

WETTSTREIT

PORTRÄTMEDAILLEN DER DEUTSCHEN RENAISSANCE

IN ERZ

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DEUTSCHER KUNSTVERLAG

IMPRESSUM

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Albrecht Dürer u. a., Medaille auf Karl V., 1521, München, Staatliche Münzsammlung (Kat.-Nr. 100), und Hans Schwarz, Medaille auf Hans Burgkmair, 1518, München, Staatliche Münzsammlung (Kat.-Nr. 61)

Ganzseitige Abbildungen

S. 8: Medallenschrank der Münchner Münzsammlung aus der Zeit Georg Habichs. München, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Möbel-Depot | S. 12–13: Tablar mit Medaillen von Hans Schwarz, München, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Depot | S. 14: Christoph Angermair, Personifikation der Numismatik. Münzschrein Maximilians I. von Bayern, rechte Tür (Ausschnitt), 1618 u. 1624. München, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum (Abb. 120) | S. 28: Benedikt Burkhart, Schauguldiner Maximilians I., 1505. München, Staatliche Münzsammlung (Kat.-Nr. 24) | S. 34: Petrarcameister (nach Vermessung durch Jörg Seld), Vogelschauplan von Augsburg (Ausschnitt), kolorierter Holzschnitt, 1521. Augsburg, Kunstsammlungen und Museen | S. 46: Meister der Dosenköpfe, Porträtmedaillon der Anna Dornle (Ausschnitt), Holz, gefasst, 1525. Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstammer | S. 58: Hans Reinhart d. Ä., sog. Dreifaltigkeitsmedaille (Ausschnitt), 1544. München, Staatliche Münzsammlung (Kat.-Nr. 179) | S. 68: Peter Flötner, Medaille auf die Neubefestigung der Stadt Nürnberg (Ausschnitt), 1538. München, Staatliche Münzsammlung (Kat.-Nr. 112) | S. 80: Matthes Gebel, Medaille auf Amico Taegio (Ausschnitt), 1529. München, Staatliche Münzsammlung | S. 90–91: Tablar mit Medaillen von Friedrich Hagenauer. München, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Depot | S. 92: Matthes Gebel, Medaille auf Albrecht Dürer (Ausschnitt), 1528.

München, Staatliche Münzsammlung | S. 116: Christoph Weiditz, Medaille auf Wolfgang zu Montfort, 1530; unbekannter Münzmeister, Wolfgang zu Montfort (Halbtaler), ohne Jahr. München, Staatliche Münzsammlung (Kat.-Nr. 32a–b) | S. 128: sog. Brandenburger Trinkschale, Fuß mit Medaillen von Matthes Gebel auf Mitglieder der Familie Brandenburg-Ansbach (Ausschnitt), 1536. München, Schatzkammer der Residenz (Kat.-Nr. 51a) | S. 144: Martino Rota, Antonio Abondio (Ausschnitt), Kupferstich, 1574. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Abb. 78) | S. 164: Hans Schwarz, Grablegung Christi (Ausschnitt), Relief, 1516. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Skulpturensammlung (Kat.-Nr. 76) | S. 180: Albrecht Dürer u. a., Rückseite der Medaille auf Karl V. (Ausschnitt), 1521. München, Staatliche Münzsammlung (Kat.-Nr. 100) | S. 280: Hans Kels, Rückseite der Medaille auf Georg (II) Fugger (Ausschnitt), 1541. Staatliche Münzsammlung München (Kat.-Nr. 204) | S. 296: nach Jacques (II) de Gheyn, Abraham Gorlaeus (Ausschnitt), Kupferstich, 1601. Privatsammlung (Kat.-Nr. 230) | S. 316–317: Tablar mit Medaillen von Valentin Maler, München, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Depot | S. 318: Hans Schwarz (?), (Selbst-)Bildnis mit Zirkel (?; Ausschnitt), ohne Jahr (1519/20). München, Staatliche Münzsammlung (Kat.-Nr. 60)

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INHALT

6	DANK AUTOREN
7	ZU DIESEM BAND
9	VORWORT
	ESSAYS
15	Ulrich Pfisterer WETTSTREIT DER KÖPFE UND KÜNSTE REPRÄSENTATION, REPRODUKTION UND DAS NEUE BILDMEDIUM DER MEDAILLE NÖRDLICH DER ALPEN
29	Heinz Winter MAXIMILIAN I. UND DAS AUFKOMMEN DER MEDAILLE NÖRDLICH DER ALPEN
35	Annette Kranz EIN ›WHO'S WHO‹ DER FRÜHEN NEUZEIT ZUR GESELLSCHAFTLICHEN VERORTUNG DER PORTRÄTMEDAILLE DER DEUTSCHEN RENAISSANCE
47	Martin Hirsch WEITE PERSPEKTIVEN DIE BEZIEHUNG VON MEDAILLE UND KLEINPLASTIK
59	Rainer Grund DIE MEDAILLE ALS MEDIUM IN DER REFORMATIONENZEIT
69	Hermann Maué JENSEITS DER PORTRÄTMEDAILLE VOM SPOTT BIS ZUR BELOHNUNG
81	Walter Cupperi BEYOND THE NOTION OF GERMAN MEDALS SOME CASES OF TRANSNATIONAL PATRONAGE
	KATALOG
93	I. MEDAILLE UND BILDNISKÜNSTE KONTEXTE UND KONKURRENZEN EINES NEUEN MEDIUMS
117	II. MEDAILLEN UND MÜNZEN
129	III. ANLÄSSE UND FUNKTIONEN
145	IV. DER MEDAILLEUR HINTERGRUND, STATUS, ARBEITSTECHNIK

165	V. HANS SCHWARZ EIN MEDAILLEUR JENSEITS DER MEDAILLEN
181	VI. MEDAILLEN IM DEUTSCHSPRACHIGEN RAUM EIN GEOGRAPHISCHER BLICKWINKEL
185	VI.1 DIE REICHSTAGE EINE EPHEMERE GEOGRAPHIE
197	VI.2 AUGSBURG UND NÜRNBERG
215	VI.3 DIE HABSBURGISCHEN HÖFE UND LANDE
226	VI.4 STRASSBURG UND KÖLN
236	VI.5 WÜRTTEMBERG, BADEN UND DIE PFALZ
243	VI.6 MÜNCHEN, LANDSHUT UND ALTBAYERN
257	VI.7 SACHSEN, BRANDENBURG UND DER NORDOSTEN
270	VI.8 GRENZVERKEHR
281	VII. ZUR IKONOLOGIE DER MEDAILLEN-RÜCKSEITEN
297	VIII. WISSENSORDNUNGEN DER MEDAILLE SAMMLUNGSWESEN, VISUELLE KOMPETENZEN, DEUTUNGSKONTEXTE
	ANHANG
316	Manuel Teget-Welz BIOGRAPHIEN DER MEDAILLEURE
336	LITERATUR
367	ORTSREGISTER
369	PERSONENREGISTER
3##	BILDNACHWEIS
376	IMPRESSUM

BEYOND THE NOTION OF GERMAN MEDALS SOME CASES OF TRANSNATIONAL PATRONAGE

The scholarly significance of ›Die deutschen Schaumünzen des XVI. Jahrhunderts‹, the monumental corpus of the cast and carved medals published by Georg Habich and his collaborators in 1929–1934, has long been misunderstood. Such a pioneering effort of classification should have initiated discussion and spurred integration, as it is clear that many of its pages offer tentative solutions and temporary arrangements (especially in their oscillating systematics). But it did not. Habich dedicated several pages of his corpus to pointing out gaps in scholarship and thus prepared the ground for a totally new comprehensive history of the topic, but this never materialized.¹ Instead, Habich's volumes were received as a definitive settling of the matter, as a reference handbook. Scholars of the second half of the twentieth century might have reconsidered his ›kunstlandschaftlichen‹ approach, his enthusiasm for the spiritual products of ›Deutschum‹ and his preference for the medals of the first decades of the sixteenth century in terms of the specific historical context in which Habich had worked² – an operation that may well have opened up further paths of research. This did not, however, take place. Habich's organization of his material into schools (which also reflected his idiosyncrasies towards the struck medals and late sixteenth-century production) continues to shape the map of ›German Renaissance medals‹.³

Yet, one aspect in which Habich's work was particularly promising was its careful consideration of all the possible contacts between, on one hand, the German medalists, and, on the other hand, their Italian and Netherlandish colleagues. Unfortunately, neither of these premises has been fully developed in subsequent scholarship. A reassessment of the national cultural boundaries constructed by nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholarship implies more than the acknowledgement of the contribution of non-German artists (Giovanni Candida, Adriano Fiorentino, Gian Marco Cavalli, Leone Leoni, Antonio Abondio, Giovanni Pietro de Pomis, François Briot, Claude de la Cloche and Jan de Bommaert) and the circulation of non-German artifacts (for instance, Pisanello's medals in Augsburg) to the development of medals in the German-speaking area.⁴ First, it must be stressed that patrons and sit-

ters of medals in this area did not all come from German-speaking territories and live permanently within these borders. Second, studies of medals in the sixteenth century today must rethink the traditional ties between place, language and forms of portraiture in a more flexible way.⁵ The following contribution reassesses the notion of ›German medals‹ by taking these two considerations into account. Specifically, this text focuses on medal commissions that involved a transnational gap and long-distance relations between the patron of the portrait and the medalist, or between the sitter and the patron. This paper aims to demonstrate the extent to which the field of Renaissance medals can be an important arena to test the questions raised by the geography of art and cross-cultural studies.

Political, military, commercial and religious reasons brought a considerable number of visitors to the territories between Trent, the Rhine and the Oder in the sixteenth century. Because of this, German medalists also received the commissions of merchants, travelers, diplomats, vassals and army officers from neighboring and remote areas. The point here is not a simple matter of geographical scope: the realization of medals made at long distance, or during temporary encounters between patrons and artists who usually lived far apart, often implied exchange processes of significant variety and complexity – a phenomenon that is not new in the heart of a pre-modern Empire. Depending on the degree of hybridization and innovation of each case, these processes can be described through different paradigms, which range from negotiation to collaboration, from cultural transfer to transculturality. From this point of view, the adjective ›transnational‹ in the title of this text must refer to the whole spectrum of these individual cases and ›nation‹ must be understood in terms of linguistic communities.

To a certain extent, the circulation of patrons along the routes of central Europe facilitated the development of shared forms of self-representation, reciprocal recognition and visual communication. The making and distribution of medals was part of this process. Therefore, to assume that

the production of medal portraits can always be understood in local or regional terms is to misrepresent the situation. Another false premise is that in most cases the success of medals (or other exported artifacts) can be traced back to their material creators (or rather the creators of their graphic or plastic models). According to this view, the diffusion of ›German medals‹ was a consequence of their intrinsic quality.⁶ Yet, if we admit that there cannot be issues of intrinsic quality in a social phenomenon such as art, the crucial point becomes another one: in the epoch of increasingly intense cultural exchange that we still call the Renaissance, the florid metalwork traditions of the German-speaking areas interacted with social networks and cultural agencies that were spread over a much broader territory (map 1, p. 184). The medal of Philippine Welser (1527–1580), usually ascribed to Leone Leoni (1508–1590), is a good example of these complex interactions: in 1551, Philippine, a citizen of Augsburg – a city full of medalists – requested a medal from Leoni, an Italian sculptor in transit and portraitist to the Emperor. Leoni realized a model in wax but did not replicate it in gold, silver or bronze. The medals known to have been made from this model were cast in Brussels by a Flemish sculptor, Jacques Jonghelinck (1530–1606), on behalf of his patron Antoine Perrenot (1517–1586), a prelate born in Franche-Comté, who had good relations with Leone and Philippine.⁷ This example highlights a seminal point: although most patrons ordered their medals locally, this was not always necessarily the case. The motivations that oriented their preference toward a specific workshop were much broader than a simple identification with ›the style‹ of their homeland or linguistic community. As medals were objects made to please their owners and recipients, they can be seen as the product of multiple choices, rather than of a linear process resulting from ›alchemical factors‹, so to speak, such as ›Geist‹, blood and ground.

Trade and Education as Factors of Interculturality

Among the networks that foster cultural exchange, the large companies of bankers, merchants and entrepreneurs of the sixteenth century deserve special consideration.⁸ If families such as the Fuggers could exert a significant patronage, however, this was not a simple consequence of their wealth, commercial network and political position in flourishing cities such as Augsburg. Indeed, their business put them in contact with high-ranking individuals with a well-developed sense for self-representation, and their ›factors‹ – the directors of their trade establishments – were integrated into the elites of major Italian, Spanish and Netherlandish cities. Yet, if several members of the Fugger family and company could establish successful cross-cultural relations, this was also due to factors such as their education and their experience as travelers. These circumstances are reflected in medals whose realization was sometimes de-localized with respect to the residence of their sitter.

The medals of Christoph Müllich (Mühlich, Mielich) from Augsburg (1493–post 1554), Jakob Fugger's nephew, illustrate a familiar facet of

this phenomenon: the case of patrons who demonstrate affection for the medal production of a specific area, usually their homeland. In his capacity of factor of the Fuggers in Toledo (1518, 1528–1530), Rome (1524, 1536), Naples (1532) and Venice (doc. 1537–1546, 1548, 1552–1553), Müllich's responsibilities kept him away from Augsburg for long periods of time.⁹ Moreover, he had a well-developed social network in Italy, which would have made it easy for him to identify good local medalists.¹⁰ Christoph paid for the artifacts that Jakob bought and stored in Venice – in the ›Fondaco dei Tedeschi‹ – and was likely in contact with several artists.¹¹ Yet, Christoph seems to have organized his first portrait commissions so that most of his medals were made by artists active in Augsburg, in spite of the fact that he lived in Rome and then in Venice. A circular portrait was carved in wood by Christoph Weiditz in M . D . XXIX: it represents Müllich as a ›togatus‹ in profile, as in Roman classical coins. As Weiditz traveled to Spain and then across northern Italy in that year, it is likely that Müllich encountered him personally during this trip.¹² The following year, the same medalist carved a second wood portrait of Christoph that represented him in three-quarter profile in contemporary clothing (cat. no. 113). This time, Weiditz had left Augsburg to follow the imperial court to Brussels, and Müllich had obtained his ›medallia‹ thanks to the offices of Johannes Dantiscus (Jan Dantyszek, 1485–1548), who was also in Brussels, and other intermediaries.¹³ Müllich's medals of 1533 and 1534 (fig. 44),¹⁴ preserved in bronze specimens, were also made by Weiditz.¹⁵ Finally, even Christoph's last medal, published by Börner as a work ›in the manner of‹ Leone Leoni (fig. 45),¹⁶ may have been commissioned in Augsburg.¹⁷ In 1551, Leoni spent several weeks in Augsburg to portray Archiduke Ferdinand of Austria, his son Maximilian, Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle and Philippine Welser in medals; Müllich may have commissioned a medal from Leoni because he had become the ›au courant‹ portraitist in Augsburg.¹⁸ In Christoph's medal, details such as the shape of the nostrils, the cut of the eyes, the rendering of the curls in the obverse and the design of the altar and the drapery in the reverse are persuasive evidence that Leoni realized at least the wax model from which the medal was cast.

Müllich's medals, however, should not be seen as an example of radical cultural resistance to the kind of small portraits that were made



44 Christoph Weiditz, medal of Christoph Müllich, 1534.
München, Staatliche Münzsammlung



45 After Leone Leoni (?), Christoph Müllich, 1545 or 1551.
Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Münzkabinett

in Rome and in Venice. The traces of his superregional experience and his awareness of the character of the medals made in Italy are not to be found in his preference for specific artists, but rather in the kind of emblematic reverses that he chose for his portraits. In Augsburg, medals were not always provided with reverses, and heraldic imagery was preferred for such use. Instead, Müllich chose reverses that visualized the kind of ›motti di spirito‹ for which he was famous, according to Girolamo Parabosco's ›Diporti‹ (ca. 1550–1551). For instance, the motto FEMINEO · IMPERIO · MITESCUNT · EFFERA · CORDA · (›very fierce hearts become gentle under the rule of a woman‹, fig. 44), referred to a lion submitting to a female figure; NEMO · ADEO · FERVS · EST · QVI NON · MITESCERE · POSSIT. (›nobody is so fierce that he cannot become gentle‹) comments on the representation of the lion beheaded by Samson, whose corpse was found full of honey (cat. no. 113). Parabosco's praise of Christoph as a quick-witted man highlights the social significance of the rhetorical qualities demonstrated by the mottos of his medals. In the aristocratic literary circles of Venice, the invention of mottos in Latin and Italian was closely connected with the realization of ›imprese‹ and poems, namely with high forms of self-representation. Müllich belonged to a group of Augsburg merchants who were proud of their humanistic education and made his cultural claims very clear:¹⁹ he requested two medals that represented him as a ›togatus‹, an iconography adopted for orators, humanists and poets;²⁰ and he circulated medals that demonstrated his claim to fame through witty mottos, sometimes in association with classical imagery.²¹ Through these portraits, he represented himself in a way that fully corresponded to the social expectations of the Italian ›élites‹, even if most of his medals had been made in Augsburg. His case can be described in terms of a successful cultural transfer between areas with slightly different medal conventions.

A case of the opposite, in terms of the direction and character of the medal commission, is that of the Venetian merchant Daniel de Hanna/van der Haan († 1579), whose company had agencies in Verona, Antwerp, London and other cities in Italy. Daniel came from a Flemish family that enjoyed the rights of citizenship in Venice from 1545 and seems to have had a particular interest in medals as a form of self-representa-

tion.²² Daniel himself was portrayed in at least three mid-size and two token-size medals.²³ While some of these unattributed pieces may have been made in the Veneto, at least one (undated) is stylistically and typologically so close to the works of the Swiss medalist Lorenz Rosenbaum (doc. 1535–1570) that Habich attributed the medal to him.²⁴ Unfortunately, the circumstances that may have brought an artist active between Augsburg, Schaffhausen and St. Gallen to portray the Flemish-Venetian merchant remain unclear. Unlike Müllich, Daniel de Hanna does not seem to have had family or business ties with Augsburg. However, his choice to commission one of his medals from a Swiss artist, rather than from a Venetian one, is undoubtedly significant.

In the case of families such as the Fuggers, requesting medals from Italian artists can also be considered as an expression of cultural and personal ties. Yet, the Fuggers' ties with Venice, Bologna and Rome did not stem from a background of emigration such as that of Müllich, who had moved to Italy to live and work. Johann Jakob (1516–1575) and Hans Fugger (1531–1598) spent years in Italy and France during their education.²⁵ Even if the main goal of these stays was to enable them to speak several languages fluently, develop an international network and get acquainted with the habits of other countries, the consequences of such an experience in terms of cultural identity were much broader. The sixteen-year-old Karl Fugger (1543–1580, fig. 46) was portrayed by Pastorino Pastorini (1508–1592) during an educational stay in Italy in ›1559‹.²⁶ It is likely that Karl sat for the portrait in Ferrara, where Pastorino was master of the Mint from 1554, or in a city nearby. Although Karl was never



46 Pastorino Pastorini, Karl Fugger, 1559. München, Staatliche Münzsammlung

enrolled at the University of Bologna, his father Johann Jakob had been a student there and in 1565 visited the city again, together with William of Wittelsbach. Thus, Karl's family had ties to the Emilian area. Moreover, Karl's cousins Marx, Christoph and Jakob were also portrayed in Italy during their years of study, albeit in paintings.²⁷ Presumably, having a portrait made during a travel was a way to bring home a material form of memory of that cultural experience. The association between a medal commission and travel amplified the commemorative reference of the portrait (which was usually dated).

As for several other works by Pastorino, it is uncertain whether Karl Fugger's portrait, originally modeled in stucco, was meant to be cast in metal from the very beginning or was replicated in metal subsequently, perhaps for preservation. If the medal was delivered as a piece in stucco, however, Karl may have been interested in Pastorino for the opportunity to be portrayed in an uncommon medium.²⁸

The diffusion of genres of portraiture that employed novel or uncommon techniques, such as wax or stucco modeling, provided a strong impulse to engage in long-distance forms of patronage. The rarity of an object spurred questions about its origin and made its possession more valuable in terms of self-representation or, more specifically, of cross-cultural associations. In 1572, Antonio Abondio visited Augsburg and Munich in search of new clients that he could satisfy by sending his finished works from his workshop in Vienna. His wax polychrome portraits – a novelty in this area – were a viral success. So, while William of Bavaria received Habsburg portraits from Abondio and was offered some effigies of Italian cardinals and governors from Anteo Lottelli,²⁹ Hans Fugger, Karl's uncle, obtained similar wax portraits in a different way. In 1574, two years after the arrival of the first wax portraits in Munich, the Paduan sculptor Girolamo Campagna (1549–1625) was summoned to Augsburg in order to repair and substitute some marble heads of Roman Emperors.³⁰ During his stay, however, Campagna was also »occupied to make portraits in wax« for Hans (19 June 1574), presumably in the form of small reliefs.³¹ Further »small art objects in wax« were sent to Hans from Venice in 1586: on this occasion, he declared to his Venetian agent Hieronymus Ott that »as I already have here quite a lot of similar [objects], it is unnecessary to send me further ones, unless it is something specially artful indeed.«³²

Yet, the interest for technically novel artifacts does not just explain Hans Fugger's portrait commissions. In several other cases, the importing of metal objects such as a crucifix from Rome (1569) and a portable altar made by Alessandro Vittoria from Venice (1580–1583)³³ was clearly not caused by a lack of outstanding goldsmiths in Swabia, as in the case of wax modelers. Hans Fugger conceived of art patronage and purchasing as ways to visualize his broad networks, his social status and his intercultural competence through the acquisition of rarities. These rarities, however, did not come from overseas, but from a more familiar world.³⁴ Exhibiting this familiarity was likely one of Hans Fugger's main goals as an art patron.³⁵ Presumably, it was also one of the reasons why

he took on the task of supplying artifacts from Venice to Duke Albert V and William V of Bavaria, as well as to introduce artists to their court.³⁶ Of course, this exhibited familiarity had nothing to do with connoisseurship.

The Ambassadors, Professionals of Cultural Transfer

Diplomats were also a category that participated in two or more political, linguistic and visual cultures simultaneously. Sometimes their choices as art patrons aimed to reflect this double status. Having medals made in the country to which their missions had brought them, instead of that of their origin, was a way to achieve this.³⁷ This phenomenon is especially notable in the cases in which the diplomats came from areas with a strong tradition of medal making.

A good example thereof is provided by Francesco Sfondrati (1493–1550), whose only known medal was made by Joachim Deschler in Nuremberg, as its inscription states: · FRAN[ciscus] · CARD[inalis] SFONDRATVS · LEG[at]us · APOST[olicus] · NORIMB[ergae] · 1547 · Z [= etc.] (fig. 47).³⁸ A patrician of Cremona, in the Duchy of Milan, Sfondrati had taught law in Padua, Bologna, Turin and Pavia before embracing an ecclesiastical career (1538) and becoming »Referendario dei Tribunali della Segnatura Apostolica« in Rome.³⁹ Neither Giovanni Cavino's Padua nor the papal court lacked outstanding medalists in the 1540s, although the flourishing of medal production in the Milanese area was still to come. Therefore, the reasons why Sfondrati commissioned his medal from Deschler during his legateship to the imperial



47 Joachim Deschler, Francesco Sfondrati, 1547. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Münzkabinett

court must be found elsewhere. Diplomats such as Sfondrati requested medals during their missions abroad in order to commemorate these missions. In fact, the obverse of Sfondrati's medal records the city in which it was modeled, which is unusual. Furthermore, his charge as LEG[at]us] APOST[olicus] is mentioned instead of his archiepiscopal seat (Amalfi) and his Roman ›titulus‹ (the Basilica of St. Nereus and Achilleus). Together, these two details make the topical reference of the medal quite clear: Sfondrati sought to commemorate his mission in Nuremberg. But why was this German trip so significant in Sfondrati's eyes? In 1547 the Cardinal had a strong record of diplomatic missions. In 1534 he had been imperial ambassador to the Duke of Savoy; in 1543 he had been sent as extraordinary nuncio to the court of Ferdinand of Habsburg, and the following year he had been papal legate at the Diet of Speyer. Sfondrati's delicate legateship of 1547–48 aimed to persuade the Emperor to foster the reunion of the Anglican Church with the Roman Catholic one. Sfondrati had all the reason to consider this mission a great step in his political career. Significantly, the legateship to ›Germany‹ was also emphasized in his epitaph in the Cathedral of Cremona (›non ante‹ 1550).⁴⁰ Additionally, the prelate had several reasons to associate his personal image with a circumstance that emphasized his closeness to the Emperor, who had conferred on Sfondrati the title of count of the Holy Roman Empire (1534), the rank of privy counselor and the charge of governor of Siena (1537). Therefore, the provenance of the medal – declared by the legend and confirmed by the formal qualities of the portrait, which were certainly unusual in Rome and in Lombardy – contributed significantly to its commemorative function in that it demonstrated the cross-cultural identity of the sitter and his ties with the Emperor. Sfondrati's decision to be portrayed in a medal during his stay in Franconia can hardly have been accidental.

More complex is the case of the Lombard jurist Amico Taegio, ducal treasurer in Novara (1479–1480) and then ambassador of Francesco II Sforza to Charles V.⁴¹ Among the three distinct medal types by Matthes Gebel that portray him, at least one (undated) seems to have been dedicated to him, rather than commissioned by Taegio himself.⁴² The legend of its obverse presents it as a reminder and, perhaps, a gift from distant friends (AD · AMICI · MEMORIAM · RECOLENDAM [to revive the memory of Amico/of our friend]). A second medal dated ›1529‹ (illus. p. 80) might also have had a similar origin, although the information provided by its inscriptions can be interpreted less unequivocally.⁴³ Taegio is represented with a laurel crown and a toga – an allusion to his great erudition, praised in Matteo Maria Bandello's ›Novelle‹ (1554).⁴⁴ Apparently, the inscription in the exergue of the reverse (· QVOD · EST · IN · RE · / · BVS · HVMANIS · / · SVMMVM · / MDXXIX) is not a quotation, but it might allude to a passage of Cicero's ›De amicitia‹ in which the highest value is identified in friendship with similar words.⁴⁵ This association could perhaps explain the rather obscure motto inscribed in the field, · IN · · SE · [in himself/itself]: as Amico is ›Amicitia‹ [friendship] ›in se‹, he offers and embodies · QVOD · EST · IN · RE · / · BVS ·

HVMANIS · / · SVMMVM, the highest thing that men can have. However, the image represented in the reverse remains to a certain extent obscure: the turtle might allude to the advantages provided by friendship, since it is carrying a child on its shoulder, but the identity of the child, who holds a snake in his hand, and the reason for his presence remain unclear. A possible reason for identifying Taegio with the turtle (beyond its proverbial prudence and association with security)⁴⁶ is that this animal can reach a respectable old age. The legend of the obverse emphasizes the same virtue: AMICO TAEGII[o] COMITE AD SENIVM VRGENTE [(now) that Amico Taegio, or our friend Taegio, is heading toward his sixties]. In conclusion, if we assume that the medal was dedicated to Taegio by a friend, such a celebration of his solid friendship and scholarly achievements (worthy of a laurel crown) will appear less immodest – albeit that this is not the only possible interpretation for this complex medal.

A documentary context for this interpretation may be found in letters that Christoph Scheurl (1481–1542), jurist and diplomat of Nuremberg, wrote to Taegio and their mutual friend Antonio Vento, a Genoese merchant. As noted by Habich, the letters demonstrate that Taegio enjoyed the friendship of the professor (who addressed him as *domino, amico et fratri optimo suavissimoque*, that is ›sir, friend, excellent and very lovely brother‹ in a letter of 28 March 1525) and the respect of the humanist Willibald Pirckheimer (1470–1530), who sent his greetings through Scheurl on 14 February 1525.⁴⁷ Scheurl's letter of 28 March is of particular interest for our purposes, because it states that Taegio's ›reliability and extraordinary erudition‹ was ›broadly respected‹ in Nuremberg ›among the members of the imperial party‹.⁴⁸ Other letters praise Taegio's generosity: the Lombard diplomat and his Genoese friend Vento were sending highly appreciated reports to Nuremberg about the developments of the war against the French in northern Italy; Scheurl shared this news with ›the first ones in the city, senators and common friends, yours [of Vento] and of Taegio‹.⁴⁹ This correspondence demonstrates that Taegio had friends in Nuremberg, the homeland of the medalist Gebel; this community admired him, felt indebted to his services and was willing to offer something in exchange (as Scheurl wrote on 25 November 1524). Moreover, Scheurl was a patron of medals from 1525 and belonged to a humanistic circle from which one could easily expect witty ›imprese‹ and classical references such as those demonstrated by Taegio's medal.⁵⁰ In conclusion, one or more medals of Amico Taegio can be interpreted as a token of gratitude and friendship from a circle of patricians of Nuremberg. Certainly, receiving a medal from far away was also a flattering attestation of fame for a diplomat. Significantly, Antonino Lenio's ›Eprigrammata‹ (1531) also stress the fact that Amico's ›fame is great even here [in Apulia?], as well as in every region‹.⁵¹

In order to fully understand the impact of such a gift, we should also consider that in Lombardy (where Taegio lived) medals were seldom produced in the 1520s, and only on an irregular basis.⁵² At the same time, the production of medals in Nuremberg was well established and often of very high quality. Indeed, the emergence of medals in the German-

speaking area was later than the spread of Italian fifteenth-century medals, if we speak in terms of absolute chronology, but it is also true that in certain periods some Italian cities experienced medals chiefly as imported artifacts, while cities such as Nuremberg exported them.

War and Politics as Factors of Mobility

Artists, merchants and ambassadors were not the only categories that were open to cross-culturality because of their exposure to constant mobility. During the sixteenth century, war was also an important factor of cultural exchange. In particular, religion-based conflicts within the Empire mobilized a considerable number of soldiers, exiles and refugees. Sometimes the production and circulation of artifacts reflected these displacements: this is the case for medal production of the central regions of the Holy Roman Empire.

While cat. nos. 152–154 present some cases of French and Netherlandish medalists who immigrated to Württemberg and to the Electoral Palatinate as refugees, we should recall that the ›viri bellica virtute illustres‹ were also important patrons of medals. After all, the precedent of Roman coinage identified military accomplishments as conventional themes to be celebrated in medal portraits. Alessandro Balbiani (born in 1478 and Count of Chiavenna, currently in northern Lombardy) was portrayed by Friedrich Hagenauer in M · D · XXIX, perhaps at the Diet of Spires of that year or slightly before (fig. 48).⁵³ Alessandro's presence north of the Alps, however, was likely due to his new status as an imperial officer: after the French troops had invaded the Chiavenna Valley in 1499 and the Grisons eventually annexed it to their dominions in 1512, the Balbiani family definitively lost its feudal territories. After serving Duke Massimiliano Sforza as a chamberlain and the town of Como as a governor (1522), Alessandro joined the Habsburg troops: he was named captain of a hundred German soldiers in 1528, one year before his medal was cast.⁵⁴ Even if Alessandro had received from Massimiliano Sforza new feudal land, that of Lavizzaro (1514), the center of his new life was the imperial authority.

Interestingly enough, Georg II von Frundsberg (1534–1586), D[ominus] · IN · MINDELHAIM, grandson of Balbiani's commander Georg I and protagonist of the sack of Antwerp in 1576, was portrayed by the Flemish medalist Jacques Jonghelinck in the same year; the Rhinlander Cuno Cratz von Scharffenstein (ca. 1540–1635), CO[mmenthur] : Z [= und] · P[rä]fekt · D[eu]tschen · O[r]dens in Malines, received his medal, also by Jonghelinck, around 1570.⁵⁵ Thus, Italians could be portrayed in Swabia, and Germans could be portrayed in the Netherlands: it is clear that military officers were not compelled to respect national boundaries in troubled times, not even in their artistic commissions. However, the point to stress here is this: as long as the leadership of the Holy Roman Empire and the rule of the Habsburg dominions remained under the control of this cohesive dynasty, soldiers of different nationalities and scattered fronts flocked to the imperial courts and diets –

mesmerizing epicenters of innovative medal production – and had their medals made there.

Conversely, the multi-ethnic troops that defended the Habsburg interests were subject to long-distance displacements, from the Atlantic Ocean to Hungary. As a consequence, their profile as patrons of medals can sometimes be puzzling. Lazarus von Schwendi zu Hohenlandsberg (1522–1584), born in Mittelbiberach and raised in Memmingen (Swabia), was a successful general with a significant talent for diplomacy and a documented interest in collecting coins.⁵⁶ He served Charles V in the Schmalkaldic War, his son Philip II in the Netherlands and his nephew Maximilian II in Hungary. His medals reflect his career rather than his Swabian place of birth, his feudal possessions or his mother tongue: he was portrayed by Jonghelinck in Flanders in 1556–1557 and by Antonio Abondio in 1566, after he had been named general lieutenant at the Turkish front (1564).⁵⁷

Such examples demonstrate the extent to which the association between German-speaking patrons and the medals made in the German-speaking area could be tenuous in specific cases. German medalists served a much broader area than that covered by their native language. German patrons did not feel compelled to be portrayed in the homeland. Italian and Netherlandish patrons seem to have appreciated the works of German medalists while visiting German cities. For several patrons, the act of identification embedded in the choice of a specific form of portraiture and of a particular medalist was not always connected to their place of origin.

A trend in the modern reception of Giorgio Vasari's ›Lives of the most Eminent Architects, Painters and Sculptors‹ (Florence 1550) and



48 Friedrich Hagenauer, Alessandro Balbiani di Chiavenna, 1529. München, Staatliche Münzsammlung



49 Christoph Weiditz, Francesco Bandini, 1531. München, Staatliche Münzsammlung

›The Life of Benvenuto Cellini written by himself‹ (ca. 1557–1566, published posthumously in Cologne and Naples in 1728) is to believe that sixteenth-century Tuscans had a visceral identification with the artistic ›school of their city‹. Yet, Francesco Bandini Piccolomini, Archbishop of Siena (1529–1588) and a member – so to speak – of a D.O.C. Tuscan family, likely commissioned his medal from Christoph Weiditz at the Diet of Augsburg, in 1530, and received it in 1531.⁵⁸ His only medal known was made by a medalist born in Freiburg in Breisgau.

Paolo Giovio (1483–1552), prince of Italian (and Latin) prose, friend to medalists such as Giovanni Bernardi da Castelbolognese, ›concepteur‹ of ›imprese‹ and medal reverses for so many Italian rulers and gentlemen, may have made the same bizarre choice: a medal with his effigy was made by Ludwig Neufahrer at the Diet of Regensburg in 1532 (cat. no. 92).⁵⁹ In that year, Giovio was part of a papal delegation in charge of delivering to Charles V a contribution for his war against the Ottomans. Reasons like this could bring to the diets political figures who were not professional diplomats or soldiers. For sitters such as Bandini and Giovio, the circumstances in which the medal was issued, a trip to the imperial court, was likely more significant than the authorship of the medals (however excellent it may have been).

Notes

- 1 For example, Grottemeyer 1957 and Jones 1979, pp. 39–44, show little interest in innovating Habich's map of the medal production in the German-speaking area, although they provide very intelligent insight in other issues.
- 2 Habich 1929–1934, vol. I/1, p. VIII: »Die geographische Eingrenzung anlagend, wäre es bequem gewesen, sich etwa auf das deutsche Sprachgebiet zu beschränken. Aber das Bild wäre dann unvollständig geblieben. Von der Expansionskraft des Deutschtums im XVI. Jahrhundert gibt die Medaille vielleicht einen stärkeren Begriff als selbst die Malerei. Der großartige, wahrhaft deutsche Imperialismus im Reich des Geistes und der Geister, für den die konfessionell beschränkte Bezeichnung ›Reformation‹ zu eng ist, hatte in der Medaille einen Herold«.

The irregular and yet profound agency of the imperial court in the German-speaking area instigated the de-localization of artistic production and the mobilization of persons and artifacts. Such an institution demanded, generated and facilitated restless mobility; in this way, it fostered a medal production that had a superregional impact and was sustained by itinerant artists, court portraitists and the medalists who lived in the areas it touched.⁶⁰ The circulation of German and Italian medalists at the imperial court also facilitated particular forms of patronage and collectorship. For instance, the imperial minister Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, Bishop of Arras, took advantage of his presence at the court of Charles V to order medals made by a series of different artists: in the first phase of his career, Granvelle was portrayed by Matthes Gebel (1541), Ludwig Neufahrer (1541), Joachim Deschler (1548; cat. no. 95) and Leone Leoni (1551) at different imperial diets. His patronage of the young Pompeo Leoni was also facilitated by his role as administrator of Charles V's and Mary of Hungary's commissions to Pompeo's father Leone.⁶¹ The transnational scope of Granvelle's social network and cultural identity was reflected in the medals that he ordered and collected.

Medals and Cross-Culturality

Cross cultural processes can certainly be studied in several geographical areas and art media. One goal of this contribution was to explore some ways in which the German-speaking area can be considered a crossroads of diverse and sometimes quite specific forms of exchange. Moreover, this paper aimed to show that medals are an ideal medium through which to raise issues of identity, mobility and cross-culturality in the pre-modern world. It is not difficult to name examples of commissions for medals in connection with itinerant artists, traveling patrons and distant recipients. Medals were rather inexpensive and relatively quick to make. They could be commissioned from a long distance, realized or at least sketched during a trip and, once finished, easily sent to faraway destinations. They were made to travel. Moreover, thanks to their inscriptions and, sometimes, to their form, medals could serve as records of events, places and contacts. Therefore, a medal's ties to a place can be as significant as those to a route, a professional experience, a social relation.

- 3 Habich 1929–1934, vol. I/1, p. VII. These and other non-geographical aspects of Habich's scholarship have been reassessed in the seminal contributions of Hermann Maué (Maué 1985, 1994), Marjorie Trusted (Kat. London 1990, esp. Introduction, pp. 1–13) and Jeffrey Chipps Smith (Smith 1994, pp. 121–137. – Smith 2000).
- 4 The role of Italian and Netherlandish immigrants in the development of ›German medals‹ was fully acknowledged by Habich (Habich 1929–1934, vol. I/2, pp. XLIII–IL) and has since been a well-established point in the literature on the topic. On the dissemination of Pisanello's medals beyond the Alps see Middeldorf 1976 and here cat. no. 216. See also Habich 1929–1934, vol. I/2, p. XLIV.
- 5 See here the Introduction to section VI. A glance at map 1 (p. 184) shows that rivers such as the Rhine and the Danube, mine districts such as the Ore Mountains, passes

- such as the Brenner and, more generally, the main cultural and commercial routes between cities and courts shaped the dissemination of medals at least as much as did language ties in the German-speaking area.
- 6 Habich 1929–1934, vol. I/1, p. VIII.
 - 7 Plon 1887, p. 366, no. 32 (letter of Granvelle to Leoni without date, but of 1551). – Cupperi 2008, p. 43, note 254, p. 120, note 594, and p. 222.
 - 8 On the connections between trade and cultural transfer between Venice and the German area see especially Roeck 1993 and Roeck 1995.
 - 9 Schulte 1904, vol. 2, pp. 216, 220. – Lieb 1958, pp. 85 and 374 (with literature). – Kellenbenz 1990 (»ad indicem«). – Häberlein 2006, p. 86. – Ruckert 2009, p. 42.
 - 10 Müllich was well respected among Venetian patricians because of his brilliance. In a fictive dialog among the poet Domenico Venier, Luigi Mocenigo, Marcantonio Cornaro and other Venetian gentlemen on their way back from a holiday stay in Chioggia, he is mentioned as well known »for his big business in the field of trade and his lovely conversation« (Parabosco [1556], p. 184: *messer Christophoro Mielich allemano, che ciascuno di voi, e per le gran facende che egli fa nella mercantia, e per la dolce conversazione sua, deveti facilmente conoscere*). On the literary circle of Venier see: Feldman 1995, pp. 93–96.
 - 11 Lieb 1958, p. 117.
 - 12 Habich 1929–1934, vol. I/1, no. 377.
 - 13 Müllich's letter to Dantiscus of 28 January 1531 (Habich [Weiditz] 1913, p. 25): *Sunst waiss ich dieser Zeit nichts sunders zu schreiben, allein Ewer Gnaden untertheniglich bittend, den Cristoff Pildhawer, Ewer Gnaden diener zuvermanen, damit er mir mein Medallia aussmach, wa sofern es vor nicht beschechen were, und die zu iren Handen nehmen und in seins Lons was billich ist darvon entrichten, mir die selb Medallia durch einschlagen Ulrichen Öhringers [a merchant from Nuremberg] oder Wolffen Haller [Chamberlain to Charles V] herschicken, und darneben die Ausgab anzeigen*. None of these two exquisitely finished and accurately inscribed portraits seems to have survived in other specimens in metal, wood, stone or clay, so it is questionable to label them as »models« under the assumption that they must have been replicated. At least one of the two wood medals was clearly meant as a present for a member of the Fugger family, because it is described in the 1580 inventory of Octavian Secundus Fugger as a *Christoff Mühlich inn Holcz* (Lieb 1980, p. 67) among an impressive number of other *Schawpfenning* in different media, including lead, crystal and wax. A part of these small portraits had likely been inherited from the estate of Raymund and Georg Fugger.
 - 14 Bronze, 40,4–41,5 mm.
 - 15 It is unclear if the wood portraits were employed as models for the medals of 1533–1534. However, the portraits in metal were modeled anew.
 - 16 Bronze, 49 mm.
 - 17 Kat. Berlin 1997, no. 770. – Vannel u. Toderi 2000, vol. 1, no. 65.
 - 18 An alternative meeting point between Müllich and Leoni could have been Venice, where the artist spent some time in 1545, when he realized the medals of the Hanna family (see below).
 - 19 Christoph was the son of the chronicler Hector (1420–1489/90), a city counselor of Augsburg known to have been educated in Latin and Italian and to have traveled for long periods. Christoph's grandmother was a Peutingen: NDB, vol. 18, 1997, p. 303 (K. Graf).
 - 20 Habich 1929–1934, vol. I/1, nos. 377 and 418.
 - 21 In the reverse, which represents »Sanson and the Bees« (cat. no. 113), the sitting pose of the hero is an adaptation of the iconographic scheme of »Diomedes with the Palladium«, a lost engraved chalcedony (dated ca. 30 B.C.) which had belonged to Lorenzo de' Medici and had been praised by sculptors such as Lorenzo Ghiberti and Francesco Filarete. The iconography of the gem had an extraordinary impact thanks to its replication in the form of metal plaquettes and its adaptation in several media, including medals (Molinier 1886, nos. 30–32. – Ausst.-Kat. Florenz 1973, p. 160, no. 9). Of course, it would be extremely interesting to know if the plaquette was proposed to Weiditz by Müllich or if it was the artist who decided to adapt it to a different heroic figure.
 - 22 Limentani Viridis 1985. – Hochmann 1992, pp. 201–204. In 1545 Daniel's father Martin had requested from Leone Leoni (a former resident of Venice) a group of medals of the male members of his family (Daniel included): Bergmann 1857, pp. 1–5. – Whitcombe Greene 1885. – Cupperi 2008, pp. 14 and 35.
 - 23 Vannel u. Toderi 2000, vol. 1, nos. 41–48 and 797.
 - 24 Habich 1929–1934, vol. I/2, no. 1515. – Vannel u. Toderi 2000, vol. 1, no. 43, seem to ignore Habich's attribution and propose an unconvincing attribution to Leone Leoni.
 - 25 Maasen 1922, pp. 5–7.
 - 26 Lead, 69–70 mm. Kull 1889, p. 52, no. 33. – Bernhart 1925–1926, p. 76, w. n. – Ausst.-Kat. Augsburg 1993, no. 17. – Vannel u. Toderi 2000, vol. 2, no. 1938. On Pastorino: Heiss 1892, pp. 96–98. – Hill 1906, pp. 408–412. – Lightbown 1970, pp. 47–48. – Tumidei 2002, pp. 72–76 and 143. – Cupperi 2008, pp. 19, 63, 125, 147–151.
 - 27 Lill 1908, p. 136. – Maasen 1922, p. 7. Cf. Garas 1993, pp. 123–124.
 - 28 As Vasari reports in the »Lives« (1568), in the second half of the sixteenth century Pastorino was particularly appreciated for his polychrome portraits (Vasari 1966–1987, vol. 4, p. 630): *Pastorino da Siena à fatto il medesimo [as Pietro Paolo Galeotti] nelle teste di naturale, che si può dire che abbi ritratto tutto il mondo di persone e signori grandi e virtuosi, et altre basse genti. Costui trovò uno stuc[c]o sodo da fare i ritratti, che venissimo coloriti a guisa de' naturali, con le tinte delle barbe, capelli e color di carni, che l'à fatte parer vive*. Karl Fugger's medal is preserved in two, single-faced lead specimens (München, fig. 46, and Babenhausen, Fuggermuseum). In the obverse of the Munich specimen, the crack in the left half of the background may indicate that the stucco model was damaged before being cast. This circumstance is compatible with the hypothesis that the medal was originally meant as a unique specimen in stucco, otherwise the medalist would not have waited until the stucco had become fragile in order to cast it or have it cast.
 - 29 See here the Introduction to section VI.6.
 - 30 Lill 1908, Table XVIII. – Timofiewitsch 1972, pp. 17–18. – Bacchi 1999, p. 399.
 - 31 Letter to David Ott in Venice, in Lill 1908, p. 152, and Karnehm 2003, vol. II/1, no. 147: *und ist jezo occupiert mit Abconterfettungen inn Wax zu machen*. A clue in support of the hypothesis that Campagna's portraits in wax were reliefs is provided by Hans Fugger in a letter to David Ott of 5 July 1575 (Karnehm 2003, vol. II/1, no. 528): there Hans requested from his Venetian agent some papal medals that were still lacking in his collection and expressed the wish that Girolamo Campagna could also receive copies of these medals, so that he could make wax reliefs after them. Such wax reliefs, Fugger suggested, would have been sold for a good price. On Hans Fugger's patronage see Busch 1973, pp. 90–99. – Kellenbenz 1980 (Sammlungen), pp. 83–84. – Ausst.-Kat. Augsburg 1980, pp. 317–322. – Diemer 1993, in part. pp. 19, 22–27. – Karnehm 2003, vol. 1, pp. 78–112. – Diemer 2007. – Wölflle 2009, pp. 204–211, 270–279, 302–303. – Häberlein 2010, pp. 24–28. See also Ulrich Pfisterer's essay in this catalogue.
 - 32 Letter of 18 October 10.1586, in Lill 1908, p. 155: *Weil ich aber dergleichen hie zuvor gar vil hab, so ist unvonnöthen, ir mir ferrer dergleichen schicken, es wer dann etwas gar sonder künstlichs*. – Cf. Karnehm 2003, vol. II/2, no. 3073.
 - 33 Lill 1908, pp. 153–154.
 - 34 Hans took a trip to Rome and Loreto with his wife Ursula in 1569–1570 (Lill 1908, p. 10).
 - 35 From this perspective it is important to stress, as noted by Lill 1908, p. 23, that Hans imported not only works of art from Italy, but also utensils and food, such as fish and »bottarga«.
 - 36 Lill 1908, p. 37.
 - 37 A slightly different case is that of baron Hans Khevenhüller (1538–1606), a member of the higher nobility of Carinthia. In spite of his frequent trips and diplomatic missions outside of Austria and Bohemia, he remained an affectionate client of the imperial portraitist Antonio Abondio more or less until 1572, when he was nominated to imperial ambassador in Madrid. Some time afterwards, however, he requested a medal (1577) and a cameo (without date) from Giangiacoimo Nizolla da Trezzo (1514/15–1589), goldsmith and gem-engraver to Philip II in Madrid (see here cat. no. 196).
 - 38 Habich 1929–1934, vol. I/2, no. 1569 (single-faced, 53 mm).
 - 39 Ferdinando Ughelli, in Ciaconius 1630, col. 1552D–1553. – Eubel 1898–, vol. 3, 1923, pp. 29, 59, 67, 105, 152, 181 and 293.
 - 40 *Postea Romam a Paulo Tertio Pontifice Maximo evocatus, in Germaniam paulo post missus est, ab eodem[ue] in amplissimum Cardinalium ordinem cooptatus, ad Carolum Imperatorem magnis de rebus legatus est*: Ferdinando Ughelli, in Ciaconius 1630, col. 1553.
 - 41 Scheurl 1872, vol. 2, pp. 128–135. – Santoro 1948, p. 297.
 - 42 Illus. p. 80; Habich 1929–1934, vol. I/2, no. 992; see also nos. 994–995. The format is actually the most inexpensive possible (d. 20 mm).
 - 43 Habich 1929–1934, vol. I/2, no. 996. The specimen here illustrated is in bronze, 41 mm.
 - 44 Bandello 1934–1935, p. 391 (part I, novella no. 31), describes Taegio as a *dottor grandissimo e giovine molto gentile*. Lenio 1985, p. 365, no. XLIV defines him *Mediolani Principis archigrammateum [grand chancellor] clarissimum*.
 - 45 Cicero, Laelius de amicitia, 17: »ego vos hortari tantum possum ut amicitiam omnibus rebus humanis anteponatis. – Nihil est enim tam naturae aptum, tam conveniens ad res vel secundas vel adversas«. In his poem »Oronte gigante« (1531), Antonino Lenio places Taegio in Paradise together with other »virtuosi« and celebrates him for qua-

- lities that are also suggested by his name: *Segue Amico, quel gentil milanese, / che i chiavi volge del pio petto a Sforza, / a chi tal grazia da li ciel discese, / che ad ogni ben oprar li animi sforza. / Questo è colui per cui Virtute intese / come s'accende el ben e 'l mal s'amorza. – / onde come uom di preggio e di valore / merta corona de glorioso onore* (III, 5, vv. 305–311; Lenio 1985, p. 334).
- 46 Henkel u. Schöne 1967, pp. 611–615.
- 47 Scheurl 1872, vol. 2, both at p. 133.
- 48 Scheurl 1872, vol. 2, p. 134: *tua fides et singularis eruditio omnis Caesarianis hic abunde perspecta est.*
- 49 Scheurl 1872, vol. 2, p. 128 (25 November 1524); p. 132 (to Antonio Vento, 21 January 1525): *Occurrunt autem ingentia scribenda, quae nos magno desiderio expectamus, principibus, senatoribus et communibus amicis tuo nomine et Taegii, si modo consentiant, communcanda.*
- 50 On Scheurl's medals see Habich 1929–1934, vol. I/1, no. 261, vol. I/2, no. 1092 (1533), and vol. II/1, no. 1874 (1540).
- 51 Lenio 1985, p. 365, no. XLIV: *Fama, Amice, hic etiam de te, velut omnibus oris, / tanta est.*
- 52 On the production of medals in Milan during the second quarter of the sixteenth century: Cupperi 2008, pp. 3–6.
- 53 Lead, 64,5–65 mm, uniface. Habich 1929–1934, vol. I/1, no. 530 (see also no. 529).
- 54 Crollalanza 1878/79, p. 34.
- 55 Smolderen 1996, p. 334, nos. 90 and 76.
- 56 August von Kluckhohn, in: ADB, vol. 33, 1891, pp. 382–401. – Bautz 1995.
- 57 Resp. Smolderen 1996, nos. 9–9bis. – Habich 1929–1934, vol. II/2, no. 3345, and Dworschak 1958, p. 51. Abondio had been named imperial *Konterfetter* on 1 May 1566. In the same month, he took a trip to the Low Countries (Dworschak 1958, p. 43). At some point from August of that year, he must have reached Maximilian II in Altenburg, where new military forces were gathered before reaching the Turkish front (Janko 1871, pp. 31–34 and 74–76). Schwendi was also in Altenburg in the second half of 1566.
- 58 Habich 1929–1934, vol. I/1, no. 394. Toderi u. Vannel 2000, vol. 2, no. 1993, wrongly classify the medal as Italian.
- 59 On Giovio's interest in medals: Cupperi 2007. – Agosti 2008, pp. 153–155. In 1552 Giovio was portrayed in a medal by Francesco da Sangallo that some scholars believe to be posthumous (Toderi u. Vannel 2000, vol. 2, no. 1418).
- 60 On the role played by the imperial diets in the patronage of medals (as well as in the ›immaginario‹ regarding this event and also fed by such medals) cf. here the section VI.1 and the introductions to sections VI and VI.1–2. See also Ausst.-Kat. Augsburg 1980, pp. 171–192, 244–256.
- 61 Only after 1549 Granvelle developed a clear preference for Leone Leoni, Jacques Jonghelinck and eventually, in the 1570s, Giovanni Melon. On Granvelle's medals see Bernhart 1920/21. – Smolderen 2000. – Cupperi 2008, pp. 209–226. On his profile as a collector of ancient coins, medals and antiquities, see Cupperi 2013.