

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE



Tom XIII

MUZEUM NARODOWE W KRAKOWIE
SEKCJA NUMIZMATYCZNA
KOMISJI ARCHEOLOGICZNEJ PAN
ODDZIAŁ W KRAKOWIE

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Bogumiła Haczewska (1943–2017). Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum, September 1995. Photo: I. Feldblum

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31 grudnia 2017 roku zmarła Bogumiła Haczewska (1943–2017), emerytowany, wieloletni pracownik i kierownik Gabinetu Numizmatycznego Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, znawczyni mennictwa średniowiecznego i gdańskiego, zastępca redaktora i członek komitetu redakcyjnego *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*. Była osobą mocno zaangażowaną w działalność społeczną: reaktywowała w 1989 roku w Muzeum Narodowym Związek Zawodowy „Solidarność”, działała w Towarzystwie Przyjaciół Muzeum im. Emeryka Hutten-Czapskiego, zakładała Stowarzyszenie Muzealników Polskich, najważniejszą dziś organizację skupiającą pracowników polskich muzeów. Niezwykle pracowita, świadoma odpowiedzialności wynikającej ze sprawowanych przez siebie funkcji, całą sobą oddana była Gabinetowi Numizmatycznemu.

Jej pamięci poświęcamy XIII tom *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*, nie mając wątpliwości, że czasopismo to nie powstałoby bez jej zaangażowania.

Redakcja

Dear Readers,

It is with great pleasure that we present to you Volume XIII of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*. In accordance with our customary practice, all the texts concerned with subjects of international interest or significance have been published in the conference languages, while those of more relevance to Polish readers – in Polish. Information for prospective authors as well as previously published volumes of our journal can be found at www.mnk.pl.

A worker of many years at the Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum in Krakow and then the cabinet's director before she retired, Bogumiła Haczewska (1943–2017) passed away on December 31, 2017. An expert on medieval coinage and coinage from Gdańsk, Haczewska was deputy editor and a member of the editorial committee of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*. Whether she was reactivating the Solidarity labor union at the National Museum in 1989 or busy doing work for the Association of Benefactors of the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum or else putting together the Association of Polish Museologists, the most important organization for employees at Polish museums, Haczewska was heavily engaged in doing social work. An exceptionally hard worker, Haczewska was conscious of the responsibility resulting from the offices she held, giving her whole self to the Numismatic Cabinet.

It is in memory of Bogumiła Haczewska that we dedicate the 13th volume of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*, there being no doubt that the journal would never have been created without her full commitment.

The Editors

PAULINA TARADAJ

National Museum in Krakow

Quo non augustior alter. A Few Remarks on the Series of Small Medals Issued to Commemorate the Maneuvers of the Saxon Armies at Mühlberg in 1730

ABSTRACT: This article describes a series of small medals by Christian Wermuth depicting Augustus II Wettin (Frederick Augustus I, 1697–1706, 1709–1733; elector of Saxony from 1694) on horseback, the horse stepping and placed on a pedestal. This series consists of 11 medals and includes one variant from the collection of the Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum in Krakow that cannot be found in the standard catalog of Wermuth's medals by Cordula Wohlfahrt. The article explores the possibility that the medals were not commissioned by the king himself. It is not the above-mentioned image of a king on horseback that suggests that this may have been the case – after all, this image is typical of Roman triumphal art and was eagerly adopted in the early modern period by absolute monarchs like Louis XIV of France (1643–1715) – but the inscriptions on the reverses when they are analyzed as a whole group. Certain patterns used by Wermuth, who was known for carrying out orders for satirical and mocking medals, also suggest that it may not have been the king who commissioned the medals.

KEY WORDS: medal, Augustus II Wettin, Christian Wermuth, Mühlberg 1730, equestrian portrait

ABSTRAKT: *“Quo non augustior alter”.* Kilka uwag na temat serii małych medali wydanych z okazji kampamentu wojsk saskich pod Mühlbergiem w 1730 roku

Przedmiotem artykułu jest seria małych medali autorstwa Christiana Wermutha przedstawiających Augusta II (Fryderyka Augusta I, 1697–1706, 1709–1733; elektora Saksonii od 1694 r.) na koniu idącym stępą, umieszczonym na postumencie.

Należy ona do grupy jedenastu dotychczas rozpoznanych medali, w tym jednej, nieopublikowanej w katalogu medali Wermutha autorstwa Corduli Wohlfahrt, odmiany znajdującej się w zbiorach Gabinetu Numizmatycznego Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie. Autorka zastanawia się, czy w wypadku powyższych medali mamy do czynienia z oficjalnym zleceniem królewskim. Sam wizerunek konny, typowy dla rzymskiej sztuki triumfalnej i chętnie wykorzystywany w okresie nowożytnym zwłaszcza w absolutystycznym systemie władzy, takim jak monarchia Ludwika XIV (1643–1715), nie jest wystarczającą wskazówką. Być może są nią inskrypcje, przeanalizowane w obrębie całej wspomnianej grupy medali, jak również pewne schematy ikonograficzne stosowane przez Christiana Wermutha, który był powszechnie znany z wykonywania medali o charakterze satyrycznym bądź szyderczym.

SŁOWAKLUCZOWE: medal, August II Wettyn, Christian Wermuth, Mühlberg 1730, portret konny

Despite his long and turbulent reign, Augustus II (Frederick Augustus I, 1697–1706, 1709–1733; the elector of Saxony as of 1694) was unable to shine as a brilliant leader with numerous military successes to his name. Taking into account the fact that he had received a military education, this must have been particularly regrettable for him.¹ Thus, it is not strange that he used as propaganda any occasion whatsoever to display his supposed military prowess.

As regards Frederick Augustus I, the only real event of this kind was his campaign against the Turks in Hungary in the years 1695 and 1696, a campaign that gave the elector of Saxony high hopes.² Proof of this is available in the numismatic material: the striking of a medallion on the occasion of his arrival in Vienna in connection with his having become commander-in-chief of the imperial armies;³ the minting of two medals, one each for the first⁴ and second⁵ military campaigns; and the issuing of commemorative coins for each of these events.⁶ What we can see in all of this is an echo of the Battle of Vienna, in which John George III Wettin, Frederick Augustus I's father,⁷ played an important role. It seems to me that what we can also see here is an

¹ STASZEWSKI 1998: 17, 34.

² STASZEWSKI 1998: 41–42.

³ See: HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1891: 110, no. 7809 (Inv. no. MNK VII-Md-1569); TENTZEL 1981a: 687–688; IDEM 1981b: Table 73, X; see also: CONRADI 1797: 3–4.

⁴ TENTZEL 1981a: 688–689; IDEM 1981b: Table 73, XI; WOHLFAHRT 1992: 152, no. 95001.

⁵ TENTZEL 1981a: 692; IDEM 1981b: Table 74, V; WOHLFAHRT 1992: 159, no. 96014.

⁶ For issues from 1695, see: KAHNT 2009: 205, no. 233; 206, nos. 234 and 235. For issues from 1696, see: *Ibidem*: 207, no. 236; 208, no. 237.

⁷ Nor did John George III Wettin fail to celebrate his success with a number of medals, including one – perhaps the most impressive – that, *nota bene*, was executed by Jan Höhn the Younger from Gdańsk, who made medals for John III Sobieski. See the medal in: HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1916: 34–35, no. 10390 (Inv. no. MNK VII-MdP-1401).

attempt to build up Frederick Augustus I's position in his efforts to secure the Polish throne following the death of John III Sobieski. These efforts go back to at least 1691.⁸

A number of medals were minted during Augustus II's career that purported to celebrate his military expertise. There is the medal commemorating his victory over the prince of Conti in 1697, though the iconography of this medal has little in common with the true course of events.⁹ There is the medal commemorating the return of Kamieniec Podolski in 1699;¹⁰ however, taking into account the peaceful circumstances in which the fortress was recovered,¹¹ it is difficult to classify this medal as one that is "typically" of military fame. There is the medal (of which two versions are known) which has its origin in the capturing of the fortress at Koborn (Coberschantz) in 1700 during the Saxon invasion of Livonia at the beginning of the Great Northern War.¹² There is also the medal commemorating the capture of Stralsund in 1715; however, this medal emphasized above all the alliance between Saxony, Denmark, and Prussia against Sweden.¹³ It was not until many years later that the next opportunity to mint a medal presented itself, and this was the military maneuvers at Mühlberg¹⁴ in June of 1730. Calculated to attain the greatest renown, not only were these maneuvers supposed to show the military might of Saxony but also the famed luxury and splendor of court celebrations during the reign of Augustus II.¹⁵ Their organization was a way of reorienting foreign policy by tightening the relations between Saxony and Prussia in the final years of Augustus II's reign. The Prussian king Frederick William I Hohenzollern (1713–1740) and his son, the future successor to the throne, Frederick the Great (1740–1786),¹⁶ participated in the maneuvers as guests.

⁸ STASZEWSKI 1998: 46.

⁹ I write about this in my article "August II jako sukcesor i kontynuator Jana III Sobieskiego. Propaganda królewska na medalach z lat 1697–1699" (forthcoming). In relation to the medal itself, see: STAHR 2008: 118, no. 137. With further literature.

¹⁰ See the medal in: *Ibidem*: 125, no. 151. With further literature.

¹¹ I.e. the evacuation of the Turkish garrison in accordance with the provisions of the peace treaty in Karłowice.

¹² BENTKOWSKI 1830: 98, no. 334; see also: RACZYŃSKI 1841: 67, no. 302; BENTKOWSKI 1830: 98, no. 335; cf. RACZYŃSKI 1841: 70, no. 303.

¹³ See the medal in: HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1891: 272, no. 8800 (Inv. no. MNK VII-Md-827). This is not the only medal to come from this occasion. See: HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1872: 392, no. 4632 (Inv. no. MNK VII-Md-828); IDEM 1891: 272, no. 8801 (Inv. no. MNK VII-Md-829). Because of their unique inscriptions in German – about which more will be said later on in the article – we are justified in having certain doubts as to whether the rest of these medals were definitely official medals.

¹⁴ Actually, the maneuvers took place at Zeithein, which is near Mühlberg. It was no accident that Augustus chose this location, for it was at Mühlberg that Augustus' ancestor Maurice of Wettin supported Emperor Charles V in his battle against the Protestant Schmalkaldic League. For his support, he was awarded the title of elector, which had previously been reserved for the Ernestine branch but from this point onwards was reserved for rulers from the Albertine branch.

¹⁵ A comprehensive description of the event can be found in *Mercure de France*; see: ANONYM 1730: 380–382. (<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015080105276;view=1up;seq=340>) (accessed January 10, 2019)

¹⁶ STASZEWSKI 1998: 259–261; IDEM 1997: 119–120, 130.

We know of a number of medals commemorating this event. We can provisionally divide them into three categories:¹⁷

- The first in the hierarchy was undoubtedly the medal executed by the Dresden court medalist Heinrich Paul Groskurt (1675–1751). We can see on the obverse Augustus II's favorite image of himself in medallion art,¹⁸ already on this medal shown in his so-called timeless youth, for the first time this image of him appeared on a medal was in 1707.¹⁹ The numerous medals that exist with this idealized portrait appear in three standards: 44, 65 and 80 mm in diameter. In order to strike these medals commemorating the maneuvers at Mühlfeld, it was – of course! – the largest die possible that was made use of.

The reverse of this medal shows, in turn, a bird's eye view of the military camp and the units stationed in it; over the camp, a winged Fama rises, holding in her hands the Polish-Saxon coat of arms. This image is accompanied by an inscription in the exergue: OTIA MARTIS / MDCCXXX. / MENS. [is] IUN. [ii]. (*Leisure from War, 1730, in the month of June*). A banner with this motto (i.e. *Otia Martis*) decorated the monumental pavilion made of wood that Augustus II used as his main quarters.²⁰

- The second medal was created by Georg Wilhelm Vestner (1677–1740), of Nuremberg.²¹ Here, the main pictorial motif on the reverse is a rider on a rearing horse; in *all'antica* garb, he has a helmet with a plume on his head and a commander's staff in his hand. The rider is accompanied by three men on horseback and in Polish dress. The surrounding inscription reads: MARTIS SAXONICI SPECTACULA BELLICA BELLA (*The Mars of Saxony's Beautiful Military Demonstrations*). Above all, three elements call our attention in this iconography: the appellation the Mars of Saxony (this was John George III Wettin's appellation), the rider in ancient costume, and the riders in Polish attire. It seems that what they have in common is the Battle of Vienna. A reference to this huge victory, which was incredibly important for both of the states that Augustus II was in charge of, was supposed to be, of course, from a propaganda

¹⁷ We can find a similar juxtaposition in: CONRADI 1797: 72–74. The subject of the present article, however, goes far beyond the argument made by Conradi.

¹⁸ HEIDEMANN 2006: 162, no. 58; see also: STAHR 2008: 133.

¹⁹ This medal commemorated the granting of construction bonuses and tax breaks for the reconstruction of Dresden. See: SOMMER 2007: 313, KFS 1707; ARNOLD 1985a: 44–45; ARNOLD 1985b: 53.

²⁰ See: LEYSER 1791: 444, no. 1155; cf. CONRADI 1797: 72. We can also find an interesting description of the pavilion in Józef Ignacy Kraszewski's novel *Hrabina Cosel*; see: KRASZEWSKI 1988: 271; see also: ANONYM 1756: 403.

²¹ BERNHEIMER 1984: 164, no. 269.

perspective, a sign of the military potential of the Saxon armies and the leadership talents of Augustus.²² The images and inscriptions as well as the manner in which the ruler is shown on the reverse do not leave any doubt that what we are dealing with here is a medal ordered by the king.

- The third and final group consists of medals executed by Christian Wermuth (1661–1739), of which eleven have been identified thus far.²³ Some of these medals show Augustus II on a horse stepping left or one stepping right, with the horse placed on a pedestal. We can divide these medals into two types. On each of them, the ruler is dressed in ancient costume, but in contrast to the image on the above-mentioned medal executed by Vestner, he does not have a helmet on his head nor does he hold a commander's staff in his hand.

Type 1, i.e. the rider on a horse stepping left, is accompanied by the following inscription in the surround: AVGVSTVS II. P. [ius] F.[elix] GLORIOSVS OVANS.²⁴ (*Augustus the Pius and Happy celebrating an ovation*²⁵). It appears with the following reverses:

- provided with the following inscription: CAMPVS / NOSTER / APERTVS / DVLCIS QVIETIS / IN PVGNA CERTVS / TOT HOMINVM / COHORTE / REFER- / TVS. (*Open are our lands, pleasant in peace, certain are our battle-hands, full of people in mass bands*)²⁶ (Pl. 1, Fig. 1, Cat. 1);
- provided with the following inscription: EVROPÆ / REDIENS / REGVM REX / SENIOR ORBIS / MUHLBERG / EX CASTRIS / MARTIS / PRAELVDIA / FINIT. / * (*King of the kings of Europe, returning from the orphaned camps in Mühlberg, having finished the exercises of Mars*)²⁷ (Pl.1, Fig. 2, Cat. 2).

²² I also mention the iconography in my article titled "August II jako sukcesor i kontynuator Jana III Sobieskiego. Propaganda królewska na medalach z lat 1697–1699" (forthcoming). See the medal in: HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1872: 19, no. 2675 (Inv. no. MNK VII-Md-871).

²³ All the medals except for one were collected by Wohlfahrt (1992: 394–397) under the following catalog numbers: 30004–30013. The medal that was not included in this work can be found in: HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1891: 274, no. 8839, Inv. no. MNK VII-MdP-874. This medal is mentioned by Conradi (1797: 73), who also refers to one more medal by Wermuth that belonged to this series, one with a Latin inscription that reads, *Rex Redux ex castris Mühlberg*; see: IDEM 1797: 74.

²⁴ WOHLFAHRT 1992: 395–396, nos. 30008, 30009, 30010.

²⁵ For assistance and advice in translating the Latin inscriptions in this article, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Dr. Hab. Bartosz Awianowicz from Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń.

²⁶ Inv. no. MNK VII-MdP-3154; see: HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1880: 63, no. 5974; WOHLFAHRT 1992: 395, no. 30008.

²⁷ Inv. no. MNK VII-Md-873; see: HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1872: 19–20, no. 2676; WOHLFAHRT 1992: 396, no. 30010.

Type 2 consists of the image of a rider on a horse stepping right, with the following inscription in the surround: QVO NON AVGVSTIOR – ALTER.²⁸ or QVO NON AVGV. – STIOR ALTER²⁹ (*No other is more August*).³⁰ The obverses with this representation combine with the type 1 inscriptions *Campus noster...*³¹ (Pl. 1, Fig. 3, Cat. 3) and *Europae rediens...*³²

Besides this, there are two other versions in this series. One medal has the rider on the horse from type 1 plus the inscription QVO NON AVGV. – STIOR ALTER; the other medal has the image from type 2 plus the same inscription³³ (Pl. 1, Fig. 4, Cat. 4).

This article investigates the function of the above-mentioned medals, that is, the ones bearing the image of Augustus II on horseback, for their role can be misleading on account of their association with the statue of the Golden Rider in Dresden, inaugurated in 1736.³⁴ While it is true that a model of this equestrian statue existed in 1730,³⁵ these medals do not seem to have any connection to it. The first important difference has to do with the depiction of the rider. While the equestrian statue represents him on a rearing horse, with a commander's staff in his hand, the medals of interest to us show him on a stepping horse. This image resembles to a large extent the bronze statue of Augustus II executed in Paris before 1715 by an artist from the circle of François Girardon which itself was inspired by the giant equestrian statue of Louis XIV, which stood on the Place Vendôme until the outbreak of the French Revolution.³⁶ On the other hand, a certain connection exists between the image of a ruler on a stepping horse and the word *ovans* used in one of the inscriptions. What's more, we have a reference to the titles made use of by Roman emperors (*Pius Felix*). In ancient Rome, an ovation (*ovatio*) was a form of distinction for a victorious commander, but it stood below a triumph, which had its own strictly defined visual representation. Unlike the triumph, in which the victor had the right to ride through Rome on a chariot, the commander in an ovation entered the city on horseback.³⁷

²⁸ WOHLFAHRT 1992: 397, no. 30013.

²⁹ WOHLFAHRT 1992: 396–397, nos. 30009, 30011, 30012.

³⁰ These words appear in Blossius Palladius' *Suburbanum Augustini Chisii* (verse 277), published in Rome in 1512 in connection to the bridge of Hadrian (*Pons Aelius*, later *Ponte Sant'Angelo*), which served as a passage for Roman cardinals. See: QUINIAN-MCGRATH 1990: 131–133.

³¹ Inv. no. MNK VII-Md-872, this being the version that reads as follows: QVO NON AVGVSTIOR ALTER; see: HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1880: 63, no. 5975; WOHLFAHRT 1992: 397, no. 30013, this being the version that reads as follows: QVO NON AVGV. – STIOR ALTER; see: WOHLFAHRT 1992: 397, no. 30012.

³² WOHLFAHRT 1992: 396, no. 30011.

³³ Inv. no. MNK VII-Md-875, WOHLFAHRT 1992: 396, 30009.

³⁴ Cf. ZACHER 2013: 20.

³⁵ GURLITT 1903: 622; see also: KAPPEL 1997: 138–139, IV 11.

³⁶ See: ARNOLD 1997: 72, I 1.

³⁷ BALBUZA 2005: 39.

It is also worth noticing that Augustus II is referred to as *Rex Regum* on one of the medals; as we know, this was the title of the Achaemenid kings. In *Mercure de France* (June 1730), we can find an interesting passage in which the splendor of Darius I's army is brought up as a comparison to the Saxon troops gathered in Mühlberg.³⁸

Summing up, these specimens seem like typical medals of king's glory.³⁹ However, is there any possibility that these are so-called satirical medals, commissioned not by the king himself but by Augustus II's political opponents, most likely in this case to mock Augustus' extravagance? Comparing the maneuvers at Mühlberg to the lesser triumph cannot serve as sufficient evidence of these medals' unofficial nature, especially when we take into account the pathos of the inscription from, for example, the medal executed by Vestner referred to earlier. That said, the inscription noted above gives us a hint: *Campus noster apertus dulcis quietis in pugna certus tot hominum cohorte refertus*. It is an inscription in rhyme.

As Aristotle wrote in his *Poetics*, each genre of poetry requires its own structure (meter). The meter that was used in poetry mocking other people's deeds was called *iambeion*.⁴⁰ To the best of my knowledge, official medals commissioned by the Dresden royal court did not have inscriptions in rhyme. However, satirical medals commenting on the current political, economic, and religious situation in the German territories occupied an important place in Christian Wermuth's rich collection of medals. Some of these had a characteristic form: besides being smaller in size, they had playful inscriptions that were often in verse,⁴¹ and they were usually written in German.

We can say that these medals fit this pattern. Five more medals were added to the series,⁴² and these were partially provided with inscriptions written in German. Instead of a triumphant commander, the hero here is a Saxon soldier, described in the inscriptions on the obverses as a member of the Life Guard Regiment, the personal guard of the king, or of Mars himself: *DE COHORTE REGIS* and *MARTIS SATELLES*.⁴³

³⁸ ANONYM 1730: 381. (<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015080105276;view=lup;seq=340>) (accessed January 10, 2019)

³⁹ Cf. MORKA 1986: 157–158.

⁴⁰ I base this observation on the work of Paulina Buchwald-Pelcowa, who analyzed the phenomenon of satire in literature during the Polish-Saxon personal union (1697–1763) and the reign of Stanisław Leszczyński (1704–1709, 1733–1736); see: BUCHWALD-PELCOWA 1969: 12.

⁴¹ Usually on the reverses but sometimes on both sides of the medal.

⁴² WOHLFAHRT 1992: 395, nos. 30004–30007; HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1891: 274, no. 8839, Inv. no. MNK VII-MdP-874.

⁴³ It is also possible that this term refers to a special unit of grand musketeers consisting of Poles who were recruited into the Saxon army. This unit was formed in 1729 to secure the succession of Augustus II's son (Frederick August II) to the Polish throne; see: BARTOSZEWICZ 1861: 13; STASZEWSKI 1982: 470.

In the first version, the medal with the image of the soldier and the inscription DE COHORTE REGIS on the obverse is used with a reverse on which we can see the same soldier and the following inscription: TUETUR ET ORNAT (*Guards and adorns*).⁴⁴ On the second version, we can see on the reverse a long, 18-line inscription in verse: ICH BIN / EIN GLIED / AUS KÖNIGS LEIB / DES TRÖST ICH MICH / OHN **SCHERTZEN** / VON IHM ICH UN= / GESCHIEDEN BLEIB / IN TODTES NÖTHEN / UND **SCHMERTZEN** / WEN ICH GLEICH / STERB SO STERB / ICH **HIER** / EIN GUTHES / DENCKMAHL / KAN ICH **MIR** / DURCH / TAPFERKEIT / ERWERBEN⁴⁵ (*I'm a member of the royal guard, this is my solace, I'm not kidding; I won't abandon him [i.e. the king] even if I'm in agony, when I die, I'll die here, and I can courageously leave behind a good image*).

The third variant is the medal that Wohlfahrt's catalog does not mention. The reverse on this medal has an inscription that is a version of the one above: VONS / KÖNIGS / LEIB-GUARD / BIN EIN GLIED, / ICH GANTZ UND GAR / VON **HERTZEN**, / VON IHM MICH / NIEMAHL'S ETWAS SCHEID / ZU FELD / IN TODTES **SCHMERTZEN**, / NICHT MEHR ALS EINMAHL / STERB ICH **HIER**, / EIN GUTES / DENCKMAL / KAN ICH **MIR**, / DURCH / TAPFERKEIT / EBWERBEN- / . * .⁴⁶ (*I wholeheartedly serve in the royal guard, in the battlefield, and even in agony I will not for a second abandon the king, and because I cannot die more than once here, the least I can do is demonstrate my courage so as to leave behind a good image*) (Pl. 1, Fig. 5, Cat. 5).

The next version, the fourth, includes the die mentioned above with the inscription TUETUR ET ORNAT and a die with an inscription in 12 lines: IHREM KÖNIGE / ZUR ZIER / DIENT DIE GARD / DER CHEVALIER / DEM HERRN / ZUM **SCHUTZ** / DEM FEIND / ZUM / SCHRECKEN / UND ZUM / **TRUTZ**⁴⁷ (*The guard of the knights adorns the king, and over him stands guard, his foe it does bombard*).

The fifth and last medal in the series has a soldier with a saber at his left-hand side, a musket on his left shoulder, and the following inscription: MARTIS SATELLES. The following ten lines are on the reverse: DEM / KÖNIGE / ZUR LUST / SPIEHL ICH MIT / **FEUER-BALLEN** / IM ERNSTE / LASS ICH SIE / AUCH AUF DIE / FEINDE / **FALLEN**⁴⁸ (*I play with fireballs to the king's delight, in earnest do I throw them at the foe with all my might*).⁴⁹

In terms of their execution and general compositional outline, these medals by Christian Wermuth create a cohesive and harmonious group of 11 medals, made out

⁴⁴ WOHLFAHRT 1992: 395, no. 30004.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*: 395, no. 30005.

⁴⁶ HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1891: 274, no. 8839, Inv. no. MNK VII-MdP-874.

⁴⁷ WOHLFAHRT 1992: 395, no. 30006.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*: 395, no. 30007.

⁴⁹ For assistance in translating this inscription, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Ms. Anna Fabiankowitsch and Dr. Heinz Winter from the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.

of a combination of 12 dies. The medals are around 28 mm in diameter. They are rare;⁵⁰ we only know of examples in silver or bronze (or copper). By juxtaposing all the inscriptions in the group under discussion and analyzing them against the backdrop of Christian Wermuth's *œuvre*, we come to the conclusion that what we may be dealing with here are satirical – or perhaps it is better to write unofficial – medals and that they cannot have appeared at the initiative of Augustus II. We should also definitely rule out the idea that they played a commemorative function within the context of the plans associated with the erection of the equestrian statue in Dresden mentioned above.

Augustus II's reign, much like that of Augustus III (1733–1763), was divided by short periods of rule by Stanisław Leszczyński (1704–1709, 1733–1736); it provided potent fuel for medals and medallions with images and inscriptions of just this kind.⁵¹ It is also worth remembering that satirical medals were a specialty of the German countries.⁵² It is extremely interesting that we can divide this group into medals with Latin inscriptions and medals with German inscriptions, and this division requires further investigation. The creator of the iconographic program of the medals with Augustus II on horseback and the inscriptions in Latin takes up an intelligent dialogue with the viewer, one that makes it possible to decipher the images and inscriptions on the medals in many ways. The pedestal visible on these medals can have a symbolic dimension, one that "elevates" the ruler. To a certain degree, it can also be an ironic allusion – not so much to the equestrian statue that was just then in the process of being erected in Dresden but to the ideas and absolutist inclinations that the statue expressed. We can also decipher the inscription *Quo non Augustior alter* in two ways: that Augustus [II Wettin] desired to be more divine than Augustus [Octavian] himself, or that of the two (i.e. Augustus II and Frederick William I, who participated in the maneuvers), it was Augustus who was the more worthy.

The idea that these medals can be interpreted ironically is mostly based on the way we read the inscriptions and not on the distorted image of the ruler; therefore, their ironic nature cannot be sustained with certainty. We also have to take into account the possibility that the medals bearing the image of Augustus II on horseback may be official, while the rest of the series is not. The only strong evidence of the

⁵⁰ For example, in the old imperial collections in Vienna, there is only one example from the group under discussion (Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Inv. no. 5701/1914/B). This item corresponds to the one mentioned in Hutten-Czapski (1880: 63, no. 5975).

⁵¹ I. e. medals commemorating the Treaty of Altranstädt in 1706. Augustus II had to renounce his claims to the Polish throne in favor of Stanisław Leszczyński, who was supported by Charles XII of Sweden.

⁵² As a matter of fact, manufactured objects of this kind had their origin in the German countries; it was the Reformation that gave rise to such objects, which initially took the form of antipapal medallions. Cf. CHIPPS-SMITH 2010. On the subject of satirical medals, see also: STECKI 1971.

medals' satirical or mocking nature lies in their appearance: their small, unified size; their extended inscriptions, including the ones that rhyme and are written in German; and the fact that they all come from the workshop of Christian Wermuth and fit the pattern of the satirical medals that came out of this workshop.

CATALOG

(The Collections of the Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum in Krakow)

1. Inv. no. MNK VII-MdP-3154; silver, struck; wt: 10.58 g; dia.: 29 mm (Pl. 1, Fig. 1)

Creator: Christian Wermuth

From the collection of Emeryk Hutten-Czapski (Hutten-Czapski 5974)

Obv.: the king in *all'antica* garb on a horse stepping left, on a pedestal. At the base, to the left and right, the artist's signature: C. – W.; in the exergue: MDCCXXX. / D. XXVII. IVN.; in the surround: AVGVSTVS II. P. F. – GLORIOSVS OVANS.

Rv.: an inscription in nine lines: CAMPVS / NOSTER / APERTVS / DVLCIS QVIETIS / IN PVGNA CERTVS / TOT HOMINVM / COHORTE / REFER- / TVS.

2. Inv. no. MNK VII-Md-873; silver, struck; wt: 10.64 g; dia.: 28.6 mm (Pl. 1, Fig. 2)

Creator: Christian Wermuth

From the collection of Emeryk Hutten-Czapski (Hutten-Czapski 2676)

Obv.: the king in *all'antica* garb on a horse stepping left, on a pedestal. At the base, to the left and right, the artist's signature: C. – W.; in the exergue: MDCCXXX. / D. XXVII. IVN.; in the surround: AVGVSTVS II. P. F. – GLORIOSVS OVANS.

Rv.: an inscription in nine lines: EVROPÆ / REDIENS / REGVM REX / SENIOR ORBIS / MUHLBERG / EX CASTRIS / MARTIS / PRAELVDIA / FINIT. / *

3. Inv. no. MNK VII-Md-872; silver, struck; wt: 7.74 g; dia.: 28.2 mm (Pl. 1, Fig. 3)

Creator: Christian Wermuth

From the collection of Emeryk Hutten-Czapski (Hutten-Czapski 5975)

Obv.: the king in *all'antica* garb on a horse stepping right, on a pedestal. The plate on the front side with the following inscription: MDCC / XXX.; at the base, to the left and right, the artist's signature: C. – W.; in the exergue: MUHLBERG. / MENS. IVN: in the surround: QVO NON AVGVSTIOR – ALTER.

Rv.: an inscription in nine lines: CAMPVS / NOSTER / APERTVS / DVLCIS QVIETIS / IN PVGNA CERTVS / TOT HOMINVM / COHORTE / REFER- / TVS.

4. Inv. no. MNK VII-Md-875; bronze, struck; wt: 16.02 g; dia.: 28.7 mm (Pl. 1, Fig. 4)

Creator: Christian Wermuth

Obv.: the king in *all'antica* garb on a horse stepping right, on a pedestal. The plate on the front side with the following inscription: MDCC / XXX.; at the base, to the left and right, the artist's signature: C. – [W.]; in the exergue: MUHLBERG. / MNS. IVN: in the surround: QVO NON AVGV – STIOR ALTER.

Rv.: the king in *all'antica* garb on a horse stepping left, on a pedestal. At the base, to the left and right, the artist's signature: C. – W.; in the exergue: MDCCXXX. / D. XXVII. IVN.; in the surround: AVGVSTVS II. P. F. – GLORIOSVS OVANS.

Rv.: equestrian statue of the king on a pedestal, in *all'antica* garb to right. The front side of the pedestal with the inscription: MDCC / XXX. At the base, to the left and right, the artist's signature: C. – W.; in the exergue: MUHLBERG. / MENS. IVN; in the surround: QVO NON AVGVSTIOR – ALTER.

5. Inv. no. MNK VII-Md-874; bronze, struck; wt: 14.86 g; dia.: 28.7 mm (Pl. 1, Fig. 5)

Creator: Christian Wermuth

From the collection of Emeryk Hutten-Czapski

Obv.: a soldier (trabant) standing directly in front, with a rapier at his left side and a musket on his left shoulder. In the exergue, the date divided by the artist's signature: 17 W 30; in the surround: DE COHORTE – REGIS

Rv.: an inscription in 18 lines: VONS / KÖNIGS / LEIB-GUARD / BIN EIN GLIED, / ICH GANTZ UND GAR / VON HERTZEN, / VON IHM MICH / NIEMAHLS ETWAS SCHEID / ZU FELD / IN TODTES SCHMERTZEN, / NICHT MEHR ALS EINMAHL / STERB ICH HIER, / EIN GUTES / DENCKMAL / KAN ICH MIR, / DURCH / TAPFERKEIT / EBWERBEN- / . * .

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PLATE 1

Medals by Christian Wermuth commemorating the maneuvers near Mühlberg in 1730,
photo National Museum in Krakow

Fig. 1. National Museum in Krakow, Inv. no. MNK VII-MdP-3154

Fig. 2. National Museum in Krakow, Inv. no. MNK VII-Md-873

Fig. 3. National Museum in Krakow, Inv. no. MNK VII-Md-872

Fig. 4. National Museum in Krakow, Inv. no. MNK VII-Md-875

Fig. 5. National Museum in Krakow, Inv. no. MNK VII-Md-874



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