

Bene qui latuit bene uixit – Philipp von Stosch and his portrait medallists

Ulf Hansson



Fig 1. *Congresso de' migliori antiquarj di Roma*, 1725
Pier Leone Ghezzi
Pen drawing on paper, 27 x 39.5 cm
Vienna, Albertina, 1265
Photo: ©Albertina, Vienna

Baron Philipp von Stosch (1691–1757), active in Italy in the first half of the eighteenth-century¹, was a widely influential collector of many things, and an expert specifically on engraved gems, coins and medals. Born in Küstrin, Brandenburg, in 1691, the young Stosch studied theology at Frankfurt an der Oder for a year before embarking, at the age of sixteen, on extensive travels in northern Europe and Italy. Thus, he initiated an extraordinary trajectory through social space which paved the path towards his future successes. Of fundamental importance was his encounter, at the age of eighteen, with the Greffier of the Dutch States General in The Hague, François Fagel (1659–1746), a notable collector of coins and medals.² The two were introduced by Stosch's cousin, Wolfgang Baron von Schmettau, who was Prussian envoy to The Hague. The very generous Fagel took the young Stosch under his wing and presented him with the gift of his own substantial collection of ancient coins. With the understanding that he should become a serious collector himself, and at the same time act as Fagel's agent in the acquisition of modern medals, Stosch was sent on various minor diplomatic missions abroad. In London, he negotiated acquisitions of works by seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century medallists Jan Roettiers, Abraham and

Thomas Simon, and John Coker on behalf of Fagel, and he was introduced to Sir Hans Sloan, Sir Andrew Fountaine, William Cavendish, 2nd Duke of Devonshire, Thomas Herbert, 8th Earl of Pembroke, and Daniel Finch, 2nd Earl of Nottingham, all of them noted for their sizable coin collections.³ In Paris, he moved in the antiquarian circles of the Duke of Orléans, which included illustrious figures such as Bernard de Montfaucon, Paul Bignon, Charles-César Baudelot de Dairval and Pierre Crozat. In these circles, Stosch gained extensive first-hand experience of coins and medals, and of ancient engraved gems, which became his second passion. He also seems to have started dealing in them on a modest level. Fagel was not the only wealthy collector to whom the young Stosch offered his services. This group soon included one or two English collectors, among them the master of Christ's College, Cambridge, John Covel,⁴ the wealthy Crozat brothers, and later notably Prince Eugene of Savoy (whom Stosch had met on his way to England), Emperor Charles VI and August II, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland.

Stosch became seriously interested in engraved gems and cameos after having admired the Gonzaga cameos and gems which Thomas Howard, 14th Earl of Arundel, had acquired in Italy, but especially after he came into contact with connoisseurs in the circles of Pierre Crozat and the Duke of Orléans. It was in Paris that Stosch decided to start collecting material for a book on the engraved gems of the ancient Greeks and Romans, more precisely on gems signed by their engraver. The suggestion that Stosch should position himself within the Republic of Letters with a learned treatise of some sort came from Fagel, who assumed that the topic would be coins and medals. The book, which was subsequently published by Bernard Picart in Amsterdam in 1724, established Stosch as a leading authority in a growing field of study and appreciation.⁵ Stosch in fact became instrumental in the veritable 'glyptomania' that exploded in the second half of the century. With its focus on artists and authenticity, and its detailed and accurate illustrations, his well-received and widely admired book provided the already burgeoning forgery industry with names of ancient

engravers to inscribe on ancient or modern works to make these more marketable, and examples of their original works to imitate. Stosch not only collected originals and glass pastes, but also sulphur impressions of ‘all the stones in the world’, i.e. of gems in all the major collections, which he kept in wooden boxes for reference purposes.⁶ In the 1730s, his valet Christian Dehn opened the first commercial workshop in Rome for serially produced cast collections. After Stosch’s death, his collection of 3,444 originals was published by Johann Joachim Winckelmann and then purchased by Frederick II of Prussia. Most of Stosch’s 28,000 sulphurs were acquired by the Scotsman James Tassie, who used them to make his celebrated cast collections. The hypercritical Stosch also commissioned thousands of drawings of gems from a small group of artists whom he trusted.⁷

Stosch first visited Rome in 1715, and in 1722 he returned to settle there permanently. A decade later he transferred to Florence, where he stayed until his death in 1757. If he is at all known today, it is mostly as an eccentric gem collector, who for his living spied on the exiled Stuart court and British Jacobites in Rome on behalf of the Hanoverian government in London.⁸ In his own lifetime, however, Stosch was in fact a well-known figure in the transnational Republic of Letters, a man of many parts whose home and library, the celebrated *Museo Stoschiano*, was a key site for antiquarian culture and the Radical Enlightenment.⁹ On his early diplomatic travels, and as an art agent of Fagel and later August the Strong, Stosch was admitted to numerous courts and art collections, and managed to build an astonishing personal network that included popes and cardinals, regents, statesmen, collectors and scholars, learned societies, and artists.¹⁰ The outline of his interesting life published in Strodtmann’s *Das neue gelehrte Europa* reads almost like a who’s who in the worlds of learning and politics at the time.¹¹ The two famous caricature drawings by the artist Pier Leone Ghezzi (fig. 1) of an imagined auction of coins, medals and gems taking place in the Museo Stoschiano in Rome in the mid 1720s depict members of the local community of scholars, collectors and dealers standing in front of their young seated host, who, we understand from contemporary sources, enjoyed a wide reputation as an oracle who freely offered his expert advice.¹² This advice, we are told, was often sought and seldom ignored.¹³ Among the characters present in Ghezzi’s drawings are well-known figures such as Marcantonio Sabatini, Francesco Bianchini, Francesco de’ Ficoroni and Francesco Palazzi. Displayed on the table behind Stosch are some gems in a box and a few medals, and perched on his chair we see one of his two pet owls, which he kept flying freely in his house.

Much respected for his expertise, but also notorious for his unconventional lifestyle, Stosch was widely consulted on all aspects of antiquarian culture, especially for his extensive first-hand knowledge of gems, coins and medals, and for his very useful ability to distinguish ancient originals from even the cleverest modern copies and fakes, which at the time were flooding the market. His competitors on the art market looked upon this last

skill with suspicion, and rumors were circulating that Stosch was himself involved in the forgery industry.¹⁴ Soon, however, his work as a political agent, and his radical and libertine interests and involvement in the circulation of problematic or forbidden books, came to taint his reputation and irritate the Inquisition, making his life in the papal states increasingly difficult.¹⁵ With the election of the Corsini pope Clement XII in 1730, Stosch’s situation deteriorated to the point of becoming dangerous. After his carriage was attacked one night by a group of masked men, Stosch packed his belongings and went into voluntary exile in Florence, where he stayed until his death in 1757. Receiving a warm welcome from the anticlerical Gian Gastone de’ Medici, he rapidly established himself at the heart of the Tuscan antiquarian community, engaging with learned societies and founding Italy’s first masonic lodge.¹⁶ These aspects of Stosch’s life are central to our understanding of his extraordinary successes as a scholar, collector and patron of the arts. But my focus here will henceforth be on Stosch’s interest in medals.

Stosch’s manic collecting was frequently commented on, even ridiculed, by contemporaries such as Charles de Brosses, Alexander Pope, and the two Horaces, Walpole and Mann.¹⁷ The numismatist Jean-Jacques Barthélemy, who visited the Museo Stoschiano in Florence in 1755, reported to Count de Caylus in Paris that Stosch had stripped Italy of all its treasures and in his old age still held the country in chains through his many associates, adding disappointedly that he had been shown everything, but given nothing – ‘*je me suis abaissé jusqu’aux prières!*’¹⁸ Quite a lot is known today about Stosch’s gem collection, but, strangely enough, almost nothing is known about his legendary collection of coins and medals. From the summary description published in *Das neue gelehrte Europa*, Andrew Burnett has estimated that the coins alone, mostly silver coins, must have counted at least 7,000.¹⁹ In the estate inventory, their value was given as 10,000 scudi, a low estimate for tax purposes, yet still a considerable sum at the time. Still, Stosch’s sole heir, his adopted nephew Wilhelm Muzell, was unable to find a single buyer prepared to pay such a sum. The modern medals numbered several hundred, mostly in complete series. Stosch had also acquired numerous stamping-dies for portrait medals of popes from the heirs of the seventeenth-century papal medallist Gaspare Mola and his nephew Gaspare Morone.²⁰ These dies, and the series of Medici rulers, were purchased by George, Prince of Wales, for 500 pounds, the rest of the collection was probably auctioned off piecemeal. The prince’s agent, Richard Dalton, who was in Italy at the time and examined the collection in Florence on his behalf, described it as ‘one of the finest in the world’.²¹

Stosch’s interest in the visual arts was twofold. His chief interest concerned the accurate visual documentation of monuments for his two life-long projects. The first of these was the engraved gems of the Ancients, a project for which he commissioned several thousand careful to-scale drawings of gems in various collections from a small



Fig 2. *Philipp von Stosch*, 1727
Edme Bouchardon
Marble, 85 x 65 x 34 cm
Berlin, Staatliche Museen, M. 204
Photo: ©Staatliche Museen, Berlin

number of draughtsmen and engravers whom he trusted and even had trained himself. These artists included the Ghezzi and Girolamo Odam, who had trained with Carlo Maratta, and the Germans Johann Justin Preißler, Marcus Tuscher and Johann Adam Schweickart.²² The same artists were employed in Stosch's second lifelong project, a fully illustrated topographical atlas, which at the time of his death contained some 31,500 old and newly commissioned maps, drawings and prints of cities, fortifications, buildings and monuments from around the known world, bound in 334 large folio volumes, of which 63 concerned the city of Rome.²³ In a letter to his friend and employer in London, Lord Carteret, Stosch said that he enjoyed quite a reputation in Rome for training artists in the difficult art of careful visual documentation, meaning free from artistic convention or style.²⁴ Stosch had developed very precise ideas about visual documentation in his search for suitable artists for his book on engraved gems carrying artists' signatures,²⁵ and, as his focus in this milestone publication was on authenticity, or distinguishing ancient originals from modern copies or fakes, accurate drawing was of the outmost importance to him. Stosch's interest in engraved gems led him to the art of engraving in general, whether in hard stones or in metal, and he became instrumental in reintroducing gem-engraving as a popular artform, encouraging master engravers such as Flavio Sirleti, Antonio Pichler, Carlo Costanzi and Lorenz Natter in their work. Even draughtsmen such as his house artists Ghezzi and Tuscher tried their hand at engraving under the influence and close supervision of their demanding patron.

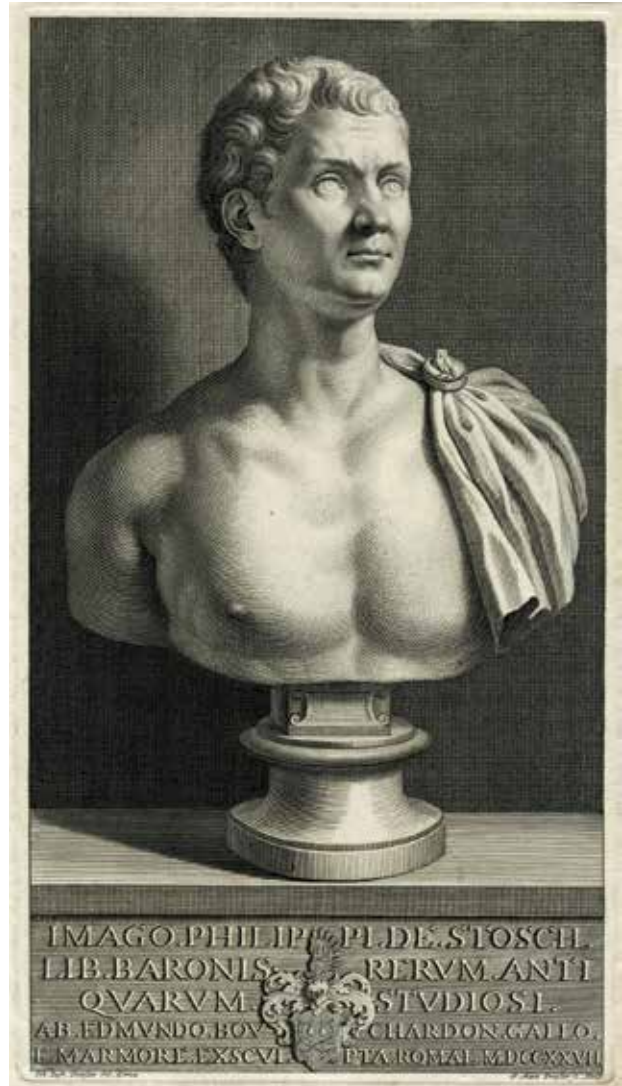


Fig 3. *Philipp von Stosch*, c. 1727-30
Johann Justin Preißler; engraved by Georg Martin Preißler
Engraving on paper, 33 x 18.2 cm
London, British Museum, Bb 7.246
Photo: ©The Trustees of the British Museum

Stosch was also fully aware of the self-promoting potential of visual arts, and he commissioned several portraits of himself and his associates in various media from artists whom he trusted: in sculpture, painting, drawing, engraved gems, and notably medals.²⁶ Best known today are Ghezzi's caricature drawings from the 1720s, which show Stosch as a fashion-conscious connoisseur, well-dressed with a big wig and a monocle clasped around his right eye, ever ready to inspect a curious coin or gem. Horace Walpole and Horace Mann called him 'Cyclops the Antiquarian' because of his monocle.²⁷ In other portraits, Stosch comes across as quite a different sort of patron, portrayed without a wig, short-haired and in a rigorous classicizing style which became his hallmark that he imposed on his carefully selected artists.

Leaving Ghezzi's caricatures aside, the portrait medals are close either to a very early drawing of Stosch's head in profile executed by Ghezzi in 1717, now in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, or to Edme Bouchardon's well-known portrait bust of him dated 1727, now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (fig. 2).²⁸ In both these



Fig 4. *Apollo*, previously in the Polignac collection, restored as Achilles (after Levezow 1804, pl. 1)

portraits, Stosch sports a short wavy haircut reminiscent of Julius Caesar or the young Octavian and later Julio-Claudians. Both portraits are probably made from life, but Bouchardon's bust is strongly influenced by the *decennalia* portrait type of the emperor Trajan, created in AD 108, more specifically an example in the possession of Stosch's close friend and ally Cardinal Alessandro Albani.²⁹ Ghezzi, who moved freely in local antiquarian and collector circles, was also quite familiar with this Trajan portrait, which he had drawn in 1724.³⁰ Bouchardon was a young *pensionnaire* of the French Academy in Rome at the time, and this was his first major portrait commission. It stands out for its novel classicizing approach.³¹ Stosch, however, did not want to adopt Trajan's characteristic hairstyle, but retained his preferred classical Julio-Claudian cut, which, we may presume, was close to his own, combed forward over a receding hairline. The *balteus* which Trajan wore across the chest is omitted in Bouchardon's portrait, while Stosch's mantle is fastened with a fibula carrying the image of an owl, his own pet *civetta* we may assume, the symbol of Minerva and of learning.³² Pleased with the result, Stosch commissioned a medal with Bouchardon's own portrait, the engraver of which remains unknown.³³ Stosch also had his house artist Preißler produce a drawing of the bust, later engraved by his brother Georg Martin Preißler (fig. 3), and he gave Bouchardon's original bust in clay to Ghezzi as a farewell present before he left for Florence.³⁴

Stosch used his likeness in various other artworks, the content and style of which he seems to have controlled in detail. He appears as Achilles in a classical sculpture



Fig 5. *Achilles among the daughters of Lycomedes*, 1730

Johann Justin Preißler

Oil on canvas, 570 x 412 cm

Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon

Photo: ©Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon

group restored as *Achilles hiding among the daughters of King Lycomedes of Scyros* in the collection of another of his associates, Cardinal Melchior de Polignac (fig. 4).³⁵ In a painting of the same subject by J. J. Preißler, dated 1730, Stosch instead appears as Odysseus discovering his friend Achilles disguised as a woman (fig. 5), and in a painting by Ghezzi from 1726–28 depicting the encounter of Alexander with the cynic Diogenes, Stosch has himself included in the scene as a philosopher bystander.³⁶ We will return to this last subject-matter below.

Stosch commissioned the first portrait medal of himself in 1717, when he was twenty-six and about to leave Rome for the North after two years in the city (fig. 6).³⁷ There exist three issues, in ivory, silver and bronze, engraved by one of Ghezzi's pupils, Giovanni Pozzo, also known as Giovanni Battista Pozzi (1670–1752).³⁸ Pozzo is perhaps more known for his ivory works, mostly of Roman emperors and other *uomini illustri*, as well as copies of famous gems such as the Strozzi Medusa, signed by the Greek engraver Solon. Stosch is rendered in profile to the left, with a haircut reminiscent of Julio-Claudian emperors, and with bare shoulders draped in a Roman mantle. The prototype is obviously Ghezzi's drawing.³⁹ Stosch had already by this early date developed a clear sense of how he wanted to be portrayed. The inscription MORIBVS ANTIQVIS echoes the words of the Roman poet Ennius, *moribus antiquis res stat romana virisque* (the Roman state stands upon the morals and men of old, 296–7), and is suitable for Stosch's newly fashioned self as a virtuoso and connoisseur. Very little is known about this commission, except that Pozzo, like Bouchardon, belonged to a small group of artists carrying out commissions for the same sitters in Stosch's circle. The gem-engraver Francesco Ghinghi, for example, based his portrait of Stosch in sardonyx on Pozzo's portrait medal, dated the same year, 1717.⁴⁰

Pozzo's portraits of the Englishmen Conyers Middleton (1724) and Daniel Wray (1726) are executed in a similar *all'antico* style and may even have been commissioned on Stosch's suggestion. The numismatist and dealer Leonard Forrer held Pozzo to be a rather mediocre medallist,



Fig 6. *Philipp von Stosch*, 1717
Giovanni Pozzo
Bronze, cast, 68 mm
Art market

Photo: reproduced by kind permission of Sovereign Rarities Ltd, London

although admitting that one or two of his portraits did show some character, notably that of Stosch which Forrer chose to illustrate in his biographical dictionary.⁴¹ Stosch had at the time already acquired a wide reputation as an authority on medals, working as he did for François Fagel, whom William Eisler has identified as a leading expert of the period.⁴² And Stosch and Fagel in fact exchanged views on medallists. Fagel preferred the classicizing style and technical skill of Italian and French engravers to the so-called ‘bad German taste’ of Northern ones.⁴³

Pozzo was still active in Rome when Stosch returned five years later, but there is no further evidence of their collaboration, unless of course Pozzo’s mentioned portraits of Middleton and Wray from the mid-1720 were negotiated by the baron. Stosch in fact never commissioned more than one medal from the same artist, with one exception as we shall see.

A decade passed between Stosch’s first and second medal commission. He was then residing permanently in Rome, handsomely paid as an undercover British political agent, for which his antiquarian operations were a convenient cover. He had come to enjoy a considerable, albeit increasingly tarnished, reputation as an antiquarian, and, together with a handful of close associates, he became instrumental in the lively proto-archaeological field activities in and around Rome in the 1720s. His next medal was in fact commissioned to commemorate an important archaeological find that he had acquired, and to further cement his fame as a discerning antiquarian.

This time the choice of artist fell on another *pensionnaire* of the French academy in Rome, the goldsmith François Joseph Marteau (1697–1757), known today especially for his portrait medals of Louis XIV and XV. Stosch (fig. 7), facing right, is once again portrayed in a classicizing style, but his head is more robust, almost square.⁴⁴ The reverse carries an image of a Roman relief fragment dated to the first century AD and discovered during excavations near the Porta San Paolo in Rome in May 1726.⁴⁵ The relief was immediately acquired by Stosch, who, as mentioned, closely followed the archaeological activities in Rome and the Campagna in the 1720s. It depicts the encounter between Alexander and Diogenes the cynic. When asked by Alexander from where he came, Diogenes is said to have replied, ‘I am a citizen of the world’, which was also



Fig 7. *Philipp von Stosch*, 1727
François Joseph Marteau
Bronze, struck, 41 mm
Art market

Photo: ©A.H. Baldwin & Sons Ltd, London

true of Stosch, both cynic and cosmopolitan, always ‘The Other’, belonging nowhere and everywhere.

The unknown artist-restorer of the badly damaged relief has used Stosch’s likeness for the figure of Alexander, something Stosch encouraged in other commissions, as we saw earlier – perhaps a joke on his part. The restored relief, engraved by Giovanni Battista Casanova, was included in Winckelmann’s *Monumenti antichi* from 1767 (fig. 8).⁴⁶ The scene echoes Ghezzi’s mentioned painting of the same subject, the latter which is also inspired by a 1662 etching by the artist Salvator Rosa. But in Ghezzi’s version of the scene, Stosch is present as a philosopher bystander, perhaps a fellow cynic. On Marteau’s medal however, the figure conversing with the cynic is neither Alexander nor Stosch, but a bearded fellow philosopher, the father of ethical hedonism, Aristippus.⁴⁷ It is not difficult to imagine why these two Greek philosophers interested Stosch, with his libertine inclinations. Stosch later sold the relief to his close friend, the great arbiter of taste Alessandro Albani, who bought it for his new villa on the via Salaria in Rome, where it remains today.⁴⁸ The motto inscribed below the image on the medal, ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ ΜΕΤΡΟΝ, ‘moderation is the best thing’, ascribed to the poet-tyrant Kleoboulos of Lindos, is interesting



Fig 8. *Alexander and Diogenes relief*
Albani Torlonia collection

After J. J. Winckelmann, *Monumenti antichi*, 2nd ed. 1822, vol. 2, pl. 174



Fig 9. Frontispiece
Johann Justin Preißler
After Stosch, 1732

and amusing, since Stosch was repeatedly criticized and ridiculed for being insatiable and excessive, in his collecting as well as in his private life. Satisfied with Marteau's portrait, Stosch had it engraved by Preißler, who used it for the frontispiece to the collection of Bouchardon's drawings after Roman sculptures (fig. 9).⁴⁹

Marteau's work conformed to both Stosch's and Fagel's classical tastes, and so did the work of the Swiss medallist Johann Carl Hedlinger (1691–1771). The skilled Hedlinger worked in a sufficiently classicizing tradition that appealed to Stosch, and he was in fact one of the few central and north Europeans of whom the discerning Fagel approved, precisely because he had studied in France and spent time in Rome, where, in the summer of 1726, he met Stosch and members of his circle, including Bouchardon and the medallists Ottone and Ermenegildo Hamerani, and possibly Pozzo.⁵⁰ Hedlinger produced his portrait of Stosch (fig. 10) in 1728, when he had left Rome for Stockholm, where he was hired to manage the Royal Mint. The reverse carries a long inscription informing us that the medal was a gift to Stosch from Hedlinger himself and the Swedish numismatist Nicolas (Nils) Keder (1679–1735), who owned a notable collection of mainly Roman coins. Keder had paid for a cast to be made of Bouchardon's bust, which served as model for Hedlinger's portrait.⁵¹ So, the medal was a gift from a coin expert in recognition of his peer. Hedlinger's self-portrait, on a rare pewter issue from 1730, is inscribed in Greek letters with the Swedish



Fig 10. Philipp von Stosch, 1728
Johann Carl Hedlinger
Silver, struck, 41 mm
London, British Museum, G3, IP.1021
Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum

word *lagom*, ΛΑΓΟΜ (in moderation), which echoes the ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ ΜΕΤΡΟΝ on Marteau's portrait of Stosch.⁵²

Again in a classicizing tradition, and modelled on Bouchardon's bust, Hedlinger's portrait shows Stosch facing right with the characteristic haircut and *chlamys* with the owl symbolizing learning, but whom some of Stosch's critics viewed as a sign of his atheism. Stosch's two owls and his pet wild boar were included in the travel-writer J. G. Keyßler's colourful description of the baron's untidy home in Rome.⁵³ Keyßler also pointed out that Stosch, the oracle, was consulted on all aspects of coins and medals. Where gems, coins and medals were concerned, few, even in Rome, had a more thorough first-hand knowledge of ancient and modern originals than Stosch. This expert knowledge constituted his powerbase. Hedlinger's work, perhaps the best portrait of Stosch, stands out, as the medal's inscription announces it to be a gift to the baron, not a work commissioned by him. Not only Hedlinger based his portrait on Bouchardon's bust, the gem-engraver Natter did the same for a portrait engraved in emerald, dated around 1739.⁵⁴

The year before Stosch went into exile after his assault in Rome, he commissioned a medal of one of his closest associates, the abate Francesco Valesio (1670–1742). Known today mostly for his social diary of Rome (in which Stosch, strangely enough, is never mentioned), the abate Valesio was at the time a well-known antiquarian.⁵⁵ Having meticulously selected the material for his book on gems, supervised work on its careful illustrations by the artists he trusted, and written its key introductory chapter, Stosch asked Valesio to provide the learned catalogue entries in Latin – a language that Stosch felt he himself did not master.⁵⁶ It may seem odd, but the book's chief contribution to scholarship is in fact not Valesio's rather dull catalogue entries, but its focus on signed gems, the careful selection of material included, and the visual documentation, i.e. Stosch's own contribution. For reasons that are not altogether clear, Valesio had asked not to be named in the publication. As a token of gratitude, Stosch had one of his house artists execute a portrait medal of Valesio (fig. 11).⁵⁷ On its reverse he added a curious inscription borrowed from Ovid's *Tristia*: BENE QVI LATVIT BENE VIXIT ('he who lived in anonymity has lived well'),⁵⁸ an ideal that also to some extent applied



Fig 11. *Francesco Valesio*, 1730
 Marcus Tuscher
 After Museum Mazzuchellianum, 1763, vol. 2 pl. 181:2

to Stosch himself, who rarely left his home and chiefly operated in the background, leaving very few traces of his actions.

We know the story behind this medal, since on one of his caricatures of Stosch, Ghezzi has scribbled that Stosch had published a book on gems to which the abate Valesio provided the learned commentaries.⁵⁹ The medallist who carried out the commission was a young German, Carl Marcus Tuscher (1705–1751), whose work Stosch approved and who had just arrived in Rome from his apprentice period in the Preißler studio in Nuremberg and came highly recommended by the Preißlers.⁶⁰ On Tuscher's own portrait medal (fig. 12), done by the fellow medallist Marcus Meyer, the inscription tells us that this Bavarian was a draughtsman from life, ΝΩΡΙΚΟΣ ΖΩΓΡΑΦΟΣ,⁶¹ a basic requirement if you wanted to work for the hypercritical Stosch, who did not approve of any artistic liberties or imagination. Tuscher joined Stosch's household in Rome in 1728, and followed his master in exile in 1731, working for him as draughtsman and engraver of gems and medals. Apart from completing more than 500 drawings of gems for Stosch, Tuscher also documented his master's cabinet of modern medals, finishing whole series of the Medici, Sforza, Gonzaga, d'Este and Malatesta families.⁶² In 1738, Tuscher made a portrait medal of Stosch in his exile (fig. 13).⁶³ Again, we see Stosch in profile facing right, the same classicizing haircut, but now decidedly older; he was 47 by then. The inscription on the reverse says that Stosch asks for nothing but the old, meaning antiquities, NIL NISI PRISCA PETO, a reference to his antiquarian interests and in fact borrowed from the words of the French numismatist and bibliophile Paul Pétau (1568–1614): 'when so many seek the new, I ask only for the old' (fig. 14).⁶⁴ A doubly suitable association, since Stosch, like Pétau, was both a prominent numismatist as well as a fellow book collector with a famous library that was recently described as a key toehold for the Radical Enlightenment in Italy.⁶⁵ A few decades later, the same motto was reused by the antiquarian Domenico Augusto Bracci for his medal by the Florentine artist Giovanni Zanobio Weber.⁶⁶ Bracci, a student of engraved gems among other things, knew Stosch well during Stosch's later years in Florence.⁶⁷

This brief survey has shown that Stosch made what we may call a somewhat conventional use of the medal as



Fig 12. *Marcus Tuscher*, undated
 Marcus Meyer
 Bronze, cast, 65 mm
 London, British Museum, G3, IP.1045
 Photo: ©Trustees of the British Museum



Fig 13. *Philipp von Stosch*, 1738
 Marcus Tuscher
 Bronze, cast, 62 mm
 Art market
 Photo: ©Auktionen Münzhandlung Sonntag, Stuttgart

a medium. Yet, the medals associated with him are not without interest. The art form meant a lot to Stosch himself, as a collector and connoisseur. As he also collected modern coins and medals for his friend and sponsor François Fagel, we may assume that he stayed in regular, direct contact with the field, with medallists and collectors. There exists some evidence of Stosch's interaction with other medallists of the period, such as John Coker in England, Ermenegildo and Ottone Hamerani in Rome, and the Dassier family in Geneva, the latter whose work François Fagel disapproved.⁶⁸ Stosch may actually have met Jacques-Antoine Dassier when the latter visited Italy in the 1730s, but no documentation survives. There are several instances of interesting media interaction between medals and other art forms that interested Stosch. We have for instance seen that a cast of Bouchardon's portrait bust was used by Hedlinger for the work he completed in Stockholm in 1728. Giovanni Pozzo's medal and Francesco Ghinghi's engraved sardonyx are very similar, and both are influenced by Ghezzi's mentioned drawing: all three works date to 1717 and mark the end of Stosch's first sojourn in Rome. The only difference is that Pozzo and Ghinghi added a chlamys draped over Stosch's shoulder, presumably a detail that the sitter specifically desired to include.⁶⁹ It has even been suggested that Ghinghi's portrait was based on Pozzo's rather than on Ghezzi's drawing.⁷⁰ The gem-engraver Lorenz Natter, who worked for Stosch in Florence in the 1730s, based two of his three known portraits of Stosch on the mentioned medals by Marteau and Hedlinger.⁷¹ Natter's third portrait, the mentioned emerald engraved around 1739, is clearly based on Bouchardon's bust, also reproduced by Preißler. This might be the emerald



Fig 14. Frontispiece to *Explication de plusieurs antiquités recueillies par Paul Pétau*, 1757 (dated 1618)

that Annius the antiquarian wears in Alexander Pope's *Fourth Dunciad*, said to be a satirical portrait of Stosch, who, like the notorious Annius of Viterbo, was accused of producing forgeries:

But Annius, crafty seer, with ebon wand,
and well dissembled em'rald on his hand,
False as his Gems, and canker'd as his Coins.⁷²

NOTES

1. Unless otherwise stated, all biographical information is from: Geschichte des Freiherrn Baron Philipp von Stosch, *Das neue gelehrte Europa*, vol. 5, 1755, pp. 1-54; vol. 10, 1757, pp. 257-301; vol. 13, 1758, pp. 242-243. See also Justi, C.: Philipp von Stosch und seine Zeit, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, vol. 7, 1872, pp. 293-307, 333-346; Zazoff, P.: *Gemmensammler und Gemmenforscher*, München, 1983, pp. 3-67; Hansson, U. R.: 'An Oracle for Collectors'. Philipp von Stosch and the Collecting and Dealing in Antiquities in Early-Eighteenth-Century Rome and Florence, in *Art Markets, Agents and Collectors Then and Now. Collecting Strategies in Europe and the United States 1550-1950* (ed. S. Bracken and A. Turpin), London and New York, 2021, pp. 113-128.

2. Van Mieris, F.: *Historie der Nederlandse vorsten*, The Hague, 1732-35; *Das neue gelehrte Europa*, vol. 5, 1754, pp. 8-9.

3. For Stosch's contacts with English numismatists and collectors, see Burnett, A.: *The Hidden Treasures of This Happy Island. A History of Numismatics in Britain from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, London, 2020, *passim*, esp. vol. 2, pp. 958-959; vol. 3, pp. 1637-1643 and *passim*; Spier, J. and Kagan, J.: Sir Charles Frederick and the Forgery of Ancient Coins in Eighteenth-Century Rome, *Journal of the History of Collections*, vol. 12, 2000, pp. 35-90.

4. *Je vous assure que je menagerai votre interest comme si c'étoit mon propre*, Stosch wrote to the Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, John Covel, offering him coins of Roman emperors, London, 8 Feb. 1713. British Library, Add MS 22911, ff. 149-150.

5. Stosch, P. de: *Gemmae antiquae caelatae / Pierres antiques gravées*, Amsterdam, 1724.

6. Winckelmann, J. J.: *Briefe*, Berlin, 1952-57, I, pp. 442-4 no. 261. Barthélemy, J. J.: *Voyage en Italie de M. l'Abbé Barthélemy*, Paris, 1802, pp. 24-26, mentions 25,000 *souffres*.

7. On Stosch's influence, see for example Hansson, U. R.: «*Ma passion... ma folie dominante*». Stosch, Winckelmann, and the Allure of the Engraved Gems of the Ancients, *MDCCC 1800*, vol. 3, 2014, pp. 13-33; Hansson, U. R.: Glyptomania. The Study, Collection, Reproduction and Re-use of Etruscan Engraved Gems in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, in *An Etruscan Affair. The Impact of Early Etruscan Discoveries on European Culture* (ed. J. Swaddling), London, 2018, pp. 83-93; Golyznia, P.: From Antiquarianism to Proto-Archaeology. Philipp von Stosch (1691-1757) and the Study of Engraved Gems, *Antiquity*, 95:383, 2021, 5 (383): e28, (Project Gallery, <https://doi.org/10.15184/aqy.2021.112>).

8. For Stosch as a political agent, see esp. Lewis, L.: *Connoisseurs and Secret Agents in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, London, 1961; Corp, E.: *The Stuarts in Italy 1719-1766. A Royal Court in Permanent Exile*, Cambridge, 2011.

9. On the Museo Stoschiano, see e.g. *Das neue gelehrte Europa*, vol. 10, 1757, pp. 258-287; Hansson, U. R.: Philipp von Stosch and His Museo, in *Mostrare il sapere. Collezioni scientifiche, studioli e raccolte d'arte a Roma in età moderna* (ed. M.C. Cola), Città del Vaticano, 2021, pp. 45-68; Hansson, U. R.: The Museo Stoschiano. A Key Site for Antiquarianism and the Radical Enlightenment in Italy, in *Von Joachim I. zu Winckelmann. Bibliotheken zwischen Humanismus und Aufklärung* (ed. B. Heinecke and V. Riedel), Halle (forthcoming).

10. E.g. Lang, J.: Netzwerke von Gelehrten. Eine Skizze antiquarischer Interaktion im 18. Jh am Beispiel des Philipp von Stosch (1691-1757), in *Netzwerke der Moderne. Erkundungen und Strategien. Forum, Studien zu Modernforschung* (ed. J. Broch, D. Scholl and M. Rasiller), Würzburg, 2007, pp. 203-226.

11. Justi, 1872, pp. 295-296.

12. The two drawings differ slightly in depicted figures. Vienna, Albertina, inv. 1265 (dated 1725); Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Ottob. lat. 3116, f. 191 (dated 10 Oct. 1728).

13. Keybler, J. G.: *Neueste Reisen durch Deutschland, Böhmen, Ungarn, die Schweiz, Italien und Lothringen*, Hannover, 1751, vol. 1, p. 649.
14. See for example Tassinari, G.: Antonio Pichler e gli incisori di pietre dure a Napoli: ipotesi e suggestioni, *Napoli Nobilissima. Rivista di arti, filologia e storia*, vol. 67, 2010, pp. 23-51 (pp. 31-33).
15. Hansson, U. R.: 'False as His Gems and Canker'd as His Coins'. Notoriety and the Construction of Self in the Case of Baron Philipp von Stosch, in *Identità e Rappresentazioni nel Settecento* (ed. C. Donato, U. R. Hansson, V. Lagioia and P. Palmieri), Roma (forthcoming).
16. On Stosch in Florence, esp. Borroni Salvadori, F.: Tra la fine del granducato e la reggenza. Filippo Stosch a Firenze, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, ser. III vol. 8:2, 1978, pp. 565-614.
17. De Brosses, C.: *Le président de Brosses en Italie. Lettres familières écrites en Italie en 1739 et 1740*, Paris, [1768] 1861, vol. I, pp. 289-290. The character Annus in Alexander Pope's Fourth Dunciad is recognised as a caricature portrait of Stosch, who is also frequently mentioned and derided in Walpole's and Mann's correspondence.
18. Barthélemy, 1802, pp. 25-26.
19. *Das neue gelehrte Europa*, vol. 10, 1757, pp. 260-268. Burnett, 2020, vol. II, pp. 1074-1076.
20. Venuti, R.: *Numismata Romanorum Pontificum Praestantiora a Martino V ad Benedictum XIV*, Rome, 1744, pp. xxvi-xxvii. These dies were later acquired by Ottone and Ermenegildo Hamerani. Varriano, J. L.: Some Documentary Evidence on the Restriking of Papal Medals, *Museum Notes*, 26, 1981, pp. 215-223 (pp. 217-218 and refs).
21. Burnett, 2020, vol. II, p. 1075 and refs.
22. Gołyźniak, 2021; Gołyźniak, P.: Hieronymus Odam. Engraved Gems and Antiquarianism, *Opuscula*, vol. 16, 2023, pp. 183-224.
23. Winckelmann, J. J.: *Description des pierres gravées du feu Baron de Stosch*, Florence, 1760, pp. 571-596; Egger, H.: Philipp von Stosch und die für seinen „Atlas“ beschäftigten Künstler, in *Festschrift der Nationalbibliothek Wien*, s.l. 1926, pp. 221-234; Kinauer, R.: *Der Atlas des Freiherrn Philipp von Stosch*, unpubl. Ph.D. diss., Vienna, 1950.
24. Walton [Stosch's pseudonym] to Lord Carteret 28 Feb. 1722. Kew, National Archives, SP 85/14, f. 9-12.
25. See for example Heringa, J.: Die Genese von *Gemmae antiquae caelatae*, *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving*, 51, 1976, pp. 75-91.
26. *Das neue gelehrte Europa*, vol. 5, 1754, pp. 52-54.
27. H. Mann to H. Walpole, 14 Jan. 1744. *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence* (ed. W. S. Lewis), New Haven, 1937-83, vol. 18, p. 369.
28. Ghezzi drawing, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Cod. Ottob. Lat. Zazoff 1983, pl. 5:2. Bouchardon bust, Berlin Staatliche Museen, inv. M. 204.
29. Now in Rome, Musei Capitolini, MC0276. See for example Bouchardon. *Royal Artist of the Enlightenment* (ed. A. L. Desmas, E. Kopp, G. Scherf and J. Trey), Los Angeles, 2017, pp. 119-121, nos. 46-47 and discussion.
30. Biblioteca Vaticana Apostolica, Cod. Ottob. Lat. 3109 f. 147. Ghezzi also included it in his frontespiece to vol. 2 of L. F. Marsili's *Danubius Pannonico-Mysicus* (The Hague and Amsterdam, 1726).
31. On this portrait see Metz, P. and Rave, O.: Eine neuerworbene Bildnisbüste des Baron Philipp von Stosch von Edme Bouchardon, *Berliner Museen. Berichte aus dem ehem Preußischen Kunstsammlungen*, Neue Folge, vol. 7:1, pp. 19-26; Senechal, P.: «Attaché entièrement à l'Antiquité et à mon caprice». Die Büste des Barons Philipp von Stosch von Edme Bouchardon, in *Jenseits der Grenzen. Französische und deutsche Kunst vom Ancien Régime zur Gegenwart* (ed. U. Fleckner, M. Schieder and M. F. Zimmermann), Cologne, 2000, pp. 136-148; Bouchardon, 2017, pp. 119-121, nos. 46-47 and discussion.
32. '... als ein Sinnbild der Altertumskenntnis', *Das neue gelehrte Europa*, vol. 5, 1754, p. 53.
33. Unknown artist, *Edme Bouchardon*, Rome 1728, lead, 69 mm. Inscr. obv. EDMVND BOVCHARDON GALLVS SCVLPTOR / rev. PH BARO DE STOSCH AM D S OPT MER F F ROMAE MDCCXXVII. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des monnaies, médailles et antiques, 2277. *Das neue gelehrte Europa*, vol. 5, 1754, p. 54; Heringa, J.: Philipp von Stosch als Vermittler von Kunstankäufen François Fagels, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 32, 1981, p. 104, n. 59; Senechal, 2000, pp. 142-143, figs. 2-3 and ref.
34. J. J. Preißler, *Philipp von Stosch c. 1727-30*, red chalk drawing. Krakow, Princes Czartoryski Museum, inv. MNK XV Rr. 4146. Gołyźniak, 2021, fig. 1. Engraving by Georg Martin Preißler.
35. Levezow, K.: *Über die Familie des Lykomedes in der Königlichen Preussischen Antikensammlung. Eine archäologische Untersuchung*, Berlin, 1804, pl. 1. The restoration is now removed and the sculpture group correctly identified as 'Apollo and the Muses'.
36. Both illustrated in <https://jasonmkelly.com/jason-m-kelly/2015/11/19/stosch-ghezzi-and-an-eighteenth-century-sculpture-restoration> (accessed 25-11-2023).
37. Giovanni Pozzo (1670-1752), *Philipp von Stosch*, Rome 1717, bronze, 68 mm. Inscr. obv. PHILIP STOSCHIVS A(nnorum) AET(at)s XXVI MDCCXXVII / rev. MORIBVS ANTIQVIS.
38. Forrer, L.: *A biographical Dictionary of Medallists, Coin, Gem, and Seal Engravers*, London, 1909, vol. 4, pp. 681-682.
39. Aldini, G. A.: *Istituzioni glittografiche*, Cesena, 1785, p. 125.
40. Kagan, 1985, p. 11 and pl. 1:5a.
41. Forrer, 1909, vol. 4, p. 681.
42. Eisler, E.: *The Dossiers of Geneva. Eighteenth-Century European medallists*, Geneva, 2005, p. 161.
43. The Hague, Nationaal Archief, Collectie Fagel, 1.10.29. See discussion in Eisler, 2005, pp. 160-165 and refs.
44. François Joseph Marteau (1697-1757), *Philipp von Stosch*, Rome 1727, bronze, 41 mm. Inscr. obv. PHILIP L(iber) BARO(nis) DE STOSCH GERMANVS. F. MARTEAV F(ecit). 1727 / rev. APISTON METPON.
45. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Ottob. Lat. 3109. 'Frammento di marmo antico che si ritrova in casa del Signor Baron Stosch, il quale rappresenta Diogene dentro la tina con il cane simbolo dei filosofi cinici, vicino alla muraglia di Atene. Era alto palmi due e oncie 8 e largo palmi due e 3 oncie e lo ritrovò a Testaccio il dì 8 maggio 1726 quando andava a bere e lo pagò scudo uno.' Ghezzi, P. L.: *Marmi antichi nei disegni di Pier Leone Ghezzi* (ed. L. Guerrini), Città del Vaticano, 1971, p. 76, pl. XIX.
46. Winckelmann, J. J.: *Monumenti antichi inediti*, Rome, [1767] 1821, vol. 2, pl. 174.
47. *Das neue gelehrte Europa*, vol. 5, 1754, p. 53.
48. Rome, Villa Albani Torlonia, inv. 161. *Villa Albani Torlonia. Architetture, collezioni, giardino* (ed. C. Gasparri), Milan, 2022, pp. 246-247, no. II:51.
49. *Philippo L. Baroni de Stosch antiquitatis amatori bonarumque artium cultori statuas hasce antiquas ad Edmundo Bouchardon Gallo sculptore egregio Romae delineatas Io. Iustinus Preisler Noricus Pictor a se in aes incisus fautori sue optime merito grati animi monumentum d. d.*, Nuremberg, 1732.

50. Varriano, J. L.: Some Documentary Evidence on the Restriking of Papal Medals, *Museum Notes*, 26, 1981, pp. 215-223 (pp. 217-218 and refs).
51. Johann Carl Hedlinger (1691–1771), *Philipp von Stosch*, Stockholm 1728, bronze, 41 mm. Inscr. obv. PHILIPP(us) L(iber) BARO DE STOSCH(ius) GERMANVS / rev. VIRI GENEROSISSIMI AC DE REB(us) ANTIQVIS OPTIME MERITI EFFIGIEM AMICO ADEFFECTV AETERNITATI DICARVNT(icolaus) KEDER NOBIL(is) SVEC(icus) ET I(oannis) C(hristianus) EQVES MDCCXXVIII. On the Bouchardon plaster cast, *Das neue gelehrte Europa*, vol. 5, 1754, p. 53.
52. Johann Carl Hedlinger, *Self-portrait*, Stockholm 1733, pewter, 33 mm. Inscr. rev. ΛΑΓΟΜ.
53. Keyßler, 1751, vol. 1, XLVIII Brief, p. 649.
54. Kagan, 1985, pp. 12-13 and pl. 2:12.
55. Valesio, F.: *Diario di Roma* (ed. G. Scano and G. Craglia), Milan, 1978.
56. Lami, G., in *Novelle Letterarie*, no. 46, 1757, pp. 720-723; Hansson, 2014, p. 19 and refs. The book was bilingual Latin-French; Henri-Philippe de Limiers provided the French translations.
57. Gaetani, P. A., Mazzuchelli, G. and Mimiso, C.: *Museum Mazzuchellianum*, Venice, 1763, vol. 2, pp. 329-330 and pl. 181:2.
58. Carl Marcus Tuscher (1705–1751), *Francesco Valesio*, Roma 1730, bronze 47.7 mm. Inscr. obv. FRANCISCVS VALESIVS ROMANVS M(arkus) T(uscher) N(oricius); rev. BENE QVI LATVIT BENE VIXIT PH(ilippus) B(aronis) DE STOSCH(ius) AM(ico) OPT(imo) G(rato) A(nimo) M(onumentum) F(aciendum) C(uravit) ROM(ae) MDCCXXX.
59. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Ottob. Lat. 3112 f. 115.
60. See for example Borroni Salvadori, F.: Marcus Tuscher, artista norico fra la Toscana e Roma, in *Miscellanea di studi in memoria di Anna Saitta Revignas*, Florence, 1978, pp. 85-118.
61. Marcus Meyer (dates unknown), *Marcus Tuscher*, bronze, 65 mm. Inscr. obv. ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΤΥΣΧΕΡ ΝΩΡΙΚΟΣ ΖΩΓΡΑΦΟΣ Μ Μ ΕΠΙ (Markos Tyscher Norikos Zographos Markos Meyer epoiesen) / rev. ΣΥΜΑΜΦΟΤΕΡΟΝ (Symamphoteron). London, British Museum, G3, IP1045.
62. *Das neue gelehrte Europa*, vol. 10, 1757, p. 268.
63. Carl Marcus Tuscher (1705–1751), *Philipp von Stosch*, Florence 1738, bronze, 62 mm. Inscr. obv. PHILIPPVS LIBER BARO(nis) DE STOSCH / rev. M(arcus) T(uscher) F(ecit). 1738 / NIL NISI PRISCA PETO.
64. *Cum nova tot quaerant, non nisi prisca peto*. Inscribed on the frontispiece of *Explication de plusieurs antiquités recueillies par Paul Pétau*, Amsterdam, 1757 (frontispiece dated 1618).
65. Israel, J. I.: *Radical Enlightenment. Philosophy and the Making of Modernity*, Oxford, 2001, p. 133.
66. Giovanni Zanobio Weber, *Domenico Augusto Bracci*, Florence 1775, bronze 75 mm. Inscr. obv. DOMENICVS AVGVSTVS BRACCI / rev. NIL NISI PRISCA PETO.
67. Borroni Salvadori: *Tra la fine*, 1978, p. 606.
68. Eisler, 2005, p. 160.
69. In this correspondence preserved in the Nationaal Archief, The Hague (Collectie Fagel), Stosch appears as a demanding patron who had very precise ideas about the works he commissioned. See for example Heringa, J.: Philipp von Stosch als Vermittler von Kunstankäufen François Fagels, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 32, 1981, pp. 55-110.
70. Kagan 1985, p. 11; Tassinari, G.: Lettere dell'incisore di pietre dure Francesco Maria Gaetani Ghinghi, *LANX*, 7, 2010, pp. 94-96.
71. Lost gem (1733), aventurine (1735, Hermitage). Kagan, 1985, pp. 12-13, pl. 2:10-11. There also exist portraits of Stosch by gem-engravers Carlo Costanzi (1) and Lorenzo Masini (3). Tassinari, 2010, pp. 94-96.
72. Pope, A.: *Fourth Dunciad*, 1741, 347-349.