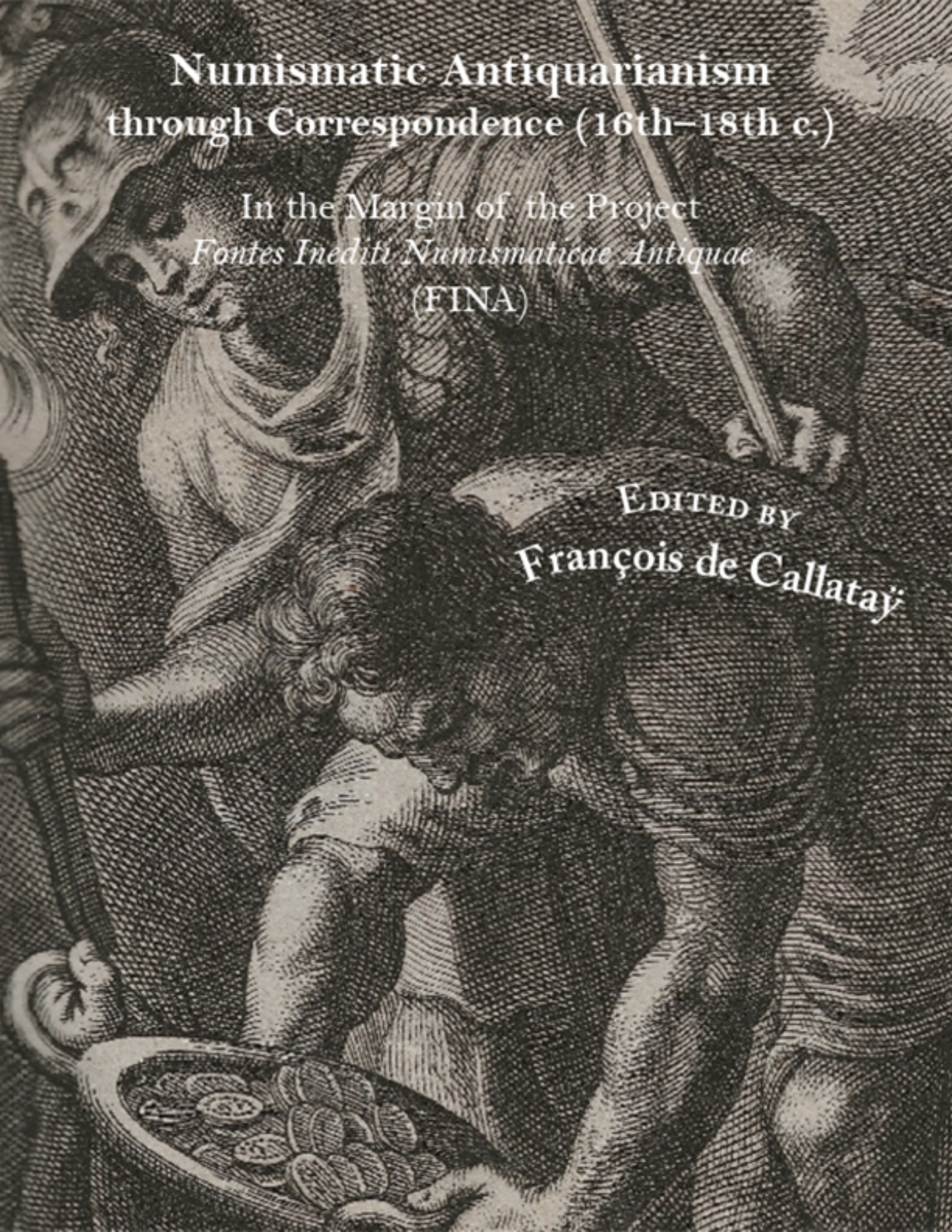

Numismatic Antiquarianism through Correspondence (16th–18th c.)

In the Margin of the Project
Fontes Inediti Numismaticae Antiquae
(FINA)

Edited by
François de Callataÿ

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Foreword

François de Callataÿ*

As testified by the long list of nearly 1,000 coin collectors compiled by Hubert Goltzius in the mid-16th century, almost everyone collected ancient coins—especially Roman ones—in the Renaissance and modern eras: kings, princes, popes, bishops, but also abbots, judges, physicians, and lawyers. This passion for ancient coins, much more affordable than sculptures or cameos, fed rich exchanges between collectors, artists, merchants, and scholars (sometimes all embodied by one person as in the case of Jacopo Strada).

Until recently, the history of this true "Republic of medals" was almost entirely written from printed sources, namely the thousands of works published by numismatists, general historians, metrologists, chronologists, etc.[1] To consider unprinted sources as correspondence is a recent phenomenon. In this respect, the monograph published in 2009 by Federica Missere Fontana on antiquarian exchanges in Rome in the 16th and 17th centuries should be considered as a turning point and a revelation for many.[2] This book offers a vivid demonstration how correspondence provides unique inside views on connoisseurship and social networks, and how writing historiography of modern numismatics exclusively through the reduced prism of printed books could be deeply misleading.

Since the beginning of this millennium, I had already gathered a substantial amount of numismatic antiquarian correspondence exchanged prior 1800—Joseph Eckhel, the so-called father of modern numismatics, died in 1798—in what is called in a typical old-fashioned way the "Grand Document."

* Royal Library of Belgium, Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB) and École Pratique des hautes Études (E.P.H.E. Paris). fdecallatay@kbr.be.

1. On this gigantic literature, see the inventories gathered by the Dekesels: C. E. Dekesel, *A Bibliography of 16th Century Numismatic Books*, London-Crestline (CA), 1997; C. E. Dekesel, *A Bibliography of 17th Century Numismatic Books*, 3 vols., London, 2003; C. E. Dekesel & Y. Dekesel-De Ruyck, *A Bibliography of 18th Century Numismatic Books*, 5 vols., London, 2009.

2. F. Missere Fontana, *Testimoni parlanti. Le monete antiche a Roma tra Cinquencento e Seicento*, Rome, 2009.

Taking advantage in November 2011 of the joint presence of many of us gathered at Berlin for the conference *Translatio Nummorum. Römische Kaizer in der Renaissance*, we there decided to create a specific program entitled *Fontes Inediti Numismaticae Antiquae* (FINA).[3] Soon joined by Michael Alram and Bernhard Weisser, the founding members were John Cunnally, Ursula Kampmann, Federica Missere Fontana, Ulrike Peter, Bernhard Woytek, and myself.

We quickly received official patronage of highly respectable institutions: the national academies of Austria and Belgium first, then the *International Union of Academies*, the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (AIBL), the *Berlin-Brandeburgische Akademie der Wissenschafte*n (BBAW), and the *Unione Accademica Nazionale* (UAN).

With such prestigious patrons, Bernhard Woytek successfully introduced the project *Joseph Eckhel (1737–1798) und sein numismatisches Netzwerk* (FWF Projekt-Nr. 25282) allowing Daniela Williams to edit the correspondence exchanged (i.e., received and sent) by Joseph Eckhel as well as by his predecessors and contemporaries in Vienna.

On May 30, 2015, Woytek organized the conference: *Ars critica numaria. Joseph Eckhel and the development of numismatic method*, whose massive proceedings (683 pp.) have just been published. Woytek also managed to create a logo for FINA, designed by Ursula Grande, and much more crucially, launched a website developed by the Austrian Centre for Digital Humanities (ACDH—Bernhard Krabina) at the Austrian Academy of Sciences.[4] The recent years of forced quarantine during the COVID-19 pandemic allowed me to frantically feed the beast, which now has entries for more than 4,500 letters, 2,000 bibliographic entries, and 1,700 people.

Before the pandemic, however, in the late spring of 2017 (May 31–June 1), I had the pleasure to organize at the great location of the Academia Belgica in Rome, a truly "FINA" conference with the explicit title: *Numismatic antiquarianism through correspondence (16th–18th c.)*. Every participant was encouraged to take advantage of the "Grand Document" to illustrate how unprinted sources could play a great role in our understanding of that "Republic of medals." Even if the advice was not systematically followed, the papers delivered there constitute a remarkable illustration of the many benefits one can expect along that line.

I am most grateful to all the authors for their contributions, and possibly even more to Andrew Burnett for having transformed his lecture, "Queen Elisabeth and the Twelve Caesars," into a kind of Shakespearian play where several of us went on stage dressed in improvised disguises to interpret the characters of the plot. It was indeed a memorable moment.

This conference could not have taken place without the hospitality of the Academia Belgica and its director, Prof. Wouter Bracke, to whom I express my sincere thanks. I would also like to thank my home institution, the Royal Library of Belgium and its director Patrick Lefèvre, for taking care of the logistics of the event; I offer special thanks to the precious help provided by Christine Servais.

3. See F. de Callataÿ, "Fontes Inediti Numismaticae Antiquae: présentation succincte d'un nouveau projet antiquaire," *Anabases* 23, 2016, pp. 163–168; F. de Callataÿ, "Fontes Inediti Numismaticae Antiquae (FINA): a short presentation," in M. Caccamo Clatabiano et al. (eds.), *XVth International Numismatic Congress. Taormina. Proceedings* I, Messina, 2017, pp. 95–99.

4. See http://www.khm.at/fr/erfahren/forschung/forschungsprojekte/muenzkabinett/joseph-eckhel-1737-1798-und-sein-numismatisches-netzwerk and https://fina.knowledge.wiki/FINA_Wiki.

Great additional thanks are for the other funding partners, namely the *International Union of Academies* (with a special thought to his adjunct general secretary: Jean-Luc Depaepe), the Austrian *Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung*, the *Verband Schweizer Berufsnumismatiker*, the *Verband der deutschen Münzenhändler* (Marcel Haeberlin), as well as two companies: *Numismatica Genevensis* SA (Alain Barron) and *Fritz Rudolf Künker* (Ulrich Künker).

Last but not least, I am much indebted to the American Numismatic Society and its president, Ute Wartenberg, for having accepted to publish these proceedings, and with a special debt of recognition to Andrew Reinhard who, as publisher at the ANS, did not spare his efforts to produce such a beautiful volume.

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About the Authors

Andrew Burnett
Andrew Burnett was Deputy Director of the British Museum from 2002 to 2013, having begun his career at the Museum in 1974 in the Coins and Medals and became Keeper in 1992. He was the President of the Royal Numismatic Society, of the Roman Society, and of the International Numismatic Commission.

Marco Callegari
Marco Callegari is the Librarian of the Museo Bottacin of Padua and is a contract professor in Bibliography at the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart in Milan (Brescia campus).

Bruno Callegher
Bruno Callegher is Professor of Numismatics and Monetary History at the University of Trieste. His numismatic research is focused on Roman coin finds in North-Eastern Italy, in Israel, and Syria, and on the Byzantine coinage.

John Cunnally
John Cunnally is Professor of Art History at Iowa State University. His research focuses on antiquarianism in the Renaissance, especially the collecting of ancient coins during that period. He is the author of *Images of the Illustrious: The Numismatic Presence in the Renaissance* and *Irritamenta: Numismatic Treasures of a Renaissance Collector.*

Manuela Mayer
Manuela Mayer studied History and Historical Research, Auxiliary Sciences of History, and Archival Studies both at the University of Vienna. She has been involved in several research projects at the University of Vienna and the Austrian Academy of Sciences that deal with the edition and evaluation of learned correspondence. Her research interests include editorial techniques, digital methods, history of historiography, and historical auxiliary sciences.

Guy Meyer
Guy Meyer submitted his PhD under the supervision of Olivier Picard in 2001 on Laws and regulations on water in ancient Greece. He followed the numismatic lessons of Olivier Picard and François de Callataÿ. He has worked on 17th- and 18th-century travelers and archaeologists in the Levant, in particular Jean Foy-Vaillant and Antoine Galland. He has collaborated in the FINA project under the direction of François de Callataÿ and has compiled travellers' documentation for the *Dictionnaire topographique d'Antioche* (LTA) under the direction of Catherine Saliou.

Federica Missere Fontana
Federica Missere Fontana has a degree in Ancient History, is a member of the Italian Numismatic Society; the Italian Academy of Numismatic Studies of the National Academy of Sciences, Letters, and Arts of Modena; the Société française de numismatique; and member, Secretary, and Librarian of the Center of Muratorian Studies in Modena. She has authored ca. fifty titles dedicated to numismatic studies, history of collecting, history of libraries, and cataloging of archival collections and correspondence.

Maria Cristina Molinari
Maria Cristina Molinari is Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals of the Capitoline Museums (Rome) and Adjunct Professor at Corso di Laurea di Studi Umanistici of the Università degli Studi Roma TRE.

Martin Mulsow
Martin Mulsow is professor of intellectual history at the University of Erfurt and director of the Gotha Research Center for Early Modern Studies. From 2005–2008 he was professor of history at Rutgers University, USA. He has published widely on Renaissance philosophy, radical enlightenment, history of scholarship, secret societies, and history of numismatics.

Elena Vaiani
Elena Vaiani is a former research fellow in the history of archaeology at the Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa. Her research interests are concerned with antiquarianism and the history of collections in the early modern period, with particular reference to small objects (coins, gems, and domestic utensils). Her publications focus on some of the most important scholars of the 17th and 18th centuries (Peiresc, Bellori and Montfaucon) and she is the author of two volumes of Cassiano dal Pozzo's Paper Museum—A catalogue raisonné (The *Antichità Diverse* album and a selection of drawings of small antiquities).

Johan van Heesch
Johan van Heesch is keeper of Coins and Medals at the Royal Library of Belgium (KBR) and teaches numismatics at the universities of Leuven (KU Leuven) and Louvain la Neuve (UC Louvain). His main field of research is the coinage of the Roman empire.

Michiel Verweij
Michiel Verweij is a classical philologist and neo-latinist. He is a researcher in the Rare Books section of the Royal Library of Belgium and a research fellow of Leuven University (KU Leuven). He has published on the correspondence of Erasmus and of Franciscus Craneveldius and currently works on the manuscripts and ancient editions of classical Latin authors.

Ute Wartenberg and Jonathan Kagan
Ute Wartenberg is Research Curator and President of the American Numismatic Society. She has published extensively about Greek coinage, from mainland Greece and Asia Minor, as well as hoards, and numerous other subjects. Jonathan Kagan is an independent scholar and the author of many articles on Archaic and Classical hoards and coinages. They share an interest in earlier scholarship of numismatics from the Renaissance to the 19th century and its impact on the overall study of humanities.

Daniela Williams
Daniela Williams is currently a research fellow at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Institute for the Study of Ancient Culture, Division Documenta Antiqua – Numismatics. Her main areas of interest are the history of numismatic research, Greek and Roman numismatics, and ancient coin finds in Italy. She studied Classics and Numismatics in Rome, Italy, where she also worked as a coin cataloguer for the Capitoline Museums, Archaeological Superintendence of Rome, Archaeological Superintendence of Trento, and for the Ostia Synagogue project of the University of Texas at Austin. She has published extensively on the work of the Austrian numismatist Joseph Eckhel (1737–1798) and on coin finds from Italian sites.

Bernhard Woytek
Bernhard E. Woytek studied Ancient History and Numismatics at the University of Vienna. He is the head of the division "Documenta Antiqua" (epigraphy, numismatics, papyrology) at the Institute for the Study of Ancient Culture of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. Woytek held visiting professorships at Stanford University and the Université d'Orléans as well as several international fellowships: at the American Numismatic Society, Cambridge University, Oxford University, and the British Museum among others. His research focuses on Roman numismatics, the ancient economy and the history of classical studies in the Early Modern period.

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Publishing the *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*: New Evidence on the Three Editions of Joseph Eckhel's Masterwork

Bernhard E. Woytek*

This is the first in-depth analysis of the various printings of Joseph Eckhel's eight-volume *Doctrina numorum veterum*: the first Vienna edition (1792–1798), the second Vienna edition (published in the first half of the nineteenth century), and a nineteenth-century edition bearing a Leipzig imprint. Eckhel's *Elementa rei numariae veterum*, a little-known related book first published in 1841, provides complementary evidence for the printing history of the latter two editions. The vicissitudes of the *Doctrina*'s publication are reconstructed on the basis of unpublished and published letters, as well as other contemporary documents.

Eckhel's *Doctrina numorum veterum*, the first edition of which appeared in print in Vienna in eight volumes between 1792 and 1798, is arguably the most influential work on ancient numismatics ever written. In the historical overview of his *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines* (1901), Ernest Babelon famously called it "toujours notre grammaire."[1] Even in the twenty-first century, many parts of the *Doctrina* are still relevant in scholarly terms, not just in an antiquarian perspective. Indeed, praise was heaped upon the work from the very beginning. As early as January 1793, Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729–1812), in his review of the first volume, identified it as a main work ("Hauptbuch") on the subject and called Eckhel the "coryphaeus" of numismatics who single-handedly turned the somewhat haphazard study of coins into a well-defined, scholarly discipline.[2] The importance of the work was evident to Heyne especially from the systematic general introduction to ancient numismatics, the

* I am most grateful to François de Callataÿ for launching the international initiative *Fontes Inediti Numismaticae Antiquae (FINA)* and for organizing the fruitful conference in Rome, to Michael Alram for enabling the study of Eckhel's papers in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, to Federica Missere Fontana for generously providing photos of copies of the *Doctrina* in libraries in Modena, to Wilhelm Hollstein for kindly checking the Dresden copy of the first edition at my request, to Christopher Frey for reading and commenting on a draft of this paper, and especially to Daniela Williams for much help in the phase of its preparation.

1. E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines,* pt. 1: *Théorie et doctrine* (Paris, 1901), vol. 1, col. 188.

2. C. G. Heyne, Review of: I. Eckhel, *Doctrina numorum veterum*, vol. I, Vienna 1792, *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen unter der Aufsicht der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* vol. 1, 1. Stück (3 January 1793), pp. 2f.

Figure 1. L. Manfredini, Medal for Eckhel's 100th birthday, 1837, silver. WAG 78 (11 September 2017), no. 1805 (46 mm, 45.44 g), enlarged.

183-page "Prolegomena generalia." This section of the volume, which he discussed at length, eventually had a particular impact in the nineteenth century, as we shall see below. In Heyne's review of the first volume, he doubted whether he would live to see the *Doctrina* completed.[3] However, this skepticism turned out to be unfounded, and in his review of Volume VIII he enthusiastically proclaimed that "one of the most important learned works of our age has been brought to a conclusion."[4] Heyne predicted eternal fame for the *Doctrina*.[5] Indeed, the renown of Eckhel (1737–1798), who died in the year the final volume was published, is inseparably linked with his magnum opus.[6] His statue on the monument to Empress Maria Theresa between the Kunsthistorisches and the Naturhistorisches Museum in Vienna, dedicated in 1888, depicts him with one volume of the *Doctrina* in his right hand.[7] The reverse of a medal by Luigi Manfredini, commissioned for Eckhel's 100th birthday in 1837, displays Minerva crowning a volume of the *Doctrina* (identified as "DNV") set on a cippus in front of her, like an idol (Fig. 1).[8]

3. "Acht Bände haben wir also zu erwarten, deren Vollendung Rec., wenn er sie auch nicht erleben sollte, von ganzem Herzen wünschet" (ibid., p. 4).

4. C. G. Heyne, Review of: I. Eckhel, *Doctrina numorum veterum*, vol. VIII, Vienna 1798, *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen unter der Aufsicht der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* vol. 2, 106. Stück (5 July 1798), p. 1055.

5. "Sein Werk wird auf die ganze Nachwelt für die Numismatik classisch bleiben" (ibid., p. 1050).

6. See, e.g., C. B. Stark, *Systematik und Geschichte der Archäologie der Kunst* (Leipzig, 1880), pp. 222f.; J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. 3: *The Eighteenth Century in Germany, and the Nineteenth Century in Europe and the United States of America* (New York, 1964), p. 45; M. H. Crawford, C. R. Ligota, and J. B. Trapp, eds., *Medals and Coins from Budé to Mommsen* (London, 1990), p. 1.

7. B. Koch, "Zur Ikonographie von Joseph Hilarius Eckhel," *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 98 (1984), p. 89, pl. 24, no. 19; B. Woytek, "Joseph Eckhel and His Network of Correspondents: A Research Project on Numismatics in the Age of Enlightenment," in *XV International Numismatic Congress Taormina 2015. Proceedings,* ed. M. Caccamo Caltabiano et al. (Taormina and Rome, 2017), vol. 1, p. 299. The volume is inscribed in two lines DOCTRINA / NVMMORVM [sic] and is erroneously represented in folio format.

8. J. Bergmann, *Medaillen auf berühmte und ausgezeichnete Männer des Oesterreichischen Kaiserstaates vom XVI. bis zum XIX. Jahrhundert*, vol. 2 (Vienna, 1858), pp. 424–30, pl. XXIII, no. 118. Two four-page leaflets describing this medal in German and Italian, respectively, are bound into the first volume of one of the copies of the *Doctrina* in the Münzkabinett of the Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna (no. 1193). The German version is entitled "Medaille auf die erste Säcular-Feyer

Despite the key position of the *Doctrina* for the subsequent development of numismatics, there has been almost no scholarly research on the work itself. The *Doctrina* has always been perceived as a tool for, not an object of study. A current Vienna-based research project on Eckhel's correspondence[9] has facilitated a new perspective. Eckhel's letters reveal that he had been working on the *Doctrina* since the second half of the 1770s; he started to compile material immediately after the publication of his first numismatic book, the *Numi veteres anecdoti*.[10] The genesis of the work, as borne out by various sources—among which the papers of the Danish archaeologist Georg Zoëga (1755–1809), a student of Eckhel's[11] occupy a prominent place—has been traced in a contribution to an edited volume originating from a 2015 Vienna conference on Eckhel.[12] Another point of interest is the work's title. As may be gleaned from the subtitle of Eckhel's precursory study of the coinage of Antioch in Syria, published six years before Volume I of the *Doctrina*,[13] the latter originally was to be called *Ars critica numaria*. Eckhel changed the title only shortly before the publication of the first volume. In a letter to Zoëga dated November 19, 1791, Eckhel still refers to his work as *Ars critica numaria*;[14] on August 8, 1792, Eckhel informs his correspondent in passing of the change in title.[15] A study by Andrew Burnett discussing this peculiar problem of nomenclature has been published in the same volume mentioned above.[16]

Here, I will focus on several problems related to the publication of Eckhel's *Doctrina* that have never been touched upon: 1) the publication history of the first edition, printed during Eckhel's lifetime, which is illuminated not only by the books themselves, but also by contemporary correspondence; 2) the bibliographical structure of the more common, second edition of the work, published in Vienna in the first half of the nineteenth century but passed over, for example, by Bergmann in his standard account of Eckhel's life and works;[17] 3) the mysteriously undated Leipzig edition of the *Doctrina*, bearing the imprint of publisher T. O. Weigel on the title page; and 4) the *Elementa rei numariae veterum*, a little-known, partial reprint of Volume I of the *Doctrina*, published in Berlin in 1841 and re-edited in Leipzig, also by Weigel, in 1842.

der Geburt des grossen Archäologen: Abbé Joseph Eckhel." It is dated "Wien, im März 1837" and signed by Moriz Graf von Dietrichstein (1775–1864), then-head of the "k. k. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinet." See J. Bergmann, "Pflege der Numismatik in Österreich im XVIII. Jahrhundert mit besonderem Hinblicke auf das k. k. Münz- und Medaillen-Cabinet in Wien. II. Abtheilung: Von Eckhel bis zu dessen Tode (1774–1798)," *Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe der Akademie der Wissenschaften* 24 (1857), p. 350.

9. On which see Woytek 2017; and D. Williams and B. Woytek, "The Scholarly Correspondence of Joseph Eckhel (1737–1798): A New Source for the History of Numismatics," *Haller Münz-Blätter* 8 (2015), pp. 45–56; Austrian Science Fund (FWF), project no. P25282.

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

11. D. Williams and B. Woytek, "Zoëga studente di numismatica. Il soggiorno a Vienna (1782) e i contatti con Joseph Eckhel," in *The Forgotten Scholar: Georg Zoëga (1755–1809), at the Dawn of Egyptology and Coptic Studies*, ed. D. Picchi, P. Buzi, and K. Ascani (Leiden and Boston, 2015), pp. 101–10; cf. also O. Mørkholm, "The Danish Contribution to the Study of Ancient Numismatics 1780–1880," in *Den kongelige Mønt- og Medaillesamling 1781–1981*, ed. O. Mørkholm (Copenhagen, 1981), pp. 127f.

12. B. Woytek, "The Genesis of Eckhel's *Doctrina numorum veterum* and Georg Zoëga's Numismatic Papers," in *Ars Critica Numaria. Joseph Eckhel (1737–1798) and the Transformation of Ancient Numismatics*, ed. B. Woytek and D. Williams (Vienna, 2022), pp. 373–410.

13. J. Eckhel, *Descriptio numorum Antiochiae Syriae sive specimen Artis criticae numariae* (Vienna, 1786).

14. Ø. Andreasen and K. Ascani, eds., *Georg Zoëga: Briefe und Dokumente*, vol. 3: *1791–1797* (Copenhagen, 2013), p. 146, document no. 537: "Noch vor Ende dieses Jahrs wird meine *Ars critica numaria* in die Presse kommen."

15. Ibid., p. 307, document no. 575: "Der erste Band der *Ars critica numaria*, der ich aber den Namen *Doctrina numorum veterum* gegeben habe, wird sicher künftigen Monath erscheinen."

16. A. Burnett, "'*Scientia rei numariae*'—'*Ars critica numaria*'—'*Doctrina numorum veterum*': What Are the Models?," in *Ars Critica Numaria. Joseph Eckhel (1737–1798) and the Transformation of Ancient Numismatics*, ed. B. Woytek and D. Williams (Vienna, 2022), pp. 411–28.

17. Bergmann 1857, pp. 340f.

The First Edition

In order to understand the difficulties confronting Eckhel when he embarked upon publishing his masterwork, it is necessary first to turn to his 1786 book on the ancient coins of Antioch on the Orontes. It deals with various aspects of the city's coinage through the centuries and was intended to provide the public with a sense of what was to come: the subtitle defines the volume as a "*specimen*,"[18] or sample of the *Ars critica numaria*. The programmatic preface, large parts of which were reprinted with modifications in 1792 in the first volume of the *Doctrina*, delineates the general design, aims, and planned structure of the work.[19] In a paragraph of this preface which was omitted in 1792, Eckhel describes the obstacles to his publication project, some of which sound all too familiar to a modern author of scholarly books.[20] The work was to be substantial—in 1786, Eckhel could not say with certainty how many tomes it would eventually comprise—and consequently, it would be expensive to produce: a daunting task for publishers, who were "attracted solely by certain profits." The very nature of the essentially unillustrated work did not promise to attract too many eager buyers; worse still, it was in Latin, a language "that is either not understood any more, or disdained." Therefore, Eckhel planned to publish his work by subscription, and the 1786 *Specimen* on Antioch, which expressly invited criticism from learned readers, was intended to test the market in the phase when the final manuscript was in preparation.[21] The passage describing the author's problems almost reads like a transcript of one of his unsuccessful negotiations with Viennese publishers during those years; that Eckhel had serious difficulties in finding one for the *Doctrina* became part of the contemporary tradition.[22]

Whether Eckhel received a lot of specific feedback after the publication of his *Specimen* is difficult to gauge. The study of Eckhel's correspondence has so far yielded just one clear case in point: a letter written to Eckhel by Jean-Jacques Barthélemy (1716–1795), the director of the Paris coin cabinet, on August 23, 1786. In this short missive Barthélemy (who is mentioned in the preface to the *Specimen* as one of the most important numismatists of the eighteenth century[23]) acknowledges receipt of the book and congratulates Eckhel on his achievement. More importantly, Barthélemy expresses full approval of the overall concept laid out for the *Ars critica numaria* in the *Specimen*, stressing the importance of a new general work on ancient coinage not only for numismatics, but also for ancient chronology, geography and all other branches of the classics. According to Barthélemy, no scholar was better placed than Eckhel to write such an overview.[24] Indeed, Eckhel's correspondence reveals that the quality of his previously published books, mainly the 1775 *Numi veteres anecdoti* and the 1779 catalogue of ancient coins of the imperial coin cabinet, had raised expectations among numismatic scholars around Europe in the run-up to the publication of what was announced to be his definitive work. The *Specimen* was produced by Johann Thomas Trattner (1719–1798),[25] Vienna's most famous

18. With clear terminological reference to illustrious numismatic precursors; see, e.g., A. Morellius, *Specimen universae rei nummariae antiquae, quod literatorum rei publicae proponit Andreas Morellius Helvetus* (Paris, 1683).

19. Eckhel 1786, pp. III–XXII; J. Eckhel, *Doctrina numorum veterum* (Vienna, 1792–98), vol. I, fol. *r.–[**3]v.

20. Eckhel 1786, pp. XIX f.: "Quot voluminibus constiturum sit opus universum, necdum aut definivi aut definire potui, etsi ex materiae copia, quam tractandam suscepi, facile sit conjicere, non exigui ambitus horrea tantae messi paranda. At quoniam haec majores sumptus postulant, quam quos libenter decernat cognita bibliopolarum cautio, quos certus tantum quaestus allicit, ipsum vero opus ejus est naturae, quae avidos emptores non spondeat, ad haec, quod alterum est malum, conscriptum lingua, quae jam fere aut non intelligitur, aut fastiditur, satis esse causae existimo, cur tentatae praenumerationis, aut subscriptionis, ut ajunt, via eorum, qui haec studia amant, explorandam voluntatem existimem, de cujus ratione, cum tempus postulabit, eruditorum collegia planius certiusque instruam."

21. Eckhel 1786, p. XX: "Libenter velim uti consiliis eruditorum, si quid expenso hoc specimine in operis universi ratione aut parte mutandum existimarent."

22. See F. Schlichtegroll, "Joseph Hilarius Eckhel," *Nekrolog auf das Jahr 1798. Neunter Jahrgang, erster Band* (Gotha, 1802), p. 189.

23. Eckhel 1786, p. VII.

24. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Münzkabinett, Archiv V, 8, fol. 1r.

25. P. R. Frank and J. Frimmel, *Buchwesen in Wien 1750–1850: Kommentiertes Verzeichnis der Buchdrucker, Buchhändler und Verleger* (Wiesbaden, 2008), pp. 198–200.

printer-publisher of the time, but the *Doctrina* was not. An analysis of the imprints of several different sets of the first edition, printed in quarto format with the text in two columns, provides the following information:

Table 1. The first edition of the *Doctrina numorum veterum*

Volume	Year on the Title Page	Imprint (All Volumes Printed in Vienna)
I	1792	*Variant 1*: Sumptibus Josephi Vincentii Degen / Impressit Ignatius Alberti *Variant 2*: Sumptibus Josephi Camesina / Impressit Ignatius Alberti
II	1794	*Variant 1*: Sumptibus Josephi Vincentii Degen / Impressit Ignatius Alberti *Variant 2*: Sumptibus Iosephi Camesina / Impressit Ignatius Alberti
III	1794	Sumptibus Iosephi Camesina / Impressum Typis Kurtzbekianis
IV	1794	Sumptibus Iosephi Camesina et Comp. / Impressum Typis Kurtzbekianis
V	1795	Sumptibus Iosephi Camesina et Soc. / Impressum Typis Kurtzbekianis
VI	1796	Sumptibus Iosephi Camesina et Soc. / Impressum Typis Kurtzbekianis
VII	1797	Sumptibus Iosephi Camesina et Soc. / Impressum Typis Kurtzbekianis
VIII	1798	Sumptibus Iosephi Camesina et Soc. / Impressum Typis Kurtzbekianis

Christian and Yvette Dekesel correctly pointed out the existence of two different variants of the title page for Volume II,[26] but they did not record an alternative title page for Volume I. The standard in both cases is Variant 1, in which Joseph Vinzenz Degen (1762–1827) is indicated as the publisher (for Volume I, see, e.g., Fig. 2).[27] However, a few copies bear an alternative title page with the name of Joseph Camesina (d. 1827), who was the owner of the publishing house Camesina & Comp. between 1794 and 1798[28] and went on to publish the rest of the *Doctrina*.[29] The Dekesels' monumental bibliography lists only a single copy of Variant 2 for Volume II, i.e., the copy of the Dresden Coin Cabinet;[30] there is another similar copy in the library of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid.[31] As for Volume I, two copies with a Variant 2 title page are currently known: one in Dresden (Fig. 3)[32] and one that recently passed through the antiquarian book trade, originally from the library of the Transylvanian archaeologist Michael Johann Ackner (1782–1862).[33] There was not only a change of publishers but also one of printers in the course of the long printing process of the work: Ignaz Alberti (1760–1794),[34] famous for printing the first edition of the libretto of Mozart's *Magic Flute* and for designing its frontispiece, with whom Degen had collaborated for the *Doctrina*, died on August 31, 1794. From Volume III onward, the shop of Joseph von Kurzböck took over, which continued in business after its founder's passing in 1792.

Contemporary correspondence provides helpful background information on the change of publishers evident on the title pages of the *Doctrina*. The earliest pertinent document is the letter from Eckhel to Zoëga already mentioned above, in the context of the late choice of the title *Doctrina numorum veterum*. On August 8, 1792, Eckhel complains about delays in the start of the printing

26. C. E. Dekesel and Y. M. M. Dekesel-De Ruyck, *Bibliotheca Nummaria III: Bibliography of Eighteenth Century Numismatic Books, Illustrated and Annotated Catalogue,* pt. 2: *C–Gn* (London, 2011), pp. 859, 861 (ill.).

27. On Degen, see Frank and Frimmel 2008, pp. 34–36.

28. Ibid., p. 28.

29. The imprints of the two alternative Camesina title pages of Volumes I and II differ in that the first name of the publisher is spelled with a "J" in Volume I but with an "I" in Volume II.

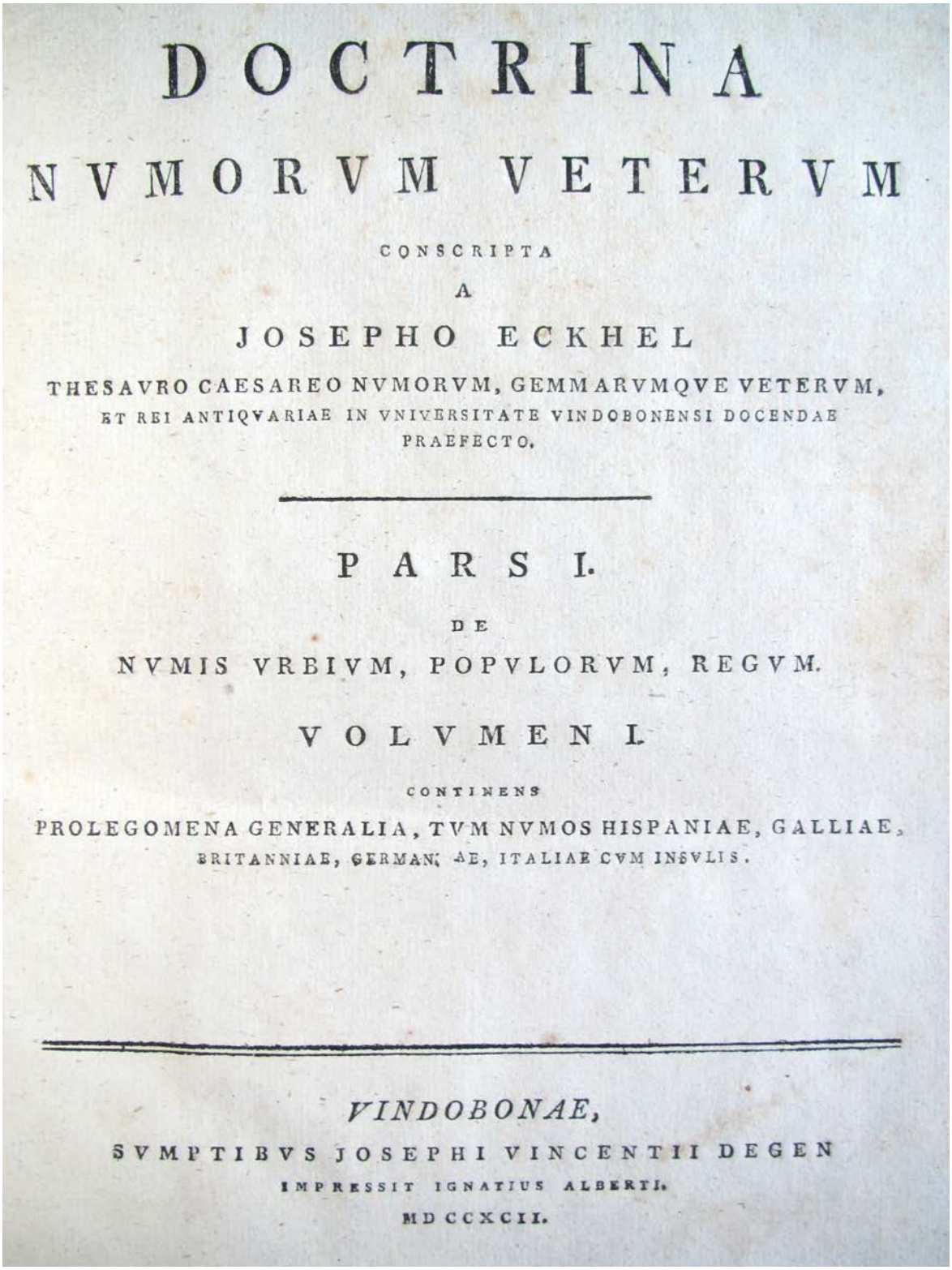
30. Dekesel and Dekesel-De Ruyck 2011, p. 859: Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Münzkabinett, Bibliothek 8.N 21 Eckhel-2.

31. BH FLL 35453, accessible at https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=ucm.5323845143;view=1up;seq=7.

32. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Münzkabinett, Bibliothek 8.N 21 Eckhel-1.

33. Attic Books, London, Ontario (Canada), stock December 2017. This copy was offered together with one copy of Volume II from Ackner's library (first edition, title page Variant 1).

34. Frank and Frimmel 2008, p. 2.



DOCTRINA

NVMORVM VETERVM

CONSCRIPTA

A

JOSEPHO ECKHEL

THESAVRO CAESAREO NVMORVM, GEMMARVMQVE VETERVM,
ET REI ANTIQVARIAE IN VNIVERSITATE VINDOBONENSI DOCENDAE
PRAEFECTO.

PARS I.

DE

NVMIS VRBIVM, POPVLORVM, REGVM.

VOLVMEN I.

CONTINENS

PROLEGOMENA GENERALIA, TVM NVMOS HISPANIAE, GALLIAE,
BRITANNIAE, GERMANIAE, ITALIAE CVM INSVLIS.

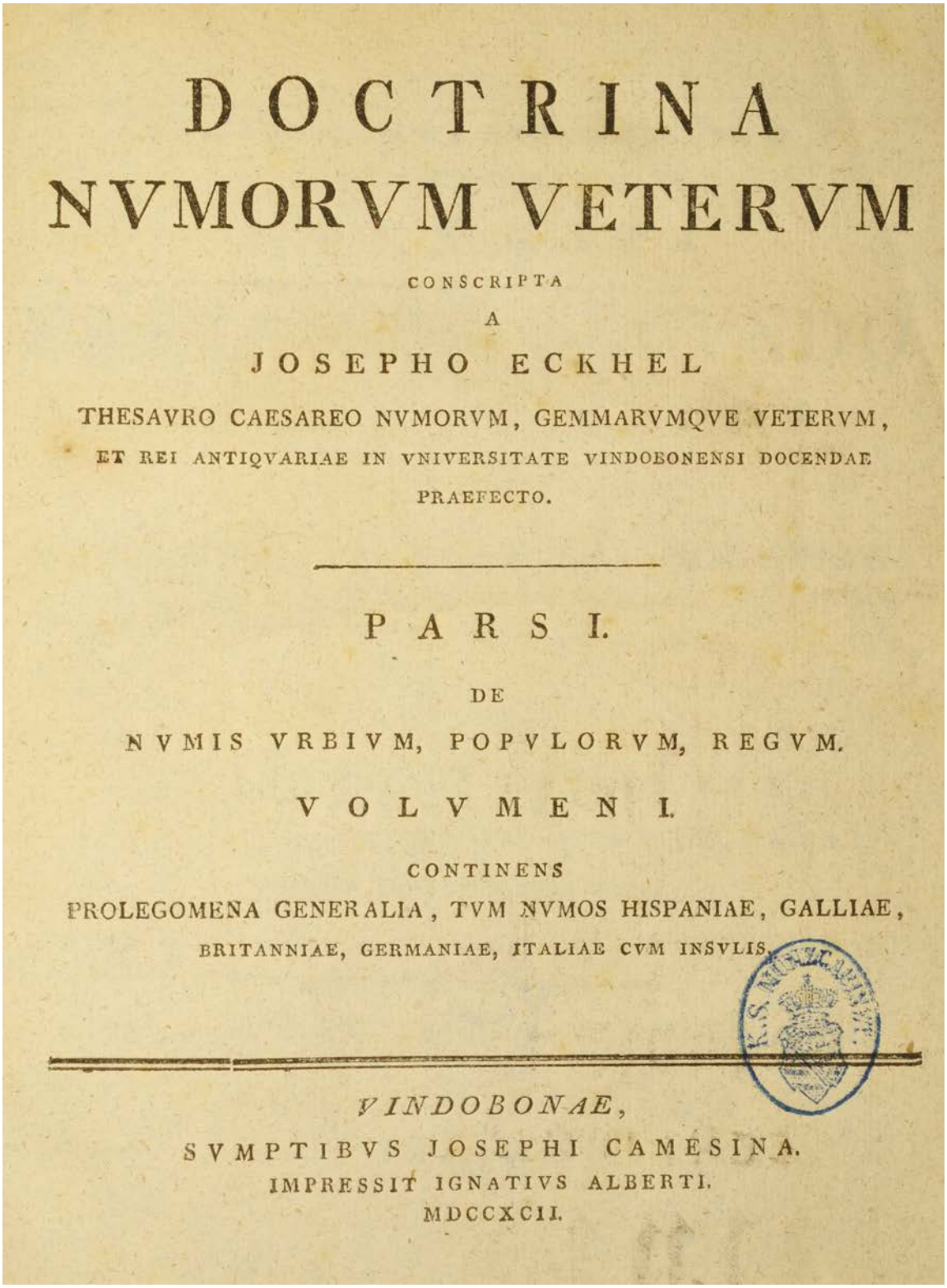
VINDOBONAE,

SVMPTIBVS JOSEPHI VINCENTII DEGEN

IMPRESSIT IGNATIUS ALBERTI.

MDCCXCII.

Figure 2. J. Eckhel, *Doctrina*, first edition, volume I (1792), title page, variant 1. Private collection.



DOCTRINA
NVMORVM VETERVM

CONSCRIPTA
A
JOSEPHO ECKHEL
THESAVRO CAESAREO NVMORVM, GEMMARVMQVE VETERVM,
ET REI ANTIQVARIAE IN VNIVERSITATE VINDOBONENSI DOCENDAE
PRAEFECTO.

PARS I.

DE
NVMIS VRBIVM, POPVLORVM, REGVM.

VOLVMEN I.

CONTINENS
PROLEGOMENA GENERALIA, TVM NVMOS HISPANIAE, GALLIAE,
BRITANNIAE, GERMANIAE, ITALIAE CVM INSVLIS.

VINDOBONAE,
SVMPTIBVS JOSEPHI CAMESINA.
IMPRESSIT IGNATIVS ALBERTI.
MDCCXCII.

Figure 3. J. Eckhel, *Doctrina*, first edition, volume I (1792), title page, variant 2. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Münzkabinett, Bibliothek, 8.N 21 Eckhel-1. © Münzkabinett Dresden, Roger Paul.

process that are not his fault but quite obviously his publisher's, whom Eckhel does not name; he reports that Volume I is expected to appear in September of that year and that he has already finished his part of the work on it.[35] Thus, relations with Degen's firm appear to have been strained from the beginning. Significantly, no volume of the work was published in 1793, while the three remaining volumes of the *Doctrina*'s "Pars I," dealing with Greek coinage, were rushed out in quick succession the following year. In another letter to Zoëga, dated March 13, 1794, Eckhel provides more details. Again not mentioning any names, he informs his Danish student that two publishers are working simultaneously on Volumes II and III, and that it is possible that Volume III will appear first: the publisher of Volumes I and II is said to bear a grudge against Eckhel and to be dawdling, because the author decided to end the collaboration. Also, Eckhel states that he did not charge the publisher any honorarium for his manuscript.[36]

How are we to reconcile Eckhel's testimony that the new publisher—Camesina, who cooperated with the Kurzböck printing company—worked on the project only from Volume III onward, with the existence of several (very rare) copies of Volumes I and II featuring Camesina's name in association with the printer Alberti? It appears that a few unsold sheets of the volumes printed by Alberti on Degen's behalf were acquired by Camesina, who then had the copies he was about to distribute outfitted with new title pages. Their imprints give the printer's name correctly but couple it with the name of the new distributing publisher. Thus, Camesina could also sell a few sets sporting his name in all the volumes, and the copy in Dresden is one of them.

More information on the publication of the *Doctrina*'s first edition may be gleaned from the correspondence of the Spanish Jesuit intellectual Juan Andrés (1740–1817), who spent most of his life in Italy. He seems to have been in close epistolary contact with Eckhel, although we can identify just one letter of their correspondence, kept in Vienna, which will be published in the critical edition of Eckhel's scholarly letters. On September 12, 1793 Andrés, writing from Mantua, briefly asked Eckhel, "Come sono andati i vostri contrasti col librajo? Quando verrà fuori il 2° tomo?"[37] The published correspondence of Andrés contains several more substantive references to the printing history of the *Doctrina*. On December 6, 1792, he reports on the publication of Volume I;[38] two weeks later he mentions that it cost six "fiorini."[39] On October 28, 1793, Andrés informs a correspondent that Eckhel has written to him with news on the *Doctrina*: the printing of the second volume, interrupted since the period of Andrés's visit to Vienna in the first half of 1793,[40] has finally resumed.[41] The most important passage is in a letter dated June 26, 1794. After mentioning that Volumes II and III were published almost simultaneously, after a long hiatus, and that Volume IV is about to follow, Andrés reveals

35. Andreasen and Ascani 2013, p. 307, document no. 575: "In mir liegt der Fehler nicht, dass man mit dem Drucke so lange säumt, da das Werk schon ganz fertig vorliegt."

36. Andreasen and Ascani 2013, p. 448, document no. 627: "Der zweyte Band meiner *Doctrina* ist bis auf ein paar Bögen schon abgedruckt, und vom dritten (aber bey einem andern Verleger) ist auch schon das 2te Alphabet angefangen. Es ist möglich, dass der dritte Band noch vor dem zweyten erscheint wegen der übeln Laune des Verlegers, der auf mich böse ist, weil ich von ihm zu einem andern übergegangen bin. So vielem Verdrusse ist ein Autor ausgesetzt auch damals, wenn er, wie es bey mir der Fall ist, für seine weitläuftige Arbeit vom Verleger nicht das geringste *honorarium* fodert." On this point, see also Bergmann 1857, p. 340.

37. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Münzkabinett, Archiv V, 5, fol. 2r.

38. L. Brunori, *Epistolario de Juan Andrés y Morell (1740–1817)* (Valencia, 2006), vol. 2, p. 777, no. 623 (to Gian Rinaldo Carli): "Non so se avrà veduta Vostra Eccellenza la grand'opera del signor abate Eckel *Doctrina nummorum veterum*, un vero tesoro numismatico che può servire per un'intiera biblioteca in questa materia: saranno 8 tomi in 4°, non è uscito che il primo."

39. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 779, no. 624 (to Gian Rinaldo Carli): "Dell'opera dell'abate Eckel non è ancor uscito che un tomo, e in tutto ne saranno otto: costano sei fiorini l'uno."

40. See ibid., vol. 1, p. LXXII; Andrés spent almost two and a half months in the Austrian capital.

41. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 815, no. 652 (to Girolamo Tiraboschi): "Mi dice [Eckhel] che s'è ripresa la stampa del 2° tomo della sua opera *Doctrina nummorum veterum*, interrotta fin da quando io era là: anche que' stampatori hanno la lentezza di Bodoni senz'avere la sua abilità."

the name of the representative of Degen's publishing company who seems to have caused Eckhel so much headache: "Ha dovuto l'autore [Eckhel] abbandonare il primo libraio Blumauer, che senz'avere l'eleganza di Bodoni, aveva la sua lentezza, e il secondo [Camesina] lo serve assai meglio, almeno più sollecitamente."[42] Aloys Blumauer (1755–1798), a famous Austrian writer, satirist, freemason, and friend of Mozart, was active as a publisher and antiquarian bookseller with his own firm in Vienna;[43] from 1790 to 1796, he also acted as a partner of Joseph Vincenz Degen, who was known as "deutscher Bodoni" for his typographic skills.[44] Things improved after the end of the collaboration with Degen and Blumauer, for whom Eckhel's project had no priority. Eckhel's cooperation with Camesina seems to have been a success. From 1795 onward, the four "Roman" volumes of the *Doctrina* were published at one-year intervals (to judge from the dates given on the title pages), and problems with the publisher completely disappear from contemporary correspondence from that point. Two passages in Eckhel's letters indicate that Camesina worked exceptionally quickly in the case of Volume VI; this book, whose title page bears the date 1796, had already been printed in 1795 and was ready to be shipped in September.[45]

The publication of Eckhel's main work was made possible through a subscription scheme, as Eckhel had planned in 1786. This scheme is mentioned neither in Eckhel's own correspondence nor in that of Andrés, but in a fascinating letter by Felice Caronni (1747–1815), a learned Barnabite numismatist and antiquarian who was in touch with Eckhel[46] and well informed about Eckhel's tiresome controversy with his initial publisher. On August 10, 1793 Caronni wrote to Angelo Maria Cortenovis (1727–1801):

> [L]'Editore [Degen/Blumauer], oltre aver mancato della parola all'Autore [Eckhel] di darne due tomi all'anno per finire l'edizione entro quest'anno, non ha oltrepassato il secondo alfabeto del II tomo da sei mesi in qua: e per quante minacce abbia fatto Eckhel di tentarne altrove la ristampa, e ritirasse finalmente il suo ms. che gli si dava gratis, si è vantato di non aver bisogno dell'opera presente e volersi prendere il suo commodo. Questo primo volume è costato 26 paoli almeno, e gli avevo offerto anche 30 per la porzione edita del II, ma egli divenuto anche nemico—per stolta superbia—di Eckhel, non vuol dar a nissuno questa soddisfazione, benché abbia da 200 soscriventi almeno.[47]

Caronni was one of more than 200 subscribers of the first *Doctrina* edition whom Degen (and Blumauer) kept on tenterhooks throughout 1793. Anxious to study the master's words, Caronni even contacted the publisher, offering to pay a higher price for the already-printed part of Volume II than for the entire Volume I, but the publisher refused. This passage is the only source giving a rough idea of the print run of the first edition of the *Doctrina*. In view of the extreme rarity of copies of Volumes I and II with Camesina's imprint, it seems plausible that Alberti would not have printed many more

42. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 848, no. 680 (to Gian Rinaldo Carli).

43. See Frank and Frimmel 2008, pp. 22f.

44. Ibid., pp. 34f. On Degen, see in greater detail A. Durstmüller, *500 Jahre Druck in Österreich: Die Entwicklungsgeschichte der graphischen Gewerbe von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Vienna, [1982]), pp. 267–71 (who also mentions the publication of Volumes I and II of the *Doctrina*, p. 267). Giambattista Bodoni (1740–1813) was one of the most admired typographers and printers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

45. See a letter by Eckhel to Friedrich Münter (1761–1830), dated May 13, 1795 (Ø. Andreasen, ed., *Aus dem Briefwechsel Friedrich Münters. Europäische Beziehungen eines dänischen Gelehrten 1780–1830* [Copenhagen, 1944], vol. 1, pp. 247f., no. 212), where Eckhel mentioned that Volume VI was "itzt wirklich unter der Presse." On September 29, 1795, Eckhel wrote to Ésprit-Marie Cousinéry (1747–1833): "j'ai déjà expédié les six volumes in 4to de ma Doctrina numorum veterum" (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal Ms. 5983, fol. 16r.).

46. Unfortunately, no letters exchanged between Eckhel and Caronni are known to me.

47. G. M. Cagni, "Una vita avventurosa: Il P. Felice Caronni (1747–1815)," *Barnabiti Studi* 13 (1996), p. 310 n. 281.

copies than Degen/Blumauer were certain of selling to the subscribers, so a total print run of no more than ca. 300 copies seems likely. To overcome the difficulties Eckhel faced in 1793, Caronni in this period even tried to organize a publication of the *Doctrina* either in Milan or Rome, also on the basis of a subscription scheme, as we read in the same letter, but his plans failed to materialize.[48]

However, Caronni did not abandon the idea of having an edition of the *Doctrina* printed in Italy. In 1807, a "Neue vermehrte Auflage" of Eckhel's short textbook *Kurzgefasste Anfangsgründe zur alten Numismatik* was published in Vienna, edited anonymously by Eckhel's longstanding colleague at the imperial coin cabinet Franz de Paula Neumann (1744–1816),[49] who succeeded him as the director of the (then-unified) "k. k. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinet" and as "Professor der Münz- und Altertumskunde" at the University of Vienna.[50] This edition, with new plates and a very slightly revised text, was to serve as the textbook for Neumann's students, since the first edition of the *Anfangsgründe* was out of print, as Neumann states in the preface.[51] In the wake of the publication of this little book, Caronni developed plans for a second edition of the *Doctrina*, which he proposed to edit together with Neumann. In an unpublished letter to Neumann, written in Milan on October 8, 1806, he laid out his concept for an "editio emendata, ampliata, notis et iconibus perpetuis illustrata per Franciscum Neumann, curante F. Caronno."[52] This edition, for which Caronni envisaged a print run of 500 copies, was to boast one main advantage over the original: illustrations culled from various eighteenth-century publications. In view of the huge cost that the production of plates would have involved, Eckhel had deliberately refrained from systematically adding coin images to the first edition of the *Doctrina* and preferred to merely provide precise descriptions of the coin types— a bold decision for a numismatic work.[53] But apparently Neumann, who notoriously published not a single book after the early catalogues of ancient coins in his own collection,[54] apart from the re-edition of the *Anfangsgründe*, did not approve of the project, and nothing came of it. Left to his own devices, Caronni, a true admirer of Eckhel's, was forced to rescale his ambitions. In 1808, he published an Italian translation of Eckhel's *Kurzgefasste Anfangsgründe* under the title *Lezioni elementari di numismatica antica* and also a single-volume compendium in Latin providing a very brief outline of the *Doctrina*'s content, the *Manuale Doctrinae numorum veterum*.[55]

48. Ibid., p. 311 n. 281.

49. J. Eckhel [ed. F. Neumann], *Kurzgefasste Anfangsgründe zur alten Numismatik, zusammengetragen von Joseph Eckhel. Neue vermehrte Auflage* (Vienna, 1807).

50. On Neumann, see, most importantly, J. Bergmann, "Pflege der Numismatik in Österreich im XVIII. und XIX. Jahrhunderte. Dritte Abtheilung. Das k. k. moderne Münz- und Medaillen-Cabinet von 1783 bis 1798, und das k. k. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinet unter Director Neumann von 1798 bis 1816. Mit einem Anhange über die Beamten an diesem k. k. Institute unter und nach Neumann," *Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe der Akademie der Wissenschaften* 28 (1858), pp. 538–70; and E. Hassmann and H. Winter, *Numophylacium Imperatoris: Das Wiener Münzkabinett im 18. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 2016), pp. 79–85.

51. Eckhel [ed. Neumann] 1807, fol.)(2r.

52. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung, Korrespondenz Neumann, IIIa, fol. 221r.

53. Eckhel 1792–98, vol. I, fol. **2v.: "Sed absterruit me provisa sumptuum magnitudo, ac simul subiit animum cogitatio, iconum jacturam adcurata typorum explicatione commode sarciri."

54. F. Neumann, *Populorum et regum numi veteres inediti, collecti ac illustrati a Francisco Neumanno*, 2 pts. (Vienna, 1779–83).

55. J. Eckhel (tr. F. Caronni), *Lezioni elementari di numismatica antica dell'Abbate Eckhel tradotte dal tedesco* (Rome, 1808); and F. Caronni, *Manuale Doctrinae numorum veterum a celeberr. Eckhelio editae a D. Felice Caronno . . . in compendium redactae* (Rome, 1808). Bergmann (1857, p. 342) mistakenly regards the latter work as a Latin translation of the *Kurzgefasste Anfangsgründe*.

The Second Vienna Edition, the Leipzig Edition, and the *Elementa rei numariae veterum*

Felice Caronni's proposal, put forward in 1806, to publish a second edition of the *Doctrina* in Italy with a print run of 500 copies indicates that he believed there would be a market for it; in view of the relatively small number of copies originally printed, this is plausible. Ultimately, such a second edition—albeit without illustrations—was published in Vienna more than twenty years later. This "editio secunda" is connected with the publication of a thin book of less than 80 pages containing additions and corrections to the *Doctrina*, chiefly to Volumes I–IV, which Eckhel had written on leaves of paper bound into his personal copy of the work. These *Addenda*, which also contain a portrait of Eckhel and a Latin translation of Aubin Louis Millin's influential obituary, appeared in 1826, several years after Anton Steinbüchel von Rheinwall (1790–1883) had succeeded Neumann as the director of the "Münz- und Antiken-Cabinet" in Vienna.[56] According to a letter by Domenico Sestini (1750–1832), written in Florence on March 6, 1827, Steinbüchel had been planning to edit the *Addenda* for a long time, apparently ever since he had taken office.[57] That the work had not been published under Neumann, in the immediate aftermath of Eckhel's death, may perhaps be attributed to the jealousy that Neumann secretly nurtured against his predecessor,[58] although we will never know for sure.

The *Addenda* were published in Vienna by Friedrich Volke (1780–1830)[59] in quarto, the same format as the *Doctrina*; the colophon names the printer: "Typis Haeredis van Ghelen."[60] Volke was also the publisher of the second edition of the *Doctrina*, sets of which are often accompanied by a volume of the *Addenda*.[61] This second edition poses intricate bibliographic problems. Table 2 provides an overview of the information given on the title pages and in the colophons of the eight volumes that typically form sets of the "editio secunda."[62] In my experience, such sets are much more common than sets of the first edition in public and private libraries, as well as in the antiquarian book trade.

Even at first glance, it is evident that Volume I stands apart from the rest of the second edition; it is the only volume not labeled as "editio secunda," the only one giving the year 1792 (and not 1839 or 1828) as the year of publication on the title page, and the only one naming Degen as the publisher, not Volke. Since it bears the imprint of the original Volume I (Variant 1), this book may prima facie be thought to belong to the first edition, but a comparison of the title pages and the text of Volume I

56. See J. Eckhel (ed. A. Steinbüchel), *Addenda ad Eckhelii Doctrinam numorum veterum ex eiusdem autographo postumo. Cum tabula aenea* (Vienna, 1826); for the original edition of the famous obituary, see A. L. Millin, *Notice historique sur Joseph-Hilaire Eckhel, Garde du Cabinet d'Antiquités à Vienne, lue à la séance publique de Société Philomatique, le 30 nivoise an 7* (Paris, 1799). On Steinbüchel, see Bergmann 1858a, pp. 578f.; he became director of the cabinet in 1819.

57. V. Bartelli, ed., *Cento lettere inedite di LVII. uomini illustri italiani e stranieri defonti nella prima metà del secolo XIX . . . scritte al Cavaliere Gio. Battista Vermiglioli* (Perugia, 1842), p. 193: "L'avverto che in Vienna è stata stampata l'Addenda che l'Eckhel lasciò mss. alla parte greca, si vende due fiorini e mezzo buoni. . . . Il Sig. Steimbukel, sono già nove anni che volea pubblicarla, ed ora l'ha eseguita con una sua prefazione."

58. See Bergmann 1858a, p. 549.

59. Frank and Frimmel 2008, p. 207.

60. See ibid., pp. 56f.: Ghelen'sche Erben (active 1760–1858).

61. We know from contemporary sources that the *Addenda* were also sold separately: see F. Volke, "Nachricht für Freunde der klassischen Literatur, insbesondere für Numismatiker," *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* 279 (November 1828), cols. 543–544; and F. Volke, "Nachricht für Freunde der classischen Literatur, insbesondere für Numismatiker," *Leipziger Literatur-Zeitung* 302 (November 1828), cols. 2409–10; and the advertisement in A. von Steinbüchel, *Die Becker'schen falschen Münzstämpel in ausführlichen Verzeichnissen. Für Sammler und Freunde der Münzwissenschaft. Mit einer Einleitung über Münzkunde überhaupt* (Vienna, 1836). See also the Addendum to this article.

62. This edition is missing from the bibliography by J. Leitzmann, *Verzeichniss sämmtlicher in dem Zeitraum 1800 bis 1866 erschienenen Schriften über Münzkunde. Nachschlagebuch für Buchhändler. Zweite, stark vermehrte Auflage der Ausgabe von 1841* (Weissensee, 1867).

Table 2. The second edition of the *Doctrina numorum veterum*

Volume	Year on the Title Page	Imprint on the Title Page (always including "Vindobonae") [Indication in Colophon]
I	1792	Sumptibus Iosephi Vincentii Degen / Impressit Ignatius Alberti [*no colophon*]
II (editio secunda)	1839	Sumptibus Friderici Volke [Typis Haeredum de Ghelen]
III (editio secunda)	1828	Sumptibus Friderici Volke [*no colophon*]
IV (editio secunda)	1828	Sumptibus Friderici Volke [*no colophon*]
V (editio secunda)	1828	Sumptibus Friderici Volke [*no colophon*]
VI (editio secunda)	1828	Sumptibus Friderici Volke [Vindobonae 1827 / Typis Haeredis van Ghelen]
VII (editio secunda)	1828	Sumptibus Friderici Volke [Vindobonae 1828 / Typis Haeredis van Ghelen]
VIII (editio secunda)	1828	Sumptibus Friderici Volke [*no colophon*]

of sets of the first (Fig. 2) and second (Fig. 4) editions makes it clear that it does not. The title page and, indeed, the entire volume have been reset.[63]

Typographically, the two editions of Volume I have a completely different character; in the original first edition, the lowercase letter "s" is used in its long-shaped form (at the beginning and in the middle of words), whereas in the reprint edition it is used throughout in the round-shaped variety, just as in all the other volumes of the "editio secunda," which has a much more modern look to it. For a typographic comparison of, e.g., the same passage on Archaic and Classical tetradrachms of Athens on page 209 of Volume II of the first and second editions, see Fig. 5 (first ed.) and Fig. 6 (second ed.). As is evident from this example, as a rule the text of the second edition corresponds exactly to that of the first edition in all volumes. Each page normally starts and ends with the same word or the same letters, for which reason the *Doctrina* in the majority of cases can be used and cited interchangeably in either edition.[64] Regarding the distribution of the text on each page, there are occasional subtle differences, such as line breaks, as may be observed in the type description in our example; in other passages, the "editio secunda" reprints the first edition line by line. Other minor differences between the editions concern, e.g., the arrangement of the asterisks used to structure the text, occasionally the numbering of the notes (for both points, see Figs. 5–6), and the complete absence of decorative vignettes from the "editio secunda."[65] Exceptionally, ten short notes signed by the "editor" were added to Volume VIII of the second edition, mainly containing bibliographic updates.[66] They are the only textual additions in any of the reprint volumes. The anonymous "editor" was clearly a highly knowledgable numismatist, who, in one of the notes, mentions that he personally studied in the Wiczay collection a piece described by Eckhel.[67] In the first of these editor's notes, reference is made to Anton Steinbüchel's 1826 publication of (inter alia) the famous Szilágysomlyó 1797 gold hoard, through which he redeemed a promise that Eckhel had made in Volume VIII of the *Doctrina*, but could not keep because of his passing in May 1798.[68] Taken together with other pieces of evidence, this suggests

63. An earmark is the spelling of the author's and publisher's first name on the title page; on the reset title page, "Iosephi" is spelled with an "I," not with a "J" (as it is on the title page of the first edition).

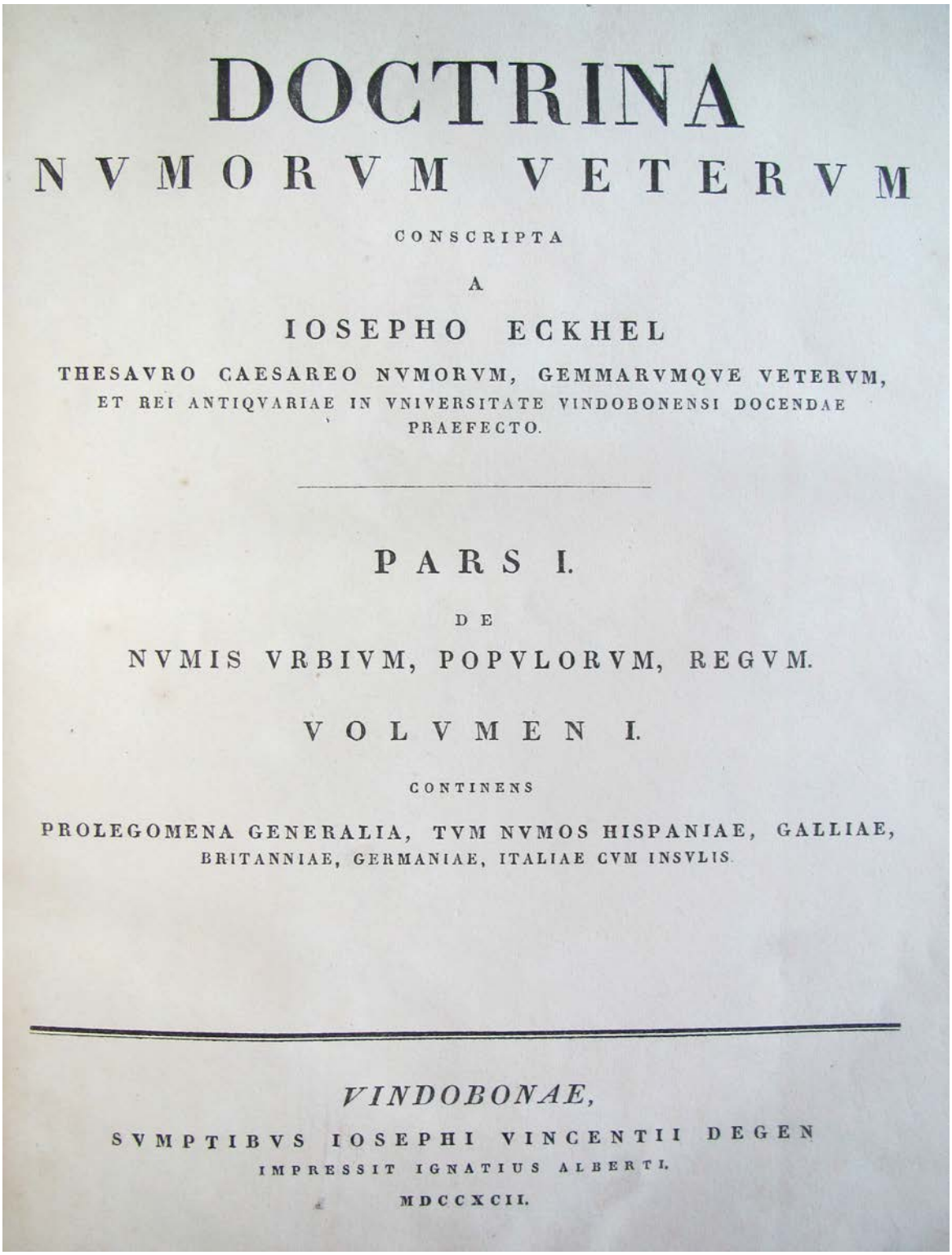
64. For one of the rare exceptions, see vol. II, pp. 505f. of the two editions, where one line was shifted from one page to the previous one in the second edition.

65. Compare, e.g., vol. II, pp. 338, 395, 447, 490, 499, 506, 570 of the two editions.

66. See pp. 82, 203, 265, 273, 292, 293, 308, 317, 335, 448 of Volume VIII of the "editio secunda." All the notes are marked by an asterisk and are signed "Nota edit." or "Not. edit."

67. Vol. VIII, p. 292, note *.

68. See Eckhel 1792–98, vol. VIII, p. 82, note * for Eckhel's promise ("quas . . . opes hoc adhuc anno cum eruditis communicare constitui"); A. Steinbüchel, *Notice sur les médaillons romains en or du Musée imperial et royal de Vienne trouvés en Hongrie dans les années MDCCXCVII. et MDCCCV.* (Vienna, 1826).



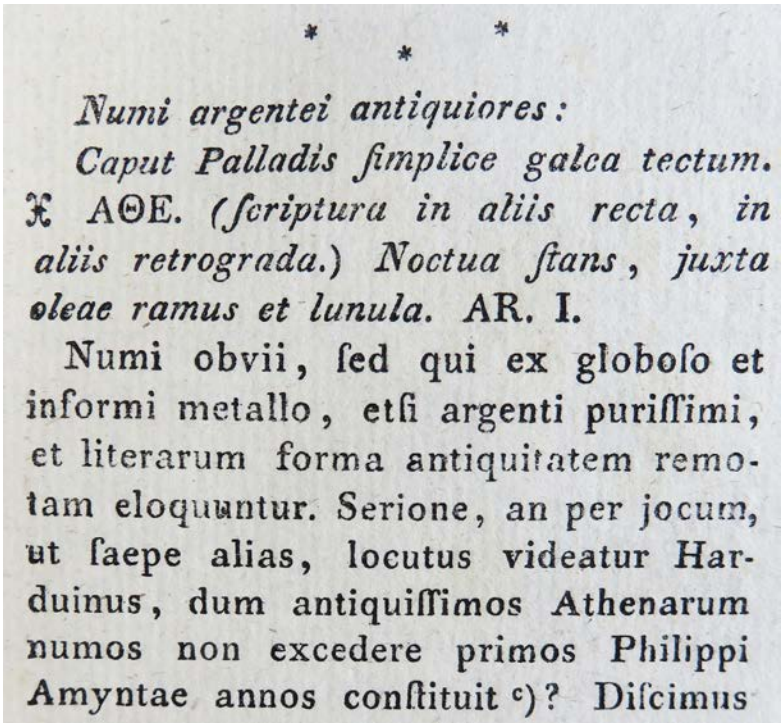
DOCTRINA
NVMORVM VETERVM
CONSCRIPTA
A
IOSEPHO ECKHEL
THESAVRO CAESAREO NVMORVM, GEMMARVMQVE VETERVM,
ET REI ANTIQVARIAE IN VNIVERSITATE VINDOBONENSI DOCENDAE
PRAEFECTO.

PARS I.
DE
NVMIS VRBIVM, POPVLORVM, REGVM.

VOLVMEN I.
CONTINENS
PROLEGOMENA GENERALIA, TVM NVMOS HISPANIAE, GALLIAE,
BRITANNIAE, GERMANIAE, ITALIAE CVM INSVLIS.

VINDOBONAE,
SVMPTIBVS IOSEPHI VINCENTII DEGEN
IMPRESSIT IGNATIUS ALBERTI.
MDCCXCII.

Figure 4. J. Eckhel, *Doctrina*, reprint edition, volume I ("1792"), title page with fictitious imprint and date. Private collection.



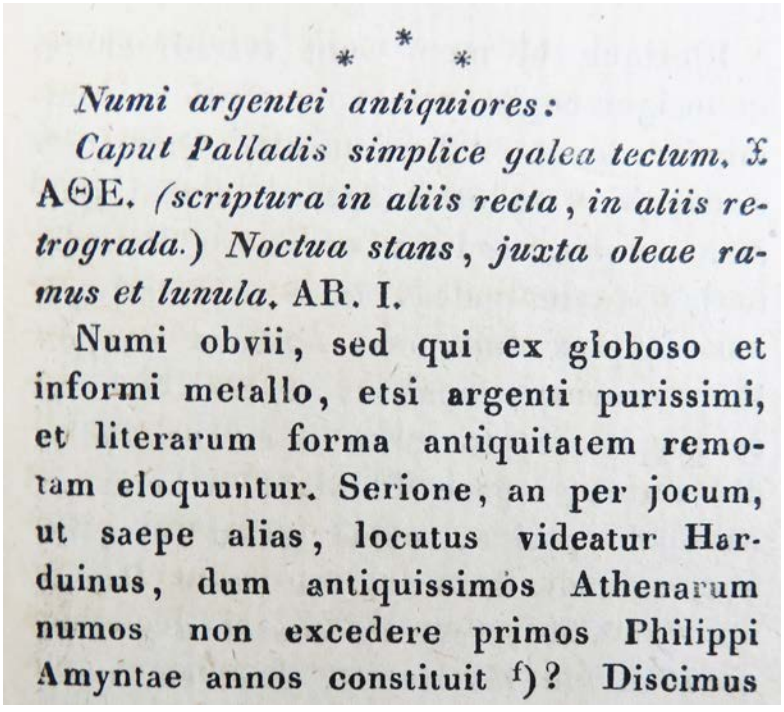
* * *

Numi argentei antiquiores:

Caput Palladis ſimplice galea tectum. ℞ AΘE. *(ſcriptura in aliis recta, in aliis retrograda.) Noctua ſtans, juxta oleae ramus et lunula.* AR. I.

Numi obvii, ſed qui ex globoſo et informi metallo, etſi argenti puriſſimi, et literarum forma antiquitatem remotam eloquuntur. Serione, an per jocum, ut ſaepe alias, locutus videatur Harduinus, dum antiquiſſimos Athenarum numos non excedere primos Philippi Amyntae annos conſtituit [c])? Diſcimus

Figure 5. J. Eckhel, *Doctrina*, first edition, volume II (1794), p. 209, text sample. Private collection.



* * *

Numi argentei antiquiores:

Caput Palladis simplice galea tectum. ℞ AΘE. *(scriptura in aliis recta, in aliis retrograda.) Noctua stans, juxta oleae ramus et lunula.* AR. I.

Numi obvii, sed qui ex globoso et informi metallo, etsi argenti purissimi, et literarum forma antiquitatem remotam eloquuntur. Serione, an per jocum, ut saepe alias, locutus videatur Harduinus, dum antiquissimos Athenarum numos non excedere primos Philippi Amyntae annos constituit [f])? Discimus

Figure 6. J. Eckhel, *Doctrina*, second edition, volume II (1839), p. 209, text sample. Private collection.

that the author of the editorial notes to Volume VIII of the second edition may be identified as Anton Steinbüchel, director of the imperial collection from 1819 to 1840.

This edition of the *Doctrina* is not a mixed edition combining the first volume of the first edition with Volumes II–VIII in second edition, as one might suspect at first glance. Rather, it is a completely new edition. In contrast with Volumes II–VIII, Volume I obviously bears a fictitious date and imprint on the title page. Also, the paper this title page is printed on is much smoother than the paper used to print the remaining book block of Volume I. When browsing through entire sets of the second Vienna edition, further distinctions between Volume I and Volumes II–VIII become apparent. The paper quality of the book block of Volume I is inferior—thinner and more prone to spotting and browning. Volumes II–VIII, by contrast, are printed on rather thick paper. More importantly, while the consistent use of the round-shaped "s" is a feature that typographically connects all the volumes in typical sets of this second edition, Volume I was clearly produced from a different set of types than Volumes II–VIII.

An additional peculiarity of this second edition is that Volume II differs from III–VIII in that it bears the year 1839 (not 1828) on the title page and "Typis Haeredum de Ghelen" in the colophon. If the indication of the years of publication in all the volumes of the second edition were reliable, Volume II would have been printed eleven years later than Volumes III–VIII. The difference in the wording used in the colophon (as compared to Volumes VI and VII) might support the notion that this volume was indeed produced later. However, one of the notes Anton Steinbüchel added to Volume VIII makes it clear that the date "1828" given on the title page of this volume is fictitious; on p. 335, Steinbüchel states that a Late Antique consular diptych mentioned by Eckhel as being in the Wiczay collection had become part of the Fejérváry collection "anno proxime elapso (1834)"; therefore, this note must have been written in 1835.[69]

The evidence provided by the books themselves must be confronted with a short text Friedrich Volke published in two important German literary journals in November 1828: the *Leipziger Literatur-Zeitung* and the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*.[70] In this article, "Nachricht für Freunde der classischen Literatur, insbesondere für Numismatiker," Volke promotes the second edition of the *Doctrina* and the *Addenda* that he published and gives the following pieces of information relevant to our study:

1. The first edition of the "immortal" *Doctrina* was out of print, and consequently highly sought after on the antiquarian book market, with individual sets commanding up to 100 florins "Conventionsmünze."
2. Volke had "a small number" of "incomplete" sets of the original edition of the *Doctrina* in stock and "completed" them by reprinting "several volumes" (apparently not all of them!) very correctly, in the same format, on the same paper, etc.
3. Thus, he was able to offer complete sets of eight volumes on "Schreib-Papier" (superior-quality, laid paper) again, at the price of 50 "Reichsthaler Conventionsmünze," which every bookdealer could order from him.[71]

69. One may note that in Volume VI, the dates given on the title page (1828) and in the colophon (1827) do not match, but such small irregularities are not unusual.

70. Volke 1828a and 1828b. The text of the advertisement in the two journals is identical; it is dated "Wien, im October 1828."

71. Volke 1828b, col. 2409: "Es kann den Besitzern von Bibliotheken . . . daher nur sehr angenehm seyn, zu erfahren, dass es dem Endesunterzeichneten gelungen ist, durch den in jeder Beziehung auf Papier, Druck, Grösse und Correctheit ganz genauen Wiederabdruck mehrerer Bände eine kleine Anzahl der in seinem Verlage vorräthigen, aber unvollständigen Exemplare dieses Werkes von der ursprünglichen Auflage zu ergänzen und sie um den für 8 starke Quart-Bände (im Durchschnitte keiner unter 400 Seiten) auf Schreib-Papier mit sechs Kupfertafeln gewiss sehr billigen Preis von 50 Rthlr. Conv. Münze den verehrten Sammlern anzubieten."

This advertisement was thus printed in the same year that is given as the year of publication of Volumes III–VIII of the second edition on the title pages: 1828. In principle, it is possible that Volke had a few remainders of the original edition of the *Doctrina* in stock. Born in Weimar, Volke was active as a publisher in Vienna together with Johann Gottlieb Heubner (Leipzig, ca. 1778–1859) between 1816 and 1819 (as Heubner & Volke) before he set up his own business. For his part, Heubner had taken over the firm of Camesina, the publisher of Volumes III–VIII of the *Doctrina*'s original edition, in 1813.[72] Hence, Volke may well have had the odd volume of the first edition for sale in the 1820s. However, none of the many sets of the "editio secunda" that I inspected are mixed sets, containing one or more volumes belonging to the original edition, as Volke's advertisement would lead us to expect. The one volume to stand out as different is always Volume I, but it is also a reprint with a fictitious 1792 imprint, as demonstrated above. This does not mean that no such mixed sets existed in the 1830s, and more research on this problem is necessary.[73] For the moment, we must sum up that what we shall call "typical" sets of the Viennese "editio secunda" contain but one totally alien element: the reprint of Volume I.

Eight years after the publication of Volke's promotional text in the German literary journals, his firm published another short advertisement for the second edition of the *Doctrina* and the *Addenda*. It was printed on the page facing the title page of Steinbüchel's monograph on the dies of the famous coin forger Becker, which "Friedrich Volke's Buchhandlung" published in 1836, six years after Volke's death.[74] The information given is the same as in 1828, stating that the publishing house had been able to "complete" several copies of the first edition, which it could now offer to the public at the price of 75 florins, or 50 "Reichsthaler," in Saxon currency.[75]

It is now time to turn to a book that has not received adequate attention so far: a 192-page volume in quarto format entitled *Elementa rei numariae veterum sive Josephi Eckhelii prolegomena Doctrinae numorum*, published in 1841 in Berlin by J. A. List (Fig. 7) and re-issued in 1842 with a new title page in Leipzig by T. O. Weigel (Fig. 8).[76] This book must be distinguished from the *Elementa numismaticae veteris* that appeared in 1799 (in octavo) in Hungary, a Latin translation of Eckhel's *Kurzgefasste Anfangsgründe*.[77] The *Elementa rei numariae veterum*, by contrast, contain, after the title page, a two-page "Index capitum" followed by a reprint of the 24 introductory chapters to ancient numismatics that form the "Prolegomena generalia" of Volume I of Eckhel's *Doctrina*,[78] on pp. 1–183. As mentioned above, this is the part of the work that Heyne particularly recommended in his 1793 review of the first edition. The *Elementa rei numariae* volume ends with six pages of "Annotationes" (pp. 184–89), an index, and a few "Corrigenda" (pp. 191–92), as well as the three plates that go with the "Prolegomena generalia" of Volume I: one plate with "Palaeographia Graecorum ex numis" and two plates juxta-

72. See Frank and Frimmel 2008, pp. 80, 207. From 1813 to 1816, the firm continued to operate under the name Camesina & Comp.

73. In the antiquarian book trade, Volumes I and II of the *Doctrina*'s first edition sometimes turn up as a pair; see, e.g., the set mentioned in note 33, above. When reprinting Volumes III–VIII, Volke may have sought to complete such pairs.

74. Steinbüchel 1836.

75. "Indem nun die gezeichnete Verlagshandlung weder Mühe noch einen bedeutenden Aufwand an Zeit und Kosten sparte, gelang es ihr, mehrere Exemplare des trefflichen Werkes zu vervollständigen, welches nunmehr von den Liebhabern durch alle Buchhandlungen im Preise von 75 fl. CM. oder 50 Rthlr. Sächs. Court. bezogen werden kann."

76. J. Eckhel (ed. M. Pinder), *Elementa rei numariae veterum sive Josephi Eckhelii prolegomena Doctrinae numorum cum brevi annotatione et III tabulis* (Berlin, 1841); J. Eckhel (ed. M. Pinder), *Elementa rei numariae veterum sive Josephi Eckhelii prolegomena Doctrinae numorum cum brevi annotatione et III tabulis* (Leipzig, 1842). Bookseller, publisher, and auctioneer Theodor Oswald Weigel (1812–1881) was the son of Johann August Gottlob Weigel (1773–1846), who founded a famous publishing house which Theodor Oswald took over in 1839.

77. See J. Eckhel (tr. M. P. Katancsich), *Elementa numismaticae veteris ex Germanico in Latinum transtulit Math. Petr. Katancsich* (Buda, 1799), translating J. Eckhel, *Kurzgefasste Anfangsgründe zur alten Numismatik, zusammengetragen von Abbe Eckhel* (Vienna, [1786/87]).

78. Eckhel 1792–98, vol. I, pp. I–CLXXXIII.

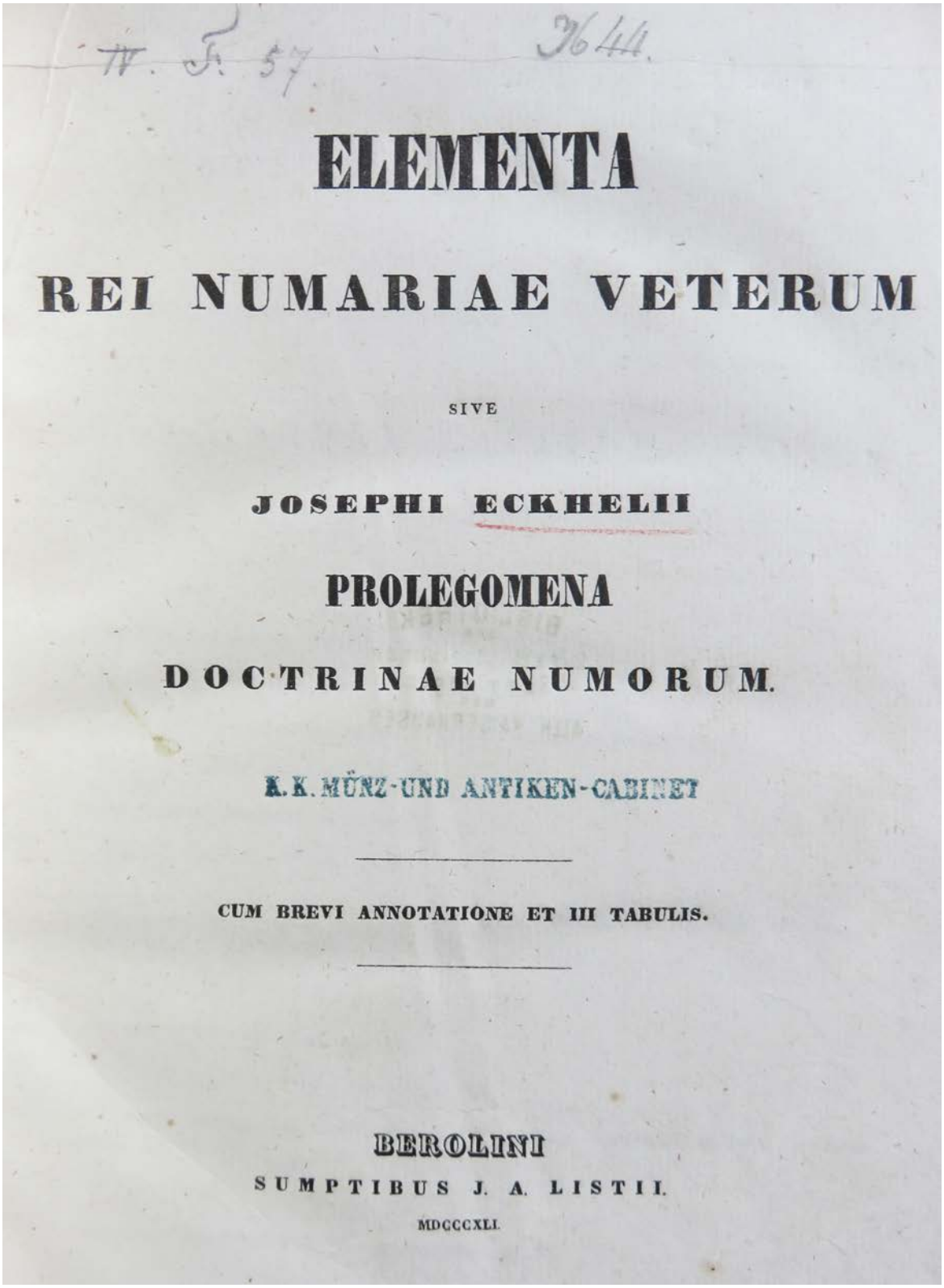
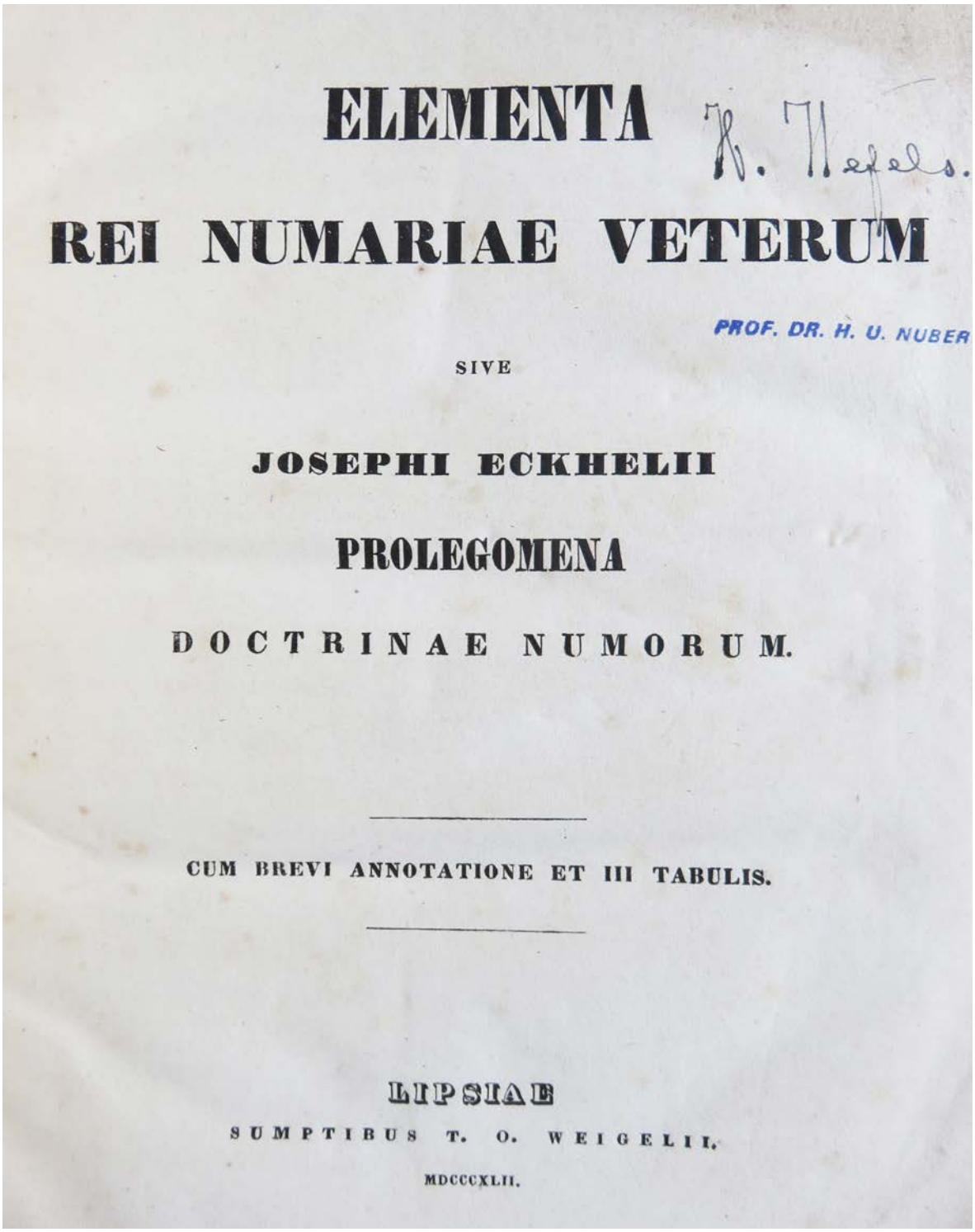


Figure 7. *Elementa rei numariae veterum* (1841), title page. Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, Münzkabinett, Bibliothek 1371.



ELEMENTA

REI NUMARIAE VETERUM

SIVE

JOSEPHI ECKHELII

PROLEGOMENA

DOCTRINAE NUMORUM.

CUM BREVI ANNOTATIONE ET III TABULIS.

LIPSIAE

SUMPTIBUS T. O. WEIGELII.

MDCCCXLII.

Figure 8. *Elementa rei numariae veterum* (1842), title page. Private collection.

posing "Numi Goltziani" and "Numi veri." The last page (192) bears the printer's signature "Typis J. Petschii." Julius Petsch was a Berlin printer, active between 1832 and 1858.[79]

The most interesting section of the book for our purposes are the "Annotationes," which combine Eckhel's own remarks on his "Prolegomena," as published in the 1826 *Addenda*,[80] with some comments by the book's editor, who signs the "Annotationes" only with his initials M. P.[81] Since the editor reports on metrological studies that he conducted on Greek coins in the Berlin coin cabinet,[82] he is easily identified as Moritz Pinder (1807–1871), a curator of ancient coins in Berlin between 1835 and 1858.[83] In the "Annotationes," Pinder occasionally updated the text with then-current numismatic references, the most recent of which being a book from 1838.[84] It seems that this chapter was drafted a short time before the *Elementa rei numariae veterum* were first published in 1841.

It is not surprising that a separate edition of the introductory chapters to the *Doctrina* was published in Berlin in the mid-nineteenth century. In this period, Berlin was one of the capitals of the international "cult" of Eckhel. The Berlin "Numismatische Gesellschaft" celebrated an "Eckhel-Fest" on their hero's birthday, January 13, in 1845, and from this year onward their January meeting was always held on that day.[85] In a pamphlet specially issued on the occasion of the first "Eckhel-Fest," the archaeologist Ernst Toelken (1786–1869), then director of the Berlin "Antiquarium," stressed that Eckhel's numismatic merits had secured him immortality[86] and that he was "der gründlichste, umfassendste und hellsehendste Numismatiker."[87] A few years later, the Berlin Numismatic Society commissioned a life-size bust of Eckhel, which was executed by the sculptor and medalist Johann Karl Fischer (1802–1865); plaster casts were sold to admirers of Eckhel in Berlin and beyond.[88] Hence, the publication of the *Elementa rei numariae veterum* fits in with the extraordinary veneration Eckhel enjoyed in German numismatic circles during that period.

In addition to the *Elementa*, Germany saw the publication of another work by Eckhel in the very same period. In the first sentence of the *Elementa*'s "Annotationes," Pinder justifies the decision to publish a stand-alone edition of the *Doctrina*'s theoretical chapters as follows: "Since the first volume of Eckhel's work was to be published anew, we thought that many people would welcome it if that part of the book containing the most important chapters on numismatics were sold separately as well."[89] Thus, Pinder describes the *Elementa* as merely a by-product of a complete reprint of Volume I of the *Doctrina.*

79. See "Petsch, Julius," CERL Thesaurus, http://thesaurus.cerl.org/record/cnio0033523.

80. Eckhel (ed. Steinbüchel) 1826.

81. See Eckhel (ed. Pinder) 1841/42, p. 189.

82. Ibid., p. 186.

83. B. Kluge, *Das Münzkabinett. Museum und Wissenschaftsinstitut* (Berlin, 2004), pp. 17f. For the correct identification of the editor of the *Elementa*, see Leitzmann 1867, pp. 37, 105.

84. Eckhel (ed. Pinder) 1841/42, p. 185: A. Böckh, *Metrologische Untersuchungen über Gewichte, Münzfüsse und Masse des Altertums in ihrem Zusammenhange* (Berlin, 1838).

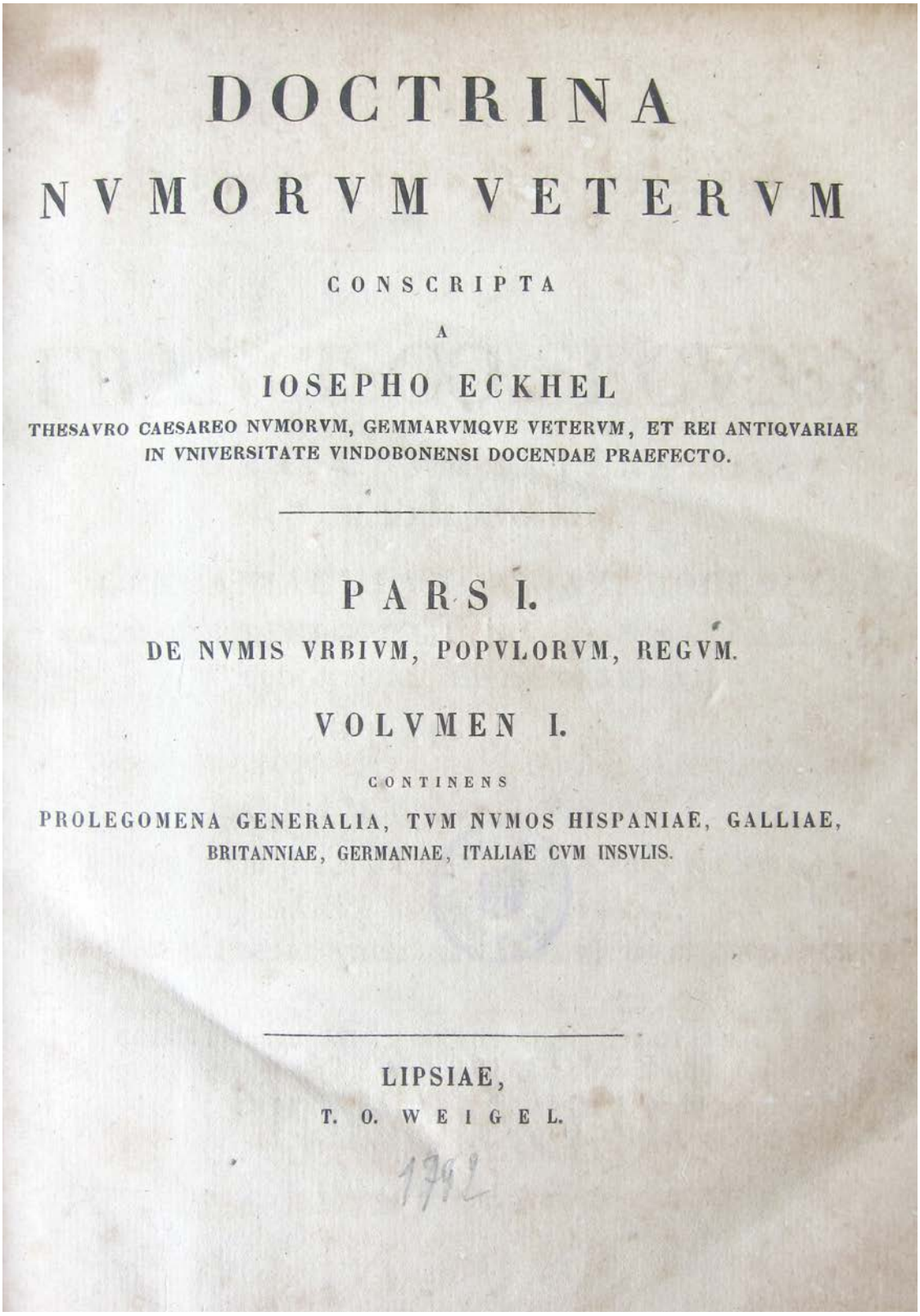
85. See Bergmann 1857, p. 351. The Berlin Numismatic Society thus regularly celebrated Eckhel's birthday before this tradition was established in Vienna; however, the Vienna Numismatic Society followed suit in the course of the nineteenth century; see F. Kenner, *Joseph Hilarius von Eckhel: Ein Vortrag gehalten in der festlichen Jahresversammlung der numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien, am 13. Jänner 1871* (Vienna, 1871).

86. E. H. Toelken, "Iris, die Götterbotin." In *Programm der numismatischen Gesellschaft in Berlin zur Feier des Eckhel-Festes am 13ten Januar 1845* (Berlin, 1845), p. 3: "dessen Verdienste um die Numismatik ihm die Unsterblichkeit sichern."

87. Ibid., p. 9.

88. F. W. A. Schlickeysen, "Eine Büste Eckhel's," *Zeitschrift für Münz-, Siegel- und Wappen-Kunde, Neue Folge*, 1859–62, p. 188; see also Koch 1984, p. 89.

89. Eckhel (ed. Pinder) 1841/42, p. 184: "Cum operis Eckheliani volumen primum denuo edendum esset, nonnullis gratum fore putavimus, si ea libri particula, quae summa doctrinae nummorum capita continet, separatim etiam venderetur."



DOCTRINA

NVMORVM VETERVM

CONSCRIPTA

A

IOSEPHO ECKHEL

THESAVRO CAESAREO NVMORVM, GEMMARVMQVE VETERVM, ET REI ANTIQVARIAE IN VNIVERSITATE VINDOBONENSI DOCENDAE PRAEFECTO.

PARS I.

DE NVMIS VRBIVM, POPVLORVM, REGVM.

VOLVMEN I.

CONTINENS

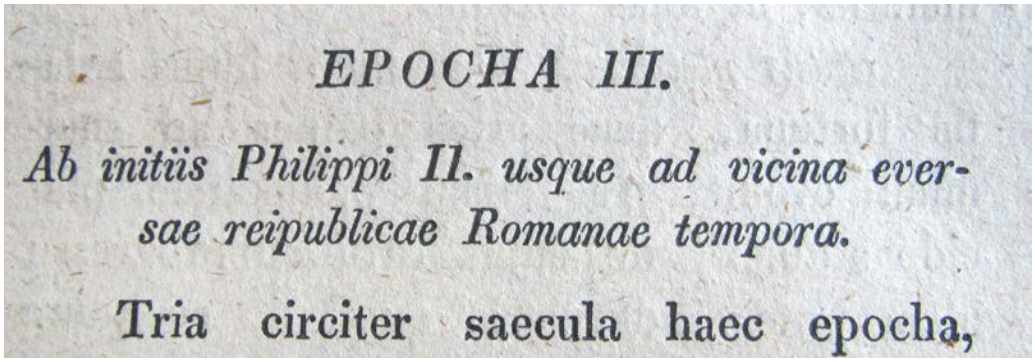
PROLEGOMENA GENERALIA, TVM NVMOS HISPANIAE, GALLIAE, BRITANNIAE, GERMANIAE, ITALIAE CVM INSVLIS.

LIPSIAE,

T. O. WEIGEL.

1792

Figure 9. J. Eckhel, *Doctrina*, Leipzig edition, volume I, title page. University Library Salzburg 13497 I/1,1.


EPOCHA III.

Ab initiis Philippi II. usque ad vicina eversae reipublicae Romanae tempora.

Tria circiter saecula haec epocha,

Figure 10. J. Eckhel, *Doctrina*, reprint edition, volume I ("1792"), p. CXXXVII, detail. Private collection.


EPOCHA III.

Ab initiis Philippi II. usque ad vicina eversae reipublicae Romanae tempora.

Tria circiter saecula haec epocha,

Figure 11. *Elementa rei numariae veterum* (1842), p. 137, detail. Private collection.

To which reprint is he referring? In order to answer this question, we must take a closer look at the so-called Leipzig edition of the *Doctrina*.[90] This edition comprises nine volumes in total, i.e., Volumes I–VIII plus the *Addenda*. The title pages of all the nine volumes (e.g., that of Volume I in Fig. 9) bear the simple statement "Lipsiae, T. O. Weigel," with no date and no indication of the printer. It is easy to see why—this is not a completely new edition printed in Leipzig at all, but for the most part merely a re-issue of the Viennese "editio secunda" of the *Doctrina* with new title pages. This is especially easy to recognize in Volumes II, VI, and VII as well as in the *Addenda*, as these volumes bear the name of the Viennese printer van Ghelen in the colophon. However, as argued above, only Volumes II–VIII of the second Vienna edition are certain to have been printed in Vienna, whereas Volume I is an alien element in the set of books typically forming the Viennese "editio secunda."

Thus, Moritz Pinder's statement, in the *Elementa* first published in 1841, that "operis Eckheliani volumen primum" was at this time published "denuo" (i.e., "again") should be understood as referring to a reprint of Volume I probably produced in the context of the Leipzig re-issue. It may have been printed when sets of the Vienna "editio secunda," comprising Volumes II–VIII and the *Addenda* that presumably had been bought from Friedrich Volke, had to be completed. The Leipzig re-issue of the *Doctrina* must be approximately contemporary with the *Elementa rei numariae veterum* and must therefore date to ca. 1841/42.[91]

90. This edition is rare in Austria; the following remarks are based on a bibliographic analysis of the only copy held by an Austrian institutional library, in the University Library Salzburg (13497 I/1,1–13497 I/2,8; 13497 I/Suppl.). This copy, in which the portrait of Eckhel from the *Addenda* is bound into Volume I, was bought from Fock in Leipzig on April 1, 1930. Incidentally, the copy of the *Doctrina* in the American Numismatic Society's library is also this Leipzig edition (E354 D63 v1–v8, Addenda).

91. Sandys (1964, p. 45 n. 1) dates the publication of an "ed. 4" [sic] of the *Doctrina* to 1841.

A close comparison of the *Elementa*, Volume I of the *Doctrina*'s Leipzig re-issue (with the title page signed by T. O. Weigel), and the Volume I that typically accompanies the Vienna "editio secunda" (with the fictitious 1792 imprint on the title page) yields surprising results. First, the two reprints of Volume I are identical save for their title pages. Second, the three unsigned plates accompanying the *Elementa* were printed from the same coppers that were used to print these plates for the reprint of Volume I.[92] Third, the theoretical chapters of this reprint, the "Prolegomena generalia" on pages I–CLXXXIII, were printed from the very same setting of type as the 1841/42 *Elementa*. Adaptations for the *Elementa* were only made regarding 1) the page numbering, which was changed from Latin to Arabic numerals for the stand-alone *Elementa* edition; 2) the headers, which include the chapters' names in the *Elementa*; and 3) the numbering of the 24 signatures, which are numbered in Arabic numerals in the *Elementa* (instead of lowercase letters, as in Volume I of the *Doctrina*). In the bottom left corner of page 1 of the *Elementa*, the indication "(Vol. I.)" which makes sense only in the context of the reprint of the entire Volume I of the *Doctrina* was left untouched.

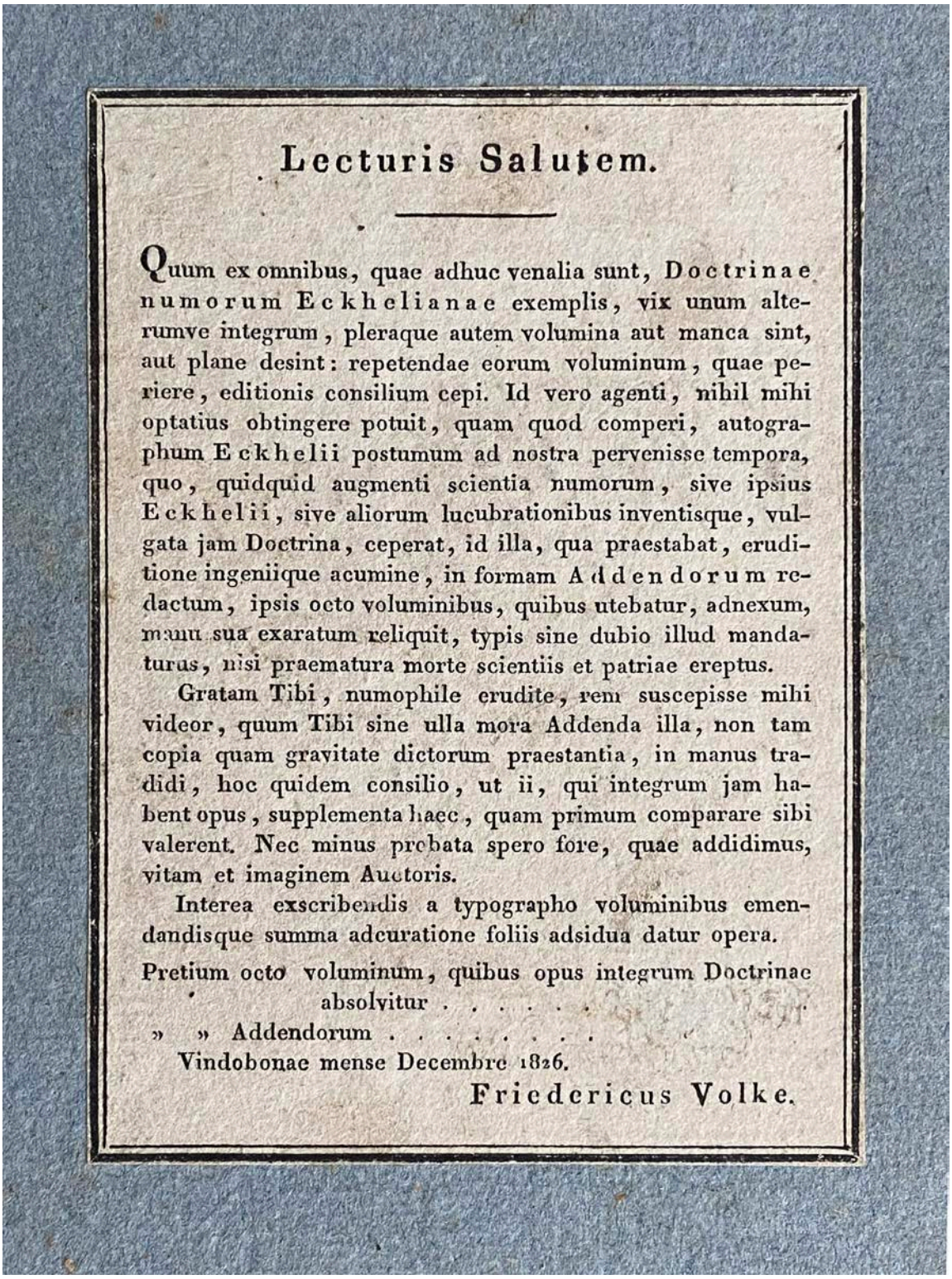
The identity in typesetting is particularly evident from passages in which defective letters were used, see, for example, the enlargements in Fig. 10 (*Doctrina*, fictitious 1792 imprint, p. CXXXVII) and Fig. 11 (*Elementa*, p. 137). The top serifs in the first "I" of "*EPOCHA III.*" and in the second "I" of "Philippi II." are faulty. Needless to say, there are many more examples of this kind. Another important observation is that the paper used for both issues of the reprint of Volume I of the *Doctrina* and for the *Elementa* is characterized by the same watermark of a horn. Two comparable watermarks have been recorded in the German "Wasserzeichen-Informationssystem" for early nineteenth-century paper made in a papermill at Arnstadt.[93] The Berlin printer Julius Petsch is known to have printed the *Elementa rei numariae* volume; he signed it on page 192, as described above. Hence, the reprint of the entire Volume I of the *Doctrina*—the "Prolegomena generalia" of which are from the same setting of type—must have been executed by Petsch in Berlin in 1841 as well. Why this German reprint, produced for the Leipzig re-issue of the *Doctrina*, regularly occurs in combination with Volumes II–VIII of the Viennese "editio secunda" as well, with a new title page, is an intriguing question for future research. Evidently, some cooperation occurred between the Weimar-born publisher Volke in Vienna and T. O. Weigel in Leipzig. In any case, sets of the Vienna "editio secunda" including the Berlin reprint of the first volume cannot have been put into circulation before ca. 1841.

Addendum

While this article was being typeset, a remarkable copy of the 1826 *Addenda* came to my attention: on its front board, it preserves an advertising text in Latin signed by the publisher, Friedrich Volke, dated December 1826 (Fig. 12). It describes Volke's decision to publish the *Addenda* when he learned about the existence of Eckhel's pertinent manuscript notes—at the time when Volke was in the process of preparing the second edition of the *Doctrina*. Regarding this second Vienna edition, the blurb mainly confirms information later also given in the German text Volke 1828a and 1828b, discussed above: his reason for reprinting the *Doctrina* was that hardly any complete copies of the first edition were available any more; most volumes were simply out of print, and of those still available many were defective. Hence, Volke decided to supply the missing volumes.

92. These copperplates were produced specifically for this reprint. In the original first edition, printed in 1792 in Vienna, the two plates confronting "Numi Goltziani" and "Numi veri" (bound in after p. CL) are signed by J. Kibler.

93. See the website of the "Wasserzeichen Informationssystem" for these two similar watermarks depicting horns, both used by the papermaker Johann Konstantin Stoss (1783–1860) in Arnstadt: https://www.wasserzeichen-online.de/wzis/struktur.php?ref=DE4815-DNB-L-WZ-0000585 and https://www.wasserzeichen-online.de/wzis/struktur.php?ref=DE4815-DNB-L-WZ-0000586.



Lecturis Salutem.

Quum ex omnibus, quae adhuc venalia sunt, Doctrinae numorum Eckhelianae exemplis, vix unum alterumve integrum, pleraque autem volumina aut manca sint, aut plane desint: repetendae eorum voluminum, quae periere, editionis consilium cepi. Id vero agenti, nihil mihi optatius obtingere potuit, quam quod comperi, autographum Eckhelii postumum ad nostra pervenisse tempora, quo, quidquid augmenti scientia numorum, sive ipsius Eckhelii, sive aliorum lucubrationibus inventisque, vulgata jam Doctrina, ceperat, id illa, qua praestabat, eruditione ingeniique acumine, in formam Addendorum redactum, ipsis octo voluminibus, quibus utebatur, adnexum, manu sua exaratum reliquit, typis sine dubio illud mandaturus, nisi praematura morte scientiis et patriae ereptus.

Gratam Tibi, numophile erudite, rem suscepisse mihi videor, quum Tibi sine ulla mora Addenda illa, non tam copia quam gravitate dictorum praestantia, in manus tradidi, hoc quidem consilio, ut ii, qui integrum jam habent opus, supplementa haec, quam primum comparare sibi valerent. Nec minus probata spero fore, quae addidimus, vitam et imaginem Auctoris.

Interea exscribendis a typographo voluminibus emendandisque summa adcuratione foliis adsidua datur opera.

Pretium octo voluminum, quibus opus integrum Doctrinae absolvitur . . . . . .

» » Addendorum . . . . . .

Vindobonae mense Decembre 1826.

Friedericus Volke.

Figure 12. *Addenda ad Eckhelii Doctrinam numorum veterum* (1826). Printed text on the front board of the copy Hartung & Hartung (Munich), auction sale 150 (2 November 2021), part of lot no. 421. © Solidus Numismatik, Robert Stark.

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[NB: For books published before 1850, the publisher has been indicated for the sake of clarity.]

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