

Striking Images - The Public Image of Maria Theresa of Austria in Coins and Medals (1740-1780)

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1. Introduction

1.1. A (Coin) Image is Worth a Thousand Words

Images play a major role in the media strategies of politicians and monarchs wishing to raise their prestige, authority and sovereignty.¹ Within modern media, nowadays, digital communication platforms have become an essential communication tool, even among sovereigns.² The use of the popular social networking service Instagram in particular—a visual mass medium par excellence—has substantially increased among political actors.³ By sharing emotional as well as historic moments with their followers, politicians and monarchs establish a personal tie with their audience, which amounts to their public acknowledgement.

The British royal family, for instance, employs a “Digital Engagement Team” as part of “Royal Communications” to set up their social media channels, reaching tens of millions of followers.⁴ Those royal communication experts predominantly use these platforms for publishing authorized photographs of memorable dynastic or political events (e.g. weddings, opening ceremonies, charity events, jubilees) in order to promote “the work, role, relevance and value of the Royal Family to a worldwide audience.”⁵ When Queen Elizabeth II first posted an Instagram photo by herself, her communication department issued a press release, and newspapers worldwide reported about it.⁶

Interacting with recipients through the “rhetoric of visual media” has an unbroken tradition throughout European history.⁷ Since antiquity, one medium has continuously played a central role in representation and collective remembrance: the coin. From the 7th century BCE on, rulers have used coins in order to express legitimacy, spread political messages and build social identity by striking their portraits as guarantees of value.⁸ Combining images and inscriptions in a small space, the coin evolved as the ideal medium for conveying strong statements in a symbolic but concise way.⁹

Based on coin images, spreading messages in such a sophisticated manner was the crucial incentive for Italian Renaissance artists and rulers to propagate the portrait medal as a

new art form.¹⁰ The medal, a coin-like medium without monetary value, served for personal publicity.¹¹ Thus, in early modern Europe rulers regarded medals as appropriate instruments of propaganda and historiography, as they could commemorate their portraits on one side and noteworthy events of their reign (e.g. coronations, weddings, political achievements or charitable foundations) on the other side. As handy objects, their medals could be easily distributed throughout Europe.¹² Regarding the subject matter, illustrations on 18th-century medals can be compared to today's press photographs, as the following pages will show.

1.2. Maria Theresa in a Line of Traditions: Coins, Medals & Representation Strategies

In the second half of the 17th century, the French king Louis XIV (reg. 1638-1715) raised the baroque medal to a new height by commissioning a plethora of commemorative medals to promote political projects and events.¹³ With this reportage-like series of medals, Louis XIV invented a medal-based historiography—a so-called *histoire métallique*.¹⁴ These medals gained wide publicity, as they were published in French- and German-language books, which soon became part of every major numismatic or historical library.¹⁵ Hence, Louis XIV set a movement that inspired many monarchs to start up their own medal production in order to leave a metallic monument to themselves. Therefore, medals had already come into vogue when Maria Theresa (reg. 1740-1780) ascended the throne. By striking medals, she continued a trend that her father, Emperor Charles VI (reg. 1711-1740), had already followed as he improved the technical standards of medal production in Vienna and established an Engraving Academy (*Graveurakademie*) for the training of new medalists.¹⁶ The reign of Maria Theresa was ensured through the Pragmatic Sanction, which guaranteed the female succession in the Habsburg lands. On her medals, Maria Theresa appeared as empress, queen in her own right of Hungary and Bohemia, and wife and mother at the same time.¹⁷ Hardly any other visual medium depicted different aspects of her self-conception, her „flexibility of identities”, in such a manifold way. Her rulership was characterized by the exceptional reforms she initiated. The educational, agricultural, military and financial reforms can be seen as a necessary consequence of the War of Austrian Succession which had exposed the weakness of the Habsburg Monarchy with its antiquated administration and economic deficits. In particular, the innovations in the agricultural and educational sector are documented in numerous medals, for example as awards of technical schools or agricultural

societies. Regarding their functional use, the medals of Maria Theresa resembled those of other monarchs of her day, but as occasion-related artefacts, they are cultural-historical witnesses to the specific reign of Maria Theresa and her political communication.

Recent studies of the medalproduction of Maria Theresa showed that she had a direct influence on the coinage.¹⁸ Due to the centralization in the Viennese Mint and its connection to state authorities, the genesis of medals is better documented than of other art genres. Coins, on the other hand, differ from medals as they were official means of payment and were therefore very exclusively subject to the ruler's regulations. As regent of Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, the Austrian Netherlands and Lombardy Maria Theresa had the right to mint her own coins. Therefor she was the only Empress of the Holy Roman Empire -- she received this title through her husband Emperor Francis I Stephen (reg. 1745-1765) -- who was able to mint her own coins.¹⁹

1.3. Coins & Medals of Maria Theresa: Previous Research and Current Study

Since 2017, historians have produced many studies on the biography, political role, monarchic representation and art policies of Maria Theresa.²⁰ A couple of these works have outlined diverse roles of visual communications during her reign and have analyzed modalities of her representation in a wide range of art genres.²¹ Werner Telesko recently showed how different types of portraits had been shaping various images of the queen and emphasized the significant role of medals in her representation.²²

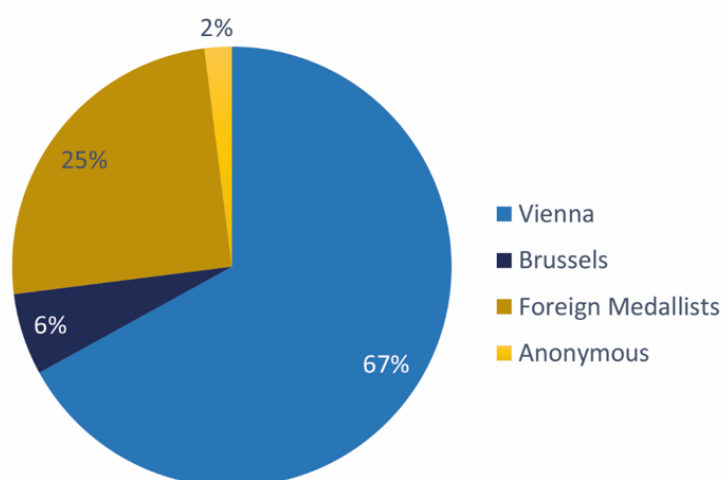
The coinage of Maria Theresa was published in its entirety by Eypeltauer, but her medals have not been fully processed.²³ A selection of medals were published in a *catalogue raisonné* for the first time in 1782.²⁴ The author of this book may have been Archduchess Maria Anna (1738-1789), the eldest daughter of Maria Theresa, who probably had support from Adauctus Voigt (1733-1787), a renowned numismatist from Prague.²⁵ This publication shows over 300 medals of Maria Theresa, the Imperial family and outstanding statesmen. As the only compilation in this regard until today, it is still seen as a standard numismatic work. However, particularly in the last ten years, one can determine an increased interest in medals as visual sources in (art) historical discussions.²⁶ Nevertheless, each of these studies only focused on particular cases and did not examine the medals in a broader context.

To fill at least a small part of this gap in the broad field of medal history, this paper attempts to examine medals as a medium of representation and visual communication from a

holistic point of view. Accordingly, chapter two part of this contribution conducts a brief survey of Maria Theresa's medals in general by analyzing the historical occasions to which they refer, discussing the different functions they fulfilled and outlining their later reception. The third section is concerned with the image that coins and medals created of Maria Theresa and her reign. More precisely, it explores the iconography of her portraits as well as the reverse illustrations regarding politics, dynastic issues and gender. The fourth section provides an insight into the conditions of medal production, discussing the roles of inventors, engravers and commissioners concerning the regulations in creating medals for the Habsburg-Lorraine court. Finally, a conclusion summarizes these aspects with reference to the representation of Maria Theresa in her coins and medals.

2. The Spectrum of Medals and their Target Audiences

In Maria Theresa's lifetime, more than 200 different types of medals were created for her commemoration.²⁷ Generally, they depict her portrait on the obverses and record memorable occasions of her reign on their reverses. Her medals are occasionally classified into "official" and "commercial/private" ones.²⁸ The first were struck for official purposes under governmental initiative and control by the staff of the Imperial and Royal Central Mint in Vienna (*k. k. Hauptmünzamt*) or the Mint of Brussels.²⁹ These "official" medals make up almost two thirds of the entire spectrum. The others were designed and produced by foreign medal-makers, mostly with intent of selling them to medal collectors (Graph 1).



Graph 1: The origin of 212 different types of medals struck for Maria Theresa by percentage.

2.1. Medals of Maria Theresa: Subject Matter

In general, the whole spectrum of Maria Theresa's medals comprises the following four topics: sovereignty, domestic affairs, military affairs and the dynasty (Graph 2). Statistics show that about 35% of Maria Theresa's medals feature sovereignty as a central topic.³⁰ A major part of this group consists of portrait medals that bear the political motto of Maria Theresa on the reverse (*Gnadenmedaillen*) (Fig. 1). Most of the others commemorate her homage ceremonies in Austria, the Netherlands and Milan or her coronations in Hungary (1741) (Fig. 2) or Bohemia (1743). Many were produced and distributed throughout her reign, even though the event may have taken place years ago. For instance, Maria Theresa presented medals of her Hungarian coronation (1741) as a gift to a French priest in 1769.³¹

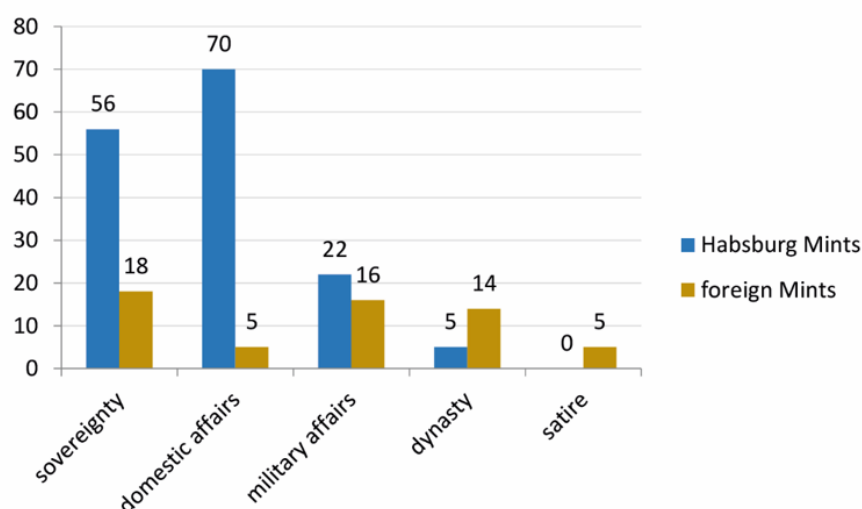
The group of medals dealing with domestic affairs is conspicuously more heterogeneous, covering a broad range of matters, such as promotion of the economy, the educational system or patronages of public works. These medals are closely related to Maria Theresa's extensive program of educational, agricultural, military and financial reforms. They amount to approximately 36% of the whole spectrum of medals, and nearly all of them originate from the Viennese Mint. The majority of them fulfilled particular functions besides preserving the memory of Maria Theresa's political accomplishments; for example, commemorative medals, which marked the constructions of buildings, were laid together with a foundation stone or prize medals were presented as awards for inventors of technical or economical improvements (Fig. 3).³²

In contrast, medals related to military affairs mostly had no ceremonial functions but rather were produced for commemorative matters (Fig. 4). They amount to 18 % of the total and illustrate successful military actions such as decisive battles, occupations or peace treaties.³³ Medals with military topics were produced in large editions and come in nearly equal numbers from the Viennese Mint and foreign workshops. Particularly noteworthy is the medal series by medalist Anton Wideman (1724-1792) on the Habsburg-Lorraine victories in the Seven Years' War. These medals show on the obverse the double portrait of Maria Theresa and Francis Stephen as a sign of the jointly-fought victories by the ruling couple.³⁴

Less than 10 % of the medals bearing Maria Theresa's portrait on the obverse deal with the royal family. This is noticeable, as the continuation of the Habsburg-Lorraine dynasty was of high importance in respect of the War of the Austrian Succession. In contrast

to medals, the nuclear family was a more often a central topic of paintings.³⁵ The fact that nearly three times as many of these “dynastic medals” came from foreign medalists than from Habsburg engravers implies that these medals were primarily designed for the collectors’ market (Fig. 5).

Furthermore, anonymous medal-makers, probably from the independent Netherlands, distributed medals of political satire, which circulated in large quantities although they were of comparatively poor workmanship. However, their total share amounts only to about 2% of all medal types.³⁶



Graph 2: Topics and origins of Maria Theresa’s medals in numbers of different medal types (total: 212).

2.2. More than Images: Functions and motivations of Medals

In 1751, when Maria Theresa had barracks built in Vienna, she personally laid a specially created medal together with the foundation stone (*Grundsteinmedaille*). The obverse showed her portrait; the reverse inscription read in Latin “... that this important building was ... constructed by order and on account of the great Austrian heroine Maria Theresa” (Fig. 3).³⁷ Medals associated with the foundation stones of buildings or the pedestals of statues represented a kind of construction sacrifice and served to guarantee that the posterity would remember the donor, even if the building should someday collapse.³⁸

Medals did not only serve the courtly historiography and culture of remembrance, but also were an instrument for raising Maria Theresa's reputation. Therefore, their distribution was an integral part of royal festivities, such as coronations and weddings. For example, on the Hungarian coronation in Pressburg (Bratislava), the Imperial and Royal Court Chamber

(*k. u. k. Hofkammer*) permitted the distribution of over 16,500 small golden and silver tokens, which illustrated the political claim of Maria Theresa on their reverses.³⁹ The respectable guests of the coronation received them at their dinner tables, and the president of the Hungarian Chamber (*ungarische Hofkammerpräsident*) even tossed them out to the assembled spectators on the streets. With this traditional custom, the queen regnant demonstrated her generosity to the public and included the audience in the historic event.⁴⁰

Maria Theresa rewarded officers and servants with golden medals of grace (*Gnadenmedaillen*) in acknowledgement of their personal services and outstanding achievements.⁴¹ These medals displayed Maria Theresa's portrait on the obverse and on the reverse, her motto "JUSTITIA ET CLEMENTIA" together with her *symbolum*, the Bohemian lion holding the Hungarian Patriarch Cross in his right paw and leaning his left one on the Austrian escutcheon in front of him (Fig. 1).⁴² *Gnadenmedaillen* existed in different sizes in order to adapt their value to the respective addressee and often even provided a ring so they could be worn. These awards strengthened the bond between the queen-empress and her subjects. This becomes apparent in the fact that recipients wore their medals on golden chains of grace in public or even commissioned paintings of themselves with their decorations to immortalize the honor received.⁴³ Showing these gracious gifts in public, besides, had a role-model effect and could spur others to work more zealously. School awards followed a similar intention, since it was customary to reward students for their outstanding achievements.⁴⁴

The spirit of competition also found its expression in prize medals, which became popular throughout Europe in the middle of the 18th century to encourage improvement in technology and science.⁴⁵ In cooperation with economic associations, Maria Theresa awarded golden prize medals to scholars and inventors for the best contributions on publicly announced prize questions, e.g. prize medals for agriculture in Austria or wool, flax and silk spinning mills in Milan.⁴⁶

2.3. The Second Life of Medals: Receptions, Collections and Memorials

Medals not only fulfilled official functions in representation but were also popular objects among elites of the 18th century. They collected ancient coins as well as contemporary medals, which they could buy from publishers, at bookstores or from antiquarians. Hence,

nobles, clergy and academics maintained coin and medal collections as a matter of prestige and conversed about them with each another.

Numerous publications of the 18th century prove the contemporary interest in medals in consideration of their historiographic character.⁴⁷ In this sense, scholars described coins and medals in periodicals and informed their readers about the historical occasions of these medals.⁴⁸ The authors' intention was thereby not only to present interesting or rare specimens to potential collectors but also to teach history and explain political or dynastic traditions.⁴⁹ In this regard, the medal as three-dimensional artefact gives up its initial function and amplifies its representative potential due to media transfer.⁵⁰

The *Historische Münzbelustigungen* by Johann David Köhler (1684-1755) were among the first of these publications. Köhler, who was professor of history at the University of Göttingen, published this numismatic periodical weekly between 1729 and 1750 and within discussed hundreds of coins and medals.⁵¹ These journals became so famous that their success inspired a range of similar publications during the second half of the 18th century, such as the papers of George Bauer (1721-1769)⁵². Bauer, a bookseller in Nuremberg, was famous for publishing numismatic literature and thereby facilitated the reception of medals of Maria Theresa and Francis I Stephen. He was in contact with the curator of the emperor's coin collection, Valentin Jamerai Duval (1695-1775) and thus obtained permission to publish specimens of the Imperial collection.⁵³ Bauer edited *Das neu eröffnete Münzcabinet [...]*, based on the collection of Francis I Stephen and including descriptions by Johann Friedrich Joachim (1713-1767), a professor of history at the University of Halle (Saale).⁵⁴ Aside from that, he released a series of *Auserlesene und nützliche Neuigkeiten für alle Münzliebhaber* in the years between 1764 and 1772, which contained medals of Maria Theresa and Francis I Stephen.⁵⁵

3. Coins and Medals as Means of Visual Communication

The iconography of early modern coins and medals often refer to ancient models.⁵⁶ In this sense, subjects of coins and medal portraits are often equipped with laurel wreaths, tiara, veil, cuirass or general's coat to emphasize heroic attributes. The reverses of medals often imitate antique coin topoi or iconographically refer to predecessors or political role models (Fig. 4,

11).⁵⁷ Because of this distinct and widely recognized symbolism, medals could convey complex messages in a little space.

Maria Theresa's medals did not differ from those of other sovereigns of her time regarding their subject matter and functional historic use.⁵⁸ As occasion-related objects, however, they are unique sources of Habsburg-Lorraine history and culture. Their mission was not only to mark historic events or to communicate political messages to contemporaries, but also to preserve a glorious impression of Maria Theresa's reign for posterity.⁵⁹ Hence, inscriptions and illustrations on medals were well-considered elements of visual communications.

3.1. King, Empress & Widow: Metallic Portraits of Maria Theresa⁶⁰

In terms of representation, it was a declared intention to make Maria Theresa's coin and medal portraits as lifelike as possible in order to spread her true physiognomy.⁶¹ For this purpose, she engaged talented die engravers, such as Matthaeus Donner (1704-1756), who created a variety of portrait busts that were used in Vienna's Mint until after his death and imitated by foreign engravers.⁶² This happened, for example, to his early portrait of Maria Theresa, which first appeared between 1741 and 1743 on her *Gnadenmedaillen* and on the medals of her royal coronations (Fig. 1- 2). This profile portrait showed the queen with a tiara and lace hair band, hanging earrings and a pearl brooch at the neckline of her dress. As Donner's medal portrait was almost immediately replicated by the Nuremberg medalists Adam Rudolf Werner (1722-1784) (Fig. 4) and Johann Leonhard Oexlein (1715-1785) (Fig. 5) one could construe this consistent portrayal to be a court-prescribed representation.

Coins and medals illustrated the political identity of Maria Theresa, depicting her bust in combination with her title and her coat of arms as a symbolic representation of her realm. The Hungarian ducats, for example, impressively show her in the Hungarian coronation robe and wearing the crown of Saint Stephen.⁶³ Maria Theresa bore multiple sovereign titles on her coins:

MAR(ia) THERESIA D(ei) G(ratia) R(omanorum) IMP(eratrix)
 GE(rmaniae) HU(ngariae) BO(hemiae) REG(ina) ARCHID(ux) AUS(triae)
 DUX BURG(undiae) COM(es) TYR(olis).⁶⁴

The Imperial coronation of Francis I Stephen influenced the sovereignty of Maria Theresa, as she obtained the title “Empress of the Holy Roman Empire and Queen of Germania”, although she was never crowned.⁶⁵ Noting this role, the coin reverses minted from 1746 onwards, showed the crowned double-headed eagle of the Holy Roman Empire bearing the Austrian escutcheon on his breast. Unlike on the emperor’s coins, however, the eagle did not hold any imperial insignia (sword and scepter) in his claws.⁶⁶ Furthermore, these coins are numismatic exceptions. As a sovereign ruler, Maria Theresa could use her right of coinage to proclaim her title as empress of the Holy Roman Empire which she gained through the Imperial coronation of her husband Francis I Stephen.⁶⁷ No other empress of the Holy Roman Empire was ever depicted on regular coins. Maria Theresa, however, as a sovereign ruler, could use *her* right of coinage to proclaim her title on the coins of her own realm.⁶⁸

The death of her husband in 1765 caused Maria Theresa to mourn deeply, and she was henceforth depicted in widow’s dress only (Fig. 10 and 11). Yonan claimed that paintings from this period mostly concentrated on family scenes, as “reconfiguring power in widow’s terms made her power appear reduced or limited”.⁶⁹ This finding is contrary to the evidence that her coins show, as they combine the sovereign power—represented by the right of striking coins—and the iconography of widowhood. Nevertheless, Yonan’s assumption sounds plausible, as archival evidence shows that it reflects the contemporary opinion of Maria Theresa’s advisors. When Maria Theresa’s coin portrait was to be renewed in 1765, the president of the Royal Chamber (*Hofkammerpräsident*) argued that Maria Theresa’s sovereignty and hence her right of coinage was not affected by the death of her husband, which the coin portrait of her as a widow might imply.⁷⁰ Despite this misgiving, the queen had coins with her veiled portrait minted, rejecting the suggestion of her political advisors. Thus, the death of Francis I Stephen caused the most distinctive change in Maria Theresa’s coin and medal portraits. With her widow’s picture, she took on a pioneering role in coin typology, as previously it had been uncommon for widowed monarchs to portray themselves with widow’s veils on coins.⁷¹

3.2. “Working Couples”: The Empress-Queen and her Co-Regents on Coins and Medals

On coins, two types of double portraits have been established since antiquity and are still in use today for depicting co-regents: the joint portrait with side-by-side staggered profile busts

and another style with heads facing each other (Fig. 3, 7, 11).⁷² In an art-historical iconographic sense, the respective arrangement of two persons means a hierarchy of power, within which the higher-ranking person is shown in the foreground slightly overlapping the other person or on the left side of the composition.⁷³ In the case of opposite-sex couples, this hierarchy is usually not gender-specific, but conditional upon their political ranking. A coin of Maria I of Portugal (reg. 1777-1792), for example, shows her husband Pedro III in the background due to his subordinate status.⁷⁴

The first medals that show the double portrait of Archduchess Maria Theresa of Austria and Duke Francis Stephen of Lorraine and Bar commemorate their wedding in 1737.⁷⁵ On the obverse both busts face right with Francis Stephen in the foreground, slightly overlapping half of Maria Theresa's head. The position of Francis Stephen in front of Maria Theresa has political reasons, because in 1737 Maria Theresa, unlike her husband, did not fulfil a political role. Interestingly, from the period between 1740 and 1745, when Maria Theresa was politically superior to her husband, no double portraits exist.⁷⁶

After the coronation of Francis I Stephen as Holy Roman Emperor in 1745, the couple was depicted together on medals again (Fig. 4, 7). All these portraits depict Maria Theresa either in the background or on the right of the image, which correlates with the couple's hierarchy of power: the emperor stood higher than the queen of Bohemia and Hungary. This did not change after the death of her husband, because afterwards she was portrayed that same way together with her son Emperor Joseph II (reg. 1745-1790). Maria Theresa was never crowned as empress but bore this title from her husband's coronation in 1745.⁷⁷ Hence, she was called 'Empress Queen' by British diplomats in their reports to the royal court in London.⁷⁸

Regarding the political rank, the medals on the emperor's visit to the Lower Hungarian mining towns in 1751 are extraordinary. They show Maria Theresa with the Hungarian Crown of Saint Stephen and Francis I Stephen with the imperial crown facing each other (Fig. 7).⁷⁹ Although the Empress did not even participate in this journey, her representation with the Crown of Saint Stephen did establish a certain connection between the emperor and the kingdom of Hungary. In this sense, the visit to the mining towns was not only motivated by Francis I Stephen's great scientific interest but also was of economic and

political importance and therefore stood under the sign and endorsement of the ‘King of Hungary’.⁸⁰

In contrast, *coins* never showed Maria Theresa in double portraits with her co-rulers Francis I Stephen (co-reg. 1740-1765) or Joseph II (co-reg. 1765-1780).⁸¹ Depicting her as an independent ruler was probably most suitable for coins in order to symbolize that she ruled not through her husband or son but by law of succession.⁸² Medals did not make that claim, as they portrayed Maria Theresa together with her either husband or son respectively as a ‘working couple’.⁸³

3.3. King and Mother: Politics and Gender Aspects on Medals

Women in supreme political positions were common in the 18th century, as they held several European crowns (e.g. Queen Anne of Great Britain, Queen Christina of Sweden, Tsarina Catherine of Russia). Most of these female rulers minted coins and commissioned medals.⁸⁴ However, what marked the visual representations of Maria Theresa’s medals was the spectrum of different roles she embodied. The iconographic differentiation of dynastic and political topics becomes noticeable in the performance of Maria Theresa’s sex. When it comes to the representation of sovereignty, the adaption of typically ‘male’ imagery is evident—probably in order to legitimize her rule as a female.⁸⁵ Hence, these medals show Maria Theresa as a ‘femme forte’ with masculine-connoted symbols of power, such as a laurel wreath, a crown or a sword (Fig. 2, 6, 7, 8). Even the motto *Justitia et Clementia* refers to the virtue of Maria Theresa and positions her as a righteous and benign ruler.

This cross-gendered iconography is demonstrated on two commemorative medals of the Hungarian coronation in 1741.⁸⁶ The first one, by the Viennese Matthaeus Donner, depicts the symbolic act of the traditional coronation ride (*Krönungsritt*), showing Maria Theresa dressed in a coronation robe on horseback as she performs sword thrusts on the coronation hill (Fig. 2).⁸⁷ In practicing this ceremonial rite of sovereignty, she followed her male predecessors as Kings of Hungary and hence proved that she was able to rule like a man.⁸⁸ Donner’s medal referred to the Hungarian coronation medal of Charles VI., which showed him in the same pose.⁸⁹ This medal of Maria Theresa is thus a conscious recourse to the iconography of her father.⁹⁰ This aspect accentuates the second medal, made by the Nuremberger Andreas Vestner (1707-1754), which bears the same iconic picture together

with the inscription *NEC PRISCIS REGIBVS IMPAR*, which means that Maria Theresa does not differ from her predecessors in kingship.⁹¹

The Swiss medalist Jean Dassier (1676-1763)⁹² created another ideal picture of her sovereignty, as he combining accentuated distinctly feminine portrait of Maria Theresa with symbols of military power.⁹³ His 1744 engraved medal shows her bust in a lace-trimmed dress, wearing a drop earring and with long hair pinned up with decorative pearls. By adding a breastplate above her dress that shows the head of the dying Medusa on it, he created a subtle link between Maria Theresa and Minerva, the Roman goddess of wisdom and strategic warfare. His intention becomes even more evident on the back of the medal, which depicts Minerva herself sitting on the globe underneath the inscription *ET MENTE ET ARMIS* (Fig. 8).⁹⁴ The identification of Maria Theresa with Minerva also appears in her coin portraits between 1753 and 1765.⁹⁵ On the obverse of her thalers she wears a cuirass with pteryges on her upper arm (Fig. 6). These portraits with quasi-male iconography connecting her with the goddess reveal the female ruler as a heroine with male virtues.⁹⁶ The identification with Minerva was an essential part of iconography in the second half of the 18th century all across Europe, especially for female rulers (e.g. Queen Christina of Sweden, Tsarina Catherine of Russia).⁹⁷

For another medal of Maria Theresa, the Nuremberg medalist Adam Rudolf Werner took up the traditional antique representation of Minerva, standing with helmet and lance, and combined it with the inscription *MATER CASTRORUM*, known from coins of Faustina II (130-176) and Julia Domna (160-217) (Fig. 4).⁹⁸ Although social convention and 18th-century gender roles prevented Maria Theresa from attending the battlefield at the head of her troops, Werner's medal declared conspicuously that the monarch performed the inherent leadership of her army as "mother of armies" [*MATER CASTRORUM*]. Moreover, this medal emphasized the care Maria Theresia had for her soldiers and strengthened the legend of Maria Theresa as mother of her realm.⁹⁹

The role model of a rightful and fecund ruler did not contradict with emphasizing the dynastic continuity of Habsburg rule.¹⁰⁰ In consequence of the lack of a male heir to the throne in 1740, it seemed essential to underscore the fertility of the queen regnant, who gave birth sixteen times. This programmatic matter is portrayed in a medal celebrating the birth of Archduke Leopold (II) (1747-1792) with the inscription:

ARCHIDVCVM GENETRIX DIVVMQVE HOMINVMQVE VOLVPTAS
/ MARIA THERES. AVG. NOVIES FECVNDATA

(“Maria Theresa pregnant for the ninth time”).¹⁰¹

The reverse symbolically depicts her fecundity by showing Maria Theresa surrounded by all her descendants the living as well as the deceased. While she sits amid her seven children, two stars on the baldachin of her throne symbolize her late daughters Maria Elisabeth (1737-1740) and Maria Karolina (1740-1741) (Fig. 3).¹⁰² This illustration is very particular, because the famous and exemplary paintings of the imperial family by Martin Meytens (1695-1770) always include the father, Francis I Stephen.¹⁰³

3.4. Promoting the Dynasty: Medals as Advertising Giveaways

Not only did Maria Theresa use her own medals to promote the dynasty, she also permitted medals for her children.¹⁰⁴ The propagandistic value of these medals is particularly evident in a series created by court medalist Anton Wideman for the sons of the empress. These show the portraits of the young archdukes along with their political mottos and *symboli*.¹⁰⁵ The visualization of their statesmanlike qualifications staged them as potential heirs to the throne. The emphasis thereby was obviously on assuring Habsburg-Lorraine succession, which was a central theme of the visual representation of the family, considering the problematic transfer of power to Maria Theresa. In addition, medals on the occasions of marriages of the royal offspring announced dynastic stability. The wedding medals of archduchesses Maria Josepha (1761-1767) and Maria Karolina (1762-1814) provide examples.¹⁰⁶

Maria Josepha was to be married to Ferdinand IV, King of Naples and Sicily (reg. 1759-1825). For the wedding, planned for 14 October 1767, medals with the portrait of the bride were made.¹⁰⁷ The reverses of these medals show a sacrificial table bearing the escutcheons of Austria and Spain, which Hymenaeus and Cupid join with a connecting band. Shortly before the wedding day, however, Josepha fell ill with smallpox and died soon afterwards. Only a few weeks later, Maria Theresa decided to make the next youngest daughter, Maria Karolina, Queen of Naples-Sicily instead of her late sister. For Karolina's wedding day, 7 April 1768, commemorative medals were needed. Instead of inventing a new reverse illustration, though, only the date on the inscription was changed (Fig. 9).¹⁰⁸ As this example shows, the wedding medals had no relevance for the individual princess, but were

rather diplomatic advertising to propagate the political alliances formed by the dynastically motivated marriage policy of Maria Theresa.

Furthermore, the impressive production figures illustrate the importance of this type of medal: they were the visual mass media of the 18th century. The Viennese mint delivered small commemorative tokens of this wedding to the court for later distribution to high-ranking persons as well as to the populace. While they struck 102 medals in gold, the edition of 1,030 pieces in silver was much higher. However, the smaller commemorative tokens were made in gigantic numbers: 27,000 pieces in gold and silver, with a value of more than 16,200 fl.¹⁰⁹

4. Image-Makers: Initiators and Artists behind Medal Production

Since striking coins and medals required similar working tools, medal production was regulated for security reasons under the reign of Maria Theresa.¹¹⁰ Therefore, within the Habsburg realm, only Imperial and Royal Mints had permission to strike medals—private workshops were forbidden in the territories of Maria Theresa. In Nuremberg and other free cities of the Holy Roman Empire, self-employed medal-makers and publishers who received the Emperor's privilege could produce medals on their own account. According to these general regulations, different actors initiated, designed and commissioned medals, with the (official) coinage of medals being constantly under the direct influence of the court in Vienna.

4.1. Vienna and Nuremberg: Medalists and Conditions of Medal Production

Since Charles VI, the Viennese Mint was the center of medal production in the Habsburg monarchy.¹¹¹ Only one medalist was employed at a time, who was supported by one adjunct and one trainee. They all were subordinate to the Mint Master, who in turn was bound by instructions to the Court Chamber in Minting and Mining (*Hofkammer in Münz- und Bergwesen*). Concerning the medal engravings required by the court, the Mint Master received precise design templates from officers of the Chamber. The Viennese medalists were only executing engravers with little artistic freedom; nevertheless, a number of highly qualified medalists engraved the medals of Maria Theresa in Vienna:¹¹²

The renowned court medalist and sculptor Matthaeus Donner, who had engraved medals for Charles VI, was still active in Vienna at the beginning of Maria Theresa's governance. As mentioned above, his coin and medal portraits of Maria Theresa are among the most famous and influenced other artists (Fig. 1-2).¹¹³ Anton Wideman (1724-1792)¹¹⁴, Donner's successor at the Central Mint in Vienna, created the most commonly used double portrait of Maria Theresa and Francis I Stephen as well as numerous medals of the children of the imperial couple (Fig. 4, 9). Martin Krafft (1738-1781)¹¹⁵ also worked in Vienna; he had been Wideman's trainee in 1761 and even ascended to an adjunct in the same year. However, when he refused a life-long appointment in 1764, he was released by the Mint. He continued to work as a medalist, first on private assignments and later in commission of the Dutch and Italian Departments. His portraits are characterized by incomparable detail and plasticity (Fig. 10). During the 1770s, Johann Nepomuk Würth (1750-1811)¹¹⁶ was the most important medalist in the Viennese Mint. His medal portraits contrast strongly with those of his predecessors, as they can be assigned to early classicism due to their simplicity (Fig. 11).

In the free imperial city of Nuremberg, the production and the trade of medals flourished.¹¹⁷ One of the city's most prolific medal-makers was Andreas Vestner, who engraved many medals of Emperor Francis I Stephen.¹¹⁸ He was authorized by the imperial privilege to "engrave and strike in steel, iron, gold, silver, copper, tin and lead" with the obligation to spread the fame of the emperor and the House of Austria as author and distributor.¹¹⁹ In this sense, these medalists were not dependent on orders by the court, but could publish medals for sale on their personal volition.

One of the circles of private publishers with imperial privilege was Caspar Gottlieb Lauffer (1674-1745), the general mint warden of the Franconian imperial circle.¹²⁰ He probably had his own minting workshop and produced a considerable number of medals. At the time of Maria Theresa, these were primarily pieces by Johann Leonhard Oexlein (1715-1787) and Adam Rudolf Werner (1722-1784) (Fig. 3, 5). The self-reliance of independent publishers allowed them to react quickly to trends in the collectors' market as well as to current political or dynastic events. Medals by Nuremberg publishers were often discussed in various contemporary periodicals, which show that their works met the taste of the times well.

4.2. The State Chancellor and his Influence on Medal Production

At the Viennese court, State Chancellor Wenzel Anton, Prince of Kaunitz-Rietberg (1711-1794) was particularly committed to cultivating the image of the imperial family through the power of medals. In a lecture addressed to the empress, he stressed “what splendor the government of Louis XIV and the French nation achieved through their beautiful commemorative medals” and hence argued for the promotion of the queen’s own medal production.¹²¹

He furthermore criticized the conceptual skills of the Viennese medalists, who rarely reached those of their foreign counterparts, because the focus of their training was only on technical skills, with the study of antiquity and mythology hardly supported. If the independent conception of medals was not taught, the Viennese medalists would remain “mere mechanici and eternal imitators,” according to Kaunitz. Therefore, he pleaded for the support of young, “with a true genius gifted subjects”, as they could promise “a future useful service to the Court”.¹²² He recommended thorough education, proper motivation and future prospects to prevent emigration of young talents who would have better chances abroad. The state could expect in return “honor [...] and benefits”, as the country would gain prestige and profit from talented local artists through commissioned works.

Kaunitz personally advised Maria Theresa on medals. The case of a commemorative medal on the Peace of Cieszyn (*Teschen*), which ended the Bavarian War of Succession on 13 May 1779, exemplifies his work (Fig. 11). Concerning a request by Maria Theresa to commenting on a draft submitted to her, he proposed an amendment.¹²³ Based on his analysis of the basic concept, which iconographically referred to Roman imperial coins, he recommended new illustrations for the obverse as well as the reverse, which correspond to the actually produced medal.¹²⁴

The aforementioned discussion on the design of the peace medal is interesting not only regarding the roles of inventors, but because it also clarifies the diplomatic value of visual and semantic representations on commemorative medals. Thus, Kaunitz criticized the initial draft regarding the inscription INDULGENTIA AUGG. PACATA GERMANIA. Since *indulgentia* “means the indulgence of the superiors against inferiors (...)”, this expression could have been misinterpreted as a pomposity of fame “by others, especially on the Prussian side”.¹²⁵ In order to prevent any annoyance to the Prussian king after the conclusion of peace,

the State Chancellor suggested to reduce the inscription to GERMANIA PACATA. The portraits of Maria Theresa and Joseph II on the obverse would suffice to explain that Germany owed the peace due to the magnanimous sentiments of the imperial majesties. King Frederick II of Prussia (reg. 1740-1786) demonstrably paid attention to medals of Maria Theresa as means of political communication, which is why diplomatic caution was needed whilst inventing new medals.¹²⁶

4.3. Honor and Glory for a Private Initiator

Initiators of medals are only known in singular cases. Therefore, a commemorative medal on the recovery of Maria Theresa from smallpox in 1767 provides an outstanding example (Fig. 10).¹²⁷ Martin Krafft engraved this medal on the order of the Imperial and Royal Counsellor and Vice-Director of the Medical Faculty, Johann Andreas Edler von Kestler-Rosenheim (received a knighthood in 1765), who together with the more famous physician Gerard van Swieten (1700-1772) healed Maria Theresa from her disease. Kestler-Rosenheim presented the medal to Maria Theresa in the course of her first visit to the Cathedral of St. Stephen after her recovery.

This medal became popular because the *Pressburger Zeitung* described its presentation and even pointed out that everybody could purchase copies of the medal at the Mint in Vienna.¹²⁸ This was made possible as Kestler-Rosenheim, who commissioned and bought the medal dies from Krafft, later yielded them to the Mint for free use.¹²⁹ Archive documents prove that the Mint could obtain a profit of 300 fl. by selling these medals, while Kestler-Rosenheim did not gain any financial benefit from the medal production. However, the favor of the empress and his public reputation were guaranteed to him, as Maria Theresa thanked Kestler-Rosenheim for these efforts initiating this medal with a 450 fl.-worth diamond ring.¹³⁰ Even the newspaper praised him for this “act of patriotism” and furthermore, complimented the medalist Martin Krafft for his skills.¹³¹

5. Summarizing Considerations: The Public Image in Coins and Medals

Due to both their physical stability and technical reproducibility, medals can be seen as widely spread, handy sized monuments. In addition, the variety of metals offered the opportunity to individually adapt a medal’s value to different recipient groups. These object-

specific qualities distinguished medals clearly from other genres of art and made them unique visual communication and representation tools. Moreover, their official character provides insights into the self-images of monarchs.¹³²

5.1. Mobility and Longevity

Due to their high mobility, coins and medals were able to deliver messages over wide distances. However, each type of medal served different publics or target groups according to the event or function it was produced for.¹³³ There were occasional medals, which were distributed during major celebrations and festivities, award medals for innovative scientists, school medals for diligent students, medals of grace for loyal subjects or generally commemorative medals for people who wanted to hold a piece of embossed history in their hands. These tokens were widely used as part of social life.

As shown in the example of wedding medals, some of these 18th-century medals and tokens were mass media, which became “comparable to the contemporary engraving or the broadsheet [...] to the organ of journalism”.¹³⁴ Medals soon gained publicity beyond their original target groups, since the collectors’ market demanded reproduced medals in cheaper materials, and publishers produced copper engravings of medals for broadsheets, magazines and books.¹³⁵ This media transfer reached new publicities, as its reproducibility increased the spread of medals and hence emphasized their memorial aspect.¹³⁶

Moreover, the passion for medal collecting was promoted through the distribution of numismatic periodicals, which often specified purchase prices of medals. The broad interest in medals led to their commercialization and subsequently to later re-strikes in cheaper materials, for example in tin. Although medals were superficially produced as awards and collectibles for contemporaries, creators were always aware of their preservation for posterity.¹³⁷ The use of medals as “visual long-term storage” is illustrated by the above-cited inscription of the foundation stone medal for the construction of the barracks in Vienna (*Fig. 3*).¹³⁸ Medals were meant to preserve for many centuries just as ancient coins did, thus, they should transmit the ruler’s portrait and his political message to ensuing ages.¹³⁹ Hence, the iconography of Roman imperial coins was often used as a model for 18th-century medal portraits.¹⁴⁰

The medals of Maria Theresa were not planned as strategically as the *histoire métallique* of Louis XIV, but are still part of the culture of remembrance, lasting until today. The function of the medal as a medium of memory and representation led to the interdisciplinary reception of medal portraits. Embedded in pictorial compositions of other visual art genres, depictions of medals can be found in copper engravings, frescoes or sculptures.¹⁴¹ As discrete pictorial elements, medallions were integrated in new thematic contexts, where they once again lived up to their primary function of representation.¹⁴²

5.2. Plasticity and Interactivity

Medals differ from other visual art genres, especially because of the plasticity of their significance; thus, they are not only image carriers, but also three-dimensional historic artefacts. Due to their portability, medals in many cases were associated with certain actions or interactions. In this sense, medals did not just persist. Medals were in use, since they were awarded, tossed, worn on chains, laid under foundation stones or collected and traded—shortly: medals fulfilled functions. As consequence of their involvement in political and cultural activities, medals at the time of Maria Theresa were objects of social life and a sort of media that facilitated communication in the broadest sense.

Moreover, medals did not only deliver certain pictorial or written messages, they also allowed interpersonal communication. The small and handy dimensions of coins and medals made it possible to carry portraits of people around, or in the figurative sense, to be close to them.¹⁴³ The accessibility of the portraits enhances this effect by symbolizing the presence of persons and allowing the public to touch them physically. Medals can also be seen as media of social interaction, both horizontal and vertical. When Maria Theresa awarded a medal to a deserving subject, she thereby conveyed her appreciation; the recipient, in turn, showed his loyalty to the empress by wearing the award. The medal symbolized the interaction between two persons and thus became signifiers expressing Maria Theresa's generosity and the recipient's recognition.¹⁴⁴

The multitude of different occasions and functions of medals attest to their importance in art and cultural history in the context of state and political practice.¹⁴⁵ In this sense, medals serve as notable sources for the study of modern ruling culture. If medals, as prestigious awards, promote the diligence and loyalty of the subjects, they were more than just

decorations, picture carriers, or memorabilia; they were also instruments of authority and sovereignty.

5.3. Medals, an 18th-Century (Social) Media

As common as medals were in the 18th century, it is difficult to find analogies for them in our time. Medals were more than just image sources or “press photos”; they were three-dimensional and long-lasting monuments. At the same time, they were also status symbols, because wearing a medal around one’s neck was a great distinction and a royal honor. Hence, medals to some extent can be regarded as social network service, since they mark relations, are collected, swapped and presented, and hence strengthen relationships and networks.

Collectors created a timeline by displaying their medals chronologically like a *histoire métallique* in the cases of their coin cabinets. Through such presentation, they formed a gallery-like picture story of the most important events in a ruler’s life.¹⁴⁶ These in turn, inspired royals to provide the collectors—their “followers”—with the latest news through medals, so that they could “like” or “share” them. This was always done with the intention of improving the sovereign’s own reputation while achieving the highest possible reach. In this sense, it may be possible to draw certain parallels with today’s channels of visual communication. When the *Wiener Diarium* reported that Maria Theresa struck a medal herself for the first time at the opening of the new mint in 1753,¹⁴⁷ this is in the broadest sense reminiscent of the newspaper report by *The New York Times* on the first Instagram posting by Queen Elizabeth in 2019.

6. Figures



Fig. 1: *Gnadenmedaille* of Maria Theresa, without date (1745-1765), medallist: Matthaeus Donner (Vienna); Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, MK 1853bß; gold, 103,42 g, 68 x 60 mm; © KHM-Museumsverband.



Fig. 2: Commemorative medal on the Hungarian coronation of Maria Theresa in 1741, medallist: Matthaeus Donner (Vienna); Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, MK 1885bß; gold, 69,75 g, 44,2 mm; © KHM-Museumsverband.



Fig. 3: medal of the foundation stone of the new built barracks in Vienna in 1751, medallist: Anton Wideman (Vienna); Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, MK 1715bß; gold, 69,66 g, 48,8 mm; © KHM-Museumsverband.



Fig. 4: medal on the care about military in 1743, medallist: Adam Rudolf Werner (Nuremberg); Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, MK 6207/1914B; tin, 37,79 g, 43,5 mm; © KHM-Museumsverband.



Fig. 5: commemorative medal on the birth of Archduke Leopold (II) in 1747, medallist: Johann Leonhard Oexlein (Nuremberg); Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, MK 1711bβ; silver, 21,8 g, 40,7 mm; © KHM-Museumsverband.



Fig. 6: Maria Theresa, thaler 1757, Vienna; Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, MK 137268; silver, 28,06 g, 41,8 mm; © KHM-Museumsverband.



Fig. 7: medal on the visit of Emperor Francis I Stephan in the Hungarian mines in 1751, medallist: Matthaeus Donner (Vienna); Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, MK 1678bβ; gold, 10,42 g, 29,2 mm; © KHM-Museumsverband.



Fig. 8: medal on the sovereignty of Maria Theresa, 1743, medallist: Jean Dassier (Geneva); Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, MK 1855bß; gold, 123,79 g, 54,6 mm; © KHM-Museumsverband.



Fig. 9: medal on the wedding of Archduchess Maria Karolina with Ferdinand IV, king of Naples and Sicily, 1768, medallist: Anton Wideman (Vienna); Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, MK 6553bß; gold, 34,47 g, 42,4 mm; © KHM-Museumsverband.



Fig. 10: commemorative medal on the recovery of Maria Theresa from the pillbox in 1767, medallist: Martin Krafft (Vienna); Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, MK 1688bß; gold, 104,35 g, 57,8 mm; © KHM-Museumsverband.



Fig. 11: medal on the peace agreement of Teschen (Cieszyn) in 1779, medallist: Johann Nepomuk Würth (Vienna); Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, MK 1828bß; gold, 52,27 g, 45,9 mm; © KHM-Museumsverband.

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Notes

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³ As examples see Kirill Filimonov, Uta Russmann and Jakob Svensson, "Picturing the Party: Instagram and Party Campaigning in the 2014 Swedish Elections," *Social Media + Society* 2, no. 3 (2016): 1-2.

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⁵ The Royal Household, according to a job announcement "Communications Officer," *Working for us, The Royal Household*, February, 2018, <https://theroyalhousehold.tal.net/vx/mobile-0/appcentre-1/brand-3/candidate/so/pm/1/pl/4/opp/1670-Communications-Officer/en-GB>.

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¹² Ulrich Pfisterer, "Wettstreit der Köpfe und Künste. Repräsentation, Reproduktion und das neue Bildmedium der Medaille nördlich der Alpen," in *Wettstreit in Erz. Porträtmedaillen der deutschen Renaissance*, ed. Walter Cupperi (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2013), 21; Ruth Hansmann, "Zwischen Medaille, Grafik und Malerei - zu kulturellen Transferprozessen in höfischen Porträtkonzepten," in *Atelier: Vorbild, Austausch, Konkurrenz. Höfe und Residenzen in der gegenseitigen Wahrnehmung*, eds. Anna P. Orlowska, Werner Paravicini and Jörg Wettlaufer (Kiel: Christian-Albrechts-Universität, 2009), 70-1.

¹³ Hendrik Ziegler, "Medaillenkrieg unter Ludwig XIV.: Kampf der Bilder zwischen dem Sonnenkönig und seinen europäischen Kontrahenten," *Vorträge zur Geldgeschichte* 10 (2013): 106.

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¹⁵ Jeanne M. Zarucchi, "Medals Catalogues of Louis XIV. Art and Propaganda," *Notes in the History of Art* 17, no. 4 (1998): 27-8.

¹⁶ Heinz Winter, *Glanz des Hauses Habsburg. Die habsburgische Medaille im Münzkabinett des Kunsthistorischen Museums* (Vienna: KHM - Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2009), 24; Karl Schulz, "Die Medaille in Österreich," *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 100 (1989): 183-86; Anna Fabiankowitsch, "Die Münzen und Medaillen Karls VI. zwischen Tradition und Innovation," in *Herrschaft und Repräsentation in der Habsburgermonarchie (1700-1740)*, eds. Sandra Hertel and Franz-Stefan Seitschek (Berlin: de Gruyter, forthcoming 2020); Bernhard Koch, "Das Österreichische Hauptmünzamt," *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 100 (1989): 35, 38, 54, 70-1. Daniel Kianička, "Die Wiener Graveurakademie und die Münzstätte in Kremnitz im 18. Jahrhundert," *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft* 48, no. 3 (2008): 153-57. Elisabeth Hassmann and Heinz Winter, *Numophylacium Imperatoris: Das Wiener Münzkabinett im 18. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2016), 17-39. Massimo Scandola, "Le livre des médailles de Louis XIV et ceux des empereurs d'Autriche," in *Les médailles de Louis XIV et leur livre*, ed. Yvan Loskoutoff (Mont-Saint-Aignan: Presses universitaires de Rouen et du Havre, 2016), 365-68.

¹⁷ Yonan, "Kaiserinwitwe," 120.

¹⁸ Anna Fabiankowitsch, "Zu Ruhm und Glanz. Aspekte der Einflussnahme auf die Medaillenproduktion unter Maria Theresia," in Telesko, Hertel, Linsboth, *Die Repräsentation Maria Theresias*, 288-99.

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²⁰ Thomas Wallnig, "Anstelle eines Überblicks: Maria Theresia, 2017," in *Maria Theresia? new research perspectives*, eds. Thomas Wallnig, Elisabeth Lobenwein and Franz-Stefan Seitschek (Bochum: Dr. Dieter Winkler, 2017), 179-82.

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²³ For a brief survey of her medals, see Karl Schulz, "Die Medaille zur Zeit Maria Theresias," *Numismatik* 80/81 (1983): 13-7.

²⁴ Anonymous, *Schau- und Denkmünzen: welche unter der glorwürdigen Regierung der Kaiserinn Königin Maria Theresia geprägt worden sind* (Vienna: Johann Paul Krauss, 1782).

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²⁷ There exists no catalogue of all medal types known of Maria Theresa. The count of 212 different types is based upon the author's unpublished research. It includes all medals between 1717 and 1780 that depict her in single or double portraits or mention her name and title in the inscription. The numbers refer to medal types (the combination of obverse and reverse dies, also differentiating the medals' diameters) but not to the number of specimens produced of each type. The production numbers of each medal type cannot be completely reconstructed today.

²⁸ The accuracy of this differentiation is arguable, as the court ordered medals from Nuremberg medallists whenever the capacities in Vienna were insufficient, see: Heinz Winter, "Die habsburg-lothringischen Medaillen der Zeit Maria Theresias im europäischen Vergleich - Eine Skizze," *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*, 68 (2019): 409-10. Two more points can be added to Winter's argumentation: first, it was also possible for collectors to buy some of the "official" medals at the mint; and second, most of the foreign medallists obtained permission from the Emperor to create medals of him and the Imperial family were therefore under court control.

²⁹ In the Habsburg realm, medal production was centralised in Vienna, but the Mint of Brussels struck commemorative tokens on the homage ceremonies in the Austrian Netherlands. Louis de Coster, *Description du cabinet de jetons historiques d'or et d'argent frappés dans le Pays-Bas, à partir du milieu du XVe siècle, jusqu'à nos jours* (Bruxelles: Fr.-J. Olivier, 1883), 178-206 (no. 758-873).

³⁰ This thematic category includes medals of coronations and homages as well as portrait medals, which refer to the claim of government and depict Maria Theresa as sovereign without communicating other topics.

³¹ A-OeStA, HHStA, GehKZA, HZA 27, Einschreibbuch 1764-1778, fol. 15v (June 10, 1769). Cordula Bischoff, "Complicated Exchanges: The Handling of Authorised and Unauthorised Gifts," *The Court Historian* 14, no. 2 (2009): 142-43; Stefanie Linsboth, "Ein mit Diamant besetztes Portrait. Wert und Verwendung der Porträtminiaturen Maria Theresias," in Telesko, Hertel, Linsboth, *Die Repräsentation Maria Theresias*.

³² About the different functions of medals since the Renaissance: Hermann Maué, "Jenseits der Porträtmedaille. Vom Spott bis zur Belohnung," in *Wettstreit in Erz. Porträtmedaillen der deutschen Renaissance*, ed. Walter Cupperi (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2013), 70-2, 75-6.

³³ About the genesis of the series: Lars-Gunter Schier, "Die Siegesmedaillen auf die Schlachten von Hochkirch und Bautzen," in *Studien zur Oberlausitzer Numismatik: Geldgeschichte, städtische Münzen, Medaillen, Wertpapiere, Numismatiker*, eds. Lars-Gunter Schier and Schlesisch-Oberlausitzer Museumsverbund (Krobnitz: Schlesisch-Oberlausitzer Museumsverbund, 2015), 132-36.

³⁴ Bettina Braun, *Eine Kaiserin und zwei Kaiser: Maria Theresia und ihre Mitregenten Franz Stephan und Joseph II.* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2018), 148-49.

³⁵ Matsche, "Maria Theresias Bild," 218-19; Ilsebill Barta-Fliedl, *Familienporträts der Habsburger: Dynastische Repräsentation im Zeitalter der Aufklärung* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2001), 62-83; Telesko, "Bildpolitik," 194-96; Werner Telesko, "Familia Augusta. Die visuelle Propagierung der Familie Maria Theresias," in Telesko, Hertel, Linsboth, *Die Repräsentation Maria Theresias*.

³⁶ Anna Fabiankowitsch, "Geprägt für die Ewigkeit. Medaillen Maria Theresias als Denkmäler der Herrscherrepräsentation," in *Zuhanden Ihrer Majestät. Medaillen Maria Theresias*, ed. Sabine Haag (Vienna: KHM-Museumsverband, 2017), 64-6 (fig. 27); Werner Telesko, "Zerrbilder der Politik. Karikaturen der Epoche Maria Theresias," in Telesko, Hertel, Linsboth, *Die Repräsentation Maria Theresias*.

³⁷ *Schau- und Denkmünzen*, 132-33 (no. CIII); Fabiankowitsch, "Ewigkeit," 54 (fig. 2); Karl Schulz, "Die Medaille auf die angebliche Grundsteinlegung zum Wiener Invalidenhaus im Jahr 1751," *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft* 35 (1995): 73-5.

³⁸ Laying coins and medals within the foundation stone was a public event, see: Sebastian Fitzner, "Von Bauwerken, Medaillen und Grundsteinlegungen. Überlegungen zu Funktion und Gestalt von Grundsteinmedaillen im nordalpinen Raum des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts," *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 122/123 (2017): 88, 90.

³⁹ *Schau- und Denkmünzen*, 28-29 (no. XXII); Ferenc G. Soltész, Csaba Tóth and Géza Pálffy, *Coronatio hungarica in nummis: Medals and jetons from Hungarian royal coronations (1508-1916)* (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2019), 209-213; Werner Telesko, "Die ungarischen Krönungsmedaillen," in Telesko, Hertel, Linsboth, *Die Repräsentation Maria Theresias*.

⁴⁰ Sandra Hertel, "Maria Theresia als 'König von Ungarn' im Krönungszeremoniell in Preßburg (1741)," *Frühneuzeit-Info* 27 (2016): 114; Harriet Rudolph, *Das Reich als Ereignis: Formen und Funktionen der Herrschaftsinszenierung bei Kaisereinzügen (1558-1618)* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2011), 245; Andreas Gestrich, *Absolutismus und Öffentlichkeit: Politische Kommunikation in Deutschland zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 123-26.

⁴¹ Eduard Holzmaier, "Die österreichische Gnadenmedaille und ihre Nachfolger: Civilehrenmedaille, Medaille für Wissenschaft und Kunst, Wahlspruchmedaille," *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 81 (1965): 21-2, 30-2; Michael E. Yonan, "Portable Dynasties: Imperial Gift-Giving at the Court of Vienna in the Eighteenth Century," *The Court Historian* 14, no. 2 (2009): 183.

⁴² *Schau- und Denkmünzen*, 41, 234 (no. XXXI, CLXXXII); Holzmaier, "Gnadenmedaille," 32-4; Winter, "Glanz," 86 (no. 89, tab. 24); Sabine Grabner, *Georg Raphael Donner: 1693-1741* (Vienna: Österreichische Galerie, 1993), 650-51 (no. 205); Fabiankowitsch, "Ewigkeit," 61-3 (fig. 22, 25).

⁴³ Mark Jones, "What are Medals for? A Contribution to the Understanding of Useless Things," 1401 and 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), 1434.

⁴⁴ See Maué, "Porträtmedaille," 76.

⁴⁵ Erlanger, *prize medal*, 5-8.

⁴⁶ *Schau- und Denkmünzen*, 225 (no. CLXXVII), 300-301 (no. CCXVIII); Erlanger, *prize medal*, 190-91, 197.

⁴⁷ Werner Telesko, "Meta-Medien. Zum plurimedialen Charakter von Medaille und Druckgrafik in der Frühen Neuzeit," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 65 (2018): 88-90; Anna Fabiankowitsch, "Zu Ruhm und Glanz. Aspekte der Einflussnahme auf die Medaillenproduktion unter Maria Theresia," in Telesko, Hertel, Linsboth, *Die Repräsentation Maria Theresias*.

⁴⁸ Horst W. Blanke, "Verwissenschaftlichung und Aufklärung. Historische Zeitschriften im 18. Jahrhundert," in *Dimensionen der Historik. Geschichtstheorie, Wissenschaftsgeschichte und Geschichtskultur heute*, eds. Horst W. Blanke, Friedrich Jaeger and Thomas Sandkühler (Cologne: Böhlau, 1998), 242-43; Fabiankowitsch, "Ewigkeit," 54-5.

⁴⁹ Joachim Negelein and Melchior Koernlein, *Thesaurus numismatum modernorum huius seculi, sive, Numismata mnemonica et iconica quibus praecipui eventus et res gestae ab anno MDCC illustrantur: Vol. 1* (Nuremberg: Johann Andreá Endters seel. Sohn und Erben, 1711), preface without page number.

⁵⁰ Telesko, "Meta-Medien," 67-9.

⁵¹ Detlev Hölscher, "Johann David Köhler, 1684-1755. Porträt eines bedeutenden Numismatikers des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Münzen Revue* 26, no. 6 (1994): 731-733; Fabiankowitsch, "Ewigkeit," 54-5.

⁵² Manfred H. Grieb, *Nuremberger Künstlerlexikon: Bildende Künstler, Kunsthandwerker, Gelehrte, Sammler, Kulturschaffende und Mäzene vom 12. bis zur Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: K. G. Saur Verlag, 2007), 66-7.

⁵³ Johann Friedrich Joachim, *Das neu eröffnete Münzcabinet darinnen merkwürdige und bishero noch nirgends mitgetheilte Gold- und Silbermünzen zu finden, die richtig in Kupfer abgebildet, beschrieben und erläutert werden. Band 1* (Nuremberg: Georg Bauer, 1761), preface s.p.

⁵⁴ Otto Hartwig, "Joachim, Johann Friedrich," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 14 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1881), 94-5.

⁵⁵ Georg Bauer, *Auserlesene und nützliche Neuigkeiten für alle Münzliebhaber: Mit Kupfern und einem Hauptregister über alle zwanzig Stücke* (Nuremberg: Johann Eberhard Zeh, 1772).

⁵⁶ Despoina Evgenidou and Stamatoula Makrypodi, "Ancient Myths create new ones in Europe," in *Myth and coinage. Representations, symbolisms and interpretations from the Greek mythology*, ed. Dimitra I. Tsangari (Athens: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2011), 249.

⁵⁷ The use of traditional topoi is common for coronation medals, see Telesko, "Krönungsmedaillen."

⁵⁸ A scientific evaluation of the coeval medals in Europe of the second half of the 18th century is still missing, see Winter, "Im europäischen Vergleich," 407-09. For a comparison to British medals, see: Christopher Eimer, *commemorative medals*, 57-93.

⁵⁹ Fabiankowitsch, "Ruhm und Glanz."

⁶⁰ Anna Fabiankowitsch, "Zur Entwicklung des Münzporträts Maria Theresias in Wien," in Telesko, Hertel, Linsboth, *Die Repräsentation Maria Theresias*; Anna Fabiankowitsch, "Maria Theresia im Medaillenporträt" in *Cista mystica : Festschrift für Wolfgang Szaivert*, ed. Martin Baer, Wolfgang Fischer-Bossert, Nikolas Schindel (Vienna: Österr. Forschungsgesellschaft für Numismatik, 2020).

⁶¹ A-OeStA, FHKA, SuS, HMA Akten, Karton 23, no. 96 (September 9, 1765); Sandra Hertel, "Zwischen Authentizität und Ideal. Zum »Wahrhaftigkeitsanspruch« des maria-theresianischen Porträts," in Haag, *Zuhanden Ihrer Majestät*, 31-2.

⁶² Eduard Fiala, *Katalog der Münzen- und Medaillen-Stempel-Sammlung des k.k. Hauptmünzamt in Wien. Vierter Band* (Vienna: Kaiserl.-Könl. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1906), 1225-227; Schemper-Sparholz, "Das Münzbildnis," 180-88; Grabner, *Donner*, 650-51 (no. 205); Fabiankowitsch, "Imageproduzenten," 78-8 (fig. 2-3, 5-6).

⁶³ Eypeltauer, *nummorum*, 83 (no. 11), 195 (no. 238), 202 (no. 251). The symbolic motif of the king of Hungary in coronation robe on coins goes back on the traditions of Matthias II (r. 1608-1619). On the coin history of Hungary, see: Lajos Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis heute* (Munich: Battenberg, 1979). About royal portraits of Maria Theresa wearing the Hungarian coronation robe: see Szabolcs Serfőző, "'Männlich' und mächtig. Die Inszenierung Maria Theresias als Königin von Ungarn auf Staatsporträts," in *Maria Theresia. 1717-1780. Strategin - Mutter - Reformerin*, e.d. Elfriede Iby (Vienna: Amalthea, 2017), 108-10.

⁶⁴ Eypeltauer, *nummorum*, 32-6.

⁶⁵ Yonan, "Kaiserinwitwe," 119.

⁶⁶ Eypeltauer, *nummorum*, 329-83; Tomáš Kleisner and Jan Boublík, *Coins and medals of the Emporer Francis Stephen of Lorraine collection of the National Museum, Prague* (Praha: Národní Muzeum, 2011), 23-73.

⁶⁷ Bettina Braun, "Maria Theresia: Herrscherin aus eigenem Recht und Kaiserin," in *Nur die Frau des Kaisers? Kaiserinnen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Bettina Braun, Katrin Keller and Matthias Schnettger (Cologne: Böhlau, 2016), 218-19.

⁶⁸ Bettina Braun, "Maria Theresia: Herrscherin aus eigenem Recht und Kaiserin," in *Nur die Frau des Kaisers? Kaiserinnen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Bettina Braun, Katrin Keller and Matthias Schnettger (Cologne: Böhlau, 2016), 218-19.

⁶⁹ Yonan, "Kaiserinwitwe," 124.

⁷⁰ A-OeStA, FHKA, NHK, NÖ MBW, Akten II, Karton 926, no. 132, fol. 510r-v (October 1, 1765), with resolution of Maria Theresa from November 25, 1765.

⁷¹ Before Maria Theresa, only Joanna of Castile (r. 1504-1506/1555) was depicted veiled on, though not as a sovereign ruler, as she appeared in double portraits with her son Charles I (V) (r. 1516-1556). Juan Ramón Cayón and Carlos Castán, *Monedas españolas desde los visigodos hasta el quinto centenario del descubrimiento de America* (Madrid: Jano, 1991), 409-10. Later widowed female rulers, like Queen Anne of Great Britain (reg. 1702-1714) or Catherine II of Russia (reg. 1762-1796) never appeared in widow's dress on coins, see Wilson Peck, *English Copper, Tin and Bronze Coins in the British Museum 1558-1958* (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1960), 175-97; Harry M. Severin, *The Silver Coinage of Imperial Russia, 1682-1917* (Basel: Münzen & Medaillen AG, 1965), 54-62. However, after the coin portrait of Maria Theresa as a widow, Maria I of Portugal (r. 1777-1816) and Queen Victoria of the United Kingdom (r. 1837-1901) wore veils on their coins after the deaths of their husbands, see Alberto Gomes, *Moedas portuguesas e do território português antes da fundação da nacionalidade* (Lisboa: Alberto Gomes, 1996), 352-57; Peck, *English Copper*, 446-49. About the coinage of female rulers in general: William Monter, "Gendered Sovereignty: Numismatics and Female Monarchs in Europe, 1300-1800," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 41, no. 4 (2011): 533-64.

⁷² Martin, "Königin und Göttin," 398-99; Monter, "Sovereignty," 551.

⁷³ Heinz-Joachim Schulzki, "Antike Münzbilder auf Medaillen der Neuzeit," in *XII. Numismatischer Kongreß Berlin 1997. Akten - Proceedings - Actes*, eds. Bernd Kluge and Bernhard Weissner (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2000), 1462; Heinrich Chantraine, "Mehrfache Büsten und Ganzfiguren auf römischen Münzen - rechts und links als Anordnungsprinzip," in *Die Münze. Bild - Botschaft - Bedeutung*, ed. Hans-Christoph Noeske (Frankfurt: Lang, 1991), 122; Martin, "Macht," 13.

⁷⁴ Monter, "Sovereignty," 559.

⁷⁵ *Schau- und Denkmünzen*, 4, 7, 10 (no. III, V, VII).

⁷⁶ Braun, *Eine Kaiserin und zwei Kaiser*, 27-29.

⁷⁷ Katrin Keller, "Kaiserin und Reich: Warum Maria Theresia sich 1745 nicht krönen ließ," in Telesko, Hertel, Linsboth, *Die Repräsentation Maria Theresias*.

⁷⁸ Matsche, "Maria Theresias Bild," 212.

⁷⁹ *Schau- und Denkmünzen*, 135-137 (no. CV-CVII); Čelková and Mikuláš Čelko, "Der Besuch des Kaisers im Jahr 1751," in *Lothringens Erbe: Franz Stephan von Lothringen (1708-1765) und sein Wirken in Wirtschaft, Wissenschaft und Kunst der Habsburgermonarchie*, ed. Renate Zedinger (St. Pölten: Amt der Niederösterreich. Landesregierung, 2000), 141-42.

⁸⁰ Mária Čelková, "Der Kaiser kommt! Zum Einfluß des Wiener Hofes auf Wissenschaft und Kunst in den niederungarischen Bergbaugebieten in der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Franz Stephan von Lothringen und sein Kreis*, ed. Renate Zedinger (Bochum: Winkler, 2009), 249-55.

⁸¹ In contrast, Francis I Stephen and his son and successor Joseph II were never depicted together in double portraits on coins or medals.

⁸² Monter, "Sovereignty," 556-57; Michael E. Yonan, *Empress Maria Theresa and the politics of Habsburg imperial art* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 111.

⁸³ See Braun, "Herrscherin aus eigenem Recht," 211-13; Braun, *Eine Kaiserin und zwei Kaiser*, 14.

⁸⁴ Monter, "Sovereignty," 535-38.

⁸⁵ Werner Telesko, "'She died as a man - and as an empress.' Politics of body and visual representation in the case of Maria Theresa," in *Defizitäre Souveräne. Herrscherlegitimationen im Konflikt*, eds. Lena Oetzel and Kerstin Weiand (Frankfurt, New York: campus, 2018), 310-16.; Sandra Hertel, "Der weibliche Körper als Quelle? Überlegungen zu einer höfischen Körpergeschichte zur Zeit Maria Theresias," in Wallnig, Lobenwein, Seitschek, *Maria Theresa?*, 42-5.

⁸⁶ Telesko, "Krönungsmedaillen,".

⁸⁷ *Schau- und Denkmünzen*, 30 (no. XXIII); Soltész, *Coronatio hungarica*, 214-218 (no. 217-221, 225-228).

⁸⁸ Yonan, "Kaiserinwitwe," 118-19; Telesko, "She died," 311; Hertel, "König von Ungarn," 116-17. Sanda Hertel, „Schicksalsjahre einer Königin (1740–1743). Die symbolische Festigung weiblicher Herrschaft,“ in Telesko, Hertel, Linsboth, *Die Repräsentation Maria Theresias*, 51.

⁸⁹ Telesko, "Krönungsmedaillen," 331.

⁹⁰ The image of Maria Theresa on horseback acting the traditional coronation ride does not associate with the equestrian portraits on German political broadsheets, which mostly have a military reference and show battlefields in the background, see: John Roger Paas, "Stylized Pose. Seventeenth-Century Equestrian Portrait on German Political Broadsheets," in *Generali e mendicanti attori e sovrani. Ritratti nelle stampe a larga diffusione dal XVII al XX secolo*, ed. Alberto Milano (Bassano del Grappa: Tassotti, 2013), 39-53; see also see the portraits of Christina of Sweden in this book. Nevertheless, the Hungarian equestrian image of Maria Theresa found a place in cited prints, see Werner Telesko, "Die druckgrafische Produktion – Funktionen und Themenbereiche," in Telesko, Hertel, Linsboth, *Die Repräsentation Maria Theresias*, fig. 25.

⁹¹ Telesko, "Aeternitas Augustae," 40; Monter, "Sovereignty," 557-58.

⁹² William Lawrence Eisler, *The Dossiers of Geneva: 18th-century European medallists: collections of the Cabinet de Numismatique, Geneva, and the Cabinet des Médailles Cantonal, Lausanne. 2: Dossier and sons: an artistic enterprise in Geneva, Switzerland and Europe: 1733-1759* (Lausanne: Association des Amis du Cabinet des Médailles du Canton de Vaud, 2005), 35-154.

⁹³ Fabiankowitsch, "Medaillenporträt," 66-7.

⁹⁴ *Schau- und Denkmünzen*, 64 (no. XLVII); Eisler 136-137, 144, 153 (no. III-17); Telesko, "Aeternitas Augustae," 42 (fig. 9).

⁹⁵ Eypeltauer, *nummorum*, 112 (no. 73), Fabiankowitsch, "Münzporträts," 183-5 (Fig. 62).

⁹⁶ Telesko, "She died," 310-16; Sandra Hertel, "Die Panegyrik auf Maria Theresia. Zum Wechselverhältnis von sprachlichen und visuellen Charakterisierungen," in Telesko, Hertel, Linsboth, *Die Repräsentation Maria Theresias*, 153-59.

⁹⁷ Evgenidou, "Ancient Myths," 250.

⁹⁸ Matsche, "Maria Theresias Bild," 204; Telesko, *Geschichtsraum*, 83-84; Monter, "Sovereignty," 558; Michael Speidel, "Faustina – mater caesarum. Ein Beitrag zur Religionsgeschichte," *Tyche – Contributions to Ancient History, Papyrology and Epigraphy* 27 (2012): 130-31.

⁹⁹ Braun, *Eine Kaiserin und zwei Kaiser*, 151 (fig. 9).

¹⁰⁰ General about representation referring to the *Familia Augusta*: Telesko, "She died," 316-18; Telesko, "Bildpolitik," 194; Telesko, "Familia Augusta,".

¹⁰¹ *Schau- und Denkmünzen*, 107-108 (no. LXXXIV); Barta-Fliehl, *Familienporträts*, 83; Linsboth, „Gottes Gnaden,“ 46-7 (Fig. 5).

¹⁰² This way of remembrance was also common in prints, see: Matsche, "Maria Theresias Bild," 224.

¹⁰³ Idem, 221-22; Barta-Fliehl, *Familienporträts*, 91-8.

¹⁰⁴ Winter, "Glanz," 88-9 (no. 101-109, tab. 28-29); Winter, "Maria Theresia und ihre Familie," 24.

¹⁰⁵ *Schau- und Denkmünzen*, 111 (no. LXXXVII), 125 (no. XCVIII), 148 (no. CXV).

¹⁰⁶ Fabiankowitsch, "Ewigkeit," 60-1 (fig. 19, 20).

¹⁰⁷ *Schau- und Denkmünzen*, 271-72 (no. CCII).

¹⁰⁸ Idem, 278-79 (no. CCVI).

¹⁰⁹ A-OeStA, FHKA, SuS, HMA Akten, Karton 26, no. 31 (May 19, 1768).

¹¹⁰ Fabiankowitsch, "Karl VI."

¹¹¹ See f. n. 17.

¹¹² Schulz, "Medaille in Österreich," 186-91.

¹¹³ Schemper-Sparholz, "Das Münzbildnis," 188; Fabiankowitsch, "Imageproduzenten," 78-9 (fig. 2-7).

¹¹⁴ Fiala, *Vierter Band*, 1365-366.

¹¹⁵ Idem, 1287-289.

¹¹⁶ Idem, 1369-370.

¹¹⁷ Francisca Bernheimer, *Georg Wilhelm Vestner und Andreas Vestner: Zwei Nuremberger Medailleure* (Munich: UNI-Dr., 1984), 10-5.

¹¹⁸ Kleisner and Boublík, *Emporer Francis Stephen*, 74-181.

¹¹⁹ "in Stahl und Eisen, auch Gold, Silber Kupfer, Zinn und Blei zu stechen und zu prägen." A-OeStA, HHStA, RHR, Gewerbe-, Fabriks- und Handlungsprivilegien 11-13, fol. 198r-201v (May 8, 1749); Friedrich Lehne, "Kaiserliche Schäumünzenprivilegien," *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 70 (1937), 94; Fabiankowitsch, "Ruhm und Glanz,".

¹²⁰ Gerd Dethlefs, "Lauffer contra Vestner. Zur Medaillenprägung in Nuremberg 1714-1732," *Münstersche Numismatische Zeitung* 20, no. 1 (1990): 8-9.

¹²¹ "Welchen Glanz die Regierung Ludwig des XIX. und die französische Nation durch ihre schönen Gedächtnis-Medaillen erlangt haben, ist bekannt. Allein es hat immer sehr wenig geschickte Männer in dieser Kunst gegeben, und heutigen Tags verspüret man an solchen aller Orten einen großen Mangel." A-OeStA, HHStA, STK Vorträge 105, III-IV, fol. 43r: account carried forward by Kaunitz-Rietberg to Maria Theresa about the engravers Würth and Krafft (March 16, 1770).

¹²² "Allein hier fehletes noch an einer solchen Anstalt, und dem Unterricht junger Künstler in demjenigen, was das innere poetische Wesen in den sogenannten bildenden Künsten ist, und nach welchem sich der Geschmack, sowohl in der Erfindung, als in der Ausarbeitung, formiret, so daß die hiesigen Künstler mehrentheils bloße Mechanici, und ewige Nachahmer bleiben." See f. n. 59, but fol. 43v.

¹²³ A-OeStA, HHStA, STK Vorträge 129, VII-VIII, fol. 20-22 (July 10, 1779); Fabiankowitsch, "Imageproduzenten," 81-2 (fig. 9).

¹²⁴ *Schau- und Denkmünzen*, 397 (no. CCLXXX); Viktor Karger, "Denkmale des Teschner Friedens. I. Teschner Friedensmedaillen," *Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kulturgeschichte Schlesiens* 14/15 (1919/20): 184-188; Fabiankowitsch, "Imageproduzenten," 81-2 (fig. 10).

¹²⁵ "Nun weis zwar jedermann, daß Deutschland den wieder hergestellten Frieden beyder Kais[erlich] König[lichen] Maj[estät]en großmüthiger Gesinnung zu danken hat; wenn aber gleich diese durch das Wort Indulgentia sich ausdrücken ließ, und selbiges soviel als Nachgiebigkeit sagen wollte, da es doch eigentlich die Nachsicht der Obern gegen Mindern, wie im Französischen, bedeutet; so könnte dennoch solche Ausdrückung von Anderen, zumalen Preußischer Seits ungleich ausgelegt, und wenigstens als eine Ruhmredigkeit misdeutet werden, so weit auch diese von Eurer Maj[estät] bekanteter Denkmals=art ertfernet ist." See A-OeStA, HHStA, STK Vorträge 129, VII-VIII, fol. 21r.

¹²⁶ Elke Bannicke, "Die Wiederherstellung der allgemeinen Glückseligkeit: Kolin und Leuthen - zwei Medaillen von 1757," *Numismatisches Nachrichtenblatt* 9, no. 12 (2012): 362-63.

¹²⁷ *Schau- und Denkmünzen*, 265-266 (no. CXCVIII); Fabiankowitsch, "Imageproduzenten," 81-3 (fig. 12).

¹²⁸ *Pressburger Zeitung*, August 15, 1767, 3-4.

¹²⁹ A-OeStA, FHKA, SuS, HMA Akten, Karton 25, no. 80 (July 13, 1767).

¹³⁰ A-OeStA, HHStA, GehKZA, HZA 27, Einschreibbuch 1764-1778, fol. 11 (September 26, 1767).

¹³¹ "der verdiente Herr Erfinder dieser sinnreichen, und wohl ausgearbeiteten Denkmünze hat hierdurch ein Merkmal seines echten patriotischen Eifers, und der Künstler Hr. Kraft, eine neue Probe seiner Geschicklichkeit an den Tag gelegt", *Pressburger Zeitung*, August 15, 1767, 3-4.

¹³² Franz Matsche, *Die Kunst im Dienst der Staatsidee Kaisers Karls VI.: Ikonographie, Ikonologie und Programmatik des "Kaiserstils"* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1981), 32-4.

¹³³ Telesko, Hertel and Linsboth, "Medienereignisse," 474-76.

¹³⁴ Christina Thon, "Medaillenentwürfe von Georg Wilhelm und Andreas Vestner," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 36, no. 4 (1982): 67.

¹³⁵ Telesko, "Meta-Medien," 67-69; Snowman, "King and the country," 23.

¹³⁶ The tokens of the homage in Vienna by the Lower Austrian states on November 20 in 1741 appear on a broadsheet together with descriptions of the ceremony and the procession, see Fabiankowitsch, "Ewigkeit," 56-7 (fig. 9). The tokens of the wedding in 1736 are reproduced likewise on broadsheets: *Maria Theresia 1980*, 41-2 (no. 3,11); Kleisner and Boublík, *Emperor Francis Stephen*, 75; Barta-Fliedl, *Familienporträts*, 67 (fig. 46).

¹³⁷ Thomas Weißbrich, "Medaillen und Gedenkmünzen. Aspekte militärischer Erinnerungskultur um 1700," in *Militärische Erinnerungskulturen vom 14. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert: Träger, Medien, Deutungskonkurrenzen*, ed. Horst Carl (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2012), 155-56.

¹³⁸ See f. n. 37.

¹³⁹ Rudolph, *Reich als Ereignis*, 434, 457.

¹⁴⁰ Schulzki, "Antike Münzbilder," 1463-466.

¹⁴¹ Schemper-Sparholz, "Das Münzbildnis," 168-71.

¹⁴² E.g. the medallions on the base of the monument of Joseph II in Vienna, see Wilhelm Englmann, "Das Kaiser Josef-Denkmal in Wien und die Medaille," *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Münz- und Medaillenkunde* 9, 7, 8, 9 (1913): 113-15, 129-32, 141-44.

¹⁴³ Telesko, "Herrschaftssicherung," 45.

¹⁴⁴ Rudolph, *Reich als Ereignis*, 245.

¹⁴⁵ Torsten Fried, *Geprägte Macht: Münzen und Medaillen der mecklenburgischen Herzöge als Zeichen fürstlicher Herrschaft* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2015), 328-39.

¹⁴⁶ Telesko, Hertel and Linsboth, "Medienereignis," 474-76.

¹⁴⁷ *Schau- und Denkmünzen*, 146 (no. CXIII); *Wienerisches Diarium* 71, September 5, 1753 (Vienna: van Ghelen), 6-7. In this regard, not only did the medal itself represent the historical occasion but also its report did. About "publicity" conveyed by print media: Telesko, "Bildpolitik," 190.