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**Adapting Antiquity  
References to Classical Literature on Early Modern Swedish Medals**

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One visual medium that is rather overlooked these days was particularly suited to the proclamation of great deeds and the insinuation of the always so fashionable flair of Antiquity, namely medallic art. This paper presents a selection of case studies exploring the use of ancient topoi illustrated on medals, and studying the purpose and significance of medals depicting early modern Swedish monarchs. Questions will be raised about how references to classical literature such as Ovid, Vergil or Horace are combined within the limits of a medal and in what way are the classical references reused and adapted to the new context. The aim of this paper is to provide a complement to the iconographic analysis by paying particular attention to the inscriptions and their connection to the images presented on medals. Subsequently, this will shed light on the innovative usage of classical literature on medals from early modern Sweden.

**Keywords:** medals, Antiquity, early modern, Sweden, Queen Christina, Ovid, Horace, Vergil

### **Introduction**

*UT MEA SIT, SERVATA MEA VIRTUTE* (that she be mine saved by my valour) – so reads the inscription written on the reverse of a medal issued by the Swedish King Gustav III (1746-1792; fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The text derives from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and relates to Perseus claiming Andromeda after he saved her from the sea-monster Ceto.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, the image illustrated on the medal shows the mythological story. It portrays Perseus standing in the centre of the image right between Ceto and the semi-naked Andromeda, who is chained to a rock. Perseus flashes Medusa's deadly head in front of the gaping monster, thereby slaying Ceto and saving the shackled princess. By looking at the obverse, which depicts Gustav III's portrait, the viewer of the medal readily detects that the story of Perseus illustrated on the medal's reverse is supposed to allude to Gustav's III deeds, but who is he saving and claiming? The simple answer is Sweden, which is usually rendered as a woman when personified. From 1719 to 1772 Sweden was a parliamentary monarchy and it was time known as the *Age of Liberty*. During these years, the king wielded limited political power, and Sweden was ruled by a parliamentary government, consisting of two parties, the Caps and the Hats.<sup>3</sup> The parties were utterly divided, and according to Gustav III, their animosities left Sweden open to threats from abroad. Subsequently, on the 19<sup>th</sup> of August 1772, Gustav III seized power by overthrowing the government. He did so by way of a *coup d'état*, and just as Perseus surprised the monster with Medusa's deadly look, so too Gustav III stunned everyone with his non-violent revolution. Thus, just like Perseus saved Andromeda, Gustav III freed Sweden from the 'grips of anarchy'. Gustav III wished to commemorate this event by issuing a medal, which he could distribute to friends and foes, and on the medal, the king not only incorporates Perseus's noble virtues but by 'freeing' Sweden he is also transformed into a hero himself.<sup>4</sup>

The story of Perseus was particularly suited to illustrate Gustav III's deed. The Olympic gods rewarded Perseus and turned him after his long life into a stellar constellation, and no doubt, Gustav III, an enlightened despot, was reaching for the stars as well. Gustav III consciously engaged medals to express, legitimise and, most of all, spread his claim to the royal power. Inspired by Louis XIV and his *Histoire Métrallique*<sup>5</sup>, Gustav III commissioned medals illustrating his life and accomplishments, and he meticulously employed ancient heroes to his advantage.<sup>6</sup> All in all, the lustre of Antiquity provided a timeless narrative of heroic endeavour that was meant to be associated with Gustav III.<sup>7</sup>

This particular medal was one of the objects that would be included in Gustav III's own *Histoire Métrallique*, and it presents a case where image and text are well-linked as both relate to the same literary source.<sup>8</sup> Most commonly, however, this would not be the case, as the image and the inscription could derive from different sources, thereby not revealing their connection at first sight. This would make the interpretation of a medal more challenging, and sometimes this was what the issuer wished for. The 'main message' of a medal was supposed to be ostensible, not least through the portrait depicted on the obverse, yet the image on the reverse could carry an additional underlying riddle waiting to be solved. Medals were once popular conversation pieces inviting the viewer to consult all his or her knowledge of history, culture and politics while deciphering them. The viewer, the recipient of the medal, would contemplate obverse and reverse, turn it around in his hand, and simply engage with the object in order to interpret all details hidden on its surface. To sum up, multiple layers of meaning are an essential part of medal art.

The quest to disentangle these underlying layers of possible interpretations, which are presented by image and text, has inspired various research on medals.<sup>9</sup> This paper will follow this tradition and present case studies exploring how ancient literary sources were reused on medals from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries depicting Swedish monarchs.<sup>10</sup> The aim of this paper is to provide a complement to the iconographic analysis of medals by paying particular attention to the inscriptions and their connection to the images.

Roughly 45 medal editions depicting Swedish royals that were manufactured between the years 1560-1792 (which I study in my thesis) employ inscriptions with clear references to antique literature. To provide a representative selection, I have chosen examples that demonstrate the most frequently recurring methods of adapting the literary source, but likewise the greatest diversity in the application of antique references.<sup>11</sup> Questions will be asked about how references to classical literature such as Ovid, Vergil or Horace are combined within the limits of the medal. In what way are the classical *topoi*<sup>12</sup> reused and adapted to the new context? Thereby, this paper seeks to contribute to the overall topic of this volume 'Afterlife of Antiquity' by offering examples that not least because of the geographical distance have not immediately become associated with Antiquity.

## **A mythological space**

The connection between Antiquity and medal art has a long tradition. The art form has its origins in Renaissance Italy and this period's flourishing attention towards Antiquity and antiquarianism. This interest led to increased devotion to Roman and Greek coins, and scholars were convinced, and rightly so, that, in particular, ancient Roman coins were not merely used as currency but also to honour the deeds of great men.<sup>13</sup> Renaissance men also wanted their eloquence to endure humankind's fragile memory and wished, perhaps inspired by Horace's words "*exegi monumentum aere perennius*" ("to build a monument more durable than bronze"), for something that would preserve their deeds for future generations.<sup>14</sup> Artists such as Antonio Pisanello (1395-1455) answered these calls. Pisanello rendered what is considered to be amongst the first portrait medals, borrowing form, material and commemorative appeal from ancient coins. Medal art quickly gained popularity and was soon of a fixture of princely art production all over Europe.<sup>15</sup>

Medals combine several favourable aspects that allow the depicted person to spread his or her image, and just like ancient coins, they communicate authority and likeness.<sup>16</sup> In addition, medals have a convenient size; they are easy to distribute, and their material, gold, silver and bronze, promises perpetuity. However, they inherit-

ed yet another advantage. Medals usually consist of two sides; not only do they carry a portrait, a combination of an ideal and truthful likeness,<sup>17</sup> but also a personal emblem accompanied by a fitting Latin inscription. Thereby, the obverse and reverse complete each other. This tendency evolved with the rise of the emblem during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Emblems and medallic art have been closely entwined since the early stages of medals' history.<sup>18</sup> This mixture of subjects and symbols, executed by both image and text, offers a richness of possibilities that narrates complex topics.

Medals became popular conversation pieces as they transferred ambition and information through portraits, narrative scenes, and symbolic devices.<sup>19</sup> They were exchanged, used as gifts, decorations or even jewellery, but most of all they were discussed. Several sources narrate lively conversations discussing the portraits displayed on the medals, as well as the origin of images and texts depicted on the reverse.<sup>20</sup> Decoding the image and its relation to the inscription was part of the charm. In addition to challenging contemporary viewers, the medals were meant to address posterity. In that way, it also appears evident why images inspired by Antiquity were used. These were believed to be eternal as well as the Latin language and like the medal, because of its material, to endure time.<sup>21</sup>

Imagery alluding to ancient gods and heroes turned every medal into a mythological space, but the ultimate transition towards Antiquity would be to combine the antique-inspired imagery with ancient literary sources, creating a conglomerate of classical motifs, which opened up new associations (even if joining text and image was not employed during Antiquity in this way). In this manner, image and inscription would complement each other, thus being able to communicate an even more multifaceted theme. Well-known literary sources were adapted and reused on medals, and this changed context breathed new life into Ovid, Vergil and Horace. Consequently, since the form and commemorative purpose of medals were inspired by ancient coins, and medals mostly conveyed ancient topoi, they thereby sum up the afterlife of Antiquity *per se*.

In order to unravel these implicit references to Antiquity, one must go beyond an image analysis. Here, Julia Kristeva's concept of intertextuality inspired my approach of enfolding the underlying layers of the inscription presented on the medals.<sup>22</sup> According to this theory, a text is always in dialogue with other writings, implying that a text's meaning is shaped by another, through alluding, quoting, translating or even ridiculing its predecessor. Hence, this 'other' text would influence an audience's interpretation and understanding of the 'new' text. The same applies to the interpretation of a medal. If a medal, for example, carries the inscription "that she be mine saved by my valour", the viewer could read the words literally, but since in early modern times the stories narrated in the *Metamorphoses* were well renowned, the quote's origin would be recognised. The viewer would be asked to add the quote's original meaning to the new context, hence interpreting Perseus as Gustav III and Andromeda as a metaphor for Sweden. Furthermore, the combination of text and image in addition to Gustav III's portrait would insinuate that the depicted monarch was as strong as the epic warrior, and thus a competent ruler.

Since Kristeva coined the concept in 1967, then a theory in literary sciences, intertextuality has been fruitfully adapted within other disciplines, not least of which is art history. For instance, in art history, the concept could imply analysing an image, outlining its origin and examining how it works as a vehicle for a visual tradition, in fact, an approach quite similar to that of Aby Warburg's *Mnemosyne Atlas*.<sup>23</sup> However, tracing the images' origin would exceed the scope of this article. Instead, I will present a schematic overview of the most common practices of how antique literary sources were adapted on early modern Swedish medals. A straightforward interaction between the image and literary reference, as shown with the example of Gustav III's medal might be easily detected, but an intrinsic allusion to the original context or word games, equally preferred methods, would require a closer look.

### **One with Rome and one with Antiquity**

One person who truly was aware of the possibility of medals transmitting complex narratives was Queen Christina (1626-1689). Already during her regency in Sweden (1632-1654), Christina issued several medals with

antique-inspired imagery as the following example illustrates (fig. 2).<sup>24</sup> In general, baroque *horror vacui* and sophisticated emblems dominated the visual repertoire at that time, which is why only a limited number of her medals display a flair for Antiquity as illustrated above. This tendency changed when Christina abdicated in 1654, converted to Catholicism and moved to Rome. From then on Christina's medals show a dominant inclination toward antique models. Christina's decision to abdicate and leave the country was a big surprise and much to the annoyance of her former fellow countrymen, but it was indeed welcomed by supporters of the Counter-reformation, and not the least in Rome, where she arrived in late 1655 and took the new name, Maria Alexandra.<sup>25</sup> During her years in Rome, Christina issued several medals that illustrated her views on politics and life.

Presenting one's life through medals was very much *en vogue* during the early modern times, and several rulers commissioned such medallic biographies, amongst which Louis XIV's *Histoire Métrallique* might be the most prominent. Christina embraced this sophisticated method of illustrating her life and accomplishments and planned a series of 118 medals. The project was initialised around 1680 but never completed.<sup>26</sup> Among the medals that Christina ordered, and which were finished, one commemorates her resolution to move to the Eternal City (fig. 3).<sup>27</sup> On the obverse, Christina is portrayed facing right, robed in a tunic with a furred collar, which is fastened by a jewel. Her hair is elaborately dressed with braids and pearls that resemble ancient statues *all'antica*. Her title *REGINA CHRISTINA* (Queen Christina) surrounds her portrait, but without her previously designated titles, Queen of Swedes, Goths and Vandals.

The reverse depicts *Dea Roma*, an allegorical figure representing the Eternal City, seated on a panoply of armour and weapons. With her left, she grasps a spear, and in her right hand, she holds an orb upon which stands a *Victoriola*, a small, winged *Victory*. The *Victoriola* is about to crown *Dea Roma* with a laurel wreath. *Dea Roma* was well established in ancient Roman iconography and repeatedly appeared on coins during the whole Roman Empire as illustrated by the following example (fig. 4).<sup>28</sup> The coin depicts *Dea Roma* sitting on a throne, surrounded by weapons and her shield. She holds a spear in her left hand, and on her right hand, a *Victoriola* is about to crown her with a laurel wreath. The image is the same as on the medal, and Christina, who was an enthusiastic collector of ancient coins, could have sought out one of these as inspiration for this particular medal.<sup>29</sup>

The image on the medal is surrounded by a Latin text *POSSIS NIHIL VRBE ROMA VISERE MAIUS*, which reads in translation "May you never be able to behold anything greater than the city of Rome". The verse derives from Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*, a mythological and religious hymn addressed to Apollo and Diana, commissioned by Emperor Augustus for the Secular Games in 17 B.C. The extract chosen for the medal addresses the sun and reads in total: "Life-giving Sun who with your shining car bring forth the day and hide it away, who are born anew and yet the same may you never be able to behold anything greater than the city of Rome".<sup>30</sup> To employ this verse in combination with the image of *Dea Roma* is undoubtedly suitable, especially considering the fact that Christina had chosen Rome as her city of residence. Additionally, *Dea Roma*'s attributes, the *Victoriola*, might also refer to Christina's triumph, which was what her trusted friend Cardinal Decio Azzolino called her abdication – a *Victoria Maxima* – the reason that brought Christina to Rome.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, by viewing the inscription through the lens of intertextuality, it becomes apparent that the words could say more than the obvious – that Rome is the most marvellous place on earth.

In his poem, Horace praises Rome, and so does Christina. However, the knowledge of the whole verse – that it addresses the sun – offers an additional layer of interpretation. Because, besides comparing herself with the goddess of wisdom, Minerva, Christina frequently used to be represented as the sun, just like so many other rulers during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and she did so especially on medals (fig. 5).<sup>32</sup> Viewing the *Dea Roma*-medal with this information in mind, I suggest that the reference to Christina not only dwells in her portrait on the obverse but also in the quote written on the reverse. Consequently, the medal invites us to 'view' Christina on both sides.<sup>33</sup> The statement to never behold anything more magnificent than the city of Rome was, of course, addressed to the viewer of the medal. Since Christina embodied the sun as well, the medal, by Horace's verse, also spoke to the 'original' addressee. Thus, the sun, here Christina, would never behold anything more marvellous than the Eternal City.



1 Medal, silver, coined, ø 55.94 mm, 73.45 g, artist: Lars Grandel (1750-1836), Rome and Stockholm



2 Medal, silver, coined, ø 55.42 mm, 57.39 g, artist: Sebastian Dadler (1586-1657), Stockholm



3 Medal, bronze, coined, ø 62.02 mm, 93.09 g, artist: Massimiliano Soldani Benzi (1656-1740), Rome



4 Coin, bronze, coined, ø 35.2 mm, 27.29 g, '1 Sestertius', Nero A.D. 37-68 (issuer, depicted), Rome, c. A.D. 66



5 Medal, bronze, coined, ø 62.6 mm, 85.36 g, artist: Massimiliano Soldani Benzi, Rome

In addition to the image and literary source, the medal's material, bronze, further connotes to Roman coins or antique Greek statues, thereby even underlining the 'antique' character of the medal. The sculptor and medalist Massimiliano Soldani Benzi (1656-1740) was hired to execute the medal.<sup>34</sup> Still, the iconography suggests that Christina, who was one of the most learned women of her time, likely provided the design for the medal. All in all, the Queen invented a clever conglomerate of ancient subjects, by material, image and literary motif, and the medal's rich allusion to Antiquity is impeccable. Christina thereby becomes one with Rome and one with Antiquity.

### **A changed Antiquity**

While Christina took up residence in Rome, the fascination for Antiquity increased in Sweden, not the least because of the peregrinations of members of the nobility, the grand tour that led many young aristocrats

and artists to Rome.<sup>35</sup> Some of the young Swedish noblemen even called on Christina in Rome. So did, for instance, Nicodemus Tessin the younger (1654-1728), who was particularly amazed by her vast art collection.<sup>36</sup> Rome and the classical monuments left a lasting impression on Tessin. When he had returned to Sweden, he became court architect and thereby also one of the most influential propagators of Italian Baroque and antique inspired art and architecture.<sup>37</sup> The Roman influences revealed themselves in the cityscape of Stockholm, and likewise, the Swedish nobility's desire for an antique flair expressed itself in art, ballet and literature.<sup>38</sup>

However, approximately one hundred years after Tessin's grand tour of Rome, the fascination for Antiquity had changed its expression in Sweden. Beginning with the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, extravagant portraits depicting rulers as Roman gods were no longer in fashion. This downscaled version of Antiquity went hand in hand with the changing political landscape. While monarchs once were crowned by God's grace and autonomous rulers, Sweden had been, as mentioned at the beginning, a constitutional monarchy since 1719 and governed by a parliament consisting of the *Estates* (the nobility, burghers, clergy, and peasants).<sup>39</sup> The monarch had, in principle, no active political role. Therefore, society would undoubtedly regard it negatively if the king or even a nobleman compared himself to a Roman god on a medal. Nonetheless, the inclination towards Antiquity was still active; it was just more subtle than before.

The following medal depicts a jugate portrait of the king and queen<sup>40</sup>, Adolf Frederick from the House of Holstein Gottorp (1710-1771) and Louisa Ulrika of Prussia (1720-1782) (fig. 6).<sup>41</sup> The couple's titles encircle the portraits and confirm their identity. Adolf Frederick wears a wig, fashionably tied back, and a cuirass under which glimpses of his shirt and scarf are visible. Louisa Ulrika is likewise dressed in a fashionable gown, showing a low neckline adorned with pearls. The jugate portrait displays a slight variation of the medal's relief – a background (Louisa Ulrika) and a foreground (Adolf Frederick), while their two busts are joined by a royal sash depicting the Swedish crowns.

In comparison to Christina's medal, the reverse does not illustrate any antique-inspired imagery. It shows the sun breaking through clouds and shining above a rocky landscape. A river meanders between the mountains and small tufts of grass. Almost unnoticeable on the left hilltop, the viewer is able to detect a winding tower, and, equally hidden, smoke rising from a tiny house. These small signs of human activity in combination with the majestic mountains suggest that the image displays a mine. The Latin inscription surrounding the image *NEC VIDISSE SEMEL SATIS EST* translates "to have seen it once is not enough".<sup>42</sup> The image does present a serene view, but the viewer of the medal would still be prompted to question if the inscription carries further associations, perhaps an eloquent riddle.

Rightly so, the inscription transmits an additional insight into the overall topic communicated by the medal. The text derives from the *Aeneid*, to be specific from Aeneas's journey to the underworld that he undertook under the guidance of the Cumaean Sybil. The line itself recounts the moment when Aeneas's fallen friends see him in the underworld, curiously wondering why he has come there. Still, the verse's connection to the image depicted on the medal remains hidden, because what do Aeneas and the royal couple have in common?

The following medal is the result of a journey and a gift. In 1750, Adolf Frederick and Louisa Ulrika travelled through Sweden visiting the country's treasures, among them the silver mine in Sala.<sup>43</sup> Delighted by the unusual experience, they immediately planned to call on the Royal Board of Mines, responsible for Sweden's mining endeavours to learn more about the country's resources. The Royal Board of Mines was particularly charmed by Adolf Frederick and Louisa Ulrika and wished to commemorate the great respect the royal visit entailed. They struck two medals made of gold mined in the Swedish goldmine Ädelfors. One medal was formally given to Louisa Ulrika for her to put in her collection, and the other one was placed in the collection owned by the Royal Board of Mines.<sup>44</sup>

As custom required, the royal couple reciprocated the gift and issued a medal in return; namely the one presented above. Besides responding to the preceding gift, Adolf Frederick and Louisa Ulrika had to exceed it, and they did so by charging the medal with a witty undertone. They chose an apt inscription to accompany the

medal's image, which in addition to charming the Royal Board of Mines would also spark a conversation. Because, by reading the inscription word by word, the viewer could understand the couple's enjoyment of the visit to the mine. However, being aware of the verse's original context would present the viewer – the Royal Board of Mines – with a sophisticated analogy; namely that Adolf Frederick and Louisa Ulrika, like Aeneas, had travelled to the underworld, since a mine also was situated below the surface of the earth. The medal edition, which Adolf Frederick and Louisa Ulrika commissioned and financed was given in gold to the board's president and in silver to the remaining members.<sup>45</sup>

While for today's viewer the medal exchange might seem somewhat peculiar, during the 18<sup>th</sup> century these sorts of interactions were part of the political game, and the involved parties nourished these relationships by gifts and pleasantries to keep them flourishing. Also, maintaining good relations with companies such as the Royal Board of Mines was particularly crucial because they oversaw the country's treasures, which lent Sweden cultural and financial prestige, very similar to well-tended fields or productive manufactories.<sup>46</sup>

The same year, King Frederick I (1676-1751), Adolf Frederick's predecessor, was likewise involved in a medal celebrating the founding of *Jernkontoret*, the industrial organisation of iron manufacturing (fig. 7).<sup>47</sup> The obverse depicts Frederick I in profile, wearing a peruke, cuirass and royal sash, and surrounded by his titles. The reverse displays an anvil, bellow, hammer, cornucopia and a caduceus placed in a non-specific landscape. The inscription, written like a semicircle above the image reads *HORTOR AMARE FOCOS* (I urge you to love your hearths).<sup>48</sup> Again, reading the inscription word by word would provide a sufficient connection to the image; however, what would the knowledge of the original context of the literary source reveal?



6 Medal, silver, coined, ø 51.42mm, 57.65g, artist: Daniel Fehrman (1710-1780), Stockholm



7 Medal, silver, coined, ø 54.96mm, 72.69g, artist: D. Fehrman, Stockholm

Sources for images: Uppsala University coin cabinet



The inscription has its origin in the *Aeneid* and refers to the wandering Trojans, who thought that they had found their new home in Crete.<sup>49</sup> In its original context, the word *focos* alludes to the stove of a home, and Aeneas encourages the Trojans, tired of their exhausting journey, to build a new home for them. Here, it seems, the acquaintance with the literary source would rather confuse the interpretation of the medal, and indeed, it does not provide additional clarification of the image. Instead, it offers something different. This seemingly far-fetched connection to the literary source hides a play with words. The word *focos* (lat. *focus, foci*) can relate to both hearths, fireplaces and the stove at home. Therefore, it often stands metonymically for 'home' or, in general, any human-built fireplace, and consequently, also the hearth of a smithy, which would include anvil, bellow and hammer. Thus, like Aeneas encouraged his companions to love their newly found home, *Jernkontoret* celebrated the manufacturing of iron. Iron was for a long time Sweden's most important export good, which is why, in essence, the hearts of the Swedish smithies actually provided for the hearths at home. Such a play with image and words was particularly appreciated, and the solution of such riddles would be an enjoyable game.

The *Aeneid* was among the most frequently read ancient texts during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and therefore it comes as no surprise that verses were commonly picked from Vergil's work to embroider the topics communicated by medals. In that way, these rather young industrial organisations employed the tradition of Antiquity by incorporating an antique flair and transmitting a noble elegance and excellence.

During the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the interest in the classical heritage was prominent in the whole of Europe. This tendency is not least noticeable in the designation 'Neoclassical' that was given to the movement. Architecture and the decorative arts are today perhaps the most prominent indicators of this period, but activities such as collecting coins and medals were likewise references to Antiquity. Collecting, exchanging and discussing these objects became a social engagement and an ideal opportunity to exhibit one's cultural interest and knowledge about art and literature.<sup>50</sup> Thus, it appears self-evident that not only medals were chosen to commemorate Adolf Frederick's and Louisa Ulrika's visit to the mine, or the founding of *Jernkontoret*, but also that these objects were supposed to carry references to antique literature.

## Summary and conclusions

Coming back to the question posed in the beginning: in what ways are the classical topoi reused and adapted to the new context? It could be answered by stating that ancient literature – Vergil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* appear as the most popular sources<sup>51</sup> – inspiring not only the visual execution of the medal but also influencing the possibilities of interpretation. Sometimes the literary source was slightly changed and thereby gained an altered association, and sometimes the inscription and image were merely peripherally related, or even appeared far-fetched. However, the inscription on the medal was always in dialogue with the original text, and the original context of the literary source was a vital part of viewing the medal. Christina's reference to the sun would have remained hidden if the viewer of the medal had not recognised Horace's verse. Likewise, the comparison of the royal couple's visit to a mine with Aeneas's trip to the underworld would have gone unnoticed if the viewer had not identified the allusion. Nonetheless, the connection could also be simple and straightforward, like Gustav III's reference to Perseus.

To conclude, the cases have shown that references to Antiquity could present themselves in a variety of shapes. Enfolded the inscriptions and highlighting their original context enhanced the iconographic analysis of the medals and allowed a better understanding (of the above-discussed objects closer to their intended purpose. The Latin words and the story that they conveyed were believed to be eternal and, just like the medal, were believed to endure time. Thereby, the medal, by both text and image, not only reinforced the flair of Antiquity, it even transformed the very same and brought it to life again.

- 1 B. E. HILDEBRAND, *Sveriges och svenska konungahusets minnespenningar, praktmynt och belöningsmedaljer*, Stockholm, Kongl. vitterhets historie och antiquitets akademiens förlag, 1875, vol. 2, no. 20, p. 153. Hildebrand is still considered as the standard reference work for Swedish (royal) medals. It is not illustrated and each number refers to a medal-edition and offers a short description of image, inscription and the author's suggestion on why the medal was issued.
- 2 OVID, *Metamorphoses* 4.703. The verse quotes Perseus' words claiming Andromeda after he saved her from the dragon. Translation: *Loeb Classical Library*: [https://www.loebclassics.com/view/ovid-metamorphoses/1916/pb\\_LCL042.229.xml](https://www.loebclassics.com/view/ovid-metamorphoses/1916/pb_LCL042.229.xml) (accessed 9 March 2020).
- 3 On the introduction of Sweden's monarchy during the 'Age of Liberty' read J. NORDIN, *Frihetstidens monarki: konungamakt och offentlighet i 1700-talets Sverige*, Stockholm, Atlantis, 2009.
- 4 For an introduction to Gustav III's reign, his medals and more references cf. M. ALM, *Kungssord i elfte timmen: språk och självbild i det gustavianska enväldets legitimitetskamp 1772-1809*, Stockholm, Atlantis, 2002.
- 5 On Louis XIV of France's *Histoire Métrallique* see, for instance: S. DE TURCKHEIM-PEY, *Médailles du Grand Siècle: histoire métrallique de Louis XIV*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2004; R. WELLINGTON, *Antiquarianism and the visual histories of Louis XIV: artifacts for a future past*, Surrey, England, Ashgate, 2015, pp. 39-77.
- 6 In general, monarchs and noblemen all over Europe employed the practice of associating themselves with Antiquity. For other examples see, for instance: *Early modern visual allegory: embodying meaning*, C. L. BASKINS-L. ROSENTHAL (eds.) Burlington, Routledge 2007; *Shaping heroic virtue: studies in the art and politics of supereminence in Europe and Scandinavia*, S. FOGELBERG ROTA-A. HELLERSTEDT (eds.), Brill's studies in intellectual history vol. 249, Leiden, Brill, 2015; *Die Repräsentation der Habsburg-Lothringischen Dynastie in Musik, visuellen Medien und Architektur, ca. 1618-1918*, W. TELESKO (ed.), Vienna, Böhlau Verlag, 2017.
- 7 M. ALM, "Royalty, legitimacy and imagery: the struggles for legitimacy of Gustavian absolutism", in: *Scandinavian journal of history*, vol. 28:1, 2003, pp. 19-36.
- 8 Drafts and concepts for Gustav III's *Histoire Métrallique* are located in the Swedish National Archive: RA. ATA/Riksantikvarieämbetet, Gemensamma handlingar, F11: "Handlingar rörande planschverket över Gustav III:s medaljer".
- 9 The study of medal art leans on a long tradition of research. For more references see: S. K. SCHER, *The currency of fame: portrait medals of the Renaissance*, New York, H.N. Abrams in association with the Frick Collection, 1994 or most recently *The Scher collection of commemorative medals*, S. K. SCHER-A. NG-C. EIMER (eds.) in association with the Frick Collection, New York, 2019. For the use of text on medals in particular see: J. JACQUIOT "L'importance de la médaille pour la diffusion des idées", in: *La medaglia d'arte: atti del primo convegno internazionale di studio, Udine 10-12 ottobre 1970*, Udine, 1973, pp. 29-40; G. POLLARD, "Text and Image", in: *Perspectives on the Renaissance medal*, S. K. SCHER (ed.) New York, Garland Publ. [u.a.], 2000, pp. 149-164.
- 10 So far, no all-encompassing overview of the history of Swedish medal art has been written. Instead, scholars have touched upon the subject from a variety of angles: most common the oeuvre of medal artists or medals thematising one ruler, such as Gustavus Adolphus or Queen Christina. See S. STENSTRÖM, *Arvid Karlsteen. Hans liv och verk*, Göteborg, Rundqvists boktryckeri, 1944; N. L.RASMUSSEN, "Medaillen auf Christina. Eine Skizze", in: *Queen Christina of Sweden. Documents and Studies*, M. v. PLATEN (ed.), Nationalmusei Skriftserie Nr. 12, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, 1966, pp.296-321; On medals issued in Sweden by non-royals see M. TUNEFALK, *Äreminnen: personmedaljer och social status i Sverige cirka 1650-1900*, Lund, Nordic Academic Press, 2015.
- 11 Cf. E. SVENBERG, "Hur citerades latintexter på svenska kungamedaljer?", in: *Numismatiska Meddelanden*, no. XXXIV, 1983, pp. 197-205.
- 12 *Topos/topoi* refers to the literary theme or motif.
- 13 J. CUNNALLY, *Images of the illustrious: numismatic presence in the Renaissance*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1999; *The rebirth of antiquity: numismatics, archaeology and classical studies in the culture of the Renaissance*, A. M. STAHL-G. OBERFRANC (eds.) Princeton, Princeton University Library, 2009.
- 14 HORACE, *Odes* 3:30. 'The poets monument' Translation: *Loeb Classical Library*: [https://www.loebclassics.com/view/horace-odes/2004/pb\\_LCL033.217.xml](https://www.loebclassics.com/view/horace-odes/2004/pb_LCL033.217.xml) (accessed 9 March 2020).
- 15 For an overview of the development of medal art and more references see: G. SATZINGER, *Die Renaissance-Medaille in Italien und Deutschland*, Münster, Rhema, 2004; *Wettstreit in Erz: Porträtmedaillen der deutschen Renaissance*, W. CUP-

- PERI-M. HIRSCH-A. KRANZ-U. PFISTERER (eds.), Berlin, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2013; B. BLASS-SIMMEN, "The medal's contract. On the emergence of the portrait medal in the quattrocento", in: *Inventing faces: rhetorics of portraiture between Renaissance and Modernism*, C. FRAMM-D. REIMANN-S. HOFFMAN (eds.) Berlin, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2013, pp. 29-43; S. D. VOLZ, *Spiegel-Bild der Macht: die Porträtmedaillen Francescos II. da Carrara Novello von 1390*, Berlin, Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Berlin, 2017.
- 16 For a general overview read, for instance, *The image of the individual: portraits in the Renaissance*, N. MANN-L. SYSON (eds.), London, British Museum, 1998.
- 17 The oxymoron of ideal and truthful likeness implies that the medal was supposed to depict a accurate portrait but likewise ideal in the sense that it depicted the monarch as he/she wished to be perceived. E.g. Gustav III's portrait (truthful) and Gustav III as Perseus (ideal).
- 18 Especially emblems' multifunctionality interacts well with medals' visual execution. For the history of emblems and further references see: A. HENKEL-A. SCHÖNE, *Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1967; J. MANNING, *The Emblem*, London, Reaktion Books, 2002; C-P. WARNCKE, *Symbol, Emblem, Allegorie*, Köln, Deubner Verlag für Kunst, 2005.
- 19 L. SYSON, "Circulating a Likeness? Coin Portraits in Late Fifteenth-Century Italy", in: *The image of the individual: portraits in the Renaissance*, *op. cit.*, 1998.
- 20 SYSON, *op. cit.*, 1998; A. ESCH, "Der König beim Betrachten einer Medaille", in: *Westfalia Numismatica*, vol. 2001, pp. 101-103.
- 21 A. FLATEN, "Identity and the Display of Medaglia in Renaissance and Baroque Europe", in: *Word&Image* 19, no. 1-2, January 2003, pp. 59-73.
- 22 J. KRISTEVA, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Language and Art*, T. GORA-A. JARDINE-L. S. ROUDINEZ (trans.), L. S. ROUDINEZ (ed.), New York, Columbia University Press, 1980. For a general overview of intertextuality and more references see M. ORR, *Intertextuality: debates and contexts*, Cambridge, Polity, 2003, pp. 20-32.
- 23 For more references see: K. W. FORSTER, "Aby Warburg's History of Art: Collective Memory and the Social Mediation of Images", in: *Daedalus*, vol. 105, no. 1, 1976, pp. 169-176; C. D. JOHNSON, *Memory, metaphor, and Aby Warburg's Atlas of images*, Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell University Press, 2012.
- 24 HILDEBRAND, *op. cit.*, 1874, p. 153. vol. 1, no. 20, p. 268; H. MAUË, *Sebastian Dadler: 1586-1657. Medaillen im Dreissigjährigen Krieg*, Nuremberg, Verl. des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 2008, pp. 114-115.
- 25 For more information and references about Christina's life see, for instance, M-L. RODÉN, *Drottning Christina: en biografi*, Stockholm, Prisma, 2008; in regard to her early days in Rome, pp.169-193. In general the research on Queen Christina is vast. For a list of publications see Christina Akademien <http://www.christina-akademien.se/kallor/bibliografi/> (accessed 9 March 2020).
- 26 Probably because Massimiliano Soldani Benzi, who was hired to execute the medals, was sent to Paris by his patron Cosimo III de' Medici. Cf. V. BIERMANN, "The Virtue of a King and the Desire of a Woman? Mythological representations in the collection of Queen Christina", in: *Art History*, vol. 24:2, 2001, pp. 213-230. On the medal-project see: C. BILDT, *Les médailles romaines de Christine de Suède*, Rome, 1908; K. AUNE, *Display as Identity: Queen Christina of Sweden's Construction of a Public Image through Her Stanza Dei Quadri*, master thesis, Texas Christian University, 2015, pp. 54-55.
- 27 HILDEBRAND, *op. cit.*, 1874, vol. 1, no. 88a, p. 302; BILDT, *op. cit.*, 1908, PL. XII, pp. 91-93.
- 28 Another well-known representation of the goddess is the Dea Roma-sculpture on the Piazza del Campidoglio in Rome.
- 29 Already in 1650, medals were struck with a similar depiction of a sitting woman dressed in harness and with a Victoriola, but without any inscription. Compare e.g. HILDEBRAND, *op. cit.*, 1874, vol. 1, no. 51, p. 282. On Christina's numismatic collection see. H. GAEBLER, "Die Münzsammlung der Königin Christina von Schweden", in: *Corolla Numismatica, Numismatic Essays in Honour of Barclay V. Head*, London, Frowde, 1906, pp. 368-386; On this particular coin <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:alvin:portal:record-110298> (accessed 18 March 2020).
- 30 HORACE, *Carmen Saeculare*, 11. Translation: *Loeb Classical Library* [https://www.loebclassics.com/view/horace-hymn\\_new\\_age/2004/pb\\_LCL033.263.xml?rskey=fuVhla&result=2](https://www.loebclassics.com/view/horace-hymn_new_age/2004/pb_LCL033.263.xml?rskey=fuVhla&result=2) (accessed 9 March 2020).
- 31 L. H. ZIRPOLO, "Severed Torsos and Metaphorical Transformations: Christina of Sweden's 'Sale delle Muse' and 'Clytie' in the Palazzo Riario-Corsini", in: *Aurora: The Journal of the History of Art*, vol. 9, November 2008, p. 47. Zirpolo's translation

- from Italian to be found in note 48. “Ma tanta Gloria ha ceduto a quella della sua abdicazione, in cui essa trionfò di se stessa con la più splendida delle vittorie, ponendo il mondo ai suoi piedi, ed è questa vittoria che merita di esser chiamata la più grande, Victoria Maxima.”
- 32 HILDEBRAND, *op. cit.*, 1874. Illustrated here is vol. 1, no. 96 p. 309. Additionally, Christina is depicted as the sun on no. 76-77, and no. 95-102. Most famously, the French king, Louis XIV compared himself to the sun, P. BURKE, *The fabrication of Louis XIV*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1992.
- 33 Aune and Popp do not connect the inscription of the medal to its original context. Also, both suggest that Christina is portrayed as the goddess Minerva, although this representation does not correspond with Minerva’s general iconography. AUNE, *op. cit.*, 2015, p. 55; N. A. POPP, *Expressions of Power: Queen Christine of Sweden and patronage in Baroque Europe*, PhD Thesis, University of Iowa, 2015, p.343.
- 34 For more references on Soldani see K. LANKHEIT. Soldani (Benzi) Massomiliano, *Grove Art Online* (2003) <https://www-oxfordartonline-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/groveart/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oao-9781884446054-e-7000079602#oao-9781884446054-e-7000079602> (accessed 18 March 2020).
- 35 Antique-inspired imagery was present in Sweden since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, however, because of the increased contact to Italy during the 17<sup>th</sup> century this tendency grew noteworthy. On the Swedish grand tour read. O. WINBERG, *Den statskloka resan: adelns peregrinationer 1610-1680*, Uppsala, Uppsala universitet, 2018.
- 36 N. TESSIN-O. SIRÈN, *Nicodemus Tessin d.y:s studieresor i Danmark, Tyskland, Holland, Frankrike och Italien: anteckningar, bref och ritningar*, Stockholm, Norstedt, 1914.
- 37 For more information and references on Tessin see: M. SNICKARE, *Enväldets riter: kungliga fester och ceremonier i gestaltning av Nicodemus Tessin den yngre*, Stockholm, Raster, 1999; N. TESSIN-M. LAINE-B. MAGNUSSON, *Nicodemus Tessin the Younger: sources, works, collections. Travel notes 1673-77 and 1687-88*, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, 2002. About Tessin’s work at the Royal Palace in Stockholm see *The gallery of Charles XI at the Royal Palace of Stockholm - in perspective*, L. HINNERS-M. OLIN-M. ROSSHOLM LAGERLÖF (eds.), Stockholm, Kungl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitets akademien, 2016.
- 38 *Baroque dreams: art and vision in Sweden in the era of greatness*, A. ELLENIUS, (ed.), Uppsala, Acta Universitatis Upsalensis, 2003.
- 39 C. WOLFF, “Aristocratic Republicanism and the Hate of Sovereignty in 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Sweden”, in: *Scandinavian Journal of History*, vol. 32, no. 4, December 2007, pp. 358-375.
- 40 In 1743, Adolf Frederick from the House of Holstein Gottorp was elected heir to Frederick I. Adolf Frederick and Louisa Ulrika of Prussia were the crown prince couple until 1751.
- 41 HILDEBRAND, *op. cit.*, 1875, vol. 2, no. 19, p. 95.
- 42 VERGIL, *Aeneid*. 6.487. Translation: *Loeb Classical Library*: [https://www.loebclassics.com/view/virgil-aeneid/1916/pb\\_LCL063.567.xml](https://www.loebclassics.com/view/virgil-aeneid/1916/pb_LCL063.567.xml) (accessed 9 March 2020).
- 43 E. TUNELD-N. W. FORSSLUND, *Erik Tunelds Geografi öfver konungariket Sverige Bd 2 Innehållande landskaperna Nerike, Westmanland och Dalarne*, Stockholm, Ecksteinska tr., 1828 p. 240.
- 44 HILDEBRAND, *op. cit.*, 1875, vol. 2, no. 18, pp. 94-95.
- 45 The additional text, which is written in the medal’s exergue references to the couple’s visit, the Board’s reception and thoughtful and generous gift. It reads *GRATAS AUGUSTIS REGII COLL[egii] MET[allorum] CURAS* (The Royal Board of Mines for the esteemed guests welcome attention). HILDEBRAND, *op. cit.*, 1875, vol. 2, no. 19, p. 95.
- 46 Medals commemorating or celebrating mines were not unique for Sweden. Other example is V. HAMMER, “Bergbau auf Medaillen unter Maria Theresia”, in: *Zuhanden Ihrer Majestät: Medaillen Maria Theresias: Ausstellung des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien, 28. März 2017 bis 18. Februar 2018*, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2017, pp. 68-75. Also the Swedish King Charles XI (1655-1697) issued a medal commemorating his visit to the silver-mine in Sala in August 1687. HILDEBRAND, *op. cit.*, 1874, vol. 1, no. 103-104, pp. 436-37.
- 47 Frederick, Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel (1676-1751) married Ulrika Eleonora the younger of Sweden (1688-1741) in 1715 and acted as prince consort from 1718-1720. Ulrika Eleonora abdicated in favour of Frederick, who was crowned in 1720.
- 48 HILDEBRAND, *op. cit.*, 1875, vol. 2, no. 66, p. 65.
- 49 VERGIL, *Aeneid*. 3.134. Translation: *Loeb Classical Library*: [https://www.loebclassics.com/view/virgil-aeneid/1916/pb\\_LCL063.381.xml](https://www.loebclassics.com/view/virgil-aeneid/1916/pb_LCL063.381.xml) (accessed 9 March 2020).

- 50 The list of 18<sup>th</sup>-century European numismatic collections is vast and would exceed a mere footnote, but for references on Swedish collectors read e.g. E. NATHORST-E. BÖÖS-I. WISÉHN, *Numismatiska forskare och myntsamlare i Sverige fram till 1830-talet*, Stockholm, Svenska numismatiska fören, 1987.
- 51 Cf. SVENBERG, *op. cit.*, 1983, pp. 197-205.

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**Ylva Haidenthaller**

**Preuzimanje i prilagodba antike: uporaba antičkih *toposa* na medaljama ranog modernog doba**

Ikonografija na medaljama jest ponajprije složena interakcija između slike i teksta, kao ni u jednom drugom likovnom mediju. Natpis je važan sastavni dio interpretacije medalje; najčešće se referira na antički tekst te je stoga neophodno kod istraživanja poznavati izvorni kontekst nastanka medalje. Natpis može upućivati na književni izvor, pritom nadopunjujući sliku i komunicirajući višeznačnu poruku. U ovom se radu predlaže uvođenje intertekstualnosti u ikonografsku analizu, kako bi se omogućilo iznalaženje značenja blisko izvornome. U tekstu se, na primjer, pokazuje da medalja s prikazom kraljice Kristine na prednjoj strani i Dea Roma na naličju, u kombinaciji s Horacijevim stihom - "neka nikada ne ugledate nešto veće od grada Rima" - sadrži dodatno tumačenje koje nije razumljivo samo uz prevođenje latinskih riječi. Horacijev stih izvorno se obraća suncu, pa je Kristina, koja se često uspoređivala sa suncem, svjesno iskoristila ovu aluziju. Gotovo stotinu godinu kasnije, prinčevski par Adolf Frederik i Luiza Ulrika obilježili su svoj posjet rudniku srebra u Sali izdavanjem medalje. Osim prikaza rudnika, medalja nosi stih iz *Eneide* o Enejevom putovanju u Podzemlje, pozivajući se na prinčevski boravak ispod zemlje. Budući da su medalje bile popularni medij za prenošenje poruka, ova aluzija nije prošla nezapaženo. Sadržavajući reference na antičke tekstove – književne tekstove koji su suđeni da traju i prenose velika djela budućim generacijama – uz oblike, namjenu i trajne materijale, medalje utjelovljuju nasljedovanje antike *per se*.

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