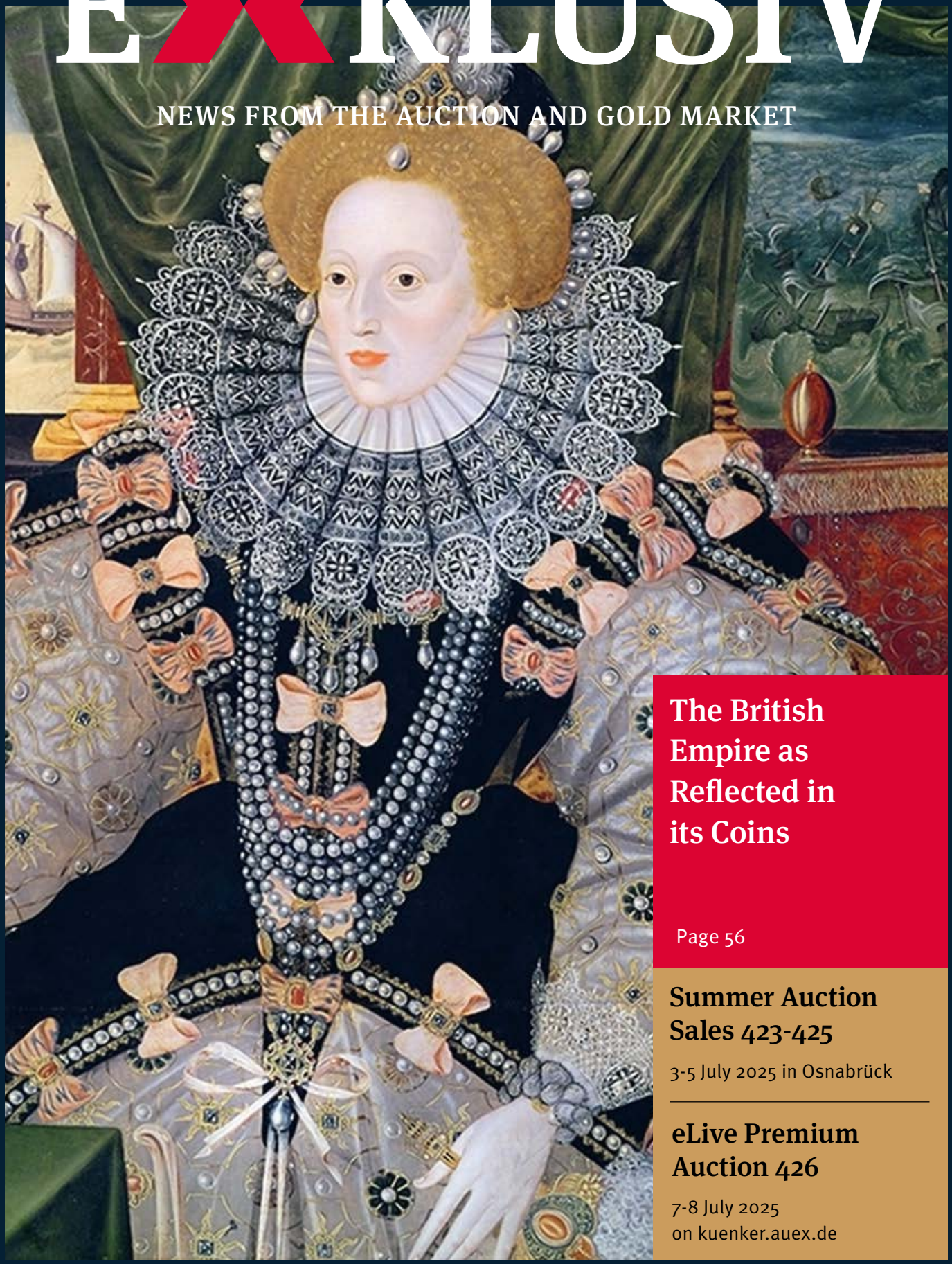
EXKLUSIV

NEWS FROM THE AUCTION AND GOLD MARKET



The British Empire as Reflected in its Coins

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Summer Auction Sales 423-425

3-5 July 2025 in Osnabrück

eLive Premium Auction 426

7-8 July 2025
on kuenker.auex.de

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Cover picture
by an unknown painter
Queen Elizabeth I places her hand on the globe:
the so-called "Armada portrait" of Queen Elizabeth I, ca. 1588 (Woburn Abbey).

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Dear Customers and Coin Enthusiasts,

Summer is just around the corner, and with it the prospect of our summer Auctions 423-425, which will take place from Thursday, 3 July to Saturday, 5 July in Osnabrück. Once again, numerous highlights await you, such as the sale of the collection of Dipl.-Ing. Hermann Wohnlich, comprising coins and medals from Tyrol, which, in its comprehensiveness, provides a vivid historical journey through the eventful history of that region. In her article "Unbreakably linked – Habsburg and Tyrol" on page 19, Margret Nollé examines the many military conflicts and the tragic defeat of Tyrol in its struggle against Napoleon and Bavaria. Other highlights of our summer auctions include items thematising the Fuggers; Leuchtenberg and Passau; Münster, Osnabrück and the Peace of Westphalia; and the collection of a German manufacturer and history enthusiast.

Thus we offer you many reasons to visit Osnabrück – and would like to add another reason for you to attend the auction in person, with an invitation to our summer barbecue on 4 July (after that day's auction).

The live auctions in Osnabrück will be followed by our eLive Premium Auction 426 on Monday, 7 July 2025, which will once again give you the opportunity to discover and bid on exclusive rarities from the comfort of your own home. Until 8 July, we will be offering around 900 lots of European coins and medals on our auction platform AUEX. The focus with this selection is on the Habsburg Empire, Bavaria, Brandenburg-Prussia, Münster, Saxony and the German Empire. You will also find a special collection of papal regalia.

Two subjects of our summer auctions are quite unusual, namely "Game pieces in numismatics", which we discuss in the article on pages 42-48. They show the connection between gaming culture and coin history. And the coin containers from the Hans-Jürgen Brammer collection, which will be sold in several auctions, are introduced in the article "Coin containers as part of European table culture" on pages 49-55.

In this issue, our author Hertha Schwarz focuses on the regent Sibylla Augusta of Baden-Baden and her coinage commemorating the 1714 Peace of Rastatt (pages 30-41). This treaty ended the war between the Houses of Habsburg and Bourbon and their respective allies, which lasted from 1701 to 1713/14, and was fought over the succession of King Carlos/Charles II of Spain, who died childless in 1700.

Another specialist article from the world of numismatics can be found on pages 56-69: In it, Johannes Nollé reports on the British Empire as reflected in its coins. The Bremen Numismatic Society enjoyed the associated lecture in April and was delighted to welcome its colleague from München.

As usual, we round off our magazine with a presentation of a coin cabinet – this time featuring the South African Mint Museum in Johannesburg, which Ursula Kampmann visited during her tour of South Africa. You can find the description of her "Encounter with Oom Paul", the country's oldest coin press, on pages 75 to 79.

Finally, Johannes Nollé offers a preview of the winter auction from 10 to 12 November 2025 and the Willy Schleer collection (pages 80-82).

We hope you enjoy browsing this issue, and that you like the new format of our Künker Exklusiv as much as we do. If you would like to share your feedback with us, please send an email to service@kuenker.de – we look forward to hearing from you!

Dr. Andreas Kaiser Ulrich Künker

Just One of Many Highlights in our Summer Auction Sales 423-425: The Wohnlich Collection with Coins from Tyrol

In early July, we will present another highlight of the numismatic auction year. Over three days, numerous collections will be offered, including the important collection of issues from Tyrol assembled by Hermann Wohnlich. Other cues are Münster, Passau, the Fugger family, and gold.

Our Summer Auction Sales may only last three days, but these three days are packed with numismatic highlights. On Thursday, 3 July, 224 coins and medals from Tyrol will be on offer, including testimonies to the creation of the first taler as well as extremely important representative pfennigs of the Renaissance and early Baroque periods. They are from the collection of engineer Hermann Wohnlich and will be presented in a separate catalog (Auction 423).

Another catalog is dedicated to the third part of the collection of a German manufacturer and history enthusiast, presenting first-class issues from Münster, Osnabrück and Passau, as well as some pieces of the Fugger family and the Landgraves of Leuchtenberg (Auction 424).

The general catalog with world coins and medals from the Middle Ages to the present day includes, among other things, the collection of the Mohr family with many gold coins and an extensive series of the finest medals.

The eLive Premium Auction 426, taking place subsequently on 7 and 8 July 2025, will be the subject of a separate auction preview.

For auction catalogs 423-425 and a detailed auction overview simply scan the adjacent QR code

Auction 423: The Dipl.-Ing. Hermann Wohnlich Collection – Coins and Medals from Tyrol

Like many other Germans, the engineer Hermann Wohnlich began to collect coins in the 1970s. He bought his first coin at the first auction of the newly established coin shop "Gießener Münzhandlung". It was a gold gulden of Archduke Sigismund (called 'rich in coins') of Tyrol. Having established the topic of his collection, Hermann Wohnlich developed into a dedicated coin enthusiast who acquired his coins from all over the numismatic world.

Hermann Wohnlich worked as the manager of a successful specialty paper printing company, a job that required him to move to Hesse in 1953, which was far from his beloved home of Oberaudorf in the Inntal valley. Collecting coins from Tyrol gave him the opportunity to keep in touch with his home region. Being a member of the active Tyrolean Numismatic Society and a regular at their events provided him with many reasons to travel to Hall and Innsbruck on various occasions, especially after Hermann Wohnlich returned to Oberaudorf after his retirement.

In almost forty years of collecting, Hermann Wohnlich had the opportunity to place bids for outstanding Tyrolean pieces at many important auction sales. This becomes evident on every page of catalog 423, which presents the magnificent rarities of this ensemble. It covers Tyrolean coinage, beginning with Count Meinhard II, and an example of his popular zwanziger, from which the kreuzer took its name. It ends with Tyrol's becoming part of the Austrian Empire and some 20th-century medals.

The time frame is represented by a breathtaking variety of 224 lots of the most beautiful coins created by the mint in Hall. For collectors interested in monetary history, this catalog is an absolute must, as it contains all the precursors and early forms of the first taler – then called guldiner. But Hermann Wohnlich's collection of representative pfennigs is also very impressive and fascinating to see for any collector interested in art history. This catalog perfectly covers the variety of coinage commissioned by Maximilian I. But we can also see the much rarer representative talers of his successor Ferdinand I as well as evidence from the early days of machine-made coins produced with the rolling mill. As an engineer, the collector paid particular attention to the perfect minting of the coins and medals he acquired. He had a good eye for this, which is why the collection stands out for its consistent quality. Many pieces are characterized by their wonderful patina – and there is a comment for every single coin mentioning the place where Hermann Wohnlich bought it.

Lot 6
Tyrol. Sigismund 'rich in coins'.
Dicktaler from the dies of the 1/2 guldiner of 1484, Hall.
Extremely rare. Very fine +.
Estimate: 15,000 euros

Lot 8
Tyrol. Sigismund 'rich in coins'.
1486 guldiner, Hall. Very rare. Very fine +.
Estimate: 10,000 euros

Lot 15
Tyrol. Maximilian I. Guldiner n.d. (1508), Hall.
Kaiserguldiner (emperor guldiner) Very rare. Extremely fine.
Estimate: 15,000 euros

Lot 22
Tyrol. Ferdinand I. 1528 representative taler, Hall.
Commemorating the hereditary homage paid to
Archduke Ferdinand by the Tyrolean diet. Extremely rare.
Very fine to extremely fine.
Estimate: 20,000 euros

Lot 122
Tyrol. Ferdinand Charles. 5 ducats n.d. (1646), Hall.
Very rare. Extremely fine.
Estimate: 25,000 euros

Lot 32
Tyrol. Ferdinand I. Guldentaler n.d. (after 1564), Hall.
Extremely rare. Extremely fine.
Estimate: 10,000 euros

Lot 136
Tyrol. Leopold I. 2 ducats n.d. (around 1667), Hall.
Extremely rare. About FDC.
Estimate: 15,000 euros

Lot 84
Tyrol. Maximilian III. 10 ducats, 1603, Hall.
Very rare. Very fine to extremely fine.
Estimate: 15,000 euros

Lot 117
Tyrol. Ferdinand Charles. 3 ducats, 1642, Hall. Extremely rare,
probably the only specimen in private possession. Extremely fine.
Estimate: 15,000 euros

Auction 424: The Collection of a German Manufacturer and History Enthusiast – Part 3: a. o.

Münster, Osnabrück and the Peace of Westphalia, the Fugger family, Leuchtenberg and Passau

Lot 510
Bishopric Münster. Ferdinand of Bavaria. 5 ducats, 1638, Münster. Extremely rare. About extremely fine.
Estimate: 35,000 euros

Lot 513
Bishopric Münster. Ferdinand of Bavaria. 1 ½ reichstalerklippe, 1638, Münster. Extremely rare. Extremely fine to FDC.
Estimate: 30,000 euros

Are you fascinated by multiple gold and silver coins? In that case, you should take a close look at this catalog. For the third part of the collection of a German manufacturer and history enthusiast contains numerous impressive examples of the coins that were once used as diplomatic gifts in order to establish and maintain personal connections.

The catalog covers various topics. One of them is the coinage of the bishopric of Münster, starting with Heinrich von Schwarzburg (1466-1496) and ending with the sede vacante of 1801. This ensemble is complemented by issues commemorating the Peace of Westphalia of Münster and Osnabrück, as well as some issues from the neighboring bishopric of Osnabrück.

A particularly interesting topic is that of the coins issued by the Fugger family, who famously started out as a merchant dynasty from Augsburg and went on to own several counties as members of the nobility. In this capacity they minted coins. A small series of their issues is part of this catalog. There is also a small run of early issues from the Landgraves of Leuchtenberg that were created before the territory came under the control of the Wittelsbach dynasty.

The catalog concludes with an impressive overview of the coinage of the bishops of Passau. To this day, the city on the Danube and Inn rivers is dominated by the clergy. St. Stephen's Cathedral towers over the old town, which has become one of the most popular tourist destinations in northern Bavaria. Passau's magnificent coins give an idea of the power behind the baroque splendor that attracts visitors from all over the world today.

Lot 527
Bishopric Münster. Christoph Bernhard von Galen.
6 ducats 1661, Münster, commemorating the capture of the city.
Very rare. Extremely fine.
Estimate: 15,000 euros

Lot 560
Peace of Westphalia. 1748 gold medal of 8 ducats, by P. P. Werner, Nuremberg, commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Peace of Westphalia. Extremely rare. About FDC.
Estimate: 25,000 euros

Lot 537
Bishopric Münster.
Friedrich Christian von Plettenberg.
1694 broad triple reichstaler, Münster.
Extremely rare. About extremely fine.
Estimate: 25,000 euros

Lot 563
Bishopric Osnabrück. Franz Wilhelm von Wartenberg.
Broad double reichstaler n. d. (around 1637), Münster.
Extremely rare. Very fine.
Estimate: 20,000 euros

Lot 575
Fugger – Babenhausen – Wellenburg.
Maximilian II. 1622 ducat. Very rare.
Extremely fine to FDC.
Estimate: 8,000 euros

Lot 602
Landgraviate of Leuchtenberg.
Georg III. 1547 broad double taler,
Pfreimd. Extremely rare.
Very fine to extremely fine.
Estimate: 6,000 euros

1,5:1

Lot 633

Bishopric Passau. Urban von Trennbach.
2 ducats, 1563, Passau. Extremely rare. Very fine +.
Estimate: 10,000 euros

1,5:1

Lot 641

Bishopric Passau. Johann Philipp von Lamberg.
1706 ducat, Regensburg. Extremely rare,
only 953 specimens minted. Extremely fine.
Estimate: 12,500 euros

Lot 663

Bishopric Passau.
Joseph Dominikus von Lamberg.
6 ducats, 1753, Vienna, commemorating
his golden jubilee of priesthood. Very rare.
Very fine to extremely fine / Extremely fine.
Estimate: 30,000 euros

Catalog 425: World Coins and Medals

Auction 425 begins on the afternoon of 3 July 2025 with world coins and medals from the Middle Ages to the present day. With more than 1,600 lots, the extensive catalog has something to offer for almost every collector. For example, the catalog presents the collection of the Mohr family, containing a wealth of fascinating gold coins from all over the world.

Some of the most spectacular pieces are featured in our preview, but there are also many interesting coins in the mid-price range, and collectors interested in medals in particular will make exciting discoveries.

Of course catalog 425 also offers a rich selection of German coins minted after 1871.

Lot 1007

Belgium. Emperor Francis I. 10 souverains d'or, 1751, Antwerp.
Very rare. About FDC. MS 63.
Estimate: 150,000 euros

Lot 1009

Belgium / Hainaut. William IV of Bavaria, 1404-1417.
Angel d'or (Thuyne d'or) n.d., Valenciennes.
Very rare. Very fine to extremely fine.
Estimate: 75,000 euros

Lot 1129
Italy / Vatican. Clement IX, 1667-1669.
Quadrupla n.d., Rome. Extremely rare. About FDC.
Estimate: 30,000 euros

1,5:1

Lot 1245
Sweden. Gustav IV Adolf. 1804 ducat, Stockholm.
Mining ducat, made of gold from Dalarna.
Very rare, only 1254 specimens minted. FDC.
Estimate: 20,000 euros

Lot 1251
Zürich / City. 4 ducats, 1624.
Very rare. Extremely fine to FDC.
Estimate: 30,000 euros

Lot 1258
Spain. Carlos III. 1759 gold medal,
Madrid, unsigned, celebrating
his proclamation as King of Spain.
Very rare. Very fine
to extremely fine.
Estimate: 25,000 euros

Lot 1393
HRE. Ferdinand III. 10 ducats,
1644, Graz. Extremely rare.
Extremely fine.
Estimate: 40,000 euros

Lot 1415
HRE. Joseph II.
4 ducats, 1619 A, Vienna.
Extremely rare. Extremely fine.
Estimate: 30,000 euros

Lot 1475

Brandenburg – Prussia. Frederick III.
Gold medal n.d. (ca. 1697), by R. Faltz,
commemorating the services of the Danckelmann brothers.
Extremely rare. Extremely fine.
Estimate: 15,000 euros

Lot 1572

Holstein – Schauenburg. Justus Hermann.
4 ducats, 1624. 2nd known specimen. Very fine.
Estimate: 25,000 euros

Lot 1494

Brandenburg – Prussia. William I.
Gold medal of 120 ducats, 1871,
by E. Weigand and F. W. Kullrich.
General's medal commemorating the victory
over France. Only 25 specimens minted.
Very fine to extremely fine.
Estimate: 60,000 euros

Lot 1696

Italy / Milan. Francesco II Sforza, 1521-1535.
Silver medal n.d. (later issue, probably from the 18th century).
Very fine. About extremely fine.
Estimate: 50,000 euros

Lot 1912

Holy Roman Empire. Leopold I.
1683 double reichstaler, St. Veit.
Extremely rare. Very fine to extremely fine.
Estimate: 25,000 euros

Lot 2004
Austrian princes / Kremnica.
Silver medallion with a weight of 10 talers, 1738, by S. Roth.
Very rare. Very fine +.
Estimate: 25,000 euros

Lot 2220
Lübeck / City. 1712 reichstaler.
Very rare. Very fine to extremely fine.
Estimate: 20,000 euros

Lot 2237
Nuremberg / City. 1528 guldengroschen.
Extremely rare. Very fine +.
Estimate: 15,000 euros

Lot 2347
Saxony – Weimar. William and his two brothers. 1 ¼ reichstaler, 1639, commemorating the death of Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar.
Extremely rare. Extremely fine +.
Estimate: 15,000 euros

Lot 2393
German Empire. Bavaria. Louis III.
3 marks, 1918. Only ca. 130 pieces minted.
Extremely fine to FDC.
Estimate: 25,000 euros

Lot 2580
German New Guinea.
20 New Guinean marks, 1895.
Only 1,500 specimens minted.
Extremely fine to FDC.
Estimate: 50,000 euros

eLive Premium Auction 426: A Rich Selection of European Coins and Medals

On 7 and 8 July 2025, we will auction off about 900 lots of European coins and medals. The focus is on the Habsburg Empire and Germany, and there is a particularly large number of issues from Bavaria, Brandenburg-Prussia, Münster, Saxony and the German Empire. Lovers of medals will also find a rich selection. Moreover, a special collection focusing on sede vancante periods is spread throughout the auction.

Those who did not have a chance to acquire any items during our three-day public auctions will have another chance to purchase interesting issues at favorable estimates in eLive Premium Auction 426. There are a number of lots with starting prices in the double digits, although one might expect the hammer prices of many pieces to be considerably higher.

World Issues

The auction starts with a small run of coins and medals from Europe. Belgium, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands and Poland – if you are interested in one of these fields, you should take a close look at the auction catalog.

Lot 3014
Great Britain.
William III and Mary.
1690 silver medal by P. H. Müller commemorating the death of the Palatinate count and marshal Friedrich Hermann von Schomberg (killed at the Battle of the Boyne).
Rare. Extremely fine to FDC.
Estimate: 2,000 euros

Roughly 270 Lots with Coins and Medals from the Habsburg Empire

Are you interested in Habsburg issues? Catalog 426 offers a rich selection of these pieces. Starting with Ferdinand I, specialist collectors will discover guldiners and talers – including multiple and fractional pieces – in attractive condition. The offer also includes great rarities! They are from the many different mints of the Habsburg Empire: from České Budějovice, Wrocław, Brussels, Ensisheim, Graz, Günzburg, Hall, Klagenfurt, Kremnica, Kutna Hora, Baia Mare, Prague, St. Veit and, of course, Vienna. The time frame goes up to several issues minted under the rule of Emperor Franz Joseph. This is followed by the coinage of the Austrian clergy. Salzburg, in particular, is represented by a large number of coins.

Lot 3060
Rudolf II.
1604 triple reichstaler, Hall.
Rare. Very fine to
extremely fine / Extremely fine.
Estimate: 3,000 euros

Lot 3124
Leopold I.
1675 double reichstaler, Graz.
Otherwise extremely fine.
Estimate: 1,000 euros

Lot 3150
Charles VI. Double reichstaler
(ca. 1714), Hall.
Extremely fine.
Estimate: 1,000 euros

Lot 3202
Franz Joseph I. 1854 silver medal by K. Lange commemorating his wedding with Elisabeth (“Sisi”). About FDC.
Estimate: 350 euros

Lot 3213
Olmütz. 1706 reichstaler. Rare. Extremely fine.
Estimate: 350 euros

German Coins and Medals

If you are interested in medals and German coins with unusual reverse motifs, you will be amazed by the offer in this section. Take the popular Bavarian “history taler” as an example. Collectors will find a wide variety of these pieces in eLive Premium Auction 426, including rarer types and patterns. Prussia is also well represented, with an extensive offer of coins and, most importantly, fascinating medals. These issues celebrate the military successes of the upstart of the 18th century. Early talers and even lösers represent Brunswick; and there is also an abundant offer of magnificent talers from Münster. Particularly noteworthy is a double representative taler focusing on the Nativity and the Presentation of Jesus. Of course there is a rich selection of Saxon coins and medals from the various branches of this house. And these are just a few of the highlights. It is certainly worth taking a closer look!

Lot 3364
Bavaria. Ludwig I. 1848 double vereinstaler. Handing over the reign. The rarest Bavarian “geschichtstaler” (history taler). Extremely fine.
Estimate: 1,500 euros

Lot 3385
Prussia. Frederick II. 1757 silver medal by J. G. Holtzhey (unsigned) commemorating the Battle of Rossbach on 5 November. Very rare. Extremely fine.
Estimate: 400 euros

Lot 3442
Prussia. William I. 1879 silver medal
by W. Kullrich and E. Weigand. Very rare. About FDC.
Estimate: 350 euros

Lot 3689
Bishopric Münster. Ferdinand of Bavaria.
Double representative taler n.d. (1647).
Extremely rare. Very fine to extremely fine.
Estimate: 3,500 euros

Lot 3470
Brunswick. Henry the Younger.
1535 taler, Riechenberg. Rare. Extremely fine.
Estimate: 3,500 euros

Lot 3684
Bishopric Münster. Franz von Waldeck.
1545 taler. Extremely rare. Very fine +.
Estimate: 2,000 euros

Lot 3747
Bishopric Paderborn. Ferdinand II of Fürstenberg.
1668 reichstaler, Neuhaus, commemorating his being
elected coadjuntor of Münster. Very rare. Very fine +.
Estimate: 2,000 euros

Lot 3837
Saxe – Gotha. Ernest the Pious.
1650 double reichstaler, Gotha, commemorating
the Peace of Westphalia. Very rare. Extremely fine.
Estimate: 3,000 euros

Sede Vacante Issues

A familiar theme from the current media runs through the entire auction: the sede vacante, i.e. the vacancy of the see. This is the state that occurs when a spiritual leader has died and his successor has not yet taken office. Every bishopric had precise rules regarding who was in charge in such cases. One of the deputy's powers was to control minting activities – especially when the election process took longer than the four rounds we recently witnessed in Rome. This period was often used to mint coins and medals that commemorated the sede vacante. A rich selection of such pieces can be found in eLive Premium Auction 426.

They all depict the rich array of images associated with a sede vacante period. Above all, these include the holy patrons of the diocese. For example, we see St. Martin for Mainz, and St. Rudbert and St. Virgil on a Salzburg medal. The saints are surrounded by the coats of arms of all those who were involved in electing the new bishop in the cathedral chapter. These coats of arms frequently appear, also on issues of Bamberg, Eichstätt and Speyer. Incidentally, on the first two medals, the empty bishop's chair symbolizes the sede vacante. T is a literal translation of the Latin term, as sede m "chair/see" and vacante "empty".

2:1

Lot 3297

Archbishopric Salzburg. Sede vacante 1771-1772. 1772 ducat.

Only 1,042 specimens minted. Extremely fine to FDC.

Estimate: 1,500 euros

Lot 3317

Bishopric Bamberg. Sede vacante 1757.

1757 silver medal by P. P. Werner.

Very rare. Extremely fine to FDC.

Estimate: 1,000 euros

Lot 3641

Bishopric Eichstätt. Sede vacante 1790.

1790 double konventionstaler, Nuremberg.

About extremely fine.

Estimate: 1,000 euros

Lot 3677
Archbishopric Mainz. 1763 sede vacante.
1/2 schautaler 1763, Mainz by F. A. van Lon.
Rare. Extremely fine +.
Estimate: 300 euros

Lot 3696
Bishopric Münster. Sede vacante 1683.
1683 reichstaler, Münster. Extremely fine.
Estimate: 1,000 euros

Lot 3841
Bishopric Speyer. Sede vacante 1770.
1770 silver medal, by A. Schäffer.
Only 300 specimens minted. Extremely fine +.
Estimate: 250 euros

Small But Interesting: A Selection of Coins from the German Empire

The auction concludes with a small but interesting selection of coins from the German Empire.

2:1

Lot 3893
German East Africa. 15 rupees, 1916, Tabora.
Very fine to extremely fine.
Estimate: 2,500 euros

"Indissolubly linked" – Habsburg and Tyrol

In the upcoming summer Auction 423, an outstanding collection of Tyrolean coins and medals will be offered, which in its comprehensiveness allows a vivid historical journey through the eventful history of this beautiful region. The following article will describe some of the highlights of Tyrol's history, but also many military conflicts and the tragic failure in the fight against Napoleon and Bavaria. The country has remained closely linked to the Habsburgs throughout the ages.

By Margret Nollé

A county emerges

Anyone who travels to South Tyrol as a tourist today – whether for hiking, for "Törggelen" with a good wine in autumn, or as an inquisitive cultural traveller – will definitely notice the mighty Tyrol Castle high above Merano as the landmark and namesake of this land.

Fig. 1:
Lot 1
Count Meinhard II and his sons, 1274-1335.
Twenty (20 bernese) without year (1274/1275-1306), Merano.
Very fine.
Estimate: 50 euros

Archaeological research has shown that the castle complex was built by a local lord before the 11th century. In the course of the 12th century, it passed to the Counts of Tyrol, a noble family descended from the Eurasburgers of Upper Bavaria. As followers of the Holy Roman Emperor Heinrich/Henry IV (1050-1106), they acquired possessions and bailiwick rights in the Isarco Valley and the Venosta Valley, thus gaining control of the most important transalpine transit routes over the Resia and Brenner Passes. Originally they were bailiffs of the bishops of Brixen and Trento, but were soon able to free themselves from this rule and become independent of Bavaria after the deposition of the Saxon Duke Heinrich der Löwe/Henry the Lion in 1177 during the "period without an emperor". Meinhard I, Count of Görz (Gorizia), from the Meinhardine dynasty, inherited the county in 1253 through his marriage to the daughter of the last Count of Tyrol. To their later great advantage, the Meinhardines were on the right side in the conflict between the Roman-German King Rudolf of Habsburg and his rival King Ottokar II of Bohemia. Emperor Rudolf rewarded Meinhard II with the Duchy of Carinthia in 1286 (Fig. 1). After his death in 1335, his daughter Margarete "Maultasch" succeeded to the rule of Tyrol. She married the Wittelsbach Ludwig V of Bavaria in 1342. When the Meinhardin family died out in 1363, Rudolf of Habsburg took over the county of Tyrol, the acquisition of which was recognised by the Wittelsbachs –after the battle for Tyrol between Bavaria and Austria – in the Peace of Schärding in 1369. The Treaty of Neuberg, in which the brothers Duke Albrecht III and Duke Leopold III divided up the Habsburg hereditary lands – with the "Leopoldine line" receiving Styria, Carinthia, Tyrol and the Forelands – was important for the further fate of Tyrol under the Habsburgs. One of Leopold's successors, Duke Friedrich/Frederick IV "of the Empty Pockets", made Innsbruck his residence. Contrary to his derisive name, he died a wealthy man after an eventful life, leaving a fortune to his son Sigismund.

Archduke Sigismund "the Coin-Rich" has the first thaler minted

Duke Friedrich/Frederick's only surviving son Sigismund was only twelve years old when his father died in 1439. His cousin, Friedrich/Frederick of Styria

Fig. 2: Portrait of the Archduke Sigismund by the "Master of the Mornau Portrait", between 1465 and 1470; München, Alte Pinakothek. Wikipedia, public domain.

and Inner Austria, also from the Leopoldine line and later Emperor, took over his guardianship until he reached the age of 16. He was particularly interested in the Tyrolean treasury, which he immediately had transferred to Inner Austria together with Sigismund. The young, orphaned Archduke received an excellent education from Enea Piccolomini, who later became Pope Pius II. Friedrich should actually have released his ward in 1445, but he kept him as a means of forging closer ties with the French court. Sigismund was to marry Radegunde, the daughter of the French King Charles VII. These plans came to nothing when the princess died suddenly in 1445. The powerful Tyrolean estates – made up of the nobility, clergy, bourgeoisie and free peasants – were incensed by the three-year overstay of guardianship, and provoked a serious political crisis that almost led to war. Friedrich dismissed Sigismund in 1446 and transferred the government of Tyrol and the dominions bordering the Arlberg to him, while securing certain revenues from Tyrol for himself. He entrusted his brother, Duke Albrecht VI, with the administration of the remaining lands of the "Forelands" from Burgau to Alsace. After Albrecht's death in 1463, Sigismund of Tyrol also acquired these territories, which is still commemorated today by his statue on the market fountain in Rottenburg am Neckar and the coat of arms keystones from 1491 in St. Theobaldus Münster in Thann, Alsace (Fig. 2).

On 12 February 1449 in Merano, Sigismund married Princess Eleanor of Scotland, the daughter of King James I; Eleanor had been brought up at the court of Charles VII in France. Growing up in a highly cultivated environment, she shared her husband's literary interests, stood in for him as regent during his absences, and devoted herself primarily to charitable and ecclesiastical tasks. Sigismund had a castle built for himself and his wife on an island in Lake Fernstein. Eleanor died childless in 1480. In 1484, Sigismund took the 16-year-old Princess Katharina/Catherine of Saxony, daughter of Duke Albrecht the Bold, as his second wife. This marriage also produced no children, although the Duke was said to have fathered a number of illegitimate offspring with mistresses. Sigismund maintained a splendid and expensive court in Innsbruck; above all, he was a patron of humanist writers, and generously financed historiographical and legal publications.

Fig. 3: View of Hall in Tyrol from 1556; the bridge over the Inn led directly to the Hasegg castle complex with the mint tower. From the Schwazer Bergbuch of 1556, Austrian National Library, Vienna.

The great coinage reform between 1477 and 1486, which led to a reorganisation of the Tyrolean coinage system, was of decisive importance for the economy of the province. It began with the relocation of the old mint in Meran to Hall in the Inn Valley. This measure was decided for security reasons, as there had been an enemy invasion of the Carinthian Drau Valley during the Turkish War in the summer and fall of 1477. The small town of Hall had developed into an economic centre as the focal point of the Tyrolean salt trade, a storage location and the western starting point for shipping on the Inn (Fig. 3). Minting began in Hall on December 11, 1477, and the first thaler coin (the guldiner, a large silver coin with the value of a gold guilder) was at the forefront of the subsequent development of the Tyrolean monetary system towards large silver coins. Closely linked to this was the promotion of silver mining in Schwaz and Gossensaß. By mining silver in Tyrol itself, the minting of coins, which had previously been dependent on foreign coin metal, was now made independent. The art of plating (the forging of plates for metal armour) as well as gun- and bell casting also became important. In general, Sigismund's reign can be seen as a positive period in Tyrolean history: There was a consolidation of the balance of power between the sovereign, the bishops, and the provincial parliament. The economy flourished thanks to the growing trade with Italy via the Alpine passes, from which Sigismund profited enormously due to high customs duties and tolls. He was given the epithet "the Coin-Rich", which we first encounter on the painted Habsburg family tree in the Renaissance Tratzberg Castle near Jenbach in the Lower Inn Valley, as lord of the rich silver deposits of Tyrol (Fig. 4).

Fig. 4:
Lot 6
Archduke Sigismund "the Coin-Rich", 1446-1496
Thick thaler from the dies of the ½ guldiner 1484, Hall.
Of greatest rarity. Fine patina, very fine +.
Estimate: 15,000 euros

Late in his reign, Archduke Sigismund showed signs of increasing senility, which manifested itself above all in his boundless extravagance; he almost pledged the whole of Tyrol and Vorderösterreich to Duke Albrecht IV of Bavaria-München. This provoked the Tyrolean estates and caused concern to his uncle, Emperor Friedrich/Frederick III. The latter travelled to the court in Innsbruck in 1487, where he put strong pressure on his nephew. In 1490, Sigismund finally abdicated and handed over the regency of Tyrol to Friedrich's son Maximilian. The county thus fell to the main line of the Habsburg dynasty. As Sigismund lay dying on 4 March 1496, silver coins were ordered to be brought to his bedside in a large basin so that he could touch them one last time.

Maximilian I of Austria, a monumental tomb, and the Fuggers in Tyrol

The new ruler, Archduke Maximilian, combined the County of Tyrol with the "Vordere Landen" as the "Upper Austrian Regiment"; the Duchies of Austria above and below the Enns, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola formed the "Lower Austrian Regiment". Maximilian had no fixed residence and spent most of his reign in Tyrol. For the nature-loving ruler, the relationship with this land was a very special one: Here he was able to fully indulge his passions for hunting, fishing in mountain streams, and climbing in the mountains, with an eye to his public image. His adventure in 1484 in the Martinswand near Zirl,

Fig. 5:
Emperor Maximilian in the Martinswand,
painting by Moritz von Schwind around 1860;
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
Wikipedia, public domain.

200 meters above the valley floor, where he got stuck in a cave while hunting chamois and was finally rescued by a peasant boy in front of an audience, is well known. Later, he himself promoted a popular myth that he had been rescued by an angel. Even today, the "Martinsgrotte" in the steep rock face near Zirl – "where Emperor Max stood on the edge of his grave" - is still popular with hikers (Fig. 5).

An "Imperial Court" was established in Innsbruck, where the administrative apparatus of the empire was housed. Envoys and politicians from all over Europe and even the Ottoman Empire, as well as local aristocrats, had their residences built in Innsbruck. Under Maximilian, the city on the Inn underwent a series of prestigious architectural changes: Not only did he initiate work on the Hofburg, the Hofkirche, and the Zeughaus on the Sill, but also the paving of the streets and alleyways of the altstadt ("old town"). Maximilian was a ruler at the transition from the Middle Ages to modern times who, as "the last knight", was fascinated throughout his life by glittering tournaments as an expression of the ideal of knightly life – he had himself achieved fame in his youth as an intrepid and victorious tournament fighter. When he was in Innsbruck, knights' games, dance festivals, and lavish banquets took place. At the "turn of the era" around 1500, he had a magnificent oriel covered with 2657 fire-gilded copper shingles built on the "New Court", which is now the landmark of the city of Innsbruck and is known as the "Golden Roof". It served the Emperor as a spectator box from which he could watch the tournaments without being seen himself (Fig. 6).

Like his predecessors and successors, this ruler from the House of Habsburg was plagued by a constant lack of money due to his many wars and his lavish lifestyle. Tyrol was therefore very important to him because of its rich natural resources, particularly the silver and copper deposits in Schwaz and the Ridnaun Valley in South Tyrol, and the salt processing industry in Hall. Maximilian's election as emperor-king by the Electors and the many wars were financed by the Fugger trading family of Augsburg. The Fuggers had the foresight to obtain solid securities from Maximilian, including the pledging of the mineral resources of the Tyrol. His predecessor Sigismund had already pledged the entire yield of the silver mined in Schwaz to the Fuggers in 1488 in return for a generous loan. At the end of the 15th century, Tyrolean mining experienced an upswing due to the increasing demand for precious metals for minting coins and for the production of luxury items. The introduction of new mining technologies required investments that the local trades could not afford. This gave well-funded trading houses the opportunity to enter the lucrative mining trade by combining loans

Fig. 6:
Lot 13
King Maximilian I, 1486-1519.
Schauguldiner 1505, Hall.
Very rare, extremely fine.
Estimate: 5,000 euros

with the sale of precious metals. In the period that followed, the Fugger trading house was always at Maximilian's service when he needed money, making itself indispensable for his politics, warfare, and public image: The Habsburgs' consolidation of great power and the Fuggers' ample capital went hand-in-hand.

The initially good relationship between the people of Tyrol and Maximilian became increasingly difficult when he curtailed the peasants' rights to the "commons". Logging, hunting, and fishing were no longer common property and were placed under the control of the sovereign. In the following years, this turned many Tyroleans into daring poacher-hunters, who were admired by the common people and who provided the inspiration for numerous "heimat films" in our own time. When he also forbade the killing of animals that were harmful to agriculture by farmers, such as wild boar and other predators, unrest broke out. Maximilian only regained the affection and loyalty of his subjects with the "Tyrolean Landlibell" of 1511. In a kind of constitution, Maximilian conceded to the Tyroleans that they could only be called up as soldiers for war in defense of their own country.

The Emperor/Kaiser, who had "marketed" himself throughout his life – we need only mention his two autobiographies Theurdank and Weißkunig, which were quickly distributed thanks to the newly-invented printing press – also wanted to create an eternal monument to himself and his dynasty after his death, with a monumental tomb. He planned to have 40 larger-than-life gilded statues of his ancestors and descendants escort him to his grave. The Kaiser did

Fig. 7:

Lot 18

King Maximilian I, 1486-1519.

Schauguldiner without year (after 1511), Hall.

Very rare, beautiful patina, fields slightly smoothed, almost extremely fine.

Estimate: 10,000 euros

Fig. 8:

Lot 40

Archduke Ferdinand II, 1564-1595.

Guldentaler (60 kreuzer) 1574, Hall.

Of great rarity. Extremely fine.

Estimate: 2,000 euros

not live to see the completion of the project, which was begun in 1502; it was taken up again by Archduke Ferdinand II and completed with a modified concept in 1584. In the specially-built Tomb Church in Innsbruck, 28 bronze statues are grouped around the high tomb in the nave, including representations of the ancestors of the Burgundian and Spanish dynasties and the Kaiser's two wives and children (Fig. 7). All sides of the tumba are decorated with reliefs of white Carrara marble depicting 24 highlights from Maximilian's life. The tomb is crowned by the bronze statue of a kneeling Maximilian, who wears the mitred crown on his head. As bearers of Maximilian's memory, the dark-toned statues (popularly known as the "black men") in fact guard a cenotaph, an empty tomb, as the Kaiser is actually buried in St. George's Church in Wiener Neustadt. His heart, however, rests in the Church of Our Lady in Bruges in the sarcophagus of his first wife, Maria/Mary of Burgundy.

Technical progress in Tyrol: Archduke Ferdinand II and the coin-rolling mill in Hall

Ferdinand, a son of Emperor/Kaiser Ferdinand I and nephew of Emperor/Kaiser Charles V, came to Tyrol as a child. He was born in Linz in 1429, but moved to the castle in Innsbruck due to the Turkish threat, where he was educated far away from Vienna until 1543. Great importance was attached to the knightly virtues, morals, and self-control and he was taught the duties of a future ruler. A profound religious knowledge and a faithful Catholic attitude were considered particularly important.

After Emperor Ferdinand appointed him governor of Bohemia in 1547, he gained military experience in his uncle's war against France and in the Schmalkaldic War. Ferdinand's "Bohemian years" also saw his secret marriage to Philippine Welser, who came from a wealthy and enterprising Augsburg business dynasty. When the imperial father found out about the improper marriage – only two years later – he reacted indignantly. For his part, he now demanded that the marriage be kept secret. The very happy marriage produced two sons, Andreas and Karl "of Austria". The fact that the children from this "morganatic" marriage were excluded from any succession to the throne was not a family matter, but rather a matter of imperial law. It was only when the son Andreas was to become a cardinal in 1576, and had to provide proof of a legitimate birth, that Pope Paul IV released Archduke Ferdinand from his vow of secrecy. Philippine was thus granted at least another four years as an official wife. She died in April 1580 at Ambras Castle in Tyrol. Ferdinand's second marriage took place in 1582 to Anna-Katharina von Gonzaga-Mantua, a daughter of his sister Eleonora.

The paternal division of the inheritance in 1564 made Ferdinand Prince of Tyrol and Vorderösterreich (Fig. 8). His financial situation was precarious, and he was forced to leave Bohemia heavily in debt due to his immense expenditure on palace buildings, grand hunts, glittering receptions and festivities. He did not intend to be more frugal in Tyrol either, but bought the castle of Ambras near Innsbruck and immediately began to develop it into a prestigious Renaissance palace, which he later gave to his wife Philippine Welser as a gift.

It was in these years that Tyrol felt the effects of an "economic slump" in Italy, and the shift in traffic flows from Central to Western Europe as a result of the "discovery" of America. Even "the emperor's treasure trove", as Tyrol was called due to its rich mountain resources, had little to offer in this connection – around the middle of the 16th century, there was a dramatic decline in ore extraction in all Tyrolean mining areas,

Fig. 9:
Example of an embossing roller with grooves from the diocese of Chur, 1760.
Wikipedia, HJunghans, CC BY-SA 4.0

which meant a considerable loss of income for the sovereign. The Augsburg Imperial Coinage Ordinance of 1559 issued by Emperor Ferdinand I, which abolished the equal value of the Rhenish gold guilder and guldiner and introduced the imperial guldiner with a value of 60 kreuzers, meant that the Hall mint made less profit. In 1577, therefore, a new coinage regulation came into force that applied only to Tyrol. It allowed the fineness of all coins minted in Tyrol to be reduced by one "quint" to 14 lots. Although legally questionable, this measure made minting coins lucrative again. The increasing demand for money in the age of dawning early capitalism required a different technique than the traditional hammer minting, which had been in use from ancient Greece and Rome throughout the Middle Ages and into the early modern period, but was no longer effective. In the middle of the 16th century, some inventors had devised a mechanical technique based on water power that enabled large quantities of silver to be minted quickly. This new process was probably developed in Augsburg, in particular by the die-cutter and coin engraver Peter Hartenbeck, who produced the famous 8-reales pieces for Philip II in Segovia, Spain, in 1585 with his minting machine transported from Germany. The first roller minting machines did not always function smoothly; it was not until 1571 that the Swiss inventor Hans Vogler succeeded in installing a smooth-running "roller mint" system in the Tyrolean mint at Hasegg Castle in Hall. This machine, made of wood and iron and measuring up to eight meters long, four meters wide and two and a half meters high, was a real monster. Two steel rollers, which ran towards each other with high pressure and precise adjustment, were each engraved with 4 to 6 thaler stamps. For minting, pre-formed silver plates (Zaine) in the thickness of the desired coin were run through the rollers; on one roller the obverse, on the other the reverse of the later coin. With the help of a punch, the coins could then simply be punched out of the embossed silver strips (Fig. 9). This made it possible to quickly mint the popular thalers. The increasing demand for money in the age of early capitalism and the technical innovation of roller minting, which both made production cheaper and increased it, caused profits to rise again.

Archduke Ferdinand's great passion for collecting began in his seventies and continued unabated until the end of his life. He was interested in armour, weapons, manuscripts, books, curiosities, and portraits of famous generals, which he collected in his "Kunst- und Wunderkammer". To house his collection, he had his own museum buildings erected directly adjacent to Ambras Castle, the first of their kind north of the Alps. Today, some of the most valuable objects in his collection can be found in the Kunsthistorisches Museum and the National Library in Vienna, while others remain in Ambras Castle.

Tyrol in the age of absolutism: Archduchess Maria Theresia and the death of the Emperor at Innsbruck

With the death of Archduke Sigismund Franz (1630-1665), who died childless before his marriage, the Tyrolean line of the Habsburgs became extinct and Emperor/Kaiser Leopold I became sovereign of Tyrol (Fig. 10). On 19 October 1665, he accepted the hereditary homage of the Tyrolean estates in the Alte Hofburg in Innsbruck. For the Tyrolean estates, the fact that the Emperor was now also sovereign did not mean an advantage, but rather a restriction of their power. Above all, they no longer had control over the revenues of the province. Tyrol had to subordinate itself to the purposes of the state as a whole and share the costs of all wars. Due to its direct connection to the ruling dynasty, the princely county of Tyrol became a "province" as absolutism progressed.

When Emperor Karl/Charles VI died on 20 October 1740, his daughter Maria Theresia/Maria Therese succeeded him on the throne at the age of 23. Her father had previously submitted the “Pragmatic Sanction”, with which he wished to sanction his daughter’s succession, to the Tyrolean Diet for approval in 1720. The Diet only followed the emperor’s request puro obsequio, out of “pure obedience”. The approval of the “Pragmatic Sanction” was the last significant act of the Diet, which was not convened again until 1790 (Fig. 11).

After her husband Franz Stefan became Emperor in 1745, Maria Theresia held the title of Roman Empress of Germany. Her coins read R(omanorum) Imp(eratrix) GE(rmaniae). However, she emphasised her independent position as Archduchess of Austria and Queen of Bohemia and Hungary. Her 40-year reign as the great “mother of the country” is regarded as an era of reform that has shaped Austria in many ways to this day.

The high demand for money which the Archduchess experienced at the beginning of her reign on the occasion of the War of the Austrian Succession, and the difficulties in obtaining that money, could no longer be covered by the cumbersome process of tax approval by the estates. A commission was set up to sound out Tyrol’s financial options. The salt office in Hall, the administration of the mining and smelting works in Schwaz, and the customs offices proved to be productive. Another important step was the abolition of all tax exemptions for the nobility and clergy in 1746. The authorities were ordered to register all properties in Tyrol. The abolition of tax exemption had to be repeated several times until 1757 because there were still many untaxed estates. In 1775, the “Theresian Cadastre” was drawn up, upon which the calculation of land tax was based. The nobility and clergy could now finally be asked to pay. The organisation of the school system by Maria Theresia and her son Joseph II also brought significant progress for Tyrol in the field of general education.

Maria Theresia loved residing in Innsbruck, and had the court palace there magnificently extended in the rococo style by the court architect Johann Martin Gumpp the Younger. The Innsbruck Hofburg thus became one of the three most important historical cultural buildings in Austria, alongside the Hofburg in Vienna and Schönbrunn Palace. It was here in her beloved residence that a drama was to take place in the summer of 1765 that marked a turning point in Maria Theresia’s life.

Her son Archduke Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany (later Emperor Leopold II), married the Spanish Infanta Maria Ludovica in Innsbruck on 5 August 1765 (Fig. 12). As was customary at the time, the wedding was accompanied by a series of festivities

Fig. 10:
Lot 136
Emperor Leopold I, 1657-1705.
2 ducats without year (c. 1667), Hall.
Of great rarity. Tiny scratches, almost mint luster.
Estimate: 15,000 euros

Fig. 11:
Lot 164
Emperor Charles VI, 1711-1740.
Ducat 1734, Hall.
Rare. Almost extremely fine.
Estimate: 1,000 euros

Fig. 12:
Lot 189
Empress Maria Theresia, 1740-1780.
Gold medal of 3 1/2 ducats 1765, by A. Widemann,
on the marriage of her son Leopold (later Emperor Leopold II) to
Maria Ludovica of Spain. Rare. Tiny scratches, extremely fine.
Estimate: 1,500 euros

such as opera performances, banquets and balls. The city, which is surrounded by high mountains, was unbearably hot at the time, which was exacerbated by a Föhn storm. On the evening of August 18th, the father of the bridegroom, Emperor Franz I Stephan and Maria Theresia's husband, had to walk with their son through a narrow corridor with many stairs connecting the Hofburg with the theatre, on their way back from a performance. The Emperor found this very uncomfortable and remarked to his son that the corridor was like the Tyrol "where you always have to climb up and down again". Suddenly he collapsed, presumably due to the exertion and the heat, and died shortly afterwards as a result of a heart attack or stroke. For Maria Theresia, Franz Stephan's death was a severe blow from which she never fully recovered: "I lost a husband, a friend, the only object of my love." The stone "Triumphpforte" at the end of today's Maria-Theresien-Straße in Innsbruck (at the southern exit from the city at the time), which was erected to mark the wedding between Archduke Leopold and Maria Ludovica of Spain, is thus a monument to joy, but also to mourning: While the south side features reliefs depicting the bride and groom and wedding motifs, the north side of the arch is adorned with a stone medallion featuring the image of Emperor Franz I, crowned and accompanied by allegories of mourning (Fig. 13).

Fig. 13: Triumphal Arch in Innsbruck, north side, with the medallion of Emperor Franz I Stephan. Wikimedia Commons, Ralf Roletschek, CC BY-SA 3.0

The fight for freedom – Tyrol against the French and Bavarians (1792 - 1814)

News of the outbreak of the French Revolution spread in Tyrol as everywhere; however, the reports of atrocities overshadowed the significance and reasons for this development. Conservative forces and the Catholic Church were still dominant in Tyrol, and the authorities feared the infiltration of revolutionary tendencies. The first French migrants or refugees who arrived in Tyrol from 1790 were therefore viewed with suspicion; French agents were suspected among them. From 1792, the authorities tightened passport controls, with merchants and traders subjected to strict surveillance. Bonaparte's rapid successes in the early summer of 1796 provoked among the Tyrolean population courage and a strong will to defend themselves. On June 30, 1796, almost 7,000 riflemen were ready for action on the borders. Napoleon's attempts to incite the Tyroleans against the Habsburgs, and to both threaten and flatter the imperial family, had the opposite of the intended effect, as a flood of subsequent battle songs against the French proves. In November 1796, at the "Salurner Klause" on Monte Corona, the natural border between South Tyrol and Italy, the defenders of Tyrol were able to put the French under such pressure that they withdrew from Tyrol. The successful liberation through the Landsturm greatly strengthened the self-confidence of the Tyroleans.

After Napoleon returned from Egypt, he launched an extremely successful offensive in southern Germany and northern Italy in the early summer of 1800, with which the imperial armies were unable to cope. Archduke Karl/Charles, as Supreme Commander of the Austrian troops, was finally forced to negotiate the momentous armistice of Steyr with the French in December 1800. The terms were a hard blow for Tyrol: A demarcation line that ran right across the country – from Lienz through the Puster Valley, on through the Eisack Valley to Bolzano, across the Burggrafenamt and the Vinschgau to Bormio and into the Veltlin – divided Tyrol into two spheres of influence. The northern part, with its fortifications at Kufstein, Scharnitz and Finstermünz, came under French control. However, the French also invaded the south, violating the terms of the armistice. It was not until the Peace of Lunéville on 9 February 1801 that the unity of the province was restored under the sovereignty of its provincial princes and emperor. For the Tyroleans, it was a bitter experience of division that was not to remain the last.

The catastrophe continued when Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz was followed by the peace agreements of Pressburg on December 2, 1805. Disturbing rumours had arisen in Tyrol, which spoke of a separation of the country from Austria. In fact, the badly beaten Austria was forced to cede Tyrol to Bavaria. On 22 January 1806, the County of Tyrol was officially taken over by the Bavarian Kingdom as "Southern Bavaria". This was the reward Napoleon paid the Bavarians for siding with France (Fig. 14).

Fig. 14: Portrait of King Maximilian I Joseph of Bavaria (1756-1825), painting from around 1800 by Moritz Kellerhofen (1758-1830). Museum of the City of Regensburg. Wikipedia, public domain.

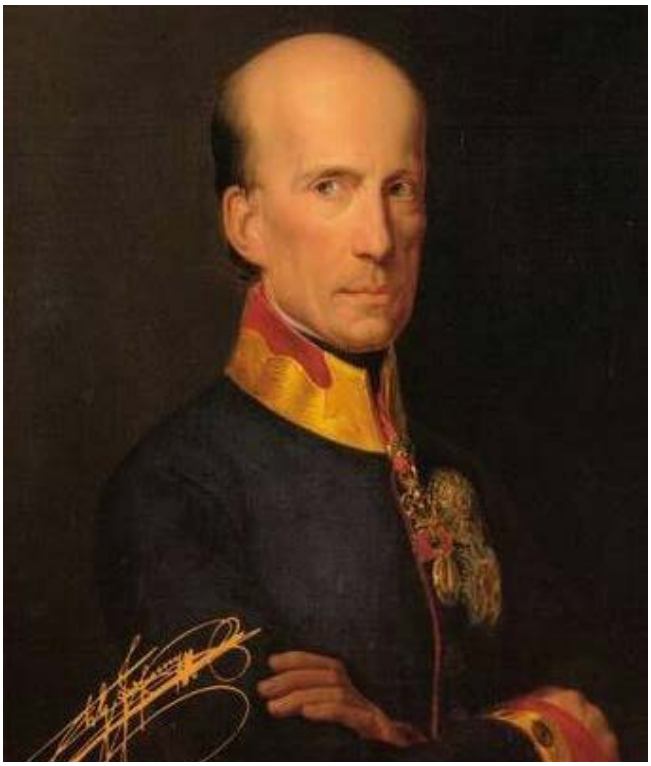


Fig. 15: Portrait of Archduke Johann of Austria around 1840, painting by Leopold Kupelwieser (1796-1862). Schenna Castle, Merano. Wikipedia, public domain.

At first, the Tyroleans' initial experiences with their new Bavarian rulers did not seem to justify their fears. A clause of the Peace of Pressburg concerning Tyrol stated that the province was to be taken over by Bavaria with the same conditions under which it had belonged to the Habsburg Empire. Nevertheless, there was growing resistance to the Bavarian government, essentially based on two factors. First, there was the poll tax for the rations of the Bavarian troops; this was followed by the devaluation of the Austrian paper guilder or bancozettel to two-fifths of its nominal value. Until then, this "paper guilder" had encouraged speculation and had harmed the population due to its fluctuating value. The plan was to redeem it for Bavarian silver money at the lower exchange rate. This devaluation not only reduced cash assets, but also hit the often-indebted peasant estates particularly hard, as the creditors demanded that their debtors pay off the credit, which had been taken out in Austrian paper money, at its nominal value in silver. As a result, many farms were auctioned off and families were plunged into misery. As around nine-tenths of the Tyrolean population were peasants, such interventions by the Bavarian administration were seen as harassment, all the more so as further "reforms" were also received with suspicion. The new state government prescribed a radical modernisation course for the traditional, strictly Catholic state, based on the "Bavarian Constitution" issued by Minister Count Montgelas on 1 May 1808, which was now also to apply to Tyrol. The constitution was introduced, serfdom was abolished, and Catholics, Lutherans and Reformed churchgoers were placed on an equal footing. At the same time, the government banned traditional religious customs such as the Christmas mass, supplications and processions; monasteries were also dissolved or sold. In the health sector, compulsory vaccination against smallpox was introduced in 1807, to which the population reacted suspiciously and often with refusal. The church persuaded the gullible rural population that this was intended to instil "Bavarian thinking into the Tyrolean souls".

The famous straw that broke the camel's back was the forced conscription of recruits for the Bavarian army in April 1809. The real cause, however, lay in a collective rebelliousness. The traditional moral- and religious beliefs of the population were not compatible with the rational moral concepts of the Enlightenment. In addition, the Tyroleans had always had close ties with the Habsburgs and hoped to return to their rule. In order to maintain this connection, a secret underground information network of guarantors gradually developed in Tyrol, with the innkeepers in the region playing a particularly important role in its ramifications – the threads of which converged with Archduke Johann, the brother of Emperor Franz II (Fig. 15). On April 9, 1809, Austria declared war on France and Bavaria. This was also the signal for the Tyroleans to revolt. Andreas

Fig. 16:
Lot 214
20 kreuzer 1809, Hall.
Almost extremely fine.
Estimate: 75 euros

Hofer, an innkeeper, cattle- and wine merchant from St. Leonhard in the Passeier Valley, who had previously travelled to Vienna to make secret arrangements with Archduke Johann, was given supreme command of the Tyrolean riflemen. Hofer was a widely-known and respected figure who succeeded in mobilising numerous Tyrolean farmers against the occupying forces. The scene of three battles in April, May and August 1809, in which the Tyroleans inflicted heavy losses on the numerically superior French and their Bavarian and Saxon allies, was the Bergisel, a hill over 700 meters high south of Innsbruck at the end of the Wipp Valley. In all three cases, the Tyrolean fighting position on the mountain slopes proved to be favourable, while the enemy troops had to operate from the valley and were therefore at a disadvantage. On 30 May 1809, Andreas Hofer entered the Hofburg in Innsbruck with a staff of advisors consisting of clergymen and peasants full of optimistic simplicity. The rebels were soon overwhelmed by the tasks that the impoverished and exhausted country demanded of them. In order to at least counter the growing coinage shortage, Intendant Hormayr arranged for the Hall mint to produce twenty-cross silver pieces (Fig. 16). Hope for an end to the war and renewed annexation to Austria was brought to the rebels by the so-called "Wolkersdorfer Handbillett", in which Emperor Franz II gave his word after the Austrian victory over Napoleon at Aspern that he would not agree to any future peace treaty that would separate Tyrol and Vorarlberg from Austria. At the same time, the Emperor promised to send his brother Archduke Johann to Tyrol as soon as possible to take over the leadership of the country. But things turned out differently – the brilliant strategist Napoleon Bonaparte was far from defeated. After losing the Fifth Coalition War against Napoleon, Emperor Franz II was forced to sign a peace treaty at Schönbrunn Palace on October 14, 1809, which included the final surrender of the Tyrolean territories. The Tyroleans were now on their own against France and Bavaria.

In the fourth Bergisel battle on November 1, 1809, the Bavarian army's powerful artillery mowed down the rebels in just a few hours. To prevent further bloodshed, Hofer issued a proclamation calling on the Tyroleans to cease resistance – and then hid on a mountain pasture in the Passeier Valley, where a compatriot betrayed him. He was captured in January 1810 and taken to Mantua. On Napoleon's orders, Hofer was executed on 20 February 1810. His mortal remains were initially buried in Mantua and later brought to Innsbruck, where Andreas Hofer was laid to rest in a prestigious tomb in the Hofkirche. His family was ennobled in 1818 with a diploma of nobility as "Hofer von Passeyr".

Andreas Hofer can undoubtedly be described as a folk hero, but not in the sense of a rebel who wanted to liberate the people from oppression by the Emperor/Kaiser and the church. Quite the opposite: Hofer was a religious fundamentalist and a devoted subject of the Habsburg crown. His memory is still honoured today and the famous song "Zu Mantua in Banden …" is the national anthem of the Austrian province of Tyrol.

After Napoleon's defeat in the Battle of Leipzig (16-19 October 1813) and the Treaty of Ried (Austria) on 8 October 1813, in which Bavaria joined the anti-Napoleonic alliance, the whole of Tyrol reverted to the Austrian imperial state.

Divine Commission and a Regent's Understanding of Power: Sibylla Augusta of Baden-Baden and her influence on the Peace of Rastatt 1714

By Hertha Schwarz

The peace concluded on 6 March 1714 in the palace at Rastatt, Germany, which has generally gone down in history as the "Rastatt Peace" or "Peace of Rastatt", ended the war between the Houses of Habsburg and Bourbon and their respective allies over the successor to King Charles II of Spain, who died childless in 1700; the war had lasted from 1701 to 1713/14. The battles were fought in Spain, the Netherlands, northern Italy and the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. Bavaria and the Upper Rhine were particularly affected by this war. Like the previous wars of the 17th century, the War of the Spanish Succession was also accompanied by the medium of medals for propaganda purposes, but in comparison to the Great Turkish War (1683-1699) and the so-called War of the Palatinate Succession (1688-1697), the coinage for the War of the Spanish Succession is modest in every respect. This is particularly noticeable in the medals on the Peace of Rastatt. The modest mintages are limited to conventional, sometimes even unimaginative allegorical depictions. With only a few exceptions, the medals of the early 18th century can neither intellectually nor artistically match the extremely rich and refined coinage of earlier decades. These exceptions include two coins – a ducat and a medal – of Margrave Ludwig Georg von Baden-Baden (1702-1761) and his mother Franziska Sibylla Augusta, née Duchess of Saxe-Lauenburg (1675-1733), who governed for her then still underage son from 1707 to 1727, i.e. for over 20 years.

Fig. 1: Ducat, stamp with punctuation between MAR • BAD • GUB
Künker Auction 230, 14 March 2013, Lot 7312.
Estimate: 750 euros, Hammer Price: 2,200 euros

Fig. 2: Ducat, stamp without punctuation between MAR BAD GUB
Künker Auction 200, 14 December 2011, Lot 1016.
Estimate: 1,500 euros, Hammer Price: 3,200 euros

A Baden ducat commemorating the Peace of Rastatt

It is a matter of debate whether the Baden ducat minted in 1714 (Fig. 1-2) was a "show" coin or a normal coin. With its weight of 3.46 g (gold) and its size of 20 mm, it was in any case equal in value to the "course" coins.[1] At least two dies are known, which suggests that a considerable number of coins were issued; however, the die-cutter and mint have not yet been identified. A double portrait of mother and son, framed by a wreath of pearls, fills the obverse: The margravine with widow's

[1] F. Wielandt, Badische Münz- und Geldgeschichte (Karlsruhe 1955), 122, Nos. 329 and 330.

Franziska Sibylla Augusta
Margravine of Baden and Hochberg, Landgravine of Sausenberg, Countess of Sponheim and Eberstein, Lady of Rötteln, Badenweiler, Lahr and Mahlberg, born Princess and Duchess of Saxe-Lauenburg, Engern, and Westphalia

Daughter of Duke Julius Franz of Saxe-Lauenburg
and the Princess and Countess Palatine of the Rhine
Maria Hedwig Augusta of Palatinate-Sulzbach
*21 January 1675 in Ratzeburg, †July 10, 1733 in Ettlingen
Unknown painter, oil on canvas, around 1723/23,
Rastatt City Museum. Photo: Martin Dürrschnabel, Public Domain

Fig. 3: The alliance coat of arms of Ludwig Wilhelm of Baden and Sibylla Augusta of Saxe-Lauenburg at Ettlingen Castle (Photo: Martin Dürrschnabel. Self-published work by Martin-D, CC BY 2.5, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=394615)

Fig. 4: Georg Wilhelm Vestner, silver medal on the Peace of Rastatt, Ø 44 mm.
Künker Auction 296,
25 September 2017, Lot 1966.
Estimate: 300 euros,
Hammer Price: 380 euros

veil and princely cloak is looking to the right, as is the then twelve-year-old Ludwig Georg. The cuirass is clearly visible beneath the boy's skirt, with the ribbon of the Order of St. Hubert of the Electorate of the Palatinate running diagonally across it. The inscription on the coin names LUDOVICVS MARCH(io) BAD(ensis) * AUGUSTA MAR(chionissa) BAD(ensis) GUBER(natrix), *"Ludwig Margrave of Baden * Augusta Margravine of Baden, regent"*. An inconspicuous detail is worth noting here: The margravine's full baptismal name was Franziska Sibylla Augusta. In the coin legend, she is only referred to as "Augusta". This is proof, embossed in gold, that Augusta was the princess's given name. It remains to be seen whether the literal meaning of the name Augusta, i.e. "the exalted one", was deliberately played with here, or whether it is an allusion to the title of Empress. The same applies to the name of the young Margrave; like his father, he too was only called "Ludwig" or "Louis". The reverse shows two coats of arms crowned by a princely hat and ornaments. Heraldically on the right – on the left as seen by the viewer – is the quadripartite Baden coat of arms. It consists of the Baden coat of arms with a red diagonal bar on a golden background and the shields of the "front and rear" counties of Sponheim (Fig. 3). The "chessboard" of the front county was blue on a golden background, that of the rear county red on a silver background. Heraldically to the left is the coat of arms of the Duchy of Saxe-Lauenburg, also divided into four parts. The green lozenge wreath of Saxony runs diagonally across the first and fourth fields, each divided black and gold; the second field is occupied by the golden Westphalian eagle on a blue background, while the third field shows three red water lilies on a silver background as a symbol of Engern. The inscription refers to the Peace of Rastatt: **M**ART**IU**S **I**N RASTA**D**T PRO**TULI**T PA**CI**S OLE**A**S, *"The month of March* [the month dedicated to Mars, the god of war] *brought forth the olive branches of peace in Rastatt"*. These olive branches are depicted below the coats of arms. The highlighted letters of the legend, read as Roman numerals MIVID[T]VLICIL (= MDCLLVVIIII), add up to 1714 and thus indicate the year the ducat was struck. However, the die-cutter made a mistake in the chronogram: He also emphasised a T by mistake, but this letter is not used as a Roman numeral in modern times.

A medal from Baden on the Peace of Rastatt

Among the commemorative coins of the Peace of Rastatt, the medal of Baden-Baden created by the Nürnberg medal maker Georg Wilhelm Vestner (1677-1740) stands out distinctively: Not only is it of striking artistic quality, it is also available in two different sizes and in four metals. The "large" medal (Fig. 4) has a diameter of 44 mm and was struck in gold, silver, and

pewter, with the gold coinage weighing 34.4 g, while the weight of the silver edition varies between 28.3 and 40 g.[2] The "small" medal (Fig. 5-7) has a diameter of 35 mm and was issued in silver (14-15 g) and gold (17.2-5 g) as well as in bronze and pewter with a copper pin.[3]
At first glance, the obverse and reverse dies of the large and small medals look completely identical; on closer inspection, however, minimal differences become apparent. These prove that a separate die was produced for the "small" issue.

Fig. 5: Georg Wilhelm Vestner, silver medal on the Peace of Rastatt, Ø 35 mm.
Künker Auction 327, 8 October 2019, Lot 2903.
Estimate: 100 euros, Hammer Price: 140 euros

Fig. 6: Georg Wilhelm Vestner, gold medal on the Peace of Rastatt, Ø 35 mm
Künker Auction 391, 25 September 2023, Lot 727.
Estimate: 4,000 euros, Hammer Price: 12,000 euros

Fig. 7: Georg Wilhelm Vestner, bronze medal on the Peace of Rastatt, Ø 35 mm
Heidelberger Münzhandlung Herbert Grün Auction 83, 8 November 2021, Lot 1575. Estimate: 190 euros, Hammer Price: 200 euros

Fig. 8: Georg Wilhelm Vestner, silver medal for the Peace of Rastatt (fig. 4), obverse, without scale.

Like the ducat, the obverse of the medal (Fig. 8) also shows the portraits of the Margrave and his mother, but in a different arrangement. Two oval portrait medallions decorated with tendrils, acanthus leaves, and fruit bouquets stand on an altar-like pedestal with the medallist's signature, "V" for "Vestner", engraved under its right edge. Not unlike a hinge, they are connected by a narrow, richly-decorated shield. The left medallion shows the portrait of Margravine Sibylla Augusta facing to the right; no pearl necklace or piece of jewelry adorns the bust. The only insignia of rank and status is the black princely cloak with ermine trim, which lies over her right shoulder, and the black, transparent widow's veil that covers her blonde, slightly white-powdered

[2] F. Wielandt/J. Zeitz,Die Medaillen des Hauses Baden. Denkmünzen zur Geschichte des zähringen-badischen Fürstenhauses aus der Zeit von 1499 bis 1871 (Karlsruhe 1980), No. 52.
[3] Ibid. No. 53.

Fig. 9: Heinrich Lihl (?),
Margravine Sibylla Augusta
of Baden-Baden, around 1710.
Oil on canvas,
Rastatt City Museum.
Photo: Hertha Schwarz

hair. This colour description of the metal image is possible because the embossed portrait bears a striking resemblance to painted portraits of the Margravine that were created in the first years of her widowhood (fig. 9). The medallion on the right shows the bust of the twelve-year-old Margrave Ludwig Georg turned toward his mother who is on the left. He too can be described in colour thanks to a miniature now in the possession of the Badisches Landesmuseum, which shows him at the age of around eleven or twelve (Fig. 10): The still boyish Margrave wears the obligatory cuirass under a light blue skirt decorated with gold-coloured embroidery. The breast cross of the Electoral Palatinate Order of St. Hubert is pinned to the skirt, while the corresponding red ribbon is clearly visible under the skirt. Despite his youth, the Margrave wears a strikingly long, white-powdered allonge wig. As on the ducat, the coats of arms of Baden-Sponheim and Saxe-Lauenburg, decorated with leaf ornamentation and described in detail above, are set beneath the medallions and, as it were, in front of the pedestal. They are also linked on the medal by the crown of rank enthroned above them in the form of a princely hat. Coats of arms arranged in this manner always symbolise a close alliance, usually a marital union between the respective owners of the coat of arms, and follow precise rules. In a marriage coat of arms, for example, the husband's coat of arms is always placed heraldically on the right and the wife's on the left. The two coats of arms are united by the man's crown of rank. According to this rule, Vestner's medal

shows the coat of arms of Margrave Ludwig Wilhelm of Baden-Baden and Count of Sponheim and his wife Franziska Sibylla Augusta, née Duchess of Saxe-Lauenburg, Westphalia and Engern. The escutcheons of the alliance and marriage coats of arms usually stand upright next to each other or – as Ludwig Wilhelm and Sibylla Augusta's marriage coat of arms at Ettlingen Castle shows (Fig. 3) – are facing each other. In Vestner's medal, however, the coats of arms lean outwards, i.e. away from each other. One could speculate whether this tilting is intended to indicate that we are not dealing here with a marriage coat of arms, but with the alliance coat of arms of a special "personal union" caused by guardianship and regency, – which is, however, identical to the Baden-Saxony-Lauenburg marriage coat of arms. The inscription running between the edge of the medal and a pearl wreath clearly identifies the nature of the alliance:

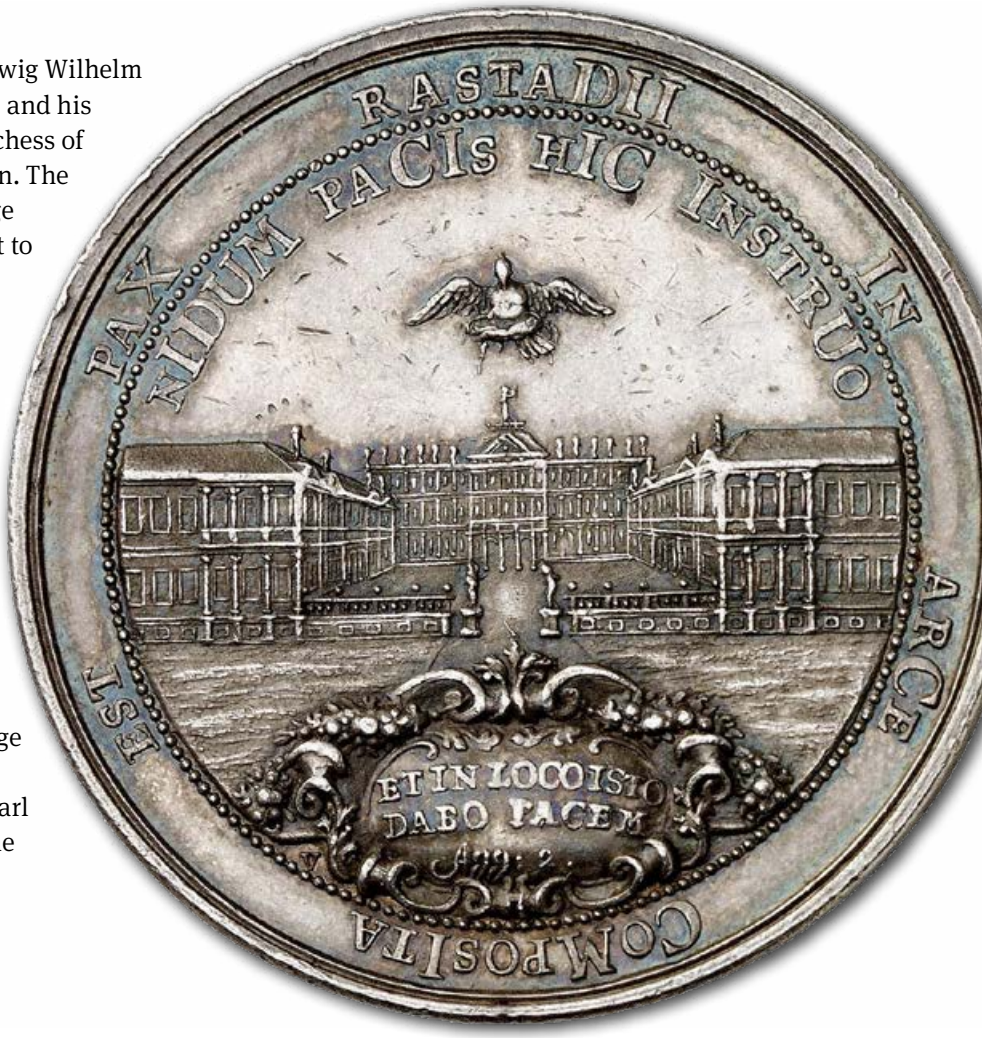


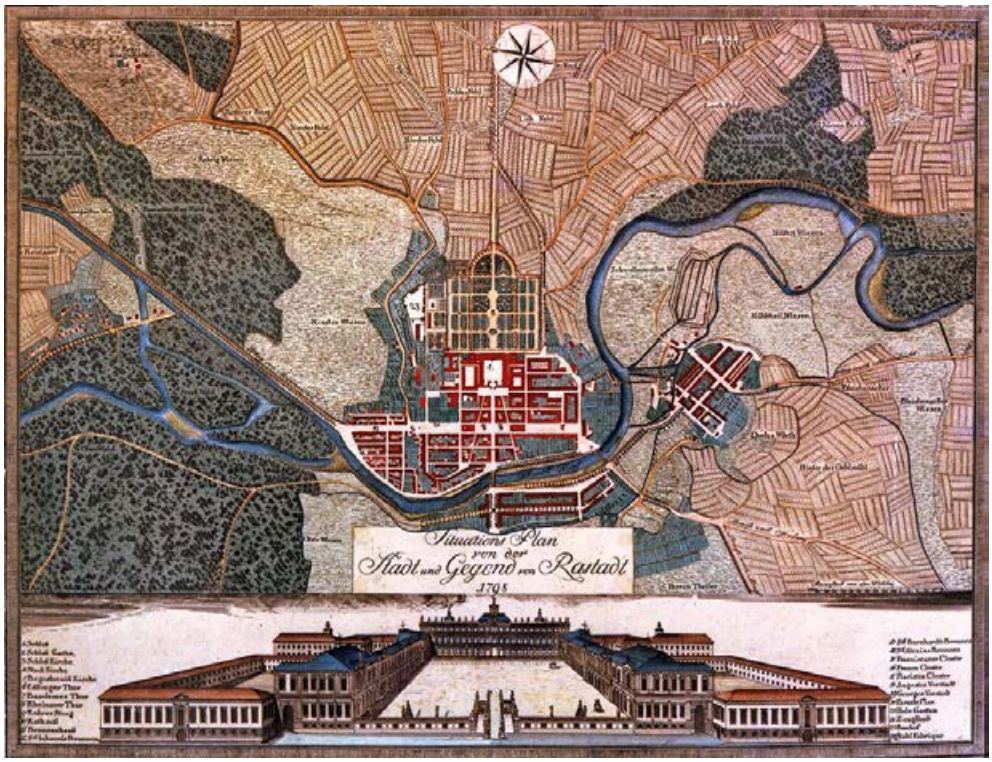
Fig. 11: Georg Wilhelm Vestner, silver medal for the Peace of Rastatt (fig. 4), reverse, without scale.

Fig. 10: Margrave Ludwig Georg of Baden-Baden, around 1713/14, portrait miniature, gouache on parchment. Baden State Museum.
Photo: Thomas Goldschmidt, Public Domain

LUDOVICVS MARCHIO BADENSIS * FRANCISCA SIBYLLA AVG(usta) GUBERNATRIX, "Ludwig Margrave of Baden * Franziska Sibylla Aug(usta), Regent". A dove with a wreath of olive branches hovers above the portrait medallions, and above it a quotation from the biblical book of Leviticus 26:6 proclaims: DABO PACEM IN FINIBVS VESTRIS Levi(ticus) 26, "I will give peace in your land of Levi(ticus): 26".

This message of the dove and the Bible verse is taken up again on the reverse of the medal (Fig. 11): Surrounded by a wreath of pearls, it shows the view of Rastatt Castle from the city side.

Fig. 12:
a) Rastatt Palace, 2024, detail.
Photo: Carsten Steger - own work,
CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org



b) Situation plan of Rastatt and surroundings, coloured copperplate engraving, 1798. Public domain

In the centre rises the three-storey Corps de Logis, the main building, with its sculptural decoration on the roof, which is flanked by two-storey wings.

In this arrangement, the buildings form the cour d'honneur typical of Baroque palace complexes, which in Rastatt is closed off from the town by a balustrade. Even today, the Rastatt Residential Palace presents itself to the viewer as it was captured by Vestner in the medallion (Fig. 12). In the so-called "Türkenlouis" year of 1955, this image was reproduced unchanged as the reverse of the medal struck on the 300th anniversary of Margrave Ludwig Wilhelm's birth (Fig. 13).

An eagle hovers above the castle and the Corps de Logis, holding a nest in its clutches. Above it arches the inscription N**IDUM** PA**CI**S H**IC I**NSTR**U**O, *"Here I place the nest of peace"*. The highlighted letters can be read as Roman numerals, the sum of which here is 1714: MDCCVVIIII. The surrounding legend between the edge of the medal and the pearl wreath also forms a chronogram, whose Roman numerals – MDCXIIII – also add up to 1714: RASTA**DII I**N AR**C**E CO**M**POSI**T**A EST PA**X**, *"Peace was made at Rastatt in the castle"*. Negotiations had previously taken place here between 26 November 1713 and 6 March 1714, at the end of which peace was concluded. The Bible verse in the richly-

decorated cartouche at the lower edge of the picture, with Vestner's signature "V" in the left-hand spandrel, also refers to peace: ET IN LOCO ISTO DABO PACEM Agg. 2, "*And in this place I will give peace Hagg. 2*".

The dove of peace on the obverse, the Rastatt castle and the inscriptions on the reverse, as well as the four mentions of peace identify this medal as a coinage of the peace concluded in Rastatt on 6 March 1714. The Margraviate of Baden had been the scene of devastating wars – not only since 1701 –and needed peace possibly more than anyone else. So what was more natural than for the regent to have a medal struck to commemorate the longed-for peace? The issue of such a medal in two different sizes and in all common metals clearly shows that the aim was to distribute the medals as widely as possible.

This in turn suggests the idea, or rather the question, of whether the ostensible peace medal was not also intended to fulfil another, much more important task.

Fig. 13: Silver medal commemorating the 300th anniversary of Margrave Ludwig Wilhelm's birth, 1955 (Emporium Hamburg, Auction 93, 4 May 2021, Lot 2135.
Estimate: 45 euros, Hammer Price: 65 euros)

Fig. 14: Silver medal by Philipp Heinrich Müller on the assumption of command of the Upper Rhine in 1693 by Margrave Ludwig Wilhelm of Baden. The reverse shows the Margrave in Roman general's costume as the personification of the god of war:
MARS BISVLTOR, VICTOR TVRCAR[um] PERPETUUS, EXPEDITIONEM CONTRA GALLOS AD RHENUM AGGREDITUR, *"Mars, the double avenger, the uninterrupted victor over the Turks, takes up the campaign against the French on the Rhine"*.
Künker Auction 371, 22 June 2022, Lot 2664.
Estimate: 750 euros, Hammer Price: 1,200 euros

Focus on the Upper Rhine

Since the Franco-Prussian War (1672-1678), which was partly fought on imperial territory, the Margraviate of Baden had repeatedly been the scene of battles and devastating ravages by French armies. The plague of war reached its climax in the summer of 1689, when villages and towns, including all princely residences, were reduced to rubble during the French invasion of the Electoral Palatinate and the Margraviate of Baden. This campaign, which at times nearly approximated a war of extermination, earned the French the reputation of being "worse than the Turks".

For Sibylla Augusta's husband Margrave Ludwig Wilhelm von Baden-Baden (1655-1707), better known to the present day as "Türkenlouis", the French wars and the "French threat" were lifelong companions. Posterity remembers him exclusively as the conqueror of the Turks; even though he was a godchild of Louis XIV and named after him, he fought the French longer and just as successfully as he fought the Turks (Fig. 14). On 27 March 1690, he married the fifteen-year-old Princess Franziska Sibylla Augusta of Saxe-Lauenburg in Bohemia. However, the young Margravine came to know her husband's ancestral lands on the Upper Rhine, which had been devastated in 1689, only as a desert of ruins in which it was almost impossible to live. It was not until 1699 that Ludwig Wilhelm decided to move his residence from Bohemia and Vienna, where he had maintained a splendid house in the 1690s, to Rastatt. By 1705, Domenico Egidio Rossi had converted the hunting lodge that he began building there in 1697 into a three-winged residence that met the princely aesthetic standards of the time. It was the first Upper Rhine Baroque residence built on the model of Versailles, and it still retains its original appearance almost unchanged today. Even before the court was able to move into the new residence, the Margraviate was once again the scene of war, this time the War of the Spanish Succession. Ludwig Wilhelm, the Emperor's Lieutenant-General since 1691 – i.e. the Emperor's deputy in all military matters, and in personal union Imperial General and District Field Marshal of the Swabian Imperial District – took over the defence of the Upper Rhine. Opposite the French fortress Fort Louis on the Rhine, built in 1686, he had a system of entrenchments and small forts erected in 1701, stretching from

Bühlertal via Bühl to Stollhofen on the Rhine. With the extremely meagre means at his disposal, he was able to effectively prevent a French invasion. Although the French had a spy in the Margrave's command staff and therefore knew the weak points of these Stollhofen lines, they did not succeed in overcoming the defences; it was not until 22 May 1707, more than four months after Ludwig Wilhelm's death, that they were breached. Louis XIV had a medal specially struck to mark this success.

The regent-in-chief

In the autumn of 1706, the Margrave fell seriously ill and, facing certain death, at the end of October appointed his *"dear wife, the radiant Princess Francisam Sybillam Augustam … born Duchess of Saxony, Engern and Westphalia"* [4] as guardian of their four children and also as *"chief regent of the lands and people left after our life"*. The latter was to *"take them into guardianship like a mother and govern them with care and happiness"*. [5] In his will, Ludwig Wilhelm also expressly confirmed that his marriage to Sibylla Augusta had been a good one and that she had shown him love and understanding. However, the explicit appointment as regent-in-chief of the margraviate and the Bohemian dominions should not be confused with thanks for this affection, as it says something quite different: Ludwig Wilhelm considered his wife, who was twenty years his junior, to be capable of guiding the fortunes of the country and the princely house through the perils of time until his eldest son reached the age of majority. Ludwig Georg, the eldest son at the time – two older brothers and three sisters had already died in infancy – was just four and a half years old in January 1707. The guardianship and regency of his widow would therefore last a very long time. Ludwig Wilhelm knew better than anyone what a burden he was placing on his widow. This is a good indication of what he actually expected of his wife. It can therefore be assumed that Sibylla Augusta not only grew with her duties as regent, but that her abilities had already developed much earlier.

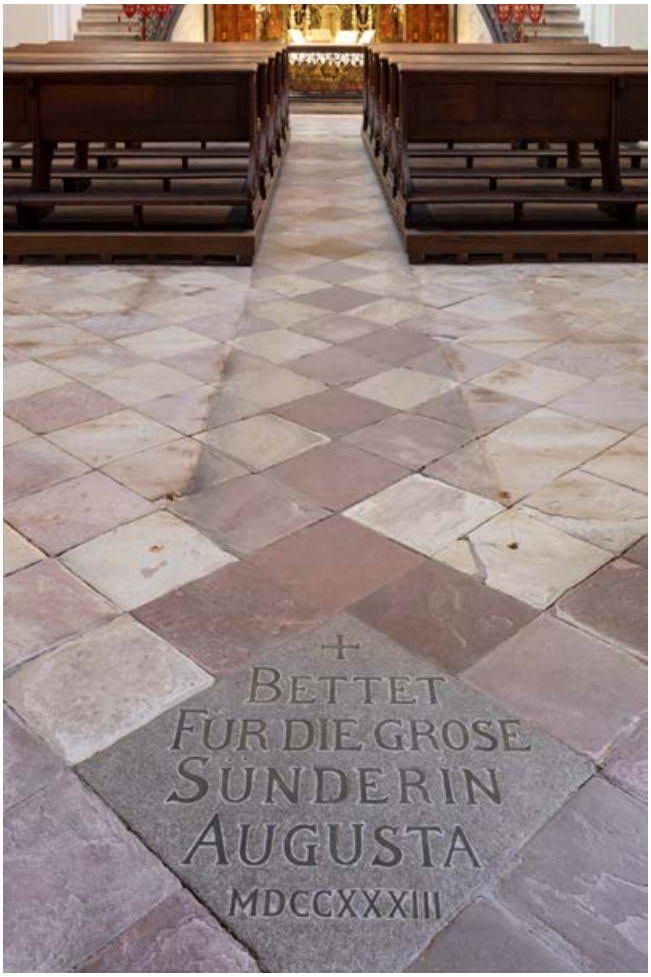
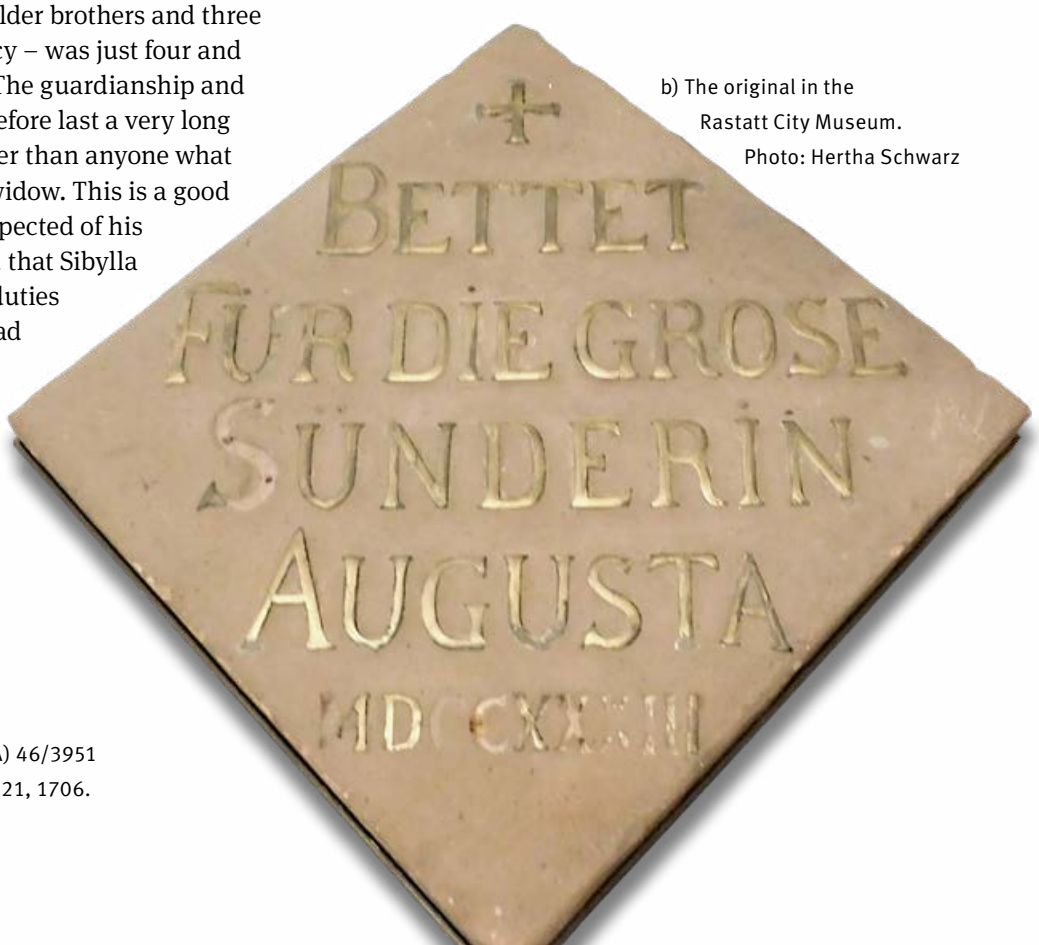


Fig. 15:
a) "Tomb slab" of Sibylla Augusta. Floor slab in the entrance area of Rastatt palace church. Photo: Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Baden-Württemberg, Dirk Altenkirch.



b) The original in the Rastatt City Museum. Photo: Hertha Schwarz

[4] Karlsruhe General State Archives (GLA) 46/3951 Will of Ludwig Wilhelm dated October 21, 1706.

[5] Ibid.

The great sinner

A rhomboid-shaped plaque set in the floor in front of the portal of the Palace Church in Rastatt invites visitors to pray *"for the great sinner Augusta"* in bronze letters (Fig. 15). The "great sinner" was none other than Ludwig Wilhelm's widow Sibylla Augusta (1675-1733), the builder of the church and long-time regent of the Margraviate of Baden-Baden. In the night hours of 12 July 1733, she was laid to rest there in the habit of a Minorite. No coat of arms, no sign, and no inscription mark the exact location of the tomb; the unadorned floor slab in the entrance area merely invites one to pray. However, the humble request soon fired the imagination of posterity. The label "great sinner" was interpreted in a negative manner; trashy novels and even academic works turned Sibylla Augusta into a "dazzling" personality who oscillated between despotism and debauchery. In 1935, her character even served as the model for Eduard Künneke's opera "The Great Sinner", a shallow comedy that premiered in Berlin on December 31 of the same year. It has taken a great deal of effort to free the image of the Margravine of Baden from the vulgar fantasies attributed to her.6 The gulf between historical reality and salacious stereotypes could hardly be greater, as Sibylla Augusta of Baden-Baden was the opposite of her distorted image: She was extremely conscientious, intelligent, God-fearing, a lover of splendour, and very fond of art. Her actions were characterised by discipline, perseverance, prudence and, not least, diplomatic skill. In less than twenty years, she rebuilt the destroyed margraviate and left her mark on the country, a mark still visible today. During this time, she also managed to achieve what many generations of Baden margraves had previously failed to do: to reduce the state's debt. It is therefore no exaggeration to count her among the most successful ruling princes of the early 18th century, for nothing about her lifestyle was excessive or debauched. As paradoxical as it may sound, she "owes" her later bad reputation to her deep and firm faith, which is not properly understood in its true essence. The much-cited Baroque piety does not come close to describing it, as it was in fact a common attribute and not specific to Sibylla Augusta. Exuberant joie de vivre or sensuality and simultaneous asceticism were by no means opposites at the time, but merely the proverbial two sides of the coin. Sibylla Augusta's very own work, the summer residence "Favorite" at the gates of Rastatt with the hermitage in the adjoining park, is almost archetypal of this. A scintillating display of exquisite art and splendour awaited guests in the palace, but in the Hermitage in the park, dedicated to Mary Magdalene, there were rush mats on the bare floor and the necessary utensils for "mortification". This later stimulated the imagination in many respects, but did not accurately represent Sibylla Augusta's religiosity. Hermitages of this kind, along with penitential exercises, were fashionable at the time, and even the self-assessment as a "great sinner" was not something that was unique to Sibylla Augusta, but a general trope in which anyone who wanted to be in tune with the times might see themself.

Mission and promise

When the French overran the Stollhofen lines, they occupied the Rastatt residence and razed the fortifications. The Margravine had evacuated the castle in good time and had had the valuables taken to safety in Frankfurt and Bohemia. Hector de Villars, Marshal of France and Commander in the war, found an empty castle. However, the Margravine herself did not, as one might expect of a woman, flee to safety in Bohemia, but remained in the country entrusted to her despite the French occupation. Until peace was concluded in 1714, she stayed mainly in Ettlingen and Baden-Baden, where the margravial palaces destroyed in 1689 had been provisionally restored in the meantime. She successfully used all means at her disposal to mitigate the heavy tribute demands placed on her subjects by both the French and the Emperor. The news that a peace treaty had been signed, obliging the French to vacate the country and retreat behind the Rhine, must have had a similar effect on Sibylla Augusta as the dove with the green branch after the biblical Flood. The second dove that Noah had let fly out of the ark (Gen. 1:11) *"came to him at evening time, and behold, it had a fresh olive leaf in its beak. Then Noah realised that the waters had gone out of the Earth."* The dove with the two olive branches in its beak, which hovers above the two portrait medallions on the obverse of the medal, is therefore not only a general symbol of peace, but much more a reference to this second dove of Noah and a very deliberately-chosen image. Just as God had mercy on Noah and his family when he destroyed the people because of their sins, God also had mercy on Sibylla Augusta and her country because of her steadfastness

[6] Above all, special mention should be made of the dissertation by Elisabeth Weiland, Markgräfin Franziska Sybilla Augusta von Baden-Baden. Ein Beitrag zur der Geschichte eines fürstlichen Frauenlebens um die Wende des 17. Jahrhunderts (Margravine Franziska Sybilla Augusta of Baden-Baden. A contribution to the history of a princely woman's life at the turn of the 17th century), Diss. Freiburg 1922, typescript. All subsequent biographies are based on this work: A. M. Renner, Sibylla Augusta, Markgräfin von Baden (Karlsruhe 1976³); H.-G. Kaack, Markgräfin Sibylla Augusta: die große badische Fürstin der Barockezeit (Konstanz 1983). A scholarly biography of Sibylla Augusta that incorporates the extremely rich archival material is still a major research desideratum.

Abb. 16: Schlosskirche zum Heiligen Kreuz, Rastatt, Blick auf den Hochaltar, Foto: Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Baden-Württemberg, Günther Bayerl.

in faith. After seven years of great affliction, 1707 to 1714, and the loss of another child, the French waters finally receded. After the Flood, God made a covenant with Noah and promised that there would never be another flood. As a sign of his promise, he placed the rainbow in the clouds (Gen. 9:8-17). Above the portrait medallions and the dove is a quote from the book of Leviticus, Chapter 26:6: DABO PACEM IN FINIBUS VESTRIS Levi: 26, *"I will give peace in your land Levi: 26"*. This promise from God stands over the regent, her family and the margraviate like the rainbow over Noah's ark (Levi. 26:6): *"I will bring peace to the land, and ye shall lie down, and there shall be none to make you afraid; and I will exterminate the evil beasts from the land, and the sword shall not pass through your land."*

God's promise is continued on the reverse of the medal in a verse from the Book of Haggai: ET IN LOCO ISTO DABO PACEM Agg. 2, *"And in this place I will give peace Hagg. 2"*. The verse is inscribed in a large, richly-decorated and striking cartouche in the lower part of the medal. Although it is not at the centre of the medallic image, this cartouche nevertheless forms its actual centre. God promised the Israelites returning from exile in Babylon (Hagg. 2:9): *"The latter glory of this house will be greater than the former, ... and in this place I will give peace"*. The parallel with Sibylla Augusta is obvious: Although she and her children were not taken into captivity, they were forced out of their home in Rastatt. After the end of the war, she returned to Rastatt. In the book of Haggai, God prophesies to the Israelites regarding the glory of the new temple yet to be built, which is why the entire book is primarily about the construction of this new temple in Jerusalem. Struck in gold, silver, bronze, and pewter, Sibylla Augusta's medal proclaims her symbolic mission to build the new house, which consisted specifically in the reconstruction of the Catholic Margraviate of Baden-Baden, which was to lead the princely house into new and glorious times. This commission had been given to her by her deceased husband, but God gave his blessing to this commission because she remained firm in her faith even in adversity; God thus chose her to fulfil his will. The secular commission had thus received a higher consecration and placed the Margravine under a double obligation; she was obliged both to her beloved husband and to God to fulfil the commission because of the grace she had experienced. When God granted peace in 1714, the construction of the new "temple" could begin. During the war, Sibylla Augusta had already begun building Favorite Palace near Förch in the immediate vicinity of Rastatt. Numerous other buildings followed after the end of the war; even though many of the measures served the urgently-needed reconstruction and job creation, the Margravine did not lose sight of the "building of the temple". Between 1715 and 1731, she erected several religious buildings, including the Einsiedeln Chapel and the Loreto Chapel in Rastatt, the Hermitage in Favorite Park, the Palace Church in Ettlingen and, as her "magnum opus", the Palace Church of the Holy Cross in Rastatt. Perhaps we can see Sibylla Augusta's "new temple" in this magnificent, from the outside rather inconspicuous work of art, which she later chose as her final resting place (Fig. 16). In the Rastatt chapels, Sibylla Augusta also set up special holy places as pilgrimage sites, which depicted stations from the life of Jesus. The grotto of the Nativity in Bethlehem was recreated in the basement of the Einsiedeln Chapel; the Loreto Chapel, which no longer exists today, contained a representation of Mary's house as the place of the Annunciation; and the Chapel of Our Lady of Sorrows

in the palace symbolised the place of the Descent from the Cross. Other reproductions of the Scala Santa or "Holy Staircase", and the tomb of Christ were erected in the Palace Church by papal bull. The construction of these sites is therefore probably less an expression of the Margravine's piety than the fulfilment of an ultimately divine commission. The Peace of Rastatt as a political act only served as an inspiration for the medal designed by Vestner. The content of the medal, cast in gold, silver, bronze, and pewter, was the Margravine's declaration of her will to prove herself worthy of having been "chosen by God" to fulfil her divine mission. In profane terms, the medal propagates her government program for the reconstruction of the country. The medal was therefore issued in two different sizes and in all common metals: The message, the regent's programme, was to be disseminated as widely as possible. And the minting of the ducat described at the beginning of this article also fits into this framework: A sovereign princess exercised her rightful privilege of minting coins to establish the new house.

Sibylla Augusta travelled regularly to Schlackenwerth in Bohemia to manage and supervise the administration of her dominions there, and her route always took her there by way of Nürnberg. It is therefore probably no coincidence that she commissioned the Nürnberg medal maker Georg Wilhelm Vestner to design the medal. In view of the medal's iconographic images and message, it is certainly not farfetched to assume that it was Sibylla Augusta herself who determined the artistic display and selected the Bible verses. This is an unmistakable indication of her firm belief in the Bible and deep piety. She left only the artistic execution to Georg Wilhelm Vestner. However, as he also worked as a die-cutter for the Free Imperial City of Nürnberg, it seems very likely to me that the dies for the ducat coinage were also created by him.

350 years of Sibylla Augusta

21 January 2025 was the 350th anniversary of Sibylla Augusta's birth. To mark this anniversary, the State Palaces and Gardens of Baden-Württemberg are offering numerous events and special tours honouring the Margravine. Even beyond this Sibylla Augusta year, a visit to the palaces of Rastatt and Favorite as well as the religious sites is highly recommended. Rastatt Residential Palace is one of the few Baroque palaces to have survived the ages virtually unchanged.

In the Rastatt Palace Church, one can also visit an intact Baroque church with extraordinary decorations and installations. In the Favorite Palace, Sibylla Augusta's "porcelain palace", a true pearl of Baroque art awaits visitors. Particularly impressive are the original wall coverings in the parade rooms, the Mirror Cabinet and the Florentine Cabinet with the lavish Pietra Dura works, the porcelain collections, and the show kitchen, which gives an idea of how kitchens were managed in the 18th century.

We call your attention to the last weekend in September 2025 (27/28 September), when the Palace Church, the Einsiedeln Chapel, the Rastatt Historical Library and the Hermitage at Favorite Palace – which is only rarely accessible for conservation reasons – as well as the Palace Chapel in Ettlingen will open their doors for a variety of guided tours around Sibylla Augusta's places of worship.

For further information, please use the adjacent QR code to the website of Favorite Palace Rastatt.

Further reading:
F. Wielandt, Münzen und Medaillen zur Geschichte des Türkenlouis und der Stadt Rastatt, ZGO 118 (NF 79), 1970, 307-351.
S. Eberle/U. Grimm/K. Böhm, Rastatt Residential Palace (Petersberg 2018).
S. Gensichen/U. Grimm/M. Bechtold/S. Eberle, Schloss und Schlossgarten Favorite Rastatt (Petersberg 2019).
U. Grimm, Favorite: The Porcelain Palace of Sibylla Augusta of Baden-Baden (Berlin 2010).
U. Grimm et al, especially beautiful: Margravine Sibylla Augusta and her residence. Exhibition on the occasion of the 275th anniversary of the death of Margravine Sibylla Augusta of Baden-Baden (Petersberg 2008).
A. Stangl, Sibylla Augsuta: a baroque fate. The Margravine of Baden between family, politics and art 1675-1733 (Stuttgart 2008).
N. Horsch, Representation and retreat: The hermitage of Favorite Palace Rastatt (Petersberg 2018).

What Do Gaming Counters Have to Do with Numismatics?

On 5 July 2025, we will offer a complete set of trictrac pieces at its auction 425. The ensemble is of great cultural and historical value. This prompts us to ask why gaming counters are part of the numismatic field – and what insights they can offer into the numismatic daily life of the early modern period.

By Ursula Kampmann

Do you know trictrac? No? Even though the board used for trictrac resembles the backgammon board, trictrac is not a precursor to this popular game. Trictrac was played according to different, and much more complicated rules. These rules are so complex that we will not go into them here. Unlike in today's backgammon, the aim was not to move pieces from one point to another. Instead, players could score points through various combinations of the position of their pieces. The first player to score 12 points was the winner.

Board from the imperial Kunstkammer, 16th century AD.
KHM Vienna. Photo: KW.

A Game for the Nobility

In trictrac, success depended on a combination of luck and a clever strategy. A lack of luck could be offset by great skill; however, even the luckiest dice throws were useless to the unskilled player. In this way, trictrac – unlike the purely intellectual game of chess – reflected the real life of the aristocratic upper class: after all, a good leader was someone who made the best of the cards fate dealt them.

So it is no surprise that politicians and generals prided themselves on being masters of trictrac. Our oldest evidence of this game dates from the beginning of the 16th century and describes how young Federico Gonzaga played trictrac with Pope Julius II. By the mid-16th century, trictrac had arrived in Germany, where it was enthusiastically played by the nobility. In 1634, Euverte Jollyvet wrote a treatise on the game, characterizing it as follows: "Nearly all other games are as common among pages, servants and footmen as they are among princes, lords and nobles. [...] But regarding the Great Trictrac, only people of honor play it, and only the brightest, most agile and alert minds can understand it."

Two noblemen playing trictrac. Detail from a board of the 17th century. Admont. Photo: KW.

Anyone who wanted to be "in" with high society learned to play trictrac, even the middle classes. Mastering the game became a status symbol. And even if you were a poor player, it was considered fashionable to have an expensive trictrac set in your home for guests to see. Just as many chessboards with elaborately designed pieces are used more for decoration than regular play today, trictrac boards adorned the sophisticated households of the early modern era.

This increased the demand for precious gaming boards and pieces as the game became more popular. And this demand was met primarily in the two southern German centers of craftsmanship: Augsburg and Nuremberg.

From Hand-Carved Counters to Machine-Made Products

In the mid-16th century, the craftsmen in Augsburg and Nuremberg were delighted about the new product, as it had a wealthy customer base. The Reformation had caused many wood carvers to lose their traditional customers. Nobody commissioned them to create depictions of saints to be worshipped at home anymore. Initially, the demand for elaborately crafted gaming counters filled this gap.

However, it soon became apparent that the number of buyers who could afford hand-made counters and were willing to purchase them was incredibly small. This is when machine-made counters came in. In Augsburg, molds were developed to press motifs onto game pieces. Leonhard Danner, a Nuremberg toolmaker and inventor, developed this further. He had worked extensively with screws and presses, improving the letterpress among other things. Similarly, he was the first to use a press to transfer motifs on wooden pieces using metal dies. The trick was to adjust the screw press so that the motifs were sharp and deep without breaking the wood.

Thanks to Danner's invention, Augsburg and Nuremberg developed into centers of counter production, but this came to an end in the early 17th century. The economic decline associated with the consequences of the Little Ice Age and the Thirty Years' War caused demand for all luxury goods to plummet.

Hand-crafted gaming counters, ca. mid-16th century, from the imperial art chamber. KHM Vienna. Photo: KW.

Friedrich Kleinert, an Entrepreneur from Nuremberg

This brings us to Friedrich Kleinert, the Nuremberg entrepreneur who is responsible for the full set of trictrac pieces to be offered by Künker in auction 425 on 5 July 2025. If you cannot wait that long, there is a wide range of gaming counters available to choose from in eLive Auction 87. For eLive Auction 87 presents a special collection of board game pieces.

But let us first turn to Friedrich Kleinert. Despite his importance to the German medal industry, we unfortunately know very little about this innovative entrepreneur. What we do know is that Friedrich Kleinert was born in Bartenstein, East Prussia, on 4 June 1633. After his father's death, Kleinert's mother remarried the wood turner Heinrich Machsen, and young Friedrich learned artistic woodturning from him. Like many other craftsmen, he embarked on a journey after completing his apprenticeship. In 1664, his path led him to Nuremberg. Initially, Kleinert worked in his craft there. It is said that he produced artificial dolls and similar items as a woodturner. Perhaps he also created simple game pieces. After all, the production of wooden blanks was the task of an artistic woodturner. In any case, Kleinert received a master craftsman's certificate and Nuremberg citizenship in 1668. However, it was not until he purchased a screw press in 1680 that Kleinert became a renowned medal producer.

Innovative Technology: The Screw Press

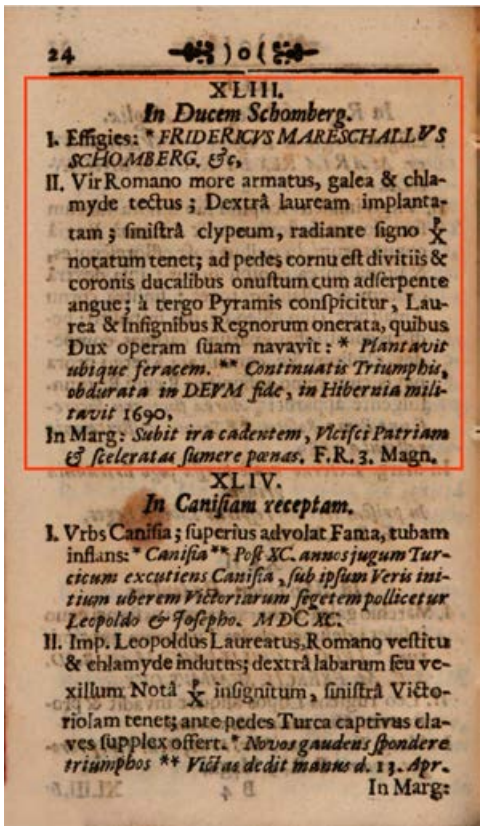
Screw presses were a new development in Germany at the time. In his catalog of available medals of 1742, Caspar Gottlieb Lauffer, a descendant of one of Kleinert's competitors, claims that his father was the first German to use a screw press. However, we have reason to doubt Lauffer's claim. After all, his next statement can easily by refuted: Lazarus Gottlieb Lauffer was certainly not the only private mint master to receive the imperial privilege to mint medals. On the contrary, in Nuremberg in the 1680s, four independent entrepreneurs, including Friedrich Kleinert, were minting medals with a screw press.

We know this because, as early as on 8 November 1686, the Nuremberg Council discussed the new technology. The city fathers must have feared that the new machine could fall into the hands of immoral contemporaries. After all, excellent forgeries could easily be produced with a screw press. It was therefore decided that no private individual was permitted to use a screw press to produce circulation coins. It was only allowed to produce representative pfennigs, i.e., medals.

Only four Nuremberg entrepreneurs were permitted by decree to own a screw press: Lazarus Gottlieb Lauffer, his brother Cornelius Lauffer, Johann Jakob Wolrab and Friedrich Kleinert. If any of them intended to sell a screw press or minting tools, they had to obtain the approval of the relevant official. The silver required for medal production was also subject to strict controls. It had to be obtained exclusively from the Nuremberg mint, and had to be alloyed with at least 15 lot and 2 quents of pure silver per mark.

Last but not least, the Nuremberg Council tried to grant a monopoly to its engravers, as Nuremberg medal producers were only allowed to hire Nuremberg engravers. But this decision was revoked only a few days later: on 26 November 1686, Friedrich Kleinert brought about a new resolution which allowed him to "have his dies made in Augsburg so that the our metal engravers, who are surpassed by those in Augsburg, might be encouraged to be more diligent as a result".

Early screw press, today in Gotha. Photo: KW.



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XLIII.

In Ducem Schomberg.

I. Effigies: * *FRIDERICVS MARESCHALLVS SCHOMBERG. &c.*

II. Vir Romano more armatus, galea & chlamyde tectus; Dextrâ lauream implantatam; sinistrâ clypeum, radiante signo P X notatum tenet; ad pedes cornu est divitiis & coronis ducalibus onustum cum adserpente angue; à tergo Pyramis conspicitur, Laurea & Insignibus Regnorum onerata, quibus Dux operam suam navavit: * *Plantavit ubique feracem.* ** *Continuatis Triumphis, obdurata in DEVM fide, in Hibernia militavit* 1690.

In Marg: *Subit ira cadentem, Vlcisci Patriam & sceleratas sumere pœnas.* F. R. 3. Magn.

XLIV.

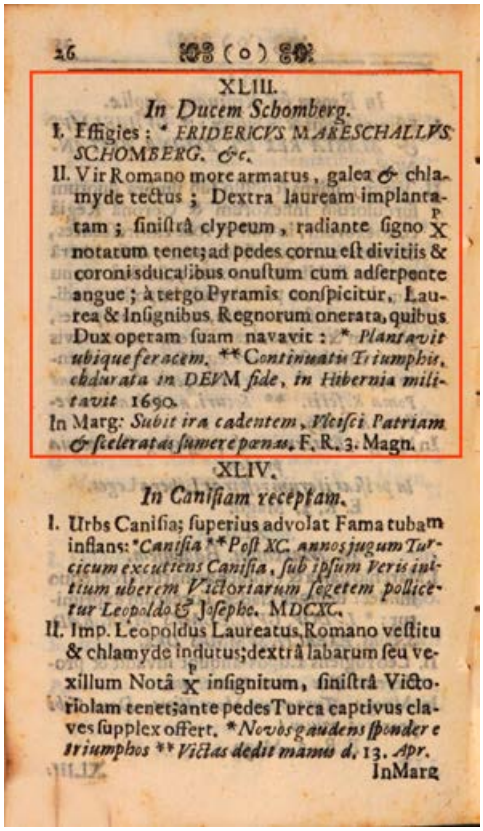
In Canisiam receptam.

I. Vrbs Canisia; superius advolat Fama tubam inflans: * *Canisia* ** *Post XC. annos jugum Turcicum excutiens Canisia, sub ipsum Veris initium uberem Victoriarum segetem pollicetur Leopoldo & Josepho. MDCXC.*

II. Imp. Leopoldus Laureatus, Romano vestitu & chlamyde indutus; dextrâ labarum seu vexillum Notâ P X insignitum, sinistrâ Victoriolam tenet; ante pedes Turca captivus claves supplex offert. * *Novos gaudens spondere triumphos* ** *Victas dedit manus d.* 13. *Apr.*

In Marg:

Excerpt from the catalog of available medals of the Nuremberg company Friedrich Kleinert of 1697.



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XLIII.

In Ducem Schomberg.

I. Effigies: * *FRIDERICVS MARESCHALLVS SCHOMBERG. &c.*

II. Vir Romano more armatus, galea & chlamyde tectus; Dextra lauream implantatam; sinistrâ clypeum, radiante signo P X notatum tenet; ad pedes cornu est divitiis & coronis ducalibus onustum cum adserpente angue; à tergo Pyramis conspicitur, Laurea & Insignibus Regnorum onerata, quibus Dux operam suam navavit: * *Plantavit ubique feracem.* ** *Continuatis Triumphis, obdurata in DEVM fide, in Hibernia militavit* 1690.

In Marg: *Subit ira cadentem, Vlcisci Patriam & sceleratas sumere pœnas.* F. R. 3. Magn.

XLIV.

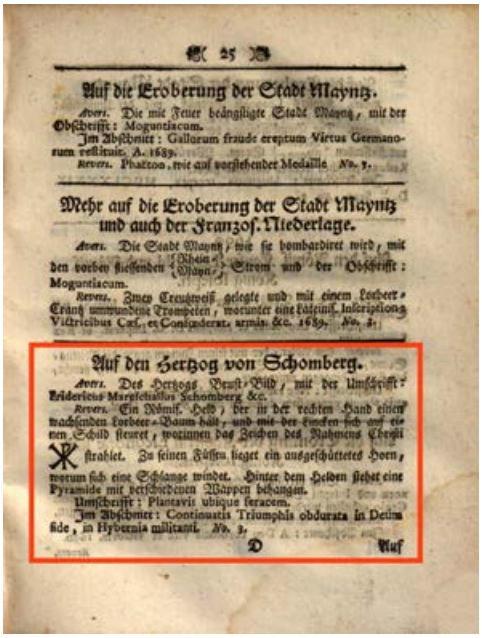
In Canisiam receptam.

I. Urbs Canisia; superius advolat Fama tubam inflans: * *Canisia* ** *Post XC. annos jugum Turcicum excutiens Canisia, sub ipsum Veris initium uberem Victoriarum segetem pollicetur Leopoldo & Josepho. MDCXC.*

II. Imp. Leopoldus Laureatus, Romano vestitu & chlamyde indutus; dextrâ labarum seu vexillum Notâ P X insignitum, sinistrâ Victoriolam tenet; ante pedes Turca captivus claves supplex offert. * *Novos gaudens spondere triumphos* ** *Victas dedit manus d.* 13. *Apr.*

InMarg

Excerpt from the catalog of available medals of the Nuremberg company Caspar Gottlieb Lauffer of 1709.



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Auf die Eroberung der Stadt Maynz.

Avers. Die mit Feuer bedrängte Stadt Maynz, mit der Obschrifft: Moguntiacum.

Im Abschnitt: Gallorum fraude ereptum Virtus Germanorum restituit. A. 1689.

Revers. Phaëton, wie auf vorstehender Medaille No. 1.

Mehr auf die Eroberung der Stadt Maynz und auch der Franzos. Niederlage.

Avers. Die Stadt Maynz, wie sie bombardiret wird, mit den vorbey fliessenden {Rhein / Mayn} Strom und der Obschrifft: Moguntiacum.

Revers. Zwey Creutzweis gelegte und mit einem Lorbeer-Crantz umwundene Trompeten, worunter eine Lateinische Inscription: Victricibus Car. et Confœderat. armis &c. 1689. No. 2.

Auf den Hertzog von Schomberg.

Avers. Des Hertzogs Brust-Bild, mit der Umschrifft: Friderieus Marescallus Schomberg &c.

Revers. Ein Römisch. Held, der in der rechten Hand einen wachsenden Lorbeer-Baum hält, und mit der linken sich auf einen Schild steuret, worinnen das Zeichen des Nahmens Christi ☧ strahlet. Zu seinen Füssen lieget ein ausgeschüttetes Horn, worum sich eine Schlange windet. Hinter dem Helden stehet eine Pyramide mit verschiedenen Wappen behangen.

Umschrifft: Plantavit ubique feracem.

Im Abschnitt: Continuatis Triumphis obdurata in Deum fide, in Hybernia militanti. No. 3.

D Auf

Excerpt from the catalog of available medals of the Nuremberg company Caspar Gottlieb Lauffer of 1742.

These two resolutions demonstrate the central role that Nuremberg played in the distribution of private medals. But how did collectors find out about Nuremberg medals? After all, an entrepreneur needed customers all over Europe if he wanted to operate profitably. Agents, played a central role in this. They worked for a prince and told them about all the offers that might be of interest to him. Those agents were called factors or court factors and procured works of arts for art chambers, as well as precious fabrics, weapons and furniture, books for libraries, and ancient as well as contemporary coins for coin collections. Great princes had agents in all important trading cities. Aristocrats of a lower rank and citizens, of course, did not.

New Distribution Channels

In 1697, Friedrich Kleinert followed in the footsteps of his colleagues in the book trade and did what they had been doing for decades: he compiled a catalog of all the medals available from his workshop. This catalog could then be sent to collectors. Needless to say, not every collector received an individual copy – book printing was extremely expensive back then! The catalogs were passed on among collectors and were repeatedly used to place orders with a local dealer who maintained a connection with Nuremberg. The fact that Kleinert wrote his catalog in Latin shows that he had customers all over Europe. Choosing Latin as the language of his catalog enabled him to ensure that all educated collectors understood his offer.

What probably fascinates us most about this catalog is the fact that Kleinert rather casually included medals relating to events that had taken place long before the catalog was printed. Given how long such catalogs remained relevant, some events must have occurred several decades before a customer ordered the corresponding medal.

Caspar Gottlieb Lauffer, who took over his stock of dies after Kleinert's death, published a new edition of this first catalog in 1709. In his much more comprehensive catalog of 1742, Lauffer switched to the German

language. Kleinert's medal dies were still mentioned in this catalog. This means that collectors could still buy a medal commemorating Marshal von Schomberg even more than half a century after his death!

A Lucrative Sideline

All the producers of Nuremberg medals were thus private entrepreneurs who had to ensure that they produced goods that were easily marketable with minimal effort. In this context, counters for the fashionable trictrac game were a financially interesting addition to their business model that enabled them to re-use many of their dies.

Gaming counter with the portrait of the Palatinate count and marshal Friedrich Hermann von Schomberg. From auction 425 (3-5 July 2025), from Lot 2242.

Medal commemorating the death of the Palatinate count and marshal Friedrich Hermann von Schomberg, 1690. Rare. Extremely fine to FDC. Estimate: 2,000 euros. From auction 426 (7-8 July 2025), Lot 3014.

After all, very few dies were exclusively created to produce gaming counters. The series of the light-colored counters shown on page 47 and 48 is an exception. The allegorical depictions were created and perhaps even conceived by the Augsburg engraver Jakob Leherr. Born in 1656, the goldsmith and engraver had held the title of master since 1685. And his designs are truly masterful. The little cupid looking into an overflowing chest is particularly impressive: It's enough for the chest, but not enough for the eye. Or, differently put, there is never enough for someone greedy.

The same could be said of the creator of this game piece, Christoph Jakob Leherr. Alter all, by the time he produced these wonderful dies, he was already a prolific coin counterfeiter. The Nuremberg Council had been right to fear that the screw press would make counterfeiting easier! While Leherr produced coins, hie accomplice, the Augsburg merchant Emanuel Eggelhof, put them into circulation. Their activities went unnoticed for almost three decades. They were then exposed and the two were put to the sword in Augsburg on 10 April 1707.

Therefore, it may seem almost ironic that Leherr also created these allegorical dies: the example with the head of Janus (page 48, top) bears the inscription "cautious and prudent"; the fallen stilt walker illustrates the modern proverb "pride comes before a fall" or rather – as the Latin inscription says – "he is lifted up until he falls".

Historical Gaming Counters

While most of the light-colored counters depict allegorical topics, the dark pieces were made with dies that Philipp Heinrich Müller had actually created for medal production. They deal with the politics of the time, although the events were probably long over by the time the game was made. This die on page 48 (center), for example, commemorates the Habsburgs' victories over their enemies in 1694: at Peterwardein against the Turks; at Huy and on the Rhine border against the French.

Anyone looking for a deeper connection between the historical scenes depicted on the dark counters will search in vain. Logic was not required; only an impressive appearance. The board piece on page 48 (bottom), for example, depicts the union of three virtues: strength, prudence

and harmony. They join hands above an altar dedicated to the common good. The die was also created by Philipp Heinrich Müller and belongs to a medal issued for the congress of The Hague in 1691.

A Completely Underestimated Field

Let us get back to answering the question we posed at the beginning: gaming counters are a completely underestimated marginal field of numismatics that is closely related to medals in terms of production methods. After all, gaming counters were produced by the same workshops that created medals – even using the same dies and the same presses. Actually, board game pieces are medals made of wood.

Anyone interested in this topic will be pleased to learn that, although they are much rarer than silver and bronze medals, these wooden medals are (still) considerably cheaper.

Gaming counters with allegorical topics.
The translation of the legend on the first counters reads: It often squanders your gold. The legend of the second piece could be translated as: It's enough for the chest, but not enough for the eye.
From auction 425 (3-5 July 2025), from Lot 2242.

This may be because the activities of the Nuremberg medal industry and its significance for European collecting have not (yet) been adequately researched. Unfortunately, most monographs on the topic of medals focus on the events they depict, on the nationality of the people depicted on them, or on the artists who created the dies. This loses sight of the fact that medals were goods whose appearance depended on the needs and the expectations of customers.

But this could change soon. A new German work by Hermann Maué with the working title “Friedrich Kleinert and Philipp Heinrich Müller” is expected to be published in 2025. Hopefully, this book will acknowledge the importance of the numismatic entrepreneur Kleinert in full, without neglecting gaming counters.

Gaming counters with allegorical topics.
From auction 425 (3-5 July 2025), from Lot 2242.

Game pieces commemorating the triple victory over the Turks and their allies at Peterwardein, Huy and on the Rhine border of 1694.
From auction 425 (3-5 July 2025), from Lot 2242.

Gaming counters commemorating the congress at The Hague of 1691. From auction 425 (3-5 July 2025), from Lot 2242.

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Ulrich Schädler, Vom Trictrac zum Backgammon. In: Spiel und Bürgerlichkeit. Passagen des Spiels I. Vienna (2010), pp. 37-62
Dieter Fischer und Hermann Maué, Medaillen und Schaumünzen auf Ereignisse in der Reichsstadt Nürnberg 1521-1806. Nuremberg (2014)
Hermann Maué, Spielsteine mit Bildern. 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert. Bestandskatalog des Germanischen Nationalmuseums. Nuremberg (2020)

Coin-Embedded Tableware as Part of European Dining Culture

In European castles and treasure chambers, we often come across magnificent coin-embedded vessels. These items represent wealth and knowledge. Although their roots can be traced back to the Renaissance, it was not until the bourgeoisie of the 19th century that they came into their own. The Hans-Jürgen Brammer Collection, which will be offered in various Künker auctions throughout 2025, provides an excellent insight into this field.

By Ursula Kampmann

Mantua. Palazzo del Té. Magnificent composition with silver and gilded tableware as the central object in the representation of a banquet for Dionysus. Photo: KW.

We know them from European castles and treasure chambers – those magnificent objects decorated and embedded with coins. The Künker auction house is pleased to offer a private collection of these valuable items. Throughout 2025, coin-embedded objects from the Hans-Jürgen Brammer Collection will be offered on various occasions. The first part featured in auction 422 on 20 March 2025. The Hans-Jürgen Brammer Collection was assembled over several decades and contains numerous treasures.

Coin-embedded tableware is quite rare today. However, these items were anything but rare at the time of their creation. Only a fraction of them have survived, as most were melted down at some point. This is no cause for grief for their owners, on the contrary – it means that these objects served their original purpose.

Silver Tableware as a Sign of Wealth

Do you remember the fairy tale Sleeping Beauty? The king could not invite the wicked fairy because he only had twelve gold plates. This tale is a reminder of a time when a ruler's rank and prestige were measured by the tableware he allowed his guests to dine on.

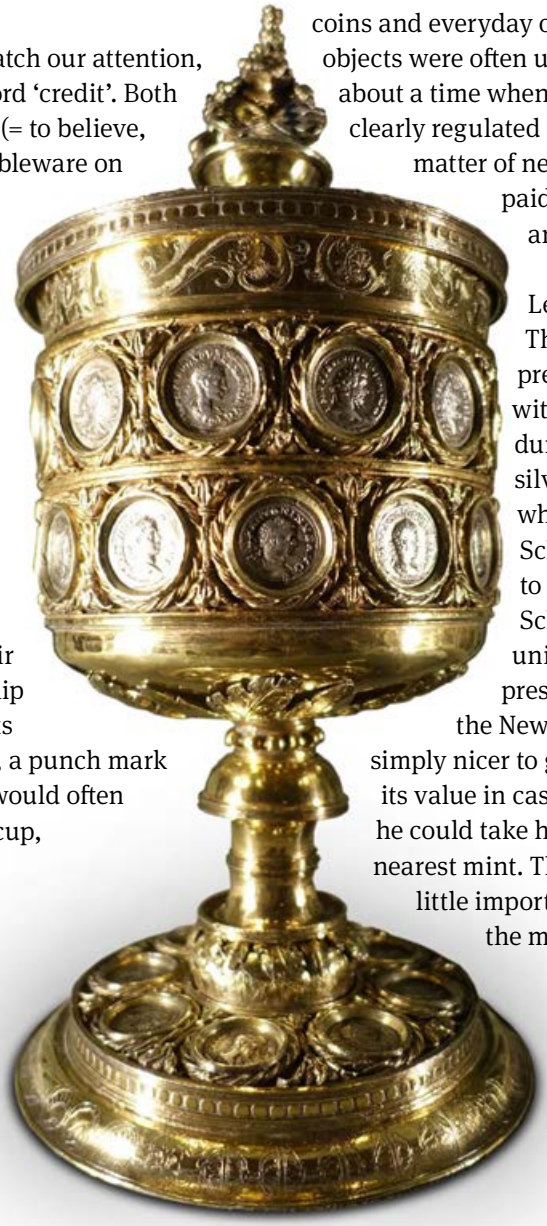
Elaborately crafted, silver tableware and its magnificent centerpieces were an essential part of any prestigious meal. Anything that did not fit on the table was displayed on additional stands. We know, for example, that the silver from Barbara Gonzaga's dowry had to

Landau. Klippe of 2 guldens and 8 kreuzers of 1713, minted during the French siege. About extremely fine. Estimate: 1,000 euros. Hammer price: 1,300 euros. From Künker auction 422 (19-21 March 2025), Lot 3619.

be divided between two rooms to fit everything at her wedding feast in Urach in 1474 – 192 pieces were placed on a credence table in the men's dining room, and 117 pieces in the women's dining room.

The word 'credence table' should catch our attention, for it is closely related to today's word 'credit'. Both words come from the Latin credere (= to believe, to trust). If you had a lot of silver tableware on your credence table, one might say, people considered you credit-worthy. It was not for nothing that special pieces of furniture were designed to present tableware on display for everyone to see. We continue this legacy today when we buy kitchen cabinets with glass panels through which we can admire our best tableware.

Silver tableware was not only used by the aristocracy. Towns, guilds and citizens were also proud of their silver items. Not of the craftsmanship that went into the creation, but of its weight. In the early modern period, a punch mark at the base of a piece of tableware would often indicate how much pure silver the cup, jug or plate contained.



Coin beaker from the estate of the House of Wittelsbach. Residence Treasury. Photo: KW.

Silver Tableware as a Hidden Asset

And there was a good reason for this: anyone who ran into financial difficulties would immediately take their silver objects to a mint to have coins struck from the precious metal. The king of Prussia did so in 1745, 1757 and 1809. And private individuals did the same. Until well into the 20th century, one of the everyday tasks of a mint was to melt and assay the metal of private individuals for a fee and strike coins from it, which were then returned to the person.

Sometimes there was no such mint, as during the siege of Landau in 1713. The fortress commander, Karl Alexander of Württemberg, had his plates cut up and the fragments punched to show their value. The peculiarity of this method is not that the used material was his tableware, but the fact that it was not melted down before minting it.

Silver Tableware – Gift or Payment?

Silver tableware was therefore a kind of hybrid between coins and everyday objects. For this reason, such objects were often used as gifts. We are talking about a time when financial relations were not as clearly regulated as they are today. Taxes were a matter of negotiation and wages were often paid sporadically and in arbitrary amounts.

Let us take a practical example: The city of Schaffhausen presented Emperor Sigismund with a goblet worth 200 guldens during his visit in 1430, gave a silver drinking vessel to an author who had dedicated a book to Schaffhausen, and gave the same to the professors who supervised Schaffhausen scholars at foreign universities. Silver vessels were presented to the mayors as a gift for the New Year or for a wedding. It was simply nicer to give a silver drinking vessel than its value in cash. If the recipient needed cash, he could take his silver object straight to the nearest mint. The price of the silversmith was of little importance in relation to the value of the metal.

How Did the Coins Get on These Silver Objects?

So far so good. But why were some of these objects decorated with coins of all things? After all, it was a lot of additional work to carefully embed the coins in the metal of the object so that the obverse and reverse sides were still visible. There are several reasons for this. First, the obvious: both gifts and objects were intended to impress, not only by their weight, but also by their beauty, their exotic appearance, their allusions to the patron's education. Coins were perfect for this! They were rare but easier to obtain than ostrich eggs, coconut shells, rock crystals or bezoars. In addition, a patron's choice of coin showcased his historical knowledge.

Since Petrarch, Roman coins in particular had been considered role models. The user of the piece of tableware was supposed to measure his own actions against those of the ruler depicted on the coins. A coin beaker was a perfect topic of conversation in an educated society. It could become the touchstone of a previously unknown guest. Would he be able to identify all the pieces? Would he be able to speak eloquently about it? And if he did not, the owner of the object could demonstrate his education by identifying and commenting on the coins.

Last but not least, many coin-embedded objects were dynastic items. They were made to praise one's ancestors. The most famous of such pieces is probably the large coin tankard of King Frederick William I, made by the Royal Prussian court goldsmith Johann Christian Lieberkühn from 688 Brandenburg talers and 46 medals of the House of Hohenzollern. It was used to draw beer at the meeting of the Tobacco College.

Frankfurt. Contribution taler, 1796. FDC.
Estimate: 750 euros. Hammer price: 1,100 euros.
From Künker auction 422 (19-21 March 2025), Lot 3583.

Coin tankard from Königs Wusterhausen Castle. Photo: UK.

Citizens also had coin beakers made with local coins. Of course, in this case, the coins' significance was not based on ancestry but on loyalty to a particular dynasty.

Napoleon Makes a Clean Sweep

Europe probably suffered its greatest loss of early modern silver tableware during Napoleon's war campaigns. He financed his army by extorting resources from the territories he conquered. Those who wanted to make peace with him had to pay huge sums in silver. Prussia, for example, was initially expected to pay 140 million francs. This was reduced to 120 million francs, which was still a staggering 32 million Prussian reichstalers. As the state treasury did not possess such sums, the princes concerned confiscated monstrances, chalices and paten from church property and had them melted down. As this was still not enough, the citizens had to pay. They were asked to take their silver tableware to the mint, where the material was purchased at a fixed rate set by the government.

This small silver coin beaker was also in danger of being melted down at the time. But his owner was unwilling to part with it. So he paid a fee that allowed him to keep his cup. To show that the fee had been paid, the cup was stamped with a tax mark. The letters FW are short for Frederick William III, the king of Prussia at the time.

Silver coin beaker (Tummler), created around 1800.
Height: 4.20 cm. From the Hans-Jürgen Brammer Collection.
Estimate: 400 euros. Hammer price: 1,100 euros.
From Künker auction 422 (20 March 2025), Lot 3806.

Coin box with lid, created around 1721.
Height: 16.50 cm. From the Hans-Jürgen Brammer Collection.
Estimate: 600 euros. Hammer price: 1,700 euros.
From Künker auction 422 (20 March 2025), Lot 3812.

Denmark also suffered greatly from the Napoleonic Wars. The state went bankrupt, but the citizens' silver tableware was not confiscated. So the owner of this heavy coin box, weighing and impressive 452.98 g, must have been glad to save at least some of his money. Made in 1721 in the workshop of the Copenhagen silversmith Conrad Ludolf, the magnificent box shows four krone piedforts of 1624 and 1625 as well as four half-krone pieces of 1624. A double krone of 1619 is embedded in the base.

Coin-Embedded Objects in the 19th Century: A Sign of Patriotism

After defeating Napoleon, the bourgeois upper class celebrated their new self-confidence. This included rich silver tableware, sometimes decorated with coins as in the past. Coins were particularly popular for demonstrating patriotism. A good example is this cup of the Berlin silversmith Otto Schneider. It commemorates the Year of the Three Emperors of 1888. The three 20-mark pieces of the emperors who ruled in 1888 – William I, Frederick III and William II – are a factual illustration of this historically unusual event. The inscription around the edge of the beaker was probably made at the request of the new owner. It is a toast that can roughly be translated as follows: Pour me, flaming cup, more of the aroma, oh House of Hohenzollern. Hohenzoller, I bring you this cup.

Coin-embedded beakers and tankards became a very popular product in the 19th century and were produced by many artisans. And not just for your table at home or the credence table. They were also used as prizes at shooting, gymnastics or singing competitions. Our example was made in 1909 to reward the winner of a competition organized by the Kassel Chamber of Commerce for modern shop window decoration. Shop windows were a new and controversial invention of the 19th century. Small shopkeepers in particular complained about the high cost of having to change decorations regularly. They lamented that the costs were not offset by an increase in sales. The Kassel Chamber of Commerce wanted to counteract this by organizing a competition, which of course received a lot of media coverage. The aim was to encourage people to take a closer look at shop windows to discover new products and new needs.

Silver coin beaker commemorating the Year of the Tree Emperors of 1888. Height: 10 cm. Estimate: 1,500 euros. Hammer price: 2,800 euros. From Künker auction 422 (20 March 2025), Lot 3803.

The prize for the best shop window display was this beautiful silver goblet weighing 386.35 g. It illustrates the rationale of the Kassel Chamber of Commerce: they opted for an Art Nouveau design, the art movement for those who believed in progress.

Finally, let us take this classic centerpiece, a large decorative silver coin bowl made by the Berlin court jeweler Gebrüder Friedländer. Reminiscent of an etagere, it contains 39 silver coins, mostly talers from the German States and imperial coins of the 19th and 20th centuries, and weighs more than two and a half kilos.

Coin beaker, created in 1909, prize of a shop window competition of the Kassel Chamber of Commerce. Height: 23.60 cm. From the Hans-Jürgen Brammer Collection. Estimate: 200 euros. Hammer price: 440 euros. From Künker auction 422 (20 March 2025), Lot 3805.

Large coin bowl, created around 1910. Height: 22.50 cm.
From the Hans-Jürgen Brammer Collection.
Estimate: 1,250 euros. Hammer price: 4,400 euros.
From Künker auction 422 (20 March 2025), Lot 3810.

An Interlude: Jewelry and Coins

Before concluding this article, we will briefly digress to discuss jewelry, as the Brammer Collection contains some particularly beautiful examples of traditional costume jewelry incorporating coins. In addition, coin-embedded vessels and coin jewelry have a number of things in common. Both are products of silversmithing. They both exist on the borderline between money and objects of monetary value that can quickly be turned into cash. Both have existed since ancient times and experienced their heyday in the 19th century.
Coins have been used in jewelry since ancient times. This custom was adopted by Christianity. The earliest evidence of this can be found in the vita of St. Genoveva, written down at the end of the 8th century. The account reads that Bishop Germanus took her vow of chastity at the age of eight. Germanus interpreted it as a sign of God that he found a copper coin bearing the symbol of the cross on the ground at that very moment. He picked it up, had it pierced and hung it around the girl's neck. Thus, the vita of St. Genoveva combines a personal vow with a coin that was worn as jewelry throughout her life. This form of use is familiar to us as godparents used to give similar gifts on the occasions of baptisms, First Communions or Confirmations. The recipient would often wear it around their neck for the rest of their life. In most cases, it was not a modest copper coin like St. Genovava's, but rather a silver or gold coin that could be used as cash in an emergency.

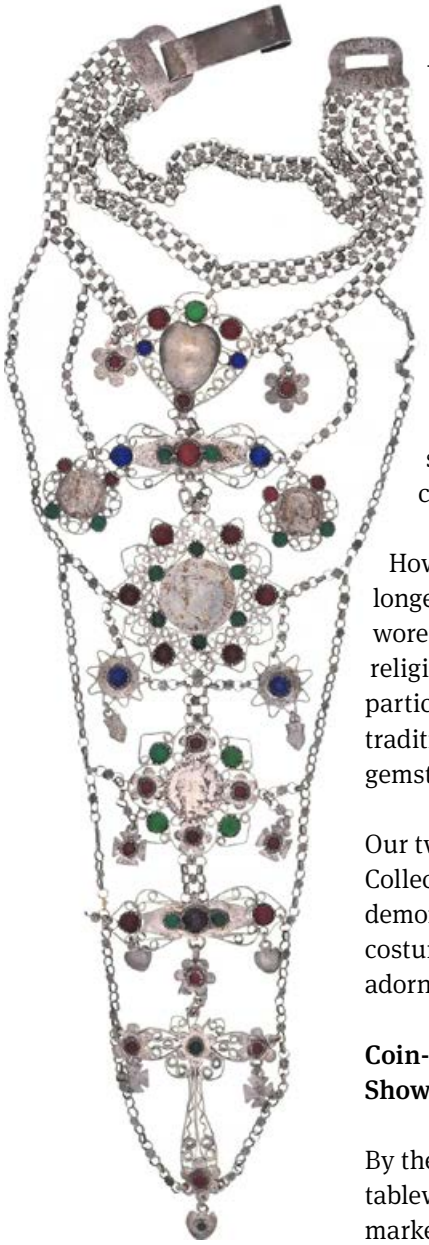
Coins worn as part of clothing were often associated with the morning gift or other presents that a bride received from her groom and / or his family during the multi-part marriage ceremony. In western Bohemia, for instance, after the couple said yes to each other, the groom would give the bride a rosary, a prayer book, a wedding ring and some coins. These coins had eyelets and were fastened to red ribbons attached to the bride's wedding garment. In Reutlingen, such coins were sewn onto a tight-fitting black velvet necklace.

The Comeback of Traditional Costumes

However, most of the historical traditional jewelry that has survived to this day is considerably younger, dating from the 19th century. This is because traditional German costumes (Tracht) as we know them today only emerged in the 19th century. These costumes were a sign of the romanticization of rural life, popularized by new tourist associations who wanted to promote their regions as summer retreats. Upper Bavaria was a pioneer in this respect. The traditional costume of Upper Bavaria is a product of the 19th century and became the role model for most other traditional German costumes. Soon, educated schoolteachers and pastors in all regions of the German Empire were thinking about what a local costume might look like. They took inspiration

Antiker Schmuck, dessen Anhänger aus gefassten römischen Aurei bestehen. Metropolitan Museum / New York. Inv. Nr. 36.9.1. Foto: UK.

Traditional jewelry necklace,
made around 1820/30
with a 1767 Saxon taler.
Weight: 100.73 g.
Estimate: 75 euros.
From Künker eLive Auction 87
(21-22 May 2025), Lot 9661.



Traditional jewelry necklace, made in the late 19th century. Weight: 148.5 g. Estimate: 100 euros. From Künker eLive Auction 87 (21-22 May 2025), Lot 9665.

from the garments that people actually wore, but added pictorial details taken from ethnographic contexts. At the time, it was known that many peoples used coins as decoration. Therefore, it seemed appropriate to enhance the costumes with coin jewelry.

However, by that time the coins used for jewelry no longer had a personal connection to the person who wore them and were not associated with a particular religious event either. Instead, jewelers selected particularly attractive and old coins, which they set into traditional costume necklaces as if they were precious gemstones.

Our two examples from the Hans-Jürgen Brammer Collection are such 19th century necklaces. They demonstrate the great skill with which traditional costume jewelry was crafted in the 19th century to adorn the person who wore it in a decorative manner.

Coin-Embedded Objects Showing Signs of Modern Mass Production

By the way, do not let yourself be fooled if you see silver tableware or traditional jewelry with coins at a flea market: take a close look and examine whether you are looking at a genuine coin that was incorporated into the piece. To save costs, many silver workshops began to imitate coins themselves and embed them in tableware and cups. The next step was to simply press newly made dies of old coins onto the object. There is no need to worry about this with the Hans-Jürgen Brammer Collection. His objects contain genuine coins.

Unfortunately, the history of coin-embedded objects has not been thoroughly examined yet. There is hardly any literature on coin-embedded objects of the 19th century. Collections such as Hans-Jürgen Brammer's could serve as a stimulus to promote research in this field.

The British Empire as Reflected in its Coins

By Johannes Nollé

Fig. 1a: The coat of arms of Bremen – St. Peter's key as the "key to the world".
Fig. 1b: A Bremen 20-mark coin from 1906 with the Bremen key (Künker Auction 422, 19 March 2025, Lot 3944. Hammer Price: 1,800 euros).

A Künker lecture in Bremen

The Bremen Numismatic Society, which is very active under its chairman Dr Christoph Stadler and is oriented towards collectors and scholars – I would like to mention here the two excellent volumes by Burkhard Traeger in the "Bremer Beiträge zur Münz- und Geldgeschichte" (Bremen Contributions to Coin and Money History)[1] – invited me to give a lecture on 1 April 2025 as part of the Künker lecture series for numismatic societies.

From the three topics I offered, the Bremen coin enthusiasts chose "The British Empire as Reflected in its Coins"[2]. Their decision was easy to understand, as the Bremen coat of arms (Figs. 1a and 1b), which originally dates back to St. Peter's patronage of Bremen Cathedral, is interpreted as the "key to the world", in the manner of Hamburg's "gateway to the world". In this sense, it symbolises the cosmopolitanism of a city that benefited from the British exploration of the world through the creation of global trade.

The lecture was well-attended, and knowledgeable questions were asked, demonstrating how deeply rooted the topic is among Bremen collectors and coin enthusiasts. It was a particular pleasure for me to see my friends Christoph (Stadler) and Hanfried (Bendig) again and exchange ideas with them.

The Empire

The Commonwealth as a reflection of a world empire

Even today, despite all the partly-justified, partly-exaggerated criticism of the colonial activities of European states, their lost empire still evokes a sense of elation and pride among most Britons. This is particularly evident during the annual birthday parade in honour of the British monarch, when she or he drives past the flags of the now 56 Commonwealth countries (Fig. 2) to the Horse Guards parade ground. Fifteen of these Commonwealth countries are still linked to Great Britain in a "personal" union and recognise the British monarch as their head of state. British national pride runs high when "Rule Britannia" is sung at The Last Night of the Proms.

The lyrics are:

O thee belongs the rural reign,
Thy cities shall with commerce shine;
All thine shall be the subject main,
And ev'ry shore it circles thine.

Glory, trade and dominion on land and sea are linked and evoked in these verses of "Rule Britannia". When "Rule Britannia" – still the secret national anthem of Great Britain today – emerged around 1740, British global naval supremacy was far from secure, and these verses were largely wishful thinking. The French, in particular, were still serious rivals to the British in their quest for world domination. A medal from 1798, however, shows the progress that had been made: Britannia, the personification of Great Britain, sits amid destroyed enemy weapons and holds on her

Fig. 2: Flags of the Commonwealth countries in Parliament Square (Simon Berry, Wikipedia, s.v. Commonwealth).

outstretched left hand the winged goddess of victory, Victoria, who is preparing to crown Britannia as the victor. The explanatory legend reads: MARI VICTRIX TERRAQUE INVICTA – AVITUM TRANSCENDIT HONOREM, 1798, "Victorious at sea, undefeated on land. She surpasses the honour of her ancestors, 1798" – an allusion to the British victory at Abukir (Fig. 3, see below).

Fig. 3: Medal from 1798 commemorating Lord Nelson's victory at Abukir: bust of George III in armour facing left // Britannia holding a winged Victoria on her outstretched left hand, surrounded by spoils of war and trophies (Künker Auction 349, 24 May 2021, Lot 5715. Hammer Price: 200 euros).

In the beginning: commercial rivalry, piracy and daring explorers

It was the defeat of the British in the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453) and the French reconquest of Calais in 1558 that forced the British to abandon their ambitions on the European mainland, and to use their island surrounded by sea as a base for a maritime policy that was defensive towards the continent and expansive in regard to the rest of the world.[3] In this isolation, a strong central state emerged on the island, but its monarchs were so liberal that they encouraged private economic initiatives rather than suppressing them. However, an unbridled pursuit of profit led to excessive and ruthless capitalism.

Britain began its exploration of the world and the acquisition of overseas possessions later than Portugal and Spain, but quickly caught up and soon surpassed its competitors: When the British saw the treasures that the Portuguese and Spanish were gaining from the newly-"discovered" American continent and the intensified contacts of those nations with Southeast Asia, they felt compelled to explore the seas and "new worlds" themselves in order to gain their own

[1] "The Ancient Coins of Phleious. Wine Country and Navel of the Peloponnese" and "Arcadia. The Coin Mints and Coins from the Archaic to the Hellenistic Period".

[2] From the abundant literature, the following works are recommended: P.J. MARSHALL, Cambridge Illustrated History: British Empire, Cambridge 1996; P. WENDE, Das Britische Empire. Geschichte eines Weltreiches, München 2008; J. DARWIN, Das unvollendete Weltreich: Aufstieg und Niedergang des Britischen Empire 1600-1997, Frankfurt am Main 2013 (2012).

[3] See F. Braudel, Sozialgeschicht des 15.-18. Jahrhunderts. Aufbruck zur Weltwirtschaft, München 1990; H. HAAN – G. NIEDHART, Geschichte Englands vom 16. Bis zum 18. Jahrhundert, München 1993 and G. NIEDHART, Geschichte Englands im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, München ^{3}2004; T.O. LLOYD, The British Empire 1558-1995 (The Short Oxford History of the Modern World), Oxford ^{2}2005 (1997).

2:1

Fig. 4: Virgin Islands 100 $ 1979, Elizabeth II // Sir Francis Drake
(Ira & Larry Goldberg 135, 18 May 2023. Lot 1870, Hammer Price: 340 dollars).

Fig. 5: Replica of John Cabot's ship Matthew in Bristol Harbour
(Ben Salter, Wikipedia, s.v. John Cabot).

Fig. 6: The replica of the Golden Hind in the Turkish port of Marmaris, May 1993
(Wolfgang Fricke, Wikipedia).

access to this new source of prosperity. Five years after the Genoese Cristoforo Colombo's first voyage to the east coast of America, which he believed to be the West Indies, the English King Henry VII (1485-1509) commissioned the Italian navigator Giovanni Caboto (known in England as John Cabot) in 1497 to search for a more northerly sea route to India or China. Cabot did not succeed in circumnavigating the American continent in the north, landing instead in Newfoundland. However, he did not return to England from a later expedition in 1498 and remained lost forever. A replica of Cabot's ship, the Matthew, which can be viewed in Bristol Harbour, commemorates this beginning of British expansion into the world (Fig. 5).

England's overseas involvement gained momentum under Queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603). A well-known contemporary portrait shows her placing her hand on the globe (Fig. 7).[4] Her privateers set out to attack and plunder Spanish ships on all the world's oceans. In the process, they also ventured into regions where it seemed worthwhile to establish British settlements.

Sir Walter Raleigh (1552-1618) established the first English settlement in North America and named the area "Virginia" after Queen Elizabeth I's sobriquet "The Virgin Queen". Today, the capital of the American state of North Carolina, which partly occupies the historical territory of the English colony of Virginia, is named after Raleigh. Raleigh also attempted to find the gold mines of the legendary Golden Man ("El Dorado") in South America – more precisely in Guyana, where the British also acquired a colony. When Elizabeth's successor, King James I, wanted to make peace with the Spanish, Raleigh's activities stood in the way of this political goal. Raleigh was imprisoned for piracy and remained

Fig. 7: Queen Elizabeth I places her hand on the globe: the so-called "Armada portrait" of Queen Elizabeth I by an unknown painter, ca. 1588 (Woburn Abbey).

in the Tower of London until 1616. When he returned home from another expedition to Guyana after his release in 1618, he was arrested again at the instigation of Spain, and beheaded at the end of October – a scandalous verdict by the British judiciary.

Sir Francis Drake (1540-1596), the "Queen's Pirate" (Fig. 4), was more fortunate. He captured Spanish and Portuguese treasure ships for Queen Elizabeth I and plundered them. Following in the footsteps of the Portuguese explorer Fernão de Magalhães (Magellan) – who had attempted the first circumnavigation of the globe from 1519 to 1522 but was killed in 1521 in the Philippines in a fight with natives – Drake succeeded in sailing around the world from 1577-1580 on his ship the Golden Hind (Fig. 6). Unlike the unfortunate Magellan, Drake became the first sailor to circumnavigate the globe when he returned to his port of departure.

[4] R. STRONG, Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I, London 1987, 130-133.

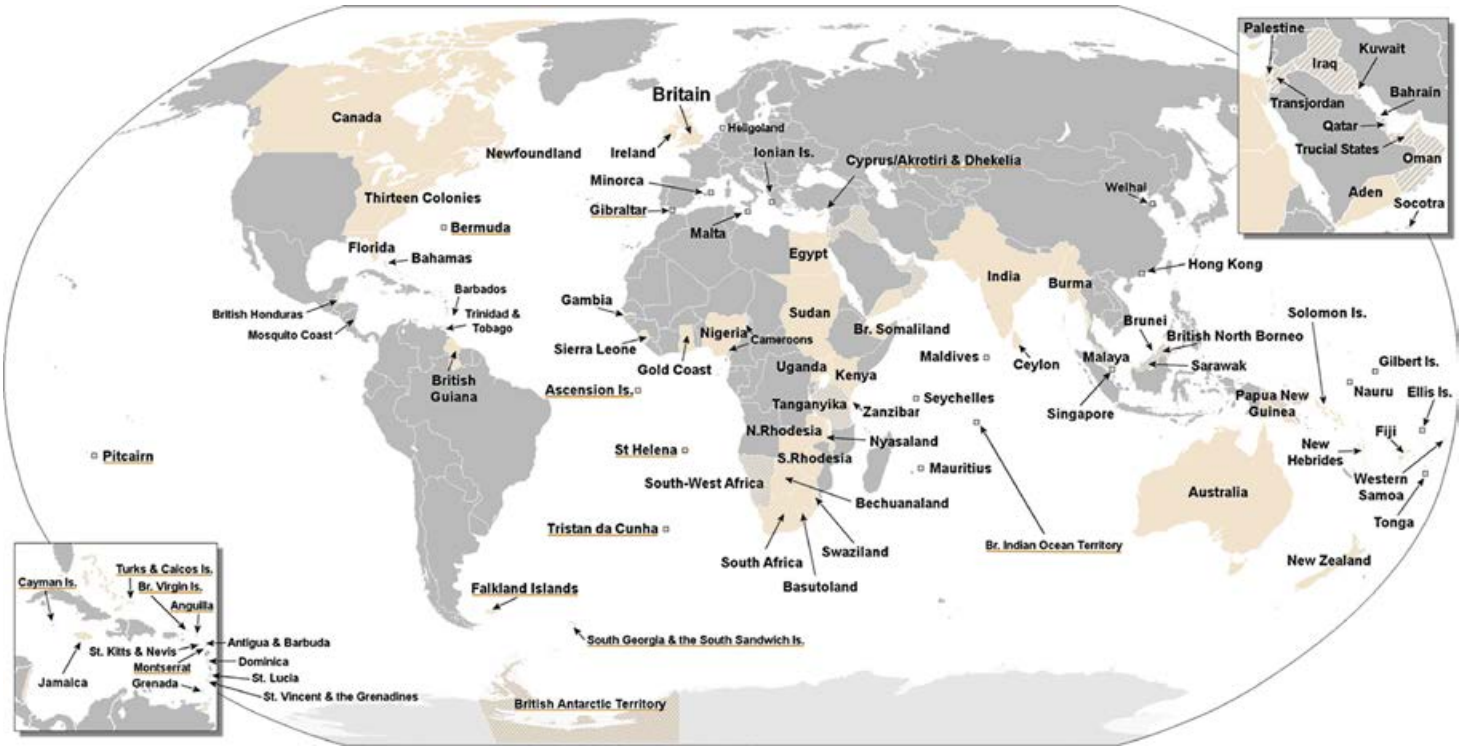


Fig. 8: The former British Empire
(RedStorm1368, Wikipedia, see British Empire).

A global empire emerges: trading companies and settlements (1583-1783)

Over the next 300 years, Britain brought around a quarter of the Earth under its rule, thereby governing almost a quarter of the world's population (Fig. 8). It created an empire "on which the sun never sets" – the largest empire the world had ever seen.

After the voyages of discovery and plunder by Raleigh and Drake, it was initially trading companies that built the British Empire in the two centuries from around 1583 to 1783. The most important of these were the East India Company (1600-1858/1874),[5] the Royal African Company (1671-1752)[6] and the South Sea Company (1711-1853)[7], the last of which triggered a major financial scandal (Fig. 9a, b, c). With their quest to derive economic gain from the newly-"discovered" and -conquered regions, these trading companies secured a dominant position for Great Britain in world trade. British settlements sprang up throughout the areas under their control, attracting British and foreign emigrants who had left their homelands for religious and economic reasons. These settlements were of strategic importance to the trading companies and to the British state because they secured territorial possessions and could help defend them. In some cases the settlers were convicts who had been banished or disposed of overseas.

The success of British colonial policy soon became apparent. In various peace treaties of the 18th century, the British were able to secure their colonial empire through skilful diplomacy and the gradual onset of the Industrial Revolution, which made England the leading economic and technological power. At the expense of France, Spain, and the Netherlands, the British expanded their colonial empire. At the end of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713), Britain gained French territories in Canada and Spanish Gibraltar in the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), and at the end of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), it acquired most of France's remaining Canadian territories as well as France's possessions in India in the Treaty of Paris (1763). Britain was also able to temporarily take possession of Spanish Florida.

However, this phase of British colonial history ended with the loss of the thirteen North American colonies

Fig. 9 a-c:
Coat of arms of the East India Company (Trajan 117, Wikipedia).
Coat of arms of the Royal African Company (Cakelot1, Wikipedia).
Coat of arms of the South Sea Company (MostEpic, Wikipedia).

1,5:1

Fig. 10: Great Britain, five pounds in gold:
Elizabeth II // 200th anniversary of the Battle of Trafalgar
(Künker Auction 214, 21 June 2012, Lot 7112.
Hammer Price: 1,600 euros).

and the founding of the United States in 1776-1783. The bitter setback did not mean the end of British expansionism, but was indeed a serious crisis.[8] The loss spurred the British on over the long term, however. Great Britain endeavoured to make up for this colonial loss as quickly as possible by acquiring new colonies in other parts of the world. The only obstacle standing in its way was France, which had supported the thirteen American colonies in their secession from Great Britain.

The British prevail against France (1798-1815)

Great Britain achieved its final victory over France in the colonial and economic conflict between the two powers through its struggle with Napoleon. In 1798, the Corsican general attempted to severely disrupt Britain's connection with India by conquering Egypt. Lord Nelson (1758-1804) was able to repel this attack by defeating the French Mediterranean fleet at Abukir off the coast of Egypt in August of 1798. The decisive event came with the Battle of Trafalgar – at the northwestern end of the Strait of Gibraltar – on 21 October 1805 (Fig. 10), a battle in which Great Britain, under the command of Vice-Admirals Horatio Nelson (1758-1805) and Cuthbert Collingwood (1750-1810), was victorious over the French fleet. With this triumph over France, the British gained control of the seas. As a result, the Continental Blockade proclaimed by Napoleon in 1806 – an

5 I. BARROW, The East India Company 1600-1858: A Short History with Documents, Indianapolis (Ind.) 2017.

6 K.G. DAVIES, The Royal African Company, London 1999; M W.A. PETTIGREW, Freedom's Debt: the Royal African Company and the politics of the Atlantic slave trade, 1672-1752, Chapel Hill (NC) 2013.

7 H. PAUL, The South Sea Bubble: An Economic History of its Origins and Consequences, London 2013.

8 See WENDE (op. cit.) 117-122.

Fig. 11: St. Helena and Ascension, 25 pounds (five ounces of silver) 1986: Elizabeth II // 165th anniversary of Napoleon's death on St. Helena (Künker eLive Auction 57, 2 December 2019, Lot 653. Hammer Price: 90 euros).

attempt to prevent Britain from trading with Europe – had little effect. In the end, Britain's most dangerous enemy from 1815 until his death in 1821 was forced to live in exile on a remote island of the British colonial empire – St. Helena (Fig. 11).

The climax: from colonialism to imperialism (1815-1945)

The British used their victory over France to expand their colonial empire at the expense of their rivals. At the Congress of Vienna in 1815, their possession of the colonial territories they had conquered during the war was confirmed. These were mainly the Ionian Islands (see Fig. 12b) and Malta in the Mediterranean, and the Cape Colony and the islands of Mauritius and Ceylon in the Indian Ocean. With the Cape Colony, Mauritius and Ceylon, the British secured their sea route to India, which had become the jewel in Great Britain's colonial crown. After the Great Indian Rebellion in 1858, the British state withdrew the East India Company's rule over India; India became a crown colony. In 1876, Queen Victoria assumed the title of "Empress of India" (Fig. 30). After the completion of the Suez Canal in 1869, Britain repeatedly attempted to secure its right of passage through the canal – which greatly shortened the route to India – if it could not gain control of the canal altogether. In 1882 Britain occupied Egypt, thereby securing unrestricted access to the fastest connection between Great Britain and India. The British attempted to consolidate their colonial possessions around the world.

In the 19th century under Queen Victoria (1837-1901), the now-global British colonial empire reached its zenith. Large land masses around the globe were ruled by the British: Canada; in Africa, a broad strip of land stretching from south to north across the entire continent from the Cape of Good Hope to Egypt, as well as the Gold Coast and Nigeria; in Asia, India with Burma and Ceylon, as well as areas in present-day Indonesia and Malaysia; and finally, the fifth continent, Australia, and New Zealand. In addition, many smaller islands as well as military- and trading bases formed parts of the British Empire (Fig. 8). All the world's oceans were ruled by the British. Great Britain acted as the world's policeman, so that, in reference to the "Pax Romana" created by the Romans, people began to speak of the "Pax Britannica". The pirates of yesteryear had now become protectors of seafaring and trade (see Fig. 12a) – "Rule Britannia" had been realised. It was now impossible to avoid understanding and describing Great Britain and its colonies as an "empire": Colonialism had become imperialism, i.e. the desire to create and be a world empire. The British had initiated a world trade system that they dominated.

Dissolution (1945 to the present)

After the Second World War, the largest empire in world history began to disintegrate. A major milestone was the loss of the Indian Empire: In 1947/48, its constituent states of India, Pakistan and Burma were granted independence. Just as the reign of Queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603) marked the beginning of the empire's rise, the long reign of Queen Elizabeth II (1952-2023) stands for its rapid decline.

After the Second World War, the United States rose to become the world's leading political and economic power. Since it was no longer possible to establish a "colonial" empire, it turned its attention to creating an "empire of influence". In the second half of the 20th century, the costs of maintaining the British Empire and the necessary supporting naval fleet began to overwhelm Great Britain and its economic power. In addition, colonialism – both present and past – was now being heavily criticised all over the world. The British were particularly criticised for their involvement in the slave trade. It did not help much that Great Britain had taken the decisive initiatives to abolish it. Freedom- and independence movements spread throughout many British colonial territories, often supported by the communist Soviet Union, which in

Fig. 12 a-b:
Bahamas 1806, 1 penny: George III // Ship;
EXPULSIS PIRATIS RESTITUTA COMMERCIA/
Trade was restored following the expulsion of pirates
(Roma Num. e-Sale 77, 26 November 2020, Lot 1614.
Hammer Price: £150).
Ionian Islands 1819, 2 obols = 1 penny 1819,
Marcus lion with a bundle of arrows:
IONIKON KPATOΣ, Ionian state power // Britannia
(Künker Auction 349, 24 March 2021, Lot 5698.
Hammer Price: 320 euros).

Fig. 13: Coat of arms of the Hudson Bay Company (Qyd, Wikipedia).

turn wanted to retain its own colonial territories in the Caucasus, Siberia and Central Asia that had been won by the Russian tsars. To this day, the Russian Federation retains large parts of its former colonial possessions.

The United Kingdom remains closely linked, more in some cases and less in others, to many of its former colonies through the Commonwealth. The colonies and overseas territories that remain under British rule are now only small territories, the maintenance and defence of which place a considerable burden on the British national budget.

The money of the empire: the lack of an empire-wide currency

Unlike the Roman Empire, which had been able to establish a largely uniform currency in gold, silver, and bronze throughout the Mediterranean region beginning during the reign of Emperor Augustus, the British had difficulty establishing an imperial currency – comparable to their national currency the pound sterling – from the outset. Not least in terms of its currency, the empire was to remain an "unfinished world empire".[9]

This was initially due to a lack of precious metals. The British did not have enough gold and silver to supply their colonies with coins of value. In fact, Britain had great difficulty obtaining enough coin metal for its own needs.

Great Britain also supplied only minor amounts of small change and coins to its colonies, as evidenced by a few penny pieces (Fig. 12a and b) and small silver coins. Barter flourished, especially in those parts of the empire where the use of coinage was not traditional. Tobacco, sugar, rum, furs, and paper money often replaced coinage. Fur and hides were particularly common forms of payment in Canada. This is reflected in the coat of arms of the Hudson's Bay Company, which features the English St. George's Cross. In its four corners are beavers, whose fur was particularly sought after (Fig. 13).[10]

[9] See the title of the book by DARWIN, op. cit.; for coins and currency circulation; see, for example, R. CHALMERS, A History of Currency in the British Colonies, London 1893, and J. REMICK – J. SOMER – A. DOWLE – P. FINN, The Guide Book and Catalogue of British Commonwealth Coins, 1649-1971, Winnipeg 31971.

[10] The Hudson Bay Company's motto "pro pelle cutem" has been interpreted in many different ways.

Since the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, the British had resorted to remedying their precious metal shortage by raiding Spanish silver ships and minting English coins from the precious metal they captured. Some British coins even boast of this criminal method of obtaining silver and gold. For example, some of the gold and silver coins of Queen Anne bear the inscription VIGO. During the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714), British warships attacked a Spanish silver fleet in the northern Spanish port of Vigo in October 1702, which was busy unloading South American gold and silver. The British captured precious metals worth £1.5 million in the Vigo raid. In 1703, these were minted into gold coins (guineas) and silver coins (crowns [Fig. 14], half-crowns, shillings and sixpences), which are now highly sought-after by collectors and fetch high prices at auction. 11 Under George II, English privateers captured a Spanish treasure fleet in 1745 carrying precious metals from Peru worth 3 million dollars. Of this booty, 700,000 dollars went to the Royal Mint, which minted British gold and silver coins (Fig. 15) with the inscription LIMA.[12]

Fig. 14: Great Britain, Crown 1703 VIGO, Queen Anne // Coats of arms of England, Scotland, France and Ireland arranged in a cross, with the star of the Order of the Garter in the centre (Künker Auction 349, 24 March 2021, Lot 5705. Hammer Price: 3,200 euros).

Fig. 15: Great Britain, Crown 1746 LIMA, George II // Coats of arms of England & Scotland, France, Ireland and Hanover arranged in a cross, with the star of the Order of the Garter in the centre (Künker eLive Auction 398, 17 November 2023, Lot 4103. Hammer Price: 1,350 euros).

Fig. 16: Great Britain, five guineas 1699, bust of William III, with elephant below // Coats of arms of England & Scotland, France and Ireland in a cross, with an upright lion in the centre, from which four sceptres extend (Künker Auction 331, 30 January 2020. Lot 838. Hammer Price: 55,000 euros).

In addition to stolen precious metals, the English Mint was increasingly able to draw on gold from Africa ("Sahara gold"), which was mainly collected in the African trading posts of the Royal African Company on the Gold Coast. Due to this origin, the name guinea (in the sense of "West Africa") became established for the British gold coins minted between 1663 and 1814. Some guinea coins feature an elephant with a fortress-like carrying basket or howdah on its back in memory of the procurer of this coin gold: It was the heraldic animal of the Royal African Company (Fig. 16, cf. Fig. 9b). Other British trading companies – the East India Company (EIC) and the South Sea Company (SSC) – also supplied precious metals to the Royal Mint, which is noted on some British coinage (Fig. 17 a and b). Between 1723 and 1726, small quantities of native silver were apparently supplied by the Welsh Copper Company, which is mentioned on some shillings (Fig. 18) and sixpence coins.[13]

The Spanish dollar as a widely-used currency in the British Empire

Since the Royal Mint was unable to supply the colonies of the Empire with legal tender, the colonies resorted to foreign currencies when they needed coinage.

In North America, therefore, the Spanish silver dollar introduced by the Spanish and the Spanish gold doubloon (= 2 escudos) and gold escudo remained the most common means of payment. The so-called Spanish dollar, which is an 8-real silver coin, shows the image of the Spanish King on the front and the crowned Spanish coat of arms flanked by the two "Pillars of Hercules" on the back. These are the two pillars which, according to mythical tradition, the Greek hero Heracles erected on either side of the Strait of Gibraltar, i.e. on the European and African sides, to mark the edge of the world at the Okeanos (i.e. the Atlantic Ocean). He is said to have written on the pillars: NON PLVS ULTRA ("No further!"). After the "discovery" of America, the Spanish removed the first word from the inscription on the pillars. A ribbon now winds around the pillars on the 8-real coin, bearing the words PLVS VLTRA ("Beyond this point!").[14]

Fig. 17a-b: Great Britain, five guineas 1729 EIC, George II // Coat of arms (Künker Auction 269, 1 October 2015. Hammer Price: 20,000 euros)
Great Britain, Crown 1723 SSC, George I // Coat of arms (Künker Auction 255, 7 October 2014, Lot 5289. Hammer Price: 3,400 euros).

Fig. 18: Great Britain, shilling 1723
Welsh Copper Company, George I // Coat of arms (Künker Auction 261, 11 March 2015, Lot 5643. Hammer Price: 1,500 euros).

Fig. 19: Spain, 8 reales 1780, Carlos III // Coat of arms (Künker eLive Auction 84, 4 November 2024, Lot 5144. Hammer Price: 195 euros).

Fig. 20: Great Britain, Spanish 8 reales 1792 counterstamped with the portrait of George III. (Künker Auction 255, 7 October 2014, Lot 5361. Hammer Price: 500 euros).

This 8-real coin was called the "Spanish dollar" because its size (approx. 38 mm) and weight (approx. 26 g) corresponded to the (imperial) thaler, which was called talaro in Spanish and dollar in English. 8-real coins (or "Spanish dollars") were produced in large quantities in Potosí, Lima, and Mexico City and formed the first global currency. From these mints, both the Pacific and Atlantic regions could be easily supplied with this money (Fig. 19).

In 1792, the Spanish dollar became the basis and model for the American dollar, which adopted its size, weight and fineness. Until 1857, Spanish and American dollars circulated side by side as valid means of payment in the United States. The symbol for the US dollar – the symbol $ – is a throwback to the design of the Spanish dollar: With its S-form, the dollar symbol represents the banner which was placed above the two pillars of Hercules or entwined around them.

The British not only allowed the Spanish dollar to circulate in their colonies, but also used it, with the image of George III stamped on it (Fig. 20), for their own payments at times. It was too expensive to melt down

[11] H. KAMEN, The Destruction of the Spanish Silver Fleet at Vigo in 1702, in Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research 39, 1966, 165-173.

[12] J. DUNCAN, The Enigma of "Lima", The London Numismatic Club, http://www.mernick.org.uk/lnc/talks/lima.htm; R. KUHN, The Paradox of the Lima Edition – Numismatics and Heroism, in: Numismatics in Hanover, Works on Monetary, Economic and Cultural History 2021.

[13] G. ODDIE, The Welsh Copper Company and its Silver Shillings, BNS Research Blog, 20 September 2024.

[14] H.-G. NESSELRATH, The Pillars of Hercules – a mythical landmark and its significance in classical antiquity, in Yearbook of the Academy of Sciences in Göttingen 2008, 2009, 226-232; H. WALTER, On the origin and afterlife of the legend of the Pillars of Hercules, in R. Stupperich (ed.), Living Antiquity. Receptions of Antiquity in Politics, Art and Science in the Modern Age. Colloquium for Wolfgang Schiering, Mannheim 1995, 13-27.

Fig. 21a: New South Wales, Holey Dollar 1813 (Künker Auction 316, 31 January 2019, Lot 881. Hammer Price: 97,500 euros).

Fig. 21b: New South Wales, Dump 1813 (Künker Auction 359, 26 January 2022, Lot 795. Hammer Price: 28,000 euros).

Fig. 22: Trade dollar, Calcutta 1902. Britannia standing in front view, holding a trident in her raised right hand and a British shield in her lowered left hand. In the background is a sailing ship (Künker Auction 254, 6 October 2014, Lot 2249. Hammer Price: 120 euros).

Fig. 23: India, rupee 1835 EIC, William IV // wreath (Künker Auction 48, 27 February 2018, Lot 988. Hammer Price: 60 euros).

such a widely-accepted coin in order to mint British coins from the silver obtained from it. The financial situation in Great Britain was particularly strained during the Napoleonic Wars, and everything possible had to be done to avoid unnecessary costs.

At the beginning of the 19th century, a British governor of the Australian penal colony of New South Wales remedied the shortage of coinage by importing 40,000 Spanish dollars. In order to keep this silver money in circulation in Australia and prevent it from flowing into other cash-strapped regions, he had a convict who had been deported from England for counterfeiting coins punch out the centre of the dollars. This turned one coin into two: the "Holey Dollar", worth 5 shillings, and the "Dump", worth 15 pence = 1¼ shillings (Fig. 21 a and b).[15]

In East Asia, initially in the Spanish Philippines and later also in China and Japan, the Spanish dollar had been in circulation since 1565. This tradition led the British to mint their own "trade dollars" for trade in East Asia from 1895 to 1935. They weigh 26.95 g and have a diameter of 39 mm, with a fineness of 900/1000. The British trade dollars show Britannia surrounded by a "meander band" on the front. In her right hand she holds the trident of the sea god Poseidon, in her left an oval shield decorated with the Union Jack. A sailing ship can be seen in the background. On the reverse side, Arabic-Malay script (Jawi) is surrounded by a meander band, with a Chinese symbol of eternity in the centre. British trade dollars were mainly minted in Calcutta and Bombay, but also in London (Fig. 22).

The rupee in the empire

In addition to the "dollar zone", there was also a "rupee zone" in the empire, which stretched across India and the areas around the Indian Ocean. The rupee was also used as a coin unit in German East Africa. The rupee – its name is derived from the Sanskrit word for silver – had been in circulation in India since 1526.

English contacts with India date back to the 16th century. Sir Francis Drake brought valuable spices from India to England during his circumnavigation of the globe. On New Year's Eve 1600, Queen Elizabeth I granted adventurers, merchants and investors a privilege for trade with India: The East India Company was born. The British knew how to build good relations with the Mughal rulers in East India (Bengal) and were able to establish trading posts (factories) everywhere. By 1647, there were already 23 English trading posts in India. India became the starting point for the East India

Fig. 24: India, ¼ rupee 1840 EIC, Victoria // wreath
(Künker Auction 237, 8 October 2013,
Lot 3961. Hammer Price: 70 euros).

Fig. 25: India, rupee 1903,
Edward VII // value indicated framed by lotus flowers
(Künker Auction 237, 8 October 2013,
Lot 3963. Hammer Price: 320 euros).

Fig. 26: India, rupee 1938, George VI //
value indicated in a wreath of flowers
(Künker Auction 249, 30 June 2014,
Lot 472. Hammer Price: 720 euros).

Fig. 27: India, Bombay, Mohur EIC 1820 EIC,
coat of arms of the EIC // Jawi script
(Künker Auction 139, 13 March 2008,
Lot 7807. Hammer Price: 950 euros).

Fig. 28: India, Calcutta, mohur 1841, Victoria //
lion in front of palm tree
(Künker Auction 391, 25 September 2023,
Lot 557. Hammer Price: 16,000 euros).

Company's brisk trade with China. After the collapse of the Mughal Empire in 1707, the East India Company was able to significantly expand its sphere of influence in India. By the middle of the 19th century, the company controlled most of the subcontinent.

The foreign rule over India led to a major uprising in 1857/1858 (the Sepoy Rebellion), which the East India Company was able to crush with the support of the British military. However, after this hard-won victory, the English state dissolved the company and India became a crown colony. On 1 May 1876, Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India. Behind the adoption of this title was the British fear that Victoria's daughter of the same name – the wife of the German Emperor/ Kaiser Friedrich III and mother of Kaiser Wilhelm II – could one day rank above Queen Victoria as Empress. Victoria's title of "Empress of India" was intended to counteract this possibility.

Silver rupee coins of the East India Company bear the image of the English monarch on the front, but name the East India Company as the coin's issuer on the back, such as a rupee with the image of Wilhelm/William IV from 1835 (Fig. 23) and a quarter-rupee from 1840 with the portrait of the young Victoria (Fig. 24). On a rupee coin of Edward VII from 1905, the value and origin are surrounded by lotus flowers on the reverse (Fig. 25). In Hinduism, as in Buddhism, the lotus flower symbolised purity and enlightenment. On a rupee coin minted in 1938 with the image of George VI, the value is surrounded by the Scottish thistle, the Irish shamrock, the English Tudor rose and the Indian lotus flower (Fig. 26): India was thus firmly incorporated into British floral symbolism.

Gold coins – named after the Persian word for stamp or seal, mohur – were also minted by the East India Company. An early type shows the coat of arms of the trading company on the front; two lions hold the shield, above which is a helmet on which a rising lion holds a crown; on the shield itself is the English Cross of St. George (in the upper left corner of which is a quartered shield with the French lilies and the three lions [or leopards] of England) and below it, on a scroll, the motto of the East India Company in Latin: AVSPICIO REGIS ET SENATVS ANGLIAE, "Under the protection of the King and Parliament of England"). On the reverse of these mohurs is an inscription in Jawi script (Fig. 27). One of the most beautiful mohur coins is the gold piece from 1841, which shows a youthful portrait of Queen Victoria with two hair bands and a braid pinned at the nape of her neck. On the reverse, the English lion strides majestically past an Indian palm tree (Fig. 28).

[15] The 1813 Dump & Holey Dollar | Coinworks.

Fig. 29: India, Calcutta, mohur 1862, Queen Victoria // value indicated with ornamental border (Künker Auction 292, 16 March 2017, Lot 5268. Hammer Price: 2,600 euros).

Fig. 30: India, Calcutta, mohur 1882, Victoria as Empress // value indication with ornamental border (Künker Auction 285, 2 February 2017, Lot 178. Hammer Price: 3,200 euros).

Fig. 31: India, Calcutta, mohur = 15 rupees 1918, George V // value indicated with ornamental border (Künker Auction 30.9.2021, Lot 5137. Hammer Price: 2,600 euros).

While the East India Company was still the mint master for this coin, the 1862 mohur was issued by the British state and displayed the image of the crowned queen (Fig. 29). The 1882 mohur shows the same image of Victoria, but the title now reads EMPRESS (Fig. 30). A mohur from 1918 with the portrait of George V indicates that the mohur had been fixed at a value of 15 rupees – a rate that had been in place since 1898, when India switched to the gold standard due to serious currency problems (Fig. 31).

The sovereign in the Empire

Of course, the British stuck to their goal of establishing the British pound sterling in their empire, despite the great difficulties. After the turmoil of the Napoleonic Wars, the English introduced the sovereign, the pound sterling in gold, in 1817. Thanks to the large gold discoveries in Australia, but thanks also to the exploitation of gold deposits in Canada, South Africa, and India, Great Britain was able to help the gold sovereign and thus its sterling currency achieve a breakthrough (Fig. 32a-d): Over 1.5 billion gold sovereigns were minted.[16] However, this did not prevent the dollar and the rupee from maintaining their position in those colonies that still belong to Great Britain today.

A summary

The monetary history of the British Empire clearly shows that the largest empire in world history remained an incomplete empire in monetary terms, because it lacked an imperial currency. The sheer size of the empire and the encounters, and often confrontations, between the British and the very different cultures and civilisations of the world repeatedly overwhelmed Great Britain – despite its great flexibility, especially in the 20th century, when the spirit of the times brought about completely new perspectives and value judgements, but also competitors in the quest for global prestige and world power.

At the very beginning of the empire's development, the success of the British was largely based on the seaworthiness and brutality of the British navy in capturing foreign precious metals and coinage. The inhumane ruthlessness of large trading companies – particularly in the slave- and opium trades – combined with an unbridled pursuit of profit, characterised the expansion of the British colonial empire in the 17th and 18th centuries. The trading companies and the colonies supplied the mother country with the precious metals it needed for its own coinage. In the first half of the

1,5:1

Fig. 32a: Australia, Sovereign Pattern 1855, Victoria // Wreath (Künker Auction 316, 31 January 2019, Lot 869. Hammer Price: 140,000 euros).

1,5:1

Fig. 32b: Australia, Sydney, Sovereign 1884, Victoria // coat of arms (Künker eLive Auction 69, 320 November 2021, Lot 390. Hammer Price: 430 euros).

1,5:1

Fig. 32c: Australia, Melbourne, Sovereign 1885, Victoria // St. George (Künker eLive Auction 69, 30 November 2021, Lot 392. Hammer Price: 350 euros).

1,5:1

Fig. 32d: Australia, Perth, Sovereign 1901, Victoria with widow's veil // St. George (Künker Auction 230, 14 March 2013, Lot 7079. Hammer Price: 320 euros).

19th century, it was primarily British inventiveness and entrepreneurial spirit – which produced the Industrial Revolution – that brought the empire to its zenith. By eliminating the trading companies and taking over territorial administration itself, the British state transformed its colonial possessions into a true British Empire, which, however, still lacked a unified structure and, in particular, a common currency. Even more than money, it was the English language and the British monarchs that created connections and cohesion. This changed only briefly when huge gold deposits were discovered in some areas of the empire in the second half of the 19th century. This led to an autumn boom for the golden pound sterling (the sovereign), which became the most minted coin in the world, but the gold standard lost its significance after the First World War, so that the sovereign did not become the legal tender of a large currency area, but merely a popular investment coin. Since 1987, it has been rivalled in this role by the 100-pound Britannia coin (Fig. 33).

1,5:1

Fig. 33: Great Britain, Britannia bullion coin 1994, 1 ounce fine gold 1994 (photo JN).

[16] M. Marsh – St. Hill – J.W. Mussell, The Gold Sovereign, Exeter 2017.

Künker Helps Toruń Recover Stolen Coins

Between 2008 and 2017, 361 coins disappeared from the Toruń regional museum. According to the Toruń public prosecutor's office, 194 of these coins were stolen by the curator. Since then, 61 coins have been recovered – some of them thanks to the help of Künker.

By Ursula Kampmann

Museum director Marek Rubnikowicz must have been devastated when he discovered in January 2017 that an inventory check of the numismatic collection revealed that 361 valuable pieces were missing. Why didn't he report the loss immediately? Well, we can only speculate. Polish newspapers reported that the conditions in the museum did not meet today's standards. The media said that inventories were not kept properly, people were said to have been drinking while working, and losing and finding coins was commonplace at the museum. In any case, a report was not filed until November 2018, which then allowed the authorities to investigate and identify the person responsible and try recover the stolen items, if possible.

The regional museum of Toruń, where 361 coins went missing between 2008 and 2017, is housed in Toruń's medieval town hall. Photo: UK.

Was It a Joint Effort by a Curator and a Coin Dealer?

On 21 June 2023, the trial started for curator Adam M., who had retired in 2017. The man who had been in charge of the coin collection since 1978 was accused of stealing 194 pieces worth around half a million euros between 2008 and his retirement. He partially confessed the crime. He explained that he repeatedly stole coins due to economic hardship: his wife had left him, and he had to look after three children. Money was tight, he argued, which is why he started stealing coins, just one or two, at most five at a time.

He took the coins to a dealer he had worked with for years. The curator allegedly brokered collections for this dealer for a commission. The coin dealer, who is also on trial, denies knowing that the coins were stolen.

The former mint of Toruń is a residential building today. Photo: UK.

He bought the coins that had been stolen by the curator for several hundred or up to 2,500 zlotys (= approx. 600 euros) each. In total, he received around 200,000 zlotys (= approx. 50,000 euros). Both defendants face a prison sentence of up to 15 years.

Künker Teamed Up with the Polish Ministry of Culture

The Polish coin dealer used various channels to put the stolen coins from the Toruń museum on the market, where they were traded and sold. A small part of the stolen coins ended up at Künker after passing through several intermediaries as consignments for auction. Ulrich Künker comments: "When we were informed about the thefts, it was terrible for us. We were wondering whether we had properly done our due diligence. Of course we had, but it is impossible to identify a piece as stolen when you do not know that there was a theft and when the museum's inventory is not made public. Furthermore, the coins had been sold and resold in the meantime, which is why our consignor provided plausible information about their provenance. But it was clear that these were the pieces in question. We were therefore faced with a dilemma. Our customer data is confidential. We cannot give it out like that. But we did not want to wait for a court order either. So we called all our customers who had purchased one of the coins. We were able to locate almost all of the pieces and bought them back with our own money. On 18 September 2023, we handed them over to a Polish Ministry of Culture representative in Osnabrück. As a result, eight coins were quickly and unbureaucratically returned to their rightful owner."

The Importance of Toruń

Toruń is one of the few Polish cities that were not destroyed during the Second World War. Its beautiful old town, home to medieval brick buildings, is now a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Many tourists visit one of the branches of the regional museum. These include the Copernicus House, where Astronomer Nicolaus Copernicus lived and worked.

The regional museum of Toruń has existed since 1861, and its numismatic department was established in 1948, although it was integrated into the historical department in 1960. The museum's coin collection is impressive. With about 50,000 pieces, it makes up half of the entire collection. Toruń had an active mint between 1237 and 1765, and the regional museum boast a nearly complete collection of Toruń coins.

Numismatics as Part of the Polish DNA

Poland has a long numismatic tradition and a very active numismatic life. Ulrich Künker comments: "When we sponsored the International Numismatic Congress in Warsaw in 2022, I was impressed by the vibrant Polish coin community. I had the pleasure of meeting many academics, museum curators, and coin collectors. Our team made many good friends in Poland during the congress. I would like to emphasize at this point how many great people there are in Polish museums and in the Polish coin trade. This should not be diminished by the fact that we have to deal with the occasional black sheep, just like everywhere else. It is important to me that we take joint action against such individuals, because otherwise the good reputation of the honest coin trade and of honest museum curators will suffer."

A ceremony at the Dresden Coin Cabinet: Professor Paul Arnold is presented with the printed version of his dissertation.

On 28 February 2025 Dr Sylvia Karges, Director of the Dresden Coin Cabinet since November 2023, hosted a ceremony. In the Cabinet's well-filled lecture room with its magnificent view of the Elbe, Frau Karges' predecessor Professor Paul Arnold – who headed the Cabinet from 1968 to 2002 – was presented with a freshly- printed copy of his dissertation from 1962.

By Johannes Nollé

Paul Arnold received his doctorate in 1962 after studying Classical Archaeology and Ancient History (with a focus on early- and prehistory, ancient numismatics, and art history) at the Karl Marx University in Leipzig. The subject of his doctoral thesis was "Ethnological depictions on Roman imperial coins of the Imperial Era: history of motifs and imperial propaganda". His supervisor was the archaeologist Professor Robert Heidenreich (1899-1990).

The young scholar Paul Arnold. Photo: Paul Arnold, private

Writing a numismatic dissertation of this kind was associated with great difficulties at the time and demanded a great deal of effort from a doctoral student. This began with the procurement of literature, as the books destroyed in the World War II bombing had still not been completely replaced – and many libraries, especially in the GDR, did not have the money to buy old or newly-published literature. If a doctoral student had been able to track down most of the required books at great expense and with ingenious resourcefulness, she or he was ultimately faced with the problem of submitting the necessary copies of the dissertation. At that time and location, these could only be produced in typewritten form with carbon copies. I don't even care to imagine how much concentration was needed to avoid the typos, which were difficult to correct – and how often this was not possible, so that a new start had to be made. One such carbon copy, which is in Professor Arnold's possession, was the starting point for the printed version of his dissertation. As fewer than ten copies of Paul Arnold's dissertation exist, like most typewritten dissertations it was hardly accessible: Both the university and institute libraries kept it under lock and key in order to protect these rare specimen copies. Valuable works such as these have therefore hardly been disseminated. They were neither taken into account in factual questions, nor acknowledged in works on the history of science and scholarship. Thus it came about that Paul Arnold is well-known as an important scholar of early modern numismatics – especially of Saxon coinage and monetary history – but only a few know that his early numismatic work was in Roman numismatics. After Dr Schwarz and I had included Paul Arnold's magnificent book on the "Sächsische Münzgeschichte 1486-1611" in the

Fig. 1: The well-filled library hall of the Dresden Coin Cabinet on the occasion of the presentation to Professor Arnold. Fig. 2: Professor Arnold expresses his thanks. Fig. 3: Fritz Rudolf Künker, Sylvia Karges, Paul Arnold, Hertha Schwarz, Johannes Nollé. Photos: Alexandra Elflein-Schwier

"Nomismata" and published it as Volume 12 of the series, he confided in us his wish to be able to hold his dissertation in his hands in print. In a conversation with Fritz Rudolf Künker, with whom Paul Arnold had worked for decades on a trustful and friendly basis for the benefit of German numismatics and the Dresden Cabinet, the decision was made to try to realise Professor Arnold's wish. The typology developed in his work is still very useful for recording imperial coinage with barbarian depictions. The same applies to the historical classification of motifs and the function of these coins in the context of Roman imperial propaganda. Numerous works on "barbarians" have been published since this dissertation was written, but not on the specific aspect to which Paul Arnold dedicated his dissertation. Paul Arnold's dissertation is also a piece of academic and ideological history, especially as the title refers to "ethnological representations" and not "barbarian representations". However, the text itself refers to "barbarian types" and "barbarian warriors" because the use of this term is unavoidable, and because the word "ethnological" raises expectations that those small depictions on the coins, created by die-cutters who were unfamiliar or only vaguely familiar with the costumes of those

peoples, cannot fulfil. To this day, the term “barbarian” – due not least to its post-antique use – is a term that divides opinion. As historians, however, we should accept without any tendency to prejudge or moralise that it was used by Greek- and Latin speakers to refer to those people who lived outside the borders of the empire and who spoke neither Greek nor Latin. Barbaros initially meant nothing more than “stammerer”. The term could, but did not have to, imply a crude and uncivilised way of life: By broadening the term, the barbarian went from being a non-participant in language to a non-civilised participant. Through this fluctuation in meaning, the term was able to gain ever new accents in terms of time and situation, and continuously set discussions in motion.

The conversion of the typewritten carbon paper version of Arnold’s dissertation into an electronic print version was extremely time-consuming. I am particularly grateful to my co-editor Hertha Schwarz for transcribing the work (it was impossible to scan it) and for the successful layout. While the text is identical to the original dissertation – apart from a few corrected typos and occasional linguistic clarifications – new approaches had to be taken for its illustration, and we were able to draw on images from the trade. This case is another example of how important it is for collectors, scholars, and the trade to work together, and how trusting and understanding they should be towards each other.

Hertha Schwarz and I would not have been able to execute our plan to present Professor Paul Arnold with a printed version of his dissertation, despite the huge amount of work invested, if it had not been for the Künker auction house, whose senior partner Fritz Rudolf Künker is one of the most important patrons of numismatics in Germany. It is hardly possible to list all of his personal honours and those of his company – and knowing him as I do, I imagine he would be embarrassed if it were done. Nevertheless, I would like to thank him most sincerely for financing the print version of Professor Paul Arnold’s dissertation, which he provided as part of the academic sponsorship of the Künker auction house. The printing was then realised in the proven cooperation with the Rudolf Habelt-Verlag in Bonn. We are proud that we, as scholars of antiquity and numismatics, have a longstanding partner in this publishing house.

Professor Arnold’s dissertation is available from the auction house Künker or the Habelt-Verlag in Bonn at a price of 39 euros (plus postage). Fritz Rudolf Künker took the opportunity to travel to Dresden in person with his wife for the presentation of the dissertation. After the friendly welcome of the guests by Dr Karges, Herr

Arnold, Paul
Ethnological depictions
on Roman imperial coins of the imperial period:
history of motifs and imperial propaganda.
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Künker gave an extremely insightful speech in which he outlined the stages of his collaboration with Paul Arnold and thus sketched a piece of numismatic, institutional, and academic history. After my brief presentation of the project, Professor Arnold spoke. His deeply-felt gratitude and joy were tangibly expressed in his very thoughtfully-delivered words.

Alexandra Elflein-Schwier from the Künker company was also present; she had provided insightful and helpful organisational support for the project from the very beginning. After the speeches and the presentation of the book in the pleasant atmosphere of the Dresden Cabinet, the guests were able to round off the celebration with an excellent buffet of local delicacies provided by Künker.

South Africa: The Museum of the South African Mint

An encounter with Oom Paul – that is still possible in today's South Africa. The rainbow nation is proud of its present, but does not deny its past. This is why, in the small museum of the South African Mint in Johannesburg, numismatic evidence of the present can be seen right next to that of the past.

By Ursula Kampmann

For most tourists, South Africa stands for the Kruger National Park, luxurious lodges and the Big Five, for turbulent Cape Town with its imposing Table Mountain, great music, old wine estates with exquisite red wines and that's it. Johannesburg is not on their itinerary. And if they do go there, the visit is usually limited to the Apartheid Museum, with a brief stop to Soweto under the careful supervision of a local guide.

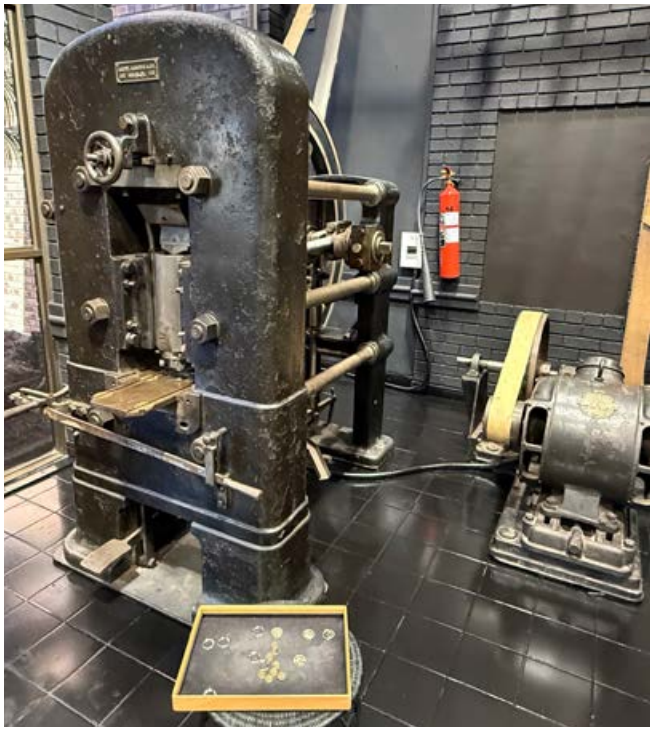
But South Africa is so much more than that. It is a wonderful country, full of challenges that its inhabitants face with a smile. South Africa is still one of the world's largest gold producers and has had a profound impact on our modern world of coinage. After all, the bullion coin was invented in South Africa. The Krugerrand is the model for all modern coins that contain one oz of gold and are sold close to the gold price.

To learn more about the history of the Krugerrand, plan a longer stay in Johannesburg. This is because the South African Mint has set up a small museum in their shop that is fascinating to see for anyone interested in numismatics.

Oom Paul – the Country's Oldest Minting Press

When you enter the museum, your first encounter will be with Oom Paul. No, we are not talking about a costumed museum attendant, but a minting press that made coinage history. It was built for Pretoria in 1891, and this is how it came about:

Around 1886, the exploration of Johannesburg's gold mines began. The gold discoveries made the modest Boer republic rich overnight and established it as a promising economic partner. Investors from all over the world competed to do business with the Boers. A consortium of Dutch, German and British financiers convinced the Volksraad of the Zuid Afrikaanse Republik to grant them permission to establish a



Oom Paul – this minting press from the 19th century has seen a lot.

national bank and operate a mint from 1890 onwards. The first manager and director of the new national bank was from Germany and is now considered one of the most colorful figures of the brief period of German colonialism. Wilhelm Knappe took office after causing a bloodbath and an international incident in his role as Samoan consul, and before travelling to China amid the Boxer Rebellion.

During his time in Pretoria, the young national bank ordered two minting presses from Berlin. They were produced in 1891 by Ludwig Loewe & Co., a world-famous arms and engineering company at the time, and arrived at the mint in 1892. Oom Paul, the minting press that can be seen in the museum today, was one of these machines.

Oom Paul was steam-powered and cutting-edge technology at the time. Pretoria could afford to purchase the best and most innovative technology. This paid off in the long term, as Oom Paul remained in active service for many decades. The Kruger Ponds were the first coins to be produced with this minting press, followed by countless sovereigns after the British victory in the Boer War.

However, even the latest technology becomes obsolete after a few decades. Following the Second World War, Oom Paul was only used for prestigious occasions. For example, a 1947 commemorative coin was produced to celebrate the visit of the royal family, just as the first decimal 1 cent coin of 1961 and the first Krugerrand!

This happened on 3 July 1967, and Nicolaas Diederichs, who would become South Africa's President from 1975 to 1978, acted as mint master in his capacity as minister of finance. Only a handful of guests were present, which suggests that people did not realize in 1967 how significant the first bullion coins would become.

Today, Oom Paul is celebrated as one of the oldest minting presses in the world that is still operational. If you are lucky, an employee of the South African Mint may give you a personal demonstration of how Oom Paul works.

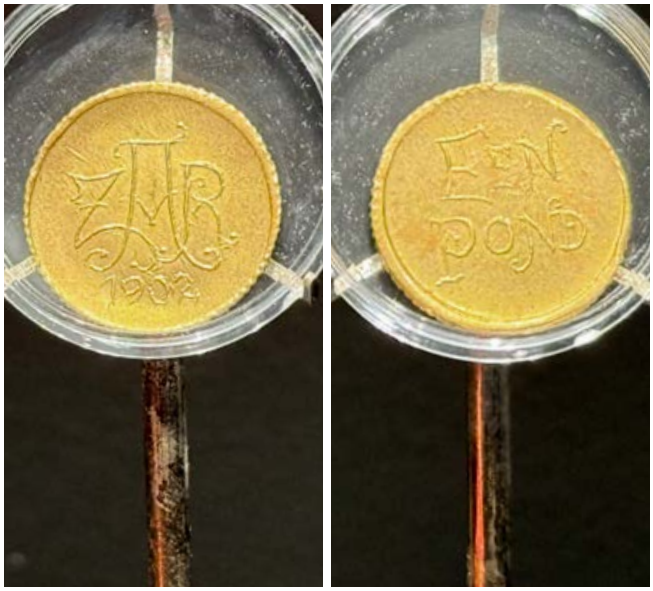
Gold on the Witwatersrand

The exhibition that guides museum visitors through South Africa's monetary history is small but significant. Of course, it is about the gold that has been mined on the Witwatersrand since 1896. The Witwatersrand is a water-rich mountain range – witwater means white water – that is of great scenic beauty. However, this beauty can only be seen in the more remote areas of the mountains, as Johannesburg has spread beyond the former gold mines to the foot of the Witwatersrand.

Locals often refer to this mountain range as the "Rand" and the name of South Africa's current currency is derived from it.

Bar made from South African gold.

Die for the burgerspond of 1874.



Obverse and reverse of the 1902 feldponds.

South Africa's First Coin: the Burgerspond

In 1874, South Africa's first coin, the burgerspond, was created on the initiative of President Thomas François. The Afrikaans word pond was used to refer to the British pound, and the coin actually imitated British coins in terms of fineness and weight. The burgerspond was even produced in Great Britain, namely in Birmingham by Ralph, Heaton & Sons. In July 1874, the first 695 coins arrived in Pretoria and caused an outcry. The portrait of the president on the national currency clashed with the Boer-Calvinist concept of the state.

South Africa's Last Coin: The Feldpond

While it is not quite as rare, the last coin minted by the almost defeated Boers is nonetheless of unusual emotional importance. Due to the war, the Boers had not had access to the Pretoria mint for a long time. That is why some commanders decided to mint their own improvised coins in the inaccessible hinterland. In Pilgrim's Rest, a soldier created a die – not very skillfully, as can be seen from the flat, simple design. They created an improvised minting press to press the die onto the soft gold. The feldponds were never used. The die broke after the creation of as few as 986 specimens. By this time, the war was finally over.

A Producer of Coins and Ammunition

As previously mentioned, the British took over the mint after their victory in the Second Boer War. Located in the main square of Pretoria, the mint did not use the entire area of its premises. Shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War, the head of the Royal Mint informed the British Minister of Finance of this. This was significant because the machines used to produce blanks and coins could easily be repurposed for the production of ammunition. Indeed, even today, Russian blank production is located in a high-security wing that is mainly dedicated to the production of weapons and ammunition.

In South Africa, the mint was converted into a player in the war economy as early as in 1938. With the start of the Second World War, these efforts were intensified. At its peak, the South African Mint employed 14,300 people across five locations to produce ammunition for British troops, including 18- and 25-pound shells, firing pins and detonators. Eventually, this came back to bite them: in the early hours of 1 March 1945, there was a big explosion that claimed the lives of 146 mint employees.

By the way, the South African Mint continued to produce ammunition alongside coins until 1964.

This small gold issue with a somewhat old-fashioned design seems rather inconspicuous. On the obverse is the characteristic tower that became the symbol of the Western Deep Levels gold mine in Carleton. "Deep" is meant quite literally. At the time the coin was produced, one of the world's deepest gold mines was located here. Rather than the National Bank or the Ministry of Finance of South Africa, the coin that marked the 60-year anniversary of the South African Union was

Showcase that recalls the time when the Pretoria mint was used as an ammunition factory.

The precursor of the Krugerrand.

commissioned by the Chamber of Mines. And this institution also played a leading role in developing the concept of the Krugerrand.

The coin shows some of the features that can also be seen on the later Krugerrand: for example, the coin – like the Krugerrand – is made of exactly 1 oz of gold, which was not common practice at the time! However, it had a .999 alloy and – as this example clearly shows – this was too soft for a coin that was struck with 1960s minting presses. The reverse, which we cannot see here, features the iconic springbok.

Drafts For the First Krugerrand

Also on display at the museum of the South African Mint are the drafts for the first Krugerrand, which are no longer produced at the Rand Refinery – as Wikipedia still states – but in-house. The production process comprises all steps from coil to blank and the final coin. The

Drafts for the Krugerrand.

Images of modern South Africa: the Cradle of Humankind series.

South African Mint is one of the few mints in the world to house the entire minting process on its premises.

The South African Mint store boasts many numismatic rarities. However, the focus is, of course, on contemporary coins and sales. This is fascinating too, as the modern coins show how much South Africa's image has changed over time. Of course, coins featuring the Big Five are still produced for export, but the designs also depict things that today's South Africa is proud of. For example the fact that homo sapiens did not originate in Europe as was long thought, but in Africa. One of the largest fossil sites can almost be seen from the South African Mint in Johannesburg. It is therefore no surprise that an extensive commemorative coin series has been dedicated to this UNESCO World Heritage Site.

Incidentally, the South African Mint can also be visited, but only occasionally and by prior appointment. So why not give it a try the next time you are in South Africa? Maybe the timing will be right. Contact the South African Mint at collectables@samint.co.za. The mint museum is usually open on Monday 1 pm - 4 pm / Tuesday to Friday 9 am - 4 pm and Saturday 10 am - 2 pm.

All images: UK.

Collections of antiquities at the Künker auction house: a preview of the Willy Schleer Collection

By Johannes Nollé

Fig. 1: Willy Schleer and his wife Elke

Recently, we have once again been able to present noteworthy collections in the field of antiquity, which have been very popular. One of these was the first part of Dr Kaya Sayar's collection of coins from southern Asia Minor, which included extremely rare coins of Lycia that are no longer readily available. This collection was highly valued by Dr Eike Druckrey, who built up his own small but fine collection according to aesthetic criteria and included almost exclusively pieces in the best condition.

The second part of the Sayar Collection will be offered in our next auctions. It consists of Greek coins from Thrace and western, northern and central Asia Minor. It includes rare coins of the small cities of the Thracian Chersones, the land to the west of the Dardanelles Strait, but also highly interesting coins of the cities of the Aiolis.

The Willy Schleer Collection

We are very happy that Willy Schleer (Fig. 1) has now entrusted us with his exceptional collection of Asia Minor city coins from the Greek-, but mainly the Roman period. In addition to coins from Asia Minor, Willy Schleer's collection also includes Egyptian coinage, Republican denarii and pieces from several other areas of ancient numismatics.

Willy Schleer, a communications engineer, is, like Dr Kaya Sayar, a friend of Asia Minor. Early on, he devoted himself to collecting Asia Minor city coins. His wife Elke not only tolerated his passion for collecting, but always took an interest in it and supported it considerably. In München, Willy Schleer maintained close contact with the coin dealer Franz Javorscheck, who repeatedly presented him with treasures from Asia Minor. Herr Schleer was an avid visitor to coin fairs in Germany as well as in neighbouring countries, and was always on the lookout for rarities. When he proudly presented his new acquisitions to me, I often said to him in amazement and admiration: "Willy, you have a nose like a truffle pig". Open-minded as he is, he had many contacts and lively exchanges with several other collectors – including the married couple Ingrid and Dr Kaya Sayar (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2:
Herr and Frau Schleer (left)
and Frau Sayar (third from left)

Auctions were another source for his coins; he was always browsing the offers of smaller auction houses on the Internet. His aim was to acquire the best-preserved and rarest pieces possible for his collection.

Willy Schleer travelled to many regions of Turkey several times, thereby gaining an in-depth knowledge of the geography and history of Asia Minor (Fig. 3). He wanted to inspect the cities whose coins he was able to acquire, and to get close to the genius loci of these cities. Herr Schleer was particularly interested in the medallion-like "festival coins" of the cities of Asia Minor. Several hundred large-format examples of such coins can be found in his collection.

In this context, he was able to bring together the most comprehensive collection of Imperial Era city coins from the Pamphylian city of Side in his decades of collecting activity. His collection of imperial coins from this city comprises around 560 pieces, making it the largest collection of Sidetian Greek imperials known to me. Without the Schleer Collection, I would not have been able to complete my corpus of the imperial coins of Side, which is now nearing completion: Almost all types from this city, which minted almost continuously from Augustus to Aurelian, are present in mostly above-average condition. Among them are many pieces that are not to be found in any other collection.

Numerous coins from the Schleer Collection can advance the scholarly study of Asia Minor cities and the associated regional numismatics. This is not the place

Nicomedeia in Bithynia: a rare die variant of the commemorative coinage for the recovery of the 3rd neocoria. Under the joint rule of Emperor Valerian the Elder (253-260), Gallienus (253-268) and Valerian the Younger (256-258), Nicomedeia regained its privilege of maintaining three provincial imperial temples. The city then minted an extensive coin issue. This variant with the portraits of the three emperors on the obverse and the three neocoria temples on the reverse is very rare in this version.

Side in Pamphylia: Only known from the Schleer Collection, unpublished: Emperor Aemilian (July/August - October 253) // Ship with four oarsmen sailing to the left; cabin at the stern of the ship; Pomegranate tree behind the ship. The pomegranate tree is the symbol of the city of Side and indicates that the port of Side was a base for the Roman fleet (Nauarchis = 'admiralty town').

Fig. 3: Willy Schleer in conversation with the guide Selçuk Gür

to give examples. I would, however, like to mention an Antinous coin minted by the Bithynian-Paphlagonian city of Tios (or "Tieion"). It is better preserved than the eight pieces previously recorded in RPC III and allows a more precise understanding of what is depicted. Based on this, the historical background of the iconography of this commemorative coinage for the Emperor Hadrian's favourite, who died in Egypt, can now be clearly understood. I will shortly be publishing a detailed analysis of this coin type based on Schleer's example. This case also shows how much cooperation between the trade, collectors and scholars is necessary in order to penetrate deeper and more accurately into the world of antiquity on the basis of existing source evidence – such as coins – and to come closer to its world of thought.

1,5:1

Bisher unbekannt: Einer der frühesten Statere vom Typus ‚Ganzdarstellung von Athena und Apollon von Side': Athena von Side, die einheimische Göttin der ‚Granatapfelstadt' in griechischer Gewandung (gr. side = Granatapfel) im Peplos und mit korinthischem Helm nach links stehend, mit der Linken Rundschild fassend, auf der vorgestreckten Rechten wahrscheinlich einen Kauz haltend, vor ihr großer Granatapfel; zwei Prüfhiebe. Athena galt als die einheimische Schutzgottheit und als Herrin der Halbinsel von Side. // Auf der Rückseite Apollon Sidetes nackt nach rechts stehend, mit der Linken stilisierten Lorbeerzweig haltend, über dem Arm liegt ein Stoffstück, mit der Rechten Bogen haltend, vom Oberarm fällt der Tragriemen seines Köchers herab, vor ihm Altar. Apollon Sidetes ist der Gott der griechischen Siedler, die aus dem äolischen Kyme gekommen sein sollen. Er bringt bei seiner Ankunft in Side das Ausstiegsopfer als Dank für die gelungene Überfahrt dar.

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