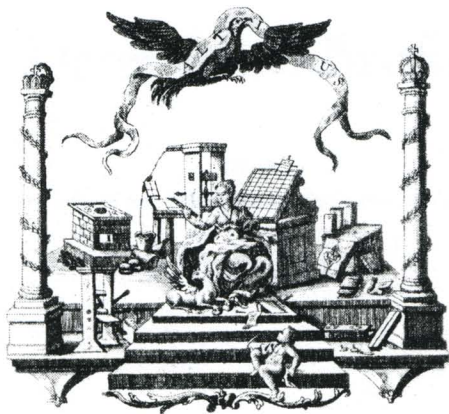


**Historische**  
**Numismatische Literatur-**  
**Belustigungen.**

Darinnen  
sorgfältige Beschreibungen allerhand merkwürdiger und rarer  
**numismatischer Werke, Aufsätze, Versteigerungs-Verzeichnisse und verschiedener Bemerkungen**  
die im XVIII. Jahrhundert im Druck außerhalb des Russischen Kaiserreiches erschienen,  
die sich auf  
**rußische Münzen, MEDAILLEN und Geldumlauf betreffen,**  
und jetzt in einer Privat-Sammlung  
in  
Philadelphia befinden.

**SUPPLEMENTUM III.**



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Philadelphia clō clō xii.

ИСТОРИЧЕСКІЯ  
НУМИЗМАТИЧЕСКІЯ ЛИТЕРАТУРНЫЯ  
РАЗВЛЕЧЕНІЯ.

содержащія

пщательно соспавленныя описанія всякихъ необыкновенныхъ и рѣдкихъ  
нумизматическихъ трудовъ, спашей, аукціонныхъ капалоговъ и разныхъ замѣпокъ  
появившихся въ XVIII вѣкѣ въ печати поза границами Россійской Имперіи,  
которыя имѣютъ отношеніе къ  
русскимъ Монетамъ, Медалямъ и Денежному обращенію  
и нынѣ находящіяся въ частной коллекціи  
въ  
Филадельфїи.

HISTORIC & NUMISMATIC  
REMARKS

which contain

carefully collected and described various curious and rare  
numismatic works, articles, auction catalogues and pertinent observations  
which appeared in print in the XVIII century outside the borders of the Russian Empire,  
that pertain to Russian Coins, Medals and Monetary Circulation  
and are now conserved in a private collection  
in  
Philadelphia.

SUPPLEMENTUM III.

*Philadelphia, Octobei 2012.*

Number of copies printed as of this date: ten in color only.

Text was set in Word for Windows 2000. Special German and Russian XVIII century type fonts were developed with Fontographer 4.1 using text in Köhler's «Münzbelustigung» and Musei Imperialis Petropolitani as samples. All plates were scanned in RGB at 150 dpi using Epson Perfection 4180 PHOTO scanner, retouched in Photoshop 7.0 and printed with Epson Stylus COLOR 3000 at 1440 dpi and HP LaserJet IV at 600 dpi.

Zur Erinnerung

an den Hochwohlgebohrnen

STARIN

A. A. Stachowitsch

1884-1959

den eifrigen

Forscher und Sammler

der Medaillen

von

Peter dem Großen

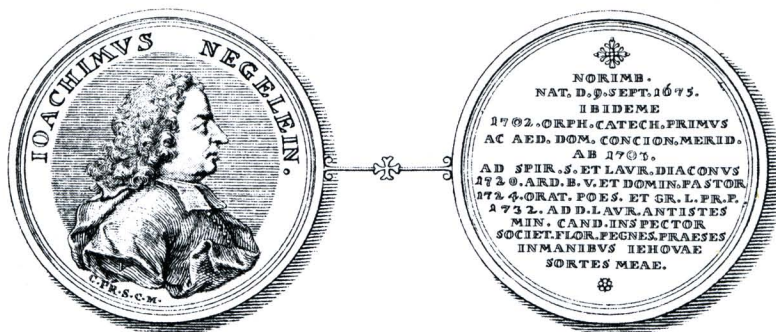
und

seiner Zeit.

# BIOGRAPHIES.

## Joachim Negelein, 1675—1749.

A biographical summary.



Joachim Negelein was born in Nürnberg on 9 Sept. 1675 of poor parents. His father Abraham, was a tailor and Joachim appears to have been his and his wife's Eva the only son. In his early childhood he has shown a remarkable keenness towards learning and in his early teens he already tutored children of parents of better means. At 14 he already was asked to act as a substitute teacher of Latin while all the time attending free or for small fee lectures and seminaria of noted professors in the Nürnberg area studying theology, philosophy and especially languages. Later he managed to attend the university of Altdorf near Nürnberg, where he participated in learned debates and dialogues in Latin and Greek. In 1697 he attained degree of Dr. of Theology and at the same time a unique academic recognition as a poet in Latin and German languages. As a culminating event in his life was that during the swearing-in ceremony of Emperor Charles the VI in 1712, Negelein was selected to present the Emperor with his welcoming poem. On this occasion several special medals were struck with dies cut by G.W. Vestner and P. H. Müller (P.H.M.). See F. Bernheimer, Nrs. 33, 35.

While still in his late teens, Negelein was selected as a private tutor by a wealthy family, which shortly thereafter sent him and his patrician student on a European tour, which included England. While there he attended parliament session where he shortly caught a glance of the king. He visited learned societies, the Oxford university and the Bodleian library. Before leaving England, he received numerous presents and gifts of scientific nature from the Oxford University and other scientific societies. Upon his return to Europe he continued his visiting rounds of historical sites and especially known theologians and men of science. In Nov. 1701 he returned to Nürnberg where various important positions awaited him in religious and charitable organization. At the same time he also taught classical Greek and for his literary enjoyment he joined the Pegnitz Floral Society (a literary society founded in 1644 — VA) of Nürnberg where he quickly rose in rank and stature. He held theological seminars, frequently was called to deliver sermons by several churches, where he was an honorary deacon. He was married twice and had 12 children by his first wife, all died at an early age and three other children by his second wife. One daughter grew up to be a well educated woman, but died in 1746 three years before her father succumbed from a heart stroke 24 June 1749.

His friend and colleague medalist Andreas Vestner, for whom Negelein composed numerous sketches for his medals, struck one in his honor and presented it to him while Negelein was still alive.

In Russian numismatics of the XVIII century Negelein has a special place. At the Easter Fair in Leipzig in 1710 he announced his forthcoming publication dealing with XVIII century medals which appeared in Nürnberg a year later under the title «Thesaurus Numismatum modernorum...» or Commemorative Medals of the XVIII cent in folio covering the first decade. It was being published piecemeal and beginning with the first and third issues which appeared in 1711 and 1712 for medals respectively for the years 1700 and 1702, it contained Russian medals or those struck abroad with relevance to Russia. In the ninth issue, appearing in 1715 for medals struck for events of 1708 we see the first medal attributed to Müller struck on Peter I victory at Leesno. In the last 11<sup>th</sup> issue appearing in 1717 with medals for the year 1709 we find two Müller medals one marked with P.H.M. and the other with just M. After a break of three years in 1720 appeared the first issue for the second decade of that century covering medals struck on events which occurred in 1710. It contained seven medals on Russian victories in the Baltic all marked with M. Over the years Negelein published 23 Russian medals or with relevance to Russian history, not counting the Swedish Rossica. Had Negelein continued his publication to the end of the reign of Peter I, this would have been an epoch making event. However it was interrupted with year 1710 and decades will pass before Russian medals will appear in XVIII century publications, but not in such numbers or in such quality of descriptions and engravings.

Thus, the history of Russian numismatics should recognize Negelein and his close friends in Augsburg Ph. H. Müller (P.H.M.) and his son Christian Ernst (1696-1776), who cut dies for all medals marked with letter M, as the first three who created an important historical suite of medals on the deeds and victories of Peter the Great of high artistic value and published with politically neutral descriptions and superb engravings. As a special and unique feature of the Thesaurus is that Negelein translated numerous Latin legends not in plain prose but in short poems.

I hope this presentation will be read and find resonance in Russia, and that all three men, especially Joachim Negelein, will find a deserving high place in Russian numismatics of the XVIII century.

#### Samples of Negelein's Latin translations:

The following illustrates this unique aspect of Thesaurus... On a P. H. Müller medal on Russian victory at Poltava in 1709, page 905, the Latin legend reads: HIC HONOR IN NOBIS INVIDIOSVS ERIT Ovid., which in plain German, English and Russian would be:

Sie werden unserem Ruhm neidisch sein.

They will be envious of our fame.

Намъ позавидуютъ въ сей славъ. /Nam pozaviduyut v sei slave.

However Negelein must have felt to be too bored with this plain text and put in the following verse:

**Wird schon der Neid sich noch so  
hefftig grämen/  
Er kan uns doch die Ehr des  
Siegs nicht nehmen.**

for which I would offer the reader my following English and Russian interpretations:

Should the envy feel sad and down

It still cannot take from us the victory we own.

Скорбитъ и плачетъ вражья рать

Но побѣды нашей ей не отобрать.

On reverse the Latin legend reads: POLTAVA MIRA CLADE INSIGNIS which in plain German, English and Russian would read:

Poltawa durch wunderbaren Sieg bekannt gemacht.

Miraculous victory made Poltava famous.

Полтава славно чудеснымъ пораженіемъ.

But put in verse it reads:

**Sier ist Pultava / so die ber-  
ühmte Schlacht  
und grosse Niederlag der Welt  
bekannt gemacht.**

for which I dare to offer the following free translations:

Here is Poltava's battle great  
whose victory

the world must not forget.

Вотъ Полтава и о ея

славной побѣдѣ

Всему міру повѣде.

#### Description of the medal (after Im Hof):

Eine Medaille, reichlich neunter Grösse, auf Joachim Negelein, ohene Jahrzal.

Die V. S. zeigt das linksgekehrte Brustbild, Joachim Negeleins, im Profil, mit runder Peruque, in geistlicher Kleidung, mit Mantel, und einem glatten Kraegelein. Auf dem Abschnitt des rechten Armes stehet V. das ist: der Nahme des Medailleurs, Vestner. Unter dem Arme aber stehet C. PR. S. C. M. das ist: Cum privilegio sacrae caesreae maiestatis. Die rechts anfangende Umschrift heist: /

IOCHIMVS NEGELEIN.

Zu aeusserst ist ringsherum ein doppelter glatter Zirkel. /

Die R. S. enthält in vierzehnen Zeilen folgende Aufschrift /

NORIMB.  
NAT. D. 9. SEPT. 1675.  
IBIDEM  
1702. ORPH. CATECH. PRIMVS  
AC AED. DOM. CONCION. MERID.  
AB 1703.  
AD SPIR. S. ET LAVR DIACONVS  
1720. AED. B. V. ET DOMIN. PASTOR  
1724. ORAT. POES. ET GR. L. PR. P.  
1732. AD D. LAVR. ANTISTES  
MIN. CAND. INSPECTOR  
SOCIET.FLOR. PEGNES. PRAESES.  
IN MANIBVS IEHOVAE  
SORTES MEAE.

Das ist: Norimbergae natus, die 9. Septembris 1675. ibidem 1702. orphanotropii catecheta primus, ac aedis Dominicanorum concionator meridianus, ab 1703. ad Spiritum sanctum et Laurentium Diaconus, 1720. aedis beatae uirginis et dominicanorum pastor, 1724. oratoriae, poeseos et graecae linguae Professor publicus, 1732 ad diuum Laurentium Antistes, Ministerii Candidatorum Inspector. Societis florigerae Pegnesiacae Praeses. In manibus Iehouae fortes meae. Oben ist eine Zierrath, wie eine vierblättrte Blume, und unten ist ein Roesgen. Zu auesserts ist ringsherum ein doppelter Zirkel,

Full size nine (40 mm) medal on Joachim Negelein without year.

The Av. shows in profile Joachim Negelein's bust turned to the left, in round perruque dressed in clerical coat and a plain collar. In truncation of the right arm letter V, which is the name of the medalist Vestner. Below the arm C. PR. S. C. M. which means: Cum privilegio sacre caesreae maiestatis. (With sacred privilege of His Majesty the King). The legend starting on the right reads:.

IOCHIMVS NEGELEIN.

To the outside a plain double ring.

Rev. in fourteen lines shows the following text: / See above /.

That is: Born in Nürnberg on 9. September 1675. 1702. was named to conduct the first sunday reading of catechism at the orphanage. and was named Dominican noon preacher 1703. Deacon at the church of the Holy Spirit, 1709 at St. Lorenz, and 1720 Dominican sheppard of the Blessed Virgin church, 1724. professor of oratory, poetry and Greek language, 1732 preacher at the church of St. Lorenz and inspector of candidates to the preacher's position. President of the Pegnitz Flower Society. In strong hands of my Jehova. Above a four leaf ornament and below a small rose. On the outside is a double ring.

#### Negelein's Works.

While most of Negelein's works found in the libraries are of theological nature such as learned sermons and eulogies, his numismatic publications although few, are outstanding. The famous Dr. Johann Köhler, the author of the «Historische Numismatische Belustigungen» 1729-1756 once said about Negelein's primary work *Thesaurus Numismatum modernorum...*: "which stopped its publication in 1720 with the 11th issue: "The future generation will be amazed that such a noble and useful work was abandoned and instead one used paper, time and cost for totally useless purposes".

1. Vorbericht von einem Werke: *Historia Seculi XIIX Numismatum*. Nürnberg 1710. 4<sup>o</sup>.
2. *Thesaurus numismatum modernorum hujus seculi*. 1700-1710. Nürnberg 1711-1720, fol. Dieß überall gerühmte Werk, worinnen Herr Negelein nach der Sammlung Hn. Melch. Körnleins, der in dem Schauamte zu Nürnberg bedient war, fast tausend moderne Münzen lateinisch und deutsch beschrieben, hat zu jedermans Bedauern mit dem 11ten Jahre aufgehöret. Der seel Köhler sagte deswegen: unsere Nachkommen werden erstaunen, daß man ein solches edles und nutzbares Werk hat liegen lassen und hingegen Papier, Zeit und Kosten mit vielem andern elenden Geschmiere verschwendet und verderbet hat.
3. Einleitung zur Medaillen oder Münz-Wissenschaft, zum Unterricht für diejenige, welche zu einer gründlichen Erkenntnis so wohl der Antiquen, als Modernen Münzen gelangen wollen... aus dem Französischen ins Teutsche übersetzt... Nürnberg 1738 in 8vo. Von diesem berühmten Werk von Jobert *La Science des Medailles*, Paris 1692, hat Negelein die zweite Paris 1716 Ausgabe übersetzt aber ohne seinen Namen beizugeben.

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- Im Hof, Cristoph Andreas IV, von und zu Helmstatt, — Sammlung eines Nürnbergischen Münz-Cabinet, welches mit vieler Mühe so vollstaendig, als moeglich, in wenig Jahren zusammengetragen, und sodann auf das genaueste beschrieben worden.. Nürnberg 1782, S. 846.

*В. Арефьевъ  
Филадельфія, іюль 2012.*

## **Іоахимъ Негеляйнъ, 1675—1749.** Біографическое резюме.

Іоахимъ Негеляйнъ родился въ Нюрнбергѣ 9 сентября 1675 г. въ бѣдной семьѣ. Его отецъ Авраамъ былъ портнымъ и Іоахимъ, судя по всему, былъ его и его жены Евы, единственный сынъ. Въ раннемъ дѣтствѣ онъ проявилъ замѣчательныя способности къ обученію и еще будучи подросткомъ уже былъ домашнимъ учителемъ дѣтей у болѣе богатыхъ родителей. Въ 14 лѣтъ ему уже было предложено мѣсто замѣны преподавателя латинскаго языка, но въ то же время онъ посѣщалъ и бесплатныя или за малую плату семинары и лекціи извѣстныхъ профессоровъ, происходившіе вблизи Нюрнберга. Онъ изучалъ теологію, философію и особенно интересовался изученіемъ европейскихъ языковъ. Спустя ему удалось поступить въ находящійся невдалекѣ Нюрнберга Альтдорфскій университетъ, гдѣ онъ принималъ участіе въ научныхъ дискуссіяхъ и діалогахъ на латинскомъ и древне-греческомъ языкахъ. Въ 1697 году онъ получилъ степень доктора теологіи и одновременно въ академическихъ кругахъ и уникальное признаніе его какъ поэта латинскаго и нѣмецкаго языковъ. Кульминаціоннымъ событіемъ въ этой области его жизни было то, что во время присяги Императора Карла VI въ Нюрнбергѣ въ 1712 г., Негеляйнъ былъ выбранъ чтобы представить Императору привѣтственное стихотвореніе. По этому случаю были отчеканены медали совмѣстной работы Г.В. Вестнера и Ф. Г. Мюллера (Р.Н.М.), см.: Bernheimer, №№ 33 и 35.

Еще будучи позднимъ подросткомъ Негеляйнъ получилъ мѣсто въ качествѣ частнаго репетитора единственнаго сына въ богатой семьѣ, которая вскорѣ отправила его и его новаго студента въ туръ по Европѣ, включая и Англію. Пребывая въ Англии, онъ посѣтилъ парламентъ гдѣ ему даже посчастливилось увидѣть короля. Далѣе онъ посѣщаетъ научныя общества, Оксфордскій университетъ и Бодлеанскую бібліотеку и передъ отъѣздомъ получилъ множество важныхъ для науки подарковъ отъ университета и разныхъ обществъ. Вернувшись на континентъ онъ продолжалъ оглядывать историческія достопамятности и посѣщаетъ особенно извѣстныхъ богослововъ и ученыхъ. Въ 1701 г. онъ со своимъ ученикомъ вернулись въ Нюрнбергъ, гдѣ его ожидали важныя должности въ разныхъ религиозныхъ и благотворительныхъ организаціяхъ. Одновременно онъ преподавалъ въ Альтдорфскомъ университетѣ древне-греческій языкъ, а для личнаго удовольствія вступилъ въ нюрнбергское общество Пегницкихъ Пастушковъ (литературное общество, осн.1644 — ВА), гдѣ онъ быстро возвысился по рангу и статусу. Негеляйнъ проводилъ богословскія семинары и



часто был приглашен читать проповеди в ряды церквей, где он состоял почетным дьяконом.

Он был дважды женат и от первой жены имел 12 детей, но все они умерли в раннем возрасте и трое дочерей от второй супруги. Одна дочь была хорошо образованная женщина, но скончалась в 1746 году за три года до того, когда и ее отец от сердечного инсульта оставил сей мир 24 июня 1749 г.

Его друг и коллега медальер Андреас Вестнер также житель Нюрнберга, для которого Негеляйн исполнил многочисленные эскизы медалей, еще при жизни Негеляйна вырзал и отчеканил в его честь медаль.

В русской нумизматике XVIII века Негеляйн занимает особое место. В 1710 году на Пасхальной Ярмарке в Лейпциге он опубликовал о предстоящем выпуске сборника медалей XVIII столетия, который увидит свет в Нюрнберге в 1711 году под заглавием *Thesaurus Numismatum modernorum* или Памятные медали первого десятилетия XVIII века in folio. И уже начиная с третьего выпуска в 1712 г. с медалями на 1702 год появляются на страницах сего Тезаурса как русские так и исполненные за рубежом на русские темы медали, а с девятого выпуска 1715 г. и первая медаль на 1708 г. Мюллеровской серии на сражение при Лесноме, но без обозначения медальера. В последнем одиннадцатом выпуске 1717 года с медалями на 1709 год было издано уже 2 Мюллеровские медали помеченные одна Р.Н.М. а другая М. С промѣжутком в три года вышел в 1720 г. 1-ый номер новой серии на второе десятилетие XVIII века с медалями 1710 года. В нем издано 7 русских медалей мюллеровской серии все с пометкой в рукаве буквы М. Всего на русские темы или русских медалей в Тезаурсе было издано 23 не считая шведскую Россику. Продолжая он свои издания до конца царствования Петра I, это для русской медалистики было бы эпохальным событием. Но этого не случилось и пройдут десятилетия прежде чем русские медали вновь появятся на страницах изданий XVIII века, но уже не в таком объеме и таком хронологическом порядке или таком художественном исполнении.

Так, в истории русской нумизматики Негеляйна и его других близких аугсбургских знакомых Ф. Х. Мюллера и его сына Христиана Эрнста (1696—1776), исполнившего все медали помеченные инициалами М следуют зачислить к первым трем, которые создали важную историческую серию медалей на дѣла и завоевания Петра Великого так изыскано опубликованных в Тезаурсе с четким политическим нейтральным описанием и художественно исполненными гравюрами. В качестве дополнительной уникальной особенностью автора Негеляйна это решение перевести некоторые латинские надписи на Мюллеровских русских медалях не в прозе, а в коротких стихах.

Если вышеизложенное будет прочитано и найдут отголосок в России, то я буду считать свое задание исполненным и эти три человека, особенно Иоахим Негеляйн, займут заслуженное ими место как первенцы ее развития.

Образцы перевода Негеляйном латинских легенд:

Ниже приводятся образцы перевода латинских легенд на медали Р. Н. Müller на побѣду под Полтавой в 1709 году, в *Thesaurus...* стр. 905: *NIC HONOR IN NOBIS INVIDIOSVS ERIT Ovid.*, которая в простом переводе на немецкий, английский и русский язык гласит:

*Sie werden unserem Ruhm neidisch sein.*

*They will be envious of our fame.*

Нам завидуют в сей славе.

Но Негеляйн предал ей поэтическую форму перевев как:

*Wird schon der Neid sich noch so*

*heftig grämen/*

*Er kan uns doch die Ehr des*

*Siegs nicht nehmen.*

которую я дерзнул перевести на английский и русский язык как:

Should the envy feel sad and down  
It still cannot take from us the victory we own.  
Скорбитъ и плачетъ вражья рать  
Но побѣды нашей ей не отобрать.

Легенда оборотной стороны гласитъ: POLTAVA MIRA CLADE INSIGNIS смыслъ которой можно перевести какъ:

Poltawa durch wunderbaren Sieg bekannt gemacht.  
Miraculous victory made Poltava famous.  
Полтава славна чудеснымъ поражениемъ.

и въ рифмѣ по-нѣмецки какъ:

*Sier ist Pultava / so die ber-  
ühmte Schlacht  
und grosse Niederlag der Welt  
bekannt gemacht.*

или въ свободномъ переводѣ:

Here is Poltava's battle great  
whose victory  
the world must not forget.  
Вотъ Полтава и о ея  
славной побѣдѣ  
Всему міру повѣде.

Описание медали въ честь Негеляна (согласно Имъ Гофу):

Медаль Іоахиму Негеляну полного девятого размѣра (40 мм), безъ года.

На лиц. сторонѣ погрудное профильное изображеніе Негеляна обращенное вправо въ кругломъ парикѣ въ одѣждѣ духовнаго лица съ простымъ воротничкомъ. Въ обрѣзѣ праваго плеча V, которое обозначаетъ инициалъ медальера Vestner. Ниже плеча C. PR. S. C. M. что значитъ Cum privilegio sacre caesareae maiestatis. или Со священной привилегіей Его Императорскаго Величества. Начанющаяся слѣва надпись:

IOCHIMVS NEGELEIN.

Обр. сторона: Вверху цвѣтокъ о четырехъ лепесткахъ, а внизу розетка. Вдоль окружности двойное кольцо. По срединѣ четырнадцатистрочная надпись (текстъ см. выше подъ англ. частью), которая означаетъ: Родился въ Нюрнбергѣ 9 сентября 1675 года. 1702 призванъ прочитать первый воскресный катехизисъ въ сиротскомъ домѣ. Возведенъ въ чинъ доминиканскаго проповѣдника 1703 въ храмъ Святаго Духа. Въ 1709 при храмъ Св. Лаврентія, а 1720 пастыремъ при храмъ Дѣвы Маріи. 1732 проповѣдникъ при храмъ Св. Лаврентія и инспекторъ кандидатовъ на постъ проповѣдниковъ. 1724 профессоръ краснорѣчія, поэзіи и греческаго языка. Президентъ Общества Пегнипккихъ Пастушковъ. Въ крѣпкихъ рукахъ Господнихъ.

Хотя большинство трудовъ Негелянъ находящихъся въ библіотекахъ богословскаго характера, такіе какъ ученые проповеди или рѣчи произнесенныя при торжествахъ или захороненіяхъ, лишъ немногія изъ нихъ написаны на нумизматическую тему. Знаменитый Іоаганнъ Келлеръ, авторъ популярнаго журнала «Historische Numismatische Belustigung» 1729-1756, однажды такъ высказался о трудѣ Негеляна Thesaurus Numismatum, № 2 внизу, которое прекратило свое изданіе въ 1720 году на 12-омъ выпускѣ: «Будущее поколѣніе будетъ удивлено тѣмъ, что такая благородная и полезная работа была прервана, а вмѣсто нея затрачены были бумага, время и деньги на что-то совершенно бесполезное». Последнимъ, кто также интересовался медалями въ частности и русскими, также сожалѣвшій о прекращеніи Тесаурса, былъ Карль Ленгнихъ изъ Данцига, высказываясь объ этомъ въ одномъ изъ своихъ нумизматическихъ изданійхъ 1780/90-хъ годовъ.

1. Vorbericht von einem Werke: Historia Seculi XIX Numismatum. Nürnberg 1710. 4<sup>o</sup>.

2. Thesaurus numismatum modernorum hujus seculi. Nürnberg (s.a.) 1711-1717, fol. Dieß überall gerühmte Werk, worinnen Herr Negelein nach der Sammlung Hn. Melch. Körnleins, der in dem Schauamte zu Nürnberg bedient war, fast tausend moderne Münzen lateinisch und deutsch beschrieben, hat zu jedermans Bedauern mit dem 11ten Jahre aufgehört. Der seel Köhler sagte deswegen: unsere Nachkommen werden erstaunen, daß man ein solches edles und nutzbares Werk hat liegen lassen und hingegen Papier, Zeit und Kosten mit vielem andern elenden Geschmiere verschwendet und verderbet hat.

3. Numismata Historica Anni MDCCX. Nürnberg (s.a.) 1720, fol.

4. Einleitung zur Medaillen oder Münz-Wissenschaft, zum Unterricht für diejenige, welche zu einer gründlichen Erkenntnis so wohl der Antiquen, als Modernen Münzen gelangen wollen... aus dem Französischen ins Teutsche übersetzt... Nürnberg 1738 in 8vo. Von diesem berühmten Werk von Jobert *La Science des Medailles*, Paris 1692, hat Negelein die zweite Paris 1716 Ausgabe übersetzt aber ohne seinen Namen beizugeben.

1. Проспектъ изданія труда: Исторія XVIII столѣтїя въ медаляхъ. Нюренбергъ 1710, 4<sup>o</sup>.

2. Сокровищница медалей сею столѣтїя или памятные медали на разныя событія чеканенныя начиная съ 1700 г... Нюренбергъ (б.г.) 1711-1717.

3. Историческія памятные медали 1710 года. Нюренбергъ (б.г.) 1720.

4. Введеніе въ науку о медаляхъ или монетахъ, для обученіе тѣхъ, которые пытаются получить основное познаніе какъ о современныхъ такъ и объ античныхъ монетахъ... изъ французскаго на нѣмецкій языкъ переложено. Нюренбергъ 1738. Переводъ второго французскаго изданія Jobert-a *La Science des Medailles* Парижъ 1716, первоначально вышедшаго въ 1692 году, безъ указанія имени переводчика.

#### Источники.

Will, G. A., Nürnbergisches Gelehrten-Lexicon oder Beschreibung aller Nürnbergischen Gelehrten... Theil III. N-S. Nürnberg 1757, S. 12-16.

Will, G. A., Eine schöne Medaille auf den berühmten und verdienten Herrn Joachim Negelein. Nürnbergische Münz-Belustigungen, fünftes Stück, 31. Jenner 1767, S. 33-40, ill.

Forster, A. von, — Die Erzeugnisse der Stempelschneidekunst in Augsburg und Ph. H. Müller's nach meiner Sammlung beschrieben und die Augsburger Stadtmünzen, Kommissionsverlag von Karl. W. Hiersemann, Leipzig 1910 mit Nachtrag 1914.

Gerlund, Werner, Neue Deutsche Biographie, Bd. 18. (1997) auch am Internet.

Lengnich, Chr., — Merkwürdigkeiten einer Münz- und Medaillensammlung in Danzig.. Journal von und für Deutschland. 8 Jahrgang, Königsberg 1791.

Щукина, Е. С., — Два века русской медали. Медальерное искусство в России 1700—1917 гг. Государственный Эрмитаж. Москва 2000. / Shchukina, E. S., Two centuries of Russian Medal. Medallistic art in Russia 1700—1917. State Hermitage. Moscow 2000.

Das Laufferische Medaillen-Cabinet oder Verzeichniss aller Medaillen, welche sowohl die historischen Begebenheiten von A. 1679. bis A. 1742 als auch andere Christlich- und Moralische Betrachtungen, nebst der vollkommenen Reihe der Römischen Päbste enthalten. Und noch itzo beständig zu finden, in Nürnberg bey Caspar Gottlieb Lauffern, des Hoch-Löbl. Fränkischen Kreises Münz-Rath und General-Münz-Waradin, Nürnberg 1742.

Im Hof, Cristoph Andreas IV, von und zu Helmstatt, — Sammlung eines Nürnbergischen Münz-Cabinet, welches mit vieler Mühe so vollstaendig, als moeglich, in wenig Jahren zusammengetragen, und sodann auf das genaueste beschrieben worden.. Nürnberg 1782, S. 846.

В. Арефьевъ

Филадельфія, іюль 2012.

## Philipp Heinrich Müller, Medalist, 1654 — 1719.

#### Persona.

Name: Müller, Philipp Heinrich

Name variant: Miller, Philipp Heinrich

Name variant: Myller, Philipp Heinrich

Name variant: Mýller, Philipp Heinrich (added by VA)

Vital Dates: 1654 to 1719

Place of Death: Augsburg

Pofession/SocialPosition: Medalist; Goldsmith

Religion: Evangelical

Author in Neue Deutsche Biographie (1997): Werner, Gerlund.

#### Genealogy.

Father: Hans Jakob Miller († 1678), Goldsmith in Augsburg, occasionally worked for the Augsburg Mint.

Mother: Barbara, the daughter of Paul Wachter († 1632), Goldsmith in Augsburg.

Married: 1682 Anna Elisabeth, daughter of Dr. med. Johann Ludwig Henesius. Had 3 sons, among them Christian Ernst (1696–1776), Goldsmith. – The proliferation of his family name caused some confusion and misidentifications in kinship. According to archival documents the younger son Christian Ernst became a Medalist and signed his work with M., C. M. or C. E. M.

### **Life.**

After training as a goldsmith in Augsburg (master level in 1682), Müller dedicated himself mainly to the die cutting profession. There are known about 260 coins and 400 medals, for which he created the dies, but he also carved private seals and the a tax stamp for the administration of the Bavarian electoral principality (Kurfürstentum). The superior quality of this work made him known beyond Germany. For the years 1677-1718 Müller delivered nearly all dies used by the Augsburg Mint for striking coins. As a regional mint Augsburg struck not only for the city and the Schwäbian district, but also for other subservian rulers in other parts of the Empire with priveledges of having own coinage. It was believed that a star in the legend identified his signature on many of these coins, but this very frequently used sign does not appear on his earlier coins, and since the 90ies it is used also by other die cutters and in accordance with the decree for the Upper Imperial Region of 1693, not to join the reform introduced in Saxony, this star can be interpreted rather as a currency sign. Clearly, the signature P. H. M. / P. H. Müller (Miller, Myller, (Müller VA)) on the medals, gained him even greater fame. It is believed that reason for this was, that the city on his initiative and under his guidance constructed a balancier (screw-press), one of the first in Germany; this made it possible a more precise reproduction also of smaller details and sharper reliefs compared to old coining techniques. Müller also supplied dies to other mints, especially to the private Nürnberg medals manufacturers Kaspar Gottlieb Laufer und Friedrich Kleinert, who introduced edge lettering. Except for short trips, Müller spent all his life in Augsburg; his bills to the builders of the city of Augsburg and their payments to him show no large time gaps. Not quite clear are his entrepreneurial activities in cooperation with Kleinert. Müller's work provides a comprehensive portrait gallery of the great men of his time, for which he was able to select such an angle between en face and profile giving a feeling of vitality which was not achieved for any person pictured by any other medalist. Fuller in excitement than by other medalists are his allegories for which he received ideas and designs from the city counsel or Leonhard Weiss, who befriended him. Of the medals struck for special occasions without a personal relevance to a particular private occasion such as marriage and baptism, friendly sayings and travel luck pieces, were copied for a long time especially the baptismal one portraying the baptismal process under a crucifix. His earliest medal is the congratulatory medal from the city of Augsburg on the occasion of the wedding of Emperor Leopold in 1676; to the other orders of this sort belong the council medals and an especially famous swear-in medal of the city counsel's elders of 1699. Nationwide significance had the medals on the occasion of coronation of the Empress Eleonore and the future Emperor Joseph I as the Roman Emperor 1699/1700 in Augsburg, as well as on the Reformation Jubilee in 1717 which appeared in several medals. His other medals commemorate and depict major themes of the time, particularly the military events of the war with Turkey over the occupation of Palatinate and the English-French break-ups up to the Spanish War of Succession in portraits and allegories, and also with city and detailed depictions of landscapes and battle scenes. The most numerous is the set consisting of 104 medals of Popes up to Pope Clemens XI.

### **Sources.**

Statdarchiv, Augsburg; Archiv der Evangelischen Gesamtgemeinde, Augsburg.

### **Literature.**

A. v. Forster, Die Erzeugnisse d. Stempelschneidekunst in Augsburg u. Ph. H. Müller's ..., 1910, Nachtrag 1914; Kf. Max Emanuel, Ausst.kat. München 1976; H. Selig, Die Kunst d. Augsburger Goldschmiede 1529-1868, Meister, Marken, Werke, 3 Bde. mit Suppl., 1980/94, Nr. 1791; Barock in Baden-Württemberg, Ausst.kat. Bruchsal 1981; G. Werner, Die Münzen d. Freien u. d. Hl. Röm. Reichs Stadt Augsburg (in Vorbereitung); ThB (fehlerhaft); Augsburger Stadtllex., hrsg. v. W. Baer u. a., 1985. – Zu Hans Jakob M., Paul Wachter u. Christian Ernst M.: H. Selig (s. o.).

*Translated from German by V. Arefiev, Philadelphia, July 2012.*

## Филипп Гайнрих Мюллер, медальер, 1654 — 1719.

### Persona.

Имя и фамилия: Müller, Philipp Heinrich

Также подь: Miller, Philipp Heinrich

Также подь: Myller, Philipp Heinrich

Также подь: Mÿller, Philipp Heinrich (добавлено BA)

Годы жизни: 1654 до 1719.

Гдѣ умерь: г. Аугсбургъ.

Профессія/Соціальное положеніе: Медальеръ; ювелирь.

Религій: протестантской.

Авторъ въ Neue Deutsche Biographie (1997): Werner Gerlund.

### Семейная хроника.

Отець: Hans Jakob Miller († 1678), аугсбургскій ювелирь, изредка исполняль заказы аугсбургскаго монетнаго двора.

Мать: Barbara, дочь Paul Wachter († 1632), аугсбургскаго ювелира.

Женать: 1682 Anna Elisabeth, дочь Dr. med. Johann Ludwig Henesius. Имѣль трехъ сыновей, въ числѣ которыхъ былъ Christian Ernst (1696–1776), ювелирь. Изъ-за особенной распространенности фамилии Мюллеръ, было много недоразуменій и ложныхъ опредѣленій личностей и родства. Согласно съ архивными данными младшій изъ сыновей Christian Ernst сдѣлался медальеромъ и подписывалъ свои работы инициалами M., C. M. или C. E. M.

### Жизнь.

Послѣ обученія въ качествѣ ювелира въ Аугсбургѣ (представленъ къ степени мастера въ 1682 г.), Мюллеръ посвятилъ себя главнымъ образомъ профессіи рѣзбы штемпелей. Извѣстны 260 монетъ и болѣе чемъ 400 медалей для которыхъ онъ вырезалъ штемпеля. Но вырѣзывалъ онъ также и штемпеля и для печатей частныхъ лицъ, а для Баварскаго Курфюрства сочинилъ также и ихъ налоговый штампъ. Высокое качество этихъ работъ сдѣлало его имя извѣстнымъ и за прелѣлами Германіи. Въ 1677–1718 гг. Мюллеръ исполнилъ почти всѣ использованныя Аугсбургскимъ монетнымъ дворомъ штемпеля; въ качествѣ окружнаго монетнаго двора, въ Аугсбургѣ чеканились не только монеты для города Аугсбурга и Швабскаго округа, или для другихъ округовъ Имперіи, а также и для лицъ въ другихъ частяхъ Имперіи, имѣющихъ право не чеканку собственной монеты. Въ используемой звѣздочкѣ въ легендѣ на многихъ монетахъ желали было распознавать его подпись, но сей весьма распространенный знакъ не встрѣчается на его раннихъ монетахъ, но и послѣ 90-ыхъ гг. и на монетахъ и другихъ медальеровъ, такъ что послѣ постановленія Верховнаго Окружнаго правительства отъ 1693 года приключиться къ саксонскимъ реформамъ, звѣздочку слѣдуетъ понимать болѣе какъ валютный знакъ. Очевидно, что подписью P. H. M./P. H. Müller (Miller, Myller, Mÿller) на медали, обрѣлъ онъ еще большую славу. Также важнымъ поводомъ къ этому послужило и то, что по его инициативѣ и подь его руководствомъ на монетномъ дворѣ былъ установленъ одинъ изъ первыхъ въ Германіи винтовой прессъ (балансиръ) при помощи котораго можно было точно воспроизводить также мѣлчайшія детали и болѣе высокій рельефъ, чемъ при старой техникѣ чеканки. Мюллеръ также снабжалъ штемпелями и другія монетные дворы, особенно частное нюрнбергское предпріятіе чеканки медалей Каспара Готтлиба Ляуфера и Фридриха Кляйнерта (Caspar Gottlieb Lauffer und Friedrich Kleinert), который ввелъ чеканку гуртовой надписи. За исключеніемъ короткихъ поѣздокъ, Мюллеръ оставался всю свою жизнь въ Нюрнбергѣ; его счета строителямъ города Аугсбурга и ихъ счета ему не выявляютъ значительныя промежутки времени. Не доказаннымъ остается его предпринимательская дѣятельность сотрудничества съ Кляйнертѣ. Работы Мюллера представляютъ широкую портретную галерею великихъ людей своего времени коихъ онъ, составляя ихъ портретъ, сумѣлъ выбрать особый уголь между *en face* и *profil* придавая образу особенную жизненную

силу, которую не могъ достигнуть ни кто иной. Полнѣ и съ болѣе выразительно чѣмъ у кого другого, представлены также аллегоріи, для которыхъ, подружившійся съ нимъ городской совѣтникъ Леонардъ Вайсъ, подавалъ ему идеи и эскизы. Изъ такъ называемыхъ медалей на всякія обыденные случаи безъ отношенія къ особому лицу, какъ то на бракосочетаніе и крестины или съ напутственными благословеніями или дружескими пожеланіями. Самой же популярной оказалась медаль на крестины съ изображеніемъ обряда подъ распятіемъ, которая очень часто подражалась. Самой ранней его работой считается поздравительная медаль города Аугсбурга по случаю бракосочетанія Императора Леопольда 1676 г. Къ послѣдующимъ заказамъ сего рода относятся медали совѣта и особенно медали на присягу городскихъ старшинъ 1699 г. Національнаго значенія имѣли медали по случаю коронаціи въ Аугсбургѣ Императрицы Элеоноры и позднѣе принявшаго титулъ Императора Римской Имперіи 1689/90, Императора Иосифа I, а также и рядъ медалей 1717 г. по случаю юбилея Аугсбургской Реформаціи. Другія медали отражаютъ событія времени, особенно на военныя дѣйствія съ Турками и оккупациі Пфальца и англо-французскія разторженія по поводу престолонаслѣдія, въ портретахъ и аллегоріяхъ, а также съ видами городовъ, детальныхъ ландшафтовъ и батальныхъ сценъ. Самая многочисленная работа это серія медалей Римскихъ Папъ, состоящая изъ 104 экз. доведенная до Клементія XI (*но съ большими промежутками!* – ВА).

**Источники.**

Stadtarchiv, Augsburg; Archiv der Evangelischen Gesamtgemeinde, Augsburg.

**Литература.**

A. v. Forster, Die Erzeugnisse d. Stempelschneidekunst in Augsburg u. Ph. H. Müller's ..., 1910, Nachtrag 1914; Kf. Max Emanuel, Ausst.kat. München 1976; H. Seling, Die Kunst d. Augsburger Goldschmiede 1529-1868, Meister, Marken, Werke, 3 Bde. mit Suppl., 1980/94, Nr. 1791; Barock in Baden-Württemberg, Ausst.kat. Bruchsal 1981; G. Werner, Die Münzen d. Freien u. d. Hl. Röm. Reichs Stadt Augsburg (in Vorbereitung); ThB (fehlerhaft); Augsburger Stadtlex., hrsg. v. W. Baer u. a., 1985. – Zu Hans Jakob M., Paul Wachter u. Christian Ernst M.: H. Seling (s. o.).

# REVIEWS.

**Observations on XVIII cent. Numismatic Bibliographies  
of Hirsch (1760) and Lipsius (1801).  
Обзоръ библиографій по нумизматикѣ XVIII стол.  
Хирша (1760) и Липсіуса (1801).**

Hirsch, Johann, — Bibliotheca Numismatica exhibens, catalogum auctorum, qui de re monetaria et numis tam antiquis quam recentioribus scripsere, collecta et indice rerum instructa... Nurembergae MDCCCLX.

*Numismatic library presenting a catalogue of authors who wrote and discussed monetary matters and ancient coins, collected and equipped with a subject index.*

Нумизматическая бібліотека представляющая каталогъ авторовъ, которые писали и обсуждали вопросы касающіяся нумизматики и древнихъ монетъ съ предметнымъ указателемъ .

Lipsius, J., — Bibliotheca Numaria, sive catalogus auctorum qui usque ad finem seculi XVIII de re monetaria aut numis scripserunt. Rei numariae, Historiae et Artis studiosis, ut et Juresconsultis, Mercatoribus, Argentariis, Monetariis etc. cumpositus, cum Indece rerum, et Vocabulario germanico-lat. in usum eorum, qui, Latinae linguae non satis gnari, hunc librum consulere volunt. Praefatus est brevi commemoratione de Studii rei numismatice antiquioris vicissitudinibus Christ. Gottl. Heyne, Eloqun. Profess. in Georgia Augusta Goettingenensi Acad. Regi M. Brittan. ab intim iustitit. cons. Lipsiae MDCCC1.

*Monetary library, or a list of authors who wrote on coins and numismatics up to the end of the XVIII century. Covering monetary matters, history and art studies, monetary legislation, trade, money exchange together with a Latin-German vocabulary for the use of those, who are not sufficiently fluent in Latin to consult this work. With a foreword containing a brief overview of the development of numismatics from the ancient times by Christian Gottlieb Heyne, Professor of Eloquence and privy councilor at the King George of Gr. Britain Royal Academy of Göttingen.*

Монетная бібліотека, или каталогъ авторовъ писавшихъ о монетахъ и монетномъ дѣлѣ вплоть до конца XVIII вѣка. Охватываетъ монетное дѣло, исторію и изученіе искусства, законодательные акты, торговлю, денежный обмѣнъ съ латино-нѣмецкимъ словаремъ для мало знакомыхъ съ латинскимъ языкомъ и для удобнаго пользованія симъ справочникомъ. Съ краткимъ вступительнымъ обзоромъ развитія нумизматики начиная съ древнѣшихъ временъ Христіана Готтлиба Хайне, профессора краснорѣчія и тайнаго совѣтника при короля Георга Великобританскаго Гёттингенской Академіи.

Right from the start of my collecting I chose Chaudoir as my vade mecum for numismatic literature of the XVIII cent. containing material related to Russian history and ignored both Hirsch and Lipsius. At the same time I also had a preconceived notion that neither Hirsch nor Lipsius could be authoritative enough in Russian area but later I discovered that I was right only in the case of Hirsch — Lipsius was a pleasant surprise. It turned out to have a very useful and virtually exhaustive source of all major sources including historical monographs not only published in Europe but also a few in Russia. As I can deduce from my own research, not much was taking place in Russia in the area of numismatics at that time and only towards the end of the XVIII cent. there appeared a few publications, but so rare and only through personal contact of Baron von Asch, as mentioned above in the Introduction, and through a few scientists who maintained contact with their colleagues in Russia, did a small number of copies get into private hands or to university libraries in Europe.

Lengnich (1776), a deacon in Danzig and publisher of the «Beiträge zur Münzkunde» (Contributions to numismatics; between 1776 and 1782 it appeared under several titles — VA), in his review of Hirsch he praises his very voluminous index. He sees Hirsch's wish to introduce to the numismatic community works of old and new authors, which appeared in the whole of Europe. Therefore, notes Lengnich, he collected with great effort and care everything that was written on matters related to coins, and especially about coins of all nations from the ancient times to the present day. He collected also smaller works as well as those which appeared in just a few leaves or were dispersed in various publications or collections where one normally would not expect to find such material. He cites work of Hirsch's predecessors such as Labbe, Banduri, Bruckmann and as the result, Lengnich



notes, Hirsch scrapped the Banduri format of portraying the writers and their works, but instead went directly to their works and as the result was able to offer the reader very enlarged and as complete as possible numismatic library, arranged in alphabetical order by the author, or the nouns of the title of a given publication, along with an 86 page subject index (prepared by Gottfried Stieber) in split columns, which facilitates finding anonymous works. But he also complains, that in the index under the terms *Moneta* or *Numus* the string of references under these terms is unnecessarily long and confusing. For example, the terms *Medaille*, *Numophylacium* and other medal related terms all lumped under *Numus* creating long columns. Though, what a collector will remain ungrateful to the man who gave him this new catalogue, in spite of it all, to be quite useful? asks Lengnich.

It seems that soon after appearance of the Hirsch's bibliography it aroused wide interest and activity among lovers of numismatics and Lengnich reports that one named Julius Carl Schläger, a state councilor in Gotha, Germany's most famous numismatist and a major contributor to the Hirsch's *Bibliotheca* (see foreword in Hirsch), had in his possession his own «*Bibliotheca numismatica*» in three octavo volumes, ready for publication. But at the time of Lengnich's review in 1776, the project was apparently in some sort of a limbo.

Lengnich himself also compiled a large list of publications not found in Hirsch\*\*) which would warrant a new edition, for which he received permission from councilor Hirsch and has even given it a new title: «*Hirsch. Bibliotheca numismatica cum accessionibus et emendationibus Carl Benjamin Lengnich*» (Numismatic library with additions and amendments), but it remained also unpublished and after his death in 1795 it was donated to the Gotha ducal library. Those, who were familiar with that manuscript found that the later Lipsius's work far exceeds even the Lengnich's "new and improved" version (see *Neue allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek...* below).

And for my purposes I found the Hirsch work, including the index, virtually useless. There is absolutely nothing on Russian numismatics and two "stray" works by Bayer published in St. Petersburg in 1736 and another by Crusius 1748, are on ancient numismatics, but that is all. Was there anything on Russian numismatics before 1760 that Hirsch might have missed? Yes. Even the non-bibliography oriented J. Gröning in his «*Historia Numismatum Critica*», Hamburg 1702, a publication intended primarily for medals collectors, lists two, one of which was a big one — Adam Olearius' travelogue to Russia (see also below). And this big Russian gaping void with significant additional pre 1760 material also in other areas was closed forty years later by his successor — Joseph Gottfried Lipsius (1754-1820).

Lipsius, being an overseer of the Coin Cabinet of Dresden was also close to the richly equipped prince elector's library, probably a modern equivalent to the Library of Congress, was in a strategically optimal position for putting together a comprehensive numismatic bibliography, or actually any bibliography. But before embarking on his project, he visited the ducal library of Gotha and enquired also of other sources for bibliographic material and did come across the one once left by Lengnich\*\*\*) in his archive along with similar supplementary information from other sources.

He reinspected scientific journals Hirsch used and found in them additional information. A cursory inspection of both catalogues for material published before 1760, i.e. publication year of Hirsche's *Bibliotheca*, shows significant enlargement. E.g., under letter Q Lipsius has 10 items while Hirsch lists only 4; similar results show for the letter

Z: Hirsch 30 — Lipsius over 49. Another interesting comparison: Lipsius revisited an early serial *Nova Maris Baltici*, which started in 1698, and identified an important article by N. Keder on Russia's first ruble of 1654 skipped by Hirsch or an early publication on world history by Th. Salmon published in 1730's, Lipsius pp. 344-345 with numerous entries on coinage of different countries including Russia would never find its way to Lipsius if he had relied on Hirsch. Another interesting entry which has not found its way to Hirsch is an early Americana under "Ryk", Lipsius p. 343, on early colonial money. So, I believe, Lipsius did not have much to copy from Hirsch, as some say he did (see G. F. Kolbe catalogue below), with the exception of a few manuscripts, for which he credits Hirsch as his source. And, according to my own inspection, although he did follow a



Baron Sigismund von Herberstein wearing Russian garment in 1517, present of Grand Duke Basilus III.

simple alphabetical line entry by author as used by Hirsch, but copying Hirsch blindly would not serve Lipsius' purpose. because of his radically different approach in building his index. To achieve his goal Lipsius had to reinspect and reclassify every entry and ultimately to come up with a totally new and more useful index format.

And his subject index is exhaustive with duplicate and triplicate classifications of all major works dealing with Russian numismatics, with the exception of individual articles in general works such as Köhler, Lochner, Bauer, Joachim, or Negelein. Although some material of this type by Büsching and Schlözer from their scientific journals, did find proper place in this bibliography including the special article on Russian monetary system in last edition of Praun's "Gündliche Nachricht..." of 1784 (see discussed here in the Inventory).

Did Lipsius miss anything important? Yes he did and these are two big ones, a travelogue by Adam Olearius (1599-1671), a councilor at the court of Duke of Holstein, who visited Russia in 1633 and the same by an Austrian diplomat Baron Sigismund von Herberstein (1486-1566) who also visited that county in 1517 and 1526. Both reported, among other things, also on money matters in Russia and as such may be considered to be the first Russian "numismatic" works. Among other missing in Lipsius are works by Schlatter on assaying and coin fineness, and Beliaev on Peter I numismatic cabinet all published in Russian, however Dmitriyev-Mamonov also in Russian, is in, but not under his name but under the short title: «Slava Rossii», Lipsius p. 373 but missing in his index.

Among the few minor errors or omissions I found that Lipsius misidentified is the publication year of the Academy of Sciences collection, which appeared under the title *Musei Imperialis Petropolitani, pars tertia...* SPB 1745, Lipsius page 270 lists it as 1786. But there is no entry for it in the subject index under Russia or Moscovia, although in 1782 Lengnich briefly discussed this catalogue in his publication and even reprinted its table of contents. There is also a small number of brief articles on oriental numismatics by J. H. Schulz published in the *Commentarii Academiae Scientiarum Petropolitanae* 1751, which may not have found their way to Lipsius (see Severova reference below) and also



Adam Olearius (1600 — 1671). by Jürgen Ovens (1623 — 1679).

a few Schlözer articles published in Baltic Journals. But basically, with the exception of those printed in Russian language and the few mentioned above, Lipsius has done a good job and left very little even for the chronic nit-pickers.

In my auction catalog research I used Luschin von Ebengreuth in his «Allgemeine Münzkunde...», München u. Berlin 1926, suggestion that in Lipsius one should look for them under the key word "Verzeichniss". And worldcat.org. on Internet rewarded my effort with numerous entries. But that was only one way. Other included such terms as Thesaurus, Numophylacium, Catalogus, Auserlesene and a few more. Yes, as a current user of Lipsius I would have loved to see all auction catalogues properly and clearly identified, but that maybe too much to ask of a man who lived some two hundred ten years ago.

Lipsius' successor J. Leitzmann solved the problem of auction catalogs in his supplement of 1867 quite simply — he proclaimed them as "useless" and left them out. He also totally departed from a norm of transliterating Russian titles and instead lists them in translation. Agreed, quite useful for those who are looking for a potential source of information, but quite confusing if one would want to find this work in a library or now, God forbid on the Internet! Leitzmann would still not quite immortalize his name by providing along with his translations also either the Russian text or some reasonable facsimile of a transliteration, but its general utility for a scientifically oriented numismatists would be significantly more enhanced.

As I get to know Lipsius better and better I begin to see that it was very effectively utilized by Chaudoir in his monumental work on Russian coins as well as serving as an important foundation for his own bibliography of Russian numismatics. In particular, Chaudoir entries marked with \*) signifying as not having been seen by the author, many of which were copied from Lipsius verbatim.

I believe, Lipsius produced a wholly independent bibliography and I further believe that his bibliography will not die or wither away in the foreseeable future even if Dekesel comes up with the balance of the remaining ten volumes of his monumental numismatic bibliographic work, because, as it is, even now in four volumes, it takes more time to use it and especially more place to store. Like in the case of the Corpus of Russian Coins by Grand Duke Georgii Mikhailovich, which is nice to own, but cumbersome to use for frequent reference. Computer searchable Lipsius in OCR, that is my dream!

\*\*) Lengnich also quotes one Mr. Klotz, page 153, an earlier Hirsch reviewer in «Acta eruditorum» for the year 1760, pages 468-469, who, according to his background, having no experience in the subject, as stating: *Tantum nobis Cl. Hirschius diligeintiam adhibuisse videtur, ut pauca sint, vel nihil omnio, quod supplendum atque addendum existimemus.* "Counselor Hirsch merely employed great industry and we think that there are a few or none that must be added".

\*\*\*) Lengnich's heavily annotated copy of Hirsch was donated, according to his will, by his widow after his death to the Dukal Library of Gotha, for which the widow equally received a thank-you present from the Duke. Listed in Lipsius on page 187.

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*V. Arefiev.*

*Philadelphia, PA, August 2012.*

**Observations on the A. A. Stakhovich's Commentaries on the work of J. B. Iversen  
«Medaillen auf die Thaten Peter des Grossen», St. Petersburg 1872,  
Paris 1958.**

**Разсмотрѣ комментарій А. А. Стаховича на трудъ Ю. Б. Иверсена  
«Медали на дѣянія Петра Великаго», СПб 1872,  
Парижъ 1958.**

1.

The late Ivan Bekicz of Sydney, Australia, in mid 60's put me in touch with Vladimir von Rychter, most noted Russian émigré medal collector. Among his books which he sold me was a copy without a title page of a mimeographed discussion by A. A. Stakhovich of the said work by Iversen using his own collection as primary source for his critiques. While residing still in Santa Barbara, CA., I reproduced it in two or three copies and had them nicely bound. Several decades later a German translation was made by a RNS member Schubers and I added also that version to my collection. It may have been a lot of fun for the author to write it and pick on Iversen's choices of some Russian words in the translations, or lack or presence of extra dots here and there or some unpublished varieties, &c, &c, &c.

When I got my first Peter I medals, yes I would check with both Iversen and Stakhovich, but basically I was quite bored with it. Till, now! On pages 21-23 of Stakhovich Commentaries, there is a lengthy discussion if a set of Müller dies was shipped or not shipped to Russia and if there was an extra set of same left in Nürnberg, and if they could have survived the devastation Nürnberg suffered during WWII (yes, I visited Nürnberg in 1946 and it indeed looked more like Pompeii), and what happened to them if they got to Russia, and so on. In this discussion, Stakhovich, who lived in Paris, engages the help of his friend in London V. von Rychter who, quoting the Forrer work on biographies of medalists, points out to Caspar Gottlieb Lauffer, who in 1742 put out a large catalogue of medal dies by various medalists including made by Müller offering copies for sale. Stakhovich gives credit to Iversen, who, based on his finding of Müller obverse mated with a reverse cut in Russia, believes that somehow the dies did get to Russia and were used there in striking medals. Recently uncovered documents by Shchukina, which were not available to Iversen, have been found confirming the delivery of dies in 1716 with an invoice for 1400 taler. The documents further indicate that the dies were complete by 1715 at a cost of ca 50 talers each. So this clears finally up the question if the dies were delivered to Russia. But another question remains, if another set left in Nürnberg, as von Rychter believed, after reading the text in Forrer about the big Lauffer medals enterprise. But neither von Rychter nor Stakhovich started looking for Lauffer catalogue, but I did. As it turns out there are not one but three editions, one of 1742 cited by Forrer and relayed by von Rychter to Stakhovich and at least two later ones also of Nürnberg, one of 1776 (however, with the youngest medal being 1787!) and another of 1792 in somewhat changed format all issued by George Nicolaus Rieder (†1793), then the Mintmaster at Nürnberg, but with removal of some older medals and addition of a few new ones. I checked the first two of them for presence of Müller Russian medals for the period 1708 to 1710 and the answer is negative. No Russian medals struck by either Müller the father (P.H.M) or Müller the son (M) were available through these catalogues. But there were plenty of other Müller-the-father medals (P.H.M.), but none for his son with M. Now, the reader might ask, where did this story about "father and son" came

from? Well, the answer could be a little complicated, so I shall start with the simple one first: the P.H.Müller biography published by Forrer evolved from such sources as Amann (1776), Bolzenthat (1843). It appears it was based more on supposition than on factual material. A 1997 publication of the P.H. Müller's biography in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 18, (1997) based on archival documents presently in Augsburg city archive (see English and Russian translations elsewhere in this Supplementum) is the latest what we have on P.H. Müller and it basically says that P.H. Müller did not stay away for any extended period of time from his business in Augsburg and that his youngest son Christian Ernst also a medalist (1696-1776), signed his work with M., C. M. or C. E. M. A-a-h, now we are getting somewhere... In the P.H. Müller biography Forrer also sort of mentions almost in passing, that medals marked with M are cut by his son, but this was not questioned in the Stakhovich review. And even Bolzenthat states that in one case there was a medal that both father and son worked on and I could confirm that by studying the Forster exhaustive collection of coins and medals struck by the Augsburg medalists. In further studying this reference in connection with the Negelein work one notices that there are numerous medals with initials P.H.M. before and after 1709 (this is the year in which one of two Russian Müller medals has initials P.H.M.), but none with M, other than those on commission from Russia. Negelein, who knew both Müllers, in describing in his *Thesaurus* a medal marked with P.H.M. each time notes as being "by famous P.H. Müller of Augsburg", but those with just M on the sleeve he would just briefly state "with M in the sleeve" and nothing else. Did Christian Ernst Müller continue his carries as a medalist in this father's shop after finishing the so called Müller series? Using his three different signatures mentioned above I could not find any evidence of that. But Schlickeisen on pages 246 for Christian Ernst Müller suggests, he was a die cutter in Augsburg 1714-1741. His name also surfaces later in a management position of a mint warden in Oettingen 1759-1761. There appears to be a further study of Christian Ernst Müller work in preparation in Germany and perhaps it can shed some more light on the life and metallic work of Müller the son.

Stakhovich and von Rychter have done a very valuable job of bringing all sorts of technical and historical details on Petrine medals to the attention of the reader of value primarily for the next revision of Iversen's work, but their biggest contribution is that in less than thirty years they put together a collection of Petrine medals only second to that of the Hermitage. But their literature search is not that overwhelming — they simply stopped with Iversen's compilation and disagreed with him when they would find something different or unlisted. Even without the benefit of the latest 1997 P.H. Müller biography, they could have detected something unusual about the two types of initials, if they would just take the Negelein «*Thesaurus*» (1711-1720) and Forster's «*Die Erzeugnisse der Stempelschneidekunst (1910-1914)*» works and laying them side by side one cannot help but at least to wonder why over a long period only Russian medals were marked with an M and very few other, in the course between 1702 and 1719, while at the same time P.H.M. monogram, after a brief interreption, continued to appear on other medals but now in the form of a star (★). For a full discussion on the background of Müller medals marked with P.H.M. and M see Müller Medals for Russia... elsewhere in this Supplementum III.

There is also another interesting question as to where were the medals struck those that have edge inscriptions — Nürnberg or Moscow or both? My guess is Nürnberg and a few perhaps in Russia because the Lauffer Medals Factory claims they had the best equipment in Germany and as far as Moscow mint was concerned that even on larger Russian coins the edge inscriptions came quite late, but that could be a topic for another discussion.

2.

There is another Russian medal by Hautsch († 1711) struck in Nürnberg which appears to be out of place in Iversen, but not noticed by Stakhovich or von Rychter.

It is well accepted that Iversen in his work on Peter I medals distinguished himself not only on collecting, organizing and publishing his unsurpassed work, but also giving credit to early authors who were the first to publish this or that medal. He left no stone unturned and in my long researches of the XVIII cent. numismatic works dealing with Russian numismatics, as of today he hasn't missed any of major significance. However, some of his attributions and assertions could be challenged. Another such case will be presented here. It pertains to the medals listed in Iversen work on page 28 and illustrated on table VII. 6 As stated in his catalog, it was first published by Negelein in his *Thesaurus* p. 962 with the following description: "Die vördere Seite stellet Seiner Czaarischen Majestät Brust-Bild, in voller Kriegsrüstung vor, mit der Umschrift: PETRVS ALEXIEWitz Magnus Dominus, TZAR Magnus Dux MOSCOViae. Petrus Alexiewitz , Grosse Herr Czar und Groß-Fürst in Moscau. Der Buchstab H ist des Medailleurs Hautsch Nahmens-Zeichen". According to Iversen, p. 28, "some of these medals may have an edge inscription *Iuetior alter nec pietate fuit nec bello maior* (translated in Collection of Russian Medals as: In justice, honor and courage he had no equals. The same source translates *pietate et fortitudine* as with

piety and strength). It is shown in Thesaurus num. modern. hui. saec. pag. 962, Tiregale Nr. 63 and Collection of Russian Medals as Nr. 106, page 26. All these early sources attributed this medal to different events. In Thesaurus it is said it was struck in honor of Peter I and that the St. George points to the crest of Moscow. Tiregale calls it medal on the knightly deeds of Peter I and attributed it to the time of the Peace of Nystadt. And finally the Collection of Russian Medals calls it to be on the death of Peter I. I don't believe I shall be too far off if I attribute this medal to the Poltava victory, in as much as it is listed in Thesaurus under year 1709. This medal is also described in Secretarius on p. 334, for the year 1713."

What Iversen did not do, is quoting how Negelein on page 962 describes the reverse side of this medal, which is copied verbatim here: "Die Rück-Seite präsentiret den Ritter St. Georg, wie er nach Anzeig der alten Tradition, den ungeheuren Drachen, oder insgemein also genannten Lindwurm, ersticht. Womit auf das Groß-Czaarische Wapen gezielet wird, da eben dieser Ritter auf der Brust des Moscovitischen Adlers erscheint. Die Umschrift PIETATE ET FORTITVDINE begreiffet das Symbolum Seiner Majestät, des jetztregierenden Groß-Czaaren, und lässet sich ganz schicklich, so wohl auf besagten Ritter Georgium, als auf Seine Majestät appliciren. Indem es zeiget, daß, gleichwie die Gottesfurcht und Tapferkeit jenem nachgerühmet wird: also leuchten sothane beyde Tugenden auch absonderlich an Ihro Czaarischen Majestät hervor, und werden demnach Deren Glorie unsterblich machen. Wie dann der Erfinder oberwähntes Symbolum deßwegen also verteutschet:"

Translation: The back-side shows the Knight of St. George, as he stabs the Dragon, which in accordance with the old tradition is also known as a huge serpent. Aiming it at the Grand-Czarist crest, it shows that actually this knight is shown on the breast of the Moscovite eagle. The legend PIETATE ET FORTITVDINE is to be understood as the symbol of His Majesty, the currently reigning Grand-Czar, and applies wholly to be said of the Knight George as well as of His Majesty. In which is shown that fear of God and courage will make one glorious and that the light shines on these two virtues and especially on His Czar's Majesty and that will make him immortal. Here is how the inventor of the above symbol also puts it into German:

Wann Gottesfurcht regiert die  
fluge Tapferkeit,  
so bleibt gewiß der Ruhm nun  
und in Ewigkeit.

When Piety reigneth  
the wise courage,  
so will the glory live now  
and in the ages.

Господомъ руководясь  
мудрая храбрость  
дасть славу жизнь  
вовѣки и днесь.

The way Negelein organizes his medals is also relevant to attribution of this medal. He groups them in accordance with the event for which they were struck preceded with a brief historical overview. Thus all medals struck on Peter I 1709 Poltava victory, of which there are 6, are shown on p. 905-908, while the one under discussion is shown with medals for the same 1709 year, but quite separately on page 962 without any historical background, just a description.

Further research has shown, that other medals with similar content and symbology were struck about the same time. They are

1. A medal with similar legend was struck honoring Charles XII in 1718:

Gottesfurcht und Seldemuth  
ist der Schwedens eignes Gut.

Translated:

Piety and Knightly courage  
Is Sweden's own virtues.

Страхъ Господень.  
и рыцарская храбрость.  
Швеціи добродѣтели.

See Lauffer 1742, p. 116.

2. Or another one by G.W. Vestner on the death of Charles XII in 1718 with an analogous legend: FORTITUDO ET IMMORTALITAS. Bernheimer, F., Georg Wilhelm Vestner..., München 1984, Nr. 144, page 84.

So, what should this disputed medal be known as? According to Johann Gröning in his *Historia Numismatum Critica, Das ist: Die neu-eröffnete Historie der Modern Medaillen...* Hamburg 1702, In chapter entitled "Von dem Nutzen der Medaillen in der Moral und Politic" (of the benefits of medals in morals and politics), pages 154-156, the author discusses the use of medals to commemorate worthy events and people and the expression Fear of God or Pieta is frequently used in their legend. So one could interpret the back side of the Hautsch medal as depicting *Courageous knight, St. George, slaying the dragon, but also being fearful of God's power over men* symbolically depicting Love of fellow man and courage to confront danger. Thus, following the above precedents I would propose to call it what Negelein called it: On Piety and Courage of Peter the Great or in Russian: На страхъ Господній и Мужество Петра I.

And what about the year? Here also we are not left with a clear choice. Yes, Negelein, who undoubtedly knew medallist Hautsch who also lived in Nürnberg and created this medal, puts it in his last 11<sup>th</sup> issue of *Thesaurus* for the year 1709 maybe out of uncertainty of *Thesaurus'* future. But Lauffer, who owned the dies and ran his Medals Factory in Nürnberg with Friedrich Kleinert, puts it in his 1742 catalog under the year 1710, while Negelein was still alive. Second edition of 1776 did not alter that. So here we may have almost a toss-up — 1709 or 1710? but I would opt for 1710.

3.

Following Nr. 69 in «Collection of Russian Medals», SPB 1840, where this medal without altered date (1715) is identified as a prize medal for the artists and scientist, Iversen attributes it in LVI, page 60, as on the founding of the Russian academy of Sciences. Stakhovich identified here a few discrepancies in spelling, page 70, but, basically its attribution remained unchallenged to that proposed by Iversen. According to Shchukina, this medal was a subject of detailed study in 1975, the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the Academy of Sciences, but apparently nobody was disturbed by the fact that the MDCCXXV date on the medal was altered from MDCCXXV by punching an extra X, which Iversen attributes to medalist C. Wermuth, who designed it. In her 1984 article E. Shchukina, citing a 1725 Wermuth proposal to Catherine I with eight medals on the reign and death of Peter, where this medal is listed unaltered as 1715, reintroduced it to the numismatic community under its original application. With all pertinent translations on hand, she began to wonder with what event the original, unpunched date on the medals could be connected with, but was reluctant to disassociate it with the foundation of the Academy of Sciences perhaps for political reasons, as that would destroy the foundation laying "brick" of the prestigious institution and deprive it of its birth certificate. Even with all this trouble, the year of the opening of the Academy of Sciences was really not 1725 but 1726 — the year when it held its first meeting, way *after* Peter I death! (see the foldout chart in this Supplementum entitled "Die Kayserliche Academie..."). As was noted in the proposal itself and the translations in Shchukina article, the purpose of the 1715 medal was quite clear — to honor the introduction in Russia of various arts and hand crafts in which Peter I himself was handy with, basically as initially listed in the «Collection of Russian Medals» cited above. So why not call it "On introduction of Arts and Crafts in Russia" or in Russian — На развитие въ Россіи искусствъ и кустарныхъ профессій? It may sound more proletarian and not as glorious as "On foundation of the Academy of Sciences", but it definitely is closer to the historical truth\*).

While the above medal was never struck in Russia, nonetheless, the editor of the *Collection of Russian Medals* states that it was awarded during Peter I reign to outstanding painters and scientists, which, obviously is a poetic fiction!

4.

Another somewhat incongruous text of a Latin legend was picked up by Negelein, but missed by both Iversen and Stakhovich. It relates to the Müller medal for capture of Riga, Iversen XXIX 1), Stakhovich

pp 45-46. Here is its description as originally published in 1720 by Negelein, page 44: The Revers depicts besieged and with bombs threatened Riga. The legend above is made up of a chronogram which reads: RIGA REDIT RVSSIS APTO CERTAMINE CASTRIS. Its contents shows, that **the Moscovite people succeeded in bringing the city back, after cutting it off.** Although, since Riga was never under Moscow's domination, the choice of word REDIT is not suitable here. Below one reads: CAPTA DIE VIII. JVLII. S. V. **Captured 8 July according to the old calendar.** Переводъ: Обр. сторона представляетъ окруженную Ригу усащаемую бомбардировкой Поверху надпись состоящая изъ хронограммы: RIGA REDIT RVSSIS APTO CERTAMINE CASTRIS. **Ея содержаніе показываетъ, что московскому народу, отрѣзавъ городъ, удалось возвратить Ригу обратно.** Поскольку Рига никогда не пребывала подъ московскимъ управленіемъ, выборъ слова REDIT неудаченъ.

An unpublished variety of this medal is published elsewhere in this Supplementum.

5.

One of the medals commemorating conquering Azov is listed in Iversen as V. 2), page 5, struck by Boscam and shown on plate VII. as Nr. 1. Iversen traces it to Tiregale page 4 as the earliest source (1772), whereas I have found this medal illustrated and described much earlier in Johann Gröning — *Historia Numismatum Critica...* Hamburg 1702, pages 185-186, where the reverse shows Faith with a cross and a palm branch symbolizing God and peace, rather than Victoria with a cross, as Iversen chooses to call the female figure and NO spelling errors in the exerge. Stakhovich offers no discussion of this medal because apparently he did not have one in his collection.

6.

This one is a minor misstatement: while discussing the Peter I medals in Schubert collection, page X, on page XIV he lists erroneously the French 1857 edition of his catalog. The correct reference should be the 1843 his Russian edition. Also the statement on page XII that Reichel was the first, who took into account the initials of medalists is not quite accurate — Negelein in his *Thesaurus 1711-1720* takes keen note of them and so does Köhler, Lochner, Joachim, Lengnich and others.

7.

While discussing the medal on Peter I visit to Paris in 1717, page 17, Iversen credits as the earliest publication of this medal the Nr. 72. in «Collection of Russian Medals», SPB 1840. However, the reader will find a good engraving of this medal along with a detailed description of Peter I visit in Europe in Köhler's «Historische Münz-Belustigung», XVIII Theil, Nürnberg 1745, pages 385-392, ill. Around 1780 this article was translated and published in Russia with a few changes under the title: «Peter I journey to Paris in 1717» without giving credit to the original source. See also footnote 1), page 48 of Iversen's Russian edition, SPB 1872 and my «Historische Numismatische Literatur-Belustigungen», Philadelphia 2004.

In summary, late A. Stakhovich should be very happy to see his life's work highly valued now in Russia and through a well published volume it is made available to anyone interested in the subject. But his other wish of incorporating his corrections and addition to the Iversen works did not yet materialize. Yes, this would be a formidable undertaking which would also require access to a major collection of medals of the order of the one in Hermitage. But in view of additional information presented elsewhere in this Supplement especially the newly surfaced information as to the true authorship of the so called Müller series, the time is ripe for a head-to- toe revision. Hermitage personnel publish in dribs and drabs various articles on medals of the Peter I period, but none dares to take up a thorough revision of now way outdated Iversen work. Recent publications coming from Hermitage and the former Emperor Alexander III museum show that there are needed specialists to accomplish this task and with today's well advanced computer technology in the graphics world and a constantly growing number of digitized XVIII cent. publications are there for a free download. All one needs is the linguistic ability to be reasonably fluent in a number of Western European languages, which was from times immemorable a major prerequisite for librarians and museum curators. Personally I have not seen any progress in this area, but perhaps the new generation could take up the challenge and rediscover the wealth and value which is preserved on those old tomes, many of which are now available wherever there is an Internet network.

I realize, Alexandr Alexandrovich Stakhovich would be delighted to get all this new information presented in this Supplement III, although instinctively I feel he would not be welcoming it with really open arms, because it all did not originate from a Russian source. On the other hand, Vladimir Gvidovich



von Rychter, with whom I corresponded but briefly, would applaud and would respond with a “good job, young man!”.

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Das Laufferische Medaillen-Cabinet oder Verzeichniss aller Medaillen, welche sowohl die historischen Begebenheiten von A. 1679. bis A. 1742 als auch andere Christlich- und Moralische Betrachtungen, nebst der vollkommenen Reihe der Römischen Päbste enthalten. Und noch itzo beständig zu finden, in Nürnberg bey Caspar Gottlieb Lauffern, des Hoch-Löbl. Fränkischen Kreises Münz-Rath und General-Münz-Waradin, Nürnberg 1742.

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\*) Bei Lochner, *Sammlung merkwürdiger Medaillen...* 1742, it is called: Auf Peter I Erfahrung in mechanischen Wissenschaften von 1715 or in Wermuth 1725: Auf Einführung der freien und allerlei Handwerks-Künste 1715. On reverse it has the following text: TANTISPER RELINQUENS FABRILES ARTES DUM FABER IPSE DOCET or in free translation: Meanwhile while leaving his work, he teaches carpentry. Or in Russian: Оставивъ свой трудъ, онъ обучаетъ плотничеству. It is not clear how the editor of *Collection of Russian Medals* came up with the following translation: Великий мужъ оставляетъ скипетръ для малыхъ дѣлъ, и будучи самъ художникомъ, учитъ художествамъ. Or in translation: A great man sets aside his scepter for lesser deeds and being himself an artist, teaches art to others. Although, granted, it sounds more worthy of a Czar. In any case, such legends do not resonate well with the spirit of academic or scientific societies or organizations.

*В. Арэфьевъ.  
Филадельфия, июль 2012.*

#### On the P. H. Müller Medals for Russia.

Peter I medals on the Northern War marked with P.H.M. or M were first published by Negelein in his *Thesaurus* in 1716-1720 and over a century later were repeated in «*Collection of Russian Medals*», St. Petersburg 1840 and «*Reichel'sche Münzsammlung*», St. Petersburg [appeared in 1847], but none was attributed to P.H. Müller (P.H.M.) the father or C.H. Müller the son (M). In his 1872 catalog of Peter I medals Iversen combines these medals and attributes all of them to Müller the father. But what was known about Müllers at that time Iversen wrote his book? He references only two sources with biographical data of medalists: 1) Ammon, J. — *Sammlung berühmter Medailleurs und Münzmeister nebst ihren Zeichen*. Nürnberg 1778, and 2) Bolzenthal, H., *Skizzen zur Kunstgeschichte der modernen Medaillen-Arbeit* (1429-1840). Berlin 1840. Ammon, a brew master in Nürnberg, on page 34 lists a series of combinations of initials that were used by P.H. Müller such as P.H.M., P.H.Müller, P.H. Muller, P.H. Miller, etc., but always containing "P.H." On the other hand, Bolzenthal, keeper of the Berlin Museum coin cabinet, on pages 222-223 speaks only about a few P.H. Müller's cooperative efforts with his sons Christian Ernst and Christopher, but provides no markings that were used by either. In studying Russian medals listed in Negelein's *Thesaurus* may have led Iversen somehow to conclude that initials P.H.M. and M may belong to one and the same medalist, although when describing medals marked with P.H.M. and M Negelein clearly makes a distinction, attributing the first to P.H.Müller of Augsburg and the ones with M on the sleeve are just noted as such — with M on the sleeve — not even a guess as to the identity of the medalist. Was Iversen too hasty to lump both P.H.M. and M together? I would say he was, but at the time Iversen did not have the extra references which I consulted to build this case 140 years later.

Iversen's work, which in 1873 received the large silver prize medal of the Imperial Russian Archeological Society, remained unchallenged for almost one hundred years, until a Russian émigré Alexander Stakhovich published in Paris in 1958 his commentaries and observations on Iversen's work (see discussion elsewhere in the *Supplementum*). Although Stakhovich frequently referred to A. Forrer's multivolume work on Biographies of medalist, he implicitly accepted that the same medalist stands behind initials M and P.H.M. and ignored Forrer's hint that a different medalist stands behind M. And obviously nobody after Iversen made any attempt to study the Negelein early publications where he makes a clear distinction in ownership between medals with P.H.M. and M.

Now, in 1910 appears a publication by Forster listing his collection of Augsburg related coins, medals and especially the work of P.H. Müller. Here we see that medals with initials P.H.M., and M are grouped together, possibly under Iversen's influence, under work of P.H.Müller alone. What was remarkable is that without exception, all medals struck for Russia were with M on the sleeve. Studying the Reichel or the current Hermitage collections of Müller medals revealed the same breakdown: only one medal for 1709 is with P.H.M. initials (not present in the Forster collection) and the rest are all with M and some even without initials altogether. Studying Iversen catalogue, initial M appeared on medals for the years 1702 up

to 1714. Based on newly discovered archival information, Shchukina study indicates that in 1712 Müller received the Peter I order for a series of medals to commemorate Peter I mainly military exploits beginning with the year 1702 up to the order date. It was later extended to include year 1714 (the Gangut victory). Shchukina study further shows that all dies were manufactured in the 1713 — 1714 time period and delivered to Moscow in 1715, and in 1716 the actual manufacture of medals began. As already noted by Negelein and now confirmed by the Shchukina study, with the exception of one, all bore initial M on the sleeve (see table below). The question arises — was M the usual mark, among other markings that Müller used, or was there another die maker behind this monogram? To answer this question, based on information in Forster reference and Shchukina study, I constructed the table which traces the Müller production of medals between an arbitrary chosen year 1702 to the year of Müller's death and slightly beyond.

**Table of Medals with M, P.H.M. and Star for the Calendar Years 1702 to 1718.**  
Sources: Shchukina, Forster

| Calendar Year. | Year on Medal | Event                 | Medalist M | Medalist P.H.M. | Medalist * | Medalist C.E. Müller | Source  | Forster Nr. |
|----------------|---------------|-----------------------|------------|-----------------|------------|----------------------|---------|-------------|
| 1702           | 1702          | On taking Ulm         |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 713         |
| 1703           | 1703          | On taking 14 cities   |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 715         |
| 1703           | 1703          | On Herzor Ferdin.     |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 716         |
| 1703           | 1703          | On landing in Sp.     |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 717         |
| 1703           | 1703          | Same. Av. Hautsch     |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 718         |
| 1703           | 1703          | Same. w/o G H         |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 719         |
| 1704           | 1704          | Battle at Höchstädt.  |            |                 | ✓          |                      | Forster | 722         |
| 1704           | 1704          | On taking Landau      |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 724         |
| 1704           | 1704          | Same.                 |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 725         |
| 1704           | 1704          | On taking Bergschl.   |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 726         |
| 1704           | 1704          | On vict. Max Eman.    |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 727         |
| 1705           | 1705          | On taking Gibraltar   |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 729         |
| 1705           | 1705          | On Emp. Joseph I      |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 732         |
| 1705           | 1705          | Same                  |            |                 | ✓          |                      | Forster | 733         |
| 1705           | 1705          | Swear in Emp. Jos. I  |            |                 | ✓          |                      | Forster | 734         |
| 1705           | 1705          | Taking of Barcelona   |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 735         |
| 1705           | 1705          | On elevating baron    |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 736         |
| 1706           | 1706          | On raising the siege  |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 737         |
| 1706           | 1706          | Subjugating Madrid    |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 738         |
| 1706           | 1706          | On vict. of Prince E  |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 740         |
| 1706           | 1706          | On vict. of Marlboro  |            |                 | ✓          |                      | Forster | 741         |
| 1706           | 1706          | Peace of Altrandst.   |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 742         |
| 1707           | 1707          | On changing comm.     |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 745         |
| 1708           | 1708          | On bringing herzog    |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 746         |
| 1708           | 1708          | On reliog. freedom    |            |                 | ✓          |                      | Forster | 747         |
| 1708           | 1708          | Occup. of Ryssel      |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 749         |
| 1709           | 1709          | Peace negotiation     |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 750         |
| 1709           | 1709          | Occup. of Tournay     |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 751         |
| 1709           | 1709          | Same                  |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 752         |
| 1709           | 1709          | In hon. of margrave   |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 755         |
| 1709           | 1709          | Death of Frederika    |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 756         |
| 1709           | 1709          | On Franz Anton        |            | P.H. Miller     |            |                      | Forster | 757         |
| 1709           | 1709          | Same                  |            | P.H. Miller     |            |                      | Forster | 758         |
| 1709           | 1709          | Same                  |            | P.H. Miller     |            |                      | Forster | 759         |
| 1710           | 1710          | Entering Madrid       |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 761         |
| 1710           | 1710          | Swed. vict. at Helsin |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 764         |
| 1711           | 1711          | Elect. of Carl VI     |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 771         |
| 1711           | 1711          | Same                  |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 772         |
| 1711           | 1711          | Crowning of Carl VI   |            |                 | ✓          |                      | Forster | 775         |
| 1717           | 1711          | Same                  | ✓          |                 |            |                      | Forster | 776         |
| 1711           | 1711          | On English unity      |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 777         |
| 1711           | 1711          | In hon. of Lothar Fr. |            | ✓               |            |                      | Forster | 778         |

|      |      |                      |   |   |          |     |
|------|------|----------------------|---|---|----------|-----|
| 1711 | 1711 | In hon of Franz Ant. | ✓ |   | Forster  | 779 |
| 1712 | 1712 | On Emp. Carl VI      | ✓ |   | Forster  | 780 |
| 1712 | 1712 | Same                 | ✓ |   | Forster  | 781 |
| 1712 | 1712 | On pope Pius V       | ✓ |   | Forster  | 782 |
| 1712 | 1712 | On archb. of Mainz   | ✓ |   | Forster  | 783 |
| 1712 | 1712 | On birth of heir     |   | ✓ | Forster  | 784 |
| 1714 | 1702 | Schlüsselburg        | ✓ |   | Shchuk.  |     |
| 1714 | 1703 | Nyenschanz           | ✓ |   | Shchuk.  | 720 |
| ?    | 1703 | Safe Navig.          | ✓ |   | Forster  | 721 |
| 1713 | 1703 | St. Petersburg       | ✓ |   | Shchuk.  |     |
| 1713 | 1704 | Cronschloss          |   | ✓ | Shchuk.  | 730 |
| 1714 | 1704 | Dorpat               | ✓ |   | Shchuk.  |     |
| 1713 | 1704 | Narva city view      | ✓ |   | Shchuk.  |     |
| 1714 | 1704 | Narva w. map         | ✓ |   | Shchuk.  |     |
| 1714 | 1704 | Mitau                | ✓ |   | Shchuk.  |     |
| 1713 | 1708 | Leesno               | ✓ |   | Shchuk.  |     |
| 1714 | 1709 | Poltava Battle       |   | ✓ | Shchuk.  |     |
| 1713 | 1709 | Capt. of Löven.      | ✓ |   | Shchuk.  |     |
| 1714 | 1710 | Elbing               | ✓ |   | Shchuk.  |     |
| 1714 | 1710 | Vyborg               | ✓ |   | Shchuk.  |     |
| 1713 | 1710 | Riga                 | ✓ |   | Shchuk.  | 766 |
| 1713 | 1710 | Dünamünde            | ✓ |   | Shchuk.  | 767 |
| 1714 | 1710 | Pernau               | ✓ |   | Shchuk.  |     |
| 1714 | 1710 | Kexholm              | ✓ |   | Shchuk.  | 768 |
| 1714 | 1710 | Arensburg            | ✓ |   | Shchuk.  |     |
| 1713 | 1710 | Reval                | ✓ |   | Shchuk.  | 765 |
| 1713 | 1710 | Liefland Con.        | ✓ |   | Shchuk.  |     |
| 1714 | 1710 | Succeses 1710        | ✓ |   | Shchuk.  |     |
| 1714 | 1714 | Gangut               | ✓ |   | Shchuk.  |     |
| 1714 | 1714 | Peace of Rastatt     |   | ✓ | Forster  | 785 |
| 1714 | 1714 | Same                 |   | ✓ | Forster  | 786 |
| 1714 | 1714 | Return of Carl XII   | ✓ |   | Forster  | 793 |
| 1715 | 1715 | Return of Max Em.    |   | ✓ | Forster  | 794 |
| 1715 | 1715 | Ludw. Rudol. entry   |   | ✓ | Forster  | 795 |
| 1715 | 1715 | On King Georg I      |   | ✓ | Forster  | 796 |
| 1716 | 1716 | Vict. at Peterward.  |   | ✓ | Forster  | 797 |
| 1716 | 1716 | Max Eman. of Bavar   |   | ✓ | Forster. | 799 |
| 1716 | 1716 | On count v. Schulen. | ✓ |   | Forster  | 800 |
| 1716 | 1716 | Same                 | ✓ |   | Forster  | 801 |
| 1717 | 1717 | French hate of Germ  | ✓ |   | Forster  | 802 |
| 1717 | 1717 | On taking Belgrade   | ✓ |   | Forster  | 803 |
| 1717 | 1717 | Same                 | ✓ |   | Forster  | 804 |
| 1717 | 1717 | Second Rerorm. Jub   | ✓ |   | Forster  | 805 |
| 1717 | 1717 | Same                 |   | ✓ | Forster  | 806 |
| 1717 | 1717 | Same                 | ✓ |   | Forster  | 807 |
| 1717 | 1717 | Same                 |   | ✓ | Forster  | 808 |
| 1717 | 1717 | Same                 | ✓ |   | Forster  | 809 |
| 1717 | 1717 | Same Memingen        |   | ✓ | Forster  | 810 |
| 1717 | 1717 | Same Biberach        |   | ✓ | Forster  | 811 |
| 1717 | 1717 | Same Ulm             |   | ✓ | Forster  | 812 |
| 1717 | 1717 | Same Heilbronn       | ✓ |   | Forster  | 813 |
| 1717 | 1717 | Same Esslingen       |   | ✓ | Forster  | 814 |
| 1717 | 1717 | Same Austria         |   | ✓ | Forster  | 815 |
| 1717 | 1717 | Same Ludwig          |   | ✓ | Forster  | 816 |
| 1717 | 1717 | Peace of Passarow.   |   | ✓ | Forster  | 817 |
| 1718 | 1718 | Same                 | ✓ |   | Forster  | 818 |

|      |      |                      |   |   |    |         |      |
|------|------|----------------------|---|---|----|---------|------|
| 1718 | 1718 | Same                 |   | ✓ |    | Forster | 819  |
| 1718 | 1718 | Same                 | ✓ |   |    | Forster | 820  |
| 1718 | 1718 | Repressing disorde   |   |   | ✓  | Forster | 821  |
| 1718 | 1718 | On see battle at Cap |   |   | ✓  | Forster | 822  |
| 1718 | 1718 | On baron v. Plenken  | ✓ |   |    | Forster | 823  |
| 1722 | 1722 | Auf Karl Albert und  |   |   | CM | Forster | 1117 |
| 1729 | 1729 | Abtei Kempen         |   |   | ✓  | Forster | 1118 |

Judging from Forster work, up to 1712 P. H. Müller produced something of the order between 10 and 15 medals annually many of which were marked with his initials P.H.M. and a few with a star (★) and some apparently were also unmarked. As mentioned above, through the Russian intermediary Ornance General J. Brüce, in 1712 Müller received from Peter I himself an order of over two dozen medals on various themes of then current Russian history and for the next two years 1713-1714 Forster lists no medals of any sort to be marked with previously common medalist's initials P.H.M. or the star (★). But in 1714 production reaches again its normal or near normal level. Since Moscow received its delivery in late 1715, it would be hardly possible for one man to fill the order of an extra ca two dozen dies with special rings and inscriptions on top of the normal busines load. While accepting the Peter I order Müller must have already had a year's or two of work on the books so to take care of the new customer he must have needed help. And the logical choice was his younger son Christian Ernst, whom he trained and who produced his first medal the year before in 1711 as shown on table above. It probably was nothing fancy, but a somewhat altered copy of a similar medal Forster Nr. 775. Thus we see Müller's medals factory manufacturing Russian medal dies during the years 1713 and 1714 all of which are marked with M — a clear novelty for the Müller business.

As can be seen from the table, P.H.M. initials dominate the work produced between 1702 (here chosen quite arbitrarily) and 1712 (right before the Russian order). On dies manufactured during the 1713-1714 peiod, as shown by the Shchukina data, only medal dies or actually medals with M on Av. were manufactured, with the exception of 1709, which bore full P.H.M. father's initials. Both father and son must have been busy during this period and due to the fact that only the face side bore medalist's initial, one may not get a complete picture as to the distribution of work and the authorship of reverse sides. Only two reverses are known bearing a star (★) normally attributed to father Müller. But in 1714 P.H.M. initials reappear again, Forster Nr. 785, but not in the same frequency. And two years later in 1716 with Forster Nr. 800 we again see M on medals. This trend will now continue up to his father's death. As an aberation P.H.M. reappeared only once in 1718 never to be seen again, Forster Nr 820, a year before his death. One can only speculate why there are no P.H.M. medals between 1716 and 1718, although, if I identified them correctly, those marked with a star (★) did reapeare again after a few years of interruption, suggesting that Müller the father may have been also quite busy. So, steadily as before, the Müller business appears to have continued up to father's death in 1719. But did his son continue in his father's business? No strong assertions could be made by examing the obove table which shows only the years 1728 and 1729 as the last entries for work signed with CM or C. E. Müller.

So, who created the whole so called Russian war with Sweden Müller medals series? Based on above table I believe that due to the urgency of this order (numerous events for which medals were requested were already almost a decade old!) father and son collaborated together and completed over two dozen dies in less than two years. Normality in Müller business was restored after this order was delivered in 1715 and we see father and son working on new projects the largest of which was the Jubelee of the Augsburg confession, for which separate medals for various cities or communities were necessary.

A further reinforcement as to the identity behind initial M comes from the latest 1997 German publication of the P.H. Müller biography which on the basis of archival documents kept by the city of Augsburg, clearly states that his younger son Christian Ernst used to sign his work with M, C.M. or C.E.M. (and C.H. Müller — *see above table for the year 1729*).

Conclusions and opinions expressed in this cabinet study are not offered as the last word on the Müller partnership in creating the Russian series of medals, but perhapt could serve as a subject for further discussion and research.

NOTE: Calendar year for creation of Russian medal dies was taken directly from the Shchukina catalog of Müller medals in the Hermitage page 21 citing dates on Müller bills submitted to the Russian government while the year indicated by Forster is considered to be close or equal to the same as the calendar year (i.e., the year of their creation or issue)..

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same, vol. IV, London 1909, "Müller, P. H.", pp 196 -205. Page 197: "... Ph. H. Müller's medals, which are usually signed: P.H.M. or marked with a Star; those signed with an M. only are supposed to have been executed in collaboration with some of his sons..." This is not brought out in any Russian numismatic publication I know, including A.A. Stakhovich, who made it virtually his life's work in collecting and studying Müller's work. Forrer further states that Müller for a longer time was employed in Nürnberg by Lauffer; this assertion also found its way into the Shchukina work. However, F. Brenheimer above, quoting Schlickeyesen und Pallman, «Erklärung der Abkürzungen auf Münzen...», Berlin 1896, S. 379, states that Müller visited Nürnberg only for a short time. This is also brought out in Müller's latest biography by G. Werner, see below, that he spent, hardly any time outside of Augsburg.

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ADDENDUM: Medals with "M" and "P.H.M." in Reichel's Collection. St. Petersburg 1842.

Nr. 921. 1702. Auf Eroberung von Noteburg/Schlüsselburg Brustbild im Harnisch und Hermelinmantel, auf der Brust ein Medusenkopf. Am Arm: M.

Nr. 941. 1703. Auf Eroberung von Neuen-Schanz an der Nawa. Brustbild wie auf Nr. 921. (i.e.:M).

Nr. 946. 1703. Auf Gründung von SPB. Auf dem Abschnitt des hervorgestreckten Arme: M.

Nr. 949. 1703. Auf die sichere Schifffahrt. Brustbild wie Nr. 946. (i.e.: M).

Nr. 968. 1704. Auf Eroberung von Dorpat. Brustbild wie Nr. 921. (i.e. M).

Nr. 971. 1704. Auf die Erstürmung der Stadt Narwa. Brustbild wie 921. (i.e. M).

Nr. 1094. 1708. Auf den Sieg bei Leesno. Brustbild wie 921. (i.e. M).

Nr. 1112. 1709. Auf den Sieg bei Poltawa. P.H.M.

Nr. 1132. 1710. Auf Eroberung von Wiburg. Brustbild wie 921. (i.e. M).

Nr. 1135. 1710. Auf Eroberung von Reval. Brustbild wie 921. (i.e. M).

Nr. 1138. 1710. Auf Eroberung Riga. Brustbild wie 1094 (921 var.) (i.e. M).

Nr. 1140. 1710. Auf Eroberung von Dünamünde. Brustbild wie auf 921. (i.e. M).

Nr. 1150. 1710. Auf Eroberung Lieflands. Brustbild wie 921. (i.e. M)

# MISCELEANAE.

Unbekannte Ch. E. Müller Medaille auf Eroberung von Riga, 1710.  
Unlifted Ch. E. Müller Medal for Capturing Riga, 1710.  
Неизвѣстная медаль Хр. Э. Мюллера за взятіе Риги, 1710.



His Czarist Majesty, on whose orders also this medal was struck, is shown on Avers in harness and with laurel wreath on his head and with his name and title as follows: PETRVS ALEXII FILIUS DEI GRATIA RVSSORVM IMPERATOR MAGNVS DVX MOSCOVIÆ. Peter Alexievitch by the Grace of God Czar of Ruffians and Grand Duke in Moscow.

The Revers depicts besieged and with bombs threatened Riga. The legend above is made up of a chronogram which reads: RIGA REDIT RVSSIS APTO CERTAMINE CASTRIS. Its content shows, that the Moscovite people succeeded in bringing the city back, after cutting it off. Although, since Riga was never under Moscovite domination, the choice of the word REDIT is not suitable here. Below one reads: CAPTA DIE VIII. IULII. S. V. Captured 8 July according to the old calendar.

Его Царское Величество, по чьему приказу сия медаль выбита была, представленъ на лицевой сторонѣ въ бронѣ и съ лавровымъ вѣнкомъ на головѣ. Имя и титулъ Ихъ гласить: ПЕТРЪ АЛЕКСІЕВИЧЪ ЦАРЬ И ВЕЛИКІЙ КНЯЗЬ МОСКОВСКІЙ.

Оборотная сторона представляетъ окруженную Ригу устрасаемую бомбами. Поверху надпись состоящая изъ хронограммы: RIGA REDIT RVSSIS APTO CERTAMINE CASTRIS. Ея содержаніе показываетъ, что московскому народу, отрѣзавъ городъ, удалось возвратитъ Ригу обратно. Поскольку Рига никогда не пребывала подъ московскимъ управленіемъ, выборъ слова REDIT неудаченъ. Внизу читаемъ: CAPTA DIE VIII. IULII. S. V. Взята 8 Юля по старому стилю.

Ihre Czarische Majestät, auf deren Befehl auch diese Medaille geprägt, geharnischt, und mit einem Lorbeer = Kranz auf dem Haupt, zeigen sich auf dem Avers, mit Nahmen und Titul, wie folget : PETRVS ALEXII FILIUS DEI GRATIA RVSSORVM IMPERATOR MAGNVS DVX MOSCOVIÆ. Peter Alexievitch/von Gottes Gnaden Czar der Ruffen/ Groß Fürst in Moskau.

Der Revers stellet das belagerte, und mit Bomben geängstigte Riga vor Augen. Die Überschrift bestehet aus einem Chronosticho dieses Lauts: RIGA REDIT RVSSIS APTO CERTAMINE CASTRIS. Der Inhalt zeigt an, daß es den Moscovitischen Völkern/nachdem sie die Stadt bisher eingeschlossen gehalten/ gelungen/ sie wieder an sich zu bringen. Wiewol, da Riga niemals unter Moscovitischer Botmäßigkeit gewesen, das Wort REDIT nicht zu schicklich angebracht zu seyn scheint. Unten liest man : CAPTA DIE VIII. IULII. S. V. Eingenommen den 8. Julii/nach dem alten Calendar - Stylo.

Metall: Silber.

Gewicht/Weight: ca 60 gr.

Durchmesser/Dia: 46 mm

V. Arsfiev,  
Philadelphia, P.A.  
Mai 2012.



**Sweden against Denmark, Poland and Russia in the Northern War 1700-1710  
as documented by Medals in Negelein's Thesaurus 1711-1720.**  
**Швеція противъ Даніи, Польши и Россіи въ Сѣверной Войнѣ 1700-1710 гг.  
представленная въ медаляхъ опубликованныхъ  
въ Thesaures-ѣ Негеляйна 1711-1720.**

*Для шведскаго короля Карла XII годъ 1700 былъ началомъ долготѣхъ военныхъ дѣйствій противъ Даніи придя на помощь своему тестю Гольштинскому герцогу Фридриху при осадѣ Тѣннингена и окончился побѣдой надъ Петромъ I или освобожденіемъ Нарвы. Эти дѣйствія дали начало большой серіи медалей гдѣ возхваляется побѣда шведскаго оружія надъ тремя врагами: Даніей, Польшей и Россіей.*

*For Sweden's Charles XII, by coming to the aid of his father-in-law Prince Frederick of Holstein at the siege of Tönningen, the year 1700 was the beginning of a long series of military engagements against Denmark and ended with the defeat of Peter I and liberation of Narva. This was the start of a large series of medals which glorified the Swedish victories over Denmark, Poland and Russia.*

The Negelein work offers a unique possibility to present a chronological panorama of commemorative and award medals issued early in the XVIIIth cent. by two major warring sides — Sweden and Russia. What is especially valuable particularly for Russian numismatics, is the chronology and freshness of the material at the time of publication. Negelein captures in word and picture the events which historians and medalist just began to document by glorifying the victors and admonishing the vanquished. The arena is large — from Denmark in the West to Finland in the North, to Russia in the East and Turkey in the South with Poland and Germany in-between. And it all was centered around control of the Baltic region. Russia, virtually landlocked at that time except in far North, was looking for a window to the world with political and commercial objectives. Sweden, on the other hand, which controlled the entire Baltic region, was not about to relinquish its dominance. But things began to happen. Peter I believed it was critical for Russia to gain control of Narva and in October 1700 he made a move and under his command laid siege of the city with its nearby former XVth cent Russian fortress Ivangorod. Carl XII who just rescued his father in law Duke Friedrich of Holstein at a battle of Tönningen in Denmark, hurried with 15000 troops to Liefland to rescue Narva. For weeks the city with 6000 strong garrison was surrounded by 80000 Russian troops of which 14000 was cavalry. It was mercilessly bombarded, but to no avail. The citizenry and the garrison threw off all attacks. As Carl XII arrived, in less than two days the Russian positions were overrun, thousands killed or taken prisoners among whom was practically the whole Russian high command, which consisted primarily of foreign nationals. By leaving the Russian encampment a day before the battle started, Peter I escaped the imprisonment and humiliation of losing to a numerically much smaller force. The Swedish victory of 20 Nov. 1700 thus became the starting point of a war which will last another 20 years.

Quickly the news of Swedish overwhelming victory over a culturally and technologically inferior enemy spread and medalists got to work as can be evidenced by the number of medals listed below for this year attributed to the Swedish side. Of the 52 total medals issued by both sides commemorating events for the next ten years as listed in Thesaurus, 16 alone were struck just for the Swedish victory of Nov. 1700 at Narva. As is farther shown by medals, the next three years Carl XII was busy trying to bring Poland and Prussia under control, while Russia made a successful run on a small island fortress in the North called Noteburg which she lost 90 years prior. To compensate his earlier losses in late 1702 Peter I issues a proclamation (Plaquat) offering foreign officers service in Russian military units on conditions equal to



Peter I of Russia      Frider. Aug. of Pol. & Saxony  
Charles XII of Sweden  
Frider. IV of Denm. & Norv.      Frider. Wilh. of Prussia

those of other European potentates. Concurrently during 1703 and 1704 he builds his future capital and a naval fortress to defend it, Nrs. 20 and 22. From this time on he starts making noticeable gains in Liefland and regains Narva but again only with an overwhelming force. Smaller scale engagements would take place in the next four years with mixed results up to October 1708. Here at Leesno, because Carl XII was impatient and did not wait arrival of his reinforcements, was Peter I first victory over the regular Swedish army. This was a prelude to the summer of 1709, when Carl XII, ill prepared, with overstretched supply lines and probably with some overconfidence as to capabilities of his new Ukrainian allies, engages the Russian forces at Poltava and suffers another devastating defeat. Only good luck prevented him from being captured as the medals marked in red indicate. The last two medals in green commemorate non-combative life of Charles XII waiting for an opportune moments to return back to Sweden.

Although in the past Russian czars, in case of military victories, would reward their soldiers and officers with specially made gold coins struck for distribution using common coin dies or just plain foreign ducats, here we see an emergence of a specially made award for a given engagement. However, Swedes were the first to issue such in 1700 for valor at Narva to her officers in silver and gold, see medal 8) above, followed two years later by Russia, medal 17). But the largest number of awards in silver for wear were issued for Poltava victory to soldiers, which to this day are treasured collector's item. (Note: See also the art of engraving that medal over that century under Tables below).

From his prior trips in Europe Peter I learned the political value of medals and around in 1712 or so through General Field-Marshal count Jacob Bruce, then his trusted friend on a business trip in Europe, commissioned one of the more famous German medalists to prepare dies for his victories (see a note on Müller medals below). Being, among many things, himself also an artist and poet, Negelein undoubtedly knew Ph. H. Müller personally, who provided him with copies of his work commissioned by Peter I. Thus beginning with the 1716 tenth issue of Thesaurus we see the first medal signed by P. H. Müller, page 905, while all the other that were struck bore only one initial letter M and as such not attributed by Negelein to P. H. Müller, but simply stated as bearing with an initial letter M. These appeared in issues 10, 11 for the years 1716 and 1717 and then again in the first issue for the next decade or issue 12 in 1720.

Font, Normal: Military action — struck on orders of the Swedish court in Sweden or by free-lancers in Germany.  
Bold: Military action — struck on orders of Peter I in Russia or in Germany and by free-lancers in Germany.  
Italic: General Russian or Swedish non-combative commemorations.

1700.

- 1) On Sweden's victory over Russians at Narva 1700, p. 58, Iversen —.
- 2) " " " " " " " " p. 59, Iversen —.
- 3) " " " " " " " " p. 60a, Iversen —
- 4) " " " " " " " " p. 60b, Iversen —
- 5) " " " " " " " " p. 61a, Iversen —
- 6) " " " " " " " " p. 61b, Iversen —
- 7) " " " " " " " " p. 62a, Iversen —
- 8) " " " " " " " " p. 62b, Iversen — Award medal for wear in silver and gold for officers.
- 9) " " " " " " " " p. 62-63, Iversen —
- 10) " " " " " Danes and Poles 1700, p. 63a, Iversen —
- 11) " " " " " Danes and Poles 1700, p. 63b, Iversen —
- 12) " " " " " Danes and Poles 1700, p. 64, Iversen —
- 13) " " " " " Danes and Poles 1700, p. 65, Iversen —
- 14) On Löwenhaupt's victories in Holstein, Zealand and Narva 1700, p. 1004, Iversen —.
- 15) In memory of General Kanut Löwenhaupt killed in the battle at Narva 1700, p.1005, Iversen —.
- 16) On Swedish victory over Poles at Riga 1701, p. 126. Inscription on obv.: DES GROSSEN CAROLS KÄMPFEN KAN RVSS V SACHSEN DAEMPFFEN. Iversen —. /The fights of great Carl can get Russians and Saxons depressed (or steamed up).

1702.

- 17) On capture of Noteburg/Schlüßelburg, 1702, p. 204, Iversen XIII. Silver award medal.

1703.

- 18) On Swedish victories in Polish Prussia 1703, p. 302, Iversen —
- 19) " " " " " " " " p. 304, Iversen —.
- 20) On construction of fortress Petersburg 1703, p. 1035, Iversen XVI. Unmarked Müller medal.

1704.

- 21) On capture of the Narva fortress 1704, p. 1043, Iversen XIX. 2).
- 22) On construction of Cronschnloß, 1704, p. 1046, Iversen XVII. Unmarked Müller medal.
- 23) On recapturing of Liefland 1704, p. 383, Iversen XX.
- 24) On capture of Narva, 1704, p. 384, Iversen XIX. 4).

1705.

- 25) On Carl's XII victory at Gemäurthoff in Kurland 1705, p.1053, Iversen —.

1706.

- 26) On Carl XII Herculean deeds, 1706. p. 633.
- 27) On numerous fortunate engagements, 1706. p. 635.

- 28-29) On victories over Poles and Russians, 1706, p. 639-640, Iversen — . Two medals of Carl XII. in Polish dress.. On rev. two columns being destroyed by a lion, one of which symbolizes Russia.
- 30) On Peter I victory at unknown location 1706, p. 650, ill.; like Iversen XXII 1), for Kalish, but without inscription on rev. A gold award medal.  
1708,
- 31) On Carl II victory at Holoffzin (near Mohilev) 1708, p. 800. Iversen — . That was his last victory over Russian forces.
- 32) On the battle at Leesno 1708, p. 818, without edge inscription Iversen XXIII. 6). By Müller, but without his markings.  
1709.
- 33) On the battle near Poltava 1709, p. 905, Iversen XXIV, 3). P.H.M. Struck on Peter I order.
- 34) " " " " " " " " 906, Iversen XXIV, 4).
- 35) " " " " " " " " 907, Iversen XXIV. 7).
- 36) " " " " " " " " 908, Iversen XXIV. 2). A silver award medal for soldiers.
- 37) " " " " " " " " 908, Iversen XXIII, 6).
- 38) " capture of General count Löwenhaupt 1709, p. 909 ill. No m. n. Iversen XXV. With M.
- 39) " *Carl XII stay and his rest in Bender 1709*, p. 960, Iversen —.
- 40) " " " " " " " " " " , p. 961, Iversen —.
- 41) " " " " " " " " " " , p. 961, Iversen —.
- 42) " " " *Herculean deeds and bringing liberty, 1709*, p. 961, Iversen —.
- 43) *On Czar Peter's piety and courage* p. 962, Iversen XXIV, 8); by Hautsch.  
1710.
- 1) On capture of Elbingen 1710, p. 8, letter M. Iversen XXXVII; by Müller.
- 2) On capture of Riga 1710, p. 44, letter M. Iversen XXIX 1); by Müller.
- 3) On same event 1710, p. 44, Iversen XXIX 2); by an anonymous medalist.
- 4) On capture of Dünamünde fortress 1710, p. 45, letter M. Iversen XXX; by Müller.
- 5) On capture of Kexholm 1710, p. 52, letter M, Iversen XXXIII; by Müller.
- 6) On capture of Reval and its Fortress 1710, p. 55. Error: Reverse instead of Avers. Letter M implied. Iversen XXXIV; by Müller.
- 7) On conquests in Finland and Lievland 1710, p. 56. Letter M implied. Iversen XXXV; by Müller.
- 8) On conquests in the year 1710, p. 57. Letter M implied. Iversen XXXVI; by Müller.
- 9) *On a fortunate rescue during Carl XII flight South to Bender 1709-1710*, p. 69, C. Wermuth. Iversen —.
- 10) *Carl XII sojourn in Bender 170X*, p. 70.

#### References.

- Negelein, J., *Thesaurus Numismatum...* Nürnberg 1717 and 1720.  
Iversen, J., *Medaillen auf die Thaten Peter des Grossen*. St. Petersburg 1872.

The medal that commemorates the very first actions of the warring sides in that war is not listed in Negelein, but is briefly described and shown in the Gröning's medals reference, here on Table I. It covers three events — victory at Tönningen in Holstein and liberation of Narva and Riga in Liefland, all in the same year 1700 and is shown here on the cover.

