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## **A List of coin dealers in nineteenth-century Germany**

Hadrien Rambach

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**TÜBINGER NUMISMATISCHE STUDIEN 1**  
**A COLLECTION IN CONTEXT**

**KOMMENTIERTE EDITION DER BRIEFE UND DOKUMENTE  
SAMMLUNG DR. KARL VON SCHÄFFER**



HERAUSGEBER  
**STEFAN KRMNICEK & HENNER HARDT**

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TÜBINGER NUMISMATISCHE STUDIEN

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON  
STEFAN KRMNICEK

BAND 1

Stefan Krmnicek & Henner Hardt (Hrsg.)

# A Collection in Context

Kommentierte Edition der Briefe und Dokumente  
Sammlung Dr. Karl von Schaffer

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# COLLECTING COINS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY GERMANY

## KARL VON SCHÄFFER IN CONTEXT

HADRIEN J. RAMBACH

Karl von Schäffer, MD (1808–1888) was the director of Zwiefalten Abbey, a lunatic asylum founded in 1802 in remote Upper Swabia, near Reutlingen, which is still active today as a psychiatric hospital.<sup>1</sup> Although he was born in Stuttgart, and lived in a suburb of that town, he had studied in Tübingen from 1826–1830, and he subsequently bequeathed his collection of ancient coins to the University of Tübingen.<sup>2</sup> The collection consisted of 751 Greek coins (Classical to Seleucid), 1,710 Roman (imperial and provincial) and Byzantine coins, and circa 500 medals of *hommes célèbres*: doctors, naturalists, popes, writers, artists and scholars, as well as some medieval and modern coins.<sup>3</sup> »Without collecting, there is no research, and therefore no knowledge or science.«<sup>4</sup>

Some attention has already been devoted to the numismatic trade in Frankfurt, and especially to the most renowned dealer there – Amschel Mayer Rothschild (1744–1812)<sup>5</sup>, and while articles have been devo-

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- 1 The Royal lunatic asylum (»Königlich-Württembergische Staatsirrenanstalt Zwiefalten«) of Württemberg was created in 1812, when 46 patients from the Ludwigsburger bedlam were moved to Zwiefalten Abbey. The first patients were both curable and non-curable types, but Zwiefalten subsequently became a nursing home when the mental hospital of Winnenthal (Winnenden) opened in 1839. Von Schäffer was the third director of the Royal Institute 1838–1874, after Narciß Schreiber and Andreas Elser, and under his direction, the number of patients rose from 137 in 1841 (93 men, 44 women) to 220 in 1872, so it may be assumed that he had little time to devote to his collection until his retirement. His importance in the field of psychiatry is great, and his modern ideas – such as providing patients with occupational activities – noteworthy. LEUSCHKE 2012; MÜLLER 2016, 221; HOLDAU in this volume. Archive-documents about von Schäffer can be found in the Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg (Medizinalkollegium: Personalakten): E 162 II Bü 667; E 163 Bü 717; E 163 Bü 718; and in the Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart: E 146 Bü 2677. I am grateful to Tobias Binkert (Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg) for this information.
  - 2 In 1886, Karl von Schäffer, who resided at Ludwigsburger Straße 38, Cannstadt, Württemberg, was described as a collector of »Greek and Roman coins (Aes grave excluded)« with »about 2500 items«: GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 193 no. 1013.
  - 3 Von Schäffer was much less specialized than his colleague Dr. Ludwig Pfeiffer (1842–1921), of Weimar, who collected only medals of the *médecins célèbres*. An analysis of his purchases proves that von Schäffer was a collector passionate about diverse subjects and did not limit himself to a certain period, type, or price range. For example, his purchases from Thieme & Fuchs on 22/24 January 1874 contained 10 coins: Greek coins – both Classical (e.g. Tarentum) and Provincial (e.g. Nero and Octavia from Alexandria) – and Roman (e.g. *denarius* of Diadumenian), at prices ranging from 12 Groschen (for a Seleucid bronze) to over 17 Talers (for an Attalus of Mysia). See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 231 no. 1369; SCHWABE 1891, 37; see HOLDAU and KRMNICEK/HARDT in this volume on the expansion of his collection between 1875 and 1885.
  - 4 MONNAIE 1968, S. xx (quote by Jacques Yvon). In this context, one must applaud the study of archival documents such as those published in this volume (see also BOARETTO 2007; 2015). The developing interest in the history of collections can be traced from the 1989 publication of Arthur MacGregor's *Journal of the History of Collections*, the establishment in 2007 of the *Center for the History of Collecting* in New York City, and the foundation in 2016 of the *Society for the History of Collecting* in London. In the coin world, the constantly-expanding *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Numismatic Biographies* by John N. Lupia, on <<http://www.numismaticmall.com>> (05.09.2016), is a most precious resource; and François de Callataÿ's FINA project includes an online-database of *Portraits of Famous Numismatists*. The theme has become more popular, with parallel research carried out by PRIESE 2013; BECKERS/HELMWEIN 2015; BARTH/PEGAN 2015; LA BORDE 2016; and JOHAN VAN HEESCH on *Coin collecting in Belgium since 1800: coin dealers and auction houses* (lecture in Brussels on 21 May 2016). In addition to correspondence and manuscripts, the *Fontes Inediti Numismaticae Antiquae* project should include such types of archives. Indeed, the invoices of Karl von Schäffer prove to be an invaluable resource for the understanding of the coin trade, the development of numismatics, and the research of provenances. This project is the continuation of earlier attempts to list numismatic manuscripts in the archives, whether of academics or collectors; see LACROIX 1879; GOTTSCHALK 1979; DUMAS 1987; GUILLEMAIN 2003, 16–24; SARMANT 2009; DE CALLATAÿ 2016.
  - 5 On Rothschild, see BERG 1966; HEILBRUNN 1974; PROBSZT 1964; SCHUMAN 1989; HEUBERGER 1994, 17–19; MANN/COHEN 1996, 155; RAAB 1999. On the Frankfurt trade, see VON SCHRÖTTER 1922; CAHN 1981; WERZ 1994 (I could not find confirmation that Eugène Piot's medal collection was sold in 1882 to a Frankfurt dealer, cf. HAMON 2001, 63).

ted to modern dealers, little attention has been paid to nineteenth-century commerce.<sup>6</sup> The archives of the *Numismatische Arbeitsstelle* at Tübingen document the collecting activity of von Schäffer: they contain letters exchanged with Otto Ernst Julius Seyffer (1823–1890), in addition to lists of purchases, and invoices.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately the absence – in most cases – of von Schäffer’s replies, the incompleteness of his records,<sup>8</sup> and the loss of the dealers’ catalogs, prevent us from providing a full picture of his collecting practices.

### NUMISMATICS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

*Amateurs* tend to remain generalists, rather than specialized collectors, and the collection of antiquities of von Schäffer’s contemporary Hermann von Wundt (1823–1888) reflects this: bronzes mostly, but terracottas too; Roman mostly, but Greek too (see BAAs in this volume). For hundreds of years collectors had been forced to collect »in the dark«, not really knowing what existed, not really able to locate their coins in the context of economic history, but in von Schäffer’s latter years, they were able to develop a much deeper understanding.<sup>9</sup> He collected at a time when numismatics was reaching a larger number of people (fig. 1).<sup>10</sup> The nineteenth century is an age of a renewed and extended scholarly interest, with an increase in the number of collectors and connoisseurs, which led to the quick development of numismatic publications, the creation of scholarly

6 One notable exception is the excellent article by BARTH/PEGAN 2015 (on Heinrich Hirsch). See also BEISSER 1963 (on Josef Radnitzky); SMITH 1988; KLUGE 1993. Several essays remain unpublished, such as ELLIS (on Spink & Son), HAHN 1989 (on Adolf Hess A.G.), GANS 1987 (on himself). On the coin-trade in the twentieth-century, see MAMROTH 1953; PILARTZ 1967; BARTH 2001; HURTER/DIVO 2004; KAISER 2006; BOURGEY 2011; BECKERS/HELMWEIN 2015.

7 Virgil M. Brand (1862–1926) – who was a bookkeeper by training – also kept meticulous records. Brand started to collect in the year that followed von Schäffer’s death, and he actively collected for 36/37 years (a time span surprisingly close to that of von Schäffer). Such records are very unusual and invaluable: a catalog such as LA BORDE 2016 shows how difficult it is to know where and when collectors purchased their coins. Fortunately, the von Schäffer archives preserve the impressions of a *cistophorus* of Domitian belonging to Otto Seyffer (fig. 1 in KRMNICEK/HARDT; type RPC II 862). The whereabouts of this example has been unknown since its sale in October 1891 – when it was not illustrated, so the illustration in this volume will allow for the specimen to be pedigreed when it reappears on the market. It is worth noting that the nearly one million sale records in the database CoinArchives <<http://www.coinarchives.com>> (05.09.2016) do not identify a single coin as having been part of Seyffer’s collection; although many thousands of coins were auctioned by Eugen Merzbacher in October 1891 in 3567 lots, only 5 plates were used in illustration. This is a good example of what one calls »orphan antiquities«: items with an old provenance but no knowledge of where they come from – because the information has not been transmitted with the object. An archive such as this one occasionally allows the researcher to find from whom such coins were purchased, even sometimes from which hoard – such as the 5 Corinthian *didrachms* found in Livorno in 1867 which Seyffer bought from Heinrich Hirsch. See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 227 no. 1334 (*Monete greche, 2000 pezzii; Monete romane consolari e imperiali, 6000 pezzii*); Babelon 1901, col. 343; on Seyffer’s epistolary exchange with von Schäffer, see KRMNICEK/HARDT in this volume.

8 The archives tell us of the purchase of 19 *aurei*, only 13 of which can be identified among the 28 *aurei* which von Schäffer owned by the end of 1880.

9 The number of questions asked in antiquarian letters proves that collectors often bought coins without knowing their origins. For example, in a letter from August 1709 to Abbot Bignon, Gisbert Cuper wrote: »I was recently sent some medals, amongst which five or six are rather curious. You have seen, Sir, in my last letter, that the Orient was almost entirely occupying me; I cannot free myself from it, and this is why I sent you the copy of a bronze medal, where there are four characters that seem to me to be Arabic. I cannot see anything, *talpa caecior sum*, and though one of the crossed sticks is in fact a rudder or a bludgeon, I nevertheless cannot distinguish anything, and I leave to the illustrious academicians to explain this enigma« (quoted in FINA’s Grand Document).

10 It has been estimated that the number of coin collectors in America jumped from a dozen in the mid-1840s to several hundred by 1860: BOWERS 1965, 19. The first American coin show was held by the *American Numismatic Association* in Detroit in 1925, but I am unsure when the first European coin fair took place.

societies,<sup>11</sup> and the establishment of numismatic museums such as the coin cabinet at the Capitoline Museums in 1872 in Rome.<sup>12</sup> Scholarly journals also developed at the same time.<sup>13</sup> Natural sciences, notably with the collection of seashells, had somehow replaced medals in the hearts of collectors in the eighteenth century, but fashion changed again – coins were being used to illustrate history.<sup>14</sup> For example, one of the finest books published on Roman coins was Theodor Mommsen's *Geschichte des römischen Münzwesens* (Berlin 1860): history, rather than numismatics *per se*.<sup>15</sup> New types of research developed a scientific interest in coin hoards,<sup>16</sup> and the study of die-links increased.<sup>17</sup> Another innovation was the exhaustive museum catalogs that Reginald Stuart Poole published at the British Museum from 1873 onward: coin catalogs had existed earlier, but not of this systematic character.<sup>18</sup> Such approaches added to a much larger number of coins becoming available, allowed scholars to finally write near-definitive studies of specific coinages.<sup>19</sup> The development of coin auctions in Germany, in the late nineteenth century, coincided with better education of the dealers who, rather than bankers/moneychangers, were becoming specialized numismatists. The continuing development of literature allowed fewer mistakes, such as the one that allowed the curator of the Berlin cabinet to purchase a Knossos *tetradrachm* which had been described in a catalog as »a silver coin, on which is depicted a man with a Chinese hat« (i.e. the standing Minotaur!) (fig. 2).<sup>20</sup>

The letterhead of Adolph Cahn, in January 1882, gave the address for telegrams: no telegrams are preser-

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- 11 The *Royal Numismatic Society* was created in 1836, the *Société Royale de Numismatique de Belgique* in 1841, the *Berliner Numismatische Gesellschaft* in 1843, the *American Numismatic Society* in 1858, the *Société Française de Numismatique* in 1865, etc. The number of members of the French numismatic society grew from 280 in 1867 to 550 in 1868 and to 650 in 1869. This number remains its highest: by 1882 it had shrunk to 192, and by 1897 to only 97. See KLUGE 1993, 16; JAMBU 2015, 852. I am grateful to Matthias Barth (*Staatliche Münzsammlung München*) for confirming that von Schäffer was not a member of the *Bayerische Numismatische Gesellschaft* (and that the *Württembergischer Verein für Münzkunde* was only created in 1902).
- 12 During von Schäffer's life the royal coin cabinet in Berlin increased dramatically: while the museum had collected only 7,000 Greek and 20,000 Roman coins in 1840, these numbers had grown to 55,000 and 31,000 by 1869. See FRIEDLÄNDER/VON SALLET 1877; BABELON 1901, cols. 286; 290; D'OTTONE 2005, 254.
- 13 *Revue numismatique* (1836), *Numismatic chronicle* (1838), *Revue belge de numismatique* (1842), *Numismatische Zeitschrift* (1869), *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* (1874), etc.
- 14 See POMIAN 1976; GIARD 1980, 240; GIARD 1986, 167.
- 15 See GIARD 1986, 169. Nevertheless, the nineteenth century is, of course, also the time of publication of great manuals for collectors, such as the works by Théodore-Edme Mionnet and later by Henry Cohen.
- 16 See GIARD 1986, 171.
- 17 See DE CALLATAÏ 2007.
- 18 The Berlin cabinet began to publish its ancient coins during 1888–1894, and its gems in 1896, but the project was never completed. By 1858, Anatole Chabouillet published his *Catalogue général et raisonné des camées et pierres gravées de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, but in 2016 only a fraction of the coin collection of the Paris cabinet has been published. See GIARD 1986, 172.
- 19 An exceptional group of collectors was active in Vienna in the 1870s: Theodor Rhode (1836–1912) with his specialized collection of the coinage of Aurelian and Severina, Joseph von Kolb (1843–1886) who collected Tacitus and Florian, Andreas Markl (1829–1913) who focused on Claudius II and Quintillus, Otto Voetter (1841–1926) who acquired some 30,000 coins of Gallienus and his family, and Alexander Missong (1837–1885) whose collection of Probus' coins totaled about 13,000 examples. Rhode's book on the coinage of Aurelian, published in 1881, remains a useful reference to this day. See DEMBSKI 2007.
- 20 ERMAN 1929, 136. I am grateful to Angela Berthold (*Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*) for confirming that this coin is the example from the collection of Hans Heinrich XI von Hochberg (1833–1907), auctioned anonymously. It was described by Wesener as »eine auf einem Knie liegende Figur mit breitem chinesischem Hut« (Müller auctioneer, *Verzeichnis einer reichen Sammlung von Münzen und Medaillen in Gold, Silber, Bronze usw.*, Berlin 1865, 369 lot 3125). The coin was – in fact – acquired by the Berlin museum shortly after the sale, from the Swiss collector Charles-François Trachsel (1816–1907).

ved in von Schäffer's archives, but this new technology may have allowed collectors and dealers to accelerate the purchase/negotiation process. Another invention of the nineteenth-century is the commercial printed labels that show the dealer's name, with empty spaces for the inventory number, diameter, weight and price; but only one such ticket has survived in the von Schäffer archives.<sup>21</sup> The concept of coin fairs was likely born from the meetings of coin collectors, where new acquisitions were exhibited and sometimes exchanged hands: in January 1870, Seyffer rejoiced about von Schäffer's forthcoming visit, and informed him that »we now have every two weeks a numismatic meeting at the Caffee, in which participate Captain Wundt, Director von Scholl, and Judge Dill«<sup>22</sup>. Such meetings provided collectors with *stimuli* to buy more and buy better.

Though the correspondence of von Schäffer does not reflect it, numismatics in the nineteenth century was greatly enhanced through the evolution of illustrations.<sup>23</sup> Before then, collectors and researchers had to exchange fragile casts or impressions in their correspondence, which could be lost or broken, or make drawings of varying quality.<sup>24</sup> Books and essays were sparsely illustrated with copperplates or lithographs of rather poor quality.<sup>25</sup> A major change took place with the use of steel plates, which allowed precise engraving that could be printed many times.<sup>26</sup> But the main innovation, which appeared in the 1820s–1830s, is photography.<sup>27</sup> The advantage for scholars to have access to images of numerous examples of coins are obvious when they

21 A *solidus* of Theodosius II, no. 5088, 4.5 grams, for sale at 20 Marks by Adolph Cahn. Von Schäffer purchased that coin on 29 September 1876 for 18 Marks.

22 Franz August von Scholl (b. 1880) was a director of the Royal Württemberg Mail, Ludwig Dill (1812–1887) was a magistrate, and Hermann von Wundt (1823–1888) was a colonel. The identity of the first two were not easy to determine, but Stefan Krmnecik noticed that Franz August von Scholl was attested as a close friend of Otto Seyffer, and his title in a letter of 1870 as »Dir. von Scholl« would not have applied to Gustav Friedrich Scholl (1811–1885) who was knighted later (1876) and who was only a vice-director of the governmental office in Heilbronn. Similarly, the title »Amtsrichter« would not have applied to the son of Ludwig Dill, the painter Wilhelm Franz Karl Ludwig Dill (1848–1940), but Ludwig Dill was sent a letter on 26 March 1872 by the antiquities-dealer Julius Naue, which confirms his antiquarian interests to us. See CERFONTAINE/SIMON 2006, 302.

23 On the subject, see HOLLARD 1991; EAGLEN 2010; 2011; CODINE-TRÉCOURT 2011; BARTH 2012 (with an extensive bibliography). The development of printing did more for scholarship than the French revolution: see GIARD 1980, 243.

24 Note the epistolary exchange – accompanied by lead casts, between Jakob Georg Christian Adler (1756–1834) and Cardinal Borgia (1731–804).

25 Woodcuts, which suit certain types of artwork, are of no use when one attempts to depict a coin with precision. New techniques were tried, such as the mechanical engraving system of Achille Collas (e.g. *Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique*, 20 vols., Paris 1834–1850), or blind-stamping cardboard (e.g. Charles François Vergnaud-Romagnési, *Fac-simile de médailles des familles romaines consulaires et impériales de la collection de MM. de Villevêque fils ; obtenu par un procédé découvert et appliqué pour la première fois à une suite de médailles*, Paris 1832).

26 Intaglioprinting using steel plates was used during the French revolution for *assignats* (paper money), and the technique was improved in 1816, becoming more fashionable in the 1840s–1850s. It is in this context that Léon Dardel (b. 1814) started pursuing a career in photography – not just for the *Revue numismatique* but also for numerous books and dealers' lists: his faithfulness to the characteristics of each specimen remains unequalled.

27 The first artbook illustrated with photographs dates from 1848, and glass negatives were invented in 1851. The first attested reproduction of a numismatic daguerreotype dates from 1849, and the first known books illustrated with numismatic photographs date from 1856 (John Charles Robinson), 1857 (Adolf Karl Beyer), 1859 (Alfred Cadart), 1864 (Abbot Verguet) and 1867 (Pierre Bardou Job). Pasting actual photographs was too costly to be done in large numbers, but several techniques were developed for their reproductions: photogravure and collotype. This allowed the *Numismatische Zeitschrift* in 1870 to be the first important European numismatic scholarly journal to use photography – followed closely by the *Numismatic Chronicle* in 1873, and the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* in 1876. Earlier photo-illustrated numismatic journals include the 1860 volume of the *Zeitschrift für Münz-, Siegel- und Wappen-Kunde*, an 1864 issue of the *Manchester Numismatic Society Proceedings*, the fourth volume of the *Berliner Blätter für Münz-, Siegel- und Wappenkunde* (1868), the Spring 1869 issue of the *Mittheilungen des Vereins für Münz-, Wapen- und Siegelkunde*, the April 1869 issue of the *Blätter für Münzfreunde*, and the April 1869 edition of the *American Journal of Numismatics and Bulletin of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society* (see BARTH 2012, 417). Photography is the »handmaiden of sciences and arts« according to Baudelaire (quoted in AUBENAS/SMITH 2000, 174).

are studying a series,<sup>28</sup> but the possibility to see a coin – and to judge its condition – also affected profoundly the ability to buy from a distance. This explains why coin dealers acted quickly to take advantage of this new technique: the first illustrated numismatic auction catalog was a German one: the April 1868 auction catalog by Fieweger of the collection of Hugo von Saurma-Jeltsch (1837–1896), illustrated with two photo-plates of Talers.<sup>29</sup> Von Schäffer lived at a time of significant technical changes: in 1844, it was still possible for a catalog as important as the Devonshire collection to be completely unillustrated (neither photographs nor engravings); in 1887 instead, it would have been inconceivable for a sale such as Ponton d'Amécourt to be illustrated without photo-plates.

#### KARL VON SCHÄFFER'S COLLECTING WAYS

Proof of the interest in numismatics in nineteenth-century Germany can be found in the increasing number of publications devoted to coins. When Leitzmann created his *Numismatische Zeitung* in 1834, a critic wrote that it »will have appeared for nothing. Who is still interested in the abstrusity of numismatics?«, but in fact the publication lasted for over 40 years.<sup>30</sup> Later, in the 1880s, Julius Hahlo published a thrice-yearly list of coins and medals available for sale, the *Berliner Münz-Verkehr*, which he apparently sent for free to 5,500–6,000 recipients. While these are proof of a large active collecting community, a long list of numismatic collections in Germany in 1886 indicates clearly that the majority of collectors were interested in German coins – most especially in those of their town or region.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, some collectors would distinguish themselves by choosing an unusual collecting theme, such as Georg Friedrich Ulex (1841–1907) who owned over eight thousand American coins,<sup>32</sup> Baron Wilhelm Carl von Rothschild (1828–1901) who possessed many large mo-

28 See DE CALLATAÿ 1990. Photo-illustration of coins have also allowed collectors and scholars to track the changes in condition of coins: for example, an *aureus* of Aemilianus was depicted with a hole in 1896 (sale of the Montagu collection) and plugged in 1909 (sale of the Consul Weber collection).

29 The first auction catalog illustrated with photographs is by Christie (London, March 1860): the sale of the collections of the Löwenstein brothers, antiques dealers in Frankfurt, who advertised that they occasionally dealt in coins too. The first US catalog is that of Mortimer Livingston Mackenzie's collection by Edward Cogan, sold on 23–24 June 1869. See ADAMS 1982; 1990; BARTH 2012, 407–408; 410; PERGAM 2014, 16; FANNING 2016.

30 See BARTH 2002, 350 (quoting Eduard Bönecke).

31 Those collecting ancient coins rarely seemed to choose and specialize in only Greek or only Roman coins. Until recent times, many collectors would not limit themselves to a certain period, unique iconography, or even to a specific metal or quality-level. For example, Fedor Ivanovich »Theodor« Prowe (1872–1932) who is mostly remembered for his collection of very valuable Greek and Roman coins, such as a Brutus *aureus*, a half-shekel of year 4 and a Catanian *tetradrachm* signed by Herakleidas, also wrote three articles about coins from his collections: all about rather inexpensive Roman provincial coins. An exception was Ernst Julius Haeberlin (1847–1925) who, from the mid-1870s onwards, only collected *Aes Grave* and Republican silver coins. See HAEBERLIN/VON BAHRFELDT 1929, 12–13.

32 An apothecary from Hamburg, he had practiced in America 1867–1870. The collection was sold in part by L. H. Low in July 1902, in part by Heß in November 1908. See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 179 no. 896; John Lupia's *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Numismatic Biographies* on NumismaticMall.com.

dule coins struck in Persia,<sup>33</sup> or Count von Itzenplitz who only wanted coins dated 1500 CE.<sup>34</sup> Von Schäffer does not seem to have had difficulties transcribing the Greek legends of the coins he purchased,<sup>35</sup> and he seems to have had a particular interest in Roman Provincial coins which – at the time – were not widely in favor.<sup>36</sup>

Collectors of the times did not have as many resources as today to judge the value of a coin: no coin fairs, relatively few dealers with large inventories of coins for sale, few auctions (and even fewer illustrated coin catalogs), and of course no internet databases of prices-realized. What they had were collector's guides, and especially those of Mionnet – later superseded by Cohen's. And indeed, in September 1868, Seyffer wrote to von Schäffer that a group of coins offered by Oberndörffer was nice but overpriced, i.e. »priced much higher than the Cohen prices«<sup>37</sup>.

On 5 October 1885, Hirsch wrote a lengthy letter to von Schäffer, in which one reads: »These days, one can only buy in auctions, and there the good and beautiful specimens go up in price enormously«<sup>38</sup>. This signifies a major change in the trading habits of the time – but also denotes von Schäffer's attitude of not wanting to pay top prices for top coins. Indeed, like von Wundt, von Schäffer seems to have principally collected in the last decade of his life – when he supposedly had a higher income, and his obituary read: »He was without

33 See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 202 no. 1107.

34 See DANNENBERG 1903, 5.

35 One must remember that von Schäffer was a doctor. Being both a doctor and a numismatist was an old tradition, of which Louis Savot and Charles Patin are examples, probably explainable *inter alia* by the high level of classical education that medical doctors received (on Patin, among ample literature, see the rarely quoted FERTÉ 2000; 2001, see also RAMBACH 2005; 2008; 2012 and DE CALLATAÏ 2013b). See notably RENAULDIN 1851 on the subject of doctors as collectors of coins and medals. Other early examples include Adolf Occo (1524–1606) and Jacob Spon (1647–1685); modern numismatist-doctors include Samuel-Jean Pozzi (1846–1918), Paul Balog (1900–1982), Pierre Bastien (1912–2010) and Arnold-Peter Weiss (b. 1960). Not only medical doctors have been interested in numismatics, but also pharmacists (see BONTÉ 1996), and coin-related articles are to be found in a number of medical journals (see BONTÉ 1990). For an excellent bibliography on the subject, by Hubert Emmerig, see <[http://www2.smb.museum/ngb/files/Medicina\\_in\\_nummis\\_14.pdf](http://www2.smb.museum/ngb/files/Medicina_in_nummis_14.pdf)> (05.09.2016). I must note here that von Schäffer was not well-known in Germany, and that – for example – he is not listed in ENGELHARDT 1943. The fact that »the most beautiful collections are more particularly found amongst liberal professions« deserves further study (PERRET 1989, 7).

36 The relatively small value of von Schäffer's coins may not have been the effect of financial limitations, but merely a reflection of his interests. Despite the early publications by Jean Foy-Vaillant (1632–1706) and Jean Hardouin (1646–1729), collecting Roman provincial coins remained unusual until the second-half of the twentieth century: among significant early collectors, one must name Carlo d'Ottavio Fontana (1774–1832), Adolf von Rauch (1805–1877), Ferdinand Bompois (1813–1881), Wilhelm Froehner (1834–1925) and his good friend Friedrich Imhoof-Blumer (1838–1920), and much later Hans von Aulock (1906–1980), Cornelius Vermeule (1925–2008) and Ermanno Winsemann Falghera. The fact that Jules Lemmé (in Odessa), Giovanni Dattàri (1858–1923, in Cairo) or Giovanni di Demetrio (in Alexandria) collected provincial coins is probably more an effect of local finds than of specific taste. »The merit of the collector is to anticipate fashion« wrote Honoré de Balzac (in *Le Cousin Pons*, 1847, quoted in PERRET 1989, 61), but von Schäffer's collecting choice may possibly be explained by the price of these coins at the time: many collectors must limit themselves to a field in which they can afford to build a significant *ensemble*. It must be realized, however, how much rarer Roman provincial coins were at the time: it is significant that, in 1872 at the sale of the collection of Lionel de Moustier (1817–1869), the Paris coin cabinet acquired for 405 Francs a Bosphorus *stater* of Domitian – unique at the time (see RPC II 463, another example known). By comparison, a rare and attractive *aureus* of Vitellius, facing to left with the busts of his children on the reverse (ref. CALICÓ 2003, no. 561), sold for only 335 Francs to Gustave Ponton d'Amécourt, it then fetched 350 Francs in his own sale in 1887.

37 Such reaction may have been short-sighted from von Schäffer, as experienced collectors and dealers know well that price books must be relied upon as guides, but that common coins tend to be overvalued and exceptional ones undervalued. An example of too-rare-to-quote coin is the *aureus* of Clodius Albinus Caesar recently sold for USD 725,000 including buyer's premium (LA BORDE 2016, lot 33). It had been bought in 1978 by Nelson Bunker Hunt for USD 355,000, but in 2002 David Sear had quoted the type at only USD 100,000 in EF condition – though he illustrated that same example (SEAR 2002, 442 no. 6137).

38 Heinrich Hirsch admitted to buying at auctions himself: »I have the honour to offer the better pieces to you and to the Hon. professor, to whom I convey my best greetings. They come from auctions in Milan last January for the most part. At that time I was feeling more confident, otherwise I would not have bought them« (5 October 1885).

family, had few needs outside of his library and collections«, but the sums he invested in his coins are not high.<sup>39</sup> Von Schäffer does not seem to have purchased coins from non-German-speaking countries, though he could certainly speak English as he had travelled for two years after his studies.<sup>40</sup> In fact, the acquisition notes and invoices preserved by von Schäffer indicate that he was only buying coins from Germany: Frankfurt (Cahn-Hamburger), Munich (Hirsch-Merzbacher), Berlin (Jungfer-Rappaport) and Leipzig (Thieme).<sup>41</sup> Germany was not unified at the time, and Austria would have been no further than Prussia for example – but he bought coins from Berlin and not from Vienna, so a choice made by von Schäffer must be detected here:<sup>42</sup> there was international commerce at the time, with German collectors buying from dealers abroad, with foreign collectors buying from dealers in Germany, and with the Chapman brothers – dealers from Philadelphia – even consigning coins for sale to Adolph Weyl in Berlin in the 1880s.<sup>43</sup> Such transatlantic relationships undoubtedly

39 See NEUSCHLER 1888, 1842 (quote); CAMERER/KRIMMEL 1912, 75. Henry Hare, 2nd Baron Coleraine, once wrote – on Valentine's Day 1695 – that »medals are now become my Mistresses« (Brit. Lib., Sloane ms 3962, fol. 258). Because von Schäffer collected coins, one could say that they had become his exclusive passion. Most of the time, von Schäffer bought between 5 and 20 coins per purchase, most for just a few Talers. Very few single coins cost him more than 10 Talers (30 Marks). By comparison, when Heinrich Hirsch offered 28 Roman (bronze?) coins of great quality to Seyffer, he asked a total of 1,200 Talers: an average of 43 Talers/129 Marks per coin. A significant element of comparison to the prices paid by von Schäffer is the value of the antiques in von Wundt's collection. He had often paid more than their posthumous valuations, but his collection was priced at 2,776 Marks for the 103 items bought by Tübingen University, plus 2,224 Marks for the 300 additional items bought by Stuttgart: an average of 12 Marks per piece, with very few over 100 Marks. It is also worth noting that the large iron coin cabinet which the Tübingen Institute acquired in 1888 cost the enormous amount of 2,316 Marks. Until von Schäffer, the health officials in charge of the lunatic asylum – in addition to their tasks – were paid 450 guilders and 12 *Klafter Holz* (a unit of firewood) and had free accommodations. With the arrival of von Schäffer, the annual salary was raised to 1,200 guilders (supposedly in addition to firewood and housing), and he was given the right – to a limited extent – to practice privately (I thank Veronika Holdau for this information). This salary of 2,057 Marks *per annum* in 1838 was not high, considering that a *Professor Extraordinarius* at a Belgian university would earn 3,200 Marks in 1841 (and a chief gardener 1,000 Marks), but considering the few expenses that von Schäffer had whilst living in Zwiefalten, plus the side income of some private consultations, plus the likely raises he had during his career, such figures confirm that the amounts he invested in his coin collection were relatively small (like von Wundt's expenses in his antiquities). One must remember that the Roman gold coins of Hyman Montagu sold for 240,000 Marks in 1896, when his Greek and English coins were valued together at 1,100,000 Marks..

40 This was a study-travel, started in 1831, financed by the Ministry of the Interior, to visit asylums in England, France and Germany. Von Schäffer wrote a report, which can still be found in Zwiefalten, see LEUSCHKE 2012.

41 There seems to be only two exceptions: he acquired coins from Egger (in November 1875), but Egger had probably come himself to Stuttgart, and he bought coins that had been sent from Paris (in September 1865), but he bought them via Otto Seyffer, who was the one in contact with the dealer. The von Schäffer archives provide no indication as to the location of Bonačić when he was sending coins to him and Seyffer. Similarly, von Wundt acquired some items directly from Italian finders (e.g. BAAS in this volume, inv. no. 652), but it remains the exception rather than the norm, and nothing came from neighboring countries.

42 There was a German-speaking numismatist in Paris: Henri Hoffmann (1823–1897).

43 Hermann Dannenberg (1824–1905) bought coins from Serrure. Nicola Bottacin (1805–1876) exchanged letters with Cahn, Hirsch, Hamburger, Thieme and Weyl. Lucien de Hirsch (1856–1887) bought coins from Merzbacher. In 1869, the Athenian dealer Paul Lambros is attested to have sent Corinthian coins to Paris, for sale at Henri Hoffmann's. Karsten Dahmen (*Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*) noted that in 1872, for example, the Berlin coin cabinet acquired from Rollin & Feuardent and from Hoffmann (both in Paris). In 1882, Wesener obtained for sale at auction in Munich an important collection formed in Milan. Virgil Brand (1862–1926) acquired coins from both Thieme (by then in Dresden) and Spink & Son (London) in 1895. In contrast to the mercantile world, there were relatively few contacts between scholars in Germany, France, Italy, England etc. Jean-Baptiste Giard, looking at the numismatic publications in Europe in the nineteenth century, commented that scholars were working independently – even on competing subjects, but that this was also the case during the first half of the century – long before the fracture that the 1870 war would create between France and Germany. The second half of the nineteenth century was also when numerous Europeans emigrated to America – with several becoming important coin dealers. The list included Edward Cogan (1803–1884), born in England – arrived in the U.S. in 1853 – established as a numismatist in 1858; John Walter Scott (1845–1919), born in England – arrived in the U.S. in 1863 – established as a numismatist in 1863; Edouard Frossard (1837–1899), born in Switzerland – arrived in the U.S. in 1858 – established as a numismatist in 1872; Sigmund Kohn-Harzfeld (1848–1883), born in Germany – arrived in the U.S. in 1876 – established as a numismatist in 1877; etc. See GIARD 1986, 170; HELLMANN/MASSON 1994, 312; BARTH 2002, 412–414; DE CALLATAÏ 2013a, 22; BOARETTO 2015, 557.

made the competition for coins more intense: a local collector such as von Schäffer must have looked increasingly provincial and old-fashioned to the most active dealers.

To judge von Schäffer's purchases, and understand the context in which he made them, one needs to understand the number (and wealth and contacts) of his rivals in the collecting world – both private collectors and institutional buyers. Von Schäffer did not have to face the competition of the great collectors of the past,<sup>44</sup> and he preceded other voracious collectors,<sup>45</sup> but he started to buy in the 1850s and therefore he had to compete with people such as Edward Herbert Bunbury (1811–1895), Giampietro Campana (1808–1880), Albéric du Chastel (1842–1919), Joseph H. Durkee (1862–1898), Lucien de Hirsch (1856–1887), the Duke de Luynes (1802–1867), Hyman Montagu (1844–1895), Gustave Ponton d'Amécourt (1825–1888), the Viscount de Quelen (1852–1887), Adolf von Rauch (1805–1878), Carlo Strozzi (1810–1886), Carl Trau (1811–1887) and Franz Trau (1842–1905), Manuel Vidal Quadras (1818–1894), consul Leopold Walcher von Moltheim (1824–1911) and consul Eduard Friedrich Weber (1830–1907). Von Schäffer also had to compete with national and foreign institutions (i.e. the coin cabinets of Berlin, London, Paris, Vienna, etc.).<sup>46</sup> With such contemporaries, it must be understood that he was probably not the first person to be contacted by the leading dealers of the time, as he was less likely to purchase very expensive items or large quantities.<sup>47</sup> He did not have the funds to buy in important auctions against people like Luynes or Montagu, nor professional reasons to travel to source-countries like Anton Prokesch von Osten,<sup>48</sup> nor even the time to travel around Europe attending auctions and visiting dealers – contrary to Karl Gustav von Schulthess-Rechberg for example.<sup>49</sup> Von Schäffer must certainly have felt isolated, and disadvantaged by collectors living close to the major dealers: Stuttgart was not a big center for numismatics.<sup>50</sup>

The fact that von Schäffer only purchased coins (and ferns!) somehow protected him: the nineteenth

44 E.g. Apostolo Zeno (1668–1750), Carlo Trivulzio (1715–1789), William Hunter (1718–1783), or the Duke de Blacas (1771–1839).

45 E.g. John Evans (1823–1908), Arthur J. Evans (1851–1941), Francesco Gnecci (1847–1919), the Grand-Duke Georgii Mikhailovich (1863–1919), Virgil Brand (1862–1926), Archer M. Huntington (1870–1955), or John W. Garrett (1872–1942).

46 Von Schäffer faced little royal competition: Ludwig I of Bavaria had abdicated in 1848, and Vittorio Emanuele III of Italy only started to collect in 1879 (aged 10) – and not ancient coins: see KLOSE 1995; TRAVAINI 2010. Royals were not active in the ancient coin market when von Schäffer was collecting, though some expressed an interest in numismatics: »A great day of our society must be remembered here, the exceptional session which took place (in 1855?) at the home of the great master of ceremonies Baron von Stillfried: we saw there amongst us Prince Frederick Wilhelm – our future Emperor Frederick, who enchanted us with his loveable amiability. To occupy oneself with old coins was more proper then than now: Prince Georg owned some beautiful pieces, Prince Frederick Karl collected, and Prince Albert – a close relation of our v. Rauch – had been offered a substantial series of excellent Roman bronze coins by his princely mother, which he endeavored to increase«: DANNENBERG 1903, 4–5.

47 The price of art and antiques exploded in the 1850s–60s, and collecting was the height of fashion after 1870. This is reflected in contemporary literature – essays and plays, which mock the passionate (and specialized) collector until the 1860s, while in the next decade the subjects of irony became the »fake« collectors – those who simply want to be trendy or have an elegant interior. See PETY 2001, 71; 75; VOUILLOUX 2009.

48 See PEITLER 2012.

49 See HESS 1930.

50 There was nevertheless some collecting activity there: the »Sammler«, a publication initiated by J. Heinhold in Munich, was taken over by Prof. Josef Kürschner of Reinsburgstraße 45, a court advisor collecting medals related to the theater. At a much later date, the association of coin and *Notgeld* collectors in Stuttgart would publish *Monatlichen Mitteilungen*, from 1928 to 1942, under the direction of Oswald Haenssgen of Bad Cannstatt. See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 227 no. 1333; BARTH 2002, 375.

century was plagued with forgeries – most famous of all Tanagra sculptures and Renaissance jewels – but not only these, as is proven by the several fakes and over-restored antiques in the Wundt collection (see BAAS in this volume).<sup>51</sup> I must note here that, interestingly and unusually, von Schäffer was interested in forgeries – proven by his acquisition of four forgeries by Carl Wilhelm Becker (1772–1830) for not insignificant prices.<sup>52</sup>

– Naxos *tetradrachm*, bought in April 1869 for 2.25 Reichstaler (i.e. 8.44 Francs).<sup>53</sup>

– Thasos *tetradrachm*, bought in April 1869 for 2.25 Reichstaler (i.e. 8.44 Francs).<sup>54</sup>

– Metapontum *stater*, bought in July 1869 for 1.5 Reichstaler (i.e. 5.62 Francs).<sup>55</sup>

– Metapontum *stater*, bought in July 1869 for 1 Reichstaler (i.e. 3.75 Francs).<sup>56</sup>

On 11 July and 15 August 1877, von Schäffer acquired a *solidus* of Isak II Angelos for 18 Marks, and a *tetradrachm* of Side for 15 Marks, but then he gave as part exchange »a slightly less well preserved Side« valued at 6 Marks – reducing his bill to 27 Marks instead of 33 Marks (fig. 3). Von Schäffer noted that two of his *aurei* were obtained »in exchange« (*im Tausch; in Permutatione*). Such swaps require close and trusting relationships with dealers, as fair valuations must be agreed upon, but the practice is attested: on 28 January 1870, Seyffer reported having acquired gold coins of Vespasian, Sabina and Phocas, but there was no *aureus* of Sabina in his 1891 auction catalog, so he must have swapped/sold it at a later stage. Such desire to improve one's collection by buying examples in better condition is attested in the nineteenth-century (with De Hirsch for example), but nevertheless unusual.

The purchase receipts of 19 Roman *aurei* are preserved, dating from 1873 to 1887.<sup>57</sup> Those Roman gold coins are only a fraction of von Schäffer's collection (though a financially significant one), but they give interesting information: for example, he bought from a number of sources, but Thieme and Hirsch were the two main dealers. These receipts show in which years von Schäffer bought most heavily, they show from which dealers he bought his most valuable coins, and they show that he was interested in acquiring rather inexpensive coins – with 70 Marks the maximum paid for a rare Domitian – though the prices paid actually seem rather high compared to the prices on the international market. When, in October 1873, von Schäffer bought

51 On the subject of fakes, and the different types of »forgeries«, see the recent volume ZIMMER 2013.

52 These are relatively early acquisitions, all from Thieme & Fuchs, and the name Becker does not reappear in von Schäffer's purchase notes, but the fact that (high quality) fakes were being sold as such is noteworthy: at the time, Becker forgeries were still being offered occasionally as genuine coins, such as the *aureus* of Pescennius Niger in the January 1881 auction of the William J. Jenks collection by W. Elliot Woodward (lot 468 – sold for USD 3,500 to Woodward himself). Von Schäffer had sent his copy of PINDER 1853 on 2 July 1870 to his friend Otto Seyffer as a loan. And, at his death, Seyffer owned two books on Becker's forgeries (STEIN-BÜCHEL 1836 and PINDER 1853).

53 Inv. nr. I 355/49. PINDER 1853, no. 22.

54 Inv. nr. I 709/87. KRMNICEK 2013, 215; PINDER 1853, no. 43.

55 Inv. nr. I 189/124. KRMNICEK 2013, 214; PINDER 1853, no. 8.

56 Inv. nr. I 187/122. PINDER 1853, no. 9.

57 I must credit Stefan Krmnicek for the identification of the coins in the Tübingen collection, based on von Schäffer's very summary notes. In two cases (Augustus and Nero), there is an uncertainty as to which example von Schäffer bought at those dates. Von Schäffer noted his acquisition of two *aurei* of Domitian without giving any indication of their types (in 1873 and in 1883), but only one of them was bequeathed in 1891: reverse depicting the she-wolf and the twins with the legend *cos v*, inv. nr. III 613/6 (COHEN 1880, no. 50, est. 50 Francs).

an *aureus* of Domitian from Thieme & Fuchs, he paid 13 Talers and 6 Groschen (which was about 50 Francs): the previous year, at the sale of the Roman coins of the Marquis de Moustier by Hoffmann in June 1872, the 7 *aurei* of Domitian had sold between 25 and 40 Francs each (plus an additional 5% buyers' premium).<sup>58</sup> The catalog, dated 1880, of von Schäffer's *Numi Aurei Antiqui Romani* contains 28 Roman gold coins, as well as Constantinian and later Roman/Byzantine coins, but surprisingly no late second or third century *aurei*, which is probably a choice more than a question of availability.<sup>59</sup>

<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Reverse type</i>	<i>Comparative bibliography</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Supplier</i>	<i>Cost</i>
Domitian	unknown		October 1873	Thieme & Fuchs	13 Talers 6 Groschen (= 39.60 Marks = 49.50 Francs)
Augustus (inv. nr. III 375/8) or (inv. nr. III 375/11)	C CAES AVGVVS F, Gaius riding to right or C L CAESARES AVGVSTI F COS DESIG PRINC IVVENT, Gaius and Lucius standing	COHEN 1880, no. 39 (est. 50 Francs) or COHEN 1880, no. 42 (est. 45 Francs)	July 1875	Hirsch	18 Francs (= 14.40 Marks)
Tiberius (inv. nr. III 415/4)	PONTIF MAXIM, Livia seated to right	COHEN 1880, no. 15 (est. 40 Francs)	July 1875	Hirsch	2 Francs (= 1.60 Marks) in exchange
Nero (inv. nr. III 498/42a) or (inv. nr. III 481/3)	SALVS, Salus enthroned to right or AVGVSTVS AVGVSTA, Augustus and Livia standing	COHEN 1880, no. 317 (est. 40 Francs) or COHEN 1880, no. 42 (est. 60 Francs)	July 1875	Hirsch	20 Francs (= 16 Marks)

58 The currencies used in von Schäffer's notes vary between Talers, Marks, Francs, etc., which renders their study somewhat confusing: for example, a note from 12 May 1866 indicates that the collector paid his bill with 1 Fr. d'or (worth 5 Talers 20), 2 Napoléons d'or (worth 5 Talers 10 each), small coins («Kl. Mnze») and various Talers («Vereins. Taler»). Such complicated payments certainly remind of the early money-changers/numismatists, and the complex system of sending coins on approval and on credit is somehow reminiscent of the banking system: for example, for coins sent to von Schäffer on 30 January 1867, he was only invoiced on 2 March 1867. These archives show that von Schäffer was at ease with currency-conversions. The fine gold content (0.358425 gram vs. 0.290 gram) would suggest the equivalent 1 Mark = 1.236 Franc. And a note dated 11 September 1876 (coins bought by von Schäffer from Hirsch) gives individual prices in Francs with the total in both Francs (30.50) and Marks (25.50) which is a ratio of 1.196. But, in theory, 1 Franc was equal to 0.8 Mark (i.e. 1 Mark = 1.25 Francs). Until the unification of Germany in 1871, the Northern areas used the Taler and the Southern ones the Florin (*Gulden*); and from 1873 onward, a Prussian Taler (worth 30 Silbergroschen of 12 Pfennig each) was equal to 3 Marks (of 100 Pfennig each).

59 Other collections of the times do not show the same pattern: considering this list of *aurei*, should one assume that von Schäffer had a special interest for the Twelve Caesars? It seems not, because the 1880 catalogue of *aurei* contains one Julius Caesar, three Augustus, one Tiberius, one Drusus, two Claudius, two Nero, two Vespasian, one Titus, five Domitian, two Trajan, one Hadrian, one Antoninus Pius, one Faustina Senior, two Marcus Aurelius, one Lucius Verus, one Lucilla, and one Faustina Junior.

<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Reverse type</i>	<i>Comparative bibliography</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Supplier</i>	<i>Cost</i>
Hadrian (inv. nr. IV 59/102)	P M TR P COS III, Jupiter to left	COHEN 1882, no. 1058 (est. 40 Francs)	July 1875	Hirsch	18 Francs (= 14.40 Marks)
Claudius (inv. nr. III 463/1)	CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI, Constantia seated to left on curule chair	COHEN 1880, no. 4 (est. 45 Francs)	March 1877	Merzbacher	70 Francs (= 56 Marks)
Augustus (inv. nr. III 387/3b)	IMP X, bull to right	COHEN 1880, no. 136 (est. 45 Francs)	October 1877	Hirsch	45 Marks (= 56.25 Francs)
Antoninus Pius (inv. nr. IV 168/104)	TR POT COS IIII, Roma seated to left	COHEN 1882, no. 934 (est. 45 Francs)	October 1877	Hirsch	65 Marks (= 81.25 Francs)
Domitian (inv. nr. III 619/23)	GERMANICVS COS XIII, Germania seated right on shield	COHEN 1880, no. 148 (est. 45 Francs)	October 1877	Hirsch	70 Marks (= 87.50 Francs)
Domitian (inv. nr. III 655/89)	Domitian riding to left (anepigraphic)	COHEN 1880, no. 663 (est. 45 Francs)	October 1877	Hirsch	10 Marks (= 12.50 Francs) in exchange
Titus (inv. nr. III 591/15)	Supposedly depicting the <i>Colum rostralis</i> (in fact: PONTIF TR POT, Fortuna standing on a cippus)	COHEN 1880, no. 166 (est. 40 Francs)	June 1879	Hirsch	45 Marks (= 56.25 Francs)
Domitian (lost)	GERMANICVS COS XV (already missing by the time of Schwabe's inventory)		September 1880	Hirsch	50 Marks (= 62.50 Francs)
Domitian (lost)	<i>Juppiter Conservator</i> (already missing at the time of Schwabe inventory)		September 1880	Hirsch	50 Marks (= 62.50 Francs)
Trajan (stolen in 2010)	FORVM TRAIAN, architectural door	COHEN 1882, no. 168 (est. 80 Francs)	September 1881	Hirsch	70 (Marks? = 87.50 Francs)
Antoninus Pius	<i>Tr. Pot XII Cos IIII. Fem. Stans</i> (not listed in von Schäffer's ms. inventory)		November 1882	Hirsch	66 (Marks? = 82.50 Francs)
Domitian	Unknown		October 1883	Hirsch	12 Marks (= 15 Francs)
Trajan (stolen in 2010)	COS VI P P SPQR, standing Genius to left	COHEN 1882, no. 104 (est. 45 Francs)	June 1884	Hirsch	70 (Marks? = 87.50 Francs)
Vespasian (inv. nr. III 575/69)	VIC AVG, Victory standing on globe	COHEN 1880, no. 583 (est. 40 Francs)	April 1885	Hamburger	45 (Marks? = 56.25 Francs)
Nerva	Unknown (not listed in von Schäffer's ms. inventory)	---	May 1887	Jungfer	

## THE COIN TRADE: VON SCHÄFFER'S SUPPLIERS

Regular numismatic auctions became more common after von Schäffer's death in 1888. Indeed, although Hamburger's first auction was held in August 1871, Heß's in September 1875 and Thieme's in October 1876, Helbing's first auction was held in May 1888, Cahn's in October 1892, and Rappaport's in February 1901. Unfortunately, the complete list of von Schäffer's books is unknown.<sup>60</sup> One knows that his friend Otto Seyffer had good documentation,<sup>61</sup> and the loan of a book by von Schäffer to Seyffer is attested, so it is quite certain that he had some *numismatica*. But did he receive many auction catalogs? Coin auctions were a long tradition when von Schäffer was collecting,<sup>62</sup> but German dealers favored fixed-price lists (usually unillustrated) despite the many limitations of this slow system in which orders had to be placed by mail (without any possibility of knowing what was still available and with little possibility to beat faster competitors).<sup>63</sup>

In August 1892, Joseph Hooper – editor of *The Numismatist* – was advising professional dealers: »Transactions for purchases should be strictly cash on delivery, and no returns accepted. The submission of a series on approval often leads to trouble and annoyance, for dishonest collectors will sometimes substitute inferior copies for those sent.«<sup>64</sup> Nevertheless, this seems to have been the favored way of purchasing coins by von Schäffer: for example, a document indicates that Thieme & Fuchs had very regular contacts with von Schäffer, sending him coins in February–April–July–September–October 1871 and February–April–August–October–November 1872, for a total value of more than 498 Talers (1,494 Marks). The lists of coins bought from Thieme & Fuchs always have catalog numbers next to each coin, and two dates: those of receipt and return of

60 The file of »old inventories« contains a manuscript list of the numismatic books at the Tübingen University library (Numismatische Arbeitsstelle am Institut für Klassische Archäologie), but it contains books through 1906, so von Schäffer's legacy cannot be identified – except for the few exceptions with a manuscript ownership inscription »Dr. Karl Schaeffer«. Almost all are devoted to Roman imperial and provincial coins, and they are rather antiquarian books (but he may have written his name only on the most valuable ones): Foy-Vaillant's catalogue of the collection of François de Camps (reprint of 1695) and his reference work (revised edition of 1743), Morel's book (1734), Khell's Latin translation of Haym's »Tesoro Britannico« (1763–1765) and his own text (1767), van Damme's catalogue of the coins owned by Countess Bentinck (1787–1788), and finally Saulcy's work on Byzantine coins (1836). Alas, presuming he had kept them, von Schäffer's fixed-price lists and auction catalogs have disappeared. See KRM-NICEK/HARDT in this volume.

61 His estate's auction catalog contained a lot described as »Eine Anzahl von Auctions- u. Verkaufs-Katalogen, darunter: Erbstein-Peyer, Garthe, Hess, Jenni, Merzbacher, Minus-Preiss, Sattler«. The »Sattler« reference is mysterious, as the collection of Albert Sattler was auctioned by L. & L. Hamburger on 4 October 1899 and Seyffer had died in 1890. I have not identified the »Jenni« reference. The other auction catalogs are: Erbstein's sale of the collection of Isaak von Peyer (21 September 1863), Heberle's sale of the collection of Hugo Garthe (10 September 1884), and the sale by Wesener & Egger of the collection of Gotthard Minus and Adolph Preiss (Vienna 16–17 November 1874).

62 See RAMBACH 2010, 37.

63 Several questions arise about the ways that such coin shipping functioned: in today's market, the cost of postage would act as a brake to such practice (notably because of insurance). Were coins accompanied by a printed list, or were they sent with individual coin tickets? And were there customs' issues, for example when Dr. Elberling, a Prussian military-doctor in Luxemburg, purchased his *Augustus aureus* from the Fontana auction in Paris in 1860 (LA BORDE 2016, lot 5)? When the collection of Roman gold coins of Viscount Ponton d'Amécourt was sold at auction in April 1887, nearly two decades after the Franco-Prussian war, a contemporary witness testified that »Some pearls of the collection were pre-empted by the Bibliothèque nationale, and in those cases the public [...] burst into excited clapping, since the disappointed underbidder was a German, [the coin dealer Leo] Hamburger of Frankfurt« (SPRING 2009, 218–220). The 1870 war had undoubtedly cooled down Franco-German relationships, but Paris remained the center of the coin trade, and we have the testimony of the Berlin coin curators visiting the Parisian dealers in 1878; the frontiers were not closed.

64 Quoted in BOWERS 1983, 66.

the coins (*erhalten – zurück*). It must be assumed that the dealer was sending him large groups of coins with a list, and that von Schäffer selected some of these coins and sent the others back. The numbers (totaling 280 from the October 1870 list) are surprisingly high. It seems inefficient that von Schäffer would receive so many coins, and then buy, in that specific case, only six examples. On 3 January 1882, Cahn sent von Schäffer a group of Greek and Roman coins for sale, with a total value of 1265 Marks<sup>65</sup>. Von Schäffer only bought a few, and sent the remainder back on 7 January – with a value left of 1200 Marks. Sending such a large number of coins to a collector who buys so few items seems to make little commercial sense, but it happened again: after a purchase of a little over 90 Marks, von Schäffer sent back to Cahn on 22 February 1883 a parcel weighing 1039 grams with a value of 1200 Marks.<sup>66</sup> In April 1886, Rappaport wrote to von Schäffer asking him what he was looking for, in order to make him the most appropriate offer, as he had just acquired a collection of South-German Talers. Such want-lists help to understand how the system worked.<sup>67</sup> The offerings sent to the various collectors were chosen according to their respective interests, rather than having a dealer's entire inventory sent from collector to collector. Nevertheless, the quantities of coins being sent that way could be very large indeed, such as the 500 Greek coins »at extremely low prices« which Wesener sent to Seyffer in July 1870. It included – mostly nice – examples from Metapontum, Croton, Thurium, Velia, Tarentum, etc., with 20 to 60 specimens of each.<sup>68</sup>

Von Schäffer bought from several dealers – and they were known to be more or less expensive. For example, when Seyffer wrote of a gold Lucius Verus which Hirsch had offered him in July 1873 for f. 21, he commented: »for a comparable piece Hess would have requested at least f. 90«<sup>69</sup>. He would inform his collecting friends of his purchases, and so would they. Seyffer, on 13 June 1882, wrote »When correcting my invoice with the Sirs Lambros/Naue, who has already received my shipment back and has settled with me, I came

65 This amount is both very high (1,580 Francs), and very low: the 1,009 Roman gold coins of the Ponton d'Amécourt collection were auctioned for 366,382 Francs in April 1887. At the time, 1 ounce of fine gold was worth 107 Francs.

66 I am grateful to Lutz Ilisch (*University of Tübingen*) for noting that the asylum may have had its own postal agent which would have simplified shipments. Sending a parcel from Munich would have probably taken 2–3 days, and therefore the time during which such a shipment would have been away from the dealer's inventory rather small.

67 The way that these offers by post functioned still remains unclear. For example, in April 1885, von Schäffer wrote to Jungfer to tell him which coins he wanted to buy from his latest offering, and that he was expecting the next offering in December – »should nothing special present itself«.

68 Of course these must have been the products of large hoards. Seyffer wrote in September 1868 about *didrachms* from Corinth which he bought from Hirsch that had been found the previous year in Livorno, and the 1891 auction catalog of his Celtic coins often indicates provenances (notably from Württemberg). In September 1870, Seyffer wrote of a large find of Roman coins by Esslingen, which was not of interest to him – instead, he bought a group of coins supposedly found by the son of a poor woman (he later found out that the story was likely fabricated). Both Evans and Montagu also kept notes of the provenance of some of their coins. And von Wundt, also in the Württemberg region and also actively collecting in the 1870s–1880s, was often given find-spots for the antiquities that he would buy (see BAAS in this volume). However, this does not seem to be the case with von Schäffer; the provenance of ancient coins is a very recent issue, and did not add commercial value at the time. Hirsch, going to Italy every year, made no secret of his sources – some of which were indirect, such as the collection of Roman coins that came from Florence but which he bought from a collector in Cologne in 1868.

69 This opinion is confirmed by Adolf Erman who remembered that – in the late 1870s/early 1880s, »the Heß aus Frankfort was already the modern art dealer, pursuing the business in a big way, and driving the prices to bogus height by all kinds of tricks. »The prices are at the height of the current situation«, he once wrote us. I experienced this rise of prices with Renaissance medals, and we amused ourselves at imagining how much our medal collection would be worth in Heßian prices«: ERMAN 1929, 137.

upon a mistake which I could at first not understand at all», informing von Schäffer that he was buying from the Athenian dealer Ioannes Paulou Lambros (1843–1909)<sup>70</sup>, through Julius Naue in Munich.

According to his acquisition notes, von Schäffer's main supplier of coins in the 1860s and 1870s was Thieme & Fuchs. But among the other names revealed by the archives, Marko Bonačić (1800–1896) appears prominently, as he was offering him many coins (usually mediocre ones).<sup>71</sup> A numismatist and antiquities collector and dealer, he was born in Dalmatia (Croatia) and died in London, but had lived in Trieste, Milan and Venice, which explains why Seyffer described him as »the clever Slavic Italian«. Bonačić does not seem to have published any catalog himself, but he undoubtedly handled a large number of antiquities, such as an Egyptian stone relief which was acquired by a Paris museum.<sup>72</sup> The Gneccchi presented him as a collector who occasionally sold: »started in 1835 a general numismatic collection, which he sold in 1866 (sic!) in Paris. Currently collects Greek, Roman, medieval Italian and foreign coins. Possesses 3700 of them, about half of which in silver. Keeps numerous duplicates for sale or exchange«. But they also listed him as a dealer, specialized in coins from the Veneto.<sup>73</sup> His numismatic »collection« (or his unsold inventory) was sold at auction in Paris on 20–22 February 1868. Just before, on 18–19 February 1868, paintings, books and antiques of his had also been auctioned.<sup>74</sup> The fate of the coins which he acquired afterwards remains unknown. When his obituary was published, it was mentioned that he had served in the Napoleonic army – earning the Saint Helena medal. He was said to have written several – unpublished – texts on coins, and he was also involved in a series of exchanges published in a Triestine newspaper regarding the authenticity of an Olybrius gold coin which he owned.

Another supplier of coins was Eugen Pistorius (1829–1871). These small dealers are unheard of today, but they seem to have handled rather a large number of coins. They even sold significant coins, such as a *solidus* of Eugenius in April 1869, for which Seyffer offered 100 francs, and an *aureus* of Trajan's father. In

70 It could also be his father, Paul Lambros (1820–1887).

71 The German spelling of his name varies (Bonachic/Bonacich). Several books refer to him, such as Alphonse Mauro's *Un Papiro ossia i gladiatori nella caverna del Vesuvio* (Venice 1826) which is dedicated to him. His name appears, as the sender of a letter dated 21 June 1868, in the files of the Paris coin cabinet (archive inv. 12 AMC 24). See ГНЕЦЧИ/ГНЕССЧИ 1886, 44 no. 116; 318 no. 2218; *Rivista italiana di numismatica* 1896, 117; *Hrvatski leksikon*, Zagreb 1996, 123; ГОРИНИ 2010, 35. There was no death notice in Nunn's *The Numismatic Magazine*, though he had lived his last years in London, nor in Serrure's *Bulletin de numismatique*, though his auction had taken place in Paris.

72 DEMMIN 1870, 119: »2406. Haut-relief égyptien en pierre [...] provient de la collection de M. Marco Bonacich, de Trieste«. Bonačić also sold antiquities to Hermann von Wundt, see BAAS in this volume.

73 The fact that many dealers start as collectors has already been noted (МАМРОТН 1953, 54: »Most were originally collectors themselves, then became marchands amateurs, and finally turned to dealers«).

74 *Catalogue de médailles grecques, romaines. Monnaies du moyen âge & modernes de tous les pays composant la collection de M. Marco Bonacich de Trieste*: 486 lots described in a 30 pp. catalogue (Rollin & Feuwardent experts). The Munich-Rome dealer Heinrich Hirsch discussed this auction in several letters sent to the collector Nicola Bottacin, and Bonačić himself sent several letters to Bottacin the following year: see BOARETTO 2015, 267–268; 286–287; 294–295; 320–321. *Catalogue des tableaux anciens des différentes écoles, curiosités romaines et égyptiennes, livres anciens composant la collection de M. Marco Bonacich de Trieste*: 168 lots described in a 19 pp. catalogue and sold for 8,600 Francs (Me Eugène Escribe auctioneer, Simon Horsin-Déon expert). I am extremely grateful to Sabine Tolksdorf (*Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*) for providing me with a copy of this rare catalog. It is unlikely that many of the 84 paintings would still be attributed to the same painters today; though unillustrated, the subjects of Eugène Delacroix's *Trompe l'œil* or Giovanni Biliberti's *La numismatique* render them rather dubious. The entire sale was rather insignificant, and the only lot worth mentioning here is a first edition of Guillaume Budé's *De Asse et partibus eius* (misdescribed as *De sijffe*), 1514.

Pistorius' case, the collector had to make counter-offers on the prices asked in the dealer's shipment, so the whole process was really quite slow and complex in a time of paper mail only. Seyffer accused him of having no understanding of the coins' conditions, or values, which required the collectors to be experts themselves. On 1 May 1870, Seyffer wrote of having been offered coins from Pistorius, duplicates from the collections of Adolf von Rauch (1805–1877) in Berlin and Friedrich Imhoof-Blumer (1838–1920) in Solothurn. He indicated that he had already been offered those same coins some 5 weeks previously – for half the price – by the Berlin dealer Wesener.<sup>75</sup> Considering that five weeks is relatively little time, the coins having changed hands in between, it meant that Seyffer was one of the first persons to whom the dealers offered them. Why is that, considering that both Seyffer and von Schäffer were relatively minor buyers? Seyffer wrote from Stuttgart on 8 August 1869 that he saw today »at a Mr. Berkheim from Jerusalem, a quantity of Seleucid and Alexandrian coins«. How and why an unknown dealer from Palestine would have arrived with his inventory in Germany cannot, alas, be answered. He was not the only dealer who came to visit: Hirsch did too, in July 1873, seemingly unannounced,<sup>76</sup> and with little inventory. On 22 December 1873, Seyffer reported to von Schäffer the visit of Mr. Egger and of Friedrich Imhoof-Blumer.<sup>77</sup> Egger had very nice pieces in bronze and in gold, at prices ranging from 100 to 1,500 francs. The von Schäffer archives also preserve the visiting card from »Ph. Margaritis, Professeur à l'École des Beaux-Arts à Athènes«, who was then living in Paris (fig. 4).<sup>78</sup> On 26 May 1876, he acquired three coins for a total of 50 Marks from him. How did he enter in contact with a collector in a small town of Baden-Württemberg? How did he know which coins to send? And how did von Schäffer pay him? »A saying of the old Feuardent has remained in my memory, because he characterized the difference – at that time – between the Paris dealers and collectors and the German ones. Coins that were poorly preserved, rubbed off, but rare were called by the Parisian dealers ›German merchandise‹ or ›professor's coins‹.«<sup>79</sup> This quote from the memoirs of the Egyptologist Adolf Ermann (assistant at the Berlin museum), telling of his encounter in 1878 with the important dealer Félix Bienaimé Feuardent (1819–1907), allows us to better understand von Schäffer and his collection.

75 Von Rauch's first collection of 4,000 coins had been purchased for 7,000 Talers in 1853 by the Berlin museum, and more coins were acquired in 1878. Were these coins sold on behalf of von Rauch and Imhof-Blumer, or had they been bought by Wesener? Did Pistorius buy them from Wesener and try to resell them at a profit, or did he take them on consignment himself (either from Wesener or the two collectors)?

76 Von Schäffer, who had come to visit Seyffer, missed him by a few days.

77 The coin-dealing firm of Dr. Gustav Adolf Egger was run by the brothers Heinrich Egger (d. 1914) and David Egger (1832–1897), the former in Budapest (since 1859), the latter in Vienna (since 1869). The latter was succeeded in 1897 by Adolf Roger, and the former was succeeded in 1899 by Armin L. Egger (1864–1929). The company, which closed in 1930, had taken over the firm *S. Egger und Compagnie*, also active in Vienna under the direction of Samuel Egger (d. 1881) and Jakob Egger (1829–1919). See REITMANN 1946, 102–103. It cannot be certain from which of the two firms von Schäffer bought.

78 Philippos Margaritis (1810–1892) is considered to have been the first Greek photographer, taking daguerreotypes of the Athenian Acropolis as early as 1847. After the fall of King Otto in 1862, he followed him to Bavaria, with his collection of antiquities (part of which was auctioned by Helbing in 1897). He had the *Catalogue de la collection de médailles grecques, romaines et byzantines de Philippe Margaritis d'Athènes* published in Paris in 1874, in order to sell it – preferably *en bloc* but apparently without success. The fact that a professor would, occasionally at least, trade in antiques is surprising but is also known in Belgium with Constant Philippe Serrure, and in the Netherlands with Otto van der Chijs. See DE WITTE 1874; MARGARITIS 1886; XANTHAKIS 1990.

79 ERMAN 1929, 138.

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DER NUMISMATIKER.

**Abbildung 1:** August Holmberg (1851–1911), *Der Numismatiker*. Benedictine monk looking at ancient coins, oil on canvas, exhibited in Berlin in 1880 (where it sold for 3,000 Marks). Etching by Ernst Forberg (1844–1915), illustrating the *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst* 18 (1883), published again in ROSENBERG 1887, opposite p. 48 (Photo: H. J. Rambach).



**Abbildung 2:** Silver stater of Knossos (Crete), c. 425–360 BCE. Obverse: Minotaur. Berlin coin-cabinet, accession nr. 1865/28735 - 18216378. © Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (Photo: Dirk Sonnewald; image not to scale).



**Abbildung 3:** Silver stater of Side, c. 190–170 BCE. Obverse: Helmeted head of Athena right; Reverse: Nike advancing left, holding wreath, in left field, pomegranate above magistrate's name. Collection of Karl von Schäffer, inv. nr. II 1383/5 = SNG Tübingen 4334. Universität Tübingen, Institut für Klassische Archäologie (Photo: Thomas Zachmann; image not to scale)



**Abbildung 4:** Philippos Margaritis (1810–1892) and Philibert Perraud (b. 1815), The Arch of Hadrian, Athens, 1846–1847, daguerreotype, 7 x 9,1 cm. Object Number 90.XT.65.9. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.



## A LIST OF COIN DEALERS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY GERMANY

HADRIEN J. RAMBACH

The vitality of numismatics in nineteenth-century Germany is not only shown by the many journals that were published – and their sometimes high print-runs, but also evidenced by the sheer numbers of coin-dealers: nearly a third, 36 of the 124 coin-dealers listed by the Gneccchi brothers in 1886, were in Germany.

In Vienna in July 1869, when Georg Kraus auctioned the coins and medals collection of Graf von Klebelsberg, the main buyers were the most significant dealers of the time: Kraus himself, Leopold Hamburger (Frankfurt), Zschiesche & Köder (Leipzig), and Carl Fieweger (Berlin).<sup>1</sup> Like today, professional numismatists whose names are known and will be remembered, were joined by minor coin dealers whose names have long been forgotten.

One example is the Berlin banker Meidner, who displayed coins in his windows in 1885 – coins as varied as a *stater* of Lysimachos, a *solidus* of Honorius and a piece of 4 ducats. This illustration comes from the memoirs of Alfred Mammoth, who also wrote of the now unheard-of dealer von Wasserschleben – bidding on his behalf in a 1893 auction.<sup>2</sup>

It is interesting to note that several German dealers were scholars: in 1892 Leopold Hamburger published a study of the coinage of the Jewish revolt, a subject that Eugen Merzbacher had previously explored in his PhD dissertation in 1873.<sup>3</sup> When the *Annalen der gesamten Numismatik* were launched in 1804 by Adolf Schlichtegroll (the archaeologist in charge of the Gotha coin cabinet), who described them as »a literary magazine dedicated to science«, the editor did not mind having a bought-and-sold section in his journal.<sup>4</sup> And the Erbstein brothers, authors of major auction catalogs, were museum directors. There were no conflicts at the time between academics and the collecting world.

– ROBERT BALL was a coin dealer in Berlin, first located at Andreasstraße 19 and later Wilhelmstraße 138. He founded his company in 1887, and published a catalog entitled *Nummus*. His own collection, dedicated to *Medicina in Nummis*, was sold in October 1905. The company was then taken over in 1913 by JOHANNA

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1 This list is an attempt to give context to names quoted elsewhere in this volume. My original inspiration were the invaluable GRIERSON/BLACKBURN 1986 and MANVILLE 2009. Unfortunately, the *Verband der deutschen Münzenhändler* was only created in 1952, so earlier research needs to rely on cross-checking a variety of sources, and is an incomplete survey: the subject deserves an entire book, in the spirit of Mark Westgarth's *Biographical Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers* (2009). A major bibliographical resource is DONUM (the ANS library catalog), and the main bibliographies of numismatic catalogues are: GRIERSON 1966; TIETJEN 1976; 1977; PEUS 1980; CLAIN-STEFANELLI 1985; MANVILLE/ROBERTSON 1986; ROSSI 1999; KÜNKER 2005; ROSSI 2005; LUBESADER 2007 (Karl Lubeseder had written a list of Numismatic auction catalogues of the major German dealers and a few foreign German-language dealers [unpublished manuscript dated 1993], which has been lost by the *Geldgeschichtliche Sammlung* of the *Kreissparkasse Cologne* but of which a few photocopies survive); SPRING 2009; M&M 2010; BUTTREY 2016. As always, the most precious tool, when studying both the provenance of individual item and the functioning of the art market, are annotated catalogs. See VAN DRIESSCHE 2015; KOLBE & FANNING, auction 142, 24 June 2016, lot 95.

2 See MAMROTH 1953, 55–56.

3 When Giovanni Gorini wrote that the links between trade and research were extremely close until the late 1950s (GORINI 2010, 93), he meant this in opposition to the current debates between archaeologists and collectors/dealers, and not that scholarly dealers were more frequent then. On the contrary, merchants with a scholarly expertise have become more common in recent times, with examples such as Herbert Cahn, Stephen Album, Alan Walker and Christoph von Mosch.

4 See BARTH 2002, 358.

GRÜNTAL, who continued the business as *Robert Ball Nachfahren*, started organizing auctions (ten were held between 1917 and 1934), and struck numerous medals during WWI. The firm closed in 1941.<sup>5</sup>

- SIEGFRIED BALLIN was a banker and coin dealer in Munich, Theatinerstraße 42.<sup>6</sup>
- BAMBERGER & ROSENBERG were money changers in Berlin.<sup>7</sup>
- JULIUS BELMONTE JR. in Hamburg, Hohe Bleichen 11, published fixed-price lists from 1878 onwards (*Verzeichnis verkäuflicher Münzen und Medaillen*). He also organized public auctions, the catalogs of which were distributed for free, notably in September 1883 and October 1885.<sup>8</sup>
- WILHELM BRAND was a banker and coin dealer in Munich, Promenadeplatz 5.<sup>9</sup>
- S. W. BRANDES was a money changer in Berlin.<sup>10</sup>
- JOHANN BURGHART was listed by the Gneccchi as a coin dealer and money changer in Munich, Lindwurmstraße 99. In fact, he worked for the Catholic church, and collected religious medals and coins struck by German mints from Charlemagne to Charles V. He was connected to several thefts, for which he was sentenced to jail.<sup>11</sup>
- ADOLF-EMIL CAHN (1840–1918) started as an apprentice to his father, a jeweller, and possibly to the numismatists Leopold Hamburger und Bär (fig. 1). In 1874, he opened his own coin business, and immediately started publishing regular catalogs. Although he was the holder of a large inventory – notably of German Talers, he only began to organize auctions in October 1892<sup>12</sup>. His sons, JULIUS ALFRED CAHN (1871–1936) and LUDWIG THEODOR CAHN (1877–1924), started to work with their father in 1896 and later continued the family business.<sup>13</sup> This company was taken over by ELISABETH BUTTON (d. 1963) and her husband Ruprecht Georg Wolf (1916–1993), and renamed *Frankfurter Münzhandlung*. It was led by Anders Ringberg (d. 1996) from 1988 onwards, then by Helmut Stapf, and then sold in 1998 to the Union Bank of Switzerland – but it was closed in 2000. The sons of Ludwig Theodor Cahn, ERICH BERNHARD CAHN (1913–1993) and HERBERT ADOLPH CAHN (1915–2002), who had previously worked alongside their mother Johanna (*née* Neuberger) (1881–1963) in the family business in Frankfurt, formed the company *Münzhandlung Basel* in 1934 – which

5 See FORRER/FISCHER 1897, 10; PRIESE 2013, 207–209.

6 See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 317 no. 2210; FORRER/FISCHER 1897, 54; BARTH/PEGAN 2015, 242.

7 See DANNENBERG 1903, 3.

8 See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 317 no. 2213.

9 See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 318 no. 2219; FORRER/FISCHER 1897, 54; BARTH/PEGAN 2015, 242.

10 See DANNENBERG 1903, 1.

11 See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 216 no. 1233; 318 no. 2220.

12 Anonymous sale on 27 October 1892; Lalble collection on 27 November 1893; Grünert collection on 8 March 1897; Fellner collection on 17 October 1898; Von Heyden collection on 19 October 1898; Grote-Bardt-Greene collections on 17 April 1899; Lotholz-Grote-v.Brandenburg Ansbach collections on 14 May 1900; Hoffmann collection on 17 October 1900; etc.

13 Addresses: Zeil 17 (1874–1878), Eschersheimer Landstraße 36 (1878–1892), Nidenau 55 (1892–1935), Westendstraße 71 (1935–c.1945), Westendstraße 46 (c. 1945–1958), Freiherr-vom-Steinstraße 9, Ulmenstraße 30, Große Bockenheimer Straße 44 (1990–1998), Friedensstraße 6–10 (1998–2000). See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 318 no. 2222; CAHN 1981, 136–137; BARTH 2001, 55; KAISER 2006, 132–133. Marianne Kreikenbom is currently writing a study of the Cahn family.

was succeeded by *Münzen und Medaillen A.G.* (also known as *Monnaies et Médailles*). Following the rise of Nazism, and the death of her husband Julius Cahn in 1936, Emma (*née* Hartmann) (1882–1969) emigrated to London, joined Spink and then became responsible for foreign coins at Seaby's.

– RICHARD JULIUS ERBSTEIN (1838–1907) and HEINRICH ALBERT ERBSTEIN (1840–1890) were the children of Julius Theodor Erbstein (1803–1882), archivist of the city of Dresden who wrote the auction catalog for the November 1838 sale of the von Zehmen collection, and the grandsons of the numismatist Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Erbstein (1757–1836) (fig. 2). They worked for the *Germanisches Museum* in Nuremberg, published numerous catalogs of coin collections, and later became directors of the *Grünes Gewölbe* (Julius) and the *Königliches Münzkabinett* (Albert) in Dresden. They wrote the catalogs of the sales of the Isaak von Peyer collection in September 1863, the Carl Rolas du Rosey collection in September 1863, the C. Knoll collection in 1866, the Schulthess Rechberg Taler collection (1868–1869), the coins of Karl Emanuel Schellhass (1870–1871), the duplicates of the Dresden cabinet in May 1875, and the Engelhardt collection in several auctions held from 1888 until 1903. They also issued some fixed-priced lists (one is known from 1870), but their obituaries refer to no commercial activity, so it must be assumed that they only acted as experts/catalogers for the auctions that bear their names.<sup>14</sup>

– OTTO VON EYB was a dealer in Munich, Schwanthalerstraße 4, but also worked as a copperplate engraver as well as a curator, notably remembered for his 1875 study of the coinage of Munich.<sup>15</sup>

– CARL FIEWEGER (1816–1883) had first been appointed in 1847 as Academy professor in Jassy (Moldavia), which is why – in a now-lost caricature – Alfred von Sallet called him and Theodor Mommsen »the professors«. Nevertheless, according to an employee of the Berlin coin cabinet, he »was considered particularly ignorant«. He had moved to Berlin in 1852, as coin expert and dealer, and held auctions in September 1867 (Zagorski collection), in April 1868 (von Saurma-Jeltsch collection), in September 1869 (the catalog of which was written by Eugen Pistorius), in May 1870, and in 1876–1877 (the important collection of Paul Henckel described by Adolph Weyl). His own collection of satirical medals was auctioned in April 1885 by his son CHARLES FIEWEGER (c. 1852–1885).<sup>16</sup>

– FLÖRSHEIM was a banker and money changer in Hamburg, known to have dealt in coins as well, with whom Henry Seligmann (1880–1933) trained from 1896 until 1903.

– FRÄNKEL & SELZ were bankers and coin dealers in Munich, Maffeistraße 7.<sup>17</sup>

14 Julius' collection was sold in 6 parts by Adolph Hess Nachf. (1908–1911), see DURAND 1865, 66; HEJZLAR 1988; ARNOLD 1990.

15 See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 319 no. 2235; BARTH/PEGAN 2015, 242; 250.

16 His surname was occasionally spelt Vieweger, and nicknamed »Vieh«. The Saurma-Jeltsch auction is the first-ever coin catalog to be illustrated with photographs. Charles Fieweger vigorously criticized his competitor Adolph Weyl, denigrating the catalog that he had written for the sale of the duplicates of the Berlin museum in November 1887 (see PRIESE 2013, 197); nevertheless, after his premature death, it was Weyl who auctioned in August 1885 the *Verzeichnis der von Herrn C. Fieweger hinterlassenen Münzen und Medaillen des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*. See ERMAN 1929, 135; 136; BARTH 2012, 410–411; PRIESE 2013, 196–197.

17 See FORRER/FISCHER 1897, 54.

- JULIUS FRIEDRICH was a coin dealer in Munich, active in 1887.<sup>18</sup>
- CARL FRIEDRICH GEBERT (1855–1919) was a baker by training, and took over his father's Nuremberg bakery in 1873, but he sold it in 1876 and started a business as a coin dealer and money changer. He headed the *Bayerische numismatische Gesellschaft* from its creation in 1881 until 1897 (the name was changed to *Verein für Münzkunde* in 1883), and was publisher of the *Numismatische Mittheilungen* since 1882 – which he distributed for free. His own writings are extensive, notably his 1890 *Geschichte der Münzstätte der Reichsstadt Nürnberg*. The auction which he organized in March 1884 was the first of many. He was dying when he held his 155th and last auction in May 1919. In 1899, he was joined by his only son LUDWIG FRIEDRICH GEBERT (1876–1959), who, despite the building's complete destruction by a bomb in January 1945, was able to keep his father's business going until the 1950s.<sup>19</sup>
- ERNST GOTTHELF GERSDORF (1804–1874), who worked as a librarian in Dresden 1826–1833 and then in Leipzig, was in charge of the publication of the *Blätter für Münzfreunde* with C. G. Thieme, and he organized the April 1871 auction in Leipzig of the Carl Heinrich Haase collection.<sup>20</sup>
- GEORG FRIEDRICH GEUDER was an antiquities dealer in Nuremberg, Rathausplatz 7.<sup>21</sup>
- AUGUST GRETHEN was a jeweller and coin dealer in Hannover.<sup>22</sup>
- HUGO GRIEBERT was a dealer in Berlin.<sup>23</sup>
- M. GRUNDNER was a banker, money changer and dealer in coins and medals – especially from Bavaria, Salzburg and surrounding areas, based in Bahnhofstraße, Reichenhall (Bavaria).<sup>24</sup>
- ERNST FERD. GRÜNERT was a dealer, publisher of fixed-price coin lists which were distributed for free, based in Mainz, Kaiserstraße 99.<sup>25</sup>
- HEINRICH GOTTLÖB/GEORG GUTEKUNST (1832–1914) opened a gallery in Stuttgart in 1864 – specializing in drawings and prints, which is still active in Bern under the name *Galerie Kornfeld*.<sup>26</sup> He held a coin auction on 14 September 1885.<sup>27</sup>

18 See BARTH/PEGAN 2015, 242.

19 The achievements of the family firm were celebrated in a series of medals (listed in Erlanger 1985). His grandson, Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Gebert (1917–1944), had also trained as a numismatist, but died during the war on the Eastern front, and the business ended with Ludwig Friedrich. See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 319 no. 2239; HACKL 1988a; 1988b; BARTH 2001, 57; BARTH 2002, 370–371.

20 LÜLFING 1964.

21 GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 319 no. 2240.

22 FORRER/FISCHER 1897, 37.

23 FORRER/FISCHER 1897, 10.

24 GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 319 no. 2243.

25 He is probably the »C. F. Grunert« whose collection was auctioned by Cahn on 8 March 1897. See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 319 no. 2244.

26 Interestingly, although Gutekunst auctioned Seyffer's art collection in 1897, and his medal collection in October 1903, it was Eugen Merzbacher who sold his coins in 1891.

27 His own collection was sold by Heß in 1881 and 1886, and by Hirsch in 1912. See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 227 no. 1331.

- GUTTENTAG & CIE was a coin dealership in Breslau, Am Rathhause 23.<sup>28</sup>
- JULIUS HAHLO (1832–1892) was the owner of a banking/currency changing business in Berlin, Unter den Linden 41 from 1878 (fig. 3). He held his first auction in February 1886 – which counted as the issue 9 of his fixed-price coin list entitled *Berliner Münz-Verkehr* (sent on request, from October 1882 onward). According to Adolf Erman, »The Hahlo was considered equally dubious [as E. von Wasserschleben], a small money changer named »Hahlo baron of scoundrel’s stone« on the stock exchange [Baron von Halunkenstein]. He had his business *Unter den Linden*, and thanks to his activity he frequently had the chance to buy new finds«. <sup>29</sup> He was succeeded by his son, SIEGFRIED HAHLO (d. 1902), who restricted the activity exclusively to coin dealing in Liniestraße.<sup>30</sup>
- LEOPOLD HAMBURGER (1836–1902) was born in Hanau, in a Sephardic family that moved from Portugal, first to Hamburg and then to southern Hessen. From 1850 onward, he trained for nearly 10 years in a Munich bank. He then started as a mineralogy dealer, before creating his numismatic firm in 1861, moving it to Frankfurt in 1864, at first in partnership with the book and antiques dealer HERMANN JOSEPH BAER (1811–1881) with whom he organized his first auction in August 1871. In 1875, Leopold’s cousin, LEO HAMBURGER (1846–1929), entered the business. They published the *Allgemeine numismatische Blätter* from 1865 onward.<sup>31</sup> Leopold was later followed by his son JOSEPH HAMBURGER, and Leo, in turn, was succeeded by his relatives FELIX SCHLESSINGER and DAVID NUSSBAUM. Schlessinger left to create his own firm in Berlin, but Nussbaum was joined by his son Hans Nussbaum – who later worked from the offices of Bank Leu in Zurich.<sup>32</sup> I have not identified Adolph Hamburger, in Frankfurt, from whom von Schäffer kept a visiting card, and from whom he made some acquisitions in April 1885.
- JOHANN MATTHIAS HEBERLE (1775–1840) was a printer who extended his business into antiques dea-

28 FORRER/FISCHER 1897, 15.

29 ERMAN 1929, 136.

30 See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 320 no. 2246; FORRER/FISCHER 1897, 10; STÜCKELBERG 1899, 230; MAMROTH 1953, 55–56; PRIESE 2013, 247–248.

31 Leopold Hamburger, who owned an important collection of Judean coins (like Eugen Merzbacher), was heavily involved with the Zionist movement. An interest in both mineralogy and numismatics was shared by the museum curator Alfred von Sallet (1842–1897). A purchase note dated July–August 1877, at the back of a »L. Hamburger« visiting-card, with an additional »L. & L.« by hand (and the address), indicates that it took the firm some time to replace their stationery. Another Hamburger visiting card, with a list of purchases dated 3 May 1882, is accurately printed: »L. & L. Hamburger. Numismatisches Etablissement. Frankfurt a. M. Uhlandstraße 56«. In May 1906, a press clipping by Joseph Hamburger notes Mrs. M. Loewen as their Berlin representative, Hafnenplatz 3. See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 320 no. 2247; ERMAN 1929, 130; CAHN 1981, 137–138; 153; PETRY 1998.

32 Bank Leu was founded in 1758 by Johann Jacob Leu, who later became the mayor of Zurich. State-owned at first, the bank was privatized in 1798 after Napoleon’s conquest of Switzerland. Despite its glorious past, notably as bankers to Empress Maria Theresa, the bank suffered greatly from two insider-trading scandals in the 1980s, and in 1990 it merged with Credit Suisse, before being merged into the even larger Clariden Leu bank in 2007. Hans Nussbaum fled to Switzerland in 1933, and took refuge in Zurich, where he was given the use of a small office in the building of Bank Leu, using it until his death in an airplane accident in 1939. A numismatic department was created in 1949, when the bank hired Leo Mildenberg (1913–2001) at the suggestion of Jacob Hirsch and another director of the bank. From the 1950s onward, the Bank Leu co-organized numismatic auctions with Hess, and in 1971 they started to hold sales under their name alone. In 1992, the department was renamed *Leu Numismatik*, and it separated from the bank in 2005 – under the new direction of Heiner Stotz – and became *LHS Numismatik Ltd.* (which closed in 2011). Several important numismatists joined the ranks of Bank Leu over the years, among the more famous being Silvia Hurter (1933–2008) and Alan Walker (b. 1948).

ling and auctioneering – creating a generalist firm in Cologne, which was then taken over by his apprentice HEINRICH LEMPertz (1816–1898). Several numismatic auctions took place there, from 1860 (Sibylle Mertens-Schaaffhausen's collection) onward.<sup>33</sup>

– JACOB/JAKOB HECHT and E. VON KRAKAU sold at auction the Wiebke collection (February 1898) and the Nathan collection (November 1900) in Hamburg.

– J. HEINHOLD was a dealer in Munich, Pfandhausstraße 5, who kept a large inventory of coins from all periods and countries. He founded the *Sammler*, a guide for collectors.<sup>34</sup>

– OTTO HELBING (1859–1923) was the son of SIGMUND HELBING (1821–1895), a banker and antiques dealer in Munich who opened his numismatic business in 1878. He published his first list in 1886, and published only a single issue of the fixed-price list *Numismatisches Correspondenzblatt* in 1887, before organizing his first auction in May 1888. Otto Helbing was joined in business by his nephews, MORITZ HIRSCH (d. 1914) and HEINRICH HIRSCH (1868–1941) in 1900, and he retired in 1912. Heinrich Hirsch escaped from Germany – his citizenship was revoked in 1939 and his properties confiscated, and the business was taken over by KARL KRESS (1892–1969) and then by his widow. The business was continued by a new owner, Horst Oswald, 1973–1986.<sup>35</sup> Otto's brother, HUGO HELBING (1863–1938), was an important art dealer in Munich, who organized numerous auctions of coins and medals between 1891 and 1933. He also conducted the Otto Bally auction in May 1910 with Jacob Hirsch. His license was cancelled in 1933 by the Nazis,<sup>36</sup> Moritz's son, GERHARD HIRSCH (1903–1982) joined the business, and created a subsidiary in Prague in 1937: he had to close it in 1939, and was made prisoner, but he survived the war and started a new coin business in 1953 under his own name.<sup>37</sup> Von Schäffer kept two letters, one from 8 November 1882 by »Otto Helbing *Numismatiker München*«, one from 10 March 1883 by »Sigmund Helbing *Antiquités Dentelles Anciennes Curiosités Monnaies & Médailles Theatinerstraße 34 München*«. In the former, Otto Helbing writes that he has learnt that von Schäffer collects coins, and would like to know what he is collecting in order to send him offers (he also asked whether he has addresses of other collectors to give him). Von Schäffer noted that he did not reply to this. The letter by Sigmund Helbing was similar, to ask whether he could send him Greek coins on approval, which von Schäffer agreed to on 12 February (March?) 1883.

– ADOLF HESS (1846–1912) established himself in 1870 in Gießen, and moved to Frankfurt two years later.<sup>38</sup> He was the organizer of numerous public auctions, beginning in September 1875. As early as February

33 See SCHNORRENBERG 1906.

34 See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 320 no. 2249.

35 A nephew of Adolph Cahn, Willy Schwabacher (1897–1972), worked for Otto Helbing Nachf. See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 320 no. 2250; CAHN 1981, 138–139; BARTH 2001, 56; BARTH 2002, 370.

36 See HOPP 2012, 71–103.

37 The firm is still active under the name »Gerhard Hirsch Nachf.«.

38 In fact, Heß had a difficult start in the business, because in Udine he bought a large collection from Luigi Cigoi (1811–1875), which he brought to Vienna in November 1870 – only to find out that they were forgeries (see REITMANN 1946, 102).

1871, he published a fixed-price list entitled *Autographierte Numismatische Correspondenz*. The company was sold in 1893/94 to Louis Hamburger and his son-in-law JAMES BELMONTE (1855–1924).<sup>39</sup> *Adolph Hess Nachfolger* was joined by HERMAN FEITH (1876–1940) in 1910, and in 1929 by HERMAN ROSENBERG (1896–1970) and DR. BUSO PEUS (1902–1983). Ownership of the company was transferred to Peus in 1934, and the firm took his name in 1938. Peus lost his license to operate in 1943, but obtained it back after the war. The company was then sold in 1967 to DIETER RAAB (1938–2015) and PETER NIKOLAUS SCHULTEN (1936–2016).<sup>40</sup> Under the direction of Rosenberg, a branch of the company opened in Lucerne (Switzerland) in 1931, and this Swiss company was named *Adolph Hess AG* in 1933.

– KARL WILHELM HIERSEMANN (1854–1928) trained as a bookdealer (including 4 ½ years in London), and then became a bookdealer and antiques dealer (and later publisher) in 1884 in Leipzig, Turnerstraße 1. He organized several coin auctions, and the company published over 650 fixed-priced lists until 1930. In 1920, his son ANTON HIERSEMANN (1891–1969) joined him, and the business moved to Stuttgart after WWII.<sup>41</sup>

– HEINRICH HIRSCH (1820–1886) was a coin dealer in Munich and Rome. He began work, most probably in the mid-1840s, with an informal start from home. In the words of his recent biographers, Hirsch was »a passionate collector and connoisseur, [who] began to earn his living by buying and selling coins and medals primarily as a *marchand amateur*. Successfully building and maintaining trustful relationships to his clients through personal visits and postal correspondence, he refrained from publishing printed coin catalogues and advertisements. [...] A resident of Munich and Rome for many years, he became familiar with various German and Italian scholars and artists, dealers and collectors«. <sup>42</sup> Some of Hirsch's coins were auctioned in Milan in April 1888 by Giulio Sambon, in 3843 lots. The rest of his collection (and/or unsold inventory) formed the contents of the first two catalogues by his nephew JACOB HIRSCH (1874–1955), in January and October 1898.<sup>43</sup> Jacob Hirsch had studied at the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* in Rome, before opening his own shop in Munich in 1897 – in his uncle's apartment. He later moved to Lucerne in 1919, and by 1922 had founded the firm *Ars Classica*, then moved to New York to open a business in 1931.<sup>44</sup> After the war, he was notably in

39 The catalog PEUS 1980 notes as catalogs nr. 1 and nr. 2 the lists *Autographierte numismatische Correspondenz* (1871, 2 issues) and *Numismatische Correspondenz* (1872–1877, 4 issues). James Belmonte was not related to Leopold & Leo Hamburger, nor to Julius Belmonte Jr. – Addresses: Bethmannstraße 6, Westendstraße 7, Mainzer Landstraße 49 (1898–1941), Schubertstraße 1 (1941–1956), Neuhaußstraße 13 (1956–1970), Bornwiesenweg 34 (since 1970). See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 320 no. 2251; ERMAN 1929, 137; CAHN 1981, 139–141; HAHN 1989; DÖPPER 1991; BARTH 2001, 55; KOLBE 2002; KAISER 2006, 132; MÖLLER 2006, 31; PRIESE 2013, 238–240; 246.

40 Hermann Feith later had his own company in Berlin, Schlüterstraße 27 (founded in January 1908), publishing fixed-price lists. Herman Rosenberg was the son of Sally Rosenberg (d. c. 1936), a coin dealer in Frankfurt (active 1899–1935), whose brother H. S. Rosenberg was a coin dealer in Hannover (both held their first auctions in 1899).

41 See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 320 no. 2252; OLBRICH 1972.

42 BARTH/PEGAN 2015, 315.

43 The third catalog, in October 1899, also likely contained coins from Heinrich Hirsch. The 1898 lists totalled 4,111 lots, and the 1889 list contained 2,817 lots. See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 320 no. 2254; STÜCKELBERG 1899, 230; ERMAN 1929, 137.

44 In his obituary, Leo Mildenberg indicates that Hirsch also opened a shop in Paris in 1935, but this seems surprising considering that he had had one there before WWI, the contents of which were confiscated and ordered to be sold at auction (»Zwangsversteigerung«). I am grateful to Matthias Barth for the information.

charge of the dispersal of the collection of Frédéric Robert Jameson (1861–1942). Though ancient coins formed the great majority of his inventory, Jacob Hirsch also handled antiquities. After his death, several anonymous auctions of his inventory were held by Hess & Leu.<sup>45</sup> Heinrich Hirsch visited Stuttgart on numerous occasions, meeting with both Seyffer and von Schäffer.

- LUDWIG HÖFLING was a coin dealer in Munich, active in 1887.<sup>46</sup>
- ROBERT JUNGFER was a coin dealer active in Danzig (Gdańsk) since at least 1868, who moved to Berlin in 1872, Wilhelmstraße 144a. According to Adolf Erman, who knew of him c. 1880, »The Jungfer had a bad reputation; he was an important person for small collectors, and he even published a small magazine; but he was banned from the coin cabinet«. Hermann Dannenberg remembered »the brothers Jungfer, the eldest of which – who would call himself ›Münzbold‹ – collected eagerly Polish and German Ordenmünzen«. Robert's brother was ADOLF JUNGFER (Jägerstraße 38, Berlin), who was distributor of the catalog for the sale on 15 June 1863 of duplicates from the *Königliches Münzkabinet zu Berlin*, and whose collection was auctioned posthumously by Weyl in September 1889.<sup>47</sup> Jungfer sent several parcels to von Schäffer, the earliest one documented dated 29 March 1879, and the final one on 20 December 1886.
- HUGO KLEIN was an antique and coin dealer in Dresden, Waisenhausstraße 24, who published catalogs.<sup>48</sup>
- CARL KÖRMES was a coin dealer in Leipzig, Thomasgasse 6.<sup>49</sup>
- KRONER was said to sell junk in Berlin.<sup>50</sup>
- E. LANDAUER was a banker and coin dealer in Munich, Maffeistraße 1.<sup>51</sup>
- Pastor JOHANN JAKOB LEITZMANN (1798–1877) from Tunzenhausen (bei Weissensee in Thüringen) was not a dealer, but he wrote the catalog for two important auctions: in Erfurt in February 1828, the sale of the collection of Dr. Gottfried Christoph Beireis (1730–1809), and in Leipzig in August 1853, the sale of the coin cabinet of the city library.<sup>52</sup>

He was the founder and editor of the *Numismatische Zeitung* 1834–1873, and a prolific author – whose bibliography of numismatic publications for the years 1800–1866 is still used. Leitzmann was not rich, but he nevertheless built an interesting library, which was acquired by Otto'sche Buchhandlung (Erfurt) and sold in their catalogue 235 (1878). He also formed an exceptionally large coin collection, mostly from the Middle

45 An employee of Jacob Hirsch was Philipp Lederer (1872–1944), who then moved to Leipzig before opening his own firm in Berlin around 1911, but had to emigrate to Switzerland in 1938. See SPRING 2009, 133–134; PRIESE 2013, 252.

46 BARTH/PEGAN 2015, 242.

47 See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 320 no. 2258; DANNENBERG 1903, 8; ERMAN 1929, 136.

48 See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 321 no. 2261.

49 EDELMANN 1862, 478.

50 DANNENBERG 1903, 8.

51 FORRER/FISCHER 1897, 54.

52 The catalog of this 1853 auction was reprinted in 1854 with the list of prices realized – which may be the first case of printed priced auction catalog in the numismatic world. It is also worth noting that the introduction to the 1828 catalog was dated »den 1. Mai 1827«: the catalog was done nearly a year in advance.

Ages, comprising about 23,600 examples which were auctioned in about 5,200 lots by C. C. Thieme (Leipzig) in October 1880.<sup>53</sup>

- KARL LOICHINGER was a banker and coin dealer active in 1887–1897 in Munich, Neuhauserstraße 28.<sup>54</sup>
- W. ED. H. LUCKENBACH based in Krefeld (Rheinprovinz), was a coin dealer who issued at least 5 fixed-price lists up until 1908.<sup>55</sup>
- G. MARSCHNER was a dealer in Berlin, Hagelsbergerstraße 17.<sup>56</sup>
- MECKAUER was an antique and coin dealer in Breslau, Schweidnitzerstraße 11.<sup>57</sup>
- MEIDNER was a banker and coin dealer in Berlin, Unter den Linden.<sup>58</sup>
- The brothers MOPPERT were coin dealers in Baden-Baden, Lichtenthalerstraße 1.<sup>59</sup>
- GEORG MÖSSEL was an antiquities dealer in Nuremberg, where he co-founded the *Verein für Münzkunde Nürnberg*, and later in Munich where he held an auction on 19–21 October 1887.<sup>60</sup>
- JULIUS NAUE (1833–1907) is documented as a painter and an archaeologist (specialist in Bronze Age swords), but he also acted as the Munich subsidiary of the Athenian antiquities dealer Lambros – as agent for the sale of a Boeotian vase. His own collection of antiquities was dispersed by Helbing in May 1908.<sup>61</sup>  
     In 1882, von Schäffer bought coins from Lambros through Naue.
- EMIL NEUSTÄTTER was a coin dealer active in 1886 in Munich, Promenadeplatz 17, who issued his first list in 1898.<sup>62</sup>
- The NUMISMATISCHE GESELLSCHAFT ZU DRESDEN organized auctions (sales nr. 2 in 1896 and nr. 6 in 1904), some of which were under the direction of Thieme.
- NATHAN ABRAHAM OBERNDÖRFFER (1760–1829) was – from 1780 – a jeweller in Ansbach, who issued lists of coins and medals for sale in January and July 1825 after being joined in business by his children SAMSON NATHAN OBERNDÖRFFER (1791–1866) and JOSEPH NATHAN OBERNDÖRFFER (1793–1866) (fig. 4). Samson Nathan published a fixed-price list in 1841, and Joseph Nathan one in 1854.<sup>63</sup> The youngest son of

53 STENZEL 1883; STEINECKE 1977.

54 See FORRER/FISCHER 1897, 54; BARTH/PEGAN 2015, 242.

55 See FORRER/FISCHER 1897, 18.

56 At this address were registered an »G. Marschner«, coin dealer, and an »F. Marschner« collecting 17th–18th century German coins. See FORRER/FISCHER 1897, 9–10.

57 Listed in FORRER/FISCHER 1897, 15, with the initial »R«. An 1895 addressbook for Schlesien gives the initials »E« and »F«.

58 Listed in MAMROTH 1953, 55, as being active in 1885.

59 See FORRER/FISCHER 1897, 5.

60 See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 322 no. 2278.

61 CVA Berlin 11 (2009) 39 pl. 34 (inv. nr. VI.3974). Naue also wrote an essay on »Die Portraitdarstellung Alexanders des Grossen auf griechischen Münzen des Königs Lysimachus von Thracien« (in *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 8, 1881, 29–53), see EHLING 2006.

62 See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 322 no. 2279; FORRER/FISCHER 1897, 54; BARTH/PEGAN 2015, 242.

63 Johan van Heesch found a notice, in the newspaper *L'indépendance belge* of 21 November 1851, in which J.-N. Oberndorffer advertised that he had just arrived in Brussels, with a valuable coin collection, and that he would stay a week at the Hôtel de Flandre. This is a glimpse into the life of traveling-dealers, such as Heinrich Hirsch – as seen in von Schäffer's and Seyfffer's correspondence.

Nathan Abraham, MAIER OBERNDÖRFFER (1801–1849), was associated with his brothers until June 1845, when he returned to Ansbach to manage the family business. He then opened a competing business in Munich, Kaufingerstraße 15, publishing a fixed-price list in 1846. This company was later managed by his widow Ernestine (1800–1859), and then inherited by their sons Nathan Oberndörffer (1834–1915), Hartwig Oberndörffer (1835–1863) and Adolph Oberndörffer (1838–1925). Another son of Nathan Abraham, JOEL NATHAN OBERNDÖRFFER (1799–1843) established a bank and coin business, in Munich in October 1828. After his death, his two elder brothers took over the firm. Joseph Nathan Oberndörffer went to Vienna, establishing a local branch of the firm which became very successful and existed until 1862. A son of Joseph Nathan Oberndörffer, ADOLF OBERNDÖRFFER (1823–1894), worked at first with his father in the Vienna company, before opening his own business in the same town. But then he moved, first acting as a coin dealer in Paris 1865–1869, and then in Munich, and then again in Hamburg in the late 1870s.<sup>64</sup>

In 1862, ABRAHAM MERZBACHER (1812–1885), who was Joseph Nathan's son-in-law since 1844, became part-owner of the business.<sup>65</sup> When Samson died in 1866, Abraham became the manager of the firm with another relative, MAX VON WILMERSDÖRFFER (1824–1903), both nephew and son-in-law of Joel Nathan since 1849, who had started working for the family in 1841.<sup>66</sup> Abraham Merzbacher retired in January 1873, hoping to concentrate on his study of the Talmud, but by then the family firm stopped trading in coins and focused on banking. As a result, Abraham opened his own coin shop in 1873, and it was inherited by his son EUGEN MERZBACHER (1845–1903) – who in turn left it in 1902 to his nephew (and employee) FRANZ SZKOLNY and to AUGUST HERZFELDER (formerly shareholder in the bank and coin business of Emil Neustätter), who ran it as Dr. *Eugen Merzbacher Nachfolger* until at least 1933.<sup>67</sup> The firm issued lists (attested for February and October 1883, and again from December 1897 onward), and they held auctions from April 1886 until 1921.

Seyffer wrote of »Oberdörffer« (without N) in his letters of September 1868, and so did von Schäffer in

64 Adolph Oberndörffer advertised with the address »Paris 8, Cité Guillard près rue Blanche« in *Numismatische Zeitung* 33 (2) of January 1866, 16; see OPPELT 1992, n. 34).

65 Abraham – trained as a rabbi – had joined the Oberndörffer's household as tutor for their eldest son (Adolf 1823–1894), but then fell in love with their eldest daughter. The Oberndörffer brothers did not want a rabbi in their family, as the position was not remunerative enough, but they appreciated Merzbacher's education, so he was sent to Paris to train with Charles Louis Rollin (1777–1853). Rollin had started as a money changer in the Palais-Royal (Paris), but had soon specialized in collectible coins. With his son Claude Camille (1813–1883), he moved to 12 rue Vivienne – opposite the Bibliothèque royale, and the business then passed into the hands of Charles Rollin (1843–1906), whose sister married Félix-Bienaimé Feuardent (1819–1907), an excellent numismatist, under whose direction the company moved to the nearby 4 place Louvois (the other side of the Bibliothèque). The business was then inherited by the three Feuardent sons, who renamed the firm as *Feuardent Frères* in 1911. The business closed in 1936. The company published numerous books, and the *Revue numismatique* (from 1842 to 1936), which gave them prime access to every important collector of the time. There is uncertainty in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (2nd edition, vol. 14, 73): Merzbacher did not take over Rollin & Feuardent.

66 A royal general consul of Saxony, he is principally remembered for his collection of coins from the Margraviate of Brandenburg, and of *hommes célèbres* medals – sold by Joseph Hamburger in several auctions 1905–1909. With the departure of Abraham Merzbacher, Max von Wilmersdörffer became the sole owner of the Oberndörffer bank, which his son Theodor (1858–1936) inherited. In 1907, August Schneider became the manager of the firm, and it merged in 1920 with the *Bankgeschäft Georg Münzing* – forming the bank Schneider & Münzing, which survived until 1985. See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 217 no. 1251; 325 no. 2320; WILMERSDÖRFFER 1919; Anonym 1939; OPPELT 1992, 39; BARTH/PEGAN 2015, 236–237.

67 See PERLES 1885, 11 (his library »contained over 160 manuscripts, more than 5000 Hebraica and numerous Judaica«); ERMAN 1929, 137; REITMANN 1946, 100–101; OPPELT 1992; MOSER/WINKLER 1995; SZKOLNY; BARTH/PEGAN 2015, 234–238. I am most grateful to Rolf Hofmann for providing me with a copy of the original German typescript of Szkolny.

his reply; Seyffer spelt it again the same way in a letter dated February 1869, and he wrote of »H. Oberdörffer in München« in May 1870. Von Schäffer received letters from Eugen Merzbacher (written on his father's letterhead). And von Schäffer bought coins from »Oberndörffer in Paris«, i.e. Adolf (1823–1894), which had been sent to Otto Seyffer. These are, in fact, two separate companies, founded by a complex family having had numerous coin businesses.<sup>68</sup>

- EUGEN PISTORIUS was a coin dealer from Zerbst (Sachsen-Anhalt), who was in contact with a number of important international collectors such as Bottacin, and co-wrote an auction catalog for a sale organized by Carl Fieweger.<sup>69</sup> After 1866 he moved to Berlin, and had far-away business connections, including in Australia.
- EDMUND RAPPAPORT (1845–1914) founded his company in 1872 in Berlin. He published list of coins for sale occasionally (one is known from February 1885), before publishing the monthly *Das numismatische Offerten-Blatt* from 1893 onward. He was succeeded by his son ERICH RAPPAPORT (1877–1943), and their firm moved frequently in the city.<sup>70</sup> Erich emigrated to London, with his wife and daughter, in August 1939. Father and son organized 25 auctions, between 1901 and 1928.<sup>71</sup> On 13 April 1886, von Schäffer bought the Taler no. 619 in Rappaport's third catalogue.
- J. ROTERMUNDT was an antique dealer in Nuremberg, Maximilianum-Museum Burgstraße 4.<sup>72</sup>
- SACHS & EDINGER was named by Dannenberg as a silver foundry in Berlin.<sup>73</sup> »The fact many coins go to a silver-foundry is still the case today [i.e. 2013]. The owners sell the suitable pieces directly to collectors, without establishing an actual coin business.«<sup>74</sup>
- GUSTAV SALOMON held auctions in June 1887, March 1888 and November 1889 in Dresden; and BRUNO SALOMON in November 1893, October 1894 and April 1898.
- FRANZ VON SCHLECHTLEITNER was a jeweller and coin dealer in Dresden, An der Annenkirche, specialized in St. George Talers.<sup>75</sup>
- FELIX JOEL SCHLESSINGER (1879–1944) born in Mainz, started his numismatic career at Hamburger in Frankfurt (he was a family member), before moving to Berlin where he contributed to several auctions by Ro-

68 The links of the Oberndörffer family with the Munich coin trade cannot be underestimated, as they are also related to the bank Aufhäuser (Hauck & Aufhäuser since 1998) whose numismatic department was taken over by Künker in 2010: a sister of Samson and Joel Nathan Oberndörffer was the grandmother of Rosa, wife of Heinrich Aufhäuser who had trained at Oberndörffer before founding his own bank with Friedrich Michael Hauck. See DURAND 1865, 145 (portrait medal of Samson Oberndörffer).

69 His co-author in 1869, Theodor Stenzel (1824–1894), was in charge of the coin cabinet in Dessau, see STENZEL/PISTORIUS 1869; BOARETTO 2015.

70 Addresses: Kochstraße 52 (1885); Hallesche Straße 18 (1893); Lutherstraße 9 (1911); Dessauer Straße 1 (1913); Derfflinger Straße 2 (1924); Augsburgerstraße 43 (1934); Düsseldorfstraße 43 (1938).

71 The Rappaport library was auctioned by Jacques Schulman on 4 February 1947. Nowadays, examples of Rappaport's catalogues are very rare indeed, as is proved by the study of Kolbe (& Fanning) catalogs over the past decades. See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 322 no. 2288; MAMROTH 1953, 59; PRIESE 2013, 205–207.

72 See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 323 no. 2291.

73 See DANNENBERG 1903, 3.

74 PRIESE 2013, 255.

75 See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 323 no. 2296; FÖRRER/FISCHER 1897, 22.

bert Ball and then organized his own auctions – 13 of them from 1928 until 1935. He emigrated to Holland in 1936, where he sold the Crona collection in October 1937, but did not escape Nazism and died in Auschwitz.<sup>76</sup>

- W. SCHMIDT was a coin dealer in Berlin, Fürbingerstraße 31.<sup>77</sup>
- E. SCHUBERT was a coin dealer in Leipzig, Arndtstraße 30.<sup>78</sup>
- EUGEN SELIGMANN was a coin dealer in Frankfurt, Bibergasse 8 and later Untermainanlage 8, who published fixed-price lists (attested from March 1889 until February 1910).
- SINN & Co was a banker and coin dealer in Munich, Weinstraße 7.<sup>79</sup>
- ANDREAS SPORRER was a coin dealer in Straubing (Bavaria).<sup>80</sup>
- CARL GUSTAV THIEME (1824–1893) after training, started the factory Dittrich und Thieme in Leipzig in 1846 – making trimmings, and gold and silver embroidery. A silent partner replaced Dittrich when the firm dissolved in 1854, and the firm *Thieme & Fuchs* was created, a factory producing gold and silver wire, yarn goods, and playing-cards. Thieme had collected coins as a youth – and he owned some 40,000 copper coins at the time of his death. He started trading in numismatics in 1863, selling coins on consignment from clients (as he advertised in a printed letter). Thieme was the publisher of the *Blätter für Münzfreunde* from 1865 onward<sup>81</sup>, and of fixed-priced lists entitled *Numismatischer Verkehr* from 1863 until 1914 (these could offer over 10,000 coins a year). In October 1876, the firm organized its first auction, and by 1900 it moved to Dresden.<sup>82</sup>

Von Schäffer was a subscriber to the *Blätter für Münzfreunde* beginning in 1866, and he wrote to Thieme to order coins from his *Numismatischer Verkehr* – for example in 1873.<sup>83</sup> There is also an invoice from »Gold & Silberdraht & Gespinnstwaren-Fabrik Thieme & Fuchs, Leipzig, Universitätsstraße No. 2« to von Schäffer, dated 13 October 1868. Thieme sent von Schäffer a printed advertisement for an auction in Leipzig on 22 November 1869, the catalog from which he ordered on 8 October. The catalogue had been composed by the owner of the coins, and could be had for 4 Neugroschen (= 50 centimes = 5 pence). The auctioneer was Mr.

76 PRIESE 2013, 211–212.

77 FORRER/FISCHER 1897, 372.

78 FORRER/FISCHER 1897, 46.

79 FORRER/FISCHER 1897, 55.

80 FORRER/FISCHER 1897, 69.

81 The title *Blätter für Münzkunde* had first been used 1834–1844 for a publication issued in Leipzig by Hermann Grote (1802–1895). Grote, who became curator of the coin cabinet in Hannover, published his *Münzstudien* from 1855 until 1877, and his *Numismatischer Anzeiger* in 1868–1869. Those *Blätter für Münzkunde* were shown by Grote in April 1835 to Félicien Caignart de Saulcy (1807–1880) along with a manuscript letter in which he wrote that »I am not just a fanatic amateur but also, as a result of this inclination, the writer of a numismatic newspaper – the main goal of which is to put amateurs in contact with each other, and especially to put myself in contact with them« (quoted in DUMAS 1987, 226). They inspired the creation of the scholarly *Revue numismatique* in 1836, but the stated goal of connecting dispersed collectors is significant, and there are parallels in von Schäffer's collecting activity.

82 Thieme's death notice indicates that he was »alleiniger Inhaber der Firmen Thieme & Fuchs und C. G. Thieme, Verlagsexpedition« (copy preserved in the Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg, Würzburger Totenzettel, inv. nr. 63/T 13.136). See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 324 no. 2303; BARTH 2002, 361–362.

83 I am grateful to the librarian of the American Numismatic Society for checking their copies, and confirming that 2 issues of the *Numismatischer Verkehr* were published in January 1873, two more in April 1873, and two more in June 1873.

H. Hartung, »auctioneer of the university«. And the lots could be viewed in the offices of Thieme from 8 to 13 November 1869, and no returns were accepted after the sale. In this context, the role played by Thieme is unclear: neither owner of the coins, nor auctioneer, nor expert. There is among von Schäffer's archive a list of *Medaillen, aus einer Auction erhalten durch Thieme & Fuchs, in Leipzig*, dated 2/6 November 1872, so it seems that Thieme was acting as broker for collectors – bidding on their behalf. Thieme issued another printed letter, dated 1 January 1871, in which he advertised the forthcoming auction (to be held »after the war finished«) of the collection of coins and medals of the late Dr. Haase, and he was already taking orders for this catalog, priced at 16 Neugroschen.<sup>84</sup> The fact that both advertisements are trilingual (German-English-French) suggests a very international trade, despite the politics of the time (advertising in French during the Franco-Prussian war is noteworthy).

- TIMPE was »a barber of the smallest kind who was, however, an honest man, and who even received from Rollin & Feuardent in Paris Greek coins [consigned] for sale«.<sup>85</sup>
- HEINRICH WALTE (1823–1891) was a former assistant to Herman Grote for his *Numismatischer Anzeiger*, from 1870 onward, who then published the *Numismatische Literaturblatt* from Hannover, Schiffgraben 17. He was listed as a dealer in 1886.<sup>86</sup>
- FELIX WALTER was a coin dealer in Charlottenburg bei Berlin, Ahorn-Allee 33.<sup>87</sup>
- ERNST VON WASSERSCHLEBEN (1862–1908) was a coin dealer in Berlin, Zimmerstraße 48 and later Mohrenstraße 53. Adolf Erman remembered that »Mr. v. Wasserschleben stood, in my time, in disrepute and only appeared to us in the stories of his colleagues, complaining about his manipulations«.<sup>88</sup> By 1885, he had already published his sixth fixed-price catalog.<sup>89</sup>
- THEODOR OSWALD WEIGEL (1812–1881) was a bookdealer and auctioneer in Leipzig, where he had succeeded his father Johann August Gottlob Weigel (1773–1846) in 1839. He held an auction on 11 June 1860, and he published several important books – including Alexandre Boutkowsky's numismatic dictionary.
- GUSTAV WEISE (1831–1913) was a publisher who also organized coin auctions in Görlitz (Prussia), Fischmarstraße 2.<sup>90</sup>
- FRANZ JOSEF WESENER (1822–1893) started his career in Berlin, Elisabethstraße 63, where he was an appraiser of coins and medals for the Royal courts – organizing auctions such as the collection of Prince Pless

84 The collector had been »vice-president of the court of appeals in this town« (i.e. Leipzig), and the collection consisted »of about 5000 pieces amidst which are many rare in gold and silver«. The auction did take place in April 1871, with a catalog of 242 pages and 7 plates listing 4,782 lots.

85 See DANNENBERG 1903, 8; ERMAN 1929, 136 (quote).

86 GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 324 no. 2310; BARTH 2002, 361.

87 FORRER/FISCHER 1897, 373.

88 ERMAN 1929, 136.

89 His own collection of German coins was auctioned in February 1924 and September 1925 by Otto Helbing Nachf. See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 324 no. 2311; MAMROTH 1953, 56; PRIESE 2013, 257.

90 See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 324 no. 2313.

in October 1865. He then moved to Vienna in 1874, where he cataloged the Minus and Preiss collections for the first sale by Brüder Egger. He moved again to Munich, Promenadeplatz 6, where he held the sale of the Carlo Morbio collection in October 1882 (he then died in Überlingen – on Lake Constance). He held several auctions in his own name, and he published lists in April-May 1883. He also dealt in antiquities, and sold some to Hermann von Wundt.<sup>91</sup> Otto Seyffer, on 1 May 1870, referred to having bought coins from Mr. Wesener »in Berlin«. The firm, indeed, also had an office Hackescher Markt 1, Berlin, and Hermann Dannenberg wrote in his memoirs from Berlin of »der Tabakshändler Jos. Wesener«.<sup>92</sup>

– ADOLF WEYL (1842–1901) began collecting Prussian coins as a teenager. In the 1860s he met Jules Fonrobert (1831–1879), whose immense collection he was later to auction. Fonrobert helped him develop his expertise – notably in Far Eastern coinage, and Weyl started trading in 1874 in Berlin. He was soon very active, holding numerous auctions from 1876 onward, such as that of the collection of Paul Henckel (1843–1875). By February 1893, he had already held his 125th sale, and organized about 300 auctions before his death. He published the *Berliner Münzblätter* from 1880 onward, and this publication was accompanied by the *Numismatische Correspondenz*, a scholarly/trade journal, which had replaced the twice-yearly fixed-price lists which he had published in 1879.<sup>93</sup> »But he was too good-hearted and honest for this trade and, therefore, never made any progress. He too published a small magazine which brought him, however, only harm. Then his wife and his children died, he became destitute, and when I visited him later again, he had passed away: he had killed himself«.<sup>94</sup>

– JULIUS WIDERMANN was a coin dealer in Dresden.<sup>95</sup>

– ALBERT WILD (1830–1896) was a banker in Munich, who is attested as coin dealer in 1886–1887, but seems to have been somewhat inactive. He became a priest and moved away in 1890, becoming a missionary in Africa and America – and dying in Cincinnati.<sup>96</sup>

91 Wesener's departure from Berlin was the result of a scandal that arose after the June 1868 auction of the Schulthess-Rechberg collection, with the public denunciation of a second auction – organized among a ring of dealers consisting of the Egger brothers (from Pest and Vienna), Fieweger, Hamburger, Hirsch, Hoffmann (from Paris), Magnus (from Stockholm), Merzbacher, and Wesener himself. The total profit from this illegal practice would have amounted to an enormous sum: 3500 Talers. Wesener was not the only dealer to handle both coins and antiquities: it is also attested for Bonačić and the Hamburger family. See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 325 no. 2314; DANNENBERG 1903, 8; ERMAN 1929, 137; REITMANN 1946, 104; PRIESE 2013, 195–196; BARTH/PEGAN 2015, 268–269.

92 Dannenberg wrote about »the tobacconist Jos. Wesener«, and Erman remembered that Weyl »was a poor Jewish cigar-worker«: is there some confusion, or were they really both working in the tobacco business? Being a tobacco dealer, as well as a numismatist, is unusual, but other multitasking dealers are known, such as William Elliot Woodward (1825–1892) who was active in Boston as a pharmacist, a real-estate agent, and a coin dealer (see DAVIS 1992; BARTH 2012, 390), and George Massamore (1845–1898) who was not just a coin dealer in Baltimore, but also a dentist.

93 Such lists, which began more than ten years before *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, and which contained coins for sale at fixed-prices, were an excellent tool for staying in touch with collectors who lived far from Berlin such as von Schäffer. Weyl relinquished the editorship of the *Berliner Münzblätter* in 1898, and the publication was taken over in 1901 by another Berlin coin dealer, Rudolf Kube (1860–1929). Kube, who had published his first fixed-price list in 1897, struck numerous miniature medals during WWI. He organized 13 auctions from 1906 until 1918, and the business was then taken over by Dr. T. Hoffmann (active 1918–1926).

94 See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 325 no. 2315; ERMAN 1929, 136–137 (quote); MAMROTH 1953, 56–57; BARTH 2002, 372–373; PRIESE 2013, 198–204 (Weyl); 210–211 (Kube).

95 See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 325 no. 2317.

96 See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 325 no. 2318; BARTH/PEGAN 2015, 242.

- GUSTAV WILLING was a coin dealer in Magdeburg, Grosse Mühlenstraße 13.<sup>97</sup>
- C. WINTER was a coin dealer in Chemnitz.<sup>98</sup>
- KARL ZISCHANK was a coin dealer in Munich, active in 1887.<sup>99</sup>
- CARL CHRISTIAN ZSCHIESCHE (1819–1885) started his career making metal buttons in Leipzig. In October 1855, he founded an antiques dealership with the shopkeeper CARL EDUARD KÖDER (c. 1820–1880) (fig. 5). After Köder's death, Zschiesche hired an attorney to assist him, GEORG ALEXANDER WERNER, who later took over. The firm published fixed-price coin lists from 1862 until at least May 1910 (*Verzeichnis No. 127*). Their main activity shifted in the 1860s from numismatics to philately, but coins became a priority again under Werner's direction. The company was finally dissolved on Christmas Eve, 1910, and their numismatic inventory auctioned by Helbing in 1911–1913.<sup>100</sup> In 1861 they were joined by Carl Christian's nephew, FERDINAND CARL ALWIN ZSCHIESCHE (1843–1929), who later opened his own antiques shop (Bahnhofstraße 2, Leipzig) in April 1867 and closed it in October 1881.

This list of 77 coin firms reveals a wide disparity between dealers, with a correlation between family wealth and in the level of education (several had university doctorates). While a great number of them were bankers and money changers, some had more working class backgrounds, such as baker or tobacco factory worker. A great number were Jews, though not all – among the list is also an evangelical pastor.<sup>101</sup> Their financial successes fluctuated greatly, as did the importance of their respective collections.

It must also be noted that, in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Germany, coin auctions were often organized by persons not otherwise involved in the coin trade, such as the *Königliche Auktions-Kommissarius* FRIEDRICH WILHELM AUGUST BRATRING (1772–1829) who organized at least 9 auctions with numismatic content in Berlin in the years 1818–1828; B. F. COSACK who sold the Legnich collection in Danzig in April 1811; FERD. EBNER who sold a collection in Augsburg in October 1829; ADOLPH ELSAS who sold a collection in Hamburg in November 1894; the auctioneer RUDOLPH LEPKE (1844–1904) and his successors who organized over two thousand art auctions in Berlin – including at least 14 of coins and medals in Berlin between 1877 and

97 See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 325 no. 2319.

98 See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 325 no. 2321.

99 See BARTH/PEGAN 2015, 242.

100 Their very successful *Magazin für Briefmarkensammler* was founded on 1 May 1863, while the first European journal on the subject (the Belgian *Le Timbre-Poste*) had only just appeared on 15 February 1863. Matthias Barth indicates that, after the closure of the business in 1910, Friedrich Redder opened his own coin business as successor, later inherited by his son Willibald Redder (1893–1965). See GNECCHI/GNECCHI 1886, 325 no. 2322; BARTH 2001, 58; GARCAREK 2013; GARCAREK 2014a; 2014b. The legend that the firm was sold in 1876 to a stamp-wholesaler from Hamburg, Julius Goldner (1842–1898), is false.

101 The list of coin dealers in nineteenth-century Germany reveals a majority of Jewish names (certainly related to the links between coin dealing, money exchange and banking), and this aspect of the trade remains to be studied. Adolf Erman did comment that most coin dealers were Jews (he was a quarter-Jewish himself and thereby lost his position at University in 1934), and he noted that the dealer Timpe would always call Julius Hahlo (1832–1892) »der Jude«. Seyffer himself gave signs of a deep-rooted anti-semitism, when he wrote in August 1868 of having bought coins »from a Jew« (unnamed), or when he commented on the Jewish business character in February 1869. See ERMAN 1929, 136.

1931; JAC. CHR. LINDBERG who sold the Thorlacius collection in Hanau in October 1830; the bookdealer J. M. G. FONTAINE who held the auction of the Major Senckler's collection of Roman coins in Cologne in August 1847; the auctioneer KARL ERNST HEINRICH who sold collections in Dresden in August 1831 and March 1834; JOSEPH HELLER who described the collection of Franz Sebastian Scharnagel for its sale in Bamberg in September 1838; CHR. MEYER who sold the collection of Mann Hartwig »v. Hessen« in Hamburg in November 1857, and then organized at least three auctions in 1866–1868; J. C. B. MOHR who auctioned in the general collection of Fr. Creuzer in December 1852; the auctioneer THEODOR MÜLLER who organized the sales of duplicates from the *Königliche Münzkabinet zu Berlin* and the collection of Prince Pless in June 1863 and October 1865; the notary FRIEDRICH NOËL (1800–1881) sold the collection of Christoph Sedlmaier at auction in Munich in August 1869; the auctioneer R. F. NOTHWANGER organized an auction in January 1851 in Danzig, and the dispersal of the coin collection of Carl Ludwig von Duisburg in November 1869; the auctioneer PFEIFFER, who sold coins from the Prince Biron von Courland succession in Breslau in March 1823; the auctioneer RACHEL who held an auction on 14 February 1846 in Münster; the auctioneer RAUCH who organized at least 7 coin auctions in Berlin in the years 1834–1844; JOH. MICH. RÖSER who held an auction in October 1865 in Würzburg; the auctioneer SONNIN who sold the von Arnim and Herzog von Kurland collections in Berlin in October 1800 and July 1806; the executor J. F. v. SPECKNER who organized the sale of the late Johann Edlen von Gemeiner collection in Munich in 1823; AUGUST THEODOR ULICH who held auctions in November 1809 and July 1812 in Dresden; the auctioneer JOHANN FRIEDRICH WEIDHAS who sold his own collection at auction in Berlin in May 1856; and TH. WOLFF who organized an auction in February 1855 in Göttingen.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>102</sup> See KUNZEL 2008 (Bratring); PRIESE 2013, 192–193 (Bratring); 193 (Rauch and Weidhas); 194 (Müller); 204–205 (Lepke); BARTH/PEGAN 2015, 233 (v. Speckner); 260 (Noël).

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**Abbildung 1:** AE plaque of Adolf Cahn (1840–1918). Posthumous portrait by Luise Staudinger, 51 x 77 mm. M&M auction 28, 30 October 2008, lot 1005. Image courtesy of Münzen & Medaillen Deutschland GmbH (image not to scale).



**Abbildung 2:** AE medal of Albert Erbstein (1840–1890). Portrait by Anton Scharff, 1898, 58 mm. WAG auction 63, 18 September 2012, lot 3042. Image courtesy of Westfälische Auktionsgesellschaft (image not to scale).



**Abbildung 3:** AE token (Klippe) of Julius Hahlo (1832–1892), 23.5 mm. (Photo: H. J. Rambach; image not to scale).



**Abbildung 4:** Pewter medal of Samson Nathan Oberndörffer (1791–1866). Portrait-medal in honour of his 70th birthday, by Gottfried Drentwett and Martin Sebald, 41 mm, 25.6 grams. (Photo: H. J. Rambach; image not to scale).



**Abbildung 5:** AE token of Zschiesche & Köder, c. 1880, 27 mm. (Photo: H. J. Rambach; image not to scale).