29. United States. Walking Liberty AR half dollar, 1916. Breen 5127. (ANS 2013.6.3, gift of Barbara Phillips) 30.0 mm.

A. Moore and Wayne H. Shelby, (“Faithful Steward ‘Coin Beach’ finds by one individual,” *C4 Newsletter*, vol. 19, no. 3 (Fall 2011), p. 5–11), these are corroded contemporary counterfeits of British and Irish half-penny issues of George II and George III (fig. 31). One other coin in the group, an American Draped Bust large cent in similarly eroded condition, could not have come from the *Faithful Steward* although found under the same circumstances; it points to the probability of other wrecks from the same vicinity. The ANS previously held only three examples of the coins from the *Faithful Steward*; the new examples will be worthwhile additions to the collection.

Another shipwreck coin added to the collection, for the Latin American department, is a Philip III 8 reales from the Potosí mint (Bolivia), Assayer Q (1613–1616), from the 1622 *Nuestra Señora de Atocha* wreck off the coast of Florida (fig. 32). This piece, with its certificate of authenticity from Mel Fisher’s Treasure Salvors company, came as a generous gift of David L. Burka, Robert A. Burka, and Mark B. Burka in recognition of the service of Kenneth L. Edlow as Chairman of the ANS Board of Trustees.

An interesting and welcome new group of objects for the US department came from Dr. David Menchell, who donated a great selection of recent issues lacking from the cabinet. These include an interesting group of PMG-certified US currency notes: a series 1990 twenty dollars, a series 1999 one hundred dollars, a series 2001 fifty dollars, a series 2003 ten dollars, and a series 1974 one dollar with a misprint error. All have been certified as of outstanding quality, and the first four examples are all star (replacement) notes.

A further donation from Dr. Menchell consisted of examples of several of the recent US Congressional bronze medals. Among them is the 2008 issue awarded to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi in recognition and honor of her courageous and unwavering commitment to peace, nonviolence, human rights and democracy in Burma (fig. 33). Another is an example of the 2012 medal dedicated to the Montford Point Marines; it pays tribute to the first black Americans recruited in the US Marine Corps after President Franklin Roosevelt issued an Executive Order establishing the Fair Employment Practices Commission in June 1941, and stands in recognition of these Marines’ personal sacrifice and service to the country during World War II. Another in our group is the 2012 issue awarded to professional golfer Arnold D. Palmer in recognition of his service to the nation in promoting excellence and good sportsmanship, not to mention his winning 92 professional golf victories and 7 major championships. The gift also gave us an official 2005 Presiden-



Fig. 30. United States. Morgan AR dollar, 1921, “Zerbe Proof.” Breen 5705. (ANS 2013.6.4, gift of Barbara Phillips) 37.8 mm.



Fig. 32. Spanish Colonial Bolivia. Philip III (1598–1621). 8 reales, Potosí mint. Assayer Q (1613–1616). (ANS 2013.15.1, gift of David L. Burka, Robert A. Burka, and Mark B. Burka) 37 mm.



Fig. 31. Great Britain. George III, 1738–1820. AE ½ penny. Contemporary counterfeit. Believed to have come from the Sept. 2, 1785 wreck of the *Faithful Steward*. (ANS 2012.84.19, gift of Michael Wierzbna) 27.2 mm.



Fig. 33. United States. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi Congressional AE medal, 2008 (ANS 2013.11.1, gift of David Menchell) 74 mm.

Fig. 34. United States. AE medal of participation in New York Marathon, 2010. (ANS 2013.12.1, gift of Elizabeth R. Hahn) 75 mm.



tial Inaugural medallion commemorating the second inauguration of George W. Bush and Richard B. Cheney. We are grateful to have been given an example of a 2010 bronze participation medal in New York Marathon, a unique object for our collection. This is the personal trophy of Elizabeth Hahn, our ANS Librarian and long-distance runner, who generously donated it to the cabinet (fig. 34). We are proud that one of our colleagues participated in this epic competition which, as in ancient times, represents an accomplishment of impressive hard work, self-improvement and, most of all, strong spirit.

An interesting purchase for the medals department is an unsigned portrait medallion of Friedrich Wilhelm August Heinrich Ferdinand von Steuben (1730–1794) (fig. 35). Of significant historical interest, this piece is an apparently unknown medallic depiction of the famous Baron von Steuben, the Prussian aristocrat and military officer who served as Inspector General and Major General of George Washington’s Continental Army during the Revolutionary War. His training of the soldiers is said to have helped with the victories at the Battles of Barren Hill (20 May 1778), Monmouth (28 June 1778) and Stony Point (16 July 1779). Von Steuben wrote the “Revolutionary War Drill Manual” and at Yorktown (28 September–19 October 1781), he commanded one of Washington’s divisions and served as his Chief of Staff. In 1783, von Steuben was discharged and lived his final years in Steuben House, in Bergen County, New Jersey, a home originally built in 1752 by Jan Zabriskie. The image of our new medal is based upon a life drawing by Pierre-Eugene du Simitière

(1737–1784), a famous portrait painter also known as a consultant for the committees who designed the Great Seal of the United States and, moreover, for his having proposed the Eye of Providence design, an element that was eventually adopted. Additionally, he suggested the adoption of the US motto *E pluribus unum* (“out of many, one”) and also designed the state seals of New Jersey, Delaware, and Georgia.

Current Exhibit

In February, the Israel Museum shared with visitors the sensational discovery of Herod’s tomb at Herodium—uncovered after a 40-year search by the late Professor Ehud Netzer and his team from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. This landmark exhibition, entitled “Herod The Great: The King’s Final Journey,” with over 100 unique archeological artifacts, presents a multifaceted portrait of Herod the Great, king of Judea from 37 to 4 BCE, whose actions changed the face and the fate of the land forever. An important section of the exhibition is devoted to Herod’s relations with Augustus and the Roman nobility. One part of this display is a selection of valuable coins from the American Numismatic Society. These include the Octavian aureus of 31–29 BC (fig. 36) and his denarius of 38 BC with an image of Caesar (fig. 37); an extremely rare aureus of 39 BC depicting Octavian and Mark Antony (fig. 38), as well as a famous silver denarius of Mark Antony and Cleopatra of 32 BC (fig. 39); and a bronze as of 20–10 BC from Nemausus, portraying Augustus and Agrippa (fig. 40). The ANS items will be on display at the Israel Museum until October 2013.

Fig. 35. Origin unknown. Uniface cast AE portrait medallion of Baron Friedrich Wilhelm August Heinrich Ferdinand von Steuben, n.d., unsigned. (ANS 2013.8.1, purchase) 103 mm.



Fig. 36. Roman Empire. Octavian, 31–29 BC. AV aureus, Rome (?) mint. (ANS 1944.100.39135, from the estate of Edward T. Newell) 21 mm.



Fig. 37. Roman Republic. Octavian, 38 BC. AR denarius, mint moving with Octavian. (ANS 1944.100.6004, from estate of Edward T. Newell) 20 mm.



Fig. 38. Roman Republic. Octavian/Mark Antony, 39 BC. AV aureus, mint moving with Octavian. (ANS 1964.79.1, gift of Horace W. Havemeyer and Horace W. Havemeyer, Jr.) 21 mm.



Fig. 39. Roman Republic. Mark Antony/Cleopatra, 32 BC. AR denarius, mint moving with Mark Antony. (ANS 1941.131.350, gift of George H. Clapp) 19 mm.



Fig. 40. Roman provincial, Gaul. Augustus/Agrippa, 20–10 BC. AE As. Nemausus. (ANS 1944.100.68863, from the estate of Edward T. Newell) 26 mm.

Library News

Books About Books: The Importance of Numismatic Bibliographies

Elizabeth Hahn

Among the Library’s most recent acquisitions is George Kolbe’s new publication, *The Reference Library of a Numismatic Bookseller*, which was privately printed and limited to 150 copies. Although the topic may initially seem very narrow and focused, the book is an important reference tool for numismatic researchers and reminds us of the general importance and abundance of numismatic bibliographies. Bibliographies in general are particularly important to libraries as a way of identifying relevant works and assisting researchers. Well organized bibliographies, like Kolbe’s, can be particularly useful in guiding research. The ANS Library reference section contains more than 700 books, many of which are bibliographies, which can be as broad as Dekesel’s mammoth works (*Bibliotheca Nummaria* series) that aim to include all numismatic literature published by century, starting with the 16th century, to as narrow a bibliography as that of a single author, such as Carl H. Schaible’s 1952 *Bibliografia de José Toribio Medina*. Even the ANS Library’s online catalog, DONUM, serves as its own electronically published numismatic bibliography, containing more than 180,000 records of items in the collections, with each record containing not only location information, but essential bibliographic information that can assist any researcher.

Numismatic bibliographies have been compiled for centuries although interest really increases after the appearance of the earliest works of numismatic literature by Guillaume Budé and Andrea Fulvio in the early 16th century. The earliest book to contain a numismatic bibliography appeared in 1579, written by Antoine Le Pois. The introductory pages of his book, *Discours sur les medalles et graveurs antiques, principalement romaines*, include about 5 pages of bibliographic discussion that mentions other 16th century authors such as Fulvio, Erizzo, and Goltzius, among others, as part of his larger scholarly study on Roman coins and antiquities. But the earliest official numismatic bibliography (as a work of its own) can be traced back to Philippe Labbé (1607–1667), a Jesuit priest, who published his *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum* in 1664 in Paris. Labbé’s bibliography adopted an alphabetical arrangement by first name of the author and appeared in several editions between 1672 and 1695. This was notably followed by Burckard Gotthelf Struve’s *Bibliotheca numismatum antiquorum* (1693), Anselmo Banduri’s *Bibliotheca nummaria*

(1718), Franz Ernest Brückmann’s *Bibliotheca numismatica* (1729), and Johann Christoph Hirsch *Bibliotheca numismatica* (1760), which lists more than 1500 works arranged alphabetically by author or title (fig.2) and includes a beautiful frontispiece depicting a numismatic library (fig.1).

The end of the 18th century is marked by the important bibliography of Johann Gottfried Lipsius, who published his *Bibliotheca numaria* in 1801. This bibliography was the last attempt to assemble a list of all numismatic books in all languages that appeared until that time. The 19th century also witnessed an exponential increase in the amount of numismatic literature being published, making it nearly impossible for a single author to attempt an all-encompassing bibliography of the field. Until Lipsius, most of these pre-1801 bibliographies are incomplete and riddled with errors and inaccuracies, which were copied from one author to another, making them essentially useless for modern bibliographic research. As evidence to the exponential growth of numismatic literature, one can look at one of the standard modern references for numismatic bibliography, namely the *Bibliotheca Nummaria* series published by Christian Edmund Dekesel. His one-volume work on sixteenth century books lists more than 300 entries, while the 17th century jumps to more than 2,800 items. In the 18th century, the number doubles to more than 6,000 numismatic books from the period. The 19th century also marks a growing distinction with bibliographies divided between those dedicated to classical antiquity and those on the coinage of specific countries (for example, F.P. Tonini’s *Topografia generale delle zecche italiane*, published in Florence in 1869, and Francesco and Ercole Gnechi’s *Saggio di bibliografia numismatica delle zecche italiane* published in Milan in 1889).

The first, and most detailed, section of Kolbe’s book lists numismatic bibliographies arranged chronologically from 1579 to 1801, followed by various chronological and subject arrangements that make the book easy to navigate and effective at presenting a visual progression through the expanding field of compiling numismatic bibliographies. Other published approaches to numismatic bibliographies are subject specific, such as the 1984 tour de force and well-known *Numismatic Bibliography*, by Elvira Clain-Stefanelli, of immense value



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

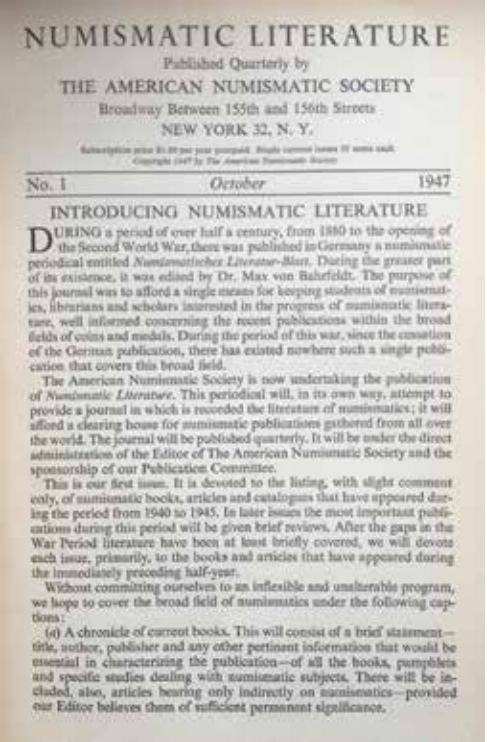


Fig. 3

for the content, annotations, and organization, which remains useful even today despite missing the last 30 years of research. For many years, the ANS published its own series of annotated bibliographies with the *Numismatic Literature* series (fig. 3), which was initially compiled by the Society’s librarians and derived from listings of new library acquisitions from 1947. The idea for the *Numismatic Literature* series was largely influenced by the end of another similar series, *Numismatisches Literatur-Blatt*, which published 26 volumes in Europe from 1880 to 1939. From the start, *Numismatic Literature* was heavily supported although it was not until 1967 that a formalized system of editors was organized to manage each volume, which contained an author and subject index, cross-references, a listing of the sources for book reviews, and an obituary section. The approach was intended from the start to serve only to inform readers of new publications, without commentary or critique of the works presented. As noted in the first issue of the series: “In no instance shall we engage in personal or international vituperation.”

Numismatic bibliographies continue to be published and remain important reference works to consult at the start, middle and even final phases of research. Bibliographies will always be important, and there are numerous alternative ways to how a bibliography can be organized, but approaches and formats will vary and continue to change, especially as we move deeper into electronic resources. A recent ongoing project initiated by the Numismatic Bibliomania Society (NBS) aims to

identify major English-language references in a variety of numismatic disciplines, available as a wiki page that can be edited and updated by the general public (http://wiki.coinbooks.org/index.php/Main_Page). This is just one of numerous different approaches to presenting the available literature and will appeal to different users for a variety of diverse reasons. Printed bibliographies were especially popular in the age before the Internet as they served as an important reference tool for anyone studying a particular aspect of numismatics by listing in one place all of the publications on the topic, including articles and book reviews, which are normally left out of standard library catalogs. As mentioned, many library catalogs even today only include records of physical items in their collections so that published bibliographies like *Numismatic Literature* that included articles and conference proceedings would be much more valuable. As the ANS Library moved towards converting the library catalog records to electronic format at the end of the last century, much of this information found its way into electronic presentation and today the library continues the practice of indexing important numismatic articles in the online library catalog, DONUM. We thus carry on the long and important tradition of making bibliographic information as available and searchable to our users and the numismatic community. As we continue to improve the searching and indexing capabilities of DONUM, we move closer to providing the most effective and widely available bibliography of numismatic literature in the world.

Book Review

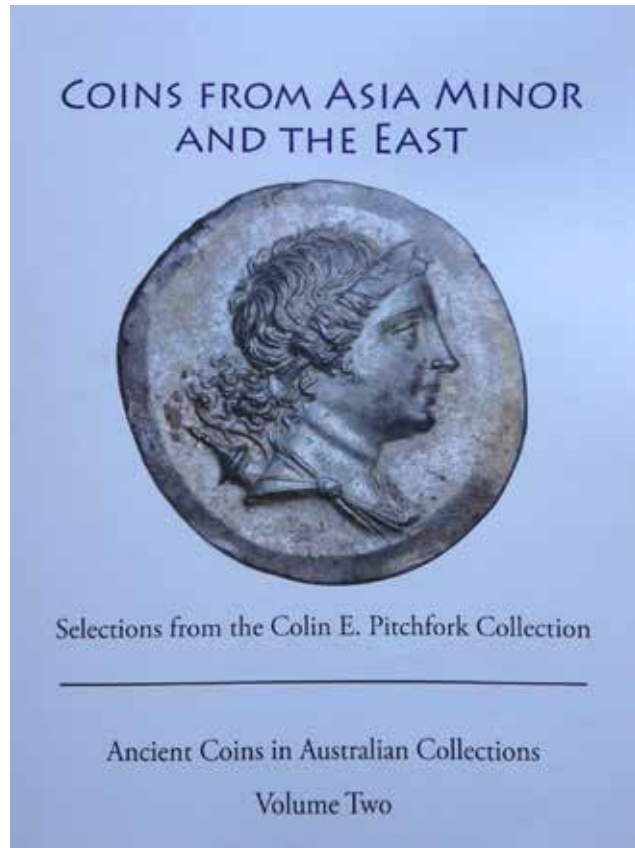
Oliver D. Hoover

Nicholas L. Wright. *Coins from Asia Minor and the East: Selections from the Colin E. Pitchfork Collection.* Ancient Coins in Australian Collections 2. Sydney: Australian Centre for Ancient Numismatic Studies. 2011. Sb. 192pp., full color illustrations throughout. ISBN 978-0-646-55051-0. \$60.00.

Nicholas Wright's present work is the second volume in the Australian Centre for Ancient Numismatic Studies' Ancient Coins in Australian Collections series, following close on the heels of its predecessor, Kenneth Sheedy's *Alexander and the Hellenistic Kingdoms: The Westmoreland Collection* (Sydney, 2007). Like the first volume, *Coins from Asia Minor and the East* begins with a group of short thematic essays by different scholars before plunging into the catalogue. It should be pointed out that due to the vastness of the Colin E. Pitchfork collection the catalogue represents only a selection of coins that were exhibited at the Macquarie University Museum of Ancient Cultures (November 25, 2011–November 25, 2012).

In the first essay, Gil Davis presents a brief overview of the difficulties involved in "Understanding the earliest coinages" (pp. 11–15), touching on questions related to dating, the use of the incuse punch reverse, the shift from electrum to silver (and gold), and the original motivation for coinage. However, in the end he opines, "what we think we know about the earliest coinages comes into the category of being oft-discussed but little resolved" (p. 15).

Håkon Ingvaldsen's "The island of Hippokrates, silver coins, and a portrait myth" (pp. 17–21) challenges longstanding attempts to see the features of Mausolos and Artemisia (or Ada I, or even the Ptolemaic queen, Berenike) in the Herakles and veiled female head types of Kos. He shows that the dating of the coinage required by the evidence of the so-called Hecatomnus and Pixodarus hoards (CH 9.387 and 9.421) makes the reading of the these types as crypto-portraits of Mausolos and his sister-wife extremely unlikely, while pointing out that the figures from the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos are almost certainly not portrait representations and therefore we actually have no idea what the Karian rulers might have looked like.



Kenneth Sheedy deals with somewhat similar themes in "The heroic image and the portrait coinage of the Lykian dynasts" (pp. 23–29). Here he discusses the implications of the evolution from generic heroic ruler image to true portrait, which he argues takes place first on staters of Mithrapata (c. 380–370 BC) and Perikle (c. 370–360 BC). Sheedy points out that through this development the dynasts portrayed on coins were thus cast as heroes themselves, which is consistent with the preferred heroic depiction of Lykian dynasts in other media, particularly funerary sculpture.

In the paper that follows, Lauren Horne tackles "The problem of the autonomous wreathed coinage of Asia Minor" (pp. 35–40). She challenges the case made by this reviewer and others that the movement of the wreathed tetradrachms of Aiolis and Ionia into Syrian hoards should be connected to the support of Eumenes II for the Seleukid pretender, Alexander I Balas. Horne

hammers at this view largely on the basis of chronology, as she insists on endorsing Oakley's original dating of 165–160 BC for the wreathed issues of Kyme—this would make them improbably early for use in this political/military context. However, a return to the high dating is a little hard to swallow in light of the so-called Demetrius I hoard (CH 10.301) and the inconsistencies in Oakley's chronology already recognized in the 1990s (see for example, H. Mattingly, "The Ma'Aret En-Nu'man Hoard, 1980," in Carson-Jenkins Essays, p. 16). The argument that the single wreathed Kyme piece in the Demetrius I hoard might actually be the last of the series from that city is almost perverse considering that eight Kymeian posthumous Alexanders, which certainly preceded the wreathed issues, were present. When Kyme no longer poses a chronological problem, all of the wreathed civic series seem to fit well into the period of the reign of Alexander I Balas (152–145 BC). Admittedly there are still questions that remain to be answered, like why the Demetrius I hoard seems to imply that the wreathed civic issues did not actually begin production until Alexander had already defeated Demetrius I (CH 10, p. 156), and why the weight standard continues to drop for Myrina tetradrachms when those of Alexander I have stabilized, but the gaping chronological flaws that Horne sees in the historical interpretation are largely of her own creation.

In "The dating on coins: a Phoenician invention" (pp. 31–34), Josette Elayi essentially summarizes the chronological discussion of the dated coins of Sidon and Tyre originally presented in *Le monnayage de la cité phénicienne de Sidon à l'époque perse* (Paris, 2004) and *The Coinage of the Phoenician City of Tyre in the Persian Period* (Leuven, 2009), with some supplemental information on the dated issues of Arados. From this she deduces that the idea of placing dates on coins originated in Phoenicia in c. 388 BC, spreading first from Tyre to Sidon and then to Arados, before it was adopted in Cyprus and at last by the Ptolemaic and Seleukid kings in the Hellenistic period. Unfortunately, this sequence seems to be somewhat flawed. The Tyrians cannot rightly claim the laurels as the first to invent numismatic dates when the Samian occupiers of Sicilian Zankle are known to have issued coins marked with sequential Greek letter-numerals. These are generally believed to represent the years of occupation from 493/2 to 488/7 BC (see J. P. Barron, "The Silver Coins of Samos Come of Age," in *Kraay-Mørkholm Essays* [Louvain, 1989], pp. 12–13). Likewise, Seleukid numismatic dating largely seems to evolve from the Ptolemaic custom rather than vice versa (see SC 2.2, pp. 275–276).

Nicholas Wright surveys "The iconography of succession under the late Seleukids" (pp. 41–45), building on

themes addressed in his dissertation. Interesting here are the arguments offered for recognizing Alexander I Balas and Alezander II Zabinas as biological heirs of Antiochos IV Epiphanes (175–164 BC). However, the case for competing iconography between the descendants of Antiochos IV and those of his brother, Seleukos IV, is likely to be more nuanced than the author suggests. For example, he reports that the radiate crown, introduced by Antiochos IV, was adopted for the numismatic portraits of his descendants, but "but was ignored or rejected by their contemporary rivals, the descendants of Seleukos IV" (p. 43). This is an odd statement, not only because it is immediately followed by a comment on the use of this crown by Antiochos VIII Grypos (a great grandson of Seleukos IV!), but because numerous radiate depictions of the heirs of Seleukos IV can be adduced going back as early as the reign of Demetrius I Soter (161–150 BC) (See SC 1697–1698 and 1703). Clearly the radiate crown cannot be taken as an attribute peculiar to the Epiphanic branch of the Seleukid dynasty after all. The dynastic political quality adduced by Wright for the enthroned Zeus Nikephoros reverse introduced by Antiochos IV is also open to question, since this same type was employed on coins struck by every descendent of Seleukos IV who ruled at Antioch from Demetrius II Nikator to Antiochos XIII Asiatikos, and served as the standard reverse type for the civic bronze coins of Syrian capital even after the dynasty was terminated in 64 BC.

The final article, "The emergence of the Greco-Baktrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms" (pp. 47–50) by Osmund Bopearachchi, provides a brief introduction to the fragmentary history of these eastern Hellenistic kingdoms until the collapse of Greek Baktria in the mid-second century BC. Special attention is paid to the development of numismatic iconography, which variously sought legitimacy for its users in the Macedonian past and the Indian present.

Wright's catalogue of the Pitchfork collection (pp. 51–179) describes and illustrates 98 coins ranging in time and place from Lydia in the early sixth century BC to Syria and Baktria in the late second and first centuries BC. One particularly pleasing feature of the catalogue is the color illustration of each coin both at 1:1 scale and enlarged to take up three-quarters of a page so that every minute detail of the object can be appreciated. The material follows the same general geographical and thematic order as the introductory essays. Each piece is fully described and receives additional numismatic, historical, and iconographic commentary.

The opening section (pp. 53–75) involves 21 silver and electrum coins illustrating the evolution of coined

money in western Anatolia from the early sixth to the third century BC. In addition to the early Lydian pieces (nos. 1–2), the Classical and early Hellenistic issues of the cities of Ephesos (nos. 3–6) and Kos (nos. 16–18) are most prominent here. Wright rightfully laments the current absence of a complete study of the Ephesian series, but hopefully this gap will soon be filled by the ongoing work of Philip Kinns and Walter Holt. Also worthy of special note is the Chian hemistater (no. 8), which is one of only two known specimens (the other is BM 1949-4-11-807).

The wreathed tetradrachms of Aiolis and Ionia in the second century BC are represented by an example from each of the known civic mints (Myrina, Kyme, Aigai, Smyrna, Lebedos, Magnesia on the Meander, and Herakleia under Mt. Latmos) (nos. 23–29). A Pergamene tetradrachm of Eumenes I (no. 22) is also included in this section, perhaps to illustrate the view (challenged by Horne) that the Attalids had a role in the development of the wreathed coinage of the region.

The numismatic development of southern Anatolia in the fifth and fourth centuries BC is illustrated by issues of Lykian dynasts (nos. 30–33), the Persian satrap Pharnabazos at Tarsos (no. 39), and the cities of Aspendos, Side, Selge, and Nagidos (nos. 34–38).

A further nine silver coins, primarily drawn from the fifth- and fourth-century emissions of Arados (no. 40), Byblos (no. 41), Tyre (nos. 46–47), and especially Sidon (nos. 42–45), represent the coinage of Phoenicia. The emergence of the region’s post-Seleukid autonomous coinage in the late Hellenistic period is also illustrated by a shekel (tetradrachm) and half-shekel (didrachm) (nos. 48–49) of Tyre. Wright makes much of an apparent mis-engraving of the city’s name on the tetradrachm (p. 113), but close inspection of the reverse shows that the error in the legend has been caused by shifting of the die at the time of striking. Notwithstanding the statement that “there is no other evidence of overstriking,” doubled elements are clearly visible around the palm branch over the eagle’s shoulder and at the top of the ship’s ram on which the bird is perched.

To round out the selection of early issues and to illustrate the international impact of Athenian coinage in the late fifth and fourth centuries BC, three eastern (Babylonian and Gazan) imitations (nos. 50–52) imitating or taking iconographic inspiration from Athenian issues follow the Phoenician material.

Not surprisingly, considering the collecting interests of Mr. Pitchfork and Wright’s area of specialization, almost a third of the catalogue is given over to the

coinage of the Seleukid empire, which is represented by 33 coins (nos. 53–86). Almost every ruler has a coin in the catalogue. Particularly notable in this group are a Seleukos I *fourrée* trophy tetradrachm and drachm (nos. 54–55) that were not listed in the plated coin appendix of SC 2. The drachm is especially interesting as it carries an Aramaic control mark otherwise known only from tetradrachms (SC 195) thought to have been struck in Persis. An Attic-weight (c. 17.2g) tetradrachm of Antiochos VI Dionysos (no. 74) has had its edges filed down so severely that it weighs only 14.52g. Unfortunately, no indication is given as to whether the filing was done in modern times or in antiquity, perhaps to prepare it for restriking in Seleukid Phoenicia or Koile Syria, where the Phoenician standard (c. 14g) was regularly used. The Seleukid pièce de résistance, however, must certainly be the Nike bronze (the only base metal coin in the entire book) of the joint reign of Kleopatra Selene and Antiochos XIII Asiatikos (no. 86). This coin was originally published as part of the so-called Late Seleukid hoard (CH 10.349, no. 200), but was not illustrated due to a printing error.

As part of his commentary, Wright often touches on iconography and relates it to his interpretation of conflicting intra-dynastic imagery. Especially worthy of note in this area is the treatment of Demetrios I Soter’s seated Tyche. Focusing on the tritoness throne support, he suggests that Tyche here is intended to reflect the syncretism of Greek Tyche with the native Syrian deity, Atargatis, who was known for her sacred fish ponds and who had an important cult center at Hierapolis-Bambyke. While this is admittedly an ingenious idea, it raises a number of questions: If Atargatis is really meant to be seen in Demetrios’ Tyche, why not be more explicit? On some issues, the tritoness is absent and Tyche’s throne is ornamented instead with a winged lion’s leg (SC 1634), a figure of Nike (SC 1688), or left entirely plain (SC 1629–1632). Likewise, what could such a particularly regional deity mean to coin-users in the wider Seleukid empire beyond Syria? Or, to paraphrase Tertullian of Carthage, “What has Hierapolis-Bambyke to do with Seleukeia on the Tigris?” Surely any special meaning of that the peculiarly Syrian deity would have been lost in places like Cilicia and Babylonia. When Demetrios III Eukairos explicitly depicted Atargatis on his coins in 97/6–88/7 BC (SC 2450–2451) it was only at Damascus and probably under local influence. Lastly, if Tyche-Atargatis appears on the coins, what does this do to the author’s expressed views on competing religious iconography? We note that Antiochos IV, whose heirs were repressed by the arrival of Demetrios I, is thought to have had a special interest in Atargatis. He reportedly entered into a sacred marriage with the goddess before plundering her temple (Granius Licinianus 26.8).

A recent attempt to relocate this sacred marriage from Hierapolis-Bambyke to Elymais (P. Mittag, *Antiochos IV. Epiphanes* [Berlin, 2006], pp. 150–151) is not at all convincing.

Two Parthian tetradrachms struck at Seleukeia on the Tigris under Artabanos I and Mithradates II (nos. 88–89) are included to highlight the continuity of Seleukid iconography under their successors in the East. The former features the Tyche borrowed from the coins of Demetrios I, while the latter depicts the longstanding Seleukid Apollo-on-omphalos reverse. Wright points out that this type “seems to have been understood as a Hellenisation of the traditional image of the ‘royal archer,’” and cites a forthcoming article in the Proceedings of the 2009 International Numismatic Congress held in Glasgow (now published as K. Erickson and N. Wright, “The ‘Royal Archer’ and Apollo in the East: Greco-Persian Iconography in the Seleucid Empire,” *INC Glasgow Proceedings* [2011], pp. 163–167). This view was already presented by Panagiotis Iossif at a colloquium in 2007 and is fully discussed in his article, “Apollo *Toxotes* and the Seleukids,” in *More than Men, Less than Gods* (Louvain, 2011), pp. 252–257, 272–275.

The catalogue concludes with nine Greco-Baktrian tetradrachms (nos. 89–98). These include specimen(s) for each of the kings (except Plato) from Euthydemos II, the founder of the post-Diodotid dynasty, to Heliokles I, who presided over the kingdom’s collapse at the hands of the nomadic Yuezhi in the later second century BC.

Despite our reservations about some of the interpretive aspects of *Coins from Asia Minor and the East*, the interest (and in some cases the great rarity) of the material and the quality of presentation make it a worthy second volume in the *Ancient Coins in Australian Collections* series. We will certainly look forward to volume three whenever it might appear.



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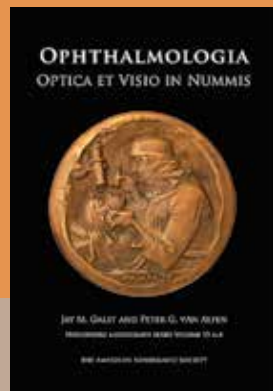
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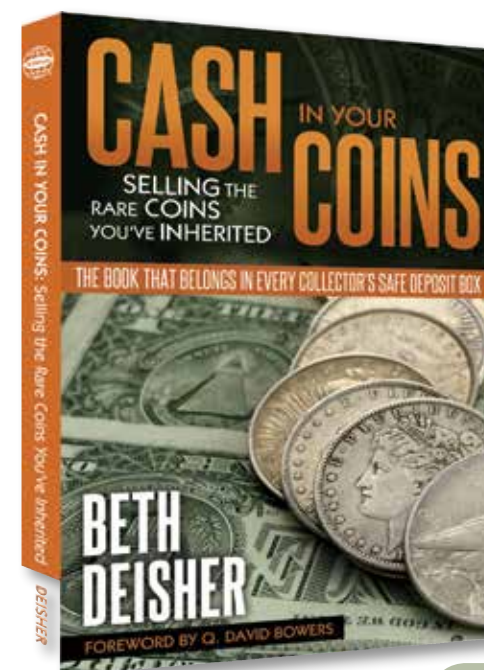
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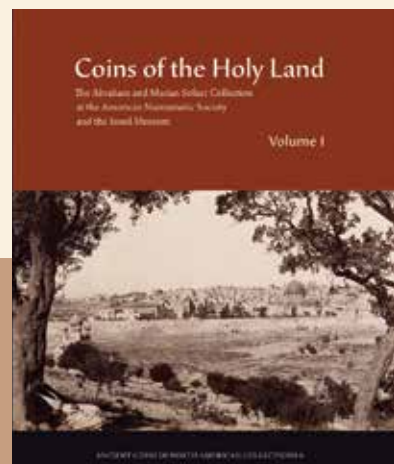
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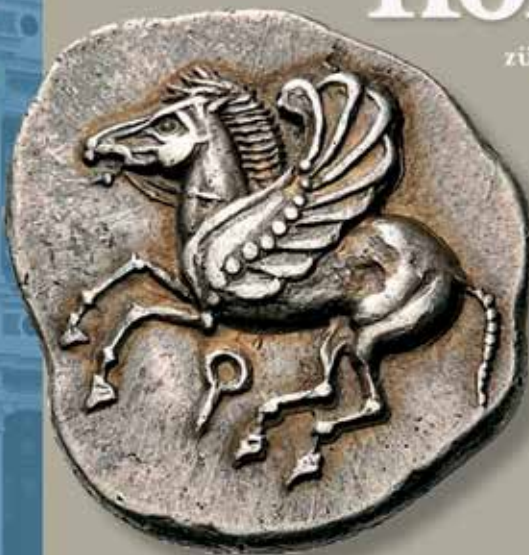


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