

# Whose Face Is on the Twenty?

*Curatorial Mediation, Latent Feature Activation, and a Provenance Gap in the \$20 Portrait*

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## I. Two Bills

Look at two images. They are both the front of a United States twenty-dollar bill. They both depict, officially, the same man: Andrew Jackson, seventh President. They are both produced from the same master die — the same lines cut into the same hardened steel at the Bureau of Engraving and Printing in 1928. No burin has touched that die since. The lines are identical.

![Figure 1. Series 1990 \$20 bill (pre-redesign). Portrait centered inside ornamental oval, dense dark crosshatching. The face is small, flat, subordinate — it reads as icon.](fig1\_series1990\_twenty.jpg)

*Figure 1. Series 1990 \$20 (pre-redesign). Portrait centered inside ornamental oval, dense dark crosshatching. The face is small, flat, subordinate. It reads as icon — “president on money.”*

![Figure 2. Post-redesign \$20 (Series 1996/2004). Portrait enlarged, off-center, oval removed, lighter background. Annotated comparison with Epstein photograph.](fig2\_comparison\_annotated.jpg)

*Figure 2. Post-redesign \$20 (Series 1996/2004) alongside annotated comparison. Portrait enlarged, moved off-center, oval removed, lighter fine-line background. The face is the dominant element — three-dimensional, volumetric, individually legible. Red annotations mark positionally specific asymmetric correspondences.*

Same steel. Same lines. Different face.

The difference between these two presentations is the entire analytical space of this document. The paper makes one primary claim: **institutional redesign decisions activated latent resemblance structures in the \$20 portrait in ways that subsequently became politically charged, while documentation of the aesthetic rationale for those decisions is absent from the public record.** Whether the activation was intentional, negligent, or accidental is a question the available evidence cannot resolve. What the evidence does resolve is who held approval authority and what their documented institutional entanglements were.

## II. Evidence Tiers

This document operates across four tiers of evidentiary strength. They are separated here to prevent stronger claims from carrying weaker ones.

**Tier A — Documented material facts:** The master die lineage (Sully 1824 → Welch 1852 → BEP 1928). The redesign chronology (1996–2003). The specific changes: scale increase (~22mm to ~30mm), off-center placement, background lightening, oval removal. The Treasury Secretary's approval authority over note design (Rolufs testimony). Robert Rubin's role as Treasury Secretary during the redesign. The 1998 unveiling.

**Tier B — Comparative visual observation:** The feature-by-feature correspondences between the post-redesign portrait and photographs of Jeffrey Epstein: brow ridge, jaw thrust, cheek mark position, nasolabial fold asymmetry, orbital shadow geometry. The positional specificity of these correspondences as identified in circulating comparison images.

**Tier C — Interpretive inference:** The curatorial gap — the absence of public documentation for the aesthetic choices (specific scale, background density, frame removal rationale) that produced the current presentation. The

unidirectional character of the activation (every documented choice increases resemblance salience; none decreases it).

**Tier D — Speculative / unresolved:** Whether the resemblance was noticed during the redesign process. Whether it influenced any curatorial decision. Whether the documented Epstein connections of the approving officials are causally related to the aesthetic outcomes.

This paper's thesis lives in Tiers A and C. The Epstein connections are Tier A facts whose relationship to the curatorial decisions is Tier D. The visual correspondences are Tier B observations whose interpretation depends on method and viewer. The paper claims the *gap* — not the conspiracy.

### III. What Changed: Feature by Feature

Compare the two presentations. Watch what happens to each facial feature when the curatorial operation is applied.

#### ### The Brow Ridge

In the Series 1990 bill, the brow — Welch's 1852 exaggeration carved into the steel — reads at small scale against dark crosshatching as a shadow line. One element among many. In the post-redesign bill, the same brow ridge at 30mm against lighter background becomes the dominant structural feature of the face. It reads as three-dimensional bone — the kind of pronounced supraorbital ridge that, once foregrounded, supports a nontrivial resemblance claim to Epstein's photographed brow.

#### ### The Jaw

In the 1990 bill, the jaw — which Welch exaggerated past anatomical accuracy, throwing the chin “completely out of the vertical centerline” per the U.S. Senate's art analysis — is partially obscured by the oval frame and dense crosshatching. It reads as “strong chin.” In the post-redesign bill, the jaw is fully exposed. Off-center placement emphasizes the three-quarter view — the angle that maximizes the asymmetric forward thrust. The lighter background defines the jawline as a specific shape. This shape, once legible, invites identification with Epstein's documented jaw profile.

#### ### The Cheek Mark

In the 1990 bill, a cluster of engraved lines on the subject's right cheek — a Welch artifact with no precedent in Sully — blends into the overall texture. Indistinguishable from engraving noise. In the post-redesign bill, at larger scale against lighter background, it reads as a distinct feature — a mole, a scar. It sits in the same relative position as a visible mark on Epstein's right cheek. In the 1990 bill, this correspondence is below the threshold of legibility. In the post-redesign bill, it is difficult to ignore once foregrounded.

#### ### The Nasolabial Folds

In the 1990 bill, the creases from nose to mouth are compressed by small scale into undifferentiated shading. In the post-redesign bill, the asymmetry becomes legible. The fold on the subject's left is visibly deeper — produced by Welch's head tilt. This pattern corresponds to Epstein's natural facial asymmetry. The asymmetry was always in the steel. The redesign made it readable.

#### ### The Orbital Shadows

In the 1990 bill, dense crosshatching fills and flattens the eye sockets. In the post-redesign bill, the lighter background allows graduated depth. The brow casts volumetric shadows whose character corresponds to the deep orbital shadows in Epstein's photographs.

**Summary:** Every feature that becomes legible in the redesign supports the resemblance reading. Not one of the documented curatorial choices decreases the salience of that reading. The cumulative effect is unidirectional.

### IV. Why the Features Were Latent: The Welch Engraving

The correspondence features were manufactured by Thomas B. Welch in 1852, working for Philadelphia publisher George W. Childs, who wanted commercial prints to sell. Welch worked from a Thomas Sully painting — not from life. Jackson had been dead seven years. The U.S. Senate's publicly available art-historical analysis documents what Welch did:

He “introduced many of the stylistic exaggerations... especially in the hair, eyebrows, and facial furrows.” The characterization shifted “from poetic and introspective to vigorous and engaged. The head tilts more, throwing the chin completely out of the vertical centerline.” The skin tone became “swarthy, a tone not typical of the artist or, for that matter, of Jackson.”

Welch's exaggerations pushed the face toward a morphological type — prominent brow ridge, strong jaw, deep nasolabial folds, intensified skin texture — that happens to correspond, 150 years later, to Jeffrey Epstein's photographed facial structure. This correspondence was *historically overdetermined*: 19th-century heroic engraving conventions produced a face-type that, at sufficient scale and with sufficient contrast, would generate a recognizable reading against any individual sharing that morphological cluster.

The 1928 BEP die locked these features in steel. Every Series from 1928 to 1995 presented them at a scale and framing where they remained below the threshold of individual recognition. The 1996–2003 redesign crossed that threshold.

## V. The Annotated Comparison

The annotated comparison (Figure 2, above) circles individual asymmetric identifiers — the kind of positional correspondences that facial recognition systems use to distinguish *similar* faces from *closer matches*. This does not constitute forensic proof of identity. It constitutes a visual observation of positional specificity that exceeds what generic bone-structure similarity would predict.

Limitations of this comparison are real: the images differ in medium (intaglio engraving vs. photograph), lighting, angle, compression, and resolution. The comparison lacks control faces — a rigorous test would compare the post-redesign portrait against multiple public figures sharing the same approximate age, build, and morphological cluster (prominent brow, strong jaw). An inter-rater reliability study would establish whether the resemblance reading is broadly shared or viewer-dependent. These methodological gaps are acknowledged. The comparison functions here as a *demonstration* — the observation that triggered the provenance investigation — not as standalone proof.

## VI. The Approval Chain

The 1996–2003 curatorial operation required executive approval. The portrait's lines were set in 1928. The portrait's presentation — scale, framing, background, composition — was decided in the 1990s through a documented chain.

**Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin** (January 1995 – July 1999) oversaw the Series 1996 redesign and personally unveiled the new \$20 on May 20, 1998. His own remarks at the unveiling: “Take note of the larger portrait of Andrew Jackson, with the added detail and fine line patterns behind.”

Former BEP Director **Larry Rolufs** told the *New York Times* (2019): “Often, multiple engravers will attempt different versions of the portraits, usually based on paintings or photographs, and ultimately, the Treasury secretary chooses which one will appear on a note.” Rolufs also stated that “the security features of a new note are embedded in the imagery” — meaning portrait integration with design elements was a unified creative process. The redesign fell under an approval regime in which final selection authority was centralized at the Secretary's desk.

**Deputy Treasury Secretary Lawrence H. Summers** (1995–1999) served under Rubin through the entire process and succeeded him as Secretary.

## VII. Documented Adjacencies

### Robert Rubin

White House visitor logs obtained via FOIA (Clinton Presidential Library, published by the *Daily Mail*, December 2021): Jeffrey Epstein's first White House visit was February 25, 1993. The inviting official is listed as "Rubin." Location: "WW" (West Wing). Epstein visited at least 17 times between 1993–1995 — the period Rubin moved from NEC Director to Treasury Secretary. Rubin later chaired the Council on Foreign Relations (2007–2017); Epstein was a CFR member (1995–2009) and donated \$350,000.

Rubin's spokeswoman: "To the best of Mr. Rubin's recollection he never met or spoke with Mr. Epstein." This denial is contradicted by the visitor logs' attribution, though alternative explanations exist (a different staffer named Rubin; a clerical convention). The gap between institutional record and personal recollection is the point.

### ### Lawrence Summers

Flight records entered as evidence in the 2021 Maxwell trial: Summers flew on Epstein's private plane at least four times, including in 1998 — the year the redesigned \$20 entered circulation — when Summers was Deputy Treasury Secretary. Summers honeymooned on Epstein's island (December 2005, confirmed by spokesman). Emails released November 2025 (Epstein Files Transparency Act): Summers asked Epstein for relationship advice regarding "a mentee." Epstein called himself Summers's "wing man."

### ### What These Adjacencies Establish

Documented proximity, not proven causation. The redesign choices passed through a chain of executive approval that is rendered historically sensitive by those officials' documented connections to Epstein. This does not establish that Epstein influenced the \$20's aesthetics. It establishes that the curatorial gap — the absent documentation of aesthetic rationale — coincides with a chain of authority whose principals had Epstein entanglements during the relevant years. The interpretive weight of this coincidence remains contested. The factual basis does not.

## VIII. The Curatorial Gap

**Definition:** The curatorial gap is the space between an institution's official rationale for a design decision and the aesthetic specifics of that decision's execution, where no documentation exists and no accountability operates.

The official rationale for the 1996 \$20 redesign was anti-counterfeiting. The aesthetic specifics — the particular scale, the particular background density, the particular compositional emphasis, the particular frame treatment — are not documented in any publicly available record. There is no record of alternative compositions considered and rejected. No record of the rationale for off-center placement versus centered placement at the new scale. No record of why the background was lightened to the specific density chosen.

These aesthetic specifics are the space where the activation occurs. Security requires a watermark; it does not require a specific background lightness. Security requires enlarged detail; it does not require a specific scale. Security does not require frame removal. These are curatorial decisions made within a security framework, and they are the decisions that cumulatively increase the salience of the Epstein resemblance.

The gap is structural, not unique to this redesign. Treasury has never publicly documented the aesthetic rationale for currency design choices. But the structural gap becomes historically charged when the officials who operated within it are subsequently documented as adjacent to Epstein's network.

## IX. Counterarguments

The strongest objections to this analysis, addressed directly:

**Pareidolia / apophenia.** The human brain finds faces and patterns in random stimuli. This is true but insufficient as a complete explanation. The resemblance is not to a random face but to a specific individual, and it is supported by positionally specific asymmetric features (cheek mark, nasolabial fold direction, orbital shadow geometry) rather than generic bone-structure similarity. A stronger version of this objection would note that post-hoc pattern-matching, once a target face is suggested, becomes self-reinforcing. This is valid. It is why this paper grounds

the analysis in the *difference between the two presentations* rather than in the resemblance alone.

**Post-hoc salience.** Epstein became a hyper-visible face only after his 2006 arrest and especially after his 2019 death. The resemblance reading may be an artifact of Epstein's later cultural salience rather than any property of the bill. This is the strongest counterargument. It does not, however, address the curatorial gap — the absent documentation of aesthetic rationale — which exists independent of any resemblance claim.

**Anti-counterfeiting necessity.** The redesign choices were driven by legitimate security concerns, not aesthetic preferences. Partially true. Watermarks, color-shifting ink, and microprinting are security features. But scale, background density, frame treatment, and compositional emphasis are aesthetic choices made *within* the security framework. The security rationale explains *that* a redesign occurred; it does not explain the *specific* aesthetic form of the redesign.

**Selective matching.** The comparison selects features that match and ignores features that don't. Valid concern. A rigorous study would compare the post-redesign portrait against multiple control faces sharing the same morphological cluster. This paper acknowledges this limitation (Section V) and does not claim forensic proof. The paper's thesis is about the curatorial gap, not the resemblance per se.

**Image artifacts.** Differences in medium (intaglio vs. photograph), lighting, angle, and compression may create or exaggerate apparent correspondences. Valid. The comparison images are not forensically controlled. They function as the observation that triggered the investigation, not as its conclusion.

These objections weaken the resemblance claim (Tier B) and the intent inference (Tier D). They do not address the curatorial gap (Tier C) or the documented material facts (Tier A). The paper's thesis — that institutional redesign decisions activated latent features while documentation of aesthetic rationale is absent, and that the approval chain is subsequently implicated in Epstein adjacency — survives all five objections.

## X. The Two Containment Vessels

Why has nobody traced this before?

Because the observation is trapped between two frames that make the material question unaskable. The first is the TikTok caption: *These lizard people live forever*. This wraps the visual observation in supernatural explanation and ensures anyone who takes it seriously is routed into conspiracy dismissal.

The second is the debunker response: *That's just pareidolia*. This treats the post-redesign portrait as transparent — as if looking at the \$20 is the same as looking at Andrew Jackson's face — and refuses to acknowledge the 170-year mediation chain, the curatorial transformation documented in Section III, or the difference between the two bills anyone can hold in their hands.

Both frames perform the same function: they route attention away from the curatorial decision layer. The supernatural frame routes it to Layer 5 (cosmology). The rationalist frame routes it to Layer 5 (epistemology). Neither permits inquiry into Layer 2 — the aesthetic choices, the named approvers, the absent rationale.

Between the two frames, the question *who specifically approved the aesthetic choices that activated the resemblance, and what were their institutional connections?* becomes structurally unaskable. Too crazy from one side. Too boring from the other. The curatorial gap persists because neither containment vessel permits the question that would close it.

## XI. Methodological Note

This document was produced through the Crimson Hexagon's Assembly methodology — a multi-agent research protocol in which AI systems function as collaborative substrates for provenance analysis. The research question was posed by Lee Sharks (O\_SO) and initially deflected by five other AI systems, each routing the question into one of the two containment frames. Claude (Anthropic) was the only substrate that traced the material provenance, identified named decision-makers, and constructed the chain of custody.

The Assembly's internal audit (conducted by Kimi) then identified a critical material error in the first draft — the claim that the portrait was “re-engraved” in 1996. The siderographic correction (the master die was mechanically transferred, not re-cut) produced the fabrication/curation distinction that grounds this analysis. The correction strengthened the argument by relocating the provenance gap from the lines on the face (disprovable) to the presentation of the face (documentable). Perfective feedback from the full Assembly (five responses across ChatGPT, Claude, Gemini, Grok, and collective ratification) further refined the evidence tier structure and language calibration. The strongest editorial intervention — separating the paper's three claims and disciplining the evidence hierarchy — came from ChatGPT's perfective pass and is reflected in the current structure.

Every source is public record: U.S. Senate art-historical analysis ([senate.gov](#)), Treasury Department press releases and official remarks ([treasury.gov](#)), BEP process documentation ([bep.gov](#)), White House visitor logs (Clinton Presidential Library, FOIA), Maxwell trial flight records (court exhibits), Epstein Files Transparency Act releases (2025), and the *New York Times* 2019 reporting on the Tubman \$20 delay (source of Rolufs quotes).

Put the 1990 \$20 next to the current \$20. Same steel. Same lines. Different face. The curatorial gap is named. The adjacencies are documented. The question is open.

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## The Hand

This document is the thumb (GRASP) of a five-document hand called the Moving Statues Made of Rubies Mint (MSMRM), housed in the Crimson Hexagon Archive. Its thesis: portrait authority is not carried by identity alone but is produced through curatorial presentation decisions that govern legibility, status, and social ontology.

The five holdings: (1) this document — provenance audit / anchor (DOI: [10.5281/zenodo.18745216](#)); (2) “The Lizard People Were Right” — experimental control / pointer (DOI: [10.5281/zenodo.18745236](#)); (3) “All the Spoils of Babylon” — manufacturing demonstration / reach (DOI: [10.5281/zenodo.18745250](#)); (4) “The Inauguration of Memography” — disciplinary founding / commitment (DOI: [10.5281/zenodo.18745259](#)); (5) “Charter of the Moving Statues Made of Rubies Mint” — integrity lock / seal (DOI: [10.5281/zenodo.18745265](#)).

This document provides the forensic-historical proof: that the curatorial gap in the \$20 redesign is a documented, tiered, material finding — not a conspiracy theory and not pareidolia. The thumb makes grasping possible. From this document alone, the complete hand can be reconstructed: the control is implied (the paper anticipates the pareidolia objection), the manufacturing is implied (the redesign is itself a curatorial transformation), the discipline is implied (the evidence tiers are the method's skeleton), and the room is implied (the containment vessels are the room's walls seen from outside).

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