

FAMEUX AMATEUR BARON PHILIPP VON STOSCH AND THE UNKNOWN PROVENANCE OF LOST OLD-MASTERS' DRAWINGS FROM THE COLLECTION OF COUNT STANISŁAW KOSTKA POTOCKI

Although a rich literature exists that is dedicated to activities of the collector Stanisław Kostka Potocki, the history of the shaping of his collection of drawings has not yet been analyzed, and in specific the origins of individual copies that entered his collection remain unstudied.¹ Relations between the count's collection and that of Baron Philipp von Stosch remain even less known to this day.² The lat-

- 1 Very general information on this subject can be found in the work by Zygmunt Batowski *Zbiór graficzny w Uniwersytecie Warszawskim*, Warsaw 1928, p. 42. Even in exhibition catalogues, it is rare to mention where individual drawings originate from, for example: *Le siècle français : francuskie malarstwo i rysunek XVIII wieku ze zbiorów polskich*, eds. Iwona Danielewicz and Justyna Guze, Warsaw 2009, p. 421, item 125.
- 2 To date, this has been mentioned only once, by Elżbieta Skierkowska, who, however, provided inaccurate information (see: *Polskie kolekcjonerstwo grafiki i rysunku*, Warsaw 1980, pp. 103, 110). Currently, we have been able to refine and correct data on the origin of some of these drawings, which will be discussed later in this article.

est archival research carried out at the National Library of Poland in Warsaw's department of engravings and drawings, followed by work on the catalogue of the graphic-art collection of the Wilanów Library, have shown that twenty-six valuable drawings, originally belonging to Philipp von Stosch's collection, were among purchases made by Potocki, including works by Raphael, Michelangelo, Correggio, Parmigianino, Annibale and Lodovico Carracci and Rubens. We do not know what has happened to these drawings (with a single exception). It is worth drawing together here all information we have about them to date. This will allow us to shed new light both on the collection of Stanisław Kostka Potocki, and on the scattered part of the von Stosch collection, regarded in the eighteenth century as one of the largest and most valuable in Europe.

Stanisław Kostka Potocki needs no introduction to the Polish reader.³ Potocki is widely known as among the preeminent figures of the Enlightenment. Along with his substantial library of books, Potocki also collected ancient vases, medallions and gems, paintings, sculptures, engravings and drawings. Baron Philipp von Stosch, though, remains almost completely unknown in Poland. The only association would be as creator of the famous album *Gemmae antiquae caelatae*⁴ with engravings by Bernard Picart, and as owner of a huge collection of ancient gems, popularized thanks to the catalogue compiled by Johann Joachim Winckelmann.⁵ The baron's name is only mentioned in publications by Polish researchers specializing in the history of collections of ancient artifacts.⁶ Von Stosch is among the great European

3 Stanisław Kostka Potocki (1755–1821) was a Polish nobleman, politician, writer, commentator, collector and patron of art.

4 *Gemmae antiquae caelatae, sculptorum nominibus insignitae*, Amsterdam 1724. A copy is in the Department of Iconography, National Library of Poland (BN ZZI A.845).

5 Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Description des pierres gravées du feu Baron de Stosch: dédiée à son excellence Monseigneur le cardinal Alexandre Albani*, Florence 1760. There is a copy in the Early Printed Books Department, National Library of Poland (BN SD W.3.667).

6 Among others: Małgorzata Gizińska, "Elbląski zbiór gipsowych odlewów gemm z kolekcji barona Philipa von Stosch", *Elbląskie Studia Muzealne*, 2009, no. 1, pp. 177–186; Bogna Arnold-Rutkiewicz, "O kolekcji odlewów gemm w Zamku Królewskim w Warszawie", *Kronika Zamkowa*, 2005, nos. 1–2, pp. 45–65, http://mazowsze.hist.pl/16/Kronika_Zamkowa/374/2005/11845/ [accessed on 22.09.2017]; Krzysztof Pomian, "Mariette et

personalities of the first half of the eighteenth century, and deserves special attention. He was an extremely colorful, unusual and ambiguous figure: an expert on ancient art, a bibliophile and freemason, diplomat and a British spy in Rome (aka John Walton). He was referred to as a *veramente barone anzi baronissimo*, a sybarite and an admired *arbiter elegantiae*⁷, collector, antiquarian and... trickster and thief.⁸ Coming as he did from an impoverished noble family, von Stosch acquired property and collections through various means. He earned his living at royal and papal courts, but also by revealing political secrets, trading in antiquities, selling copies of ancient erotic paintings to tourists, and by taking part in counterfeiting “ancient” artifacts. Above all, however, Philipp von Stosch left behind a huge, diverse collection of tens of thousands of artworks. It is now scattered all over the world, from London to Cambridge, to the Vatican, Paris, Vienna and Berlin, and to Moscow and St. Petersburg, and it remains the most valuable resource of numerous esteemed museums and libraries. A few pieces of this collection are to be found also in Poland, thanks to Stanisław Kostka Potocki and his passion for collecting art.

BARON PHILIPP VON STOSCH

Philipp von Stosch was born on 22 March 1691 in what is now Kostrzyn nad Odrą (then Küstrin), where his father Philipp Sigismund was a doctor and the mayor.⁹ In 1706, he began theological studies in

Wincklemann”, *Revue germanique internationale* 2000, no. 13, pp. 11–38, <https://journals.openedition.org/rgi/766> [accessed on 22.09.2017].

- 7 The term originated with the painter Pier Leone Ghezzi (1674–1755), who created popular caricatures of von Stosch. To his earliest portrait from 1717, Ghezzi added the description: “Uomo Erudito. Ma è un peccato che sia eretico!” (“A man of knowledge. What a pity he is a heretic!”); later, on one of his drawings, it is also written: “Fu esiliato da Roma per sua irreligiosità” (“Exiled from Rome because of his impiety”). Both drawings are kept in the Vatican Library.
- 8 Whereas his adventures are described by Dorothy MacKay Quynn in her article “Philipp von Stosch: Collector, Bibliophile, Spy, Thief (1611–1757)”, *The Catholic Historical Review*, 1941, vol. 27, no. 3, p. 339 [in the title, 1611 should be 1691], https://www.jstor.org/stable/25014047?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents [accessed on 23.02.2017], Krzyszttof Pomian aptly compared the baron’s biography to a picaresque novel, *op. cit.*, p. 14
- 9 The genealogy of the family and the biography of the baron are discussed in *Des Neuen Gelehrten Europa. Fünfter Theil*, Wolfenbüttel 1754, pp. 1–6, <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg>.

Frankfurt an der Oder. Three years later, he left school, setting out on a journey around Europe. At that time, in order to gain prestige and admission to more powerful courts, he began to call himself a baron, although in the impoverished Stosch family this title had not been used since the sixteenth century.¹⁰ While in the Netherlands in 1710, he came under the protection of his cousin, Baron Wolfgang von Schmettau, the Prussian ambassador in The Hague.¹¹ Thanks to von Schmettau, he met his longtime protector Franz Fagel, a Dutch statesman, *greffier* of the Estates General and a passionate collector and admirer of antiquities. Fagel was the first to advise Stosch on creating his own collection of art, and he provided him with his first ancient medallions. Their rich correspondence lasted from 1712 until 1746. Fagel introduced von Stosch to the world of diplomacy, entrusting him with certain political missions in England.¹² Von Stosch then took the role of agent, helping to acquire items for his patron's collection. Thanks to von Stosch, in 1717 a significant collection of drawings by old masters (from Dürer and Cranach to Raphael and Titian, including Rubens and van Dyck) collected by Joachim von Sandrart came into Fagel's collection.¹³

de/diglit/neue_gelehrte_europa1754a/0009/image [accessed on 1.05.2018], and by Johann Gottlob Wilhelm Dunkels, *Historisch-critische nachrichten von verstorbenen gelehrten und deren schriften*, vol. 3, Cöthen 1757, p. 849 passim. One of the first biographies of von Stosch was written by Carl Justi, "Philipp von Stosch und seine Zeit," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, VII (1872), pp. 293-308, 332-346, http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/fs1/object/display/bsb11030593_00005.html [accessed on 23.09.2017]. Two years later, Polish readers became more familiar with the baron thanks to Kazimierz Chłędowski (who used information gathered mostly by Justi). A series of Chłędowski's articles devoted to Italian antiquarians, including the baron, appeared in *Gazeta Lwowska* 1875, nos. 45-51, then appeared in the posthumously published collection *Z przeszłości naszej i obcej*, Lwów 1934, pp. 656-679, <http://www.kbc.krosno.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=154> [accessed on 12.10.2017].

- 10 C. Justi, *op. cit.*, p. 295. Only in 1717 was it officially confirmed that von Stosch was granted the title of baron. See: Ingrid Weber, "Stosch, Philipp Freiherr von," *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 2013, vol. 25, pp. 452-454, <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd117673870.html#ndbcontent> [accessed on 16.08.2017].
- 11 I. Weber, *op. cit.* on-line version.
- 12 C. Justi, *op. cit.*, p. 296.
- 13 J. Heringa, "Philipp von Stosch als Vermittler bei Kunstankäufen François Fagels," *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 1981, vol. 32, pp. 69-82, https://www.jstor.org/stable/43888533?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents [accessed on 25.07.2017]; Michèle-Caroline Heck, *Théorie et pratique de la peinture: Sandrart et la 'Teutsche Academie'*, Paris 2006, p. 14.

In France, where von Stosch stayed in 1712, as well as in the Netherlands and England, he tried to make friends, mainly among distinguished scholars. Thanks to letters of introduction received from them, he was welcomed at houses and courts of influential and powerful people throughout Europe. For example, during his sojourn at Cambridge, he made close friends with Richard Bentley, who headed Trinity College.¹⁴ While he was on secret diplomatic missions, he always acted as a collector, expert and art lover. Connections established with the scientific community proved very useful and, while accompanying von Schmettau on a trip to Italy in 1714, he decided to become independent and remain in Rome permanently. He was already well known in academic circles and thanks to Bernard de Montfaucon (paleographer, a founder of modern archeology) and Giusto Fontanini (the papal chamberlain), he was introduced at the papal court and presented to Clement XI, who gave him a fixed salary and a letter of introduction to all papal nuncios.¹⁵ During his two-year stay in Rome, von Stosch established personal contacts and kept correspondence with many distinguished Italian scholars, from the librarian and philologist Matteo Egizio to Francesco Valetta, whose family had at that time a magnificent library and a huge collection of ancient vases. He also knew Emanuele Maurizio di Lorena, the prince of the Elbeuf, in whose mansion the ruins of Herculaneum were discovered. He saw initial excavations taking place there, before the authorities halted further work in 1716.¹⁶ The following year, von Stosch left Rome, called home by his family due to the death of his brother Ludwik. He traveled through Florence, Venice, Vienna and Prague.¹⁷ Later he enjoyed himself in Dresden where, thanks to the protection of Jacob Heinrich von Flemming, he was taken to the court of the Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, Augustus II the Strong, who made him Royal Antiquarian,

14 C. Justi, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

15 C. Justi, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

16 C. Justi, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

17 K. Pomian, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

refusing however to pay him a fixed salary.¹⁸ For years, von Stosch had been patiently establishing his position, doing various favours thanks to which he gained the reputation of a person with influence and broad-ranging acquaintances. The King of Prussia, Frederick William I, for example, received from him the famous geographical atlas of Guillaume Delisle, containing the most accurate maps of the day of the world and continents, which the king had long sought in vain among antiquarian book dealers. Von Stosch also helped the French regent, Philippe II, the Duke of Orléans, to regain valuable manuscripts stolen from the Bibliothèque Royale by Jean Aymon in 1707. Or, to put it more precisely, in 1720 von Stosch returned books to the royal collection from the antiquarian market that had been stolen – due to which he received a payment of one thousand francs.¹⁹

During this period, von Stosch stayed again in The Hague and enjoyed the hospitality of Franz Fagel. Probably thanks to Fagel's connections, he established relations with British politicians and, through Lord Carteret, was entrusted with a confidential mission for the government of King George I.²⁰ Thanks to contacts at the papal court (for example, his acquaintance with Cardinal Melchior de Polignac, who was also a collector and lover of ancient art), the baron seemed an ideal person to serve as a Roman resident able to discreetly inform about the atmosphere and situation in the circle of the pretender James Stuart. Especially after the birth of the son of James and his wife, Maria Klementyna née Sobieski (in 1720), this became one of the key political issues for George I, as their son, Charles Edward, could become another contender for the throne of England and Scotland. Thanks to this, from 1721 von Stosch, once he had settled again in Rome, received a salary from the British government for his services. He received this for the rest of his life, though principal figures often questioned the

18 C. Justi, *op. cit.*, pp. 297–298.

19 H. Omont, “Le Vol d’Aymon à la Bibliothèque du Roi et le baron de Stosch”, *Revue des Bibliothèques* 1891, no. 1, pp. 468–469.

20 About the spy's career, see: Lesley Lewis, *Connoisseurs and Secret Agents in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, London, 1961.

quality and reliability of his reports, even suspecting that he was working for both sides.²¹

With a guaranteed income, the baron could devote himself to his passion in the Eternal City, which meant building and expanding his collection. Thanks to one of his powerful patrons, Cardinal Alessandro Albani, nephew of Pope Clement XI, another famous collector and connoisseur of ancient art, von Stosch found himself at the center of the Roman milieu of amateur excavators and seekers of ancient artifacts. He maintained a network of personal contacts and a lively correspondence with many of the famed scholars of that period.²² He passionately collected ancient gems, coins, medallions and sculptures, as well as medieval manuscripts, early engravings and drawings by great modern masters. He acquired further items for the collection by means that were not always transparent. The appropriation of valuable manuscripts from the Vatican Library, which, after his death, were purchased by the Vatican Library (represented by Cardinal Domenico Passionei) from his heir, Heinrich Wilhelm Muzell, for a considerable amount, is well documented.²³ There are also numerous anecdotes that indicate serious doubts about a crystal-clear character for von Stosch.²⁴ Perhaps, however, there was plenty of envy in those stories, motivated by the baron's strong social position. His collection was built and expanded, growing in various ways, and its owner wanted to share his

21 D. MacKay Quynn, *op.cit.*, p. 339.

22 The network of von Stosch connections within the scholarly and antiquarian community was analyzed by Jörn Lang in his article "Netzwerke von Gelehrten. Eine Skizze antiquarischer Interaktion im 18. Jh.am Beispiel des Philipp von Stosch (1691-1757)", https://www.academia.edu/1534269/Netzwerke_von_Gelehrten._Eine_Skizze_Antiquarischer_Interaktion_im_18._Jh._am_Beiispiel_des_Philipp_von_Stosch_1691_1757 [accessed on 12.01.2018].

23 The case of theft came to light only a century and a half after von Stosch's death. Of more than two thousand medieval Greek and Latin manuscripts, more than fifty volumes were taken under unexplained circumstances from the Vatican Library by von Stosch. The story of the theft and of von Stosch was described by Dorothy MacKay Quynn, *op. cit.*, pp. 332-344.

24 One of them tells of the accusation against von Stosch: when visiting Versailles, he is said to have swallowed a priceless jewel from the royal collections, as Baron de Brosses states in his letters. Charles de Brosses, *Le président de Brosses en Italie: lettres familières écrites d'Italie en 1739 et 1740*, Paris 1858, vol. 1, p. 290. This anecdote is repeated by K. Chłędowski, *op. cit.*, p. 670.

successes and his accumulated knowledge. Publication of *Gemmae antiquae caelatae* – the album containing descriptions of ancient gems – in 1724 confirmed his position as an erudite, elite-level specialist and connoisseur. In his album, he also provided other collectors with information about artists’ signatures hidden on gemstones, and pointers on how to distinguish original ancient gems from later copies and imitations, made by many Roman craftsmen at that time.²⁵ Von Stosch also allegedly employed many of them for unspecified tasks, although he was never accused of forgery. However, it was widely known that he derived huge profit from dealing in artworks. Copying ancient artifacts at that time became a very lucrative business, due to the insatiable demand of various collectors, connoisseurs and amateurs of classical antiquity, while dishonest antiquarians often sold imitations of ancient stones as originals.²⁶ Von Stosch, striving himself to have, if not originals, at least a copy of each known ancient gem, also collected impressions and casts.²⁷ Nevertheless, after the publication of the al-

25 C. Justi, op. cit., pp. 333–334.

26 One known victim of such a procedure was the nephew of the Polish king, Prince Stanisław Poniatowski, see Bogna Arnold-Rutkiewicz, op. cit., pp. 45–65. It should also be noted that in the eighteenth century, various types of “preservation” of and “repairs” on ancient artifacts were common practice. Worthy of mention, for example, is the famous ancient relief of Alexander and Diogenes found in 1724 at Monte Testaccio (now in the collection of the Villa Albani), purchased by von Stosch for his own collection, followed by a renovation consisting in large part of freely replenishing missing elements: Diogenes’ head and Alexander’s figure. Those additions have survived to this day, while the original appearance of the relief is known from Ghezzi’s drawing; see Cristiano Giometti, “Per Accompaniare L’antico’: the Restoration of Ancient Sculpture in Early Eighteenth-Century Rome,” *Journal of the History of Collections* 2012, vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 219–230, <https://academic.oup.com/jhc/article-abstract/24/2/219/680935?redirectedFrom=fulltext> [accessed on 30.06.2017]. In this context, the story of the “restoration” of ancient sculptures is also mentioned, which enriched the collection of Cardinal Melchior de Polignac (the so-called Lycomedes group, now in the Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin). Heads were also added to excavated figures of Achilles and the daughters of King of Scyros, who lacked them, and von Stosch was a model for the image of Lycomedes; see Konrad Levezow, *Über die Familie des Lykomedes in der Königlichen Preussischen Antikensammlung: eine archäologische Untersuchung*, Berlin 1804, pp. 3, 42, <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/levezow1804> [accessed on 12.05.2018]; J. Heringa, op. cit., pp. 67–68; and Astrid Dostert, *Die Antikensammlung des Kardinals Melchior de Polignac* [doctoral thesis], p. 61, *passim*, http://www.diss.fu-berlin.de/diss/servlets/MCRFileNodeServlet/FUDISS_derivate_000000019567/Dostert_Sammlung_Polignac.pdf [accessed on 01.09.2017].

27 *Choix des principales pierres gravées de la collection qui appartenait autrefois au baron de Stosch et qui se trouve maintenant dans le cabinet du Roi de Prusse*, Nuremberg 1798, p. 4, [122](https://bild-</p>
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bum, some friends began to avoid him, including Cardinal Passionei, or simply call him a fraudster and swindler, as did Francesco Ficoroni, a well-known collector of ancient artifacts. However, the Florentine archaeologist Giovanni Gaetano Bottari simply sneered that he would like first of all to see a list of books von Stosch had promised to write, then a list of objects he announced he had discovered, and finally a list of items he had stolen.²⁸ In 1725, von Stosch complained about his situation in letters to Richard Bentley.²⁹ A year later, his situation became even more complicated and he was threatened with the loss of his British salary, due to James Stuart's departure for Bologna, and from there to Lorraine and Avignon. The pope then called for the pretender to return to Rome, claiming to disapprove of his separation from Maria Klementyna. There were rumors, however, that von Stosch played a key role in James returning to Rome, in order to continue observing him closely and to report scrupulously on his activities.³⁰ Nevertheless, this was one of the last successes for von Stosch at the papal court. His confidential mission for the British throne quickly became an open secret. Already in 1729, Montesquieu wrote: "Baron von Stosch stays in Rome, spy of King George."³¹ In 1731, von Stosch was finally exposed and had to leave Rome abruptly.³² He sought shelter in Florence, at the court of

suche.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=viewer&bandnummer=bsb00075372&pi-image=7&v=100&nav=&l=en [accessed on 23.08.2018]. Von Stosch was able to make gem castings in glass pastes himself. He acquired this skill in Paris around 1715, studying the collection of Philip II, the Duke of Orléans, and learning the craft thanks to his physician, Wilhelm Homberg (1652-1715); see B. Arnold-Rutkiewicz, op. cit., p. 47.

28 C. Justi, op. cit., p. 337.

29 C. Justi, op. cit., p. 338.

30 C. Justi, op. cit., p. 300.

31 Taken from: K. Pomian, op.cit., p.15.

32 He was prompted by a nocturnal attack by four masked men, who halted his carriage and beat the coachman. They did not take valuables, but only informed the terrified baron that if he did not leave the city in eight days, he would not leave with his life. Von Stosch understood that he had been "warned" by James Stuart's supporters, even sending a letter to the prince with the assurance that he did not believe that the prince was personally responsible. A comprehensive account of this subject was presented by the Saxon deputy in Rome, Graf Joseph Wackerbarth-Salmour, in his report to King August the Strong; see Carl Justi, *Antiquarische Briefe des Baron Philipp von Stosch gesammelt und erläutert von...*, Marburg 1871, pp. 14-15. Memory of the events was long retained, as a description of the assault was found in letters written ten years later by

the Medici, where the great Prince Jan Gaston in the official audience assured him that he could place his collection in Florence with assurance.³³ The baron had numerous scientific contacts there. He maintained close relations, for example, with the well-known antiquarian and author of the *Museum Florentinum*, Antonio Francesco Gori, with whom he had corresponded since 1720.³⁴ He was greeted like a prince among the local environment. Having rented the Palazzo Ramirez de Montalvo at Borgo degli Albizi 26, he deposited treasures from his collection there.³⁵ His house became the seat of a local Masonic lodge and a destination of pilgrimage for distinguished travelers and art lovers, gaining great repute under the name Museo Stoschiano.³⁶ From this time, the baron became less devoted to politics, and more so to dealing artworks and granting smaller and larger favors, especially to representatives of the English aristocracy.³⁷ By sharing his collection with others, he gained increased publicity and a heightened reputation as an erudite and connoisseur. However, there were also critical opinions. The great expert on classical art and widely acclaimed collector and antiquarian Pierre Jean Mariette, in his 1750 work *Traité des pierres gravées*, referred critically to *Gemmae antiquae caelatae*, making biting remarks

French writer and historian Charles de Brosses while on a trip in Italy, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 289. To this day, however, it is not known which parts of the story are true and which von Stosch made up; see K. Pomian, op. cit., p. 15.

33 As he earned his living by dealing in artifacts, von Stosch took great care for his image as an outstanding expert in classical art. He ordered his representative portraits made, such as the classical bust by Edmé Bouchardon in 1727 (now in the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin). He commissioned copies of works from his collection. One example is the classical relief of Diogenes and Alexander, recommended by von Stosch for the verso of his portrait medallion ordered in 1727 from François Marteau, see Jason M. Kelly, *Stosch, Ghezzi, and an Eighteenth-century Sculpture Restoration*, http://www.jasonmkelly.com/2015/11/19/stosch-ghezzi-and-an-eighteenth-century-sculpture-restoration/#_edn8 [accessed on 01.05.2018].

34 K. Pomian, op. cit., p. 16.

35 He was accompanied by his brother Friedrich Siegmund, the painters Marcus Tuscher and Johann Justin Preissler (employed in making graphic copies of works from the baron's collection) and the butler Cristiano; see Fabia Borroni Salvadori, "Tra la fine del granducato e la reggenza: Filippo Stosch a Firenze," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, 1978, no. 8, p. 568, https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/24304993.pdf?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents [accessed on 15.08.2017].

36 C. Justi, op. cit., p. 300.

37 D. MacKay Quynn, op. cit, p. 340.

both about von Stosch and about the engravings by Picart.³⁸ Von Stosch sought revenge by initiating attacks on the publication by Mariette.³⁹

At the end of his life, von Stosch corresponded with Johann Joachim Winckelmann to compile a catalogue of his collection of ancient gemstones. This establishing of contact and of cooperation took place at Winckelmann's initiative. In June 1756, he sent the baron his first book: *Gedanken über die Nachahmung...*⁴⁰ It was enthusiastically received by von Stosch, who recognized in Winckelmann his "spiritual heir."⁴¹ From then on, both made plans for the arrival of the German scholar in Florence, to compile a catalogue of gems collected by von Stosch, as the latter probably assumed this would ensure that he would be remembered as the greatest of gem collectors and experts. The idea was not accomplished during the baron's lifetime, and the album was not released until 1760.⁴² However, that work quickly and lastingly gained acclaim and recognition. In 1797, forty years later, the Winckelmann catalogue was described loftily: "Von Stosch resembles an Achilles who has found his Homer"⁴³

In 1756, von Stosch brought his nephew, Heinrich Wilhelm Muzell, to Florence, adopting him, making him sole heir and entrusting him with the protection of the collection. Soon after, he died of apoplexy and was buried in Livorno. *Des Neuen Gelehrten Europa* reported: "This great scholar ended his glorious life on 6 November 1757."⁴⁴

38 P. Mariette, *Traité des pierres gravées*, vol. 1. Paris 1750, pp. 330-333, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k311112h.image> [accessed on 14.09.2017].

39 Interesting relations and antagonistic attitudes of Mariette, von Stosch and Winckelmann are outlined by Pomian in his article; see K. Pomian, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

40 Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der Griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*, Dresden 1755.

41 C. Justi, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

42 J. J. Winckelmann, *Description...*, *op. cit.*

43 *Auswahl vorzüglicher gemmen aus derjenigen sammlung die ehemals der baron Philipp von Stosch besass, die sich jetzt aber in dem Kön. preussischem cabinette befindet. Mit mythologischen und artistischen erlauterungen begleitet von Friedrich Schlichtegroll*, vol. 1. Nürnberg 1797, p. 5.

44 *Des Neuen Gelehrten Europa. Drenzehnter Theil*, Wolfenbüttel 1758, p. 242, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/neue_gelehrte_europa1758/0005/image [accessed on 04.03.2018].

THE FATE OF THE BARON PHILIPP VON STOSCH COLLECTION

We do not have detailed information on how Baron Philipp von Stosch's collection grew, by what means he acquired items and exhibits, or when and from whom he purchased individual items. It has already been mentioned that he gained new items in ways that were not always transparent. Perhaps he often placed priority on expanding his collection while setting aside commitments to powerful principals as to whom he was entrusting with mediating the purchase of artworks. Franz Fagel's statement may suggest this, as evidently he guessed that the collection of Joachim von Sandrart, bought by von Stosch, had then been delivered to him rather thin and "depleted."

In 1717, Fagel wrote about this, disappointedly, to the baron:

However, I can see that there are many of them [drawings] that bear the names of old masters who would be ashamed to acknowledge them and that these are probably the ugliest copies ever made by untalented students. The number of drawings that we can consider to be original and good does not seem to be very large. I cannot believe that von Sandrart created the collection as it is today but, according to my opinion, some drawings were removed from where von Sandrart had previously placed them, as indicated by assembly marks on many cards, and replaced by others that do not represent any value, especially in the first volume, which should contain drawings of the famous Italian masters. I have not shown them to anyone, yet when I have the opportunity, I will see what they tell me about them.⁴⁵

It is true that von Stosch gathered one of the largest art collections of that time. At the time of his death, it was made public that the value of the artistic collections and the library left by the baron was estimated at 100,000 ducats, which was a dizzying sum.⁴⁶ A fairly extensive description of the entire von Stosch collection was made during

45 J. Heringa, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

46 *Des Neuen Gelehrten Europa. Drenzehnter Theil, op.cit.*, p. 242. For comparison, it is worth mentioning that Stanisław Kostka Potocki valued one of his most valuable paintings at 300 ducats: this was his own equestrian portrait painted by David.

the baron's lifetime, on 24 July 1756.⁴⁷ According to that account, the collection of the Museo Stoschiano in Florence was divided into eleven sections:

- I. Cabinet of Antiquities
- II. Cabinet of Medals
- III. Cabinet of Coins
- IV. Cabinet of Gems (engraved stones)
- V. Collection of Various Original Works by Famous Painters
- VI. Collection of Copper Engravings and Woodcuts
- VII. Manuscripts
- VIII. Library
- IX. Cabinet of curiosities (Naturalienkabinett)
- X. Armory
- XI. Topographical Atlas⁴⁸

As a presentation of all eleven sections would greatly exceed the scope of this article, it would be more appropriate to present just one short description, of the fifth section: *Sammlung verschiedener Original Stücke von berühmten Malern*. From the enigmatic description in *Des Neuen Gelehrten Europa*, we learn that in this section, drawings including works by Michelangelo and his pupils were kept. There were also Raphael sketches and engravings based on them, and works by Perino del Vaga and Giulio Romano and other students of the Master of Urbino and contemporaneous artists. These were adjacent to sketch-

47 *Des Neuen Gelehrten Europa. Zehenter Theil*, Wolfenbüttel 1757, pp. 257-300, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/neue_gelehrte_europa1756a/0001/image [accessed on 04.03.2018].

48 The description of this Atlas comes from Winckelmann, who dedicated a chapter in *Description des pierres gravées* to it: "Catalogue abrégé l'Atlas du feu baron de Stosch en 324 tomes in fol." The creation of the Atlas was begun by the baron during his stay in the Netherlands, inspired by Fagel and according to his instructions, and was continued until his death. He collected maps and engravings during all his journeys, with many objects sent to him and offered by scholars and antique dealers from across Europe. The Atlas began with general maps, followed by increasingly detailed maps - of countries, regions and cities. City maps were accompanied by engravings depicting key buildings and monuments, as well as famous events such as battles and celebrations. Engravings were sometimes supplemented with drawings. It is worth noting that Volume CCLXXII, *Le Royaume de Pologne. Les Duchés de Lithuanie & de Courlande, le Royaume de Prusse & la Livonie*, contained 145 maps. See: J. J. Winckelmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 573-575, 593.

es of ancient arabesques and bas-reliefs used by Raphael as sources of inspiration for his own works. There was also a group of works by famous Florentine artists including Giorgio Vasari, Santi di Tito, Antonio Tempesta and Jean de St. Jean, Pietro da Cortona, Livio Mehus, Volterrano. Certainly among the most interesting drawings were by Giulio Parigi and Baccio del Bianco, presenting masquerades and ceremonies at the Medici court. The description also mentions drawings by Stefano della Bella, Guido Reni, Joseph d'Arpino, Ciro Ferri, Carlo Maratta and Salvator Rosa. Work by von Stosch's friend Pier Leone Ghezzi could not be missed, as well. In addition to numerous Italian artists, a group of Dutch artists including Lucas van Leyden is also mentioned. Among German masters, Albrecht Dürer holds the eminent position. French painters included Claude de Lorraine, Jacques Callot, Simon de Vouet, Nicolas Poussin, Charles Le Brun. The collection concluded with architectural drawings as well as coats of arms, theater set design and drawings of occasional buildings. In the context of research on the provenance of drawings from the collection of Stanisław Kostka Potocki, most interesting is the fact that among the many artists are Agostino, Ludovico and Annibale Carracci, Correggio, Titian, Parmigianino, Gaspard Poussin, Edmé Bouchardon and Ottavio Leoni.

After the death of von Stosch, Wilhelm Muzell-Stosch took charge of his legacy and also took the name of his uncle. The heir's intention was to sell the collection as soon as possible. Thus he immediately began publishing the catalogues, hoping that this would increase the value of the collection he had inherited. In 1758, he published the catalogue *Bibliotheca Stoschiana*, with the Winckelmann catalogue coming out a year later (its author worked on it from September 1758, with publication already in February 1760).⁴⁹ At first, in January 1759, a library of over six thousand volumes was sold, including more than two thousand Greek and Latin manuscripts. Some manuscripts collected there were purchased, as we know, by the Vatican Library. In

49 *Bibliotheca Stoschiana sive catalogus librorum bibliothecae Philippi baron de Stosch quorum auctio habebitur Florentiae die 16. Januarii 1759. & sequentibus diebus, Lucae 1758.*

1760, Muzell-Stosch traveled to England, hoping to find a proper buyer for the entire artistic collection. Unfortunately, this task proved impossible to accomplish, and eventually the collection was dispersed. Muzell-Stosch tried to draw the attention of collectors he knew, and some of the collection was exhibited at an auction organized in March 1760.⁵⁰ The auction catalogue was compiled in a very brief fashion, and descriptions of individual items were extremely scarce. It should be noted, however, that among painters of exhibited works, Michelangelo, Guercino, Ventura Salimbeni, Rubens and Salviati were mentioned, whose drawings can also be found in the collection of Stanisław Kostka Potocki. A small part of von Stosch's collection was again auctioned at the London auction house Mr. Langford and Son in March 1764.⁵¹ The auction was accompanied by a two-part catalogue. The first part contained mainly sculptures, with the second part also containing paintings and drawings (including sketches of Roman buildings by Raphael, and a drawing by Andrea del Sarto with the baron's handwritten annotation).⁵²

At the same time, Muzell-Stosch managed to sell the gem collection. The entire collection (originals, copies, impressions and casts) collected by von Stosch numbered over twenty thousand items. At that time,

50 C. Justi, op. cit., pp. 314–318.

51 *A catalogue of the Genuine and Choice Collection of Pictures, of that Eminent Collector Baron Stosch of Italy, Lately Deceased; amongst which are the Works of the following Masters, viz. Carlo Dolci, Carlo Marratti, Luca Giordano, Tintoretto, Spagnolo di Bologna, Guercino, Bronzino, Gia. Brandi, Rubens, Brueghell, Jordaens, Zuccarelli [...] which will be sold, by auction by Mr. Langford, being consign'd to Him by the executor, at his house in the Great Piazza, Covent Garden, on Wednesday, the 12th of this Instant March 1760*, <http://bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr/collection/item/17669-catalogue-of-the-genuine-and-choice-collection-of-pictures-of-that-eminent-collector-baron-stosch-vente-du-12-mars-1760> [accessed on 30.08.2017].

52 The first part: *A catalogue of the entire collection of bronzes, of the Palazzo Gaddi, Palazzo Marucelli, and the late eminent antiquary Baron Stosch : Consisting of great variety of groupses [sic], statues, busts, priapi, animals, basso and alto relievos, sacrificing vessels, instruments, &c. of Roman, Grecian, Etruscan and Egyptian workmanship: with some few modern bronzes of mich. angelo, benv. cellini, tacca, giov. di bologna, fiamingo, algardi, and other celebrated masters, London 1764* and the second part: *A catalogue of the remainder of the bronzes, of the Palazzo Gaddi, Palazzo Marucelli, and the Late Eminent Antiquary Baron Stosch, which had been mislaid; and which, with several Egyptian and other curious antiquities; some valuable paintings in crayons and in oil; and a book of drawings in architecture, for public buildings, by Raphael, London 1764.*

it was the largest collection of its type in Europe. There were works with representations of ancient ceremonies and events, as well as portraits of great historical personages and images of figures and mythological scenes: Egyptians, Etruscans, Greeks, Romans. In 1764, most of the collection was purchased for the enormous amount of thirty thousand thalers by the Prussian king, Frederick the Great, ultimately finding a museum home in Berlin.⁵³ Some of the glass castings went to Moscow and St. Petersburg.⁵⁴ A small part of this gem collection, or more precisely their casts, most probably appeared before 1939 in the collections of the Museum of Archeology and History in Elbląg, Poland (at that time, the Städtische Museum). Partially legible on a casket containing nine hundred pastes stored within is: “[Ges]chnittene Steine / in dem / Könignchen Museum der Altertümer zu Berlin / Ehemalige von Stosch’sche Gemmensammlung.” It is not certain, however, whether these castings belonged to the baron, or are copies of original gems from his collection made when it was already in Berlin.⁵⁵ Another collection of gem castings linked with von Stosch’s collection is stored at the Royal Castle in Warsaw. It was described by Bogna Arnold-Rutkiewicz in her article.⁵⁶ This gem collection has more recently found its way to the Royal Castle collection, thanks to the Ciechanowiecki Foundation Collections.

In 1768, Müzell-Stosch offered the imperial library in Vienna the sale of cartographic collections from the collection of von Stosch (the Topographical Atlas). A year later, Maria Teresa approved the purchase for the agreed-upon price of three thousand ducats.⁵⁷ To date, over 2,700 maps from this collection are stored at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.⁵⁸ Drawings from the Atlas are kept in the Alberti-

53 B. Arnold-Rutkiewicz, op. cit., pp. 52–54.

54 I. Weber, op. cit., on-line version.

55 M. Gizińska, op. cit., p. 181.

56 B. Arnold-Rutkiewicz, op. cit., pp. 45–65.

57 See *Ankauf der geographischen Sammlung des Baron Philipp von Stosch* rps ÖNB, Hofbibliothek 58a/1768.

58 Rudolf Kinauer, *Der Atlas des Freiherrn Philipp von Stosch der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek: ein Beitrag zu seiner Rekonstruktion und zur Geschichte der Atlanten*, Bad Godesberg 1968.

na in Vienna (including, for example, sketches by Carl Rainaldi, Domenichino, Gianmaria Pomedello, Gianlorenzo Bernini and Francesco Borromini).⁵⁹

The last auction offering von Stosch's collection took place almost twenty years later. The remains of the von Stosch collection that had not been sold in London, already diminished, were put up for sale at a public auction in 1783 in Berlin.⁶⁰ A dozen or so exceptionally valuable engravings were bought by Ernst Peter Otto, an antiquarian from Leipzig. Today, most of those works from the von Stosch collection that were purchased by Peter Otto are in the British Museum,⁶¹ the Harvard Art Museums (the Fogg Museum)⁶² and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.⁶³

The most recent event in the history of the dispersed collection of Philipp von Stosch was the appearance in 2005 of an antiquarian offer of a collection of twenty-four drawings known as the Codex Stosch, until then considered lost. During the baron's lifetime (as described by Winckelmann in 1760), the codex was considered a series of drawings by Raphael. Today, it is recognized to be the work of one of his disciples, Giovanni Battista da Sangallo. Drawings made around 1520 show key buildings of ancient Rome. In 2007, the volume was purchased by the RIBA Library for over £274,000.⁶⁴

59 See Albertina Sammlungen Online, <http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/>.

60 In the catalogue of the auction, to be discussed in more detail further on (see footnote 74), it was noted that some drawings were damaged.

61 Sixteen allegorical depictions in the niello technique, attributed to Baccio Baldini, ca. 1465–1480 (reference 1852,0424.1 -1852,0424.7; 1852,0301.1 - 1852,0301.6; 1866.1013,900; 1852,1211.1; 1852,1211.2) and presenting two putti drawing by Johann Rottenhammer, 1579–1623 (reference number A.17.52). The history of these engravings is included in: Louis Thies, *Catalog of the Collection of Engravings Bequeathed to Harvard College by Francis Calley Gray*, Cambridge 1869, pp. 53–55, <https://archive.org/details/cataloguecollec00graygoog> [accessed on 23.06.2018].

62 Author unknown, allegorical composition, niello, ca. 1470. Reference number G2936.

63 Gisèle Lambert, *Les premières gravures italiennes: Quattrocento-début du cinquecento. Inventaire de la collection du département des Estampes et de la Photographie*, Paris 1999, p. 41.

64 Ian Campbell, Arnold Nesselrath, "The Codex Stosch: Surveys of Ancient Buildings by Giovanni Battista da Sangallo," *Pegasus. Berliner Beiträge zum Nachleben der Antike*, no. 8, 2006, pp. 9–90, https://www.academia.edu/2551057/The_Codex_Stosch_surveys_of_ancient_buildings_by_Giovanni_Battista_da_Sangallo?auto=download [accessed on 05.03.2018].

We shall now resume with the most interesting issue: the small part of the collection of drawings of von Stosch acquired by Stanisław Kostka Potocki.

ACQUISITIONS OF STANISŁAW KOSTKA POTOCKI FROM THE COLLECTION OF BARON VON STOSCH

When Philipp von Stosch died, in 1757, Stanisław Kostka Potocki was only two years old. Unfortunately, it is not known when and under what circumstances the count would later discover the famous Florentine collector. Archival sources are silent about this. Perhaps that information had been provided by a foreign correspondent; perhaps Potocki learned it in a publication or during one of his many foreign trips. His source of knowledge was not from reports by an older brother, Ignacy, who visited Florence before 1770.⁶⁵ Stanisław Kostka Potocki visited Italy four times, and Florence at least twice (first in 1774-1775).⁶⁶ So he could not have visited the Museo Stoschiano, as since 1759 the baron's nephew had been reselling the collection. From 1760 to 1764, when a significant part of the von Stosch collection was in London, Potocki was just beginning his education at the Collegium Nobilium in Warsaw. As no guidebook to Italy⁶⁷ available at that time mentioned the Florentine residence of von Stosch and the collection stored there it is impressive that Potocki came to learn

65 Journeys to Florence by both Potocki brothers are described by Małgorzata Wrześniak, *Florencja – muzeum: miasto i jego sztuka w oczach polskich podróżników*, Kraków 2013, *passim*. It should be emphasized that Stanisław Kostka did not accompany Ignacy in his trip to Italy in 1765-1770.

66 *Grand Tour. Narodziny kolekcji Stanisława Kostki Potockiego*, Warsaw 2006, p. 23, *passim*.

67 For instance, *Świat We Wszystkich Swoich Częściach Większych y Mniejszych : To Jest W Europie, Azji, Affryce y Ameryce*, a guide based on the authors impressions from a 1725 journey and published in Wrocław, 1740, by Władysław Łubiński, future primate of Poland, contains only a short, concise description of Florence (p. 67) and Rome (pp. 94-97). A similar guide, *Droga Rzymska z nawrotem do swoiey Oyczyzny nie bez goscinca nazad powroconego Xiędza Kazimierza Kognowickiego Nauk wyzwolonych i Filozofii Doktora* (Warsaw 1783), provides a slightly longer description (pp. 95-107), which, however, omits the famous museum and its owner. Among popular foreign guides in Potocki's library, it is worth mentioning a three-volume publication by Nicolas Chochin, *Voyage en Italie*, Paris 1769 (volume 2 being dedicated to Florence and containing the count's handwritten notes) and a nine-volume work by Joseph Lalande, *Voyage d'un François en Italie*, Venice 1769.

about this collection.⁶⁸ It can be said that his passion for collecting reflected the breadth of his knowledge. The count had two publications related to Philipp von Stosch in his collection. It is surprising that the archival catalogues of Potocki's collection do not show the important position of the *Gemmae antiquae celatae* album from 1724, which would seem a very important source for an avid collector of ancient gems. Instead, he had an album in his library, published later, with engravings by Georg Martin Preisler based on drawings by Edmé Bouchardon that depicted ancient sculptures from the baron's collection.⁶⁹ It is not known when and from whom Potocki acquired this publication. However, we know exactly when he bought the catalogue of the gems belonging to von Stosch, prepared by Winckelmann.⁷⁰ This happened quite late, not until 1787, when he traveled to London with Princess Lubomirska and Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz.⁷¹ That purchase is confirmed both by archival lists of books bought and packed in chests, among which is mentioned "Winckelmann Cabinet De Stosch," and by an archival catalogue of the collection: "Describing of Engraved Stones by Baron de Stosch Florence 1760."⁷² However, we

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- 68 Worthy of note is the fact that the Museo Stoschiano, among the main attractions in the city and attracting crowds of foreign travelers (mainly English), seems to have remained completely unknown to Poles visiting Florence. Luca Bernardini, in the cross-sectional work *A Firenze con i viaggiatori e i residenti polacchi* (Firenze 2005), does not mention the Museo Stoschiano at all. It is also noteworthy that in the first half of the eighteenth century there is a clear gap in this study when it comes to certificates of stays of Poles in Florence. Perhaps, then, the period from 1731 to 1757, when von Stosch was active in Florence, was a time when the city was not visited by Poles. It was not until the second half of the century that, along with the figures of August Moszyński, Stanisław Poniatowski, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, Franciszek Bieliński, Stanisław Staszic and of course Ignacy and Stanisław Kostka Potocki, interest in the capital of Tuscany was revived.
- 69 *Philippo L Baroni de Stosch antiquitatis amatori bonarvmqve artium cvltori statvas hasce antiqvas ab Edmundo Bovchardon gallo scvlpitore egregio Romae delieatas Io. Ivstinvs Preisler noricvs pictor a se in aes incisas faviori svo optime merito ...*, Norimbergae, 1732. Preserved copy BN ZZI A.727.
- 70 Preserved copy BN SD W.3667.
- 71 Potocki arrived in London on 18 May 1787, returning to Paris on 16 July of the same year. See *Grand Tour*, op. cit., pp. 177, 181.
- 72 *Note des livres qui sont dans la Caisse N° I appartenant à S. E. Mr. le Comte Stanislas Potocki à Londres 1787*, rps BN akc. 2189/66/1, k.103v, and *Gemmy i kamienie* [excerpt from the catalogue of the collection of Stanisław Kostka Potocki], rps BN akc. 2189/66/1, k.119v.

are certain that at least several years earlier, Potocki had extensive knowledge of the baron and his collection. This happened at the latest in mid-1783, while he was in Germany. Potocki set off in May 1783 on his journey through Sochaczew and Poznań to Berlin. Visiting places including Potsdam and Sanssouci, Potocki saw the collection of antique sculptures of Cardinal Melchior de Polignac, kept at the Neues Palais (including the famous Lycomedes group, mentioned above), as well as the collection of medals and gems of von Stosch that had been acquired in 1764 by Frederick the Great. The palace, famed for the splendor of its decor, did not make a good impression on the count, who appreciated classical art for its modesty and moderation, above all. The collection of von Stosch, known to him from the Winckelmann publication, Potocki saw only briefly. He wrote:

“Engraved stones of Baron von Stosch belong to this cabinet [*Antikentempel*], among them many beautiful ones, but in truth the most beautiful remained in his hands [Muzell-Stosch], and Prince Henry [of Prussia] bought them after his death. The description of stones from the von Stosch collection is known to everyone [from Winckelmann], and in any case we didn’t have much time and saw them briefly. However, there is one cabinet of coins and medals that seemed remarkable to us. The stones from von Stosch collection cost the king [Frederick the Great] over thirty thousand thalers.”⁷³

Worth noting is that this trip and viewing of the collection took place a year after the death of Muzell-Stosch and a few weeks after the von Stosch collection had been auctioned in Berlin, on 22 April 1783 at the Böhme auction house. The rather indifferent tone of the commentary regarding the collection does not indicate that Potocki intended to purchase anything from the von Stosch collection at that time. There is no evidence that he had even known about the auction of the baron’s drawings in Berlin (he had no copy of that auction catalogue in his library). Yet here begins the history of drawings the count later bought as works from the von Stosch collections and described several

73 Rps AGAD, Archiwum Publiczne Potockich 256, *Voyage en Italie et en Allemagne – dzieło oryginalne Hr. Stanisława Potockiego, prezesa Senatu*, pp. 32–33.

years later in the catalogue of his own collection. Despite enigmatic descriptions of individual items in the Berlin catalogue, it is possible to identify some drawings now in the Potocki collection. It is worthwhile to discuss that auction catalogue here.⁷⁴ A portion of the baron's collection, left unsold in London, was auctioned in Berlin: books in Italian, French and English, maps, a collection of coins and medals, as well as impressions of gems, ancient gems and a small collection of paintings. Sixteen files containing drawings and engravings by old masters are listed in the catalogue, on pages 47-74. Portfolio files I to VI contain drawings, while files VII to XVI hold engravings, with a total of 1,080 catalogue items. Drawings and engravings each had separate numbers of catalogue items, but were described in groups, with each group containing several works by different artists affixed to one board. From auction number 933 on, each item listed in the catalogue contained a group of engravings - from several to several dozen (up to fifty), and beginning from number 1,074, engravings in a single frame are listed. A separate group consisted of 9,832 graphic portraits of famous persons arranged alphabetically (each alphabet letter was a separate catalogue item, with works among the engravings by Goltzius, Hollar, Sadeler, Bolswert, Vorsterman, Visscher Edelinck, Melan, Bartolozzi, Stefano della Bella, Nanteuil, Larmessin and other known engravers). Files I-VI contained 918 catalogue items referring to almost 4,000 drawings (including over 2,200 drawings depicting gems from the baron's collection).⁷⁵ Among these were works by Andrea del

74 *Verzeichniss einer Sammlung hauptsächlich zu den Alterthümen, der Historie, den schönen Künsten u. Wissenschaften gehöriger mehrentheils italienischer, englischer und französischer Bücher : auch Landcharten, Zeichnungen, und Kupferstiche von berühmten Meistern, auch einiger Gemähde, imgl. einer Sammlung Schwefel-Abdrücke von antiken Gemmen etc. welche der verstorbene Herr Heinrich Wilhelm Muzel genamt Stosch Walton hinterlassen und am 22sten April 1783 und folgende Tage Nachmittags von 2 bis 4 Uhr in der Wohnung des Verstorbenen an der Ecke der Linden-Allee und Kirchgasse, im Bastideschen Hause dem Meistbiethenden in öffentlicher Auction gegen baare Bezahlüngzugeschlagen werden sollen. Das Verzeichniss wird im Wachsmurhischen Hause bey dem Königl. Auctions Commissarius Herrn Böhme, Vormittags von 9 bis 11 Uhr gratis ausgegeben, Berlin 1783.* The catalogue is not listed on the Getty Provenance Index Databases. The only copy known to this author is in the collections of the UCLA Library Special Collections.

75 As a curiosity, it can be added that nearly thirty works by artist contemporaries of the baron like Pompeo Batoni, Edmé Bouchardon, François Boucher, Louis-Michel Vanloo,

Sarto, Edmé Bouchardon, François Duquesnoy, Ludovico Leoni, Ottavio Leoni, Michelangelo, Parmigianino and Francesco Salviati, which seem to be identical with the drawings in the catalogue described by Potocki. Perhaps the other drawings belonging to the count were hidden in a few of the aforementioned auction items, bearing in mind that not all names of artists of works on offer were listed.

Identifications for some drawings are uncertain. For example, a sketch showing a battle-scene frieze (cat. 7) was registered by Potocki under the name Polidoro da Caravaggio. It is clear from the count's note that he acquired the work as an original work by that master, but he believed it must have been by a later artist. The Berlin catalogue records six compositions depicting unspecified bas-reliefs "nach Polidoro, Ghisi, etc.," thus being copies of compositions by Caravaggio, Ghisi and others.

In some cases, the description made by Potocki excludes identifying it with any item in the auction catalogue from 1783. For example, the Berlin catalogue contains only one item in regards to Annibale Carracci, while including as many as forty-eight Palazzo Farnese painting-decoration projects. It is rather difficult to assume that among several dozen sketches of hands, feet and heads sold as no. 883, a two-sided drawing depicting Susanna and the Elders (cat. 5) was hiding there, described by Potocki. The Berlin auction catalogue lists two drawings at no. 740 and no. 741, showing the Holy Family and Christ on the Mount of Olives. One was by Correggio, but cannot be combined with the drawing described by Potocki (cat. 8). Among the few works by Guercino put up for sale in Berlin, we see only landscapes in the catalogue. Potocki, on the other hand, had two sketches of heads by those artists, which once belonged to the collection of von Stosch

Charles-André Van Loo, Charles-Joseph Natoire, Pietro Leone Ghezzi presented the owl, a bird that came second only to the monocle as a characteristic attribute of von Stosch. K. Chłędowski (op cit., p. 658) wrote about the baron: "he dressed with sophisticated elegance, with a colorful scarf around his neck, a lace jabot, silk stockings, with a cane in his hand, with gold buttons on his coat, and a small golden owl, which he added anywhere he could; and when he was asked about the meaning of this emblem, he replied that, being prone to melancholy, a bit of a hypochondriac, he sometimes looks at the owl, seemingly in an even worse mood, and that it gives him relief ..."

(cat. 12, 13). The count had a portrait of Francis I (Francesco de' Medici, cat. 21) which he acquired from von Stosch as a work by Titian, although he considered it to be by Rubens. He also had a portrait of Philip II of Spain (cat. 26). Unfortunately, only two Titian landscapes are listed in the catalogue published in Berlin. None of the descriptions among the catalogue items seems to be a drawing depicting *Christ of Caprarola*, a copy of which Potocki mentions in his catalogue (cat. 22). The Berlin catalogue does not mention the names Sébastien Bourdon, Lodovico Carracci, Gaspard Dughet (also known as Gaspard Poussin), Raymond Lafage, Laurent de La Hyre.

As has been mentioned, there is no suggestion that Potocki bought any drawings at the Berlin auction. Again, we do not know the circumstances of the acquisition of items coming from the von Stosch collection. The only source of information is the catalogue compiled by Potocki, in 1796 at the earliest, in which he explicitly cites the provenance of some drawings.⁷⁶ This is mentioned directly in twenty-six descriptions: *de la collection de Stoeche, du Cabinet de Stoeche* and *venant de la collection du fameux Amateur Baron de Stoeche*. Unfortunately, the count does not provide information from whom he bought the drawings directly. In only four cases, he adds: *a été acheté à Leipzig*. This topic was taken up first by Elżbieta Skierkowska: “It is known that a significant number of drawings acquired before 1795, like Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo (study of two [sic] heads to the Last Judgment and others), Potocki bought from Carl Rost⁷⁷ in Leipzig and they came from the collection of the prominent collector J. [sic] Stosch.”⁷⁸ However, this information

76 The catalogue consists of four parts: *Catalogue des Dessins de la Collection du Comte Stanislas Potockie. Ecole Italienne. Ecole Française. Ecoles Flamande, Holendoise et Allemande. Note des dessins achetés en Italie en 1795 et 1796*, BN Rps akc. 2189/66/a.

77 Carl (Karl) Christian Heinrich Rost (1742–1798), antiquarian, art expert. See Sächsische Biografie online: http://saebi.isgv.de/biografie/Carl_Christian_Heinrich_Rost_%281742-1798%29 [accessed on 17.01.2019].

78 Skierkowska's information, however, is very imprecise. Indeed, Potocki wrote that he purchased the study of the head by Michelangelo (cat. 4) from the von Stosch collection in Leipzig, although he did not specify from whom (in the manuscript of his catalogue the count never referred to Carl Rost). In the case of Leonardo, however, Potocki clearly noted that all three drawings were purchased in Italy. See *Polskie kolekcjonerstwo...*, op. cit., pp. 103, 110.

is not only imprecise, but also uncertain. Potocki clearly noted that he bought all three Leonardo drawings in Italy. However, in the case of Michelangelo's *Head Study* (cat. 4), he indeed indicated that he had acquired the sketch in Leipzig, but did not specify from whom. In none of the descriptions of the twenty-six drawings from the von Stosch collection did the count reveal the seller; the name of Rost is never mentioned. The annotation *Acheté chez Mr Rost à Leipzig* appears three times, in fact, in the count's catalogue, but this did not apply to drawings from the von Stosch collection.⁷⁹ Yet there is evidence that Potocki worked together with Rost very often. At least two sources indicate the purchase of artworks made from the Leipzig antiquarian. Potocki bought a large number of engravings (perhaps through an intermediary) at Rostische Kunsthandlung in January 1794. A manuscript of the count's letter to an unidentified person (perhaps to Rost) has been preserved, asking him to buy three hundred engravings for him, because health prevented him from traveling in bad weather and making the purchase himself.⁸⁰ In this letter, Potocki refers to descriptions of graphics contained in one of the auction catalogues published by Rost.⁸¹

Most likely, the count's request was fulfilled and the purchase of the prints was completed, although after the transaction the collections were deposited in the antiquarian bookshop in Leipzig for a few years then arrived in Lviv only in January 1799. In the Diary of Potocki's businesses and affairs, we find notes regarding importing chests of copper engravings from Leipzig. In August 1798, the count wrote:

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- 79 It is possible that in addition to participating in Rostische Kunsthandlung auctions, Potocki also made purchases from the private collection of Carl Rost. The three purchased drawings are landscapes by German artists. Rost's preference for the work of eighteenth-century German landscape painters is described by Sabine Peinelt-Schmidt, whom I thank very much for her consultations. See S. Peinelt-Schmidt, "Selling Antiquity and Collecting Nature: The Art Dealer Carl Christian Heinrich Rost and Christian Ludwig von Hagedorn's Conception of Art," in: *Collecting Prints and Drawings*, Cambridge 2018.
- 80 *List hr: Stanisława Potockiego wraz ze Spisem Rycin o których zakupienie tymże listem obowiązał Osobę w Lipsku*, BN rps akc. 2189/66/1, f. 43–52.
- 81 *Anzeige einer ansehnlichen Kupferstich-Sammlung alter, neuer und seltener Blätter berühmter Meister, nebst einigen Handzeichnungen, Gemälden und Kupferstichwerken : den 20sten Januar 1794 wird der Verkauf davon gehalten...*, T. XIII, Lipsk, 1793. A copy of this catalogue belonging to Potocki has been preserved. BN SD W. 1.0566.

Bringing my things from Leipzig

I notified the Governor of Galicia⁸² asking for permission to bring six packages of No. 1 and No. 2 with Paintings No. 3 with Books and Things No. 4 with Copper Engravings No. 5 with Copper Engravings and Things of Mr. Jan⁸³ No. 6 with Lamps. The latter two are at Mr. Redon in Dresden. First four at Rost in Leipzig. I wrote to both of them asking to take care of these packages, requesting Roost [sic] to send to Lviv carters returning from the fair in Leipzig at the address of Mr. Burhart, who took full responsibility to take good care of them further on upon himself.⁸⁴ On behalf of Mr. Jan, I wrote to Redon to sell his package. I sent these letters from Przeworsk on 17 August, I notified on 10 August once in Lviv. The Governor took full responsibility on himself. There is a specification of parcels and books besides [?] Mr. Jan, who did not have it.⁸⁵

It should be noted here that while Carl Rost died in March 1798, Potocki's note comes from that August. Apparently the count, while writing those words, did not know about the death of the antiquarian at whose establishment he had deposited his engravings. Perhaps Rost's death caused a delay in delivering the parcel to Lviv. It was not until January 1799 that the count noted that the banker Burhart had issued him a bill for bringing back two packages of copper engravings from Leipzig. In both notes, Potocki clearly writes about them, thus meaning copper engravings, not drawings.⁸⁶

We already know that Potocki and Rost did business together. We know that he also bought paintings in Leipzig (we can find them listed in the Diary of Purchases). Did he then also purchase drawings there from the von Stosch collection? Unfortunately, in just one cat-

82 Johann Jacob, Count von Gaisruck (1739–1801), governor of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria from 1795. See Stanisław Nicieja, *Cmentarz Łyczakowski we Lwowie w latach 1786–1986*, Wrocław 1989, p. 18.

83 Jan Nepomucen Eryk Potocki (died after 1815), brother of Stanisław Kostka Potocki. See Internetowy Polski Słownik Biograficzny, <http://ipsb.nina.gov.pl/a/biografia/jan-nepomucen-eryk-potocki> [accessed on 22.08.2018].

84 Burkart or Burhart, banker from Lviv.

85 *Pamiętnik interesów samego (...) hrabiego Potockiego senatora wojewody*, rps AGAD, Archiwum Gospodarcze Wilanowskie, Anteriora, no. 302, p. 43.

86 *Pamiętnik interesów...*, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

atalogue of Rostische Kunsthandlung published in the 1890s, we find in the description of the engravings only the single note: *aus des Baron von Stosch Cabinet*.⁸⁷ It must be emphasized, however, that in the catalogues of this company, provenance of items was given only in exceptional cases, so it cannot be an argument for the fact that the remaining drawings from the baron's collection did not pass through Rost's house of antiquities. Especially as it is certain that one of the drawings described by Potocki as coming from the von Stosch collection was there for sale in 1792. That drawing, depicting the Adoration of the Magi (cat. 1), has miraculously survived and is stored in the collection of the University of Warsaw Library Print Room. Unfortunately, this is the only drawing described by Potocki that has proved identifiable in the catalogues of Carl Rost published in 1788–1798 in Leipzig. How the count acquired those drawings for his collection remains a mystery, but perhaps further archival research will shed new light on this issue. The main and basic source of information about their existence is, so far, the catalogue compiled by Potocki around 1796. In a few cases, it is the only source of information.

However, in most cases, later archival sources have allowed us to determine the further fate of the works listed in the catalogue. Unfortunately, we lose track of what happened around 1840 (regarding the part of the collection that, along with the Wilanów Library, was not acquired by the National Library of Poland), or in 1923 (regarding the part of the collection acquired by the count and later by the University of Warsaw that was not returned from St. Petersburg), or in 1945 (regarding the part acquired by the University of Warsaw that then went missing during the Second World War).⁸⁸ One picture has bare-

87 *Anzeige einer ansehnlichen Kupferstich-Sammlung alter, neuer und seltener Blätter berühmter Meister) ... nebst einigen Handzeichnungen, Gemälden, und Kupferstichwerken: Den 20sten Januar 1794. wird der Verkauf davon gehalten ... von dem verpflichteten Universitäts-Proclamator Herrn Weigel, im rothen Collegio zu Leipzig ...*, Leipzig 1793, vol. XIII, p. 216, item 2508, <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/kupferstichsammlung1793> [accessed on 17.01.2019].

88 Elżbieta Skierkowska wrote: "A valuable collection of drawings of former foreign masters, belonging to St. K. Potocki, raising him to the rank of a collector known worldwide, was not transferred in 1932 to the Polish state; the history of this collection after

ly survived, perhaps as irrefutable proof that the others also existed, although they have been lost for almost two centuries. The following catalogue describes, for the first time and as precisely as possible, the drawings by old masters from the collection of Stanisław Kostka Potocki, which had originally belonged to Philipp von Stosch. Of course, it is not known if the attributions given by the count could withstand scientific criticism today.⁸⁹ The issue of uncertain authorship of individual drawings is a major obstacle in trying to find them, even in the catalogues raisonnées of individual artists. Research on the fate of these works is further complicated by the fact that neither von Stosch nor Potocki marked their drawings as their owners.⁹⁰ Certainly, however, the descriptions of lost drawings can be an important source of information about the aspirations of the count as a collector, as well as about the original shape of his collections.

**CATALOGUE OF DRAWINGS PURCHASED BY STANISŁAW
KOSTKA POTOCKI AROUND 1796, ORIGINALLY COMING FROM
THE BARON PHILIPP VON STOSCH COLLECTION**

Spelling of artists' names and dates of their lives according to the Union List of Artists Names Online.⁹¹

Dimensions (height by width) of the lost drawings are given in Old Polish units of measure used by Stanisław Kostka Potocki: 1 elbow = 2 feet = 24 inches; 1 inch = 12 lines. Approximately 1 Old Polish inch = 2.4 cm; 1 old Polish line = 2 mm. Prices of the lost drawings were given

1845 (date of the death of Aleksander Potocki) is not known." See *Rysunki szkół obcych*, op. cit., Warsaw 1976, p. 104.

- 89 It suffices to mention serious doubts about the authenticity of some of the drawings from the Potocki collection, which was offered in part to the University of Warsaw, as has already been reported by Zygmunt Batowski (*Zbiór graficzny*, op. cit., p. 42). Although, on the other hand, some of Rembrandt's drawings purchased by the count are regarded by contemporary researchers as original works by the Grand Dutchman. See Talbierska, *Rembrandt. Ryciny i rysunki ze zbiorów Gabinetu Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie*, Warsaw 2004; *Rembrandt. Rysunki i ryciny w zbiorach polskich*, ed. Anna Kozak, Warsaw 2009).
- 90 See Frits Lugt, *Les Marques de Collections de Dessins & d'Estampes*, online version: <http://www.marquesdecollections.fr/> [accessed on 22.07.2018]. In rare cases only, we find annotations made by hand by both collectors on the preserved drawings.
- 91 <http://www.getty.edu/research/tools/vocabularies/ulan/> [accessed on 17.01.2019].



FIG. 1. Jost Amman, *Adoration of the Magi*, adoration scene among ruins with a camel caravan in the background, Inw.zb.d. 4265, Print Room of the University of Warsaw Library

in accordance with the value set by Potocki, who estimated these in ducats and Polish zlotys (florins): 1 ducat = 18 Polish zlotys (florins). Quotations from the manuscript of the catalogues of the collections preserve the original spelling.

1. Author unknown, *Adoration of the Magi*, pen, ink, lavage, ribbed paper, tondo with a diameter of 212-214 mm. Print Room of the University of Warsaw Library, item no 4265.

Drawing displayed at the auction in the house of antiquities of Carl Rost in Leipzig in February 1792. Listed in the auction catalogue under item number 4588: *Die Könige bringen dem Jesuskinde Geschenke; von A. Glocker mit der Feder gezeichnet. rund gr. 4^{to}.*⁹² Purchased by Stanisław

92 *Anzeige einer ansehnlichen Kupferstich-Sammlung alter, neuer und seltener Blätter berühmter Meister (Band 11): ... nebst einigen Handzeichnungen, Gemälden, Kupferstichwerken und vielen Kupferstichen unter Glas und Rahm: Den 1ten Febr. 1792 wird der Verkauf davon gehalten ... von*

Kostka Potocki and described in a catalogue compiled by the count around 1796, drawings of the Flemish, Dutch and German schools under item number 1: A. Glocker. Ancien peintre Allemand, sa maniere tient beaucoup du Gothique, comme on le voit sur le dessin de l'adoration des trois rois fait a la plume. Il est rond, son diametre est de 7 p. [puces] 10 l. [lignes] *Il vient de la Collection de Stosch. Prix 1#*.⁹³ In 1818, the drawing was donated by Potocki to the University of Warsaw. It then shared the fate of the university collections and in 1832 was taken by the tsarist authorities to St. Petersburg. There, in the years 1848-1849, it was described in a catalogue compiled by Nikolai Utkin, under item number 56 (in the portfolio 1157): *Adoration des Rois (1500 en rond)* [in 4°] A. Glocker.⁹⁴ In 1923, the collection of the Print Room returned to the University of Warsaw, restored under the Treaty of Riga. Among works that returned to Warsaw was this drawing, which then luckily survived the Second World War and remains in the collection of the University of Warsaw Library.

Unfortunately, attribution to A. Glocker, based on archival sources is not confirmed in contemporary professional literature.⁹⁵ According to the annotation in the copy of the Utkin's catalogue (probably written by Zygmunt Batowski), the drawing was also attributed to Jost Amman.⁹⁶ At present, however, it is considered to be the work of an

dem verpflichteten Universitäts-Proclamator Herrn Weigel, im rothen Collegio zu Leipzig ..., Leipzig 1791, p. 352, <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/kupferstichsammlung1791> [accessed on 17.01.2019].

- 93 *Catalogue... Ecoles Flamande, Holendoise et Allemande*, op. cit., f. 7r.
- 94 *Catalogue raisonné des estampes composant la collection du Cabinet d'Alexandre de Varsovie*, portfolio 1157 : *Portefeuille in folio contenant 72 pieces dessins originaux par differents maitres en feuilles separées*. Vol. III, University of Warsaw Library, manuscript, p. 38.
- 95 In contemporary dictionaries of artists (for example, the most comprehensive, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon: die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*), there is no record of a painter or graphic artist at the start of the sixteenth century named A. Glocker or Glocker.
- 96 It is worth noting here that the Utkin's catalogue mentions another drawing, lost today, belonging previously to Stanisław Kostka Potocki, by A. Glocker, which the count does not mention in his catalogue: *Allégorie sur l'apparition d'une comète en 1460. Le Prince de Milan embrasant le Pape (sur parchemin)* [in 4°] *idem* [A. Glocker] (*Catalogue raisonné*, op. cit. p. 38). Under that same name, A. Glocker, the drawing was mentioned among the war losses of the Print Room (Sawicka, op. cit. s. 40).

anonymous Antwerp mannerist.⁹⁷ The drawing has historical mounting, characteristic of the graphic collections of the Print Room, with the pencil annotation: *Glocker*, and indications referring to the Utkin's catalogue: 56 and 1157.

2. Edmé Bouchardon (1698–1762), *Female Figure*, sanguine, 15 inches, 4 lines x 8 inches, 6 lines. Price: 1 ducat.

Drawing exhibited at the auction in Berlin in 1783 along with part of the collection of Philipp von Stosch. In the auction catalogue, described under item number 483: *1 Eine Vestale – Bouchardon*.⁹⁸ Around 1796, it was purchased by Stanisław Kostka Potocki and described in the catalogue of drawings of the French school under item number 19, just after another drawing by the same artist: *Une figure de femme drapé dessiné à la Sanguine par le même* [Edmé Bouchardon]. *Elle vient de la Collection de Stocche. H. 15 p. 4 l. – L. 8 p. 6 l. Prix 1 #*.⁹⁹ Not recorded in later sources, its subsequent fate is unknown.

3. Sébastien Bourdon (1616–1671), *Marriage of Rebecca*, pen, bistre wash, 7 inches, 8 lines x 18 inches, 5 lines. Price: 3 ducats.

Drawing purchased by Potocki around 1796 and described in the catalogue of drawings of the French school under the item number 6: *Sébastien Bourdon. Le mariage de Rebecca à la plume lavé de Bistre. L. 18 p. 5 l. – h 7 p. 8 l. Venant de la Collection de Stocche 3 #*.¹⁰⁰ The drawing is not recorded in later sources, its subsequent fate is unknown.

4. Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564), *Study for the Head of a Figure from The Last Judgment in the Sistine Chapel*, black pencil, about 13 inches x 10 inches. Price: 6 ducats.

This drawing may have been auctioned in Berlin in 1783 along with part of the von Stosch collection. However, this cannot be confirmed

97 For sharing the catalogue data of the unpublished drawing with me, I would like to thank Mrs. Urszula Dragońska of the Print Room of the University of Warsaw Library.

98 *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 56.

99 *Catalogue... Ecole Française*, op. cit., f. 6r.

100 *Ibidem*, f. 5r.

due to laconic descriptions in the catalogue (several catalogue items contained drawings by Michelangelo).¹⁰¹ The sketch was purchased by Potocki in Leipzig before 1796 and is described in the catalogue of drawings of the Italian school under the item number 2: *Michel Ange Buonarroti – Une Des têtes du dernier Jugement, peinte à Rome dans la chapelle Sixtine. Dessiné avec beaucoup de Soins à la pierre noire. La partie des Cheveux n'est qu'indiqué. Dessin venant de la collection du fameux Amateur Baron de Stosche, a peu pres 13 p. de h. sur 10 de L. Achete a Leipzig. Prix 6#.*¹⁰² After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. It was kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the Italian school. Portfolio II. Branch II of Michelangelo Buonarroti 3 [pcs] and two engravings demonstrating authenticity.*¹⁰³ According to a catalogue of drawings compiled in 1840 by Aleksander Potocki, the sketch was in a portfolio containing five drawings by Michelangelo and two prints based on them. It was described under the item number 2: *Figure du dernier Jugement, craye noire, en noir, dessinateur: id [Michelangelo].* The drawing was accompanied by the engraving described under the item number 3: *Gravure du même dessin, manière noire.*¹⁰⁴ The drawing is not recorded in later sources, its subsequent fate is unknown.

5. Annibale Carracci (1560–1609), *Susanna and the Elders*, double sided sketch, heightened with white, 11 inches, 7 lines x 8 inches, 2 lines. Price: 3 ducats.

This drawing could have been auctioned in Berlin in 1783 along with part of the von Stosch collection. However, this cannot be confirmed due to laconic descriptions in the catalogue (two items in the catalogue contained undefined drawings by Annibale Carracci).¹⁰⁵ The

101 *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., pp. 47, 50, 57.

102 *Catalogue.... Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 1r.

103 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków Na Szkoły podzielony do Gabinetu Sztuk pięknych należących a w Pałacu Willanowskim znajdujących się*, BN rps. akc. 2189/66/b, f. 2.

104 *Brulion... Spis Oryginalny*, BN rps. akc. 2189/66/c/2, f. 15r.

105 *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., pp. 62–63.

sketch was purchased by Potocki before 1796 and is described in the catalogue of drawings of the Italian school under the item number 20: *Annibal Carrache. Susanne avec les Vieillards. Première idée du peintre qui n'est que croqué et relevé de blanc. L'on voit de l'autre cote de la feuille la meme idée ebauché d'une autre maniere et encore moins acheve le dessin vient du Cabinet de Stocche* – 11 p. 7. L de h. sur 8 p 2 l. de L. – Prix 3 #.¹⁰⁶ After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. It was probably kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the Italian school. Portfolio I. Branch 4 Annibale Carracci 13 [pcs] with three engravings demonstrating authenticity*.¹⁰⁷ According to the catalogue of drawings compiled in 1840 by Aleksander Potocki, the sketch was in the portfolio containing fifteen drawings by Carracci and four engravings based on them. It was described under the item number 13: *Susanne entre les deux Viellards, craye noire et blanche, en noir, dessinateur: id [Annibale Carracci]*. The drawing is not recorded in later sources, its subsequent fate is unknown.

Annibale Carracci (1560–1609) See also item number 22.

6. Lodovico Carracci (1555–1619), *Holy Family*, pen, heightened with white, 11 inches, 8 lines x 9 inches, 4 lines. Price: 3 ducats.

The drawing was purchased by Potocki in 1796 and described in the catalogue of drawings of Italian school under the item number 21: *Louis Carrache La Vierge l'enfant Jesus et S. Joseph. Dessin dont le contour est entierement arrete à la plume. La tête de la Vierge qui est du plus grand Caractere est entierement acheve, dans quelque partis les claires sont mis en blanc de Grecque et les places laisses pour les ombres* – 11 p. 8 l. de h. sur 9 p. 4 l. de L. Ce Dessin singulier vient du Cabinet de Stocche. Prix 3 #.¹⁰⁸ After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. It was probably kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the Italian school. Portfolio I. Branch 6 Ludovico Carracci 5 [pcs] and*

106 *Catalogue.... Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 2r.

107 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków...*, op. cit., f. 22r.

108 *Catalogue.... Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 2r.

one engraving.¹⁰⁹ According to the catalogue of drawings compiled in 1840 by Aleksander Potocki, the sketch was in a portfolio containing seven drawings by artists of the Bologna School and one engraving. It was described as item number 7: *La Vierge et l'enfant Jesus, craye blanche et bistre, en bistre, dessinateur: Ludovico Carraci*.¹¹⁰ The drawing is not recorded in later sources, its subsequent fate is unknown.

7. Polidoro da Caravaggio (ca. 1499-ca. 1543), a copy?, frieze with a battle scene, ink, pen, 15 inches, 5 lines x 9 inches, 3 lines. Price: 2 ducats, 9 Polish zlotys (florins).

The drawing was auctioned in Berlin in 1783 with part of the von Stosch collection. In the catalogue from the auction, described as item number 154-159: *6 Bas reliefs nach Polidoro, Ghisi etc.*¹¹¹ The sketch was purchased by Potocki before 1796 in unknown circumstances. The count assumed that this was a later copy, not the original work of Caravaggio. He described it in the catalogue of drawings of the Italian school as item number 12: *Polidoro Caldara de Carravage Eleve de Raphael. Frise representant des combats d'hommes a cheval et a pied en deux bandes. La partie superieur de ce Dessin est Ombre a l'Encre de la Chine celle d'en bas est croqué a la plume. – 15 p. 5 l. de L. sur 9 p: 3l. de H. Ce dessin aussi que le Nr. 13 passaient pour originaux dans la Collection de Stosche. Cependant je le crois faits par quelque bon peintre plus moderne sur les peintures de ce maître. Prix...2# 9 fl.*¹¹² After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. It was kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the Italian school [and others]. Portfolio VIII. Branch 2 Polidoro da Caravaggio 1 [pc]*.¹¹³ According to the catalogue of drawings compiled in 1840 by Aleksander Potocki, the sketch was most probably in the portfolio containing nine drawings by Caravaggio. Unfortunately, the lack of precise descriptions do not make it

109 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków...*, op. cit., f. 3r.

110 *Brulion... Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit., f. 26r.

111 *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 50, see also items 54-58, 74-76, 140-141.

112 *Catalogue... Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 1v.

113 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków...*, op. cit., f. 7r.

possible to decide which drawing from this portfolio is identical to the drawing from the von Stosch collection, because as many as five drawings depicted battle scenes.¹¹⁴ The drawing is not recorded in later sources, its subsequent fate is unknown.

8. Correggio (ca. 1489–1534), *Christ Bearing His Cross*, sanguine, 6 inches x 4 inches, 9 lines. Price: 4 ducats.

The drawing was purchased by Potocki in 1796 and described in the catalogue of drawings of Italian school as item number 6: *Antoine de Allegris dit le Correge. – Jesus Christ portant la Croix trois quarts de Figure. Dessin achevé a la Sanguine. Un bon connaisseur a pretendu que ce Dessin est de la main d'un certain Bernard Lovino Artiste peux connu. Cependant il a passé pour etre du Correge dans la Collection de Stoché, et il est certain que tout y indique la touche moelleuse et les graces de ce grand maitre. A peu pres 6 p de H. sur 4 p. 9 l. de L. Prix 4#.*¹¹⁵ The drawing is not recorded in later sources. Aleksander Kokular, in the catalogue of drawings left after the death of Potocki, describes the portfolio *Drawings of the Italian school. Portfolio I Branch I*¹¹⁶ where four drawings by Correggio were kept, but in the catalogue compiled six years later by Aleksander Potocki, none of the four works by Correggio were described as made with sanguine.¹¹⁷ The fate of the drawing after 1800 remains unknown.

9. Gaspard Dughet, called Poussin (1615–1675), *Mountain Landscape*, red crayon, 10 inches, 3.5 lines x 13 inches. Price: 4 ducats.

The drawing was purchased by Potocki in 1796 and described in the catalogue of drawings of French school as item number 4: *Gaspre Dughet dit Poussin, fameux paisagiste. Un paysage montueux dessiné a la pierre rouge L.13 p. – H. 10 p. 3 l. et ½. Il vient du Cabinet de Stoché 4#.*¹¹⁸ After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. It

114 *Brulion... Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit., f. 33r. i v.

115 *Catalogue.... Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 1r.

116 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków...*, op. cit., f. 3r.

117 *Brulion... Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit., f. 12.

118 *Catalogue.... Ecole Française*, op. cit., f. 5r.

was probably kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the French school. Portfolio IX. Branch IX Gaspare Poussin 3 [pcs]*.¹¹⁹ According to a catalogue of drawings compiled in 1840 by Aleksander Potocki, the sketch was in the portfolio containing drawings of various masters and was described as item number 9: *Paysage – Site d’Italie, crayé rouge, colorié, dessinateur: Gaspar Poussin*.¹²⁰ The drawing is not recorded in later sources, its subsequent fate is unknown.

10. François Duquesnoy, called Il Fiammingo (ca. 1594–1643), *Four Children*, black pencil, 8 inches, 6 lines x almost 13 inches, 3 lines. Price: 2 ducats.

The drawing was auctioned in Berlin in 1783 with part of the von Stosch collection. In the catalogue from the auction, described along with other three sketches as item numbers 86–89: *4 Kinder – Algardi, Pomerancio und Fiamingo*.¹²¹ Around 1796, it was purchased by Potocki and described in the catalogue of drawings of the Flemish, Dutch and German schools as item number 14: *Francois Quesnoy dit Flamand fameux sculpteur qui excella surtout a représenter des groupes d’enfants. Quatre enfans dessin a la pierre noire pour un bas-relief. L. 13 p. et 3 l. a p. p. H. 8 p. 6 l. Il vient de la Collection de Stocche. Prix 2#*.¹²² In 1818, the drawing was donated by Potocki to the University of Warsaw. It then shared the fate of the university collections, and in 1832 was taken by the tsarist authorities to St. Petersburg. There, in the years 1848–1849, it was described in a catalogue compiled by Nikolai Utkin, under item number 24 (Portfolio 1155): *Figure d’enfants. Etude au crayon noir, en travers ” [in 4°] Franc. Flamand*.¹²³ In 1923, the collection of the Print Room along with a part of the Potocki collection and the described drawing were returned to the

119 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków...*, op. cit., f. 9r.

120 *Brulion... Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit., f. 54r.

121 *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 49.

122 *Catalogue... Ecoles Flamande, Holendoise et Allemande*, op. cit., f. 7v.

123 *Catalogue raisonné des estampes composant la collection du Cabinet d’Alexandre de Varsovie, portfolio 1155 : Portefeuille in folio contenant dessins originaux par differents maitres en feuilles separées* University of Warsaw Library, manuscript, p. 29. The next item by Duquesnoy, also presenting children, was a composition in a vertical format.

University of Warsaw. Unfortunately, during the Second World War, the sketch was lost, and since 1945 its fate is unknown.¹²⁴

11. François Duquesnoy, called Il Fiammingo (ca. 1594–1643), *Angels Bearing the Cross*, sanguine, 15 inches x 9 inches, 9 lines, Price: 1 ducat.

The drawing was purchased around 1796 by Potocki and described in the catalogue of drawings of the Flemish, Dutch and German schools as item number 15 (just above the work by the same artist discussed above): *Autre à la Sanguine du même maître. C'est une esquisse représentant trois anges qui tiennent la croix sur des nouages. L'on en voit deux autres en bas. H. 15 p. L. 9 p. 9 l. Ce dessin vient également de la Collection de Stosch. Prix 1#.*¹²⁵ The drawing is not recorded in later sources, its subsequent fate is unknown.

12. Guercino (1591–1666), *Sketch of a Head*, pen, 6 inches, 5 lines x 5 inches, 8 lines, affixed on one board with item number 13. Price, including the next item: 3 ducats, 3 Polish zlotys (florins).

The drawing was bought by Potocki around 1796 along with another work by the same artist (see below). The count described both sketches in the catalogue of drawings of the Italian school under item numbers 25 and 26: *Francesco Barbieri dit Guercino da Cento. Deux tetes colles sur la meme feuille, l'une dessine a la plume l'autre croque a la plume et relevée au bistre. La premiere h. 6 p. 5 l. – L. 5 p 8 l. La seconde h. 7 p 2.l – L. 6 p. 2 l. Toutes deux venantes de la Collection du Baron de Stosch. Prix 3# 3fl.*¹²⁶ After the death of Potocki, the drawings were inherited by his son Aleksander. The sketches were probably kept in one portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: “*Drawings of the Italian School. Portfolio III. Branch 2 Guercino 13 [pcs]*” or: “*Portfolio V. Branch 5: Guercino 3 [pcs]*”, or: “*Portfolio VIII. Branch 4. Guercino 1 [pc]*.”¹²⁷ According to the catalogue of drawings compiled in 1840 by Aleksander Potocki, both sketches were in

124 Ibidem.

125 *Catalogue.... Ecoles Flamande, Holendoise et Allemande*, op. cit., f. 7v.

126 *Catalogue.... Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 2v.

127 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków...*, op. cit., f. 2v; f. 4v; k.3v.

the portfolio containing nineteen Guercino's drawings and were described as item number 1 (two drawings on one card): *Têtes de Viellards, en noir, en bistre, dessinateur: Guercino*.¹²⁸ The drawings are not listed in later sources, and their subsequent fate is unknown.

13. Guercino (1591-1666), *Sketch of a Head*, pen, bistre wash, 7 inches, 2 lines x 6 inches, 2 lines. Affixed on one board with item 12. Price, including the previous item: 3 ducats, 3 Polish zlotys (florins).

Description see above.

14. Raymond Lafage (1656-1684), *Joshua Commanding the Sun to Stand Still*, pen, bistre shading, 10 inches, 10 lines x 7 inches, 10 lines. Price: 5 ducats.

The drawing was purchased around 1796 by Potocki and described in the catalogue of drawings of French school as item number 11: *Raymond la Fage. Josué qui arete le Soleil fait a la plume et légèrement ombre de bistre. Ce dessin est gravé dans son oeuvre c'est un des meilleurs de ce dessinateur hardi. Il vient de la Collection de Stosche [...] – h. 10 p. 10 l. L.7 p. 10 l. Prix 5#*.¹²⁹ After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. It was probably kept in the portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the French school. Portfolio IX. Branch VI of Raymund de la Fache [!] 17 [pcs]*.¹³⁰ In the catalogue compiled in 1840 by Aleksander Potocki, the sketch was probably in the portfolio containing ten drawings by Lafage and was described as item number 3: *Bataille, id [à la plume], en bistre, dessinateur: id [Raymond Lafage]*.¹³¹ The drawing is not recorded in later sources, its subsequent fate is unknown.

A drawing depicting this biblical scene by Raymond Lafage and kept in the Albertina may shed light on what the sketch looked like.¹³² The

128 *Brulion... Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit., f. 23.

129 *Catalogue... Ecole Française*, op. cit., f. 5v.

130 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków...*, op. cit., f. 9r.

131 *Brulion... Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit., f. 51r.

132 Inventory no. 15245, [http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/?query=Inventarnummer=\[15245\]&showtype=record](http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/?query=Inventarnummer=[15245]&showtype=record) [accessed on 17.01.2019].

copy belonging to Potocki could be a smaller version of that composition, or its initial sketch. It is known that the artist made several different versions.¹³³ The count mentions an engraving of this recurring composition, from the drawing he bought. The drawing from the Viennese collection was also engraved. The etching of Gérard Audran was published twice: first in Paris by Jan van der Bruggen, then in Amsterdam by Gérard Valck.¹³⁴ Perhaps this is the engraving Potocki wrote about in his catalogue: *ce dessin est gravé dans son oeuvre*, probably referring to an album published in Paris with graphic reproductions of the best drawings by Lafage.¹³⁵

15. Laurent de La Hyre (1606–1656), *Throne of Grace (Holy Trinity)*, black crayon, bistre wash, 12 inches, 3 lines x 8 inches, 3 lines. Price: 2 ducats.

The drawing was purchased around 1796 by Potocki and described in the catalogue of drawings of French school as item number 9: *Laurent La Hyre. Le pere Eternelle qui soutient le Corps de Jesus Christ accompagnes de plusieurs anges, ou plus tot la Trinite dessin a la pierre noir, legerement lavé de bistre. Il est cintré par en haut et parait avoir été fait pour un tableau d'Autel. h. 12. p. 3. l. – L. 8p. 3 l. Il vient de la Collection de Stoche. Prix 2 #.*¹³⁶ After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. It was probably kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *"Drawings of the French school. Portfolio IX. Branch III: De la Hyre 4 [pcs]."*¹³⁷ Importantly, kept in the same place were also four drawings by Le Sueur and one by Sebastien Bourdon. This had consequences, because a few years later, Aleksander Potocki, while compiling the catalogue of drawings, mistakenly attributed the works. As he was not able to describe them properly, he used a group of names "Le Sueur de la

133 Jean Arvengas, *Raymond Lafage: dessinateur*, Paris 1965, p. 36.

134 Printed copies are stored, including at the Musée des Beaux Arts in Orléans, no. inv. 2008.0.1301, <http://webmuseum.com/ws/mbao/app/collection/record/969> [accessed on 17.01.2019].

135 *Recueil des meilleurs desseins de Raimond La Fage, gravé par cinq des plus habiles Graveurs et mis en lumière par les soins de Vander-Bruggen*, Paris 1689, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52505191m/f7.item> [accessed on 17.01.2019].

136 *Catalogue.... Ecole Française*, op. cit., f. 5v.

137 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków...*, op. cit., f. 9r.

Hyre,” denoting all nine drawings from portfolio IX. In the catalogue of drawings compiled in 1840, the sketch of the Holy Trinity was probably in the portfolio *Le Sueur de la Hyre* containing nine drawings, of which probably four were by de La Hyre.¹³⁸ Specifying the subject was probably as difficult as specifying the authorship. Most probably, the drawing in question was listed in the portfolio as item number 3: *Sujet de l'écriture Sainte, crayé noire, en noir, dessinateur: id* [Le Sueur ? de La Hyre?].¹³⁹ Unfortunately, the drawing is not recorded in later sources, its subsequent fate is unknown.

16. Ludovico Leoni (1541-1612), *Portrait of a Woman*, black pencil, heightened with white, 7 inches, 5 lines x 4 inches, 9 lines. Affixed on one board with item number 17. Price, including the following item: 1 ducat, 5 Polish zlotys (florins).

The drawing was auctioned in Berlin in 1783 with part of the von Stosch collection. In the catalogue from the auction, it is described as item numbers 335-339: *5 Dergleichen [portraite] - Paduanino il Vecchio*.¹⁴⁰ The drawing, along with another drawing by the same artist, was purchased around 1796 by Potocki and described in the catalogue of drawings of Italian school as item numbers 35 and 36: *Paduanino Vecchio. Deux portraits de femmes dessinés à la pierre noire et relevés d'un peu de blanc, dans le goût de Titien et colées sur la même feuille. Le premier h. 7 p 5 l - L. 4 p. 9 l. - Le second 6 p. 9 l. de h. sur 4 p. 10 l. de L. Venants de la Collection de Stosch. 1# 5fl.*¹⁴¹ After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. The sketches were affixed together on one board and were probably kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *"Drawings of the Italian school. Portfolio IV. Branch VII: Paduanino I [pc]."*¹⁴² In the catalogue of drawings compiled in 1840 by Aleksander

138 Under the annotation to *Le Sueur de la Hyre*, there is also a drawing by Sebastien Bourdon: *Marriage of Rebecca*.

139 *Brulion... Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit., f. 49r.

140 *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit. p. 52, see also p. 60 items 831-840.

141 *Catalogue... Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 3r.

142 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków...*, op. cit., f. 5r.

Potocki, the sketches were probably in the portfolio containing eleven drawings by masters of the Venetian school, and were described as item number 1: *Jeune femme, à la crayé noire, en noir, dessinateur: Paduanino*.¹⁴³ Unfortunately, Potocki did not indicate whether these were two drawings affixed on one card. The drawings are not listed in later sources, and their subsequent fate is unknown.

17. Ludovico Leoni (1541–1612), *Portrait of a Woman*, black crayon, heightened with white, 6 inches, 9 lines x 4 inches, 10 lines. Affixed on one board along with item number 16. Price, including the previous item: 1 ducat, 5 Polish zlotys (florins).

Description above.

Ludovico Leoni (1541–1612), see also item 18

18. Ottavio Leoni (1578–1630), *Self Portrait*, black crayon?, 5 inches, 9 lines x 4 inches, 10 lines. Price: 1 ducat.

The drawing was auctioned in Berlin in 1783 with part of the von Stosch collection. In the catalogue from the auction, it is described along with other three sketches as items number 331–333: *4 Portraite – Ottavio Leoni*.¹⁴⁴ The sketch purchased around 1796 by Potocki and described in the catalogue of drawings of Italian school as item number 37: *Ottavio Leoni peintre. C'est son portrait, ce dessin dans le gout des precedens peut etre de Lui ou du Padouan. H. 5 p. 9 l. – L. 4. p. 10 l. Il vient egalement de la Collection de Stoché 1#*.¹⁴⁵ After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. The sketches were affixed together on one board and were probably kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the Italian school. Portfolio IV. Branch VII: Paduanino 2 [pcs]*.¹⁴⁶ In the catalogue of drawings compiled in 1840 by Aleksander Potocki, the sketches were probably in the portfolio con-

143 *Brulion... Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit., f. 9r.

144 *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 52, see also p. 60 items 828–831.

145 *Catalogue.... Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 3r.

146 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków...*, op. cit., f. 5r.

taining ten drawings by masters of the Venetian school, and were described along with another drawing as item number 2: *Portraits d'homme et femme, à la crayé noire, 2 [pieces] en noir, dessinateur: Octavio Leoni*.¹⁴⁷ In this case, we are dealing with two drawings affixed to one card, although earlier Potocki does not mention that the Leoni self-portrait was of co-authorship. Considering that he had doubts about the author of the self-portrait, it can be assumed that there was a mistake in the descriptions in this place. Compare item numbers 16–17. The drawing is not recorded in later sources, and its subsequent fate is unknown.

Bernardino Luini (ca. 1480–ca. 1532), see item number 8.

19. Parmigianino (1503–1540), *Visitation*, ink pen, undercoat of bistre, 8 inches, 4 lines x 7 inches, 5 lines. Price: 4 ducats.

The drawing was auctioned in Berlin in 1783 with part of the von Stosch collection. In the catalogue from the auction, it is described along with other three sketches as item numbers 17–19: *3 Die Abnehmung vom kreuze etc. – Parmegiano*.¹⁴⁸ The sketch was purchased around 1796 by Potocki and described in the catalogue of drawings of Italian school as item number 11: *Francois Mazzuola dit le Parmesan. La visitation dessine a la plume et legerement releve de Bistre. Composition de plusieurs figures. – 8 p. 4.l. de h. sur 7 p. 5 l. L. de la Collection de Stoche 4#*.¹⁴⁹ After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. Sketches were affixed together on one board and were probably kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the Italian school. Portfolio I. Branch III: Parmigianino 10 [pcs]*.¹⁵⁰ In the catalogue of drawings compiled in 1840 by Aleksander Potocki, the sketches were probably in the portfolio containing ten drawings by masters of the Parma school, and were described as item 5: *Visite de la S^{ve} Vierge à S^{ve} Elis-*

147 *Brulion... Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit., f. 9r.

148 *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 47, see also p. 58 items 625–631.

149 *Catalogue.... Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 1v.

150 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków...*, op. cit., f. 3.

*abeth, countours à la plume, colorié, dessinateur: le Parmesan.*¹⁵¹ The drawing is not recorded in later sources, and its subsequent fate is unknown.

20. Raphael (1483-1520), *Caryatid*, bistre wash, 8 inches, 9 lines x 4 inches, 10 lines. Price: 4 ducats.

It is difficult to say whether this drawing could have been auctioned in Berlin in 1783, along with part of the von Stosch collection, because descriptions of the Raphael works are too enigmatic in the Berlin catalogue.¹⁵² The sketch was bought by Potocki in Leipzig around 1796 and described in the catalogue of drawings of the Italian school under item number 3: *Raphael d'Urbino. – Une femme au pied vue par le dos soutenant une corniche en guise de Cariatide. Dessin lavé en bistre, venant de la Collection du Baron de Stoeche. 8 p. 9 l. de h. sur 4 p. 10. l. de large. Acheté à Leipzig. Prix 4#.*¹⁵³ After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. The sketches were affixed together on one board and were probably kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the Italian school. Portfolio VII. Branch I: Rafael 13 [pcs].*¹⁵⁴ In the catalogue of drawings compiled in 1840 by Aleksander Potocki, the sketches were probably in the portfolio containing eight drawings by Raphael, and were described as item number 1: *Cariatide, Contours à la plume, en bistre, dessinateur: Raphael d'Urbino.*¹⁵⁵ The drawing is not recorded in later sources, and its subsequent fate is unknown.

21. Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), *Portrait of Francesco I de' Medici*, black pencil, ink or charcoal, 12 inches, 6 lines x 8 inches, 2 lines. Price: 9 ducats

Potocki bought the sketch around 1796, and it is described in the catalogue of drawings of Flemish, Dutch and German schools as item

151 *Brulion... Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit., f. 13r.

152 *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., compare items 139, 592-594, 879-882.

153 *Catalogue.... Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 1r.

154 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków...*, op. cit., p. 6.

155 *Brulion... Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit., f. 13r.

number 10 (giving a wrong name to the portrayed prince): *Pierre Paule Rubens. Portrait de Ferdinand II [sic] Grand Duc de Florence Pere de Marie de Medicis. La meme que ce grand peintre a peint a la Gallerie du Luxembourg et qui est grave par Edelinck. Ce dessin fait sur papier huile au craion noir et relevé dans quelque endroits d'encre ou de noir de fumée est de la plus grande force, il passait dans la Collection du Baron de Stosche pour etre du Titien, mais il est impossible de s'y meprendre. [Illegible word] il se peut que Rubens l'ait fait d'apres un tableau ou un dessin de ce maitre don't le nom se voit escrit en bas. H. 12 p. 6 l. – L. 8 p. 2 l. Prix 8#.*¹⁵⁶ The count's mistake as to the portrayed person is surprising as he had in his library a copy of the album *La Gallerie du Palais du Luxembourg peinte par Rubens*, from which he probably took information about the Edelinck's engraving.¹⁵⁷ After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. The sketches were affixed together on one board and were probably kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the Flemish school. Portfolio X. Branch I: Rubens 12 [pcs]*.¹⁵⁸ Unfortunately, in the catalogue of drawings compiled in 1840 by Aleksander Potocki, there is no description of this drawing; moreover, in the portfolio of drawings entitled: "P. P. Rubens," the count mentions thirteen drawings by Anton van Dyck [sic].¹⁵⁹ The drawing is not recorded in later sources, and its subsequent fate is unknown.

The original canvas by Rubens, currently stored in the Louvre, and the reproduction of the Edelinck's engraving published in the aforementioned Nattier's album can give an idea of what the composition looked like.¹⁶⁰ Perhaps the drawing belonging to Potocki was a sketch for this well-known portrait.

156 *Catalogue.... Ecoles Flamande, Holendoise et Allemande*, op. cit., f. 7r.

157 Jean Baptiste Nattier, Jean-Marc Nattier, *La Gallerie du Palais du Luxembourg peinte par Rubens*, Paris 1710. ZZI BN nr inw. A.132, <https://polona.pl/item/la-gallerie-du-palais-du-luxembourg-peinte-par-rubens,ODUyMDA0/4/#info:metadata> [accessed on 17.01.2019].

158 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków...*, op. cit., p. 10.

159 *Brulion... Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit, f. 48.

160 Département des Peintures INV. 1790, http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=25708&langue=fr [accessed on 17.01.2019].

22. Ventura Salimbeni (1568–after 1613), after Annibale Carracci, *Christ of Caprarola*, pen, 4 inches, 9 lines x 6 inches, 1 line. Price: 1 ducat, 9 Polish zlotys (florins).

The drawing was purchased around 1796 by Potocki and described in the catalogue of drawings of the French school as item number 18: *Ventura Sallimbeni. Le Christ de Caprarole peint par Annibale Carrache dans le chateau de Caprarole executé a la plume par Salimbeni. Ce tableau a été plusieurs fois gravé entre autres par le fameux Vorsterman – 6 p. 1 l. de L. sur 4 p. 9. l. de H. Ce dessin vient de la Collection de Stocche.1# 9fl.*¹⁶¹ It should be noted here that Potocki was wrong when he wrote that Vorsterman made an engraving from this piece. The only drawing by Annibale Carracci that Vorsterman later engraved was *Christ in the Olive Garden*.¹⁶² After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. The sketches were affixed together on one board and were probably kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the Italian school. Portfolio II. Branch XI: Solimbeni 2* [pcs].¹⁶³ Unfortunately, in the catalogue of drawings compiled in 1840 by Aleksander Potocki, there is no description of the Salimbeni analogical drawing. It is worth noting, however, that in the portfolio containing fifteen drawings by Annibale Carracci, Aleksander Potocki gave a description referring to the famous pietà *Descente de la Croix, à la plume, en bistre, dessinateur: id* [Annibale Carracci] and to the reproduction of its engraving, *La gravure du même Dessin, au burin, graveur: Nico Van Aelst, 1597*.¹⁶⁴ The engraving published by Nicolaus van Aelst is de facto the sixth state of Carracci's etching *Christ from Caprarola* from 1595.¹⁶⁵ This is probably what was depicted in the drawing described as *Descente de la Croix*. Potocki in his *Catalogue des dessins...* does not mention any other drawing, except for

161 *Catalogue.... Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 2r.

162 Henri Simon Hymans, *Lucas Vorsterman: catalogue raisonné de son oeuvre, précédé d'une notice sur la vie et les ouvrages du maître*, Bruxelles 1896, <https://archive.org/details/lucasvorstermanc00hyma> [accessed on 17.01.2019].

163 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków...*, op. cit., p. 4.

164 *Brulion... Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit., f. 22r.

165 Compare the copy from the British Museum collection, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1466289&partId=1&searchText=carracci%2C+magdalene&page=1 [accessed on 17.01.2019].

the Salimbeni sketch, which depicts *Christ from Caprarola*. It is possible, then, that the drawing acquired by Potocki as the work of Ventura Salimbeni, depicting the Pietà di Caprarola, was incorporated by Aleksander Potocki into the portfolio containing works considered to be original drawings by Annibale Carracci. It is hard to know if it was an original sketch from which an engraving was made, or rather a drawing made from Carracci's engraving. After 1840, the work is not listed in archival sources, and its subsequent fate is unknown.

23. Francesco Salviati (1510–1563), *The Blind Carrying the Lame*, bistre wash, 12 inches, 3 lines x almost 7 inches. Price: 1 ducat, 9 Polish zlotys (florins).

The drawing was auctioned in Berlin in 1783 with part of the von Stosch collection. In the catalogue from the auction, it is described along with the drawing by Santi di Tito as item numbers 20–23: *4 Studien von Salviati*.¹⁶⁶ The sketch was purchased around 1796 by Potocki and is described in the catalogue of drawings of Italian school as item number 9 : *François Rossi dit Cechin Salviati – Un aveugle qui porte un boiteux, lavé en bistre. – 12 p. 3 l. de h. sur a peu pres 7. p. de L. Il vient de la Collection de Stoeche. Prix 1#. 9fl*¹⁶⁷ After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. The sketch was probably kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the Italian school. Portfolio II. Branch V: Salviati 2 [pcs]*.¹⁶⁸ Unfortunately, the drawing is not recorded in later sources, and Aleksander Potocki does not mention it among four drawings he owned by the same artist.¹⁶⁹ Its subsequent fate is unknown.

24. Andrea del Sarto (1486–1530), *Madonna and Saints*, sanguine, 11 inches, 7 lines x 10 inches, 1 line. Price: 6 ducats.

The drawing was probably auctioned in Berlin in 1783 with a part of

166 *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 47, see also the items 6–9, 201–203.

167 *Catalogue.... Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 1v.

168 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków...*, op. cit., p. 3.

169 *Brulion... Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit. f. 14.

the von Stosch collection and described in the auction catalogue along with a drawing by Santi di Tito under item numbers 72–73: *2 geistliche Geschichten nach And. Del Sarto und Santi di Tito*.¹⁷⁰ The sketch was bought by Potocki around 1796 and is described in the catalogue of drawings of the Italian school under item number 4: *André Vanucchi dit del Sarto – Dessin a la Sanguine, Ou l'on voit plusieurs Saints aux pieds de la Vierge assise dans une niche. Il parait que c'est une de ses compositions de tableau d'autel enfanté par les rêves de quelque moine ou de quelque religieuse, ou bien dans l'idée d'y rasssembler les patrons du lieu pour le quel ce tableau a été executé – 11p 7 l. de h. – 10 p.1 l. de L. Il vient de la Collection de Stoche et a été achete a Leipzig. Prix 6#*.¹⁷¹ After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. The sketch was probably kept in the portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the Italian school. Portfolio II. Branch II: Andrea del Sarto 7 [pcs]*.¹⁷² Unfortunately, the drawing is not recorded in later sources, and it is not mentioned by Aleksander Potocki among his own four drawings by this artist.¹⁷³ The subsequent fate of the work is unknown.

It is also difficult to know how this drawing depicting a group of saints at the feet of Mary was similar to two known paintings by Sarto, kept in the Pallatina Gallery in Florence: *Assunta Passerini* and *Assunta Panciatichi*.

25. Andrea del Sarto (1486–1530), *Visitation*, black pencil, 10.5 inches x 11 inches. Price: 6 ducats.

The drawing was probably auctioned in Berlin in 1783 with part of the von Stosch collection. In the catalogue from the auction, it is described along with the drawing by Santi di Tito as item numbers 72–73: *2 geistliche Geschichten nach And. Del Sarto und Santi di Tito*.¹⁷⁴ Potocki bought it in Leipzig before 1800 and described it in the catalogue

170 *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 49, compare also the items 10–11, 15, 724–725.

171 *Catalogue.... Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 1r.

172 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków...*, op. cit., p. 3.

173 *Brulion... Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit.

174 *Verzeichniss...*, op. cit., p. 49, compare also the items 10–11, 15, 724–725.

of drawings of the Italian school under item number 5: *Autre Dessin achevé du meme maitre [Andrea del Sarto] a la pierre noire, representant la visitation. Il a été gravé, et parait avoir été executé a fresque ou a l'huile par le maitre. – 10 p et ½ de h. 11 p. de L. Il vient aussi de la Collection de Stosch et a été achete a Leipzig – prix 6#.*¹⁷⁵ The sketch was probably kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the Italian school. Portfolio II. Branch II: Andrea del Sarto* 7 [pcs].¹⁷⁶ In the catalogue compiled in 1840 by Aleksander Potocki, the sketch was probably in the portfolio containing drawings of various masters of the Florentine school and described as item 7: *Sujèt Sacré, id [black crayon], en noir, dessinateur: id [Andrea del Sarto].*¹⁷⁷ Unfortunately, the drawing is not recorded in later archival sources. The subsequent fate of the work is unknown.

26. Titian (ca. 1488–1576), *Portrait of Philip II, King of Spain*, black pencil, heightened with white, 14 inches x 8 inches, 3 lines. Price: 1 ducat, 9 Polish zlotys (florins).

The drawing was purchased around 1796 by Potocki and described in the catalogue of drawings of the Italian school as item number 18: *Portrait en pied de Philippe II Roi d'Espagne. C'est un Dessin a la pierre noir relevé de blanc, de tableau qui le Titien a peint en grand d'après Nature. Il passait pour être de la Main du Maitre dans la Collection de Stosch – 14 p. de h: sur 8 p. et 3 l. de L: prix... 1# 9fl.*¹⁷⁸ After Potocki's death, the drawing was inherited by his son Aleksander. The sketch was probably kept in a portfolio described in 1834 by Aleksander Kokular: *Drawings of the Italian school. Portfolio IV. Branch I: Titian* 7 [pcs].¹⁷⁹ The drawing is not recorded in later sources, it is difficult to identify it with one of the ten drawings by Titian described by Aleksander Potocki in his manuscript (though

175 *Catalogue.... Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 1r.

176 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków...*, op. cit., p. 3.

177 *Brulion... Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit., f. 17r.

178 *Catalogue.... Ecole Italienne*, op. cit., f. 1v.

179 *Ogólny Spis Rysunków...*, op. cit., p. 4.

the three sketches were portraits).¹⁸⁰ Its subsequent fate is unknown.

It is known that Titian painted Philip II twice. The first time was during a meeting in Milan in late 1548 and early 1549, and then a year later in Augsburg. The first work depicts Prince Philip, in a rich caftan lined with ermine, while the other shows him in armor. Both canvases then had many replicas made for the needs of relatives and heads of other noble houses. Both paintings can be now admired in the Museo del Prado.¹⁸¹ Perhaps, therefore, the drawing purchased by Potocki was a sketch for one of those two portraits.

Titian (ca. 1488–1576), see also item 21.

translated by Alicja Rosé

SUMMARY

The article discusses the unknown provenance of old-masters drawings from the collection of count Stanisław Kostka Potocki. The latest archival research carried out at the Department of Iconography, National Library of Poland, followed by work on the catalogue of the graphic-art collection of the Wilanów Library, have shown that valuable drawings, originally belonging to Philipp von Stosch's collection, were purchased by Potocki. Baron von Stosch is among the great European personalities of the first half of the 18th century, and deserves special attention, all the more that he remains almost completely unknown in Poland. The author presents the biography of Philipp von Stosch and the history of his collection. The small part of the baron's collection is to be found also in Poland, thanks to Stanisław Kostka Potocki and his passion for collecting art. The author attempts at describing the history of acquisitions made by the

180 Aleksander Potocki mentions three portraits by Titian: *Portrait d'un Doge Venitien Costume du 15 Siecle*, in black crayon ; *Esquise de Portrait*, in red and black crayon; *Portrait costume du 15 Siecle*, in black crayon. *Brulion... Spis Oryginalny*, op. cit, f. 11-12.

181 See information available on the Prado website: <https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/philip-ii/7249afc2-e80c-4e47-8dba-0dda1758a9aa> and <https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/philip-ii/d12e683b-7a51-41db-b7a8-725244206e21> [accessed on 17.01.2019].

count and determines which way the drawings got into his hands. The most important part of the article is the catalogue of 26 drawings, including works by Raphael, Michelangelo, Correggio, Parmigianino, Annibale and Lodovico Carracci, Titian, Rubens and others. On the basis of archival sources the catalogue describes these resources for the first time and as precisely as possible. Just one of those drawings has barely survived, perhaps as irrefutable proof that the others also did exist although they have been lost for almost two centuries. Even taking into account some doubts as to the attribution of the works, their descriptions can be an important source of information about the aspirations of the count as a collector, as well as about the original shape of his collections.

KEYWORDS: Stanisław Kostka Potocki, Philipp von Stosch, old-masters' drawings, provenance, Raphael, Michelangelo, Correggio, Parmigianino, Annibale Carracci, Lodovico Carracci, Titian, Rubens, catalogue