

Anna Lisa Schwartz

Iuguntur Iuppiter et Sol

Allegorical Design of Medals Commemorating the Treaties of Rastatt and Baden (1714)

The death of Charles II of Spain in 1700, childless and without immediate heirs, not only led to the end of the Habsburg hegemony over Europe, but also to a political conflict throughout the European continent. It has often been called a world war due to its wide-ranging effects that were felt as far away as in the overseas colonies.¹ The question of the Spanish Succession arose as early as the end of the 17th century. On the one hand, the heir of the Austrian branch of the Habsburgs Charles VI attempted to assert his family links to the last Habsburgs ruling in Spain. On the other hand, Louis XIV planned to put his nephew Philip of Anjou on the throne although Philip had renounced his claim to the Spanish inheritance (and that of his future heirs with Maria Theresa) as part of the Treaty of the Pyrenees and the accompanying marriage contract signed in 1659. The stakes were high—the Spanish inheritance included not only the Iberian Peninsula, but also the Kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, parts of northern Italy and Tuscany, as well as the southern Netherlands. Thus, the ongoing dispute over the succession created an enormous power vacuum that even induced England and the Netherlands to step in in order to maintain the balance of power in Europe. In 1701, the mounting tension on the European continent between France and the Grand Alliance, comprised of Austria, parts of the Holy Roman Empire, and the sea powers, finally erupted into to the War of the Spanish Succession.²

¹ David Onnekink, Renger E. De Bruin, *De Vrede van Utrecht*, Hilversum: Verloren, 2013, pp. 42–45. Henry Kamen, *The War of Succession in Spain 1700–1715*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969, p. 9. In an introductory text about the War of the Spanish Succession, Schnettger suggests the wording ‘Western European war with a global impact’ instead of world war: Matthias Schnettger, *Der Spanische Erbfolgekrieg: 1701–1713/14*, Munich: Beck, 2014, p. 117.

² The War of the Spanish Succession Onnekink / de Bruin (as fn. 1), pp. 27–47. Stefan Smid, *Spanische Erbfolgekrieg. Geschichte eines vergessenen Weltkriegs (1701–1714)*, Cologne et al.: Böhlau, 2011; the Grand Alliance, pp. 120–133. The marriage compact in conjunction with the Peace of the Pyrenees Smid 2011 (as fn. 2), pp. 19–34. Lucien Bély, Bertrand Haan, Stéphane Jettot (eds.), *La Paix de Pyrénées (1659) ou le triomphe de la raison politique*, Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2015. In particular the essay by Joaquim Albareda. Daniel Séré, *La paix des Pyrénées. Vingt-quatre ans de négociations entre la France et l’Espagne (1635–1659)*, Paris: Champion, 2007. Heinz Duchhardt, Die dynastische Heirat als politisches Signal, in: Mirosława Czarnecka, Jolanta Szafarz (eds.), *Hochzeit als ritus und casus. Zu interkulturellen und multimedialen Präsentationsformen des Barock*, Warsaw: Oficyna Wydawn. ATUT, 2001, pp. 67–70. Heinz Duchhardt (ed.), *Der Pyrenäenfriede 1659. Vorgeschichte, Widerhall, Rezeptionsgeschichte*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010. Balance of power: Klaus Malettke, *Universalmonarchie, kollektive Sicherheit und Gleichgewicht im 17. Jahrhundert*,

Peace medals as a medium

Various media, especially prints and medals, were used to portray the conflict until it ended in the peace treaties in Utrecht, Rastatt, and Baden.³ For a long time, art and cultural historians have analyzed the role of reproductive media in relation to the visual representation of the ruling class on the one hand and propaganda on the other. It is possible to understand the special role of medals in this matter by examining the example of Louis XIV's *L'Histoire métallique*.⁴ Even during the War of the Spanish Succession, medals remained—in addition to printed media—a popular and widely circulated medium used to establish the princely profile and at the same time defame their opponents. But how did this situation change with the perspective of

in: Michael Jonas, Ulrich Lappenküper, Bernd Wegner (eds.), *Stabilität durch Gleichgewicht? Balance of Power im internationalen System der Neuzeit*, Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2015, pp. 17–34. Heinz Duchhardt, *Balance of Power und Pentarchie. Internationale Beziehungen 1700–1785*, Munich, Paderborn: Schöningh, 1997, pp. 259–261.

3 Max Braubach, Die Friedensverhandlungen in Utrecht und Rastatt, 1712–1714, in: *Historisches Jahrbuch* 90 (1970), pp. 284–298. Renger E. de Bruin (ed.), *Friedensstädte. Die Verträge von Utrecht, Rastatt und Baden 1713–1714*, Petersberg: Imhof, 2013. Christian Windler, *Kongressorte der Frühen Neuzeit im europäischen Vergleich. Der Friede von Baden (1714)*, Cologne et al.: Böhlau, 2014. Ottocar Weber: Der Friede von Rastatt 1714, in: *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 8 (1892), pp. 273–310. Rolf Stücheli, *Der Friede von Baden (Schweiz) 1714. Ein europäischer Diplomatenkongress und Friedensschluss des "Ancien Régime"*, Fribourg: University Press, 1997. Onnkink / de Bruin (as fn. 1), pp. 62–78. Heinz Duchhardt (ed.), *Utrecht–Rastatt–Baden 1712–1714. Ein europäisches Friedenswerk am Ende des Zeitalters Ludwigs XIV.*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013.

4 Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke, Sol oder Phaeton? Invention und Imitation barocker Bildpropaganda in Wien und Paris, in: Wilhelm Hofmann, Hans-Otto Mühleisen (eds.), *Kunst und Macht. Politik und Herrschaft im Medium der bildenden Kunst*, Münster: LIT, 2005, pp. 94–127. Peter Burke, *Ludwig XIV. Die Inszenierung des Sonnenkönigs*, Berlin: Wagenbach, 1993. Friedrich B. Polleroß, Zur Repräsentation der Habsburger in der bildenden Kunst, in: Rupert Feuchtmüller, Elisabeth Kovács (eds.), Wien et al.: Herder, 1986, pp. 87–104. Derk P. Snoep, *Praal en propaganda. Triumfalia in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in de 16de en 17de eeuw*, Utrecht: Canaletto, 1975. Hendrik Ziegler, *Der Sonnenkönig und seine Feinde. Bildpropaganda Ludwigs XIV. in der Kritik*, Petersberg: Imhof, 2010. Jutta Schumann, *Die andere Sonne. Kaiserbild und Medienstrategien im Zeitalter Leopolds I.*, Berlin: Akad.-Verl., 2003. Jens Metzdorf, *Politik–Propaganda–Patronage. Francis Hare und die englische Publizistik im Spanischen Erbfolgekrieg*, Mainz: von Zabern, 2000. Franz Matsche, *Die Kunst im Dienst der Staatsidee Kaiser Karls VI. Ikonographie, Ikonologie und Programmatik des "Kaiserstils"*, Berlin, New York, NY: de Gruyter, 1981. On *l'histoire métallique*, i.a. Sylvie de Turckheim-Pey (ed.), *Médailles du Grand Siècle. Histoire métallique de Louis XIV*, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2004. Yvan Loskoutoff (ed.), *Les médailles de Louis XIV et leur livre*, Mont-Saint-Aignan: University Press Rouen and le Havre, 2016, p. 7. 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, in: *Jaarboek voor munt- en penningkunde* 104 (2017), pp. 102–135. Gerd Dethlefs, Die Anfänge der Ereignismedaille. Zur Ikonographie von Krieg und Frieden im Medaillenschaffen, in: Rainer Grund (ed.), *Medaillenkunst in Deutschland von der Renaissance bis zur Gegenwart. Themen, Projekte, Forschungsergebnisse*, Dresden: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Medaillenkunst, 1997, pp. 19–38.

peace on the horizon? Which visual mechanisms did artists use to transpose past opponents into contract partners? The idea for the following remarks developed out of the participation in the project “That Justice and Peace Should Kiss One Another”—Representations of Peace in Premodern Europe by the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg.⁵ Several of the medals from the imperial cities created to commemorate the Treaties of Rastatt and Baden attest to a profound interest in the monarchic iconography of Louis XIV and Charles VI, while also drawing upon established peace motives. In addition, the interactions of text and image suggest that an educated audience was intended, especially in the virtuously designed circumscriptions. This can be substantiated for the imperial city of Nuremberg by the following analysis of distribution methods and channels of exemplary medals at the beginning of the 18th century.

The effects of early diplomacy on peace medals

Peace medals, as they developed from the time of the Treaty of Westphalia, could feature varying content. They commonly depicted allegories with *Pax* and *Abundantia*, emblems displaying the recovery of commerce and art (blessings of peace) and religiously motivated images such as, for instance, the Kiss of Justice and Peace according to Psalm 85:11.⁶ Increasingly, and especially in the context of the Conferences of Nijmegen (1678), Ryswick (1697), and Utrecht (1713), images of diplomats found their way onto the medals.⁷ Hillard von Thiessen made clear that diplomatic positions were occupied by nobles without exception in eighteenth-century diplo-

⁵ <https://www.gnm.de/en/research/archive-research-projects/representations-of-peace/> [accessed December 6, 2020].

⁶ Rainer Wohlfeil, *Pax antwerpiensis. Eine Fallstudie zu Verbildlichungen der Friedensidee im 16. Jahrhundert am Beispiel der Allegorie ‘Kuß von Gerechtigkeit und Friede’*, in: Brigitte Tolkemitt (ed.), *Historische Bildkunde. Probleme, Wege, Beispiele*, Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1991, pp. 211–260. Klaus Schreiner, ‘Gerechtigkeit und Frieden haben sich geküsst’ (Ps 85, 11). Friedensstiftung durch symbolisches Handeln, in: Ulrich Meier, Gerd Schwerhoff, Gabriela Signori (eds.), *Rituale, Zeichen, Bilder. Formen und Funktionen symbolischer Kommunikation im Mittelalter*, Cologne et al.: Böhlau, 2001, pp. 65–124. Hans-Martin Kaulbach, Friede als Thema der bildenden Kunst — ein Überblick, in: Wolfgang Augustyn (ed.), *Pax. Beiträge zu Idee und Darstellungen des Friedens*, Munich: Scaneg-Verl., 2003, pp. 161–242, pp. 189–192. Hans Galen, Gerd Dethlefs, *Der Westfälische Frieden. Die Friedensfreude auf Münzen und Medaillen. Vollständiger beschreibender Katalog*, Greven: Eggenkamp, 1987. Klaus Bußmann, Heinz Schilling (eds.), *1648. Krieg und Frieden in Europa 3 vol.*, Münster: Verant.-Ges. 350 Jahre Westfäl. Friede, 1998. Hans-Martin Kaulbach (ed.), *Friedensbilder in Europa 1450–1815. Kunst der Diplomatie — Diplomatie der Kunst*, Berlin: Dt. Kunstverl., 2013.

⁷ Cornelia Manegold, Bilder diplomatischer Rangordnungen. Gruppen, Versammlungen und Friedenskongresse in den Medien der Frühen Neuzeit, in: *Kaulbach 2013* (as fn. 6), pp. 43–65.

matic relations.⁸ His actor-centered approach to the history of diplomacy, which also takes into account the perspectives of the diplomats involved, is especially fruitful with regards to his analysis of visual media.⁹ A very good example of this trend is a medal by Regnier Arondeaux created for the Treaty of Ryswick (1697), on whose reverse the diplomats are closing in unison the gate of the Temple of Janus.¹⁰

With the beginning of the 18th century, high-quality portraits of rulers on the obverse side of medals dominated, while the reverse could continue to depict allegorical scenes.¹¹ It seems misleading to see this development simply as a consequence of the representation of the absolute monarch. The portrayal of diplomats is surely a consequence of the above-mentioned period with its large peace conferences in the 17th and early 18th century. Additionally, a similar development can be detected in prints, in which festive entries of diplomats start to evolve as a subject. The medals featuring the Peace Treaties of Rastatt and Baden, which ended the War of the Spanish Succession, are good examples of this transition process. Werner Telesko rightly emphasized that numismatic signs of peace rather used symbolic imagery than depicting the peace process or the signing of the treaty such as in printed media.¹² Nevertheless, for the depictions of the Treaties of Rastatt and Baden, there are several medals of note which prominently feature diplomats, thus opening up new possibilities of reproducing two former enemies united in peace.

Iuguntur Iuppiter et Sol: The depiction of the Treaty of Rastatt on medals

8 Hillard von Thiessen, *Diplomaten und Diplomatie im frühen 18. Jahrhundert*, in: Heinz Duchhardt (ed.), *Utrecht–Rastatt–Baden 1712–1714. Ein europäisches Friedenswerk am Ende des Zeitalters Ludwigs XIV.*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013, pp. 13–34; for the role of nobility and diplomacy pp. 21–29.

9 Hillard von Thiessen, Christian Windler, *Einleitung*, in: Hillard von Thiessen, Christian Windler (eds.), *Akteure der Außenbeziehungen. Netzwerke und Interkulturalität im historischen Wandel*, Cologne et al.: Böhlau, 2010, pp. 1–12.

10 Regnier Arondeaux, medal of the Peace of Ryswick 1697, silver, struck, 49 mm. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, NG-VG-1-1769. Gerard van Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche Historipenningen... 4 vols.*, The Hague: van Lom et al., 1723–1731, vol. 4, p. 215, no. 2. Cornelia Manegold, *Der Frieden von Rijswijk 1697. Zur medialen Präsenz und Performanz der Diplomatie in Friedensbildern des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, in: Heinz Duchhardt, Martin Espenhorst (eds.), *Frieden übersetzen in der Vormoderne. Translationsleistungen in Diplomatie, Medien und Wissenschaft*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012, pp. 157–193, pp. 159–162.

11 The medalists Holtzhey residing in Amsterdam and Vestner active in Nuremberg deserve a special mention. A.O. van Kerkwijk, *De portretten van de Holtzhey's*, in: *Jaarboek voor munt- en penningkunde* 28 (1941), pp. 39–46. Franziska Bernheimer, *Georg Wilhelm Vestner und Andreas Vestner. Zwei Nürnberger Medailleure*, Munich: University Press, 1984, pp. 146–152.

12 Werner Telesko, *Rastatt – 'Ruhestadt'.* Visualisierungen der Friedensschlüsse 1713/1714 zwischen traditioneller Symbolik und Bildreportage, in: Duchhardt 2013 (as fn. 8), pp. 373–393, pp. 379–380.



Fig. 1a and 1b: Medal commemorating the Treaty of Rastatt, designed and produced in Nuremberg. Silver. Württemberg State Museum, Numismatic Collection, MK 20003.

The issue of the Spanish Succession had in fact already been resolved with the Treaty of Utrecht, although not to the benefit of Charles VI. The thereupon-continuing military conflict along the northern Rhine between the Emperor and France led to the Treaty of Rastatt in 1714. The talks in Rastatt, which took place under the aegis of commanders Prince Eugene of Savoy and Claude-Louis-Hector de Villars, led to a preliminary accord between France and the Emperor.¹³ However, the remaining clarification and settlement of imperial questions necessitated further peace negotiations in Baden, concluding the War of the Spanish Succession with a final treaty.¹⁴ The negotiations must have seemed paradoxical, as de Villars and the Prince had encountered each other on the battlefield multiple times. Perhaps for exactly this reason, a South German medal depicts these two commanders at the center of the obverse (fig. 1).¹⁵

¹³ City of Rastatt (ed.), 1714, *Friede von Rastatt*, Rastatt: Stadtverwaltung, 1974, pp. 9–23. Oliver Fieg, “...gefährliche Coniuncturen und höchst betrübte Kriegszeiten”. Rastatt zwischen Pfälzischem Erbfolgekrieg und Rastatter Frieden, in: Oliver Fieg, Iris Baumgärtner (eds.), *Der Friede von Rastatt – Erbfolgekrieg und Rastatter Frieden*, in: Oliver Fieg, Iris Baumgärtner (eds.), *Der Friede von Rastatt – Aspekte der Lokal- und Regionalgeschichte im Spanischen Erbfolgekrieg in der Markgrafschaft Baden-Baden*, Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2014, pp. 43–57.

¹⁴ Rolf Stücheli, “Der europäische Frieden von Baden (1714) und die Eidgenossenschaft”, in: Duchhardt 2013 (as fn. 8), pp. 53–69.

¹⁵ Friedrich Wielandt, Münzen und Medaillen zur Geschichte des Türkenlouis und der Stadt Rastatt. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Publizistik, in: *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 118 (1970), pp. 307–351, pp. 342, cat.-no. 53. Liselotte Popelka (ed.), *Eugenius in Nummis. Kriegs- und Friedenstaten des Prinzen Eugen in der Medaille*, Vienna, 1986, p. 166, cat.-no. 185. Matthias Ohm, PAX RASTADIENSIS MDCCXIV. Medaillen auf den Friedensschluss von Rastatt 1714, in: *Numismatisches Nachrichtenblatt*, 3 (2014), pp. 81–83, p. 82. Fieg / Baumgärtner 2014 (as fn. 13), p. 178, cat.-no. 3.23.12.

Prince Eugene and De Villars are depicted in classicizing armor and magnificently decorated helmets. Sitting on their weapons, they shake their right hands in a gesture of concord.¹⁶ The two palm trees in the background, emblems of steadfastness, in combination with the circumscription reveal an ingenious play on words. The circumscription describes the unusual situation in which two former military opponents are now the driving forces of the peace negotiations: ‘The Leaders Came Together, to Shake Hands in Front of the Palmtrees’.¹⁷ In classical Latin the word *dux* simply means “commander” and thus implies a military character. Together with the word *palma*, describing both the palm of the hand (PALMAS) and the tree (PALMIS), the interplay of text and image establishes an ingenuous pun that only reveals itself to a viewer trained in the nuances of these Latin terms. The composition of the reverse side confirms this hypothesis. There we can see the constellation of Pisces accompanied by the astronomical symbols for Jupiter and Sol. Together, the circumscription and the inscription below reveal the solution to this astronomical picture puzzle: ‘Jupiter and the Sun were coupled together on the 6th of March in the year of 1714’. The medal thus refers to a constellation in the sidereal zodiac that coincided with the day of the signing of the treaty.¹⁸ The depiction of the astronomical *conjunctio*, as Werner Telesko already elucidated, served to affirm a lasting peace, or *pax perpetua*.¹⁹ At the same time, the medalist employed the monarchic iconography of Charles VI and Louis XIV.²⁰ Depicting the *dexiosis* between two rulers as a symbol for peace does not seem to have been a visual option, because monarchs saw peacebuilding as a duty of their sovereignty to which only they as rulers were entitled.²¹ The portrayal of the French monarch as *Sol* had already been established in the Dauphin’s earlier years and reached its high point in 1650. The *Académie Royale* contributed to the distribution of this image as did the emblematic works of Claude-François Menestrier among

16 The gesture refers an emblem by Alciati, showing two Roman militairs shaking hands in front of a legerkamp captioned with “Concordia” and the *subscriptio* “So sie sich verbanden in ein Die rechte Hand botten sie dar Einander die treuwen meinend zwar Diß war ir Bündtnuß, weiß und gestalt Der einigkeit ein zeichen alt”. Andrea Alciati, *Liber emblematicvm D. Andreae Alciati...verteutsch und an tag geben durch Jeremiam Held von Nördlingen, Frankfurt am Main: Raben, Feyrabends, Hüters*, p. 18r–18v, no. 25.

17 CONVENERE DVCES PRO PALMIS IVNGERE PALMAS.

18 Circumscription: IVNGVNTVR IVPPITER ET SOL. Inscription: VI · MARTII · A: MDCCXIII. Exergue: PAX RASTADIENSIS.

19 Telesko 2013 (as fn. 12), pp. 382–383. Wieland 1970 (as fn. 15), pp. 382–383. A similar medal points out: SIT PERPETVA D.PERPETVAE.S / VI.MART. (It may last. At the day of Saint Perpetua the 6th of March). Wieland 1970 (as fn. 15), p. 344, cat.-no. 60.

20 See fn. 4.

21 Kaulbach 2013 (as fn. 6), pp. 115–122. Prince Eugene as bringer of Peace can be also found on a medal by Brunner and Nürnberger, with his portrait on the obverse and with an explanation of his name Eugenius (good spirit) and the personification of the Rhine, to which he hands out a *caduceus*. Popelka 1986 (as fn. 15), p. 168, cat.-no. 187.

others.²² Conversely, Charles VI adopted the image of the highest Olympian, as the engraving on the occasion of his marriage to Elisabeth Christine of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel proves, which presented the pair as Jupiter and Juno.²³ The image was further used especially in Baroque ceiling paintings, such as in St. Florian near Linz, where Hungary and Austria pay homage to his personification as Jupiter.²⁴ It is quite striking, that the medal portrays the two negotiators while Louis XIV and Charles VI are solely depicted allegorically. In this case, the peace making is first and foremost represented as a result of the successful negotiations of Prince Eugene and De Villars.

The medal designs of Christoph Fürer von Haimendorf

Celebratory medals (*Ereignismedaillen*) began their success in the second half of the 17th century.²⁵ Next to these medals commissioned for specific events, 18th century medalists produced pieces at their own expense with respect to contemporary historical events (*Spekulationsmedaillen*). For marketing purposes, the producers used newspaper advertisements as well as printed medal descriptions which explained the content of the medal on a piece of paper and would be sold together with the medal. However, nowadays these descriptions are usually housed in libraries and graphic collections separated from their original context, while the medals are integrated into numismatic cabinets.²⁶ The Vienna University Library holds one such volume in which different

²² Appuhn-Radtke 2005 (as fn. 4), pp. 97–100. Anne Spagnolo-Stiff, *Die "Entrée solennelle". Festarchitektur im französischen Königtum (1700–1750)*, Weimar: Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 1996. Karl Möseneder, *Barocke Bildphilosophie und Emblem. Menestriers "L'art des emblèmes"* (Sonderabdruck aus: *L'art des emblèmes ou s'enseigne la morale par les figures de la fable, de l'histoire & de la nature / Claude-François Menestrier*), Mittenwald: Mäander, 1981. Gérard Sabatier, Medeleine Angélique Lacroix de Chevières (eds.), *Claude-François Menestrier. Les jésuites et le monde des images*, Grenoble: University Press Grenoble, 2009; here in particular the essay by Fabrice Charton. Judi D. Loach: Why Menestrier wrote about emblems, and what audience(s) he had in mind, in: *Emblematica. An interdisciplinary journal for emblem studies* 12 (2002), p. 223–283. Nikolaus Pevsner, *Academies of art, past and present*, Cambridge: University Press, 1940, pp. 86–109. Christian Michel, *The Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture (1648–1793). The Birth of the French School* (first published in French, Geneva 2012), Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2018, pp. 5–17.

²³ Matsche 1981 (as fn. 4), pp. 336–337. Especially for the iconography of Jupiter see pp. 334–342.

²⁴ Selma Krasa-Florian, *Die Allegorie der Austria. Die Entstehung des Gesamtstaatsgedankens in der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie und die bildende Kunst*, Vienna et al.: Böhlau, 2007, p. 37.

²⁵ The term *Ereignismedaille* means a medal related to contemporary events.

²⁶ George P. Sanders, *Catalogus der medailles, of gedenkpenningen, betrekking hebbende op de voornaamste historien der Vereenigde Nederlanden, vervaardigt door de medailleurs Martinus & Joan George Holtzhey, tot Amsterdam*, Utrecht: Het Nederlands Muntmuseum, 2003. Anna Lisa Schwartz,

explanations are pasted and whose title is lettered by hand as follows: “Explanations of many memorial medals struck in XVIII century Augsburg and Nuremberg: How such were issued in combination with single pieces of paper by their own designers”.²⁷ The content spans the period from the end of the 17th century until 1730—the year before the book’s compilation in Lilienfeld in Lower Austria according to the title page.

Especially because these medal descriptions with their circumscriptions in Latin address an educated elite, we also have to ask about the inventor, since neither obverse nor reverse are signed. Almost all of the examples therein obtained from Nuremberg bear the initials of the author C.F.v.H. Especially the compositions of the circumscriptions can be linked to the directors of the Latin schools of S. Egidien and S. Laurence, as well as to the German Language Society *Pegnesischer Blumenorden*.²⁸ In fact, the initials mentioned above can be attributed to Christoph Fürer von Haimendorf VII, *Praeses* or president of the Language Society since 1709. According to Georg Andreas Will, “he delivered many samples of his humor and his inventive mind”²⁹ and had been “very lucky and ingenious in the creation of medals”.³⁰ That he was not only responsible for the designs, but also for their explanations, is revealed by a commentary in Joachim Negelein’s *Thesaurus numismatum modernorum*.³¹ The description accompanying the peace medal of Rastatt begins with:

The renewed medal created and engraved for the occasion of the Peace of Rastatt of Nuremberg introduces: the heavenly sign of the Pisces and how on the day of the Peace of Rastatt Jupiter and the Sun were brought together in the same.³²

Gedruckte Medaillenbeschreibungen des 18. Jahrhunderts, in: *Numismatisches Nachrichtenblatt* 67, 7 (2018), pp. 257–260.

27 *Erklärung Vieler In diesem XVIII. Seculo zu Augsburg und Nürnberg geprägten Gedächtnuß-Müntzen: Wie solche von den Herrn Erfindern selbst In einzelnen Zetteln herausgegeben worden*, Lilienfeld, 1731, p. 87. Vienna, University Library, I-235.990.

28 Gerd Dethlefs, *Die Nürnberger Dichterschule und die Friedensmedaillen 1648/50*, in: *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten* 16 (1989), pp. 1–18.

29 “hat er sehr viele Proben seines Witzes und seines erfindsames Kopfes geliefert”. Georg Andreas Will, *Nürnbergisches Gelehrten-Lexicon ... vol. 5*, Nuremberg, Altdorf: Schüpfel, 1802, pp. 374–375. The Flower Society under their leadership of Fürer von Haimendorf Renate Jürgensen, *Utile cum dulci. Die Blütezeit des Pegnesischen Blumenordens in Nürnberg 1644 bis 1744*, Wiesbaden: Hassarowitz, 1994, pp. 118–120. Renate Jürgensen, *Melos conspirant singuli in unum. Repertorium bio-bibliographicum zur Geschichte des Pegnesischen Blumenordens in Nürnberg (1644–1744)*, Wiesbaden: Hassarowitz, 2006, pp. 541–522.

30 “Erfindung von Medaillen sehr glücklich und sinnreich gewesen”. Georg Andreas Will, *Nürnbergisches Gelehrten-Lexicon ... vol. 1*, Nuremberg, Altdorf: Schüpfel, 1755, p. 498.

31 This is mentioned in regards to a medal of Frederick I of Prussia: “in Begleitung einiger Devisen aus allerunterthänigster Devotion ein- und ausgeführet/ von Christoff Fürer/ Haimendorf”, Joachim Negelein, *Thesavrvs Nvmismatvm Modernorvm Hvivs Secvli ... = Historische Gedächtnuß-Müntzen des Gegenwärtigen Secvli, Oder Gedächtnuß- und Schau-Pfenninge*, Nuremberg: Monath, (ca. 1720), p. 840.

32 *Erklärung* 1731 (as fn. 25), p. 87.

The main part of the text is dedicated to the astronomical constellation of the *conjunctio* and the circumscriptions. By mentioning the name day *perpetua*, which followed the day of the peace agreement,³³ the medal equally refers to the wording of the Treaty of Rastatt. For the peace treaty from Baden states a '*pax christiana perpetua*', there-with following a tradition of Westphalian peace treaties.³⁴ Fürer von Haimendorf then extended the Latin circumscriptions with rhyming couplets:

As Jupiter and Phoebus/ found themselves in Heaven/ So did Charles and Louis on Earth join together. Prince Eugenius and Villars, sitting still next to the palm trees/ join their hands/ because Earth and Heaven want it.³⁵

Von Haimendorf's complex solution for the medal only worked because of the interaction of both image and text on the one side, and astronomical formulas replacing the monarchs' portraits on the other. The lack of this context is exemplified by a marksman target preserved in Ravensburg.³⁶ The painted target shows the visualization of the obverse with Prince Eugene and De Villars shaking hands, although in this case the circumscription of the medal can be found in the bottom of the target while the image is framed by the writing "PATRIÆ MEMORIA DVLCIS" on its upper margin. The bottom edge also bears the date 30th of July, which suggests that the target was designed for a marksmen's fair celebrating the Treaty of Rastatt.³⁷

³³ Popelka 1986 (as fn. 15), p. 166, cat.-no. 185.

³⁴ For the connection between the Westphalian Peace and Baden Telesko 2013 (as fn. 12), pp. 373–374. On the *pax christiana* Hans-Martin Kaulbach, *Das Bild des Friedens – vor und nach 1648*, in: Bußman / Schilling 1998 (as fn. 6), pp. 593–603, p. 593.

³⁵ "Wie der Juppiter und Phöbus/ an dem Himmel sich befunden/ Also haben Carl und Ludwig auf der Erden sich verbunden. Printz Eugenius und Villars, sitzen bey den Palmen still/ fügen ihre Händ zusammen/ weil es Erd und Himmel will."

³⁶ Wooden target used at a marksmen's fair in Ravensburg in celebration of the Treaty of Rastatt in 1714. Museum Humpis-Quartier Ravensburg, 88/1171. Fieg / Baumgärtner 2014 (as fn. 15), p. 181, cat. no. 3.26.

³⁷ There were multiple marksmen's fairs to celebrate the signing of peace treaties. For example in Nuremberg in 1649, in Ravensburg in 1714, and in Regensburg in 1763 to celebrate the Treaty of Hubertusburg. Preserved documents recounting the festivities that took place during the Nuremberg Peace Congress attest to the changing motif from weapon of war to instrument of peace. Johann Klaj composed a poem for an etching by Lucas Schnitzer to commemorate the crossbow competition organized by the imperial ambassador Piccolomini on the 29th of July in Nuremberg: "Mit Schießen wie alhier, mit Schießen daß da nüt in Friedenszeit erfreüt, in strengen Kriegen Schützt." Lukas Schnitzer (Radierer), Johann Klaj (Verfasser): EIGENTLICHE ABBILDVNG DES WEGEN VÖLLIGGESCHLOSSENEN REICHSFRIEDENS in Nürnberg gehaltenen Armbrust Schießens, Radierung auf Papier, 19,8 × 34 cm (Blatt). Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nuremberg, Department of Prints and Drawings, HB 2592, Kapsel 1379a.

Depictions of peace on Southern German medals commemorating the Treaties of Rastatt and Baden

Although Fürer von Haimendorf can be identified as the *inventor* of the medal, the identity of the medalist still remains unclear. The volume preserved in Vienna contains many descriptions of medals from Nuremberg marked with “C.G.L. Cum Priv.[ilegio] Sac.[rae] Caes.[areae] Maj.[estatis]” next to Fürer von Haimendorf’s initials. The statement refers to Caspar Gottlieb Lauffer, the General Warden of the Mint of the Franconian *Reichskreis* and a publisher of medals in Nuremberg.³⁸ Since for the 17th century such collaborations are verifiable, it is likely to assume the same for Lauffer and Fürer von Haimendorf.³⁹

Another medal, also designed by Fürer von Haimendorf, does without the astronomical references and includes the portraits of Charles VI and Louis XIV instead. Both their busts adorn the obverse: they are shown with allonge wigs and laurel wreaths while their armor and commander’s cloaks are hinted at. Their severe facial expressions and scrutinizing looks stand in contrast to the circumscription, which speaks of the ‘Restoration of a Blissful Time’ next to their official titles.⁴⁰ The phrasing, however, functions as a transition to the reverse side, which addresses the concord between both empires with the Treaty of Baden. (fig. 2).⁴¹ In the center of the reverse, a fissured globe is visible whose fracture divides GALLIA and GERMANIA. Jupiter and Sol are situated on each side and under the circumscription ‘Their Union Connects the Circle’ they stitch the globe back together.⁴² The deeper meaning of the medal is once more revealed by its written description, preserved in a volume in the Library of

³⁸ Valentin Maler was the first medalist in Nuremberg to mint medals that were intended for the open market instead of being commissioned by the council. For this purpose he let Emperor Rudolf II grant him the privilege to mint medals. On this topic Hermann Maué, Dieter Fischer, *Medaillen und Schaumünzen auf Ereignisse in der Reichsstadt Nürnberg 1521–1806*, Nuremberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 2014, pp. 14–15. Brunner, Müller, as well as both Vestners worked for Lauffer. However, on March 6th, 1738 Andreas Vestner was granted the imperial privilege to mint medals. This allowed father and son to build up their own medal shop. Bernheimer 1984 (as fn. 11), p. 24.

³⁹ John R. Paas, *Zusammenarbeit in der Herstellung illustrierter Werken im Barockzeitalter*. Sigmund von Birken (1626–1681) und Nürnberger Künstler und Verleger, in: *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten* 24 (1997), pp. 217–239.

⁴⁰ A medal designed and produced in Nuremberg commemorating the Treaty of Rastatt and Baden in 1714. Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, MK 1365bb. CAROLVS VI · D · G · ROM · IMP · ET LVD · XIII · D · G · FR · ET NAV · REX · FEL · TEMP · REPERATIO. Gottlieb Caspar Lauffer, *Das Laufferische Medaillen-Cabinet. Oder Verzeichniß aller Medaillen, Welche sowohl Die Historischen Gegebenheiten von A. 1679. biß A. 1742. ... enthalten*, Nuremberg: Lauffer, 1742, pp. 89–90, no. 240.

⁴¹ Telesko 2013 (as fn. 12), pp. 383–385. Popelka 1986 (as fn. 15), p. 173, cat.-no. 192.

⁴² HIS IVNCTIS IVNGITVR ORBIS.



Fig. 2a and 2b: Medal commemorating the Treaty of Rastatt and Baden, designed and produced in Nuremberg. Silver. Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, Numismatic Collection, MK 1365bb.

the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg.⁴³ Both deities do not merely stitch the globe back together, but “these two Gods so unify with one hand/ through a bond of love/ and with the other they reassemble the divided world”. The bond of love which both hold in their right hand refers to the *dextrarum iunctio*, a classical numismatic symbol for two (marriage) partners and a symbol for *Concordia* often used in Early Modern iconography.⁴⁴ It expresses the eternal character of the peace treaty, for which the astronomical *conjunctio* was used in the previously introduced medal. The inscription on the medal and the description underscore this aspect, as they refer to the ‘Repeated Concord’ and to peace that had been “concluded in Rastatt in Baden / and confirmed in Baden in Switzerland”.⁴⁵

⁴³ Sammlungen an Beschreibungen verschiedener Medaillen und Denkmünzen, (1714–1819), fol. 7. Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nuremberg, Library, 8° K.839. <http://dlib.gnm.de/item/8K839/html> [accessed December 6, 2020].

⁴⁴ Louis Reekmans, La “dextrarum iunctio” dans l’iconographie romaine et paléochrétienne, in: *Bulletin de L’Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 31 (1958), pp. 23–95. Dietmar Peil, Ehe- und Hochzeits-Embleme. Anmerkungen zu den Verwendungsmöglichkeiten einer Gattung im Ehe-Diskurs der Frühen Neuzeit, in: Czarnicka / Szafarz (as fn. 2), pp. 101–122. Klaus August Wirth, art. ‘Ehe’, in: Otto Schmitt (ed.), *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte* vol. 4, Munich: Beck et al., 1958, col. 775–786. Victor Mínguez Cornelles, Matrimonio y emblemática. El rito de la ‘dextrarum iunctio’ y la representación de los enlaces nupciales en la Casa de Austria, in: Ignacio Arellano (ed.), *Emblemática y religión en la Península ibérica (Siglo de Oro)*, Frankfurt/M.: Vervuert, 2010, pp. 259–282.

⁴⁵ VNA DVOS ITERATA DEOS CONCORDIA STRINGIT.

Not only Fürer von Haimendorf created medal designs referring to the Treaty of Rastatt. Another medal distributed by Lauffer on the occasion of the Treaty of Ryswick also shows a fissured globe inscribed with EVROPA.⁴⁶ In the hopes that ‘Europe would not completely fall apart’,⁴⁷ Pax wraps an olive branch around the globe, assisted by Mercury. Concerning the peace iconography and representations of the Treaty of Rastatt, the reverse of this example is also interesting: the personification of rest reclines under an olive tree holding a caduceus. The text connects the state of peace established by the Ryswick Treaty with a tranquility that should not be disturbed anymore.⁴⁸ Rest—*tranquilas* or *quies* respectively—often served to characterize the place of the agreement, Rastatt, because of its eponymous qualities.⁴⁹ A medal by Georg Wilhelm Vestner displaying the margrave’s residence on the front side is a prime example for this.⁵⁰ This image is based on a 1705 etching by Rainer Wollenschneider which shows the area in front of the castle grounds as rough terrain.⁵¹ In this case, too, the design of the circumscription can be traced back to Fürer von Haimendorf, who here uses a similar pun: “Rastatt/ bringing the peace/ has the name of the deed/ and will hereupon be called for all times: a city of tranquility and rest (Rast-stadt).”⁵² Fürer von Haimendorf also identifies the source upon for his eponymous design: he refers to Kaspar von Stieler’s *Der Deutschen Sprache Stammbaum und Fortwachs*, which was published in Nuremberg by Johann Hofman in 1691.⁵³

46 Peace of Ryswick medal 1697, silver, struck, 31,5 mm Dm. Landesmuseum Württemberg, Numismatic Collection, MK 19308. Lauffer 1742 (as fn. 38), p. 45. Written mentions and imagery of Europe appear especially in the context of the Treaties of Nijmegen and Ryswick and propagate the unity of a Christian Europe in the face of the Ottoman threat. On this topic see Lotte Jensen, *Vieren van Vrede. Het ontstaan van de Nederlandse identiteit, 1648–1815*, Nijmegen: Van tilt, 2016, pp. 71–87. Hans-Martin Kaulbach, *Pax im Kontext. Zur Ikonographie von Friedenskonzepten vor und nach 1648*, in: *De zeventiende eeuw* 13 (1997), pp. 323–331, p. 323. Armin Reese, *Pax sit Christiana. Die westfälischen Friedensverhandlungen als europäisches Ereignis*, Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1988.

47 Circumscription: NE TOTA DEHISCAT.

48 Circumscription: NUNQUAM VIOLETUR AB ÆVO. Exergue: TRANQUILLITAS REDUX.

49 The name of the city originates from the German term *Rast-Stätte*, which means place of rest.

50 Popelka 1986 (as fn. 15), p. 171, cat.-no. 190. Telesko 2013 (as fn. 12), pp. 387–388. Wielandt 1970 (as fn. 15), p. 337, cat.-no. 36.

51 The etching in: Fieg / Baumgärtner 2014 (as fn. 15), p. 185, cat.-no. 4.4.

52 Description of a medal which was engraved for the peace negotiations in Rastatt, letterpress on paper, 35 × 21,4 cm (sheet). Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nuremberg, Department of Prints and Drawings, HB 26332, Kapsel-Nr. 1278. Circumscription: DAT PACEM RASTATT. PATRIAE EST VRBS ILLA QVIETIS. Lauffer 1742 (as fn. 38), p. 88.

53 The medal refers to the Treaty of Baden with a mention of the contract location, although the mention is not eponymous. It shows a view of the city situated near the Limmat, in which *Mars* washes his sword. The circumscription HAS TANDEM AD THERMAS FESSVS MARS ABLVIT ENSEM (At these warm wellsprings the tired Mars finally washes off his sword) references Baden’s quality as a bath and resort location. Popelka 1986 (as fn. 15), p. 172, cat.-no. 191.



Fig. 3a and 3b: Medal commemorating the Treaty of Rastatt, Martin Brunner. Silver. Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nuremberg, Numismatic Collection, Med 1621.

Another medal not yet accredited to Fürer von Haimendorf by the city Master of Mint Georg Friedrich Nürnberger and Martin Brunner displays the former enemies on the battlefield now peacefully united.⁵⁴ The obverse designed by Nürnberger is adorned by two portraits of Eugene of Savoy and de Villars. Both wear an allonge wig and a decorated cuirass displaying the Collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece and the Order of the Holy Ghost respectively. The meaning of the circumscription 'Once Two Flashes in War'⁵⁵ only makes sense in conjunction with the reverse (fig. 3): 'Now Instruments of Quiet'.⁵⁶ In this way Brunner ties his work in with the previously used iconography of rest and tranquility. Nevertheless, the image on the medal focuses on the two peacefully united former enemies by using an emblem that was particularly meaningful in a local context. The emblem of crossed swords entwined in an olive branch can be found in an emblematic work in Nuremberg: the symbol and the motto *rigorem clementia temperet* (may the mild temper the strong) decorated the ceiling of the great chamber of the town hall. The sword, a symbol of the good ruler, is here combined with the olive branch and thus gains the status of a judicial emblem proscribing judicial clemency. The emblems of the courtroom were circulated via copper engravings by Pieter Isselburg, so that they

⁵⁴ Popelka 1986 (as fn. 15), p. 167, cat.-no. 186. Wielandt 1970 (as fn. 15), pp. 341–342, cat.-no. 52. Ohm 2014 (as fn. 15), p. 82. Fieg / Baumgärtner 2014 (as fn. 15), p. 178, cat.-no. 3.23.11.

⁵⁵ OLIM DVO FVLMINA BELLII.

⁵⁶ NVNC INSTRVMENTA QVIETIS.

were still available as templates for medalists in the 18th century.⁵⁷ On the medal, a Putto can be seen signing a document, visualizing the conclusion of a treaty. The helmet serving as an inkwell follows an iconographic tradition that, based on a biblical motive, was developed in the context of the Westphalian Peace. The source is Isaiah 2:4 where the beating of swords into plowshares is the metaphor used to express peace leading to a recovery of agriculture.⁵⁸ The symbolical transformation of a former tool of war into a tool of peace was transferred onto daily life in the context of the Westphalian Peace for which the pamphlet *Schertzgedicht, Die Früchte deß Friedens Vorstellent*, first published by Paulus Fürst, is the best example.⁵⁹ It caricatures the manner in which the population deals with soldiers and their equipment, with a lance being repurposed as a chicken ladder or a person defecating into a war drum.

Conclusion

The juxtaposition of the medal by Lauffer based on Fürer von Haimendorf's designs on the one hand, and the design by Brunner and Nürnberger on the other, demonstrates the varying possibilities of visualizing former enemies united in peaceful concord. They exemplify how the iconography of peace shifted from the use of rather abstract and allegorical imagery to the specific depiction of diplomats and negotiators. Other than the treaty of Utrecht in 1713 with a large amount of diplomats involved, the treaties of Rastatt and Baden were mainly negotiated by Prince Eugene and De Villars. The expansion of diplomatic culture as a result of the large peace conferences in especially the 17th century resulted in new images of peace. For the medals referring to the treaties of Rastatt and Baden, artists could not only put two negotiators into the center of their compositions, but also two former opponents on the battlefield.

Fürer von Haimendorf's complex inventions were addressed to an educated audience, but with Lauffer's published descriptions they could even reveal their meanings to a less educated audience. The latter also enables a more detailed

57 Friedensbilder: Archiv Hans-Martin Kaulbach (Staatsgalerie Stuttgart). Mara Wade, Von Schedels Weltchronik bis zu Birkens Friedensdichtungen: eine Nürnberger emblematisch-ikonographische Tradition im Kontext, in: Gerhard F. Strasser, Mara Wade (eds.), *Domänen des Emblems: außerliterarische Anwendungen der Emblematik*, Wiesbaden: Hassarowitz 2004, pp. 54–78. Arthur Henkel, Albrecht Schöne, *Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart: Metzler, 1967, col. 215. Matthias Mende, *Das alte Nürnberger Rathaus vol. 1*, Nuremberg: Stadtgeschichtl. Museen, 1979, pp. 356–359.

58 Kaulbach 2013 (as fn. 6), pp. 85–88.

59 <https://objektkatalog.gnm.de/objekt/HB15054> [accessed December 6, 2020].

research into the subject matter by partially indicating the sources of the images. Brunner and Nürnberger's medal exemplifies a far more simplified visualization, although the Latin circumscriptions still require a certain level of education. Nevertheless, all three examples mentioned above use the iconography of peace which had established itself in the German—and more specifically Southern German—region in the second half of the 17th century, and which received new impulses in the following century. This can be attributed to the continued demand for celebratory medals in the 18th century, which manifested itself in the widely published collections of medal descriptions.