

# TWO RARE VARIETIES OF THE 1780 MARIA THERESIA THALER

A discussion of mint and date attribution

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## **Preliminary note:**

*The process of researching the coins discussed in this paper revealed significant inconsistencies and contradictions. In the absence of mint records it was necessary to confirm the claims of writers by tracing back through often quoted literature. This tracing was challenging as many references are out of print, in some cases for as long as 200 years. It was found that there were tantalising hints at the history and origin of one of the coins being discussed, but very little conclusive evidence. In conducting the research I very quickly developed the impression I was a latter-day participant in a 200-year-old game of “Chinese whispers”.*

## **Introduction**

The 1780 Maria Theresia Thaler (MTT) is a ubiquitous coin that is often ignored for the simple reasons that it “has always been there” and is “just a re-strike”. However, a brief review of this coin’s influence around the world quickly reveals that it demands considerable respect. This long-lasting remnant of the Holy Roman Empire can, arguably, claim:

1. The record for the longest minting of a single date coin;
2. One of the highest mintages of any one coin in history<sup>1</sup>;
3. At least 90 separate varieties (excluding countermarks);
4. To be one of only a few coins that have become currency outside their state of origin;
5. A unique history that has seen it evolve from a coin of the realm, through trade dollar and bullion coin, and ultimately to an echo of a long-dead monarch and empire.

With a minting history of 209 years, and counting, there are several varieties of MTT that are of particular note and rarity<sup>2</sup>; this paper presents and discusses two of these rare varieties. The two varieties:

- a. Hafner 5, an R6 coin with a known population of approximately 10 coins;
- b. Hafner 35, a mysterious R3.5 coin.

These two coins are popularly ascribed to Italian mints with a strike date of 1815, yet a review of available literature and examples of the coins quickly raises questions and suggests other possible attributions. Part 1 contains a review of the relevant historical background and Part 2 discusses the two varieties and their attributions.

## **Part 1: Relevant History**

### **Günzburg mint and Augsburg bankers**

In 1764 the Günzburg mint was established predominantly, but not exclusively, to produce thalers for export to the Middle East and North Africa. Of all the mints available, Günzburg, in present-day Bavaria, seems the furthest removed from the ultimate destination of this coin. A review of the available/accessible literature (C. v. Ernst, 1896, Leypold 1980, Semple 2005, Tschoegl 2001) shows that Günzburg was chosen because of its proximity to the town of Augsburg, whose bankers sought a regular supply of the coin. The reason for this Austrian coin’s popularity was the French ban on the export of French silver coin. Silver coin was required for the purchase of coffee, silks and spices, and traders denied the use of French

coin resorted to the MTT, which was provided in significant quantities by Augsburg-based bankers and shipped through Marseilles, Genoa, and Lyon to North Africa.

The coin's success as a trade coin was such that, following the death of the Empress Maria Theresia in 1780, Imperial approval was given for the production of the coin to continue. It was directed that all Habsburg mints were to continue minting the coin fixed in its "form" as at the time of Maria Theresia's death. For each mint this "form" was slightly different. Günzburg used a unique reverse known as the Burgau arms, while the other mints used the arms of Upper Austria (See Table 1). The Günzburg type placed the mint master's and mint warden's initials (mint signature) on the obverse under the bust while the other mints placed their respective signatures on the reverse. The mint signatures<sup>3</sup> are listed in Table 1.

Table 1

Mint	Mint Signature
Vienna	IC-FA (Used with Upper Austria Arms)
Karlsburg (Transylvania)	AH-GS (Used with Upper Austria Arms)
Prague	PS-IK (Used with Upper Austria Arms)
	EvS-IK (Regarded as an original strike, used with Upper Austria Arms)
Kremnitz (Hungary)	SK- PD (with the mint mark 'B' on the obverse)
Günzburg	SF ( Used with Burgau Arms)
	FS ( Used with Burgau Arms)
	TS-IF (Used with Upper Austria Arms)

### Burgau Arms



### Upper Austria Arms



### The End of the Günzburg Mint

In the last years of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Austrian Habsburgs faced a crisis of legitimacy<sup>4</sup>. On 19 November 1792, the National Convention in Paris declared that it would offer fraternal aid to 'any nation wishing to recover its liberty'. A month later, the rule of the Austrian Netherlands was under threat and was ultimately lost. In this environment, in what were to become the last days of the Holy Roman Empire, Francis II waged a war of liberation from the French. In the course of this battle Francis II, encountering unique challenges, applied unique and not always well received solutions.

In 1804 Francis II declared himself Emperor of Austria, based solely on his authority as Holy Roman Emperor. This created uproar in much the same way that one might imagine the

uproar created should a member of the British Royal Family declare himself Prime Minister of the UK. This move by Francis II was seen, by some, as a piece of constitutional trickery and illegal. He took a further step in November 1806 by disestablishing<sup>5</sup> the Holy Roman Empire. In the context of this response to the Napoleonic threat, Austrian rule over Günzburg ended, and 1805 was the final year in which that mint produced thalers. Despite the permanent closure of the mint, the “Günzburg” MTT continued.

### **Continuation of the Günzburg Maria Theresia Thaler**

Leybold (1976) and Hafner (1984) list the current Günzburg form as coming into existence after the Günzburg mint closed. The thalers bearing the Burgau arms, which are accepted as being pre-1805 Günzburg strikes, are typified by an obverse with a pearl-less brooch and edge devices specific to Günzburg. In comparison, the post-1805 (effectively post-1815) brooch is surrounded with 8 -11 pearls, and either Italian mint<sup>6</sup> or Vienna mint edge devices<sup>7</sup>. No literature outlining the reason for the continuation of the thaler bearing the Burgau arms has yet been found<sup>8</sup>; however, noting the original directives for the continuation of this thaler and the commercial importance of the MTT, it seems likely that the following influences were instrumental in the continuation of this type:

1. The requirement to produce coins in the 1780 form, and
2. The respective markets for the coins.

### **Requirement to produce the coins in the 1780 form**

Count Johann von Fries (1719-1785) is, if any individual is responsible, the person who gave the MTT its place in economic and numismatic history. Count von Fries was a banker and adviser to the Austrian Habsburgs. Originally there had been a ban on the export of MTT but following Count von Fries' recommendation, in 1752 the Austrian Department of Commerce lifted the restriction so as to address the negative balance of trade with North Africa and the Middle East. The success of this action likely increased Count von Fries' commercial success and influence in Court. It was Count von Fries who directly championed<sup>9</sup> the continuation of MTTs after Maria Theresia's death. When that petition was approved in a *Verordnung* (Ordinance) by Emperor Joseph II dated 9 December 1780, the coins were fixed in the forms that were produced in 1780. This was further reinforced in two *Hofkammerverordnungen* (Royal Court Ordinances) dated 22 February 1781 and 30 June 1781, to the Günzburg and Vienna Mints respectively. This requirement ensured a standardisation of the MTT, an important factor in ensuring acceptance in the markets to which it was exported.

### **Influence of the market(s) on MTTs**

The Günzburg mint coins were produced for trade with North Africa, the African East Coast, and the Middle East. Semple (2005) records that the coins' very appearance was influenced by the market they were destined for. The ultimate customers<sup>10</sup> were predominantly Arabic literate, and the Roman script on the coins was as unfamiliar to them as Arabic script is to users of the Roman alphabet. North African and Middle Eastern customers learned to confirm authenticity by means of specific identifiers<sup>11</sup>. This recognition became more exacting over time, leading to the evolution of the modern form. The first example of this evolution occurred prior to Maria Theresia's death, when following the death of her husband there was a brief attempt to produce a bust with a heavy veil minus the brooch<sup>12</sup>. This failed to impress customers who at that time were already using the brooch as a key identifier. As a result, a lighter veil with a brooch was (re)instated. By the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the brooch, the number of pearls<sup>13</sup> in the diadem and also the edge script had become important identifiers.

Besides Vienna, the Prague, Kremnitz, and Karlsburg mints produced “Upper Austria Arms” thalers, for both local use and export. These coins were exported via the Danube to Constantinople, Smyrna, Haifa, and Alexandria<sup>14</sup>. These Upper Arms thalers arrived in their eastern destinations through direct Turkish intermediaries, and we might speculate that the unpopularity of Turkish rule saw these coins as being less acceptable than those supplied by French traders. What is more probable is the MTTs minted at Günzburg were far more common and had greater market penetration. Rádóczy<sup>15</sup> shows that Günzburg in both 1765 and 1766 produced over 5 million Gulden worth of thalers. None of the other Habsburg mints approached this quantity in those years, and not all the thalers produced by those other mints were exported. In later years this imbalance continued, ensuring that Günzburg MTTs remained the commoner variety in the target markets and the more acceptable variant.

### **19<sup>th</sup> century Italian minting of 1780 MTT**

According to Leypold and Hafner, the 19<sup>th</sup> century Italian style MTT was minted from 1815 to 1866. Mints based in the Italian peninsula likely provided for economical shipping costs. Although Leypold notes the start date of (re)minting thalers at Milan as 1815, both Leypold and Miller zu Aichholz<sup>16</sup> refer to Milan producing MTTs in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Leypold and Miller zu Aichholz state that those 18<sup>th</sup> century coins were produced from Vienna mint dies bearing the Upper Austria Arms and the mint signature IC-FA. However, Leypold and Hafner attribute only one coin, a Burgau Arms variant, to this earlier time; this coin is H35, one of the subjects of this paper.

All known variants of the Italian type are attributed with minting dates of between 1815 and 1866 and none of the currently known “IC-FA” variants are attributed to Milan. It is therefore possible that collectors are holding 18<sup>th</sup> century coins while believing them to be from the 19<sup>th</sup>. One can only hope that research will one day bring these (possibly) misattributed varieties to light.

As already noted, the original regulation allowing the continuation of the MTT beyond Maria Theresia’s death limited the form of the coin to that produced at the time of her death. With the form and date of the coins fixed, any decision to have another mint produce MTTs would have to follow the letter and spirit of that directive. Further, the exacting requirements of the recipients of the MTT would discourage the introduction of a new variant. It was thus logical that, when minting commenced in Italy, Milan and Venice would adopt the predominant export form of the MTT, i.e. the Günzburg variety.

The Günzburg-style thaler that was continued in Milan and Venice contained a number of variations from the standard Burgau form (a pictorial comparison is provided in table 2):

1. The tail feather formation was changed from 1-3-1 to 1-2-1<sup>17</sup>;
2. A round, pearled brooch was placed on the obverse; previously this had been a plain (no pearls) oval brooch;
3. The decorative devices on the edge inscription were similar to Günzburg, although with subtle and unique differences.

**Table 2 Burgau/Italian mint type comparison**

Standard Burgau Type (modern)

Italian Type (19<sup>th</sup> century)



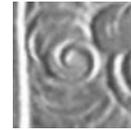
Lock of hair behind ear



Oval Brooch



Spiral hair curl behind ear



Round Brooch



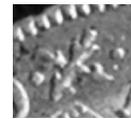
Dot in front of Saltire



1-3-1 Tail feather formation



Dots either side of "saltire".



1-2-1 Tail feather formation



### The end of the Upper Austria Arms MTT variety

While the Burgau arms thaler became the dominant type, it was originally the Upper Austria arms version that was the predominant form. While the commercial success of the Burgau arms type guaranteed its continuation, the Upper Austria arms variety continued only as long as it remained legal within the Austrian empire. In 1858 the MTT was demonetised and the Upper Austria arms variety was relegated to history. In 1857 legislation had already been passed to allow the MTT to continue as a trade coin. That legislation effectively preserved the Günzburg type<sup>18</sup>.

## Part 2: Hafner 5 and 35

*Introductory note: In this section the two coins discussed are referred to by the catalogue numbers used in Hafner's Lexicon of the Maria Theresien Taler 1780.*

In “Der Maria-Theresien-Taler 1780” (1976), Leypold notes that in 1815 the Milan mint commenced production of the Burgau arms thaler, and two years later Venice took up the minting of that coin. 1815 had seen the defeat of Napoleon, and Vienna (re-)gained control of the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia and with it the cities of Milan and Venice. Other writers (Semple 2005) record the Venice and Milan Mints as not starting production until 1820. Leypold states that Venice started minting MTTs in 1817, yet in his 1976 publication his main table records that Venice commenced the minting of MTTs in 1815.

The coins being discussed are typical of the 19<sup>th</sup> century mints of Milan and Venice. However, H35 (Table 3) appears not to be conclusively attributed to a particular date and mint. Leypold, in 1976, attributed this type to an earlier minting period. Though catalogued as an 1815 Venice strike, H5 is identified by a 19<sup>th</sup>-century numismatist<sup>19</sup> as a 1793 Günzburg strike. The doubts about both these coins raise questions about the origin and exclusivity of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Italian MTT type. Both coins are listed in Table 3.

### Hafner 5

This coin looks typical of a Venice mint strike but in place of the standard SF, it is signed FS. There are approximately ten known examples of this coin. Most often this coin is attributed to Venice 1815. This attribution was presented in the work of Walter Hafner (1984), “The Lexicon of the Maria Theresien Taler”, which is based on the work by Dr. Franz Leypold.

Leypold specifically states that in 1817 Vienna reprimanded the Venice mint regarding the dies produced in Venice. The design had deviated from the approved type and the offending dies and coins were to be destroyed immediately. Leypold states this deviation was the F.S. obverse type. This signature is not an error; rather, the revised signature represents Joseph **F**aby and Franz **S**tehr<sup>20</sup>. Leypold does not offer the reason for the signature change to F.S., but states only that it was not approved of by Vienna.

Carl von Ernst (1896), quoting Vienna mint records, states that following Tobias Schöbl's death (25 April 1789) Faby had become Mint Master and the cashier, Franz Stehr, was promoted to Mint Warden, the position previously occupied by Faby. When it became necessary to replace the MTT dies, the two officials set the letters of their names on the new dies without waiting for approval. Based on Vienna mint records, Ernst gives the minting date for this variety as the third quarter of 1793.

The differences between Leypold and Ernst are striking. In other sections of his text, Leypold refers to the 1896 paper by Ernst, yet he does not directly address the mint and date attribution of H5 as provided by Ernst. Ernst's account, being more specific (the date attribution in particular), resonates more than that of Leypold, who provided no supporting reference for his own claim.

By the 1790s, the MTT form was already being strongly shaped by the markets, but not to the degree seen by the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century. Variations in MTT were more common in the latter part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century; for example, Günzburg produced several different types between 1780 and 1805. Given the more frequent variations in the later part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century it seems likely that 18<sup>th</sup> century senior mint officials were far more prepared to make changes to the coin than their 19<sup>th</sup> century successors<sup>21</sup>.

**Table 3**

Hafner 5



**Key identification features**

- Obverse**
- Signature: F.S.
  - Round brooch, surrounded by 9 pearls
  - "M" with legs angled outwards (*Typical of Venice*)
  - Spiral hair curl behind ear



**Reverse**

- Saltire<sup>24</sup> with dots on either side.
- 1-2-1 Tail feather formation

Hafner 35



**Obverse**

- Signature: ST/S.F.
  - Round brooch, surrounded by 9 pearls
  - "M" with straight legs. (*Typical of Milan*)
  - Spiral hair curl behind ear
- Wide ST variant (1814?)



**Reverse**

- Saltire with dots on either side.
  - 1-2-1 Tail feather formation
  - Small sized date and saltire
- Close ST variant (1828?)



The “S” of the “F.S.” signature also suggests an earlier strike date than 1815. Franz Stehr was mint warden for only nine years (1789 – 1798)<sup>22</sup>. It appears more likely that his initial would be added to the mint’s signature during his tenure rather than 17 years later. Franz Stehr was replaced by Franz Rössler (Günzburg Mint Warden 1798 – 1805). In the scenario – one that it is difficult for us to comprehend – of an Italian mint introducing a new mint signature based on the names of Günzburg officials, it seems more likely that the initials used would be those of the last officials of the Günzburg mint, i.e. F. R. (Faby<sup>23</sup> and Rössler), rather than a signature that includes the initial of an official who was neither in the relevant position in 1780, nor employed at the time when the Günzburg mint closed.

Ernst’s attribution to 1793 seems more reliable and consistent with history. Other writers, Miller zu Aichholz et al. (1948), Arrigo Galeotti (1929) and Ludwig Herinek (1970), also attribute H5 to Günzburg 1793. It is most probable that H5 is a Günzburg striking of 1793 and as such is a challenge to popular perceptions regarding the development of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Italian form of the 1780 MTT.

H5, as a 1793 strike, is in all probability the first example of the MTT variant that was adopted by the Milan and Venice mints. The offending F.S. dies produced in 1793 were new replacements for worn-out dies, and when Vienna demanded that the F.S. coins be destroyed, the replacement set of dies would have probably been of the same type but with the standard S.F. signature replacing the offending F.S.

The identification of the Italian mint series is a fairly recent occurrence. In 1972 Broome noted the “recent discovery” of the type, and in 1976 Leypold clearly listed the type and the background for its attribution to Milan and Venice. Interestingly, Broome also provides some evidence to challenge the Italian origination of the type. Broome notes that three years after the Günzburg mint closed, James Ede published “The Gold and Silver Coins of all Nations Exhibited”. In one of the copper etchings in Ede’s book is the obverse of an MTT form similar to the Italian type and the two coins being discussed here. Given the date of James Ede’s publication, the coin used to produce the etching must have been minted in Günzburg prior to its closure (1805). The etching is not supported by a picture of the reverse and has enough differences as to constitute circumstantial evidence only. The etching is reproduced in Table 4.

The key Italian mint markers in Ede’s etching are:

- The typical spiral curl behind Maria Theresia ear.
- The pearled brooch.

A review of the second coin takes this exploration further.

### **Hafner 35**

This coin is a mystery. In the literature it has been attributed to Günzburg, Milan, Venice, Florence, or even one of the 19<sup>th</sup> century German states. Two examples are held in the Austrian National collection, one labelled Florence, the other Venice 1834. It seems most likely that this coin was first minted during the era when Napoleon was disrupting Europe’s old order and clear records of its minting have yet to be discovered, if they exist at all.

In 1984 M.R. Broome described this coin as follows:

**Table 4:**



Copper etching from *Gold and Silver Coins of all Nations* by James Ede, 1808, displaying an unknown Maria Theresa Thaler variety. This etching ***suggests*** that the Italian Burgau Arms Thaler may have been struck much earlier than popularly assumed.



“Amongst the many types of Maria Theresa thalers (MTT) dated 1780 is one that has long puzzled students of the series. It is characterised by simple clear engraving, an unflattering bust of the Empress with a long supercilious nose, and the small letters ST engraved above the normal S.F. below the bust”

Following Leypold’s lead, Walter Hafner catalogued this puzzling coin as a Milan strike of 1790 - 1802. A more recent Internet publication<sup>25</sup> also states Milan but gives the date range of 1815 - 1828. Examination of the coin shows that this MTT is clearly of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Italian type, yet the enigmatic extra initials do not match any of the known mint officials. Reissenauer and Galeotti state the initials represent Franz **St**ehr, the “S” of H5. Unfortunately, neither writer provides a solid argument or documentation to support this proposal.

Ernst in 1896 was the first to speculate that this coin was from Milan, but he added that he had no evidence for this conclusion. Broome in 1972 commented that the bust on this version of the coin is particularly uncomplimentary and was more likely to have been produced by a non-Austrian mint. One such mint, Florence, has long been a candidate for this MTT.

The Florentine striking of MTTs is noted by Broome, Alessandrini<sup>26</sup>, Pagani<sup>27</sup> and Galeotti<sup>28</sup>. Galeotti, quoting Florentine records, confirms that Florence minted MTTs in 1814 and 1828, and indicates there were no listed features to enable the identification of this Florence-struck thaler<sup>29</sup>. Galeotti was aware of the ST type but attributed it to Günzburg 1793 and incorrectly believed that the letters ST were placed above the mint signature “F.S.”. In 1899 Nentwich records in a footnote that the ST/SF variant is “ostensibly” (Ger: angeblich) from Florence.

There are two recognised<sup>30</sup> variants of this coin (see Table 3). One has the letters widely spaced with the 1 in the date having a skewed “zigzag” base. The other variant has the ST closely spaced and a flat based “1”. The widely spaced type is finely engraved and of a very different style to other MTTs. Broome points out that the existence of two varieties is consistent with two separate minting dates and supports the theory that H35 is the Florentine strike. Broome also notes that a comparison with other known coins from the relevant period suggests that the widely spaced coin, if Florentine, was the earlier minted coin (1814). This comparison is based on the numeral 1 in the date; well provenanced MTT (and other Austrian coins) from that early period carry the same type of “1”.

In passing, in his 1972 paper, Broome puts forward the possibility that H35 was an unauthorised German striking. In 1984 he appears to have discounted this idea, yet an examination of the edge markings on H35 does hint at this possibility. The edges of Venice and Milan mint MTT have the same decorations, yet the markings on H35 are noticeably different. The arabesques do not match those of Günzburg, Milan or Venice and there is an edge decoration<sup>31</sup> not seen on any other MTT variant. This decoration is similar to the “dots” seen either side of the ‘saltire’ on early 19<sup>th</sup> century Convention Thalers produced by a number of German States<sup>32</sup>. This decoration replaces the Günzburg style cross that is positioned between the arabesques, and is shown in Table 5 compared against Günzburg, Milan/Venice and Vienna edge markings. It seems unlikely that Milan would use two different sets of edge markings during the same minting period, and this suggests that it is likely that this variant is not an 1815-28 Milan strike. However, this decoration does not prove a “German” minting.

A review of German state mintmarks and mint signatures listed in Krause<sup>33</sup> reveals that two States used the initials ST:

1. Frankfurt: 1836-37 (**S**amuel **T**omschutz)
2. Lippe-Detmold: 1802-40 (**S**trickling of Blomberg)

An application of Occam’s razor would suggest that the coincidence of the ST’s appearing on this particular MTT would point strongly toward one of those two mints. However no record has been found to show that either State/mint produced MTTs.

In 1984 Broome focused on the similarities between the lettering on H35 and that on Florentine and Luccan coins from the period 1805 - 1814<sup>35</sup>. Broome specifically noted the close similarities of H35 with Elisa Baciocchi’s 5-franchi pieces. Based on this analysis, Broome argued that H35 was most likely first produced in 1814 (Florence) using Luccan tooling. Though Leypold had originally stated the coin was a late 18<sup>th</sup> century Milanese strike, once

**Table 5**

H:35 Edge decoration	Comparison edges	
 <p>Rosette    Arabesque    H35 specific decoration</p>		<p>1781-1795 Günzburg 1815-1855 Milan/Venice 1785-1853 Vienna Mint</p>
 <p>Decoration specific to H35 (magnified)</p>		<p>H35 edge 2003/2004 Vienna mint (Coin is BU)<sup>34</sup></p>

he became aware of Broome's analysis (post-1986 paper; unpublished and undated), he accepted that H35 was most likely a Florentine strike. On the balance of probability, this seems the safest attribution for this coin.

In the absence of mint records it is only the extant examples of H35 that can tell the story of its minting. Broome's analysis is the only one that refers directly to the coin for answers. Yet the absence of clear proof and the variety of possibilities that remain open ensure that the identity of H35 remains arguable. As a Florentine strike, or even that of a German State, H35 would have been an unofficial strike, and as such it would have been based on an already existing variety. Even Leypold's original assertion of a late 18<sup>th</sup> century strike, if confirmed, would show that the Italian type came into existence earlier than popularly perceived. Clearly more research into this coin is required.

## Summary

The MTT, as known today, evolved over a considerable period of time. Its current well known form owes as much to the Arab and North African customers who used it as it does to the mints, engravers, and bankers who produced it. Despite its being a recognised coin, anyone researching the restrrike MTT is immediately faced with both ignorance of the coin, gaps in its history and a variety of sometimes contradictory literature.

The two coins discussed in this paper are of a type that is usually attributed to post 1815 Milan or Venice. A review and analysis of the available literature, as well as examination of the actual coins, indicate that:

1. H5 was struck in Günzburg in the third quarter of 1793 and
2. H35 is, in the absence of other evidence, probably a Florentine strike.

Together these two coins may provide evidence that the 19<sup>th</sup> century Italian type MTT was produced much earlier than is popularly accepted and that this form was first developed in Günzburg before being adopted by Milan and Venice in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Unfortunately, final confirmation of these possibilities depends on mint records that may no longer exist. This is an interim discussion paper and it is the writer's hope that further information will surface and illuminate more clearly the origin of these two coins.

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## Footnotes

1 It is interesting to note that Behrens (1969) reported a mintage of 800,000,000 since 1853. Other authors (Hafner 1984, Semple 2005, and Tschoegl 2001) report a total of close to 400,000,000 from 1741 to 2000. It is generally accepted that the lower value is the more accurate.

2 As reported by Leybold (1976)

3 The Hall mint also minted thalers and used the initials VC-S. This is not included in the main body of text as these varieties were produced only during Maria Theresia's lifetime.

4 As outlined by Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs Embodying Empire*, 1995.

5 Semple states the Holy Roman Empire was disestablished by Napoleon.

6 Milan and Venice used an edge decoration that was similar, though identifiably different to Günzburg.

7 The modern form of the MTT (post 1853) uses the Vienna edge devices and the Burgau Arms.

8 Broome, 1972, also raises this issue.

9 Franz Reissenauer, "Münzstätte Günzburg 1764-1805", p. 136

10 The coins from Günzburg were predominantly exported to North Africa, penetrating down the east coast, and ultimately being exported as far as Java and China.

11 There is the suggestion that part of the coin's appeal to Middle Eastern customers was soft pornography, with the partially bare bosom of Maria Theresia being its main attraction. This suggestion is more likely to be a "numismatic urban legend" reflecting the occidental/oriental cultural gap. The writer is sure that if there was some truth to this myth, the coin would not have gained the acceptance that it did. Gill (1991) notes that in Ethiopia some Christian communities thought the effigy of Maria Theresia represented the Virgin Mary. A review of reports from Victorian travellers/explorers shows that it was those explorers who commented on Maria Theresia's bust in reference to the coin. It may well be their Victorian attitudes that are reflected in this presumed myth.

12 The brooch was either omitted or was partially obscured depending on the mint producing this short-lived form.

13 M.R. Broome (1972) notes that, in the 20th century, Brussels mint MTT's had a high rate of rejection (in the Middle East) that was due to a missing pearl in the diadem on the obverse. It is assumed that Birmingham mint coins suffered similarly as they were produced from dies with the same 'fault'.

14 Leybold "Das Verbreitungsgebiet des Maria-Theresien-Talers", *Numismatische Zeitschrift* ("NZ") 94, 1980, p. 66. V. Miller zu Aichholz et al. (1948), vol. 2 p. 282, records that these mints also shipped MTT from Venice and Livorno.

15 Gyula Rádóczy, "Beiträge zur Münzprägung während der Regierungszeit Maria Theresias (bis 1768)", 1980. In *NZ*, vol. 94, pp. 7 – 41.

16 V. Miller zu Aichholz et al. (1948) note in vol. 2 p. 282 that dies produced in Vienna were shipped to Milan in 1787.

- 17 From around 1840 Venice and possibly Milan started to produce a more modern variety that returned to a 1-3-1 tail feather formation.
- 18 Post 1853 Burgau Arms MTT minted in Vienna carried the edge decorations typical of that mint rather than those of Günzburg, as have all subsequent MTT restrikes.
- 19 Ernst 1896
- 20 The more usual S.F. signature represents Tobias **S**chöbel (Mint Master 1764 – 1789) and Joseph **F**aby (Mint Warden 1774 – 1789).
- 21 An 18th century Habsburg mint official would expect to have his surname initial added to the mint's signature when promoted to either Mint Master or Mint Warden. It was only in the case of the restrike 1780 MTT that this was not allowed to occur.
- 22 Franz Reissenauer, "Münzstätte Günzburg 1764-1805, 1981, p. 171.
- 23 According to Reissenauer, Faby was Mint master from 1789 to 1805.
- 24 In this paper the "X" following "1780" is referred to as a saltire. Maria Theresia referred to this device as a small Burgundian or St Andrew's cross (both heraldic devices) in her 1750 directive that added this symbol to thalers (Ernst 1894).
- 25 <http://www.theresia.name/cgi-bin/Token.cgi?City=Mailand&Language=en>. This web site was based on Hafner's work and was developed in consultation with him.
- 26 A. Alessandrini, "Florence struck MT Talers in 1814". World Coins, August 1969, p. 832. This article asserts minting dates in 1814 and 1828. No background references are provided.
- 27 A. Pagani, *Monete Italiane Dall' Invasione Napoleonica ai Giorni Nostri (1796 – 1963)*, 1965.
- 28 Arrigo Galeotti, "Le Monete Del Granducato Di Toscana", 1929, pp. 462 – 463 & 473.
- 29 Pagani rephrased this, stating the Florentine strike was "identical" to other MTT.
- 30 Currently only two variants of the ST type are recognised; however, an examination of four coins indicated each coin was struck from differing die pairs.
- 31 All 1780 MTT have Maria Theresia's personal motto "Justice and Clemency" inscribed on the edge. Between the words of the motto are a number of decorative devices. It is these devices that are referred to here.
- 32 A similar decoration is clearly recognizable on an 1812 Westphalia Conventionstaler positioned either side of the X on the reverse of the coin.
- 33 Standard Catalogue of World coins 1801 – 1900, 5<sup>th</sup> Edition, 2008, p. 403. In the legend Krause states this mint mark was used in Lippe-Detmold from 1820 to 1840; however, a review of the coins listed (e.g. KM 225) shows that "ST" was used from 1802 to 1840.
- 34 Since 1960 Vienna mint has produced 1780-dated MTT with very poorly defined edges.
- 35 The period 1805 -1814 saw Napoleon's sister Elisa Baciocchi ruling the Principality of Lucca and Piombino. Florence came under her control in the later part of that period.
- 36 This reference was enclosed with the author's copy of Franz Leypold, "Der Maria Theresien Taler", 1976, when purchased second-hand in Munich

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