

# EXKLUSIV

NEWS FROM THE AUCTION AND GOLD MARKET



**Medals of the Wars  
with the Turks –  
Aspects of Enemy  
Propaganda**

Page 25

**Spring Auction Sales**

**419-422**

17-21 March 2025 in Osnabrück



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## Dear Customers and Coin Enthusiasts,

The year has barely begun, but we have already attended coin shows in New York and Berlin, and have successfully held our auction in Berlin. We would like to express our sincere thanks to you, our customers and consignors from around the world, for your loyalty, your participation in our auctions, and the trust you have placed in us. Thanks to you, we held the highest-grossing Berlin auction in our company’s history – with a total of 15 million euros in hammer prices! The enthusiasm for coins was also reflected during the subsequent “World Money Fair” trade show, because here, too, there was a record: The show has never had as many visitors as it did this year. The employees at our stand (with its new Künker design) were thrilled by the many guests and interested parties with whom they could talk shop. You can read more about the World Money Fair in our article “The World of Coins Family Reunion” on pages 73-75 of this issue.

Now our spring auctions are just around the corner, and we hope you have already received our catalogues 419-422 and found at least one coin that interests you.

Cover picture by  
Joseph Vivien,  
Max Emanuel als Feldherr,  
um 1720, München Residenz.  
(Wikipedia)

## Dates 2025

On view Spring Auction Sales in Munich	28 February - 2 March 2025
Numismata, Munich	1-2 March 2025
eLive Auction 86	3-7 March 2025
Spring Auction Sales 419-422	17-22 March 2025
Tokyo International Coin Convention (TICC)	26-28 April 2025
eLive Auction 87	19-23 May 2025
eLive Premium Auction 423	1-2 Juli 2025
Summer Auction Sales 2025	3-5 Juli 2025
eLive Auction 88	21-25 Juli 2025

In this edition of Künker Exklusiv, we are pleased to present our upcoming auctions in our preliminary report, as usual. It's divided by topic, because we start on Monday, 17 March 2025, with coins from the ancient world (Auction 419), including a collection of Roman coins with the finest provenances, which was amassed by a lawyer. Johannes Nollé has taken a closer look at this special collection and shares his findings with us on pages 19-24. Also in the context of our ancient Auction 419, on pages 44-51 Ursula Kampmann deals with numismatic rarities from the civil war which followed Caesar's death, and retells the story of Mark Antony, several aurei of whom are offered.

The second part of the report begins on page 10 and includes coins from the Middle Ages and modern times, which are featured in our Auctions 420-422. On offer is the third part of the Beuth collection with Dutch coins, the second part of the Württemberg coin history, and an extensive collection from Germany's Anhalt region. In addition, there is a spectacular selection of coins and medals from around the world, with a focus on Germany.


Please note that this year we are once again offering you the opportunity to view our coins at the spring auctions in München as part of the Numismata coin fair. Beginning on Friday, 28 February, we will be at your disposal from 9:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. in the Motorworld München, Kleine Lokhalle, and we look forward to your visit! Motorworld is about a five-minute walk from the Numismata exhibition centre. You will, of course, also find us at Numismata on 1 and 2 March, at our newly-designed exhibition stand.

After the great success of the auctions of the Lodewijk Beuth collection, parts 1 and 2, the third part will now be auctioned off on Tuesday, 18 March as part of Auction 420. It includes coins from the southern Netherlands, Dutch notklippe emergency coins, and coins from the Dutch overseas territories (1601-1795). In connection with this special auction, Margret Nollé has delved into the historical background of these coins with one of the most interesting female figures of the late Middle Ages: "Jakobäa – A Woman's Fate in the Late Middle Ages" is presented on pages 52-60. Thematically, we remain in the Netherlands with the articles "The Suffering of Leiden – A Siege in the Dutch War of Independence" (pages 61-63) and "Golden New Holland Klippes from the Beuth Collection" (pages 64-66), and we present some of their special features.

Two interesting essays on the iconography and messages on medals from the time of the wars of the Old Empire with the Ottoman Empire, written by Hertha Schwarz and Johannes Nollé, place selected pieces in the historical context of the 17th century.

Last but not least, we would like to present another "numismatic collection from around the world", as we do in every issue: the Palazzo del Te in Mantua. In this article, we want to offer you a little more than the usual coins. Although the Palazzo del Te also houses an excellent numismatic collection, its architecture is even more exciting – and will delight any lover of Roman coins.

Before we wish you a pleasant browse, we would like to point out the postponement of this year's summer auctions, which will now take place from 3-5 July 2025 in Osnabrück. We are very happy to invite you to a barbecue on the first evening of the auction (Thursday, 3 July), and we're already looking forward to seeing you!



Dr. Andreas Kaiser      Ulrich Künker

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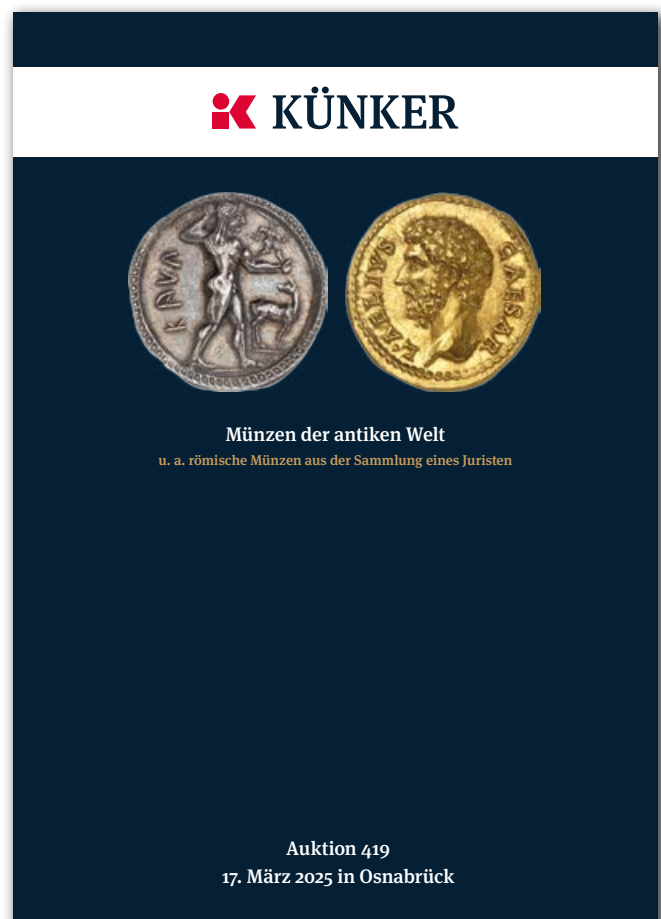
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# Our Spring Auction Sale 419: The Collection of a Lawyer – Roman Coins with Exquisite Provenances

*On 17 March 2025, we will hold our auction of ancient issues presenting 638 selected lots. Most of them are from the collection of a lawyer who took great care to ensure perfect quality and exquisite provenance whenever he bought a coin. The result: a dream collection. And his coins are not the only ones with pedigrees that go way back.*

Only 638 lots will be offered in our auction 419 of ancient coins. But these 638 lots are truly special. No matter whether you are interested in Celtic rarities, the finest Greek art or outstanding Roman portraits – in auction 419 you will find what you are looking for. The offer presents several collections. Two of them are particularly remarkable: for one the collection of a lawyer who exclusively bought Roman coins with exquisite provenances; and an anonymous collection that was completed before 1990 and contains many showpieces.



For auction catalogs 419-422  
and a detailed auction overview  
simply scan the adjacent QR code

## Celtic Rarities

Celtic coins are still a specialist area of numismatics that appeals to all those who are looking for something exceptional. In its auction, we are offering 37 lots from the Celtic culture, including some highly rare pieces. Connoisseurs will find not only the well-known and popular “rainbow cups” but also rare types such as the imitation of a gold stater based on the coins of Philip II and a tetradrachm of the “tournament horseman” type. Both pieces testify to the fact that the Celts learnt about coinage while fighting as mercenaries in the Macedonian army. Celtic artists used these coins as models for their own designs.



1,5:1

### Lot 2

Celts. Gaul. Anonymous. Gold stater, “soy” type, 3rd century BC. From Leu Numismatik AG auction 4 (2019), No. 92. Very rare. Extremely fine.

**Estimate: 12,500 euros**



1,5:1

### Lot 32

Celts. Pannonia. Tetradrachm, “tournament horseman” type, around 150 BC. From Kress auction 135 (1966), Lot 219. Extremely rare in this quality. Extremely fine.

**Estimate: 15,000 euros**

## Masterpieces by Greek Engravers

Anyone with a passion for classical aesthetics will be amazed by the impressive skill of Greek engravers. No one created more beautiful designs, some of which influenced coinage right up to modern times. Some very special examples of this coinage can be found in our auction sale. Most of them have excellent provenances and some have not been on the market for more than three decades. If you love Greek coins, you should study the catalog carefully.



1,5:1

### Lot 56

Thurioi / Lucania. Didrachm, 410-400 BC. Purchased from Edward Waddell; from the Collection of an Aesthete, Roma Numismatics auction X (2015), 118.

**Estimate: 6,000 euros**



1,5:1

### Lot 60

Caulonia / Bruttium. Stater, 525-500 BC. From the Edward Perry Warren and John Pierpont Morgan Collection. Extremely fine +.

**Estimate: 25,000 euros**



1,5:1

**Lot 86**

Messana / Sicily. Tetradrachm, 425-421 BC.  
From Giessener Münzhandlung auction 190 (2010),  
No. 54. Extremely fine.

**Estimate: 15,000 euros**



**Lot 121**

Olbia / Scythia. Dolphin money, 525-410 BC. 71.86(!) g.  
From Heritage auction 3075 (2019), No. 32014.  
This denomination extremely rare. Very fine.

**Estimate: 12,500 euros**



1,5:1

**Lot 143**

Neapolis / Macedon. Stater, 525-450.  
From the Armand Trampitsch Collection,  
Vinchon auction (13 November 1986), No. 111.  
Rare, especially in this quality. Extremely fine.

**Estimate: 20,000 euros**



1,5:1

**Lot 198**

Axos / Crete. Stater, around 300 BC. From the Eckenheimer Col-  
lection, Roma Numismatics auction IX (2015), No. 262. Very rare.  
Very fine to extremely fine.

**Estimate: 10,000 euros**



1,5:1

**Lot 306**

Carthage / Zeugitania. Trihemistater in gold, around 260 BC.  
From Hess-Leu auction 7 (1957), No. 145. Rare. Extremely fine.

**Estimate: 30,000 euros**

## Coins from the Time of the Civil Wars

From a numismatic point of view, the most exciting period of Roman coinage was probably the civil wars that followed Caesar's death. This is not only because portraits established themselves as a typical coin motif during these years. Never before and never again has there been a time where coins were minted by so many different mints with so many different political



1,5:1

**Lot 334**

Caesar. Denarius, 44 BC, Rome, L. Buca.  
From the collection of a lawyer. From Helbing auction  
(9 April 1914), No. 955. Very rare. Very fine.

**Estimate: 2,500 euros**

messages. The coins of this period give us an insight into day-to-day politics during the last phase of the Roman Republic, with its short-lived alliances that quickly fell apart.

Karl Theodor von Piloty (1826–1886),  
The Murder of Caesar, oil on canvas, 1865.  
(Wikipedia)



1,5:1

**Lot 337**

M. Iunius Brutus. Denarius, 42 BC,  
military mint in Asia Minor or Northern Greece,  
L. Plaetorius Cestianus.  
From a collection completed before 1990.  
Very rare. Fine to very fine.  
**Estimate: 50,000 euros**



1,5:1

**Lot 342**

Marcus Antonius / Octavianus. Aureus, 41 BC,  
Ephesus, M. Barbatius. From a collection completed  
before 1990. Very rare. Very fine + / very fine.  
**Estimate: 12,500 euros**



1,5:1

**Lot 344**

Marcus Antonius / Octavia. Aureus, 38 BC, Athens(?).  
From a collection completed before 1990.  
Extremely rare. Very fine.  
**Estimate: 15,000 euros**



1,5:1

**Lot 346**

Marcus Antonius / Antyllus.  
Aureus, 34 BC, Syrian or Armenian mint.  
From Münzen und Medaillen AG auction 25 (1962), No. 586.  
Extremely rare. Very fine.  
**Estimate: 30,000 euros**

If you are interested in this era, our catalog 419 is a must-read as it contains a wealth of iconic issues. There are, of course, several portraits of Caesar, but also the famous Eid Mar denarius, which comes from a collection completed before 1990. From the same collection are aurei that combine the portraits of various players, for example Marcus Antonius with Octavian or his sister Octavia. In addition to the Eid Mar denarius, the highlight of this small series is an aureus from a Syrian or Armenian mint showing Marcus Antonius presenting his son and presumed successor, Antonius Antyllus. Antyllus, who had been betrothed to Octavian's two-year-old daughter Julia at the age of 10, was only 13 years old at the time of the issue. After the suicide of his father and Cleopatra, he fled to the temple of Divus Iulius to seek asylum. But the "peace emperor" Augustus had no mercy: Antyllus, the son of Marcus Antonius and Fulvia, was executed along with 17-year-old Caesarion, the son of Caesar and Cleopatra.

## Gold, Silver, Bronze: The Colorful World of Roman Coinage

No matter whether you love Roman aurei, prefer the magnificent portraits of Roman denarii, are desperate for a medallion or want to enjoy beautiful patinas: our auction 419 has something for every taste. Of course, there are plenty of rare emperors and historically relevant reverses. The many excellent provenances, meticulously noted by the “lawyer”, make many coins highly sought-after, rare and exclusive collectibles that are also popular with investors. It will be interesting to see what results individual pieces will fetch.



1,5:1

### Lot 410

Vitellius, 69. Denarius.

From NGSA auction 16 (2022), No. 61.

Extremely fine / About extremely fine.

**Estimate: 4,000 euros**



### Lot 411

Vitellius, 69. Sestertius.

From the collection of a lawyer;

from the Dr. Etienne Paul Nicolas Collection,

Kampmann auction (9/10 March 1982), No. 242.

Rare. Very fine to extremely fine.

**Estimate: 5,000 euros**



### Lot 414

Vespasian, 69-79. Sestertius, 71.

From the collection of a lawyer;

from the Apostolo Zeno Collection Part I,

Dorotheum auction 975 (1955), No. 359.

Rare. Very fine + / very fine.

**Estimate: 2,000 euros**



1,5:1

### Lot 443

Hadrian, 117-138. Aureus, 130-132.

From the collection of a lawyer;

from the Gustave de Ponton d'Amécourt Collection,

Rollin & Feuardent auction (25 April 1887),

No. 240 (described as FDC); from the Montagu Collection,

Rollin & Feuardent auction (20 April 1896), No. 295

(described as FDC). FDC.

**Estimate: 15,000 euros**



1,5:1

### Lot 493

Commodus, 177-192.

Aureus, 191-192.

From a collection completed before 1990.

Extremely rare.

**Estimate: 40,000 euros**



1,5:1

### Lot 497

Pescennius Niger, 193-194.

Aureus, unknown, perhaps moving mint.

From a collection completed before 1990.

Extremely rare. Traces of mounting,  
otherwise extremely fine / Very fine +.

**Estimate: 75,000 euros**



**Lot 507**

Caracalla, 198-217. Sestertius with hammered edge turning it into a protocontorniate, 213. Rev. Circus Maximus. From the collection of a lawyer. From Sotheby (8/9 October 1992), No. 1066. With old collector's card. Very rare. Very fine.

**Estimate: 5,000 euros**

Protocontorniates are sestertii that were removed from normal circulation by hammering on the edge of the coin. At the time when Christianity was gaining ground, they were mainly used in Old Believer circles as a New Year's gift while being associated with traditional Roman values. Depictions of Circus Maximus were particularly popular for this purpose. In fact, the Circus Maximus and the chariot race were later adopted as a regular motif for the production of contorniates.



**Lot 554**

Constantinus I, 306-337. Medallion of 1 1/2 solidi, 326, Antioch. From a collection completed before 1990. Extremely rare. About extremely fine / Very fine +.

**Estimate: 25,000 euros**



**Lot 526**

Daldis / Lydia. Gordianus III, 238-244. AE medallion. From Giessener Münzhandlung auction 265 (2019), No. 1008. Very rare. Very fine +.

**Estimate: 15,000 euros**



**Lot 535**

Postumus, 260-268. Aureus, 266, Cologne. From the Vicomte E. de Quelen Collection, Rollin & Feuadent auction (14-26 May 1888), No. 1750; from the Montagu Collection, Rollin & Feuadent auction (20-26 April 1896), No. 656; from the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Sotheby auction (10 November 1972), No. 188. Very rare. About extremely fine.

**Estimate: 30,000 euros**



**Lot 555**

Constantinus I, 306-337. Medallion of 1 1/2 solidi, 330-331, Thessalonica. From Bank Leu auction 20 (1978), No. 397. Probably unique. About extremely fine.

**Estimate: 20,000 euros**

# Our Spring Auction Sales 420-422: Netherlands, Württemberg, Anhalt and Much More

*Four days of the our auction week are dedicated to medieval and modern issues. The sale features part 3 of the Beuth Collection with Dutch coins, part 2 of the collection on Württemberg's minted history, and an extensive collection with issues from Anhalt. A spectacular selection of world coins and medals with a focus on Germany will also be on offer.*

Every coin enthusiast knows that we holds our Spring Auction Sales in mid-March. The coins can be viewed not only at the headquarters in Osnabrück, but also in Munich – before and during the Numismata. More information can be found on our new website and in the catalog.

There will be plenty to see, as four heavy-weight auctions will take place over the five days. A separate preview is dedicated to ancient coins, which will kick off the auction week on Monday, 17 March. This preview exclusively presents the three auctions with coins and medals from medieval and modern times.

On Tuesday, 18 March 2025, auction 420 will offer the third part of the Lodewijk S. Beuth Collection with Dutch issues. Auction 421 follows on 19 March 2025 with the second part of the Heinz-Falk Gaiser Collection with Württemberg coins. The week will be rounded off by auction 422 with world coins and medals. It includes the Dr. Kurt Sonnenberg Collection of coins from the various lines of the House of Anhalt.



For auction catalogs 419-422  
and a detailed auction overview  
simply scan the adjacent QR code

## Auction 420: Lodewijk S. Beuth Collection – Part 3: Coins of the Netherlands

In collaboration with Laurens Schulman B. V., we are offering one of the most important collections of Dutch coins that has ever come to auction: the Lodewijk S. Beuth Collection, the third part of which will be offered in auction 420. The catalog is likely to become a standard reference work.

Therefore, on 18 March 2025, all eyes in Osnabrück will be on the Netherlands, when the 659 lots of the Beuth Collection will change hands. The material covers three different fields that are of interest to collectors of Dutch issues. The auction begins with the coins of the Southern Netherlands, corresponding to the provinces of Limburg and North Brabant and modern-day Belgium. Next are Dutch emergency and siege coins with a focus on the period of the 80 Years' War. The day ends with issues for the Dutch overseas territories minted between 1601 and 1795, including mainly issues of the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, but also spectacular gold coins from Dutch Brazil.

So if you are interested in Dutch coins, you should consider traveling to Osnabrück in person. For the auction is sure to be a social event, bringing together important collectors, dealers and scholars who are interested in Dutch coinage.



### Lot 1439

Netherlands. Emergency and siege coins. Leiden. Off-metal strike in gold from the dies of the 14-stuiver issue (issued on 10 July). Beuth Collection. From Schulman auction 14 (1995), No. 542. Extremely rare. Extremely fine.

**Estimate: 10,000 euros**



### Lot 1022

Netherlands. Duchy of Brabant. Joanna and Wenceslaus of Luxembourg, 1355-1383. Double mouton d'or, n.d. (1366), Vilvorde. Beuth Collection. Purchased in 1955 from Jacques Schulman. Very rare. Extremely fine.

**Estimate: 7,500 euros**



### Lot 1151

Netherlands. Duchy of Brabant. Charles II of Spain. 1666 broad double ducaton, Brussels. Piedfort. Beuth Collection. Rare. Extremely fine.

**Estimate: 4,000 euros**



### Lot 1255

Netherlands. County of Flanders. Issued by the rebellious city of Ghent opposing Philip II. 1583 Noble. Beuth Collection. From Peus auction 258 (1958), No. 1303. Very rare. Extremely fine.

**Estimate: 4,000 euros**

### Lot 1395

Netherlands. Emergency and siege coins. Groningen. 1577 one-sided taler klippe (issued on 4 February). Beuth Collection. From the M. J. Hordijk Collection, Schulman auction 156 (1926), No. 494. Very rare. Extremely fine.

**Estimate: 5,000 euros**





1,5:1

**Lot 1464**  
 Netherlands.  
 Emergency and siege coins.  
 Middelburg. One-side klippe  
 of 1 kroon (issued 20 January).  
 Beuth Collection.  
 From UBS auction 57 (2003), No. 2658.  
 Very fine +.

**Estimate: 7,500 euros**



**Lot 1489**  
 Netherlands. Compagnie van Verre, 1594-1602.  
 Vereenigde Amsterdamsche Compagnie.  
 Daalder of 8 reales, 1601, Dordrecht. Beuth Collection.  
 Purchased from the J. C. P. E. Menso Collection.  
 Very rare. About extremely fine.  
**Estimate: 12,500 euros**



**Lot 1640**  
 Dutch West Indies, Suriname and Brazil. 3 guldens, 1794, Utrecht.  
 Beuth Collection. From Coin Investment auction 38 (1991),  
 No. 666. Only 1,226 specimens minted. Extremely fine.

**Estimate: 10,000 euros**



1,5:1

**Lot 1644**  
 Dutch Brazil. Emergency coin of 12 guildens in the shape  
 of a klippe, 1645, Pernambuco. Beuth Collection.  
 From the Norweb Collection, Spink & Son auction 8588 (1997),  
 No. 627. Extremely rare. Extremely fine.  
**Estimate: 25,000 euros**

## Auction 421: Heinz-Falk Gaiser Collection – Part 2: Minted History of Württemberg

On 10 January 1693, the Emperor proclaimed the only 15-year-old Eberhard Louis of Württemberg of age so that the latter could rule the duchy himself after his guardian had been captured. Eberhard Louis was one of the most innovative rulers to ascend the throne of Württemberg. He shaped the destiny of his duchy for more than 40 years. The second part of the Gaiser Collection begins with Eberhard Louis' accession to power, and presents rarities of Württemberg coinage. As a dedicated specialist collector, Heinz-Falk Gaiser focused not only on the great rarities of this field such as double ducats or multiple talers. Connoisseurs will also find a rich selection of fractional pieces in the best possible condition in his collection. Therefore, our auction 421 has something in store for every budget: from double ducats in the five-figure range to inconspicuous fractional coins with estimates starting at 25 euros.

In this catalog, Heinz-Falk Gaiser's minted history of Württemberg covers seven dukes up to 1796, when Duke Friedrich Eugen suffered a stroke during the peace negotiations following the military disaster against revolutionary France.



1,5:1

**Lot 2001**

Württemberg. Eberhard Louis, 1693-1733.  
2 ducats, 1699, Stuttgart.  
From the Gaiser Collection. From the Virgil M. Brand Collection,  
Leu auction 69 (1997), No. 5437.  
Very rare. Extremely fine to FDC.

**Estimate: 10,000 euros**



**Lot 2081**

Württemberg. Siege of Landau.  
One-sided klippe of 2 gulden and 8 kreuzers, 1713.  
From the Gaiser Collection.  
From Hirsch auction 308 (2015), No. 3423.  
About extremely fine.

**Estimate: 1,000 euros**



**Lot 2014**

Württemberg. Eberhard Louis, 1693-1733.  
1697 reichstaler, Stuttgart. From the Gaiser Collection.  
From the R. Finckh Collection,  
Meister & Sonntag auction 7 (2009), No. 239.  
Very rare. About FDC.

**Estimate: 5,000 euros**



**Lot 2092**

Württemberg. Karl Friedrich,  
administrator for Karl Eugen, 1738-1744.  
1739 reichstaler, Stuttgart.  
From the Gaiser Collection.  
From Künker auction 305 (2018), No. 4429.  
Very rare. About extremely fine.

**Estimate: 5,000 euros**



1,5:1

**Lot 2067**

Württemberg. Charles Alexander, 1733-1737.  
1736 ducat, Stuttgart. From the Gaiser Collection.  
From the Schlossberger Collection,  
Hirsch auction 145 (1985), No. 1925.  
Very rare. Extremely fine to FDC.

**Estimate: 10,000 euros**



1,5:1

**Lot 2177**

Württemberg. Karl Eugen, 1744-1793.  
1790 ducat, Stuttgart. From the Gaiser Collection.  
From the Schlossberger Collection,  
Hirsch 181 (1994), No. 2284.  
Very rare. Extremely fine.

**Estimate: 8,000 euros**

## Catalog 422: Dr. Kurt Sonnenberg Collection – Coins and Medals from the House of Anhalt

Actually the House of Anhalt is a branch of the old Saxon noble family of the Ascanians, of which only one branch has survived since the end of the 17th century. They are a wonderful example of the fact that primogeniture, i.e. the right of succession to the territory as a whole belonging to the firstborn son, was the exception rather than the rule in Germany. As a result, once powerful territories were divided into smaller and smaller entities that were unable to compete with the likes of Prussia, Bavaria or the Electorate of Saxony. This is an advantage for collectors: all these small territories produced a diverse and varied coinage, as the example of the House of Anhalt perfectly illustrates.

In addition to the Principality of Anhalt, the collection contains coins from

- Anhalt-Zerbst
- Anhalt-Köthen
- Anhalt-Köthen-Plötzkau
- Anhalt-Bernburg
- Anhalt-Harzgerode
- Anhalt-Schaumburg
- Anhalt-Dessau

A total of 133 lots – including seven carefully arranged multiple lots with more coins from Anhalt – are waiting to be added to a new collection.



### Lot 3337

Anhalt, Principality.

John George I, Christian I, Augustus,  
Rudolf and Louis 1603-1618. 1614 reichstaler.

From the Sonnenberg Collection.

From Künker auction 394 (2023), No. 4864.

Very rare. Very fine to extremely fine.

**Estimate: 6,000 euros**



### Lot 3351

Anhalt-Zerbst. Carl Wilhelm, 1667-1718.

1680 reichstaler commemorating the death  
of his mother Sophia Augusta  
of Schleswig-Holstein.

From the Sonnenberg Collection.

Rare. Extremely fine.

**Estimate: 4,000 euros**



**Lot 3374**

Anhalt-Köthen. Lebrecht and Emanuel, 1665-1669.  
1709 medal by Chr. Wermuth for the heirs of his mother  
Gisela Agnes. From the Sonnenberg Collection.  
From Künker auction 263 (2015), No. 565.  
Extremely rare. Extremely fine to FDC.

**Estimate: 4,000 euros**



**Lot 3436**

Anhalt-Harzgerode. Wilhelm, 1670-1709.  
1693 silver medal by Eichler commemorating the resumption  
of mining in Harzgerode. From the Sonnenberg Collection.  
From Sincona auction 47 (2018), No. 1278. Very rare. About FDC.

**Estimate: 3,000 euros**



1,3:1

**Lot 3389**

Anhalt-Köthen-Plötzkau. Augustus, 1603-1653.  
2 gold guldens, 1620, Plötzkau.  
From the Sonnenberg Collection.  
Extremely rare. Very fine.

**Estimate: 4,000 euros**



**Lot 3442**

Anhalt-Schaumburg. Carl Ludwig, 1772-1806.  
1774 konventionstaler, Frankfurt.  
From the Sonnenberg Collection.  
From Dresdner Münzauktion auction 120 (2019), No. 319.  
Extremely fine.

**Estimate: 1,000 euros**



**Lot 3390**

Anhalt-Bernburg.  
Christian I, 1603-1630.  
1621 silver medal in the shape of a klippe.  
From the Sonnenberg Collection.  
From Künker auction 6 (1987), No. 251.  
Extremely rare. Very fine +.

**Estimate: 6,000 euros**



**Lot 3445**

Anhalt-Dessau. John Casimir, 1619-1660.  
1660 reichstaler, Berlin, commemorating his death.  
From the Sonnenberg Collection. From Tempelhofer  
Münzenhaus auction 167 (2023), No. 176.  
Very rare. Extremely fine +.

**Estimate: 4,000 euros**

## Coins of the German Empire

As every year, our 2025 Spring Auction Sales will present an extensive series of fascinating coins from the German Empire, including the absolute highlights of imperial coinage: Frederick the Wise, the Bavarian Wedding as well as gold and silver coins from many smaller territories.



**Lot 4036**

German Empire / Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. Ernest II.  
20 marks, 1872. The rarest gold coin of the Empire. Very fine.  
**Estimate: 30,000 euros**



**Lot 3832**

German Empire / Bavaria. Ludwig III.  
3 marks, 1918. Very rare. About FDC.  
**Estimate: 30,000 euros**



**Lot 3876**

German Empire / Saxony. Frederick Augustus III.  
3 marks, 1917. The rarest silver coin of the Empire.  
Splendid patina. Proof, minimally touched.  
**Estimate: 100,000 euros**

## Numismatic Rarities from All Over the World

Last but not least, our catalog 422 contains a spectacular mix of world coins and medals from medieval times to the present day. As always, the focal point is on Germany and the Holy Roman Empire, but collectors with other interests should also make sure to take a look and see what rarities from their field are on offer.

We will mention four pieces to illustrate the offer:

- From Lithuania there is a ten-fold ducat by Vasa Sigismund III, who also ruled Lithuania as King of Poland. The multiple was minted in 1621 in Vilnius and is the only specimen from this year on the market.
- A magnificent gold medal with an impressive sailing vessel was created by the engraver Christoph Adolphzoon to commemorate the Treaty of Breda, concluded between the Netherlands and Great Britain on 31 July 1667.
- Mozaffar ad-Din Shah was the fifth Qajar to rule Persia. Politically rather unsuccessful, the ruler became an early media star when he fell in love with the new technology of cinematography at the Paris World's Fair. His court photographer was commissioned to purchase the necessary equipment to familiarize himself with the art. Mozaffar's interest provides us with a wealth of highly interesting insights into Persia at the turn of the century.
- Finally, there is a 10-fold ducat by Emperor Leopold I from 1675, minted in Kremnica, with the face value of 10 engraved in the field on the obverse.



**Lot 2504**

Lithuania Sigismund III, 1587-1632.  
 10 ducats 1621, Vilnius.  
 The only example of this year  
 on the market. PCGS AU50.  
 About extremely fine.  
**Estimate: 200,000 euros**

1,7:1



**Lot 2564**

England. James I, 1603-1625.  
 Rose Ryal n.d. (1606/7), London.  
 Very rare. About extremely fine.  
**Estimate: 10,000 euros**



**Lot 2619**

Netherlands. Breda.  
 Gold medal by Christian Adolphzoon  
 commemorating the Treaty of Breda on 31 July 1667.  
 Probably the only specimen in private hands.  
 Extremely fine to FDC.  
**Estimate: 50,000 euros**



**Lot 2613**

Italy. Victor Emmanuel III, 1900-1946.  
 100 lire 1905 R. Only 1,012 specimens minted.  
 NGC MS60. Extremely fine to FDC.  
**Estimate: 10,000 euros**



**Lot 2672**

Russia. Alexander II, 1855-1881.  
 Gold award medal of the state authority  
 for horse breeding.  
 Extremely rare. Extremely fine.  
**Estimate: 20,000 euros**



**Lot 2729**  
 Persia. Mozaffar ad-Din Shah, 1896-1907.  
 10 tomans, 1896, Tehran. Extremely rare.  
 NGC AU DETAILS Spot Removed. Extremely fine.  
**Estimate: 25,000 euros**



**Lot 2947**  
 Nuremberg. 5 ducats, 1698, commemorating  
 the 50th anniversary of the Peace of Westphalia.  
 NGC MS62. Very rare. Extremely fine to FDC.  
**Estimate: 50,000 euros**



**Lot 2762**  
 HRE. Leopold I, 1657-1705.  
 10 ducats, 1675, Kremnica.  
 Very rare. About extremely fine.  
**Estimate: 75,000 euros**



**Lot 3008**  
 Ulm. Siege coins.  
 Klippe of 6 gold guldens, 1704.  
 Purchased from Adolph E. Cahn,  
 Frankfurt / Main, before 1934.  
 Extremely rare. Very fine +.  
**Estimate: 40,000 euros**



**Lot 2806**  
 Salzburg. Sigismund von Volkersdorf, 1452-1461.  
 Gold gulden n.d., Salzburg. 2nd known specimen. Extremely fine.  
**Estimate: 60,000 euros**



**Lot 3504**  
 Prussia. Frederick II, 1740-1786.  
 Piastre n. d. (minted between December 1751  
 and February 1752), Aurich. Trade coin.  
 Rare. Extremely fine to FDC.  
**Estimate: 10,000 euros**



**Lot 3703**  
 Saxony. Johann George II (1656-1680).  
 1.5-fold representative taler, 1658,  
 commemorating the laying of the foundation  
 stone of the Lutheran church in Hanau.  
 Very rare. Extremely fine.  
**Estimate: 15,000 euros**

# The “Collection of a Lawyer” at our Auction 419

## Fascinating insights into the destinies of important coin collections and the coin trade

By Johannes Nollé



Fig. 1: Vicomte Gustave de Ponton d'Amecourt (1825-1888), collector and aviation pioneer. Wikipedia, public domain.

### Diverse interests and motivations in the design of coin collections

One of the most interesting aspects of our work at the Künker auction house is our encounters with many completely different collecting personalities: Our customers have a wide range of occupations and professions, and often have fundamentally different motivations and interests when it comes to the composition of their collections. No two collections that come to us are the same.

This is also true for the field of ancient coins. Recently, we had an auction of the first part of the collection of Dr Kaya Sayar, which, in geographical and historical terms, presented us with the history of southern Asia Minor. The Sayar collection was

recently followed by the collection of Dr Druckrey, which had been built up with aesthetic objectives: The dedicated collector had succeeded in bringing together extremely beautiful Greek coins in outstanding condition over a long period of collecting. With this collecting strategy, he also had great success in pecuniary terms.

In our Catalogue 419, we now offer coins with magnificent provenances under the title “Collection of a Lawyer”. The collector was interested in Roman coins from the imperial period, but collected them primarily under the aspect of their origins as collectors’ items, which he traced as far as possible: Where did a coin

first appear on the market, and which collections did it become a part of thereafter?

In his study of the provenances, he also pursued a cultural-historical interest: Who were the coin enthusiasts who bought such coins and integrated them into their collections? What were the aims of their collecting activities? With his time-consuming and in-depth research into the origins and “migration” of the coins in his collection, the lawyer has made a significant contribution to the history of collecting and the coin trade from the Renaissance to the present day. That is why his provenance research has been printed in our Catalogue 419 to make it accessible to numismatic research. Every numismatist knows how time-intensive and often fruitless such detective work can be.

Fig. 2:

Apostolo Zeno

(1668-1750),

poet, philologist,

numismatist.

Wikipedia, public domain.



*Apostolus Zenus  
Senatus Nob. Cretensis,  
Historicus et Poeta Caesaris.*

## Nobility collections

The lawyer's research reveals the extent to which the members of the nobility built up coin collections from the Renaissance to the beginning of the 20th century. The earliest evidence of this is a sesterce of Titus (cf. Lot 423 - fig. 7a) with the eagle counterstamp that, according to current research, points to the collection of the d'Este princely family. In the period 1880-1890, Paris was a centre of the coin trade, where the French nobility in particular acquired pieces for their collections. On the basis of a beautiful Hadrian aureus (cf. Lot 443 - fig. 7b), this history is examined more thoroughly by the lawyer: This magnificent example of a Hadrian aureus came into the collection of the London bankruptcy lawyer Hyman Montagu (1844-1895) in 1887 via the collection of Viscount Gustave de Ponton d'Amécourt (1825-1888,) through the famous auction house Rollin & Feuadent. After Montagu's early death, the piece was auctioned again by Rollin & Feuadent in 1896. Collector Gustave de Ponton d'Amécourt (Fig. 1) should also be remembered because he was not only an enthusiastic coin collector, but also a pioneer of early aviation who coined the word "helicopter" and contributed greatly to the helicopter's development.

It was not only the French nobility which amassed large coin collections. It may suffice to mention here the Polish-Lithuanian Tyszkiewicz family (cf. Lot 482), the English Earls of Wentworth-Fitzwilliam (cf. Lot 477), the Venetian nobleman Apostolo Zeno (1668-1750, cf. Lot 414 - fig. 7c, also Lot 548 - fig. 2), the Italian count Alessandro Magnaguti (1887-1966, see Lots 357, 372, 385) and the German House of Waldeck (see Lot 454).

## An important American family collection

Not a collection of coins from the nobility, but a collection associated with a prominent family, is the Adams family's collection of around 10,000 coins, started by the sixth American president, John Quincy Adams (1767-1848, see Lot 324), and continued over several generations (Fig. 5).

## Collections of scholars and numismatists

In addition to the collections of the nobility and prominent families, there were also numerous scholars' collections. These include the collections of the famous French archaeologist Maxime Collignon (1849-1917, see Lots 385, 424, 451, 466) and the British archaeologist and excavator of Knossos, Sir Arthur John Evans (1851-1941, cf. Lot 532 - fig. 7d) (fig. 3). Also noteworthy are the collections of well-known numismatists such as the Frankfurt lawyer Ernst Justus Haeberlin (1847-1925, cf. Lot 364), who is famous for his publication on Aes

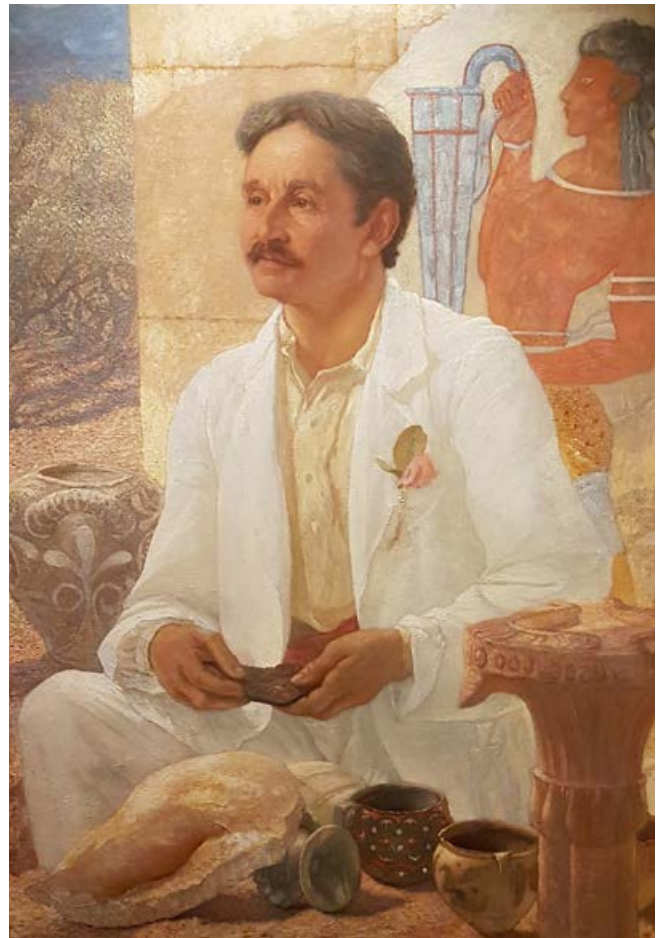


Fig. 3: Sir Arthur John Evans (1851-1941), the excavator of Knossos. CC BY-SA 4.0, Wikipedia.

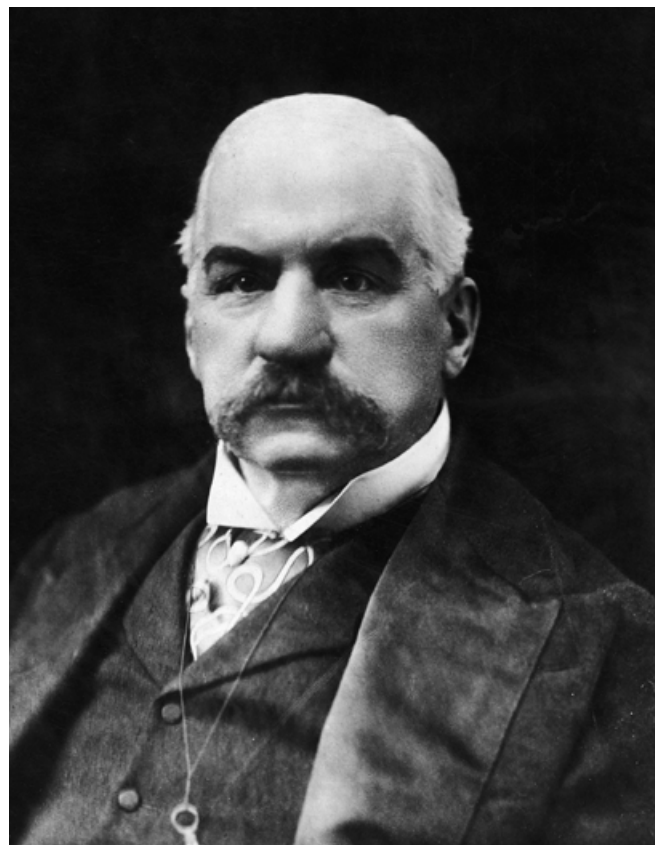


Fig. 4: John Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913), banker, book and coin collector. Wikipedia, public domain.

Fig. 5: John Quincy Adams (1767-1848), sixth President of the United States. Wikipedia, public domain.





1,5:1

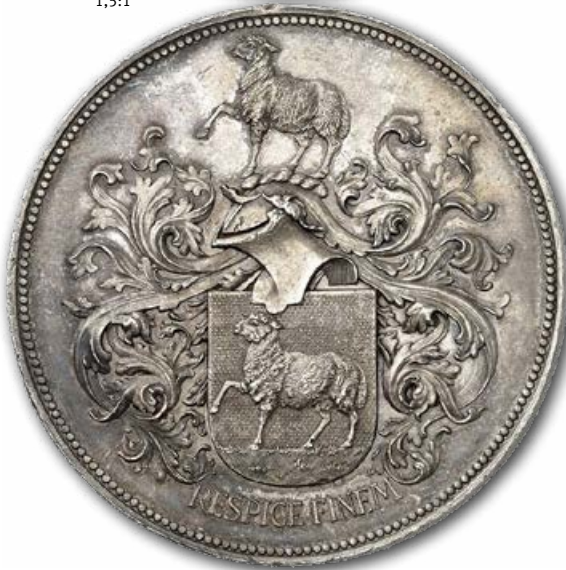


Fig. 6a: Karl Adolf Bachofen von Echt (1830-1922), brewery entrepreneur: medal for his silver wedding anniversary (Künker eLive Premium Auction 401, 5 February 2024, Lot 1539).

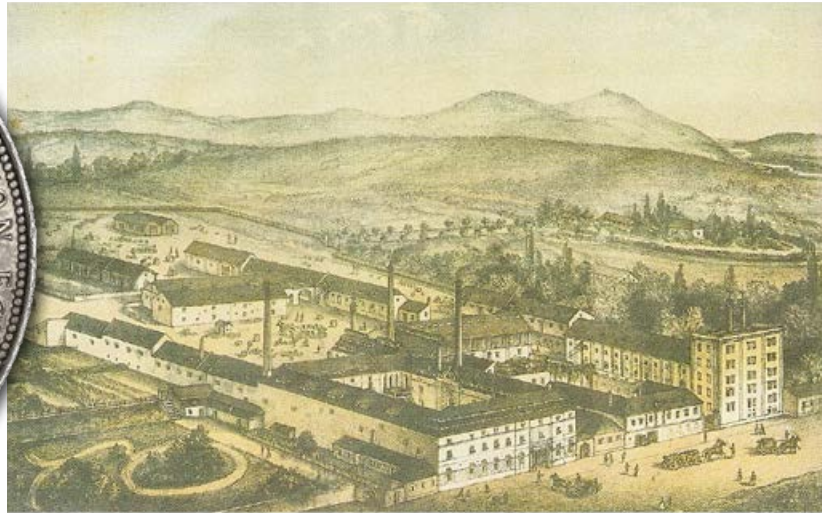


Fig. 6b: The Nussdorfer brewery of Karl Adolf Bachofen von Echt. Wikipedia, public domain.

and banker John Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913, see Lot 463 - fig. 7e), whose collection initially remained in a foundation but was dissolved in 1949 (fig. 4). Among the pieces sold were the famous Abukir medallions, which are now in the Gulbenkian Museum in Lisbon. Karl Adolf Bachofen von Echt (1830-1922, cf. Lot 500 - fig. 7f), a Westphalian entrepreneur and owner of the Nussdorfer Brewery in Vienna, was a friend and patron of the regionalist writer Peter Rosegger. His financial success enabled him to build up an important coin collection with excellent Roman aurei (fig. 6a-b). The collections of the Bad Kreuznach textile industrialist Joachim Scheyer (1866-1949, Lot 404) and the Württemberg Kommerzienrat ("Counselor for Commerce") and textile manufacturer Heinrich Otto (1856-1931) are also worthy of mention in the context of entrepreneurial collections.

Grave; Ernest John Seltman (1854-1942, cf. Lot 347), the father of Charles Theodore Seltman, who is particularly known for his book on the coins of Olympia; the English clergyman Edward Allen Sydenham (1873-1948, see Lot 391); and Paul Etienne Nicolas (1904-1981, see Lot 411), who is credited with an important book on coinage from Nero to Vespasian.

### Entrepreneurial collections

At the end of the 19th century, successful men in the business world increasingly began to build coin collections. A case in point – cited in *The Collection of a Lawyer* -- is a coin from the American entrepreneur

### Centres of the coin trade

Finally, the "Lawyer's Collection", with its detailed pedigrees, also allows us to identify the changing centres of the coin trade and the companies involved in it. Towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the company Rollin & Feuarent in Paris took on a leading role. After the First World War, the companies Cahn and Hess made Frankfurt am Main an important centre for the coin trade. After the Second World War, trade initially concentrated on Swiss companies; and towards the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century, our company became an important mediator between collectors.



Fig. 7a:  
**Lot 423**  
 d'Este Collection: Titus / Felicitas.  
**Estimate: 1,500 euros**



Fig. 7b:  
**Lot 443**  
 Collection of Viscount Gustave de Ponton d'Amécourt:  
 Aureus of Hadrian / Securitas.  
**Estimate: 15,000 euros**



Fig. 7c:  
**Lot 414**  
 Collection of Apostolo Zeno:  
 Sesterz of Titus / Mourning Judaea.  
**Estimate: 2,000 euros**



Fig. 7d:  
**Lot 532**  
 Collection Sir Arthur John Evans:  
 Sesterz of Aemilian / Spes.  
**Estimate: 2,000 euros**



Fig. 7e:  
**Lot 463**  
 Pierpont Morgan Collection:  
 Aureus of Antoninus Pius / Minerva.  
**Estimate: 10,000 euros**



Fig. 7f:  
**Lot 500**  
 Bachofen von Echt Collection:  
 Aureus of Septimius Severus / Victoria.  
**Estimate: 12,500 euros**

## A word of thanks

We are grateful to the lawyer for his many detailed observations, which have enabled us to provide this overview and have provided many highly interesting insights into the history of collecting and of the coin trade. His notes, printed in Catalogue 419, contain many valuable references for further reading.

For our customers, it can be a great and lasting pleasure to acquire a coin for their collection that was once held by such important figures as Vicomte Gustave de Ponton d'Amécourt, Apostolo Zeno, Maxime Collignon, Arthur Evans, John Pierpont Morgan or Karl Adolf Bachofen von Echt.

# Medals of the Wars with the Turks – Aspects of Enemy Propaganda

By Johannes Nollé

## A Künker Lecture in Nürnberg

As part of the 2024 Künker Lectures series, I had the pleasure of being a guest at the Verein für Münzkunde Nürnberg e.V. on 11 September 2024. The Nürnberg coin enthusiasts and their dedicated chairman Winfried Stein had chosen the topic “Turkish War Medals – Aspects of Enemy Propaganda” from the lectures offered. This lecture met with great interest among the Nürnberg coin enthusiasts mainly because their home town – a cultural centre of early modern Germany – was also a centre for the production of medals and printed matter. One of the leading experts on Nürnberg medals, Dr Hermann Maué, former Director of the coin cabinet at the Germanisches Museum, is a member of the association’s Board of Directors. During the discussion that followed the lecture, he addressed some interesting aspects of medals commemorating the Turkish Wars, in particular the Nürnberg medal workshops and their customers and clients. My lecture, however, was less about the production sites of the medals and their medalists than about the messages conveyed by their images, which translated the “Turkish danger” and its actual and hoped-for conquest into memorable but also sometimes highly erudite images.

## The “Turkish threat”

The mere fact that the enemy was referred to as “Turks” and not as the “Ottoman Empire” served to present the conflict less as a power struggle between empires and more as the incursion of a barbaric and Islamic horde into the Christian culture of the West. The idea arose repeatedly in the West that the medieval crusading spirit had to be revived in order to repel or eliminate the oriental “Islamic threat” to Christianity represented by the Turks. The secular rulers in the West used the Ottoman attempts at expansion and the fear of the often brutal looting raids by Ottoman troops (especially the *Akincılar/Stormers*, the so-called “Runners and Burners”) as far as Carinthia and Styria, to assert an ever more absolute claim to power and to demand large amounts of money from their subjects for the “Turkish Wars”. The clergy did everything it could to stylise the conflicts with the Ottoman Empire as a religious war of Christianity with Islam. The Church used the fear it had



Fig. 1: Silver medal from 1531 commemorating the Battle of Mohács, 1526. Künker Auction 387, 20 June 2023, Lot 750. Estimate: 10,000 euros, Hammer Price: 15,000 euros

stirred up to strengthen the population’s identification with its religious confession and thereby increase the Church’s own position of power: Collections and appeals for donations, pilgrimages and prayers, and the introduction of customs such as bell-ringing at midday were used to keep the fear of the Turkish “threat” present.

In the early modern period, medals were an important medium, even if they could not influence public opinion to the same extent as the emerging printed material. However, the two media worked together, and often used the same images. The leaflets and pamphlets provided a good basis for understanding the often complicated depictions on the medals, but the same printed matter may also have often served as templates for medal designs and inscriptions. By issuing large numbers of relatively inexpensive medals for the Turkish Wars in base metals, medal makers tried to reach less well-to-do sections of the population. The ruling classes, especially the nobles who had served as generals and commanders in the Turkish Wars, used artistically sophisticated medals in bronze, silver and gold to emphasise and “immortalise” their successes in the defensive struggle against the Turks and their own part in it. In contrast to newspapers, leaflets and pamphlets, medals had a more sustainable and lasting effect. Medals of the Turkish Wars often have a hole in them, which shows that they were worn around the neck, at least some of the time.



Fig. 2: Bertalan Székely (1835-1910), *The Discovery of the Body of Ludwig II, 1860* (Hungarian National Gallery). Wikipedia, public domain.

With a few exceptions, most of these medals celebrated victories and victors, in particular the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire and their successful generals, i.e. they were primarily used to propagate heroes of the Turkish Wars. However, this lecture did not focus primarily on the victors, but on the vanquished: How was the Ottoman enemy depicted on the contemporary medals of his opponents? How did medals contribute to the creation of “enemy images”?

### A silver medal of the Battle of Mohács

A silver medal with a diameter of 45 mm is associated with the First Austrian-Turkish War of 1526-1529. The piece, auctioned at Künker for 15,000 euros, (Fig. 1) is ennobled by the fact that it was once in the possession of the Fürstlich-Fürstenbergisches Münzkabinett (“Princely” Coin Cabinet) in Donaueschingen, Germany.<sup>1</sup>

The obverse of the medal shows the busts of Lajos/Louis II, King of Hungary, who died at the Battle of Mohács in 1526, and his Habsburg wife Maria. Both are wearing festive courtly clothing and hat decorations. Lajos is adorned with the collar (chain of orders) of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Below this is a Latin legend with many abbreviations: LVDO(vici) : UNGAR(iae) : BOHE(miae):QVE / REGIS · ET · MARIÆ · RE/GINÆ ·, DVLCISS(imae) · CŌIV/GIS · AC · PRO CES' (are) / IN · FLAN(dria) “(To the memory of) Ludovici/Louis, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and Mary, Queen, his sweetest wife and representative of the Emperor in Flanders.” Since Mary bore the title of the Emperor’s Governor of

the Netherlands, the medal was most likely minted in 1531: Her predecessor in this office, Margaret of Austria, had died on 1 December 1530. On the basis of stylistic criteria, the dies of this medal can be traced back to Christoph Füssl, who was the main engraver in Kremnitz after 1530 and never signed his medals.<sup>2</sup> The reverse of the medal reads: LVDO(vicus) : HVNG(ariae) : BOEM(iae) : ZC [= etc.] · REX, / AN(n)V(m) : AGENS · XX, · IN · TVRCAS / APVD · MOHAZ · CVM · PAR/VA · SVORUM · MANV · PV/GNA(n) S · HONESTE / OBYT [= obiit] · MDXXVI. (“Louis, King of Hungary and Bohemia, etc. who, at the age of 20, fought against the Turks at Mohács with a small band of his own and died honourably in 1526”). The painting shows the clash between Hungarian and Turkish cavalries. The Hungarian cavalry on the left is led by the twenty-year-old King Lajos/Louis, who is wearing a distinctive helmet with a plume and whose horse is adorned with an elaborately-decorated saddlecloth. The Hungarians are attacked not only by the Turkish forces riding towards them, but also by Turkish artillery, which is depicted on the medal at the top right. This representation was obviously intended to emphasise that Louis did not die in a fair cavalry battle, but was shot by Turkish cannons. There were also accusations that the Hungarian King had received too little support in the defence against the Turks. The legend emphasises that Louis II was forced to fight with only a small group and died honourably. In reality, King Louis II did not lose his life in battle. He had fled from the battlefield, but while fleeing to Pécs/Fünfkirchen, he fell from his horse and drowned in a stream (Fig. 2).



Fig. 3: A wolf.

B. Landgraf, Wikipedia, CC BY-SA 3.0.

in gun-making. Urban built extremely heavy cannons for the Ottoman ruler, with which Mehmet brought down the walls of Constantinople and entered the city on 29 May 1453 – whereupon Constantinople became Istanbul. The Battle of Mohács in 1526 led to the Ottomans and Habsburgs becoming neighbours. From that time on, the Habsburg capital of Vienna was under imminent threat. Vienna was besieged for the first time from 27 September to 14 October of 1529. From then on, Hungary was divided into three parts: The Habsburgs laid claim to the western part, the Ottomans occupied the central part and made the Hungarian province

of Transylvania into a vassal state. From 1526 to 1792, the Habsburgs and Ottomans fought eight wars against each other, so that the total duration of the armed conflicts added up to more than 80 years. There were many armistice agreements and peace treaties, but these were repeatedly broken after only a short time because the Ottomans did not want to give up their expansion and the Habsburgs did not want to give up their efforts to push them back. After Mohács, aggressive war propaganda began, which is not surprising given that the Ottomans and Habsburgs were locked in a bitter struggle.



Fig. 4: Bronze coin from Tarsus: Emperor Macrinus (217-218 AD) / Apollo Lykeios, who has seized two wolves. CNG EIAuct. 568, 14 August 2024, Lot 331. Estimate: 100 USD, Hammer Price: 600 USD

### The Turks as wolves

The Turks have a special relationship with the wolf (Fig. 3). It is the Turkish totem animal, i.e. an animal from which one's descent is derived and with which one feels related. A legend traces the origins of the Turks to the Altai Mountains. There, in a warlike conflict between two tribes, one tribe was wiped out with the exception of one boy. A she-wolf named Asena is said to have taken the surviving boy under her wing. Eventually, after he had grown into a man, he fathered ten sons with the she-wolf, who became the progenitors of the Kok Turks ("Celestial Turks").<sup>4</sup> This mythical origin of the Turks is still upheld today by the Boz Kurtlar ("Grey (brown) wolves") movement. Asia Minor was wolf country even before the arrival and settlement of the Turks. The landscape names Lycia and Lycaonia, which include the Greek word for wolf – λύκος ("lŷkos", related to Lat. "lupus") – are a reminder of this. Coins from Tarsos depict Apollo Lykios protecting against wolves: He holds two wolves by their front paws (Fig. 4), thereby indicating that he can keep the wolves under control and protect the herds.<sup>5</sup> An ancient tomb from Central Anatolia testifies that a man was torn apart by wolves there.<sup>6</sup>

The emphasis on Turkish artillery also draws attention to the fact that the opponents of the Turks had done too little to prevent the transfer of Western military technology to the enemy. In his book on the conquest of Constantinople<sup>3</sup>, the renowned English historian Steven Runciman (1903-2000) points out that in 1452 a Hungarian gun caster by the name of Urban had offered his services to the last Byzantine emperor. Emperor Constantine was unable to procure the materials for the construction of particularly high-quality guns, nor did he want to fulfil Master Urban's salary demands. So the Hungarian weapons-maker went to work for Sultan Mehmet, who was interested in science, particularly

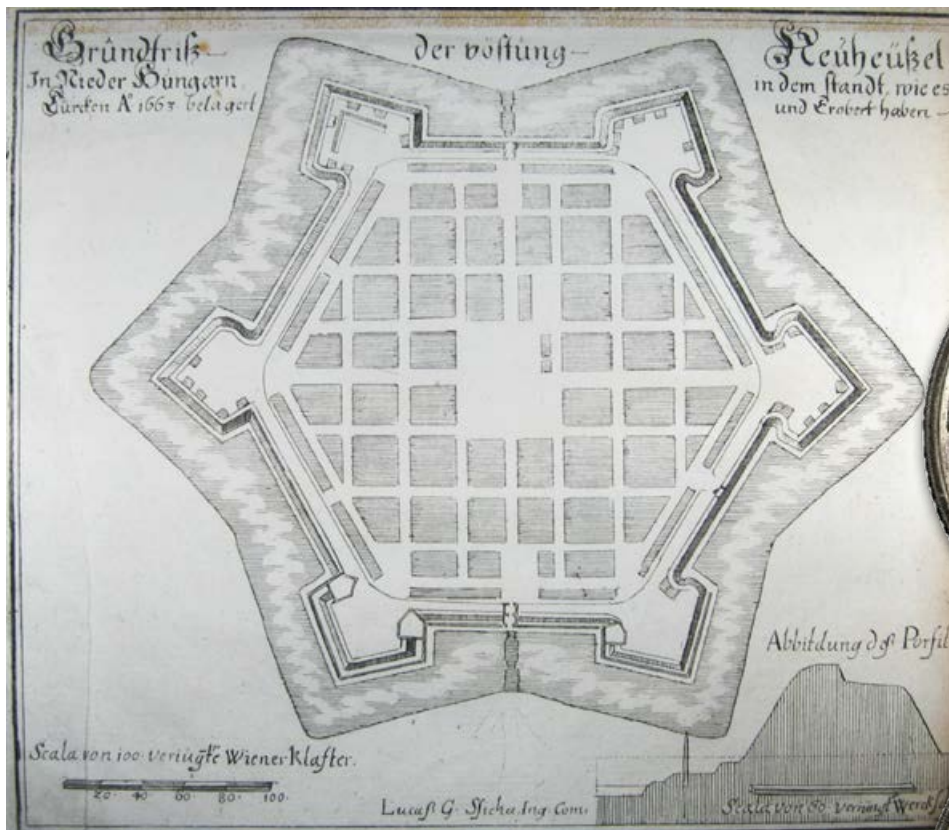


Fig. 5: Map of the Neuhäusel fortress, before 1680. Wikipedia, public domain.



Fig. 6: Pewter medal from 1685 commemorating the reconquest of Neuhäusel. Künker eLive Premium Auction 317, 5 February 2019, Lot 1719. Estimate: 200 euros, Hammer Price: 650 euros

I myself still remember well how, during an extended stay in the mountain pastures (“yaylalar”) near Iznik (ancient Nikaia), I was woken up at night by the howling of wolves, and how the Turkish shepdogs with their spiked collars to ward off the wolves answered with loud barking.

The high Turkish regard for the wolf was countered by the Christian image of the evil wolf, as conveyed in the Bible. In the Gospel texts, the dangerous wolf breaks into the flock of sheep, for example in John 10:11-13: “I am the good shepherd. The good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep. But the hired hand, who is not a shepherd and to whom the sheep do not belong, sees the wolf coming, leaves the sheep and flees, and the wolf pounces on them and scatters them.” In the early modern period, as is still the case today – since the return of the wolf to Central Europe has been allowed and even encouraged – farmers and shepherds were no strangers to such images. The evangelist Matthew presents the followers of Jesus, i.e. the early Christians, as people threatened by wolves. The Gospel of Matthew 7:15 says: “Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly are ravenous wolves.” And 10:16: “Behold, I send you out like sheep into the midst of wolves; so be shrewd as serpents.”

When Neuhäusel was retaken in 1685, medals were minted depicting the Turks as wolves. In 1545,

the Habsburgs built a castle on the Neutra River in Neuhäusel, the Slovakian town of Nové Zámky (Hungarian: Érsekújvár), 100 km east of Bratislava, with the aim of defending the Danube lowlands against the Ottomans. Neuhäusel was expanded between 1573 and 1581 into a strong fortress with six cantilever bastions (Fig. 5). Nevertheless, the Ottomans managed to conquer it in 1664. It was a great success for the Habsburgs when they were able to reconquer Neuhäusel in 1685 after their victory at the Battle of Strigonium (Gran/Esztergom). This success is highlighted by a pewter medal (Fig. 6). On its obverse, Athena or Minerva is depicted in the centre of the coin with a mighty plumed helmet. She is holding two large tablets and is supported by two putti who also brace the tablets on the right and left. A winged Nike or Victoria prepares to crown the goddess. Athena holds a victory palm frond in her left hand. Athena is one of the most important fighters in the battle of the gods against the giants (see below), which was known to the creator of the coin from ancient literary tradition, but can now be seen most



Fig. 7: Athena fighting the giants, depicted on the Great Frieze of the Pergamon Altar, Berlin (JN 2012).

(“In 1685, on 6-16 August, the Turks were defeated in battle after a fruitless siege of Strigonium. On 9-19 August, Neuhäusl was taken by force.”) On the reverse of the medal, a horseman dressed in ancient garb brandishes his lance and chases a pack of wolves, his cloak flowing

impressively on a plate from the Pergamon Altar, which had not yet been discovered at the time (Fig. 7). After her victory over the giant Pallas, the goddess took the vanquished opponent’s name as part of her own and became “Pallas Athena”. The tablet on the left is divided into two parts. In the upper half of the picture, the fortress of Strigonium (the Latinisation of the Slovakian “Ostrihom”), now known as Gran/Esztergom, can be seen on a prominent hill. Below this, the clash between the Austrian and Turkish armies is depicted. On the right tablet, one sees the fortress of Neuhäusl with its six bastions. The inscription refers to the river flowing past: NEVTRA – FLVS. A legend below the image explains what is depicted and the reason for the coinage: A(nn) o. 1685. 6/16 AUG(usti) TURCA STRIGO|NIO FRUSTRA OPPUGNATO | ACIE VINCITUR. 9/19. AUG(usti) | NEOHEUSELIUM | VI CAPITUR.

in the wind. In his left hand, he holds an oval shield adorned with an eagle. This eagle becomes the active subject in the surrounding legend: AQVILA AVGVSTI MENSE AVGVSTO OPPVGNATIONE ET ACIE VICTRIX LVPOS TVRCICOS GLORIOSA VENATRIX VERTEBAT IN LEPORES. (“The eagle of the Emperor, victorious in the siege and battle in the month of August, the glorious hunter turned the Turkish wolves into hares.”) The inscription is a so-called chronogram. The letters that correspond to Latin numbers are capitalised. Adding them together gives the year 1685.

A bronze medal celebrates the reconquest of Neuhäusl as a success for Emperor Leopold (Fig. 8). The obverse of the medal shows Habsburg gunners firing at the fortress of Neuhäusl. Two minarets with crescents protrude from it to indicate that the Ottomans are still in control of the fortress. Above the view of the city, in three rows, is the inscription NEVHEVSL IMPERATORI LEOPOLDO ASSERITVR | IGNE ET ENSIBVS FORTITER, HOSTIS | PERIIT TVRPITER. (“Neuhäusl is reclaimed for Emperor

Leopold with fire and swords in valour; the enemy has perished in shame.”) This legend is again designed as a chronogram. The letters that correspond to the Latin numerals are enlarged and add up to 1685. The phrase IGNE ET ENSIBVS corresponds to the combination IGNI FERROQVE/”with fire and sword”, which was already used by Livy and other Latin authors.<sup>7</sup> In the early modern period, the Islamic states were accused of spreading their religion “with fire and sword”, i.e. via jihad. This is used to justify acting in the same manner. On the reverse of the medal is the crowned imperial eagle, hurling lightning bolts at the Turkish wolf. The inscription is a Latin hexameter:



Fig. 8: Bronze medal from 1685 on the recapture of Neuhäusl. Künker Auction 327, 8 October 2019, Lot 3991. Estimate: 500 euros, Hammer Price: 750 euros



Fig. 9: Silver medal 1691/92 for the promotion of Ludwig Wilhelm of Baden to Lieutenant-General of the imperial army. Künker Auction 406, 20 March 2024, Lot 4115. Estimate: 1,250 euros, Hammer Price: 2,800 euros

ET STABVLO ET CAMPO  
DEPVLSVS LVSTRA  
REQVIRIT. (“Driven from  
stable and field, he seeks  
his filthy lairs again.”) Even  
someone familiar with Latin  
would have been faced with  
the difficulty of associating LVSTRA  
with lūstrum and not with lūstrum. The first, less  
frequently-used word with a short U denotes a pigsty,  
a brothel or a warehouse of wild animals, while the  
better-known homonymous word with a long U stands  
for a five-year period of time or a purification sacrifice  
that takes place every five years.

A silver medal from 1691/92, which celebrates the  
achievements of Ludwig Wilhelm of Baden-Baden  
(1655-1707) – known as the ‘Turk-Louis’ – as an  
imperial military leader, but especially his elevation  
to the rank of Lieutenant-General, i.e. deputy to  
the Emperor in all military matters, shows him on  
a horse galloping to the right (Fig. 9). He is wearing a  
feather-adorned helmet and armour, and in his right  
hand he holds a commander’s baton, which was called  
a bastone.

A battle scene is depicted in the background. The  
surrounding legend gives Ludwig Wilhelm’s name  
and rank: LVDOV(icus) GUILLELMUS MAR(chio)  
BAD(ensis) S(uae) C(aesareae) M(aiestatis)  
EXERCIT(ūs) SUMMUS DUX / “Ludwig Wilhelm,  
Margrave of Baden, His Imperial Majesty’s Supreme  
Army Commander”. On the reverse, there is an  
inscription: NON CURAT NUMERUM / “He does  
not care about their numbers”. The lion, which is  
pursuing a pack of wolves running away in panic, could  
be identified in the case of Ludwig Wilhelm with the  
Zähringian (Baden) lion (Fig. 10); however, the lion was  
generally used as an image for the successful war hero.  
The lion is biting one of the wolves in the flank. The  
Latin saying alludes to a passage in Virgil’s Shepherd  
Poems (Eclogues or Bucolics VII 51 f.), wherein it is  
asserted that the wolf takes no account of the number  
(of sheep or other gregarious animals), i.e. a predator  
does not care how many of its defenceless victims there  
are.<sup>8</sup> In the case of the medal, this “dictum” is cynically  
twisted to mean the opposite: For the Zähringen Lion,  
i.e. for Ludwig Wilhelm of Baden, it does not matter how  
many Turkish wolves he has to deal with – he will put  
them to flight. The inscription on the edge of the medal  
reads: TURCARUM MORS VIVE! DEUS TIBI PROROGET  
AEVUM (“Long live the death of the Turks! May God  
grant you a long life”).



**The Turk as a dog**

“It” (dog) is a strong swearword in  
Turkish. This is due to the Muslim  
background of the Turks. In the  
Islamic tradition, the dog is an  
impure animal that feeds on impure  
substances and transmits  
plagues, especially rabies. In  
the Hadith – stories about the  
life of Mohammed – one can  
read in Volume 4, Book 54, No.  
448: “Mohammed is said to  
have stated: ‘Angels (of mercy)  
do not enter a house in which  
there is a dog or an image of  
a living creature – human  
or animal.’” To this day,  
there is debate in Islam  
as to whether a  
believer may keep a  
dog in her or his home.



Fig. 10: The Zähringer Fountain in Bern:  
Berthold V with a standard and a shield  
showing the Zähringen lion.  
Joachim Kohler, Wikipedia, CC BY-SA 4.0.



Fig. 11: Silver medal from 1687 commemorating the Battle of Mohács. Künker eLive Auction 401, 5 February 2024, Lot 1402. Estimate: 750 euros, Hammer Price: 1,900 euros



Fig. 12: Silver medal on the conquest of Belgrade, 1688. Künker Auction 335, 18 March 2020, Lot 3492. Estimate: 1,000 euros, Hammer Price: 1,100 euros



Fig. 13: Silver medal commemorating Max Emanuel's victory at Mohács, 1687. Künker Auction 116, 27 September 2006, Lot 4487. Estimate: 1,500 euros, Hammer Price: 6,000 euros

The Austrians were familiar with the Turkish attitude toward dogs. On a silver medal struck to commemorate the Habsburg victory at the fateful battle of Mohács in 1687 (Fig. 11), Emperor Leopold is celebrated as the great victor. He sits on a chariot drawn by three lions. This may have referred to the generals Karl von Lothringen (1643-1690), Max Emanuel von Bayern

(1679-1726) and Ludwig Wilhelm von Baden (1677-1707), to whom the victory of Mohács was owed. Emperor Leopold is crowned by a winged Victoria, while the hand of God extends a wreath of palm fronds and olive branches from the clouds. The Emperor runs over a Turk, his weapons, and a dog, with his chariot. The dog clearly represents the defeated Ottoman enemy. The legend stylises the victory of the Battle of Mohács in 1687 as revenge for the defeat of King Lajos/Ludwig in 1526: *WO LUDOVICI NIDERLAG 29. AUG(ust) 1526, KOMMT LEOPOLDI SIEG AM TAG 12. AUG(ust) 1687*. The obverse depicts the battle: on the right, the advancing imperial army and, on the left, the fleeing Turks, some of whom have thrown themselves into the Danube in panic. In the background, MOHAZ is identified by an inscription. Above the battlefield are the busts of Max Emanuel – M(aximilian) E(manuel) CH(ur) F(ürst) V(on) B(ayern) – and Karl von Lothringen – C(arl) H(erzog) V(on) LOTH(ringen) –. Finally, a cross in a halo of rays floats above everything. It is surrounded by *IN HOC SIGNO (vinces)* (“*In this sign you will conquer!*”). This is the promise that was once supposedly made to the Christian Emperor Constantine in 312 BC before the Battle of Milvian Bridge. The struggle with the Ottomans is unmistakably stylised into a religious war.<sup>9</sup>

The identification of the Ottomans with the dog is made much more explicit on a silver medal, which was minted a year later in 1688 on the occasion of the conquest of Belgrade (Greek: “Weissenburg”; the Slavic place name “Belgrade” means nothing other than “white city”) (Fig. 12). On the obverse, the silhouette of Belgrade is depicted on a spur between the Danube and Sava rivers. Above it is in a Greek inscription *WEISSENBURG*, and below *IST IN TÜRKISCHE GEWALT | GERATEN ANNO CHRISTI 1521 | VON DEN CHRISTEN MIT STÜRMENDER HAND | EROBERT 1688* (“Had fallen into Turkish hands | AD 1521 | Conquered by the Christians with a storming hand | 1688 | 6. SEPT(ember)”). On the reverse, a shaggy dog is depicted standing on a bridge over a river and looking down at a large bone that has obviously fallen out of its mouth and is now being carried away by the river’s waves. Above it, we read: *DEM; DER NACH SCHATTEN SCHNAPT | ENTFELT SEIN EIGNER BISSEN | DER WIEN IHM EINGEBILDT | MUS NUN GANZ UNGARN MISSEN* (“The one who snaps at shadows | unleashes being bitten himself | He who imagines Vienna to be his own | must now miss all of Hungary”). On the edge of the medal is a Latin hexameter: *BELGRADI EXSUPERAT MVROS BAVARICA VIRTVS*. (“*Belgrade’s walls overcome by Bavarian manly courage*”). The hexameter thus alludes to the role of Elector Max Emmanuel in the conquest of Belgrade.

Fig. 14: Joseph Vivien, Max Emanuel as a general, c. 1720, München Residenz. Wikipedia, public domain.



In this connection, the last two verses of Johann Christoph Planckener come to mind from “Der Donner (Donnerer/“Thunderer“) Des Römischen Adlers Mit welchen Der Unüberwindlichste Monarch Leopold Der Erste, Die Mahumettanischen Horden zerschmettert [...]“ (“The Thunderer of the Roman Eagle With Which The Most Invincible Monarch Leopold The First Smashes The Muslim Hordes [...]”), Regensburg 1683:

Where is the enemy now?  
I think he has disappeared?  
That’s what happens when you hunt the dogs  
with sharp eagles.  
*(loosely translated from the German)*

### The Turk as a wild bull

On a silver medal, which was minted in 1687 after the victorious Battle of Mohács, a Jonian column is depicted, on which stands a bust of the Bavarian Elector and Turkish war hero Max Emanuel (Fig. 13). A shaggy bull runs toward it – compare the shaggy of the dog – which has lowered its head to one side and tries to knock over the column with its crescent-shaped horns. In the section, the achievement of Max Emanuel is alluded to in a Latin hexameter: LUNATUM REPRIMIT | VIRTUS SIC BOJA | FUREM. (“Bavarian manhood thus repels the crescent moon’s rage”). The top half of the medal bears the inscription



Fig. 15: Silver medal for the Peace of Karlowitz, 1699.  
Künker Auction 247, 13 March 2014, Lot 5667.  
Estimate: 200 euros, Hammer Price: 220 euros

we read: CONSOCIAMINI ET VINCIMINI & | QVIA HIC EST EMANUEL ES(aia). 7 (8). The medal combines the verses from Isaiah 8:9 (“Gather yourselves together, O ye nations, and ye shall be defeated”) and 8:10 (“For the LORD will rise up, and his holy anger will consume you”) with the message “For God is with us”.<sup>11</sup> The name Emanuel means “God with us”. These verses place Max Emanuel (Fig. 14) in the proximity of the saviour of Israel proclaimed by Isaiah. With these quotations, the Turks are equated with the cruel Assyrians who threatened and finally subjugated Israel in Isaiah’s time. The inscription below the picture reads: MOHAZIANUM BAVARICÆ STRENUITATIS AERE | AUROQUE PERENNIORIS | MONUMENTUM (“*The Mohács memorial to Bavarian strength, which is more enduring than bronze and gold*”). This sentence refers to the first verse of the final poem of Horace’s “Odes”, Book III. In it, the famous poet from the time of Emperor Augustus proudly emphasises that he has created a monument for himself with his poetry that is more enduring than a bronze statue: *Exegi monumentum aere perennius*. Both the designer of the medal and most of those who held it knew this poem and especially this verse. The inscription on the edge of the medal reads: ANNO QUO SERENISS(imus)· EMANUEL MANIBUS LUDOVICI INTERNECIONE TURCARUM PARENTABAT (“*In the year when the most illustrious Emanuel offered a death sacrifice to the ghost of Ludwig by killing Turks*”). The Battle of Mohács in 1687 was the revenge for the defeat suffered in the same place in 1526.

### The Turks as giants

The Great Turkish War, or the “Fifth Austrian-Turkish War”, which lasted from 1683 to 1699, was concluded with the Peace of Karlowitz. The Ottoman Empire was forced to cede Hungary, with Transylvania and parts of Croatia (Slavonia), to the Austrians. Venice’s possessions in the Peloponnese (Morea) were confirmed, and Poland was awarded Podolia and large parts of Ukraine. A silver medal minted to mark the peace (Fig. 15) identifies the Turks with the giants defeated by Jupiter. In Greek mythology, the Giants were giant sons of Mother Earth, often depicted with snake feet, as on the Pergamon Altar. The Olympian gods had overthrown the wild giants and introduced law and order on Earth. One day, the giants decided to overthrow the Olympian gods gathered around Zeus, and began storming Mount Olympus and bombarding the gods with stones and tree trunks. Zeus and the other gods managed to repel the attack. The defeated giants were covered with mountains and banished forever beneath the earth. From time to time, these immortal giants were said to tremble with rage, often causing violent earthquakes. Others supposedly spit fire, which resulted in volcanic eruptions.



Fig. 16: Silver medal commemorating the recovery of Belgrade in 1717. Künker Auction 380, 2 February 2023, Lot 575.  
Estimate: 4,000 euros, Hammer Price: 3,400 euros



Fig. 17: Bronze coin from Tarsos, minted under Emperor Caracalla (211-217): Hercules wrestling with the giant Antaeus.  
Leu Web 8, 29 June 2019, Lot 778.  
Estimate: 100 CHF, Hammer Price: 380 CHF

FIRMITATEM SERENAT IMPETUS, meaning that *the* (bull’s) *onslaught “cheers the firmness”* (of the column and Max Emanuel’s bust on top of it). The reverse of the medal shows the Imperial and Bavarian troops storming the Turkish camp. The clearly-emphasised rider can be identified as Max Emanuel; one of the two standards shows the Bavarian coat of arms with a rhombus crowned by the electoral hat. In the background, Mohács can be seen with a towering minaret. In a two-line inscription in the margin above this battle scene,



Fig. 18: Silver medal on Ludwig Wilhelm's victories at Niš and Vidin. Künker eLive Auction 82, 21 May 2024, Lot 4851. Estimate: 150 euros, Hammer Price: 460 euros



Fig. 19: 1 ¼ Solidus, Constantine I, 326, Emperor on quadriga en face. NAC 49, 21 October 2008, Lot 475. Estimate: 15,000 CHF, Hammer Price: 22,000 CHF

The obverse of the silver medal shows the portrait of Emperor Leopold with an allonge wig. He wears a coat of armour with a general's cloak draped over it. The inscription reads: LEOPOLDVS – MAGNVS ROM(anus) IMP(erator) S(acri) I(mperii) / “Leopold the Great, Roman Emperor of the Holy Empire”. The inscription names him a “great” and thus places him alongside other “greats” of world history, such as Alexander Magnus, Constantinus Magnus, Carolus Magnus, Otto Magnus. In a treatise, the Nürnberg poet and philosopher Magnus Daniel Omeis (1646-1708) of the University of Altdorf compared him to Otto the Great, who defeated the plundering Hungarians in the Battle of Lechfeld in 955.<sup>12</sup> The reverse shows Jupiter flying on his eagle, hurling lightning bolts at three giants already half-buried under the mountains that have collapsed upon them. A legend running around the upper edge of the image reads: PAX PARTA TRIVMPHIS / “Peace is born of triumphs”. This statement is based on the account of Augustus’ deeds (*Res gestae divi Augusti*), § 13: In it, the first Roman Emperor reports that during his period of care for the Roman state, the gates of the Temple of Janus were closed three times because a peace born of victories had been achieved: *parta victoriis pax*. A Latin and Greek copy of the report of his deeds, published in Rome under his rule, was discovered and copied in 1555 by the Austrian ambassador Augier Ghiselin de Busbeque in Ankara. A printed version of the text has been

available since 1579.<sup>13</sup> This allusion places Leopold on the same level as the Emperor Augustus. The edge is inscribed with a hexameter that serves as a chronogram for the year 1699: PAX VIVAX MITI LEOPOLDI EX ORE REFVLGET / “Everlasting peace radiates from Leopold’s benevolent mouth”.

The comparison of the Turks to the giants is once again expressed in a silver medal, which celebrates the recovery of Belgrade in 1717, which had come back under Ottoman control in 1690. This success was attributed to Prince Eugen, and it was in this context that the famous song “Prinz Eugen der edle Ritter” (“Prince Eugen the Noble Knight”) was written. On the obverse of the coin (Fig. 16) appears Karl/Charles VI – Maria Theresia’s father – with an allonge wig and in armour: IMP(erator) : CAES(ar) : CAROL(us) : VI · D(ei) : G(ratia) : GE(rmaniae) : HI(spaniae) : HU(ngariae) : B(ohemiae) : REX · AR(chidux) AUS(triae) / “Emperor Karl VI, by the grace of God King of Germany, Spain, Hungary, Bohemia, Archduke of Austria”. The reverse of the silver medal depicts the mythical wrestling match between Hercules and the giant Antaeus. Antaeus was the giant son of Poseidon and Mother Earth. He challenged anyone who came near him to a wrestling match. The fights ended with the death of his opponents. Heracles is said to have killed the monster by lifting him from the earth and then crushing him (the giant was said to have been immortal only so long as he was connected to Mother Earth). The wrestling contest between Heracles and Antaeus is relocated from ancient myths to Morocco (Mauretania Tingitana) or Cyrenaica. Coins of the Cilician city of Tarsus (Fig. 17) show that this city in present-day Turkey also claimed to have been the venue of this deadly wrestling contest. It is a task still remaining for researchers to investigate whether the medal maker knew, or at least could have known, of such coins from Tarsos. After the reconquest of Belgrade in 1717, the Austrians under Emperor Karl VI identified with Heracles, and the Turks with Antaeus. That is why the inscription above the battle scene reads: FVNESTA LACCESSITIO / “Deadly Challenge”. The inscription reads: CC MIL(ia) TVRCAR(um) FVGATA | VALLVM CASTRAQ(ue) EXPVG(nata) MDCCXVII / “200,000 Turks routed and redoubts and camps captured, 1717”.

### The Turks as vanquished barbarians

In a medal (Fig. 18) commemorating the victory of Ludwig Wilhelm, Prince of Baden (“Turk Louis”) over the Turks at Niš and Vidin in 1689, we see a bust of the Prince framed by two palm trees above a battle scene; a legend gives his name and title: LVDO(vicus) WILH(elmus) MARCH(io) BADEN(sis), with the silhouettes of the cities of WIDIN and NISSA to the right. The inscription reads: TVRCÆ ANNO VNO |

TER DEVICTI | 1689 / “*The Turks were utterly defeated three times in one year, 1689*”. On the other side of the medal, Emperor Leopold rides in the quadriga of the Roman triumphator toward the observer of the medal. In his right hand, he holds a Victoria, who wants to put a wreath on his head. The scattered weapons and standards of the Turkish enemy lie beneath the quadriga. The inscription reads LEOPOLDVS M(agnus) P(ius) F(elix) A(ugustus) P(ater) P(atriciae), the section reads TRIVMPHATOR | GENT(ium) BARB(ararum). The title of Leopold on the obverse of the medal is deliberately modelled on that of the Roman Emperor. This also applies to the victory title, which indicates that the Emperor is the conqueror of barbarian peoples.<sup>14</sup> The depiction of the quadriga en face is also based on ancient models (Fig. 19). The message of the medal, then, is that the Holy Roman Emperor, following in the footsteps of an emperor of antiquity, has defeated the barbarian Turks.

### Final considerations

The legends of most of the Turkish war medals presented here are written in Latin, often in metrical form as hexameters, often also as chronograms that indicate the time of the event depicted. Only in exceptional cases was the German language used. This means that, in linguistic terms alone, these medals were addressed to an educated upper class, and ultimately go back to the suggestions or even orders of members of that class.

Understanding these small works of art requires more than just a good command of Latin: They also presuppose that their creators and recipients have an intimate knowledge of Latin literature, especially Horace, Virgil, Ovid and the account of Augustus’ deeds, but also of the Bible.

The images cannot be properly understood without a precise knowledge of the associated legends. Furthermore, the observer of the medals must often have extensive knowledge of ancient mythology and history in order to interpret the images correctly. The wrestling match between Hercules and Antaeus and the battle with the Giants would have meant nothing to the vast majority of the population of the Habsburg Empire. The allusions and adoptions of Roman coin motifs would also have escaped the notice of the ordinary people of the time, even if they had ever seen such a coin.

The depictions of the Ottoman enemy show how fear and bitterness after the fall of Vienna in 1683 evolved visibly, with subsequent events, into a sense of triumph and contempt – as well as mockery – of the enemy.

I hope that my lecture, which is printed here, has shown the Verein für Münzkunde Nürnberg what insights can and must be gained from contemporary witnesses of the “Turkish War medals”. However, it should also be noted how interesting such a collecting field can be for friends of coins and medals, as well as for history. Turkish medals are offered for sale in our catalogues fairly regularly, and prospective buyers can take advantage of the fact that they are still relatively inexpensive.

- <sup>1</sup> A.E. Cahn, Auction 77, 14 July 1932, The Princely Fürstenberg Coin Cabinet at Donaueschingen (Volume 3): The series of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Hungary and Transylvania, No. 765.
- <sup>2</sup> B. Balážová, The memorial to Christoph Füssl from 1561 and other Viennese sepulchral artworks for the citizens of the mining towns of Central Slovakia, *Epigraphica & Sepulcralia* 8, 2019, 85-102
- <sup>3</sup> St. Runciman, *The Conquest of Constantinople 1453*, München 1966, 82 f.
- <sup>4</sup> J.-P. Roux, Die alttürkische Mythologie, in: E. Schmalzriedt – H. Haussig – H.H. Wilhelm – K. Uray-Köhalmi (eds.), *Wörterbuch der Mythologie 7.12. Götter und Mythen in Zentralasien und North Eurasia*, Stuttgart 1999, 171-277, h. 251.
- <sup>5</sup> For the connection between Apollo and the wolf, see D.E. Gershenson, *Apollo the Wolf-God* (*Journal of Indoeuropean Studies Monogr.* 8), Virginia 1999, esp. 8.
- <sup>6</sup> E. Pfuhl – H. Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs 1*, Mainz 1977, 89f. No. 155.
- <sup>7</sup> R. Tosi, *Dizionaio delle sentenze latine greche*, Milano 2018, 1026 No. 1515: *Ferro ignique vastare*.
- <sup>8</sup> The origin and use of this saying is discussed in detail in R. Tosi, *op. cit.*, 1029 No. 1523.
- <sup>9</sup> Another medal (Künker 371, 22 June 2022, Lot 3218) shows the Ecclesia (the personified Church) blinding a Turk with the Hungarian patriarchal cross in her hand and knocking him to the ground; *IN HOC SIGNO* is inscribed.
- <sup>10</sup> *Congregamini populi et vincimini*.
- <sup>11</sup> *Quia nobiscum Deus*.
- <sup>12</sup> M.D. Omeis (*iussu incltyi Senatus Norimb.*), *Leopoldus Magnus cum Ottone Magno comparatus oratione panegyrica*, Nürnberg 1690.
- <sup>13</sup> A.E. Cooley, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*. Text, Translation, and Commentary, Cambridge 2009, 43 f.
- <sup>14</sup> For this title cf. P. Arnold, *Ethnologische Darstellungen auf römischen Reichsmünzen der Kaiserzeit*. *Motivgeschichte und Kaiserpropaganda* (Nomismata 15), Bonn 1925 (1961), 71 (in print).

# “Lion over Landscape”

## A medal of Maximilian II Emanuel, commemorating his courtship of 1684<sup>1</sup>

By Hertha Schwarz

Maximilian II Emanuel (1662-1726), better known as Max Emanuel, Duke of Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire (Fig. 1), was from 1683 to 1689 -- when the French invasion of the Electoral Palatinate took him to the western theatre of war -- one of the main protagonists of the Great Turkish War (1683-1699).<sup>2</sup> He was not an officer in the imperial service, but an ally of the Emperor, providing an army of 8,000 men from his own funds. It is therefore not surprising that numerous medals from this period refer to him or are entirely dedicated to his successes and fame. Examples include Hans Jakob Wolrab's magnificent medal commemorating the relief of Vienna in 1683 (Fig. 2), Georg Hautsch's medal commemorating the conquest of Belgrade in 1688 (Fig. 3), and the undated image of the Bavarian lion with the globe which is attributed to J. Knittel (Fig. 4).

Among the many medals minted for the Bavarian Duke and Elector during the Great Turkish War, one piece created by the Augsburg medalist Philipp Heinrich Müller stands out in particular. The 45 mm, 28.69 g, extremely fine and artfully-executed silver medal – no bronze casts have been found to date – is only very rarely offered at auction; the last time this was the case was in 2017 in Künker Auction 289, Lot 1674 (Fig. 5). At first glance, it does not differ from other, equally artfully-designed medals of its time. Despite its rarity and beauty, it has not yet received any kind of appropriate scholarly treatment, and so the statements of this medal and their significance have not been recognised.<sup>3</sup>

### Vienna 1683: *veni, vidi, vici*

The scene is the besieged city of Vienna – easily recognisable by the tall tower of St. Stephen's Cathedral in the moonlight, the old weather vane of the church, the bastions and the bridge over the Danube – with riders bursting from the left into the area depicted on the medal. Their clothing with buff coat, cuirass and “lobster-tailed pot helmet” – also known as the “Husarenhaube” or Pappenheimer helmet – is just as authentically depicted as are the high riding boots with



Fig. 1: Joseph Vivien, Elector Maximilian II Emanuel of Bavaria (1662-1726), c. 1700, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen – Staatsgalerie im Neuen Schloss Schleißheim. URL: <https://www.sammlung.pinakothek.de/de/artwork/XR4MOrpLQ1> (CC BY-SA-4.0)

the wide brim and the saddle pistols. The riders carry a large standard or flag with them, on which the Bavarian coat of arms with its lions and “lozenge” rhombus, crowned by the electoral hat, can be clearly seen. This Bavarian regiment, charging down from a hill, drives foot soldiers and horsemen before it and out of the picture to the right, in wild confusion. The scimitar, bow and arrow lying on the ground in the foreground, along with a flag with a crescent moon in the ranks of the fleeing army, characterise those in flight as Turks.



Fig. 2: Silver medal by Hans Jakob Wolrab commemorating the relief of Vienna, 1683. Künker eLive Premium Auction 401, 5 February 2024, Lot 1401. Estimate: 500 euros, Hammer Price: 3,600 euros

wearing a richly-decorated cuirass and arm guards. His feet are in cavalry boots with wide-brimmed tops that extend well above the knee; his saddle pistol hangs ready at hand on his right. But unlike what would have been usual in an actual combat situation, the rider's head is not covered by a helmet nor by the then-popular Zischägge headgear, but rather by a broad-brimmed hat adorned with feathers. Although he is not placed exactly

in the centre of the medal image, this elegant horseman unmistakably forms the focal point of the entire scene. His prominently-positioned image, his precious cuirass, the feathered hat and his entire posture draw the viewer's gaze like a magnet again and again. Even though the medal does not mention a name, based on the flag and the iconography it can only be the Bavarian Duke and Elector Max Emanuel, who personally led his regiments into battle outside Vienna on 12 September 1683.

Philipp Heinrich Müller, whose initials can be found in a sort of wave at the bottom of the picture, used this motif to create a picture of the relief of Vienna, of which there are numerous examples. The inscription on the edge, which can be found on some examples of this medal, confirms this: + WIEN VOM TURCKEND: 15. JULY BELAGERT WIRT GLVCKLICH ENTSETZT D: 12. SEPTEMBER Ao.1683. (“+ Vienna besieged by the Turk on 15 July 1683, is happily freed, they fled on 12 September of the same year, 1683”). What is unusual about this medal image, however, is the legend spanning the image in the upper medal curve: PRIM9. VENI. VIDI. VICIMUS., to be read as PRIMVS. VENI. VICI. VICIMUS., because the sign that looks like a 9 is the abbreviation for the ending “us” in the “Kurrent” lettering then common. Translated into English, the inscription reads:



Fig. 3: Silver medal by Georg Hautsch on the conquest of Belgrade, 1688. Künker Auction 322, 24 June 2019, Lot 179. Estimate: 600 euros, Hammer Price: 700 euros



Fig. 4: Silver medal, attributed to J. Knittel, undated, Max Emanuel's victory over the Turks in Hungary. Künker Auction 322, 24 June 2019, Lot 178. Estimate: 1,000 euros, Hammer Price: 1,400 euros

The Bavarians, who are approaching at a gallop, are led by a horseman who, with his unsheathed sword in his hand, turns his upper body toward the viewer and looks directly at him. The magnificent saddlecloth of his rearing horse alone signals that the viewer is facing a high-ranking personality. Over his leather jerkin, which covers his thighs like a skirt, the rider is

<sup>1</sup> This article is a preliminary report from a larger study on the medals from the period of the Great Turkish War, which I am preparing together with Prof. Dr Johannes Nollé.  
<sup>2</sup> On Max Emanuel, see: Ludwig Hüttel, *Der Blaue Kurfürst 1679-1726* (München 1979); M. Junkelmann, *Kurfürst Max Emanuel von Bayern als Feldherr* (München 2000); W. Gold, *Das Zeitalter Max Emanuels und die Türkenkriege in Europa* (München 1990).  
<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ingrid S. Weber, *Medaillen auf die Türkenkriege (1683-1699)* aus der Staatlichen Münzsammlung in München, in: *Diplomaten und Wesire. Krieg und Frieden im Spiegel türkischen Kunsthandwerks*, ed. by Peter W. Schienerl, München 1988, p. 59 M2.



2:1

Fig. 5: Silver medal by Philipp Heinrich Müller on Max Emanuel's participation in the relief of Vienna and the reconquest of Grans in 1683. Künker Auction 289, 14 March 2017, Lot 1674. Estimate: 1,000 euros, Hammer Price: 3,000 euros

“I came first. I saw. We triumphed”. What makes this inscription so noteworthy is not the deliberate allusion to Gaius Julius Caesar, but the fact that it addresses the viewer directly. As the medals presented by Johannes Nollé here (see p. 25 ff.) show, scenes on medals were often described with inscriptions, commented on with quotations or inscribed with mottos. It was quite unusual, however, for the subject to address the viewer in the first person. “I came first, I saw, and we conquered” – Max Emanuel, the central figure on

the medal, speaks directly to the viewer. The Latin inscription “primus veni” (“I came first”) alludes to the fact that on 12 September 1683, the Bavarian army under his command was the first to reach the Turkish main camp outside Vienna, which Philipp Heinrich Müller depicts in the medal image as a large tent city in front of Vienna's fortress walls.

**The lion that dwarfs all others**

On the reverse of the medal, a broad band not unlike a rainbow spans a landscape, with a radiant sun on the left and a waning crescent moon on the right. The crescent moon, looking grim, is armed with a bow and arrows, the weapon traditionally associated with the Turks. On this planetary orbit between the two stars, a lion strides majestically towards the sun. He is wearing an Elector's hat and a cloak falls over his shoulders, the inside of which is adorned with Bavarian diamonds. The lion, the Bavarian heraldic animal, is here the symbolic representation of the victorious Bavarian Duke Max Emanuel. Like the Elector on horseback on the obverse, the lion on the reverse is the eye-catcher of the medal's image. Its shadow, created by the sun's rays shining on it, darkens the crescent moon, which indicates that the lion's strength and fighting spirit are “eclipsing” the Turks – and that this is in fact the intention of the Bavarian lion



Fig. 6: Ofen (right) and Pest (left) on a silver medal by J. Höhn commemorating the capture of Ofen in 1686. Künker Auction 289, 14 March 2017, Lot 1736. Estimate: 1,000 euros, Hammer Price: 1,300 euros



Fig. 7: Greek Weissenburg (Belgrade) on a silver medal by M. Brunner and J. Färber commemorating the capture of the city in 1688. Künker Auction 289, 14 March 2017, Lot 1792. Estimate: 500 euros, Hammer Price: 650 euros

Pest (today Budapest).<sup>4</sup> However, since this is a very rare medal that only appears in auction catalogues on similarly rare occasions, this interpretation was soon forgotten. The position of the city on a river with a bridgehead, another “lower town” section along the riverbank, and a high castle on a hill could very well indicate a depiction of Ofen, even if it is not an accurate one (Fig. 6). However, the aforementioned features also apply to other Hungarian cities on the Danube. It could even be a representation of the Greek “White Castle” (Belgrade) (Fig. 7). But however one considers the conundrum, none of the actual views of these cities quite fits the image on this medal. Above all, the reference to 1683 cannot be unmistakably established, as Ofen was not conquered until 1686 and Belgrade not until 1688. And at this time, the relief of Vienna was no longer a common theme on medals.

is unequivocally proclaimed by the inscription placed as an arch above the planetary orbit: VT FIAT ECLIPSIS (“So that darkening may occur”). The inscription begins with the subordinating conjunction “ut” (“so that”, “in order that”), and is thus recognisable as a continuation of the legend on the obverse. The message of the medals is thus PRIMVS VENI. VIDI. VICIMVS. VT FIAT ECPLIPSIS, which means “I came first, I saw, and we triumphed, so that the crescent would disappear”, because the presentation, rendered as a lunar eclipse, is intended to vividly depict the expulsion of the Turks and interpret it as a cosmic event.

**“Lion over Landscape”**

Neither the landscape nor the places over which the lion passes on its path have been identified to date. Therefore, the reverse of the medal is summarised in the few descriptions of the picture as “Lion over Landscape”. As a rule, a medal image is a compositional whole, and since in this case even the legends on the obverse and reverse are clearly related to each other, it is unlikely that the landscape depicted in the picture could be without significance for the message of the medal. Unlike most medals commemorating the Great Turkish War, however, the location is not named. Since the view depicted is not shown on any other medal either, identifying the city has seemed almost impossible, or an interpretation as mere landscape seemed more likely. In the 19th century, the locations beneath the lion were identified as Ofen (Buda) and



Fig. 8: “Stadt und Vestung Gran”, newspaper from Nürnberg with a report on the conquest of Grans, 1683 (Leonhard Loschgen). Herzog August Library Wolfenbüttel, <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/gm-4852-4s/start.htm?image=00001>

<sup>4</sup> Joseph Freiherr von Hormayr, Taschenbuch für vaterländische Geschichte. 23<sup>rd</sup> volume/14<sup>th</sup> of the new series (Leipzig 1843), 118 No. 35.



Fig. 9: “Town and Fortress Gran”. Copperplate engraving from the Nürnberg Chronicle (see Fig. 8). Herzog August Library, Wolfenbüttel, <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/gm-4852-4s/start.htm?image=00001> – opposite reverse of Fig. 5.



Legend:

- A Duke of Lottringen brings aid.
- B The Christian camp.
- C The batteries from which the enemy is chased away with cannons and pumps.
- D Skirmish of the Poles with the Turks.
- E The Turks flee over the bridges.
- F The garrison leaves Gran.
- G Barcan is conquered.
- H Ratzenstatt.
- I Gran and its castle.
- K Thomasberg or blockhouse.
- L Fortress St Martin's hill.
- M Gran River.
- N Danube River.

Interpreting medals using only numismatic methods does not do justice to the medium of medals. These were not isolated media, but rather were closely linked and interwoven with current affairs and the latest artistic trends. However, in order to grasp the full significance of the medals, which are laden with subtle symbolism, or their inscriptions, which are often very difficult to understand, a comprehensive knowledge of historical, cultural- and art-historical sources is required. In the case of the “Lion over Landscape”, the solution is provided by examining prints, pamphlets and newspapers.

### The conquest of the “town and fortress of Gran”

A pamphlet reporting on the conquest of the “town and fortress of Gran” was probably published in Nürnberg by Leonhard Loschgen towards the end of 1683 (Fig. 8). The text describes in detail the location, history and reconquest of the old Hungarian capital of Gran in October 1683. The report is illustrated with a copperplate engraving that combines and visualises the various battle situations in front of Gran in a single image. The view of the town and its topographical location is meticulously depicted; the individual areas are marked by letters, which are then listed and identified in an accompanying legend (Fig. 9). The “landscape” under the lion corresponds in even the smallest details, such as the round arch in the town’s fortress wall or the walls stretching down the slope, to this drawing. There is therefore no doubt that Philipp Heinrich Müller’s medal image depicts the old Hungarian capital of Gran, which was called Strigonium in Latin and Esztergom in Hungarian. The copperplate engraving in the *Nürnberger Zeitung*, or the template for this engraving, served Müller directly as a template for the medal image. The creator of the template is still unknown today. There is much to suggest that it is a sketch that was actually created onsite in Hungary in 1683. The history of the creation of the original drawing and its “survival” in the print graphics of the 17th century is a very exciting story in itself, but it would lead us too far away from our topic here. We will therefore deal with the copperplate engraving only to the extent that it helps to clarify the topography of the medal image. For a better understanding, reference is made to the letter symbols of the print in my description of the medal image (Fig. 9):

In the centre of the picture, the town of Gran (I) rises on a steep rock with the castle and the two characteristic towers. At the foot of the castle’s hill, directly on the banks of the Danube (N), the so-called “water town” -- which is only slightly fortified -- extends. From there, a bridge leads across the Danube to the fortified town of Barcan (Párkány, G). On a promontory opposite the

water town, the so-called Ratzenstadt (H) rises into the composition, i.e. the town of the Serbs, who in the 17th and 18th centuries were generally referred to as “Raatzen”, “Rascanier” or “Raitzen”. To the left and right of the town of Gran, two fortified hilltops are visible, St. Martin’s (L) and St. Thomas’ (K). Although the print and the medal that followed it show the topography around Gran with geographic accuracy, the tributary of the Danube that flows out behind the castle hill of Gran, which is also clearly recognisable on the medal, causes confusion. In the drawing, this waterway is shown as the river Gran (M), which is geographically incorrect. The Gran (Slovak: Hron), from which the city takes its name, flows into the Danube a few kilometres upstream of Párkány (Slovak: Štúrovo, German: Gockern), i.e. downstream towards Ofen and on the opposite side of Gran. This is the only error in the representation of Gran and its surroundings.

### The war year 1683

Unlike the representation of the copperplate engraving, which attempts to cram the various battles<sup>5</sup> near and around Gran into a single image, the city and the surrounding landscape on the medal by Philipp Heinrich Müller lie peacefully in the bright sunshine, protected by the Bavarian lion watching over them from the air. For posterity, therefore, it is hardly possible to tell from the medal image what role Gran played in the Turkish War in general -- and for Max Emanuel in particular -- and why it was immortalised on this magnificent medal. The Nürnberg print sheds some light on this as well: It has been completely forgotten in the collective memory that the fighting in 1683 did not end with the expulsion of the Turks from Vienna, but that the imperial and Polish armies pursued the Turkish army to Gran. On 7 October, tactical errors and serious negligence led to a major defeat for Polish forces near Párkány; even King Jan Sobieski was in acute danger of losing his life. Two days later, on 9 October, there was another battle between the imperial and Polish armies on one side and the Ottoman army on the other. During the course of the battle, Margrave Ludwig Wilhelm von Baden, who was later to play a decisive role in the course of the Great Turkish War, stormed Párkány with imperial dragoons. With this town, the Turks lost their

<sup>5</sup> On the course of the military operations, see:

Das Kriegsjahr 1683 nach den Acten und anderen authentischen Quellen dargestellt in der Abtheilung für Kriegsgeschichte des K.K. Kriegs-Archivs (Vienna 1883).



Fig. 10: The portrait of Max Emanuel and his wife Maria Antonia, bronze medal by Martin Brunner on the conquest of Ofen, 1688.

Leipziger Münzhandlung und Auktion Heidrun Höhn 103, Lot 1851.  
Estimate: 150 euros, Hammer Price: 210 euros

base on the Austrian side of the Danube and, to escape the fury of the imperial and thereafter the Polish forces, had to flee across the river to Gran. The bridge over the Danube had been torn apart in the middle by artillery fire; many of the bodies floating in the river gathered in the debris of the bridge and formed a kind of makeshift bridge, across which quite a few Turks fled to Gran. It was a horrific spectacle, as Karl/Charles V of Lorraine, the Supreme Commander of the imperial troops, reported to the Emperor.

Ten days after the conquest of Párkány, the imperial and Bavarian infantries crossed over to the Gran side; on 22 October 1683, the siege of the fortress of Gran, which was considered difficult to capture, began. Artillery was brought up on the surrounding hills of St Martin, St Thomas and St Georgen (the latter is not visible on the medal because it is hidden from view by the town). The Bavarians quickly conquered the “water town” and entrenched themselves at the foot of the fortress. The Ottoman garrison of Grans did not withstand the fierce bombardment for long and surrendered during the night of 27 to 28 October 1683, agreeing to accept free passage. In the parlance of the time, the town was taken “by agreement” by the Bavarians and the imperial forces.

### The beginning of the Great Turkish Wars

With the knowledge of the historical events of September and October 1683, the message of the medal created by Philipp Heinrich Müller gradually begins to emerge: It is the cast-in-bronze praise of the Bavarian Elector Max Emanuel, his part in the relief of the

imperial city and the reconquest of Gran. Even if today the awareness of the importance of Gran has faded, this does not change the fact that with Gran, the actual capital of Hungary was reconquered, which had fallen to the Ottomans in 1543. Until 1683, multiple attempts were made to bring the city back into Christian possession, albeit in vain. The recapture of Gran was therefore of great symbolic importance in the 17th century. Gran was also the first Hungarian town to be liberated from the Ottomans, marking the beginning of the Christian counteroffensive and thus the actual beginning of the Great Turkish War. In the eyes of posterity, this important event has been overshadowed by the relief of Vienna, which eclipsed all other events of 1683, as well as by the subsequent series of victories by the Christians, and has been pushed into the background. As a result, the imagery of Philipp Heinrich Müller’s medal has become almost incomprehensible to later viewers.

With medals, it is extremely difficult – if at all possible – to determine who issued them or to trace exactly who commissioned and paid for the minting, and who brought them into circulation and distributed them. In the case of the medal presented here, too, the question also arises as to who commissioned this exquisite work. In my opinion, the unusual form of the inscription, which is designed as direct speech by the depicted Elector, suggests that only Max Emanuel himself could have commissioned it.

### An ambitious young man

Maximilian II Emanuel was the son of the Bavarian Elector Ferdinand Maria and his wife Henriette Adelheid of Savoy. He was born in München on 10 July 1662. In 1679, before he had reached the age of majority, he had become Duke of Bavaria and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire. One of his first acts as an independently-reigning duke was to take part in the relief of Vienna. Max Emanuel was 21 years old at the time. He was weighed down not only by the pressure and obligations of the dukedom, but also by the necessity of providing a legitimate successor as soon as possible – in other words, Max Emanuel was supposed to marry. Now, although the young Bavarian Elector was anything but averse to women, the choice of the princess he had in mind drove the München court to despair, as such a marriage would have created insurmountable religious obstacles and complications. Archduchess Maria Antonia of Austria (1669-1692), a daughter of Emperor Leopold I from his first marriage to Margarita Teresa of Spain (Fig. 10), seemed on the other hand to be the ideal candidate. Through her mother, Maria Antonia was the natural niece of Carlos/Charles II, the childless King of Spain. By marrying the

Archduchess, Max Emanuel could realistically hope to gain access to the rich Spanish inheritance. After long internal deliberations in München, the decision was made in the autumn of 1684: Max Emanuel was indeed to marry the Emperor's daughter. The official negotiations for the marriage contract began in Vienna in March 1685 and were anything but simple. Although the Bavarian Elector was welcome as a suitor in the eyes of the Emperor, the Viennese court was aware of the potential for inheritance disputes that could arise for the House of Habsburg as a result of this marriage between a Wittelsbach and a Habsburg, nor were the Spanish ambitions of the ambitious Duke of Bavaria unknown in Vienna. All of this complicated a matter that at first glance had seemed advantageous to both sides. In this situation Max Emanuel certainly played on his importance as an ally, which was almost decisive at the time: The Emperor could hardly, if at all, do without Bavarian help in the war against the Turks. The Emperor's needs were too great, the Bavarian contribution too significant, and the loss of such an ally would have been unacceptable. Furthermore, it was also important to prevent the Bavarian Elector from forming an alliance with France, which posed an ever-greater threat to the empire from the west. It therefore seems very likely to me that Max Emanuel himself commissioned the medal presented here. It was not a commemorative medal for the masses, but a direct address to those who had to decide on his alliance with the House of Habsburg; ultimately, the message was directed to the Emperor himself. This could explain why so few examples of this medal are known to have survived. “Primus veni, vidi, vicimus. I came first, saw and we conquered” -- perhaps the change from the singular to the plural can also be seen as a turn towards the Emperor; one flatters the courted partner and allows him, if only in words, to share in the victory. Unlike Max Emanuel, Emperor Leopold never took part in a battle; he was not with his army during the relief of Vienna, let alone on the front line. The medal was probably minted in 1684, possibly in the autumn after the failed siege of Ofen, for which Max Emanuel and his supporters blamed Karl/Charles V of Lorraine.

This would have coincided with the time when the Bavarian-Habsburg marriage project was beginning to take shape. After the failure at Ofen, Max Emanuel was able to openly and emphatically point out his merits and successes in the past year of 1683. In March 1685, the negotiations for the marriage contract began in Vienna. On 12 July 1685, Max Emanuel became the son-in-law of Emperor Leopold I. The following inscription can be read on the sarcophagus of his wife Maria Antonia, who died in Vienna on 24 December 1692: CONIUGIUM INIIT CUM MAXIMILIANO EMANUELE VTR(iusque) BAV(ariae) AC PALAT(inatūs) SUP(erioris) D(uce) S(acri). R(omani) I(imperii) ARCHIDAP(ifer) ET ELECT(or) ETC. ANNO MDCL. XXXV XII IULII VIENNAE AUSTR(iae), QUO TEMPORE IS IAM SAEPIUS TURCAS IN UNG(aria) GLORIOSE DEVICERAT. (“She entered into a marriage with Maximilian Emanuel, Duke of both Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate, Arch-Truchsess and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, etc., in 1685, on 12 July in Vienna, Austria, when he had already gloriously defeated the Turks in Hungary on several occasions.”)

# Marcus Antonius: The Loser Who Did Not Write History

*Our auction sale 419 features numismatic rarities from the Roman civil war that followed Caesar's death. In addition to the Eid Mar denarius, aurei of Marcus Antonius will cross the auction block. We will re-tell his story – from his point of view, not that of Augustus.*

By Ursula Kampmann

It is an old story that we are all familiar with. And yet new versions of it can be told again and again. After all, it is a problem that every politician has to deal with: How do you get the people on your side? Do they value freedom more than security and their daily bread? To whom will history assign the role of “good”, who will be seen as evil – and why? Every historian will have their own answers. Therefore, enjoy this version of the story of Marcus Antonius, the man who began as a loyal follower of Caesar and rose to rule half the world before his ally betrayed and destroyed him.

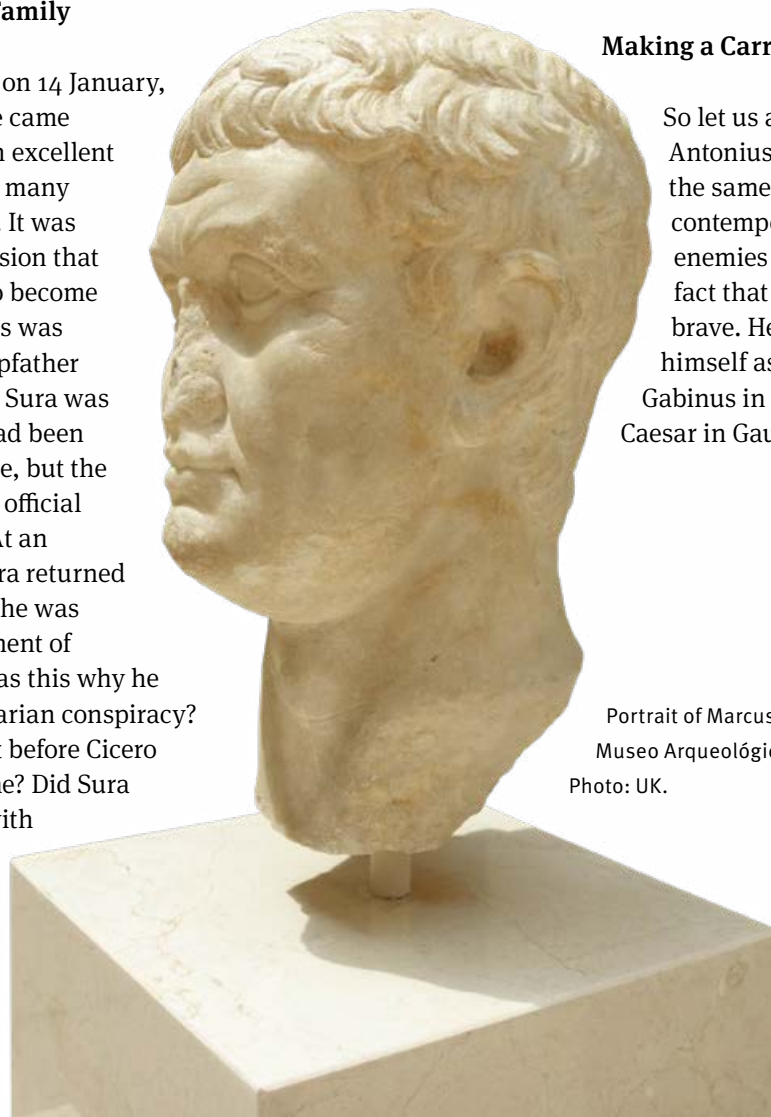
## The Offspring of a Noble Family

Marcus Antonius was born on 14 January, either in 82, 83 or 86 BC. He came from a noble family with an excellent network that had produced many senators and a few consuls. It was therefore a foregone conclusion that Marcus Antonius wanted to become a high-ranking senator. This was not an easy path, as his stepfather Publius Cornelius Lentulus Sura was a controversial figure: he had been elected consul by the people, but the Senate threw him out – the official reason being his lifestyle. At an unknown point in time, Sura returned to the Senate. By this time, he was probably a vehement opponent of the circle around Cicero. Was this why he was involved in the Catilinarian conspiracy? And did this plot even exist before Cicero expelled Catilina from Rome? Did Sura actually form an alliance with the Allobroges? He was condemned to death for it. At Cicero's request. Young Caesar tried in vain to stop it.

Sura's condemnation had consequences in that it made enemies of Marcus Antonius and Cicero. But while Cicero was revered by all humanists for his crystal-clear rhetoric, Marcus Antonius did not leave any written documents. This left a sworn enemy of Marcus Antonius in charge of interpreting the events. We must therefore be extremely cautious and take everything that has come down to us about Marcus Antonius' homosexual escapades, his wild promiscuity, his drinking bout and his dissolute lifestyle with a pinch of salt. Cicero had the habit of describing his friends as ascetics with strict morals and his enemies as luxury-loving wimps.

## Making a Carrier Under Caesar

So let us assume that Marcus Antonius lived more or less the same lifestyle as his contemporaries. And even his enemies could not deny the fact that he was extremely brave. He had distinguished himself as a teen under Aulus Gabinius in Syria, and joined Caesar in Gaul in 54 BC.



Portrait of Marcus Antonius.  
Museo Arqueológico Nacional / Madrid.  
Photo: UK.



Portrait of Caesar. Altes Museum / Berlin. Photo: KW.

Caesar recognized him as a talented ally and started to systematically mentor him. With Caesar's support, Marcus Antonius became first quaestor, then augur, and in 49 tribune of the plebs. Caesar thus demonstrated his complete confidence in him – he needed Marcus Antonius in Rome that year. His proconsulship was about to come to an end, and he planned to have himself re-elected as consul immediately afterwards. In this way, he wanted to avoid being dragged into court by his political opponents.

But Caesar had failed to anticipate his opponents' ruthlessness. He was declared an enemy of the state, and the right of veto of the two tribunes of the plebs was ignored. This was a clear violation of the law! What is more, despite the sanctity of the tribune, Marcus Antonius and his colleague feared for their lives. They fled to Caesar. And the rest is history. Caesar crossed the Rubicon and defeated the senators who opposed him. Marcus Antonius proved to be a brilliant commander, which is why Caesar appointed him Magister Equitum, i.e. his military deputy, in 48 BC.



Caesar. Denarius, 44, before Caesar's assassination.

Very rare. From the collection of a lawyer.

Excellent portrait. Very fine.

Estimate: 2,500 euros.

From Künker Auction 419 (17 March 2025), No. 334.

### Caesar's Portrait

On 1 January 44 BC, Marcus Antonius took office as consul together with Caesar. At this point, the dictator seemed to have a firm grip on power. In the last days of 45 BC, the Senate had granted him the right to issue coins depicting his portrait. We owe the wonderful denarii with Caesar's portrait to this decision. However, numismatists no longer distinguish between portraits before and after Caesar's death, as Alföldi did. It is likely that all portrait denarii were minted BEFORE Caesar's assassination.

The meaning of the portrait itself is also interpreted differently today. Experts emphasize the continuity that led from the depiction of dead ancestors to the portrayal of an outstanding living person. But, of course, Caesar's enemies could also see it as an alignment with Hellenistic monarchs, especially since the Senate had appointed Caesar dictator for life in mid-February 44 BC.

### A Political Assassination

The rest went down in history. Caesar fell to the daggers of his opponents on 15 March 44 BC. What is remarkable in our context is that the conspirators took great care to keep the brave and battle-hardened Marcus Antonius away from the scene. They feared that his intervention might save Caesar's life.

Influenced by Marcus Iunius Brutus, the conspirators had only killed Caesar. They naively imagined that the removal of the "tyrant" would automatically restore the old system of mutual favors and compromise. They were wrong. Marcus Antonius took the initiative. After all, as consul he held the highest office. He took possession of the treasury, had Caesar's widow take over Caesar's records, and called soldiers into the city to restore order.

Caesar's assassination.  
Theodor von Piloty 1865.  
Landesmuseum Hannover.  
Wikipedia, public domain.



He also brought about an initial compromise with Caesar's murderers: Marcus Antonius rallied some courageous senators and held an official Senate session on 17 March. All of Caesar's laws were confirmed, thus creating legal certainty. The conspirators were granted amnesty, and it was decided to give the dictator a public funeral.

We all remember the impressive speech that Shakespeare had his Marcus Antonius deliver on this occasion. It has replaced the sober words handed down by Appian in our imagination. In fact, Marcus Antonius had a reputation for powerful oratory. But he had only just calmed down the politically charged situation. Did he really use Caesar's funeral two days later to incite the Roman people to take revenge? Was it not more likely that his speech was characterized by a genuine mourning for an admired supporter and companion? We will never know.

What we do know is that Marcus Antonius praised Caesar, even though he had known since 18 March that Caesar had not appointed Marcus Antonius but Octavianus, Caesar's great-nephew, as his heir. The fact that he named Marcus Antonius as his secondary heir shows how close the two of them were. If anything happened to Octavianus, Marcus Antonius would take over Caesar's inheritance. So it was no wonder that Octavianus initially allied himself with Cicero's group.

### The Provinces Foot the Bill

Nevertheless, the group around Marcus Antonius gained more and more support over the next few months. Brutus and Cassius realized that a civil war was necessary to give them the respect they felt they deserved as tyrannicides. But three things were needed to wage war: money, money, and yet more money.



Caesar. Denarius, 44, before Caesar's assassination.  
Rare. Fine toning. Very fine.  
Estimate: 1,000 euros.  
From Künker Auction 419 (17 March 2025), No. 335.



Portrait of Brutus.  
So-called Brutus Rondanini.  
Glyptothek / Munich. Photo: KW.

Just how effectively they raised this money will bring tears to the eyes of any imaginative person. The provinces had to foot the bill. Brutus went to Macedonia. A supporter misallocated 16,000 talents – about 96 million denarii – from the treasury so that Brutus could raise an army. His 7 or 8 legions gave him control of Macedonia; and Cicero helped him to get the corresponding office. Therefore, Brutus had the right to levy taxes in his province. He did so extensively. And since the money was not enough, he went to war and plundered the treasures of rich Thrace.

Cassius did the same in Syria and Asia Minor. His scheme was the following: All the cities that had supported Dolabella, the governor that had officially been appointed by the Senate, were “punished” and

had to pay contributions. The example of Tarsus illustrates what this looked like: Cassius demanded the city to pay 1,500 talents, a totally unrealistic sum. Neither public nor private funds could cover it. After melting down the precious metal in the temples, Cassius had all the citizens of the city sold into slavery. But even this was not enough to come up with 1,500 talents.

It is hard to imagine today how much suffering and tears are associated with the most famous coin type in world history. The dagger and the Phrygian cap on Eid Mar denarii did not represent freedom, but were proof of Brutus’ achievement. Just as Caesar had done after to the conquest of Gaul, Brutus claimed a leading role in the Roman Republic on the basis of this outstanding achievement.

Our view of the events comes from a very different context. During the 80 Years’ War (1568-1648), the Dutch used the motif of the Phrygian cap between two daggers. They interpreted this motif as a symbol of the glorious battle of the Republic against a tyrant. Thanks to the many printing presses and publishing houses that existed in the free Netherlands, they spread their version of history so effectively that intellectuals fell for the leyenda negra for centuries. The Spanish Black Legend, which made Catholic Spaniards the villains of early modern times, illustrates the extent to which fake news shape our view of history.

But let us get back to the subject of this article. In terms of chronology, this denarius takes us to the time just before the decisive battle of Philippi. Caesar’s assassins were well-funded thanks to their brutal actions. Somewhere – either still in Asia Minor or already in northern Greece – they had significant quantities of coins minted in mid-42 BC to buy the loyalty of their

soldiers. Brutus paid his soldiers 1,500 denarii per man – the equivalent to approximately four years' wages. Centurions received five times as much, legates ten times. We do not know how much this ultimately cost Brutus, but it certainly was an immense sum. His legions alone consisted of 80,000 men. In addition, there were 20,000 horsemen and auxiliaries.

### Proscriptions and Taxes

While Brutus and Cassius were exploiting the richest provinces of the Roman Empire, the triumvirs supplied themselves from Italy. Triumvirs? Well, Octavianus had quickly understood that, as Caesar's heir, he did not belong on the side of his opponents, but on the side of his most loyal companions. After all, they also offered much better prospects. The result was a law passed on 27 November 43 BC by which the Assembly granted dictatorial powers to Marcus Antonius, Lepidus and Octavianus as *triumviri rei publicae constituendae*.

In order to restore the Republic, the triumvirs needed money. Historians have tried to interpret proscriptions – of which Cicero was one of the victims – as a money-raising measure. If this was actually the case, this measure was incredibly inefficient. A more sensible measure were the many newly introduced taxes. They culminated in the suggestion that particularly wealthy citizens should hand over their entire fortune in order to get part of it back at a later time.

Despite all these efforts, Marcus Antonius was unable to pay his soldiers a *donativum* before the battle of Philippi. Had the compulsory taxes raised too little money? Or were enemy ships preventing the money from crossing the Adriatic? In any case, the Caesarian soldiers had to make do with promises. And they still won the battle.

### An Uneasy Coexistence

Marcus Antonius then moved east to prepare for the war against the Parthians. He stopped at Ephesus. There he had an extensive coin series minted, depicting his portrait on the obverse with various political allies.

In Ephesus he met all the client kings whose resources he needed to fight the Parthians. Among them was Cleopatra, his most important ally because of her incredible wealth. Her legation was equipped with all the splendor available. After all, in line with diplomatic custom, splendor reflected the importance of a ruler. Later historians – and in this tradition, Hollywood too – stylized Cleopatra's appearance as a lascivious lack of taste that was the beginning of an amour fou. According to their version of the story, hot-blooded



M. Iunius Brutus. Denarius, mid-42 BC, Asia Minor or Northern Greece.

From a collection completed before 1990.

Very rare. Fine to very fine.

Estimate: 50,000 euros.

From Künker Auction 419 (17 March 2025), Lot 337.



Marcus Antonius. Denarius, 42 BC, Italy.

Rare. About extremely fine.

Estimate: 750 euros.

From Auction 419 (17 March 2025), Lot 339.



Marcus Antonius and Octavianus. Aureus, 41 BC, Ephesus.

From a collection completed before 1990.

Very rare. Very fine + / very fine.

Estimate: 12,500 euros.

From Auction 419 (17 March 2025), Lot 342.



Marcus Antonius and Lucius Antonius. Denarius, 41 BC. Ephesus.

Very rare. Very fine to extremely fine.

Estimate: 1,250 euros.

From Auction 419 (17 March 2025), Lot 345.



2:1

Marcus Antonius and Octavia. Aureus, 38 BC, Athens(?).

From a collection completed before 1990.

Extremely rare. Very fine.

Estimate: 15,000 euros.

From Auction 419 (17 March 2025), Lot 344.

Marcus Antonius simply was too weak to resist the incredible sex appeal of the Oriental woman. The fact that both of them were experienced politicians through and through that depended on each other's support is often overlooked.

While Marcus Antonius gathered his troops, Octavianus was preparing to mobilize roughly 50,000 to 60,000 soldiers. They would only be of use to him as voters and as a military reserve if he settled them near Rome in Italy. But there was little free land there. So he decided that Italian farmers had to give up their property to make room for soldiers.

Of course, these farmers refused to do so. Lucius Antonius, acting consul and brother of Marcus Antonius, sided with them. A reason why he did so could be that he realized that his brother might be in danger in Italy if there were this many potential clients for Octavian.

It is said that 200,000 men fought over the expropriation of farmers in central Italy. Octavian was the victor, and the farmers were dispossessed. The conquest of Perugia shows how brutal the war was. The entire city council paid for their support of Lucius Antonius with their lives. Four authors recorded that Octavianus ordered 300 knights and senators to be slaughtered at the altar of Divus Iulius on the 4th anniversary of Caesar's assassination. It may be hard to believe today,

but this episode illustrates what his contemporaries thought the future "emperor of peace" was capable of. By the way, Lucius Antonius was not punished. He became the governor of Spain. Octavian preferred not to challenge Marcus Antonius at this point. In 40 BC, the triumvirs formally divided the responsibilities of the Roman Empire between them: Marcus Antonius was given the East, Octavian the West and Lepidus Africa.

### The Antonine-Claudian Dynasty

Part of the agreement was a woman, Augustus' sister. Octavia had become a widow in early 40 BC. It took a special decree of the Senate to allow her to marry Marcus Antonius before the end of the official mourning period. It was, of course, a political marriage. And that was nothing unusual in Rome. The fact that Marcus Antonius had Octavia depicted on his coinage shows just how important this marriage was for the peace of the empire. She was the second Roman woman to receive this honor. Today, we see Octavia as an exemplary and loyal wife who, even after her husband's suicide, looked after their two daughters. With Antonia Maior and Antonia Minor, Marcus Antonius became grandfather of Emperor Claudius, great-grandfather of Emperor Caligula and great-grandfather or great-great-grandfather – once through one daughter, then through the other – of Emperor Nero. This means that the emperors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty were just as closely related to Marcus Antonius as they were to Octavianus.

### The Parthians

In 37 BC, Octavianus and Marcus Antonius concluded their final deal. It stipulated that Octavianus would provide Marcus Antonius with 20,000 legionaries for the Parthian campaign. Despite the riches of the East, Marcus Antonius had a problem: he was only allowed to recruit Roman citizens for his legions. But Roman citizens lived in the West under the rule of Octavianus. As compensation, Marcus Antonius gave 120 warships to Octavianus to use against Sextus Pompeius. This was almost half the fleet with which Agrippa won the decisive victory in 36 BC. Marcus Antonius, on the other hand, waited in vain for the 20,000 legionaries he had been promised.

Was it the lack of soldiers that caused Marcus Antonius' crushing defeat against the Parthians? Was it the treason of the Armenian king? Or was it the hubris of the Romans, who simply refused to believe that the Parthians were a world power on a par with Rome that would still be fighting Rome for generations to come?



Caracalla. Aureus, 201-206, commemorating the victory over the Parthians. Very rare. About FDC.

Estimate: 20,000 euros.

From Künker Auction 419 (17 March 2025), Lot 504.



Marcus Antonius and Antyllus. Aureus, 34 BC, Syrian or Armenian mint. From MMAG auction 25 (1962), Lot 586.

Extremely rare. Very fine.

Estimate: 30,000 euros.

From Künker Auction 419 (17 March 2025), Lot 346.



Marcus Antonius. Legion denarius, 32/31, Patras(?).

Extremely fine.

Estimate: 400 euros.

From Künker Auction 419 (17 March 2025), Lot 340.

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In any case, Marcus Antonius returned from his campaign in 35 BC with a decimated and completely demoralized army. The fact that he even managed to withdraw his troops in a somewhat organized manner is hailed by modern historians as a strategic masterstroke. And while Marcus Antonius licked his wounds in Sidon, Octavia sent 2,000 legionaries to him on her brother's orders. 2,000! Not the promised 20,000! After the campaign! Not as promised before!

We know how Marcus Antonius reacted to this pretense of support. He sent Octavia a letter of divorce, ending the alliance with Octavianus, and went on to marry Cleopatra, who had never hesitated to put her resources at his disposal. Marcus Antonius thus gave Octavianus carte blanche to systematically destroy his reputation in Rome. Thanks to brilliant propaganda, Caesar's most loyal and capable supporter was turned into an oriental lecher controlled by an effeminate queen.

His logistical achievements show that Marcus Antonius certainly did not fit Octavianus' description. Within a single year, he raised an army that was able to march into Armenia and punish its king for his treason. Marcus Antonius celebrated this victory with a great feast in Alexandria. Octavianus declared this a scandal: he said that Marcus Antonius had celebrated a triumph without paying homage to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, without consulting the Senate (and without distributing the usual gifts to Roman citizens). Historians now believe that Marcus Antonius did follow the rules and entered Alexandria not as a triumphator but as new Dionysus. But nobody in Rome would care about that.

In the year of this victory, an aureus was minted in a Syrian or Armenian mint, showing the portrait of Marcus Antonius together with that of his son Antyllus. Antyllus, who was actually engaged to Julia, Octavianus' daughter, came to the East after the break between Octavianus and Marcus Antonius. He only lived to the age of 17. Octavianus had him executed after his victory – just like Caesar's only biological son, Caesarion, who was about the same age.

### The Final Battle

This brings us to the final battle for power. Octavianus proudly wrote in his account of deeds that the whole of Italy had freely sworn allegiance to him, and had expressly demanded him as their leader in battle. Well, Marcus Antonius still had so many supporters in Rome at this point that 300 senators – about a third of the Senate – took advantage of the promise of free passage to join Marcus Antonius in the East.

Portrait of Cleopatra.  
Altes Museum / Berlin.  
Photo: KW.



We all know the outcome of the Battle of Actium. Marcus Antonius' retreat with the Egyptian fleet had the effect of a rout on his legionaries. They felt abandoned and defected in droves to Octavianus. The war was over, and it was only a matter of time before Alexandria would be conquered.

The rest became a myth: Marcus Antonius threw himself on his sword, Cleopatra killed herself with a snakebite. Augustus had them buried side by side. Not because he was moved by the lovers' fate, but because it suited his own version of history: the Roman Marcus Antonius had become an Egyptian. So why would anybody care about the fact that Octavianus' betrayal had left Marcus Antonius no other option?

# Jacobea – The fate of a woman of the late Middle Ages

By Margret Nollé



Fig. 1: Map of the Duchy of Straubing-Holland until the death of Johann/John III in 1425. Lencer, Wikipedia, CC BY 2.5.

The last part of the important collection of Dutch coins of Lodewijk S. Beuth will be auctioned in Künker's Auction 420 on 18 March 2025, including coins from the southern Dutch provinces of Brabant and Flanders and the county of Hainaut. In the context of the historical background of these coins, one of the most interesting female figures of the late Middle Ages plays an important role, which we present in this article: "Frouwe Jakob" or "Dame Jaques" was the last of the Wittelsbach family on the Dutch throne, ruling over Holland, Hainaut and Zeeland. But aside from her historical significance, she owes her fame above all to an extremely eventful life, the tragedy of which could serve as material for heartbreaking novels of blood and tears, or for dramatic films.

## The Wittelsbachers in Holland

Their Dutch possessions came to the Wittelsbachers through marriage, when Emperor Ludwig/Louis IV "the Bavarian" took as his second wife in 1324 Margaret, daughter of the Count of Holland. The match was not brilliant from a social point of view, but it did give the Emperor from Bayern/Bavaria claims to the County of Holland in the northwest of the empire, an area at the confluence of the rivers Rhine, Meuse, and Scheldt (Fig. 1). The small region had developed into a centre of trade and culture, and was a good place to live, thanks to its favourable location. When his father-in-law, Count Willem/William IV, was killed without male heirs at the Battle of Stavoren against the Frisians in 1345, the region fell to Emperor Ludwig and thus to the House of Wittelsbach. Ludwig died in 1347. The dowager empress, who was living in München, ceded the inherited land to her son, Duke Wilhelm I of Bavaria-Straubing, who settled in The Hague as Count of Holland, Hainaut and Zeeland. Since he still owed his mother 10,000 ducats, which he had contractually agreed to pay annually for the cession, war broke out between

mother and son in early 1350. These military conflicts, known in history as the *Hoekse en Kabeljauwse twisten* (Dutch)/"Haken und Kabeljau Krieg"(German)/("Hook and Cod War"), took place on Dutch soil and were waged by two powerful parties who saw opportunities for asserting their own interests in the Wittelsbach family dispute: the "Kabeljauen" ("Codfish"), as a faction of the merchants and bourgeoisie, and the "Hoeken" ("hooks"), the nobility, with the Flandrian knighthood and the farmers, who wanted to "catch" the Kabeljau. It would be too ambitious here to go into the details of this unfortunate and bloody war. Ultimately, the Treaty of Mons in December 1354 returned Holland, Zeeland and Hainaut to Duke Wilhelm I, which marked the beginning of a hundred years of Bavarian rule in the Netherlands.



Fig. 2: Albrecht I (front) and his brother Wilhelm (rear), engraving from 1518 by Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen. Wikipedia, public domain.



Fig. 3: Jacobea of Straubing-Holland, engraving from: "Principes Hollandiae et Zelandiae, Domini Frisiae" by Michiel Vosmeer, Antwerp 1578. Wikipedia, public domain.

Beginning in 1357, Wilhelm showed signs of mental illness, which even made him violent, which is why the Dutch called him the "Mad Duke". His brother Albrecht/Albert took over the government in The Hague for Wilhelm in 1358. Wilhelm died in 1389 (Fig. 2). His successor Albrecht/Albert sought to establish dynastic links with the powerful neighbouring Burgundians by marrying his children to their descendants. He succeeded in this with the famous "Cambrai Double Wedding" on 13 April 1385, a magnificent event lasting eight days and involving the full splendour of the court, to which more than 20,000 guests were invited. Duke Albrecht married his eldest son Wilhelm to Margaretha/Margaret, the eldest daughter of Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy. His son, the future Duke Jan zonder Vrees/John the Fearless of Burgundy, married Wilhelm's sister. For Albrecht, the double marriage alliance represented an extraordinary political success. How could he have known that years later it would prove to be his granddaughter's undoing?

After Albrecht's death in December 1404, the Duchy of Lower Bavaria-Straubing-Holland was split up. In the south, Albrecht's youngest son Johann/John III became the new sovereign; the northern territories fell to the eldest son Duke Wilhelm/William II.

### Dauphine of France

Duke Wilhelm/William II of Straubing-Holland, the eldest son of Duke Albrecht, was married to Margaretha/Margaret of Burgundy. On 15 July 1401, she bore him a daughter in The Hague, who was to remain his only legitimate child. She was born on the day of St. James and was therefore given the unusual name "Jacobea" (German: Jakobäa, Dutch: Jacoba, French: Jacqueline). No sooner was she born than she became a pawn in the power games. Her father, a lover of pageantry and one of the most celebrated joustiers of his time, was vigorously pursuing his own father's ambitious marriage policy. In 1506, at the age of five, Jacobea was betrothed to the future Dauphin of France, Jean de Valois (John of Touraine). The Duke saw the future French King as a powerful protector for the heiress of Holland. In August of 1415, when Jacobea was fourteen, the couple was married. But the dream of becoming Queen of France was shattered on Palm Sunday of 1417, when Jean died of a throat ulcer that had ruptured, as was reported in the royal bulletin. The people, however, said that he had been poisoned. At the age of sixteen, Jacobea was already a widow (Fig. 3).

### Duchess of Brabant

Now the young woman, as the only legitimate successor to her father (he had also fathered nine illegitimate children!), was entitled only to Holland, Zeeland and Hainaut. Her father was aware that disputes would arise after his death, since according to the Salic Law of Succession – which also applied to the House of Wittelsbach – women could inherit neither property nor titles. Only in Hainaut was female succession recognised. In 1416, Wilhelm II tried prematurely to influence Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg in his favour. However, he did so in vain: Sigismund, as we shall see, had his own plans and was not at all willing to support Jacobea as his successor in Holland (Fig. 4). In view of the dubious nature of the succession, the Duke tried to force the nobility and the estates of the Netherlands to swear an oath of allegiance that would secure his daughter's rule for all time. This pledge was initially given to him by the nobility at a hastily-convened provincial parliamentary assembly, but the upper middle classes and merchants of the cities could not be similarly persuaded. A few weeks later, on 31 May 1417, Duke Wilhelm II died of an infectious dog bite. His daughter saw herself as his undisputed



Fig. 4: Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg; painting, probably by Antonio Pisanello (1395-1455); Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Wikipedia, public domain.

successor and now travelled through her lands to receive the homage of the nobility, the bourgeoisie and the people, according to the tradition of the time. Jousts and banquets were held in her honour, she received precious gifts, and her beauty was celebrated in song. But while she was still travelling, carried on a wave of enthusiasm, her uncle Duke Johann/John of Bavaria-Straubing laid claim to her territories. He had been Bishop of Liège but had never been ordained. Johann/John immediately took possession of the Bavarian ancestral region of Straubing and also immediately claimed the Dutch provinces, justifying his claim legally as follows: Since Holland and its provinces had become Wittelsbacher dominions, and thus subject to Salic law, only a man could inherit crown and land -- therefore, he was the rightful heir. He presented Jacobea with the alternatives of submission or war. However, Jacobea was determined to take up the fight against her uncle, who was not called “Jean sans pitié” (“John the Merciless”) by friends and enemies without reason (Fig. 5).

Duke Johann/John III had powerful supporters on his side: He had married the niece of Emperor Sigismund, Elisabeth of Görlitz, Duchess of Luxembourg and widow of Duke Anton/Anthony of Brabant, who had died fighting the English in the Battle of Azincourt in 1415. It was of particular value that the Emperor enfeoffed Johann with the counties of his late brother Wilhelm. The new dispute within the Wittelsbach family suited the wealthy bourgeoisie of the cities, the “Cods”, very well; they openly took the side of Duke Johann.

Jacobea sought advice and help from her Burgundian relatives. Her mother and her uncle on her mother’s side, John the Fearless of Burgundy, persuaded her to marry the fourteen-year-old Duke Johan/John IV of Brabant. He, however, was not likely to be of much support to his future wife, because he was in poor physical condition, was not very assertive, and struggled with significant financial problems. Since the young couple were blood relatives, a papal dispensation was required for the marriage. This could not be obtained because the two opposing popes, Urban VI and Clement VII, had been deposed and the church council, which had been meeting in Constance since November 1415, was trying to end the Great Western Schism and elect a new head of the Church. Jacobea and Johan

submitted their request to the council in due haste. While the French bishops, at the urging of the Duke of Burgundy, were inclined to support the dispensation, Emperor Sigismund openly tried to thwart the Brabant marriage. He demanded that the council employ the threat of excommunication to simply prohibit the marriage because, according to the Emperor, the union had been decided upon “to the greatest endangerment of the rights of the true heir of Holland, Duke Johann of Bavaria”. Finally, in 1417, Pope Martin V, elected by the council, granted permission, but revoked it after a fortnight -- which did not prevent Jacobea from marrying her cousin in The Hague in March 1418 despite some misgivings.

But this second marriage brought Jacobea no more luck than had the first. As was to be expected, the marriage was recognised only by the nobility, and the “Cods” considered it invalid and punishable. Her husband Johan of Brabant took the oath of suzerainty



Fig. 5: Johann III of Straubing-Holland, known as John III the Merciless, engraving from: *Principes Hollandiae et Zelandiae, Domini Frisiae* by Michiel Vosmeer, Antwerp 1578. Wikipedia, public domain.

in Hainaut – against the express will of Emperor Sigismund – and attempted to use the resources now available to him to restore the county’s finances. In the meantime, the Dutch nobility had gone to war on behalf of Jacobea against the troops of Johann III, and had even won a victory at the Battle of Gorkum. However, she subsequently had to cope with the defection of the important trading centre of Dordrecht. But things were to get even worse: Johann III conquered Rotterdam, and after a short time controlled the areas around the Rhine and Meuse and thus the lifelines of Holland. The war, which the Wittelsbachers fought fiercely for their inheritance, devastated the country. A terrible flood submerged large parts of Holland, and hunger

and plague depopulated it. Finally, the young Duchess was forced to accept the mediation of her cousin Philip of Burgundy, the future Duke Philip the Good, and cede the cities of Dordrecht, Gorkum and Rotterdam with their associated domains to her uncle in the “Compensation of Workum” of 1419. In return, Johann III recognised the legality of her marriage to Johan of Brabant, was given a five-year share in the government of Jacobea and Johan, and even received a considerable financial settlement. In the further course of events, the heavily-indebted Johan of Brabant ruthlessly betrayed his wife by signing the Treaty of St. Martinsdyk on 21 April 1420, pledging Johann III a share of the government of the duchy for twelve years, against his wife’s will. He also named the Wittelsbachers as his heirs and released Jacobea’s Dutch, Zeeland and Frisian subjects from their oaths of allegiance.

At that point enough was enough. Jacobea divorced her husband and annulled the marriage of her own volition. In the spring of 1420, she left the court in Brussels. But who would offer her protection and champion her cause, since she had only the empty title of Countess of Holland, Hainaut and Zeeland, without any accompanying fortune?

### Duchess of Gloucester

Jacobea chose England as her place of refuge; it seemed a good decision, as the chances of the English King Henry V taking the French throne as well had increased considerably after the severe turmoil in the House of Valois. After the Dauphin Charles, Jacobea’s former brother-in-law, had the Duke of Burgundy, John the Fearless, murdered, the Dauphin was disinherited in the Treaty of Troyes in 1420, and King Henry V of England was seen as heir to the throne of France.

On 6 March 1421, Jacobea arrived at the English court in London and was received by the King with all honours. The Duke of Gloucester, a younger brother of King Henry, fell in love with the beautiful exile and married her in 1423 -- although, despite all of his declarations of love, this marriage was also intended to help him gain possession of Holland, Zeeland and Hainaut for England in due course. Moreover, the marriage with Duke Humphrey posed problems, because Jacobea was still officially married to Johan IV of Brabant. To have her marriage to Johan annulled, Jacobea turned to Pope Martin V in Rome and even to the deposed former Pope Benedict XIII. Her efforts were now countered by her cousin Philip the Good of Burgundy and her uncle Johann, who rightly feared an English invasion. Joanna was expecting a child, but the baby was stillborn in 1424. King Henry V died in August 1422, and the Duke of Gloucester was appointed Lord Protector of



Fig. 6: Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester; contemporary drawing, probably by the French portraitist Jaques Le Boucq (1520-1573). Wikipedia, public domain.

his infant nephew. In order to protect the interests of his wife – as well as his own – he crossed the Channel with Jacobea and a force of 1,500 soldiers in 1424 and invaded Hainaut, whose estates paid homage to him and Jacobea. Duke Humphrey immediately proclaimed himself “Duke of Gloucester, Earl of Hainaut, Holland, Zeeland and Pembroke, Lord of Friesland and Grand Chamberlain of England” (Fig. 6). He did not live to fight with Johann III, however, as Johann died of poisoning on 6 January 1425. Jacobea still could not hope to regain her dominion however, because Johann III had appointed his nephew Philip of Burgundy as his heir. Philip now led an army, consisting of his followers and soldiers from Dordrecht, The Hague, and Delft, against the English at Brouwershaven in Zeeland. His army

consisted of about 4,000 men, including more than 1,000 crossbowmen. On the other side were 3,000 Zeelanders under the command of the knight Floris van Heemstede, who were reinforced by English troops. The Burgundians, well-armed and disciplined, pushed Humphrey’s and Jacobea’s forces back onto a dike and inflicted a severe defeat upon them. The outcome of the Battle of Brouwershaven on 13 January 1426 also marked the final blow to Jacobea’s struggle for Holland. One of the first to recognise how hopeless the situation had become was her husband, Duke Humphrey of Gloucester. In order to fulfil his duties as regent of England, he abandoned the “Dutch adventure” and hurried back to London -- simply leaving Jacobea to her fate. Philip of Burgundy took her prisoner and imprisoned her in Gravensteen Castle in Ghent, the old residence of the Counts of Flanders (Fig. 7). The Burgundians also suppressed a revolt by Dutch peasants in favour of Jacobea near Hoorn in West Friesland.

But Jacobea was not yet willing to give up. The pleading letter she wrote to Humphrey of Gloucester from captivity, and had smuggled into England with great difficulty, is touching in its helplessness:

“My Dearest Lord! I write to you now as the most sorrowful of women, the most lost and shamefully betrayed on Earth. All my hope and all my thoughts are directed towards you. Remember that all I suffer is only because I love you. Therefore, I humbly beg you: Have pity on me and my plight, for God’s sake, and come to my aid as quickly as you can if you do not want to lose me forever.”

But Humphrey did not answer, because Jacobea had become both politically and privately uninteresting to him. Unfortunately, Pope Martin V had now, in a second reversal, declared the marriage of Jacobea to Johan IV of Brabant to be valid after all. This made her marriage to Duke Humphrey of Gloucester illegitimate, and the English claims to Holland lapsed. After the annulment of his marriage to Jacobea in 1428, the Duke of Gloucester married his longtime lover Eleanor Cobham -- who, ironically, had been Jacobea’s lady-in-waiting during her time in London, and with whom he



Fig. 7: Ghent, Castle of the Dukes of Burgundy (JN 2022).

already had two children. Abandoned by Humphrey of Gloucester, Jacobea finally agreed to the “Reconciliation Treaty of Delft” with Philip the Good of Burgundy on 3 July 1428. He recognised her as “Countess of Hainaut, Zeeland and Lady of Friesland”, but reserved the right to govern the territories until a new marriage took place, for which his consent would be necessary. He was also named as heir to Jacobea in the event that she remained childless: a political dilemma for the disempowered Duchess, who remained in custody (Fig. 9).

### **Mevrouw van Borssele**

On 1 July 1432, while still a prisoner, Jacobea secretly married Frank van Borssele/von Borssele, a knight from Zeeland and a member of the higher nobility, who became her fourth husband. In 1422/23, he had served her enemy and uncle Duke Johann III as governor of Holland and Zeeland (Fig. 8). After the Duke’s death in 1425, van Borssele was appointed General and Grand Captain of Zeeland by Philip the Good on 21 March 1426. He entered Jacobea’s life as her guard at Gravensteen

Castle, and apparently fell in love with her. When Philip the Good learned of the secret marriage, he saw his chance to finally incorporate the Dutch possessions of the Wittelsbachers into his Duchy of Burgundy. He had van Borssele imprisoned and blackmailed Jacobea, who, to secure her husband’s release, ceded her lands to the Duke of Burgundy on 12 April 1433 in the Hague Treaty in return for a pension, writing:

“We considered that we, as a woman, are not respected and will not be obeyed with the kind of submission that is due, and that we therefore cannot hold these lands, in which the nobility and the people are in great discord, and rule them in peace and order. For this, a capable prince and lord of great might and foresight is required, and we know of none better than our dear cousin, the Duke of Burgundy, who already knows the country and its people, and with whose neighbouring lands ours are in active trade.”

Jacobea had finally lost the battle for her inheritance. She retired to Teilingen Castle near Sassenheim, and

died of tuberculosis on 9 October 1436. She was laid to rest in the court chapel in The Hague. With her death, the Straubing-Holland line of the Wittelsbachs ended.

It is also interesting to note that her fourth husband, Frank van Borssele, who outlived his wife by 34 years, continued to be in favour with the Burgundians: In 1434 he was appointed Count of Ostervand and in 1444 he even received the honour of becoming a Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, the highest distinction awarded by the Duchy of Burgundy.

When we look at her life, we see in Jacobea a princess from a house of the high nobility who was thoroughly conscious of her position, and was determined to assert her claims energetically. However, the Salic law of succession formed an obstacle that she could only have overcome with the help of a strong man at her side. Her husbands, however, whom the historian Franz von Löher described in 1862 as “brilliant failures”, pursued their own interests above all and were far from supportive. From their perspective, women were supposed to submit first to their fathers and later to their husbands. Women were married for the benefit and stabilisation of their dynasty -- and were expected to bear male heirs if possible. The mere idea that a woman from these circles would independently try to get her way was unheard of. The “power woman” Jacobea was doomed simply by the circumstances of her time. It was not until the twentieth century that women in the Netherlands had the opportunity to prove their abilities as queens – Emma, Wilhelmina, Juliana, and Beatrix.



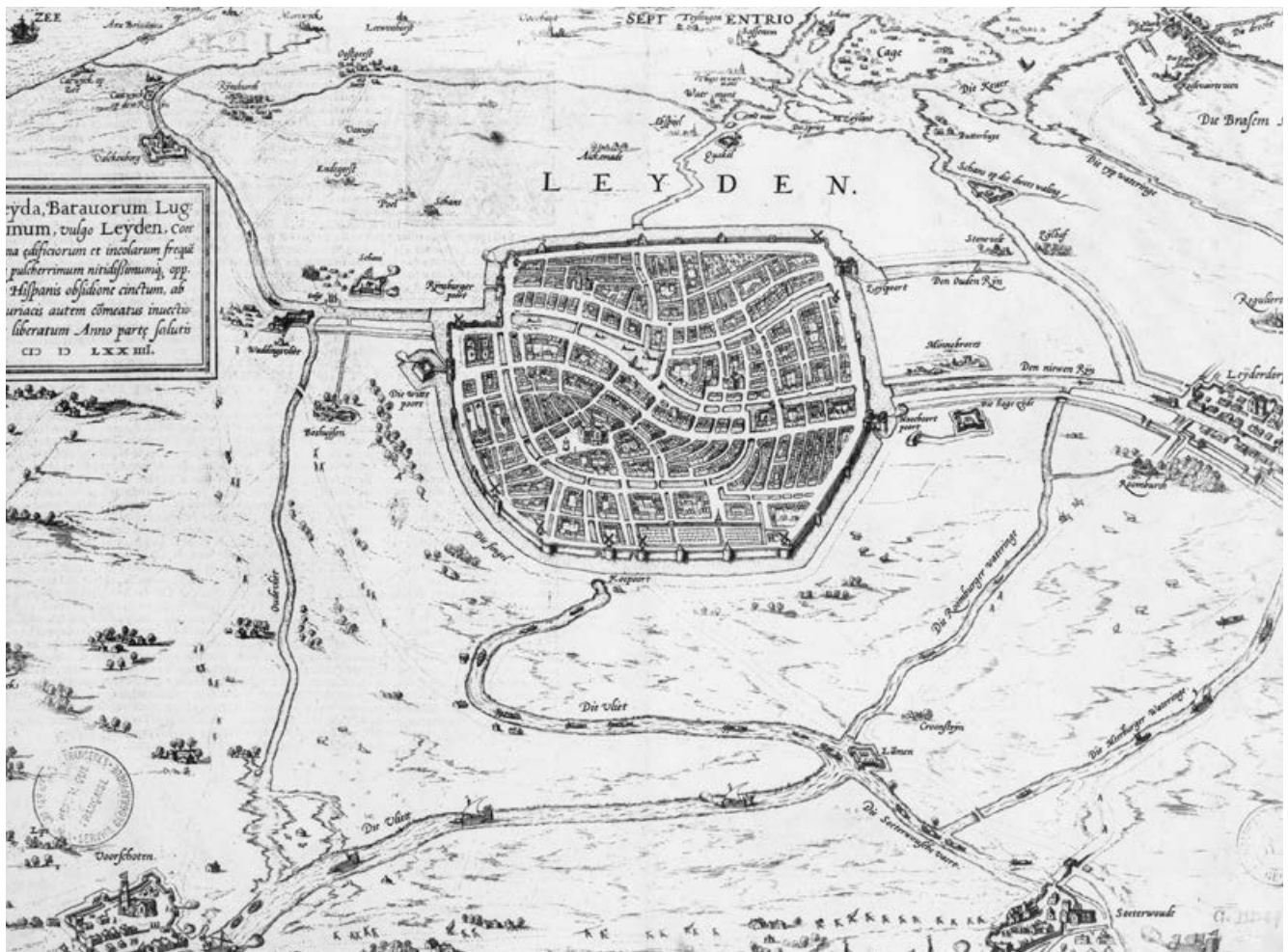
Fig. 8: Frank van Borssele, illustration from the Armorial of the Golden Fleece, 1473. Wikipedia, public domain.



Fig. 9: Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy; copy of an original (painting or drawing) by Rogier van der Weyden (1399/1400-1464); Musée des Beaux Arts, Lyon. Wikipedia, public domain.

# The Suffering of Leiden – A Siege During the Dutch Revolt

By Ursula Kampmann



The city of Leiden in 1574.

On 7 October 1571, the Spanish and the Holy League won a glorious victory over the Ottoman fleet in the Battle of Lepanto. Since Lepanto is quite far away from the Netherlands, one would assume that the battle did not impact this country, where a conflict between the Spanish government and a small number of municipal regimes had been smoldering since 1568. However, the outcome of the battle had a massive impact: the great victory over the Turks allowed the Spanish to withdraw soldiers from the Mediterranean and to deploy them against the rebellious Dutch. The Governor General of the Netherlands, the Duke of Alba – who became infamous thanks to Schiller's works – was expecting reinforcements to arrive and ended all forms of polite

diplomacy with those who had remained neutral in the conflict. He acted mercilessly, embittering all the cities that had been friendly to Spain before.

This is why William of Orange was met with a much more favorable atmosphere when he entered the Netherlands a second time in early 1572. Most of the towns in Holland and Zeeland sided with him, including the proud city of Leiden.

Leiden, Roman Lugdunum Batavorum, was one of the most important cities in Holland. It had become a confident trading city whose citizens were open to Protestantism and Calvinism. They enthusiastically



Dutch humanists had copper engravings produced that impressively illustrated the suffering that awaited a town after a conquest. These engravings were published throughout all Protestant regions. Here we see the sack of Oudenarde, conquered in 1582 after a long siege.

supported William of Orange. But despite the cheers, the latter was forced to withdraw from the Netherlands in August already. What remained were the deceived cities that had over-hastily spoken out against Spain. They all paid a heavy price. With the help of the many soldiers available, the Spanish governor recaptured all the cities for his king. Mechelen and Zutphen suffered disastrous consequences: although they had surrendered by choice, they were looted and pillaged as if they had fallen to the Spanish after a long siege. The reason for this was that there was never enough Spanish money to provide soldiers with regular pay. Therefore, the Governor had no choice but to ensure the loyalty of his troops by allowing them to plunder.

The fate of Mechelen and Zutphen prompted other cities allied with William not to surrender but to prepare for a siege. Haarlem became a shining example for all patriots. Although the city had to surrender eventually, its siege had cost so many Spanish lives that the city was henceforth known as the “Graveyard of the Spaniards”.

Leiden had all these stories in mind when it was surrounded by the Spanish troops on 21 August 1573. No supplies could get into the city, and no one could leave. Soon there was a terrible famine. In order to maintain control of the city, the city council of Leiden issued several edicts. Many of these were concerned with how to maintain an orderly economic life despite the adverse circumstances.

On 12 November 1573, the Hospital of St Catherine was authorized to mint copper coins worth 1/4 stuiver. On 19 and 24 December 1573, the council decided that



Leiden. Siege coin.

1/4 stuiver issued according to the edict of 12 November 1573. Very fine.

Estimate: 100 euros.

From Künker Auction 420 (18 March 2025), Lot 1431.



Leiden. Siege coin.

Cardboard guilder issued according to the edict of 19 December 1573. Very fine +.

Estimate: 400 euros.

From Künker Auction 420 (18 March 2025), Lot 1433.

more coins were needed. As there was not enough metal available, paper money was to be issued with a face value of 1 and 1/4 guilder. To make the job of counterfeiters more difficult, this paper was “struck” with coin dies. But even in a besieged city, paper money does not seem to have been very popular. Therefore, on 27 March 1574, the paper money was withdrawn and exchanged for copper coins.

The distribution of herring in 1960.  
 Nationaal Archief 911-6428.  
 Photograph Harry Pot / Anefo. cc-by 1.0.



Leiden. Klippe of 28 stuivers issued according to the edict of 10 July 1574. Double taler. Extremely rare. About extremely fine. Estimate: 5,000 euros. From Künker Auction 420 (18 March 2025), Lot 1437.



In fact, by the end of September, the situation was so desperate that the city fathers of Leiden decided on a last resort: they broke through the dikes and flooded the entire area. As a result, the ground could not be used for farming for years – however, the Spanish were unable to maintain their siege in the flooded area. They withdrew. On 3 October 1574, Leiden welcomed the Geuzen as liberators.

Shortly afterwards, Leiden could breathe a sigh of relief. Louis of Nassau, the brother of William of Orange, had raised an army with French subsidies to free the besieged towns. The Spanish actually abandoned their siege and marched against the newly formed army. They destroyed the inexperienced mercenaries to the last man on 14 April 1574. Louis himself was killed in the battle. This brief interlude had given Leiden only a tiny break, and the city fathers had not even used the time to bring supplies into the city.

So things were back to square one, with Leiden being besieged by the Spanish. Nobody had taken the opportunity to quickly stockpile supplies. People suffered starvation, the plague was raging on, and the city fathers had to resort to church silver to issue new coins, one of which is the piece depicted here. The face value of the siege coin was 28 stuivers for a taler, and 14 stuivers for a half taler. Our example is a klippe, the blanks of which were easy to produce. On the obverse we see the city's coat of arms in a cartouche. The inscription NOVLS – GIPAC is an abbreviation and stands for Nummus obsidionalis urbis Lugdunensis sub gubernatione illustrissimi principis Auraci. Translated, this means siege coin of the city of Leiden under the rule of the illustrious Prince of Orange. In addition, the specimen reads GODT BEHOEDE LEYDEN, invoking God to protect the city.

By this time, one third of the 18,000 inhabitants had died – mostly from starvation. William of Orange invested Leiden with the rank of a university city to honor their bravery. Thus, Leiden became the first Dutch university in 1575.

To this day, the inhabitants of Leiden celebrate their liberation with great festivities on 3 October. Among the events of the celebration is the distribution of herring and white bread. Residents who come to the town hall at 7 am receive a bread and a herring. Few people today can imagine what it meant for the survivors of the siege to finally have bread and fish again.

Yet food still plays a central role in today's festivities. On 2 October, people eat Hutspot together. This is a stew made from beef, carrots and onions. According to tradition, an orphan boy found a pot of this dish in the Spanish camp and brought it back to Leiden to prove that the Spanish had left for good. The pot is now in the museum and can still be seen there.

# Golden “New Holland” klippes from the Beuth collection

By Johannes Nollé



Fig. 1: Map of South America with New Holland and Surinam (Dutch Guyana), based on Tzzzppff, CC BY-SA 3.0, Wikipedia.



Fig. 2: Piet Pieterszoon Heyn, copy of a painting by J. Daemen Cool from 1625, created in 1629, Rijksmuseum.

Most people of our time are not aware that the Dutch attempted to gain territory in Brazil in the 17th century. This endeavour took place at the same time at which the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) was raging in Germany, and the Dutch Republic was fighting for its freedom from Spain in the Eighty Years' War (1568-1648). This famous collection of Dutch coins, a lasting monument to the Dutch collector Lodewijk S. Beuth, introduces us to these events with extremely rare gold notklippes from the years 1645 and 1646. Three such coins can be found in our Catalogue 420 as Lots 1644, 1645 and 1646. It will not be so easy to find another opportunity to acquire such rarities for your own collection.

On 3 June 1621, the Dutch States General granted the West India Company (in Dutch: “Geocroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie”) – founded by Dutch merchants – the exclusive right to organise and conduct trade in the

Atlantic region and neighbouring areas. The company was founded after the Twelve Years' War between the States General and Spain ended. The Dutch, who had a lot of capital and naval power, hoped that with the help of this company they would be able to attack and weaken Spain overseas: If the Spaniards' income from their American possessions decreased, there was a chance that the Spaniards would have to reduce or even stop their attacks on the States General.

The Dutch soon turned their attention to Portuguese Brazil (Fig. 1). Since 1580, Portugal had been ruled by Spanish kings, so that an attack by the West India Company on Portuguese colonial possessions was also an attack on Spain. Initially, the West India Company only carried out individual raids and looting actions. In addition to other tropical products such as tropical woods and tobacco, the main focus was on

Fig. 3: Johan Maurits, I(ohannes) MAVRITIVS NASSAVIÆ & C. COMES, BRASILIAE PRAEFECTUS with his motto QVA PATET ORBIS (“Where the world is open”), contemporary engraving.



Fig. 4: Front of the Mauritshuis in The Hague, Roman Boed / CC BY 2.0, Wikipedia.

the outrageously expensive sugar that was produced in Brazil on a large scale. Even before the West India Company was founded, Dutch merchants -- including many Sephardic Jews who had fled from Spain and Portugal -- dominated the sugar trade: The Dutch shipped more than half of Brazil's sugar to Amsterdam, whence they sold it at a huge profit throughout Europe.

When the truce with Spain expired in 1621, the knowledge of the riches in Brazil led to the wish being consolidated in the States General not to restrict themselves to plundering, but to take Brazil completely from the Portuguese and the Spanish. Compared to the well-secured mining districts in many parts of Central and South America, from which the Spanish extracted gold and silver, only a few soldiers were stationed in Brazil. However, the Dutch were not welcome among the population of about 100,000 people, 45% of whom were Europeans, 40% “imported” Africans, and 15% indigenous people. The Catholic Church fuelled the resistance against the Protestant Dutch. The venture into Brazil proved to be costly and difficult, as few Dutch citizens were inclined to settle there permanently. Apart from the difficult climatic conditions, the love of the Dutch for their homeland had grown so great over the centuries that there was always only a very small number of Dutch settlers in all of their colonies. The Dutch colonial activities demonstrated more interest in trading bases, and the profit to be made from them, than in settlement land.

As a result, the West India Company soon found itself debating whether the occupation of Brazil would be worthwhile. It seemed that the conquest of Brazil would not take place, but the situation changed abruptly when the Dutch admiral Piet Heyn succeeded in capturing an entire Spanish fleet of precious metals in the Cuban

Bay of Matanzas in September 1628 (Fig. 2). Around 12 million guilders, which is roughly equivalent to one billion euros, flowed into the coffers of the West India Company at that time and led to its subsequent attempt to bring Brazil under Dutch control. It was hoped that Brazil would become “New Holland”.

The Dutch adventure in Brazil flourished under Johan Maurits of Nassau-Siegen (1604-1679). His grandfather was the brother of William of Orange; his cousins were King Frederik III of Denmark and Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg (the “Great Elector”). In 1636, the Dutch West India Company entrusted him with the office of Governor-General of New Holland (or “Dutch Brazil”), with extensive powers (Fig. 3). He resided in Recife, the capital of the province of Parnambuco, and it was briefly named Mauritsstad after him. He revived the sugar production, successfully repelled a Spanish-Portuguese attack in the Battle of Itamaracá in 1640, established Dutch bases in West Africa to secure the supply of African slaves to Brazil, and tried to win the inhabitants of Brazil over to Dutch rule. He himself acquired a considerable fortune from these activities, enabling him to build a magnificent residence in The Hague – the Mauritshuis (Fig. 4), which today serves as a royal art gallery. In the *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae*, he had his personal physician, naturalists, and painters record information about the landscape, flora and fauna, and tropical diseases. In May 1644, his contract with the West India Company ended and he returned to Holland.<sup>1</sup> With the loss of this capable man, the gradual loss of “New Holland” itself began.

In 1640, Portugal had freed itself from the personal union with Spain and had a king of its own again – and it made a desperate attempt to regain Brazil. After Johan Maurits' departure, there were uprisings against

the Dutch, who soon lost the entire hinterland and were trapped in a few cities on the coast. The golden notklippes, with the monogram of the G(eoctroyeerde) W(est-Indische) C(ompagnie), and a value indication, originated in this time of extreme distress; on the reverse, the year is noted ANNO 1645 or 1646 and the location where they were minted: BRASIL(ia?)<sup>2</sup>. These are typical emergency coins without a picture, as there were no skilled die-cutters with the necessary tools for finely-crafted coins to be found in the besieged Dutch cities. There was also not much time available. It would be interesting to know how many gold objects (jewellery?) were melted down to create such means of payment. However, the sources seem to be silent on this point (Figs. 5-7). What can be said with certainty is that these “emergency coins” were the first coins minted in Brazil.

In 1648 and 1649, the Dutch suffered heavy defeats in the two Battles of Guarapas, and in 1654, the Portuguese were able to wrest Brazil from the Dutch while the Dutch were involved in the First Anglo-Dutch War. After making peace with the English, the Dutch reclaimed Brazil from the Portuguese, and war broke out between the Dutch and the Portuguese. In the end, the Peace of The Hague (1661) was signed. Portugal was forced to accept the Dutch occupation of Portuguese colonial territories in Asia and pay four million cruzados to the Dutch. The Dutch States General thus finally renounced Brazil.<sup>3</sup>

#### Notklippe emergency coins of the West India Company from 1645 and 1646



**Fig. 5: Lot 1644**

Dutch Brazil. 12-guilder klippe emergency coin of 1645, Pernambuco. Beuth Collection. From the Norweb Collection, Spink & Son Auction 8588 (1997), Lot 627. Extremely rare. Extremely fine.

**Estimate: 25,000 euros**



**Abb. 6: Los 1645**

Niederländisch-Brasilien. Klippenförmige Notmünze zu 12 Gulden 1646, Pernambuco. Sammlung Beuth. Exemplar der Auktion Schweizerischer Bankverein 21, Basel 1989, Nr. 2393. Von großer Seltenheit. Feine Goldtönung, vorzüglich +.

**Schätzung: 25.000 Euro**



**Fig. 7: Lot 1646**

Dutch Brazil. 6-gulden klippe emergency coin from 1646, Pernambuco. Beuth Collection. Copy of the auction Schweizerischer Bankverein 21, Basel 1989, No. 2394. Extremely rare. Fine gold tint, extremely fine.

**Estimate: 20,000 euros**

<sup>1</sup> P.J.P. Whitehead – M. Boeseman, A portrait of Dutch 17th century Brazil. Animals, plants and people by the artists of Johan Maurits of Nassau, Amsterdam/Oxford/New York 1989.

<sup>2</sup> J. Meili, Das Brasilianische Geldwesen 1, Zurich 1897, 13-16.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ch.R. Boxer, The Dutch in Brazil, 1624–1654, Oxford 1957; J. Israel – St. Schwartz, The Expansion of Tolerance. Religion in Dutch Brazil (1624–1654), Amsterdam 2007; P.C. Emmer – J.L. Gommans (eds.), The Dutch Overseas Empire, 1600-1800, Cambridge 2021

# Mantua: Palazzo del Te

*In this article, we would like to show you a little more than the usual coins. Although Palazzo del Te has an excellent numismatic collection, its architecture is even more exciting and will delight any lover of Roman coins.*

By Ursula Kampmann



Coin dies from the die collection exhibited in the Palazzo del Té. Photo: KW.

We numismatists have a typical posture in a museum: we stand slightly bent over display cases, looking closely at small objects that are more or less well lit. Today I would like to encourage you to leave this position – to straighten up in your mind and look upwards. I am going to take you to a numismatic sight that, at first glance, has nothing to do with numismatics. Come with me to Palazzo del Te, the summer residence of the Dukes of Mantua. This building and its interior were designed and decorated by Giulio Romano, a typical Renaissance all-rounder. We can assume that Giulio had access to an extensive collection of Roman coins, as we find numerous reproductions of coin motifs in the building's architecture – and not just the portraits of Roman emperors that can be seen in many prestigious buildings throughout Europe.

No, Giulio Romano took things one step further: he copied the reverse sides of Roman coins in all their details.

## A Brief History of the Building

But first, let us take a very short look at the history of the building. It was Federico II Gonzaga who took his new master builder Giulio Romano to his beautifully situated stud farm outside the city walls shortly after Giulio had arrived in late 1524. He probably told Giulio to build a small residence in this idyllic spot. He wanted to escape the suffocating duties of his daily life as a ruler and enjoy the otium – the intellectually stimulating leisure – as Cicero, Horace and all the other Romans before him had done.

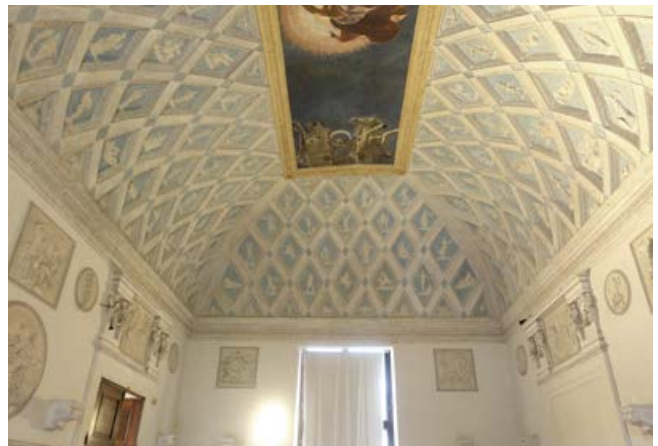


Palazzo del Te – the garden façade. Photo: KW.



Sala dei Giganti. Photo: KW.

Romans – that is the key word. Giulio immediately understood what his new client wanted. After all, he had read Vitruvius. The first Italian translation of the book had been published in 1521. In addition, the architect Cesare Cesariano had created reconstructions of Roman buildings that were a rather free interpretation of the style of the originals. Giulio was hooked. He planned an



Camera del Sole e della Luna. Photo: KW.

enormous villa in the Roman style. And Duke Federico was so enthusiastic about his draft that the small residence turned into a monumental building in which he received state guests and which is now a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

Giulio Romano did not only design the building but also the interior. He was incredibly innovative. The Sala dei Giganti, which anticipated all the panoramas of the 19th century, is now famous. In a huge, fully designed room, the boundaries between the ceiling and the walls are blurred, and you feel as if you were right in the middle of the scene, watching how the Titans try to overthrow the Olympians.

#### And What About Numismatics?

Of course, any local guide would tell you exactly what I have told you so far, and in much more detail than we can go into here. That is why I would like you to join me in another part of the Palazzo. It is known as Camera del Sole e della Luna, the room of the sun and the moon.



Arabia in the Camera del Sole e della Luna. Photo: KW.



1,5:1

Arabia on a sestertius by Trajan from 111.  
From Künker auction 318 (2019), No. 1189.

Most tour guides direct their group's attention to the naked buttocks of the sun god Sol. The guide gets an obligatory laugh and moves on to the next room. But we want to take a closer look, as most visitors would have done in the Renaissance. The ceiling fresco is embedded in a finely textured stucco ceiling with many fields in which we can see small figures in white on blue. If you are familiar with Roman coins, you will recognize most of these small figures.



Spes in the Camera del Sole e della Luna. Photo: KW.



1,5:1

Spes on a sestertius by Aemilian from 253.  
From Künker auction 419 (17 March 2025), No. 532.

I first noticed this when I saw a truly unusual figure that appears in this exact way on coins issued by Trajan. We see a lady with a dromedary hiding behind her. She is holding a branch in her right hand, and a bundle of sticks in her left, which we can identify as the rolled bark of the cinnamon tree. It is the personification of the province of Arabia, which is shown on Trajan's coins to illustrate that it was him who established the province of Arabia in 106.



Detail from the corner of the Camera del Sole e della Luna. Photo: KW.

In the Camera del Sole e della Luna, Arabia has a completely different function. She is an ornament that shows that the builder of the palace was an educated man who had a prestigious collection of Roman coins, the motifs of which he knew so well that he used them to decorate his palace.

An anomaly? Certainly not. Known reverses of Roman coins are systematically distributed throughout the room. Here is a second example. We see the deity Spes, who, according to Roman belief, was able to give hope even in the most desperate situation. Spes walks forward with her garment gathered like a young girl, holding a flower on her outstretched right hand.

There are dozens of such coin motifs on the ceiling. We can see Apollo Kitharoedos, Cybele on her lion, the river god Tiber with his spring vessel, Neptune (without trident), Fortuna, Aeneas carrying his father Anchises on his back, and many more.

### **An Important Role in the Courtly Game**

Picture puzzles like these played a central role in everyday courtly life. At the time they were built, the magnificent buildings we admire today were kind of

a stage for the courtiers to compete for influence (and a higher salary). A central element of this was the scholarly dialogue. Please do not think of a professor holding a lecture. On the contrary. You were expected to show off a playful approach to academic knowledge. Jokes, puns and spontaneity were appreciated. And the expectations were high. In this way, you could demonstrate how (un-)educated you were. Knowledge of the ancient world was particularly important. In rooms such as the Camera del Sole e della Luna, everyone was asked to demonstrate what they had read and seen on their travels.

Depictions such as the one in this room were used by courtiers to display their knowledge. The courtiers would stroll into the room, following the prince. The question was which of the cortegiani would be the first to make an intelligent remark. They could talk about the gods depicted, refer to a particular coin, mention with values and historical events, or whatever else came to mind. Someone might talk about a travel experience from their Grand Tour. After all, there are not only coin motifs depicted in the room but also various types of statues that were well known in the Renaissance period. Take, for example, the statue of a boy and a goose pictured here. Today, we know eleven ancient and many



Boy with goose. Glyptothek Munich. Photo: KW.

more recent versions of this statue. It was often used as a fountain figure in Renaissance gardens. What a wonderful conversation starter for a courtier. In those days, a man (and to a lesser extent a woman) could make a career if he or she excelled at conversation. Of course, the Duke always had the home advantage. We can assume that he was only too happy to explain to the admiring oohs and aahs of his visitors all the depictions they did not know to interpret.

And there were many visitors to the Palazzo del Te. Emperor Charles V, for example came twice to discuss politics with Federico II Gonzaga; in 1574 the French King Henry III stayed there. And that is just the highest-ranking visitors. We can assume that just about every famous artist and scholar who toured Italy in the summer stopped at Palazzo del Te.

The exhibition of coins, medals, dies and punches from Mantua.

Photo: KW.

## The Numismatic Collection

Of course, this is not everything. Palazzo del Te houses an excellent collection of Mantuan numismatics. The Gonzagas were among the most innovative patrons of die-cutters. They paid for the wonderful portraits and reverses that we admire today on Mantuan coinage.

The special feature of the exhibition are the many minting tools on display. You will not only find dies but also punches. Punches were often used to make dies. They simplified the process, especially when several dies were needed. This is because they were not only used to create the individual letters of a legend. There were also punches with the duke's portrait, and these can be seen in the exhibition.

Enjoy the diversity of Mantua's coinage as these pieces are among the most beautiful numismatic specimens of the Italian Renaissance. In addition to an extensive collection of coins, you will also find a magnificent selection of Renaissance medals, including the most iconic pieces of this field.





Die and medal. Photos: KW.

## Weights and Measures

The exhibition also includes an impressive collection of ancient weights and measures. Among the items on display are huge original receptacles used to measure wine at the market, for example, before it was prepared for transport

## The New Numismatic Exhibition at Palazzo Ducale

Palazzo del Te is not the only numismatic attraction in Mantua. Since September 2024, there has also been a new permanent exhibition at Palazzo Ducale. It is called "Nell'oro impressa". Three large rooms present the collection of Banca Monte dei Paschi di Siena. The collection comprises 2,184 objects. This makes it the largest collection of coins and medals from Mantua and / or the Gonzaga family. The collection originates from the private collection of the notary Ermanno Casero of Milan, acquired in 1986. In 1993, the private collection of Count Alessandro Magnaguti (1887-1966) was purchased. It had been built up over more than half a century and was declared a cultural heritage by the Italian Ministry of Culture. The famous Italian numismatist Massimo Rossi was responsible for designing the exhibition.

Unfortunately, I cannot tell you more about it because Palazzo Ducale was closed the last time I visited Mantua.

But believe me: Mantua and its surroundings have so much to offer that I will certainly return. Maybe we will meet there, bent over coin display cases –

either at Palazzo del Te or Palazzo Ducale. Or we look up and talk about the ancient numismatic models that inspired the architecture.

# A Family Reunion of the Coin World: The 2025 World Money Fair

*Every year, the World Money Fair is a very special experience. So it's no wonder that thousands of people from all over the world travel to Berlin when the world's largest coin fair opens its doors. Of course, we were there, too.*

By Daniel Baumbach



Every time we look for a word to describe what the World Money Fair is for us, we end up with the metaphor of a family reunion. Not a small one, of course, but a gigantic one. It is as if all the members of the coin family from all over the world were coming together. Many have known each other for years. Not all of them speak to us very often on other occasions. But what unites us all is the subject of coins. So this year all came together again in Berlin: dealers – from the lone fighter to large auction houses –, collectors, coin enthusiasts, mints, the entire supply industry and everything else that goes with it. This is what makes the WMF so special. So let's take a look at what happened at this year's numismatic family reunion.

## The Fair Before the Fair

Anyone familiar with the World Money Fair knows that it starts long before the official opening. Major companies are busy negotiating in the hotel conference rooms. For us, too, things were already in full swing one day prior to the actual fair, as our traditional Berlin Auction Sale – an event we organize every year before the World Money Fair – was held on Wednesday. Once again, the auction room was crowded with bidders. The total estimate for the auction had amounted to a staggering 10 million euros for 701 lots. When the auction came to a close way after 8 pm, the hammer price of 15 million euros was even 50% higher.



© World Money Fair / Constanze Tillmann

**Künker Auction Sale 418, Lot 8**

Kingdom of Poland

Sigismund III, 1587-1632.

10 Ducats 1629, Bydgoszcz. Of the highest rarity. Sharply struck piece with magnificent gold patina, extremely fine.

**Estimate: 150,000 euros, Hammer price: 340,000 euros**

This means that this year's Berlin auction generated higher results than any Berlin auction before!

The most expensive piece in the auction came from Poland. Estimated at 150,000 euros, the 10-ducat piece from 1629 bearing the monogram of the Swedish-born King Sigismund III sold for an impressive 340,000 euros.

**The Technical Forum**

At the same time, the supply industry met for the 21st time at the Technical Forum to present the latest developments that will change the minting industry over the coming years. Although this has little to do with classical numismatics, it is most fascinating to take this opportunity and look outside the box. This year, topics included the role of AI in coin design; the use of tooling lasers, which allows increasingly complex design options; making dies more durable without environmentally harmful chromium; automation of packaging and the optimization of the refining process. The Kazakhstan Mint explained to experts how it

produced the "Balkhash Perch" coin, which caused a sensation in 2023 with its enormous high relief. The Royal Canadian Mint presented the new 10-kilo version of the Silver Maple Leaf.

That was by no means all that happened before the fair. There was an evening reception at the Swiss Embassy in Berlin – after all, Switzerland was this year's guest of honor. At a reception hosted by the Samlerhuset Group, Manfred Dunker was honored, who has been a driving force in the field of commemorative coins since the 1980s and played a key role in the establishment of MDM.

**The Wait is Over**

Then Thursday came and the wait was over. The ribbon was cut, the show opened and the crowds began to pour in. On all days, the first few minutes were quite hectic as some visitors were very keen to get to the booths in time to get their hands on strictly limited special offers. This sometimes led to rushes and jostling. The limited amount of Pandas that were available at the Künker booth were very popular and sold like hot cakes every day. The experienced show organizers were always quick to respond to any problems that arose, which was reflected in changes to the ticketing and entry system from day 2.

So nothing stood in the way of the hustle and bustle of the fair. It was much the same as every year: bustling activity at the dealers' tables, new products and fresh ideas of all kinds at the mints' booths, and enthusiastic exchanges with like-minded people at every turn. The newly designed Künker booth was always busy – it was in the usual spot in the heart of the big hall. Everyone could feel that the love of coins was in the air.

**Guest of Honor: Swissmint**

The sound of alphorns and yodeling was also in the air, at least from time to time. As the guest of honor, Swissmint took every opportunity to spread an alpine atmosphere, the like of which is rarely experienced in Berlin. The traditional gala dinner hosted by Swissmint on the evening of the first day of the fair was refreshingly different and turned into a veritable party.

Of course, Swissmint had more in store than alphorns: numbered coin sets and a competition in which a gold coin could be won every day made the booth a hotspot at the fair. The wonderful chocolate may also have played a role.

The centerpiece was Switzerland's new commemorative coin, which Nik Betz unveiled together with artist Chiara Principe. The issue marks the 100th anniversary of the 100-franc gold Vreneli that was only minted in 1925.

### From Blanks to Minted Medals – The Minting Experience Center

There is something that sets the World Money Fair apart from other coin fairs. To find it, you have to go to Convention Hall II, which is a bit behind the other halls. This is where you will find the representatives of the minting industry with their large machines. Those interested in contemporary minting should make sure to see it as you can learn a lot about minting engineering in this call.

This year, the World Money Fair team has come up with something to help visitors understand the work of the minting industry even better: the Minting Experience Centre. In this area of the technical hall, visitors were able to follow the various production steps of minting and could lend a hand themselves. At the end, they held their own minted medal - complete with edge lettering, coloring and laser engraving. As a bonus, the medal came with a whole new understanding of how coins are made today. It was a great idea that worked well and made the most of the potential of the fair.

### Looking Forward to Next Time!

Before you knew it, the family reunion of the coin world was over. Everyone is exhausted but looking forward to next year. The fair was undoubtedly well attended, especially in the morning hours. In the afternoon it was quieter, perhaps even quieter than in previous years. The fact that the large and noticeable catch-up effect after the Covid period has now subsided may have played a role in this. This is not necessarily bad as nobody likes spaces that are too crowded. If you have never been to the World Money Fair, we warmly recommend you check it out next year, it will be worth it – not only because of the Künker auction. You will meet countless like-minded people and an experience that you will not forget for some time to come.



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