

«Ma passion... ma folie dominante»

Stosch, Winckelmann, and the Allure of the Engraved Gems of the Ancients

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Abstract This article examines the scholarly and collecting activities of Philipp von Stosch (1691-1757), with focus on ancient engraved gems. It traces Stosch's life and work from his early travels and Roman period to his death in Florence, and includes discussions on his milestone publication, *Gemmae antiquae caelatae* (1724), his own remarkable collection of gem originals, pastes and impressions, and Winckelmann's work on it, published as *Description des pierres gravées du feu Baron de Stosch* (1760).

Contents 1. Introduction. — 2. Philipp von Stosch. — 3. The *Gemmae Antiquae Caelatae* Project. — 4. Stosch's Own Gem Collection. — 5. Winckelmann's Catalogue.

1 Introduction

In the 18th century, to publish a learned text on the engraved gems of the Ancients was an excellent way of positioning oneself in antiquarian circles within the Republic of Letters.¹ Over the course of the century, the bibliography on this topic grew considerably and included works by some of the period's leading scholars, as is clear from e.g. Pierre-Jean Mariette's *Traité des pierres gravées* from the mid-century and Christoph Gottlieb von Murr's *Bibliothèque glyptographique* from the early 1800s (Mariette 1750, vol. 1, pp. 241-244; Murr 1804). People collected, copied, studied, published and discussed gems like never before. These miniature artworks had many advantages. They had survived, often intact and in vast numbers, from all ancient cultures and time periods; the images they carried, either engraved into the surface of the stone (*intaglio*) or carved in relief (*cameo*), were soon recognized as one of the richest visual sources available to Greek and Roman mythology, portraiture, and ancient iconography in general (Gurlitt 1831 [1798], pp. 75-76). These images could be easily reproduced mechanically by pressing the engraved surface of the stone into a softer material. Indeed, the images were originally intended to be seen in impression

rather than in original, and thus the reproduced image of a sealstone or engraved gem could be seen as a crucial part of the original artistic intention. As these precious originals were hidden away in various princely and private collections around Europe, gem impressions and casts in various materials such as sealing wax, sulphur, vitreous paste or plaster constituted a convenient reference material for scholars and collectors, and collected in boxes they also became attractive souvenirs for grand tourists to carry home from the city of Rome. Gem impressions and casts moreover seemed to solve the frustrating problem of inaccurate drawings and prints of gems, which more often than not conveyed the style of the copying artist rather than that of the ancient gem-engraver. Whereas antiquarian interest in gem-engraving had initially focused mostly on subject-matter and iconography, formal and stylistic aspects became increasingly important as the century drew on, and in every new book that appeared on the subject, the illustrations of earlier publications were therefore habitually criticized for being inadequate in this respect. Both subject-matter and style seemed to closely follow developments in other artistic media, which meant that gems could be used by students of ancient art to compensate for lost or fragmentarily preserved classical sculpture.²

1 I thank the Swedish Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities and the Birgit and Gad Rausing Foundation for supporting this ongoing research project. I also wish to thank the anonymous reviewer for valuable suggestions.

2 «Car les Anciens n'admiraient pas moins l'Art de graver sur de si petites Pierres, que celui de faire des grandes Statues de Marbre; au contraire» (Stosch 1724, p. XV).

Engraved gems were moreover sometimes the work of highly accomplished artists like the Greek engravers Apollonides, Kronius, Dioskurides and Pyrgoteles, mentioned by Pliny (*Nat.* 37.8). At times, these and other master-engravers had signed their works with their own name, as had been shown by the French antiquarian Charles César Baudelot de Dairval in a much discussed study of gems inscribed with the name «Solon», which appeared on masterworks like the famous «Strozzi Medusa» (Baudelot de Dairval 1717).³ So, the engraved gems of the Ancients attracted interest from scholars and collectors, from artists seeking inspiration, and increasingly from cultured people in general. This steadily growing interest soon resulted in a flourishing market for copies, pastiches and downright forgeries, especially in Rome, where the weekly market in piazza Navona was full of such 'ancient' gems.⁴ The artist Pier Leone Ghezzi (1674-1755), who also knew the art of gem-engraving, even called the trade in such fakes a «Roman tradition» (quoted in Justi 1872, p. 335).⁵ Individual gems could fetch very high prices indeed, at times exceeding those paid for classical sculpture, and in the latter half of the century, some dealers and *ciceroni*, like the notorious Thomas Jenkins (Smith [1828] 1949, p. 122), found it profitable to specialize in this business.⁶

2 Philipp von Stosch

But let us return to the early decades of the century and to one of the instrumental figures in these developments. To publish something on the topic of gems was precisely what the young Philipp Stosch (1691-1757) from Küstrin in Brandenburg set out to do, on good advice from the Greffier of the Dutch States General, François Fagel (1659-1746),⁷ who was also a renowned scholar and coin collector, and who became Stosch's patron and mentor in what was to become the young man's two main activities in life, *Antiquaria* and *Diplomatica*.⁸ Stosch never married, and neither did any of the other protagonists in this story. Winckelmann's biographer Carl Justi describes him as epitomizing those 18th-century «adventurers» whose existence was possible only in that particular century.⁹ He was a tall, thinly built, slightly hypochondriac and witty man, who famously kept a pet owl in his home. He was called many flattering things, such as Royal Polish Court Councillor, Royal British Minister (*Das Neue Gelehrte Europa*, 5, 1754, p. 1), aristocrat («veramente barone, anzi Baronissimo»),¹⁰ diplomat, literatus, antiquarian, polyhistor, bibliophile, connoisseur, collector etc., as well as less flattering things like heretic, spy, forger and thief (e.g. MacKay Quynn 1941). Horace Walpole called him «Cyclops the Antiquarian» (Stosch wore a monocle) and «a man of most infamous character in every respect» (Toynbee 1903, p. 103, n. 4). Although at least his scholarly reputation has since been more or less restored,¹¹

3 This chalcedony intaglio, dated to the mid-first century BCE, is now in the British Museum, inv. GR 1867.05-07.389.

4 E.g. Justi 1872, pp. 335-336; Zazoff 1983, pp. 23, 186-190 and refs.; Gross 1990, p. 315 and refs; Rudoe 1992; cf. also Spier & Kagan 2000.

5 For Ghezzi, see esp. Coen, Fidanza 2011.

6 For various aspects of gem-engraving and collecting in 18th-century Rome and elsewhere in Italy, the work of L. Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli and G. Tassinari is fundamental, for Rome e.g. Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1996, 2009.

7 «Un Seigneur de distinction des mes Amis, né pour l'avantage des Belles Lettres, & à qui j'ai beaucoup d'obligation, m'aient souvent exhorté à entreprendre quelque Ouvrage sur les Antiques» (Stosch 1724, p. III).

8 This is what they are called in Zazoff 1983, p. 6.

9 «Gestalten, wie sie nur im achtzehnten Jahrhundert möglich und stilgemäß waren: Menschen die sich ohne eigentlichen Reichtum, Rang und Amt, ohne feste Erwerbungsquelle eine geachtete und glänzende Stellung verschaffen, mit dem Großen der Erde auf vertrautem Fuße verkehren, und ohne Gelehrte von Fach zu sein, Orakel der Gelehrtenrepublik werden. Ohne Zweifel, ist Philipp Stosch der merkwürdigste unter ihnen» (Justi 1872, p. 295).

10 The artist P.L. Ghezzi, who for a period worked for Stosch, quoted in Justi 1872, p. 295; 1923, vol. 2, p. 265.

11 But cf. Gross (1990, pp. 318-319): «highly esteemed and consulted on all disputed questions of ancient art, but otherwise an infamous and debauched character [...] It is not impossible that he himself had a hand in the profitable business of counterfeiting

the many entertaining but mostly malicious and unreliable stories that were circulated already in his lifetime affected the reception of Stosch's scholarly activities negatively for a long time. But when his impressive and fully illustrated book finally appeared in print in 1724, it firmly established Stosch as an unquestionable international authority in this increasingly important field of study and collecting – even among the *migliori antiquarii* in Rome, who were known not to be easily impressed.¹² Stosch, by then already a notable collector and dealer himself, was now living in Rome and had made his home into an important meeting place for these collectors, dealers and scholars, many of whom he already knew well from a previous visit to the city which had proved decisive. Stosch apparently got on well with people who in one way or another were important or useful to him, or – in the case of Francesco de' Ficoroni and other more reluctant associates – at least succeeded in establishing some sort of sufficient working relation with them.¹³ He even possessed a 'talent' for making people present him with gifts; several of the prized items in his collections were actually gifts from other collectors, starting with Fagel, who donated his collection of ancient coins to his young protégé.¹⁴

Stosch's *Geschichte*¹⁵ tells us that he became interested in coins and medals and started collecting these on a small scale very early in life. At the age of 18, after briefly attending university at Frankfurt an der Oder, he decided he wanted to travel and see the world. In 1710 Stosch arrived in the Hague, where his uncle, the Prussian envoy Baron von Schmettau, introduced him into diplomatic circles and notably to the influential Fagel, who became an important presence in Stosch's life. In the following years, he travelled widely in Germany,

the Netherlands, Britain, France, Austria and Italy on various minor diplomatic missions for Fagel and Schmettau, and at the same time made numerous important connections in the world of scholars and collectors. Stosch in fact soon became one of the most well-connected scholars of his generation, with an extensive network that came to include popes, royalty, statesmen, aristocrats, clergy, and every collector and scholar worth knowing.¹⁶ Language, confessional, social and other barriers seem not to have put many obstacles in Stosch's way, and from the start he appears to have been welcome to study and copy gems in collections to which even more renowned scholars were sometimes denied access. No doubt Fagel played an important role here, employing Stosch as his own agent in procuring new acquisitions and in this way opening various doors to his protégé, encouraging him to start collecting on a serious level and devote himself to scholarly pursuits. On a visit to Paris in 1713/1714, Stosch had been introduced to the Duc d'Orléans, Baudelot de Dairval, Bernard de Montfaucon and others, and had been greatly impressed by the discussions on ancient gems in these learned circles. He had also met the duke's physician-in-ordinary, the chemist Wilhelm von Homberg, who had just published a study on the very useful art of making casts of engraved gems in coloured vitreous paste, and who shared his knowledge with the young visitor.¹⁷ In May 1714, Stosch confessed in a letter to Fagel that engraved gems had now become «ma passion... ma folie dominante» (quoted in Heringa 1976, p. 75, n. 5). Stosch may have had a finger in most areas of the *gemmomania* that was emerging, as we shall see. He studied, collected, traded, and published a learned study of ancient gems; he made and collected gem impressions and casts, commissioned

[...] perhaps the most notorious example of a foreigner who profited from Europe's greed for the treasures of ancient Rome by dubious means».

12 «Vor allem aber war er ein Orakel für Sammler, denn er hatte mehr gesehen, mehr erworben oder prüfend durch seine Hände gehen lassen, als irgendein Lebender» (Justi 1923, vol. 2, pp. 268-269).

13 «Ficoroni thought him an arch-imposter» (McKay-Quynn 1941, p. 336, no source given). Repeated in Gross 1990, p. 318.

14 «Groß war seine Gabe, Menschen für sich einzunehmen und sich von ihnen beschenken zu lassen» (Justi 1872, p. 296). For Stosch and Fagel, see *Das Neue Gelehrte Europa*, vol. 5, 1754, p. 9, and esp. Heringa 1976, 1981.

15 *Das Neue Gelehrte Europa*, 5, 1754, pp. 1-54; cont. in vol. 10, 1757, pp. 257-301; and vol. 13, 1758, pp. 242-243. This is the main source for the biography of Stosch in addition to his correspondence, partially published in Justi 1861; Heringa 1976, 1981. Cf. also Justi, 1872, 1923; MacKay Quynn 1941; Lewis 1961, 1967; Zazoff 1983, pp. 3-67.

16 For Stosch's extensive network of contacts, see esp. Lang 2007.

17 Homberg 1712; Stosch 1724, p. XIX; *Das Neue Gelehrte Europa*, vol. 5, 1754, p. 11.



Ill. 1. Pier Leone Ghezzi, *Stosch and the antiquarians of Rome*, 1725. Vienna, Albertina (Photo Museum).



Ill. 2. Pier Leone Ghezzi, *Two famous antiquarians (Stosch and Sabbatini)*, 1739.

Engraving by Arthur Pond. London, British Museum (Photo Museum).

drawings and prints of gems; he had modern copies made of ancient gems in his own and other collections, and possibly also modified ancient originals by adding details or inscriptions to make them more interesting; he commissioned his portrait to be engraved on gems;¹⁸ he took part in learned discussions and corresponded on the subject of engraved gems, and often used gems to seal his letters.¹⁹ If we are to believe Charles de Brosses (which we are not), Stosch even swallowed and stole gems (1861 [1768], p. 290).²⁰

From April 1715 to May 1717 Stosch was in Rome, where through Montfaucon he was introduced to the papal chamberlain Giusto Fontanini and, through him, the pope himself, Clement XI. He also befriended the pope's nephew, Alessandro Albani (1692-1779), who shared many of Stosch's interests and became a lifelong close friend and correspondent.²¹ And he made sure that he was

introduced to all the notable antiquarians in the city. After leaving Rome in 1717, Stosch travelled back north via Florence, Venice, Vienna (where he was made a baron),²² Prague and Dresden (where he was made a Royal Antiquarian). After returning briefly to the Hague on a diplomatic assignment from the Dresden court, Stosch was able to return permanently to Italy and Rome in 1722, now on a 'secret' mission from the British government to spy on the Old Pretender, James Stuart, who lived as the pope's guest in Rome under the name of Chevalier de St George.²³ Stosch was perfect for this job, as he was already very well-connected in the city and knew several people close to the Pretender. He took up lodgings first in the Strada Rasella in the vicinity of the Palazzo Albani alle Quattro Fontane, then in via dei Pontefici (Noack 1928-1829, p. 41). In 1727 his brother, Heinrich Sigismund (1699-1747), joined him and a larger house was

18 Surviving portrait gems are by Francesco Maria Gaetano Ghinghi, Carlo Costanzi, Lorenz Natter, and Lorenzo Masini. Kagan 1985; E. Digiugno in Gennaioli 2010, p. 281.

19 E.g. Stosch to Andreini, 16 Sept. 1720. «Questa lettera è sigillata della gemma di Dioscoride che ho trovata in questi paesi» (Justi 1861, p. 4, no. I).

20 This is the well-known but far-fetched story of Stosch, who during a group visit to Versailles became so obsessed with the thought of having one of the gems in the royal collections, the so-called *cachet de Michel-Ange*, that he tried to steal it by swallowing it. But he was found out by the custodian, had to take an emetic and return the stone to its proper owner.

21 On Albani and Stosch, see esp. Noack 1928-1829; Lewis 1961, pp. 38-62.

22 Stosch came from an old aristocratic Silesian family, which had fallen into poverty and had to give up their old title.

23 Stosch sent regular reports to London under the pseudonym of John Walton. On Stosch's 'diplomatic' or spying activities, see e.g. Noack 1928-1829; Lewis 1961; Keyssler 1751, pp. 467-72; *Das Neue Gelehrte Europa*, 10, 1757, pp. 288-299.

rented in vicolo del Merangolo (via dell'Arancio) behind the Palazzo Borghese (Zazoff 1983, p. 54, n. 184). Stosch's not very secret mission, coupled with rumours about his atheism, masonic activities and debauched lifestyle, seems to have made his position and daily life in Rome somewhat awkward, and from time to time he expressed a wish to leave the city and return to either the Netherlands or to England.²⁴ But he stayed on. Stosch's home, where antiques, coins and especially gems were frequently discussed and changed hands, soon became a regular haunt for the city's leading scholars, collectors and dealers as well as foreign visitors. There exist two well-known caricature drawings dated 1725 and 1728 of Stosch in his home with *i migliori antiquarii di Roma* by the artist Ghezzi, who at the time was a member of Stosch's household.²⁵ The event depicted has been plausibly interpreted as a coin auction (Justi 1872, p. 301), but many of the people present were also important collectors and experts on engraved gems.²⁶ Stosch is portrayed engaged in a discussion or negotiation with one of the foremost gem specialists in the group, Marcantonio Sabbatini (1637-1724),²⁷ while his owl is perched on the back of his chair. In the back can be seen a conspicuous sculpture fragment of a pair of human, probably male, buttocks. On two other portrait drawings of Stosch alone, now in the Vatican Library, Ghezzi has written «Fu esiliato da Roma per la sua irreligiosità»,²⁸ and «peccato che sia eretico».²⁹

Stosch had indeed been forced to leave Rome in rather a hurry in 1731 for reasons that are not altogether clear.³⁰ He went into exile in Florence, where he was welcomed by Gian Gastone de' Medici and quickly positioned himself within the city's learned circles.³¹ He took with him his brother, his manservant Christian Dehn (1696-1770), and the two artists Johann Justin Preißler (1698-1771) and Karl Markus Tuscher (1705-1751), who had belonged to his Roman household (Borroni Salvadori 1978, pp. 566-567). In Florence, Stosch first stayed at no. 46 via de' Malcontenti before moving permanently to the Palazzo Ramirez de Montalvo in borgo degli Albizi (no. 26) (Borroni Salvadori 1978, p. 568 and refs.), where many scholars and grand tourists later called to admire his astonishing *museo* full of antiquities, maps, prints and drawings, manuscripts, books and other curiosities.³² Even in exile, Stosch managed to keep many of his old contacts in Rome, notably Albani, through whom it was possible for him to continue to pass on information, mostly gossip, on the Pretender's doings. This assignment was very important to Stosch, as it was a major source of income and furthermore guaranteed protection from the British, who continued to pay for Stosch's services although he was not a very efficient or useful spy. In Florence, Stosch became a founding member of the masonic lodge (Borroni Salvadori 1978, p. 578),³³ sponsored the «Giornale de' Letterati» (Borroni Salvadori 1978, p. 601), and became actively involved in various learned societies.

24 Zazoff 1983, p. 8 and n. 28; MacKay Quynn 1941, pp. 336-337. Cf. also *Das Neue Gelehrte Europa*, vol. 10, 1757, p. 297: «Der Herr von S. hatte viele Feinde zu Rom, denen dergleichen lästerliche Ausstreungen ohne Zweifel zuzuschreiben sind».

25 Vienna, Albertina, inv. 1263 (dated 1725); Rome, Bibl. Apost. Vat., Cod. Ottob. Lat. 3116, 191 (dated 10 Oct. 1728). Zazoff 1983, pls 2-3.

26 The Albertina drawing from 1725 depicts Sabbatini, Stosch, Valesio, Andreoli, Fontanini, Ficoroni, Vitri, Palazzi, Odam, Bianchini, Grazini, Marsili, Strozzi, and Ghezzi himself. The later Vatican version, dated 1728, depicts Stosch, Ghezzi, Sabbatini, Valesio, Fontanini, Marsili, Bianchini, Viti, Strozzi, Borioni, Campioli, Forier, Ficoroni, Grazini, Andreoli, and Palazzi.

27 Sabbatini was in fact already dead when the drawing was made. On Stosch and Sabbatini, e.g. Justi 1872, p. 303.

28 Rome, Bibl. Apost. Vat., Cod. Ottob. Lat. 3112 115. Zazoff 1983, pl. 5:3.

29 Rome, Bibl. Apost. Vat., Cod. Ottob. Lat. 3112 131a. Zazoff 1983, p. 16, n. 47 and pl. 5:2 (inscr. not visible).

30 There exist several accounts of this incident, e.g. a letter from Count Wackerbach in Rome to August II the Strong in Dresden, dated 27 Jan. 1731 and quoted in Justi 1861, pp. 14-15. Cf. also MacKay Quynn 1941, pp. 337-338; Lewis 1961, pp. 87-90; Zazoff 1983, pp. 50-51; Lewis 1967, p. 320: «The Roman years were his best, most significant and probably happiest, and, wherever else at different times he travelled or lived, the strange and murky Baron Stosch always seems something of an exile from the Rome of his generation and of antiquity».

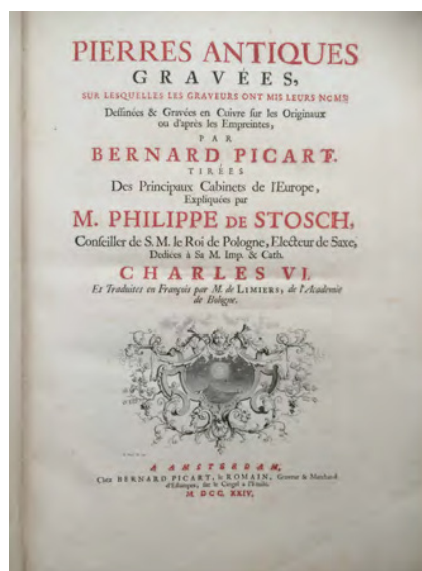
31 On Stosch in Florence, see esp. Borroni Salvadori 1978; Zazoff 1983, pp. 51-67; Fileti Mazza 2004.

32 The contents of Stosch's *museo* are summarized in *Das Neue Gelehrte Europa*, vol. 10, 1757, pp. 257-287.

33 On Stosch's masonic activities and involvement in the so-called Crudeli affair, see Casini 1972, esp. pp. 142-147.

3 The *Gemmae Antiquae Caelatae* Project

Stosch was still in his early twenties when he embarked on his project to collect original gems, gem impressions, casts, drawings and prints, study them critically and publish his results. In 1716 he had already begun to commission drawings specifically for his planned publication (Stosch to Cuper, 8 August 1716, quoted in Heringa 1976, p. 77 and n. 41). The topic of ancient gems was at the time an excellent choice, and Stosch decided to concentrate on gems signed by their engraver. This focus on artists and the increasingly important question of authenticity is interesting and revealing, and was of course sparked by current discussions in antiquarian circles and by Stosch's personal contact with instrumental scholars and collectors like Baudelot de Dairval and the Duc d'Orléans in France, and Sabbatini, Leone Strozzi and Pietro Andrea Andreini in Italy. Strozzi and Andreini owned several signed gems that were later included in Stosch's book (1724).³⁴ There existed a large number of such stones with inscribed Greek names assumed to be those of ancient engravers. Many of these were suspected to be modern copies or fakes, because the interest in signed gems made less scrupulous contemporary engravers add real or invented names of Greek engravers to ancient originals and to Renaissance or later copies and pastiches, as well as to their own works in order to increase prices and satisfy a growing market demand.³⁵ Stosch's systematic, critical investigation aimed to rid the corpus of originals from such fakes, and when his work was finally published it added many new names to Pliny's list and provided illustrated examples of these master-engravers' work, thereby creating an even greater demand for signed gems, and of course also facilitating for the producers of new such forgeries. Stosch spent many years travelling, systematically examining a vast



Ill. 3. *Gemmae antiquae caelatae* / *Pierres antiquae gravées*, 1724. Frontispiece.

number of originals and collecting books, drawings, gem impressions and casts «que j'ay ramassé avec une fatigue incroyable» (Stosch to Cuper, 8 August 1716, quoted in Heringa 1976, p. 77 and n. 41),³⁶ and had soon acquired considerable first-hand experience and knowledge in the field. This was only possible through his extensive travels including the long sojourn in Rome, where he had ample opportunity to befriend leading scholars and collectors.

In a letter to Flemming dated 18 March 1721, Stosch boasted that his library already contained almost all books on this and related subjects.³⁷ That same year his forthcoming publication, with the preliminary title *Recueil [sic] des Pierres Antiquae Gravées, où les Ouvriers ont mis leur nom...*, was announced to the readers of «La Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne», and advance subscriptions were being accepted from 1 August 1721 to 31 January 1722.³⁸ Subscribers were promised a publica-

³⁴ Strozzi: nos. 7, 18, 23, 26, 32, 58, 63 (originals), and 20, 37, 43, 52 61 (pastes); Andreini: nos. 5, 23, 45, 46, 54 and 68.

³⁵ This was a widespread phenomenon. See e.g. Stosch 1724, p. XXI; Natter 1754, pp. XXVIII-XIX; Rudoe 1992.

³⁶ Cf. also Winckelmann 1760, p. IV: «& le B. de Stosch dans ses voyages avoit eû l'avantage de faire mouler toutes ces pâtes sur les pierres gravées mêmes, dans les meilleurs Cabinets de l'Europe».

³⁷ «ma Bibliothèque, qui est composée de presque tous les auteurs, qui servent à l'intelligence de toute sorte d'Antiquités» (Justi 1861, pp. 6-7. no. II).

³⁸ 15/24 francs monnaie de Hollande subscriptions. «Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne», 16, 1721, pp. 229-231: «Cet Ouvrage est le fruit des longues & laborieuses recherches de Mr. le Baron de Stosch, dans les principales Villes de l'Europe; pour y voir les pierres gravées, par les plus célèbres Ouvriers de l'Antiquité, comme Pyrgotele, Polyclete, Apollonide, Dioscoride & autres, dont Pline parle, & particulièrement celles où ils avoient mis leur noms».



Ill. 4. *Gemmae antiquae caelatae* / *Pierres antiques gravées*, 1724. Plate X.



Ill. 5. Bernard Picart, drawing for *Gemmae antiquae caelatae*, plate X. Private collection, London.

tion within two years, and in 1724 the book was finally published by Bernard Picart in Amsterdam as *Gemmae antiquae caelatae sculptorum nominibus insignitae* / *Pierres antiques gravées, sur lesquelles les graveurs ont mis leur noms*, with bilingual commentaries in Latin and French.³⁹ Dedicated to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI,⁴⁰ and structured alphabetically after the names of the engravers, the work presented seventy gems,⁴¹ which the sharp-eyed Stosch had managed to separate from the many stones in circulation with fake inscriptions.⁴² The selection shows that he indeed had a remarkable eye for detecting fakes. In the next century, when Stosch's reputation reached a low mark and the many fake gems in circulation had turned this field of study into a veritable minefield, Heinrich Köhler dismissed most of the inscribed gems in Stosch's book as modern (1851 [1833]), but he was later criticized by Heinrich Brunn

(1859, 2, pp. 461-462) and especially by Adolf Furtwängler in his new systematic reassessment of signed gems (1888-1889, 1900).⁴³ Of the seventy gems in Stosch's catalogue, only nineteen are today recognized as clearly modern works, some as dubious, and a small number of the remaining inscribed names are believed to be modern additions or refer to owners rather than to engravers (Zazoff 1983, pp. 27-29).

Stosch's opus was fully illustrated with remarkably accurate engravings by Bernard Picart (1673-1733), who also published the book. Picart worked from drawings made by Ghezzi, Theodor Netscher (1661-1728), Anton Maria Zanetti (1679-1767), and especially Girolamo Odam (1681-1741), and also directly from gem impressions, redrawing many of the gems, because the extant drawings were found to be «ni de bon gout, ni corrects» (Picart 1734, p. 8 [‘Eloge his-

³⁹ On this book project, see e.g. Heringa 1976; Zazoff 1983, pp. 24-50; Whiteley 1999; Rambach (forthcoming). The idea that the book should be published in both Latin and French apparently came from Fagel. Stosch to Fagel, 1 January 1715, cited in Heringa 1976, p. 78 and n. 50. The French translation was by H.P. de Limiers.

⁴⁰ Stosch had originally wanted to dedicate his book to Fagel, who refused. Fagel to Stosch, 7 May 1723. Quoted in Heringa 1976, p. 81, n. 86.

⁴¹ Stosch had originally selected sixty-nine gems, to which his publisher/illustrator B. Picart added a seventieth gem from the collection of the Duke of Devonshire. Stosch 1724, p. 69, no. XLVIII.

⁴² «je ne doute point que les Pierres que je donne ici ne soient de véritable Antiques, & que les inscriptions qu'on y lit n'y aient été mises par ceux même qui les ont gravées» (Stosch 1724, p. XXI).

⁴³ For a good historiographic overview, see Zwierlein-Diehl 2005.

torique'])).⁴⁴ His plates, which are dated between 1719 and 1724, carry an enlarged image of the actual engraving and also inform the reader of the original size of the gem, its subject-matter, engraver, material, and collection. In his meticulous drawings, Picart tried to convey as far as possible the style and something of the personality of the engraver. This was in accordance with the intentions of Stosch, who explained in a letter: «Dans les explications des gravures j'espere de donner au public une idee non seulement des figures que les gemmes representent, mais la beaute de la sculpture en quoy differe le style de l'un de celui de l'autre ouvrier» (Stosch to Cuper, 8 August 1716, quoted in Heringa 1976, p. 77). In the preface to his opus, Stosch dismissed the illustrations of earlier publications, which «fourmillent de fautes»,⁴⁵ and added: «en effet la beauté du travail de tant d'anciens Graveurs, qui ont excellé dans l'Art de graver en Pierres, méritoit bien que l'on fit les dernier efforts pour représenter exactement les figures qu'ils nous ont laissées sur un si grand nombre de Pierres précieuses» (1724, p. V). Nevertheless, these concerns did not result in any further discussion on engraving techniques or style in the accompanying catalogue entries, which are rather conventional, dry and summary.⁴⁶ But an important point had been made and the publication undoubtedly established Stosch as the foremost expert in the field; it is still regarded as a milestone publication, modern in its focus and approach.⁴⁷ But there were suspicions that the baron himself was not the real author of this

learned text; rumours were circulating that the commentaries had been ghost-written by another renowned antiquary in Stosch's circle, the abbate Francesco Valesio (1670-1742), who figures in Ghezzi's caricatures of Stosch's circle and in the same artist's comment written under one of his Stosch portraits: «Barone Stosc [sic], che pubblico un libro di gemme col nome dell'intagliatore, a cui fece le spiegazioni l'Abb. Valesio». ⁴⁸ Doubts on the truth of these allegations have been cast by Jan Heringa (1976, pp. 82-83).⁴⁹ Stosch was after all by then an experienced expert in the field after a decade of handling originals and studying the relevant bibliography. But the instrumentality of his extensive antiquarian network should certainly not be underestimated. In addition to Valesio, there were many other people in Rome who knew a thing or two about gems, notably Sabbatini and Strozzi, whose views Stosch greatly valued. He actually acknowledged the assistance of these various unnamed people in the book's preface.⁵⁰

The beautiful and lavish folio volume was very well received (e.g. Zazoff 1983, pp. 48-50). «Quelle netteté, quel précision dans le travail!», exclaimed Mariette later in his *Traité*, «Ses descriptions peignent avec des couleurs si vives & si bien assorties le sujet dont il doit rendre compte, qu'on croit avoir présent» (1750, vol. 1, p. 333). Unaware that Stosch knew very little Latin (Zazoff 1983, pp. 53-54 and n. 180), Mariette recommended the Latin text before H.P. de Limiers' French translation, which according to him distorted the author's fine thoughts. He was also unimpressed by Picart's illustrations: «cet Artiste,

44 On the illustrations, see esp. Heringa 1976; Whiteley 1999; Rambach (forthcoming). In a letter dated 7 May 1723, Fagel wrote to Stosch «il me paroît que monsieur Picart n'a pas fait tort de demander les empreintes, parce que'un homme, qui a devant lui la pierre originelle ou son empreinte avec le dessein qui en a esté fait, est plus capable d'entrer dans le véritable gout de l'antique que celui qui n'a que le dessein tout seul» (quoted in Heringa 1976, p. 80). In his preface, Stosch commended Odam, who «a desiné lui-même très-exactement plusieurs de ces Pierres, qu'il m'a ensuite offertes de la maniere la plus obligeante» (1724, p. V).

45 «Aiant d'ailleurs remarqué que la plûpart de celles que ces Auteurs ont données fourmillent de fautes, & que, par la négligence de ceux qui les ont dessinées, il s'en faut bien qu'elles soient conformes aux Originaux, j'ai cru qu'il étoit à propos de tirer en Verre, en Soufre & en Cire des Empreintes de ces mêmes Pierres, recueillies de divers Cabinets, afin de conserver, autant qu'il seroit possible, la maniere de graver des Anciens, & d'en pouvoir donner par ce moyen des Desseins exacts & fideles» (Stosch 1724, p. III).

46 «j'y ai joint un petit Commentaire, qui n'est pas, à la verité, rempli d'autant d'éloquence & d'érudition, qu'on demande à présent dans ces sortes de matieres» (Stosch 1724, p. XXI). Although the commentaries were lauded in Mariette 1750, vol. 1, pp. 329-334.

47 E.g. Zazoff: «nicht anders als im heutigen Sinne wissenschaftlich bezeichnet werden» (1983, p. 27).

48 Rome, Bibl. Apost. Vat., Cod. Ottob. Lat. 3112 115. Zazoff 1983, pl. 5:3.

49 Justi (1872, p. 334; 1923, vol. 2, p. 291) takes for granted that the real author was Valesio, as does Reinach (1895, p. 156). Zazoff assumes that Valesio wished to remain anonymous (1983, p. 24).

50 «c'est un bonheur, dont je ne puis assez me feliciter, que tant d'habiles gens aient concouru, sans aucun motif de jalousie, à la perfection de cet Ouvrage» (Stosch 1724, p. V).

uniquement fait pour graver de jolies choses d'après des Desseins de son invention, n'étoit point propre pour l'entreprise sérieuse dont on le chargeoit» (p. 332). Many later critics agreed with Mariette in this. It was not until the late 19th century that the true value of Picart's work was fully appreciated.⁵¹

Stosch had planned a sequel to his successful book, with many more signed gems from his own and other collections. This second volume was repeatedly referred to until Stosch's death in 1757,⁵² and he commissioned a large quantity of drawings for it from the various artists who worked for him. Many of these drawings survive (Zazoff 1983, pp. 54-57; Coen, Fianza 2001), but the book never appeared.

4 Stosch's Own Gem Collection

Three of the gems in Stosch's publication had been in his own collection,⁵³ which at the time of his death in 1757 was the largest and most wide-ranging in existence, consisting of 3 444 originals and glass-pastes, and perhaps more than 28 000 gem impressions «von allen Steinen in der Welt», which the baron had either made himself or managed to procure from all the major European collections.⁵⁴ The 600 most valuable gems were set in gold, the rest in silver, and the collection was stored in 30 large chests with ten drawers each, thematically structured according to subject-matter, as was the usual way. Stosch's collecting was not governed primarily by aesthetic considerations, he wanted his collection to be representative of gem-engraving as a whole, encyclopaedic in scope and a source of knowledge about the life and customs of the Ancients.⁵⁵



Ill. 6. Markus Tuscher, portrait medallion of Stosch, 1738. Private collection, London.

Heinrich Sigismund helped his brother bring order among the many gems, pastes and impressions in the collection, sorting them thematically and compiling a basic inventory list with brief descriptions of subject-matter, information on provenance, comparanda etc. Together with the manservant Dehn, he also assisted his brother in producing or procuring impressions and casts of gems in various other collections that Stosch needed for reference purposes.

Stosch also employed a number of artists, many of whom belonged to his Roman and Florentine households. These included Ghezzi and his pupil Odam, who did not follow Stosch in exile, and Preißler and Tuscher who did, plus Georg Adam Nagel (1712-1779) and Johann Adam Schweickart (1722-1787) who joined the household in Florence. These artists produced drawings and engravings of gems and various antiques (Winckelmann 1760, p. XXVII), as well as erotic drawings illustrating piquant passages from ancient authors,⁵⁶ and notably

51 E.g. Reinach 1895, pp. 156-157; Furtwängler 1900, vol. 3, p. 409.

52 E.g. Vettori 1739, p. 7; Stosch to Venuti, 24 February 1739 (quoted in Engelmann 1909, pp. 333-334). Also Mariette 1750, vol. 1, p. 334; *Das Neue Gelehrte Europa*, 5, 1754, p. 50; Rambach (forthcoming).

53 Nos. 11 (Apollonides), 28 (Dioskurides), 54 (Polykletos). He also owned three of the vitreous pastes: nos. 2 (Aepolianos), 3 (Aetion) and 36 (Heius).

54 Zazoff says Stosch possessed over 30 000 impressions and casts (1983, p. 75). Winckelmann mentions 28 000 «empreintes en souffre» (1760, p. XXIX). Gurlitt says there were 14 000 sulphurs in the collection (1831 [1798], p. 137). Cf. also Winckelmann to Francke, 1 January 1759: «Herrn Lippert wünschte ich die große Sammlung von Schwefeln von allen Steinen in der Welt, so viel man hat haben können: es sind deren an 14 000» (Winckelmann 1952, pp. 442-444, no. 261).

55 «Il renferme presque toute la Mythologie des Egyptiens, des Etrusques, des Grecs & des Romains, leur principaux usages, la représentation de beaucoup de Faits mémorables de l'Antiquité, & les Portraits des plus fameux personnages» (Winckelmann 1760, p. II). «Stosch war kein gewöhnlicher Sammler. Sein Ziel war wissenschaftliche Erkenntniß; die Sammlungen sollten das vollständige Werkzeug enthalten für die Kenntniß der Alterthümer» (Justi 1872, p. 345).

56 The 'erotica' was apparently intended for the private library of Lord Carteret, who had hired Stosch to spy on the Pretender (Lewis 1967, p. 323 and n. 7).

worked on Stosch's famous *Atlas*, a 'giant scrap-book' which at the time of his death comprised 324 folio volumes of maps, drawings and prints.⁵⁷ Among the artists associated with Stosch was also a talented gem-engraver from Biberach in southern Germany, Lorenz Natter (1705-63), who later published a celebrated treatise on the techniques of gem-engraving (1754).⁵⁸ Natter, who had begun his career engraving gems with heraldic devices, had arrived in Rome in the early 1730s and met various artists and collectors in the circles in which Stosch had once operated. A few years later he was in Florence, studying and copying the techniques of ancient gem-engravers. In this he was especially encouraged and applauded by Stosch: «nor did I copy any Antiques till after my Arrival at Florence», Natter later wrote in his treatise, «where Baron Stosch, being struck with my Taste and Application to Engraving, did every Thing to make me apply wholly to it» (1754, pp. xxviii-xxix; xxxii). Soon he excelled in imitating the work of ancient masters.⁵⁹ Stosch employed Natter to faithfully copy ancient gems in his own and other collections, emulate the styles and techniques of the ancient engravers, and possibly also to modify or add inscriptions or artists' signatures to ancient originals to make these more interesting (Justi 1872, p. 336), al-

though this has never been proven.⁶⁰ Natter often signed his gems with his name in Greek letters as NATTEP or NATTHP, or translated into Greek as ΥΑΡΟΣ or ΥΑΡΟΥ («water-snake», the meaning of *Natter* in German) and also admitted to having put the name *Aulos* on a gem copied from an original in Francesco Vettori's collection (1754, pp. xxvii-xxix). According to Winckelmann, who later catalogued Stosch's gem collection, Natter had claimed to be the engraver of many 'ancient' stones in Stosch's rich collection.⁶¹ To faithfully copy older masterpieces was - and still is - a natural part of a gem-engraver's training, and such copies were not always made with the intention to deceive. Book plates depicting gems, and later the many collections of gem casts (*dactyliothecae*) that workshops like Dehn, Lippert, Paoletti and Tassie were turning out, provided a wide selection of suitable models to copy.⁶²

After his transfer to Florence, Stosch became one of the most active members of the *Società Colombaria* and of the *Accademia Etrusca* in Cortona.⁶³ He frequently sent drawings, engravings, impressions and casts of objects in his collections to be discussed at the sessions, especially at the well-known *notti coritane* of the *Accademia Etrusca*.⁶⁴ Stosch's Florentine period coincided with the culmination of

57 On the *Atlas*, e.g. Winckelmann 1760, pp. 571-596: 'Catalogue abrégé de l'Athlas du feu Baron de Stosch en 324 Tomes in Fol. Grand Papier Imperial avec Cartes, Planches et Dessains'; Egger 1926. Lewis calls it a «scrap-book» (1961, p. 60).

58 Several other gem-engravers have been associated with Stosch, notably Carlo and Tommaso Costanzi, Flavio Sirleti, Giuseppe Torricelli, Lorenzo Masini, Felice Bernabé, and Antonio Pichler. Even Pier Leone Ghezzi and Karl Markus Tuscher engraved gems. E.g. Justi 1923, vol. 2, p. 290; and esp. Tassinari 2010a, 2010b.

59 «Hence I perceived with much pleasure that the ancient Engraver, who lived about two thousand Years ago, made use of the same Sort of Tools as I did. And this Discovery animated me to exert all Abilities to reach the Perfection of the ancient Artists» (Natter 1754, p. V).

60 Natter copied many ancient originals for Stosch, some included in his book (Nau 1966; cf. also Borroni Salvadori 1978, pp. 583, 595-596). There were rumours that several other engravers added names of Greek artists on stones for Stosch (Tassinari 2010a, pp. 31-32 and refs.).

61 Winckelmann to Lippert, Spring 1762: «Da Euch endlich meine Beschreibung der tiefgeschnittenen Steine des Stoßischen Musei zu Händen gekommen ist, so glaube ich, werdet Ihr aus dieser Arbeit selbst urtheilen können, ob es wahr sey, was Herr Natter, berühmter Steinschneider, welcher itzo in Holland ist, allenthalben vorgiebt, daß wenigstens die Hälfte der beschriebenen geschnittenen Steine neu und größentheils von ihm selbst gearbeitet sey [...] Unglaublich aber scheint mir nicht, daß Herr von Stosch von Herrn Natter Copien alter Steine hat machen lassen, und wenn dieselbe gerathen, es einigen jungern Anfängern in Liebhaberen dieser Art zweydeutig gelaßen, ob es alte oder neue Arbeiten seyn» (Winckelmann 1957, pp. 15-18, no. 3). Also Winckelmann to Stosch-Muzell, early October 1757: «unter uns beyden gesagt. Man redet doch immer von dem Kopf des Alexanders unter den geschnittenen Steinen des Herrn Barons. Mich deucht, es ist eine Arbeit von einem Betrieger. Man sollte er nicht weiter erwehnen, nachdem er bekannt gemacht ist, Ich werde mich über denselben erklären» (Winckelmann 1952, pp. 307-310, no. 192).

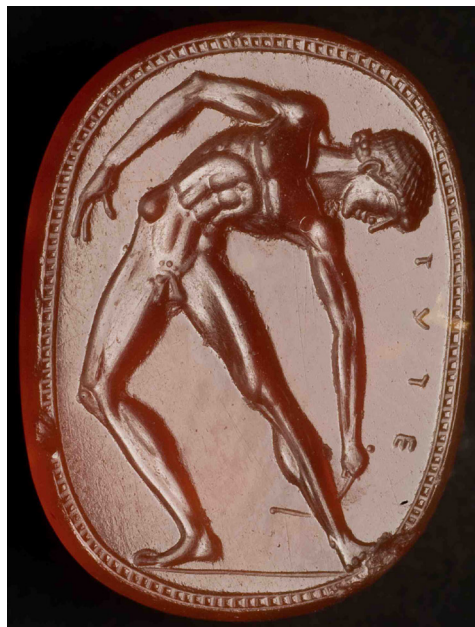
62 On *dactyliothecae*, e.g. Kockel, Graepler 2006; Knüppel 2009; Hansson 2010; 2012, pp. 39-44.

63 Stosch was also member of the *Società del Museo Fiorentino*, founded by Gori (A. Baroni in Gennaioli 2010, p. 282).

64 Bruschetti 1987, pp. 10-11; Borroni Salvadori 1978, pp. 575, 587-588, 604 and refs. «Von jeder Gemme, die er kaufte, jeder Münze und Bronze sandte er Abdrücke, Zeichnungen, Beschreibungen» (Justi 1871, p. 25).



III. 7. «Gemma Stosch». Etruscan scarab, early 5th cent. BCE. Berlin, Antikensammlung SMB (Photo: Johannes Laurentius).



III. 8. Tydeus. Etruscan scarab, early fifth cent. BCE. Berlin, Antikensammlung SMB (Photo: Johannes Laurentius).

Etruscheria following the posthumous publication of Thomas Dempster's *De Etruria Regali* (1723-1726, written a century earlier) by Thomas Coke and Filippo Buonarroti. During the *notte coritana* of 18 January 1755, a very curious Etruscan scarab gem changed hands and became the treasured property of Stosch.⁶⁵ This miniature masterpiece, later called the *Gemma Stosch* and depicting five heroes from the Seven against Thebes legend, had been found in the territory of Perugia sometime before 1742 and was already well-known and much discussed because of its interesting inscription naming the five heroes represented.⁶⁶ The gem was later famously featured on the frontispieces of Winckelmann's art history (1764) and Mario Guarnacci's *Origini italiane* (1767). It was presented to Stosch as a gift from a fellow academician, Count Vicenzio Ansidei from Perugia. In return, Stosch offered the count a cameo set in gold with the head of Apollo and a luxury

copy of Montfaucon's *L'antiquité expliquée* (15 vols, 1719-1724). Anton Francesco Gori, who had been the first to publish the stone, considered the inscription to be Etruscan, but Stosch was of the opinion that it was Pelasgian, which was thought to be the mother language of both Greek and Etruscan. There was no doubt that the stone was of a very early date. A few years earlier, at a Florentine dealer's, Stosch had discovered and purchased another interesting Etruscan scarab gem depicting a nude hero and inscribed with the name *tute* (Tydeus), which he had recognized as one of the names appearing on the Seven against Thebes gem, already known to him from Gori's illustrated publications (1742, 1749). In 1756, Stosch had the artist Schweickart make engravings of the two masterpieces, which were circulated among the members of the *Accademia Etrusca*, *Società Colombaria* and other interested people.⁶⁷ These two important acquisitions were

⁶⁵ E.g. Justi 1872, pp. 341-342; Zazoff 1974; 1983, pp. 58-63; Micheli 1984.

⁶⁶ «trovato in uno scavamento nel agro Perugino» (Gori 1742, p. CXXVIII). The inscribed names are: *tute* (Tydeus), *phulnice* (Polyneikes), *amphiare* (Amphiaraios), *atresthe* (Adrastos), and *parthanapaes* (Parthenopaeus). The gem was first published in Gori 1742, 1749, and then in Antonioli 1757: «parlarono di poi di questa gemma i Sigg. Giornalisti di Firenze nel Tomo III, Parte I. Articolo IX. Il Sig. Bianconi nel suo Libro *Antiquis Litteris* &c. il Sig. Passeri nella *Dissertazione De Nummis Etruscis Paestanorum*: e questi due ultimi stimarono, che Etrusca fosse la Gemma, ed Etruschi i Caratteri in essa incisi» (p. VII). Cf. also «*Novelle Letterarie*» 1757, p. 267.

⁶⁷ Engraving by J.A. Schweickart 1756, inscribed «*Nomina Heroum quae adscripta leguntur Literis Graecis Antiquissimis. Scarabaeum ex Sarda Vetustissimae Sculpturae singulare Monumentum, a cl. Gorio anno MDCCIL primo vulgatum, Philippus LB. de Stosch ex propria Dactylithoea summa diligentia iterum delineatum in aes incidi curavit Florentiae Anno MDCCCLVI.*»

later discussed in a letter to Giovanni Bianchi in Livorno, where Stosch commented on the former work «che sia poi il mio scarabeo sculptura greca, pelasga, o etrusca, ciò non impedisce, che non sia uno de' più rimarcabili intagli, che sinora si è visto, e di antichissimo lavoro» (Stosch to Bianchi, 18 December 1756, quoted in Justi 1861, pp. 30-31, no. XVI). It is still held to be one of the great masterpieces of ancient gem-engraving.

Stosch owned many such desirable stones. Horace Walpole, who was rather ambivalent to Stosch as a person but very interested in some of his gems, wrote yearningly that «I find I cannot live without Stosch's intaglia of the Gladiator with the vase. You know I offered him fifty pounds. I think rather than loose it, I would give a hundred. What would he do if the Spaniards should come to Florence? Should he be driven to straits he could part with his Meleager, too?» (Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, 26 November 1749, quoted in Toynbee 1903, p. 131). In the end Walpole got neither of the two, but this emotional outburst clearly shows the great attraction that gems had in these circles. No price seemed too high for some gems, which at times could be much more expensive than ancient sculpture, and Stosch was prepared to pay «qualsivoglia prezzo» for the Tydeus scarab (Stosch to Bianchi, 18 December 1756, quoted in Justi 1861, pp. 30-31, no. XVI). Otherwise, the baron seems to have been on the whole very forthcoming in allowing scholars, collectors and interested dilettanti to study and admire things in his vast collections. He also freely provided people with impressions, casts, drawings and prints of his gems, but he rarely parted with his cherished originals, unless he was given something much better in return or was very well paid (Borroni Salvadori 1978, p. 577, n. 46).



Ill. 9. A.R. Mengs, *Portrait of J.J. Winckelmann*, after 1755. Metropolitan Museum, New York (Photo: <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/437067>).

5 Winckelmann's Catalogue

A few years before his death, Stosch had expressed the wish that a *catalogue raisonné* of his treasured gem collection be published by Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768). Winckelmann, who had arrived in Rome in 1755 and was eager to meet his illustrious older compatriot,⁶⁸ sent Stosch a flattering letter in French and enclosed «une petite brochure, qui regard les Arts dont Vous êtes le plus grand Connaisseur et le Juge competent» (Winckelmann to Stosch, early June 1756, in Winckelmann 1952, p. 227, no. 146).⁶⁹ Stosch was greatly impressed and in return wrote a letter of recommendation to Cardinal Albani, who had remained his close friend and ally in Rome. He also invited Winckelmann to visit him in his Florentine *museo*,⁷⁰ but this visit was postponed several times for various reasons, notably because of Winckelmann's planned visit to Naples and Herculaneum.⁷¹ In the meantime, Stosch's health deteriorated and soon his side of the correspondence

68 «Da er nun neuerdings wieder erfahren hatte, daß man von solchen Leuten mehr lernen könne, als aus Büchern, so stand bei dem florentinischen Reiseplan die Figur des alten Herrn in Vordergrund; die heturischen Altertümer bildeten etwa die Umgebung; die modernen Schätze, welche die Medici aufgehäuft, standen im Hintergrunde» (Justi 1923, vol. 2, p. 264).

69 This 'brochure' was of course his famous *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerey und Bildhauerkunst* (Dresden 1755). The letter and booklet was brought to Stosch by the artist A.F. Harper.

70 «Stosch, zurückhaltend im Punkt des Mein und Dein, war um so liberaler mit seinem Notizen, Ratschlägen, der Erlaubnis, seine Sammlungen durch Anschauung oder durch Kopien, Abdrücke, Abschriften für wissenschaftliche Zwecke zu benutzen» (Justi 1923, vol. 2, p. 268).

71 The journey did not take place until February-May 1758, when Stosch was already dead.

was taken over by his nephew, Heinrich Wilhelm Muzell (1723-1782),⁷² who had recently moved in with his uncle, been adopted and designated sole heir. Muzell-Stosch, or «Stoschino» as he was sometimes called, met with Winckelmann in Rome in the spring of 1757,⁷³ the two became close friends and corresponded regularly (in German) right up until Winckelmann's premature and violent death in Trieste in 1768. It was long assumed that Winckelmann had never had the opportunity to meet the old Stosch in person.⁷⁴ There are however indications that the two might have met briefly in 1756, when Stosch apparently made an unexpected appearance in Rome.⁷⁵

Stosch died on 6 November 1757 at the age of sixty-eight, leaving an estate valued to around 100 000 *ducats* and comprising astonishing collections of gems, coins, maps, drawings, manuscripts and books.⁷⁶ Muzell-Stosch, who wanted to travel in the Orient and elsewhere, immediately started negotiating the sale of everything with potential buyers and engaged various friends in trying to circumvent the statutory 7,75% estate tax (Lewis 1967, p. 326). He also renewed his uncle's offer for Winckelmann to publish what he initially intended to be a simple sales catalogue of the valuable gem collection,⁷⁷ and on 2 September 1758 Winckelmann finally left Rome for Florence. But upon seeing the remarkable collection of originals, pastes and impressions in Stosch's «amplissimo magaz-

ino» (Winckelmann to Bianconi, 29 October 1758, in Winckelmann 1952, pp. 428-429, no. 248),⁷⁸ he decided it indeed deserved a more ambitious *catalogue raisonné*, like the old Stosch had wanted (Winckelmann to Baldani, 26-30 September 1758, in Winckelmann 1954, pp. 418-419, no. 240).⁷⁹ Such a publication would better serve Winckelmann's own interests as an emerging scholar in antiquarian circles. He was at the time also working on his ambitious venture of writing a comprehensive history of the art of the Ancients, and there were obvious benefits to be had from working on the two projects side by side. In Stosch's well-furnished library, Winckelmann had access to most of the relevant bibliography both on gems and ancient art in general, plus he had the baron's encyclopaedic collection of sulphurs (Winckelmann 1760, p. XXIX). So, instead of staying in Florence for a couple of months, as he had initially planned,⁸⁰ Winckelmann remained in Stosch's house as Muzell-Stosch's guest until May the following year, and the whole commission took him about 18 months to complete.⁸¹ «Comme je possède présentement mon Compatriote l'Abbé Winckelmann, j'espère de faire avec son aide un Catalogue des Pierres gravées qui fera honneur à la memoire de feu mon Oncle», Muzell-Stosch reported to his uncle's old friend Albani, «Du moins nous y travaillons sans relache» (Stosch to Albani, 10 October 1758, in Winckelmann 1957, p. 123, no. 78).

72 On Muzell-Stosch, e.g. Schartow 1909; http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heinrich_Wilhelm_Muzell (accessed 2014-05-04).

73 Winckelmann to Genzmer, 20 November 1757 (Winckelmann 1954, pp. 312-315, no. 194). Cf. also Winckelmann 1760, p. I.

74 Winckelmann to Muzell-Stosch, 25 November 1757 (Winckelmann 1952, pp. 315-316, no. 195).

75 Noack cites a letter from a German visitor in Rome, who mentions that Stosch was visiting the city in 1756 and staying in via Giulia, and that on this occasion he met with Winckelmann and his artist friend, A.R. Mengs (1928-1929, p. 87).

76 A summary of Stosch's various collections is given in «Das Neue Europa», 10, 1757, pp. 257-287; 13, 1758, pp. 242-243. Cf. also Barthélemy 1801, pp. 24-25, who says that Stosch «a depouillé l'Italie»; De Brosses 1861 [1768], pp. 289-290.

77 «un simple catalogue des pièces qui le composent, & les Circonstances dans les quelles se trouvoient» (Winckelmann 1760, p. I).

78 Winckelmann to Hagedorn, 13 January 1759: «das stärkste in der Welt. Des Königs in Frankreich Cabinet kommt hier nicht einmal in Vergleichung» (Winckelmann 1952, pp. 444-449, no. 262).

79 Winckelmann to Valenti, 26-30 September 1758: «Il soggiorno di Firenze e piu faticoso che delizioso per me: lo scartabellare il Museo del fu Baron di Stosch m'a immerso in tante ricerche, che non so dove dar capo ne dove terminare» (Winckelmann 1954, pp. 417-418, no. 239).

80 Winckelmann to Mengs, late September 1758: «Io credo di tornare a Roma sul principio del Novembre, quantunque abbia dato la mano di fare un Catalogo ragionato (raisonné) delle Pietre e Paste del Stosch» (Winckelmann 1954, p. 414, no. 234). But cf. also Winckelmann to Francke, 4 Feb. 1758: «Der einzige Erbe von Stosch, mein Landsmann und guter Freund, both mir auf sechs Monat Quartier, Essen etc. an» (Winckelmann 1952, pp. 225-228, no. 201).

81 Winckelmann reported on his work in Florence in several letters. Cf. esp. to F. Hagedorn, 13 January 1759 (Winckelmann 1952, pp. 444-449, no. 262).

This was not Winckelmann's first encounter with engraved gems. In the library of Count Heinrich von Bünaу at Nöthnitz near Dresden in the early 1750s, he had read Stosch's famous book,⁸² Mariette's *Traité* and other works on gems (Winckelmann 1755, pp. 11, 17; Pomian 2000, p. 13 and n. 3). He had also studied and discussed gem originals and especially impressions and casts with Dresden friends like the painter Adam Friedrich Oeser (1717-1799), and especially Philipp Daniel Lippert (1702-1778), who had then recently embarked on an ambitious project to collect and publish casts of ancient engraved gems hidden away in various princely and private collections throughout Europe. Lippert did not travel himself, but commissioned his many friends and connections to visit collections and collect gem impressions, from which he made casts in a white plaster-like material of his own invention. The casts were published in thematically arranged collections with catalogues in Latin and German.⁸³ Winckelmann himself assisted Lippert in obtaining gem impressions and casts in Rome, notably from Stosch's former manservant, Christian Dehn (e.g. Winckelmann to Lippert, 7 July 1756, in Winckelmann 1952, pp. 239-240, no. 154),⁸⁴ who was now the proud owner of a very successful business in Rome where he sold selections of coloured *zolfi* (sulphurs) and pastes of gems to grand tourists and scholars, even to the pope. So Winckelmann was fully aware of the many advantages of engraved gems when he set to work on Stosch's enormous collection.

It was a very ambitious project indeed. Even if Winckelmann reported that he went to the op-

era in the evenings (Winckelmann to Franke, 30 September 1758, in Winckelmann 1952, pp. 421-422, no. 243) and enjoyed «tutto il comodo, la quiete e una bel.sima veduta» in Stosch's house (Winckelmann to Mengs, late September 1758, in Winckelmann 1952, pp. 414-415, no. 235), he was in fact working hard. To the Abbate Ruggieri at the Vatican press, he wrote: «La gran roba del fu Sig. Stosch mi tiene occupato tutta la giornata e sera non esco mai. Sollecitato dal Nipote ho dato mano ad un Catalogo degl'Intagli: ma non volendo fare un semplice Indice mi sono tanto ingolfato che non trovo fine e non credo di poterlo terminare» (Winckelmann to Ruggieri, 3 October 1758, in Winckelmann 1954, pp. 242-243, no. 245).⁸⁵ A few months later, he admitted that never before in his life had he worked as hard as this (Winckelmann to Volkmann, 1 December 1758, in Winckelmann 1952, pp. 439-441, no. 258: «Meine eselmäßige Arbeit ist mir fast unabsehlich, und ich weiß nicht, ob ich sie werde endigen. Ich habe in meinen Leben noch nicht so stark gearbeitet»). Later still, he confessed that his work on Stosch's gems had been so hard and relentless that he had only had time for a thirty-minute break each night, and that this hard work had negative effects on his nerves and bowels (Winckelmann to Wiedewelt, 18 August 1759, in Winckelmann 1954, pp. 21-23, no. 296).

The collection to be catalogued comprised 3 444 engraved gems and glass pastes.⁸⁶ In addition, there was the astonishing collection of 28 000 gem impressions, most of which were later acquired by James Tassie in London, who made and sold casts

⁸² Winckelmann to Stosch, June 1756: «Je vous dois cet hommage de mes primices, Monsieur, ayant été instruit et éclairé par Votre ouvrage illustre et me glorifiant de l'honneur d'être Votre Compatriote» (Winckelmann 1952, p. 227, no. 146).

⁸³ A pilot edition of 1 000 casts with a simple descriptive list was published in 1753, then followed the impressive *Dactyliotheca Universalis* (Leipzig 1755-1762) with 3 000 thematically arranged casts and a catalogue «in künstlerisches Latein», for use by scholars and students; a selection of 2 000 casts with a catalogue in German (*Daktyliothec*, Leipzig 1767) which mainly targeted artists, and a final Supplement with an additional 1 000 casts (1776). E.g. C. Kerschneel & V. Kockel in Kockel, Graepler 2006, pp. 69-77; Hansson 2010; 2012, pp. 41-42.

⁸⁴ Winckelmann to Francke, 1 January 1759: «Herrn Lippert wünschte ich die große Sammlung von Schwefeln von allen Steinen in der Welt, so viel man hat haben können: es sind deren an 14 000» (Winckelmann 1952, pp. 442-444 no. 261).

⁸⁵ Also Winckelmann to Valenti, September 1758: «Il soggiorno di Firenze e piu faticoso che delizioso per me: lo scartabellare il Museo del fu Baron di Stosch m'a immerso in tante ricerche, che non so dove dar capo ne dove terminare» (Winckelmann 1952, pp. 417-418, no. 239).

⁸⁶ Part of the material had already been sold. The Christian and Persian gems went to the Cavaliere Francesco Vettori (Justi 1871, p. 24), and many of the Egyptian scarabs were acquired by the Duke of Nola, Giovanni Caraffa, who was a friend of Stosch's and a member of the Società Colombaria (Borroni Salvadori 1978, p. 614, n. 249). Some scarabs were also reported to have been sold to a Duke Caravanca in Naples (Gurlitt 1831 [1798], p. 140) but maybe Caravanca and Caraffa are one and the same person. Cf. also Winckelmann to Stosch (Winckelmann 1954, pp. 4-5, no. 274; pp. 6-7, no. 279).

of them in various materials.⁸⁷ Winckelmann did not have to start from scratch, as the material was already roughly structured and inventoried by the late baron and his brother. But after the latter's death in 1747, Stosch had apparently been too busy with his Atlas and other activities to update this catalogue, leaving recent acquisitions and gems with images that he had trouble interpreting unclassified.⁸⁸ Where the engraving techniques and style of the engravers were concerned, there was probably very little information to be had from this manuscript catalogue, which was most likely written in French but has unfortunately not survived (Rügler 2013, p. XVII). Muzell-Stosch took an active interest in the project from the start and had even initiated the work of classifying these remaining gems himself (Rügler 2013, pp. XIV-XVI and refs.). Winckelmann seems more or less to have preserved Stosch's original structure (Winckelmann to Muzell-Stosch, 11 August 1759, in Winckelmann 1954, pp. 78-79, no. 292: «Was die Ordnung des Catalogi betrifft, so sehe ich nicht wohl ein, wie es die vorige Ordnung verrücken kann; es bleibet alles an seinem alten Orte»⁸⁹). An idea about how he envisioned the catalogue can be had from his *Anmerkungen aus dem Stossischen Museo* (Winckelmann 1957, pp. 6-12, no. 1a).⁹⁰

Shortly after the work was begun, Winckelmann's employer in Rome, Cardinal Alberico Archinto, died, and he was offered a new position as librarian to Stosch's old acquaintance Alessandro Albani, who had inherited parts of Clement XI's library. Both

Winckelmann and his host in Florence felt it necessary to write to Albani, asking him to prolong Winckelmann's leave so that he could finish his important project in a satisfactory way (Muzell-Stosch to Albani, 14 and 18 October 1758, in Winckelmann 1957, pp. 124-125, nos. 80-81). Albani was understanding and repeatedly expressed his admiration and support of their work.⁹¹ But it soon became clear to everyone involved that this ambitious project could not be completed in Florence, but had to be continued in Rome.

Although Winckelmann had ample time to acquaint himself with the gems during his eight-month stay in Stosch's *museo* and reported on his hard work to various friends and acquaintances, later authors have doubted that he actually did much work directly from the originals (Furtwängler 1900, vol. 3, p. 416; Zazoff 1983, p. 74). Instead he used Stosch's manuscript catalogue and basic classification system with mythological and historical sections and various sub-classes as point of departure for his own work, and probably limited closer examination to only the more interesting works in the vast material. He also worked from a limited number of especially ordered sulphur and wax impressions of the most interesting stones, which he took with him or requested when he left Florence (Winckelmann to Walther, 26 September 1758, in Winckelmann 1952, pp. 415-417, no. 236: «Unterdesen kann die Arbeit nach den Schwefeln und Abdrücken von denselben welche ich mit nach Rom nehmen würde fort-

87 «*Sulphur of Stosch* implies an impression taken from and preserved in that numerous collection of Sulphurs which the late Baron Stosch formed, and which, *post varios casus*, at last has found its way into Mr. Tassie's cabinet. To this fortunate circumstance we are beholden for much valuable information, and in particular for our almost complete set of the Cabinet of Florence» (Raspe 1791, p. lxiv).

88 Winckelmann to Baldani, 26/30 September 1758 (Winckelmann 1952, pp. 418-419, no. 240); Winckelmann to Mengs, late September 1758 (p. 414, no. 234). «qu'il ne manquoit pas de ces morceaux sur les quels le feu Baron de Stosch lui même n'avoit pas ôsé dire ce qu'il pensoit, outre que pendant les dernieres années de sa vie il avoit négligé encore de donner des dénominations aux pièces qu'il avoit nouvellement acquises» (Winckelmann 1760, p. II). Stosch's manuscript catalogue is referred to in entries II, nos. 534, 909, 1768, 1823; III, nos. 226, 247; IV, nos. 22, 26, 83, 214. Justi assumes that Winckelmann based considerable parts of his text on Stosch's (1923, vol. 2, pp. 293-294). «Nach dem allen ist die Description, wie sie uns vorliegt, der Katalog des Barons und seines Bruders, den Winckelmann mit Berichtungen, Vorschlägen, Noten und einigen ausführlichen Exkursen vermehrt hat» (p. 297).

89 Also Winckelmann to Muzell-Stosch, 16 June 1759: «Die Eintheilung in Classen ist nicht die Beste, und scheinet in der That keine andere als eine Ordnung nach so viel Kasten. Da sie aber einmal gemachet ist, so kann und will ich sie nicht ändern» (Winckelmann 1954, pp. 6-7, no. 279).

90 Cf. also Winckelmann to Hagedorn, 13 January 1759 (Winckelmann 1952, pp. 444-449, no. 262).

91 Albani to Muzell-Stosch, 14 October 1758 (Winckelmann 1957, p. 124, no. 79); 18 November 1758 (p. 125, no. 81); 14 April 1759 (p. 126, no. 84); Albani to Winckelmann, 18 November 1758 (p. 75, no. 41); 13 December 1758 (pp. 76-77, no. 43); 10 February 1759 (p. 77, no. 44); 24 February 1759 (pp. 77-78, no. 45); 31 March 1759 (pp. 79-80, no. 47).

gesetzt werden».⁹² Returning to Rome in May 1759, Winckelmann thus continued his work on the side of his new, rather light duties as Albani's employee (Winckelmann to Wiedewelt, 18 August 1759, in Winckelmann 1954, pp. 21-22, no. 296: «von dem Cardinal monatlich zehn Thaler, und habe dafür keine andere Obliegenheit, als ihm zur Gesellschaft zu dienen, und der Aufseher seiner großen und gewählten Bibliothek zu seyn»). After a short pause, he corresponded regularly with Muzell-Stosch about practical matters until the long printing process, which began in late September 1759, was completed (Winckelmann 1954, pp. 34-35, nos. 308-309). In Rome there were many connoisseurs around to discuss gems with, and even Albani took a personal interest in the project. But many important Roman gem collections unfortunately remained inaccessible to Winckelmann.⁹³ The rich correspondence between Muzell-Stosch and Winckelmann after the latter's return to Rome suggests that Muzell-Stosch played a very active part in coordinating the project work, sending Winckelmann gem impressions, looking up references, translating and editing text etc. (Rügler 2013, pp. XIV-XV and refs.). Muzell-Stosch never paid Winckelmann for his work (p. XXIII and refs.). In Florence he lived as the guest of Muzell-Stosch, and the rest of the work was carried out when he was on Albani's payroll.

The result was finally published in April 1760 by Andrea Bonducci⁹⁴ in Florence in quarto format as *Description des pierres gravées du feu Baron de Stosch*, with an appropriate dedication to

Albani,⁹⁵ and a foreword by Muzell-Stosch. Two versions were printed, one un-illustrated and one luxury edition with Stosch's portrait, drawn by J.J. Preißler after Edmé Bouchardon's famous bust and engraved by Georg Martin Preißler. This latter edition also included eleven of Schweickart's engravings of Stosch's gems with inscribed artists' names.⁹⁶ The catalogue was divided into eight classes according to Stosch's old thematic system based on subject-matter rather than on time periods or styles (Winckelmann to Muzell-Stosch, 16 June 1759, in Winckelmann 1954, pp. 6-7, no. 279: «Die Eintheilung in Classen ist nicht die Beste, und scheint in der That keine andere als eine Ordnung nach so viel Kasten. Da sie aber einmal gemachet ist, so kann und will ich sie nicht ändern»). Winckelmann focused mainly on gems in the first three classes while he was still working in Stosch's house: I, *Hieroglyphes* (Egyptian and Persian gems); II, *Mythologie sacrée*; III, *Mythologie historique*. Back in Rome, Albani assisted him with some of the portraits in class IV: *Histoire ancienne* (Winckelmann 1954, pp. 10-11, no. 282). Of the gems in the remaining classes (V, *Jeux, Festins, Vases &c*; VI, *Vaisseaux des Anciens*; VII, *Animaux*; VIII, *Abraxas, Gravures avec des Caractères Orientaux & Gravures Modernes*), vases and ships etc. were left to an old friend of Stosch's, the Abbé Joannon de Saint-Laurent, who had an interest in gemmology and engraving-techniques (Saint-Laurent 1746, 1751) and who also translated Winckelmann's text into somewhat old-fashioned French.⁹⁷ Winckelmann's Foreword, probably written in Ger-

92 C. Justi remarked: «Man darf wohl sagen, alles, was Winckelmann von Italien aus über griechischen Stil lehrte, wäre ohne Lipperts Werk [gem casts] leerer Schall geblieben» (1923, vol. 2, p. 398).

93 The Colonna, Chigi, Ludovisi and Barberini collections were closed to Winckelmann (Justi 1923, vol. 2, p. 298).

94 With the exception of foreword and indices, which were printed by Pagliarini in Rome in March 1760. The Vatican printers, headed by Winckelmann's correspondent Ruggieri, supplied the Etruscan fonts.

95 The dedication was very appropriate, as Albani had been one of the late Stosch's closest friends and allies. He had also assisted Winckelmann in the work, especially with portraits, and it was moreover in Albani's palace in Rome and at his expense that work on the publication had been completed (Winckelmann 1954, pp. 21-22, no. 296). Winckelmann to Muzell-Stosch, 7 July 1759: «was die Köpfe betrifft, so hat sich der Herr Cardinal erbothen, dieselben mit Fleiß zu übersehen und was zu finden ist anzugeben. In dieser Kenntniß ist er gewiß stärker als alle Antiquarii» (Winckelmann 1954, pp. 10-11, no. 282).

96 Cl. II, nos. 110, 434, 1240, 1494, 1553; III, nos. 120, 172, 174; V, nos. 9, 122; VII, no. 543.

97 Interestingly, these last classes of gems were omitted altogether in a later German edition of the catalogue (Winckelmann 1825, p. 613). Although he was no fan of French culture, Winckelmann frequently corresponded in a sometimes idiosyncratic French. But cf. Winckelmann to Wiedewelt, 18 August 1759: «Ich habe französich geschrieben, und mir den Stil von einem gelehrten Franzosen [Joannon de St Laurent] durchlesen lassen» (Winckelmann 1954, pp. 21-22, no. 296). The catalogue was to be published in French so as to increase sales, but also because Stosch's manuscript catalogue was probably written in French (Rügler 2013, pp. XIII, XVII-XVIII).

man, was translated by Muzell-Stosch.⁹⁸ As Winckelmann implied in his preface, he wanted to add an aesthetic and historical dimension to Stosch's dry antiquarian treatment of the gems.⁹⁹ But as Justi pointed out (1923, vol. 2, p. 308), the aesthetic terminology remained somewhat vague and consisted mostly of words like *beau*, *fini* and *finesse*.¹⁰⁰ Unsurprisingly, the two Etruscan gems received most attention in this and other respects (Winckelmann 1760, pp. 344-350, nos. 172, 174).¹⁰¹ Winckelmann presented the already famous *Gemma Stosch*, today plausibly dated to the first quarter of the 5th century BCE, as not only the earliest «Hettrurian» gem, but the oldest artwork in existence, and also accepted Stosch's opinion about the inscriptions being Pelasgian (Winckelmann 1760, pp. 344-345: «Car la forme des lettres & la formation des paroles different beaucoup de l'Etrusque commun & tiennent plutôt de la langue Pélasque, qui est regardée par les Savants comme la mère, soit de la langue Etrusque, soit de la langue Grecque»). This stone was to ancient gem-engraving what Homer was to poetry: «La gravure ensuite est exécutée avec un soin extrême, & elle est d'une finesse qui surpasse beaucoup l'idée qu'on a des ouvrages d'un antiquité si reculée. C'est par là qu'elle nous autorise à juger avec fondement de la Première Manière de l'art» (Winckelmann 1760, p. III, and pp. 344-347, no. 172: «Il faut avertir le Lecteur en premier Lieu que cette Pierre est non seulement le plus ancien Monument de l'Art des Etrusques, mais aussi de l'art en général»). The Tydeus gem was singled out as the most beautiful work in the

collection, on a par with the very best in Greek art: «celle-ci l'est assurément de la plus haute perfection de celui des Anciens Etrusques: elle est exécutée avec une précision & avec une finesse qui ne cèdent rien aux plus belles Gravures Grecques» (Winckelmann 1760, pp. 348-350, no. 174). Winckelmann otherwise rarely commented on style and technique at such length as he did here, making comparisons with Etruscan and Greek art in general, and even with later periods in the history of art.

Even if the publication was initially not as well received and sales as good as Winckelmann and Muzell-Stosch had hoped for,¹⁰² it was the first systematic catalogue of its kind and as such soon became a model for other publications and «ein Muster einer wohl einzulegenden Daktyliothek» (Gurlitt 1831 [1798], p. 139, footnote).

Muzell-Stosch's brother¹⁰³ was the physician-in-ordinary to Frederick II of Prussia, who was one of the prospective buyers of Stosch's magnificent gem collection. In 1766, the king finally acquired it for his *Antikentempel* in the garden at Sanssouci, Potsdam (Rave 1957, p. 26).¹⁰⁴ The negotiated price was 30 000 *ducati* or 12 000 Thaler. Part of the sum was paid as an annuity to Muzell-Stosch, who was appointed *Hofrat*, librarian and keeper of the royal collections of art and naturalia, a position that Winckelmann had originally aspired to.¹⁰⁵ In 1801, the collection was transferred to the City Palace in Berlin, from where some 500 gems were taken as booty by Napoleon in 1806 and carried off to Paris. The gems were returned in 1815, and the whole collection is now in the Antikensammlung of

98 It has been suggested that Winckelmann wrote all his parts in German and had them translated (e.g. W. Rehm in Winckelmann 1954, p. 378).

99 Winckelmann 1760, pp. IX-X: «La Connoissance de l'Art consiste principalement dans la difference de la maniere tant des Nations, qui des Siècles, & dans le sentiment du Beau. C'est ce que nous avons principalement considéré dans les Morceaux que nous avons de ceux qui nous sont restés des Égyptiens, des Étrusques & des Grecs [...] le sentiment du Beau, qui est la seconde partie de la connaissance de l'Art, concerne principalement les Gravures Grecques» (of which, in reality, there were exceedingly few among Stosch's gems).

100 See critical discussion in Zazoff 1983, pp. 82-91.

101 See also Winckelmann to Hagedorn, 13 January 1759: «Der erste ist ohne Zweifel das älteste Denkmal der Kunst in der Welt, und folglich einer der seltensten Schätze, die man aufweisen kann. Der andere lässt uns die Kunst der Hettrurier in ihrer höchsten Schönheit sehen und giebet einen Begriff von der Kunst kurz vor ihren Flore unter den Griechen» (Winckelmann 1952, pp. 444-449, no. 262). Winckelmann 1764, pp. 99-101.

102 On the reception of the book, e.g. Justi 1923, vol. 2, pp. 303-304; Zazoff 1983, pp. 76-77.

103 Friedrich Ludwig Hermann (1716-1784). Schartow 1909.

104 The collection had earlier been offered to the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Parma (Zazoff 1983, p. 132 and refs.).

105 Muzell-Stosch's appointment was made already in 1765 (Rave 1957, p. 26).

the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.¹⁰⁶ In his preface, Winckelmann claimed that «on ne trouvera pas dans nos pierres gravées des Ouvrages modernes, comme il y en a dans presque tous les Cabinets» (Winckelmann 1760, p. XI: «& quant aux Copies, que le feu B. de Stosch a fait faire d'après des Originaux fort rares, par d'habiles Artifices elles ont été scrupuleusement indiquées»). Of the 3 442 items that were catalogued after the collection had been transferred to the Berlin Museums, 887 originals and pastes were found to be modern.¹⁰⁷

Viewed in retrospect, Stosch's extensive collecting activities and publication are not only a milestone in the very long history of this field of study, they represent the first - although in some respects tentative - attempts at a focused, systematic exploration of ancient gem-engraving in a modern, scholarly sense. Winckelmann's un-illustrated catalogue, which contained the seeds to many ideas later elaborated in his art history, long remained a model for how collections should be structured and published. In 1827, a frustrated Eduard Gerhard found that, in spite of the many publications that had followed, there had in fact been little or no real progress in this field of study since Winckelmann (1827, p. 289). It was not until the late 19th century that Adolf Furtwängler re-examined almost the whole preserved corpus of ancient gems and thoroughly changed the face of gem studies in a series of publications (Furtwängler 1889-1890; 1896; 1900), in which he both directly and indirectly acknowledged his indebtedness to these illustrious forerunners.

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¹⁰⁶ For the history of the collection in Berlin, e.g. Furtwängler 1896, pp. V-VIII; Zwierlein-Diehl 1969.

¹⁰⁷ Missing were Winckelmann 1760, Cl. II, nos. 698, 717; Cl. V, no. 220, Cl. VIII, nos. 54, 90. The collection was catalogued by E.H. Tölken (1816), who found 507 to be modern; then again by A. Furtwängler, who counted 887 and also detected some ancient pastes that both Winckelmann and Tölken had classified as modern (Furtwängler 1896, pp. V-VII, 323-340). The same number (887) was repeated by the most recent cataloguer, Zwierlein-Diehl (1969, p. 524).

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