The background of the cover is a classical oil painting. It depicts a close-up of a person's hand holding a large, circular, gold-colored medal. The hand is pale and emerges from a voluminous, reddish-brown garment. Above the hand, a dark, patterned garment with gold buttons is visible, along with a white and blue fabric. The lighting is dramatic, highlighting the hand and the medal against a dark background.

The Medal in Early Modern Sweden

SIGNIFICANCES AND PRACTICES · *Ylva Haidenthaller*

THE MEDAL IN EARLY MODERN SWEDEN

Significances and Practices



YLVA HAIDENTHALLER

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Introduction

On the 12th of June 1651, courtier Johan Ekeblad sent a letter to his father, Christoffer, describing the French ambassador's departure from the royal court in Stockholm.¹ The ambassador, Ekeblad wrote, had been awarded with a medal attached to a gold chain worth 1,000 ducats.² At that time, 1,000 ducats was an immense sum of money, and thereby the gift bestowed upon the French ambassador carried both symbolic and substantial monetary value.

Ekeblad's letter illustrates a custom common among the elites, namely, bestowing portrait-medals upon each other to establish and strengthen alliances and friendships. From the Renaissance onwards, medals were widespread conversation pieces and a constant feature of early modern art and visual culture.³ Medals were used as gifts, portraits depict people wearing them as pendants on chains, and numismatic collections, as well as literature, prove that they were popular collectables. However, while being a constant part of early modern art and visual culture, the significance and the practices surrounding the medal transformed over time. Within a few years of Ekeblad's letter, the practice of granting chains with medals grew outdated, and miniature portraits had become the preferred gifts at European courts.⁴ The portrait-medal was still in vogue, although its role had changed. But how?

I argue that in order to fully understand the development of the early modern medal and the social conventions surrounding it, a broad chronology is needed. A medal produced during the sixteenth century not only looked quite different compared to an eighteenth-century medal, but it could also have served a very different purpose. The history of medal art illustrates the Renaissance awareness of the individual, as well as the fondness for luxury and emblematic riddles characteristic of the Baroque era, and the passion for taxonomy and meritocracy characteristic of the Enlightenment. This thesis will study continuities and changes in the

significance of early modern medals and the socio-political practices related to them.

But what is a medal, and what made it so popular? In the broadest sense, a medal is a coinlike object without any face value. Its size makes it easy to handle as its dimensions range from those of a thumbnail to a grown man's fist. It is easy to distribute, while its material, precious metal, promises permanency. Similar to a coin, a medal consists of two sides. The *obverse*—the front-side—usually shows a portrait, a combination of an idealised and truthful likeness, while the *reverse*—the other side of a medal—can depict anything from a visual anecdote or an emblem, to a city's veduta. To mention the two-sided nature of a medal might seem trivial, but in its simplicity, it captures the medal's visual essence, namely the combination of *two different visual genres* suggesting two diverse objectives while still conveying *one* agenda. The obverse and reverse complement each other.

Through the abundance of motifs characterised by the interaction of image and words, obverse and reverse, a medal bears witness to contemporary morals, beliefs, political circumstances, and artistic tendencies. A fitting Latin inscription, called a *legend*, would accompany the image on both obverse and reverse, and similar to the image, the inscription could be read both literally and metaphorically.⁵ The combination of subjects and symbols, image and text, offered a richness of possibilities in order to narrate complex meanings.

A medal's purpose is directly linked to its *visuality* and *materiality*. On the one hand, it is an object made to be looked at, and on the other, it is an object appreciated because of its exclusive material, size and tactility. One category cannot exist without the other. Besides a medal's potential to express a variety of themes on a small surface, much of its significance lies in the fact that it engages more of the senses than sight alone. It is a round relief in miniature, and due to its size, the medal is much more accessible than its sculptural counterpart. The recipient can touch and hold it, as well as trace the engraved portrait with his or her fingers, or even place it in his or her pocket. The medal combines properties such as distribution, material, size, aesthetic value, and approachability—a versatility matched by few visual phenomena. It is rare that an object allows insight into such multifaceted intended or even unintended usages, value concepts, and interpretations.

AIM AND QUESTIONS

This study analyses medals issued between 1560 and 1792 in Sweden and examines the practices and roles that are related to these objects. It aims to contribute to the understanding of the changing use and significance of medals by applying a long-term perspective analysis that connects Renaissance, Baroque, and Neoclassical medals. By examining Swedish material from the late sixteenth to the late eighteenth century, the thesis provides an unprecedented wide-ranging study of the uses and functions of the early modern medal.

Studying Swedish medals and, in particular, those commissioned by royals, offers several advantages. Swedish history is marked by a diverse array of governmental changes and geographical expansions (as well as contractions). Because Sweden had several types of government, involving phases of absolute monarchy as well as a constitutional monarchy (which was unique in Europe from the sixteenth until the eighteenth century), the trends there can be extrapolated to address general trends across Europe. Further, medals that depict royalty are a constant factor within the investigated period. Objects issued by non-royals exist, but they were manufactured almost a century after the first medal that commemorated a Swedish king. Also, royalty, the ruling power, assumes the function of a role model concerning both taste and style, making medals depicting the royal family suitable to study the practices and significances connected to these objects. To analyse medals and their uses in a geographical context, which has not been previously highlighted within international research, benefits a broader knowledge of medal art. Swedish medal history has the further benefit of presenting a manageable quantity of objects, which offers insight into similar practices in other European countries, and might lead from a smaller perspective to a broader case study of the phenomenon of medal art.

The years 1560–1792 form the timeframe for this analysis. These years involve significant stages in the evolution of Swedish medal art, from its beginning in 1560, when Eric XIV (r. 1560–1568) issued what is considered to be the first Swedish medal, until its firm institutionalisation and heterogenic use under Gustav III (r. 1771–1792). During the late eighteenth century, the political use of medals reached its peak. Afterwards, the significance and function of medals shifted. Their use entered a new context, became standardised and moved bit by bit into the sphere of the bourgeoisie, prize medals, and military decorations.

The broad timeframe allows for a study of the transformation of attitudes and social conventions concerning the medals. The objective is to offer better insight into the visual and material dynamics of this medium, and most of all, its significance and the practices related to the medal.

The leading questions are:

- Why are medals commissioned?
- How is the intention reflected in the visual design and materiality of the medal?
- How are medals used during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries?
- Which continuities and changes do the practices show over time?
- What cultural significance do medals have in early modern Swedish society?

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Origin

Traditionally, the origin of medal art is placed in Renaissance Italy.⁶ In his numismatic dictionary, Albert Romer Frey gives an etymological explanation, referring to the ‘Italian *medaglia*, a term which can be traced to the fourteenth century, and which was applied to a coin outside of circulation, and valuable only for its historical or artistic features.’⁷ The coin outside circulation often refers to antique coins. Scholars of the Renaissance believed that antique coins, and Roman coins in particular, were not simply regarded as currency but also used to commemorate the actions of so-called great men.⁸ By combining a portrait on one side with yet another image on the reverse celebrating the issuer’s accomplishments, antique coins indeed rendered the *fama* and *virtus* of the emperors both visually and materially (*fig. 1*).⁹

Interaction and fascination with antique coins was omnipresent at the European courts, and most prominently illustrated by the advice that Francesco Petrarch (1304–1374) gave to Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV (1316–1378). Petrarch handed the Emperor antique Roman coins and urged him to adopt the images of former emperors as role models, to strive for similar accomplishments, and to preserve them for eternity.¹⁰ Following antique role models, Renaissance princes also wished to have their deeds commemorated for future generations. Thus, one can argue that



FIG. 1: For example, Nero issued the sestertertius in 64 AD to commemorate the completion of the harbour in Ostia. The coin illustrates how numismatic objects could complement historical sources. Emperor Nero might be one of the most demonised figures in ancient history, mainly black-painted by later written accounts (e.g. Suetonius or Tacitus). However, this coin, minted in high editions, provides a different insight, namely a prosperous narrative. Ø 33.72 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

antique coins inspired the design and use of medals from the Renaissance and onwards.¹¹

One of the first to put these visions into practice was the artist Antonio di Puccio Pisano, known as Pisanello (c. 1395–1455). He created a bronze medal that imitated the form of ancient coins. The medal's material alluded to Antiquity, since antique statues and sculptures were often forged in bronze, the miniature monument followed its larger counterparts. It depicted the Byzantine Emperor John VIII Palaiologos when he visited Florence during the Council, in 1438/39.¹² A bronze medal was easy to produce (it was cast), requiring only a mould and bronze, and the metal was comparatively cheap, making it ideal for spreading in large editions.¹³ Thereby, the artist both rendered the Emperor's likeness and memorialised his visit for future generations. With this new art genre, Pisanello represented the period's new cultural interest in studying classical Antiquity and philosophy, as well as the longing for fame and glory.

During the following decades, medals became popular conversation pieces, a new kind of visual medium that attracted both men and women. Medals were the ideal medium to ensure the endurance of commemoration, and especially the Italian condottieri seem to have embraced the



FIG. 2: Sigismondo Malatesta and Castel Sigismondo, which was inaugurated in 1446. The medal is cast in bronze by Matteo de' Pasti. Ø 80.73 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.



FIG. 3: The silver medal cast in 1535 shows Wilhelm IV, Duke of Bavaria (1493–1550) and his coat of arms. The meticulous portrayal and heraldic imagery are characteristic features of German Renaissance medals. Ø 41,52 mm. Künker.

medal as a means to spread their reputation.¹⁴ The Renaissance princes and princesses reigning in the Italian Duchies preferred medals highlighting their strength, family connections, or virtues.¹⁵ The following example displays Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta's (1417–1468) likeness on the obverse and Castel Sigismondo, his residence and symbol of power, on the reverse (*fig. 2*).¹⁶ This object demonstrates essential aspects of a medal:

a portrait and a personal symbol that additionally commemorates and celebrates the sitter. Besides providing an insight into the condottiere's claim to power, it shows the utilisation of contemporary techniques, such as the evolvement of the portrait genre during the Renaissance, as well as a linear perspective to insinuate a three-dimensional space, which is intensified through the medal's plasticity.¹⁷ The early Renaissance medals, a combination of portrait and heraldic symbols, *impresa*, point to the growing individualism and self-consciousness of Renaissance princes.¹⁸

Only a few years after Pisanello had rendered John VIII, medal art was well established. Similar to other contemporary art historical developments, the expansion of this genre progressed gradually from southern to northern Europe, and equally enthusiastically, the burghers of the German-speaking city-states embraced this new art genre.¹⁹ German Renaissance medals tend to display rich, lifelike portraits connected to a heraldic device.²⁰ The person's attire is always well executed and detailed, and the reverse illustrates the noblemen's coat of arms or motto, or otherwise indicates the individual's social status (*fig. 3*). Similar to contemporary portraits, medals attest that an individual's apparel was a significant aspect of displaying one's position. Each detail, from the perfectly trimmed beard to the barrette, should be perceived not merely as the vain affectations of the sitter, but rather as a way of communicating rank and economic resource.²¹ As such, these medals could be viewed as timeless, luxurious business cards. These small and compact objects presented a compressed version of the sitter's identity and agenda by providing a name, portrait and emblem. For example, medals frequently changed hands at the Imperial Diets, the counselling body of the Holy Roman Empire.²² Because leading figures from near and far participated at these gatherings, they were the ideal occasions to forge alliances, give gifts, and spread images.²³

Early Renaissance medals from the fifteenth century, both from Italy and German-speaking countries, have mostly survived to date in bronze. This tendency might indicate bronze as the preferred material, yet, sources indicate that medals were also cast in gold and silver, but these were most likely melted down in the intervening centuries, and the precious metal was reused.²⁴ Medals fashioned all over Europe created demand for precious metal, gold and silver, since the elite craved costly material for confirming their status. But the representation and commemoration of the individual remained as one of the main roles of the medal. The durable material would mirror the purposes of the elite, reproducing deeds

for eternity, while gold and silver transmitted an additional distinctive trait, an increased exclusivity. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, medals across Europe were firmly incorporated in the immense art production that would surround the European elite.²⁵

Terminology and etymology

As previously mentioned, the form and purpose of medals were inspired by ancient coins, but this relationship went even further. The likeness of coins and medals might be their most apparent feature, and it is also the most entangled. During the early stages of medal art, in Sweden throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the difference between coins and medals was not clearly established. They looked very much alike, both in shape and visual execution, and sources reveal that they were used similarly. That is why sixteenth-century medals are regularly confused with coins, and vice versa.

Because people during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries regarded coins and medals as more or less the same, it is not always reasonable to seek out differences between them. Medals looked like coins and were made of the same material. Medals could be manufactured to correspond to a particular denomination, or be produced as exceptional coins with an extraordinarily high value (e.g. 20 ducats).²⁶ Mainly, the context reveals whether an object refers to a coin intended as currency or a coin used for representation. The monetary aspect of a medal was also one vital characteristic of their charm, as they carried the authority (and value) of money, but with far more elegance than currency. In essence, medals could be used as currency but were not produced as coins for circulation. The minimum difference would be that a coin stands for an official currency, with its denomination indicated on the obverse or reverse.²⁷

The resemblance to coins was not only physical, in terms of shape and material, but also represented by the terminology used for early medals, as they were labelled *Schauthaler* (German) or *skådepenning* (Swedish), which would, loosely translated, refer to a 'display coin'. The word 'coin' emphasises the resemblance to currency and underlines the authority of money. For example, the German historian and publisher Johann Christian Lünig (1662–1740) employs various terms while referring to medals in his *Theatrum ceremonial historico-politicum* (1720), a book on contemporary politics and political protocol.²⁸ Lünig mentions several events at which

regents issued medals, but depending on the circumstance, the author uses different terms such as *Gnadenpfennig*, *Schauthaler* or *Ehrpfennig*. Referring to medals given to an ambassadorial entourage, Lünig employs the word *Gnadenpfennig*, which could be translated to ‘coin of grace’.²⁹ On the other hand, reporting on the medal distributed at the celebration of Charles XI of Sweden’s (1655–1697) receipt of the Order of the Garter in 1669, Lünig refers to a *Schaupfennig* [display coin].³⁰ The objection could be made that this variety of terms used to describe a medal might be mere coincidence, but similar tendencies are to be found in Swedish sources, where next to *madaller*, or *medaly*, terms such as *nådepenning*, *skådepenning*, or *minnespenning* frequently recur.³¹ Sometimes a medal is referred to merely as a *conterfei* [portrait].

The English language, however, does not make these distinctions, and to further complicate matters, early numismatists writing in French and Italian made no distinction at all between ancient coins, plaquettes, and medals. They referred to them all as *medagli* or *medailles*.³² For instance, the Swedish numismatist Carl Reinhold Berch (1706–1777), writes to Count Carl Gustaf Tessin (1695–1770) ‘*l’acquisition de la medaille Gallienæ Aug. est si considerable*’, and to the scholar Johan Arckenholtz (1695–1777) Berch pens ‘*les medailles de la Reine Christine*’.³³ The first *medaille* designates a coin of the Roman Emperor Gallienus (218–268), and the latter refers to medals thematising Queen Christina (1626–1689). The shared denominator of Christina’s medals and the Emperor’s coin is their antiquarian value, which to two numismatic collectors Tessin and Arckenholtz, was indeed an intriguing aspect.

The issue of terminology remains difficult because the term chosen to describe a medal not only depends on the context in which the object was issued, but also *when*. The words used to describe medals change through the centuries. While in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, *conterfei* could indicate a medal, during the eighteenth century, the term hardly ever appears in the sources. Instead, due to the French language’s increasing currency, the term *medaille* was used regularly to refer to any coinlike object outside circulation, valued for several features, including artistry, antiquarian value, and commemoration.³⁴

These aspects pinpoint the difficulty of identifying references to medals in the literary sources, but they are likewise intriguing indicators of their gradual development. This development will also express itself in their design and execution. Thus, I argue that the variety of terms suggest that

a medal had *different purposes and meanings depending on its context*. As Lünig writes, one medal demonstrated the ruler's grace, and the other was used for display. While the visual and material execution of the medals could be the same, the intention was not. Their significance and use depend on the situation at which they changed hands. Medals' roles were bound by tradition and situation, which in turn influenced their shape and design.

Today, numismatic curators distinguish between several types of medals, including art, commemorative, military, prize, and satirical medals. This terminology and categorisation was first established during the late nineteenth and twentieth century, but the roles that these terms specify were already apparent before.

Methods of production

Documentation describing the manufacture of medals in Sweden, from the sixteenth until the first half of the seventeenth century, is scarce. By consulting accounts that describe medal-making in Italy or Germany during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as well as the medals themselves, one can safely state that they were cast.³⁵ Furthermore, they were custom-made objects, since mass production, like the minting of hundreds of coins, was not yet technically possible.

The most likely process of fashioning a medal would have been as follows. First, the image's design would be done in collaboration between the issuer, a scholar, and a goldsmith or an available artist with the right expertise (since goldsmiths already worked with delicate and precious material, they were regularly entrusted with casting medals). Next, the goldsmith would prepare a wax or ash plaster model, transform it into a negative mould, and then cast the object. The most common technique would have been sand casting, which would leave an uneven surface. These irregularities or minor flaws could finally be corrected and improved with a chisel after the object had been separated from the mould. The casting still allowed a medal edition to consist of one to twenty objects, since the mould used to cast a medal could be reutilised several times.

Moving forward to the seventeenth century, documentation of medal production increases, at the same time as the general administration becomes more systematised.³⁶ Production methods improved due to new technology and the transfer of ideas from abroad.³⁷ The objects were no longer cast but struck, predominantly with a screwpress, which required

two dies made of steel, one for each side of the medal. From the seventeenth century onwards, production moved from the goldsmith's to the medallist's workshop or the mint. Medallists were trained in sculpturing and engraving techniques, and could work as independent entrepreneurs or be employed by royal authority and receive a salary.³⁸ As before, the medallist would prepare a model made of wax or plaster, and then he would engrave the dies using this model.³⁹ The quality of the dies determined how many medals could be struck; perhaps as many as a hundred items.⁴⁰ They could now be mass-produced, although the standard manufacture still varied greatly depending on the order. A medal edition could include one hundred items or more made of different metals, or be struck on demand.⁴¹

The number of medals struck with one die leads to the question of editions and items. A medal is at once unique and plural. This puzzling claim can be explained rather quickly by comparing medals and numismatic manufacturing to books and printing. One book is a unique item, but simultaneously one item within an *edition* of books containing *the same content*. The same applies to medals: each is unique—an item—but part of an edition. Within one edition, medals are cast or struck with the same die and depict *the same image*. One edition could consist of one hundred or three hundred medals, and depending on the number of objects struck with one die, the die might be worn out and replaced by another depicting the same image. Die combinations of different obverses with reverses are common. Such combinations show a new image and, subsequently, mark a new edition, and also the replacement of a die indicates a new edition. Consequently, one edition includes a fixed number of similar medals, each item with an individual size and weight, as well as any major or minor distinguishing details that make it unique. Throughout the text, *a medal*, *the medal*, and *the medals* are interchangeably used to describe the *edition* (one type of medal carrying a specific image). When referring to a single medal, i.e., one specific object, this medal will be labelled as an *item*.

Once again, the improved manufacturing techniques of the seventeenth century allowed not only enlarged production, but also an enhancement of the object itself. The images became more detailed, as medallists could now exploit the full potential of the relief. Medallists could indicate structures that indicated foreground and background, and render texture and details more meticulously than was previously possible. The overall shape of the objects became sharper and more distinguished. Like early

printed books, the medal remained exclusive, but also became a new kind of mass medium.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, medal design could be a joint venture between a medallist and a contracting authority, which could be the king or queen, or a third party, such as a royal antiquarian. Often, additional artists were employed to sketch ideas for images if the medallist was unable or unskilled at drawing and design. Even so, the medallist was paid handsomely to engrave the dies, which formed a crucial step on the line of production, since the die determined the expression of the artistic quality and the number of medals that could be struck.⁴²

In the eighteenth century, the modes of production improved further, as did the position of the medallist. Medallists travelled throughout Europe, and were trained at academies such as the Swedish Royal Academy of Fine Arts, founded in 1735.⁴³ Alongside his artist colleagues, the medallist would learn iconographic traditions and drawing, which he could incorporate into his design.⁴⁴ Medal art was elevated to the status of high art. As a consequence, the medallist started to wield greater influence on his working conditions and could make demands, which he previously could not have. The client, the commissioning party, might have opinions about the shape and design of the medal, but in the end, the medallist owned the dies, unless he was paid for the copyright.⁴⁵ He was no longer a mere engraver or a craftsman, but an artist with integrity.⁴⁶ The medallist appears as a constant agent throughout this thesis, but he will not act as a prime user of medals. Instead, he will figure as a means of production.

In summary, the production line from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries was not always straightforward. It depended on a variety of circumstances, which in turn influenced the use of medals.

Users of the medals

The description of the production process already highlighted the prime users and central agents of this study, the Swedish royal family and predominantly the ruling sovereign. Medals, like all art produced during the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, were objects issued by and for the elite. The elite closest to royalty, such as ambassadors, courtiers, and the nobility, constituted the recipients of these medals, and therefore also their users. Individuals acting outside of this sphere might have had the economic resources to manufacture medals, but lacked social or cultural

capital, which made it impossible to engage within this medium and perform the related practices.⁴⁷ Thus, medal art is strongly connected to aspirations and possibilities of the ruling class, and these conditions apply to medals cast across the whole of early modern Europe. However, alongside the political and social changes of the mid-eighteenth century, new users of medals emerge. Other social classes, including burghers, workers, and soldiers, became involved in the medal art.⁴⁸ This transformation makes medal art an ideal example to illustrate the transition from exclusive practices to everyday uses of art.

THEORETICAL APPROACHES

I understand the medal as both object and image. It requires visual and tactile commitment to look at a medal, detect all its details, comprehend the complexity of the image, appreciate its ingenuity, and to turn and weigh it in one's hand. The medal exhibits a density of visual aspects and a complexity of materiality. In order to grasp all these versatile layers, it is important to apply a suitable framework. Not only do the visual layers of the medal have to be addressed, but also the difficulties connected to its material characteristics. A medal is commissioned, purchased, exhibited, written about, discussed, collected, touched, perceived, and most of all, viewed. These are all indicators of engagement and practice connected to a medal's visual and physical qualities, such as execution, material, size, et cetera. Its visual aspects—what the image represents—and its material qualities—the physical object—influence how the beholder might approach and experience the medal. Thus, the medal asks for an apparatus that permits studying the use of these objects, including the inherent visual and material properties connected to their use. For this study, the theoretical framework put forward within art anthropology has been particularly promising to encircle the fleeting aspects of the use of images.

Art anthropology

Art anthropology springs from the aftermath of the so-called 'material turn', and writings such as Arjun Appadurai's *The Social Life of Things* (1986), Bruno Latour's *Actor-network Theory* (1987), W. J. T. Mitchell's *Picture Theory* (1994), Alfred Gell's *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (1998), Daniel Miller's *Material Cultures* (1998), and Bill Brown's

Thing Theory (2001), which are today considered classics within the humanities.⁴⁹ Art anthropology offers different strands of related approaches, most often united with the claim that images and objects stir responses and affect the beholder.⁵⁰

Most commonly cited is anthropologist Alfred Gell's work *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (1998), which was amongst the first to examine the engagement between the artwork and the beholder. According to Gell, the artwork mediates agency.⁵¹ Gell suggests viewing artworks as indexes that motivate viewers to engage with them, but, as an anthropologist, he primarily focuses on religious and cultic engagement with images. For example, an artwork included in a religious ritual would be perceived as a living presence and trigger emotions. In the last decade, several studies of early modern art have revisited and employed Gell's agency concept from various angles, with intriguing results.⁵² The studies all invite a renegotiation of traditional ways of approaching artworks, and question whether images act on their own. Is someone who kisses a portrait provoked by the person depicted, or by the painting itself?

In *Theorie des Bildakts* (2010), Horst Bredekamp develops the concept of agency by leaning on John L. Austin's theory of the 'speech act'.⁵³ According to Bredekamp, images evoke action in the same way that words inhabit a performative power. Images gain a presence that lends them the ability to affect the viewer and to enforce action. Images stir responses.⁵⁴ I do not use the term agency strictly according to Gell's methodology in *Art and Agency*, or Bredekamp's *Theorie des Bildakts*. However, I find the concept applicable in the sense that I argue that visual and material characteristics of the medal stir specific responses and demand specific handling.

Next to the concept of agency, Hans Belting presents another strand of art anthropology in *Bild-Anthropologie* (2001).⁵⁵ Belting joins approaches from ethnology, cultural sciences, and sociology to grasp the intangible aspects of images. Belting proposes 'to speak of image and medium as two sides of the same coin, though they split in our gaze and mean different things. The picture is the image with a medium. The latter, understood in this way, encompasses both "form" and "matter", which are discrete concepts when we talk about works of art and aesthetic objects.'⁵⁶

Belting tries to comprehend the principle of the image itself. He refers to the bodily and visual experiences of the beholder in connection to an image. Further, by referring to a late-medieval painting, he elaborates that

the medium is tied to a social convention.⁵⁷ A painting would evoke different behaviour from a beholder during medieval times than today. According to Belting, analysing social conventions is a vital point of departure to understand how an artwork was used. Belting's suggestion provides a framework to analyse the use of the image and the medium, the physical artefact.

Materiality and sensory experiences

In addition to the image, the use of the medal could be tied to its materiality.⁵⁸ Materiality is a significant component of a visual object, and it is essential to address the matter.⁵⁹ The most apparent connection to materiality would be the material itself. Medals, for instance, were predominantly made of precious metals such as gold, silver, and bronze. Precious metals have an inherent monetary value, and thus the material implies economic and social functions. The pecuniary value of the medal can convey an immaterial idea, for instance, status and the representation of the depicted person. Bluntly stated, as wealth is connected to status, a gold medal implies power.

Nonetheless, precious metals do also have unique material characteristics. Gold never loses its lustre, no matter how old it might be, compared to silver, which blackens with time, and bronze, which might turn green. Despite their differences, these precious metals are similarly robust and thereby metaphorically transmit endurance. They withstand time. Further, the matter of precious material is flexible since, at certain temperatures, metal can be both solid and be liquid. The execution, casting or striking, might also add to the objects' charm.

The material could entail several additional meanings. In one of the most extensive encyclopaedias of the eighteenth century, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste* (first printed 1732), a phrase points to a different type of value associated with the material: 'One of the main rules in the science of medals is not to judge them by their material in which they are cast.'⁶⁰ To put it simply, a medal made of bronze could be at least as attractive as an object made of gold. It all depends on the person engaging with the object. A collector might have a suite of medals all made of gold, but one edition of the suite is missing. He or she finds the missing edition at an auction, but it is cast in tin. The medal made of tin would be much more valuable to the collector than any

other piece available at the auction made of gold, since the golden objects are not what he or she is looking for. Replicas of medals are a common sight in various numismatic collections, as the collector would render a cast of an edition missing from his or her collection. Therefore, the medal's exchange value does not necessarily have to agree with its economic value, but may reflect more abstract emotional, historical, or collecting values.⁶¹

Nevertheless, value related to the material can be transformed. An emotional value can metamorphose into a monetary value. As one singles something out, and makes it worth collecting, one infuses an item with value, and once something is valuable, it acquires a price.⁶² How much is the collector willing to pay for the tin medal? Likewise, the emotional value changes with the person looking at the medal, as well as the time and place. The objects themselves, although seemingly static or materially stable, mean something different to different people and in different contexts.⁶³ However, medals might also include all these different values at once.

To return to Belting's claim of bodily experience, materiality could also imply sensory experience. The relief of a medal has a plasticity that conveys structure and texture, which enforce tactile experiences. The size of the object, as well as the two sides, invite the beholder to pick it up and to turn in his or her hands, examine the surface and the image at close range. The experience of vision and touch are closely connected to the medal. Handling a medal entails *tactile viewing*.

These theoretical approaches have gained increased attention during the last decade.⁶⁴ For instance, in *Sensory Reflections: Traces of Experience in Medieval Artifacts* (2019), several authors examine the physical interactions and reactions evoked by objects of various materials, including metal. Melissa Herman suggests 'that even in the absence of touch, vision can still offer an impression of the tactile nature of an object; put another way, there is a tactile aspect to the visual perception of an object's materiality and iconography.'⁶⁵ Herman's argument combines the visual and material experience of materiality and connects it to iconography. Further, it illustrates that analysing materiality offers an invaluable addition to interpreting metal artworks, and thus also medals.⁶⁶

In *Getting the Sense(s) of Small Things*, an issue of *Das Mittelalter* (2020), the authors analyse the marvels of small things 'that are intimately related to the body'.⁶⁷ Karen Dempsey and Jitske Jasperse suggest understanding

embodied experiences by exploring the themes ‘materiality, the interplay between the senses, and the body.’⁶⁸ They highlight the potential of this approach while stressing its limitations. ‘As with any emerging area comes experimentation—and its successes and failures. Such a “leap of faith” is now required to explore the emotional and affective past if we wish to avoid creating narratives of the past that at best are populated but “faceless blobs”.’⁶⁹ I want to propose to take such a leap of faith in the study of medals. Objects made to be held in one’s hand ought to be analysed with the aspects of materiality and sensual experience in mind.⁷⁰

The uses of medals

One vital function of medals was to circulate images and transfer information to contemporaries and future viewers. Thus, the understanding of a medal as a medium appears as an underlying and omnipresent aspect. A medium has many definitions, and likewise, the theoretical approaches are many, but most commonly, a medium is described as a technology of transmission, a physical channel or a modality (image, sound, text).⁷¹ Understanding the medal as a medium includes, therefore, not just the physical expression, the object and its inherent visual and material characteristics, but also the social and cultural practice connected to it, which involves all handling of the medal.⁷² In connection with this, and the sense of their multitude, medals could also be understood as visual media.⁷³ Although the term media, in its modern sense, did not exist during the early modern period, Peter Burke and Asa Briggs argue that it is still valuable to use the term. In their social history of media, they discuss ‘communication of information, ideas and entertainment in words and images.’⁷⁴ Medals do precisely that: they use visual and sensory means to communicate images, ideas, and words, compressed into a limited space. The various aspects of how a medal might communicate and act on the beholder lead to W. J. T. Mitchell’s conclusion regarding the bodily experience of media.⁷⁵ According to Mitchell, ‘all the so-called visual media turn out to involve the other senses (especially touch and hearing). All media are, from the standpoint of sensory modality, “mixed media”.’⁷⁶ He points out that media involve more senses than just vision, and so do medals.

As mentioned before, the materiality of medals is inseparable from their use. Looking at the two sides of a medal requires the beholder to touch it, but neither looking nor touching exhaust a medal’s meaning. In order

to comprehend how the medal operates as a medium, one has to understand the cultural practices, significances, and attitudes that determine this communication. The concepts presented within art anthropology provide a theoretical framework for interacting with images and the image itself, which could be extended to the media history. Combining media history and visual studies broadens the understanding of how visual objects can be used and what they might mean to their user.⁷⁷ It also might help to comprehend how the medal medium works.

However, such an analysis still requires some preconceived understanding of social convention concerning medals. Since early modern practices related to medals have, for the most part, been lost to time, one must seek out contemporary sources that indicate their use and meaning. As mentioned in Ekeblad's letter, at the beginning of this introduction, medals were bestowed from one hand to another, from the sovereign to an ambassador. Ekeblad points to a theme that steadily meanders through the roughly 250-year period examined in this study, namely that medals were used as gifts.⁷⁸

In order to unravel the medal's varying roles within the gift exchange, this study leans on the framework of the 'theory of gifts' and the discussion of the same in the writings of anthropologists and historians.⁷⁹ The sociologist Marcel Mauss, regarded as the central originator of this theory, describes different archaic societies' ceremonies, and analyses the meaning of the objects transferred in social rituals.⁸⁰ He divides the theory into three parts: *giving*, *receiving* and *reciprocating* the gift.⁸¹ According to Mauss, this system is based on the idea that the exchange of goods or favours does not necessarily need to be connected to an economic purpose, but can be done freely through gifts and presents. Still, gifts must be reciprocated or else one loses face forever. Reciprocation need not take the form of a physical object, but could likewise be a favour or a pledge of loyalty. Mauss' theory has since been challenged by several writers, particularly Pierre Bourdieu and Jacques Derrida, but its three parts—giving, receiving, and reciprocating—have remained influential.⁸²

At first glance, this system seems simple, but a gift exchange is quite complicated. Depending on social circumstances and the parties involved in the exchange, the value of the gift can be versatile, unstable (what if the gift fails to impress?), changeable over time, contradictory, and entangled. In a similar way, a medal comes with a fixed economic value. The French ambassador in Ekeblad's account received a medal worth 1000 ducats. Did

the monetary value affect the response to the gift? A medal gift encompasses several ambivalent aspects and involves official and unofficial purposes and meanings of the gift exchange. Thus, analysing the medal highlights the gift's complexity and adds to the theoretical understanding of the gift exchange's versatile layers.

Besides its purpose as a gift, the medal involves the function of *representation*, which is achieved through the portrait. Representation—the medal depicts a ruler—is a tangible use, yet, it involves *abstract* concepts such as status. These tangible and abstract aspects could be connected to Stephen Greenblatt's well-established concept of 'self-fashioning'. Greenblatt analyses English Renaissance plays and texts, and suggests considering 'the construction of identity' as a product of cultural, political, and social conditions.⁸³ Greenblatt's concept has since inspired widely varied research, particularly in Renaissance art history, and been influential in general on the understanding of early modern identity, its construction, and social standards.⁸⁴ According to Greenblatt, the Renaissance man created himself through the way he expressed himself, with clothes, gestures, behaviour, and the things he consumed, like art and culture.⁸⁵ The medal would be a part of these expressions, and issuing it could aid one's self-fashioning, as well as the act of receiving a medal. In the end, self-fashioning is deeply connected to the effort to achieve status and prestige, abstract and immaterial ideas which are not least emotionally valuable.

Furthermore, the medal's significance and use could even be more entwined, particularly concerning its purpose to commemorate deeds for eternity. On the one hand, it operates within the 'cultural memory', to use Jan and Aleida Assmann's well-established concept, and on the other hand, a medal can conjure an individual memory.⁸⁶ It commemorates the individual with a portrait in durable material, and text, which could entail an individual memory involving a subjective and abstract impression, a memory related to the sitter, or a specific situation connected to the object. At the same time, the medal is made to store cultural memory, constituting an archive, so to speak, of institutionalised histories.⁸⁷ So, how does a medium function that inhabits several meanings and roles at the same time?

To conclude, because the medal inhabits several functions and meanings simultaneously, analysing its uses warrants an eclectic theoretical understanding. That is, the variety of the theoretical framework mirrors the medal's versatility. The object could have been manufactured to be given away, its visual motif designed to represent the individual depicted

and, by extension, to commemorate the event of the medal's bestowal. The approaches presented within art anthropology, and the theoretical concepts connected to materiality, gift, self-fashioning and media history, will guide this analysis.

SOURCE MATERIAL

This thesis' primary objects of study are medals depicting members of the Swedish royal family from 1560 until 1792.⁸⁸ Consequently, it is essential to obtain an overview of the medal production of the Swedish royals, which is done by reviewing Bror Emil Hildebrand's catalogue *Sveriges och Svenska Konungahusets Minnespenningar, Praktmynt och Belöningsmedaljer* (1874/1875).⁸⁹ Hildebrand's catalogue consists of two volumes, the first published in 1874, including medals from Gustav I (1496–1560) to Charles XII (1682–1718), and the second published in 1875, containing editions from Ulrika Eleonora the Younger (1688–1741) to Oscar II (1829–1907).⁹⁰ So far, Hildebrand's work is the only complete and accurate catalogue, and it is still considered the definitive reference work regarding Swedish royal medals. The catalogue is not illustrated, which is why the process of matching a medal to Hildebrand's description requires accuracy and patience, but it is a crucial first step.⁹¹ According to Hildebrand, roughly 1350 different editions were struck or cast from the reign of Eric XIV until Gustav III's funeral, featuring the Swedish royal family, and these 1350 editions form the base of this analysis.

Besides reviewing Hildebrand's catalogue, I have studied several medal collections chosen according to the parameters of size, accessibility, and geographic variation, in order to compare and contrast the physical objects and examine all of Hildebrand's 1350 editions.⁹² Those editions which I have not been able to study physically, I have identified by photographs and prints in archives, online databases, auction catalogues, or cross-referenced with inventories from official and private collections.⁹³ The analysed objects presented in this study belong to the collections of the Uppsala University Coin Cabinet [Uucc] and the Royal Coin Cabinet, Economy Museum in Stockholm [KMK].

The medal figures as a constant factor in this study, but it does not operate in a vacuum. It relates to and corresponds with other contemporary visual media, art forms, crafts, and literature, while it claims a distinct space and significance. Additional visual sources are oil paintings, miniature

portraits, and engravings. These are located in public collections and databases and privately owned. They are used to underline, analyse, and illustrate practices related to medals.

In addition to the visual material, textual sources such as inventories, royal court records, letters, and newspapers contextualise the medals. The material that has been consulted is to be found in Swedish libraries and archives such as *Riksarkivet* [RA], *Slottsarkivet* [SA], *Antikvariska-topografiska arkivet* [ATA], the Uppsala University Library [UUB], the Lund University Library [LUB] or the National Library of Sweden [KB]. The majority of the archive sources presented in this study, particularly concerning the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are previously unpublished.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

Case studies

Since it is impossible to address all medals or practices, I will analyse an assortment of case studies selected from Hildebrand's 1350 editions, which examine their use from various angles.⁹⁴ The case study method implies *pars pro toto*, as it is a separate analysis that refers to a wider (art-historical) phenomenon.⁹⁵ An objection against this methodology would be that it possibly leads to a mere assessment of a bigger picture. A generalisation, while inevitable, is nonetheless manageable by studying a representative selection of cases that capture both overall processes and individual aspects. The case studies will encompass continuities in use and anomalies and demonstrate uses representing the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The cases are chosen on the following grounds. First, the edition—the analysed medal—has to be genre representative (in style and purpose) of the historical period discussed in the respective chapter. Second, the medal must have a connection to a specific context, for instance, a historical event, like a coronation, or a political exchange, like the French ambassador's departure from Christina's court, described by Ekeblad. Third, it must have been produced in a large edition because quantity ensures a degree of demonstrative character. What constitutes a large edition is not constant throughout the investigated period but differs with the centuries and production modes. Lastly, an indication of practice connected to a medal must be corroborated by a sufficient amount of additional sources. This step implies that either written and visual

sources document usage or that the item itself demonstrates physical traces of handling, like a worn surface or personal engravings on the rim, et cetera.

It is crucial to bear in mind that this thesis examines a period that stretches over 200 years, and consequently, the type and the extent of source material varies through the centuries. In the sixteenth century, very few medals were produced, and written sources are likewise limited. Only the medals have remained from this period, for the most part, and the few surviving textual sources mainly consist of financial records. Therefore, concerning this century, the available cases that meet all requirements are restricted and sometimes even insufficient. This inconsistency will be counterbalanced by contemporary sources from other European regions since there is no reason to believe that practices in Sweden would differ drastically from other courts. In the seventeenth century, the number of editions increases in pace with additional sources, like paintings or private letters, such as Ekeblad's. Still, records of individuals that might have received a medal, or those involved in the production, are scarce. Those that do exist are characterised by terse language. As always, ordinary things and practices, like the everyday handling of an object, does not appear in the sources. A record might indicate a name connected to a medal, but it does not provide a framework for the occasion. Instead, the eighteenth century presents a variety of sources and leads, not least those offered by the newspapers. This period also shows the widest variety of medals and subsequently also visual and written sources.

Only in rare instances do the sources allow us to connect a specific item to a person or an event, and even then, usually only the edition can be connected to a given practice. The shifting availability of sources determines the selection, and because the users and uses increase with each century, the number of cases intensifies with each chapter. For the most part, the analysis departs from the object, although sometimes the sources lead to the edition, and not the other way around.

Of the 1350 editions, only a small number is presented in this study, but the process of selection requires excluding material. If a medal, despite striking visual design and an extraordinarily compelling background story, does not provide new insight, it is not included in the thesis. This line of approach enables presenting a chain of circumstantial evidence, which, combined with an in-depth image analysis, will benefit the understanding of early modern visual culture.

Image analysis

Within the case studies, I will conduct a comprehensive image analysis. My approach is inspired by cultural geographer Gillian Rose's 'four sites of the image', which addresses production, the image itself, audience, and circulation.⁹⁶ For instance, Queen Christina commissions a medal in order to donate it to the French ambassador, but also to manifest her regal image. This step would correspond to Rose's 'site of production'. Here, I would outline the circumstances that caused the medal, comprising the queries regarding who, when, and why. The next step concerns the 'site of the image', which implies an iconographic analysis of the medal's obverse and reverse, which includes the visual and material execution. The third step addresses how the object encounters the beholder and how it is displayed, and corresponds with Rose's 'site of the audience'.

One relevant concern regarding the site of the audience is that the source material is often dominated by the issuer (e.g. receipts of production) rather than the recipient. Also, the design of medals, visual and material, predominantly has a presupposed cause, for instance, glorification of the ruler. Image analysis can unveil such a visual agenda, but without written sources that state a reception, the framework can only account for how it was supposed to be viewed, rather than how an original beholder actually saw it. Therefore, in some instances, a one-sided account of the audience will be provided.

The final aspect of Rose's framework is the 'site of circulation', which examines how an image is circulated, changed, and interpreted. In terms of the medal, this could include what the ambassador did with it, and how it might have been remediated or corresponded to other visual media.⁹⁷ I do not intend to apply Rose's framework in detail since I, for instance, will not follow her use of modalities (technological, compositional, and social).⁹⁸ But I do find her framework useful to highlight the relevance of how an image is made, its effects and changes, how it is displayed, and the social practices related to it.

The framework enables analysis of several aspects and social conventions tied to the medal. It addresses the visual and material characteristics of the medal, and analyses how the object and the situation generate use, and how this is enabled. The analysis can highlight how gestures or behavior that might seem irrelevant or incomprehensible nevertheless shape the image's meaning in a specific and social context. In short, it helps elaborate how meaning is constructed, and how people ascribe significance to the medal.

I will conduct interpretations by carefully scrutinising the relationships between text and image, subjects and objects, the material and the immaterial.⁹⁹ Within the chapters, the image analysis does not follow a pre-set order because it is impossible to adopt the same framework to all cases, since every medal is different. Also, depending on the available sources, the methodological framework will be applied to a different extent in the chapters. For instance, iconographical examination will dominate in one case, while the site of circulation will steer the analysis in another. I will implement an image analysis when one medal serves as an example. Yet, in other cases, a cluster of medals will be described to give a generalised introduction to the practice. Then, I will employ this framework as a narrative that summarises the visual and material aspects of the medal instead of a detailed image analysis. Likewise, additional visual sources, such as portraits used for comparison or illustration, will not be given detailed attention.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Due to the complexity of medals, including their material aspects, portraiture, and the ability to compress much information in a small space, they incite various research questions and fit into several research fields.¹⁰⁰ Medals tempt art historians, historians of ideas, media theorists, Latinists, emblem scholars, and historians alike to pose interesting questions.¹⁰¹ For instance, in his habilitation thesis *Lysippus und seine Freunde* (2008), art historian Ulrich Pfisterer examines the Renaissance medal as a token of love and friendship. Pfisterer employs Marcel Mauss's gift theory in regards to the medal, and uses it to animate the object. He illustrates the central significance of giving gifts within love and friendship relations, and how these gifts, the medals, are closely intertwined with the construction of remembrance. Another example would be art historian Robert Wellington, who, entering the well-researched field of medal production under Louis XIV, finds a new interpretive angle. His *Antiquarianism and the Visual Histories of Louis XIV* (2015) explores the use of medals as antiquarian objects during the Sun King's reign, thereby providing new insights into Louis XIV's artistic politics, as well as a persuasive argument for the cultural importance of medals.

Medals can be analysed from various perspectives. This study is situated in art history and visual culture studies, numismatics, media history,

and art anthropology. The following overview will present an outline of the primary scholarly tradition that this thesis builds upon and expands. It focuses on previous research conducted in early modern art, visual culture, and medals.

Early modern art and visual culture

One prominent feature of medals crafted from the sixteenth until the eighteenth century is, without doubt, their visibility. Since the medals from this period primarily either depict or feature the sovereign, aspects of political art are immanent. Therefore, it seems natural to align these objects with studies on political art and portraiture.

In sixteenth and eighteenth-century Sweden, and in any other European kingdom, the personification, symbolisation, and imagination of the realm were tightly connected to the sovereign. He or she personified the kingdom, and consequently, the visual culture that represented the sovereign had an immense significance. The tradition to put enormous effort into the ruler's visualisation had its roots in Antiquity. Paul Zanker examines this visual communication method in *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (1988), where he emphasises the complex relationship and interdependence of art and political power, and demonstrates the conscious attention bestowed on the emperor's public image. Using images to establish a sense of community within the realm, and to represent the sovereign as the most magnificent of all, has since been employed by various rulers in different ways, but the initial method has prevailed. The elite's image production machinery would ensure the manifestation of power through visual means, such as paintings, sculptures, architecture, theatre, and, of course, medals. Scholars have examined these various manifestations of power, in particular of early modern rulers, and studies such as Franz Matsche's *Die Kunst im Dienst der Staatsidee Kaiser Karls VI.: Ikonographie, Ikonologie und Programmatik des „Kaiserstils“* (1981), Peter Burke's *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (1992), and Laura Lunger Knoppers' *Constructing Cromwell: Ceremony, Portrait, and Print, 1645–1661*, (2000) are considered classics of this genre.

Since then, the concept of imagery surrounding the centre of power has expanded and includes various aspects, as shown in research on Swedish royalty. For instance, Allan Ellenius examines, in *Karolinska bildidéer* (1966), the Swedish royal's need for legitimation by analysing art and architecture commissioned by the sovereign and his family. In comparison,

Lena Rangström focuses on how the sovereign demonstrates superiority through clothes in *Kläder för tid och evighet: Gustaf III sedd genom sina dräkter* (1997), while Mårten Snickare analyses royal ceremonies in his doctoral thesis *Enväldets riter: kungliga fester och ceremonier i gestaltning av Nicodemus Tessin den Yngre* (1999). Lisa Skogh demonstrates another approach in her doctoral thesis *Material worlds: Queen Hedwig Eleonora as collector and patron of the arts* (2013) where she examines the strategic establishment of royal art collections within the struggle for legitimation. What these studies have in common is that they highlight the various possibilities of how the art and visual culture that surround a sovereign might aid in his or her public image, and all of their authors include medals within their analysis. Thus, medals figure as a self-evident part of royal imagery.

The image of the sovereign holds significant power, and the genre of the portrait therefore holds a special place within the art that surrounds royalty. A portrait might depict the ruler in an idealised way, but it is nevertheless considered to be the sitter's likeness. The conundrums and possibilities of royal portraiture have been examined from different angles, and Marianna Jenkins' *The State Portrait: Its Origin and Evolution*, (1947), Roy Strong's *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (1987), Louis Marin's, *Portrait of the King* (1988), and Marcia Pointon's *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (1993) could be mentioned as classic studies. To name a Swedish example, relevant also to this study, is Martin Olin's doctoral thesis *Det karolinska porträttet: ideologi, ikonografi, identitet* (2000). His study adds to the understanding of the genre, as he discusses aspects of national identity while comparing and contrasting the portraits of the Caroline kings and nobility to European examples. Olin likewise includes medals in his argument.

The portraiture genre does not only figure as representation and visualisation of power but can also operate as a source of intimate concepts, such as love and friendship. In general, how people engage with art and visual culture and how images can evoke specific events or experiences has tempted scholars for decades. Hannah Baader elucidates in her doctoral thesis *Das Selbst im Anderen: Sprachen der Freundschaft und die Kunst des Porträts 1370–1520* (2015) the relevance of theories and practices in connection to the male portrait. She employs theories of agency, iconography, use, and perception of portraits and entwines these with the culture of exchange and reciprocity. The portraits underline the idea of friendship and contribute to constructing the self, artistic self-perception, and the

understanding of the artwork. Another example that aids in the insight of how people could engage with portraits is Elsje van Kessel's *The Lives of Paintings, Presence, Agency, and Likeness in Venetian Art of the Sixteenth Century* (2017). Van Kessel illustrates that in the sixteenth century, the attitudes towards paintings were quite different than they are today. By analysing the paintings within the theoretical framework of agency in mind, van Kessel demonstrates how people engaged with portraits, conversed with them, and even invited them to dinner.¹⁰²

To conclude, this thesis adds to the knowledge of the early modern visual culture. It will contribute new insights, on the one hand, by applying a long perspective, highlighting traditions and changes, and on the other hand, by analysing a visual culture category not yet examined from the Swedish point of view and from an art anthropological perspective.

The study of medals

Besides academic research, exhibition catalogues are the most reliable source of research on medals.¹⁰³ According to their genre, these publications provide the reader with historical background, thereby integrating the exhibited objects into a comprehensive context.¹⁰⁴ The most internationally prominent of these exhibition catalogues is *The Currency of Fame Portrait Medals of the Renaissance*, by Stephen Scher, published in 1994 in association with the Frick Collection.¹⁰⁵ However, within academia, the most common approach would be to study medals within an artist's oeuvre, or their place in regents' art production.¹⁰⁶ One particularly popular approach has been to study the medal as a means to analyse the interdependence of art and politics. The most recent contribution within this tradition would be Thomas Cocano's doctoral thesis, *Les médailles anglaises de l'atelier monétaire de Londres au XVIII^e siècle: entre commémoration et propagande politique, 1688–1742* (2020). Cocano analyses the construction of royal iconography on British medals from 1688 to 1742.

Within the research on Swedish medals, two doctoral dissertations in history ought to be mentioned in particular. First, Mikael Alm's thesis *Kungsord i elfte timmen. Språk och självbild i det gustavianska enväldets legitimitetskamp 1772–1809* (2002). Alm bases his examination on Burke's ideas of royal image-making, but expands his study on the grounds of discourse analysis, conceptual history, and rhetoric. He examines how the Swedish monarch Gustav III (1746–1792) employed medal art to express and

legitimize royal power. Alm's study highlights the need to regard medals within their contemporary function, which, if ignored, would provide a rather insufficient and oblique understanding of an intricate material category. By meticulously working through Gustav III's vast medal production, Alm convincingly anchors the medals within the sphere of political art. Second, Martin Tunefalk evolves this aspect and analyses social status displayed on 'private' or 'person' medals (issued by non-royals, e.g., nobility). His dissertation, *Äreminnen: Personmedaljer och social status i Sverige ca 1650–1900* (2015), studies an extensive timeframe, and examines how issuing a medal is a performative act that constitutes a perception of honour and status. His analysis adds to the understanding of the development of the medal as a medium for the self-fashioning discussed above.

In the last decade, the traditional interpretation of iconographic content and its political potential has been expanded. In particular, aspects of materiality and agency have moved into the foreground. For instance, Benedict Andrew Carpenter entwines in his doctoral thesis *Understanding Material and Content in Made Things, With Particular Reference to the Art Medal* (2019) an iconographic approach with agency and perception theory. He analyses how the material and the content of art medal are folded together, and by examining historical and modern art medals, Carpenter elucidates how material and image shape meaning. His thesis pinpoints the duality of medals, their visual and material properties, and the need to grasp this complexity.

These are but a few examples, and in general, the research on medals is diverse, both thematically and geographically (within Europe).¹⁰⁷ Apart from having medals as their common object of study, it is not possible to detect any shared scholarly tradition or mode of scholarly production in these studies. While these studies are well-grounded in extensive source material, and whilst these parameters are all valuable, it seems that medals have not really been placed in their full use and context, nor has their significance being thoroughly analysed. The studies often examine one single aspect of use (e.g. commemorative) or a short period, and neither of them deeply engage with the question of what recipients did with the medals. Information on the use of medals appears gradually between the lines, and seems to be taken for granted. My study will provide an alternative insight into the visual and material culture of power-relations, commemoration, portraiture, gift-giving, visual media, and the production of

knowledge. It adds to this scholarly tradition by widening the perspective, as well as by changing the scope.

OUTLINE

The disposition of the thesis is chronological as well as thematical, a choice motivated by the transformation in the demand and supply for medals, from objects commissioned for an exclusive group of people to medals accessible on the open market. Each chapter focuses on a period of approximately 50 years, and the included case studies deal with specific events and explicit uses dominant during that time. The chapters revisit recurring practices, such as gift-giving, and analyse the continuities and renegotiations of such customs. Like all developments, medal art follows no straight line but meanders, falls back and forth, and builds its own chronology.

The first chapter will address the second half of the sixteenth century and present the preconditions for the introduction of medal art in Sweden, which are tightly connected to the political power struggles of the Swedish kings. In this chapter, how and why this visual medium was used, and by whom, is discussed. Further, it provides a general overview of the early stages of medal art and the most significant practices related to medals—commemoration, representation, wearing, and giving—practices which will reappear continuously throughout the thesis.

The second chapter concerns the first half of the seventeenth century and develops the topic of gift exchange and commemoration. Further, new agendas concerning medal art, and the objects' interactions with related art forms, are analysed. Baroque visual culture and image traditions will occupy a prominent place in this analysis.

The third chapter deals with the second half of the seventeenth century, and discusses how the medium diversifies, particularly medals' interplay with other visual culture surrounding the sovereign. Moreover, it analyses how the objects were used within military campaigns as rewards or for the commemoration of victories. The chapter will conclude on the subject of medallic news; here, the medal moves from solely being connected to the royal sphere, into the public arena.

The fourth chapter concerns the beginning of the eighteenth century and focuses on the marketing, collecting, and scholarship on medals. In this chapter, the royal and elite users move into the background and give way to a broadened audience and ways of consuming medals. In order to

handle the increasing number of involved parties, medals and uses, the case studies will present not one object at a time, but rather a cluster of medals and a variety of other visual sources, and therefore, the visual analysis will move somewhat into the background. Also, the royal medals and the monarch behind them will occupy less space.

The fifth chapter deals with the second half of the eighteenth century. During this period, medal art and related practices are well established within society. Nonetheless, the functions of the medals are renegotiated and institutionalised. Representation, commemoration, and gift-giving remain the main functions of medals, yet they are adapted to their time and audience. Medals mainly figure as prize medals and military rewards.

In the final chapter, I will analyse the empirical results in a summarising discussion, highlighting the most important practices within the overarching perspective of the thesis' *longue durée*.¹⁰⁸

I

Establishing practices and legitimizing a dynasty

Sixteenth-century Swedish politics were rather entangled. A new royal family, the Vasas, was on the rise, and struggled to pave a way through the unstable political landscape.¹⁰⁹ A hereditary monarchy was introduced, bringing fratricide and civil war, but also an emphasis on cultural progress. The Vasa kings employed all possible artistic means available, including art, architecture, and poetry, to express their grandeur.¹¹⁰ Each king consciously nurtured his public persona and constructed an identity in the way they expressed themselves, within and beyond the borders of their realm. They needed to legitimize their role as dynastic kings because, in comparison to other European royals, the Vasas could not point to a long line of ancestors, as could other royal families, like the House of Oldenburg, the Danish royal family. These circumstances required accurate representation and such symbolic practices as, for instance, introducing the high regnal numbers by which the Vasa kings insinuated that they descended from a long dynasty of Swedish rulers.¹¹¹ For the Vasas, it was imperative to establish themselves as monarchs equal to, if not better than, their European counterparts. The regnal numbers were one part of the grand scheme of self-fashioning, and the medal was another. It provided the ideal medium to display their ambitions. Hence, medals and their users operated in the centre of sixteenth-century Swedish politics, confessional wars, culture, and conspicuous consumption.¹¹²

The main protagonist of this chapter, in addition to the medals, is Eric XIV of Sweden (1533–1577), eldest son of Gustav Eriksson (Vasa), henceforth called Gustav I (1496–1560), and Catherine of Saxe-Lauenburg (1513–1535) (*fig. 4*).¹¹³ Eric XIV's reign between 1560 and 1568 was marked by murderous conflicts between the elite and his half-brothers John III (1537–1597) and Charles IX (1550–1611). Eric XIV married his mistress, a commoner, Karin Månsdotter (1550–1612) and was subsequently deposed,



then fatally poisoned with arsenic, presumably at the order of his brother, John III.¹¹⁴ Most significant for this study, Eric XIV introduced medal art to Sweden. In additions to Eric XIV's endeavours, the medals issued by his brothers, John III and Charles IX, will add to the understanding of Swedish Renaissance medals. This chapter will present the most common aspects connected to their medals, *commemoration*, *legitimization*, *representation*, *giving*, and *wearing*, and analyse how these practices were utilized and what significance they had.

PRESENTING A NEW MEDIUM: THE FUNERAL MEDAL

The first Swedish medal appeared in a particular context, filled with political gestures and messages, being issued upon the funeral of Eric XIV's father, Gustav I, on the 21st of December 1560.¹¹⁵ The transition from Gustav I to Eric XIV has previously been examined in detail, but not yet analysed through the prism of the medal.¹¹⁶ The funeral medal is of particular interest as it broadens the conception of Swedish Renaissance art and politics. First, this medal is considered to be the first medal to be issued in Sweden. Second, it displays an immediate connection to the first viewer, since it apparently was given to the nobility in attendance at Gustav I's funeral. Third, apart from the tomb itself, which was sculptured *after* the actual burial, the medal is one of few remains from the funeral still visible today.¹¹⁷ While no sources besides the medals corroborate the hypothesis that they were manufactured for the funeral, the assumption that Eric XIV issued medals for his father's funeral has remained persistent for centuries.¹¹⁸ Building on these previous statements, I suggest that the compelling visual design of the objects corroborates the hypothesis that

FIG. 4: This portrait of Eric XIV was sent to Queen Elizabeth I in connection to their marriage negotiations. The Flemish painter Steven van der Meulen (died c. 1564) had previously been employed at the English court, which is why he was ideally suited to depict Eric XIV's suitor-portrait. Van der Meulen portrayed the king following the latest fashion and the Queen's taste. He is depicted as the archetype of a dashing Renaissance prince, wearing elegant and expensive clothes, richly decorated sword and jewels, the Swedish coat of arms, the three crowns and a crowned lion, further emphasizing his status. 186 × 104 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

Eric XIV issued the medals upon the occasion of Gustav I's funeral.¹¹⁹ Attributing too much significance to one's research material always entails some risk. In particular, a lack of sources concerning the earlier centuries might cause concern, and the scarce written material might suggest that sixteenth-century viewers did not at all perceive the medal as exceptional. Nevertheless, I argue that the objects and the practices reveal that the users indeed regarded the medal as noteworthy, perhaps less so than a grand painting, but without doubt, something that demanded their attention. In the following analysis, I will discuss why Eric XIV commissioned this medal, what political implications the object entailed, and how the medal aided the *memoria* of Gustav I.

In Europe, the declaration of a successor at the predecessor's funeral was common practice, a rite of transition observed, as well, in December 1560.¹²⁰ In connection to the funeral ceremony and Gustav I's entombment, Eric XIV was announced as the new king.¹²¹ However, despite being proclaimed and endorsed, Eric XIV was not yet crowned. The departed monarch still held symbolical value, since Eric XIV inherited the throne from his father Gustav I. This circumstance might not seem remarkable, yet within the Swedish government, a hereditary monarchy was unprecedented.¹²² Previously, the Swedish nobility elected their kings, but in 1544, roughly twenty years after his ascension, Gustav I carried through the *arvföreningen* (motion of the succession pact), which pronounced Eric XIV heir to the throne, followed by Eric XIV's first-born male descendant, and so forth. Hence, Eric XIV's future rested on his father's former authority, making commemoration of the former king vital to Eric XIV's political fortunes. This first medal had two prominent objectives, namely, to *commemorate* and *legitimize*.

For a new monarch to build on a predecessor's *memoria* was not at all unusual, and had been practised for centuries, most prominently by Emperor Augustus, who leaned on his connection to, and the divinity of, Julius Caesar.¹²³ Augustus issued coins, and Eric XIV used the medal in this similar endeavour. The commemoration of his father was certainly one aspect that might have urged Eric XIV to issue medals at the funeral, but another might just as well have been the tastes of European courts, where medals were fashionable. It must be assumed that the new king encountered this medium prior to the funeral, not least considering international relations between the Swedish court and the German city-states, Denmark, Poland, and England. Consequently, with this small,



FIG. 5: The funeral medal of Gustav I, cast in gold, attached to three chains combined in an eyelet so that the recipient might wear it. Ø 36 mm. Economy museum, Royal Coin Cabinet (SHM), Stockholm.

fashionable, and exclusive object, Eric XIV could at once convey his ambitions and commemorate his father. All these goals were worked into the visual and material design of the funeral medal.

At first glance, the visual design seems simple, but as the analysis will show, it carries several underlying connotations. The item is cast in gold, round (it measures Ø 36 millimetres), attached to three chains, and joined together with an eyelet (*fig. 5*). The chains are fastened to the upper part of the round rim, which is decorated with small check patterns. The rim encloses a dotted circle and Gustav I's bust, viewed from the right. He is depicted with a long beard, wearing a laurel wreath and cuirass, and at his neckline, glimpses of his ruffled collar are visible. His name and title are written around his portrait: GOSTAWS: D[ei]: G[ratia]: REX: SWECIE: [Gustav, by God's grace, king of Sweden]. The reverse depicts the House of Vasa's coat of arms, a wheatsheaf placed on a diagonal stripe inside a



FIG. 6: *Daler*, which Eric XIV issued at his coronation in 1561. Ø 43.24 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

cartouche on a crowned oval shield, surrounded by the letters *DEVS :: DAT :: CVI :: VLT* [God gives to whom he wants].¹²⁴

Gustav I wears a laurel wreath, which might not appear exceptional as it is easily identified as a symbol of victory, derived from Roman Emperors' iconography. It is a common attribute within the pictorial tradition of royal portraiture, but at that time, at least in Sweden, the laurel wreath was not yet a common royal image.¹²⁵ The medal marks the first time that Gustav I was depicted with this attribute on a coin-like object. Previously, he had been portrayed wearing a crown, a hat, or bareheaded, and the coins of Gustav I's predecessor, King Christian II of Denmark (1481–1559), do not depict him wearing a laurel wreath either.¹²⁶ The funeral medal demonstrates the beginning of the incorporation of classical imagery into the Swedish royal iconography. The allusions to antiquity accentuate the wish to adapt and communicate not only to educated Swedes, but also to an audience beyond the realm. Likewise, the coat of arms was connected to a longstanding European pictorial tradition. As Belting puts it, 'the coat of arms was not a body *image*, but a body *sign*, a heraldic abstraction. It identified not an individual but the bearer of a familial or territorial genealogy; that is to say, it defined the body of a social estate.'¹²⁷ Following Belting's line of thought, the Vasa coat of arms on this medal symbolized the dynasty. In essence, the medal presented a condensed version of royalty. Further, the two sides complemented the pictorial traditions of the portrait and the coat of arms, as the obverse presented portrait and name, while the reverse conveyed the sitter's status. Together

they transmitted Gustav I's identity. Thereby, the medal resembles German and Italian models, and the portrait combined with a coat of arms on the medal indicates Eric XIV's desire to communicate using universal imagery.¹²⁸

Next to the images, the inscription served a vital function. The text could be interpreted as God's bestowal of the crown to Gustav I, and therefore, a divine right to rule. A comparison of the depicted item with Eric XIV's coins and medals, issued later, makes apparent that Eric XIV hereby introduced the quote *Deus dat cui vult* as his motto (*fig. 6*).¹²⁹ With this in mind, the motto suggests a slightly different interpretation: God has (by extension through Gustav I, who implemented hereditary monarchy) given *Eric* the right to rule. The inscription was a latent symbolic act, not conspicuous, since the motto could apply to Gustav I, as well. So, by universal iconography in addition to this inscription, the medal presented an ambitious agenda, yet how could Eric XVI use it to commemorate his father?

*Commemorating Gustav I:
Making the absent present*

The portrait featured on the medal best demonstrated the vital association with Gustav I. The artist who most likely fashioned this portrait, and the subsequent medal, was Willem Boy (1520–1592).¹³⁰ Nevertheless, the medal's design would not have been left to Boy alone, but would have been planned in collaboration with Eric XIV and one of his scholars. Boy, a Flemish sculptor, entered the Vasas' service in 1558, and was in several different ways involved in the visualisation of Gustav I's *memoria*. In addition to the medal, Boy rendered a gilded full-body wooden relief depicting Gustav I, located at Gripsholm Castle (*fig. 7*). Furthermore, he fashioned the motif for a *daler* (Swedish coin and currency) in 1559, showing the king's portrait. Finally, he sculpted Gustav I's funeral monument.¹³¹ Consequently, the medal could be considered as one part of a larger visual enterprise.

Boy was most likely able to study Gustav I's features for the Gripsholm relief *ad vivum*, an essential condition for providing a truthful likeness, even though highly idealized, as sixteenth-century portraiture would warrant. Boy then might have used the relief as a model for the subsequent medal. In royal portraiture, reality and the ideal merged into the consistent image



FIG. 7: Wood relief by Willem Boy depicting Gustav I, full-body, under a royal crown. The Latin inscription reads *SALVATOR MUNDI ADJVVA NOS* [Saviour of the world, aid us], 100 × 41 cm. Gripsholm Castle, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

of a king, which was shaped for both contemporary and future beholders.¹³² Even if a ruler's portrait was a schematic and idealized representation of his likeness, it was still vital that the image resemble the portrayed as much as possible.¹³³ The image's similarity to the actual person was an essential part of the ruler's visualization. Thus, it indicates a crucial value, the value of representation. This notion was also deeply connected to the so-called right of representation, which also gave the portrait a legal character.¹³⁴ Renaissance writers such as Francesco Petrarch (1304–1374), Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472), and Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529) repeatedly discussed the notion of likeness and recognizability, and stressed how powerful portraits could be.¹³⁵ A portrait's capability to act as a vehicle

of memory appears to be their most prominent feature.¹³⁶ Portraits had the ability to evoke a mental picture.¹³⁷ In his treatise *De Pictura*, Alberti writes:

Painting contains a divine force which not only makes absent men present, as friendship is said to do, but moreover makes the dead seem almost alive. [...] Thus the face of a man who is already dead certainly lives a long life through painting.¹³⁸

By painting, Alberti refers to a portrait. Thus, a portrait makes the absent present. Given that a portrait aids the commemoration of the depicted individual, a medal would likewise incorporate this ability.¹³⁹ Even though a medal portrait was not able to convey the realism and physiognomic representation of a painting, its tactile characteristics enhanced a mnemonic aspect with a combination of haptic and optic characteristics. The sensory experience aids the formation of a mental picture, as the medal's recipient could touch the individual's features as well as look at them. The recipient could trace the moulded face with his fingers, and while the scale of the features incised in the metal differed from reality, the surface's texture could conjure an idea of closeness. Simultaneously, the medal would absorb the body temperature of the person holding it, as the metal possesses heat conducting qualities. These tactile values, or haptic perception, were intimately connected to the use of medals. Belting argues that the body is the realm of images.¹⁴⁰ Lingering on this thought, we can say that through the combination of seeing, touching, and feeling, the medal would permit the illusion of the depicted person's presence.¹⁴¹ The images, in a Platonic sense, are conjured from within. The portrait, in combination with the medal's tactility, could evoke an individual memory. Nevertheless, the material inhabited more qualities than the sensation of a haptic experience.

The medal was made of gold, which possessed certain material merits. Already during antiquity, gold was awarded unique status, and it comes as no surprise that objects made of gold possess a certain appeal.¹⁴² Its shine conveys lustre and uniqueness. The potential inherent in gold reconnects to issues of political and courtly art because, above all, the demonstration of costly material was of the essence. Material value is always apparent, recognized by the rarity of materials used for an object's production. In the medal's case, it is even more evident since the material used is defined by its rareness, being a *precious* metal. Those fashioning medals

all over early modern Europe explicitly sought to use precious metals, namely gold and silver. The commemoration aspect was still the main focus of medal-making—the durable material reflecting the medal’s purpose to eternalize great deeds—but the use of gold and silver conveyed an additional distinctive trait, that of increased exclusivity, and it conveyed the aura of the individual.

All in all, the medal’s visual and tactile characteristics underline Eric XIV’s ambition. With its universal iconography and exclusive and durable material, the medal addressed his present and future needs. The medal spoke to the contemporary viewer, and it would outlive individuals and individual memory to become part of the cultural memory of Gustav I, communicating with beholders far into the future.

*Establishing bonds of loyalty:
Distributing the medal*

For now, the present beholder was the medal’s main focus, but how did the medal become visible to its intended public? Simply put, it was given. The funeral was a fitting occasion to establish faithful alliances, and a crucial time for exchanging gifts, since giving was a way to show superiority.¹⁴³ In comparison to later accounts of royal funerals, it can be assumed that medals might have been handed out during the feast that followed the funeral ceremony.¹⁴⁴ By presenting gifts to his subordinates, Eric XIV could expect to receive gestures of gratitude, in the form of their fidelity. This was hierarchical gift-giving. Since the object conveyed an intricate iconography, in addition to the material’s complex values, the gift of a medal at a sixteenth-century Swedish court could be as multifaceted as the medal itself.

Reports from sources at the funeral are fragmentary, and provide no indications of when the selected nobility who attended, predominantly Swedish noble families, might have received medals. The only known written source connected to a funeral medal is the probate inventory of the noblewoman Anna Turesdotter Trolle (1534–1617), widow of Charles de Mornay (1514–1574), written in 1617. The inventory mentions ‘a golden chain with King Gustav’s *conterfeij*.’¹⁴⁵ Because miniature painting was not yet customary in Sweden in the late sixteenth century, it is safe to assume that the *conterfeij* (portrait) mentioned in Trolle’s inventory refers to a medal; to be exact, a funeral medal, since this was the only type

of medal produced depicting Gustav I, without the portrait of one of his sons on the reverse.

Further, the inventory reconnects to the object's material, gold, which illustrates the dual meaning of objects made of precious metal. On the one hand, they are precious because of their material's rarity, and on the other hand, they are indeed worth a certain sum of money.¹⁴⁶ The medal had inherent economic value, and served as a store of wealth, since its economic value would stay quite persistent. It is striking how often the early modern medals of European regents, in various museum collections, coincide with the weight of currency.¹⁴⁷ Also, written source material indicates that medals were manufactured to correspond with means of payment, mainly by specifying their weight in the margins. This might, on the one hand, have the simple purpose of accounting for raw material, but also might also ensure that the gift of the *right amount* was given to the *right recipient*. The medal's connection to currency is another of its advantages, as the material's properties do not change over time, and even its economic value will stay quite persistent. Hence, the valuable metal was directly linked with *monetary value*, and for Trolle, this might have represented financial insurance.¹⁴⁸

It remains unclear how Trolle received the medal, but most likely, she inherited it from her husband de Mornay, Eric XIV's trusted friend and chamberlain, who attended the funeral. De Mornay remained dedicated to his king after Eric XIV was deposed, and even planned a coup to overthrow John III.¹⁴⁹ Because of his loyalty, one might wonder how this bond between de Mornay and Eric XIV was forged. One possibility could be gifts, of which de Mornay must have received many from his king. Apparently, one of these gifts was a medal, and analysing the medium helps to understand and highlight power relations and strategies of representation within the gift exchange.¹⁵⁰

The historian Jan Hirschbiegel suggests considering the royal court as a social system, in which gift exchange appears as a subsystem, entailing the same three parts as in Mauss' gift theory, the donor, the recipient, and of course, the gift.¹⁵¹ The princely gift relates to the principle of reciprocity, as well. Hence, the exchange of gifts entailed a counter-performance. The counter-performance was not necessarily a prestigious or costly gift, but could be a pledge of loyalty. The expectations of reciprocity varied with the priorities of the different courts. Circumstances such as war and peace, modifications of customs, et cetera, were reflected in the gifts,

the medals. Although I will not be able to analyse how the recipients responded to the gifts, the expected counter-performance or unspoken reciprocation could be regarded as an indicator for the medal.¹⁵² All one might know about the expected response of recipients derives from deduction and interpretation.

Nevertheless, the distinctive hierarchy between the king and the recipients limited their possibilities to respond to the gift. Here, the hierarchical aspect of the reciprocity complicates the gift theory, and leads to Jacques Derrida's critique of Mauss. According to Derrida, this theory lacked an aspect of time; when was the gift to be reciprocated?¹⁵³ This decision is essential for reciprocity, as the person's role changes from that of a recipient to that of a donor. Depending on the amount of time between receiving and reciprocating, the power and status of the gift could increase. De Mornay's response to the medal, his loyalty, would be instant upon acceptance of the gift, but also negotiable, which is why Eric XIV probably would nurture it with additional gifts throughout his reign. Chains of gold or silver, and medals, were popular gifts at early modern courts, seen as more refined than sums of money. By carrying the chain and medal, the recipient would indicate his social rank, and demonstrate real wealth that the bearer could afford to wear, rather than carry as money.¹⁵⁴ Hence, the economic value of Eric XIV's gift was exchanged for de Mornay's fidelity, an immaterial and intangible value, which highlights the asymmetrical value of medal gifts.

Eric XIV's decision to bestow a medal upon de Mornay would not only have been on the grounds of friendship, but also the necessity of establishing bonds of loyalty.¹⁵⁵ The chamberlain would have been one of many from whom the king expected allegiance, but no evidence survives to date showing who else received a funeral medal. Presumably, the courtiers closest to the king, such as de Mornay and selected members of the most influential Swedish noble families, were suitable recipients.

The gold medal with chain previously discussed is unique in size and execution, and it was not the only object that might have been produced in connection to the funeral. Several medals have also survived that depict the same image, but without chains. These are often made of gilded silver (*fig. 8*). On them, the king is portrayed without a laurel wreath but with a similar cuirass. The rim is flawed, and upon a closer look, one can detect marks from a chisel, which indicates that this is not a mass-produced item. The inscription is the same, and refers to the king's name and titles:



FIG. 8: The funeral medal of Gustav I, cast in gold and gilded, shows minor traces of having been attached to a loop. Approx. Ø 30 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

GOSTAWS: D: G: REX: SWECIE: [Gustav, by God's grace King of Sweden].¹⁵⁶ The question might arise why Gustav I is depicted with a laurel wreath on the gold medal, but not on the gilded type. This could be answered by the hierarchy of recipients, which is often mirrored in the type of metal used for the medals. Thus, the more significant the person receiving a medal, the more expensive the material. This suggestion also corresponds to the visual execution, and therefore with Gustav I's attributes. Considering the gold medal's grandeur, it is plausible that Eric XIV himself, or a royal family member, wore this item at the funeral service and that smaller medals were bestowed upon high-ranking noblemen and courtiers.

While the medals depicted Gustav I, and although Eric XIV's presence in the inscription was not yet apparent at the funeral, Eric XIV's bearing and bestowal of the medals would make an impression. With a gold medal depicting his father hanging from his neck, and bestowing similar objects to the nobility in attendance, Eric XIV no doubt highlighted his own connection with his father, and aided in Gustav I's commemoration. Eric XIV's initial self-fashioning was demonstrated through a medal that depicted his father because, to Eric XIV, the legacy of his father and the memory thereof was the foundation of his authority. Thus, by using the motto *Deus dat cui vult*, along with his father's image, he could both commemorate and legitimise. The medal was an investment in his future.

To conclude, establishing Gustav I's *memoria* was vital, and the visual

execution of the medal confirms this. Obviously, all aspects of the royal funeral—the lying in state, the ringing of church bells throughout the kingdom eight days before and eight days after the funeral, and not least the choice of burial place, in the most prominent spot of Uppsala Cathedral, the former chapel of Virgin Mary—all expressed the departed king's authority and, by extension, that of Eric XIV.¹⁵⁷ The medal would have been a suitable complement to the funeral's visual display, not least since it visualized the symbolical connection between Gustav I and his son Eric XIV, manifesting and mediating the rite of transition in one singular tangible object. Further, the need for visual mechanisms such as the medals pinpoints that very few images were available. The funeral monument was not yet built, and the few painted or sculpted images depicting the departed king were mainly located at various castles, and inaccessible for funeral attendees. This highly symbolic value of the medal, in addition to the assumed recipients, the Swedish nobility, explains why Eric XIV chose to bestow medals. Eric XIV, not yet crowned or anointed king, prepared himself by securing bonds of loyalty. He gratified the nobility, while at the same time raising a monument over his father upon which he could build his imminent reign.

DEVELOPING THE MEDIUM: THE CORONATION MEDAL

The coronation of Eric XIV, held 29 June 1561 in Uppsala, was the next step in developing the medium, and the practices connected to the medals that were established at the funeral could now be refined. While the medal's primary purpose at the funeral of Gustav I was to commemorate, here it was to represent. The coronation was an essential part of Eric XIV's *vitae* because he would officially, in the eyes of God and the people, become king. After all, the coronation and the funeral were not only political events but had deeply rooted religious connotations. Moreover, Eric XIV would not only be crowned and anointed, but would receive oaths of fidelity from the nobility.¹⁵⁸ The nobility remained still somewhat sceptical of the concept of hereditary monarchy. Thus, the coronation was in every way crucial to Eric XIV, and an ideal opportunity to mark his splendour, and indeed it was magnificent.

For a sixteenth-century occasion, the coronation is fairly well documented by contemporaries.¹⁵⁹ Eric XIV's guests recognised the coronation

as an unprecedented illustration of royal magnitude. For example, Simon Fischer, secretary of the Pomeranian representative Henry Norman, commented on the splendour of the delicate garments worn by Eric XIV and his sisters.¹⁶⁰ That foreign visitors would react with such respect and esteem, and even bother to report this to their sovereign, was undoubtedly an aim of Eric XIV. Similarly, as at the funeral, Eric XIV sought to show that he held a status equal to his foreign royal counterparts. He would ensure that his coronation was visualised in every possible way, and that the message of his grandeur spread as far as possible. Therefore, the orchestration of Eric XIV's display of power had to be flawless, requiring meticulous organisation, not least because of the presence of invited foreign visitors who would report on the extravagance. Eric XIV was, after all, ruler of present-day Sweden, Finland, and parts of Estonia, across the Baltic Sea.

The preparations were extensive, and Eric XIV spared no effort on the grandeur of this event. A manuscript listing the supplies to be ordered for the festivities offers some sense of the magnitude of the event that participants experienced. Eric XIV's order ranged from regalia to clothes for himself and the princesses (he commissioned for himself a purple and white suit made of atlas [silk] with gold and precious stones decorating the collar), to practicalities such as silken napkins and bench covers, down to wild animals and fireworks for entertainment.¹⁶¹ The event marked a shift in the Swedish coronation ceremonial, and it would become a template for future Swedish monarchs.¹⁶² Consequently, Eric XIV's coronation stirred considerable interest, and has been the subject of several historical studies.¹⁶³ Research has so far focused on such aspects as the ceremonial order, the coronation ritual, women's role in the event, political encounters, and so on, but less on the coronation's visual features. While the associated coins and medals have not yet raised much interest, I suggest that they add to the perception of this crucial coronation.

Indeed, all the supplies that Eric XIV ordered for his coronation provide an insight into the ceremony's visualisation. They were all part of his *visual rhetoric*. But compared to other goods, the numismatic objects convey—with image and text—Eric XIV's ambitions and wishes for his future rule. Scrutinising them contributes to the knowledge of his self-perception, and how it was communicated to a broader public, and Swedish and foreign courtiers. The medals were aimed as direct communication, a message from the king to his subordinates. They were visual media. This

way of communicating was one-sided, and it is impossible to know how these images would have been perceived. Still, by analysing their visual design, it is possible to assume a probable interpretation of the message that Eric XIV wished to mediate and how this communication was executed. The following analysis will focus on how Eric XIV used the visual mechanisms of the medal to emphasise his position, and continue to detangle its role within the royal gift exchange.

Representing Eric XIV:

The visual mechanics of the coronation medal

Eric XIV had introduced the medal at the funeral of Gustav I, but the medium was not yet firmly defined. For the moment, it somewhat resembled an exclusive and luxurious coin, and was probably perceived as such. Nevertheless, it does not matter if a golden double-sided object was labelled as a medal or a coin at that time. These objects' essential purpose—to represent—was captured in their inherent material value, the image and its message. The coins and medals issued at his coronation were supposed to communicate one crucial and straightforward message: Eric XIV was king by God's will. Still, the numismatic material that can be connected to this event is rare. For instance, according to the sources, 1500 *penningar* (coins and currency) were tossed to the public in connection with Eric XVI's coronation festivities in Uppsala (600), Stockholm (800) and Älvsborg (100) (*fig. 9*).¹⁶⁴ The *penningar* were so-called *kastmynt* (largesse money).¹⁶⁵ Such coins were specifically minted to be tossed to the public after the coronation, while the newly crowned king went from the church to the castle, which was not a unique Swedish custom but practised in other parts of Europe as well.¹⁶⁶ Of these 1500 coins, only one remaining item is known in addition to a few later copies.¹⁶⁷ The object is thin, made of silver, measures Ø28–29 mm and weighs 5.89 grams (*fig. 10*). A similar fate applies to

FIG. 9: Accounting books that stipulate the coins tossed to the people in connection to Eric XIV's coronation. National Swedish Archives, Stockholm.

FIG. 10: 1 *mark*, largesse money that was tossed to the people at the coronation in Uppsala in 1561. Ø29 mm, Economy museum, Royal Coin Cabinet (SHM), Stockholm.

Skatt och Skatt

297

Den 29 Junij Skatt
Kong Matts och Egen Kon-
verson.

Daler ————— 250 fl^2

Samt Dags Skatt utskatt
vid Kong Matts Eröfning.
och utgåen i hvar Riksdag.
och till Skottet vid utskott.

penningar ————— 600 fl .

Den 11 Julij Skatt utskatt
vid Kong Matts Eröfning
till Skottet

Daler ————— 100 fl^2

penningar ————— 800 fl .

Den 24 Augusti Skatt
Kong Matts och Egen Kon-
verson.

penningar ————— 100 fl .

Summa

penningar — 1500 fl

Daler — 350 fl^2



the presumed medals, since none remains that can with certainty be linked to the coronation. Given the expense of Eric XIV on this occasion, and the fact that he issued medals at the funeral, it would be unlikely that he refrained from doing likewise at the coronation as well. Moreover, both of his brothers commissioned medals for their coronation, and given that this was an established custom at other European courts, there is no reason to believe that he would not have done so in June 1561.¹⁶⁸

Comparable to the funeral, probably only a small number of medals were cast for the coronation. Furthermore, after Eric XIV was deposed, his reputation was severely tarnished, which reduced the likelihood that his medals would survive. The editions displaying him were very likely melted and recycled, and Hildebrand counts fewer than ten items from the sixteenth century (in comparison, he lists up to forty items of John III).¹⁶⁹ One of the few surviving medals depicting Eric XIV resembles the visual design of the *penningar* (fig. 11).¹⁷⁰ The object is gilded with a silver core, and does not correspond to any size of Eric XIV's coins, which is why I label it as a medal (i.e., 'display coin' for the contemporary user). At the top, the item shows signs of having been attached to an eyelet. Its surface is severely worn, which suggests that it must have been touched and worn in some way.

In order to illustrate how medals might have been utilised in connection to the coronation, I will analyse the previously mentioned medal. The obverse displays Eric XIV in profile. The king wears representative and appropriately fashioned attire, a laurel wreath, a cuirass, and underneath a shirt, with its ruffles visible around the king's neck.¹⁷¹ The hair, laurel leaves, and the decoration on the cuirass are discretely executed, giving the object a tangible relief. Eric XIV's likeness shows individual features, such as the area around the eyes and nose or the split beard. Beard and clothes correspond to mid-sixteenth century fashion. The inscription surrounding his portrait confirms his identity: ERICVS - XIII. D[ei] . G[ratia] . SVECIAE. REX. [Eric XIV by God's grace King of Sweden]. The medal captures the essence of representation by combining the portrait with a name and title.

The worn surface of the reverse only allows a rudimentary comprehension of the image. It shows a flourishing landscape with trees and flowers and the sea on the horizon.¹⁷² The landscape symbolises the Swedish realm. Above it, a Tetragrammaton, four Hebrew letters YHWH [יהוה] spelling the word Yahweh, build the upper end of the scene. The sky is visualised by a half-circle of clouds, which surrounds the sign of Yahweh. From the



FIG. 11: Medal depicting Eric XIV on the obverse and his emblem on the reverse cast and gilded silver in 1561. Ø31.83mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.



FIG. 12: Emblem of Eric XIV in Salomon Neugebauer, *Selectorum Symbolorum Heroicorum Centuria Gemina*, 1619. Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden.

Tetragrammaton, a sceptre is breaking up the clouds while its tip is pointing vertically towards the ground. On the right side, the word DAT is written, and on the left, CUI VULT are written, and with the Hebrew letters, the sentence becomes complete as – *Deus dat cui vult* – Eric XIV's motto: *God gives to whom he wants*.¹⁷³ Further, the inscription is the same as on Gustav I's funeral medal, and the presence of God, signalled by the Tetragrammaton, highlights the significance of religious legitimisation. The divine sceptre is given to Eric XIV.¹⁷⁴

Moreover, like the coat of arms, the image might appear simple, but it is far from that, and Eric XIV once more uses a universal pictorial tradition. The scene depicted on the reverse reproduces a typical emblematic picture, and one crucial quality of an emblem was, and still is, that it mimics a compressed version of broader image context.¹⁷⁵ Characteristically, an emblem would consist of three parts, the *lemma* (a short inscription), the

icon (the image) and the *epigram* (the description or explanation of the two previous parts).¹⁷⁶ On the depicted item or any medal, the task of formulating an epigram was left to the viewer. Due to its space limits and its genre, the emblem's solution was absent on the medal. A private conversation, to explain the medal's image and inscription, was unlikely in connection to the coronation festivities. Hence, the image had to be descriptive, persuasive, and straightforward.¹⁷⁷ Eric XIV's successors would opt for simpler coronation medals, as concise communication was deemed to be the most important factor.¹⁷⁸

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, various ancient and medieval symbolic forms were rediscovered and reinvented. These were referred to as *imprese*, emblems, iconologies, *symbola*, or *icons* and recorded allegorical imagery. Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum liber* (1531), Piero Valeriano *Hieroglyphica* (1556), and Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (1593) are perhaps the most essential and well-known of the publications concerning symbolism that originated during this period. In connection to this rising trend, which culminated with a flood of emblem books in the mid-seventeenth century, the use of similar symbolic imagery on medals coincided with the concurring phenomena.¹⁷⁹ Thus, Eric XIV once more acted precisely according to the latest fashion. Emblem scholar Simon McKeown even suggests that this could be the earliest use of an emblematic device on any European coin.¹⁸⁰ This claim might not be farfetched, considering Eric XIV's education as a Renaissance prince, and it is said that he was very accomplished and literate.¹⁸¹

According to scholars Henkel and Schöne, the emblem depicted on the item is to be found in *Emblematum centuria secunda*, by Gabriel Rollenhagen and Crispijn de Passe the Elder, printed in 1613.¹⁸² Rollenhagen and de Passe illustrate more or less precisely the same emblem visible on the medal, including the inscription. Only a few years later, in 1619, Salomon Neugebauer depicts the same emblem, with slight variations on the landscape and without הוהי, in his *Selectorum symbolorum heroicorum centuria gemina*. Here, the reader might find the emblem under the entry referring to the Scandinavian kings' symbols, to be specific, under Eric XIV (*fig. 12*). Since Rollenhagen's and Neugebauer's emblem books were published more than fifty years after Eric XIV's reign, the king must have found inspiration elsewhere, or even invented the emblem himself.¹⁸³

Possible sources of inspiration were many. Eric XIV's former teacher, Dionysius Beurræus (1510–1567), could have been one possible contribu-

tor.¹⁸⁴ Beurräus acted as a diplomat at the English court in 1558–1561, where he negotiated the king's marriage proposal with Queen Elizabeth. Most of all, he gathered intelligence, which he would send to his king in Sweden. One of the features Beurräus could have directed to Sweden might have been the Tetragrammaton encircled by rays of the sun. The title page of the *Coverdale Bible* (1535) depicted such a symbol. Prior to publication of this influential English-language Bible, the sign of Yahweh, illustrated as the centre of the sun, had been unusual. Beurräus returned to Sweden for the coronation, and perhaps he played a part in the creation of the emblem.¹⁸⁵ If this were so, then Eric XIV not only followed the continental trends, but also started new ones by combining different sources.

Through the medal and with this emblem, Eric XIV probably wished to communicate with the educated Swedish nobility, but since this formed a limited group, I assume that he also wished to reach out to a foreign audience as well. Nevertheless, even if he was aiming for a cultured audience, the combination of image and inscription had to be comprehensible for the wide range of viewers present at the coronation, and the represented symbols for his medals and coins were indeed well chosen. The sceptre was a royal insignia symbolising the ruler's sovereignty. Besides the crown and the orb, perhaps the most potent items associated with a monarch, the sceptre would indicate rightful rule and justice. The heavenly clouds, on occasion accompanied by the sign of Yahweh [יהוה], were a known image representing God Almighty. The combination of these two symbols, the sceptre and יהוה, signified the divine right to rule. Such representations of divine execution of power were common visual themes; for instance, the *Emblemata nova* from 1617 depicts God's distribution of authority (*fig. 13*).¹⁸⁶ The image shows three men, a knight, a bishop, and a peasant, standing on a globe. They each receive the symbol representing their estate, respectively a sword, a book, and a pick, from a hand coming out of the clouds above them. Hence, Eric XIV, who is depicted on the medal's obverse receiving a sceptre from God, would be easy to grasp, even if the recipient were unable to read the Latin quote. The beholder would quickly identify the Hebrew letters as God's name, and recognise the sceptre as royal insignia, and by turning the medal over, see Eric XIV as deliverer of the message. The fact that a similar image was used on the *kastmynt*, specifically produced to be tossed to the people after the coronation ceremony, indicates that the core message was believed to be comprehensible, even for a less educated or uneducated crowd.

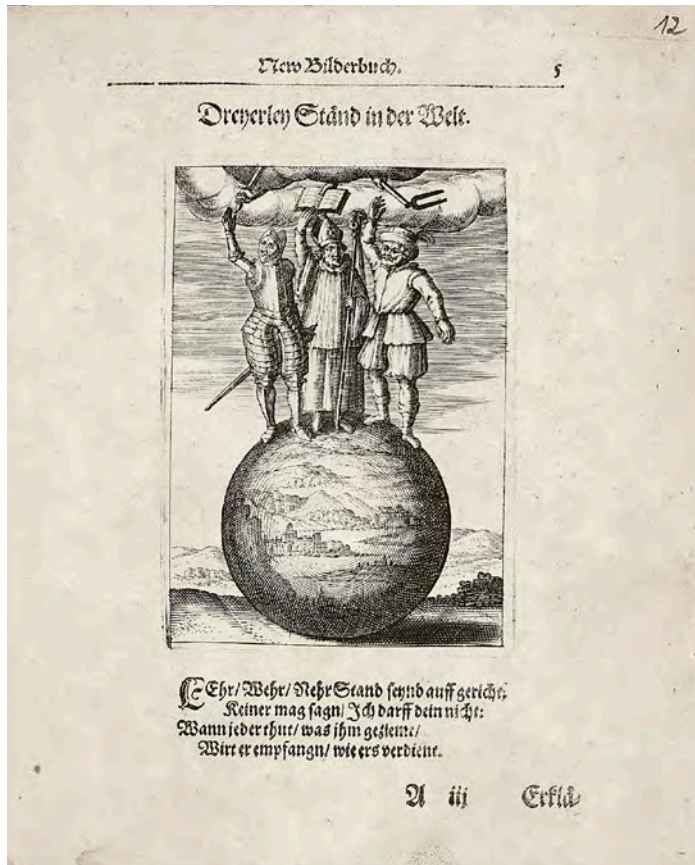


FIG. 13: Emblem that depicts the distribution of power to the three classes in Andres Friedrich, *Emblemata Nova; das ist New Bilderbuch* 1644. Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel.

The image presented a connection between the sceptre and God, and the viewer was left with few choices but to interpret the emblematic picture as the sender intended. McKeown fittingly summarises the implication of the image:

Absent from such a cryptic image was any suggestion of an older consensual style of governance whereby the king moved amidst the advice of his Council and representatives of the Estates of the Nobility, Clergy, Burghers and Peasants. Instead, its visualisation of a direct conduit from heaven to the throne figured absolutist tendencies. The evidence of the

coin's device implies Erik did not view the Swedish sceptre as a mere bauble: for him it was a wand of office replete with full authority reached into his grasp by God Himself.¹⁸⁷

McKeown points to the profoundness in the image's message. God has given Eric XIV the divine right to rule, and he does not need any other approval. He is king by God's will. This information is compressed on the two sides of the medal, and only in the act of turning it does the message become complete.

Being generous: Distributing the medal

The images' primary objective was to manifest Eric XIV's authority, but it also explained the occasion. God instituted the new ruler by *giving* Eric XIV the crown (and sceptre). This act of giving was fittingly replicated even in the image and the inscription [God gives to whom he wants] displayed on the coins and medals. The sceptre coming out of the clouds was, in its essence, a visual representation of what happened at the coronation ritual. Eric XIV was sacredly anointed and crowned. The image aided the establishment of a community because, abstractly, it included everyone in the cathedral where the ceremony took place, as well as the crowd waiting outside.¹⁸⁸

A *collective giving* further shaped the community. God had given Eric XIV a gift, which he would reciprocate by being a loyal servant and by acting as a virtuous ruler. Generosity was perhaps not one of the cardinal virtues of prudence, courage, temperance, and justice, but indeed one of the princely virtues.¹⁸⁹ In *The Education of a Christian Prince* (1516), Erasmus of Rotterdam wrote that charity was one of the essential traits a prince should have.¹⁹⁰ Erasmus' moral guidelines had an enormous impact on European rulers, and therefore, it is not surprising that Eric XIV wanted to display his generosity.¹⁹¹ It was perhaps even the most accessible virtue to execute visibly. In Eric XIV's case, it was, amongst other things, displayed by tossing coins to the people and distributing 'display coins'—medals—to the nobility. The coins and medals were golden and silver images, instrumental, practical, and functional gifts. As discussed with the funeral medal, giving gifts at a sixteenth-century court entailed countless underlying political gestures and agendas. To accept a gift entailed recognising one's counterpart, the donor. If a gift was acknowledged, the partners entered into an

obligation to follow the circle of gift exchange, to give, to accept, and to reciprocate the gift. The coins and medals conveyed the utility of showing Eric XIV's generosity, and in return, they should create an emotional value, gratitude and loyalty. This gift exchange also visualised authority. It was a power executed from God, transferred to Eric XIV, and demonstrated to his subordinates.

Given the economic value of Eric XIV's gifts, the crowd waiting outside the cathedral was very likely to accept them. The crowd was pleased by simple means, such as with the wine and roasted oxen that Eric XIV arranged on the public squares in Uppsala.¹⁹² In addition to food, coins bought the approval of Eric XIV's subordinates. While Eric XIV walked in a procession from the cathedral to the Uppsala castle, a distance of about 450 metres, his treasurer carried a silver kettle full of coins, which he tossed in the king's name to the people jostling on both sides of the road, eager to catch a glimpse of his splendour.¹⁹³ The tradition of tossing coins after a coronation can be traced back to antiquity, when coins, often carrying special iconography, were issued at religious festivals, offered to the Gods, and flung to the people.¹⁹⁴ This tradition continued for centuries, and in *Ceremoniel Wissenschaft der Grossen Herren* (1733), Julius Bernhard von Rohr describes this custom 'and toss a great amount of money to the people, to move them to joy, to incite love towards their landlord and to show that the ruler is good and kind.'¹⁹⁵ Elegantly, von Rohr catches the essence of the sovereign's generosity and kindness: on the one hand, the coins shall delight the people, and on the other hand, the coins shall 'incite love' towards the new ruler. Thus, in essence, whether at Eric XIV's coronation in 1561, von Rohr's account of an early eighteenth-century ruler, or in the age of Emperor Augustus, coins were used in the same manner. In the end, the scrambling crowd was most likely uncurious about the emblem on Eric XIV's *kastmynt*, and simply appreciated the money and their ruler's generosity, as Rohr suggests.

The nobility, on the other hand, craved more eloquent courtship. One aspect of this involved the mechanics of the emblem, and another was the presentation of even more gifts. However, whether and how the nobility, Swedish and foreign, accepted the medals, is a different question. The medals, as well as the coins, only express how the king wished to be perceived, and not how the recipients reacted, although it must be assumed that Eric XIV had a sense of his audience.

SOVEREIGN GIFTS. The Swedish monarch had contact with several other European princely houses, like Poland, Pomerania, Holstein-Gottorp or Mecklenburg.¹⁹⁶ Some contacts were cultivated with more diligence, others less, but in general, these relations reflected Sweden's political priorities and ambitions. Gifts were essential in these encounters, since they could ensure political alliances in the same way that the absence of reciprocity could entail an insult with far-reaching consequences. Gifts could be used to promote a ruler's international image and cultural superiority. Historian Felicity Heal points out that sovereign gifts were often chosen due to the status ascribed to them. With gifts, which could range from expensive items to rare animals, the sovereign could demonstrate, negotiate, and maintain authority and equality.¹⁹⁷

The days before and after his coronation were filled with festivities to demonstrate Eric XIV's visual rhetoric, forge alliances, and bestow gifts. Records from 1561 testify that he was immensely generous towards the guests who came to witness his coronation. The gift exchange could be vertical, with subordinates, like de Mornay. They could also be executed horizontally, with a gift presented to someone with the same authority, for example, an ambassador representing a foreign lord. The noblemen were amused with food and entertainment, and Eric XIV paid for their lodgings in Stockholm and Uppsala.¹⁹⁸ Hospitality was to be expected on such occasions.¹⁹⁹ In addition to the gift of hospitality, and most likely the newly minted coins that were distributed at the coronation, the accounting books register something called *föräring* (gifts) given to the foreign lords.²⁰⁰ According to the accounts, Eric XIV bestowed additional coins and bars of silver on the foreign nobility before their departure.²⁰¹ The lords are listed by their geographical origin, e.g., Pomerania or Rostock. Next to their names, the amount of money received is listed. The list presents a visible hierarchy, as the sums of money that the lords received differed significantly. This monetary gift was most likely yet another political power play, camouflaged as a display of Eric XIV's generosity. Like the coronation coins, these gifts demonstrate that the gesture of bestowing gifts was a vital part of the political encounter. The exchange of gifts entailed a diplomatic exchange, even more so when the gifts were given to foreign monarchs' representatives.

Yet, how exactly the gift exchange from Eric XIV to the nobility in 1561 was executed is hard to discern. It is even more difficult to tell how medals were distributed and who the recipients were. Bearing in mind all the

money and effort spent on the coronation medals circulated in connection to the festivities, it would be doubtful that Eric XIV refrained from bestowing medals upon his most important guests. Considering Heal's previously mentioned observation, that the sovereign negotiated his or her authority through gifts, it could be argued that the medal operated as visual rhetoric but within the courtly gift exchange. At the coronation, Eric XIV introduced new titles for the nobility and appointed three counts, Svante Sture the Younger (1517–1567), Per Brahe the Elder (1520–1590) and Gustav Johansson (*Tre Rosor*) (1531–1566), and nine barons.²⁰² These men may have been possible recipients of a medal, of course, with its value adjusted to their rank. The medals may have been bestowed at any day during the subsequent festivities, or upon the noblemen's departure.

Considering all the riches that Eric XIV lavished upon his guests, the question arises what place the medal would occupy amongst so many gifts. Since not everyone received one, but only a select few, the medal exchange itself connotated importance. Further, depending on whether a medal was made of pure gold or gilded silver, the material conveyed a hierarchical position and an economic value.²⁰³ Inventories in which medals are mentioned reveal that such objects' economic value was assessed highly.²⁰⁴ In contrast to silver bars, the medal carried the monarch's likeness and motto. As for the purpose of commemoration, the portrait held significant representational value. It was not unusual at all that noblemen returned home carrying medals from foreign lords.²⁰⁵ After their return home, the foreign lords were called upon to report their journey.²⁰⁶ They had to describe their visit in close detail, and not least report on the new king's appearance. A thorough account of Eric XIV's appearance would be expected, and the medal could verify the ambassadors' description. Art historian Hubert Winkler refers to several sources relating to other European rulers' and noblemen's discussions on portraits, especially likenesses to be engraved on medals.²⁰⁷ These accounts demonstrate that the individual's likeness displayed on the coins and medals was particularly important. It transmitted a symbolic value and leads to the conclusion that the portrait on the obverse differentiates the medal from other monetary gifts. Notably, because of the limited number of images available during this period, coins and medals played a significant part in the conception of royalty. Art historian Birgit Blass-Simmen aptly captures the benefits of this medium:

With the medal, a communicative strategy was followed that continued in the tradition of the power strategies associated with ancient coins but went further in that it was used to build alliances for the future through the purposeful and sophisticated new strategy of the giver-gift-receiver scenario. Initially, that which was new appeared in traditional form.²⁰⁸

Blass-Simmen refers to early Italian Renaissance medals, yet her conclusion applies to the Swedish material as well. Eric XIV merged tradition and fashion, and used this combination to his advantage.

Many of Eric XIV's actions and decisions, including medal art, came to build the foundation for numerous rulers to follow. During the seven years that Eric XIV reigned, the European Renaissance settled in Sweden, and even if certain tendencies of this movement were already traceable during Gustav I's reign, his son brought the cultural infusion to another level. In some way, Eric XIV's time in power can even be regarded as a paradigm shift, since his brothers would assume the ceremonial, contacts, rhetoric, and public-image production that Eric XIV established during his reign. Eric XIV did not invent the use of medals, as the practices were deeply rooted within society since antiquity. Issuing medals, like issuing coins, was bound to traditions and specific events, like victories, coronations, weddings, or funerals. But Eric XIV did firmly introduce medal art in Sweden, and thus provided the possibility to develop and adapt. This performative representation of issuing medals would remain for centuries to come.

To conclude, one notable role of medal art stands out, namely how Eric XIV employed it to underline his claim to the throne, his position as virtuous ruler, visually by portrait and emblem, and materially, by the precious metal and its execution. In short, he emphasised his regal image through the medal. Especially from an art-historical perspective, the medals and coins offer an additional layer to the visualisation of the Vasa ceremonial. The medal distributed at Gustav I's funeral, as well as those (probably) issued at Eric XIV's coronation, illustrate how this unprecedented medium was utilised as an aspect of Eric XIV's visual rhetoric. With the two examples of the funeral and the coronation, I have encircled two vital aspects, which are simultaneously values and roles of medals or 'display coins': *commemoration*, *legitimisation*, *representation*, and *giving*. These all-encompassing aspects were, are, and shall be vital to anyone who issues medals, and thus will remain, in different forms, constant companions throughout this thesis.

COMMUNICATING WITH THE MEDIUM: WEARING AND SHOWING MEDALS

So far, I have discussed how Eric XIV used the medals, which could be summarised as to commemorate and legitimise, to represent and to give. Nevertheless, the question remains what the recipients did with the items they received. What happened to the medal after it left the king's immediate orbit? This query might be answered by looking at other contemporary sources. A majority of sixteenth-century portraits, predominantly those depicting noblemen, indicate that wearing medals was a constant feature (*fig. 14–17*). Likewise, the medals previously discussed show indicators of eyelets, and the written sources, like Trolle's probate inventory, speak of chains in connection to a medal. These facts suggest that one specific usage of medals was to be worn and to be displayed. To some, this declaration might appear a self-evident statement. Like so many other practices of medals, they are only apparent to a few but enigmatic to many. Therefore, I will dwell on this aspect a little bit longer, and discuss wearing and showing medals and the various values attached to them.

The painted portrait and the medal: The symbolic communication of wearing a medal

Medals with chains should be worn around one's neck, and indeed if a person received such a medal, he or she would likely wish to show this, and better yet, memorialise this fact for future generations. One way to do so was to have a portrait painted, depicting oneself wearing the precious object. Thus did Klas Kristersson Horn (1517–1566). Horn was born of the union of the two ancient noble families, Horn and Sparre. Educated at the Pomeranian and the Swedish courts, Horn was head of a district in southern Finland, then, as a part of the Swedish realm, had a noteworthy military career. At Eric XIV's coronation, Horn was appointed baron.²⁰⁹ Horn, and his portrait, are fairly well known to researchers of the Swedish sixteenth century, yet a more thorough analysis of this painting has not been made so far. The portrait has merely been considered as a visual testament to Horn's appearance. Portraits, particularly historical ones, should not be taken as visual evidence per se, but need to be scrutinised, bearing in mind that they present a myriad of underlying layers of visual communication. By unravelling both of the more subtle, and the direct indicators, one might understand how the medal was a part of this highly





▲ FIG. 15: Prince Christian IV of Denmark (1577–1648), by Hans Knieper, c. 1585, oil on canvas. The prince wears a medal of his father Frederick II of Denmark (1534–1588). The Royal Danish Collection, Rosenborg Castle.

◀ FIG. 14: Portrait of Johann von Megen, artist unknown, 1622, oil on panel, 89 × 70.5 cm. National Museum in Warsaw.



▲ FIG. 16: Portrait of Erik Gustafsson Stenbock (1538–1602), artist and date unknown, oil on canvas, 84 × 73 cm. The medal could display Eric XIV or his brother John III. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

► FIG. 17: Portrait of Birgitte Gøye (1511–1574), attributed to Jacob Binck, 1550, oil on panel, 62 × 51 cm. The noblewoman wears next to her jewellery a medal as a sign of wealth. Det Nationalhistoriske Museum på Fredriksborg.

staged representation, and finally, what a sitter might have wished to communicate to contemporary and future beholders.

The portrait depicts Horn *en face*, wearing a black doublet with a high collar and a richly embroidered cloak with golden details and lined with fur (fig. 18).²¹⁰ The ruffles of his shirt touch his cheeks, and the pelted collar frames Horn's solemn face, thereby emphasising it even more. According to fashion, Horn wears a stiffened, gathered hat with a golden



FRW BIRGITTE
HER MAGNVS
RIGHES HOFF
ANN^o AETATIS

HERLOFF TROLLES
GØE DANMARCKIS
MESERS DATHER
SVAE 39



FIG. 18: Portrait of Klas Kristersson Horn af Åminne (1517–1566), artist and date unknown, oil on canvas, 100 × 75 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

and jewelled band. In his left hand, Horn holds a pair of leather gloves and points the signet ring on his index finger demonstratively towards the viewer.²¹¹ In his right hand, he clutches a ruffled cloth. The family's coat of arms, crest and helmet, painted on the right side next to Horn, confirm his identity and his noble status.²¹² Apart from Horn's steady gaze, the viewer's attention might be drawn towards the two heavy golden chains and the medal hanging around his neck.²¹³ The medal is attached to the upper chain, thereby fittingly enclosed by the two chains and Horn's pelted cloak. It indicates, both for today's beholder and a contemporary

viewer, that Horn was significant, as rare and expensive as the golden object around his neck. The design of the medal is hardly visible to the viewer, and it gives just a faint impression of a portrait because the motif on the medal was secondary. Instead, the beholder of Horn's portrait just needed to know that he possessed one. Ownership of a medal needed to be displayed, in particular during a time when conspicuous consumption was all-important. A medal embodied economic value, subtly signaling political value, again a form of visual rhetoric, as wealth was bound to political opportunity. Thus, Horn's status was demonstrated by several indicators—clothes, position, titles, and even body posture—and the medal would be part of this symbolic communication, as a form of self-fashioning.

Horn's portrait presents general traits of how a sixteenth-century nobleman should be represented, namely wearing opulent and exclusive fashion and visible markers of his position.²¹⁴ The medal, gloves, cloth, and coat of arms were all common attributes of wealth, visible in many portraits of sixteenth-century European nobility. Portraits of noble families were often copied and sent to other noble houses, to members of the same family, or to be placed in different residences, which explains why it was preferable to utilise the same visual communication, a similarity of attributes. Overall, the portraits of Renaissance rulers, and consequently those depicting noblemen (since these oriented themselves according to trends manifested by their superiors), seldom depicted more than the individual and symbols of their position. The portraits most often displayed general features of royalty and power, but the sitter's attire could provide subtle hints as to why the painting was commissioned. For example, armour could provide clues to specific battles, like Titian's equestrian portrait of Charles V, finished in 1548. The painting presents common royal traits, but the Emperor's armour and his horse relate to a particular battle, namely the Battle of Mühlberg in 1547.²¹⁵ Thereby, general and specific features were connected, much in the same way as in Horn's portrait. Horn wears general indicators of status, but the medal provides the clue referring to his achievement of something extraordinary.

TRANSFERRING STATUS: REWARDING A MEDAL. Medals were given by a ruler as a gift to a specific person for a specific reason. He or she could bestow a medal in order to reward a subordinate, and Horn had indeed done something that was worth rewarding. On the 7th of July 1565, Horn

defeated the Danish fleet in a decisive blow at Bornholm and Rügen.²¹⁶ The success ensured Sweden's supremacy in the Baltic Sea that year. Seventeenth-century historian Eric Jöransson Tegel mentions the victory of 1565 in his chronicle of Eric XIV, and reports that it was grandiosely celebrated.²¹⁷ According to Tegel, Eric XIV personally welcomed the men who fought victoriously against the Danes upon their return to Stockholm, and greatly rewarded these men with golden chains, silver collars, and bracelets.²¹⁸ The gifts that Tegel mentions, collars and bracelets, support the assumption that a medal exchange was involved at the festivity celebrating Horn's triumph, yet, besides the portrait, no written evidence verifies the claim that he received a medal. During that period, medals were custom-made objects and not mass-produced. This does not preclude the possibility that Eric XIV kept some in his privy purse, ready to utilise whenever he needed them. Inventories of his brother Charles IX attest that he kept medals in his treasury, and likewise, his expenses prove that the same items were somehow distributed.²¹⁹ The same could apply to Eric XIV. Another likelihood could be that Eric XIV or his court artist had kept the previously-used mould, and thereby could have medals fashioned as needed. Horn's victory would have been such a moment.

In a sense, Horn's reward can be considered as an early form of the military award. The custom of rewarding military successes was deeply rooted, again since antiquity, since rewarding the men responsible for military victories was essential to maintaining royal supremacy.²²⁰ Next to *spolia* (war booty), military men were rewarded with money, lands, and titles. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, military rewards became associated with one specific object, a medal. Art historian Hubert Winkler, who has studied practices relating to images in early modern Europe, states that beginning in the sixteenth century, monetary gifts were replaced with medals or coins of unusually high denomination.²²¹ For example, the *ungerska gyllen*, a currency ordered by Eric XIV in 1568, could be mentioned as such a special coin, and the hole drilled through the coin indicates its use as a medal. (*fig. 19*). Such coins and medals were often called *Gnadenpfennige* ('coin of grace'), to underline the honour given the recipient of such a gift. The German name *Gnadenmedaille* or *Gnadenpfennig* (in Swedish *nådepennig*) would reflect the medal's significance.²²² The economic reward that these medals entailed was implicit, and supposed to demonstrate the sovereign's gracious affection given for the sake of commemoration. Since the objects were made of precious



FIG. 19: Eric XIV, 1 *ungersk gyllen*, 1568. The *ungersk gyllen* was the first gold coin minted in Sweden. Ø 24 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

metal, metal worth a particular sum of money, the recipient could liquefy the gift in a time of need. A ruler would not necessarily be offended if his subordinates melted or traded his gifts, since one purpose was to provide a sophisticated replacement for mere money. However, a medal was something more than just a fancy coin. In addition to its monetary value, the medal was a sign of status, and therefore scholars have labelled it *social currency* or *currency of fame*.²²³ These labels capture the social value of the medal; possessing and showing them implied cultural capital. A medal's potential was to transfer more than mere monetary value. Its visibility places it among the visual rhetoric and other courtly displays of status. For Horn, visibly wearing the medal and further memorialising it with a portrait would undoubtedly be more valuable than converting it to money, since the object around his neck highlighted his elevated position. This intangible value, a promise of eternal fame, would be priceless. Thus, a medal was not a simple compensation for military deeds but an award of honour.

Bearing this argument in mind leads to the suggestion that Horn was gratified with a medal or a coin with an unusual high denomination, a *Gnadenpfennig*, to honour his triumph. The portrait of Horn further corroborates this postulation because it shows him wearing a medal. The victory over the Danes was a significant step in Horn's military career, and it would have been the obvious choice to be portrayed with an object that memorialised this event. Art historian Peter Gillgren presumes that

the original portrait might be dated to 1566, which would match well with his success the previous year.²²⁴ Through the medal, a contemporary viewer could easily detect that Horn was in the king's good graces, and probably must have done something extraordinary to deserve the precious item. Horn was already a member of the highest elite; still, his position and prestige were tightly entwined with Eric XIV's goodwill and fortune. The medal would signify this relationship, and perhaps dependence, and prove Horn's loyalty towards his king. Next to Horn's expensive clothing, the medal attached to the golden chains would also underline his wealth. Thus, the medal's visual rhetoric, previously firmly connected to Eric XIV, was transferred to Horn. The symbolic potential of the medal, the reward, now worked in favour of Horn.

As suggested above, the king might have bestowed a previously fashioned medal or specially ordered one for Horn. Since the image on the medal is hardly visible to the portrait's viewer, it remains unknown which of Eric XIV's medals Horn wears. According to Hildebrand, Eric XIV only issued items depicting the emblem and his portrait in combination with his father's likeness.²²⁵ Presumably, the item pictured around Horn's neck might be one of these, but the reverse is hidden to the viewer's eyes, and the beholder only sees the faint image of a male bearded person, seen from the right. That Eric XIV might have rewarded Horn with any of his medals indicates that it was not imperative that the reverse matched or referred to the occasion. Instead, the medal needed to represent the depicted (portrait) and confer the sitter's status (coat of arms or emblem). Therefore, I propose that the *exchange* of the medal, its *material* and the *portrait* were the central aspects, and not necessarily an appropriate image on the reverse.

Horn's portrait underlines the importance of the obverse, and demonstrates the general tendency of medal depictions in portraiture. The portrait-side of the medal was always visible because it held more significance for the recipient than the reverse, not least because presenting the obverse would be the politically wise choice. By demonstrating a visible obverse, the sitter could point to the connection between himself and the issuer of the medal. The contemporary beholder would know who the current ruler was, and to whom the sitter had sworn allegiance. Since most portraits, like Horn's, already displayed the sitter's coat of arms, depicting another coat of arms as, for example, on the reverse of a medal, would prove confusing. Furthermore, besides the painted portraits, an indicator

of the obverse's significance is how medals were labelled during the late sixteenth century. In protocols instructing the ordering of medals, the items are continuously indicated as *controphei* (image, likeness). On the one hand, this indicates the imperativeness of the portrait's legal character and resemblance to its subject, and on the other hand, it suggests that the medal was considered to be a portable portrait. The resemblance to the person portrayed was attached to the universal element of representation, which points to both the utility and the value of the medal. Hence, showing the obverse of the medal worn by a sitter, and thereby the issuer's likeness and identity, was an essential element of portraiture. Finally, through everyday use, a medal might have flipped over often, back to front, mirroring the body's movements, and leaving to chance which side might be visible at any moment.

In 1567, Eric XIV's fortunes changed drastically.²²⁶ While suffering from persecutory delusions, he murdered members of the influential noble family, the Stures, whom he had previously incarcerated for treason.²²⁷ The incident came to be called the 'Sture murders', and led to immense conflicts between Eric XIV and the nobility, which worsened when he married his mistress, the commoner Karin Månsdotter, to legitimise their son Gustav. In late 1568, Eric XIV's brothers John and Charles (later John III and Charles IX), together with the nobility, rebelled against Eric XIV.²²⁸ He was deposed and imprisoned for several years until he was killed by arsenic poisoning in 1577, presumably at the order by his brother, John III, who had succeeded him on the throne.²²⁹ Although John III's right to the throne was based on family relation to Eric XIV (and, of course, to their father, Gustav I), he continuously emphasised the degeneracy of his brother.²³⁰ According to John III, Eric XIV had been a mad tyrant, and by overthrowing him, John III saved the kingdom from further destruction.²³¹ John III constructed this narrative to sanction the fact that he usurped the throne, and it has remained a dominant factor in the way Eric XIV and his reign have been viewed to date.²³² (For instance, the bloodstained clothes of the Stures were saved, and today are exhibited in Uppsala Cathedral, providing evidence in the chronicle of Eric XIV's crimes.) These controversies might also be one reason why so few of Eric XIV's medals, in comparison to those of his brothers, are extant. They were probably melted down, and the metal reused, since no one wanted to be associated with the so-called 'mad king'. It might not have been a conscious *damnatio memoriae*, but such tendencies are undoubtedly visible. Despite Eric XIV's

controversial ending, his established visualisation mechanics worked as guidelines for John III and Charles IX. Medal art had come to stay.

As for Horn, Eric XIV's fate did not affect him or the lustre of his reward, at least not during Horn's lifetime. In 1566, a year after his great triumph, Horn died suddenly of the plague. Nevertheless, had he not passed away before Eric XIV's political fall, he might just have melted his medal too, because wearing a medal of the deposed king would, from a political point of view, not be a wise choice. Regarding the portrait, Eric XIV's former connection would not harm Horn's reputation, because as previously demonstrated, the visual rhetoric of the medal had transferred to Horn and was now part of *his* self-fashioning. The portrait demonstrated that Horn had achieved an extraordinary feat, which was rewarded with a medal, and that he had the means to keep the object. That was the vital fact that contemporary and future beholders of his portrait needed to know.

A double portrait and a jewel:

A representative accessory

Horn's portrait illustrated that medals were worn, preferably attached to a chain around one's neck. The following example will elaborate on this theme, but move from the portrait to the physical object, the medal. I will discuss how such objects could be fashioned, and how this might have affected the way they were handled and displayed.

The item used for this analysis depicts Eric XIV's younger half-brother and successor, John III (1537–1592), and his wife, the Polish princess Catherine Jagiellon (1526–1583) (*fig. 20*).²³³ It is a representative example of a medal made during the second half of the sixteenth century in terms of size, material, and execution. The method of casting and gilding creates an uneven surface which sometimes even shows traces of bubbles. On the depicted item, a lattice of small dots surrounds the portraits, since a preferred technique was to refine and even out the surface with a chisel. The illustrated object is enclosed by volutes, resembling architectural details, on the right and left sides, and the top shows similarly elaborated ornaments, on which a big eyelet is fastened. The decorations surrounding the medal

FIG. 20: Attributed to Willem Boy, John III and Catharina Jagiellon, early 1570s, 47.68 × 38.92 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.



would be attached after the medal was cast. Its lower part is equally adorned and combined with an additional small aperture. Comparison of this object with similarly executed medals from the same period shows that it would be plausible that gemstones were attached to the lower eyelet.

One side of the medal depicts John III's bust, seen from the left, dressed in contemporary style, in a cuirass with a high neckline. His portrait appears schematic, while it presents various details such as individual strands of hair, decorations on the breastplate, or the ruff that meanders tightly under John III's chin and the buttoned collar below. John III's title, written in Latin, encircles his portrait and reads: IOHANNES:III:D:G:-SVE:GOTH:WAND:REX [John, by God's grace king of Swedes, Goths and Vandals]. The king's features, clothing, and especially his characteristic long beard, which touches the inscription and the medal's rim, strongly resemble Gustav I's and Eric XIV's earlier medals designed by Willem Boy, who at that time was still in the Vasa family's service.²³⁴ The similarity implies that the object might have been executed after a mould previously shaped by the Flemish sculptor. The other side depicts Catherine Jagiellon, also clothed in a contemporary fashion. Catherine is dressed in a high-collared gown with puffed shoulders. Her braided hair is covered by a decorated hat and a caul, and around her neck hang several necklaces. Even if the medal cannot fully transmit the notion of colours or fabrics, Catherine's wardrobe gives an expensive and elaborated expression. Similar to John III's portrait, Catherine's likeness is surrounded by her title written in Latin: KATRINA:D:G:SVEC:GOT:WAND:RIGIN [Catherine, by God's grace queen of Swedes, Goths and Vandals].

The previously discussed medals showed emblems or coat of arms on the reverse, yet this item combines two portraits. Thereby the medal resembles the pictorial tradition of double-sided portraits, or diptychs.²³⁵ The couple portrait, a portrait genre, likewise leaned on a long pictorial tradition, and was common during the Renaissance. It signalled a couple's connection and their marital status, and such couple portraits could be rendered as jugate portraits, or as the medal demonstrates, as a double-sided portrait, one portrait on each side joined together as one. John III, as king, also had medals fashioned that depicted him alone, without the image of his wife on the reverse.²³⁶ Therefore, the question arises, what function did medals thematising the queen fulfil? Did they serve a similar political value as those depicting the king alone, or did the queen consort's portrait have a consequence for the use of the medal?

John III's marriage to Catherine is representative of how inter-dynastic marriages could entail cultural transfer.²³⁷ Like other queen consorts, Catherine was raised in different court culture, practised a different denomination of Christianity than that of her adopted country, and brought staff as well as personal belongings (art, tapestries, tableware) to Sweden with her upon her marriage.²³⁸ With Catherine, a new wave of Renaissance fashion, especially in art and architecture, washed over Sweden. These cultural influences also inspired the design of medals, as, for example, in the case of the depicted object, which was unusually adorned for Swedish standards at this time. (Of course, the connection to the Polish court also brought conflicts, which would have far-reaching consequences for Swedish throne succession.²³⁹) During her time as queen consort, Catherine attained influence in Swedish politics, religion, and cultural development.²⁴⁰ Catherine involved herself in Swedish foreign affairs. She had contacts in the Polish court, among her sisters, who also married European royalty, in the Papal Curia in Rome, and with her mother, Bona Sforza (1494–1557), she even had claims on the Sforza inheritance in the Kingdom of Naples.²⁴¹ By her ties to the Polish court and, through her mother, to the Italian nobility, Catherine held immense social and cultural capital. She was John III's equal, insofar as possible as a woman and his wife during that time.

Apart from the king's sister Cecilia (1540–1627), Catherine is the first woman depicted on a Swedish medal.²⁴² According to Elias Brenner, Carl Reinhold Berch, and Hildebrand, Catherine's portrait appears in two different medal editions, and her portrait is combined with John III's likeness. Depending on which of these three numismatists one might refer to, as they make slightly different calculations on that matter, John III is depicted on two to six editions.²⁴³ Regardless of whether John III would be depicted on two or six editions, excluding those of him in combination with his wife's portrait, more medals exist displaying him than Catherine. This calculation points to a general trend: the queen consorts are less frequently represented on medals than their male counterparts. Further, the images thematising Catherine show no apparent political iconography as, for example, does those of Caterina Sforza (1463–1509), who, after she became a widow, used male attributes to accentuate her power. On the other hand, Catherine had not the same political opportunities; she never held a ruling position, so she did not need similar visual rhetoric.²⁴⁴ Medals of contemporary Italian noblewomen, such as Isabella d'Este

(1474–1539) or Caterina Sforza, highlighted their features and character, much like Catherine's mother Bona Sforza's, who on her medals combined her portrait with mythological topoi and heraldic devices.²⁴⁵ Such heraldry and emblems also reflected their family ties; these medals thereby demonstrated not only the women's status, but also their houses' entitlements. In comparison, Catherine's medals do not indicate that she created her own political persona. Instead, on her medals, the portrait moves in the limelight.

Apart from the undeniable social hierarchy demonstrated by John III's status as king and Catherine's husband, the item's visual execution illustrates equality between the two, lacking any visual hierarchy between the two portraits. The medal has no apparent reverse, in the sense that one side is more prominent than the other. It was left to the recipient of the medal to decide which portrait he or she would like to display. The object combines two individuals, and especially the two sides of the medal emphasise John III's and Catherine's connection. Hence, a medal depicting both John III and Catherine did not display a lesser political value than objects portraying the king alone, with a political emblem on the reverse. Instead, it could be suggested that the object combining their portraits had a broader range of possible recipients, since both king and queen could act as issuer of the medal. As previously demonstrated with Horn, carrying a medal signalled a bond between the person carrying the object and the one depicted on it. Here, that depicted person could be both John III *and* Catherine. Since both men and women did wear medals, and since an object carrying two portraits (because of two possible issuers) would have a broad range of recipients, the possibilities for use would increase.

WEARING A MEDAL VISIBLY AND ATTENTIVELY. One recipient of such a medal is mentioned in the following previously unpublished payment account for items ordered from goldsmiths by John III. It reads in translation:

To H.M. On the 13th of July with Mr. Andrew Keith given to Mrs. Sophia Ponti the portrait on one side of H.M. and on the other our gracious Queen with compartment around and from the mint master's own 8 diamonds and 32 rubies.²⁴⁶

The register reveals that the medal was to be given to *fru Sophia her Ponti*, John III's daughter Sophia Johansdotter Gyllenhielm (ca.1556–1583), born

out of wedlock.²⁴⁷ (Sophia married the military commander and nobleman Pontus de la Gardie in 1580, which explains why she is indicated with the epithet *her Ponti*, Mrs Ponti.²⁴⁸) The identity of the recipient, a close member of the family, suggests that this was a personal gift, but the record does not disclose why Sophia should receive the medal. Several possible circumstances could have urged John III or Catherine to give his daughter such a jewel. It could have been in combination with her wedding, her name day, the birth of her son, or for no particular reason. The order was billed on the 13th of July, but the account specifies no year.²⁴⁹ Sophia's name, *Ponti*, suggests that she must have received the medal after her marriage to the nobleman in 1580, and before she died in 1583.

The source tells that Sophia's medal was an expensive gift. First, the medal itself was made of gold and weighed twenty *cronor* (probably the gold coin French *écu à la couronne*). Second, it was adorned with eight diamonds (eight *daler* a piece) and thirty-two rubies (one *daler* a piece), and lastly, the mint master received thirty *daler* as payment for his labour.²⁵⁰ In comparison, an ordinary worker earned hardly two *daler* a week.²⁵¹ Thus, both the object and the craft to cast a medal were costly. Further, the account provides some information on the medal's execution. One side depicted His Royal Majesty, John III, and the other side 'Our Gracious Queen', Catherine Jagiellon, and it was richly decorated with gemstones. Thus, next to the double-portraits, the adornment of the item appears as a noteworthy aspect. The compartment of the medal, the elegantly executed frame, suggests that adornment was significant because if it were not, the gold might as well have been used for something else. The adornment made it into a piece of fashionable jewellery, and a representative accessory.

This claim can be strengthened by looking into the royal inventories, as well as viewing Renaissance portraits of noblemen and noblewomen, for instance that of Catherine's sister Anna Jagiellon (1523–1596), queen of Poland, here portrayed as widow (*fig. 21*). Such portraits demonstrate that the sitters were much inclined towards expensive and extravagantly executed jewellery. Elaborate medals, fashioned as expensive jewellery, appear to have been standard accessories.²⁵² Catherine herself seems to have possessed several such medals fashioned as luxurious jewellery. Out of the roughly thirty-five necklaces and pendants listed in her inventory, about nine are labelled as 'gull belhe', (golden picture) enclosed with gemstones.²⁵³ This list of jewellery hardly reveals any information regard-

ing the objects' visual design, as mostly only the material and the type of gemstones are specified, but the 'golden picture' could indicate that Catherine likely owned a medal similar to the item depicted above. Likewise, the inventories of John III's precious possessions refer to objects that could be interpreted as medals.²⁵⁴ (He also gifted such adorned medals to men. On the 14th of July 1585, his groom of the chamber, Mauritz Ribbing (c. 1570–1600), received a medal with diamonds, emeralds and rubies.²⁵⁵) With regard to the visual grandeur of the medal, expensive and appealing, and the double-portraits, I argue that the medal was to be worn visibly attached to a chain as a pendant, more or less as a jewel.

The gemstones would be fastened at the compartment, perhaps hanging like glittering drops from the rim of the medal. While the medal was worn, the surface of its high relief would be exposed to frequent abrasion, increasing wear on the material, so that it would scrape on the breast of the person wearing it. The material's weight would be heavy enough for the medal to hang steadily on the chain, but light enough that it would move dynamically with the person wearing it, swaying slowly back and forth against their clothes. The rubies and diamonds might even tinkle as the medal's wearer moved, adding an auditory aspect to the visual and sensual experience. Further, the gemstones and gold would reflect light and become sparkling accessory on the layer of clothes. In addition to the visual and auditory aspects, a medal might also encourage tactile engagement. Returning to the item described above, its surface appears unusually worn. The king's and queen's features are worn away, and at the same time, they appear exceptionally shiny, like parts of votive sculptures, which have been repeatedly kissed and touched.²⁵⁶ The person (or people, since the medal may have been inherited or changed hands) who once owned this particular item must have caressed and touched it many times.

Numerous medals remaining in various collections exhibit visible traces of having been touched and felt, like the medal displaying John III and Catherine. The metal's characteristics to absorb body temperature allowed the medal to become more than a lifeless object. It became an

FIG. 21: Portrait of Anna Jagiellon (1523–1596), Queen of Poland, by Marcin Kober (c. 1550–1598), oil on canvas, c. 1590, 103.2 × 77.2 cm. The portrait shows her wearing a widow's veil and a golden cross as well as a golden coin or medal around her neck. Her right hand is placed next to the royal crown. National Museum in Warsaw.

ANNA IAGELLONIA . D. G. .
REGINA POLLONIÆ . ETC.





object that a person engaged with. Thus, the tactile engagement, enhanced by the relief and the material qualities of the medal, were vital aspects of wearing them.²⁵⁷ Such a notion might appear strange to a modern viewer, but during the sixteenth century, this was not odd at all.²⁵⁸ According to art historian Adrian Randolph, active viewing was central to Renaissance art and created relations to objects more generally, and indeed, visual encounters highly involved the human senses.²⁵⁹ The awareness of art's sensory impact is, for instance, illustrated on the printed sheet deriving from a painter's introduction to the variety of a human's body, *Scuola perfetta per imparare a disegnare tutto il corpo humano*.²⁶⁰ It demonstrates a handshake, hands playing the spinet, a hand wiping with a cloth, and one that holds a medal, thumbing the image embedded on the object (*fig. 22*). This example from the *Scuola* illustrates the fascination and the craving to understand the variety of human senses.

Skin contact with various material appears to be most captivating. For a medal's viewer, it was only possible to look at one side at a time; a medal could not be handled without touching and flipping it. With regard to this argument, and the illustration of the *Scuola*, the recipient would then not only engage with a medal by looking at it and touching it, but he would also establish a physical connection to the object, and, by extension, to the person portrayed on the medal. The medal represented the connection between the portrayed individual and the person carrying the object, and their connection was enforced by handling and touching. Considering this aspect of visual and tactile entanglement, the visual rhetoric thus transmitted through a medal would be particularly potent.

To sum up, what Sophia did with her medal, which side she wore visibly or which value it held to her, remains unknown.²⁶¹ It may have been a cherished memento of her father, or a mere jewel, one of many that she could bestow upon friends or courtiers. The same applies to the unknown recipient of the depicted item. However, what Sophia's medal and the illustrated item demonstrate is that such objects were aimed to be worn conspicuously and visibly.

FIG. 22: Instructions for artists and drawing manuals after Agostino Carracci. Engraved by Francesco Brizio. *Scuola perfetta per imparare a disegnare tutto il corpo humano* [...], 1599–1629. 26.8 × 21.3 cm. The Mary and Robyn Campbell Fund for Art Books.

*A portable portrait:
The medal as a visual testimony*

Gustav I's medal commemorated him through a portrait; Eric XIV represented himself through a portrait connected to an emblem. Horn's reward raised his status by focusing on the portrait side of the medal, and lastly, Sophia's fashionable double-sided portrait jewel demonstrated how a medal enforces a sensory experience. Besides commemoration and representation, a portrait could have a practical function as a visual testimony. The next example closes the circle of the Vasa brothers and their power struggle, as it represents the last of the three to become a king, namely Charles IX (1550–1611). I will discuss one of his medals and analyse how it could have been used as a visual authentication.

Charles IX was the youngest son of Gustav I and Margareta Eriksdotter Leijonhufvud, and at least as ambitious as his brothers, but his kingship was not straightforward. According to the succession pact, John III's son, Sigismund III of Vasa (1566–1632), would succeed his father. Through his mother, Catherine, Sigismund had claims to the Polish crown, and in view of this prospect, Sigismund had been raised Catholic. Eventually, he was elected and crowned in Kraków in 1587, and in 1594, he was also crowned in Uppsala. Sigismund left for Poland only months after his coronation in Uppsala, and installed his uncle, Duke Charles, as Lord Protector during his absence. An absent king, who had a different confession than the one practised in Sweden, played into Charles' hands, and he seized this opportunity. The duke enforced propaganda and military campaigns against Sigismund, who was deposed in 1599, and in 1600, the Estates declared Charles IX King of Sweden.²⁶²

While Charles was still duke, he relentlessly nourished and strengthened his influence, and as shown in previous examples, bestowing medals on allies was one way to achieve this.²⁶³ In June 1595, Charles sent his son Carl Carlsson Gyllenhielm on a mission 'uti i fremande lande' (to foreign lands). With him, Gyllenhielm carried Charles' portrait, a medal.²⁶⁴ Like Sophia, Gyllenhielm was born out of wedlock but acknowledged and ennobled, and family ties made him perhaps Charles's most loyal and trusted servant. Sending his son with a medal to negotiate on his behalf might just have been one of Charles' steps on his way to the throne.

Charles's instructions for the goldsmith were efficient. For Gyllenhielm's mission, he wanted his son to have a golden chain and a *conterfei*,

a medal, of the biggest size. Second, if such a medal could not be finished before his son's departure, Gyllenhielm should receive gold and a cast or a lead impression, so that Gyllenhielm could have it fashioned abroad.²⁶⁵ That Gyllenhielm could either receive a finished medal, or gold and a cast, suggests that whoever manufactured the object was not deemed central, but that the *correct portrait, size, and material* were important indeed. Besides the material, gold, Charles' instruction does not reveal the medals' visual features. Gold transmitted economic value, as well as qualities like lustre and luxurious flair, but what kind of golden image did the duke wish to present? This question might be answered quickly because, up to his coronation in 1607, Charles issued the same type of medals.²⁶⁶ They all displayed his portrait on the obverse and a Tetragrammaton surrounded by his motto, *God is my solace*, written in German or Latin on the reverse. I suggest that Gyllenhielm probably received a medal that resembled the depicted item (*fig. 23*).

The item is oval, made of silver and additionally gilded. The surface appears uneven and shows several traces of the chisel.²⁶⁷ It represents Charles in profile, wearing short hair, although a bit longer in the neck, a goatee, and a pointed moustache that covers most of his chin. Charles is dressed in a cuirass with an ornamented breastplate with a straight and open collar, and a sash is decoratively draped on his shoulder. The fabric of the sash covers the lower part of the medal leaving only the upper part for his name and title: CAROLVS. D[ei]. G[ratia]. REGN[i]. SV[eciae]. HAER[editarius] SYDER[manniae] DV[x]. [Charles, by God's grace hereditary prince of Sweden and duke of Södermanland]. The reverse displays the sign of Yahweh, the Tetragrammaton, in a circle surrounded by straight and wavy beams, resembling a sun, and the thin straight lines within the beams enforce the impression of rays. The space between the beams is filled with thin straight lines, which shape an additional circle around the sun. Charles' motto, *God is my solace*, is written in German GOTT IST MEIN TROST, and each word is placed inside an elaborated cartouche that encloses the sun. The gaps between the words are filled with flowers and garlands. The words start from the top of the image, one word following the rim of the medal, until the medal's lower part, where the text is too worn to make out.

In comparison to other of Charles' medals, this spot appears as a conundrum. It might have feature numbers indicating the year in which the medal was cast; another possibility is that the unclear figures are no



FIG. 23.1: Medal of Charles IX, 1590s (?), cast, gilded silver, 34.34 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

numbers at all, but four Greek letters, namely ἴσος, the Greek word *isos* which implies 'like' or 'equal to'.²⁶⁸ The Greek word would then refer to the Tetragrammaton in the middle and complete Charles' motto, as it would read as *isos* (equal to God/Christ) *is my solace*. Lastly, the Tetragrammaton in the middle could likewise complete Charles' motto, and thus readings of the emblem are possible. The reading would be much similar to Eric XIV's motto on the coronation medal, which was also completed by the sign of Yahweh. Like Eric XIV, Charles employed a scholar who aided him in this endeavour. In 1590, the polyhistor Johannes Bureus (1568–1652) entered Charles' service and designed a series of coins, which carry a similar symbol. Therefore, it is highly likely that his expertise also was sought out in the creation of medals.²⁶⁹

For today's viewer, Charles' emblem might appear as a simple symbol, but to a sixteenth-century beholder, it provided additional information about the sitter. Such an *impresa*, an emblem combined with a personal motto, could be compared to a coat of arms. It was a visual extension of



FIG. 23.2: Medal of Charles IX, 1590s (?), cast, gilded silver, 34.34 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

the sitter, and the motto even enabled the portrait to speak.²⁷⁰ Overall, the medal was an innovative combination of portrait and symbol, and again, the two sides enforced the visual mechanics of representation and gave Charles double exposure. Representation was, after all, essential to a person aspiring to the throne.

VIEWING THE MEDAL. What remains unclear is the purpose of the medal. Was it aimed for Gyllenhielm himself? Or was he instructed to bestow it upon someone on his father's behalf? The source does tell that Charles wanted to equip Gyllenhielm accordingly for a high-status encounter. By its material, gold, the medal would demonstrate Gyllenhielm's status and wealth while carrying it, and the same if he were to bestow it upon one of Charles' allies. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the object would also serve another rather practical function. Gyllenhielm could use it as a visual aid when describing his father. Charles' likeness on the obverse, and the language used on the reverse, show differences from

the medals of his brothers. Long beards, such as those of his father and brothers, had gone out of fashion. His clothing, especially his straight collar, illustrates a change. Presumably, Charles was inclined towards German fashion, which the language also suggests. Charles had, since his first marriage to Anna Maria of the Palatine (1561–1589), connection to the German lands. While visiting the court of his father-in-law, Louis VI Elector Palatine, in 1583, Charles even commissioned medals in Heidelberg, perhaps in order to donate them to his new family members.²⁷¹ According to art historian Sixten Strömbom, Charles also exchanged painted portraits with the Duke in Heidelberg. Louis had asked for representations of the Vasa family for his portrait collection.²⁷² The paintings and the medals point to the imperativeness of portraits within the family and diplomatic encounters. Perhaps Charles sent Gyllenhielm with his medal to Heidelberg to nourish his political alliances. Regardless of where Gyllenhielm was heading, he was on a diplomatic mission, and images and gifts were an essential part of this enterprise.

During the Renaissance, portraits, grand like a painting or small like a medal, became preferred gifts, as they were able to provide lucid account of another monarch's physical appearance.²⁷³ Back at home, diplomats had to give a full report of their doings, and most of all, describe fashions and looks, but even during their stay abroad, they were asked to attest to their lords' appearances. Gyllenhielm could have described his father's likeness by showing the medal. Charles' characteristically groomed moustache (and later also his hairstyle) is always very distinctly reproduced in all of his portraits. It distinguishes him amongst his brothers, and this might have been one aspect that Gyllenhielm underlined. While viewing the medal, the emblem on the reverse might also have invited comment.

In the absence of a Swedish source for such a medallic description, I will present the witness account of Antonio da Trezzo, emissary of Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, at the Court of Naples in 1456. He gives colourful testimony regarding how his lord's medal was discussed. In a letter to Sforza, Antonio writes about a meeting with the king of Naples, Alfonso II Magnanimo. 'When I entered the room, the king requested me and gave me a lead medal, which he held in his hand, and asked me if I recognised the portrait.' Antonio replied that it was a portrait of Francesco Sforza, at which the king prompted him to look closely at the medal and verify if it *really* resembled the duke. 'I responded that it was most close

to nature.' Satisfied, the king stated that Sforza had a pleasing appearance and handed the medal to others sitting around the table so they could take a look at it. Sforza's likeness was passed around and meticulously inspected until someone at the table did not recognise Sforza. His face had become round. Antonio countered that the duke was not fat but well-shaped. Kindly laughing at this response, the dignitaries cheerfully went on discussing the medal, in particular the duke's round constitution, which they deduced was due to Lombardy's richness [since being corpulent was a sign of wealth]. Antonio's account continued with the other dignitaries commenting on their physical appearance, and the Duke of Salerno, as well as the Patriarch of Alexandria, asked Antonio if Sforza could send them his medal.²⁷⁴ All in all, engaging with medals was a social experience; they passed hands, were worn, exhibited, and discussed.²⁷⁵

Antonio's letter is a lucid testimony of the interest in people's physical appearance. Most likely, the King of Naples provided the emissary with a likeness of himself in return, which Antonio then could present to his lord. While abroad, Gyllenhielm may have been asked to provide similar testimony based on Charles' medal. The visual evidence points to a recurring insight of this chapter; namely, the portrait is of particular importance. Not only is the portrait a vital part of the medal, but it appears to have held an imperative significance for its issuer and the recipient. The portrait captured and enforced the medal's essences, representation and commemoration. However, whether Charles' medal ever was discussed, or if Gyllenhielm had to show it to underline a description of his father's appearance, remains uncertain. The vital aspect is that he could use it as visual testimony. The medal was a luxuriously fashioned portable portrait, which included many of the favourable aspects of its more prominent counterpart, the painted portrait, but in a convenient size.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter shows that many conclusions regarding sixteenth-century politics, diplomatic affairs, religious beliefs, human relations, and, not least, material and visual culture, can be drawn from the medals. This conclusion applies not only to Sweden, but is valid across Europe. The phenomenon of medal art was a pan-European trend that exhibits local characteristics in style and execution, but the general roles and functions of the medal can be described as universal communication. Commemora-

tion, legitimisation, representation, giving, wearing and discussing medals were practices all over Europe. The Vasa princes acted like their Renaissance peers and employed all visual media available to them, not least the medals. The examples of medals commissioned by Eric XIV, John III, and Catherine, as well as Charles, have shown that the medium engaged with the viewer on several levels, including its portrait, its tactile properties, and the mnemonic engagement it enforced. Hence, a medal was able to involve several of the viewer's senses, and this ability was what the issuer of the medal sought. He or she not only wanted to be seen but, most of all, to be remembered. The materiality—metal, form, and size—enforced a tangible experience, and economic value conveyed in the precious material situated the viewer in a hierarchical order. The material transferred this longing for lasting fame, but the human mind, the medal's recipient, likewise needed the visual aid, the portrait.

All in all, despite any uncertainty regarding what use recipients made of their medals, several facts regarding these objects can be established. Apart from the aspect of haptic viewing, which conjures the experience of the medal's penetrative power, the medal communicates with the viewer on several levels, visual and intellectual, by the portrait in combination with an image and a written message. The medium of the medal was put into use at the Swedish court, and the purposes for which it was employed during the sixteenth century continued, developed and changed during the following centuries.

II

Expanding the realm and internationalising style

As in the previous century, politics and culture affected the use and production of medals. In 1630, the Swedish army entered the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), which not only changed how Sweden and its sovereign were viewed across Europe, but also had far-reaching consequences for the country's expansion. Sweden developed from a regional authority, hardly recognised by its peers, to a so-called 'great power', acknowledged and discussed by all of European royalty.²⁷⁶ Notably, King Gustavus Adolphus (1594–1632) and his daughter and heir, Christina (1626–1689), played an essential role in Swedish and European politics. As a consequence, culture and medal art were unquestionably linked to these two individuals.

Like the early Vasa kings, Gustavus and Christina were forced to act in a challenging political landscape. When Gustavus Adolphus came to power in 1611, he was still a minor, and when Christina became queen, in 1632, she was only six years old. In addition to these unstable conditions, the Polish branch of the Vasa family still claimed the Swedish throne, while an all-encompassing war raged across Europe. With the war came benefits due to increased contact with central Europe, and this cultural infusion, represented by the war booty that arrived at the Swedish castles, influenced the spread of medal art.

This chapter will illustrate how the significances and practices of medal art developed during the early seventeenth century. While the early Vasa period exemplified the small-scale production of medals, the early seventeenth century demonstrated a notable increase in engagement with these objects. Medals appear more frequently in written sources, paintings, broadsheets, and even books, and a wide variety of shapes and designs are produced. Early seventeenth-century medals also indicate new uses and significances, beyond the mere suggestion of prominence and economic resources. The objects are tightly connected to visual culture

and practices, such as Baroque iconography or memory culture. Nonetheless, increased engagement does not alter the strong hierarchy that still determines the use of medals, and the users are still predominantly people closest to the king or queen, like the courtiers, nobility, military commanders, ambassadors, and even court artists.

This chapter will focus on the developments of medal art and revisit two overarching topics, commemoration, and gift-giving. First, it will address the medals' role within the mediation of Gustavus Adolphus' *memoria*. Second, it will discuss Christina's involvement in medal art, and scrutinise the conundrum of medal gifts. It will provide examples of both a welcome and an unwelcome medal gift, and discuss changing attitudes towards these objects as well as their connection to portraits in miniature.

COMMEMORATING: MATERIALISATION AND VISUALISATION OF ABSENCE

Gustavus Adolphus was one of the most well-known monarchs of the first half of the seventeenth century, and the visual media that represented him enhanced his reputation. Medals were a part of this body of representative media, and after his death, they aided his *memoria*. In the following analysis, I will examine how the medals that depict him invited the viewer to interact with them, and how they reinforced his commemoration. But first, I must address the phenomenon of Gustavus Adolphus's persona, which influenced how his medals were used.

Gustavus Adolphus was one of the principal contenders of the Thirty Years' War. After two years of fighting, he and the Swedish armies had won decisive battles, most significantly at Breitenfeld in 1631, and turned the Protestant cause to their favour. According to the educational literary genre known as 'mirrors for princes', great deeds were essential to a prince's reputation. In *Il Principe* (1513/1532), Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) argues that a prince earns his honour by completing magnificent achievements, and Gustavus Adolphus had indeed achieved plenty.²⁷⁷ Gustavus Adolphus became highly adored in Protestant regions, and the new media landscape of the Thirty Years' War aided this exceptional image-making.²⁷⁸ His image appeared on all sorts of visual media and material culture, from pamphlets and panegyric writings to pill-boxes and medals.²⁷⁹

One notable aspect of Gustavus Adolphus' visual rhetoric is the interplay between illustrated printed sheets and medals. Both media were issued



FIG. 24: Engraving by Matthäus Merian the elder (1593–1650) showing Gustavus Adolphus on horseback, 1630s, 46.2 × 34.2 cm. Uppsala University Library.



FIG. 25: Gustavus Adolphus, 1630s, cast pewter, Ø 50.80 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

shortly after any noteworthy event to mediate Gustavus Adolphus' significance, and the images often show strong correlation. For instance, here, both medal and broadsheet depict the king as a triumphant military commander, holding his truncheon and effortlessly controlling his rearing horse, while a battle rages behind him (fig. 24–25).²⁸⁰ The interaction of text and image appeared on both, yet, on the medal, in a condensed version.²⁸¹ The king's personification of *miles christianus* [a Christian soldier] or *Löwe aus Mitternacht* [the Lion of the North] were recurring tropes. Visual media allowed for a high recognition factor, as they utilized the same symbols, narratives, and images.²⁸² The interaction among the visual media reveals an intention to communicate the same message to a broad audience. Several other prominent military leaders such as Albrecht von Wallenstein (1583–1634) and Johann Tserclaes, Count of Tilly (1559–1632), also figured in various media, although Gustavus Adolphus' presence



FIG. 26: Equestrian statuette by David Schwestermüller I in Augsburg c. 1633–1635. The horse's head can be removed and the statuette used as a goblet. Silver, partly gilded 43.5 × 24 × 33.5 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

dominated, not least because of the Swedish army's military successes.²⁸³ In addition, letters and archive sources show that he was very aware of the power his image. For example, correspondence between the king and his Lord High Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna (1583–1654), the mint masters, and others, indicates that medals were ordered to be given to ambassadors of Bohemia, Denmark, and England, but also to reward generals in the field.²⁸⁴ These images were not mere memorabilia but deliberate propaganda, communicating messages of victory and defaming the enemy. Thus, Gustavus Adolphus' visual rhetoric was well-established, and perhaps even reinforced, by himself and his allies, who thrived on the myth of the invincible war hero.²⁸⁵

Even after his death on the battlefield in Lützen on the 6th of November 1632, thematic imagery featuring Gustavus Adolphus did not disappear. His portrait continued to appear on broadsheets and a wide array of three-dimensional objects, including goblets, candlesticks, trinkets, and medals (*fig. 26*).²⁸⁶ The reason for this persistence was that images depicting Gustavus Adolphus maintained his memory, and his commemoration had two main functions. One was representation and legitimisation. The uncertainty following the king's demise urged varying parties, such as queen dowager Maria Eleonora of Brandenburg (1599–1655) and Axel Oxenstierna, to commemorate him. Like Eric XIV, they depended on the departed's king *memoria*. In general, no one possessed an absolute right to the departed king's image, but everyone associated with Gustavus Adolphus benefited from his fame. The other role of these images was as a vital part of mourning. They evoked the memory of the departed.

The following analysis will demonstrate how the medals reinforced these commemorative practices. The examples discussed include the medals that were manufactured for his funerals, and objects that were issued during Gustavus Adolphus' lifetime, but which were imbued with additional purpose after his death.

Establishing memoria: The many funeral medals

When a ruler died, they were given a grand funeral ceremony. Gustavus Adolphus had several. In addition to his funeral in Stockholm, in 1634, small processions and festivals of mourning were held shortly after his death in November 1632, and the year after. At almost all of these events,

Musquetierer im Leydt.

Musquetierer im Leydt

Teutsche Pfarrer.

Schmalische Pfarrer.

Trompetter und Heer Paucken.

Hr. Erich Guldentern. Räte und

Obriste.

Leute.

nanten.

O b r .

i s .

t e .

F r e y

H e r

r e n

S t a n

Hr. Carl von Horn.

Hr. Bernoff von Craylsheim.

Hr. Gabr. Gustafson Ochsenstj.

Kön. Frau Wittib im wagen.

Chür Brand: Gemaün.

Hr. Matthias Doop

Fraulein von Anhalt, und Mecklenb: Herzgin von Croß Mecklenb: und Braunschweig.

Hr. Curt Dietrich von Smar: 1840

Herren Räte, Residenten, Agenten, Medici, Secretarien und Cambley verordneten aller Chür und Fürstlichen officianten. etc.



Schüler.

Schüler.



Studenten von Gryphusvale

Schulmeister.



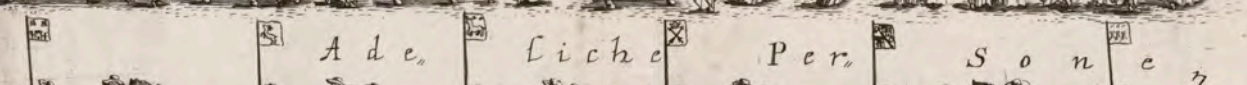
Officierer vom Adel.



Hohe officirer.



Hr. Leonh. Thyrstjahn



A d e

L i c h e

P e r

S o n e n



s P e r s o n e n



Abgesanten auch Chur: und Fürstliche Personen.

Anwesende Herren Reichs Räte.



Fre y Herren Edelleut und Officierer



Königl: Frauen Zimmer.

Anwesender Fürstinnen Adelsches Frauen Zimmer.



Herrn Bürgermeister der Städte von Stralsund, alten Stettin, Gryphusvale, Anklam etc.

Adelich Frauen Zimmer





▲ FIG. 28: 4 ducats, Gustavus Adolphus, 1633, Ø39.05 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

◀ FIG. 27: The engraving depicts the funeral procession in Wolgast in 1633. Johannes Narsius; Georg Hausmann, *Eygentlicher Abriß und warhafftige Beschreibung* [...] GUSTAVI MAGNI OBITU. EPITHAPHIUM MANES, 1633. Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, München.

commemorative coins or medals were issued in honour of the king.²⁸⁷ These objects shared a visual design that corresponded to the all-encompassing media that memorialized the departed king. Similar to Gustav I's funeral medal, the objects carried Gustavus Adolphus' image and were meant to honour the departed.

One of the festivities at which coins were issued was celebrated on the 16th of July 1633, in Wolgast (Pomerania, then a Swedish Dominion on the Baltic Sea). Since his death the previous year, the king's body had been kept on display in Wolgast, and now he was to be transferred to mainland Sweden. Maria Eleonora requested a symbolic royal ceremony and invited every essential Protestant dignitary in northern Germany to bid the king farewell.²⁸⁸ Hence, in addition to being an occasion to mourn Gustavus Adolphus, the procession in Wolgast was a display of splendour and hierarchy. The nobility processed according to their status in predefined positions, with the banners of their dominions waving next to them.²⁸⁹ In the middle of the procession, the king's embalmed body was carried under a baldachin accompanied by his wounded warhorse, Streiff.²⁹⁰ Before the king's body, and after the queen dowager's horse carriage, a bit further back in the procession, silver coins (1 and ½ *daler*) were cast among the crowd (*fig. 27*).²⁹¹ Such distributions of coins and medals with commemorative text and images, was standard procedure and added to the fame of the deceased individual.

Later that day, silver and gold coins were given to the nobility, including the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the Bishop of Bremen, the Duke of Pomerania, the Duke of Mecklenburg, the Duchess of Holstein, the Duchess of Braunschweig (Anna Sophia, Maria Eleonora's sister), and some Swedish officers.²⁹² One gold coin was reserved for Axel Oxenstierna, who could not attend the funeral procession, and Maria Eleonora herself kept several.²⁹³ In total, 2,328 silver and gold coins were distributed.²⁹⁴ They displayed the king on his *lit de parade* on the obverse, and on the reverse, the king sat in a chariot drawn by horses and crowned by two figures (*fig. 28*). The image presented on the Wolgast coins would be reused on funeral medals issued the following year in Stockholm.

In summer 1633, Gustavus Adolphus body was shipped to mainland Sweden, where he lay in state in Nyköping (south of Stockholm). Meanwhile, discussions concerning his funeral preparations continued. A recurring topic, debated in council meetings, was Sweden's dire financial situation due to the war. As late as January 1634, members of the council,

embarrassed to reveal the poverty of Sweden and Stockholm, decided not to invite foreign dignitaries to the funeral.²⁹⁵ Finally, in the summer of 1634, Gustavus Adolphus was transported to Stockholm, and buried at Riddarholmen Church on the 22nd of June 1634.²⁹⁶ A funeral procession accompanied the king's body from Nyköping to Stockholm. It must have resembled an ancient Roman procession; not only did the nobility (represented by a member of each noble family) as well as representatives of each of Sweden's provinces accompany the dead king, but also students, clerics, horses, musketeers, and timpanists.²⁹⁷ Sixty people took turns, twenty at a time, carrying the royal body about a hundred kilometres from Nyköping to Stockholm.²⁹⁸ When the assemblage entered the city gates, Treasurer Hans Göransson joined the party and began tossing commemorative coins to the people.²⁹⁹ The coins added to the shared understanding of the occasion, since spectators received something to remember the king by and experienced the authority's generosity.³⁰⁰ The streets of Stockholm were decorated with garlands, and war trophies from Breitenfeld and Lützen contributed additional pomp.³⁰¹ The funeral engaged the whole city and its inhabitants, and images and objects honouring the king were everywhere.³⁰² Compared with other reports on contemporary funeral processions, such public clamour followed convention as a display of absolute magnitude.³⁰³ The same day, funeral services were held in the German dominions, and the coins, broadsheets, and other visual media were distributed there as well. Thereby, collective mourning was established, which constructed the cultural memory of Gustavus Adolphus.

At the funeral feast in the castle, the attending guests were graced with commemorative gifts. According to Johan Grönstedt, display-coins 'as good as four daler, a piece' were bestowed upon the persons who 'troubled themselves with carrying the coffin' (*fig. 29*).³⁰⁴ Comparing this statement with the archive sources commenting on the funeral procession, sixty persons would have received such a coin. These sixty individuals were just a fraction of people who obtained a commemorative coin with a similar image. The kitchen staff, and in principle, everyone involved in the funeral, was granted a commemorative coin or medal.³⁰⁵ This list would include several hundred people, rewarded with coins, minted in different values corresponding to their social standing.³⁰⁶ Of course, the most elite received the most impressive display-coins.

The number of objects given to the people points to the fact that Maria Eleonora and the regency government wanted to communicate with an



FIG. 29: Commemorative coin or medal for Gustavus Adolphus' funeral, minted for 4 *riksdaler* in 1633, Ø71.87 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.



FIG. 30: Gustavus Adolphus and Maria Eleonora, early 1630s, 26.19 × 20.17 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

audience as large as possible, even if they did not invite foreign dignitaries. Notably, the queen dowager seems to have been actively involved in the memorial services of her departed husband. At the funeral in Stockholm, she distributed twenty medals to selected individuals, which carried her own and her husband's portraits (*fig. 30*).³⁰⁷ That she bestowed medals to select guests demonstrates she was well aware of the gift's political potential, and that she was not as crippled by heartache as her critics have suggested.³⁰⁸ Her excessive grief following Gustavus Adolphus' death was considered an annoyance, and her behaviour drew repeated comment.

However, I would suggest that these medals and her public grief were part of a representative strategy.³⁰⁹ The funeral was a vital occasion to spread images, images that added to the visual language of the sovereign and the monarchy. Since Maria Eleonora found herself in an uncertain position after her husband's death, bestowing medals reminding the recipients of her connection to the departed king and her position as queen (dowager) would certainly reinforce her status. Like Eric XIV, who needed his father's *memoria* to reinforce his claim, Maria Eleonora would benefit from commemorating Gustavus Adolphus.

Strengthening the departed king's reputation would also aid the overall status of the Swedish government. Even though the Protestants had lost their champion, who left behind an under-aged female successor and a regency government, the Swedish authorities were well aware of the power that the legend of the glorious Gustavus Adolphus held. Yet, while neither Maria Eleonora nor the regency government could be sure how recipients would react to the medals portraying Gustavus Adolphus, the mere fact that they distributed medals aided in strengthening their position, since they depended on the departed king's popularity. Nevertheless, this popularity needed to be nourished by images. This all-encompassing communication had a threefold function: first, it was an economic reward signalling generosity and gratitude; second, it was a souvenir commemorating the funeral festivities; and third, and most importantly, it honoured Gustavus Adolphus. The coins and medals became a monument to the departed king. Although this portable monument was produced plentifully, each object would be an individual token for each person, something to cherish and remember the king by.³¹⁰ Thereby keeping the memory of Gustavus Adolphus alive.

MERGING VISUAL THEMES: THE BROADSHEET AND THE MEDAL. The medal issued at the funeral in Stockholm is one of the most sophisticated objects in the history of Swedish medal art, and with its size (ca. Ø80mm) and weight (in silver, ca. 140–150 grams) also one of the biggest silver medals ever depicting a Swedish monarch (*fig. 31*).³¹¹ The funeral medal reflects the influence of fashionable German Baroque medal arts, with its *horror vacui* surface comprised of powerful symbolism and religious rhetoric.³¹² The medal would have been a highly desirable object, and indeed, already among its contemporaries, it was mentioned as a remark-



FIG. 32: Gustavus Adolphus on lit de parade, 'In regem non mortuum' 1632, 36.3 × 26 cm. Uppsala University Library.

able piece of medal art.³¹³ The medal was executed by the German medal artist Sebastian Dadler (1586–1675), who designed several previous medals portraying Gustavus Adolphus.³¹⁴ Dadler largely retained the composition displayed on the Wolgast coins, most likely because of the compelling iconography of the image.³¹⁵

The medal's obverse depicts Gustavus Adolphus on a catafalque in the foreground. He is lying in state, dressed in full armour and an ermine coat. His crowned head and booted feet rest on pillows, and his hands are folded upon his chest. The gestures provide a peaceful impression, as if the king were sound asleep. Next to him lie sword, sceptre, and truncheon. An inscription below his body, which is separated from the scene, informs the viewer of the king's birth and date of demise: NATUS 9 DEC: ANNO 1594 GLORIOSE MORTUUS 6 NOV [embris]: AN[n]O 1632. [Born on the 9th of December 1594, gloriously died on the 6th of November 1632]. (The king on *lit de parade* was illustrated on several broadsheets (fig. 32)).



FIG. 31: Gustavus Adolphus funeral medal by Sebastian Dadler, 1634, Ø79.49 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.



The space above Gustavus Adolphus' supine body is crowded by putti, sitting on two diagonal bands of clouds watching two of their companions leading a small figure, shaped like a human, away from the king's torso. The little body represents the king's soul, which is carried to heaven and God. The presence of God is symbolised by the Tetragrammaton towering over the scene. The rays which enclose the Tetragrammaton are shining on the king's corpse, simultaneously transferring God's words *EUGE SERVE FIDELIS* [Well done, loyal servant].³¹⁶ Gustavus Adolphus is welcome in heaven. The symbolism of the human soul carried by an angel to God appears on another broadsheet, as well (*fig. 33*). Here, a figure is led through the clouds on the upper part of the image, next to God's right side.

In the background, on the image's left side, Gustavus Adolphus' troops are defeating the fleeing Imperial armies. In the skies above, a putto, carrying a flaming sword, holds a banner on which is written *VEL MORTUUM FUGIUNT* [even from the dead one they flee]. A thick branch of leaves separates the image from the inscription that presents the king's titles: *GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS MAGNUS DEI GRATIA SUECOR[um]: GOTHOR[um]: ET VANDALOR[um]: REX AUGUSTUS* [Gustavus Adolphus the Great, by God's grace august King of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals]. The name would be the first thing a viewer was supposed to encounter while regarding a medal, which is why this side is considered to be the obverse (in comparison to the Sigerodian broadsheet.)

The reverse depicts the king semi-enface, dressed in a royal ermine coat, sitting in a chariot drawn by three winged horses. The chariot is decorated with a lion, pointing to Gustavus Adolphus' epithet, Lion of the North, and upon the massive spoke's wheel, the artist Sebastian Dadler has signed his initials. The winged horses dash eagerly through the image, carting the chariot over a bizarre dragon-like figure. Their hooves and chariot wheels are crushing the beast's tail, its seven heads, and the back of a human body. The winged horses allude to Pegasus, who served Bellerophon in his quest to defeat the creature Chimera, and here the horses are likewise trampling on a similarly dangerous beast. The monstrous figure illustrated in the mayhem is the Whore of Babylon, described in the Book of Revelation as the source of all evil.³¹⁷ For Protestants, she personified the Catholic Church. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that Gustavus Adolphus, the Protestants' hero, was illustrated crushing her, the placeholder of the ultimate archenemy, the Anti-Christ: the pope himself. The Whore of Babylon appears on several propagandistic printed sheets

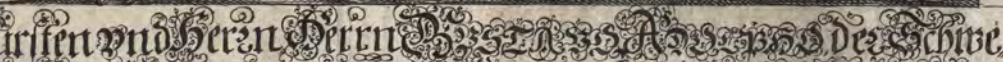
at that time, as for example, in the right upper corner on the illustrated broadsheet, probably printed in Augsburg (*fig. 33*).³¹⁸ Here, the figure is a well-dressed woman riding a seven-headed dragon.

Two allegorical figures flank Gustavus Adolphus, demonstrating his righteous cause by holding a laurel crown above the king's head.³¹⁹ The female figure to his left wears armour, a helmet, and with her left arm, she encloses a pillar, all characteristic attributes of the allegorical virtue of Fortitude. Fortitude is accompanied by a female figure wearing a crown of twelve stars. This crown identifies her as the woman described in the Book of Revelation, who was clothed with the sun, the moon under her feet, and a crown of twelve stars on her head.³²⁰ She personifies the *Protestant Religion* or *True Religion*. On the printed sheet, she is depicted on the left side, next to Gustavus Adolphus' right hand. The woman gave birth to a male child, who was prophesised to rule all nations, but while giving birth, she was confronted by the red seven-headed dragon, the Whore of Babylon. God saved the child, while Archangel Michael and his angels came to fight the dragon.³²¹ This fight also appears on the broadsheet, next to the Whore of Babylon on the right. On the medal, the narrative is displayed in a very condensed version. Here, the very same dragon is crushed by Gustav Adolphus' wagon, thereby associating him with the eventual triumph over evil.

The allegorical figure of Protestant Religion is equipped with further attributes that indicate the religious connotations of the medal. She holds a book in her right hand, on which an altar with a burning and smoking heart is placed.³²² The book stands for religious texts, such as the Bible or the Augsburg Confession, which in combination with the burning heart—Luther's emblem representing love for God—indicate the pursuit of knowledge of God [*streben nach Gotteserkenntnis*].³²³ In the same hand, tucked under the book, she grasps a cross on which a hat dangles, probably a version of the Phrygian cap, a common symbol of freedom.³²⁴ Hence, the image communicates to the beholder that the Protestant

► **FIG. 33:** This propagandistic broadsheet depicts Gustavus Adolphus as the saviour of the True Religion. The Whore of Babylon and her beast are depicted in the right upper corner. On the left side, the mystical woman described in the Book of Revelation [12] 'a woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet and a crown of twelve stars on her head' is represented. 35 × 45.5 cm. Uppsala University Library.

A decorative initial 'L' in a stylized, calligraphic font, followed by the page number '44' in a simple, handwritten style.



deroſelben Confession Berwandten, auß des Papiſti Tyranniſchen gewalt Erlediget und das reine wort Gottes Predigen laſſen. Anno Chriſti 1672.



FIG. 34: Engraving in Johannes Narsius, *Gustavus Saucius tragoedia*, 'Gustavus triumphans: Typus aurei numismatis Sigerodiani,' 1633. Uppsala University Library.

Religion and Fortitude assist Gustavus Adolphus, Christ's soldier, in his fight over evil. The king's death was compared to that of a martyr, and according to the medal, he would come and conquer even from beyond the grave. Sweden was not defeated or vulnerable because its king, even in death, would return and fight for a righteous cause.

The medal displays extraordinary craftsmanship. The elaborate relief enhances the scenery and provides the illusion of soft clouds, fabric, the pelt of the king's ermine coat, feathers on the winged horses, and dragon scale. The materiality and the tactile surface enhance the visual perception and the image's iconography. The surface gives evident texture and plasticity to the figures and allows the beholder to detect all details despite the *horror vacui*. Thereby, the technical quality of the medal supports the iconographic message.

All in all, the image's origin is complex and illustrates again how visual media could interact and mediate a similar image. It displays a potpourri of visual themes, *the Whore of Babylon*, *True Religion*, *Gustavus Adolphus as triumphator*, et cetera. Both Elias Brenner and Carl Reinhold Berch tried to pin down the source of the image, and were convinced that it and its Latin inscriptions derived from the German artillery officer David Friedrich von Siegroth (under the pseudonym Christijanus Gustaphilis Bernardinus M.D.).³²⁵ Their suggestion was inspired by another broadsheet, from 1632/33, offering consolation upon the king's death, which

displayed an image similar to that depicted on the commemorative coins issued in Wolgast (in an extension to the funeral medal).³²⁶ The image is enclosed by two circles, which reminds one of a numismatic object, and the inscription reads ‘TYPUS AUREI NUMISMATIS SIGERODIANI’ [loosely translated to, Sigerodian gold coin], which explains Brenner’s and Berch’s claim (*fig. 34*).³²⁷ The printed sheet displays the king sitting in a chariot drawn by two eagles, crowned by allegorical figures of Free Religion and Justice on the one hand, and the dead king and two putti on the other hand.³²⁸ The way the image was framed, as a coin or medal, was highly unusual for broadsheets. According to Gustaf Edward Klemming, Siegroth never had a medal manufactured, yet the design was meant to be transferred onto a coin or medal.³²⁹ Whether the Wolgast coin or the broadsheet came first, the iconography of Gustavus Adolphus as Triumphator and on *lit de parade* quickly became popular. The visual expressions influenced each other and were mutually reinforcing in an intertextual chain.³³⁰ The printed sheet, the coins, and the medals illustrate how different visual media could exist side by side.

THE IMAGE ACT OF THE MEDAL. Within this multitude of symbols and figures, the medal features an additional aspect that might attract the beholder’s attention, an *image act*.³³¹ Gustavus Adolphus, in the centre of the image, appears to be neither dead nor alive. His vivid face looks sternly forward, while his chest, one arm, and one leg are depicted skeleton-like. With his right hand, he raises a sword, and his skeletal left hand rests on an open Bible, where one (with considerable effort) can read: VERRBUM DOMINI MANET IN AETERNUM [God’s word remains for eternity]. A Latin inscription is written above the scene, ET VITA ET MORTE TRIUMPHO [Both in life and in death, I triumph]. The inscription complements Gustavus Adolphus’ depiction as being both dead and alive.

Furthermore, the inscription provides an additional layer of interpretation to the laurel wreath. Previously, as with Gustav I or Eric XIV, the laurel wreath alluded to victorious Roman Emperors. It was a symbol of victory. On this medal, I suggest that the laurel wreath has a supplementary meaning. The seventeenth-century viewer of the medal would know that the Book of Revelation promises a reward in the afterlife for the true believer, as it reads ‘be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee

a crown of life.³³² In the Emblemata, the laurel crown's double connotation is likewise mentioned, as it refers to glory *and* reward to the pious.³³³ Gustavus Adolphus had indeed been a loyal servant, as the viewer can read on the obverse and on the inscription along the edge of the medal: DUX GLORIOS[us] PRINC[eps] PIUS: HEROS INVICT[us] victor incomparab[ilis]: TRIUMPH[ator]: FELIX & GERM[aniae]: LIBERATOR A[nno] 1634 [Glorious leader, pious prince, undefeated hero, incomparable victor, fortunate triumphator and Germany's liberator, in the Year 1634]. Hence, Gustavus Adolphus is not only victorious but also rewarded with life itself.

Nevertheless, is this medal merely another example of Baroque religious propaganda, praising Gustavus Adolphus and the topos of *memento mori*? At first glance, it seems so, but the medal communicates something more. The obverse depicts Gustavus Adolphus dead, but on the medal's reverse, the king is portrayed as half-skeleton/half-human. Yet, this transition, his heavenly resurrection, is first established through the act of flipping the medal and contemplating the reverse. Gustavus Adolphus is able to bypass the challenge of death, and the conundrum of his resurrection or half-life is illustrated on this medal. The figures of Protestant Religion and Fortitude are crowning Gustavus Adolphus with a laurel wreath, thus showing the beholder that God has rewarded his loyal servant, not only with a crown of victory but also with the crown of life.³³⁴

Additionally, the medal combines the image with text and speech, and lets the king express himself: *In life and death, I triumph*, he says, providing reassuring and consoling words to the medal's recipient.³³⁵ This speech-act is reinforced by the fact that the king is portrayed semi-enface, which establishes eye contact between the viewer and Gustavus Adolphus. This presents a contrast to the obverse, and in fact, to most medals (and coins), where individuals are portrayed in profile, which prevents a dialogue between the beholder and the depicted. Instead, on this reverse, the spectator is able to engage with the king. Even if the visual rhetoric mediated through the medal presents the king as almost supernatural and beyond all earthly things, the distance between the medal's recipient and Gustavus Adolphus is surmounted by the image's strategy to let the king connect with and speak to the viewer. The medal demonstrates that he has been heavenly resurrected and will continue to fight for the Protestant cause. On the other hand, it serves as a consolation to its beholder. The object's materiality reinforced this solace, because the acts of looking at

and touching the medal would create an even closer link between the beholder and the depicted king.

*Mourning through the medal:
Tactile and visual commitment*

‘Many a brave man lived before Agamemnon, but all lie buried unwept and unknown in the long night because they lack a sacred bard’, Horace wrote in his poem addressed to Publius Lollius Maximus.³³⁶ By the sacred bard, Horace referred to a poet, such as himself. Yet, this assumes that any commemorative action would be sufficient to prevent a person from falling into oblivion. At the time of his death, Gustavus Adolphus was a well-known figure, considered a Protestant saint (as contradictory as the comparison might be), the hero of the Thirty Years’ War, and the saviour of the ‘true religion’. Visual culture relating to the king’s person spread like wildfire through Protestant northern Europe, and especially after his death, medals depicting him became even more sought-after.³³⁷ He would seem like a person whose commemoration was ensured, even without any kind of Horace, yet, as the poet so elegantly pointed out, the brave men who died before Agamemnon *were forgotten*. Gustavus Adolphus might have been forgotten, too if not bolstered by tales of his bravery, images, sculptures, and medals. Nevertheless, markers of commemoration were not enough. People had to interact with them in order to ensure that Gustavus Adolphus would not slip through their fragile memory. His stories needed to be retold and his images looked at, and the medals needed to be engaged with.

Hans Belting convincingly demonstrated in several writings, most notably in *Bild und Kult* (1990), that especially religious images tend to force viewers to engage with them. Early modern viewers were accustomed to religious imagery, in particular Catholic visual culture and the practices and traditions attached to these pictures. Images would cause reactions and animate the viewer to perform symbolic actions, like kissing, kneeling, or touching the image. In Sweden, the attitude towards religious images had undoubtedly changed after the Reformation, but modified relationships with images remained apparent.³³⁸ While Protestants frowned upon devotion towards religious images, a follower of this confession would still have *a priori* knowledge of engagement with this type of imagery.

Moreover, the funeral medal of Gustavus Adolphus exemplified that quotations of Catholic iconography and aesthetics, and adaptations of

religious themes were not unfamiliar.³³⁹ Thus, even if Protestants did not engage first-hand with religious images in a devotional manner, an intimate approach towards images, similar to the worship of icons, would still be possible.³⁴⁰ With the following example, I will explore how medals might have been used as devotional pictures, and argue that a viewer could employ these objects in a way that exceeds the traditional frameworks of merely looking at a medal.

A DEVOTIONAL PICTURE. Recipients could trade coins or medals for their economic value but might also, if they were able, keep the objects. The medal was meant to have and to hold. While the funeral medal bears the likeness of a high ranking figure, the recipients could bypass this visualised hierarchy as soon as they touched the medal. A commemorative coin issued in Wolgast illustrates precisely this type of engagement with an object: The coin is framed with a rim, which enables the recipient to wear the object around his or her neck (*fig. 35*). This item (which could stand for any of the medals or coins) indicates something more. The king's portrait is embedded in the metal, which the recipient is not only able to see, but also to trace with his fingers. Thanks to the metal, a medal possesses almost anthropomorphic characteristics, making it more than a mere lifeless metallic object.³⁴¹ As mentioned in the example of John III's and Catherine's double portrait, when touched, the medal absorbs body heat, which adds to the sensation of touching the object. This warmth could be translated into a kind sentiment towards the subject, or remind the person holding the medal of their bond with the individual portrayed. Metal reliquary objects were often worn close to the body, so that the miraculous artefact could work on the person carrying it.³⁴² Not all medals depicting Gustavus Adolphus were necessarily made of gold and silver, and cheap pewter or bronze casts exist as well. The metal object just needed to carry his image. The medal is far from a reliquary, but the physical experience can be explained in a similar manner. In order to evoke a memory of the person depicted, the viewer has to *feel* the medal and *look* at it. While holding the medal, one would touch both sides, even though he or she could only look at one side at a time. Their fingers might not translate all the medal's iconographic details, but they could aid the visual memory, and make a tactile reading of both sides simultaneously. This combination of tactile and visual experience made the medal unique and a very potent devotional picture.



FIG. 35: Commemorative coin minted for 2 riksdaler. The rim was attached later, Ø64.71 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

Further, the funeral medal's complex visual execution demanded an active tactile and visual commitment. In order to read all inscriptions, detect all details, and appreciate the sophisticated image, the viewer is required to engage more closely with the item than with, for example, the rather plain medals of the late sixteenth century, which showed coat of arms and emblems. Gustavus Adolphus' funeral medal forces the viewer to look carefully. The medals' execution had been adapted to the period's fashion, displaying Baroque art's inclination for sophisticated emblems and symbolism concerning death and religion. This vibrant visual programme reinforced the immortality of Gustavus Adolphus' name. Memory and mourning are enhanced through the experience of the sense of touch, as well as by looking. Belting argues that with a portrait panel, the body as a living medium is replaced by an artificial body, by which a worthy subject is remembered.³⁴³ Here, a medal can be substituted for the portrait panel. In Gustavus Adolphus' absence, the medal takes his place and figures as a stand-in.

Also, it has been pointed out that portraits—especially when rendered *en face*, creating the illusion of actual eye contact—provide a strong association to the depicted. Images are competent vehicles to mediate and arouse feeling, and the medal's material, form, two-sidedness, and size would even reinforce the talismanic, inherent connection to the subject. Its visual execution, the dead and resurrected king, is tightly connected to Gustavus Adolphus' so-called Protestant martyrdom. Even Christological

iconography, and topoi of *miles christianus*, are presented, as the king is depicted as both saviour and martyr. The medal, or coin, could be understood as an *icon*, a miraculous image, which not only represents the king but also captures his essence and becomes a physical manifestation of him. Although this interpretation does not correspond with the Protestant's opposition to the adoration of saints and relics, the item gives the impression of a devotional picture.³⁴⁴ The medal keeps a grip on its viewer because it is a link to the individual portrayed. The quality of the execution would be secondary as long as it depicted the departed king. Hence, the medal depicting Gustavus Adolphus would spark emotions associated with him. Looking, touching, and wearing the medal would remind the viewer of Gustavus Adolphus. Thus, the viewer's devotion to the departed king is channelled through the medal.

THE MEDAL'S AFTERLIFE: MONEY AND MEMENTO MORI. The inherent economic value of the medal's material remains as one challenge in relation to its function as an image carrier. It is both an advantage, embodied by all of the previously mentioned benefits associated with precious metal, such as endurance, sheen, representation, luxury, et cetera, but also a disadvantage, since its economic value permitted the owner to transfer it to currency. Yet would its association with the depicted prevent someone from melting or selling the medal? The next example will show that the recipient could embark on creative measures to keep the image while, at the same time, accessing the medal's material economic value.

While alive, Gustavus Adolphus distributed medal gifts, so-called *Gnadenpfennige*. As discussed with regard to Horn and Eric XIV, this habit was already established in earlier periods. During the seventeenth century, especially in Germany, it became customary to reward soldiers or trusted servants with medals, and in Sweden, this became standard practice at the beginning of the century.³⁴⁵ In late-sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Germany, these medals were mostly made of gold, and oval, and could be additionally framed and richly decorated. Besides being handy gifts, *Gnadenpfennige* had the advantage of not being bound to any specific rules, and they could be bestowed upon anyone at any place or time.³⁴⁶ The object's weight could be adapted to the recipient's rank and, in special cases, it could even be adorned with gems.³⁴⁷ Yet, during the seventeenth century, a standardised iconography of the *Gnadenpfennig* emerged that leaned on the pictorial traditions previously established. A *Gnadenpfennig*



FIG. 36: Gnadenpfennig of Gustavus Adolphus, cast in gold, 1631, 47.46 × 32.68 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

would include the prince's portrait on the obverse and his motto and emblem on the reverse, as seen on the following gold medal of Gustavus Adolphus (*fig. 36*).

The oval item depicts Gustavus Adolphus viewed from the right. He is portrayed wearing a laurel wreath, with short hair, a moustache, and a goatee. He is dressed elegantly, with a sizeable lace collar, which occupies most of his bust. The varying parts of the lace are individually executed, and are stretched over his cuirass and sash. His name and title surround the image GVST[avus]. ADOLP[hus]. D[ei]. G[ratia]. SVEC[orum]. GOT[thorum]. WAND[alorum]. REX. M[agnus]. P[rinceps]. F[inlandiae]. D[ux]. E[stoniae]. ET. C[aroliae]. i[n]griae. DO[minus]. [Gustavus Adolphus, by God's grace King of Swedes, Goths and Vandals, Grand Prince of Finland, Duke of Estonia and Karelia. Lord of Ingria]. This particular portrait is perhaps one of the most well-known, originally made as a portrait bust Hans von der Putt.³⁴⁸ It has been reproduced many times in various forms, and the medal is just one of these. The reverse depicts a lion viewed from the left, standing on its hind paws. It looks towards the viewer roaring, raising a sword with its right paw, holding a shield with its left, and standing on top of cannons, trumpets, and weapons. The lion is Gustavus



FIG. 37: Gnadepfennig of Gustavus Adolphus, cast in gold with emeralds, early 1630s, 42.30 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

Adolphus' emblem and mirrors the portrait on the obverse. Above the lion, his motto surrounds the upper part of the image: *DEO ET VICTRICIBVS ARMIS* [with God and victorious weapons]. This edition would be the standard reward medal given by Gustavus Adolphus.³⁴⁹ This particular *Gnadepfennig* is made of gold and weighs 27.08 grams, translating to approximately eight ducats.

In comparison, the following item weighs 16.60 grams (*fig. 37*). The lion on the reverse suggests that it initially had a very different form and size, most likely similar to the other *Gnadepfennig*. Here, the king's portrait has been cut out along the outline of his profile. A medal, not least due to its resilient material, was meant to endure time. It was not dependent on a specific time and place, but could be altered and changed to suit the recipient's preferences. Thereby, the recipient could keep the king's portrait and liquefy the material value of the object. This item's recipient must have entrusted a jeweller with cutting out the profile, relieving it of gold worth approximately half of the medal, four ducats. The extra money could be used to transform this medal into a more personal item, for example, by adding emeralds to his laurel wreath. Decorating the king's portrait might have been a way to show devotion, but it also distinguished



FIG. 38: Gnadenpfennig/jewel depicting Gustavus Adolphus, gold and enamel, 70 × 58 mm. Economy museum, Royal Coin Cabinet (SHM), Stockholm.

oneself and one's medal from others. Moreover, the eyelet on the lower part of the item suggests that further adornment was added to the object, pearls, other precious stones, or perhaps a skull.

Skulls embodied the trope of *vanitas*, and were a common aspect of Baroque mourning culture, and thus an ideal addition to a medal. All over Europe, skulls symbolised death and appeared in various circumstances, paintings, epitaphs, or medals to call attention to life's impermanence.³⁵⁰ After Gustavus Adolphus' death, a skull and crossbones were repeatedly combined with his portrait, as shown on this elaborately executed portrait-jewel (*fig. 38*). Records indicate that Maria Eleonora ordered a medal with her own and Gustavus Adolphus' portrait, with an attached skull.³⁵¹ Likewise, several members of Gustavus Adolphus' military, such as Captain Daniel Goodrick (1597–1635) and Colonel Nils Assersson Mannerskiöld (1586–1655), carried his medal with a skull fastened on it (*fig. 39–40*).³⁵²

As these two portraits demonstrate, medals could have various shapes and forms, but the essential factor was Gustavus Adolphus' image and a



▲ **FIG. 39:** Portrait of Nils Assersson Mannerskiöld, oil on canvas, 1634. Mannerskiöld wears a medal of Gustavus Adolphus with a skull attached to it. Private collection, Adelsnäs.

► **FIG. 40:** Portrait of Daniel Goodricke, artist unknown, 1634, oil on canvas, 109.5 × 84 cm. Goodricke wears a Gnadenpfennig with a skull attached to it. York Museum.

ÆTATIS SVÆ 37
ANNO 1654



skull. The medal and the painted portraits were ways to associate themselves with the warrior king, which again would benefit their self-fashioning, as Gustavus Adolphus' fame would be associated with them. Since the memory of the king was linked to this aspect of self-fashioning, nourishing it was vital. Goodrick's medal, a profile-portrait of Gustavus Adolphus, hangs from a black ribbon underneath his right armpit. At first, it is hardly visible against his similarly coloured buff coat, and only a closer look reveals the detailed features of the king, and the skull and crossbones attached to Gustavus Adolphus' portrait bust. The king's lace collar and his laurel wreath are coloured, most likely enamelled. The skull, in addition to the black ribbon, indicates that the king was already deceased when Goodrick's portrait was made, further confirmed by the date, 1634, painted at his right side. In comparison, Mannerskiöld wears an oval silver medal attached to a thick golden chain that runs diagonally across his chest. The medal depicts the departed king's portrait bust *en face*, and his features are clearly rendered. Like Goodrick, Mannerskiöld carries his medal on a black ribbon and with a skull hanging from it.

How and when Mannerskiöld and Goodrick received their medals remains unknown, but it is indisputable that they acted according to Baroque custom by wearing a medal with a skull. A medal with a skull combined representation, commemoration, and mourning, and was a contemporary fashionable adornment, all vital aspects of Baroque visual culture. European Baroque art is often associated with power and representation, but it also harbours the constant topics of *memento mori* [remember that you are mortal]. Death occupied peoples' minds, visible in poetry, music and any sort of Baroque visual culture, and even notions such as *artes moriendi* [the art of dying] were commonplace.³⁵³ Due to the religious schism, Protestants and Catholics viewed life after death differently, but they still shared a common understanding that the departed should be mourned and honoured. Public mourning, images, and objects connected to the departed were essential aspects of this Baroque culture of death and memory.³⁵⁴ A medal with a skull had the advantage that it demonstrated both public and private mourning. A person could show the medal to others, while in a private moment caressing it and contemplating on the individual.

Portraits of people wearing medals, as well as the objects themselves, demonstrate an active engagement with the medals that depicted the king. Mannerskiöld and Goodrick most certainly interacted with their medal, not least by the mundane action of fastening the object on their clothes.

The need to engage with things that remind of their beloved departed, and especially the longing to materialise absence, appears as a central aspect of mourning.³⁵⁵ To look at pictures, sense smells, or touch items that the departed once owned closes the distance between loss and reality, and a medal would combine several aspects of materialising absence; it depicted the departed, and in some cases, the medal was given to the recipient from the person now departed. Thereby, the medal was able to mediate between the living and the dead. Furthermore, it allowed private and individual mourning, as the recipient could keep the object close to oneself and the body.

Between the memorial service of Gustav I and Gustavus Adolphus, seventy-four years had passed. Some aspects remained, such as bearing medals on a chain, an ideal way to treasure the memory of the king, yet other aspects had changed. The coins and medals produced for Gustavus Adolphus' funeral were included in a grand visual enterprise that mediated the tale of the Protestant champion. The increased use of visual media during the Thirty Years' War affected the use of medals. Medals were not only a princely gift that represented and commemorated the depicted, but one of the available physical channels that transferred visual rhetoric and propaganda. Nonetheless, the medals were also a vital aspect of Baroque mourning culture.

To conclude, even though the immense medal production and the martyr cult relating to Gustavus Adolphus is notable compared to his contemporaries, the overarching traits and practices, such as the increased mediation of prominent figures, the interaction of visual media, the individualized alteration of medals, and public mourning, were common across the whole of Europe during the early seventeenth century. To return to Horace's quote, Gustavus Adolphus was indeed not buried unwept and unknown, especially not if the attending public received one of his medals, a medal that would commemorate his fame for posterity.

REPRESENTING AND GIVING

Queen Christina employed medal art similarly to her predecessors, mainly for self-fashioning. Since these mechanisms have already been touched upon, this practice will be given less attention, and the focus lies instead on the changes in design that Christina introduced. Queen Christina's attentiveness towards arts and culture is well known, and thus it is not

surprising that she was personally engaged in the manufacture of her coins and medals. For this reason, her medals have also attracted interest and inspired various interpretations.³⁵⁶ In the following section, I will address her involvement in the development of medal art, and the results of changes made during her rule. In addition, I will revisit the complexity of the courtly gift and, based on a portrait and a diary, discuss the various implications that a medal gift could entail.

New artists and new design

During the early seventeenth century, the popularity of medal art increased considerably. Particularly in German-speaking countries, medals were widespread. Cities like Augsburg and Nurnberg nurtured the production of these luxury goods, which were sold across Europe. For instance, extant letters between Philipp Hainhofer (1578–1647), an Augsburg art merchant, and his customers, illuminate the procedure of ordering medals.³⁵⁷ The correspondents discuss the objects' execution in detail, from the portrait to each individual gemstone. Consequently, quite a few medals issued in Sweden, and worn by Swedish noblemen, were forged outside the realm.³⁵⁸ Sweden's involvement in the Thirty Years' War ensured the continuous flow of these luxury goods, and soon, demand for these objects led to the desire to manufacture medals closer to the court. To employ one's own medal artist was, in principle, almost standard amongst early modern royal courts, providing the additional advantage that a nearby medal artist could quickly carry out a client's wishes without the delay of long correspondence.³⁵⁹ The engravers in Stockholm were, however, less skilled than their peers working in the German city-states, and no medal artist had yet established themselves so far north with the closest medal artists worked in Riga or Gdańsk.³⁶⁰ Hence, a demand for medal artists and engravers in Sweden was apparent, and Christina's coronation, in 1650, certainly provided another reason to seek artists closer to court. For her, medals were a means to create and mediate her persona— that of a 'Nordic Minerva'—and therefore, she needed competent medallists.

Besides Christina's cultural and artistic interest, and her desire for convenient access to an engraver, other reasons prompted her to hire medal artists. First, I suggest that Christina was no longer satisfied with medals of Dadler, whom she had employed so far. She desired a less visually cluttered, more antique-inspired and spare iconography.³⁶¹ Dadler's works



FIG. 41: 1 riksdaler issued by Christina, struck silver, 1643, Ø 43.52 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

represented an emblematic visual programme, like Gustavus Adolphus' funeral medal, which is why he might not have had the ability to meet her demands.³⁶² Her desire for imagery with an antique flair urged her to go directly to the source. She ordered her diplomat, Mathias Palbitzki, who was supposed to negotiate in the Swedish-Polish conflict in Venice in 1649, to continue to Rome, in order to investigate the possibility to manufacture medals there, or to hire a medallist.³⁶³ Second, Christina was dissatisfied with the work of the engravers situated in Stockholm, which she criticised several times in 1647. She speaks of 'evil dies', which portray her as 'not clean', and, determined, she requests that the mintmaster employ better workers who would not cause her any distress.³⁶⁴ An example of the coins minted in 1647 might illustrate her irritation (fig. 41). Her portrait is poorly engraved, and depicts Christina in an unflattering manner. Her wish for a medallist and a new engraver was carried out, and within short order Johan Rethe (c. 1620–1682) of Riga, Sebastian Dadler's former apprentice, travelled to Stockholm, as well as Erich Parise (died approx. 1666), who arrived from Rome.³⁶⁵

ANTIQUE IMAGERY. Parise, who arrived straight from Rome, could meet Christina's new demands. The medals, which he most likely rendered after her instructions, show a very different design than those made by Dadler. I will present two of his works to underline this argument. The first is a silver medal that shows Christina's portrait in profile from the left, with clear cut lines. She wears a laurel wreath and elegantly braided



FIG. 42: Erich Parise, coronation medal, struck silver, 1650, Ø 42 mm.
Economy museum, Royal Coin Cabinet (SHM), Stockholm.

hair, and one single strand of hair and the ribbons of the wreath are curled at her neck (*fig. 42*). Her hair is dressed in antique style, braided with a headband and fastened with ribbons in a bun at the back of her head. This hairstyle would have been unusual for that time, as can be seen by her portrayal on the coin. The inscription is straightforward, *CHRISTINA REGINA* [Queen Christina]. The reverse displays two female allegories facing each other. Both are depicted in a *contra post*, and dressed in antique-inspired clothes, toga-like fabrics draped around their bodies, which accentuate their female figure. The female on the left is turned towards the viewer, while looking at the woman next to her. She holds a steering oar in her right hand, and carries a horn of plenty, a cornucopia, in her left arm, tucking it close to her chest. This is the allegorical figure, *Fortune*, the personification of luck. The person on the right is depicted *semi-en face*, and looks as if she would walk towards Fortune. She grasps a twig with her right hand, and with her left, she lifts her dress as if she wanted to prevent herself from stumbling over the fabric. The twig in her hand, probably a palm branch, identifies her as the allegorical personification of *Peace*.³⁶⁶ Fortune and Peace are walking side by side, watching over Christina's reign.

Christina was a keen collector of ancient coins, and it is quite plausible that she sought inspiration from the Roman role models.³⁶⁷ As the following examples illustrate, both *Fortuna* and *Pax* are frequently depicted on Roman coins, although never together (*fig. 43–44*). On the coin, *Fortuna* carries a cornucopia in her left hand, and holds a steering wheel with her



FIG. 43: 1 *As* issued in 88–89 by Domitian (Titus Flavius Caesar Domitianus Augustus) (51–96), bronze. The coin depicts Fortuna standing to the left with a rudder and cornucopia. Ø28.64 mm, Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.



FIG. 44: 1 *Antoninianus* issued in 260–268 by Postumus (M. Cassianus Latinus Postumus) (mid 3rd century AD), struck silver. The coin depicts Pax walking to the left, holding an olive branch and a sceptre. Ø21.45 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

right, and Pax is depicted rushing with a olive twig. On Christina's medal, these two figures are joined together, thereby evoking the antique imagery while still carrying the message of prosperity. To make new interpretations of antique role models was quite fashionable during the so-called Baroque classical period. By wearing the laurel wreath, Christina is depicted as a Roman Emperor, embodying all the strength and virtue of that title, which would be particularly suitable since she probably issued this edition in connection to her coronation, on the 20th of October

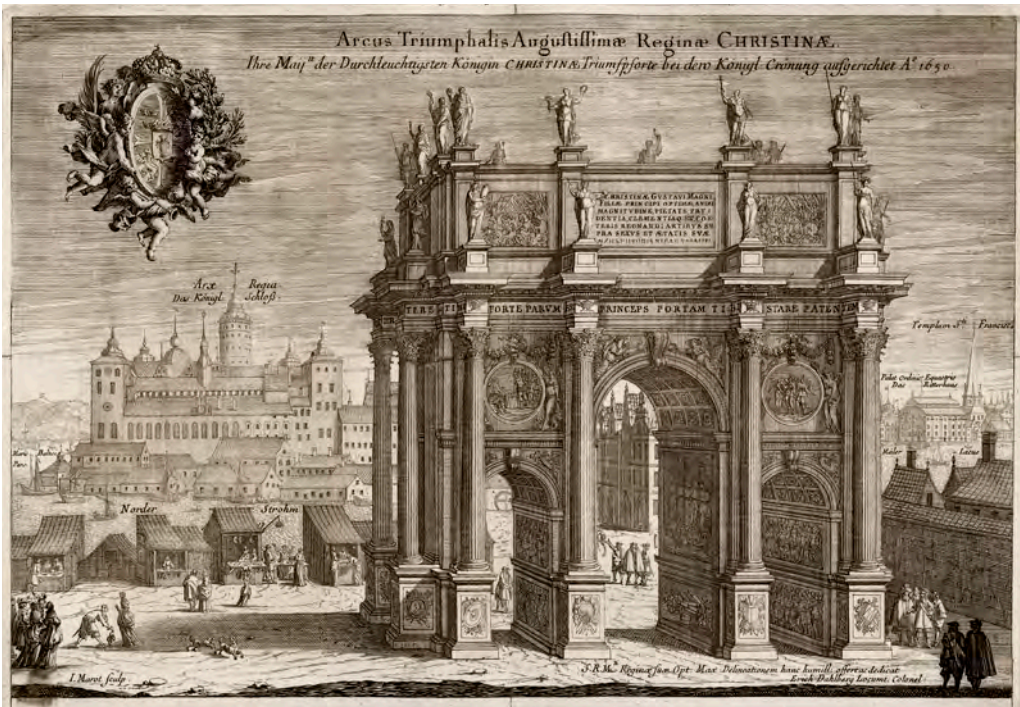


FIG. 45: Queen Christina's triumphal arch engraving by Jean Marot in Erik Dahlberg's *Suecia antiqua et hodierna*, 1667. The triumphal arch was raised in Stockholm and was made of wood, canvas and papier mâché and remained until 1664. Swedish Royal Library.

1650.³⁶⁸ At her coronation, she employed antique-inspired imagery and customs on several levels, such as the triumphal arch that had been raised and the thousands of silver medals that were tossed to the public (*fig. 45*).³⁶⁹ Like Eric XIV, by issuing medals, Christina showed generosity and abundance and could simultaneously emphasise her learned persona with the iconography that her portrait combined with Peace and Fortune entailed.

Parise, who had studied in Rome, would have been familiar with this type of imagery, and appears to have been deeply involved in Christina's new medal design. Like Boy under the Vasa princes, Parise seems to have been highly appreciated by Christina, and worked directly at her command. Even when several of Christina's coronation medals disappeared, after he had taken them to his lodgings this elevated position does not seem to have been endangered.³⁷⁰ Parise was put under supervision at the mint, but did



FIG. 46: Medal by Erich Parise depicts Queen Christina combined with a sun, around 1650, struck silver, Ø 47.55 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

not lose his job, which might indicated that Parise's skills were wanted and needed. Johan Rethe, the engraver and medal artist from Riga, was given more assignments, yet, since Rethe was not trained in the antique image tradition, he did not threaten the security of Parise's position.³⁷¹

It is seldom that archival sources reveal medal designs, but one rare exception is Parise's receipts, which leads to the second example of Christina's new design. In addition to the receipts for the coronation medals, Parise also billed the manufacture of 20 golden 'medals with sun', which would become another example of her new imagery.³⁷² According to Hildebrand, only one surviving item made of gold exists today that matches the receipts' description (found in the Gotha collection, Germany). However, several medals with the same iconography, but made of silver, have survived, which permits analysis of the image that was firstly introduced at Christina's coronation. This silver medal portrays Christina as the goddess Minerva, depicted from the right, wearing an antique-inspired helmet (*fig. 46*). The helmet is ornamented with acanthus leaves, decorated with a dolphin head on its front and visor, and a longitudinal ridge runs on its back. Her hair is tucked under the helmet, leaving only single strains of hair visible around her cheeks and on her neck. In front of her face, a single laurel branch is depicted, and behind her, simply her name is stated, CHRISTINA. The reverse illustrates a sun that, with its rays, covers the whole surface. The sun has a human face, eyes, nose, and mouth, and looks directly at the viewer.

At first sight, a mere sun could be perceived as a tedious image, but the subject is elaborate and communicates on several levels. The sun is a recognised symbol within the iconography of early modern rulers, and its tradition is traceable to Ancient Egypt, Greece, the Roman Empire, and the Renaissance.³⁷³ Christina's famous colleague, the French king, Louis XIV (1638–1715), also compared himself to the sun, and did so frequently on medals.³⁷⁴ Thus, Christina follows a well-established tradition by comparing herself to the sun, life-bringer and centre of the universe. The sun was a straightforward symbol and easy to comprehend, but for the educated beholder it was charged with underlying cultural connotations. Moreover, Christina's sun medal is a development of portrait medals combined with a coat of arms. It is a condensed description of Christina, as it presents her name, her portrait, and her emblem. That Christina viewed the sun medal as a suitable representation of herself is not least demonstrated by the fact that she continued to issue medals with a similar design, even after her abdication.³⁷⁵

Christina's re-use of the sun-dies after her coronation points to a general trend. Medals that carried a universal design were, in principle, not bound to an event, and Christina, or any seventeenth-century ruler, could bestow them whenever they needed. Thereby, a medal from the same edition could be a coin of grace, or a display coin. It all depended on the context. When it comes to this particular edition, these medals were given to a select few, and only produced on demand. For instance, in May 1651, Parise was ordered to forge a gold medal worth 90 ducats, and the goldsmith Jürgen Dagerman was asked to manufacture a fitting gold chain worth 900 ducats.³⁷⁶ Again, the medal's design remains unknown, but it could have been a 'sun medal'. Hildebrand argues that the sun-edition was used as gifts for scholars, and the Queen's *favourites*. Its simple but sophisticated design might explain what urged Christina to reserve this image for those individuals.³⁷⁷

Christina's downscaled design did not catch on, but her antique-inspired imagery was adopted by her successors, an inclination that also corresponded to the dominant visual trends of the seventeenth century. Thus, once again, it was not the use—representation, legitimisation, wearing, and giving—that influenced the medals' design, but rather the queen's personal tastes and preferences. The fact that two skilled medal artists now worked in Stockholm had an influential impact on medal art in general. I propose that both trained engravers working at the mint

handed down the trade, and established a body of skill, technique, and knowledge from which future generations would benefit.³⁷⁸

The various implications of medal gifts

The medals discussed so far all had the ultimate purpose of being gifted, indeed with specific agendas, such as Eric XIV's self-fashioning. Giving a medal was a way for the ruler to show *grace* and for the recipient to receive this favour. The expected response was that the medal would either be exchanged for cash, or worn as a visible token of loyalty. Thus, the exchange operated within formalised boundaries. In the analysis below, I will untangle the medal's role as a gift, and present two scenarios, one where the medal was appreciated, and one where it received quite the opposite reaction.

THE MEDAL AS CURRICULUM VITAE. Christina was a patron of the arts, and invited several artists to her court in Stockholm. One of these was the painter David Beck (1621–1656), whom she graced with a medal, perhaps one bearing a sun.³⁷⁹ Beck's self-portrait, which today survives only as an engraving published in a book on Dutch artist biographies, shows him wearing a medal (*fig. 47*).³⁸⁰ Since the original painting is lost, I can only speculate regarding why and under which circumstances Beck painted this portrait. That it was to become immortalised in the Dutch book of artists' biographies might be one reason, but it is also clear that Beck's self-portrait is pure self-advertisement, to use an anachronism.

Beck depicts himself as a court artist, pointing at a portrait of the queen. The artist is dressed in a slashed doublet and a long-sleeved white shirt with elaborate ruffles tightened with ribbons around his wrists. The shirt's stiff, high, white collar frames his face, in addition to the long, vibrant curls that reach his shoulders. He solemnly gazes directly at the viewer, holding a scroll in his right hand. With the scroll, Beck points at a portrait of Christina, placed on the easel before him. Although Christina's likeness is not as delicately executed as the rest of the engraving (Beck appears to be in the process of painting her), it becomes apparent to the viewer that she possesses a vital role in Beck's self-portrait. By pointing at the queen's portrait, Beck not only informs the viewer of his profession, but also the identity of his patron.

Nevertheless, what calls for attention is the object that Beck holds in his left hand, a medal. Beck turns the medal, hanging pendant from a chain

around his neck, towards the viewer. It is readily apparent who is depicted on the medal, and how the artist came into the possession of the precious gift: because Beck is such a talented painter, the queen bestowed him with a medal featuring her likeness along with an expensive chain. The fact that Beck exhibits the medal is a remarkable detail. He wants the viewer to notice it. Without this little grip, with his thumb and index finger, it would remain unnoticed by the viewer, regarded as a piece of jewellery without any significant purpose.³⁸¹ Further, the fact that Beck possesses the medal, and proudly shows it, tells the viewer that he stands in the queen's good graces. She must have been delighted with his work; otherwise, he would not have received a medal in addition to his salary. Complimentary gifts and rewards were typical perks for court artists, and it was characteristic for them to portray themselves holding medals visible to the viewer.³⁸² Self-portraits with medals, such as Beck's, were relatively common, as confirmed by several other early-modern European examples.³⁸³ Painters used their self-portraits as a representative work sample, and the medal would act as a portable demonstration of their former employers' satisfaction, a *curriculum vitae* so to speak.

The self-portrait shows many layers of Beck's self-fashioning. He demonstrates that he is a court artist, and not bound by the rules of any guild; he is a *free* artist.³⁸⁴ Moreover, the self-portrait is not only a legitimisation, but this visual rhetoric has an economic benefit as it advertises his skills. Also, the engraving reveals that Beck had been appointed *valet de chambre*, granting him access to the Queen's private rooms, and allowing him to work in close proximity to her.³⁸⁵ Understandably, Beck took immense pride in the honour that was granted him. He emphasises the medal by deliberately showing it to the spectator of the portrait. If he moved on to another patron, Beck could show the medal to prove that his former mistress was the renowned Queen Christina. And, of course, if he stayed in her service, wearing the medal would emphasise his loyalty towards her. In the painting, the medal's image or allegorical finesse is not perceptible; the viewer sees only that it is a medal, and that it depicts the queen. Beck does not call attention to the medal's visual properties but to the fact that he received it. As with Horn's portrait, the visual rhetoric of the medal, and the role connected to it, which were associated with its issuer, now were transferred to its recipient. Thus, the medal had been charged with a second rhetorical objective, namely, to promote the artist.



DAVIT BECK
*Peintre, et Valet, de Chambre de la Serenissime Reyne de
Suede, enuoié de Sa Ma: pour peindre les personnes
Illustres de la Chrestiente. natif de Delft en Hollande.*

David Beck pinxit

Ant. Coget sculpsit

Ioan. Meyssner exc.

FIG. 47: Anthonis Coyet after David Beck, self-portrait, engraving. Austrian National Library.

With Beck carrying Christina's image, the medal continues to act on her behalf, even after the exchange has taken place. It mediates the memory of the queen, and evokes the memory of her (and her likeness), as well as that of the gift exchange. A portrait gift would not only represent the depicted, but also stand in his or her stead. While on one hand, her image is embedded in the medal, on the other hand, her image also rests in the memory of its recipient. Although their relation is not equal, they share an immaterial bond. Therefore, in the absence of the queen, her image fixed on the medal would remind Beck of her, and of his own privileged position. The medal appears as the agent between the donor and the recipient.

Next, the visual features merge into the material characteristics of the medal; for, in order to discover the medal's reverse, Beck has to flip it over. He can feel the medal's weight in his hand, and trace the portrait engraved there with his fingers.

The exchange, and the medal's agency (both material and visual), are expressions of the relationship between the donor and the recipient. Beck would keep this medal, not only as a token of affection, but also as proof of his accomplishments. In the worst-case scenario, Beck would sell the medal and the chain for its value in metal, but even by this act, the queen would figure as the caretaker of her subordinate, acting from afar, again through the medal. As Marcel Mauss writes, 'the gift received is not inactive. Even when the giver has abandoned it, it still possesses something of him.'³⁸⁶ On a deeper level, Beck possesses something that might be described as a piece of the queen, to be worn on his body like a protective amulet. The medal carried emotional value, both as a link to the queen, and as a support for Beck and his self-fashioning.

These thoughts on Beck's response are indeed speculative, but they are based on his position as a court artist of his time. Even though gestures and expressions of affections were highly formalised during the seventeenth century, it did not mean that people could not charge objects or images with secondary objectives and responses. Art historian Elsje van Kessel convincingly demonstrated how Venetian paintings of the sixteenth century were considered to have agency and a life of their own.³⁸⁷ According to Kessel, viewers considered them more than lifeless representations; instead, they were stand-ins for the people whose image they carried.³⁸⁸ The medal might not provide a life-like representation, yet it is undeniable that it formed a connection between the depicted and

the viewer. The medal itself became the physical manifestation of their bond.

The formalised act of royal gift-giving could result in various underlying layers of response, both official and unofficial. Beck's self-portrait expresses one aspect of a medal gift, a circumstance when the gift was most welcome. As a court artist he would receive the medal as a token of grace, which would aid his self-fashioning, and he would be grateful. Nevertheless, not all medal exchanges could be described as straightforward, in particular when they occurred as part of a diplomatic encounter.

DIPLOMATIC AGENT. One vital aspect of gifts, and therefore also medals, was their role in the diplomatic exchange. Such exchanges could already be observed during Eric XIV's coronation, but the necessity of gift-giving in diplomatic interactions was not reserved for coronations. It was practised continuously and all over Europe.³⁸⁹ Books like *De l'Ambassadeur* (1603) by Jean Hotman, Marquis the Villers-Saint-Paul, and Johan Christian Lünig's *Theatrum ceremoniale historico-politicum* (1720) all provide some insight into diplomatic meetings and ceremonial. Emissaries and aristocrats were sent back and forth to negotiate on their rulers' behalf. These individuals stayed for some time at a given court, until they had completed their mission or were recalled. When an ambassador or diplomat arrived at a court, he would bring gifts from the monarch he represented, and likewise, before any person of diplomatic significance left to return home, it was expected that he would be granted with a parting gift. A parting gift would also indicate the completion of a mission.³⁹⁰ (Such gifts could, of course, also be refused by an ambassador who felt that he had failed his assignment.³⁹¹)

As demonstrated by Charles IX's medal and Gyllenhielm's mission in the previous chapter, images were vital aspects of the diplomatic encounter and gift exchange. Historian Tracey Sowerby summarises the habit of exchanging images, in connection to early-modern diplomatic encounters: 'By bestowing their images on departing diplomats, rulers sought to utilise the portrait's mnemonic aspect both to express gratitude and to perpetuate the political relationship beyond the ambassador's term of service, perhaps hoping that the diplomat would reciprocate by advocating their interests at his home court.'³⁹² Sowerby thereby catches the essential aspects of a portrait, which distinguished it from many other gifts, namely its mnemonic trait, which was touched upon earlier. Further, a medal

could equally be used as a parting gift or a welcoming gift, and served an additional function: it appealed to the inner eye. In addition to its representational character, the medal conveyed, as described earlier, economic value, while also embodying a precious, convenient portrait, and effortlessly spreading a ruler's prominence. It combined representation, commemoration, and luxury in one convenient portable object. Thus, a medal was not only a trendy gift, but possessed unique possibilities and could be transformed into a diplomatic agent per se.

THE UNWELCOME GIFT. The English Ambassador Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke (1605–1675) kept a diary when he visited Sweden on a diplomatic mission between 1653 and 1654.³⁹³ His writings illustrate an abundance of political semantics, especially the intrinsic implications of gifts, of which there were many during his stay.

The gift exchange between a diplomat and a ruler was complex diplomacy, since the diplomat, depending on his rank, could embody the same authority as the ruler he represented.³⁹⁴ Thus, the reciprocal act was intricate. While reading the diary entries of the ambassador, it seems that the exchange between him and the queen was enhanced with every single gift, forcing each recipient to surpass the previous performance. It was a friendly competition that strengthened into a diplomatic relationship between Sweden and the Commonwealth of England. Whitelocke's 'fabulous English horses', presented to the queen, were reciprocated with a herd of reindeer, accompanied by two Sami herdsmen to oversee the care of these exotic animals. Whitelocke was particularly delighted by this present, and immediately discussed their transport to England in order to offer them to his ruler.³⁹⁵ The gifts were a form of official representation, and since the demonstration of costly material was of the essence, they also posed economic challenges. Whitelocke meticulously mentions, with a hint of annoyance, the economic value of his gifts to the queen, wondering when and what he might expect in return to equal his presents. The gifts also contributed to Whitelocke and Christina's friendship, since a gift exchange likewise entailed exchanging pleasantries. According to Whitelocke, he and the queen shared several long conversations. Some days before his return to the Commonwealth, Whitelocke received yet another present that confirmed this friendship.³⁹⁶

On the 6th of May 1654, the royal master of ceremonies visited Whitelocke's residence to present him with gifts from the queen. While handing

over the present, the master of ceremonies told Whitelocke that the queen wished to apologise for its unworthy delivery, but that she would be pleased if Whitelocke would honour her by wearing the gift 'for her sake', as well as to accept the picture 'in memory of the friend' who sent it.³⁹⁷ This claim of unworthy delivery was certainly coquettish false modesty, since the duties of the royal master of ceremonies included, in particular, ensuring the proper care of foreign ambassadors and other politically valued guests. So, it would not be controversial that he was the one handing over the gift instead of the queen herself.³⁹⁸

Whitelocke received 'a handsome jewel, which was a case of gold, fairly enamelled, and having in the midst of it the picture of the Queen, done to the life, and very like her. It was set roundabout with twelve large diamonds, and several small diamonds between the great ones.'³⁹⁹ Attached to the piece of jewellery, which was a miniature portrait, was a note written by the queen, stating that the gift was a testimony of goodwill and memory, and that he additionally was to receive 'two hundred pounds of copper'.⁴⁰⁰ She confirmed their friendship, and that Lord Bulstrode Whitelocke, Ambassador Extraordinary, had negotiated for the common good of the Kingdom and his Commonwealth. The note was welcome evidence that Whitelocke could present to Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell as evidence of the mission's success: Christina called Whitelocke a friend, and certified that he had behaved in everybody's best interest. Thus, a successful mission was ended with a parting gift.

After the master of ceremonies had received expressions of gratitude from Whitelocke, he proceeded to the ambassador's two sons. The diary mentions that each of them received a gold chain of five links, and a medal of gold with the queen's picture (the chains and medals were valued at four hundred ducats apiece). Then other members of Whitelocke's entourage were gratified with gifts. First, Colonel Potley, Dr Whistler, Captain Beake, and Mr Early each received a gold chain of four links and a gold medal (valued at two hundred ducats each). Second, Mr Stapleton, Mr Ingelo, and Mr De la Marche each received a gold chain with three links and a medal (one hundred and sixty ducats).⁴⁰¹ Third, Mr Walker was also given a gold chain with three links, but shorter than the others, and a medal (one hundred thirty ducats); and lastly, Captain Crispe and Mr Swifts each received a gold chain consisting of two links and a medal (worth one hundred ducats).⁴⁰²

The gifts expressed a hierarchy, which unmistakably communicated the

recipients' social order. Whitelocke's detailed account of the value of the gifts corresponded to a general habit of assigning a monetary value to gifts, in order to be able to return a gift of equal value, but this time, the gifts were *free*, and the English party was not obliged to respond to them, at least not in a material manner.⁴⁰³ Still, decorum required that Whitelocke would not engage in further business until he had been given the opportunity to thank the Queen.⁴⁰⁴ It was all-important to reciprocate, at least via gratitude as the custom required.⁴⁰⁵

FREE GIFTS. The medal gifts were not met with gratitude. Walker and Stapleton, Whitelocke's gentlemen of the horses, were displeased because their chains were not four links apiece, and the others were also disappointed because theirs were not as valuable as the chains given to Potley and Beake. Whitelocke comments on the dispute in his diary—'so seditious a thing is gold'—and tries to calm his entourage by explaining that Potley and Beake were 'ancient servants of the Crown', while the others were 'commanders of the guard'. Whitelocke is unable to settle the situation, and expresses his discomfort with the discussion: 'nothing was due to them, but only the Queen's free gift and bounty was in all of them, and therefore not to be excepted against by any of them.' The dispute ended with Whitelocke 'being in the mood to take the air'.⁴⁰⁶

By the next day, the quarrel concerning Christina's gifts remained unresolved. While Walker and Stapleton were attending Whitelocke, he spoke with them, and found their opinion on the matter unchanged. Stapleton even intended to refuse the gift by sending it back to the master of ceremonies. Whitelocke demanded that he do nothing of the sort, as this would be taken as an affront to Whitelocke as well as the protector himself, and such behaviour would also disdain the queen's present, which Whitelocke stated again 'was her Majesty's free gift without any obligation'.⁴⁰⁷ Returning gifts was against etiquette and could have diplomatic consequences.

Shortly after, the master of ceremonies was informed that the gifts were not well received, and addressed Whitelocke on the matter. The master of ceremonies excused himself by explaining that he had no influence, but did only as ordered by those above him. He explained that the Chamber of Accounts was responsible for acquiring the gifts, and that the queen did not interfere in the matter. He had shown the queen a catalogue of the members of Whitelocke's household, and she had indicated how she

wished the presents to be bestowed. How the matter could have been altered afterwards, he did not know, but he hoped that none of the gentlemen was offended by him.⁴⁰⁸ Whitelocke reassuringly answered that it would be difficult to please everyone, and 'that these presents were the Queen's favours, which she might distribute as she pleased, and everyone ought to be contended therewith; that some of his company had discoursed hereof more than belonged to them, but that he would take order in it himself.'⁴⁰⁹

Only days after the gift exchange, Christina invited Whitelocke and his two sons to Baron Horn and Lady Sparre's nuptials. There, Whitelocke thanked her for the presents she had bestowed on him and his company, while she replied: 'Sir, you mock me; I am troubled I could not do according to that respect which I bear you. This is only a custom of our country to persons of your condition, and I hope you will take it in good part.'⁴¹⁰ Whitelocke replied that he most gratefully accepted Her Majesty's favours, and after that, the evening continued with dance and pleasantries. The queen's reply to the ambassador's gratitude suggests that the issue of the unwell-received gifts had even reached Christina, but that their friendly relationship and, of course, matters of diplomacy, withstood the complaints of Whitelocke's unsatisfied companions.

Even though Whitelocke's colourful account must be viewed with caution, as his diary certainly was part of his self-fashioning, it showcases several significant aspects of gift exchange. The donor, the queen [and Chamber of Accounts], followed protocol and articulated the hierarchy through gifts. That Whitelocke's entourage had different opinions on the matter was undoubtedly unforeseen. It illustrates that their personal view of their social order did not correspond to the judgement of the queen, who took a personal interest in the servants' gifts.⁴¹¹ However, since the gifts were *free*, as Whitelocke frequently pointed out, she could do as she pleased; yet, this liberty was reserved for the giver. *Free gifts* still asked for decorum from the recipient's side. A gift in return was not required, but the obligation of accepting the gift, as well as gratitude, certainly was. Refusing the gift would have insulted not only the queen and Whitelocke, but by extension even Cromwell.

The account suitably illustrates Sowerby's argument, that successful diplomacy depended on personal resources and networks of personal relations.⁴¹² The gift that the master of ceremonies presented was a *free gift*, entailing no obligations, which is further proof of the mission's success.

That aside, Whitelocke's diary also reveals a changed attitude towards medals, and provides valuable insights regarding the practice of bestowing medals, their shifting significance, and their relationship to miniatures. Previously, the medal figured as a suitable present within the diplomatic encounter, as well as being a highly personal gift. Yet, Whitelocke's account presents the medal as a secondary matter, something attached to the golden chain. In this political encounter, the medal's visual execution holds no significance; instead, the object is transformed into currency and bounty. The medal is no longer the preferred gift. While it is still appreciated due to its value, which is indicated by the fact that all of Whitelocke's companions received a medal (even though they were dissatisfied), the gift exchange's main focus, Ambassador Whitelocke, received something else, a miniature. Thus, another portable portrait had begun to challenge the medal's preeminent position.

PORTABLE PORTRAITS: THE TRANSITION BETWEEN MEDALS AND PORTRAITS IN MINIATURE

The attitude towards medals changed somewhat during the mid-seventeenth century, when another art form entered the scene that possessed similar qualities. Portraits in miniature and medals shared many features, as exemplified by art historian Marcia Pointon's description of miniatures as 'tactile artifacts to be held, viewed, and shown'.⁴¹³ These aspects are familiar features of medals, too, making a comparison of these two art forms necessary to understand how and why attitudes changed. In the analysis that follows, I will take a closer look at portraits in miniature and their relationship to medals, explore their similarities and differences, and discuss how these art forms influenced one another and existed side by side.

The portraits in miniature could be considered a condensed version of a full-scale painting. As portraits, they are representative, but they distinguish themselves by being mobile. There exist various painting techniques to permit rendering portraits in miniature. One such technique is the *miniature*, which refers to portraits finely painted with gouache (and gum Arabic as a binding agent) on vellum.⁴¹⁴ Another technique was to paint a portrait with *enamel*. Here, the painting's ground could be precious metal or any other suitable surface. These techniques differed regarding the intensity of colour, as the miniature was very sensitive to light, with

pigments that would fade with time, while the enamel retained its glow. To some, the term miniature, which is often interchangeably used for both techniques, might be a bit misleading because their size could vary from a fingernail to fairly large, approximately quarto sized image. Historically, the miniature technique is related to illumination, which is why it has also been termed *limning*, and the word miniature stems from the red lead oxide called *minium* (French *migne*) that was used as a pigment.⁴¹⁵ The association of miniature with smallness would be a later connotation of the paintings', due to their size, compared to full-scale paintings.

These portable portrait objects are often encompassed by an elaborate frame, adorned with gemstones or designed as fashionable watchcases, boxes or locket, and because of their upscale design, miniatures carry an intrinsic notion of material wealth. Thus, their exchange, similar to that of medals, points to social practice as well as luxury consumption. In addition to the material wealth that portraits in miniature transfer, they could also be considered personal mementoes since the portrait, metaphorically, forms a connection between the depicted absent person and the viewer.⁴¹⁶ Related to this, art historians have stressed miniature portraits' role within diplomatic affairs, and they have likewise emphasised miniature portraits' importance as personal gifts.⁴¹⁷ The miniature embodied representativity and intimacy, and was often specially designed for the recipient. Early miniatures were often kept in locket, which reflected a closeness between the owner and the sitter.⁴¹⁸ Particularly during the eighteenth century, miniatures were a popular gift exchanged between friends and loved ones, and the art form gained prevalence beyond European courts as well.⁴¹⁹

From the sixteenth century onwards, portraits in miniature were especially widespread at the English court. They were highly cherished, as confirmed by several large-scale portraits depicting courtiers wearing them. The English artists Nicholas Hilliard (1547–1619) and John Hoskins (1589–1664) can be named as well-known, early practitioners of the genre.⁴²⁰ Hoskins' nephew, Alexander Cooper (1609–1660), was one of the first miniature artists in Sweden, hired by Christina. Another portraitist whom she invited to her court was the French miniature artist Pierre Signac (1623–1684).⁴²¹

The following portrait in miniature is one of finest works of Signac (who also painted with enamel), and it might serve as an example of the type of miniature portrait that could have been given to Whitelocke (*fig.*



FIG. 48: Pierre Signac after David Beck, portrait of Queen Christina, late 1640s–early 1650s, mixed materials, 11 × 8.5 × 1.5 cm. National-museum, Stockholm.

48).⁴²² It illustrates representative and intimate aspects, and displays the queen seated on a red chair, looking directly at the viewer. The portrait is enamelled and enclosed by a decorative frame, alternating flowers and leaves encrusted with diamonds. The rim's colours, white, blue and gold, match the portrait's palette. It depicts Christina in *leger* attire, which corresponds to the intimate and unofficial character of the painting. In contrast to a medal, it does not carry the queen's titles or the political weight that the royalty entailed, yet it is expensively adorned with diamonds, making it an expensive gift. The diamond-encrusted rim alone cost 2250 *daler*, twice as much as a bookkeeper's annual wages, as revealed by a receipt from the goldsmith.⁴²³ The portrait in miniature would indeed embody wealth and representativity, despite portraying Christina in an unofficial capacity.

Before Signac arrived in Stockholm, in December 1646, the art form developed slowly in Sweden. Instead, goldsmiths were ordered to colour and enamel medals.⁴²⁴ This custom probably originated in the German lands in the late sixteenth century, and from there, it had come to Sweden.

Yet the trend was not long-lived, lasting only from the 1620s through early 1640s, when portraits in miniature grew in popularity.⁴²⁵ I suggest that the technique of colouring medals was inspired by miniatures and enamelled portraits, or even a hybrid of these art forms. One item, manufactured between 1627 and 1633, exemplifies the transition from medals to portraits in miniatures. The item carries the portraits of Gustavus Adolphus and his wife Maria Eleonora, and illustrates particular traits of early seventeenth-century medal art (*fig. 49*).⁴²⁶ First, it is a combination of positive and negative mould; the portraits show an elaborate relief, while the imprints of the subjects' titles are filled with black paint, probably enamel. Second, the medal is cast in silver and gilded; and third, it is additionally coloured. The variation of material and relief makes the medal incredibly tactile. The enamel's colour points to the medal's uniqueness, since every object was painted individually. The white, blue-black, and green enamel is supposed to give the medal more colour, a palette perhaps inspired by the painted portrait of Maria Eleonora (*fig. 50*).⁴²⁷

The painting shows Maria Eleonora *en face*, gazing at the viewer. The portrait is cropped but reveals details of her fashionable and expensive clothing. She wears a stiff, high, lace collar decorated with pearls, and an elegant brooch, in addition to a thin necklace with a jewelled pendant, a pearl necklace, and pearl earrings. Her hair is combed, jewelled, and decorated with a turquoise feather. On the medal, Maria Eleonora is depicted from the left, but other features resemble the portrait, suggesting that the latter served as inspiration. Maria Eleonora is dressed in a gown richly decorated with a square-shaped jewel on her chest and a high, stiff lace collar. Also, the pearl necklace and matching pearl earrings remind the viewer of Maria Eleonora's outfit, depicted in her portrait, as do her combed hair decorated with jewels and, of course, the feather. The colours used on the medal run to the same portrait as the palette, particularly the turquoise feather, her black dress, and the white laced collar. The colours add to the visual experience of the medal by providing the viewer with a notion of fabric and texture. Thereby, the coloured medal provides the beholder with a vivid sensory impression.

Medals were often forged after engravings or paintings, but a medal coloured after a painting provides an entirely new aspect. To reproduce portraits was a common way of spreading one's likeness, and especially appreciated images were copied manifold. Portraits were frequently rep-





▲ FIG. 49: Gustavus Adolphus and Maria Eleonora, ca. 1630, cast, gilded silver, and coloured, Ø40.7 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

◀ FIG. 50: The portrait of Maria Eleonora is attributed to Jacob Hoefnagel (1575–1632), who shortly worked at the Swedish court in the early 1620s. In 1624, the painter was graced with a gold spoon and a Gnadenmedaille, indicating the royals' appreciation of his work. 65 × 48 cm. Bukowskis.

► FIG. 51: Engraving by Hendrik Hondius (1573–1650) after Jacob Hoefnagel, c. 1629. Swedish Royal Library.



licated across various visual media, in paintings, engravings and medals, as here, the portrait of Maria Eleonora appears as a painting, a medal and as an engraving (*fig. 51*). A viewer of a portrait's replica—a medal—could be sure that it showed a truthful likeness, as the portrait's legal character was not diminished by its duplication. All portraits would depict the sitter, but be displayed and spread differently depending on the 'image vehicle's' qualities.⁴²⁸ The medal would inhabit all the previously established qualities, including material value, representativity, mnemonic aspects, et cetera, but the colour would increase the impression of an accurate likeness rendered, as it were, to life. Thus, the medal might have been coloured for several reasons. First, to increase its vividness; second, to resemble the painted portrait; and, third, perhaps, to give it the impression of a miniature.⁴²⁹ Miniatures were, after all, highly sought after and, due to their expensive pigments and immensely luxurious portraits, they created a lifelike image of the sitter.

*Transfer of images:
From the medal to the miniature*

The communication between the two art forms was not purely one-sided, since medals could also influence a miniature portrait's execution. The next example presents a medal and a miniature, which both depict the same reverse. Whether this circumstance is unusual or commonplace, is difficult to assess since art historians seldom review medals, and numismatists seldom study miniatures. Within the material I have examined, it is indeed unique that a miniature and a medal would share the same visual execution.

First, the medal, based on a portrait after Jacob Elbfas, was presumably commissioned around 1642–1644.⁴³⁰ It depicts Christina, dressed in a luxurious gown, adorned with delicate lace, wearing a precious necklace, big pearl earrings, and a small crown (*fig. 52*). Her likeness is surrounded by her titles, *by God's grace, Queen of the Swedes, Goths and Vandals*. The reverse shows a phoenix atop a cliff in the middle of a sea. The bird spreads its wings and rises from the flames below. Above the phoenix, shines the sun, its bright rays gleaming over the image space. The image is surrounded by the text PHOENIX PHOENICIS GUSTAVI FUNERÆ NATA. [a Phoenix born from the ashes of Phoenix Gustavus].⁴³¹ The phoenix, the mythical bird reborn in fire, was a popular image in the panegyrics of European sovereigns, providing a fitting metaphor for royal succession.⁴³² During



FIG. 52: Medal by Sebastian Dadler, Christina as phoenix, c.1642–1644, struck silver Ø 49.78 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.



FIG. 53: Pierre Signac after David Beck, portrait of Christina with phoenix, miniature, 6.1 × 4.4 × 1 cm, c. 1647–1648. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

the Baroque era, the *topos* of the phoenix appeared in poems, ballets, engravings, and much more, and Gustavus Adolphus himself was compared to a phoenix in a commemorative poem.⁴³³ Now, the image was revived, and Christina was reborn in her father's ashes.⁴³⁴

Second, the miniature displays Christina once more in combination with the phoenix (fig. 53).⁴³⁵ The miniature was created several years after the medal was commissioned.⁴³⁶ In comparison to the medal, Christina is portrayed in modest attire, without any lace or crown. Her brown curls

frame her face, which is the portrait's central feature. The pigments of the miniature have faded during the years, but in the seventeenth century, the queen's likeness would have had rosy cheeks and red lips, making her seem alive. The miniature's backside is painted with enamel, corresponding to the blue colour of Christina's dress, and shows the phoenix, with wings spread, seated on a smoking heap with its head raised towards the sun above. The emblem is slightly altered, compared to the medal, as the phoenix on the miniature covers the whole image surface, instead of sitting on a cliff in the sea. *CRS*, Christina's entwined monogram, is painted below the phoenix. Hence, the phoenix emblem and inscription were reused from the medal, implying that the young queen succeeded her father as the new phoenix. Nevertheless, the image and inscription were not the only aspects to be recycled. In addition to the image, the combination of two sides—obverse and reverse—was revived on the miniature. Miniatures were often painted on the back, mostly with initials, short inscriptions, or ornamentations, yet it was uncommon to render a too elaborate reverse since, as usual, the portrait would inhabit the most prominent spot. This miniature was very similar to its metallic role model, since it was designed to be viewed from both sides.

These examples, the coloured medal and the phoenix-themed miniature, dwell in a grey zone and illustrate the overlap of miniatures and medals in several ways. They demonstrate aspects that are central to both media; in short, they were portable.⁴³⁷ During the seventeenth century, a miniature suggested a more personal and private character, while the medal projected a more official and formal presentation. To have the same image in such different yet at once similar portable objects, suggests that the images they bore played a central role in the iconography of the monarch they depicted. For instance, the fact that the phoenix appears on the miniature and the medal does not reveal anything particular about the image vehicle itself. Instead, it demonstrates the widespread appeal of the phoenix topos. Even after her abdication, Christina continued to associate herself with the phoenix, and issued medals representing herself as the noble bird.⁴³⁸ The essential aspect for both miniatures and medals was still the portrait that they carried, which made them both an ideal gift.

Existing side by side

The almost comical story of the gift exchange among the queen, Whitelocke, and his company illustrates that miniature portraits and medals coexisted side by side, and could even be distributed on the same occasion. Further, Whitelocke's account confirms several aspects of miniatures' significance. First, the fact that he receives a miniature proves the object's popularity within diplomatic encounters. Second, Whitelocke comments on the miniature portrait's value by counting the diamonds. And, third, he remarks on Christina's portrait, which was 'done to the life, and very like her.'⁴³⁹ These entwined aspects of the diplomatic and the personal in gift-giving parallel how medals were previously utilised. Exchanging miniature portraits, as an alternative to medals, invites the question of how the view on medals, as the preferred gifts, had changed.

In the late sixteenth century, medal gifts were customised for the recipient, as shown by the medal of John III and Catherine Jagiellon, given to Sophia Gyllenhielm. The medal bestowed upon John III's daughter was adorned with a golden elaborated frame, eight diamonds, and thirty-two rubies. Nevertheless, almost a hundred years later, the number of rubies did not necessarily represent the donor's amicable feelings towards the recipient. The medal occupied a space that was too formal for such expressions of sentiment. Their resemblance to coins, once the source of their popularity and appropriateness, had become the disadvantage of medals. The line between gift and payment for services was blurred. Now, medals reminded people more of currency than a generous gift, and the diamonds were attached to a miniature, instead of a medal. Miniature portraits could show the sitter with a natural complexion. They were colourful and life-like, in contrast to the metallic and monochrome likenesses depicted on medals. Hence, the medal was not able to compete with the miniature portrait's vividness and its intimate character.

Moreover, the medal did not have the charm of uniqueness. The gifts that Whitelocke's party received mirrors this changed attitude towards medals. Each medal given to the entourage matched the recipient's rank, its value neatly countable in currency. For Christina, the medal was a suitable and representative gift to a faceless recipient, and to the English entourage, the objects indeed only embodied monetary value. Whitelocke, on the other hand, as an ambassador and friend, was honoured with a miniature portrait of the queen, a gift considered both intimate and

representative. Further, the gifts also illustrate the enthusiasm for novelties. Miniatures were a rare sight at the Swedish court until Pierre Signac came into Christina's service.⁴⁴⁰ His arrival increased both the supply and the demand for miniatures. Consequently, the ambassador was supposed to receive exactly that, rather than an ordinary medal.

While in the sixteenth century it had been stylish to wear medals, the seventeenth century called for a miniature portrait. Fashion is never long-lasting, and the same fate that the medal now suffered would befall the miniature as well, especially when it came in the shape of a snuffbox.⁴⁴¹ During the eighteenth century, snuffboxes—the most frequent version of miniature portraits—were immensely popular. Pointon summarises the increased use of miniature portraits in the eighteenth century: 'the gift of the *tabatière* [snuffbox] had become such a standard aspect of diplomatic exchange that it apparently lost all meaning, and the boxes—with or without images—had become tantamount to currency, which was immediately traded in by the recipient for hard cash.'⁴⁴² Thus, what the medal was in the seventeenth century, the snuffbox was in the eighteenth century.⁴⁴³ Once, the medal had occupied a unique space within the gift exchange. It was cherished, an object of status, and only in need would the recipient transform it into money. However, in the seventeenth century, the medal was equated with currency, and as Whitelocke's diary suggests, his entourage probably traded their medals for cash. The snuffbox faced a similar fate. These shifting preferences can be summarised in the craving for uniqueness. Hence, once a specific type of gift becomes institutionalised, whether medals or exclusively adorned portraits in miniature, the gift loses its charm.

Of course, this interpretation does not apply to all miniatures and medal gifts. As the exception proves the rule, it should be noted that the habit of transferring a gift into currency might only have been the habit of those who were either in need of money, or whose position was unaffected by the gift. Medal gifts or miniature portraits were indeed appreciated if they benefited the recipient's status, which is illustrated by the self-portrait of the Swedish-Dutch painter Martin van Meytens (1695–1770) from the early 1740s (*fig. 54*). Similarly to Beck, Van Meytens employs his self-portrait as an advertisement.⁴⁴⁴ The artist portrays himself

FIG. 54: Martin van Meytens (1695–1770), self-portrait, c. 1740, oil on canvas, 62 × 50.2 cm. Budapest Museum of Fine Arts.



in a red satin jacket, proudly presenting his gifts. Around his neck, attached to a thick golden chain, he wears a medal of the Holy Roman Emperor Francis I (1708–1765), which was bestowed upon Van Meytens when he was granted the position of court artist.⁴⁴⁵ In his right hand, Van Meytens holds a miniature portrait of Empress Maria Theresa of Austria (1717–1780) towards the beholder, thereby indicating that she favoured him. The donors' identity is undeniable, as van Meytens painted the portrait and title of Francis I on the medal, as well as Maria Theresias' features on the miniature portrait visible. While exhibiting his skills (through the portrait), he displays his status and achievements as a court painter (miniature and medal), and emphasises the persons who graced him with a gift. Even though Van Meytens' portrait was painted almost a hundred years after Whitelocke's account, it illustrates fittingly how miniature portraits and medals could coexist and be valued. His self-portrait proves that the medal was still a gift of grace, and something worth showing.

Likewise, the examples of Whitelocke and van Meytens demonstrate the role of medals and miniature portraits as image vehicles, and point to their advantages and disadvantages in spreading portraits. While the queen was able to reach a wider audience via the medal, the miniature was unique in its existence. Thus, miniature and medal could carry the same image but convey different values. It is an interesting question, whether a medal and a miniature, bearing matching images, ever figured in the same gift exchange. Then, the enquiry would not only address the object, but also add to the understanding of the image's visual rhetoric. The analysis of these image vehicles has shown that it would do them a disservice to reduce them to merely the status of a gift. The image's connotation conveys as much significance as the object that carried it. Even though studying the gift exchange can reveal much concerning social practices, it is likewise rewarding to take a closer look at how miniatures and medals, as well as prints and medals, could interact and influence each other, both in their appearance and in how they were used.

In the end, the miniature did not replace the medal. Despite their resemblance, they seemed to address different needs, even while being used similarly. The increased availability of miniature portraits in Sweden did not diminish the manufacture of medals, which remained in the public sphere, where they acquired additional appeal, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

CONCLUSIONS

The chapter shows that much of the practices established during the previous century—commemorating, representing, and giving—as well as the varying values that were ascribed to medals, continued throughout the early seventeenth century. As before, the ruler (or authority) employed the objects as part of their visual rhetoric. The range of recipients, and use of the object, is restricted to a small number of people around the centre of power, the king and queen.

The examples also demonstrate certain aspects specific to this period. Now, unlike before, medal art communicated not only with present and future viewers, but also with other visual media such as the broadsheets. The advantage of the medal over the printed sheet was its luxurious material, and its ability to convey information in a condensed form. The imagery displayed on the medal presented emblems and allegories, which allowed a core message with a myriad of underlying meanings to be transmitted through its visual and tactile properties. Its size and tangible material made it suitable for close interaction, wearing, holding, feeling, and looking. The qualities of the medal depended on a physical connection. It was meant to be engaged with. Medal art had a remarkable ability to commemorate, and that was tightly entwined with Baroque mourning culture. As shown in the example of Gustavus Adolphus, the medal could materialise and visualise the absent person. It carried commemorative value, as it depicted the departed king, and emotional value to the person seeking to remember him, able to keep him alive through the medal. The amount of visual material and iconography surrounding the king's persona was unique, compared to contemporary European rulers, yet the content and stylistic expressions of this material, including the medals, were manifestations of Baroque fashion. The aesthetic and iconographic change inspired by Christina's taste was also an expression of Baroque style. When she hired foreign artists, Sweden's internationalisation, begun with its involvement in the Thirty Years' War, now expanded. The medals were adapted to the changing taste and visual culture.

Another prominent topic of this chapter is the usage of medals as gifts. As before, medals were distributed at specific events, such as funerals or coronations, and bestowed upon select individuals, including military officers, favourites, and ambassadors, on various occasions. All recipients ascribed different uses and values to their gift. To Beck, the medal was a

welcome gift, which he immortalised in a self-portrait. The visual rhetoric of Christina's medal was transferred onto the artist, much as Eric XIV's gift was to Horn. For Whitelocke's entourage, the medals rather symbolised mere monetary value, and too little of that, as well. Whitelocke's men had no relation to Christina, and a medal of her would not benefit their status, as a gift from Cromwell might. Thus, the value of the medal gift, apart from its intrinsic monetary value, depended on the recipient. He or she charged the object with value and assigned it significance.

These two examples of the gift exchange are highly illuminating on an individual scale, but point to general trends. The changed attitude towards medals relates to miniature portraiture, since both media had very similar roles as portable images. The interaction between these two art forms shows how trends evolved and could be transferred from one object category to another. Moreover, the convenient form of numismatic shapes was transferred to other media, too.⁴⁴⁶ The tradition of the round form, closely related to the *tondo*, can be seen in various visual areas, like plaster portrait medallions, which would become popular in the eighteenth century. The roles and uses of medals grew entwined with other seventeenth-century media, and would continue to do so.

III

Accumulating customs, and the rise and fall of glory

When Queen Christina abdicated in 1654 and moved to Rome, she left the throne to her cousin Charles X Gustav of Palatine-Zweibrücken (1622–1660).⁴⁴⁷ Considering Christina's vast influence and personal engagement in Swedish art production, one could assume that cultural life would start to wither upon her departure. While Charles X Gustav was not known to have a great interest in art (a reputation perhaps due to his short term, only four years, of which he spent most on the battlefield), his spouse, Hedwig Eleonora of Holstein-Gottorp (1636–1715), was certainly a strong advocate for a rich cultural life, including medals.⁴⁴⁸ Hence, after Christina's abdication, the development of medal art did not come to a halt, but continued to flourish, not least because an apparent demand had been established. During the second half of the seventeenth century, and the early decades of the eighteenth century, more users entered the scene. The nobility started to issue medals, also gentry, military men, and even the burghers became involved in medals.⁴⁴⁹

All these users engaged with the medal during a period marked by the powerplay of autocratic monarchies all over Europe, which encompassed both wars and cultural endeavours. Be it Louis XIV of France, Christian V of Denmark (1646–1699), or Leopold I of Habsburg (1640–1705), all put vast resources into the visual mediation of their supremacy. The Swedes did likewise. Since 1680, a version of absolutism was introduced, and the so-called 'Caroline era', which includes the reigns of Charles X Gustav, his son, Charles XI (1655–1697), and his grandson, Charles XII (1682–1718), marked Sweden's period as a great power. Due to the continuous wars that shaped this era, the Swedish realm expanded. Medals, next to other visual media, spread the word of victory and success. Nevertheless, this epoch as a great power did not last. By 1721, Sweden had lost its supremacy and shrunk considerably, and the kingship was stripped of its absolute power.⁴⁵⁰

As during the previous centuries, the political ups and downs and in-betweens significantly influenced the roles of medal art. The time of grandness, success, and increased luxury consumption provided room for the medal art to grow, and the beginning of the end of this period is likewise visible on the medals. I will address these developments in the use of medals by analysing editions that concern events from this Caroline period. This chapter will focus on three aspects that are significant to the second half of the seventeenth century, and which were noticeable all over Europe. First, the medal is now, more than ever, included in an overarching and all-encompassing visual programme. Second, it becomes more tightly connected to the military. And third, the medal is increasingly used to comment on political situations, both by the authority and by second parties. All these practices have been visible before, but are now refined and diversified.

PARS PRO TOTO: THE MEDAL WITHIN A VISUAL PROGRAMME

During the second half of the seventeenth century, it became the standard practice of every sovereign's image-making to mediate the cohesive visual programme, but with various media.⁴⁵¹ The image-making was not bound to one genre, but followed an overarching agenda. The practice of a shared visual programme meant that all expressions, regardless of their material and technique, illustrate the same topic, which is why they had certain visual requirements and limitations.⁴⁵² This visual programme would imply that paintings, architecture, prints, poetry, or medals, echoed each other and followed certain pre-chosen conditions. All these visual expressions intermediated between each other. Each part was forming a piece of a whole and every part fulfilling the same purpose. Thus, the medal becomes one piece within a multitude of visual expressions.

In the following section, I will present two cases in which medals were part of a prominent visual programme. The examples will address the role of medals in connection to other visual media, and discuss how medal art complements other visual expressions on the same topic, or sets itself apart. The first case commemorates a particular victory, and the medal appears to be only one visual expression of a grand campaign to celebrate this deed. The other example demonstrates how the medal was incorporated within a funeral where all visual expressions complemented each other.

The visual chronicle of a victory

In February 1658, Charles X Gustav marched with his troops over the frozen sea between the Danish islands of Fyn and Sjælland. It was one of the most daring and most reckless manoeuvres in Swedish military history: had it had failed, the whole army, including the king, would have drowned.⁴⁵³ Nevertheless, the risky venture succeeded. The Swedish troops defeated the Danes, which resulted in the Peace of Roskilde, and the king could claim the southern regions of the Swedish peninsula (Scania, Halland, and Bohuslän) from Denmark. The so-called ‘March over the Great Belt’ was celebrated as divine intervention, and was commemorated with laudatory poetry, paintings, prints, and medals. All media communicated the same message, the virtuous king’s glorious victory. However, the expressions did not originate immediately after the victory, but were in many cases, like the medal, ordered years later, and I suggest that the king’s spouse, Hedwig Eleonora, commissioned the medal edition for the ten-year’s jubilee, in 1668. The medal was one of the early official visual endeavours to commemorate the victory.⁴⁵⁴ As the following discussion will show, it was one piece in the puzzle of a brand new dynasty.

The obverse of this silver medal displays Charles X Gustav’s bust, viewed from the right (*fig. 55*). He wears a generously draped sash over his cuirass, of which only the shoulder part slightly decorated, is visible. His vibrant long curls rest on his back and shoulders, and nearly hide the laurel wreath on his head. A closer look reveals the single leaves and the ribbon, which holds the wreath, among his curls. His slightly open mouth underlines his plump cheek and double chin. Physical corpulence was understood as a sign of status and wealth, and Charles X Gustav was known to indulge in food and wine. The high relief accentuates his facial features and piercing gaze. As usual, his portrait is surrounded by his name and title: CAROL. GUSTAV. D. G. SVE: GOT: VAND: REX. [Charles Gustav, by God’s grace, King of Swedes, Goths and Vandals]. The artist’s signature, *breüer fec*, is visible under the king’s shoulder, which refers to Johan Georg Breuer, who was active in Stockholm from 1666 to 1669.⁴⁵⁵ The medal’s obverse displays an unusual high relief, three millimetres, a trait characteristic of the oeuvre of Breuer, who also worked with other sculptural techniques. The high relief accentuates the king’s corpulent features and gives his figure a striking monumentality.

The reverse displays a landscape from above, and many people moving



FIG. 55: Engraved by Johan Georg Breuer, struck silver in 1668, Ø56.4 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

across the image space. Troops, cavalry, infantry, and horses that draw canons and slides are marching diagonally from the image's foreground towards its background and another piece of land. On the horizon, soft hills are marked with the text *seeland*, and the piece of land in the medal's foreground, on the image's edge, is indicated with *funen*. Standing on a hilltop in the foreground, horsemen on their prancing beasts are observing the troops who are moving to the other side. The illusion of movement is enhanced by foreshortening, as the figures' shapes and forms become smaller and blurred near the horizon. In the right lower corner, ship masts are visible, although slides drawn by horses indicate that the sea is frozen, which together with the words *funen* and *seeland* provide an additional key to the image's interpretation. The scene illustrates the March over the Great Belt itself. The inscription underlines the remarkable endeavour *NATURA HOC DEBUIT VNI* [(this help) was nature obliged to give this one man].⁴⁵⁶ The virtuous king was aided by God and nature, and given a frozen bridge that helped him defeat his enemies. The March over the Great Belt was a victory that benefited the dynasty's status, and thus it needed to be commemorated and mediated.

DEFENDING A DYNASTY. When Charles X Gustav died, in 1660, and the throne was once more left to a child, Charles XI, and Hedwig Eleonora

was included in the regency government, in contrast to her predecessor, Maria Eleonora. Hedwig Eleonora became the most influential woman in Swedish society, and not least due to her long life, she was a guiding hand of the Swedish realm.⁴⁵⁷ (She was crowned queen in 1654, and died in 1715, and kept her position almost as long as her contemporary Louis XIV.) Her seemingly self-evident position was not achieved by itself, but as a result of conscious work, and immensely aided by artistic expressions.⁴⁵⁸ She employed a large staff of artists, painters, architects, sculptors, engravers, poets and likewise antiquarians.⁴⁵⁹ Amongst these were, of course, also medallists, such as Breuer. For example, objects depict her portrait on the obverse in combination with her holding a steering wheel, and the inscription *MATER AUGUSTA* [august mother] on the reverse, which would accentuate her position within the government, as well as her motherhood.⁴⁶⁰ Other editions illustrate Charles XI's upbringing and education.⁴⁶¹ (Charles XI would, like his mother, take advantage of all available visual media to accentuate his rule.) As well, Hedwig Eleonora commissioned medals that commemorated her departed husband. In the years to come, Hedwig Eleonora consciously employed artistic means to underline her position as queen dowager of the new royal dynasty of Palatine-Zweibrücken.⁴⁶² She was the widow of the former king and mother of the king-to-be. Therefore, Hedwig Eleonora especially emphasised their achievements and put effort into visualising their dynasty.

With a minor on the throne, the political landscape certainly had changed. Wars were not fought to expand but to protect the realm, yet this did not permit forgetting prior grand deeds, which were the foundation upon which Sweden would build its future reputation. Hedwig Eleonora commissioned several other artworks related to her departed husband's grand victory, and the medal was part of the effort to commemorate the March over the Great Belt. It is precisely this practice, promoting an image by employing varying media, that was to become typical for that time.

Another piece within the dynastic visual programme commemorating her husband's victory was the wall paintings in the palace of Drottningholm. Drottningholm was perhaps the most prestigious building of late seventeenth-century Sweden.⁴⁶³ Its ambitions, rather than its size, could merit comparison to its grand contemporaries, Versailles or Schönbrunn. Drottningholm was the symbol of the Caroline dynasty. In the 1690s, the queen dowager instructed the artist Johan Philip Lemke (1631–1711) to paint her departed husband's deeds in Drottningholm, in what became



FIG. 56: Johann Philip Lemke, Charles Gustav's gallery at Drottningholm Palace, oil on canvas, 1690s, 314 × 300 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

known as the Gallery of Charles X Gustav (*fig. 56*).⁴⁶⁴ (The victories of her son, Charles XI, were depicted in the gallery above.⁴⁶⁵) The gallery is a representative room, which the visitor would enter after climbing the lavishly decorated staircase. It is spacious and suitable for walkabouts, and most of all, designed to display the wall paintings. Windows face the big battle paintings, and chandeliers would have provided additional light so that the visitor would be met by utmost grandeur. To ensure the accuracy of military details, Lemke worked with Charles X Gustav's military advisor, Count Erik Dahlbergh (1625–1703). Dahlberg himself had taken part in the military operation, and had sketched several drawings of the



FIG. 57: Engraving by Willem Swidde in Samuel Pufendorf, *De rebus Carolo Gustavo Sueciae*, 1696. Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, München.

event, and was overall highly involved in the meditation of the Belt victory.⁴⁶⁶

The next piece within the visual programme was the engraving by Willem Swidde (1660–1697), which was included in the royal historiographer Samuel Pufendorf’s extensive work on Charles X Gustav, *De rebus a Carolo Gustavo Sueciae Rege Gestis*, printed in 1696 (fig. 57). The topic, and what it referred to—a grand Swedish victory—ensured the vast popularity of all media that celebrated the March over the Great Belt. Pufendorf’s book was in high demand, and was translated to German the year after its publication. Likewise, the medals were very popular. In 1694, the Swedish Central Bank (the *Riksbank*), which on king Charles XI’s behalf issued medals, decided to order two new editions featuring the Belt victory.⁴⁶⁷ The dies, engraved by Breuer in the 1660s, were severely worn, and therefore the medallist Arvid Karlsteen (1647–1718) was employed to engrave new ones. Karlsteen kept the bold inscription but changed the medal’s design so that it resembled Lemke’s and Swidde’s images, and



FIG. 58: Medal by Arvid Karlsteen, struck silver in 1692, Ø68.98 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

became a part of the visual chronicle (*fig. 58*).⁴⁶⁸ The Belt medal was now available in two sizes, large, as illustrated here, and a smaller and thus cheaper size. The Belt medals were highly appreciated and were struck long into the next century.⁴⁶⁹

All these images, the painting, the engraving, and the medal edition, and in a way even the laudatory poetry praising this event, leaned on Dahlberg's sketches and descriptions. The visual requirements for the Belt topic were that it had to capture the actual act of marching over the ice. Further, all the images displayed an orderly military campaign, troops marching forward towards a shore visible on the horizon, and the king on his horse on the hilltop in the foreground. Thus, the Belt topic constituted a visual chronicle. Dahlberg's vision of the March over the Great Belt would become *the* official image of the victory, yet, the beneficiary of this image was, of course, the monarchy, and with it Hedwig Eleonora.

Such visual chronicles were the standard rhetorical repertoire of European rulers, and leaned on established traditions from antiquity and the Renaissance.⁴⁷⁰ The goal was to spread one message through various media. Thereby, the instigator could reach a larger public, one at once domestic, foreign, and even posthumous. Each medium had its specific advantages (and disadvantages). The paintings were large, sophisticated, and incorporated within the grand architectural plan of Drottningholm. The palace's grandeur aided the painting's visual communication and vice versa, yet, its physical connection to the building, as they were wall paintings, prohibited a large audience. Since this select group of people were the pinnacle of society, they were also the intended audience for Hedwig Eleonora's dynastic campaign. Swidde's engravings in Pufendorf's book reached a bigger, but still limited audience. Pufendorf's work was an expensive book, which not many could afford. The same applied to the medals, but compared to the book, they were manufactured in a higher edition and even came in two sizes. The medals' functions, commemoration, visual rhetoric, and values, emotional, monetary, et cetera, were similar to those established during the previous centuries, but they had now gained an additional significance, namely, as one piece within a world of visual manifestations, a visual programme. Dahlbergh, Lemke, Swidde, Pufendorf, Breuer, and Karlsteen were all part of celebrating this victory that helped shape Sweden's identity as a great power and the Caroline dynasty.

To summarise, the subject of the March over the Great Belt was communicated on numerous levels through different media and to slightly

varying audiences. Each medium had its underlying significances and ways of communication, but with this variety, Hedwig Eleonora could ensure that several layers of visual rhetoric could be addressed simultaneously. All these versions of the March over the Great Belt aided the commemoration of Charles X Gustav as the competent military leader and king, which by extension benefited his family. Charles X Gustav's son and grandson would step in his footsteps and win victories that were also considered extraordinary and, most of all, mediated as if they were a gift from God himself.⁴⁷¹

Medals that commemorated military campaigns were produced in increasing numbers during the seventeenth century and the Caroline era. Victories were commemorated with paintings, poems, prints, and more ephemeral events such as victory processions. Here, the medal would inhabit a similar role, serving as one part of the visual programme that worked in favour of the person depicted.⁴⁷²

Conspicuous commemoration

In addition to grand visual chronicles, the second half of the seventeenth century exhibited a pan-European trend of extravagant and lavish decorations at royal funerals.⁴⁷³ Royal events had been extraordinary before, but now they involved an overarching visual theme. Burke even speaks of multimedia, where words, images, actions and music interact.⁴⁷⁴ Here, the medal is used to complement the ephemeral events, while being incorporated in a visual programme. Royal festivities give a reason for change and development, and the first such overarching *Gesamtkunstwerk* staged in Sweden was the funeral of Queen Ulrika Eleonora of Denmark (born Princess of Denmark 1656–1693). In the following section, I will analyse how the medal was integrated into the royal funeral, and how it became a part of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*.

The queen consort of Charles XI, Ulrika Eleonora, died on the 11th of September 1693. Her funeral was held on the 28th of November the same year, and exemplified a new trend within memorial services. A few years earlier, a new law had been passed prohibiting the nobility from having pompous funeral processions. Music and horses were forbidden as were, in general, any ostentatious waste of money.⁴⁷⁵ The city was dressed in black, church bells rang, and sermons addressed the departed queen consort, but funeral processions, such as those described in connection to

Gustavus Adolphus' death, were no longer permitted, especially not for the royal family, who should lead by example. The absence of a procession also meant that no coins would be scattered, and that the crowd was more or less excluded from the funeral. Instead, the splendour moved inside the church. Ulrika Eleonora had wished for a tranquil and, most of all, cheap service. The money saved on her funeral was to be given to the poor.⁴⁷⁶ As demonstrated earlier, festivities were an essential part of visualising the monarchy. Not holding a grand funeral was out of the question.⁴⁷⁷ Charles XI obeyed her wishes in part: he distributed money to the poor, but as *decorum* required, he commissioned a funeral which, in its extravagance, was incomparable to any seen before.⁴⁷⁸

Nicodemus Tessin the Younger (1654–1728), court architect and member of the royal council, was responsible for the visual scenery surrounding the royal family.⁴⁷⁹ Therefore, when the queen consort passed away, Tessin was the natural choice to stage her funeral. He planned virtuous decor in Riddarholmen Church, Stockholm, after French and Italian models. He hired carpenters to cover the church's windows, walls, floor, ceiling, and columns with wood. They built additional galleries for the esteemed participants, and tailors decorated the newly refurbished interior with black, golden, and silver cloth.⁴⁸⁰ Tessin organised a complete change of the architectural scheme, and remodelled the church's interior, which would become the role model for several future royal burials (*fig. 59*).⁴⁸¹ This whole new theatrical scenery mirrored the Baroque era's preference for the all-encompassing and all-engaging experience.⁴⁸² The interior design and the *castrum doloris*, accompanied by solemn music and candlelight, certainly created a serene atmosphere.⁴⁸³

The striking innovation that marked Ulrika Eleonora's memorial service was the funeral itself. It was transformed into a Gesamtkunstwerk that addressed all senses: sight, through the church's decoration; sound, through the music and sermons; scent, by the candlelight and smoke; and, with the medal, the senses of touch and sight were engaged. The medal became a visual and material extension of the funeral, a piece that chosen individuals could keep as a reminder of the queen and the memorial service. Thereby, the medal had gained a new function.

Shortly after the funeral, a written account of the whole ceremony was printed in Swedish. It provides a vivid narrative, describes the event in close detail, and gives a generous description of its visual setting (architecture, sculpture, painting), the sermon, the music, and the medals.⁴⁸⁴

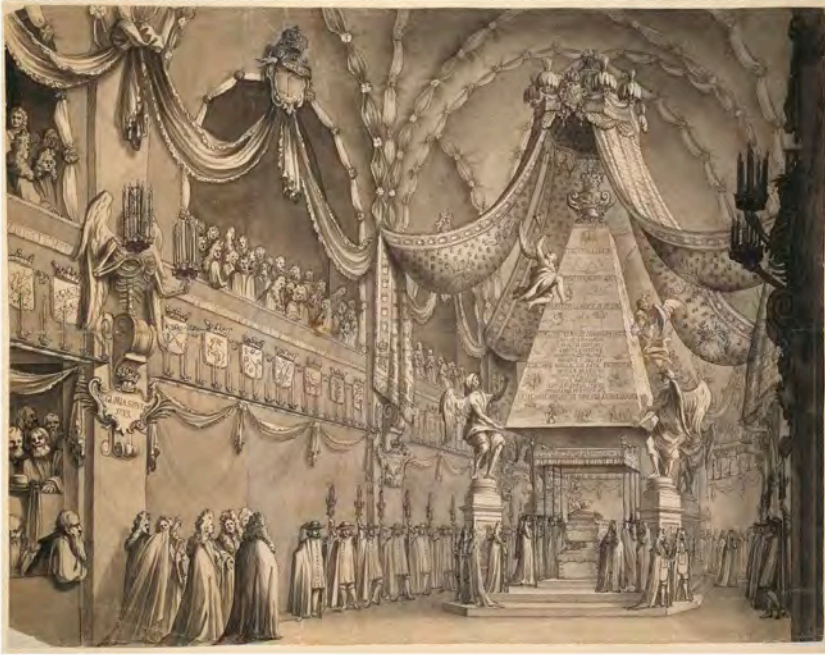


FIG. 59: The sketch of Nicodemus Tessin the Younger depicts Ulrika Eleonora's Castrum Doloris. Four winged personifications of Death held the base of a pyramid decorated with emblems. The pyramid was draped in black cloth and from the inside lit by lanterns, highlighting its shape and the emblems. On top, a rich baldachin framed the construction. Likewise, two trumpeting angels made of papier-mâché floated beside the pyramid. They were costly executed, with wings made of swan feathers, wigs of human hair and dressed in gold-moiré and blue taffeta. 53.8 × 40.5 cm Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

The account reports that two medal editions were bestowed upon the guests in connection to the funeral, and mentions the distribution and the design as a self-evident part of the memorial service.⁴⁸⁵ According to the account, both editions depict the same image and correspond to the funeral's overall topic, that of Ulrika Eleanora's *apotheosis*. The big medal (the editions varied in size) was given in silver to the *kungliga råden* (members of the royal council), foreign diplomats, and to the members of the nobility.⁴⁸⁶ The smaller silver edition was distributed to the representatives of the lower estates. Thus, the two editions regulated an official hierarchy amongst the recipients, which was now printed for the elite



FIG. 60: Ulrika Eleonora's funeral medal by Arvid Karlsteen, struck silver in 1693, Ø 44.81 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

subscriber to read. Similar tendencies to include the medal in the event were apparent earlier, but with Ulrika Eleonora's funeral, the medal and its distribution are, for the first time, also firmly incorporated in the service.⁴⁸⁷

The medal that was distributed at Ulrika Eleonora's funeral depicts her bust viewed from the right. Her features are clear and distinctly executed (*fig. 60*). Ulrika Eleonora wears a deep-cut antique-inspired dress, and only her hair reveals indicators of contemporary fashion. It is elegantly dressed into a knot, fastened with bands of pearls, and wavy curls frame her face and mark her high forehead. She is depicted without the symbols of regency, neither a crown nor a laurel wreath, and only her title, written around the portrait, connotes her regal standing: *DIVA VLR[ica]. ELEON[ora] REG[ina]. SVE[ciae]. REGIS. REGNI. SECVLIQ[ue]. DESIDERIVM.* [the blessed Ulrika Eleonora, Queen of Sweden, missed by the king, the realm, and the century]. Underneath her bust, in italics, the court medallist signed his name, *Karlsteen*. Karlsteen most likely engraved the die in consultation with Tessin, who personally oversaw all funeral preparations. Since the medal would be circulated during the funeral service, he would have had an opinion regarding the moment of distribution and its visual execution.

Generally, a medal's obverse presents the person's identity, a name combined with a portrait that provides information of whom the medal aims to honour. Here, the medal demonstrates something additional. It describes how the king wished posterity to view his spouse. According to

Hildebrand, Charles XI revoked the first version of the medal because he disliked the inscription on the obverse, which included his wife's name, title, and *SVBDITORVM AMOR AC DELICIVM* [the love and delight of her subordinates].⁴⁸⁸ He was displeased that *his* love for Ulrika Eleonora was not indicated. Since Charles XI did not approve of it, a new die for the obverse was engraved, and the inscription changed to 'missed by the King, the realm, and the century'. Charles XI wanted present and future generations to know how cherished his departed wife had been. The medal's precious and durable material further emphasised this message. The change of the inscription not only reveals that the king had opinions about the medal's execution but also, rather remarkably and uncommonly, it suggests that the medal carried emotional value.⁴⁸⁹ Besides the king's engagement, the sentiment is plainly stated as collective grief—*the king, the realm, and the century miss the departed*. The medal was a durable medium to store thoughts, and it would contribute to the cultural memory connected to Ulrika Eleonora.

The reverse depicts the queen consort in the centre of the medal, full-body, semi-en face, sitting on a cloud shaped like a throne. Her attire is similar to the obverse, antique-inspired, with a toga loosely draped around her body. Ulrika Eleonora resembles an allegorical figure, *Concordia* or *Caritas*, as she is depicted barefoot with her left breast revealed. She rests her left arm on the cloud-shaped throne and holds a palm branch in her right hand, which indicates the eternal life waiting for Ulrika Eleonora.⁴⁹⁰ On a segment of the globe below lie her regalia, crown, orb, sceptre, and yet she looks to the left, where another crown floats on a band of clouds. This crown has a star on each spike, and it would be the same crown that God once granted Gustavus Adolphus, the crown of life (in death). Tessin placed a similar crown on the sarcophagus that he had ordered for Ulrika Eleonora. Likewise, the emblems depicted on the pyramid over her *castrum doloris* covered the topics of piety and eternal life, which again points to the all-encompassing visual programme.⁴⁹¹ On the medal, the inscription *SOLIO MELIORE RECEPTA* is written in big letters above the queen, and below, engraved in somewhat smaller letters, the viewer can read *NATA. 1656. CORON[ata]. 1680. DENAT[a]. 1693.* [received on a better throne. Born 1656, crowned 1680, died 1693]. The inscription provides the essential dates of Ulrika Eleonora's life, birth, coronation (also the date of her marriage), and her death.⁴⁹² These markers of identification intermingle with the object's usefulness as an accurate chronicle.

The image transmits an eternal atmosphere. Ulrika Eleonora has left her earthly throne behind, and moved on to a heavenly and eternal throne. The reverse complements the obverse, relating to the topic of sorrow by presenting solace. One should not mourn Ulrika Eleonora (too much) because she has been elevated to heaven and given the crown of life. Much like Gustavus Adolphus' funeral medal, it displays a transition from sorrow to solace. The design clearly corresponded to the funeral's overarching theme of Ulrika Eleonora's *apotheosis*. Her death was sorrowful, but because she was such a virtuous human being, she would be uplifted to heaven and given the crown of life. Therefore, the funeral also channelled consolation for those she left behind. The topos was recreated in the church's visual setting, with the emblems and the trumpeting angels, and it was likewise prominent in the music, the eulogy, and, of course, on the medal.

The remaining medals indicate no connection to any chains, and they were not aimed to be worn. On the one hand, as contemporary portraits show, this was no longer fashionable, and, on the other hand, the medal had become a regularly manufactured piece of art. It was meant to be viewed, held, and discussed. At Gustav I's funeral, the medals were cast in gold attached to a chain and given to selected individuals closest to the royal family. The medals were also connected to the rite of succession. Gustavus Adolphus' funeral medal relied on his own massive image production, which spread the image of the departed hero. Incomparable to earlier medals, it was a portable monument embellishing his legend. Nothing of that sort applied to Ulrika Eleonora. She had no successor and was no war hero. Her medal fulfilled a different agenda. It was produced for the funeral, indeed, to commemorate the departed queen consort, but also to serve as a part of Tessin's grand Gesamtkunstwerk.

Comparable to the Belt medal, Ulrika Eleonora's funeral rested on the concept of a visual programme and was circulated via various media. The medal's visual execution corresponded to the event, and it was supposed to mediate the same image as the other media connected to the funeral. Nevertheless, in comparison to the previous example, the funeral was not a campaign built up over decades but something that needed fast visualisation. Similar tendencies were already detectable at Gustavus Adolphus' funeral services, where the medal created a portable monument to the departed king. However, Ulrika Eleonora's funeral medal not only commemorated her and the funeral service but, in a new manner, complemented the event, both visually and materially.

THE EPHEMERAL FUNERAL AND THE ETERNAL MEDAL. The funeral was ephemeral, and so it needed to be materialised. This material manifestation was done, in addition to the durable medal, by different printed narratives of the memorial. First, the previously mentioned written account; second, the engravings depicting the church's visual decoration, done after Tessin's sketches; third, the sermon given by archbishop Olov Svebilius at Riddarholmen Church, and an oration by court chaplain Simon Isogæus, delivered on the day of the funeral at Klara Church, in the centre of Stockholm.⁴⁹³ This way of commemorating royal events was a part of the typical news circle. Medals, descriptions, and engravings would be sent to other royal families, written about, and could be acquired afterwards at the royal mint and the printer. Needless to say, these prints were expensive and could only be purchased by a limited group of buyers. All media had respective advantages and disadvantages and addressed various audiences. The engravings would manifest the funeral on printed sheets, bound in a luxurious book, and the medal would immortalise the event with its durable material. Since the medal was described in the printed description of the funeral, it would even commemorate on several layers. I will compare the medal with one of these other manifestations, namely Isogæus' oration, to illustrate whether and how the object distinguished itself from the other commemorative undertakings, as well as how these complimented each other.⁴⁹⁴

Isogæus' oration leans on the same theme as Olov Svebilius' sermon in the Riddarholmen Church, namely one taken from Paul's letter to the Philippians, 'For to me, to live is Christ, and to die is gain.'⁴⁹⁵ Thus, even though Isogæus held his funeral sermon apart from where Tessin staged the grand funeral, the two ceremonies ought to be viewed as *pars pro toto* within the commemoration of Ulrika Eleonora.⁴⁹⁶ Isogæus describes Ulrika Eleonora as a virtuous and gentle figure, a loving wife, mother, and queen who devoted her life to the doctrines of Christ.⁴⁹⁷ For that reason, her place in heaven is certain. Besides being a religious event, a funeral was also a highly representational occasion. Thus, the departed and her connection to God were an omnipresent topic. During the funeral service, the speech would have visual aid in the decorations in the church, and the printed version, which consisted of 130 pages, included four allegorical engravings that visualised the court chaplain's words.⁴⁹⁸ Instead of recapitulating the entire oration, I will address the last of these engravings, which illustrates Isogæus conclusion, namely, Ulrika Eleonora's apotheosis.



FIG. 61: Joseph Mulder, Ulrika Eleonora's apotheosis in Simon Isogæus, *Æternitati sacrum! Swea pust, himla lust*, 1693, 224 × 141 mm. Uppsala University Library.

The engraving depicts Ulrika Eleonora from behind, kneeling on clouds, stretching her arms to the left and towards Christ (*fig. 61*). Christ sits above her and lowers a crown towards her with his right hand. The crown in Christ's hand is executed similarly to the one depicted on the medal, with a star on each spike. He looks at Ulrika Eleonora while pointing his left index finger to four young children in the right upper corner. The children are her sons, Gustav, Ulrik, Fredrik, and Charles Gustav, who died at a tender age. In the left lower corner, a winged man, *Time*, holds a reaper next to a skeleton, *Death*. The faces of putti poke out from the clouds surrounding Ulrika Eleonora, and watch over the scene. Two sentences accompany the engraving, *I död förärd* (in death honoured), which refers to the crown that she receives as well as her apotheosis, and *Döden är min winning* (death is my gain), meaning that she will be reunited with her beloved children. The printed image complements and summarises Isogæus' laudatory oration, in which he praises her piousness and motherhood. Piousness was considered one virtue, perhaps the most essential, which a woman ought to embody.⁴⁹⁹ Motherhood was likewise essential to the conception of womanhood, and Ulrika Eleonora was not only the mother of her children but of all Sweden.⁵⁰⁰ Her apotheosis would be the ultimate reward for all her good deeds and sacrifices.

The court artist David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl (1629–1698) had previously commemorated the dead princes with allegorical paintings similar to the engraving.⁵⁰¹ Likewise, Tessin had executed elaborate sarcophagi for the princes on which *Time*, *Death*, and the *crown* were prominent themes.⁵⁰² The motifs incorporated a number of associations, which were well established and demanded a previous understanding of the desired interpretation. Thus, the engraving, like the medal, revisited already established iconographical traditions and topoi.

The engraving and the medal emphasise how all of the funeral's aspects, architecture, emblems, music, sermon, and medals, were intended to interrelate. The engraving's overall traits—clothing, clouds, and crown—mirror the image depicted on the medal, and vice versa. Their compositions are very similar, as is their connection to an image with a short inscription. The medal also distinguishes itself from the engraving and other prints that concern the funeral. The most prominent distinction would be its physical characteristics, its size and material, but another was the medal's immediate and lasting connection to the funeral service. Like the funeral sermon, the medal was given at the event, but the speech was ephemeral

and needed to be materialised. The medal, on the other hand, already was a material manifestation. The prints commemorated the funeral, yet the medal was actually distributed at the funeral service, thus making the ephemeral event seemingly timeless, to an even greater degree than its printed counterparts. The medal was one piece, a *pars pro toto*, within the ephemeral visual programme of the funeral, and simultaneously also part of the visual communication that commemorated the memorial service and the queen. It was the ideal complement to the Gesamtkunstwerk, reproducing that total artwork in miniature.

Ulrika Eleonora's funeral would become the role model for future burials long into the next century.⁵⁰³ Similar tendencies, as well as the visual settings, sermon, music, and prints, were revisited at royal funerals, and likewise the practice of distributing a set of medals. The visual manifestations would be adapted to contemporary taste and style, but the overarching concept of arranging a royal ceremony as a Gesamtkunstwerk would prevail. Thereby, the medal added another function to its list of roles.

WARS AND MEDALS

The medals discussed previously could be interpreted as one piece of the puzzle of royal visual rhetoric. Medals were integrated into a rich visual programme or complemented the very same. The following analysis will address another role of medals, namely how they were employed during wars. I will present the most common practices related to medals, which included gratifying the military, celebrating and commemorating victories, and defaming the enemy, and discuss the underlying values and implications that these medals could entail.

A reward for services

In the previous chapter, I addressed the topic of *Gnadenpfennige* and mentioned that these were occasionally given to officers in the field. Giving medals to the military was not a practice unique to Swedish kings, but done all over Europe.⁵⁰⁴ The practice indicates a shared consensus concerning the importance of gratifying loyal services, in particular military services. Still, bestowing medals to military men was no consistent custom, nor were these gift exchanges regulated in any way; all depended on the ruler's goodwill. In Sweden, the first step towards a regulated reward

system appeared in the late seventeenth century when Charles XI instigated a systematic scheme to reward his officers and soldiers with medals.⁵⁰⁵ The system had the advantage that it entailed transparency, though it also implied that the medals were no longer only gifts of grace given to a select few, but rewards given to many. Therefore, both the medal gift's significance and its value had changed. In the following discussion, I will provide examples of Charles XI's medal gifts to the military, and discuss their effects.⁵⁰⁶

Charles XI actively sought to develop the Swedish army and reorganise Sweden's defensive forces into a standing army with regular drills.⁵⁰⁷ During his regency, he travelled from regiment to regiment and personally reviewed the troops' training. Soldiers and officers alike were scrutinised during the king's vigilant inspections.⁵⁰⁸ In 1686, Charles XI decided that each military unit was to receive new flags, which he would deliver himself in combination with his general examination. At that time, the king brought not only new banners, but also came with medals.

Historian Ernst Aréen, who has researched military decorations, analysed Charles XI's medal distributions.⁵⁰⁹ According to Aréen, the medals that the king wished to bestow on the military men were destined for those in active duty who had served in the wars in Scania against Denmark during 1675–1679. Registers, letters, and the king's diary confirm a continuous distribution of medals to the military until 1696.⁵¹⁰ (Then, he became sick and died of stomach cancer a year later.⁵¹¹) Charles XI bequeathed gold medals in three sizes, matching the military ranks. The first, worth 15 ducats, was given to the officers; the second, weighing as much as 11½ ducats, was designated for the captains; and the third, worth 6½ ducats, was given to subaltern officers.⁵¹² Occasionally the weight of the first medal varied, as, for example, when officer Gustaf Ulfspärre received a medal weighing as much as 24 ducats.⁵¹³ Depending on the time and occasion, the king's delivery would differ.⁵¹⁴ At his inspection in Älvsborg, in March 1690, he handed out 13 medals, and an additional 320 *riksdaler* to distribute amongst the lower-ranking soldiers such as the drummers.⁵¹⁵ The same month, the king continued to Skaraborg, where he gave the written order to the regiment's chief—in this case, Nils Strömberg—to distribute the medals as stated in the instructions.⁵¹⁶ According to the register, Strömberg received a list of names and 16 gold medals in a separate sealed paper cover. To deliver medals sealed in paper seems to have been expected, as other contemporary sources speak of a similar method.⁵¹⁷



FIG. 62: Medal by Anton Meybusch, Charles XI's victory in Scania, struck silver after 1677, Ø 50.38 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

The medals were not always delivered immediately due to travelling and logistics. While visiting the regiment in Säter, in May 1691, the king wrote a letter to the state office, ordering it to have medals sent to him.⁵¹⁸ Perhaps he wanted to inspect the troops before deciding whom to grace with medals. However, in general, the weight and form of distribution followed the same procedure. The king would travel to a regiment, make his inspection, collect the old flags, distribute the new ones, and before he took his leave, grace the regiment with medals. Over the years, Charles XI toured the whole realm, as far as Torneå in northern Sweden.⁵¹⁹

VALID AT ANY TIME. The question remains how the medals looked since the records only stipulate that they were made of gold but, as usual, include nothing about their design. The purpose of the medals' distribution required a shared visual design, at least for each size (and perhaps to avoid jealousy). Hildebrand presents several examples of medals that were manufactured in connection to the wars in Scania, like the editions that commemorate the victories in Lund, Halmstad, and Landskrona in 1676–1677.⁵²⁰ Such medals were objects produced for the elite. Here, the officers and soldiers, who fought at the battles, were not the first-hand recipients of these grand medals. The medals that commemorated the wars in Scania displayed a sophisticated iconography, for example, thematising the Gordian knot, or comparing Charles XI with Jupiter and the Danes with the Titans (*fig. 62*). Their size, between Ø48–50mm, made them impractical to handle and quite expensive, and therefore unsuitable



FIG. 63: Engraved by Arvid Karlsteen, Charles XI's coronation medal, struck silver in 1675, Ø30.25 mm, depicted 1:1. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.



FIG. 64: Arvid Karlsteen, Charles XI's coronation medal, struck silver in 1675, Ø41.19 mm, depicted 1:1. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

to distribute in large numbers. Their size does not match the weight indicated in the records, either. The iconography's finesse would rather warrant an intellectual conversation about the object than a quick delivery in a military camp. Thus, because of their iconography and size, the medals carrying the most fitting visual design, the wars against Denmark, were not distributed.

Given the occasion and the recipients, one can assume that the medals distributed by the king carried a generic design. Aréen compared the weight of the medals bestowed to the regiments with all the medals and dies that featured Charles XI, and concluded that the three sizes might correspond to his coronation medals (*fig. 63–64*).⁵²¹ At the coronation, the medals with this design were struck in two sizes, although it would not have been a problem to strike gold medals corresponding to three differ-

ent weights. Altering the weight of a medal could be easily done. The more metal used, the thicker the medal, or the less metal, the thinner the result. One must only consider the maximum and minimum size that the die allows the medal to become. Aréen's suggestion is highly plausible, keeping in mind that rulers before Charles XI, like Charles IX or Christina, distributed coronation medals as gratifications long after their actual coronation. Furthermore, the coronation medals would have had a universal design, displaying Charles XI crowned by God, and this message would be all-encompassing and valid at any time during his rule. Therefore, these editions seem to be the only plausible option.

All the coronation editions show more or less the same image, except for some slight differences. The small one depicts, on the obverse, Charles XI's profile from the right, wearing a long curled wig and laurel wreath, and the larger edition shows his bust dressed in a Roman-inspired breastplate, ripped shoulder guards, and a sash draped diagonally over his chest. CAROLUS is written in front of him, and REX behind. The king's physiognomy shows no distinctive traits, and is adapted to an overall representative portrait of a ruler.⁵²² The reverse displays the king from the right, kneeling on his left, and his two hands are folded and raised in prayer. Charles XI is dressed in an ermine coat, and enclosed on both sides by the drapes of the heavy-looking royal mantle. The tips of the animals' tails are rendered visibly on the relief, and the fabric of his mantle is draped around him on the floor. He looks up towards a hand that holds a crown above his head. Clouds encircle the arm, signalling thereby that God's hand crowns the king. The scene is surrounded by the inscription QUEM DAT SERVABIT HONOREM [He (Charles XI) will protect the honour God gives]. The year 1675 is indicated in the exergue.⁵²³ The relief on the editions is delicately executed, and the reflections on the surface enhance the perception of depth. A glittering gold medal would undoubtedly make a captivating impression.

The design of the medal is universal, well-recognised, and understandable, even without any knowledge of Latin. But what was the difference between the medals distributed at the coronation and the ones bestowed upon the soldiers? In both cases, the medals had the function of a gift, implying representation, commemoration and, as usual, monetary value, yet the situation was different. Charles XI himself wrote on several occasions about his intentions with the military medals. He stated that they were *nådetecken* [signs of grace] given for excellent behaviour

and commemoration.⁵²⁴ These medals were gratification for services rendered, so, in principle, the king reciprocated deeds that the soldiers had already performed. They had given the gifts of their lives and service (as was, of course, their obligation). This circumstance affected the traditional circle and the dynamics of the gift exchange, where the person in power instigated the exchange. At his coronation, Charles XI had given medals for *future* loyalty (and like Eric XIV to show generosity). Here, the king rewarded deeds *past*. That aside, the medals' purpose, as well as their design, remained the same. The king could reuse the dies of his coronation medals because their message and material were valid at any time, but other needs and other recipients resulted in a renegotiation of the gift.

Today, the only extant coronation medals held in various collections are made of silver, and the items struck for the coronation were also made of silver.⁵²⁵ The silver points to the immanent function of the gold medals given to the soldiers as a monetary reward. Considering that only a few years later, Sweden was engaged in the Great Northern War (1700–1721), it comes as no surprise that these medals were probably transformed into cash. They could have been exchanged for money, or traded for goods immediately. Medals were monetary investments, like cutlery or other utilities made of precious material. In prosperous times, they were a sign of wealth, but in dire need, medals could easily be transferred to currency. That was as vital for an ordinary man as well as for a military man. Not seldom, the soldiers sent part of their wages or spoils of war to their families, as Lieutenant colonel Jon Ståhlhammar did. While at the Prussian front, he sent linen and tableware but also gold medals to his wife.⁵²⁶ Charles XI was aware that families left behind by soldiers often lived under economic strain, as demonstrated in combination with his inspection in Skaraborg in 1690. There, he stipulated that the wife and children of quartermaster Mathias Tisensteen should receive the medal intended for the recently deceased Tisensteen.⁵²⁷ Such considerations suggest that even the king presumed that the medals given to the regiments had a predetermined function and value; they were a reward, and had monetary value. Yet only upon the act of trading the medal for currency was it transformed into money.⁵²⁸ Until then, the medal and reward, including all its intrinsic values, remained intact.

During Charles XI's reign, several military men were ennobled, including Lars Fägerskiöld, Henrik Rappe, and Nils Arvidsson Hägerflycht.⁵²⁹ Charles XI rewarded the actions of these men, and not only nobility of

birth. Therefore, the medals given to soldiers were no longer a mere gift, but a reward for outstanding deeds and a possibility for a brighter future. Since a reward was given to many, it could, of course, entail expectations from the recipients. Like Whitelocke's entourage, who expected *more*, the soldiers could want or even claim a bigger medal, yet no such responses on the part of the soldiers are indicated in any source material.

Instead, I suggest that the practice of rewarding soldiers originates in the traditional princely gift. The medal exchange had now moved from the court and the nobility to the military and the field, but receiving a gold medal would still have been an exceptional grace and honour. These medals and their distribution constitute the pre-stage of the modern reward system. The topic of expectations and military reward would remain a vital role of the medal, and would be renegotiated and adapted by future kings. The systematic scheme to reward soldiers with medals would become more regulated and standardised towards the end of the following century. Meanwhile, such rewards were the exception rather than the rule.

Military tokens

The following example presents, I suggest, a pre-stage of the military token. It was commissioned to honour the king and commemorates a specific battle, yet it was not ordered by the authorities. I will start by outlining the background that leads to this medal.

During the Caroline Era, Sweden was almost continuously engaged in wars against Denmark, Poland, and Russia.⁵³⁰ The animosity towards Denmark paused with the marriage of Charles XI and Ulrika Eleonora, in 1680, but the death of Charles XI, four years after his wife in 1697, which left their minor son, Charles XII, on the throne, made military tensions inevitable.⁵³¹ Now, sabres seemed to rattle in all directions, not least that of Russia, which encroached on the Swedish border. The mutual hostility of the two countries resulted in the Great Northern War, of which the Battle of Narva (modern-day Estonia, close to the Russian border) was the first great battle between Czar Peter the Great (1672–1725) and Charles XII.⁵³² It took place on the 20th of November 1700, with the Swedish army numbering 10,500 men against 37,000 Russian soldiers.⁵³³ Despite the seemingly hopeless situation, the unexpected advantages presented by a snowstorm aided the Swedish army, and the young king



FIG. 65: Medal on Charles XII and the victory at Narva, silver, c. 1708, 20 × 23 mm. Economy Museum Royal Coin Cabinet/SHM.

won a massive victory.⁵³⁴ Immediately afterwards, the propaganda machine started working.⁵³⁵ An extensive amount of war booty was taken and sent to Stockholm to emphasise the success, and plans for a victory procession were set in motion. Likewise, the narrative was managed. The numbers of soldiers who fought were exaggerated, as was the king's role. The official account of the battle of Narva would say that 'the Swedes fought against 80,000 Russian soldiers, who were left behind by the cowardly fleeing Czar. Aided by a snowstorm that was sent from God, the brave King Charles XII won a glorious victory.'⁵³⁶ Such slander, occasional poetry, broadside ballads, and chapbooks were standard in warfare.⁵³⁷ The news of the young king's victory (he was not yet eighteen at the time) travelled fast, and soon the whole of Europe knew about Charles XII, who fought like David against Goliath.⁵³⁸ The victory was crucial and well-needed, not least for keeping up morale at home.⁵³⁹ However, Goliath was not dead, only temporarily defeated, and I will have occasion to further consider the Swedish military undertakings against Russia later in this chapter. Meanwhile, Charles XII was celebrated as a hero, and would become as admired as Gustavus Adolphus once was, and similarly, as the mythology surrounding his persona and the Battle of Narva started to develop, not least aided by medals.

Amongst all medals thematising Charles XII's deeds, one is particularly fascinating because, in comparison to others, it is small, plain, shows

little aesthetic finesse, and has little economic value. Previous medals were rather grand and elaborate, which is why such visual and material irregularities stand out. The item is made of silver and has an oval shape, and it is enclosed by an additional rim and eyelet (*fig. 65*). The medal is very light, as the items within the edition vary from 1.5 to 2 grams and have a size of around 23 mm (height).⁵⁴⁰ It feels quite thin in the hand, but is not fragile. Its obverse displays Charles XII's bust, seen from the right. He wears a shirt and a scarf underneath his cuirass, which is decorated with a lion's head on the shoulder. His sash, embroidered with crowns, is fastened with a star-shaped pin. The decoration on his clothing refers to his position; the lion was his emblem, and the crowns connote his regency. His facial features, eyes, nose and chin, are distinctly rendered, giving Charles XII an alert expression and a characteristic look. Charles XII is depicted wearing short hair instead of a periwig, which would have been the standard fashion at that time. His name and title, CAROL. XII. D. G. REX. SVECIAE. [Charles XII, by God's grace, King of Sweden], surround his portrait. The reverse depicts his motto (in Swedish) and year, MED GVDZ HIELP 1700 [with God's help], which is written in four lines on a round dotted relief, and additionally, the French text, QVI. M'. HONORE. ME. PORTE. [who honours me, wears me], surrounds the motto in a semicircle.⁵⁴¹

Dating the medal by Charles XII's appearance, its design, and the year, it must have been commissioned some years after the Battle of Narva. Charles XII changed his attire around 1701, and appeared from then on as military king, without a wig, and wearing a uniform like his officers.⁵⁴² His flaming hair and military look would be his signum and distinguished him from other contemporary monarchs. The official image of Charles XII as a military man first appeared on medals in 1703 and coins in 1708, which also would be the earliest date of the medal edition's origin.⁵⁴³ The shape and rim show similarities to an edition engraved by Carl Gustaf Hartman (1666–1738), which Hildebrand dates to 1708.⁵⁴⁴ In 1708, Charles XII also launched a new Russian campaign, and probably the medal was commissioned then.⁵⁴⁵ Hence, it was made years after the battle at Narva, but why?

It had nearly a non-monetary value, which suggests that the value connected to the object was rather emotional and representational. Accounts of Charles XII's medals from the early eighteenth century confirm this idea, and state that officers who fought at the Battle of Narva wore this

medal edition made in gold and silver, fastened on their buttonhole in honour of their beloved king.⁵⁴⁶ Berch even claims that the edition was not only worn by officers, but that the officers even commissioned the medal themselves.⁵⁴⁷ According to Edvard Gyldenstolpe's (d. 1709) reports from the military camps, soldiers frequently ordered miniatures, rings, bracelets, or other mementoes depicting their king, and this medal might just have been one of these.⁵⁴⁸ That the officers acquired the medals themselves explains the object's minimal weight and rudimentary execution. To commission an expensive medal from a military campaign would entail a financial risk since the delivery could fail. However, the fact that the officers, despite the economic difficulties of a military campaign, set aside silver, even the small amounts needed to order such a medal, confirms that they deemed it important to carry the king's portrait. His portrait embodied their hope and loyalty. The medal underlines these sentiments as it speaks to the viewer and the person wearing it: *'He who honours me, wears me.'* Once again, the medal enforces an image act, as it directly communicates to the viewer. The weight of the object, and the way it would have been fastened on the buttonhole, would allow the medal to dangle and flip over, displaying both Charles XII's portrait and the reverse. It would turn into a sign of fidelity, visible to all, and by wearing the medal, the officers honoured Charles XII.

In addition, not only does the medal operate in favour of the individual portrayed, but the person wearing it. The medal signalled that the officer wearing it fought at the Battle of Narva. The topic of Narva was condensed in Charles XII's portrait, the date on the reverse, and the king's motto, which according to Hildebrand, was the camp's password at the Battle of Narva.⁵⁴⁹ The medal captured a positive memory of a victory, and symbolised the hope and belief that this could be achieved in the current Russian campaign. Furthermore, as with Gustavus Adolphus, the portrait extended the king's reputation to the person carrying the medal. The medal aided the person's self-fashioning. Thus, by wearing and showing the medal, the officer would become a part of the great victory, conveying an emotional value. It was a memento, a reminder of something significant in the person's life and career.⁵⁵⁰

Next to these apparent features, commemorating the king and the battle as an exceptional experience, the medal represented something additional. I propose that it was an indicator of a shared adventure. If all the (remaining) officers who fought at Narva wore such a medal, they

indicated that they belonged together, and, by wearing it, they became an exclusive group. They had given themselves a military order, even before it was invented. Everyone who saw them carrying the medal would know that they had been at Narva, and were victorious. This item presents an early form of a military token, and demonstrates that a medal and its form could range from sophisticated artistically designed objects, to the plain and small, and that particular medals connected to the military had a wide variety of shapes.

Payback time

The victory at Narva did not only initiate small military tokens, but likewise grand and official medals. To commemorate a victory with a medal meant addressing domestic and foreign viewers, because fighting a war implied that there were two parties, the victors and the losing side. The battlefield was often extended across the usual media of propaganda, such as prints, lyrics, sermons and, of course, medals. These were standard strategies employed by all European rulers at that time.⁵⁵¹ Thus, medals or other media that commemorated victories also, by definition, addressed the enemy, in one way or another, and not only domestic audiences. With the medal, the victor celebrated his glory, and simultaneously reminded the enemy of his failure. It was a way of writing a resilient history that could harbour a victory for present beholders and future generations, and one example thereof started at Narva in November 1700. Below, I will discuss the Swedish Narva medal and the Russian response.

As previously mentioned, the victory at Narva was considered extraordinary, and celebrated extensively. In January 1701, the council in Stockholm agreed that the victory warranted a medal, and that drafts for its design were to be ordered. The council debated the medal at length, and their entwined discussions on the topic illustrate that the medal was considered vital to the king's and the country's visual rhetoric. On the 5th of March, a proposal for the medal's image and inscription was presented, and the council agreed that further conference with the medallist Karlsteen and the antiquarian Nicolas Keder (1659–1735), regarding how to proceed, was necessary.⁵⁵² Two weeks later, the Narva medal was again on the council's agenda. A new proposal was presented, yet this time the secretary of the council was ordered to discuss the medal's design with General Carl Magnus Stuart (1650–1705), probably to request a military



FIG. 66: Sébastien Le Clerc's sketch for a medal on the victory at Narva, 1701, pen and brown ink, wash on paper, 8.8 × 8.7 cm. Nationalmuseum Stockholm.

opinion on the design.⁵⁵³ Another medal proposal was put on the agenda, on the 15th of April, which would compare Charles XII with Hercules and the victories against Denmark, Poland, and Russia with the three-headed beast Kerberos.⁵⁵⁴ This proposal was revoked, too, since Narva called for a separate design. Meanwhile, Tessin contacted the Swedish envoy in Paris, Daniel Cronström (1655–1719), and asked Cronström to send him some suggestions, prompting Cronström to order sketches from the engraver Sébastien Le Clerc (1637–1714) (*fig. 66*).⁵⁵⁵ In the end, the antiquarian and miniature painter Elias Brenner (1647–1717) was given the assignment to compose a design for the medal, for which he received 14 *riksdaler* (in comparison, the monthly wage of an officer was 12 *riksdaler*).⁵⁵⁶ On the 4th of June, a sample medal was struck in gold and shown to the council, which decided that one gold and three silver medals should be struck and sent to Count Carl Piper (1647–1716), Charles XII's closest

counsellor, who would present them to the king.⁵⁵⁷ Charles XII gave his consent, and official production of the medal started.⁵⁵⁸

These extensive discussions back and forth illustrate that medal matters were not taken lightly. The design ought to be suitable since it would confer the king's victory for eternity. Moreover, it is an ideal example to demonstrate that a medal's production line was diversified and could engage several individuals. One person accounted for the image, while, in some cases, another was hired to invent a suitable Latin inscription, and a third would engrave the die. As the council minutes state, Brenner designed the medal and would then, in a modern sense, be considered as *the* artist, the genius behind the composition; yet, the medal itself was the last stage and final product. Therefore, Karlsteen, who engraved the die and shaped the material form of the medal, signed the product. He gave the king a face and features. The medal was Karlsteen's work. From today's perspective, Karlsteen would be comparable with a craftsman because he did not design the medal. In the seventeenth century, that fact did not influence the medal's aesthetic value, nor did it diminish its *aura*, to use a term of Walter Benjamin.⁵⁵⁹ Although an edition could be reproduced many times, it was always a unique object, and so was the case with the Narva medal, too.

The obverse depicts Charles XII before he changed his attire. It displays Charles XII's bust from the right, wearing a laurel wreath, wig, a cuirass with a lion's head, and a sash (*fig. 67*). He is portrayed precisely as contemporary fashion dictated and, in the tradition of his grandfather and father, as a victorious Roman emperor. Following the standard composition, his name and title surround the image, CAROLVS. XII. REX. D. G. SVECIAE. The reverse shows the veduta of Narva and the battlefield from a bird's-eye perspective. In the background, Narva, illustrated by a fortress, houses, and churches, is surrounded by an angular fortification wall. In the lower centre foreground, Charles XII, dressed in uniform, sits on a rearing horse. He holds a drawn sword, signalling the riders and men behind him, in the lower right corner of the image, who rush into battle against the Russian forces. In the centre, most of the image space shows combat scenes, gunshots, and turmoil. Despite the mayhem, Swedish and the Russian troops are easily identified because, on the left side, snow falls upon the Russian army. Meanwhile, on the right, the sun shines over the city and the Swedish army. Heavy clouds and a dotted relief symbolise the snowstorm on the left, and thin lines suggest sunrays on the right. Above the clouds, the



FIG. 67: Arvid Karlsteen, Charles XII and the victory at Narva, silver, 1701, Ø 52.02 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.



FIG. 68: Martin Brunner and Georg Nürnberger, Charles XII and the victory at Narva, silver, 1701, Ø35.91 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

short inscription reads *MANIFESTO. NVMINE*. [God's intention is manifested]. The snowstorm that aided the Swedish victory was interpreted as God's will. An additional inscription is written in the exergue, the lower part of the medal, and reads in three lines *CASTRA. MOSCOR. AD. NARV. CAPTA. XX. NOV. MDCC*. [The Muscovite camp seized at Narva on the 20th of November 1700]. The medallist's signature, *AK*, Arvid Karlsteen, is visible below the king's shoulder on the obverse.⁵⁶⁰

Despite all proposals and discussions, the design, with marching troops and the king seated on a rearing horse, does not appear extraordinary. On the contrary, it follows the dominant trend, as early modern medals on victories generally displayed the place of battle, often a city's veduta, a battlefield, or an allegorical illustration. Hence, the Narva medal followed this tradition and modelled itself on standard depictions of battles, and thus it resembles Karlsteen's Belt medal.

In addition to Karlsteen's edition, medallists working in the German-speaking lands and Holland treated the topic of the battle, and issued objects displaying a fleeing czar, or a lion slaying a dragon (*fig. 68*).⁵⁶¹ Such 'gutter press' was a standard way of spreading news, and added to the written accounts and laudatory and satiric poems.⁵⁶² The imagery depicted on the medals would get a life of its own, being turned into game pieces, attached to goblets, and much more. Most of all, the images were copied in prints, sold to those who could not get hold of a medal. Art historian Alexander Dencher points to the fact that 'the graphic reproduction of medals significantly expanded their audience beyond initial recipients and collectors, allowing medals to play a similar role to the prints and pamphlets that spread propaganda.'⁵⁶³ In addition to the general media, the nobility was mobile, had networks, and the eastern part of the realm (i.e. modern-day Finland) was not far from Russia. Thus, medals, poems and prints ridiculing the czar would sooner or later find their way to him.

The Russian defeat at Narva was humiliating, and a counterstrike was just a matter of time. Nor was it unusual that, in addition to military payback, another more sophisticated form of revenge would arrive as well. Medals featuring a Russian victory over the Swedes were coined already in 1702 (illustrating the Siege of Nöteborg).⁵⁶⁴ The Swedes answered a year later with a medal commemorating the Battle of Pultusk, and then the Russians won again in 1703, at Nyenschantz, and on it went.⁵⁶⁵ The practice of responding to an enemy's medal was used as a symbolic counterstrike that would endure the next temporary defeat.⁵⁶⁶ Such medal



FIG. 69: Timofey Ivanov, Peter the Great and the victory at Narva, 1704 (?), silver, Ø 45.57. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

responses could be subtle or straightforward and were part of the overall propaganda.

Finally, in 1704, Czar Peter the Great moved his troops back to Narva and besieged the city. Henning Rudolf Horn (1651–1730), a colonel who fought at Narva in 1700, held command during the Russian siege. He was asked to capitulate several times but refused, yet the Russian forces were so strong that Horn had to surrender at last.⁵⁶⁷ The czar had restored his honour, and, accordingly, he issued a medal to celebrate his victory.⁵⁶⁸ The obverse shows Peter the Great from the right, with a light uplifted chin and a stern look (*fig. 69*).⁵⁶⁹ He wears a moustache and is victoriously dressed, with a laurel wreath, ornamented cuirass, and decoratively draped sash. His titles read *PETRVS. ALEXII. FIL. D. G. RVSS. IMP. M. DUX MOSCOVIÆ* [Peter, son of Alexis, by God's grace Czar of Russia and grand Duke of Moscow]. The reverse depicts the view over the river, with the Narva fortress and the city Ivangorod. In the foreground, placed on a strip of land, canons and mortars fire on the city. The bombs have curving tails, which visualises their falling on the city, and on the right, close to a larger building outside the city walls, an explosion hints at vast devastation. Above the scene, the inscription reads *CECIDERE AB ORIGINE PRIMA. LVCERT.* [they have fallen from the first beginning. Lucretius] and in the text in the exergue, *NARVA VI CAPTA 9. AVG[usti]. ST[ili]. v[eteris]* reads,

in translation, Narva, captured by force on 9 August, old style (the style referring to the old Julian calendar). Some of the letters are larger than the others and form the chronogram CCDIIII (100+100+500+4), which implies 704 and the year 1704. The inscription refers to Lucretius and a passage from *De Rerum Natura* about the laws of nature and the seasons. It reads:

At a fixed time trees bloom, and at a fixed time shed their flowers. No less at a fixed time our age commands the teeth to fall out, and bids the un-grown youth to put on the soft vestures of growth and to let his beard grow equally down either cheek. Lastly lightnings, snow, rain, clouds, and winds come at fairly fixed seasons of the year. For since the first-beginnings of causes have been so, and since things have thus befallen from the first beginning of the world, with regular sequence also they now come back in fixed order.⁵⁷⁰

Thus, the inscription compares the czar's victory with natural law. It was just a matter of time that he would reclaim the city, as the snow comes in winter. According to the medal, Charles XII and the Swedes never stood a chance against this inevitable outcome. Such references to classical literature were popular additions to the interpretation of the medal. The educated beholder would catch the reference to Lucretius and add the text's original perspective to the image displayed on the medal. Thereby, its context would expand and include a broader set of ideas than could be fitted on the small space of the medal.⁵⁷¹ Next to the reference to Lucretius, his portrayal resembles other European rulers, again as a Roman Emperor, which points to the fact that the Russian court ordered medals following international iconography. Consequently, the czar adapted the medal for a continental beholder by engaging classical European iconography and literary traditions. In addition to this edition, the czar issued another featuring the same design but with an Cyrillic inscription.⁵⁷² In comparison, the Cyrillic version referred to the victory as claimed by weapons and God's aid, but the Latin reference probably had a more eloquent appeal to the non-Russian beholder.⁵⁷³

According to numismatist Julia Krasnobaeva, the Great Northern War had an immediate effect on Russian medal art.⁵⁷⁴ During this period, medal production increased considerably, and, as Christina once did, Peter the Great hired artists from beyond his realm to expand their production. Hence, the czar not only used universal imagery, but also

employed artists who were educated in an international milieu, and who could communicate his visions to a foreign audience. Perhaps the many skirmishes between the czar and Charles XII, both on the actual and the metallic battlefield, prompted this development.

In the end, the czar repaired his honour and successfully reclaimed Narva, both in fact and via this medal. Since Peter the Great issued the medal with both Latin and Cyrillic inscriptions, as well as in different metals, he ensured that the tale of his victory had maximum impact and reached a broad audience. The laws of nature were restored.

THE MEDAL AND THE MEDIA: POLITICAL COMMENTARIES

The early modern media and news network was dynamic and versatile, and during the Great Northern War, the media landscape, particularly media in medallic form, expanded swiftly.⁵⁷⁵ Similar tendencies were already visible during the Thirty Years' War, but now the practice of transferring news and opinions via broadsheets, chapbooks, and medals was fairly established.⁵⁷⁶ The medal could perhaps not keep up with cheaper printed media, but a die could be engraved within two weeks or less, and thereby still address a current news cycle. In the following section, I want to analyse the medal's participation in this media landscape, and how it communicated contemporary events, as well as the handling and practices that this material and visual communication form prompted. I will discuss a cluster of medals issued by freelancing medallists that comment upon Charles XII's doings during the years 1709–1714 to illustrate how these objects were utilised to comment on current political events.

The medal series on the sleeping lion

First of all, the mediation via medals cohered with the suitability of the individuals who were responsible for the news. Simply put, the more fascinating a person, the more he or she figured on medals, and Charles XII was indeed controversial. Up to two hundred contemporary medal editions covered him.⁵⁷⁷ Similar to Gustavus Adolphus, Charles XII was a renowned figure who captivated people long before Voltaire drew attention to the king with his biography *Histoire de Charles XII* (1731). Compared to other contemporary monarchs, Charles XII had a very unusual



FIG. 70: Philipp Heinrich Müller, Charles XII's exile in Bender, 1709, silver, Ø 43,86 mm. Künker.

lifestyle. Said to live a spartan life, he fought side by side with his soldiers in the trenches and dressed like them. Also adding to his fascination was his shifting military carrier, from great victories to disasters. Charles XII was an active political figure who engaged in conflicts and who, by his decisions, affected the political landscape. Hence, in the early eighteenth century, he was regularly discussed within various news circles. This mediation included, of course, medals thematising Charles XII. Interestingly, not only the Swedish officials ordered the medals commenting on Charles XII's actions. Indeed, a majority of editions concerning Charles XII were issued by medallists abroad who profited from his popularity. They circulated these objects, which covered his triumphs as well as misfortunes.

In the spring of 1709, after years of battle against the Russian Empire, the Swedish army reached its limit. The incredibly cold winter had taken a toll. In June, during the siege at the Russian fortress of Poltava (in present-day Ukraine), Charles XII was unexpectedly injured by a stray bullet. Previously, almost superstitiously, people had believed him to be indestructible. Now, not only was the king wounded, but the army was short on men and food. Hence, morale was weakening, among the highest officers and down to the trumpeters. Czar Peter seized the opportunity, and the Swedish army suffered a devastating defeat.⁵⁷⁸ Charles XII and approx. 1,500 of his men escaped and fled to the city of Bender (present-day Moldavia, then part of the Ottoman Empire), where they stayed until 1714.⁵⁷⁹ The Russian victory, and the collapse of the Swedish forces,

attracted much attention across Europe, and consequently, medallists assigned themselves to illustrate these events.

The Swedish king's sojourn in Bender evoked a general theme, a sleeping lion. Almost all medals made of Charles XII during that period depict his portrait on the obverse and a lion sleeping in various positions on the reverse. The lion embodied, of course, Charles XII. His iconography as the Swedish lion was well-established, not least by Swedish court painters like Ehrenstrahl, but the symbol of the lion had been adapted to the situation.⁵⁸⁰ The sleeping animal did not, as today's viewer might think, allude to a careless or lazy king, rather the opposite. It was believed that lions slept with one eye open, thereby always remaining aware of their surroundings. Converted into an emblem, it referred to a vigilant and protective regent.⁵⁸¹ These qualities were present in one of the objects issued by Philipp Heinrich Müller (1654–1719), working in Augsburg, Germany, which not only illustrates a resting lion but includes an inscription in the exergue, *OCVLIS DORMITAT APERTIS* [he sleeps with open eyes], which leaves little room for misinterpretation (*fig. 70*). On the obverse, the king is portrayed in the usual manner, dressed like a Roman emperor, with his distinctive hair and facial features, and the reverse displays a big lion resting under the stars and a crescent moon. In the background, hills, a small city, water, and trees point to the landscape around Bender. Above the lion runs the text, *PER AMICA SILENTIA LVNAE* [under the friendly silence of the moon]. The crescent moon symbolises the Ottoman Empire, where the watchful lion gathers his strength. Müller was one of the most productive medallists of his time. His oeuvre shows a great variety of subjects and occasions, from medals commemorating victories forged in high editions to individual objects to be given as wedding presents.⁵⁸² Over the years, Müller manufactured several medals on Charles XII's victories, and he continued to depict Charles XII during the Bender years as well, even while the king failed to do anything worthy of commemorating on a medal.⁵⁸³

Müller's colleague Christian Wermuth (1661–1739), working in Gotha, Germany, was likewise very successful, and manufactured medals that covered current political events. He also employed the idea of the Swedish king as a resting beast.⁵⁸⁴ Wermuth engraved a series of seven medals depicting Charles XII combined with a sleeping lion, but instead of inscriptions written in Latin, he used French.⁵⁸⁵ In the eighteenth century, French advanced as a more dominant language across Europe, and by

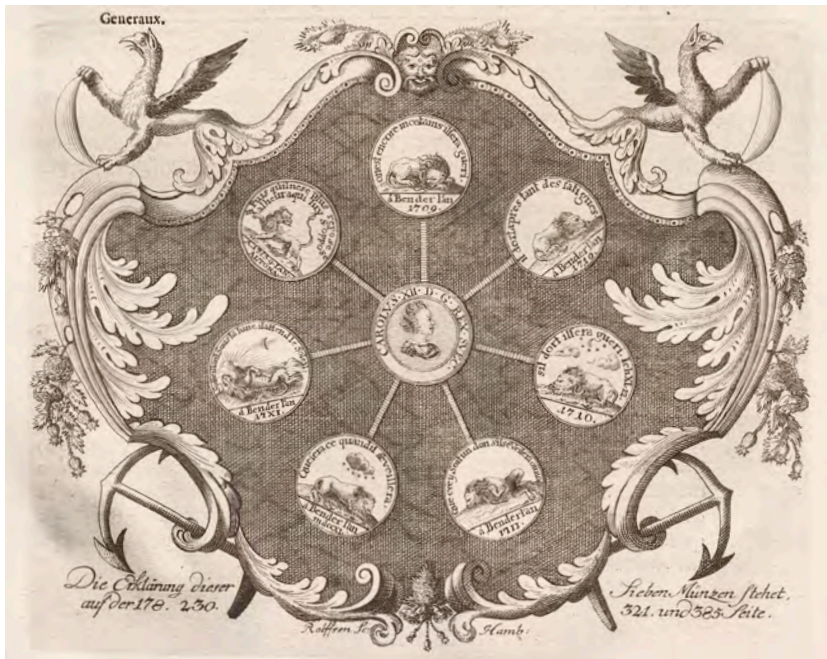


FIG. 71: Engraving by Franz Nikolaus Rolffsen, in Georg Andreas Nordberg, *Leben Carl des Zwölften Königs in Schweden mit Münzen und Kupfern*, 1746, page 188. Uppsala University Library.

using it, the medallist perhaps wished to address a broader audience and give his work a more approachable character. The medals were manufactured over three or four years, and always combined the same obverse with a new reverse. Since money was to be made from the medals, reusing dies was the most cost-efficient method, but it also had other advantages. The varying reverse ensured diversity, while the steady obverse gave the sense of a set. The following engraving, which was included in a biography of Charles XII, illustrates the complete series. (*fig. 71*).⁵⁸⁶ Wermuth issued the first medal in 1709. It depicted a sleeping lion and the inscription in translation, ‘He sleeps after many troubles’, and continued, in 1710, with a lion sleeping in a different position, combined with, ‘If he rests he will gain his strength.’⁵⁸⁷ In 1711, the lion is still sleeping, and the medal asks the question everyone is wondering about ‘What will happen when he wakes?’⁵⁸⁸ In essence, Wermuth captured current questions regarding Charles XII’s sojourn in Bender.

Mocking the enemy

Meanwhile, Charles XII conducted regal affairs from his chosen place of exile, yet, understandably, the situation was far from ideal for domestic politics. The Great Northern War continued even without the Swedish king, and circumstances grew tense.⁵⁸⁹ Charles XII's debts in Bender piled up, as did the Ottomans' discontent with their guests. More importantly, the situation at the Swedish border was alarming.⁵⁹⁰ While Charles XII unsuccessfully tried to persuade the Ottoman Emperor to support him against the Russian czar, Russia, Poland, and Denmark extended their territory, unsurprisingly, at Sweden's loss. Furthermore, between the 31st of January and 1st of February, 1713, occurred the so-called Skirmish at Bender. The Ottomans took up arms against their unwanted houseguests. The skirmish resulted in the capture of Charles XII and his men and during the spring of the same year, Charles XII's field marshal, Magnus Stenbock (1665–1717), suffered a devastating blow during his campaign in Northern Germany. The simultaneous defeat of the two illustrious Swedish commanders gave reason for their enemies to issue a medal.

Although the medal illustrates two narratives, one on each side—Charles XII's unsuccessful struggle against the Ottomans, and Stenbock's defeat—the overarching theme is apparent: Sweden's downfall (*fig. 72*).⁵⁹¹ One side depicts the skirmish at Bender, and shows Charles XII's temporary residence, a square two-storey building, on fire. Smoke rises from the building and indicates a fire destroying the Swedish residence. The Swedish soldiers stand at the windows, trying to hold off the Ottoman attack from below. The Ottomans are far superior in numbers, and the Swedes struggle visibly. However, the Swedish soldiers are not the only ones in distress. In the foreground, on the left, Charles XII is about to be captured by the enemy. He crawls out of a barrel, a highly humiliating act for a king, and raises his head to two janissaries, indicated by their characteristic headgear. The janissary closest to Charles XII tilts his head towards the Swedish king, with his hand on the sword in the hilt, ready to strike. On the right, the other janissary marches, holding a bow and raising an arrow towards the barrel. Charles XII's capture is inevitable.

On the horizon, the viewer can detect the city of Bender and, above the scene, the crescent moon. Several Latin sentences complement the already crowded image. One line is running along the edge of the image, and reads, starting from the left from the barrel, *NON ADIUTOR SED CUSTOS*

– *PROPERA DUX* [He (the Ottoman) is not your helper but a guard, hurry commander]. The sentence is interrupted by the celestial sign, and the inscription surrounding the moon reads *INANE AUXILIUM* [(the moon) is no help]. Following the shape of the barrel, one can read *IN EXTREMIS ANGUSTIIS* [in extreme distress], and finally, in the exergue, written in four lines *CLAUSUS UTERQUE SEDET TE REX TUA LUNA FEFELLIT. AO MDCCXII. MENS FEBR.* [he sits surrounded on both sides. Your moon has deceived you, king. The year 1712 month of February].

The other side of the medal depicts a landscape with a burning city on the horizon. The fire is again indicated by smoke rising from the buildings. In the foreground, an elephant holds a torch in his snout, ready to light a barrel from which an ibex peaks out. Above the scene, the sign of Yahweh shines over the elephant. This image is more emblematic than Charles XII's defeat. The elephant symbolises Denmark (inspired by the Danish order of chivalry, the Order of the Elephant, with its origin in the fifteenth century), and the ibex symbolises Magnus Stenbock, whose name literally means ibex. Additional Latin inscriptions complement the image. Starting from the elephant *NEC SPES NEC ULLA POTESTAS – PAR MERITIS PÆNA* [neither hope nor any force – the punishment is in proportion to the crime]. As before, the inscription is interrupted in the middle, here by the Tetragrammaton mimicking the sun. Around its semicircle reads *MIHI ADIUTOR* [(the Lord) is my helper]. On top of the barrel, the date is indicated with two lines *ANNO. MDCCXIII D:17 MAII*, [the Year 1713 on the 17th of May] and, next to the ibex, *AD ANGUSTIAS REDACTUS* [he is forced back into distress]. In the exergue, the beholder can read, *TE TUA SPES FALLIT CONSILIUMQUE COMES* [Your hope and counsel has deceived you, duke]. As Peter the Great struck back by issuing a medal, so did the Danes. This medal answers a previous medal, which commemorated Stenbock's victory in Altona, where he had set the city on fire.⁵⁹² It depicted an ibex goring an elephant, and now the elephant was in charge.

The medal and its overarching message—a Swedish defeat—may have been simple, but the viewer would still require sufficient familiarity with current politics to understand all its details. It presents a significant amount of text, and no explicit addressee, since it could both address Charles XII and Stenbock, or one with each side. So, understanding the medal would crave accurate political knowledge of the situation, in addition to uninterrupted attention to interpret the image. The beholder would readily detect that the medal is not favourable to the Swedes. The



FIG. 72: Medal by Peter Berg, Charles XII and Magnus Stenbock in 1713. Berg made an error as he engraved 1712 on one side. Pewter, Ø 59.8 mm. Westfälische Auktionsgesellschaft.

anguish of the king and Stenbock is visually underlined by their sitting in barrels, on both sides of the medal, a motif that at once connects the two sides of the medal, and also depicts the pair of commanders embarrassingly and scornfully. Such depictions were not suitable for a king and his military commander.

In addition to ridicule, the medal's two sides are joined by clever word-play, which would require some viewer engagement. To detect these puns, the beholder would need to flip the medal back and forth several times, shifting it in his hands to read all the inscriptions and scrutinise the visual details to interpret the Latin text. First, the reuse of the Latin word *angustia*. Like so many Latin words, this word can have several meanings, and here the viewer can translate it into *a narrow space*, the barrel, and *difficulties*, which would refer to the situation in which both are forced into a corner. Also, the barrel refers to the fortress Tönning, which name resembles the German word 'Tonne' [barrel], where the Danes besieged Stenbok, which adds an additional pun. Second, the moon and the Tetragrammaton correspond visually. The text runs around them similarly, and uses the same motif—help (or lack thereof) from above. Once more, the two sides, the visual and textual design, are enforced by the medal's shape and form—its materiality. It would take effort to read this item, yet satirical medals were meant to be sophisticated. The ridicule of a king did not call for bluntness, but finesse.⁵⁹³ The depicted item is made of pewter, yet the edition exists in other metals, too. The cheaper material would not change the medal's role, since its main purpose was not to be exclusive, but to mediate the message it carried. Hence, the wider the circulation, the better.

AMBIGUOUS COMMENTS. Charles XII's Ottoman captivity did not last long, and finally, in October 1714, the king decided it was time for him and his men to return to Sweden. Charles XII and two of his closest men went ahead on horseback and travelled incognito across Europe. After a speedy ride—it only took them two weeks—they reached Stralsund, then part of the Swedish realm.⁵⁹⁴ Charles XII's return caused several medals that celebrated his homecoming, but before I address these, I want to mention another object. It caught the ambiguous feelings harboured by many at the time—both fascination and weariness.

The medal depicts a man, stereotype, whole-body, dressed in a tricorne hat and boots, and his clothing suggests a certain amount of wealth (*fig. 73*).



FIG. 73: Medal on Charles XII's politics, c. 1714, lead, Ø54.07 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

He has a fiddle tucked under his left arm, and holds the bow in his right hand while leaning against the Swedish coat of arms. Along the rim of the medal runs the German text: 1714 NOCH EIN MAHL ZUM TANDTZ [dance one more time]. The reverse shows four men, dressed similarly to the person on the obverse, holding hands and spreading their legs as if they would dance in a circle. The text in German above reads: BALD MYDE [soon tired].

This medal proposes two very different interpretations because, depending on how the viewer wishes to understand the medal with regards to Charles XII, it could suggest favour or outright exhaustion. In both cases, the man on the obverse embodies the Swedish king. The German words are phrased like an invitation or a request to dance, and refer to Charles XII, who is gathering his forces to strike his enemies once again. If the medal is interpreted with sympathy towards Charles XII, then the four men on the reverse would represent his opponents, who would soon weary. However, the medal could likewise imply the opposite, and the four men could embody Charles XII's subordinates, who were exhausted after years of fighting.⁵⁹⁵ The two sides of the medal even enforce this duality because by its form, a medal already had an inherent dichotomy, and like always, the viewer could only contemplate one side at a time. Here, interpretation, be it positive or negative, was left to the viewer. The person buying the medal could, by referring to it and showing it, discuss the latest political events in the company of kindred spirits.

The object is simply executed. It depicts a clear image without any emblematic riddles and a short and readable inscription in vernacular

language. Due to its size, around 5 centimetres in diameter, it is easy to handle and big enough to depict all the figures without cutting back on any necessary information. Only lead and pewter copies have remained to date, suggesting that this edition might have been one of many fleeting expressions of the current political situation. The pewter made the medal affordable. It was cast, and thus easy to produce, and a new one could be rendered in no time. In comparison to precious metal, cheap pewter underlines the popularity of such small visual and tactile objects. They were an amusing addition to the general media landscape.

These were but two of many satirical or ambiguous medals that were issued during that period. Often they were commissioned by the enemy camp. For instance, the elephant medal appears to have been of Danish origin, which would also explain the less than favourable depiction of Charles XII and Stenbock.⁵⁹⁶ That the enemy would issue editions mocking the opponent's defeats was standard in warfare, as the medal contest between Peter the Great and Charles XII has demonstrated. Satirical medals seldom came from within the realm. Such would not have been impossible, but nevertheless would have been a highly intricate endeavour, at least in Sweden. The Swedish authorities enforced very strict regulations regarding medals production, and regarding the machinery to produce medals.⁵⁹⁷ Therefore, it would be a complicated undertaking to criticise the king by a medal, and get away with it, at least if the medal were to be produced in Stockholm.

Like satirical prints and sketches, satirical medals had already existed for some time and would continue to be produced when current politics warranted a critical comment. The satirical medals were not a dominating factor or very widespread, but they were one integral part of the political media landscape. This initially exclusive and expensive art form had been transformed into an approachable media. It could be manufactured in gold as well as in more affordable materials, like pewter. The medal that was once reserved for the elite started to impregnate other layers of society, and was now even used to comment critically on the doings of royalty.

Rhythm and rhyme to enforce engagement

The swift journey and his sudden arrival rekindled the attention around Charles XII, and, once more, medals were struck. Almost everyone seemed to feel the urge to comment on the news that Charles XII had returned



FIG. 74: Charles XII's journey to Stralsund, late 1714, silver, Ø30.57 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

from voluntary exile. With Charles XII back in the political game, the spectators expected increased excitement. Hildebrand counts eight editions that comment on Charles XII's return from the Ottoman Empire, and they exhibit a variety of imagery and inscriptions.⁵⁹⁸ None were commissioned by the Swedish authorities; instead, all appear to have been manufactured at the initiative of German-speaking medallists.⁵⁹⁹

For instance, one edition mentioned Charles XII's speedy ride. It depicted a Charles XII on horseback on the obverse, combined with only the blunt question on the reverse, *WAS SORGET IHR DOCH GOTT UND OCH LEBEN IA NOCH* [why do you worry, God and I are still alive] (*fig. 74*).⁶⁰⁰ Another joined the king's portrait with the text. 1709 *ICH LAG SEHR LANG IN BENDEREN NUN WIRD SICH ALLES ÄNDERN ICH GEH NACH MEINEN LANDEN ZU ZU SCHAFFEN LANG GEWÜNSCHTE RUH 1714 / STRALSUND 22ND NOVEMBER* [I was long in Bender, now everything will change, I have come back to my land to give it the rest it long has wished for].⁶⁰¹ These editions, like so many others, were available in gold, silver, bronze, or pewter—all depending on the buyer's pockets. In addition, what both examples have in common is not, in particular, the use of the German language, but how it was employed—the inscription's rhyme. Like in printed media, such as broadsheets or chapbooks, rhyme was employed here to transmit the message with greater emphasis.⁶⁰² I will discuss the following example in greater detail to illustrate the extraordinary character of these medals.

The depicted item, probably struck by Christian Wermuth, revisits the emblem of the lion (*fig. 75*). The object shows a rising sun on the left, its pointy rays stretching over the image's surface. The sun shines over a coastline made of a variety of rocky cliffs and a piece of land on the other side, seemingly the shore of Stralsund and the island Rügen across the narrow strait. The inscription, in German, written in a semicircle in two lines above the image, reads *AUS ORIENT STELLT SICH DER HELD: DER FREUDIG MACHT DIE NORDISCHE WELT* [from the Orient the hero rises, who brings joy to the Northern world].⁶⁰³ Likewise, in a semicircle on the medal's lower part, a Latin inscription reads *PER CAROLVM TIBI REDIBIT SALVS* [through Charles shall salvation return to you]. The selection of capital letters reveals the chronogram *MDCLLVVIII* (1000 + 500 + 100 + 50 + 50 + 5 + 5 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 1) and the year 1714. The other side displays a lion viewed from the right, lying on the ground with his head uplifted. The beast roars (or yawns), and its tongue visibly sticks out from its jaw. The inscription, again in a semicircle and written in two lines, lets the lion, Charles XII, speak: *ICH HABE GERUHET NUN BIN ICH ERWACHT BEKOMME VOM HIMMEL ERNEUERTE MACHT* [I have rested, and now I am awake, receiving renewed power from heaven]. The text in the exergue reads *SVECIA PLAUDE! SUNDIA REGEM LÆTA RECEPIT. D[ie] 22 NOVEMB[ris]* [Sweden applaud! Stralsund received the king with joy on the 22nd of November].

The image is not ambiguous, and the medal gives no room for misinterpretation. The viewer is confronted with a northern shore and a lion. The lion was a familiar representation of the Swedish king, and the viewer would by now know that he had returned from the east. The medal does not present an apparent hierarchy regarding its sides, as both could equally be considered obverse or reverse. Typically, a portrait in combination with a name would indicate the obverse, and provide the viewer with information regarding the subject of the medal. Here, the lion could replace Charles XII's portrait, but his name is written on the other side. Both sides are equally connected, but how?

Two Latin sentences complement the German inscription. On the one side, the reassures the beholder that prosperity will return. By using the Latin word *tibi*, a personal pronoun in the dative, here translating as *to you*, the medal addresses the viewer directly.⁶⁰⁴ Yet, by reading the Latin words in combination with the German rhyme, it becomes apparent that *you* is connected to the 'Northern World'. Hence, the medal does not only



FIG. 75: Engraved by Christian Wermuth, Charles XII's journey to Stralsund, late 1714, gold, Ø35.72 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

address *you* as the viewer, but also the whole North. On the other side, the imperative, 'Sweden applaud', expresses a demand. The Latin words are prompting Sweden, which may not be the viewer's origin, to rejoice in Charles XII's homecoming. Furthermore, the two sides of the medal are connected by the geographical parallels of the German *NORDISCHE WELT* and the Latin *SVECIA*. This interpretation would be sufficient, if the viewer were unable to translate the Latin text and connect *tibi/you* with the 'Northern World'/Sweden. Still, these word games were part of the attraction, and the beholder had to turn the medal back and forth in his hand in order to catch the underlying connotations.

In contrast to previously discussed objects, this item presents a dense bilingual inscription, which further underlines the text's significant place in understanding the medal. First, the German lines are rhyming. A rhyme usually gives a text structure and rhythm, which aids in the memorisation of the words. Reading the inscription would create a mental awareness of the rhyme, and inspire its recitation aloud, perhaps even in company. Second, in order to follow the rhythm, the viewer had to rearrange the object in his hand, and shift it while scanning the inscription. Therefore, the text invited an expanded engagement with the medal. The medal's size, roughly three centimetres in diameter, required the viewer to look and hold it at close range. The beholder could hold it in his palm or press it between thumb and index finger to scrutinise the surface and count the chronogram's letters. This object was certainly not intended to be placed in a drawer, but as a conversation piece, something to invite the beholder to look, touch, and speak. This physical engagement connects to W. J. T. Mitchell's idea that media involves more senses than just the eye.⁶⁰⁵ The medal enforced a physical experience—it was sensory media.

Mixing vernacular language with Latin on medals does not appear often, but nor was it unprecedented, neither were medals displaying other languages than Latin.⁶⁰⁶ In general, vernacular medals made in the early eighteenth century had no official consignor.⁶⁰⁷ Latin was believed to be everlasting and to endure time, as well as to address the learned beholder, and therefore, it was used on medals that were commissioned from executives who wished to speak to posterity. Vernacular medals indicated, instead, a present-day agenda. I propose that they were aimed at an audience beyond the elite, albeit the vernacular language limited the addressees to a specific linguistic area. On this medal, the use of German could suggest the transitory character of the message carried, since it

wished to commemorate that Charles XII indeed had returned. Who knew what would happen next?

The medals presented above were conversation pieces. Another aspect shared by these objects is their absence of official character, and, in comparison to the Narva medal, Charles XII had no influence over them whatsoever. These medals could be bought by anyone who had the financial means. Cheaper copies could even be made, for example, by a pewter cast. Their versatile character, varying images, and material all point to a growing medal market, which I will discuss in the next chapter.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter presents three overarching topics that dominated this period. First, the medal within an all-encompassing visual programme; second, the medals' use within the military; and, finally, the media. In this period, medal art is still tightly bound to the ruling power, which also constitutes the primary users. Nevertheless, bit by bit, medal art shifts and attracts users outside the elite sphere and other social classes. The uses connected to medals become even more diversified than before, as all the previous practices remain in place and simultaneously are adapted to altered circumstances. The users accumulate practices and significances.

For instance, tendencies to incorporate medals within a visual programme are traceable earlier, but in the late seventeenth century, this method evolved and would be structured and planned on a scale never before attempted. The deliberate enterprise to celebrate the March over the Great Belt, or Ulrika Eleonora's conspicuous funeral, were examples of how the medal becomes a *pars pro toto* within the visual programme. The medium's advantages, highlighted by its size and material, and the ability to present a condensed version of a bigger picture, were fittingly incorporated into the all-encompassing visual scheme that was used to glorify the monarchy.

Another notable aspect specific to this period is how the medal was employed within the military realm. It was used to celebrate victories, demoralise the enemy, and reward officers. The practice of gratifying the military had likewise precedents. Eric XIV rewarded Horn with a medal, Gustavus Adolphus bestowed *Gnadenpfennige* on Goodrick and Manner-skiöld, and Charles XI did likewise. He increased the number of recipients, rewarding every officer on active duty. That required the systematic dis-

tribution of medals, which previously has not been necessary, since only a select few received a medal. While Charles XI introduced some changes, he retained the overarching characteristics of the royal gift. The weight matched the recipients' ranks, and thereby the medals indicated the obligatory hierarchy, while their design was universal. Previously, a portrait in combination with an emblem had been the obvious choice. Now, the king reused his coronation medals, which, of course, also displayed traditional imagery. Thus, the tradition was adapted to the current need.

Lastly, the medals' connection to other media is a reoccurring topic. At the turn of the century, the role of medals within the media landscape is well established, and nurtured by several users. Their design, visual and material, as well as their inscriptions, encouraged engagement and enabled the mediation of the messages. The cases discussed in this chapter highlight how existing practices were accumulated and then diversified and adapted to a new cause and new users. This growing audience, in turn, influences the demand and market for medals, which consequently inspires even more complex uses. On the whole, medal art reflected Sweden's intense time as a great power, its rise and fall, its glorification and ridicule.

IV

Increasing the audience and consuming royals

This chapter covers a period in which a solid royal authority devolved into a powerless monarchy. When a stray bullet killed Charles XII during his campaign in Norway, in November 1718, Sweden's political landscape changed suddenly and drastically. The king left neither an heir nor any clear successor, and the preceding years of war, famine, and massive inflation had left the monarchy in a gravely weakened position. The sister of Charles XII, Ulrika Eleonora the Younger (1688–1741), swiftly had herself declared his successor, yet voices calling for governmental change, and the end of absolute monarchy, could not be ignored. In 1720, Ulrika Eleonora the Younger abdicated in favour of her husband, Frederick of Hesse-Kassel (1676–1751), and a constitutional monarchy was installed. The Diet, consisting of the four estates (nobles, clergy, burghers, and peasants), executed governmental affairs (the executive, judicial, and legislative functions), while the king had no active political role beyond representative duties, like the signing of all decrees.⁶⁰⁸ The altered political landscape and the period are henceforth known as the Age of Liberty (1719–1772).⁶⁰⁹

One feature of this period, notable for the purposes of this study, is that medals had become a commodity, a product of commerce.⁶¹⁰ On the continent, medals had been bought and commissioned for a long time, but in Sweden, this had only been possible in rare cases, and under severe restrictions.⁶¹¹ Now, this market developed and opened up. As a consequence, the medal was no longer solely connected to the elite, nor was it used solely by an exclusive audience. While previously, the monarch predominantly used the objects to express his or her agendas, now the medal, and control over its use, existed beyond the rulers' immediate reach, as shown by Charles XII's lion suite. Medals that depicted the monarch were no longer restricted to royal gift exchanges, but could be purchased. The nobility and the wealthy burghers could commission, buy,

collect, and exchange such objects. In addition to the growing group of people engaging with medals, the means of medal production improved. The number of editions, and the number of items manufactured within an edition, both increased. In short, the market developed, and the medals' roles became even more complex. As before, the previously established uses and values associated with the medals remained valid, but they were simultaneously renegotiated and adapted to the new conditions.

This chapter will address these transformed conditions of consuming medals, and examine what happens to the object after it is no longer bound to the royal sphere, and which roles and values emerge due to these altered circumstances. The chapter focuses on two overarching topics. First, it discusses the market and the various ways of purchasing medals, which is a precondition for using them. Second, it examines the practice of collecting and studying these objects and the underlying roles that these endeavours entail. The overarching aim is to outline general functions and practices, and capture the cultural and social significances of medals in Sweden during the last decades of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century.

SUPPLY AND DEMAND

One precondition for using medals was, of course, to physically get hold of them. Previously, at least in Sweden, medals circulated predominantly as gifts, and on a limited and private second-hand market. Now medals could be bought directly at the medallist's shop or the mint in Stockholm. The purchase of medals indicates the differentiation of practices and values, as individuals outside the royal sphere could engage in self-fashioning, use them as visual testimonies, or collect them. This analysis will examine the possible ways of purchasing medals. I will start by shortly outlining the medal business. After that, I will present an example where medals were advertised, and then how the promoted objects correspond to a general product trend, and revisit the question of the gift. Lastly, I will address how medals could be sold at auctions and what that might imply for a collection and collector.

The players in the medal business

The development of the early medal business is a very entangled topic, and the rules of manufacture seem to have changed frequently, and depended strongly on personal interests.⁶¹² Until now, medals were a luxury product manufactured to aid a monarch's visual rhetoric. The artist worked on the ruler's behalf and engraved dies when he was requested to do so. During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the monarchy held, in principle, a monopoly on the production of medals, and it seems there were no particular stipulations regulating how the items should or could be ordered. Depending on the artist's contract, he would receive a salary and perhaps additional compensation for each commission.⁶¹³ The goldsmiths working for the early Vasas were paid for each custom-made object.⁶¹⁴ Later, Sebastian Dadler was reimbursed for the dies he delivered, and Erich Parise, hired by Christina, received an annual salary.⁶¹⁵ Until then, the artists worked more or less exclusively for the monarch, which is why the line of supply and demand is easy to trace, even though certain details often remain unclear. This circumstance changes as soon as more people wish to employ medal art for their purposes and seek skilled artists' services.

Beginning in the second half of the seventeenth century, noblemen started to issue medals on their own behalf, and then the market opened up to other classes as well. In his doctoral thesis, Martin Tunefalk analyses this category of Swedish medals commissioned by non-royals, labelling them '*personmedaljer*', or private medals (my translation).⁶¹⁶ Tunefalk argues that issuing medals was a performative act that constituted status. The noble families employed them similarly to the royal family, in their self-fashioning, to commemorate and give, and the design of the earliest private editions also resembled royal role models.⁶¹⁷ For instance, in 1701, Axel Gabriel Leijonhuvud (1650–1732) commissioned an edition honouring his son Knut, who had been killed at the Battle of Narva, and the medal was distributed at Knut's funeral.⁶¹⁸ Similarly, in 1715, Christina Piper (1673–1752) ordered an edition to commemorate her departed husband, Charles.⁶¹⁹ Tunefalk demonstrates how these objects mirrored established concepts of valour and virtue that later developed at pace with a changing society, from ideals connected to the nobility and their standards, and the bourgeoisie and its needs, into the ideal attributes possessed by a modern citizen.

In addition to the nobility, societies and organisations started to issue medals, often with the monarch's image, so as to associate themselves with the royal flair. During the Age of Liberty, the king might have been powerless, but he still held symbolic value. Even though the monarchy's former methods were criticised, a king was still necessary. To put it simply, the king gave the government a face, which otherwise, at least for a majority of the Swedish people, would have been a merely abstract idea. Historian Michael Walzer argued that, 'The state is invisible; it must be personified before it can be seen, symbolised before it can be loved, imagined before it can be conceived', and his statement fittingly pinpoints the symbolic value the monarch held.⁶²⁰ In Sweden and other European kingdoms, the personification, symbolisation, and imagination of the realm were all tightly connected to the sovereign. He or she personified the kingdom, and consequently, the visual culture that represented the sovereign had an immense significance. The institution of royalty, a king and a royal family, had a strong tradition and symbolised continuity.⁶²¹ Having a medal made that carried the monarch's portrait would assure some sort of dignity. So, even though the royal objects had lost some of their political rhetorical power, the lustre of royalty still held significance, and thus the medals gained new roles and new users.

Royals still distributed medals for the same reasons as before, in addition, that their medals now also were for sale. Selling medals was not inevitably something negative that would diminish an edition, but added to the monarch's visibility, since more people could be reached. Further, the individuals and second parties who had their medals manufactured did so alongside the sovereigns, and the *other* editions did not affect the issuing of royal objects. Instead, they are an example of the fact that medals, in general, became more present in society. Consequently, more players led to more editions and, in the end, to increased consumption.

With the new demand for medals, questions of financial interests, censorship and privileges regarding their supply started to arise.⁶²² Abroad, and in the German city-states particularly, artists could work as freelancers, but not in Stockholm.⁶²³ As a result, the artists in Stockholm negotiated for changed working conditions, and the mint masters owning the medal press argued for their share in the ventures.⁶²⁴ The new conditions resulted in regulations, but these were based on terms that were obscure and subject to change at the whim of the monarch and government. In 1668, the newly founded national bank, *Sveriges Riksbank* (*Riksbens*

Ständers Bank, or Riksbank), incorporated the mint (which had previously employed the medal artist, while the Crown supervised the mint and its production), and coin and medal production now fell under its purview.⁶²⁵ The Riksbank employed Arvid Karlsteen, who received a salary in addition to a royal privilege to manufacture medals, which in essence meant that he was supposed to work at the Crown's behest (under supervision of the Riksbank), but was allowed to pursue private commissions. Another medallist, Anton Meybusch (1645–1702), active at the same time in Stockholm, could, thanks to a royal privilege, sell medals in his shop.⁶²⁶ Since he was a private entrepreneur, he did not receive a salary and lived on his sales. The former mint master and now commissioner of the Riksbank, Abraham Cronström (1640–1696), agitated against Meybusch and insisted on having his privilege reversed.⁶²⁷ Cronström succeeded, and the dispute resulted in Meybusch leaving Stockholm and moving to Copenhagen, where he had received an offer to become the royal medallist for the Danish sovereign.⁶²⁸ The market in Stockholm was too small for two competitors. After Meybusch, it took decades for a medallist to set up a shop next to the Riksbank, and afterwards, most medallists were connected to the Crown and the Riksbank, even if they worked as free entrepreneurs.

In addition to regulating the artist, the Riksbank collected the impact rate or *demurrage* of the sales. (Of course, the Crown received additional taxes on the sales of medals that depicted the monarch.) In simple terms, if someone outside the royal family wished to have a medal manufactured, he or she would need to pay Karlsteen for the die, and the Riksbank for the manufacture, in addition to the material required for the items themselves. Depending on the order and the design, in the late seventeenth century, Karlsteen could demand 60 riksdaler for a die.⁶²⁹ That sum was an average wage for an artist, and his colleague the copperplate engraver Willhem Swidde earned the same for engraving a plate for the *Suecia antiqua et hodierna* in 1690.⁶³⁰ The ownership of the die would also warrant some negotiation, as several options were available. The customer could purchase the die, the Riksbank could buy it and then manufacture and sell more items, or the artist could keep it, with the same agenda.⁶³¹ The product would become a shared undertaking between the artist, the purchaser, and the Riksbank. The same applied to the royal medals.⁶³² Overall, production was an expensive but lucrative business, and many parties were anxious to be involved.

*First-hand market:
The royals for sale at the mint*

To commission a die from a medallist was one corner of the market. Another was buying medals from already existing editions directly at the mint, as advertised in the newspaper:

To anyone who desires to buy medals and commemorative coins that are for sale at the royal mint, a specification has come from the printing press that describes not only the type but also the weight. Also, the jetons and smaller coins are ready so that anyone who is in need of those could have his pleasure; the named specification is available at the Royal Printing House at Norrbro right across the king's stables.⁶³³

That was the notice on the last page of the Stockholm newspaper dated the 13th of July 1709. According to the advertisement, interested buyers should go to the printer and retrieve the product catalogue, namely the *Specification of Medals and Display-coins available at the Royal Mint in Stockholm* (fig. 76).⁶³⁴

The sales catalogue includes, precisely as the newspaper advertisement promised, a short description of the design (e.g., the king in profile on one side and three crowns on the other, and Latin inscriptions) and each item's weight in *lod* (1 lod equals 13.16g.). The editions were organised following the chronology of the Swedish monarchy, starting with Gustav I and ending with Charles XII. The medals that featured monarchs before Christina were new editions engraved by Karlsteen (his first regency suite, the so-called *stora regentlängd*). The earliest (or oldest) edition that could be purchased was Dadler's edition that commemorated Christina's maturity in 1644, with a size of roughly Ø80mm, weighing 12 lod.⁶³⁵ The latest celebrated Charles XII's involvement in free religious practice in Silesia 1707, engraved by Karlsteen, measuring Ø50 mm and 4 lod.⁶³⁶

Besides medals, jetons were listed, too. Jetons were smaller, more coin-like medals that could be used for games or calculations (and the smaller medals issued at coronations are often also called jetons).⁶³⁷ The jetons listed can be identified as Karlsteen's second regency suite. His second suite commemorated Swedish monarchs, beginning with the Vasa dynasty and ending with the current king. The pieces were made in uniform shape and design, clearly showing that they were meant to form a suite. The obverse would depict a portrait, name, and title, and the reverse showed

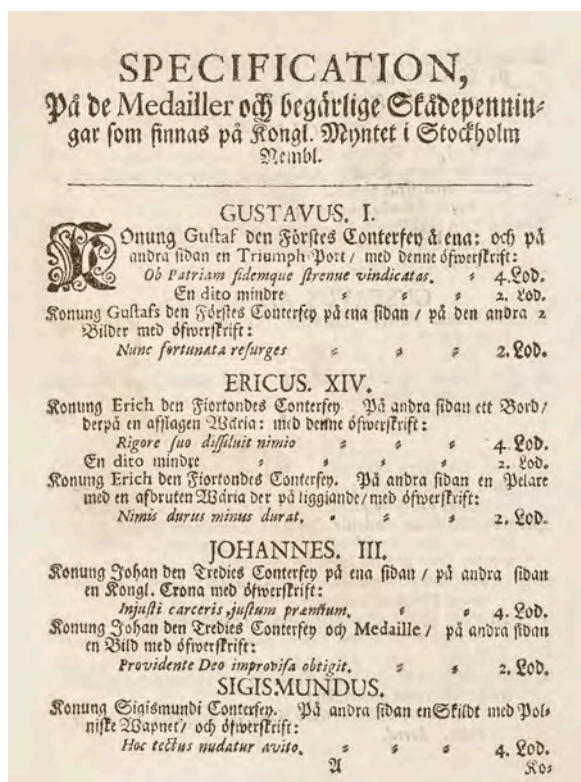


FIG. 76: First page of the sales catalogue 'Specification på de Medailler och begärlige Skådepenningar som finnas på Kongl. Myntet i Stockholm' printed by J.H.Werner in Stockholm in 1709. Uppsala University Library.

an emblem connected to the monarch. One obverse could have several reverses connected to it, like Charles IX, who was commemorated on five editions. The design for the jetons was often borrowed from previous medals. For instance, Karlsteen copied editions, which Christina had ordered in Rome (fig. 77–78).⁶³⁸ Thereby, the buyer was even able to purchase a cheap and downscale version of both older and unavailable editions. Besides objects commemorating the Swedish monarchs, Karlsteen also engraved jetons on Luther and Calvin.⁶³⁹ Hence, both bygone and contemporary politics were available in metallic form.

Karlsteen's matching medals within the regency suite correspond to an overarching trend, as dynastic sequences on monarchs were in vogue and



FIG. 77: Medal by Alberto Hamerani, Christina as a phoenix, 1659. cast bronze, Ø 41.98 mm. The medal displays a clever pun, as the inscription MAKEΛΩΣ, written in Latin and Greek letters, played with the Swedish word 'makelös' or 'makalös', which meant outstanding and without a husband. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.



FIG. 78: Medal from Arvid Karlsteen's second regency series. The item shows Christina as a phoenix, 1700, silver, Ø 26.23 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

for sale all over Europe. Comprehensive chronological merchandise allowed a royal family to illustrate their long line of ancestry and thereby their claim to the throne.⁶⁴⁰ The form and origin of the suites trace back to family trees, and, in essence, they were a way of constructing cultural memory. The French royalty had a regency suite manufactured, likewise the Habsburgian family and even the pope.⁶⁴¹ The suites tempted potential buyers in many ways. They may have been designed by several artists,



FIG. 79: Niclas Lafrensen the Elder, dynastical tree on the Swedish monarch from Gustav I to Frederick I, 1730s (?), watercolour and gouache on parchment and paper, 24.1 × 18.2 cm. Nationalmuseum Stockholm.

and they could be purchased one by one or as a set. They could be manufactured in cheap material or even come in deluxe versions and fitting cabinets. In short, they were convenient sales products for both the high and low market. Yet, medals were not the only way to illustrate genealogical lines. Family trees could come in several forms, including woodcuts, engravings, or paintings (*fig. 79*).⁶⁴² Here, the painting depicts the Swedish rulers since Gustav I, the instigator of hereditary monarchy. The example shows that the visual media interacted with each other. Such a visual family tree, be it a medal suite, a painting, or a woodcut, was also highly

educational and could be used to visualise different royal families.⁶⁴³ Therefore, it also had a market outside the Swedish realm. The suite's identical visual execution did not influence the production of regular medals. Instead, these chronological suites were manufactured *in addition* to the regular objects that were issued to commemorate royal deeds.

Medal suites like Karlsteen's provided lucrative income for the Crown. Kommissarie Anders Nordman Ehrenfelt (c.1637–1724), working for the Riksbank, even believed that the medals of the Gustavian family (illustrated in Karlsteen's suite) would be sought after abroad, too, and urged for the manufacture of more dies.⁶⁴⁴ I could not find any indications as to how these medals would have been sold outside the realm, but most likely, they were distributed via coin dealers, agents, or even moneychangers.⁶⁴⁵ That they were indeed lucrative is demonstrated by the fact that, some years later, a new suite on the Swedish monarchs was commissioned. The Swiss medallist Johann Carl Hedlinger (1691–1771), who worked in Sweden from 1718 to 1745, fashioned the new series.⁶⁴⁶ Similar to Karlsteen's, Hedlinger's suite had a uniform design and shape, but his version was particularly far-reaching, as it begins with the semi-mythical Viking king Björn på Håga (presumably around 800 A.D.), and ends with Frederick I (*fig. 80*).⁶⁴⁷ Before Hedlinger left Sweden, he offered to sell the 28 dies that he so far had engraved for '5,600 *daler silvermynt*'.⁶⁴⁸ The government tried to bargain with the medallist, who demanded a sum of money equal to at least two years' wages, but finally agreed to pay the sum in instalments over three years.⁶⁴⁹ Nonetheless, the regency suite seems to have been deemed worth the affair's length and price since, for each struck medal, the Crown and Riksbank would collect interest.⁶⁵⁰

The questions remain how these medals would be sold, and who the anticipated buyers were.⁶⁵¹ The newspaper advertisement attests that the bigger medals were struck on demand. The smaller items were in stock, and since no weight was indicated for the jetons, I assume that the

FIG. 80: The so-called *Hedlingers regentlängd*, is a regency series in which each medal displays a portrait on the obverse, including the name and title of the person. The reverse depicts no image but provides additional data on the life of the portrayed person. The series includes a 'title-medal' that explains the abbreviations on the reverse (like F son, F brother, N son of brother or sister, E elected, C. coronated, M. Natural death, M Violent death). The last of the 28 medals is a 'dedication-medal' addressed to Frederick I. Bukowskis.



customer could probably buy them in copper or silver (which corresponds to the metal of remaining items in public collections). In total, 67 medal editions and 79 jetons were for sale. Nevertheless, since only the objects' weight (lod) and no price is stipulated, it is problematic to make assumptions about the details. Neither the advertisement nor the product catalogue gives any indication of how the actual distribution was handled. I could only find directives for mint masters to manufacture and sell medals, but no receipts or other sources that indicate how the exchange was actually implemented.⁶⁵² However, the expense of the material limits the scope of potential customers. They must have belonged to the nobility or wealthy middle class. Items made of silver from Karlsteen's second suite weighed approx. 5.3 grams per item, corresponding to the weight of 1 *mark silvermynt* (mark silver coin) for which one could buy one black grouse.⁶⁵³ A bank protocol from 1683 mentions a price dispute between the medalist Anton Meybusch and the Riksbank. The Riksbank had assessed the price of one medal at 5 ½ *daler* the lod, while Meybusch sold his for 5 *daler*.⁶⁵⁴ A medal for 4 lod would then cost 20 *daler*, which would equal one month's wages for a bookkeeper.⁶⁵⁵ Between Meybusch's price and the newspaper advertisement, 26 years had passed, and probably the prices would have increased in the intervening period.

Despite their cost, medals were sold. In June 1708, the screw press was so worn that no medals could be struck with it. It had to be renovated and, with it, the floor on which it stood. In the Riksbank's protocols, this tedious circumstance is mentioned, and it is proposed that some medals should be struck before such lengthy renovation would start. The board members sought to manufacture certain popular editions so that the Riksbank would have them in stock, if customers would ask for them. The board members suggested editions thematising the king's doings, and some of the royal family, particularly the smaller ones.⁶⁵⁶ The board members' reflections underline that medals were a sought after commodity, especially the jetons, probably because they were less expensive than the grand medals. Still, they were luxury goods, and it is doubtful that someone with limited resources would spend his or her money on medals unless it was meant as an investment. In 1709, Sweden was at war and headed for financial crisis, and thus buying precious metal would not at all be unreasonable.⁶⁵⁷ In general, considering the price, one can assume the buyers were someone who already might receive medals as gifts, like the gentry, clerks and merchants.

Next to the price and the customers, the sale's catalogue raises the question of the editions' size. Since the bigger medals were struck on demand, each edition had a varying size. Generally, a high edition would warrant an official event, like the Diet meeting in 1682, for which the Riksbank planned to manufacture an edition of 2,000.⁶⁵⁸ Roughly 700 people would attend these meetings, and even if everybody bought one, more than 1,000 items would be leftover, which the Riksbank could then sell to the public.⁶⁵⁹ Even though the edition's size appears somewhat utopian, it might still be reasonable. In comparison, Empress Maria Theresa (1717–1780) ordered, in addition to gold medals and silver jetons, about 1,000 silver medals for her daughter Maria Karolina's (1752–1814) wedding in 1768.⁶⁶⁰ So, the Diet meeting's edition might just as well have sold out, yet this particular case would form the exception rather than the rule. I propose that the royal medals were first struck at a relatively low edition, depending on the situation, perhaps 50 or 100 items, to meet the immediate request, such as bestowing them to selected individuals. After that, the die would remain at the Riksbank to be reused on demand.

GIFTS THAT CAN BE BOUGHT. Given the fact that royal medals could be bought, it is tempting to suggest that this circumstance would affect the notion of their exclusivity. But what consequences would their changed availability have for the *aura*, in Walter Benjamin's words, of the royal gift?⁶⁶¹ Would the increased production taint the charm of the object? Was there a discrepancy between medals for sale and objects that were given away as gifts?

In 1703, the royal household ordered medals to be bestowed upon the English emissary John Robinson (1650–1723).⁶⁶² In contrast to previous medal gifts, which refer to one item per person, this assigned a whole assortment of medals to one individual. According to the source, Robinson was supposed to receive 45 items (in 31 different editions). The order specifies how many, mainly two of each edition, and the monetary value of each object, e.g., 40 ducats, that should be struck. The majority featured Charles XII, Charles XI, Charles X Gustav, and three depicted Ulrika Eleonora the Elder. The only medals that stand out from this apparent family connection were the three objects depicting Gustav I, John III, and Gustavus Adolphus.⁶⁶³ The year 1703, and the choice of medals, suggest that Hedwig Eleonora (on Charles XII's behalf) was the instigator of this particular gift, since, as I discussed in the previous chapter, the queen

dowager consciously worked on the self-fashioning of her dynasty. Giving a suite of medals that commemorated her husband, son, and grandson would undoubtedly follow this line of approach. Hedwig Eleonora herself is not represented in the gift, probably because the editions mentioned in the royal order correspond with those that were advertised in the product catalogue, which, except for Karlsteen's jetons, did not contain any large medals that depicted the queen dowager. The jetons might have been too insignificant, or too small, to be included in this particular assortment. Altogether, medals worth the sum of 2,000 ducats were ordered.⁶⁶⁴ Robinson had been a diplomat at the Swedish court for almost two decades, which might explain why he received such a generous gift.⁶⁶⁵

As previously established, the medal gift is a particular kind of present. An undeniable and inherent economic value characterises it, and likewise, it carries many other intangible values and expectations. The example demonstrates that, even when medals could be purchased by anyone, they were still bestowed as gifts. In this case, the vast sum of money highlights the difference between the gift and the commodity. First, the medals included in Robinson's gift were made of gold, but the objects advertised in the product catalogue would be made of silver (or copper). Again, the economic value of the medal was of the essence. Second, Robinson's medals were *gifts*, and he did not buy these. Jean Baudrillard stresses that a gift has particular qualities: 'it is inseparable from the concrete relation in which it is exchanged, the transferential pact that it seals between two persons.' A gift, he points out, 'has properly speaking neither use value nor economic exchange value. The gift is unique, specified by the people exchanging and the unique moment of exchange.'⁶⁶⁶ Even though Baudrillard's conclusion is conflicting, considering that I just have highlighted the gift's economic value, his statement still applies because the medal gift is specified by the people involved in the exchange. Together, the economic value, the donor, and the recipient would mould the aura of the royal gift. Hence, the shifting availability of medals did not diminish the royal gift's aura, yet it might have forced the donor to make it even more exclusive by raising the stakes from one to many. Thus, the medal had not lost its status as a suitable princely gift. The official royal medal edition would retain its exclusivity and the previously established values and roles. Its aura and the magical and ritualistic sphere of the gift would remain untouched.

Robinson's gift reveals another significant aspect. An edition was not bound to an expiration date. Medals could be reused, but this affected, in

turn, their value. For instance, a funeral medal that was given at the occasion commemorated the departed, complemented the experience, and aided the issuer's self-fashioning (not least by being charitable). But a funeral medal that was manufactured years later had a different value and purpose. It still commemorated the departed, and the former ruler's lustre would be associated with the person who was bestowing it, but now the object also carried a historical value and could likewise gain collecting and antiquarian value.⁶⁶⁷ It depicted a past event. That the funeral medal could then also be purchased entailed its incorporation in a market, where it received a market value. The medal's significance had changed entirely.

*Second-hand market:
Medals for sale at the auction*

The example of the mint's sales catalogue demonstrated that medals had turned into a commodity and were a product for sale, and could be exchanged for money. Previously, a medal could have been turned into currency if someone, like Whitelocke's entourage, wished to melt it or exchange it for other goods. Hence, a second-hand market must have already existed, for example, via private sales, but this was probably not the primary way of distribution. That circumstance changed during the late seventeenth century, as the somewhat dormant market for medals was reinvented and expanded. It opened up to a variety of second-hand business.⁶⁶⁸

For instance, medals were commonly purchased abroad, perhaps in connection to a 'grand tour'.⁶⁶⁹ Such an endeavour would generally lead a nobleman to Southern Europe, which provided ideal opportunities to acquire objects. The Swedish nobleman Johan Leijoncrona (1620–1687) spent twenty-five percent of his Rome budget on books, medals, and intaglios (engraved gems).⁶⁷⁰ Similarly, the English churchman and travel-writer Richard Pococke (1704–1765) journeyed abroad to learn the riches of the South, and quarried markets for coins and medals to satisfy his collecting desire.⁶⁷¹ Those unable to travel and scout for treasures on their own could employ agents to acquire objects on their behalf.⁶⁷² While visiting Rome, the Swedish diplomat Mathias Palbitzki (1623–1677) bought medals and antiquities on Queen Christina's account.⁶⁷³ (There, he also hired Erich Parise in her name, who then moved to Stockholm and became Christina's court-medallist.) Decades later, the antiquarian Carl Reinhold Berch (1706–1777) engaged in similar affairs during his diplo-

matic mission in Paris, where he procured numismatic objects and sent them to collectors in Sweden.⁶⁷⁴ Markets, or artists' studios, were places where one could find the newest addition to one's collection, and, due to their size and weight, coins and medals were easy to transport home.⁶⁷⁵

Auctions were another frequent opportunity to procure medals. In the following, I will discuss the sale of court medallist Arvid Karlsteen's art and medal collection, which was sold at a public auction in 1719, one year after his death.⁶⁷⁶ His possessions are representative of early eighteenth-century Swedish upper-class assets, and demonstrate the kind of medals available at such an auction. They also reveal plenty about the practice and value of collecting and owning such objects.

Karlsteen's collection included a typical assortment of objects, all in line with a traditional *Kunstkammer*, the world in miniature.⁶⁷⁷ According to the auction catalogue, it included a wide array of objects, which represented different geographical, chronological, and material aspects of the world.⁶⁷⁸ He owned stones, shells, insects, and likewise miniatures, engravings, embossed figures, and, of course, medals.⁶⁷⁹ Considering that Karlsteen was a court medallist, it comes as no surprise that his *Kunstkammer* harboured many products of his trade. In fact, these were the highlight of the auction. The medallist's collection included 'Swedish and foreign silver medals of great weight and value, as well as others made of outstanding European artists.'⁶⁸⁰ The catalogue praises Karlsteen as an absolute connoisseur of curiosities, and that, therefore, everything he had collected was artistic and exquisite.⁶⁸¹ Such tributes were meant to encourage buyers and attested to the quality of the articles.

While working as a court medallist, Karlsteen's oeuvre was widely appreciated both in Sweden and abroad. Karlsteen rose in the ranks, made influential friends, was ennobled, and soon, became a fixture of Stockholm's cultural elite.⁶⁸² Being part of the high cultural society required a particular lifestyle and practices, among which art collecting was one vital aspect. Collecting art, and consequently also medals, meant consuming luxury goods, and consuming luxury items indicated economic welfare and status. Karlsteen's collection would have demonstrated his sense of style, knowledge, and social position. Historian Woodruff D. Smith argues that the consumption of luxury goods mirrored early modern social structures, as only the elite had the means to acquire these types of commodities.⁶⁸³ Given that Karlsteen had risen in the ranks, his collection, including the medals, would clearly constitute luxury consumption. They supported his

status and ought to be viewed as cultural capital. Collecting was part of a self-fashioning practice, and each item contributed to this endeavour. The practice gained a self-authorising function that marked a person's position in society, and an art collection became, like a library, an indisputable fragment of an educated household.⁶⁸⁴ Furthermore, within this sphere of cultural capital, and self-fashioning, collecting would be a demonstration of wealth and position. Thus, owning a medal collection, like wearing and displaying the objects themselves, underlined a person's status, which would also be relevant to a future owner of Karlsteen's possessions.

In total, 400 lots were sold at the auction. Some lots designated one object, like a medal, or his walnut-cabinet with 48 drawers (lot 234), whereas others encompassed a group of things, like 13 embossed portraits set in black frames (lot 277).⁶⁸⁵ The medals were the central part of his collection, and constituted more than half of the 400 lots sold at the auction. Similar to the product catalogue of the mint, no prices were indicated, only the items' weights in lod. The buyer at Karlsteen's auction could bid on various listed items, which were indicated by a lot number and a short explanation. The descriptions could vary, like 'one on the siege of Hamburg' (lot 113), while other lots quoted the inscriptions on the medals.⁶⁸⁶ An account of their visual properties was not presented. The auction list reveals that Karlsteen predominantly had collected what could be labelled as contemporary medals. Karlsteen had owned approx. 55 objects thematising the Swedish royalty and approx. 20 commemorating Swedish noblemen. The potential buyer could also purchase medals that commemorated foreign lords. Karlsteen had been in London, Hannover, Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Brandenburg, and Mainz, and the places and princes who reigned there were all represented in his collection. Karlsteen had also been one of the medallists who worked on Louis XIV's *Histoire métallique*, and thus, he owned 40 medals on the French king.⁶⁸⁷ The number of items commemorating European dignitaries suggests that Karlsteen sought to collect a Who's Who of the era's noteworthy individuals and historical events, such as the second Turkish siege of Vienna, in 1683, on which Karlsteen owned five medals.⁶⁸⁸ Hence, his collection would be ideal for conversation or even gossip about European politics and its players.

It remains uncertain how the auction proceeded, or how many people bid on Karlsteen's collection. One buyer could have bought several medals at a time, perhaps the whole suite of Louis XIV or just specific objects, or else buyers could have bid for the same pieces. Bidding on medals at

auction had the advantage that the buyer could purchase *more* than the object per se. Previous ownership followed each item and elevated its value. With a documented provenance, the medal would become a physical connection to the past and the person who once touched the very same object. Depending on the bidders, medals could be bought at low or extraordinary high prices, which might add to the thrill of buying. Each of the 400 items, exceptions excluded, was allocated to a lot and sold separately, which, upon being purchased, would move into another context.

The value and purpose of medals in a collection are unlike the examples I have analysed in earlier chapters since, as Paula Findlen puts it, 'every object takes its place in a system of use and meaning in which value is constantly being negotiated.'⁶⁸⁹ The collections and the items they contained were far from static, no matter how durable they might be. That was also true of Karlsteen's medal collection, now for sale. Each object would be renegotiated and scrutinised. Here, materiality played a vital role for the future owner. A silver medal that once glittered might, over years, gain a patina or even blacken, and perhaps its new look would aid to the object's historical flair and collecting value. The object's physical condition mattered. Was the portrait well rendered and the inscription legible? Was the object chipped, the rim scratched or did it show traces of a poorly engraved die? All these aspects made each medal unique, and while some could be considered flaws, others would be regarded as the item's individual characteristics. However, most of all, potential new owners would consider its purpose in a new context and, to return to Findlen, the medal and its meaning would be renegotiated. In addition to its pecuniary value and the actual price of each item, the bidder would assess the medal's potential value as a part of his or her collection.

THE CIRCULATION OF NUMISMATIC PROPERTY. In general, the ownership of numismatic items changed greatly.⁶⁹⁰ Medals were, by design, destined to outlive their owners. Auctions were a common way to disperse any kind of property during this period.⁶⁹¹ Objects could be sold at a separate sale if the collection's size craved individualised handling, but most often, coins and medals were sold with the rest of an individual's possessions.⁶⁹² If an individual's relatives had the financial means, they could keep the collection in the family as an investment and symbol of status. The heir might also have a different area of interest, and would thus sell the majority of the collection (perhaps apart from some selected

items) to trade it for something more to his or her liking. In Karlsteen's case, it seems that his relatives neither had the financial possibility, nor the interest to keep his possessions.

Except in incredibly wealthy families, very few numismatic collections survived more than two generations. Even if a collection could be held within a family, it would not be static but would grow or diminish.⁶⁹³ Not even the collections owned by the pinnacle of the Swedish society, the royal family, were spared massive changes. Depending on the current regent's interests and financial means, the collection received varying attention. During times of prosperity, the Crown purchased numismatic collections previously owned by Swedish noblemen.⁶⁹⁴ The new acquisitions not only enlarged the royal collection but aided the owner's glory. During times of financial hardship, duplicates were without hesitation selected from the collection to be melted, and their metal was reused, as was done in February 1719.⁶⁹⁵ A royal letter stipulated that as many copies as possible made of pure gold and silver should be taken and refashioned into funeral and coronation medals.⁶⁹⁶ The precious metal was recycled.

Sales or fluctuations could also happen during the lifetime of one owner.⁶⁹⁷ Louisa Ulrika of Prussia (1720–1782) was an enthusiastic numismatist and enlarged the royal collection by buying Carl Gustaf Tessin's (1695–1770) coin cabinet and numismatic literature. His expensive lifestyle resulted in a pile of unpaid bills, which forced him to trade his belongings. Louisa Ulrika suffered the same fate when, years later, she sold parts of the cabinet to the Swedish government to pay off her debts.⁶⁹⁸

As usual, more details are known about elite collectors and their possessions, and about those who owned an unusually well-sorted collection. It is to be assumed that several families of the wealthy middle class at least owned some coins and medals, but perhaps did not label them as a collection.⁶⁹⁹ What little can be known of the fate of these belongings is mostly discerned by probate inventories, or by newspaper announcements, like that announcing the estate sale of Rosina Elisabeth Roos, a brewer's widow. The sale was advertised in the newspaper on 8 August 1756, highlighting medals and old coins amongst her belongings, and the auction was to take place three weeks later.⁷⁰⁰ What kind of medals she once owned, or who bought them, will remain unknown.

Instead, another announcement, from the 9th of November 1786, mentions some objects in greater detail.⁷⁰¹ A silk purse containing several medals had been stolen, and the owner sought its return. The contents of

the purse were listed as follows: 'one big silver with Adolf Frederick's (1710–1771) portrait and the Gustavian family on the reverse, one banco, one with the King [Gustav III] and a twig on the reverse, one with the departed bishop Eric Benzeliuſ' (1675–1743) portrait, a Westerhaffi⁷⁰², one on the wedding of Duke Charles [1774], one on the birth of the crown prince [1778], one on the founding of the *Jernkontoret* [economic organisation of iron, the board of iron in 1747], two small ones and several coronations and funeral jetons.'⁷⁰³ The number of medals might be insignificant in comparison to the collections of the royal family or Karlsteen, yet the notice includes several interesting details. First, it refers to ownership outside the elite sphere, even if these medals might have served an economic purpose (and the person who stole them would probably exchange them for cash); second, the storage of the objects, in a silk purse; and third, most of the medals dated from the second half of the eighteenth century. The medals were contemporary objects. Thus, medals circulated within society, in one way or the other, and were not restricted by class or gender.⁷⁰⁴

Their various owners affected the items (the objects naturally would have an impact on their owners, too) and aspects of change or temporality are inevitable. In previous discussions, I analysed the medal in its current, intermediate condition. It was given from one person to another. Needless to say, an object designated for posterity would sooner or later find itself in altered circumstances. The medal once distributed at a funeral was now in a collection. Ten years later, it would be sold at an auction and then again end up somewhere else. The fate of a numismatic collection, like any other, was aligned to the person who brought it together. When the owner passed away, or the possessions changed owners, the medals would lose context. They might be in limbo, degraded to metal pieces waiting to be sold, but they would not be without significance. Without the collector, the objects would have lost aesthetic or sentimental values that were ascribed to them by the owner, the antiquarian, and thus their position within the collection; yet, they would still keep their initial economic and historical value in addition to their representative and commemorative functions. Their role and value shifted and was redefined. As soon as a medal was detached from its original purpose, it gained a new value and utility, ascribed to it by its new owner.⁷⁰⁵ When the item was placed into a new context, it was recharged with values and roles, perhaps not the same as before, but still essential.

As the sales catalogue of the mint and the auction demonstrated, a market developed that targeted and nourished the collectors. Newsletters could provide information on prices, and advertisements from dealers, pointing to the commercialisation of numismatic collecting.⁷⁰⁶ Ultimately, medals were just one of many commodities that started to become available to a broader audience, and they should be regarded within this elevated consumerism. Several processes might have caused fluctuations in how medals were consumed, and the new roles connected to them can be understood as an adaption to the altered patterns of consumption.⁷⁰⁷

STUDYING MEDALS

The changing availability of medals, the fact that they could be purchased and commissioned, resulted in specific consumption practices. Here, collecting appears most prominently. Collecting numismatic objects mirrored several social values and attitudes, including education, status, financial means, or connoisseurship.⁷⁰⁸ One reoccurring aspect of collecting medals and coins was the possibility to study history. To study medals implied having a scholarly approach towards the objects, and using them as visual testimony of historical events, and the practice reconnects to medals' initial purpose, to commemorate great men and women. Furthermore, the pursuit of knowledge involved publications, visualisation techniques to spread the images of the studied objects, replicas, storage, and scholarly networks. In the following, I will examine some of these aspects to outline the practices and significances of medals as an antiquarian object.

The antiquarian approach

Coins and medals were viewed as historical sources and, therefore, a material complement to a library.⁷⁰⁹ Since medals were fashioned to endure time, their antiquarian value held a vital significance, as they would tell the tales of kings' deeds to a future audience. They were building stones of the historical, contemporary, and future cultural memory, and much like ancient Roman coins, historical buildings or statues, antiquarians considered medals as historical testimonies.⁷¹⁰ They were a direct connection to past events.

Nevertheless, I shall not omit teaching Young beginners the use of modern Medals, which are neither less agreeable nor profitable than the Ancient, but much easier so soon as they have some knowledge of History. As they were first made for pleasure, so the Figures are much more considerable. On them are to be seen Battels by Sea and Land, Sieges, Entries, Coronations, Funeral Poms, and other Ceremonies; Alliances, Marriages, Families, and all that relate either to Policy or Religion. The *Epocha's* are seldom wanting; and we never find a false merit honoured, as on the Ancient. In fine, We are not subject to that deceit the Ancient impose upon us, nothing being more easy than to distinguish what is Cast in a Mould, from what is stamp'd, and it never yet entred into any man's head to counterfeit them in hopes of gain.⁷¹¹

This quote forms part of the introduction of Louis Jobert's (1637–1719) *The Knowledge of Medals* (1692/1739), in which he argues that the study of ancient coins and medals can be learned quickly, and that nothing is better suited to teach history. Modern medals, as Jobert stresses, had the advantage of being easier to handle than ancient coins. Most likely, he refers to the object's image and inscription, since ancient coins could be corroded and therefore not always easy to interpret. According to Jobert, modern medals are also more historically accurate or trustworthy ('we never find a false merit honoured') than their ancient counterparts, nor were they counterfeited.⁷¹² This statement would be challenged from today's perspective, bearing in mind that I have highlighted that medals were employed to aid the issuer's self-fashioning. Still, from an early-modern historical point of view, a contemporary medal was considered to be truthful, and a future viewer was supposed to have the same opinion. Art historian Robert Wellington fittingly labels medals as 'artifacts for a future past' and thereby captures the essence of their antiquarian value and the issuers' ambitions.⁷¹³ They were aimed to have historical and antiquarian value, which, in turn, adds new perspectives to the values of representation and commemoration. A medal that commemorated a former victory was meant to be used as a visual testimony.

One who reconstructed Swedish history through numismatic objects was Elias Brenner (1647–1717). He was a miniature painter, antiquarian, and numismatist, and frequently composed medal designs, including Charles XII's Narva edition. Brenner collected not only for pleasure, and to display his possessions in public, but most of all, he studied his coins and medals. With great care, Brenner examined every Swedish



FIG. 81: Erich Reitz, Willem Swidde (?) engraving in Elias Brenner, *Thesaurus nummorum sueo-gothicorum* 1731, tab X. Uppsala University Library.

numismatic item he came across.⁷¹⁴ Brenner toured the Swedish regions and meticulously recorded every coin hoard and medal that was forged in Sweden. He wished to reconstruct Swedish numismatic production from the Middle Ages through contemporary times.⁷¹⁵ The result was the *Thesaurus Nummorum Sveo-Gothicorum* (1691).⁷¹⁶ Even Charles XI praised Brenner's research, and, in a royal letter from 1692, applauded Brenner's work and noted that it was beneficial and necessary. It would profit Sweden's honour abroad, and indeed, one version of the *Thesaurus* was even gifted to Louis XIV.⁷¹⁷ Brenner strove the rest of his life to complete and perfect his *Thesaurus*, a wish that was posthumously granted by his

successor as its editor, Nicolas Keder (1659–1735), who published a revised second edition in 1731, including newly found material.

Brenner's ground-breaking research, written in Swedish and Latin, is the reason why he is referred to as the founder of numismatic science in Sweden.⁷¹⁸ Brenner generously illustrated the catalogue with copper engravings that he drew himself, a remarkable novelty for numismatic publications at that time. The illustrations depicted the coins and medals in true size, so that readers easily could follow his conclusions (*fig. 81*).⁷¹⁹ Brenner was not the only one publishing numismatic findings, yet he was among the first in Europe to include accurate illustrations. His depictions of the coins and medals were essential in these publications, allowing collectors to study objects without owning them. Thus, in addition to the objects themselves, numismatic literature was a vital aspect of collecting and studying. The literature could range from catalogues to treatises, descriptions of private and public collections, and weekly newsletters on coins and medals.⁷²⁰

The abundance of treatises indicates a formation of theories regarding the study of numismatic objects.⁷²¹ Access to a collection was still essential in order to conduct any form of research, and, with this in mind, it comes as no surprise that cathedral schools and universities alike built numismatic collections for teaching, mostly assembled through donations.⁷²² Antiquarians (and amateurs) studied their collections, as well as those owned by their peers, which means that numismatic research was not limited to one person but dependent on networks and communication.⁷²³ The practice of studying coins and medals was not an isolated endeavour but a shared experience.

Brenner's approach to his collection reflects the early phases of numismatic research. Numismatic studies were not secluded from other subjects but deeply embedded in a broader scholarly and antiquarian context.⁷²⁴ Coins and medals were one of many material additions to the scientific debate in late seventeenth-century Sweden.⁷²⁵ Other Swedish antiquarians and Brenner's contemporaries, like Johan Hadorph (1630–1693), Olof Rudbeck (1630–1702), and Johan Peringskiöld (1654–1720), pursued various kinds of research on Swedish history. They investigated and collected all sorts of antiquities, as well as numismatic objects. The aim of being a universal scholar was implicit. Antiquarians in general, and numismatic publications in particular, were seldom bound to one subject but might pursue philological, historical, or archaeological topics all at

once.⁷²⁶ The early stages of numismatic research should thus be understood with this context in mind.

Organising the world in a cabinet

A precondition of studying medals was physical access, ideally owning and collecting them. The size of medals made them convenient to accumulate, but a collection required some type of storage, and here the cabinets were of importance.⁷²⁷ Cabinets were available in different sizes, materials, and prices, and could consist of small boxes or ample cupboards. Some cabinets were designed as elegant furniture with drawers, doors, and knobs that were ornamented, painted, and decorated in various ways, underlining the luxuries they contained as well as their owners' refined taste and wealth. Other storage cabinets were far more practical. The cabinets' designs changed with time and taste, and contribute to the conception of medals' materiality (*fig. 82–83*).⁷²⁸

The cabinets were a means to order one's possessions.⁷²⁹ The modes of categorisation could range from a particular focus on a ruler, geographic area, or historical period, or else take part in the latest fashion. The reasons for collecting and studying medals, and likewise the approach to doing so, offered endless possibilities.⁷³⁰ The question of the ideal order for a numismatic collection engaged collectors and antiquarians, a debate which in turn also influenced the drawers of the cabinets.⁷³¹ For a long time, coins and medals were arranged based on size and metal, but considering that a country's coinage could vary significantly in these areas, this type of categorisation soon became outdated. Likewise, the initial rudimental distinction between ancient and modern was no longer sufficient. Subsequently, many proposals surfaced during the early years of the eighteenth century that aimed to remedy these flaws.⁷³² These new classifications mirrored the passion for categorisation that enthralled all scientific research conducted in the late seventeenth and whole eighteenth century.⁷³³ Here, Johann Gottfried Richter's (1713–1758) proposal, custodian of the princely collection in Gotha, Germany (which also contained many Swedish medals acquired at an auction in 1717), will serve as an example.⁷³⁴ As keeper of coins and medals, Richter naturally occupied himself with arranging the collection in various ways. He suggested dividing coins into three subclasses: antique, medieval, and new. The third category would include medals and all coined metal stemming from any





▲ FIG. 82: Medal cabinet designed by Georg Haupt (1741–1784), birch, amaranth, boxwood and gilded brass, 1780. Bukowskis.

◀ FIG. 83: Cabinet of the Chancellor of Uppsala University Count Carl Ditrik Ehrenpreus (1692–1760). Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

peoples, empires, or languages.⁷³⁵ In short, he only distinguished between currency and medals, and explained that the latter mostly show better craft, assuming that this claim would clarify his order. Richter's comment illustrates once more that contemporaries did not comprehend medals and modern coins as separate or contradictory categories, but rather focused on their shared features.⁷³⁶

The frontispiece of Louis Jobert's numismatic treatise, *The Knowledge of Medals*, might further help to envision how an antiquarian could approach a cabinet and order its contents (fig. 84).⁷³⁷ The image, although a generic illustration, presents a representative display of a cabinet, its contents, and interaction with the objects. It shows two gentlemen seated



next to a grand cabinet. The gentleman sitting on the right scrutinises an object with a magnifying glass, while the other examines his selection unaided. On the table before them, three of the cabinet's drawers are placed. Each of the three trays on the table holds a certain amount of coins or medals, ordered in neat lines. The drawers are specially designed for the purpose of holding the numismatic objects, as individual circular spaces are carved out, which keep the coins and medals in their place and prevent them from grazing or scraping the others. An additional and costly adjustment would be to have the inside of the holes, or the whole tray, lined with velvet, allowing the objects to lie still while pulling the drawer out of the cabinet. The design of the drawers would aid in organising the objects into different categories, whether geographical, chronological, or any other preferred system.⁷³⁸

While previously, every case was discussed as an individual object or representative for an edition, medals in a collection belonged to a group. Each medal would be appreciated for its unique qualities, as each had a value of its own, but the primary purpose was its place within the collection. In her influential work, *On Collecting*, Susan Pearce noted that a collection in its essence is composed of objects that have an intrinsic relationship to each other.⁷³⁹ The collector would single out items, examine them, perhaps rearrange their order, and thereby instigate a new relationship among objects. Hence, every item in itself was essential, because it elevated the collection. With each item, the antiquarian could build different historical scenarios, like a timeline, or reconstruct a conflict, for instance, by following Charles XII's medals on the Great Northern War. Each line or drawer could become a historical event, or contain the whole history of a realm. A collector could become a connoisseur in his or her specific area of interest, including certain metals, editions thematising particular monarchs, periods, events, artists, et cetera.

Jobert's frontispiece reveals how people then might handle the objects. The collector needed to pull a drawer from the cabinet, place it somewhere, preferably on a desk with sufficient light, and then pick up each item, turn it over, scrutinise it, perhaps accompanied with suitable numismatic reference literature. Medals were, not least due to their size, objects that re-

FIG. 84: Engraving by Franz Ertinger, frontispiece in Louis Jobert *La Science des médailles*, 1739. Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, München.

quired close interaction. One would approach the item in order to properly examine its every detail, to enjoy aesthetic pleasure, to feel its weight in one's hand, and, most importantly, to appreciate the objects in the company of others. As the image demonstrates, collecting and studying was not necessarily done in solitude. Not only the collection itself, and each item in it, but also the social practice around the objects was vital in this undertaking.

Even though men appear as the most visible protagonists, collecting and studying numismatics was not exclusively a male activity. Within the Swedish royal family, Queen Christina, Hedwig Eleonora, and Louisa Ulrika should be mentioned as actively engaged with numismatics.⁷⁴⁰ Outside the royal sphere, the salons were an arena in which female numismatists operated.⁷⁴¹ Anna Johanna Grill (1720–1778), wife of a Swedish merchant, is an example of such a lady collector. She was praised for her numismatic collection and even joined the Swedish numismatic council.⁷⁴² Her acknowledged position suggests that the hierarchy of the numismatic community was not necessarily built on gender, but rather expertise or the quality of one's collection. The exploits of female collectors, if commented upon at all, have often been dismissed as societal endeavours.⁷⁴³ The attitude of previous authors has been that women only collected because it was deemed fashionable, and without any scholarly agenda. However, even if women might not be represented amongst those who published their findings, I argue that some women did indeed have an antiquarian approach towards coins and medals, as the next example will show.

Exchanges and networks

So far, I have discussed how medals could be bought, circulated, collected, and studied. These practices also had a social dimension, which depended on personal networks.⁷⁴⁴ Communication was an essential part of collecting and numismatic scholarship. People needed to correspond and converse about objects, to retrieve and exchange information about where to buy them, prices, auction publications, or just to gossip about other vital news. Sometimes, distance prohibited collectors from sitting in the same room, and then these discussions were transferred to letters.⁷⁴⁵ Since this correspondence often concerned numismatic objects, the writers would sometimes even include a medal or a coin to complement the letters. The

objects included could range from small tokens of appreciation to evidence for a scholarly deduction. In the following, I will address two cases of numismatic correspondence in which medals occupied a prominent position. These examples shall once again highlight the diversity of utilities and values ascribed to these objects, and most of all, illustrate how they engaged people on various levels.

In Brenner's case, his wife, Sophia Elisabeth Brenner (1659–1730), seems to have corresponded on her husband's behalf. She was remarkably well-educated for a woman of her time, a renowned poetess, published and sought after.⁷⁴⁶ She hosted a salon and conversed with the learned world. Together, Sophia Elisabeth and Elias Brenner belonged to the cultural elite.⁷⁴⁷ Thus, it is not at all surprising that she, in addition to her own correspondence, managed her husband's letters. Corresponding was vital to nurture social connections, and also as part of constructing her persona as a poetess, a lady of letters.⁷⁴⁸ From a numismatic perspective, Sophia Elisabeth's communication with the Danish scholar and numismatist Otto Sperling (1634–1715) deserves attention. Their letters are a remarkable testimony to numismatic discussions, practices, and even friendship. Over the years—the correspondence began in 1696, and the last letter was penned in 1708—they conversed about many topics.⁷⁴⁹ They frequently returned to numismatic queries, not least since he was a numismatist and she was married to one. Neo-Latin scholar Elisabeth Göransson published this correspondence, and the following letters are some examples that illustrate their dialogue on numismatic issues.⁷⁵⁰

P.S. My husband asks me to send you his sincere greetings, and since he does not have the time to write you himself he sends you, eminent man, five truly ancient coins including a very rare one showing King Albrecht and the three crowns. [...] As for the little columns in the coin of Olof Skötkonung, he has no other interpretation than that they might neatly fill out space where there are no runes. For this coin seems to have been minted as an imitation of the coins of Aedelred, whose title alone occupies the outer circle of the coin. Again, farewell.⁷⁵¹

Alongside the letter, Sophia Elisabeth sends Sperling greetings from her husband, and five medieval coins issued by Albert of Mecklenburg, King of Sweden from 1364 to 1389, who was the first to use the 'Three Crowns', the national emblem of Sweden, on his banner.⁷⁵² Strategic gifts, like a missing piece for a collection, were frequent and welcome ways to delight

antiquarians.⁷⁵³ She further informs Sperling about the inscription on Olof Skötkonung's (ca. 980–1022) coins, which according to Brenner's interpretation, were mere gap-fillers instead of runes. Sophia Elisabeth continues with a short description of the context of the coins, which were English imitations, and bids her friend farewell. The letter elegantly summarises essential aspects of numismatic networks, in which she works as an intermediary. She answers his questions on coins, and sends small gifts, and these exchanges would not remain one-sided.

I send you an embossed figure of a common Swedish copper coin, which both the French and the Berliners have put on show this year as they by their incompetent explanations have endowed it with such strange features, that we now have an extended version of Ovid's 'Transformations'. If you can repress a smile as you see and read their explanations, it will be a wonder. My comments on these coins are being printed and I am sorry that they have not been published yet so that I could send them to you as well; I will do so when I have the opportunity. I considered it necessary to reveal the errors these men have made so that this mistake will not extend further and transmit a kind of infection upon others as well, which fact is quite common with vagrants, as you know. Farewell, and send my respectful greetings to your husband, whom I love for your sake. Once again, live well, most illustrious Madam, yours most sincerely Otto Sperling⁷⁵⁴

Sperling shows no intention of hiding his amusement regarding his French and Prussian colleagues' failure to interpret the Swedish coin. He mockingly compares their misguided interpretation to Ovid's mythical stories, and almost gleefully anticipates that their misconception would delight Sophia Elisabeth (and most likely her husband) as much as him. His letter also highlights the importance of publishing one's findings. Publishing was strategic advertisement, and publications were means to merchandise one's scientific persona and scholarly reputation while simultaneously benefiting others who could use the catalogues as references.⁷⁵⁵

Furthermore, his letter also calls attention to an essential feature of numismatic practices. In addition to visual evaluation, the haptic experience is a vital aspect of studying the object, which is why he sent an embossed figure. It verifies the nature of the coin while devaluating its misinterpretation. Three-dimensional objects would become particularly important for the epistemological process within numismatic sciences. Because of the rareness of many objects, replicas of coins and medals were

forged in cheap material, and the copies allowed studying an item one did not own.⁷⁵⁶ Such replicas could also be made for antiquarians, who wanted a stand-in until they found the real version. The copies would mimic the physical qualities of the expensive or unavailable piece, including size and shape, which indicates again the importance of the sensory experience. It was not enough to perhaps have an engraving of a medal or a coin. One needed to feel and touch the object, measure it with one's eyes, and scrutinise the image and inscription.

The last example describes Sperling's response to a gift. As a token of their friendship, Sophia Elisabeth had sent him a medal, for which Sperling, a numismatist, was an especially suitable recipient.⁷⁵⁷

I received your medal and your features incised in silver. And you should not think that I am an adoreur only because of the silver or the elegance of the craftsmanship, for I assure you that there is much more that pleases me in that medal; you are with me and I look at you. I speak to the medal as if I were together with you, daughter of Phoebus and Pallas Athena. I often ask what you are doing now and even though all is silent I nevertheless know everything whenever I behold the medal.⁷⁵⁸

It was a welcome gift. Sperling's words leave no doubt to his appreciation as he does not skimp on the compliments. He seems indifferent to the silver and the pecuniary value of the medal, and rather interestingly, he does not remark on the reverse. Instead, Sperling's reaction focuses on Sophia Elisabeth's portrait, and her facial features seem to delight him the most. He regards the medal as a representation of Sophia Elisabeth, as a small piece of her. It was a material equivalent to her letters. On the medal, Sophia Elisabeth was silent and expressionless; yet, her letter would give her a voice, at least in Sperling's imagination. Sperling could continue his penned discussions with the silent Sophia Elisabeth fixed on the medal. To feel an intimate connection to a depicted person was not at all unfamiliar, and his reaction lies much in accordance with Mauss' theory that owning a gift would entail possessing something of the other.⁷⁵⁹ He is not the least concerned that the medal would have been produced manifold, as the object that he held in his hands was a gift from Sophia Elisabeth and, therefore, unique.

Dating from the letters, the item that Sophia Elisabeth sent to Sperling must have been of the same edition as the displayed here (*fig. 85*).⁷⁶⁰ The



FIG. 85: Carl Gustav Hartman, Sophia Elisabeth Brenner, 1699, silver, Ø31.9 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

obverse depicts the poetess' portrait bust seen from the right. She wears antique-inspired attire, loosely draped around her shoulders. Her hair is dressed in a knot at the back of her neck, and the bun is fastened with a band of pearls. A mass of locks frames her face. The curls increase considerably in height at her front, thereby emphasising her forehead. Sophia Elisabeth's chin and cheek are slightly highlighted, which is underlined by the relief of the medal. Contemporary paintings of her confirm these significant features. Her name *SOPHIA . ELIS . - BRENNER .* surrounds her portrait. Hardly visible under her shoulder appears the artist's entwined monogram, *CGH*, that of Carl Gustav Hartman (1666–1738). The reverse shows a slender tree growing in an unspecific landscape. Its entwined branches form the shape of a triangle and are stretching towards heaven. Judging by the leaves, it appears to be a laurel tree, which would fit the two Latin words to the left and right of the tree, *CRESCIT CVLTURA*, 'it grows through cultivation'. The laurel tree, the symbol of the learned world and fame, grows thanks to Sophia Elisabeth's achievements. In the exergue, the date 1699 is written. It is unclear who ordered the edition, but since Elias Brenner was involved in several medal projects, it would not be unreasonable to assume that the couple commissioned the medal, perhaps to celebrate her 40th birthday.

Besides as a token of friendship, Sophia Elisabeth might have had other reasons to send the medal. On the one hand, gifting medals was an indicator of social class. On the other hand, distributing her medal was a similar way of spreading her fame, much like her published poetry. In the

previous chapter, I discussed how officers had medals manufactured and wore them in honour of their king, but also to commemorate and to indicate that they were part of the victory. To associate oneself with a grand endeavour could be a safe strategy for self-fashioning. Another strategy might be to distribute, like Sophia Elisabeth, a medal thematising oneself. As Tunefalk argues, the act of issuing medals was performative and constituted status, and in Sophia Elisabeth's case, sending hers to Sperling would do the same.⁷⁶¹ Even though coquettish comments and pleasantries were an integral part of upper-class letter writing, Sperling and Sophia Elisabeth's letters suggest a sincerity of sentiments. These intangible values and utilities of her self-fashioning certainly played a part in this exchange, but, most of all, the medal was a piece in the numismatic network. Small gifts, such as the replicas, drawings, comments, coins, and medals, were an essential part of nourishing their numismatic friendship, which Brenner joined from afar.⁷⁶²

Favours and inquiries

Approximately fifty years after Sperling and Sophia Elisabeth's correspondence, another numismatic scholar, Carl Reinhold Berch, also relied heavily on his correspondence networks.⁷⁶³ Along with Elias Brenner and Nicolas Keder, he would become one of the most influential Swedish numismatists of the eighteenth century. From 1739 to 1746, he worked as a secretary for the Swedish legation in Paris. During his stay in France, Berch maintained a lively correspondence, which, as in the previously discussed letters, provides a unique insight into how numismatic exchanges, both material and immaterial, were conducted.⁷⁶⁴ Berch discussed numismatic matters, and exchanged gifts and knowledge, but he also acted as an agent.⁷⁶⁵ One of his letters, written in February 1744 to historian Carl Gustaf Warmholtz (1713–1785), might serve as one example of such numismatic exchanges.⁷⁶⁶

The letter starts with pleasantries and trivialities, such as complaints about difficult librarians who complicate his research, then Berch continues by asking Warmholtz to subscribe to a book on his behalf. He refers to the printer, (Lars) Salvius, in a matter of fact way, which leads me to suspect that he was a frequent subscriber, and that both Warmholtz and Salvius would know what to do with this request.⁷⁶⁷ Also, Berch asks Warmholtz to tell Mr Ström (Erik Hinrichsson Ström) not to worry,

because he has not forgotten Ström's request about the medal of Queen Christina. '*La medaille de la Reine Christine à l'Hospitalitas Augusta ne sera point oubliée, quand j'aurai trouvé occasion de l'envoyer.*'⁷⁶⁸ As soon as he would find time, Berch would send it. No doubt, Berch acted as a numismatic agent for Ström. Still, Ström was not the only one to receive items. Berch notifies his friend that Mrs Warmholtz (Françoise Marguerite Janiçon) and Mrs Grill (Anna Johanna, the lady-collector) will receive printed sheets, which Berch presumes, they would like for their repertoires. After that, Berch addresses a question that Warmholtz must have posed in a previous letter, regarding a medal that depicts Count Jan Tęczyński (1540–1563).⁷⁶⁹ Berch believes, he notes, that Ström knows as much as he does, but likewise continues to outline the circumstances briefly, regarding the medal's potential interest to Warmholtz, who was working on a book on Swedish history. The Count had been a Polish ambassador at the court of Eric XIV and had become smitten with the king's sister, Princess Cecilia (1540–1627). Tęczyński's infatuation prompted him, as Berch puts it, to '*faire des folies*', to foolishness.⁷⁷⁰ In Tęczyński's endeavour to win Princess Cecilia's heart, he had a medal made that combined his and her portraits (*fig. 86*).⁷⁷¹

It seems that Warmholtz had come across the medal in his research, and now asked his numismatic friend about it. The medal was the common denominator between Warmholtz and Berch, and their conversation depended on the fact that both knew how it looked. Warmholtz viewed it as first-hand historical evidence and research material. As I touched upon earlier, medals had significant antiquarian value and were considered as historical evidence. They were not made only for contemporary self-fashioning, but forged for future generations, and this future generation was now Warmholtz and Berch. To the sixteenth-century beholder, the medal had been proof of Tęczyński's intentions, while to the eighteenth-century viewer, the medal testified the connection between Tęczyński and Cecilia. Even if their portraits could be viewed as generic representations, they would still provide some visual evidence of and link to this long lost time.

After Berch sketched an outline of the princess' life, he recommended looking up *Theatrum Nobilitatis*, pages 128 and 132, for more information about Cecilia.⁷⁷² Berch suggests consulting a particular source in the Stockholm archives and provides Warmholtz with more literature references. Much as Sperling and Sophia Elisabeth did, Berch promoted himself in his letters. Berch indulges and nourishes his learned persona



FIG. 86: Attributed to Steven van Herwijck, Cecilia Vasa and Jan Tęczyński, 1561, cast silver, approx Ø40 mm. Economy Museum Royal Coin Cabinet/SHM.

when he coquettishly stresses that others might also know the answer, but nevertheless proceeds to describe the historical background of the medal and recommends literature to his friend. He finishes his letter with comments on a shared acquaintance, the historian Johan Arckenholtz (1695–1777), who was currently working on a biography on Queen Christina (including medals), along with pleasantries and well-wishes.

The friendly letter provides remarkable insight into how numismatic exchanges were executed. On the one hand, it illuminates how objects could be purchased in the name of second parties (Ström). Berch's position in Paris granted him access to art and second-hand markets with a far better selection than those in Stockholm. Also, he was particularly suited to procure objects for collectors because, as a numismatist, he could attest to their quality with authority. On the other hand, the letter's central insight lies in the informal inquiries and favours that were sent back and forth. He and Warmholtz shared the same interest, Swedish history, and their research frequently overlapped. The answer to Warmholtz's question about the medal was traded for a book subscription, one seemingly mundane thing for the other.

Additionally, the letter exchanged between these two men offers some understanding of the numismatic research practice because such practices were (and still are) intimately connected to literature and archive studies.⁷⁷³ After Warmholtz received Berch's suggestions, the scholar would consult the relevant literature to acquire additional information regarding the person depicted on the medal. To categorise the object, the numismatic catalogue, like Brenner's *Thesaurus*, would be the tool of choice. Roughly thirty years after Warmholtz posed his question about Tęczyński and Cecilia's medal, he would have been able to consult Berch's reference work on Swedish coins and medals, *Beskrifning öfwer swenska mynt och kongl. skåde-penningar* (1773). In the following, I will pursue the hypothetical quest of identifying Cecilia's medal with Berch's book at hand, to illustrate how Warmholtz could have used it in connection to the object.⁷⁷⁴

First, he would have examined the object by visually scrutinising the image and reading the inscription on both sides. He would have had to shift and turn it between his fingers to study all its details. Perhaps with a looking glass, he would detect scratches on the surface that might hint something about its execution. He would touch and feel the metal to check if it were a sixteenth-century original, or perhaps a later replica. Berch himself stated that he preferred originals to cast copies, although as

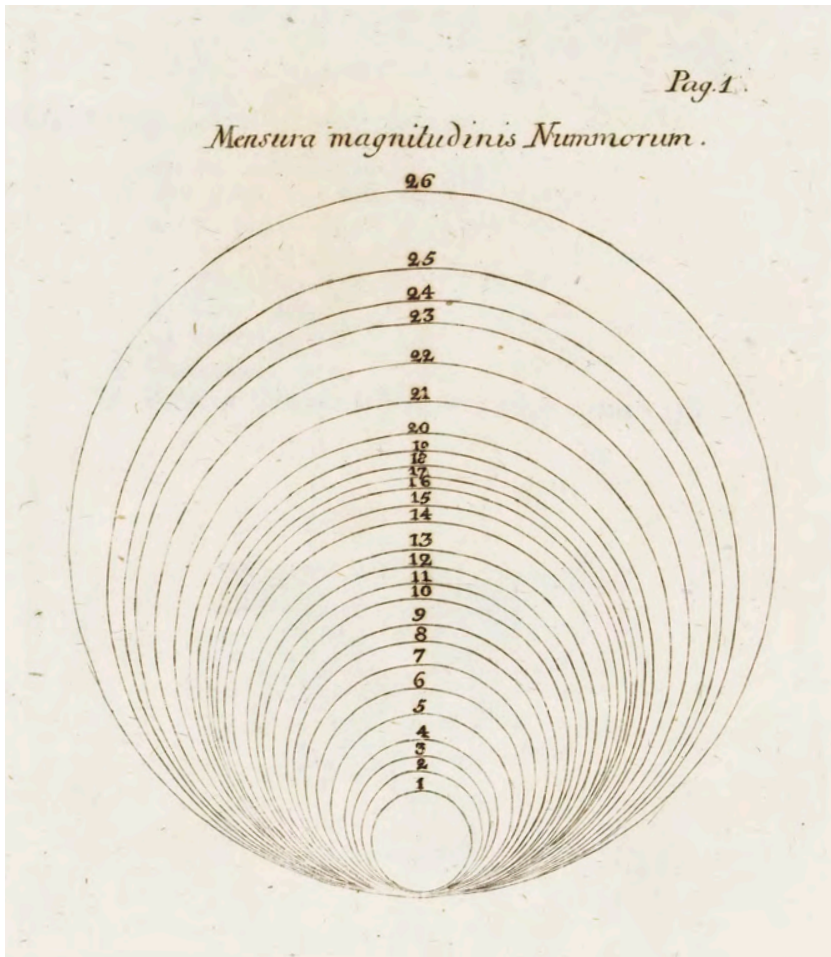


FIG. 87: Measurements in Carl Reinhold Berch, *Beskrifning öfwer svenska mynt och skådepennningar* [...] 1773. 1 line measures c. 14 mm and 26 lines c. 94 mm. Uppsala University Library.

Sperling and Sophia Elisabeth's conversation indicated, sometimes a replica had to suffice.⁷⁷⁵ The next step would be to check the medal's size. This could be done with a calibre. Berch's *Beskrifning*, which otherwise is not illustrated, includes a smart addition, namely the so-called Berch scale (fig. 87). The Berch scale consisted of 26 circular lines set in each other, mimicking the sizes of the most common coins and medals. Warmholtz could place the object on the printed sheet and measure c. 11 lines

(41mm).⁷⁷⁶ Placing the medal on the printed sheets and counting the lines would involve an additional tactile and visual experience beyond merely reading the book. Studying medals had many material aspects, including the object, the related literature, and the combination of the two.

After examining the item's physical characteristics, Warmholtz would focus on the inscription, as the titles would give him the first clue to identifying Tęczyński and Cecilia. Cecilia's name, CECILIA. PRINCEPS. SVVECIE., and family connection, would help him to navigate Berch's work, which is ordered chronologically following the monarch's dynasties. Hence, after flipping through the pages, Warmholtz would find Cecilia on page 61, amongst the members of the House of Vasa. There, Warmholtz would encounter a description of two editions thematising Princess Cecilia, and the second would be the one he was looking for. In his book, Berch only briefly describes the visual characteristics of the medal. He states that it depicts the princess' bust, dressed in contemporary fashion, and a hat, on one side, while the other side shows the portrait of a man, 'Johannes Comes a Tencin'.⁷⁷⁷ He also mentions where he encountered the medal, namely in the royal cabinet, and summarises the reason behind the medal.

Lord Tenczin (from the same house as the last Lord Ossolinksy) was ambassador from Poland at K. Erik's coronation and gifted with enough pride to propose to the Princess; he was turned down. Nonetheless, after he got hold of Cecilia's portrait at the Goldworker, who had made the previous medal [no. 1. on Berch's list]; he had, like a love sick-fool, put on his own face to it [the medal]. One concludes that her Serene Highness had, what one calls a liking for men: as she also was married in 1564 to Christoffer, Margrave of Baden; indeed, when she grew old, it is written, that she still enjoyed lovemaking.⁷⁷⁸

The account approximates what Berch had already written to Warmholtz. From today's perspective, Berch's additional facts about Cecilia would be dismissed as misogynist slander; yet, from a contemporary point of view, his apparent disapproval of Tęczyński's medal-courtship, or the suggestive language regarding the princess' way of life, would not be strange. In connection to this, it should be mentioned that Cecilia was already deemed to have lived a scandalous life, and Berch just seems to have repeated these rumours.⁷⁷⁹ These opinions were like a game of Chinese whispers, in which phrases are repeated and retold many times, and also

to appear in Hildebrand's catalogue, where he quotes Berch, and calls Tęczyński a lovestruck fool.⁷⁸⁰

Leaving the validity of Berch's comments about Cecilia aside, they attest to what a reader encountered when consulting his book. It was a reference work, a literary complement to the numismatic object. Collecting, researching, or in any way engaging with numismatic objects or the related publications was no secluded endeavour, but opened doors to other contexts. In this case, Cecilia's medal was the material evidence of Tęczyński's courtship. However, the object without the literature could not tell the whole tale. It would indicate their connection, but not any specific details. The combination of Tęczyński's and Cecilia's portraits, much like John III and Catherine's, would invite the suggestion that they were married. In comparison, the medal was the material verification of the written source. Cecilia and Tęczyński's history had come alive in Warmholtz's hands. Without the medal as evidence, a historian could doubt that Tęczyński ever proposed to the Princess. Thus, the literature and the object complemented each other, and both aided the scholar in the pursuit of knowledge. Cecilia's medal would, in Warmholtz's hand, have commemorative or representational values, but Berch's book provided a framework and the necessary keys for understanding its context and, therefore, its value and former role. Medals like these were not silently resting in the drawers of a cabinet, but came bearing historical, antiquarian, collecting, aesthetic, and many other values and functions.

The development of numismatic scholarship from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment, and its implications, is a dense topic, doing justice to which would require a scope far beyond these few pages.⁷⁸¹ In general, numismatic publications bear witness to how material culture was visualised and reproduced by engravings. The visualisation of the medal, by transferring the object onto another medium, like Brenner's illustrations, contributed to the increased diffusion of the images and their use. The visualised objects became a source of knowledge, of evidence. Consequently, the illustration techniques and printmaking had immense significance for these publications and the development of numismatic science.⁷⁸² In connection to the question of the medals' significance, it could be argued that each object added to the scholarly quest. It was a material complement to the research, yet its visualised counterpart had antiquarian value. The goal was owning a collection, studying it, discussing one's

findings with others, exchanging and trading objects, and finally publishing, as Brenner, Sperling, Berch, and many others did.

The role of the medal was to serve as a scientific instrument, research material, and historical aid. In the early stages of numismatic science, medals inhabited a dominant position next to coins. They were a vital part, in the sense that they illustrated contemporary history, and, to return to Jobert's quote from earlier in this chapter, the medal carried the tales of battles, coronations, alliances, and so much more. Thus, they embodied a historical testimony *per se*.

CONCLUSIONS

The cases discussed in this chapter elucidate how the medal circulated and was used beyond the premises of royal gift exchange. With the turn of the century, medals, old and new, became available on the open market, at retail and second-hand, and were advertised in the paper. This increased supply and demand is a precondition to understanding how the medal gained a greater foothold within society. The production and sales catalogues, on the retail and second-hand markets, allow the comprehension of a consumption that previously was not traceable to such an extent. Moreover, they demonstrate that the roles and values of medals could become even more entangled than before, while simultaneously becoming more coherent.

On the one hand, selling medals ensured an augmented circulation of the royal image, and the possibility to reach more viewers. Their availability encouraged the demand for medals, and even specific product trends, such as the medal suites, connected to other visual media. Likewise, the possibility to buy medals altered their exclusivity, and emphasised the complexity of the royal gift. The gift's glamour was still connected to the royal aura and the precious metal, but now these aspects were represented by many objects, instead of one singular medal. On the other hand, since medals were no longer exclusively a gift of grace, and more parties besides royals could issue and buy them, implied that the medium connected to prestige and superiority was adjusted to the changing society. Opening the market to other consumers implied more editions, more items, and a broader outreach for the medium, and homogenous use. For instance, the self-fashioning entailed in issuing metal objects was shared by Sophia Elisabeth Brenner with the current sovereign.

In addition to supply and demand, I analyse collecting and studying medals. The examples show that a medal could be a status-constituting mechanism, as well as an investment, diversion, or scientific instrument. The market benefited the circulation of objects and added other material related to medals, like publications, cabinets, prints, copies, et cetera. These products highlighted tactile mechanisms like organising or examining, which complemented how people physically engaged with medals, apart from simply wearing them. Furthermore, using medals as historical testimony reconnects to their initial role, in commemoration. They were once made to tell the deeds of great men and women, and hundreds of years later, these tales come alive through the medal. However, the object did not necessarily reveal its historical context by itself; antiquarians needed the aid of reference literature, for which the medal in turn testified. The media complemented each other. Also, the examples presented here establish that collecting and studying medals was not a reclusive activity, but depended on networks and communication. Antiquarians needed to procure objects, and to exchange and discuss their thoughts and findings, which in itself contributed yet another dimension of materiality to the medal.

To summarise, medals now permeated levels of society beyond the monarch and the nobility at court, and the elevated number of the medals' users would become even more visible in the subsequent decades.

V

Reassessing practices and reinventing significances

This chapter will address the roles and values of medals during the second half of the eighteenth century. The use of medals now seeps through all layers of society and all the previously established functions and values of medals are reinvented, modified, and implicitly embedded within the culture and society.⁷⁸³ The people engaging with the medals remain the same, the royalty, nobility, and the wealthy burghers, but, in contrast to previous periods, workers start to get involved with the medium. The overarching topics that guide the following analysis are self-fashioning and the practice of rewarding. In this final chapter, I will examine how the previously established significances of and practices around medals were reassessed and anchored in late eighteenth-century society.

In the previous chapter, I note that a constitutional monarchy governed Sweden during the period 1719–1772. The queen regnant elect, Ulrika Eleonora the Younger, abdicated in 1720 in favour of her husband, Frederick I, who was king until his death in 1751, when he was succeeded by his elected heir, Adolf Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp (1710–1771).⁷⁸⁴ The power to govern was held by the Diet, which in turn was divided into parties of Hats and Caps.⁷⁸⁵ The royal family, and in particular Louisa Ulrika of Prussia, who was married to Adolf Frederick, was not necessarily satisfied with their marginalised position. Louisa Ulrika urged strengthening the king's political position, which led to numerous conflicts with the ruling parties, and finally an attempted coup d'état, in 1756, which aimed to abandon the constitutional reform, overthrow the government, and reinstitute an absolute monarchy. The coup failed, and the couple had to repent, while their allies fled abroad or were sentenced to death by the Diet.⁷⁸⁶ Needless to say, the Diet also had a medal commissioned to commemorate their successful defeat of the coup attempt.⁷⁸⁷ Years later, the son of Louisa Ulrika and Adolf Frederick, Gustav III (1746–1792), was

more successful. Ongoing conflicts between the nobility and peasants played into his hands.⁷⁸⁸ These conflicts paralysed the Diet meeting in 1771, and due to several circumstances favourable to the interests of Gustav III, he successfully rendered the constitution ineffective. On the 19th of August 1772, Gustav III overthrew the government by a coup d'état, or a revolution, as he termed it.⁷⁸⁹ Henceforth, Gustav III ruled as an absolute monarch or, in accordance with the *Zeitgeist*, an enlightened despot. Consequently, this chapter will concern medals from the Age of Liberty as well as from the period of the enlightened despot. The different political circumstances influenced the possibilities and roles of medals, since these were tied to the society that made and used them.

PRIZE MEDALS

Since Swedish royals during the Age of Liberty wielded less political power than previously, they had to make the most of the means available to them. One well-tried method to perform their roles as generous rulers was to hand out medals. Yet, instead of only bestowing gifts to the noblest individuals, which would fail to secure more power anyhow, the weakened monarchy needed to address another part of society. In order to reach them, a new possibility appeared: the *prize medal*.

Prize medals were a pan-European trend during the eighteenth century, and several circumstances provided opportunities to hand them out.⁷⁹⁰ One opportunity was the scientific competition, sparked by the increased urge to develop society and encourage people to work for the common good. Inspired by the development of the Enlightenment, academies were instituted all over Europe, of which the sovereign usually figured as founder or patron, since he or she naturally sought the improvement of society. These scientific academies were central arenas for intellectual exchange and endeavoured to nourish and strengthen culture, encourage scientific discoveries, and work for the greater good of society.⁷⁹¹ The universities, another intellectual arena at this time, were mainly places for education but not primarily institutions for scientific research.⁷⁹² Therefore, the academies inhabited a vital part of the development of research matters. One vital aspect of sparking interest and encouraging research were the competitions and the prizes that followed, which addressed people's competitive zeal.

The Swedish newspapers of the period reported on how such a contest

would be outlined. As advertised in October 1764, by the Academy in Leipzig, competitors could attempt to successfully answer three different questions. The first question asked how many different types of wool could be collected from all the sheep in the Saxon countries. The second question enquired how much potash could be made of oak, beech, alder, and birch stems, pine and fir wood, and from any other wood that contains alkalic salts. The Leipzig academy specified that experiments should be conducted, and then described. The same amount of testing and thorough description was required for the last question, in which entrants were asked how Saxon linen-bleachers might, using as little wood as possible and in the shortest time, and without damaging the linen, get the best results. The dissertation that presented the most successful experiments, and the most complete descriptions, would be rewarded with 50 *riksdaler* (equalling several months' wages) or a medal of equal value. The winner would be announced on Michaelmas (29 September) the following year.⁷⁹³

The Saxon example provides an insight into the character of these contests. They mostly consisted of three tasks, which might cover various subjects, and they were rewarded with prize medals (and sometimes even money). That the instructions for a prize in Leipzig were printed in a Swedish newspaper suggests that anyone, regardless of nationality and gender, could participate.⁷⁹⁴ Nevertheless, even though these competitions were open for everyone, not everyone was able to compete. To conduct the research required education and some kind of financial means, inherited or facilitated through benefactors, which allowed for spending time on experiments and writing essays rather than pursuing gainful work. In the following, I will address early examples of the Swedish academy's competitions and prizes.⁷⁹⁵

The Queen's Academy

Like their European peers, the academies founded by the Swedish king and queen also had the purpose of nourishing science and culture, and hosting competitions. Especially one such academy dominated the cultural landscape, namely the *Kungliga Vitterhetsakademien* (the Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, henceforth the Academy).⁷⁹⁶ The Academy would become one of the most well-known of the Swedish societies, and is also tightly connected to medal art.⁷⁹⁷ Another noteworthy aspect is the Academy's inseparable link to its founder, the Prussian



FIG. 88: The library at Drottningholm Palace by Jean Eric Rhen ca. 1760. In the background, the picture shows an open door leading to the coin cabinet where the meetings took place. The wall decorations in the cabinet, similar as depicted here, as well as its content – coins, medals, antiquities and books – alluded to the Academy’s calling and intentions.

Princess, and later Swedish Queen Consort, Louisa Ulrika (sister of Frederick the Great of Prussia), who was one of the most influential figures in Sweden’s cultural life during the mid-eighteenth century.

Since the royals had no active political role during Sweden’s Age of Liberty—which affronted Louisa Ulrika’s deep-seated belief in the sacred rights of the monarchy—she sought out another arena where she could act and influence.⁷⁹⁸ The cultural sphere, where she could perform as patron and instigator of taste, was undoubtedly a fitting choice, and Adolf Frederick’s and Louisa Ulrika’s court was indeed the pinnacle of the Swedish cultural society. During her time in Sweden (she arrived in August 1744⁷⁹⁹), Louisa Ulrika nurtured cultural and artistic ventures, redecorated Drottningholm (the dynastical project of Hedwig Eleonora’s), established

rich collections of art, antiquities, *naturalia*, and, of course, coins and medals.⁸⁰⁰ She used and studied her own collections, as did the royal family, nobility, artists, and scholars, and Louisa Ulrika's intense cultural interest certainly was one reason why she founded the Academy, nicknamed the Queen's Academy, on her 33rd birthday, on the 24th of July 1753.⁸⁰¹ Influenced by the European role models, it would also organise competitions and distribute prizes, medals in particular. Competitions would become a vital aspect of the Academy's work, and Louisa Ulrika's charitable efforts.⁸⁰² Therefore, one might say that the Academy (and thus the prizes) also had an informal political agenda, although one perhaps not immediately obvious.⁸⁰³

The first of the Academy's meetings was held in connection with Louisa Ulrika's birthday celebration. Sweden's highest political and cultural elite, consciously selected by her, gathered in the recently finished coin cabinet at Drottningholm (*fig. 88*). History, antiquity, rhetoric, and the improvement of the Swedish language were established there as the essential aims of the Academy. Its explicit task was to purify cultural taste, and promote a clean and decent way of thinking and writing, which should be useful to society, as well as being neat and pleasant.⁸⁰⁴ Cultural patriotism without a doubt informed these aims, and this patriotism revealed itself foremost in the Academy's competitions.⁸⁰⁵

The first Academy competition was advertised in the newspaper on the 9th of August 1753. Following the international standard, three tasks were given:

The first is the subject of Swedish history, comprising the question if, in Sweden's old times, the renowned House of Folkung [*folkungaätten* – medieval kings] was born here or foreign; The other belongs to rhetoric: One wishes a portrait of King Gustavus Adolphus character or mind, thinking and personal traits. The third is for poetry and should be a poem on King Charles Gustav's March over the Great Belt in 1658. For each one of these subjects, the Queen has graciously decided to bestow a gold medal worth thirty ducats; no one except the one who wins the prize will be made public [...] The members of the Academy are now and in the future excluded from participation so that their judgement on the incoming texts will be impartial to the eyes of the public.⁸⁰⁶

The tasks sought to emphasise parts of the Swedish past by claiming its origin, and praising two of Sweden's most famous kings. (Future competitions would follow the same line.⁸⁰⁷) The next year, 1754, the winners of

the first contest were announced, and since all contributions were sent in anonymously, the winner was supposed to reveal himself after the Academy had published the title of the winning text. Scholar Eric Tuneld (1709–1788) won the prize in history.⁸⁰⁸ The Academy members did not find any contribution to Gustavus Adolphus' character worthy of a medal, but the poems on the March over the Great Belt were considered satisfactory. The winning contribution was written in Latin, and sent from Copenhagen by the Danish historian Bolle Willum Luxdorph (1716–1788), a member of the Danish Society of Sciences (founded 1742).⁸⁰⁹ The winner's country of origin, Denmark, was considered somewhat surprising, and that his contribution was written in Latin stirred some controversies as well, since the Academy aimed to cultivate the Swedish language.⁸¹⁰ Still, the contribution won the members' favour. Luxdorph's poem was, in fact, a homage to the consent and friendship between these two countries, which shared a very hostile history.⁸¹¹ Latin was, besides Swedish and French (due to the Francophile court), a valid competing language.⁸¹² Consequently, Luxdorph's poem was accepted. Tuneld and Luxdorph each received a gold medal, and their contributions were published in the Academy's *acta* the following year.⁸¹³

The medal awarded to Tuneld and Luxdorph would become the *signum* for the Academy, as well as the prize medal for several years, bestowed upon the winners in the categories of history, rhetoric, and poetry during the following years (*fig. 89*).⁸¹⁴ The medal, engraved by Daniel Fehrman, depicts the queen from the right, wearing a tight bodice with a plunging neckline and a royal mantle. A pearl string, going straight over her collarbone and fastened at a jewel, is holding her mantle, which is lined with fur and decorated with crowns. The surface's relief hints at the elaborate embroideries, ruffles, and pearls stitched on her dress. She wears a diadem and has pearls pinned in her hair. Her long curls fall from her neck and mesh with the fur of the mantle on one side and the dress's fabric on the other. Louisa Ulrika is portrayed with big eyes, a straight nose and round cheeks. Her name and title encircle her portrait: LUDOVICA ULRICA D. G. REGINA SVECIAE. Since Louisa Ulrika subsidised the prize, which included Fehrman's salary for the die and the material of the medal, with money from her privy purse, she also had the prerogative to have her portrait on it.⁸¹⁵ The recipient ought to know who the gracious benefactor was.

The reverse of the medal depicts a bare room with a rococo table in its centre. The table stands on a squared floor, the parquet layers (or tiles)



FIG. 89: Daniel Fehrman, medal on Louisa Ulrika and the Academy, first prize, 1753, silver, Ø52.61 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

clearly showing a foreshortened perspective, enhanced by the depiction of the table. The table is richly decorated, with metal fittings at the corners and wavy legs. Seemingly also made as a metal fitting, a caduceus on the right, a phoenix rising from the fire at centre, and a lute on the left are depicted on the front tableside. On the tabletop (perhaps not wood but marble) lie three laurel branches, and, like the lute, phoenix, and caduceus, these allude to the three competition subjects of history, rhetoric, and poetry. These symbols likewise connoted antiquity, the cradle of humanity's culture, and its ideals, a heritage with which the Academy sought to associate itself. CERTAMEN LITERAR[um]. CONSTIT[utum]. [a literary competition established] is written in a semi-circle above the desk, and the year, 1753, in Roman numerals, MDCCLIII, in the exergue. The table placed in the unspecified room might allude to the Academy's meeting place, Louisa Ulrika's cabinet at Drottningholm, where the winners would be chosen. Also, the composition connects the medal to its role as a prize, since entrants in the three subjects competed for the three laurel branches (or medals). The images that were engraved on the obverse and reverse summarise the Academy quite well. It was the combination of Louisa Ulrika and noble competition, and the visual design was adapted to its cause.

As I have outlined in previous chapters, a ruler could reward his or her subordinates with medals as a way to gratify and elevate them. Therefore, in essence, the practice of handing out prize medals is not at all unrelated to the medal's previous roles and values. The object, made of gold or silver, disguised a monetary gift. Eric XIV once bestowed medal gifts to his subordinates and allies, and prize medals during the late eighteenth century had, in principle, a similar purpose. They commemorated an event, they were a reward, signalled a bond between the partners of the gift exchange, and, by their visual design, highlighted the giver and possibly even the recipient with a reference to the occasion for the medal. Nevertheless, compared to the gift of grace, the medal did not necessarily depend on the king's goodwill, but on an individual's achievements.

FEELINGS OF VANITY. What would it mean to receive such an object, and what kind of significance did it carry? Initially, as always, the medal embodied monetary value. The object itself was worth 30 ducats (approx. 102 grams gold).⁸¹⁶ Hence, it had a measurable and fixed monetary value, prompting again the question whether a medal was less attractive than a sum of money. Well, the answer depended indeed on the recipient, and his or her financial means. The medal dressed the 30 ducats in a luxurious gown. The recipient could melt it down or trade the object for money if necessary, something the Academy, and the Queen, were undoubtedly aware of. However, the initial role of the medal was as a prize. This function concerned both the instigator and the recipient. To the person issuing it, here Louisa Ulrika, the object was a piece in the puzzle of her self-fashioning endeavour. To the recipient, if they chose to keep the medal rather than melting it down, the object would figure as a steady reminder of his (or her) achievement.⁸¹⁷ Something to show for their efforts. Something by which to remember their victory. All these values could be understood as different layers of emotional value. Since I have not been able to find a written testimonial from the winners of the Academy's early contest that mentions their prize, I will present another example that illustrates the interaction between a recipient and a medal.

I received a present of infinite value from Her Majesty. She added a great prize by sending me through Your Excellence whose letter is for me like a second letter of honour worthy of this medal. It [the medal] arouses feelings of vanity, which my reason needs much success to

repress. I keep showing it; I take pleasure in admiring the portrait, the meeting of beauty and grace.⁸¹⁸

The author of the letter was the French entomologist René Antoine Ferchault de Réaumur (1683–1757), known to have invented a temperature scale and thermometer. He was a foreign member of the Royal Swedish Society of Sciences and likewise a member of the French Academy. Therefore, he could neither enter such competitions nor be awarded for his scientific accomplishments. Nonetheless, he still received a medal, and his letter attests to how significant it was to show it, and that he was very pleased by it.⁸¹⁹

Réaumur addressed his letter to the Swedish envoy in Paris, who had delivered the medal in Louisa Ulrika's name in February 1754. Previously, Réaumur had corresponded with Louisa Ulrika about his research on insects.⁸²⁰ In the cited letter, Réaumur is polite, as etiquette requires, and even apart from all the exuberant gushing (the prevailing tone in such correspondence), the value of the medal appears unmistakable. It sparked feelings of vanity. To have been singled out to receive a medal seems to have given Réaumur great joy. He does not mention its design, which in this case is also secondary, even though he ascribed the medal aesthetic value, as he admired its visual design. Instead, of significance is the fact that he received a medal that honoured his achievements.⁸²¹ To him, it was the symbol of his success, and it nourished his pride and vanity; thus, in addition to its obvious monetary value, the medal held significant emotional value, Réaumur's pride and delight. Also, its function, what he did with it, is plainly stated. He showed it to others.

Similar reactions are to be expected from others who participated in the Academy's contests and were chosen as winners worthy of a medal. The recipient would keep it safe, perhaps storing the medal in a special place, waiting for an opportunity to show it and be admired because of it. It was a sign of status. The honour of receiving a royal medal was something previously restricted only to the nobility. Now, the body of possible recipients slowly grew while remaining exclusive. A prize medal could not be bought, only won. Therefore, only a select few could own this particular prize.

Still, Réaumur, or any other recipient, was not the only one *using* the medal. From afar, through the medal she bestowed, Louisa Ulrika could act as a gracious and generous benefactor of science and culture. It

indicated her charitable efforts and cultural interest, and served a role in her own self-fashioning.

SECOND PRIZES. The Academy continued to advertise similar contests and rewarded the winning contributions until 1756, when the coup attempt instigated by the royal couple failed.⁸²² In connection to the restrictions forced upon Adolf Frederick and Louisa Ulrika, the Queen's Academy went dormant until 1773.⁸²³ When it was restored, politics had changed drastically. Before, the monarchy had no active ruling power, and was dependent on the notions of the political parties, the Hats and Caps. By 1773, Louisa Ulrika's son, Gustav III, had seized power and reclaimed his sovereign privileges. Roughly six months after his coup d'état, Louisa Ulrika called her Academy again to a meeting, under circumstances quite different from before.

Only three members, in addition to Louisa Ulrika, were present at the first meeting of the reconvened Academy in January 1773: Carl Frederick Scheffer (1715–1786), Carl Rudenschöld (1698–1783), and Carl Reinhold Berch.⁸²⁴ Several of the old members had passed away. But their group soon grew, as Louisa Ulrika now could choose members more freely than before, without having to consider political alliances. The Academy's agenda remained unchanged, and the competitions, which Louisa Ulrika subsidised, were reinstated, yet the members decided to adjust the monetary value of the first prize, the gold medal, from 30 to 20 ducats, in order to award a second prize, or *accessit*, of 10 ducats.⁸²⁵

For the second prize, the Academy did not design a new prize, but looked for suitable objects among the editions Louisa Ulrika already possessed. They chose one of the queen's jetons, which she had commissioned in 1745 and used for card games.⁸²⁶ In comparison to the first prize, the *accessit* was considerably smaller, lighter, and significantly downscaled in appearance. It displayed Louisa Ulrika's crowned and entwined monogram on the obverse, and the reverse showed a round heart encircled by a laurel wreath and the inscription ALLDELES. SWENSKT. 1745. [entirely Swedish] (*fig. 90*). While used as a playing jeton, the heart combined with the Swedish language and its meaning were a conscious choice. It was meant to underline that the Prussian princess had become the Swedish crown princess, and that she was fully committed to her new home country and destiny.⁸²⁷ Likewise, in its new role as a second prize, it exhibited a very fitting design. The image illustrated a condensed version of the



FIG. 90: Johan Carl Hedlinger, Alldeles Swensk, second prize, 1745, silver, Ø 34.66 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

Academy's essence, Queen Louisa Ulrika as the gracious patron, and the love (heart) and intellectual nourishment of Sweden's culture (laurel wreath). The design corresponded to the prize's role, even though it served a different intention from the start. Its visual execution made it perfectly fitted to aid the cause of Louisa Ulrika and the Academy. The medal became a well-balanced second prize, one that would match its counterpart, the first-place prize.

Equipped with new prizes, the Academy continued its contests, and, as before, the subjects primarily concerned the glorification of Sweden. In addition to history, rhetoric, and poetry, the members introduced another subject, namely emblems and inscriptions.⁸²⁸ This topic included inscriptions for monuments, but could also play out in more numismatic-oriented ways. For example, the Academy advertised a competition to invent designs for new jetons to complete Karlsteen's regency suite, which I mentioned in the previous chapter. Suggestions regarding both the images and text for the design of fifteen jetons were requested, in particular, for the queen consorts, who were missing in Karlsteen's suite.⁸²⁹ On the 26th of November 1773, the instructions for that year's contest went to the printer to be announced to the public.⁸³⁰

The contest points to the role that medals played in late eighteenth-century Sweden. The competition was perceived as something that would engage many people, and it did. It was a challenge to invent fifteen fitting emblems, yet not considered impossible. The members of the Academy turned down several suggestions, but rewarded the efforts with an *accessit*

à 2 ducats.⁸³¹ The first-place winner was decided upon in November of the same year. The vicar Andreas Lanaerus (1738–1810) would receive first prize, having provided the greatest number, ten, of suggestions for emblems that were accepted.⁸³² Lanaerus received his gold medal in July 1774, but since only ten emblems were admitted (and five more were needed), the medal contest lasted until 1775, when the Academy decided upon the last five contributions, sent by Samuel Loenbom (1725–1776).⁸³³ Loenbom was given the *accessit* struck for 10 ducats.⁸³⁴ The fifteen new jetons were never realised, which was not unusual as many medal plans remained in the drafting stages. Nevertheless, the winners received their prizes, and their contributions should be published in *Lärda tidningar* [the journal *Learned Papers*].⁸³⁵

Lanaerus and Loenbom are suitable representatives for the group of people who entered the contests: they were educated but not necessarily men of wealth, working within the government, church, or university.⁸³⁶ Thus, the Academy rewarded people who belonged to other social classes than the nobility. The competitions were a way of gratifying and paying attention to these men, who previously were mainly excluded from the possibility of receiving any reward. Moreover, these individuals exemplified a category of people previously unable to climb the social ladder, but who now, by merit of their cultural (or scientific) achievements, could move up in the hierarchy. The lowest social classes still could not participate in these contests for practical and economic reasons. They also lacked the necessary cultural capital. However, the so-called middle class now had a fitting way of rising through the social strata, as winning an Academy prize would give them recognition. Consequently, these prize medals not only carry the previously mentioned roles and values, that of enabling the self-fashioning of both issuer and recipient, but they also mark a change within society at large.⁸³⁷

REWARDING ROLE MODELS

The Academy prizes already pointed towards a rising meritocracy, which did not end with the learned men within the church or government. Alongside the academies, which operated for an improved society according to the ideals of the Enlightenment, royalty and the government showed increased attention towards manufacture, farming, and mining.⁸³⁸ The growing trend of developing and adapting the existing reward system



FIG. 91: Carl Gustaf Fehrman, reward medal for spinners, previous owner Hildur Lundqvist, c. 1945–1950 [1751], silver, approx. Ø 34 mm. Sörmlands Museum.

was not restricted to Sweden, but noticeable all over Europe.⁸³⁹ Of course, this newfound interest also affected the production of medals.⁸⁴⁰ Since the king rewarded good work regardless of birth, family name, or gender, new medals were needed for these new recipients.

New recipients

One new category of new recipients were the spinners. In 1751, in connection to their coronation, Adolf Frederick and Louisa Ulrika decided to reward spinners among the peasants.⁸⁴¹ Previously, it had been more than unusual to acknowledge female workers in that manner, but now, even these lowly individuals received a medal (*fig. 91*).

The composition obverse of this medal is simple, showing a jugate portrait of Adolf Frederick and Louisa Ulrika, surrounded by their titles. Adolf Frederick is displayed in front of his wife. The locks of his wig are fashionably tied with a ribbon; his spouse's attire is not visible. In contrast to the portrait side, the image space of the reverse is fully occupied. It

shows the inside of a wooden cabin and a woman sitting on a chair in front of a spinning wheel, which marks the centre of the image. The woman is depicted from the right, with her right hand resting in her lap and the left guiding the wool onto the spindle and stringing it into a thread. She sits with her head close to a window, as if she needed enough daylight to complete her meticulous work. The wooden boards of the ceiling, walls, and floor visibly frame the image, suggesting a broader room than the surface of the medal is able to capture. On the wall, a rope is hanging to the right, under which a bench is standing against the wall, indicating that the spinner does not inhabit the cabin alone. The woman wears a plain dress, and her hair is simply knotted into a bun at the back of her head. Her attire, and the design of the room, suggest that this scene is situated in the countryside. As a whole, the image gives a peaceful and serene impression. In a semi-circle around the image reads, *TIL HEDER FÖR DEN QVINNA SOM FINST OCH SNÄLT KAN SPINNA* [To honour the woman who can spin nice and swift], and in the exergue appears the year, 1751.

The edition embodies an astonishing novelty because it appears to be the first time a commoner is depicted on a Swedish royal medal. In contrast to the royal couple, whose portraits are easily recognisable and combined with their names, the woman is represented as a stereotype, without any personalised features. Even so, she is not an allegory for handiwork. She represents the medal's intended recipient, a distinguished spinner. The spinner should identify herself with the depicted woman, who claims this prominent spot on the medal. The characteristics of the medal, its two sides, elevate the spinner, who becomes almost the equal of the king and queen. Previously, it would have been unthinkable that a commoner would inhabit a space within medal art, as this art form that was so deeply connected to the elite. Instead, the royals now sought out commoners to share their spotlight. The medal's design had been adapted to a new recipient.

The edition was only distributed for a few years, and probably at first restricted to manufactories that supplied fabrics to the royal household, such as *Flors Linnenmanufaktur*.⁸⁴² The distribution of these medals came to a halt in 1756, after the failed coup attempt resulted in reduced funds. Understandably, a lack of funds affected medal production, as no new royal editions were commissioned in the following five years.⁸⁴³ Furthermore, the mint's inventory lists the die of the spinner medal as damaged and confiscated.⁸⁴⁴ The broken die, combined with the year of the royal

coup and a stopped medal production, may be a coincidence, yet I suggest that the spinner reward suffered for the guilt of the royal couple. To demonstrate the government's superiority by diminishing the royal image-making would have been humiliating in a subtle but very effective way. Preventing the royal couple from bestowing a medal, a prerogative associated with power and monarchy for centuries, would demean the king and queen. The estates could certainly manage without funding the royals in their endeavour to cultivate their image among the traditionally-royalist peasants.⁸⁴⁵ To prevent the issuing of a mere reward, given to people ignorant of the intricate politics of the capital, might seem a rather insignificant punishment. But in a world ruled by saving and losing face this was an insult and an effective demonstration of strength with far-reaching consequences. Rewards had political functions, presented on various levels and not only through the distribution and the visual design of the object.⁸⁴⁶ The mere act of being able to bestow a reward entailed power and status.

Despite the confiscated and broken die, the edition did not disappear. Several years later, the medal was distributed again and even reissued in the twentieth century.⁸⁴⁷ A new die was forged, closely resembling the original spinner medal, given to, for example, maid Annika Håkansdotter in May 1787. A newspaper report notes that Annika was rewarded because she had shown extraordinary spinning skill.⁸⁴⁸ The fact that the edition was revived suggests that it served a necessary function. The linen spinners were, after all, a vital part of the supply of luxury goods, and produced delicate fabrics like damask. Also, the medal suited the Diet's political aims to nourish national manufacturing.⁸⁴⁹

Before their rift with the government, Adolf Frederick and Louisa Ulrika instituted another reward aimed at the ordinary worker. In the 1750s, they founded several factories in the royal park surrounding Drottningholm.⁸⁵⁰ The factories in Kanton, as the area would be called, specialised in lace and silk work, but also had a smithy to forge weapons. It was planned as a utopian society designed in a Chinese style, and created for royal *divertissement*, and the workers employed at Kanton were instructed to dress neatly in case of royal visits. The factory was not only for show, but a functioning industry, and Kanton was meant to be a royal role model for Swedish manufacture.⁸⁵¹ The workers at Kanton were the first amongst many whose diligence was rewarded with a medal, which was instigated in 1753 (*fig. 92*).⁸⁵²



FIG. 92: Daniel Fehrman, reward medal for workers, 1753, silver, Ø33.54 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

The obverse die of the ‘spinner’ medal was reused for this edition. The reverse is plainly executed, with the text, FÖR DAGLIG FLIT OCH SLÖGD ÄR ÄRAN BÄSTA WINNING [honour is the best reward for daily diligence and skill] written in four lines. Above the inscription, the beholder can notice a star (the North Star, Sweden’s emblem) encircled by short and long rays, some shining on the first line of the text, and below, two tied branches close the inscription. Names and titles were written in Latin, thereby keeping the royal aura, but on the obverse, the Swedish language was used, which points to the issuer’s consciousness of the recipient. Adolf Frederick and Louisa Ulrika would have gained nothing by further elevating themselves above the ordinary workers. They were already king and queen, the pinnacle of the societal pyramid; hence, they needed to minimise this gap while maintaining a proper distance between themselves and their subordinates. Again, the changed group of recipients influenced the visual design of medals.⁸⁵³

These medals targeted a different social class than before, and their weight, and thereby the monetary value of the edition, indicate the recipient’s position in the social strata. It was small and light but still valuable to someone less fortunate. The edition’s overall design, size, and shape resembled currency. It was a jeton, much smaller and flatter than a standard medal. It weighed 14 to 14.50 grams, equalling $\frac{1}{2}$ riksdaler, as much as two weeks of a worker’s wages.⁸⁵⁴ Therefore, it had an instant economic value. An ordinary worker would not usually handle silver coins, not to mention gold. Even though the reward’s resemblance to money is appar-

ent, and would indicate its function as additional payment, the issuers intended that the object be carried visibly at the chest, fastened in a buttonhole, like a boutonniere. The social convention of *wearing* the medal was still relevant, yet how it was to be carried and displayed had changed.

The prospect of a reward was believed to provide encouragement, and medals were forged to address this encouragement to ordinary workers.⁸⁵⁵ According to Hildebrand, Louisa Ulrika commissioned this edition to reward the workers employed at the factories recently founded by her and Adolf Frederick.⁸⁵⁶ The medals were initially intended for the workers at their silk factory in Kanton, but then given to workers at all new factories until 1770.⁸⁵⁷ The merchant Barthelemy Toussaint Peyron (1717–1766), who had established the manufacture of silk in Stockholm, received the first jeton of the edition made of gold, but, more commonly, it was distributed in silver, as depicted here.⁸⁵⁸ The reward's function was twofold. For the royal couple, it served the role of self-fashioning, made apparent by the generous and proactive appearance it gave the couple, as well as by spreading their portraits amongst the workers. For the recipient, the medal would be a sign of honour and diligence, as plainly written in silver for anyone to see. It would demonstrate the social value and accomplishments of the person who carried it. Thus, this seemingly simple medal also created an exclusiveness, an exclusiveness that perhaps concerned a lower class, but, again, only the genuinely diligent and honourable worker would possess it. By bestowing these rewards, the king could, despite his restricted powers, act as a *pater familiae*, someone who cared for his subordinates.⁸⁵⁹

For the greater good of society

In the early 1760s, tensions between the government and the royal couple relaxed slightly, and the estates were very pleased with Adolf Frederick's and Louisa Ulrika's initiative regarding both the factories and the reward medals.⁸⁶⁰ After a visit to Kanton in 1762, the estates issued two new editions, one honouring the king and another honouring the queen, and bestowed them upon the royal couple in gold, each worth 15 ducats, as a compliment.⁸⁶¹ In this case, the royal couple received a reward for their achievements. In addition to their gift, the estates urged the royal couple to institute more reward medals.⁸⁶² Their request resulted in two editions issued in 1765, one which honoured the improvement of farming and



FIG. 93: Daniel Fehrman (obverse), Carl Johan Wikman (reverse), reward for improving agriculture, 1765, silver, Ø 53.03 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.



FIG. 94: Daniel Fehrman (obverse), Carl Johan Wikman (reverse), reward for building with stone, 1765, silver, Ø 53.01 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

one that addressed the building of stone houses (instead of wood) in the countryside. These were no jetons, but grand medals, and their design was clearly connected to their cause.⁸⁶³

The obverse to both editions was the same. According to Hildebrand, they reused the die of Adolf Frederick's coronation medals, engraved by Daniel Fehrman.⁸⁶⁴ The obverse depicted the king viewed from the right, wearing a long curly wig tied with a ribbon. He is dressed in an ornamented cuirass and a scarf, and a royal mantle, embroidered with the Swedish crowns, is plaited and tied across his chest. The king's facial features are distinctly rendered, in particular his high forehead, nose, and chin. His portrait is surrounded by his name and title, ADOLPHUS FRIDERICUS D.G. REX SVECIAE.

The edition that honoured the improvement of farming depicted a landscape where a farmer ploughs his field (*fig. 93*). The farmer bends his back, grasping the plough with his right hand, and holding the reins of the two oxen drawing it with his left. They seem to be moving slowly from left to right, in line with the exergue and the limits of the image space. The furrows of earth made by the plough spill over the exergue. The animals tense their muscles, indicating the strength needed to drag the plough through thick soil. Behind the man, diagonally through the image, runs a wooden fence, dividing the field from the rest of the landscape. Trees, deciduous and evergreen, stand in the distance. On the right side, a house with smoke rising from the chimney is glimpsed in the background. The farmer, the oxen, and a tree, seemingly an oak, form a triangle composition. Additional diagonals complete the composition, the man moving from the wildness of untamed nature to the order of well-tended fields. The trees on the left side mesh with the inscription, LÄNDER FRIDSAMT INTAGNE [lands peaceful taken], alluding to a serene scene and the ideal of the man who cultivates the earth. In the exergue, UP-ODLAD JORD [farmed soil] is written. The relief and the foreshortened perspective enhance the expression of background and foreground, and enlarge the image space.

The other edition depicts an obelisk water fountain in the centre of what looks like a burgeoning town (*fig. 94*). The fountain is placed on a podium with two steps, and the obelisk stretches high in the sky, and covers almost the whole surface of the image. The obelisk stands on top of a square stone pedestal, with shells rendered on each side, from which water spills into four big shell-shaped basins. On the right, two people are

fetching water from the basins. Behind the obelisk's left side, the viewer can see a two-story house with a mansard roof, and a wall with an open gate runs next to it. On the right side, people are working on a dovetailed cabin. They seem to be dismantling it, as indicated by the man carrying a wooden beam on his shoulder, walking away from the timber construction. In the background, the viewer can detect another house, deciduous trees, and people working in a field. Like the farmer medal, the image adopts a foreshortened perspective, as the landscape in the background stretches far off into the horizon, indicated by clouds in the sky. These are distinguished by varying relief, as the clouds' surfaces are rendered rough and textured, compared to the sky, which appears as blank polished space. The inscription runs in a semi-circle along the rim, *PRYDELIG OCH WARACKTIG* [neat and permanent], and in the exergue, the viewer can read *FÖRSIGTIG LANDTSMANS STENBYGNAD* [thoughtful countryman's stonebuilding]. The text refers to the image, as the workers exchange the wooden cabin for stone houses, 'neat and permanent'.

The editions demonstrated the improved possibilities of medal production during the eighteenth century: the clear cut rim and the elaborate surface, with varying relief. Carl Johan Wikman (1725–1798), Fehrman's former apprentice, engraved the dies for both reverses. He fully employed the three-dimensional possibilities of the surface, and rendered an evident relief, allowing the metal to cast shadows, thereby giving the surface a vibrant and tactile appearance. These medals were issued regularly and for several decades to come, yet at that later date with another king as the issuer.⁸⁶⁵

The recipients of the medal had to be announced to the administrative Chamber, which vetted the propositions and forwarded them to the council and the king, who then approved the proposal to bestow the medal.⁸⁶⁶ Exactly how the Chamber received a note on possible recipients remains unclear, but it seems they could apply or be nominated for a reward, like *lensmann* Thure Jacob Silvander (1725–1775), and foundry proprietor Hubert Claes Garneij (1708–1782), who had financed (and built) two stone bridges on the road from Uppsala to Gävle.⁸⁶⁷ On the 10th of October 1765, both received a silver medal for their work, as a newspaper article reported. According to the article, these medals were signs of grace for those who contributed to the permanent improvement of society.⁸⁶⁸ Hence, Silvander and Garneij were rewarded with something permanent in return. A royal gift of grace was given as a sign that their deed was acknowledged and appreciated. The newspaper did not

reveal the reward's design, but the year, and the fact that they built stone bridges, suggest that they would have received the medal discussed above.

In contrast to the spinner and diligence jetons, which were given to workers, these medals were aimed at burghers, but they could also address a group still missing in the reward system, namely the wealthy merchants. Due to their vast economic resources, they wielded considerable influence, as they subsidised companies, and lent and not seldom even donated money to the government. These rising merchants, often connected to the Swedish East India Company, owed their fortune to manufactories and shipping companies. The *Skeppsbro nobility*, as they were sometimes mockingly termed, married into the noble families and became members of all vital societies, thereby leaving a permanent impression in the social strata of Stockholm, and the Swedish realm at large.⁸⁶⁹

During the second half of the eighteenth century and the nineteenth century, the number of rewards increased even more and would include medals for every social class.⁸⁷⁰ What all these medals—worker, merchant, and foundry proprietor—have in common is that they signalise the outstanding achievements of their recipients. He or she was deemed to be a role model for society. It was much like a *Gnadenpfennig* during the previous centuries, yet the hierarchy was now adapted to the recipients. Each group received its own reward, with a visual design adapted to them, but within the group, all medals were the same. Previously, it had been unthinkable to bestow medals to mere spinners or farmers. Now, it was imperative. Since medal art was inherently dynamic and adjustable, it could be modified for this new category of recipients.

THE MODERN GNADENPFENNIG. As before, the *Gnadenpfennig* served the self-fashioning of both its recipient and its issuer. The courtier Gustaf Johan Ehrensvärd (1746–1783) mentions such an example in his diary. When he joined a dinner party, on the 18th of June 1776, a widow, her children, and their maidservant were presented.

She [the maid] had served her family during their times of prosperity, was suspended during their poverty, but even for many years without salary, hardly any food, she did not tire of serving them, caring for their children and comforting them in their misery. Baron Sparre was so happy to have come across such a deed. He started preaching about it like a priest, with tears in his eyes and so loud that all the spectators, who were standing and watching the dinner, became witnesses to this

zeal and his desire to encourage virtue. [...] The Dowager Queen gives this maid 600 Daler, His Majesty 1200, and an offertory was formed by all, who were sitting by the table, which made a considerable sum. Baron Sparre took all this, told these happy people about this joy with such an emphasis and with the indication that it was he who had secured it. Now the consistory should be called, the maid's deed retold, and she would receive her first compliment, then she would be called to the magistrate, where she would be given the money, and there she should receive a medal, which she always should wear as evidence of the reward, which follows after virtue, belief, and honourable conduct.⁸⁷¹

Ehrensward's account captures the significance of such reward medals. Apart from Chancellor Fredrik Sparre's (1731–1803) not so unselfish enthusiasm (since charitable deeds would reflect well on him, as showing generosity towards the less fortunate was a common theme). Generosity was, as in previous centuries, a fundamental virtue to possess and, most of all, to openly demonstrate. Hence, the whole dinner party donated money. They had to, or risked losing face. Generosity also appeared to have a hierarchy, in which the higher one's social position, the more money one was expected to donate. Thus, the king contributed the greatest sum of money, his mother the second-greatest, et cetera. (It would have gone against social etiquette if a lower-ranking member of the nobility had outbid the king.) Ehrensward does not reveal which medal the maid would receive, but it may have been one of the *Kungliga Patriotiska sällskapet* [Royal Patriotic Society].⁸⁷² Since 1772, the society bestowed medals on commoners who distinguished themselves through loyal service, like the maid, and contributed to the public good.⁸⁷³ These medals were distributed to high and low, and were based on the principle of rewarding someone outstanding, who provided a role model for society. During Gustav III's reign, the medals carried his portrait on the obverse, and the reverse displayed a caduceus, hammer, anvil, book, package, weaving tools (reed and shuttle), a hammer for work wrought iron, a plough, and, in the background, the open sea with a ship on the right, and the rising sun on the left.⁸⁷⁴ The many symbols point to the industrial and commercial branches that the possible recipients of the medal belong to. Later, the obverse and reverse switched places, and the side traditionally reserved for the king's portrait was left blank, to be engraved with the recipient's name and the occasion for the medal (*fig. 95*).⁸⁷⁵

The king's self-fashioning and social etiquette aside, the maid was sup-



FIG. 95: Gustaf Ljungberger, medal distributed by *Kungliga Patriotiska Sällskapet*, previous owner Mårten Jonsson, given to him as a reward for 16 years of loyal service. Silver c. Ø33 mm after 1772. Myntauktioner Sverige AB.

posed to receive a medal, in addition to the money. The medal might have appeared secondary, at least in a monetary sense, next to the enormous sum of money donated. Nevertheless, I argue that it still held significant value. The medal was both material and immaterial, a sign of honour, to be worn for anyone to see. To the commoner, the concept of virtue would likewise be significant, and the medal was a symbol thereof. By wearing it, the maid would become a moral role model, respectable and admirable, and the additional gift of money might incline her to keep the medal, rather than melting it down. It became a symbol that acted on behalf of the person wearing it. While the maid might spend the money, she could continue to carry and display her elevated status.

Receiving and consequently wearing a medal did not imply promotion or advancement within the class system. Instead, it highlighted that this particular individual had done something outstanding. It was a sign of merit, which was at least how the distributor wanted to see the medal. It is another question whether the recipient also considered it in that way. It seems that rewarding a fitting role model was of the essence, and naturally, the giver could bathe in the lustre of the medal and the role model. To provide rewards was a crucial aspect of rulership, and after all, a good citizen reflected well on the realm and the king. The king was a unifying aspect in the realm, and rewards with his portrait would benefit this effort.⁸⁷⁶



FIG. 96: Daniel Fehrman, a reward of the Swedish Board of Mines, 1763, silver, Ø 34.44 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

Overall, Gustav III meticulously employed his power to reward subordinates, and also bestowed medals upon noblemen and commoners during his reign.⁸⁷⁷ He started by gratifying the burghers, who participated in his coup d'état.⁸⁷⁸ He often combined the distribution of medals with other ceremonies, like anniversaries or birthday celebrations.⁸⁷⁹ This allowed him to connect himself to the medal exchange, tie the recipient closer to the giver, and tighten the bond between king and subordinate. Medals were one crucial way for Gustav III to strengthen his position and create the persona of a just and competent king.⁸⁸⁰

Next to Gustav III's self-fashioning, the rewards point to a general change. Historian Henrika Tandefelt, who studied rewards and gratifications during Gustav III's reign (1771–1792), stated that honouring role models was a way of 'democratising honour'.⁸⁸¹ The fact that the academies and royalty alike rewarded public role models points to the shared wish to improve society and emphasise meritocracy, which in essence meant that anyone could contribute to society, regardless of birth and heritage, and therefore anyone could be deemed worthy of a medal. The practice of rewarding leaned on the tradition of the royal gift and *Gnadenpfennige*, yet it was adapted to the occasion.

Even though the discussed practices mainly demonstrated the issuer's point of view (as is to be expected, since only those are traceable in the sources), the analysis highlighted the recipients' perspectives as well. Through the prism of the medal, the changes in society become visible. As before, the monetary value conferred a hierarchy, but the designs were

adapted to the intended recipients. Also, while medals were still displayed, they were not carried on a thick golden chain around one's neck, but worn as a boutonnière.

In general, during the eighteenth century, anyone with influence noticed the importance of rewarding ordinary people, which is why societies and industries alike started to issue medals, inspired by the examples discussed above, to their workers. Some rewards were aimed at a limited group belonging to a specific industry, like the *Bergskollegium* [Swedish Board of Mines], which rewarded workers deemed worthy of a medal (*fig. 96*).⁸⁸² Of course, only workers with outstanding merits were granted a reward. Since it was restricted to workers at the company, and therefore only was available to a limited number of recipients, the reward's exclusivity was guaranteed. The aspect of medals' exclusiveness regarding the rising meritocracy is an interesting and likewise ambivalent aspect: the principle that medals should be accessible to all, yet the reality was that widespread access to them tainted medals' lustre.

ORDERS – THE IMPROVED MEDAL. The reward medals have shown that, despite being deprived of active political power (at least until 1772), the monarchy retained valid and much needed symbolic power. To receive a reward from the king held a significant appeal (even though he had nothing to say in the government).⁸⁸³ The monarch's face engraved on a medal carried meaning, tradition, and most of all, a hint of exclusiveness. The traditional divisions between the classes (nobility, priests, burghers and peasants) were still in place, as made noticeable in the economic value of the rewards bestowed upon the respective. The hierarchy indicated by medals was flattened inasmuch as anyone had the possibility to receive one; yet, even then, not everyone could get a gold medal.

Nonetheless, there appears to have occurred a medal boom during the last decades of the century. This increased availability drained medals of their former exclusivity—in short, inflation—and resulted in a new, restricted use of medals by the nobility. Perhaps not all medals would be worn proudly and publicly, and so the nobility found another way to accentuate and distinguish themselves from others. I suggest that the appearance of medals across all layers of society influenced the founding of new so-called orders. As once the miniature portrait took the place of the preferred gift, the order now became the insignia *par excellence* of a chosen individual, simply because not everyone could receive such an order.⁸⁸⁴



FIG. 97: Order of the Vasa, insignia of commander, badge on a green ribbon, gold and enamel.

FIG. 98: Portrait of Samuel af Ugglas (1750–1812) by Ulrica Frederica Pasch (1735–1796), oil on canvas, 119 × 93.5 cm. Ugglas wears the insignia of the Royal Order of the Polar Star. He has the highest degree, Commander Grand Cross, and is depicted with the badge on a collar and the star on his left chest. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

Orders were means to award without jeopardising the system of inherited nobility, because membership was bound to a limited group.⁸⁸⁵ Depending on the order, the relevant insignia is ‘lent’ (from the German *verliehen*) and has to be returned after the member’s death.⁸⁸⁶ An order mainly consists of a limited amount of members, and the insignia would demonstrate the owner’s membership in this group.⁸⁸⁷ In essence, the orders created a new nobility. Their insignia demonstrated a distinctive hierarchy, with classes of Commander and Knight, and the more exclusive the decoration, the closer the recipient was to the king (who often was the highest member, once more illustrating the royal symbolic value) and thereby to the centre of power.⁸⁸⁸

Parallel to the medal boom, new orders were instituted all across Europe. In Sweden, Carl Gustav Tessin was the driving force behind the



endeavour, backed up by the Estates, and in 1748, Frederick I instigated the Royal Order of the Seraphim, the Order of the Polar Star, and the Order of the Sword.⁸⁸⁹ At his coronation, in 1772, Gustav III introduced the Order of the Vasa (*fig. 97*).⁸⁹⁰ The orders were intended for different recipients, as the Seraphim could be given to the heads of state or other dignitaries, the Polar Star to noteworthy civil services, and the Order of the Sword to officers, while the Order of the Vasa aimed to gratify achievements in farming, mining, trade, industry, and art.⁸⁹¹ The Orders of the Polar Star, Sword, and Vasa opened the reward system to all classes of society, yet, given that they were limited to select members, still implied an incredible exclusiveness.

The insignia of an order symbolised, like the medal, one's belonging or a connection to other members of the order, and implied values, loyalty, and certain expectations. As Horn or Beck once did, recipients of the orders frequently had their portraits painted, showing them proudly wearing their insignia (*fig. 98*). Likewise, it could demonstrate a hierarchy, since each insignia would be adapted to the recipients' rank. The insignia showed specific iconography, materiality, execution, colours, and were bound to detailed distribution practices (ceremonies, dates, et cetera), and had deeply political functions.⁸⁹² Medals, and insignia of the orders, were tightly connected and shared many functions, since the essential act of awarding someone displayed similarities to well-established practices of royal gift exchange and the bestowal of medals.⁸⁹³ In some cases, in addition to crosses, medals were (and still are) insignias of an order, which indicates that the medium of the medal was a self-evident choice when it came to awards.⁸⁹⁴ As in the case of miniature painting, which became the preferred gift and surpassed the medal, orders similarly inherited some essential functions previously served by medals. The insignia became what once the medal was around the neck of an individual in the sixteenth century – a sign of superiority. In the eighteenth century, the orders maintained class distinctions threatened by the widespread availability of prize medals.

MILITARY DECORATIONS

Alongside the prize and reward medals, the instigation of military decorations was significant to the second half of the eighteenth century.⁸⁹⁵ To reward the military was a necessity for a ruler, and had been practised since antiquity. I mentioned in previous chapters how Eric XIV, Gustavus

Adolphus, and Charles XI, following this tradition, rewarded military achievements. These medal distributions had no apparent system, apart from the fact that the objects' size and weight was adjusted to the recipients' rank. The rewards were not given after every battle or to everyone; distribution depended on what the monarch considered necessary, and the financial means available to do so. This changed with Gustav III. He instituted and systematised military decorations, some of which commemorated specific battles and some which honoured a soldier's bravery in the field or at sea.⁸⁹⁶ His contribution was vital to the overall development of military medals. I will address two of his military rewards, and discuss why they were struck (although I will not dwell on their political circumstances), how they were distributed, and what the recipient was supposed to do with them.⁸⁹⁷

For bravery

During his reign (1771–1792), Gustav III directed his military ambitions primarily towards Russia. The actions of the (overly) ambitious king resulted in the Russo-Swedish War (1788–1790), which also provided plenty of occasions to order medals.⁸⁹⁸ In early May 1789, Gustav III decided that a medal honouring his active-duty soldiers was needed, so he sent a letter to the Academy, which was responsible for his medal projects.⁸⁹⁹ On the 5th of May 1789, the Academy discussed Gustav III's request. He desired a proposition for two jetons, as a reward to be bestowed upon brave soldiers and sailors. The medals' size ought to correspond to sixteen shillings ($\frac{1}{3}$ riksdaler), and they should have an eyelet attached, so that they could be carried on the chest for honour and encouragement.⁹⁰⁰ Ten days later, the Academy suggested a jeton with the size of $\frac{1}{3}$ riksdaler, which was similar to the reward given to the maid. The obverse was to depict the king's portrait, and on the reverse, written inside a laurel wreath, *För tapperhet i fält* [for bravery in the field]. The same design was chosen for bravery at sea, but with the text, *För tapperhet till sjöss*, and a slightly different wreath.⁹⁰¹ On the 12th of June, the matter was taken to the protocol. The manufacture was decided upon, starting with 300 pieces of each version (in total, 600) to be struck.⁹⁰² The same day, the medallist Carl Gustaf Fehrman (1764–1798), Daniel Fehrman's son, received the propositions regarding image, inscription, and size. Speedy manufacture was urged.⁹⁰³ Gustav III did not wait until the actual medals were struck



FIG. 99: Carl Gustaf Fehrman, medal for bravery in the field, 1789, silver, approx. Ø30 mm. Myntauktioner Sverige.



FIG. 100: Gustaf Ljungberger, $\frac{1}{3}$ riksdaler, 1778, silver, Ø29.20 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

before he officially instigated the military reward, on the 18th of May 1789. (In comparison, Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperor (1741–1790), founded the so-called *Tapferkeitsmedaille* [bravery medal] on the 19th of July 1789.⁹⁰⁴)

Meanwhile, Fehrman followed the Academy's instructions to the point. The edition he engraved portrayed the king in profile from the right, wearing a wig with side curls (*fig. 99*). His image is surrounded by the semi-circle of his name and title, GUSTAV III SVERIGES KONUNG [Gustav III Sweden's king]. The relief of the portrait clearly distinguishes itself from the rest of the surface. Second, the reverse shows a laurel wreath, its leaves and berries thickly layered and tied with a ribbon in the centre. The text, here: FÖR TAPPERHET I FÄLT, was written in three lines. Third, its shape and size corresponded to the denomination of $\frac{1}{3}$ riks-

daler (fig. 100).⁹⁰⁵ Compared to the coins on the medal, the king's titles were spelt in Swedish. Like the previously discussed reward medals, the language was adapted to the recipient. Lastly, the object depicted here has a hole drilled right through it, and an eyelet attached, which was already done at the mint, as they were delivered with a loop and eyelet.⁹⁰⁶

In comparison to previous rewards given to the military, the design had changed considerably. For one, its materiality was different. The edition was small and made of silver, and its visual execution was also unlike previous military medals. Earlier rewards traditionally depicted an emblem that was connected to the king, but now the reverse was related to the recipient. The inscription on the reverse could be compared to the sixteenth-century coat of arms, the *body sign*, to return to Belting, as the letters 'FÖR TAPPERHET I FÄLT' would identify the bearer belonging to a social estate, a group.⁹⁰⁷ The person wearing the medal would signal that he was a soldier in the king's service.

The depicted item's surface appears worn and scratched, and several letters are scuffed. The abraded surface and the eyelet suggest that the king's intention to wear the medals on the buttonhole was realised. The question remains which side of the medal would be worn outward. During the sixteenth century, the king's portrait was the essential part of the medal, and recipients, like Klas Kristoffer Horn, chose to wear the obverse side visible. Wearing the king's portrait, at that time, indicated a closeness to the ruler and proximity to the centre of power. Did the same apply to these medals? Perhaps due to increased friction on the jacket, the reverse of the medal is more scuffed than the obverse, which would suggest that the king's portrait was the showing-side. But it was the reverse that presented the viewer with the occasion for the medal. The laurel wreath, a recognised symbol for victory, combined with the text, would have been what the recipient wanted others to see. In the end, it is impossible to know which side each individual chose. Considering the weight of the object (it is very light), the medal would probably flip back and forth while walking, so that each side would be visible in turn.

This edition, simply called *Tapperhetsmedalj* [medal for bravery], was intended for rankers and lower grade officers who distinguished themselves in battle. Again, the omnipresent topic of the role model comes up. Soldiers or sailors who were considered to have acted honourably should be rewarded and uplifted as role models for others to see, admire, and imitate. Gustav III intended that the medals should be carried for '*heder*

och upmuntran [honour and encouragement].⁹⁰⁸ To have such a medal, to be able to wear it visible for everyone, should be something every soldier ought to strive for.

Somewhat unconventionally, two women also received a medal: Anna Maria Engsten (born c. 1760), who saved a boat and proviant at the battle of Viborg Bay (1790), and Brita Hagberg (1756–1825), who had enlisted under the name of her departed husband, Peter Hagberg. She was injured at the fleet's retreat at Primorsk (1790), and her deception was exposed while receiving medical attention.⁹⁰⁹ Nonetheless, both women were granted medals. Gustav III even promised Engsten a monetary reward of 50 riksdaler, which she had to claim in 1791 because she still had not received any money.⁹¹⁰ Nevertheless, these were extraordinary circumstances, and since women, in general, were excluded from the battlefields, they were not the main recipients of these medals.

The primary recipients of these medals were meticulously documented, since the individuals carrying these objects ought to behave as role models. Colonel Johan Herman Schützencrantz (1762–1821), who oversaw their distribution during the years 1790–1792, noted that 529 were given to the fleet, and 232 to the army, which is more than the 600 objects initially struck.⁹¹¹ Royal letters concerning these medals attest that they should be stripped from any soldier who misbehaved.⁹¹² Stripping the medal from someone's chest was a symbolic act that carried the force of an ultimate disgrace. With this drastic measure, Gustav III, *primus inter pares*, tried to ensure that recipients would act as honourably and virtuously as the king himself.⁹¹³ Even though he did not distribute the medals personally, he created a bond with his subordinates, assuring that his portrait hung from their chest, close to their heart. It was an emblematic closeness to which the medal was the key. The medal also carried further advantages than just visualising someone's honour. The recipients were relieved from debts to the crown and could apply for a pension.⁹¹⁴ Hence, the medal had an immediate monetary reward, too. The recipient would not melt it, because it was not worth much money. After all, he would gain more by keeping it, not least because it was a sign of honour that showed that one was a useful member of society. Sometimes, the soldiers happened to lose their medals, which always was notified in the newspapers, promising a reward if they were restored.⁹¹⁵ The notifications demonstrate that a *Tapperhets-medalj* was essential to its owner. It inhabited vital utilities, it was a reward and sign of honour, and these came with significant values, which the

owner cherished. The edition continued to be bestowed upon soldiers and sailors in the following century, although with an updated design (another king on the obverse) and adapted rules of distribution.⁹¹⁶

For distinction

In May 1790, the Swedish fleet won a decisive victory against Russia, and Gustav III wanted to honour his officers. He could have opted to reuse the *Tapperhetsmedalj*, and distribute it in gold adjusted to their rank, which would have been a quick and easy solution. However, he wished to commemorate the victory as well as rewarding the officers who had distinguished themselves. His political opponents had criticised the war against Russia, and several military setbacks had fuelled their discontent.⁹¹⁷ So, a new reward seemed the ideal opportunity to calm the waves, and present himself as a gracious and successful king. Hence, Gustav III ordered something new from the Academy.

For the Academy. To commemorate the remarkable victory that the army fleet won against the Russian fleet on the 15th of May at Fredrickshamn, I have decided to have an oval coin struck, which all officers in charge should wear on their chest, part in the buttonhole following their degree, and as I myself aim to wear it, it ought not to carry my portrait as otherwise is ordained. The Academy is requested to provide an inscription and an emblem so that the coin might be forged as soon as possible. In my opinion, the inscription would best be in Swedish, although I leave that to the Academy's consideration. *Amphion* anchored at the pier of Fredrickshamn on the 15th of May 1790. Gustaf⁹¹⁸

Gustav III wrote this letter from the battlefield, from the royal vessel *Amphion*. The date, almost exactly one year after he had founded the previous medal, indicates the latter's success, as well as Gustav III's need to lift the morale of his higher-ranking officers also. The Academy complied with his wishes, and started to draft a medal.⁹¹⁹ First, they hired the painter Louis Masreliez (1748–1810) to draw a model after the sketch that Gustav III had included with his letter.⁹²⁰ The obverse should depict an allegory of Victory, standing on the stem of a Swedish vessel, and the reverse ought to have an inscription that mentioned the battle at Fredrikshamn.⁹²¹ The fact that Gustav III himself drafted the design demonstrates how important he deemed the execution to be, and how involved he was



FIG. 101: Carl Gustaf Fehrman, sketch for a medal, Time and a female allegorical figure, pen and ink on paper, 18 × 19 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

in the project. Masreliez's sketches are lost, but some of those by Fehrman, who would have worked with Masreliez, might serve as an illustration for an early draft of an reverses (*fig. 101*). Fehrman would have drafted an image within the formal limits of the medal, to try out the composition and the size of the figures.

Meanwhile, the war continued, and the medal project was delayed. At last, in July, Gustav III could declare victory after the battle of Svensksund. To Gustav III, under whose command the fleet fought at Svensksund, perhaps nothing was sweeter than proclaiming himself a victorious ruler.⁹²² The battle led to the Treaty of Värälä (14 August 1790), which resolved that no land was lost or gained by any of the combatants, and Russia agreed to refrain from interfering in Sweden's internal politics (which it could do since the Treaty of Nystad, in 1721). The treaty put the medal project back on the agenda, and concerned now both Fredrikshamn (15 May) and Svensksund (9/10 July).⁹²³ The design for the obverse remained, but the reverse was adjusted. Each medal reverse should be engraved individually, depending on whether the recipient fought at Fredrikshamn, Svensksund, or both. According to Hildebrand, the medals



FIG. 102: Carl Gustaf Fehrman, medal on the victory at Svensksund, 1790, silver, 41.75mm. The object was not finalised because the gaps between the anchor and the eyelet were still not executed. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

were issued in two sizes (approx. 6cm and 4cm), both gold and silver. Numismatist Lars O. Lagerqvist examined several remaining medals, and based on his measurements, their average weight would have been 24 grams and 12 grams, for, respectively, gold and silver medals.⁹²⁴ The larger, in gold, was given to regiment officers to wear on a gold string around their necks, and the smaller version was bestowed upon subaltern officers to fasten on their buttonhole. Similarly, lower officers received the larger silver medal, also to carry around their neck, but attached to a silver cord, and the smaller one to be worn like a boutonnière.⁹²⁵

In the end, the medals resembled the following item (*fig. 102*).⁹²⁶ It has an oval shape, enclosed by an anchor, and depicts a winged female figure, Victory, who stands on the stern of a conquered Russian *chaika* gliding through the waves. The Russian flag lies on the ship's deck, with its tip carelessly dipped in the water below. Victory only slightly touches the ship with her right toe tip, as if she just had landed upon it. She raises both arms, holding a laurel wreath in each hand. Victory is bare-breasted, and only her legs are loosely covered by the fabric clinging to her body and accentuating her female shape. The feathers of her wings are shaped like those of a bird, and each quill is individually highlighted, yet Victory is

not depicted with any particular facial expression. Her face may have been flawed in the object's production, but after comparison with other details of the medal's surface, her lack of expression seems a conscious design choice. She looks to her left, towards the sails of the vessel, upon which she just has landed. The Swedish naval standard is raised, blue with a yellow cross that extends to the three edges of the flag. Here, the execution of the metal adds to the iconography, as the colours are visualised by heraldic tinctures, dots for yellow, and horizontal stripes for the blue fields. Despite the small surface of the image, which is encircled by a dotted line, it manages to convey the impression of movement, suggested by the waves carrying the conquered ship, the waving flags, the fabric, and the fluttering bindings of the laurel wreath. Victory's clothes and the Swedish flag are waving in opposite directions, but this slight inconsistency does not diminish the iconography's persuasiveness. By pointed visual signs, the image transfers Sweden's victory over the Russian enemy.

The reverse carries an inscription, which is encircled by a dotted rim (as on the obverse), and an additional laurel wreath runs parallel to the edge. Inside, the inscription, in positive relief, relates the occasion for the medal. On the depicted object, the text is written in 8 lines: 40/FIEN-TELIGE/FARTYG/ERÖFRADE/DEN 15 MAII/OCH 53/DEN 9 JULII/1790 [40 enemy vessels conquered on the 15th of May and 53 on the 9th of July 1790]. The text refers to the obverse, where the seized *chaika* sailed under the Swedish flag. The inscriptions varied depending on the recipient, and this particular one was used on objects given to those who had fought in both battles. The novelty of this medal was that Gustav III specially ordered it to commemorate a specific victory, and with the explicit purpose of giving it to officers. Previously, the military rewards bestowed by Eric XVI, Gustavus Adolphus, and any of the Caroline kings did not visually match the occasion. Now, its visual design, shape, and inscription made the medal's intended honouree unmistakable.

The first grand distribution of the medals took place on the 13th of February 1791, which was also Gustav III's jubilee, celebrating twenty years on the throne.⁹²⁷ Of course, the festivities involved speeches, pomp, and solemnity. The distribution of medals continued for the whole year, across the whole realm, possibly similar to the festivities in Åbo, as described here.

On the 24th of last July, it was a Sunday, in the Cathedral the gold medals, which His Majesty graciously bestows as a sign of favour by His Royal Grace to wear by the officers, were distributed to those who had the unbelievable luck to have been able to prove their bravery, which since all times has been inseparably connected to the Swedish army, under the monarch's high command, [...], who had witnessed the king's honourable victories at the Fredrikshamn and Svensksund remarkable sea battles. [...] The procession went from the royal governor's residence at half-past noon through the big church street to the Cathedral, accompanied with martial music and cannon salute [...] and 400 sailors, carpenters and artisans' apprentices [...]. When the procession arrived at the choir, the royal secretary and governor von Willebrand bestowed the medals, after a beautiful speech, to the officers present.⁹²⁸

The newspaper article vividly reconstructs the celebration. Ceremonies like this have a long tradition, and their symbolic effect ought not to be underestimated. The master of self-fashioning understood very well that a satisfied army was of utmost importance. Just as they once were vital to a Roman emperor's self-fashioning, these ceremonies were significant to Gustav III, even if he did not personally participate in each of them. His grace was manifested in different forms throughout the festivities. Apart from the apparent royalist elements, which glorified the king rather than the officers, the newspaper report narrates a grand soundscape and a unique experience. Walking through the streets, accompanied by martial music and gun salutes, and being the centre of an impressive procession of several hundred people, must already have formed an unforgettable experience. And, on top of that, one was to receive a gold medal in the choir of the cathedral. After the governor had handed out the military decorations, the procession went back to his residence, one more accompanied by music and cannon blasts, where the officers were invited to dinner.⁹²⁹

Newspaper reports on the distribution of the medals underlined the ceremony's significance, and aided in the mediation of the victory, as the remediation could reach a greater audience than the participants of the ceremony. The attention given to the victory at Svensksund, and subsequently the medals, invites the question of what it made so particularly noteworthy. As the newspaper article mentioned, Gustav III himself had led the command. He promoted Svensksund, Sweden's first notable military victory since Narva. Gustav III endeavoured to present himself as a warrior king, following the tradition of his admired namesake, Gustavus



FIG. 103: Carl Gustaf Fehrman, medal on the victory at Svensksund, previous owner Arvid Julius Egerström, 13 February 1791, 62 × 32 mm. Livrustkammaren.

Adolphus. He worked on several fronts, in particular with visual culture, to establish himself as a competent military leader.⁹³⁰ Gustav III campaigned for the creation of his military legacy, and these medals ought to be seen as a vital part of this grand scheme. To Gustav III, this edition seems to have inhabited an unusual position within his medal projects. First, it did not glorify the king per se, as it did not portray him, and second, the king himself carried the big golden medal attached to a thick gold chain. He is depicted wearing it in several paintings, and after his death, it was placed on his coffin at his funeral.⁹³¹ For him, the medal was both a memento and proof that he was a triumphant king, like Gustavus Adolphus.

Likewise, the officers gladly associated themselves with this triumph. Some even improved the chains to suit their taste, and ordered new supporting devices for their medal, and several of them also had their portraits painted, showing them wearing their sign of honour (*fig. 103–105*). This devotion towards the objects suggests that the medal had a significant status amongst the officers. It was something worth presenting.⁹³² The



FIG. 104: Carl Gustaf Fehrman, medal on the victory at Svensksund, previous owner Fredrik von Schneidau (1768–1860), 41 × 22 mm. Livrustkammaren.

FIG. 105: Portrait of Captain Alexander Moritz Schmiterl  w (1750–1807), artist and date unknown. Arm  museum.

inherent self-fashioning connected to wearing and showing medals had not changed since the sixteenth century. Lagerqvist counted the size of the edition and concluded that 410 gold and 230 silver pieces were made, and surmised that even more were manufactured in silver than he could trace.⁹³³ Given the number of medals circulating, and its shape, the anchor, they would be easily recognisable, even from afar. The attention surrounding the success certainly benefited the objects' significance, and subsequently, everyone wearing it.

The medal was not a reward, as it had been for the soldiers. To the officers, being highlighted as a role model was not central, since they, due to their rank, were already established as outstanding citizens. It was self-evident that they were virtuous and brave men. Instead, it was a sign of grace and honour bestowed by the king, and thereby the object implicated a connection to the monarch. Similar to Horn's medal, or Gustavus Adolphus'

Gnadenpfennige, the object had the additional function of representing the wearer's achievements. The recipient's military career would hang demonstratively from his neck (or buttonhole). The medal's distinctive shape allowed almost anyone to recognise the cause of the medal (in the Swedish realm at that time, everyone would know about Gustav III's war, and perhaps even that medals were distributed). It indicated by its material alone (gold and silver), its size (big or small), and its place on the body (neck or buttonhole) the recipient's military achievement. Thus, the medal might be mute, yet it could speak volumes to the viewer.

To sum up, medals were still needed, even though officers also could receive the Order of the Sword, which would be the highest possible distinction for a Swedish military man. The military medals' function and value correspond to previously discussed cases. They are deeply rooted in the royal gift, and they encompass representation, pride, commemoration, and feelings of joy and vanity. The tradition of rewarding soldiers had developed over centuries, and a medal would become synonymous with military success.

MEDAL HISTORY AND ANACHRONISMS

The previously discussed objects demonstrated that Gustav III was very invested in medals, and overall, he was an influential force in developing all matters related to them. In the following section, I will address the pinnacle of Gustav III's medal projects, his *Histoire métallique*.⁹³⁴ The chapter will conclude with his funeral and address how the practices concerning medals had changed and developed since Gustav I's memorial, more than two hundred years prior.

Gustav III's Academy

One crucial starting point of Gustav III's medal endeavours was his mother's Academy. After her death in 1782, Gustav III revived her Academy in 1786. When he reinstituted the Academy, he kept its competitions in rhetoric, poetry, history, and inscriptions, but its duty to nurture the Swedish language he handed over to the newly founded Swedish Academy.⁹³⁵ Further, he adapted the design of the prizes to the subjects, which meant that each the prize winner in each topic received a particular medal.⁹³⁶ They depicted Gustav III and Louisa Ulrika facing each other



FIG. 106: Carl Gustaf Fehrman, Academy medal struck in gold à 12 ducats as first prize for inscriptions and emblems, struck in silver as accessit between 1789–1890, Ø42.23 mm. The obverse displays the portrait of Gustav III and Louisa Ulrika facing each other. LUDOVICA ULRICA CREATRIX, GUSTAVUS III INSTAURATOR ACADEMIAE LITTERARUM HUMANIORUM [Louisa Ulrika, who founded the Academy, Gustav III, who renewed it]. The reverse displays an obelisk. ORIENTIA TEMPORA NOTIS INSTRUIT [equips the rising age with famous examples]. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.



FIG. 107: Carl Gustaf Fehrman, commemorative jeton given to the Academy members in 1787–1834; Ø33.55 mm The reverse shows a sundial placed on a squared ground. Rays are pointing from above towards the dial. In a semicircle around the image: LUCIS METITUR PROGRESSIBUS [it measures by the progression of light]. The motto alludes to the Academy's aim to measure its time by the Enlightenment that it produces. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

on the obverse, demonstrating the history and tradition of the Academy, but the reverse gave possibilities for variation. For instance, the prize for antiquity showed the allegory of Science, while an obelisk engraved with hieroglyphs was depicted on the emblems and inscriptions prize medal (*fig. 106*).⁹³⁷ Each design was deeply embedded in iconographical traditions, as the Academy sought to represent good taste and knowledge. Also, as commemoration and appreciation of their work, the members received a silver jeton each year (*fig. 107*).⁹³⁸ Such jetons, which commemorated and symbolised a gathering or organisation, would become quite common.

In addition to its prizes and competitions, Gustav III's renewed Academy would become imperative for the design and distribution of *all* medals issued in Sweden. The significance that Gustav III ascribed to medals was even indicated by one suggestion for the Academy's new name, 'Vitterhets och Antiquitets samt Médaillers och Inscriptions Akademien'.⁹³⁹ (The name finally decided upon was *Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien*, in short, 'Vitterhetsakademien'.) From now on, the Academy's foremost duty was to invent emblems, and to scrutinise and sanction, or object to, every medal project within the Swedish realm, from societies, academies and privateers alike.⁹⁴⁰ Thus, no medal was allowed to be struck without having first been vetted by the Academy. The members, with the Academy's secretary, Gudmund Göran Adlerbeth (1751–1818), first in line, would voice opinions on the emblems, inscriptions, size, material, et cetera. Yet medal projects were seldom refused outright.⁹⁴¹ If the members had any objections, an application would be returned to the petitioner for revisions.⁹⁴² Thereby, the production of non-royal editions underwent strict controls, under the pretence of nourishing good taste and artistic quality, but, in essence, Gustav III exerted some form of censorship over medals.⁹⁴³ Most importantly, Gustav III employed the Academy for his own medal projects.⁹⁴⁴ Thus, the duties of the renewed Academy were much similar to Louis XIV's *Petite Academie*, that is, those of a propaganda machine.⁹⁴⁵

As illustrated by the military medals, Gustav III sent letters and sketches to the Academy and ordered them to invent suitable designs. Their proposals went via Chancellor Frederick Sparre to the king.⁹⁴⁶ He then personally scrutinised all details and sent his comments and suggestions for changes, again via Sparre, back to Adlerbeth and the Academy, who then set all steps in motion. Letters and receipts suggest that it was Sparre who oversaw the finances and maintained contacts with the artists,

yet, Adlerbeth suggested image and inscription for the medals, and he would confer with the artists, mostly Louis Masreliez, to sketch drafts.⁹⁴⁷ Next, the medallist would be consulted, who would then make a model after the sketch. Lastly, the sketches, and in general, all decisions, were submitted for the king's final approval.⁹⁴⁸ Gustav III was very involved and wished to be notified of every step.⁹⁴⁹

Gustav III's commitment to medals was not restricted to the Academy and the military, but most of all, he focused on those medals that celebrated his own life and deeds. From the 1780s on, he planned a *Histoire métallique*, consisting of 110 medals, which would illustrate his life and grand achievements.⁹⁵⁰ A *Histoire métallique* might perhaps seem a bit outdated, or even anachronistic, at the end of the eighteenth century, as its heyday was a hundred years earlier, most visibly with Louis XIV. But presenting one's life and deeds was nothing unusual for this period either, and the trend continued throughout the century. For example, Empress Maria Theresa, and Gustav III's cousin, Empress Catherine the Great (1729–1796), also had their achievements commemorated with medals.⁹⁵¹ Hence, Gustav III acted according to contemporary fashion, although his project was particularly inspired by the French model and the aura of the once absolute and magnificent Sun King. The tale of Gustav III's deeds, like that of Louis XIV, should be told to the contemporary viewer and preserved for future generations. The *Histoire métallique* were designed as 'artifacts for a future past', to reconnect to Wellington's fitting expression.⁹⁵²

Gustav III's list of medals, which should be included in his *Histoire métallique* was to contain editions ordered on his own initiative, but likewise some editions that others (e.g., societies) had struck in the king's honour.⁹⁵³ The project, therefore, contained already existing editions and included future ones. For instance, the medal commemorating the baptism of his son, Gustav IV Adolf (1778–1837), in December 1778, and engraved at the same time by Gustaf Ljungberger (1733–1787), should be included.⁹⁵⁴ Likewise, the edition celebrating Gustav III's revolution in 1772 had to be encompassed by his *Histoire métallique*, but it was first ordered in 1784, when he hired Lars Grandel (1730–1836), a Swedish engraver studying on a royal scholarship in Rome, to manufacture the dies.⁹⁵⁵ The details of the process of deciding which deeds were worthy of inclusion in his grand *Histoire métallique* remains unclear.

The medal project was not restricted to the metal objects alone, but would also encompass an exclusive illustrated book, *Skådepenningar öfver*

de förnämsta händelser som tillhöra Konung Gustaf III:s historia [Medals concerning the noblest occasions of King Gustav III's history], again following the French model, illustrating all 110 medal editions.⁹⁵⁶ The engravings were executed by Jacob Gillberg (1724–1793) and his apprentice Johan Grandel (1754–1830), and displayed the obverse and reverse in actual size and precise contours.⁹⁵⁷ All pages were designed similarly, shaped like an epitaph showing a headline in capital letters that referred to the occasion of the edition, the medal, followed by a concise description of each side. The epitaph was surrounded by an antique-inspired frame, which was decorated by festoons, and on top, the Vasa coat of arms and a crown. The lower part of the image space could be adorned by generic emblems, like an allegorical figure or a sun breaking through the clouds, as, for instance, illustrated in the engraving of the medal commemorating Gustav III's journey to Finland (*fig. 108*). The book further included an overview of all 110 medals and a short historical outline of each edition's background.⁹⁵⁸ The printed version of his medallic history might have followed in the footsteps of Louis XIV's role model, but most of all, it relied heavily on the developed visualisation techniques that I have addressed in the previous chapter. The interplay between these two media, print and medal, illustrates how the medal was mediated and even remediated.

The design for both book and medals shows explicit references to antiquity, obviously, since Neoclassicism was the prevailing style during the second half of the eighteenth century.⁹⁵⁹ All involved artists, including Louis Masreliez, Jacob Gillberg, Johan Grandel, Carl Gustaf Fehrman, Gustaf Ljungberger, and Lars Grandel, had studied in Paris, well-known for its art academies, and some had continued their studies in Rome, the cultural epicentre.⁹⁶⁰ In addition to antique-inspired imagery, allegories, and antique metaphors, quotations from classical literature were predominantly reused as inscriptions for medals.⁹⁶¹ For instance, the revolution medal displayed Gustav III on one side, and Perseus rescuing Andromeda from the sea monster on the reverse. Thereby, the image alluded to Gustav III, who saved Sweden from anarchy. The inscription, *UT MEA SIT, SERVATA MEA VIRTUTE* [that she be mine saved by my valour] referred to the very same part of the story in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (*fig. 109*).⁹⁶² The antique-inspired imagery was not only deemed most suitable because of the dominance of the Neoclassical style, but the reference to antiquity conveyed the project's ambition. It should be as durable as the classical literature, and as the Greek and Roman monuments



FIG. 108: Copper-engraving by Jacob Gillberg on Gustav III's journey to Finland in 1775. The engraving was to be included in the king's *Histoire métallique*, 49.5 × 33cm. Uppsala University Library.

FIG. 109: Lars Grandel, medal Gustav III's revolution, 1785–1790, silver, Ø 55.94 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

excavated in the European south, and take part in shaping the cultural memory of Gustav III.

Since his medal history was twofold, consisting of the metal objects and a complete overview of them in the form of an illustrated book, it would have not only two different ways of production, but also different methods of distribution.⁹⁶³ First, the medals could, as outlined in the previous chapters, be bestowed upon foreign visitors or specific individuals who had earned the king's grace.⁹⁶⁴ The medals could be given one at a time,



or as a set, as Gustav III did in 1780 when his cousin Duke Peter Frederick Louis of Holstein-Gottorp (1755–1829) came to visit. The Duke received a wooden casket containing gold medals depicting the deeds of Adolf Frederick and Gustav III.⁹⁶⁵ (In addition to the medals, Gustav III gifted Berch's *Beskrifning öfwer swenska mynt* and Dahlberg's *Svecia Antiqua*.) Next to honoured guests, medals could also be given to individuals who had *earned* the king's grace. For example, Gustav III sent the medal commemorating Crown Prince Gustav IV Adolf's baptism to Anders Mattson, speaker for the peasants in the parliament, whose portrait shows him wearing this particular medal in addition to his '*faddertecken*' [godfather insignia] (fig. 110).⁹⁶⁶ Second, the editions could be bought at the royal mint or selected bookshops like, for instance, book-seller Anton Adolf Fyrberg (1744–1813) at Stora Nygatan in Stockholm.⁹⁶⁷ Fyrberg kept a bookshop where he sold medals, including the edition commemorating the baptism, and such a silver medal could be purchased for 5 *riksdaler*.⁹⁶⁸ Before any noteworthy events that would call for a new edition, like the king's birthday, the medal would be announced in the newspapers.⁹⁶⁹ Hence, prospective buyers would know when it was time to look for a new addition to his or her collection.⁹⁷⁰ Also, the medals could be ordered in two sizes, large and small.⁹⁷¹

The distribution of the illustrated book would have been arranged in the same way, by gift or purchase, in addition to, or instead of, the medals. The illustrated book was planned to be issued in two volumes, at the cost of 20 *riksdaler* (later increased to 24 *riksdaler*), or one could also subscribe to the illustrated book and receive it in four parts, for 5 *riksdaler* (later 6 *riksdaler*).⁹⁷² Most likely, each engraving would have been available separately at the printer, as well. The printed version of the king's medal history was, unsurprisingly, a bit cheaper than the silver objects, yet in no way inferior.⁹⁷³

The *Histoire métallique* was a lengthy affair, and remained unfinished during Gustav III's lifetime.⁹⁷⁴ Several of the medal plans and engravings never left the draft stage. They were designed but never produced. In total, sixty-eight editions, and eighty-six engravings of the medals, were

FIG. 110: Portrait of Anders Mattsson (1728–1790) by Per Krafft the Elder (1724–1793), speaker of the peasants 1778–1779. He wears the godfather insignia and a medal from Gustav IV Adolfs baptism. 207 × 114 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

finished before Gustav III's death in 1792.⁹⁷⁵ Even though the complete project never saw the light of day, its ambition alone is noteworthy. The *Histoire métallique* not only points to Gustav III's personal interest in medal art, but also to the fact that there was a market for such a venture. It was comparable to the medallic regency series. It tempted collectors. Once you had a few, you wanted to own them all.

The final act

On the 16th of March 1792, Jacob Johan Anckarström (1762–1792) shot Gustav III at a masked ball at the Royal Opera. Gustav III's increasingly restrictive politics had stirred much resentment amongst the nobility, which resulted in a conspiracy and, finally, plans to assassinate him.⁹⁷⁶ These plans succeeded. Almost two weeks later, on the 29th of March, Gustav III died of the gunshot wounds he sustained, and Anckarström was sentenced to death and hanged a month later. Gustav III's violent death and the subsequent funeral have been examined in detail, yet I want to revisit these events from the perspective of the medal.⁹⁷⁷

Since Nicodemus Tessin the Younger's grand visual programme at Ulrika Eleonora's memorial almost exactly hundred years earlier, royal funerals had been theatrical events.⁹⁷⁸ Merging lavish decorations, funeral pyramids, emblems, statues, music, and medals with one overarching topos was firmly established by precedent, and Gustav III's last grand event followed the same line. Equivalent to Tessin before him, Architect Carl Frederic Adelcrantz (1716–1796), and the artists working under him, created together an astonishing scenography full of symbolism and historical references at the Riddarholmen Church (*fig. 111*). As the image shows, they moulded antique references with Swedish (gothic) traits. The sarcophagus, next to Gustav III's regalia and order insignia, was placed in front of a burial mound, resembling a Viking tumulus, flanked by two runestones. On the mound, *Swea*, an allegory of Sweden and the Swedish lion, sat in mourning. Gustav III himself towered over it all, in the form of a gigantic marble bust, and above him, the shining North Star lit the church. The walls of the aisle leading to the departed Gustav III were decorated with candles and medallions depicting former kings, and cypresses surrounded the whole room.⁹⁷⁹ One newspaper article described the experience of entering the church as like stepping into a forest.⁹⁸⁰ Adelcrantz had turned the church into a stage, and at the funeral, there



FIG. 111: The interior of Riddarholmen Church was lavishly decorated at Gustav III's funeral on the 14th of May 1792. The decorations combined Nordic-gothic with classical elements, the eternal North Star and cypresses. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

was indeed a performance. The ensemble of the Royal Opera performed a mourning cantata, extolling Gustav III's life and achievements.⁹⁸¹ According to Rangström, his funeral on the 14th of May more resembled an opera than a Christian ceremony.⁹⁸² In general, this funeral was somewhat different, and accessible to a broader public. Five days after the funeral, between 5 and 8 o'clock in the afternoon, the illuminated church was open to all, and the ensemble performed the mourning cantata.⁹⁸³



FIG. 112: Carl Gustaf Fehrman, Gustav III's funeral jeton, 1792, silver, Ø31.08 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

While the funeral took place inside the church, the treasurer, accompanied by one officer and 24 of his men, tossed out commemorative jetons. They started at the castle, made a stop at the Riddarholmen Church, then encircled the city centre (*Gamla stan*), passing the royal gardens and essential town squares. They covered about 5 kilometres, and the journey would have taken them more than an hour, marching slowly and tossing 2,500 jetons to the crowds following the procession.⁹⁸⁴ The shape and value of the jetons corresponded, like previous ones, to $\frac{1}{3}$ riksdaler.

The jetons were made of silver, measured roughly Ø30 mm and weighed around 10 grams (*fig. 112*). They displayed the king's profile viewed from the right, wearing a wig with curls on the side and three long locks at the neck. The inscription in Swedish reads GUSTAF III SVERIGES KONUNG. Below the king's portrait, the artist had written his name, FEHRMAN. The reverse shows a crown in the centre of the image, and from it run rays in varying length and size. Above the crown, the viewer can read OFÖRGÄNGLIG [everlasting] and below it, written in three lines SEDAN DEN 29 MARS 1792. [since the 29th of March 1792]. The design was scaled down and concise. Gustav III and his reign would be like the North Star, a steady beacon shining for eternity.

In addition to the jeton, Fehrman rendered a medal to commemorate the king (*fig. 113*). It depicted Gustav III seen from the right, wearing a wig and a laurel wreath. Strands of hair and leaves are clearly executed, and the high relief of his portrait resembles plaster cast medallions. The inscription reads: GUSTAVUS III D. G. REX. SVECIAE. The reverse displays a burning funeral pyre made of four stories of logs. The flames and smoke are already rising from it. Above the fire, the beholder views a naked male,



FIG. 113. Carl Gustaf Fehrman, Gustav III's funeral medal, 1792, silver, Ø 57.23 mm. Uppsala University Coin Cabinet.

seemingly ascending to the stars surrounding him. On the pyre lie a lion's pelt, a club, and a lute, suggesting that the male might be the mythical hero Hercules. Cypresses, the tree of mourning, surround the pyre, echoing the decoration of the church. Fehrman was able to give every detail, the logs, the smoke, the fire, the lion's fur, and Hercules, a unique texture. To the left and right of the body, the inscription builds a semi-circle along the medal's rim. It reads *MAIORQVE VIDERI COEPI*. [he began to be seen better], and the text and Latin numerals, written in two lines in the exergue, *XXIX MART MDCXCII*, reveals the date. The inscription refers to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and in particular Hercules' death, in which the author describes the hero's apotheosis.⁹⁸⁵ The two sides combine the hero with the departed king. On the medal, Gustav III embodies Hercules and is likewise compared to the hero who was lifted to the stars, thereby better visible to everyone.

The medal summarises the Academy's opinion of good taste, as it presents a pointed allegory in connection to quotations from a classical text that supported the image and emphasised the interpretation.⁹⁸⁶ The neoclassical design also points to the absence of Christian symbolism. In contrast, Ulrika Eleonora's apotheosis was connected to God, and depended on her virtuous life, while Gustav III's was built on his Herculean labours. He was walking in the ancient hero's footsteps, and would be as

unforgettable as Hercules. This design underlines historian Mikael Alm's argument, which points out that Gustav III's medals demonstrate a lack of theocratic elements, and that, in general, his communication shows an ambivalence to the presence of God.⁹⁸⁷ Previously, rulers were 'king by God's grace'. Instead, Gustav III employs a higher power, which does not necessarily appear as God Almighty. In essence, the overarching message of his glorious reign, and this medal, can in many ways be compared to the messages communicated by seventeenth-century absolute monarchs: Gustav III was, like them, flawless.

With respect to the jeton and the medal, Gustav III's funeral followed several of the previously discussed commemorative practices, yet it also departed from precedent in other ways. The jetons that were tossed to the public, by their shape and design, were functional and filled the role of commemoration and as a display of generosity. They aimed to commemorate Gustav III, and the generous monarch here was the departed king's son, Gustav IV Adolf, barely fourteen at the time.⁹⁸⁸ The situation was similar to the funeral of Gustavus Adolphus in 1634. But the grand medal did not follow all the hitherto established principles. Just as Gustavus Adolphus' funeral medal evinced Baroque design, Gustav III's edition demonstrated contemporary style, but its imagery did not correspond to an overarching visual programme, or the funeral in particular. It exhibited a traditional commemorative design with antique iconography. Also, in contrast to earlier medals, it does not seem that the edition was distributed at the ceremony in May. I suggest that it was sent separately to selected individuals with a personal note, as Gustav III had once done with the medals that celebrated his son's baptism. Similar to the other medals, they could be purchased and were not restricted to the traditional royal gift exchange. Later in May, jetons and medals made of fine silver depicting Gustav III were for sale for 24 skillings ($\frac{1}{2}$ riksdaler) per piece, at the 'Porcellains Boden at Storkyrkobrinken, house N:o 76'.⁹⁸⁹ The advertisement does not specify which medals were available, but these could just as well have been the editions made for the funeral. They were commemorative commodities that anyone with means could buy and put in their collection. Next to the medals, the music and descriptions of the funeral were for sale, too.⁹⁹⁰ Thereby, Gustav III's funeral demonstrates a balanced interaction of old and new mechanisms. It reused principles that were established since the sixteenth century, or even earlier, and adapted them to the current situation. It employed the existing market to mediate

and distribute the medals, yet the core function of the objects was the same as before, to represent and commemorate. It was a portable monument over the departed, something to have and to hold.

CONCLUSIONS

The overarching topics that dominated this chapter were the prizes and rewards, and the concept of gratifying based on achievement, which were visible throughout the late eighteenth century. Whereas during in previous centuries, only a few chosen individuals, mostly noblemen and the military, were recognised and rewarded, now a new group of people needed to be acknowledged, namely the workers. Furthermore, the reward system was not restricted to the monarchy but was employed by others, organisations or academies, pointing to a rising meritocracy. The significance of the gift was reinvented.

In addition to the new recipients, the distribution of medals became structured and transparent in the late eighteenth century. Previously, there had been no visible system regarding how, when, and to whom medals were given. Apart from the hierarchy displayed in the material and monetary value of the object, the distribution depended on the ruler's goodwill. Grace or a reward was always given freely by the king or queen. It was not his or her duty, even though circumstances and not least etiquette would require it. In the eighteenth century, a systematised reward scheme regulated and flattened these hierarchies. The medals were designed, both visually and materially, to correspond to the anticipated recipient and the group he or she represented. The recipients, in turn, engaged with their precious item as before, and the examples showed that they would wear it visibly, and, if possible, have a portrait painted depicting them with their medal.

Royal medals during the Age of Liberty held a different political value than the medals issued by Gustav III. The governmental changes during the eighteenth century affected the medals. Their significances, utilities, and values ought to be viewed with these political circumstances in mind; in short, the development from the royal's monopoly on medal art, to a loss of control, and back to monopoly. Medals were part of the power play and claims of authority. While Adolf Frederick and Louisa Ulrika had to work within the Diet's restrictions, Gustav III could do whatever he pleased. He employed the medal much in the same manner that Eric XIV

or any other former monarch once did. Gustav III used his medals for self-fashioning, for commemoration, to reward, and as diplomatic gifts, but developed the ways of distribution and adapted them to the possibilities that were available to him. He advertised his medals in the newspapers, they were sold by second parties, and in addition, he had a printed version of them. The king was now able to utilise all previously established practices, while simultaneously reassessing them. His medals were gifts of honour and likewise suited for collection or antiquarian purposes. Moreover, he also benefited from his time's possibilities and developments, both in terms of approachability and modes of production and dissemination. Through his occasionally anachronistic and likewise forward-thinking approach, Gustav III merges the uses, roles, practices, and significances established during the last two hundred years.

To conclude, despite Louisa Ulrika and Gustav III's undisputable involvement in eighteenth-century medal art, it was not one individual event that led to the increased distribution of medals, but rather a conglomerate of several favourable conditions, alongside the political climate and the changing society.

Concluding remarks

The gunshot at the opera was the beginning of the end, and the era of absolute monarchy and kings by God's grace would soon be over.⁹⁹¹ Gustav III's death is, in many ways, a fitting finale for this study since all significances and practices connected to medals culminated during his reign. In the following century, the *Tapperhetsmedalj*, the Academy prizes, and the other rewards continued to be distributed, and needless to say, the monarch issued medals commemorating himself, as well.⁹⁹² Likewise, burghers, societies, and industries commissioned medals as never before. With time, the market became saturated, and bit by bit, the medal lost its former glory and aura of uniqueness. The tendencies already visible before with the establishment of the orders became even more striking during the nineteenth century. The medal boom drained the objects of their former glory, and the elite looked for other ways to accentuate themselves. A medal was no longer a mythical object that radiated royal glory, yet it had kept its capacity to transmit noteworthiness. So, to a great extent, the practices that people connected to the medal remained, but the object's role within society had changed and been renegotiated. That fact rested on centuries of using the medal.

This study started with a funeral, in 1560, and ended with another funeral, in 1792. More than two hundred years passed between the two. During that time, the medal began as an intricate and luxurious one-of-a-kind work of craftsmanship, a courtly and exclusive medium tightly bound to the regents' manifestation of power, and became mass-produced collector's pieces, a commodity announced in the newspaper. This transition from limited royal use to a diversified market was neither a straightforward improvement nor a homogenous development, in which one practice starts, and ends, and another takes over. Instead, it was an inter-layered and dynamic process, which moved back and forth and adapted to new circumstances. Its slow, meandering course was not determined

by sudden events, like a king's death, but rather by long-lasting and deep-rooting cultural changes, such as production innovations, fashions and styles, politics, and society at large.

The overarching aim of this thesis is to contribute to the understanding of the practice and significance of early modern medals, and to offer a comprehensive analysis that links material from the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. I argued that a long perspective is needed to fully grasp the roles and uses connected to this medium. This inclusive approach is also one of the thesis' contributions to the current research on medals. The study demonstrates that rulers gifted medals in the sixteenth century, as well as the eighteenth century, and that the recipients liked to wear them visibly. Still, something had happened between when Eric XIV issued his first medal and when Gustav III commissioned his *Histoire métallique*. The glittering object looked different and meant something different, yet it carried the similar symbolic weight.

During the investigated period, the Swedish monarchy shifts from being a newcomer, with restricted political influence, to a European power player and an absolute monarchy, then again to a constitutional monarchy, and finally to enlightened despotism, and many trends in practices and significances are connected to governmental changes and power struggles. Sweden is a small monarchy with big ambitions that increases in size, and then shrinks again. The medal reflects this need for legitimisation, the internationalisation of styles, the accumulation of customs, the growing audience, and the reassessment of traditions. Since this visual medium is a pan-European phenomenon, and because Sweden is not an isolated entity without contact to other courts and artists, cultural transfer is inevitable. Hence, both individuals and pan-European trends and politics leave an imprint on Swedish medal art. In return, specific aspects can be traced in the material, and give insight into other regional styles.

These continuities and ruptures would have passed unnoticed if I had studied the medal production of one century, one medallist, or one ruler. Instead, I reviewed 1,350 editions made between 1560 and 1792, archive material, and additional visual sources, and analysed the objects both on a theoretical and material level. I felt their weight in my hand, scrutinised their surfaces meticulously, and looked with a magnifying glass for traces of abrasion on the metal, in order to comprehend the inner workings of these objects. This engagement led to another claim stated initially, namely that the medal is more than an image. Its materiality and the sensory

experience are a crucial part of how people used the medal, and the visual and material characteristics give rise to specific responses and request specific usage. While such a perspective seems obvious to curators, and although it has received more attention during the last decades, it is still not common within academic scholarship on medals. However, the thesis shows that this viewpoint adds insight into the use and social dimension of early modern art in general, and the medal in particular.

From this point of departure, I selected cases to discuss general trends encountered during the work with the material visible throughout the study. As a counterweight to the recurring broad practices, I discuss a variety of individual uses and reactions, like how Sperling or Réaumur took pleasure in their gifts, to balance the analysis and to make the medal more apprehensible, and its social implication less abstract.

The five analytical chapters address periods of about fifty years each, provide insights into the period, and identify the uses and social implications of medals within Swedish society. In the chapters, I discuss the reasons why medals were commissioned, their visual and material execution, and their use and significance, and point out that these are tightly entwined and can hardly be separated. To manoeuvre through this maze, I apply an eclectic combination of theoretical concepts compiled from art anthropology, materiality, gift exchange, commemoration, self-fashioning, and media history. The theoretical reasoning is founded in previous research on medals, but most of all in written sources, such as Ekeblad's letters or Whitelocke's journal, which point out specific uses such as gift giving. The sources provide a certain preliminary knowledge of the medal, and place it within its contemporary cultural context. The benefit of this approach is that it lets the material steer the analysis, while the theoretical concepts assist in evaluating complex processes, both separately and from a general perspective.

Overall, the combination of an extensive timeline, dense material, and a focus on visual and tactile involvement is so far unprecedented. The analysis shows that the medal is more than just a sign of status, but a visual and tactile object with multiple social implications. To review the conclusions, I will revisit the four overarching topics that guided the analysis, namely why medals were commissioned, their design, their use, and their significance. Now, in hindsight, the chronology of Swedish medals permits movement backwards and forwards on the timeline, allowing the reader a holistic view and understanding of what, for example, a

sixteenth and an eighteenth-century medal shared, and what set them apart.

REASONS FOR THE MEDAL

I will start by outlining recurring reasons why medals were commissioned during the investigated period. Commissioning a medal was an objective in itself, and the item a means to an end. The circumstances that prompted a ruler to order a medal often had political motives. By the act of issuing it, the consigner would validate his or her privileged position, and the medal was the instrument that eternally communicated this superiority. A crucial precondition for this study has been that medals were visual rhetoric, a medium meant to persuade the viewer of the issuer's claim to power. One reason for the medal was to communicate this message. Nevertheless, the power was not persistent. Instead, it was very fragile and was constantly challenged and renegotiated, and the medal was an expression of this tug of war.

Two constant factors that dominated the wish to commission a medal were *representation* and *legitimation*. Here, Stephen Greenblatt's concept of self-fashioning was effective to encircle the many performative dimensions of status, and how the medal was a part of constructing the identity and public image of the ruler. Through the medal, the issuer could express how he or she wanted to be seen, and, by the act of issuing, spread this version to a contemporary and future audience. Hand in hand with the need for self-fashioning went another fundamental reason to commission these objects, *memoria*. The metal objects were made to *commemorate* someone or something, to convey deeds to a present and future beholder. It was meant to be everlasting and, in the future, used as a historical reference. I leaned on Jan and Aleida Assmann's thought of cultural memory to understand the implications of how commemoration was established. The medal was both a stepping stone in building cultural memory, and storage of this memory. The commemoration was achieved by features such as the portrait, conjuring mental images, the name transmitting the sitter's identity, and the motif on the reverse, and these material properties were essential to this task, as they promised endurance. The medal has the advantage that it can transmit much information on the limited space of its two sides, it is mobile, small, and easy to handle, and it is luxurious. It was a monument in miniature.

During the whole investigated period, medals were ordered for noteworthy events such as coronations, funerals, victories, and weddings, even if I have not touched upon the latter in this study. The ceremonies were recurring occasions at which rulers distributed medals to increase their visibility and demonstrate generosity. These events often marked essential milestones, the ends and beginnings of a new era, and were therefore vital and needed to be commemorated, represented, and legitimised. Regardless of who commissioned a medal, he or she wished to be commemorated by it and would use it to express themselves. Noblemen and, later, also members of other classes, started to engage and issue medals on similar grounds as their royal role models. Also, an individual ordering an edition to honour someone else commemorated the individual depicted through the object. But a medal could not fulfil its functions in a vacuum. As a medium, it was a channel for communication, and it needed an audience.

The transmission of the message was ensured by bestowing the medal as a *gift* to friends and foes, subordinates and equals. Marcel Mauss' theory of gift exchange presented a suitable framework to deconstruct and reconstruct the consequences of the medal gift. The exchange built on the principle of reciprocity, so the medal would warrant a counter-performance from the recipient, like wearing it as a token of fidelity. The reason for the gift would change with time and audience, from courtiers, diplomats, officers, to outstanding workers, but the need for commemoration, representation, and legitimisation would remain elementary, and would be adapted to the present need. Another reason and mode of dissemination of medals was by *selling* them, yet this was neither a dominant nor a constant cause. Nonetheless, this mode of distribution became a vital advantage, as a wider audience could be reached than by just bestowing the objects.

Even though the Swedish case mirrors national politics, the circumstances that warrant medals apply to other rulers as well. In the end, every monarch depended on the mechanisms of legitimisation, representation, commemoration, and gift exchange. Throughout the period, these reasons are constant, and I could not make out apparent variations but slight and vague shifts in the way they expressed themselves. The absence of clear discrepancies leads to the conclusion that regardless of the political circumstances and power relations, the need for legitimisation, representation, commemoration, and gift exchange was essential at all times. The reasons for the medal lead forward to its visual and material design,

which was essential to achieve its objective. Because, in order to commemorate a person, he or she needed to be depicted on it.

VISUAL AND MATERIAL DESIGN

I analyse the medal as an image and an object, and seek to understand the medium in its entirety, which includes its visual and material design. I argue that both aspects are valid. First, the visual design is vital to the message the issuer wants to communicate, and as my iconographic analyses demonstrate, the image carries references to other visual traditions, which makes the motif larger than what the object's surface is able to contain. It carries tradition and underlying connotations, and interacts with other visual media. Moreover, the image can evoke memories and images in the viewer's mind. Second, the material design enforced this mental engagement and has an impact on how the image is perceived. Whether the medal is made of gold or silver matters, and how the surface is executed has a bearing on the reading of the image. The relief is essential to the visual experience of the medal, as so many features are captured by it. The portrait, facial features, strains of hair, wrinkles in the garments, different types of fabrics, as well as the different textures on the surface, polished or rough, shallow or deep, convey a distance and closeness to the depicted motif. The materiality adds the aspect of tactile viewing, and complies with W. J. T. Mitchell's argument that media are experienced with senses beyond merely vision. The tactile sensation is one aspect of how a message is communicated through the medal. Touching and turning, rearranging the medal in one's hand, is an essential aspect of looking at it and reading the inscription. This interplay of visual and material, image and text, is constant throughout the whole period, and indeed, a material interaction with the medal is necessary in order to grasp the entire message, on the obverse and the reverse.

Other key aspects are that the medal remains a double-sided relief in miniature made of precious metal. The object has two sides, and the obverse displays a portrait and name, while the reverse expresses the occasion for the medal or underlines the sitter's identity. Apart from these loosely set conditions, the design is fair game. It can be round or oval-shaped, coloured, attached to a chain, a ribbon, cast or struck. The reverses of early medals display the coat of arms or emblems, whereas editions fashioned in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries depict allegories and,

in general, an elaborate and targeted visual design. The iconography is adapted to current style and taste, be it Baroque or Neoclassical. Each period has its specific artistic characteristics, predominantly visible in the execution of the reverses. I will chronologically review the design of the early modern medal, and highlight the most apparent findings.

Early medals resemble coins, but purely physical, they are bigger, heavier, and more elaborately executed. Like coins, they represented the ruler by his or her stylised portrait with name and titles. Only in rare cases would a monarch be depicted wearing laurel leaves, the sign of the triumphant emperor. In the early seventeenth century, it first becomes standard that the ruler is portrayed in antique-inspired style, wearing cuirass, mantle, and laurel wreath. Until the seventeenth century, the crown or no headgear at all would predominate. One result demonstrated by the visual analysis is that in comparison to Italian and German Renaissance medals, which exhibit various designs on the reverses, as they could display buildings or specific events, the Vasa princes employ the coat of arms or an *impresa*. The emblematic sign emphasises the sitter's identity and follows an established iconographical tradition. It remains unclear if the limited assortment of images was due to a lack of artistic craftsmanship, tradition, or if the audience was simply too small to warrant a great variety of reverses. Nonetheless, the coat of arms is easy to understand and always valid, and it has a legal character. Having a portrait on one side and the symbol of one's dynasty on the other implied double exposure. It is a simple but powerful mode of representation.

During the first half of the seventeenth century, the design of the reverses extends and illustrates an inclination towards emblems which is combined with symbolism and religious propaganda. The medium ideally meets the period's fondness of elaborate, lavish trinkets and metallic craftsmanship, as well as the Baroque's *memento mori* culture. The compact visual design amplifies the structures on the metallic relief and requires close interaction. The image participates in collective mourning and expresses agency, as discussed by Bredekamp in his *Bildakt*, or by Belting in his thought on the bodily experience of encountering an image. The medal invites the viewer to engage with it, to look closely, examine all details, read the inscription, touch, and turn it in one's hand. These aspects of sensory vision have been apparent before, but are charged with increased significance connected to the dense iconography and mourning culture predominant during the Baroque period.

Unique for the 1620s and 1630s are coloured medals, which are primarily ordered in Germany. The portraits are coloured to meet the palette of grand paintings, thereby giving the likeness on the metallic surface a more vivid complexion. Another reason to paint them is to liken them to portraits in miniature, another small exclusive, popular, and portable image vehicle. Before the technique of miniature painting and enamelling had come to Sweden, hybrids of medals and miniatures appear, yet this trend is just a fleeting expression of a crossover between these media. The medal and the miniature swiftly claim their individual space. Another aspect specific to the early seventeenth century is the increased internationalisation of the artistic landscape and interplay with other visual media, particularly the printed sheet.

This merging of visual media continues and culminates during the second half of the seventeenth century, known for its absolute monarchs. As once the Roman emperors did, these monarchs employ an all-encompassing visual programme to manifest and communicate their claims to power. Engravings, architecture, statues, paintings, poetry, and medals, all feature the same content via diverse media and methods. The reverses could contribute to the celebration of a victory or a specific occasion and correspond to the event's visual expression. Thereby, the commissioning authority could communicate a message on varying levels and to different audiences. In previous centuries, the media never exhibited such a systematised and matching iconography. The medal becomes *pars pro toto* within this scheme. This repetitive visual practice continues throughout the eighteenth century, but in a more subtle version.

With the eighteenth century and the changing society, the design experiences a renewal. The portraits remain on the obverse, albeit adapted to contemporary fashion. Wigs and clothing change, and laurel leaves are no longer common, but the royal mantle remains. Another noteworthy aspect is that the presence of God almost vanishes. While his aura is omnipresent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, during the Enlightenment, God only surfaces in the monarch's title. This change is not unique for the visual design of medals, but mirrors the beginning of secularisation.

Simultaneously, the wish to nourish Swedish industry, improve society, and the rising meritocracy expresses itself on medals. Commoners, like farmers, builders and spinners, or at least general representation of them, turn up on the reverses. Interestingly, no other category of recipients has been previously depicted on the reverses in this way. Their representations

inhabit the reverse and communicate the reason for the medal. It is still the monarch who graces the obverse with his or her portrait, a prerogative of the consignor, but the reverse gives room for the addressee. This change also affects the inscription, as vernacular language is used instead of Latin, which again points to the subtle development from courtly to public audience.

During these two hundred years, the improved production possibilities influence the number of medals that are commissioned. Naturally, the better, cheaper, and easier the modes of manufacture, the more medals are struck. In the beginning, only a few and unique golden objects are manufactured at a time. The goldsmith would cast and adorn each piece according to the client's wishes. But by the eighteenth century a hundred medals could be commissioned at once, which results in uniform shape and design, big and small, corresponding to roughly $\varnothing 55$ and 30 millimetres. Bronze and silver appear as the dominant materials, since the amplified production makes frequent use of gold prohibitively expensive, yet the latter remains the preferred material of royal gifts. Besides the shape of the items and size of the edition, the production techniques influence design and execution, as the relief of a sixteenth-century medal looks quite differently from an object from the late eighteenth century. The medallist could, with time, take full advantage of the image space and exploit all the metal's physical qualities and rendered different perspectives by giving the surface varying textures and structures and thereby an illusion of depth.

This outline highlights a transition in design and execution, but the medals also mirror overall tendencies in cultural influence and style. The early objects display a resemblance to German medals, which would result from strengthened contact with central Europe, and because many items were commissioned there. During the seventeenth century, and given increased connections to foreign customs—not least due to the Thirty Years War and Christina's imported artists—a trend of internationalisation occurs. Then, with the second half of the seventeenth century, the predominance of the German-inspired style gradually cedes ground to French and Italian role models and Baroque-classicism, and later, Rococo and Neoclassicism. The transformation in style is also visible in the medallists themselves, as they previously came to Stockholm from Brandenburg-Prussia and Pomerania. These artists often settle and even educate a second generation, which polishes their skills in Paris and Rome, and then return to Sweden. Previously, the Vasa princes looked to their

contemporary peers for inspiration, and now the foreign trends were brought back home to Sweden. As always, the cultural transfer is not one-sided, since Swedish medallists could work at different courts and train apprentices, and vice versa.

The results that this study presents fit in a wider European context, as they contribute to the understanding of how early modern art and visual culture can be analysed. Swedish medal art has perhaps different premises than its contemporaries on the continent, but overall it follows a similar development, sometimes behind, and sometimes ahead of its peers. Naturally, some exceptions are apparent. A general difference is the Swedish royal monopoly on production, which lead to the absence of freelancing medallists and hardly any controversial or moralising medals. More specific exceptions are the two highly popularised kings, Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII, who, compared to contemporary monarchs, inspire an extraordinary amount of medals and devotion to the objects that depict their portraits. Overall, the medal is not a secluded art form but inspires and assumes tendencies from other visual expressions, and one can trace the European art history through it.

PRACTICES

The reasons why medals are commissioned have an effect on their visual and material execution, which, in turn, has bearings on their use. The occasion for an edition, for instance, to commemorate a victory, is tightly connected to the ruler's self-fashioning, as he or she would issue a medal that portrayed them as a brilliant strategist. Likewise, the motivation to order a medal as a gift for an ambassador simultaneously also designates the item's function. However, the roles for a medal are not necessarily predetermined but can be altered to meet the present demand. An edition commissioned to commemorate a coronation could, years later, be given as a reward.

Overall, it has not always been possible to detangle the differences between the reason why a medal is commissioned, and its function. Departing from the objects and sources, I reconstruct the practice in its historical context, and this points to the following considerations. In general, the individuals issuing them constitute one category of users, and the recipients holding, wearing, discussing, and having their portraits painted depicting them with their medals, constitute another category.

Further, one can distinguish between *tangible uses*, like physically touching it, attaching it to a chain, and putting it around one's neck, and the medal's *intangible uses* as a manifestation of rank and wealth, which would entail the aspect of self-fashioning, a way one expresses oneself. For the ruler, to commission a medal would be a performative act of self-fashioning (intangible), yet, bestowing the medal on someone, to repeat this self-fashioning through the medal, would be a tangible use.

However, the intangible uses can only be activated if someone engages with the medals. In order for the medal to commemorate the individual portrayed, someone needs to look at the portrait, touch and turn it in one's hand, admire the artistic execution, and feel the metal's texture. The abstract notion of commemoration materialises through the portrait engraved on the surface. The recipient would connect a memory to the object, most likely of the gift exchange and the portrayed person. Its materiality, the metal, its shape, and size evoke a tangible experience that emphasises and supports the element of vision. The person's face depicted on the surface is traceable on the relief, which aids the recipient's memory. Again the object invites an interplay of tangible and intangible uses. The two seemingly contradictory aspects of abstract and concrete are like an ouroboros biting its tail, and eternally linked.

The long perspective of this study reveals that several practices are reoccurring throughout the period, albeit in altered forms. One concrete usage that is persistent during the whole period, and repeatedly corroborated by sources, is the practice of *bestowing* medals. The alternatives of giving are many, and can entail an exchange between a courtier in a private audience as readily as a crowd waiting outside the church during a coronation. The gift exchanges at the ceremonies are recurring, and likewise at diplomatic encounters. The sources suggest that rulers primarily use medals as parting gifts when a diplomat leaves court. Due to the mnemonic advantages conveyed by the portrait, and the material's endurance, the medal adds to the ruler's representativity. It is considered as a visual testimony which the diplomat could use to illustrate a description of the appearance of the person depicted. The precious metal, gold and silver, shape the possibility of hierarchical order, and the ruler could adapt the monetary value of the medal depending on the diplomat's importance. Moreover, the economic value of the gift is a demonstration of status and wealth. This example repeats the combination of abstract and concrete uses.

Even though medals are exchanged within diplomatic encounters during the whole period, how they are gifted changes. In the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century, one grand gold medal, perhaps even adorned with gems and attached to a golden chain, is bestowed on a chosen individual. From the late seventeenth century onwards, the practice transforms, and instead of one, a set of medals is gifted. Then the set would occupy all qualities of one object but be quantified. The quantity also accentuates the changed visual and material design. Whereas one item needs to carry a succinct message presented by the iconography, inscription, and the lavish material, an assortment of medals can encompass a chronology, for instance, a dynastical order, or an *Histoire métallique*.

Further, the gift exchanges between the ruler and the military are persistent throughout the period, but the expressions are not. During the sixteenth century, a ruler could, after a victory, grace the commanding officer with a medal. The exchange follows the lines of reciprocity, as the military officer gives the ruler a victory, for which he would be honoured with a gift. The recipient, in turn, is supposed to wear the medal as a token of loyalty, which could be interpreted as the counter-performance within the gift exchange. The practice implies tying bonds of loyalty. After all, keeping competent military leaders close would be beneficial to any ruler with ambition. Between 1560 and 1792, distributing military rewards seems optional and depends on the ruler's benevolence, political necessity, and financial means. There appears no transparent system as to when and how medals are distributed to officers or soldiers. The so-called *Tapperhetsmedalj*, the medal for bravery instituted in the late eighteenth century, would become a recurring and systematised military reward, yet this would first become relevant in the following century.

This development raises several questions about the social implications of rewarding, and how this custom becomes synonymous with this particular object. The medal's inherent closeness to money, material, size, and visual execution make it uniquely suited as a reward, and as the analysis demonstrates, it operates in favour of both the donor and the recipient. This social distinction is not restricted to the military, and spontaneous or planned gifts bestowed upon those who warrant the ruler's benevolent attention are persistent throughout the whole period, but then again, both the gift and the way it is given change as well. The unique grand medal, a sign of grace, bestowed upon a sixteenth-century courtier, would in the eighteenth century transform into a generic prize or a reward, granted for

extraordinary work or achievements. The organised gift-giving or rewarding that surfaces during the second half of the eighteenth century will remain for centuries to come. The social practice of bestowing medals develops into a tradition, and medals are even expected in certain circumstances.

Next to the issuers' practices, the functions of the medals are as various as their users. A person could show his or her possession, discuss, hold, write, exchange, alter, study, or collect it, put it in a cabinet, or just forget about it. The possibilities are endless. One concrete usage that reappears during the whole period, which is specific to recipients of medals and can be confirmed by written and visual sources, is *wearing* medals. As before, this use has tangible and intangible aspects. On the one hand, it has a purely physical dimension, such as touching the object, lifting the chain, and fastening it around one's neck. On the other hand, the medal signals that the person has achieved something extraordinary, and by wearing it visibly, this person marks his or her social distinction.

It is a common fact that people commission portraits that depict them with their medals. The portrait itself adds another dimension to the intangible uses, because it is not only the individual that is portrayed but the medal, too. One art form is employed to illustrate and commemorate the other. That aside, there appears to be an imbalance in the representation of gender, as fewer portraits exist that depict women with medals. The reward system did not favour women, since they had a limited presence in public life. However, it does not necessarily mean that they would not wear them rather than they preferred to be portrayed with other status attributes. The most dominant category of people who have their portrait with medals painted are the military. Besides officers, noblemen, artists, and politicians are recurring figures wearing medals in portraits.

These visual sources illustrate that how people wear their medals changes with the years. The physical characteristics of the object seem to have a bearing on how it is carried. Its visual and material execution influences where on the body it is carried and how the object behaves as the person moves. In the beginning, medals are attached to thick golden chains and worn like a necklace. Within the military, particularly during the seventeenth century, they are often attached to the weapon belt, and during the eighteenth century, the small jeton is fastened at the button-hole, on the chest. Then, all ways of wearing exist simultaneously, including chains, boutonnières, and ribbons of different fabrics and shapes. The

object itself also points to another change. In the sixteenth century, the medal is grand and golden and a symbol of wealth. Its intrinsic monetary value is dominant. Instead, during the eighteenth century, the object is small and made of silver, which suggests that it is not the monetary value that is essential, but what the medal represents. During the years, wearing a medal has become synonymous with importance. What these aspects of wearing have in common is that the medal needed to be displayed visibly. Even the recipient needs an audience.

Another constant practice is collecting and studying medals, tightly connected to the issuer's original intent, to use the medal as a durable portable monument that addresses a present and future viewer. These practices gain greater impact parallel to the availability of medals. The market that develops in the late seventeenth century influences the roles of the medal that it promises an augmented audience, as they are no longer restricted to royal gift exchange or a small second-hand market. Both contemporary and antiquarian medals are for sale, but likewise, old editions are reissued. To reissue an edition would alter its initial function. The item would still commemorate the person portrayed, but the immediate connection to the historical event that caused it the first time was gone. Even though it lacks historical context, the collector or antiquarian could still look at the medal as a documentary testament. The commercialisation of numismatic objects entails additional products, like the cabinets made to store and organise one's possessions. The practices of collecting and studying summarise the constant interplay of concrete and abstract uses.

To sum up, even though small shifts are detectable, the underlying practices of giving, wearing, and showing remains, as does the co-dependence of intangible and tangible uses. People continue to use the medal because of its significance.

SIGNIFICANCES

The significance of medals within Sweden's early modern society is the most intangible aspect of all examined in this study. It is far from static and constantly renegotiated, and as understood in this analysis, an abstract notion of values and qualities that people ascribe to the medal and the attention they give the object. It implies that the object carries meaning, and that it in itself is a sign of importance. A medal possesses

many compelling attributes at once. It conveys endurance, the transmission of a public figure's portrait, the documentation of recognised merits, art, and metal value, and it allows both small- and large-scale distribution. The enduring monument may come in a small size, yet with no less prestige. These advantages explain why people assign it significance, even though this difference might differ to each beholder, who encounters the medal anew.

The significance that the medal inhabits and that the users assign to it run like Ariadne's thread through the thesis' labyrinth. It is highlighted in countless ways: the effort Eric XIV put into this new art form; in Charles IX's instructions when he ordered one for his son to bring on his tour abroad; how Christina hired medallists; Beck's self-portrait; the military token Charles XII's officers had made; Peter the Great's medal statement after he reconquered Narva; Karlsteen's collection; Berch's and Warmholtz' discussion on Cecilia's medal; the Diet's restrictions on Adolf Frederick's and Louisa Ulrika's rewards; or Gustav III's censorship. Hence, meaning is established in several ways: by the reason why the medal is commissioned, in its physical traits, the interactive combination of size, mobility, visuality, and materiality, versatility, and lastly, what people do with it. Further, the thesis points to an overarching tendency, namely that practices related to the visual object and the design nourish the significance, and vice versa. Bestowing the medal, wearing it and its visual and material execution for everyone to see, charges it with importance, yet, if the object would not be deemed noteworthy, then no one would bother to distribute it in the first place. Thus, knowledge of the uses and meanings of early modern medals not only contributes to the understanding of how artworks have an impact on the viewer, but also gives insight into human reasoning and interactions.

To conclude, analysing how people engaged with medals and which significance this medium gained and lost unearths general thoughts on how early modern art and visual media were used, and how this use changes over time. Like almost any other art form, the medal starts at the centre of power, aimed at a limited audience, and slowly moves on to become a commodity available to (almost) all, both cheap and expensive. The chronology of the medal allows exploring developments on big and small scales, from international politics to individual trivialities. The study proves that the two sides of a medal contain much more than what the viewer might see on their shining surface.

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Notes

1. Ekeblad (1629–1697) does not mention the ambassador's name, but he is most likely referring to Pierre Hector Chanut (1601–1662).

2. Johan to Christoffer Ekeblad on 12 June 1651, transcribed and printed in Johan Ekeblad and Nils Sjöberg, *Johan Ekeblads Bref. 1, Från Kristinas och Cromwells Hof* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1911), 93.

3. The term 'early modern' is often used to describe the period stretching from the Renaissance to the French Revolution (c. 1450–1800). Regarding Swedish history, it could be argued that early modern encompasses the time from 1523, when Gustav I was elected king, to 1809, when Gustav IV Adolf was deposed. In this thesis, early modern refers to the years 1560 until 1792, and is used when the analysis applies to the whole period, otherwise specific centuries are indicated.

4. Compare e.g. Yonan, Michael, 'Interdisciplinarity Material Culture Studies and the Problem of Habsburg-Lorraine Representation,' in *Die Repräsentation der Habsburg-Lothringischen dynastie in Musik, visuellen Medien und Architektur, ca. 1618–1918*, ed. Werner Telesko (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2017), 21–37.

5. To avoid confusion, the word *inscription* instead of legend will be employed. The Latin translations are made by the author, leaning on a Swedish translation of inscriptions on the Swedish royal medals by Emanuel Svenberg, 'Översättningar av latinet på svenska kungliga medaljer,' in *Uppsala University Coin Cabinet Working Papers* 6, ed. Peter Sjökvist (Uppsala 2013).

6. Read eg. Stephen K. Scher, *The Currency of Fame: Portrait Medals of the Renaissance* (New York: H.N. Abrams in association with the Frick Collection, 1994); Nicholas Mann and Luke Syson, *The Image of the Individual: Portraits in the Renaissance* (London: British Museum, 1998); Stephen K. Scher, ed., *Perspectives on the Renaissance Medal* (New York: Garland Publ., 2000); Birgit Blass-Simmen, 'The Medal's Contract. On the Emergence of the Portrait Medal in the Quattrocento,' in *Inventing Faces: Rhetorics of Portraiture between Renaissance and Modernism*, eds. Mona Körte et al. (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2013), 29–43; Sylvia Dominique Volz, *Spiegel-Bild der Macht: die Porträt-medaillen Francescos II. da Carrara Novello von 1390* (Berlin: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Berlin, 2017); Arne R. Flaten, 'Renaissance Medals,' *Renaissance Quarterly* 71, no. 2 (2018): 646–650.

7. Albert Romer Frey, *Dictionary of Numismatic Names: With Glossary of Numismatic Terms in English, French, German, Italian, Swedish* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1947), 149.

8. John Cunnally, *Images of the Illustrious: The Numismatic Presence in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999); Alan M. Stahl, ed., *The Rebirth of Antiq-*

uity: *Numismatics, Archaeology and Classical Studies in the Culture of the Renaissance* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Library, 2009), 36.

9. Erika Manders, *Coining Images of Power: Patterns in the Representation of Roman Emperors on Imperial Coinage, A.D. 193–284* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012).

10. A. Luschin von Ebengreuth, *Allgemeine Münzkunde und Geldgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Neueren Zeit.*, Handbuch der Mittelalterlichen und Neueren Geschichte, (München, 1926), 32; Francis Haskell, *History and Its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 26; Johannes Helmrath, 'Die Aura der Kaisermünze. Bild-Text-Studien zur Historiographie der Renaissance und zur Entstehung der Numismatik als Wissenschaft,' in *Medien und Sprachen humanistischer Geschichtsschreibung*, eds. Johannes Helmrath, Albert Schirrmeyer and Stefan Schlelein (Berlin, New York: De Gruyter, 2009), 103.

11. John Cunnally, *The Role of Greek and Roman Coins in the Art of the Italian Renaissance*, PhD. Dissertation Pennsylvania University 1984; Mark Jones, "Proof Stones of History" The Status of Medals as Historical Evidence in Seventeenth-Century France,' in *Medals and Coins From Budé to Mommsen*, Warburg Institute surveys and texts, no. 21 (1990), 53–72. Further, similarities can also be detected in sigillography (or sphragistics), as seals generally consists of two sides, as well as they are a sign of legal authority.

12. The obverse shows John VIII's bust seen from the right wearing his characteristic hat. The reverse displays the Emperor on horseback seen from the right. He is accompanied by a squire. The scene is seen from behind with foreshortening. Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010), 102–103; Sebastian Kolditz, *Johannes VIII. Palaiologos und das Konzil von Ferrara-Florenz (1438/39): das byzantinische Kaisertum im Dialog mit dem Westen*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, Band 60 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2013). Nagel and Wood even claim that the choice of person ('antique emperor') and antique material (bronze commonly used for antique Greek statues) increased the antique character of the medal. Nagel and Wood 2010, 102–103.

13. For instance, the condottiere Leonello d'Este is supposed to have ordered 10 000 medals. See Johan Eriksson, *The Condottiere Prince – a Visual Rhetoric: Leonello d'Este, Sigismondo Malatesta, Alessandro Sforza, Federico Da Montefeltro* (Stockholm: [Svenska institutet i Rom], 2020), 62.

14. Read further: Joanna Woods-Marsden, 'Images of Castles in the Renaissance: Symbols of "Signoria"/Symbols of Tyranny,' *Art Journal, Images of Rule: Issues of Interpretation*, vol. 48, no. 2 (Summer 1989): 132; Eriksson 2020, 62–69; 89–92; 121f; 156–159; 193–195.

15. Cf. and for more examples see e.g.: Scher 1994; Nicholas Mann and Luke Syson 1998; Eriksson 2020.

16. Both the medal's obverse and reverse show an apparent similarity with the fresco by Piero della Francesca, displaying *Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta before St. Sigismund* (257cm x 345cm) 1451, in San Francesco in Rimini (Tempio Malatestiano). Equally interesting is that Malatesta placed several of his medals in the foundation of Castel Sigismondo. This custom relates again to ancient coins, as medals commonly were found under buildings cornerstones.

17. The development of the portrait-genre will become a vital aspect of medal-art, a fact that is particularly visible in the German renaissance-medals. On German renaissance medals read further: Walter Cupperi, Martin Hirsch, Annette Kranz and Ulrich

Pfisterer eds., *Wettstreit in Erz: Porträtmedaillen der Deutschen Renaissance* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2013).

18. An *impresa* would be the combination of an emblem and a motto transformed into a personal heraldic badge.

19. Cf. Scher for an overview on the difference between Italian and German medals. Scher 1994, 24.

20. Georg Habich, *Die Deutschen Schaumünzen Des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (München, 1929.); ed. Georg Satzinger, *Die Renaissance-Medaille in Italien und Deutschland*, 1. Aufl, Tholos kunsthistorische Studien, Bd. 1 (Münster: Rhema, 2004); Cupperi et al. 2013; On the heraldy of German princes: Ralf-Gunnar Werlich, 'Altes Medium in Neuer Zeit – Beobachtungen zum Formenwandel reichsfürstlicher Wappen an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Frühen Neuzeit,' in *Fürsten an der Zeitenwende zwischen Gruppenbild und Individualität: Formen fürstlicher Selbstdarstellung und ihre Rezeption (1450–1550)*, eds. Oliver Auge, Ralf-Gunnar Werlich, Gabriel Zeilinger (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2009), 145–206.

21. Fashion practices were common aspects of self-fashioning in Renaissance Europe. Read further for instance: Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

22. The Imperial Diet held in Augsburg in 1518, is considered to have been the first occasion north of the Alps at which the emergence of medals broadened. Annette Kranz, 'Die Reichstage – Eine ephemere Geographie,' in *Wettstreit in Erz: Porträtmedaillen der Deutschen Renaissance*, eds. Cupperi et al., (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2013) 187.

23. In the German countries, medals were also used to spread confessional beliefs. E.g. Elisabeth Doerk et al., eds., *Reformatio in Nummis: Luther und die Reformation auf Münzen und Medaillen: Katalog zur Sonderausstellung auf der Wartburg 4. Mai Bis 31. Oktober 2014* (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2014). Rainer Grund, 'Die Medaille als Medium in der Reformationszeit,' in eds. Cupperi et al. 2013, 59–67.

24. Medals commemorating Sigismondo Malatesta were cast in gold, silver and bronze. Eriksson 2020, 92.

25. Cf. Franz Matsche, *Die Kunst im Dienst der Staatsidee Kaiser Karls VI.: Ikonographie, Ikonologie und Programmatik des 'Kaiserstils'*, Beiträge Zur Kunstgeschichte 16 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1981); Karl Vocelka, *Die politische Propaganda Kaiser Rudolfs II.: (1576–1612)*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Geschichte Österreichs / Österreichische Akademie Der Wissenschaften (Wien, 1981); Allan Ellenius, *Karolinska Bildidéer: [Pictorial Ideas in Swedish Art of the Caroline Period]*, Ars Suetica 1 (Uppsala: Almqvist Wiksell, 1966); Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Laura Lunger Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell: Ceremony, Portrait, and Print, 1645–1661* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

26. Friedrich von Schrötter, *Wörterbuch Der Münzkunde* (Berlin: W. De Gruyter, 1930), 591: 'Schaugroschen, -münze, -pfennig, -taler [...] daß sie Kurantgeld sind und als solches gebraucht werden können, weil sie nach dessen Münzfuß und dessen Form ausgeprägt sind.' Frey 1947, 221: 'The name is given to a variety of Thaler which is of semi-medallic character, and which is struck as commemorative of some anniversary or as a memorial rather than for general circulation.'

27. The privilege of minting held a vital political significance. To mint and issue coins was traditionally seen as the ruler's privilege. The production of coins was bound to the ruler's authority as he or she would guarantee the currency's stability and quality,

so that a coin's monetary value would correspond to its metal value. To avoid counterfeit money, minting was highly regulated and restricted to certain denominations, weight and material. On discussions about the privilege of minting and issuing medals by Elector Frederick. Read e.g. Sina Westphal, 'Fürstliche Politik Und Selbstdarstellung im Spiegel der Münzen Friedrich des Weisen,' in *Fürsten an der Zeitenwende Zwischen Gruppenbild und Individualität. Formen Fürstlicher Selbstdarstellung und ihre Rezeption (1450–1550)*, eds. Oliver Auge, Ralf-Gunnar Werlich & Gabriel Zeilinger, *Residenzforschung* 22 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2009) 207–220.

28. Johann Christian Lünig, *Theatrum Ceremoniale Historico-Policum, Oder Historisch-Und Politischer Schau-Platz Aller Ceremonien* (Leipzig, 1720).

29. Schrötter 1930, 227. 'Gnadenpfennig nannte man im 16. und 17. Jh. die von den Fürsten und ihren Getreuen wie unsere Orden verliehenen und auch wie solche an Ketten um den Hals getragenen Med., meist mit Bildnis des Fürsten, oft als Kleinode (s.d.) gefasst und emailliert.'

30. Lünig 1720, vol. 1, 461: 'Von den Cavalieren des Gesandten bekam ein jeder einen Gnaden=Pfennig.'; 1141: 'Dieser Schau=Pfennige hatte der König [Charles XI of Sweden] eine gute Anzahl münzten, und solche an die Vornehmsten verehren lassen.'

31. Loosely translated in the order of appearance: coin of grace, display coin, commemorative coin.

32. Using an all-encompassing terms such as *medaglia* results in confusions and difficulties, which also has been noted by others. E.g. 'The term medaglia poses problems, as it was generally used to refer to several different types of small flat reliefs, and therefore need to be identified according to the context.' Marika Leino, *Fashion, Devotion and Contemplation: The Status and Functions of Italian Renaissance Plaquettes* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2013), 6; Frey 1947, includes a glossary of numismatic terms in Italian, German, French and Swedish, but lacks an English equivalent.

33. Carl Reinhold Berch and Jan Heidner, *Lettres Parisiennes: Adressées À Ses Amis, 1740–1746* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1997). Berch to Arckenholtz 11 Januray 1745 (126–127); to Tessin 11 Mai 1744 (81–82).

34. This claim is based on my analysis of source material. It is hard to discern when the word medal (*medaille*) first appears in the Swedish language. I have noticed 'madall' in inventories from the 16th century, although very rarely. But from the first half of the 18th century, the word 'medalj' (in different spellings) appears frequently.

35. Hermann Maué, 'Benvenuto Cellinis Ausführung zur Münz- und Medaillenprägung, Beobachtungen an Geprägten Renaissance- und Barockmedaillen,' in *Abhandlungen der Braunschweigischen Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft*, Band 60 (Braunschweig: Braunschweigische Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft, 2008), 151–172.

36. Droste on 17th century Swedish bureaucracy and state-building. Heiko Droste, *Im Dienst Der Krone: Schwedische Diplomaten Im 17. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Lit, 2006), 19.

37. Ylva Haidenthaller, 'Von Goldschmieden, Münzschneidern und Medailleuren: Einblicke in die Künstlerimmigration nach Stockholm im 17. Jahrhundert,' in *Erfolgreiche Einwanderer. Künstlerimmigration im Ostseeraum während der Nordischen Kriege (1554–1721)*, eds. Agnieszka Gąsior and Julia Trinkert, *Studia Jagellonica Lipsiensia* forthcoming.

38. On a short overview on the medal production in 18th century (central) Europe read e.g. Heinz Winter, 'Die Habsburgisch-Lothringischen Medaillen der Zeit Maria Theresias im Europäischen Vergleich – Eine Skizze', in *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und*

Geldgeschichte, 68, (Bayrische Numismatische Gesellschaft, 2018), 407–434.

39. Stig Stenström, *Arvid Karlsteen: Hans liv och verk* (Göteborg: Gumpert, 1944); Peter Felder, *Medailleur Johann Carl Hedlinger, 1691–1771: Leben und Werk* (Aarau: Verlag Sauerländer, 1978); Wolfgang Steguweit, *Raimund Faltz, Medailleur des Barock*, Berliner Numismatische Forschungen, Bd. 9 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2004); Hermann Maué, *Sebastian Dadler: 1586–1657: Medaillen im Dreissigjährigen Krieg*, Wissenschaftliche Beibände zum Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseum; (Nürnberg: Verl. des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 2008); Karsten Kold, *Anton Meybusch: kongelig hofmedaillør: Stockholm, Paris, København* (København: Dansk Numismatisk Forening, 2020).

40. Since the screwpress foremost was used to mint coins, the medals were often also produced in the official mint under the supervision of the mint-master, and the medallist was sometimes employed to engrave dies for coins.

41. This information is based on work with the material and several archive sources. For specific references on the work of medal artist in the 17th century and medal manufacture read e.g. Kold 2020.

42. Cf. Discussions and references in chapter IV.

43. Karin Lindegren, Göran Söderström, and Rolf Söderberg, *De Sköna Konsternas Akademi: Konstakademien 250 år* (Stockholm: Allmänna förl., 1986).

44. Engraving medal dies was for a long time a male profession. The first known Swedish female medallist was Lea Ahlborn (1826–1897). Read: Brita Olsén, *Lea Ahlborn. En svensk medaljkonstnär under 1800-talet* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1962); Elisabeth Kaldén, *Lea Ahlborn: kunglig mynt-och medaljgravör* (Stockholm: Kungl. Myntkabinettet, 2011).

45. E.g. discussed in Carl von Linné's letter to Pehr Wilhelm Wargentin, secretary of the Swedish Academy of Sciences, 15 November 1762; UUB, L 3149, (alvin-record: 231537).

46. The following account stems from my observations during the work with this thesis. For an extensive and chronological overview on the work and life of medal artists working in Sweden ca. 1680–1780 read: UUB, X221, Sigfrid Lorentz Gahm Persson, *Biografiska samlingar*, T.16. Konstnärer. Vol.3 Medaljgravörer.

47. Tunefalk made a similar argument. Tunefalk 2015, 60; The term cultural capital is borrowed from Pierre Bourdieu's concept of capital. Pierre Bourdieu, *Die verborgenen Mechanismen der Macht*, ed. Margareta Steinrücke, transl. Jürgen Bolder (Hamburg: VSA: Verlag Hamburg, 2015).

48. Cf. Discussions and references in chapter V.

49. Read further on the 'material turn' in the cultural sciences: Christopher Y. Tilley, *Handbook of Material Culture* (London: Sage, 2009); Tony Bennett and Patrick Joyce, eds., *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn*, Culture, Economy and the Social (London: Routledge, 2010).

50. For a short introduction on art anthropology read for instance: Elisabeth von Samsonow, 'Kunstanthropologie,' in *Critical Studies: Kultur- und Sozialtheorie im Kunstfeld*, eds. Elke Gaugele and Jens Kastner (Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2016), 85–103.

51. For this thesis, Gell is primarily essential for his ground-breaking way of thinking about the interaction between humans and objects from an anthropological perspective.

52. For instance: Robin Osborne and Jeremy Tanner, eds., *Art's Agency and Art History*, New Interventions in Art History (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007); Caroline van Eck, Joris

van Gastel, and Elsje van Kessel, eds., *The Secret Lives of Artworks: Exploring the Boundaries between Art and Life* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2012); Caroline van Eck, *Art, Agency and Living Presence: From the Animated Image to the Excessive Object* (Boston: De Gruyter, 2015); Caroline van Eck, Miguel John Versluys, and Pieter Keurs, 'The Biography of Cultures: Style, Objects and Agency: Proposal for an Interdisciplinary Approach,' *Les Cahiers de l'École Du Louvre*, no. 7 (1 October 2015): 2–22; Elsje van Kessel, *The Lives of Paintings, Presence, Agency and Likeness in Venetian Art of the Sixteenth Century* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2017); For an example of how agency and concepts from anthropology are adapted on numismatic topics see Nanouschka Myrberg Burström and Gitte Tarnow Ingvardson, eds., *Divina Moneta Coins in Religion and Ritual* (New York: Routledge, 2018).

53. John L. Austin, *How to do things with words* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962); Horst Bredekamp, *Theorie des Bildakts*, Frankfurter Adorno-Vorlesungen 2007 (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2010); published in English as *Image Acts: A Systematic Approach to Visual Agency* (Boston: De Gruyter, 2018).

54. W.J.T. Mitchell presented similar suggestions in *What do pictures want?* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

55. Belting's thoughts are already traceable in previous works, most notably in: Hans Belting, *Bild und Kult: Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (Leipzig: Koehler und Amelang, 1990); Samuel Strehle, 'Hans Belting: „Bild-Anthropologie“ Als Kulturtheorie der Bilder,' in *Kultur. Theorien Der Gegenwart*, eds. Stephan Moebius and Dirk Quadflieg (Wiesbaden: Springer 2011), 507–818.

56. Hans Belting, *An Anthropology of Images: Picture, Medium, Body*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014), 10.

57. Hans Belting, *Bild-Anthropologie: Entwürfe für eine Bildwissenschaft* (München: Fink, 2001), 12, 115.

58. On an overview of research on object and materiality within art history read for instance: G. Ulrich Großmann and Petra Krutisch, eds. *The Challenge of the Object: 33rd Congress of the International Committee of the History of Art, Nuremberg 15th–20th July 2012 CIHA* (Nürnberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums 2012); Charlotta Krispinsson 'Temptation, Resistance, and Art Objects: On the Lack of Material Theory within Art History before the Material Turn,' *Atrium Quaestiones* 29 (2018): 5–23.

59. In the wake of the increased interest in objects and agency, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* published a special issue devoted to the subject. Horst Bredekamp and Wolfgang Schäffner approach the subject and discuss dynamics of matter and materiality. Horst Bredekamp and Wolfgang Schäffner, 'Material Agencies,' *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 83, issue 3 (2020): 300–309.

60. Johann Heinrich Zedler, ed., *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexikon*. Nachdruck (Graz, 1961), 1043. 'Bey der Medaillenwissenschaft ist eine von denen Haupt=Regeln, daß man die Medaillen nicht nach der Materie, woraus sie geschlagen sind, schätzen muß.' On the history of Zedler's encyclopedia read further: Helmut Zedelmaier, *Die Praktiken der Gelehrsamkeit in der frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2001).

61. Most often, the concept of value is connected to Karl Marx' discussion of commodity fetishism in *Capital. Critique of Political Economy* (Hamburg, 1867) and Jean Baudrillard's development of Marx' theory in *System of Objects* first published in 1968 and *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign* first published in 1972).

62. Igor Kopytoff 'The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process,' in *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective*, Arjun Appadurai ed. (Cam-

bridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 81.

63. Bill Brown, 'Thing Theory,' *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 28, no. 1, (2001): 9.

64. E.g. François. Quiviger, *The Sensory World of Italian Renaissance Art* (London: Reaktion, 2010); Francesca Bacci and David Melcher, *Art and the Senses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Martina Bagnoli, *A Feast for the Senses: Art and Experience in Medieval Europe* (Baltimore: The Walters Art Museum, 2016); Lisa Beaven and Angela Ndalians, eds., *Emotion and the Seduction of the Senses: Baroque to Neo-Baroque*, Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Culture (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2018); Barbara Baert, *Interruptions and Transitions: Essays on the Senses in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture* (Leiden ; Brill, 2019).

65. Melissa Herman, 'Sensing Iconography: Ornamentation, Material, and Sensuousness in Early Anglo-Saxon Metalwork,' in *Sensory Reflections* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 109.

66. On different approaches and discussions on materiality and art read for instance: James Elkins, 'On Some Limits of Materiality in Art History,' *Das Magazin des Instituts für Theorie*, no. 12 (2008): 25–30; Gillian Rose and Divya Praful Tolia-Kelly, eds., *Visuality/ Materiality: Images, Objects and Practices* (Farnham: Ashgate 2012); Martha Rosler et al., 'Notes from the Field: Materiality,' *The Art Bulletin* 95, no. 1 (March 2013): 10–37; Christy Anderson, Anne Dunlop, and Pamela H. Smith, eds., *The Matter of Art: Materials, Practices, Cultural Logics, C. 1250–1750*, Studies in Design (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015); Ruth M. Van Dyke, *Practicing Materiality* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2015).

67. Karen Dempsey and Jitske Jasperse 'Multisensorial Musings on Miniature Matters,' *Das Mittelalter: Getting the sense(s) of small things*, Band 25, Heft 2 (2020): 259.

68. Karen Dempsey and Jitske Jasperse 2020, 259.

69. Karen Dempsey and Jitske Jasperse 2020, 264.

70. In all fairness, it has to be said that this insight is nothing new; it is deeply embedded in the curatorial experience-based knowledge that has developed over the centuries along with the museum collections. For instance, Aimee Ng addresses the impossibility to convey the intimate experience of touching a medal to museum visitors. See Aimee Ng, *The Pursuit of Immortality: Masterpieces from the Scher Collection of Portrait Medals* (New York: Frick Collection, 2017), 11–12.

71. In the last decades, scholars have continuously broadened the terms media and medium, and particularly media's cultural perspective has received a heightened interest. On cultural and social perspectives on media and further references e.g. Solveig Jülich, Patrik Lundell & Pelle Snickars, eds., *Mediernas kulturhistoria*, Mediehistoriskt Arkiv 8 (Lund: Mediehistoriskt arkiv, 2008); Asa Briggs and Peter Burke, eds., *A social history of the media: from Gutenberg to the Internet*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009). Mediality can have several layers and definitions, for and introduction to the history of media and a definition of medium read Johan Jarlbrink, Patrik Lundell and Pelle Snickars, eds., *Mediernas historia*, Mediehistoriskt arkiv 45 (Lund: Mediehistoriskt arkiv, 2019), 9–11.

72. For another perspective on the materiality of media read e.g. Kristina Lundblad, 'Dokument, taktilitet och "diakronisk doft" Om några förmågor och egenskaper hos det analoga och det digitala,' in *Återkopplingar*, Mediehistoriskt Arkiv 28 (Lund: Mediehistoriskt arkiv, 2014), 350–52.

73. My theoretical understanding of media leans on a cultural and social interpreta-

tion. On these perspectives read further e.g. Johan Jarlbrink, Patrik Lundell, and Pelle Snickars 2019, 77–80; Briggs and Burke, 2009.

74. Briggs and Burke 2009, 1.

75. Lotten Gustafsson Reinius also analyses the perception of media and materiality: 'Innanför branddörren: Etnografiska samlingar som medier och materialitet,' in *Mediernas kulturhistoria*, Mediehistoriskt Arkiv 8, (Lund: Mediehistoriskt arkiv, 2008), 73–95.

76. W. J. T. Mitchell, 'There are no visual media,' in *Journal of Visual Culture*, vol. 4, no. 2 (2005): 257.

77. As example of such an mixed perspective read e.g. Anna Dahlgren, 'The Lithographic Album 1873: Reproductive Media and Visual Art in the Age of Lithographic Reproduction,' in *The Power of the In-Between: Intermediality as a Tool for Aesthetic Analysis and Critical Reflection*, eds. Sonya Petersson, Christer Johansson, Magdalena Holdar, and Sara Callahan (Stockholm: Stockholm University Press, 2018) 213–237.

78. For other examples that connect the medal to the theory of gift exchange: Mark Jones, 'What Are Medals for? A Contribution to the Understanding of Useless Things,' in *Internationaler Numismatischer Kongress Berlin 1997: Akten, Proceedings, Actes*, eds. Bernd Kluge and Bernhard Weissner (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2000), 1398–1408; Ulrich Pfisterer, *Lysippus und seine Freunde: Liebesgaben und Gedächtnis im Rom der Renaissance, oder, das erste Jahrhundert der Medaille* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008); John Cunnally, 'Of Mauss and (Renaissance) Men. Numismatics, Prestation, and the Genesis of Visual Literacy,' in *The Rebirth of Antiquity. Numismatics, Archaeology, and Classical Studies in the Culture of the Renaissance*, ed. Alan M. Stahl (Princeton: Princeton University Library, 2009), 27–47; Birgit Blass-Simmen 2013.

79. E.g. Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner, and Bernhard Jussen, eds., *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange*, Veröffentlichungen Des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 188 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2003); Lewis Hyde, *The Gift: How the creative spirit transforms the world* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2007); Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Roger Sansi-Roca, *Art, Anthropology and the Gift* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).

80. Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (1925) Routledge Classics (London: Routledge, 2002).

81. Mauss 2002, 1–18.

82. Both evolved Mauss' thoughts and focused on the ambiguity of gifts, the practices, hierarchies, relationships, actors and expectations of the gift exchange. Their observations on the gift exchange are today almost as recognised as Mauss' well-cited theory. E.g. Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Jacques Derrida, *Given Time 1. Counterfeit money* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

83. On Self-fashioning read further: Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2005), here in particular 256.

84. For instance: Joanna Woods-Marsden, *Renaissance Self-Portraiture: The Visual Construction of Identity and the Social Status of the Artist* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Mary Rogers, ed., *Fashioning Identities in Renaissance Art* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000); for a historical perspective read for instance: Rublack 2010.

85. Greenblatt 2005, 256.

86. Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis* (München: C.H. Beck Verlag, 1997); Aleida Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives*, 1st English ed. (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011); For an more thorough introduction to the concept read: Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 15–69.

87. Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (München: Beck, 2006), 19.

88. Beginning with the 18th century other parties, individuals and societies, began to issue medals as well. I will mention, but not analyse, some of these other objects as well since they relate to the royal medals, and without them, the landscape of the medal production, values and utilities would be incomplete. For an overview of medals issued by non royals: Bror Emil Hildebrand, *Minnespenningar öfver enskilda svenska män och quinnor* (Stockholm: 1860).

89. Hildebrand included all medals commemorating the royal family, but expressively excluded medals defaming or ridiculing Swedish monarchs (mostly issued by foreign powers such as Russia or Denmark). From today's perspective, his selection might seem somewhat bias, but in essence, rather comprehensible and suiting for 19th century nationalistic history writing. Instead, Carl Anton Ossbahr's *Mynt och medaljer slagna för främmande makter i anledning av krig mot Sverige* [Coins and medals minted by foreign power by the reason of war against Sweden] (1927) can be used as a complement to Hildebrand's catalogue. For more information on Hildebrand: Kerstin Assarsson-Rizzi, *Bror Emil Hildebrand. Lefnadsteckning* (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2014).

90. Chronologically, Hildebrand introduces each regent, Queen and royal child, followed by a list of contents, headlines, which correspond to events that are commemorated by a medal. Some headlines are specific, like the *Battle of Breitenfeld 1631*, while others concern virtues such as *Gudsfruktan* [piety]. Following this, each medal edition is given one number under the monarch's name and the topic of commemoration. Accordingly, the first medal edition listed under, e.g. Queen Christina is connected to the headline *Christina predestined Queen after her father's death in 1632*, followed by an account of the inscriptions and images depicted on the obverse and reverse. He presents information on size, material, and in some cases, details regarding the cause for the edition's production, medallist, and collection in which he had encountered the medal. Although Hildebrand is not very consequent in the listing of collections, sometimes he mentions them while refraining from this another time.

91. Hildebrand's work is an immensely suitable starting point for the evaluation of existing material because it refers to standard reference works before him, namely Elias Brenner's *Thesaurus nummorum sueo-gothicorum* (1692) and Carl Reinhold Berch's *Beskrifning öfver svenska mynt och kongl. Skådepenningar [...]* (1773).

92. It has not been my aim to trace every medal but to gain a broad and general overview of the material. I am grateful to the generous curators at the various coin cabinets I visited over the years, in particular to Ragnar Hedlund at Uppsala universitets myntkabinett, Gitte Tarnow Ingvardson at Myntkabinett vid Lunds historiska museum, Martin Hirsch at Staatliche Münzsammlung München, and Heinz Winter at Münzkabinett Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien. Their help has been very welcome and invaluable to my work. The most extensive Swedish medal collection is owned by the Royal coin cabinet, Kungliga Myntkabinettet, in Stockholm, which is currently in

storage. However, the curator Martin Tunefalk generously shared documentation and photographs. The same applies to the collection owned by Den kgl. Mønt og Medaille-samling in Copenhagen.

93. An assortment of online-databases, which I consulted: Landesmuseum Württemberg <https://www.landmuseum-stuttgart.de/sammlung/sammlung-online/> ; Museumlandschaft Hessen Kassel <https://museum-kassel.de/de/forschung-und-sammlungen/sammlungen>; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Münzkabinett <https://www.smb.museum/museen-einrichtungen/muenzkabinett/sammeln-forschen/sammlung/> Finland's national cultural database <https://www.finna.fi/> (all accessed 2021-02-16).

94. Variations of editions are not taken into account if no significant changes affect the image on the medal. This decision follows from the fact that it is impossible to discern which edition with the same motif (but different dies) was issued at a certain occasion, as well as this distinction would not add any new insights to the medal's reception.

95. The case study methodology has a variety of approaches. For further examples and references read e.g. John Gerring, *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, 5 ed. (London: Sage, 2014); Clifford Geertz' method of thick description, a careful interpretation of the phenomenon based on the intention of implementing cultural-historical aspects, would be a common approach within case studies, read further e.g. Clifford Geertz, *The interpretation of cultures: selected essays* (Basic Books: New York, 1973), 3–30.

96. Gillian Rose, *Visual methodologies: an introduction to researching with visual materials*, 4th ed. (London: Sage, 2016) 24–26.

97. This interpretation also craves extensive reading of additional sources and secondary literature (both early modern and previous research), to answer the questions regarding how these objects were produced, which material was used, and how the medals were viewed and understood. Ulinka Rublack presented a similar approach, a combination of sources and primary material. Ulinka Rublack, 'Matter in the Material Renaissance,' *Past & Present*, vol. 219, no. 1 (May 2013): 43.

98. Rose 2016, 24–26.

99. My understanding of working with sources is inspired by Quentin Skinner's *Visions of politics, vol. 2 Renaissance virtues* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), which is a collection of coherent texts, on methodological considerations on the pursuit of knowledge and interpretation. Skinner highlights the danger of approaching texts by prejudicial ideas of paradigms. Therefore, if one strives to analyse a text as unbiased as possible, it is misplaced to regard it from our contemporary perspective, but should instead try reading it from the author's point of view. Also, Michael Baxandell's concept of the *period eye*, presented in *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988) has been vital for the understanding of the early modern material. And lastly, on necessary anachronisms read: Droste 2006, 49.

100. The study of medals is traditionally understood as a branch of numismatics but is likewise employed by scholars from other fields of expertise. The most prominent subjects that tangent medals are numismatics, art history, history, the study of emblems, history of ideas, occasional poetry or Latin.

101. During the 19th century, the study of medals took a clear turn towards art history, not least because of medals' rich iconographic repertoire. To name a few exam-

ples: Heinrich Bolzenthal, *Skizzen zur Kunstgeschichte der modernen Medaillen-Arbeit (1429-1840)* (Berlin, 1840); Fernand Mazerolle, *Les médailleurs français du XVe siècle au milieu du XVIIe* (Paris, 1902); Karl Domanig, *Die Deutsche Barockmedaille aus Kunst- und Kulturhistorischer Hinsicht* (Wien, 1907); Oscar Levertin, 'Svensk och fransk medaljkonst under 1600-talet,' in *Svensk konst och svensk kultur*, (Stockholm, 1920), 5-45; For an overview on Swedish numismatic publications until 1900 see: Björn-Otto Hesse, *Svensk numismatisk bibliografi intill år 1903* (Stockholm: Svenska numismatiska föreningen, 2004).

102. For further approaches on agency and images read e.g. Eck, Gastel and Kessel, 2012.

103. Here it is difficult to mention one or two examples, but rather individual scholars active during the 20th (and 21th) century, like Nils Ludvig Rasmuson, Lars Olof Lagerqvist (Sweden), Stephen Scher (US), Mark Jones and Philipp Attwood (GB), Wolfgang Steguweit or Lore Börner (G). These have over the years, revisited the topic from various angles and influenced the study of medals considerably.

104. As an example for exhibition catalogues on medals from the last two decades: Cupperi et al. eds. *Wettstreit in Erz Porträtmedaillen der deutschen Renaissance* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag 2013); Sabine Haag, ed. *Zuhanden Ihrer Majestät: Medaillen Maria Theresias: Ausstellung des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien, 28. März 2017 bis 18. Februar 2018* (Wien: Kunsthistorisches Museum 2017).

105. Scher has since then published several monographs on medals, for instance: *Perspectives on the Renaissance medal* (New York: Garland 2000); Ng, ed. *The Scher collection of commemorative medals* (New York: Frick Collection 2019).

106. To name some monographs on medallist figuring in this thesis: Stenström 1944; Felder 1978; Steguweit 2004; Maué 2008; Mirko Schröder, *Der Medailleur und Stempelschneider Albrecht Krieger. Medaillenkunst des Barock in Leipzig*, PhD. Diss. Technische Universität Dresden (Neustadt an der Orla: Gesellschaft für Thüringer Münz und Medaillenkunde, 2019). This research overview concerns itself with medal art ca. 1500-1800, and does not provide an insight to *modern* medal art. For further information and research on this genre see: International Art Medal Federation (*FIDEM*) or *Digital Library Numis*.

107. Anna Loernitzo, curator at the Vienna coin cabinet, is presently writing her dissertation project at the University of Vienna: 'Die Medaillenproduktion im k. u. k. Hauptmünzamt unter der Regierung Maria Theresias (1740-1780). Prozesse, Praktiken, Akteure.' Supervisors: Priv. Doz. Dr. Bernhard Prokisch, Univ. Doz. Dr. Werner Telesko.

108. The term *longue durée* leans on Fernand Braudel's concept of dividing time into *longue durée*, *moyenne durée* and *événements*. Read further: Marc Bloch and Claudia Honegger, *Schrift und Materie der Geschichte: Vorschläge zur systematischen Aneignung historischer Prozesse*, Dt. Erstausg., 1. Aufl, Edition Suhrkamp 814 (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1977), 47-85; Peter Burke, *Annales-skolan: en introduktion*, trans. Gustaf Gimdal and Rickard Gimdal (Göteborg: Daidalos, 1992); Fernand Braudel, *Medelhavet och medelhavsvärlden på Filip II:s tid*, trans. Ingvar Rydberg (Furulund: Alhambra, 1997).

109. For more than a century, since 1397, Sweden (including the southern parts of today's Finland), Norway and Denmark (including Iceland) were joined in the Kalmar Union and ruled by one elected union-king. Denmark had been the dominating player in this coalition and the union-king mostly also resided and ruled from Copenhagen. During the years, the union resisted continuous tense relations and power struggles,

but eventually, in 1523, the union was dissolved, and Sweden became autonomous after Gustav I had rebelled against the Danish union-king Christian II. After the rebellion, the Swedish nobility elected Gustav I as their king. During the rebellion, and in particular afterwards, Gustav I put a lot of effort into blackening the name of his enemy (which of course was a mutual habit). His rhetoric against the Danes, that they were wicked and untrustworthy, would colour Swedes' opinion on the Danes for generations to come. Needless to say, the following wars between Sweden and Denmark concerning (today's Sweden southern regions) Scania and the supremacy in the Baltic Sea only added fuel to the fire. For more information and references read e.g. Lars-Olof Larsson, *Gustav Vasa – landsfader eller tyrann?* (Stockholm: Prisma, 2002) or for a general overview Fabian Persson, 'The Kingdom of Sweden the Court of the Vasas and Palatines c. 1523–1751,' in *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture under the Ancien Régime 1500–1750*, ed. by John Adamson (London: Seven Dials, 2000), 274–293.

110. On perspectives how arts, culture was connected to the notion of nobility and royalty read for instance: Claudius Sittig and Christian Wieland, eds., *Die 'Kunst des Adels' in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, Band 144 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2018).

111. The high regnal number was inspired by *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sueonumque regibus* [History of all Gothic and Swedish kings], the work of Johannes Magnus, Sweden's last Catholic Archbishop. On his work read further: Kurt Johannesson and Hans Helander, *Johannes Magnus. Goternas och svearnas historia*, 2 vol. (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhetsakademien, 2018). On the Vasa's rhetorical programme read further: Kurt Johannesson, 'Retorik och propaganda vid det äldre Vasahovet,' *Lychnos*, Årsbok för idé-och lärdomshistoria (1969–1970): 1–158.

112. The term *conspicuous consumption* was introduced by sociologist Thorsten Veblen in *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899). It implies consuming goods as public demonstration of wealth instead of nurturing basic needs.

113. Larsson 2002, 181–187.

114. Michael Roberts, *The Early Vasas: A History of Sweden 1523–1611* (Cambridge: University Press, 1968); Lars-Olof Larsson, *Arvet Efter Gustav Vasa: Berättelsen om fyra kungar och ett rike* (Stockholm: Prisma, 2005).

115. Hildebrand 1874, no. 10–13, 10–12.

116. Gonzalez and Grundberg have analysed Gustav I's funeral with the theory of rite of transition in mind and thereby provided a deeper insight into the complexity of this rite. Read further: Joseph Maximilian Gonzalez, *Reality and representation. Myth, ritual and royal power in Sweden and France, 1560–1610* (University of California, digital dissertation, 1999); Malin Grundberg, *Ceremoniernas makt Maktöverföring och genus i Vasatidens kungliga ceremonier*, Phd. Diss. Stockholm University (Lund: Nordic Academic Press 2005).

117. In general, the visual (and written) sources from the Vasa-court are scarce, which proves difficult in any kind of interpretation of Swedish 16th-century art. A contemporary description of the event see Harald Wideen, 'Gustav Vasas begravning enligt en samtida skildring,' in *Livrustkammaren* (Stockholm: Livrustkammaren, 1937), 149–156; For an ongoing discussion on the so-called Gripsholm paintings, read: Herman Bengtsson, 'Gripsholmstavlorna och den svenska renässansen. Om Lucretia, Paris' Dom, Actaeon och Diana och andra populära motiv vid vasahovet,' *Ikongrafisk Post*, no. 1/2 (2019): 36–77; Bo Vahlne, 'Gripsholmstavlorna åter omtolkade en kommentar till Herman Bengtssons artikel i ICO nr 1/2, 2019,' *Ikongrafisk Post*, no. 3/4

(2019): 48–58; Peter Gillgren, ‘Wendelius teckningarföreställande Esters historia en kommentar till Bengtsson och Vahlne samt en nytolkning av de så kallade Gripsholm-stavlorna,’ *Ikonografisk Post*, no. 1 (2021): 67–83.

118. Hildebrand, following Elias Brenner and Carl Reinhold Berch, is one of those who were convinced that medals were fashioned for the funeral, and he identified four editions, which, according to their visual execution, could have been issued at the occasion. He builds his conclusion of four editions made of fifteen items located in various collections. This number must be regarded with caution because Hildebrand’s references on provenance (that implies entries when Hildebrand mentions that a medal is located in a specific collection) are random and therefore not always trustworthy. By comparing items and collections’ inventories from the time when Hildebrand must have visited these, e.g. Uppsala coin cabinet or the cabinet in Vienna, it becomes apparent that he in some cases mentions items, and other times refrains from doing so. It is difficult to discern what caused these irregularities, but with this in mind, one can still confirm that Hildebrand’s reports on the editions appear constant. Cf. ATA. Bror Emil Hildebrands samlingar, *Biographica* 2. G 4, *Anteckningar på utländska resor. 1839–1871*. [Resa till Köpenhamn, Tyskland, Tjeckoslovakien, Österrike, Schweiz, Frankrike. 1861.]; Hildebrand 1874, 10.

119. Jeannie Labo, ‘Child Monuments in Renaissance Poland’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 37, no. 2 (Summer 2006): 351–74; Minou Schraven, ‘Out of Sight, Yet Still in Place: On the Use of Italian Renaissance Portrait Medals as Building Deposits,’ *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 55/56 (1 April 2009): 182–93; Martin Hirsch, ‘Anlässe und Funktionen,’ in *Wettstreit in Erz Porträtmedaillen der Deutschen Renaissance*, eds. Cupperi et al (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2013), 129–131.

120. For a short introduction on rites of passage: Catherine M. Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1997), 94–102; The concept of *rite de passage* was originally employed by Arnold Van Gennep and is borrowed from anthropology and the study of ritual; Grundberg 2005, 41ff; 54.

121. For an account of the funeral read Grundberg 2005, 51ff; For a comparison to other European countries see for instance: Almut Bues, ‘The Elections, Coronations and Funerals of the Kings of Poland (1572–1764),’ in *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, eds. J.L. Mulryne et. al. eds., 1 vol. (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 375–85; Aleksandra Koutny-Jones, *Visual Cultures of Death in Central Europe: Contemplation and Commemoration in Early Modern Poland-Lithuania* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 121–66.

122. The *arvföreningen* (succession pact) and line of succession had been established at the meeting of the Estates in Västerås in 1544. In case of an absence of male offspring, the Crown would be passed on to Eric’s younger brother, John. Grundberg 2005, 41.

123. Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 1st paperback ed. (University of Michigan Press, 1990), 35–36; Hans Belting, *Spiegel der Welt: die Erfindung des Gemäldes in den Niederlanden*, Orig.-Ausg., 2. Aufl, Beck’sche Reihe 1830 (München: Beck, 2013), 65–73.

124. *King James Bible*, Daniel 4:17.

125. Cf. Peter Gillgren, *Vasarenässansen: Konst och identitet i 1500-talets Sverige* (Stockholm: Signum, 2009), 56ff.

126. On Gustav I cf: Bjarne Ahlström, Yngve Almer, and Bengt Hemmingsson, *Sveriges Mynt 1521–1977: The Coinage of Sweden* (Stockholm: Numismatiska bokförl., 1976), 9–33. In future, Eric XIV will present himself with the same attribute on his medals.

127. Belting 2014, 62.

128. I use the term *universal* in the sense of that the imagery is pan-European. It does not entail some sort of communication without code, but aims to emphasise that coat of arms and emblems were viewed as traditional imagery that perhaps not everyone could read but at least understand its implication. For other examples of Renaissance medals and coat of arms see Scher 1994; Cupperi et al 2013.

129. Eric XIV issued coins carrying this inscription for the first time in connection to his coronation, which is why it could be suggested that the previously analysed medal would have been issued at the coronation as well. This assumption seems unlikely considering other editions mentioned by Hildebrand, which include Gustav I's portrait in combination with one of his mottos *blessed is he who fears the Lord*. Given its visual execution, this particular medal would solely commemorate Gustav I. Only by the act of bestowing this medal to someone, the act of giving it as a gift, the item would establish a connection to Eric XIV. The same applies to the edition carrying the inscription *Deus dat cui vult*. For today's viewer, merely the knowledge that Eric XIV continued to use the motto clarifies his presence in the inscription. At the same time, for the contemporary audience, Eric XIV's role as consignor might have appeared rather evident, not least enhanced by the fact that the medal was distributed by him, a symbolic act. Eric XIV also issued another edition that combined his and his father's portraits. The medal's two sides enabled the link between the departed king and his successor, and by joining its two separate sides into one piece, the rite of transition was expressed in one single object. The synthesis of transition and continuation of the Vasa dynasty was a central visual aspect. On the editions, Hildebrand 1874, no. 10–12, 10–11; 19–20, 15; on Eric XIV's coins Ahlström, Almer and Hemmingsson 1976, 34–40.

130. Boy would have been a well-suited candidate to perform the task of fashioning a medal, given that Boy was the only artist in Eric XIV's service who was acquainted with continental royal art production. Art historian Sixten Strömbom, who meticulously studied Swedish kings' portraits, suggested that Boy was responsible for the medal's visual execution. Sixten Strömbom and Nationalmuseum, eds., *Index över svenska porträtt 1500–1850 i Svenska porträttarkivets samlingar. Bd 3, D. 1: Svenska kungliga porträtt i Svenska porträttarkivets samlingar, Gustav I–Karl XII* (Stockholm: Nordisk rotogravyr, 1943), 29. This assumption is today well rooted and almost considered as a fact. For more information on Boy read: Nils Sundquist, *Willem Boy i Uppsala* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1971).

131. Karl Erik Steneberg, *Gravmonumentet* (Stockholm: Kungliga livrustkammaren, 1938); Gillgren 2009, 115. Bengt Hemmingsson, 'Myntbilder: förlagor och heraldik' and 'Kastpenningar och representationsmynt,' in *Den svenska mynthistorien. Vasatiden 1521–1654*. (Kungl. Myntkabinettet and Svenska Numismatiska Föreningen) 18;101; forthcoming.

132. Belting 2013, 66.

133. Belting 2013, 60.

134. Belting 2013, 55–64; Belting 2014, 68.

135. Alison Wright, 'The Memory of Faces: Representational Choices in Fifteenth-Century Florentine Portraiture', in *Art, Memory, and Family in Renaissance Florence*, eds. Giovanni Ciappelli, Patricia Lee Rubin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 86–88; On Renaissance portraiture and further references read for instance: Nicholas Mann and Luke Syson, eds., *The Image of the Individual* (London: British Museum, 1998).

136. Theories concerning mnemonic techniques were popular during the Renaissance. For further references and an in-depth discussion read: Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: The Bodley Head, 2014); Lina. Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory: Literary and Iconographic Models in the Age of the Printing Press*, Toronto Italian Studies (University of Toronto Press, 2001); Erika Kuijpers et al. eds., *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

137. Already Aristotle discussed portraits and mental pictures in his *De memoria et reminiscencia*. Cf. David Bloch and Aristoteles, *Aristotle on Memory and Recollection: Text, Translation, Interpretation, and Reception in Western Scholasticism*, Philosophia Antiqua, 110 (Leiden ; Brill, 2007).

138. Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, (rev. ed.) translated by John R. Spencer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966) 63.

139. On similar line of thoughts read for instance: Luke Syson, 'Circulating a Likeness? Coin Portraits in Late Fifteenth-Century Italy,' in *The Image of the Individual*, eds. Nicholas Mann and Luke Syson (London: British Museum, 1998) 113–221; Stephen Scher ed., *Perspectives on the Renaissance Medal* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 2000); Pfisterer 2008.

140. Belting 2001, 58.

141. Cf. Minou Schraven, 'Metallic Presence Patrons, Portraits Medals and Building Deposits in Renaissance Italy,' in *The Secret Lives of Artworks: Exploring the Boundaries between Art and Life*, eds. Caroline van Eck, Joris van Gastel and Elsje van Kessel (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2014), 132–51.

142. Pliny the elder (AD 23–AD 79) discusses both gold and silver in his *Historia Naturalis*. Pliny writes about mining and mineralogy, in particular, how the metal can be applied to life and art 'work in gold and silver.' Read further *Natural History*, Book 33, 154–751; see also Peter L. Bernstein, *The Power of Gold: The History of an Obsession* (New York: Wiley, 2000).

143. Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner, and Bernhard Jussen, eds., *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange*, Veröffentlichungen Des Max-Planck-Instituts Für Geschichte 188 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2003), 54.

144. On an overview of Swedish royal funerals and more references read: Lena Rangström, *Dödens Teater: kungliga svenska begravningar genom fem århundraden* (Stockholm: Livrustkammaren, 2015).

145. 'gäll kädier 3, een med itt gulhängiande ther på K. Gustafz conterfeij, och en med itt hengiande ther på H.K.Mtz conterfeij den med itt annat gulsmycke.' Transcribed in Manne Hofrén, *Helgerum i Tjust*, Nordiska Museets handlingar 34, (Stockholm 1949), 29.

146. The duality of the material is nothing unique. For example, jewellery is characterized by its materials preciousness. Read further: Marcia R Pointon, *Brilliant Effects: A Cultural History of Gem Stones and Jewellery* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

147. In former times coins were made of precious metal (currency money).

148. Read further for instance: Georg Simmel, *The philosophy of money*, (London: Routledge, 2004); Silke Meyer, *Money Matters. Umgang mit Geld als soziale und kulturelle Praxis* (Innsbruck: Innsbruck University Press, 2014), 8–35; Geoffrey K. Ingham, *Money: ideology, history, politics*, (Cambridge: Polity, 2020).

149. Ingvar Andersson, 'Charles de Mornay,' in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, Band 11 (Stockholm, 1945), 77.

150. On early modern gift-exchange and more references read for instance: Jan

Hirschbiegel, *Étrennes: Untersuchungen Zum Höfischen Geschenverkehr Im Spätmittelalterlichen Frankreich Zur Zeit König Karls VI. (1380–1422)*, Pariser Historische Studien 60 (München: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2003); Alison V. Scott, *Selfish Gifts: The Politics of Exchange and English Courtly Literature, 1580/1628* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2006); Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

151. Hirschbiegel 2003, 123–32.

152. Algazi, Groebner, and Jussen 2003, 15.

153. Cf. Derrida, 1992; John O'Neill, 'What Gives (with Derrida)?,' *European Journal of Social Theory*, vol. 2, no. 2 (1999): 131–45 (4–5).

154. This aspect relates to the subject of Gnadenpfennige, which I will discuss later in this chapter under 'The painted portrait and the medal: the symbolic communication of wearing a medal' and in chapter 2.

155. Later at his coronation, Eric XIV would even tie stronger connections by knightng several noblemen. These bonds were then manifested through sacred oaths. Read further Sari Nauman, *Ordens kraft*, Phd. Diss. Gothenburg University (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2017).

156. The item displays the same inscription as fig. 5, although differences in the execution of the letters can be seen. This might derive from the fact that the silver medal was been gilded after it was cast, which could result in flawed, in comparison to the golden medal, appearance of the letters and year (which is impossible to distinguish on the gilded medal).

157. In his testament, Gustav I had given directions that he wanted to be buried in Uppsala side-by-side to his former wives Catherine of Sachsen Lauenburg (1513–1535) and Margareta Leijonhuvud (1516–1551). Even if no king before Gustav I had chosen the city as last resting place, the decision had particular significance. Uppsala was the historical and religious centre of the realm, and the cathedral was the country's foremost sanctuary as it harboured the shrine of Sweden's patron saint Eric, fittingly for Gustav I's purposes situated in the formerly most important chapel, the chapel dedicated to Virgin Mary's. The chapel, now converted to his funeral chapel, was positioned directly behind the altar and choir and had without doubt a most prestigious appeal. Cf. Rangström 2015, 19.

158. Grundberg 2005, 87–93; Nauman 2017, 53.

159. UUB. Palmskiöld 27. fol. 95ff; UUB E 276. *Schwedische Reise zur Konn: Kronung, so gethan durch den Pomerischen Legaten Herrn Heinrich Norman*. Simon Fischer's original manuscript located at KB Rålamb. Fol. No. 052. D.539. Placed there in 1694 by Charles XI. A Swedish translation was published 'Henrik Normans resa till Erik XIV:s kröning 1561,' *Historisk Tidskrift*, vol. 5, (Stockholm: Historiska föreningen, 1885): 259–296; an English translation (from the Swedish article?) can be read in Gonzalez (1999) Appendix 2, 411–428. Fischer does not record the coronation ritual, instead he focuses on more interesting incidents with significance to the Dukes of Pomerania.

160. UUB. E 276.

161. RA. Riksregistratur 1561 (Register of items to be ordered); On Eric XIV's coronation mantle and his regalia see: Stig Fogelmark, *Skattkammaren: rikets regalier och dyrbarheter* (Stockholm: Skattkammaren, Husgerådskammaren, 1987); Grundberg 2005, 76–77.

162. For a description of the coronation read e.g. Grundberg 2005, 69ff; Larsson 2005, 21–29.

163. Since Gustav I's coronation in 1528 still exhibited patterns of a medieval ceremonial, Eric XIV needed to modernise the ceremonial for his needs. Again, continental models were consulted, and confessional differences were taken into consideration, as the Catholic coronation ritual would differ from a Reformed ritual. (E.g. visible at Sigismund's coronation in Uppsala where his wife, Anna of Habsburg, refrained from being anointed.) So far, only the Danish Kings Christian III (in 1537) and Frederick II (in 1559), as well as the English Queen Elizabeth I (in 1559), had been crowned in accordance with Protestant rites, and Eric XIV most likely sought these as inspiration. Considering Eric XIV's marriage plans, it might have been a political decision to follow the English model. Grundberg 2005, 71; Hanna Dobner, 'Briefwechsel zwischen Erzherzogin Maria von Innerösterreich und ihrer Tochter Anna, Königin von Polen und Schweden, während ihres Aufenthaltes in Schweden 1593/1594 – Historische Analyse und Edition' (Master Thesis, University of Vienna, 2015), 34.

164. RA. Räntekammarböcker 1526–1630, vol. 39 (1561–1563), year 1561, fol. 297. *Penningar* correspond to the denomination of *mark*. In addition to the *penningar*, *daler* were distributed too, but it is uncertain which type were issued, or who the recipients were. 'Thenn 29 Juny Offradhe Kong Matth udi Egen Kong: persone – 250 Daler. Same dagh bleff utkastatt udi Kong Mattz Cröningh på wegen ifrå Kirkenn och till Slottet udi Upsale – 600 penningar.' The 600 coins represent the denomination of *mark*. McKeown provides a thorough analysis on the *mark* and their emblematic motif. Simon McKeown, 'Early Signs of Madness? Erik XIV of Sweden and his Emblems of Legitimation,' in *Emblematik im Ostseeraum. Emblems around the Baltic Ausgewählte Beiträge zur 10. Internationalen Tagung der Society for Emblem Studies in Kiel, 27. Juli bis 1. August 2014*, Mundus Symbolicus 3, eds. Ingrid Höpel and Lars Olof Larsson (Kiel: Verlag Ludwig, 2016), 19–28.

165. RA. Räntekammarböcker 1526–1630, vol. 39 (1561–1563), year 1561, fol. 297.

166. For instance in Bohemia, read further: Benita Berning, „Nach Altem Löblichen Gebrauch“: *Die Böhmisches Königskrönungen Der Frühen Neuzeit (1526–1743)* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag Köln, 2008), 209–24.; On largesse money read: Ernst Nathorst-Böös, 'Auswurfmünzen - Noch Einmal', in *Lagom: Festschrift für Peter Berghaus zum 60. Geburtstag am 20. November 1979*, eds. Thomas Fischer und Peter Ilisch (Vereins der Münzfreunde für Westfalen 1981), 269–275; Heinz Durchhardt, 'Münzwurf und Krönungsmünze', in *Iconologica Sacra. Mythos, Bildkunst und Dichtung in der Religions- und Sozialgeschichte Alteuropas. Festschrift für Karl Hauck zum 75. Geburtstag*, eds. Hagen Keller and Nikolaus Staubach Arbeiten zur Frühmittelalterforschung 23 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1994), 625–631.

167. Hildebrand 1874, no. 2, 22; Lars O. Lagerqvist and Lars-Ingvar Jönson, 'Kastpenningen till Erik XIV:s Kröning 1561,' *Myntkontakt*, 5 (1977): 6–7. The remaining item is located at the royal coin cabinet in Stockholm.

168. RA. Kungliga arkiv, Konung Karl IX, K 17 (Berättelse om Karl IX:s kröning 1607) 19 March, 'På kröningshögtidernas femte dag uppsatte konungen en hop sköna kredens, pärlkransar, guldringar, guld om 16 daler vart stycke [4 caroliner i guld], 5 daler stycken [20 mark i silver] en stor hop, därom adeln och ridderskapen skulle ränna ring.' I am thankful to Bengt Hemminsson for sharing this source with me.

169. Hildebrand 1874, 21–28; 33–44.

170. Hildebrand 1874, no. 4, 23. It also resembles the so-called *ungerska gyllen*, gold coins that Eric XIV issued in 1568, although, the coins were smaller, had the year in-

icated on the obverse and his motto was written in a circle along the rim and not included in the image. Cf. Ahlström, Almer and Hemmingsson 1976, 34.

171. In comparison, on the *penningar* the king wears a crown. The crown was specially ordered for his coronation and it marks another of Eric XIV's many contributions to Swedish royal culture. The design of the crown is a declaration of independence. Previously kings had worn open crowns, but this has now four arches, which point to a king's divine right to rule.

172. The image was reused on coins as well and the landscape's origin has stirred some speculations over the years. Suggestions have been made that the landscape shows Stockholm's archipelago as well as Älvsborg. Read e.g. Lars-Ingvar Jönson and Lars O. Lagerqvist, *Erik XIV:s mynt med 'göteborgsmotiv'* (Göteborg: Numismatiska Litteratursällskapet, 1975).

173. To mediate the king's motto on coronations coins was a common feature employed by other European rulers as well. E.g. in Bohemia, Berning 2008, 212.

174. In comparison, the *penningar* depict a globe, the representation of the earth as a celestial body.

175. Emblematic and medal art have been closely entwined since the early stages of medal's history. Especially emblems multifunctionality interacts well with medals' visual execution. Medals connection to emblems will be touched upon later on in the analysis. For the history on emblems and further references read for instance: Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, *Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1967); John Manning, *The Emblem* (London: Reaktion, 2002); Carsten-Peter Warncke, *Symbol, Emblem, Allegorie* (Köln: Deubner Verlag für Kunst, 2005).

176. Or *inscriptio, pictura, subscriptio*. In the 16th century, emblems were mostly not that cryptic as they would be in during the 17th century. Baroque emblems correspond to the period's inclination for riddles and hidden clues. On a short introduction to Renaissance hieroglyphs and emblems read e.g. Frank Büttner and Andrea Gott dang, *Einführung in die Ikonographie Wege zur Deutung von Bildinhalten*, 2nd edition (München: CH Beck, 2009), 132–142.

177. Grundberg emphasises on the different social classes addressed at the coronation festivities, and according to her, the lower classes were mostly concerned with the roasted oxen and wine. Grundberg 2005, 86–87.

178. E.g. Hildebrand 1874, no.6, 84; no. 2–4, 102–103; Similar observations made by Berning on Bohemian coronation medals. Berning 2008, 216.

179. Manning 2002, 16; Frank Büttner and Andrea Gott dang 2019, 137–42.

180. McKeown 2016, 22. McKeown refers to the coins tossed to the public (with the same image).

181. On Eric XIV's education read further. Kurt Johannesson, 'Retorik och propaganda vid det äldre Vasahovet,' *Lychnos* (1969/70): 14ff.

182. On the emblem see: Henkel and Schöne 1967, 696. The *Emblematum centuria secunda* from 1613 is a follow up to an earlier book by Rollenhagen from 1611 which was called *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum*. The 1613 book has different content, although the format is the same as the earlier book. I am grateful to Simon McKeown for helping me untangle the differences between the two emblem books. McKeown also found 'Erik XIV's' emblem in *Symbola divina et humana* by Jacobus Typotius (1603); McKeown 2016, 24–25.

183. Probably the only available emblem book might have been Alciato's *Emblema-*

tum liber (1531) or Piero Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* (1556). McKeown also emphasises the possibility that Eric XIV might be the inventor of the *impresa*. McKeown 2016, 24.

184. Beurraeus had studied in Paris and moved to Sweden in 1543 where he got employed as teacher and physician by Gustav I. He moved in the ranks and became diplomat, and was the Swedish representative in England between 1558 to 1561. He was knighted at Eric XIV's coronation and became counsellor the year after. Beurraeus was killed in 1567 when Eric XIV suffered from a psychotic episode.

185. I am grateful to Matthew Norris for pointing me to Beurraeus and his possible participation in the design of the medal.

186. Andreas Friedrich, *Emblemata nova, das ist, New Bilderbuch [...]*, printed by Jacobus de Zetter in Frankfurt 1617, 5.

187. McKeown 2016, 22

188. The thought of communication with a ritual perspective depends on the research of James Carey. Read further James W. Carey, *Communication as culture: Essays on media and society* (New York: Routledge, 2009 [1989]), 15.

189. Plato (BC 427/428– BC 448–447) *Republic* IV, 426–435.

190. Werner Welzig, ed. *Erasmus von Rotterdam, Ausgewählte Schriften*, vol. 5, transl. Gertraud Christian, (Darmstadt: WBG, 2006 [1995]); Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought Vol. 1 The Renaissance* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 88–10; Kurt Johannesson, 'The Portrait of the Prince as a Rhetorical Genre', in *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation, The Origins of the Modern State in Europe, 13th–18th Centuries*, ed. Allan Ellenius (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.), 11–36.

191. The concept of Erasmus' virtues of *pietas, prudentia, temperatia, fortitudio* and *liberalitas* were adapted in various ways, particularly in panegyric poetry. E.g. a poem written by Ericus Jacobi Skinnerus for John III's and Gunilla Bielke's wedding in 1585. Cf. Peter Sjökvist, *The Early Latin Poetry of Sylvester Johannis Phrygius*, Studia Latina Upsaliensia 31, PhD Diss. Uppsala University (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2007), 189; 289.

192. Grundberg 2005, 86; 97.

193. UUB, Palmskiöld 27, fol. 129 (on the coins tossed after the coronation). In addition, Eric XIV also offered 150 daler to the church, probably as gratitude and humility to God. RA. Kungliga arkiv, Konung Erik XIV, K13, (Berättelse om Erik XIV:s kröning och högtidligheterna dervid fol. 5) 'Kaar fullt med Tyska daler, nemligen 150' [bildid: A0073415_00102].

194. Luke Lavan, *Public Space in the Late Antique City. Part 1: Streets, Processions, Fora, Agorai, Macella, Shops*. (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2020), 168.

195. Julius Bernhard von Rohr, *Einleitung Zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft Der Grossen Herren*, Neudruck der Ausgabe 1773, ed. Monika Schlechte (Weinheim: VCH, 1990), 604. 'und werffen das Geld in grosser Menge aus, um das Volck in Freude zu setzen, und zur Liebe gegen ihren neuen Landes=Herren anzureizen, auch zu erweisen, daß der Regent gutthätig und milde sey.'

196. Other examples are the English and Danish court, but also several German duchies and kingdoms. Read for instance on the guests mentioned in 'Henrik Normans resa till Erik XIV:s kröning 1561,' *Historisk Tidskrift*, vol. 5 (Stockholm: Historiska föreningen, 1885).

197. For an exhaustive overview on sovereign gifts in early modern England read: Heal 2014, 149–179.

198. 'Henrik Normans resa till Erik XIV:s kröning 1561,' *Historisk Tidskrift*, vol. 5

(Stockholm: Historiska föreningen, 1885): 269.

199. Similar to be noticed in Bohemia e.g. Berning 2008, 74; Heal 2014, 89; 172.

200. RA. Kungliga arkiv, Konung Erik XIV, K13. The date of the entry 20 August 1561, but was probably written after the actual exchange took place. Some noblemen already had left Stockholm. For example, Henry Norman, the Pommerian legate, of whom we know through his secretary Simon Fischer, that the delegation had sailed away on 15 August. [bildid: A0073415_00043]; UUB E276, 79.

201. It would be common that diplomats received gifts at their departure. Cf. Heal 2014, 172–173.

202. Grundberg 2005, 85.

203. Winkler presents similar tendencies while describing medal gifts from the Elector of Saxony. On his journey to Denmark in 1572, he bestowed 15 medals and chains, but with varying value corresponding to different ranks of the recipients. Hubert Winkler, *Bildnis und Gebrauch: Zum Umgang mit dem fürstlichen Bildnis in der Frühen Neuzeit: Vermählungen, Gesandtschaftswesen, Spanischer Erbfolgekrieg*, PhD Diss University of Vienna, (Wien: VWGÖ, 1993), 197; Gillgren also mentions the pecuniary value of medals. Gillgren 2009, 64.

204. UUB E293: Hertig Johans lösören 1563–1567, fol. 32.

205. Tracey A. Sowerby, ‘“A Memorial and a Pledge of Faith”: Portraiture and Early Modern Diplomatic Culture,’ *The English Historical Review*, 129, no. 537 (1 April 2014): 296–331, here 317–18. ‘In 1573 Henry Horne returned from Saxony wearing a portrait medal of the duke; Stephen Lesieur received Christian IV’s portrait during his mission to Denmark in 1599; and Robert Cecil was given a jewel containing Henry IV’s portrait at the conclusion of his 1598 embassy.’

206. Winkler 1993, 195.

207. Winkler 1993, 19–25.

208. Blass-Simmen 2013, 29.

209. Shortly after that, he became a council to Lars Flemming, steward of Reval, and later Naval Admiral. For more information read Bertil Broomé, ‘Klas Kristersson (Horn),’ in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, Band 19 (1971–1973), 355.

210. The portrait of Klas Kristersson Horn, oil on canvas, dates from the 17th century but appears to be a copy from an earlier painting, which today is lost. Since reproducing portraits was a common habit, Horn’s portrait exists in at least two executions, the time aspect might not be a troublesome hindrance in connection to this analysis.

211. For an introduction to 16th century clothing and jewellery presented on portraits read for instance: Jutta Zander-Seidel, ‘Zeichen der Distinktion: Kleidung und Schmuck,’ in *Renaissance Barock Aufklärung Kunst Und Kultur Vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, eds. Daniel Hess and Dagmar Hirschfelder (Nürnberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 2010).

212. Cf. Portrait of Nils Sture described in Gillgren 2009, 20–21 and depicted on 33.

213. Gillgren also emphasises noblemen’s fondness to depict themselves wearing medals. Gillgren 2009, 68–69.

214. Cf. Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

215. The equestrian portrait of Charles V is located at the Museo del Prado, Madrid.

216. Robert I. Frost, *The Northern Wars: War, State and Society in Northeastern Europe, 1558–1721* (Harlow: Longman, 2000); Larsson 2005, 77–106.

217. Eric XIV had a rather infected relationship to the Danes, and their humiliation certainly gave reason to gratify the person who was responsible for it. Not least due to Gustav I's black painting of the Danes after the revolt, the majority of Swedes detested the Danes, and vice versa. On the controversies on the three crowns, which would become the Swedish coat of arms read e.g. Hemmingsson, 13.6 Trekronorstvisten, forthcoming, 105–107.

218. 'med Triumph och Selenitet undfängen uti Stockholm och af Konung Eric ståtelligen begåfwad, och de Höfwidsmän, Skeppare, Archelimästare och andra som i denna resa manligen och ärligen bestådt hade, bekommo och tillbörlige föräringar uti guldädior, hals och armringar af Sölf.' Erik Jöransson Tegel, *Konung Eric's Den XIV: des Historia*, 1751, 176.

219. RA. Räntekammarböcker 1526–1630, vol. 67 (1607–1608) I, fol. 15 and 56.

220. Golden rings, spears or breastplates (so called *phalerae*) were common gifts given to the military in Ancient Rome. On such decorations read e.g. Kate Gilliver, 'Display in Roman Warfare: The Appearance of Armies and Individuals on the Battlefield,' *War in History* 14, no. 1 (2007): 17f.

221. Winkler 1993, 7.

222. For an overview on the development of the German Gnadenpfennig read e.g. Tassilo Hoffmann, *Die Gnadenpfennige und Schaugroschen des Pommerschen Herzogshauses*, (Stettin, 1933); Paul Grotemeyer, *Da Ich Het Die Gestalt: Deutsche Bildnismedaillen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, (München: Germanischen National-Museums Nürnberg 1957), 37–39; August Fink, 'Die Gnadenpfennige Herzog Augusts d.J. von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel,' *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch* 38 (1957): 61–74; Eduard Holzmair, 'Die Österreichische Gnadenmedaille und ihre Nachfolger,' *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, no. 81 (1965): 21–66; Lore Börner, *Deutsche Medaillenkleinode des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Würzburg; Edition Popp, 1981); Pfisterer 2008, 239; Beatrice Schärli, 'Gnadenpfennige und Ehrenketten: Beispiele aus dem Gebiet der heutigen Schweiz' in *XII. Numismatischer Kongreß Berlin 1997. Akten - Proceedings - Actes*, eds. Bernd Kluge and Bernhard Weissner (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2000), 1426–1441.

223. Scher 1994; Pfisterer 2008, 239.

224. Gillgren 2009, 69.

225. Hildebrand 1874, 15; 22–23.

226. Larsson 2005, 127ff.

227. Larsson 2005, 128–136.

228. For a more detailed overview concerning this period read: Larsson 2005, 127–161.

229. Larsson 2005, 191.

230. The king's visual rhetoric was dependent on the predecessor's image and its informative value. The fact that the predecessor's coins were still circulating when the new king was crowned, points to the need to validate the previous king. Eric XIV's, as well as Gustav I's coins were listed amongst John III's denominations. E.g. RA. Räntekammarböcker. 1526–1630 vol. 48 (1569–1573) I, fol. 2; See financial records of 1570–1573.

231. Larsson 2005, 155ff.

232. Examples of writings on Eric XIV: Carl Grimberg, *Svenska folkets underbara öden. 5: Erik XIV och Johan III* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1917); Viktor Wigert, *Erik XIV: hans sinnessjukdom: historisk-psykiatrisk studie* (Stockholm: Geber, 1920); Larsson 2005, 133ff; Bo Eriksson, *Sturarna: makten, morden, missdåden* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 2017).

233. John III was Eric XIV's younger half-brother and son of Gustav I and his second wife Margareta Eriksdotter Leijonhufvud (1516–1551). Catherine Jagiellon was the daughter of Sigismund the Old (1467–1548), king of Poland and Bona Sforza of Milan (1494–1557). When John III and Catherine married in 1562, it caused the final break between the already hostile Vasa brothers. John III and Sigismund II Augustus (1520–1572), now king of Poland and Catherine's brother, had reached an agreement without Eric XIV's knowledge, in addition to the fact that Sweden and Poland currently waged war against each other. Subsequently, Eric XIV had his brother charged for treason, and he and his wife were imprisoned in castle Gripsholm. There they stayed until 1567, when they were freed after the Sture murders. While John III and Catherine were incarcerated, Eric XIV even considered to hand her over to the Russian Czar Ivan IV Vasilyevich, known as Ivan the Terrible (1530–1584). Read e.g. Hans Norman, 'Erik XIV:s underhandlingar med Ivan IV om Katarina Jagellonica,' *Historisk Tidskrift*, vol. 104 (Stockholm: Historiska föreningen, 1984): 87–98; On John III read e.g. Lars Ericson Wolke, *Johan III: En Biografi* (Lund: Historiska media, 2004); On Catherine Jagiellon read e.g. Eva Mattsson, *Furstinnan: En Biografi om Drottning Katarina Jagellonica* (Vadstena: Bring to Life, 2018); Natalia Nowakowska, *Remembering the Jagiellonians* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019).

234. RA. Räntekammarböcker 1526–1630, vol. 48 (1569–1673)VIII, fol. 3rv and fol. 10v. Boy appears in John III's financial records (e.g. 1570–1571).

235. Lina Bolzoni, 'Double-Sided Portraits Literary Models, Modes of Perception between Mind and Body,' in *The Secret Lives of Artworks: Exploring the Boundaries between Art and Life*, eds. Caroline van Eck, Joris van Gastel and Elsie van Kessel, (Leiden: Leiden University Press 2014), 75–94.

236. Notably, there exist no medals with John III and his second wife Gunilla Bielke. For a short overview on John III's medals read: Strömbom 1943, 79–81.

237. For cultural transfer through marriages read for instance: Joan-Lluís Palos and Magdalena S. Sánchez, *Early Modern Dynastic Marriages and Cultural Transfer* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016); Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Adam Morton, *Queens Consort, Cultural Transfer and European Politics, C. 1500–1800* (London: Routledge, 2017).

238. For an overview of early modern court politics and the role of a queen consort read for instance: A. G. Dickens, ed., *The Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage and Royalty, 1400–1800* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977); Katherine Crawford, *Perilous Performances: Gender and Regency in Early Modern France*, Harvard Historical Studies 145 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004); Clarissa Campbell Orr, *Queen-ship in Europe 1660–1815: The Role of the Consort* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). For Catherine's art collection, which she brought from Poland to Sweden: Cf. Almut Bues, 'Art Collections as Dynastic Tools: The Jagiellonian Princesses Katarzyna, Queen of Sweden, and Zofia, Duchess of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel,' in *Queens Consort, Cultural Transfer and European Politics, C. 1500–1800*, eds. Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Adam Morton (London: Routledge, 2017), 15–36.

239. Wars concerning religious confession and the Swedish throne were fought between Sigismund, king of Poland, son of Catherine and John III, and king of Sweden 1592–1599, and his uncle Charles IX and his cousin Gustavus Adolphus, cf. Larsson 2005, 372ff.

240. Catherine's political involvement is an intriguing topic, but it exceeds the scope of this study. For more information and references read for instance: Susanna Niiranen, 'Catherine Jagiellon, Queen Consort of Sweden: Counselling between the Catholic

Jagiellons and the Lutheran Vasas,' in *Queenship and Counsel in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Helen Matheson-Pollock, Joanne Paul and Catherine Fletcher (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 83–110.

241. On her contacts e.g. Roland Herbert Bainton, *Women of the Reformation: From Spain to Scandinavia* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1977), 183–205; on Catherine's inheritance: Ericson Wolke 2004, 222.

242. Hildebrand 1874, no.1–2, 327–328. I discuss one of Cecilia's medals in chapter IV.

243. Hildebrand counts six editions, Berch five, Brenner calculates only two, and lastly Keder's edition of Brenner's book presents three. Hildebrand 1874, no. 7–11, 36–39; Brenner 1691, Brenner and Keder 1731, 88ff.

244. Joyce de Vries, 'Caterina Sforza's Portrait Medals: Power, Gender, and Representation in the Italian Renaissance Court,' *Woman's Art Journal*, vol 24, no. 1 (2003): 26–27.

245. UUB, Z5; Mieczysław Morka, 'The Beginnings of Medallistic Art in Poland during the times of Zygmunt I and Bona Sforza,' *Artibus et Historiae*, vol. 29, no. 58 (2008): 65–87.

246. RA. Strödda kamerala handlingar, 53, 1542–1574, (Kungl. Arkiv, Handlingar rörande Vasakonungarnas silverkammare I.); 'Till K:M: 13 Julij medh her And[er]s Ket skenkes fru Sophia her Ponti / Controfi på en seit K:M: peå annan Wår N: drottningh med Compariment omkring dertill aff myntmestarens egne diamater 8, rubiner affilade 32.' [bildid: A0071063_00164].

247. Sophia was one of John III's illegitimate children with Karin Hansdotter. The name Gyllenhielm was given to all children of the Vasa family who were born out of wedlock. That implies children of John III, Charles IX, Duke Magnus (youngest brother of Erik, John and Charles) and Duke Charles Philip (legitimate son of Charles IX). The Gyllenhielms' were all officially acknowledged, had certain right to inheritance (except for the crown) and were wedded into other noble families.

248. On Ponti and Gyllenhielm read further: Larsson 2005, 208–211.

249. RA. Strödda kamerala handlingar, 53, 1542–1574, (Kungl. Arkiv, Handlingar rörande Vasakonungarnas silverkammare I.) The whole folio concerns orders from 1573 to 1585. [bildid: A0071063_00164]

250. RA. Strödda kamerala handlingar, 53, 1542–1574, (Kungl. Arkiv, Handlingar rörande Vasakonungarnas silverkammare I.) [bildid: A0071063_00164] I am grateful to Bengt Hemmingsson for his help interpreting the denominations and price of the medal. The mint master by that time was the goldsmith Gilius Coyet the Elder, who seems to have fashioned the majority of the king's medals. He entered John III's service in 1570 and continued to appear in the records after that. Erik Andrén, *Svenskt Silver-smide: Guld- och Silverstämplar 1520–1850* (Stockholm: Nordiska museets förl., 2000), 52.

251. Lagerkvist 2002, 63.

252. Diana Scarisbrick describes similiary decorated medals as 'German lands contribution to the history of Renaissance jewellery.' Diana Scarisbrick, *Portrait Jewels: Opulence and Intimacy from the Medici to the Romanovs* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2011), 40.

253. RA. Kungliga arkiv, Svenska drottningar under 1500-talet K 73 [bildid: A0073476_00295].

254. Likewise, Princess Cecilia Vasa owned medals fashioned as jewellery. See Fridolf

Ödberg, *Om Prinsessan Cecilia Wasa, Markgrefvinnan Af Baden-Rodemachern: Anteckningar* (Stockholm, 1896), 18; 26; 40.

255. RA. Strödda kamerala handlingar, 54, 1574–1620 (Kungl. Arkiv, Handlingar rörande Vasakonungarnas silverkammare II.) [bildid: A0071064_00022].

256. Cf. Syson 1998; Pfisterer 2008.

257. A similar line of thought can be found in Rebecca M. Howard, 'The sitter's impression: Memory and early modern portrait medallions,' *Journal of Material Culture*, vol. 24, no. 3 (2019): 293–312, in particular 306.

258. John Shannon Hendrix and Charles H. Carman, eds., *Renaissance Theories of Vision* (Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2010); François. Quiviger, *The Sensory World of Italian Renaissance Art* (London: Reaktion, 2010).

259. Adrian W. B. Randolph, *Touching Objects: Intimate Experiences of Italian Fifteenth-Century Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 104. Also, a central aspect of medieval art cf. Susan Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002).

260. The book *Scuola perfetta* was printed several times and in different versions.

261. Sophia's probate inventory, a gold medal that depicted John III was listed, which very well could have been the item discussed here. *DelaGardiska Archivet eller Handlingar ur Greff. DelaGardiska Bibliotheket på Löberöd*, Del 4, ed. Peter Wieselgren (Lund 1832), 228.

262. Read further, Larsson 2005, 350ff; Erik Petersson, *Den skoninglöse: en biografi över Karl IX* (Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 2008).

263. For more information on Charles' coins and medals read: Hans Menzinsky, *En studie av Karl IX:s mynthistoria: med tillägg av Interregnum 1593, kung Sigismunds myntning i Sverige och Reval samt hans samtida medaljer 1594–1599. D.1–3* (Kivik: Hans Menzinsky, 2007).

264. RA. Hertig Karls registratur, volym 21, 1595, fol. 201r. Hertig Karl to Håkan Larsson 30/6 1595 [bildid: A0038488_00198] I am grateful to Bengt Hemmingsson for pointing me to this letter.

265. RA. Hertig Karls registratur, volym 21, 1595, fol. 201r. Hertig Karl to Håkan Larsson 30/6 1595 [bildid: A0038488_00198]

266. Strömbom's discussion and attribution on Charles' medals: Strömbom 1943, 124–28.

267. Lars O. Lagerqvist made the suggestion that goldsmith Antony Grooth the Elder modelled the original die for the medal in *Quadra: klenoder i Kungl. Myntkabinettet: treasures in the Royal Coin Cabinet*, eds. Cia Wedin and Jan-Eve Olsson, transl. by Claes Nordenskiöld (Stockholm: Kungl. Myntkabinettet, 1998), 92–94; on Grooth see Andrén 2000, 56.

268. This particular interpretation concerns a medal in the Uppsala University Coin Cabinet, inv. 206621. 'Isos' could also indicate to the concept of Trinity and the equality of God and Christ. On 'isos' read further: Gerhard Kittel, Gerhard Friedrich, and Geoffrey William Bromiley, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985), 371.

269. For Bureus involvement in the design of coins read: Bengt Hemmingsson, 'Förlageteckningar till svenska mynt från 1600-talet,' *Svensk Numismatisk Tidskrift*, 2 (1995): 28–34; Bengt Hemmingsson, 'Johannes Bureus som förlagetecknare än en gång,' *Svensk Numismatisk Tidskrift*, 6 (1995): 154–155; For further references and an extensive overview regarding Bureus' work as an antiquarian read: Matthew Norris, *A Pilgrimage to the Past: Johannes Bureus and the Rise of Swedish Antiquarian Scholarship*,

1600–1650, PhD Diss. Lund university (Lund: Faculties of Humanities and Theology, Department of the History of Ideas, 2016).

270. Belting 2014, 81.

271. Strömbom 1943, 119.

272. Strömbom 1943, 119.

273. According to Sowerby, numerous Elizabethan diplomats received portrait gifts from their royal hosts, painted portraits but also medals. She provides various examples of ambassadors who returned home wearing medals. Sowerby 2014, 317–318.

274. The account has been translated and published in: Arnold Esch, 'Der König beim Betrachten einer Medaille,' *Westfalia Numismatica* (2001): 101–3; Corresponding transcribed letters: Francesco Senatore and Mario DelTreppo, eds., *Dispacci sforzeschi da Napoli. 1: 1444–2 luglio 1458*, Fonti per la storia di Napoli aragonese 1, Istituto Italiano per gli studi filosofico (Naples: Carlone Editore 1997), 447–48.

275. Arne R. Flaten, 'Identity and the display of medaglie in Renaissance and Baroque Europe,' *Word & Image*, vol. 19, no. 1–2 (January 2003): 59–73; Read further on art as social experience e.g. Barbara Furlotti, 'The Performance of Displaying Gesture, Behaviour and Art in Early Modern Italy,' *Journal of the History of Collections* 27, no. 1 (March 2015): 1–13.

276. On the Thirty Year's War and more references read for example: Ronald G. Asch, *The Thirty Years War: the Holy Roman Empire and Europe, 1618–1648* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997); Johannes Arndt, *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg: 1618–1648*, 3rd edition, (Stuttgart: Reclam 2009); Peter H. Wilson, *The Thirty Years War: Europe's tragedy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009); Peter Schröder and Olaf Asbach, *The Ashgate research companion to the Thirty Years' War* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014). For Sweden's involvement in the Thirty Years War and more references read: Erik Ringmar, *Identity, Interest and Action: A Cultural Explanation of Sweden's Intervention in the Thirty Years War* (Cambridge University Press, 2007).

277. Niccolò Machiavelli, *The prince*, transl. Peter Bonadella, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Erica Brenner, *Machiavelli's Prince: A New Reading* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 263ff;

278. Johannes Müller, 'Globalizing the Thirty Years War: Early German Newspapers and Their Geopolitical Perspective on the Atlantic World,' *German History* 38, no. 4 (31 December 2020): 550–67; Esther-Beate Körber, 'Der Dreißigjährige Krieg als europäisches Medienereignis,' in: *Europäische Geschichte Online (EGO)*, hg. vom Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte (IEG), Mainz 2015-09-01. URL: <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/koerbere-2015-de> URN: urn:nbn:de:0159-2015083106 (2021-07-11).

279. On Gustavus Adolphus appearance in pamphlets read: John Roger Paas, 'The Changing Image of Gustavus Adolphus on German Broadsheets, 1630–3,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 59 (1996): 204–244; Tobias Hämmerle, 'Die Zeitgenössische Flugblatt-Propaganda zu Gustav Adolf von Schweden (1630–1635). Eine Auswertung der einschlägigen Sammlung der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Stockholm,' Master Thesis, University of Vienna, 2016; Jan Hillgaertner, 'The king is dead. German broadsheets printed on the death of Gustavus Adolphus and Charles I,' in *Broadsheets Single-Sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print*, ed. Andrew Pettegree, Library of the Written Word 60 (Brill, 2017), 295–315; Kevin Chovanec, 'Gustavus Adolphus, Circulation, and Liberty as a Heroic Virtue,' in *Pan-Protestant Heroism in Early Modern Europe*, by Kevin Chovanec (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020), 209–59; on Gustavus Adolphus in other visual media compare: *Katalog över Gustav II Adolfs*

utställningen i Nordiska Museets Hall (Stockholm: Nordiska museet, 1932).

280. On the connection between the two types of media and how printed sheets were used as model for medals' design read e.g. Harald Wideen, 'Några Porträtt-medaljer över Gustav II Adolf och deras grafiska förlagor,' *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift/Journal of Art History* 21, no. 1-4 (January 1952): 85-99.

281. The interaction between printed sheet and medals produced during the Thirty Year's War has so far not been analysed and would be an excellent topic for forthcoming research.

282. Cf. Lars Berggren, 'Gustav II Adolfs många skepnader: Miles Christi, lejonkung, romersk kejsare & landsfader,' *Ikonomographisk Post*, no. 2 (2015): 66-90; Tobias E. Hämmerle, 'Den samtida bilden av Gustav II Adolf i illustrerade flygblad 1630-1648/50,' *Biblis*, no. 82 (2018): 3-30.

283. For more information on Wallenstein and Tilly see e.g. Robert Rebitsch, *Wallenstein: Biografie eines Machtmenschen* (Wien: Böhlau, 2010); Marcus Junkelmann, *Tilly: der katholische Feldherr*, *Kleine bayerische Biografien* (Regensburg: Pustet, 2011).

284. *Rikskanslern Axel Oxenstiernas skrifter*, Bd 6, *Historiska och polistiska skrifter* (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 1888) 524; 528; Sixten Strömbom, *Iconographia Gustavi Adolphi: Gustav II Adolf: Samtida Porträtt* (Stockholm: Nord. rotogravyr, 1932), 19; 21.

285. For a general overview on the visual culture surrounding Gustavus Adolphus: Strömbom 1932; Allan Ellenius, 'Gustav Adolf i Bildkonsten: Från Miles Christianus till Nationell Frihetssymbol', in *Gustav II Adolf: 350 År Efter Lützen*, ed. Gudrun Ekstrand and Katarina af Sillén (Stockholm: Livrustkammaren, 1982), 91-111; On the reception read for instance: Simon McKeown, 'The Reception of Gustavus Adolphus on English Literary Culture: The Case of George Tooke,' *Renaissance Studies* 23, no. 2, Reading and writing the Swedish Renaissance (April 2009): 200-220.

286. E.g. Strömbom 1932, no. 127-150; Hildebrand 1874, 185-209; Hämmerle 2018.

287. Grundberg 2005, 147-165; Rangström 2015, 54-63; On the variety of commemorative coins produced in Stockholm, Elbfas, Wolgast, and Nurnberg read further: Lars O. Lagerqvist, 'Gustav Adolfs likfärdsmynt från Wolgast,' *Myntkontakt*, 1 (February 1981): 4-8; Lars O. Lagerqvist, 'Gustav Adolfs likfärdsmynt från Wolgast,' *Myntkontakt*, 2 (March 1981): 28-34; Bengt Hemmingsson, 'Gustav II Adolfs begravningsmynt,' *Myntkontakt*, 7 (October 1979): 132-134; Hemmingsson, forthcoming, 25-27.

288. Gabriel Oxenstierna to his brother Axel Oxenstierna on 5 June 1633 printed in Johan Grönstedt, *Konung Gustaf II Adolfs död och likbegängelse* (Stockholm: Brobergs bok- & accidentstryckeri, 1912), 38-39.

289. Rangström 2015, 63-66.

290. Gustavus Adolphus bought the warhorse Streiff from the officer Johan Streiff von Lauenstein for 1000 *riksdaler* and rode it at the battle of Lützen. The horse survived and participated in the funeral procession, but died later in Wolgast in 1633. The horse was stuffed, preserved and brought to Sweden. Today it is exhibited at Livrustkammaren in Stockholm and still contributes to the narrative of the Lützen battle and the king's death. <https://livrustkammaren.se/start/kunglig-historia/kungliga-berattelser/kungliga-vagnar-och-hastar/hastarnas-hast/> (2021-07-11).

291. Lagerqvist 1981, 4-8.

292. RA. Kungliga arkiv, Konung Gustaf II Adolf, K 19 [bild A0073421_00078]; Kammararkivets räntekammarböcker 1633, fol. 1110-1116. RA. Kammararkivets räntekammarböcker, Wolgast 1633, fol. 1115rv.

293. RA. Kammararkivets räntekammarböcker, Wolgast 1633, fol. 1115r. Maria Eleonora kept six gold coins, twelve 4 *daler*, twenty-four 2 *daler*, twentyfour ½ *daler* and ten ¼ *daler*.

294. RA. Kammararkivets räntekammarböcker, Wolgast 1633, fol. 1115v.

295. *Svenska riksrådets protokoll* 4, 1634, (Stockholm, 1886), 7; Grundberg 2005, 154; Rangström 2015, 66–69.

296. Rangström 2015, 66–67.

297. RA. Kungliga arkiv, Konung Gustaf II Adolf, K19 [bilid: A0073421_00150; 00151; 00159]. The written documents also reveal the amount of black velvet, hats, butter or sheep that were needed to dress or feed this vast assembly.

298. RA. Kungliga arkiv, Konung Gustaf II Adolf, K 19 [bilid: A0073421_00155]

299. Historian Johannes Loccenius recounted the funeral procession and the coins that were scattered to the crowd. According to Loccenius, they showed the king en face accompanied by the title MAGNUS AUGUSTUS [Augustus being an anagram of Gustavus], and the reverse read a Latin inscription in five lines, covering the whole surface: STANS ACIE, / PUGNANS, / VINCENS, / MORIENSQUE : / TRIUMPHAT. / 1632. 6. NOVE [standing first in line, he triumphs fighting, winning and dying, 6 November 1632]. The title Magnus Augustus was bestowed upon Gustavus Adolphus at the meeting of the Estates in February 1633. Johannes Loccenius, *Johannis Loccenii Historiæ Rerum Svecicarum, a Primo Rege Sveciæ Usque Ad Caroli Gustavi Regis Sveciæ Obitum Deductæ, Libri Novem*, 1662, 607. E.g. Hildebrand 1874, no. 180, 188. Hildebrand also mentions another type of coins probably issued at the funeral too no. 191, 194; Hemmingsson 1979, 132–133.

300. Rohr 1733 (1990), 320.

301. RA. Kungliga arkiv, Konung Gustaf II Adolf, K 19 [bilid: A0073421_00061, 00070].

302. For example, at the funeral feast, food was served that illustrated different emblems and symbols alluding to the king. Grönstedt 1912, 112; Rangström 2015, 67.

303. Rohr 1733 (1990), 304–328.

304. Grönstedt 1912, 111. Carl Anton Ossbahr, *Ett minne från Gustaf II Adolfs likbegångelse* (Stockholm, 1894), 577. The display coins distributed at the funeral feast resembled the objects minted in Wolgast in 1633, and were probably even minted there and then shipped to Stockholm.

305. Hemmingsson, forthcoming, 26.

306. Minted in ducats and *riksdaler* in silver 4, 2, 1, ½, ¼. The Swedish numismatist Bengt Hemmingsson was able to trace silver deliveries from Sala, a Swedish mine, to Stockholm and the production of commemorative coins for the royal funeral. This silver delivery could have included the silver for the manufacture of the medals, which would support the conclusion that the medal edition was minted in Stockholm. Hemmingsson, forthcoming, 26.

307. RA. Kammarkollegiet, kansliet. Registratur B II a 1, vol. 23, fol. 328v. ‘däss förinnan wele i skådepenningarne till förrlagd tijdh hafua i beredskap, jämväl tiugu st.r af H:M:tz vår nådigste drottningz Conterfeij, mindre och större förfärdige, att de måste wara tillhanda, när så till förähringh behöfwes’. I am grateful to Bengt Hemmingsson for pointing me to that source. Hildebrand only presents medals that combine Maria Eleonora’s and Gustavus Adolphus’ portrait. Medals showing only Maria Eleonora’s portrait (without that of her husband) are not known, except one, which Hildebrand has raised over. Cf. Hildebrand 1874, no. 3, 245. It remains uncertain which

medal edition Maria Eleonora distributed at the funeral.

308. Maria Eleonora's reputation during and after her lifetime was questionable and dominated by negative reports. She is said to have been hysterical, depressive and prone to luxury, yet also fair and beautiful. In letters to Oxenstierna, she was described as a hysterical woman unable to make sound decisions. These descriptions of a mentally weak but attractive woman must indeed be regarded with caution. Mostly, these valuations derive from a one-sided source, the *riksrådsprotokollen* [council minutes], which in turn have influenced the research concerning Maria Eleonora, and its focus on her heartache, and insufficiency as wife or mother. Nevertheless, in recent years, the assessment of Maria Eleonora has changed and become more nuanced. E.g. by Jan Lindgren, 'Från Maka till Omaka: Drottning Maria Eleonora och Riksliket,' in *Årsbok Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala* (Uppsala: Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala, 2005), 55–89; on social and visual aspects of widowhood read for instance: Allison Levy ed. *Widowhood and visual culture in early modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2003); Fabian Persson, 'Äktenskapet i döden. Maria Eleonora och Hedvig Eleonora som änkor,' in *Politik och Passion Svenska Kungliga äktenskap under 600 år*, eds. Hendric Bagerius and Louise Berglund (Stockholm: Natur & Kultur, 2015), 96–123.

309. On widows' social strategies in the early modern period read: Martina Schattkowsky, *Witwenschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit: Fürstliche und adlige Witwen zwischen Fremd- und Selbstbestimmung*, Schriften zur Sächsischen Geschichte und Volkskunde 6 (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2003).

310. On the orchestration of funerals for the Dukes of Mecklenburg and the coins and medals made for them read e.g. Torsten Fried, *Geprägte Macht: Münzen und Medaillen der Mecklenburgischen Herzöge als Zeichen fürstlicher Herrschaft* (Köln ; Böhlau, 2015), 134–149.

311. Hildebrand 1874, no. 188, 193. Few remaining items are made of gold. One is listed by Hildebrand in the Royal coin cabinet, Stockholm, and I have located one in the coin cabinet in Vienna weighing 68 ½ ducats.

312. McKeown presents a well-researched and comprehensive comparison of the broadsheet and medal's iconography: Simon McKeown, 'The King Struck Down: Sebastian Dadler's Medallion Images of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden,' *The Medal*, no. 38 (2001): 7–22.

313. Christian Schlegel, *Biblia In Nummis, Das ist: Kurtzer Entwurff Der vornehmsten Biblischen Sprüche und Historien* (Jena, 1703), 334–335.

314. Dadler had already engraved medals portraying the Swedish king including a medal commemorating his victory in Breitenfeld, distributing them on his own initiative while employed by Johan Georg I, Elector of Saxony. It is unclear if the funeral medal was forged in Dresden, where the medal artist worked at that time, or if Dadler sent the dies to Sweden to manufacture the medals there. McKeown 2001, 7–22; Maué 2008, 19–20.

315. Simon McKeown, who has worked on the emblematic elements in Dadler's oeuvre, pointed out that the artist usually designed his medals, but that this was not the case with the funeral medal. McKeown 2001, 14.

316. *King James Bible*, Matthew 25: 23; Schlegel 1703, 334.

317. *King James Bible*, New Testament, Revelation, 17:5.

318. For a thorough discussion on the printed sheet read Hämmerle 2016, 150–153; 434–435.

319. On the broadsheet, the woman only held hat and the cross and was depicted without the crown of stars or the book and heart. A similar combination of Religion-Justice-Fortitude is described in Anna Pawlak, 'Die zwei Körper des Statthaltres und die Sichtbarkeit der Macht,' in *Die Macht der Bilder der Macht: zum Vermächtnis von Ernst H. Kantorowicz*, ed. Dietrich Schotte (Münster: Lit, 2015), 80.

320. Compare the broadsheet fig. 33 with *King James Bible*, New Testament, Revelation, 12. It is noteworthy that the personification of the Protestant church appears to have close similarities with the iconography of the Virgin Mary.

321. *King James Bible*, New Testament, Revelation, 12.

322. On the burning heart: Henkel and Schöne 1967, 1029; Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 205–206;

323. In the *Emblemata* both the grouping of burning heart with Bible and burning heart with altar are presented. The first indicates pursuit of knowledge of God, and the latter implies repentance. The combination of burning heart, altar and Bible are not referenced. See: Henkel and Schöne 1967, 1029.

324. On the cap of Freedom at its use in Early Modern Europe read: Martina Dlugaczkyk, *Der Waffenstillstand (1609–1621) als Medienereignis Politische Bildpropaganda in den Niederlanden*, PhD. Diss. Münster, New York (Münster: Waxmann Verlag, 2005), 91; Thomas Würtenberger, *Symbole der Freiheit: Zu den Wurzeln westlicher politischer Kultur* (Köln: Böhlau, 2017), 114.

325. Brenner 1731, 153; Berch 1773, 105; McKeown 2001, 14.

326. John Roger Paas argues that the first version of the subject was printed on a dutch broadsheet shortly after the king's death in 1632. John Roger Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet 1600–1700. Vol. 6, 1632* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 340.

327. The same copperplate was reused in *Gustavus Saucius tragoedia* by Johannes Narsius, printed in 1633 in Frankfurt am Main by Wolfgang Hoffmann.

328. The image of the two eagles (the Habsburgian eagles) was inspired by Paracelsus' prophecy that a Golden Lion from the North would overthrow a black eagle, which was reinvented in the 1630s. Read further: Nils Gabriel Ahnlund 'Gustav Adolf, Lejonprofetian och Astrologien,' *Historisk Tidskrift*, vol. 59 (Stockholm: Historiska föreningen, 1939): 34–51.

329. Gustaf Edvard Klemming, *Ur en antecknares samlingar* (E. Berling, 1882), 214.

330. The term intertextuality was introduced by linguist and philosopher Julia Kristeva. For more references read for instance: Julia Kristeva, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Language and Art*, transl. Thomas Gora, Alice Jardine and Leon S. Roudinez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980); Mary Orr, *Intertextuality: debates and contexts* (Cambridge: Polity, 2003) 20–32.

331. The theory of the *speech-act* or *image-act*, inspired by J.L. Austin, and the dialogue between sitter and viewer are discussed in Horst Bredekamp, *Theorie des Bildakts* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2010); Hans Belting, *Faces: Eine Geschichte des Gesichts* (München: Beck, 2013), 161.

332. 'Fear none of those things, which thou shalt suffer: behold, the devil shall cast *some* of you into prison, that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation ten days: be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.' *King James Bible*, New Testament, Revelation, 2:10.

333. Henkel and Schöne 1967, 1256–1257; On the laurel wreath as symbol of humbleness see Henkel and Schöne 1967, 206–207.

334. For tropes like death as the threshold of a future existence, or others topoi regarding death and art read e.g. F. Parkes Weber, *Aspects of Death in Art and their effects on the living, as illustrated by minor works of art, especially medals, engraved gems, jewels etc.* (London, 1910).

335. The topos of letting the deceased speak from beyond his grave is likewise a common trait within panegyric poetry read: Hans Helander, *Neo-Latin Literature in Sweden in the Period 1620–1720: Stylistics, Vocabulary and Characteristic Ideas*, Studia Latina Upsaliensia, 29 (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2004), 519–520.

336. Horace, *Odes IV* 9:25; *The poet will not allow Lollius to die.* ‘vixere fortes ante Agamemnona multi; sed omnes illacrimabiles urgentur ignotique longanocite, carent quia vate sacro.’ [Many a brave man lived before Agamemnon; but all lie buried unwept and unknown in the long night, because they lack a sacred bard] Translation: Loeb Classical Library.

337. This statement relates to the amount of medals produced in the 1630s. E.g. Hildebrand 1874, 194ff.

338. Åke Andrén, ‘Sind die Andachtsbilder mit der Reformation verschwunden?’, in *Images of Cult and Devotion*, eds. Sören Kaspersen and Ulla Haastrup (Kopenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press 2004), 273–281; Bengt Arvidsson, ‘The Devotional Image: Reflections on Images in the Devotional Life of the Evangelical Tradition during the 17th and 18th Centuries,’ in *Images of Cult and Devotion*, eds. Sören Kaspersen and Ulla Haastrup (Kopenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press 2004), 305–312.

339. Belting makes a similar point by comparing private images and devotional images. Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press, 1994), 432.

340. On icons and more references read e.g. Aidan Nichols, *Redeeming Beauty: soundings in sacral aesthetics*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

341. For a similar line of thought see Blass-Simmen 2013, 40.

342. Patricia Strohmaier, ‘Mobil, taktil und nah am Körper – Über den Gebrauch von Beuteln,’ *Das Mittelalter* 25, no. 2 (November 2020): 271–93.

343. Belting 2014, 79.

344. On responses and votive images read: David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), 134–160.

345. His father Charles IX was already in the practice of rewarding medals. Archive sources confirm that he bestowed medals or coins of high denominations as rewards, especially to military men. Medals were given to the leading commanders and coins to soldiers. For instance, on the 31 May 1607, the account books register that Charles IX rewarded his troops in Livonia. Six medals and fifteen gold coins with attached eyelets were given to the colonel and his men; RA Räntekammarböcker 1526–1630, vol. 67 (1607–1608) VI, fol.4. ‘Controphei med gamble Symb: 5, Controphei med nyie Symbol: 1, fyrdubbel Carol med Ößkin: 15.’

346. Holzmair 1965, 23.

347. For other examples see e.g. Börner 1981.

348. On the portrait bust read Strömbom 1932, 55f.

349. There exists a vast variety of medals depicting Gustavus Adolphus, for more information and illustrations see for instance: Fritz Rudolf Künker and Ulf Nordlind, 145. Auktion, *Schweden und Europa – 500 Jahre historische Beziehungen im Spiegel von Münzen und Medaillen. Die Sammlung der Freiherren Bonde auf Schloss Ericsberg*, Teil 2, 9

Oktober 2008, 26–59.

350. Within Catholic iconography, they also appear as prayer beads reminding of life's impermanence. Read further: Stephen Perkinson, *The Ivory Mirror: The Art of Mortality in Renaissance Europe* (Brunswick, Maine: Bowdoin College Museum of Art, 2017), 29–34.

351. RA. Kungliga arkiv, Handlingar rörande drottning Maria Eleonoras levnadsförhållanden och egendom, K 88, [bildid: A0073491_00026] 'Ett S: Kong: och May:tz Conterfei medh edt dödehûufwedh.'

352. Another example is Colonel Otto von Sack (1589–1658) who had his portrait painted wearing a Gustavus Adolphus' medal with a skull. Livrustkammaren Stockholm inv. 16912 (43:11).

353. On perspectives of memento mori and Baroque mourning culture read e.g. Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual C. 1500–C. 1800* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1991); Göran Stenberg, *Döden diktar: En studie av likpredikningar och gravtal från 1600- och 1700-talen* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 1998); Joachim M. Plotzek, ed., *Ars Vivendi, Ars Moriendi: Die Kunst zu leben, die Kunst zu sterben* (München: Hirmer, 2002); Aleksandra Koutny-Jones, *Visual Cultures of Death in Central Europe: Contemplation and Commemoration in Early Modern Poland-Lithuania* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

354. For a short introduction to memento mori culture read e.g. Koutny-Jones 2015, 1–15.

355. Jennifer Lorna Hockey, Carol Komaromy, and Kate Woodthorpe, 'Materilizing Absence,' in *The Matter of Death: Space, Place and Materiality*, eds. Jennifer Lorna Hockey, Carol Komaromy, and Kate Woodthorpe (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 1–18; Maruška Svašek, *Moving Subjects, Moving Objects: Transnationalism, Cultural Production and Emotions* (New York: Berghahn, 2012), 13–15.

356. Johan Arckenholtz, *Memoires Concernant Christine Reine de Suede* (1751); Carl Bildt, *Les Médailles Romaines de Christine de Suède* (Rom 1908); Kjell Lekeby, 'Om drottning Kristinas storhetsvansinne: hennes förklaring till fyra medaljer av M. Soldani Benzi,' *Personhistorisk tidskrift*, vol. 95, no. 1 (1999): 5–15; 'Nils Ludvig Rasmusson, 'Medaillen auf Christina', in *Queen Kristina of Sweden Documents and studies*, ed. Magnus von Platen, Nationalmusei Skriftserie nr 12 (Stockholm, 1966), 296–321; Ylva Haidenthaller, 'Pallas Nordica: Drottning Kristinas Minervamedaljer,' Bachelor thesis, Uppsala University (*Uppsala University Coin Cabinet Working Papers* 7, 2013) 38; Ylva Haidenthaller, 'Allt guld som glimmar stormaktstidens medaljkonst från Kristina till Karl XI,' Master thesis, Uppsala University (*Uppsala University Coin Cabinet Working Papers* 20, 2015).

357. Ronald Gobiet ed. *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Philipp Hainhofer und Herzog August d.J. von Braunschweig-Lüneburg*, Forschungshefte herausgegeben vom Bayrischen Nationalmuseum (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1984), 56–57; 156–157; 417; 584–585.

358. Gustavus Adolphus orders medals while abroad see: *Rikskanslern Axel Oxensternas skrifter och breffvexling*, 1 Bd, Historiska och polistiska skrifter (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 1888) 'Tjusterby 24 May 1614', 52; Strömbom 1932, 16.

359. Herbert Stricker, *Deutsche Medaillen aus der Zeit des 30-jährigen Krieges (1618–1648) und ihr geschichtlicher Hintergrund*, 1. Aufl (Regenstauf: Edition M & S, Münzen und Sammeln, 2010), 3–4. Read e.g. for the development of medal art at the court in

Dresden. Rainer Grund, *Die Entwicklung der Medaillenkunst an der Münzstätte Dresden Im 17. Jahrhundert: Mit einem Katalog der Medaillen* (Gütersloh: Münzhandel + Verlag B. Strothotte, 1996).

360. Johann Höhn the elder (1607–1664).

361. Dadler rendered one antique-inspired medal portraying Christina as Minerva, but was not employed thereafter. Hildebrand 1874, no. 20, 268; Maué 2008, 24–25; 114–115.

362. Cf. Maué 2008.

363. Wilhelm Nisser, *Mathias Palbitzki som connoisseur och tecknare, Uppsala universitets årsskrift 1934. Filosofi, språkvetenskap och historiska vetenskaper 5* (Uppsala 1934), 36–37.

364. RA. Kammararkivets protokoll: 13 May 1647, 218; 18 June 1647, 263.

365. On Parise see further Bengt Thordeman, ‘Erich Parises anställning i svensk tjänst,’ *Numismatiska Meddelanden* 28 (1933): 60–64; For an more thorough introduction to Rethe’s doings in Stockholm and early Swedish medal art read: Ylva Haidenthaller, ‘Von Goldschmieden, Münzschnidern und Medailleuren: Einblicke in die Künstlerimmigration nach Stockholm im 17. Jahrhundert,’ in *Erfolgreiche Einwanderer. Künstlerimmigration im Ostseeraum während der Nordischen Kriege (1554–1721)*, eds. Agnieszka Gasior and Julia Trinkert, forthcoming.

366. Hildebrand identifies her as Hope, but I deem this interpretation as unlikely, since Hope would have an anchor as attribute. The allegory of Peace also alludes to the Westphalian peace treaty. Hildebrand 1874, no. 50, 282.

367. On Christina’s numismatic collection see Hugo Gaebler, ‘Die Münzsammlung der Königin Christina von Schweden,’ in *Corolla Numismatica. Numismatic Essays in Honour of Barclay V. Head* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1906), 368–86.

368. This suggestion was made by Hildebrand 1874, 282.

369. Torgny Lindgren, ‘Anteckningar om Kastpenningar från och med Drottning Kristinas kröning 1650,’ *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* (1947): 116–19.

370. Thordeman 1933, 60–64.

371. Haidenthaller, forthcoming.

372. RA. Sandberska samlingen, ÄÄ.fol. 5172. Hildebrand 1874, no. 76, 294. Since I have not seen the item, I am unable to determine if the object in the Gotha collection is a later cast or the original.

373. For another example where the sun is employed on a medal see Galeazzo Maria Sforza designed by Antonio Marescotti, dated 1457 https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_G3-VP-31 (accessed 2020-10-20).

374. Burke 1992.

375. Bildt 1908), 55ff.; For an analysis on Christina and the sun read: Ylva Haidenthaller, ‘Adapting Antiquity References to Classical Literature on Early Modern Swedish Medals,’ *IKON Journal of Iconographic Studies*, 13 (2020), 305–307.

376. RA. Rantekammarböcker, 1651, 19.

377. Hildebrand 1874, no. 76, 294; Also Bildt made a similar conclusion: ‘C’est cette médaille que la reine avait l’habitude de donner, en or ou en argent, à ceux qu’elle voulait distinguer, et notamment aux savant et hommes de lettres.’ Bildt 1908, 30. He refers to Johan Arckenholtz, *Memoires concernant Christine reine de Suede [...]*, Part I, (Amsterdam 1760), 262.

378. In the late 17th century, foreign medallists continued to work next to their Swedish colleagues for the Swedish crown. Martin Olin, *Det karolinska porträttet: ideologi, ikonografi, identitet*. PhD Diss. Lund University (Stockholm: Raster, 2000), 182–94;

Kold 2020.

379. On Beck read for instance: Karl Erik Steneberg, *Kristinatidens måleri* (Malmö: Allhem, 1955), 130–56.

380. Cornelis de Bie, *Het gulden cabinet vande edel vry schilder const [...]*, Part I (Antwerpen, 1662), 160–61.

381. On Beck's portrait see Steneberg 1955, 130–131; 141.

382. Beck is said to have had several golden chains, presents from various employers, and according to Steneberg, Beck received a golden chain with diamonds from the queen dowager Maria Eleonora. Steneberg 1955, 130–131.

383. Other examples of artists holding medals. Ernst Benkard, *Das Selbstbildnis: Vom 15. bis zum Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1927).

384. On a short introduction on Swedish 17th-century artists and the guilds read Olin 2000, 146–148.

385. According to Steneberg, the engraving exists also in an earlier version from 1649, without the medal, and calling him *deseigneur* instead of *valet de chambre*. This fact refutes Cordula Bischoff assumption that the scroll in his right hand relates to the award of the chain in connection to his new position. The second engraving dates from 1651 or 1652, which corresponds to his passport from 1651 where he is called *valet de chambre*, Steneberg 1955, 141; Cordula Bischoff, 'Complicated Exchanges: The Handling of Authorised and Unauthorised Gifts,' *The Court Historian* 14, no. 2 (December 2009): 133–148; on *valet de chambre* Christian Molbech, 'Bidrag til Dronning Christinas, det Svenste Hof og Corfitz Alfeldts Historie, I Aarene 1651–55, af Peder Juuls Utrykte Breve til Charisius,' *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 1 (1844): 345; Fabian Persson, *Servants of Fortune: The Swedish Court between 1598 and 1721*, PhD Diss. Lund University (Lund, 1999), 45.

386. Mauss 2002, 15.

387. Kessel 2017.

388. Kessel 2017, 12ff.

389. For more references and short overview on early modern diplomacy read for instance: William Roosen, 'Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial: A Systems Approach,' *The Journal of Modern History* 52, no. 3 (1980): 452–476; Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox eds., *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Tracey A. Sowerby, 'Early Modern Diplomatic History,' *History Compass* 14, no. 9 (September 2016): 441–56.

390. On sovereign gifts to representatives of other monarchs see Heal 2014, 168ff.

391. Heal 2014, 176.

392. Sowerby 2014, 317–18.

393. Whitelocke's diary surely was part in the political power play and ought not to be considered as a truthful source on all accounts. With that in mind, I use the following scenario as an illustrative example. Bulstrode Whitelocke, *Journal of the Swedish Embassy in the years of 1653–1654*, vol. 1–2, ed. Henry Reeve (Longman 1855).

394. Heal 2014, 149ff.

395. Unfortunately, the reindeers did not thrive in southern Sweden and died before they could be transported to England. Whitelocke 1855, vol 1, (17 February 1653) 492.

396. On the history of friendship read for instance: Eva Österberg, *Vänskap: En lång historia* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2007); Hannah Baader, *Das Selbst im Anderen: Sprachen der Freundschaft und die Kunst des Porträts 1370–1520* (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2015).

397. Whitelocke 1855, vol. 2 (6 May 1654) 200; the gift is also mentioned in Scaris-

brick 2011, 99–101.

398. Persson 1999, 25.

399. Whitelocke 1855, vol. 2 (6 May 1654) 200.

400. RA. Riksregistraturet vol. 293, 1654 maj–juni, fol. 546v–547r [bildid: A0038788_00018]; The copper and other gifts mentioned on 4 May; The letter is printed in the journal page 200, ‘two hundred pound of copper, commonly called ship-pounds.’ A ‘ship-pound’ would equal 170 kg, which would translate Whitelocke’s gift to 34000 kg copper. Whitelocke 1855, vol. 2 (6 May 1654) 200.

401. Whitelocke 1855, vol. 2 (6 May 1654) 201.

402. Whitelocke 1855, vol. 2 (6 May 1654) 202.

403. Maija Jansson, ‘Measured Reciprocity: English Ambassadorial Gift Exchange in the 17th and 18th Centuries,’ *Journal of Early Modern History* 9, no. 3 (1 July 2005): 363; Meyer 2008.

404. ‘[...] did not hitherto make a visit to any person since he had received his presents from the Queen, after which, in ceremony, he must first visit her Majesty to give her thanks, and then he is at liberty to visit others.’ Whitelocke, vol. 2, 1855, (6 May 1654) 202.

405. Jansson 2005, 358.

406. Whitelocke 1855, vol. 2 (6 May 1654) 202.

407. Whitelocke 1855, vol. 2 (7 May 1654) 203.

408. Whitelocke 1855, vol. 2, (9 May 1654) 208.

409. Whitelocke 1855, vol. 2, (9 May 1654) 207–208.

410. Whitelocke 1855, vol. 2, (10 May 1654) 213.

411. Similar tendencies at the English court. Jansson 2005, 367.

412. Sowerby 2016, 445.

413. Marcia Pointon, ‘Surrounded with Brilliants’: Miniature Portraits in Eighteenth-Century England,’ vol. 83, no. 1 (March 2001): 68; Görel Cavalli-Björkman, *Pierre Signac: En studie i svenskt emalj- och miniatyrmåleri under 1600-talet* (Stockholm, 1972), 10–11. Reynolds, cited in Cavalli-Björkman, emphasises a kinship between medal art and miniatures.

414. Henceforth, if I use the term *miniature* then I refer to a portrait made with this particular technique, otherwise I label these objects as miniature portraits or portraits in miniature. On the technique read further: Cecilia Rönnerstam, ‘European Portrait Miniatures: Introduction to Materials,’ in *Conservation without Limits: IIC Nordic Group XV Congress: August 23.–26.2000, Helsinki, Finland: Preprints* (2000), 155–163; Bernd Pappe and Juliane Schmiegitz-Otten eds., *Portrait Miniatures Artists, Functions and Collections* (Petersberg: Imhof Verlag, 2018).

415. Cf. Nicholas Hilliard, *Treatise on the Arte of Limning* (c. 1600).

416. Cavalli-Björkman 1972, 75–77; Pointon 2001, 56.

417. Miniatures, like medals, inhabit a minor place within art historical research, although lately, the increased attention towards the relationship between portraiture and gift economics has raised the awareness of miniatures as well. Pointon 2001; Scarisbrick 2011; Marianne Koos, ‘Wandering Things: Agency and Embodiment in Late Sixteenth-Century English Miniature Portraits,’ *Art History* 37, no. 5 (1 November 2014): 836–589; William Aslet, Lucia Burgio, Céline Cachaud, Alan Derbyshire and Emma Rutherford, ‘An English Artist at the Valois Court: A Portrait of Henri III by Nicholas Hilliard,’ *The Burlington Magazine*, no. 1391, vol. 161 (February 2019): 103–111.

418. The locketts were also necessary to protect the pigment from light.

419. For the development of miniature and more references read e.g. Magnus Olausson, *Europeiskt miniatyrmåleri i Nationalmusei samlingar: En konstabok från Nationalmuseum* (Stockholm: Streiffert, 1994).

420. Elizabeth Goldring, *Nicholas Hilliard: Life of an Artist* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019); For a introduction to Danish miniature painting read e.g. Torben Holck Colding, *Miniature- og Emaillermaleri i Danmark 1606–1850* (København: Gyldendal, 1991).

421. Cavalli-Björkman 1972. The English miniaturist Alexander Cooper (1609–1660) arrived some months later.

422. Cavalli-Björkman provides references for all his works. Cavalli-Björkman, 1972, 25; 198.

423. R.A. Sandbergska Samlingen ÄÄ, Vol. 5–6, Fol. 5125. '1654 5. May: Till Rente-mestaren for Jubileraren Hindric Bertram på 2250 Rd. for ett Diamante smykke som han uphandladt till Engelske Gesandterne.' [1654, 5 May. To the Treasurer for the jeweller Henry Bertram 2250 RD for a diamond jewel that he purchased for the English Emissary.] For the translation into wages see: Lagerqvist and Nathorst Böös, Vad kostade det? Priser och loner från medeltid till våra dagar, 5th ed., (Stockholm: LT, 2002), 71.

424. R.A. Räntekammarböcker: 28 February 1627 Hans Weyler; 10 September 1630 Egidius v. Eck; Strömbom 1932, 15; 19.

425. In Germany, examples are known from the late 17th century until the end of the Thirty Year's War. Eg. Items in Dresden, Münzkabinett. Inv. BRA4169.

426. Hildebrand 1874, no. 287 c, 230.

427. The portrait discussed by Steneberg, Karl Erik Steneberg 'Ett Maria Eleonora-porträtt av Jacob Hoefnagel,' *Tidskrift för konsvetenskap*, XXV (1944): 93–99.

428. The term image vehicle is inspired by Aby Warburg's term *Bilderfahrzeuge*.

429. For a discussion in large-scale portraits to miniatures read e.g. Stefanie Linsboth, 'From Large-Scale Paintings to Precious Miniatures – Maria Theresa's Miniatures,' in *Portrait Miniatures: Artists, Functions and Collections* eds. Bernd Pappe and Juliane Schmiegeltz-Otten (Petersberg: Imhof Verlag 2018), 88–97.

430. In 1637, Jacob Elbfas had painted a portrait of the Queen, which was reproduced by engravings during the following years (known engravings from 1642 and 1648) made by Johan Dürr. The medal's portrait was inspired by Dürr's engraving.

431. The image enjoyed popularity, and the medal was reissued almost fifty years later, cf. Hildebrand 1874 no. 2, 254.

432. Already Pliny the Elder mentioned the rare bird in his *Historia Naturalis*, and noted that it once was sighted during Emperor Claudius reign. Pliny the Elder, *Historia Naturalis* 10.2; On the source for the emblem e.g. Joachim Camerarius, *Joachimi Camerarii Symbolorum et emblematum [...]* (Mainz: 1668), 200. The first edition was printed in 1595.

433. Gustavus Adolphus had been compared to a phoenix commemorative poem. Cf. Helander 2004, 530–532; On the phoenix in ballets read e.g. Stefano Fogelberg Rota and Andreas Hellerstedt, *Shaping Heroic Virtue: Studies in the Art and Politics of Supereminence in Europe and Scandinavia* (Leiden ; Brill, 2015), 87–88.

434. Christina as phoenix in e.g. Iiro Kajanto, *Christina Heroína: Mythological and Historical Exemplification in the Latin Panegyrics on Christina Queen of Sweden*, *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae* (Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1993), 52. Other regents compared with the phoenix eg. Elizabeth I of England in Scarisbrick

2011, 47; 60; or in *La fenice* by Emanuele Tesauro dedicated to the young duke Francesco Giacinto at his birth in 1632.

435. On this particular miniature read Cavalli-Björkman 1972, 88–89.

436. Cavalli-Björkman 1972, 195–196, no.15.

437. Pointon calls miniatures ‘ambulant portraits’, Marcia Pointon 2001, 48; Koos labels miniatures as ‘moveable image vehicles, Marianne Koos, ‘Wandering Things: Agency and Embodiment in Late Sixteenth-Century English Miniature Portraits,’ *Art History* 37, no. 5 (1 November 2014): 838.

438. In Rome, her resurrection did not longer refer to her father, but to her confession. Christina was reborn as she converted to Catholicism. Christina as Phoenix e.g. Valeriano Castiglione, *La Regina Cristina Di Svezia a Torino Nel 1656* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell’Orso, 2010), 30–36.

439. Whitelocke 1855, vol. 2 (6 May 1654) 200.

440. Cavalli-Björkman, 1972.

441. On snuffboxes as gifts read e.g. Michael Yonan, ‘Portable Dynasties: Imperial Gift-Giving at the Court of Vienna in the Eighteenth Century,’ *The Court Historian* 14, no. 2 (December 2009): 177–88; Yonan 2017, 21–37.

442. Pointon 2001, 58.

443. For examples of snuffboxes with miniatures see e.g. Johann Georg von Hohenzollern, ed., *Friedrich der Grosse: Sammler und Mäzen: [Ausstellung], Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung, München*, 28. November 1992–28. Februar 1993 (München: Hirmer, 1992).

444. On the use of self-portraits as advertisement read e.g. Görel Cavalli-Björkman, ‘Självporträttens Roller,’ in *Ansikte mot ansikte: Porträtt från fem sekel*, Nationalmusei Utställningskatalog 626 (Nationalmuseum: Stockholm, 2001) 13–23.

445. Scarisbrick 2011, 180–181.

446. E.g. Wellington points to another use of numismatic shapes in connection to Louis XIV’s image making. ‘Taking inspiration from ancient and coins and modern medals, the Petite Académie applied numismatic tropes to other media to create a vast array of visual material that would serve as documentary evidence for the benefit of posterity.’ Robert Wellington, *Antiquarianism and the Visual Histories of Louis XIV: Artifacts for a Future Past* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2015), 108.

447. On Charles X Gustav read: Björn Asker, *Karl X Gustav: En Biografi* (Lund: Historiska media, 2009).

448. Hedwig Eleonora actively sought to that arts and culture prospered at her court and, not least her collecting, building endeavours, letter writing, in short, her conspicuous consumption, which has engaged previous research. For a general introduction and more references to Hedwig Eleonora’s conscious employment of art read: Lisa Skogh, *Material Worlds: Queen Hedwig Eleonora as Collector and Patron of the Arts*, Bidrag till Kungl. Vetenskapsakademiens Historia 44, PhD Diss. Stockholm University (Stockholm: Center for the History of Science at the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, 2013).

449. I am aware that the term burghers or bourgeoisie is a later construction and does not apply to the social classes of the late 17th century, but I use the term to encompass wealthy burghers who do not belong to the nobility.

450. Anders Florén, Stellan Dahlgren, and Jan Lindegren, *Kungar och Krigare: Tre essäer om Karl X Gustav, Karl XI och Karl XII* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 1992).

451. Cf. e.g. Ellenius 1966; Matsche 1981; Burke 1992; Lunger Knoppers 2000; Vernon Hyde Minor, *Baroque Visual Rhetoric*, Toronto Italian Studies (Toronto: Uni-

versity of Toronto Press, 2016).

452. This explanation leans on the concept of *intermediality*. For more references read for instance: Lars Elleström, *Media Borders, Multimodality and Intermediality*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Valerie Robillard, 'Beyond Definition: A Pragmatic Approach to Intermediality,' in *Media Borders, Multimodality and Intermediality*, ed. Lars Elleström (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 150–162; For aesthetic approaches on the matter and more references read for instance: Sonya Petersson, Christer Johansson, Magdalena Holdar and Sara Callahan eds., *The Power of the In-Between: Intermediality as a Tool for Aesthetic Analysis and Critical Reflection* (Stockholm University Press, 2018).

453. For more historical background and further references read e.g. Samuel Pufendorf, *De rebus a Carolo Gustavo Sueciae Gestis*, 1696; Peter Englund, *Den Oövervinnerlige: Om den svenska Stormaktstiden och en man i dess mitt* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2000), 505–560; Lars Ericson Wolke, 1658: *Tåget över Bält* (Lund: Historiska media, 2008), 109–148.

454. Another edition depicts that victory although it was not by the Swedish officials and manufactured by medal artist working in Amsterdam, cf. Hildebrand 1874, no. 30, 351. On a thorough analysis on medals on the March over the Great Belt, with special regard to the Latin inscription, read: Peter Sjökvist, 'Posteris Debetur Inusitata Virtutis Memoria: Deviserna på medaljer slagna över Karl X Gustavs tåg Över Lilla och Stora Bält', in *Karolinska Förbundets Årsbok*, (Stockholm, 2009), 7–30.

455. Breuer is documented in Sweden since 1649. He was employed by the mint-master Abraham Kock, for more information and references on Breuer read: Torgny Lindgren, 'Till Johan Georg Breuers anställning vid myntet i Stockholm,' *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* (1955): 110–121; Haidenthaller 2015, 22–26; Haidenthaller forthcoming.

456. On the Latin inscription read further: Peter Sjökvist, 'Natura hoc debuit uni: Latin texts on medals celebrating the march of the Swedish King Charles X Gustavus on the frozen Danish straits of the Little Belt and the Great Belt in 1658,' in *Acta conventus neo-latini upsaliensis: proceedings of the fourteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies* (Uppsala 2009), 995–1003.

457. Merit Laine, *Hedvig Eleonora: Den svenska barockens drottning* (Stockholm: Kungl. Husgerådskammaren, 2015).

458. Lisa Skogh, 'Dynastic representation: A book collection of Queen Hedwig Eleonora (1636–1715) and her role as a patron of the Arts,' *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, vol. 80, no. 2 (2011): 108–123; Lisa Skogh, 'The politics of possession: The pretiosa collection of Hedwig Eleonora of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp, Dowager Queen of Sweden (1636–1715),' *Journal of the History of Collections* 23, no. 2 (1 November 2011): 333–47; Skogh 2013; Jill Bepler, 'Dynastic positioning and political newsgathering: Hedwig Eleonora of Schleswig-Gottorf, Queen of Sweden, and her correspondence,' in *Queens Consort, Cultural Transfer and European Politics, C. 1500–1800*, eds. Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Adam Morton (London: Routledge, 2017), 132–52.

459. Amongst these were the painter David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl, the sculptor Nicolaes Millich, sculptor and furniture maker Burchard Precht, read further Laine 2015.

460. Hildebrand 1874, no. 2–3, 368.

461. Hildebrand 1874, no. 5–15, 384–390; Haidenthaller 2015, 46–48.

462. Bepler 2017.

463. Göran Alm and Rebecka Millhagen, eds., *Drottningholms Slott, De Kungliga*

Slotten (Stockholm: Byggförlaget Kultur, 2004); Besides medals, which Breuer forged for the royal family and some noblemen, he executed emblem plates for Hedwig Eleonora's chambers in the palace Drottningholm. SA. Drottningholm, receipts 1669, fol. 129; Ellenius 1966, 74.

464. Boo von Malmberg, 'Johann (Hans) Philip Lemke,' in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, Band 22 (1977–1979), 523.

465. Linda Hinnert, Martin Olin, and Margaretha Rossholm Lagerlöf eds., *The Gallery of Charles XI at the Royal Palace of Stockholm – in Perspective* (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2016).

466. Dahlbergh claimed that it was his idea to march over the ice and was keen on mediating his version of the triumph, which, of course, did not diminish the royal narrative. Erik Dahlbergh, *Erik Dahlberghs Dagbok (1625–1699)*, ed. Herman Lundström (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1912); The first medal issued by the Swedish Academy depicted Dahlberg, see Bo Svensén, *Årans och minnets valuta: Svenska Akademiens Minnespenningar 1786–2009* (Stockholm: Svenska Akademiens, 2010), 6–7.

467. I will address the particular utility and value of selling medals and what it entailed in the next chapter. For the medal see Stenström 1944, 78; 192.

468. Stenström 1944, 193.

469. I will come back to this aspect of high demand in chapter IV.

470. Cf. e.g. Burke 1992, 127; Mårten Snickare, *Enväldets Riter: Kungliga fester och ceremonier i gestaltning av Nicodemus Tessin den yngre*, PhD Diss. Uppsala University (Stockholm: Raster, 1999); Lunger Knoppers 2000; Jane Kromm, 'The Bellona Factor: Political Allegories and the Conflicting Claims of Martial Imagery,' in *Early Modern Visual Allegory: Embodying Meaning*, eds. Cristelle Baskins and Lisa Rosenthal (Burlington: Ashgate, 2007), 175–95; Wellington 2015.

471. Florén, Dahlgren, and Lindegren 1992.

472. Cf. Elenore Reichl, 'Die Funktion der Medaille in der kaiserlichen Propaganda zwischen 1648–1711,' Master Thesis University of Vienna, 1990.

473. Read for instance: Paul S. Fritz, 'The Trade in Death: The Royal Funerals in England, 1685–1830,' *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 15, no. 3 (Spring 1982): 3291–316; Johannes Engels, *Funerum Sepulcrorumque Magnificentia: Begräbnis- und Grabluxusgesetze in der Griechisch-Römischen Welt mit einigen Ausblicken auf Einschränkungen des funeralen und sepulkralen Luxus im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1998); Minou Schraven, *Festive Funerals in Early Modern Italy: The Art and Culture of Conspicuous Commemoration* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014).

474. Burke 1992, 17.

475. Nils Lagerholm, *Den svenska stormaktstidens högadliga begravningsskick 1650–1700* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1965), 30–31; Snickare 1999, 108; Alexander Engström, *Olikhetens praktiker: Adlig begravningskultur i Sverige C:a 1630–1680*, PhD Diss. Uppsala University (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2019).

476. Snickare 1999, 113; Rangström 2015, 105.

477. On the variety and importance of early modern festivals and more references read e.g. James Ronald Mulryne et al., eds., *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe. Vol. 1*, Publications of the Modern Humanities Research Association, 15:1 (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004).

478. Charity transmitted an apparent aspect of legitimacy, visualising that the monarch was the pater patriae, caring for his subordinates. Engström also stresses the connection of charity and legitimacy by examining funeral gifts distributed by the elite.

Engström 2019, 277.

479. Snickare 1999.

480. The hierarchy was mirrored in the seating arrangements, the more important, the better the view. Snickare 1999, 86.

481. Snickare 1999, 90–96. In comparison to earlier funerals, the preparations are described in detail. Immediately after the funeral, Tessin and his assistants make sketches, which would serve as role models for the engravings. The engravings were published as a book illustrating the royal splendour.

482. Tessin had studied French and Italian role models, and the funeral mirrored a pan-European trend, which originated in Italy. On Italian funeral designs and practices see: Schraven 2014.

483. A *castrum doloris* designates the structure sheltering the catafalque (the platform on which the coffin was placed). It would be richly decorated with flowers, emblems, coat of arms, and a baldachin.

484. *Kort Relation Om Högst Sahl. Hennes May:tz, Wår Allernådigste Drottningis, Drottningis Ulricæ Eleonoræ Lijk Process, Som Skedde Uthi Stockholm Den 28. Novembris 1693* (Stockholm 1693).

485. *Kort Relation Om Högst Sahl. [...]* 18–19.

486. Hildebrand 1874, no. 18, 18a,b 19, 19a, 469–470; also mentioned in *Kort Relation Om Högst Sahl. [...]*; The recipients are based on the description of Charles XI's funeral in 1697, where the medal was distributed in two sizes and gold and silver, see: *Kort Berättelse Om den Stormächtigste och uti Åminnelse Glorwyrdigste Konungs Konung Carl Den Elloftes Sweriges, Giötes och Wändes Konungz &c. &c. &c. Begrafning, Som skedde i Stockholm och Ridderholms Kyrkian den 24 Novembris Åhr 1697* (Stockholm 1697).

487. Stenström 1944, 78, note 94. Stenström cites the protocols from the Riksbank 29 October 1694 'Nu behöfwes half tredie par Stemplar 2 till Medaillen öfwer passagen öfwer Belt 1 till H.M. Sahl Drottningens mindre begrafningspenning och 2 till penningen på Konungens resa åth Torne som lærer hoss H. Fullm:e wara omtahlt.'

488. Only the try-out specimens of this version exist. Hildebrand 1874, no. 18b, 470.

489. General accounts of the King's devotion to his wife and his engagement in the rest of the funeral-preparations speak against the possible interpretation, that he altered the medal as a vain attempt to strengthen his image. Contemporay accounts on Charles XI's grief after Ulrika Eleonora's death e.g. Göran Rystad, *Karl XI: En Biografi* (Lund: Historiska media, 2001), 248.

490. In Catholic iconography the palm-branch would signify a saint or a martyr.

491. Snickare 1999, 97–100; Rangström 2015, 105.

492. In comparison, inscriptions on medals honouring noblewomen would refer to similar topics. Cf. Tunefalk 2015, 100–103.

493. Snickare 1999, 83; 88; 101.

494. For a thorough discussion on *pompa funebris* and *meditation mortis* read Carl Fehrman, *Diktaren och döden* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1952), 244–277.

495. *King James Bible*, Philippians 1:21, see also Snickare 1999, 83.

496. Following classical rhetoric, a funeral sermon would consist of an introduction, argumentation and conclusion. Stenberg 1998, 70.

497. Similar topics were praised in occasional poetry written in commemoration of Ulrika Eleonora, read: Avigail Rotbain, *Könets Krons: Representationer av svenska drottningar från stormaktsenvälde till medborgarsamhälle*, PhD. Diss. Gothenburgh University, (Göteborg: Institutionen för historiska studier, Göteborgs universitet, 2019),

51–63.

498. Simon Isogæus, *Æternitati sacrum! Swea pust, himla lust* (Stockholm, 1693), discussed by Snickare 1999, 101–105.

499. On such virtues cf. Olof Kolmodin, *Biblsk qwinno-spegel* (Stockholm, 1732); Alvin-record:103759; Rotbain 2019, 56; Bepler 2005, 129; Jill Bepler, 'Posterity and the body of the princess in German court funeral books,' in *The body of the queen: gender and rule in the courtly world, 1500–2000*, eds. Regina Schulte et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005), 125–155.

500. Rotbain 2019, 53.

501. Ellenius 1966, 124–27.

502. Ellenius 1966, 116–20.

503. Cf. later funerals in Rangström 2015, 104ff.

504. E.g. Ernst Areen, *De nordiska ländernas officiella belöningsmedaljer: Heders- och minnestecken från 1500-talet till våra dagar* (Stockholm: J. Beckman, 1938); Lars Stevnsborg, *Danmarks riges medaljer og hæderstegn: 1670–1990 = The decorations and medals of Denmark: 1670–1990* (København: Ordenshistorisk selskab, 1992).

505. For Charles XI's reorganisation of the military, see Rystad 2001, 244ff. Military career could be pursued by individuals who were not of noble birth e.g. Stålhammar.

506. For a thorough analysis of the imagery concerning Charles XI read Olin 2000, in particular 60–137, 249–254.

507. Charles XI reorganised several aspects within internal affairs. When he came of age and became king, Sweden's finances were a disaster. During the regency government's rule (1660–1672), the nobility had taken advantage of the passive monarchy and monopolised land and assets to their advantage, but which led to the ruin of the state finances. Starting with the Meeting of the Estates in 1680, Charles XI enforced a so-called reduction, which relocated assets to the crown and stabilised the finances. In addition to the reduction, he increased his power, and became an absolute ruler. For more information see Rystad 2001, 165–215.

508. Rystad 2001, 248ff.

509. The following analysis is, amongst other sources, based on: Ernst Areen, 'Gulmedaljer utdelade av Karl XI till svenska officerare som belöning för deras "wälförhållande" under kriget 1675–79,' *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* (1942): 4–21.

510. Areen 1942.

511. Rystad 2001, 368ff.

512. Areen 1942, 5–7. Ducats were not the currency of commoners, and 1 ducat corresponded to approx. 12 *daler kopparmynt* (thaler copper coins); in comparison, a ton of meat would cost 21 *daler kopparmynt* in 1675 (year 1670: 1 *rikdaler* = ½ *dukat*, 1 *rikdaler* = 5 ¼ *daler kopparmynt*). Lagerqvist and Nathorst Böös 2002, 21, 73.

513. Areen 1942, 12–13.

514. Areen 1942, 14.

515. RA. Riksregistraturet, vol. 530 mars 1690, fol. 186v [bildid: A0039025_00191]; Areen 1942, 9.

516. RA. Riksregistraturet, vol. 530 mars 1690, fol. 186v–187r [bildid: A0039025_00192].

517. Lindgren 1947, 140.

518. RA. Riksregistraturet, vol. 541, maj 1691, fol. 367v [bild: A0039036_0373].

519. A medal was struck to commemorate Charles XI's journey to Torneå to watch the midnight sun, see Hildebrand 1874, no. 123, 447.

520. Hildebrand 1874, no. 52–65, 408–17.
521. Areen 1942, 19–20; On an analysis of the coronation medals read e.g. Fred Sandstedt, “Med ära och härlighet krönte du honom” Ett bidrag till kunskapen om religiös bildpropaganda kring Karl XI:s makttillträde,’ in *Festskrift till Lars O. Lagerqvist* (Svenska numismatiska föreningen, 1989), 337–49.
522. On Charles XI’s physiognomy on medals read Olin 2000, 184–186.
523. Lindgren 1947, 140–141
524. Areen 1942, 7; In comparison, the British example: ‘Charles I established principle for the army that everyone who was acquitted himself creditably in a company may claim the metallic recognition.’ W. Augustus Steward, *War Medals and Their History* (London, 1915), 2.
525. RA. Kungliga arkiv. Konung Karl XI, 9, K27 ‘Specification öfwer Lefwererade Medailler A:o 1675 och 1680’ [bildid: A0073429_00024].
526. Lars-Olof Larsson, *På marsch mot evigheten: Svensk stormaktstid i släkten Stålhammars spegel* (Stockholm: Prisma, 2007).
527. RA. Riksregistraturet, vol. 530 mars 1690, fol. 186v–187r [bildid: A0039025_00192].
528. On a discussion on money and value see Meyer 2008, 14. ‘Was macht Geld zu Geld? Die Dinge werden erst dann zu Geld wenn Menschen sie zu Geld machen. Definition von Geld: Recheneinheit, Wertspeicher, Tausch und Zahlungsmittel. Aber “auch Ausdruck sozialer Beziehungen, von Intimität und Nähe, von moralischen Ansprüchen, von Identitätsarbeit und Selbst- und Fremdbildern.”’
529. Fägerskiöld ennobled 1693; Rappe ennobled 1675; Hägerflycht ennobled 1675.
530. Lars Ericson Wolke, *Svenska Slagfält* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 2003).
531. On Charles XII read for instance: Bengt Liljegren, *Karl XII: En Biografi* (Lund: Historiska media, 2000).
532. Per Sandi, ed., *Peter den store och Karl XII i krig och fred* (Stockholm: Livrustkammaren; St. Petersburg: Hermitage Museum, 1998); On Peter the Great read for instance: Robert K. Massie, *Peter the Great: his life and world*, 5th ed. [1980] (New York: Modern Library, 2012).
533. On more information on the Great Northern War read e.g. Peter Ericsson, *Stora nordiska kriget förklarar: Karl XII och det ideologiska tilltalet = The Great Northern War explained: Charles XII and the ideological address*, Studia historica Upsaliensia 202, PhD. Diss. Uppsala University (Uppsala, 2002); Peter Ullgren, *Det Stora Nordiska Kriget 1700–1721: En Berättelse Om Stormakten Sveriges Fall* (Stockholm: Prisma, 2008).
534. A snowstorm aggravated the Russians’ sight and the Swedish army attacked from two sides, which caused havoc among the Russian soldiers and many drowned in the Narva-river. The advantage led to a swift but decisive victory for the Swedes and the Russian forces retreated from Ingria [modern day Gulf of Finland/Estonia]. For a detailed account read e.g. Liljegren 2000, 75–103.
535. On the mediation of Narva read: Klas Kronberg and Anna Maria Forssberg, *Minnet av Narva: Om troföer, propaganda och historiebruk* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2018).
536. Cf. E.g. UUB Palmskiöld 53 fol. 483–500; Sylvia Ullberg, ‘Segern vid Narva – en gudagåva,’ in *Gud, konung och undersåtar: politisk predikan i Sverige under tidig modern tid*, ed. Peter Ericsson (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2007), 167–193.
537. For example: Jacob Holmsten, ‘Om Gudz nådige Hielp För vår Stoormächtigste och Allernådigste Konung CARL den XII. i Swerige. Emoot desz trolöse Granne

TZAR PETER...NARVA...' UUB: alvin-record: 258884.

538. Joachim Krüger, 'Karl XII Der "heroische" Militärmonarch Schwedens', in *Die Inszenierung der heroischen Monarchie*, Historische Zeitschrift. Beiheft 62 (München: De Gruyter, 2014), 358–81.

539. For more information of the mediation of information and the importance to keep up moral during the war read e.g. Anna Maria Forssberg, *Att hålla folket på gott humör: informationsspridning, krigspropaganda och mobilisering i Sverige 1655–1680*, PhD. Diss. Stockholm University (Stockholm: Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, 2005); (Forssberg's study ends before the battle of Narva, but outlines essential traits that also are viable for Charles XII's regency.); Kronberg and Forssberg, 2018.

540. Hildebrand 1874, no. 52, 507.

541. A portrait in miniature of Charles XI carried a similar inscription, as it accompanied his portrait with the text *Qui m'ayme me porte & qui me porte ayme La patrie* [Who loves me wears me, who wears me loves the fatherland]. Cf. Olin 2000, 44–45.

542. On Charles XII's iconography read: Peter Ericsson, 'Bilden av suveränen,' in *Makt & Vardag*, eds. Stellan Dahlgren, Anders Florén and Åsa Karlsson (Stockholm: Atlantis, 1993), 148–174.

543. Ahlström, Almer and Hemmingsson 1976, 166ff.

544. Hildebrand 1874, no. 140, 562.

545. Lars Ericson et al, eds., *Svenska slagfält* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 2003), 280ff.

546. Joachim Negelein, *Historische Gedächtnus-Müntzen des gegenwärtigen Seculi* [...] (Nürnberg, 1711), 62–63; Johann Christian Kundmann, *Nummi Singulares* [...] 1734, 48; Hildebrand 1874, no. 52, 507.

547. Berch 1773, 212. 'Liten oval penning, som Officerare låto slå, och buro i knap-phälet; sin tappra och älskade Konung till ära.'

548. Adam Lewenhaupt, *Karolinen Edvard Gyldenstolpe* (Stockholm: Geber, 1941), 169.

549. Hildebrand 1874, no. 52, 507.

550. Those who could not commission medals, even if they were small, had buttons engraved retrieved from the battlefield at Narva. Cf. for instance object at Uppsala University Coin Cabinet inv. 200831, (alvin-record: 78818); On medals and memory culture in war read: Thomas Weißbrich, 'Medaillen und Gedächtniskunst. Aspekte militärischer Erinnerungskultur um 1700,' in *Militärische Erinnerungskulturen von 14. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, eds. Horst Carl and Ute Planert. Herrschaft und soziale Systeme in der Frühen Neuzeit, Bd. 15 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlage, 2012), 155–184.

551. Cf. e.g. Burke 1992, 135ff; Lunger Knoppers 2000, 10ff; for a general discussion on satirical medals see eg. Philip Attwood and Felicity Powell, *Medals of Dishonour* (London: British Museum, 2009); Hermann Maué, 'Jenseits der Portraitmedaille vom Spott bis zur Belohnung,' in *Wettstreit in Erz Portraitmedaillen Der Deutschen Renaissance* (Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2013), 69–79.

552. Stenström 1944, 189.

553. Stenström 1944, 189.

554. UUB Palmskiöld 52 fol. 74. 'Tergeminam superare Tera fuit ultima Cura Alcidis; Caroli primus at ille labor [to defeat the three-headed beast was Alciden's last worry, but this task was Charles' first]' another list of designs fol. 39–40.

555. For transcriptions of the letters between Tessin and Cronström: Stenström

1944, 215–20. Cronström's letter with Le Clerc designs were first sent in June, which is probably the reason why they were not considered.

556. Lagerqvist and Nathorst Böös 2002, 75.

557. Stenström 1944, 190.

558. Stenström 1944, 190.

559. Walter Benjamin, *Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit*, 6th ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2010).

560. The medal is also mentioned by Snickare in combination to the victory celebrations in Stockholm. Snickare 1999, 152–153.

561. RA. RBA Bankprot. 30 maj 1687; Raymund Faltz tells the bank that in Hamburg medal artist were allowed to work free and could earn money from the princes around. See also Stenström 1944, 71 'I Hamburg finge han prägla fritt och förmente hafwa afgångh hoos dee der kringliggande furstarne.' On the medals see Hildebrand 1874, no. 45–51, 503–506.

562. See for instance: Elena Dahlberg, *The Voice of a Waning Empire: Selected Latin Poetry of Magnus Rönnow from the Great Northern War*, PhD. Diss. Uppsala University (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2014). Dahlberg also compares topoi discussed in poems with those presented on medals.

563. Alexander Dencher, 'The triumphal medals of William III of Orange and the histoire métallique of Louis XIV of France in the wake of the Glorious Revolution,' *Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde*, no. 104 (2017): 106.

564. Ossbahr 1927, no. 102–103, 156–157.

565. Hildebrand 1874, no. 75, 520; Ossbahr 1927, no. 105, 110–114, 160, 165–168.

566. Examples of similar 'medal wars' see: Fred Sandstedt, 'När björnen bråkade med elefanten. Medaljen och kopparsticket som allegorisk bildpropaganda under Karl X Gustavs krig,' *Meddelande från Armémuseum*, vol. 45/46 (1984–1986): 73–111; Leif Tengström. *Muschovitén – Turcken icke olik: ryssattribut, och deras motbilder, i svensk heraldik från Gustav Vasa till freden i Stolbova*, (Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä, 1997); Minna Skaft-Jensen, 'Traitorous Danes or greedy Swedes? Two Latin epics of the 17th century,' in *Miraculum Eruditionis: Neo-Latin Studies in Honour of Hans Helander*, eds. Maria Berggren and Christer Henriksen, *Studia Latina Upsaliensia* 30, (Uppsala: Uppsala University 2007), 81–100; Martin Tunefalk, 'Lejonet, elefanten och stenbock: svenska och danska medaljer under stora nordiska kriget,' in *Opus mixtum*, ed. Harald Nilsson, *Studia Numismatica Upsaliensia* 4 (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2009), 115–126; Hendrik Ziegler, 'Medaillenkrieg unter Ludwig XIV.: Kampf der Bilder zwischen dem Sonnenkönig und seinen 13 europäischen Kontrahenten,' *Vorträge zur Geldgeschichte* 10 (2013): 110–117.

567. Sven Grauers 'Henning Rudolf Horn,' *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, Band 19 (1971–1973), 405.

568. For an introduction to Russian political culture read for instance: Richard Wortman, *Scenarios of Power: Myth and ceremony in Russian monarchy from Peter the Great to the abdication of Nicholas II*, *Studies of the Harriman Institute* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006); on Peter the Great's medals see for instance: M.E. Diakov, *Medals of the Russian Empire*, 1, 1672–1725 (Russia, 2004).

569. Ossbahr 1927, no. 110, 166; no. 111, 167.

570. Titus Lucretius Carus (c. 99 BC–55 BC), *De Rerum Natura* V:670–80. Translation Loeb Classical library.

571. On aspects of intertextuality and the reuse of classical literature on medals read

e.g. Haidenthaler 2020.

572. On the medals with Cyrillic script: Ossbahr 1927, no. 110–114, 165–168, this particular no. 111, 167.

573. The Latin edition is discussed in: *Schlüssel zu dem Nystädtischen Frieden* [...], 1722, 304.

574. Julia Krasnobaeva, *Sveonum Monumenta Vetusta: The Numismatic Collection of Elias Brenner and Pavel Grigorievich Demidov* (Stockholm: Svenska numismatiska föreningen, 2018), 64–72.

575. On the media culture during the late 17th and early 18th century read: Briggs and Burke 2009, 73–82; Jarlbrink, Lundell, and Snickars 2019, 77–80; Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham eds., *News Networks in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016); Joop W. Koopmans, *Early Modern Media and the News in Europe: Perspectives from the Dutch Angle* (Leiden: Brill, 2018); on the mediation of Sweden see: Tobias E. Hämmerle, ‘Der nordische Fremde: Historische Untersuchung des medialen Schwedenbildes im Heiligen Römischen Reich (1500–1721),’ in *Nordlit* 46 (2020): 95–131. No study has yet examined the medal production during the Great Northern War.

576. Michael Schilling, *Bildpublizistik der Frühen Neuzeit: Aufgaben und Leistungen des Illustrierten Flugblatts in Deutschland bis um 1700*, Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur 29 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990); Andreas Gestrich, *Absolutismus Und Öffentlichkeit: Politische Kommunikation in Deutschland Zu Beginn Des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Kritische Studien Zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 99-0101261-9; 103 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 135–228.; Elena Dahlberg, ‘String Your Lyre Promptly: Magnus Rönnow’s Latin poetry from the Great Northern War as literary news reports,’ *The Economics of Poetry*, (2018): 409–442; Werner Telesko, ‘Meta-Medien: Zum pluri-medialen Charakter von Medaille und Druckgrafik in der Frühen Neuzeit,’ *Wiener Jahrbuch Für Kunstgeschichte* 65, no. 1 (2018): 59–94.

577. Cf. Hildebrand 1874, 481–611; Ian Wiséhn, ‘Bilden av Karl XII,’ *Svensk Numismatisk Tidskrift*, 7 (1993): 185–188.

578. On Peter the Great’s medals on the victory at Poltava see Ossbahr 1927, no. 134–143, 180–186; Peter From, *Katastrofen vid Poltava: Karl XII:s Ryska fälttåg 1707–1709* (Lund: Historiska media, 2007).

579. Liljegren 2000, 185ff.

580. For images on Charles XII, cf. for instance Ericsson 1993.

581. Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne 1967, 400–401; Karl-Heinz Uthemann, *Christus, Kosmos, Diatribe: Themen der frühen Kirche als Beiträge zu einer historischen Theologie*, Arbeiten Zur Kirchengeschichte 93 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 359–361.

582. Werner Gerlind, ‘Müller, Philipp Heinrich,’ in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 18 (1997), 468f. [Online-Version]; <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz66781.html> (2020-03-05).

583. Hildebrand 1874, no. 147–154, 565–569.

584. Max Berbig, ‘Wermuth, Christian,’ in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 55 (1910), 43–45 [Online-Version]; URL: <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd119098245.html#adbcontent> (2020-03-05).

585. According to Hildebrand, Wermuth had mentioned to Berch that the medals had been invented by a Swede, whose name, ‘as he recalled’ was Höpken. Hildebrand 1874, no. 149, 566.

586. Georg Nordberg, *Leben Carl Des Zwölften Königs in Schweden Mit Münzen Und*

Kupfern, vol. 2, 1746, 188.

587. Hildebrand 1874, no.150, 567.

588. Hildebrand 1874, no. 153, 568.

589. Robert R. Denndorf, *Als König Karl XII. von Schweden Gast der Rumänen war. Der Kalabalik von Bender* (Books on Demand, 2017).

590. Charles XII's debts were claimed long after his death and the Ottoman Empire sent emissaries to Stockholm to negotiate on this matter. Joachim Östlund, *Vid världens ände: Sultanens sändebud och hans berättelse om 1700-talets Sverige* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2020).

591. Hildebrand 1860, no.7, 88; Ossbahr 1927, no.165, 205–206; Georg Galster, *Danske og norske medailler og jetons: ca 1533–ca 1788* (København, 1936), 305.

592. Berch 1773, no. 144, 233.

593. Attwood and Powell 2009; Maué 2013.

594. Liljegren 2000, 247ff.

595. Berch 1773, no. 75, 266; Ossbahr also mentions this contradiction. Ossbahr 1927, 224, note 1.

596. Cf. Tunefalk 2009.

597. Cf. Stenström, who on several occasions mentions the necessary privilege to produce medals. Stenström 1944, 62; 70, 80. Also discussed in Kold 2020; and in chapter 4 of this thesis.

598. Hildebrand 1874, no. 168–175, 578–582.

599. The lack of Swedish medals from that period is probably because the state finances were on the verge to collapse. Peter Ericsson and Patrik Winton, 'Surge, Retraction and Prices: The Performance of Fiat Coins in Sweden, C. 1715–1720,' *Financial History Review* 27, no. 2 (August 2020): 256–582.

600. Hildebrand 1874, no. 171, 579–580.

601. The German word *Ruhe* can imply several meanings, such as tranquillity, calm, or quiet.

602. For a discussion and references on the printed sheet see for instance: Hämmerle 2020, 96–98.

603. The inscription could also be translated into 'from the East the hero faces the challenge, who pleases the Northern world.'

604. Personal pronoun, te, tui, tibi, te, tibi, a te, could be either dativ or vocative.

605. Mitchell 2005, 257.

606. Cf. medals listed in Hildebrand 1874.

607. Berch 1773, 234–240. Berch does not mention that the Swedish authorities commissioned the medal.

608. Within the Diet every member had one vote and the king two, yet his two votes would not help him as the parties easily could reach majority without him. Also, since the monarch was dependent on the goodwill of the estates he generally would follow in line. Göran Norrby, *Maktens Rivaler: Drottning Lovisa Ulrika, Gustav III, Axel von Fersen och Carl Fredrik Pechlin 1755–1792* (Stockholm: Carlssons, 2018), 14–16. Jonas Nordin, *Frihetstidens monarki: konungamakt och offentlighet i 1700-talets Sverige* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2009), 48.

609. For more information and references read: Michael Roberts and Lars Göran Larsson, *Frihetstiden: Sverige 1719–1772* (Stockholm: Tiden, 1995); Marie-Christine Skuncke and Henrika Tandefelt eds., *Riksdag, kaffehus och Predikstol: Frihetstidens politiska kultur 1766–1772* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2003); Charlotta Wolff, 'Aristocratic Repub-

licanism and the Hate of Sovereignty in 18th-Century Sweden,' *Scandinavian Journal of History* 32, no. 4 (1 December 2007): 358–75, Nordin 2009.

610. On some perspectives on the term *commodity* read: Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value,' in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in cultural perspective* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1986), 3–63.

611. RA. Kungl. myntverket, E1, kungl. brev volym 1, 1545–1868, Instruktioner för riksmünt gardein den 30 maj 1661. fol. 13, punkt 3: 'allehanda skådepenningar att förfärdiga och sälja, gifve vår myntmästare allena tillstånd, och förbjuda att ingen Guldsmed eller någon annan vid straff skall sig med slike penningars görande befatta.'

612. Following attempt of short description is based on unpublished archive sources (mostly RA. KA. Räntekammarböcker), UUB: Sigfrid Lorentz Gahm Persson, Biografiska samlingar, T. 16. Konstnärer. vol. 3. Medaljgravörer (alvin-record:145426); Stig Stenström's biography on Arvid Karlsteen, Torgny Lindgren's studies on the founding of the Swedish Bank. Stenström 1944; Torgny Lindgren, 'Bankens förvaltning av myntet i Stockholm 1668–1670,' *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* (1952): 116–31; Torgny Lindgren, 'Anteckningar om Rikets Ständers Banks förvaltning av myntet i Stockholm 1668–1731,' *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* (1953), 32–100; Lindgren 1955; Bo Bennich-Björkman *Författaren i ämbetet: studier i funktion och organisation av författar ämbeten vid svenska hovet och kansliet 1550–1850* (Stockholm: Svenska bokförl., 1970), 326–329.

613. On Karlsteen's salary and contract see Stenström 1944, 38, 50–51, 60–61, 268–269 (Bilaga III–IV).

614. RA. Strödda räkenskaper och handlingar tom 1630 Skattkammaren, vol. 3, 1540–1592.

615. RA. Räntekammarböcker 1651, fol. 19, 26, 30, 31; Maué 2008, 20–23.

616. Martin Tunefalk, *Äreminnen: personmedaljer och social status i Sverige ca.1650–1900*, Phd. Diss. Stockholm University (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2015).

617. Mostly private medals were struck in connection to a funeral, thereby commemorating the departed and highlighting his or her deeds in society. For instance, after the demise of Count Magnus Brahe Lord High Steward (1564–1633) a medal was ordered by his heirs to commemorate the patriarch. His grandson, likewise Lord High Steward, Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie (1622–1686), even had medals fashioned during his lifetime, which points to his close connection to the monarchy (he was married to Maria Euphrosyne of Zweibrücken (1625–1687), sister of Charles X). Further, Carl Bonde's (1648–1699) funeral medal should be mentioned as an example for similarities to royal role models. It carries the inscription AVCTA QVIDEM SED AVITA MAGIS [certainly inherited from the ancestors, but even more extended] and brings to mind Christina's coronation medal with the inscription *avita et avctam*. Cf. Tunefalk 2015, 62–63.

618. Tunefalk 2015, 111.

619. Tunefalk 2015, 74.

620. Michael Walzer, 'On the Role of Symbolism in Political Thought,' *Political Science Quarterly*, no. 2, vol. 82 (June 1967): 194.

621. Nordin 2009, 53f.

622. On the censorship see Bennich-Björkman 1970, 339ff.

623. Stenström 1944, 71; Dagmar Sommer, *Fürstliche Bauten auf Sächsischen Medaillen: Studien zur medialen Vermittlung landesherrlicher Architektur und Bautätigkeit* (Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2007), 167.

624. On negotiations between Cronström and the medallist Anton Meybusch: UUB, X 221, Sigfrid Lorentz Gahm Persson, Biografiska samlingar, T. 16. Konstnärer. vol. 3. Medalgravörer, fol. 336–357; RA. Kungl myntverket, E1 kungl brev vol. 1, 1545–1868; Kold 2020, 11–14; 270–281.

625. *Vexel Och Låhn Bancken I Stockholm, Vnder Kongl. May:tz Nådige Tilstånd och Försäkringh. Sampt Rijkzens Ständers Förordning vprättat Åhr 1668*, (Stockholm 1668) (alvin-record: 356430), provides an explanation for joining the mint with the bank, in particular paragraph IV.; On the history of the Riksbank: <https://www.riksbank.se/globalassets/media/riksbanken-350-ar/tidslinjen/den-karolinska-tiden/46-74-den-karolinska-tiden.pdf> (2020-11-08).

626. Kold 2020, 11–14; 270–281.

627. RA. Skrivelser till konungen: Skrivelser till Karl XI, volym 28; UUB, X 221, Sigfrid Lorentz Gahm Persson, Biografiska samlingar, T. 16. Konstnärer. vol. 3. Medalgravörer, 336r–338v; Kold 2020, 11–14; 270–281.

628. Haidenhaller 2015, 26–30; Kold 2020.

629. Stenström 1944, 61.

630. The *Suecia antiqua et hodierna* is a grand illustrated book by Erik Dahlberg that depicts historical landsites, buildings, cities and maps of Sweden. On the *Suecia* see further https://suecia.kb.se/F/?func=find-b&local_base=sah (2021-06-06); On Swidde's wage: Lagerqvist and Nathorst Böös 2002, 74.

631. UUB, L3166, Letter from C. Linné to P.W. Wargentín 6 November 1762. The medallist Fehrman had kept the die for a medal that depicted Linné because he had not received payment. When Linné wished to have more medals struck Fehrman craved either payment for the die or double price for each medal. (alvin-record:231587).

632. See for instance, order for a medal on the meeting of the estates. Stenström 1944, 60–61.

633. *Stockholmske Post Tidender [Posttidningar]*, 13 July 1709, 8. 'På det at hwar och en som åstundar at tilhandle sig utaf de Medailler och Skådepennigar som finnas til kiöpz här uti Kongl. Myntet i Stockholm / så är en Specification af Trycket utgången / som icke allenast utwijsar sielfwa sorterne utan och wichten; Item de slags Jettoner eller mindre Penningar som och färdige äro / at then som något theraf behöfwer kan sitt nöye få / och är ofwanbemählte Specification til finnandes uti Kongl. Bok=Tryckeriet wid Norrebro / mit emot Konungens Stall.'

634. UUB. Sv. Rar. 10:311 (3) *SPECIFICATION, På de Medailler och begärlige Skådepennigar som finnas på Kongl. Myntet i Stockholm* (Stockholm, 1709) reprinted in Evald Ziervogel, *Utkast till offentliga historiska föreläsningar öfwer Svenska Myntkunskapen* (Stockholm 1753). The list was previously published by Jan-Olof Björk, 'Medailler och begärlige Skådepennigar som den tiden kunde fås, emot betalning, på Kongl. Myntet', *Svensk Numismatisk Tidskrift*, 8 (2000): 180–185.

635. Measurements by Björk 2000, 180–185.

636. In 1707 Charles XII and the Holy Roman Emperor Joseph I signed the Treaty of Altranstädt that settled religious freedom in Silesia, which was a Habsburg territory, and the reinstitution of 120 Protestant churches. Thereby the Emperor wished to prevent Charles XII from making an alliance with the French and entering the War on Spanish Succession. At the same time, Augustus the Strong of Saxony and Poland-Lithuania, had to renounce his claim to the Polish crown and his alliance with Russia, and accept Stanislaus I as king of Poland. For more information read e.g. Hans-Wolfgang Bergerhausen, ed., *Die Altranstädter Konvention von 1707: Beiträge zu ihrer Entstehung*.

lungsgeschichte und zu ihrer Bedeutung für die Konfessionelle Entwicklung in Schlesien (Würzburg: Bergstadtverl. Korn, 2009).

637. In connection to this, it should be mentioned that all over Europe designs from older medals reappeared on wooden-gaming pieces, most common for board games like backgammon.

638. It is uncertain if Karlsteen had access to physical objects or if he consulted books, like Christian Stief's account of her life, which was illustrated with her medals. Christian Stieff, *Leben Der Weltberühmten Königin Christina von Schweden, Nach Denen Geheimsten Intrigven Und Merkwürdigsten Umständen Mit Möglichstem Fleisze Entworfen* (Leipzig, bey Thomas Fritschen, 1705), or met Christina in person. Stenström 1944, 59–59.

639. UUB, X 221, Sigfrid Lorentz Gahm Persson, Biografiska samlingar, T. 16. Konstnärer. vol. 3. Medalgravörer, fol.122; Stenström 1944, 292–293.

640. Painted genealogical chronicles were also commissioned during the Italian Renaissance see for instance: Eriksson 2020, 72.

641. For other examples see e.g. Marie-Astrid Voisin, 'Fransk Medaljschatull,' in *Svensk Numismatisk Tidskrift*, 1 (2001): 13–15; The 'Alchimistische Medaillon' illustrating the Habsburg-line could be mentioned as a dynastical medal, see Heinz Winter, *Glanz des Hauses Habsburg*, Kataloge der Medaillensammlung, Bd. 1, (Wien: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2009), 22.

642. On the concept of family trees and how the genealogical tree model was used within the sciences read: Petter Hellström, *Trees of Knowledge: Science and the Shape of Genealogy*, PhD Diss. Uppsala University (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2019); On other examples of regency suites e.g. Petter Lorens Hoffbro's woodcuts on the Swedish royals. Nordin 2009, 132–40.

643. For instance, even Prince Gustav III received a Hedlinger-suite of gilded silver medals as a Christmas present. Both his parents, Adolf Frederick and Louisa Ulrika, and his tutor Carl Gustav Tessin, deemed it to be a suitable gift for the young prince to learn about his ancestors. Torgny Lindgren, 'Kring en kunglig julklapp 1754', *Myntkontakt*, 9–10 (december 1982): 237–238; Torgny Lindgren, 'Kring en kunglig julklapp 1754 (2)' *Myntkontakt*, 9–10 (december 1983): 258–260; Merit Laine, 'En Minerva för vår Nord': *Lovisa Ulrika som samlare, uppdragsgivare och byggherre*, PhD Diss. Uppsala University (Stockholm, 1998), 43.

644. Stenström 1944, 69.

645. Gert Hatz, 'Johann Melchior und Gottlieb Friedrich Goeze, Vater und Sohn als Münzsammler', in *Numismatische Literatur 1500–1864*, ed. Peter Berghaus, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 64 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995), 197–215; Fabiankowski mentions Georg Bauer, coin dealer in Nuremberg. Anna Fabiankowski, 'Geprägt für die Ewigkeit. Medaillen Maria Theresias als Denkmäler der Herrscherrepräsentation,' in *Zuhanden Ihrer Majestät Medaillen Maria Theresias Ausstellung des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien 28. März bis 18. Februar* (Wien: Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, 2017), 55.

646. On Hedlinger: Felder 1978.

647. *Hedlinger's regentlängd* was planned to consist of 55 pieces, but only 54 were finished. All display a portrait on the obverse, including the name and title of the person. The reverse carries an inscription with short details on their life. Hedlinger sketched all medals but only completed medals from Magnus Eriksson to Frederick I, the remaining dies were engraved by his successor Daniel Fehrman and his son Carl

Gustav. Per Hendrik Lundgren engraved the last medal as late as 1842. The review of Fehrman's addition is to be read in *Stockholmsposten*, 23 March 1785. For notes on Hedlinger's waxmodels for the regency suites. UUB, Westin 294, Drottning Lovisa Ulrikas hovkassaräkning, fol. 124.

648. Lindgren 1982, 238.

649. RA. Kungl. myntverket, E1, kungl. Brev, vol.1, 1545–1868: 10 September 1747 letter from Frederick I to buy 28 dies from Hedlinger on behalf of the Crown. fol. 2; Lagerqvist and Nathorst Böös 2002, 81.

650. RA. Kungl. myntverket, E2, inkomna protokollutdrag, vol. 5 (opaginerat). Buying dies was nothing unusual, e.g. in 1738, the Crown bought medal dies from the mint.

651. Nordin 2009, on the engravings 152; on reception 178ff.

652. RA. Kungl. myntverket, E1, kungl. brev, vol.1, 1545–1868 'Instruktion för riksmünt gardein den 30 maj 1661,

s.13, punkt 3: allehanda skådepenningar att förfärdiga och sälja, gifve vår myntmästare allena tillstånd, och förbjuda att ingen Guldsmed eller någon annan vid straff skall sig med slike penningars görande befatta.'

653. Lagerqvist and Nathorst Böös 2002, 76. Year 1705, one black grouse for 3 *mark kopparmynt* (mark copper coin). 1 *mark kopparmynt* = c. 1/3 *mark silvermynt* (mark silver coin);

654. RA. RBA. Bankprotokoll, 21 November 1683; Stenström 1944, 63.

655. Lagerqvist and Nathorst Böös 2002, 22, 74. 1 *riksdaler* = 6 *daler kopparmynt*; annual salary of the bookkeeper = 1500 *daler kopparmynt*.

656. RA. RBA. Bankprotokoll, 2 June 1708 memorial; Stenström 1944, 122, note 97. 'Dock likwäl förrän man begynner sådan reparation hemställes HHr Fullm:es behag om nödigt skulle pröfwat att man förut låter förfärdiga några Medailler så goda som de kunna göras af de sorter som man wet folket frågar efter, på det man må hafwa några i förråd wid efterfrågan, och folcket ey alldeles bortwänias. Kongl. Maj:s Actiöner är fuller nödigast, och dertill några af Kongl. Familierna besynnerl. de smärre.'

657. For more background on the financial crisis read for instance: Ericsson and Winton 2020, 256–582.

658. RA. RBA Bankprotokoll, 14 August 1682, Stenström 1944, 56.

659. Cf. Sven Grauers, *Sveriges riksdag: historisk och statsvetenskaplig framställning*, Bd. 4, Riksdagen under den karolinska tiden (Stockholm 1932).

660. Fabiankowsch 2017, 61.

661. Benjamin 2010.

662. RA. Kungliga arkiv, Konung Fredrik, 12: K 41, fol. 77rv. Fol. 78–81 includes similar notes from the years 1695 and 1699.

663. RA. Kungliga arkiv, Konung Fredrik, 12: K 41, fol. 77rv. Numbers according to Hildebrand (1874) Gustav I: 6; John III: 3; Gustavus Adolphus: 236; Charles X: 28, 62, 37; Charles XI: 93, 18, 144, 145, 106, 103, 58, 55, 56, 71, 105, 76, 89, 38, 39, 96, 123, 131, 134; Ulrika Eleonora: 9, 16, 18; Charles XII: 1, 15, 17, 39, 7.

664. RA. Kungliga arkiv, Konung Fredrik, 12: K 41, fol. 77 rv.

665. For more references on Robinson see: <https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne/item.php?id=1115> (2020-04-07).

666. Jean Baudrillard, *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign* (St. Louis: Telos Press, 1981), 64.

667. For a discussion on historical value see: Alois Riegl, *Der moderne Denkmalkultus:*

sein Wesen und seine Entstehung (Wien: W. Braumüller, 1903).

668. Historical medals could be reused to decorate goblets, small caskets or snuff-boxes. This practice does however exceed the scope of this study. For examples and further references read e.g. Frédéric Elfver 'Mynt och medaljer i Nationalmuseums silversamling,' in *Svenskt silver 1500–1850* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum 2009).

669. On the perspectives on the grand tour and more references read e.g. Rainer Babel and Werner Paravicini eds., *Grand Tour: Adeliges reisen und europäische Kultur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, Beihefte der Francia, Bd. 60 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2005).

670. Ola Winberg, *Den Statskloka Resan: Adels Peregrinationer 1610–1680*, PhD Diss. Uppsala University (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2018), 291. Johan Holm was ennobled Leijoncrona in 1653, and one of Queen Christina's favourites.

671. Rachel Finnegan, 'The Travels and Curious Collections of Richard Pococke, Bishop of Meath,' *Journal of the History of Collections* 27, no. 1 (2015): 33–48.

672. Examples of courtly agents: Badeloch Noldus, 'Dealing in Politics and Art: Agents between Amsterdam, Stockholm and Copenhagen', *Scandinavian Journal of History* 28, no. 3–4 (December 2003): 215–25; Hans Cools, Marika Keblusek, and Badeloch Noldus eds., *Your Humble Servant: Agents in Early Modern Europe* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2006); Bjarke Moe, 'Heinrich Schütz as European Cultural Agent at the Danish Courts,' *Schütz-Jahrbuch Bärenreiter*, no. 33 (2011): 129–42.

673. Nisser 1934, 37.

674. Jan Heidner, *Carl Reinhold Berch Lettres Parisiennes: Adressées à ses amis, 1740–1746* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1997).

675. *Posttidningar*, 17 March 1737, 4. Medal collection available at Peter Conrad Monath's bookshop in Nuremberg.

676. *Kort berättelse om det lotteri, som efter höga wederbörandes tilstånd uti framledne medailleurens wälb:ne Hr Arfvid von Karlstens på Norremalm wid St. Claræ södra kyrckkiogata belägne huus nästkommande d. 24 majj kommer at anställas på: berörde medailleurs kostbare medaille cabinet och rara konst-cammare.* (Stockholm, 1719).

677. On the concept of *Kunstammer* (art-chamber) and more references read e.g. Katharina Pilaski Kaliardos, *The Munich Kunstammer: Art, Nature, and the Representation of Knowledge in Courtly Contexts* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013); Greger Sundin, *A Matter of Amusement The Material Culture of Philip Hainhofer's Games in Early Modern Princely Collections*, PhD Diss. Uppsala University (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2020).

678. *Kort berättelse om det lotteri [...]* 1719, 1.

679. *Kort berättelse om det lotteri [...]* 1719, 1; Medals and coins had already in the early days been a fixed part of a *Kunstammer*. One of the most well-known Baroque Art cabinets, the Augsburg cabinet by Philip Hainhofer now in Uppsala, included a collection of coins and medals. *Förteckning på the i Augsburgska cabinetet i Kongl. Academiens Bibliothek i Upsala, befintelige Romerske och Graekiske Mynt* (Uppsala 1749) (alvin-record:102985); On the cabinet see: Hans-Olof Boström, *Det Underbara Skåpet: Philipp Hainhofer och Gustav II Adolfs konstkåp*, Skrifter Rörande Uppsala Universitet 70 (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2001); on a numismatic collection in Lund see: Gitte Tarnow Ingvardson and Line Bjerg 'Reconstructing Stobaeus's Lost Collection of Coins and Medals,' in *Collecting Curiosities Eighteenth-Century Museum Stobaeum and the Development of Ethnographic Collections in the Nineteenth-Century*, eds. Magdalena Naum and Gitte Tarnow Ingvardson (Lund: Media Tryck Lund University, 2020), 78–89.

680. *Kort berättelse om det lotteri [...]* 1719, 1.
681. *Kort berättelse om det lotteri [...]* 1719, 1.
682. References on Karlsteen: Johann Hieronymus Lochner, *Samlung merkwürdiger Medaillen zweytes Jahr 1738*. (Nuremberg, 1738); Alvar Renqvist, *Arvid Karlsteen: en medaljgravör och konstnär från Karlarnes tid* (Helsingfors, 1931); Stenström 1944.
683. Woodruff D. Smith, *Consumption and the making of respectability, 1600–1800* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 69.
684. While travelling through Europe in 1563, Hubert Goltzius (1526–1583) counted 950 coin and medal collections of noblemen and scholars, and in general, it can be expected that a collection was included in most libraries throughout Europe. One can assume that a hundred years later, the number of collections would have increased. Christian E. Dekesel, *Hubertus Goltzius: The Father of Ancient Numismatics* (Ghent: Bibliotheca Numismatica Siliciana Gandavum Flandrorum, 1988); Gilbert Hess, 'Emblematik im Dienste politischer Agitation und Argumentation,' in *Society for Emblem Studies, Polyvalenz Und Multifunktionalität der Emblematik: Akten des 5. Internationalen Kongresses der Society for Emblem Studies = Multivalence and Multifunctionality of the Emblem: Proceedings of the 5th International Conference of the Society for Emblem Studies*, eds. Wolfgang Harms and Dietmar Peil, *Mikrokosmos* 65 (Lang: Frankfurt am Main: 2002), 460; Henning Wrede, 'Der Nutzen der Numismatik bei Hubert Goltzius,' in *Translatio Nummorum. Römische Kaiser in der Renaissance*, eds. Ulrike Peter and Bernhard Weisser, *Akten des Internationalen Symposiums Berlin 16. –18. November 2011* (Berlin: Franz Philipp Rutzen Verlag, 2013), 91–100.
685. *Kort berättelse om det lotteri [...]* 1719, 11.
686. *Kort berättelse om det lotteri [...]* 1719, 11.
687. *Kort berättelse om det lotteri [...]* 1719, 10. 'N:o 114 Ludovici XIV Mag. Fran. & Nav. Reg. 40 st 191 ³/₈ Lod.' The account does not indicate, which editions Karlsteen owned. On Karlsteen in France and the medals he made on Louis XIV read Stenström 1944, 158–162, 296; On Louis XIV's medals read for instance: Sylvie de Turckheim-Pey, *Médailles du Grand Siècle: Histoire Métallique de Louis XIV* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2004).
688. *Kort berättelse om det lotteri [...]* 1719, Lot 37 to 41.
689. Paula Findlen, *Early Modern Things: Objects and Their Histories, 1500–1800* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 7.
690. For example, a notification to buy a 'small medal collection.' *Dagligt Allehanda*, 27 April 1790, 5.
691. Newspapers are common sources for auctions. E.g. *Dagligt Allehanda*, 15 May 1787, 3. Notification of an auction selling a medal collection. Example of a printed auction catalogue: J. C. von Soothe, Peter Texier, and Benedix Meno von Horn, *Ansehnliches Münz- Und Medaillen-Cabinet zweiter Theil, welches den 2ten October dieses 1780sten Jahrs auf dem Eimbeckischen Hause in öffentlicher Auction verkauft werden soll durch die Mackler Peter Texier und von Horn* (Hamburg, 1780) alvin-record:206223.
692. Collections could be sold as a whole or each piece individually, for example the Royal family purchased complete collections: ATA, Antikvitetskollegiet och Antikvitetsarkivet 1629–1790, ARK 1 1-1 D 1:1 'Förteckning över erbjudna böcker och handskrifter från överste Erik Gyllengrips sterbhus 1737.'
693. Eg. Anna Johanna Grill's collection: Samuel E. Bring, 'Anna Johanna Grill och Numismatiken,' *Lychnos Lärdomshistoriska Samfundets Årsbok 1957–1958* (1958): 251–263.
694. ATA. Antikvitetskollegiet och Antikvitetsarkivet 1629–1790, ARK 1 1-1 D 1:1-

4, e.g. 'Numismata imperatorum augustarum et caesarum . . .': Katalog över riksrådet greve Jacob Cronstedts samling antika mynt och medaljer, upprättad av assessor Nils Keder; 'Förteckning av Bromells myntkabinett som kronan förvärvade'; Bromells collection also mentioned by Bring 1958, 251–252.

695. ATA. Antikvitetskollegiet och Antikvitetsarkivet 1629–1790, ARK 1 1-1 D 1: 3 'Förteckning över dupletter av guld- och silvermedaljer lämnade till räntekammaren 3 febr. 1719' and 'Handlingar rör. Försäljning och byte av dupletter ur myntkabinettet 1720–1745'.

696. ATA. Antikvitetskollegiet och Antikvitetsarkivet 1629–1790, ARK 1 1-1 D 1: 3 'Förteckning över dupletter av guld- och silvermedaljer lämnade till räntekammaren 3 febr. 1719' '[...] guld och silfwer Medaille doubletter och copier så mycket som där funnits af reent guld och silfwer til begrafnings och crönings medaillers förfärdigande.'

697. Many people kept their numismatic collection as an investment and would sell it, for different reasons, already during their lifetime. E.g. in 1775, Carl Gustaf Warmholtz sold his numismatic collection to Christian VII of Denmark see Carl Snoilsky, *Minnesanteckningar och andra uppsatser* (Stockholm 1904), 178.

698. Ernst Nathorst-Böös and Ian Wiséhn, *Numismatiska forskare och myntsamlare i Sverige fram till 1830-talet*, Numismatiska meddelanden 36 (Stockholm: Svenska numismatiska fören, 1987): 69–70.

699. I am aware that the concept of class is ambiguous during a time at which capitalism is not fully established (as it would be in the late 19th or 20th century). Here, by class, I imply different social structures.

700. *Posttidningar*, 26 August 1756, Notificationer, 4.

701. *Dagligt Allehanda*, 22 September 1786, Bortstulne och förlorade saker, 3.

702. Probably the medal depicted Peter Westerhof, secretary for the peasant estate in the parliament.

703. *Dagligt Allehanda*, 22 September 1786, Bortstulne och förlorade saker, 3.

704. For more references and a thorough discussion on society and gender in 17th century Sweden read: Kekke Stadin, *Stånd och genus i stormaktstidens Sverige* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2004).

705. Igor Kopytoff addressed the various stages of objects. His text inspired plenty of research, not least in the field of material culture studies. Kopytoff 1986, 64–92.

706. Fabiankowitsch 2017, 64.

707. The emergence of consumerism must be viewed within its cultural context, like social and cultural patterns, trade and politics. These intrinsically complex layers are all cognitive, discursive, behavioural, structural, and material and continually affect and relate to each other and impact society. Read further: Smith 2002, 69.

708. Collecting itself is highly entangled and goes hand in hand with intrinsic attitudes, practices, habits, and expectations. Examples on a variety of perspectives and more references: Russell W. Belk, *Collecting in a consumer society*, (Routledge: London, 1995); Werner Muensterberger, *Collecting: an unruly passion: psychological perspectives*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Maureen Daly Goggin and Beth Fowkes Tobin eds., *Material women, 1750–1950: consuming desires and collecting practices*, (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009). Collecting numismatics, like medal art's origin, traces back to the Renaissance and possibly even before that era. Read further Stahl 2009.

709. J. Graham Pollard, 'The Italian Renaissance Medal: Collecting and Connoisseurship,' *Studies in the History of Art* 21 (1987): 161–69; Jones 1990, 53–72; Francis Haskell, *History and Its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past* (New Haven: Yale

University Press, 1993), 13–73; Cunnally 2009, 27–47.

710. To have a scholarly attitude towards historical objects has its roots in the Renaissance *studiolo*, and became dominant in the late 17th and 18th century, the beginning of the Enlightenment. Numismatic objects were amongst other things and objects that were collected for antiquarian purposes. For examples see e.g. Read eg. Irène Aghion, ‘Collecting Antiquities in Eighteenth-Century France: Louis XV and Jean-Jacques Barthelemy,’ *Journal of the History of Collections*, vol. 14, no. 2 (1 November 2002): 193–203. For medals in connection to other ‘antiquities’: William Poole and Kelsey Jackson Williams, ‘A Swede in Restoration Oxford: Gothic Patriots, Swedish Books, English Scholars,’ *LIAS*, no. 39 (2012): 1–67.

711. Louis Jobert, *The Knowledge of Medals, or, Instructions for those who apply themselves to the study of medals both ancient and modern from the French*, (London: Printed for William Rogers, 1697), 7; cited from <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A46892.0001.001/1:6?rgn=div1;view=fulltext> (2021-09-02).

712. Expensive cravings instantly inspired opportunists to manufacture and sell forgeries of ancient or rare coins. In particular, excavations and coin hoards reduced the distance to antiquity and created new market conditions. Mark Jones et al., eds., *Fake? The Art of Deception* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

713. Wellington 2015.

714. Brenner spent 30 years of his life building his collection of 437 coins and medals, which was sold after his death in 1717. Brenner’s collection has a fascinating fate which is in detail described by Julia Krasnobaeva. Julia Krasnobaeva, *Sveonum Monumenta Vetusta: The Numismatic Collection of Elias Brenner and Pavel Grigorievich Demidov* (Stockholm: Svenska numismatiska föreningen, 2018)

715. Eliel Aspelin, *Elias Brenner: en forskare och konstnär från karlarnes Tid* (Helsingfors: Otava, 1896), 92–95.

716. On the various editions of the Thesaurus: Torbjörn Sundquist, ‘En Skatt Av Svenska Mynt. Elias Brenners Numismatiska Mästerverk,’ in *Vår lärda Skaldefru Sophia Elisabeth Brenner och hennes tid*, eds. Valborg Lindgärde, Arne Jönsson, and Elisabet Göransson, 2011, 374–89.

717. Torbjörn Sundquist 2011, 381–88.

718. On the scientific significance of Brenner’s work and more references read e.g. Krasnobaeva 2018, 73–76.

719. Brenner drew the images for the plates, but they were engraved by others, such as Herman Padt Brugge. Remediating as a way to represent a medium, but with a focus on modern media, has been described by Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding new media* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999).

720. E.g. Lochner’s Münzbelustigungen, Brandenburgischen Münzbelustigungen, Nürnberger Münzbelustigungen, Wiener Münzbelustigungen, all published in the 18th century.

721. Peter Berghaus ed., *Numismatische Literatur 1500–1864 Die Entwicklung der Methoden einer Wissenschaft* Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 64 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995); Ferdinando Bassoli, *Antiquarian books on coins and medals from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century*, Studies in the history of numismatic literature, 1 (London: Crestline, 2001).

722. E.g. *Wexiö stifts-tidningar*, no. 11, 22 March, 1794 ‘Donationer till K. Gymnasi och Stifts-Bibliotheket; in 1793 Carl Albrecht Rosenadler donated 252 coins to Uppsala university (alvin-record:109928).

723. Kilan Stobæus is another example of a keen scholar with a numismatic passion.

For information on his collection read Gitte Tarnow Ingvardson and Line Bjerg 2020.

724. For an English example of antiquarianism that describes such interdisciplinary approach: Kelsey Jackson Williams, *The Antiquary: John Aubrey's historical scholarship*, (Oxford University Press: Corby, 2016).

725. Other examples could be rune stones and archaeological findings. Much of the research had a cultural and patriotic agenda and concerned the origin of Sweden and its people. In particular, Olof Rudbeck's theories on Swedish national heritage, the *Göticism*, the belief that Swedes originated from the Goths, had far reaching effects on the scientific debate. For more information read: Bernd Roling, *Odins Imperium: Der Rudbeckianismus als Paradigma an den skandinavischen Universitäten (1680–1860)*, *Mittel-lateinische Studien und Texte*, 54, 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2020).

726. On an overview on early numismatic research in Sweden read further: Nils Ludvig Rasmuson, 'Myntkunskap och myntsamlade i Sverige före omkring 1640,' *Numismatiska Meddelanden* 28 (1933): 116–41; Otto Walde, *Äldre numismatisk litteratur i svenska bibliotek* (Stockholm, 1942); Nathorst-Böös and Wiséhn 1987.

727. E.g. Francis Watson, 'A Set of Medal Cabinets by A.-C. Boulle,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* vol. 82, no. 478 (January, 1943): 16–20; Cynthia O'Connor, 'The Charlemont House Medal Cabinet,' *Irish Arts Review* 1, no. 2 (Summer 1984): 23–27; Sigrid Sangl, '"Sedulo Qaesita recondunt" Sie verbergen, was Sie fleißig gesucht haben. Möbel für Münz- und Medaillensammlungen,' in *Pracht und Zeremoniell: Die Möbel der Residenz München* (München, 2002), 118–31; Kristina Kvastad, *Dolt i kabinett. Lovisa Ulrikas mynt- och medaljskåp från Drottningholm* (Stockholm: Kungl. Myntkabinettet, 2004); Reinier Baarsen, 'Wilhelm de Rots and Early Cabinet-Making in the Hague,' *The Burlington Magazine* 150, no. 1263 (June 2008): 372–380.

728. For perspectives on collecting and the materiality of medals during the Renaissance read e.g. Luke Syson, 'Holes and Loops. The Display and Collection of Medals in Renaissance Italy,' *Journal of Design History*, vol. 15, no. 4 (2002): 229–244.

729. On a general overview on the systematisation on early modern collections read e.g. Klaus Minges, *Das Sammlungswesen der Frühen Neuzeit: Kriterien der Ordnung und Spezialisierung* (Münster: Lit, 1998).

730. The History of Art and Collecting are intimately entangled, and this connection has left an immense impact on the subject. At the same time, the history of collecting art and numismatic objects is closely related due to their shared origin in the *studiolo*. Wolfgang Liebenwein, *Studiolo: Die Entstehung eines Raumtyps und seine Entwicklung bis zum 1600*, *Frankfurter Forschungen zur Kunst*, (Berlin, 1977); Dora Thornton, *The Scholar in His Study: Ownership and Experience in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1998); Stahl 2009, 4; Leah R. Clark, 'Collecting, Exchange, and Sociability in the Renaissance Studiolo,' *Journal of the History of Collections*, 25 (2012): 171–184.

731. Pfisterer 2008, 192.

732. For instance: David Thomann von Hagelstein, *Der Röm. Kayserl. Majestät [...] Bedenken und Vorschläge, die Anordnung, Reformation und Verbesserung desz Müntz-Wesens in Teutschland*. Augsburg, 1692; Gerard van Loon, *Inleiding tot de heedendaagsche penningkunde ofte verhandeling van den oorsprong van't geld, opkomst en onderscheid der gedenkpenningen*. Amsterdam, 1717.

733. Adriana Craciun and Simon Schaffer eds., *The Material Cultures of Enlightenment Arts and Sciences*, *Palgrave Studies in the Enlightenment, Romanticism and Cultures of Print* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

734. Paul Arnold, 'Der Ankauf schwedischer Münzen und Medaillen auf der Danziger Auktion 1717. Ein Beitrag zur Sammlungsgeschichte des Dresdner Münzkabinetts,' in *Festskrift till Lars O. Lagerqvist*, Numismatiska Meddelanden 37 (1989): 5–18; Paul Arnold, 'Johann Gottfried Richters Entwurf "Wie Ein Muntz Cabinet in Gehöriger Ordnung Zu rangieren" Ein Beitrag zur Sammlungsgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts,' in *Florilegium Numismaticum: Studia in Honorem U. Westermark*, Numismatiska Meddelanden 38 (1992): 3–13.

735. Arnold 1992, 4: 'Zur dritten Klasse zählen auch alle Medaillen, Münzen, Taler, Goldgulden, Dukaten, Groschen, Jetons, überhaupt „alle Arten von mit Gepräg versehen Stücken Metall von allerhand Figuren aller Völcker, Reiche und Sprachen.“ Dabei unterscheidet er richtig zwischen Münzen und Medaillen. Unter Medaillen versteht Richter „alles, was nicht current Münze ist.“ Größtenteils seien sie von weit besserer Arbeit als die Münzen. „Köpfe und Reverse sind höher und zierlicher gehalten und entweder gegossen oder getrieben.“

736. Richter's ideal order is but one of many. By comparing numismatic literature, which had the highest circulation during this time, and contemporary dissertations, a stringent structure appears; a division was made into ancient (Greek and Roman), medieval and modern coins and medals, as well as 'non-European' such as objects with Indian or Islamic origin. After the primary classification, the objects were organised into chronological and geographical order. In general, the three classes, *antique*, *medieval* and *contemporary*, would remain the most common overarching categories. Subsequently, the system that Joseph Hilarius Eckhel (1737–1798) suggested prevailed. His publication *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, consisting of eight volumes (1792–1798), had a decisive influence on the numismatic discipline and in particular for the study of ancient coins. It is often referred to as *the* turning point of numismatics, from a dilettante practice to scientific discipline.

737. Jobert 1697, 5. The book was initially written in French, republished several times, and translated into various languages. Queen Louisa Ulrika herself owned an edition from 1717. <http://libris.kb.se/bib/17924200?vw=full> (2020-02-04); Clas-Ove Strandberg and Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, *The Queen Lovisa Ulrika Collection of Numismatic Literature: An Illustrated and Annotated Catalogue* (Stockholm: Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, 2001).

738. Ernst Nathorst-Böös, *Anteckningar kring tidiga myntsamlingar och deras förvaring* (Göteborg: Numismatiska litteratursällsk., 1983); Sangl 2002, 118–31; Sommer 2007, 165.

739. Susan M. Pearce, *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition*, The Collecting Cultures Series, (London: Routledge, 1995), 20.

740. For more references on their collecting endeavours read e.g. Nils Ludvig Rasmusson, *Mynt- och medaljsamlare inom det svenska kungahuset: En konturteckning* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1962); Laine 1998; Skogh 2013; Theresa A. Kutasz Christensen, 'Regina Christina, Antiquario: Queen Christina of Sweden's development of a classical persona through allegory and antiquarian collecting.' PhD Diss. Pennsylvania State University, 2018.

741. On an overview of early modern gender research with a focus on material studies read for instance: Jennifer Grant Germann and Heidi A. Strobel eds., Introduction in *Materializing Gender in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2016), 1–13.

742. Berch mentioned Grill's collection amongst those he examined for his study on Swedish coins and medals. Listed in the introduction. Berch 1773; Bring 1958, 251–63;

Nathorst-Böös and Wiséhn 1987, 47.

743. E.g. Grill described in Bring 1958, 259–260.

744. On the concept of scientific networks and more references read for instance: Paula Findlen, *Empires of Knowledge: Scientific Networks in the Early Modern World* (New York: Routledge, 2018).

745. For an example of numismatic correspondence read e.g. Daniela Williams and Bernhard Woytek, 'The Schoraly Correspondence of Joseph Eckhel (1737–1798): A New Source for the History of Numismatics,' *Haller Münzblätter*, Beiträge zum 6. Österreichischen Numismatikertag 2014, VIII (2015), 45–56.

746. She was asked to write a poem on the coronation of Empress Catherine the Great, read further Elisabet Göransson, *Letters of a Learned Lady: Sophia Elisabeth Brenner's Correspondence, with an edition of her letters to and from Otto Sperling the Younger*; PhD Diss. Lund University (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2006), 41.

747. Valborg Lindgärde, Arne Jönsson, and Elisabet Göransson eds., *Wår Lärda Skalde-Fru: Sophia Elisabet Brenner och hennes tid* (Lund: Språk- och litteraturcentrum, Lunds universitet, 2011); Valborg Lindgärde, Arne Jönsson, Walter Haas and Bo Andersson eds., *Sophia Elisabeth Brenner (1659–1730) Eine gelehrte und berühmte Schwedin*, (Hildesheim: Olms, 2021).

748. On the importance of letter writing and the development of female identity read e.g. Dena Goodman, *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009).

749. Sperling was, for instance, working on a volume of learned women of his time and wished to include Sophia Elisabeth, see further: Marianne Alenius, 'Otto Sperlings 1.399 Lærde kvinder og hans kilder,' *Fund og forskning i det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger* 51 (2015): 187–212.

750. Their letters are written in Latin. For an overview and translations of the correspondence read: Göransson 2006.

751. Göransson 2006, Letter II, 29 March 1697, 156–157 (the whole letter 146–57).

752. The three crowns would become the Swedish coat of arms, which is an interesting story in itself. Erik XIV and the Danish king engaged in an infected conflict about who owned the right to the three crowns. To strengthen their claims they both issued coins with the banner. Erik XIV's antiquarian Rasmus Ludvigsson (c. 1510–1594) was supposed to collect historical Swedish objects including coins, to research the subject. The collection would become the foundation for the Swedish Royal coin collection. Henrik Schück, *Kgl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien dess förhistoria och historia*, II (Stockholm, 1933), 264ff; Hans Gillenstam 'Rasmus Ludvigsson' in *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, Bd. 29 (1995–1997), 700; Hemmingsson, 13.6 Tre kronorstvist, forthcoming, 105–107.

753. E.g. Queen Christina enlarged her numismatic collection by gifts. Rasmuson 1962, 7–8.

754. Göransson 2006, Letter XII, 197.

755. On the concept of scientific persona and more references read e.g. Lorraine Daston and H. Otto Sibum, 'Introduction: Scientific Personae and Their Histories', *Science in Context* 16, no. 1–2 (March 2003): 1–8.

756. Berch 1773, 39–40; 100–101; Berch mentions copies after the original. Johan Gottfried Böttiger (1760–1835), archaeologist on copies: '[...] sind doch nur ein kümmerlicher Nothbehelf und dienen höchstens dazu, uns eine allgemeine Vorstellung vom Bildwerk und Charakter der Münzen zu geben. Noch nie ist jemand durch bloße

Anschauung der zierlichen Kupferwerke im Fache der Numismatik auch nur ein mitelmäßiger Münzkenner geworden. Hierzu gehört ein weit sinnlicheres Erfassen und Umtasten des in flächern und höherm Relief gearbeiteten Bildes.' Cited in Britta Rabe, 'Vom Bildträger zum Objekt zum Verhältnis von antiquarischem Interesse und Reproduktionsverfahren anhand der Münzrepliken des DAI Rom,' in *Lege Artis Festschrift für Hans-Markus von Kaenel*, eds. Hans-Markus Kaenel, Rüdinger Krause, Jan-Waalke and Wulf Raeck, *Frankfurter Archäologische Schriften* 25 (Bonn: Verlag Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, 2014): 245.

757. Göransson 2006, Letter XI, 11 June 1703; 195.

758. Göransson 2006, Letter XII, 195.

759. Read further on the claim that paintings have a social nature and can create a feeling of closeness between viewer and depicted. Baader 2015, 249; Kessel 2017; Mauss 2002, 15.

760. Several editions were struck in honour of Sophia Elisabeth Brenner, both during and after her lifetime, as well as with and without the portrait of her husband, Elias. It was unusual during Brenner's time that medals honoured women while they were still alive, except members of the royal household. This fact points to Sophia Elisabeth's social standing. Torbjörn Sundquist 'Konstnärparets skådepenningar. Medaljer över Sophia Elisabet och Elias Brenner,' in *Wår lärda skalde-fru: Sophia Elisabet Brenner och hennes tid*, eds. Valborg Lindgärde, Arne Jönsson, and Elisabet Göransson (Lund: Språk- och litteraturcentrum, Lunds universitet, 2011), 486–497.

761. Tunefalk 2015, 263ff.

762. Baader discussed the art of giving the right gift. Baader 2015, 190.

763. The court medallist Johann Carl Hedlinger (1691–1771) was among his closest friend, and naturally, they conversed about medals. Likewise, Daniel Fehrman (1710–1780), Hedlinger's pupil and successor as court medallist, shared numismatic inquiries with Berch. Letter to D.F.UUB, Erik Wallers autografsamling, Waller Ms se-00194. Berch to Fehrman, 1 March 1754 (alvin-record:17133).

764. Heidner 1997.

765. In addition to his governmental work, he acted as an art dealer for Swedish aristocrats, amongst others for Count Carl Gustaf Tessin, and purchased paintings, books, sculptures, and antiquities in their name. Henrik Schück, 'Carl Reinhold Berch,' in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, Band 3 (1922), 309.

766. KB. Berch to Warmholtz, 3/14 February 1744, (5 pages on 3 fol). Transcribed and commented in Heidner 1997, 70–76.

767. Henrik Schück, *Lars Salvius: Minnesteckning. Stockholm* (Stockholm, 1929).

768. KB, Berch to Warmholtz, 3/14 February 1744, 2; 'I have not forgotten the medal on Queen Christina HOSPITALITAS AUGUSTA [royal hospitality], and I'll send it as soon as I find the occasion,' Heidner 1997, 71; On the medal see: Hildebrand 1874, no. 85, 299.

769. For more information on the medal read: Jørgen Steen Jensen, *Medaljen över Jan Baptist Tęczyński och Cecilia Vasa: ett stycke 1500-talshistoria* (Göteborg: Numismatiska litteratursällsk., 1979); Harald Wideen, 'Kring Vasamedaljerna', in *Festskrift till Lars O. Lagerqvist*, Numismatiska Meddelanden 37 (Svenska numismatiska föreningen, 1989), 481ff; Emilia Ström, 'Pierścień I Nic. Próba Atrybucji Portretu Z Gripsholmu,' *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, no. 1–2 (2011): 27–44. Bengt Hemmingsson, 'Steven van Herwijck - målare och medaljkonstnär,' *Svensk Numismatisk Tidskrift*, 6 (2021):133–138.

770. KB, Berch to Warmholtz, 3/14 February 1744, 3–4. 'Le Sire Tencin peut etre

d'une complexion bien amoureuse, et capable, comme nous le sommes aujourd'huy, de faire des folies. La Princesse avoit déjà sa medaille. L'Ambassadeur alla chez l'orfevre (car Vous sçavez que c'estoient les Medailleurs chez nous dans ce tems là) fit tirer son portrait et se joignit, au moins en effigie, à la Princesse.' [my simplified summarised translation: The count Tencin was infatuated, and able, as some of us today, to do foolish things. The Princess got herself a medal. The ambassador went to a goldsmith (because they were what medallist are in our times) and had his portrait drawn and joined with that of the Princess.]

771. Hildebrand 1874, no. 2, 328; Ödberg mentions the medal too, Ödberg 1896, 40–41.

772. Cecilia did not marry the Polish ambassador but Christopher II, Margrave of Baden-Rodenmachern (1537–1575), and for a while, she and her husband even stayed at the English court until their debts forced them to leave. For more information and references on Cecilia Vasa read: Ödberg 1896; Karin Tegenborg Falkdalen, *Vasadötrarna* (Lund: Historiska media, 2010); Karin Tegenborg Falkdalen, 'Cecilia, princessa (Cecilia Gustavsdotter Vasa),' *Svenskt Kvinnobiografiskt lexikon*, <https://www.skbl.se/sv/artikel/Ceciliaprincessa> (2021-08-29).

773. Berch himself wrote several noteworthy texts on numismatic topics, which demonstrate the thoroughness of his research. For instance, in the introduction of his opus magnum *Beskrifning öfwer swenska mynt och kongl. skåde-penningar* (Uppsala, 1773). Berch lists several titles, written in varying languages, which he turned to while examining the objects.

774. Warmholz owned a handwritten copy of Berch's work. UUB, Z4: *Beskrifn. öfvr. Skådepenningar afskrifven af C. G. Warmholz från original conceptet*.

775. Berch 1773, no. 4, 63 'häldre än en gjuten copia.'

776. The Berch-scale would become a standard system to reference the size of numismatic objects in Sweden.

777. Berch 1773, 61.

778. Berch 1773, 61. 'Hr. Tenczin (af samma släkt, som den sidste Hr. Ossolinsky) war Sänningebud ifrån Polen wid K. Eriks Kröning, och begåfwad med nog högmod at fria till Printseszan; hwaruti han tjenligen fick korgen. Icke desz mindre, då han öfwerkommit Cedilas portrait hos Gull=arbetaren, hwilken gjort den förra Medailen; lät han, som en kärleks=narr, dertil pasza sit eget ansikte. Man slutar, at Hennes Durchleuchtighet haft whad man kallar Manfolks=tycke; såsom hon ock A:O 1564 blef gift med Christoffer, Marg=Grefwen af Baden; ja, när hon war gammal blefwen, skrifwes, at hon ännu plägat älskog.'

779. The rumours sprung from the so-called 'Vadstena-bullret' where Cecilia and her lover were caught in flagrante. Ödberg 1896, 14ff.

780. Hildebrand 1874, no. 2, 328. Hildebrand writes 'som en kärleksnarr.'

781. More comprehensively addressed and for additional references overview read e.g. Michael H. Crawford, C. R. Ligota, and Joseph Burney Trapp eds., *Medals and Coins from Budé to Mommsen*, Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts 21 (London: Warburg Institute, Univ. of London, 1990); Haskell 1993, 13–25; Berghaus 1995; Pfisterer 2009, 129–203; Heinz Winter and Bernhard Woytek, *Numismatik Und Geldgeschichte Im Zeitalter Der Aufklärung: Beiträge Zum Symposium Residenzschloss Dresden, 4.–9. Mai 2009* (Wien: Österreichische Numismatische Gesellschaft, 2015). See also Christian E. Dekesel's Bibliographies on Numismatic Books from 16th until 18th century, all volumes published by Spink.

782. For more references and other aspects of early modern visualisation techniques and science read for instance: Haskell 1993; Pamela H. Smith, 'Art, Science, and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe,' *Isis* 97, no. 1 (March 2006): 83–100; Stephanie Moser, 'Making Expert Knowledge through the Image: Connections between Antiquarian and Early Modern Scientific Illustration,' *Isis* 105, no. 1 (March 2014): 58–99.

783. Tunefalk 2015, 133ff.

784. Ulrika Eleonora and Frederick remained childless and in 1743, Adolf Frederick was elected crown prince of Sweden by the Hat party. Choosing Adolf Frederick promised a favourable outcome in the peace treaty of Åbo (war against Russia) because he was also the candidate, whom Elizabeth of Russia supported. Although, the choice of candidate sparked conflicts, most notably with the peasants, who supported Charles Peter Ulrik of Schleswig Holstein Gottorp as heir, but he had already been selected to become the Russian heir. The peasants became utterly frustrated with the Hat-politics and revolted in 1743. The incident came to be known as the *Dalupproret*. For further information and references read e.g. Karin Sennfelt, *Den politiska sjukan: Dalupproret 1743 och frihetstida politisk kultur* (Hedemora: Gidlund, 2001).

785. Sennfelt 2001; Nordin 2009.

786. Fabian Persson, *Survival and Revival in Sweden's Court and Monarchy, 1718–1930*, Palgrave Studies in Modern Monarchy (Oxford: Palgrave Macmillan 2020), 66–67.

787. Hildebrand 1875, no. 27, 102. Contramedal later issued by Gustav III, mentioned in the diary of Johan Fischerström on 20 November 1773; Gustaf Näsström, ed., *En gustaviansk dagbok: Johan Fischerströms anteckningar för året 1773*, (Stockholm: Lagerström, 1951); 115–116; also discussed in Mikael Alm, *Kungsord i elfte timmen: språk och självbild i det gustavianska enväldets legitimitetskamp 1772–1809*, PhD Diss. Uppsala University (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2002), 130–135.

788. On the conflicts during the late *Age of Liberty* read for instance contributions in Marie-Christine Skuncke and Henrika Tandefelt 2003.

789. During the Diet meeting 1771–1772, the Estates agreed to a changed governmental act, which reinstated most of the king's powers. For an overview and more references on Gustav III read e.g. Beth Hennings, *Gustav III: En Biografi* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1957); Erik Lönnroth, *Den stora rollen: Kung Gustaf III spelad av honom själv* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1986); Alm 2002; Henrika Tandefelt, *Konsten att härska: Gustaf III inför sina undersåtar* (Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 2008).

790. Cf. other prizes such as those issued by the Duke of Atholl's in 1790's, read further: Tom Stainton, 'John Milton, medallist, 1759–1805,' *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. 53 (1983): 133–159; Prize medals were already used during the Renaissance see Maué 2013; for an introduction on prize medals in an European context see: Herbert Erlanger, *Origin and development of the European prize medal to the end of the XVIIIth century* (Haarlem: Teyler's tweede genootschap, 1975).

791. Some academies or societies were founded before the 18th century e.g. *Royal Society* in 1660; *Académie des sciences* in 1666 or *Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften* in 1700. However, the academies were mainly reserved to men in contrast to the salons where women could engage in the current debates and intellectual discussions. On discussions of gender and enlightenment and further references read for instance: Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor, *Women, Gender and Enlightenment* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Edmond de Goncourt and Jules de Goncourt, *Woman of the Eighteenth Century: Her Life, from Birth to Death, Her Love and Her Philosophy in the Worlds of Salon, Shop and Street*, *Women's History* (London; New York: Routledge, 2014);

Domna C. Stanton, *The Dynamics of Gender in Early Modern France: Women Writ, Women Writing* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014); Anthony J. LaVopa, *The Labor of the Mind: Intellect and Gender in Enlightenment Cultures* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017).

792. Sten Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria. Frihetstiden* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1997).

793. *Posttidningar*, 8 November 1764, the article refers to 'Leipzig, 21th Oct.'

In 1760, 1 riksdaler equalled 16 mark copper coin, and a captain would earn 150 mark copper coin per month. Lagerqvist and Nathorst-Böös 2002, 83.

794. At least the Swedish competitions were in theory open to women, although very few participated. One of them was the poetess Hedvig Charlotta Nordenflycht, who sent a contribution to the Vitterhetsakademiens competition in 1753. Torkel Stålmark, 'De Vittra Tävlingarna i "Drottningens Akademi,"' in *Drottning Lovisa Ulrika & Vitterhetsakademien*, ed. Sten Åke Nilsson (Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2003), 120–121.

795. For a short introduction into Swedish academy medals read e.g. Lars O. Lagerqvist, 'Medaljen – Massmedium och Multikonst,' in *För Efterkommande: Kungl. Vetenskapsakademiens Medaljer 1747–2007* (Stockholm: Kungl. Vetenskapsakademien, 2010), 27–30.

Other examples printed in the newspapers: *Posttidningar*, 3 August 1752, the Society in Göttingen hands out pricemedals; *Posttidningar* 1753-09-27, mentions the yearly reward distributed by French society of sciences. It was a medal worth 600 Livres; Medals honouring contributions in art and sciences issued in Mecklenburg-Schwering, Fried 2015, 271–73.

796. For more references on the academy read e.g. Inge Jonsson, *Vitterhetsakademien 1753–2003* (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2003).

797. The Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities was not the only one that advertised contests and issued medals. The *Kungliga Vetenskapsakademien* [Royal Swedish Academy of Science] was founded already in 1739, and distributed both prizes and commemorative medals to their members, yet, their prize jetons had no universal design at first. Eg. RA. Kungl. vetenskapsakademiens protokoll, vol. 7, 1747–1759, p. 524, 4 February 1758 'Sparriska præmie jettonerna'; vol 8. 1760–1771, p. 133, 4 May 1763; *Inrikes Tidningar*, 6 May 1762; Read further Sten Lindroth, *Kungl. Svenska Vetenskapsakademiens Historia 1739–1818* (Stockholm: Kungl. Vetenskapsakademien, 1967); Wilhem Odelberg, 'Kungl. Vetenskapsakademiens Medaljer', in *För Efterkommande: Kungl. Vetenskapsakademiens Medaljer 1747–2007* (Stockholm: Kungl. Vetenskapsakademien, 2010), 37–40; Tunefalk 2015, 131–59, here, particularly, 145ff; Hans Ellegren, *En akademi finner sin väg* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2020), 156.

798. On Louisa Ulrika's political determination read further: Persson 2020, 57–68.

799. Louisa Ulrika arrived in Sweden in late summer 1744. Earlier in July, she had married the Swedish crown prince Adolf Frederick per proxy in Berlin.

800. Inventories of her collections e.g.: RA. Kungliga arkiv, Handlingar rörande drottning Lovisa Ulrikas personliga förhållanden och egendom, e, K 268 [bildid: A0073306_00129]. Already in Prussia, Louisa Ulrika showed vast interest in arts and culture, and her sisters and brothers, most notably Frederick the Great, probably inspired her cultural endeavours. Cf. Laine 1998, 41–86. On Prussian ceremonies and aesthetics and more references read for instance: Bruno Preisendörfer, *Staatsbildung als Königskunst: Ästhetik und Herrschaft im Preussischen Absolutismus* (Berlin: Akad.-Verl., 2000).

801. Stålmark 2003, 115; On this particular birthday, Adolf Frederick surprised his

wife with a small Chinese-inspired pavilion ‘Kina slott’, read further Göran Alm and Max Plunger, *Kina Slott* (Stockholm: Byggförl./Kultur, 2002).

802. Laine 1998, 44.

803. For Louisa Ulrika’s involvement in art and politics read for instance: Laine 1998; Elise M. Dermineur, *Gender and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Sweden: Queen Louisa Ulrika (1720–1782)* (New York: Routledge, 2017); Claes Rainer, *Lovisa Ulrika: konst och kupp försök* (Stockholm: Bokförlaget Langenskiöld, 2019).

804. Stålmärk 2003, 116.

805. Merit Laine, ‘En Drottning Med “manna-Wett,”’ in *Drottning Lovisa Ulrika & Vitterhetsakademien* ed. Sten Åke Nilsson (Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2003), 24.

806. *Posttidningar*, 9 August 1753.

807. Stålmärk 2003.

808. Some years earlier Eric Tuneld had already published texts on Sweden’s geography, and for the contest, he had followed up on his previous writings to prove that the medieval kings were of Swedish origin.

809. Claus Bech and R. Paulli, ‘B.W. Luxdorph’ in Dansk Biografisk Leksikon https://biografiskeksikon.lex.dk/B.W._Luxdorph (2021-07-17).

810. Stålmärk 2003, 119–21.

811. Luxdorph’s poem was titled *Poema in Caroli Gustavi transitum maris baltici*.

812. Fabian Persson, *Woman at the Early Modern Swedish Court Power, Risk, and Opportunity* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021) 232–233.

813. *Kungl. Vitterhetsakademiens Dagbok 1773–1782* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1930), VII.

814. Hildebrand 1875, no. 5, 128; The German magazine *Politisches Journal nebst Anzeige von gelehrten und andern Sachen* mentions Lovisa Ulrika’s medal in 1821, Bd. 95 (1829), 151.

815. *Kungl. Vitterhetsakademiens Dagbok 1773–1782*, XIII.

816. Nils Ludvig Rasmusson, *Medaljer och Jetoner: Slagna av Kungl. Vitterhetsakademien och Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien 1753–1953* (Lund, 1953), 9.

817. Women were allowed to participate, e.g. Hedvig Charlotta Nordenflycht entered the first contest, but in general, this was unusual. Stålmärk 2003, 120–21.

818. UUB, Erik Wallers autografsamling, Waller id: 43958. René Antoine Ferchault de Réaumur to the Swedish envoye in Paris, 21 February 1754, fol. 1. ‘Au present d une valeur infinie pour moy que je viens de recevoir de sa majeste, elle a encore ajoute’un grand prix en me lefaisant parvenir par le canal de votre excellene dont la letre est pour moy un second letre d’honneur digne de cette medaille se propre a me faire naitre des sentiments de vanite que ma raison lend avec trops de succes a reprimer. Je ne cesie de la montrer; je me plains a y faire admirer dans le portrait, la reunion de la beaute, de la ma jeste et des graces.’ (alvin-record:49214). Réaumur correspondence to Louisa Ulrika, cf. Marie-Christine Skuncke, ‘Lovisa Ulrikas korrespondens med utländska författare och lärda,’ in *Drottning Lovisa Ulrika & Vitterhetsakademien* (Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2003), 40–61, here 52.

819. UUB, Westin 294, Drottning Lovisa Ulrikas hovkassaräkning, fol. 18. On 13 November (no year). Louisa Ulrika commissioned two gold medals from Fehrman, one for Mrs Grill and one for Mr Réaumur, for 1237 riksdaler.

820. Skuncke 2003, 51–52.

821. Other occasions at which a scholar was rewarded with a medal: RA. kungl. myntverket, E1, kungl. brev, vol. 1 1545–1868, Adolph Frederick 10 April 1766. Adolf

Frederick wants to send gold medals to abbé Jean-Joseph Expilly who sent him the *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et politique des Gaules et de la France*. The king orders one of Frederick I and Ulrika Eleonora the Younger, one portraying himself and his wife, and one of his son Gustav.

822. On references and minutes from the years 1753–1756 read *Kungl. Vitterhetsakademiens Dagbok 1773–1782*, I–XXVI.

823. *Kungl. Vitterhetsakademiens Dagbok 1773–1782*; Stålmärk 2003, 128.

824. Stålmärk 2003, 129.

825. *Kungl. Vitterhetsakademiens Dagbok 1773–1782*, 31. Minutes 25 January 1773.

826. *Kungl. Vitterhetsakademiens Dagbok 1773–1782*, 5. Minutes 25 January 1773. Berch had recommended this particular jeton during the meeting.

827. The importance to claim Louisa Ulrika's 'Swedishness' has also been discussed in connection to occasional poetry. Rotbain 2019, 67–70.

828. *Kungl. Vitterhetsakademiens Dagbok 1773–1782*, XI. The emblem competitions were held until 1777, when Berch died.

829. Designs for the following monarchs were asked for: Frederick I, Adolf Frederick, Gustav III, Catherine of Saxe-Lauenburg, Margaret Lejonhufvud, Catherine Stenbock (Gustav I); Karin Månsdotter (Eric XIV); Catherine Jagiellon and Gunilla Bielke (John III); Anne of Austria (Sigismund); Maria of Palatine-Simmern and Christina of Holstein-Gottorp (Charles IX); Maria Eleonora of Brandenburg (Gustavus Adolphus); Ulrika Eleonora the Younger (Charles XI); Louisa Ulrika and the current queen consort Sophia Magdalena of Denmark; *Kungl. Vitterhetsakademiens Dagbok 1773–1782*, 37–38.

830. *Kungl. Vitterhetsakademiens Dagbok 1773–1782*, 40.

831. *Kungl. Vitterhetsakademiens Dagbok 1773–1782*, 72–74; 78.

832. *Kungl. Vitterhetsakademiens Dagbok 1773–1782*, 64; Rasmusson 1953, 56. On Lanaerus: Carl Magnus Carlander, *Miniatyrmålare i Sverige* (Stockholm, 1897) 123.

833. *Kungl. Vitterhetsakademiens Dagbok 1773–1782*, 79. Loenbom had been Olof von Dalin's (1708–1763), previous member of the Academy, amanuensis. On Loenbom see Hans Gilllingstam, 'Samuel Loenbom,' in *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, Bd. 24 (1982–1984), 88.

834. Rasmusson 1953, 56.

835. *Kungl. Vitterhetsakademiens Dagbok 1773–1782*, 79. Similar competitions were held the following years and at the most four first prizes, and several *accessits* were distributed each time, see *Kungl. Vitterhetsakademiens Dagbok 1773–1782*, 83ff.

836. Cf. with names in Rasmusson 1953, 53–57.

837. Cf. Tunefalk on the role of medals within social mobility and discursive renegotiation of status. Tunefalk 2015, 131–159.

838. In the mid-18th century, the peasants, workers and commoners inhabited an improved position within the Swedish society, not least acknowledged by their strengthened representation in the parliament. Ragnar Olsson, *Bondeståndet under den tidigare Frihetstiden: val, organisation och arbetsätt* (Lund, 1926); For a general introduction and more references to Swedish politics of the 18th century see: Karin Sennefelt, *Politikens hjärta: medborgarskap, manlighet och plats i frihetstidens Stockholm*, Stockholms stads monografiserie 216 (Stockholm: Stockholmia, 2011).

839. Fabiankowitsch mentions that under Maria Theresa's reign (and also in general) medals and the person wearing them would have the function of a role model, and that the distribution was oriented on merit and achievement. Fabiankowitsch

2017, 62.

840. Laine 1998, 142; Tandefelt 2008, 47.

841. Adolf Frederick and Louisa Ulrika were crowned 26 November 1751 and it appears to have been the most expensive coronation in the history of Sweden. Nordin 2009, 89; on the ceremony see 94ff.

842. I have not been able to determine how often or how many medals were issued to spinners during 1751–1756. However, it would be an excellent task for upcoming research to determine the size of the edition.

843. RA. Kungl. Myntverket D 1:II. The inventory lists no new dies from 1756 to 1761.

844. RA. Kungl. Myntverket D 1:II. The inventory of dies from the royal mint dated 1778 and 1792.

845. Göran Norrby, *Maktens Rivaler: Drottning Lovisa Ulrika, Gustav III, Axel von Fersen och Carl Fredrik Pechlin 1755–1792* (Stockholm: Carlssons, 2018), 39–40; On people's political consciousness see Nordin 2009, 234–235.

846. Tandefelt 2008, 41–42.

847. The medal was reissued by Charles XIV John cf. Hildebrand 1875, no. 68, 360. Also issued later see for instance the medal in Upplandsmuseet from 1949. inv. UM13434, <https://digitaltmuseum.se/011023867716/medalj> (2020-09-09).

848. *Inrikes tidningar*, 30 April 1787, under Wexiö 28 Maji, (May is probably typoed since the newspaper was published in April).

849. On economics politics read e.g. Leif Runefelt, *Dygden som välståndets grund: dygd, nytta och egennyttia i frihetstidens ekonomiska tänkande*, Stockholm studies in economic history 43 (Stockholm: Stockholms universitet: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2005).

850. Kanton was inspired by *Kina slott*. On her birthday in 1753, Adolf Frederick gifted Kina slott to Louisa Ulrika, a pavilion in Chinese design. It was highly appreciated and rebuilt in durable material. Similar to Marie Antoinette's *Petit Trianon*, Kina slott was a place for the royal family to escape the formality of court life. Read further, Alm Plunger 2002.

851. Laine 1998, 141–42.

852. RA. Kungl. Myntverket D 1:II. The inventories attest the year 1753 next to the edition.

853. Tunefalk mentions that the use of noble titles also drastically decreased during the second half of the 18th century. This is another indication of a changing ideal. Tunefalk 2002, 135.

854. One *riksdaler* (c. 29–30g) equals 21 *daler kopparmynt*, which was a copper coin and the denomination that was used on a daily basis. A worker earned c. 5 dkm per week. Currency and counting based on the year 1765. Lagerqvist and Nathorst-Böös 2002, 23; 83.

855. *Inrikes tidningar*, 12 November 1772, 2. Distribution of a farming medal.

856. Hildebrand 1875, no. 54c–56, 120–21.

857. However, it is unclear how the distribution was managed as I could not find any records.

858. Hildebrand 1875, no. 54c, 120; On Peyron: https://www.adelsvapen.com/genealogi/De_Pejron_nr_2136 (2020-08-18).

859. On the king as pater familiae see Nordin 2009, 227–231.

860. On tensions read e.g. Nordin 2009, 50–53.

861. Hildebrand 1875, no. 35, 106; no. 8, 129; discussions concerning the medal in *Borgarståndets riksdagsprotokoll*, 12, 1760–1762, del 3, ed. Olof Holm: 8 May 1762, 1837;

and 21 June 1762, 2170; *Prästerskapets riksdagsprotokoll*, 15, 1760–1762, del 2, ed. Olof Holm: 7 May, 1762, 1159–1160.

862. The decision on the rewards was taken in April 1763. *Posttidningar*, 20 October 1765, 2 '[...] hwar sin Medaille af de, som uti Hans Kongl. Maj:ts nådige Bref af deb 11 April 1763 åro nämde [...]' Hildebrand 1875, 119.

863. Berch already started to invent the design and inscription for the medals in 1760. See RA. Kammarkollegi protokoll, juli–december 1760, fol. 399–401 (31 July 1760); fol. 409–410 (4 August 1760). But it seems as if the distribution first started in 1765, see RA. Rådsprotokoll i inrikes civila ärenden 1765. Medals celebrating the country's treasures (e.g. mines) were not specific to Sweden but can be found in other countries too, see for instance Vera M. F. Hammer, 'Bergbau Auf Medaillen Unter Maria Theresia', in *Zuhanden Ihrer Majestät: Medaillen Maria Theresias: Ausstellung Des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien*, 28. März 2017 Bis 18. Februar 2018 (Wien: Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, 2017), 68–75.

864. Hildebrand 1875, no. 53–54, 119–120.

865. Hildebrand 1875, no. 35, 255 (Gustav IV Adolf); no. 32, 293 (Charles XIII); no. 66, 360 (Charles XIV John); no. 43, 422 (Oscar I).

866. How royalty came in contact with suitable role models is slightly unclear. Some were distributed after a written application see for instance: *Inrikes Tidningar*, 30 April 1764. 1 'Karlstad, 19 April [...] på erhållen skriftelig anmodan, detta Stifts Biskop Doct. Lagerlöf, uti hederligt Samqwäm, til Borgmästaren Johan Eliander det Nåde-tecken af en Guld-Medaille med sin kädje, som honom i nåder blifwit skänkt, och är förundt at bära på bröstet [...]' During Gustav III's reign medal distributions were diligently processed by the administrative Chamber. Tandefelt 2008, 82–83.

867. *Posttidningar*, 28 October 1765, 2–3.

868. *Posttidningar*, 28 October 1765, 2–3.

869. *Skeppbron* referred to the quay at Stockholm harbour and the street in the old town of Stockholm, where many of the merchants had their offices and warehouses. Of course, this intermingling between merchants and noblemen was frowned upon by some members of the nobility. Next to royal rewards, their beneficial endeavours were, like with Claes Grill (1705–1767) or Niclas Sahlgren (1701–1776), honoured by the Royal Academy of Sciences, which had medals struck in their honour (after they had donated a considerable amount of money). Tunefalk 2015, 138–40.

870. Gustav III continued to gratify individuals who had done outstanding services for the Swedish culture, science or society. In 1785, he introduced the *Illis Quorum* medal. The medal would display his portrait on the obverse and carry the inscription *ILLIS QUORUM MERUERE LABORE* [for those whose labours have deserved it] written in four lines within a thick laurel wreath. Like the previous medals, the reward should be worn visible, and for that reason, it was bestowed upon the recipients attached to a golden or silver chain; Hildebrand 1875, no. 105–106, 207.

871. Gustaf Johan Ehrensvärd, *Dagboksanteckningar Förda Vid Gustaf III:s Hof D. 1 Journal för åren 1776 och 1779 samt berättelse om svenska teaterns uppkomst*, ed. Erik Vilhelm Montan (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1877), 39–40. Entry, Tuesday 18 June 1776 '[...] hon hade tjent sitt herrskap under deras välmagt, blifvit under deras fattigdom upsagd, men lika fullt i flere år utan lön, knapt med föda, icke tröttnat at tjena dem, ha vård om deras barn och trösta dem i deras elände. Denna gerning var baron Sparre glad at ha råkat; han börjande härom at predika som en prest med tårar i ögonen och så högt, at alla spectateurerne, som stodo och sågo på soupén, voro vitnen til des zèle och dess

lust at upmuntra dygd. Öfverheten bevekes ånyo. Enkedrottningen ger denna piga 600 daler, H.M. 1200 och en quete formeras af alla, som sutto vid bordet, som ock gjorde en anseelig summa. Alt detta tog baron Sparre emot, berättade dessa lyckliga personer med emphase all den sällhet, som företod dem, och med den sous-entendû, at det var han, som skaffat det. Nu skulle consistorium sammankallas, pigans gerning därstedes omtalas, hon därstädes få sin första compliment, sen skulle hon upkallas i magistraten, där skulle penningarna tillställas henne, där skulle hon få en medaille, den hon alltid skulle bära som ett bevis af den belöning, som åtföljer dygd, trohet och en ärbar vandel.’

872. *Pro Patria* (founded in 1766) and received royal statutes in 1772. On the rewards read: Bengt Gustaf Jonshult, *Kungl. Patriotiska Sällskapets Medaljer och Hedersbelöningar* (Stockholm: Kungl. Patriotiska sällskapet, 2019).

873. Jonshult 2019, 13ff. *Kungliga Patriotiska sällskapet* rewarded efforts that contributed to trade and the economy (also housekeeping); later medals were issued to honour loyal service see Hildebrand 1875, no. 65, 259; see also medals issued by Empress Maria Theresa were adjusted to the time of service, Fabiankowitsch 2017, 61.

874. Jonshult 2019, 32–35.

875. Jonshult 2019, 48ff. Examples were these medals were distributed: *Inrikes tidningar*, 7 January 1773; *Inrikes tidningar*, 12 May 1774; *Inrikes tidningar*, 22 September 1774.

876. Nordin 2009, 120–23.

877. Tandefelt 2008, 80–85.

878. Hildebrand 1875, no. 21, 153; Tandefelt 2008, 75–78.

879. Eg. Tandefelt 2008, 325; Johan Fischerström, *En gustaviansk dagbok: Johan Fischerströms anteckningar för året 1773*, ed. Näsström (Stockholm, 1951), 34–35. Entry 24 January 1773; other occasions at which medals were distributed e.g. 30 January 1773, 39; 9 February 1773, 49.

880. Alm 2002.

881. Tandefelt 2008, 41. The aspect of democratising honour has also been discussed by Sven Delblanc, *Ära och Minne: studier kring ett motivkomplex i 1700-talets litteratur* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1965);

882. Entry 7 February 2019 <https://phaleristica.com/tag/gruvmedaljen/> (2021-07-18).

883. Tandefelt 2008, 40. ‘Att den kungliga nådegåvan var en av undersåtarna eftertraktad och begärlig belöning och uppmärksamhet från kungens sida var ändå grunden för hela institutionen.’

884. On the power structures of the nobility and the mechanisms of elevated status read: Pierre Bourdieu, *The State Nobility*, transl. Lauretta C. Clough (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996).

885. Göran Norrby, *Adel i förvandling: adliga strategier och identiteter i 1800-talets borgerliga samhälle*, PhD Diss. Uppsala University (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2005), 80; Tunefalk 2015, 153.

886. This rule does not apply to all orders.

887. The history of Orders has a long tradition and reaches back to the Knights Templar or the Order of the Golden Fleece. It developed from courtly etiquette and medieval ideals of chivalry and during the mid-18th century, a revival occurred in the whole of Europe, and new Orders were founded. In general, Phaleristics is a dense subject, and likewise the history of orders. They can be separated by orders of chivalry (eg. Order of the Garter) military orders, orders of merit fraternal orders, etc. Very

simplified the hierarchy within and order is generally indicated by the titles (e.g. first knight, second knight) and the insignias (big cross, small cross). For more information read for instance: Eckhart Henning and Dietrich Herfurth, *Orden und Ehrenzeichen. Handbuch der Phaleristik* (Köln: Böhlau, 2010).

888. Tandefelt 2008, 39–40.

889. The Vasa monarchs had once instituted orders, Eric XIV the *Salvator Orden*, John III the *Agnus Dei*, Charles IX the *Jehova Order*, and Queen Christina the *Order of the Amarante* but these were no lasting institutions. See further: Karl Löfström, *Sveriges riddarordnar* (Stockholm, 1948).

890. Gustav III's sketches and notes for the order: UUB Gustavianska samlingen, Gustav III:s egenhändiga skrifter: 4. Ceremonialia. Ordinar. Hovfester. Tornerspel med mera, fol. 161ff; Example of distribution: Medal of the Vasa Order given to the maid Sara Nilsdotter: *Inrikes tidningar*, 27 June 1776, 3; Ernst Areen and Sten Lewenhaupt, *De nordiska ländernas riddarordnar* (Stockholm, 1932); Areen 1938; Fredrik Löwenhielm, *Svenska ordnar och medaljer* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 1998), 17–28; Tandefelt 2008, 58–57.

891. Areen 1938; Löwenhielm 1998, 30–31; Tandefelt 2008, 58.

892. Tandefelt 2008, 41–42.

893. For early Swedish Orders read: Areen and Lewenhaupt 1932; Löwenhielm 1998, 17.

894. Jonshult 2019, 9. When a medal is connected to an Order, then the ribbon's execution to which it is attached would identify its context, as for example the ribbon of the medal of the Vasa Order was green.

895. On tokens of honour read further: Hans-Ernst Mittig, 'Abzeichen,' in *Handbuch der politischen Ikonographie*, Bd 1, eds. Uwe Fleckner, Martin Warnke, and Hendrik Ziegler (München: Beck, 2014), 22–28.

896. Most known are the two editions discussed in this chapter, although, there exist military medals issued by the Kungl. Patriotiska sällskapet. E.g. RA. Kungl myntverket, E1 kungl brev vol. 1 1545–1868, 27 September 1785.

897. Gustav III's actions and the rewards in connection to the Russo-Swedish War have already been thoroughly discussed. E.g. Christopher von Warnstedt, 'Medaljerna för tapperhet till sjöss,' *Forum Navale*, Skrifter utgivna av Sjöhistoriska Samfundet, no. 29 (1974): 32; Lars O. Lagerqvist, 'Fredrikshamns- och Svensksunsmedaljerna 1790. Två av Gustav III:s belöningar från Ryska kriget 1788–1790,' *Svensk Numismatisk Tidskrift*, 2 (2006): 29–43; Alm 2000, 373–390.

898. On and overview of the war and Gustav III's performing strategies read: Tandefelt 2008, 253–327.

899. Lagerqvist 2006, 30.

900. Lagerqvist 2006, 30.

901. Hildebrand 1875, no. 103–104, 206–207.

902. RA. Kammarkollegiet Kansliet ca 1618–1879, A1a: 340 (1789 May–August) 12 June, fol. 214v–215r.

903. RA. Kammarkollegiet Kansliet ca 1618–1879, A1a: 340 (1789 May–August) 15 July, fol. 344v–345r.

904. Johann Stolzer and Christian Steeb eds., *Österreichs Orden vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Graz, 1996).

905. Yet, the value was then only 1/6 *riksdaler*. RA. Kammarkollegiet Kansliet ca 1618–1879, A1a: 340 (1789 May–August) 15 July, fol. 344v–345r. On 15 July, the bill

came from the mint, accounting for each object à 1/6 Rd, for 200 rd specie, including the eyelets for 37 rd and 24 rd specie.

906. RA. Kammarkollegiet Kansliet ca 1618–1879, A1a: 340 (1789 May–August) 15 July, fol. 344v–345r.

907. Belting 2014, 62.

908. RA. Kammarkollegiet Kansliet ca 1618–1879, A1a: 340 (1789 May–August) 12 June, fol. 215r.

909. Warnstedt 1974, 74–77.

910. Warnstedt 1974, 74–77.

911. Warnstedt 1974, 50. Von Warnstedt does not mention Schützencrantz' whole name, but I suggest that it was Johan Herman. One example of distribution in Uppland: *Inrikes Tidningar*, 7 June 1790.

912. Warnstedt 1974, 33. It remains unsure if the medal was just confiscated, reused and given to someone else or if it was destroyed.

913. On Gustav III's propaganda as the realm's saviour and first fellow citizen read Alm 2002, 116–119; Tandefelt 2008, 139ff; Annie Mattsson, *Komediant och riksförrädare: handskriftcirkulerade smädeskrifter mot Gustaf III*, PhD Diss. Uppsala University (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2010), 55.

914. Warnstedt 1974, 33.

915. *Dagligt Allehanda*, 30 September 1791, 3 (medal for bravery at sea lost); *Dagligt Allehanda*, 23 September 1791, 3 (soldier lost his medal); *Dagligt Allehanda*, 23 December 1791, 4 (medal for bravery in the field lost).

916. Lagerqvist 2006, 30.

917. Tandefelt 2008, 292ff; Mattsson 2010, 179ff.

918. Transcribed letter published in Lagerqvist 2006, 31.

919. The Estates also launched a medal project to commemorate Svenskund. Hildebrand 1875, no. 83, 196; Torgny Lindgren, 'Ständernas medalj 1792 över segern i Svenskund,' *Myntkontakt*, 7 (October 1981): 132–136.

920. Schück 1943, 159–163; Lagerqvist 2006, 31; On Masreliez read: Åke Meyerson, 'Louis A Masreliez,' in *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, Bd. 25 (1985–1987), 237; Göran Alm, *Franskt blev svenskt: Den franska konstnärsfamiljen Masreliez i Sverige under 1700-talet* (Lund: Signum, 1991); Daniel Prytz, 'Louis Masreliez och Gustav III:s medaljhistoria. Nyklassicismens ideal i miniatyr,' Masters thesis, Högskolan på Gotland 2009.

921. UUB. Westin 635, 55.

922. Tandefelt 2008, 328–30.

923. Catherine the Great also distributed medals after the war. Read further e.g. Ulla Tillander-Godenhielm, *The Russian Imperial Award System during the reign of Nicholas II 1894–1917*, (Helsinki: Suomen muisnaismuistoyhdistys, 2005), 273; Per-Göran Carlsson, 'Om utdelade tapperhetstecken från freden i Wärälä 1790,' *Svensk Numismatisk Tidskrift*, 1 (2007): 4–7.

924. Lagerqvist 2006, 35–37. Depending on if the additional metal was cut out around the anchor or not the weight could vary greatly.

925. Hildebrand 1875, no. 75–79, 193–195.

926. For a more thorough introduction and more references on the medal and its production read: Lagerqvist 2006.

927. Lagerqvist 2006, 33–34, cited from Leonard von Hauswolff, 'Berättelse om Högtidligheten, då Medaillen utdeltes åt de Herrar Officerare, som bivistat Segrarne vid Fredricshamn den 15 Maji och uti Swenskund en 9 Julii 1790,' *Historiska Bokhan-*

dels Almänna Tidningar no. 38 och 39, 1791.

928. *Åbo Tidningar*, 8 August 1791, nr 32, 3. 'Den 24 sisl. Julii, som war en Söndag, utdelades i Domkyrkan härstädes til de Herrar Officerare af Lif=Dragone Regementet samt Åbo och Björneborgs Läns Infanterie Regementen, som biwistat de genom Konungens ärorika segrar wid Fredrikshamn och uti Swensksund utmärkte Sjöslagen, de Guld=Medailler, whilka Hans Maj:t Konungen nådigst täkts förordna at til wedermäle af Deß Kongl. nåd bäras af de Herrar Officerare, som haft den offattbara lyckan at under Monarkens egit höga befäl i förenämnde Sjöslag få afgifwa prof af den tapperhet, som i alla tider warit ifrån Swenska Krigshären oskiljaktige. Sedan de Herrar Officerare som skulle undfå Medaillen och alle til Högtidlighetens firande kallade Personer woro å Lands=Höfdinge Residencet församlade, upträdde Proceßionen derifrån kl. wid påß half Tolf f.m. til Dom=Kyrkan, under Fält=Musique och styckeskotts loßande ifrån de å Bron planterade Stadens Canoner, samt Parade och Stads wakten, genom en långs at stora Kyrkogatan af 400 dels Sjömän dels timmermän och Handtwärks lärlingar formerad have, hwilken wid Kyrko porten emottogs af en annan, som utgordes af Grenadierer. Sedan Proceßionen war i Choret ukommen, öfwerlämnade Herr Stats=Secreteraren och Lands=Höfdigen von Willebrand, efter et tilfället lämpad wackert Tal, Medaillerne til de närwarade Herrar Officerare af ofwannämde Regementen.'

929. *Åbo Tidningar*, 8 August 1791, nr 32, 3.

930. For more information and references on Gustav III as a military man read Tandefelt 2008, 231–337.

931. Rangström 2015, 146.

932. *Dagligt Allehanda*, 21 December 1791, 4.

933. Lagerqvist 2006, 37.

934. Schück 1943, 126ff.

935. Svensén 2010. The competitions also went on shortly after Gustav III's death. *Inrikes Tidningar*, 19 April 1792, 3.

936. Svensén 2010, XIII. The nourishing of the Swedish language was taken over by the Swedish Academy, founded the same year. Svensén argues that Gustav III had in mind that the Academy of Letters and the Swedish Academy were supposed to work together, which did not come to pass.

937. On the competitions 1786–1793 read Schück 1943, 97–125.

938. Rasmusson 1953, 24–28.

939. Tamás Sárkány, Ian Wiséhn, and Lars O. Lagerqvist, *Gustav III:s Medaljhistoria* (Stockholm: Kungl. Myntkabinettet, 1992), 12; Alm 2002, 71.

940. Alm 2002, 71; Svensén 2010, XIV; for an example how a medal could be commissioned and vetted read Roger Jonsson, 'Medaljerna som slogs till minne av Göteborgs räddning under danskarna 1788,' in *Svensk Numismatisk Tidskrift*, 8 (2018): 176–178.

941. Adlerbeth published his thoughts on which images, inscriptions, symbols etc. he deemed to be suitable for medals. Gudmund Göran Adlerbeth, 'Anmärkningar rörande det som förnämligast bör iakttagas vid Skådepenningars uppgifvande' in *Kongl. Vitterhets- Historie- och Antiquitets Academiens Handlingar*, 7 (Stockholm, 1802), first published 1791; Tunefalk 2015, 165f; On Adlerbeth read Leif Landén, *Gudmund Jöran Adlerbeth: en biografi*. Filologiskt arkiv 43, (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2000).

942. Tunefalk 2015, 167.

943. ATA. Äa "E1 "Kongl. Maj. Skrifelser" 15 December 1787; Schück 1943, 182ff;

Allan Ellenius, *En Gustaviansk Medaljdebatt*, Antikvariskt Arkiv 23 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1963), 62; Bennich-Björkman 1970, 345–351; Tunefalk 2015, 166.

944. Examples of Gustav III commissioning medals see UUB. Westin 634, fol. 34–37.

945. Alm 2002, 71; Wellington 2015, 39–78.

946. In 1781, Sparre was appointed as Gustav IV Adolf's governor, which indicates Sparre's standing at court. He also acted as an influential figure in Stockholm's cultural society.

947. UUB, Westin 634. Eg. Receipts from Ljungberger, fol. 73–74; Letters from Ljungberger and Fehrman, fol. 78–81; On the process read further Schück 1943, 177–178; Bennich-Björkman 1970, 342ff; Prytz 2009, 18.

948. For an overview of the process and more references read: Alm 2002, 70–76.

949. On the work of the Academy: Alm 2002, 70–72.

950. Bennich-Björkman 1970, 347ff; Tamás Sárkány, 'Ära och Minne Gustav III:s Medaljhistoria,' *Svensk Numismatisk Tidskrift*, 2 (1992), 28–30; Alm 2002, 53–58; Bengt Hemmingsson, 'Gustav III:s medaljhistoria några bibliografiska notiser', *Svensk Numismatisk Tidskrift*, 1 (2011): 4–9.

951. On medals on Maria Theresia read e.g. Haag, 2017; on Catherine the Great: M.E. Diakov, *Medals of the Russian Empire*, 2, 1725–1796 (Russia, 2005). Frederick the Great of Prussia was not inclined towards medals so he would stand out as a monarch without a defined medallic history in the tradition of Louis XIV.

952. Wellington 2015.

953. Alm 2002, 53–54; as an example the medal that was issued by the city of Gothenburgh would be included in his *Histoire métallique*, see Jonsson 2015.

954. Hildebrand 1875, no. 49, 174–175.

955. Hildebrand 1875, no. 20, 153.

956. Louis XIV printed medal history: *Médailles sur les principaux événements du Règne de Louis le Grand avec des explications historiques, par l'Académie Royale des médailles & des inscriptions*. Paris 1702; read also Turckheim-Pey 2004.

957. Alm 2002, 73. After Gillberg's death Martin Heland (1765–1814) continued the project; Hemmingsson 2011.

958. Alm 2002, 58.

959. On the prevailing style read for instance: Margareta Nisser-Dalman, *Antiken som ideal: det antikiserande inredningsmåleriet och dess sociala funktioner i högreståndsmiljöer i Dalarna och Gästrikland 1791–1818*, PhD Diss. Uppsala University (Uppsala: Fronton, 2006); Prytz 2009.

960. For more information read Torgny Lindgren and Lars O. Lagerqvist, 'Gustaf Ljungberger,' in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, Band 23 (1980–1981), 754; Ulla Westermark, 'Lars Grandel,' in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, Band 17 (1967–1969), 222.

961. Ellenius 1963, 78–89; Bennich-Björkman 1970, 342ff. Tunefalk 2015, 163ff.

962. Haidenthaler 2020, 303–304.

963. Receipts for the medal history see UUB, Westin 636; Bennich-Björkman 1970, 347–349; Alm 2002, 76–80; Hemmingsson 2011, 7–8.

964. *Hwad nytt?* 26 May 1781, 1. 'The superintendent of Lübeck, Dr Joh. Ad. Schinmeier, Mr Joh. Bernoulli, Royal Astronomer from Berlin, and Mr Paul Frisi Math. professor in Milan, were each graced with two big gold medals, one with the crown prince's baptism, and one commemorating the revolution. The inscription reads: Libertas Manens.'

965. Gustaf Johan Ehrensvärd, *Dagboksanteckningar förda vid Gustaf III:s hof* D. 2

Journal för år 1780, bref och minnen 1770–79 samt ministerdepescher 1780–83, ed. Erik Vilhelm Montan (Stockholm, 1878), 98. Entry 6 March 1780; Bengt Hemmingsson, 'Haupts medaljskrin till den kungliga gåva,' *Svensk Numismatisk Tidskrift* 7, (2010):149–150.

966. Gustav III, *Konung Gustaf III:s Skrifter i politiska och vittra ämnen; tillika med dess brefvexling. Med Konungens Allernådigste Tillstånd. Fjerde Delen.*, ed. Johan Gabriel Oxenstierna (Stockholm, 1808). Gustav III Matsson, 1 November 1779.

967. Isidor Adolf Bonnier, *Anteckningar om svenska bokhandlare intill år 1900 jämte strödda notiser från senare tid* (Stockholm, 1935), 80.

968. Alm 2002, 76.

969. *Hwad Nytt?*, 22 January 1774, 3–4 (bihang). The medal to be issued for Gustav III's birthday was mentioned in the newspaper. Assumingly, Gustav III's medals were also written about in newspapers abroad, given that the same was done in Sweden, like a notice from Vienna, which mentions that a medal was struck to celebrate the nuptials of the Habsburg princess Maria Antonia and Louis XVI of France. *Posttidningar*, 24 May 1770, 1.

970. Such notifications on medals were printed quite frequently e.g. *Hwad Nytt?* 14 October 1775, 1.

971. UUB Westin 634, fol. 29.

972. Alm 2002, 78.

973. Alm 2002, 78–79.

974. Ian Wiséhn, 'Tryckplåtarna till Gustav III:s Medaljhistoria,' *Svensk Numismatisk Tidskrift*, 1 (1999): 14–15; Hemmingsson 2011.

975. Numbers according to Alm. Alm 2002, 73.

976. For more information and references on the politics during the last years of Gustav III's reign read: Alm 2002, 240ff; Mattsson 2010, 178ff.

977. For instance: Lars Ericson Wolke, *Mordet på Gustav III* (Lund: Historiska media, 2005); Ernst Brunner, *Anckarström och kungamordet: historien i sin helhet* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 2010).

978. Rangström 2015, 104–137.

979. Rangström 2015, 134–137.

980. *Inrikes Tidningar*, 24 May 1792, 3.

981. Rangström 2015, 137.

982. Rangström 2015, 134; Gustav III was on lit de parade in April, see Rangström 2015, 146–47.

983. *Stockholmsposten*, 14 May 1792; other prints on the funeral *Inrikes Tidningar*, 14 May 1792, 4.

984. Lindgren 1947, 146. 'Kongl. Slottet, hwarifrån wägen tages utföre Stora Kyrko-brinken til Riddarhus Torget, Riddarholms Kyrkogården och sedan på platsen der utanföre samt vidare til Munkbron, Södermalms Torg förbi Skeppsbron öfwer Norrmalms Torg til Nya Kungsholms Bron.'

985. Ovid, *Metharmorphes*, 9:269–270: 'parte sui meliore viget, maiorque videri coepit et augusta fieri gravitate verendus' [he gained new vigour in his better part, began to seem of more heroic size]. Translation: Loeb Classical Library; Hildebrand 1875, no. 93, 201–202; The medal also mentioned in Alm 2002, 56.

986. Ellenius 1963; Tunefalk 2015, 163ff.

987. Alm 2002, 165ff.

988. On Gustav IV Adolf read e.g. Mats Wickman, *En kunglig tragedi: en biografi om*

Gustav IV Adolf (Stockholm: Fischer & Co, 2009).

989. *Inrikes Tidningar*, 31 May 1972, 5. It remains unclear how the jetons and medals could have the same price, possibly that the same term was used for both.

990. *Dagligt Allehanda*, 18 May 1792, 3; *Extra Posten*, 3 December 1792, 4.

991. The time following Gustav III's funeral was, to say the least, troublesome. Strains amongst the nobility, the disorder of state finances, and wars had created irrevocable ruptures. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars worsened the situation. In 1809, Sweden had to surrender the eastern part of the realm (i.e., Finland) to Russia, a humiliating loss that resulted in national devastation and increased criticism of the king. Gustav IV Adolf was forced to abdicate and leave the country. He would be demonised, like the so-called 'mad king', Eric XIV. The *damnatio memoriae* following his fall was thorough, and included, besides renaming streets and squares, chipping off his name from any buildings, destroying portraits, and recalling his medals. It was considered that very lasting reminder of him should vanish. Gustav IV Adolf's uncle and successor, Charles XIII (1748–1818), together with the Diet, elected the French Marshal Jean Baptiste Bernadotte (1763–1844) as the new king of Sweden, Charles XIV John. Read further: Solfrid Söderlind, 'Utplånandet av före detta Konungens bild,' in '*Galenpannan*' *Gustav IV Adolfs porträttkonsten*, eds. Magnus Olausson and Solfrid Söderlind (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 2000), 57–77; Wickman 2009.

992. Hildebrand 1875, 315ff.

Deutsche Zusammenfassung

In der frühen Neuzeit wurden Medaillen oft als *Ehrpfennig*, *Gedenkpfennig*, *Schaupfennig* oder *Gnadenpfennig* bezeichnet, was unmissverständlich auf ihre Funktion verweist. Ihre Bedeutung als portable Monumente im Kleinform und ihre Eigenschaften als Medium der Selbstdarstellung und Herrschaftspropaganda sind wohl bekannt. Auf welche Weise diese gezielten Botschaften hingegen ihre angedachten Empfänger erreichten, und was jene mit den Objekten taten, bleibt oft unbeachtet oder wird als nebensächlich befunden. Insbesondere wie die Funktionen und Bedeutungen der Medaille in Erscheinung treten und in welcher Weise diese mit deren visuellen und materiellen Eigenschaften in Verbindung stehen, oder von diesen gar abhängig sind, bleibt unbeantwortet. Die Anziehungskraft der Medaille liegt in der Tatsache, dass sie mehrere Sinne zugleich anspricht. Einerseits handelt es sich um ein Objekt, das hergestellt wurde, um es zu betrachten, und andererseits schätzt man es auf Grund seines Materialwerts sowie seiner Größe und taktilen Eigenschaften. Man kann sie anfassen, greifen und halten, das Porträt an der Oberfläche mit den Fingern ertasten, und sie einfach mit sich tragen.

Das Ziel der vorliegenden Studie ist es, das Wissen und Verständnis über die visuellen und materiellen Dynamiken sowie den Gebrauch von Medaillen zu erweitern. In dieser Arbeit wird untersucht, welche Funktionen und Bedeutungen Medaillen im Schweden der frühen Neuzeit zugeschrieben wurden. Den Ausgangspunkt dieser Untersuchung bilden folgende Fragen: Warum wurden Medaillen in Auftrag gegeben? Wie spiegelt sich diese Intention in der visuellen und materiellen Gestaltung der Medaillen wider? Wie wurden Medaillen in der Zeit vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert verwendet? Welche Kontinuitäten und Veränderung des Gebrauchs lassen sich in der Zeit erkennen? Welche kulturelle Bedeutung wurde Medaillen im Schweden der frühen Neuzeit zugesprochen?

Die Jahre von 1560 bis 1792 definieren den zeitlichen Rahmen der Analyse, der sich an bedeutenden Ereignissen in der Geschichte der schwedischen Medaillenkunst orientiert: von deren Anfängen im Jahre 1560, als Erik XIV. (reg. 1560–1568) die erste schwedische Medaille verlieh, bis hin zu deren Institutionalisierung und vielfältigen Anwendung während der Regierungszeit Gustavs III. (reg. 1771–1792). Das Königreich Schweden stellt aufgrund seiner spezifischen politischen Situation in dieser Zeitspanne, die von politischen Umbrüchen, Dynastiewechseln, Absolutismus und Parlamentarismus geprägt ist, ein aufschlussreiches Untersuchungsfeld dar. Es ermöglicht, Kontinuitäten und Veränderungen in der Medaillenkunst und deren Verwendung sichtbar zu machen. Die Studie greift somit Material aus einem geographischen Kontext auf, der in der internationalen Forschung bisher wenig beachtet wurde. Durch internationale Kontakte des Königshauses, die sowohl kulturell, diplomatisch als auch militärisch zum Ausdruck kommen, lassen sich anhand des schwedischen Beispiels Rückschlüsse ziehen, die auch auf andere europäische Regionen applizierbar sind.

Die Anzahl der Medaillen, die in diesem Zeitraum auf die schwedischen Monarchen gegossen und geprägt wurden, ist überschaubar. Es handelt sich um etwa 1350 Ausgaben (Stempel). Die im Vordergrund stehenden Akteure dieser Untersuchung sind vornehmlich die Mitglieder des schwedischen Königshauses, da diese eine Vorbildfunktion in Bezug auf die Verwendung von Medaillen hatten. Hinzu kommen Adel, Höflinge, Botschafter, Gesandte und Offiziere sowie im Laufe der politischen und sozialen Umbrüche des 18. Jahrhunderts auch Bürger und Arbeiter.

Um sowohl die Objekte als auch deren Nutzung durch ihre Herausgeber und Empfänger in den Blick nehmen zu können, erfolgt die Analyse des Materials aus einer kunstanthropologischen Perspektive. Sie verbindet Theorien und Konzepte aus den Kulturwissenschaften, u.a. Gabentheorie (Marcel Mauss), Bildakt (Horst Bredekamp), Self-fashioning (Stephen Greenblatt), Memoria, Medientheorien, material culture studies und Materialität miteinander. Diese Herangehensweise ermöglicht es, sich der Vielschichtigkeit des Materials zu nähern und sowohl abstrakte Funktionen (z.B. Status) aufzugreifen als auch konkrete Verwendungsformen zu untersuchen, etwa wie die Medaille zu tragen war.

Die Studie ist in fünf Kapitel aufgeteilt, die jeweils ca. 50 Jahre umreißen und so chronologisch und thematisch die Entwicklung der schwedischen Medaillenkunst reflektieren. In den jeweiligen Kapiteln werden Fallbei-

spiele diskutiert, die einerseits generelle Praktiken beleuchten, wie die Verwendung von Medaillen als Gaben, und andererseits individuelle Anwendungen aufzeigen, z.B. was ein spezifischer Empfänger oder Empfängerin mit dem Objekt tat. Die Fallbeispiele orientieren sich an einzelnen Objekten und erweitern die ikonographische Analyse um die physischen Eigenschaften der Medaille, wie Material, Form, Gewicht, Relief etc., um einen Einblick in die Rezeption, Betrachtung und Nutzung der Medaille durch das Publikum zu geben. Jedem Kapitel folgt eine kurze Zusammenfassung der wichtigsten Resultate.

Neben den Medaillen selbst als den Hauptquellen dieser Untersuchung werden Porträts, Drucke, Flugblätter, zeitgenössische numismatische Publikationen, Zeitungsannoncen und die archivalische Überlieferung als ergänzendes Quellenmaterial ausgewertet. Insgesamt entsteht auf dieser breiten Materialgrundlage ein umfassendes und facettenreiches Bild von den Funktionen und Bedeutungen der Medaillen in der frühen Neuzeit, von der Renaissance zur Klassizismus.

Kapitel 1

Dieses Kapitel behandelt die zweite Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts und beleuchtet die Funktion der Medaille im Zusammenhang der königlichen Repräsentation und Legitimation. Der zentrale Akteur ist der Erbprinz und spätere König Erik XIV., der zu dem Begräbnis seines Vaters Gustav I (von Vasa) 1560 erstmals das Medium der Medaille in Schweden einführt. Das erste Fallbeispiel behandelt diese Medaille und deren potenzielle Empfänger, aber auch den Beitrag der Ikonographie und der Materialität des Objekts zur Memoria des verstorbenen Patriarchen. Im Vordergrund der Diskussion stehen das Porträt auf dem Avers, der Wappenschild auf dem Revers und die materiellen Eigenschaften der Medaille. Das Zusammenspiel dieser drei Kernelemente der Medaille unterstreicht deren Bedeutung für die Verwendung und Bedeutung dieses Objekts.

Das zweite Beispiel erörtert, welche Rolle die Medaille bei der Krönung Eriks XIV. eingenommen haben könnte und analysiert Aspekte der herrschaftlichen Inszenierung, der fürstlichen Gabe, der Emblematik, und den ökonomischen Wert der Medaille in der Form von Auswurfgeprägten. Darüber hinaus wird das Tragen von Medaillen anhand von Porträts untersucht, die Medaillenträger und Medaillenträgerinnen abbilden. Hier stehen die Bedeutung des metallenen Objekts und die symbolische Bot-

schaft im Vordergrund, die beim Tragen der Medaille dem Betrachter oder der Betrachterin des Porträts vermittelt wird. Einerseits materialisiert die Medaille eine Verbindung zwischen Geber, Geberin, und Empfänger, Empfängerin. Andererseits fungiert das Objekt als Zeichen von Status und Erfolg.

Das Tragen der Medaille wird im darauffolgenden Fallbeispiel vertieft, in dem ein Objekt analysiert wird, das Johan III., der Bruder und Nachfolger Eriks XIV., auf der einen Seite und auf der anderen Seite dessen Gattin darstellt, die polnische Prinzessin Katharina Jagiellonica. Das goldene Doppelporträt schließt an die visuelle Tradition eines Diptychons an und die Verzierung verweist auf die Funktion der Medaille als Bildträger und Schmuckstück. Aus diesem Beispiel lässt sich schlussfolgern, dass vor allem der körperliche Kontakt mit dem Objekt, das Anfassen und Fühlen, ein wichtiger Aspekt der Verwendung und Bedeutung der frühneuzeitlichen Medaille war.

Das letzte Fallbeispiel behandelt eine Medaille auf Karl IX. und deren Funktion als diplomatische Gabe. Es wird erläutert, wie diese als visuelles Zeugnis verwendet wurde und in der Praxis ein portables Porträt darstellte.

Abschließend hebt dieses Kapitel die wichtigsten Funktionen und Bedeutungen hervor, die sich in den folgenden Jahrhunderten weiterentwickeln sollten. Sie lassen sich mit den Stichworten Repräsentation, Legitimation, Memoria, Schenken und Tragen charakterisieren. Hinzu kommt als weiteres ganz maßgebliches Element das taktile Betrachten der Medaille.

Kapitel 2

Das zweite Kapitel beschäftigt sich mit der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts. Es lässt erkennen, dass viele der Verwendungszwecke, die sich im vorigen Jahrhundert entwickelt haben ebenso wie jene Anlässe, zu denen Medaillen herausgegeben werden, wiederkehren und verfeinert werden. Der erste Teil des Kapitels behandelt den Tod Gustav Adolfs und die daran anknüpfende Erinnerungskultur. Als Fallbeispiele dienen Begräbnis- und Gnadenmedaillen. Sie zeigen auf, dass der Helden- und Märtyrerkult, der den König umgab, Einfluss auf die Nutzung der Medaillen hat. Schon vor seinem Ableben ist Gustav II Adolf häufig in der Medaillenkunst vertreten, auffallend oft sogar im Vergleich zu seinen Zeitgenossen und

Kontrahenten, wie Graf Johan Tilly oder Herzog Albrecht Wallenstein. Des Weiteren lässt sich erkennen, dass etliche mit dem Barock in Verbindung gebrachten inhaltlichen und formalen Elemente den Zugang zum Objekt beeinflussen. Als Beispiel kann hier die detailreiche Ikonographie der Medaillen (vgl. *horror vacui*) genannt werden, die alle Betrachter animiert, das Objekt nahe ans Auge zu führen, um jedes einzelne Detail erfassen zu können. Ein anderes Beispiel ist die *Memento mori*-Kultur, wie etwa Totenschädel, die an Medaillen angebracht werden, und schließlich die komplexe Medienlandschaft, die durch das visuelle Zusammenwirken der Flugblätter und Medaillen zum Ausdruck kommt.

Der zweite Teil des Kapitels behandelt Königin Christina, die aktiv an der Medaillenkunst mitgewirkt hat, unter anderem, indem sie Medailleure aus Rom und Riga beauftragte. Die Fallbeispiele greifen die Themen der Gabe und des Tragens der Medaille auf. Hierbei ist das Beispiel des Englischen Gesandten Bulstrode Whitelocke aufschlussreich, der zum Abschied vom Stockholmer Hof ein mit Brillanten besetztes Miniaturporträt der Königin erhält. Die Mitglieder seines Anhangs empfangen jeweils eine Medaille, deren ökonomischer Wert an den Rang der Empfänger angepasst ist. Die Medaillen werden von dem englischen Gefolge mit Verdruss in Empfang genommen, da ihres Erachtens nach der pekuniäre Wert der Gaben zu gering ist. In diesem Zusammenhang wird der Medaille neben ihrem Geldwert wenig Beachtung geschenkt, denn der Memorialcharakter, das Porträt und die ästhetische Qualität sowie alle anderen Eigenschaften, die zuvor die Popularität der Medaille ausmachte, bleiben hier unbeachtet. Neben der veränderten Einstellung gegenüber der metallenen Gabe regt das Beispiel dazu an, Miniaturen im Zusammenhang mit Medaillen zu untersuchen, da beide Kunstgattungen Ähnlichkeiten in ihrer angedachten Verwendung aufzeigen. Beide sind portabel und zeichnen sich durch handliche Größe, Verbreitung und Exklusivität aus. Die folgenden Fallbeispiele untersuchen deren Unterschiede und Gemeinsamkeiten und analysieren die sozialen Implikationen und ikonographischen Eigenschaften bemalter Medaillen im Vergleich zu Miniaturen, deren Rückseite das Motiv eines Medaillenrevers zeigt. Diese Hybride beider Kunstgattungen heben die Vorteile der jeweils anderen hervor, die lebensnahen und farbenfrohen Porträts der Miniaturmalerei bzw. den Monumentalcharakter und Ewigkeitsanspruch der Medaille. Das Kapitel veranschaulicht, dass die Medaille ein fester Bestandteil der visuellen Kultur des Barocks ist. Es zeigt zudem, wie sich die Medaille parallel zu

anderen Kunstformen entwickelt und es zu einer wechselseitigen Befruchtung kommt.

Kapitel 3

Dieses Kapitel widmet sich der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhundert, und beleuchtet drei größere Themenkreise: die Rolle der Medaille in einem allumfassenden visuellen Programm, Medaillen und das Militär und schließlich die Medialisierung von Ereignissen.

Das erste Fallbeispiel konzentriert sich auf die Funktion der Medaille in dem allumfassenden visuellen Programm, das an den Marsch über den großen Belt erinnern soll, einen gewagten militärischen Schachzug Karls X. Gustav. Der Sieg wird in unterschiedlichen Medien, Medaillen, Drucken und der Malerei thematisiert. In allen diesen Ausdrucksformen tritt dasselbe Motiv zum Vorschein.

Das darauffolgende Beispiel beleuchtet eine andere Variante eines visuellen Gesamtkonzepts, nämlich das Begräbnis von Ulrika Eleonora der Älteren, bei dem die ephemere Architektur, die Ausschmückung des Kirchenraums, die Predigt und die Medaille aufeinander abgestimmt werden, um konzertiert dieselbe Botschaft zu verbreiten. Die Medaille spielt hierbei eine tragende Rolle, indem sie die ephemeren Ausdrucksformen ergänzt und eine kondensierte Form des Begräbnisses darstellt. Sie dient als *pars pro toto*.

Ein weiterer Aspekt, auf den in diesem Kapitel eingegangen wird, ist die Rolle der Medaille im Zusammenhang des Militärs. Im ersten Fallbeispiel wird auf die Medaille als Abzeichen und Belohnung eingegangen. Um 1680 beschließt Karl XI., alle höheren Ränge zu belohnen, die in den Kriegen im südschwedischen Schonen in den 1670er Jahren gedient haben. Zu diesem Anlass werden keine neuen Stempel graviert, sondern die Krönungsmedaillen Karl XI. werden nachgeprägt. Somit weisen die Auszeichnungen ein allgemeingültiges Bildmotiv auf, Karl XI. als König von Gottes Gnaden. Die Medaillen werden in drei unterschiedlichen Größen verliehen, wobei deren Wert wiederum dem Rang des Empfängers entspricht. Die Wiederverwendung alter Stempel deutet auf die Vielseitigkeit des Mediums hin, da dies als Gnadenpfennig, Ehrpfennig und Gedenkpennig Verwendung findet und ebenso vielseitig verwendet werden kann. Diese Medaille erfüllt die Funktion eines Ehrzeichens, wird aber wohl vordergründig als pekuniäre Belohnung betrachtet. Im Vergleich dazu

zeigt das nächste Beispiel ein Objekt, das die Soldaten in Auftrag geben, um den Sieg in Narva im Jahr 1700 und Karl XII. zu feiern. Die kleine, leichte und dünne Silbermedaille hat kaum einen materiellen Wert, jedoch trägt sie das Porträt des Königs und einen Hinweis auf den militärischen Erfolg, wodurch sie den Träger sowohl mit Karl XII. als auch mit dem Sieg in Verbindung bringt. Hinzu kommt eine Medaille, welche zur Feier des Erfolgs in Narva geprägt wird. Hier geht aus der archivalischen Überlieferung hervor, dass die visuelle Gestaltung ein höchst politisches Thema ist. Mehrere Vorschläge werden verworfen, bevor sich der Rat für ein Resultat entscheidet. Dieser Medaille wird jene gegenübergestellt, die Peter der Große vier Jahre später prägen lässt, nachdem er mit seinen Truppen Narva zurückerobert hat.

Politische und militärische Auseinandersetzungen werden in der frühen Neuzeit oft auf Medaillen ausgeweitet und immer wieder satirisch umgedeutet. Somit lassen sich Siege und Verluste auch im metallenen Rund verfolgen.

Weitere Fallbeispiele wenden sich der Medialisierung von bemerkenswerten Ereignissen zu, wie etwa die Rückkehr Karl XII. von seinem selbst gewählten Exil in Bender. Nebst den politischen Ansichten, die durch die Medaillen ausgedrückt werden, lässt sich anhand dieser Objekte veranschaulichen, wie die bildliche und schriftliche Gestaltung das Betrachten der Medaille beeinflussen können. Hier stehen vor allem Reime hervor, die durch ihr Sprachkleid die Vorderseite mit der Kehrseite der Medaille verbinden und den Betrachter, die Betrachterin, der Medaille auffordern, beide Seiten zu begutachten, die Objekte also sorgsam in der Hand zu drehen und zu wenden. Abschließend zeigt dieses Kapitel, wie sich der Nutzerkreis der Medaille ausdehnt sowie die allgemeine Ausdifferenzierung von deren Gebrauch und Bedeutungen.

Kapitel 4

Dieses Kapitel beleuchtet das Medaillenwesen während der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts und stellt hier nicht primär die Monarchen und deren Belange in den Vordergrund, sondern untersucht die Voraussetzungen für die Zirkulation und den Verkauf der Objekte in der Gesellschaft, darunter nicht zuletzt frühneuzeitliche numismatische Sammel- und Forschungspraktiken. Als Beispiele für den Vertrieb von Medaillen werden hier Auktionen und der offizielle Verkauf durch die königliche Münzstätte genannt.

In beiden Fällen werden die Objekte zunächst im Druck annonciert. Neben neuen und alten Medaillen treten dynastische Medaillenserien als eine neue Produktkategorie am Markt auf. Diese tragen einerseits zur Herrschaftsrepräsentation bei und bieten andererseits einen Anreiz für potenzielle Sammler und Sammlerinnen. Da königliche Medaillen zum Verkauf stehen, kann davon ausgegangen werden, dass dies deren Rolle als Geschenk beeinflusst. Anstelle eines einzelnen, mit Juwelen besetzten Stücks werden nun vermehrt Medaillensets verliehen. Auf diese Weise soll nicht das einzelne Objekt eine Einzelbotschaft vermitteln, sondern die Auswahl mehrerer Medaillen ermöglicht eine komplexere, nuanciertere an die Empfänger angepasste Aussage. Hierbei kann es sich um Zusammenstellungen von Medaillen handeln, mit deren Hilfe die Dynastie verherrlicht werden soll oder die militärischen Erfolge eines Regenten im rechten Licht erscheinen.

Ein weiter Aspekt, auf den in diesem Kapitel eingegangen wird, ist das Sammeln und die wissenschaftliche Kommunikation rund um die Objekte. Hier sind die Fallbeispiele der Sammlung des königlichen Medailleurs Arvid Karlsteen, des Ehepaars Elias und Sophia Elisabeth Brenner sowie Carl Reinhold Berchs zu nennen. Besonders der Briefwechsel zwischen Sophia Elisabeth und dem dänischen Gelehrten Otto Sperling bietet aufschlussreiche Einblicke in numismatische Diskussionen und verdeutlicht, wie Münzen und Medaillen als materielles Komplement zum Briefverkehr fungieren. Abschließend wird auf den Briefwechsel zwischen dem Numismatiker Berch und dem Historiker Carl Gustav Warmholtz eingegangen, in dem beide eine Medaille aus dem 16. Jahrhundert diskutieren, welche die schwedische Prinzessin Cecilia (Vasa) darstellt. Ausgehend von deren Korrespondenz wird die Medaille mit Hilfe von Berchs Publikation über schwedische Münzen und Medaillen bestimmt, was darauf hinweist, dass das Objekt und die numismatische Literatur einander ergänzen. Die Medaille bietet den materiellen Grund zur Referenzliteratur. Dieses Kapitel erläutert, wie die Praktiken des Forschens und Sammelns sich wechselseitig bedingen und auf einem gemeinsamen sozialen Netzwerk beruhen. Durch den Tausch und Verkauf von Medaillen auf Auktionen können nun auch andere weitere Schichten der Gesellschaft außerhalb der Elite an dem Medium teilhaben.

Kapitel 5

Das letzte Kapitel untersucht die Funktionen der Medaille während der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts und fokussiert auf Verdienstmedaillen und Preismedaillen, die eine beginnende Meritokratie ankündigen. Das Tragen einer (Verdienst-)Medaille wird synonym zu herausragenden Taten und Fähigkeiten ihrer weiblichen und männlichen Besitzer, deren Leistungen durch die Objekte gewürdigt und kenntlich gemacht werden, so dass die Träger auch visuell eine Vorbildfunktion in der Gesellschaft einnehmen. Die Medaillenträger und trägerinnen sollen anderen ein Vorbild sein und zur Nachahmung anregen. Anzumerken ist hier, dass es sich dabei nicht mehr um einige wenige auserwählte Diplomaten, Adel oder Angehörige des Militärs handelt, sondern um Arbeiter und Arbeiterinnen, Bürger und Bürgerinnen, die zuvor von der Möglichkeit ausgeschlossen waren, eine Medaille zu erhalten. Rein visuell orientieren sich die Preis- und Verdienstmedaillen an den Anlässen und an der Gruppe der Adressaten. So findet sich unter anderem die Darstellung einer Spinnerin auf einer Medaillenkrückseite. Da die Medaillen nun in alle Gesellschaftsschichten vordringen, wird deren Distribution strukturiert und transparent. Dies gilt auch für die Tapferkeitsmedaillen, die an Soldaten verliehen werden. Mit neuen Verbrauchern, Verbraucherinnen und Empfängern, Empfängerinnen, folgt eine Inflation von Medaillen, was mit sich führt, dass die Medaille für die Elite an symbolischem Wert verliert und diese andere Wege sucht, um sich hervorzuheben, unter anderem durch wiedererrichtete und neu gestiftete Orden. Im Vergleich zu einer Medaille ist die Mitgliedschaft in einem der Orden und das Tragen der entsprechenden Insignien auf einen engeren Personenkreis begrenzt.

Nebst den Verdienst- und Preismedaillen wird in diesem Kapitel die königliche Herrschaftsrepräsentation wiederaufgegriffen, die mit der *Histoire métallique* Gustavs III. ihren Zenit erreicht. Die Medaillenproduktion am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts ist einerseits in fester königlicher Hand. Die Medaillenaufträge von Gesellschaften oder Privatpersonen werden einer Zensur unterworfen, und alle Vorschläge geprüft, bevor sie realisiert werden dürfen. Andererseits sind so viele Medaillen im Umlauf wie noch nie zuvor. Die *Histoire métallique* Gustavs III., die jene Ludwigs XIV. von Frankreich zum Vorbild hat, soll in einem illustrierten Prachtband und in Medaillenform verbreitet werden und sowohl ältere als auch noch nicht geprägte Stücke beinhalten. Das Projekt kann jedoch

nicht vor dem Tod des Königs fertiggestellt werden. Die Planung und der bis zum Tod Gustavs III. im Jahr 1792 durchgeführte Vertrieb veranschaulichen, dass sich der König all die Traditionen und Praktiken zu Nutze macht, die sich bis dato entwickelt hatten. Das Kapitel schließt mit dem Begräbnis Gustavs III. und zieht Parallelen zu der über zwei Jahrhunderte zurückliegenden Bestattung Gustavs I. Es legt dar, wie sich die Medaille von einem luxuriösen Geschenk, das für einige wenige Auserwählte bestimmt war, zu einem massenproduzierten Produkt entwickelt, das in der Zeitung zum Kauf angeboten wird.

Abschließend folgt eine Diskussion der wesentlichsten Ergebnisse der Arbeit, die in die Kategorien Anlässe, visuelle und materielle Eigenschaften, Gebrauch und Bedeutung unterteilt werden. Die Zusammenfassung verdeutlicht, dass es sich um einen ebenso komplexen wie dynamischen Prozess handelt, der nicht geradlinig verläuft. Der lange Untersuchungszeitraum lässt jedoch klare Veränderungen und Kontinuitäten hervortreten. Die Anlässe, die Medaillen fordern – Krönungen, Begräbnisse, diplomatische Kontakte, militärische Erfolge sowie die Anerkennung bemerkenswerter Taten – verbleiben dieselben. *Wie* sie verliehen werden und an ihr Publikum gelangen, verändert sich jedoch. Des Weiteren nimmt die visuelle und materielle Ausarbeitung über die Jahre unterschiedliche Formen an, die Hand in Hand mit Stil und Mode gehen, aber auch an die Verwendung der Medaille geknüpft sind. Stile und Traditionen werden kontinuierlich aufgegriffen, verworfen und angepasst.

Für die gesamte Untersuchungszeit gilt, dass die Medaille als Gabe verwendet wird, dass sie getragen, betrachtet und diskutiert wird. Auch hier ändert sich allerdings, *wie* diese Praktiken gehandhabt werden. Das Ansehen der Medaille bleibt ebensowenig konstant, in gewissen Belangen verliert sie an Bedeutung (als diplomatische Gabe) und in anderen gewinnt sie hinzu (als Verdienstzeichen). Die Medaille an sich wird im 18. Jahrhundert genauso verwendet wie im 16. Jahrhundert. Sie dient der Manifestation von Macht ebenso wie der Repräsentation, Legitimation und Memoria. Sie wird getragen, angefasst und betrachtet. Sie hat gleichzeitig an Wichtigkeit verloren und gewonnen. Hinsichtlich des Aufwands und des Engagements, das die unterschiedlichen Akteure während dieser mehr als 200 Jahre der Medaille zukommen lassen, lässt sich jedoch festhalten, dass diese Objekte nicht an Bedeutung eingebüßt haben.

Die Resultate verdeutlichen, dass Funktionen und Bedeutungen sowie visuelle und materielle Gestaltung eng miteinander verbunden sind und

sogar voneinander abhängen. Denn ein Monarch, der eine Medaille für Krönung in Auftrag gibt (Anlass), würde sie als Mittel der Memoria, Herrschaftsrepräsentation und Propaganda verwenden (Bedeutung und Funktion), und die Verleihung der Medaille an eine Person ist eine konkrete Verwendung. Die Medaille rund um den Hals des Empfängers oder der Empfängerin (Gebrauch), dient wiederum der Befriedigung von Bedürfnissen, da das Objekt den Status des Trägers oder Trägerin vermittelt (Bedeutung). Es handelt sich hierbei um ein Zusammenschmelzen von abstrakten und konkret greifbaren Funktionen und Bedeutungen. Um diese zu aktivieren, muss eine Person mit der Medaille interagieren und ihr Beachtung schenken. Die Medaille kann nur als Erinnerungsstück fungieren, wenn jemand sie anfasst, betrachtet, kurzum, in der Hand hält, dreht und wendet und das Metall und Gewicht physisch fühlt.

Abschließend trägt diese Arbeit sowohl zu einem kleineren als auch einem größeren Themenkreis bei. Einerseits stellt sie ein Fallbeispiel für die Medaille dar, denn durch die longitudinale Herangehensweise in Verbindung mit einer kunstanthropologischen Perspektive trägt diese Studie zur besseren Kenntnis dieser Kunstform bei und verbindet damit Medail-
len der Renaissance, des Barock und der Klassik. Andererseits ist diese Studie auch als Fallbeispiel für die Funktion und Signifikanz frühneuzeitlicher visueller Kultur zu verstehen. Anhand der Medaille lassen sich Aussagen bezüglich Funktion und Bedeutung anderer Kunstgattungen treffen. Sie trägt somit zu einem tieferen Verständnis der Kunstgeschichte und Numismatik der frühen Neuzeit bei.

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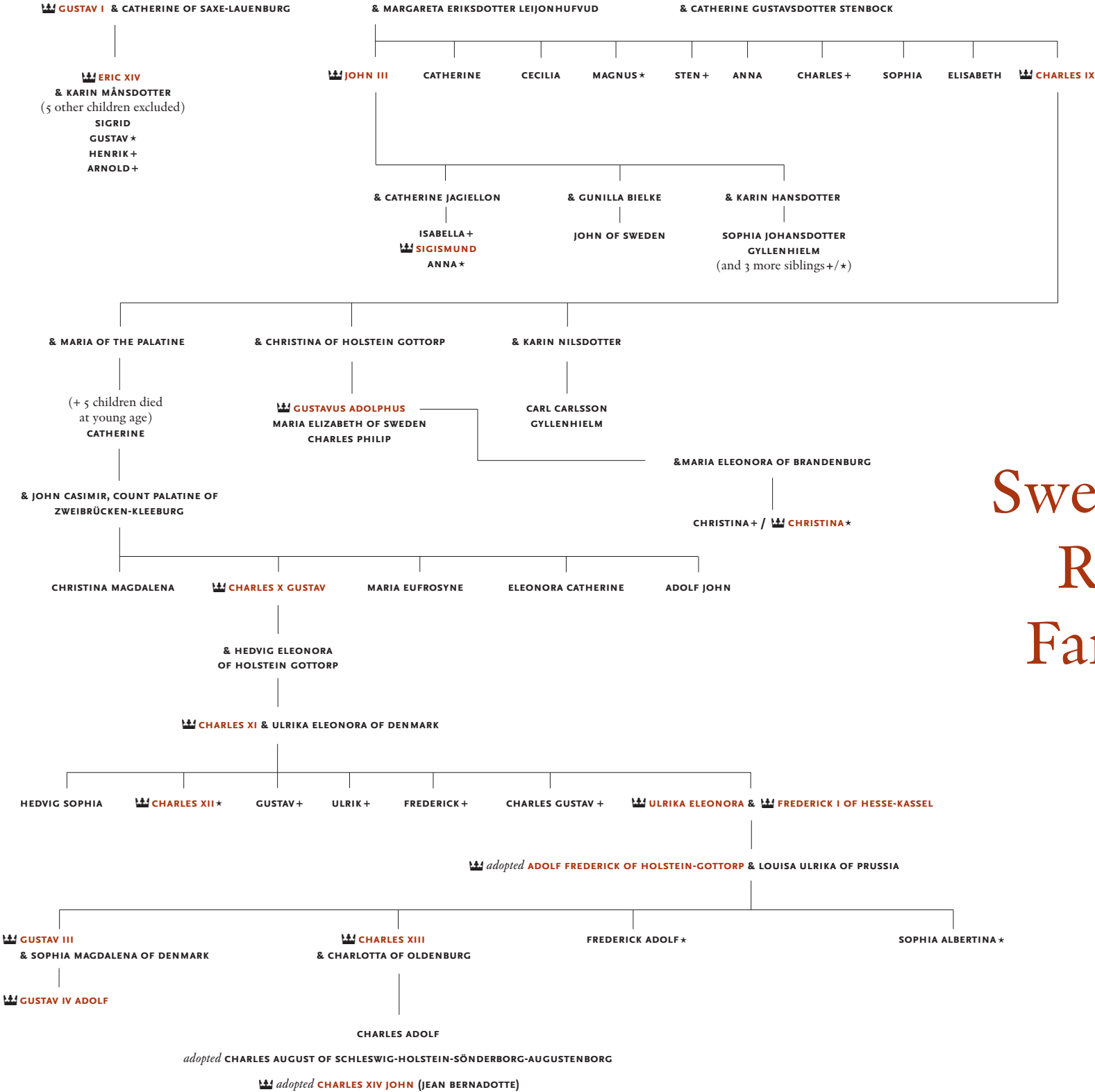
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The Swedish Royal Family

* unmarried
+ died young



From the Renaissance and onwards, the medal has been an important element of European art and visual culture. It was appreciated for its symbolic and material value. However, much of its significance lies in the fact that it affects multiple senses and not sight alone. The recipients can touch and hold it, wear it, trace the engraved portrait with their fingers, or place it in a cabinet drawer. How people engaged with medals and which significance this medium gained and lost unearths how early modern art and visual media were used over time. From the 16th to the 18th century, the medal changes shapes and meanings, inspires and assumes tendencies from other visual expressions, and one can trace European culture and politics through it.

This book gives broad insights into the development of the functions and practices associated with medals, offering new perspectives within a Northern European context. Drawing from visual as well as archival sources, combined with a long-term perspective analysis, the thesis presents a comprehensive case study on the phenomenon of medal art.

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