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GIACOMO GRADENIGO, JOSEPH ECKHEL AND COIN FINDS:
THE COINAGE OF ISSA, PHAROS, CORCYRA MELAINA,
PALE, AND THE SO-CALLED *PEGASI*¹

Abstract

*The correspondence exchanged between Giacomo Gradenigo (1721-1796) and Joseph Eckhel (1737-1798) is of great numismatic interest. Thanks to evidence of coin finds communicated by his correspondent, Eckhel was able to provide a more reliable mint attribution for some Greek coin issues in the general reference work *Doctrina numorum veterum* (1792-1798). This paper highlights Gradenigo's contribution towards the classification of coins struck by the Greek cities of Issa, Pharos and Corcyra Melaina in central Dalmatia, as well as issues minted in Pale, Cephallenia. It also addresses the interpretation of Corinthian and Corinthian-style staters, casting light on the study of ancient coin finds at the end of the 18th century in general. An appendix presents three coins sent by Gradenigo to Vienna as gifts in 1776 and 1778.*

Keywords

Joseph Eckhel; Giacomo Gradenigo; numismatic correspondence; pegasi

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“qual esperto conoscitore dell’erbe sà cogliere frà le silvestri, ed inutili le piante medicinali, saprà la sua virtù, e lunga esperienza sciegliere quel poco, che potesse servir di lume all’illustraz(ion)e dell’antica storia, e geograffia da quel molto erroneo, ed inutile, che l’imperizia mia ha disteso in questa carta, che mi vergognarei capitasse in altre mani, che in quelle di dotta, ma discreta persona”

Giacomo Gradenigo to Joseph Eckhel, June 28, 1776²

INTRODUCTION

Like many intellectuals of his time, Joseph Eckhel (1737-1798) was part of a lively community of scholars and the centre of a dynamic network of correspondents³. Our modern perception of a genius working in splendid isolation must be reconsidered, since the thorough study of Eckhel’s scholarly correspondence⁴ shows that epistolary contacts played an important role in the genesis of the seminal 8-volume work *Doctrina numorum veterum*⁵. Although published between 1792 and 1798, this milestone publication

² Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Münzkabinett (hereafter KHM, MK), Archiv V, 80 ff. 2v–3r. The transcription of this and other passages quoted in this essay closely follows the original orthography.

³ On the important role played by correspondence in scholarly practices in the early modern period see in general M. Ammermann, *Gelehrten-Briefe des 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhunderts*, in B. Fabian & P. Raabe (eds), *Gelehrte Bücher vom Humanismus bis zur Gegenwart* (Wolfenbütteler Schriften zur Geschichte des Buchwesens, 9), Wiesbaden 1983, pp. 81-96; J. A. H. Bots & F. Waquet (eds), *Commercium litterarium La communication dans la République des Lettres. Forms of Communication in the Republic of Letters, 1600-1750* (Études de l’Institut Pierre Bayle, 25), Amsterdam & Maarssen 1994; M. Kempe, *Gelehrte Korrespondenzen. Frühneuzeitliche Wissenskulturr im Medium postalischer Kommunikation*, in F. Crivellari et al. (eds) *Die Medien der Geschichte. Historizität und Medialität in interdisziplinärer Perspektive* (Historische Kulturwissenschaft, 4), Konstanz 2004, pp. 407-429; T. Wallnig, *Gelehrtenkorrespondenzen und Gelehrtenbriefe*, in J. Pauser, M. Scheutz & T. Winkelbauer (eds) *Quellenkunde der Habsburgermonarchie (16. – 18. Jahrhundert). Ein exemplarisches Handbuch* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband 44), Munich 2004, pp. 813-827.

⁴ Eckhel’s correspondence is currently being published with a historical and numismatic commentary by the undersigned and Bernhard Woytek. The work was carried out in the framework of the international initiative *Fontes Inediti Numismaticae Antiquae* (FINA), <https://fina.oeaw.ac.at/>, <https://fina.oeaw.ac.at/wiki> See D. Williams, *Reflections on the history of numismatic research: exploring the life and work of Joseph Eckhel (1737-1798) through the lens of FINA* (Fontes Inediti Numismaticae Antiquae), *International Numismatic Council. Compte Rendu* 62 (2015), pp. 73-78; D. Williams & B. Woytek, *The scholarly correspondence of Joseph Eckhel (1737-1798): a new source for the history of numismatics*, *Haller Münzblätter* 8 (2015), pp. 45-56; B. Woytek, *Joseph Eckhel and his network of correspondents: a research project on numismatics in the Age of Enlightenment*, in Caccamo Caltabiano et al. (eds), *XV International Numismatic Congress. Taormina 2015. Proceedings*, Rome & Messina 2017, pp. 299-302.

⁵ J. Eckhel, *Doctrina numorum veterum*, 8 vols, Vienna 1792-1798; with a supplement published posthumously: [J. Eckhel & A. Steinbüchel] *Addenda ad Eckhelii Doctrinam Numorum Veterum ex eiusdem autographo postumo*, Vindobonae 1826. On the creation of this work and its development in



FIGURE 1 – Silver medal by Filippo Balugani representing Giacomo Gradenigo, 1777.
Künker, Auction 316 (January 31, 2019), lot 793

on ancient coinage was probably conceived as early as the mid-1770s, when Eckhel became director of the Imperial cabinet of ancient coins⁶: he immediately started rearranging the collection, which he published in two in-folio volumes in 1779⁷. In these years, in order to keep up-to-date with publications and coin finds that appeared outside of the Habsburg empire, and gather details about numismatic rarities kept in distant coin cabinets, Eckhel made contact with people interested in antiquities that resided in places he wished to receive information from. The search for trusted correspondents usually relied upon the intercession of ambassadors or other intermediaries, but in the case of the Venetian Giacomo Gradenigo (1721-1796)⁸ (Fig. 1) it followed an unexpected pattern.

the making see B. Woytek, *The Genesis of Eckhel's Doctrina Numorum Veterum and Georg Zoëga's Numismatic Papers*, in B. Woytek & D. Williams (eds), *Ars Critica Numaria. Joseph Eckhel (1737-1798) and the Transformation of Ancient Numismatics*, Vienna in print.

⁶ Eckhel was appointed by Empress Maria Theresa on March 15, 1774; see J. Bergmann, *Pflege der Numismatik in Österreich im XVII. Jahrhundert mit besonderem Hinblick auf das k. k. Münz- und Medaillen-Cabinet in Wien. II. Abtheilung, Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 24 (1857), pp. 296-364, especially p. 328; E. Hassmann & H. Winter, *Numophylacium Imperatoris. Das Wiener Münzkabinett im 18. Jahrhundert* (Schriften des Kunsthistorischen Museums 14), Wien 2016, pp. 62-63. He was under the supervision of Valentin Jamerey-Duval until the latter's demise on November 3, 1775.

⁷ J. Eckhel, *Catalogus musei Caesarei Vindobonensis numorum veterum distributus in partes II., quarum prior monetam urbium, populorum, regum, altera Romanorum complectitur*, 2 vols, Vindobonae 1779.

⁸ Gradenigo's first name is sometimes given as Jacopo. In this article he will be referred to as "Giacomo", the variant of the name that he used when signing his letters to Eckhel.

In 1775, Eckhel published his first numismatic book, the *Numi veteres anecdoti*⁹, in which more than 400 previously unpublished or misattributed coins from 20 different source collections were presented with an exhaustive commentary; most of the coins were illustrated on 17 plates. The volume was well received and its popularity increased the number of Eckhel's correspondents¹⁰. While many people wrote to him to congratulate on the achievement or express interest in his research, Gradenigo wrote to answer a specific call. In the volume, when discussing a group of coins newly assigned to Issa, Eckhel had invited readers to verify his assumption, possibly persons interested in numismatics living in southern Dalmatia: "Lis decidetur facile, si existeret vir scientiae numismaticae gnarus in republica Ragusana, qualis erat ejus quondam civis Anselmus Bandurius, qui pervestigando eas insulas (nam sunt Ragusae vicinae) reperiret, an id numerum genus in iis effodi soleat, quod argumentum in rebus dubiis, quae scientiam numismaticam vexant, permultum valet"¹¹. On June 28, 1776, Gradenigo came forward and wrote to Eckhel offering his assistance: "Presi maggior coraggio però d'importunarla, dal leggere nel dotto suo libro alla descrizione di alcune monete d'Issa, ora Lissa isola dell'Adriatico, il suo desiderio, che vi fosse qualche dotto raguseo, come lo fù il celebre Padre Banduri, che potesse illustrare quella parte dell'antica numaria, che a queste provincie appartiene. Io veramente son veneziano, nè da paragonarsi al Padre Banduri, sapendone meno svegliato, ch'esso dormiglioso, ma tuttavolta per il mio lungo trattenim(ent)o in queste parti, e per il proffessato diletto potrò almeno dar qualche lume nel proposito, che qual abozzato modulo dall'esimia sua virtù, e penetrazione limato potrà servir di certa scorta alli studiosi di questa parte sì utile, e necessaria a conoscere, ed illustrare l'antica geografia, e storia"¹². In his first long letter, Gradenigo not only confirmed the mint attribution to Issa put forward by Eckhel, but went even further and offered his valuable insight into other specimens in his own collection. Among the many coin types discussed by Gradenigo in his letters, this study highlights his contribution towards the identification of some issues struck by the Greek colonies in Illyria – Issa, Pharos and Corcyra Melaina –, as well as coins belonging to the mint of Pale on the Ionian island of Cephallenia. Moreover, it casts light on an important debate of the period centred on Corinthian and Corinthian-style staters: whether they should have all been assigned to Syracuse, or to Corinth and its colonies. Thereby, the paper provides insights into the way coin finds were interpreted at the end of the 18th cen-

⁹ J. Eckhel, *Numi veteres anecdoti ex museis Caesareo Vindobonensi, Florentino Magni Ducis Etruriae, Granelliano nunc Caesareo, Vitzaiano, Festeticsiano, Savorgnano Veneto, aliisque*, Viennae 1775.

¹⁰ On this volume see D. Williams, *From Collection to System: Eckhel in Italy (1772-1773) and the Numi veteres anecdoti (1775)*, in Woytek & Williams (eds), op. cit. (note 5).

¹¹ Eckhel, op. cit. [*Numi veteres*] (note 9), p. 99.

¹² Gradenigo to Eckhel, KHM, MK, Archiv V, 80, f. 1r.

ture. Until now, Eckhel's correspondence with Gradenigo is known from a total of eight letters, exchanged between 1776 and 1779. In addition to providing interesting numismatic remarks, valuable information on coin finds, and accurate drawings of some specimens in his collection, Gradenigo also sent three bronze coins struck by the mints of Phoenice, Leukas, and Pale to Vienna, as gifts for the Imperial collection. The specimens can still be traced in the coin cabinet of the Kunsthistorisches Museum and are presented in an appendix at the end of this essay.

But who was the man who so kindly replied to Eckhel, generously shared his knowledge and even sent him coins? An exhaustive biography of Giacomo Gradenigo has yet to be written. In the letters to Eckhel he describes himself as a military officer, a coin collector and a *dilettante*¹³, someone aware that the time that he could dedicate to numismatic studies was necessarily limited¹⁴. He belonged to the family branch of S. Giustina in Venice¹⁵ and had inherited his interest in numismatics from his uncle Pietro (1695-1776), who had a collection of ancient coins¹⁶. As a firstborn son he made a career in the Venetian navy up to the ranks of *Provveditore di Dalmazia e Albania* from 1774 to 1777, and *Provveditore Generale da Mar* from 1778 to 1781¹⁷. Stationed on the Dalmatian coast, he had the possibility of gathering a rich collection of coins found

¹³ Gradenigo to Eckhel, June 28, 1776; Vienna, KHM, MK, Archiv V, 80, f. 1r: "quantunque non abbia l'onor di conoscerla (desideroso nonostante di legar corrispondenza; con soggetto di tanto merito) mi son determinato ad azzardarmi di presentarle in questo foglio alcuni miei pensamenti intorno all'antica numaria, di cui pure professo qualche diletto, e (se l'amor proprio non m'inganna) parmi anco nel corso di 36 anni, che ho consumato finora sull'armata in Levante, e Dalmazia averne unita una non spreggievole raccolta. Mi lusingo, che la sua gentilezza sarà per iscusare la mia imperizia nel trattar seco sù tale inestricata materia, sul riflesso, che un militante, che consumò buona parte degli anni suoi migliori in paesi semibarbari non ha nè il tempo, nè il comodo di applicarsi precisam(ent)e alli studj [...]"

¹⁴ Gradenigo to Eckhel, October 18, 1776; Vienna, KHM, MK, Archiv V, 81, f. 1r: "quantunque non sia uno di que' tozzi raccoglitori, che uniscono medaglie, ed antichità per vana pompa, e per imporre agl'ignoranti; sò ben, che in questo mestiero vi vuol altro studio, e diligenza, per poter far figura di professore, di quello, che le mie occupazioni, e lo stato inquieto, in cui mi aggiro fin da primi anni, mi permettono di esercitare. Io adunque non posso somministrar a lei altro ajuto, che di qualche cogniz(ion)e locale, e ricercarla di molti lumi; qual scolare ansioso di apprendere, inverso un dotto, ed affettuoso maestro [...]" See also Gradenigo to Eckhel, July 13, 1777; Vienna, KHM, MK, Archiv V, 82, ff. 1r-1v: "io non sono un professore, e letterato, ma un mediocre raccoglitore mancante di mezzi, e di tempo per poter far un studio fondato, e che le mie congetture sono piuttosto uno sforzo di fantasia, che appoggiate a cogniz(ion)i fondate sopra un consumato studio della storia, e dell'antiquaria."

¹⁵ On the Gradenigo family see M. Zorzi & S. Marcon (eds), *Grado, Venezia, i Gradenigo*, Venezia 2001.

¹⁶ I. Favaretto, *Arte antica e cultura antiquaria nelle collezioni venete al tempo della Serenissima*, Roma 2002², p. 203.

¹⁷ G. Moschini, *Vite di tre personaggi illustri della famiglia Gradenigo benemeriti della letteratura nel secolo XVIII pubblicate nelle faustissime nozze Gradenigo-Dolfin*, Venezia 1809, pp. 48-56; L. Wolff, *Venice and the Slavs. The Discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of Enlightenment*, Stanford 2001, p. 228.

locally¹⁸. He also acquired part of the numismatic collection of his cousin Antonio Savorgnan (1693-1767)¹⁹, which contained specimens from Onorio Arrigoni's (1668-1758) museum, widely known to scholars for having been published in four volumes between and 1741 and 1759²⁰. A total of 49 specimens from Savorgnan's collection had been discussed and illustrated in the *Numi veteres anecdoti*²¹, where they were included on the basis of notes left by Eckhel's teacher Joseph Khell von Khellburg (1714-1772), who had been a correspondent of Gradenigo's cousin²².

Moreover, a short time before the correspondence with Eckhel started, Giacomo had inherited the coin collection of his younger brother, the Benedictine monk Giannagostino Gradenigo (1725-1774)²³, which was especially rich in medieval and modern Italian coins, as one can see from the essay contained in the second volume of the work by Guido Antonio Zanetti²⁴. In 1794, Gradenigo sold his gold coins to Friedmann Heinrich Christian Ludwig Schellhaß, Baron of Schellersheim (1752-1836)²⁵, the Prussian agent

¹⁸ On Gradenigo's coin collection, see M. Zorzi (ed.), *Collezioni di antichità a Venezia nei secoli della Repubblica (dai libri e documenti della Biblioteca Marciana)*, Roma 1988, pp. 132-134; Favaretto, op. cit. (note 16), pp. 202-203. See also the report by Georg Zoëga to Frederik, hereditary Prince of Denmark, written on October 25, 1789: "Noch reicher ist das Münzcabinet des General Gradenigo, der bey seinem langen Aufenthalte in der Levante Gelegenheit gehabt eine Menge der raresten Griechischen Münzen zu sammeln, worunter viele noch gar nicht bekant sind, oder erst in diesen letzten Jahren von Pellerin und Eckhel bekant gemacht worden"; Ø. Andreasen & K. Ascani (eds), *Georg Zoëga. Briefe und Dokumente. II. 1785-1790*, Copenhagen 2013, doc. 425, p. 381.

¹⁹ Zorzi, op. cit. (note 18), pp. 114-115; Favaretto, op. cit. (note 16), pp. 202-203.

²⁰ O. Arrigoni, *Numismata quaedam cujuscunque formae, et metalli musei Honorii Arigoni Veneti ad usum juventutis rei nummariae studiosae*, 4 vols, Tarvisii 1741-1759. The Arrigoni collection was also published geographically: D. Sestini, *Catalogus numorum veterum Musei Arigoniani castigatus a D. S. F. nec non descriptus et dispositus secundum systema geographicum*, Berolini 1805.

²¹ Eckhel, op. cit. [*Numi veteres*] (note 9), introduction and pp. 5, 28, 62, 85, 90, 96, 100-102, 110, 111, 113, 115-118, 130, 134, 136, 137, 138, 159, 160, 181, 192, 193, 199, 201, 204 208-210, 229 246, 266, 275, 277, 278, 281, 308, 311.

²² Eighteen letters by Savorgnan to Khell written between 1763 and 1767 are kept in the archives of the coin cabinet of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (Archiv II). See the contribution by Patrick Fiska in this volume.

²³ Moschini, op. cit. (note 17), pp. 57-61; Zorzi, op. cit. (note 18), p. 132; M. Dal Borgo, Gradenigo, Giovanni Agostino (al secolo Filippo), *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 58 (2002), pp. 318-321; C. Crisafulli, Giannagostino Gradenigo e la 'sua bella inclinazione': gli interessi numismatici di un erudito veneziano nella seconda metà del Settecento, *Bollettino dei Musei Civici di Venezia*, 9-10 (2014-2015), pp. 141-145. See also the contribution by Cristina Crisafulli in this volume.

²⁴ G. A. Zanetti, *Nuova raccolta delle monete e zecche d'Italia. Tomo II*, Bologna 1779, pp. 57-208 ("Indice delle monete d'Italia raccolte ed illustrate dal fu monsignor Gianagostino Gradenigo vescovo di Ceneda che si conservano presso Sua Eccellenza il Signor Senatore Jacopo di lui fratello, al presente Provveditore Generale di Dalmazia e Albania").

²⁵ See the reference in D. Sestini, *Descriptio numorum veterum ex museis Ainslie, Bellini, Bondacca, Borgia, Casali, Cousinery, Gradenigo, Sanclemente, de Schellersheim, Verità etc. cum multis iconibus nec non animadversiones in opus Eckhelianum cui titulus Doctrina Numorum Veterum*,

in Florence, while the rest of the collection was sold to Charles Albert, king of Piedmont-Sardinia by Giacomo's son and heir Pietro (1790-1849) between 1834 and 1843²⁶.

COINS OF THE GREEK COLONIES IN ILLYRIA: ISSA, PHAROS AND CORCYRA MELAINA

More than a century before the publication of the monograph by Josip Brunšmid (1858-1929)²⁷ and even before the interest sparked by the discovery of the Škudljivac hoard in 1835²⁸, the coinage of the Illyrian islands had already been a topic of intense discussion among scholars. As we have seen, coins of the mint of Issa were the first group of numismatic materials discussed by Gradenigo in the correspondence with Eckhel. In particular, the first letter (written on June 28, 1776) mentioned the larger denominations with the type Head of Athena / goat and the legend ΙΣ, which Eckhel had published together with a smaller denomination with the type Head of Athena / stag²⁹. Scholars before Eckhel had attributed these specimens tentatively to various mints³⁰,

Lipsiae 1796, p. 108. See also Moschini, op. cit. (note 17), p. 56.

²⁶ The sale of the Gradenigo coin collection is reconstructed on the basis of archival documents in A. Guerrini, 'Il più ricco, e l'unico rimasto'. La vendita della collezione Gradenigo a Carlo Alberto di Savoia, *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte* 37 (2013), pp. 76-87; see also F. Barello, La collezione numismatica di Carlo Alberto e le raccolte sabaude, in A. Guerrini (ed.) *Il medagliere del Palazzo Reale di Torino. Storia e restauro della sala e delle collezioni* (= Bollettino d'Arte. Volume Speciale), Roma 2014, pp. 49-73, in particular pp. 58-59.

²⁷ J. Brunšmid, *Die Inschriften und Münzen der griechischen Städte Dalmatiens*, Wien 1898.

²⁸ The finding of this hoard on the island of Hvar is usually considered to mark the beginning of numismatic research on the central Adriatic area; see P. Visonà, Early Greek Bronze Coinage in Dalmatia and the Škudljivac Hoard: A Reappraisal of *IGCH* 418-420', in T. Hackens & R. Weiller (eds), *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Numismatics, Berne, September 1979*, Louvain-La-Neuve 1982, pp. 147-155; J. Jeličić Radonić, Povijest istraživanja novca farske kovnice, in J. Jeličić Radonić, H. Göricke-Lukić & I. Mirnik (eds), *Faros. III. Grčki, grčko-ilirski i rimskinovac* (Biblioteka Knjiga Mediterana 99), Split 2017, pp. 58-63.

²⁹ Eckhel, op. cit. [*Numi veteres*] (note 9), pp. 97-99. Issa, Illyria, c. 3rd century BC; head of Athena / goat: similar to *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland, München, Staatliche Münzsammlung. Thessalien – Illyrien – Epirus – Korkyra* (hereafter SNG Mün), Berlin 2007, nos 474-476; O. D. Hoover, *Handbook of Coins of the Islands. Adriatic, Ionian, Thracian, Aegean, and Carpathian Seas (excluding Crete and Cyprus). Sixth to First Centuries BC*, Lancaster & London 2010, p. 6, no. 9. Head of Athena / stag: similar to *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Denmark, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum* (hereafter SNG Cop). *Thessaly – Illyricum*, Copenhagen 1943, nos 541-542; Hoover, op. cit., p. 7, nos 12-13. On this mint see also recently P. Visonà, Rethinking the coinage of Issa, a Greek island polity, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 110.1 (2017), pp. 193-232.

³⁰ An exception is represented by the local scholar Antun Matijašević Karamaneo (1658-1721), a native of Vis and a learned scholar who had correctly identified the Greek coinage of Issa already at the beginning of the 18th century, but whose studies appeared in print only posthumously in 1858; see

the names of which started with the two letters of the legend: Ismenus, Boeotia (Johann Jakob Gessner)³¹, Ischia, Italy (Onorio Arrigoni)³², Isum, Boeotia (Erasmus Frölich)³³, Histiaea, Euboea (Joseph Pellerin)³⁴. In the *Numi veteres anecdoti*, Eckhel assigned the specimens in the collection of the Viennese Jesuit College (*Museum Granellianum*) to the Adriatic mint (today Vis, Croatia) on the basis of the goat shown on the reverse, an animal whose presence on the Illyrian islands in antiquity is mentioned in ancient sources and that he associated with the name of Issa's colony Tragurium³⁵.

To Eckhel's great satisfaction Gradenigo could confirm the attribution with evidence from actual finds³⁶: "Principiando pertanto dalle medaglie d'Issa le dirò, che indubitata(ent)e esse sono dell'isola med(esi)ma, poichè colà si trovano nel coltivar le campagne, e non in altro luoco, anzi quella con la testa di Pallade, e la capra è assai comune"³⁷.

Furthermore, Gradenigo informed Eckhel that a coin with a "vase" in his collection could be ascribed to Issa, as well. The letter does not provide details about this specimen, which may have belonged to one of the following issues: male head / kantharos, head of Herakles / kantharos, female head / kantharos, or volute crater / bunch of grapes³⁸. Gradenigo also stated that he had not found any silver or Roman provincial specimens struck by Issa³⁹ leading Eckhel to assume that the mint only issued Greek

S. Paškvan & P. Visonà, A Previously Unknown Silver Coin of Issa from Central Dalmatia, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 113.1 (2020-2021), pp. 131-149.

³¹ J. J. Gessner, *Specimen rei numariae, quo, cum prolegomenis de occasione, scopo, ordine et usu thesauri universalis numismatum, observationes, doctissimorum virorum de numismatis graeci praestantia, usu, raritate et pretio, et aliquot vetustissimorum Macedoniae regum numismata*, Tigurii 1735-1738, p. 267; pl. xxxvii.

³² Arrigoni, op. cit. (note 20), vol. 1, in the section "nummi urbium et populorum antiqui sine numeralibus notis", pl. XI, no. 113

³³ E. Frölich, *Notitia elementaris numismatum antiquorum illorum quae urbium liberarum regum et principum ac personarum illustrium appellantur*, Viennae, Pragae & Tergesti 1758, p. 90.

³⁴ J. Pellerin, *Recueil de médailles de Peuples et de Villes, qui n'ont point encore été publiées ou qui sont peu connues*, 3 vols, Paris 1763, vol. 3, p. 38, pl. XCII, no. 11.

³⁵ Eckhel, op. cit. [*Numi veteres*] (note 9), p. 98: "Ipsum Tragurium a Graeco τράγος, caper, ei animalii synonymum est [...] Ex quo verisimile sit, nomen a metropolis Issensibus Tragurio factum, quod seu capris ea ora abundavit, seu capri quacumque demum ratione Issae erant symbolum." See for example Plin. *NH* 3.152: *contra Tragurium Bova et capris laudata Brattia, Issa civium Romanorum et cum oppido Pharia*.

³⁶ Eckhel to Gradenigo, July 27, 1776, New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MA 4477 (16), f. 1r: "Placet summopere, tibi meam de Issae numi sententiam probari."

³⁷ Gradenigo to Eckhel, June 28, 1776; Vienna, KHM, MK, Archive V, 80, f. 1r.

³⁸ Brunšmid, op. cit. (note 27), pp. 66-68; Hoover, op. cit. (note 29), pp. 6-7, nos 11, 14-15.

³⁹ Gradenigo to Eckhel, June 28, 1776; Vienna, KHM, MK, Archive V, 80, f. 1r: "Di tutte l'isole dell'Adriatico non mi sorti trovar finora medaglie, che di questa [i. e. Issa], e di Lesina, tutte però come città libere e nessuna imperiale [...] in tanti anni parmi meraviglia non averne trovata alcuna in simil metallo [i. e. argento] non solo di Faros, ma nemeno d'Issa, che pure sono più comuni



FIGURE 2 – Drawings of coins of Pharos sent by Gradenigo to Eckhel on October 18, 1776. Vienna, KHM, MK, Archiv V, 119, f. 9r (courtesy of KHM)

bronze coins⁴⁰ – an assumption that was long believed to be true and has only recently been revised after the discovery of an Issaeian silver coin that appears to be unique⁴¹.

Gradenigo also provided decisive evidence for assigning coins of uncertain attribution to the mint of Pharos: in particular, bronze coins showing a male head and a kantharos with the letters ΦA⁴² that had been attributed to Phasis, Colchis, by Arrigoni⁴³ and Phaselis, Lycia, by Frölich⁴⁴. Gradenigo informed Eckhel that the two coins of this type in his collection, of which he included drawings (Fig. 2), had been found in the district of Jelsa on the island of Lesina, the ancient Pharos (today Hvar, Croatia)⁴⁵. In his reply, Eckhel considered the information crucial for assign-

dell'altre [...]”.

⁴⁰ Eckhel op. cit. [*Doctrina*] (note 5), vol. 2, p. 159.

⁴¹ Paškvan & Visonà, op. cit. (note 30).

⁴² Pharos, Illyria, late 3rd – early 2nd century BC; Brunšmid, op. cit. (note 27), pp. 47-51; similar to *SNG Mün.*, op. cit. (note 29), nos 479-482; B. Kirigin, *Pharos. The Parian Settlement in Dalmatia. A Study of a Greek Colony in the Adriatic*, London 2006, pp. 111-112; Hoover, op. cit. (note 29), p. 11, nos 22-23; J. Jeličić Radonić, *Emisije farske kovnice u 3. st. pr. kr.*, in Jeličić Radonić, Görlicke-Lukić & Mirnik, op. cit. (note 28), pp. 166-207.

⁴³ Arrigoni, op. cit. (note 20), vol. 1, pl. XVIII, no. 177. A coin of Pharos of the type female head / goat is also depicted on pl. XIX, no. 184 (“Psamathus”).

⁴⁴ Frölich, op. cit. (note 33), p. 85. Coins with a different type but with the letters ΦAP were assigned by Frölich to Pharsalus, Thessaly, see p. 84.

⁴⁵ Gradenigo to Eckhel, June 28, 1776, KHM, MK, Archiv V, 80, f. 1r: “le mie [...] indubitamente sono di Liesina, perchè escavate nel luoco della pertinenza di Gelsa detto città vecchia di quell’isola per greco: dove d’alcuni miserabili vestiggi d’antiche fabbriche si crede fosse piantata l’antica città”. The drawings are in KHM, MK, Archiv V, 119, f. 9r.

ing similar specimens to the Adriatic island⁴⁶ and, shortly afterwards, published two coins in the Imperial collection under Pharos acknowledging the help of a Venetian nobleman – clearly Gradenigo⁴⁷.

The attribution of the coin type with kantharos and ΦΑ to Pharos raised two further questions concerning specimens that had been published by Joseph Pellerin in 1763. The French numismatist had assigned a hexadrachm struck by the Celtic tribe of the Boii – with the type Male head / harpy and the legend FARIARIX – to this Illyrian mint⁴⁸. When asked about it, Gradenigo wrote that in many years in Dalmatia he had never found a similar coin. This indication was enough for Eckhel to rule out the attribution of these coins to Illyria; he added later in the *Doctrina* that similar specimens in the Imperial collection had been retrieved in “Transylvania”⁴⁹. Since Gradenigo had never found a FARIARIX coin in Dalmatia, nor any other silver specimen of Pharos, Eckhel assumed that the mint struck only bronze coins⁵⁰: the small silver coinage with the type Head of Zeus / goat that present scholars have assigned to the island and dated to the first half of the 4th century BC was unknown at that time⁵¹.

The second point at issue regarded a group of bronze coins showing a female head on the obverse and a goat with the legend ΠΑΠΙ on the reverse that had been assigned to the Aegean island of Paros by the French numismatist (Fig. 3)⁵². Pellerin’s attribution still holds true today⁵³, but Eckhel believed them to belong to the earliest issues

⁴⁶ Eckhel to Gradenigo, July 27, 1776, New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MA 4477 (16), f. 1r: “Is [i. e. “aeneus tertiae formae”] a Frilichio [sic!] Pharsalo Thessaliae perperam tribuebatur, at nunc te monente Pharo insulae, monente quoque fabrica indubitato restituendus.” See also Eckhel, op. cit. [*Doctrina*] (note 5), vol. 2, p. 160: “tum vero quod a nobilissimo amico certior factus sum, frequentius eos in hodierna Liesina reperiri.”

⁴⁷ Eckhel, op. cit. [*Catalogus*] (note 7), vol. 1, p. 101: “Similes numos aliqui Pharsalo Thessaliae tribuerunt, sed testatus est mihi nobilis Venetus, eos reperiri in insula Liesina, olim Pharo.”

⁴⁸ Pellerin, op. cit. (note 34), vol. 3, p. 118, pl. CXIV, no. 1 (“FAPIAIΩ”). For the Celtic issue see R. Paulsen, *Die ostkeltischen Münzprägungen. Die Münzprägungen der Boier*, Wien 1974, pp. 88-89, pl. 34, nos 805-813 and R. Göbl, *Die Hexadrachmenprägung der Gross-Boier. Ablauf, Chronologie und historische Relevanz für Noricum und Nachbargebiete*, Wien 1994, p. 20, no. 27, XI/1.

⁴⁹ Eckhel, op. cit. [*Doctrina*] (note 5), vol. 2, p. 160.

⁵⁰ See note above.

⁵¹ On the silver coinage of Pharos, see Visonà, op. cit. [Škudljivac Hoard] (note 28), p. 148, note 8; G. Gorini, Comunità greche di Dalmazia. Le emissioni monetali, *Hesperia. Studi sulla grecità d'occidente* 17 (2003), pp. 41-54; P. Visonà, Greek-Illyrian coins in trade, 1904-2005, *Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau* 84 (2005), pp. 27-46; Kirigin, op. cit. (note 42), p. 108.

⁵² Pellerin, op. cit. (note 34), vol. 3, pp. 89-90, pl. CVI, nos 4-6.

⁵³ The coins illustrated in Pellerin’s work (see note above) correspond to: J. A. N. Z. Tully, *The Island Standard. The Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman Coinages of Paros* (ANS Numismatic Studies 28), New York 2013, pp. 125-129 (tetrachalkon, group 2); pp. 104-105 (dichalkon, group 2.B.1); pp. 116-120 (dichalkon, groups 2.I.2 or 2.J.2).

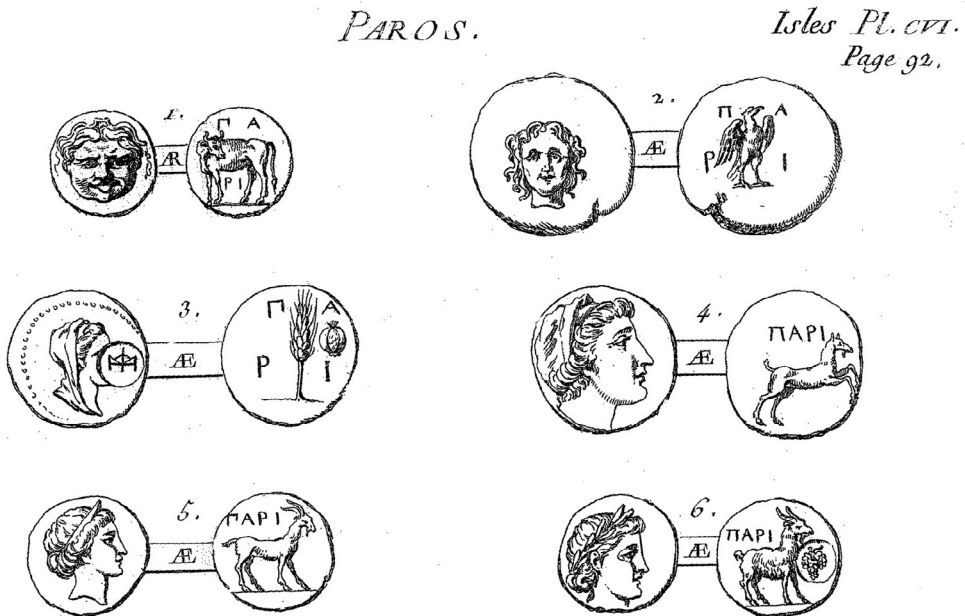


FIGURE 3 – Coins of Paros, J. Pellerin, *Recueil de médailles de Peuples et de Villes, qui n'ont point encore été publiées ou qui sont peu connues. Tome troisième*, Paris 1763, pl. CVI (courtesy of ÖAW)

of Pharos. In his view, as in the case of the coinage of Issa, the goat clearly pointed to a mint in the Adriatic islands, and the legend, starting with a Π instead of a Φ, was explained as the earlier version of the name Pharos given as Paros in ancient sources⁵⁴. The two coins in Gradenigo's collection caused a problem with this reconstruction, though: the crude style of the types and the presence, on one of the specimens, of an archaic-looking Α instead of a regular Φ suggested to Eckhel that they dated before the more classical-looking ones published by Pellerin, which, instead, he had initially considered to be the earliest issues struck by Pharos. Gradenigo could not help Eckhel further on the matter, as he lacked coins of Paros in his collection and could not compare the coinage struck by the two mints – bronze coins of Paros have been rarely found on the island of Hvar⁵⁵. Without further evidence, it seemed reasonable

⁵⁴ Eckhel, op. cit. [*Numi veteres*] (note 9), pp. 98-99. See for example Strabo 7.5.5.

⁵⁵ A specimen from Stari Grad on the island of Hvar is in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb and other 8 specimens were found in recent archaeological excavations at Stari Grad; see P. Visonà, *Bronze Coins of Paros from the Island of Hvar*, *Vjesnik za Arheologiju i Historiju Dalmatinsku* 86 (1993), pp. 253-260; Z. Dukat & J. Jeličić-Radonić, *The Earliest Coins of the Pharos Mint on the Island of Hvar, Croatia*, in K. Liampi et al. (eds), *Numismatic History and Economy in Epirus during*

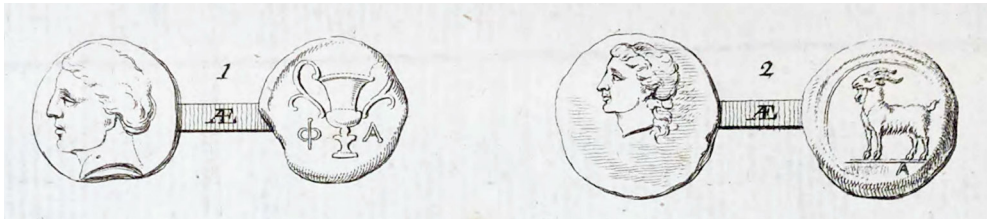


FIGURE 4 – Coins of Pharos, F. Neumann, *Populorum et Regum numi veteres inediti*, vol. 1, Vindobonae 1779, pl. VI (courtesy of Google Books)

to Gradenigo to simply assign coins with the legend beginning with a Π to Paros and those with a Φ to Pharos⁵⁶. In the same years, another Austrian numismatist was working on the coinage of the Illyrian islands. In 1779, Franz de Paula Neumann (1744-1816) – an Augustinian canon and later Eckhel’s colleague at the Imperial coin cabinet⁵⁷ – published the first part of a two-volume work on rare ancient coins from his own collection. There he presented two bronze specimens of Pharos: a coin with the type Male head / kantharos and the letters ΦΑ, and a piece with the type Male head / goat and the letters [Φ]Α (Fig. 4)⁵⁸. Neumann succeeded at assigning his two coins to Pharos, as well as at ruling out Eckhel’s hypothesis that the coins published by Pellerin were to be attributed to the Adriatic island. For the specimen with the kantharos he relied upon Alberto Fortis (1741-1803), also an Augustinian, who

Antiquity. Proceedings of the 1st International Conference (University of Ioannina, October 3rd–7th 2007), Athens 2013, pp. 41-50; Z. Dukat & J. Jeličić-Radonić, *Emisije farske kovnice u 4. st. pr. kr.*, in J. Jeličić Radonić, H. Göricke-Lukić & I. Mirnik, op. cit. (note 28), pp. 87 and 89, nos. 1-8.

⁵⁶ Gradenigo to Eckhel, October 18, 1776; Vienna, KHM, MK Archiv V, 81, ff. 1r–1v: “le dirò in primo luogo, che non avendo io medaglie autonome di Paro, non posso farne il confronto con quelle di Faro, perché se fossero d’uno stesso paese, quelle con la Π dovrebbero certam(ent)e esser più antiche, che con la Α, ed in conseguenza più rozze, e mal coniate: se pur si può dar cosa più tozza di queste medaglie con la Φ contrassegnate. Aggiungerò, che come ho ritrovate le sudette con la Α nell’isola di Lesina, così, colà non mi è mai riuscito di averne con la Π [...] Così io crederò, che le medaglie iscritte ΠΑΡΟΣ appartenghino all’isola dell’Egeo, e quelle iscritte ΑΑ, o ΦΑΡ, come sono le mie opur ΑΡΑΡΟC sull’isola di questo nome nell’Adriatico.”

⁵⁷ On Neumann see J. Bergman, *Pflege der Numismatik in Österreich im XVIII. und XIX. Jahrhundert*. III. Abtheilung, *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 28 (1858), pp. 537-598; D. Haarmann, *Die Netzwerke des Franz de Paula Neumann (1744-1816), Leiter des Wiener k. k. Münz- und Antikenkabinetts*, in K. R. Krieger & I. Friedmann (eds), *Netzwerke der Altertumswissenschaften im 19. Jahrhundert. Beiträge der Tagung vom 30.–31. Mai 2014 an der Universität Wien*, Wien 2016, pp. 73-85.

⁵⁸ F. Neumann, *Populorum et Regum numi veteres inediti*, 2 vols, Vindobonae 1779-1783, vol. 1, pp. 173-177, pl. 6, nos 1-2.

had visited Dalmatia in the early 1770s⁵⁹. In 1774, Fortis published an account of his travels where, besides geological and naturalistic observations, he also mentioned ancient artifacts and coins. However, in the chapter on the island of Hvar, Fortis had only generically referred to the presence of ancient coins without describing them in detail⁶⁰. Neumann managed to get in touch with the Italian scholar through a common contact and was informed about the provenance of coins bearing the kantharos and the letters ΦΑ from the island of Lesina (nowadays Hvar)⁶¹.

The legend on the second coin owned by Neumann was only partly preserved: the Φ under the goat was not visible. A close comparison of the specimen with the coin from the Arrigoni collection illustrated in print⁶², persuaded Neumann that the specimen was similar to his, only that in the Arrigoni plate the first letter had been misread as Ψ (instead of Φ). This observation and the significance of the goat in the Adriatic islands convinced him to assign the coin to Pharos. If the considerations about the goat type were likely influenced by Eckhel's research, Neumann did not agree with his colleague's identification of the coins with legend ΠΑΠΙ published by Pellerin. In fact, he (mistakenly) pointed out that the legend on known coins of Issa, Pharos and Corcyra Melaina only consisted of a few letters, thus ruling out the possibility that the extended form visible on the Frenchman's coins indicated an Illyrian mint⁶³. No pieces with the goat type are listed under Pharos in the 1779 catalogue of the Imperial collection⁶⁴, making it difficult to know what Eckhel thought of Neumann's considerations. Later, in the second volume of the *Doctrina*, he did not adopt Gradenigo's suggestion – to assign the coins with Π to Paros and Φ to Pharos – nor did he expressly mention Neumann's observation on the abbreviation of legends on Illyrian coins; Eckhel simply distanced himself from his old hypothesis, with reference to “sensible men not approving it” – a clear reference to Neumann⁶⁵.

⁵⁹ L. Ciancio, Fortis, Alberto, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 49 (1997), available online [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/alberto-fortis_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/alberto-fortis_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (accessed in December 2020).

⁶⁰ A. Fortis, *Viaggio in Dalmazia, Venezia 1774*, vol. 2, p. 171.

⁶¹ Fortis to an unknown correspondent (possibly Andrea Giuseppe de Bonomo-Stettner); Vienna; KHM, Antikensammlung, Archiv, Korrespondenz Neumann, IIIa, pp. 433-434. The letter is undated but references to the second volume of Fortis' *Viaggio* and the imminent publication of antiquities (an arch, a bas-relief and inscriptions) in the journal of the Society of Antiquaries of London – that is, J. Strange, An account of some ancient Roman inscriptions, lately discovered in the Provinces of Istria and Dalmatia; with Remarks. In a Letter to the Reverend Doctor Milles [...], *Archaeologia* 3 (1775), pp. 337-349 – make it clear that the document was written in 1774.

⁶² See note 43 above.

⁶³ Neumann, op. cit. (note 58), vol. 1, p. 174.

⁶⁴ Eckhel, op. cit. [*Catalogus*], (note 7), p. 101.

⁶⁵ Eckhel, op. cit. [*Doctrina*], (note 5), vol. 2, p. 160: “At cum videam, conjecturam hanc minus probari viris cordatis, non gravate eam omitto”.



FIGURE 5 – E. Frölich, *Animadversiones in quosdam numos veteres urbium, Viennae 1738, pl. 1* (courtesy of Google Books)

The extremely rare coinage of Corcyra Melaina (present-day Korčula) is still a topic of discussion today. Most scholars agree that the bronze coins with Head of Apollo (?) / barley ear and legend KOPKYPAIΩN were minted on this island⁶⁶. In addition to the homonymy, the relative proximity of Korčula to Ionian Corcyra and the fact that the latter's coins circulated in the Adriatic region⁶⁷ made it difficult for past scholars to distinguish the coinages of the two mints. In 1738, Erasmus Frölich had assigned two bronze coins to the Adriatic island because they had been sent to him from Dalmatia, where they had been found (Fig. 5)⁶⁸: they both carried the legend KOP, and showed the types Dionysos on panther / satyr with amphora and Eagle / Nike respectively. In fact, these issues are presently assigned to Ionian Corcyra⁶⁹. A lively debate on these coins ensued. Joseph Pellerin, who published two similar pieces from his collection, criticised Frölich's attribution more than once, stressing that the coin types and style had more affinities with those of Ionian Corcyra, and, at the same time, raised doubts about Frölich's use of provenance as a criterion to assign coins to a mint⁷⁰. In Pellerin's view the coins found in Korčula could

⁶⁶ On this mint see Brunšmid, op. cit. (note 27), p. 69; Gorini, op. cit. (note 51), pp. 46-48; P. Visonà, The Coinage of Corcyra Melaina, in J. Dobrinić (ed.), *INCC 2004. Zbornikradova 4. Međunarodnog Numizmatičkog Kongresa u Hrvatskoj, 20–25 rujna 2004. Stari Grad (Pharos), otok Hvar i M/B Marko Polo*, Rijeka 2005, pp. 243-252; M. Ilkić, Novacjadranske Korkire s liburnske gradine Budimkod Posedarja, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*109 (2016), pp. 99-105.

⁶⁷ Visonà, op. cit. [Corcyra Melaina], (note 66), p. 246, note 6. For finds of Corcyrean coins in the Adriatic region see Paškvan & Visonà, op. cit. (note 30), note 36.

⁶⁸ E. Frölich, *Animadversiones in quosdam numos veteres urbium, Viennae 1738*, pp. 5-15, pl. 1, nos 1-2.

⁶⁹ Corcyra, late 4th century BC; similar to *SNG Mün*, op. cit. (note 29), nos 659-660. Corcyra, c. 281 BC; similar to P. A. Gardner, *A Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum, Thessaly to Aetolia*, London 1883, pp. 124-125, nos 173-178.

⁷⁰ Pellerin, op. cit. (note 34), vol. 3, pp. 58-59: "on déterre tous les jours des médailles dans des lieux fort éloignés des villes où elles ont été frappées".

have arrived there from Corfù through trade. In order to identify the coinage minted by Corcyra Melaina, he suggested looking for an issue that was only found on the Adriatic island and bore unique types, suitable only to its minting place⁷¹.

In the meantime, two Austrian scholars accepted the attribution to Dalmatia of the coins published by Frölich: Joseph Khell von Khellburg and Franz Neumann. The former, who had taken up the position of professor of numismatics at the Theresian College after Frölich's demise, mentioned the specimens in 1764, repeating that they had been found in Dalmatia and focused on the type, discussing whether it showed a satyr with a tail or not⁷². In 1779, Neumann reported new evidence for the provenance of coins with the legend KOP from Corcyra Melaina. According to him, a great number of such coins came to Gorizia and Venice from the Dalmatian island⁷³. Moreover, the short legend KOP complied with his assumption that Illyrian coinage did not display the full name of the mint, as we have seen.

Gradenigo provided, instead, a different picture. He informed Eckhel in his letter that he had acquired coins similar to the ones published by Frölich in Corfu and never found them in Korčula⁷⁴. In light of this piece of evidence, Eckhel broke with the previous tradition and did not list any coin under "Corcyra parva" in the *Doctrina*⁷⁵: a first specimen of the series today assigned to the Illyrian island was recognised as such in print only at the end of the 19th century⁷⁶.

⁷¹ J. Pellerin, *Supplément aux six volumes de recueils des médailles de rois, de villes, etc. publiés en 1762, 1763, et 1765 avec des corrections relatives aux mêmes volumes*, Paris 1765, pp. 63-66, in particular p. 65: "les monnaies ont pu être également portées en Dalmatie par le grand commerce que cette île faisoit, & qu'enfin on ne pourroit prouver qu'elles fussent effectivement de Corcyra nigra, qu'autant qu'elles auroient été trouvées dans l'île même, & que le types qu'elles contiennent lui seroient particuliers, & ne conviendroient point à l'Isle de Corfou."

⁷² J. Khell von Khellburg, *Adpendicula altera ad numismata graeca populorum et urbium a Jacobo Gesnero tabulis aeneis repraesentata*, Vindobonae 1764, pp. 162-163.

⁷³ Neumann, op. cit. (note 58), vol. 1, pp. 178-179. The letter of one of his informants mentioned in the text (Alberto Fortis) is kept among Neumann's correspondence in Vienna; see note 61 above.

⁷⁴ Gradenigo to Eckhel, June 28, 1776; Vienna, KHM, MK Archiv V, 80, f. 1v: "Così pure le due medaglie pubblicate dal Padre Frelich, e da lui attribuite all'isola di Corzola sbuccano fuori in Corfù, ed io le ho tutte due colà, e non a Corzola ritrovate, dove non sono stato capace per quanta diligenza abbia posto in pratica d'incontrar in veruna moneta di que' popoli".

⁷⁵ Eckhel, op. cit. [*Doctrina*] (note 5), vol. 2, p. 158; see also p. 181. Despite this, Neumann's successor at the Viennese coin cabinet later resumed the attribution of the coins to Corcyra Melaina, see A. von Steinbüchel, *Abriß der Alterthumskunde*, Wien 1829, p. 125.

⁷⁶ F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Griechische Münzen aus dem Museum in Klagenfurt und anderen Sammlungen*, *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 16 (1884), pp. 227-300, in particular p. 254, no. 56, with reference to another similar coin in the collection of Leopold Welzl von Wellenheim in Vienna assigned to the Ionian Corcyra by Th. E. Mionnet, *Description de médailles antiques, grecques et romaines, avec leur degré de rareté et leur estimation. Supplément. Tome troisième*, Paris 1824, p. 431, no. 37; see also *Verzeichniss der Münz- und Medaillen-Sammlung des kaiserl. königl. Hofrathes und Mitgliedes mehrerer gelehrten Gesellschaften, Herrn Leopold Welzl von Wellenheim. I. Band*, Wien 1844, p. 145, no. 3468.

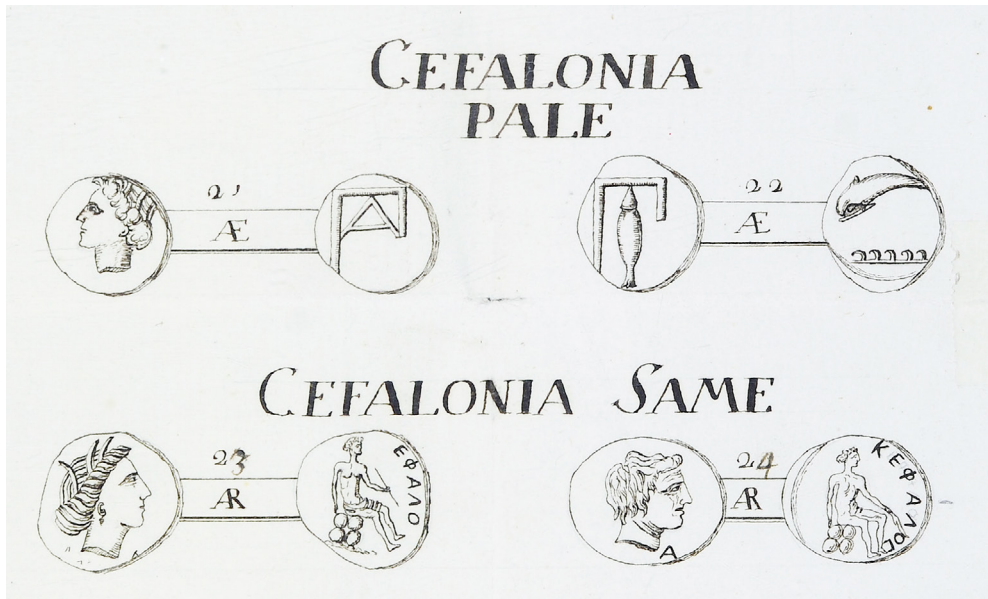


FIGURE 6 – Drawings of coins of Pale sent by Gradenigo to Eckhel on October 18, 1776. Vienna, KHM, MK, Archiv V, 119, f. 10r (courtesy of KHM)

COINS FROM THE IONIAN ISLAND CEPHALONIA: PALE

In October 1776, Gradenigo sent drawings of two bronze coins of Pale in his collection to Eckhel (Fig. 6, nos 21-22), with the remark that such specimens were commonly found on the island of Cephallenia in the environs of Lixouri⁷⁷, and supported the mint attribution with both epigraphic and toponymic evidence. In order to confirm the name of the city, Gradenigo mentioned an inscription kept in the renowned collection of Giacomo Nani (1725-1797) in Venice that had been published in 1761⁷⁸. This statue base had been discovered in the ruins of a “castle” near the village of Lixouri and its honorific text referred to the Senate and citizens of Pale as dedicants⁷⁹. Moreover, Gradenigo informed Eckhel that the area where the coins

⁷⁷ Gradenigo to Eckhel, October 18, 1776; Vienna, KHM, MK, Archiv V, 81, f. 4r: “Che tali medaglie sieno di Pale e non d’altra città il fatto è certo, perché si ritrovano, e non con molta fatica alla Ceffalonia, e specialmente nella pertinenza oggi chiamata Lixuri”. The drawings are in KHM, MK, Archiv V, 119, f. 10r.

⁷⁸ P. M. Paciaudi *Monumenta Peloponnesia commentariis explicata*, Romae 1761, vol. 1, pp. 94-98.

⁷⁹ IG IX, 1², 4, 1495, 3rd century AD. The inscription was found in 1758; see L. Calvelli, F. Crema, F. Luciani, The Nani Museum: Greek and Latin inscriptions from Greece and Dalmatia, in *Illyrica*

had been found was still called Palliki, which in the then current vernacular meant “here is Pale”.

The two coins, with the Female head / large ΠA monogram, and with Barley corn within a large Π / dolphin above waves⁸⁰, belong to issues that had been debated by earlier scholars. Coins of the first issue were generally assigned to Panormus, Sicily, on the authority of the plates of the work on Sicilian coinage by Jacques Philippe D’Orville (1696-1751) posthumously published with a commentary by Peter Burmann (1713-1778) in 1764⁸¹. A coin similar to the second issue drawn by Gradenigo had been published by Eckhel’s teacher Joseph Khell (also in 1764), who suggested a possible attribution to Polyrrhenium, Crete, because of the similarity between the barley corn and the vertical spear head visible on a coin published by Pellerin⁸².

The scholarly impact of the information provided by Gradenigo on the find spot of both coin types is noticeable in unpublished as well as published sources. Even if Eckhel’s reply has not been located so far, one can sense the excitement of the news in a letter that he wrote to another of his correspondents, Gabriele Lancillotto Castelli, Prince of Torremuzza (1727-1794), the day after receiving Gradenigo’s message: “Accepi heri ab Excellent(issimo) Gradenigo Dalmatiae Venetae rectore duorum numorum ectypa [...] is affirmabat, sese eos reperisse in insula Cephalennia eodem loco, quo sita erat vetus urbs dicta Palles. Istud, quod interesse Tua propter Siciliam numismaticam sciam, significare volui”⁸³. In the same period, Eckhel also shared this information with Neumann, who was struggling to find a fitting mint attribution for two specimens of the same type in his collection and eventually assigned them to Pale in 1779⁸⁴. In the same year, reference to Gradenigo’s letter was also made by Eckhel in print under the description of

Antiqua in honorem Duje Rendić-Miočević. Proceedings of the International Conference Šibenik 12th–15th September 2013, Zagreb 2017, pp. 265-290, in particular p. 270, no. 30.

⁸⁰ Pale, Cephallenia, c. 370-189 BC; similar to *SNG Cop. Philasia – Laconia*, Copenhagen 1944, nos 465 and 468 (= Vienna, KHM, MK, GR 14044; see appendix, coin no. 3); Hoover, op. cit. (note 29), p. 38, nos 174 and 177.

⁸¹ J. P. D’Orville & P. Burmann, *Sicula, quibus Siciliae veteris rudera, additis antiquitatum tabuli, illustrantur. Edidit, et commentarium ad numismata sicula, XX tabulis aeneis incisa*, Amsterdam 1764, p. 469, pl. XVII, no. 8.

⁸² Khell von Khellburg, op. cit. (note 72), p. 167, pl. 4, no. 5, with reference to Pellerin, op. cit. [*Recueil*] (note 34), vol. 3, p. 70, pl. C, no. 49.

⁸³ Eckhel to Prince Torremuzza, August 18, 1777; Palermo, Biblioteca Comunale, Qq H 178, ff. 165v–166r. For Eckhel’s correspondence with Torremuzza, see D. Williams, Joseph Eckhel and his correspondents from Sicily and the south of Italy: the Prince of Torremuzza (Palermo) and Michele Vargas Macciuca (Naples), in Caccamo Caltabiano *et al.* (eds), op. cit. (note 4), pp. 291-295.

⁸⁴ Neumann, op. cit. (note 58), vol. 1 p. 211: “Huc illuc fluctuanti tempestive succurrit doctissimus Eckhel, de hac re a me compellatus, e quo didici, cum citatos numos, tum subsequentem cum epigraphe ΠA [...] spectare Palen Cephalenniae urbem. Ratio est, quod saepius ibidem eruantur, ut ex erudite quodam amico intellexit Cl. Eckhel.”

two coins of Pale in the catalogue of the Imperial cabinet, where the identity of the informant was once again not specified: “Nunc dubium amplius non est, eos ad Pallenses Cephalleniae pertinere, postea quam nobilissimus quidam, ac eruditissimus Venetus testatus mihi est, sese similes in Cephallenia reperisse, & quidem eo loco, quo veterum Pallensium oppidum stetit, quod hodie quoque veteris nominis in Pallichi detorti vestigia retinet”⁸⁵. Gradenigo’s name was finally revealed in the second volume of the *Doctrina*: “Eorum verso natales feliciter reperit Iacobus Gradenigo patricius Venetus, qui id genus numos non infrequenter reperiri ad me scripserat eo praecipue loco, quo Pallensium urbs stetit quae in hunc diem nomen *Pallichi* veteri adfines retinet”⁸⁶.

In 1776, Gradenigo also sent Eckhel the drawings of two tetrobols of Pale in his collection (Fig. 6, nos 23-24). They both show Kephalos, the eponymous hero of Cephallenia, seated on a rock with the legend ΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ on the reverse, but have two different obverses: a female head on the first piece and a bare male head on the second one, without indication of a legend except for an A under the hero’s chin on the obverse of the latter specimen⁸⁷. Not knowing whether similar coins had already been published, Gradenigo assigned the specimens to Same, because they had been found in the area once occupied by that ancient city on the island of Cephallenia⁸⁸. Actually, a coin similar to the second one had already been published by D’Orville and Burmann in 1764: the plates reproduce a smaller denomination, a diobol, with only the first part of the legend ΚΕΦΑ/ [ΛΟΣ] visible⁸⁹, which led the authors to assign the piece to Cephaloedium in Sicily⁹⁰. Eckhel was familiar with this smaller denomination because it had been discussed in the correspondence exchanged between his teacher Khell and Torremuzza in 1771, documents which he had studied in detail⁹¹. Although Khell had informed the Prince that a similar coin had been found on the Ionian island, the latter strongly believed it to be a Sicilian issue⁹². Only

⁸⁵ Eckhel, op. cit. [*Catalogus*], (note 7), vol. 1, p. 119.

⁸⁶ Eckhel, op. cit. [*Doctrina*], (note 5), vol. 2, p. 272.

⁸⁷ Pale, Cephallenia, tetrobols, c. 370-189 BC and c. 430-370 BC respectively; Hoover, op. cit. (note 29), p. 36, nos. 159 and 155.

⁸⁸ Gradenigo to Eckhel, June 28, 1776; Vienna, KHM, MK Archiv V, 80, f. 2v: “Io l’ebbi in distanza di 14 anni di tempo l’una, e l’altra ritrovate tutte due sù quell’isola, e nella pertinenza med(esi)ma dov’era l’antica Same, da cui porta ancora il nome quella contrada.”

⁸⁹ Pale, Cephallenia, diobol, c. 430-370 BC; Hoover, op. cit. (note 29), p. 37, no. 163.

⁹⁰ D’Orville & Burmann, op. cit. (note 81), p. 355, pl. IX, no. 4.

⁹¹ Notes by Eckhel on the topics discussed in the letters sent by Torremuzza to Khell are found in Vienna, KHM, MK, Archiv II, f. 242r.

⁹² Torremuzza to Khell, June 28, 1771; Vienna, KHM, MK, Archiv II, f. 263r: “La medaglia in argento con lettere ΚΕΦΑ pubblicata da Dorville, come similmente altra, ch’è nella raccolta del Conte di Pembrok p. 2. Tav. 42. sono senza dubio di Cefale di Sicilia, le medaglie dell’isola di Cefalonia sono tutt’altre di queste [...] qui abbiamo la iscrizione ΚΕΦΑ come si vede in tutte le altre della nostra Cefale; l’esserci poi trovata

after learning that the specimen examined by his correspondent bore the full legend ΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ did the Prince agree that it was not from Cephaloedium⁹³, but eventually still included the type in his general work on Sicilian coinage in 1781⁹⁴.

In 1779, after the publication of Neumann's first volume, Gradenigo started corresponding with him as well. On April 12, 1783, shortly before the appearance of Neumann's second volume on rare ancient Greek coins, Gradenigo sent him more accurate drawings of his coins of Pale where the legend ΠΑ was clearly visible on the obverse (Fig. 7)⁹⁵. A few characteristics, such as the shape of the flan and the position of the type within the flan make it clear that the drawings actually represent the very same coins that he pictured in his earlier letter to Eckhel, with the addition of a third bronze specimen that was possibly acquired later. As expressly indicated in the letter, Gradenigo still considered these issues to be struck at Same and pointed out that the complete legend ΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ was visible on one of the coins⁹⁶ – an important clue, which, together with its provenance, led Neumann to assign the specimens to Pale in the second volume of his work. Moreover, the obverse legend ΠΑ, which Neumann knew also from a coin with a female head on the obverse in the collection of the Benedictine monastery of St. Florian⁹⁷, left no doubt about an attribution to Pale⁹⁸. Eckhel stressed the attribution of these pieces to the island of Cephallenia in several parts of the *Doctrina*⁹⁹, possibly because they were still being assigned to Sicily by some contemporary authors, such as for example the Prince of Torremuzza¹⁰⁰.

una di tali medaglie nell'Isola di Cefalonia non fá al caso [...] Qui in Sicilia trovansi tutto giorno medaglie estere, anche di Paesi lontanissimi, come sarebbero di Ré di Egitto, di Ré di Siria, e di Città d'Asia; ciò si ascrive alle vicende del commercio.” See also G. L. Castelli, *Alla Sicilia numismatica di Filippo Paruta pubblicata da Sigeberto Avercampio. Correzioni ed aggiunte di Gabriele Lancillotto Castello Principe di Torremuzza palermitano, Opuscoli di Autori Siciliani* 11 (1770), pp. 202-286, pl. I, no. XVIII.

⁹³ Torremuzza to Khell, September 20, 1771; Vienna, KHM, MK Archiv II, f. 265v: “Per quella da Burmanno, e poi da me attribuita a Cefale di di Sicilia, quando vi si legga ΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ, come ella mi assicura, cambio opinione; nella raccolta del Conte di Pembrok altra ven'è di argento, in cui sta scritto ΚΕΦΑ”.

⁹⁴ G. L. Castelli, *Siciliae populorum et urbium regum quoque et tyrannorum veteres nummi Saracenorum epocham antecedentes*, Panormi 1781, p. 24, pl. XXXVI, no. 1.

⁹⁵ The drawings are kept together with other coin images in Neumann's fund in the archives of the coin cabinet of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

⁹⁶ Gradenigo to Neumann, April 12, 1783; Vienna, KHM, Antikensammlung (hereafter AS), Archiv, Korrespondenz Neumann, IIIA, f. 529: “Tra le 9 di Same, tre ve ne sono col nome di Kefalos, comme chiaramente si distingue, nella setima, ch'a distesamente scritto l'intero nome”.

⁹⁷ Two coins of the same type are listed in the auction catalogue of the St. Florian collection; R. Göbl, *Sonder-Münzauktion. Sammlung Apostolo Zeno 1668-1750. III. Griechische Münzen*, Vienna 1957, p. 21, nos 3799-3800.

⁹⁸ Neumann op. cit. (note 58), vol. 2, pp. 159-160.

⁹⁹ Eckhel, op. cit. [*Doctrina*] (note 5), vol. 1, p. 206; vol. 2, pp. 270, 272.

¹⁰⁰ Castelli, op. cit. [*Siciliae*] (note 94), pl. XXVI, nos 1-2.



FIGURE 7 – Drawings of three coins of Pale sent by Gradenigo to Neumann on April 12, 1783. Vienna, KHM, MK, Archiv, Neumann, box III (courtesy of KHM)

DIFFERENT VIEWS: THE *PEGASI*

In the cases discussed above, Eckhel followed the indications provided by Gradenigo, but when it came to Corinthian and Corinthian-style staters, the two correspondents disagreed.

Silver coins showing a flying Pegasus and the head of Athena with different symbols and monograms were published indistinctively under the mint of Syracuse already at the beginning of the 17th century¹⁰¹. The work on Sicily by Filippo Paruta was based on coins from local collections, and it is well known that *pegasi*, including those struck by Corinthian colonies other than Syracuse, are notoriously found in great quantities on the island in 4th-to-3rd-century hoards¹⁰². Thus, until about the mid-18th century, all staters, including those currently assigned to Corinth, were generally catalogued under Syracuse: Athena was regarded as the tutelary deity of Sicily and the *koppa* was thought to indicate the Corinthian origin of the Syracusans, while the symbols were believed to indicate of the various arts protected by the goddess¹⁰³.

In 1763, Joseph Pellerin, who had a great quantity of *pegasi* in his collection, came to the conclusion that the letters on the staters referred to the names of Corinthian colonies and suggested interpreting the *koppa* as the an early kappa, thus pointing to an attribution to Corinth¹⁰⁴. He also went a step further and stated that the staters assigned by Hubert Goltzius to Syracuse (bearing the legend ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ) were minted at Corinth¹⁰⁵. Pellerin's revolutionary approach to this material was well received by contemporary scholars. In a letter to Joseph Khell, Torremuzza reported that after having read Pellerin's work he considered Syracusan only those *pegasi* for which a clear Sicilian attribution could be inferred

¹⁰¹ F. Paruta, *Della Sicilia di Filippo Paruta descritta con medaglie*, Palermo 1612, pls 48-62. A few staters, albeit all of Syracuse, are also in the plates of the work by H. Goltzius, *Sicilia et Magna Graecia sive historiae urbium et populorum Graeciae ex antiquis numismatibus restitutae*, Brugis Flandorum 1576, pl. 4.

¹⁰² M. Taliercio Mensitieri & E. Spagnoli, Presenza monetale di Corinto e colonie in Sicilia e in Magna Grecia nel IV e III secolo a. C., in *La monetazione corinzia in Occidente. Atti del IX convegno del centro internazionale di studi numismatici – Napoli 27-28 ottobre 1986*, Roma 1993, pp. 87-293; C. Rowan, Coinage as commodity and bullion in the western Mediterranean ca. 550-100 BCE, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 28.2 (2013), pp. 105-127, especially pp. 108-109.

¹⁰³ F. A. von Khevenhüller, *Regum veterum numismata anecdota, aut perrara notis illustrata*, Viennae 1752, p. 179 (the work was written under the supervision of Erasmus Frölich); Frölich, op. cit. (note 33), p. 114; D'Orville & Burmann, op. cit. (note 81), pp. 332-335, with reference to earlier literature. Today the various symbols are generally understood as a system of control of the minting process; see C. M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*, Berkeley & Los Angeles 1976, p. 87.

¹⁰⁴ Pellerin, op. cit. [*Recueil*] (note 34), vol. 1, pp. 86-90.

¹⁰⁵ Pellerin, op. cit. [*Recueil*] (note 34), vol. 3, p. 110. For Goltzius see note 101 above.

from the legend or the symbols¹⁰⁶. In 1775, Eckhel brought forward new evidence for assigning staters with *koppa* to Corinth: a coin in the collection of the *Museum Granellianum* showed a Chimaera behind the head of Athena, a clear reference to the myth of Bellerophon, hero of the Peloponnesian city¹⁰⁷. In the same volume, Eckhel included a digression on a group of Corinthian-style staters kept in the Imperial coin cabinet, adding new specimens to the ones already listed by Pellerin¹⁰⁸. Yet, in the years 1777-1778, while completing the rearrangement of the Imperial collection and preparing its publication, he continued to be puzzled. In particular, doubts arose when he found out about the existence of specimens that showed both the *koppa* and the legend ΣΥΠΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ, mentioned by Torremuzza in a letter written to Neumann on April 30, 1776¹⁰⁹. In the letter, in particular, Torremuzza referred to a specimen that he had published in 1772, which however showed the head of Arethusa facing, rather than the helmeted head of Athena¹¹⁰.

Documents viewed by Eckhel, which described and illustrated part of a hoard of *pegasi* sent to Vienna at the beginning of the 18th century¹¹¹, testified to the

¹⁰⁶ Torremuzza to Khell, September 20, 1771; Vienna, KHM, MK, Archiv II, f. 265r: "Della quantità grande di medaglie col Pegaso, e colla testa di Pallade, convengo anch'io, che molte devonsi togliere a Siracusa, e se lei vedesse i disegni, che ho preparati per l'opera principale, vedrà, che non altri ho fatte delineare, che quelle ove sta scritto ΣΥΠΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ, o che altre marche certe portassero da doversi a Siracusa attribuire." Cf. Castelli, op. cit. [*Siciliae*] (note 94), pl. LXXI.

¹⁰⁷ Eckhel, op. cit. [*Numi veteres*] (note 9), pp. 120-121. Corinth, stater, c. 350-307 BC; see O. E. Ravel, *Les «poulains» de Corinthe: monographie des stateres corinthiens*, London 1936, vol. 2, pp. 252-253, no. 1010 (5th period); G. K. Jenkins, G. K. Jenkins, A note on Corinthian coins in the West, in H. Ingholt (ed.), *Centennial Publication of the American Numismatic Society*, New York 1958, pp. 367-379, especially 372-379; R. Calciati, *Pegasi*, Mortara 1990, vol. 1, p. 263, no. 429. A similar stater had already been illustrated in Paruta's work, but the symbol was not properly rendered in the plates, resulting in a beast without the goat head; see Paruta, op. cit. (note 101), pl. 57, no. 142.

¹⁰⁸ Eckhel, op. cit. [*Numi veteres*] (note 9), pp. 121-129 ("Numi in Corinthii coloniis signati").

¹⁰⁹ Vienna, KHM, AS, Archiv, Korrespondenz Neumann, IIIB, f. 603: "Miror Eckhellium ad Corinthum retulisse numos omnes argenteos cum capite Palladis, et Pegaso in quibus literae Coph extat figura. Viro alioquin doctissimo non assentior, magna enim vis talium numorum quotidie per Siciliam eruitur, neque in uno tantum cum eadem literae Coph figura scriptum inveni ΣΥΠΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ".

¹¹⁰ G. L. Castelli, Terza aggiunta di medaglie alla Sicilia numismatica di Filippo Paruta pubblicata da Sigeberto Avercampio di Gabriele Lancillotto Castello Principe di Torremuzza palermitano, *Opuscoli di autori siciliani* 13 (1772), pp. 3-56, in particular pl. VI, no. XXXIV. Rare specimens with Pegasus and Athena bearing a *koppa* and the legend ΣΥΠΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ are still of unclear interpretation today: some scholars have considered them imitations, others have suggested the re-use of Corinthian dies in Syracuse; see Ravel, op. cit. (note 107), vol. 2, pp. 131-133; R. Cantilena, L'emissione dei «pegasi» nelle zecche siciliane, in *La monetazione corinzia in Occidente. Atti del IX convegno del centro internazionale di studi numismatici - Napoli 27-28 ottobre 1986*, Roma 1993, pp. 61-85, especially pp. 71-72.

¹¹¹ Eckhel to Torremuzza, August 8, 1777; Palermo, Biblioteca Comunale, Qq H 178, f. 165v; see also Williams, op. cit. [Joseph Eckhel and his correspondents] (note 83), p. 292.

presence of both Corinthian and Corinthian-style staters in Sicily. At the same time, Torremuzza, who was also in direct contact with Eckhel, remarked on the great number of finds from the island and mentioned another hoard¹¹². He believed that staters with *koppa* could have been struck in Syracuse, but maintained that coins with legends clearly mentioning other cities were to be assigned to other Corinthian colonies¹¹³. Thus, the unsolved question regarded issues bearing monograms, symbols or a few letters that could not be associated directly with a specific mint.

In September 1777, Eckhel addressed this topic in his correspondence with Gradenigo as well. The latter had acquired about thirty specimens in the Venetian Levantine islands, the drawings of which he sent to Eckhel together with a reply in August of the following year¹¹⁴. He reported that *pegasi* were being found in the environs of the Ambracian gulf in great numbers and believed all specimens with *koppa* to be Corinthian. Moreover, he supposed that the staters were minted to be used as currency in the trade between Corinth and its colonies, with each city striking its own issues; therefore, he found it perfectly fitting that a great number of specimens belonging to other mints was unearthed in Sicily, since they could have been brought there by commerce¹¹⁵.

However, the Sicilian provenance of so many specimens, in combination with Torremuzza's authoritative testimony, convinced Eckhel to assign all *pegasi* to Syracuse in his collection catalogue of 1779. Regardless of the letters shown on

¹¹² M. Thompson, O. Mørkholm & C. M. Kraay (eds), *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*, New York 1973, p. 329, no. 2170.

¹¹³ Torremuzza to Eckhel, February 19, 1782; Vienna, KHM, MK Archiv V, 154, ff. 1v-2r: "Chiede V(ostra) S(ignoria) Ill(ustrissi)ma il mio sentimento sulle medaglie col Pegaso di varie città greche colonie di Corinto, che sono similissime a quelle di Siracusa, se possa credersi, che la zecca di queste era in Siracusa, ove si batteano col nome delle altre colonie. Su di ciò io credo, che ogni città avea la sua zecca particolare, ne deve far caso vedere del tutto consimili le medaglie delle diverse città colonie di Corinto, poicchè la stessa uguaglianza si truova nelle medaglie di altre diverse città, in cui soltanto fà diversità la iscrizione." See also the letter by Eckhel published in M. A. Mastelloni, Gabriele Lancillotto Castelli e Giglio principe di Torremuzza e gli studi numismatici, in E. Iachello (ed.) *I Borbone in Sicilia (1734-1860)*, Catania 1998, pp. 170-176, esp. p. 175.

¹¹⁴ Vienna, KHM, MK Archiv V, 119, ff. 5r-5v, originally attached to the letter sent on August 23, 1778 (KHM, MK Archiv V, 84). The drawings depict many staters of Corinth, mostly belonging to Ravel's 5th and 6th periods (op. cit. note 107), in addition to a few staters of Anactorium, Leucas, Ambracia, Argos Amphiloichicum and Syracuse.

¹¹⁵ Gradenigo to Eckhel, August 23, 1778; Vienna, KHM, MK, Archiv V, 84, ff. 1r-1v: "Parlando poi delli didragmi in argento colla testa di Pallade, e col Peggaso, io penso, che questa fosse benissimo una moneta convenzionale per il comercio fra la madre patria Corinto, e le sue colonie, e che però se ne coniasse in cadauna di esse. [...] Se dunque suppongassi, che le medaglie colla testa di Pallade ed il Peggaso, fossero moneta convenzionale fra Corinto, e le città di lei figlie, non sarà stupore, se nella Sicilia siansene ritrovate parecchie quantunque coniate in altre parti; per motivo di Siracusa collà portate per occasione del comercio".

the specimens, he even included in this group some issues that he had assigned to Ambracia earlier¹¹⁶. In the same year, Neumann also stressed the attribution of Corinthian staters to Syracuse in his own publication. In a lengthy essay, in which he reviewed the available documentation, Neumann quoted the letter by Torremuzza mentioned above and stated that staters with *koppa* accompanied by the legend ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ were the most important piece of evidence for an attribution of this material to Syracuse. Moreover, he did not view the presence of the Chimaera on the coin published by Eckhel as compelling evidence, since he argued that the other animals depicted as symbols on other specimens with *koppa* did not have a clear connection to Corinth¹¹⁷. On September 28, 1779, Gradenigo re-stated his considerations to Neumann, mentioning that he and Eckhel did not share the same opinion on the topic¹¹⁸; yet, once again, his interpretation was not accepted¹¹⁹.

In the second volume of the *Doctrina* (1794), Eckhel published a general essay entitled “*Animadversiones in numos argumenti Corinthii*”¹²⁰, in which he presented the different interpretations to the reader, but clearly supported the idea that staters showing a *koppa* were to be assigned to Syracuse. He integrated the information provided by Gradenigo and combined it with evidence regarding the large number of finds from Sicily; thus, assuming that the staters found in the Ambracian area had arrived there from Syracuse through commercial contacts¹²¹.

¹¹⁶ Eckhel, op. cit. [*Catalogus*] (note 7), vol. 1, pp. 40-43.

¹¹⁷ Neumann, op. cit. (note 58), vol. 1, pp. 54-65.

¹¹⁸ Gradenigo to Neumann; Vienna, KHM, AS, Archiv, Korrespondenz Neumann, IIIA, f. 515: speaking of Eckhel he wrote “non ci siamo troppo accordati di sentimento massime sopra quelle didracmali di argento col capo di Pallade, e col Pegaso [...] le trasporto in Grecia, donde io veramente le ho ritrovate, attribuendole a Leucade Annactorio, ed ad altre città, e tutte quelle col Kof antico a Corinto, che suppongo la prima inventrice di una monetta commerciale con le colonie sue figlie”.

¹¹⁹ In the second volume of his work, Neumann still assigned Corinthian staters to Syracuse; Neumann, op. cit. (note 58), vol. 2, p. 220.

¹²⁰ Eckhel, op. cit. [*Doctrina*] (note 5), vol. 2, pp. 244-255.

¹²¹ Eckhel, op. cit. [*Doctrina*] (note 5), vol. 2, p. 247: “Juvabat sententiam meam ill. Jacobus Gradenigo, qui datis ad me literis testatus est, triginta hujus argumenti numos in gaza sua servari, repertos omnes per insulas ditioni Venetae obnoxias, et per tractum sinus Ambracii, cum has terras reip. causa obiret. Addit, si statuatur, numos similes ex foedere Corinthum inter ac filias colonias inito commercii causa fuisse signatos, nequaquam mirum videri, multa eorum exemplaria reperiri etiam in Sicilia, quorsum necesse fuit magnum numerum propter commercium cum praepotentibus Syracusis derivari”.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Gradenigo was an important contact for Eckhel (and eventually also for Neumann): he was able to provide solid find evidence for coin series that had been the object of debate among earlier numismatists. Interestingly, in the case of the bronze coinage of Pale, Gradenigo was able to combine numismatics, epigraphy, and toponymy in order to suggest a mint attribution. The fact that the documentation he used dated to different periods – the coins are now dated c. 370-189 BC, the inscription dates to the 3rd century AD, and the toponym was a contemporary reference – was not necessarily regarded as a methodological weakness at that time. Generally, Eckhel accepted Gradenigo's suggestions and incorporated them into the *Doctrina*, with the exception of his opinion on the *pegasi*. In the case of Corinthian and Corinthian-style staters, perhaps Gradenigo's 'amateur approach' towards the study of ancient coinage made him a less reliable source compared to other correspondents, such as the Prince of Torremuzza. The complexity of the structure of 4th and 3rd century BC issues of Corinthian staters is still not fully understood by scholars even today: the great number of specimens makes a die study particularly challenging¹²².

The main concern of early modern numismatists was to assign coins to a mint (or to a king, in case of Hellenistic coinage), a task for which they mostly relied upon coin types and legends. In the 18th century, the study of coin finds and coin hoards was in its infancy¹²³. Eckhel strongly believed that coins mostly circulated in their area of production: in 1777, he published a note on a small hoard of Celtic silver coins of the Boii tribe discovered in Bratislava, in which he stressed the importance of findspots and provenances for the attribution of coins to their mints¹²⁴. If this is mostly true for bronze coinage, precious metal can travel longer distances, as we know today. In this respect, Pellerin's general considerations on the coins of Corcyra Melaina were quite innovative¹²⁵. At that time, when ancient movement of coinage was recognised, it was generally understood only as a result of trade (see for example the quotes from Pellerin,

¹²² An attempt is being made on the drachms; see L. Brice, The "Colts" of Corinth Revisited: A Note on Corinthian Drachms from Ravel's period V, in N. Holmes (ed.), *Proceedings of the XIVth International Numismatic Congress*, Glasgow 2011, pp. 69-72.

¹²³ Ph. Kinns, Two Eighteenth-Century Studies of Greek Coin Hoards: Bayer and Pellerin, in M. H. Crawford, C. R. Ligota & J. B. Trapp (eds), *Medals and Coins from Budé to Mommsen*, London 1990, pp. 101-114.

¹²⁴ J. Eckhel, Entdeckung antiquarischen Inhalts, *Kaiserlich – Königliche allergnädigst privilegierte Realzeitung der Wissenschaften, Künste und Kommerzien*, (April 1, April 8, 1777), pp. 8-12, 17-21.

¹²⁵ See note 70 above.

Torremuzza and Gradenigo above)¹²⁶; military expenses were apparently not taken into consideration.

An interesting aspect emerging from this study is that general numismatic assumptions were often based on a single coin or very few examples of the same issue: if Eckhel's initial attribution of all staters with *koppa* to Corinth on the basis of a single piece with Chimaera turned out to be correct, more often such an approach necessarily led to mistakes. Scholars working on large European collections, such as for example Eckhel at the Imperial cabinet in Vienna, or Pellerin with his enormous private collection, had the advantage of having a great quantity of material at their disposal, but they often lacked accurate provenance information.

Possibly, it is not a coincidence that some of the coin issues discussed in this article were assigned to Sicilian mints before Eckhel. In the field of Greek numismatics (more precisely, in the category that was referred to as "coins of the peoples and cities" at that time), Sicily was one of the areas that had been investigated longer than others: in the 18th century, the tradition of scholarship started by the monographic study of Hubertus Goltzius in the 16th century was continued by an active community of local coin collectors and scholars, among which especially Torremuzza¹²⁷.

Finally, this study clearly shows how early modern manuscript documents, such as correspondence, are an essential complement of information found in published works. Examined together, manuscripts and printed texts provide a much better insight into how numismatic theories came into being and how the scholarly debate evolved.

APPENDIX

Three Greek bronze coins were sent to Eckhel by Gradenigo, as gifts for the Imperial coin collection. The coins of Phoenice and Leucas were attached to a letter written on October 18, 1776, while the specimen of Pale was sent on November 14, 1778¹²⁸. A drawing of the

¹²⁶ See notes 71, 92 and 115 above.

¹²⁷ See G. Gorini, The Study of Greek Numismatics during the 18th century in Italy, in H. Winter & B. Woytek (eds), *Numismatik und Geldgeschichte im Zeitalter der Aufklärung. Beiträge zum Symposium in Residenzschloss Dresden 4.–9. Mai 2009*, Wien 2015 (= *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 120/121), pp. 233-244, for Sicily especially pp. 236-238, with references to earlier literature; M. L. Napolitano, Ancient Coins and the Use of Greek History in Sicilia et Magna Graecia by Hubertus Goltzius (1526-1583), in N. Constantinidou & H. Lamers (eds), *Receptions of Hellenism in Early Modern Europe. 15th to 17th centuries*, Leiden & Boston 2020, pp. 347-375.

¹²⁸ Vienna, KHM, Archiv V, 81 and 85.

latter was sent already in 1776, while the coin was still in the Gradenigo collection (see Fig. 6, no. 21).

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SNG Cop: *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Denmark. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum, Phlipsis – Laconia*, Copenhagen 1944.

SNG Tüb: *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland, Tübingen. Münzsammlung der Universität, Akarnanien – Bithynien*, München & Berlin 1985.

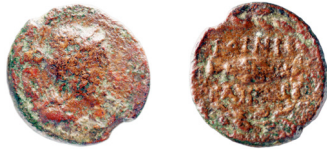


FIGURE 8 – Phoenice, Epirus. Vienna, KHM, MK, GR 12001 (courtesy of KHM)



FIGURE 8a – Phoenice, Epirus, 200%. Vienna, KHM, MK, GR 12001 (courtesy of KHM)

Phoenice, Epirus

c. 168-148 BC

1. g 3.26 mm 18.7 h 6 (Figs. 8, 8a)

Obv. Bust of Artemis, r.

Rev. ΦΟΙΝΙ-ΚΑΙΕΩΝ. Spear-head in oak-wreath.

Vienna, KHM, MK, GR 12001.

Eckhel 1779, vol. 1, p. 103, pl. 2, no. 6; Schlosser 1893, p. 93, no. 1; Franke 1961, p. 115, no.10.



FIGURE 9 – Leucas, Acarnania. Vienna, KHM, MK, GR 12426 (courtesy of KHM)



FIGURE 9a – Leucas, Acarnania, 200%. Vienna, KHM, MK, GR 12426 (courtesy of KHM)

Leucas, Acarnania

4th century BC

2. g 4.28 mm 17.1 h 2 (Figs. 9, 9a)

Obv. Bellerophon on Pegasus r.

Rev. ΛΕΥ[KA]. Chimaera, r.

Vienna, KHM, MK, GR 12426.

Eckhel 1779, vol. 1, p. 108, no. 7; similar to SNG Tüb, nos 1550-1551.



FIGURE 10 – Pale, Cephallenia. Vienna, KHM, MK, GR 14044 (courtesy of KHM)



FIGURE 10a – Pale, Cephallenia, 200%. Vienna, KHM, MK, GR 14044 (courtesy of KHM)

Pale, Cephallenia

4th century BC

3. g 2.62 mm 14.2 h 10 (Figs. 10, 10a)

Obv. Female head, l.

Rev. Monogram ΠΑ.

Vienna, KHM, MK, GR 14044.

Eckhel 1779, vol. 1, p. 119, no. 2, and p. 292 (plate); similar to SNG Cop, no. 465.